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REMARKS ON CREATIVITY IN LANGUAGE*

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Creativity in language is investigated here in relation to metaphor. The latter is regarded as a gate through which language is enriched with innovations that always have an individual genesis. A creative act is an individual act that can be accepted by the society, thus acquiring intelligibility and losing originality. It results from a process that is a posteriori intelligible but a priori unpredictable. Creativity in language is limited by the nature of substance and by its structure. Although creativity disturbs communication, this disturbance is merely a price we have to pay if we want to be able to communicate at all.

A measure of internal coherence and systemic ordering guarantees that language is generally intelligible within the community that employs it as its means of communication. Coherence, however, does not imply rigidity; from the standpoint of mutability, language may be viewed as consisting from a stable core and from a more changeable periphery. In accordance with this subdivision, metaphor takes up a position at the vanguard — in the sense that metaphor (and other tropes as well) may be regarded as a gate through which language is enriched with innovations that always have an individual genesis. From this point of view one could maintain that metaphor is peripheral in its relation to language as a whole. And yet being peripheral does not amount to being negligible or irrelevant. It means rather that a given phenomenon is not (yet) integrated in the language usage of the whole community, that it is a manifestation of individual variation and creativity that can but need not be conventionalized.

A creative act is an individual act in a relative contradiction to the society that can accept and sanction the individual innovation which thus becomes generally intelligible but loses its initial originality. The creative act results from a process that is a posteriori intelligible but a priori unpredictable and consequently not deterministic. These are no satisfactory characteristics of creativity in language; from society's point of view the creative act is an individual product

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that, on the one hand, surpasses the limits of what is usual, conventional but, on the other hand, is not beyond the limits of interpretability by the recipients of the message. The creative linguistic act represents an infringement of communication, a disturbance in the communication act, a sort of a jump, a microcatastrophe. Unfavourable consequences of this microcatastrophe are annulled thanks to the fact that the continuity of language remains preserved upon the macrolevel. An entirely different situation would occur if the level and frequency of such jumps would be high upon the macrolevel because in such a case the context would not be a sufficient means of removing ambiguity or indeterminacy in the communication. Thus the communication act is an axis around which language is revolving, a dominant factor in relation to which language and its structure have merely an instrumental and auxiliary nature.

Upon the microlevel one could discover jumps or catastrophes in those instances where the inventory of linguistic means does not change via extension or contraction of meaning but in those instances where an interaction between discontinuous domains takes place. This holds for metaphorization. In vocabulary, metaphor is utilized as a device of labelling new phenomena with old means, overcoming at the same time a certain conceptual distance. Individual metaphors may gradually be incorporated in the vocabulary but a large-scale critical situation produces a more violent reaction that may result in the adaptation upon a higher level. As examples of such an adaptation may be given Chinese around the beginning of our era, New Guinea in the 20th century and Turkish in the era of Kemalist reforms.

Aristotle was perhaps the first to ponder about the nature of creativity in relation to metaphor. He stresses that what counts is being a master of metaphor because metaphor is the only thing that cannot be taken over from someone else, because it is a proof of talent (Aristoteles 1964, p. 62). As mentioned before, the definition of creativity in language cannot do with the contradiction between what is usual and what is the fruit of the individual genius. Creativity is inevitably limited by the nature of substance. The latter cannot be made out of nothing, it is given to the human subject in advance and we cannot dispense with it. All we can do is organizing substance in certain ways. That is why creativity occurs upon the combinatorial level, as an ability to produce combinations from given elements of substance — to produce such combinations the probability of occurrence of which is significantly low. But the ability to be creative implies also the ability to select from the produced combinations those that are more adequate than others are.

Creatively valuable combinations correlate with hidden, deep and at the same time surprising links. The cognitive value of a metaphorical expression is higher if the latter points out to a deep and plausible link between phenomena. On the other hand, poetic metaphors unveil rather surprising links between phenome-

na. The functions of poetry and science do not coincide and the aim of a metaphorical expression in poetry is to arrest the attention of the recipient and to produce a desirable reaction to the poetic creation. And thus the psychologists H. R. Polio and M. K. Smith only confirm the familiar truth when maintaining that the ability to see similarity between dissimilar things is especially characteristic of poetically gifted individuals (Pollio—Smith 1980, p. 365). The same truth but in different words is stated by K. Connor and N. Kogan (Connor—Kogan 1980, pp. 284—285) who accentuate the ability to find conceptual links between objects and events from disparate domains, across the conventional categories and who consider the metaphorical sensitivity to be inseparably linked to creativity.

Metaphor deserves attention from the viewpoint of the theory of linguistic relativity as well. Metaphors reflect a subject's evaluating attitude towards perceived phenomena, and metaphorization, while employing given language substance, modifies language enriching it with new aspects of things, aspects that are in the beginning original and individual but gradually penetrate into vocabulary and grammatical categories, losing at the same time their freshness and metaphorical vividness.

Metaphorical creativity is not identical with wilfulness. The creative individual cannot completely get rid of language conventions if he wants to be understood by others. If the conventional usage may be characterized by the occurrence of linguistic means in accordance with an established and expected distribution of their semantic variants, then originality is a variation of this probabilistic distribution. The value of a metaphor consists in its incomplete originality; it is precisely this restricted originality that makes metaphor as a bridge between old and new. This means that metaphorical quality must be appreciated as a vector of both originality and adequacy. An independent assessment of either of these two parameters would lead to false results.

The individuality of metaphor also consists in the very choice of its vehicle, i.e. in that component that serves as the carrier of the imagery. The author of a particular metaphor acts under the pressure of subjective inevitability, seeking to solve in accordance with his own ideas the inadequacy of available language means, for he perceives them as such in the situation that may be labelled critical. He refuses conventional, ineffectual means of expression and postulates new, more telling and impressive solutions. The choice of a particular vehicle proves that, as far as metaphor is concerned, what counts is not only the content of the message but also its wording. K. K. Zhol characterizes situations of this sort as problematic; the creative activity is thus a reaction of the human subject to changes in his environment and in the case of linguistic creativity metaphor appears as a conflict between conventional means and new situation (Zhol 1984, p. 266).

It is easy to understand that creativity as a violation of convention disturbs communication (cf. Cherkasova 1968, p. 36). However, this disturbance in communication is merely a price we have to pay in the case of metaphor (or any other trope and neologism) if we want to be able to communicate at all. Plato points out in the same direction when saying that all cognition surpassing the extant ideas has to look for support in analogies and comparisons (quoted after Batoroev 1981, p. 182).

The substance of linguistic creativity may be seen in the units of language. This substance is hierarchized and each hierarchical stratum of language structure has sets of units and rules of its own. Various language strata are open to individual creativity to a different degree. Creativity does not imply a complete freedom in manipulating language units but only such freedom that does not render communication impossible. The phonological level virtually rules out all combinatorial initiative and creation of new combinations of phonemes. The phonemes distinguish meaning without having it, and any individual combinations different from the accepted ones are worthless from the point of view of both creativity and communication. This is proved in poetry by the failure of dadaism and in vocabulary by the rare exceptionality of arbitrary neologisms such as e.g. *gas* created by the Flemish chemist J. B. van Helmont who lived in the 16th/17th centuries.

A greater degree of freedom in manipulation of language units is admissible upon those levels where there are more numerous sets of basic meaningful units that do not have to obey such strict combinatorial units as in phonology. The violation of fairly loose rules of a probabilistic nature does not have too serious consequences for a successful course of communication.

The combinatorial possibilities of units upon the morphemic level are rather restricted. Especially the grammatical affixes combine with the autosemantic morphemes in accordance with fairly strictly defined rules. If any innovations in the combinatorics of grammatical morphemes occur, these are not changes called forth by a creative intention but rather shifts brought about by analogical pressure or indirectly by changes upon the phonological level.

A full-fledged linguistic creativity occurs only upon the level of autosemantic units. Metaphorical expressions are quite common with the compounds, cf. such words as *skyscraper*, *egghead*, Slovak *hlavolam* puzzle, *rodostrom* genealogy. They are very frequent in Japanese (e.g. *ashikubi* ankle), in Indonesian (*anak sungai* brook, stream), in Chinese and in many other languages.

The interval of creative combinatorics is widest upon the syntactic level because the rules regulating the combinations of words into greater syntactic units are incomparably looser than combinatorial rules of morphemes within the words. One could almost maintain that there is no such nonsensical sentence (or syntagm for that matter) for which the recipients would be unable to

construct an interpretation, provided that the syntactic rules underlying it have been kept.

Words and syntagms are combined into more complex wholes in accordance with content, semantic, and with formal, syntactic, rules. The so-called literal, conventional speech requires a harmony of these two sets of rules. This harmony appears to be violated in phraseology, cf. Slovak *strihať ušami* be alert, *čierna ovca* black sheep, *hodiť flintu do žita* resign, give up. This contradiction built in the phraseological units is eliminated so that these expressions are considered to be indivisible. Phraseological units often originate from conventionalized metaphors or from other tropes. However, the disharmony between semantics and syntax is always manifest with live metaphors.

In vocabulary the individual creativity manifests itself variability, both intra- and interlinguistic. In T. S. Kuhn's opinion, metaphor reminds us that a different language may articulate the world in a different manner (Kuhn 1979, p. 414). This is linked both to the fact that reality is inexhaustible as to its properties and to differences in experience accumulated by various language communities in the past — differences that influence the interpretation of what is perceived. Finally, one cannot ignore varying intentions and attitudes of the subjects who are capable of looking for similarities between phenomena of reality as well as of logical reasoning. In the light of what has been said above, the same subject can be metaphorized in different manners not only by members of different language communities but even within one and the same community.

Linguistic creativity as a reaction of human beings to changes in their environment (cf. Zhol 1984, p. 266) brings about a change in the language usage, and a correct interpretation requires an intensification of mental activities. This means that metaphor includes two creative phases within the framework of the communication act. In the first phase the author tries to carry out his intention via the choice of the metaphoric vehicle from a set of expressions that, according to his view, may be taken into account. Subsequently the encoded message is communicated to the recipient who again creatively selects from the set of more or less adequate interpretations the most suitable one. In addition to his knowledge of the language, the recipient takes information from the general context, background and data concerning the author and also the circumstances in which that particular metaphor appeared. In the second phase, the accumulated data make it possible to assign a basis property to the interpreted metaphor and also its tenor, provided it is not explicitly present. All this holds only for live, new metaphor because an interpretation of conventionalized, vocabulary metaphors takes place upon the level of derivation or even etymology.

Creativity may be regarded as a temporary violation of balance acquired by language during the process of its development. As far as literal and metaphori-

cal aspects are concerned, language is in a state of internal balance that guarantees its communicative usefulness for the whole language community as well as its overall intelligibility. The balance that follows its temporary violation depends not only upon the structure of language but also from its functions and from demands put upon it. The resulting balance must meet the requirements both of the author and the recipient of metaphor; therefore, the ratio of literal and metaphorical components in lyrics will differ from that in fiction or everyday speech, etc.

The opposition of literal and metaphorical has come about as a consequence of the decay of an original unity into two relative notions that agree with Soroko's antithesis of structure and amorphness, inevitability and chance (or spontaneity), simplicity and intricacy, unbiased and emotional perception of the world (Soroko 1984, p. 139).

The literal speech is notable for a highly predictable and uniform distribution of various meanings of language units (e.g. words). On the other hand, if the speaker uses speech in a creative manner, he partially violates this distribution and the predictability of occurrence of some of the meanings of the individual words is significantly decreased. The occurrence of these lexemes deviates from the assumed occurrence as observed in literal speech. However, the violation of uniformity, although causing some disturbances upon the stage of interpretation, extends expressive possibilities of language and may be regarded as a manifestation of its adaptability, flexibility and as an assumption of its further development in future.

The idea of literalness and uniformity is linked to that of symmetry while metaphoricity and unevenness is associated with the violation of symmetry. This violation of symmetry is diachronically inevitable because it gives the extant structures a possibility of change and adaptation to new circumstances. At the same time, the existence of systemic relations within language, the internal coherence of language means that the violations of balance never exceed the limits of a certain interval to avoid disturbances in communication. As Soroko puts it, such processes are realized in systems that produce minimal disturbances to their internal organization (Soroko 1984, p. 143).

Symmetry in language is temporary since the repeated changes violate it incessantly, being at the same time an ideal because each balance violation is followed by an effort at its renewal, though admittedly upon a different level, in accordance with the conditions and requirements of actual communication needs. Spontaneous metaphors that arise under the pressure of a necessity to say something new about something familiar or to say about a new phenomenon something that enables its integration into the framework of available experience, do astound in the first phase, in the phase of symmetry violation, but

later, in the subsequent phase of the renewal of symmetry upon a different level cease to be surprising and gradually become assimilated to literal speech.

The violation of symmetry and uniformity through metaphor is an aberration towards creativity; the latter cannot be squeezed into conventional, aprioristic schemes, at the same time being unable to completely ignore them.

As objective prerequisite of the existence of individual creativity is the existence of a great, theoretically infinite number of links between referents and signs and consequently an inexhaustible number of possible combinations. In the course of a process of motivated nomination only some of these links or associations become fixed to the sign, marking thus the limit of individual creativity. The complexity of circumstances implies the impossibility of predicting in advance which associations will be selected. However, it is clear a posteriori that they could be chosen and employed. In other words, creativity may be unpredictable without being unintelligible.

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ANALOGICAL NOMINATION IN BENGALI

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This is an investigation of the way various metonymic relations and metaphor are utilized in Bengali in analogical nomination, that is in designating concepts with the aid of forms already existing.

Adequate attention is being devoted in linguistics to nomination, that is, to the formation of linguistic units serving to single out and designate fragments of extra-linguistic reality. Alongside a study of relationships among units that are being nominated, such as those of synonymy, antonymy and homonymy, also various aspects of the nomination process are being investigated. Such are, in the first place, the relations existing between designation and the character of what is designated, which may be either the situation in which case nomination takes on the form of a sentence, or elements of reality, nomination has then the form of names for things and features. Research also bears on the relationship between nomination and reality, or the modes in which given concepts are designated in a concrete language.

In an investigation into nomination from the functional-genetic aspect, a distinction is often made between primary, non-derived nomination and derived nomination, that is one in which use is made of an already existing name in its secondary function (Teliya 1979). Horecký (1987) speaks in such cases of primary nomination, for a ready-made, existing name performs a primary nominative function also when it has been transferred into new affinities, i.e. it is utilized with the primary aim to designate a concept. As a truly derived, transferred nomination, he considers designations derived from analogical nominations, e.g. *ostrá strelba* in Slovak (lit. sharp shooting, i.e. shooting with live cartridges), is derived from the nomination *sharp cartridge*, formed in analogy with the nomination *sharp knife*.

An investigation of the relationship between nomination and reality does not study the relation thing—name directly, nor is it concerned with concept, either. It is assumed that between reality and language there is conceptual domain, a system of concepts as fundamental ideational formations which a member of a given linguistic community creates in continuous contact with other members of that community (cf. Pavilionis 1984). This system does not belong into the

mental domain, but neither is it a part of language. It is a preverbal component of the system of verbal behaviour (Horecký 1985).

The nomination process always involves a transition from the conceptual domain through content, up to form, thus giving rise to lineary onomasiological chain (Horecký 1984). If at the end of this onomasiological chain an as yet non-existing form is used, hence, a new form is created, we speak of a direct nomination. If, on the other hand, the chain is closed with an already existing form, an indirect, that is an analogical nomination is involved (Horecký 1987).

Hence, an analogical nomination is one in which a pre-existing form is used to designate some concept. Such a designation is most frequently transferred through the intermediary of figures of speech, tropes, i.e. metonymy and metaphor. In both cases, different concepts and contents are attached to one form.

In metonymy, meaning is transferred on the basis of some inner relationship. It may have as its base spatial, situational, semantic, syntactic and logical relationships among various categories of reality and its reflection in human consciousness.

The set of metonymic relationships differs with different authors. E.g. Arutyunova (1979) lists ten metonymic relationships, viz. receptacle — content, material — product, action — its outcome, form of expression of content — content, scientific discipline — object of the scientific discipline, activity — its participants, social organization — its members, part — whole, emotional state — its cause, author — work.

Norrick (1984) mentions six classes of metonymic relationships: cause — effect, activity — its participants, part — whole, receptacle — content, experience — dealing, owner — ownership, subdividing each of these in more detail, e.g. the class cause — effect is made to comprise these relationships: cause — effect, producer — product, natural resources — natural product, tool — product.

Naturally, not all the above metonymic relationships are utilized in nomination (many may enter into live linguistic expressions, texts as an unrepeated designation), moreover, the use of different metonymic relations in the nomination process may differ in different languages. Thus, for instance an analysis of our materials reveals that Bengali, as opposed to Slovak, makes a more abundant use of metonymy as a means of transferring meaning, and also the metonymic relationships it employs are far more heterogeneous.

One of the most frequent modes of metonymic analogical nomination in Bengali is the transfer of designation from the whole to the part. Of course, here too, there may be found several subtypes of the given metonymic relationships, e.g.:

- a) the part derives from the whole: *kadalī* — tree (banana)
kadalī — fruit (banana)
- b) the whole is made up of the sum of the parts:
šibir — camp or *hābeli* — a residential house
šibir — tent *hābeli* — a row or cluster of residential houses
- c) the part is a component of the whole: *pulis* — the police
pulis — a policeman

We might assign here also similar, though not identical designations of the type *hindu* — Hinduism, *hindu* — a Hindu; *rasāyan* — chemistry, *rasāyan* — a chemist.

In the case of metonymic analogical nomination, Bengali also makes use of further metonymic relations, e.g.:

receptacle — content (*māthā* — the head, *māthā* — brain, intellect; such a metonymic analogical designation is current also in other languages, e.g. in European ones, but in Bengali we naturally find such whose background is formed by concrete Bengali culture. In this class it is e.g. *bālām* — a superior variety of rice, *bālām* — a boat for carrying this rice),

material — product (*kaṇṣa* — bell-metal, *kaṇṣa* — a vessel of bell-metal or *kāgaj* — paper, *kāgaj* — newspaper),

source — product (*kantha* — the throat, *kantha* — voice),

tool — product (*pad* — leg, *pad* — step),

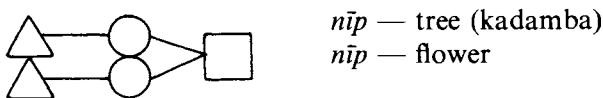
cause — effect (*paradā* — a curtain, *paradā* — a zenana, purdah; here we might also include the analogical metonymic designation *bhāt* — boiled rice, *bhāt* — the Hindu sacrament of letting a child eat rice for the first time).

Also appellativization or appellative designation, i.e. the taking over of a proper name to designate some fact/object of reality has to be subsumed under metonymic analogical nomination. Current in many languages is such a designation of units of measure, or of equipment (Horecký, 1987, mentions Watt — watt and Röntgen — röntgen), and in Bengali we should include e.g. *Madan* — the Hindu god of love, *madan* — amorous or sexual desire, eroticism in such a type of analogical nomination. In such a metonymic analogical nomination, no account is made of the conceptual element.

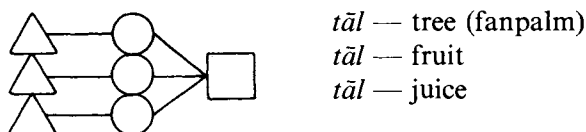
It goes without saying that the above enumeration of metonymic relationships employed in metonymic analogical nomination in Bengali makes no claim at completeness. A deeper analysis of Bengali vocabulary would certainly expand it.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature in metonymic analogical nomination is the fact that the various concepts and contents attached to one form are in the relation of contiguity. In the study referred to above (1987), Horecký

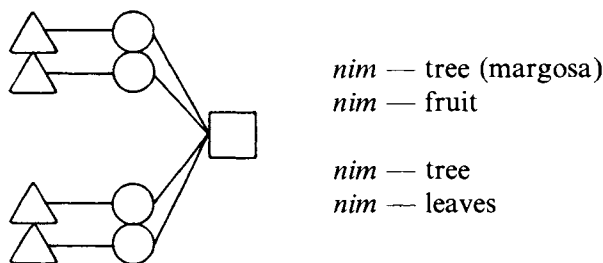
suitably illustrates this and further relations in analogical nomination by means of schemes that may be used also for Bengali. The basis of the scheme is given by the onomasiological chain $\triangle - \bigcirc - \square$ in which \triangle stands for concept, \bigcirc stands for content and \square for form. The contiguity relationship in the metonymic analogical nomination may then be schematically expressed as follows:



Occasionally, several concepts and contents may be related to a single form. In simple cases, the concept—content part of several onomasiological chains may be successively linked one to another, e.g.



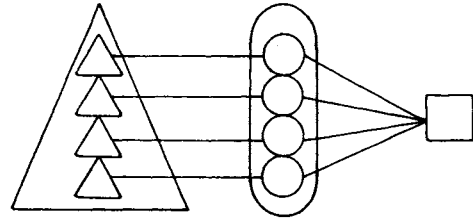
A more complex case may involve two pairs of contiguous concepts and contents bound to a single form, e.g.:



It seems that in such cases the successiveness in the contiguity has been interrupted — concept and content of fruit and leaves of the tree are not in the relation of contiguity (we may speak of parallel nomination here).

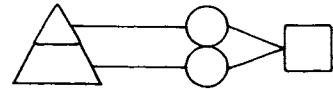
An interesting instance of metonymic analogical nomination is that of designations whose base is given by synesthesia, that is, perception of some phenomenon with several senses. As with other metonymic analogical nominations, concepts and contents of synesthetically linked designations are in a relation of contiguity, yet simultaneously are comprised in a comprehensive concept and content as may be illustrated with the aid of the adjective *nibir*:

nibiṛ (kānan) — very dense or thick
or deep forest
nibiṛ (bandhutva) — extremely close
friendship
nibiṛ (āliṅgan) — tight embrace
nibiṛ (nitamba) — plump, heavy
buttocks, hips



A figure of speech almost identical with, yet discretely differing from metonymy is that of synecdoche whose principle lies in a transfer of meaning from one object to another on the basis of a quantitative relationship between them. Most frequently a part is made to stand for the whole, or vice versa, the whole is stated as signifying a part, the general is used for the special, or the special for the general. An analogical designation created on the basis of a synecdochical relationship differs from the preceding analogical nominations in that only contents are in the contiguity relationship, while concepts are in the relation of inclusion, as for instance *śahar* — a town, *śahar* — inhabitants of a town in the sense “the whole town” was there:

śahar — a town
śahar — inhabitants of a town



It appears that metaphor is rather more often than metonymy utilized in analogical nomination in Bengali. However, designations thus formed show a smaller heterogeneity. Essentially, there is always a transfer of designation on the basis of similarity of appearance or of functions.

a) similarity of appearance:

bāṅk — a curve

bāṅk — a piece of long and bent pole borne on one's shoulder for carrying loads fastened to its ends

maṭha — a temple

maṭha — a sweetmeat shaped like a temple

b) similarity of function:

bīj — a germ (of disease)

bīj — a cause

c) occasionally, both appearance and function may be simultaneously involved:


pā — leg

pā — a leg of an article of furniture

kar — hand

kar — the trunk of an elephant

bāḍar — the monkey or *hāṅgar* — the shark
bāḍar — a mischievous person *hāṅgar* — an extortioner



jhār — a bush, thicket
jhār — chandelier

In the first case there is but a single semantic feature (similarity of appearance) in the intersection of the conceptual and content component on the basis of which the analogical designation was construed:

bāḱ — a piece of long and bent pole for carrying loads

pā — leg

pā — a leg of an article of furniture

$p\bar{a}$ — leg

pā — foot

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WORD-CLASS SHIFTS OF MULTIWORD UNITS IN THE LEXICON OF MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC

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The present study aims at examining the set of phenomena observable in the lexical domain of multiword units in the process of changing their word-class membership. Linguistic data analysed are primarily drawn from recent lexicographical sources of Modern Written Arabic.

1. In contrast to the one-word (OW, in what follows) units, the multiword (MW, henceforth) terms are, in general, markedly less adapted to change their word-class membership. As is obvious, this discrepancy is primarily due to the syntactic patterning of the MW units that hampers the transition from one word-class to another. It must be said, however, that by far not all syntactic patterns on which the MW units are modelled display a uniform restrictive effect. When focusing the attention on chains of derivationally related units linked together by the head member of an underlying head-modifier structure, one might be tempted to draw a rather oversimplified picture of the problem. In the latter case, besides a number of minor complications that may even here emerge in the process of transition from one word-class to another (some of them will be discussed in what follows), there is no substantial difference between the MW and OW units in this respect. This similarity of behaviour may be illustrated on a number of randomly selected OW—MW pairs, and that irrespective of whether the shift in their word-class membership is formally signalled or not.

Some examples:

(1.1) head-linked chains of derivationally related units:

(1.1.1) shifts in word-class membership formally unmarked:

MW: *rākib darrāja*

substantival: “cyclist” (lit. ‘one who is riding a bicycle’) —

adjectival: “(one who is) riding a bicycle”;

OW: *rākib*

substantival: “rider” —

adjectival: “(one who is) riding”, etc.

(1.1.2) shifts in word-class membership formally marked:

MW: *rakiba darrāja* “to cycle, to ride a bicycle”;

OW: *rakiba* “to ride” —

MW: *rākib darrāja* (see above);

OW: *rākib* (see above).

(1.2) modifier-linked chains of derivationally related units:

Since, at the phrasal level, there is no noticeable difference between the MW and OW units of the present type, the subsequent analysis will mainly be oriented towards MW terms that are related to their MW or OW counterparts, in the process of changing their word-class membership, through the modifier member of a head-modifier structure, as in:

MW: *‘ilm al-‘aḥyā* “biology” (lit. ‘science of living beings’) —

OW: *‘aḥyā* “biologic(al)”, or:

MW: *‘ilm (ḥisāb) al-muṭallatāt* “trigonometry” (lit. ‘science (calculus) of triangles’) —

OW: *muṭallaṭ* “trigonometric(al)”, etc.

2. Head-linked chains of derivationally related units.

When disregarding isomorphous chains like those quoted in §1 (1.1) above, the set of structural phenomena possibly emerging in the process of changing the word-class membership in co-occurrence with the new word-class marker, may be classified as follows:

(2.1) reduction of the number of lexical constituent of the underlying construction, as in:

MW — substantival: *‘ītidāl al-layl wa-n-nahār* “equinox” (SDA 55: Äquinoxtium; lit. ‘evenness of night and day’) —

OW — adjectival: *‘ītidālī* “equinoctial”,¹ etc.;

(2.2) synthetic-analytic alternation, as observable with nominal derivatives related to verbal phrases involving prepositions. While, at the verbal level (with verbs calling for prepositions), an analytic structure is obligatory, at the nominal level a synthetic-analytic alternation is mostly possible, as in:

verbal — analytic: *‘ammaṇa (-hū) min (ḍidd) al-ḥarīq* “to insure against fire” (Wehr 35: *‘ammaṇa (-hū) ḍidd al-ḥarīq*) —

substantival — analytic: *(at-) ta’mīn min (ḍidd) al-ḥarīq* “fire insurance” (Wehr 36: *ta’mīn ḍidd al-ḥarīq*; Cairo 1, 10: *at-ta’mīn min al-ḥarīq*; SAD 60: *at-ta’mīn min (ḍidd) al-ḥarīq*: Feuerversicherung), as against:

substantival — synthetic: *ta’mīn al-ḥarīq* (Cairo 1, 77).

Similarly:

verbal — analytic: *ḥakama bi-barā’atiḥī* “to acquit s.o.” (Wehr 228; cf. SAD

¹ Since the reduced variant occurs already at the substantival level (viz., *‘ītidāl* (Wehr 698; Reig 3479)), the last example may alternatively be presented as a case of an OW—OW relation.

450: *ḥakamat al-maḥkama bi-barā'atihī* das Gericht erkannte auf Freispruch; das Gericht sprach den Angeklagten frei);

substantival — synthetic: *ḥukm al-barā'a* “acquittal” (Wehr 229);

substantival — analytic: *al-ḥukm bi-l-barā'a* “idem” (SAD 452: ‘Freispruch’), etc.

(2.2.1) It should be noted, however, that the synthetic-analytic alternation may sometimes be identified with phenomena occurring within the limits of structural isomorphy. An isomorphous alternation takes place in cases where the prepositional element alternates with zero already at the verbal level, as in:

verbal — synthetic/analytic: *'admana ('alā) al-muxaddirāt* “to be or become addicted to drugs” (cf. SAD 668: *'admana ('alā) al-xamr* sich dem Trunk ergeben; Trinker, Alkoholiker sein);

adjectival, substantival — synthetic/analytic: *mudmin ('alā) al-muxaddirāt* “addicted to narcotics; a drug addict” (SAD 668: rauschgiftsüchtig; Drogenabhängiger);

substantival — synthetic/analytic: *'idmān al-muxaddirāt, al-'idmān 'alā al-muxaddirāt* “drug addiction” (SAD 668: Rauschgiftsucht, Drogenabhängigkeit; for the analytical variant cf. *ibid.*: *al-'idmān 'alā al-musakkirāt* Trunksucht, Alkoholismus), etc.

3. Modifier-linked derivationally related units.

In contradistinction to the head-linked chains of derivationally related units, the modifier-linked chains do not seem to occur independently of structural variables that may be presented as follows:

(3.1) Reduction of the number of lexical constituents of the underlying MW construction is one of the most typical features of the present type of derivationally related units. Since the elided component coincides, with the present type of derivationally related units, with the head member of the underlying MW unit, the reduced term, most currently an OW unit, frequently displays a relatively high degree of polysemy. Some manifestations of this unwanted polysemy will be presented in the subsequent paragraphs.

The process of reduction may take place either independently or in co-occurrence with additional derivational elements signalling the word-class membership.

(3.1.1) Reduction of the number of lexical constituents with no additional derivational markers may be illustrated on cases like:

MW — substantival: *qaṭ' nāqīṣ* “ellipse” (Khat. 196; lit. ‘incomplete section’) —

OW — adjectival: *nāqīṣ* “elliptic(al)”, as in *takāmul nāqīṣ* “elliptic integral (math.)” (Khat. 197).

It is worthwhile noting, however, that this way of marking shifts in word-class membership is relatively rare for it is restricted to MW units that are made

up of constituents the word-class membership of which is compatible with that of the whole MW units at every stage of their word-class change. With MW units that do not satisfy the latter condition all shifts in the word-class membership have to be signalled by additional markers (see 3.1.2).

The typical use of explicit word-class markers may lead even to an 'over-marking', as in the following case of adjectivizing an adjective:

adjectival: *nāqīṣ* "elliptic" (see also 3.2; properly 'incomplete, defective'), co-occurring with:

adjectival: *nāqīṣī* "idem" (see also 3.2), as in '*istiqtāb nāqīṣī* "elliptic polarization" (Khat. 197).²

(3.1.2) The process of reduction, co-occurring with additional derivational markers, is much more frequent. The examples that follow show the transition from a substantival MW to an adjectival OW unit. The reduced terms are adjectivized, once again, by means of the relative adjective suffix *-ī*, as in:

MW: '*ilm as-sukkān* "demography" (SDA 275: *Demographie*; lit. 'science of the population') —

OW: *sukkānī* "demographic(al)" (ibid.: *bevölkerungsmäßig, Bevölkerungs-; demographisch*; Krah1 1984, 362: *Bevölkerungs-; etc.*);

MW: *xaṭṭ al-'istiwā* "equator" (lit. 'line of evenness') —

OW: '*istiwā'ī* "equatorial; tropical";³

MW: '*ilm (ḥisāb) al-mutallaqāt* "trigonometry" (see 1.2) —

OW: *mutallaqī* "trigonometric(al)" (Khat. 636); "triangular" (Khat. 635); etc.

(3.2) The process of component number shortening necessarily leads to the rise of polysemy which is felt as a disturbing factor especially in the domain of technical usage. While, the MW term '*ilm an-naḥs*' (lit. 'science of the soul'), for instance, may quite unambiguously be identified with "psychology", the reduced OW term *naḥsī* has primarily to be interpreted as "psychic(al)" (cf. Reig 5494: *psychique; psychologique*).

Apart from various types of suppletive terms, mainly based on foreign borrowings (see § 5, in what follows), the main factor somewhat restricting the disturbing effect of the present type of polysemy is the explicative power of the

² To the adjectival pattern CāCiC (*nāqīṣ*) the relative adjective suffix *-ī* (*nāqīṣī*) is appended. Similar cases of a double marking, in the lexical domain of adjectives, frequently occur with the intensive pattern CaCCāC, especially in terms expressing the connotation of potentiality, as in:

naqqāl "portable, transportable" — *naqqālī* "idem", as in *miṣbāḥ naqqālī* "portable lamp" (Khat. 457); *mīrfā' naqqālī* "mobile crane" (Khat. 382), etc.

