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CONTENTS

Articles

Alieva, Natalia F.: <i>A Language-Union in Indo-China</i>	11
Krupa, Viktor: <i>Toward the Typology of Linguistic Situations</i>	23
Ráková, Anna: <i>Bengali Particles</i>	31
Drozdič, Ladislav: <i>Root Reconstruction in the Arabic Word-Formation and Inflection</i>	39
Gálik, Marián: <i>In Footsteps of the Inspector-General: Two Contemporary Chinese Plays</i>	49
Doležalová, Anna: <i>Liu Binyan's Come-Back to the Contemporary Chinese Literary Scene</i>	81
Múčka, Ján: <i>Certains aspects du développement de la prose vietnamienne pendant les années 1959—1965</i>	101
Fass, Josef: <i>The Introduction of Kant's Ideas into Japan and Its Historical Prerequisites</i>	111
Kučka, Karol: <i>Japan's Foreign Policy towards Asian Countries during the Period since the Signing of a Separate Peace Treaty until the End of 1954 and Solution of the Question of Reparations</i>	119
Vilhanová-Pawliková, Viera: <i>The War of Independence, 1897—1899. The Culmination of Anti-Colonial Activities in the Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro</i>	143

Review Articles

Kopčan, Vojtech: <i>Anmerkungen über die Jubiläumsschriften anlässlich des 300. Jahrestages der zweiten Belagerung Wiens. I</i>	177
Celnarová, Xénia: <i>Ethnographic Publications of the Atatürk University in Erzurum. II</i>	189

Book Reviews

Lindig, Wolfgang (Ed.): <i>Völker der vierten Welt. Ein Lexikon fremder Kulturen in unserer Zeit.</i> By Viktor Krupa	201
Kolb, Albert: <i>Die pazifische Welt. Kultur- und Wirtschaftsräume am Stillen Ozean.</i> By Viktor Krupa	202
Arakin, V. D.: <i>Taitjanskii yazyk.</i> By Viktor Krupa	203
Schild, Ulla: <i>Literaturen in Papua-Neu Guinea.</i> By Viktor Krupa	205
Rachkov, G. E.: <i>Vvedenie v morfologiyu sovremennogo tagalskogo yazyka.</i> By Jozef Genzor	207
Nguyen Khac Vien: <i>Le Vietnam contemporain (1858—1980).</i> Par Ivan Doležal	208
Lindell, Kristina—Lundström, Hakan—Svantesson, Jan-Olof—Tayanin, Damrong: <i>The Kammu Year. Its Lore and Music.</i> By Ján Múčka	210
Hijiya-Kirschner, Imela: <i>Selbstentblößungsrituale: zur Theorie und Geschichte der autobiographischen Gattung „Shishōsetsu“ in der modernen japanischen Literatur.</i> By Marián Gálik	211

Walker, Janet A.: <i>The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism</i> . By Karol Kuřka	214
Patrie, James: <i>The Genetic Relationship of the Ainu Language</i> . By Viktor Krupa	216
Koreiskie predaniya i legendy iz srednevekovykh knig. Ed. by L. Kontsevich. By Vladimír Pucek	217
Grundkurs modernes Chinesisch. Von Marián Gálik	219
Link, E. Perry, Jr.: <i>Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies. Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth Century Cities</i> . By Marián Gálik	220
Kubin, Wolfgang—Wagner, Rudolf G. (Eds): <i>Essays in Modern Chinese Literature and Literary Criticism</i> . By Anna Doleřalová	223
Goldblatt, Howard (Ed.): <i>Chinese Literature for the 1980s</i> . By Anna Doleřalová	226
Hua Da (bian): <i>Zhongguo minban kanwu huibian, diyi juan</i> . By Marián Gálik	228
Langlois, John D., Jr. (Ed.): <i>China under Mongol Rule</i> . By Marián Gálik	229
Hu Sheng: <i>Imperialism and Chinese Politics</i> . By Ivan Doleřal	231
Opletal, Helmut: <i>Die Informationspolitik der Volksrepublik China</i> . By Ivan Doleřal	233
Rabochii klass v sotsialno-politicheskoj sisteme KNR. By Eva Salajková	235
Kotzenberg, Heike: <i>Bild und Aufschrift in der Malerei Chinas</i> . Von Marián Gálik	237
Crawford, S. Cromwell: <i>The Evolution of Hindu Ethical Ideals</i> . By Anna Rácová	239
Kotovskaya, M. P.: <i>Sintez iskusstv. Zrelischnye iskusstva Indii</i> . By Anna Rácová	240
Muhajeri, Masih: <i>Islamic Revolution — Future Path of the Nations</i> . By Ivan Doleřal	243
<i>Der Islam von den Anfängen bis zur Eroberung von Konstantinopel</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan	245
Schimkoreit, R.: <i>Regesten publizierter safawidischen Herrscherurkunden. Erlasse und Staatsschreiben der frühen Neuzeit Irans</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan	246
<i>Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan	248
<i>Geschichte Sultan Süleymān Kānūnis von 1520 bis 1557 oder Tabakāt ül-Memālik ve Derecāt ül Mesālik von Celalzāde Muřtafā genannt Koca Niřancı</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan	250
Yola, ř.: <i>Schejch Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahi und sein Orden (1721—1925)</i> . Von Vojtech Kopčan	252
<i>Yunus Emre and His Mystical Poetry</i> . Ed. by Talāt Sait Halman. By Xénia Celnarová	253
Association française des Arabisants: <i>Dix ans de Recherche universitaire française sur le monde arabe et islamique</i> , Par Ladislav Drozdík	257
Blohm, Dieter—Reuschel, Wolfgang—Samarraie, Abed: <i>Lehrbuch des modernen Arabisch</i> . Teil II/1 und Teil II/2. By Ladislav Drozdík	258
Fromm, Wolf-Dietrich: <i>Häufigkeitswörterbuch der modernen arabischen Zeitungssprache (Ein Mindestwortschatz)</i> . Arabisch-Deutsch-Englisch (Frequency Dictionary of Modern Newspaper Arabic (A Skeleton Vocabulary). Arabic-German-English). By Ladislav Drozdík	261
Salonen, E.: <i>On the Arabic Dialect Spoken in řirqāt (Assur)</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík	262
Mokhtar, Ahmed: <i>Lehrbuch des Ägyptisch-Arabischen</i> . By Ladislav Drozdík	263
Günes, Ahmet Halil: <i>Das Kitāb ar-rauđ al-ēāřir des Ibn Aiyūb. Damaszener Biographien des 10./16. Jahrhunderts</i> . Von Ján Pauliny	267
Nippa, Annegret: <i>Soziale Beziehungen und ihr wirtschaftlicher Ausdruck. Untersuchungen zur städtischen Gesellschaft des Nahen Ostens am Beispiel Dair az-Zór (Ostsyrien)</i> . Von Ján Pauliny	268
Schlicht, Alfred: <i>Frankreich und die syrischen Christen 1799—1861. Minoritäten und europäischer Imperialismus im Vorderen Orient</i> . Von Ján Pauliny	270
Baskine, V. S.: <i>Kapitalističeskaja "pomochetč" razvivayouchetchimsia stranam. Mekhanisme, kharaktere i napravleniya vozdeistviya na strany Afriki</i> . Par Josef Poláček	271
Oliver, Ronald—Atmore, Anthony: <i>The African Middle Ages 1400—1800</i> . By Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková	274

Davidson, Basil: <i>The People's Cause. A History of Guerrillas in Africa.</i> By Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková	277
Cohen, William B.: <i>The French Encounter with Africans. White Response to Blacks, 1530—1880.</i> By Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková	280
Spear, Thomas: <i>Kenya's Past. An Introduction to Historical Method in Africa.</i> By Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková	283
Weiskel, Timothy C.: <i>French Colonial Rule and the Baule Peoples. Resistance and Collaboration, 1889—1911.</i> By Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková	285
Barthold, Bonnie J.: <i>Black Time. Fiction of Africa, the Caribbeann, and the United States.</i> By Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková	288
Karp, Ivan—Bird, Charles S. (Eds): <i>Explorations in African Systems of Thought.</i> By Ján Voderadský	290
Ekpo, Monday U. (Ed.): <i>Bureaucratic Corruption in sub-Saharan Africa: Toward a Search for Causes and Consequences.</i> By Ján Voderadský	292
Swartz, B. K., Jr.—Dumett, Raymond E. (Eds): <i>West African Culture Dynamics: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives.</i> By Ján Voderadský	294
BOOKS RECEIVED	296

ARTICLES

A LANGUAGE-UNION IN INDO-CHINA

NATALIA F. ALIEVA, Moscow

This article discusses the problem of typological characteristics of the Cham language. The authoress postulates the so-called Indo-Chinese language-union and enumerates its chief phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features. The Cham language is characterized as a member of this union together with some other languages in Indo-China belonging to various genetic families.

The Indo-Chinese peninsula is a kind of "world's end" for the huge Asian continent, a natural bound of peoples' migrations from the cold North to the flourishing South. During at least two thousand years many ethnic and linguistic groups of different genetic stocks were moving, temporally settling down and moving again over the peninsula. On the territory of present-day Vietnam alone, languages and dialects can be counted which belong to five or six linguistic families: the Austroasiatic (AA), the Austronesian (AN), the Sino-Tibetan, the Thai, the Miao-Yao families. Among these languages are such as Vietnamese, Cham, Ksingmul, Laha — examples of mixed languages which present many difficulties in determining their genetic affiliation.

Let us take, for example, the Cham language.¹ The present-day Cham people live in small communities in some provinces of South Vietnam and in Kampuchea. Their ancestors founded the state of Champa — which existed during many centuries (from the 5th to 15th centuries A. D.) being for a long period of time one of the greatest states in Southeast Asia. Its culture, literature and arts were on a high level, one of the eldest alphabets (of South Indian type) was widely used, the Hindu religion was flourishing. Even after the loss of independence the Chams were able to preserve their ethnic identity both in Vietnam and in Kampuchea.

¹ The authoress had an opportunity to conduct field work among Chams in the town of Fanrang and its vicinity as a member of the Soviet-Vietnamese linguistic expedition in January—April 1979. Besides Cham, the expedition then collected materials concerning some other languages of national minorities in Vietnam; these materials are already prepared for publication together with linguistic descriptions based on the field materials. Many of the comparisons mentioned in this article emerged in the process of collective work and discussions with my Soviet and Vietnamese colleagues in the expedition, specialists in various languages. This makes me more confident about the contents of this article and for this I express my sincere gratitude to all my friends.

The “mixed” character of Cham is of such a high degree that for a long time linguists² were not sure with which genetic stock or family it should be classified. Researchers of the Mon-Khmer family saw in Cham many similarities with those languages, while specialists in Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) linguistics considered Cham to be undoubtedly an Indonesian language. Those who know Thai languages *prima facie* see in Cham many evident Thai elements.

The core vocabulary of Cham is of AN origin, but the percentage of non-AN lexical units amounts to 50—60%. It has lost many features of Indonesian structure, and typologically has become quite non-AN. These structural changes reside in the following:

- monosyllabic morphemes prevail,
- diphthongs have developed into a final, strong syllable,
- register and tonal oppositions appear on the phonological level,
- prefixes and infixes have been lost as productive markers and having turned into presyllables, are disappearing altogether,
- all the synthetic means of expressing grammatical meanings and relations have been replaced by analytical means of a definite type, and they are just of an Indo-Chinese type: the other group of the AN languages which are highly analytical — the Polynesian languages — have developed quite different analytisms,
- word-composition prevails in word-formation.

It is natural that the Cham language should have been dealt with mostly by specialists in AA linguistics since it is located among those languages. Much has already been written to the effect that the principal influence upon Cham came from the Khmer side. The presence of numerous lexical items common to Cham and Khmer cannot be questioned, but the situation is not so plain as in the case of usual reciprocal influencing of the two languages. The structural features referred to above as differentiating Cham from the AN language-type, are those which it shares with the Khmer language; but at the same time they are not characteristic of the other AA languages, even closely related to Khmer. The same features are even more manifest in Vietnamese, another language of the AA stock which has also lost typical traits of the AA language-structure.

One may think that Chinese has exerted a decisive influence on the convergent development of languages in the area, but however strong that influence may have been, there is a riddle here: the set of common features of the languages in question (the set is given beneath) does not completely coincide with Chinese structural type. The relations between Cham and Thai languages have not yet been discussed, but their correspondences are rather numerous and deserve serious attention.

² An extensive but not exhaustive bibliography on the problem of language contacts in Indo-Chinese area is appended.

Now we come again to the ethnical and linguistic “melting pot” in the Indo-Chinese peninsula which is really reminiscent of another such pot in another peninsula — the Balkans. In general, the areal linguistic picture in Indo-China is very complicated as has been repeatedly stated for a longtime by many scholars who tried to explain it. Up to now, we have two general hypotheses: the Austric by W. Schmidt and the Austro-Thai by P. Benedict — which can be relied on in searching for explanations of this complexity. There are also different concepts about substrates and adstrates. In Indo-China, genealogical and structural similarities and differences have come together. This picture can be better understood on the basis of the language-union (*Sprachbund*) concept, with reference to existing genealogical and substrate theories, and to evidence the historical development. Instability of language contacts in the area was connected with an instability of state boundaries; different ethnical states are known to have emerged, conducted wars, gained and lost territories here during those two thousand years. And, correspondingly, one or another language attained a higher position and a wider territorial spread: sometimes it was Cham or Khmer, at other times Mon, Vietnamese, Thai or Burmese. In addition, there were two factors which continuously affected the processes of social, cultural and linguistic acculturation in this area: the Indian and the Chinese.

If to this picture we apply the approach elaborated in the Balkan area, we can immediately see how similar the situations are. “The conception of language union”, as the Soviet scholar A. V. Desnitskaya says, “is applied to the results of the convergent development of languages on the territory of a definite geographical zone, in which process some common features of a typological character emerge without being due to the common origin, even in those cases when the languages in question are originally genetically related” (p. 136). The last words in this definition are stipulated by the common Indo-European origin of the Balkan languages, but such a reservation is not necessary in our case. The situation in Indo-China can be considered as perfectly corresponding to the language union concept, because the convergent development in this case embraces languages of various genetic stocks.

General assumptions about a language-union existing in Indo-China have been made, for example, by P. Benedict (1976) and S. Egerod.³ But what features are most characteristic and can be recognized as constituent features for the Indo-Chinese language-union? I tried to compound a primary set of elementary facts and features on all levels which are present in the following languages: Vietnamese and Muong (Viet-Muong stock of the AA family), Khmer (Mon-Khmer stock of the AA family, remote from Viet-Muong), Thai (= Siamese; the Thai family), Cham (Chamic group of the AN family), Ksingmul (an AA illiterate language, remote from

³ The works by Cowan (1948), Gorgoniev (1960, 1965), Egerod in their comparative aspect were especially helpful to me.

both previous). Some facts of such languages as Laha (not clear genetically), Hainan Li (Thai family), Chru and Rade/Ede (both Chamic), testify to their proximity to this type.

A. In phonology

1. Consonantism: a full set of nasals; a glottal stop; oppositions of voiced-voiceless and tense-not tense merge together; intrasyllabic clusters are very rare, with a tendency to disappear; a restricted set of consonants can be used in a syllable end; no fusion possible at the morpheme and syllable boundaries; preglottalization and aspiration.

2. Vocalism is comparatively rich, due especially to quantity, register and tonal oppositions and to diphthongization; an indefinite (šwa) phoneme; a restricted number of vocal phonemes can be used in weak, penultimate and prepenultimate, syllables of a morpheme; the dynamic stress is not phonological.

3. Interrelation between consonantism and vocalism: the tones and registers of the vocal phonemes are the result of evolution of the neighbouring consonants, i. e. they are not reconstructed for the earlier language phase (may be, except the Thai family); there are semi-vowels [w] and [j] and non-syllabic allophones [u] and [ɪ].

B. In morphemics

1. A monosyllabic morpheme as a prevailing type of morpheme (it may not exist statistically, but is an obvious tendency).

2. The definite structure of a disyllabic root morpheme: the last syllable is “strong”, with free, unrestricted use of consonants, vowels and diphthongs; first syllable (“presyllable”) is “weak”, usually open, with only few vowels possible, sometimes disappearing, sometimes merging with the strong syllable in the form of a consonantal cluster; all the suprasegmental markers of differentiating and strengthening syllables (tones, register, length, stress) occur in the last syllable; reduplicatives are the most stable type of disyllables.

3. Unproductive prefixes and infixes represent a significant part among the presyllables which tend to weaken and disappear (this is especially true of Chamic languages).

4. A large number of disyllabic root morphemes are reduplicatives formed by full or phonetically divergent reduplication of a monosyllabic element not existing synchronically as a root morpheme.

5. The variation of consonant and vocalic phonemes in a morpheme is present as a means of reduplication and as an unproductive means of morpheme formation.

6. The absolute prevalence in modern languages of free root morphemes; as a rule, bound root morphemes are borrowings; grammatical free morphemes

— auxiliaries — are sometimes borrowed, sometimes have developed in this language from root morphemes; bound grammatical morphemes — agglutinative affixes — are absent (or lost) as productive formatives.

C. On the word level

1. The main way of creating new lexical items is word-compounding, especially of the sort following the models of free syntactic groups (not only binary copulative and subordinative groups, but also ternary non-predicative groups of S—V—O structure).

2. The second important means of word-formation is reduplication; in the Indo-Chinese area various models of divergent (i.e. with phonetical changes) reduplication prevail over the full reduplication; there is much similarity among the languages dealt with as regards the functions of reduplication (derivative, grammatical, transpositional, emphatic).

3. In all these languages it is possible to divide words into classes on the ground of syntactical criteria (distributional, functional) and — to a definite degree — on the ground of semantic criteria. Everywhere process-words and quality-words form one large class of predicatives; and the last is opposed to another large class, that of nouns.

Personal pronouns as special lexemes are few in number and, except for the third person, pronouns are not used in polite speech; they are widely replaced by nouns meaning family, age, social relations. There are no special possessive pronouns. Each language has a set of special interrogative words which also participate in forming indefinite pronouns and joining clauses.

Prepositions and conjunctions are classed together, and to differentiate them on formal grounds is difficult, which is another remarkable typological feature.

There are more than one negative words: a general negator that can be connected with predicative words (but with nouns only by means of a link), a prohibitive negator, a negator with aspectual meaning “not yet”. Specific is the use of “twin” negators closing a definite word-group in a frame (as in Cham: two negative words, or a negative plus an emphatic particle, or an existential verb plus a negative word).

4. As stated above, in the languages of the area the morphemic inventory includes but a small number (if any) of free grammatical morphemes. Root-morphemes (plain words) are widely used as grammatical minor words. Some languages (Vietnamese, Ksingmul) have a number of borrowed minor words which have no lexical meaning in a given language. The Cham language stands apart with respect to this point because it has some prepositions in its AN vocabulary which cannot be identified with any lexemes. All the groups of auxiliaries in each language are completed with minor words, i.e. lexical units, regularly used in one or another function. The auxiliaries and minor words together form sets of markers which serve

to express definite grammatical categories making up a kind of paradigm (paradigms of tense, aspect, voice, orientation, number, degrees of qualities, etc.). Among these grammatical markers, verbal and noun markers constitute the main groups. A marker with its nuclear word forms a syntactical unit of a special character; such units, *grammatical complexes*, differing in meaning and composition, can be compared by their structure and use with analytical forms of words in synthetic languages.

5. Thus, the grammatical categories of word-classes are rendered, overtly or covertly, but always in analytical constructions. Synthetic word-forms of any kind — inflexional, agglutinative, or other — are practically absent, with some rare exceptions. Grammatical meanings as well as word relations in sentences are expressed on a syntactical level by auxiliaries and minor words. Their use in general is not so obligatory and regular as that of inflexional forms in European grammar.

Among the functional markers of syntactical categories and relations are: links, numeratives, markers of plural and singular, of attribute and object relations, of passive, causative, reciprocal, reflexive, orientation constructions, of predication and actualization categories: tense, localization, aspect, modality.

D. On the syntactical level

1. Syntactical connections between full words and segments are realized by means of (a) word-order, (b) minor words, (c) models of sentential constructions: affirmative, interrogative, negative, modal, causative, passive, orientating, etc.

2. Two sublevels can be differentiated in syntax: a sublevel of sentences and clauses, i. e. predicative syntactical structures, and the sublevel of nonpredicative sentential segments.

3. The main sentence structures are S—P and S—P—Ob (subject—predicate—object). The inverted structure P—S is used under definite conditions. The Ob—S—Vtr structure is employed both in passive and in active sentences. Proper passive sentences with an analytical sentence marker are regularly formed after the model “Ob + marker + S + Vtr” when the object is a person or another active being. When the object is inactive, the regular passive construction is “Ob + Vtr”, without an agent, without any change of the verb (e. g. rice + harvest → the rice is harvested).

The partitive construction is the next specific ternary model: it characterizes the subject by the quality of its part or belongings. The two principal variants of this model are: “the name of the subject + (the name of its part + a predicative)” or “the name of the subject + (a predicative + the name of the part)”; the first name is not doubled by a pronoun in the second segment.

Sentential modifiers with temporal, locative and other circumstantial meanings move in the sentence rather freely.

The word order is not substantially altered in interrogative sentences; the

interrogation is manifested by intonation, interrogative words and particles and by enclosing the definite segment into a frame of two minor words.

4. An absence of synthetic inflexion, derivation, transposition is compensated for by various models of syntactical constructions. There are three main types of syntactic word-constructions: (1) binary combinations of lexemes on the basis of their class-valency, i.e. word-groups; (2) binary combinations of a lexeme with a grammatical marker, also on the basis of their class valency, i.e. grammatical complexes (already noted above); and (3) complicated syntactic segments combining in themselves word-groups and grammatical complexes, i.e. sentential constructions. Among the latter, the so-called close-in, enframed constructions are specific for the languages of the area.

The order of components in word-groups is determined by rules, the most general of which is that of postposing the attributive or any subordinate word. The models of word-groups and constructions have definite positions for definite lexical and grammatical components to the right and to the left of the nucleus. There is significant similarity in the structure of the main nominal, verbal, adjectival word-groups in different languages.

5. Long sentential segments are often built of series of verbs or verb-noun groups. In this language type, a verb seems to have usually one object valency; only some semantic groups (e.g. "giving") are bitransitive. Therefore, if the situation spoken of includes several objects —while the principal verb can be related to one only —the other objects are introduced by the verbs proper to them. In such auxiliary functions, verbs of the most general semantic meanings are used (such as "give", "take", "come", "go", "do", "put", etc.). Being regularly used in such positions, these verbs partially lose their lexical meanings, so that they are perceived by us as prepositions. At the same time they function as full verbs in other sentences. It seems superfluous to divide objects into direct and indirect ones.

The meaning of the principal verb is sometimes enriched by supplementary verbs with meanings of orientation, phase, intensity, result, repetition, etc. As a result, long sequences consisting of paratactical verbs and verb-noun groups can often be met with in texts. In the process of language evolution, especially of its written form subjected to Chinese influence, some verbs lose or have lost their denotative meanings altogether, and become auxiliaries, serving as grammatical markers.

6. There is no general model for the sentences with nominal predicate. In most languages linking-words are obligatory (in Cham they are optional).

E. In lexicon

1. The existence of common lexical elements found in Indo-China in languages of different genetic stocks — as has often been stated by linguists — may be explained either by a distant genetic affinity, or by an areal convergent development in mutual

contact. Many valuable explorations have been made in both directions, but there is as yet no generalized picture, to say nothing of a full and detailed one. It may be stated that there exist a number of phonetically and semantically proximate lexical items. These :

- are present in several genetically different languages in Indo-China, for example, in the languages considered in this article ;
- are not the result of borrowing from a language outside the area as is the case with Chinese and Sanskrit borrowings ;
- include a number of core lexical items ;
- include many common lexical cultural elements, while the source of borrowing is unknown.

2. Here follows a number of notions present in the above-mentioned common lexical stock : bird ; bridge, board, paved road ; leaf ; papaya ; river ; to smoke ; silver ; eye ; gold ; again, still ; already ; to ascend ; at, on (morphemes *ti* and *pa*) ; to come ; to possess, to exist ; to go ; head, neck ; morning ; or (conjunction) ; side ; this.⁴

Space does not permit listing here all these elements from each language ; some of them are already mentioned in existing literature.



Thus, we have a rather long list of common facts both in the lexicon and in the structure of several languages of the Indo-Chinese area. Many of these facts, primarily as bilateral similarities, have been reported by various authors. Collected together as has been done here, they constitute an evidence of a specific and very complicated linguistic phenomenon. In present-day scholarship the best interpretation for such evidence, to my mind, is to be found in the concept of a “language union” (*Sprachbund*), which is thoroughly elaborated concerning the Balkan linguistic situation. And the above evidence concerning the Indo-Chinese area testifies to the existence of such a language-union in Indo-China.

This general conclusion may be developed and supplemented from many aspects.

First, it may be stated that our complex of substantial features on all structural levels constitutes a good, logically consistent and even harmonious language system which may be considered as “the Indo-Chinese language type”.⁵ It is important to distinguish strictly between some languages which are members of this language-union and the whole mass of languages in the Indo-Chinese area. The terms

⁴ The first nine items are taken from Headly, P. K.: *Some Sources of Chamic Vocabulary*. In: *Austroasiatic Studies*. Part I. Honolulu 1976, pp. 453—476 ; these are his Nos. 1.8, 1.10, 1.39, 1.46, 1.52, 1.56, 3.3, 4.4, 4.5. The author shows them as commonly related to genetic funds of the Chamic, the AA, and the Thai stocks ; the other items are such as I have found in different sources and the responsibility for their inclusion rests with me.

⁵ Or merely as an Indo-Chinese variant of the isolating language type, covering a great mass of languages in East and Southeast Asia.

“Indo-Chinese languages”, “Indo-Chinese language type” should be applied solely to the languages of the Indo-Chinese union.

Various language families are represented by single languages or groups in the Indo-Chinese language-union. The AA family is represented by Khmer and apparently by the Viet-Muong group; the Thai family by some idioms, as Thai (Siamese), Hainan Li; whether any of the Lolo-Burmese stock enter in is still an open question; from the AN family some Chamic languages, and primarily Cham itself, constitute a part of this Union. At the same time hardly any of the above idioms are typical of their families in general; they have been alienated from their genetic stocks.

After a survey of the Indo-Chinese type, a question arises about some languages of Java and Sumatra. The specific “continental” character of Acehnese has long been discussed by a number of linguists. Malay and Javanese are in no way members of the Indo-Chinese language-union, but they (especially some Malay dialects of Malaysia) have some analytical features of Indo-Chinese type in their structure, and precisely these features distinguish them from the AN structure-type; at the same time, the traits of synthetism, besides the AN vocabulary, of course, testify to their affinity with the west-Indonesian languages.

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TOWARD THE TYPOLOGY OF LINGUISTIC SITUATIONS

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This paper deals with the classification of various linguistic situations in terms of their heterogeneity. The heterogeneity is defined both upon the vertical and the horizontal levels and factors are discussed that are responsible for the notion of linguistic dominance.

Linguistic situation is defined here as a set of languages and/or dialects which coexist and mutually interact within a territorial unit delimited in other than linguistic terms. Attempts have been made to define the linguistic situation in purely linguistic terms but such attempts ignore the fact that each language is an integral part of a society, and extralinguistic factors involved in its functioning are of decisive importance for the coexistence and interaction of languages and/or dialects. Besides, purely linguistic definitions of the linguistic situation are entirely useless in practice.

The linguistic situation may be regarded as a system that is linked to its environment through a set of inputs and outputs. The latter are mentioned in order to stress that the languages and/or dialects as elements of the linguistic situation are not passive, but are capable of exerting an active influence upon other components of the total social situation.

Each system has a dominant and the linguistic situation as a system is dominated by the need of an efficient communication among all the members of the society. Such a society, far from being only a political unit (i.e. a state), represents also an economic, cultural and territorial unit. It is a system that undergoes constant modification in time and since its borders may change as well, there is a point in distinguishing core from periphery where the former is more stable and more important for the functioning of the whole than the latter.

Various linguists have considered the possibility of creating typology of linguistic situations. Thus G. M. Gabuchan suggests that the theory of modelling could be applied to this problem (Gabuchan, 1970: 41).

The necessary prerequisite of such a typology is a classification of the linguistic situations. The basic classificatory principle to be used here is the degree of heterogeneity of the linguistic situations which is derived from a whole set of factors. Some of these factors are intralinguistic in their nature, while others are extralinguistic.

The most elementary intralinguistic factor that affects the degree of heterogeneity

of the linguistic situation is the sheer number of languages and/or dialects in the country. It ranges from one (e.g. San Marino) to several hundred (e.g. Papua New Guinea). At least three basic types should be distinguished here:

- (1) basically monolingual countries, e.g. Korea, Japan, Mongolia, Portugal;
- (2) paucilingual countries, i.e. countries where only few languages are spoken, e.g. Iraq, Turkey, Belgium, Finland;
- (3) multilingual countries, e.g. Iran, India, Soviet Union, China, Vietnam, Indonesia, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea.

In the second and third instances one should further distinguish those countries in which one of the languages prevails upon the rest of them, from those countries in which there is no such prevalent language. Instead, we could speak of monocentric and nonmonocentric (bicentric, polycentric) linguistic situations. Turkey, China and Vietnam may be quoted as examples of monocentric linguistic situations while Papua New Guinea, India and the Philippines may be regarded as nonmonocentric. However, in the latter category there are also languages that may be characterized as preferred or dominant, although it is no exclusive dominance, e.g. English and Hindi in India, Tagalog and English in the Philippines, Malay in Malaysia.

The dominance of a language is the result of a joint operation of a variety of circumstances. The most elementary condition of such a dominance is the numeric strength of the language expressed in terms of the number of its speakers. This is most usually the main factor. Yet there are instances when the language of the most numerous linguistic community is not dominant. Thus in the Philippines the official language is based upon Tagalog, the mother language of some 22% of the population, and not upon Visayan spoken by some 40% of the Filipinos. Likewise in Indonesia, Javanese as the mother tongue of the 46% of the population has not become dominant. In this country it is Indonesian, i.e. Bahasa Indonesia (originally Malay) that takes up the dominant position, although it is spoken as the first language only by a fraction of the population. Pakistan seems to belong to the same category; Panjabi is spoken as the first language by some 65% of the total population, while the status of the official language has been granted to Urdu. Even more complicated is the situation in Singapore where more than three quarters of the population are of Chinese origin. English is the language of administration, Malay is a state language (although spoken only by 15% of the population) and, finally, Chinese together with Malay, Tamil and English are assigned the status of official languages.

Such anomalies shed light upon other factors relevant to the selection of the dominant language. Where there are several sufficiently developed languages, it is often the language of the economically and culturally most advanced community that achieves dominance, e.g. Tagalog in the Philippines. However, other factors may come into play, as in the case of Pakistan and Indonesia. The former, as a Muslim country par excellence, has preferred Urdu favoured by a greater territorial dispersal

and notable for its rich literary traditions. On the other hand, Panjabi is essentially restricted to a certain territory beyond which it is not spoken.

Javanese in Indonesia, like Panjabi in Pakistan, is more or less confined to central and eastern Java, and its knowledge in other parts of the republic is restricted to Javanese immigrants. However, Bahasa Indonesia (Malay) has been spoken for centuries as a traditional lingua franca of what is now Indonesia. Its dispersal is greater than that of Javanese and thus it has become the symbol of the national unity, despite older and richer literary traditions of Javanese.

In the case of Urdu and Indonesian we may state that they have undergone the process of spontaneous standardization (cf. Zima, 1974: 21), followed by a period of conscious development and codification.

The linguistic situation of monolingual countries is obviously less interesting, although there are also problems there, e.g. the relation of territorial and social dialects to the standard language, or the gap between spoken and literary language. The latter problem has been solved in a variety of Asian countries (e.g. Japan, China) so that the spoken language has replaced its literary pendant in all of its functions. This dichotomy, however, still exists in other countries, especially in the Arab countries where classical Arabic is one of the symbols of Arab national unity.

Bilingual countries in which both languages have strong positions try to solve their linguistic situation by proclaiming the two languages to be equal (at least *de jure*), e.g. Sri Lanka (Sinhalese and Tamil) or in Iraq (Arabic and Kurdish) and Finland (Finnish and Swedish), but there are other countries in which the weaker language is simply ignored (e.g. Kurdish in Turkey). It often happens that linguistic conflicts in bilingual countries are more acute than in multilingual countries (cf. Belgium, Sri Lanka and Iraq on the one hand and Indonesia, the Philippines or Vietnam, on the other). This, however, is no rule — in India, for instance, the language policy of the government is confronted with acute problems that are hard to be solved satisfactorily. And yet on the whole it seems that all the various nations and ethnic groups in a multilingual country are necessarily more aware of the need to agree upon one language as the language of unity. The problem is which language to choose so as not to prefer any particular language community, which is far from easy.

Some countries have solved this problem so that they have opted for the language of the former colonial power. Many countries in Africa and some in Asia may be quoted as relevant examples here, e.g. Senegal, Niger, Angola, Mozambique, India, Singapore, the Philippines. This solution implies another advantage in addition to the one mentioned above, i.e. that these foreign languages are highly developed and useful in the international communication although, on the other hand, they tax heavily the local education system. Therefore this solution is generally only temporary, and the foreign language is right from the beginning planned to be replaced by a local language in future. So it happens that two or even more languages can function simultaneously for some time as vehicles of the communication upon

the national level (e.g. Tagalog, English and even Spanish in the Philippines, Hindi and English in India).

The linguistic situation may be complex in two ways, i.e. horizontally (territorially) and vertically (socially). The former type of heterogeneity is obviously primary since each natural language originally had a territorial basis of its own and it was the subsequent historical circumstances that have led to its being (preferably) linked to a community or group defined in other than territorial terms (social, religious, etc.).

The vertical heterogeneity may only be found to exist in monolingual countries, especially where there is a separate literary language used by higher classes of the society and more or less efficiently isolated from the people by a complicated writing system. This literary language occupies the highest hierarchical level upon the vertical coordinate, while the masses use the colloquial language which in its turn may consist of several territorial and/or social dialects.

In multilingual countries the various languages of smaller language communities function in a way analogous to that of the dialects in monolingual countries. Despite the politically proclaimed equality they often continue to be stigmatized as socially inferior.

When comparing various countries from the point of view of their vertical and horizontal heterogeneity, we arrive at the following four basic types of linguistic situations:

- (1) linguistic situation where one language functions upon the whole territory and upon all social levels;
- (2) linguistic situation where more than one language functions vertically, i.e. heterogeneous upon the vertical coordinate;
- (3) linguistic situation where more than one language functions horizontally, i.e. heterogeneous upon the horizontal coordinate;
- (4) linguistic situation where more than one language is found to occur both vertically and horizontally, i.e. heterogeneous upon both horizontal and vertical coordinates.

Table 1. Types of linguistic situations

Types	1	2	3	4
Heterogeneity:				
Horizontal	—	—	+	+
Vertical	—	+	—	+

These four types represent in fact ideal extremes since in reality a particular linguistic situation may contain elements of more than one type and in varying proportions. Linguistic situations of the pure type (1) are hard to be found because

a complete homogeneity probably exists only within sufficiently small countries (perhaps San Marino) although small countries sometimes tend to vertical heterogeneity (e.g. Monaco where French is used by the population speaking Italian ; Malta where English and Maltese function in an analogous way).

It is also difficult to find a linguistic situation that would be only horizontally complex and vertically simple because a complete equality of two or more territorial languages cannot be achieved, as proved by the example of Belgium, Canada, Switzerland, etc. There is always a language (or languages) that tends to be preferred, which results from the need of the national unity. It is also difficult to find a country notable only for a vertical complexity and territorial homogeneity.

The typical case in Asia and Africa is that of a country heterogeneous both vertically and horizontally (India, Pakistan, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, etc.). Simple linguistic situations are rather exceptional (e.g. Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Somalia).

We should also bear in mind that linguistic diversity may be judged either in terms of languages or in terms of dialects.

Due attention should be paid to what is core and what is periphery in the linguistic situation. The periphery includes small language communities with a low degree of integration into the social and economical, as well as political life of the country. Usually, these groups are underdeveloped. In addition to these, the periphery may include languages of minorities that penetrate into the country from other, as a rule adjacent countries and are sometimes subject to discrimination attempts or at forced assimilation. Such language communities suffer rather from political than from economical isolation within the country and it is in this sense that they are peripheral.

According to S. Lieberman, such groups may develop in three ways (Lieberman, 1981 : 2):

(1) First, there is the alternative to evolve toward the dominant group, i.e. to give up the native language.

(2) The extant handicaps may be reduced by reforming the societal institutions.

(3) The existing nation may be abandoned by revolution, migration, separatism, etc.

All three alternatives are met with in practice. The first one has prevailed e.g. in Egypt (cf. the decline of Coptic), the second one in India and the third one e.g. in Turkey after the First World War (Armenian and Greek). Besides, more than one of these alternatives may be carried out in some linguistic situations.

The linguistic situation, far from being static, is regarded as a highly complex hierarchized whole undergoing diachronic changes and incessant restructuration. The diachronic changes may occur relatively fast and result in acute linguistic or other conflicts. Such is the case of a military conquest of a country when the extant linguistic situation is enriched by a new language, usually in the capacity of a superstrate, or when a multilingual country dominated by a foreign power (or even

created by it, as is the case of many African countries where the political borders do not coincide with the ethnic borders) achieves political independence and tries to emancipate itself.

Changes take place in less dramatic circumstances as well, but such changes are slow, less abrupt and more organic. In all quoted instances bilingualism appears, which is either transitional and leads to a new monolingualism (as in the United States where many immigrant groups undergo assimilation), or becomes stabilized (e.g. in Paraguay where Spanish and Guaraní coexist for many generations).

In the case of abrupt historical changes we often observe the rise of various pidgins (Hawaii in the nineteenth century, many American countries in the period of slavery, Papua New Guinea, etc.).

The changes in the linguistic situation result from a variety of factors some of which are more important than others. The usual distinction is that of geographical, economical, cultural, social, historical, political, demographic and psychological factors. As for geography, it is the existence of natural obstacles (mountain ranges, deserts) that is of relevance here. Economical factors (type of economics, intensity of economical contacts) are closely linked to the factors of social nature and also to demography (esp. the mobility of populations and differences in their natural increase). These and other factors are to some extent discussed by numerous authors, e.g. by Chernyshev (1970: 21—31) and by other contributors to the Soviet collective monograph *Problemy izucheniya yazykovoï situatsii i yazykovoï vopros v stranakh Azii* (1970). The factors of historical and political nature include changes in the organization of the state, as well as the linguistic policy of the government which may exert a far reaching influence upon the linguistic situation by means of education and mass communication media. There are also psychological factors involved in the particular linguistic situation; they are linked to language loyalty and language prestige. Cultural factors, being very close to linguistic factors, manifest themselves in the homogeneity of culture of the particular nation and in the existence of literary traditions. In some countries it is the religious aspects of culture that come into the foreground (e.g. in India where the local Muslims tend to regard Urdu as their native language despite their true linguistic background).

Altogether, the external factors operating in the linguistic situation are more important than the linguistic factors. The latter merely modify the effect of the former, namely so that they either facilitate or impede it. As a consequence of the operation of the external factors, the functional sphere of the individual languages involved in a particular linguistic situation may undergo extension or contraction, or remains relatively stable.

All the factors mentioned differ as to their relative weight which may change in time. The role of geographical factors seems to be more prominent during the earlier phases of the development of a nation or, to be more precise, a linguistic community, while the economical, social and cultural factors gain dominance in subsequent

periods. In the conditions of a modern state, it is the political factors (esp. the linguistic policy of the government) that are of utmost relevance.

One should also bear in mind that the particular factors are not entirely independent. Thus, the economic integration takes place in parallel with the political and social advance and neither can be separated from the rise and consolidation of common culture.

Many countries of Asia and Africa are notable for their high degree of linguistic heterogeneity which is both horizontal and vertical (i.e. territorial and social). The social periphery of these nations is represented by the languages of small (tribal) groups without a literature to be called their own, and the overall picture is complicated by the languages of nationalities overlapping each other, usually neighbouring countries, sometimes with long-standing literary traditions.

Perhaps the absolute maximum of linguistic heterogeneity is displayed by the relatively young state of Papua New Guinea. It is inhabited by some 2,5 million people who speak several hundreds of languages and no single language is natively spoken by more than 100,000 people. The overall degree of intelligibility is either low or nil. Such a situation prevailed before the advent of Europeans and caused no difficulties, which was due to a low degree of social development. The neighbouring tribes employed one of the languages involved in the function of a contact language.

The advance of commerce and communication brought with it the need to communicate not only with neighbours but also with more distant communities. At this stage the so-called zonal languages arose, e.g. Motu, Jabem, Graged, Kiwai, etc. which were more or less supported in this new function by missions and missions schools.

The contacts with Europeans were responsible for the rise of Pidgin English which expanded steadily in the subsequent period and finally embraced the functions of a national language; as such, it is spoken by a great majority of the whole population (cf. Wurm, 1971a, b; Leontiev, 1978). At the top of the linguistic hierarchy, however, we find Standard English employed by the administration and the education system of the country. This linguistic situation is unique in that there is no community whose native language would be preferred by the administration. Papua New Guinea may be regarded as a linguistically polycentric country. Its complex horizontal fragmentation is augmented by a rather complicated vertical hierarchization which consists of five vertical levels with English at the top as a state language, followed by Pidgin as a national language, zonal languages (e.g. Motu, Jabem, Graged, Kiwai) and finally, by tribal languages at the very bottom.

The linguistically complex countries of Asia and Africa have solved their language problems in several ways. In countries that have acquired independence after the Second World War the supreme, national function is fulfilled either by the language of the former colonial power (e.g. English in India, Singapore, Nigeria; Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique; French in a variety of the former French colonies in

Africa) — not exempting countries with long-standing literary traditions — or by one of the local languages which was sufficiently advanced and widespread (e.g. Bahasa Indonesia in what is now the Republic of Indonesia, Vietnamese in Vietnam, Khmer in Campuchea).

The gradual process of emancipation is manifested in the fact that the language of the former colonial power gradually cedes ground to one of the local languages selected for this purpose (e.g. to Hindi in India, to Tagalog or Pilipino in the Philippines, to Swahili in some East African countries).

Exceptionally, we come across countries where more than two languages compete upon the highest level (e.g. Singapore, for some time the Philippines). In those instances where the nation-wide functions are fulfilled by a local language, the emancipation of this language is manifested not only in a spontaneous standardization, but also in a purposeful codification and enrichment of its means of expression upon the levels of phonology and grammar.

The need of a rapid development leads to difficult problems and many suggested reforms are artificial and have to be abandoned and replaced by other measures (cf. Kiamilev, 1970: 99).

It turns out that no satisfactory solution of the linguistic problems of various countries of Asia and Africa can be found without a serious study of the linguistic situation of the particular country and without the help of the theory of linguistics.

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BENGALI PARTICLES

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This is a classification of Bengali particles. They are divided into word-modifying particles and sentence modifying particles. In accordance with their basic function, the word-modifying particles are classified into determinative, emphatic and negative, and sentence-modifying particles into interrogative, evaluative, and emphatic ones. Some finer semantic and also other criteria are used in more detailed classification of the basic groups of particles.

Particles are synsemantic, syndyntagmatic inflexible words used variously to modify (e.g. to emphasize, evaluate, restrict) the meaning of larger or smaller linguistic units, i.e. of either whole utterances, or individual expressions. Besides, they also constitute an important means of linking, actualization and rhemization. They help to establish links with a context or a situation, and the linguistic units with which they are connected are singled out from among the others as important in the given context or situation, whereby the utterance becomes actualized. Particles modifying an expression (word) may also function as an organizing element in the functional sentence perspective and thus point to the rheme of sentence. For instance, particle *-i* helps to emphasize, to single out one element in a known context: *āmii okhāne yāba* — I (i.e. precisely me, not someone else) shall go there. Or, particle *-o* indicates an inclusion of the word to which the particle is attached as something that completes or concludes a series of alternatives,¹ likewise in a known context only: *āmio okhāne yāba* — I also (i.e. alongside others) shall go there. Particle *śudhu* helps to single out an expression as solely valid within the given context: *śudhu jal deba?* — Am I to give you water only? and so on.

Particles may be divided according to whether they relate to a whole sentence, or to one of its members only, into sentence modifying particles and word-modifying particles.

Word-modifying particles

Word-modifying particles are those that modify one particular expression within

¹ Ray, P. S.—Hai, M. A.—Ray, L.: *Bengali Language Handbook*. Washington, D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics 1966, p. 53.

an utterance. They help to link an expression with a context or a situation, setting it apart from the rest as being more closely determined or emphasized, or denied. In accordance with this basic function, these particles may be determinative, emphatic or negative.

Determinative particles are: *-ṭā, -ṭi, -khānā, -khāni, -gāchā, -gāchi*.

Emphatic particles are: *-i, bā, to, go, re, ye, kinā, mātra, he, dekhi, diki, se, nā, ge, -o, paryanta, emanki, śudhu, kebal, prāy, ār/āro* and peripherally also *moṭei* and *-ṭā*.

Negative particles are: *nā, nāi, ni*.

Word-modifying particles usually stand next to the word they modify and this either prepositively, or postpositively (*kebal āmi*— only me, *āmi to*— just me, etc.).

The majority of the particles are self-standing words, only *-ṭā, -ṭi, -khānā, -khāni, -gāchā, -gāchi, -i, -o* and occasionally *-mātra* are written together with the word they modify.

Particles *-ṭā, -ṭi, -khānā, -khāni, -gāchā, -gāchi* modifying the words in indirect cases are joined before the inflexional suffix: *chele-ṭā-r, chele-ṭā-ke*; they are not attached to plural forms.

Particles *-i, -o* follow the inflexional suffix (*chele-ṭā-ke-i, chele-r-o*).

The particle *mātra* is attached only to the direct case.

1. Determinative particles

The following are considered as determinative particles: *-ṭā, -ṭi, -khānā, -khāni, -gāchā, -gāchi*. They occupy a special place among the others not only by their position in the word, but also by the wide range of semantic shades which they help to express.

The fundamental function of determinative particles is to link a linguistic unit to context, to specify an object known from the context as being more closely determined, more concrete (as against not closely determined objects). At the same time, the particles *-khānā, -khāni, -gāchā, -gāchi* may essentially be considered as variants of *-ṭā, -ṭi* which the speaker optionally employs instead of the latter to modify nonpersonal substantives with a certain form (*-khānā, -khāni* with a broad and flat objects, *-gāchā, -gāchi* with a thin, narrow and long objects). Besides the fundamental function, i.e. linking to the context, signaling determinateness, these particles may also modify an expression with which they are connected in the sense that they reflect the speaker's attitude towards the relevant object; the variants with *-i (-ṭi, -khāni, -gāchi)* indicate a familiar or an inferior attitude on the part of the speaker towards the object in question.

In the role of substantivizator, determinative particles have also the function to emphasize an expression and to set it apart as the rheme of an utterance.

2. Emphatic particles

The semantic class of emphatic particles is divided into several subgroups:

- 2.1 Purely emphatic particles
- 2.2 Incitive particles
- 2.3 Comprehensive particles
- 2.4 Delimitative particles
- 2.5 Restrictive particles
- 2.6 Explicative particles

Each of the above subgroup of particles not only emphasizes the expression to which it is attached, but also modifies it in a specific manner. Yet, particles comprised in any one subgroup are not synonymous.

2.1 The subgroup of purely emphatic particles comprises all such particles as may not be included in subgroups 2.2—2.6.

Purely emphatic particles are: *-i*, *bā*, *go*, *ye*, *he*, *re*, *to*, marginally also *kinā*, and occasionally also *mātra* and *-ṭā* act in this role.

Purely emphatic particles differ from those included in subgroups 2.2—2.6 by their paucity of — even zero — lexical content. Emphatic particles in subgroup 2.2 which are likewise poor in lexical content, differ from purely emphatic ones by their distribution — they occur solely with the forms of the present imperative.

Purely emphatic particles mutually differ by fine semantic variations, or their use is restricted by distributive factors (*bā*).

2.1.1 The most common purely emphatic particle is *-i*. It has no lexical content at all. It is joined to autosemantic and also synsemantic words and emphasizes them: *āji lāṇal nāmāno yābe kinā dekhbār janye ... māthe esechila subal* (Nar)² — Subal went out to the field to see if ploughing be possible today. *loktāi balte pāre* (Nar) — That man may say. *eitei bhābte bhālo lāgche hā kārur* (Nar) — That man may say. *eitei bhābte bhālo lāgche nā kārur* (Nar) — Nobody likes to think of it. *śudhui jal deba?* (Nar) — Am I to give you water only? *se to ni jei ekbār tyāksite ādh botal huiski peyechila* (Nar) — After all, he himself once found half a bottle of whisky in the taxi.

2.1.2 *Bā* is also a purely emphatic particle; it is used far more rarely than *-i* and moreover, with the restriction that it may occur uniquely with an expression that is

² Examples are from the following texts: Gangopādhyāy, N.: *Aṣṭādaśī*. Kalkātā, Prasūn Kumār Bos samkāl prakāśanī 1979 (Nar) and Basu, S.: *Oder balte dāo*. Kalkātā, Ānanda pābliśars prāibhet limited 1973 (SB).

already stressed by some other means — most frequently with the particle *-i*, an altered word order, and so on: *kaphiri bā ki darkār, tār cāite tumi to ācho* (Nar) — Why, do I need any coffee? — after all, you’re here instead. *eman tathyai bā tāke ke dila?* (Nar) — Who gave him such news?

2.1.3 In isolated cases, *go* may occur in the role of purely emphatic particle: *‘biśu maguler jāmāi māne lakṣmaṇ hāldār?’ ‘hyā — hyā, sei go’* (Nar) — “Son-in-law to Bishu Magul, that means Laksman Halder?” “Yes — yes, the very one.”

2.1.4 *Ye* may also function as a purely emphatic particle. It often refers to a substantive already pointed out by a pronoun with the emphatic particle *-i*. It is frequently attached also to the interrogative pronoun and emphasizes it: *megher debatā sei ye mukh phiriyechen* (Nar) — The cloud deity has turned away from us. *oi ye, kādār madhye pare rayeche* (Nar) — Over there, he lies in the mud. *haṭhāt kī ye hala* (Nar) — Something suddenly happened. *tab nilu ekhano ye baḍḍa chelemānuṣ* (SB) — But Nilu is still a notable young man.

2.1.5 The same function as *ye* may also be fulfilled by *he*: *ke he mānuṣtā?* (Nar) — Who ever is that man? (Similarly as *ke ye loktā?* (Nar)) *kon magul he?* (Nar) — Which Magul? *e ye ektā morā he!* (Nar) — But it is a corpse!

2.1.6 Another purely emphatic particle is *re*. It occurs in direct speech only, often in the interrogative: *putul gambhīr mukhe balla, ‘nā re, phājlāmi karchi nā’* (SB) — Putul said with a serious face: “No, indeed, I play no knavery”. *pisīmā temni hese ballen, ‘marini re’* (SB) — Aunt said laughing: “I have not died”. *ekjan balche, ‘oi lālsārīparā meyeṭike dekhechis re?’* (Nar) — Somebody said: “Have you seen that girl in the red sari?” *‘jāno manudā — kī ektā majā hayeche ājke?’ ‘kiser majā re?’* (Nar) — “Manu, do you know what prank has been played today?” “What prank?”

2.1.7 An important and frequent pure emphatic particle is *to*. Just as the other emphatic particles, it links an expression to the context and stresses an expression that is either repeated or known from the context or the situation. Occasionally it expresses surprise, or an attitude opposite to the preceding statement: *anekeri to ādal āse* (Nar) — Yet (nonetheless), many are alike. *sabāi balbe ‘cini ne to’* (Nar) — All will say: “We do not know (him)”. *rubiṭāo to kichu baleni* (SB) — Neither did Rubi say anything.

2.1.8 Quite exceptionally, also *kinā* may be used as an emphatic particle: *āmi kakhano andhakāre eklā base thākini kinā, parere bāṛite kono dīn nā* (Nar) — I have never sat alone in the dark, never in a strange house.

2.1.9 The otherwise delimitative particle *mātra*, too, may be employed as a purely emphatic one: *ekdini mātra pisīmā haṭhāt balechilen* (SB) — Only, one day, aunt suddenly said.

2.1.10 Occasionally, the otherwise determinative particle *-ṭā* may function as a purely emphatic particle, e.g. in connection with a proper noun or an indefinite pronoun. Here *-ṭā* cannot evidently point to an object as being more closely determined, more concrete, for a proper noun fulfils this function *per se* and an

indefinite pronoun, on the other hand, precludes such a function: *rubiṭāo to kichu bale ni* (SB) — After all, neither did Rubi say anything.

2.2 A characteristic feature of the incitive emphatic particles *dekhi*, *diki*, *se*, *nā*, *ge* is that they are joined to verbal forms in the present imperative. They are not freely interchangeable in this function: particle *nā* and the less frequent *se* impart a slight shade of insistence, urgency; particle *ge* adds a conciliatory tinge to the order, while *dekhi*, *diki* imply experimentation: *yān diki!* — Go! according to Ray³ means “let’s see what happens when you go”. *kī sab bokār bakbak karcha balo dikini!* (Nar) — Say, why do you all jabber like fools! *yān nā!* — Go! (“go just the same” or “all the same, go”); *yān ge!* — Go! (“well then, go”).

2.3 Comprehensive emphatic particles *-o*, *paryanta*, *emanki* stress an expression known from the context and simultaneously include it as something that completes or concludes a series of alternatives.⁴ Particle *-o* is the poorest of these as regards lexical content and hence finds a broad range of application in the sense that it is attached to expressions belonging to various parts of speech. It often occurs as a connective expression. Particles *paryanta* and *emanki* achieve a greater degree of emphasis than *-o* (“even also/nor”): *thōṭer koṇe ekṭu hāsi phuṭlo. hāsiṭāo asvastirī* (SB) — A faint smile appeared in the corner of his mouth. That smile, too, was distressed. *e rāstāy dokān-pāṭ beśi. gārī yātāyāter samkhyāo beśi* (SB) — There are many shops and bazaars in this street. Also many cars and pedestrians. *hate pāre subal, nā-o hate pāre* (Nar) — It may but need not be Subal. *ekṭā pratibād paryanta karlen nā* (Nar) — He did not even protest.

2.4 Delimitative emphatic particles not only mediate contact with the context and emphasize, single out the expression to which they are attached, but also denote the exclusiveness of that expression, delimitate its validity. Such are particles *kebal*, *śudhu* and *mātra*. All are prepositive, although *mātra* often occurs also postpositively and may be joined to the expression to which it refers: *byāge kāgajpatra nei, kichui nei. śudhu ekṭā reśāmer thali* (Nar) — There are no documents in the bag, there is nothing there. Only some silk satchel. *śudhui jal deba?* (Nar) — Am I to give you water only? *kono kathā jānte dilen nā mākeo. kebal pardin khete base ballen* (Nar) — He told nothing even to mummy. Only the following day, when sitting down to his meal, he said. *mātra kayekṭi dāt tār āche* (SB) — He has only a few teeth. *bābār ekṭā mātra chele* (SB) — The father has but one son. *sei snāner dṛṣyatāke ata kare philme tolbar ekṭimātra uddeśyai chila* (Nar) — The whole turning of that scene had but one aim.

2.5 The restrictive emphatic particle *prāy*, besides its basic functions (linking to

³ Ray, P. S.—Hai, M. A.—Ray, L.: op. cit., p. 53.

⁴ Ray, P. S.—Hai, M. A.—Ray, L.: op. cit., p. 53.

context and emphasis), restricts the validity of the modified expression in the sense of impoverishing its content: *prāy abikal ek cehārā* (SB) — Almost the same likeness.

2.6 The explicative emphatic particle *ār/āro* links an expression to the context and provides additional explanation. Within a given meaning, it may help to stress the temporal component of an event, or to assign an event into a progressive series, both in a concrete and an abstract sense: *ājke tār puro nāmṭā ār balbār darkār nei* (Nar) — There is no need any more today to say his name in full. *bāirer ākāṣṭā pariskār hayeche āro* (Nar) — Outside, the sky was still clearer. *nijeder janya to āro kayektā ghar rākhṭe pārtēn* (SB) — After all, you could have reserved a few more rooms for yourselves. *gomej āro jore jore māthā mere ballen* (SB) — Gomez shook his head even more vigorously and said. *nīlimār hāsi ār ekṭu nibir hala* (Nar) — Nilima's laugh grew still a little weaker.

3. Negative particles

Particles having a negative function are *nā*, *nāi*, *nī*.

The negative particle *nā* is most frequently adverbial, *nāi*, *nī* are exclusively so — they help to express verbal negation. Particle *nā*, on the one hand, and particles *nāi*, *nī* on the other, differ in their distribution: *nā* may be joined to all the verbal forms except those of the present perfect and past perfect; *nāi* and *nī* may be joined only to forms of the simple present, nevertheless, they are used to express negation relating to the present and the past perfect (*nī* is here a colloquial variant of the particle *nāi*).

The negative particle *nā* may also occur in a function other than adverbial and still express negation: *keuo nā* — nobody, *moṭei nā* — not at all, *ekṭuo nā* — not a bit, etc.

Functionally, also certain forms of the negative copula — *nai*, *nao*, *nay*, etc. — belong among negative particles if not employed predicatively, but in connection with the subject, or some subordinate member of the sentence.⁵

Sentence modifying particles

Sentence modifying particles modify the meaning of the entire utterance and this in the sense that together with the intonation they signalize a question, or evaluate the content of the utterance as positive, negative, uncertain, or they simply emphasize it. Then, in accordance with a concrete function, they are divided into interrogative, evaluative and emphatic.

⁵ Bykova, E. M.: *The Bengali Language*. Moscow, Nauka 1981, p. 102.

1. Interrogative particles

There are three interrogative particles: *ki*, *nāki*, *nā* and all three signalize a question, but differ by rather fine semantic shades:

1.1 Particle *ki* is the most neutral and therefore a basic one. It signalizes a question without any colouring: *āpni ki skule yāben?* — Will you go to school?

1.2 Particle *nāki*, besides a question, also signalizes a certain doubt, diffidence, surprise: *āpni nāki skule yāben?* — Why, do you intend to go to school? (Will you perhaps go to school?)

1.3 An interrogative function is also played by *nā*, added at the end of a sentence as an independent intonational unit. It implies conviction on the part of the speaker that the content of his utterance will be borne out: *āpni skule yāben, nā?* — You will go to school, won't you?

2. Evaluative particles

Evaluative particles point to the speaker's positive or negative attitude towards the utterance. The most neutral and hence basic positive evaluative particle is *hyā* — yes, and its negative counterpart is *nā* — no. Both these may serve independently as an answer to an inquiry, or may stand as independent intonational units before a sentence in which the verb from the question or even the whole question is repeated in the form of a statement; *hyā* stands before a sentence with whose content the speaker agrees; *nā* before a sentence reinforces the negation, that is also expressed by a negative particle in the sentence: *āpni ki skule yāben? hyā/hyā yāba* — Will you go to school? Yes. /Yes I shall. *āpni ki skule yāben? nā/nā, yāba nā* — Will you go to school? No./No I shall not.

In addition to these antithetical evaluative particles, there exists a whole series of particles that either help to reinforce a speaker's positive or negative attitude to the utterance (in dependence of its positive or negative content), e.g. *niścayi* — certainly, *satyii* — indeed, *baiki* — of course, or express uncertainty in the evaluation, e.g. *hayto* — may be, *bujhi* — may be, or emphasize negative evaluation, e.g. *moṭei (nā)* — not at all, etc.: *āmi niścayi skule yāba* — Really, I will go to school. *byāpārṭā moṭei svabhābik nā (SB)* — That affair is not natural at all.

A characteristic feature of evaluative particles is that they are rich in lexical content, have quite concrete lexical meaning and are close to adverbs.

A special type of an evaluative particle expressing uncertainty, doubt, is *yena*: *rāstā theke ke yena balla (Nar)* — As if someone were speaking from the road.

3. Emphatic particles

Emphatic sentence modifying particles stress the content of the whole utterance. Such are, in particular, the particles *ye* and *to*, functioning also as emphatic word-modifying particles; but occasionally, others may be encountered, e.g. *kintu*: *tāke toder saṅge dekhchi nā ye* (SB) — But (nevertheless) I don't see her with you. *āpnār hāte byāg chila ye* (Nar) — (But) You had a bag in your hand. *āmrā kintu satyii piśīmāke dekhte beriyechi* (SB) — But we really went to see (our) aunt.

Thus we see that Bengali has a whole series of particles differing not only in the concrete function which they have in connection with a given linguistic unit, but also in their lexical content.

On the one hand, there are particles extremely poor in lexical content, such as may be said to have none at all — i.e. zero lexical content, e.g. *-i*, *bā*, *re*, *ye*, *he*, *go*. The majority of them come close to interjections.

On the opposite pole of the continuum are particles with a concrete lexical content, e.g. *niścayi* — certainly, *satyii* — indeed, *bodhhay*, *hayto* — perhaps. These may function also as independent utterances. They come close to adverbs.

In between these two extreme groups come particles with a varying degree of richness of lexical content, e.g. *-o*, *to*, *paryanta*.

Bengali makes an abundant use of particles and their greater or smaller measure of utilization may depend on an author's style. As a relatively great number of particles come close to interjections, they are more frequently employed in the colloquial style and in direct speech.

ROOT RECONSTRUCTION IN THE ARABIC WORD-FORMATION AND INFLECTION

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The present study surveys a number of root reconstructions occurring in the Arabic word-formation and inflection. Although the phenomenon may be stated both in diachronic and synchronic terms, it will be examined, in the descriptive frame of the present paper, as a synchronic phenomenon.

1. Although the root is the most stable element of the Arabic (Semitic) word-formation and inflection, it is not quite immune against variations (referred to as reconstructions in what follows) that may accompany the word-formational and inflectional processes. Some of these reconstructions may only be identified in diachronic terms, some other types coincide with a synchronic process. By diachronic reconstructions such types of root variations will be understood the participating elements of which can no longer be integrated into the synchronic system of the language as autonomous units, as e.g. **h-j-* in *hajā'a* "to appease (the hunger)", supposedly consisting of an ancient causative prefix *ha-* and the root **j-w-* (*jā'a* "to be hungry"), or **s-k-n* of *sakana* "to live, dwell", resulting from the combination of another causative prefix *sa-* with the root **k-w-n*, viz. **sakāna*.¹ To this category belong, no doubt, also certain types of radicalization, affecting prepositions, such as the Egyptian Arabic *gāb* "to bring" (the phenomenon is spread in all colloquial varieties of Arabic), corresponding to the Classical Arabic *jā'a bihi* which consists, in turn, of the root **j-y-* (*jā'a* "to come") and the transitivizer *bi-*, viz. *jā'a bihi* "he brought it/him". Since the latter type of analytic rendering of transitivity (causativity) is no longer productive in modern colloquial varieties of Arabic, its lexicalized reflex, based upon a reconstructed root **g-y-b*, or what might equal it outside the Egyptian Arabic dialectal domain, will be interpreted in diachronic terms, as well.

¹ For the latter interpretation, see Brockelmann, C.: *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*. Vol. I. Berlin, Verlag von Reuther & Reichard 1908, pp. 521—522. See also Fleich, H.: *L'arabe classique. Esquisse d'une structure linguistique* (Esquisse, in what follows). Beyrouth, Dar el-Machreq Editeurs 1968 (nouvelle édition revue et augmentée), p. 161. For the Semitic causative prefix *s-*, see also Diakonoff, I. M.: *Semito-Hamitic Languages. An Essay in Classification*. Moscow, Nauka 1965, p. 100 (**ša-prasa, yu-sa-p(a)ris*).

The main interest of the present paper lies in the domain of synchrony. Accordingly, all diachronic data which are not indispensable to a better understanding of synchronic facts, will hereafter be disregarded.

2. The synchronic classification which follows will be based on a number of functional and formal criteria.

2.1 The highest rank in the proposed hierarchy will be assigned to the distinction between root reconstructions, stimulated by the process of derivation, and those emerging in the process of inflection. The latter dichotomy will involve: (1) derivational, and (2) inflectional root reconstructions. The former may be illustrated by cases like **r-k-z* in e.g. *tarakkaza* "to concentrate (intr.)", *markaz* "stand; site; centre; focus" → **m-r-k-z* in e.g. *tamarkaza* "to concentrate (intr.)". The latter includes relations, like that observable between the unsegmentable root-word *kardīnāl* "cardinal" and the resegmented root **k-r-d-l*, occurring in combination with the plural pattern *CaCāCiCa*: *karādila* "cardinals".

2.2 Apart from these functional aspects, a number of structural phenomena will be regarded as criterial for the classification, as well. In accordance with the feature of segmentability, i.e. the ability of a given word for being morphemically segmented along the structural boundaries of the root-and-pattern system of Arabic (Semitic), another dichotomy will be set up, namely a distinction between what we call (1) isomorphous, and (2) heteromorphous reconstructions. The former should be identified with root variations involving roots of the same structural type (viz., either morphemically segmented or unsegmented, compound or noncompound) both at the beginning and at the end of the process, like those shown in (2.1(1)). The latter coincide with root variations involving roots of different structural types which may be illustrated by the example quoted in (2.1(2)).

2.3 In accordance with the number of roots, stable at the input and output stages of the process, root reconstructions may be subdivided into (1) stable reconstructions, i.e. those displaying the same number of roots both at the beginning and at the end of the process, like those quoted so far, and (2) unstable reconstructions, i.e. those whose number of roots varies in the course of the process. Since, practically, the latter type of reconstruction involves only compound constructions typically consisting of two roots, the feature of numeric instability may mostly be presented as a two-to-one relation, as in:

**r-'-s* + **m-w-l* in *ra's-māl* "capital" → **r-s-m-l* in *rasmāl* "idem". The feature of 'one-rootness' is, in the latter case, attested by the presence of pattern² changes

² Technically, the term *pattern* is used in the present study to refer (1) to the *pattern morpheme* (i.e., the set of intra-root vocalic elements inclusively of their zero-values, and (2) at the thematic level, to the *derivational patterns* (*'awzān*, *qawālib*) simply called patterns as well. In the latter case, patterns may include also affixes. Some authors make a distinction between a *pattern*, identified with a *pattern*

affecting the whole quadrilateral³ sequence, as will become obvious from what follows.

2.4 From the set of other features which might be found relevant to the matter, some procedural aspects, closely related to the structural type of the root involved, have been taken into consideration, too. The difference between a reconstruction of the type $*C_1C_2C_3 + C_4 \rightarrow *C_1C_2C_3C_4$, or $*C_1 + C_2C_3C_4 \rightarrow *C_1C_2C_3C_4$, on the one hand, and another one of the type $*C_1C_2C_3 + C_4 \rightarrow *C_1C_2C_4$, has been anchored in the dichotomous division between (1) additive and (2) substitutive reconstructions, respectively. The former type may be illustrated by the example quoted in (2.1(1)), for instance, while the latter will include cases, like $*'w-l \rightarrow *'l-y$, as quoted below. The latter type, however, will, by definition, cover not only partial substitutions of root constituents but also total substitutions where a root of a given structural type is, as a whole, substituted for another root of a different structural type, as quoted in (2.2(2)), viz. heteromorphous reconstructions, and in (2.3(2)), i.e. unstable reconstructions.

3. Root Reconstructions Classified

3.1 Derivational reconstructions which may be, on the strength of definitions given in § 2, both iso- and heteromorphous, additive and substitutive, stable and unstable ones, involve the following particular types:

3.1.1 Isomorphous reconstructions, according to the feature of stability, invariably stable. They may further be subdivided into two subtypes: (1) additive, and (2) substitutive.

(1) Additive reconstructions, occurring quite exclusively within the scope of structural isomorphy (at least with regard to the criteria adopted as well as to our corpus of data which is, nevertheless, supposed to cover, in principle, all the main types of root reconstructions), coincide with the most widely ramified structural type. It includes the following subtypes:

(1.1) Additive reconstructions involving affixes:

(1.1.1) Additive reconstructions involving prefixes:

e.g.:

(i) $*r-k-z$, as in *rakaza* "to plant; to fix"; *rakkaza* "to plant; to fix; to concentrate (tr.)"; *tarakkaza* "to concentrate (intr.)"; *markaz* "stand; site; centre; focus" →

(ii) $*m-r-k-z$ (*markaz*, as a derivational basis; the local prefix *ma-* of the pattern *maCCaC* is radicalized), as in *tamarkaza* "to concentrate; to be centred, have

morpheme, and a *pattern complex*, identified with a pattern morpheme combined with one or several affixes. For the latter distinction, see Erwin, W. M.: *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic*. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press 1963, p. 48.

³ The component '*literal*' used in terms, like *biliteral*, *triliteral*, *quadrilateral*, etc., refers, in accordance with the accepted Semitologic tradition, to the root-constituting consonants (radicals).

headquarters, be concentrated”; *tamarkuz* “concentration; consolidation (of a position)”; or:

(i) **s-m-r*, as in *samara* “to nail, fasten with nails” (Wahrmund I, 925); *sammara* “idem”; *tasammara* “to be or get nailed down, be fastened with nails; to stand as if pinned to the ground”; *mismār* “nail; peg” →

(ii) **m-s-m-r* (*mismār*, as a derivational basis; the instrumental prefix *mi-* of the pattern *miCCāC* radicalized), as in *masmara* “to nail up (e.g., a crate)”.⁴

(1.1.2) Additive reconstructions involving suffixes, as in:

(i) **q-ṭ-r*, as in *qaṭara* “to fall or flow in drops; to let fall or flow in drops”; *qaṭṭara* “to let fall or flow in drops”; *taqaṭṭara* “to fall or flow in drops”; *qaṭrān*, *qiṭrān*, *qaṭīrān* “tar” →

(ii) **q-ṭ-r-n* (*qaṭrān* etc., as a derivational basis; the suffix *-ān* radicalized): *qaṭrana* “to tar, smear or coat with tar”; etc.⁵

(1.2) Additive reconstructions involving pattern constituents, e.g.:

(i) **m-d-n*, as in *madana* (being presumably itself derived from *madīna*) “to come to town” (Freytag IV, 161: *venit in urbem (a madīna)*); *maddana* “to found or build cities; to civilize, urbanize, refine”; *tamaddana* “to be or become civilized”; *tamdīn* “civilizing, civilization, advancement in social culture, humanization, refining, raising of moral standards”; *tamaddun* “civilization; refinement of social culture”; *mutamaddīn* “civilized; sophisticated, refined, educated” →

(ii) **m-d-y-n* (*madīna*, as a derivational basis; the vowel *-ī-* of the pattern *CaCīCa* radicalized), as in *tamadyana* “to be or become civilized; to enjoy the comforts of civilization, the amenities of life” (Freytag IV, 161: “*deliciis, commodis abundavit, de homine*”); *tamadyun* = *tammaddun*; *mutamadyin* “civilized, provided with the comforts of civilization”.

(2) Substitutive reconstructions, in contrast to the additive ones, occur both with isomorphous and heteromorphous types. When relying upon our corpus, they are, in the structural domain of isomorphy, represented by one single case, notably:

(i) **-w-l*, as in *’āla* “instrument, utensil; tool; apparatus; machine” →

(ii) **-l-y* (presumable derivational basis: *’ālī* “mechanic(al); mechanized; motorized; instrumental; self-acting (apparatus); automatic; automated”; the nonetymological radical *-y* of the **-l-y* is, in all probability, due to the nisba suffix *-ī* (*-īyun*, in a contextual representation) of *’ālī*, or to the nisba-abstract suffix *-īya* of *’ālīya* “mechanics; automatism; mechanism”), as in *ta’liya* “automatization” (Rabat I, 7).

Less clearly identifiable reconstructions of the present type seem to be associated with cases like **w-l-d* → *t-l-d*, as in *talīd*, *tālīd*, *tilād* “inherited, time-honoured, old (possession, property)”. They are supposedly related to the reflexive *tawallada* “to

⁴ See *Esquisse*, p. 161; Wehr, p. 1067.

⁵ See *Esquisse*, p. 161. Khatib quotes also a verbal noun *qaṭrana* “tarring” (Khatib, p. 608).

be born, to be descended".⁶ If, however, this interpretation proved to be correct, it would be necessary to consider the latter type of reconstruction as a case of diachrony (the reflexive *t*- radicalized), on the same level as *hajā'a*, *sakana*, etc., quoted in the introductory part of the present paper.

3.1.2 Heteromorphous reconstructions, in contrast to isomorphous ones, may further be subdivided into (1) stable, and (2) unstable types. In accordance with the classificatory premises, given in § 2, both types invariably coincide with substitutive reconstructions.

(1) Stable reconstructions should be identified with root substitutions involving roots of different structural types the number of which, however, does not change throughout the process. This type of root reconstruction can mostly be found in the domain of lexical borrowings where it reflects various degrees of morphemic assimilation of a given loanword to the native type. The input stage of the process involves, as a rule, a morphologically nonassimilated word that did not undergo, as yet, the morphemic segmentation along the structural lines of the Arabic (Semitic) root-and-pattern system. Accordingly, we shall treat it as a monomorphemic root-word. At the output stage of the process, a resegmented, mostly quadriliteral root will be found in combination with a native pattern, provided, however, that the process of assimilation has ever reached this stage. Borrowings, consisting of borrowed roots and native patterns, are mostly identified with the class of loan derivatives (Sa'id, 109).

E.g.:

(i) (monomorphemic stage) *tilivizyōn*, *televizyōn*, *talavizyōn* "television, telecast; television set, TV" →

(ii) (multimorphemic stage) **t-l-f-z*, occurring in combination with a verbal pattern *CaCCaCa*: *talfaza* "to televize, transmit by television"; or with a verbal noun pattern *CaCCaCa(-tun)*: *talfaza* "television"; or with another verbal noun pattern of quadrilaterals *CiCCāC*: *tilfāz* "television set", here apparently identified with *nomina instrumenti* by an improper analogy with the instrumental pattern *miCCāC*.

Similarly:

(i) *tiligrāf*, *taligrāf* "telegraph; telegram, wire, cable" ←

(ii) **t-l-ġ-f*, occurring in combination with *CaCCaCa*: *talġafa* "to telegraph, send a wire"; *CiCCāC*: *tilġāf* "telegraph" (Baranov, 103); or:

(i) *barnāmaj* "programme, plan, schedule" →

⁶ See also the one-volume Freytag (1837), p. 57: *talad* "natus apud exteros, sed educatus ab infantia in terra Islamitica" (born among strangers, but educated, since childhood, in an Islamic country); *tald*, *tuld*, *talad*, *tālid*, *tilād*, *'atlād* "Pecora et servi apud aliquem nati" (cattle and slave already born in one's possession).

(ii) **b-r-m-j*, in combination with *CaCCaCa*: *barmaja* “to programme”; *CaCCaCa(tun)*: *barmaja* “programming; programme planning”; *muCaCCaC*: *mubarmaj* “programmed, scheduled”, as in *taḷīm mubarmaj* “programmed instruction” (Wehr, 68); *muCaCCiC*: *mubarmij* “programmer”;⁷ or:

(i) *maḡnaṭīs*, *miḡnaṭīs* “magnet” →

(ii) **m-ḡ-n-ṭ*, occurring in combination with *CaCCaCa*: *maḡnaṭa* “to magnetize”; *CaCCaCa(tun)*: *maḡnaṭa* “magnetization”, as in *maḡnaṭa bi-t-tayyār al-ka-hrabā’ī* “magnetization by electricity”; *taCaCCuC*: *tamaḡnuṭ* “magnetization (reflexive)”, best translatable by an English passive “being magnetized”, as in *šiddat at-tamaḡnuṭ* “magnetization intensity”; *muCaCCiC*: *mumaḡniṭ* “magnetizing”, as in *milaff mumaḡniṭ* “magnetizing coil”; *muCaCCaC*: *mumaḡnaṭ*, as in *’ibra mumaḡnaṭa* “magnetized needle” (Khatib, 364); etc.

It should be noted, however, that the feature of unsegmentedness at the input stage of the process need not necessarily be associated with five- and more-consonant sequences, as quoted so far. A number of quadriconsonantal sequences that involve long vowels and/or diphthongs in positions that do not allow to be identified with native patterns, may be found as well. E.g.:

(i) *faylasūf* “philosopher” →

(ii) **f-l-s-f*, combined with *CaCCaCa*: *falsafa* “to philosophize”; *taCaCCaCa*: *tafalsafa* “to philosophize; to pretend to be a philosopher”; *CaCCaCa(tun)*: *falsafa* “philosophy”; *muCaCCiC*: *mufalsif* “philosopher”; *mutaCaCCiC*: *mutafalsif* “philosophaster, philosophist”; or:

(i) *tilifūn*, *telefōn*, *talifōn*, *talīfūn* (*talīfōn*) (Wehr, 116; for the last unbracketed variant no Latinized transcription is given in the source quoted; the bracketed variant has to point to a possible alternative reading) “telephone” →

(ii) **t-l-f-n*, combined with *CaCCaCa*: *talfana* “to telephone”; *CaCCaCa(tun)*: *talfana* “telephone call” (Baranov, 194); “telephony” (Khatib, 610); *muCaCCiC*: *mutalfin* “telephoner” (Sa’id, 95), etc.; or:

(i) *’uksīd* “oxide” →

(ii) **-k-s-d*, in combination with *CaCCaCa*: *’aksada* “to oxidize, cause to rust”; *CaCCaCa(tun)*: *’aksada* “oxidation”; *taCaCCaCa*: *ta’aksada* “to oxidize (intr.), rust, become rusty”; *taCaCCuC*: *ta’aksud* “oxidation” (in the intransitive connotation of ‘being oxidized’); *muCaCCiC*: *mu’aksid* “oxidizer, oxidizing agent”; *muCaCCaC*: *mu’aksad* “oxidized”; etc.⁸

⁷ See Pekelis, V.: *al-Mawsūʿa aṣ-ṣaḡīra fī ʿilm as-saybirnītikā*. Moscow, Izd. Mir 1974, p. 44 (Arabic version of “Malenkaya entsiklopediya o bolshoi kibernetike”).

⁸ Loanwords like *’uksīd*, even if apparently producing a root **-k-s-d* and a pattern *CuCCiC*, standing close to the native patterns of a general prosodic structure *CVCCVC*, such as *CiCCiC*: *riʿdid* “timid, fearful”; *CiCCāC*: *šimlāl* “rapid, swift (of a she-camel)”; *CuCCūC*: *zuḥlūl* “gliding, rapid”, etc., does not

The same holds true even of a number of triconsonantal sequences involving long vowels or diphthongs in nonassimilable positions, as in

- (i) *mitrō* “metro, subway; electric rapid transit” (Wehr, 1045) →
- (ii) *maṭṭar*, displaying a secondary emphasis, obviously due to the emphasizer /r/ or, more properly, /r/ which has to be regarded as a dialectal phenomenon. The verb *maṭṭar*, based upon a resegmented root *m-ṭ-r, is locally used by the Algerians living in Paris (Monteil, 158).

(2) Unstable reconstructions coincide with root substitutions displaying unequal number of roots at particular stages of the process. Since the underlying construction, at the input stage of the process, is represented by a compound word, typically consisting of two roots subsequently fused into one root, at the output stage of the process, the transition from a compound to a noncompound structure is usually characterized by a two-to-one relation, i.e. $R + R \rightarrow R$ (where R stands for ‘root’), as in:

- (i) (compound stage) *r-’-s + *m-w-l, combined with the respective patterns CaCC + CāC (for *CaCaC): *ra’s-māl* “capital”⁹ →
- (ii) *r-s-m-l, occurring in combination with the pattern CaCCāC: *rasmāl* “capital”; CaCCaCa: *rasmala* “to capitalize”; CaCCaCa(tun): *rasmala* “capitalization”, as in *rasmalat al-fawā’id* “capitalization of interests”,¹⁰ etc.

Words, like *lāšā* — *yulāšī* “to annihilate, wipe out”, with a rather hypothetical though, intuitively, easily identifiable derivational basis *lā šay’* “nothing” (see also *Esquisse*, 161), should apparently be assigned to the present type of root reconstruction.

Even more hypothetical are the artificial creations of the type *ḥalma’a* “to hydrolyze” or *ḥalma’a(tun)* “hydrolysis”, improperly classified, by some authors, as compounds (Monteil, 133). The Cairo Academy coinage *ḥalma’a* “hydrolysis” (MML¹A IX, 1957, 249: “hydration”), presumably obtained from the multicomponential syntactic construction *taḥlīl bi-l-mā*’ (lit. ‘analysis by means of water’), gave rise to a number of similar constructions which have soon fallen into disuse. A certain mistrust on the part of lexicographers and terminologists towards these creations may be deduced from cumulative quotations, like *ḥalma’a*, *taḥlīl bi-l-mā*, *tamawwuh* “hydrolysis (chem.)” (Khatib, 287).

seem to be identified by the native speakers with any of these archaic patterns. The examples are quoted after Barth, J.: *Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung 1891, p. 215.

⁹ *ra’s-māl* “capital” (*ra’s-mālun*, in a contextual representation) has to be kept apart from the parallel syntactic construction *ra’s māl* (*ra’su mālīn*).

¹⁰ Abdel Khalek Ezzat: *Dictionnaire français-arabe des termes juridiques, économiques et commerciaux*. Alexandrie, Imprimerie “Ramses” 1955, p. 52 (capitalisation des intérêts).

3.2 Inflectional reconstructions. Unless recognizing the suppletive rendering of the inflectional values (mostly grammatical gender, as in *raġul* “man” — *‘imra’a* “woman”; *taġr* “bull” — *baġara* “cow”; *dīk* “cock, rooster” — *dajāja* “hen”, etc., and grammatical number, as in *‘imra’a* “woman” — *nisā’* “women”) as a procedure based upon a particular case of root reconstruction, it seems possible to exclude the inflectionally conditioned reconstructions out of the scope of structural isomorphy. On the strength of criteria, defined in 2(2.3)—(2.4), these, invariably heteromorphous reconstructions may further be subdivided into (1) stable, and (2) unstable types.

(1) Stable reconstructions coincide with root substitutions of the same structural type, as those described in 3.1.2(1), transferred, however, to the domain of inflection. The underlying item, identifiable with a (monomorphemic) root-word, will subsequently be reconstructed into units resegmented along the structural lines of the Arabic (Semitic) root-and-pattern system. Since, typically, these constructions coincide with lexical borrowings of a very various chronological stratification, the resultant construction will typically consist of a borrowed root and a native pattern.¹¹

Some examples:

(i) monomorphemic stage: *kardīnal* “cardinal” →

(ii) multimorphemic stage: **k-r-d-l*, occurring in combination with a plural pattern *CaCāCiCa*: *karādila* (plural).

Similarly:

(i) *barnāmaj* “programme” →

(ii) **b-r-m-j*, combined with a plural pattern *CaCāCiC*: *barāmij* (plural); etc.

The quadrilateralization of the underlying consonantal sequence (quadrilateral root being the typical one in the present type of root reconstruction) was made possible by the elision of one consonant (here /n/).

Nevertheless, instead of a consonant, in some other cases a long vowel or a diphthong may be elided, as in:

(i) *faġlasūf* “philosopher” →

(ii) **f-l-s-f*, combined with a plural pattern *CaCāCiCa*: *faġlāsifa* “philosophers”; or:

(i) *‘uksīd* “oxide” →

(ii) **’-k-s-d*, occurring in combination with *CaCāCiCa*: *‘akāsida* “oxides”; etc.

In this connection, it is worthwhile noting that some earlier borrowings, involving affixes (-ān, in the example quoted) which are no longer derivationally relevant with regard to that particular item they are appended to, will be considered as monomorphemic constructions, too.

¹¹ See note 2 above.

E.g.:

tarjumān “translator, interpreter” → **t-r-j-m* plus *CaCāCiCa*: *tarājima* (plural) (Baranov, 100); *turjumān* “idem” → **t-r-j-m* plus *CaCāCiCa* or *CaCāCīC*: *tarājima*, *tarājīm* (plural) (Wehr, 112), by analogy with the (mostly foreign origin) quadrilaterals, like *tilmīd* “pupil; disciple”, plur. *talāmīd*, *talāmīda*; etc.

(2) Unstable reconstructions have to be identified with root substitutions of the same structural type as that quoted in 3.1.2(2), transferred, however, to the domain of inflection. The present type of root reconstruction is, from the whole set of cases treated in the present paper, the least firmly embedded in the linguistic structure of Arabic. Were it not for metalinguistic reasons (alternative entrying in some very important lexicographical sources, e.g. *ra’s-māl*, plur. *rasāmīl* (Wehr, 367), as against *rasmāl*, *rismāl*, plur. *rasāmīl* (Baranov, 298), we would have omitted this type altogether. The unique example, recorded in our corpus, may be presented as follows:

(i) compound (i.e., two-root-one-word) stage: **r’s* + **m-w-l*: *ra’s-māl* “capital” →

(ii) noncompound (i.e., one-root-one-word) stage: **r-s-m-l*, combined with the plural pattern *CaCāCīC*: *rasāmīl* “capitals”, by analogy with quadrilateral nouns with a long vowel, like *sultān*, plur. *salāṭīn* “sultan”, etc.

SUMMARY

Root reconstructions in Arabic may be classified as:

1. Derivational, isomorphous, additive, stable, e.g.:
**r-k-z*: *rakaza*, *rakkaza*, *tarakkaza*, *markaz* →
**m-r-k-z*: (*markaz* →) *tamarkaza*, *tamarkuz* (§ 3.1.1(1));
2. Derivational, isomorphous, substitutive, stable, e.g.:
**-w-l*: *’āla* →
**-l-y*: (*’ālī*, *’ālīya* →) *ta’līya* (§ 3.1.1(2));
3. Derivational, heteromorphous, substitutive, stable, e.g.:
monomorphemic: *tilivizyōn* →
multimorphemic: **t-l-f-z* plus *CaCCaCa*: *talfaza* (§ 3.1.2(1));
4. Derivational, heteromorphous, substitutive, unstable, e.g.:
compound: **r-’s* + **m-w-l*: *ra’s-māl* →
noncompound: **r-s-m-l*: *rasmāl* (§ 3.1.2(2));
5. Inflectional, heteromorphous, substitutive, stable, e.g.:
monomorphemic: *kardīnāl* (singular) →
multimorphemic: **k-r-d-l* plus *CaCāCiCa*: *karādila* (plural) (§ 3.2(1));
6. Inflectional, heteromorphous, substitutive, unstable, e.g.:
compound: **r-’s* + **m-w-l*: *ra’s-māl* (singular) →
noncompound: **r-s-m-l* plus *CaCāCīC*: *rasāmīl* (plural) (§ 3.2(2)). Since the

last type is, to a considerable extent, based on metalinguistic considerations (Wehr/Baranov), the root reconstruction involed may readily be interpreted away altogether by merely setting an alternative singular–plural relationship between **r-s-m-l: rasmāl* and **r-s-m-l: rasāmīl* (Baranov, 298).

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

- Baranov — Baranov, Kh. K.: *Arabsko-russkii slovar* (Arabic-Russian Dictionary). Fifth (enlarged) Edition. Moscow, Izdateľstvo Moskovskogo universiteta 1975.
- Esquisse — see note 1 in the text.
- Freitag — Freitag, G. W.: *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum praesertim ex Djeuharii Firuzabadiique et aliorum libris confectum*. IV Tomi. Halis Saxonum 1830—1837.
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- Khatib — Al-Khatib, Ahmed: *A New Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Terms. English-Arabic*. Beirut, Librairie du Liban 1971.
- MML^cA — *Majallat Majma^c al-luġa al-^carabiyya*. Vol. IX. Cairo, Academy of the Arabic Language 1957.
- Monteil — Monteil, V.: *L'arabe moderne*. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck 1960.
- Rabat — *Mustalahāt al-juġrāfiyā wa-l-falak fī-t-ta^clīm al-^cāmm* (*Terminology of Geography and Astronomy in Public Education*). No. 1. League of Arab States. Education, Culture and Sciences Organization (Coordination Bureau of Arabization, Rabat). Casablanca, Dar El Kitab 1977.
- Sa'id — Sa'id, Majed F.: *Lexical Innovation Through Borrowing in Modern Standard Arabic*. Princeton University 1967.
- Wahrmund — Wahrmund, A.: *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache*. I—II. Giessen, J. Ricker'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung 1898.
- Wehr — Wehr, H.: *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Edited by J. Milton Cowan. Fourth (enlarged) ed. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1979. The English equivalents quoted 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.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL: TWO CONTEMPORARY CHINESE PLAYS

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The aim of this article is to bring out comparative aspects in two plays in relation to N. V. Gogol's *The Inspector-General*, their analysis, varied evaluations by contemporary critics, audience (or readers), and to assess the reception of *The Inspector-General* in pre-1949 China and the impact of *The Inspector-General* "Stoff" in the literature of the PRC.