³ For the sake of economy, lexicographical sources will be indicated only in cases that display lexical or semantic variation.

context as well as that of new lexical constituents possibly co-occurring with the reduced variant of a MW term, as in:

MW: *qaf' nāqīṣ* “ellipse” (see 3.1.1) —

OW: *nāqīṣ* “elliptic”, but exclusively as a constituent of MW terms that specify this technical meaning by other constituents, such as: *takāmul nāqīṣ* “elliptic integral” (see *ibid.*); *saḥ mukāfi' nāqīṣ* “elliptic paraboloid” (Khat. 197), etc. When used independently, this adjective has to be rendered by a MW term whose single constituents are derivationally related to those of the underlying substantival units: *nāqīṣ al-maqṭa'* (see *ibid.*, lit. ‘of incomplete section’). The same holds true of the ‘overmarked’ *nāqīṣī* that does not seem to occur alone, either, e.g.: *'istiqtāb nāqīṣī* (see 3.1.1).⁴

4. Apart from chains of derivationally related units that are linked together either through the head- (see §2) or the modifier-member (see §3) of the underlying MW unit, there are more complex units that successively involve both these relationships. A case of a similar multiple relationship, successively involving both the modifier- and head-linked processes at the MW level, will be quoted in what follows:

(i) modifier-linked relationship:

MW — substantival: *ṣakl rubā'ī z-zawāyā* “tetragon, quadrangle (geom.)” (Khat. 614, 475; lit. ‘tetragonal form’) —

(ii) head-linked relationship:

MW — adjectival: *rubā'ī z-zawāyā (al-'aḍlā')* “tetragonal” (Khat. 614; lit. ‘displaying, consisting of four angles (sides)’) —

OW — adjectival: *rubā'ī* “tetragonal, quadrangular” (lit., in current nonspecialized usage ‘quadruple’), as in: *mawṣūr rubā'ī* “tetragonal prism”; *niẓām rubā'ī* “tetragonal system” (Khat. 614); etc.

5. Derivational markers are not the unique ones to signal the transition from one word-class to another. When disregarding various metalinguistic or, more generally, metadescriptive elements, frequently used to mark shifts in the word-class membership,⁵ the most important nonderivational word-class transformers should be identified with very various lexical and syntactic means.

⁴ The OW derivatives, related to the OW derivational bases, face no such problems. The synonymous term *'ihlīlajī* “elliptic(al)”, derived from a well-established OW term *'ihlīlaj* “ellipse”, safely maintain its terminological value in every position, irrespective of whether used independently or as a constitutive part of MW units, such as *al-handasa al-'ihlīlajīyya* “elliptic geometry” (Khat. 197).

⁵ The most currently occurring meta-elements have to be identified with various types of relational words. These may be found both in combination with multiword units where shifts in word-class membership are not always easy to be obtained, and in combination with one-word units the word-class membership of which can readily be controlled by derivational means. The examples

(5.1) Shifts in the word-class membership, conveyed by independent lexical units that display no common root identity, may appear in several forms. Most frequently they take the form of what will be referred to somewhat arbitrarily as suppletive terms, in what follows. These terms, mostly borrowings, may occur alone as the unique word-class transformers of some MW units or, more currently, they occur in pairs with the derivationally related units. In the latter case they have to suppress the disturbing impact of polysemy, typically associated with the latter.

(5.1.1) Suppletive word-class transition is the unique possible one, as in:

MW — substantival: *mā warā'a- (ba'da-) ṭ-ṭabṛ'a* “metaphysics” (Wehr 645; lit. ‘what (follows) after the physics’; from the Greek *ta meta ta fysika*/; *mā ba'da-ṭ-ṭabṛ'a* (Cairo, MF, 163 and 197; Rabat 3, 24) —

OW — adjectival: *mītāfīzīqī* “metaphysical” (see below), as in *ḥadas mītāfīzīqī* “metaphysical intuition” (Rabat 3, 24).

It should be noted, however, that apart from this suppletive relationship the OW term forms part of a derivationally related sequence:

OW — substantival: *mītāfīzīqā* (Wehr 1095: *mētafīzīqā*) “metaphysics” —

OW — adjectival: *mītāfīzīqī* “metaphysical”.

Similarly:

MW — substantival: *ḥukm aš-ša'b* “democracy” (Don. 317; lit. ‘people’s government, exercising power by the people’) —

OW — adjectival: *dimuqrāṭī* “democratic”, co-occurring with a derivationally related OW pair, as well:

OW — substantival: *dimuqrāṭīya* “democracy” —

which follow will try to illustrate the application of meta-elements in the lexical domain of MW units:

min:

substantival: *maḍhab al-'inklīz* “Anglicanism” — adjectival: *min maḍhab al-'inklīz* “Anglican” (Boc. 1, 39: Anglican, adj., de la religion protestante d'Angleterre; lit. ‘of, pertaining to the Church of England’; the word-class membership is indicated in accordance with the source quoted. As obvious, in the present case a substantival interpretation of the latter (viz., ‘member of the Church of England’) would equally be possible), etc.

xāṣṣ bi-:

substantival: *as-sukkān al-'ašliyyūn li-minṭaqatin mā fī fajr at-ta'rīx* “aborigines” (Don. 4; lit. ‘the native inhabitants of a region at the dawn of history’) — adjectival: *xāṣṣ bi-s-sukkān al-'ašliyyūn* “aboriginal” (ibid.; lit. ‘peculiar, pertaining to the native inhabitants’), etc.

tābī' li-; muxtaṣṣ bi-:

substantival: *maḍhab al-kanīsa al-'inklīziyya* “Anglicanism” (Don. 44; lit. ‘the doctrine of the Anglican Church’) — adjectival: *tābī' li-l-kanīsa al-'inklīziyya 'aw muxtaṣṣ bihā* “Anglican” (ibid.; lit. ‘pertaining to the Church of England or peculiar to it’; here quoted besides the true derivative *'anklikānī* “Anglican”); etc.

muta'alliq bi-: (see 5.1.2.1) in what follows. Etc.

OW — adjectival: *dimuqrātī* “democratic” (Wehr 338); etc.⁶

(5.1.2) Suppletive word-class transition as an alternative solution, e.g.:

MW — substantival: *‘ilm an-nafs* “psychology” (see 3.2) —

OW — adjectival: *saykūlūjī* (Wehr 523: *saikolōjī*, *sīkolōjī*) “psychologic(al)”, co-occurring with two pairs of derivationally related units:

MW: *‘ilm an-nafs* —

OW: *nafsī* (see 3.2), as well as:

OW: *saykūlūjiyā* (Wehr 523: *saikolōjiyā*, *sīkolōjiyā*) “psychology” —

OW: *saykūlūjī* (see above).

Similarly (for the sake of economy only the suppletive sequences will be quoted in what follows):

MW: *‘ilm al-‘aḥyā’* “biology” (see 1.2) —

OW: *biyūlūjī* (Wehr 107: *biyolōjī*) “biologic(al)”, co-occurring with the derivationally related *‘aḥyā’* (see 1.2); or:

MW: *qaṭ’ nāqīṣ* “ellipse” (see 3.2) —

OW: *‘ihlīlajī* “elliptic(al)”, co-occurring with the derivationally related OW terms *nāqīṣ*, *nāqīṣī*, as well as with a syntactically and derivationally restructured MW term *nāqīṣ al-maḡṭa’* (see *ibid.*); etc.

(5.1.2.1) Not even this way of adjectivizing substantival MW terms can keep in step with the steadily growing demand for a greater word-class flexibility in the domain of MW units. A number of MW terms have no adjectival representation at all. The use of metadescriptive elements is the unique way to overcome this problem. Some examples:

MW — substantival: *‘ilm al-‘awrām* “oncology” (RAMS 348: *oncologia*; lit. ‘the study (science) of tumours’) —

MW — adjectival: *muta‘alliq bi-‘ilm al-‘awrām* “oncological” (*ibid.*: *oncologicus*; lit. ‘concerning the study of tumours’);

MW — substantival: *al-faḥṣ al-minḏārī li-l-mabāl* “urethroscopy” (RAMS 541: *urethroscopia*; lit. ‘urethroscopic examination of the urethra, examination of the urethra by means of an urethroscope’) —

MW — adjectival: *muta‘alliq bi-l-faḥṣ al-minḏārī li-l-mabāl* “urethroscopic” (*ibid.*: *urethroscopicus*; lit. ‘pertaining to the examination of the urethra by means of an urethroscope’);

MW — substantival: *aṭ-ṭibb an-nafsī*; *aṭ-ṭibb al-‘aqlī*; *ṭibb al-‘amrād al-‘aqliyya wa-n-nafsiyya* “psychiatry” (RAMS 433: *psychiatria*; lit. ‘psychical medicine’; ‘mental medicine’; ‘medicine of mental and psychical diseases’) —

MW — adjectival: *muta‘alliq bi-ṭibb an-nafs wa-l-‘aql* “psychiatric(al)” (*ibid.*: *psychiatricus*; lit. ‘concerning the psychical medicine’, etc.); etc.

⁶ Possibly operating as a substantive: “democrat” (Wehr 338).

(5.2) Less clearly classifiable are such cases of a lexically conveyed word-class transition which exhibit but a partial conceptual correspondence between particular units of the related sequence. Simultaneously emerging structural variables, such as shifts in the number of lexical constituents and/or in syntactic patterns, are very frequent and make it difficult to draw a clear picture of the extremely involved processes associated with the present variety of word-class transitions. E.g.:

MW — substantival (i): *maktaba li-bayʿ al-kutub al-qadīma* “second-hand bookshop” (SDA 50: Antiquariat; lit. ‘bookstore where second-hand (old) books are sold’), or:

MW — substantival: (ii): *maktaba li-l-mutājara bi-l-kutub al-mustaʿmala* “second-hand bookstore” (Krahl 1964, 31: Antiquariat; lit. ‘a bookstore for dealing in used books’) —

OW — adjectival: *mustaʿmal* “second-hand” (SDA 50: antiquarisch (Buch); lit. ‘second-hand, used’).

It should be noted, however, that the adjectival term, in the example quoted, shows no immediate conceptual relation to any of the substantival terms quoted, since it is conceptually linked with one of their constituents only (viz. ‘books’).

6. Syntactic restructuring of the underlying MW constructions, possibly accompanied with derivationally related or unrelated lexical variables, presents another way of signalling shifts in the word-class membership, as in:

MW — substantival: *al-ʾittiqād bi-l-xurāfāt* “superstitiousness” (SDA 4: Aberglaube; lit. ‘belief in myths, in the supernatural’) —

MW — adjectival (a derivationally unrelated attribute in the form of a relative clause): *yuʾmin bi-l-xurāfāt* “superstitious” (Don. 1228; lit. ‘one who believes in myths, in the supernatural’), besides a derivationally related OW term: *xurāfī* “superstitious” (Krahl 1964, 3: abergläubisch, quoted together with a full derivational reflex of the underlying MW substantival unit which is even somewhat less explicit than the latter: *muʿtaqid bi-l-xurāfāt wa-l-ʾabāṭil*, lit.: ‘one who believes in myths and in absurdities’), or:

MW — substantival: *qābiliyyat (al-ʿunṣur) li-l-ʾinṣihār* “fusibility of element” (Cairo 4, 20) —

OW — adjectival (a derivationally related attribute in the form of a relative clause): *yanṣahir* “fusible” (Fahmī 95); besides alternative units that display no substantial modification of the underlying syntactic pattern, such as:

MW — substantival: *qābiliyyat (al-ʿunṣur) li-l-ʾinṣihār* (see above) —

MW — adjectival (analytic): *qābil li-l-ʾinṣihār* “fusible” (Khat. 243), or:

MW — adjectival (synthetic): *qābil al-ʾinṣihār* “fusible” (Fahmī 95), etc.

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STUDIES IN MODERN CHINESE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY: V. YOUNG WANG GUOWEI (1901—1911)

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This is a study of the ideological and intellectual development of Wang Guowei (1877—1927), modern Chinese philosopher, aesthetician, literary critic and historian, during the period of 1901—1911, pointing out his attitude towards the European trends in these fields, disappointment with them and his way back to Confucian orthodoxy.

When Liang Qichao [1] (1873—1929), who may safely be called the father of modern Chinese intellectual history, wrote his famous book *Qingdai xueshu gailun* [2] *Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period* which he completed within a fortnight, he made the following remark in his First Preface to it: "Since I had no time for revision and correction, there are doubtless quite a number of mistakes and omissions, which I hope my readers will correct."¹ That was on 14 October 1920. Some of his friends, including Hu Shi [3] (1891—1962) read his works in manuscript and each of them "suggested corrections",² but none of them intimated either through inadvertance or by design that mention ought to be made in the book of the most noteworthy Chinese scholar of that time in the domain of aesthetics, literary scholarship and ancient Chinese history — Wang Guowei [4] (1877—1927). As a matter of fact, Hu Shi went so far as to advise Guo Zhanbo [5], author of the book *Jin wushi nian Zhongguo sixiang shi* [6] *History of Chinese Thought During the Past Fifty Years*, to exclude Wang Guowei from it.³ It would be difficult to say whether he was inspired by envy, or by hatred towards Wang Guowei's political conviction, or his inability to understand Wang's philosophy. Fortunately, Guo did not heed his advice. And O. Brière, too, included him in his booklet of a similar title, namely *Fifty Years*

¹ *Author's Second Preface*. In: *Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press 1970, n.p.

² Loc. cit.

³ Guo Zhanbo: *History of Chinese Thought during the Past Fifty Years*. 2nd ed. Peking 1936, p. 3.

of *Chinese Philosophy, 1898—1948*. Although he evidently could not agree with many of Wang Guowei's views, yet he showed his appreciation of Wang when he wrote about him: "Different from his rivals, he was a true thinker, not merely a translator."⁴ One of the opinions given by O. Brière of Wang Guowei was, to my mind, an estimation of what the majority of Chinese scholars thought of him before and after 1940: "More under the influence of Schopenhauer than of Nietzsche, he seems to have been victim of his master's pessimism."⁵ By that he certainly had in mind Wang's suicide, but also his overall life attitudes. Wang Guowei first became known as the author of the volume *Jingan wenji* [7] Wang Guowei's Writings from the year 1905 in which he introduced into China the teachings of these two representatives of German philosophical voluntarism and post-classical aesthetics.

The eminent historian of modern Chinese philosophy Li Zehou [8] (1930—) in his book *Zhongguo jindai sixiang shi lun* [9] *Studies in Modern Chinese Thought* observes that relatively much was written about Liang Qichao and Wang Guowei following the setting up of the People's Republic of China, but "the fundamental tone remains for the most part the same", that is to say, that both are assessed as "negative personalities".⁶ Li Zehou himself strives to rectify this image, unfortunately he devotes but a "brief outline" to each of them in his book which to my mind does not do justice to their greatness nor to their contribution to modern Chinese intellectual history. And Wang Guowei comes off worst in this work for of the nearly five hundred pages dealing with nine outstanding figures from this realm, beginning with Hong Xiuquan [10] (1813—1864) and ending with Lu Xun [11] (1881—1936), only three are devoted to Wang!

One who has appreciated Wang Guowei's contribution was Guo Moruo [12] (1892—1978) and this not only in the domain of ancient Chinese history for he was his prominent predecessor and qualified his work as "epoch-making", but also in that of literature when he placed Wang Guowei's book entitled *Song Yuan xiqu shi* [13] *The History of Song and Yuan Drama* on the same axiological plane with Lu Xun's *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilue* [14] *A Brief History of Chinese Fiction*.⁷

It was some months after Wang Guowei's suicide that Liang Qichao said to students of Qinghua University in Peking at the opening of the school-year 1927—1928 about his colleague: "When speaking about Professor Wang's

⁴ Brière, O.: *Fifty Years of Chinese Philosophy, 1898—1948*. New York, Frederick A. Praeger 1965, p. 21.

⁵ Loc. cit.

⁶ Li Zehou: *Studies in Modern Chinese Thought*. 2nd printing. Peking 1986, p. 422.

⁷ Ibid., p. 436.

scholarly contribution, we must say that it does not belong to China only, but to the whole world.”⁸

1

Wang Guowei was born on 3 December 1877. His family could boast of a long lineage that can be historically traced down to the end of the troublesome years of the Northern Song Dynasty (960—1126) when a certain officer named Wang Gui [17] appeared among the military heroes fighting against north-western Tanguts threatening China. He was the first among several of Wang Guowei's famous ancestors, for the most part soldiers or bearers of *jinshi* [18], i.e. the third degree of the State examinations, the highest in old China. Two of them, Wang Bing [19] (?—1126) and his son Wang Xun [20] chose voluntary death in the waters of the Fen [21] river when they failed to stop the advance of the warlike Jurchens and their Jin Dynasty (1115—1234) while defending the town of Taiyuan [22]. No outstanding personalities appeared in the family tree of the Wangs after 1200.⁹

Wang Guowei's mother died when he was only three years old. His father, a merchant, but otherwise fairly well educated, could not devote himself much to his son except for three years of mourning prescribed by Confucian custom which he had to keep on the death of his own father after 1887. The “Long Hairs”, i.e. Taipings [23] who had perhaps denied an official career to Wang's father were by that time a thing of the past and it did not appear in the 1880s and early 1890s that the “world” would become so altered as to acquire a different shape from the one imprinted on it by practically two millennia of the rule of Confucian orthodoxy. The period 1860—1890 could be regarded as the years of reforming conservatism or of “restoration” but also of essential conservatism, depending on the period or the power cliques involved. As a rule, however, the efforts of the ones and the others ended in a fiasco. This also applies to those who in the times thought of themselves as the saviours of China in her fateful encounter with the Western world. Zuo Zongtang [24] (1812—1885), Li Hongzhang [25] (1823—1901) and Zhang Zhidong [26] (1837—1909) who aimed at preserving the overall Confucian ideology and the institutional and organizational structure so closely linked with it, and who more or less flirted with military power, industrialization and a new economic administration, failed to achieve their objectives. Conservative forces proved to be stronger

⁸ Liang Qichao: *Wang Jingan xiansheng mu qian dao ci* [15] A Graveside Speech for Mr. Wang Guowei. *Guoxue yuebao* [16] Old Learning Monthly, 2, Oct. 31, 1927, 8—10, p. 544.

⁹ Bonner, J.: *Wang Kuo-wei. An Intellectual Biography*. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press 1986, pp. 8—9.

in China. The vast country was due for one of the greatest tragedies in its history: its defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and the breakdown of its "Sino-centric world order". This shameful defeat meant a far greater trauma to China than did Napoleon Bonaparte's defeat at Waterloo to the French. A great empire was defeated by a small island country.

Young Wang Guowei, as we know from his own admission,¹⁰ liked to read some of the first of the twenty-four dynastic histories, the so-called *zheng shih* [29] standard histories, i.e. *Shiji* [30] *Records of an Historian*, *Hanshu* [31] History of the Former Han Dynasty, *Hou Hanshu* [32] History of the Later Han Dynasty, and *Sanguo zhi* [33] History of the Three Kingdoms. According to Yang Lien-sheng [34] precisely these four standard histories were the most widely read of all, enjoying a "literary as well as historiographic reputation".¹¹ We do not know what was hidden in the "five or six boxes"¹² of books in his father's house, but from Wang's own statement we may infer that as a boy he did not like to read *Shisanjing zhushu* [35] The Thirteen Classics with Commentaries and Subcommentaries. The Thirteen Classics include all important works connected with Confucianism in ancient China. He certainly had to go through most of them, otherwise he could not have gone up for the State examinations of the first and second degree (he successfully passed only the first degree in 1892) and without a knowledge of these works he could not have become a convinced Confucianist which he remained throughout his whole life. This, of course, does not imply that he did not strive to get to know anything else, or that he was not receptive of other traditional teachings: Buddhism and Taoism. As we know, Buddhism experienced at that time (and also later, in the first two decades of the 20th century) its Renaissance, and particularly its most philosophical teachings: *Yogācāra* (*Weishi*) [36] Consciousness-Only and *Huayan* [67] Garland Schools. They have to have been theoretical stimuli for a wide-ranging discussion in the socio-political or literary and artistic domain. History disappointed the hopes of Liang Qichao that Buddhism would be the foundation of China's "new belief",¹³ or that it could "serve as a unifying ideology and as a philosophy which could be paralleled with Western philosophy".¹⁴ At the same time as Liang, another important figure of modern

¹⁰ Wang Guowei: *Zixu* [27] A Foreword. In: *Wang Guantang xiansheng quanji* [28] The Complete Works of Wang Guowei. Vol. 5. Taipei 1968, p. 1823. (Henceforth only WGTQJ.)

¹¹ Yang Lien-sheng: *The Organization of Chinese Official Historiography: Principles and Methods of the Standard Histories from the T'ang through the Ming Dynasty*. In: *Excursions in Sinology*. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press 1969, p. 101.

¹² WGTQJ, Vol. 5, p. 1823.

¹³ Chan Sin-wai: *Buddhism in Late Ch'ing Political Thought*. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1985, p. 42.

¹⁴ Loc. cit.

Chinese intellectual history, Tan Sitong [38] (1865—1898) selected *Yogācāra* and the Garland Schools as the basis of his future “Neo-Buddhism”.¹⁵ Neo-Buddhism never became a reality, at least not one that could have stood up to or held its ground in competition with Chinese Confucianism and various Western teachings in winning over Chinese youth to its way of thinking and contributing effectively to a metamorphosis of modern Chinese consciousness. Taoist teachings represented by Laozi’s [39] (4th cent. B. C.) and Zhuangzi’s [40] (3rd cent. B. C.) philosophy were taken into consideration principally because in certain respects they could well play the second fiddle in Buddhism. The underlying reason probably did not reside in their philosophical values — these were remarkable even on a world-wide scale — but rather in their absolute unsuitability as instruments in the socio-economic or political sphere.

When it came to a confrontation between Confucianism and Western teachings or ideologies, Wang Guowei was an adherent of one of the forms of Chinese conservatism, the so-called “conservative reformism”, advocated for a time also by his tutor Luo Zhenyu [41] (1866—1940) and by Luo’s and Wang’s patron, Zhang Zhidong, Governor-General of Hupei and Hunan provinces. In his work, published in 1898, Zhang wrote:

“If we wish to make China strong and preserve Chinese learning, we must promote Western learning. But unless we first use Chinese learning to consolidate the foundation and to give our purpose a right direction, the strong will become rebellious leaders and the weak slaves.”¹⁶

And further on:

“Scholars today should master the Classics in order to understand the purpose of our early sages and teachers in establishing our doctrine. They must study history in order to know the succession of peace and disorder in our history and the customs of the land, read the philosophers and literary collections in order to become familiar with the Chinese scholarship and fine writing. After this they can select and utilize that Western learning which can make up for our shortcomings and adopt those Western governmental methods which can cure our illness. In this way China will derive benefit from Western learning without incurring any danger.”¹⁷

These words clearly imply that a study of Chinese Confucian classics, history, philosophy and literature, which in reality comprise all the production under four divisions *bu* [43] of all books and works acknowledged by the Confucian

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 141.

¹⁶ Zhang Zhidong: *Quan xue pian* [42] Exhortation to Learn. Quoted according to de Bary, Wm. Th. (Ed.): *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. New York—London, Columbia University Press 1963, p. 747.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 748.

tradition, should constitute the substance (*ti*) [44], ensuring the protection and flourishing of the Chinese State, race (that is what Zhang calls the Chinese) and the Confucian teaching itself. New learning (*xin xue*) [45] as Western learning was also referred to, was to have had but an instrumental, an ancillary value and filled the function of an aid (*yong*) [46] in the reinstallation of *Dao* [47] the Way in all the spheres of the political, social, economic and cultural life. New learning was to have but helped in improving and refining instruments of acting first in the administrative (hence, predominantly socio-political realm) and then in the technological (hence, the economic-military) sphere.

Both Chinese and Western learning presumed changes in the educational system. "First, both the old and the new must be studied. By the old we mean the *Four Books*, the *Five Classics*, Chinese history, government and geography; by the new we mean Western administration, Western technology and Western history."¹⁸

According to the author of the book, the domain of "administration" includes questions of education, geography, budgeting, taxes, military preparations, laws and regulations, industry and commerce which goes to show that here are assigned important components constituting essential elements of highly developed capitalism; technology, on the other hand, is made to comprise mathematics, drawing, mining, medicine, acoustics, chemistry and electricity, hence, for the most part essential domains of science as a tool of production.¹⁹

It is evident at a first glance that the study to which Zhang exhorts has a totally opposite value hierarchy in the Chinese and the Western learning. The rank-order in the former is as follows: Confucian classics, history, philosophy and literature, in the latter, philosophy and literature are not mentioned at all, their place being taken by a knowledge of practical use: administration, technology and finally Western history which should become merely a means to a knowledge of the barbarians, as Europeans and Americans were still occasionally referred to at that time.

After two unsuccessful attempts at provincial State examinations in 1894 and 1897, Wang Guowei obtained a post as proof-reader in the paper *Shiwubao* [48] Current Affairs, but it may be said that the job did not fill him with any enthusiasm.²⁰ This need not have been due to political or ideological reasons, although the paper belonged to active reformers grouped about Liang Qichao with whom Wang could hardly find grounds for a common understanding. The fact is, however, that a few months after Wang, forced to earn his bowl of rice, had become a "servant" to reformers, the Hundred Day Reforms came to an

¹⁸ Loc. cit.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 748—749.

²⁰ Bonner, J.: op. cit., pp. 16—17.

abrupt end (6 June — 21 September 1898). Liang Qichao with his teacher Kang Yuowei [49] (1858—1927) saved their lives by escaping to Japan, while six of the reformers, among them also Tan Sitong, died as martyrs for the Confucian cause.

The fall of the Hundred Days Reforms helped young Wang Guowei to enrol at a school that was an important instrument of the “new learning”: Dongwen xueshe [50] Japanese Institute in Shanghai where future Chinese translators and interpreters studied the Japanese language. One year later, that is in the last year of the past century, the teaching of English, mathematics and natural sciences was initiated at that school. Among the Japanese teachers there also figured Taoka Sayochi [51] alias Reibun [52] (1870—1912), an admirer of Kant and Schopenhauer.²¹ From interviews with him and from his works, Wang Guowei came to be acquainted with the views of prominent representatives of German classical and voluntaristic philosophy to whom in the subsequent years, as the very first one in China, he devoted a certain measure of attention. This attention holds a firm place in modern Chinese intellectual history and philosophy.

In 1900 Wang Guowei won a scholarship for a study in Japan and spent several months in Tokyo in 1901, studying mostly English. But he found excellent conditions in Tokyo also for the study of philosophy and related disciplines to which he felt more inclined than towards mathematics and natural sciences. When less than ten years following the Meiji Revolution, hence in 1877, Nishi Amane [54] (1827—1903), the father of modern Japanese philosophy, was preparing a draft of that discipline, he had in mind solely Western philosophy.²² Subsequently, the attitude towards Western philosophy came to be altered in some measure, certainly as a result of the setting up of a constitutional government (1889) and the defeat of China. The impact of German philosophy was felt particularly in the 1880s through the works of Kant, Hegel and Schopenhauer.²³ The well-known Japanese writer Mori Ogai [55] (1862—1922) wrote that during his stay in Munich in the second half of the 1880s he “used to go to sleep holding Schopenhauer in one hand and Schiller in the other”.²⁴

From the book by G. K. Piovesana entitled *Recent Japanese Philosophical Thoughts 1862—1962*, we know that serious interest in Kant's philosophy in

²¹ Taoka Reibun was a well-known Japanese writer of Meiji era. According to Kōsaka Masaaki [53], he “was known as an *enfant terrible*, his personality was that of a typical adventurer in China”. (*Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*. Tokyo, Pan-Pacific Press 1958, p. 358).

²² Piovesana, G. K.: *Contemporary Japanese Philosophy*. In: Riepe, D. (Ed.): *Asian Philosophy Today*. New York, Gordon and Breach 1981, p. 223.

²³ Kōsaka Masaaki: op. cit., pp. 240, 244—245, 247—248 and 254—258.

²⁴ Ivanova, D. G.: *Mori Ogai*. Moscow, Nauka 1982, p. 31.

Japan began in 1887 when L. Busse, one of the pupils of the German philosopher R. H. Lotze (1817—1881) used I. Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* for Japanese students as reading material. It is quite possible that the critical *Auseinandersetzung* with Kant dates from the last years of the 19th century. One of the very capable authors influenced by Kant's philosophy was Onishi Hajime [56] (1864—1900).²⁵ That took place shortly before Wang Guowei's first brief stay in Japan. In 1901 Wang Guowei decided to be a philosopher.

2

To become a philosopher was not so simple a matter. It no longer sufficed to study important works found in two out of the four divisions of the traditional heritage recognized by Confucian philosophical criticism: *jing* [57] Classics and *zi* [58] Philosophers. The Japanese term *tetsugaku* [59] and later Chinese *zhexue* [59] mean “the science of wisdom”, and as we know, both of them are neologisms, unknown to traditional Japanese and Chinese philosophy. Its original content in Japan was entirely Western in its essence, taught by Western teachers and there was no room in it for either Confucian or Buddhist or any other native Japanese philosophy.²⁶ Anything like this was just impossible in imperial China, and there were evident reasons for this state of things. The ruling Manchu Dynasty, led from behind the scenes by the despotic Empress Dowager Cixi [60] (1835—1908) was afraid of Western philosophy and not only refrained from following anyone of the Japanese trends, but foresaw its future institutions of higher learning teaching solely of Neoconfucianism (*lixue*) [61] and classical Confucianism (*jingxue*) [62]. In 1906 Wang Guowei came out against this attitude in one of his articles stating that the cause of possible social unrest or uprisings does not reside in western philosophy, but in the incompetence of responsible officials to carry out reasonable reforms. At the same time he did not omit to level an attack at the revolutionaries when he reproached the Taipings, Sun Yat-sen [63] (1866—1925) and his collaborator Chen Shaobai [64] (1869—1934) with a lack of an adequate philosophical education.²⁷

Wang Guowei began his study of the Western philosophy with the following works: Fr. Paulsen's *Introduction to Philosophy*, W. Windelband's *A History of Philosophy*, W. S. Jevon's *Logic*, A. Fairbank's *Introduction to Sociology* and H. Høffding's *Outline of Psychology* — all of them in English versions. He also

²⁵ Piovesana, G. K.: *Recent Japanese Philosophical Thought 1862—1962*. Tokyo, Enderle Bookstore 1963, pp. 26, 43—47 and 74—76. Also Kōsaka Masaaki: op. cit., pp. 248—261.

²⁶ Cf. note p. 22.

²⁷ WGTQJ, Vol. 5, p. 1859.

studied Japanese works dealing with Western philosophy and occasionally also reached out after the works of J. Locke and D. Hume.²⁸

Probably under the impact of his reading Windelband and impressed by views that prevailed about Immanuel Kant, Wang Guowei wrote in 1903 his first philosophical poem *Hande xiangzan* [65] An Appreciation of Kant²⁹ which is typical of the initial period of Sino-Western intellectual confrontation. It is rather an exception in Wang's work, although we may meet with similar phenomena fairly regularly in other eminent representatives of modern Chinese intellectual history from 1898 down to the year 1928 or 1929. The poem derives from an initial enthusiasm, often without any deeper familiarity with the subject of study or the personality involved, without a knowledge of the overall context within either the European or the Chinese affinities, without a foresight of the possible consequences, whether favourable or harmful, without a thought being given to the cognitive, artistic or some other value for the receiving structure.

The poem An Appreciation of Kant starts with the statement that no uniform principle was in vigour before him for judging cognition and it was held that knowledge could be acquired through the senses (*tian guan*) [66] which learn about things by processing them from the outside world with the aid of an inner intuition (*fan guan*) [67]. He probably had in mind Locke's and Hume's teachings in European philosophy. The poem then goes on with the birth of the man from Königsberg "especially favoured by Heaven" who showed "*da Dao*" [68] "Great Way" to philosophers. Windelband, speaking of the evolution of Western philosophy, states not without reason that like the period between Socrates and Aristotle, i.e. the 5th—4th cent. B. C., German classical philosophy of the years 1780—1820 created "a number of grandiosely designed and all-around elaborated systems of a philosophical *Weltanschauung*",³⁰ which showed themselves "in their whole as the ripe fruit of prolonged growth" with unforeseeable prospects of further development. From the "Great Way" Wang takes over two axioms only: *guan wai yu kong* [69] perception entails space externally, and *guan nei yu shi* [70] perception entails time internally. Time and space are the forms of intuition. It would be more difficult to extrapolate what he had in mind when ascribing, or rather applying to Kant the statement that "the manner of perceiving things depends more on the ability to perceive than on the thing itself". Had he in mind the so-called categories which in union with space and time create a "transcendental scheme" and then cognition becomes pure thinking about the

²⁸ Ibid., p. 1826.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 1830.

³⁰ Windelband, W.: *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*. Tübingen—Leipzig, Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr 1903, p. 434.

objects of experience and will thus come closer to that “Copernican turn” in philosophy?³¹

Professor W. Durant in his well-known book entitled *The Story of Philosophy* wrote that “Kant is the last person in the world whom we should read on Kant. Our philosopher is like and unlike Jehovah; he speaks through clouds, but without illumination of the lightning-flash.”³² This carries quite a different sound from Wang’s s following words comparing Kant to the sun in the skies illuminating the darkest nooks, having dispersed the clouds and mist so as to make clearly visible the autumn hills. How greatly he had been mistaken was shown by his very first attempt at reading Kant’s works. It seems that first he read *The Critique of Pure Reason* (*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*) up to the section called Transcendental Analytic following on Transcendental Aesthetics, and in all probability hardly understood it.³³ How could he, an adherent of Chinese traditional philosophy, even if familiar with its Indian offshoots, grasp that his reason was similar to the sun which does not turn around its planets, but they do it; reason dictates laws to nature and a priori creates them.

That was in 1903. By the year 1907 he had returned to the study of Kant altogether four times which goes to show that he was seriously intent on becoming thoroughly acquainted with this genius who “is generally considered the greatest of modern philosophers”.³⁴ Although not everyone need agree, yet he was then its *spiritus movens* par excellence. Wang Guowei reacted to his difficulties with Kant by having recourse to Schopenhauer. In this he followed the example of his Japanese colleague and teacher Taoka, for Schopenhauer was clearer in his style, easier to understand and closer to Vedantist and Buddhist teachings being under their impact.

A feature typical of Wang Guowei was his insufficiently critical attitude towards Schopenhauer and his doctrine. It does not mean that he was completely uncritical or even eulogistic. Wang Guowei’s attitude to Schopenhauer was determined by the depth of his knowledge, devotedness, but also his inner dispositions. During the first stage of the study (he read everything by Schopenhauer accessible then in English translations) he wrote something fairly exceptional when stating that Schopenhauer was the central figure in European philosophy thereby casting doubt on Windelband’s and many historians’ thesis.

³¹ Legowicz, J.: *Prehľad dejín filozofie* (History of Philosophy. An Outline). Bratislava, Obzor 1973, p. 459.

³² Durant, W.: *The Story of Philosophy*. New York, Garden City Publishing Company Inc. 1943, p. 192.

³³ WGTQJ, Vol. 5, p. 1547.

³⁴ Russell, B.: *History of Western Philosophy*. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1946, p. 731.

In the article *Shubenhua zhi zhaxue ji qi jiaoyu xueshuo* [71] Schopenhauer's Philosophy and His Pedagogical Teaching, Wang Guowei compared Immanuel Kant to Chen Sheng [72] or Wu Guang [73], two leaders of the peasant uprisings, who had triggered off an order preparing the ultimate victory for Liu Bang [74], the founder of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B. C.—23. A. D.). Was Schopenhauer to be the new Liu Bang? Quite possibly, for according to Schopenhauer, but evidently also according to Wang "the victory of truth must wait until later generations because a brilliant genius will never be appreciated in his own time".³⁵

As shown by Joey Bonner in her excellent book *Wang Kuo-wei. An Intellectual Biography*, Wang fully agrees with Schopenhauer's epistemology, but not quite with his metaphysics, but this is related to his longer and hence also more critical study of Schopenhauer's philosophy.³⁶ His transitions from enthusiasm to damnation recur regularly. Occasionally he succeeds in attributing two signs, positive and negative to one view in a single article, as is evident from the most significant study from his philosophico-aesthetic period: *Honglouneng pinglun* [75] A Critique of Dream of the Red Chamber, from the year 1904, where in the first three parts he writes in the spirit of Schopenhauer's metaphysical, ethical and aesthetic views concerning the will to live (*Wille zum Leben*), suffering, desires, release in the form of will to live, etc. Then in the fourth part he quite unexpectedly expresses his doubts relating to the idea of the release in the ethical and aesthetic realm.³⁷

What did essentially happen in the history of philosophy between Kant and Arthur Schopenhauer? Against the "system of reason" supported by J. G. Fichte, F. W. J. Schelling and G. W. H. Hegel, an opposition was formed that became manifested as "metaphysics of the irrational" introduced into philosophy by Schopenhauer. Instead of Kant's "thing-in-itself" (*Ding an sich*), Fichte's "free doing", Schelling's "rational consciousness" and Hegel's "absolute spirit", Schopenhauer preached his irrational "will to live" as the alpha and omega of everything that exists, the essence of living and lifeless matters and the world as will and idea. Life as an objectification of will is suffering because the desires are infinite and their fulfilment limited. The escape may be found only in a negation of will to live (*die Verneinung des Willens zum Leben*) which lies in a voluntary renunciation, in ascetism, in learning to be a genius, or at least "unselfish intellect".

"When some external cause or inward disposition," wrote Schopenhauer in

³⁵ WGTQJ, Vol. 5, pp. 1614—1615.

³⁶ Bonner, J.: op. cit., pp. 68—75.

³⁷ Cf. Gálík, M.: *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation, 1898—1979*. Bratislava, Veda — Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1986, pp. 12—16.

his main work, “lifts us suddenly out of the endless stream of willing, and delivers knowledge out of the slavery of the will, the attention is no longer directed to the motives of willing, but comprehends things free from their relation to the will, and thus observes them without personal interest, without subjectivity, purely objectively — gives itself entirely up to them so far as they are ideas, but not in so far as they are motives. Then all at once the peace we were always seeking, but which always fled from us on the former path of the desires, comes to us of its own accord, and it is well with us. It is the painless state which Epicurus prized as the highest good and as the state of the gods; for we are for the moment set free from the miserable striving of the will; we keep the Sabbath of the penal servitude of willing; the wheel of Ixion stands still.”³⁸

Ixion was punished by the highest god Zeus for trying to seduce Hera. He hurled him down into Tartarus and had him chained to a permanently revolving wheel. Perhaps when recalling this incident, the German apostle of suffering and *ennui* had in mind the scene from Orpheus in the Underworld where the “Thracian bard”, according to Ovid, used to sing and play the lyre so beautifully that:

And with his words, the music
Made the pale phantoms weep: Ixion’s wheel
Was still, Tityos’ vultures left the liver,
Tantalus tried no more to reach for the water,
And Belus’ daughters rested from their urns,
And Sisyphus climbed on his rock to listen.³⁹

For his analysis Wang Guowei did not choose the Orphean myth, but an Indo-Chinese one of *māyā* (Sanskrit: illusion) and dream (*meng*) [76] moulded in the most famous Chinese novel of all times — *Dream of the Red Chamber*. In its interpretation Wang did not incline towards the above form of Schopenhauer’s aesthetic contemplation, but rather towards one that was traditional in China and which we know from *Zhiyanzhai* [77] Commentary to the Dream of the Red Chamber where one reads:

Why such hard running around in this fleeting life of ours?
Sumptuous feasts and gorgeous banquets must all dissolve in the end.

³⁸ Schopenhauer, A.: *The World as Will and Idea*. Vol. 1. London 1883, p. 254.

³⁹ *Metamorphoseon*. Libri XV. In: *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Opera*. Vol. 2. Vindobonae, J. V. Degen 1803, p. 397 and *Metamorphoses*. Translated by Rolfe Humphries. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1955, p. 235.

Sorrow and joy, like a myriad other things are illusory (*māyā*) and unreal; Past and present are but a dream (*meng*) in their complete grotesqueness.⁴⁰

Wang's doubts about Schopenhauer's concept of the release in the ethical domain are concerned with the will to live itself, for misgivings begin to loom in his mind that this fundamental, intrinsic but blind force of the universe could negate itself and he is loth to admit that man could achieve this by his will-less knowledge, by quiet contemplation of art or by the dissolution of the *principium individuationis*, i.e. ego-clinging (or *ātma-grāha*) (*wochi*) [78]. When subsequently he leaves the philosophical plane for the religious one, he equally doubts the redeeming mission of Buddha and Jesus Christ, of Buddhist and Christian saints.⁴¹ His disbelief ultimately applies also to the aesthetic aspect of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, i.e. he assumes that to consider the "pessimistic release" as an aesthetic ideal of this masterpiece of Chinese literature would be too little and evidently also to rely on a similar theory in explaining a work of art would be questionable.

We know from Wang Guowei's own admission that while writing the article under study, he became convinced that Schopenhauer's teaching "derives by half from his subjective temperament, and has little to do with objective knowledge".⁴² He further elaborated this idea in his article *Shubenhua yu Nicai* [79] Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. Schopenhauer's philosophical system began to appear to him as a Schopenhauerian *apologia pro vita sua*. In his view Schopenhauer had designed the foundation of his system, i.e. will to live in order to be able "to regard himself as a second Atlas, shouldering the Earth, and as a second Brahmā, giving birth to the universe".⁴³

The one supposed to lead Wang Guowei out of his confusion was Friedrich Nietzsche, far more a poet than philosopher. Wang Guowei probably failed to note that Windelband had called Nietzsche a poet in the very first sentence which he devotes to his exposition. Windelband warned readers of the aphoristic style of Nietzsche's works and cautioned that through his "paradoxical combinations", "happily chosen parables" or "outstanding formulations", par-

⁴⁰ Quoted according to: Wang, John C. Y.: *The Chih-yen-chai Commentary and the Dream of the Red Chamber*. In: Rickett, A. A. (Ed.): *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao*. Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press 1978, p. 199. Wang Guowei did not know about the existence of this commentary since it was discovered by Hu Shi only after Wang's death in 1928.

⁴¹ WGTQJ, Vol. 5, p.1661.

⁴² Ibid., p. 1547.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 1693. Quoted according to Bonner, J.: op. cit., p. 90.

ticularly in his best known book *Also sprach Zarathustra* (*Thus Spoke Zarathustra*), Nietzsche “permits one gloomily to delight in uncertainty”.⁴⁴

From our above remarks it might be surmised that ethical rather than aesthetic considerations were responsible for Wang’s turning away from Schopenhauer towards Nietzsche. That, however, was not the case. Wang Guowei changed his “educator”, it seems, for aesthetic rather than ethical or epistemological reasons. In 1904—1905 he began to be interested in aesthetic more than in philosophical issues. This is also attested by the second period of his Kantian study which took up part of the year 1905.

In all probability Wang Guowei found Schopenhauer’s quietist contemplation of beauty uncogent — that magnificent break, that intermission in the Tartarus when, during Orpheus’ singing:

The Furies wept. Neither the king nor consort
Had harshness to refuse him, and they called her,
Eurydice.⁴⁵

Wang did not succeed in connecting genius, whether it was the creator of *Faust* which Wang recalls in his analysis of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, or Homer, or Shakespeare, with the highest form of the will-less knowledge, the completest objectivity, with leaving one’s own interests out of sight and remaining pure knowing subject. Although in Wang Guowei’s words, Nietzsche’s philosophy represents a consistent development of (Schopenhauer’s, M. G.) aesthetic views, and their application in ethics,⁴⁶ I am of the opinion that Wang Guowei turned to Nietzsche principally because Schopenhauer’s concept of genius particularly in the aesthetic domain did not suit him. “In Nietzsche,” we read in the article referred to above, “the laws of morality are not merely of no advantage to the overman (*Übermensch*, M. G.), but acting above morality is characteristic of the overman... Genius lies (according to Schopenhauer, M. G.) in knowing without limitations, being an overman lies in willing without limitations”.⁴⁷ One should agree with E. J. Smythe when she inferred from this statement that “the overman or superman is seen in it as an extension and even merely an imitation of Schopenhauer’s genius”.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Windelband, W.: op. cit., p. 549.

⁴⁵ *Metamorphoseon*, p. 397 and *Metamorphoses*, p. 235.

⁴⁶ WGTQJ, Vol. 5, p. 1672.

⁴⁷ Quoted according to Smythe, E. J.: *The Early Thought of Wang Kuo-wei. An Analysis of His Essays on German Voluntaristic Philosophy (1903–1907)*. In: *Papers on China*, Vol. 18, 1964, p. 13.

⁴⁸ Loc. cit.

In contrast to Schopenhauer whose vision of an unsocial genius, maladapted in human society and lonely, proved to be a quietist challenge to create art for art's sake works, or at least their expectation,⁴⁹ Nietzsche by his will to power (*Wille zur Macht*), as a metaphysical foundation of the world, but also an artistic demand, called after an art that would be living, an essence of life and also its spirit, its soul. It was not in vain that later in the year 1907 he quoted Nietzsche's famous word: "Of all that is written I love only that which a writer wrote with his blood."⁵⁰

3

In the Zhou Mu wang pian [80] Book of the King Mu which forms a part of the Taoist philosophical treatise *Liezi* [81] written mostly during the dynasty Wei [82] (220—264) and Jin [83] (264—419), there is a question of a certain rich man named Yin [84] and his unnamed servant who waited on him faithfully and honestly. He readily carried out his daily chores but at night when lying in bed, his spirit "set afield and every night he dreamed that he was a ruler, lording it over the people and in control of all affairs of state. He roamed about and gave banquets in his mansions and palaces, doing as he pleased. His joys was beyond compare. Upon waking, however, he was on the treadmill again".⁵¹

Wang Guowei thought precisely of this minor episode when he compared the concept of genius in Schopenhauer and Nietzsche and submitted his own vision to Chinese readers. According to Wang, Schopenhauer during the day felt the pains of genius and during the night he was a king enjoying the unity of his aesthetic aristocratism and metaphysical will. Nietzsche behaved himself in a different way: he was a servant during the day and night striving for a "transvaluation of all values" (*Umwertung aller Werte*). Wang assigns a considerable role in the one and the other to the so-called *ziwei* [85] self-consolation.⁵² This term which quite evidently does not fit in with the metaphysical speculations of either the one or the other, crept into Wang Guowei's mind after his reading relevant critical passages from Paulsen, Windelband and Høffding, and as a

⁴⁹ Cf. Eisenlohr, K.: *Die Krise des Ästhetizismus. Die Begründung der subjektiven Ästhetik durch Kant und ihre Fortführung bei Schopenhauer*. Inaugural-Dissertation, Köln 1978, pp. 182—187, 201—207 and 212—221.

⁵⁰ Nietzsche, Fr.: *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. Transl. by R.J. Hollingdale. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books 1967, p. 67.

⁵¹ *Liezi*, juan [85] 3. SPY ed. Taipei 1966, p. 8 A. The translation is taken over from Ong, R. K.: *The Interpretations of Dreams*. Bochum, Brockmeyer 1985, pp. 85—86.

⁵² WGTQJ, Vol. 5, p. 1695.

result of his own impressions from a study of the two philosophers. Consequently, it is hardly surprising to find him incorporating this trait of the human spirit into his own concept of genius:

"The greatness of genius depends on that of his reason and will, and thus the depth of his suffering depends on his greatness. Genius must seek self-consolation in order to be freed of his inner torments, but the restricted joys of a human being fail to provide him with adequate self-consolation, therefore he has to look for it within himself. And thus he considers himself a ruler and god, treating others with mockery. Son of nature, and he wants to be its mother; slave of nature, and he wishes to be its lord. All the fetters with which nature has shackled his reason and will — all this he strives to break, to tear, to burn away, to shake off, considers them as evil and despises them as something animal — but he lacks adequate abilities to achieve this. Ultimately, these are but self-complacent words. They have no other purpose but to serve self-consolation. How is it possible? If the reason and will (of a genius, M. G.) are thus adapted, then the only way to overcome all suffering is by striving after self-consolation."⁵³

According to H. Kogelschatz, these and the preceding statements imply that "das leidende Genie" (genius of pain) in Wang Guowei originates in or derives "from the genius of Schopenhauer liberated from the slavery of the will".⁵⁴ Although I have high respect for the sustained and meticulous work of this German sinologist, nevertheless, I think that a judge could here take on the role of the patriarch Isaac who felt his son Jacob and said: "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands *are* the hands of Esau."⁵⁵ The quantity of studies, or situations, translations, articles, reviews, etc., is not decisive for a beneficial action of stimuli (of a foreign philosophy, aesthetics, literature or other kinds of human expression) in the new, receiving soil. The most important factor is their getting anchored in the systemo-structural entity of the new field. It is not by chance that Nietzsche's words on the relation between literature and blood referred to above, are the only sentence from the frequently analysed Wang's work *Talks on Ci in the Human World* which makes a reference to foreign authority. In the book *Also sprach Zarathustra* it is followed by Nietzsche's commentary:

"Write with blood: and you will discover that blood is spirit. It is not an easy thing to understand unfamiliar blood. I hate the reading idler."⁵⁶

⁵³ Loc. cit.

⁵⁴ Kogelschatz, H.: *Wang Kuo-wei und Schopenhauer. Eine philosophische Begegnung.* Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH 1986, p. 160.

⁵⁵ Genesis, 27, 23.

⁵⁶ Nietzsche, Fr.: *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, p. 67.

The eighteenth section of the Talks on Ci in the Human World may be said to be Wang Guowei's commentary on Nietzsche's words about literature written in blood and expressing the spirit:

"Li Yü's [86] *tz'u* can truly be said to have been written with blood. The *tz'u* to the tune of 'Yen shan t'ing' by the Sung (ruler) Tao-chün Huang-ti [87] is somewhat similar. However, the latter gave utterance only to the sorrow of his own experience, while the former expressed the concept of responsibility for the evils and sins of mankind, a concept reminiscent of Buddha and Jesus. Thus their poetry could not be considered of equal stature."⁵⁷

When I attempted to be the "judge" of this statement reading it for the first time shortly after the publication of A. A. Rickett's translation, I appended a question mark to it. I could not put together the images of Buddha and Christ with that of Li Yu (937—978), the last ruler of Southern Tang. The answer, however, may possibly be found in "genius of pain". In Buddha's mythology of two trees under which he took his departure for nirvana after having experienced and taught mankind to understand the physiology of suffering, in Christ's mystery of Golgotha where Rex Judaeorum died between two crosses as the last of criminals, Wang Guowei saw the analogy with a young and hapless king in the last years of his life, a prisoner between the figures of the first and second Emperor of the Song dynasty.

The booklet Talks on Ci in the Human World appeared in a periodical in 1908—1909 before being published in book form in 1910. Wang Guowei's reflections on genius had appeared in 1904. He subsequently supplemented them with notes concerned with the need of the "aesthetic education" and of the cultivation (*xiuyang*) [88] or gradual cultivation (*jianxiu*) [89] of genius. He likewise underlined originality as a trait of genius. These notes are to be found in *Wenxue xiaoyan* [90] Short Comments on Literature, from the year 1906, where Wang, using a concise form not unlike that employed by Schopenhauer or Nietzsche, but also found in old Chinese literary criticism, endeavours to present his testimony to literature which, in his work after the year 1905, began to predominate over philosophy.⁵⁸ About this time, Wang was preoccupied with some important issues of literature and aesthetics. But first of all, with the latter, on which he wrote, among others, articles such as: *Lun jin nian zhi xueshujie* [91] On the World of Scholarship in Recent Years,⁵⁹ *Qu du pian* [92] On Extirpating

⁵⁷ The translation is taken over from A. A. Rickett's *Wang Kuo-wei's Jen-chien Tz'u-hua. A Study in Chinese Literary Criticism*. Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press 1977, p. 46.

⁵⁸ Cf. Kogelschatz's comments in op. cit., pp. 178—196 and Bonner, J.: op. cit., pp. 111—112.

⁵⁹ WGTQJ, Vol. 5, pp. 1734—1741.

the Poison,⁶⁰ *Quzi wenxue zhi jingshen* [93] The Spirit of Qu Yuan's Poetry,⁶¹ *Renjian shihao zhi yanjiu* [94] A Study of Man's Pastimes,⁶² *Guya zhi zai meixue shang zhi weizhi* [95] The Place of the Classic (*guya*) [96] in Aesthetics.⁶³

Just as in the philosophico-aesthetic period dealt with in the second part of this study, so also in the literary and aesthetic one, now under analysis, Wang Guowei had at his disposal the wealth of indigenous traditions from various realms, while Western philosophy or aesthetics was meant primarily to serve as his instrumentarium of research, to provide the methodico-methodological apparatus, even though the most fundamental questions of research were at stake.

After 1904 when he parted with Schopenhauer (although he retained something from the teaching of this advocate of metaphysical pessimism) he threw himself headlong into the study of some important aspects of Nietzsche's philosophy, though he was also interested in the idea of the "play-impulse" by Fr. Schiller.⁶⁴ Nor should we forget that between 1905 and 1907 Wang Guowei returned three times to the study of Immanuel Kant, although he has left few traces behind. The most significant exception from this point of view is precisely the last of the articles listed above on the so-called "classic in aesthetics" which in the sections treating of the Beautiful and Sublime, is heavily derived from Kant.

In time Wang Guowei began to understand Kant's aesthetics, but despite his constant immersion in it and his verbal acknowledging of the debt, it left him unusually cold. The most important reason for Wang's theoretical interest in Kant's theory and simultaneously for his very slight concern in promoting Kant's ideas in his artistic or literary and critical practice was his own loss of faith in "pure aesthetics" and probably also Kant's demarcation of aesthetic consciousness. B. Bosanquet whose *A History of Aesthetic* Wang may (or may not) have read, wrote: "Aesthetic consciousness has now reached its final negative definition. It is plainly marked off from the region of abstract intelligence on the one hand, and from that of sensuous gratification and moral satisfaction, on the other."⁶⁵ And since Wang Guowei noted down but little in his works from the years 1905—1907 of what interested him in his study of Kant, we do not know his personal relation to the so-called aesthetic ideas which, according to Kant, constitute the essence of a work of art, and that what

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 1870—1877.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 1848—1855.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 1794—1803.

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 1830—1839.

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 1840 and 1801.

⁶⁵ Bosanquet, B.: *A History of Aesthetic*. London, George Allen and Unwin 1966 (1st ed. 1892), p. 265.

mattered to Wang. In Kant's view, an aesthetic idea should be the "representation of the imagination" and its essence is made up of a metaphoric expression of a given object: "The poet essays the task of interpreting ... things of which examples occur in experience, e.g. death, envy, and all vices, as also love, fame, and the life, transgressing the limits of experience he attempts with the aid of imagination which emulates the display of reason in its attainment of a maximum, to body them forth to sense with a completeness of which nature affords no parallel; and it is in fact precisely in the poetic art that the faculty of aesthetic ideas can show itself to full advantage."⁶⁶

We shall return to the "aesthetic idea" later in this study. Let us now deal with such as have left most conspicuous traces in Wang Guowei's artistic activity from the years immediately preceding the journal publication of his Talks on Ci in the Human World. We are of the opinion that in view of Wang's further development in his literary-aesthetic period, his most significant article from the years after his parting with Schopenhauer is A Study of Man's Pastimes. In it he clearly takes contact with Schiller's "play-impulse", pointing to its role in literature, and also with Nietzsche's "will to power", for: "Even the noblest pastimes, such as literature and art are nothing more than a manifestation of the will to power."⁶⁷ And as example he refers to comedy and tragedy. In this article he lays unusual stress on the need to describe human feelings with a universal validity. "Not satisfied therefore with expressing his own emotions," as he characterizes the great writer, "he endeavours to express the emotions of all mankind. His works constitute in fact the voice of all mankind, and then the reader hears the sound of his (own) pain and joy, his (own) weeping and laughing."⁶⁸

4

Today it would already be possible to devote an entire book to an analysis of various views that have appeared in China around one single concept in Wang Guowei's literary and aesthetic theory applied primarily to the genre *ci*: *jingjie* [96]. The Chinese need not translate it, but only explain it, and do so in very divergent ways. However, those writing in some other languages not utilizing Chinese characters, may at least try at its translation. James J. Y. Liu renders it as "world" (a fusion of emotion and scene),⁶⁹ A. A. Rickett as "sphere

⁶⁶ Kant, I.: *The Critique of Judgment*. In: *Great Books of the Western World*. 42. Kant. Chicago—London—Toronto. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. 1952, p. 529.

⁶⁷ WGTQJ, Vol. 5, p. 1801.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1801—1802.

⁶⁹ Liu, James J. Y.: *The Art of Chinese Poetry*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1962, p. 84.

of reality delineated” (with the note that it is an “awkward phrase”)⁷⁰ but makes use also of the term “realm”,⁷¹ or leaves it for the most part untranslated. J. Bonner, the first female author of an English book on Wang Guowei, fully follows James J. Y. Liu in translating this word as “world” or “worlds”. She does not take any great pains, imitating in this Wang himself, “to give it anything even remotely resembling definition”, although it seems she agrees with Wang’s view that “the theory of ‘worlds’ should be considered superior to the theories of earlier (Chinese, M. G.) critics”.⁷²

The author of the first German monograph on Wang Guowei, H. Kogelschatz, devotes the longest — the sixth — chapter of his voluminous treatise to this concept, or perhaps “theory” (as he himself calls it) and in virtue of an analysis of quotations from Wang Guowei and Schopenhauer, with a certain regard also to Schiller, Kant and Nietzsche (but these three, however, he excludes from any impact), comes up with the view, at first hypothetical and then, according to him, established, that *jingjie* means “the world as idea” which literally corresponds to the English translation of the title of Schopenhauer’s main work *Die Welt als Vorstellung* — though not in its “broader signification”, but in the “narrower sense” of Schopenhauerian “Second Reflection on the World as Idea” that specifically refers to artistic cognition and relates to Platonic “idea”.⁷³ While Kogelschatz identifies *jingjie* with the term *shinian* [97] aesthetic “intuition” as used by Wang which refers to “the Beautiful as an object of ‘pure’ intuition”,⁷⁴ the Chinese scholar Fo Chu [98] sees in *jingjie* a “composite jade” combining traits of traditional Chinese and Western theory, and in so far as the latter is concerned, it takes over a certain important content from Schopenhauer’s concept, translated by Wang Guowei as *linian* [99], i.e. as one deriving from Schopenhauer’s criticism of aesthetic empiricism and dealing with the Beautiful as the “ideal of perfection”, or as the “object of ‘pure’ anticipation”.⁷⁵

Another Chinese critic Fan Ning [104] follows up the occurrence of the term *jingjie* from its first appearance in literature from *Xin xu* [105] by Liu Xiang [106] (77—6 B. C.), down to modern times, without taking into account non-Chinese traditions with the exception of the Buddhist message, the so-called Huayan

⁷⁰ Rickett, A. A.: op. cit., p. 32.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 24 and 122.

⁷² Bonner, J.: op. cit., p. 126.

⁷³ Kogelschatz, H.: op. cit., pp. 252—254.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 253.

⁷⁵ Fo Chu: *Wang Guowei ‘jingjie’ shuo liang xiang shenmei biao zhun* [100] Two Aesthetic Standards of Wang Guowei’s “Jingjie”. In: Wu Ze [101] and Yuan Yingguang [102] (Eds.): *Wang Guowei xueshu yanjiu lun ji* [103] Wang Guowei’s Intellectual Activities. Vol. 1. Shanghai 1983, p. 344. Cf. also Kogelschatz, H.: op. cit., pp. 254—255.

jingjie [107], i.e. the realm of totality as taught in the Huayan zong [108] Garland School teaching.⁷⁶ Professor Chia-ying Yeh Chao in one of her shorter articles traces the term *jingjie* mainly to Buddhist sources, more exactly to *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra* (*Jushelun*) [111] by Vasubandhu, translated into Chinese by Paramartha in 563—567 and by Xuanzang [112] in 651—654. This *śāstra* translated into English as Treasury of the Higher Subtleties is assigned into the group of Hīnayāna or the Lesser Vehicle treats of the *dharma*s (*fa*) [113], i.e. elements of existence, including also those that refer to perception or non-perception caused by the presence or absence of the relative stimuli. According to Professor Chia-ying Yeh Chao, we find in it, eventually in commentaries on it, references to *liu jing* [114] six fields of the senses which ensure conditions for the activity of *liu gen* [115] six roots of sensation, or *liu shi* [116] six senses where besides the senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch, also the mind as an organ of thinking is included. *Jingjie* is here understood as a realm of perception both of the senses and the mind.⁷⁷ In another study this author puts the binome *jingjie* into relation with traditional Chinese poetics.⁷⁸

From a number of further authors, mention might be made of Wang Zhenfeng [120]⁷⁹ who connects in some measure the theory of *jingjie* with Schopenhauer's aesthetic views and the philosophy of Shao Yong [123] (1011—1077), Neo-Confucian of the Song dynasty. Just as the latter, Wang Zhenfeng expresses the requirement “of viewing objects in terms of the poet himself” (*yi wo guan wu*) [124], he nevertheless forgets a further one, i.e. “of viewing objects in terms of the objects themselves” (*yi wu guan wu*) [125], although both are manifested in two of Shao Yong's maxims: “To observe things in terms of those things: this is to follow one's nature (*xing*) [126]. But to observe things in terms of self: this is to follow one's feelings (*qing*) [127].”⁸⁰ Chen Yuanhui [128], author of a study about Wang Guowei in the book Ding Guangzu [129] and Xiao Wanyuan [130] (Eds.): *Zhongguo jindai zhuming zhaxuejia pingzhuan* [131] Biographies of the Famous Modern Chinese Thinkers, does not deny the fact that Schopenhauer had influenced the formation of Wang Guowei's concept of *jingjie*, but as to his aesthetic theories, he asserts, this is a part that has “least of Schopenhauer's flavour”.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Fan Ning: *Guanyu jingjieshuo* [109] On *Jingjie*. Wenxue pinglun [110] Literary Review, 1, 1982, pp. 114—121.

⁷⁷ Ye Jiaying [117] (i.e. Chia-Ying Yeh Chao): *Cong xianxiangxue dao jingjieshuo* [118] From Phenomenology to the Theory of *Jingjie*. Guangming ribao [119], 16 December 1986, p. 3.

⁷⁸ Cf. Fo Chu: op. cit., pp. 367—370.

⁷⁹ Wang Zhenfeng: *Lun Wang Guoweide “jingjieshuo”* [121] On Wang Guowei's Theory of *Jingjie*. Wenyi luncong [122] Series in Literature and Art, 13, April 1981, pp. 205—239.

⁸⁰ Cf. Fung Yu-lan: *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Vol. 2. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1953, p. 467.

⁸¹ Chen Yuanhui: *Wang Guowei*, p. 373.

The reflections of Kogelschatz and Fo Chu have one fault in common. They both refer for the most part to Wang Guowei's statements from the years 1904—1905 which, however, he subsequently abandoned to a great extent. In the case of Fo Chu, this reference holds without reserve. But in the years subsequent to 1906, Wang's theory fed on and lived precisely through the aspects brought into Wang's literary and aesthetic world by Schiller and especially by Nietzsche. Nor may Kant be forgotten, whom Wang Guowei studied in 1907! As it appears, to no other foreign philosopher or aesthete, with the exception probably of Schopenhauer, did Wang devote so much effort and time as to Kant, and it is thus unlikely that precisely Kant would have had exerted but a slight impact on his aesthetic or literary views. We know that Wang knew how to readily exploit any newly-acquired knowledge.

Jingjie truly means realm, both material and spiritual. Within the framework of Wang's Talks on *Ci* in the Human World, *jingjie* represents a literary and aesthetic realm, but its origin and genesis may be inferred uniquely on hypothetical grounds. Chinese Confucian and Buddhist tradition certainly contributed to the one and other. "Human world" as such, i.e. *renjian* [132], hence, a material and social, even individual and human dimension played a role in it, and perhaps the cardinal role. Although the word *renjian* is currently used in Chinese literature at least since Zhuangzi's times,⁸² Wang Guowei most probably associated it with the "human world" of Li Yu, in whose poems the binome *renjian* or *rensheng* [134] recurs twice or three times. Wang Guowei himself quoted two of them which are generally presumed to have come from Li Yu's pen:

"Such the eternal sorrows of human life, rivers' eternal eastward flow"
and:

"A flowing river, falling blossoms, gone all away,
Heaven above, and the world of men..."⁸³

This was directly made to precede a single quotation from Nietzsche we already mentioned above. Wang Guowei evidently associated Li Yu's art with certain aspects of Nietzsche's works, explicitly with the chapter entitled Of Reading and Writing from the first book of *Also sprach Zarathustra*. Writing

⁸² The fourth Chapter of the book *Zhuangzi* is called *Renjian shi* [133] The Human World.