From among the twenty odd articles, original or translated that appeared in the People's Republic of China in 1952 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of N. V. Gogol's death, a judicious student, interested in Sino-Russian literary relations should decidedly take note of at least two: one by the critic Chen Yong [1] (1919—), unjustly persecuted after 1957 as a Rightist and recognized by sinologists as an expert on Lu Xun's [2] (1881—1936) work, and the other from the pen of Mao Dun [3] (1896—1981), one of the most outstanding cultural politicians and literary critics after 1949. The former in particular astonishes by his openness regarding conditions in China. "We all know," wrote Chen Yong, "that although Russian and Chinese customs, habits, ways etc. differ, the rotting and decadent situation of the Russian bureaucratic system portrayed in *The Inspector-General* is the same as the rotting and decadent situation in the former bureaucratic system in our country. It therefore suffices but to substitute Chinese names for the Russian in *The Inspector-General* and to play it as a Chinese comedy all over the country."¹ While this statement is aimed at the past, a further one refers to the period directly following the foundation of the PRC in 1949. While analysing Russian bureaucrats in Gogol's play, Chen Yong pointed to the so-called *bufafenzi* [6] anti-law elements originating for the most part from the ranks of the defeated bourgeoisie. He thereby implied, which otherwise is an irrefutable historical fact, that such "shortcomings" existed in the contemporary China, as tax evasions, bribing of State employees or civil servants, embezzlements and defraudations, irregularities in meeting govern-

¹ Chen Yong: *Xiang Guogeli xuxi shenmo?* [4] What to Learn from Gogol? In: *Wenxue pinglun ji* [5] Literary and Critical Essays. Peking 1953, p. 152.

ment-placed orders, thefts of secret economic information, but also corruption, squandering and bureaucratic spirit, the last of which served to denote drawbacks of the cadres. Chen Yong called these people to be “corrupt and degenerated, exploiting decrees and prescriptions to their own profit”.² According to Mao Dun: “From the images in the *Dead Souls* and *The Inspector-General* Chinese readers have inferred similarities with those ailments that existed yesterday, and still exist even today in our country: laziness and epicurism, striving for the highest profits, immoral, licentious, unbridled and shameless behaviour of exploiters, wily tricksters, landowners and bureaucrats...”³ Here, too, bureaucrats implicate contemporary holders of political, economic, military, eventually of other important functions and posts.

1

The first Chinese translation of *The Inspector-General* (*Revizor*) appeared in Shanghai in 1921, as one play in *Eguo xiqu ji* [9] Series of Russian Plays. This translation made by He Qiming [10] and entitled *Xunan* [11] soon became a bibliographic rarity and no reprint was forthcoming for a long time.⁴ A second translation under the title *Qinchai dachen* [17] appeared probably at the beginning of the second half of the 1930s, made by a team of the theatre group in Shanghai Yeyu juren xiehui [18] Amateur Theatre Association.⁵ Two translations of *The Inspector-General* appeared during the Anti-Japanese War. The well-known translator of Russian literature Geng Jizhi [21] (1898—1947) translated this comedy, together with some other of Gogol’s plays, in his collection *Xunanshi ji qita* [22] *Inspector-General and Other Plays*,⁶ which appeared in 1941. In 1944 the fourth translation followed by Fang Xin [24] entitled *Qinchai dachen* as above, and this one continued to be published until 1957. The translation by Geng Jizhi, too, was reprinted there in 1953.⁷ Nor did interest in Gogol’s play flag later. In 1963 and 1979

² Ibid., p. 157.

³ Mao Dun: *Guogeli zai Zhongguo* [7] Gogol in China. In: *Guchui ji* [8] Encouragings. Peking 1959, p. 65.

⁴ Pu Shao [12]: *Hanyi Xiyang wenxue zuopin pianmu* [13] List of the Translations of Oriental and Western Literary Works into Chinese. In: Zhang Jinglu [14] (Ed.): *Zhongguo xiandai chuban shiliao* [15] Materials Relating to the History of Modern Chinese Publications. Vol. 1. Peking 1954, p. 281, and *Zhongguo xin wenxue daxi* [16] Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature. Vol. 10. Shanghai 1935, p. 372.

⁵ Tian Qin [19]: *Zhongguo xiju yundong* [20] Chinese Dramatic Movement. Shanghai 1946, p. 114.

⁶ Cf. 1949—1979 *Fanyi chuban waiguo gudian wenxue zhuzuo mulu* [23] Catalogue of Foreign Classical Literary Works 1949—1979. Peking 1980, p. 52.

⁷ Loc. cit.

it appeared in two editions and with a relatively large number of copies — a total of some 59,000 — with four works of Gogol's fiction in the collection *Guogeli xiaoshuo xiju xuan* [25] A Selection of Gogol's Fiction and Drama in the translation by Man Tao [26] (1916—1978).⁸

During the 1930s till 1950s *The Inspector-General* was one of the most staged of foreign plays. It seems that among the first productions (or really the first ones) were two, one of which was directed by Xiong Foxi [27] (1900—1965) in Dingxian [28], Hopei province, during the first half of the 1930s,⁹ and the other allegedly devoted to the 100th anniversary of the publication of *The Inspector-General* was staged in the town Taiyuan [31], Shansi province, in May 1934.¹⁰ Early in the second half of the 1930s *The Inspector-General* was performed by two theatre troupes: Amateur Theatre Association referred to above in Shanghai,¹¹ and by Xiangchao jushe [40] The Xiangchao Theatre Association in Zhangzhou [41], Fukien province.¹² Towards the end of the 1930s it was played in Chengdu [43];¹³ in 1941 the group Xin Zhongguo jushe [46] New China Dramatic Association performed it in Guilin [47],¹⁴ that same year and also some time later in Yanan [54], the capital of the Liberated Areas;¹⁵ in 1944, being turned into the Yunnan Opera (Dianju) [59], it was staged in Kunming [60].¹⁶ At about the same time it was performed by the Nanbei jushe [65]

⁸ Ibid., p. 51.

⁹ Xiong Foxi: *Xiju dazhonghua zhi shiyan* [29] An Experiment in Popularizing Drama. Zhengzhong shuju [30], n. p. 1937, p. 29.

¹⁰ Zhang Yichun [32]: *Taiyuan huaju huodongde huiyi* [33] Memories on the Dramatic Movement in Taiyuan. In: Tian Han [34], Ouyang Yuqian [35] (Eds): *Zhongguo huaju yundong wushi nian shiliao ji 1907—1957* [36] Materials for the History of Chinese Dramatic Movement During Fifty Years 1907—1957. Vol. 1. Peking 1957, p. 215.

¹¹ Cf. *Drama Article*, T'ien-hsia Monthly, 3, 1946, No. 1, pp. 45, 51—52, and 5, 1937, No. 1, pp. 51, 54. Probably with this performance is connected Chen Baichen's [37] (1908—) recollection entitled "Xunan" zai Zhongguo [38] "The Inspector-General" in China, Guangming ribao [39], 4 March, 1952.

¹² Cf. Xiju shidai [42] The Age of Drama, 1, May 1937, No. 1, pp. 202.

¹³ Cf. the biography of the actress Lu Xi [44] (1916—). In: *Zhongguo yishujia cidian* [45] Dictionary of Chinese Artists. Modern Period. Vol. 2. Changsha 1981, p. 80.

¹⁴ Wang Gong [48]: *Xin Zhongguo jushede qi nian jingli* [49] Seven Years of the New China Dramatic Association. In: Materials for the History of Chinese Dramatic Movement During Fifty Years 1907—1957. Vol. 1, pp. 279, 281. It was produced by Qu Baiyin [50] (1910—1979). According to Chang Jingyu's [51] article *Zhu Lin zhuan* [52] A Biography of Zhu Lin, published in *Zhongguo xiandai xiju dianying yishujia zhuan* [53] Biographies of Modern Chinese Dramatic and Film Artists. Nanchang 1981, p. 67, *The Inspector-General* was staged in Guilin also in 1942.

¹⁵ Zhang Geng [55]: *Huiyi Janan wenyi zuotanhui qianhou "Luyi" de xiju huodong* [56] Recollecting the Dramatic Movement at Lu Xun Academy of Arts before and after Yanam Forum, Xijubao [57] Dramatic Gazette, 5, 1962, pp. 5—6. Also the biography of the actor Yan Yong [58] (1916—) in Dictionary of Chinese Artists. Vol. 2, p. 67.

¹⁶ Ouyang Yuqian (Ed.): *Zhongguo xiqu yanjiu ziliao chujie* [61] First Materials for the Study of Chinese Musical Drama, Peking 1957, pp. 189—212. Here we have to mention a "sinicized" adaptation

Northern-Southern Dramatic Association in Peking, occupied by the Japanese.¹⁷ Interest in new performances grew following the foundation of the PRC. In 1952—1953, *The Inspector-General* was again staged in Beijing renmin yishu juyuan [66] Peking People's Theatre,¹⁸ and in Zhongguo qingnian yishu juyuan [67] Chinese Youth Art Theatre, likewise in Peking.¹⁹

There are two periods that deserve special attention: the time shortly before the well-known *Zai Yanan wenyi zuotanhui shangde jianghua* [68] *Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art* delivered by Mao Zedong on 2 May and 23 May 1942,²⁰ and the first half of the 1950s, before the beginning of a new, more humane and more considerate policy had been installed in January 1956 towards the intellectuals and hence also towards writers, who had gone through the hardships of *sixiang gaizao* [69] ideological remouldings and all that this phenomenon ushered in with it.²¹

It may be said that those in charge had at least two reasons for staging *The Inspector-General* in Yanan. The first was purely a literary one, deriving from the need to raise the literary and artistic niveau of the cultural workers there. At the turn of the 1930s and 1940s, Yanan became a base for those who decided to fight the Japanese and build a new China, for they felt convinced that the Chinese Communist Party and its army, government and its institutions were the only Chinese hope. Together with numerous poets, writers and artists, also playwrights and actors came into the Liberated Area in Shenxi, who endeavoured to play the repertoire to which they had become accustomed. Before Mao Zedong's talks in Yanan, also Gogol's *Wedding (Zhenitba)*, Molière's *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, some one-act plays by

of Gogol's comedy for film made by Shi Dongshan [62] (1902—1955) under the title *Kuanghuan zhi yeh* [63] *Mad Night* in 1936, putting "the action to a small town in South China in the 1920s". The famous director tried not to lose the spirit of the original and did not alter the story and even the original dialogues whenever they did not clash with the change of the milieu. See Leyda, Jay: *Dianying. Electric Shadows*. Cambridge, Mass.—London, The MIT Press 1972, p. 103. Chen Baichen wrote a play entitled *Shenguan tu* [64] *Schemes for Rising in Office*, published in 1946, under the influence of *The Inspector-General*. See his own assertion in Chen Baichen: op. cit.

¹⁷ Dictionary of Chinese Artists. Vol. 2, p. 16.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 3, 48. According to this source *The Inspector-General* was performed in China sometime between 1959—1963, p. 41. The present writer did not follow the performances of Gogol's comedy in the PRC.

²⁰ B. S. McDougall translated into English the first published version from 1943. See 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, 1980. The translation of the official version, see, e.g., Mao Tse-tung on Literature and Art, Peking 1967, pp. 1—43.

²¹ Markova, S. D.: *Maoizm i intelligentsiya* (Maoism and Intellectuals). Moscow, Nauka 1975, pp. 5—27, and Chen, Th. H. E.: *Thought Reform of the Chinese Intellectuals*. Hong Kong 1960.

A. P. Chekhov were played there, besides *The Inspector-General*.²² We do not know which one-act plays were involved, but the other three were full-blooded satirical comedies. The staging of Molière's play presented in a critical light the parasitism of the nobility and the ludicrous efforts of citizen Jourdain to imitate aristocratic morals. Gogol's *Wedding* is a play that fittingly supplements *The Inspector-General*. It shows up typical characters of the old Russian social life in St. Petersburg in their private life, depicts their intimate world and, in a way, puts a finishing touch to a portrayal of the ailments prevailing in Russian public and political life, presented in such a masterly manner in *The Inspector-General*. It is to be regretted that we know nothing about the way Feng Yu [70] translated the *Wedding* into Chinese, but he certainly altered to some extent the content of the play. The translation came out in February of 1941,²³ hence, it could quite conceivably have formed the basis for staging. The image of Podkolesin, as the first among the Russian "superfluous men", with his indolence, easy-going ways, irresoluteness could well catch the interest of the Yanan audience.

Yanan of the early 1940s, however, meant at least a partial disappointment to producers and actors, but also to literary and art workers generally. The hopes that they had associated with the place failed to materialize. Victory over the Japanese was becoming a chimera for in 1940—1941 the international, but also the inner situation in China went on steadily deteriorating. In a sort of synchrony with the Nazis in Europe, Japanese military fascists were getting ready for major operations in China. An unpleasant shock to Chinese communists was the New Fourth Army Incident on 4 January 1941, when strong Guomindang army units attacked and destroyed a part of this army during its transfer from the south to the north of the Yangtze River. Successes on the anti-Japanese front, too, proved puny and of no durable consequence. True, between August and November 1940, units of the Eighth Route Army and of the New Fourth Army did succeed in liberating a territory with over 5 million inhabitants, reportedly putting out of action up to 20,000 enemy soldiers; nevertheless, following the ensuing Japanese counter-offensive, these territories fell again into enemy hands. The economic situation was likewise catastrophic. A song sung by Zhendi fuwutuan [71] The Front Service Corps, a travelling propaganda group and theatre troupe led by Ding Ling [72] (1907—) before Christmas 1938, held also for the years 1940—1941: "We have no food, we have no clothes; (but) the enemy will send them to us..."²⁴ All around there were difficulties, problems, general backwardness, illiteracy, dirt and misery.

²² Zhang Geng: op. cit., pp. 5—6.

²³ See Catalogue of Foreign Classical Literary Works 1949—1979, pp. 51—52.

²⁴ Carlson, E. F.: *Twin Stars of China*. New York 1941, pp. 77—78. Quotation taken from Alber, Ch. J.: *Ting Ling and the Front Service Corps*. In: *La littérature chinoise au temps de la Guerre de Résistance contre le Japon (de 1937 à 1945)*. Paris, Editions de la Fondation Singer-Polignac 1982, p. 130.

But not only this. Literary and art workers did not fail to notice that leading authorities at various levels of the political, economic and cultural life did not come up to the mark, that they acted in a dogmatic and bureaucratic way, they did not understand the work they were supposed to manage, nor the people they led. Therefore, some of them, for the most part outstanding men of letters, profited by the opportunity that presented itself in March and early April of 1942²⁵ and lifted their voices against the abuses taking place in their immediate vicinity. The idea that the period of the early 1940s, the Liberated Areas and the hopeful New China need Luxunian critical essays, was expressed by Ding Ling in an article published on 23 October 1941, on the occasion of the 5th anniversary of Lu Xun's death: "Lu Hsün is dead. We are always saying that we should be doing this or that in memory of him. But we fail to study his brave spirit that never faltered in the face of trouble. In my opinion the best course for us now is to emulate his resolute pursuit of truth, his courage to speak out for truth, and his overall fearlessness. This age of ours still needs the essay (i.e. the critical, fighting essay Lu Xun used to write, M.G.). We must not cast this weapon aside. Lift it up with your hands and the random essay (*zawen*) [73] will not die."²⁶

Among the random essays in Yanan a few original voices were heard. Such was, for example, Ai Qing's [77] (1910—) statement, that a "writer is no skylark, but neither is he a sing-song girl singing for the delight of guests".²⁷ At that time, Ai Qing was still under the fresh impact of French symbolism and therefore the words "lark" and "sing-song girl" are to be understood as literary symbols. In his view, a poet is not the former, for it neither his duty nor his mission sweetly to sing to Chinese peasants or soldiers working in the fields of the Liberated Areas; nor is he the latter who sings for the delight of whomsoever pays him, regardless of who it might be. Nor does the character of that consolation matter. Venality is already implied in the symbol "sing-song girl". A writer's role resides in something else: "... To look at things around oneself through one's own *Weltanschauung*, to describe and criticize them."²⁸ When a writer (and in particular a lyric poet) creates, he then "but strives to

²⁵ Goldman, M.: *Literary Dissent in Communist China*. Harvard University Press 1967, pp. 18—50.

²⁶ Ding Ling: *Women xuyao zawen* [74] We Need Random Essays, *Jiefang ribao* [75] Liberation Daily, 23 October, 1941, p. 4. Quoted according to B Jorge, G. J.: *Ting Ling's Early Years: Her Life and Literature Through 1942*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Madison, University of Wisconsin 1977, p. 125.

²⁷ Ai Qing: *Liaojie zuojia, zunzhong zuojia* [78] Understand and Respect Writers. In: Tung, R.: *Proscribed Chinese Writing*. Lund—London 1976, p. 19. Originally published Liberation Daily, 11 March 1942, p. 4.

²⁸ Loc. cit.

be true to his feelings and conviction (*qinggan*) [79], for unless he does so, his work will be empty, lifeless".²⁹

From what has been said it follows that there also existed socio-political reasons for which the above satirical plays were staged in Yanan during the period under study.

2

In 1955 Luo Ruiqing [80] (1906—1978), Minister of Public Security, made a downright pathetic appeal to contemporary playwrights to write a Chinese counterpart of *The Inspector-General*.³⁰ The one to undertake this task was Lao She [84] (1899—1966), then well in his fifties, a writer with thirty years' experience in fiction writing and almost twenty years of experience as a playwright.³¹ Lao She willingly undertook the task of bringing closer to the Chinese audience a real case of a certain Li Wanming [85], a "model" party member, a hero and party official who during 1951—1954, managed successfully to deceive and trick the State and party establishment at various levels. If the play was creatively to take contact with Gogol's comedy, it had of necessity to be satirical. With the aid of this satire, Luo Ruiqing intended to ridicule careerists, impostors, reactionaries, for whom there was no place in China.

Lao She's satirical play *Xiwang Changan* [86] Looking Westward to Changan,³² similarly as *The Inspector-General*, is a play about an impostor or a swindler (*Hochstapler* in German). It belongs among human types frequently portrayed in various literary genres and national literatures and could assert himself in those social formations in which estate or socio-political differences are keenly felt.³³

The vagabond, the rascal and the dawdler, otherwise a minor official Khlestakov from St. Petersburg, differs from the majority of that ilk encountered in world literature in getting into his role against his will, being forced into by circumstances. The deceived impostors or cheated swindlers are much higher officials from a little town where he had the luck to spend a few days enriching his pockets at their expense.

²⁹ Loc. cit.

³⁰ Chen Shouzhong [81]: *Lun Lao She juzuode yishu fengge* [82] On the Artistic Style of Lao She's Dramatic Works. In: *Xiandai juzuo jia san lun* [83] Various Studies on Modern Dramatists. Huaiyin 1979, pp. 357—358.

³¹ Slupski, Z.: *The Evolution of a Modern Chinese Writer. An Analysis of Lao She's Fiction with Bibliographical Appendices*. Prague, Academia 1966, and Vohra, R.: *Lao She and the Chinese Revolution*, Harvard University Press 1974.

³² Originally appeared in *Renmin wenxue* [87] People's Literature, 1, 1956, pp. 35—64.

³³ Frenzel, E.: *Motive der Weltliteratur*. Stuttgart, Kröner 1980, pp. 372—383.

The model party member, hero and cadre, otherwise occupying middle bureaucratic positions, Li Wancheng [88] (Lao She changed villain's name in the play), is a true impostor knowing how to put on the mask fully effective in the Chinese society of the early 1950s. If he differs in anything from the majority of such characters in world literature (e.g. from Felix Krull by Th. Mann, whose portrayal was completed shortly before Li Wancheng),³⁴ then it is in his being a very primitive man who succeeded in cheating similarly primitive people. In this case those deceived were Li Wancheng's closest colleagues, though usually occupying higher positions in the apparatus. For over three years Li Wancheng was successful in duping his closer and wider environment, from a young peasant boy up to the minister of the central government in Peking.

The Inspector-General belongs among the best known and most frequently performed dramas in the world of theatre and therefore there is hardly any need to explain its contents in detail. Yet a general outline might be appropriate: a rumour reaches the mayor of a provincial town that the inspector-general from the capital is to pay a visit. The mayor immediately convenes all those responsible for public institutions, schools, the court, hospital, the post office, charities and the police, and urges them to put everything in order. As chance would have it, an official from St. Petersburg really settled down in the town and everybody was convinced that he was the inspector-general. In reality, Khlestakov was truly a poor devil, penniless, who for three days had not paid either his board or lodgings, and during the visit the mayor paid to him, he was convinced that they were going to arrest him. When, however, he grasped the situation, and presuming that they probably felt ill at ease with their conscience and were afraid, he started to exploit the opportunity; he had himself taken to visit institutions, was very well fed, began to borrow money which he never meant to repay, moved to the mayor's house and went so far as to court his wife and daughter. Finally, the daughter gave consent to the proposal of marriage. The mayor and his wife already see themselves in St. Petersburg, he, as a high official and she, as a great lady in the first house of the city. Khlestakov, however, suddenly disappears and is not seen any more. There remains behind but humiliation to the mayor's family and the officials who, moreover, rue having lent money to an irresponsible person. The real inspector-general appears on the scene when the crisis culminates.

Looking Westward to Changan begins in the autumn of 1951 in the Shensi province, in the courtyard of a certain Agricultural and Forestry Experimental Station. There Li Wancheng meets with a school-fellow Jing Yuzhong [89], a young promising cadre from the New Democratic League. Li has the reputation of a hero of the Liberation War, boasts of his alleged wounds, makes a show of his decorations and merits, and asserts he is chief of the regiment's staff. He consistently complains

³⁴ Ibid., p. 376. The English title of the novel is: *Confession of Felix Krull, Confidence Man*.

of poor health and takes advantage of the entire environment to his profit. Even the local party cadres Ping Yiqi [90] and Yang Zhuguo [91] were taken in by Li's tactics and helped him in every possible way. He brags in front of Jing and others that he had an invitation from the Central-South Military and Administrative Committee (i.e. from the regional government of that time administering Wuhan, Hupeh, Hunan, Honan, Kiangsi, Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces) to attend a schooling from which he would be sent as a volunteer to Korea. Li never went to Korea, nor had he the smallest interest to go there, but six month later, in the spring of 1952, he had himself honoured as a hero of the Korean front in Hankow where he had easily succeeded in deluding further local functionaries at the local Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. The latter even help him to win Da Yuqin [92], his collaborator and a woman-cadre, to wife. At the regional ministry, the story from Shensi is repeated. This time Li boasts in front of his boss and others that the Chief of the General Staff Department of the People's Liberation Army Xie [93] had phoned to him and invited him to come and work in Peking. Li really got to Peking, although not to the PLA Headquarters but to the Ministry of Agriculture. Here he held the post of head of the department *in absentia*, drew his salary but did not work, for he was constantly on sick leaves and lived in hospitals.

In Lao She's play there is no servant Joseph who would have warned him of the danger of disclosure. Da Yuqin, his wife, was likewise a careerist, though not an impostor. She was vexed that the surroundings did not sufficiently honour her "hero" and that the people around him did not adequately appreciate his immense merits for the party and the country. Being narrow-minded and blinded, she did not grasp at all Jing's reservations and suspicions towards her husband's past.

The play also has its own peripeteia which occurs soon after the onset of the crisis. Although under fairly suspicious circumstances, yet a "telegram" does reach Li's office from Zhou Guangqi [94], Air Defence Force Commander of the PLA, with orders for Li Wancheng, then allegedly Chief of the Army Staff and a Commander of Division, to attend a meeting of the People's Revolutionary Council, the supreme military executive body in the PRC, to be held in Lanchow. Li Wancheng was given an airticket, and even 200 yuan as "social allowance" on his father's death. His father was alive and well, but Li needed money for his journey. He also used this occasion and made the best of the principle according to which the government was bound to care for the welfare of the cadres.

On his return trip, Li stopped at Xian to call on Yang Zhuguo, the then director of the Research Institute of Agricultural Technology. There Li was met by police officers, but also Jing who had informed against him, his colleagues at the ministry, his former and present superiors who first tried to defend him (and thereby excuse themselves) and then they condemned him. His impostures came out one by one, his frauds and swindles with letters, rubber stamps and telegrams. Li had never been in the PLA, nor in Korea; true, he was a "model" party member, and a "model" cadre,

but he was far from any heroism which he simulated in a primitive, yet for those times a fairly effective way. The play ends with an interrogation.

The two satirical plays differ fairly considerably, although there is no denying that *The Inspector-General* served, in a certain measure, as model for *Looking Westward to Changan*. Gogol's way of a satirical description of reality suited to some extent also Lao She's design. In the first reply to some dozen letters written to the editors of the journal *People's Literature*, immediately following the publication of *Looking Westward to Changan* in January 1956, Lao She mentions *The Inspector-General* three times.³⁵ In this reply he points out that this is not a play dealing with a purge of anti-revolutionary elements (*sufan*) [96], but a satire about impostors. He endeavours to convince those who found that Li Wancheng's character is not portrayed negatively enough, that he was concerned with exposing Li's "impostures and avariciousness", but had no intention of showing him up as an enemy agent, or a counter-revolutionary element. He also mentions that his play differs from classical satirical works, hence, also from *The Inspector-General*. It embodies a different measure of satire in its application to the various characters. And it certainly has also a different measure of the comic.

There are several reasons why Lao She did not achieve the degree of the comic and satirical seen in Gogol:

Firstly, China had never any tradition either of the burlesque, or the vaudevilles that in a considerable measure filled the Russian theatre of the first half of the 19th century.³⁶ True, Gogol was an enemy to vaudevilles, condemned their empty laugh,³⁷ yet, on the other hand, something from this tradition did remain in Gogol's dramatic work. Were it not for this vaudevillian comicality, the play would not have reached the Russian stages at the time of Nicholas I.

Secondly, the objects of Gogol's comico-satirical portrayal lie in an environment considerably different from that by Lao She. Not only the times and countries are different, but also the milieu of a Russian district town differs immensely from that of Hankow or Peking, where the major part of Lao She's play took place. Gogol, despite a ruthless czarist censorship, could afford to put in far sharper cuts, irony and mockery towards local bureaucracy. It was not solely because Gogol's country town lay somewhere at the back of beyond, so far away that "you may gallop for three years, yet won't reach a foreign land",³⁸ but also because the czar with his

³⁵ Lao She: *Yu guan "Xiwang Changan" de liang feng xin* [95] Two Letters Concerning "Looking Westward to Changan". *People's Literature*, 5, 1956, pp. 123—124.

³⁶ Vishnevskaya, I. L.: *Gogol i ego komedii* (Gogol and His Comedies). Moscow 1976, pp. 125—131.

³⁷ Stepanov, N.: *Iskusstvo Gogolya—dramaturga* (The Dramatic Art of Gogol). Moscow 1964, p. 154.

³⁸ Gogol, N. V.: *Sobranie khudozhestvennykh sochinenii v pyati tomakh* (Collected Works in Five Volumes). Vol. 4, Moscow 1952, p. 11.

capital was similarly remote, and Gogol's criticism, itself partly decked in vaudeville trappings, was felt there minimally indeed. Lao She hit more sensitive spots. Gogol was more circumspect in his direct criticism, while Lao She ventured unusually high for those times; although he directly hit only second- or third-ranking figures, yet he did at spots socially and politically very sensitive. Gogol's criticism took no heed of the addressee, their dignity or position. Lao She's was hierarchically graded; he even created positive heroes in his play! Anything like it would be unthinkable in Gogol's comedy! In Gogol's play everyone comes in for about an equal share, whether they be the privileged bureaucrats or the ordinary merchants. All of them cheat, bribe, steal and swindle. Lao She succeeds in being constantly satirical and comic only towards Li and his wife. How seriously one may take his statement in the above mentioned reply regarding the contemporary Chinese cadres who "are essentially good, but have certain deficiencies and make some mistakes", is a matter of conjecture.³⁹ In all probability he did not believe it himself. He was aware, however, of the force of literary criticism and the ruling literary doctrine and knew that he could not afford to make of his pen or brush an adequate tool. He refused to accede to his friends' suggestions made while he was working on his play, to depict the cadres (evidently besides Li and his wife) in a more satirical, a more negative way.⁴⁰ Allegedly because in the situation prevailing today, satire, too, has primarily a social and political mission.

Thirdly, it is true that Gogol has depicted only the world of Russian country officials, has shown it up far more thoroughly and more convincingly than Lao She has done with the world of higher Chinese cadres. Gogol's play includes practically all the important district bureaucrats of contemporary Russia: only "the district prosecutor, treasurer and police station master are missing".⁴¹ Nevertheless, the administrative world of comedy comprises education, law, humanitarian and hospital care, just as also communication and the police. This inventory of elements and their relationships create a justified impression that there was much rotten in the czarist Russia of the 1830s and 1840s, that everything is functioning solely thanks to bribery, despotic wilfulness, wantonness, embezzlements of public property, spying, denouncing, hypocrisy, cynicism, legal injustice, careerism and other social and moral diseases and malpractices.

Not even with the best of wills could Lao She have set himself a similar creative design. The "social order" sounded differently. All it demanded was an exposure, ridicule and condemnation of the fraudulent practices of a daring impostor, and a criticism of the bureaucratic environment could appear in the comedy only as a concomitant side product. The attentive reader will soon notice that Khlestakov is

³⁹ Lao She: Two Letters Concerning "Looking Westward to Changan", p. 124.

⁴⁰ Loc. cit.

⁴¹ Gus, M.: *Gogol i nikolayevskaya Rossia* (Gogol and Russia of Nicholas I). Moscow 1957, p. 151.

far less the aim of Gogol's exposure than a means to a social titration, to an assay of the moral and civic wretchedness of the described milieu. Such a social titration might have been a grateful topic also to Lao She, but it could not have been directly postulated. Therefore, Lao She concentrated his attention primarily on Li Wancheng and made practically all the other characters of his admirers and helpers. Those who had suspicions about Li and finally unmasked him, are there primarily to cause a dramatic motion, hence a collision, crisis and his ultimate fall. That explains why the inventory of the civic and moral traits of the characters in Lao She's play is far narrower and considerably different: hero-worship, privilegeism, credulity passing into gullibility, formalism in work, careerism and, as noted earlier, insufficient education.

Hero-worship has not been mentioned in the first place by accident. Hero-worship, and at the same time an unjustified and romantically exalted "hero-making", appears as one of the most important traits of this period. There is no doubt that the long years of struggles of the CCP, of the Liberation War and also the three-year period of help to Korea provided opportunity for great deeds, but many a time literary works, reportages and reminiscences were used to create legends.⁴²

Over two decades before writing *Looking Westward to Changan*, Lao She had been opposed to "hero-worship".⁴³ That was at the time of Hitler's coming to power in Germany, consolidation of Chiang Kai-shek's position in China, shortly after the appearance of T. Carlyle's book *On Heroes and Hero-Worship* on the Chinese book-market.⁴⁴ In 1955 Lao She had good reasons for indirectly taking a stand against such practices. He lived and worked as a witness of the flood of eulogizing pamphlets appearing daily in Chinese literary world. He himself had an adequate share in them. On his return from Korea where he spent five months between October 1953 and February 1954, he wrote a book of reports *Wuming gaodi yula ming* [100] *An Obscure Highland has Acquired Renown*.⁴⁵ Many prominent, and even more unknown Chinese writers had preceded and followed Lao She in similar manner. As long as this corresponded to reality and the praise was its particle of art, no objection can be made. But even acknowledged writers, by their exaggerated and thereby also untrue descriptions, gave Lao She an opportunity indirectly to have a laugh at them and at himself, too. Thus, for instance, in a collection called

⁴² Huang, J. C.: *Heroes and Villains in Communist China. The Contemporary Novel as a Reflection of Life*. London, C. Hurst and Co. 1973, and Tsai Mei-hsi: *The Construction of Positive Types in Contemporary Chinese Fiction*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Berkeley 1975. As a very detailed and useful guide see Tsai Meishi: *Contemporary Chinese Novels and Short Stories, 1949—1974. An Annotated Bibliography*. Harvard University Press 1979.

⁴³ Lao She: *Maocheng ji* [97] Notes on Cat City. Nanking 1933, pp. 222—223.

⁴⁴ The book was translated by Zeng Xupai [98] under the title *Yingxiong yu yingxiong chongbai* [99] by the care of Commercial Press, Shanghai.

⁴⁵ The book appeared in Peking in 1955.

Shenghuo zai yingxiongmen de zhongjian [101] *Living Among Heroes*, Ba Jin [102] (1904—) wrote the following about a certain section leader: “Although he was wounded in both legs during the first day of the battle, he still clung to the approach trench, throwing grenades and directing his men to fight on until the enemy attack was repulsed. On the second day the enemy came again. He was wounded in the right arm and he was unable to move it, but he carried on the fight with his left arm... He fought on stubbornly (although in between his left arm was wounded, too, and became numb, M. G.), defending his position alone. A company of enemy soldiers pushed to the attack. He pulled the pins of the grenades with his teeth, threw more than seventy grenades and successfully smashed the enemy’s last three attacks. Thus he completed his mission.”⁴⁶

In reading Li Wancheng’s words describing his own, of course, non-existing heroic fight with two American soldiers, we find that these two accounts closely resemble in their transparent boastfulness: “One day, just as dawn was coming, the enemy decided on a man-to-man fight. Two American soldiers, tall as pagodas, threw themselves in my direction, their bayonets aimed at my breasts. I never batted an eyelid. Two shots from my pistol and two ‘pagodas’ crumbled.”⁴⁷

A privilege-seeking behaviour (*teshuhua*) [103] was evidently less strong among the cadres of the fifties (at least in the first half) than it became later. Careerism in Lao She’s play is evident only in the images of Li and his wife. Heroism to the latter is a safe ladder over which the highest dignities and thereby also material advantages can be attained.

The following dialogue belongs among the finest passages that ever came from Lao She’s pen:

Da: I think you could be a general. You need not grieve, on the contrary, you may accept even greater glory tomorrow. Your life will be beautiful as a poem, rich as a symphony.

Li: Yes, yes, of course, I may become a general. I’ll have to get rid of the manners of the intelligentsia, acquire military feelings and bravely march forward!

Da: No, you must speak of heroic feelings! I have worshipped heroes from my childhood. As a pupil at the elementary school I already used to tell my friends that when I grow up, I’ll marry a hero. When you came here I listened to what women-cadres say of you, whether perhaps it matters to them that you limp, or whether they criticize you for frequenting hospitals. No, they did not scoff at you that you’re a cripple... I then realized that all girls in our

⁴⁶ Pa Chin: *Living Among Heroes*. Peking, Foreign Languages Press 1954, p. 53. Chinese version appeared in Peking, 1953, see pp. 64—65.

⁴⁷ Lao She: *Xiwang Changan*, People’s Literature, 1, 1956, p. 41. The same was repeated on p. 46 and with slight changes on pp. 55—56.

society admire heroes. When someone is hero, he may be a cripple, a stammerer, all respect and like him.

Li: If it be so, it pours confidence into my heart. My sickness and deficiencies are not an object of derision, and through them, too, I win respect and confidence.

Da: Of course, you have no reason to look pessimistically at the world. You are still young and have already reached so high. You will advance further, your place will be constantly higher.

Li: You're right. I am a hero not only on battlefields, but at every place. I am not interested in having a position, I don't count on it, I want to serve the people.

Da: Position, too, is important. The higher it is, the more comfortable life you may enjoy, and also the sooner you'll get well.

Li: Yes, I must try to get well as soon as possible. When I am well, I shall be able to do great things.

Da: It's not in vain that I lay stress on enjoyment of material values. You're a hero, you need to have a better flat, dress, more nourishing food, more varied opportunities of entertainment, you must have a car!

Li: Yes, a car, so that my legs wouldn't ache when I walk. What do you think, shall I really get all that?

Da: I am sure you will. You have an immense possibilities before you.

Li: I have long believed something like this 82.6 percent, now listening to you I believe it a hundred per cent.⁴⁸

A central positive character in Lao She's play is Tang Shiqing [104], an intelligence officer. Lao She introduces him as an educated, efficient and reasonable investigator, who is even witty and has a taste and understanding for art and science. He faithfully carries out orders of his superiors, works tirelessly on tasks assigned to him and expresses the wish to live up to seventy or eighty in order to have then the possibility "of speaking with friends about science, listen to music, discuss fiction and art".⁴⁹ The paradox is that if the then about forty years old Tang Shiqing had not been a dramatic figure but a real living person, he would have lived to witness at the age of something over fifty the crimes of the "Cultural Revolution", modern Chinese Apocalypse, a period of protracted violence, destruction and injustices. One of its victims was also Lao She. He lost his life in it.⁵⁰

Tang Shiqing's image is undoubtedly an artistic deficiency. Chinese society of the 1950s needed satire like salt. This genre flourished but rarely in Chinese literature,⁵¹

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 44.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 52.

⁵⁰ Lao She probably committed suicide on 24 August 1966, being persecuted by the "Red Guardists". The circumstances concerning his death are not clear.

⁵¹ Famous are satirical ballads by Bo Juyi [105] (772—846) entitled *Xin yuefu* [106] *New Yuefu*, and Wu Jingzi's [107] (1701—1754) novel *Rulin waishi* [108] *The Scholars*. Among modern writers Zhang

and modern times are no exception. Lao She was one of those to whom satire was reproached as a shortcoming, allegedly he should not write like this.⁵² Satire should be constructive (this applies to the period of the 1930s, of the 1950s, but also later), hence, it should not be too trenchant, or its sharp edge should be appropriately blunted. After 1949 the request was made for satire with positive heroes. And a discussion was in progress concerning this at the time of the publication of *Looking Westward to Changan* and its criticism.⁵³ Unfortunately, Lao She's play, also because of that request, failed adequately to cut to the quick, and in its coquetry with Tang it bares its teeth which are thus exposed for admiration but do not bite. The positive figures in the satire of this kind are a *contradictio in adiecto* and have no business to be there.

3

Lao She did not digress in his play from the line indicated in Luo Ruiqing's speech. Luo had wished that some Chinese playwright should depict "Li Wanming and paralytic cadres that let themselves be duped".⁵⁴ Paralytic cadres implied those who had lost their revolutionary and civic vigilance. Lao She was never harshly criticized for this play, but until recently⁵⁵ nobody in China demonstrated any particular commendation for it. Immediately on its appearance Lao She had to defend himself before numerous readers,⁵⁶ who considered it not to be pungent enough. Others thought that Tang Shiqing is not serious. Yet others held that Li Wancheng was not well described. Lao She tried a lame excuse about a division of the space for positive and negative characters. If the ones and the others are to be shown, then both suffer in value. In reality, the problem lay elsewhere. The author had his hands bound insofar as both the "paralytic cadres" and Tang Shiqing were concerned. Tang, as the most disturbing element in the whole satirical play had to be there, for his presence was required by the cannon of the "satirical art" in Chinese literary theory and criticism of those times. Lao She could ridicule the "paralytic cadres" moderately only in order not to mar the chance for his work to appear at all or get on the stage.

Tianyi [109] (1907—) is well known for his satirical novels and short stories. See, e.g. Tsau, Shu-ying: *Zhang Tianyi's Satirical Wartime Stories*. In: *La littérature chinoise au temps de la Guerre de Résistance contre le Japon (de 1937 à 1945)*, pp. 175—188.

⁵² Lao She: *Lao niu po che* [110] *Old Ox and a Broken Cart*. Chengtu 1942, pp. 46—49.

⁵³ Fokkema, D. W.: *Literary Doctrine in China and Soviet Influence, 1956—1960*. The Hague, Mouton 1965, pp. 97—99.

⁵⁴ See note 30.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 357—360, 363—364, and 369—370. In *Dangdai wenxue gaiguan* [111] *Outline of Contemporary Literature* by Zhang Zhong [112] and others, Peking 1980, this play was not even mentioned.

⁵⁶ See note 35.

He did not portray them as being “ridiculously foolish and abhorrent”,⁵⁷ but decided for a passable alternative: he merely made of them primitive and funny figures.

It seems that Chinese critics avoided to analyse *Looking Westward to Changan*. A certain Liu Zhongping [113] explicitly noted in a postscript to his article that others and more experienced “though knowing, they will not speak”.⁵⁸ Therefore he decide to put his views on the paper. He criticized Lao She that he let Li Wancheng swim under the favourable wind, did not like his occasional humorist style, nor his insufficiently consistent, inadequately deep exposure of “paralytic cadres”. Liu’s views appeared at the time of a relaxation in July 1956. It stands to a reason that Lao She could have written his play in a more critical spirit, but in this case it should be written quite differently, especially what the choice of the characters is concerned. Lao She had to take care if he was to avoid committing a creative suicide. The fates of subsequent “Rightists” proved that even less critical voices were considered to be ideological errors, a defamation of social reality, bourgeois individualism, revisionist tendencies, and even anti-party attacks. The period between 1957 and 1978 was a long one and many of them were persecuted and forced to keep silent.

One further important feature distinguishes *Looking Westward to Changan* from *The Inspector-General*. Through the mouth of his characters, in particular of the impostor Li, Lao She brings into play the variations of the names of highly situated military men, who thus come into relation (without their own endeavours) precisely with the villain of the play. Expressed in Gogol’s terms, all got into the comedy “in one bag”.⁵⁹ It can well be surmised that this proved rather unpleasant to them and to many others.

4

In September 1979, the satirical play *Jiaru wo shi zhende* [122] If I Were Real, by three young playwrights Sha Yexin [123], Li Shoucheng [124] and Yao Mingde [125], appeared as a special supplement to the journals *Xiju yishu* [126] Theatre Arts and *Shanghai xiju* [127] Shanghai Theatre. The play was never publicly performed, although it was staged in “internal circles” in Shanghai (reportedly as many as 46 times),⁶⁰ including several runs at *Renmin yishu juyuan* [131] People’s Art Theatre between 20–26 August 1979.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 124.

⁵⁸ Liu Zhongping: *Ping “Xiwang Changan”* [114] Criticizing “Looking Westward to Changan”, *Wenyi bao* [115] Literary Gazette, 13, 1956, pp. 20–23. Very similar view concerning the “paralytic cadres” was expressed by Li He [116]: *Ping “Xiwang changan”* [114] On “Looking Westward to Changan”, *Juben* [117] Dramas, 7, 1956, pp. 66–67.

⁵⁹ Gogol, N. V.: op. cit., p. 120.

⁶⁰ Huang Weijun [128]: *Guanqie baijia zhengming fangzhende chenggong shijian* [129] Carry out the Successful Realization of the Policy of Hundred Schools. *Renmin xiju* [130] People’s Theatre, 3, 1980, p. 4.

The young playwrights — Sha Yexin is usually quoted as the most important among them — went farther than Lao She. Even members of the CC CCP elected at the Eleventh Congress in August 1977 are mentioned by names in the play, i.e. Zhang Caiqian [132] (1912—), Zhang Jingfu [133] (1909—), Zhang Dingcheng [134] (1898—) and Zhang Tingfa [135]. In addition, two further prominent members of the CC from the preceding congresses are named: Zhang Qilong [136] (1900—) and Zhang Wentian [137] (ca. 1898—1976) who was then being rehabilitated (exactly on 25 August 1979).⁶²

The play *If I Were Real* is likewise about an impostor. Li Xiaozhang [138] resembles more closely than Li Wancheng in being forced by circumstances to practise swindles. Li Xiaozhang, in contrast to his literary predecessors, is neither an official nor a cadre. He is a young man who had evidently completed his secondary education and found himself among millions of other young people that had been sent out to the country. After eight years of an involuntary, mentally and physically depressing and clearly also demoralizing stay, he vainly tries to get back to town. His girl friend Zhou Minghua [139] is pregnant by him and wants to get married. Her parents agree to the marriage only on condition that he would be released from the State farm. The prescriptions setting down the possibility of such a transfer did not include his case. He did not belong among those excelling by either their ideological zeal or their good attitude to work and therefore he could not hope that at least his most modest dreams would come true. The exposition of the play is unusually long (in contrast to *The Inspector-General* where it consists of one single sentence) and takes up the first two acts. In these, Li Xiaozhang, under the fictitious name of Zhang Xiaoli [140], as the alleged son of Zhang Lao [141] Old Zhang, member of the CC CCP, native of Szechwan, becomes acquainted with more significant cadres of the town. In the foyer of the theatre in which *The Inspector-General* had just come to an end, he meets Mrs Zhao [142], directress of the theatre who had given him a favour ticket as to a “rare guest”, further Mrs Qian [143], head of the Political Section of the Organizational Department and wife of Mr Wu [144], secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, and Mr Sun [145], head of the Cultural Department. Mrs Qian invites Zhang Xiaoli to spend a few days at her house, and he asks those present to help him with the transfer of his “friend” Li Xiaozhang. Mr Sun promises him to see what can be done about it.

The young swindler, otherwise the son of a worker, now has access to the highest circles of the town, among “good daddies” (hao baba) [146],⁶³ is surrounded with attention and the admiration of their wives. He goes about in secretary Wu’s car, has

⁶¹ Special Supplement to Theatre Arts and Shanghai Theatre, September 1979, p. 38.

⁶² The biographies of the prominent politicians (except Zhang Caiqian and Zhang Tingfa), see Klein, D. W.—Clark, A. B.: op. cit., pp. 13—15, 22—24, 54—58, and 61—67. Their names are mentioned on pp. 8—9 of the play. They had, of course, nothing to do with the actions in the comedy.

⁶³ *If I Were Real*, p. 5.

himself invited to banquets, watches shows of Western films destined only for the cadres, but not for the common people. Li Xiaozhang's transfer somehow does not come through, because secretary Wu reserved to himself the last word both in the case of those who pass through the so-called *qianmen* [147] front door, i.e. according to instructions of higher authorities, or the so-called *houmen* [148] back door, i.e. illegally. Zhang Xiaoli is bent on obtaining Li Xiaozhang's transfer at all costs: therefore, in the name of his influential "father" he promises to his helpers anything they may wish. All three want something as a "return service": Mrs Zhao, a bigger flat, Mr Sun, the transfer of his son-in-law, and Mrs Qian, a trip to capitalist countries.

The crisis in the play sets in when Wu begins to doubt Zhang's identity. His suspicions are, however, lulled by an alleged conversation with Peking which is carried by his "rare guest" from a nearby telephone booth. "Old Zhang" asks Wu kindly to countersign the instruction to the transfer (through the "back door") and promises in return the "study trip abroad" to him and Mrs Qian. The ensuing peripeteia is very effective. Zhang-Li holds the transfer document in his hands, pregnant girl friend is happy. As Zhang Xiaoli, he shows her the luxurious two-storey house of Mr Wu and Mrs Qian and wishes to attend the last performance in the company of his "aunts" and "uncles" so that the following day, as Li Xiaozhang he might take up work at the factory, get married and begin a new life.

Yet the plans never came through. Old Zhang arrives from Peking, as a real inspector-general, in his post as a ranking cadre in the Party Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, and puts an end to his "son's" sweet life. He prevents the fulfilment of Li Xiaozhang's and Mingua's dreams. After a brief trial Li probably goes to prison. Minghua is not present. She had been taken to hospital where they try to save her (*qiangjiu*) [149]. The authors leave it to the reader or the spectator to judge the guilt of Li Xiaozhang, but also of those who helped him in the impostures.

The text of Sha Yexin's play lacks a "mute scene" similar to that in *The Inspector-General*, although it is present in the play itself. What helps to create it is part of the statement for the defence which, however, becomes more or less an indictment of the cadres who, as witnesses, are sitting on the bench:

"You demand that the masses understand the difficulties in which the country finds itself, to work selflessly for the public interests, to give due consideration to the over-all situation, but you are building yourselves villas and pursue your own interests. You ask others that their children 'would take roots in villages' (*zhagen nongcun* [150], while you devise ten thousand schemes for the transfer of your children in the towns. You want the masses to live frugally and to work hard, but a glance at you shows how well you fare. If we don't share with the masses their joys

and pains, how can we wish to be of one heart and mind with them? I truly fear that when the Gang of Four failed to destroy our cadres, they will destroy themselves if they adhere to such a mistaken style of life.”⁶⁴

If I Were Real comes far closer to *The Inspector-General* than *Looking Westward to Changan*. This is not to say that Sha's work is more epigonic; it is simply more critical, more satirical and in certain sense even more original than the work by Lao She. Sha Yexin in the first place grasped that it would be wrong to make a difference between satirical works created in various social formations. Satire's sphere of action lies wherever social, political or other abuses take place. It is not in vain that for his play he had chosen the very meaningful motto from Gogol's *On Leaving the Theatre* (*Teatralnyi razyezd*) which constitutes the author's commentary to *The Inspector-General*:

“But can't either the positive or negative serve the same end? Can't comedy or tragedy express an equally lofty idea? Do not all, even the smallest wrinkles of a vile, shameless man's soul portray the image of an honest man? Does not all that accumulation of improbity, infringements of the law and injustice clearly show what the law demands of us, obligation and justice?”⁶⁵

Whatever the reasons, the majority of Chinese critics failed to understand the comedy by Sha Yexin. Sha Yexin, just as Gogol, intended to show that it is not enough in a literary work to consider only the words, but one must grasp its social significance. It is not essential whether Gogol thought it sincerely or not when he stated that “some kind of a deep faith in the government” is hidden in our heart.⁶⁶ The most important is that his comedy was a derision of the shortcomings of the ruling bureaucracy and served a useful end: exposure and ridicule of the harmful, the base and the inhuman in society.

“To interfere in life (*ganyu shenghuo*) [151] wrote Sha, “does not mean solely to expose the repulsive phenomena; praising beautiful things, too, is interfering in life. Precisely now laudatory works are vociferously being propagated, yet although the call is made in all directions, not many such works are forthcoming. In my view, this has something to do with a camouflaged prohibition of plays (*bianxiang jinxi*) [152] and with the suppression of the works of exposure. If certain people do not permit that shortcomings be criticized, who is then willing to sing their virtues? It should be noted that both exposure and praise have a common goal: to help life move forward, to make it more beautiful and better. Exposure must proceed by pointing out repulsive phenomena, just as praise is to be reserved to things that deserve it. If

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 33.

⁶⁵ Gogol, N. V.: op. cit., p. 157.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 158.

works of exposure are softly prohibited (*ruanjin*) [153], then also those of praise will hardly be written, and even empty and false extolling works will appear.”⁶⁷

Sha Yexin's play takes contact with Gogol's *The Inspector-General* and also with *On Leaving the Theatre* in a directly programmed way. The only exceptions are the opening scene (*xumu*) [155] and the epilogue (*weisheng*) [156]. In the former, an officer of the Public Security arrests Li Xiaozhang and in the latter Li is judged for impersonating Zhang Xiaoli in the presence of the prosecutor, the judge, two associate judges, witnesses (those who had helped him in his impostures or at least wished to take part in them), and the advocate, Old Zhang, commissioned to investigate the whole affair by the CC CCP.

The play is conceived, in a great measure, as a variation of *The Inspector-General* adapted to the Chinese reality of the year 1979. *The Inspector-General* was in fact about to be performed on the stage. This was prevented through the intervention of the Public Security and, in its stead, the participants in Li Xiaozhang's "case" themselves performed the comedy by Sha Yexin. Those who were to have set among the audience, the privileged guests for whom the spectators waited, those intent to laugh at Gogol's characters, came on the stage and revealed themselves not only as "swindled swindlers", but also as direct participants in impostures, their zealous abettors.

Preceding statement concerning differences between Lao She's and Gogol's play is applicable to a certain extent also to *If I Were Real*. Neither can Sha Yexin's humour be compared to Gogol's as regards either quality or quantity. Nevertheless, fine facetious passages with a satirical colouring may be found in his work:

Minghua: ...Others have already managed to get their transfer, why can't you? Recently also several school fellows have returned.

Xiaozhang: And what are their fathers?

Minghua: One is secretary to the party committee at the factory, one is deputy commander of the navy, and also a girl whose father is head of the cultural department.

Xiaozhang: They were, of course, released under such conditions. But what is my father? ... The so-called glorious leading class of the society, a worker, unselfish and having in mind the prosperity of all ... I was to have been released already last year, but priority was given to such sons and daughters.

Minghua: How magnificent it would be if you had such a good daddy!

Xiaozhang: If I had to be born again in future, I'd first ascertain whether my father belonged among the highly-placed cadres. If not, then I'd prefer to perish in my mother's womb and would not come forth.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Sha Yexin: *Che "dan"* [154] Talking "Nonsense". *Literary Gazette*, 10, 1980, p. 26.

⁶⁸ *If I Were Real*, p. 5.

In contrast to Gogol, but also to Lao She, Sha Yexin showed the spectators, but primarily readers, the world of cultural officials. His probe is not as deep and lively as in the case of Gogol, but is more penetrating than with Lao She. In contrast to Khlestakov Zhang Xiaoli is not an idol from the capital and a feared inspector-general. He is a naïve “little devil”, but unusually influential and potentially useful. Even though the inventory of civic and moral dishonesties is similar in both Chinese plays, the one by Sha Yexin is free of hero-worship. This evidently stems from the spirit of the times. Place of honour in Sha’s satire goes to a privilege-seeking mentality, manifest in nepotism, violation and circumvention of instructions and regulations.

Sha Yexin took note solely of the presence of the officialdom and directed attention of the consumers to its relation towards the impostor. Gogol endeavoured to show up a broader view of the life of the bureaucrats, i.e. to characterize their past deeds and specify their personal features. The reader or spectator learns very little about the life of Mrs Zhao, Qian or Mr Sun. Zhang Xiaoli is no challenge to them, nor a threat; they need not expose themselves before him, nor among themselves.

A challenge and a possible threat to them comes from Old Zhang, a positive character corresponding to some extent to Tang Shiqing from *Looking Westward to Changan*. Sha Yexin, his colleagues and the well-known producer Huang Zuolin [157] (1906—) who counselled them in their writing,⁶⁹ could not bypass the claim concerning the presence of positive characters in a play. As an impostor, Li Xiaozhang could not be left to get off scot free. Old Zhang, however, was faced with an insoluble dilemma: should he perhaps allow that a young man be put to prison, who though guilty of violating the law, was also the victim of unjust machinations. He therefore resolved to take up his defence, even though it seems highly improbable in view of his high political post. From his speech it ensues that he had understood the “essence of the matter”; he declared that Li Xiaozhang might not be punished without tarnishing the honour of the cadres. His speech is to some extent also an indictment of the four who sat on the witness bench. These represented the “privileged society” (*tequande shehui*) [158]⁷⁰ and they helped to prepare a soil favourable to illicit deeds by those who do not belong to it. Sha Yexin was not as critical as Gogol towards those who made it possible for the impostor to carry on his activities. In Gogol’s play czarist bureaucrats and merchants exposed themselves and Gogol did not consider it fit to condemn them in the name of the existing laws and prescriptions, for he did not believe in their effectiveness and just application.⁷¹

Sha Yexin’s play comprises certain modernist devices never seen before in dramatic literature of the PRC. One such feature is, for instance, a disruption of the

⁶⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷¹ Cf. the role of the judge Lyapkin-Tyapkin in *The Inspector-General*.

linear sequence of time. Li Xiaozhang is arrested in the opening scene, while all the rest in the play, except the epilogue, in reality precedes this scene. The arrest scene, too, is unusual in that it takes place on the stage. This must have had quite an effect on the audience, reminding them of the “Cultural Revolution” and the period before it, when similar events were quite frequent.

5

The title of Sha Yexin’s play has its origin in Li Xiaozhang’s statement during the process: “My deficiency is that I am false (*jia*) [159]. If I were real (*zhen*) [160] son of Old Zhang or of some other high leader (*shouzhang*) [161], then whatever I have done would be considered in accordance with the law.”⁷² Of importance is also another of his statements: “They too, (i.e. the cadres with whom he came into contact, M.G.) are swindlers (*pianzi*) [162].”⁷³

The gap existing in the spheres of interhuman relations, demonstrated by the words “false” and “real” is in this play filled in by “impostures” and “deceptions”.

After the performance of the play, three critics Wu Renzhi [163], Sun Haoran [164] and Wu Jinyu [165], wrote in their review: “Impostures are acts that our society condemns, hardly any one will praise swindlers. People have certainly noted that Li Xiaozhang is not the only impostor in the play. It may be said without any exaggeration that ‘empty words’ (*jiahua*) [166] (comprising also so-called words spoken out despite a bad conscience) have truly come to be a general phenomenon.”⁷⁴ These three critics also point out some of the causes of this phenomenon. Ever since the Anti-Rightist Movement and during the whole “Cultural Revolution” people have been forced to have recourse to empty words, cant (i.e. hypocritical talk) and to dissimulation, in order to preserve their social standing, and occasionally their bare existence. If during the period which lasted two decades, they dared to speak but a “little truth”⁷⁵ they were brainwashed, criticized, often accused of being counter-revolutionaries, thrown into prison, sent to labour camps, and even executed; their relatives, too, had to suffer on their account. Such a manner of expression and behaviour was then a vital necessity. The situation changed after the fall of the Gang of Four. This is evident also from documents of the highest party organs. The communiqué of the 3rd Plenum of the Eleventh Congress of the CCP

⁷² If I Were Real, p. 32.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 16.

⁷⁴ Wu Renzhi et al.: *Yuan yu shenghuo, yi zai fengquan — Kan huaju “Jiaru wo shi zhende” paiyan yu gan* [167] Its Roots are in Life, Its Purpose is to Satirize and Persuade — After Seeing the Performance of the Play “If I Were Real”, Special Supplement to Theatre Arts and Shanghai Theatre. September 1979, p. 36.

⁷⁵ Loc. cit.

from the end of December 1978⁷⁶ states, among other things, that it is “urgent to struggle against bureaucratic approaches that do not take the least note of the pressing problems existing in the life of the people”. At this session the party definitively decided to “shift the centre of gravity of its work to the building up of socialist modernizations” and primarily of agriculture, for this “foundation of national economy” in the PRC is “as a whole, immensely weak”. There is not a word in the communiqué about the problems caused to the party and government by the enforcement of the policy *shangshan xiaxiang* [169] up to the mountains and down to the villages. Nor is there any mention of the pitiful situation in which young people, hit by that policy, found themselves. A point is made, however, in it of the need “to reinforce revolutionary ideological education among the people and the young, to rely on their own strength, to lead a simple way of life and to fight hard; leading cadres at every level should serve as personal example.”⁷⁷

Sha Yexin and his colleagues had precisely these phenomena before their eyes, so typical of the reality in the PRC during the second half of the 1970s and the first months of 1979. Insofar as the socio-political aspect was concerned, matters were in accordance with the directives of the above communiqué. Somewhat different it was in the case of literature. At that time, the party explicitly asked that the works of literature and art should extol the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, sing the praise of the party and revolutionaries of the old generation, in other words, that literature and art serve the “four modernizations” (agriculture, industry, defence, science together with technology), and eulogize the memory of old participants of the revolutionary movement as paradigms of behaviour.⁷⁸ Literary reality, however, was somewhat different.⁷⁹ The “literature of the scars” in particular, but other works, too, revealed the dark sides of Chinese society in the recent past, and also in the present years, and of the social reality following the Third Plenum when the policy of Deng Xiaoping finally succeeded. The so-called *si da* [170] Four Big Freedoms, i.e. *da ming* [171] speak freely, *da fang* [172] think freely, *da bianlun* [173] discuss freely and *da zibao* [174] possibility of expressing one’s views in the form of big characters wall posters,⁸⁰ made some impact on Chinese literary climate, too.

⁷⁶ Renmin ribao [168] People’s Daily, 24 December 1978, pp. 1—2.

⁷⁷ Scharping, T.: *Umsiedlungsprogramme für Chinas Jugend, 1955—1980*. Hamburg 1981, pp. 266—279, 342—358, 451—462.

⁷⁸ People’s Daily, 24 December 1978, p. 2.

⁷⁹ Jenner, W. J. F.: 1979: *A New Start for Literature in China*. The China Quarterly, 86, June 1981, pp. 274—303, and Gálik, M.: *Some Remarks on “Literature of the Scars” in the People’s Republic of China (1977—1979)*. In: *Asian and African Studies* (Bratislava), 18, 1982, pp. 53—76.

⁸⁰ *Kitaiskaya narodnaya respublika 1978: politika, ekonomika, ideologiya* (People’s Republic of China 1978: Policy, Economics, Ideology). Moscow 1980, p. 33. These “four big freedoms” were abolished in 1980.

The development from the end of the 1970s and later showed that there was a consensus concerning the critical literature uncovering wrong and even criminal bureaucratic practices insofar as they meant an obstacle to the “four modernizations” and to the creating of a “united front” of various classes in Chinese society, including cadres and the masses, in order to achieve the goals set down by the party and State. Since we are dealing with drama, let us point out an example. At about the same time as *If I Were Real*, another drama with a similar anti-bureaucratic orientation appeared called *Quan yu fa* [175] *Power Versus Law*, written by Xing Yixun [176].⁸¹ This play is partly even more critical than *If I Were Real*. At least Cao Da [177], second secretary of the Municipal Committee of the CCP and his “comrade-in-arms” Lei Bangfu [178], director of the General Office of the Municipal Committee are incomparably greater villains than Li Xiaozhang and his “accomplices”. Cao Da misused public money earmarked as relief funds to people in disaster areas, to build himself a house and buy a car. Through his subordinate Lei Bangfu, he forces Mrs Ding Mu [179], an accountant of the Municipal Planning Committee, to fabricate the necessary accounts. When under the new conditions prevailing after the fall of the Gang of Four and after the wave of rehabilitations that followed the Third Plenum, Ding Mu wrote a letter and wanted to publicize Cao Da’s crime in the newspapers, Cao Da had Mrs Ding Mu arrested and accused her of having murdered her husband and committed adultery which was, of course, a pure, unfounded fabrication. Ding Mu was saved solely by Luo Fang [180], the first secretary of the Municipal Committee of the CCP, hence, someone wielding a greater power than Cao Da. Luo Feng is a positive hero in the play. He gave satisfaction to justice and harmonized power with the law. It should be added that this drama met with favour on the part of higher authorities because it fully respected the line of criticism of social and political abuse.

It may be said in general that both highest party and literary circles were satisfied with the literature and art of the years 1977—1979. This may be seen, for instance, in the speeches made by Deng Xiaoping⁸² and Zhou Yang [181] (1908—)⁸³ at the Fourth Congress of China Federation of Literary and Art Circles in October and November 1979. They were less satisfied, however, with some discussions at which they noted with displeasure that “different views were expressed on some contemporary works”,⁸⁴ and the necessary consensus was failed to achieve. They strove to resolve this problem, or rather, to get those working in the field of drama and film to

⁸¹ *Dramas*, 10, 1979, pp. 2—33. It appeared also in a partly abridged English version, see *Chinese Literature*, 6, 1980, pp. 31—91.

⁸² *Renmin ribao*, 31 October 1979.

⁸³ *Guangming ribao*, 20 November 1979.

⁸⁴ *Hu Yaobang zai Juben chuanguo zuotanhui jianghua* [182] Hu Yaobang’s Talk at the Forum on Drama Writing. *Guangjiao ching* [183] *Wide Scale Mirror* (Hong Kong), 5, 1980, p. 27.

submit to the views of the leadership and of the Propaganda Department of the CC CCP of which Hu Yaobang (1913—) was the director in virtue of a decree of the Third Plenum. Since in addition he was made head of the Secretariat of the CC CCP and third secretary of the Central Commission in the CCP for Inspecting discipline,⁸⁵ he was the most competent to demonstrate the views on the subject and to achieve the desired consent. He succeeded in this at *Juben chuanguo zuotanhui* (Forum on Drama Writing) in a six-hour speech on 12 and 13 February 1980. This forum had for role to condemn the comedy *If I Were Real* and prohibit its public performances, besides making impossible practical realization of two film scripts: *Zai shehuide dangan li* [184] In the File of the Society and *Nuzai* [185] The Girl Thief.⁸⁶ It is noteworthy and historians of the new Chinese literature ought to take a closer note of the fact, that Hu Yaobang's speech has been dubbed after the model of Mao Zedong's contributions in Yanan in May 1942 as *Zai Juben chuanguo zuotanhui shangde jianghua* [188] Talk at the Forum on Drama Writing. Evidently, it is being considered in the People's Republic of China to be an analogue of Mao Zedong's work. Hu Yaobang's speech was understood primarily as settling accounts with the recent past, but also as a new programme, a tracing out of contemporary and future developmental trends.

In the present study, note will be taken of it solely in relation to *If I Were Real*. Hu Yaobang said that the comedy is "imperfect", that it "suffers from relatively great drawbacks."⁸⁷ He expressed the view that the characters and the general atmosphere were not adequately truthful and typical. He admitted that there existed in China young people like Li Xiaozhang, and morally even far worse than he and that there were cadres similar to those described in the play. He even sketched a characteristics of contemporary Chinese bureaucrats. They are "remote from reality, from the masses, desiring an easy life, making no effort towards progress, who never use their brains when confronted with problems and are able to wield only hackneyed phrases".⁸⁸ Sha Yexin and his colleagues would agree with these words. Deng Xiaoping blasted even worse and more rotten cadres later: "The bureaucratic

⁸⁵ People's Republic of China 1978: Policy, Economics, Ideology, p. 340.

⁸⁶ Huang Weijun: op. cit., p. 4. In the File of the Society was published in *Dianying chuanguo* [186] Film Creation, 10, 1979, pp. 22—43. It depicts the rape of a nurse in the PLA by a senior officer and a chain of disaster which follows the act. The Girl Thief was reprinted in *Dongxiang* [187] The Trend (Hong Kong), 18, 1980, pp. 54—66. It is about a girl who learned the arts of the acrobat thief. Since a scenario gives a sympathetic treatment of the young criminal, it was met with the opposition from the side of the authorities. Originally appeared in Film Creation, 11, 1979.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Wide Scale Mirror*, p. 36 and *Zai Juben chuanguo zuotanhui shangde jianghua* (Talk at the Forum on Drama Writing), *Literary Gazette*, 1, 1981, p. 15. This version of Hu Yaobang's speech was edited, partly changed and corrected. It is probable that the version published in Hong Kong is an original one read at the forum.

⁸⁸ *Wide Scale Mirror*, p. 32 and *Literary Gazette*, p. 9.

phenomena are the most serious problems for our nation and Party. The major manifestations of bureaucratism are: looking down on the people, abusing political power, departing from reality, being separated from the masses, having ossified ideology, blindly observing absurd regulations, creating redundant organizations, having more people than needed, avoiding decision-making, indifference to efficiency, irresponsibility, betraying trust, multiplying red tape, blocking each other, retaliating against others, suppressing democracy, cheating superiors as well as subordinates, taking bribes, and accumulating personal wealth.”⁸⁹

Hu Yaobang admitted that it is right that also a positive character appears in the play, Old Zhang, but at the same time he condemned him as an outsider, liberator and saviour.⁹⁰

The original speech, but not the revised version holds that all the characters from the comedy “may be found in life; but if these characters are put together and a picture is made of them reflecting our society, then this one is incorrect”.⁹¹ Yet this was not the reason why *If I Were Real* could not be performed publicly. One of the causes is mentioned in the revised, though not in the original version. It relates to the entire dramatic composition, organization of the plot and mutual relationships among the figures who together create the impression that Li Xiaozhang and those resembling him are the fruit of a “wrong way of life” on the part of the cadres, and this evokes sympathies for the impostor in the audience.⁹² The other reasons for the prohibition are not mentioned there, although there must have been quite a few. The party and State was immensely interested at that time, and still is, in a reform of cadres and the whole system, for the “four modernizations” would be impossible without this reform. But according to leadership *If I Were Real* ought to have at least shown that the cadres it criticized and ridiculed had collaborated with Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, or were condemned or punished for their deeds by the competent authorities. If we follow the development in the reform of the Chinese bureaucratic system from the end of the 1970s, we find out that despite the decision of the Third Plenum not to carry on the campaign against Lin Biao and the Gang of Four, this reform began precisely “by criticizing the Gang of Four’s practice of cadres recruitment and its ideological underpinning”.⁹³ A persistent phenomenon in Chinese literary criticism and in explanation of the impact of literary works generally

⁸⁹ People’s Daily, 2 November 1981. Quoted according to Hong Yung Lee: *Deng Xiaoping’s Reform of the Chinese Bureaucracy*. In: *The Limits of Reform in China*. Washington, D. C., The Wilson Center 1982, p. 28.

⁹⁰ Wide Scale Mirror, p. 36 and Literary Gazette, p. 15.

⁹¹ Cf. loc. cit.

⁹² Cf. loc. cit.

⁹³ Hong Yung Lee: op. cit., pp. 24—25.

(and this not solely on the part of specialists) is a relatively strongly rooted allegorico-political interpretation which, of course, may have varying consequences.



If Sha Yexin had the same possibilities as Gogol, he, too, could have written *On Leaving the Theatre* from the numerous views expressed on his play. Instead, he wrote *Chen Yi shizhang* [189] Mayor Chen Yi, a historical drama about Chen Yi [190] (1901—1972), the well-known marshal of the PLA, mayor of Shanghai between 1948—1958, and Minister of Foreign Affairs after February 1958.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, we can form a certain analogy of Gogol's *On Leaving the Theatre* from a few articles and concise minutes of discussions, very contradictory in views, which accompanied various performances of *If I Were Real*. It is rather a pity that there were very few of the former, and the latter record but a smallest fraction of what was said. The materials, however, that became accessible to the present writer, clearly show that the three critics mentioned earlier (Wu Renzhi and others) understood best the meaning of Sha Yexin's comedy. Among the audience and the participants of the discussions, this play was known as *Pianzi* [162] *Impostor*,⁹⁵ or occasionally as *Jia* [159],⁹⁶ but meaning something different than in the binome *jiaru* [122]. The word *impostor* (or *swindler*), however, fails faithfully to render the message the play is meant to vehicle to the reader. To the authors of the comedy, Li Xiaozhang was but a means to an end: to depict the "ugliness of privilegeism",⁹⁷ a social phenomenon that forced him through its representatives to have recourse to unlawful acts. In contemporary Chinese language the character *jia* means false, unreal, pretended,

⁹⁴ Klein, D. W.—Clark, A. B.: op. cit., pp. 104—113. The play was performed allegedly with success in Peking in 1980. See *1981 Beijing wenyi nianjian* [191] Peking's Literary Yearbook 1981, Peking 1982, p. 109.

⁹⁵ E.g. Huang Weijun, op. cit.; Zhong Jibing [192] *Yao zhengshi dangqian huaju chuangzuo zhong cunzaide wenti* [193] It Is Necessary to Look Straightforwardly at the Contemporary Dramatic Writings. People's Theatre, 10, 1980, p. 2; Liu Ming [194]: *Guangkai cailu, guangkai wenlu* [195] Broad Road for Talents, Broad Road for Literature, *ibid.*, 12, 1979, p. 23; Jiji kaizhan xiju zhanxiande piping he ziwo piping [196] It Is Necessary to Develop Concretely Criticism and Self-Criticism on the Theatrical Front, *ibid.*, 10, 1981, p. 3, and Liu Jin [197] *Yi duan chahua—guanyu "Pianzi" de xiugai wenti* [198] Inserted Words — A Few Remarks Concerning the Revision of the "Impostor". Literary Gazette, 2, 1981, pp. 38—39.

⁹⁶ Wu Renzhi et al.: op. cit.; Li Geng [199]: *Tui juben "Jiaru wo shi zhende" de yijian — zai Juben chuangzuo zuotanhui shangde fayan* [200] Some Views on "If I Were Real" — A Paper Read at the Forum on Drama Writing, People's Theatre, 3, 1980, pp. 7—11; Zheng Huaizhi [201]: *Guanyu "Jia" ju yanchu yihoude yi xie qingkuang* [202] On Some Circumstances Around the Performances of "If I Were Real", *Wenhui bao* [203], 2 February 1981.

⁹⁷ Wu Renzhi et al.: op. cit., p. 35.

faking, feigned, empty and in practically every case stands for a negative axiological aspect of the various phenomena. Its opposite is *zhen* [160], i.e. real, true, genuine, authentic, and practically always designates a positive axiological aspect of the corresponding phenomena. Li Xiaozhang does not affirm that he is a false son, but that he is merely false. That “false” in him means: in the prevailing reality he is considered to be an inferior, a less worthy man, even a scamp for the sole reason that he has no close contacts with those who, in certain situations, had succeeded in arbitrarily manipulating “power and law” — to use Xing Yixun’s words. Li Xiaozhang and people like him are “false” and “empty”, have zero values, because they have no possibility to achieve self-realization as socially acknowledged human beings. But empty and false are also the words, gestures and even deeds of those against whom the comedy is directed.

This last trait, or rather a sense of its omnipresence, is an outcome of the meaningful observation and titration of the social reality, or a common denominator of the values of Gogol’s and Sha’s comedy, although this trait has a different name and forms in Gogol.

The cool reception accorded to Lao She’s *Looking Westward to Changan*, the violent discussions around Sha Yexin’s *If I Were Real* clearly show why the works created in the footsteps of *The Inspector-General* do not belong among frequent stuff in the People’s Republic of China.

1. 陳涌 2. 魯迅 3. 茅盾 4. 向果戈理學習什麼
1. 陳涌 2. 魯迅 3. 茅盾 4. 向果戈理學習什麼
5. 文學評論集 6. 不法分子 7. 果戈理在中國 8. 鼓吹集 9. 俄國戲曲集 10. 賀啟明
11. 巡按 12. 蒲梢 13. 漢譯西洋文學作
16. 中國新文學大系 17. 欽差大臣 18. 業餘
- 劇人協會 19. 田漢 20. 中國戲劇運動
21. 取濟之 22. 巡按使及其他 23. 1949-
- 1979 翻譯出版外國古典文學著作目錄
24. 芳信 25. 果戈理小說戲劇選 26. 滿清
27. 熊保西 28. 定縣 29. 戲劇大眾化之實
- 馬鏡 30. 正中書局 31. 太原 32. 張季純 33. 太
- 原話劇活動的回憶 34. 田漢 35. 歐陽
- 予倩 36. 中國話劇運動五十年史料集 1907-
- 1957 37. 陳白塵 38. 巡按在中國 39. 光明
- 日報 40. 鄭潮劇社 41. 漳州 42. 戲劇
- 時代 43. 成都 44. 路叢書 45. 中國藝術叢
- 辭典 46. 新中國劇社 47. 桂林 48. 汪凡
49. 新中國劇社的七年經歷 50. 瞿白音

51. 常薇宇 52. 朱琳傳 53. 中國現代戲劇
電影藝術家傳 54. 延安 55. 張庚 56. 回憶
延安文藝座談會前後, 魯迅的戲劇活動
57. 戲劇報 58. 晏角 59. 滇劇 60. 昆明
61. 中國戲曲研究資料初集 62. 史東山 63. 狂
歡之夜 64. 陞官圖 65. 南北劇社 66. 北京
人民藝術劇院 67. 中國青年藝術劇院 68. 在
延安文藝座談會上的言談話 69. 思想改造
70. 馮馬駒 71. 戰地服務團 72. 丁玲 73. 雄
文 74. 我們需要雄文 75. 解放日報 76. 整
風運動 77. 艾青 78. 了解作家, 尊重作家
79. 情感 80. 羅瑞卿 81. 陳瘡 82. 論
老舍劇作的藝術風格 83. 現代劇作家
散文論 84. 老舍 85. 李萬銘 86. 西望長安
87. 人民文學 88. 栗晚成 89. 荊友忠 90. 平
亦奇 91. 楊桂國 92. 達玉琴 93. 薛 94. 周光
啟 95. 有光, 西望長安' 的兩封信 96. 肅反
97. 鹽城記 98. 魯虛白 99. 英雄與英雄
崇拜 100. 黑明高地加3名 101. 生活在英

英雄們的中間 102. 巴金 103. 特殊化 104. 唐石青
105. 白居易 106. 新樂府 107. 吳敬梓 108. 儒
林外史 109. 張天翼 110. 老牛破車 111. 當代
文學概觀 112. 張鍾 113. 劉仲平 114. 評“西
望長安” 115. 文藝報 116. 李劫 117. 劇本
118. 徐向前 119. 周士第 120. 洪一風 121. 黃永
勝 122. 假如我是真的 123. 沙叶新 124. 李宇
成 125. 姚明德 126. 戲劇藝術 127. 上海戲劇
128. 黃維鈞 129. 貫徹百家爭鳴方針的
成功實踐 130. 人民戲劇 131. 人民藝術劇院
132. 張才千 133. 張勁夫 134. 張鼎丞 135. 張
廷芳 136. 張啟龍 137. 張聞天 138. 李小璋
139. 周明華 140. 張小理 141. 張老 142. 趙
143. 錢 144. 吳 145. 孫 146. 奶爸 147. 前門
148. 右門 149. 搶救 150. 扎根農村 151. 干
預生活 152. 杏林禁戲 153. 軟禁 154. 扯
淡 155. 序幕 156. 尾聲 157. 黃佐臨 158. 特
約社會 159. 假 160. 真 161. 苗長 162. 馬扁子
163. 吳仰文 164. 孫浩然 165. 吳瑋王前

166. 假話 167. 源于生活, 意在讽刺——看話剧
《假如我是真的》排演有感 168. 人民日報
169. 上山下乡 170. 四大 171. 大明 172. 大放
173. 大辯論 174. 大字報 175. 权与法 176. 邢
益勋 177. 曹达 178. 雷邦夫 179. 丁牧 180. 罗
方文 181. 周揚 182. 胡耀邦在劇本創作座談
會講話 183. 廣角鏡 184. 在社会的档案里
185. 女賊 186. 電影創作 187. 動向 188. 在
劇本創作座談會上的講話 189. 陈毅市長
190. 陈毅 191. 1981 北京文艺年鉴 192. 钟艺兵
193. 要正視当前話剧創作中存在的問題
194. 刘苏 195. 广开才路, 广开文路 196. 积极
开展戲劇界系統的批評和自我批評 197. 刘
金 198. 一段插話——关于《骗子》的修改問
題 199. 李庚 200. 对剧本《假如我是真的》的
意見——在剧本創作座談會上的发言 201. 郑
怀文 202. 关于《假》剧演出以后的一些情况
203. 文汇报

LIU BINYAN'S COME-BACK TO THE CONTEMPORARY CHINESE LITERARY SCENE

ANNA DOLEŽALOVÁ, Bratislava

Liu Binyan, author of two feature stories that are among the best known works of the Hundred Flowers period, was persecuted for over two decades as a "rightist". He was allowed to publish again in 1979 and has since written an essay in defence of a thesis on the task of literature to "intervene in life". He began to write works in conformity with his view on the urgency to expose the dark side and the first of these works, a feature story, *Between Men and Monsters*, by the daring of its processing caused quite a sensation and evoked an enthusiastic reader response.

Liu Binyan [1], a journalist by profession, born in Northeastern China, a member of the Communist Party of China since he was eighteen years of age — hence, since 1943, has not created any extensive literary work until now (i.e. January 1983): some half a dozen feature stories and reportages, two short stories and a few theoretical articles about sum up his writings. Nevertheless, he is one of the outstanding, the most interesting and the best known personalities in contemporary Chinese literature. Right from the beginning his literary work produced a sensation that went beyond the framework of literary circles or intellectual readers. But this was not a cheap, trivial, short-lived sensation. Liu Binyan eschewed this from his writings and thus, even after decades, his works have not fallen into oblivion; they remain fresh and the important place they now occupy in the literature of the People's Republic of China (PRC) is probably a permanent one.

As is current in the literary world of the PRC, the response and impact of Liu Binyan's works do not reside in their stylistic bravado, literary skilfulness or linguistic refinement, but in their topic, content, social relevancy, in their moral and political message. Liu Binyan always writes about existing burning social problems, concretized on true events and people. The reality he writes about is no rosy idyll. Liu Binyan is interested precisely in what exerts a negative, retarding, counterprogressive influence on Chinese society. He consciously strives that his works "intervene in life", expose the dark side, acting there as a challenge, contributing to an improvement if not to a complete cure. His works have a truthful, convincing ring, they carry the author's dissatisfaction, fears, anger, but also his compassion and respect — they are works socially committed in the most positive sense of the term. Their publication was in itself an act of civic courage and bravery on Liu Binyan's part. Clearly, he must have been conscious that he was running no small risk. Nevertheless, whenever circumstances permitted, he always spoke out.

He published his first two literary works (and the only ones for the subsequent 23 years) in 1956, as a thirty-one-year-old editor of the newspaper *Zhongguo qingnian bao* [2] *China Youth*. Immediately both aroused enormous attention and they still belong among the best known and the most remarkable works of the Hundred Flowers period but also among those most criticized during the subsequent Anti-Rightist Campaign. These were “textie” [3] feature stories¹ *Zai qiaoliang gongdi shang* [6] *At the Bridge Site*² and *Benbao neibu xiaoxi* [8] *The Inside News of Our Newspaper*.³ Both these feature stories give a realist description of the problems facing the author’s contemporaries⁴ in conditions — concretely and pointedly portrayed — of a bridge construction and in newspaper work in China in the mid-fifties. Liu Binyan enthusiastically shows reality in its complexity, negative, retardant, cumbersome, hard-to-overcome forces such as bureaucratism, conservatism, incompetence, overcautiousness, cowardice.⁵ True, Liu Binyan’s positive characters do not surrender, but neither do they ever win.

Liu Binyan’s courage to express the unpleasant truth did not go unpunished. It cost him over twenty years of persecution and chicanery.

In July 1957, as the first of his unit he was labelled a “rightist”.⁶ During the next three years, 1958—1960, he did heavy physical work in the mountain village, in

¹ The majority of Liu Binyan’s works in their first, i.e. journal publication, are designated as “textie” and some authors translate this term into English as report, documentary, literary feature story, etc. In China, these works are often commented on and published among *baogao wexue* [4] reportage, eventually are simply referred to as *sanwen* [5] prose.

² *Renmin wenxue* [7] *People’s Literature* (further cited as RMWX), 4, 1956. Extensive passages have appeared in an English translation in Kai-yu Hsu (Ed.): *Literature of the People’s Republic of China*. Bloomington—London 1980.

³ RMWX, 6 and 10, 1956. An abridged English translation in Hualing Nieh (Ed.): *Literature of the Hundred Flowers*. Vol. II. New York 1981.

⁴ In his address at the Third Congress of the Chinese Writers Association in November 1979, Liu Binyan mentioned that also the young engineer Zeng, the positive character in *At the Bridge Site*, had been declared a rightist, although it was not he who had recounted to the author the problems in the construction of the bridge; in the feature story he appeared under a little altered name. See *Wenyi bao* [9] *Literary Gazette* (further cited as WIP), 11—12, 1979, p. 36. English translation of this address in: Goldbatt, Howard (Ed.): *Chinese Literature for the 1980s*. The Fourth Congress of Writers and Artists. New York—London 1982, pp. 103—120; Engineer Zeng is mentioned on p. 104.

⁵ Liu Binyan’s feature stories from the year 1956, as also his relation to his preferred Soviet author. V. V. Ovechkin (1904—1968) is dealt with by Rudolf G. Wagner in the proceedings of the Berlin Conference 1978, Kubin, W.—Wagner, R. G. (Eds): *Essays in Modern Chinese Literature and Literary Criticism*. Bochum 1982.

⁶ Report on an interview given by Liu Binyan to Xia Yan [10], published in the Hong Kong journal *Jing bao* [11] *Mirror*, March 1980. Reprinted in *Zhongguo xin xieshizhuyi pinglun xuan — Liu Binyan ji qi zuopin* [12] *Selections from Comments on Literature and Art of the New Chinese Realism — Liu Binyan and His Works*, ed. by Huang Dazhi [13], Hong Kong 1980 (further cited as LBJOZ), p. 195.

Taihangshan [14],⁷ and he himself spoke of them as the most unforgettable of his own personal experience. He slept with poor peasants on a single brick bed, under a single folding quilt; farmers carried on heart-to-heart talks with him. What he heard and saw was quite different from that what higher authorities and newspapers propagated. For his own peace of mind he endeavoured to believe that he was rightly being criticized in the press, that these criticism were just, he badly wanted to remould himself. He greatly tried to believe that the Party's policy was right, that the figures about the enormous growth in production were correct, but the objective reality proved too strong. However much he wished to remould himself, he constantly butted against reality. The authorities demanded that a zoological garden with lions and tigers be set up in the poor mountain village where the farmers themselves had not enough meat. Although there was no water source in the village and people and domestic animals had to drink rain water, the order was issued to construct a fountain. Liu Binyan and the farmers toiled and moiled day and night on these senseless projects. When in the autumn of 1960 the Central Committee issued the Twelve-Point Rural Policy, he clearly understood that whenever the official propaganda is in opposition to the people's wishes, it is right to listen to the people, for the people represent the trend of historical progress and no authority, however high, that goes against the people, will be able to stand.⁸ Liu Binyan's works written since 1979 show that he has remained true to the convictions acquired during this period of trial.

Liu Binyan had a good command of Russian. When leaving for the village in 1958, he took with him pocket dictionaries and there learned by heart all the English and Japanese words they contained.⁹ In the future he has repeatedly put to good use this knowledge of three foreign languages.

In 1961 he went back to the editorial offices of the paper *Zhongguo qingnian bao* where he compiled materials on the social life in the Soviet Union,¹⁰ while being totally isolated from society.¹¹ This was an unusually difficult period for Liu Binyan.

⁷ He stated this in an interview published in *Kaijuan* [15] Reading, July 1980, reprinted in LBJQZ, p. 205. *Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian, Xiandai dier fence* [16], Dictionary of Chinese Writers. Modern Period, Vol. II, Beijing 1979 (further cited as ZWC), p. 172, states that in the years 1958—1961 Liu Binyan did physical work in villages of the Shandong and Shanxi provinces and in the environs of Beijing.

⁸ Liu Binyan spoke of these impressions and conclusions regarding the three-year period of his work in the countryside, in his address at the Third Congress of the Chinese Writers Association, see note 4, pp. 36—38; English translation in Goldblatt, H. (Ed.), op. cit., pp. 104—106, and published in an abridged form in *Renmin ribao* [17] People's Daily (further cited as RMRB), 11 December 1979. An English translation of this article appeared in the *China Report, Political, Sociological and Military Affairs* (further cited as CHR), No. 66, Joint Publication Research Service (further JPERS), No. 75291, 12 March 1980, pp. 139—144.

⁹ LBJQZ, pp. 194—195.

¹⁰ ZWC, p. 172.

¹¹ LBJQZ, p. 205.

Twenty years later, while talking to young writers, he said that before the year 1962 he still had preserved an illusion that the day would come when he would perhaps again be able to write. But when subsequently an unremitting campaign was launched inciting to class struggle, he lost all hope, and also taste to write. After all, what could he write? And even if he did, who would publish it?¹²

During all these long years, he spent but two relatively satisfactory months, full of excitement: April and May of 1966. In March of that year they had taken off his “rightist cap”. He received a letter of introduction from his newspaper office with which he could move about freely, become acquainted with reality, read materials at the Institute of Foreign Literature and acquire the feeling that his life was beginning anew. He had no inkling that his fate had already been decided upon for the second time. When leaving for home in the evenings, he used to leave his diary which he had kept about his impressions, doubts and inner struggles during 1958—1960, back in the office. He did not suspect that a party member of the gentle sex was assiduously reading it and taking down notes. Passages from the diary, torn out of context and devoid of continuity and hence of consistency, appeared in June on a big-character poster under the heading “Rightist Liu Binyan Clings to Anti-party wild ambitions”¹³ and this immediately set in motion public meetings organized to criticize and denounce him.