⁸³ This translation is taken over from Bryant, D.: *Lyric Poets of the Southern T'ang. Feng Yen-szu, 903—960 and Li Yü, 937—978*. Vancouver—London, University of British Columbia Press 1982, p. 76 and 79. The third occurrence of this binome may be found in a poem entitled *Dielianhua* [135] To the Tune "Dielianhua": "A single bit of fragrant heart, a million trailing threads; / In the world of men there is no place to arrange them all in peace" (ibid., p. 75). It is not sure whether this particular *ci* was written by Li Yu or by his father Li Jing [136] (916—961).

with blood meant to create from a reality experienced and suffered to excess, e.g. one which at the end of *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche approved when he had in mind the citizens of old Greece: "How much did these people have to suffer to be able to become so beautiful!"⁸⁴

In the study *Lun Wang Guowei "Renjian ci"* [137] On Wang Guowei's Ci Poetry, Professor Chow Tse-tung pointed out that in his poems of the *ci* form, the term *renjian* occurs 39 times in 115 songs.⁸⁵ "Human world", "the realm of human beings and of nature" presupposing blood as spirit and aphorisms as peaks of literary creation are bound to form *jingjie* where the author-writer and reader-consumer move. According to Nietzsche: "In the mountains the shortest route is from peak to peak, but for that you must have long legs. Aphorisms should be peaks, and those to whom they are spoken should be big and tall of stature."⁸⁶

But then how to incorporate this "human world" into the world of poetry and art, how to demarcate the aesthetic and literary consciousness which was the aim of Wang's efforts? After 1906—1907 Wang could hardly fully identify *jingjie* with *shinian* or *linian*, essentially with quietist contemplation of the Beautiful as a concrete object or an anticipated ideal. As *ci* is and was an indigenous Chinese product, Wang Guowei did not wish to deviate from the traditional terminology even though intertwined non-traditional elements into his theory. Here I wish to underline two circumstances pointed out by the Soviet scholar I. S. Lisevich. In the study of such traditional literary concepts as *bi* [138], *xing* [139], *feng* [140], *qi* [141], etc., he proved that European students are committing an error when trying in their explication to bring these terms or concepts closer to the European readers with the aid of concepts of European poetics, for they thereby tear them out of the system of traditional Chinese poetics which is considerably different from its European counterpart. That much in the first place. And secondly, a fact even more important in the case of *jingjie*: traditional Chinese poetics is not primarily concerned with an investigation of the verbal texture of a work, with an exact differentiation or definition of poetic tropes or figures of speech, but is interested in understanding essential phenomena standing behind the work, or such as make its origin possible, in determining the philosophical and ethical hotbed on which or from which it originates.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Nietzsche, Fr.: *Die Geburt der Tragödie*. Leipzig, Philipp Reclam jun. 1937, p. 167.

⁸⁵ Hong Kong 1972, pp. 37—40.

⁸⁶ Nietzsche, Fr.: *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, p. 67.

⁸⁷ Lisevich, I. S.: *Literaturnaya mysl Kitaya na rubezhe drevnosti i srednikh vekov* (Literary Mind of China at the Turn of the Ancient Times and the Middle Ages). Moscow, Nauka 1979, pp. 126—128.

Among those philosophico-ethical hotbeds and backgrounds on which Wang Guowei's *jingjie* undoubtedly grew, belong also concepts of the traditional Chinese literary theory mentioned in his work on *ci*, the Buddhist theories of *jingjie*, and this not only those we have referred to above. Contrary to Kogelschatz and Fo Chu, I suppose that not two different "incarnations" of Schopenhauer's idea or ideal had proved decisive for the inner content of *jingjie*, but the "aesthetic idea" of Kant. According to Kant, aesthetic idea is "a representation of the imagination with which, in the free employment of imagination, such a multiplicity of partial representation is bound up, that no expression indicating a definite concept to be supplemented in thought by much that is indefinable in words; and the feeling of which quickens the cognitive faculties, and with language, as a mere thing of the letter, binds up the spirit (soul) also".⁸⁸ Likewise according to Kant, an aesthetic idea "cannot become cognition, because it is an intuition (of the imagination), for which an adequate concept can never be found",⁸⁹ and as a downright ideal example of an aesthetic idea he quotes the inscription on the temple of Isis: "I am all that is, and that was, and that shall be, and no mortal hath raised the veil from before my face."⁹⁰ Kant assumed that an aesthetic idea ought to be so wide, deep and diversified as to exceed the semantic capacities of the word or the phrase. *Jingjie* is precisely such an aesthetic idea. It expresses enormous possibilities of the imagination controlled by reflexion or some form of pressure or restriction which together go to make up the essence of genius.⁹¹

In the examples Wang Guowei selected for an illustration of his own concept of *jingjie*, and his own commentaries on them, we find criteria that help closer to characterize this aesthetic idea. There is no room here for a detailed analysis of *jingjie* and its inner content. Let us take note of but the three states of the poet and poem in *ci* poetry that are involved in *jingjie*: *yu wo zhi jing* [142] realm with self, *wu wo zhi jing* [143] realm without self and *xugou zhi jing* [144] imaginary realm. They represent the complete "world" of the poet's and the reader's abilities of intuition and imagination. A rather sympathetic feature is Wang Guowei's emphasis on the personal element in Chinese poetry, the essence of genius and his role in literature and art. He was thus one of the first among those who prepared the soil for new criticism in the field of literature and art in the 20th century.

Before coming up with the term *jingjie*, Wang Guowei had made use of further traditional terms: *qing* [127] feeling or emotion, *jing* [145] scene or

⁸⁸ Kant, I.: *The Critique of Judgment*, p. 530.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 542.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 530.

⁹¹ Loc. cit.

scenery,⁹² and *yijing* [146]⁹³ which defies translation similarly as *jingjie*. A. A. Rickett renders it as “meaning and poetic state”⁹⁴ and the Soviet sinologist K. I. Golygina as “idea and representation”.⁹⁵ In my book *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*, in connection with the early literary and critical theory of Qu Qiubai [148] (1899—1935) I have translated this term inappropriately as “space for thought”⁹⁶ as a result of my inadequate knowledge both of the Buddhist and Confucian sources. J. Bonner never took note of this concept even once in the whole book and Kogelschatz translated it in Schopenhauerian style as a poetic “World as Will (*yi*) [149] and Idea (*jing*) [150]” being convinced that Schopenhauer’s “will” speaks in *yi* which represents the voice of heart.⁹⁷ In virtue of an analysis of the occurrence of the binome *yijing* that first appeared in *Shi ge* [153] Rules of Poetry ascribed to the poet Wang Changling [154] (ca 698—756) and those found after him down to the present times, Professor Fan Ning concludes that *jingjie* and *yijing* have common and divergent aspects and that the “range” or “extent” of *jingjie* is wider, for it “points not only to subjective imagination, but also to a description of objective reality”, and *yijing* is rather “confined to a manifestation of subjective emotions”.⁹⁸ That probably explains why when subsequently writing The History of Song and Yuan Drama, Wang Guowei underlined the values of *yijing* in these works, having in mind not so much their “ideas and composition”,⁹⁹ but lyrical, poetic arias as an inseparable part of this at that time newly discovered literary legacy.

Between 1908—1911, alongside work first at the Ministry of Education, later in the Book Compilation and Translation Office and finally in the Committee for the Compilation of Technical Terms (all in Peking), Wang devoted himself to a consistent, systematic and deep study of the golden period of Chinese drama, thus laying the foundations, through the book referred to above, a catalogue, and several studies, for further research.¹⁰⁰

⁹² WGTQJ, Vol. 5, p. 1842.

⁹³ See the translation of Fan Zhihou [147] (pseudonym of Wang Guowei) by A. A. Rickett in op. cit., pp. 96—97.

⁹⁴ Rickett, A. A.: op. cit., pp. 25—26, 27, 96—98 and 99.

⁹⁵ Golygina, K. I.: *Teoria izyashchnoi slovesnosti v Kitae XIX i nachala XX vv.* (Theory of Literature in China in the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century). Moscow, Nauka 1971, pp. 239—240.

⁹⁶ Bratislava, Veda — London, Curzon Press 1980, p. 216.

⁹⁷ Kogelschatz, H.: op. cit., p. 319. The character *yi* is composed of two compounds: *xin* [151] heart and *yin* [152] sound.

⁹⁸ Fan Ning: op. cit., pp. 115—116.

⁹⁹ WGTQJ, Vol. 4, p. 125.

¹⁰⁰ *Qu lu* [155] Catalogue of Plays, 1908, *Xi qu kao yuan* [156] On the Origin of Chinese Drama, 1909, *Lu qu yu tan* [157] Miscellaneous Observations on Drama, 1910, and other studies. WGTQJ, Vol. 14, pp. 6197—6549, Vol. 15, pp. 6623—6662, 6717—6736.

The outbreak of the Wuchang Uprising (10 October 1911), the beginning of the Xinhai Revolution, events preceding the setting up of the Republic of China (1 January 1912), and the abdication of the last Emperor of the Qing dynasty — Xuantong [158] (12 February 1912) proved decisive for Wang Guowei's further development. Together with his tutor Luo Zhenyu he decided already in November 1911 to flee to Japan, to Kyoto, which marked a new stage in his life and work. He turned his back on his own past, took an aversion for all activity he had enriched the contemporary Chinese scholarship in the domain of philosophy, aesthetics and literature mainly with respect of new vistas presented by foreign, especially Western achievements. He became faithless in matters of changes the way his patron Zhang Zhidong had visualized them, and for which he earnestly strove (more consistently even than Zhang himself in spheres of his interest) during the first decade of the 20th century. The following lines give an inkling of the depth of his disappointment and of his sorrow over his painstaking research relating to what has been dealt with above:

I, too, for half my life drifted aimlessly,
All kinds of opinions and positions I adopted whimsically.
Not until I had experienced many sorrows and seen many places
Did I realize that this Way is as lofty as Mounts Heng and Song.¹⁰¹

This Way was a Confucian Way, very different from the “Great Way” of Immanuel Kant he so admired at the beginning of the century. To the historical aspects of the existence of this “ancient Way” as it appeared in Chinese history in certain important periods, Wang Guowei devoted all the remaining years of his life until that fateful day of 2 June 1927 when he voluntarily ended his life in the waters of the lake Kunming in the gardens of the former imperial Summer Palace. He chose the path of one out of thousands *yi min* [160] retired scholars who had decided not to eat either “millet” or “rice” of the new dynasties over the millennia, or the smaller number of those who, similarly as his ancestors Wang Ping and Wang Sun, had committed suicide.

His death meant a great loss. He departed this life in his most productive age when he could have still done much for Chinese scholarship. Nevertheless, through his works he has enriched the New Learning and the Old Learning (*guoxue*) [161] with values that have a firm place in the history of social sciences of the first quarter of the 20th century and helped to prepare the soil for a further fertile development.

¹⁰¹ Wang Guowei: *Song Riben Shouye boshi you Ouzhou* [159] Seeing the Japanese Dr. Kanō Naoki off to Europe. Translation is taken over from Bonner, J.: op. cit., p. 148.

1. 梁启超 2. 清代学术概论 3. 胡适 4. 王国维 5. 郭湛波 6. 近五十年中国思想史 7. 静安文集 8. 李泽厚 9. 中国近代思想史论 10. 洪秀全 11. 鲁迅 12. 郭沫若 13. 宋元戏曲史 14. 中国小说史略 15. 王静安先生墓前悼词 16. 国学月报 17. 王珪 18. 进士 19. 王稟 20. 王荀 21. 汾 22. 太原 23. 太平 24. 左宗棠 25. 李鸿章 26. 张之洞 27. 自序 28. 王观堂先生全集 29. 正史 30. 史记 31. 汉书 32. 后汉书 33. 三国志 34. 杨联升 35. 十三经注疏 36. 唯识 37. 华严 38. 谭嗣同 39. 老子 40. 庄子 41. 罗振玉 42. 劝学篇 43. 部 44. 体 45. 新学 46. 用 47. 道 48. 时务报 49. 康有为 50. 东文学社 51. 田岡佐代治 52. 嶺雲 53. 高坂正顯 54. 西周 55. 森鷗外 56. 大西祝 57. 经 58. 子 59. 哲学 60. 慈禧 61. 理学 62. 经学 63. 孙逸仙 64. 陈少白 65. 汗德像赞 66. 天官 67. 反观 68. 大道 69. 观外于空 70. 观内于时 71. 叔本华之哲学及其教育学说 72. 陈胜 73. 吴广 74. 刘邦 75. 红楼梦评论 76. 梦 77. 脂砚斋 78. 我执 79. 叔本华与尼采 80. 周穆王篇

81.列子 82.委鬼 83.晋 84.尹 85.自慰 86.李煜
87.道君皇帝 88.修养 89.渐修 90.文学小言 91.
论近年之学术界 92.去毒篇 93.屈子文学之精神
94.人间嗜好之研究 95.古雅之在美学上之位置
96.境界 97.实念 98.佛雏 99.理念 100.王国维
《境界》说的两项审美标准 101.吴泽 102.袁英光
103.王国维学术研究论集 104.范宁 105.新序 106.
刘向 107.华严境界 108.华严宗 109.关于境界说
110.文学评论 111.俱舍论 112.玄奘 113.法 114.六
境 115.六根 116.六识 117.叶嘉莹 118.从现象学
到境界说 119.光明日报 120.王振锋 121.论王国
维的《境界说》 122.文艺论丛 123.邵雍 124.以我
观物 125.以物观物 126.性 127.情 128.陈元晖
129.丁冠之 130.肖万源 131.中国近代著名哲学家
评传 132.人间 133.人间世 134.人生 135.蝶恋花
136.李璟 137.论王国维《人间词》 138.比 139.兴 140.
风 141.气 142.有我之境 143.无我之境 144.虚
构之境 145.境 146.意境 147.樊志厚 148.瞿
秋白 149.意 150.境 151.心 152.音 153.诗格 154.

王昌龄 155. 曲录 156. 戏曲考原 157. 录曲余
谈 158. 宣统 159. 送日本狩野博士游欧洲
160. 遗民 161. 国学

INTERLITERARY ASPECTS OF THE SHORT STORIES BY LU XUN: *CHANGMING DENG (THE ETERNAL LAMP)* AND V.M. GARSHIN: *KRASNYI TSVETOK (THE RED FLOWER)*

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This study analyses two short stories by the famous Chinese and Russian authors and follows their "coming to be" on the background of the relevant historical materials using the methods of comparative literary research.

A careful study of the history of the nineteenth century classic Russian literature (at least from N. V. Gogol up to F. M. Dostoyevsky and L. N. Andreev) reveals that the extraordinarily expressive character of V. M. Garshin (1855—1888) is no exception in it. This is valid also for the domain of the so-called clinical literature describing psychotic and pathological states of characters in literary works and thus portraying the real world of practically irreconcilable contradictions, a source of suffering and tragedy, the unbearable fates of the *souffre-douleur* of the decadent period.

In Chinese literature Lu Xun [1] (1881—1936) appears as an exception not only by his greatness, but in this particular kind of literature also by his exclusiveness, although it would smack of ignorance of Chinese literature of the present century were we to think that the *topos* of the "madman" was exclusively his domain. Also Guo Moruo [2] (1892—1978), He Qifang [3] (1912—1977) were concerned with it, though in a far smaller measure, and perhaps also others.

The "wise madman" belongs among very frequent *loci communes* in world literature, at least from the late Middle Ages down to our days. In contrast to the times when the figure of a madman constituted a metaphor of customs of the Twelfth Night and Shrovetide in various European¹ and Latin American countries, in the second half of the last century it came to be a part (although

¹ Frenzel, E.: *Motive der Weltliteratur*. Stuttgart, Alfred Kröner Verlag 1980, pp. 550—564. This study was originally read as a paper at the workshop organized by the University of Bonn at the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Lu Xun's death on 17 October 1986.

not in the absolute sense of the word) of a metaphor of Nietzschean apocalyptic feeling that God is dead and with him all the values he represented or created in human or natural world. The madman is he who fights against the old and departing, for the new and becoming: "I have come too soon," Nietzsche's madman told the curious spectators at the market place, "my time has not come yet. This monstrous event has not come, it is only under way, it has not reached the human ears. Lightning and thunder require time, the light of stars needs time, deeds need time to be seen and heard after they had been done. This deed is far more remote from you than the most distant stars — and yet you have done it!"²

The sign of equality cannot be put in between God and values, and this should not be done in some parts of the non-Christian world. In any case, the end of the last and the beginning of our century was a period of "transvaluation of all values" (in China this took place particularly in the 1920s and 1930s). The *topos* of Lu Xun's wise madman will in no way surprise the judicious reader, it is the manifestation of his ingenious capacity. It might be fitting to stress that the wise madman is placed right at the beginning of his creative work and of modern Chinese literature as well.

1

As Garshin's story *The Red Flower* might not be familiar to many of the present readers, I take leave to quote an extensive characteristic from the pen of Lennart Stenborg: "*The Red Flower* is probably his most characteristic work. Sick mind is here presented with a suggestive artistic vigour and convincing efficacy. The madman sees two red poppies grow in the asylum garden and they appear to him as the embodiment of evil in the world. He resolves to use all his strength to uproot or destroy this evil power. He plucks one of the flowers and conceals it on his breast to prevent its poisonous breath being exhaled on mankind. He succeeds in plucking off the second flower. In this ghostly struggle he grows weaker and weaker and one violent attack of his disease follows another. Finally, a third flower opened its petals, hence, the evil had not been destroyed. Under the cover of the night — he had been put into a strait jacket — he succeeded in freeing himself and plucks of the last flower. But by then he was completely exhausted. The following morning he was found dead in his bed with a peaceful expression on his deeply wrinkled and strained face."³

² Nietzsche, F.: *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*. Leipzig, C. G. Neumann 1899, p. 164.

³ Stenborg, L.: *Studien zur Erzähltechnik in den Novellen V. M. Garšins*. Uppsala, Almqvist and Wiksell 1972, pp. 15—16.

Familiarity with Lu Xun's story on the part of the sinologists is taken for granted, although it belongs among the least read works. Similarly as in *The Red Flower*, so also in *The Eternal Lamp* the anonymous madman lives with the idea to do something extraordinary that has as yet not been done. Lu Xun's madman decided to put out the light of the eternal lamp which shines uninterruptedly, allegedly since the times of Emperor Liang Wudi [4] (reigned 502—549) of the Liang dynasty, in the local temple of the village Jiguang [5] (Lucky Light). Garshin's madman had intended to destroy world or cosmic evil whose symbol was given by the three poppy flowers, Lu Xun's madman wished to do away with the pseudovalues of old traditional China in order that the life conditions of the people might improve and that overall transformations in the most important domains of the social life be realized. "Once it's blown out (i.e. eternal lamp, M. G.), there'll be no more locusts or plagues, he says, as if that would be such a wonderful thing."⁴ Lucky light is more a symbol of a lunatic asylum than the house in which Garshin's unnamed madman intended to carry out an inspection "in the name of his Imperial Majesty Czar Peter I".⁵ The asylum to which Garshin's main character was brought inhabited hundreds of mental patients who lived there under inhuman conditions. Only normal people lived in the Lucky Light who met daily in a tea-room (as long as there was nothing in the lunar calendar that would warn them against leaving their own cottages). As implied in their talks, they had no worry except to prevent the young lunatic from blowing out the eternal light and set fire to the temple. Garshin's hero died in the Russian asylum not only with a "peaceful expression", but also with a closed fist which firmly held its trophy and carried it to the grave. The story of Lu Xun has a "false end". The villagers lock up the resolved, but little perspicacious and trustful madman precisely in the temple he had intended to destroy by fire. Curious little children accompanying the adult fellow-villagers and commenting on all the events, still hear him calling out: "I'll put it on fire", but at the same time they see at the west room a hand clutching the wooden bars and behind them shining eyes lustrous by fever. Perhaps to Lu Xun that was the image of a drowned man for whom there was no hope despite the monotonous words that came out of his throat. The story ends in an improvised singing of the children mixing the fragments from their riddles and the despairing calls of the unfortunate prisoner.

⁴ *Lu Xun quanji* [6] The Complete Works of Lu Xun. Vol. 2. Peking 1956, p. 57 and Lu Xun: *The Lamp that Was Kept Alight*. Chinese Literature, 11, 1963, p. 56. (Henceforth only LXQJ.)

⁵ Garshin, V. M.: *Rasskazy* (Short Stories). Moscow, Pravda 1960, p. 305.

Attention to a possible connection between the two stories was drawn by Lu Xun's younger brother Zhou Zuoren [7] (1885—1966) in his book *Lu Xun xiaoshuo lide renwu* [8] *The Characters in Lu Xun's Short Stories* in 1954. Some years later, V. F. Sorokin in his book *Formirovanie mirovozzreniya Lu Sinya* (*The Formation of Lu Xun's World View*) makes an analysis of the stories from the comparative point of view and, in harmony with Zhou Zuoren, states that in contrast to Garshin, Lu Xun is "primarily interested in people around the main character, with their prejudices, their slavish adherence to the message of their ancestors", which then means that the protest of a lonely rebel in his work occupies a different place, whether in the life situation itself, or in the overall ethical message, than was the case with Garshin throughout his whole work (1877—1887), or with Lu Xun between *Kuangren riji* [9] *Diary of a Madman* in 1918 until 1924.

In 1981, on the occasion of the centenary of Lu Xun's birth, three Chinese studies appeared analysing *The Eternal Lamp*, but none of them did so from a comparative aspect. One of them was *Lun "Changming deng" de zhongyao lishi yiyi* [10] *On Important Historical Significance of "The Eternal Lamp"* in which the literary critic Bao Ji [11] presents an analysis of two aspects of the Chinese historical situation and Lu Xun's attitudes on the basis of his essays, poems in prose, and letters addressed to his future wife Xu Guangping [12] (1898—1968).⁶ This analysis makes it evident how Lu Xun's work (short stories and poems in prose) had been considerably influenced by the historical, political and ideological situation in China generally and in his close milieu. Of no less importance had been his subjective attitudes and the very sensitive barometer of his own nervous system.

The majority of Lu Xun's essays from the year 1925, i.e. those written shortly before or after *The Eternal Lamp* are to be found in the collection *Huagai ji* [14]. Berta Krebsová in her translation of Lu Xun's essays uses for this title the Czech words *Zlověsná aureola*, i.e. *The Ominous Aureola*,⁷ while D. E. Pollard in his study on Lu Xun's essays translates it as *Unlucky Star*.⁸ I am rather for Krebsová's choice and this for the simple reason that it fits in better with the whole context, whether of the collection as such, or the social background. If Lu Xun's words from the Preface to the collection really refer to Shakyamuni and his Pantheon, then Lu Xun's proximity to an aureola, though not to that of a

⁶ Lu Xun-yanjiu [13] *Studies on Lu Xun*, Vol. 5, December 1981, pp. 309—326.

⁷ Lu Sün: *Eseje I*. Prague, SNKLHU 1964, p. 100.

⁸ Pollard, D. E.: *Lu Xun's Zawen*. In: Lee, Leo Ou-fan (Ed.): *Lu Xun and His Legacy*. Berkeley—Los Angeles—London, The University of California Press 1985, pp. 63 ff.

saint, is quite obvious. With Lu Xun that was a disagreeable nimbus of resistance to traditions, of a fighter for new ideals, and later, beginning with the year 1927, also for a revolutionary literature. In that Preface, written on the last day of 1925, Lu Xun pondered over his youthful years and the immediate reality: "Formerly, when I was young, I used to fly in dreamy clouds, but now I cling to the earth ... The root of my ailments lies in my living among the people and my being an ordinary man. Therein perhaps resides the ominous aureola of my destiny."⁹ In these words Lu Xun endeavoured to point out the difference between his youthful convictions and his experience of a mature man. In his development he had long since overcome the romantic enthusiasm inspired by the Satanic poetry of Byronian kind, also gone through the sobering of it after meeting with Garshin and Andreev towards the end of the first decade of our century; but he had overcome also the Darwinian period which he had advocated directly in connection with the May Fourth Movement of 1919, related to the unbounded admiration for "die Einzelnen", i.e. the outstanding individuals of Nietzsche and Ibsen. The playwright and literary critic Xu Qinwen [15] (1897—) came close to the truth when he asserted that an analysis of this story permits us to judge that Lu Xun began to doubt about his faith in the "evolution theory".¹⁰ But before doing it in his creative work, he had manifested reservations towards it (as a rule indirectly) in his essays published in the Ominous Aureola. Shortly before completing *The Eternal Lamp* (1 March 1925), Lu Xun wrote on 12 February a brief reflection which is given here verbatim:

"I think I've gone a bit mad. Otherwise it is terrible. It seems to me that the so-called Chinese Republic does not exist anymore.

It seems to me that I had been a slave before the revolution, but after the revolution they have again deceived me and I have become their slave.

It seems to me that many of the inhabitants of the Republic have to be counted among its enemies.

It seems to me that many citizens of the Republic are similar to Jews in Germany or France. They long to live in another country.

It seems to me that they have shed the blood of many heroes, although they need not have done it on design.

It seems to me that everything will have to be done anew.

In a word, the history of the Republic should be written so that the young people might read it. The springs of the Republic have run dry, although it is but 14 years of age."¹¹

⁹ LXQJ, Vol. 3, Peking 1956, p. 3.

¹⁰ Xu Qinwen: "*Panghuang*" *fenxi* [16] An Analysis of the Stories in "Wandering". Peking 1958, p. 54.

¹¹ LXQJ, 3, pp. 12—13.

Four days later in another reflection, he did not compare, but identified the Chinese Republic with the Imperial China of the period of the Five Dynasties and of the end of the Song and Ming dynasties, but remarked that the situation was even worse than it had been centuries before; that there was more rottenness in it, decomposition, cruelty, oppression, and there was no end in view to these disorders, just as there was none prior to the outbreak of the peasants' uprisings led by Li Zicheng [17] and Zhang Xianzhong [18] and the invasion of China by the Manchu armies.¹² And finally, in a further reflection written six weeks after *The Eternal Lamp*, Lu Xun expressed his conviction that if people wish to live in this world, then "they must first dare to speak, laugh, cry, rage at, revile, fight and defeat this accursed age in this accursed place (i.e. in China, M. G.)."¹³

3

Lu Xun read V. Garshin and together with him also L. Andreev probably after writing his unfinished article *Po o sheng lun* [19] On Breaking Through the Voices of Evil in 1908. How these two Russian authors affected him in 1918—1919 I endeavoured to show in the second chapter of my book *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation (1898—1979)*¹⁴ and here I shall try to do this for the years before and after — roughly for the period 1909—1929. I shall confine my speculations to Garshin's *The Red Flower*, although there is more material in Lu Xun's critical work about Leonid Andreev. An analysis of Lu Xun's views in this point may be very concise, for at the beginning of this period (1909) and at its end (1929) he devoted just two sentences to *The Red Flower*. The first of these, the shorter one, runs as follows: "Garshin's tragedy deepened, gradually he was losing his senses, and when his state improved, he wrote *The Red Flower* delineating his condition."¹⁵ The second and longer one, may be rendered as follows: "His outstanding work '*The Red Flower*' speaks of a half-madman who considers red flowers as symbol of all evil in the world, plucks them in the courtyard of the asylum and dies. I am of the opinion that the author thereby described his lunatic condition."¹⁶

By 1929 there was already a Chinese translation available of *The Red Flower* made by a young translator Liang Yuchun [21] (1906—1932) who evidently belonged to the group around Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren, which between

¹² Ibid., p. 14.

¹³ Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁴ Gálík, M.: *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation (1898—1979)*. Bratislava, Veda — Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1986.

¹⁵ *Lu Xun lun waiguo wenxue* [20] Lu Xun on Foreign Literature. Peking 1982, p. 103.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 103.

the years 1924 and 1931 published the journal Yusi [22] Threads of Talk after which it also received its name.¹⁷

Lu Xun wrote a little about Garshin and the two short remarks about *The Red Flower* do not betray much at first glance. A more careful analysis taking into consideration Lu Xun's overall development during some twenty years, bracketed precisely by his interest in Garshin's work (but also in that of Nietzsche and Andreev), shows that the idea of "madness" had taken unusual hold of Lu Xun and became reflected in the creative as well as critical realm of his fancy and deeds. Both the quotations above make it clear that the state of lunacy is what Lu Xun fixes his gaze upon, although it rather repels than attracts him. And yet "madness" as such was in his programme, he saw in it something that might fertilize human minds¹⁸ as healthy seed, in a certain harmony with Nietzsche who with the aid of his own specifically apprehended "madness" intended to inoculate people.¹⁹ Lu Xun's ideal of a "madman" implies a mentally completely healthy and normal being whose madness is a manifestation of his socio-cultural and political uniqueness, if you prefer, in a certain sense of exclusiveness, and represents the most human form of what G. Brandes has termed "aristocratic radicalism". In contrast to Nietzsche and Garshin, Lu Xun always lacked the dimension and experience of a true mental derangement or mental disease. He never accepted the concept of a superman so long as it was not explained in purely ethical or aesthetic framework. An overcharge of symbolistic devices prevented him in analysing the efforts of Nietzsche in a relatively correct light. The madmen of Lu Xun were not identical with those of Nietzsche, although they had a similar hatred towards "traditional values" in virtue of a common "transvaluation of all values", and a vague vision of the future. We shall not draw into play here the short story *Diary of a Madman* which has been much written about in this connection. Suffice it recall that his first short story in the vernacular has much in common with Nietzsche, Garshin and Andreev being at the same time an expression of Lu Xun's inner conviction and life experience at the end of the second decade of the 20th century. In a certain degree it was Lu Xun's fighting manifesto. *The Eternal Lamp* represents a different madman and a different Lu Xun. The unnamed madman of this story could hardly be compared to those in Nietzsche, Andreev and only the idea of the work connects him with the madman of the "madman"-*topos* mutually

¹⁷ Loc. cit. See also *Quanguo zongshumu* [23] A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books with Complete Index Translationum. Shanghai 1935, p. 444 and *Zhongguo xin wenxue daxi* [24] Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature. Vol. 10. Shanghai 1936, pp. 502—506.

¹⁸ Op. cit., pp.26 and 32, and Nietzsche, F.: *Also sprach Zarathustra*. Leipzig, Alfred Kröner Verlag, n.d., p. 15.

¹⁹ Gálík, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: III. Young Lu Xun (1902—1909)*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, XXI, 1985, pp. 47—59.

differ in a considerable degree. Garshin's madman is in Russian literature probably the peak or one of the greatest achievements in portraying the so-called "holy" madmen (one of them is Prince Myshkin from Dostoyevsky's *Idiot*).

In the excellent article entitled *Imagery of Podvig and Podvizhnichestvo in the Works of Garshin and the Early Gorky*,²⁰ Professor Peter Henry pointed to the function of *podvig* (i.e. an altruistic, ascetic, even heroic deed) with roots in religious fanaticism of Russian ethical and cultural tradition, and examined it in a brilliant manner in his analysis of *The Red Flower* and other works by Garshin and Gorky. It was undoubtedly a form of *mania grandiosa* comparable with the mythical St George and his struggle with the dragon, and Christ's self-offering (the unnamed madman from *The Red Flower* is reminiscent, especially in his last deeds, of the mythologeme of Golgotha) which inspired Garshin to send his hero to death in a struggle against "cosmic evil". According to Henry, the dominant theme of *The Red Flower* is an imitation of Christ as the Saviour.²¹

This dimension, too, was missing from Lu Xun's work. Lu Xun, as we know, has shown his understanding for the self-sacrifice on Golgotha,²² but nowhere do we find a word intimating that he would believe in Christ's redeeming mission. In his view, the great men of this world — the Overmen — were rather "admonishers" than "makers", they were great minds, lighthouses illuminating the way through the darkness, prophets reprimanding vices of their peoples and "fighters of the spirit" who succeeded in bringing their fellow-citizens to Beauty, Goodness, Power and Robust Health.²³ Lu Xun was not impressed by Jesus Christ as "Son of God", but as "son of man", fighting (although in his own way), suffering and dying innocent.²⁴

There is another trait distinguishing Garshin's madman in *The Red Flower* from Lu Xun's in *The Eternal Lamp*. While Garshin devoted maximum attention to his madman, Lu Xun concentrated himself rather on the representatives of the "silent and lying" China, adherents of the traditional culture, believers in old superstitions and typical inhabitants of the contemporary Chinese feudal village. His madman is but a symbol of the resistance oriented against Confucianism and Buddhism, of iconoclasm without any individual features. Besides the words: "Put it out!" (meaning the eternal lamp) and those we have quoted earlier, or some resembling them, there is just one sentence spoken by the madman which deserves some attention: "I know they'll still be there (i.e.

²⁰ The Slavonic and East European Review, 61, January 1983, 1, pp. 139—159.

²¹ Ibid., p. 149.

²² LXQJ, Vol. 2, p. 168.

²³ LXQJ, Vol. 1, Peking 1956, p. 234.

²⁴ LXQJ, Vol. 2, p. 169.

locusts and plagues, M. G.) if it's blown out ... I shall just be doing the best I can. I'm tackling this first because it's easy. I am going to blow it out now, I'll do it myself."²⁵ Garshin would have been untrue to the conception of his "holy madman" had he expressed a similar idea where there would have been room for someone else besides his own self and for his *podvig*. In the struggle against Ahriman, the principle of evil in Zarathustra's teaching, spoken of in *The Red Flower*, his madman knew no ally. The poppy was to him a "mysterious, dreadful being, God's antagonist, Ahriman, who had taken on a modest and innocent appearance. It must be plucked and destroyed".²⁶ Lu Xun must certainly have been fascinated by the idea incorporated in *The Red Flower*. The red flower was so red because allegedly it "had sucked in all the innocent blood shed".²⁷ And this blood at that time would not allow Lu Xun to sleep!

Both Garshin and Lu Xun have left in their stories a testimony about themselves and their mental states. We know that on 21 February 1880 Garshin wrote a letter to Count M. T. Loris-Melikov, a reactionary politician and minister of the interior with special powers to deal with revolutionary movements and with anarchism in the years 1880—1881, asking pardon on behalf of J. Młodecki for the attempt on the count's life. From the letter it is quite evident that he believed in the uniqueness and greatness of martyrdom, or example of moral superiority.²⁸ *The Red Flower* was written at the peak of this development and conviction, in the year 1883. Nothing similar could be said of Lu Xun who at the time of writing *The Eternal Lamp* doubted not only about the "evolutionary theory", but also about the efficacy of "aristocratic radicalism" apprehended in a very human way, and about the possibilities of an isolated individual generally, in the milieu of the contemporary China. Lu Xun could hardly have written *The Eternal Lamp* otherwise than he did then, in February—March 1925. What else could we expect of a great writer and thinker who, at the threshold of the same year, 1 January 1925 to be exact, illustrated the word "hope" with a poem of the same title by the greatest Hungarian writer Sándor Petőfi:

Die Hoffnung? Eine feile Dirn,
Sie wirft sich jedem hin für Lohn;
Du opferst ihr den größten Schatz,
Die Jugend, und sie fliegt davon ...²⁹

²⁵ LXQJ, Vol. 2, p. 60 and Lu Xu: *The Lamp that Was Kept Alight*, pp. 58—59.

²⁶ Garshin, V. M.: *Rasskazy*, p. 224.

²⁷ Loc. cit.

²⁸ Henry, P.: op. cit., p. 141.

²⁹ Petőfi, S.: *Poetische Werke*. Vol. 3. Wien—Leipzig, Halm und Goldmann 1919, p. 262.

If then Lu Xun agrees with Petőfi's aphorism: "Despair deceives like hope,"³⁰ we may imagine the complex moods which Lu Xun felt and experienced. They derived from "the emptiness of dark nights" (*kongxu zhongde anye*) [27]³¹ and he was intent on getting even with it.

A considerably different mood may be found in his last but one poem in prose in the collection *Ye cao* [28] *Wild Grass* entitled *Tantande xuehen zhong* [29] *Amid Pale Bloodstains*. Lu Xun wrote it under the emotion of the blood bath ordered by general Duan Qirui [30], the ruler of Peking, at the time of the Incident of 18 March 1926. It was certainly not by chance that Berta Krebsová, my teacher, marked out four passages in the Czech translation, one of which I quote here:

"A rebellious fighter has arisen from mankind who, standing erect, sees through all the deserted ruins and lonely tombs of the past and the present. He remembers all the intense and unending agony; he gazes at the whole welter of clotted blood; he understands all that is dead and that is living, as well as all yet unborn. He sees through the creator's game. And he will arise to save or destroy mankind, these loyal subjects of the creator."³²

"Rebellious fighter" is here understood collectively, not as an exclusive individual, a great personality who, as Lu Xun had most recently observed, may become a victim, just as any other human being, of the unprincipled policy of the soldatesque or police machinery. The symbolic image of the "creator" conceals political powers of the contemporary China who had divided the country into spheres of influence and fought among themselves to become new Liu Bangs [31] or Li Shimins [32].

That was the time when the idea of a social revolution began to shape in Lu Xun's mind, although it was not yet defined in any detail. "The heaven and earth change colour in the eyes of the fighter"³³ are the final words of this poem in prose. A similar conviction had begun to be formed in Lu Xun earlier, but he pronounced it more clearly, as far as I know, only after having completed *The Eternal Lamp* — for the first time in the evening of 8 May 1925, after street fighting had broken out and many students had been wounded. This was to be a prelude to the events of the May Thirtieth Movement of 1925 when British

³⁰ The Hungarian original is in the Complete Works of Sándor Petőfi. Vol. 5. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1956, p. 69. Lu Xun's translation is a bit adapted: "Despair arising out of a void is equal to hope." Lu Xun adjusted Petőfi's aphorism to the needs of his inner world, where *xuwang* [25] void and falsehood (Sanskrit *vitatha*), or *kongxu* [26] emptiness, unreality, close to the Sanskrit *śūnya*, have at first glance Buddhist connotations, although they may be more adequately explained by the symbolistic *gouffre*, i.e. abyss.

³¹ LXQJ, Vol. 2, p. 171.

³² Ibid., p. 209 and *Selected Works of Lu Hsun*. Vol. 2. Peking 1956, p. 359.

³³ Loc. cit.

police at the Nanking Road, Shanghai, shot at demonstrators, killing a dozen and wounding over fifty of them. Lu Xun wrote the following about the first incident: “They say that there are also dead among them, but I do not know whether it is true or not. I heard that the students intended merely to organize a meeting and this they did, nothing more. But because armed forces were called out who violently intervened, chaos arose which far exceeded this fact. Did not revolution occur in Russia from identical causes?”

Night is far advanced, it’s time to lay down the pen...”³⁴ Lu Xun finally remarked, and the same comes at this moment to my mind.

*

I shall not do it, however, for the sake of the last poem in prose in *Wild Grass*. It is entitled *Yijue* [33] *The Awakening*, and was written two days after *Amid Pale Bloodstains*. Beside the drone of the planes and the crash of bombs, one feels in it life and death in a dialectical propinquity and mutuality. This evokes but a “slight tension”³⁵ in Lu Xun’s soul. It may be that a tragic apprehension of the fates of his contemporaries, and evil, like e.g. innocent blood uselessly shed, or ever present in their life like the eternal lamp, had at least for a moment evoked in him something similar to a Buddhist-Taoist understanding of the Great Awakening (*da jue*) [34] (Sanskrit. *bodhi*).³⁶ Why should he otherwise have remarked: “There may be some casualties, but the world seems more peaceful than usual.”³⁷

And on the occasion of this “awakening” Lu Xun recalled a young man who some time before had handed him an envelope with a single issue of the journal *Qiancao* [35] *Shallow Grass*. It was on 3 April 1925, and the envelope contained No. 4 of volume 1. Lu Xun had not asked his name and the young man had not introduced himself to the great *maître*. Lu Xun did not then know that he had Feng Zhi [36] (1905–) before him, one of the most distinguished representatives of Chinese literature of the next period.³⁸ The little present caused him sincere pleasure. Later, Lu Xun liked even more to read the journal *Chen zhong* (The Sunken Bell), named after a play of the same name by Gerhart Hauptmann, and

³⁴ LXQJ, Vol. 3, p. 42.

³⁵ LXQJ, Vol. 2, p. 210 and *Selected Works of Lu Hsun*, Vol. 1, p. 360.

³⁶ Fung Yu-lan: *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Vol. 2. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1953, p. 325.

³⁷ Cf. note 35.

³⁸ LXQJ, Vol. 2, p. 211 and Feng Zhi: *Lu Xun yu Chenzhongshe* [37] Lu Xun and Sunken Bell Society. *Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan* [38] Materials to Modern Chinese Literature and Art, 4, November 1979, p. 143.

edited by Feng Zhi and his friends after Shallow Grass had disappeared. Lu Xun considered it as a voice that “is tolling alone in the bottom of the human sea”.³⁹ Later in 1935, he addressed the following words of praise to the young men contributing to these journals: “... they were absorbing stimuli from abroad and internally they tried to explore their own souls in order to discover their inner eyes and tongues with the objective to look at this world and to sing to lonely people about truth and beauty.”⁴⁰ In good Chinese and foreign literature Lu Xun saw rays of light penetrating into dark and silent China of those times.

We can but surmise why Lu Xun considered the issue of the journal in question to be a “rich gift”. Amidst the numerous poems by the young men of letters we find one of the few long poems by Feng Zhi: *Chui xiaorende kushi* [39] The Story of a Flutist singing the praises of a young “hermit” ready to break his most cherished flute to save a girl sick to death.⁴¹ Lu Xun at that time did not believe that art can work miracles, he did not share the myth of Orpheus. But in the difficult times when he wrote *The Eternal Lamp*, or read a number of Shallow Grass, or was completing his *Wild Grass*, it struck him that literature was a mighty instrument in interhuman communication.

An effort at this communication led Lu Xun to write *The Eternal Lamp* against the background of *The Red Flower*. It should be observed that he thereby risked much. Under the circumstances in which he wrote it, he might have been conscious that it would appear pale against the immense strength of *The Red Flower* as a work of a great (although illusory) faith, hope and love towards mankind that lived and lives about us.

In *The Eternal Lamp*, Lu Xun manifested nothing more nor less than what he wrote some months later: “If we are at the fork (*qilu*) [42], it is very difficult to choose the right way; if we stand at the crossroad (*shizilu*) [43], many ways open to us along which we may set out.”⁴² Lu Xun did not know which was the right one.

³⁹ LXQJ, Vol. 2, p. 211 and *Selected Works of Lu Hsun*, Vol. 1, p. 361.

⁴⁰ LXQJ, Vol. 6, Peking 1958, p. 194.

⁴¹ See Jia Feng [40]: “*Qiancao*” *jikan*, “*Chenzhong*” *zhoukan*, *banyuekan zongmu* [41] Catalogue of the Shallow Grass Quarterly, Sunken Bell Weekly and Sunken Bell Semimonthly. Ibid., p. 419 and Gálík, M.: *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation (1898—1979)*, p. 186.

⁴² LXQJ, Vol. 3, p. 40.

1. 鲁迅 2. 郭沫若 3. 何其芳 4. 梁武帝 5. 吉光 6. 鲁迅全集 7. 周作人 8. 鲁迅小说里的人物 9. 狂人日记 10. 论《长明灯》的重要历史意义 11. 鲍霁 12. 许广平 13. 鲁迅研究 14. 华盖集 15. 许钦文 16. 《彷徨》分析 17. 李自成 18. 张献忠 19. 破恶声论 20. 鲁迅论外国文学 21. 梁遇春 22. 语丝 23. 全国总书目 24. 中国新文学大系 25. 虚妄 26. 空虚 27. 空虚中的暗夜 28. 野草 29. 淡淡的血痕中 30. 段祺瑞 31. 刘邦 32. 李世民 33. 一觉 34. 大觉 35. 浅草 36. 冯至 37. 鲁迅与沉钟社 38. 中国现代文艺资料丛刊 39. 吹箫人的故事 40. 佳风 41. 《浅草》季刊,《沉钟》周刊、半月刊总目 42. 歧路 43. 十字路

SOME REFLECTIONS ON YUKIO MISHIMA'S LIFE, VIEWS AND WORK

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Mishima was incontestably a significant phenomenon in post-war Japanese literature and simultaneously a contradictory personality. The present study aims to give a general characteristic of Mishima's literary and extraliterary activity, making a point of the fundamental premises that influenced his thinking, views and work itself.

The majority of studies about Yukio Mishima [1] (1925—1970) appear as unwinding backwards, beginning where others end. Of course, this is not by pure chance, nor is it unnatural or illogical. The manner in which Mishima died is likewise unusual: He committed suicide, the ritual "seppuku" (harakiri) which dismayed the Japanese public and the entire literary world.

Suicide is rather frequently met with among Japanese writers. In the Japanese reality, suicide is not a transgression either from the moral or the legal point of view. It might even be said that Mishima's suicide would not have been anything out of the ordinary had he taken his life quietly, without any unnecessary sensation, the way the Nobel Prize winner for literature Yasunari Kawabata [2] (1899—1972) did. However, in contrast to most Japanese writers who took their lives from a feeling of "having written themselves dry", or of literary exhaustion, or simply because they just felt weary of life, Mishima's death — as Masahito Ara [3] wrote in the daily *Asahi shinbun* [4] — involved something more pathological and physiological.¹ For on 25 November 1970 Mishima, together with members of the organization *Tate no kai* [6] (Shield Society) which he had founded in 1968 and organized as a private army, broke into the Headquarters of the Japan Self-Defence Forces in the centre of Tokyo with the intent to carry out a coup d'état in Japan.

It was well known that once he took anything into his head, he would put it

¹ Ara, M.: *Byōritekina jisatsu no gen'in* [5] The Reasons for the Pathological Suicide. *Asahi shinbun*, 26 November 1970. For more details on the various theories of Mishima suicide, see: Fujimoto, K.: *Mishima Yukio. Death of a Modernist*. Concerned Theatre Japan, 1, 1971, No. 4, pp. 128—151.

into execution. He was extremely active and this not solely in the literary, but also in the extra-literary field. Makoto Ueda said of him that he „was less a novelist than a thinker who expressed himself not only through his writings but also through his entire life”.² He differed by his attitudes, views, literature, style, admired and praised what others censured and the other way round, and finally differed from others also by his death.

During the last years of his life Mishima came out more and more frequently with extreme views which were far too remote from historical reality and Japan's post-war development. He revived the notorious World War II ideology of Japanism, founded on the cult of the emperor, clamoured for a revival of the imperial ideology, changes in the emperor's standing, who shortly after the war had refuted his "divine" origin. He demanded a revision of Article 9 of the Constitution according to which the Japanese armed forces are in fact placed outside the law. He asked that the role of defending Japan's traditions, culture and history, values concentrated about the emperor, be restored to the Self-defence Forces. As stressed by K. Recho, Mishima saw the cause of stagnation of contemporary Japanese literature in "the nation's having lost faith in absolute monarchy", and looked for means of its revival in "martyr's aesthetics" (*junkyō no bigaku*) [7], according to which the meaning of life resides in total devotedness to the emperor's service.³ Mishima called for a regeneration of the "original spirit of Japanism" which had manifested itself in the last war in "heroic feats" of Japanese kamikaze. As far back as 1968 the critic Takehiko Noguchi [8] emphasized that "Mishima appears to be one of the most consistent Japanese writers, adherents of the monarchistic "reaction". What is significant is not that he came to be an outstanding writer despite his "reactionary spirit" as some claim, but on the contrary, that he became such a one precisely because he was a "reactionary" ... This "reactionary spirit" is the fundamental form of Mishima's artistic existence."⁴

Mishima's political tenets were reactionary and dangerous, but they did not influence social consciousness. Mishima did not succeed in reconciling himself with, nor understanding the fact that the transformation of the society following World War II, democratization, had taken deep roots in the society and that the latter still had a vivid memory of the bitter recollections regarding the revivification of the samurai traditions. Everything about Mishima was torn off reality

² Ueda, M.: *Mishima Yukio*. In: *Modern Japanese Writers and the Nature of Literature*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1972, p. 219.

³ Recho, K.: *Sovremenniy yaponskii roman* (Contemporary Japanese Novel). Moscow, Nauka 1977, p. 54.

⁴ Noguchi, T.: *Mishima Yukio no sekai* [9] The World of Yukio Mishima. Tokyo 1968, p. 28.

and nobody took seriously either his views or the Shield Society. Masao Miyoshi notes that "Mishima was an amazingly consistent person who never forgot his wartime catechism — the myth of Japan as a ritually ordered state, the samurai way of life characterized by manly courage and feminine grace, and the vision of imminent death as the catalyst of life".⁵

Mishima's views appear as unique in Japanese post-war literature. And it may sound paradoxical when we say that in a certain sense they also played a positive role, for they forced writers — and many others besides — to take up their own stand towards all the values brought in by the postwar development. His views provoked reactions which sounded unfavourable to Mishima. They called forth a sharp disagreement on the part of literary circles and the public at large. Evidence of this proved to have been also 25 November 1970 when his address to the lined-up soldiers whom he wished to persuade to stage a coup, evoked but derisive remarks and a manifest disagreement. Mishima himself grasped the situation, realized that he had lost and after seven minutes gave up his efforts at a "revolution". Thrice he still called out "Long live his imperial highness!", and then ripped open his belly with a short samurai sword.

An analysis of the last hours of Mishima's life reveals that he had acted with premeditation and with the knowledge or conviction that he would not succeed with his revolution and would commit suicide. He was after sure death. He simply wanted to die but not a simple, common "private" death, but one that would unite him with society. Through it he intended to give the ultimate proof of his conviction, his views that had provoked disagreement and belonged to Japan's past. Mishima's spectacular or ostentatious death was, however, only the last proof of his having been an anarchist in thinking, views and deeds and deepened even more the contradiction between him and society. His public attempt at a "restoration" remained but a private one, and came to an end the day it had begun as his last private scandal with a tragic end.

Mishima's attempt became an eye-opener and simultaneously a warning to the public at large. Nobody joined him and today, with the intervening time lapse, his views may be said to have fallen into oblivion, similarly as Balzac's in the last century. And they could not have met any other fate for they reverted into the past, were regressive. Nothing has remained but literary works in the majority of which, similarly as in the case of Balzac's, these views failed to be expressed. That is how one might characterize the basic premise of an assessment of Mishima's literary and extra-literary activity, to which the critique, literary scholarship and writers also incline. And in the light of the laws govern-

⁵ Miyoshi, M.: *Accomplices of Silence. The Modern Japanese Novel*. Berkeley, University of California Press 1974, p. 174.

ing the development of the literary process, it is evident that, as in the case of Balzac, the author's literary prose work alone will in time remain in the foreground, thus relegating to the background the contradictions between his views and his work, more especially as criticism has taken right from the start an unambiguous stand towards them.

But let us take a closer look at the beginnings of the literary career at first of an outstanding writer whose works won recognition and appreciation all over the world (after all, Mishima was proposed three times for the Nobel Prize and together with Yasunari Kawabata belongs among the most translated Japanese writers), and later of a fanatic who became so infatuated with and so engrossed in the samurai past of his nation and his own philosophy during the last years of his life that he became deprived of discrimination and sound judgement. It seems that in Mishima's case the period and the environment in which he grew up played a far greater role than in the case of other writers. Incontestably, the hard core of his peculiar, specific philosophy and views was formed in the youth. From the aspect of his private view of the world an important role was played by his family, particularly his grandmother who was often a prey to hysterical fits. And as regards his views on and attitudes towards public affairs, hence, his political views, a decisive influence along this line was played by the ideology of Japanese militarism, the ideology of Japanism during the period of World War II.

Mishima was twenty when the war came to an end. Mishima rarely expressed his attitude towards it, but it is evident that both the family, and the institutions in which he studied, deeply intervened in and affected his spiritual world. And there is no doubt whatsoever that his ideals had been cultivated and influenced by his military education during the war. As the author of Mishima's biography J. Nathan writes: "The war was over, but Yukio Mishima managed to dream on."⁶ Ultimately, he himself often proclaimed that the end of the war was for him related to "a sudden assault of unhappiness".⁷ It appears that, when only twenty, Mishima already had a clear-cut, definitely formed world outlook and hierarchy of values which he did not subsequently essentially alter, quite the contrary, he went on reinforcing them till he slid into positions of a fanatical nationalism.

Mishima might be aptly characterized by the title of Kenzaburō Ōe's [10] (1935—) famous novel *Okuretekita seinen* [11] (1961) *The Young Man Who Was Late*. Certain ideational parallels between the hero in Ōe's novel and that in Mishima's are evident, although Ōe's hero is somewhat younger. But to keep

⁶ Nathan, J.: *Mishima. A Biography*. Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Company 1974, p. 62.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

matters in a true perspective it should be observed that Mishima did not experience regret for war as such — at least he never admitted it publicly. What he missed was the spirit of the time in which he had been brought up. However, he realized this only later when he came to grasp the magnitude of the change which defeat of militarist Japan had ushered in the social consciousness. He himself proclaimed that “I could not avoid the bewildering discovery that at twenty I was already an anachronism. My beloved Radiguet, and Wilde, and Yeats, and the Japanese classics — everything I had valued was now suddenly offensive to the tastes of the age ... The boy who had carried on like a genius within a small group during the war was now a helpless student taken seriously by no one.”⁸

Mishima began to write relatively early, already during his studies at the Peer's School and in 1941, then sixteen, published his first literary work in a true literary magazine *Bungei-Bunka* [12] Art and Culture. At this early age he was strongly influenced by ideas of the literary group *Nihon rōmanha* [13] Japan Romantics School, set up as one of the literary movements in consequence of the forcible disbandment of the progressive *Nihon puroretaria sakka dōmei* [14] Union of Japan's Proletarian Writers during the period of fascism in Japan. Certain members of the group, influenced by the ongoing militarist propaganda, urged a return to traditional values, to the Japanese spirit, to classicism and slid down even to positions of chauvinism. Consequently, many of these were barred from pursuing literary activity in public, including also several with whom young Mishima had been in contact.

Defeat of militarist Japan did not mean a significant dividing line solely as regards the country's political development, but it naturally became reflected also in the domain of culture, thinking and literature. The end of the war meant also the end of a long period of “darkness” which had brought but very few positive elements into the development of Japanese literature. It meant the end of the rule of censorship which allowed publication of works exclusively favouring militaristic ideology. The post-war democratizing process that went on in all the areas of the country's life was also applied in literature. The great majority of writers accepted the defeat positively, and they were precisely those who actively, of their own initiative not only promoted a deepening of the democratizing process in society, but also tackled the problem of getting even with the war or with the issue of responsibility for it. This whole movement was headed by the *Shin nihon bungakkai* [15] Society of the New Japanese Literature and directed by the writers Yuriko Miyamoto [16] (1899—1951), Sunao Tokunaga [17] (1899—1958), Shigeji Tsuboi [18] (1898—1975). These writers had been eminent representatives of proletarian literature already before the

⁸ Ibid., pp. 63—64.

war and in their post-war work took contact with the pre-war traditions. The Society's platform was a broad one indeed and propagated ideas held and supported also by progressively thinking writers outside the movement.

Those who contributed in a significant measure to a revival of the post-war literary life were recognized writers of the pre-war period who for various reasons did not publish during the war. A considerable influence on the various generations of post-war writers was exerted by a school known as Shin gesakuha [19] New Burlesque Group. Writers adhering to this movement, such as Osamu Dazai [20] (1900—1948), Ango Sakaguchi [21] (1906—1949), described in an unusually sharp and open manner the decline of the post-war society and did not eschew the solution of social problems. Their works reflected society's moral decadence, and their attitudes were typical of the young intelligentsia shortly after the war.

But of a decisive influence for the development of post-war literature were the works of the so-called "après-guerre" writers or the "post-war group" Sengoha [22] whose members published in the pages of the magazine *Kindai bungaku* [23] Modern Literature. This was an innerly heterogeneous group and Japanese criticism ranks in it writers of a diverging ideational and aesthetic orientation. And thus this wide-ranging movement included writers mutually differing in views and style, such as Hiroshi Noma [24] (1915—), Taijun Takeda [25] (1912—1976), Toshio Shimao [26] (1917—), Rinzō Shiina [27] (1911—1973), Shin'ichirō Nakamura [28] (1897—1964), but also others with Mishima among them.

The après-guerre writers in their works drew on war experience, pondered over issues of responsibility for the war, over its sequelae on the way of thinking of the individual. They were concerned with the relationships of 'literature—politics', 'individual—society'. Sengoha's universal ideological platform was an orientation to contemporary man, but the bitter experience from the war caused their works to be impregnated with pessimism.

However, by and by, Mishima came to differ from this group to such an extent that even the critics doubt whether he may be rightly assigned here. A characteristic feature of the works of the "Sengoha" writers was that they drew them on their own war experience and it was precisely the war that had provoked them to an artistic statement and stimulated their initial production. However, we do not encounter the war in Mishima's works. He had no such war experience as would have provoked him to an artistic processing of the war topic in a convincing manner so characteristic of the "Sengoha" writers. It may safely be assumed that had Mishima personally taken part in front-line fighting, this would necessarily become reflected not only in his prosaic work, but also in his thinking and views. He might have then held different views and not been such a fanatic propagator of the ideology of Japanism and the cult of the emperor.

Most of Mishima's works are set in the present, nor can they be reproached for a lack of realistic and critical views of contemporary times, even though the motivation of his criticism did not spring forth from a democratic conviction as was the case with the other members of this school. On the other hand, however, his contemporary man is for the most part a disrupted personality either physically or mentally, attracted by blood, horror, cruelty, sexual depravity, incapable of identifying himself with the surrounding world, rejecting it, yearning for death and eternity.

He published his first collection under the heading *Hanazakari no mori* [29] A Forest in Full Flower at the age of nineteen in 1944, that is the year before the end of the war, at a time of acute paper shortage and at the peak of an absolute censorship — strict and arbitrary. This work, strongly influenced by ideas of the Japan Romantics School, is of interest not solely because Mishima introduced himself in it as an extraordinarily talented stylist, but also because in this début there are comprised his essential aesthetic premises characteristic of his further work. The collection is permeated with lyrical yearnings, an erotic romanticism, and testifies to the author's precocious maturing. His longing for beauty leads to an ecstasy of varying types, and his ecstasy leads to the ultimate tragic dénouement — death. Forest in Full Flower goes to show that the basis of Mishima's specific aesthetics where categories of beauty, ecstasy and death come to the foreground, his aesthetic premises in virtue of which he considered death combined with ecstasy and eroticism to be the highest beauty, were formed under the influence of ideas of the Japan Romantics School, at the time when his writer personality was being formed. The principles of "ecstasy and death" and "death aesthetics" came to be the essential premises for his further production.

Mishima reaped considerable fame and recognition on the part of literary circles through his novel début *Kamen no kokuhaku* [30] Confessions of a Mask published in 1949. In this semi-autobiographical novel he depicts the development of a young hero from childhood until maturity, portraying his youthful longings, his inclination to homosexuality and feelings of lonesomeness in the contemporary world. In this novel, too, we meet with problems typical of Mishima — i.e. death combined with erotic excitement, psychic disruption, etc. As Hisaaki Yamanouchi remarks: "One may find here the elements that recurrently constitute the trinity in Mishima's novels: death, love (either perceived or not) and eternity."⁹ The novel became a best seller. Mishima wrote of things of which nobody else had written — after all, Japanese society in the first post-war

⁹ Yamanouchi, H.: *The Search for Authenticity in Modern Japanese Literature*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1978, p. 140.

years was faced with many far more weighty problems from which other writers did not succeed to detach themselves the way Mishima did. He attracted attention by his style (the novel is written in the style of the I-novel (*watakushi shōsetsu* [31], much favoured in Japan, and is spoken by a mask) and his masterly use of the language, but especially by the topic, unusual in Japanese literature; that may perhaps explain why his début in novel writing was more successful than was the case with other writers.

Mishima's literary thinking and production had been influenced by both Japanese classicism and Western literature from antiquity up to the present times. As Hisaaki Yamanouchi observes regarding Mishima: "In embracing both traditional Japanese literary sensibilities and knowledge obtained from European literature he was as masterly as Sōseki and Akutagawa. In Mishima's case, however, the mode of amalgamating the two elements was far more complex than in his predecessors ... It is easy enough to detect in his works literary elements of European origin, such as Greek idealisation of physical beauty, sadism, satanism of Beaudelaire's type, and so on."¹⁰ Mishima ascribed great importance to relations between the body (outer, external world) and the soul (inner world). In his work, particularly that of the early period, we often encounter conflicts between the outer and the inner world. This thinking of his was considerably influenced by Greek philosophy where body and soul existed in an organic harmony. Initially, Mishima, too, ascribed to them an equal importance, but later, as Makoto Ueda observes, this equilibrium became disrupted and he began to ascribe a greater importance to the external world. "Finding that literature was powerless in the outer world, he came to trust his muscles more than his words."¹¹

After *Confessions of a Mask*, Mishima, in Donald Keene's words "made the crucial decision of his career when he deliberately turned his back to the confessional style and boldly moved in the domain of fiction".¹² The result was the novel *Ai no kawaki* [32] *Thirst for Love* which appeared in 1950, that is one year following the successful, though perplexedly received novel *Confessions of a Mask*. The work *Thirst for Love* was less frequently a subject of attention on the part of literary critique and scholarship. This may be due to the fact that the principal motifs in this novel are not so significantly characteristic of Mishima's work as in his best known novels. On the other hand, however, here too the conflict between the "inner world" (represented here by the chief female protagonist Etsuko) and "the outside world" (Saburō) comes out in the fore-

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 138.

¹¹ Ueda, M.: op. cit., pp. 226—227.

¹² Keene, D.: *Introduction*. In: *Yukio Mishima: Thirst for Love*. Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Company 1979, p. vi.

ground, and this work, too, has a tragic culmination of the Mishima type. Ken'ichi Yoshida [33] states that this novel "belongs among Mishima's most rounded-off works".¹³ Donald Keene expresses an equally high appreciation for it when he says that "Thirst for Love is a youthful work, but one of Mishima's best. It is the work in which he proved he was a true novelist, capable of describing any subject, character, or time, while remaining in every paragraph and sentence completely himself."¹⁴

Mishima succeeded in disembarassing himself from the narrow limits of the I-novel style and thereby differed from the majority of writers. His mastery manifested itself in the mode of processing the subject, but also in the style as such. Mishima's style exhales no warmth, it is terse, cold, intolerant and uncompromising. Aphorism, perceptible in French psychological novel, may often be felt in it. It was characteristic also of representatives of the Japan Romantics School, but that was aphorism of a different genre, stilted and overdone. In contrast to this, Mishima's aphorism is fitting, justified, logical and well-advised. Mishima's ideal was a style describing the complexness of human psyche in which he recalled Raymond Radiguet (1903—1923) whose work he came to like already in his youthful years. He endeavoured clearly, distinctly, coolly, imperturbably to create the picture of man of human emotions with the aid of words. He had discovered such an ideal in Greek literature and he apprehended it as a classical ideal. As Kenkichi Yamamoto [37] remarked: "Mishima was the first Japanese writer to have apprehended something self-evident to Europeans, viz. that Greece and classicism are synonyms."¹⁵

Mishima's preoccupation with Greek culture and the classical ideal permeated the very foundations of his expression and influenced the nature of his works. This was most manifest in his works from the first half of the 1950s. The novel *Thirst for Love*, too, reveals evident parallels with Greek tragedy, as also with French classical tragedy (particularly Jean Racine's (1639—1699) *Phèdre* (1677). Mishima himself admits to have started from French classical tragedy, Yakichi impersonating the king, Etsuko the queen, Saburō the prince and Miyo the princess.¹⁶ In modelling human emotions (Etsuko's jealousy and her boundless yearning for love), Mishima seems to have utilized the Aristotelian concept

¹³ Yoshida, K.: *Kaisetsu* [34] a Commentary. In: *Ai no kawaki* (Thirst for Love). Tokyo, Shinchō bunko [35] Shinchō Library, Shinchōsha [36] 1972, p. 199.

¹⁴ Keene, D.: op. cit., p. vii.

¹⁵ Yamamoto, K.: *Kaisetsu* A Commentary. In: *Mishima Yukio shū* [38] Collected Works of Yukio Mishima. Nihon bungaku zenshū [39] Complete Collection of Japanese Literature. Vol. 68. Tokyo, Shinchōsha 1966, p. 507.

¹⁶ Mishima, Y.: *Mishima Yukio zenshū* [40] Complete Works of Yukio Mishima. Tokyo, Shinchōsha 1981, p. 560.

of compositional structure in the unfolding of the plot and conflict. Donald Keene states in plain terms that "The story is economically structured, almost like play and the movement toward final tragedy is relentless".¹⁷

Thirst for Love is a psychological novel. At first sight it might seem, as Kenkichi Yamamoto observes, that "Mishima, who faithfully adhered to the aesthetic principles of the Greeks, believing in the external world, ought logically to have eschewed all psychological portraying ushered in by modern literature, but in this novel psychology, which must be a reflection of the inner world, takes over the role of the outward world, and the plot enfolds on the part of the external world".¹⁸ Mishima does not confine himself to a portrayal of the protagonist's inner world by means of Etsuko's inner monologue, but devotes considerable attention also to a processing of secondary personages, presented in the work as striking 'character types'. At first glance it may appear that the principal and the secondary personages are over-exposed, overdone, but in reality they are very much alive, real characters from true life. The same also applies to the portrayal of the Sugimoto family and the relations prevailing in it.

The novel *Shiosai* [41] (1954) *The Sound of Waves* occupies a special place in Mishima's writings. He wrote it following a visit to Greece (1952) at a time when his interest in and admiration of ancient culture were at their peak. He took as his pattern the episode Daphnis and Chloë. The plot of the novel is set on a little island, away from the maelstrom of the Japanese present, where life passes in a purer, although less violent stream. Here Mishima presents not only an idyllic view of the amorous relationships between the protagonists, but also takes note of the social relationships, permeated as they are with the spirit of old traditions. The principal theme is the sea, the life of simple fishermen and the amatory relation between Shinji and Hatsue. His even, narrative style, in which every word is well balanced, harmonizes well with the deliberate simplification of the personages. The intentional simplicity is reminiscent of Hemingway's *Old Man and the Sea*.

Mishima intertwined the amorous episode of the young pair with scenes from the life of fishermen and female pearl-divers and set the whole in the environment of a practically virgin nature. He combined reality with the idyllic and thus created a classical poetic work unique in contemporary world literature. Makoto Ueda remarks that *The Sound of Waves* is "a typically Mishima novel, which aims at the beauty of strength, confidence, and self-control, all derived from a belief in a harmonious world order".¹⁹ It is, however, the only one of Mishima's

¹⁷ Keene, D.: op. cit., p. vi.