In 1968 he was imprisoned and was for four years without contact with his family. He saw his family only at the May Seventh School where the family was also brought but he could not talk with them. He lived in a “cowshed” where the night lasted five hours only and he had to get up practically every hour. His nerves were on edge and he was physically very low. He considers himself an optimist for as he says, only once, in the winter of 1968 did he dally with the idea of suicide as a way out of his suffering.¹⁴

After Lin Biao’s [19] downfall, Liu Binyan’s situation improved: he did not do hard physical work any more, did not live in a “cowshed”, and similarly as in 1960, he had the feeling that a new life had begun for him. Every night he read for a few hours, studied the works of Plekhanov, Marx, Engels, Lenin, studied English, Russian, Japanese, stood in the doorway listening to arias from the Peking opera coming over a radio set that belonged to someone else. Although Liu Binyan insists that he was doing better at this time than in the previous few years, it was but a relative improvement. He often suffered from hots — the May Seventh School was in the

¹² Guangzhou wenyi [18] Guangzhou Literature and Art (further GWY), 5, 1981, p. 36. In the interview referred to above published in Kaijuan, Liu Binyan also said that after the year 1962 he did not wish to write any more, and even stopped reading. See LBJQZ, p. 205.

¹³ LBJQZ, p. 205.

¹⁴ Ibid.

basin of the Huanghe river in the Henan province — moreover, he could not even procure for himself a pair of glasses although his vision had deteriorated: he read through a magnifying glass.¹⁵

He left the cadre school on 1977 and in 1978 joined the staff of the Philosophical Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.¹⁶ For over a year he worked in the editorial office of translations of philosophical works,¹⁷ — the volume on Yugoslav Philosophy comprises six articles translated by him.¹⁸ Liu Binyan — as is characteristic of his life attitude — says that he had not lived through that year in vain: he had read many foreign journals, understood numerous ideological trends in the world and also the degree of China's backwardness.¹⁹

More than two years had passed since the fall of the “Gang of Four” and the coming to power of the new leadership before Liu Binyan and the other “rightists” sentenced in the years 1957—1958 were publicly rehabilitated. This rehabilitation was sanctioned by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in December 18 through 22, 1978. Already during the closing stage of the preparations for the Third Plenary Session the press gave clear indications concerning the impending rehabilitation.²⁰ Liu Binyan was personally rehabilitated at a forum convoked at Beijing on 5 December 1978, by the editors of the journals *Wenyi bao* and *Wenxue pinglun* [20], *Literary Criticism*. Liu Binyan and his work *At the Bridge Site* were on the list of “rehabilitated, wrongly criticized works and persecuted authors”, hence, among works and authors that, as the forum had decided, had to be “revalued”.²¹

Understandably, Liu Binyan was as yet sceptical, hesitated, doubted. The writer Liu Shaotang [21], his former colleague and friend, one of those condemned in 1957 as “rightist”, recalls their first meeting after a lapse of twenty-one years, on 24 January 1979, when the newspaper office corrected the verdict against them. He had a shock seeing how Liu Binyan had aged;²² he was no more that “elegant, natural and unrestrained Liu Binyan from the past”.²³ To Liu Shaotang's question whether

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ ZWC, p. 172.

¹⁷ LBJQZ, p. 205.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 195.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 205.

²⁰ Cf. RMRB, 17 November 1978.

²¹ A report on this forum including a list of rehabilitated works and authors was published alongside an article on “quicken pace of rehabilitation of persecuted writers and works” on the front page of RMRB, 23 December 1978.

²² Li An [22], who had not seen him for twenty-two years, also writes about his premature ageing, in the Hong Kong newspaper *Xin wanbao* [23] *New Evening Paper*, 21 December 1979, reprinted in LBJQZ, p. 197.

²³ Liu Shaotang's letter to Liu Binyan of 19 December 1979, published in *Shanghai wenxue* [24] *Shanghai Literature*, 1, 1980, reprinted in LBJQZ, pp. 200—202, quoted statement on p. 201.

he still intended to write, Liu Binyan replied that he had a great mind to give it all up, but that newspapers and periodicals were again asking for manuscripts and that he would think it over. Nevertheless, it did not sound very convincing. But the very next day when the two attended a conference, again as party members, Liu Binyan was “as if another man, he looked poles apart against the day before”. He was the first to address the meeting in a speech in which he touched with deep insight on numerous weighty issues. His address was astonishing, Liu Shaotang “felt that Liu Binyan from the fifties had come back and although his white hair would not turn dark again, his life was turning green”.²⁴

Two months later, the March issue of *Shanghai wenxue* carried Liu Binyan’s essay *Guanyu “xie yinanmian” he “ganyu shenghuo”* [25], On “Writing About the Dark Side” and “Intervening in Life”²⁵ which may be considered as his programmed declaration. Liu Binyan deserves deep respect for this essay. Despite a terrible ordeal and chicanery lasting over twenty years, he did not give up, nor did he accede to any compromise. He preserved his personal integrity, zest and courage publicly to express his daring standpoint on the very first possible occasion. Through this essay which shows that its author has well thought-out, crystal clear views on China’s political and social situation, on the social function of literature and the role of writers, a strong, unbroken personality with an upright character has returned into the Chinese world of literature, one resolved to intervene, and again ready to take on himself the possible risk.

The essay opens with the statement: “Twenty-three years ago, in 1956, we were faced with the same situation as today” and goes on to say that his and similar works of that time concentrated on a reflection of contradictions among the people, aroused attention and were welcomed by numerous readers because “they reflected certain realistic contradictions in our life that deeply concerned many people, broke through certain forbidden zones, revealed certain dark sides that obstructed our progress. But although the problems they raised were in no way the greatest violation of taboos, nor was the criticism they contained too sharp, they nevertheless provoked attacks by certain comrades and were accused of ‘writing about dark sides’ and ‘intervening in life’.”²⁶ The authors and supporters of such works were defeated, but the criticized phenomena, the “bureaucratism and other filth and mire in social life” remained protected, could grow and multiply. Liu Binyan writes with satisfaction that history had given a clear answer to the question whether criticism expressed in literature had damaged the Party and the State, or the criticized phenomena. “All this belongs to the past now. Nevertheless, right has not been cleared up from wrong,

²⁴ Ibid., p. 201.

²⁵ I could use only a reprint of this essay in LBJQZ, pp. 142—149.

²⁶ LBJQZ, p. 142.

forbidden zones remain closed, certain problems relating to theory likewise wait to be further investigated.”²⁷

This introductory part of the essay already implies at least three conclusions valid also for the rest of the essay and Liu Binyan’s thus not subsequent writings. The first one is of a rather personal character. Liu Binyan considers the present situation as identical with that of the year 1956, thus not guaranteed as stable over a long time, yet despite this he again plunges into a struggle. At the Third Congress of Chinese Writers Association in November of the same year he clearly declared that he was aware that “if you look at my article on intervening in life in Shanghai literature, you’ll see that there is enough there to call me a rightist. But even if I write hundred pieces, I can only be labelled a rightist once”.²⁸ Moreover, and this is the second moment, he rightly indicates the criticism in his two feature stories from the year 1956 as not particularly sharp and not as the greatest violation of taboos. His feature stories of those times revealed in reality various manifestations of social abuses. Now, right in his very first feature story which he began in the spring of 1979,²⁹ *Ren yao zhijian* [26], *Between Men and Monsters*, dealing with a non-fictional episode, he exceeds this framework. The activity of the female criminal Wang Shouxin [27] is not objectively harmful because of conservatism, incompetence or cowardice in a man who subjectively does not wish to harm the society as had been the case in his heroes in the first two of his feature stories. Wang Shouxin is and has always been a subjective and an objective enemy of the society. But the important point is that the inferences which the author of *Between Men and Monsters* draws are no longer a criticism of merely an individual negative phenomenon, but of the persisting mechanism of the society’s life. Thirdly, in the end of the introductory part of the essay, Liu Binyan, in contrast to the large majority of other authors, makes it quite clear that he does not consider the present situation as satisfactory. Although history, as he writes, has shown that reality and not its critics had been the danger, right and wrong have not been cleared up and the forbidden zone remains within the bounds.

In the subsequent parts of the essay he explains the principal conception of “writing about the dark side” which he does not consider as the task of the entire literature, nor as its main task, but as his viewpoint that “by reflecting the contradictions in life and the struggles, by exposing all the negative phenomena that are an obstacle to socialist revolution and construction, universal life truth should reappear in literature”. Polemizing with simplistic views on the social task of literature and on writers, Liu Binyan infers that literature “can play the role of an instrument of Party propaganda only if it truly reflects real life”.³⁰ He is very critical

²⁷ Ibid., p. 143.

²⁸ WIP, 11–12, 1979, p. 46, English translation taken over from H. Goldblatt (Ed.), op. cit., p. 120.

²⁹ Cf. Liu Shaotang’s letter, LBJQZ, p. 201.

³⁰ LBJQZ, p. 143.

towards contemporary Chinese literature: the reader does not find in it a true picture of social contradictions of the past decades, nor of the weighty political, economic, legal, cultural, moral and further problems that are of interest to the people at the time after the fall of the "Gang of Four". On the example of literature about the village he shows how unrealistically it simplified the developmental process, and he states that "what is being written in books is one thing, real life is another — these are two very different worlds".³¹ Liu Binyan does not believe that to describe an "excellent situation" means "to serve proletarian policy".

Liu Binyan refutes the argument against "writing about the dark side" founded on fears that by exposing inner contradictions, difficulties and errors, they would permit the enemy to have malicious pleasure and provide him room for attacks. He writes that in the present world it is not possible any more to conceal the state of things from home and foreign enemy. Logically he states that the consequence of hushing up things, of neglect of solving problems, becomes ultimately manifest negatively, brings about failures and in the end the enemy has reason to rejoice. As to writers themselves, "many are deeply dissatisfied with the tendency, long persistent in our literary sphere, i.e. to avoid, even hush up real contradictions in life, to lessen, even reject the urgent fighting effect of literature".³²

Liu Binyan goes on to say that the arguments of opponents of an "intervening in life" tend towards the paradox that "a writer must ardently love the Party and socialism, but as regards people and things doing harm to the Party and socialism, he may remain unconcerned, sit by idly, indifferent, he must not intervene".³³ According to Liu Binyan this means a division of life into bright and dark sides, the dark side being assigned to the forbidden zone. And yet, these two sides of life are as inseparable as love and hatred in political enthusiasm, the author adds.

Liu Binyan explicitly states in the essay that the "Gang of Four" did nothing but formulate more flagrantly the deformations applied in literary policy right from the year 1957.³⁴

He refutes the argument that by intervening in life literature transgresses, replaces Party leadership and holds that precisely such literature is able effectively to help the Party in carrying out its leading role. Moreover, by an ardent enthusiasm, lively forms and language that are foreign to Party documents just as they are to scientific treatises, but proper to literature, the latter acts on the entire Party and the people, affects the soul, educates and encourages one to fight under the Party leadership against forces of the dark and against abuse. Liu Binyan is of the opinion that "exposure for exposure's sake literature" has never existed in the world, exposure

³¹ Ibid., p. 144.

³² Ibid., p. 146.

³³ Ibid., pp. 146—147.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 147.

has always had an aim in view. Similarly, writing about the dark side is not an end in itself and the dark side is always accompanied by a bright side which the author himself must personify, he must be a fighter and not an onlooker.

In conclusion Liu Binyan expresses his view that China stands at the beginning of a new historical period, with much unknown facing her and which it will be necessary to discover. He sees a basic guarantee for overcoming difficulties and for success in a more mature Party and people and reiterates his conviction concerning the indispensable function of literature in revealing social contradictions and evoking a fighting enthusiasm in the people.

It is rather noteworthy that in this essay Liu Binyan refers to quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin but never mentions Mao Zedong. Nor does he mention the Soviet author V. Ovechkin who in 1956 inspired him in a considerable degree with his concept of "intervening in life".³⁵

Hence, "writing about the dark side" is to Liu Binyan implicitly a part of the concept of "intervening in life" which refers to the relation between literature and politics. Although Liu Binyan is conscious of the specificities of literature as such, he is not concerned with questions how to write, he is interested solely in the content aspect of literature. The relation of literature to the political situation, the social and political role of literature are to him issues of prime importance.

He explicitly expressed his understanding of this relation at the meeting with young writers in January 1981, referred to above. Polemizing with the view that the further literature and art are from politics, the better, and that the closer these are connected, the less vitality is possessed by literature and works of art, Liu Binyan said: "In my view the problem does not reside in whether a relationship occurs between literature, art and politics, but rather with what politics a relationship occurs. In the past, certain works had no vitality because they served an erroneous political line; but where is the harm if literature and art join the right political line? The problem also resides in the fact that our starting point should not be political slogans, but life".³⁶ Hence, as regards the relation between literature and politics and consequently also the content of "intervening in life", Liu Binyan leaves considerable freedom to the writer to decide whether he considers a political line to be correct — i.e. whether he will adopt it and what attitude he will take towards it, but he must all the time start from real life and not from political slogans. His essay, treated above, makes it clear that a writer should in every case intervene in life, in politics and, at least at the present times, principally as a critic of social abuses.

³⁵ Cf. Liu Binyan's essay in WIP, 8, 1956, pp. 29—32. In his speech on Dramatic Writing, 11 February 1980, Zhou Yang explicitly stated that the slogan 'intervening in life' appeared in China more or less under the influence of V. Ovechkin, WIP, 4, 1981, p. 10. An abridged English translation of a section of his speech appeared in Beijing Review, 1981, No. 15, 13 April, pp. 23—25; cf. p. 25.

³⁶ GWY, 5, 1981, p. 37.

A somewhat different interpretation of the concept “intervening in life” is given by Zhou Yang who said this about it in the closing part of his speech at the forum on dramatic writing in February 1980: “The so-called ‘intervening in life’ mainly means to expose the dark side of life, to intervene in problems of the present day politics. If it is argued that literature and art are to serve politics, they are thereby assigned into a subordinate position and conversely ‘intervening in life’ puts politics into that subordinating position... Literature and art may intervene in the political life, but may not be placed above politics. The original function of literature and art is to reflect life, influence life and push history forward and so, in a great measure, to influence politics, to push it forward or backward. Now, when people speak about literature and art intervening in life, they usually refer only to works which expose the dark side of life, describe the negative phenomena of society and can be helpful in overcoming these phenomena. Works describing advanced things in the life of the people, playing a positive role in pushing history forward are not designated as intervening in life... And thus, may one intervene in life? Of course, one may. I only hope that this slogan will not lead literary and artistic creation in the direction of only exposing the dark side. There is now a view as if only works thus intervening in life were alone realist... Are not works describing land reform, underground struggles, the War of Resistance, War of Liberation to be considered as intervening in life and pushing history forward?... Thus interpreted, ‘intervening in life’ is by its character rather too one-sided and dark. Perhaps this slogan in itself has more or less such a drawback of oneness.”³⁷

As is evident, Zhou Yang is not overjoyed by the slogan ‘intervening in life’. His speech nevertheless betrays that this concept had won popularity and respect and Zhou Yang in fact advocates that practically all literature reflecting social life should be encompassed within its frame of reference.

Liu Binyan in his literary works written after his rehabilitation consistently ‘intervenes in life’ by ‘writing about the dark side’.

His come-back to literature in the true sense of the word was the publication of his feature story *Between Men and Monsters* in September 1979.³⁸ In it, Liu Binyan describes the situation in the Binxian [29] county in the Heilongjiang province between 1964 and the present, concretely the rise, the career and the discovery of the criminal Wang Shouxin,³⁹ but particularly the political conditions and the

³⁷ WIP, 4, 1981, p. 10.

³⁸ RMWX, 9, 1979, pp. 83—102. In the Table of Contents of this issue, this feature story is given first and its title is printed in conspicuously bold types.

³⁹ The paper RMRB reported the arrest of 50-year-old Wang Shouxin on 23 April 1979 in an extensive article on p. 2 and her execution on 29 February 1980 on p. 1, stating that, between November 1971 and June 1978, she had misappropriated 500,770 Yuan in money, goods and material. Her complices, for the most part her relative, received sentences of between 15 and 3 years.

mechanism of the social life that enabled her through stealing, corruption and favouritism to acquire also political standing and thus be for years influential and feared in the entire county and outside of it.⁴⁰ The author, changing a few names, described true events and real people without exaggerating, rather the contrary, leaving out many things.⁴¹

The story *Between Men and Monsters* presents a picture of the hideous, inhuman conditions of terror and wanton wilfulness, of humiliation and persecution readily backed up also by Party cadres. These conditions, making it unusually difficult to expose Wang Shouxin, persisted at Binxian also after the fall of the “Gang of Four” and their aftermath was felt after Wang Shouxin and her accomplices had been arrested.⁴² Liu Binyan was not concerned with depicting an isolated case,⁴³ nor did he consider the issues described as resolved. In the closing part of this feature story he says: “Wang Shouxin’s corruption case was disclosed. But in what measure have the social conditions changed that had made it possible for Wang Shouxin to exist and develop? Are there no further big and small Wang Shouxins that in various corners continue to erode socialism, continue to corrode the body of the Party and have not as yet been punished by the proletarian dictatorship? People, be on your guard! The time has not come yet to cheer victories...”⁴⁴

Liu Binyan’s come-back through the publication of his *Between Men and Monsters* was truly grandiose. His work had an immense response in an unusually broad masses of readers. “The strength of response elicited by this work greatly

⁴⁰ This feature story will not be treated in any detail in the present study — scores of articles have appeared on it in various countries. Besides newspaper articles in European and USA papers, e.g. in RMRB, 9 and 17 Oct. 1979, *Guangming ribao* [30] Bright Daily, 7 Oct. 1979, WIP, 11—12, 1979, pp. 82—85; in Hong Kong in periodicals *Qishi niandai* [31], Seventies, 10, 1980, pp. 79—82 and 4, 1981, pp. 89—94, *Dongxiang* [32] Direction, 1979, No. 14, 16 Nov., pp. 20—21 (English translation in CHR, No. 59, JPRS, No. 75142, pp. 129—134), *The China Quarterly*, June 1981, No. 86, p. 191; in the Soviet Union, in the periodicals *Literaturnaya gazeta*, *Literary Paper*, Dec. 17, 1980, p. 15, *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, *Literary Review*, 1, 1981, pp. 82—85.

⁴¹ In a reply to readers’ questions, Liu Binyan states in RMWX, 1, 1980, p. 100, that he “altered some names for understandable reasons” and he included this remark also in his Author Note at the end of his work *Between Men and Monsters*. This work Liu Binyan sometimes terms *diao cha baogao* [33] findings report. Cf. interview at Kaijuan, July 1980, reprinted in LBJQZ, p. 203. Already when writing this work in May 1979, he told Liu Shaotang that he did not want to write a literary work, but a “findings report, investigating problems of social and political life”. Cf. letter by Liu Shaotang in *Shanghai wenxue*, 1, 1980, quoted from LBJQZ, p. 201.

⁴² In RMWX, 1, 1980, pp. 100—102, Liu Binyan writes that six elderly workers with whom he had spoken about the matter at Binxian became an object of reprisals after his departure, and to prevent him generally from uncovering the truth, use was made of personal attacks, slandering and intimidation.

⁴³ In the interview referred to above at Kaijuan, he expresses the view that under different conditions, Wang Shouxin would have perhaps been nothing else but a bit of an ambitious person with somewhat utilitarian tastes. Cf. LBJQZ, p. 203.

⁴⁴ RMWX, 9, 1979, p. 102.

surpasses the other works published during the three years since the smashing of the 'Gang of Four'."⁴⁵ The issue of *Renmin wenxue* in which *Between Men and Monsters* was published "was immediately sold out, the supply fell short of demand, copies circulated hastily from hand to hand among readers, in some places some even mimeographed it to meet the pressing demand. At the moment, some periodicals have already reprinted *Between Men and Monsters*, some are reprinting it now".⁴⁶

The type and range of the response evoked by this work in the general readers is attested to by their letters which reached the author from the whole of China except the Tibet. Many workers, commune members, cadres wrote to him, sending him clues to new topics, inviting him to their places to gather new material for further writings, they even invited him to stay and eat with their families and more of it assured him that "we will protect you".⁴⁷

Two months following the publication of *Between Men and Monsters*, Liu Binyan said: "As for the place where the incident occurred, Binxian in Heilongjiang, there is no need to mention the vibrations it caused. I was surprised, however, when letters from more remote places like Gansu and Inner Mongolia arrived saying that my piece 'had the effect of an earthquake' in those areas".⁴⁸ On the same occasion he cited from the letter of a worker who described how, after work, he had read for over three hours to fourteen of his fellow workers *Between Men and Monsters*. Nobody left, although among his listeners there were mothers with children, busy young people, tired old workers. On the contrary, others joined them during the course of the reading.⁴⁹ But when one of the listeners called over the local Party secretary who came in just as the writer of the letter "was reading the bit that says 'the Communist Party controls everything — except for itself', he snatched the book out of my hand in a rage. Only when he saw the cover did he toss it back to me and walk off in anger".⁵⁰

It is quite natural that this feature story failed to provoke enthusiasm in every one. When Liu Binyan decided to publish it, just as the editorial staff of the central literary journal that published it, must have calculated with a certain risk, with a certain ill-will at least on the part of conservative ultra-leftists.

An unusually rowdy voice made itself heard shortly following the appearance of *Between Men and Monsters* from Inner Mongolia: "Liu Binyan is committing suicide. Since Liberation there has never been such a poisonous anti-Party,

⁴⁵ Liu Shaotang in the above-mentioned letter, LBJQZ, p. 201. In the same letter, however, the writer reproaches to this work "a blemish in an otherwise perfect work": not enough literary taste. Ibid., p. 202.

⁴⁶ WIP, 11—12, 1979, p. 82.

⁴⁷ Cf. Liu Binyan in RMWX, 1, 1980, p. 99 and p. 101 and in his speech at the Third Congress of Chinese Writers Association, WIP, 11—12, 1979, p. 45.

⁴⁸ WIP, 11—12, 1979, p. 45, English translation taken over from H. Goldblatt (Ed.), op. cit., p. 117.

⁴⁹ WIP, 11—12, 1979, p. 45.

⁵⁰ Ibid., English translation from H. Goldblatt (Ed.), op. cit., p. 118.

anti-socialist weed as this piece. Once the next Cultural Revolution comes, on the strength of this essay alone he will die a more miserable death than Deng Tuo [34]".⁵¹ Two county cadres in Binxian spread rumours that Liu Binyan is imprisoned, that the public prosecutor has indicted him.⁵² Liu Binyan wrote that for nine entire months of 1980 stories were spread in the provinces that a certain comrade from the Party Central Committee had sharply criticized him, that he cannot leave Beijing, or again that he had been banned from Beijing to the Szechwan province, that he is holding reactionary talks, that he wants to emigrate to the U.S.A. and so on. Some such rumours, Liu Binyan mentions, are being spread through highly efficient channels, one highly-placed comrade thinks of investigating matters and pinning down responsibility on him for this case. Liu Binyan understands the whole affair as a part of the overall situation and is aware that he is not the only one to hold this view, viz. that the whole complex of the new Party policy is being jeopardized. Some even fear lest the rumours around Liu Binyan be a signal for a new "struggle against rightists". For, as Liu Binyan writes further, were man to be persecuted for literary work or speech, even though he might be guilty in them of a grievous error, then the existing guiding principles of the Party would become but a scrap of paper. Liu Binyan states that he felt no persecution, no pressure — to which, according to some, he had already submitted — that he did not worry about what he may and may not write and that he goes on expressing his personal view on the present and the future of the country, on the social and literary problems, without any obstacles. His worries come from a different quarter — from opponents of the political line after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee to whom the spread of rumours and doubts might provide a pretext. For if he was as reactionary as the rumour would have it, then was it not a mistake to have rehabilitated him and "rightists" like him?⁵³

Experienced, politically-minded Liu Binyan judiciously defended much more than his own person and a feature story as isolated phenomena. In any case, Liu Binyan — then already, and still, editor of the central Party organ *Renmin ribao*, then travelling on behalf of that editorial office to numerous provinces, elected in November 1979 a member of the committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and secretary of the Secretariat of the Chinese Writers Association — resisted very wisely and adroitly.

Liu Binyan, with his *Between Men and Monsters*, provoked attention that

⁵¹ WIP, 11—12, 1979, p. 45, English translation taken over from H. Goldblatt (Ed.), op. cit., pp. 117—118. Deng Tuo was a well-known author of daring feuilletons, published in the first half of the sixties. As one of the first victims of the "cultural revolution", he was brutally tortured and killed on 17 May 1966.

⁵² Liu Binyan's letter written on 13 Sep. 1980. First published in the journal *Yalujuang* [35] 11, 1980. Its text, abridged and revised by its author, appeared in *RMWX*, 12, 1980, pp. 86—90. Cf. p. 86.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 86—87. Details about slanderings and falsehoods concerning the author of *Between Men and Monsters*, are also given in WIP, 17, 1981, p. 7.

persisted for long. Even if the rumours that he had been criticized for this work were not quite empty — a fact that cannot be excluded with absolute certainty — the fact remains that this feature story was positively reviewed several times in the press,⁵⁴ reprinted in the following years,⁵⁵ many times cited among significant successful works of recent years, and I have not found any reference nor allusion anywhere that this work would have been publicly criticized at least at that time.^{55a} On the contrary, even Zhou Yang in his speech at the Fourth Congress of All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles mentioned it alone as a feature story among works that were welcomed by people because of “its stirring topic, fighting style and original artistic skill”.⁵⁶ Two years after its publication this work was still designated as “strong, promoting justice and shaking the heart of people” and was ranked among “excellent reportages, that appeared at the right moment, spread like wildfire and provoked a large-scale social effect”.⁵⁷ Later too, this work was still positively referred to.⁵⁸

Following this impressive and remarkable come-back, Liu Binyan has stayed actively present on the Chinese literary scene. He has remained faithful to his views on literature, on its social function and applied them also in his further works.

At the Third Congress of Chinese Writers' Association he presented a speech in which he further developed and concretized his views expressed in his essay On “Writing about the Dark Side” and “Intervening in Life”.⁵⁹ Howard Goldblatt designates Liu Binyan as “the most analytical among the speakers”.⁶⁰ Among

⁵⁴ For most important reviews, cf. first items in note 40.

⁵⁵ E.g., in the collection *Xiaoshuo qipa* [36] Fiction's Rare Flowers, Beijing 1981. In 1980, the book *Liu Binyan baogao wenxue xuan* [38] Selection of Liu Binyan's Reportages appeared in the series *Beijing wenxue chuanguo congshu* [37], Collections of Beijing Literary Creation. A book under the same title was published in Sichuan province. Both were completely sold out and I have only second-hand informations on them.

^{55a} After completing this article I learned about an article in *Beifang wenxue* [52] Northern Literature, 2, 1982, pp. 154—158 defending some Heilongjiang's local cadres and local policy and reproaching Liu Binyan to be inconsistent with the facts and judgements in his descriptions of several events and persons in the feature story *Between Men and Monsters* as well as in his further comments on this matter.

⁵⁶ WIP, 11—12, 1979, p. 14.

⁵⁷ WIP, 17, 1981, p. 7.

⁵⁸ E.g., WIP, 7, 1982, pp. 19 and 25.

⁵⁹ This speech appeared in WIP, 11—12, 1979, and its English translation in Goldblatt, H. (Ed.), op. cit., similarly as the English translation of a supplement to this speech, originally published in *Wenxue pinglun* [39] Literary Criticism, 6, 1979, and the attitudes expressed in this speech and its supplement were repeated by the author in an article published in RMRB on 26 November 1979, translated into English in CHR, No. 66, JPRS, No. 75291 on 12 March 1980. Sporadically, but consistently in keeping with his attitudes, he also published other articles, e.g. a review of a film, in *Dianying yishu* [40] Film Art, 2, 1981 and a speech at a meeting on literature with industrial topic, WIP, 4, 1982.

⁶⁰ Goldblatt, H. (Ed.), op. cit., Introduction, p. XVI.

numerous other matters, Liu Binyan in this speech specified more explicitly his general attitude to literature and art which, in view of a concentration of his interest on their social impact, might have too one-sided effect. He explained that seeing a classical opera afforded him a deep mental satisfaction, for although the opera had not given him any new ideological or historical notions, he nevertheless experienced an aesthetic enjoyment which people also need. Nevertheless, in his view people do need more writers to deal with negative aspects of social life. He judges that if writers will not intervene in life, the masses will have to turn to ancient dramas also because they release their anger.⁶¹ Thus, Liu Binyan does not deny or negate the aesthetic effect of literature and art, he only sees their principal task in a different aspect.

He made use of his concept of 'intervening in life' also in his maiden work in the short story genre. It is a specimen work of the literature of exposure. He wrote the story *Di'wuge chuan dayi de ren* [41] The Fifth Man Wearing a Coat, in September 1979.⁶² All the incidents described here are portrayed by Liu Binyan in the way they are perceived and experienced by the principal hero, the journalist Jin. This Jin, a "rightist", who has just been pardoned, but not thoroughly, wears a shabby military coat whose four previous wearers had not survived the persecution. In this story, written in the third person, the author clearly makes manifest his political and emotional involvement, his compassion and anger, as also his personal kinship with Jin. Not the plot, though rich in incidents, but rather the inner tension of Jin's situation and feelings in the present and in retrospective passages on the distress of his innocent fellow-sufferers imparts gradation to the story and has a captivating effect on the reader.

In March 1979, forty-five-year-old Jin returns to the editorial office of the newspaper where he had worked over twenty-three years before — he has no other possibility but to rejoin his original unit. He does not understand why he alone may return, for together with him twenty-seven were dismissed then from the editing office, twenty-three of whom are still alive. The first man he meets at the editorial office is prosperous-looking He. That same He who had "exposed" him as a "rightist" and now greets him as an "old comrade-in-arms returning at the journalist front". He behaves with self-confidence and joviality, stresses that rehabilitations cannot be hurried, that individual cases and the behaviour of those criticized over the past twenty years have to be investigated. However, he is inwardly glad that Jin asks for a modest place where he will busy himself with readers' letters. Jin is aware that it would be fitting at that moment to say that he is thankful to the Party for its loving care, that when the punishment was meted out to him, it was not

⁶¹ WIP, 11—12, 1979, p. 44.

⁶² First published in Beijing wenyi [42], Beijing Literature and Arts, November 1979, reprinted in LBJQZ, pp. 134—141.

entirely without his fault, that he still will have to remould himself ideologically also in the future. It would be fitting for him to say that over twenty-three years ago He came out boldly, exposed and struck back out of love for the Party and socialism; the fact that He then exposed him is equally right as the fact that though now rehabilitated, he, Jin, is not totally remoulded and asks He further to help him. But Jin said nothing of the kind: for if the four dead had lived to this day and saw the scene, they would probably die again tomorrow. Jin, reading correspondents' letters and evoking memories, gradually uncovers how He and his complices persecuted further people, the owners of the coat, including He's wife whom he wished to get rid of. A particularly shocking case was that of Jiang whose persecuted husband died before Jin's eyes, and she now lies gravely ill in a psychiatric ward. Liu Binyan describes how difficult it is also now to uncover those guilty and to clear up the good name of innocent victims. Mr. He publicly declares that the solution of misjudged and unjustly condemned cases, and rehabilitation of rightists cannot go beyond certain limits, for some of the rightists from the year 1957 have not corrected their views, as borne out by the fact that they are again beginning to prance and caper about. And some of them had indeed been truly opposed to the Party and socialism. Now, in He's view, emancipation of the mind is used as a pretext to oppose the Four Basic Principles. The majority of Jin's colleagues sympathize with him, the various rehabilitations are becoming more hopeful, but it all requires considerable tenacious effort and personal courage. After all, He has still both power and influence; he is proposed as a candidate for a delegate to the Municipal Party Conference.

It would be superfluous to explain the mission of this short story, against what it fights and what aim the author follows in it. By its processing and style, it carries traces of the author's experience as a journalist and writer of feature stories — neither of which detracts from its cogency or from the potent impression which remains with the reader.

However, neither this — Liu Binyan's second literary work following his rehabilitation, nor his further writings which, owing to lack of space can only be briefly noted here, have succeeded to produce the impact and evoke the response of the feature story *Between Men and Monsters*.

Liu Binyan wrote his second — and so far the last — short story in November 1979, according to the date at the end of its text, at the Congress of Writers Association. The plot of this story called *Jinggao* [43], Warning,⁶³ takes place after the fall of the "Gang of Four" and is set in a cemetery where three cadres — a general, a propagandist and an economist, cremated and duly buried — carry on a discussion. At one moment, an ostentatious cinerary casket, of the biggest type in the People's

⁶³ First published in *Zuopin* [44], 1, 1980, reprinted in 1980 *nian duanpian xiaoshuo xuan* [45] Selection of Stories of the year 1980, Beijing 1981, pp. 129—138 and in *LBJQZ*, pp. 129—133.

Republic of China, is brought in. Its content firmly exhorts them, with a Shandong accent,⁶⁴ simply to hold out, to allow people to forget them, for the four of them have only one hope, namely, that people will follow their way. From that moment there was silence in the caskets and the author asks: “Will history move in accordance with the wishes of these ghosts”?

In June 1980 Liu Binyan finished a further feature story, *Yige ren he tade yingzi* [47] A Man and His Shadow.⁶⁵ In it he describes the case of a talented, capable and hard-working technician from the year 1960 when, as a twenty-two-year-old “rightist”, having completed his training, returned to work in his home county in the Szechwan province, until the year 1980. During this twenty year period, he had to bear many insults, accusations and humiliations. He went through thrilling, hopeful moments when given an opportunity to resolve a difficult technical problem. But these over, an even deeper hopelessness followed when he fell back into the gearing of his position which appeared a thorough blind-alley. On light point in this impasse was the devoted and — in view of his position — courageous love of his future wife. After a hard-going, complicated rehabilitation, he refused a higher post, declined to join a research institute and wished only to be able to work at the factory where he will be doing a technical job, and to organize production. He would carry on research as a side task.

The feature story *Fengyu zhaozhao* [51] Wind and Rain Are Clear,⁶⁶ also deals with a “work fanatic”. Jin, originally a teacher of Chinese, sacrificed everything in order to devote himself to scientific research with the aim to enhance the quality and yield of potatoes. This time, Liu Binyan again had recourse to authentic material.⁶⁷ He describes Jin as a devoted, enthusiastic man, fully concentrated on his successful research. Jin travels across China at his own expense in order to spread his new methods to the profit of the people. Such an altruist could not but become a powerless victim of the ultra-leftist terror — he was prevented from working, his books, so painfully acquired, were destroyed, he was slandered and insulted. However, this somewhat eccentric and sullen old man failed, even in 1981, to obtain such a recognition among scientists as he would have wished and also deserved.

Both these works with a sense for psychological detail effectively show the individual in the cruel and stupid, blunt mechanism of willfulness that is being

⁶⁴ There is evidently question of the dreaded security chief Kang Sheng [46], who died in December 1975 and was much criticized posthumously.

⁶⁵ First published probably in the bimonthly *Shiyue* [48] October. I have used the text from the collection *Meide zhuiqiuzhe* [49] Seeker of Beauty, published in the series *Shiyue wenxue congshu* [50] Collections of the October Literature, Beijing 1981, pp. 81—133.

⁶⁶ RMWX, 6, 1981, pp. 32—52. In the Contents of the paper this work figures as a reportage.

⁶⁷ A report about Professor Jin and his successes with potato cultivation and improvement appeared in the daily *Guangming ribao* of 3 February 1979, in an article on the title page.

liquidated with difficulty only and whose action leaves lasting traces in the victims. The more an individual is immersed in his work, the easier and the more powerless victim he becomes. In both the stories there is question of people who are, or might be useful to the society, but the latter, instead of profiting by their abilities, prevents them from working.

From his first visit to the birthplace of his forefathers in the south of the Shandong province, in July 1980, Liu Binyan wrote a reportage *Lu manman qi xiu yuan xi*... [52] *The Road Is Slow, Its Repair Remote*...⁶⁸ For material, he drew on Yinan [53] county, one of the most backward in the entire region. Its backwardness has not been brought on by natural conditions, which are above average, but by the persisting errors in the social and political sphere that are overcome but slowly and with difficulty. Nevertheless, the closing part of Liu Binyan's reportage sounds in a more optimistic tone, more hopefully — though not generalizing — than that in *Between Men and Monsters*: "Yinan, Yinan, the day cannot be far off when you will not be called 'Difficult Yi'..."⁶⁹

Besides the above works, Liu Binyan also published *Jiannan de qifei* [54] *Difficult Take-off*,⁷⁰ which received an honourable mention among reportages of the past five years in February 1982.⁷¹ The last work published by Liu Binyan to date is the reportage *Ying shi longteng huyue shi* [55] *It Should Be a Time of Vigour and Enthusiasm*.⁷² Here again he picked an attractive, though not a simple topic, conditions and life in the special economic zone. He describes the complications and obstacles and at least partially realizes the complexity of such an experiment as is that seen in the economic zone — but he likes it. He likes the modern way of work, he likes the local young people, their behaviour and thinking detached from anachronic traditions. Of all Liu Binyan's writings thus far, this work sees the described reality in the most positive and hopeful terms.

At the time when this reportage appeared, i.e. in October 1982, Liu Binyan was on a stay of several months in the U.S.A.⁷³ It would certainly be very interesting to read a reportage on his impressions and insights from this journey.

⁶⁸ RMWX, 1, 1981, pp. 40—51.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51. Liu Binyan made use here of a pun. He changed the character "nan" meaning "south" in the name of the country, into a homophonous one meaning "difficult".

⁷⁰ This feature story, concerned with the situation in Szechwan province, was also published in the collection of Liu Binyan's works under the same title, published in Changsha 1982. RMRB, 3 January 1981.

⁷¹ Cf. WIP, 7, 1982, pp. 21 and 26.

⁷² *Dangdai* [56] *The Present Times*, 5, 1982, pp. 114—133.

⁷³ Earlier, at least up to September 1980, he refused to go abroad, for, as he stated, he wanted to write more about, and follow up changes in the life of China. He considered the possibility of seeing the world outside China after a lapse of twenty-four years to be alluring, but less so than work at home. Cf. RMWX, 12, 1980, p. 87.

The popularity and importance of Liu Binyan's writings derive in a great measure from their subjects and their content. They reflect problems which, by their topical nature, are of interest to and make uneasy a considerable number of Chinese citizens of the most diverse strata who appreciate their realistic and penetrating description by Liu Binyan. The topic alone naturally is not enough for a work to produce a large impact and response. Liu Binyan is undoubtedly a talented stylist. His best feature stories and reportages are filled with real facts without encumbering the text or making it monotonous or tedious. To facts, he skilfully attaches their psychological, emotional effect. As author, he does not strive at all to convey the impression of an objective, impartial observer and narrator, on the contrary, throughout the processing, through the whole treatment he makes it clear that he is involved with his whole being, that he personally feels, sympathizes, is indignant, that the matter is of concern to him. In these works Liu Binyan sides with the overwhelming majority of readers and the Chinese people and makes use of his journalist and writing talent in order to be the speaker, in the best sense of the term, of positive, progressive and authentically patriotic forces in contemporary China.

In 1979, a writer come-back into Chinese literature in the person of Liu Binyan who, by his programmed "intervening in life", does not intend to revive wounds, but to heal them, risking even to be wounded in the process. The effect produced by his second come-back into literature, i.e. his feature story *Between Men and Monsters* and the attention with which each of his new work is being awaited and followed, are the best evidence that an author of Liu Binyan's type is badly needed in the life of the society in which Liu Binyan lives.

1. 刘宾雁 2. 中国青年报 3. 特写 4. 报告文学
5. 散文 6. 在桥梁工地上 7. 人民文学 8. 本报内部消息 9. 文艺报 10. 贾燕 11. 镜报 12. 中国新现实主义文艺评论选 - 刘宾雁及其作品 13. 贾达文
14. 太行山 15. 开卷 16. 中国文学大辞典, 现代第二分册 17. 人民日报 18. 广州文艺 19. 林彪 20. 文学评论 21. 刘绍棠 22. 黎宁 23. 新晚报 24. 上海文学 25. 关于“写阴暗面”和“干预生活” 26. 人妖之间 27. 王守信 28. 同招 29. 宾县 30. 光明日报
31. 七十年代 32. 鄧向 33. 2周查报告 34. 邓拓 35. 鸭绿江 36. 小说奇葩 37. 北京文学创作丛书
38. 刘宾雁报告文学选 39. 文学评论 40. 电影艺术 41. 第五个穿大衣的人 42. 北京文艺 43. 警告 44. 作品
45. 1980 短篇小说选 46. 康至 47. 一个人和他的影子 48. 十月 49. 美的追求者 50. 十月文学丛书
51. 风雨昭昭 52. 北方文学

CERTAINS ASPECTS DU DÉVELOPPEMENT DE LA PROSE VIETNAMIENNE PENDANT LES ANNÉES 1959—1965

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Un phénomène remarquable qui s'est fait sentir d'une manière pressante et sous une forme concrète dans la société vietnamienne de la période indiquée ci-dessus, c'était une lutte pour la conscience de l'homme enthousiasmé des transformations et des idées nouvelles. Une place irremplaçable dans la connaissance des relations et affinités du développement socio-culturel et des problèmes actuels d'alors revint à la littérature et dans ce cadre, aussi à la production en prose. Celle-ci aida à relever le mouvement à partir de la conscience sociale vers la réalité et à signaler l'acceptation différenciée d'idées et conceptions socio-politiques nouvelles.

La prose vietnamienne de cette période était confrontée par des tâches extraordinaires dont l'essence résidait en ce que beaucoup des problèmes se montraient, en fait, plus compliqués et plus contradictoires qu'on ne les aurait soupçonnés. Beaucoup de questions ont revêtu un caractère nouveau et les méthodes artistiques traditionnelles ne furent plus égales à la tâche — à en venir à bout et les présenter d'une manière artistique. Cela veut dire qu'un processus dynamique intense était inévitable aussi dans la vie artistique, ayant pour but le perfectionnement, l'amélioration du travail créatif relativement aux priorités du nouvel ordre social, en établissant un mode de vie nouveau. La production en prose au Vietnam de cette période était caractérisée par des efforts vers une liaison plus étroite avec la réalité sociale, une analyse concrète de l'état des phénomènes. Cependant, vue que la société vietnamienne nouvelle se formait dans une lutte de classe constante avec les vestiges de l'idéologie bourgeoises et une survivance au caractère féodal-colonial, les conséquences des méthodes et normes précédentes ne pouvaient pas être écartées entièrement dans cette étape développementale ni dans la sphère culturelle non plus. La création littéraire en prose elle aussi fit preuve d'un manque de connaissances relativement considérable au sujet des principes de base et des procédés employés par la méthode du réalisme socialiste, d'un certain désaccord dans le domaine de la science littéraire comme telle et la production prosaïque. Beaucoup des œuvres n'atteignirent pas le niveau conceptuel esthétique demandé, employèrent la méthode de réalisme socialiste d'une manière poncive, sans égard à la réalité concrète. D'autres raisons d'une certaine stagnation dans la production en prose étaient d'un caractère subjectif. Certains auteurs n'entamèrent pas la solution de questions contradictoires d'une manière active, engagée. Il n'avaient pas le goût de risquer, ni

la dose de courage nécessaire pour imposer et faire prévaloir quelque chose de nouveau. Mais les causes vraiment objectives prédominaient. Les débuts dans l'établissement d'une société socialiste emmenèrent des changements violents, une dynamique rapide du mouvement social, ce qui à son tour apporta non seulement des thèmes nouveaux, mais demandait aussi de nouveaux modes d'approche. Les efforts d'analyser consciemment et à un niveau cognitif assez haut, les phénomènes réels et les processus participant dans les fondations de la société socialiste se heurtaient contre de faibles connaissances de l'esthétique et méthodologie marxiste-léniniste. Par contre, les écrivains se rendaient compte qu'une œuvre littéraire, comme d'ailleurs tout art, doit être en une relation active avec la réalité sociale, doit entrer par sa forme artistique et son fond idéologique dans la lutte pour la conscience et le savoir de l'homme.

Par conséquent, aucune prose de la nouvelle littérature vietnamienne (tout spécialement de cette période et de la période précédente) ne pourrait être jugée uniquement au point de vue esthétique sans qu'on ne prenne en considération la force de sa liaison politique, et surtout sociale. Ce n'est que dans cet enchevêtrement mutuel de ces affinités idéologiques et sociales que l'œuvre pouvait exercer une influence stimulante sur la manière de sentir, penser et agir de chaque individu de cette nouvelle société en train d'être formée.

Au début de l'année 1959 on relève dans la prose vietnamienne une tendance prononcée vers une connaissance plus approfondie des lois de la vie, de la réalité du train-train quotidien. Les journaux et périodiques littéraires (*Van nghe*, *Van hoc*, *Thong nhat* etc.) publiaient beaucoup de contes et reportages par de jeunes auteurs, pour qui ils organisaient d'intéressants concours créatifs-artistiques. Ce fait avait une influence positive aussi sur la création des écrivains de générations antérieures. On publiait des collections d'œuvres choisies des quinze années précédentes, qui constituaient une sorte de bilan de la nouvelle prose vietnamienne (par exemple, *Tuyen tap Van 1945—1960 — Prose choisie 1945—1960*). Il s'agissait là, en premier lieu, du thème portant sur la résistance contre les Français. Cependant, des œuvres traitant de transformations sociales du passé tout récent commencèrent aussi à paraître — telles *Cai san gach* (La cour carrelée, 1959), *Song Da* (La rivière Da, 1960), *Mua lac* (Cueillette de noix, 1960) et d'autres. Une aide au développement du conte ou de la nouvelle fut apportée par les concours littéraires mentionnés ci-avant, dans le cadre desquels des mémoires parurent, comme par exemple, *Nhan dan ta rat anh hung* (Notre peuple est très héroïque, 1960), *Len duong thang loi* (En avant sur le chemin victorieux, 1961), etc. A la fin, même des romans relativement étendus furent écrits, tels *Song gam* (Vagues bruyantes, 1961), *Nhung nguoi tho mo* (Les mineurs, 1961), *Vo bo* (La digue rompue, 1962) etc.

La diversité de la création littéraire était un sol nutritif pour la vie littéraire variée et les discussions, par ex. sur le roman cité ci-haut, *Cai san gach* (La cour carrelée) pendant les années 1959—1960, sur la collection de la prose choisie donnant

retrospectivement les jugements d'écrivains connus (par ex. l'article de To Hoai, *Muoi lam nam van xuoï* — Quinze ans de prose, ou celui de Nhu Phong, *Nhin lai buoc duong qua* — Coup d'œil rétrospectif sur les pas précédents); interviews thématiques de différents journaux littéraires (par ex. le journal Van Hoc — Littérature de 1960 sur le thème «Nang cao chat luong sang tac» — Intensifier la qualité de création). Le journal Van nghe (Littérature et art) a dévoué tout un nombre aux écrits en prose (N° 52, mai 1961). En guise d'illustration, on peut citer quelques réponses d'écrivains au cours d'un interview organisé par le journal Van nghe quan doi (Littérature et art d'armée) au mois de décembre 1961: «Les camarades ont réussi à écrire des œuvres vraiment belles» (To Hoai); «Au cours des dernières années, la prose a fait grand progrès, je m'en réjouis» (Bui Hien); «J'aime la prose le mieux. Elle possède un caractère national, c'est une littérature vietnamienne, à la manière de penser et agir vietnamienne» (Tu Mo). Cependant, on doit objectivement noter par rapport à ces discussions et interviews, qu'en dépit des résultats atteints, ils étaient plutôt optimistiques et, par endroits, il leur manquait la critique esthétique-littéraire si exigeante. Toutefois, ils ont contribué d'une manière signifiante à la solution de questions capitales, telles la tâche et la fonction de la littérature et de l'art, ce que c'est que le nouveau dans la littérature, et la question de la nationalité et de l'appartenance à un parti politique dans la littérature et l'art. Tout cela se reflétait déjà dans la discussion au 3^e congrès national des écrivains et artistes vers la fin de 1962.

La variété des transformations dans la réalité vietnamienne devint une source abondante de thèmes et sujets d'œuvres prosaïques. Les écrivains pouvaient se concentrer (par contraste à l'étape précédente) non seulement sur les questions de base de la vie et de la réalité contemporaine, mais dans les conditions nouvelles, ils pouvaient peindre la vie dans une prise de vue artistique plus large, dans sa diversité, ses conflits et dans toute sa vigueur. Cela leur était rendu possible aussi par la dimension de la révolution socialiste, permettant à l'écrivain un coup d'œil profond et universel sur la vie.

Le thème le plus commun des œuvres en prose se rapportait à la campagne et à la collectivisation agricole. On peut dire que c'était un thème dans lequel la prose vietnamienne d'après-révolution a réalisé ses premiers succès de valeur. La question importante n'était pas seulement de peindre vigoureusement chaque pas ou étape de la collectivisation, mais aussi l'état psychique du paysan devenant membre d'une coopérative agricole et les problèmes des différents types de ces coopératives. Plusieurs écrivains essayèrent d'analyser plus profondément les contradictions de ces changements à la campagne vietnamienne et d'élucider, d'expliquer la collectivisation comme un mouvement révolutionnaire qui apporte avec lui des changements et des conflits surtout dans la manière de penser de l'homme. Le roman de l'écrivain Dao Vu, *Cai san gach* (La cour carrelée, 1959), décrit ces changements et conflits dans les relations de production à la campagne, la complexité de pensée humain,

tributaire des coutumes et traditions, mais aussi les rêves et aspirations humains concernant l'avenir en liaison avec le progrès de toute la société. Cependant, les détails de la vie collective et les aspects compliqués de l'âme humaine sont souvent dépeints de manière simpliste, aux dépens de la valeur esthétique de l'ouvrage. Le premier roman de cet écrivain a donc ses faibles points consistant en une certaine droiture, une solution schématique du sujet et dans une portraiture peu convaincante des caractères de certains personnages — spécialement des principaux d'entre eux. Le roman *Tam nhìn xa* (Regard lointain, 1963) par Nguyen Khai, est une image de nouvelles formes de la lutte de classes à la campagne au temps d'une collectivisation déjà avancée. Ici aussi des aspects nouveaux, inconnus jusque là, occupent le premier plan de la vie villageoise. L'agriculteur n'est plus affronté par la question de base — joindre ou non la coopérative, mais par le problème d'une conscience individualiste ou collectiviste, par une lutte et triomphe contre des vues étroites, des esprits bornés, contre l'égoïsme, la cupidité, l'avidité aux dépens d'autrui, par le problème d'un camouflage adroit en vue de s'enrichir sous le manteau «d'intérêts collectifs».

Le thème de la campagne avec de nouvelles transformations compliquées de la vie, avec une nouvelle moralité du paysan dans la collectivisation, trouva sa réflexion aussi dans la nouvelle ou conte. Les collections de contes par Nguyen Dich Dung, *Hai vo* (Deux épouses, 1959), *Anh sang ben hang xom* (La lumière près du hameau, 1964) par Chu Van, *Hai chi em* (Deux sœurs, 1955) par Vu Thi Thuong et *Vu mua chua gat* (Récolte sur pied, 1965) par Nguyen Kien. On y trouve un amour remarquable du pays natal (le conte *Que huong* — Pays natal par Nguyen Dich Dung), un soin exemplaire des intérêts de la collective (conte *Con trau bac* — Le buffle argenté par Chu Van), une foi et espérance fortes dans un meilleur avenir (conte *Suc manh Dai-phong* — La force de Dai-phong par Bui Hien), des figures de jeunes gens qui sont d'ordinaire à la tête des efforts pour édifier une vie nouvelle à la campagne, leur conscience saine de soi-même, leur optimisme et la force de leur caractère (conte *Dat bac mau* — Terre argentée par Nguyen Kien), des figures de femmes et mères dévouées et aimant sincèrement (conte *Buoi toi trong gia dinh* — Le soir en famille par Nguyen Kien), femmes employées dans l'administration civile, exemplaires au travail, belles et modestes dans leur vie personnelle (conte *Nguoi vo* — Epouse, par Nguyen Dich Dung) et enfin on y trouve aussi des personnages au destin infortuné ou avec un passé malheureux, qui graduellement trouvent en eux-mêmes la force et la foi en une vie nouvelle (conte *Anh Keng* — *Keng* par Nguyen Kien).

Il est évident que les écrivains traitant du thème campagnard s'efforçaient à présenter une vue vraie de la réalité et sa réflexion fidèle dans leurs ouvrages. Ils s'efforçaient de concentrer sur un problème plus ou moins étendu, mais toujours concret. Certains ont réussi mieux que d'autres à exprimer artistiquement le sujet. Mais en général, on peut noter qu'aucun d'eux ne s'est approché même de loin de la

profondeur d'un Cholokhov quant à la création artistique traitant de la collectivisation agricole. Dans beaucoup de ces ouvrages, les personnages (surtout les personnages principaux) ont toujours un trait comme un vestige de la société précédente, ou quelque particularité de caractère, ou la marque d'un destin néfaste, qui les met à part dans l'environnement ambiant. Ce fait, de par soi, n'est pas un inconvénient, mais les personnages ainsi motivés sont rarement associés à l'environnement où ils existent d'une manière qui inspire la confiance, ou bien ils en sont partiellement déterminés. Par contre, on peut dire que les auteurs ont réussi à joindre les traditions et les grandes nouvelles transformations dans leurs descriptions du rapport des gens à la terre, car ce rapport dans la société vietnamienne avait été basé depuis longtemps sur un certain type de soin commun du sol, en raison du mode compliqué de sa culture et aussi des conditions naturelles et climatiques. La collectivisation coopérative ainsi présentée mena alors les paysans à se soucier collectivement du sol, à le cultiver en commun à un degré de qualité supérieure, à se fixer des buts communs, provenant de la lutte entre le vieux et le nouveau.

Au tournant des années 1950 et 1960, l'attention des prosaïstes vietnamiens fut captivée aussi par l'activité sans précédent sur les chantiers de constructions dans le programme de l'industrialisation du pays. C'est ainsi que sont nés des ouvrages comme la reportage par Nguyen Tuan Song Da (Rivière Da, 1960), l'œuvre de Ho Phuong sur la vie des soldats à la campagne *Co non* (L'Herbe verte, 1960), l'œuvre de Bui Ai concernant le littoral *Bien xa* (La mer lointaine, 1961) ou l'écrit par Bui Hien, de même parlant de la vie du bord de la mer, *Trong gio cat* (Au vent sableux, 1965). Un fait qui leur est caractéristique est, d'un côté, une hyperbole esthétique du positif, et l'absence ou une certaine réduction consciente du négatif, et de l'autre côté, une recherche de la réalité et des efforts pour s'en approcher le plus près possible, de découvrir des problèmes et contradictions. Les écrivains regardaient d'une manière critique surtout la qualité «lyrique» d'un ouvrage littéraire, la considérant comme quelque sorte de résidu de la tradition littéraire. Par exemple, Nguyen Ngoc écrit que «notre littérature paraît comme ayant une inclination vers le lyrique».¹ Le caractère lyrique d'un ouvrage, naturellement, ne doit pas nécessairement impliquer le négatif, mais on doit comprendre les efforts des écrivains vietnamiens de cette période pour une représentation réaliste comme quelque chose de spécifique, quand la création artistique était considérée en grande partie comme une activité gnoséologique. Ce n'était pas chose facile. D'une part, la méthode de réalisme socialiste était nouvelle, d'autre part, les écrivains manquaient une préparation adéquate pour pouvoir analyser la réalité à partir des positions d'une philosophie marxiste-léniniste. Malgré cela, quelques uns d'eux ont réussi à pénétrer dans les problèmes de la vie et de mettre en valeur leurs abondantes expériences. Un

¹ *Phong van cua bao Van hoc* (Interview du journal Littérature). Van Hoc (Littérature), № 182, 19.I. 1962.

exemple typique en ce sens est l'écrivain Vo Huy Tam, qui est venu d'un environnement poétique. Dans son roman volumineux *Nhung nguoi tho mo* (Les mineurs),² il a joint ses expériences de la vie à la maîtrise d'un artiste et a dépeint une quantité d'événements dans la vie d'une région minière au cours de quelques années après la fin des hostilités (1954). Le roman est un succès de la nouvelle prose vietnamienne malgré certaines insuffisances au point de vue socio-idéologiques. De même, l'ouvrage de Nguyen Ngoc — *Mach nuoc ngam* (La source souterraine, 1960) présente les problèmes de la vie contemporaine, la lutte du bien avec le mal et les efforts pour surmonter les difficultés dans la société post-révolutionnaire. Cependant, l'auteur n'évita pas de simplifier les rapports «vie — homme — société — révolution». Quant à la direction de la prose vietnamienne, vers le réalisme socialiste, l'accent y est mis sur l'existence du nouveau dans la société et sur la qualité du regard, de la manière comment ce nouveau peut être découvert et comment en fait il est découvert. Inutile de dire que tous les écrivains vietnamiens ne faisaient pas les mêmes efforts pour élever le niveau artistique dans la présentation réaliste et la découverte de la nouvelle qualité socialiste. De même, la production en prose n'évita pas les plans inclinés, les pentes, les errements et les retours vers le chemin droit. Parfois, une vue naturaliste du monde paraissait dominante et réduisait les rapports entre les hommes simplement au niveau de la sphère instinctive-physiologique (par ex., dans l'œuvre *Mo ham* — Ouverture d'un puits, 1961, par Nguyen Dau).

En outre des deux thèmes principaux de la production prosaïque (collectivisation à la campagne et la construction industrielle), des ouvrages furent écrits sur les transformations dans la sphère des rapports sociaux et économiques. Déjà pendant les premières années de la paix, des problèmes apparaissaient dans la vie — et dans les ouvrages prosaïques — au sujet de certaines coutumes et manières de penser bourgeoises. Ceci a été le sujet de traitement dans les contes, par ex. de Ho Phuong (*Cau chuyen mot gia dinh* — Histoire d'une famille) et de Huu Mai (*Mat het* — Perte complète). On peut dire que la conscience révolutionnaire des écrivains souffrait encore de quelques insuffisances et ainsi leurs écrits manquaient d'une base philosophique et idéologique conséquente. Ce manque dans la prose vietnamienne est révélé aussi dans la nouvelle, d'ailleurs assez réussie, *Phat* (Enrichissement, 1961) par Do Phon. L'auteur y décrit les péripéties et la fortune de la bourgeoisie vietnamienne avant et après la révolution. Certes, l'auteur n'y a pas basé les activités de ces personnages, leurs rapports mutuels ni leurs vues idéologiques sur une attitude de classes, néanmoins on y apprend beaucoup concernant leur position politique, leur manière de penser et leurs buts.

On peut alors constater que les transformations fonctionnelles de la prose vietnamienne contemporaine eurent lieu et s'effectuaient en concordance avec la

² 1^{er} volume parut en 1961.

conscience des auteurs concernant les tâches importantes de la littérature aux temps où ils créaient. Il faut ajouter que ces œuvres ne devinrent pas un matériel d'archives même après que leur rôle mobilisant eût été terminé (après la transformation historique de la réalité socialiste), mais continuent comme des documents vivants sur les processus d'autrefois, intervenant en temps opportun et avec une force efficace dans le mouvement social.

Depuis 1954 (pour raisons politiques connues), à côté des thèmes des transformations socialistes et l'édification des bases du socialisme discutés ci-avant, un autre thème devint très actuel dans la prose vietnamienne, à savoir, une solidarité profonde avec le peuple du Vietnam du Sud. Dans ce contexte, on doit signaler en premier lieu les ouvrages *Ngang len* (Soulevons-nous, 1957), par Pham Huu Tung, *Mot truyen chep o benh vien* (Une épisode de l'hôpital, 1959) par Bui Duc Ai, et *Dat lua* (Terre de feu, 1963) par Nguyen Quang Sang. Ces œuvres constituent un enrichissement positif de la prose vietnamienne en tant qu'ils ont approfondi le façonnement artistique de thème traditionnel de la résistance et ont contribué en grande mesure à renforcer l'espérance d'une réunification de la patrie. Il en ressort de la structure de ces œuvres que, déjà lors de leur préparation, les auteurs créaient pour elles un système de liaisons idéologiques, sociales et politiques. Elles renferment une attitude constructive, efficacement modelée, de l'auteur vers la réalité, tout en maintenant une haute mesure de la valeur esthétique. Leur attache causale avec la vie est donnée par le fait que les auteurs jugent de la réalité en teneur esthétique et en même temps, idéologique.

D'autres ouvrages s'occupaient de la description de la vie du peuple du Vietnam du Sud sous le joug dur de l'administration américaine-Diem. Certains faisaient preuve d'un défaut d'un engagement ouvert en faveur des buts socio-politiques (unification de la patrie), d'autres étaient remplis d'un sentiment de solidarité de la nation vietnamienne avec le peuple du Vietnam du Sud. Parmi ces derniers on peut ranger surtout les contes *Trang sang* (Lune claire, 1960) et *Doi ban* (Amis, 1962) par Nguyen Ngoc Tan et les nouvelles *Mua mua* (Saison des pluies, 1960) et *Tren manh dat nay* (Sur ce petit bout de terre, 1962). Ces œuvres sont attrayantes, accompagnés par la réalisation des forces créatrices de l'auteur ; elles ne sont pas indifférentes aux temps, elles entrent dans le quotidien, et témoignent de la maturation de la personnalité philosophique et civique de l'auteur. La véracité de ces œuvres littéraires se manifeste dans le traitement magistral de tous les éléments structurants, tant traditionnels qu'innovatifs. Après l'année 1960 on aperçoit dans la littérature vietnamienne un certain essor de qualité dans la prose révolutionnaire sur le thème du Vietnam du Sud. Une preuve en est donné par les contes excellents *Vo kich co giao* (Pièce de théâtre d'un institutrice, 1962) par Giang Nam, et *Ve lang* (Retour au village, 1964) par Phan Tu.

Les thèmes portant sur la résistance nationale, le patriotisme et la lutte contre l'aggression impérialiste, représentaient le gros de la production en prose durant

cette période. Les héros dans ce type de prose sont plus variés et se tiennent du côté de la résistance nationale et des transformations sociales. On pourrait même dire que cette prose sur la résistance nationale constitue la clef de voûte dans l'achèvement de la transformation de la prose vietnamienne en une prose socialiste, surtout après 1960. Des ouvrages, telles les collections de contes *Que huong* (Pays natal, 1960) de Vu Tu Nam, et *Trong lang* (Au village, 1960) de Nguyen Kien font œuvre de pionniers dans la représentation artistique de la société de ce temps. On y trouve aussi une inspiration de l'auteur pour pénétrer plus à fond dans la réalité. Naturellement, il y avait des œuvres ici avec des imperfections plus graves dans leur portrait de l'idéal héroïque, des transformations sociales et des caractères psychiques de l'homme. Il en est ainsi, par exemple, dans l'ouvrage *Pha vay* (Percée de l'encerclement, 1963) par Phu Thang, et partiellement aussi dans la collection de contes *Anh mat* (Lumière des yeux, 1961) par Bui Hien, où la majorité des personnages ne luttent pas pour les valeurs nouvelles, non-conventionnelles, mais se résignent à une résistance passive. Mais, en fin de compte, on peut dire que tous les ouvrages ont réussi (avec un succès varié) à peindre l'héroïsme de la nation vietnamienne dans sa résistance contre les Français. Dans le cadre de ce thème, le niveau de connaissance et de présentation artistique a achevé un degré de qualité plus haut. Dans la nouvelle *Song mai voi thu do* (Vivre en permanence dans la capitale, 1961), Nguyen Huy Tuong a dépeint d'une manière convaincante les membres de différentes couches sociales et a esquissé intimement les événements de la résistance à Hanoï. Avec un enthousiasme artistique renouvelé, l'écrivain découvre des choses qui ne faisaient encore que s'ébaucher dans les efforts pour le collectivisme, pour une harmonie idéologique, émotive et psychologique entre l'individu et l'ensemble. L'écrivain Le Kham dans sa prose *Truoc gio mo sung* (Avant le feu, 1960) a décrit d'une manière authentique la situation difficile d'une unité militaire opérant sur le territoire de Laos. Avec une fidélité épique et une délicatesse psychologique rare, il a peint les événements de guerre et les rapports entre les soldats. Il a montré comment l'homme dans les conditions de lutte arrive à une qualité de caractère nouvelle, plus haute.

Une autre rangée de thèmes où la production prosaïque de cette époque obtint des succès, touchait à la vie dure de l'homme ordinaire dans les conditions du régime social ancien. Les auteurs étaient pour la plupart des écrivains appartenant à la génération déjà avancée. Parmi eux, on peut signaler Nguyen Hong et son roman *Song gam* (Les vagues mugissent, 1961) et Nguyen Dinh Thi avec son roman *Vo bo* (La digue rompue, 1962). Tous les deux ouvrages présentent un coup d'œil personnel des auteurs sur le passé difficile dont le seul chemin affranchissant mène à la révolution. On y aperçoit des efforts pour venir à bout de l'humanisme abstrait, ranimer une lutte positive pour des valeurs nouvelles, non-conventionnelles. Certains romans, tel par exemple, *Hon canh hon cu* (Confusions, 1960) de Nguyen Cong Hoan, prenaient une attitude critique, parfois ironique même, à l'égard des

insuffisances et dans leur essence soutenaient l'esprit révolutionnaire des temps. Le roman *Muoi nam* (Dix ans, 1958) de To Hoai est une image des années complexes historiques d'avant la révolution avec leurs traits positifs et négatifs. Il est vrai, que l'écrivain n'a pas réussi de peindre en profondeur le développement historique du mouvement révolutionnaire et de ses représentants (les caractères de ces personnages sont esquissés superficiellement), toutefois, le roman présente une palette très large des rapports compliqués dans la société de l'époque. Le roman volumineux *Dong rac cu* (Tas de vieux déchets, 1963) par Nguyen Cong Hoan, contient une quantité de matière et de notions sur l'ancienne société, des témoignages affreux des souffrances et des côtés sombres de la vie humaine.

La présentation du processus qui a mené à la révolution peut être considéré comme le fort de la production prosaïque en général et de quelques ouvrages en particulier. Il s'agit surtout de courtes proses (reportages, mémoires, etc.) décrivant, par exemple, un secteur de l'activité révolutionnaire du président Ho Chi Minh ou d'autres représentants de l'Etat ou du parti. Tels sont, par ex. les mémoires *Bac Ho* (Oncle Ho, 1960) et *Nhan dan ta rat anh hung* (Notre peuple est très héroïque, 1960). Cependant, dans certains de ces ouvrages aussi les caractères des personnages révolutionnaires sont souvent schématiques et mécaniques (surtout dans le cas des paysans et ouvriers).

En outre des ces thèmes, il y avait dans la littérature vietnamienne de cette période encore des ouvrages traitant de l'édification d'une nouvelle vie dans les pays amis. C'étaient surtout des reportages écrits à la suite de voyages dans ces pays, par exemple, *Hien ngang Cu-ba* (Fier Cuba, 1962) par Thép Moi, ou *Duong vui xu ban* (Joyeux voyage chez des amis, 1962) par Bui Hien.

Il est impossible, naturellement, de traiter ici de tous les thèmes qui apparaissaient dans la prose vietnamienne de cette période. On peut cependant constater que l'enrichissement de la vie comprenait aussi un enrichissement de la prose qui a réussi à dépeindre l'homme vietnamien avec ses traits traditionnels, par rapport à des conceptions et idées nouvelles. Mais, pour être objectif, on doit admettre qu'il y avait des ouvrages qui, dans un sens, déformaient l'image de la réalité. Ainsi, par exemple, l'écrivain Hoang Tien, en représentant un simple ouvrier dans sa collection *Suong tan* (Le brouillard s'éclaircit, 1963), parfois glisse dans des vulgarités. L'auteur de conte *Dem khong ngu* (Nuit sans rêve),³ Vu Thu Hien, succombe à un pessimisme sceptique. L'écrivain Ha Minh Tuan, dans son œuvre *Vao doi* (Dans la vie, 1963), a dépeint d'une manière assez peu réaliste la situation au nord du Vietnam, se concentrant aux phénomènes décadants de la société. La poète vietnamien bien connu et homme politique To Huu, alors écrivit à ce sujet: «...certains de nos écrivains et artistes se sont embrouillés en des problèmes mesquins de la vie,

³ Van hoc (Littérature), № 170, 1961.

s'occupent d'idées individuelles, personnelles, sans connexion avec l'affaire révolutionnaire du peuple».⁴

On peut dire que les transformations socialistes et l'édification des bases de socialisme au Vietnam du Nord au début des années 1960, avaient été une cause déterminante pour l'entrée de la prose vietnamienne dans une nouvelle période où elle s'est enrichie de nouveaux thèmes et de nouvelles approches vers la création artistique. Certes, il est à admettre que la plupart des proses n'ont pas atteint un niveau artistique désiré, mais par contre, l'extension des thèmes résultait en ce que les écrivains commencèrent à comprendre d'une manière complexe aussi les insuffisances de la société nouvelle, leur conscience révolutionnaire s'est approfondie et leur créativité artistique mûrissait. Dans la période ultérieure, au cours de «la nouvelle étape révolutionnaire, quand le Vietnam du Nord entra dans la résistance anti-américaine, après l'année 1965, la prose passait par un nouveau secteur du chemin avec le thème suivant : renforcer et célébrer l'héroïsme de toutes les couches du peuple vietnamien».⁵ Lors même que cette étape dans la vie littéraire ne comprenait aucune création prosaïque programmée d'un groupe (associé à une base idéologique-artistique, ou de génération), le choix du matériel de la vie était adéquat au thème donné et la conception de la création était dirigée vers une certaine monumentalité poétique. Sous ce point de vue, la nouvelle était un peu plus réussie : «A general survey of the short prose of the 1960s and early 1970s makes it clear that, for one thing, life is shown in all its complexity, rather than in stereotyped clichés, and that, for another, people are portrayed as individuals defending their freedom and independence without always automatically being stamped heroes.»⁶

La prose vietnamienne de la période 1959—1965 a fait preuve de sa capacité de se développer, a montré des efforts vers une progressivité artistique et une unité idéologique. Elle se rendait maîtresse, de plus en plus, des principes du réalisme socialiste et s'efforçait vers une interprétation vraie du présent en vertu d'une connaissance de ses déterminants historiques.

⁴ To Huu: *Dung vung tren lap truong giai cap vo san, nang cao nhiet tinh cach mang va tinh chien dau trong van nghe* (Tenons ferme le point de vue du prolétariat, augmentons l'enthousiasme révolutionnaire et le caractère militant de la littérature et de l'art). *Tap chi van hoc* (Journal littéraire), № 11, 1964.

⁵ Phong Le: *May van de van xuai Viet-nam 1945—1970* (Certains problèmes de la prose vietnamienne 1945—1970). *Nha xuat ban khoa hoc xa hoi* (Edition des sciences sociales), Ha Noi 1972, p. 103.

⁶ Lies, U.: *On the relations between artistic truth and truth to life in the modern Vietnamese short prose of the 1960s and early 1970s*. Paper presented at the IVth Symposium of scholars from the socialist countries on «Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures», Bratislava—Smolenice, April 1980.

THE INTRODUCTION OF KANT'S IDEAS INTO JAPAN AND ITS HISTORICAL PREREQUISITES*

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Mediaeval Japan was closed until 1853 to foreign, European ideas with the exception of Holland. Therefore, the first information on Immanuel Kant (1724—1804) came from Leiden. Influence came also from some other Western countries, finally from Germany. Two generations of Japanese thinkers accepted Kant's ideas with different intensity. Notwithstanding the defence of traditional values by the Confucianists, Kant's ideas became influential, via Japan, in China and elsewhere, too.

It was in 1903 when Liang Ch'i-ch'ao [1] (1873—1929), introducing Kant to the Chinese intellectuals, wrote at the very beginning of his article *The Teaching of the First Great Modern Philosopher Kant*: "I have seen that in Japanese Departments of Philosophy sacrificial arts are performed for the so-called Four Sages. Being startled, I enquired about their names. The first was Shākyamuni, the second Confucius, the third Socrates, and the fourth Kant."¹ This may, of course, be an intentional exaggeration or, better, an endeavour on Liang's part, to captivate the interest of the reader.

In fact it was Wang Kuo-wei [4] (1877—1927) who received the first information on the ideas of Kant (and of Schopenhauer) already in 1898 during his studies at the Institute of Eastern Languages in Shanghai from the collection of essays of Taoka Sadaiji [5], a teacher at the Institute.²

Both examples show that a knowledge of Kant entered China via Japan and we have to find out why this has been the case, to study identical or different motivation for an interest in German classical philosophy in the Far East. Generally speaking, although some Japanese rulers tried to close the country to foreigners,³ there was

* Consultations on Japan with Dr. Miroslav Novák, 1922—1982, were very helpful.

¹ Chin-shih ti-i ta-che K'ang-te chih hsüeh-shuo [2] in his *Yin-ping shih ho chi* [3], Vol. 5, Chapter 13, p. 46. Shanghai 1932 (?). Cf. also A. Forke, *Ein chinesischer Kantverehrer*. *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, XII, 1909, pp. 210—220. For the same point cf. also J. R. Levenson, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China*. Berkeley reprint 1967, p. 129. A. Forke confronts Kant with Confucius, Aristotle and Locke, and finds that Confucius was not a great philosopher. *Geschichte der alten chinesischen Philosophie*. Hamburg 1927, p. 115.

² Cf. my unpublished study on Wang Kuo-wei.

³ Bernard, H.: *Les premiers rapports de la culture européenne avec la civilisation japonaise*. *Bulletin de la Maison franco-japonaise*, X, 1938, No. 1, pp. 74. Sansom, G.: *The Western World and Japan*. New York 1950.

relatively much opportunity for an exchange of ideas when European books were translated during the period 1614—1853 when Japan was closed,⁴ or even earlier;⁵ also some Japanese, like Honda Toshiyaki⁶ [6] or Hirada Atsutane⁷ [7] (1776—1843), were able to gather some information on Europe and her ideas during the eighteenth⁸—nineteenth⁹ centuries.

The Japanese were sometimes able to visit Europe¹⁰ and the Jesuits were active in Japan, but the Nanban-gaku [8] (early European study) did not yet exercise any significant influence on Japanese thought. In fact, it seems best to speak only of “an infiltration” of European civilization in the eighteenth century as proposed in 1940 by C. C. Krieger.¹¹ It was only “after the beginning of the eighteenth century that medicine, as well as astronomy and other natural sciences, gradually came to be studied under the name of rangaku”¹² [9] (Dutch studies). The difficulties of Dutch studies were described in 1815 by Sugita Gampaku [10] (1735—1818) in his *Rangaku kotohajime* (The Beginning of Dutch Studies).¹³ Even G. K. Goodman’s general description of the Rangaku — The Dutch Impact on Japan (1640—1853), Leiden 1967, does not present us with any clue concerning the influence of European thought.

It was still before the Meiji reforms that the shogunate in 1656 set up an institution for the study and translations of Western book known as the Institute for Examining

⁴ Bernard, H.: *Traductions chinoises d'ouvrages européens au Japon durant la période de fermeture 1614—1853*. Monumenta Nipponica, 3, 1940, No. 1.

⁵ Shimmura, Izuru: *Western Influence on Japanese History and Culture in Earlier Periods 1540—1860*; Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, Tokyo 1936.

⁶ Keene, Donald: *The Japanese Discovery of Europe: Honda Toshiaki and Other Discoveries 1720—1798*. London 1952.

⁷ Keene, Donald: *Hirata Atsutane and the Western Learning*. T'oung Pao, 42, 1954, pp. 355—380.

⁸ Kuiper, J. Feenstra: *Japan and the Buitenwereld in de 18e Eeuw*. 's-Gravenhage 1921.

⁹ Jansen, M. B.: *New Material for the Intellectual History of Nineteenth-Century Japan*. Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 20, 1957, No. 3—4, pp. 567—597.

¹⁰ Schurhammer, P.: *Die erste japanische Gesandtschaftsreise nach Europa*. Die katholischen Missionen, 49, 1920, No. 1, pp. 217—223. Bernard, H.: *Valignani ou Valignano, l'auteur véritable de la relation de la première ambassade japonaise en Europe*, Monumenta Nipponica, 1, 1938, pp. 99—137.

¹¹ In his book *The Infiltration of European Civilization into Japan during the Eighteenth Century*. Leiden 1940.

¹² Kosaka, Masaaki: *Modern Japanese Thought*, p. 608. Cahiers d'histoire mondiale, III, 1957, p. 3.

¹³ For a partial translation into German by Mōri Koichi [11] see Monumenta Nipponica, 5, 1942, pp. 144—157, 215—236. There were also other “gaku”: Namban Kagaku [12] (learning of the southern barbarians, i.e. Portuguese, Spaniards, Englishmen, etc.) and Yōgaku [13] (European Learning). For an analysis cf. Numata, Jiro: *Acceptance and Rejection of Elements of European Culture in Japan*. Cahiers d'histoire mondiale, III, 1956, No. 2, pp. 231—253. Chang, Richard T.: *From Prejudice to Tolerance: A Study of the Japanese Image of the West 1826—1864*. Tokyo, Sophia University 1970. Monumenta Nipponica Monographs, XVI, pp. 237. See also the book edited by Kōsaka and Abosch, D.: *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*. Tokyo 1958 and Pittau, Joseph: *Political Thought in Early Meiji Japan, 1868—1889*. Cambridge, Mass. 1967.

Barbarian Books (Bansho Torishirabesho) [14], later known as Kaiseijo [15]. Interest in Western philosophy may be dated almost from the same time, while the first known reference to Kant is that of Nishi Amane [16] (1828—1897) who was studying at the University of Leiden during the years 1863—1865.¹⁴ Nishi, who studied in Leiden together with Tsuda Mamichi [17] (1829—1903), wrote to the Leiden Professor of Chinese and Japanese J. J. Hoffmann: “In addition to the above, I hope to learn those subjects within the realm of philosophy. The religious thought that is prohibited by our national law differs, I believe, from those things advocated by Descartes, Locke, and Kant, so I hope to study them too.”¹⁵

Both Japanese studied i.a. under the guidance of C. W. Opzoomer (1813—1892), Professor of the history of philosophy, and, as remarked later by Tsuda, Nishi was fond of the Kantian school of philosophy, whereas Tsuda himself preferred Comte’s positivism.¹⁶ Later, between 1870—1886, Nishi became — and this is not as surprising as we might believe — a specialist in military affairs, as well as the principal author of the Military Code of 1872. Between 1878—1881 an anthology of his lectures was published under the title *Heifūron* [18] (Discussion on Military Service).¹⁷ In a way, essentially not different from Sun-tzu, an ancient Chinese theoretician of war, Nishi wrote in the introduction: “According to Europe’s late men of wisdom, this world should ultimately attain eternal peace, order, and leisure without arms.”¹⁸ It is not difficult to surmise that Kant’s small book from 1795 *Perpetual Peace* (*Zum ewigen Frieden*) is meant.

A contemporary of Nishi Amane was Katō Kiroyuki [19] (1836—1916) who also promoted Western studies. “Katō lectured on German legal history, and for a time also taught German to the Emperor.”¹⁹ But there were other eminent adherents of Western learning, the most prominent among them being the diplomat and Minister of Education (from 1885) Mori Arinori [20] (1847—1889), the youngest of the group. Mori was a leading figure in the enlightenment movement and, in 1886, formulated “a series of laws on the organization of schools, thereby instituting an education system ‘for the state, by the state’”.²⁰ He opposed the policy that religion

¹⁴ For all information on him see Havens, Thomas R. H.: *Nishi Amane and Modern Japanese Thought*, Princeton 1970.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 49—50.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 192—194.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁹ Shively, Donald H.: *Motoda Eifu. Confucian Lecturer to the Meiji Emperor*, p. 309. In: Nivison D. S.—Wright, A. F. (Eds): *Confucianism in Action*. Stanford 1959. Cf. also note 47 below. The unpublished dissertation by David Abosch, *Katō Hiroyuki and the Introduction of German Political Thought in Japan 1868—1883*. Berkeley 1964 is inaccessible.

²⁰ *Understanding Japan. Japanese Education*. Bulletin of the International Society for Educational Information, No. 21, Tokyo 1968, p. 24.

and morals should be taught in the name of the state.²¹ Small wonder that the modernist Mori was assassinated on 11 February 1889.

Mori Akinori was a peculiar personality:²² he received the first information on Western studies at the mentioned Kaiseijo school at Yedo, from 1869 studied in England and the U.S.A. where he became a Vice-Consul in Washington D.C. (at the age of twenty-two!).²³ Contrary to Motoda Eifu [21] (1818—1891), a conservative, who warned of the dangers of a rapid Westernization, Mori was a modernist. Against the will of Motoda Eifu and the Emperor himself, the Minister and General Itō Mirobumi [22] (1841—1909) succeeded in having Mori appointed Minister of Education. Shively gives the following characteristic of him: “Mori, under strong German influence, was the most unconventional, if not iconoclastic, of the Meiji leaders. He banned all the ethic texts and rejected Confucian teaching as too old-fashioned, too unscientific to be used as a basis for building a strong authoritarian state. He laid plans for the ethic instruction based on the principles of Kant and Herbert.”²⁴

Speaking about Nishi Amane, Katō Kiroyuku (and Fukuzawa Yukichi), Jiro Numata underlines in 1956: “The role of Yōgaku (European learning — J. F.) scholars trained in the Kaiseijo was thus an important one... The first contacts with Prussia brought great admiration for the spirit of that rising new country, and a new interest in German knowledge and thought.”²⁵ Numata concludes: “It therefore seems to me that the chief significance of Yōgaku — development of rangaku — in the early years of the Meiji period was a sort of an awakening force.”²⁶ And we have seen that the ideas of Kant played a modest role in the seventies of the nineteenth century.

But we have to return to the personality of Mori Anori and especially say a few words about the Meiji Six Society (Meirokeisha [23], founded by him in the sixth year of Meiji, i.e. 1873, when Mori returned from the U.S.A. He tried to organize intellectuals interested in the enlightenment (keimō) [24] in the form of a society. The society promoted enlightened scholarship by means of lectures and discussions for the people as well as by its journal Meiroku Zasshi [25] and established new moral standards.²⁷

Nishimura Shegeki [26] (1828—1902), always a Confucianist, and at the same time a keen student of new things, supported the project and helped to enroll other

²¹ Ibid. A full treatment of the minister of “several different images” was given by Hall Ivan Parker: *Mori Arinori*. Harvard East Asian Series, 68. Cambridge 1973.

²² For a biography of him, see Havens: *Nishi Amane*, p. 226.

²³ Ibid., p. 165.

²⁴ P. 328 (see note 19 above).

²⁵ *Acceptance and Rejection*, p. 249 (see note 13 above).

²⁶ Ibid., p. 251.

²⁷ Havens: *Nishi Amane*, p. 165.

scholars interested in the West.²⁸ Nishimura, Katō Kiroyuki and Nishi Amane lectured in 1873 to the Emperor.²⁹ Nishi devised a great number of terms to translate foreign philosophical expressions which were later introduced into Chinese.³⁰ The other well-known scholar was Fukuzawa Yukichi [27],³¹ an eminent enlightener, educationalist as well as a writer who in 1862 went i.a. to Berlin with a Japanese mission³² and Tsuda Mamichi, a colleague of Nishi Amane at Leiden.

Besides these six members, the Meirokusha included four other less known personalities. Mitsukuri Shūhei [28] (1825—1886), Mitsukuri Rinshō [29] (1846—1897), Sugi Kōji [30] (1828—1917) and Nakamura Masanao [31] (1832—1891); Masanao's translation of Smiles' *Self-Help* in 1871 under the title *Saikoku Risshi-hen* [32] (On the Determination of the Western Countries) was enthusiastically welcomed.³³ With the exception of the Confucianist Nishimura Shegeki,³⁴ all the prominent members of the Meirokusha³⁵ had a quite close connection with German thought³⁶ and — military affairs.³⁷ The Society played an important role in the early Meiji period. Meiji leaders were, of course, influenced by German organic theories of the State.³⁸

²⁸ Shively, D. H.: *Nishimura Shigeki. A Confucian View of Modernization*; in Jansen, M. B. (Ed.): *Changing Japanese Attitudes Towards Modernization*. Princeton 1965.

²⁹ Shively: *Motoda Eifu*, p. 310.

³⁰ For the whole process, see Novotná, Z.: *Contributions to the Study of Loan-Words and Hybrid Words in Modern Chinese*. Archiv orientální, 35, 1967, pp. 613—648; 36, 1968, pp. 295—325; 37, 1969, pp. 58—75.

³¹ Blacker, Carmen: *The Japanese Enlightenment. A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi*. Cambridge (England) 1964. Cf. also *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi*. Translated by Eiichi Kiyoka, Tokyo 1934, new edition 1960. Cf. also Craig, A. M.: *Fukuzawa Yukichi. The Philosophical Foundations of Meiji Nationalism*, pp. 99—102; in Ward, R. E. (Ed.): *Political Development in Modern Japan*. Princeton 1968.

³² Die erste japanische Gesandtschaft am Berliner Hofe, am 21. Juli 1862 empfangen. Ostasien, II, 13, pp. 14—16, Berlin 1899.

³³ For the ideas of another intellectual, see Soviak, Eugen: *The Case of Baba Tatsui: Western Enlightenment, Social Change and the Early Meiji intellectual*. Monumenta Nipponica, XVIII, 1954, Nos 1—4, pp. 191—235.

³⁴ For the changing ideas of Nishimura and of others cf. the book edited by Jansen, as quoted in the note 28 above; another Confucian, fully opposed to the Westernization was Motoda Eifu (1818—1891) for whom see Shively (note 19 above) and the text to note 49 below.

³⁵ A short outline of Meirokusha is given by Kosaka, Masaaki: *Modern Japanese Thought* (note 12), pp. 612—615.

³⁶ There were, of course, also other influential foreign ideas; cf. for example Hane, Mikiso: *English Liberalism and the Japanese Enlightenment, 1868—1890*. Dissertation, Yale University 1957.

³⁷ The fifth part, pp. 241—245 of the study of Jiro Numata (cf. note 13) examines i.a. the shift to military science in the Yōgaku.

³⁸ This has been pointed out by Mahayan, S., p. 89 of his review of Pittau's *Political Thought* (note 13 above) in: *Philosophy East and West*, 19, 1969, pp. 88—89.

We have now to turn our attention to the problem of foreign languages, no longer exclusively Dutch, as a source of original knowledge of Western information in numerous books and to the penetration of foreign, especially German philosophy into the academic institutions. Already in the last years of the shogunate “the study of English, German, and French flourished”³⁹ and now the demand rose for science to be “imported” directly from these three countries and not only through Holland.⁴⁰ It was later, in the early and middle years of the Meiji period that “numerous foreigners — English, American, German, French — were brought to Japan to work towards the rebuilding of Japanese society. Tokyo university . . . was presently ready to train scholars under foreign guidance, in all the academic disciplines”.⁴¹ Translation activities were also concentrated at the same university.

Some basic information on the acceptance of Kant’s ideas at Japanese universities is available in the second chapter Conservatism and Anglo-American Idealism 1886—1900 and in the second part of the third chapter Studies in Kantian and Neo-Kantian Philosophy of K. Piovesana’s survey *Recent Japanese Philosophical Thought 1862—1962*.⁴² We are informed by Piovesana that, around 1890, the English Professor Cooper lectured on Kant’s Critiques. However, according to Piovesana, German philosophy was not formally studied until 1887 (?J. F.) when L. Busse, a disciple of R. H. Lotze (1817—1881), used Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason* as a reading text.⁴³ If Piovesana is right, the philosophical “fertilization” by Kant’s ideas dates only from the end of the nineteenth century when Inoue Tetsu jirō [33] (1855—1944) published in *Tetsugaku Zasshi* [34] (*Journal of Philosophy*) in 1897 an article, Phenomena as Realism (Genshō sunawachi jitsurairon); nevertheless, Inoue criticized Kant’s theory of dualism.⁴⁴ We may remember that already in 1898 Wang Kuo-wei read Taoka Sadaiji’s essays on Kant. A special study would probably show more facts on Kant and Japan than could have been found by Piovesana.

It was only Ōnishi Hajime [35] (1864—1900) who became known as “Japanese Kant”⁴⁵ and whose understanding of Western philosophy was very deep. In 1898 he travelled to Germany for further studies. “His sharp, critical mind, trained in the best tradition of Kant’s criticism, was a healthy contrast to the vague eclecticism at that time.”⁴⁶ His main work is *Ryōshin kigenron* [36] (*On the Origin of the Cognitive*

³⁹ Pittau, pp. 244—245.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁴² Tokyo 1963, pp. 28—59, 74—80.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Mind).⁴⁷ Piovesana states⁴⁸ that the study of German philosophy began with men like Katō Kiroyuku (1836—1916), Inoue Tetsugirō (1855—1944) and Ōnishi Hajime. Since Katō was a specialist for Germany⁴⁹ and a contemporary of Nishi Amane, we may presume that he was also acquainted with Kant's philosophy.

Another generation, born some thirty or more years later, of specialists in Kantian studies was represented by Professors like Kuwaki Gen'yoku [38] (1874—1946), Tomonaga Sanjurō [39] (1871—1951), Abe Yoshihige [40], Amano Teiyū [41], Nishida Kitarō [42] (1870—1945) and Hatano Seiichi [43] (1877—1950). There is no need to give further information, since in the present remarks we concentrate upon the introduction of Kant's ideas into Japan. It is nevertheless very clear that the first three of four above-mentioned personalities belonged to the generation of enlighteners, while members of the other generation, living ca. between 1870—1950, represented a higher stage of the academic study of Kant. The introduction of Kant into Japan was essentially the merit of the first generation.

The introduction of Kant and of German, as well as of European philosophy in general, into Japan was quite a complicated process and by no means as smooth as might be concluded from the above introductory description which concentrated, of course, upon Westernization. There were mighty opponents, especially Confucians, one of their principal exponents Motoda Eifu, "the Confucian lecturer to the Meiji Emperor",⁵⁰ a contemporary and at the same time a counterpart of Nishi Amane. There arose in Japan a kind of nationalism, known mostly as Orientalism. Nevertheless, the ideas from Europe as transmitted by the Japanese, became effective not only in Japan and China, but for example, also in Vietnam, through the influence and direct help of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao to Phan Boi Chau (1867—1940),⁵¹ to give just one example.

We may suppose that the introduction of Kant into Japan took some thirty years and that the main difficulties of this process did not consist so much in the language barrier, as in the social conditions when Confucianism, nationalism and interest in German military affairs were the prevailing factors; of course, foreigners were primarily instrumental for introducing Kant into universities, although we may suppose that the Japanese translators, active since the sixties, also played their role.

⁴⁷ Rather than "conscience" for "liang-hsin" [37], as translated by Piovesana, p. 45. This is clearly the expression from Wang Yang-ming's epistemology. Indeed, as remarked by Piovesana on p. 47, "Kant's influence (on Ōnishi — J. F.) was felt both in the epistemological field and in moral problems".

⁴⁸ P. 74.

⁴⁹ Cf. note 19.

⁵⁰ Shively: *Motoda Eifu*, pp. 302—333; 370—393.

⁵¹ Duiker, William J.: *Pham Boi Chau: Asian Revolutionary in a Changing World*. *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXXI, 1971, No. 1, pp. 78—81.

1 梁啓超 2 近世第一大哲康德之學說 3 飲冰室合集
 4 王國維 5 田岡佐代治 6 本多利明 7 平田篤胤 8
 南 鸞 9 蘭學 10 杉田玄白 11 毛利孝 12 南 鸞 家學
 13 洋學 14 蕃書調所 15 開城所 16 西周 17 津田真
 道 18 兵奉論 19 加藤弘之 20 森有札 21 元田永孚
 22 伊藤博文 23 明六社 24 啓蒙 25 明六雜誌 26
 西村茂樹 27 福澤諒吉 28 箕作秋坪 29 麟祥 30
 杉 亨 31 中村正直 32 西國立志編 33 井上哲次郎
 34 哲學雜誌 35 大西氏 36 良心源論 37 良心 38
 桑 巖 39 朝永三十郎 40 安信能成 41 天野貞祐 42
 西田幾郎 43 波多里精 -

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS ASIAN COUNTRIES DURING THE PERIOD SINCE THE SIGNING OF A SEPARATE PEACE TREATY UNTIL THE END OF 1954 AND SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF REPARATIONS

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The present study has for aim to analyse Japan's foreign policy and her position in Asia during the period 1952—1954. Attention will be primarily concentrated on the efforts by Yoshida's government at normalizing relations with countries of Southeast Asia, on its approach to the question of reparations and on the first steps designed to boost Japan's political and economic influence in this region.

1. Japanese-American Alliance and Japan's Position in Asia Following the Signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty

The separate peace treaty with Japan signed at the Peace Conference in San Francisco on 8 September 1951 and ratified on 28 April 1952,¹ formally put an end to the occupation regime that had lasted since 1945, and Japan thereby regained her independence and sovereignty. However, the latter, similarly as the terminated occupation, was considerably restricted. Such situation was due not only to the fact that the peace treaty was of a unilateral — separate character, but also because it became the basis of the ensuing signing of the "U.S. — Japan Security Treaty",² in virtue of which the United States had the right to maintain their armed forces on Japanese territory. There is no doubt that the San Francisco system was rather a political-legal solution of Japan's alliance with the United States and their allies, than a system that should have ensured a general re-incorporation of that country in the international community of nations.

Through the San Francisco system Japan became firmly bound to the United States and it is only natural that in foreign policy as well as in the economic and military domains, alliance with the United States occupied a leading position for Japan and still does even at the present time, constituting the basic axis of her foreign policy after World War II.

General Matthew Ridgway who replaced D. MacArthur in the function of Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP) stated in his report to the U.S. Congress on 22 May 1952, that it was necessary to maintain and further to strengthen mutual trust, respect, understanding and cooperation between the two

¹ Text of treaty see: *United Nations Treaty Series*. Vol. 136, pp. 45—162.

² Text of treaty see: *Ibid.*, pp. 212—219.

countries, because such friendly relations are vitally important to the general welfare of both nations.³

The conservative government of Premier Shigeru Yoshida ascribed exceptional weight to mutual relations with the United States. This became manifest already during the time of occupation and also during the course of preparations of the peace treaty. After the signing of the treaty, this trend on the part of Japanese policy became even deeper, a fact that found its reflection in numerous agreements between the two countries. In addition to the "U.S. — Japan Security Treaty" already referred to, signed immediately after the separate peace treaty and forming an integral part of it, Yoshida's government until its demission in 1954, concluded quite a number of agreements with the United States. Among the most important were the "Administrative Agreement",⁴ that supplemented the Security Treaty, the "Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation"⁵ and the "Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement".⁶

United States' policy at the beginning of the fifties towards Southeast Asian countries whose development was characterized primarily by two basic processes — a growth of national liberation struggles of the nations of Indochina against French colonial domination on the one hand, and a crystallization of home and foreign political course of the other countries in this region, on the other⁷ — was directed in the first place towards a suppression of this liberation movement and the spreading of the revolutionary process. A decisive position in the anti-communist strategy of the United States, the statute of the closest ally in Asia, was held by Japan which this country had taken over from China. The declaration by the Assistant Secretary at the Department of State for the Far Eastern Affairs John M. Allison, from July 1952, clearly outlines the role of the U.S.A. and Japan in Asia. In this statement Allison emphasized that Japan was "single most important spot" in which the United States could "counteract the communist menace", and that in Japan the United States have the "greatest single opportunity to prove to Asia that an Asian nation can operate on a basis of equality with a Western nation and still maintain its independence".⁸

This statement clearly implies that in the strategy of suppression of the national liberation movement by American imperialism, Japan was to become some sort of

³ Yanaga, Chitoshi: *Big Business in Japanese Politics*. New Haven—London 1968, p. 250.

⁴ The treaty was signed on 20 February 1952 and came into force simultaneously with the ratification of the U.S.—Japan Security Treaty. For text of treaty see: *United Nations Treaty Series*. Vol. 208, p. 354.

⁵ The treaty was signed 2 April 1954. For text see: *Ibid.*, Vol. 206, pp. 143—192.

⁶ The treaty was signed 8 March 1954. For text see: *Ibid.*, Vol. 232, pp. 169—213.

⁷ *USA a jihovýchodní Asie po druhé světové válce* (The U.S.A. and Southeast Asia after World War II). Prague 1978, p. 202.

⁸ Yanaga, Ch.: *op. cit.*, pp. 250—251.

a pattern to the young independent Asian nations and a model of cooperation with the so-called “free world”.

From this point of view it was of the utmost importance to the Japan to initiate normal relations with countries of the Far East, particularly those of Southeast Asia, all the more so as this task also corresponded to concrete interests of Japanese monopolist capital. And the essence of Japan’s imperialist and neocolonial policy in Asia should be seen to reside precisely in this alliance of American-Japanese interests.

The task of normalization of relations with Asian countries derived from Japan’s real position in Asia. During the period of occupation by the United States, Japan did not succeed in creating favourable conditions for any extensive process of normalizing relations with these countries, not even by setting up suitable conditions for a return to the markets of this region — as a substitute for the restricted trade with the People’s Republic of China (PRC), the Soviet Union and other socialist countries⁹ — but neither was the San Francisco Peace Treaty of any great help here as many of the countries in which Japan was most interested, rejected it or accepted it with the well-known reservations. United States’ occupation policy and its formal termination by a separate peace treaty — which manifestly suited solely American-Japanese imperialism and solved in a limited measure only the question of reparations so important to Southeast Asian countries — resulted in Japan’s being markedly isolated in Asia despite the signing of the peace treaty. The disordered relations and Japan’s isolation in Asia proved to be the main obstacle to the extension of her politico-economic influence in countries of Southeast Asia, the aim being not merely a spread of foreign trade relations, but also a consolidation of conservative and anti-communist forces in this region, all of which, according to the United States’ strategy, was to have been the most efficient and the most reliable means of suppressing the national liberation and revolutionary process in Asia.

This close alliance with and an active support of United States’ neocolonialist policy deepened even further Japan’s isolation in Asia. Countries of Southeast Asia justifiably looked at this alliance with distrust and rightly saw in Japan the mediator for carrying out United States’ imperialist and neocolonial policy.

The peace treaty was instrumental in determining Japan’s position within the mechanism of international policy and her relations towards Asia, particularly Southeast Asia.¹⁰ Nevertheless, Japan’s orientation towards Southeast Asia had been initiated much sooner — already during the occupation, with the active support of the United States, the decisive factor being the altered international situation in the Far East following the constitution of the People’s Republic of China. The nature of Japan’s future relations with countries in this region was outlined in report by

⁹ According to the so-called Battle Act, American aid was to have been stopped to countries carrying on business with countries of the socialist block.

¹⁰ *Kindai Nihon no Tōnan Ajia kan*. Ed. by Shōda Ken’ichirō. Ajia keizai kenkyusho 1978, p. 129.

a group of U.S. experts who, led by the Head of the Economic Section of the SCAP William Marquant, investigated the standard and the needs of Japanese industry. The report published in May 1951, clearly reveals the neocolonial character of United States' approach to the promotion of Japan's politico-economic relations with countries of Southeast Asia. Among others, the report had also this recommendation: "to utilize in the utmost measure Japan's industrial potential for raising the industrial capacity and increasing extraction of raw materials in countries of Southeast Asia".¹¹

As already implied, the vacuum created by the ban on trade with countries of the socialist community, particularly with the PRC, was to have been filled with the market region of Southeast Asian countries. J. F. Dulles testifying before the Foreign Relations Committee at the 82nd session of the United States Congress in January 1952 had this to say concerning the peace treaty with Japan: "I am able to see the possibility of a healthy Japanese economy without any large dependence upon the Asian mainland if Japan has continuing access to the markets primarily of Southeast Asia where there are large populations, and no problem about either the size of the market or the need of the market for such things as Japan can produce. Also, in Southeast Asia there are sources of supply for most of the raw materials which Japan requires..."¹²

Immediately following the signing of the separate peace treaty, Japanese monopolist circles began in earnest to deploy their efforts in extending economic cooperation not only with the United States, but simultaneously also endeavoured to lay down firm foundations for cooperation with countries of Southeast Asia.

Exceptionally active in this sense was the Federation of Economic Organization (Keizai dantai rengōkai — Keidanren) that, in February 1951 set up the United States — Japan Economic Cooperation Council (Nichibei keizai teikei kondankai) which at its very first session on 9 February 1951, besides discussing question of promoting Japanese-American cooperation, devoted considerable attention also to the positions and task of Japanese economy in Asia.¹³ Towards the end of that same year the Council dealt with the economic development of Southeast Asia an effective cooperation between Japan and countries of this region. Similarly, the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations (Nihon kei'-eisha dantai renmei — Nikkeiren) in its statement "On the Basic Attitude of Managers in the Post Treaty Era" pointed to the necessity of friendly relations and economic cooperation with countries of Southeast Asia.¹⁴

¹¹ Shinobu, Seizaburō: *Sengo Nihon Seijishi 1945—1952*. Tokyo, Keisō shobō 1972. Vol. IV, p. 1275.

¹² Dulles, John Foster: Congressional Testimony of Japanese Peace Treaty. In: *Postwar Japan 1945 to the Present*. Ed. by Jon Livingston, Joe Moore, Felicia Oldfather. New York 1973, p. 247.

¹³ Shinobu, S.: op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 1244—1245.

¹⁴ Yanaga, Ch.: op. cit., p. 248.

Neocolonial plans of development of Southeast Asia set up by American-Japanese imperialism whose inherent part was export of capital and goods, come to be an inseparable part and parcel of the economic cooperation of the two countries.

A major obstacle in the implementation of the plan of the so-called development of Southeast Asia was the unresolved question of Japanese reparations. Yoshida's government endeavoured to utilize the solution of this issue as a first step for overcoming the existing isolation of Japan in Asia and simultaneously as a means of initiating an extensive politico-economic expansion into Southeast Asia. "From very outset," writes Chitoshi Yanaga, "settlement of the reparations question was viewed by Japan as an integral part of the policy of economic cooperation with the countries of Southeast Asia."¹⁵ Nevertheless, Yoshida's government, even though it set about dealing with the reparations question immediately after the signing of the separate peace treaty, failed entirely to overcome Japan's isolation and to extend her politico-economic relations with countries of Southeast Asia and succeeded in completely normalizing reciprocal relations only with the Taiwan, India and Burma.

2. Normalization of Japan's Relations and Signing of a Peace Treaty with Taiwan and India

Following the conclusion of a separate peace treaty in San Francisco, Japan was given the option "freely" to decide whether to sign a peace treaty with the People's Republic of China or with Chang Kai-shek's regime on Taiwan. Because of this "compromise" solution devised by Great Britain and the United States, the PRC was not invited to the peace conference — a country that had borne the brunt of Japanese aggression and was thus eminently interested in settling its reciprocal relations with Japan. However, the possibility given to Japan "freely" to decide with which Chinese government to conclude a peace treaty was in fact a fictive one. The United States saw but one China and "independent" Japan had no choice even though her leaders realized how much their country was losing thereby. This is also borne out by the fact that ratification of this basic document, so important to Japan as the peace treaty undoubtedly was, had been conditioned in the United States' Senate by Japan's concluding a peace treaty with the Taiwan regime.¹⁶

Shortly after the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, John Foster Dulles repeatedly paid a visit to Japan and the principal aim of his trips was to speed up Japan's "free" choice as regards recognition of Chang Kai-shek's regime. During the conversations Premier Yoshida assured J. F. Dulles that Japan would conclude the peace treaty with Taiwan and this he reiterated in a personal letter to Dulles dated

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 202.

¹⁶ Petrov, Dmitrii Vasilievich: *Vneshnyaya politika Yaponii posle vtoroi mirovoi voiny*. Moscow 1965, p. 65.

24 December 1951 where he wrote that “I can assure you that the Japanese government has no intention to conclude a bilateral treaty with the Communist regime of China”.¹⁷

The official conversations between Japan and Taiwan on a peace treaty were formally begun in February 1952, and were led by Retsu Kawada for Japan and Ye Kung-chao for Taiwan. The Treaty of Peace between the Chinese Republic and Japan was signed on 28 April 1952 — hence, on the day the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the U.S.—Japan Security Treaty came into force.¹⁸

The peace treaty put an end to the state of war between the two countries, Japan waived all claims to the island of Taiwan and other islands that she had occupied. An important part of the treaty was a protocol in which Taiwan renounces its right to claim reparations from Japan. In this manner, Japan considered the question of reparations to China as being definitively settled and “did not intend to take it up again in future with the communist China”.¹⁹

The government of the PRC, supported by the socialist countries with the Soviet Union at their head, did not recognize the right of Chang Kai-shek’s regime to negotiate on an international forum in the name and on behalf of the Chinese people in any issue, much less in matters of a peace treaty with Japan. Nor did the PRC intend to waive her claims to reparations as had done in “China’s name” her unlawful deputy Chang Kai-shek. This is unambiguously evident also in a statement by the foreign minister of the PRC Chou En-lai from July 1955, hence from a time marking a striking revival of reciprocal trade contacts and signs of some détente between the two countries. In this declaration, Chou En-lai said: “Communist China reserves the right to claim reparations from Japan because the people of China cannot forget the destruction and sufferings at the hands of the Japanese militarists.”²⁰

In the domain of foreign policy, the government of India, in contrast to that of Taiwan, propagated principles of neutrality and noninterference, whereby it gradually acquired a steadily growing authority and influence in international relations and came to be a model to young independent Asian countries. India had numerous reservations with regard to the American-British project of a peace treaty with Japan, which also was the reason of her refusal to attend the San Francisco conference.²¹

¹⁷ Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru. Letter, 24 December, 1951. In: *Postwar Japan 1945 to the Present*, p. 250. See also Sengo shiryō. *Nichichū kankei*. Tokyo, Nihon hyōronsha 1970, pp. 18—19.

¹⁸ For text of treaty see: *United Nations Treaty Series*. Vol. 138, p. 3. Also Sengo shiryō. *Nichichū kankei*, pp. 20—21.

¹⁹ Kajima, Morinosuke: *A Brief Diplomatic History of Modern Japan*. Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1965, p. 139.

²⁰ Kajima, Morinosuke: *Modern Japan’s Foreign Policy*. Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Co. 1970, p. 42.

²¹ See Note of 23 August 1951, from the Government of India to the Government of the United States

However, shortly after the San Francisco peace conference, the Indian government in a note to the Japanese government came up with an initiative for a “prompt conclusion of a peace treaty between the two countries”.²² On 28 April 1952, the day the San Francisco peace treaty came into force and the day of the signing of the Japanese-Taiwan peace treaty, the Indian government issued a unilateral declaration on the suspension of a state of war between the two countries and decided to resume diplomatic relations with Japan. A further stage in the normalization of reciprocal contacts were successfully terminated on 6 June 1952 by the signing of the Indo-Japanese peace treaty in Tokyo.

The Indian government did not insist on its original standpoint that the peace treaty should contain concrete clauses regarding a limitation of Japanese armed forces, but was satisfied with the formulation about establishing firm and lasting peace between the two countries. Before concluding special agreements regarding commerce and air and sea links, the two parties accepted the principle of the most favoured nations in matters of customs duties, air transport, export and import of goods. In addition, Japan acknowledged her responsibility for her prewar foreign debt. Similarly as Taiwan, India, too, waived her right to demand reparations from Japan (Art. VI) in the hope that Japan would grant considerable loans to India and provide scientific-technological aid in carrying out plans of industrialization and promoting national economy.²³

While the resumption of reciprocal diplomatic relations, signing of a peace treaty and recognition of Chang Kai-shek's regime on Taiwan (which together with the San Francisco Peace Treaty and U.S.–Japan Security Treaty have created the so-called San Francisco System and were an expression of Japan's dependence on the U.S.A.), normalization of relations between India and Japan was, on the contrary, an expression of noncommitment of the Indian government. However, it should be observed here that the decisive factor in the prompt conclusion of these peace treaties and normalization of relations was the fact that both Chang Kai-shek's regime as also India waived their right to demand reparations from Japan.

3. The First Steps of Premier Yoshida's Government in Dealing with Question of Reparations with Indonesia and the Philippines

While normalizing Japan's relations with Chang Kai-shek's regime on Taiwan and with India — countries that renounced their rights to demand reparations — Premier

of America. In: *Conference for the Conclusion and Signature of the Treaty of Peace with Japan*. San Francisco, 4–8 September 1951, Record of Proceedings. Department of State Publication 4392. Washington 1951, pp. 122–124.

²² Irie, Keishirō: *Kokusai hōjō no baishō hoshō shori*. Tokyo, Seibundō 1974, p. 340.

²³ *Medzinárodné vzťahy po druhej svetovej vojne* (International Relations after World War II). Vol. II (1950–1955). Bratislava 1965, p. 456.

Yoshida's government initiated negotiations for normalizing relations also with Indonesia and the Philippines. However, the greatest obstacle facing Japanese diplomacy here did not stem merely from the outstanding question of reparations, but also from persisting aversion on the part of these countries population towards Japan.

Even at the San Francisco peace conference, Indonesia's foreign minister Ahmad Subardjo stressed in his speech that the damages which Indonesia suffered during the Japanese occupation were twofold: "first, the loss of life of approximately four million people; and second, material damages of billions of dollars".²⁴ These irrefutable facts were also used by the Indonesian delegation led by Djuanda Kartawidjaja, later Indonesia's prime minister, at the first talks on reparations that took place in Tokyo since December 1951 until January 1952, where it laid claim on reparations amounting to US \$ 17.5 milliard payable in the form of services and goods. True, the required sum was too high for Japan to pay, nevertheless, the Japanese rejected Indonesia's claims without suggesting any counter amount that she would be willing to pay.

However, during these preliminary talks, thanks to United States' intervention,²⁵ a "Draft Interim Agreement on Reparations between Japan and the Republic of Indonesia"²⁶ was achieved and was signed on 18 January 1952. The agreement specified the reparations from the aspect of their content — i.e. shifting the crux of reparations payments from services to reparations in kind.

Further talks between the two parties were resumed only after a whole year's break and were presided over by the head of the Asian Affairs Bureau of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Eiji Wajima who, during his tour of countries of Southeast Asia, and heading a special reparations mission, paid a visit also to Indonesia in January 1953. But neither did these talks bring the desired progress in the solution of the reparations question. Indonesia was dissatisfied but Japan undertook no concrete steps with a view to speeding up the settlement of this issue and even such cynical views appeared that "Japan should not have to pay any reparations because it never actually fought with Indonesia".²⁷

The Philippines, the closest and the most faithful ally of the United States in Southeast Asia, similarly as Indonesia, had no intention of waiving their claim to reparations from Japan. The uncompromising attitude of the Philippines in this

²⁴ *Conference for the Conclusion...*, pp. 220—221.

²⁵ Nishihara, Masashi: *The Japanese and Sukarno's Indonesia. Tokyo—Jakarta Relations 1951—1966* (Monographs of the Center for Southeast Asia Studies, Kyoto University). "An East-West Center Book". Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1976, p. 39.

²⁶ For details see Okano, Kanki: *Nihon baishōron*. Tokyo, Tōyō keizai shinposha 1958, pp. 428—431.

²⁷ Such a view was held principally by Wajima himself. See: Nishihara, M.: op. cit., pp. 39.

matter forced the United States literally to egg Japan on to a more active solution of this issue and this at a moment when matters came to a dead end and were interrupted.

Shortly after the unsuccessful discussions on reparations between Japan and Indonesia, Yoshida's government sent a delegation to Manila with the aim to conclude a reparations agreement with the Philippines and thus satisfy a condition of ratification of the San Francisco Peace Treaty which the Philippines' parliament had set down. Similarly as other Southeast Asian countries, the Philippines too, had expressed a sharp disagreement with the American approach to the solution of the reparations question already at the time of the shaping of the peace treaty with Japan and demanded as compensation for damages suffered through Japanese occupation the sum of 8 milliard dollars payable during the course of 10 to 15 years. This high sum, expressed in figures prior to the signing of the separate peace treaty, was made up — as in the case of Indonesia's claim — of total losses in human lives and damages to national property. In addition, the Philippines insisted that as a token of good will on Japan's part, to pay the reparations, she would symbolically pay an advance sum to the tune of 800 million dollars.²⁸

The Japanese side categorically refused to meet the Philippines demands, referring, similarly as in the case of Indonesia to the text of Article 14 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the talks thus ended without success, without an agreement being signed.

An impulse to the resumption of a further tour of Japanese-Philippine talks about reparations was given directly by the United States who were aware of powerful links not only with Japan, but also with their Philippines ally. In November of 1952, the United States Ambassador in Japan openly criticized Japanese government's procrastinations in the question of reparations.²⁹ Yoshida's government responded to the United States' impulse and elaborated a list of services that were to be provided within the scope of reparations. This referred mainly to salvaging sunken ships blocking Philippines ports, supply of new ships, rolling stock, machinery for agriculture and mining industry. A few days following the handing over of this list to the Philippines, the Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* brought a report that the Japanese government was willing to pay reparations to the total amount of 200 million dollars³⁰ which equaled a mere 2.5% of the sum demanded by the Philippines.

No progress was achieved in this question at the subsequent talks in the Philippines, carried on in December 1952 by Wajima. Nevertheless, an interim

²⁸ Okano, K.: op. cit., pp. 381—382.

²⁹ New York Times, 9 November, 1952.

³⁰ Olson, Lawrence: *Japan in Postwar Asia*. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Praeger Publishers. New York—Washington—London 1970, p. 17.

agreement was reached regarding the salvaging of sunken ships in Philippines territorial waters which prevented smooth sea traffic and blocked important harbours. The "Interim Agreement on Reparations Concerning Salvaging of Sunken Vessels between Japan and the Republic of the Philippines"³¹ signed on 12 March 1953, concretely spoke of the salvage of 200,000 tons of metal scrap from sunken vessels to be carried out by Japanese experts, which represented valuable raw material for further processing by Philippines metallurgical industry. However, because of the exorbitant price demanded by the Japanese for one salvaged ton of scrap, the implementation of the agreement was being constantly postponed and the salvage operations were begun in earnest only in August 1955.

An indispensable means for overcoming Japan's isolation in countries of South-east Asia and simultaneously a *sine qua non* condition for expanding her politico-economic influence in this region was a solution of the question of reparations. The efforts on the part of Yoshida's administration to tackle this question in the first years after Japan's "independence", although minimum, came up against a whole series of difficulties which this government was incapable of overcoming and this became manifest in a stagnation of the issue of reparations. However, the reasons the sluggish solution of this question did not reside solely in the unduly high, though fully justified claims by various Southeast Asian countries which Japan was unable to meet in full, but also in the passivity of Japan's governing circles which adopted an "expectative attitude". Yoshida's government was loath to overload Japanese industry with high reparations deliveries at a time of an intensive pursuit of renovation of the national economy. Not in the last place, Yoshida's government expected that her "expectative policy" would in time result in the reparations claims being lowered by the various countries and Japan would be in more favourable position for negotiations.

It has already been noted that the outstanding issue of reparations and Japan's close alliance with the United States deepened her isolation in Asia and prevented a more intensive spread of her politico-economic influence in this region. It should, however, be observed here that the implementation of this programme was hampered in no small measure by a competition among American and British monopolies. Great Britain, in particular, did all in her power to forestall the threat of Japanese expansion into Southeast Asia, e.g. imposing special import taxes on Japanese goods in her dominions, or taking other discriminatory precautions, such as preventing Japan's entrance into GATT. Britain's attitude towards Japan — also a country of the so-called "free world" — convincingly documented the insuperable conflicts among the various countries of the capitalist block.

The passive attitude and the expectative policy on the part of Yoshida's government as regards the reparations issue, were affected also, and not in the last place, by

³¹ Okano, K.: op. cit., pp. 383—385.

the Korean war and the role played in it by Japanese capital. The speculative “boom” brought about by the Korean war into the home market, the rise in the price of numerous commodities did not force Japanese industrial and commercial business to ensure for themselves new export markets. The principal activity of Japanese monopolies during the Korean war resided in supplying the American army and meeting its military orders whose value during three years (1950—1953) amounted to over 2 milliard dollars. However, in parallel with this primary activity of Japanese monopolies which brought them their highest profits and contributed to their further consolidation, the development of peace-time branches, as also the production of commodities for which there was a demand on Southeast Asian markets, became restricted.³²

This situation had concrete repercussions also on Japan’s trade relations with countries of Southeast Asia when her exports to this region gradually declined from 474.4 million dollars in 1951, to 362.8 million in 1952 and down to 307.7 million in 1953,³³ which represented a drop of 30% in comparison with the year 1951.³⁴

4. Solution of the Reparations Question and Activity of Premier Yoshida’s Government Designed to Boost up Japan’s Politico-economic Influence in Countries of Southeast Asia

In 1953 when the conjuncture due to the war of American imperialism in Korea began to decline in Japanese economy, government and monopolist circles again showed increased interest in countries of Southeast Asia. Monopolies came to feel more and more urgently the need of foreign markets and the declining volume of exports to such important and prospective markets as were those of Southeast Asia, was a source of serious worry. Therefore, they insisted that Yoshida’s government reactivated its efforts and took suitable measures that would permit to intensify and extend politico-economic relations with countries of this region.

The response of Yoshida’s government to the demand of the monopolies, as also an expression of an enhanced interest on the part of the government circles themselves in these countries, came in September 1953 in the form of a special mission of “good will”, led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Katsuo Okazaki to countries of this region. The mission of “good will” had for task to lay down the foundations for extending Japan’s relations with countries of Southeast Asia and resume talks on reparations. Minister Okazaki successively visited the Philippines,

³² Petrov, D. V.: *op. cit.*, p. 205.

³³ *United Nations Direction of International Trade. Annual Data for the Years 1938, 1948 and 1950—1953*, p. 191.

³⁴ There was a question of lowering exports to the following Asian countries : Burma, India, Indochina, Indonesia, Malaya, Singapore, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand.

Indonesia, Burma and in his conversations with leading government and economic representatives expressed the wish of the Japanese government to conclude the reparations agreements, to renew normal diplomatic relations within the shortest possible delay and initiate economic and technological cooperation.³⁵

Okazaki was accompanied on his tour by the Head of Asian Affairs Bureau Eiji Wajima and prominent representatives of Japanese monopolist circles, as for instance, the Deputy Chairman of Keidanren Kōgorō Uemura with another member of this organization, and Tatsunosuke Takasaki, adviser to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry. The presence of leading representatives of Japanese monopolies in the discussions testified to their interest in solving the reparations question and in promoting economic expansion into countries of Southeast Asia.

Okazaki's talks in the Philippines failed to produce any concrete results that would have meant any substantial progress in the solving of the reparations problems. He brought forward a new proposal according to which Japan promised that reparations would not consist solely of "services of the Japanese people" but would also include "reparations in kind", which meant an acceptance by Japan of the same principal as in the case of Indonesia.

Neither did the conversations in Indonesia, with which Japan maintained relatively lively commercial relations, bring about the expected outcomes. Indonesia insisted on very high reparations payments (17.2 milliard dollars) and thus the difference between this and the puny sum of 125 million dollars offered by Japan, was too great to permit even the shadow of a compromise between the two countries. During the course of the conversations, Japan expressed her assent to Indonesia's standpoint taken up already during negotiations with Wajima concerning the signing of a separate peace treaty simultaneously with an agreement on reparations. Nevertheless, during Okazaki's talks, the main stress was laid on the conclusion of an interim agreement involving salvaging of sunken vessels in Indonesian waters, according to the Philippines pattern.

This "Interim Agreement on Reparations Concerning Salvage of Sunken Vessels between Japan and the Republic of Indonesia" was signed shortly after Okazaki's visit on 16 December 1953 and its text stipulated both the financial terms and the extent of the salvage operations. However, the interim agreement failed to be ratified and never came into force and thus was no practical significance in the solving of the reparations question by the two countries.³⁶

Even before Okazaki's visit to Burma, the Japanese government had sent there a special trade mission in August 1953, headed by Heitarō Inagaki — Chairman of the Association of Japanese Foreign Trade and former minister of International Trade and Industry. Inagaki's task was an exchange of views with Burmese representatives

³⁵ Yanaga, Ch.: op. cit., p. 203.

³⁶ Okano, K.: op. cit., pp. 431—433.

regarding payment of reparations. The mission had ended without any concrete results, similarly as Okazaki's subsequent mission of "good will". Okazaki proposed to Burmese representatives that Japan would pay reparations to the total sum of 100 million dollars in instalments of 10 million dollars a year, while Burma demanded reparations amounting to 360 million dollars.³⁷

The result of the mission of "good will" accomplished by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Okazaki and leading representatives of monopolist circles in countries of Southeast Asia proved puny and the negotiations failed to satisfy the expectations of both the government and the monopolist circles. Nothing but interim agreements on reparations were achieved, during Okazaki's tour, with Indonesia, which however never went into force. During the course of negotiations Okazaki had the opportunity to become convinced that if Japan wished completely to normalize her relations with countries of Southeast Asia and simultaneously to envisage a politico-economic penetration into this region, she must first settle the question of reparations.

The crucial issue in the discussions with the various countries was to determine the total height of reparations payments. The claims made by the various countries, based on damage done by Japanese aggression were high, just as the damage done had been high; Japanese offers, on the other hand, were far too low to satisfy the claimant or at least to constitute a basis for a compromise solution. And thus during Okazaki's mission also, not even the sign of any agreement was achieved concerning the total height of reparations payments to the various countries. Japan limited its payment for reparations to one per cent of the income tax of the population for the year 1952 to be paid over a term of 20 years, which amounted to a total sum of approximately 1 milliard dollars. Okazaki, during the course of his talks with the various representatives of the Philippines, Indonesia and Burma presented an unofficial proposal for payments of reparations to the total amount of 600 million dollars, suggesting the ratio of 4:2:1 for the above countries.³⁸

The conclusion arrived at by Okazaki's mission of "good will" compelled Premier Yoshida's government to make a more serious approach, in cooperation with monopolist circles, towards the reparations question. Government circles were sufficiently aware that a solution of this issue would contribute towards overcoming Japan's isolation in Southeast Asia and at the same time saw the possibility of exploiting reparations as a means for reinforcing her politico-economic influence in this region, and this in the spirit of the strategy of American imperialism — in the form of the so-called "demonstrating a stabilizing influence". The notions brought back by Okazaki's mission became manifest in renewed efforts by Yoshida's government and the monopolist circles designed to achieve agreements concerning reparations.

³⁷ Yanaga, Ch.: op. cit., p. 206.

³⁸ Okano, K.: op. cit., p. 315.

Following Okazaki's return from his "good will" mission, the government adopted concrete measures to boost up Japan's economic activity in Asia. Early in January 1954 it announced the formation of an organization that would centralize the various bodies striving after a development of economic relations with Asian countries. In April 1954 the "Society for Asian Economic Cooperation" (Asia Society) was set up under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, incorporating over 30 various groups and organizations.³⁹

Towards the end of 1953 Japan resumed also talks with the Philippines concerning reparations — carried out by Minister Katsumi Ōno with Philippines representatives. The result was an interim agreement, signed on 15 April 1954 by Ōno and the Philippines foreign Minister Carlos Garcia, both parties agreeing on the sum of 400 million dollars to be paid by Japan over a period of ten years. Besides industrial equipment, the reparations were to consist primarily of "investment" stocks for the development of raw materials and mineral resources of the Philippines. Major emphasis was laid on an extensive plan of soil recultivation on Mindanao Island. The land thus reclaimed was to be turned into paddy fields and the estimated production of rice was to contribute to the Philippines self-sufficiency in the production of this cereal. The surplus which was also expected, was to be exported to Japan, whereby the Philippines would obtain currency to be used for an increased import of Japanese goods. The Ōno–Garcia interim reparations agreement was to bring to the Philippines, according to the Japanese, a net profit of 1 milliard dollars.⁴⁰

The interim Ōno–Garcia reparations agreement was of a strikingly neocolonial nature and was primarily designed to promote an extension of Japan's politico-economic influence on the Philippines. It clearly reflected efforts on the part of Japanese government and monopolist circles to make use of reparations for an economic penetration into the Philippines economy and thus ensure their return to the Philippines market with minimum reparations outlays.

Two days after the signing of the Ōno–Garcia interim agreement, official talks were opened in Manila between the plenipotentiary of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Shōzo Murata and the Philippines Minister of Foreign Affairs Carlos Garcia, which were to have been concluded by the signing of the final agreement on reparations. However, the Philippines party, constantly fearing Japan's renewed expansion, became aware of the disadvantageous nature of the Ōno–Garcia interim agreement as well as of the extremely low sum of the reparations payments, and ultimately refused to sign the final agreement on reparations.⁴¹

³⁹ For more details see Yanaga, Ch.: *op. cit.*, pp. 263–264.

⁴⁰ Olson, L.: *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁴¹ Okano, K.: *op. cit.*, p. 386.

5. Conclusion of a Treaty of Peace and Agreement for Reparations between the Union of Burma and Japan

Burma was the first country in Southeast Asia with which Japan succeeded in carrying negotiations on reparations to a definite end, simultaneously signing a treaty of peace and concluding also an agreement on reparations. However, the latter was supplemented with a further agreement in 1963.

Through Japanese aggression in Southeast Asia during World War II, Burma lost over one-third of all its industrial facilities and was one of the most destroyed Asian countries. During the war years Japan not only plundered the country, but also exhausted in a considerable measure its resources in raw materials, covering its outlays with banknotes — to the total amount of 5.6 milliard rupees which were annulled on the return of allied powers. Total damage to property amounted to 12.7 milliard rupees.⁴²

Hence, it is natural that renovation of the war-destroyed national economy became one of the principal and most urgent tasks, and this not only during the period of a return of the former colonial power — Great Britain — but also under conditions of independence which Burma gained on 4 January 1948 as an outcome of a powerful growth of a national liberation movement in the country following World War II. Burma's right to claim reparations was justified by the enormous war destruction and conditioned by the imperative necessity of renewing its disrupted economy.

After Burma had become independent, its foreign policy was of a marked anti-imperialist character and in the early fifties, this country together with India became an important representative of the nascent movement in nonaligned countries. Such a course in foreign policy caused Burma's international authority to grow, particularly among young independent Asian countries. An expression of the neutral nature of this foreign policy was also its unilateral declaration of 30 April 1952, terminating the state of war between the Union of Burma and Japan.⁴³

Following the visit of the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Katsuo Okazaki to Burma in autumn of 1953, the Burmese government sent a reparations mission the following August to Japan, headed by the Minister of Industry U Kyaw Nyein, with the aim to resolve the question of reparations. Yoshida's government saw a real possibility of achieving a reciprocal agreement and of adjusting mutual relations and consequently devoted special attention to the talks. An especially active role in dealing with the reparations agreement was played by the prominent representative

⁴² Kutakov, Leonid Nikolaevich: *Vneshnyaya politika i diplomatiya Yaponii*. Moscow 1964, p. 258.

⁴³ Irie, K.: *op. cit.*, p. 327.

of monopolist circles, especially Japan Foreign Trade Association President Heitarō Inagaki. The Reparation Committee of the Asia Economic Cooperation Society, which in April 1954 joined the government-sponsored Society for Asian Economic Cooperation, and which expended considerable efforts in the preparation and realization of reparations agreements, empowered Inagaki to attend the Japanese-Burmese government negotiations on reparations. Inagaki's participation in these talks is evidence of the efforts of monopolist circles to link the question of reparations with an expansion of Japanese monopolies to Burmese markets. This is also confirmed by Chitoshi Yanaga who writes in his book: "Inagaki succeeded in convincing U Kyaw Nyein that agreement could be reached more easily if the whole reparations issue were treated with as an integral part of economic cooperation between the two countries."⁴⁴

Negotiations between Japan and Burma were brought to a successful end on 24 September by the conclusion of an interim agreement and, on recommendations by the Burmese reparations mission, the "Treaty of Peace between the Union of Burma and Japan"⁴⁵ was signed in Rangoon on 5 November 1954 simultaneously with an "Agreement between the Union of Burma and Japan for Reparations and Economic Co-operation".⁴⁶

Similarly as India, Burma contented itself with a general formulation in the peace treaty about the establishment of "firm and perpetual peace" between the two countries (Art. I). The two parties further undertook to enter into negotiations as early as possible for settling "their trading, maritime and aviation and other commercial relations on a stable and friendly basis" (Art. III). However, the greatest emphasis in the peace treaty was laid on the question of reparations. Conditions of payment of reparations, further detailed out in a common Agreement for Reparations and Economic Co-operation, where anchored in Article V of the Treaty of Peace.

The introduction of Article V (paragraph 1) states Japan's readiness to pay reparations to Burma "in order to compensate the damage and suffering caused by Japan during the war and also is willing to render co-operation in order to contribute towards the economic rehabilitation and development" of Burma.⁴⁷ Simultaneously, this paragraph carries a formulation similar to one contained in the San Francisco Peace Treaty (Art. 14), to the effect that "the resources of Japan are not sufficient if it is to maintain a viable economy, to make complete reparation for all the damage and suffering of Burma and other countries caused by Japan during the war and at the same time meet its other obligations".⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Yanaga, Ch.: op. cit., p. 207.

⁴⁵ For text of treaty see *United Nations Treaty Series*. Vol. 251, pp. 201—233.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 215—221.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 204.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

In the subsequent section of this Article V(a) (I) Japan agreed through supplies in the form of “the services of Japanese people and the products of Japan”, to pay reparations in the total amount of 200 million dollars on an annual average of 20 million dollars for a period of ten years. In addition, Japan agreed (part II, Art. V) “to take every possible measure to facilitate the economic co-operation” the value of which amounted to 50 million dollars payable over a period of ten years at an average of 5 million dollar a year, in the form of the supply of services and Japanese products.⁴⁹

Of great importance in the light of Burma’s subsequent procedure proved to be part III of this paragraph. In it Burma reserved to itself the right “to re-examine, at the time of the final settlement of reparations towards all other claimant countries, the Union of Burma’s claim for just and equitable treatment in the light of these results of such settlement as well as the economic capacity of Japan to bear the overall burden of reparations”.⁵⁰

Further articles (VI, VII, VIII) of the peace treaty dealt with the settlement of property rights affecting the two contracting parties.

“The Agreement between the Union of Burma and Japan for Reparations and Economic Co-operation” extended and concretized the provisions comprised in Article V of the peace treaty.

Article I (paragraph 2) specified that the promised Japanese investments were to be realized in the form of common Burmese-Japanese plants. Services and products set down within the framework of reparations and economic co-operation were to be terminated by a common agreement between the two governments (paragraph 3) and their nature was concretized in the Annex to the agreement, which was an intrinsic part of the agreement.

This Annex listed the following items :

1. Construction of hydro-electric plants.
2. Construction of steel plants.
3. Rehabilitation of port facilities.
4. Construction of hospitals and provision of medical services.
5. Education in Japan of Burmese technicians and students.
6. Technical training in Burma of Burmese technicians.
7. Construction of fertilizer plants.
8. Rehabilitation of railways.
9. Construction of a shipbuilding yard.
10. Manufacture of explosives and shells.
11. Construction of cement factories.
12. Development of salterns.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 206.

13. Construction of sugar factories.
14. Construction of chemical industries.
15. Rehabilitation of river shipping.
16. Construction of non-ferrous metal industry.
17. Construction of engineering industry.
18. Rehabilitation of telecommunications.
19. Provision of other products and services to be agreed upon between the governments of two countries.⁵¹

In Article II (paragraph 1) the Union of Burma agreed to "take measures necessary for the smooth implementation of the provisions of Article I" and simultaneously in paragraph 4 she agreed not to re-export the products supplied by Japan.

Paragraph 1 of Article III adjusts the percentage proportion of representation in joint enterprises, that of Burma not to be less than sixty per cent. This opened to Japanese firms an opportunity to penetrate Burmese economy and simultaneously gave them access to important raw materials, such as coal, oil, and rubber. The following parts of Article III (paragraphs 2, 3, 4) spoke of guarantees against expropriation of Japanese shares from joint Burmese-Japanese enterprises, thus giving assurance to Japanese investors of the security of their investments. In 1956 certain changes were introduced into the construction of joint enterprises which removed all possible risk of enterprise for Japanese investors. This was achieved by a diminution of the share of direct Japanese investments in joint enterprises at the expense of increased Japanese long-term export credits to the relevant enterprise. The management of joints enterprises thus passed entirely to the Japanese.⁵²

Article IV speaks of the constitution of a joint committee, an organ for consultation and recommendation to both governments on matters regarding the implementation of the agreement.

The Agreement for Reparations and Economic Co-operation was supplemented with a note of the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Okazaki of 5 November 1954 regarding Article I, paragraph 2 of the agreement stating that of the 50 million dollars destined for economic cooperation, Japan would pay 20 million dollars in the form of a long-term loan. The conditions of redemption and interest would be determined by a mutual agreement.⁵³

After the peace treaty and the reparation agreement had come into force through an exchange of the ratification documents on 16 April 1955, the Burmese government, in its note of 18 November 1955, referring to Article I, paragraph 1 of the

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 222.

⁵² Cf. Vasilevskaya, Irina Ivanovna: *Yaponiya i strany Yugovostochnoi Azii posle vtoroi mirovoi voyny*. Moscow 1969, p. 59.

⁵³ *United Nations Treaty Series*. Vol. 251, pp. 222—224.

Agreement, specified the terms of payment and mode of accounting the reparation supplies as also the tasks and functions of the Burmese reparations mission in Japan.⁵⁴

According to the data of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, payments according to the terms of this agreement were initiated in 1955 and completed on 15 April 1965.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, this agreement failed definitely to settle the problem of reparations between the two countries, although Yoshida's government considered this agreement as terminated. In April 1959, when Japan had succeeded in concluding reparations agreement also with the other countries of Southeast Asia, Burma, in virtue of Article V, paragraph 1(a) (III) of the Peace Treaty giving her the right of revising the reparations agreement, asked Japan to do just that and to raise the amount of reparations payments.

The approach to the solution of payment of the additional reparations to Burma which was protracted until the year 1963, when a mutual agreement was achieved, differed in nothing from that adopted towards the other Southeast Asian countries. The Japanese party approached the negotiations with an evident initial effort to pay as little as possible, gradually raising the amount which Japan was willing to pay, from 45 million to 75 million dollars until the final sum of 140 million dollars, while the Burmese side demanded additional payments in the height of 200 million dollars. This was the demand with which also the Burmese delegation, led by the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Commerce and Industry Aung Gui arrived in Tokyo in January 1963. One of the goals was to resume talks, repeatedly interrupted, and arrive at a final agreement, which was at last achieved on 15 January, but not before the Burmese delegation had relinquished its original demands.

A formal „Agreement between Japan and the Union of Burma on Economic and Technical Co-operation” was signed on 29 March 1963 at Rangoon and came into force through the exchange of the ratification instruments on 25 October of the same year.⁵⁶ Japan undertook to extend her reparations supplies, termed in the agreement as “economic and technical co-operation” and this in the form of services and Japanese products in an aggregate sum of 140 million dollars, any outstanding amount to be paid in the twelfth year (Art. II).

At the same time, through a note of the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Sadasuke Iizuka, Japan agreed to accord to Burma private loans on a commercial basis which within six years were to amount to 30 million dollars.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 226—228.

⁵⁵ *Nihon gaikōshi jiten*. Tokyo, Ōkurasho 1981, p. 812. Also Vasilevskaya, I. I.; op. cit., pp. 57—59.

⁵⁶ *United Nations Treaty Series*. Vol. 518, pp. 4—13.

⁵⁷ For text see *ibid.*, pp. 24—26.

An important part of the agreement was also a "Protocol Concerning the Union of Burma's Claim Based on Article V, Paragraph 1(a) (III) of the Treaty of Peace between Japan and the Union of Burma Signed at Rangoon on November 5, 1954" in which Burma agreed not to submit any further demands in virtue of the above article of the peace treaty.⁵⁸

The content and aims of the reparations agreement with Burma are characterized by the words of the Premier Shigeru Yoshida who had this say about it: "People in that country disliked the term capital investments and to satisfy them we began to use the word reparations. To us, however, that meant investments. Capital investments help the development of Burma and a developing Burma turns into a Japanese market. In this manner it is possible to get back our investments. It is of extraordinary importance to Japan who has lost the Chinese market, to find markets in Southeast Asia. Under the veil of reparations we would like to extend our hand first of all towards Burma and then to extend this policy to the Philippines and Indonesia."⁵⁹

This statement clearly reveals the neocolonial nature of the approach of Japanese government circles to the solution of the reparations problem not only towards Burma, but also towards the various countries of Southeast Asia. Yoshida's words distinctly reflect the designs of government and monopolist circles in Japan to exploit reparations as a means to reinforce Japan's politico-economic influence in countries of Southeast Asia. And the nature of the reparations agreement with Burma is evidence of this.

6. Foreign-Political Causes for the Resignation of Premier Yoshida's Government

In time, the policy pursued by Premier Yoshida caused disagreement not only within the ruling conservative parties themselves, but also in circles of big business. Dissatisfaction among monopolist groups was aroused principally by the foreign policy of Yoshida's government residing in a too great dependence on the United States, which resulted in Japan's isolation not only in the Far East and in countries of Southeast Asia, but also within world politics. Her approach to the solution of the reparations question, the efforts to exploit her obligation to pay reparations in order to ensure maximum profit with minimum outlays resulted in that, with the exception of Burma, no other country in Asia accepted Japan's proposals which were of a marked neocolonial character. Neither did Yoshida's government achieve any major progress in talks on reparations with the various claimant countries, which lasted from the end of the year 1951.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 12—14.

⁵⁹ Jūnen no ayumi. Mainichi Shinbun, 11 August 1955. (Quoted according to Yamamoto, Susumu: Tokyo—Washington. *Ekonomicheskaya diplomatiya Yaponii. Sokrashchenniy perevod s yaponskogo*. Moscow 1963, pp. 33—34.)

This unsuccessful tackling of the reparations issue contributed to the continuing isolation of Japan and this not solely in countries of the so-called "free Asian world". Japan's isolation proved to have been the greatest obstacle in the implementation of her extensive programme of a politico-economic expansion into Southeast Asia with the goal to become a "stabilizing factor". This plan of Japan's new role in Asia whose principal schemers were the United States, was nothing else in its essence except one of the modified strategies and tactics of anticommunism adjusted to conditions prevailing in Asia, strategies and tactics whose principal goal was to suppress the national liberation movement in Asian nations and thus to reverse the progressive development in Asia.

The failure of Yoshida's Asian policy was a cause of grave worry to the monopolist circles that just craved for the old markets of Southeast Asia, and this not only for the sake of the natural resources and mineral wealth — raw materials as such, but also because in these countries they saw prospects of a convenient outlet for their products. Countries of Southeast Asia came especially into the forefront of attention on the part of Japanese monopolist circles in connection with the economic decline in 1953—1954 brought on by reduction in military orders of the American army following the end of hostilities in Korea. The government endeavoured to overcome the consequences of this decline by extending the prerogatives and functions of state-monopolist capital. It undertook a far-reaching modernization of industry by importing the latest technology, whereby foreign debt rose considerably and the consequent need of increased exports to reduce the unfavourable balance of payments. In this connection, the government took drastic measures to reduce all other imports but met with considerable difficulties in its export policy.

By acceding to the discriminatory measures dictated by the United States, Japan deprived herself of the favourable economic relations with the socialist countries, while the unresolved question of reparations, on the other hand, thwarted the development of her commercial relations with countries of Southeast Asia.

Japan's Asian policy that failed to bring the expected results worried also the government and monopolist circles of the United States themselves and as the opposition to Yoshida's government in Japan increased, the United States abstained from lending any concrete support to their truest ally in Asia.

The foreign policy of Yoshida's government provoke a difference of views also within the leaderships of conservative parties as such. The principal means to overcome the intrapolitical conflicts and simultaneously to consolidate the position of Premier Yoshida was seen in obtaining help from the United States. Yoshida endeavoured to get a considerable financial aid to revive the economic conjuncture and help to create conditions for a more extensive expansion of Japan into Southeast Asia. With these concrete aims in mind, Yoshida paid a visit to the United States on 7—11 November 1954 where he had talks with the foremost U.S. representatives.

Nevertheless, despite Yoshida's earnest efforts to convince his partners of the urgent need of help, the talks failed to yield the result which he had hoped for and which would have had an influence in strengthening his position. The ensuing communiqué of 10 November was formal in tone, stating that Japan's economic welfare is a problem that affected the entire "free world".⁶⁰

Great emphasis was laid in the talks on Japan's position and role in Asia, with Yoshida endeavouring to obtain "recognition of an independent position of Japan in Asia under conditions of joint co-operation with the aim to preserve peace in Asia".⁶¹ Yoshida underlined Japan's willingness to expend every effort for the development of "free Asian countries". The negotiations also touched on the bilateral advantages that might derive from Japanese participation in the economic development of South and Southeast Asia. When subsequently discussing the joint communiqué, Yoshida himself said that: "We endeavoured to intimate that Asia's economic development is the best means for the protection of freedom and peace in Asia."⁶²

A concrete means for "protecting freedom and peace" in Asia and for accelerating Japan's politico-economic expansion was to have been some sort of a new Marshall Plan for Southeast Asia for which Yoshida strove to win United States' active support. Yoshida's plan, inspired and backed up by Japanese monopolist circles, was based on a combination of American capital and Japanese production capacity and technical skills, the goal being the creation of politico-economic hegemony of Japan and the United States in Southeast Asia as the best way of suppressing national liberation movements and of pursuing a neocolonial policy.

As to the programme of "economic aid" to developing countries of Southeast Asia, Yoshida made concrete statements speaking before the National Press Club in Washington on 8 November when he proposed an immediate increase of economic aid to the developing nations of this region up to the amount of 4 milliard dollars. Premier Yoshida cautioned in his speech that should the economic development of the "Communist China" in the following years outstrip by far the standard of the neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia, this strategic region would fall an easy victim of communism. "Unless the advance nations outside the region extend this massive assistance in time," asserted Yoshida, "the free countries of Southeast Asia cannot produce the necessary capital for economic development. Although there are a number of specialized financial agencies supplying capital to the underdeveloped nations of the world, the total of such financial assistance

⁶⁰ For more details on Yoshida's trip and negotiations in the United States, see Yoshida, Shigeru: *The Yoshida Memoirs. The Story of Japan in Crisis*. London 1961, pp. 120—124. For text of the joint American-Japanese communiqué see: *Sengo shiryō. Nichibei kankei*, pp. 71—72.

⁶¹ Yoshida, Sh.: op. cit., p. 123.

⁶² Ibid., p. 124.

supplied to Southeast Asia amounts to only 400 million dollars annually. This sum was only one-tenth of the capital investment required to compete with the rate of Communist Chinese economic growth. Accordingly, it is necessary to vastly increase the availability of capital on the part of governments and international financial institutions. The people of Japan are prepared to cooperate fully in making the plan successful," assured Yoshida.⁶³

The results of Yoshida's tour during which he also visited Canada, France, the FRG, Italy, Great Britain, were negligible and thus could not affect the inner political development, nor overcome the crisis inside government conservative parties. The opposition to Premier Yoshida continued to increase and an important role in it was played primarily by monopolist circles, which did not intend further support Yoshida's government. Yoshida who had no intention at first to step down and meant to deal with the situation in a manner typical of Japan — dissolution of parliament and new elections — finally decided "voluntarily" to resign after a warning from the monopolist capital.⁶⁴

Yoshida's resignation from the function of prime minister, which he had held for 7 years, meant the end of a significant period in Japan's postwar history, a period during which not only her relations to the United States were definitely shaped, but also the character of her future politico-economic relations towards countries of Southeast Asia became crystallized.

⁶³ Quoted according to Kajima, M.: *A Brief Diplomatic History...* p. 183. Although the United States took a cool attitude towards Yoshida's plan, they nevertheless multiplied their efforts to help Japan economically selling to Japan agricultural products alone to the value of 100 million dollars.

⁶⁴ For more details on Yoshida's demission see: *Istoriya Yaponii (1945—1975)*, Moscow 1978, p. 155 and Yanaga, Ch.: op. cit., pp. 130—132.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, 1897—1899. THE CULMINATION OF ANTI-COLONIAL ACTIVITIES IN THE KINGDOMS OF BUGANDA AND BUNYORO

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To British officials and missionaries upon whose accounts historians have largely relied, the underlying rationale behind the so-called Mwanga's rebellion seemed obscure and futile. It is the main point of this article that military resistance can be best seen as a continuation of politics by other means pursued ever since Mwanga's accession to the throne and aimed to maintain the autonomy and independence of his kingdom. From re-reading of the available historical evidence, it also appears that this independence war, waged between July 1897 and April 1899 by the Baganda, later joined by some Banyoro, Sudanese and other nationals, was to some extent a resistance movement both different from and more complex than all earlier manifestations of opposition to the imposition of British colonial rule in Buganda and Bunyoro, since during its course incipient attempts had been made to overcome ethnic boundaries and rivalries and to create a broader anti-colonial coalition.

The new treaty which Sir Gerald Portal, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner to Uganda — whose mission it was to report to London on the desirability of retaining the country and of establishing a British Protectorate — forced on the most reluctant *kabaka*, meant *de facto*, if not *de jure*, the establishment of imperial control over Buganda. On 1 April 1893 the flag of the Imperial British East Africa Company was duly hauled down and the Union Jack hoisted up. Upon Portal's recommendations, one year later his interim arrangements were validated by the British government and a formal Protectorate was proclaimed over Buganda.*

* For Portal's mission see Reports relating to Uganda by Sir Gerald Portal. Africa, 1894, No. 2, C-7303, a copy in the White Fathers Archives in Rome (henceforth only W.F.A.), 282.11 and Portal, Gerald Sir: *The British Mission to Uganda in 1893*. Edited with a Memoir by Rennel Rodd. London, Edward Arnold 1894. Sir Gerald Portal concluded a provisional treaty with Buganda, signed on 29 May 1893 and thus took over the administration of the kingdom from the Imperial British East Africa Company. He succeeded to allot a bigger portion of land to Catholics than did Lugard, a narrow road between the Catholic province of Buddu and Mengo, and a more substantial share in the offices of state. See *The British Mission to Uganda in 1893*, p. 423. Another innovation that Portal introduced was that he split important offices between the Protestant and Catholic factions. Thus, a Catholic *mujasi*, chief of the army, and a *gabunga*, chief of canoes, were appointed as duplicates to Protestants holding the same offices and the head of the Catholic faction and the former *kimbugwe*, the keeper of the king's umbilical cord and an official second only in rank to the *katikkiro* whose duties were those of a personal advisor, Stanislas Mugwanya was made a second *katikkiro*. The practice was abolished by the 1900 Uganda Agreement.

The British decision to declare a protectorate over Buganda was announced in June 1894 in the London Gazette (19 June 1894) and was formally proclaimed in Mengo by the Acting Commissioner Colonel H. Colville on 27 August 1894.

The official declaration of a Protectorate in summer 1894 filled the British colonial officials in Buganda with a sense of accomplishment. All anti-colonial opposition seemed to have been effectively crushed and the British overrule accepted, not only by Apolo Kaggwa's collaborating clique of Protestant chiefs but, however reluctantly, also by *kabaka* Mwanga with his supporters. A period of apparant calm ensued during which the colonial administration occupied itself with pacifying the rest of modern Uganda, especially the neighbouring kingdom of Bunyoro, and with laying down the foundations of the future administration.

To most Mwanga's contemporaries, both European and African, upon whose accounts modern historians of Buganda have largely relied, the *kabaka's* decision to rise against the British régime seemed a futile and hardly comprehensible act. They were unanimous in their opinion that there was nothing for Mwanga to gain and much to lose. Some Protestant missionaries even believed that by resorting to "his most foolish and criminal act of rebellion", Mwanga had "committed an act of political suicide".¹ As one C.M.S. missionary, Fletcher, put it: "He finally ranged himself against his own country as one of its foes."² And even Mwanga's Baganda contemporaries interpreted his ultimate resolve to raise the standard of revolt against the colonial régime and its Baganda sycophants as "disloyalty of *kabaka* Mwanga".³

Perhaps the greatest deficiency of the European contemporary sources in general was their failure to look at the situation from the Kiganda point of view. This one-sided attitude is best illustrated by the following quotations from extant European sources. Those who in any way opposed the administration were invariably denoted by both colonial administrators and missionaries as drunkards, polygamists and criminals. Official statements, attempting to explain why the Baganda and Mwanga rose in arms against the British once the Protectorate had been established, stressed the partiality of resisters for alcohol and other vices, such as polygamy, inherent criminality, immorality and religious indifference, which brought them into conflict with the colonial régime. Thus, commenting on *kabaka*

¹ See a letter by Bishop Tucker in the Times of September 1897, reprinted in the Church Missionary Intelligencer and Record, Uganda, Vol. III, 1895—1901, Oct. 1897, p. 771.

² See Fletcher, T. B.: *Mwanga, the Man and His Times*. In: Uganda Journal, 4, 1936—1937, No. 2, p. 166.

³ It should be remembered that all Baganda historians, Mwanga's contemporaries, who described his reign and the rebellion, had collaborated with the British, none of them supported Mwanga. See, e.g. Kaggwa, Apolo Sir: *Ekitabo kye Basekabaka be Buganda*. London 1927; Miti, Jemusi: *A Short History of Buganda*, both in Luganda and English. Translated into English by G. K. Rock 1938. Typescript in Makerere College Library; Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka* (Buganda and the King). Kampala 1938. Of them only Zimbe expressed some sympathy with Mwanga and his lot.

Mwanga's flight from his palace in July 1897 and his resolve to rise in rebellion against the Protectorate administration, the Protestant journal wrote, "the ruling motive would seem to have been his wish to escape from the restraints imposed by the British power and by the Christian native chiefs on the gross excesses in vice and cruelty to which he was prone, and," it added, "with this dislike of moral restraints the heathen portion of the community largely sympathized".⁴ "With this view in his treacherous mind," the official mind had it, "he sent emissaries throughout the length and breadth of his dominions (for, remember, Mwanga is still a powerful king and the English Government has never interfered with his regal authority in any way) Sic! to stir them up to rebel against the English with the two-fold object of killing all the readers, and killing or driving out all the Europeans in the country, and then restoring the good old customs. Therefore, Mwanga sent his emissaries throughout Busoga, the whole of Buganda, to Toro, and he invited Kabarega, king of Bunyoro, the bitter enemy of the English, to join him."⁵

This case study of the war of independence fought between 1897 and 1899 on the territory of present-day Uganda attempts to test similar statements and, by bringing fresh evidence, to show the complexity of resistance mounted by the Baganda, the Banyoro and allied peoples, and its forcible repression by the British. It attempts to trace the preparation, organization and the course of the war of independence of 1897—1899, to reconstruct the development of the resistance movement from its clandestine formation in late 1896 and early 1897 to its final collapse in 1899 and assess its scale, composition, effectiveness, as well as the strength of support afforded to resisters. And eventually, its ultimate aim is, by highlighting the patterns of Baganda and Banyoro resistance movements, their characteristic features and the motive forces behind Baganda and Banyoro resistance sentiment, to reveal the underlying rationale behind Baganda's and Banyoro's renewed resistance and distinguish threads of continuity running through all periods into which their resistance falls, each having its own distinctive aspects and peculiarities.

The run up to rebellion, its preparation and outbreak

The last period of early anti-colonial resistance in the Uganda Protectorate opened with the outbreak of the anti-colonial rebellion of 1897 in Buganda and with growing manifestations of discontent in some neighbouring territories. On Tuesday, 6 July 1897 at 3 a.m. *kabaka* Mwanga of Buganda secretly left his palace cutting his way through the reed fences, went down to the lake and with a small following set

⁴ Church Missionary Society Report 1897—1898, p. 113.

⁵ Extracts from Dr. A. R. Cook's Journal Letters, 6 July 1897. In: Church Missionary Intelligencer and Report, Uganda, Vol. III, 1895—1901, Nov. 1897, p. 813.

out for Buddu with the intention to raise a rebellion against the existing régime.⁶ After a two days' journey via the Busabala-Buvu-Kaziru route, Mwanga safely reached Buddu, where the ringleaders Gaburieli Kintu, Louis Katabalwa, Serugo Goggwa, Maurice Kinywakyamagwa, Bisigoro Kajejero and others waited for him.⁷

The historical significance of Mwanga's rebellion is completely missed if it is viewed, as has often been the case, as a sudden, an inexplicable, an incomprehensible act, futile and desperate. The evidence shows otherwise. There is much testimony to the same effect, and from many sources, of European as well as autochthonous provenance, that the rising of 1897 was a pre-conceived, planned and co-ordinated action preceded by a period of apparent calm during which preparations were being made.⁸ In their diaries and letters of 1897, missionaries of both religious denominations, Protestant Church Missionary Society and Catholic White Fathers, attempted to explain to their superiors how the great eruption of the independence movement, which had begun in Buganda in July of that year and which was still in progress, had come about. A careful re-reading of the available sources confirm the suggestion, advanced most outspokenly by the White Fathers, that in the politically divided countryside, especially in the Catholic province of Buddu, and in the capital, a pre-conceived and co-ordinated plan of resistance had been agreed upon by a group of Baganda chiefs around *kabaka* Mwanga and kept secret for weeks or months until the signal would come for a simultaneous assault upon the British colonial régime.

Though for a long time apparently quiescent, by 1897 a minority of dissident Baganda around *kabaka* Mwanga were able to organize themselves in small clandestine groupings. They were moved by traditions of opposition to colonial conquest and occupation, by resentment against this or that act of colonial administration that appeared particularly oppressive, by the traditional loyalty and reverence to their *kabaka* and the will to recover the lost independence by driving away the British and their sycophants. This resistance sentiment, little more at first than a muted form of protest against specific manifestations of colonial rule, gained a hearing and was able gradually to enlarge its audience. The reasons why it could do this seem to have lain in the widespread resentment against British occupation and escalating encroachment.

⁶ Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, op. cit., p. 532; Church Missionary Intelligencer, Uganda, Vol. III, 1895—1901, Nov. 1897, p. 813; G. Wilson to Ternan, 6 July 1897, Entebbe Secretariat Archives (henceforth E.S.A.), A4/8, 1897; Père Ménandais à un Père, Marienberg, Kiziba, 3 août 1897, White Fathers Archives (W.F.A), Fonds Livinhac, Dossier No. 83, Événements 1897—1898.

⁷ Kaggwa, Apolo Sir: *Ekitabo kye Basekabaka be Buganda*, pp. 203—204.

⁸ See e.g. Rubaga Diary, 16—17 January 1897 (Diaire du Rubaga), published in *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 74, Avril 1897, Kaggwa, A.: *Basekabaka*, p. 199.

It is essential to point out, that long before the eruption of the rebellion, there had been in Buganda a deep undercurrent of hostility between black and white. Especially French missionaries were acutely aware of "something growing under the surface". As early as July 1895 the White Fathers noted in their Diary: "L'état des esprits n'est pas bon. Un grand mécontentement contre les Anglais gronde partout, surtout dans le camp protestant. Un rien pourrait faire éclater la révolte."⁹ A crisis of resentment against British overrule and of latent desire to rise up against it had become widespread by 1895—1896. Buganda became a hot-bed of discontent and latent protest.

The route of armed resistance was for *kabaka* Mwanga and his Baganda supporters the route of last resort. To understand the origins and nature of this last stand, it is necessary to consider, even if briefly, the reasons why the Baganda discontent took the form of insurrection. The war of independence broke out when the social basis for political movements and groups hostile to the British encroachment and conquest had violently contracted, when the ideological opponents of the British colonialism were long since defeated politically, having been in 1892, in Lugard's war of conquest, defeated militarily.¹⁰ Open military confrontation came as a climax to the long struggle of *kabaka* Mwanga and his Baganda supporters to maintain the autonomy and independence of their kingdom in the face of the escalating encroachment of British colonial régime and the domestic opposition from one of the dominant internal political factions in the country.¹¹ The precipitous events in the years following Mwanga's accession to the throne after his father Muteesa's death which resulted in decisive shifts in the power structure of the Kiganda society and the structure and personnel of the government, has been widely discussed elsewhere.¹² These shifts in the power structure of the society led to the decline of royal authority and the concomitant accumulation of political power in the hands of the ruling hierarchy of young administrative *bakungu* chiefs, converts to newly-introduced religions — Islam and Christianity of Protestant or Catholic denomination. Though in the civil wars of 1888—1890 that ensued the Baganda were organized upon a religious basis, the main concern of each group was the control and exercise of political power using it to eliminate their rivals and maintain themselves in office. The bitterness of struggle among the three political factions

⁹ Diaire du Rubaga, 31 Juillet 1895, quoted in *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 70, Avril 1896.

¹⁰ Pawliková, V.: *Kabaka Mwanga and Early Anti-Colonial Protest in Buganda*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, Bratislava, Vol. 14, 1978, especially pp. 111—115; another re-interpretation of Lugard's war of 1892 is in Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *A History of Buganda. From the Foundation of the Kingdom to 1900*. London, Longman Group Ltd. 1971, pp. 224—236.

¹¹ See Pawliková, V.: *Kabaka Mwanga and Early Anti-Colonial Protest in Buganda*, pp. 89—118.

¹² Rowe, J. A.: *The Purge of Christians at Mwanga's Court*. In: *The Journal of African History*, V, 1964, No. 1; Low, D. A.: *Religion and Society in Buganda, 1875—1900*. East African Studies, Nairobi

— Protestants, Catholic and Muslims—for the control of political hierarchy and of land is fully revealed in accounts of contemporaries and official documents.¹³ The imperial approach and the establishment of the colonial rule must be seen in the context of this struggle for the control and exercise of political power. When in 1890 the colonial conquest became imminent, the Baganda were unable to present a common front to the European invaders. For, while *kabaka* Mwanga and the Catholic chiefs, backed by the vast majority of the population which was non-Christian or even anti-Christian, endeavoured to oppose the British advance by all means available to them — political, diplomatic and military, the weaker Protestant faction proved to be enthusiastic to accept the British protection. Overwhelmingly outnumbered, Apolo Kaggwa with his clique of Protestant chiefs welcomed British support as a means to strengthen their own position against the rival Catholic and Muslim factions.¹⁴ On the other hand, the British in Buganda from Lugard onwards needed allies who could control their own people, but who would be at the same time amenable to manipulation by the British in their own political interests. These they found in the Protestant faction and its ambitious leader — *katikkiro* Apolo Kaggwa. The support which the British gave to the Protestant collaborating minority in the war of conquest of 1892 secured its ascendancy in the Kiganda political system and its political commitment to and unswerving collaboration with the colonial régime. This was not surprising, given the mobile and internally competitive nature of the Baganda socio-political system and the extent to which the collaborating chiefly establishment had managed to identify their interests with those of the British colonialists. Since the colonial arrangement was not disruptive to the customary structure of social relations from which the administrative chiefs derived their political and economic power, they were not prepared to resist British presence. Colonialism, though it spelt privation and suffering to many, also created undreamt-of openings for those ready to collaborate with the occupants. Advocating the policies of accommodation and collaboration with the British, the strongest supporters

1957, No. 8; Wrigley, C. C.: *The Christian Revolution in Buganda*. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. II, 1959, pp. 33—48; Low, D. A.: *Uganda and the British, 1862—1900*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Oxford, Exeter College, 1957. Also Kiwanuka, M. S. M.: *A History of Buganda*, op. cit., Chapter 9, The era of violence — I, 1885 to 1889.

¹³ See respective chapters in Miti, J. K.: *A Short History of Buganda*, op. cit., pp. 135—208; Kaggwa, Apolo Sir: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, op. cit.; Zimbe, B. M.: *Buganda Né Kabaka*, op. cit.; also respective entries in Rubaga Diary. Numerous descriptions by Catholic missionaries can be found in W. F. A., Fonds Livinhac, C13 and C14, those of Protestant missionaries in the Church Missionary Society Archives, series G3/A5, the Eastern Equatorial Mission. For the best full account of the events of 1888—1889 see Sir John Milner Gray's authoritative study *The Year of the Three Kings of Buganda — Mwanga, Kiwewa, Kalema, 1888—1889*. In: *Uganda Journal*, 14, 1950, No. 1, pp. 15—53.

¹⁴ See Pawliková, V.: *Kabaka Mwanga and Early Anti-Colonial Protest in Buganda*, op. cit., esp. pp. 99—101.

of British “protection” from among the Baganda were making good use of their efficiency in the art of policy-making and mechanisms of power to pursue their own personal ambitions and interests. Economic considerations provided an additional incentive to cooperate with the Europeans.¹⁵ And since they were left ample room within the newly-introduced political and economic system to manipulate the British in their own political interests, intentions of the collaborators for a long time coincided conveniently with those of their colonial “protectors”.¹⁶ Protestant segments of the ruling élite of Baganda chiefs who had allied themselves with the incoming British to dislodge the rival Catholic section, thus had a vested interest in British colonial rule. The process continued with several chiefs changing their allegiance to the British to bolster their personal positions and secure their future careers. The most prominent among them was the Catholic *katikkiro* and former *kimbugwe* Stanislas Mugwanya who, since 1892, had turned from a bitter opponent of imperial conquest to a loyal supporter of the British cause.¹⁷ Some adherents of Catholic or Muslim faith shifted not only their political allegiance, but also abandoned their religions for the one associated with dominant political power. Their number was not, however, as big as could have been expected.¹⁸

¹⁵ Economic power and the right of control over land was in traditional Buganda closely associated with political power and the exercise of some duties in the political system of the state. For the right to occupy and use land, chiefs were entitled to exact from their peasant dependants dues in labour and tribute in kind. Chiefs as office-holders in the political system of the state could also claim a portion of taxes collected by the state — the state revenue, they used to be presented with gifts of slaves, women and cattle, they shared the spoils of war and booty and they also participated in the profitable trade in slaves and ivory which had become the monopoly of the *kabaka* and prominent chiefs. In the early period of British colonial rule looting for cattle became especially widespread and the Baganda chiefs used to share the loot with the British colonial officials. See Kaggwa, *Basekabaka*, op. cit., pp. 181, 245—246 and 262. In traditional Buganda economic fortune depended on shifts in royal favour, since the chiefs held their office at the *kabaka*'s pleasure and could be promoted or deposed at his will. Due to their unstable position the administrative *bakungu* chiefs often tried to maintain hereditary rights to small estates and thus secure a permanent source of wealth or created small *bitongole* for their sons or kinsmen. See Mair, L. P.: *Baganda Land Tenure*. In: *Africa*, Vol. 6, 1933, p. 193 and Mukwanya, A.: *Land Tenure in Buganda. Present Day Tendencies*. East African Studies No. 1, Nairobi 1953, p. 12. Early after the establishment of British Protectorate several chiefs attempted to acquire secure possession over land and have these “shambas” or estates registered as private property, despite the enhanced security of their political offices backed by the British presence. See Memo Grant to Ternan, 23 August 1899 and Ternan to Grant, 25 August 1899, E.S.A., A4/20.

¹⁶ See Twaddle, M.: *The Bakungu Chiefs of Buganda under British Colonial Rule, 1900—1930*. *Journal of African History*, X, 1969, No. 2, pp. 309—322, for a description of the first conflict between collaborating *bakungu* chiefs and the colonial administration.

¹⁷ Another prominent Catholic chief, who in 1892 shifted his allegiance from the *kabaka* to the British, was the *pokino* Alexis Sebowa. In March 1892 the two were sent by *kabaka* Mwanga to Kampala to negotiate with Lugard, they then joined the pro-British faction of Baganda chiefs and since then they never wavered in their loyalty to the colonial régime.

¹⁸ After the defeat of pro-Mwanga Catholic faction in Lugard's war of conquest in 1892, great pressure

By 1897 the chiefly oligarchy, propped up only with British support, would be in possession of power for a fairly long time and this would lead to the existence of a relatively large ruling class of vested interests in the continuation and support of the existing régime, even though that meant the end of Buganda's independence. This ruling oligarchy was predominantly Protestant with a Catholic minority sharing the political administration of the country. With the exception of the top members of the Protestant ruling establishment and the top two Catholic leaders Mugwanya and Sebowa, who collaborated effectively with the colonial administration,¹⁹ disaffection with the colonial régime was growing in the country. Dissent was widespread among the defeated and crushed Muslims who had all along opposed alien rule.²⁰ The most numerous defeated Catholic faction, confined after the lost war of 1892 to the far away province of Buddu, had since 1890 firmly identified with anti-British opposition around *kabaka* Mwanga and harboured a large element of dissent.²¹ The general populace, which was non-Christian, was traditionally pro-Mwanga and anti-British. The accession of most Catholics to Mwanga's cause and the collaboration of the ruling Protestant establishment with the colonial régime gave a false religious colouring to all colonial conflicts fought in Buganda during the 1890s. The Baganda

was put on the *kabaka* to become a Protestant. Though Mwanga under duress declared himself a Protestant, in the next two years he twice made an unsuccessful attempt to become a Catholic. See e.g. Mwanga to Colville, 24 July 1894, E.S.A., A2/2. Also Miti, J.: *A Short History*, op. cit., pp. 466—630. Every time Mwanga was seriously warned that the British administration would not tolerate a ruler of such religious instability. See Colville, Henry E. Sir: *The Land of the Nile Springs*. London 1895, pp. 71—74 and 77—78. Also *Chronique trimestrielle*, October 1894, No. 64.

¹⁹ I owe this information to M.S.M. Kiwanuka. As he pointed out in his *History of Buganda*, op. cit., p. 242, the names of Mugwanya and Sebowa are the only ones we meet as signatories to various laws, and they were the only Catholic chiefs who attended regularly the deliberations of the chiefs.

²⁰ In the years following their defeat in 1889 by the joint Protestant-Catholic army, the Muslim faction sent many peace missions and offered to open negotiations with the victorious party. Lugard, who made a campaign against them, insisted on the surrender of the three princes they had with them — Mbogo, who had succeeded Kalema as king, and Kalema's two sons, Alamanzane and Ndawula — as the precondition of any negotiations. Eventually, the hard-pressed Muslims reluctantly surrendered the princes and were given the three small counties or *ssazas* of Butambala, Ggomba and Busujju. After the departure of Sir Gerald Portal in 1893 the Muslims conspired with their co-religious Sudanese soldiers, brought to the country by Lugard, and made a last desperate attempt to gain the control over the kingdom. They were routed and, as a result, they lost two of the provinces, Ggomba was allotted to Protestants and Busujju to Catholics. Also, they were disarmed and, since they were left only a small province of Butambala in the west of Buganda, many had to be scattered in the provinces belonging to the two Christian factions. A large number of Muslims under Kyayambade settled in Buddu and turned into supporters of Mwanga and his cause.

²¹ As Professor Oliver put it: "During the course of 1890 the British Company's flag became the outward symbol of Protestantism; the Catholic crucifix became the badge of royalist opposition to British power." See Oliver, Ronald: *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. London, Logmans 1967, first published in 1952, p. 139. The identification of Catholicism with anti-British opposition continued throughout the 1890s.

by 1897 could well estimate in the light of past experiences that they were no match for the British. They saw vivid exhibitions of British military power in the military campaigns against the neighbouring kingdom of Bunyoro and their own Muslim and Catholic compatriots.²² Still, they rose in arms against British rule. Their goal was to regain independence and liberate their homeland by driving out the British and those who helped them to establish and perpetuate the oppressive colonial system. One plausible explanation is that, as the encroachment of colonial administration tightened, the masses realized that escalating intrusion and coercive measures were the consequence of British overrule and such realization intensified their desire for independence. Dissent with restrictions and abuses inherent in the colonial system and traditional loyalty of the peasants—*bakopi* to the king must have provided a potent spur to action.

The rebellion of 1897 in Buganda belonged to the type of early anti-colonial resistance which can be termed as royal, since the prime mover behind the organization of the anti-colonial uprising was the old state and its ruler who led and directed the resistance movement to retain the sovereignty of the kingdom in his hands. The main motivation of this struggle was the preservation of the monarchic system and the traditional institutions of Buganda against British influence and rule. Thus, the success of the resisters would not mean a change of socio-economic order or elimination of the oppression of masses.

It is difficult to know at exactly what point Mwanga made his momentous decision to oppose the British authorities once again with force. A combination of causes seems to have precipitated the revolt. Since his restoration to the throne after the war of 1892, *kabaka* Mwanga was gradually shorn of most of his former powers and his authority was systematically undermined. A series of incidents in the last two years strengthened Mwanga's resolve to rise against the colonial régime. Mwanga's

²² Portal's successors Major Macdonald and Colonel Colville returned to Lugard's policy of protecting the British position in Buganda by checking the power of Bunyoro and hence, in December 1893 launched a military campaign against Bunyoro, which in the next few years resulted in the military subjugation and conquest of Bunyoro. Between 15,00 and 20,000 Baganda took part in the military expedition. There are too many references in the Entebbe Secretariat Archives to the Bunyoro expeditions to give a meaningful selection of them, especially in A4/1. See also e.g. Thruston to Colville, 16 December 1893. E.S.A., A2/3. Eyewitness accounts given by active participants can be found in Ternan, T.: *Some Experiences of an Old Bromsgrovian: Soldiering in Afghanistan, Egypt and Uganda*. Birmingham, Cornish Brothers Ltd. 1930; Colville, H.: *The Land of the Nile Springs*. London, Edward Arnold 1895; Macdonald J.R.L.: *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*. London, Edward Arnold 1897; Thruston, A. B.: *African Incidents, Personal Experiences in Egypt and Unyoro*. London, John Murray 1900 and Vandeleur, S.: *Campaigning on the Upper Nile and Niger*. London, Methuen and Co. 1898. A Kinyoro view of the military campaigns against Bunyoro is given in Nyakatura, J. W.: *Abakama ba Bunyoro-Kitara*. St. Justin, P. Q., Canada 1947. English translation *Anatomy of an African Kingdom. A History of Bunyoro-Kitara*. Edited by G. N. Uzoigwe. New York, Anchor Press 1973 and K. W. (Kabarega — Winyi, Sir Tito): *The Kings of Bunyoro-Kitara*, Part III. *Uganda Journal*, 5, 1937, No. 2.

position gradually became more and more difficult not only because of the policies of British colonial officials towards him and restrictions imposed on him, but also because his recent friction with the authorities and the continuing threats by *katikkiro* Kaggwa and his clique of collaborating chiefs to betray any alleged misdemeanour to the authorities had made him fear punishment. The cohesion of the collaborating chiefs and their strength as a socio-political class, backed by British presence, is well reflected in the many political moves the collaborating chiefly oligarchy managed to enforce in order to enhance their own status, political power and economic affluence within the colonial order at the expense of the *kabaka*. Mwanga's power was systematically undermined and he was repeatedly threatened with removal from his throne and another prince (a little son of Mbogo or similar) put on the throne in his stead. As a White Father noted in the Rubaga Diary already in April 1894: "Mwanga surtout ne vit plus. Il maigrit de jour à jour."²³ Mwanga could not virtually move a finger without being watched and all his movements and actions were immediately reported to Kampala.²⁴

As early as March 1894 *kabaka* Mwanga publicly quarrelled with his *katikkiro* Apolo Kaggwa and charged him with bringing Europeans into the country. The following months were full of conflicts between Mwanga and Apolo Kaggwa's clique of Protestant chiefs whom he repeatedly accused of plotting against himself and his country, of being responsible for all misfortunes that befell himself and his kingdom and of selling the country to the British.²⁵ The number of laws introduced between 1895 and 1897 by the colonial administration, namely Dr. Anson as Acting Commissioner and George Wilson, who from 31 January 1895 was responsible for the administration of Buganda, were directed against the king's traditional prerogatives. Among the eight main reasons that led the *kabaka* to renounce his throne and rise in rebellion, Mwanga's contemporary Jemusi Miti gives the introduction of the sale of land in Buganda at a flat rate of 3,300 kauri-shells for any piece of land. No wonder that Mwanga reacted very sharply to the introduction of the land law brought in by Anson which undermined his political and economic authority by usurping the *kabaka*'s basic prerogative of the sole owner and disposer of land.²⁶ The law of

²³ *Diaire de Sainte-Marie du Rubaga*, Avril 1894. Quoted also in *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 64, October 1894.

²⁴ Hirth à sa soeur Virginie, 25 September 1894 (Bukumbi). W. F. A., Fonds Livinhac, Dossier No. 81(B)2, Correspondance Mgr. Hirth à sa famille.

²⁵ Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, op. cit., pp. 466—630, esp. pp. 466—468. Also Kaggwa, Apolo Sir: *Basekabaka*, p. 174.

²⁶ The attributes of the *kabaka*'s absolute power which were most characteristic of his status as an autocratic ruler were: the right over life and death of his subjects, of taxation, waging wars, the collection of tribute from neighbouring states and that of distributing land among his subordinates. See Fallers, L.

15 August 1895 forbade the collection of tax from Busoga and made it liable to punishment. The law of March 1896 introduced Registration of guns and on 12 September 1896 George Wilson passed a law that the *kabaka* must not decide himself anything without the consent of his *bakungu* chiefs. The administration even proposed that the *kabaka* should not be present at the deliberations of the local council *lukiiko*.²⁷ There were further constitutional checks proposed, but the last straw seems to have been the way in which the administration and the ruling Protestant establishment treated the *kabaka* in connection with his export of some 2,300 pounds of ivory to Zanzibar.

At the end of November 1896, a letter from Captain Herrmann, the officer in charge of the German station at Bukoba, revealed a certain smuggling operation by *kabaka* Mwanga.²⁸ Canoes in charge of a certain "Louis" arrived at Bukoba from Uganda on their way to the German coast, carrying a large consignment of 62 tusks, i.e. some 2,000 to 2,500 lbs of ivory. "Louis" had a receipt for the duty, paid on leaving the Protectorate, on 260 lbs of ivory and professed he had forgotten to bring the others. Captain Herrmann allowed the ivory to proceed after arranging with the headman to send back for the missing receipt. Back came the messenger with a letter from Mwanga saying he had not paid the duty and asking the German officer to conceal the whole matter. In due course, the British commissioner in Uganda Berkeley was informed. And he considered the whole matter "an excellent opportunity for effecting certain useful reforms in the *kabaka's* household and for more strictly applying our rights under Article XI of the treaty which gives us supervision over and the control of all local revenue".²⁹

A. (Ed.): *The King's Men. Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence*. London, Oxford University Press 1964, pp. 107—108 and 274—288. For Miti's observation see his *Short History of Buganda*, p. 536. In the years following the introduction of the land law, several chiefs asked to have "shambas" registered as private property. Ternan was informed by Wilson that there were only two private estates—*katikikiro* Apolo's and Semioni Kakungulu's. Later more claimants appeared who wanted to purchase "shambas" from the state and have them registered. The claims of five chiefs and subchiefs were recognized: Mugwanya *shamba* named Mbazi; Eriza Musigula *shamba* named Ndesehasima; Tamasi Semukasa *shamba* named Kabawala; Musa Kasolo *shamba* named Kazozi; Nova Jumba *shamba* named Bukuja. See Memo Grant to Ternan, 23 August 1899 and Ternan to Grant, 25 August 1899, E.S.A., A4/20. These land transfers made in the pre-1900 period before the introduction of the freehold land-tenure were very far-seeing and showed great business acumen. According to Dr. A. Richards, Mika Sematimba on his return from a visit to England with a C.M.S. missionary Mr. Walker in 1892, also bought land from Mwanga. So did another prominent Protestant Ham Mukasa. See Richards, A. I.: *Traditional Values and Current political Behaviour*. In: *The King's Men*, op. cit., pp. 300 and 333.

²⁷ Kaggwa, Apolo Sir: *Basekabaka*, Chapter XXII and XXIII, pp. 183—194; Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, pp. 466—630; Mukasa, Hamu: *Simudda Nyuma*, Vol. 3, 1938, a manuscript copy translated into English by Andrew Kambazza, pp. 426—434; Berkeley to Salisbury, 26 January 1897. F. O., XLIX, 1897, pp. 55—60.

²⁸ See Captain Herrmann to Berkeley, 2 November 1896, E.S.A., A6/2 and Berkeley to Salisbury, 14 December 1896, F. O./XLVIII, 1897.