¹⁸ Yamamoto, K.: op. cit., p. 509.

¹⁹ Ueda, M.: op. cit., p. 244.

works which exhales a deep faith in a harmonic arrangement of the world and that explains why it occupies a special place in his production.

The plot of the majority of Mishima's works is set in the present. This author often found inspiration in real events which he originally transformed into a literary shape, laying stress on an in-depth psychological analysis and motivation of acting of the principal hero influenced by the triple characteristic of his novels — death, love, eternity. In his novel *Ao no jidai* [42] (1950) *Green Years* as hero he describes a student who took his life when he could not manage a money-lending office which the students had set up. He portrayed the backstage of political life in the novel *Utagoe no ato* [43] (1960) *After the Banquet* in which he describes, again in his original way, psychology of advanced age and the structure of Japanese ruling class. Both these novels elicited lively discussions, and the latter even provoked a political scandal when a prominent politician who recognized himself in it, sued the author for libel.

The novel *Kinkakuji* [44] (1956) *The Temple of the Golden Pavilion* is generally considered to be Mishima's masterpiece. Here again a true event induced him to write it — a fire in the temple Kinkakuji which a young Buddhist novice had laid in 1950. Just as in the preceding cases, here, too, a tragic event served the author as the external framework of the plot as a way out of a deep psychoanalysis in which he attempted to analyse and artistically mould the mental disposition of a man destroying not only a historical monument and a "sanctuary of faith", but simultaneously also a temple which he deeply loved and which in fact was to him a symbol of everything beautiful.

In the novel *Kyoko no ie* [45] (1959) *Kyoko's House*, he endeavoured to illustrate the milieu and the atmosphere prevailing in intellectual circles in the fifties. In the work *Gogo no eikō* [46] (1963) *The Sailor Who Fell from Grace with the Sea*, he likewise drew on the present and depicts in it a group of young people who refuse to accept the morals of adults. The novel *Utsukushi hoshi* [47] (1962) *Beautiful Star*, in which Mishima's strong eschatological views are reflected, is concerned with a vision of the end of the world. But he simultaneously wrote works with clearly perceivable nationalist accents of Japanism, and those with political issues. In the novel *Kinu to meisatsu* [48] (1964) *Silk and Insight* he describes paternalistic relations prevailing in a textile manufactory and the workers' strike. The latter ends in a victory for the workers, but the factory owner who set great store by traditional relations, dies. However, his death, as K. Recho underlines, "emphasizes the senseless nature of the strike".²⁰

Mishima's open ultra-rightist views and strong nationalism manifest in the strengthening of the so-called spirit of Japanism which he proclaimed as the

²⁰ Recho, K.: op. cit., p. 53.

aesthetic foundation of Japanese culture, became particularly evident in his numerous politico-essayist writings from the second half of the sixties. In the poetic story-essay called *Eirei no koe* [49] (1966) The Voice of the Hero Spirits a séance is staged at which the spirits of the young officers who on 26 February 1936 had attempted a putsch for a military dictatorship in Japan, and spirits of the kamikaze pilots of World War II reproach the emperor to have betrayed them when he renounced his divine origin at the end of the war.

Mishima's last major work was the tetralogy *Hōjō no umi* [50] Sea of Fertility, consisting of essentially self-standing novels *Haru no umi* [51] (1966) Spring Snow, *Homba* [52] (1968) Runaway Horses, *Akatsuki no tera* [53] (1969) The Temple of Dawn and *Tennin gosui* [54] (1970) The Decay of the Angel which he completed shortly before his suicide. In this extensive work he portrays Japan's social, political and cultural development from the beginning of the 20th century until the end of the sixties. This comprehensive work is permeated with Mishima's aesthetic and moral judgments, assessments, his views of death, frequent reminiscences to Japan's past and sad, hankering recollections of the vanished glory and position of the "divine emperor".

1. 三島由紀夫 2. 川端康成 3. 荒正人 4. 朝日新聞 5. 病理的な自殺の原因 6. 楯の会 7. 殉教の美学 8. 野口武彦 9. 三島由紀夫の世界 10. 大江健三郎 11. 遅れてきた青年 12. 文芸文化 13. 日本浪漫派 14. 日本プロレタリア作家同盟 15. 新日本文学会 16. 宮本百合子 17. 徳永直 18. 壺井繁治 19. 新戯作派 20. 大宰治 21. 坂口安吾 22. 戦後派 23. 近代文学 24. 野間宏 25. 武田泰淳 26. 島尾敏雄 27. 椎名麟三 28. 中村真一郎 29. 花ざかりの森 30. 仮面の告白 31. 私小説 32. 愛の渴き 33. 吉田健一 34. 解説 35. 新潮文庫 36. 新潮社 37. 山本健吉 38. 三島由紀夫集 39. 日本文学全集 40. 三島由紀夫全集 41. 潮騒 42. 青の時代 43. 宴のあと 44. 金閣寺 45. 鏡子の家 46. 午後の曳航 47. 美しい星 48. 絹と明察 49. 英霊の声 50. 豊饒の海 51. 春の雪 52. 奔馬 53. 暁の寺 54. 天人五衰

LE PROCESSUS INTERLITTÉRAIRE ET FORME SPÉCIFIQUE DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ HISTORIQUE DE LA LITTÉRATURE VIETNAMIENNE ET CHINOISE

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La présente étude traitant de certaines questions essentielles du processus interlittéraire, met en cause la nécessité d'une recherche des formes spécifiques des communautés interlittéraires. Partant de l'exemple historique de la littérature vietnamienne, l'auteur s'efforce d'esquisser les possibilités d'application de nouveaux procédés dans l'historisme interlittéraire.

Etant donnée une reconnaissance universelle du besoin d'examiner le processus interlittéraire en tant que coopération associée à la recherche historique de la littérature nationale, on poursuit à présent une classification nouvelle, également nécessaire, des principes de base gouvernant le système du processus interlittéraire. On y met en cause les côtés positifs et les désavantages de la recherche traditionnelle des relations et affinités interlittéraires (domaine de contact génétiques, domaine structural-typologique) qui ne sont pas à même d'exprimer intégralement l'état de choses actuel dans ces relations et affinités. On parvient ainsi au domaine du processus interlittéraire qui reflète à tous égards toute la complexité du problème. Une fusion erronée de la méthode de recherche (exprimée par le terme «comparatio») avec son but est évidente, de sorte que l'on peut mettre en doute l'expression servant de toit à la science du processus interlittéraire — comparatistique littéraire — du point de vue méthodologique. L'historisme interlittéraire en tant que sous-discipline de l'histoire littéraire, a pour objet de sa recherche les relations et affinités interlittéraires (ou communautés interlittéraires) et comme but de la recherche, les lois du processus interlittéraire tendant vers une généralisation culminante, suprême — la littérature mondiale.

Le problème actuel de l'historisme littéraire contemporain — aspects nationaux-littéraires et interlittéraires — découle des catégories philosophico-méthodologiques valides du particulier et de l'universel. En outre de ces deux catégories fondamentales, il y intervient la catégorie quelque peu problématique du spécifique. Sans doute, on ne saurait séparer, isoler les deux dimensions données (nationales-littéraires et interlittéraires) d'un même phénomène (littérature), mais on peut en trouver la trace, les découvrir (elles ne peuvent pas être séparées

parcequ'il existe des liens entre elles — comme affirme Āurišin¹). On peut considérer le spécifique comme étant une catégorie indépendante, intégrale, intervenant en une relation dialectique entre les deux premières. Ce qui constitue une interaction entre le particulier et l'universel, ce sont certains éléments de ces deux catégories. La détermination de ces deux catégories de base n'admet pas de calcul taxatif des constituants individuels d'une œuvre littéraire, alors que la catégorie du spécifique permet, en une certaine mesure, un tel procédé.

En précisant l'interprétation de l'élément reçu et recevant dans le processus d'une interaction concrète entre les deux, il paraît justifiable que le terme «influence» soit remplacé par «formes de réception» ou «aperception» (réception-crédation). Il n'y a plus lieu de continuer les efforts pour rechercher une définition nouvelle, univoque, ou la plus adéquate de ce terme, discrédité pour ainsi dire, au point de vue de la méthode comparatiste littéraire. L'examen typologique des expressions littéraires artistique s'est avéré plus fonctionnel et, à proprement parler, peut se passer de ce terme. Il s'agit alors purement du domaine de recherche des contacts génétiques, car l'influence est ici le résultat de l'existence d'un certain contact. Il est à souligner que le terme «influence» est unilatéral et cela au sens d'une unilatéralité orientée précisément à contre-pied — c'est-à-dire, elle ne tient aucun compte de l'auteur qui est «influencé» (donc du phénomène recevant). Pourtant, il s'agit ici d'un certain concours, coopération entre le phénomène reçu et recevant, une certaine tension et interaction est ici engendrée. Ici on doit accorder la préférence à des termes plus à-propos, plus pertinents (impulsion — réception-crédation, proposés par D. Āurišin²), car leur utilisation indique déjà en quelque sorte, quel composant de la relation binaire, basée sur le contact, possède la fonction déterminante. Certes, la notion de «prise» (d'idées d'une autre littérature) évoque elle aussi l'activité de la part du phénomène recevant, mais est susceptible d'être comprise comme le résultat du processus contactologique entier, comme un écho univoquement positif de l'influence. En outre, la sémantique de ce concept en une telle utilisation se déplace dans une position indésirable en tant que nous visons la manière, ou la qualité de l'activité de la part du phénomène recevant. Le terme «aperception» est certainement d'une teneur plus neutrale, et au sens scientifique plus objective. Selon A. N. Veselovsky, «chaque »acte de prise« présume chez le recevant un mouvement de pensée allant à la rencontre, un contre-mouvement — une tendance analogue dans la même direction». ³ Cependant, ce contre-mouvement

¹ Āurišin, D.: *Dejiny slovenskej literárnej komparatistiky* (Histoire de la littérature comparée slovaque). Bratislava, Veda 1979.

² Ibid.

³ Cité selon: Zhirmunsky, V.: *A. N. Veselovsky (1838—1906). Izbrannye statyi*. Leningrad 1939, p. 16.

se dirige à la rencontre de quoi? De l'influence? A mon avis, ici on peut avoir recours à bon droit et dans un sens analogue au mot «émission». En tant qu'il s'agit du terme «relations intercontextuelles» (F. M. Marci, A. Popovič⁴), celui-ci évoque une appréhension non complexe de la littérature uniquement en tant qu'un «ensemble de textes», ce qui mène à une réduction du composant actif de la réception-création.

Si l'historisme interlittéraire veut être une partie de la science littéraire actuelle, il doit nécessairement parvenir par le dynamisme de son propre développement intérieur à de nouvelles notions du processus littéraire, à de nouvelles hypothèses dans le plan perspectif et à certaines corrections dans le plan rétrospectif. Il paraît que le plus difficile à juger ici est, si certaines catégories et notions sont adéquates ou non, justifiées ou non, car en beaucoup de cas nous sommes naturellement redevables à la tradition. Mais il faut aussitôt ajouter qu'on doit éviter le conservatisme, en avoir raison d'une manière créative, et en maints cas nier entièrement ses résidus dans l'intérêt d'une précision et véracité scientifiques. Même au prix que la substitution n'y soit pas encore entièrement univoque, mais scientifiquement progressive. Cela permet de déduire que, par exemple le concept de «comparaison» est déjà en une grande mesure une inexactitude anachronique et les termes: a) littérature comparée, b) littérature générale, c) influence, d) littérature comparativiste, sont peu profitables au point de vue théorique-méthodologique. Pour la bonne règle, récapitulons ici les termes le plus fréquemment usités dans les traités sur l'historisme interlittéraire: littérature, littérature comparée, littérature nationale, littérature générale, littérature vraiment universelle, littérature (vraiment) générale, littérature universelle. Cette rangée de littératures reliées par des adjectifs, voir même des adverbes, ne contribuent point à une plus grande exactitude du terme, tout au contraire elles le mettent en doute. En plus, il y a ici un échange de l'objet de l'investigation avec le mode d'investigation, car les termes «littérature comparée» et «littérature générale» indiquent partiellement les étapes ou échelons de l'objet de l'investigation, mais simultanément aussi les modes de recherche; il s'en suit qu'ils manquent la précision scientifique et ainsi ne se prêtent ni pour l'objet de recherche, ni pour la méthode. D'où découle aussi leur anachronisme. A mon avis, seuls ayant droit d'exister sont: littérature (sans épithète), littérature nationale (car une nation existe), communautés interlittéraires (car il existe des éléments communs aux littératures) et littérature mondiale (car le monde existe). Les trois derniers peuvent être légitimement considérés comme étapes de l'objet de la recherche littéraire dans le cadre de l'historisme interlittéraire. Quant à la littérature générale (relations mul-

⁴ Popovič, A.: *Teória umeleckého prekladu* (Théorie de la traduction artistique). Bratislava, Tatran 1975.

tilatérales), comment justifier et comment prouver son existence? Et puis, qu'est-ce que la littérature comparée (relations bilatérales)? En tant que l'objet d'une recherche littéraire, cela ne tient plus, car cela manque une base ferme, cela n'est ni précis, ni univoque (est-ce, ce qui est comparable, or ce que nous voulons -justement- comparer (alors tout est comparable)?) Du reste, «littérature comparée» signifie aussi «comparatistique littéraire», c'est-à-dire, science concernant le processus interlittéraire, ce qui mène sans nul doute au flou, au vague — alors est-ce, en fait, la science comme telle, ou son objet, ou bien la méthode de recherche?

L'historisme interlittéraire en tant qu'une discipline scientifique, a comme objet de recherche, les communautés interlittéraires des littératures nationales, et ses méthodes de recherche — contacts interlittéraires, affinités typologiques, etc. Si la méthodologie moderne dans la recherche littéraire demande cette nouvelle terminologie, nous devons non seulement la tolérer, car elle est usitée, mais aussi la renforcer au lieu des termes anachroniques afin d'empêcher une situation encore plus obscure et scientifiquement moins tenable. Par conséquent, les communautés interlittéraires sont une catégorie changeable ou point de vue historique et fonctionnel, alors que les termes (soit littérature comparée, ou générale) évoquent plutôt une sorte de catégorie suprême universellement constante. Il ne faut laisser au terme «comparatistique littéraire» en tant que terme historique, rien qu'une signification cognitive-classificatoire qui, par d'autres aspects, ne correspond plus au contenu moderne de la recherche interlittéraire. L'historisme interlittéraire prend deux étapes partielles de recherche à partir de la comparatistique littéraire, à savoir, l'étape de contacts génétiques et structurale-typologique, y ajoutant deux autres: a) les lois du processus interlittéraire et les catégories qui en relèvent, et b) la catégorie littéraire-historique suprême — littérature mondiale. Ainsi l'aspect gnoséologique vient encore compléter l'aspect ontologique, de sorte que la théorie du processus interlittéraire est encore renforcée dans sa justification.

Quant au terme «communauté interlittéraire», il ne doit pas être en relation mutuellement excluante avec les termes proposés par I. G. Neupokoyeva⁵ «région» ou «zone», car il me semble qu'une certaine préférence géographique du facteur unifiant est ici bien en place. Parmi les problèmes touchant aux communautés interlittéraires, ce facteur a évidemment priorité (tout particulièrement quant il s'agit des communautés interlittéraires historiques), lors même qu'il ne faut pas naturellement l'exagérer. Par contre, le facteur géographique n'exclue jamais les possibilités d'une différenciation plus détaillée au moyen d'autres facteurs ou aspects (linguistique, ethnique, idéologique etc.). Nous pouvons

⁵ Neupokoyeva, E. G.: *Istoriya vsemirnoy literatury. Problemy sistemnogo i sravnitel'nogo analiza*. Moscou, Nauka 1976.

mettre ces concepts en corrélation dans la forme «communauté interlittéraire régionale» ou «communauté interlittéraire zonale». (Il y a des cas où cela se même demande!). La nécessité de la recherche des formes spécifiques des communautés interlittéraires s'avoue très pressante, car on y découvre des vues nouvelles, l'étude mène à une réévaluation des procédés traditionnels et des attitudes conventionnelles, et à une réinterprétation du matériel.

Les problèmes ayant rapport aux relations culturelles mutuelles des Viets et des autres nations de l'Asie du Sud-Est et de l'Extrême Orient, n'ont pas été jusqu'ici complètement étudiés, lors même que cet aspect de la recherche comporte une grande signification pour une connaissance approfondie des cultures et littératures de l'Indochine de l'Est, tout spécialement dans les étapes historiques précédentes.

Ce qui caractérise les littératures de l'Asie du Sud-Est ce sont les riches et originales traditions en art, venant de la mythologie et du folklore de diverses tribus habitant dans cette partie de l'Asie aux temps reculés. Ces traditions ethno-culturelles se formaient à l'époque protohistorique de la communauté de l'Asie du Sud-Est, qui occupait alors non seulement l'Asie du Sud-Est contemporaine, mais allait jusqu'au fleuve Gange, jusqu'aux régions du sud de l'Inde, et au nord jusqu'au cours inférieur du Yang-Tsé Kiang. En dépit des différences linguistiques, beaucoup des nations provenant d'ici ont préservé aussi dans les époques ultérieures de leur développement historique, de nombreux traits communs à leur culture spirituelle (par ex. l'âge de bronze). Ce passé reculé a donné aussi «les directions de base aux contacts culturels des habitants de l'Asie du Sud-Est — vers le nord, le long du littoral de l'Extrême Orient, contournant les cultures continentales»⁶ et vers l'ouest — avec les régions de l'Inde d'aujourd'hui. Selon l'orientaliste soviétique D. V. Deopik, la culture Bac Son-Hoa Binh, au Vietnam, par exemple avait exercé une grande influence sur le développement des cultures littorales de l'Extrême Orient et son action peut être suivie même au Japon.

L'influence externe (étrangère) et l'intensité des relations folkloriques-littéraires dans la structure des traditions culturelles propres sont déterminées par le développement social général des nations. Tant le caractère, que la direction de ces contacts changent au cours du développement historique. Il n'en était pas autrement dans la région du sud-est de l'Asie qui dans la plus haute antiquité était évidemment un centre culturel développé. Ultérieurement, cependant, en raison de beaucoup de facteurs géographico-économiques (approx. à partir du 2^e siècle avant notre ère), les nations voisines (de l'Extrême-Orient et de l'Inde) vinrent à se développer plus rapidement et créaient leur propre culture originale.

⁶ *Yugo-Vostotchnaya Aziya v mirovoy istorii*. Moscou, Nauka 1977, p. 14—15.

Graduellement (aux premiers siècles de notre ère), les nations continentales de l'Asie du Sud-Est commencent à accepter la religion et la culture de leurs voisins de l'ouest et du nord, c'.-à-d. des habitants de l'Inde et des chinois. Tels enseignements religieux-éthiques parvinrent à pénétrer ici que le bouddhisme, l'hindouisme, le confucianisme, le taoïsme, accompagné chacun de sa culture artistique. Il va sans dire que l'influence indienne était plus substantielle et plus forte pour cette région. La culture indienne commença à s'étendre intensivement sur le territoire occupé à présent par la Birmanie, la Thaïlande, la Malaisie, l'Indonésie, le Cambodge, le Laos et le Vietnam; beaucoup de ses éléments et sujets s'adaptaient, où se rattachèrent aux traditions originales de la mythologie et du folklore local.

Le fameux ancien-indien épos Rāmāyana se répandit dans toute l'Asie du Sud-Est, comme aussi l'épos Mahābhārata, quoique en une mesure plus restreinte. Le bouddhisme et l'hindouisme véhiculent dans l'Asie du Sud-Est aussi les sujets de légendes et contes indiens qui sont alors adaptés et transformés dans les littératures nationales.

Une particularité caractéristique pour le développement littéraire de l'Asie du Sud-Est était une prédominance de la poésie sur les genres prosaïques. La genèse des grandes formes poétiques (surtout du poème) en tant que genre littéraire principal dans la littérature de la Thaïlande, du Cambodge et du Vietnam, se rattache à la tradition folklorique locale. On trouve de grands poèmes populaires, d'habitude avec un contenu mythologique (préservés oralement) chez maintes nations et nationalités de cette région (les Viets, les Muongs, les Thaïs et autres). «La prédominance du poème comme de la forme fondamentale du genre narratif chez les nations de l'Asie du Sud-Est, a conditionné, même en comparaison avec les régions voisines, la formation beaucoup plus retardée de la prose narrative de formes plus étendues. En comparant par exemple le processus littéraire, d'ailleurs très conforme sous plusieurs aspects, en Corée et au Vietnam, on observe qu'avec un développement synchronique des formes narratives dans la littérature de ces deux pays, un développement impétueux commence en Corée au 17^e—18^e siècle de légendes populaires et littéraires, quant au Vietnam, c'est le développement du poème.»⁷ De même, dans la même période, les écrivains vietnamiens prennent les sujets des romans chinois et créent leurs propres œuvres poétiques nationales, alors que les écrivains japonais et coréens les remanient en œuvres prosaïques. En guise d'exemple, B. L. Riftin⁸ présente le roman chinois, de valeur assez banale, du 16^e—17^e siècle «L'histoire

⁷ Riftin, B. L.: *Razvitiye traditsiy v folklore i literature srednevekovogo tipa i rol vzaimosvyazey v etom protsesse*. In: *Traditsionnoye i novoye v literaturakh Yugo-Vostotchnoy Azii*. Moscou, Nauka 1982, p. 11.

⁸ Ibid.

de Tchkhin, Yun et Tskhao» qui presque simultanément (tournant du 18^e et 19^e siècle) suscita l'intérêt du romancier japonais Bakin et du poète vietnamien Nguyen Du. Alors que Bakin écrit à base de ce roman une œuvre moraliste «L'aventure du poisson rouge», Nguyen Du l'a mis en cause pour écrire un grand poème «Plaintes d'une âme en chagrin» (ou Kim Van Kieu). Et précisément ce poème-là est devenu fameux dans le monde et fut traduit, bien plus tard, en japonais et en chinois.

A l'époque du Moyen Age les communautés littéraires régionales en Asie du Sud-Est se formaient en vertu de deux facteurs principaux. Le premier consistait en traditions nationales originales, le second en phénomènes parvenus dans les littératures de cette région à partir des anciens centres culturels voisins. «Comme en témoignent, par exemple les expériences du développement littéraire au Vietnam, concordance ou ressemblance de sa littérature classique avec d'autres littératures de l'Asie du Sud-Est est conditionnée par des sources folkloriques — évidemment communs dans leur essence à toute cette région, mais discordance (différences) avec les autres littératures de cette région (tout spécialement vers la fin du Moyen Age) relève du fait que le Vietnam était incorporé dans la sphère des contacts et relations littéraires de la région culturelle de l'Extrême Orient.»⁹

Dans le cadre de l'Asie du Sud-Est et de l'Extrême Orient nous pouvons donc étudier aussi la communauté historique spécifique de la littérature vietnamienne et chinoise, qui était conditionnée par deux facteurs de base: a) le facteur géographique, où en vue de l'action prioritaire de la culture chinoise vers la fin du Moyen Age on peut parler d'une communauté historique des littératures de l'Extrême Orient — où appartient aussi la littérature classique vietnamienne, et b) le facteur culturel-administratif, dont le principal phénomène symptomatique est le rattachement de la littérature classique vietnamienne à l'écriture et la langue chinoise, et l'éducation en général. Alors on peut considérer la communauté des littératures de l'Extrême Orient comme une communauté régionale, et la communauté historique des littératures du Vietnam et de la Chine comme lui étant zonalement subordonnée. Le rattachement étroit de la littérature classique vietnamienne à l'écriture chinoise fait ressortir un facteur trieur spécifique de cette forme développementale individuelle de la communauté interlittéraire.

La littérature vietnamienne écrite en chinois est la plus ancienne littérature au Vietnam (jusqu'ici le problème si les Vietnamiens avaient leur propre écriture avant l'arrivée des Chinois, n'a pas été définitivement résolu). Elle est très étendue, comprend tant la poésie (imitations de la poésie classique chinoise), que la littérature instructive. Comme ancêtre de la civilisation vietnamienne, on honore Si Nhiep, qui a des mérites pour avoir introduit la culture chinoise au

⁹ Ibid.

Vietnam. Le plus vieux poème vietnamien écrit en chinois, existant, est *Bach van* (Nuages blancs) de Khuong Cong Phu, un lettré vietnamien servant à la cour du souverain chinois. Pendant la dynastie Ly (1010—1225) l'enseignement confucien commença à se répandre activement au Vietnam et plus tard, pendant la dynastie Le (1428—1527) exerçait déjà une influence considérable dans ce pays (tout spécialement dans le domaine de la littérature instructive, alors que le bouddhisme et le taoïsme dominaient en poésie). Des cinq livres confuciens connus dans la littérature vietnamienne, le Livre des Vers (*Che King*) exerçait une influence toute particulière.

Au cours du long développement historique, un fait objectif agissait ici — celui «d'une cohérence continue des cultures nationales» (terme de J. Mukařovský) et l'existence, qui en dérive, de fonctions complémentaires — intégrantes (exprimant les intérêts culturelles-politiques de la cour chinoise) et différentielles (exprimant les idées du caractère national vietnamien et le patriotisme). Relié au principe culturel-administratif est ici le facteur d'une langue littéraire commune (le chinois classique). Donc, au Vietnam de la période classique il s'agissait d'un bilinguisme de la langue littéraire limité à certaines couches sociales de la communauté nationale (les lettrés confuciens, hommes de lettres, mandarins, fonctionnaires de l'administration de l'Etat) qui permettait certaines œuvres de la littérature chinoise de fonctionner en deux contextes, sans traduction. Il s'en suit que le signe caractéristique de la littérature bilingue — vietnamienne-chinoise — que les œuvres littéraires d'une de ces littératures nationales, avaient toutes les conditions préalables de fonctionner aussi dans le contexte de l'autre littérature. Il va sans dire qu'elles ne fonctionnaient pas adéquatement et d'une manière équivalente. La poésie T'ang jouissait d'une répercussion relativement sensible dans la littérature vietnamienne, alors que la poésie vietnamienne dans le style T'ang, écrite en chinois, exerçait une influence plus restreinte dans la littérature chinoise. La communauté littéraire historique vietnamienne et chinoise possédait encore un autre aspect spécifique à ce point de vue, et cela par rapport à l'écriture nationale vietnamienne *chu nôm* (créé à base des hiéroglyphes chinois ajustés aux besoins de la prononciation vietnamienne). L'écriture et la lecture de ces caractères demandaient une connaissance avancée du chinois classique. Cette écriture était compliquée, conséquemment son utilisation et sa portée étaient relativement limitées. D'où il vint une situation qu'un Vietnamien désirant lire ou écrire des œuvres dans cette langue, devait posséder une bonne commande du chinois classique, alors qu'un œuvre dans cette écriture était pratiquement inaccessible à un Chinois. Il s'agissait alors d'une forme de bilinguisme «unilatéral» où la fonction différentielle-complémentaire s'appliquait consciemment dans le cadre du processus interlittéraire sino-vietnamien. Les premiers monuments littéraires écrits en *chu nôm* en existence, viennent de la période de la dynastie Tran (1225—1400) et ce sont des commentaires sur les

cinq livres confuciens (par le lettré vietnamien Nguyen Si Co). A d'autres égards, la littérature vietnamienne écrite en *chu nôm* (tout particulièrement la poésie, pour la plupart des poèmes lyriques) comprends les œuvres les plus remarquables de la période classique au Vietnam, principalement du 18^e et commencement du 19^e siècle. Un fait présentant quelque intérêt, derechef du point de vue du processus interlittéraire, est que quelques unes de ces œuvres (comme il a été noté ci-avant) ont leur modèle dans la littérature chinoise (d'ordinaire quelque petit morceau insignifiant et peu connu en prose), alors que l'œuvre vietnamienne représente en elle-même un acte indépendant, créatif-artistique au plus haut degré, un acte qui par son aspect idéo-artistique, n'admet pas de comparaison avec le modèle original.

Ce fait important du lien entre la littérature classique vietnamienne et l'écriture tient aussi pour l'éminent poète vietnamien Nguyen Trai (1380—1442) qui écrivait en chinois classique (*wen-yen*) et aussi en *chu nôm*. La fonction différentielle dans le domaine de la forme de sa poésie (je pense à sa collection de poèmes *Quốc am thi tap* — Collection de poèmes en langue nationale) consistait en ce que Nguyen Trai insérait par endroits des vers de six ou cinq syllabes entre les huitains et quatrains classiques de sept syllabes (qui étaient caractéristiques pour la poésie T'ang), créant ainsi un nouveau rythme, inhabituel, original du vers, sans doute très près de la poésie populaire. Dans le domaine du contenu, cela comportait une compréhension patriotique de la vie du peuple, des images allégoriques d'origine folklorique et des images véridiques du malheur de la nation. La fonction unifiante complémentaire se manifestait en ce que le langage poétique de Nguyen Trai contient des allusions littéraires aux personnages confuciens classiques vietnamiens, ou sur l'histoire, sur certaines expressions vietnamiennes — des calques du *wen-yen* classiques, ses inspirations de thèmes (vie solitaire, déviation de la vie superficielle des hautes classes sociales, le respect, l'honneur, etc.) tout ce que nous trouvons, en partie, chez les grands poètes chinois de l'époque des dynasties T'ang et Sung. Le lettré vietnamien Vu Khieu dans son étude française «La poésie et la prose de Nguyen Trai» écrit à ce sujet: «Ce n'est pas par hasard que ses poèmes sont nourris de réminiscences littéraires ou d'allusions poétiques puisées dans la littérature chinoises classique. ... Il se compare souvent aux deux grands poètes chinois Do Phu et Dao Uyen Minh.»¹⁰

Les œuvres classiques chinoises (y compris l'ancien livre chinois Livre des Vers) dans les travaux de Nguyen Trai et de ses disciples n'étaient pas acceptées dans le cadre d'un contexte universel, mais étaient créativement transformées en premier lieu par rapports à la société vietnamienne. Nous pouvons caractériser le trait spécifique de ce phénomène surtout sur le matériel *Quốc am thi tap*

¹⁰ Europe, Revue Littéraire Mensuelle, Paris, 58^e Année, N° 613, Mai 1980, p. 63.

(Collection de poèmes en langue nationale) de Ngueyen Trai au moyen d'éléments et signes suivants: 1) huitains et quatrains classiques avec vers de sept syllabes — exemple d'une assimilation créative d'une littérature étrangère; 2) insertion dans ce schéma de vers de six ou cinq syllabes — élément du folklore vietnamien; 3) une compréhension spécifique des concepts concernant un gouvernement juste et fidélité au principe moral — en tant que fait de conscience nationale; 4) idées bouddhistes (par ex. le dogme de ne pas nuire à ce qui vit) — signe d'une union étroite avec le mode de penser populaire; 5) inachèvement de narration — signe d'une esthétisation universelle de la poésie; 6) un style simple — signe de rapport étroit avec la langue populaire; 7) polysémantique du mot poétique — signe universel de la poésie; 8) allusions dans les vers aux poètes chinois bien connus (par ex. Li Po) — signe de rapport contactologique; 9) image de souris comme oppresseur et parasite — signe de rapport contactologique-typologique et sens figuré des images du «Livre des Vers» (*Che King*); 10) paraphrase des proverbes vietnamiens — signe de rapports étroits avec la langue nationale; 11) culte de la poésie et du vin — inspiration universelle de la tradition poétique qui va au-delà du cadre de l'Extrême Orient.

Quant au contexte de la littérature classique vietnamienne, il serait certainement intéressant au point de vue comparatif d'examiner en plus de détails l'influence littéraire de Nguyen Trai sur l'œuvre de Nguyen Binh Khiem (spécifiquement, de faire une comparaison typologique des collections poétiques *Quốc am thi tap* et *Bach van thi tap*). Au point de vue typologique les signes communs de leurs œuvres sont l'humanisme, compréhension de simple gens, expérience humaine, sensibilité et un rapport sincère vers la nature. On doit souligner le fait que dans l'œuvre littéraire de Nguyen Trai on trouve une association, symbiose (cumulation) de plusieurs fonctions esthétiques-sociales (Nguyen Trai est le premier grand poète de sa langue natale; pendant longtemps il était le seul représentant de l'esprit étatal, héros légendaire national dans la lutte contre les ravisseurs étrangers, un symbole d'humanité). On peut donc dire à juste titre que l'œuvre poétique de Nguyen Trai possède un caractère polyfonctionnel dans le processus du développement de la littérature nationale vietnamienne. Elle exerçait et encore exerce son influence sur la fonction originale de la littérature nationale vietnamienne et sur la conscience nationale du peuple vietnamien.