The sentence, declared after long consultations with the leading chiefs, was most severe. Besides a fine of 100 frasilahs (3,500 lbs) of ivory, valued there at about £ 1,600, a large number of the palace pages, Mwanga's favourites, and according to the top collaborating chiefs, very undesirable persons allegedly indulging in homosexuality, drink, debauchery and other vices, were to be removed at once from the *kabaka's* household which would henceforth be under the direct supervision of the official at Kampala, namely George Wilson.³⁰ The chiefs further decided that the *kabaka* should not be permitted to settle any important matter of the country by himself but only after agreement with the council of the greatest chiefs *lukiiko*. Also it was decided that he should never go outside the walls of his palace without being accompanied by a loyal and responsible chief and that he should forfeit certain estates he held as private property.³¹

Faced with the domestic opposition to his authority and political course, in the past few years Mwanga had been assiduously cultivating support for his political designs by surrounding himself with loyal chiefs, pages and favourites. By 1896 the size and influence of his personal following had broken all bounds and evoked secret apprehensions of Apolo Kaggwa and of the ruling chiefly establishment. The proposals made in the first place by the chiefs were fully carried out. The *kabaka's* household was thoroughly purged and of some three thousand pages only some sixty were allowed to stay.³² And as Jemusi Miti argues in his *Short History of Buganda*, there was no one to defend Mwanga, none of all the important *kabaka's* chiefs, except the deposed Samwiri Muswangali, whose outspoken criticism earned him a dismissal from his chieftainship.³³ This in itself clearly demonstrated to what extent the collaborating chiefs were ready to go in their support of the colonial régime which guaranteed their own positions. The general populace and the lower ranks of the chiefs, however, disapproved of the latest developments in the country and the many moves of the administration and the leading chiefs against the *kabaka*. And when the colonial administration fined the *kabaka* for selling ivory without permission, the people were so eager to help him that within three weeks much more than the

²⁹ Berkeley to Salisbury, 14 December 1896, F. O./XLVIII, 1897.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, also Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, p. 520 and 466—478; Kaggwa, Apolo Sir: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, Chapter XXIV, pp. 194—199.

³¹ Two estates were taken from Mwanga as a private property and turned into chieftainships. See Statement by Rev. E. Millar on Political Events in Uganda of October 1897 in the Church Missionary Intelligencer, Uganda, Vol. III, 1895—1901, p. 770, also a letter from Rev. E. Millar to a private friend, dated Mengo, Uganda, 28 December 1896 in the C.M.S. Archives, Eastern Equatorial Africa Mission, G3/A5/013 and Mukasa, Hamu: *Simudda Nyuma*, op. cit., pp. 439—442.

³² Chronique trimestrielle, No. 74, Avril 1897.

³³ Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, p. 520. According to Michael Wright, Samwiri Muswangali was dismissed from the post of *kitunzi* as punishment for slaving in Bunyoro. See his *Buganda in the Heroic Age*. Nairobi, Oxford University Press 1971, p. 167.

necessary amount of ivory had been collected.³⁴ It appears from the available evidence that the colonial administration deliberately exaggerated the whole incident with ivory and imposed an unduly severe punishment upon the *kabaka* who had been informed that at the next sign of disloyalty, he would be removed from his throne.³⁵

Yet, all these incidents must be seen only as secondary motives and not the primary cause for the rebellion. The real motive should be looked for in the deep-rooted tradition of resistance to foreign encroachment and occupation.³⁶ Mwanga, who had all his reign opposed the escalating encroachment of the British imperialism, supported by the Christian *bakungu* chiefs, and bent his political strategy in internal and external politics towards the preservation of his own absolute political power and of the autonomy and independence of his country, by the end of 1896 may have considered that he had no alternative to armed rebellion. Virtually all his powers were slowly being taken over by his administrative chiefs and the colonial administration and his very existence within the political system seemed to have been threatened.

The rebellion of 1897, and the war into which it outgrew, was the last dramatic act in a long play, the culmination of a struggle that had begun a couple of decades earlier. It was not a pure discontent and protest against this or that act of the colonial régime. It was a generalized uprising against the colonial occupation and arrangement and it was also in a real sense a war of independence.

Many accounts of what happened were recorded by Baganda contemporaries and participants, the C.M.S. missionaries and the colonial officials. A wealth of information can be derived from diaries kept by the White Fathers and numerous reports written by them which are kept presently in their archives in Rome.

Numerous reports written by the White Fathers show that those authorities who argue that Mwanga's rebellion broke out more or less spontaneously in July are incorrect. On the contrary the rising had been carefully prepared for many months before the outbreak. The development of the war of independence of 1897—1899 from its clandestine formation in late 1896 and early 1897 may be seen to have passed through three chief phases, which will be discussed and analysed here.

³⁴ Kagga himself admitted in his *Basekabaka* that there were many others who objected against the moves but were afraid to express their opinion and who afterwards silently went to Mwanga to express their sympathy. See Kagga, A.: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, Chapter XXIV, pp. 194—200, esp. p. 196. The fine demanded of the *kabaka* amounted to 3,300 pounds weight of ivory. Within three weeks over 4,000 pounds were collected and even the top *bakungu* chiefs contributed to the amount. See Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, pp. 466—530; Mukasa, Hamu: *Simudda Nyuma*, op. cit., pp. 439—442.

³⁵ Millar, Rev. E.: Statement on Political Events in Uganda, op. cit., also Rev. E. Millar to a private friend, Mengo, Uganda, 28 December 1896. C.M.S. Archives, Eastern Equatorial Africa Mission, G3/A5/O13.

³⁶ See Pawliková, Viera: *Kabaka Mwanga and Early Anti-Colonial Protest in Buganda*, op. cit.

According to a Luganda source, the first rumour of the *kabaka's* proposed rebellion was heard on 18 January 1897.³⁷ A group of dissident chiefs around *kabaka* Mwanga, loyal to his cause and political designs, led by Gaburieli Kintu, Yona Wasswa, the *mukwenda* Maurice Kinywakyamagwa, Sematimba and some others, were responsible for fomenting seeds of revolt in the province of Buddu and in the capital. On 18 January 1897 news from Buddu reached Mengo and Kampala that Yona Wasswa, the *mukwenda*, sent Bisigolo Kajejero to Buddu to organize resistance there, with the *kabaka's* knowledge and consent. Apolo Kaggwa, the *katikkiro*, immediately went to inform George Wilson. The *kabaka*, when inquired by Wilson, naturally denied any intelligence of the alleged plot.³⁸ Wilson then asked Mwanga to demonstrate his loyalty to the régime by riding a horse around the city with him.³⁹

Bisigolo apparently succeeded so well in fomenting the spirit of rebellion in Buddu that a report on the unrest was also sent to the British Commissioner by the White Fathers.⁴⁰ As a result, the British administration decided to make a long overdue official visit of Buddu "to make a demonstration of force to the disaffected party" and calm down the rebellious atmosphere. The arch dissident Gaburieli Kintu had been made responsible for organizing the tour of inspection, performed by the Acting Commissioner Ternan himself, Wilson, an official in charge of Kampala, Pordage, the commander of the Fort of Entebbe, and doctor Mackinnon, with the Catholic *katikkiro* Stanislas Mugwanya, Nowa Naluswa and Kintu in accompaniment.⁴¹

Many future resisters were present, since, however, they all professed loyalty, no alarm was felt by the colonial régime at Kampala.⁴²

³⁷ Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, op. cit., p. 526.

³⁸ Kaggwa, Apolo Sir: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, p. 199; Mukasa, Hamu: *Simudda Nyuma*, pp. 442—444; *Diaire de Sainte-Marie du Rubaga*, 18 Janvier 1897; *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 74, Avril 1897.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, also Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, pp. 526—530.

⁴⁰ *Diaire de Sainte-Marie du Rubaga*, 16—17 Janvier 1897 and *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 74, Avril 1897.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, also Kaggwa, A.: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, p. 199; Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, pp. 526—528; Rev. E. Millar's Statement, p. 771.

⁴² It was during this tour of inspection that Gaburieli Kintu's gun was stolen at Bajja. Since it was a very rare type of rifle — a gift from Carl Peters — the infuriated chief took justice into his own hands, secured a suspected culprit called Birali and, attempting to obtain his confession, had him beaten to death. He was then put on trial before the *lukiiiko* and, in accord with the new law introduced by the British and stating that death was now the penalty for murder, he was about to be convicted and hanged. Mwanga vainly interceded for his close friend and brother-in-law with the chiefs as the Kintu case dragged on, suggesting that Kintu as a chief should merely be fined. Early in May 1897 the *lukiiiko* passed a death sentence and Kintu had to escape to avoid his arrest. This incident sharpened Mwanga's relations with his leading chiefs and perhaps also hastened the preparations for the rebellion. See Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*,

The White Fathers seemed to have been more apprehensive of the growing undercurrent of political opposition in the country than either the Protestant mission or the British administration itself. Earlier than the colonial administration they had realized that the “something beneath the surface was an anti-colonial conspiracy, and probably a serious one”. In April 1897 Father Streicher expressed his misgivings in a letter to his Superior quite openly and accused the colonial administration of closing eyes against the revolutionary character of the dissent.

“Un mot discret sur la situation politique,” he wrote. “Les anglais se croient ici dans une position inexpugnable et plut à Dieu qu’il en fut ainsi! Mais un orage gronde sourdement dans les coeurs et se développe d’autant plus surement et rapidement que l’autorité européenne la favorise, s’obstinant à fermer les yeux sur son caractère révolutionnaire et ne voulant voir dans les meneurs que des mécontents religieux.”⁴³

As the White Fathers reported, the spring months of 1897 were full of disquieting rumours. After a temporal pause, small clandestine groupings of disaffected chiefs continued to foment and spread the resistance sentiment. The plan was to prepare the ground for the rebellion in the provinces and then Mwanga would escape from the capital to Buddu and put himself at the head of the resisters.⁴⁴

Yet, by early May 1897 plans for the rebellion, which had been formalized in the previous months, leaked out. With this swelling undercurrent of opposition it is perhaps not surprising that on 3 May 1897 Father Streicher indicated in a letter to George Wilson that he regarded the British administration’s attitude towards the political situation in the country hazardous and squarely blamed the colonial authorities for any unfortunate repercussions which might be forthcoming due to their inaction.⁴⁵ From the colonial administration’s reaction to his critique it was

pp. 526—532; Kaggwa, A.: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, pp. 200—203. In the evening of the same day when the chiefs gave their verdict in the Kintu case, the ringleaders Sematimba, Luis Kibanyi *katabalwa*, Maurice Kinywakyamagga and some others met at Yona Wasswa, the *mukwenda*’s house, to discuss their plans. Early next morning, 4 May 1897, Apolo Kaggwa informed George Wilson and Sematimba with Yona Wasswa were arrested and convicted of conspiring against the British administration. This same morning it was found that Kintu, who was in league with them, had already fled. Mukasa, H.: *Simudda Nyuma*, Vol. III, pp. 442—450.

⁴³ Streicher à Livinhac, Rubaga 19 Avril 1897, W.F.A., Fonds Livinhac, Dossier No. 82/B.

⁴⁴ Diaire de Sainte-Marie du Rubaga, 16 Janvier 1897; Chronique trimestrielle, No. 74, Avril 1897. Miti claimed in his *Short History of Buganda*, pp. 526—532, that the conspirators — kabaka Mwanga, Yona Wasswa, Danieri Sematimba and Gaburieli Kintu — had also thought of entrapping the two *katikkiros* Kaggwa and Mugwanya during a visit to the palace, but this plan was abandoned and they accepted Kinywakyamagga’s proposal that Mwanga himself should proceed to Buddu.

⁴⁵ Wilson to Ternan, 7 May 1897, E.S.A., A4/8 and enclosure Streicher to Wilson, 3 Mai 1897, E.S.A., A4/8, English translation of a French original.

clear that the Father's charges were not ungrounded. Predictably, Father Streicher's warning proved to be timely and already the very next day the British were at last roused to the danger. In the event, on the evening of 3 May, a meeting of several hundred Baganda took place in the compound of Yona Wasswa, one of the chief instigators, to discuss more subtle questions of the conduct of military confrontation, its strategy and tactics. Many future resisters were present at what was outwardly an all-night beer party and war drums were beaten the whole night in the compound of another ringleader, the Catholic kago Danieri Sematimba.⁴⁶ Since, however, Apolo Kaggwa's agents also participated, early next day the British administration stepped in by arresting both Wasswa and Sematimba and, after a trial on a charge of incitement to revolt before the council of great chiefs, the *lukiiko*, had them deported to Kikuyuland.⁴⁷

The arrest of the two chiefs, who formed the backbone of the resistance movement, dealt a heavy blow to the cause of resisters and may have seriously affected the preparations for the armed insurrection or even postponed its outbreak. At any rate, the imprisonment of two principal ringleaders Yona Wasswa and Danieri Sematimba and the flight of the third one Gaburieli Kintu had the effect of muting local opposition at least temporarily.

In these circumstances, the flashpoint of open revolt came in a couple of months. The antagonism between the adherents of *kabaka* Mwanga's cause and the colonial régime which had for so long been endemic in Buganda finally erupted. We have seen that for several months already the tension had been mounting. Little could be done, up to July 1897, beyond spreading seeds of revolt and winning adherents in the countryside, especially in the province of Buddu, thus preparing for insurrectionary warfare against the British colonial administration. At this point Mwanga perhaps realized that it would be impolitic to hesitate for long and decided to lead the dissidents into open rebellion.

In the small hours of 6 July 1897, Mwanga with some 150 followers escaped from his palace, went to Busabala, got into his boat called Wasswa and three other boats, and sailed to the province of Buddu, an area which had more than once served as a royal sanctuary.⁴⁸ July was a well-chosen time because Major Ternan, the Acting

⁴⁶ Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, pp. 530—532; Wright, M.: *Buganda in the Heroic Age*, op. cit., p. 173. Wright got details of the beer party at Yona Wasswa's from Semioni Kalikuzinga, who had gone there as Apolo Kaggwa's agent.

⁴⁷ Wilson to Ternan, 7 and 17 May 1897, E.S.A., A4/9; Ternan to Salisbury, 23 June 1897 and 13 July 1897, F. O., L, 1897, pp. 133 and 194.

⁴⁸ Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, pp. 535—560; Kaggwa, A.: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, pp. 203—204; Wilson to Ternan, 6 July 1897, E.S.A., A4/8; Mukasa, H.: *Simudda Nyuma*, pp. 449—460, Vol. III; Ternan to Salisbury, 9 July 1897 and 13 July 1897, F. O., L, 1897, pp. 143 and 192, and enclosure in No. 135 of 13 July 1897, G. Wilson to Ternan, 6 July 1897, F. O., L, 1897, pp. 193—194.

Commissioner, was away fighting the Nandi with nearly all the troops and the steamboat was waiting for him at the east side of the Lake at Port Victoria. Mwanga seized the opportunity afforded by the temporary absence of the Government troops to mobilize the domestic forces hostile to the British and the collaborating Protestant establishment. Left without dependable Baganda allies at the court, after its recent purge, and under growing pressure from the British and their collaborators, Mwanga perceived that his best remaining chance lay in flight from his many enemies to a place where he might find the most widespread support among the local population, which would enable him to raise the standard of revolt. From the tactical point of view, this area could hardly have been improved on for defensive warfare. Buddu was the county of heaviest Catholic concentration where also large numbers of Muslims were living.

After a few days' journey, Mwanga safely landed in Buddu and immediately began to build up a rebel army by sending messengers to chiefs of other provinces to join him.

The development of military confrontation: From Pitched Battles to Guerrilla warfare, July—December 1897

By his flight, which accorded with the pre-conceived plans, the *kabaka* gave the signal for the eruption of open military conflict. From his base in Buddu he sent messengers inciting the people to take up arms against the British in the whole of Buganda as well as the neighbouring countries of Busoga, Toro and Bunyoro.⁴⁹ The *kabaka* and his supporters apparently hoped that through the formation of a union of all the disaffected classes in Buganda and the neighbouring countries, the alliance of British colonial régime with the Baganda collaborating establishment could be counteracted. The evidence also suggests that by that time *kabaka* Mwanga grasped the necessity to unite and join forces with the neighbour-king Kabarega, who had been leading a guerrilla warfare against the British, and take the fullest advantage of numerical superiority if victory over the British imperialism was to be assured. The message sent by Mwanga to all the neighbouring countries, and especially to *omukama* Kabarega of Bunyoro, involved the realization of the necessity and expediency of such an alliance.

The British administration did not consider Mwanga's revolt a serious threat to the British position of dominance in the country.

"There is no danger at present," Archdeacon Walker of the Church Missionary Society wrote at the outbreak of the rebellion, "as the Christian chiefs are all faithful men, and being men of education and intelligence, they have a large influence and

⁴⁹ C. M. Intelligencer and Report, Uganda, Vol. III, 1895—1901, Nov. 1897, pp. 813—814; Père Ménandais à un Père, Marienberg, Kiziba, 3 Août 1897, W.F.A., Fonds Livinhac, Dossier No. 83, Evénements 1897—1898.

command respect. The king's party are the people who have no religion, but who wish to live openly evil lives. They can never form a formidable party, I feel sure. Their first defeat will be the collapse of the whole thing."⁵⁰

Other reports were more apprehensive.

"Nearly all the police force have deserted," continued Dr. Cook some days later, "and went off with the guns last night to join Mwanga. The Katikiro wrote rather a gloomy letter to Walker saying he does not realize how serious a matter is, and that the people hate and detest the conquerors. This is mainly a religious war, the Heathen and the Christians. Sic! The king hates the Europeans because they stopped his gross immoralities; the chiefs hate us because a Christian is expected to have one wife, and because no slaves are allowed; and the people hate us because they say they are obliged to carry loads and to make roads (measures adopted by the Government for the good of the country), and because the old heathen customs are dying away."⁵¹

European knowledge of Mwanga's rebellion seemed to have been rather sketchy and biased. In the British stereotype of this independence war, the scale and effectiveness of the insurrection used to be underrated and its aims and composition of its adherents simplified.⁵² It would be instructive to examine the reasoning behind such statements, for although they have no basis in fact, they nevertheless reveal important myths which conditioned British perception of the resistance and resisters and guided official policy towards them. The confident tones of official reports masked the extent of Baganda resistance sentiment and testified to the fact that the British colonial officials were at the time not aware of the seriousness of the internal situation. European contemporaries mostly used to talk of the rising in terms of a conflict between heathens and Christians, Catholics and Protestants, the population of Buddu versus other provinces or of a clash between the enemies of progress, reforms and improvements and "the party of progress supported by Her Majesty's Government".⁵³

⁵⁰ Extracts from Archdeacon Walker's Letters, 9 July 1897, C. M. I. And R., Uganda, Vol. III, 1895—1901, Nov. 1897, p. 813.

⁵¹ Extracts from Dr A. R. Cook's Journal Letters, 12 July 1897, C.M.I. and R., Uganda, Vol. III, p. 815.

⁵² See e.g. Wilson to Ternan, 6 July 1897, E.S.A., A4/8: "All were entirely at a loss to find a cause for the flight," Wilson reported, and "all were unanimous in believing the King's flight to be either an act due to temporary insanity, or to an indefinite dread of a possible punishment on the return of the Act. Commissioner for previous malpractices or present attempts at inciting disaffection." Cf. with Ternan to Salisbury, 9, 13 and 20 July 1897, F. O., L, 1897 and E.S.A., A2/133; Walker to Baylis, 9 July 1897, C.M.S. Archives, G3/A5/013; Journal of Rev. G. K. Baskerville, C. M.S. Archives, 63/A5/013 and letters from Bishop Tucker, Archdeacon Walker and Dr. Cook in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* and *Record*, Vol. III, 1895—1901.

⁵³ Ternan to Salisbury, 14 August 1897, F. O., LI, No. 52, 1897, pp. 75—77, and especially see enclosure in No. 52 Speech to the Chiefs of Buganda by Trevor Ternan of 14 August 1897.

The actual evidence, drawn from the available autochthonous and Catholic sources, shows things differently.

Despite statements to the contrary, Mwanga managed to gather a sufficient support. And even though the support gathered by him was far from universal, a large proportion of population supported his cause and contrary to the opinion prevailing at the outbreak of the rebellion, some senior Christian chiefs joined him. The insurgents were joined by virtually the whole population of Buddu and numerous Baganda from other provinces of Buganda who, responding to Mwanga's appeals, made their way to Buddu.

Before the outbreak of the rebellion, the population of Buddu was divided into two camps: one headed by Gaburieli Kintu and Lui Kibanyi — who as the *katabalwa* was the *pokino's* deputy in Buddu — fomenting the spirit of revolt against the British for the independence of Buganda, the other led by the *pokino* Alikisi Sebowa, a staunch supporter of the British authorities and the colonial régime.⁵⁴ In July 1897, however, virtually all the leading Buddu chiefs as well as the general populace rallied to the banner of royal defiance of British supremacy, with the only exception of the *pokino* himself. Because of the crowding into Buddu of the majority of dissatisfied chiefs, who were predominantly Catholic, the rising acquired a false Catholic disguise. The truth, however, was different and much more complex.

From the available evidence, and it is sufficiently diverse, there need be little doubt that the resistance movement was truly representative of all classes of inhabitants of Buganda and of all shades of religious and political opinions, as an analysis of its composition testifies. The evidence suggests that the movement cut across the established politico-religious alignments. At Mwanga's call, his supporters from all over Buganda in considerable numbers hurried to Buddu to join him. Not solely Buddu, other frontier areas like Ssinga, Kyaggwe, Bulemezi and Ssesa islands provided substantial support for Mwanga's cause.⁵⁵ Also, though many did not join the rebellion, there was a massive undercurrent of sympathy among the general populace and passive resistance was very strong, indeed.

It is difficult to assess the strength of support afforded to Mwanga or to be absolutely precise with the figures, as in most instances only the rough numbers are available, but with this reservation it is clear enough that the resisters were during the early stages of their fight superior in numbers.⁵⁶ The campaign against them began in July 1897 shortly after the return of Major Ternan from the expedition of 'pacification' against the Nandi. British officers anticipated that Mwanga would

⁵⁴ Daire de Sainte-Marie du Rubaga, 16 Janvier 1897; Chronique trimestrielle, No. 74, Avril 1897.

⁵⁵ Wright, M.: *Buganda in the Heroic Age*, pp. 175—177.

⁵⁶ It is impossible to quote all the references or to give a meaningful selection of them. Detailed accounts are in the above-mentioned Luganda sources, Miti, Kaggwa, Mukasa; Chronique trimestrielle, No. 77, Janvier 1898, Rubaga Diary, C. M. Intelligencer, Vol. III, Uganda, 1895—1901 and many reports sent by Ternan to Salisbury, of 20, 23, 29, July, 14 August 1897, E.S. A.2/133.

oppose them with small dissident groups of Buddu chiefs and the *bakopi* under his control. From the available sources it is clear that there were 14,000 Baganda fighting for Mwanga on the Kabuwoko ridge on 15 July 1897. British officers usually described the Baganda military strategy and valour with contempt commonly shown by Europeans for African armies opposing their imperial advance. This time, however, the fighting was described as stiff. At Kabuwoko, Mwanga's army fought with great courage and skill.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the superiority in weapons as well as a better system of drill and tactics placed the odds in favour of the colonial régime and the collaborating Baganda establishment who supported the British against their own *kabaka*. The resisters especially could not stand up to the devastating firepower of the Maxim and Mwanga's forces were defeated in the very first battle. The British had on their side well-trained and experienced Sudanese troops. Besides this force, they also had on their side a very large number of Baganda, not only as enrolled or conscripted porters, guides, scouts and so forth, but also as fighting men.⁵⁸ The fact is that the British could scarcely have fought the war at all, in any case in these early stages, until they brought reinforcements, if they could not have to rely on the Baganda assistance, combatant as well as non-combatant.

The colonial administration used different methods of "the winning of hearts and minds". Especially the ruling chiefly Baganda élite proved recruiting ground for colonial loyalties. These could be countered by methods of political warfare and agitation which was put to some use. As soon as Mwanga landed at Bwendé in Buddu, on 10 July 1897, some six hours away from the Catholic mission, he immediately sent a letter to Father Moulec, inviting him to pay him a visit and declaring that though he wished to drive the English from his country, he wished no harm to those who taught religion to his subjects.⁵⁹ One point was repeatedly stressed in all the correspondence extant written by Mwanga and his followers to collaborating Baganda chiefs and White Fathers. By stressing that theirs was the right cause and they took up arms not against religion and progress but for the lost independence of their country, Mwanga attempted to win to his side the waverers and fence-sitters, and counter the propaganda offensive led against him by the colonial establishment, including the convinced Baganda collaborators.

The support for Mwanga and his cause from the very outset came from different sources. The accession of many notables was of high significance. Men of the same background, military distinction and political reputation as Apolo Kagwa and other members of the collaborating clique of Baganda chiefs, baptised Christians, who used to be at different times very close to missionaries and colonial officials, who

⁵⁷ Ternan to Salisbury, 20 July 1897, F.O./L.

⁵⁸ See Kagwa, A.: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, pp. 207—264; Miti, J.: *A Short History of Buganda*, pp. 540—680; there is also much detailed correspondence in the F. O. Correspondence.

⁵⁹ Moulec à Achte, 15 Auguste 1897, W.F.A., Fonds Livinhac, Dossier No. 87.

fought in the politico-religious wars of 1888—1890 and who went with other Christians and Mwanga into exile, were among the leaders of the rebellion.⁶⁰ Some of Mwanga's supporters and sympathizers actually did not join him, though sent him letters of encouragement. Others started out to join him, but his first defeat at Kabuwoko discouraged them. And yet other chiefs, who did not openly join the resisters, attempted to help them in different ways and sent their men with guns to help Mwanga's army.⁶¹ Support for the rebellion also came from beyond the frontiers of Buganda, from Ankole, Busoga and Koki.⁶² In this connection, a crucial question to ask is why Kabarega did not make better use of the rebellion in Buganda and did not respond to Mwanga's appeal by sending military troops to his assistance at the very start of the insurrection. After Mwanga's flight and the eruption of the anti-colonial rebellion in Buddu, Kabarega realized that the moment had come for his last great stand, yet for reasons that are difficult to substantiate, he did not take his chance. Even if allowing for the inadequate and slow intelligence system and the means and ways of communication, Kabarega's failure to respond to Mwanga's appeals by joining forces with him at the very outbreak of the rebellion, constituted a critical shortcoming of the resistance movement.

The first real test of the determination and cohesiveness of the resistance movement occurred at Kabuwoko. The news of Mwanga's defeat at Kabuwoko and later at Marongo had made the people hesitant to commit themselves. The dual defeat of the resisters and the arrival of reinforcements returned those chiefs, who had been wavering and followed a "wait-and-see policy", to loyalty or rather to quiescence.

The initial defeat of the rebels called for a revision of tactics. After his defeat in Buddu, Mwanga with a handful of followers retreated to the south, crossed over to the German territory and gave himself up to the Germans at Bukoba.⁶³ But his followers continued their fight. The leadership was now taken over by individual

⁶⁰ A survey of Mwanga's supporters is given in Wright, Michael: *Buganda in the Heroic Age*, pp. 162—187. Kinyakyamagwa, Leo Bisigoro, Lui Katabalwa, Danieri Sematimba, Sepiriya Mutagwanya, Serugo Gogwa and Gaburjeli Kintu were all Catholics, who had not gone with other Christians to Ankole. Most of them accompanied Mwanga into exile, and were baptized and brought up at Bukumbi mission at the southern shore of the Lake. Samwiri Muswangali and Yona Waswa were the most prominent Protestant supporters of Mwanga.

⁶¹ Sepiriya Mutagwanya was one of Mwanga's supporters who did not join him but sent him a letter of encouragement and a man with guns. However, many *bakopi* from his chiefdom joined the *kabaka's* forces. Samwiri Muswangali set out overland to help Mwanga, but Mwanga's early defeats discouraged him and he quietly returned home.

⁶² See Wright, M.: *Buganda in the Heroic Age*, pp. 181—187; Kaggwa, A.: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, pp. 207—264; Miti, J.: *A Short History*, pp. 540—680.

⁶³ Ternan to Salisbury, 23 July 1897, F. O./L and enclosure Herr von Wulffen to Major Ternan, 22 July 1897.

military leaders, the most prominent of whom was the former *mujasi* Gaburieli Kintu. Seven expeditions had to be dispatched against the resisters and their evasive leader who adopted the strategy of guerrilla warfare, avoiding direct confrontation.⁶⁴ Many fierce engagements were fought, such as that at Marongo in which, had it not been for their superiority in arms, the colonial forces would have been overwhelmed. It was during the latter part of 1897 that the Baganda developed a phase of purely guerrilla warfare, actually after the battle at Nyendo, which had proved in many aspects decisive. For following the defeat of anti-colonial forces in this battle, in September 1897, they were no longer able to face the British-led army in pitched battles, had to avoid them and resort more and more to guerrilla tactics, since they were not able to muster large enough numbers. The confrontation entered a new stage.

The last phase of the military confrontation, December 1897—April 1899

While the documentation on the early months of the war of independence is fairly copious, it is far less satisfactory for the concluding months, and contains no commentary or explanation by the two rulers or indeed by any of their principal supporters, apart from a few letters extant, written in 1898.⁶⁵ Unable to destroy Kintu's men and their like, the British-led forces went for their sources of food, shelter and civilian information about the enemy. They destroyed crops and looted cattle. They punished all who helped the resisters and attempted to isolate the guerrillas from their peasant base. In the face of the increasingly evasive character of the enemy, the British officers reverted to an all-out search-and-destroy tactics devised by their predecessors in the campaigns against the neighbouring kingdom of Bunyoro. By destroying crops, looting cattle and other property and burning down houses on the way they attempted to rout out the pockets of dissident Baganda and discourage all possible sympathizers.

The Protectorate administration never considered Mwanga's revolt a serious threat to the British position of dominance in Uganda and the Lacustrine region. On 9 August 1897, one month after his flight, Mwanga was officially deposed by the Deposition Council, composed of twenty-one prominent Baganda chiefs, his one-year-old son Daudi Cwa was proclaimed at a meeting in Kampala and Mengo on 14 August *kabaka* in his stead and power was given into the hands of three regents :

⁶⁴ There is much detailed correspondence and information on the military expeditions against the rebels in the F.O. Correspondence. See e.g. Ternan to Salisbury 29 July 1897 and enclosures F. O./LI; G. Wilson to Salisbury, 15 September 1897, F. O./LI; G. Wilson to Salisbury, 22 January 1898, F. O./LIII and Berkeley to Salisbury, 19 April 1899 and its enclosures, F. O./LVII. Also see e.g. Ménandais à Achte, 19 Septembre 1897, *Chronique trimestrielle*, No. 77, Jan. 1898.

⁶⁵ These letters can be found in Kagawa: *Basekabaka, Miti: A Short History of Buganda* and Hamu Mukasa: *Simudda Nyuma*, Vol. III.

the Protestant and Catholic *katikkiros* Apolo Kaggwa and Stanislas Mugwanya and the Protestant *kangao* Zakaria Kizito Kisingiri.⁶⁶ The composition of the Deposition Council is indicative of the polarization of political opinion and allegiance in Buganda, since of its twenty-one members, only one was a Catholic, namely Stanislas Mugwanya, the remaining members were all Protestants and none was a Muslim.⁶⁷ This political move together with a series of campaigns against scattered groups of Baganda guerrillas were widely believed to ensure the complete pacification of the country in very short time. This belief, however, proved to be premature. Despite repeated assaults on the guerrillas and the execution of the search-and-destroy tactics, the British were unable to reduce the Baganda resisters to submission. And when the Sudanese mutiny broke out at the end of September 1897, their position really looked like collapsing. Three companies, Nos. 4, 7 and 9, of the Sudanese troops, ordered to escort Major Macdonald on a secret expedition with the intention to defend British interests in the Nile valley,⁶⁸ came to the conclusion that this demand was past endurance and their mounting resentment found expression in a mutiny. For the handful of British officials, who, since the time Captain Lugard had enlisted remnants of Emin Pasha's Sudanese soldiers, were dependent on the military backing of the Sudanese troops, the situation became critical. In December 1897, Mwanga, aware at last that decisive action and his own presence were necessary to save the resistance from slowly crumbling, escaped from the German custody to lead the dissidents into a new wave of military resistance.⁶⁹ Rallying such followers as he could, after his defeat in Buddu Mwanga withdrew towards Bunyoro and, some months later, crossed the Nile to join forces with Kabarega, who was agitating among his chiefs for a general rising in support of his planned re-entry into the occupied country south of the Nile.⁷⁰ Responding to Kabarega's call, his chiefs intensified their operations. Also, while the British-led forces were engaged in Buddu fighting Mwanga's army, the Sudanese mutineers escaped from the besieged

⁶⁶ Ternan to Salisbury, 14 August 1897 and enclosure, F. O./LI.

⁶⁷ Mugwanya was the only Catholic member of the twenty-one members of the Deposition Council, none of which was a Muslim. See Kaggwa, A.: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, pp. 207—211.

⁶⁸ The expedition was to head off the rumoured French expedition under Maj. Marchand in that direction. It was part of the preliminaries to the European conflict over Fashoda. The Sudanese troops were underpaid, their pay was months in arrears. In 1897 they were continuously employed in fighting in various parts of the country. They had to march hundreds of miles to fight the Congo mutineers, the Nandi in the Gulf of Kavirondo, to defeat Mwanga in Buddu, etc. There is a lot of sources on the Sudanese mutiny, see e.g. Berkeley to Salisbury, 16 May 1898, F. O./LIV.

⁶⁹ Lieut. Schlobach to Ternan, 24 December 1897, E.S.A., A6/4; Wilson to Salisbury, 31 December 1897 with enclosures, F. O./LII.

⁷⁰ Fowler to G. Wilson, 20 May 1898, E.S.A., A4/11; Dugmore to Commissioner, 30 December 1897 and 17 January 1898, E.S.A., A4/10.

Luba's fort in Busoga and made their way to Bunyoro to join forces with the Sudanese garrisons in Bunyoro and Kabarega. Forces composed of Banyoro and Baganda resisters under Kabarega and Mwanga, reinforced with remnants of Sudanese mutineers and individuals belonging to other ethnic groups of Uganda, attempted to increase operations and mount offensives against the British.

The whole country was now in turmoil.

In this last phase, the character of the resistance movement radically changed. As soon as Mwanga reappeared in Buddu, substantial support for his cause came from the Muslim Baganda. Some chiefs of substance in Akole were also drawn to support Mwanga. And Basoga and Bakoki Muslim and pagan chiefs either supported Mwanga's forces or Sudanese mutineers. There is evidence that soon after the outbreak of the Sudanese mutiny, Gaburieli Kintu attempted to get in touch with the mutineers and link up with them.⁷¹ According to Kaggwa, some sixty Muslims in Kampala joined with Mwanga, and many others with the Sudanese. Other Muslims wished to fight, but were warned and wavered. Collaborating Baganda chiefs were harrassed and their houses were burnt.⁷² So were their counterparts in Busoga, Bunyoro, Ankole and Koki. Especially Kabarega used to send his men to punish collaborators and traitors to his cause.⁷³ Local inhabitants attempted to help the resisters by slowing down the advance of the Government forces, by providing them with food, shelter and information. Kaggwa himself admitted that there were a lot of people who wanted to fight, used to write to the resisters and attempted to persuade the *bakopi* to join them.⁷⁴ Rumours about Mwanga's conversion to Islam encouraged many Muslims to join him. It is likely that at this particular moment the resistance movement derived part of its inspiration from Islam. What is in doubt is the precise nature of the Islamic influence in it.

By joining hands with Kabarega and Sudanese mutineers, Mwanga presumably hoped to be able to extend the war of independence further afield. At this point we can best see the inadequacies of the resistance movement as well as its virtues, which lay in these incipient efforts to create a broader anti-colonial coalition. This somewhat belated effort to create a coalition of different peoples living in Uganda, joined together in the consciousness of a common condition, aim and interest, no

⁷¹ Kaggwa, A.: *Basekabaka be Buganda*, pp. 240; Kiwanuka, M.S.M.: *A History of Buganda*, p. 252.

⁷² Kaggwa, A.: *Basekabaka*, pp. 211—241; Wright, M.: *Buganda in the Heroic Age*, pp. 181—187. Kyayambadde, a Muslim chief in south Buddu met with Mwanga and rallied to his cause with some 700 guns.

⁷³ Kaggwa, A.: *Basekabaka*, p. 169.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

matter what might be their inner differences of ethnic or social origin, suggested a new theme in the resistance movement.

Despite the coalition, the military initiative soon passed to the colonial régime, reinforced by larger numbers of British officers and troops brought over from India. Had, however, the first Indian contingent been delayed and not arrived at the very last moment, and in the first place had the Baganda collaborators failed and not provided thousands of porters as well as military troops against their own *kabaka* and the Sudanese mutineers, when they were most needed, and had more than the original three Sudanese companies mutinied, British colonial régime in Uganda might have been seriously threatened.

Throughout 1898 anti-colonial resistance continued its difficult course in a long series of defeats suffered at the hands of the British-led forces.⁷⁵ Hugely outnumbered now, they still attempted to find ways of preserving a guerrilla initiative. The movement was, however, weakened by the fact that no determined attempt was made to coordinate military actions. It is evident that there was a certain amount of communication between different guerrilla groups but there was no central planning or organized chain of command. The physical and moral condition of resisters was deteriorating. Surrenders began. Amnesty, announced by the colonial administration in October 1897, promised that those resisters, who would lay down their arms, would not be treated as rebels.⁷⁶ The conditions of living were deteriorating for the *bakopi*, many died of hunger and the colonial army also suffered from hunger. During 1898, pacification continued, with each campaign adding a new territory to British control. Thus, one of the by-products of the pacification programme was the extension of the Protectorate into hitherto unoccupied areas, which harboured resisters and provided substantial support for their cause.⁷⁷

As the resistance movement slowly decayed from within, the British were preparing the assault that would finally crush it. More Indian troops together with some Swahili reinforcements from the neighbouring British East Africa Protectorate and reconstituted companies of the Sudanese defeated by 1899 those who opposed the British administration and put an end to the crisis. On 9 April 1899, both rulers, betrayed by the Lango among whom they took refuge, were rounded up and captured by military troops led by Lieut.-Colonel J. Evatt and assisted by the Baganda chiefs Semei Kakungulu and *kimbugwe* Andereya.⁷⁸ After the final defeat

⁷⁵ Kagwa gives a very detailed account about expeditions against the resisters in his *Basekabaka*, pp. 211–255.

⁷⁶ Amnesty was proclaimed by the colonial administration in October 1897. See Ternan to Salisbury, 9 October 1897, E.S.A., A4/7.

⁷⁷ British control was effectively extended to Ankole bordering Buddu during expeditions against Gaburieli Kintu, see e.g. Ternan to Wilson, 10 September 1899, E.S.A., A5/7.

⁷⁸ Ternan to Salisbury, 15 April 1899, with enclosure, F. O./LVII.

the two rulers were deported first to Kisimayu and later to the Seychelles to die in exile.⁷⁹ Sudanese mutineers and minor rebels caught in arms were shot by drum-head court martial. Seven chiefs captured with Mwanga and Kabarega were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment. Lui Kibanyi, Mwanga's *katikikiro*, was sentenced to death and hanged.⁸⁰ When the remaining bands of resisters surrendered in the forests and swamps of Bunyoro and the Lango country, the pacification of Uganda was complete.

Conclusion and Assessment

The war of independence of 1897—1899 was a continuation and culmination of the Baganda and Banyoro tradition of resistance against alien rule. The rebellion of 1897 in Buganda and the war of independence which it outgrew was a protest against British colonial occupation, escalating encroachment and oppression, and it was also in a real sense a war for lost independence.

Both the Baganda and the Banyoro under Mwanga, his predecessor Mutesa, and Kabarega, had established a tradition of resistance against the incoming Europeans who were making a bid to establish their political authority in the Lacustrine region. If we use a definition by Karl von Clausewitz, well elaborated by Basil Davidson in his recent book,⁸¹ then the war of independence of 1897—1899 can be seen as "the continuation of politics by other means" pursued by the two rulers, Mwanga and Kabarega. The politics underlying the war of independence may be called "the politics of armed struggle" and can be seen as a continuum of motive inherent in both Mwanga's and Kabarega's foreign politics since their accession to the throne.

The major weakness of the anti-colonial resistance in this region (as elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa) was that it was undertaken state by state and the rulers of the threatened states as leaders of anti-colonial resistance did not early enough realize the possibility and expediency of forging military alliances. While both kingdoms shared a common goal in seeking to preserve their independence from the invading British, it was only in the course of the war of independence of 1897—1899 that they managed to overcome their traditional animosity and combine forces against the British. Instead of coordinating efforts to pool and thus maximize their resources, these two peoples fought the same war of self-defence with the same motives and

⁷⁹ Ternan to Salisbury, 11 May 1899, F.O./LVIII; Johnston to Walker, 15 March 1900, E.S.A., A7/6; Cunningham to Marquess of Lansdowne, 9 January 1901, F.O./LXIV; Colonial Office to F.O., 16 April 1901 and Sir C. Eliot to Lansdowne, 8 September 1901, F.O./LXV.

⁸⁰ Gaburieli Kintu surrendered to the Germans with several thousand followers and the British, who had offered 2,000 rupees for his capture dead or alive, were unable to secure him. See Wright, p. 193—194. See also E.S.A., May 1899 for the execution of Lui Kibanyi.

⁸¹ See Davidson, Basil: *The People's Cause. A History of Guerrillas in Africa*. London, Longman, Longman Studies in African History 1981, especially pp. 3—9.

against a common enemy, yet proved unable or unwilling to unite until the very last moment. Not until the later stages of the resistance period were the British perceived as a common threat to both peoples. Only if committed from the very start to a conjoint defensive war against the British colonial encroachment, anti-colonial resistance in this area could have succeeded, at least temporarily. By the time Mwanga joined in alliance with Kabarega, the British had gained sufficient ground in the Lacustrine area, not only in Buganda but also in parts of Bunyoro, Busoga, Ankole and Toro, to make the conquest only a matter of time.

Mwanga and Kabarega as the leaders of the resistance movements were faced with the task of transforming local objectives into wider ones, of overcoming past rivalries between the two African politics and of building a new, multi-ethnic consciousness of a common condition, interest and aim. The inability of the Baganda and the Banyoro to join forces at the very outset of their anti-colonial resistance reflected the relatively narrow concerns and political vision of the leadership.

Both independence movements belonged to the type of early anti-colonial resistance which can be termed as royal, since they were led and directed by the traditional monarch to regain sovereignty and independence, and liberate the country by driving out the British and all those who helped them to establish and perpetuate the oppressive colonial system. Theirs was an armed struggle of limited aims. The resistance of both Mwanga and Kabarega was basically a struggle for the preservation of the traditional monarchic system and the traditional institutions of Buganda and Bunyoro against British colonial encroachment and rule. Their success would not mean a change of the socio-economic and political order or elimination of the oppression of masses. To quote Basil Davidson,⁸² "Old kingships had oppressed people, taxed or bullied them, exploited them, enslaved them. Now the resistance to that kind of experience was re-focused, as it were, by the fact that oppression came 'from outside', grew heavier, was applied more widely. Resistance acquired, necessarily, the undertones of a patriotic response, even if the loyalties of modern nationalism had still to develop".

To have any success, fighting would have to draw on the active participation of the majority of population. The principal problem for the *kabaka* and *omukama* respectively was then to transform mass sympathy and support into a mass commitment and active participation. There were, however, limits to the unity the two rulers as leaders of anti-colonial resistance could inspire among their populations. The resistance they led was never a fully united movement. Both Mwanga and Kabarega had embarked on anti-colonial and anti-British resistance without any clear-cut ideological basis or programme. They had begun a war of independence with much goodwill but without the means to ensure a mass commitment and a wholesale active participation.

⁸² Ibid., p. 40.

Africans were not an undifferentiated mass and the impact of European imperialism and the abuses of colonial rule were naturally felt differentially. Deep-rooted tensions and conflicts within both societies provided natural cleavages that colonialists were quick to exploit in their effort to prevent a united front. The split in the anti-colonial movement and the inter-ethnic rivalries seriously weakened anti-colonial potential. Each of these two territories had groups who sided with the colonial power or withdrew into neutrality. In both societies at one point or another of their contact with British colonialism, there were groups and individuals, especially in the upper strata of the society, ready to cooperate with the occupants. Different factions and political leadership groups within both societies would then adopt divergent attitudes. At certain points of their contact with the British, attitudes of some representatives of the political leadership groups, influenced and conditioned by their personal ambitions and interests, would also shift from hostility or perhaps neutralism to collaboration. That's why it is so very important to determine which social, economic and political groups adopted the attitude of active opposition against colonial subjection and rule, that took different forms even during the early period, which groups remained neutral and which social groups or classes supported the British colonialists and why. Apart from general trends, there were of course instances of individual betrayal. At a sign of determined British pressure, factions or individuals within both societies abandoned their traditional allegiance to their ruler and aligned themselves with the British. Some members of the political leadership also preferred to follow a "wait-and-see" policy, others seem to have been wavering or perhaps "fence-sitting" and the arrival of reinforcements usually returned them to loyalty to the new colonial establishment or at least quiescence. Among them were first of all those individuals who actually benefited and prospered from the new system, those members of political leadership who enjoyed relative status, power and affluence within the newly established colonial order. In return for their services, the collaborators enjoyed a relatively privileged economic, social and political position. For such people there was little or no incentive to rebel.

For reasons of recent history, the obstacles to unity were greater in Buganda. No dissidence or betrayal on any such scale occurred in Bunyoro where the British colonial administration proved unable to promote any significant and comparable collaboration. Nevertheless, the failure of the leadership to arouse and sustain unanimous support encompassing all strata of the society constituted the most critical shortcoming of both insurrections. The fact that the Baganda, but also to a lesser degree, the Banyoro and other peoples involved, though providing the main force from first to last, were seriously divided between those who backed the rebellion and those who opposed it, can be seen to have greatly contributed to the negative course of event. The political and socio-economic reasons for this were always of great importance to what happened in Buganda faced with British imperialism. Though, from political and military standpoints, several negative

factors on the side of resisters can be seen to have governed the negative course of event, the role of mercenaries and collaborators is an additional factor which cannot be overlooked. Mwanga and Kabarega as the leaders of the war of independence proved unable to reduce this internal division, or even to prevent what became, effectively, a civil war. The defeat of the resisters, in the end, was in no small measure at the hands of Baganda 'loyalists', and their counterparts from among other peoples involved, who remained on the British side.

Both independence movements were deficient in another important aspect. As has been already mentioned here, opposition to colonialism was not articulated in terms of a revolutionary ideology which could meet the people's problems of morale, commitment, organization and unity. Little use was made of appeals, symbols and strategies arousing in the people the sense of the common destiny. Though the participants in the independence movement shared a commitment to regain the lost independence and sovereignty, and the majority of people wished to rise up against the British, there was nothing to encourage the broad masses, to improve their morale and help them to overcome fear and hesitation apart from the traditional loyalty and reverence to the *kabaka* and *omukama* respectively who, as the embodiment of the state and its sovereignty, provided the major source of inspiration for the movement. Even though other sources of dissent may have provided an additional incentive to oppose the British, the principal driving force behind the movement was the traditional loyalty to the king, who directed the movement of resistance and motivated the masses. The capture and deportation of both kings thus meant the death toll of the war of independence.

The chief method of Mwanga's and Kabarega's anti-colonial resistance was not a well-organized struggle of the masses directed by a firm hand. Both Kabarega and Mwanga in their struggle against the invading British relied on the loyalty of their chiefs and military leaders and throughout their resistance continued to rally support to their cause through them, with little intentional effort to rally the general population to the resistance banner directly. They did not make good use of the spontaneous discontent of the people and ruined the resistance with their orientation not towards the masses, but towards the upper strata of society, chiefs and military leaders. Both monarchs failed to draw in the whole population and sustain popular support from the masses and thus transform the resistance into a mass insurrection or an all-out people's war. Because, though many did not join the rebellion, there was a massive undercurrent of sympathy among the general populace, and a passive resistance was very strong, indeed. Bakopi-peasants were naturally used to follow their traditional leaders-chiefs. Without a patriotic challenge and some unifying symbols and slogans arousing the people's patriotic ardour and mass support, the defection, submission and eventual active collaboration of the most important chiefs ultimately led to the defeat of both rebellions.

From the military standpoint, another major problem for both Kabarega and

Mwanga was the difficulty of obtaining sufficient supplies of arms and ammunition of European provenance. Both rulers obtained arms from Arab traders, often of dumping obsolete sort which proved inadequate to overcome the invading British-led army equipped with the modern ones plus Maxim guns. Apart from the rifles and guns, the resisters relied on a variety of traditional weapons — spears, bows, lances and arrows, which proved ineffective against such a formidable enemy. The weapons' imbalance was most certainly decisive. The possession of superior weapons, such as machine guns, which were the real killers of the wars of 'pacification' and were always the monopoly of the invading colonial army, placed the odds substantially in the favour of the British colonial régime. It remains also questionable how well the resisters could use arms of European provenance. The colonial army, well trained and equipped with superior weapons including Maxim guns, practised disciplined infantry charges, whereas the resisters, armed with a variety of weapons ranging from obsolete firearms to traditional weaponry, generally fought in massive *ad hoc* formation. To a large extent, the outcome of the first clashes — at Kabuwoko and Marongo — depended on these differences and, as some British officers admitted frankly, on the use of the Maxim.

The independence movement was also handicapped by a weakness of overall command structures as between different basis in Buganda, Bunyoro, Busoga and Ankole. The two kings were unable to impose unity of command right down through their forces. Bad intelligence system and disunity of command prevented resisters to carry out combined operations by units in different places. Their armies were raised by 'call up' of peasant fighters through subordinate chiefs, who were used to obey their chiefs and, once the military campaign was over, to go off home again. As the conditions deteriorated, the resistance movement suffered a high desertion rate. Isolation, hunger, loneliness and other hardships began to eat into morale and fighting capacity especially after the middle of 1898. Widening the rebellion had proved beyond the leaders' strength. The resistance movement started to suffer in coherence and discipline. Losses in dead and wounded deprived the Baganda and the Banyoro of many of their most loyal and brave soldiers, others secretly escaped to their homes either to seek food or to protect their families. Surrenders began. In a final phase, ending effectively with the capture in April 1899 of the resistance movement's chief commanders, the two kings Kabarega and Mwanga, the military defeat became complete.

Even so, the war of independence succeeded to a point that the British certainly did not expect. The resistance movement survived the colonial administration's first major counter-offensives and adopted the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare based on a high mobility, refusal of pitched battles, sudden swift attacks on limited objectives, intimate knowledge of the terrain, ability to initiate surprise attacks, raids on garrisons, supply columns, ambush techniques, and access to friendly borders, in this case the Lango country, where the resisters could obtain sanctuary and

provisions and from where they could attack the British-led forces. Their success also depended on their having been able to win the support of the local peasantry, making use of the widespread resentment against the British. Fought by guerrilla bands, highly mobile, skilled in their use of terrain and of the hit-and-run tactics and the strategy of rearguard attacks, the resistance against the British colonial régime in Uganda survived till April 1899. After the capture of the two kings, Kabarega and Mwanga, the anti-colonial movement of resistance in Uganda was ultimately overwhelmed. The number of British officers in Uganda had been increased and troops were brought over from India to crush the resistance and the Sudanese mutiny. The profound difference in the state of socio-economic and political development between the opponents involved in the military confrontation could yield no other outcome. The overwhelming military and technological superiority of the British coupled with the disruption of the country, famine, diseases, the harassing of the general population, death and suffering plus the defection, submission and active collaboration of some leading chiefs and the transformation of a part of population into a dependant ally of the British colonial régime, all contributed to the collapse of the resistance.

All the same, in its perspectives if not in what actually happened, the war of independence of 1897—1899 in Uganda had begun to pass beyond the stage of mere rebellion, and to enter, however confusedly, a higher stage. In the independence war of 1897—1899 we can find the duality of theme and motive. One theme is armed resistance to the invading British imperial power and self-defence of the traditional authority and political system. The other theme goes further. Efforts were made to contact and draw in other peoples besides the Baganda already involved and the Banyoro already fighting the British. In the last phase of the war of independence, the Baganda, the Banyoro and some other neighbouring peoples sought and partly found a unity they had not known or thought desirable before. In its attempt to overcome ethnic boundaries, rivalries and purely local ethnic concerns, to join in a multi-ethnic mass movement and forge an incipient broader anti-colonial coalition by concentrating all anti-British opposition and employing all forces available, the war of independence of 1897—1899 reflects a rising revolutionary consciousness of common destiny and of necessity to join forces in the struggle for independence. The decision to resort to an open confrontation seems to have happened as the result of this new understanding. Thus, though this renewed wave of the Baganda and Banyoro independence struggle was still using old forms, it was not longer quite the same as in the past.

REVIEW ARTICLES

ANMERKUNGEN ÜBER DIE JUBILÄUMSSCHRIFTEN ANLÄSSLICH DES 300. JAHRESTAGES DER ZWEITEN BELAGERUNG WIENS. I

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In diesem Rezensionenartikel möchten wir jene österreichische Publikationen analysieren und kommentieren, die bis Ende 1982 erschienen und der zweiten Belagerung Wiens im Jahre 1683 gewidmet sind. Auch wenn uns nicht alle herausgegebenen Bücher, geschweige denn Zeitschriftenbeiträge zugänglich waren, möchten wir darüber informieren, auf welche Probleme sich die österreichischen sowie die ausländischen Historiker orientieren, und auf den hauptsächlichsten Beitrag dieser Publikationen, bzw. auf deren Mängel hinweisen.

Ähnlich wie vor hundert Jahren, als die Hauptstadt der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie den zweihundertsten Jahrestag der osmanischen Belagerung der Stadt und der siegreichen Schlacht feierte, erschienen zahlreiche Publikationen, die dieser bedeutenden Begebenheit der europäischen Geschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts gewidmet waren, geben österreichische Verlage auch jetzt Bücher heraus, die sich mit dieser Begebenheit, derer weiteren internationalen Zusammenhängen oder den Protagonisten jener Zeit aus verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten auseinandersetzen.

Es seien hier kurz wenigstens die bedeutendsten Publikationen zur Problematik der zweiten Belagerung Wiens erwähnt. Nach Camesinas Buch,¹ das die erste kritische Bewertung jener Ereignisse war, erschienen zum Jubiläumsjahr 1883 mehrere Bücher, von denen viele bis heute an ihrem Wert nicht eingebüßt hatten, vor allem vom Gesichtspunkt des zusammengetragenen Materials. Obwohl die spätere Forschung die Wertungen der eigentlichen Begebenheiten, derer breiteren internationalen Zusammenhänge oder der einzelnen Persönlichkeiten in vielem überwunden, korrigiert oder ergänzt hat, werden die Arbeiten von O. Klopp,² V. von Renner,³ K. Toifel,⁴ das kollektive Werk der Historiker vom Kriegsarchiv⁵ sowie

¹ Camesina, A. von: *Wien Bedrängniß im Jahre 1683. Wien und seine Bewohner während der 2. Türkenbelagerung 1683*. Wien 1865. Berichte und Mitteilungen des Alterthums-Vereines zu Wien, VIII.

² Klopp, O.: *Das Jahr 1683 und der folgende große Türkenkrieg bis zum Frieden von Carlowitz 1699*. Graz, Styria 1882. Das Werk gliedert die 2. Belagerung Wiens und die darauf folgenden Ereignisse in den Rahmen der internationalen Politik ein, wobei es einen antipreußischen Standpunkt einnimmt. Der Autor steht auf konservativen, katholischen Positionen, von welchen er dann so internationale als auch innerpolitische Ereignisse beurteilt.

³ Renner, V. von: *Wien im Jahre 1683. Geschichte der zweiten Belagerung der Stadt durch die*

die kritischen Studien von J. Newald,⁶ von Geschichtsforschern, die sich mit dieser Problematik befassen noch heutzutage zitiert und benützt. Außer diesen Hauptwerken erschien im Jubiläumsjahr sowie in den darauffolgenden Jahren eine Anzahl von Studien, Artikeln und Quelleneditionen.

Hinsichtlich des Schocks über den Zerfall der Monarchie sowie der schweren wirtschaftlichen und politischen Lage zu Beginn der dreißiger Jahre wurde im Jahre 1933 der zweihundertfünfzigste Jahrestag der Stadtbelagerung viel bescheidener gefeiert, was auch an der Zahl der Publikationen ersichtlich ist. Lorenz' Buch,⁷ welches bereits im nationalistischen „großdeutschen“ Geist verfaßt wurde, so daß es auch zur Zeit des nazistischen Deutschlands neu verlegt wurde, kann auch fachlicherseits nicht als Beitrag bewertet werden.

In der Nachkriegszeit leisteten die österreichischen Forscher ihren Beitrag zur besseren Kenntnis der zweiten Belagerung Wiens durch eine bibliographische Bearbeitung und Veröffentlichung bisher unbekannter osmanischer Quellen. Obwohl Sturmingers *Bibliographie und Ikonographie der Türkenbelagerungen Wiens 1529 und 1683*,⁸ vor allem in ihrem Teil über die zweite Belagerung nicht als vollständig anzusehen ist (es fehlen ungarische und tschechoslowakische Arbeiten), erfüllt dieses Werk bis heute die Aufgabe eines erstrangigen Nachschlagewerks über gedruckte Quellen, zeitgenössische Publizistik und Literatur bis zum Anfang der fünfziger Jahre. Von wohl noch größerer Bedeutung war die Tat des heute bereits verstorbenen Wiener Osmanisten Richard F. Kreutel, der durch die Gründung der

Türken im Rahmen der Zeitereignisse. Aus Anlaß der zweiten Säcularfeier verfaßt im Auftrage des Gemeinderathes der k. k. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien... Wien, Waldheim 1883. Das Werk eines Mittelschulprofessors, Verfassers vieler Studien und Quelleneditionen zu diesem Ereignis, geht aus Archivmaterialien und zeitgenössischen Berichten hervor. In weiteren Zusammenhängen bewertet er den Konflikt als eine Begegnung der europäischen „christlichen“ Zivilisation mit der asiatischen Kulturlosigkeit und Barbarentum.

⁴ Toifel, C.: *Die Türken vor Wien im Jahre 1683.* Ein österreichisches Gedenkbuch. Prag—Leipzig, Tempský-Freytag 1883. Das, einem breiteren Leserkreis gewidmete Werk zitiert oft ganze Teile aus den Quellen und ist reichlich bebildert.

⁵ *Das Kriegsjahr 1683.* Nach Acten und anderen authentischen Quellen dargestellt in der Abteilung für Kriegsgeschichte des k. k. Kriegsarchives, Wien 1883.

⁶ Newald, J.: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Belagerung Wiens durch die Türken, im Jahre 1683.* Historische Studien I—II. Wien, Kubasta und Voigt 1883—1884. Der Autor bewertet kritisch die österreichischen Publikationen, die anläßlich der zweihundertsten Wiederkehr der Belagerung der Stadt durch die osmanische Armee herausgegeben wurden.

⁷ Lorenz, R.: *Türkenjahr 1683. Das Reich im Kampf um den Ostraum.* Wien 1933. 2. Ausgabe 1934, 3. erweiterte Ausgabe 1944.

⁸ Sturminger, W.: *Bibliographie und Ikonographie der Türkenbelagerungen Wiens 1529 und 1683.* Graz—Köln, Verlag H. Böhlau Nachf. 1955. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, 41.

Edition *Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber* im Verlag Styria (Graz) im Jahre 1955 bedeutende osmanische Quellen nicht nur zur Belagerung Wiens im Jahre 1683,⁹ sondern auch zu anderen Zeitspannen der österreichisch-osmanischen Beziehungen sowie zum Aufstieg des Osmanischen Reichs zugänglich machte.¹⁰ Der unermüdliche Forscher auf dem Gebiet der osmanischen Belagerungen Wiens, W. Sturminger, gab Ende der sechziger Jahre das Quellenlesebuch *Die Türken vor Wien in Augenzeugenberichten*¹¹ heraus.

In den siebziger Jahren erschienen in Zeitschriften und Sonderdrucken mehrere, dem Jahr 1683 gewidmete Studien.¹² Einer Analyse der Belagerung Wiens begehen wir auch in populär-wissenschaftlichen Büchern, die breiteren Leserkreisen bestimmt sind.¹³ Besonders hervorzuheben ist das Buch *Die Türken — und was von ihnen blieb*,¹⁴ welches auch einige Beiträge zum Jahr 1683 in Wien und in den österreichischen Ländern bringt.

Ein vielseitiger und fruchtbarer Forscher auf dem Gebiet der österreichisch-osmanischen Beziehungen, K. Teply bearbeitete in mehreren Studien türkische Erzählungen und Legenden über Wien, die er später auch als selbständiges Buch herausgab.¹⁵

⁹ Kara Mustafa vor Wien. Das Tagebuch der Belagerung Wiens, verfaßt von Zeremonienmeister der Hohen Pforte. Graz—Wien—Köln, Verlag Styria 1955. 2. Auflage 1960, 3. Auflage 1966. Taschenbuchausgabe der Dokumente, 450 München 1967, 1976.

¹⁰ In zehn, bis 1981 herausgegebenen Bänden erschienen Proben oder komplette Übersetzungen von Werken folgender osmanischer Autoren: Evliya Çelebi: *Im Reiche des Goldenen Apfels*, Osman Ağa: *Der Gefangene der Giauren, Zwischen Paschas und Generälen*, Oruç: *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid*, Ali: *Der Löwe von Temeschwar* sowie eine anonyme griechische Chronik (Anonymus Zoras): *Leben und Taten der türkischen Kaiser*. R. F. Kreutel übersetzte obige Bände, verfaßte deren Einleitung und Kommentar. In derselben Edition übersetzte E. Prokosch das Werk Hasan Ağas: *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn* und den Bericht Eba Sehil Nu'man Efendis über die österreichisch-osmanische Grenzziehung nach dem Belgrader Frieden 1740/41 unter dem Titel *Molla und Diplomat*.

¹¹ Hrsg. und eingeleitet... Düsseldorf, Rauch 1969, 451 S.

¹² *Museum Perchtoldsdorf*. Perchtoldsdorf 1973. Zeitschriftenbeiträge entstammen der Feder von K. Teply, O. Pickl, H. G. Walter, P. Broucek, W. Hummelberger u. a.

¹³ Theuer, F.: *Verrat an der Raab. Als Türken, Tataren und Kuruzen 1683 gegen Wien zogen*. Salzburg 1976. Schreiber, G.: *Sipahi. 400 Jahre Türkenzeit in Europa*. Innsbruck—Wien—München. Derselbe: *Auf den Spuren der Türken*. München 1980. Derselbe: *Türkenzeit*. Innsbruck—Wien—München 1978.

¹⁴ Hrsg. von Ch. Wessely. Wien 1978.

¹⁵ *Türkische Sagen und Legenden um Wien, die Stadt des Goldenen Apfels der Deutschen*. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde, XXXI/80, 1977, S. 255—284. Derselbe: *Kizil Elma. Die große türkische Geschichtssage im Licht der Geschichte und der Volkskunde*. In: *Südost-Forschungen*, 37, 1977, S. 78—108. *Türkische Sagen und Legenden um die Kaiserstadt Wien*. Wien—Köln—Graz, H. Böhlaus Nachf. 1980.

Schon dieser kurzen Übersicht ist es zu entnehmen, daß die österreichische Historiographie diesem bedeutenden Ereignis der europäischen und österreichischen Geschichte auch in der Vergangenheit eine ausreichende Aufmerksamkeit widmete, und das herannahende Jubiläum war eine weitere Anregung, so daß bis zu dem von uns verfolgten Termin (Ende 1982) bereits acht Bücher erschienen sind.

Als der eifrigste Verlag erwies sich der Verlag Styria, der bis Ende 1982 drei Bücher herausgab.

Wir haben bereits erwähnt, daß zur Mitte der fünfziger Jahre Richard F. Kreutel die Edition *Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber* gründete. Der Verlag Styria, der diese Edition besorgte, bereitete zum Jubiläumsjahr die neue Herausgabe osmanischer Quellen zum Feldzug gegen Wien im Jahre 1683 als ersten Band der Neuen Folge der Osmanischen Geschichtsschreiber, die Kreutels naher Mitarbeiter E. Prokesch leitet. Unter dem Titel *Kara Mustafa vor Wien 1683 aus der Sicht türkischer Quellen*¹⁶ bereitete K. Teply nicht nur die Reedition des türkischen Tagebuchs der Belagerung Wiens vom Zeremonienmeister der Hohen Pforte unter dem Titel „Die Ereignisse um Wien“ (S. 103—210) und die Zusätze zum Tagebuch der Belagerung Wiens aus der Geschichte Silihdars (S. 211—246), sondern auch weiterer Studien und Übersetzungen von Kreutel vor. Von den Übersetzungen ist es vor allem das Tagebuch des Pfortendolmetschers Aléxandros Mavrokordátos, das unter dem Titel *Kara Mustafas Feldzug gegen Wien* (S. 55—102)¹⁷ erschien und *Kara Mustafas Aufforderungsschreiben an die Stadt und Festung Wien* (Islam — Tribut oder Schwert?, S. 247—256).¹⁸ Von den Studien sind es *Osmanische Berichte über Kara Mustafas Feldzug gegen Wien* (S. 13—54),¹⁹ „Abbildung der Festung Wien, getreulich wiedergegeben“ — Der große türkische Plan zur Belagerung Wiens 1683 (S. 257—288)²⁰ und *Infelix Kara Mustafa* (S. 289—317).²¹ Am Ende des Buches ist ein Andenken an den Gründer der Edition eingereiht „Richard F. Kreutel — Persönlichkeit und Werk“ (S. 319—328) mit einem kurzen Lebenslauf, einer

¹⁶ Übersetzt und erläutert von R. F. Kreutel. Stark vermehrte Ausgabe besorgt Karl Teply. Graz—Wien—Köln, Verlag Styria 1982. 376 S. *Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber*, N. F. Band 1.

¹⁷ Zum erstenmal veröffentlicht in *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 27, 1971, S. 47—81.

¹⁸ Die neue Übersetzung von *Aufforderungsschreiben* stammt von E. Prokosch.

¹⁹ Zum erstenmal veröffentlicht: Walter Stürminger zum 70. Geburtstag. *Die Welt des Islams*, N. S., 12, 1969, S. 196—227.

²⁰ Zum erstenmal veröffentlicht in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 52, 1953, S. 212—228.

²¹ Publiziert unter dem Titel *Der Schädel des Kara Mustafa Pascha*. In: *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 32/33, 1976, S. 63—77. Wie später K. Teply bewies (*Der Kopf des Abaza Kör Hüseyin Pascha. Vom „umgehenden Türken“ und von anderem Zeughausspuk*). In: *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 34, 1978, S. 165—179, geht es um den Schädel dieses Würdenträgers.

Analyse seines Werkes und einer Bibliographie. Da die Neue Folge auch zeitgenössische Illustrationen enthalten wird, ist das Buch außer einiger Reproduktionen osmanischer Urkunden und des angeblichen Schädels von Kara Mustafa im Historischen Museum der Stadt Wien, mit Bildern aus L. F. Marsigli's Buch: *Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomano* (*L'Etat Militaire de l'Empire Ottoman*), Amsterdam 1732 (Faksimile der Originalausgabe Graz 1972) illustriert, die unserer Ansicht nach sehr passende und anschauliche Illustrationen darstellen. Zu den Bildern verfaßte K. Teply eingeweihte Kommentare (S. 329—341).

Die Herausgabe der Übersetzungen osmanischer Chroniken wurde durch die Tatsache angeregt, daß die österreichischen und europäischen Historiker überhaupt außer Hammers kurzer Übersetzung von Teilen des Werkes des offiziellen osmanischen Historikers Mehmed Raşid²² keinerlei osmanischen Quellen zur Verfügung hatten. Es ist interessant, daß auch die polnische Geschichtsschreibung lediglich Sękowski's²³ Übersetzung desselben offiziellen Geschichtsschreibers des Osmanischen Reiches der Jahre 1660—1721 zur Verfügung hatte. Dieses Desideratum kennzeichnete das ganze Fachschrifttum über diese Frage. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, daß das Fachpublikum sowie die breiteren Leserkreise Kreutels Übersetzung des osmanischen Tagebuchs des Zeremonienmeisters, die durch Ausschnitte aus der reichhaltigen Chronik Findıklı Mehmed Ağa Silahdars ergänzt wurde, begrüßten. Es ist interessant, daß auch die neue Herausgabe bis auf einige Kleinigkeiten im Text und in den Anmerkungen die ursprüngliche Arbeit Kreutels darstellt. Was die Genauigkeit und die Übereinstimmung der Übertragung des osmanischen Textes ins Deutsche betrifft, was nicht immer leicht ist, weisen Richard F. Kreutels Übersetzungen einen hohen Standard auf. Ähnlich wie die Studien gehen auch die einleitenden Teile zu den Übersetzungen sowie die Kommentare aus seiner hervorragenden Kenntnis des osmanischen Türkischen, der Realien und der Fachliteratur hervor.

Wir möchten zum Buch einige Anmerkungen hinzufügen.

In der Anmerkung 73 auf S. 54 zum Artikel Osmanische Berichte über Kara Mustafas Feldzug gegen Wien hätte der Editor Kreutels ursprüngliche Angaben über die osmanischen Urkunden zum Wiener Feldzug mindestens in einem solchen Ausmaß erweitern können, wie dies Z. Abrahamowicz in der Einleitung seiner Übersetzungen getan hat.

In der Anmerkung 14 auf S. 245 erläutert Kreutel den Ausdruck *Orta Macar* (Mittelungarn) nach L. Feketes Auslegung, der diesen Ausdruck als erster erklärte. *Orta Macar* bedeutet anfangs wirklich nur das Gebiet der sieben Komitate im Nordosten Ungarns und wir begegnen ihm in den osmanischen Quellen zur Zeit der Besetzung dieser Komitate durch Georg I. Rákóczi in den Jahren 1644—1645, obwohl er zweifelsohne um etwas älter sein dürfte (ungefähr aus den Jahren 1629—1631). *Orta Macar*

²² Aus dem osmanischen Reichsgeschichtsschreiber Raschid. In: Taschenbuch für vaterländische Geschichte. Hrsg. von J. Hormayr. Wien 1924, S. 302—311.

²³ *Collectanea z dziejopisów tureckich rzeczy do historyi polskiej służących*. Warszawa 1825, S. 129—194.

und dessen Äquivalent *Kaşa ve yedi nahiye* bedeuteten damals lediglich das Gebiet der erwähnten sieben Komitate. Zur Zeit des osmanisch-habsburgischen Krieges 1663—1664 benutzten osmanische Quellen den Ausdruck *Orta Macar* des öfteren, jedoch nicht mehr im Sinne der sieben Komitate, sondern im Umfang von ganz Oberungarn und dazu auch noch von Teilen Niederungarns (also ungefähr im Umfang der heutigen Slowakei), mit Ausnahmen der von den Osmanen kontrollierten Gebiete. Zu Thökölys Zeiten, den die osmanischen Quellen nach seiner „Krönung“ am 16. oder 17. September 1682 den König von *Orta Macar* nennen, stellte dieser osmanische Terminus dreizehn Komitate in der Ostslowakei dar, die die Grundlage seiner Macht waren, sowie jene Gebiete, deren er sich in den Jahren 1682—1683 bemächtigte.

Zum sorgfältig ausgearbeiteten Personen-, Orts- und Sachregister führen wir folgende Anmerkungen an.

Bemerkenswert ist das Verschieben des Todesdatums des osmanischen Reisenden *Evliya Çelebi* vom bisherigen, oft angeführten Jahr 1682? auf „kurz nach 1686“. Beweise dafür, daß *Evliya* zur Zeit der Niederlage der osmanischen Armee bei Wien noch lebte, finden wir in Anspielungen an mehreren Stellen seines Werkes *Seyahatname*;²⁴ auf Grund wessen der Herausgeber des Buches K. Teplý jedoch zu diesem neuen Datum gelangte, führt er nicht an.

Kinaloğlu Ciftliği, das Kreutal mit *Čičevac* identifizierte, ist nach dem Itinerarium des Feldzuges im Jahre 1663 8 Wegstunden von *Aleksinac* und 3 Stunden vom Städtchen *Paraćin* entfernt. Anderer Meinung ist O. Zirojević (*Carigradski drum od Beograda do Sofije* (1459—1683) in: *Zbornik Istoriskog muzeja Srbije*, 7, 1970, S. 32) die schreibt, daß die Palanke beim Städtchen *Ražanj* in den türkischen militärischen Itinerarien seit dem Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts *Kinaloğlu Ciftliği* genannt wurde.

Die, auch im Itinerarium des Feldzuges im Jahre 1663 erwähnte Station *Ormanlı* ist das unweit von *Elin Pelin* liegende *Lesnovo*.

Parfa — osmanische Quellen nennen diese Ortschaft meist *Barka*, heute *Jarak*. *Fehér, G.*: Recent Data on the Turkish Campaign of 1543. In: *Studia Turcica*. Budapest 1971, S. 165. *Zirojević, O.*: *Carigradski drum od Beograda do Budima u XVI i XVII veku*. Novi Sad 1976, S. 29, 72—73. *Kopčan, V.*: Zwei Itinerarien des osmanischen Feldzugs gegen *Neuhäusel* (*Nové Zámky*) im Jahre 1663. In: *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 14, 1978, S. 85.

Sariyurt — richtig *Sarıbrot* oder *Sarıbirot*, in diesen Formen ist die Station in zwei Itinerarien des osmanischen Feldzugs im Jahre 1663 schriftlich festgehalten, es ist unzweifelhaft die türkische Verballhornung des slawischen *Caribrod*. *Zirojević, O.*: op. cit., S. 189—190. *Kopčan, V.*: op. cit., S. 81.

Uludere — ist nicht *Charmanlijska reka*, sondern *Goljam dol* bei *Usundschowo*.

Votika — richtig *Vojka* ist eine bekannte Station auf dem Weg nach *Ofen*. *Zirojević, O.*: op. cit., S. 29, 69.

G. Düriegels Buch *Wien 1683. Die zweite Türkenbelagerung*²⁵ (erschieden als eine Publikation des Museums der Stadt Wien), lenkt die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Ereignisse des Jahres 1683, vor allem auf die Kämpfe um die Stadt Wien. Nur ein ganz kurzes Kapitel, Das Vorspiel, führt die Leser in die Problematik der osmanisch-habsburgischen Beziehungen mit Akzent auf die zweite Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts ein und macht auf weitere internationale Aspekte dieses Konflikts aufmerksam. Bei der Analyse der inneren Entwicklung des Osmanischen Reiches konnte der Autor

²⁴ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* VI. *Der-i Saadet* 1318 h., S. 280.

²⁵ *Wien—Köln—Graz* 1981. Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 159 S.

den komplizierten Prozeß, den das Osmanische Reich seit dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts im wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und letztlich auch im politischen Bereich durchmachte, natürlich nicht umfassen. Unserer Ansicht nach ist in der Fachliteratur noch immer nicht die Erscheinung erläutert, die manchmal die Köprülü-Restauration genannt wird und welche zur expansiven Politik des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa führte — Venedig, Siebenbürgen, Ungarn, Polen, Rußland — und brachte die osmanische Armee vor die Tore Wiens. Was die osmanische Expansion gegen Polen betrifft, die schließlich Sobieski vor Wien führte, kann diese Problematik nicht im Geiste der älteren Vorstellungen aufgefaßt werden, wie dies Dürriegel formulierte: „Der Kampf gegen die Osmanen bedeutete für die Polen mehr als nur eine Frage der Sicherheit. Im Türkenkrieg konnte Polen die große Gelegenheit wahrnehmen, im christlichen Europa eine führende Rolle zu spielen“ (S. 14). Die Auslegung der internationalen Lage vor der Belagerung Wiens konnte bei ihrer Kürze nicht die ganze Kompliziertheit der Problematik des Konflikts zwischen Wien und der Porta erfassen. Der Schwerpunkt und der Vorteil dieser Auslegung des Autors liegen jedoch in seiner Kenntnis der österreichischen Verhältnisse, ob es sich nun um die allgemeine Lage oder um die Stadtverteidigung konkret handelt.

Hinsichtlich des beschränkten Raumes mußte Dürriegel aus der Fülle der Ereignisse jene auswählen, die von größter Wichtigkeit waren, um die Arbeit nicht unnütz mit Details zu belasten. Er widmete seine Aufmerksamkeit so den militärischen Operationen und den Verteidigungskämpfen oder den Befestigungen, als auch den wirtschaftlichen, politischen, moralischen oder anderen, für die Verteidigung der Stadt wichtigen Faktoren. Man kann sagen, daß im Kontext mit den Ereignissen sein Bild der Persönlichkeiten, die an der Spitze der Stadtverteidigung standen, wie z.B. der Oberbefehlshaber Ernst Graf Rüdiger von Starhemberg, Graf Kašpar Zdenko Kaplíř, der Bürgermeister Johann Andreas von Liebenberg, die Befehlshaber der kaiserlichen Armee, aber auch jener, die aus Angst vor den Türken aus der Stadt geflohen waren, voller und objektiver ist, als so manche Lobrede der Artikel und Bücher. Der Autor verfolgt nicht nur die Begebenheiten um die Belagerung der Stadt, sondern kurz auch die Aktionen der die Umgebung Wiens plündernden Tataren und der osmanischen Einheiten, sowie die Vorbereitung der Verbündeten auf eine Gegenaktion. Die Aufmerksamkeit des Autors ist nicht ausschließlich auf die Verteidigung gerichtet, er bemüht sich vielmehr durch häufige Zitationen osmanischer Quellen um einen Einblick auch in die andere Seite. Er will zeigen, welche Fehler und taktische Mängel sich der Großwesir Kara Mustafa Pascha zuschulden kommen ließ, indem er die kaiserlichen Festungen in Ungarn nicht eroberte; diese von einem Teil seines Heers belagern ließ, so daß er einige Einheiten und die Artillerie vermissen mußte. Er war auch nicht imstande den Donauweg — diese Hauptnachschubstraße für Versorgung zu kontrollieren und gliederte noch weitere Armeeeinheiten, die gemeinsam mit Thököly entlang des linken Donauufers operierten, aus. Diese Maßnahmen hätten, so Dürriegel, die die Stadt belagernde

Armee um etwa 43 000 Mann geschwächt. Wir möchten nur hinzufügen, daß die osmanische Armee für die Belagerungsarbeiten lediglich eine gewisse Anzahl von Spezialisten für bautechnische Arbeiten, sowie Einheiten für den Grabenkampf benutzte. Aus dieser Sicht kann die Abkommandierung einer so großen Armee nicht als Schwächung betrachtet werden, wichtiger ist vielmehr die Tatsache, daß diese Armee ihre taktischen sowie strategischen Ziele verfehlte.

Auch scheint uns Düriegels Schätzung der Anzahl des osmanischen Heers auf 250 000 Mann, davon 90 000 Kämpfende, und ebenso die Zahl der am 12. August gefallener auf 30 000 osmanischer Soldaten als übertrieben.

Die Plünderung der Tataren in der Umgebung Wiens auf die mangelhafte Lebensmittelversorgung im Lager des belagernden Heeres zurückzuführen, ist nicht richtig. Einheiten der leichten Kavallerie, die die osmanischen Feldzüge massenhaft begleiteten, plünderten das feindliche Hinterland nicht nur aus psychologischen Gründen — indem sie Unsicherheit und Angst hervorriefen, schwächten sie die Verteidiger — sondern sammelten auch Lebensmittel, Vieh und Futter für das osmanische Heer, von den Gefangenen, die eine richtige „Beute“ und Bereicherung der Angreifer darstellten, gar nicht zu reden. Wir gehen dabei aus jener Kenntnis hervor, die wir bei der Untersuchung der Tatarenüberfälle in der Westslowakei, in Mähren und Schlesien im Jahre 1663 auf Grund osmanischer Quellen feststellen konnten.

Die Lebensmittelknappheit im osmanischen Lager vor Wien im Jahre 1529 und 1683, ähnlich wie im Jahre 1663 bei Nové Zámky, unterstützt die Theorie des ungarischen Militärhistorikers G. Perjés, die aus der militärischen Logistik hervorgeht, und ihn zur Behauptung veranlaßte, daß der Aktionsradius der osmanischen Armee bis nach Ofen reichte. Hinter der Grenze dieses Aktionsradius entstanden für die osmanische Armee Schwierigkeiten mit der Versorgung, und es verkürzte sich bedeutend auch die Zeitspanne der militärischen Aktionen der osmanischen Armee, der nach islamischen Gesetzen die Zeit der Rückkehr zu ihren Winterlagern (Kasım-Tag) bestimmt war.

Bei seiner Schilderung der bedeutendsten Momente der Belagerung Wiens läßt Düriegel oft die Quellen reden, womit er ein sehr lebhaftes und plastisches Bild dieser Ereignisse schafft.

Das letzte, der entscheidenden Schlacht gewidmete Kapitel verfolgt chronologisch die Ereignisse vom 7. September ab, so im osmanischen Lager als auch bei den Armeen der Verbündeten, die Vorbereitungen trafen, der belagerten Stadt zu Hilfe zu kommen. Der Autor nimmt an, daß bei der Schlacht zahlenmäßig ungefähr gleiche Armeen einander gegenüberstanden, was die Moral und die Ausrüstung betrifft, waren die Verbündeten und die kaiserliche Armee jedoch eindeutig überlegen. Zur Schwächung der Moral der osmanischen Armee haben zweifelsohne die Schwierigkeiten der langen Belagerung, die Niederlage der osmanischen Truppen bei Bisamberg, als auch die Zerwürfnisse im osmanischen Lager beigetragen.

Das Ereignis bietet große Möglichkeiten einer epischen Schilderung, der Autor blieb jedoch sachlich und vermied jedwedes, in den älteren Publikationen so häufig auftretendes Pathos und beschreibt den Verlauf der Schlacht bis zum entscheidenden Sieg.

Das Buch ist mit Kupferstichen des niederländischen Künstlers Romeyn de Hooghe, sowie mit Zeichnungen und Stichen anderer Meister, sowie der bekannten Ölmalerei von F. Geffels und deren Ausschnitten in farbigen Reproduktionen ausgestattet.

Ein gutes Beispiel heimatkundlicher Bearbeitung der türkischen und tatarischen Kriegszüge gegen Niederösterreich im Jahre 1683 ist die Broschüre von K. Gutkas *Das Türkenjahr 1683 in Niederösterreich*.²⁶ Niederösterreich war bis zur Belagerung Wiens im Jahre 1683 den türkischen Überfällen nicht ausgesetzt und beteiligte sich an der gegentürkischen Verteidigung — ähnlich wie die Länder des böhmischen Königreichs — nur mittels Steuer. Dies war einer der Gründe, warum die Überfälle der Tataren und Türken einen derartigen Schrecken hervorgerufen hatten und auch die bescheidenen Verteidigungsmaßnahmen paralyisierten. Furcht und Schrecken wurde der Bevölkerung noch vor dem Eintreffen der türkischen und tatarischen Abteile von den Flüchtlingen durch ihre Schilderung der selbst erlebten oder gehörten Situationen eingejagt. Sehr interessant sind die Reaktionen der einfachen Bevölkerung auf die Flucht des Adels und der Geistlichkeit aus den gefährdeten Städten. Der Autor führt einige Beispiele von Überfällen auf Geistliche und vor allem auf Jesuiten an, da „man allgemein glaubte, die Durchführung der Gegenreformation in Ungarn habe den Krieg heraufbeschworen“. Mit Geschick verknüpft er die Schilderung von hauptsächlichen Ereignissen — der Operationen der kaiserlichen Armeen, der Stadtbelagerung und deren Befreiung — mit der Beschreibung des Alltagslebens der Bevölkerung niederösterreichischer Städte und Dörfer in den Tagen der schwersten Bedrohung. Die einfachen Angaben über ausgebrannte Häuser, verschleppte oder getötete Kinder, Frauen und Männer zeugen von der Unvorbereitetheit und der Unerfahrenheit der Bevölkerung mit der Kampfweise und Taktik osmanischer und tatarischer Einheiten. Was das strategische Konzept der türkischen Streifscharen und des Tatarenkorps betrifft, kann die von Prof. Gutkas gestellte Frage so beantwortet werden, daß Ziel dieser Überfälle war Beute — Nahrungsmittel, Futter und Gefangene — einzuholen, und gleichzeitig die Verteidigung des Feindes zu zerlegen, sowie Angst und Panik zu verbreiten. Beispiele erfolgreicher Verteidigung gegen die Überfälle zeigen, daß wenn die Bevölkerung genügend Mut und Ausdauer bei der Verteidigung bewies, die Tataren und die türkischen Einheiten schnell abgezogen sind. Angaben über menschliche Verluste und Gefangene, die der Autor auf Grund einer zeitgenössischen Liste

²⁶ St. Pölten—Wien, Verlag Niederösterreichisches Pressehaus 1982, 32 S. Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe Niederösterreichs, 61.

anführt, scheinen übertrieben zu sein: „30 000 Menschen getötet und etwa 87 000 in die Gefangenschaft geführt haben“, auch wenn wir damit die menschlichen Verluste Niederösterreichs nicht herunterspielen möchten.

Wir möchten auf die Richtigkeit bei der Anführung fremder Ortsnamen in dieser Arbeit aufmerksam machen.

Während die obenangeführten Publikationen einen spezifischen Charakter haben und lediglich bestimmte Aspekte der Belagerung ins Auge fassen, oder die Ereignisse in einem zeitlichen oder räumlichen Rahmen verfolgen, versucht das von R. Waissenberg herausgegebene Sammelwerk *Die Türken vor Wien. Europa und die Entscheidung an der Donau 1683*²⁷ und die deutsche Übersetzung der amerikanischen Arbeit von Thomas M. Barker: *Doppeladler und Halbmond. Entscheidungsjahr 1683*²⁸ die bedeutsame Begebenheit der europäischen Geschichte im Komplex der politischen, wirtschaftlichen, sozialen, militärischen und kulturellen Geschichte zu untersuchen. Die Arbeit des amerikanischen Historikers ist Fachleuten seit mehr als fünfzehn Jahren gut bekannt. Ihre deutsche Übersetzung ist in den Anmerkungen um Forschungsergebnisse der letzten 18 Jahre ergänzt worden, trotzdem könnten die Teile über das Osmanische Reich durch weitere Arbeiten erweitert werden. Barker selbst schreibt über seine Arbeit, „daß diese Studie mehr oder weniger als ‚erzählende‘ oder ‚Ereignisgeschichte‘ gedacht war, das heißt, mit einem Hauptaugenmerk auf den Ablauf politischer und militärischer Vorkommnisse und auf das Zusammenspiel prominenter und einflußreicher Persönlichkeiten“.

Die Fülle der zusammengetragener Daten, größtenteils aus älteren österreichischen Arbeiten, interpretiert der Autor in drei Teilen: I. *Facies Europae 1648—1679*; II. *Vorspiel des Krieges* (umfaßt die Jahre 1679—1683); III. *Wien, von den Türken belagert, von den Christen befreit und Epilog*. Man kann sagen, daß der Autor im Rahmen seiner analytischen Methode, mit der er dieses Material bearbeitet hat, ein lebhaftes Bild nicht nur des politisch-diplomatischen Vorspiels, sondern auch der eigentlichen Stadtbelagerung und -befreiung erzielte. Hervorragend sind jene Teile, die sich mit der Militärgeschichte, der Zusammensetzung und Ausrüstung, der Taktik und Logistik der einander gegenüberstehenden Armeen — der verbündeten und der osmanischen — befassen, obwohl die Angaben über diese Armee in vielem ergänzt und präzisiert werden könnten.

Wenn wir das englische Original mit der deutschen Übersetzung vergleichen — über die Qualität der Übersetzung wagen wir es nicht zu schreiben — müssen wir konstatieren, daß die Übersetzer die deutsche Ausgabe nicht nur ergänzt, sondern einige Fehler und Unrichtigkeiten auch korrigiert hatten. Bei der Angabe von Ortsnamen hatten sie jedoch keine glückliche Hand. Unserer Ansicht nach ist der

²⁷ Salzburg, Residenz-Verlag 1982, 365 S.

²⁸ Übersetzt und bearbeitet von Peter und Gertraud Broucek. Graz—Wien—Köln, Verlag Styria 1982, 424 S.

Weg des englischen Originals richtiger, wo an erster Stelle die heutige Benennung steht und in Klammern dann die historischen deutschen oder anderssprachigen Namen angeführt sind. Es ist zwar verständlich, daß es für den deutschen Leser angebrachter ist, deutsche Benennungen zu benutzen, dann hätten jedoch die Übersetzer konsequent sein müssen und außerdem noch auch die jetzigen Benennungen in Klammern anführen.

Bei der Umschrift deutscher und polnischer Namen haben sich trotz Aufmerksamkeit einige Fehler in den Text eingeschlichen: Apáfi richtig Apafi, Akos richtig Ákos, bei Bocskai wird die deutsche Form seines Vornamens Stephan angeführt, bei anderen jedoch die ungarische, ähnlich verhält es sich mit dem Vornamen Georg — György, Griński richtig Gniński, Szymunt richtig Zsigmond, Szelepcsényi richtig Szelepcsényi und des weiteren könnte mehr angeführt werden.

Die repräsentative Publikation des Historischen Museums der Stadt Wien *Die Türken vor Wien* ist auch keine rein österreichische Angelegenheit, was wir dem Zusammensteller R. Waissenberg keineswegs vorwerfen wollen, im Gegenteil, es ist ein Werk eines internationalen Teams von mehr als dreißig Forschern aus Österreich, der BRD, Polen, der Tschechoslowakei, Frankreich, Ungarn, der DDR und der Türkei. Auch sind die Themen, die dieses Werk pertraktiert, ungewöhnlich breit und wir könnten sie in folgenden Bereichen begrenzen: die politische und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung Europas und des Osmanischen Reiches in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (R. Waissenberger: Orientierung in Zeitalter. Österreich und Europa vom Westfälischen Frieden bis zum Frieden von Karlowitz, die Beiträge von J. Béranger über die französische Politik Ludwig XIV., von E. Völkl über die Entwicklung Siebenbürgens, von E. Meyer über Polen, von E. Werner über das Osmanische Reich), militärische Probleme (J. Ch. Almayer-Beck über die kaiserliche Armee), Fragen der Ausrüstung der Armeen (E. Gabriel über die Waffen der Verteidiger Wiens, P. Jaeckel über die Ausrüstung der osmanischen Armee und Ü. Yücel über die osmanischen Bogenschützen) und der Befestigungen (W. Hummelberger: Wien als Festung), Verlauf der Belagerung Wiens (G. Dürriegel), das Türkenjahr 1683 in den österreichischen Ländern (K. Gutkas und F. Theuer), bedeutende Persönlichkeiten (A. Sammer über Papst Innozenz XI., L. Mikoletzky über Leopold I., Z. Wójcik über Jan III. Sobieski, F. Röhring über Marco d'Aviano, G. Gerhartl über Kardinal Kollonich, H. Urbanski über Karl von Lothringen, L. Hüttel über Max Emmanuel von Bayern, E. Petrasch über Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden, G. Heiligensetzer über Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, Z. Abrahamowicz über Kara Mustafa Pascha) und schließlich Fragen wie die überwundene Türkengefahr auf Kunst, Literatur und Musik Einfluß ausübte — vom Bildnis der Türken in der österreichischen Kunst (W. Prochaska), in der tschechischen Kunst (I. Krsek), in der slowakischen Kunst (A. Petrová), in der ungarischen Kunst (K. Garas) bis zu den „Alla-Turca“-Kompositionen in der Musik ganz Europas.

Man kann sagen, daß ein Teil der Beiträge auch neue Ansichten und Wertungen

bringt. Im österreichischen Milieu klingt bestimmt überraschend die Behauptung J. Bérangers, daß der französische Imperialismus in erster Reihe von der Verteidigungsstrategie her zu erklären ist. Ähnlicherweise wird auch in der Erläuterung der polnischen Außenpolitik von Jan III. Sobieski aus der Feder von Z. Wójcik der rationelle Kern richtig hervorgehoben, warum sich der polnische König mit Wien verbündet hat. „Die einzige vernünftige Lösung war das Bündnis mit den Habsburgern und die Wiederaufnahme der türkischen Kriege“ (S. 184). Er zögert jedoch auch nicht zu behaupten, daß die Heilige Liga Polen keinerlei Nutzen gebracht hat.²⁹

Leider sind einige Porträte der Prominenten mehr verherrlichend als sachlich. Auch möchten wir uns die Bemerkung gestatten, daß unter den Persönlichkeiten Kašpar Zdenko Kaplíř von Sulevic nicht hätte fehlen sollen, da dort Persönlichkeiten eingereiht sind, die viel weniger zur Verteidigung Wiens beigetragen hatten. Überhaupt, wir können uns des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, daß ihm in den österreichischen Jubiläumspublikationen eine viel geringere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet wurde als vor hundert Jahren. Dabei finden wir Th. M. Barkers Anmerkung³⁰ als nicht richtig, daß „Der tschechische Nationalismus des 19. Jahrhunderts stellte Kaplířs Leistung in auffallender Weise heraus“, wobei er J. Helferts Beispiel anführt.

Z. Abrahamowicz' Argumentation, daß der Entschluß Kara Mustafa Paschas den Krieg gegen Wien zu beginnen, aus der Bestrebung hervorging die finanzielle Krise des Osmanischen Reiches zu überwinden, der vernünftigste aus den bislang angeführten Gründen in der Literatur ist.

Ein unbestreitbar großer Beitrag sind die im Buch veröffentlichten kunsthistorischen, ethnographischen, musikologischen und literaturwissenschaftlichen Studien. Insbesondere deshalb, weil die Autoren wenigstens einen Teil der Illustrationen in diesem Buch veröffentlichen konnten. Überhaupt, stellt die bildnerische Seite des Buches — insgesamt 165 Schwarzweiß- und Farabbildungen — in hoher Qualität reproduziert, einen gleichwertigen Bestandteil des Buches dar und ist keineswegs eine bloße Illustration zum Text.

Eine Zeittafel, das Verzeichnis wichtiger Literatur, kurze Angaben über die Autoren, ein Abbildungsverzeichnis und Register ergänzen geeignetermaßen dieses repräsentative Buch.

²⁹ Da über Johann III. Sobieski neue Arbeiten zu erwarten sind, werden wir in der Fortsetzung dieses Rezensionsartikels noch zum Buch Otto Forst de Bataglia: Jan Sobieski. Graz—Wien—Köln, Verlag Styria 1982 (überarbeitete Neuauflage des Buches aus dem Jahre 1946) zurückkehren.

³⁰ Op. cit., S. 394.

ETHNOGRAPHIC PUBLICATIONS OF THE ATATÜRK UNIVERSITY IN ERZURUM. II

XÉNIA CELNAROVÁ, Bratislava

In a previous issue of this journal we dealt with seven ethnographic publications edited by the Atatürk University.¹ The six further volumes from this domain that have come in from Erzurum indicate that this university town in northeastern Turkey is coming to be a significant centre of ethnographic research.

The name Zeki Başar figured already in our preceding review in connection with two publications devoted to popular customs and superstitions in the Erzurum Province.² Here, we shall mention in brief two further of Prof. Başar's studies. The first of them is concerned with oaths³ and is a continuation of the author's earlier work relating to this topic.⁴

The place and significance of oaths in the life of individuals and the society are attested to by the existence of innumerable formula reflecting religious and moral feeling of people at a given period, in a given nation in history, their comprehension of life values. The author provides several cases of oath taking known in the history of Islam and explains the background of their origin. Islam did not admit of swearing on the honour or health of a person. In Turkey oaths are taken most frequently in the name of Allah, on the Qur'an, the Prophet, the faith, the flag, one's weapon or honour.

Z. Başar deduces the custom of oath-taking from the practice of concluding fraternal or friendly alliances among individuals, clans, nations. In the ritual of fraternization, an essential role was played by blood mixing between those conclud-

¹ Celnarová, X.: *Ethnographic Publications of the Atatürk University in Erzurum*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, 15, Bratislava 1979, pp. 177—184.

² Başar, Z.: *İçtimai adetlerimiz — inançlarımız ve Erzurum ilindeki ziyaret yerlerimiz* (Our Social Customs — Superstitions and Our Places of Pilgrimage in the Erzurum Province). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 222. Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası 1972, XIV + 226 pp. Başar, Z.: *Erzurum'da tıbbî ve mistik araştırmaları* (Medical and Mystic Folklore Studies in Erzurum). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 217. Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası 1972, XVII + 217 pp.

³ Başar, Z.: *Değişik örnekleri ve açıklamalarıyla yemin* (Oath-taking and Its Various Examples and Explanations). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları. Ankara, Kalite Matbaası 1978, XII + 103 pp.

⁴ Başar, Z.: *Tarihte — tıp tarihinde yemin* (Oath in the History — the History of Medicine). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları 1973.

ing such an alliance. By mixing their blood they achieved a union of souls. The author points to elements of totemism in oath-taking rituals in the Yakuts and in Altaic nations.

Z. Başar devotes the concluding part of his study on oath-taking to its place in the history of medicine. His approach to the subject may be said to be from a social, historical and cultural standpoint rather than from an ethnographic aspect.

Of a similar character is also Prof. Başar's next study on the significance of the snake to the practice of popular healing and the history of medicine.⁵ The snake was considered to be a sacred symbol of medical science already in ancient Egypt and Greece and it has preserved this prestige to the present times. Conviction of the therapeutic effects and the magic power of the snake acts as a significant factor in traditional Turkish popular healing and medicine. The author goes to show that even at the present time, country folk in Turkey ascribe great importance to the snake as a healing intermediary.

Localities where snakes abound in unusually large numbers have come to be places of pilgrimages. People come here who are convinced of the ability of snakes to cure rheumatism, the ague fever, eye diseases, to act on swellings, etc. Living snakes are placed on the affected part of the body, eventually are made to suck blood or pus from it. The author describes several such places of pilgrimage in eastern Turkey. In most of these localities mineral springs, lakes are to be found, hence, any positive results of these visits to places of pilgrimage might well be due to the curative action of mineral waters. A superstition is attached to these localities according to which to kill a snake at this place or carry it away from there brings ill luck for the rest of life.

In popular healing, every part of a snake's body found its application. Dried up skin is applied to the diseased site, ground to powder, eventually burned to ash it is admixed to foodstuffs or into healing salves. Powders from desiccated snake meat, bones and its fat as well are added also to salves. A feature, conspicuous rather by its absence, is that nowhere in the book does Z. Başar mention the use of snake venom in popular healing.

Faith in the magic power of the snake gave rise to numerous superstitions. For instance, one may provoke rain with the help of the snake, obtain invulnerability, remove obstacles in love, the snake figures as guardian of a house, an amulet of snake's skin protects against the evil eye.

While both of Z. Başar's publication mentioned above are more factographic than evaluative in character, Orhan Acıpayamlı in his monograph concerned with customs and superstitions relating to the coming of a baby into the world⁶ has

⁵ Başar, Z.: *Halk hekimliğinde ve tıp tarihinde yılan* (The Snake in Folk Medicine and the History of Medicine). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları. Ankara, Kalite Matbaası 1978, 105 pp.

⁶ Acıpayamlı, O.: *Türkiye'de doğumla ilgili adet ve inanmaların etnolojik etüdü* (Ethnographic

attempted, on the basis of an analysis of the material, to present generalizing assessments.

In the introduction to his publication the author underlines that he was primarily concerned with fixing the customs and superstitions connected with gravidity, birth, care of the mother and the newborn in their present form. Hence, he brings in historical material from home and abroad, as also contemporary customs and superstitions of other nations only as a supplement for the purpose of comparison or confrontation with practices still in use in Turkey to this day. It was precisely the striking similarity of these customs and superstitions, regardless of the place and time of their occurrence, that prompted Dr. Acıpayamlı to collect a voluminous material and to subject it to an investigation.

Part of the material comprised in the First Article (pp. 13—96) was collected by the author himself in the regions of Ankara, Amasya, Van, Ordu and Elâzığ, part of it comes from his colleagues' works. The passages printed in italics represent analogous practices of other nations.

We shall here stop only at Chapter IX of the First Article which deals with spirits threatening during forty days after birth (*kırklama*) both the mother and the newborn. Many superstitions circulate among the people concerning this spirit variously called Al, Albastı, Alkarısı, Alkızı. The research regarding this notion, as also the etymology of its designation has not yielded as yet anything like unanimous results.⁷

Acıpayamlı polemizes with the views of scholars on the origin of the spirit Al, refuting the theory on a Sumerian origin and points to the as yet unresearched possible relation between the spirit Al and the figure of the she-devil Alabasdria, an enemy of children, represented by frescoes in the upper valley of the Nile, dating from early Christian times.

Taking support in the etymological researches carried out by the Turkish linguist H. Z. Koşay, the author has attempted to determine the etymology of the name Albastı (*al + basmak*). He disagrees with the view expressed by Ignác Kúnos who interpreted the first member of the compound word “*al*” in the sense of “red”. Although certain symptoms of the disease affecting women in childbed lend

Study on Customs and Superstitions Relating to Birth). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 355. Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası 1974, 172 pp.

⁷ Having confronted the views of Russian, Turkish and other scholars, the Soviet ethnographer M. N. Serebryakova has formulated her hypothesis on the origin of the spirit Al, as follows: “The continuance of superstitions regarding the spirit Al and the wide frontiers of their occurrence in the Turkic ethnic may lead to the assumption that they are deduced from the earliest layers of primeval religious notions of the Turkic nations... In the figure of the spirit Al one may see the various specific traits related to the notions of steppe nations that have made a concrete contribution to the creation of this so universal spirit”. Serebryakova, M. N.: *Semya i semeinaya obryadnost v turetskoi derevne* (Family and Family Rites in the Turkish Village). Moscow, Nauka 1979, p. 129.

themselves to such an explanation, yet, according to Acıpayamlı “a” represents a derivation from the Kazakh word “alp” meaning “dev” — a Giant.

The author also refers to the spirit Al in his Introduction to the book (pp. 10—11) where, taking the views on the origin of this phenomenon as an example, he goes to show the unsuitability of the use of the historical and comparative method for purposes of the given work. He decided in favour of evaluating the material according to the psycho-sociological method elaborated by Belgian neofolklorists under the leadership of Albert Marinus.⁸ This evaluation is to be found in Chapter One of Second Article of the publication (pp. 97—134).

The practices employed in connection with such important stages of human life as are the prenatal period, birth and the first postnatal weeks, reveal a surprising similarity even in cases where the time and locality of their occurrence are far apart one from the other. Of interest is especially the finding of analogous practices in associations whose way of thinking and social structure differ considerably and which are separated by centuries in time and thousands of kilometers as to distance.

In the author's view, it is not important to examine in detail analogous practices, but rather to devote attention particularly to customs and superstitions showing divergences from the structural viewpoint.

When evaluating the material comprised in the first article of the book, the author starts from the assumption that the majority of practices that he has fixed have the character of magic. Practices of a medical character, such as, for instance, the use of home-made medicaments, baths, drills, massages occur in very restricted numbers and these too, are associated in people's consciousness with some magic power. The same also holds for practices having outwardly a religious character; in reality, their motivation is likewise magic.

In view of the above facts, O. Acıpayamlı could adhere to the classification proposed by the British ethnologist J. G. Frazer who divided magic into positive and negative, the former then differentiating practices whose aim is to bring information from “others”. In the case of practices followed here, the first group in positive magic includes practices whose aim is to recognize gravidity and the sex of the foetus.

Among “other” practices belong such as were meant to aid conception and such as, on the contrary, were meant to prevent it, the number of the latter being incomparably smaller; in fact, their occurrence was not recorded at all in certain regions of Turkey. Further, these are means reputed with the ability to direct the baby's development — to bestow beauty on it, endow it with favourable traits of character, etc. Numerous practices are meant to ensure a simple, uncomplicated birth. An important role in the practices employed in the care of the newborn is played by water and salt in the function of magic aids, while among those meant to protect the mother and child from the spirit of Al we find also fire, the red colour,

⁸ Marinus, A.: *Les glissements explicatifs dans le folklore*. Bruxelles 1933.

iron, a broom, onion, garlic, etc. Since time out of mind fire figures as the most efficient protective aid against the forces of evil. In the case of the broom, we may presume that a magic power has been assigned to it because it rids the house of impurities. It is not possible unequivocally to determine the motivation associated with red colour. The author is of the opinion that it may be connected with fire, with the red colour of flames.

O. Acıpayamlı has assigned into the class of negative magic, superstitions and customs which a woman should avoid during gravidity, childbirth and childbed.

In the various practices the author then determines whether their motivation involved the principle of relation or of imitation. But such a determination proved impossible in some of them. The practices persist in their original form despite changes in the way of thinking and the culture of a nation, nevertheless, a shift has come into the motivation of certain superstitions and customs. Thinking and feeling of every society become reflected in its magic practices, they influence them. The author illustrates this by the example of two practices, analogous by their initial situation, but diametrically differing in their consequences deriving from motivation conditioned by the societal feeling. The tradition in Turkey holds that if the umbilical cord is thrown into the sea, the child will live in riches, while in France it was believed that such a course would bring about death by drowning to the child. Thus, in the former case the superstition derives from an apprehension of the sea as a symbol of plenty, in the latter water is related to a threatening danger.

In the concluding section of the publication (pp. 135—141), the author summarizes the notions resulting from his study of customs and superstitions surrounding a child's birth on the basis of the psycho-sociological method.

His list of references comprising some two hundred entries of Turkish and foreign authors goes to show that the author had prepared himself thoroughly for the task he undertook. And this is ultimately borne out also by the book itself; the outcome of the author's endeavours is a publication truly comprehensive, bringing valuable factographic material. Another feature deserving appreciation is the running confrontation of the various practices of home provenance with those of other nations. Although a certain schematism is apparent in Roham Acıpayamlı's assessment of the material, he nevertheless arrived at some interesting conclusions.

An unusually rich and still living part of the narrative art of folklore in Turkey is the tale. In recent years, three monograph studies came out from the Atatürk University, devoted to this genre of folk literature, still neglected despite its evident qualities and its quantity. After Saim Sakaoglu, whose monograph was reviewed in *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 15,⁹ also Bilge Seyidoğlu and Umay Günay have collected and classified abundant material from the region of Eastern Anatolia.

⁹ Sakaoglu, S.: *Gümüşhane masalları. Metin, toplama ve tahlil* (Tales from Gümüşhane. Text,

Seyidoğlu's work deals with tales from Erzurum.¹⁰ Making use of the method elaborated by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, the author has classified seventy-two tales, of which he had collected sixty himself and took over the rest from other collectors.

In the Introduction, B. Seyidoğlu mentions that so far no work has appeared in Turkey that would study tales on the basis of methods used by western folklorists. Now, this is surprising. One can hardly understand how a monograph by Saim Sakaoğlu, published at this same Atatürk University already in 1973, could have escaped the author's attention. In the classification of tales from the Gümüşhane Province, Sakaoğlu adhered to the Aa-Th¹¹ catalogue and in comparing motives made use of the typology by W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav.¹²

Bilge Seyidoğlu collected material from September 1965 until the beginning of 1968 and obtained it from eleven women and one man, aged between thirty and seventy years. He recorded their narration on tapes — though this was not free of complications as the women refused to speak into the microphone. The author publishes the texts of the tales in their original form transcribed from the tapes and supplements them with a glossary of dialectisms.

Tale narration is a women's domain ; formerly professional female narrators were to be met with at Erzurum and were known as *masal anaları* ("tale mothers"). While men whiled away their time in coffee-houses listening to popular episodes (*halk hikâyeleri*), a group of fifteen to twenty women would meet at home, who told stories while doing some handwork. This tradition still persists to this day in some quarters of Erzurum.

Stories most frequently told by women are those with a miracle plot in them. But adaptations of popular events too, are current. An episode which takes several evenings for a male narrator to tell, is reduced to a few minutes' when told by a female narrator. For instance, the epos *Köroğlu* which Behçet Mahir, one of the greatest contemporary story-teller did not completely narrate during the entire Ramadan period, took no more than ten pages in a woman's telling.

Antti Aarne has divided tales into three basic classes and these into further

Collection and Analysis). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 298. Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası 1973, XVII + 700 pp.

¹⁰ Seyidoğlu, B.: *Erzurum halk masalları üzerinde araştırmalar. Metinler ve açıklamalar* (Investigation of Folk Tales from Erzurum. Texts and Explanations). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 409. Ankara, Baylan Matbaası 1975, XLIII + 451 pp.

¹¹ *The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography* Antti Aarne's *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* (FFC No. 3). Translated and enlarged by S. Thompson. Folklore Fellow Communications No. 184. Helsinki 1964, 588 pp.

¹² Eberhard, W.—Boratav, P. N.: *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*. Wiesbaden 1953, XI + 506 pp.

subclasses. None of the seventy-two tales studied in this publication falls into Class I, i.e. among tales about animals. Class II — tales proper — includes sixty-one of the tales and the rest belong among anecdotes hence, into Class III. The author's assignment of tales proper into the relevant subclasses, here incorrectly labelled as types, is as follows: A. Fairy tales — 40; B. Religious tales — 2; C. Realistic tales — 19.

In our view, however, tale No. 44 — *Tembel Ahmet* (Lazy Ahmed) which Seyidoğlu has assigned into subclasses, rightly belongs among fairy tales, for a supernatural being — *dev* — is also active in it.

Story No. 46 is an adaptation of one of the episodes in *Köroğlu*, viz. the one portraying a fight between a father and his unknown son.

Some of the texts (e.g. 2 and 3, 51 and 52, 57 and 58) report one and the same event, differing solely in slight, unimportant details. This causes a certain distortion of the results of analysis in the third section of the publication.

Seyidoğlu classifies the motifs of the tales from Erzurum on the basis of S. Thompson's Motif Index.¹³ He found no tales with motifs of Class A — Mythological motifs — nor of Class W — Character peculiarities. Among miscellaneous motifs in Class Z that are difficult exactly to classify, he included closing formulae and schematic numbers. Wherever possible, the author makes reference to analogous motifs in Thompson's Motif Index.

The fundamental work in the research of narrative folklore still is V. J. Propp's *Morfologiya skazki*¹⁴ (Morphology of the Folktale), despite a lapse of more than half a century since its appearance. This book which in many respects has outstripped the structural-typological research in the Western countries and which outlines broad perspectives in the analysis of the tale, is constantly important as attested to not only by numerous reprints in the original and other languages, but also studies of folk tales that apply the method elaborated in it. One of these is also the monograph Umay Günay — *Tales from Elâzığ*.¹⁵

Using the method according to Propp, Günay subjected to a systematic analysis seventy tales that he had collected at Elâzığ — a town some 400 km to the southeast of Erzurum.

In the introductory section of his study, the author justifies the significance of investigating folk tales. In Anatolia, the tale is still a living form which incorporates

¹³ Thompson, S.: *Motif Index of Folk Literature*. 6 Vols. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1955—1958.

¹⁴ Propp, W. J.: *Morfologiya skazki* (Morphology of the Folktale). Leningrad 1928.

¹⁵ Günay, U.: *Elâzığ masalları (İnceleme)* (Tales from Elâzığ. Analysis). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 350. Erzurum, Atatürk Üniversitesi Basımevi 1975, 534 pp. + 2 tabs. Günay in his monograph brings an abridged text of the Morphology of the Folktale on the basis of its English translation which appeared in the U.S.A. in 1970 — the author gives no further bibliographic details.

into it phenomena and concepts from the present times. This is attested to also by the occurrence of words and concepts linked with the penetration of Western civilization into this relatively remote region of Turkey, such as for instance, policeman, cinema, theatre, hotel, taxi, telephone, telegraph, etc.

The first article of the monograph (pp. 17—42) gives a concise review of the methods employed thus far for classifying tales and familiarizes the reader with V. J. Propp's work. Günay mentions here also classification by another Russian scholar, Volkov, who divides tales according to fifteen plots.¹⁶

Pointing out the differences among the various methods, Günay correctly grasped in what resides the primary significance of Propp's work. Propp was the first to recognize that the number of functions in tales is limited regardless of the actors who may occur in unlimited numbers. The fact that the same functions are always repeated in connection with other characters had already been noted by investigators in the domain of myths.

In the second article of the publication (pp. 43—203), U. Günay analyses the texts of the tales according to Propp's method and arrives at the conclusion that there is not one among the seventy tales that would not fit into Propp's scheme of thirty-one functions. It is to be noted that Propp's classification relates to fairy tales. In addition to these last, Günay also analyses eight realistic tales (i.e. Nos 2, 8, 10, 11, 12, 21, 22, and 37) and again none of them falls out of this scheme. However, in the case of seven of the functions, Günay's analysis yielded new variants. There is question of functions VIII, XII, XIII, XIV, XVII, XVIII and XXIX which he completed with eight variants in all.

In the analysis proper, the author includes: 1. narrator's name; 2. wherever possible, classification according to the register Aa-Th and Eberhard's and Boratav's typology (TTV); 3. content interpretation in brief sentences; 4. classification according to occurrence of binary functions. Then follows a determination of the various functions, eventually also of movements. The analysis of each tale is supplemented with its scheme.

On the principle of the presence or absence of binary functions H-I (fight with evil-doer — victory over him, indicated in the original by the symbols Б-П) and M-N (a hard task — its solution; 3-P), Propp determined four classes in the tale. In virtue of this division, Günay has arranged the stories investigated here as follows: I. Plot development without H-I and without M-N: 29 tales; II. Plot development by means of H-I: 9 tales; III. Plot development by means of M-N: 23 tales; IV. Plot development by means of H-I and M-N: 9 tales.

¹⁶ Günay gives only an abridged title and the year of publication of Volkov's work, and for completeness' sake we give the full data here: Volkov, R. M.: *Skazka. Razyskaniya po suzhetoslozheniyu narodnoi skazki*. Tom I. *Skazka velikorusskaya, ukrainskaya, belorusskaya* (The Tale. Investigations of the plot structure of the folktale. Part I. The Great-Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian Folktale). Odessa, Gosizdat Ukrainy 1924.

The number of movements in these tales varies from one to seven, the most frequent being two-movement tales (27). In our view, however, tale No. 2 — *Hırsız padişah* (The Ruler to the Thieves) has not two movements, but only one. As a matter of fact, there is only one evil-doing, viz. ransacking of the ruler's treasury (A⁵). The ruler's sentence over the thieves may not be indicated with the symbol A¹³, although this involves an order to kill, for the order does not stem from the evil-doer, but on the contrary, it runs from the victim of the crime to its perpetrator. This component might be indicated by the symbol I⁵ (killing of evil-doer without a fight: II⁵).

The author observes that to encounter a tale of more than five movements is a rare occurrence indeed. Among the tales from *Elâzığ*, there is one with six and one with seven movements. Five of the tales studied here represent texts comprising more than one tale.

Having determined the common peculiarities of the tales, the author has set up a table permitting conveniently to decipher the structure of the various tales and their comparison. A comparison of the material of all the rubrics permits a study of the transformations and metamorphoses of every single element.

In the closing evaluation of the results of analysis of the tales from *Elâzığ* (pp. 263—270) Umay Günay states that although V. J. Propp had based his method on the principle of similarity, the tales, besides a correspondence and repetition of elements in their structure, also show a surprising variety of forms and viability. Characters in tales owe their heterogeneity to the environment in which they are created, to the customs, superstitions, traditions of a given nation being projected into the tale. These elements enrich the tale, rid it of monotony deriving from its uniform build-up. This imparts a special style to the narration of tales of various nations, that are analogous in their structure. When the topics pass from one nation to another, the receiving nation rejected elements foreign to its tradition and replaced them with its own. In the overlapping of real life with fantasy, each nation expressed man's yearning after peace and well-being with its own symbols.

Umay Günay, through his monograph, well grounded theoretically and exactly elaborated from the practical aspect, has made an important stride in the field of research of Turkish narrative folklore and its laws. We may only wish that many such works be written not only within the Atatürk University, but within Turkish ethnography generally.

The last publication to be discussed here is Ensar Aslan's book on folk poets of eastern Anatolia.¹⁷ It takes contact with the author's discussion on *Âşık Şenlik* of *Çıldır*,¹⁸ of whom we wrote in *Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 15.

¹⁷ Aslan, E.: *Doğu Anadolu Saz Şairleri*. İkinci kitap: (Folk Poets of Eastern Anatolia. Book Two). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 498. Erzurum, Atatürk Üniversitesi Basımevi 1978, 284 pp.

In the Foreword Dr. Aslan observes that the aim of his book is to prevent at least in some measure the values represented by the works of folk poets (*halk şairleri*) falling into oblivion. Since the majority of these poets, who came from the people and created for the people, could neither read nor write, they could not fix their creations in writing. Nevertheless, some written records of episodes from the lives of some of them and their poems have been preserved thanks to the initiative of their fellow citizens who had at least some elementary education.

In the nineteenth century quite a number of very capable folk poets lived and were active in the environs of Kars (200 km to the northeast of Erzurum). A. Aslan's present publication brings data on the life and work of their followers and also their preserved poems.

Recep Hıfzı lived in the period 1893—1918. Despite his short life, he left behind extraordinarily mature poems. His natural lyrics comes close to the work of one of the greatest Turkish popular poets, Karacaoğlu (seventeenth century).

The life of Zülâli (1873—1959) is interwoven with numerous legends concerning his supernatural or extranatural attributes and unusual happenings. Zülâli was educated; he went through the Moslim theological school (*medrese*), later attended an agricultural school in Istanbul, knew Arabic. He was familiar with classical works of Ottoman poetry and strove to imitate them, but without success. But his poems in the popular metre excel by a purity of style and language.

Cemal Hoca (1882—1957), a folk poet, spent all his life as the imam in his native village. In his work, however, he was no pedantic, narrow-minded sanctimonious bigot. Quite the contrary, his poems often turn into a satire of such type of religious leaders. He devoted attention also to social problems of his time. An important place in his works is occupied by love of man and nature.

The work of Sabit Müdâmi (1918—) has been marked by the early death of his mother and an unrequited first love. Beside poetry, he also creates incidents in prose with song inserts which other folk poets like to recite at village weddings and other solemn meetings throughout the whole of eastern Anatolia. Müdâmi himself enjoys the fame of an outstanding narrator of incidents about folk poets from the past.

The publications dealt with in the present study are concerned for the most part with an investigation of folkloric specificities of the eastern regions of Turkey. By their significance, however, they go beyond this local framework, in particular the monographs by Orhan Acıpayamlı and Umay Günay which bring valuable stimuli and also material for a comparative study.

¹⁸ Aslan, E.: *Çıldırh Âşık Şenlik hayatı, şiirleri ve hikâyeleri* (Âşık Şenlik of Çıldır, His Life, Poems and Stories). Atatürk Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 359. Ankara, Sevinç Matbaası 1975, XLV + 451 pp.

BOOK REVIEWS

Lindig, Wolfgang (Ed.): *Völker der vierten Welt. Ein Lexikon fremder Kulturen in unserer Zeit* (Peoples of the Fourth World. A Dictionary of Foreign Cultures of Today). München—Paderborn—Wien—Zürich, Wilhelm Fink—Ferdinand Schöningh 1981. 451 pp.

This attractive and bulky publication has been written by a team of ethnologists listed upon the title page. It may be characterized as a brief encyclopaedia of peoples which have in some way or another managed to escape the mould of our European civilization. However, this definition would not cover all entries included in the lexicon. There are peoples in it which used to be termed "primitive", peoples without written literature, peoples which have not been able to found states of their own. Since some of these characteristics tend to be Europocentric if not offensive, the authors have decided to employ the term peoples of the fourth world.

Understandingly enough, there are some dissimilarities among the particular entries that result from the fact that some of these peoples have been better studied and described than others.

One has to agree with the authors when they state in the Preface that the world public pays almost no attention to the peoples of the fourth world. Thus, it is the task of ethnology to search here for values which have long fallen into oblivion in our civilizational realm. These "marginal" or "relic" peoples are especially important nowadays since they furnish a whole range of varying identities to this increasingly homogenized world of ours. When considering these peoples, we have to think of colonialism, neocolonialism, racial prejudices or even of genocides which mark the Europeans' attitude to these peoples.

The authors are well aware that the title of their book leaves much to be explained; this, however, in no way reduces the value of their survey.

The entries are arranged in the alphabetical order. Their number may be estimated at several hundred, possibly approaching 1000. Altogether there are several types of entries. Most of them are individual (e.g. Botokuden, Karen, Minangkabau), but in addition to them there are also entries describing groups or families of peoples (e.g. Polynesia, Guaraní, Beduin, Indonesia, Algonquin), or even groupings defined territorially (e.g. Oceania, South Africa, East Africa, Northeast Africa).

The entries conform to a common pattern. They contain geographical, demographic and territorial data, information on social organization, ways of life, material culture, religion, degree of incorporation in modern society, important historical events, as well as data specifying their present situation. Alternative names of the peoples are also given where necessary and the entries are concluded with references to literature, with maps and there are also numerous illustrations.

The usefulness of the book is enhanced by a glossary of terms, a bibliography and a list of ethnonyms which are not listed as separate entries.

The status of some entries is questionable, e.g. Moros and Filipinos (p. 251). In such a case, Filipinos should also be listed as a separate entry, even if only for a cross-reference. Somewhat similar is the status of the entry Fellachen (p. 106). Inclusion of the Georgians (p. 114), Armenians (p. 34) and possibly also of some other nations seems to be irreconcilable with the aim of the publication. If the Armenians have been included, perhaps the Jews would also have deserved to be included. Other peoples which should be included here are, e.g., Gypsies, Karaites, Gallas, etc. In addition to a general entry Australians, it would be helpful if Tasmanians, Aranta and some other Australian peoples were described in the book.

These few remarks have not been made here to question the value of the present publication. In spite of minor shortcomings which are inevitable with publications of this type, this book deserves much appreciation not only for its content, but also for its conception. It supplies the readers with a wealth of up-to-date information on many peoples which live, in a way, upon the periphery of our own European civilization and are often ignored not only by the general public, but also by scholars who should pay them more attention than before.

Viktor Krupa

Kolb, Albert: *Die pazifische Welt. Kultur- und Wirtschaftsräume am Stillen Ozean* (The Pacific World. Cultural and Economical Areas of the Circumpacific World). Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag 1981. 388 pp.

The present volume was published on the occasion of the 75th birthday of Professor Albert Kolb who has devoted his energy to the study of the vast Pacific and Circumpacific area in all its complexity.

The Pacific (and Circumpacific) area is the largest natural geographical region of the world and it is far from easy to characterize it in all its complexity.

This volume includes mostly unpublished papers by Albert Kolb, in addition to some extracts from his previous books on East Asia and the Philippines. The Author's aim is avowed to convey his knowledge of the cultural, economic and political features of the Pacific world to his readers.

Kolb's own introduction is followed by a brief survey of the whole Pacific region

(pp. 15—34). The Pacific and Circumpacific area is subdivided into several subregions defined in cultural terms. They are as follows: (1) Continental-European subregion, (2) East Asia, (3) Southeast Asia, (4) Australia and New Zealand, (5) Oceania, (6) Latin America, (7) Anglo-Saxon America. The delimitation of Manchuria and Soviet Far East as a separate subregion (pp. 79—98) is of a more questionable nature since it represents no separate cultural unit.

The individual chapters devoted to these subregions contain complex information including history, culture formation and development, social structure, economics and — where necessary — data on the voyages of discovery and ecology. A good deal of attention is paid by the author to political issues.

The concluding chapter deviates from the overall pattern to which the other chapters conform. It is indicated by its title *Das globale Zeitalter als Herausforderung an die Menschheit* (pp. 359—374). In this chapter, the author interprets the history of mankind as an alternation of evolutionary periods with revolutionary phases and states that we live in such a revolutionary phase that opens a new global era. Having drawn up a short survey of the world history, Kolb proceeds to discuss focal problems of the future. He sees them in a population explosion, limits of the Earth's resources, ecology, dangerous rate of urbanization (especially in the developing countries), etc. One readily agrees with him that these problems can only be solved through the cooperation of all the countries of the world; fortunately enough, the first steps in this direction have already been made.

No doubt, some of Kolb's views will not be found acceptable by those readers who adhere to different philosophical and political principles, but despite this fact one has to admit that his book contains a wealth of information and generalizations which would stimulate further research.

The volume is supplemented with a list of Professor Kolb's publications on the Pacific area (pp. 375—379), as well as a selective bibliography of the Pacific and Circumpacific world (pp. 380—387).

Viktor Krupa

Arakin, V. D.: *Taityanskii yazyk* (The Tahitian Language). Moscow, Nauka 1981. 80 pp.

In his booklet, V. D. Arakin gives a brief description of Tahitian as it is spoken today. The publication, issued in the series *Languages of the Peoples of Asia and Africa*, is destined to a wide public, including linguists, historians, as well as teachers and students of philological faculties.

The Introduction (pp. 9—14) contains information on geography, peopling, history and demography of Tahiti and French Polynesia. In the same chapter, the author characterizes the genetic affiliation of Tahitian and its relations to other

Polynesian languages. He contents himself with classing Tahitian as Eastern Polynesian, without mentioning the subdivision of Polynesian into Tongic and Nuclear Polynesian. Neither does he mention the possibility of further subdivision of Eastern Polynesian.

According to Arakin, Tahiti was discovered by Quiros in 1606. However, it is S. Wallis who is generally regarded as the discoverer of this island (in 1767).

The next chapter deals with phonetics of Tahitian (pp. 14—17). A phonemic analysis of both vowels and consonants is supplemented with basic phonetic data. In Table 1, the glottal stop is missing from the series which includes also *p* and *t* (p. 15). As far as phonotactics is concerned, the author restricts his attention to syllable and a brief characteristics of stress. Data on orthography are useful for practical purposes (pp. 17—18), especially in those instances where the Tahitian alphabet deviates from the phonemic ideal (esp. in loanwords from European languages).

In his chapter on vocabulary (pp. 18—22), Arakin distinguishes four lexical layers in Tahitian, i.e., Common Austronesian, Common Polynesian, Tahitian proper, and borrowings from European languages. Perhaps the number of strata could be increased by including the Oceanic layer. Arakin pays a good deal of attention to borrowings from English and French which are on a constant increase in Tahitian. Neither has he forgotten to include a paragraph on word 'taboo' (op. 23) which has left marked traces in basic Tahitian vocabulary.

Morphology is very sparse in Tahitian and this fact is necessarily reflected in chapters dealing with grammar. Arakin first describes various types of affixation (pp. 24—27), reduplication (pp. 27—28) and composition (pp. 29—30), stating their formal and semantic features. His classification of words into classes is based upon semantic, syntactic and derivative criteria (pp. 31—32). His subdivision of nouns takes into account chiefly formal criteria while that of predicates is semantically motivated. Causativity is regarded by Arakin as another voice, alongside with active and passive (p. 46). This may be questioned by other authors, but there can be no doubt that causativity is closely linked to the category of voice as one way of representing the subject—object relations. Particles are subdivided by the author into nominal (pp. 50—53) and verbal (pp. 53—55); adverbials are given in the form of a list, while conjunctions are subdivided into coordinative and subordinative. These paragraphs represent a transition to syntax which has been discussed very briefly so far. However, in subsequent pages he deals with it fairly extensively (pp. 59—73).

Syntagms are classified into coordinative and subordinative (pp. 59). Having stated that the former occur rarely in Tahitian, the author proceeds to concentrate upon the latter. They are further subclassified with the aid of semantic, functional and partly distributional criteria.

In his description of sentence, Arakin employs terms nominal and predicative verbal groups. The former may include, in addition to the nominal or pronominal

nucleus, also nominal determinatives or indicative, possessive and interrogative pronouns, as well as qualitative predicatives. The predicative group consists of the obligatory predicative nucleus, often preceded by tense-aspect-mood particles and optionally followed by particles with spatial, temporal or modal meaning. It may be extended by adverbials (pp. 65—66). Statements are classified into nominal and predicative sentences. Nominal sentences are subdivided into four subtypes. Predicative sentences, however, would deserve more attention.

Arakin's book is the first description of Tahitian in Russian. The reviewer believes that the author has achieved his aim; his monograph contains information on a relatively little known language which may be found useful by those who are interested in Austronesian languages and general linguistics as well.

Viktor Krupa

Schild, Ulla: *Literatures in Papua-New Guinea* (Literatures of Papua New Guinea). Berlin, Dietrich Reimer Verlag 1981. 232 pp.

The authoress of this volume has spent many years studying literature of Subsaharan Africa, and analogies between Africa and New Guinea have prompted her to turn her attention to the young literature of Papua-New Guinea.

Ulla Schild is interested in the problem of birth of national literature, in motives of its rise, as well as in its general profile and contribution to de-colonialization. Her book may be regarded as a pioneering work in the field, despite the fact that it should be characterized as tentative, especially as far as the introductory survey of oral literature is concerned. No wonder, since the new Pacific state harbours hundreds of tribes, languages and cultures, and this fragmentation is an almost insurmountable obstacle to all attempts at a synthetic approach. To be sure, this fragmentation may be reduced in future due to the process of national and cultural, as well as linguistic consolidation which has been going on for some time now.

The state of Papua-New Guinea is one of the less known areas of the Pacific and that is why the author has included a survey of geography and economics of the country, as well as useful information on the local languages (ca. 1000). This linguistic maze is made somewhat less entangled thanks to the existence of several intertribal languages. The readers will also appreciate remarks on history and the educational system which is one of indispensable preconditions of the rise of written literature. Three facts are typical of the educational system of Papua-New Guinea, i.e. prevalence of mission schools, a relatively low percentage of children attending school (50%), and a considerable variation as to the above percentage (see the introductory chapter, pp. 3—18).

Another precondition for the rise of written literature is an existence of oral

literature. Very little is known of traditional literature of Melanesia in general and of Papua-New Guinea, in particular. It was German and English missionaries as well as ethnographers who started to collect oral literature; native collectors became interested in it as late as the last decade of this century only.

U. Schild's account of traditional literature of Papua-New Guinea is a pioneering survey. She concentrates upon typological characteristics, such as a virtual absence of cosmogony which, however, is compensated for by numerous tales of sun and moon and of cultural heroes. Neither does the authoress omit formal aspects of literature and stressed the remarkable competence of the Papuans in rhetorics and ritual speeches. Other typical features of Papuan traditional literature are, e.g., absence of regular rhythm, presence of alliteration and assonance, onomatopoeia and repetition. None of them are specifically Papuan. Another remarkable feature of the Papuan scene as a whole is the prominence of dramatic elements in local traditional literature which is linked to religious and other rites.

Traditional literature has undergone certain changes under the European influence; these are discussed by U. Schild on pp. 62—63.

Chapters Three and Four deal with modern written literature. Chapter Three (pp. 66—87) describes its rise from 1929 on. In this year, F. E. Williams founded a journal titled *The Papuan Villager*. Although the editor's attitude to the natives was not free from colonialist prejudices, he tried to instigate Papuan creative writing. However, Williams failed in his efforts. A more efficient role was played by the newly founded university. In this connection U. Schild appreciates the activities of Ulli Beier in the years 1967—1971 and 1974—1978 at the local university.

Interestingly enough, literature of Subsaharan Africa is also one of the factors that had an impact upon the young writers in Papua-New Guinea. And what is even more important, literary creation has received state support since 1966. The government founded the Bureau of Literature in 1968 and organized literary competitions, as well as young writers' courses.

Chapter Four (pp. 88—157) describes the development of written literature in Papua-New Guinea from its beginnings till 1975. The authoress has restricted her attention to prose and drama. Lyrics has not been included because of its extraordinary variety which deserves a separate monograph.

Non-poetic production is classified by U. Schild into autobiographies, stories, novels and plays and is discussed in this order.

One of the most interesting and useful features of U. Schild's book is her description of the transition from oral to written literature, in which the following phases are distinguished: (a) writing down traditional literature, (b) modification of traditional subjects and motives, (c) rise of modern written literature as a product of individual consciousness (pp. 89—90). Alphabetization as such is not sufficient, according to the author. Traditional elements in modern literature are motivated more frequently by political, than by literary demands.

As far as autobiographical works are concerned, the authoress stresses that they often focus on childhood reminiscences and are notable for idealization, as well as for didactical tendencies. Short stories often deal with village life, cultural conflicts and city life. So far only one novel has been produced by the local writers, i.e. *The Crocodile* by Vincent Eri. Naturally enough, it includes some features of traditional literature (e.g. lack of time dimension).

In a country like Papua-New Guinea, dramatic production has one advantage over prose and poetry — it reaches also those who cannot read and write. The plays by Papuan playwrights discuss the question of identity, but do not reject European values in their totality. However, characters suffer from insufficient individualization, and action prevails over dialogues.

In her Conclusion (pp. 158—161), the authoress summarizes the goals of her book, enumerates factors leading to the rise of modern literature according to J. R. Clammer, and adds, as another factor, the existence of a personality capable of enhancing literary creation. The book also contains remarks to each chapter, bibliography and three maps.

U. Schild's book is unique in its focusing upon the problems of the rise of a whole literature. Due to this fact, the publication will be appreciated not only by Oceanic scholars, but no doubt also by those engaged in the theory of literature.

Viktor Krupa

Rachkov, G. E.: *Vvedenie v morfologiyu sovremennogo tagalskogo yazyka* (Introduction into Morphology of the Contemporary Tagalog Language). Leningrad, Izdatelstvo Leningradskogo universiteta 1981. 216 pp.

Over the past twenty years or so, Philippine studies in the Soviet Union have made a remarkable progress. Their effectiveness is attested to, besides other works, also by various grammars and dictionaries. The present book is a publication of this kind and fills a gap in the pedagogical field being destined for didactic purposes. The books published so far pursue different goals and some of them discuss particular problems.

This book is divided into fifteen chapters. The first chapter — Word and Its Structure — gives information on the structure of the Tagalog word, word-formation and classification of words. Methodologically, Rachkov's approach is up-to-date and original. Word is the upper unit of the morphological level. The author defines it as a minimum unit capable of fulfilling the function of an utterance. Its analysis is followed by that of morphemes, types of affixes, reduplication and ways of derivation.

Chapters 2—10 deal with particular word classes, i.e. nouns, adjectives, numerals, adverbs, modifiers, verbs, pronouns, modal words and interjections. The description of the individual word classes bears on their general characteristics, followed by

detailed ways of formation of words related to them and their particular grammatical categories. The author lists their lexical, syntactic, derivative and morphological features but does not pay attention to their syntactic properties.

The reviewer hopes that this informative survey will be followed by more detailed studies devoted to various aspects of Tagalog morphology.

The book is intended for students of Philippine studies in the second and third courses, but can also be used by researchers of grammatical structure of languages of the Austronesian family. Unfortunately, the quality of the paper used is rather poor.

Jozef Genzor

Nguyen Khac Vien: *Le Vietnam contemporain (1858—1980)*. Hanoi, Editions en langues étrangères 1981. 332 pp.

Nguyen Khac Vien est un historien vietnamien dont les travaux apparaissent souvent en Europe. Les Editions sociales en France ont publié ses *Expériences vietnamiennes* (1970), son *Histoire du Vietnam* (1974) et *Vietnam, patrie retrouvée* (1977), mais ses ouvrages ont paru dans de différentes versions aussi dans d'autres langues européennes. Quelques unes de ses traductions ont été assurées par des maisons d'édition européennes, d'autres ont paru dans les Editions en langues étrangères à Hanoi.

Son dernier ouvrage, *Le Vietnam contemporain*, examine l'étape très agitée des dernières 120 années de l'histoire vietnamienne pendant lesquelles les Vietnamiens tombèrent en premier lieu sous le joug colonial français et puis, dans une lutte acharnée contre l'impérialisme ont de nouveau gagné leur indépendance et leur unité nationale.

En 11 chapitres et dans un arrangement chronologique, l'auteur présente un coup d'œil général sur les forces motrices et les événements qui caractérisaient les mouvements principaux de l'histoire vietnamienne des temps modernes. Les huit premiers chapitres se recouvrent en leur essence avec les parties correspondantes dans son livre *Histoire du Vietnam*. Le chapitre huit, traitant de la première résistance vietnamienne des années 1945—1954 est enrichi, dans le passage concernant la conférence de Genève, de nouvelles données qui éclairent les attitudes et les motifs égoïstes de la délégation chinoise en 1954.

La pièce de résistance de l'ouvrage réside dans les chapitres 9—11. L'auteur y évalue l'édification des premières bases du socialisme et la lutte contre le néocolonialisme américain au cours des années 1954—1973, l'effondrement du régime néocolonial et les premières années de la République socialiste du Vietnam en 1975—1980. Il montre comment Vietnam, à la suite de la trêve de Genève, devait

fair une décision grave sur son chemin vers le socialisme au milieu de conditions compliquées d'un pays divisé, c'est-à-dire, seulement sur la partie nord du territoire national. Le second obstacle consistait en ce que l'économie vietnamienne était sousdéveloppé. En dépit de tout cela, la conduite vietnamienne prit une décision perspective concernant l'instauration des premières bases du socialisme, qui est devenue la direction principale de l'activité dans les années ultérieures de l'édification et simultanément de la guerre défensive contre l'intervention croissante des Etats-Unis.

Le chapitre neuf lui aussi apporte des informations peu connues sur la détérioration des relations sino-vietnamiennes des années 50. et 60. L'auteur y prête attention aux principes et méthodes de maniement de la vie économique pendant les années de guerre. Il énumère les pertes économiques dues au bombardement américain et montre, comment le régime socialiste a surmonté l'épreuve de guerre. La fin de ce chapitre porte des informations sur le développement culturel des années 1945—1975. Nguyen Khac Vien qui est aussi connaisseur en littérature vietnamienne, dans une revue brève mais compréhensive, y donne une évaluation de la renaissance de la culture traditionnelle et la modernisation culturelle, des résultats d'enseignement et du développement scientifique, comme aussi des succès de la production contemporaine en poésie et prose patriotique.

Le chapitre dixième analyse les causes et le cours de l'effondrement définitif du régime fantoche de Saïgon en 1973—1975. Les déductions que l'auteur en tire sont intéressantes aussi au point de vue de l'étude de la stratégie et des tactiques du néocolonialisme qui a fait de grands — mais en fin de compte vains efforts pour maintenir sur pied le régime de Saïgon même après que les unités américaines d'intervention furent rappelées. L'étude rend bien clair les motifs et le cours de l'arrivée des forces révolutionnaires vietnamiennes que rien ne pouvait arrêter et qui ont vaincu au nom de l'indépendance, de l'unité et du progrès social.

Le dernier chapitre — le onzième — présente une image de la situation et des problèmes d'après-guerre dans la république socialiste du Vietnam unifié pendant les années 1975—1980. Le lecteur a devant les yeux un bilan des conséquences graves de la guerre de destruction américaine comme aussi la procédure réfléchie des autorités pour les surmonter. En vertu d'une connaissance profonde de la psychologie de l'homme vietnamien, l'auteur éclaire les raisons pour lesquelles il a accepté et supporté l'option socialiste. Il exprime de valables notions sur la minorité chinoise au Vietnam et sur le danger d'un hégémonisme chinois qui s'est montré de nouveau par une attaque de grande envergure — quoique sans succès — de l'armée chinois contre le Vietnam en 1979.

Un trait prioritaire de l'ouvrage réside, en premier lieu, dans des connaissances à tous égards dont l'auteur fait preuve quant à la culture, la philosophie et l'économie vietnamiennes, et ensuite dans son habileté à argumenter avec des faits et des chiffres

concrets et en même temps à en déduire des conclusions idéologiques et politiques pertinentes sur les événements, les personnalités et les contingences politiques les plus récentes. Une bibliographie de grande valeur en vietnamien et en langues mondiales est attachée et aussi huit cartes du Vietnam ayant rapport aux problèmes économiques et militaires.

Ivan Doležal

Lindell, Kristina—Lundström, Hakan—Svantesson, Jan-Olof—Tayanin, Damrong: *The Kammu Year. Its Lore and Music*. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Studies on Asian Topics, No. 4, London—Malmö, Curzon Press Ltd. 1982. 191 pp.

The work reviewed here is largely based on the authors' researches of everyday life in a Kammu village in northern Laos. The authors are research assistants at the Department of East Asian Studies at the University of Lund (Sweden). Their concern in this work is exclusively with an ethnic group, the Kammu, forming a separate enclave in northern Laos (Namtha province). Kammu is one of the upland Mon-Khmer languages. Considerable numbers of Kammu speakers are also found in the adjoining areas of Thailand, Vietnam and China. As most upland Mon-Khmer speaking groups the Kammu are hill peasants and live in permanent villages. The cornerstone of Kammu economy is the cultivation of mountain rice. The dry fields yield several kinds of glutinous rice. The Kammu are small farmers who were traditionally ruled by headmen and practised a form of spiritual shamanism.

The book is divided into three separate sections: The Kammu people (by K. Lindell), The Kammu calendar and its lore (by K. Lindell, L.-O. Svantesson and D. Tayanin), Music in the fields (by H. Lundström and D. Tayanin). In the first (introductory) section the history of the Kammu people is sketched and the tribe is placed in its ethnographic and linguistic setting. This section contains also a general description of the Kammu people and of a Kammu village. In the second section, the Kammu calendar is described to show how it is applied to the agricultural cycle and to various folk-beliefs. A linguistic comparison of the Kammu calendar words with those of other East and Southeast Asian languages is given. The third section is devoted to an analysis of the role of music used in ceremonial activities which form an indispensable part of the work during all main events of the farming year. This section is rich in information on the spiritual world of the Kammu and the taboos connected with it. The musical situations are described chronologically as they appear in the Kammu agricultural year — their exact position in time is determined by the agricultural work, by calendar rules and by taboos. The musical activities themselves seem to have been systematically related to the Kammu farming year.

The book has several tables, maps, photos, diagrams and many illustrations, is provided with an ample bibliography, Kammu vocabulary and notes to sections. It is a good analytically designed publication.

Ján Múčka

Hijiya-Kirschnerreit, Irmela: *Selbstentblößungsrituale: zur Theorie und Geschichte der autobiographischen Gattung „Shishōsetsu“ in der modernen japanischen Literatur* (Self-revelation Rites: on the Theory and History of the Autobiographical Genre “Shishōsetsu” in Modern Japanese Literature). Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH 1981. 288 pp.

When reading Dr. Hijiya-Kirschnerreit's first work entitled *Kritische Bemerkungen zur japanischen Literaturkritik* from the year 1974, the present reviewer remarked that it was “truly a remarkable” study. The same could be asserted about the book under review now.

Shishōsetsu (I-novel) (although this genre includes not only novels, but fiction in general) is widely used in modern Chinese literature with an almost eighty-year-old tradition and, in addition, is very popular among Japanese readers principally because it is peculiarly Japanese and adapted to the needs of Japanese psyche.

The book under review is the first of its kind in international Japanology in which details are given on the origins of this genre, the theoretical premisses of its existence, its transformations, its place in the overall systemo-structural entity of modern Japanese literature, its relations to earlier Japanese national literature and, in some measure, also to foreign literatures, in particular to European naturalism, on the results thus far of Japanese literary scholarship and Japanology abroad as investigation in this sphere is concerned.

This book is one of few works in orientalist scholarship which apply with success modern procedures of study primarily from European literary scholarship, especially the so-called “Rezeptionsästhetik” of the German authors W. Iser and H. R. Jaub, of literary semiotics represented by Yu. M. Lotman and U. Eco, of literary structuralism of R. Posner, Tz. Todorov and others. The authoress is familiar with the theory of literary genology as expounded by W. R. Berger and K. W. Hempfer and also of literary comparatistics although here she refers to only a single study by U. Weisstein *Influences and Parallels: The Place and Function of Analogy Studies in Comparative Literature*, from the year 1975.

The genre *shishōsetsu* (often called also *watakushishōsetsu*), the most personal, confessional, even lyrical and irrational kind of modern Japanese fiction (and probably an exception even in modern world literature), originated practically from its very counterpole, from European naturalism, a literary movement that at least in theory insists on an objective “straightforward description” of reality. Typical of *shishōsetsu* is a frank self-expression revealing the most private and intimate

sentiments, feelings of the author and describing the humdrum worries, conjugal quarrels, lack of money and occasionally also a bit of personal happiness. The paradigm of the *shishōsetsu* is the short story by Tayama Katai entitled *Futon* from the year 1907. *Futon* is the Japanese word for “quilt” which together with the smell of sweat, the scent of hair oil and moderately sullied stains, were left to the protagonist by his young girl friend as a “painful recollection of the past days” (p. 34).

The authoress of the book did not take as her aim to study the relations of *shishōsetsu* within an interliterary scope (hence, on the plane of various national literatures). But then, she devoted all the more attention to such relations within the national (Japanese) literature and to further issues, e.g. the share of *shishōsetsu* in modern Japanese literature, its genre characteristic, positive and negative response of critics and its place within the communication system in Japanese literature. Hijiya-Kirschner's critical attitude towards the Japanese literary criticism and scholarship is known. And this attitude is certainly justified for despite the tremendous ability on the part of the Japanese to adapt and become familiar with everything European or American in the domain of sciences and technologies, in the sphere of literature or art, they are far more traditional than would appear at first glance.

The present book contains a great deal of material — Japanese and foreign — which the authoress judges critically, analyses if needs be, comments on it and partially also sorts it out, thus assigning it into the systemo-structural entity of her own work. She takes note also of the reader, not only the Japanologist, but every one interested in self-expressive or self-revealing prose which ultimately is no specific phenomenon uniquely present in Japanese literature, although there it has its peculiar traits. And we must certainly welcome her analyses of Tayama Katai's *Futon* referred to above, of Iwano Homei's *Tandeki* (Indulgence), Chikamato Shuko's *Gowaku* (Suspicion), Shiga Naoya's *Wakai* (Recollections), Kasai Zengo's *Ko-wo tsurete* (With Children), Kikuchi Kan's *Tomo-to tomo-to-no aida* (Between Two Friends), Hayashi Fumiko's *Horoki* (Wanderer's Diary), Dazai Osamu's *Ningen shikkaku* (Disqualified as a Human Being) and Miura Tetsuro's *Shinobugawa*. This last title is identical with the name of a restaurant where a girl called Shino worked whom the protagonist of the story marries. All these works, otherwise carefully selected so as to show the various facets of *shishōsetsu*, point out the properties of the poetics proper to this genre as a literary and communicative subject.

Hijiya-Kirschner devoted much space to certain terms (whether concepts or principles) that *shishōsetsu* employs in common with traditional Japanese literature or art. One such term is the principle of *jitsu* (Chinese *shi*, i.e. *Wahrheit*, truth), another is that of *makoto* (Chinese *zhen* or *cheng*, i.e. *Echtheit*, trueness, genuineness) (p. 128). The *jitsu-makoto* principle is a central one in connection with the ways of thinking and doing in the Japanese culture. In the case of literature, a literary

work, not always but often (and in *shishōsetsu* it is a *conditio sine qua non*), is nothing but a “mirror of the artist’s self-cultivation” (p. 240). But this self-cultivation is something different from what we think under self-realization or self-perfection. It is a self-revelation usually in those spheres to which human being is usually sensitive. E. g. allegedly, already back in the thirteenth century a certain lady at the court wrote a poem about infidelity. However, since she had not been guilty of any, she waited until she did experience it before publishing her poem (p. 243). A principle set in parallel with that of *jitsu-makoto* is that of *riarity* (reality), although it is something different from what is generally implied by this word. It is the reality of the author’s direct experiencing of his personal worries, problems, feelings, happenings, antisocial moods, etc. An antithesis to this principle is *kyo* (Chinese *xu*), empty, false, untrue. The authoress devoted less space to this concept for *shishōsetsu* is directly precisely against it. This is rather a pity, for a study of the binary opposition of *riarity* and *kyo* might have raised, among others, also the question of literary value conditioned, at least up to a point, by the mutual relationship between these two principles. Rather surprising is the strength of Buddhist tradition, very clearly manifest in the principle of *muga* (Chinese *wuwo*, Sanskrit *anātman*), i.e. no-ego, a condition in which man (author and reader) achieves a certain state of equanimity or equipoise which in the case of *shishōsetsu*, is characterized by resignation towards the rest of the world, insofar, of course, as it is not concerned with the closest privacy and existential problems. The latter constitutes the source of literary creation, while everything related to politics and the society does not interest the author, unless he complains of it. A concept related to *muga* is that of *mujo* (Chinese *wuchang*), i.e. impermanence of things and in a certain sense, also that of *mono-no aware*, an expression that W. LaFleur characterizes as “beautiful Pathos” and H. Brower, together with E. Miner as a “deep awareness of beauty of a world in which only change is constant” (p. 140).

On the basis of numerous studies and her own analyses, the authoress presents a characteristic of *shishōsetsu* as a literary genre. This is one of the variations of Japanese fiction standing on two dialectically conditioned and mutually related elements: factuality (*Faktizität*) and focus figure (*Fokusfigur*). As implied in the materials analysed above, the former “designates the relation between the work of literature and pragmatic reality as supposed by the Japanese reader, an agreement in literary communication implying that the work is a direct reproduction of the reality experienced by the author” (pp. 256—257), and the latter “is to be observed in the unity of narrator, hero, and author. The point of view is, most of the time, identical with the perspective of the protagonist-narrator, and the temporal position of narration moves along with the chronological progression of the plot” (p. 257). An important feature in *shishōsetsu* is the fact that the author is not concerned with self-criticism or with criticism of social reality, with efforts at getting rationally even with it, but solely with an expression of his emotional relation to a directly

experienced empirical reality which he encounters in everyday life. Do the majority of works of this genre correspond to the requirements of an artistic moulding of reality when one important factor, i.e. author's fancy or imagination, is completely lacking? The authoress made no attempts to answer this question. *Shishōsetsu* need not be and often is not written in the first person. The main thing is always the narrator perspective. An issue worthy of being studied in future is that of lyrical vision, lyrical expression, typical of *shishōsetsu*. On reading this book, one may presume that the lyrical element has remained very strong in Japanese literature even after the year 1868. Although a transvaluation of genre hierarchy and its changes took place in Japan in the second half of the last century, yet, the fundamental tendencies probably did not undergo such violent changes as, for instance, in modern Chinese literature. This was due to the different socio-political development and the varying demands on literary production in the two biggest countries of the Far East.

The book is supplemented with a very valuable bibliography, an author and a subject index. If there is anything to reproach the bibliography, then perhaps its omission of a very important study: M. Novák, *Watakushi-shōsetsu — The Appeal to Authenticity*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica 2, Orientalia Pragensia II, Prague 1962, pp. 27—43. In addition, Dr. Hijiya-Kirschnereit might have indicated certain important Buddhist terms by their exact Chinese or Sanskrit equivalents. Her book deserves to be read not only by Japanologists.

Marián Gálik

Walker, Janet A.: *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1979. 315 pp.

The Meiji period in Japanese literature represents a tenacious struggle of the traditional with the modern, of a morale drawing support in traditional Confucianism with individualistic conceptions and ideological movements which began to infiltrate into Japan after its isolation of over two centuries. It was a struggle for a new literary language, new means of expression, a new social content and function of literature. This study by Janet A. Walker, Associate Professor of Comparative Literature at Livingston College, Rutgers University, takes as its aim to assess the measure in which the western ideal of individualism affected the development and formation of the new Japanese individual.

The work is made up of two parts, each comprising four chapters. Part One "The Ideal of Individualism and the Meiji Novel" is concerned with the writers Futabatei Shimei, Kitamura Tōkoku and Tayama Katai. These were influenced in a considerable measure by the ideal of individualism, as the authoress documents on their works which significantly contributed to the struggle for the new, modern literature of the stormy Meiji period.

In the introduction to the first part of the book, Professor Walker deals with two problem circuits — a historical survey of the culture of heroes and the question of the ideal of independence to which was initially associated the idea of individualism. She directs attention primarily to an analysis of the cultural and political aspects of the times, namely, to the period of enlightenment and the movement for Freedom and the People's Rights (*jiyū minken undō*).

The first modern novel in Japanese literature is considered to be that by Futabatei — *Ukigumo* (The Floating Clouds). Not merely because it is the first work written in the new, spoken language, but principally because of the realistic description, the psychological treatment and build-up of the principal characters and also the trend of the plot — hence, a majority of elements that were new to Japanese literature. The chapter on Futabatei devotes most attention to the psychological structure of the work as a novel of the individual's inner life, but particularly to the principal character of Bunzō who personifies a new type of hero.

Romanticism was the first literary trend taken over by the Japanese who found there favourable conditions for development. It was marked by a struggle against feudal remnants, by individualism and nationalism. This literary trend found an application mainly in the poetry by Kitamura Tōkoku and Shimazaki Tōson. The discussion in Chapter Three (pp. 62—92) centres on Tōkoku's individualism which was concentrated in the sphere of inner life.

The specific tendencies of Japanese naturalism, i.e. individualism, an autobiographic confession, subjectivism led to the creation of the I-novel (*watakushi shōsetsu*). The first work of this genre is Tayama Katai's *Futon* (The Quilt) which contains elements typical of a subjectively oriented Japanese naturalism. In Chapter Four (pp. 93—120) Professor Walker deals with naturalism and the development of the I-novel, and Katai's *Futon* as the first I-novel.

The first part of the monograph ends in a discussion on Shimazaki Tōson who, probably more than anyone else, has contributed to the new culture of the individual.

Tōson is a characteristic personality of modern Japanese literature and his life, literary production and thinking reflect the development of literary thinking of the entire Meiji period. Tōson himself was influenced by all the principal historical movements, that were related to the ideal of individualism. In the second part of the monograph "Shimazaki Tōson and the Ideal of Individualism", Walker concentrates on the formation of this ideal, its interpretation and expression in Tōson's life and work.

This section (pp. 123—155) opens with Tōson's student years at the Meiji Gakuin and discusses the influence of Christianity, the ideas of Tōkoku and Rousseau on the formation of Tōson's individualism which became reflected in his literary beginnings as a romantic poet, but also in his subsequent prose.

Tōson's transition from romantic individualism to naturalism, his search for a new form of his own expression and his struggle for self-definition, which resulted in his

novel *Hakai* (Breaking of the Commandment) representing a new ideal of the individual, form the subject matter of Chapter Six (pp. 156—193).

The novel *Shinsei* (The New Life) dealt with in Chapter Seven (pp. 194—243), similarly as the novel *Hakai*, is a confessional novel. Professor Walker focuses attention on two circuits of issues: the circumstances that led to the publication of the work, and the principal figure Kishimoto (Tōson himself) who reflects the vision of the modern individual.

The closing Chapter eight (pp. 244—284) treats of Tōson's ideal of individualism and "his related ideals of love, freedom, and confession, in the context of Meiji fiction".

In conclusion, we may state that the work here reviewed represents a valuable contribution to a deeper understanding of the influence of Western thinking on Japanese literature of the Meiji period.

Karol Kufka

Patrie, James: *The Genetic Relationship of the Ainu Language*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1982. 174 pp.

In this monograph the author investigates the genetic status of the Ainu language.

The question of the origin of Ainu has attracted attention of quite a few linguists, and various hypotheses, most of them unsatisfactory, have been postulated concerning the issue. Patrie formulates and tries to prove his hypothesis according to which Ainu is related to Korean, Japanese as well as Altaic languages. In his opinion, Ainu, Korean and Japanese once formed a linguistic unity localized by him on the Asiatic mainland.

Patrie's book consists of five chapters. In Chapter One (pp. 1—14), the author sketches a brief survey of the historical, social, cultural and demographical background of the Ainu people and also summarizes the history of research into the Ainu language.

Chapter Two (pp. 15—55) concentrates upon phonology and phonological evidence relating Ainu to the Altaic languages. Some 140 Ainu lexemes are thought to be of Altaic origin.

In Chapter Three (pp. 56—68) Patrie gathers morphological and lexical evidence in favour of his hypothesis deriving Ainu from Altaic.

In the next chapter (pp. 69—113) the author discusses more than 200 Ainu lexemes which are thought to be of common origin with their Japanese or Korean cognates.

In Chapter Five (pp. 114—123) Patrie endeavours to answer the question whether the similarities discovered by himself are attributable to borrowing or rather to a common origin. The author of the book is inclined to prefer the latter alternative.

Many linguists, even those who would be sceptical about his hypothesis, will appreciate his inclusion of a grammatical sketch of the Ainu language in the Appendix (pp. 124—158). The sketch focuses upon phonology, morphology and word classes, namely of the Hokkaido dialect of the language.

Each chapter is supplemented with notes and there is also a bibliography of works on Ainu (pp. 159—165) comprising close to 100 items, some of them Japanese. There is also an index of Ainu forms in the book (pp. 165—174).

The present reviewer appreciates that the author does not confine his attention to linguistic facts but also analyses the relevant social, cultural and historical background. His conclusions concerning the status of shared elements are very sober and he does not pretend to be able to distinguish borrowings from inherited elements where this is not possible (p. 117). Research in Far Eastern linguistics will no doubt profit from his book.

Viktor Krupa

Koreiskie predaniya i legendy iz srednevekovykh knig (Korean Myths and Legends from Mediaeval Books). Ed. by L. Kontsevich. Moscow, Khudozhestvennaya literatura 1980. 286 pp.

A growing interest in Korean mythology and oral folk tradition has been apparent over the past few years not solely in North and South Korea as such, but likewise abroad. As cases in point mention might be made of the publication of Korean myths and legends in Slovak *Tajomstvá belasého draka* (Mysteries of the Sky-Blue Dragon), Bratislava, Tatran 1978, translated by V. Pucek and J. Genzor, in Czech *Vodopád Devíti draků* (Waterfall of the Nine Dragons), Prague, Albatros 1983, translated by V. Pucek and J. Genzor, in Polish *Pradzieje i legendy Korei* (Myths and Legends of Korea), Warsaw, Iskry 1981, translated by H. Ogarek-Czój, in German *Märchen aus Aller Welt — Korea*, Munich, W. Heyne Verlag 1979, translated by A. Huwe, in French *Contes populaires de Corée*, Paris, P.A.F. 1978 and *Aubergines Magiques — Contes Érotiques de Corée*, Paris, P.A.F. 1980, translated by M. Coyaud and Jin-Mieung Li, etc. Several collections of oral folk traditions translated into European languages have appeared both in Pyongyang and in Seoul.

Pride of place among all these publications goes to the book *Koreiskie predaniya i legendy iz srednevekovykh knig*, edited by L. R. Kontsevich, a Senior Scientific Worker at the Oriental Institute, Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow. In contrast to the majority of the above translations from modern Korean or free paraphrasings, the book under review is truly a scientific translation based on preserved original texts in Korean version of classical Chinese (hanmun).

Myths and Legends are selected from Kim Pu-sik's official history of Three

Kingdoms — *Samguk sagi* (twelfth century), from Iryŏn's unofficial history *Samguk yusa* (thirteenth century) and from official annals of the period Koryŏ — Koryŏsa (fifteenth century). The scientific nature of the publication is underlined by the penetrating Foreword from the pen of the connoisseur of classical Chinese and Far-Eastern literature B. Riftin (*At the Sources of Korean Literature*, pp. 5—34). In it he points out, among other things, some interesting affinities between these myths and the ethnogenesis of the Koreans and sets Korean Myths and Legends into wider relations with the mythology of other nations, especially Chinese and Indian, with myths of nations of Siberia, of Southeast Asia, and others. Of great value for a truly detailed analysis of the original text are also the well-founded, erudite commentaries by the editor L. Kontsevich (pp. 237—281).

The first part of the book — About Founders of States — comprises practically all the known myths and legends about the origin and founders of Korean States and minor State formations, such as Chosŏn, Koguryŏ, Silla, T'amna, Hu Paekche, Hu Koguryŏ, Koryŏ etc. The second part entitled About Brave Men contains known and less known legends about the heroic deeds of Kim Yu-sin and other hwarang (the institution Flower of Youth), narratives about eminent personalities in the cultural life, e.g. Wŏnhyo, Sŏlch'ong, etc. Scores of further episodes in the section About Noble and Dishonourable Rulers, Virtuous Children and Faithful Wives and About Wondrous and Miraculous Things, will familiarize the reader with historical personages and simple heroes, with events coloured with popular fantasy and with many famous places in Korea. They permit him to peep into the inner world of thought of antiquity and into the customs of mediaeval Korean folks, influenced by their naïve ideas about living nature and the world of good and bad deities, spirits and demons. The reader may here follow the ancient notions about totemism and animism and the concepts of Buddhism altered on their long way from India through China or the influence of Confucian morale.

The supplement to the Collection carries a remarkable translation of a versified poem King Tongmyŏng by Yi Kyu-bo from the year 1193 and of the song Ch'ŏyongga from the Koryŏ period. These works show how the original myth about Tongmyŏng, or the legend about hwarang Ch'ŏyong found a continuation in factitious and oral literature in subsequent centuries.

The translators of the various legends are outstanding scholars — Koreanists, like A. V. Trotsevich and M. N. Nikitina from Leningrad, and M. N. Pak and L. R. Kontsevich from Moscow, while the verses were translated by E. Vitkovskii and A. Akhmatova. The black-and-white illustrations are by A. Kostin.

Not only is the translation scientifically exact, it also has a high artistic value. The original text is abridged exceptionally only, omissions are always graphically indicated. In this connection, the decision to omit, e.g. on p. 66 the narration concerning Poyuk's strange dream i.e. about a flood brought on by Poyuk's urination, is rather questionable. True, a similar dream (then interpreted as

a presage of the birth of a child) is related in the legend about prince Ch'unch'u's marriage with Kim Yu-sin's sister Munhi (pp. 83—85). Nonetheless, the inclusion of both versions would provide another example of a frequent taking over motifs and topics from earlier stories.

This outstanding book will be greatly appreciated not only by Koreanists; it will be equally of use to ethnographers, historians and literary scholars in general for comparative studies and also for a deeper knowledge and understanding of the cultural heritage of the Korean nation.

Vladimír Pucek

Grundkurs modernes Chinesisch. Eine Bearbeitung der Bände 1—3 des vom Pekingischen Spracheninstitut herausgegebenen Lehrbuchs „Jichū Hanyǔ keben“ in Pinyin-Umschrift und mit ausführlichen Grammatikerläuterungen von Peter Kupfer. München, Rupprecht Mayer Verlag 1981. 345 pp.

Bislang habe ich als Sinologe nicht geglaubt es sei möglich die Grundlagen des zeitgenössischen gesprochenen Chinesisch (dabei denke ich an einen außerhalb des chinesischen Milieus lebenden Menschen) ohne das Studium der chinesischen Schriftzeichen zu erlernen. Die Erfahrungen z.B. der Lektoren, die bei der Deutschen Stiftung für internationale Entwicklung in Bad Honnef (BRD) seit 1980 wirken, zeigen jedoch, daß dies doch möglich sei. In deren Lehrgängen wird ausschließlich auf der Basis der Pinyin-Umschrift unterrichtet und die Ergebnisse beweisen, daß die Studenten bereits nach kurzer Zeit bemerkenswerte Resultate aufweisen.

Auf Grund der eigenen Erfahrungen, sowie der Anregungen, die er seitens der Studenten der Sinologie am Fachbereich für angewandte Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Mainz in Gernersheim erhalten hat, entschloß sich Dr. Peter Kupfer für eine solche Bearbeitung der Bände 1—3 von *Elementary Chinese Readers*, Peking 1980, das als „Begleitmaterial zur chinesisch-englischen Originalfassung, das den Chinesischunterricht an Volkshochschulen, Universitäten... unterstützen und effektiver gestalten soll“ (S. 3) dienen und gleichzeitig ein „selbständiges Lehrbuch für alle Interessenten, die sich kurzfristig, z.B. als Vorbereitung für einen Aufenthalt in China... in der gesprochenen Sprache verschaffen wollen, ohne sich von Anfang an der zeitaufwendigen Beschäftigung mit der chinesischen Schrift widmen zu müssen“ (ibid.) bilden könnte.

In 59 Kapiteln ermöglicht das Buch dem Studenten sich mit ungefähr 1000 Wörtern vertraut zu machen, die nebst Aussprache und mit Grundlagen der Grammatik der modernen gesprochenen chinesischen Sprache bereits eine solide Basis für Verständigung darstellen.

Der *Grundkurs modernes Chinesisch* stellt den größeren Teil jenes Lehrstoffes dar, den die ausländischen Studenten vor Beginn ihres Studiums an den Hochschulen der VR China bewältigen müssen. Als bewährtes Sprachhilfsmittel könnte dieser Kurs seine Anwendung nicht nur im Bereich der deutschsprachigen Länder, sondern auch unter den Interessenten anderswo in Mitteleuropa finden, wo das Deutsche noch immer zu den mehr oder weniger vorherrschenden Weltsprachen zählt.

Marián Gálík

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

The book by Mr. Link is the very first one in world sinological literature, not excluding scholarly studies by Chinese authors, to deal with the popular and usually best-selling Chinese fiction in Chinese cities between 1910 and 1930 although it also includes its beginnings from the end of the last century and even the recent output from the year 1979. The latter is discussed in a chapter entitled Afterword, pp. 236—248.

The most comprehensive chapter in the book is the Introduction a major part of which was already published in a book edited by M. Goldman and entitled *Modern Chinese Literature in the May Fourth Era*. Harvard University Press 1977 (see *Traditional-Style Popular Urban Fiction in the Teens and the Twenties*, pp. 327—349). These pages present in a nutshell the essence of the book under review.

The reader is advised here not to skip the following second chapter, and especially its third part called The Romantic Route. This “route” represents in reality the “physiology” of the most widespread and the best-known stories of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies fiction — love stories. The six stages of this “route”, i.e. extraordinarily inborn gifts, supersensitivity, falling in love, cruel fate, worry and disease, and lastly a destruction, embody the paradigm of this genre connected by the umbilical cord with fiction of past ages, but also with a literature having quite a different programme orientation, i.e. with works of writers of the May Fourth Movement, for instance, Huang Luyin. The concept of “feeling” (*qing*) is one of the most important in traditional Chinese literature and although it is not being specially stressed, also in modern Chinese literature. Insofar as fiction of the kind analysed here is concerned, these are always feelings that can be termed “sentimental”. Their repertoire (we have in mind especially love stories) is explicitly asthenic and passive. Perfect love (*zhi qing*) is a type of even absolute platonic love without any admixture

of bodily desires (*rou yu*), any form of body contact being, of course, out of the question. Face-to-face meetings of these lovers are exceptional. For instance, in one of the most famous novels, *Jade Pear Spirit* (*Yuli hun*) by Xu Zhenya, the two supersensitive (*duoqing*) lovers Mengxia and Li Niang met only twice in their life. Into the images of the various heroes, especially the principal ones, the author put his conviction of a so-called ethico-natural parallelism which meant that the physical environment of the person was continuous with its moral environment. In conformity with the so-called psycho-natural parallelism which, in the view of Confucian ideologists reflected the state of the cosmic order unifying the world of men and of nature, the ethico-natural parallelism was an expression of an ethic and physical unity of the depicted characters. For example, the widow was ready to lay down her life for chastity. Sentiments in these works are practically completely subordinated to Confucian morals, ideological demands and since they refer to neither any life nor any political engagement, they exerted no active influence on the socio-political establishment and even less so against it. This, however, applies also to the remaining genres of the literature of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies.

The measure of Westernization, typical of the better known and better studied literature of the May Fourth Era, is totally negligible in the literature of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies and is primarily concerned with the so-called testing of “new style” ideas, i.e. free marriage, new education, small family, widow remarriage, divorce, etc. It was more or less a sophisticated play with these new ideas against the background of the old *Weltanschauung* and served a negative “unmasking” of these ideas, e.g. new divorce which was condemned “as something unnatural, something extraneous to any responsible social system” (p. 225), although on the other hand, the old-style divorce according to traditional Chinese customs “was seldom even mentioned as the same issue” (loc. cit.). The same also applies to lawyers and their practical role in law-suits. The Chinese could not understand how any one can respectfully live on earnings proceeding from such an employment. Where this subconscious aversion against this extremely important institution in the modern world led, could be witnessed particularly in the period 1957—1976.

Taking contact with the investigations by Professor Leo Lee in his book *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers*, Harvard University Press 1973, Mr. Link is a scholar who has reconstructed for our benefit the “popular” part of the Chinese “literary scene” (*wentan*) and has briefed us fairly thoroughly with the beginning of modern printing in Shanghai, with the modern newspapers and journalist activities there, which, although only partially related to the topic of the book, draw credit on the author for their scientific processing.

Another of the author’s merits is that in this book he has thrown light on a practically unknown domain of Chinese literature from the end of the Qing dynasty and the subsequent two to three decades. It served for “idle amusement” or

time-killing, even profit and became far removed from the original mission of the new fiction which was defined as “nation-building” by Liang Qichao, the first theoretician of the Chinese novel of modern era and an eminent predecessor of modern Chinese literary criticism. Link has thus completed the picture made by Chinese and foreign scholars following up serious writings whether by authors from the May Fourth Era or of the Anti-Japanese War.

This reconstruction of the history of Chinese literature of the Mandarin and Butterflies groups shows us that in addition to conservatism, it was also characterized by a total deficiency of literary criticism, without which we can hardly imagine any literary activity in modern times. If any “would-be” critical articles appeared at all, they were usually comments and praises *ad invicem*. These writers did not even strive after “high art”, for they had entirely different ends in view from their serious colleagues, viz. to provide comfort, while away the time (*xiaoxian*) and to pursue interest (*quwei*) or commercial profit.

We learn much in the book under review on the authors and their readers, hence, on the sociology of this literature, about the life-styles of the writers, their biographies, the basic poses they adopted, like that of the “genii of the foreign mall” (*yangchang caizi*), or the “Bohemians” (*mingshi*), about their associations, social life often connecting with brotheling, etc. Their readers were mostly petty bourgeoisie: clerks, primary school students, small merchants, housewives; the latter are mentioned in connection with the feminist question, but it should be noted that fiction destined to women as also theoretical questions relating to women’s emancipation, were written by men, for in the groups of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies there were no women, and if there were, then only as exception, but none was pointed out by Mr. Link.

The book has an appendix listing magazines of fiction of the 1910s, photographs of the eminent writers of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies, a very accurate and useful glossary, a bibliography and an index. A certain drawback of the book is its inner set up giving in places an impression of repetitiveness of facts already stated. Further, the author might have judged the literature of the Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies in connection with “mass literature” and also compared it typologically with the European “*fin de siècle*” literature.

Despite the above remarks, this book is a must with everyone acquainted with standard works by Chinese and foreign authors devoted to the history of the new Chinese literature. With its aid, the reader will become acquainted also with the other side of the coin, unknown so far, or deliberately concealed.

Marián Gálik

Kubin, Wolfgang—Wagner, Rudolf G. (Eds): *Essays in Modern Chinese Literature and Literary Criticism*. Bochum, Studienverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer 1982. xx + 437 pp.

The present volume brings a selection of papers read at an International Conference on Literature, Literary Theory and Literary Criticism in the People's Republic of China (PRC), organized by the East Asian Institute of the Free University of Berlin-West, September 18 through 24, 1978.

The importance of a serious investigation of literature, theory and criticism of the PRC is today quite evident and generally recognized. In the PRC, all literary phenomena are closely linked with and related to the political and ideological situation, they are its authentic reflection and often anticipate its changes and new aspects. Although works of Chinese contemporary literature are to be studied primarily as such in their own right, as literary artifacts, it is simultaneously imperative that this literature be followed also in its broader socio-political implications, as shown also by the essays published in this volume. The results of research in this field — the book under review is an excellent example — thus become interesting, instructive and stimulating not only to professionals in Chinese literature and to comparativists, but likewise to scholars of further specializations involving contemporary China.

The first scholarly attempts at researching the literature of the PRC in the Western countries were papers by American and English Sinologists read at a conference held in 1962 and published in *China Quarterly*, 13, 1963, and also in book form in Birch, C. (Ed.), *Chinese Communist Literature*, New York 1963. It appears that until then, this literature had been consistently followed only in the Soviet Union and sporadically in the other European socialist countries. Since the sixties, a considerable amount of work has been done in this field of research, yet all this falls far short of the mark. Many authors, works, ideas and aspects in Chinese literature and literary criticism of the PRC, but also of the Yan'an period in which the foundations of contemporary Chinese literature were laid, still wait to be investigated. Some of these blank spots are being filled in by the book under review.

The conference in Berlin was attended by twenty-four Sinologists from nine countries of Western Europe, the U.S.A., Canada, Japan and Australia, who presented twenty-two papers (a report on this conference was published by J. Berninghausen in *Modern Chinese Literature Newsletter*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1978, pp. 20—36). The present book comprises the texts of fourteen of these papers. Some of them are published here in an evidently enlarged format against the original texts presented at the conference (cf. Notes of W. J. F. Jenner's paper, or paper by R. G. Wagner who, as he observes, has significantly revised and enlarged his paper). In the present volume we have an opportunity of reading through carefully elaborated and fully documented essays.

The editors have divided the essays into two parts: Essays in Contemporary Chinese Literature (eight papers) and Essays in Contemporary Chinese Criticism (six papers). All the fourteen essays usher in very weighty problems, raise and for the most part also answer questions of an essential significance, and several of them are methodologically highly advanced and stimulative, challenging even. The largest number of essays in the first part of the book are those treating of fiction. Research of poetry is not here represented and neither is the theory of poetry in the PRC dealt with in the second part. This remark is a mere statement of fact and is not meant in the way of censure.

Two of the essays are an original contribution to our knowledge of the literary situation and literary production of the Yan'an period. By methodologically advanced analyses of Ding Ling's short stories from the years 1940—1942, Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker documents the social function of writer and literature of that time. The essay by D. Holm provides new insights into the process and content of the literary rectification campaign, makes a detailed analysis of the postulates and debates at the time of the Yan'an Forum in 1942, of essays from that period, particularly those by Wang Shiwei, and of their response.

The first part of the book comprises several fine analyses of literary works. W. A. Lyell has chosen early fictions published between 1938 and 1947 by Yao Xueyin, author of the famous historical novel *Li Zicheng* from 1963, and concentrates on specific traits in his writings. J. Beyer discusses descriptions of rural life by the prominent writer Zhao Shuli and his contemporaries. Pride of place in his essay goes to Zhao Shuli's novel *Sanliwan* and to the film script *Lovers Happy Ever After*, written according to the novel by Guo Wei in the mid-fifties, and its criticism. Two novels — *Bright Sunny Skies* and *The Road of Golden Light* — together with their author's personal development — by the best known writer of the first half of the seventies Hao Ran, form the subject matter of the essay by Wong Kam-ming whose detailed analysis is focused not only on the content of Hao Ran's work, but likewise on his creative procedures. Interesting new insights are to be found also in the essay by M. Doleželová-Velingerová, dealing with the novel from the early seventies — *The Bright Red Star* by Li Xintian. Through an analysis of the composition, mode of narration and further structural and stylistic features of the novel, the authoress brings out the underlying affinity of this novel — ideologically tributary to its times — with Chinese traditional military romance. One of the masterpieces in the present book is also the next essay by W. Kubin on problems of women's amorous life, as reflected in Chinese literature. On the example of Xi Rong's short story *Unexceptional Post* from the year 1962, the author confronts the underdeveloped, pubertal behaviour of an otherwise emancipated, 26-year-old female physician in the province, with differently motivated problems of Ding Ling's Sophia, described in her *Diary of Sophia* from the year 1928. He puts the amorous failure and passivity of

Xi Rong's heroine into relation with the sexual policy prevailing in contemporary Chinese society and literature.

The second part of the book carries two essays on literary criticism in the mid-fifties. L. Ragvald, an excellent connoisseur of Ya Wenyan's criticism, in his essay abundantly documented by excerpts from Yao Wenyan's articles from the years 1956—1959, shows Yao's cautious part in the liberalizing trends of 1956 and his transition to dogmatic views and criticism during the time of the anti-rightist campaign. The next essay, by R. G. Wagner focuses on the character of the writings and criticism of two of the most prominent victims of the Anti-rightist campaign — Liu Binyan and his feature stories, and on Wang Meng and his short story, all published in 1956. He makes a careful comparison of these works with those of the Soviet authors V. Ovechkin and G. Nikolayeva. This essay goes on to analyse also further aspects of literary criticism of this period, such as the conception of realism, Qin Zhaoyang's theory and Zhou Yang's criticism. This constitutes an interesting and valuable contribution to the study of this complex period in Chinese literature. The different, though not less exciting, period of 1977—1978 is discussed by M. Loi. The authoress speaks of the revaluation of the cultural campaigns and literary theses of the preceding decades, particularly of that of the "Cultural Revolution" and carefully follows up the ongoing (not completed as yet in autumn 1978) rehabilitations. This essay gives a report on the then situation and raises questions, several of which have been answered in the meantime.

Part one of the present book contains two essays dealing with the broad issue of the theatre and literature. In a historical perspective, B. Eberstein analyses the ways of traditional opera and spoken drama in the present times, points out specific factors of their development, particularly of spoken drama, and discusses several contrary tendencies that have marked the simultaneous evolution of both these genres of Chinese theatre. W. Y. F. Jenner poses himself a provocative question, viz. whether "modern" literature with the qualities of "literature" is at all possible in contemporary China. He speaks here also of several less known literary works, and considers Fang Ji's short story *The Caller* from the year 1958 as an unsurpassed peak in contemporary Chinese literature. He gives an answer to his more or less rhetorical question regarding the possibility of producing modern literature in the PRC especially in his Postscript in terms of a cautious optimism.