Dans les conditions bilittéraires sino-vietnamiennes la traduction avait une position toute spécifique dans le sens que sa fonction informative-linguistique (communicative) cédait place à la fonction créative, qui alors devenait dominante souvent dans une telle mesure qu'il n'y avait plus lieu de parler de traduction au sens propre du mot, mais d'une nouvelle œuvre d'art, et cela à juste titre. Le contraire tenait dans les conditions bilittéraires franco-vietnamiennes de l'époque ultérieure. On peut observer que les œuvres chinoises ne se recevaient pas dans le cadre d'un contexte commun, mais au plan d'interlittéralité et cela en

conséquence du fait que, dans les conditions bilittéraires sino-vietnamiennes, les fonctions différentielles prédominaient et les critères de sélection pour la traduction visaient avant tout les besoins de la nation vietnamienne dans sa totalité. À ce point de vue, la forme bilittéraire n'existait, pas en fait, chez certains auteurs dans la littérature vietnamienne, elle n'était qu'activée à dessein dans la forme d'une symbiose spécifique (à base d'une présence dans l'œuvre d'éléments des deux systèmes nationaux-littéraires). De plus, il ne s'agit pas ici non plus d'une double domicilité de certains auteurs et leurs œuvres, mais plutôt de leur double contextes.

La plus ancienne littérature vietnamienne appartient parmi celles qui sont moins différenciées intérieurement, de sorte qu'il y a en elle cumulation de plusieurs fonctions esthétiques-sociales. La polyfonctionnalité des auteurs clef et de leurs œuvres dans le processus développemental de la littérature nationale vietnamienne peut être documentée dans l'origine et l'évolution du roman moderne comme genre littéraire. Les ouvrages de Hoang Ngoc Phach et Ho Bieu Chanh non seulement démontrent diverses formes dans l'origine du roman vietnamien, mais ces auteurs sont simultanément ses seuls représentants dans les années vingt de notre siècle. On peut les comparer fonctionnellement avec les romanciers français du 18^e et 19^e siècle, mais leur fonction dans la littérature vietnamienne ne saurait être comparée avec la fonction de chacun des auteurs cités individuellement dans la littérature française. Leur signification dans la littérature vietnamienne est polyfonctionnelle.

La fonction médiatrice de la traduction artistique dans la vie littéraire vietnamienne émana de la nécessité développementale de traduire en vietnamien les classiques de la littérature mondiale. Cela s'est fait dans la majorité des cas par l'intermédiaire de traductions secondaires (au moyen du chinois ou du français), avec un grand nombre de solutions traductrices très différentes quant au type. Alors, dans le cadre de la communauté interlittéraire sino-vietnamienne, la littérature chinoise remplissait à une certaine époque historique, une fonction extérieure médiatrice entre la littérature vietnamienne d'un côté, et la littérature européenne et japonaise de l'autre.

J'ai esquissé en grandes lignes les questions touchant la dite communauté interlittéraire, qui doit être examinée à fond; il faut analyser ses modifications, déterminer les formes et généraliser les spécificités de ce processus interlittéraire.

TÜRKISCHE BRIEFE UND URKUNDEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES EYÄLET NOVÉ ZÁMKY. III

JOZEF BLÁŠKOVIČ—VOJTECH KOPČAN, Prag—Bratislava

Nach der Einleitung die sich mit den friedensbrecherischen Aktivitäten an der ungarisch-osmanischen Grenze, sowie mit den beiderseitigen Bemühungen dieser Entwicklung Einhalt zu gebieten, z. B. durch strenge Verbote in den Friedensabkommen befaßt, veröffentlichen die Autoren vier Briefe osmanischer Statthalter und anderer Würdenträger aus Nové Zámky an den Obersten Kapitän der Hauptmannschaft der diesseits der Donau gelegenen Gebiete Paul Eszterházy in den Jahren 1670—1679.

Bei der stufenweisen Veröffentlichung der Urkunden zur Geschichte der osmanischen Provinz Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky, Uyvar) trugen wir einige Briefe der Statthalter und weiterer Würdenträger von Nové Zámky an Paul Eszterházy, den obersten Kapitän der Hauptmannschaft der diesseits der Donau gelegenen Gebiete der Bergbauhauptmannschaft, zusammen. Paul Eszterházy (1635—1713)¹ wurde zum obersten Kapitän in dieser Region im Jahre 1668 und verblieb in seiner Funktion bis zum Jahre 1681, als er durch die Abgeordnetenversammlung in Sopron zum Palatin von Ungarn gewählt wurde. Diese verantwortungsvolle Funktion trat er zu einer Zeit an, als die türkische Frage nach dem Verlust von Nové Zámky im Jahre 1663 und nach der Unterwerfung weiter Teile der West- und Mittelslowakei wieder eine große Bedeutung erlangte. An diesen Mann wandten sich die osmanischen Würdenträger in den verschiedensten Angelegenheiten, am häufigsten jedoch in Fällen von Friedensbruch und anderen Streitfragen. Als Militärbefehlshaber der West- und Mittelslowakei legte er andererseits den osmanischen Würdenträgern in Nové Zámky am häufigsten Beschwerden über Friedensbrüche durch türkische Einheiten vor.

Paul Eszterházy's Briefwechsel ist in der Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, fond P 125 (Eszterházy Pál nádor), Fasc. 44 aufbewahrt.²

¹ *Magyar életrajzi lexikon I.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1981, S. 450.

² Wir danken der Magyar Országos Levéltár, die uns die Mikrofilme zur Verfügung stellte. Der Archiv bietet leider auch bei einem Präsenzstudium dieses Fonds nur den Mikrofilm, und daher ist es uns nicht gelungen einige Stellen zufriedenstellend durchzulesen.

Die häufigsten Streitigkeiten zwischen der osmanischen Macht in Nové Zámky und der militärischen und politischen Vertretung des königlichen Ungarns stellten Steuerfragen, das Problem von Gefangenen und die Störung der Bestimmungen des 1664 in Vasvár geschlossenen Friedensabkommens dar. Die Probleme der osmanischen Besteuerung in der Provinz Nové Zámky erwähnten wir eingehender in unseren vorherigen Beiträgen.³ Kurz befaßten wir uns ebenfalls mit der Frage des Gefangenenaustausches und deren Freikauf.⁴ Da die Mehrzahl der von uns veröffentlichten Briefe Friedensbrüche durch Einfälle in das Gebiet des Feindes betrifft, ist es notwendig auch diese Fragen zu erwähnen.

Da es der osmanischen Macht nicht gelungen war auf allen Gebieten ihre Supremation durchzusetzen, erhielt auch das Grenzgebiet zwischen den Überresten von Ungarn unter habsburgischer Macht, des sog. königlichen Ungarns und dem Osmanischen Reich einen eigenartigen Charakter. Man kann sagen, daß der ganze Ofener Vilāyet eigentlich ein Grenzgebiet war. Er war nicht von der türkischen Bevölkerung kolonisiert worden, so wie dies auf großen Teilen des Balkans der Fall war, und den größten Teil der moslemischen Bevölkerung, die ins Land gekommen war, bildeten Bosnier. Diese, sowie einige wenige türkische Familien, waren nicht unter der einheimischen Bevölkerung zerstreut, um so den Ton im eroberten Land anzugeben, sie lebten vielmehr getrennt in Städten und Festungen. Das Land bekam nie einen Charakter der Zentralgebiete des Osmanischen Reiches. Dies schuf dann Spielraum für heimische Institutionen, wie z.B. für die Selbstverwaltung der Städte, Städtchen und Dörfer, die im Grunde genommen die Steuern selbst einholten und diese dann den Finanzbehörden der Provinz übergaben. Nach der Schwächung der osmanischen Macht in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts öffnete sich der Spielraum auch für die Tätigkeit der Komitate auf den teilweise oder gänzlich von den Türken besetzten Gebieten. Freilich, deren Vorstand residierte und rief die Komitatsversammlungen auf königlichem Gebiet zusammen, z.B. die der Komitate Pest-Pilis-Solt, Heves, Szolnok und Nógrád kamen in der bedeutenden grenznahen Festung und Stadt Fílakovo zusammen.

In Ungarn kam es zu einer Erscheinung, die auf anderen Gebieten an den osmanischen Grenzen nicht üblich war. Es war dies das sog. *condominium*, die Besteuerung der untertanen Bevölkerung so durch die osmanische Seite, als auch durch die ehemaligen ungarischen Landesherren.

³ Kopčan, V.: *Die osmanische Provinz Nové Zámky (Eyālet-i Uyvār)*. AAS, 21, 1985, S. 157—158.

⁴ Ebenda, S. 161. Siehe auch Blaškovič, J.—Kopčan, V.: *Türkische Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Eyālet Nové Zámky. II*. AAS, 23, 1988, S. 157—166.

Nach den anfänglichen Mißerfolgen in der antitürkischen Verteidigung in den vierziger und sechziger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts, die durch die unzureichende Stabilität der Verhältnisse auf dem Gebiet des sog. königlichen Ungarns noch komplizierter wurde, kam es in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts zu einer Konsolidierung der Verteidigung. Einen Beitrag hierzu leisteten mehrere Faktoren, einschließlich der größeren Aufmerksamkeit seitens der königlichen Körperschaften (Schaffung der obersten Hauptmannschaften), der Nutzung finanzieller Mittel aus allen Ländern der Habsburger Monarchie, sowie des Deutschen Reiches, und bis zu einem gewissen Grad auch durch die erhöhte Qualität des Heeres und des Kommandantencorps.

Die Grenze zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und dem königlichen Ungarn kann man nicht im modernen Sinn des Wortes auffassen. Das Verteidigungssystem, bestehend aus Burgen, befestigten Städten und Dörfern, Wachposten, Signaleinrichtungen und weiteren Abwehrobjekten konnte den Plünderungen osmanischer Abteile auf dem Gebiet des königlichen Ungarns nicht Einhalt gebieten. Dies begriffen die Befehlshaber der Burgen im Grenzgebiet sehr bald und begannen Gegenaktionen auf türkischem Gebiet zu unternehmen. So zwangen sie auch die osmanische Seite ein ähnliches Abwehrsystem aufzubauen. Die Feindseligkeiten und Angriffe hörten jedoch nie auf. Osmanische Truppen versuchten durch Plünderungen und Drohungen die Dörfer und Städtchen zu zwingen sich zu unterwerfen und Steuerzahlungen zu leisten, bzw. die bereits zugesagten Steuerzahlungen zu entrichten. Garnisonen der königlichen Burgen zahlten diese Aktionen meist heim, ja oft waren sie selbst Initiatoren von Einfällen tief ins osmanische Hinterland. Diese Instabilität des Grenzgebiets bedeutete einen ständigen Kleinkrieg, an dem meist irreguläre Truppen, wie die Martalosen auf der türkischen Seite und die Heiducken auf der ungarischen Seite schmarotzten. In kleinen Gruppen drangen sie tief hinter das Grenzgebiet hinein, plünderten und schleppten Menschen in Gefangenschaft ab. Beide Seiten wurden sich bald dessen bewußt, daß ihnen dies mehr Schaden als Nutzen bringt und versuchten es zu vermeiden. Der Friedensvertrag, geschlossen im Februar 1568 von der kaiserlichen Gesandtschaft unter der Führung von A. Vrančić, K. Tieffenbach und A. von Wyys bringt auch Maßnahmen gegen diese Räuber.⁵

Dieser Artikel des mehrmals verlängerten Friedensvertrags verhinderte den Kleinkrieg im Grenzgebiet jedoch nicht, ja anfangs der neunziger Jahre des 16. Jahrhunderts kam es zu einer so großen Eskalation der Feindseligkeiten, daß

⁵ Hammer, J. von: *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 3. Pesth 1828, S. 515: „den Woiwoden soll aller Anlass, den Frieden zu stören, benommen seyn. Das Gesindel der Haiduken, Asaben, Martalosen, Lewenden und Haramije oder Räuber, soll im Zaume gehalten; jeder Raub, sey es von Oerten oder Menschen, zurückgestellt, die Thäter bestraft, die Ueberläufer ausgeliefert werden.“

beide Seiten die Lösung des Problems nur in einer kriegerischen Auseinandersetzung sahen.⁶

Der bei der Mündung des Flusses Žitava (1606) geschlossene Friedensvertrag, der den sog. Fünfzehnjährigen Krieg (1593—1606) beendete, zog auch die schlechten Erfahrungen der vergangenen Jahre in Betracht und erarbeitete genauer die Maßnahmen gegen die Friedensbrüche an den Grenzen. Der dritte Artikel des Vertrags bestimmte, daß die Tataren und die osmanischen Abteile keine Einfälle in das Gebiet des königlichen Ungarns begehen dürfen. Der vierte Artikel wieder verbot die Einfälle der kaiserlichen Truppen ins türkische Gebiet. Mit der Abschaffung des Banditismus befaßte sich der fünfte Artikel des Vertrags. Ihm zufolge sollten alle Übertretungen gegen den Frieden den höheren Befehlshabern gemeldet, die Schuldigen nach dem Gesetz bestraft und die beschlagnahmten Sachen den ursprünglichen Besitzern zurückerstattet werden. Auf diese Art soll von beiden Seiten gleiche Gerechtigkeit geübt werden. Der sechste Artikel verbot schließlich Überfälle auf Festungen sowie deren Eroberungen, ob schon mit Gebrauch von Waffen oder durch List.⁷

Dieser Friedensvertrag wurde siebenmal erneuert und ergänzt, zuletzt 1649 in Istanbul und behielt seine Gültigkeit mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert lang.

Ähnlich wie die beiden vorangehenden Friedensverträge verbot auch der Vertrag zwischen Kaiser Leopold I. und Sultan Mehmed IV., abgeschlossen am 1. August 1664 in Vasvár (Eisenburg), Feindseligkeiten und Raubüberfälle auf dem Gebiet des Feindes, und solche Taten sollten an beiden Seiten streng bestraft werden.⁸

Wie jedoch den veröffentlichten Briefen zu entnehmen ist, wurden diese Anordnungen mißachtet, und das ziemlich häufig.

Der erste Fall eines Friedensbruchs kaiserlicherseits, auf den der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Küçük Mehmed Pascha am 5. Februar 1671 mit einem Brief an P. Eszterházy reagierte, war der Bau einer Brücke über den Fluß Váh in der Nähe des Städtchens Hlohovec. Dieser Fall ist auch aus anderen Quellen bekannt und er wird auch von M. Matunák in seiner Arbeit *Nové Zámky unter*

⁶ Bayerle, G.: *Ottoman Diplomacy in Hungary. Letters from the Pashas of Buda 1590—1593*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1972, S. 8 ff.

⁷ Fekete, L.: *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Eszterházy 1606—1645*. Budapest 1932, S. 4 türkischer Text, S. 208—209 deutsche Übersetzung. Nehring, K.: *Adam Freiherrn zu Hrebersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel. Ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606)*. München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag 1983, S. 59—60.

⁸ *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn. Die Ungarnfeldzüge des Großwesirs Köprülüade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha 1663 und 1664 nach den „Kleinodien der Historien“ seines Siegelbewahrers Hasan Ağa*. Übers. von E. Prokosch. Graz—Wien—Köln, Styria Verlag 1976, S. 218.

*türkischer Herrschaft 1663—1685*⁹ angeführt. Die Quelle seiner Information war das Werk von J. C. Feig.¹⁰ Matunák schreibt, daß „im Oktober 1671 brannten die Türken ein Dorf zwischen Nitra und Hlohovec nieder mit der Begründung, es hätte keine Steuern entrichtet. Die Bewohner wurden entweder erschlagen oder verschleppt. An die dreihundert Türken kamen auch nach Hlohovec. Sie besichtigten den Fluß Váh und als sie unweit der Stadt am Fluß eine Brücke vorfanden, fragte deren Befehlshaber den Befehlshaber von Leopoldov, wann sie diese Brücke erbaut hätten. Dieser antwortete ihnen, er hätte diese Brücke bereits fertig aufgefunden und er würde sich bemühen sie zu behalten. Dann schickten sie sechshundert Türken, die die Brücke hätten vernichten sollen, aber als der Befehlshaber von Leopoldov aus der Kanone einen Schuß abgeben ließ, zogen sie sich zurück.“¹¹ Der Brief des Statthalters von Nové Zámky erfaßt die Anfänge dieses Streits. Die Garnison der neuen Festung Leopoldstadt (Leopoldov) errichtete die Brücke über den Fluß Váh irgendwann im Winter 1671. Sie diente der Leopoldstädter Garnison zu einem raschen Übergang ans linke Flußufer. Der Statthalter von Nové Zámky wollte diesen Bericht über den Brückenbau überprüfen, und das beim kompetentesten Darsteller ungarischerseits, dem obersten Kapitän der Gebiete diesseits der Donau, und diesen darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß ein solcher Brückenbau ein Akt gegen den Frieden sei. Küçük Mehmed Pascha, der längere Zeit an der Grenze verbrachte, wußte, daß die Vernachlässigung einer solchen Angelegenheit ernste Folgen haben könnte, wie z.B. im Falle von Sührab Mehmed Pascha, der im Jahre 1669 in Nové Zámky hingerichtet wurde. Er fragt daher P. Eszterházy, ob die Brücke schon fertig sei, auf wessen Anordnung man baue und ob der ungarische Adel davon unterrichtet sei. Gleichzeitig kündigt er an, er würde den Großwesir davon in Kenntnis setzen und die Brücke in Begleitung bedeutender Würdenträger persönlich besichtigen. Er fordert Eszterházy auf, die grenznahen Garnisonen zu benachrichtigen, daß er nach Hlohovec mit friedlichen Absichten komme.

Wir wissen nicht, ob Küçük Mehmed Pascha die Brücke auch wirklich besichtigte und wie sich der Streit weiter entwickelt hat. Der englische Naturwissenschaftler und Arzt Edward Brown, der wahrscheinlich im März 1671¹² dieses

⁹ Die slowakische Herausgabe in *Slovenské pohľady*, 18, 1898, in ungarischer Sprache Nitra 1901, die neue Ausgabe *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí* (Leben und Kämpfe im slowakisch-türkischen Grenzgebiet), Bratislava, Tatran 1983, S. 217—299.

¹⁰ *Wunderbahrer Adlers-Schwung oder fernere Geschichts-Fortsetzung Ortelii Redivivi et Continuati* I. Wien 1694.

¹¹ Matunák, M.: op. cit., S. 255.

¹² Brown, E.: *Cesta z Komárna do banských miest v Uhorsku a odtiaľ do Viedne* (Die Reise von Komárno in die Bergbaustädte in Ungarn und von dort aus nach Wien). Martin, Osveta 1975, S. 15.

Gebiet durchreiste und von Leopoldov aus auch Hlohovec besuchte, das kürzlich von den Türken niedergebrannt worden ist, erwähnt die Brücke nicht.¹³

Über die weiteren Geschicke dieser Brücke im Herbst 1671 erfahren wir aus Matunáks zitiertem Werk. Anderenorts führt J. C. Feig an, daß der Kurier, der im Sommer 1671 vom kaiserlichen Residenten an der Porta, G. B. Casanova nach Wien kam, drei Forderungen des Großwesirs Köprülüzade Ahmed Pascha mitbrachte, deren erste war „Das die unsern der Leopold-Statt über die Waag geschlagene Brücken abgeworffen“.¹⁴

Da der Bau einer neuen Abwehreinrichtung die Zustimmung der osmanischen Seite erforderte, wurde die Brücke als Tat gegen den Frieden wahrscheinlich abgerissen.

Viel zahlreicher waren beiderseitige Friedensbrüche in Form von Überfällen, Diebstählen, sowie Verschleppungen von Mensch und Vieh. Dieses Problem zog sich seit Beginn der osmanischen Gewalt in Ungarn bis zu deren Ende. Auch die relativ kurze Geschichte der Provinz Nové Zámky ist reich an Begebenheiten dieser Art. Jedes Jahr kam es zu kleineren oder größeren Überfällen von der osmanischen oder der anderen Seite, es wurden Menschen verschleppt um sie dann für Geld umtauschen zu können, Vieh und Pferde wurden davongejagt, Lebensmittel als auch Erzeugnisse von Handwerkern geraubt.

Widmen wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit der Begebenheit, die die zwei Briefe der Statthalter von Nové Zámky aus den Jahren 1671 und 1679 an Paul Eszterházy bringen. Angriffe von Heiducken aus Nitra und Levice, aber auch aus kleineren Festungen auf dem Gebiet, das von der osmanischen Macht unmittelbar kontrolliert wurde, sowie Verschleppungen von Menschen, anscheinend Türken, das Vertreiben von Vieh konnten eine Heimzahlung für ähnliche Taten türkischerseits sein. Dies werden wir heute schon kaum erfahren. Es sei jedoch gesagt, daß die angespannten Beziehungen im Grenzgebiet auch durch die Bedingungen hervorgerufen wurden, unter denen die ungarischen Truppen in den Grenzfestungen lebten. In diesen Festungen, vor allem in den größeren, waren mehrere Waffengattungen untergebracht, die ihre eigenen Befehlshaber hatten und die auf unterschiedliche Art verpflegt wurden. Während die deutschen Truppen über die Bratislavaer Kammer aus den Mitteln des Hofkriegsrats bezahlt wurden, war die Bezahlung des ungarischen und kroatischen Heeres eher sporadisch und meist mußte es sich die Mittel für ihren Lebensunterhalt

¹³ „We came afterwards to Leopoldstadt, a noble regular Fortification with six Bastions, where the young Count de Souches commanded, to whom I delivered Letters, and received many favours from him. Afterwards I passed the River and came to Freistat, a large fair Town but lately burned by Turk.“ Brown, E.: *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia...* London 1673. Hrsg. von K. Nehring. München 1975, S. 86.

¹⁴ Feig, J. Ch.: op. cit., S. 223.

selbst aufreiben. Ein solches Geschick hatte auch die ungarische Garnison von Levice, die in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren des 17. Jahrhunderts vom Grafen Paul Csáky befehligt wurde.¹⁵ Ähnliche Verhältnisse herrschten anscheinend auch in Nitra, Šintava und anderen kleineren Festungen. Levice war jedoch einer der Stützpunkte der unbesoldeten Armee von Grenzfestungen, die umherzog und plünderte, und das nicht nur in der nahen Umgebung — also auf dem Gebiet, das zum Eyālet Nové Zámky gehörte — sondern auch an entfernten Orten von Niederungarn. Gemeinsam mit den Truppen anderer Festungen, wie z.B. Fiľakovo, Krupina und weiterer, drangen sie bis in die Umgebung von Szeged und verjagten dort Herden von Vieh und Pferden, ebenso suchten sie jedoch auch nach Kleidung, karmesinroten Stiefeln, Kalpakten, Mänteln, Bein Kleidern, Pferdegeschirr und -satteln sowie Tschabraken.¹⁶

Die so gewonnene Beute diente nicht nur zum Lebensunterhalt und Bekleidung der Soldaten und derer Familien, größtenteils wurde damit gehandelt, und zwar so in den Festungen, als auch bei Jahrmärkten. Dies alles wäre natürlich ohne den Schutz des Hauptmanns der Garnison nicht möglich gewesen. Paul Csáky respektierte keine Obrigkeit, nicht einmal den obersten Kapitän oder General der Bergregion P. Eszterházy, und sicherte dem Heer, das unter seinem Kommando stand, Straflosigkeit. Dies war verständlich, da so der Kapitän als auch seine Offiziere sich an der Beute beteiligten. Es überrascht daher nicht, daß der Name Levice in den Briefen osmanischer Würdenträger so oft erwähnt wird.

Die gleiche Situation war auf der osmanischen Seite, der ein Teil der unterworfenen Dörfer die Steuerzahlungen verweigerte, wodurch ein Teil der Sipahis aus der Festung Nové Zámky mittellos blieb. Anfangs der siebziger Jahre des 17. Jahrhunderts bemühte sich die osmanische Seite diesen Trend zu ändern,¹⁷ anscheinend ohne größeren Erfolg. Dies führte dann zu einer Verschlechterung der Beziehungen mit dem Wiener Hof und schließlich auch zum Krieg im Jahre 1683.

Freilich nicht alle Probleme und Streitigkeiten wurden derart auf des Messers Schneide getrieben, viele der Streitfragen konnten friedlich und zur Zufriedenstellung beider Seiten geschlichtet werden. Dies beweist auch der Brief aus dem Jahre 1670, als es beide Seiten zustande brachten sich zu einigen und einander bei der Lösung von Streitfragen entgegenzukommen.

¹⁵ Benczédi, L.: *Životné pomery vojakov pohraničných pevností v 17. stor.* (Lebensverhältnisse der Soldaten der Grenzfestungen im 17. Jahrhundert). In: *Historické štúdie* XVIII/1, 1985, S. 98—99.

¹⁶ Ebenda, S. 99.

¹⁷ Kopčan, V.: *Die osmanische Provinz*, S. 161 f.

Der alaybeg von Nové Zámky Hacı Ahmed schlägt dem General der Hauptmannschaft der diesseits der Donau gelegenen Gebiete p. Eszterházy ein Treffen beider Seiten an einem unbekannten Ort vor.

Nové Zámky, 20. Juni 1670

Orig.: MOL Budapest, P. 125, Fasc. 44, No. 4164

Mi Ersök uy varanak Eggik Fö Gondya viselője Tanatsa Hacı Ahmet olai Bek Az ur Istentül kivanunk Kldnek mindön iokat mint szomszed vitez urnak.

Nagos ur Ertyök a Ngod koszank valo io akar attyat hogi oda szabad volna jönni az mi reszünkrül valaszat a kit Keldtül io neven vesztök, hanem Nadat, erre kerjük ezön vasarnapra iüiön öt hatan ⁺és onnand had vigyek föl a katonak a hirt minkis Kdnek a szomszedsagban meg erjee köztünk szolgálni Kedis nekünk paranczolyak a szomszedsagban.

Az ur Isten tartsa Nadat nagi sok io hoszu eztendeig.

Datum uy var 20 die juni Anno Domini 1670.

⁺Am linken Rand lovas husszara?

Tergum: Az Tekintetös és Nagos Fraknoi Eszterhaszi Pal Frakno varanak es tartomanyanak örökös ura Rommai szentölt vitez, soproni varmegienek Fö Ispa(n)ya Fölsegös Rommai Czaszar es magyar orszagi Fö Hof mestöre es az Dunan innend Levö veg haszainak generalysa es Czobrancz Fö es örökös ispanya nekünk szomszed vitez urnak adasek ez Level

ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir, einer der Hauptfürsorger und Berater der Festung Nové Zámky, Hadschi Ahmed alaybeg.¹

Wir wünschen Euer Gnaden vom Herrgott alles gute als unserem heldenhaf-ten Herrn Nachbarn.

Hochwohlgeborener Herr! Wir begreifen euren guten Willen, den sie uns dadurch bewiesen haben, daß wir hingehen können (wohin wir es verlangt hatten). Die Antwort von Euer Gnaden nahmen wir mit Befriedigung an. Wir ersuchen jedoch Euer Gnaden diesen Sonntag in Begleitung von fünf — sechs

¹ *Alaybeg* — ein Offizier des Lehens-(Sipahi-)heeres, Kommandant der Militäreinheit, des *alay*. Besitzer eines größeren Lehens (*zeamet*). Nach der Eroberung von Nové Zámky hielten sich in der Festung auch die *alaybegs* aus den Sandschaks Požega, Osijek, Gran und Srem, sowie der *alaybeg* von Nové Zámky auf. Siehe: Blaškovič, J.: *The Period of Ottoman-Turkish Reign at Nové Zámky (1663—1685)*. ArOr, 54, 1986, S. 111.

Husaren zu kommen und eure Soldaten sollen (unsere Ankunft) nach oben melden. Wir wollen auch in der Nachbarschaft von Euer Gnaden einen gemeinsamen Dienst leisten. Euer Gnaden sowie uns empfahlen in der Nachbarschaft (den Frieden zu bewahren).

Der Herr Gott möge Euer Gnaden viele und lange Jahre bewahren.

Datum Nové Zámky, den 20. Juni Anno Domini 1670.

Adresse:

Dieser Brief möge überreicht werden dem wohlgeborenen und gnädigen Paul Eszterházy aus Fraknó,² dem ewigen Herrn der Festung und Provinz Fraknó, dem gesegneten römischen Helden, dem Obergespan des Komitats Sopron, dem Haupthofmeister seiner Majestät dem römischen Kaiser und von Ungarn, dem General der diesseits der Donau gelegenen Grenzfestungen, dem obersten und ewigen Gespan von Csobancz,³ unserem nachbarschaftlichen heldenhaften Herrn.

II

Der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Küçük Mehmed Pascha an den General der obersten Hauptmannschaft der diesseits der Donau gelegenen Gebiete P. Eszterházy in der Angelegenheit des neuen Brückenbaus über den Fluß Váh bei Hlohovec. Er fragt, ob die Brücke schon fertiggestellt sei und auf wessen Anordnung sie gebaut werde? Er macht darauf aufmerksam, daß dies ein Bau gegen den Friedensvertrag sei und setzt Eszterházy davon in Kenntnis, er würde die Pforte davon benachrichtigen.

Nové Zámky, 5. Februar 1671

Orig.: MOL Budapest, P. 125, Fasc. 44, No. 4154

Mi Küczük Mehemet Passa, az Hatalmas es Gyöszhetetlen Török Czaszarnak, az Dunan inntent levö Hadainak Gond viselője, Ersök Uy Var Veg varanak heli tartoya.

Istentül kivanunk minden Jokat, mint szomszed vetezlő ur baratunknak.

Az Hatalmas és Gyöszhetetlen Török Czaszarunk(nak) kesze alat levő Galgocz nevű varosanak elődte az Vag viszen, az Szent bekesege ellen valo egi hidat keztek czinalni hiron kelöt azert innted keszeritetet tülünk levelet küldeni ennek utana keryök Kegielmedet hogi ha vagione ez az hid avagi ninczen, es ki hirivel czinaltatiak, az fő uraknak, vagione ez hirökkel az mi reszünkrül az szent

² Fraknó, heute Forchtenstein im Burgenland Österreich — Burg und Herrschaft seit dem Jahre 1622 in den Händen der Familie Eszterházy.

³ Csobanc, Burg im Komitat Veszprém.

bekesség ellen semmi dolgot nem czelekszünk, mert a mi Hatalmas és Gyöszhetetlen Török Czaszarunk nem engedi es ha valaki valami oli dolgot intézne is meg büntetik ha kedig az maga földene, Czak egi nek alat vagi egi karot ütni, nem engedi az dolog ig leven igön kerem Kedet erre nekünk bizonios valaszt ıryon, mink is a mi Hatalmas es Gyöszhetetlen Czillag veszirnek tudtara adgiuk, mert ha az illien dolgokat meg nem ielentjuk, hirre nem teszök, minket bünösse tesznek, mi io akaronk, ennek az hidnak vagione valo dologa, vagi ninczen, ha kedig valo dolog is, ki hirevel czinalljak biszoniossan és nilvan nekünk Ked ırya meg, mink is azzon szerint igazsan oda ala hirre adgiok / ennen a hidnak az dolga ig leven ugian most az meg halt Szisz Vas Basanak az Fya (Szeidi Memet Passanak Fya) Szeidi Mehemet Passanak Kaimekamyaz Mustafa Agat, mellenk veven magam elmegiok nezni ezt a hidat, azert az veg varakban hirt adion, hogi mink gonosz ıaratban nem ıarunk, Golgoczra a ki lovas megion, igaz dologban ıar, senkinek semmi gonoszara nem ıarnak, hirre tegie Kegelman ez a hid felöl nezni magam szemevel akarom meg latni, mi io akaronk az két Hatalmas Gyöszhetetlen Czaros köszöt, a szent bekesség ellen vét három nap alat hol hidat hol varat czinalni kesztek, az ki az illien dolgot czelekszi az Czarosnak elenne vagion, az illien embörnek soha semmi io nem ıön az maga feyere vala mi gonosz ıövedelömtul nem menti magat, az elő ur I(ste)n, az kit az Szent bekesség ellen dolgot czelekszik, büntetes nélkül, nem szenvedı, mert az szent bekesség erös leven az szeginség és az töb urakis bekesegeben lesznek, az szent bekesegeben ellen valami leg kisseb dolog is törtennek is az szeginség es a többys pusztulasra menendö, erre Ketül bizonios valaszat varunk az levelünk hoszp embörünk által ıgiön keryok Kedet.

I(ste)n tarcsa Kmdet sok nagi io egesegben.

Datum Uy Var 5 die Febru(ar)i 1671

Tergum: Az Tekintetös Nagos Vitezlo urnak Magyar orszagi Fő Generalissanak nekünk szomszed vitez urnak adassek ez level.

ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir Küçük Mehemed Pascha der Fürsorger der vor der Donau liegenden Heere des mächtigen und unbesiegbaren türkischen Kaisers, Statthalter der Grenzfestung Nové Zámky.

Wir wünschen Euch als unserem Freund und heldenhaften Herrn Nachbarn vom Gott alles Beste!