Maruyama Noboru, who wrote the first essay in the second part of the book, picked an interesting topic — that of appraisal of literature, or literary criticism of the thirties in the PRC, which he also critically reappraises. He analyses the different approaches to this issue in the PRC in four time periods. The volume is concluded by the shortest, but very interesting essay by V. Klöpsch on the reception of Chinese classical poetry in China in the late seventies, which he discusses principally on the example of an assessment of two poems by Lin Zongyuan and Han Yu.

The book under review, which is the fourth volume of the series *Chinathemen* (China Topics) and the first published in English, carries an Introduction by the editors and information on the contributors.

Alongside the diversity of topics, the collection of fourteen essays also reflects unequality of the authors' scholarly background, divergence of methodological approaches and also a variety of the authors' political views. This colourful heterogeneity is not detrimental to, but rather a priority of this book — of course alongside its principal primacy, viz. the high scientific standard of the majority of the essays. A publication of two-thirds of papers read at a very interesting conference is a meritorious and much needed act. This book will prove instrumental in pushing in a considerable measure research in this field forward. It reveals several possible ways of investigating contemporary Chinese literature and literary criticism and, it is to be hoped, will inspire scholars towards a deeper research into Chinese literature, literary theory and literary policy since the Yan'an period down to the present times.

Anna Doležalová

Goldblatt, Howard (Ed.): *Chinese Literature for the 1980s*. The Fourth Congress of Writers and Artists. Armonk—New York—London, M. E. Sharpe, Inc. 1982. xviii + 174 pp.

The Fourth Congress of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles held in Peking October 30 through November 16, 1979 after a lapse of nineteen years following the Third one, undoubtedly constitutes a highlight in Chinese literary and art movement in the post-Mao Zedong period.

Right on the first day, the 3,200 odd writers and artists attending the congress recalled the memory of over one hundred of their colleagues who had died as a result of political persecution during the intervening years. As might be expected, discussions at the congress of the Federation and its affiliated organizations dealt with many humanly complex problems and carried a strong emotional charge. Among those present were prominent personalities of Chinese literature and art, bearing physical marks of tortures. In several cases, former critics met there with the now rehabilitated targets of their ideological critique. The congress was attended not only by victims of "Lin Biao and the Gang of Four" (their number from the ranks of writers and artists in the indictment at the trial at the turn of 1980—1981 amounted to more than 2,600 persons), but also by a numerous group of "rightists" persecuted since 1957, and even by people criticized even earlier. Many of them spoke in their speeches about their own personal experiences and feelings and said many a warning word regarding the fate and outlooks of Chinese literature and art.

The well-known Sinologist and assiduous translator of modern Chinese literature Howard Goldblatt, Associate Professor at San Francisco University, together with

further eleven Sinologists, has translated in the present book sixteen speeches by eleven writers, the featured address by Zhou Yang, and a Congratulatory Message by Deng Xiaoping. This selection comprises literature represented by Mao Dun (died in March 1981) and Xia Yan, through middle age writers, down to the youngest writers represented here by Liu Xinwu. Alongside the best-known fictionists from the pre-Liberation era, such as Mao Dun, Ba Jin, Xiao Jun, the editor has included also speeches by the most famous former "rightists" Wang Meng, Liu Binyan, Bai Hua, as also those by Chen Dengke, Ke Yan and Liu Baiyu, criticized and silenced during the "cultural revolution". Although authors of fiction predominate in this selection, also a poetess, dramatists, scriptwriters, authors of feature stories, as also the influential theoretician and official Zhou Yang are represented in it.

By November 1979, Chinese literature and art had behind them a two-year period of an interesting development during which not only numerous works of the so-called "scars" literature and art had appeared and been staged, but also several daring "exposures of the darkside" in the present social life had been written. Nothing was reproached to these works at congresses of the Federation nor of its affiliated organizations. Not only writers and artists sharply criticized in their speeches the deformations in the cultural policy of the preceding decades and certain unremedied, persisting deficiencies, but also Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Yang proclaimed a new cultural policy affording considerable freedom to authors in their choice of topics, methods of presentation, and condemned administrative interferences in literary and art work. Much of what was said at these meetings was shocking and emotional, but also of an essential nature relating to literature and art, very daring and encouraging. And much of what was said and promised here, was subsequently fulfilled in a considerable measure. No persecution of authors took place again, nor was there any crude, inconsiderate intervention into literary and art work any more. But several explicit proposals and visions became "regulated" by the so-called "Bai Hua Incident" fifteen months later.

With the exception of the addresses by Zhou Yang and Chen Dengke, parts of which were omitted (these omissions are marked by ellipses), the texts of the speeches were translated in extenso in the form in which they had been published in journals or in two anthologies. The original sources are always given. As the editor notes in the Preface, no attempt has been made to render the translators' styles uniform. It is beyond the means of a reviewer from a non-English speaking area to judge how far the translators have succeeded in rendering the divergent styles of the originals, but the name and translator authority of Howard Goldblatt are a guarantee of good-quality translation. Evidently, only the "almost unreasonable deadlines" under which — as the editor writes in the Preface — many of the translators had to work were the cause of some insignificant shortcomings. I have in mind, for instance, the lack of unity in the title of Liu Binyan's feature story differently translated by Betty Ting and by John Bayer, or rather rare, yet to be met with, omissions of part of

a sentence (cf. e.g. the third paragraph on page 14 in *Wenyi bao* 11—12, 1979 and p. 23 of the present book in an otherwise perfect translation of Zhou Yang's speech).

Howard Goldblatt is also the author of the informative Introduction in which he characterizes not only the various speeches, but also the overall situation prevailing in the Chinese literary and art sphere before, during and especially in the two years following the November 1979 Congresses. He rightly sees the post-congress situation as more positive compared with the past, but points out also certain limiting moments deriving particularly from Hu Yaobang's speech in September 1981. And it is evidently through a misprint that the anti-rightist campaign is dated in the Introduction — p. xiii — as taking place in 1956, instead of 1957.

Supplementary notes on authors, translators and the editor provide useful information.

The Fourth Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists and conventions of its affiliated organizations will remain a lasting event in the Chinese world of literature and art of post-Mao Zedong era. An English translation of the most important and most characteristic speeches presented here is a meritorious and useful achievement and credit for it goes to Howard Goldblatt and his team of translators. Up to now, non-Sinologists had access to only a few shortened translations and notes published in *Beijing Review*, or in *Chinese Literature*, and exceptionally in *China Report* (Joint Publications Research Service). Through the publication of this book, English-reading non-Sinologists now have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the most important ideas and atmosphere of the congresses of Chinese writers and artists — this important document of the intellectual history of contemporary China.

Anna Doležalová

Hua Da (bian): *Zhongguo minban kanwu huibian, diyi juan* (*Documents of the Chinese Democratic Movement. Volume 1*. Edited by Claude Widor). Paris—Hong Kong, Editions de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales — The Observer Publishers 1981. 789 pp.

This is the first of six or seven volumes, planned to be published, of articles, essays and minor literary forms that were posted on the so-called Democracy Wall in Peking or unofficially published between October 1978 and December 1979 in the People's Republic of China.

In the volume under review the following materials are reproduced: the journal *Tansuo* (Exploration) with its appendices *Minzhu qiang* (Democracy Wall) and *Renmin luntan* (The People's Tribune), further *Zhongguo renquan* (Human Rights in China) and the publications of *Qimeng she* (Enlightenment Society) and *Jiedong she* (Thaw Society).

Of most interest to students of Chinese literature are the last two publications, for they indicate the spirit of the "literature of the scars" then being created and

published in official journals, newspapers and collections. As reviewer, I was rather struck by a short essay in which the author under the pseudonym Shan, recollects the well-known Augean stable with 3,000 oxen from Greek mythology, and states that in recent China, beginning with the so-called Anti-Rightist Movement of 1957, through the Great Leap Forward in 1959, up to the fall of the Gang of Four in 1976 (otherwise spoken of as a “feudal-fascist dynasty”), as many problems have accumulated as “the hairs of an ox” and the heap of “dung” in it could be compared to a high mountain (p. 727). The mythological topic is strongly represented in both the publications. Such are, for instance, two poems from the first issue of the journal Enlightenment called *Huoshen jiaoxiang shi* (The God of Fire — Symphonic Poems). Their hero is Prometheus who having stolen fire from the gods, gave it to mankind and thus created conditions for its further development. Mythological poetry is also evident in the views of the author of a cycle of poems called *Xin shixue* (New Poetics) published in No. 3 of the journal Thaw. In the poem entitled *Ren* (Human Being), the author enters the Athenian Parthenon (which he erroneously calls Pantheon) and expresses his admiration to Venus, to Pallas Athena born of Zeus’ forehead, to Mona Lisa, to the principle of the Reason, to the birth of man who is to perfect himself with the aid of an adequate self-realization. The mission of the poetic art according to this “new poetics” is to strive after *guangming*, i.e. beautiful future with the aid of *jielu heian* i.e. revealing the dark sides of reality (p. 775); the poet should resemble Noah from the *Old Testament*, who saved members of his family in the ark, birds and beasts of the earth, from certain death in the days of the Deluge.

He sees his ideal of a poet in Vergil, Dante, Milton, Pushkin, Whitman, Tagore and in the contemporary Chinese poet Ai Qing (1910—).

It might be useful to note that Volume 6 of this publication will include an anthology of short stories, poems, scripts, essays in literary and artistic criticism that appeared in connection with the movement being analysed.

Marián Gálik

Langlois, John D., Jr. (Ed.): *China under Mongol Rule*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1981. 487 pp.

This book is the product of a research conference held at Bowdoin College’s Breckinridge Public Affairs Center in York, Maine, in 1976, with the exception of the paper by Professor Herbert Franke of Munich.

It consists of the *Introduction* by the editor and four parts concerned with the institutions, thought, foreigners, art and literature under Mongol rule in China.

On 18 January 1272, the dynasty founded by Khubilai, grandson of Chingis Khan,

was given the name Yuan. This name was derived from the idea of *qianyuan* (the original and creative force) to be found in the Chinese classical *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*). The foreign usurping power sanctioned itself and ruled over a part, later over the whole of China until the year 1368. As to the dynasty itself — a series of successive relays — it may be rightly characterized as a chain of “assassinations, coups d’état, enthronements of youthful incompetents, fratricides and domination by non-Chingissid warlords” (p. 7). Otherwise, this is a period that will still for long be an object of investigations before its true image, so often distorted in Chinese official historiography, covered over with a thick deposit of untruths or half-truths, written through the angle of vision of the most diverse prejudices, appears on paper. The Mongols were conquerors, they ruled in China with unlimited sway and enriched themselves. The question is, however, how far it is correct, when characterizing their domination, to employ negative signs only. Deeper insights into the economic, judiciary, religious and literary-artistic history of this dynasty reveal that the traditional view will have to be corrected in many respects or at least be brought into serious doubt.

Morris Rossabi in his paper *The Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty* presents clear evidence that those responsible for the hated economic policy during the Mongol domination in China were, in a large measure, Muslims from Central Asia and from the Middle East. They were the primary planners but also the enforcers of this policy, for the Mongols, for the most part illiterate or uneducated, were ignorant in economic or financial matters. But as the tax collectors, the Muslims earned the hatred of the Chinese.

Herbert Franke in his paper *Tibetans in Yüan China* made a case of the atrocities, corruption and bad behaviour of the Lamaist monks from Tibet, and Stephen H. West in his contribution *Mongol Influence on the Development of Northern Drama* pointed to at least an indirect yet positive share in the creation of Chinese drama of the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. Indirect share here means approximately that the Mongols took part in the whole process only as some sort of patronage; otherwise, Mr. West, taking over the view of the Japanese scholar Yoshikawa Kōjirō from his book *Yuan zaju yanjiu* (Studies in Yuan Northern Drama) states that Mongols’ interest in “administrative, nonscholarly skill” resulted in that “writers gained the freedom to explore non-traditional forms of literature” (p. 442). The lack of any ideological control had for result an unusually high artistic development of a genre that had only a present, although it was not without artistically cognate models in the past two to three centuries.

Papers that may be considered as contributing to the study of the history of the Mongol Dynasty in China are that by Hok-lan Chan, *Chinese Official Historiography at the Yüan Court: The Composition of the Liao, Chin and Sung Histories*, which may be taken as a continuation of his book *Chin Historiography*, Munich 1970, and that by David M. Farquahar, *Structure and Function in the Yüan Imperial*

Government where the author shows that the Mongol rule was not quite so centralized as is generally assumed and that "the Ming and Ch'ing epochs embody a greater tendency toward centralization, autocracy and bureaucratization" (p. 54) than Song or Yuan. This appeared to be dangerous especially later, and the regional forces brought down the dynasty.

From the contributions to the intellectual history, those are interesting where the phenomenon of the so-called *yimin* (compulsory eremites), people who did not collaborate with the new régime is illustrated.

This book helps in a considerable measure to enhance the existing knowledge of the Mongol conquest of China and deserves the attention of scholars.

Marián Gálik

Hu Sheng: *Imperialism and Chinese Politics*. Beijing, Foreign Language Press 1981. 332 pp.

Imperialism has deeply affected modern Chinese history, and its role has been the subject of numerous foreign and Chinese publications. Hu Sheng's study, as one of the most recent Chinese works on this topic, appeared some time ago in the PRC in English with the design to acquaint the international professional public with China's standpoint towards the policy of world imperialism towards China. The author takes support in the relatively extensive reference material from Chinese sources used in the compilation of this book, but he also quotes Western, mainly American literature.

The work is divided into 6 chapters and covers the period from 1840 until 1924. The chapters of the first half investigate three stages spanning some 20 to 30 years each; in the second half, the chapters are devoted to shorter periods of a few years which, however, were crowded with weighty events.

The author starts his exposition with the Opium War. But even before that he explains in brief China's relations with foreign powers prior to the war and reflects on the causes for which the Qing government was intensifying its policy of seclusion. He insists that the Chinese people originally had no anti-foreign prejudices but that these appeared as a result of aggressive imperialist wars and also of the tactics on the part of feudal Qing rulers. He devotes considerable attention to the motives and the course of the Taiping Uprising which had far-reaching repercussions on China's relations with foreign powers and its defeat opens a long stage of cooperation of Chinese feudalism with foreign imperialism.

In Chapter Two the author refutes the myth of "regeneration" following the suppression of large popular risings. He adds that in reality this was a stage of

consolidation of an imperialist control over China. In this he draws support in the view of Chinese and also objective American historians. At this time the Chinese diplomat Li Hongzhang formulated political tactics of “playing off one power against another” which came to be one of Chinese traditions and which has not disappeared from the consciousness and the diplomatic arsenal of present-day generations.

Chapter Three analyses the inner political situation and the relations of Qing rulers towards European countries which the author characterizes as a policy of going down on their knees before the imperialist powers. He makes a special mention of the United States of America which came rather late for the division of spheres of influence, but already by the end of the nineteenth century, under the slogan of “open door policy” successfully strove for “equal opportunity” in exploiting the privileges of foreign powers in China.

In the defeat of China by Japan in 1895, Hu Sheng sees one of the causes that activated the masses against foreign aggressors and also incited the large-scale revolutionary and anti-West peasant uprising Yi He Tuan which took place at the threshold of the twentieth century and which became known in Europe under the name of “Boxer Rising”. The author also explains that this rising was simultaneously aimed against the weakening Qing dynasty and dwells on the causes of its defeat. In concluding the chapter, he assesses the relation between patriotism and revolution and characterizes the Qing dynasty as a “foreigners’ court”.

In Chapters Four and Five, Hu Sheng discusses the role played by Sun Yat-sen and Yuan Shikai principally in connection with the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1911 which brought down the monarchy. He also devotes attention to the progress made by Japan which after World War I laid the basis of its further penetration into China. But he rightly points to the less processed attempts on the part of the United States to strengthen their position in the Chinese arena either through an agreement with Japan, independently of it, or directly against it, or in agreement with other imperialist powers. The author positively rates the significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution to the political and ideological life of China and shows that it also inspired practically all the intellectuals who were seriously concerned with the destiny of the nation (p. 257).

The main content of the closing Chapter Six is made up of the fate of the revolution and counter-revolution of the years 1919—1924. The author investigates the character of the new Four-Power Consortium for an economic-political control of China, with the participation of the United States, Britain, France and Japan and touches on the anti-imperialist movement in the early twenties.

The book is processed as a historico-political study which, on the basis of a large quantity of concrete materials and published views, evaluates, often in a sharply polemical but always factual tone, the negative role played by international imperialism in China. The author strictly adheres to the topic and its temporal delimitation, but his work indirectly answers, by all its content, the broader question

of persisting interest: "who are the friends and who the enemies of the Chinese people and the revolution".

It is rather a pity that he has brought his exposition only up to the year 1924, for the relations of Chinese policy towards imperialism still represent an important part of contemporary international policy. The correct stand of the Soviet government towards China receives here a positive appreciation.

The mode of processing of the material is to a certain extent adjusted to the needs of foreign readers, nevertheless, in some passages it is overloaded with details. In addition, the work would have derived accrued value from summarizing conclusions.

Ivan Doležal

Opletal, Helmut: *Die Informationspolitik der Volksrepublik China* (The Information Policy of the People's Republic of China). Bochum, Studienverlag Brockmeyer 1981. 211 pp.

Seeing the persisting interest in Western Europe in "the Chinese topic", the Bochum University, conjointly with the Landesinstitut für Arabische, Chinesische und Japanische Sprache, began to publish a series which, under the name Chinathemen, has since 1980 made accessible to the professional public works devoted to diverse political and cultural issues from China. Among the volumes published or in preparation are works on the political scene during the stormy year 1978, on German-Chinese relations during the nineteenth century and on modern Chinese literature.

The Austrian-born author H. Opletal investigates the information policy of the PRC during the tense period between the so-called "Cultural Revolution" and the fall of the "Gang of Four", i.e. 1965—1976. As a graduate of political sciences and Chinese at the University of Vienna, he made a two years' stay at the Peking university and became a correspondent to several newspapers. In this function he had an opportunity of becoming familiar with many practical aspects of Chinese information policy in relation to the home population and with regard to foreign countries.

The topic under study is of interest primarily as a political issue. The author does not eschew political aspects, nevertheless, he devotes most attention and room to a detailed description of Chinese theory and practice of mass information, including the practical-political method of controlling, setting up and directing the press agency and the entire periodical press. He does not analyse questions relating to broadcasting and television — of great significance in China — focusing almost exclusively on daily papers, journals, magazines and also on internal bulletins, that are normally inaccessible to foreigners.

In Chapter One, he analyses the principles, position and roles of communication facilities in the PRC both in relation to traditions from the times of the protracted Chinese revolutionary struggle and as regards the political development of the country after the victory of the revolution, simultaneously touching on diverse conflicts inside the CPC that exerted an influence on the form and function of press organs. He evaluates wall-posters, leaflets, appeals and hectographed collections of political materials of the so-called “Red Guards” from the times of the “Cultural Revolutions” which, despite their one-sided orientation, are a source of otherwise unknown information on inner political conditions. As a matter of fact, the “Red Guards” gained access also to State archives and published from them strictly secretly-kept data that had never before, not even during the so-called “Hundred Flowers” period appeared in Chinese press. This was a relatively short-lived stage that ended through an intervention of the army and prohibition of publishing by the “Red Guards”, but to the Chinese and foreigners they revealed in part the depth of the ongoing crisis of the People’s Republic of China.

Also in Chapter Two Opletal follows up political and theoretical questions related to the function of mass media and shows that Chinese practice was not supported by original Chinese theories and derived rather from the changing political needs. The author repeatedly quotes Liu Shaoqi, who emphasized before his political downfall that the press must take its stand on both positive and negative phenomena. This line, however, receded before the growing cult of the leading personality.

Chapters Three and Four bring detailed professional data on the Chinese mechanisms of acquisition, processing and spreading information. Particularly valuable is a utilization of the bulletin *Information News* (*Cankao Xiaoxi*), with a circulation of 7 million copies, but mailed only to Chinese citizens on subscription — it is formally inaccessible to foreigners. Opletal, however, had the possibility to study 113 numbers and presents here their detailed analysis. He is interested in the Chinese view on world events in relation to Chinese foreign policy. *Cankao Xiaoxi* brings more material than the central daily *Renmin Ribao*, nonetheless, according to Opletal, its picture of the conditions in the world is neither complete, nor true (175).

The closing chapter is concerned with the post-Mao Zedong period during which the number of journals of every kind has substantially increased, now counting some 1000 titles. Particularly noticeable is the increase in literary journals. Qualitative changes, too, have taken place: more concrete data and critical materials are being published, but Opletal simultaneously observes that since 1979 repressive interventions are again appearing (180). The eruption of unofficial journal and informational materials and wall-posters was suppressed early in 1980 (185).

The author has processed the topic in great detail. For instance, he went to the trouble — pp. 129—143 — of setting side by side the contents of 6 issues of *Renmin Ribao* and of *Cankao Xiaoxi* and added to them a comparative analysis of the two papers. Despite his obvious knowledge of Chinese mass media and information

policy, he refrains from advancing evaluative judgments and prognoses about Chinese politics. Opletal's work is a well-founded, detailed report on public, semi-public and oral forms of spreading official announcements in the PRC.

Ivan Doležal

Rabochii klass v sotsialno-politicheskoi sisteme KNR (Working Class in the Socio-Political System of the PRC). Ed. by Rumyantsev, A. M., Gelbras, V. G. Moscow, Nauka 1981. 253 pp.

Soviet sinological production brings along more and more works devoted to questions of the socio-political complex in the Chinese society. The present book is the outcome of a collective effort by the staff of the Institute of International Working Class Movement in Moscow and is concerned with the socio-economic structure, position of the working class and the other classes, strata and groups, as also with the political organization of the Chinese society generally.

It comprises three principal sections divided into twelve chapters.

The first section Socio-Economic Structure and the Working Class (the whole by V. G. Gelbras) has three chapters: General Characteristic of the Forms of Ownership of Means of Production; Extra-Economic Pressure and Position of the Working People; Two Economic Systems: Contradiction between the State and the Working People, between the Town and the Village. In dealing with the characteristic of the forms of ownership of the means of production, the author also takes up the standard of development of manpower and production relationships. He follows up problems of the existing economic system and the consequent differences in the economic development of the various branches of the national economy in the various regions of the country, the causes and forms of extra-economic pressure. On the basis of a deep analysis of the economic structure of the country and of the role played by an excessive independence and superiority of State authority in relation to the society, the author lists the causes that, on the one hand, stimulated the growth of the workers, but on the other hand, simultaneously hampered the process of formation of a Chinese working class.

The authors of the second section Working Class and Structure of the Society deal with problems of a social and class structure which is an adequate expression of the specific economic structure of Chinese society and which brought about essentially professional forms of social and class differences. This section is subdivided into five chapters: Renewal of Professional Differences (by V. G. Gelbras); Society as a Whole (by V. G. Gelbras); Industrial Workers and Proletarianization of the Population (by V. G. Gelbras); A New Policy towards the Intelligentsia (by L. P. Delyusin); Kanpu and the Peasants (by E. S. Kulpin). The authors point to the

peculiarities inherent in the social process of Chinese society, to the position of the individual in the State which agrees with that of the class, stratum or group to which he belongs, to the limited opportunity of an individual passing from one class, stratum or group to another, to his adherence to one class, stratum or group determined by his social extraction, to the hereditary nature of laws and legal priorities of various strata and groups, and primarily to a legal differentiation of the various classes, strata and groups reinforced by judiciary and ideological-political measures. They elucidate the position of the working class in a mutual relationship with that of the other classes, strata and groups (peasants, the intelligentsia, cadres) and in relation to the policy applied by the Chinese leadership towards these. They analyse the causes of the formation of artificial strata, groups and closed social cells in the Chinese society.

The third section Working Class and Political Organization of Chinese Society comprises four chapters: CCP in the Fetters of Inner Contradictions (by V. G. Gelbras); Trade Unions in the PRC in the '70s (by A. V. Kholodkovskaya); Excessive Independence of the State and Problems of the Bond of the Working Class and Peasants (by E. S. Kulpin); Changes in the Political Organization of the Society and the Position of the Working People (by V. G. Gelbras). An analysis is presented of the ongoing struggle in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party after Mao Zedong's death, the effect of the constant struggle in the various groups on the composition and programmed orientation of the CCP, the role of the Trades Union Movement in protecting the interests of the working class and the rights of the working people, in shaping the consciousness and class solidarity of the Chinese working people and also the loss of this function and the exploitation of the Trades Union Movement for the political designs of Maoist leaders. A point is made of the negative role of an excessive share of State authority in controlling relations between the working class and peasants, in bringing about their mutual isolatedness, in putting up barriers between town and village. Various forms of social resistance are studied, representing a reaction on the part of the working people to the contemporary policy of the Chinese Communist Party and the situation in the country.

On the basis of an interdisciplinary approach, and making use of the methodological principles of Marxist political economy, historical materialism, Marxist sociology, the authors investigate the causes and conditions of the shaping of new social relationships in the fifties, the negative elements in the development of the working class and the remaining strata and groups in the Chinese society and their mutual interactions, the origin of new artificial strata, the political structure of the Chinese society in the sixties and seventies, laying stress mainly on the stage in which Chinese society found itself in the period 1976—1979. They submit to an analysis a whole complex of issues relating to the historical process of the setting up of an economic and social structure, to the formation, position and degree of self-awareness of the working class and the other strata or groups of the Chinese population, and present

a critical evaluation of the deformations present in the Maoist approach to the direction of the society. They point to the antipopular, chauvinist, antiproletarian essence of Maoist policy which hampers the process of formation of existing classes, strata and groups and, on the contrary, promotes the creation of artificial strata and groups which, by reason of their timidity and servility impede the growth of a political commitment and maturity of the other groups of working people. On the basis of a thorough analysis of the processes studied, the authors outline the perspective of further development in this domain. A. M. Rummyantsev, author of the Introduction, characterizes the problems encountered by the contributors while preparing the manuscripts: inadequacy of materials, disparate data in the available materials, lack of elucidation of certain theoretical problems, insufficient empirical research into many questions in the Chinese society, insufficient clarification of its social structure. The authors made full use of the sources accessible to them. These are listed, along with Soviet and west-European references in a voluminous bibliography. Pertinent numerical data are presented in twelve systematic tables. In the Conclusion, V. G. Gelbras summarizes the results of the analyses found in the book and makes an interesting comparison of certain phenomena taking place in the Chinese society which are reminiscent of the consequences of the industrial revolution in nineteenth century Europe, pointing out concurrent and divergent signs in this process.

This book represents a significant contribution in the field of socio-economic and political processes in the Chinese society. In the research of the entire socio-economic complex processed in the book, the authors have supplied clear, interesting data and made thorough analyses culminating in an authoritative presentation of the results of research in this domain.

Eva Salajková

Kotzenberg, Heike: *Bild und Aufschrift in der Malerei Chinas*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH 1981. 300 S. und 40 Abbildungen.

Das besprochene Buch gehört zu jenen seltenen Arbeiten der weltweiten Sinologie, die die künstlerische Relation von Bild und Aufschrift in der chinesischen Malerei im allgemeinen und die der Werke dreier Maler und Schriftsteller der Ming-Zeit im besonderen untersucht: T'ang Yin (1470—1524), Wen Cheng-ming (1470—1559) und Shen Chou (1427—1509), welche den Kern der sog. Wu-p'ai (Wu-Schule) bildeten und der Stadt Su-chou, als der damaligen künstlerischen Metropole zum Ruhm verhelfen. Die Kunstkritiker widmeten zwar ihre Aufmerksamkeit dieser Form des Gesamtkunstwerkes, diese Aufmerksamkeit war jedoch während ihres Studiums eher auf den malerischen als auf den literarischen oder kalligraphischen Ausdruck gerichtet. Dabei ist es notwendig die sog. wen-jen-hua,

d.h. die Literatenmalerei, die eine gewisse Einheit der Malerei, der Dichtkunst und der Kalligraphie bildete und sich als Kunstgattung im 11. Jahrhundert konstituierte, komplex zu sehen und sie so auch zu beurteilen. Schon deshalb, weil im traditionellen China die Poesie, Malerei und Kalligraphie Werke einer und derselben Menschen gewesen sind, oder solcher, die etwas ähnliches selbst zustande brachten oder es verstanden hatten. Die Schöpfer des Gesamtkunstwerks waren oder zumindest hätten Meister der san-chüeh, d.h. der drei Vollkommenheiten, sein sollen, man erwartete von ihnen, daß sie in allen drei Kunstbereichen hervorragend sein würden. Im traditionsreichen China ist es mit teilweisen Ausnahmen der Sung- und Yüan-Zeiten (960—1278) immer eine Regel gewesen, daß die Literaten stets Amateure waren, auch wenn sie die Kunst der Kalligraphie und der Malerei beherrschten. Lediglich zur Zeit der beiden erwähnten Dynastien ist es möglich irgendwelche Ansätze eines literarisch-künstlerischen Professionalismus zu beobachten, vor allem auf dem Gebiet des Theaterwesens und der populären Erzählungskunst. Für die Literatenmalerei der Ming-Zeit ist die Landschaft als bevorzugtes Sujet typisch. Warum war dies so? Es ist anscheinend mit den taoistischen, bzw. buddhistisch- taoistischen Tendenzen verbunden, durch welche diese Literaten und Künstler in einer Person, für gewöhnlich oft Beamten der herrschenden Dynastie, oder aber solche Leute, die auf die Beamtenlaufbahn verzichteten, oder dazu nie berufen wurden, ihre Einstellung zur Wirklichkeit zum Ausdruck bringen wollten. Sie waren Ausdruck ihrer Sehnsucht nach einer menschlichen und persönlichen Emanzipation außerhalb der eigentlichen Gesellschaft, die stets despotisch war.

In einem gewissen Maße ist es schade, daß der Autor die heutzutage bereits sehr verbreiteten Theorien betreffend die „wechselseitige Erhellung der Künste“ nicht genügend beachtete (dies will und kann jedoch keineswegs ein Vorwurf sein). Es weist jedoch auf den Unterschied zwischen der Auffassung des Gesamtkunstwerks durch R. Wagner (*Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*) oder H. Sedlmayer (*Epochen und Werke*) hin. Auch wenn ein gewaltiger Zeitunterschied zwischen den beiden Epochen in China und Europa liegt, stellte die Literatenmalerei lediglich die oben erwähnten drei Bestandteile dar und sonst nichts. Ist auch das chinesische Material reichlich vertreten und eingehend analysiert, wäre es von Nutzen brächte das Werk etwas mehr über die europäische Literatenmalerei, mehr als die einfache Behauptung, daß in ihr „ein literarischer Vorwurf in ein Bild umgesetzt wird und in der das Literarische folglich an der Ikonographie abzulesen ist“ (S. 257). In der chinesischen Literatenmalerei ist dies jedoch anders. Das Poetische „am chinesischen Bild ist nicht notwendig ikonographisch zu erkennen. Denn beim chinesischen Gesamtkunstwerk ist dem Bild eine poetische Komponente eingegliedert, wobei vorausgesetzt werden kann, daß bei originären Aufschriften der Ming-Zeit dieselbe empirische Realität die Inspirationsquelle für Bild und Gedicht war, und gerade deshalb voneinander abweichende künstlerische Formulierungen beabsichtigt sind“ (loc.

cit.) Nicht nur die Maler schrieben in China Gedichte auf ihre Werke, sondern auch andere Kenner, oder ihre damaligen wie auch späteren Eigentümer. So entstanden poetisch-malerische Werke, die zum Gegenstand des Vergleichs werden könnten. Die Malkunst (und diese ist das primäre im analysierten Gesamtkunstwerk) blieb — ähnlich wie ein gewisser Teil des chinesischen literarischen Erbgutes bis in die nicht weit entfernte Vergangenheit — eine unvollendete, ständig sich entwickelnde Kunst, was die einzelnen Werke betrifft. Ist das Gemälde auch an und für sich ein einzigartiges und unwiederholbares Artefakt, bildete dessen dichterische und kalligraphische Begleitung Möglichkeiten ihrer neueren Auslegungen und Mutationen.

Das rezensierte Buch bringt unter anderem Übersetzungen und Erläuterungen zu 118 Aufschriften und analysiert die folgenden Aufschriftmotive auf Landschaftsbildern dreier oben erwähnten Literatenmaler: Identifikation mit dem Kranich, Zitherspiel, Reinigung und Meditation, Begegnung mit der Vergangenheit, Teekochen und Melancholie. Diese Themen weisen auf die nahe Verwandtschaft mit der chinesischen Poesie, besonders jener der buddhistisch-taoistischen Orientierung hin.

Dem Buch ist ein genaues Literaturverzeichnis chinesischer, japanischer und europäischer Werke, ein Zeichenindex sowie 108 schwarzweiße Photographien von Werken der drei analysierten Autoren angehängt.

Marián Gálik

Crawford, S. Cromwell: *The Evolution of Hindu Ethical Ideals*. Honolulu, The University Press of Hawaii 1982. 180 pp.

This is the second, revised edition of the book published for the first time in 1974. It follows the evolution of Hindu ethics through three main periods, i.e. the Vedic Period (1500—500 B.C.), the Sūtra and Epic Period (500 B.C.—300 A.D.), and the Darśana Period (to 1100 A.D.). Each of the given periods is explored in a separate chapter and these are further divided into several subchapters dealing with ethical thoughts in different works of the period. The first chapter includes the study of ethical thoughts in the *Mantras*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*; the second chapter analyses the ethical thought in the *Dharma Sūtras*, *Dharma Śāstras*, *Epics* and *Bhagavadgītā*; the third chapter is devoted to the study of the ethical thought in *Nyāya* — *Vaiśeṣika*, *Sāṃkhya* — *Yoga*, *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* — *Vedānta: Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita*. The author claims a continuity between the early and latter periods of Hindu ethics.

Each system of ethical thought is treated on three different levels, i.e. on the objective, subjective and transcendental levels. The social dimensions of ethics are studied on the objective level, personal elements of ethics are searched for on the

subjective level, while the moral structure of the “life absolute” is explored on the transcendental level.

The author points out the *summum bonum* of each period, or subperiod of Hindu ethics and specifies means for achieving it.

The closing chapter of the book brings a summary and a critical résumé of Hindu ethics. The author points out the unity between Hindu philosophy and Hindu ethics. He explores the doctrine of the four ends of life (*puruṣārthas*: *kāma*, *artha*, *dharma* and *mokṣa*) and the three springs of social obligation (*ṛṇas*: *ṛṣi-ṛṇa*, *pitṛ-ṛṇa*, and *deva ṛṇa*). Then he investigates the ethical organization of the individual life represented by *Āśramadharma* and points out its strengths and weaknesses. Also the ethical organization of society represented by *Varṇadharma*, which degenerated into caste system based on heredity, is investigated. The author omits mentioning the well known evils of the caste system, but dwells on its lesser-known merits (providing the individual with a sense of belonging, supplying the Hindu with economic security, helping in preserving Indian culture). Then *Sādhāraṇadharma*s that provide the basis and preconditions for *Varṇāśramadharma*s, and motivation behind them, i.e. sacredness of life and gratitude for life, are studied.

The author comes to the conclusion that “Hindu ethic is not absolutist and unbending but is reflective and contextual in its approach to ethical problems. To safeguard this situationalism from degenerating into privatism, the *smṛtis* make it plain that exceptions are only to be made for the sake of others, not for one’s own private advantage” (p. 144).

Of interest are also the pages devoted to the problem of individual freedom in Hindu ethics. The author convincingly proves that critics claiming the doctrines of *guṇas* and *karman* the negation of freedom are not right, as voluntaristic activity is possible on the *sāttvika* level of actions and also *karman* is not a contradiction of freedom, but the ground for it.

The book under review, reflecting the author’s professional skill and deep knowledge of the questions studied, appeared as the 28th volume in the series Asian Studies at Hawaii.

Anna Ráková

Kotovskaya, M. P.: *Sintez iskusstv. Zrelishchnye iskusstva Indii* (Synthesis of Arts. Scenic Arts of India). Moscow, Nauka 1982. 254 pp.

One of the basic and specific traits of eastern aesthetic tradition is a synthesis of arts, i.e. an interaction, even a fusion of various arts within the framework of one single work of art. This phenomenon, which has not been as yet sufficiently investigated, caught the attention of European scholars only towards the beginning of this century. The present book is probably the first attempt at an overall view of

the interaction and synthesis of different arts in Indian theatre. Kotovskaya concentrates here on the most characteristic traits of traditional Indian artistic activity and aesthetic thinking, as also on the present state of Indian histrionic arts. In her study she made use of a wide range of Soviet, Indian, West-European and American sources of a varying character, and has divided her book into four chapters: *"Early-Indian Synthesis of Arts and Traditional Theatre of Indian Nations"*, *"Traditional Indian Theatre in Present-Day Conditions"*, *"Rabindranath Tagore's Musical Theatre. New Stages in the Development of the Indian Synthesis of Arts"* and *"Contemporary Forms of Indian Theatre. Further Evolution in the Indian Synthesis of Arts"*.

The first chapter is devoted to an analysis of the various elements that constitute the early-Indian synthesis of arts and determines their position in this synthesis. The authoress shows that the very system of the means of expression in Indian traditional theatre already assumes a harmonic interaction of the poetic word with vocal and instrumental music, dancing, pantomime and performing art. She goes on to show in what Indian synthesis of arts in the theatre, which is always in fact, a synthetic phenomenon, differs from the European one: synthesis in the Indian theatre does not have the character of combining or joining of various arts, but rather of their fusion.

A study of the Indian theatre is possible only if the ancient Indian aesthetic conceptions are known and therefore the authoress investigates in an appropriate measure the fundamental work of Indian dramatic production, *Natyashastra*, in which the theoretical apprehension of the artistic synthesis is bound with the conception of *"rasa"* — teaching of poetic feelings, aesthetic experiencing and enjoyment. While analysing the mutual influence of arts in the traditional Indian theatre, she takes note primarily of musical arts. She explains the specificities of vocal arts, of musical improvisation which is at the basis of Indian traditional music, completeness of contact between the Indian singer and the musical accompaniment, the mutual interaction between word and melody, the deeply traditional intonational-rhythmical way of presenting a text, and pays special attention also to rhythm and chorus singing. She comes to the conclusion that music (vocal and instrumental) is the leading force in early-Indian theatre performance. She points to the very close connection and mutual conditioning of sound and gesture which, similarly as mimic and *abhinay* (movements of the head, eyes, eyebrows and neck) are closely related to the meaning of the word. The artistic image in early-Indian theatre was created through the structure of two artistic planes — musical and plastic.

In the next chapter the authoress examines the mechanism of interaction of arts in Indian traditional theatre which is to be understood as an entire complex of dramatic forms existing in India for many centuries and making use of traditional means of expression. From the various forms of Indian theatre she has selected those which she considers to be the most characteristic: dancing drama *kathakali* and popular

comedy. While analysing them, she tries to grasp the fundamental principles of the synthesis of arts.

The most important element in *kathakali* is the actor's work, by which is understood the entire complex of artistic means of expression, i.e. singing, dancing, pantomime, dramatic art and acrobatics. The actor speaks the way tradition requires and commands. Equally deep-rooted in tradition are masks, costumes and lighting. The authoress presents a detailed description of these items, but also deals with the question of the future of this traditional theatre which attracts attention on the part of professionals not only as a unique form of theatre performance, but also as a source of highly developed artistic means that are apt successfully to serve also modern artistic aims.

Popular comedy, deeply realistic and bound with life, introduces corrections into the traditional synthesis of arts, and this both by the fact that words prevail in it over music and choreography, and also because together with the traditional synthesis of arts it exploits a simple alternation of theatrical means of expression.

A further stage in the evolution of Indian synthesis of arts is represented by the work of Rabindranath Tagore. The authoress devotes to this genius the whole of Chapter Three in which she presents a relatively detailed analysis of the most significant of Tagore's dramatic works and thereby also of his contribution to Indian drama. R. Tagore created and promoted musical theatre and this in two forms, viz. musical and dancing drama. Kotovskaya considers as a fundamental contribution of Tagore's musical theatre its ability directly to reflect the contemporary world, to express socio-political views of the times. Tagore, too, understood a theatre piece as a harmonic unit of various arts — poetry, music and choreography, but at the same time he endeavoured to attain a creative transformation of each of the above elements. At the first time in the history of Indian theatre, he created a national theatre in which the arts of various Indian nations take part, and this both choreography and music which became fully implemented in his Shantiniketan school. With Tagore, synthesis of arts combines with early-Indian traditional canon, yet bears the seal of the author's individual creation. An artistic result, not negligible in Tagore's activity, became also a dialogue between Eastern and Western culture.

In Chapter Four, Kotovskaya examines contemporary forms of Indian theatre and the prospective development of Indian synthesis of arts.

In the 20s and 30s, choreography achieved the greatest development. The new dancing drama drew on two sources — experience of the European theatre, particularly Russian ballet, and the ancient national tradition. The authoress describes in detail guest performances by the outstanding Soviet prima ballerina Anna Pavlova in India and their response, and impact on Indian dance. She takes note of the life and work of foremost Indian dancers and choreographers — Uday Shankar, Menaka, Rukmini Devi. While studying certain aspects of Indian traditional synthesis of arts, characteristic of contemporary Indian musical-dancing theatre

performance, she comes to the conclusion that in India today as also in the past, synthesis is a problem of paramount significance in art. She sees the reason to reside particularly in the specificity of synthetical artistic forms that correspond most to the spiritual needs and aesthetic taste of the Indian spectator.

This book, analysing in an exhaustive manner the synthesis of arts as a base and also at the present time as an active ideological aesthetic conception of Indian theatre, contributes greatly to the study of this synthesis and its various elements. It will be welcome by those interested in dramatic creation generally, and in traditional and contemporary Indian dramatic creation particularly, as also by those who pursue a study of the different elements expressing its harmonic whole.

Anna Ráková

Muhajeri, Masih: *Islamic Revolution — Future Path of the Nations*. Tehran, The External Liaison Section of the Central Office of Jihad-e-sazandegi 1982. 180 pp.

The ideologists of the Iranian Islamic revolution never considered Iran as their final goal. Their design was to impress all the nations of the world and especially the Muslim nations. On the occasion of the second anniversary of its foundation the Islamic Republic of Iran sent delegations to Europe, Africa, Asia, the Far East and the Middle East for the purpose of introducing the Revolution, its goals and its functions to their people. It also undertook many further steps to propagate its principles and achievements. On the occasion of the fourth anniversary of this event, an English translation appeared of the work of Masih Muhajeri, one of the revolutionary activists. In the introduction the author designates it as a book especially prepared to familiarize people abroad with the Islamic Revolution. His ambition, however, was simultaneously to clarify, principally for the benefit of the young Iranian generation, the roots of the problems involved and in addition, to express his conviction that “this book could be useful for the future generations”.

The author tackles the topic in full consciousness of these exacting aims and evaluates from Islamic positions the most important problems connected with the preparation and the victory of the revolution, and with the organization of the Republic of Iran.

The first part of the book is concerned with the causes leading to the revolutionary situation and the circumstances through which the leadership of the revolutionary movement came into the hands of the Muslim clergy. The second part provides a concise history of the Revolution. The third and concluding part is by far the most detailed, acquainting the reader with numerous practical issues of internal and foreign policy, with the Islamic system of State administration, its functions, with problems and methods of defence against imperialist attempts at interference. The

author takes up an explicit, unambiguous attitude towards all the problems raised, nevertheless, even a first glance reveals a lack of evaluation of the class composition of the society. Similarly, he despatches the revolutionary efforts at land reform by a single sentence (147) which gives no precise notion on its extent, nor on its principles.

The author labels the former monarchy as an anti-Islamic system and also condemns the negative aspects of the Iranian nationalistic movement (17). He considers panarabism and panturkism as tools of colonialism (19), is against any veneration of the memory of the patriotic bourgeois statesman Mossadegh who, already back in the 1950s, opposed the Shah and nationalized the oil industry. Although eventually overthrown by a rightist coup d'état and imprisoned, his fight against international monopolies, nevertheless, played no small role in the mobilization of public opinion against the monarchy and imperialism.

The author devotes rather more attention to the Tudeh party and other leftist trends in the Iranian revolution. Indiscriminately, without providing any convincing arguments, he denounces Tudeh, but also the ideologically quite different National Front as treacherous to the nation of Iran. He makes no mention at all of the decades of dedicated fight of the Tudeh party against the Shah's régime. He also criticizes the slogans of further political movements and goes to explain how the Islamic Revolution triumphed under the clergy's leadership in the situation when the United States had lost all their hope in the Shah. He also devotes attention to the method of the struggle, particularly through public demonstrations and strikes. He stresses the role played by imam Khomeini who spent 14 years in exile and from there issued appeals to fight against the monarchy — a struggle that cost 60,000 victims.

This third section also deals with the structure, tasks and competence of revolutionary organizations and the State system of the Islamic Republic. In addition, the author has included here also weighty considerations of a theoretical nature in which he gives an authentic Islamic exposition on various fundamental political questions, e.g. on unity, nationality, minorities, foreign policy, the female question and Islamic culture. In subsequent passages he analyses the function of the revolution in different sectors of social life. He gives a positive view of the occupation of the American Embassy in Tehran by Islamic students who thus held for long American diplomats in custody. According to Khomeini, it was "a second Revolution which is greater than the first". In explaining the significance of this event, the author abandons reality when, without any concrete arguments, he speaks of cooperation between East and West against the Islamic Revolution of Iran (142).

Finally, the author presents a detailed review of political and subversive undertakings organized in Iran by imperialist and home adversaries.

In the closing chapter he elucidates the slogan "Export of Revolution" which means the introduction of the spiritual values and achievements of the Islamic Revolution, and not an intention of military intervention (175).

The book presents a rounded, striking self-portrait of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. The foreign reader soon notices a certain rift between the text and the complex and difficult social conditions of the Iranian nation, but he may become acquainted in it with the criteria, the aims and certain results of the Islamic Revolution which, in the author's concluding words, is to be considered as the future path of Nations.

Ivan Doležal

Der Islam von den Anfängen bis zur Eroberung von Konstantinopel. Hrsg. von B. Lewis. Band I: Die politischen Ereignisse und die Kriegsführung. Die Bibliothek des Morgenlandes. Zürich und München, Artemis Verlag 1981. 359 S.

H. Fändrichs Übersetzung des englischen Originals *Islam. From the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople* (1974) bringt den deutschsprachigen Interessenten für die Geschichte und die islamische Zivilisation eine bemerkenswerte Auswahl von Texten zur islamischen Geschichte im Mittelalter. Ähnliche Anthologien sind keine Seltenheit, auch in der Edition Die Bibliothek des Morgenlandes erschien vor einiger Zeit F. Gabrielis *Chrestomathie Die Kreuzzüge aus arabischer Sicht*. Professor B. Lewis stand jedoch vor einer Anzahl von Texten, die im Laufe von fast neun Jahrhunderten auf einem ausgedehnten Gebiet Asiens, Afrikas und Europas produziert wurden. Man kann sagen, daß Prof. Lewis auf Grund seiner bisherigen Arbeit und seines umfassenden wissenschaftlichen Interesses für diese Arbeit geradezu prädestiniert war. Es ist zweifelsohne sein Verdienst, daß die von ihm ausgewählten Proben aus arabischen, persischen und türkischen Chroniken und Dokumenten über die politische, wirtschaftliche, militärische und kulturelle Entwicklung ein plastisches Bild der islamischen Zivilisation bieten.

In den ersten Band wurden Texte aufgenommen, die politische Begebenheiten, die Verwaltung des Staates und die Kriegsführung betreffen. Im Vorwort informiert uns Prof. B. Lewis über die Probleme, die die Zusammenstellung einer solchen Anthologie mit sich bringt, und das nicht nur was die Zusammensetzung betrifft, sondern auch die direkte Arbeit an den Texten. In seinem vorgehen muß vor allem hervorgehoben werden, daß er sich nicht mit Übersetzungen älterer Forscher zufrieden gab, noch die Auswahl der Proben dem unterordnete, was bislang bereits übersetzt worden war, sondern sämtliche Texte selbst ins Englische übersetzte, wobei er dadurch eine bedeutende Anzahl von bislang nicht übersetzten Texten zugänglich machte. Eine kurze aber treffende Einleitung (S. 9—23) informiert die Leser über die grundlegenden Erscheinungen der islamischen Geschichte, über die hauptsächlichen Völkerschaften, die nach und nach die grüne Fahne des Islam trugen, über die Probleme der Konfrontation mit dem Christentum, über die

weltliche und geistige Einheit im Islam. Interessant ist auch jener Teil der Einleitung, der über die Quellen zur islamischen Geschichte informiert, wo Lewis auf kleinstem Raum eine treffende und inhaltsreiche Übersicht dieser Quellen nebst deren Charakteristik bietet.

Die benützten Quellen stellte B. Lewis in einen übersichtlichen Register zusammen (S. 34—39). Unserer Ansicht nach hätte diese Bibliographie in der deutschen Ausgabe durch eine Liste existierender Übersetzungen ins Deutsche ergänzt werden können, der der jeweilige Interessent entnehmen könnte, wo der betreffende Text als Ganzes oder in einem größeren Auszug publiziert wurde.

Einen Behelfscharakter hat auch die Zeittafel, die die hauptsächlichen Begebenheiten aus der islamischen Geschichte anführt.

Was die eigentlichen Texte betrifft, sind die Kapitel I—VIII den bedeutendsten politischen und teilweise auch militärischen Ereignissen seit der Entstehung des Kalifats im 7. Jahrhundert bis zur Eroberung von Konstantinopel (1453) gewidmet, drei Kapitel befassen sich mit den Fragen der Regierung, der staatsmännischen Kunst und der Verwaltung des Staates. Krieg und Eroberung heißt der dritte Teil, der ebenfalls drei Kapitel umfaßt. Er bringt nicht nur Bestimmungen des Korans über den *ġihād* — den heiligen Krieg für den Islam — der kollektiven Verpflichtung der islamischen Gemeinde, sondern auch über die technischen Fragen der Kriegsführung — über Waffen, Ausrüstung, Taktik, usw.

Im Anhang finden wir Anmerkungen zu den Texten, wo der Autor einige in den Quellen benützte Termini erklärt, Angaben über Personen und Hinweise auf den Koran anführt. Der Namen- und Stichwortregister erleichtert die Arbeit mit dem Buch.

Das Buch bringt einen interessanten Blick auf die Geschichte und das Leben islamischer Völker und bietet interessanten Stoff auch dem breitesten Leserkreis.

Vojtech Kopčan

Schimkoreit, R.: *Regesten publizierter safawidischen Herrscherurkunden. Erlasse und Staatsschreiben der frühen Neuzeit Irans*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 68. Berlin, K. Schwarz Verlag 1982. 552 S.

Es kann behauptet werden, daß die persische Diplomatie bis in die fünfziger Jahre unseres Jahrhunderts weit hinter den Nachforschungen im Bereich der arabischen oder osmanischen Diplomatie zurückgeblieben ist, ob wir bei dieser Behauptung schon von der Anzahl der publizierten arabischen oder osmanischen Dokumente oder von den speziellen Arbeiten über beide erwähnten Diplomatie herausgehen. In einem gewissen Maße war dies auch die Widerspiegelung der Zustände im persischen Archivwesen, welches erst in letzter Zeit organisiert wurde.

Vor einigen Jahrzehnten begannen westeuropäische Iranisten persische, die diplomatischen Beziehungen und geschäftliche Verbindungen Persiens mit den europäischen Staaten erklärende Urkunden aus westeuropäischen Archiven herauszugeben. Ungefähr zur selben Zeit lief auch die Aktivität georgischer, armenischer und aserbaidshanischer Iranisten an, die ihrerseits persische Dokumente aus heimischen Sammlungen publizierten. Diese, im Unterschied zu den Dokumenten westeuropäischer Sammlungen, betrafen die innere Verwaltung und die Position der christlichen Bevölkerung in Persien. Später lieferten durch ihre herausgeberische Tätigkeit auch die persischen Forscher ihren Beitrag.

In jüngster Zeit erschienen jedoch Arbeiten, die den Rahmen herausgeberischer Tätigkeit überschritten und die in die mangelhaft erforschten Fragen der persischen Diplomatie Licht zu bringen versuchten. Nach der postumen Herausgabe des Werkes des ungarischen Turkologen L. Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie* (1977), welches die paläographische und diplomatische Analyse mit der Herausgabe persischer Dokumente verknüpft, und nach B. Fragners *Repertorium persischer Herrscherurkunden* (1980) ist das hier besprochene Buch ein weiterer Beitrag zur persischen Diplomatie.

Die Autorin stellte sich die Aufgabe Regesten publizierter persischer Dokumente aus der Zeit der Dynastie der Safawiden (1501—1732) zusammenzustellen. Aus dieser Zeit versammelte sie insgesamt 537 Urkunden — Erlasse und Staatsschreiben — und bearbeitete sie in einer Weise, damit diese Dokumente auch in der modernen Geschichtswissenschaft ihre Verwendung finden. Die Regesten liefern Informationen über die Einleitungsformel, das Erlaßdatum, den Aufbewahrungsort, die Publikationsstellen und darüber, ob es sich um ein Original oder eine Abschrift handelt. Der wichtigste Bestandteil der Regesten ist eine ausführliche Inhaltsangabe, deren Auswertung neue Erkenntnisse über die Praxis von Steuerprivilegien, Gehalts- und Ämterverleihung, Entscheidungen in Eigentums- und Besitzrechtsfragen, Anweisungen an Zentral- und Provinzbeamte und die Situation in Persien lebenden christlichen Minderheiten möglich macht.

Die diplomatische Analyse ist dem Formular safawidischer Herrscherurkunden gewidmet, der Typologie der Herrschersiegel und ihre Verwendung in der Kanzlei- und bringt auch eine Liste der safawidischen Herrschersiegel.

Den Kern der Arbeit bilden die Regesten von Urkunden, nach den safawidischen Schahs aneinandergereiht. Es muß festgestellt werden, daß die Regesten sorgfältig und eingehend ausgearbeitet wurden, und daß die Autorin deren Wert dadurch erhöhte, daß sie in Klammern die jeweiligen ursprünglichen Ämterbezeichnungen und *termini technici* aus dem Kanzlei- und Finanzverwaltungsbereich anführt, und diese dann auch in Sachverzeichnisse einreicht.

R. Schimkoreits Buch kann als ein weiterer erfolgreicher Schritt bei der Erschließung persischer Dokumente für einen breiteren Kreis von Historikern, die sich mit

der Geschichte des Vorderen Orients befassen und gleichzeitig auch für einen wertvollen Beitrag zur persischen Diplomatie bezeichnet werden.

Vojtech Kopčan

Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Hrsg. von W. Voigt. Band XIII, 5. Türkische Handschriften, Teil 5. Beschrieben von Hanna Sohrweide. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1981. xix+324 S. 2 Farb- und 10 Schwarzweiß-Tafeln.

Der in der Reihenfolge bereits fünfte Band des Verzeichnisses türkischer Handschriften, die der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin entstammen, wurde von Dr. Hanna Sohrweide von der Universität Hamburg herausgegeben, die auch die Verfasserin des dritten Bandes ist.

Der Katalog bringt 309 Werke in 165 Handschriften, die die Staatsbibliothek in den Jahren 1894—1942 erwarb. Es ist dies also der letzte Band der türkischen Handschriften, die B. Flemming, H. Sohrweide und M. Götz im Laufe der Jahre 1968—1981 herausgegeben haben. Der sechste, von H.-G. Majer vorbereitete Band wird Urkunden beinhalten. Die Kataloge wurden einheitlich auf Grund im voraus angenommener Prinzipien und einem Schema behandelt, welches Ende der fünfziger Jahre von Wolfgang Voigt ausgearbeitet wurde, daher werden wir darauf nicht näher eingehen.

Aus dem Inhalt der beschriebenen Werke herausgehend reihte sie die Autorin in folgende Themenkreise ein: 1. Koran, 2. Ḥadīṣ, 3. Der Profet, 4. Glaubenslehre, religiöse Pflichten, 5. Taṣāvvuf, 6. Fiqh, mit Fetvas, Qānūn-nāmes, Gerichtsentscheiden, Vaqfiye, 7. Ethik, Staatsführung, 8. Geschichte, 9. Inṣā, Münše'at-Sammlungen, 10. Biographien, 11. Geographie, Kosmographie, 12. Wissenschaft, Mathematik, Vermessungslehre, 13. Astronomie, Zeitrechnung, 14. Medizin, Tierheilkunde, 15. Grammatik, Lexikographie, Metrik, Redensarten, 16. Dichtung, 17. Prosaliteratur: Romane, Erzählungen und Vorgewandtes, 18. Kalligraphie, Musik, 19. Landwirtschaft, Tulpenzucht, 20. Wahrsagung, Traumdeutung, Physiognomik, Chiromantie, 21. Bibel und Psalter.

Am zahlreichsten sind die religiösen Werke und die Poesie, andere Themenkreise sind mit nur einigen Werken vertreten. Die thematische bunte Zusammensetzung der Handschriften, sowie die Tatsache, daß es in der Mehrzahl nur um Durchschnittswerke ging, die nicht allgemein bekannt waren, stellten große Anforderungen auf die Katalogisierungsarbeit.

In der Einleitung (ix—xviii) macht uns Dr. Sohrweide nach Themenkreisen mit den Unikaten und anderen, vom Gesichtspunkt des Inhalts, der Entstehungszeit und Bildnerischen her bemerkenswerten Handschriften, bekannt. Die Einleitung,

ähnlich wie die eigentliche Katalogisierung der Handschriften weist auf eine große Erudition der Katalogisatorin hin.

An die Einleitung ist die Transkription der arabischen Schrift ins Lateinische, die aus den Regeln hervorgeht, welche von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft im Jahre 1935 (S. xix) angenommen wurden, sowie Abbildungen angeschlossen.

Das eigentliche Verzeichnis (S. 3—287) ist auf hohem Niveau bearbeitet. Wir möchten lediglich einige Anmerkungen hinzufügen. Das Werk des Geschichtsschreibers 'Alī Muṣṭafā Mir'at el-'avālim (Nr. 130 des Katalogs) ist nebst in den von Dr. Sohrweide angeführten Sammlungen auch in der Sammlung des Institut wostokowedenija, Leningrad (das ehemalige Asjatskij muzej), sign. V 724 Tur und S 694 Tur vorhanden. Siehe L. V. Dmitrijewa — A. M. Muginow — S. N. Muratow: *Opisanije tjurkskich rukopisej Instituta narodow Asii I*, Moskva 1965, Nr. 13 und L. V. Dmitrijewa — S. N. Muratow: *Opisanije tjurkskich rukopisej Instituta wostokowedenija II*, Moskva 1975, Nr. 1. Beide Handschriften sind undatiert und stammen wahrscheinlich vom Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts. In der Leningrader Sammlung befindet sich auch das Werk *Šerh-i Būstān* (Nr. 265 des Katalogs) von Sūdī Bosnevī, und das sogar in drei Exemplaren, siehe L. V. Dmitrijewa: *Opisanie tjurkskich rukopisej... III*, Moskva 1980, Nr. 297—299.

Was das Problem des aus Sarajevo stammenden Dichters Hasan Qā'imī (dieser starb 1692 und nicht wie von Dr. Sohrweide angeführt wird 1680) betrifft, behauptet neuerdings Smail Balić (*Kultura Bošnjaka. Muslimanska komponenta*. Wien 1973, S. 109), daß *Dīvān* und *Vāridāt* zwei selbständige Werke sind. Er führt jedoch nicht an, wie er zu diesem Schluß gelangt ist.

Die Dichter 'Ömrī (bekannt auch als Kalligraph) und Süleymān Mezāqī (gest. 1676/77), deren Verse wir im Werk *Meğmū'a-i eš'ār* (Nr. 236 des Katalogs) finden, gehörten anscheinend zum engsten Kreis des Großvesirs Köprülüzāde Aḥmed Pascha. Über Nasūḥpaschazāde 'Ömrī wissen wir, daß er ein Chronogramm verfaßte, das (angeblich von Evliya Čelebi selbst) an die Mauer der Kirche zu Nové Zámky gemeißelt wurde, welche nach der Eroberung der Festung durch das osmanische Heer in eine Moschee umgewandelt wurde. (Siehe *Evliya Čelebi Seyahatnamesi VI. Der-i Saadet 1318H.*, S. 381.) Mezākī wieder ist der Autor der Qasīden über den Großvesir Köprülüzāde Aḥmed Pascha im Werk *Ğevāhir üt-tevārīḥ* und *Tārīḥ-i Fazl Aḥmed Pascha* nach der Eroberung von Kandia. (Siehe A. S. Levend: *Ğazavātnāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Ğazavāt-nāmesi*. İstanbul 1956, S. 122—123.) Er ist ebenfalls der Autor zweier Chronogramme der Eroberung von Nové Zámky (1074 H./1663). (Siehe *Evliya Čelebi VI*, S. 379.)

Das Verzeichnis wird durch folgende Register abgeschlossen: 1. Literatur- und Abkürzungsverzeichnis; 2. Titel in Originalschrift; 3. Titel in Umschrift; 4. Verfasser; 5. Schreiber; 6. Sonstige Personennamen, Gruppen, Derwischorden; 7. Orts-

namen; 8. Sachstichwörter; 9. Datierte Handschriften; 10. Konkordanz der Signaturen und Nummern; 11. Verzeichnis der Tafeln.

Das Verzeichnis der türkischen Handschriften bringt nicht nur mehr als 200 Handschriften den Forschern näher, es ist auch ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der osmanischen Kultur und Wissenschaft.

Vojtech Kopčan

Geschichte Sultan Süleymān Kānūnīs von 1520 bis 1557 oder Tabakāt ül-Memālik ve Derecāt ül Mesālik von Celalzāde Muṣṭafā genannt Koca Nişancı. Hrsg. von Petra Kappert. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Supplementband 21. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1981. VII + 181 + Osmanischer Text in Faksimile.

Herausgaben von Werken osmanischer Geschichtsschreiber im Faksimile sind seit langem keine Besonderheit mehr, vor allem wenn es sich um einzigartige Handschriften handelt. Petra Kapperts Faksimile-Herausgabe von Celalzade Mustafas Chronik nach der Handschrift (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz Ms. or. quar. 1961) ist jedoch mit Textabweichungen aus den beiden anderen Textrezensionen ergänzt und erfüllt so die Funktion einer kritischen Edition.

Die umfangreiche Einleitung bringt nicht nur notwendige Informationen über die Handschriften, Anmerkungen des Editors, eine Inhaltsangabe und Indices, sie ist gleichzeitig auch ein bedeutender Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der osmanischen Geschichtsschreibung im 16. Jahrhundert.

Auf Grund der Angaben in den Werken *Tabakat ül-Memalik* und *Selimname* sowie auch in weiteren Quellen bringt die Herausgeberin eine sehr eingehende Biographie von Celalzade Mustafa (1490/91—1567), sie verfolgt seine Laufbahn im bürokratischen Apparat des Osmanischen Reiches und seine Beziehungen zu dessen höchsten Würdenträgern. Die hohe Stellung des Autors widerspiegelt sich auch in seinem Werk. Celalzade Mustafa schrieb es als Staatsmann und Darsteller der etablierten osmanischen Staatsmacht. Sein Werk ist aus der Position eines direkten Teilnehmers der Ereignisse oder eines Zeitgenossen, der stets über Informationen aus erster Hand verfügte, verfaßt. Dies findet natürlich in seinen Urteilen und Wertungen eine Widerspiegelung. „Sie lassen stets den in maßgeblicher politischer Funktion tätig gewesenen Staatsmann erkennen, der selbst in den Mechanismus des Staatsapparates eingegliedert war und diesen mitgetragen hatte — und dessen Denken sich exakt innerhalb dieses gutgeheißenen Systems bewegte“ (S. 8). Trotz dieser Tatsache wird Celalzade Mustafas Werk auch von dessen Zeitgenossen als ein kritisches betrachtet.

Für sehr anregend halten wir die Idee der Herausgeberin den Lebenswandel

zweier bedeutender Geschichtsschreiber des 16. Jahrhunderts zu vergleichen: den Celalzade Mustafas und den Mustafa Alis und von daher Rückschlüsse auf die Tendenz ihrer Geschichtswerke zu versuchen.

Für einen bedeutenden Beitrag halten wir den zweiten Teil der Einleitung: Die Stellung der *Tabakat ül-Memalik* in der osmanischen Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts (S. 11—35). Kappert befaßt sich hier mit dem Titel des Werkes, dessen Zusammenstellung und dem Abfassungsdatum. Wir möchten insbesondere auf den, der historiographischen Charakteristik des Werkes gewidmeten Teil aufmerksam machen, wo wir auf relativ engem Raum treffende Informationen über die grundlegenden Entwicklungstendenzen der osmanischen Geschichtsschreibung sowie über die Eingliederung von *Tabakat ül-Memalik* in diese erhalten. Die Herausgeberin bringt weitere Angaben über die Interessen der osmanischen Historiographie für die europäische Geschichte am Beispiel von Celalzade Mustafas Werk. Das Werk *Tabakat ül-Memalik* mit dem Werk *Süleymanname Bostans* und *Süleymanname Matrakçı Nasuhs* vergleichend zeigt die Herausgeberin, wie sich die inhaltliche Konzeption und die Vorstellung des Autors von Historiographie auch in der formalen Gestaltung seines Werkes niedergeschlagen haben.

Ein Weiterer Aspekt der *Tabakat ül-Memalik* wird ersichtlich beim Vergleich mit zeitgenössischen Werken: Celalzade Mustafa verfaßte seine Geschichte als Staatsmann und unterwarf sich bei der Darstellung den Prinzipien der Staatsräson.

Man kann sagen, daß Celalzade Mustafas Werk aus obigen Gründen in hohem Ansehen nicht nur bei den Zeitgenossen, sondern auch bei den späteren Historikern stand und es wurde als eine erstrangige Quelle für die Regierungszeit von Sultan Süleyman (1520—1557) betrachtet.

Kappert bereicherte unsere Kenntnisse auch um die literarische Seite der osmanischen historischen Werke. In ihrer Analyse des Prosastils der *Tabakat ül-Memalik* hat sie bewiesen, daß wir in einem Werk mehreren stilistischen Ebenen begegnen können, in Abhängigkeit vom Charakter der beschriebenen Begebenheit.

Das Werk *Tabakat ül-Memalik* ist in 17 Handschriften erhalten, die die Herausgeberin in drei, die jeweilige textliche Bearbeitung darstellende Gruppen einteilte. Die Anciennität war bei der Herausgabe nicht das einzige Kriterium für die Auswahl der Handschrift. Die Herausgeberin entschloß sich für die Berliner Handschrift wegen der Anzahl der Fakten, die diese bringt und deren sprachliche Unmittelbarkeit.

Einen großen Teil der Einleitung nimmt die Inhaltsübersicht des Werkes *Tabakat ül-Memalik* ein, wo der Inhalt des Werkes durch treffende Formulierungen dargestellt wird (S. 52—105).

Im Variantenapparat beschränkt sich die Herausgeberin auf eine repräsentative Auswahl von anderen Lesarten, die charakteristisch für die drei Rezensionen erschienen.

Der sorgfältig hergestellte Register der Orts- und Personennamen (S. 127—178)

erleichtert die Arbeit mit dem Text. Wir sind der Meinung, die Herausgeberin hätte mehr Lokalitäten vom Balkan und aus Ungarn identifizieren können. Hier nur einige Anmerkungen zum Register. Delü Rădič (S. 135) ist nicht, wie von Kappert angeführt, ein ungarischer Heerführer, sondern der serbische Befehlshaber der Donauflottille in Petrovaradin (vor Mohács) Božić Radić, der bei seiner Rückkehr vom Feldzug im Jahre 1526 die osmanische Armee beunruhigte (siehe Schaendlinger, A.C.: *Die Feldzugstagebücher des ersten und zweiten ungarischen Feldzugs Suleymans I.* Wien 1978, S. 91). Bănkôtă (S. 154) ist das 1564 von den Osmanen eroberte Pankota in Siebenbürgen.

Bemerkenswert ist auch die osmanische Umschrift von jugoslawischen Namen und Städten: Zrinski, Mikuláš (Jurišić), Pečuj, Zemün, Segedin, usw., die konsequent aus der originalen und nicht aus der ungarischen Form hervorgeht.

Kapperts Herausgabe von *Tabakat ül-Memalik* macht dieses bemerkenswerte Werk der osmanischen Geschichtsschreibung des 16. Jahrhunderts auf eine sehr wohl durchdachte Weise zugänglich, die auch weitere Herausgeber inspirieren könnte.

Vojtech Kopčan

Yola, Ş.: *Scheich Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahî und sein Orden (1721—1925)*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 71. Berlin, K. Schwarz Verlag 1982. xiii + 195 S.

Es ist bekannt, daß die Professoren der Münchener Universität außerordentliche Verdienste bei der Erforschung der Derwisch-Orden und des Volksislam im Osmanischen Reich haben, und zwar mit Th. Menzl und F. Babinger beginnend, vor allem jedoch durch Arbeiten H.-J. Kisslings und seiner Schüler. Ş. Yolas Arbeit entstand ebenfalls im Seminar von Professor Kissling und wurde als Dissertation an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in München angenommen. Sie befaßt sich mit dem Gründer eines weniger verbreiteten und weniger bekannten Derwisch-Ordens Scheich Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahî (1676—1721), sowie mit der Geschichte der Klöster dieses Ordens und deren Scheichs bis zur allgemeinen Auflösung der Derwisch-Orden durch die Republik Türkei im Jahre 1925.

Da die laizistische Orientierung der Republik Türkei bis in die fünfziger Jahre hinein keinerlei Interesse für eine wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung der Derwisch-Orden unterstützte, ist diese Arbeit vorwiegend auf handschriftlichen Materialien aus diversen öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen aufgebaut. Es ist der Verfasserin gelungen eine große Anzahl von Handschriften über die Tätigkeit des Cerrahîye-

Ordens zu sammeln, von denen das Werk Gülşen-i Azizan des Scheichs Abdüllatif Fazlî aus dem Jahre 1881 von besonderer Wichtigkeit ist.

Von der methodologischen Sicht her weist Ş. Yolas Werk einen traditionellen Aufbau auf. Der erste Teil bringt eine ausführliche Analyse der Quellen zur Geschichte des Derwisch-Ordens und dessen Scheichs, der zweite Teil ist dem Gründer des Ordens Scheich Nureddin Mehmed Cerrahî gewidmet, der letzte Teil befaßt sich schließlich mit dem Cerrahîye-Orden (1721—1925) selbst.

Was Nureddin Mehmeds Eintritt in den Orden betrifft, kann dessen Entschluß unserer Ansicht nach nicht nur durch die Begegnung mit dem Ramazaniye-Scheich Ali Köstendilî, also im Geiste der traditionellen islamischen Biographien, sondern anscheinend auch durch das politische und geistige Klima, welches Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts im Osmanischen Reich als Folge der Mißerfolge in den Kämpfen mit den europäischen Gegnern herrschte, ausgelegt werden.

Obwohl der Derwisch-Orden Cerrahîye seine Klöster auch in den Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches unterhielt, befand sich der größte Teil seiner Einrichtungen in Istanbul. Es wäre daher notwendig diese Tatsache zu erklären, ebenso wie die enge Verbindung einiger Scheichs dieses Ordens mit den Sultanen und den höchsten Würdenträgern der osmanischen Macht.

Das Buch bringt eine große Menge bisher unbekannten Materials über die Tätigkeit des Derwisch-Ordens Cerrahîye, es wäre jedoch von Nutzen gewesen, hätte sich der Autor auf Grund dieses reichhaltigen Materials auch um gewisse Vergleiche und Verallgemeinerungen bemüht.

Vojtech Kopčan

Yunus Emre and His Mystical Poetry. Edited by Talât Sait Halman. Indiana University Turkish Studies 2. Ellettsville, Tulip Tree Publications 1981. VIII + 199 pp.

The second volume in the series Indiana University Turkish Studies that appeared on the occasion of the centenary of Atatürk's birth, is dedicated to the personality and work of the great Turkish mediaeval mystic and humanist Yunus Emre.

Interest in Yunus Emre's valuable poetic message in which richness of ideas is happily wedded to high artistic values has been growing in recent years not only in Turkey itself, but also beyond its borders. (Two years ago we presented a review on the pages of this annual of a monograph by the Soviet author — V. B. Kubelin, *Poeziya Yunusa Emre — The Poetry of Yunus Emre*. Moscow 1980). T. S. Halman in his Foreword (pp. VI—VIII) to the volume speaks of Yunus Emre as being the most important Turkish poet until the twentieth century, whose significance persists to this day.

Halman gives a high appreciation of the humanistic ideas that pervade the whole of Yunus Emre's work in the first of six studies making up this selection (pp. 1—21). Islamic mysticism (sufism) with its theocentric conception corresponded to pre-Islamic humanistic traditions of the Turks. In opposition to the bellicose spirit of the official Islamic religion, Turkish mystics (sufis) expressed the idea of one single admissible fight and this a fight against man's "internal enemy", by which is understood selfishness, vanity, ambition and faithlessness. These are the cause of all wars and bring about ethic evil.

In the view of the author of this study, the contentions regarding the authenticity of Yunus Emre's poems, as also the literary or illiteracy of this mystical poet are inessential. To us, Yunus Emre represents a poetic incorporation of Anatolian Turkish humanism in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Halman remarks that Yunus Emre's work is close to Socratic humanism which assumed truth to be proper to human subjectivity and the divine is comprised in man. Man in Yunus Emre's poetry does not represent an outcast, but an extension of God's reality and love. Yunus Emre exhorted mankind towards love which he understood as the celebration of life, towards peace, condemned feuds and contentions, dissensions. He considered service to the society as the fundamental moral ideal. This poetry of the mediaeval mystic in which interest in the nonprivileged classes predominated, inspired also the great Turkish poet of the twentieth century, Nazım Hikmet.

In the conclusion of the study Halman stresses that already in the thirteenth century, i.e. seven centuries ago, Yunus Emre attained the peak of intellectual and aesthetic tradition of Turkish humanism. A defence of peace and human brotherhood in his poetry, as a vivid example of humanism and universalism, is coming to be of particular interest especially during the present tense period.

The author of the study *The Human Dimension of Yunus Emre's Transformation* (pp. 23—40), Prof. İlhan Başgöz throws light on the mystic's figure as man, on certain facets of his physical life which contributed in some measure to the development of humanistic topics in his work, specifically his topics of universal love, social justice and humanism. The author sees a parallel between the way of life in a dervish lodge (*tekke*) community and the American counterculture of the 1960s.

While the first two authors — but also the authors of the remaining three studies to be spoken of presently — lay stress on humanistic ideas embodied in Yunus Emre's poetry, its link with life, its popular character, Mehmet Kaplan, a professor at the University in Istanbul, looks upon the work of this Turkish mystic from the viewpoint of existentialism.

In the introduction of his study *Yunus Emre's Views on Time, Life and the Meaning of Existence* (pp. 41—58), Kaplan expresses the opinion that many postulates enunciated by existentialist philosophers are but adaptations and reformulations of mystic ideas in lay thinking.

One may agree with the author that in an apprehension of being as a transcendental existence, there is a certain analogy between Yunus Emre and the existentialists, there is here also the topic of death as a moment in which man discovers the true meaning of life. However, in Heidegger and Jaspers whom Kaplan mentions here as a parallel to the Turkish mystic, death is understood as a tragic predetermination, while to Yunus Emre it is merely a transition stage to further life. Death is followed by a rebirth. In the study *Yunus Emre: A 14th Century Hymnodist* (pp. 111—126), J. R. Walsh underscores precisely this aspect: “Yunus has been described as the poet of death, but he is equally the poet of rebirth. Death and resurrection provide the conceptual framework for the thought of most primitive agricultural communities, and in centring his message about these two ideas, Yunus penetrated to the most intimate depths of the mind and the heart of the people he worked amongst” (p. 122).

Finally, Prof. Kaplan admits in his study that Yunus Emre created his poetry in order to instruct the people on the way how to mystically fuse with God, which represents the source of eternal happiness. Even this possibility, although involving an irrational knowledge, represents an optimistic aspect in the view on life which we fail to meet in existentialist philosophy doubting of any meaning of human life. A reduction of the whole of human existence to fear of death and nothingness as chaos, existential isolation of man before the face of infinity, lead, in existentialist philosophy, to a disintegration of social consciousness, to an interpretation of freedom as a liberation of personality from the society. In this, Yunus Emre who did not address his poetry to a narrow circle of intellectuals, but turned with it to the masses whom, besides love of God, he also taught mutual understanding, categorically differs from existentialist philosophers.

The national and human character of the Turkish mystic's poetry is dealt with by Prof. Annemarie Schimmel in her essay *Yunus Emre* (pp. 59—85). Yunus Emre's poetry differs from that of other mystics in that, even when treating of the deepest mysteries, it speaks in a manner comprehensible also to modern Turks. The fact that its means of expression became the language of the masses at large, links Yunus Emre with the great mystical preachers and poets not only of Islam, but also of Christianity and Hinduism. In order to bring the mysteries of love and faith closer to the common people, Yunus Emre also included in his poetry images from everyday life and from nature.

He also chose his prosody to be close to that of the people, and in fact he composed the major part of his work in the traditional Turkish syllabic metres, in *parmak hesabi* or *hece vezni*.

The popular character of Yunus Emre's poetry is also evaluated in the study referred to above, by J. R. Walsh. The high value of this poetry resides in its being anchored in the society, specifically in the rural society. The fact that the poet's language from the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is still comprehen-

sible also to the present-day uneducated farmer from Anatolia goes to show how static were the agricultural communities of Asia Minor.

The paper by Prof. Andreas Tietze, *Yunus Emre and His Contemporaries* (pp. 81—110) which was presented at the International Yunus Emre Symposium held in Istanbul in September 1971, points to analogies between the Turkish mediaeval poet and his contemporaries in various countries of Europe.

The author makes a point of the analogous linguistic situation in Anatolia and Europe. While Persian was used at the sultan's court at Konya and also Maulānā Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī wrote in this language and scholars and teachers in the *medrese* made use of Arabic, a national Turkish literature was slowly being formed in parallel in the thirteenth century. A similar situation prevailed also in Europe where classical culture developed in the Latin language, but in southern and western Europe works were already being produced in national languages.

As an example, Tietze mentions three mediaeval women writers, viz. Mechthild of Magdeburg whose book is written in German, Hadwijch, writing in Mediaeval Dutch and Birgitta of Sweden, whose work has been preserved only in a Latin translation.

Tietze finds numerous analogies between the poems of Yunus Emre and those of Iacopone of Todi, a follower of Francesco of Assisi. Iacopone wrote his poems in the Umbrian dialect and incorporated in them many elements of folk poetry. The most striking affinity in the two poets is manifest in the love motif.

The second part of the book is made up of as yet the most comprehensible selection from Yunus Emre's poems (46) published thus far in English translation. It is introduced by editorial notes On Yunus Emre's "Complete Poems" (p. 127—128) and On Yunus Emre's Translation (p. 129—136), as also Notes on Some Names and Terms (pp. 137—138).

Yunus Emre's poetry was included in *Divan* (Collected Poems) and *Risâlat al-Nushiyya* (Book of Counsel) which, however, have not been as yet systematically investigated so as to determine the definitive text. The basis for the selection from Yunus Emre's poems represented in the present collection have been the editions Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı (*Yunus Emre Divan*, Istanbul 1943—1948; *Risâlat al-Nushiyya*, Eskişehir 1965).

The selected poems were translated by T. S. Halman. He introduces the various poems with the first two verses in the original. In the translation, he adheres to the original stanzaic forms and the rhyme patterns. For the sake of comparison, the notes accompanying the translation carry translations of Yunus Emre's poems into English by other authors.

The volume is closed with a Selected Yunus Emre Bibliography (pp. 191—197) and basic bibliographic data on the contributors (p. 198—199).

Besides presenting valuable knowledges concerning Yunus Emre's personality and his work, this unique volume brings close his poetry also to nonturkologists and

simultaneously serves as a stimulus to a more intensive scholarly investigation on one of the most prominent mystics of the world.

Xénia Celnarová

Association française des Arabisants : *Dix ans de Recherche universitaire française sur le monde arabe et islamique* (Publié avec le concours du Ministère de l'Education nationale et du Ministère des Relations extérieures). Paris, Editions Recherche sur les civilisations 1982. 439 pp.

Le présent Catalogue des thèses de doctorat sur le monde arabe et islamique (de 1968—1969 à 1979) a été réalisé à l'initiative de Jacqueline Chabbi (Université de Paris VIII) et de Bruno Halff (Inspection générale de l'Education nationale — arabe) avec la participation de Jean-Patrick Guillaume et Margaret Sironval. Le Catalogue émane de l'intérêt de l'Association française des arabisants, du Ministère des Relations extérieures et du Ministère de l'Education nationale.

Le projet a été confié à l'Office national des universités et écoles françaises (O.N.U.E.F.). Cet organisme a obtenu la collaboration active du Fichier central des thèses de l'Université de Paris-X-Nanterre qui est le dépositaire de l'ensemble des informations sur les titres des thèses en cours et soutenues et qui a largement contribué à l'élaboration de l'ouvrage.

Le Catalogue contient près de 6000 thèses de doctorat (d'Etat, de Troisième Cycle et d'Université) et de la recherche universitaire sur le monde musulman ce qui témoigne de l'extension de la recherche sur les pays islamiques de même que de l'intérêt que suscite le monde arabe. Le Catalogue est divisé en neuf parties principales qui relèvent d'un classement géographique (Parties III—VIII) et d'un classement thématique (Parties I, II et IX) : I. Islam précontemporain ; II. Linguistique et littérature arabe ; III. Monde arabe contemporain ; IV. Proche et Moyen-Orient arabe ; Maghreb ; VI. Monde iranien ; VII. Monde turc ; VIII. Islam périphérique ; IX. Immigration.

En outre, l'ouvrage comprend un index des directeurs des thèses ; plusieurs annexes : tableaux chiffrés ; équipes de recherche et formations universitaires ; moyens d'information et de documentation.

Les auteurs du Catalogue n'ignorent pas les dangers et les embûches qui peuvent survenir. Un certain nombre d'erreurs techniques et d'oublis est tout à fait inévitable dans un travail de ce genre.

L'ouvrage s'adresse aux chercheurs, aux enseignants et aux étudiants, aux responsables des institutions de recherche et à tous ceux qui portent intérêt vers le monde de l'Islam. Le Catalogue est une contribution importante aux recherches

interdisciplinaires sur le monde arabe et islamique et aux échanges scientifiques dans ces domaines.

Ladislav Drozdík

Blohm, Dieter—Reuschel, Wolfgang—Samarraie, Abed: *Lehrbuch des modernen Arabisch*. Teil II/1 und Teil II/2 (Manual of Modern Arabic. Part II/1 and Part II/2). Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1981. 1112 pp. (496; 497—1112 pp.).

Part II/1—2 of the present Manual forms part of an extensive work consisting of three large volumes already published. Part I, almost entirely devoted to the morphological description, appeared several years ago (Krahl, G. and Reuschel, W.: *Lehrbuch des modernen Arabisch*. Teil I, Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1976, 620 pp.). The treatment of syntax constitutes the main point of interest of both volumes of Part II while Part III (in preparation) has to deal with problems of semantic and lexical interest. All three volumes so far published (Part I and Part II/1—2) form a well-organized whole designed for the first three years of a university level instruction in Modern Written Arabic.

The authors have largely succeeded in producing a manual that may, to a considerable extent, fulfil even the task of a reference grammar of Modern Written Arabic (MWA). By the extent and assortment of grammatical data provided, by their neat presentation and sound pedagogical arrangement, the book cannot be compared to anything produced so far in the domain of MWA. Also as a drill- and textbook, its every step is meticulously deliberated and brought into a highly effective relation to the grammatical topic under discussion. Apart from transformation and combination drills, the authors made wide use of the extremely effective lexical exercises (viz., *kawwin jumalan mufīdatan min at-tarākīb at-tāliya...*; *'uḍkur ba'ḍ murādifāt al-kalimāt...*). Of no lesser importance are drills containing a mixture of correct and incorrect sentences, that require the detection and correction on the part of the student.

The lessons consist of two basic parts: a grammatical part (G) followed by another one containing drills (Ü — Übungsteil) and two texts with related word-lists per each lesson.

Despite the fact that the *Lehrbuch* is not specifically designed for training translators and interpreters, excellent results have been achieved by using it at this university level specialization, as well. The few remarks which follow are derived mainly from our pedagogical exploitation of the Manual (esp. Part II/1).

Some grammatical parts are based on a first-hand linguistic investigation of MWA and seem to offer more detailed knowledge than that corresponding to the second

year level of instruction, as well as to the students' previous experience. The excellent description of the use of active participle as a predicate (das Aktiv-Partizip in prädikativer Funktion, p. 21 ff.) seems to belong to this category.

The distribution of 'anna and 'an is one of those numerous paragraphs of the *Lehrbuch* that cannot be found elsewhere with a similar richness of fresh MWA data (101 ff.).

Under the heading of 'adverbieller Akkusativ' are, apart from cases like *tagayyara tagayyuran jidriyyan* or *muniḥa wisāman taqdīran li-ʿamalihi*, quoted also accusatives of the type *qālat al-'umm dāḥikatan*... (p. 264). While in the former cases we have to do with true adverbial terms whose adverbialness is formally marked by an accusative, in the latter case the feature of adverbialness (marked by the accusative) is paralleled by that of 'adnominalness' (here coinciding with a reference to the subject or the object signalled, in turn, by the concord). The latter type of 'shared' adverbialness is mostly treated in nonadverbial terms, notably under the heading of *ḥāl*, viz. 'Zustandsakkusativ'. The separate (nonadverbial) treatment of *ḥāl*, being more congruous with formal criteria, seems to be preferable from both theoretical and pedagogical points of view.

On the strength of the same criteria we do not agree to the 'Zustandsakkusativ' classification of the verbal nouns, e.g. *ī timādan ʿalā, intilāqan min* etc. as against their participial counterparts (p. 274 ff.). Since the restrictive impact of the verbal noun upon the syntactic substantive (subject/object) cannot formally be attested with the verbal noun, its determinative power will be regarded as exclusively restricted to the verb (viz. accusative) as against their participial counterparts that display both types of markers, viz. agreement and accusative. For that matter, we do not share the opinion of the authors that 'der sogenannte Akkusativ des Grundes gleicht formal ebenfalls dem Zustandsakkusativ' (p. 305). Finally, the treatment of 'Zustandsakkusativ' in adverbial terms strongly opposes the linguistically more consistent classification of the latter as a 'prädikativer Attribut' (p. 272 f).

In describing constructions with two accusatives, like *'aʿtāyṭu ṣadīqī l-kitāba* (p. 315), it is rightly stated that, more rarely, even analytical constructions may occur, viz. *'aʿtāyṭu li-ṣadīqī kitāban* (p. 316). Unfortunately, however, there is no mention here of a quite regular synthetic/analytic alternation conditioned by changes in the word order pattern: *'aʿtāyṭu ṣadīqī kitāban*/'*aʿtāyṭu kitāban li-ṣadīqī*, comparable to the English "I gave my friend a book"/"I gave a book to my friend".

Of course, these few remarks concern but trivialities and, in syntactic classification, merely alternative points of view which cannot lower the value of the *Lehrbuch* whose grammatical paragraphs constitute the first consistent and freshly documented panoramatic picture of the MWA language structure.

It is generally known that intercultural differences may generate problems, especially in the lexical domain, that are not always easy to overcome. The term *ṭalabat ad-dirāsāt al-ʿulyā* (215), used as an equivalent to the German 'Aspiranten',

will hardly be rightly understood by a random native speaker of Arabic who is not acquainted with the university system and academic hierarchy in the GDR. But, to be quite honest, we cannot suggest any better substitute for the latter. This apparently trivial problem is, in fact, one of the most intricate ones the student has to master in learning a foreign language and it is clearly reflected in the asymmetry of two-way bilingual lexicons. The set of lexical items, included in a lexicon of an A-B arrangement, may widely differ from that contained in its B-A counterpart. While the English "baby-sitter", for instance, tends already to occur, even if rather hesitatingly, in the English-Arabic lexicons (e.g., Doniach 94: *jalīs at-tifl 'inda ġiyāb al-wālidayn*; Schregle 126: *ḥāris at-tifl 'inda ġiyāb al-'umm*; etc.), no dictionary of an opposite orientation will ever quote this term under *j-l-s or *k-r-s. The present remark is, of course, not intended as a criticism, it merely aims at drawing attention of the student to some intrinsic and quite unavoidable problems which are necessarily present in the *Lehrbuch*, too.

The Part II/2 completes the detailed syntactic description of MWA and contains also a glossary (Glossar, 1013—1112). The syntactic paragraphs included in this volume, further corroborate the high qualities of the *Lehrbuch* and make one desire to see them incorporated in a fully autonomous grammatical description of MWA, compiled on the basis of data scattered over the manual. The result would be a highly valuable first-generation reference grammar of MWA, possibly paralleled with a Russian and/or English edition.

Some misprints (recorded only for Part II/1):

(*min aḍ-ḍarūrī 'an nuḥaqqīqa*) *lī at-taḥāluf al-quwā t-taqaddumiyya* → *taḥāluf al-quwā t-taqaddumiyya* (140);

'aqaba ijtīmā'an → *'aqada ijtīmā'an* (142);

as-simyū → *al-misyū* (149);

jamāhīr ša'sbiyya → *jamāhīr ša'biyya* (152);

dawla 'uḍwa → *dawla 'uḍw* (164);

al-faḍl ad-dirāsī → *al-faṣl ad-dirāsī* (165);

'aṣṣara in kayfa 'aṣṣara taġyīr mīzān al-quwā fī... → *'attara* (208);

wa 'awāmil → *'awāmil* (246 below);

ad-dawāh → *ad-dawla* (247);

ḥall u ḥulī → *ḥall u ḥall* (282);

muwāfiqūna → *muwāfiqūna* (293);

(*hal sallamtahumu l-hadāyā?*) *lā lam 'usallimhā 'iyyāhā* → *lā lam 'usallimhum 'iyyāhā* (316);

Owing to the exclusive treatment of linguistic features, reflecting the most recent stage of the linguistic development of MWA, the *Lehrbuch* is an important contribution to defining the structural boundaries of MWA, as against Classical Arabic. But, of course, its main domain of application is teaching and learning MWA

at levels specified above. As a practical manual, the *Lehrbuch* is, no doubt, one of the best. The tape recordings of the texts included are available as well.

Ladislav Drozdík

Fromm, Wolf-Dietrich: *Häufigkeitswörterbuch der modernen arabischen Zeitungssprache (Ein Mindestwortschatz). Arabisch-Deutsch-Englisch (Frequency Dictionary of Modern Newspaper Arabic (A Skeleton Vocabulary). Arabic-German-English)*. Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1982. XX + 352 pp.

For Modern Written Arabic there are no fresh word counts available. Two representative works, published in this domain,¹ reflect the Arabic lexicon of several decades ago. The present frequency dictionary aims at filling this gap for the domain of modern newspaper Arabic.

The author seems to be right in restricting the linguistic area examined to the eastern part of the Arab world, notably to the three Arabic-speaking countries (Egypt, Syria and Iraq), to avoid the disturbing effect of lexical regionalisms inclusively of the regionally-conditioned preferences of items of an otherwise pan-Arabic circulation.

From a sample size of 79,561 running words, constituting a vocabulary of 8,257 lexical items, a set of high frequency items has been selected by including items the absolute frequency of which is not less than 3. On the strength of this restriction, there resulted a list of 2,619 entries exhibiting a textual coverage of about 87%.

Apart from its scientific value for the lexicology of Arabic, owing to the high textual coverage of the items included, the present dictionary can be used as a highly valuable tool in any attempt to define the basic word list of modern newspaper Arabic, substantially no matter whether for scientific or pedagogic purposes.

The dictionary consists of three basic parts: List of Frequency [*Häufigkeitsliste* (1—106)]; Alphabetical List [*Alphabetische Liste* (107—297)] and List of Root Frequencies [*Liste der Wurzelhäufigkeiten* (299—351)]. The textual samples evaluated and the method adopted is briefly described in Preliminary Remarks. The dictionary is bilingual, German and English.

The work is of importance to research workers in Arabic lexicology, for practical lexicographical purposes as well as for teachers and students of Modern Written Arabic.

Ladislav Drozdík

¹ Brill, M., in collaboration with D. Neustadt and P. Schusser: *The Basic Word List of the Arabic Daily Newspaper*. Jerusalem, Hebrew University Press 1940; Landau, Jacob M.: *A Word Count of Modern Arabic Prose*. New York, American Council of Learned Societies 1959.

Salonen, E.: *On the Arabic Dialect Spoken in Širqāt (Assur)*. Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedekatemia 1980. 131 pp.

Rather an annotated textual edition than a full-fledged linguistic description, Salonen's monograph is nevertheless a highly useful device for getting acquainted with the Arabic dialect of *Širqāt* (Assur), standing somewhere midway between the Iraqi and Syro-Palestinian dialects.

Širqāt belongs to the governorate of Nineveh and lies about one hundred kilometres south of Mosul.

The book consists of two main parts: The Texts (pp. 9—49) and Grammatical Notes (pp. 50—115).

The selection of texts is extraordinarily good and fully meets dialectological purposes. Thematically, the textual corpus is closely related to the folklore of the area, popular beliefs and customs, local sources of livelihood, German archaeological excavations in Assur (1903—1914), as preserved in the memory of local inhabitants, Bedouin speech habits, and the like.

In order to visualize cultural and individual variation in the textual samples recorded as faithfully as possible, the author chose an allophonic representation (*madīna*, *mādīnā*, *medīne*). The texts are followed by an English translation.

The grammatical part of the book offers to the reader a classified annotation of the texts. The phonological notes include comparative data of the Syro-Palestinian and Iraqi dialect area. Most of the statements included are extremely concise and do not, as in fact they cannot fully cover all phonological features of the dialect. Nevertheless, some of these gaps to a considerable degree obscure the phonological picture of the dialect described. The glottal stop, for instance, is correctly said to be a normal phenomenon in the dialect of *Širqāt* when occurring in a word-initial position, as in 'awwal, 'Ašūr (54), etc. The glottal stop in other positions, even though frequently recorded in the texts, is left without comments. The occurrence of the glottal stop in intervocalic and word-final positions, as in *bā'ig* "thief" (III: 3 occurrences) or *dā'ir* in *w-binēt dā'ir mā dōru libin* (XII, 9) "and I built round it libin" or, finally, *beri* (IV, 4, 8, 9) "guiltless", is by no means 'a normal phenomenon' and the reader has his choice to interpret it as either a true dialectal feature, or a cultural variant as is, no doubt, the case with *xubarā* "specialists" (II, 25, 26) or *iḥyā* "revival" (see below). In the medial position, after a closed syllable or when itself closes the syllable, the glottal stop disappears, viz. *el-mara* (* *al-mar'a*) "the woman" (VI, 8, 17), *el-bīr* (**bī'r*) "the well" (I, 59), as is, after all, the case with some glottal stops in a word-initial position, e.g. *ridna* in *'ida ridna* (VI, 1) "if we want", as against the Classical *'aradnā*, in contradistinction, however, to *'ahad* "to take" (88, 113), closely paralleling the Classical Arabic *'ahada*.

Similarly, the grammatical part of the monograph gives a maximum of information on a minimum of space. The sound arrangement of classified data will be of

invaluable help to the student. Nevertheless, we cannot fully agree with the treatment of the annexion-type attributive relationship under the misleading heading “Expressing possession”, with the examples quoted like *munaqqib ‘ātār* “archeologist” (lit. ‘explorer of antiquities’) (I, 4) or *mašrū ‘ihyā mādīnet ‘Ašūr* “project for the revival of the city of Assur” (I, 5) (p. 113).

The way of presenting verbal morphology is of great informative value which is still augmented by comparative data (viz. rural vs. Bedouin, *Širqāṭ* vs. Mosul). It is to be regretted, however, that the extremely concise presentation did not allow the author to round up the general picture of the verb by supplying all basic data, such as the distribution of internal (viz. pattern-marked) and external (viz. affix-marked) passive, as in *čtil (*qutīla)* “he was killed” (52: I, 83) as against *tunḍrub* (“she is hit”) in *w-čtīr mā tūnḍrub el-mara* “and often the woman is hit” (97: VI, 152).

Misprints are relatively few. Some cases recorded: *‘idāfe ‘īla* (89), correctly *‘idāfe ‘īla*; *‘aqwq minhum* (90), corr. *‘aqwa minhum, ʕet*.

Salonen’s study is an important contribution to the Arabic dialectology which will be of interest to Arabists, linguists and dialectologists.

Ladislav Drozdík

Mokhtar, Ahmed: *Lehrbuch des Ägyptisch-Arabischen* (Manual of Egyptian Arabic). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1981. XIII + 314 pp.

If we leave aside the excellent late nineteenth-century works (W. Spitta Bey, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgaerdialectes von Aegypten*. Leipzig 1880; and K. Vollers, *Lehrbuch der aegyptoarabischen Umgangssprache mit Uebungen und Glossar*. Cairo 1890), as text-books by now considerably antiquated, the present *Lehrbuch* is the first large-scale German manual of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic. By Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) Cairo Arabic is generally understood. Cairo Arabic is the mother tongue of more than seven million inhabitants of the Egyptian capital and the linguistic medium of a great part of radio and TV programmes diffused in Egypt. The knowledge of Cairene Arabic is spread also by means of movies circulating throughout the Arab world. The manual consists of two main parts: Grammar (144 pp.) and Texts (145—314 pp.).

The system of Latinized transcription, reflecting the German tradition, presents a clear and easily identifiable picture of the dialect. Nevertheless, the writing of the word-initial *hamza* (glottal stop) does not seem to be quite consistent, viz. *hamza* unnoted: *ana gēt* (11); *il-akl* (136, 142), etc., as against cases where the *hamza* is noted: *‘akl* (3), *‘il-‘agmal* (11), etc. The nonetymological *hamza* (q—ʔ) is regularly noted, as in *wil-bāʔi baʔšiš ʕāšanak* (203), *ʔaṭra* (3), *ʔism il-boliš* (262), etc.

The description of the ECA sound system satisfies, in principle, the practical purposes of the manual. Nevertheless, some parallels with the German sound system should have perhaps been more cautiously worded. Thus, for instance, the phoneme *d* is indeed similar to the German *d*, on condition, however, that the word-initial devoicing, typical of German, does not affect the ECA sound, that is *dīb* “wolf” (and never *tīb*). The same holds true of all other voiced consonants occurring in both languages.

Despite the fact that a simple and, at the same time, understandable definition of *ḥ* (*ḥa*) is not just easy, the one given by the author does not seem to be happily worded, viz. “tief in der Kehle gehauchtes *h*” (3). For this phoneme, as a (voiceless) pharyngeal spirant, is, at any rate, less ‘deep’ than its laryngeal (glottal) counterpart (*h*).

Emphasis (pharyngealization) is conceived as a distinctive feature of consonants and so is noted. Prosodic notation, prevailing nowadays in Arabic dialectology, would have been perhaps more advantageous. Furthermore, an undue etymological restriction is imposed on emphasis: only such consonant phonemes are recognized as emphatic which may be affected by *taẖīm* in Classical Arabic. One of the most important nonetymological emphatic phonemes, characteristic of ECA, is undoubtedly *r*. Since it operates, at the same time, as one of the most aggressive emphasizers, its ignoring leads to a considerable distortion of the phonological picture of the dialect, viz., e.g. *‘il-’amar* “the moon”, as against the *Lehrbuch*-noted *‘il-’amar*.

The transition from *min* + *‘il-madrasa* to *mil-madrasa* (5) is erroneously interpreted as a result of assimilation due to the position of *n* before *l*, since we have cases like *min* + *iš-ša”a* → *miš-ša”a*, etc. The phenomenon has to be described as a case of syllabic elision seemingly due to a dissimilatory process (two syllables involving *i*).

The form *širibit* (7, 61, etc.), persistently occurring throughout the manual and evidently opposing, as well, the rule of IIIA (p. 9), seemingly reflects the author’s idiolect which is atypical of the prevailing Cairene usage (viz., *širbit*).

The treatment of elision of the short unstressed *i* and *u* (9) is good and economic. Unfortunately, however, it is obscured by the misleading paragraph quoting exceptions (Ausnahmen) to the foregoing rules. As evident, cases quoted under 1 to 2 are not exceptions at all, since they do not oppose the rules IIIA. Only cases quoted under 3 (*katabitu*, and not *katabtu* “she wrote it”) and 4 (*subulak*, and not *sublak* “your (masc.) ways”) are true exceptions. And here it would have been worthwhile to point to the fact that the 3rd person sing. fem. of the perfective, as against cases like *subulak*, *kutubu* etc., retains its (otherwise elidable vowel) owing to the effect of an ‘out-of-rule’ stress, viz. *katabítu* (the stress is marked here by an acute accent) “she wrote it”, which has to prevent the morphophonemic fusion of an inadmissibly great set of forms, viz. *katabtu* “I, you (masc.), *she wrote it”.

It would have perhaps been worth noting that structures like *ana’āwiz aktib* (from

ana ^ˈ*āwiz* ^ˈ*aktib*) (11) are only one of the possible results and that a subsequent process may lead to what seems to be culturally still lower, viz., *ana* ^ˈ*awz aktib*, in accordance with IIIA (p. 9), provided, however, that not only a vowel-initial suffix may lead to this type of elision but any item (inclusively of autonomous words) beginning with a vowel.

The assertion that words like *gaw*, *mayya*, etc. do not involve root-constituting consonants (13), apart from its being fairly unetymological, does not seem to fit a synchronic description, either (**g-w-w*, **m-w-*). The morphophonemic changes cannot 'deradicalize' any of these or similar items. In this case the author prefers to treat some words (sub-triliterals or morphonologically radically reshaped items, etc.) in terms of root-words, he ought to have clearly defined the limits of morphemic segmentation along with the root-and-pattern structural boundaries.

The statement that from a collective noun (*burtu'ān* "orange(s)") a feminine singular may be formed by appending the feminine suffix *-a* (*burtu'āna* "an orange") (p. 15), is rather misleading since the collective noun is, grammatically speaking, a singular, as well. The feature of singularness, as opposed to pluralness, contrasts with that of unitness in relation to collectiveness. In the former case we have a 'oneness' opposed to a numeric value of 'more than two', in the latter case, a 'oneness' opposed to a numeric value of 'any number', inclusively of 'one', in a generic sense. A plural-like interpretation of collectives is no more than an approximation due to the lack of corresponding collectives in the describing language.

In dealing with the dual, it would have been perhaps worthwhile noting that with paired parts of the body, the dual may cover even the numeric value of a plural (viz. 'more than two'), as in:

^ˈ*ēn* "eye" — ^ˈ*enēn* "(two or more) eyes", in the plural interpretation, equaling the culturally higher ^ˈ*iyūn*, ^ˈ*uyūn*;

^ˈ*īd* "hand" — ^ˈ*idēn* "(two or more) hands", in the plural sense equaling the culturally higher ^ˈ*aydī*;

^ˈ*rigl* "foot" — ^ˈ*riglēn* "(two or more) feet", etc., etc.

That a syllable of the type CVC must be shortened in contact with a consonant, i.e. CVC + C = CVC + C, may be deduced only from the linguistic material quoted, viz. ^ˈ*uddām* "in front of" as against ^ˈ*uddamna* "in front of us" (25). The latter feature is not quite consistently noted, e.g. *fō* — *fō'kum* (25); *ḥallēthum yiḏḥaku* (69); *bitā'hum* (155); *flūsha* (230); *gārya* (240), etc. Of course, some of these examples may be misprints, or even quite deliberate stylistic alternants.

In noting the elision of short *i* and *u* it would have been perhaps useful to draw the student's attention to the fact that, in this domain, a rather diffuse cultural alternation may take place. It seems to be organized along a dichotomy: short vowel elided — the segment concerned is classified as culturally inferior (short vowel nonelided — the segment concerned is ranked as stylistically superior: *maktabt*

il-kulliyya) maktabit il-kulliyya (47); *ana 'awz aktib / ana 'awiz aktib* (11); *huwwa- ... rayḥ iṣ-ṣuġl / huwwa ... rāyih iṣ-ṣuġl* (128); *širb il-mayya / širib il-mayya* (126), etc.

The notation of elision, as used in the present manual, displays an even more refined hierarchy consisting of three alternants:

— classicized notation (short vowel nonelided, the etymological vowel quantity maintained, two long vowels are tolerated in a single word), e.g. *'āmilāt* “woman workers” (164); *nāzir il-madrasa* “headmaster, director of a school” (285), etc.

— moderately classicized (short vowel nonelided, the etymological long vowel already shortened), e.g. *gamfāt* “universities” (165); *ṭalibāt* “girl students” (168), etc.

— colloquial (short vowel elided, the etymological vowel quantity eliminated), e.g. *madint il-gam'a* “hostel, residence for university students” (167), etc.

In the bulk of ECA words of similar syllabic structure that do not belong to a culturally higher level of communication, the last variant does occur almost exclusively. In prestige words, on the other hand, various morphonological disturbances may take place, as in the following stress and vowel quantity variations: *'il-qāhira*, *'il-qāhira*, *'il-qahira* “Cairo” (arranged in the sense of increasing colloquialness).

In describing the distribution of ' and q the author rightly states that in some words (i.e. in a limited number of prestige words borrowed from Classical Arabic) the phoneme q is maintained. In this connection, it might have been stated that a culturally conditioned ' / q alternation may occur in the same word, as is, after all, attested in the texts, e.g. *'ism / qism*, as in *fi 'ism il-boliṣ* (262) / *huwwa ra'is il-qism fi 'agāza* ? (118).

In connection with the derived Form IV (IV. Stamm) it might have been signalled that the Form IV verbs, like *'aḍrab — yidrib*, *'aṭla — yiṭlī* (76), etc., as well as their nominal derivatives, are borrowings from Classical Arabic and do not form part of the living derivational system of ECA.

Despite the fact that, etymologically, the correspondence between the verbal nouns *taksīr*, *tagdīd*, *tagyīr*, etc. and the verbs *'itkassar*, *'itgaddid*, *'itgayyar* (99—100) is not quite correct owing to the impact of neutralization of the distinction between causativity (conditioning) and reflexivity (spontaneity), observable with the verbal nouns, the above correspondence may safely be accepted. Nevertheless, the identification of forms like *minafsa*, *mizayda* (100) with a Form III passive participle is erroneous, since they are, as evident, regular Form III verbal nouns (*mufa'ala*).

The distribution of synthetic and analytic possessives greatly varies from singular to plural. While in singular, *mudarrisi* and *'il-mudarris bitā'i* (155) “my teacher” have roughly the same expectance to occur, the synthetic plural, like *mudarrisīni* (156) “my teachers” is almost always supplanted by the analytical *'il-mudarrisin bitū'i*. This fact might have been explicitly signalled.

Some cases of CCC clusters (epenthetic vowel unnoted); the missing cluster-preventing vowel will be marked by a note of exclamation: *āhir riḥla-l maṣr! kānit gamīla* (50); *il-akl! ʿala-ḥsābu* (136); *maṣr! fi-qārriṭ afriqya* (possibly re-arranged into *maṣri-f qārriṭ afriqya*) (151); *fi-maṣr! fallāḥin kitīr* (152); *il-urs! da* (256); *biyḥibb! Rummāna* (230); *huwwa raʿīs il-qism! fi-ʿagāza?* (subsequently re-arranged into *huwwa raʿīs il-qismi-f ʿagāza?* (118); *bāḍ! sukkān* (125); *kulli bint! fil-magmūʿa-di ʿawza titgawwiz* (126); *itkallimt! māʿāh* (128); *marāḥš iš-šūgl! ʿašān ʿayyān* (130); *il-akl! gāhiz* (179, twice), etc.

Some misprints recorded:

(nicht *sāfa*) → (nicht *safā*) (5); *idrab* → *iḍrāb* (still better *iḍrāb*) (18); *ḥabbaya, ḥabbayit manga* → *ḥabbāya, ḥabbāyit manga* (48); *irbāʿ* → *irbāʿ (ʿirbāʿ)* (51); *sā ʾ* → *sāʾi* (86); *šara* → *yišra* → *šaraʿ — yišraʿ* (87); *mazarḥāš* → *mazarḥāš* (103); *la ya sēḥ* → *la ya šēḥ* (107); *maʿanduhumsi ʿēs* → *maʿanduhumši ʿēš* (109); *mahbaz* → *maḥbaz* (110); *la-mʿaya* → *la-māya* (111); *illi-f ʿalbu ʿala-l-sānu* → *illi-f ʿalbu ʿala-lsānu* (115); *qims* → *qism* (118); *id-dalhum* → *iddalhum* (120); *bitō il-gamʿa* → *bitō il-gamʿa* (164); *taʿsirit id-duḥūl* → *taʿsirit id-duḥūl* (198); *ana gāy ḥalan* → *ana gāy ḥalan* (202); *l-ibtitaʿiyya* → *l-ibtidaʿiyya* (211); *muṣʿidda-ḍaḥḥi* → *muṣʿidda-ḍaḥḥi* (from *muṣʿidda + ṭiḍaḥḥi*) (230); *izzāy baʿa?* → *izzay baʿa?* (255); *šufa baʿa ya sitti* → *šufi baʿa ya sitti* (255); *iʿarāš* → *iʿrāš* (258); *ḍāmīr* → *ḍamīr* (295); *maṭariḥ* → *maṭāriḥ* (297); *naṣayih* → *naṣāyih* (297); *waʿif ʿala* → *wāʿif ʿala* (298); etc.

Our suggestions, of course, do not intend to cast doubt on the qualities of Mokhtar's *Lehrbuch*. They merely aim at drawing attention to some useful alternatives, as well as to a number of minor inconsistencies and misprints. The grammatical part is written in a lucid and linguistically consistent style, the texts included have a true-to-life Cairene ring and reflect a variety of everyday communicative situations. The student who masters them thoroughly may expect to acquire a fine knowledge of Cairo Arabic.

Ladislav Drozdík

Günes, Ahmet Halil: *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʿāfir des Ibn Aiyūb. Damasener Biographien des 10./16. Jahrhunderts. Beschreibung und Edition. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen. Band 60. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1981. 123 S. + 118 S. (arab. Text).*

Die vorliegende Publikation hat zum Ziel die arabistische Öffentlichkeit mit einem kleineren biographischen Werk, bislang unbekannten, bekanntzumachen — *Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʿāfir* — dessen Autor der damaszenische Geschichtsschreiber Šarafaddīn Ibn Aiyūb (gest. 1000—1592) ist. Die einzige bekannte Handschrift dieses Werkes — und zwar das Autograph — ist in der Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, unter der Signatur: Wetzstein 289 (s. Ahlwardt,

Verzeichnis, Band 9, Nr. 9886) erhalten. A. H. Günes zählte in diesem Werk 334 Biographien bedeutender Gelehrter, Theologen, Herrscher, Statthalter, Emire, Richter und Händler, die in der Zeitspanne zwischen dem 7. und 9. Jahrhundert der Hiğra lebten. Neben diesen befinden sich in diesem Buch auch die Biographien von persönlichen Freuden des Autors, sowie dessen Verwandten.

Nach dem einleitenden Kapitel Leben und Werk des Ibn Aiyüb (S. 2—6) widmet der Autor seine Aufmerksamkeit dem Aufbau und Inhalt vom *Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʿāṭir* (S. 7—10), beschreibt das Autograph (S. 11—12) und gibt eine Übersicht der Biographien in der Reihenfolge, wie diese in der Handschrift angeführt werden (S. 13—22). Aus sachlichen Gesichtspunkten ist auch das dritte Buch von Wichtigkeit, in dem A. H. Günes eine Übersicht der schriftlichen Quellen anführt, die Ibn Aiyüb in seinem Werk benützt. Wir begegnen hier beinahe allen bekannten Geschichtsschreibern und Biographen der Spätzeit (Ibn Hallikān, Yāqūt ar-Rūmī, as-Subkī, Ibn Kaṭīr, Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqālānī usw.). Die meistzitierte Autorität ist Šamsaddīn Muḥammad ibn Tūlūn (gest. 953—1546). In einem großen Maße schöpft Ibn Aiyüb aus dessen biographischem Werk über die Gelehrten des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts der Hiğra und aus dessen Taʿrīḥ, obwohl er ihm eine unkritische Haltung und Verzerrung der zeitgenössischen Geschichte vorwirft. Abgeschlossen wird die Arbeit von Biographien angeführt in alphabetischer Folge (S. 34—82). Bei jedem Stichwort wird der Name, das Geburts- und Todesdatum der jeweiligen Persönlichkeit, deren Bildung, Beschäftigung, sowie Schaffen (wenn es sich um einen Literaten oder Wissenschaftler handelt) angeführt.

Den zweiten Teil der Publikation bildet die arabische Herausgabe von 42 ausgewählten Biographien, nämlich Biographien von Verwandten und Bekannten, Freunden und Kollegen des Verfassers, der ein Personen-, Orts-, Namen- und Sachregister angehängt ist. A. H. Günes bearbeitete diese Herausgabe sehr gewissenhaft und technisch perfekt, was sicher nicht leicht gewesen sein dürfte, wenn wir bedenken, daß er ein Autograph eines fast unbekannten Autors herausgegeben hat. Aus dem editierten Text gewinnt der Leser eine gute Vorstellung über Ibn Aiyübs historiographische Bildung, dessen sozial-religiöse Orientierung, sowie über das Niveau der arabischen biographischen Literatur im 16. Jahrhundert.

Ján Pauliny

Nippa, Annegret: *Soziale Beziehungen und ihr wirtschaftlicher Ausdruck. Untersuchungen zur städtischen Gesellschaft des Nahen Ostens am Beispiel Dair az-Zór (Ostsyrien)*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen. Band 69. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1982. 198 S. + 5 Karten.

Die besprochene Publikation enthält eine bemerkenswerte Analyse der sozialen Struktur der ostsyrischen Stadt Dair az-Zór. Die Autorin weist gleichzeitig darauf

hin, welche sozial-ökonomische Beziehungen die werktätige Bevölkerung der Stadt eingeht und untersucht die einzelnen Faktoren, die das ökonomische Geschehen von Dair as-Zór bestimmen.

Auch bei der unbestreitbaren Kompliziertheit und der gegenseitigen Widersprüchlichkeit der Elemente, aus denen eine islamische Stadt zusammengesetzt ist, wirkt eine solche Stadt — und daher auch Dair az-Zór — nach außen hin als eine geschlossene Einheit. Diese bekannte Meinung wird auch durch die Nachforschungen der Autorin in Dair az-Zór bestätigt. Dabei beobachtet die Autorin sorgfältig auch, in welchem Maße die administrativen Eingriffe von Seiten des Staates die traditionellen sozial-ökonomischen Beziehungen stören. Sie zeigt, inwieweit Dair az-Zór eine traditionsreiche arabische Stadt geblieben ist, traditionsreich in der Respektierung der Familien-, Sippen- und Stammesbünde, die sich natürlich auch bei der Produktion und beim Warenaustausch widerspiegeln. Aus der Publikation erfahren wir, daß die einzelnen Arten handwerklicher Produktion, sowie des Handels in der Stadt noch immer in den Händen der einzelnen Gruppen (die sich auf Grund verwandschaftlicher, religiöser oder nationaler Bündnisse gestaltet hatten) sind, und jeder, der im Rahmen der existierenden Struktur wirtschaftlich tätig sein will, zu ihrem integrierenden Bestandteil werden muß. Die Autorin beweist dieses ungeschriebene Gesetz durch zahlreiche Beispiele. Obwohl die Stadt dank der Migration der ländlichen Bevölkerung ständig wächst, kann nur jener Bewerber eine Werkstatt oder einen Laden öffnen, der dort einen Rückhalt hat, Menschen, die ihm finanzielle Hilfe und Beistand gewähren. Eine Ausnahme aus dieser Gesetzmäßigkeit bilden lediglich die von der Behörde eingesetzten Leute, die in der Stadt nur geduldet werden, sind sie jedoch tüchtig, können sie sich in diesem Milieu auch durchsetzen, assimilieren.

Der Handel und das Handwerk beherrschen in einem entscheidenden Maße das wirtschaftliche Leben des traditionellen Dair az-Zór, das von der Umgebung vor allem in der Versorgung mit Lebensmitteln abhängt und gleichzeitig die Nomaden in den umliegenden Steppen, sowie die ansässigen Landwirte im Euphrat-Tal mit handwerklichen Erzeugnissen versorgt.

Die Autorin widmete in ihrer Publikation eine große Aufmerksamkeit der Organisation der handwerklichen Kleinproduktion, sowie der des Handels in Dair az-Zór. Sehr aufmerksam verfolgt sie die Struktur und die Funktion der Basare, sowie deren besondere Architektur. Der Markt ist dabei nicht nur der Ort von Handel und Gewerbe, sondern auch eine Stelle, wo Fremde, Bekannte und Verwandte zusammenkommen.

Nippas Buch dient uns zweifelsohne bei einem tieferen Begreifen der komplizierten Skala gesellschaftlicher Beziehungen, die aus einer arabisch-moslemischen Stadt ein spezifisches städtisches Gebilde schufen.

Schlicht, Alfred: *Frankreich und die syrischen Christen 1799—1861. Minoritäten und europäischer Imperialismus im Vorderen Orient*. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1981. 331 S.

Frankreichs Beziehungen zu den syrischen und libanesischen Christen wurden in der Vergangenheit schon des öfteren untersucht und unter verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten betrachtet. Die Sachlichkeit, Nüchternheit und vor allem die Unparteilichkeit, mit der A. Schlicht das französische Engagement im Nahen Osten einschätzt, bringt jedoch in diese Problematik ein neues Licht und akzentuiert einige bislang umgangene Tatsachen vor allem aus der libanesischen Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Dank seinen traditionell guten Beziehungen zur osmanischen Türkei und natürlich auch dank der Tatsache, daß die Mehrzahl der libanesischen und syrischen Christen die Autorität des römischen Papstes anerkannte, konnte Frankreich zum natürlichen Beschützer der arabischen Christen (vor allem der Maroniten) in der Levante werden und hier gleichzeitig seinen wirtschaftlichen und politischen Einfluß ausweiten. A. Schlicht stellt richtig fest, daß die französische Diplomatie den syrischen Christen gegenüber von Anfang an gut durchdacht und ausgewogen war. Das französische Außenministerium und dessen Exponenten im Nahen Osten reagierten vor allem im Libanon sehr prompt auf jede Änderung in der innenpolitischen Situation, die die wirtschaftlichen Aspirationen und Machtansprüchen ihrer Protégés — der reichen maronitischen Familien und Klane — bedrohen könnten. Die Franzosen unterstützten die maronitische Bourgeoisie, die dann im kommenden profranzösisch orientierten Libanon zur entscheidenden wirtschaftlichen und politischen Macht werden sollte.

Ähnliche Ziele verfolgte auch das französische Christenprotektorat in Syrien. Mit Hilfe der syrischen Christen wollten die Franzosen ihren politischen und wirtschaftlichen Einfluß in Syrien so ausweiten, um hier eine billige Rohstoffbasis und eine günstige Absatzstelle ihrer Waren zu schaffen.

Schlichts Buch ist bemerkenswert durch sein System, der Autor untersucht alle Formen und Wesen der Beziehungen zwischen Frankreich und den syrischen Christen, er weist darauf hin, wie das maronitische Selbstverständnis, die maronitisch-libanesischen Nationalität als Gegenpol zur moslemisch-arabischen Nationalität unter dem Einfluß Frankreichs entstand und sich gestaltete. Der Autor studierte eine Anzahl diplomatischer Materialien, Archivmaterialien des französischen Außenministeriums, sowie den Briefwechsel französischer Konsuln in Beirut, Damaskus und Jerusalem. Oft zitiert der Autor Ausschnitte aus diesen Materialien, konfrontiert diese mit den diversen Ansichten über die sog. „orientalische Frage“ und auch mit der prinzipiellen Linie, die von weiteren europäischen Mächten, vor allem England und Rußland in ihrer Außenpolitik den arabischen Ländern gegenüber verfolgt wurde.

Ján Pauliny

Baskine, V. S.: *Kapitalisticheskaya «pomochetch» razvivayouchetchimsia stranam. Mekhanisme, kharaktere i napravleniya vozdeïstviya na strany Afriki* (L'«aide» capitaliste pour les pays en voie de développement. Le mécanisme, le caractère et les directions de l'influence sur les pays de l'Afrique). Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S. Institut de l'Afrique. Moscou, Nauka 1982. 232 pp.

La monographie — qui est l'objet du compte-rendu — est consacrée à la problématique actuelle des relations mutuelles entre les pays capitalistes développés et les pays en voie de développement. Elle éclaire la partie composante très importante de ces relations, et notamment l'aide accordée par les Etats capitalistes. Ce livre est le résultat de recherches poursuivies pendant de longues années par le travailleur scientifique de l'Institut de l'Afrique à Moscou, docteur des sciences économiques, V. S. Baskine, qui analyse le rôle de l'aide pour le développement dans la politique néo-colonialiste pratiquée par les Etats impérialistes principaux et les organisations internationales financières et créditrices, aussi bien que les conséquences politiques et sociales de cette aide pour les pays en voie de développement. En cohérence avec les pays de l'Afrique l'auteur soviétique analyse le mécanisme de l'aide capitaliste de développement, son caractère et les directions de son influence.

L'œuvre de V. S. Baskine est composée d'une introduction assez brève, de huit chapitres et de la conclusion. Elle a son complément dans l'aperçu de la bibliographie. Déjà dans l'introduction de la monographie l'auteur fait cas de la complexité dialectique des ressources intérieures et extérieures de l'accumulation dans les jeunes pays en voie de développement. La stabilisation économique et politique de ces pays exige que les rythmes de leurs développements économiques soient réglés à un niveau plus haut, mais c'est la question urgente des ressources de l'accumulation qui, en conséquence, s'élève très brusquement. A présent, c'est la conception, que les ressources intérieures de l'accumulation jouent le rôle principal dans la construction économique du monde de développement, qui a prévalu dans beaucoup de ces pays. Cette conception s'est accompagnée de la thèse sur l'importance secondaire des ressources de l'accumulation extérieures, une thèse étroitement liée à la politique des garanties collectives des Etats en voie de développement, ayant pour but de limiter l'exploitation impérialiste du monde de développement. Mais il n'est pas possible d'éliminer les ressources extérieures, parce que — comme l'auteur l'a noté — elles sont «une source importante de la technologie industrielle moderne, d'expériences de la production, de brevets d'invention, de devises et de marchandises de la consommation étrangères, qui sont ainsi nécessaires pratiquement pour tous les pays en voie de développement» (p. 4).

L'auteur en donne aussi une caractéristique du point de vue soviétique au sujet des problèmes en question. L'Union Soviétique et les autres pays de la communauté socialiste voient dans l'aide occidentale aux pays en voie de développement un facteur objectif pour l'amélioration de leur situation, mais naturellement à condition

que ces pays en voie de développement donnent preuve qu'ils exploitent cette aide pour la liquidation de leur sous-développement économique. L'aide des Etats capitalistes est comprise comme une compensation insignifiante des grandes pertes économiques que ces pays ont soufferts pendant la période coloniale et aussi le période ultérieure du néo-colonialisme.

Dans le premier chapitre intitulé «L'aide — nouvelle forme des relations économiques internationales des États impérialistes avec les pays en voie de développement» l'auteur caractérise tout d'abord les changements importants et les traits nouveaux dans l'économie et la politique impérialiste après le deuxième guerre mondiale. Il fait de la polémique avec quelques scientifiques soviétiques au sujet de la nature de l'aide de développement et il s'accorde avec les conceptions de V. V. Rymalov et de V. L. Taygounenko. V. S. Baskine souligne d'une part la réalité que les Etats socialistes comprennent les problèmes économiques et financiers sérieux de la plupart des pays en voie de développement, résultants de la situation contemporaine de l'économie capitaliste mondiale, mais de l'autre part, «les Etats de la communauté socialiste ne peuvent pas partager la responsabilité et les dépenses matérielles relevant de la liquidation des conséquences du colonialisme et du néo-colonialisme, des crises dans les sphères du commerce et des changes d'économie capitaliste, auxquelles ils n'avaient pas participé» (p. 18).

Le deuxième chapitre intitulé «La structure de l'aide des Etats capitalistes. L'étendue nominale et réelle des ressources orientées dans la cadre de l'aide vers les pays en voie de développement» sort de la spécificité de la structure des ressources coulantes des Etats capitalistes aux pays de l'Afrique. Il fait mention de l'aide de développement étatique, et il cite les pays créditeurs qui acceptent cette aide. L'auteur rappelle les faits soi-disant nouveaux pour le rôle ascendant des pays scandinaves et du Canada en Afrique (p. 34), les faits publiés dans la littérature scientifique tchécoslovaque et polonaise déjà dans la première moitié des soixante-dixièmes années. Il est caractéristique que l'auteur cite entre les pays-créditeurs aussi la Finlande et la Nouvelle-Zélande.

Le troisième chapitre «L'aide économique» esquisse à traits légers le mécanisme pour offrir de l'aide et pour évaluer l'efficacité économique du financement de l'édification par les ressources de l'aide de développement. Cette problématique est concrétisée sur les exemples de France, des Etats-Unis, d'Allemagne Occidentale, de la Banque internationale pour la reconstruction et le développement et de l'Association internationale pour le développement.

L'auteur soviétique concentre son attention — dans le quatrième chapitre «L'aide alimentaire et l'aide pour l'agriculture» — sur le problème alimentaire dans les pays africains. Il cite ici les exemples et les caractéristiques de l'aide alimentaire et aussi de l'aide pour le développement de l'agriculture. Le scientifique soviétique critique les Etats-Unis pour l'abus impérialiste de l'aide alimentaire aux pays en voie de développement.

Dans le cinquième chapitre «L'aide technique» on constate la nécessité, universellement reconnue, de l'aide technique pour le développement des pays de l'Afrique. L'auteur s'y occupe de formes de secours au développement de l'éducation universelle et technique et dans cet ordre d'idées il attache une importance particulière à ce que des spécialistes soient envoyés dans les pays africains. Mais ici, dans quelques cas, l'auteur arrive à une sous-estimation simplifiée de l'aide des pays capitalistes à l'Afrique dans les domaines de l'éducation universelle et spéciale des spécialistes africains en Europe Occidentale et en Amérique du Nord, ou tout directement en Afrique. Quelques unes de ces formes comme, par exemple, les stages de travail des étudiants français dans les pays africains — pour la plupart dans les pays francophones — qui les dispensent du service militaire, sont très utiles et très efficaces tant pour la France, que pour les pays bénéficiaires africains. En outre l'auteur décrit les particularités de l'aide technique des Etats capitalistes principaux (France, Angleterre, Allemagne Occidentale et Etats-Unis).

Le chapitre sixième, très court, «L'aide liée», est consacré aux motifs conditionnant l'aide, aux conséquences de ce conditionnement d'aide pour les balances de paiement du pays créditeur.

Dans le septième chapitre «L'aide et le problème d'endettement extérieur des pays en voie de développement» l'auteur expose la situation où se trouvent actuellement les pays en voie de développement endettés à l'égard des pays capitalistes développés. Ici il consacre aussi son attention aux influences de l'inflation et des changements des cours de devises sur la situation des pays débiteurs.

Le huitième chapitre final «L'aide des pays capitalistes et le développement socio-économique des pays africains» résume les problèmes discutés. L'auteur montre que — dans la stratégie et la tactique contemporaines des relations internationales des Etats capitalistes vers les pays en voie de développement — les questions de l'efficacité économique dans les pays impérialistes sont secondaires aux intérêts de la conservation des positions militaires-stratégiques et à ceux de la conservation de l'influence politique constante dans les pays en voie de développement. Les pays africains cherchent l'issue de la situation, d'une part, dans les efforts de s'appuyer sur les ressources propres, d'autre part, dans l'élargissement de la coopération avec l'Union Soviétique et avec les autres pays socialistes (pp. 216 et 220).

La monographie scientifique de V. S. Baskine, qui est le résultat de ses recherches sur les problèmes économiques de l'Afrique et de son stage d'études au Soudan, est une contribution importante aux connaissances marxistes de la problématique donnée.

Josef Poláček

Oliver, Ronald—Atmore, Anthony: *The African Middle Ages 1400—1800*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1981. 216 pp., 28 maps.

Together with *Africa in the Iron Age*, the first volume in a series of three, co-written with Brian Fagan, which covers the period from about 500 B.C. till A.D. 1400, and *Africa Since 1800*, the last volume of the trilogy, also from the pen of Ronald Oliver and Anthony Atmore, completes the history of Africa from the earliest times to the present.

The African Middle Ages, as the somehow inappropriate title runs, deals with the whole of Africa between 1400—1800. The periodization of African history is one of the most difficult and complex problems of African historiography, as any historian of Africa knows only too well. The periodization adopted in the series and this particular volume, is based on sources of historical evidence. While for the period covered by the first volume in the series, *Africa in the Iron Age*, the evidence comes mainly from archaeology, even though some important literary sources contribute to the knowledge of the period, for what have been called “the African Middle Ages”, covered in the second volume of the series, the dominant sources are literary and traditional, with archaeology playing only the minor part. As far as the history of coastal regions of Africa is concerned, “from the fifteenth century onwards royal and ecclesiastical archives began to bulge with instructions, reports, accounts and itineraries, and from the sixteenth century there issued from the printing press a swelling stream of voyages, handbooks, histories and geographies”, all of which constitute precious sources for the history of Africa. From earlier centuries we have also valuable accounts and reminiscences of their journey in different parts of the African interior by Ibn Battuta and by the Granadan Moor al-Hassan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzani, better known under his Christian name Leo Africanus. As far as the vast areas of the African interior are concerned, the most valuable kind of historical evidence in the period between A. D. 1400 and 1800 still are the sources of traditional history.

“Another reason for calling the period from 1400 to 1800 the African Middle Ages is,” Professor Oliver and Dr. Atmore tell us, “because certain features of it correspond with the period of European history known as the Middle Ages, or mediaeval times”, which, however, comprise an earlier period than the African Middle Ages — from about 800 to 1500 (Introduction, p. 3).

The two authors find one similarity and one of the dominant features of the Middle Ages of both continents in the emergence and steady growth of state systems. After an early stage of loose-knit empires, such as the Holy Roman Empire established by Charlemagne or the large kingdom of the Angevins which straddled the English Channel, states which evolved later in mediaeval western Europe were based on the concept of nationality, such as was e.g. France, England or Spain. The power in these states was becoming centralized and institutionalized, and the state institutions

reflected, at least to some extent, particular linguistic, cultural, religious or ethnic characteristics. The parallels in Africa, with allowance for many minor or major differences, can be for loose-knit empires found in the great African empires of the western and the central Sudan, such as Mali, Kanem-Bornu or, perhaps, also ancient Ghana and Songhay, — “in which only limited power was exercised from the centre and in which the territorial extent of the empire depended not upon the ethnic or cultural unity of the subjects but upon the military predominance and the dynastic alliances of a small ruling group” — while for the second category of states, based on the ethnic or cultural unity of subjects, the parallels in Africa can be found in states such as Asante, Oyo, Benin, Congo or Rwanda (*Ibid.*).

Yet another common aspect of European and African Middle Ages the two distinguished authors see in the growth and development of the city states, in Italy and Germany on the one hand, and in Hausaland, Yorubaland and on the Swahili coast on the other, together with the ever increasing importance of trade, commerce and financial matters, i.e. of economic changes generally, in the Middle Ages of both continents.

Both R. Oliver and A. Atmore represent the orientation in African historiography that tends to underrate the importance of the slave trade in Africa and in the relations between Africa and the outside world, and even more so, the impact of the slave trade on Africa. The common argument of this trend is that “even at the height of the Atlantic slave-trade, there were many more African slaves within Africa than outside it” (p. 197). Therefore, they see no reason why a dominant role in African history of this period should be assigned to the external slave trade. Rather, the enlargement of political scale was the dominant theme of the period and slavery and deportation were among its by-products, since all the mediaeval states of the Sahel — Ghana, Mali, Songhay, Kano, Katsina, Bornu, Ethiopia, and later also Asante, Oyo and Benin, had practised the removal of war captives, the Lunda states all employed slaves in agriculture and the stone-built capitals of Great Zimbabwe and its successor states were built by some kind of impressed labour.

Of course, it is impossible to generalize for the continent as a whole, because vast regions of Africa were not touched by the external slave trade at all. Still, commenting on the impact of European contact with Africa in this period and of the slave trade on the western Atlantic coast, another prominent historian of Africa, Suret-Canale, writes:

“In spite of being only a secondary source of supply, the western Atlantic coast was nonetheless deeply involved in the slave trade and it was this, more than anything else, which helped mould the developing relations between Europe and Africa in the sixteenth century... A great complex of historical factors led to the development of this paradoxical system whereby manpower had to be brought from the African continent to ensure the profitable functioning of tropical plantations on the other side of the Atlantic... This system was the dominating feature of African history

throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the end of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries being only the beginning of it all. This was the real era of the slave trade, even though there had always been a certain amount of trans-Saharan traffic in slaves."¹

In his introduction to Volume 4 of the *Cambridge History of Africa*, edited by him, Professor Gray noted much more carefully:

"...the year 1600 marked no noticeable break in continuity; yet in some important respects the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Africa do constitute a period of transition, distinct from both the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. During this period, the import of firearms and the export of slaves foretold, and partly laid the foundations for, the subsequent massive European intrusion... The consequences for Africa of this massive demand for slaves have still to be investigated in detail." He mentions the demographic impact of the slave trade, the psychological consequences, and then concludes:

"More tangibly, though perhaps with less far-reaching implications, the slave trade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a potent, and peculiarly vicious, means of increasing the integration of black Africa into the evolving Western economy. Vicious, not merely because Africa was robbed of productive potential, but also because her internal economies were distorted. Whereas the major sixteenth-century exports of gold, cloth, timber, pepper and even ivory stimulated indigenous skills, the subsequent export of slaves and import of fire-arms diverted these energies into violence and set a premium on military power and force. The exact incidence of this distortion has yet to be investigated, but several instances can be adduced of these first steps towards a dependent colonial economy. Some of the roots of contemporary underdevelopment can thus be traced to these centuries. And the distortion was not of course confined to local economies. Social, judicial and religious institutions were twisted to provide victims for export."²

The full impact of the slave trade on African societies is hard to assess and even more so because the incidence was so uneven. It is unlikely that the difference of opinions between the proponents of the two diametrically opposite views will be removed, but the consequences of the vast European-controlled phenomenon for Africa were not so inconsiderable, as the two authors suggest.

Again, it is impossible to generalize for the continent as a whole, but the period of this volume cannot be viewed predominantly in terms of the growth and develop-

¹ See Ajayi, J. F. A.—Crowder, Michael (Eds): *History of West Africa*. Vol. 1. London, Longman 1971, pp. 390—391.

² Gray, Richard (Ed.): *The Cambridge History of Africa*. Vol. 4, from ca. 1600 to ca. 1790. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1975, pp. 1 and 5—6. The general editors of the whole Cambridge series in eight volumes are Ronald Oliver and J. D. Fage, who both uphold similar views of the importance of the Atlantic slave trade and its impact on Africa.

ment of states. The period witnessed also the decline and disintegration of the great mediaeval empire of Mali, the collapse of the last great empire in the western Sudan — Songhay, at the battle of Tondibi in 1591, and also the decline or temporary eclipse of many major states first encountered by the Portuguese, such as Benin, Congo, Ndongo, Mutapa, Ethiopia or Swahili city states, even though there were many examples of growth and consolidation by the expansion and centralization of political institutions, such as e.g. the rise of the new states of Dahomey and Asante, closely associated with the Atlantic slave trade or of the Interlacustrine Bantu states.

With all these reservations concerning the general pattern and criteria adopted in the periodization of this trilogy, the approach to the interpretation of certain crucial themes, such as the Atlantic slave trade, and the very title of the book, the volume betrays a high level of scholarship associated with the names of both authors, and because of the clear and lucid style, it will surely find its readership.

Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková

Davidson, Basil: *The People's Cause. A History of Guerrillas in Africa*. Longman Studies in African History. London, Longman Group Ltd. 1981. 210 pp., 23 figures, 18 maps, index.

Since about the mid-sixties resistance movements have become a dominant theme in African historiography. Central in *The People's Cause* is the broad theme stated in its sub-title — the role of irregular or guerrilla warfare in African history from pre-colonial times to various forms of liberation struggles against European colonial conquest and rule in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This *History of Guerrillas in Africa*, as the subtitle runs, from the pen of one of the most distinguished historians of Africa and a reknown writer on African affairs, is a solid and most welcome contribution to the field of historiography of African anti-colonial and national-liberation struggles, throwing light on hitherto somehow neglected specific forms of armed resistance.

It is immediately clear that the author has an intense interest in and understanding of his subject matter. Basil Davidson treats the chosen subject with skill and judgement and the lucidity of style one has come to associate with his writing. He is a perfect scholar to write such a book since it is a continuation of earlier works inspired by his lifelong concern for those struggling against foreign oppression — such as his *Partisan Picture*, an account of anti-fascist resistance in Yugoslavia, or his *Liberation of Guiné* and *In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People*¹ — and

¹ See Davidson, Basil: *Partisan Picture*. London 1946; Davidson, Basil: *The Liberation of Guiné*. London, Penguin 1969, and enlarged edition *No Fist is Big Enough to Hide the Sky*. London, Zed 1981; and Davidson, Basil: *In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People*. London, Longman/Penguin 1972/1975.

a natural consequence of his first-hand experience of guerrilla warfare. He has mastered much evidence on the guerrillas and, in addition, has confronted the evidence with his personal invaluable experiences of the guerrilla fighter gained during the Second World War in Yugoslavia and Italy and many years later from his eyewitness observations of guerrilla warfare in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.² It is this combination of the author's very real commitment to the liberation struggles, his sense of the importance of the historical dimension and his understanding of the guerrillas, based on his life experience, that makes *The People's Cause* such a fascinating book.

The chief merit of Basil Davidson's work is his demonstrable grasp of the complexities of guerrilla warfare in different historical epochs and settings from the point of view of both the African insurgents and the foreign counter-insurgents. His preference seems to be vivid narration and solid military and tactful analysis combined with deep concern for the complex issues of theory-building as well as for the broad political and historical sweep of events that furnish the intellectual context for understanding and appreciating the vigour with which, and the values for which, the guerrilla warfares in Africa have been conducted. Davidson's personal invaluable experiences have made him ideally qualified to discuss in detail crucial questions of strategy and tactics, the psychology of people's war and the ideology of liberation, and reflect on important organizational features of respective guerrilla movements and the ideological frameworks in which they operated.

The book comprises three parts — The Old Tradition, The Long March for Resurgence and On Strategy and Tactics. In the first two chapters of Part One — On Guerrillas and Their Wars and On Method and Technique — the author very carefully sets out the background for his study, offering a stimulating discussion of the main features of guerrilla warfare, and then proposes a definition. He finds the definition of guerrilla warfare, which means simply a "small war", only by method and by mere size or organization lacking, and proposes two factors of definition. A true guerrilla warfare "has been emphatically political in its purpose, and primarily defensive in its motive".³ Such a warfare "has always acquired its military form from an emphatically political content: a political content, specifically concerned with the fate of a whole community or people". Guerrilla wars have been defensively conceived but offensively conducted, i.e. though from the military standpoint and the reasons of strategy and tactics such irregular or people's wars had to be fought offensively, they were fought from defensive, not offensive, motives,

² During the Second World War Basil Davidson served as a major and then Lt.-Colonel in the British Army with resistance forces in Yugoslavia and Italy. The late Agostinho Neto and Amílcar Cabral were his close personal friends, Davidson did a lot to publicise the liberation struggles they had led and in 1970 he paid a long visit to the Angola war theatre.

³ See Davidson, Basil: *The People's Cause*, p. 5.

their primary motive being to defend a people, their homes, cultures, common interests and a way of life.⁴ In this definition, irregular, guerrilla-type wars, especially those belonging to our century, which have acquired a revolutionary content with a vision of a new, transformed society, "continued politics by other means". The ideology or politics adopted by guerrilla wars of resistance and called "the politics of armed struggle" has been seen "as a range of responses, a continuum of motive, which has varied over time, and has moved or developed according to its own dynamic". And in considering this range or continuum of motives over time, Davidson has attempted to discern a pattern or a tentative typology of irregular warfare on which, to put it in his own words, "an objective study of the history of irregular warfare may be able to depend".⁵

Along the continuum of popular responses by armed struggle, he has thus distinguished three chief phases of consciousness in the historical record, each with its corresponding range of aims and objectives, as well as its own peculiarities. These have been called the phases of restoration, of transition, and of innovating change and, according to the author, they have occurred in every major historical period, in pre-colonial times as well as in the period of primary resistances to colonial invasion and occupation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, during what have been called secondary resistances to colonial rule, and in the period of armed independence movements after the Second World War, which culminated in the successful liberation struggles of the 1960s and 1970s. The political and moral concepts inherent in the strategy and ideology of people's wars, the politics of armed struggle, and technical matters of organization and weaponry are more fully considered in Part Three of the work and illustrated by examples taken from guerrilla warfare in the former Portuguese territories in Africa — Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

The rest of the book is a judicious mix up of theory and case studies, ranging from examples of irregular warfare, with more or less of the content of "people's war", which are illustrative of the first two successive phases and are discussed in three chapters completing Part One, to more mature struggles for independence in the after war period ably dealt with in Part Two of the work. The selection covers examples both of success and failure, starting from the earliest recorded case — the guerrilla movement led by the commanding Songhay General Askia Nuh after the crushing defeat of the Songhay army at Tondibi on 12 March 1591, which settled the fate of the Songhay empire. Then there follow examples of armed resistance movements to colonial invasions, such as the little known guerrilla war led by Sandile in British Kaffraria, those led by Abd al-Kader in Algeria, Jacob Morenga in

⁴ Ibid., pp. 4—5.

⁵ Ibid., p. 6 and pp. 149—153, A Tentative Typology.

Namibia, Sayyid Mohammed, known to the English as the Mad Mullah, in the Somali country, and accounts of Abd al-Krim's war fought to defend his Republic of the rif in Morocco and of the Mahdia.

Part Two contains descriptions and analyses of postwar armed independence movements in Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, the Mau Mau in Kenya and of the rebellions of 1964 in the Congo. Chapter Ten attempts to draw some conclusions and assessments and to provide a summary of conditions for success and failure. The last two chapters are devoted to guerrilla wars of the new type, that have revealed a maturity of practice and theory — in their ideology of liberation, the successful liberation movements against the Portuguese régime in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, and to an analysis of developments in Eritrea, Zimbabwe and Namibia. In each chapter Basil Davidson makes some initial hypotheses drawn from his theory of guerrilla warfare, tests them against specific cases, and draws further conclusions at the end. He is careful to assume that the reader may be unfamiliar with basic facts in rebellion and offers a good short overview of the run up to guerrilla war and its development. The book is also equipped with a Guide to Sources, figures, maps and an index.

Basil Davidson's well written, thoroughly researched and richly documented work is only to be warmly recommended. His analysis of guerrillas in African history adds much to our knowledge of the theme. The contents of his work will be of interest to Africanists as well as to students of guerrilla movements, since this study places African guerrillas within the context of the historical and military treatment of the theme in the world-wide context.

Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková

Cohen, William B.: *The French Encounter with Africans. White Response to Blacks, 1530—1880*. Bloomington—London, Indiana University Press 1980. 360 pp.

Dr. Cohen has chosen an intriguing subject and produced much interesting information and valuable conclusions. His period is three hundred and fifty years before European colonial rule began, the limits being 1530 and 1880, and his theme is the intellectual and social history of the French response to blacks following their earliest contacts in the sixteenth century to the European imperial conquest and partition of Africa in the nineteenth century. Longer in the time-span than the earlier well-known study by Philip Curtin *The Image of Africa*, devoted to the development of the Anglo-Saxon image of Africa and the Africans, or the much more modest, both in scope and time-span, Alan Cairns' *Prelude to Imperialism. British Reactions to Central African Society 1840—1890*,¹ Cohen's work examines "the varying reactions that Frenchmen at different times had toward Africans" as well as their

experiences and conceptions of blacks in general that helped to form the image of Africa and Africans in the French culture. Being the first history of the French record in any language, this study was undertaken "to describe and explain the origin and development of the image" and, by considering "the persistence of images and stereotypes imbedded in French culture and institutions",² also to shatter the traditional assertion that the French reactions and attitudes toward Africa and its inhabitants, including the African diaspora to the New World, were somehow less negative and racial than those of Anglo-Saxons and Iberians.

His general thesis is that despite the widespread view to the contrary, the tradition of racial inequality was dominant in the history of French-Black relations through the ages. The author asserts this by drawing on all kinds of available written records of the French experience, including works on the image of Africans in literature and the vast literature on white-black interactions in general. In attempting to develop an historical perspective, he meticulously traces the origins, development, and persistence of the tradition of inequality that the French developed toward Africans in their home continent, on the slave plantations in the West Indies, the Indian Ocean, and in France proper.

The roots of initial negative stereotypes about Africa and its inhabitants in French culture could be traced back to the Greek and Roman worlds. Islamic culture also had a profound effect on early French images of blacks. Travel accounts of other Europeans who had preceded the French to the continent, notably the Portuguese, were another source of information available to the French long before setting foot on the black continent. The classical, Arab and mediaeval images of Africa and an essentially negative perception of the African in the early phase of the French contact with this continent led to the formation of an essentially negative early image which became the source for later images and stereotypes. Like other Europeans, the French were struck and shocked by the colour of Africans, their physique, political and social systems and material culture, which all seemed so very different from their own. Their reflections on the nature of blacks and efforts to explain blackness resulted in the formulation of negative judgements and generalizations about Africans which stressed their alleged laziness, immorality, sexuality, barbarity, infidelity. The very blackness of Africans was seen as symbolic of some inner

¹ Curtin, Philip: *The Image of Africa. British Ideas and Action, 1780—1850*. Madison, Wisconsin 1964; Cairns, H. Alan C.: *Prelude to Imperialism. British Reactions to Central African Society 1840—1890*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul 1965. See also Jordan, Winthrop D.: *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550—1812*. Baltimore 1969 and Fredrickson, George M.: *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817—1914*. New York 1971.

² See Cohen, William B.: *The French Encounter with Africans*, Preface and Introduction.

depravity, wickedness and treachery, an embodiment of evil, and a trait of inferiority and an innate inequality based on the assumption of a special, separate creation of blacks or on some kind of degeneration.

In discussing "the impulse to inequality" in Chapter I, the author very interestingly argues that "Africa served Europeans as a convenient mirror, or as a screen on to which they projected their own fears about themselves and their world". Thus, the images created by them tell us more about Europe than Africa.³

Cohen then goes on to discuss the establishment of slave societies and the way the slave experience affected the French view of the African. The very fact that most Frenchmen came to know blacks in the social context of slavery, in connection with the thriving slave trade and the establishment of plantation colonies in the West Indies, he tells us, further debased the image of blacks.

In the next chapter we have a fine description and an analysis of the French philosophes' approach to the African and their doctrines which exercised a powerful influence on race consciousness. While proclaiming the equality of men, the philosophes and Enlightenment developed ideas that led to racism, introduced racial determinism and fostered doctrines of biological racism, fully formulated by the mid-nineteenth century's newly developing sciences, especially physical anthropology.

In examining the process by which images were built, Cohen analyses the attitudes toward Africa and Africans held by travellers, nineteenth-century abolitionists, merchants, officials and the men of science, on-the-spot observations of explorers, missionaries and colonizers, and devotes a whole chapter to scientific racism. In one chapter he contrasts the patterns of white-black interactions in three main scenes of contact in the eighteenth century: the West Indies, France itself, and Senegal on the coast of West Africa to demonstrate that, despite very well developed attitudes toward blacks, the French varied their reactions, depending on how they assessed their own status. While in Senegal the relatively weak position of the French and their desire for commercial and political expansion inland led to more liberal race relations, in the West Indies white-black relationships were determined by the slave system and the policy of racial exclusivism practised by whites and in the Metropole the treatment of blacks coincided with the generally hostile attitudes toward them.

Though the work ends in 1880, with the movement towards imperial expansion and conquest, there is an interesting afterword, attempting to show how imperial control affected the prevailing image of blacks. His conclusion is that imperialism did not cause any reassessment of blacks, but rather helped to preserve the negative images that had existed since the earliest stages of Franco-African contact, even though French individuals could, and often did, depart from the negative stereo-

³ Ibid., p. 33.

types, to assess Africa and Africans with sympathy and understanding. In this connection Cohen suggests that often those with the least contact used to articulate anti-black prejudices most vividly. After an era of good feeling toward blacks between the two world wars due to the combat of black troops, the so-called tirailleurs Sénégalais, the discovery of African art, jazz, the movement of black intellectuals in Paris and their doctrines of *négritude*, which created an atmosphere of racial egalitarianism, the anti-black thought was revived and strengthened and existing negative stereotypes came to be exacerbated after World War II by the large immigration of blacks into France, especially in the 1960s. In Cohen's words, "the persistence of the negative image and the confrontation with a large, apparently permanent black population sharpened racial feelings in France and revealed anti-black prejudice".⁴

The French Encounter with Africans represents a careful and thoughtful reconsideration of the role that blacks have historically played in French thought, presented in a lively, critical way. It provides a very readable account of the French-black experiences and the images created during the centuries of their encounter and contains many useful pointers for future work dealing with the encounter with Africans of some other European nations. It is only regrettable that its usefulness is partly impaired by a failure to include a bibliography.

Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková

Spear, Thomas: *Kenya's Past. An Introduction to Historical Method in Africa*. Longman Studies in African History 1981. London, Longman Group Ltd, 155 pp.

The little book, published in the Longman series of new studies concerned with important issues and debates in African history, has been written, according to its author, with three difficult and ambitious aims in mind: "to introduce the reader to the history of Africa through a case study of eastern and central Kenya; to introduce this same reader to the diverse methods used in reconstructing African history and to develop a systematic approach to processes of change and cultural development in Africa" (Introduction, p. XII).

Central to Spear's study is the broad theme which would appear to have been a guiding hypothesis in the designing of the research as much as a conclusion recognized at its completion. As the author himself put it: "My focus here is on region; my aim to explore the dynamic of change in African societies through time" (Preface, p. X). "The emphasis to date has been to write African history as much

⁴ Ibid., p. 287.

within the Western academic historical tradition as possible in a chronologically sequenced progression of dates, events, and peoples," Spear argues, "But these are precisely the areas where African historical sources are weakest, and so the exercise has proved to be a frustrating one at best. Where the African data excels is the way in which it reveals general processes of change" (Ibid.). The book was therefore conceived "to capture a view rooted in African conceptions of the past that the elders of earliest generations would themselves appreciate, while, at the same time, contributing to the developing theory of the field" and to provide a synthesis of the author's own thinking about African history over the years.

Spear's introduction outlines the main structure of his book and gives the reader a summary of what follows. He explains why such a diverse area which has never formed a single nation or state, became the geographical focus of his case study. The reason why this particular region of Africa has been chosen is very simple. We know more about eastern and central Kenya than we do about any other region on the continent and its history has been mapped out in great detail from the earliest times, from the origins of man, through to the development of pastoralism, agriculture, iron technology and the development of the present peoples and cultures of the area. Its history stretches over more than two million years from the initial emergence of mankind to the present. Moreover, different peoples of eastern and central Kenya have shared their past, they traded, married, fought and exchanged ideas, and the intensity of such interactions in the past makes it possible to view eastern and central Kenya as a cohesive region for historical study. Since local histories based on oral historical traditions have been written for almost all of the peoples of the area, the time came to examine the patterns of shared interactions among the peoples of this region and to combine these histories with additional data provided by other main sources for reconstructing the African past — archaeology, comparative linguistics, anthropology, ethnography and oral traditions, into a comprehensive regional history.

The book is designed to illustrate the variety of disciplines and methods used in the reconstruction of African history. The author both advocates and attempts a multi-disciplinary approach. The work is divided into six chapters, with an introduction and an index, each discussing a different set of the sources and methods and the part it plays in helping to piece together a thorough picture of African history and the complex processes of development and change. Chapter I — the archaeological record, Chapter II — the linguistic record, Chapter III — the traditional record, Chapter IV — the ethnographic record, Chapter V deals with trade and society in the nineteenth century: the political economy of change, and the last chapter discusses cultural development and economic underdevelopment. The result of combining the contributions of various disciplines and of coordinating different historical evidence and understanding provided by them, is a historical view and interpretation of the history of this particular historical region that is much richer and

more illuminating than would be expected from a study based solely on the insights of one discipline.

The book is sensitively written, in a crisp and lucid style, and is accompanied with numerous maps, figures and useful bibliographical guides with suggestions for further reading attached to each chapter.

Dr. Spear has written a very useful book suitable for both students and the general reader. It provides a clear and cogent survey of the social and cultural history of eastern and central Kenya. The insights that the author has developed into the processes of social, economic and cultural development and change are inspiring. Incorporating new research findings of the last decades, this book will rapidly find its place on student reading lists.

Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková

Weiskel, Timothy C.: *French Colonial Rule and the Baule Peoples. Resistance and Collaboration, 1889—1911*. Oxford Studies in African Affairs. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980. 323 pp., 7 maps, ill.

“The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much.”

Joseph Conrad’s succinct definition of imperial conquest taken from his *Heart of Darkness* opens Timothy Weiskel’s study of the violent encounter between the Baule and the French and of the most brutal repression of Baule intensive anti-colonial resistance. The history of various anti-colonial movements of resistance and protest has long been a popular field for research and publication. Especially since the mid-sixties many scholars have turned their attention to the theme of resistance and collaboration in the period of imperial conquest and early colonial rule. The importance of a detailed history of anti-colonial resistance and protest of individual African peoples and states for the broader history of the whole continent is obvious. Resistance studies have become the object of interest for historians representing various schools of thought who have approached this theme from different methodological and ideological standpoints and studied it within different theoretical frameworks. Weiskel’s work is a worthy, solid and most welcome addition in this field.

In his study of French relations with the Baule people of the central Ivory Coast Weiskel attempted to show the complexity of resistance mounted by this African people between 1889—1911 and its forcible repression by the French. This case study of what, in the author’s own words, was “one of the most enduring and most brutally repressed resistance struggles in West African history”, was undertaken in

order “to examine the patterns of resistance and collaboration in an African stateless society and the motive forces behind French colonial conquest”.¹

The factor of resistance and its nature is persistently seen within the dynamic of Baule history itself and within the context of the whole history of the region, including the Baule political and commercial relations with other African peoples. The approach adopted in this study thus enabled the author to reveal the underlying rationale behind Baule’s renewed resistance and distinguish threads of continuity running through all three periods into which the Baule resistance falls, each having its own distinctive aspects and peculiarities. Particular traits and characteristics of each successive epoch of resistance are well described and analysed in three separate chapters: French Penetration and the First Baule “Revolt”, 1889—1895; Slave Emancipation, Taxation, and Renewed Resistance, 1898—1902, and Governor Angoulvant’s Development Plans and the Final Phase of Baule Resistance, 1908—1911. These periods of renewed resistance provoked by the lack of understanding on the part of the French and their interference with Baule economic independence and the labour basis of the Baule economy were preceded and interspersed with periods of Baule economic prosperity. Baule relations with the French in different periods of their co-existence, called by Weiskel the “working misunderstanding” and an updated version of the “working misunderstanding”, are ably discussed in two separate chapters: Military Withdrawal and Baule Prosperity, 1895—1898 and Governor Clozel’s Peace Strategy and the Politics of Collaboration, 1903—1907. Chapter One offers a very readable outline of the political and social organization and the economy of the Baule people before the coming of the French.

Throughout his study the author very convincingly argues that for all the atrocities committed during the French colonial conquest, Baule resolve to oppose the French intrusion with arms in hand was never caused by the mere brutality of the French régime. Rather, in all three periods of Baule resistance, it was fundamentally the French interference with the Baule successful economic system and its labour basis which had provoked hostilities, while the relative tranquility of Baule country between 1895 and 1898 and between 1907 and 1909 emanated on the one hand from the expanding economic possibilities and economic prosperity for the Baule, and on the other hand from a policy of minimal administrative interference from the French.

Contrary to the coastal peoples, who had traded with Europeans for a long time, and who, to suit European commercial demands, had transformed and adapted their economic and political structures to produce agricultural products for the European commodity market, the Baule had not been integrated into this network of intercontinental exchange. Their economy was still based on the production and

¹ See Weiskel, T. C.: *French Colonial Rule and the Baule Peoples*, Preface.

exchange of the classical commodities of the “royal” or “luxury” trade, such as gold, ivory, richly woven cloth, and slaves, which remained in demand by their neighbours. Ironically, the French expansion all around Baule country, and especially the wars between Samory and the French to the north of them, enabled the Baule to avail themselves of the larger quantities of war captives and hence expand their economy. However, only a small portion of the slaves obtained in the north was sold eventually to neighbouring ethnic groups in the south. Most were integrated into the Baule households. The fundamental basis of Baule prosperity was not the sale of slaves, but rather their labour. In Weiskel’s own words, “the major source of Baule wealth came from marketing an increased output of traditional commodities which were produced by their newly acquired labour supply”.² Thus, French demands for portage and provisions provoked the first outbreak of Baule resistance between 1893 and 1895, their attempts to control and disperse Baule slave labour, to encourage slave emancipation and to introduce taxation precipitated the second wave of Baule resistance between 1898 and 1903, and their persistent efforts to extend French control over the area and to restructure Baule labour in order to produce agricultural exports that would suit colonial needs, lay behind the last Baule stand from 1909 to 1911. This last phase of renewed Baule resistance had to be broken through full-scale military conquest, by employing the techniques of total warfare and the devastating search-and-destroy tactics throughout Baule country in 1910 and 1911. The campaigns destroyed the productive base of the Baule economy, and its viability, led to enormous social disruption but eventually succeeded to incorporate the Baule as peasant producers within the new structures of the export-oriented colonial economy.

Weiskel’s well-researched, carefully rounded and lucidly written book is based on extensive field research undertaken by the author from 1970 to 1976 in Baule country itself as well as in Oxford, Paris, Abidjan, Bamako, Dakar. Even though oral historical traditions were not tapped in this work (this task is left to the new generation of Ivory Coast historians), through the meticulous study of all sorts of written sources of European provenance, many seemingly obscure and inconspicuous details were traced to reveal the sources of resurgent Baule resistance and those aspects of French interference with traditional Baule economic and social system and patterns of labour which directly contributed to the timing and causation of intensive Baule resistance.

The author’s general conclusions are set out in the last two chapters *Patterns of Resistance and Collaboration*, and *French Conquest and Baule Resistance in Historical Perspective*, in which the author adds his own contribution to the debate on the nature and place of African resistance and collaboration in African history

² Ibid., Chapter III: Military Withdrawal and Baule Prosperity, 1895–1898, p. 89.

and thus can be of great help to other historians in the formulation of their arguments.

French Colonial Rule and the Baule Peoples presents not only a detailed micro-history of this particular region in the Ivory Coast. By analysing the general patterns of Baule resistance activity and highlighting its characteristic features and the motive forces behind Baule resistance sentiment, it helps to clarify the underlying rationale behind African resistance movements. And again, by considering Baule case in historical perspective, it helps to refine the general theories of the motive forces for the European policy of colonial conquest and also to assess the impact of early colonial rule on African societies as well as the significance of early colonial policy for the economic transformation of Africa. In all these spheres, the Baule case offers many stimulating insights.

Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková

Barthold, Bonnie J.: *Black Time. Fiction of Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States*. New Haven—London, Yale University Press 1981. 209 pp.

During the past four decades following the end of the Second World War, Africa has seen the most impressive literary achievement in fiction, poetry and drama. A considerable number of young writers has emerged in the process of emancipation of Black Africa. They have produced work which is interesting from the point of view of literary technique and artistic quality and which reflects the reality of their rapidly changing societies.

Basic to Dr. Barthold's work is her view that the black experience of time unifies the fiction of black writers in Africa and the New World. As she quite correctly stresses, "fiction springs from experience" (Preface, p. IX). Black fiction or black culture in one way or another embodies the black experience, and "a black heritage differs in some crucial ways from a Western European heritage" (Ibid.). In a sense, this echoes to some extent Wole Soyinka's notion of the self-apprehension of the African world expressed in his *Myth, Literature and the African World*, namely, that Africa is a cultural entity, a world by itself with its history, its social neurosis, and its value systems; a world which has produced a body of myths and a literary tradition of its own; a world which extends beyond the physical environment of the mother continent itself to include the African diaspora. And the writings of its advocates, because illuminated by a single consciousness, or what Soyinka calls "a socio-cultural sense of direction," are placed in "the context of the primal systems of apprehension of the race".

Bonnie Barthold's image of the black fiction is one firmly based upon her conception of the black experience of time. According to the author, the focus on

time helps to avoid the fragmentation, both geographic and ideological, that has characterized the criticism of black fiction. It also helps “to see black fiction as a whole, as a phenomenon that transcends geographic and national boundaries and in which structure is inseparable from substance”.¹ All writers manipulate time, so do black writers, who, however, do so in the historical context of a threatened dispossession of black people from time — both from the mythic recurrence of the traditional African past and from the linear progression towards the future that defines time in Western European cultures. The linear time of contemporary Western cultures contrasts radically with the cyclic continuum of traditional Africa. According to several scholars, black people have experienced time differently from white people, “the linear concept of time ... was foreign to African thinking”, which was characterized by a cyclic conceptualization of time.² Black people have been deprived both of a past and a freely determined future, the black man is both cut off from his African past and denied participation in the Western future. “Until recently the Western concept was that black history was a void, that time began for blacks at the moment when they encountered Western civilization.” All this resulted in a temporal flux. In the African-European confrontation, black time became contingent, but this contingency embody also sufficient resources to struggle against uncertainty and flux. In large part, black fiction is the portrayal of the battle against the threat of temporal dispossession experienced by black people throughout the world during the past several hundred years and against time’s acceleration in twentieth-century Africa. Quoting the famous Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe: “Blacks must rebuild ‘the foundations of the past’ without retreating from the present.” The black writer thus operates within a temporal double-bind.

The work is divided into three parts, with an epilogue. The first part attempts to put the theory based on different configurations of time into a historical perspective, while Part 2 *Vision in Black Fiction: Themes and Forms* examines characteristic themes according to how individual writers manipulate time and characters in black fiction confront this double-bind. Part 3 analyses seven novels which, according to the author, taken together, “offer an imaginative history of the black past and, perhaps, a mythic blueprint for the future”. They are: Chinua Achebe’s *Arrow of God*; George Lamming’s *In the Castle of My Skin* and Jean Toomer’s *Cane* (illustrating the erosion of the cycle); William Attaway’s *Blood on the Forge* and Ayi Kwei Armah’s *Why Are We So Blest* (No Man’s Land) and the last group, containing Toni Morrison’s *Song of Solomon* and Wole Soyinka’s *Season of Anomy*, illustrating the redemption of time into its original cyclic integrity. And the epilogue *Beyond “Divers Schedules”* attempts to demonstrate why the focus on time helps to illuminate the richness of black fiction.

¹ See Barthold, Bonnie: *Black Time*, epilogue *Beyond “Divers Schedules”*, p. 197.

² *Ibid.*, Part I. The Historical Background, pp. 9—27.

The author believes that the focus on time has demonstrated a continuity of vision among a diversity of black writers — African, Caribbean and American. It has also clarified certain differences between black and Western fiction, significant enough to suggest that in some instances viewing black fiction through the lens of Western literary conventions distorts and diminishes the achievement of the black writer. And third, she believes that the focus on time in large part reconciles the conflict between those who would emphasize the primacy of form and those who stress content and social relevance.³

Black Time does provide a fresh, and unusual view of black fiction.

Bonnie Barthold has injected a new perspective into literary criticism with considerable vigour. Her study is not only a theoretical proposal for analysing black fiction, she also provides applications of her time theory in analysing seven outstanding novels. Her interpretations are insightful and fresh. All in all, she provides us with an unorthodox, well-researched theory that opens new vistas in the study of black fiction. At the same time it proves, however, the validity of the complex approach to the study of black fiction, taking into account form, structure and ideology. Berthold's perspective is too narrow to illuminate the complex whole.

Viera Vilhanová-Pawliková

Karp, Ivan—Bird, Charles S. (Eds): *Explorations in African Systems of Thought*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1980. x + 337 pp.

This collection of essays, based to a large extent on fieldwork among African societies, introduces the reader to a new series African Systems of Thought which aims at exploring diverse approaches to the analysis of systems of thought found in African societies and intends to provide a forum for the presentation of current research documenting such systems. Although among contemporary scholars there is no consensus as to whether African modes of thought can be systematized (and if so, to what degree), the editors of this volume stand clearly for the systemic approach. Their methodological orientation comes from the belief that the most important task in current research on African thought is to provide comparative models rather than describe pieces of the particular systems.

The thirteen essays included in the book are grouped into four sections. The first one "Modes of Thought" brings studies on the Mande, Thonga, Fang and the Baganda. Bird's and Kendall's paper presents an interesting view of the role the notion hero plays among the Mande. The authors build their model on the material obtained from the famous Mande epics such as *Sunjata* which are analysed with a discernibly deep knowledge of Mande cultural background. In his paper *Heat, Physiology, and Cosmogony; Rites de Passage among the Thonga*, de Heusch

³ Ibid., Epilogue, pp. 196—198.

describes and explains the symbolism of various Thonga rites connected with the gradual passage of a new born infant from "the hot maternal world to the cool social world of the father". James Fernandez touches on the problem of the differences in mentality and intelligence between literate and nonliterate societies. While modern intelligence is shown to be analytically oriented, the members of traditional societies, Fernandez argues, tend to think in broader images and more complex relations. An interesting study by Benjamin Ray examines the Kiganda myth of the origin of death. Various interpretations of "the story of Kintu" are discussed, including the Christian one whose artificialness is disclosed by the author. His analysis leads to showing how this basic Kiganda myth explains to the Baganda the principle of life and death, the meanings of the sky, the earth, the underworld, etc. and how it generally reflects the collective social life of the "descendants of Kintu".

Of most interest in the second section "Images of Social Experience" is Ivan Karp's paper *Beer Drinking and Social Experience in an African Society*. The author begins by examining beer drinking among the Iteso from various aspects — economic, situational and ritual. Having described this pervasive feature of Iteso social life in terms of its interrelations with the social environment in which it is found, Karp turns to analysing beer drinking and the Iteso beer party from the inside, interpreting, as he puts it, the "text" of beer drinking rather than its relations to "context". The study has been based on what had apparently been both extensive and intensive field research and the reader is left in no doubt that the data thus obtained have been analysed and synthesized by a skilled and innovative scholar. Other essays in this section consider the divine kingship among the Margi (by James H. Vaughan), the differences between the positions of men and women in two Tanzanian societies (T. O. Beidelman) and a review of the problem of witchcraft and sorcery in Africa (W. Arens).

The papers presented in the third section stress the dynamism of African systems of thought. In his analysis of the Kita rite of passage among the Suku Kopytoff argues that belief systems do not change only in response to social change and shows that they may have associated with them an internal dynamic which does not involve any existing social statuses. The author is right to point out that the relationship between culture and its environment should be looked upon as dialectical, where either side may be the "independent variable" generating change to which the other side responds. The following study by Dan F. Bauer and John Hinnant is devoted to the examination of differences between "normal" and "revolutionary" divination in two Ethiopian societies. Randal M. Packard's essay on the Bashu of eastern Zaïre examines both how and why Bashu concepts of misfortune changed during the colonial period. The author is in accord with Kopytoff when pointing to the fact that

one must go beyond defining the social and economic conditions under which new concepts of misfortune develop if the evolution of witchcraft beliefs is to be fully understood. John W. Burton's study of the religion of the Atout of the southern Sudan suggests that the image of the belief systems may be affected not only with change over time but also with change over space, in this particular case with the distinctions the Atout make between religious expressions in the village setting in contrast to religious behaviour associated with cattle camps.

The last section of the book, entitled Comparisons, consists of a single study African Religions: Types and Generalizations by Wyatt MacGaffey. The author is of the opinion that comparisons among systems can only be made in terms of sets of relationships and not in terms of isolated roles, and sets himself the difficult task of focusing on the entire complex of roles systems of thought such as African religions can embrace. MacGaffey's comparative analysis suggests several classifications and draws examples from widely separated societies and several different cultural traditions.

On the whole, the Karp's and Bird's collection of essays is a valuable contribution to the study of African systems of thought which will be appreciated by all scholars interested in new facts, ideas and methodological suggestions concerning this field of research. As an inauguration to new series it sets up a standard one can only hope the following volumes will meet.

Ján Voderadský

Ekpo, Monday U. (Ed.): *Bureaucratic Corruption in sub-Saharan Africa: Toward a Search for Causes and Consequences*. Washington, University Press of America 1979. xvi + 449 pp.

One of the first peculiarities a student of modern Africa (or the developing world in general) acquaints himself with is corruption pervading all strata of social, economic and political life of these new nations. Bearing this in mind one must be really surprised to find out how little concentrated effort has been devoted to the study of this topic. M. U. Ekpo's anthology of different articles concerning corruption in sub-Saharan Africa is a pioneering editorial attempt to give this feature of African bureaucracies the scholarly treatment which it has long deserved.

The volume is divided into three parts (each preceded by the editor's introductory comments) which consider three basic questions: first, what is the nature of corruption in Africa, second, what are the causes of its uniformities and variations and third, what are the consequences of its existence in the political system. The first general part called Theories of Corruption presents several diverse views of corruption based on different approaches to the study of the problem (such as anthropological, economic, sociological or political) which, taken together, point to

the complexity of the phenomenon and show that there is no possibility to synthesize all definitions and formulate a "correct" one. Among the many viewpoints presented, there are naturally some which are more or less contradictory. For example, as one of the remedies for the eradication of corruption Braibanti proposes "rigid, careful field training and longer tenure of post" while in another part of the book we find an equally hopeless suggestion that "no person be allowed to hold a position of importance for more than two years because the roots of vice and corruption could then not strike deep before another blighter of a scoundrel takes over". Some readers will probably disagree also with Braibanti's image of the bureaucracy. According to his opinion it "must wear heavy armor to keep itself from being overwhelmed by the other norms of society. It must take heroic measures to strengthen itself internally, and to insulate itself from the debilitating influences of life around it". Here bureaucracy is presented as a system torn from the society in general although in reality it can only exist in connection with the whole socio-political context surrounding it; as a superstructure which is but a reflection of the basis, to put the matter in Marxist terms. Otherwise Braibanti's paper, full of different notions of corruption is a very well composed essay introducing this anthology. J. C. Scott, in the following study, also pays attention to the complexity of the term pointing out that "...acts which in other respects are strikingly similar are called corruption when they occur in one context, but not in another". The essays by E. L. McKittrick, E. C. Banfield and another one by Scott are focused on the problem of corruption in the United States, but they have been used by the editor (with different success) for comparative reasons. While McKittrick's paper is a rather outdated (first published in 1956) and not sufficiently comparative contribution, Banfield's study is much more topical and contains valuable implications for the developing world. Scott's paper *Corruption, machine politics and political change* is successful in explaining the failure of the machine model in the new nations, but the author and the editor should have taken the trouble to rewrite it with the view of what has been said in Scott's previous article (many ideas, sometimes even whole paragraphs are repeated) or better, fuse these two essays into one.

The papers presented in the second part of the book *The Search for Causes* concentrate around three basic factors to which corruption in contemporary Africa is usually attributed: the traditional attitudes of Africans towards gifts made to people in power, the effects of colonialism on precolonial societies and the institutionalized problems created at independence, such as lack of men with experience, national loyalties and morals. Among the best studies in this section are the editor's *Gift-Giving and the Bureaucratic Corruption in Nigeria* and M. G. Smith's *Historical and Cultural Conditions of Political Corruption among the Hausa* which is a remarkable socio-political analysis of Hausa society. Other contributions in this section document corruption in chiefless societies such as Kikuyu and Ibo, in Ghana, Nigeria, Kampala and Nairobi.

A rather provocatively formulated question — is corruption necessary for economic and political development or is it an inhibitor of economic and political progress? — gets to the focus of interest of the articles presented in the last part of the book. A very good introduction (although presented at the end of the collection) to this dilemma is J. S. Nye's paper which begins by considering all the main arguments for and against corruption and then offers hypotheses about the probabilities of benefits outweighing costs which, in the author's opinion, should always be done before specific conclusions about the implications of corruption are reached. On the other hand, H. H. Werlin finds this approach misleading as, in his words, it diverts attention from the causes (fundamental political disorder) to the manifestations of corruption. For comparison he turns to an acute medical analogy of a doctor attempting to do a cost-benefit analysis of fever while forgetting about the infection. While some of the authors make only subtle allusions to corruption having possibly other than negative consequences, N. H. Leff speaks overtly of bureaucratic corruption as a factor in economic development. It is out of the scope of this review to reason in detail with all Leff's arguments but one principal weakness of his analysis can be pointed to: the specific conditions of his model (i.e. corruption of rigid bureaucracy for the sake of public benefit) are too narrow to allow for any general conclusions. Perhaps the best study in this section is R. C. Tilman's scholarly impartial paper *Emergence of Black-Market Bureaucracy: Administration, Development and Corruption in the New States*. Although the majority of authors in this volume have found it appropriate to repudiate a moral approach to the problem of corruption, none of them should overlook Tilman's closing appeal on moral responsibility of social scientists making research in this field of study.

Ján Voderadský

Swartz, B. K., Jr.—Dumett, Raymond E. (Eds.): *West African Culture Dynamics: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives*. The Hague—Paris—New York, Mouton Publishers 1980. xiv + 636 pp.

The giant IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Chicago in 1973 was certainly an event of great importance and the present volume from the Mouton's impressive World Anthropology series can be viewed as one of the outcomes of this representative interdisciplinary gathering of scientists and scholars from all parts of the world. The editors of this volume have not merely collected the papers presented in the West African Culture Dynamics session; approximately one half of the contributions were solicited after the Congress, others were revised to meet challenging questions raised both at the Congress and after, so that the essays comprised in this anthology give a represent-

ative picture of contemporary state and trends in what the organizers of the Congress and the editors of this volume came to term *West African Culture Dynamics*.

The book consists of two parts each of which presents 15 essays on West African archaeology and history. The research topics range over broad areas of study but there emerge a few major themes around which the discussion tends to concentrate. Such general problems, on which various, sometimes contradictory opinions are voiced, include West African geochronology, the origins of occupation, the origins and development of plant domestication and iron technology, the occurrence of ceramics, etc. Several articles analyse and refer to the presence of pottery in various parts of West Africa. The surveys of recent field data and site reports add to the topicality of the book.

The editors' introductory chapter, written for the Archaeological section by B. K. Swartz, Jr., is not just a summary of contributions but it also presents some supplementary data and offers a few general conclusions and a short developmental synthesis of West African prehistory. Swartz proposes four developmental stages of West African culture dynamics with the following descriptive headings: Original Populating, Intermediate Stone Age (50,000 to 10,000 B.C.), Later Stone Age (10,000 to 3,000 B.C.) and Sedentism — Nomadism (3,000 B.C. to A.D. 300). Although the great majority of the papers on archaeology keep to this chronotermiology some of them exceed the prehistorical time limit and go as far as the beginnings of the twentieth century.

The papers on history concentrate around several major themes and R. Dumett has accordingly organized them into the following groups: Early Migrations and Settlement, Origins and Expansion of the Igbo People, State Formation in the Guinea Forest Zone, Stateless Societies, Islam, Slave Trade, the Impact of European Imperialism. The geographical range is equally complex — the Walo-Walo and Ayor of Senegal, the Trarzas and Brakna of Mauritania, the Bagas and SuSu people of Guinea, the Fulani, Hausa, Igbo and Idoma of Nigeria, the Kru and Grebo of Liberia, the Baule of the Ivory Coast, the Akyem and Akwamu peoples of Ghana, the Tuareg of Central Sudan, and other ethnic groups and traditional states are considered from various viewpoints. Although one or two authors contented themselves with a synthesis of known data, the majority of papers bring new evidence and offer innovative insights.

On the whole, the present anthology is a well-conceived contribution to the study of West African archaeology and history. Although narrowly oriented specialists would despise such collection of essays as a bulky bunch of heterogeneous material, its significance should not be underemphasized. It points to new trends and recent achievements in its field of research and it can be praised as an important source of information for scholars of various (but often closely related) branches of (West) African studies.

Ján Voderadský

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ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES XX

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