Am Fluß Váh vor der Stadt Hlohovec,¹ die unter der Hand unseres mächtigen und unbesiegbaren türkischen Kaisers ist, habt ihr begonnen eine Brücke zu

¹ Hlohovec, ein Städtchen am linken Váh-Ufer im Komitat Nitra.

bauen, was gegen den heiligen Frieden ist. Da wir darüber Nachricht erhielten, waren wir deshalb gezwungen von uns einen Brief zu schicken. Danach verlangen wir von Euer Gnaden (uns mitzuteilen), ob diese Brücke besteht oder nicht? Auf wessen Anordnung wird sie gebaut? Und ob die Magnaten davon wissen?

Unsererseits werden wir nichts tun gegen den heiligen Frieden, weil dies unser mächtiger und unbesiegbarer türkische Kaiser nicht gestattet. Und würde jemand so eine Tat begehen, wird man ihn bestrafen. Und würde jemand auf eigenem Gebiet oder auch nur einen Pfahl in den Boden rammen, auch dies erlaubt (unser Kaiser) nicht.

Da sich die Dinge so verhalten, bitten wir Euer Gnaden sehr, schreibt uns darüber eine verlässliche Antwort. Auch wir teilen dies unserem mächtigen und unbesiegbaren großen² Wesir mit. Weil wenn wir eine solche Angelegenheit nicht melden, davon keine Nachricht geben, wird man uns dafür beschuldigen.

Unser Gönner! (Teilt uns mit), ob es diese Brücke wirklich gibt oder nicht? Euer Gnaden möge uns bestimmt und klar schreiben, wenn dies wahr ist, auf wessen Anordnung sie gebaut wird? Und wir geben danach einen wahrhaftigen Bericht nach unten (d.h. an die Porta).

Da die Angelegenheit der Brücke so ist, (teile ich euch mit), daß ich (als Begleitung) Mustafa aga, den kaimmakam³ des Seydi Mahmet Pascha,⁴ den Sohn des seligen Šiš Vaš Pascha⁵ mitnehme und mir diese Brücke persönlich anschauen komme.

Daher (bitte ich), geben sie davon Nachricht in die Grenzfestungen, daß wir mit keinem bösen Willen dorthin kommen. Der Reiter, der nach Hlohovec gehen wird, geht in einer gerechten Sache, und niemandem wird etwas zu Leide getan. (Den Grenzfestungen) möge Euer Gnaden mitteilen, daß ich mit eigenen Augen sehen will (wie es mit der Wahrheit) um diese Brücke (steht).

Unser Gönner! Diese (Leute), die schon drei Tage⁶ auch die Brücke auch die Festung zu bauen begannen,⁷ sündigen gegen den heiligen Frieden, der (abge-

² Im ungarischen Text „Czillag“ (Stern) mit der Bedeutung hervorragend, groß.

³ *Kaimmakam* — Stellvertreter des Statthalters zur Zeit von dessen Abwesenheit, oder zur Zeit der Abberufung des alten und Antritt des neuen Statthalters. Ein gewisser Mustafa Aga wird als *kethüda* (Sekretär) des Statthalters von Nové Zámky Mahmud Pascha im Januar 1677 erwähnt. Siehe Blaškovič, J.—Kopčan, V.: *Türkische Briefe und Urkunden. I.* AAS, 22, 1986, S. 149 f.

⁴ Seydi Mehmed Pascha war Statthalter von Nové Zámky seit Mai—Juni 1671, also erst einige Monate nach dem Brief von Küçük Mehmed Pascha.

⁵ Šiš Vaš Pascha ist ein Spitzname eines osmanischen Würdenträgers, aber es ist uns nicht gelungen diesen zu identifizieren.

⁶ Der Text ist unklar.

⁷ Er meint die Festung Leopoldstadt (Leopoldov), deren Bau jedoch im Jahre 1665 begonnen wurde und der im Jahre 1671 im großen und ganzen abgeschlossen war.

schlossen) ist zwischen zwei mächtigen und unbesiegbaren Kaisern. Wer eine solche Tat begeht, der ist gegen den Kaiser. Einem solchen Menschen kommt nichts Gutes an den Kopf und er entkommt den bösen Folgen nicht!

Der lebendige Herr Gott (bestraft) jenen, der gegen den heiligen Frieden etwas unternimmt! Er bleibt nicht ohne Strafe, weil der heilige Frieden stark ist, so die Armen als auch die Herren alle wollen (leben) in Frieden. Wenn nur das geringste gegen den Frieden geschehen würde, würden so die Armen als auch die anderen sterben. Wir erwarten von Euer Gnaden eine bestimmte Antwort darauf durch unseren Mann, der (ihnen) unseren Brief bringt. Wir bitten Euer Gnaden sehr darum!

Gott möge Euer Gnaden in sehr guter Gesundheit erhalten.

Datum Nové Zámky, am 5. Februar 1671

Adresse: Dieser Brief solle dem edlen und wohlgeborenen heldenhaften Herrn, dem ungarischen Hauptgeneral, unserem nachbarlichen heldenhaften Herrn überreicht werden.

III

Der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Seydi Mehmed Pascha an den General der Hauptmannschaft der diesseits der Donau gelegenen Gebiete P. Eszterházy in Sachen des Friedensbruchs im Grenzgebiet durch die Garnisonen von Nitra, Levice und anderer Festungen.

Nové Zámky, 19. Juni 1671

Orig.: MOL Budapest, P 125, Fasc. 44, No. 4165

Mi az Hatalmas és Győzhetetlen Török Czaszarnak a Dunan Innen levő Haddainak Szerdarya Erssek Uy var Veg Haszanak Heli tartoja es paranczoloja nag Veszer Szeidi Mehemet Passa

Mindön hoszank illendő ajánlasoknak utana Istentül kivanunk mindön iokat mint szomszed vitez urnak

Ennek előtte Nitra felől enni hani haiduk a Surani palankbul ennihani ökröt es tehent el loptak, mai napig tartyak, el nem adtak, azert is szomszed vitezlő ur, az ket Czaszar köszöt valo Szent bekesegenek nem illet ig czelekedni, a szomszedsagban egi masnak ezt czelekedgyök egi masnak udtyat meg lesven marhayat el viven az mezön levő vigiaszokat szet verven es az embereinket el viven sarczon eresztik ki, ez immar enni hani szor valo dolog, az Uy vari utat, levai, nitrai felől hatarrul at iöven, az udtiokat meg alvan föl verven ot a hetet el vidtek, szasz ket szasz talleron ereszték ki ezektül a het varbeliektül ez ig leven de tik csak ezt el halgadtyatok a ket Czaszar egi masnak adot ket ahtnamet ez ellen vagion az szent bekesseg ellen valo dolgot Czelekösznek az illen dolgot Czelekeszték nem felteke ezeket a dolgokat meg nem mondyke, mind a ket

reszre, azért az szomszedsagban illien dolgokat nem kellenek Czelekedni, ez a dolog nem iora megjön, az ki enek oka es a tehete, ki tudakoszok, soha meg ez ideglen az Pasztor aitul az leirt Lovat nem vidtek el, enek előtte Leva felől enni hani Lovas iöven a ket Czaszarnak adoza iobagitul tisz lovat el vidtek a pasztoroktul, ezön kívül Surani felől tizenegi marhajokat el viven maig naponis fogva tartyak Ezert szomszed ur az veg varakban leveleket külgietek hagiatok meg illien dolgokat ne Czelekedyenek az ki az szent bekeseg ellen vagion a Surani marhat, ahol az erdön tartanak meg hadgyak azért mert Czeteni resz- teken Lovasson vannak ot hordoszak, ha a Szent bekesegnek iovat akaryatok ezt az Surani marhat meg küldesetek hadgyatok meg emengi utazoknak külgietek meg, a Szent bekeseget meg tartsatok, erre a Levelre bizonios valasztot varjuk mentül leg hamarab minkis szomszedsagban szerdtetel leszek

Isten tartson nagi io egesegben mint szomszed vitez urat es valaszt varunk mentül leg hamarab, ez level hoszo embertül

Datum Uy var 19 die yuni 1671

Tergum: Az Tekintetös Nagos Kegmes Generalis urnak Czaszar koronas kirali ü felsege Tanaczanak magyar orszagi Fő heli tartoianak, szered varaban levőnek nekünk szomszed vitezlő urnak adassek ez level

ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir, *serdar*¹ der vor der Donau liegenden Heere des mächtigen und unbesiegbaren türkischen Kaisers, Statthalter und Befehlshaber des Grenzhouses (der Festung) Nové Zámky, der große Wesir Seydi Mehemet Pascha.

Nach allen Empfehlungen, wie es sich von uns dem heldenhaften Herrn Nachbarn ziemt, wünschen wir ihnen vom Gott alles Beste.

Unlängst kamen einige Heiducken aus Nitra und stahlen aus der *Palanke*² Šurany einige Ochsen und Kühe. Bis zum heutigen Tag halten sie sie und haben sie (noch nicht) verkauft. Deshalb (schreiben) wir ihnen, als unserem Nachbarn, dem heldenhaften Herrn, weil es sich nicht ziemt so zu handeln gegen den heiligen Frieden, der zwischen den beiden Kaisern (abgeschlossen) ist. (Es ziemt sich nicht) unter Nachbarn solche Taten zu begehen, die Gelegenheit zu erspähen und das Vieh zu stehlen. Sie trieben unsere Wärter auf den Feldern auseinander und nahmen unsere Leute gefangen. Und erst (nach Bezahlung) von Lösegeld gaben sie ihnen die Freiheit zurück.

Dies ist eine Angelegenheit, die sich einige Male wiederholt hat. (Eure Leute) aus Nitra und Levice haben die Grenze auf dem Weg nach Nové Zámky

¹ *Serdar* — Befehlshaber der Armee.

² *Palanke* — kleinere Festung aus Holz und Lehm.

überschritten, überfielen sie dort und nahmen sieben Leute gefangen. Sie ließen sie frei (erst nach Bezahlung) von hundert—zweihundert Talern. Das verschweigt ihr, daß das (eure Leute) waren aus den Grenzfestungen.

Beide Kaiser tauschten zwei *ahdname*³ und wer eine Tat gegen den heiligen Frieden begeht, der ist gegen (*ahdname*). Fürchtet ihr euch nicht, wenn ihr eine solche Tat begeht, daß wir beiden Seiten sagen, daß man solche Sachen nicht tun soll! Aus einer solchen Sache kommt nichts Gutes hervor. Wer konnte dies verursachen, wer konnte dies machen, fragen wir. Noch niemals haben unsere von den Schäfern ein solches Pferd, wie sie schreiben, genommen. Unlängst kamen einige Reiter aus Levice die zehn Pferde von den Hirten wegnahmen, von den Untertanen, die beiden Kaisern Steuern zahlen. Außerdem nahmen sie aus Šurany elf Stück Vieh und halten es noch fest.

Herr Nachbar! Schickt Briefe in die Grenzfestungen, damit sie solche Sachen nicht machen sollen, weil das ist gegen den heiligen Frieden. Das Vieh aus Šurany halten sie im Walde und sollen es dort behalten, weil auf eurer Cetiner⁴ Seite sie die Reiter bewachen. Wenn sie den heiligen Frieden erhalten wollt, befiehlt ihnen, sie sollen das Vieh von Šurany mit einen reisenden Emin schicken. Haltet den heiligen Frieden ein und wir warten von euch auf diesen Brief eine möglichst schnelle, möglichst frühe entscheidende Antwort. Auch wir werden in der Nachbarschaft mit Liebe leben.

Gott möge euch als unseren heldenhaften Herrn Nachbarn in sehr guter Gesundheit erhalten. Und wir erwarten je früher eure Antwort, schickt (diese) mit jenem Menschen, der diesen Brief überbringt.

Datum Nové Zámky, am 19. Juni 1671

Adresse: Dieser Brief sei dem edlen wohlgeborenen Herrn General, dem Berater seiner Kaiserlichen Majestät und des gekrönten Königs, dem obersten Statthalter von Ungarn gegeben, (der) jetzt in der Festung Sered' ist und unser heldenhafter Herr Nachbar ist.

IV

Der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Küçük Mehmed Pascha an den General der Hauptmannschaft der diesseits der Donau gelegenen Gebiete P. Esterházy in der Angelegenheit der Gefangennahme siebener steuereinnehmender Emine durch die Garnison von Levice, man solle alle auf freien Fuß setzen und die umherziehenden Soldaten bestrafen. Weiter beschwert er sich über einen Überfall auf türkische Kaufleute und fordert deren Freilassung.

Nové Zámky, 21. Juni 1679

Orig.: MOL Budapest, P 125, Fasc. 44, No. 4155

³ *Ahdname* — Friedensvertrag.

⁴ Bewohner oder Soldaten aus dem Dorf Veľký Cetín, südlich von Nitra.

Mi Küczük Mehemet Passa, Hatalmas Giözhetetlen Török Czaszarnak az Dunan innend levő mindön Hadainak Gond viselőye, Erssők uy var veg Haszarnak Heli Tartoya es Paranczoloya

Mindön hoszank illendő tisztössegös dologban valo ayanlasinknak utana, Istentül kivanunk Klnek mindön iokat, mint szomszedi vitez urnak

Nagos ur io akaronk nemöli dolgog kösztünk követkesznek nem tudgyuk mi az oka ennek előtte Levan felöl het emberünket el fogvan posta által meg sarczoltadvan, innen Levára levelet küldtünk, miért hogi ig czeleködtünk az szent Bekesseg kösztünk leven es miért szabadon hadgyatok, Esztergomi emin a falukra menven amint annak az szokasa, az falukon az adot beszendven, azt elfogtak, Levára be vidtek, megest erreis Levelet küldtünk, annak semmi hirt nem advan, negi szasz tallert enni Cizszmat es kalpakot el veven, az mi előtünk iart urak, minket ide azert kültek ide, az szent bekesseg ellen valami dolog ne törteniek, ha valaki az szent bekesseg ellen cseleköszik mink azoknak hirre tegyők, azt paranczoltak, megin innend az Török reszről szamos had ment volna magyar orszag fele, it az ugi vagyon hirünkkel az nemöt Czaszar, az Generalisnak meg hadta volna, hogi az Czavargot meg szabolasza, hogi semmi botorsagot ne czeleködgyenek es ha valaki oli botorsagot tolvaisagot czelekszik meg büntesse az Generalis minkis ugian ezt remenlenek, hogi Kged az ide valo latrot tolvait szarasa értsétök: Czak az mikeppen minket ide rendöltek azon szerint Kedetis ide rendelte, hogi kösztünk valami ros, haborusag szene bona ne követkeszek az mi reszünkről valok, Esztergomban es onnand ide iünek s mennek minkis a szent bekesseg lesz bizvan eleikben sereget nem küldünk, Levarul enni hani tolvai ki iüven, az igaz uton iöven bizvast, enni hani kalamar embörünket mint egi husz embert kit levagtak, kit elevenen el vidtek mai napig Levai varasaban tartyak salczoltatni akaryak, de az egesz veg haszak beli elő iaro regi embörök öszve gülven nekünk azt feleltek, ez az dolog az szent bekesseg ellen vagyon, es nekünk ezt feleltek mink azt az dolgokat az mi Hatalmas Gyöszhetetlen Török Czaszarunknak meg irjok ebben az gülesben mink leven, azonban Istvan Deyak innend Ke(gye)tek felöl erkeszven nemoli io akarathul valo hireket hoszot erre a szora, minkis az regi elő emböröknek azt feleltük, enni hani nap alatt vezteksegeben legyünk, ezt az dolgot, az Generalis urnak meg iryuk, talan az Generalisnak az illen dolgognak hirevel nin czen ezt montak ime ez levelünket irtam, mi io akaronk az szomszedsagban az illen dolog nem io, egi ket nap ala(tt) nekönk erre valaszat kölge, Nagod az elfogot emböreinknek dolgog mint ahogi leszen, ha hire ide iün Kedtül ennek az dolognak meg teritese felöl deha ennek hire nem iün, ezt az dolgokat az mi Hatalmas Török Czaszarunknak, meg iryok es hirre adgyuk Czaszarunkis az Nemet Czaszarnak meg iryá ugi teszen Nagod hogi ha akar ki mint czak kédsik az czak ug mullick, el, Isten ü szent Fölsege által az kik minekönk gonoszal vannak, minkis velök meg alkuszunk, Ndal az szent bekesege kösztöt alasztot

varunk valami valaszt irion, minkis ahosz kepest serinsegeben leszünk mert ez a dolog nem is dolog.

I(ste)n tartcsa Nadat nagi io egessegeben

Datum Uj var 21 die juni 1679

Tergum: Az Tekintetös Nagos Eszterhaszi Pal Magyar orszagi Fő Generalisának nekünk Szomszed Vitez urnak adassek ez level

ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir Küçük Mehemet Pascha der Fürsorger der vor der Donau liegenden Heere des mächtigen und unbesiegbaren türkischen Kaisers, Statthalter und Befehlshaber des Grenzhauses (Festung) Nové Zámky.

Nach unseren Empfehlungen in allen ehrenvollen Angelegenheiten, wie es sich von uns für den heldenhaften Herrn Nachbarn ziemt, wünschen wir Euer Gnaden von Gott das Allerbeste.

Hochgeehrter Herr, unser Gönner! Zwischen uns ergaben sich einige Ereignisse. Wir wissen nicht, was deren Grund ist.

Vor kurzem hat man bei Levice¹ sieben unserer Leute gefangengenommen und diese über die Post gescharzt.² Wir schickten von hier aus einen Brief nach Levice und fragten, warum man sie so behandelt hat. Zwischen uns herrscht der heilige Frieden, deshalb laßt sie frei. Es war ein *Emin*³ aus Esztergom und er ging in die Dörfer, wie dies der Brauch ist, um von diesen Dörfern Steuern einzuholen. Sie wurden aber gefangen und nach Levice gebracht. Daraufhin haben wir wieder einen Brief geschickt, erhielten aber keinerlei Antwort. Man nahm ihnen vierhundert Taler, ihre Stiefel und die Kalpaken⁴ weg.

Die Herren, die hier vor uns waren, (sagten uns), daß wir hergeschickt wurden, damit nichts den heiligen Frieden störe. Wenn jemand etwas gegen den heiligen Frieden tut, müssen wir ihnen davon Nachricht geben. Einen solchen Befehl (gaben sie) uns. Von hier, von unserer türkischen Seite würden wir zahlreiche Militärabteile gegen Ungarn schicken,⁵ aber wir haben so eine Nachricht, daß der deutsche Kaiser⁶ dem General⁷ befohlen hat, er solle mit den

¹ Levice, ung. Léva, Komitat Tekov/Bars, Sitz einer zahlreichen Garnison.

² Von Gefangenen Lösegeld nach ihren Eigentumsverhältnissen fordern.

³ *Emin* (arab.) — Titel oder Würde mehrerer Beamter in der Finanz- und Steuerbehörde des Osmanischen Reiches, inklusive der Steuereinnahme, hauptsächlich jener, die dem Staat zukommen.

⁴ Kalpak — Kopfbedeckung aus Leder verschiedener Art.

⁵ Gegen das königliche Ungarn, das Gebiet unter der Herrschaft der Habsburger.

⁶ Leopold I. (1658—1705).

⁷ Es ist nicht klar, ob es sich um den Präsidenten des Hofkriegsrats handelt, der in den Jahren 1668—1681 Graf Raimund Montecuccoli gewesen ist, oder um P. Eszterházy, den General der Hauptmannschaft der Gebiete diesseits der Donau.

Landstreichern⁸ Ordnung machen, damit diese keine Dummheiten machten. Und sollte doch einer eine Dummheit und einen Raub begehen, solle der General ihn bestrafen. Und wir hoffen auch, daß Euer Gnaden den dortigen Schurken und Dieb bestrafen ließ.

So wie man uns hierher schickte, so schickte man auch euch, damit zwischen uns nichts Böses entstehen könne, Prügeleien, ein Durcheinander. Leute von unserer Seite gehen nach Gran⁹ und zurück, seit jener Zeit als der Frieden geschlossen wurde. (Seither) schicken wir gegen euch keine Armee. Einige Diebe-Deserteure sperrten einige unserer Kaufleute ein, die sich auf einer rechtschaffenen Reise befanden.¹⁰ Von etwa zwanzig Leuten haben sie einige umgebracht und einige lebend weggeschleppt. Bis zum heutigen Tag halten sie sie in der Stadt Levice fest und wollen von ihnen Lösegeld nehmen.

Bedeutende Greise aus den Grenzstädten versammelten sich und sagten uns, daß eine solche Tat gegen den heiligen Frieden ist. So haben sie sich uns gegenüber geäußert, als wir bei dieser Versammlung gegenwärtig waren.

Wir werden diese Begebenheiten unserem mächtigen, unbesiegbaren türkischen Kaiser schreiben.

(Inzwischen) kam zu uns von Euer Gnaden Istvan Deják¹¹ und brachte uns einige gute Nachrichten, in denen euer guter Wille (sich äußerte). Nach diesen Nachrichten sagten wir den bedeutenden Greisen, daß wir für einige Tage Ruhe bewahren wollen.

Und diese Angelegenheit schreiben wir auch dem Herrn General, weil wir uns sagten, daß der General wahrscheinlich von diesen Dingen nichts weiß.

Sehet, ich schrieb diesen Brief, (weil) wir in guter Nachbarschaft leben möchten. Ein solches Ding ist nicht gut. Euer Gnaden möge uns im Laufe einiger Tage Antwort geben, wie die Angelegenheit unserer Gefangenen gelöst wird. Die Nachricht von Euer Gnaden über die Lösung dieser Angelegenheit möge kommen. Aber wenn eine solche Nachricht nicht kommt, schreiben wir diese Angelegenheit unserem mächtigen türkischen Kaiser und berichten ihm darüber.

Unser Kaiser solle dann dem detuschen Kaiser schreiben. Also wenn Euer Gnaden will, möge er so tun.

Durch den heiligen und erhabenen Gott jene, die sich uns gegenüber schlecht benehmen, so wollen auch wir uns ihnen gegenüber benehmen. Wir haben mit Euer Gnaden vereinbart, daß wir gegenseitig den heiligen Frieden bewahren

⁸ Landstreicher (csavargok) — die unbesoldeten Garnisonen ungarischer Burgen.

⁹ Esztergom — der zu Nové Zámky am nächsten liegende Sitz osmanischer Macht, Zentrum des Sandschaks (1543—1595, 1605—1683).

¹⁰ Rechtschaffene Reise, d.h. mit guten Absichten — zwecks Handel, Arbeit usw.

¹¹ Wahrscheinlich Schreiber und Sekretär des Generals P. Eszterházy.

wollen. Wir erwarten Antwort. Antwortet uns und wir verhalten uns laut Gesetz, weil diese Angelegenheit keine (ernste) Angelegenheit ist.

Gott möge Euer Gnaden bei sehr guter Gesundheit erhalten.

Datum, Nové Zámky, den 21. Juni 1679.

Adresse: Dieser Brief solle dem hochwohlgeborenen Paul Eszterházy, dem ungarischen obersten General, unserem heldenhaften Nachbarn überreicht werden.

AN UNKNOWN SIXTEENTH CENTURY CZECH PRINT ON THE JAPANESE MISSION TO ROME OF 1585

ZDENKA VASILJEVOVÁ, Prague

Among the more than seventy 16th century prints concerned with the first Japanese mission to Europe there is one item which had not been known outside Czechoslovakia. It was published in Czech by the Bishop of Olomouc, Stanislav Pavlovský, probably in 1585. The present study gives a description of this edition based on a copy held by the State Library of the CSR in Prague as well as an analysis of its ideological and political background revealing its role in the Catholic crusade against the Protestants of the time.

In 1585 Europe was to face an unusual event. A mission from remote Japan arrived in Rome to render homage to Pope Gregory XIII. The envoys and their company were the first Japanese to set feet on the soil of Europe. The circumstances of their mission, their long voyage from Nagasaki they left in 1582, their travel through Europe, the audience in Rome as well as their return to Japan as late as 1590 are all facts sufficiently known not to be recounted here in detail.¹ That is why we shall confine ourselves to introducing the basic events. The mission was sent by three Christian lords of the island of Kyūshū, namely by Ōmura Sumitada, Ōtomo Yoshishige and Arima Harunobu. In the European sources of the time Yoshishige used to be referred to by his Christian name Franciscus and given the title King of Bungo, Harunobu by Protasius, the King of Arima, and Sumitada by Bartholomeus, the Lord of Ōmura. Chosen as envoys were the young men Itō Mancio and Chijiwa Miguel, both relatives of those lords. They travelled in company of another two young Christian Japanese Nakaura Juliano and Hera Martino.²

The mission was initiated by Father Alessandro Valignano of the Society of Jesus who worked as Visitor-General of the Jesuits' missions in the East. In these functions he arrived 1577 in Japan and during his five years' missionary

¹ Cf. the summarized information on the subject in Boscaro, A.: *Sixteenth Century European Printed Works on the First Japanese Mission to Europe. A Descriptive Bibliography*. Leiden, Brill 1973.

² *Ibid.*, p. XI.

activities the Jesuit mission in Japan scored considerable success. Before leaving for India, Valignano addressed several lords converted to Christianity with the proposal to send envoys to the See of Rome. No doubt his intention was to display in full the success of the Jesuit missionaries and to obtain from the Pope some privileges in their favour as compared with the other congregations engaged in missionary activities. It seems, besides, that the envoys were expected to bring back to Japan their ocular testimony about Europe.³ It is likely that Valignano calculated on the impression the formal splendour of the Catholic Church would produce on the spirits of the young Japanese.

The Jesuits seemed to attach great importance to the propaganda effect of this Japanese mission and it may be said that in this respect their intention met with remarkable success. The four young men coming from a country at the far side of the globe aroused an unprecedented curiosity right from their first steps on the European soil. This is to be understood from the considerable number of contemporary prints describing their travel and first of all the audience given them by Pope Gregory XIII a few days before his death.⁴

A *Descriptive Bibliography* of these prints was made and published by Adriana Boscaro.⁵ Her publication testifies to the extraordinary carefulness and efforts she has expended upon the search for and the description of the prints concerned with the Japanese mission. She has executed research in many libraries both in Europe and Japan so that she was able to give a lively picture of the interest taken in the whole journey of the Japanese envoys through Europe. She succeeded in collecting a total of 78 items, which she took for a careful comparative scrutiny. In the Appendix II she added a list of another 16 items quoted in former catalogues but not found by the author.⁶ At the same time A. Boscaro was aware of the fact that even her thorough and wide research would be no guarantee that other, still unknown items, might not be discovered later.⁷ It should be said, however, that her detailed and excellently edited bibliography itself enables an easier description of any new item eventually to be found.

The great majority of prints contained in Boscaro's bibliography (49 out of 78) are dated 1585. These were, as a matter of fact, topical reports covering the course of Japanese envoys' mission through Europe and giving the newest information on it. Some of them are simple leaflets, among the other ones, however, there are volumes containing additional data on the country the

³ Ibid., p. XII.

⁴ The audience was given on 23 March 1585, i.e. less than three weeks before the death of Gregory XIII on the 10 April.

⁵ Boscaro, A.: op. cit.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 167—171.

⁷ Ibid., p. XII.

envoys were coming from, lists of presents they had brought with them etc. Some of the items are nothing but reprints by another publisher or translations to another language, some other ones have been compiled from several previous editions. The later prints contain even information about the envoys' journey back to Japan (the latest four were printed in 1593).⁸ Four items lack location of print, whereas the rest were published in 31 European cities, from Lisbon up to Vilnius.⁹ As far as their language is concerned, the most numerous are Italian prints (39), next come the Latin (17), French (12), German (7), Spanish (2) and Portuguese (1).¹⁰

Two of the Latin prints mentioned in Boscaro's bibliography were published in Prague. The first of them is *Exemplvm Literarvm Qvae Roma Mediolanvm Missae, Et Ex Italico Idiomate In Latinum versae sunt, de ingressu ad publicum Consistorium, duorum Legatorum, qui missi sunt à duobus potentissimis Iaponiae Regibus & tertio principe, recens ad Christianam fidem conuersis, vt summo Pontifici obedientiam praestent*. This minute with only 5 printed pages without pagination classified by Boscaro with No 23¹¹ as a translation of a print published in Bologna by Alessandro Benacci (No 20)¹² and translated also to some other languages. It was printed in Prague by Michael Peterle in 1585. Except the item Boscaro has found at the National Library in Vienna there is another *Exemplvm* held by the State Library of the CSR (former University Library) in Prague (card No 51 C S).

Peterle is also the publisher of the second Prague Latin print titled *Acta Consistorii Pyplice (sic!) Exhibiti A S. D. N. Gregorio Papa XIII. Regvm Iapponiorvm Legatis Romae, Die XXIII. Martii. M. D. LXXXV*. The copy kept by the Prague State Library of the CSR (card No 51 C S, add. 1) has its title-page badly damaged, so that no annum is indicated. Boscaro's bibliography (No 7) shows a title-page reproduction of the copy held by the National Library in Vienna, where the date M. D. LXXXV can be seen.¹³ According to Boscaro, Peterle's *Acta* are a reprint of a text published under the same title by Franciscus Zannetus in Rome (No 2).¹⁴ The *Acta* contain an account of the audience of the Japanese envoys by Pope Gregory XIII, or the climax of the mission's stay in

⁸ Ibid., pp. XIII—XIV. See also Chronological Index, pp. 186—188.

⁹ Index of Places of Publications. Ibid., pp. 193—194.

¹⁰ Cf. Boscaro's number: Italien — 1, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 20a, 21, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 54, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 68, 70, 72; Latin — 2, 2a, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 23, 63, 73; French — 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 47, 50, 60, 66, 67, 69, 75; German — 32, 33, 51, 53, 55, 56, 74; Spanish — 52, 71; Portuguese — 76.

¹¹ Boscaro, A.: op. cit., pp. 52—53.

¹² Ibid., pp. 42—43.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 16—17.

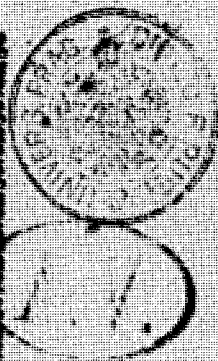
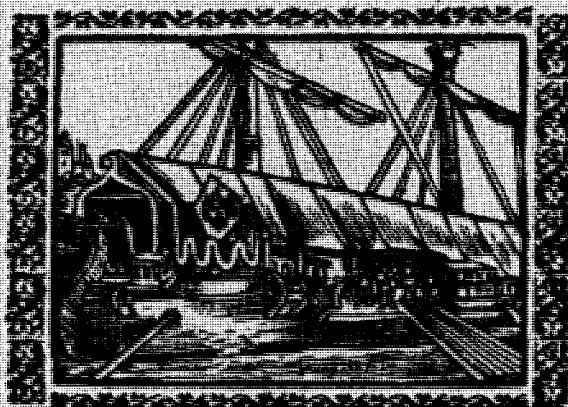
¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 4—5.

X.

Správa toho všeho/

8.

co se gest dalo w Říjmě w obecne Kon-
systoři Papeže a Kardinálů/ Když gest neyswě-
tější w Bo' Otce a Pán/ Pan Řehoř xiiij. Papež
slyšenú dával/ Poslám Kráľovo Japonských/
xxij. dne Měsíce Března/ to gest w Sobotu
před Zvěstování Panny Marie diw-
ky čisté z. Léta M. D. Lxxxv.



Matth : viij.

Pravím wám/ že mnozí od východu
a Západu přijdou/ a stoli si budou/ s Abrah-
mou/ y s Izákem/ y s Jakubem w Kráľowství
Nebeském/ Synové pak Kráľowství wywerže-
ni budou do temností zewnitřních.

Europe. That is why this publication became subject to a number of reprints and translations.

But besides these two Latin editions there was another one in the Kingdom of Bohemia, printed in Czech. The language of this edition may be probably the reason why it was left unnoticed by foreign scholars. But it was not completely lost in Bohemia. In the first catalogue of Czech books compiled by Josef Jungmann the item was included under No 554 with the note by the editor "no indication of place and printer", but referring to Olomouc as the assumed locus.¹⁵ In the comprehensive Catalogue of Czech and Slovak Prints prior to 1800, published in Prague since 1925 up to 1967 first under the editorship of Z. Tobolka and later F. Horák, it has been classified with No 17.332.¹⁶ Besides, extracts were quoted at least in two Czech publications at the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁷

The full title of the Czech print reads *Správa toho wsseho / co se gest dalo w Ržijmě w obecné Konsystoři Papeže a Kardinalůw / Když gest neyswětěgssý w Bohu Otec a Pán / Pan Ržehoř Xij. Papež slyssenij dáwal / Poslům Králuow Japonských / XXij. dne Měsýce Března / to gest w Sobotu před Zwěstowánij Panny Marye diwky čisté ec. Létha M.D. Lxxxv.*

On the title-page there is a xylograph of a vessel in an ornamental frame, under which a verse from the Gospel of Matthew (8, 11) is quoted: "Many, I tell you, will come from east and west to feast with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of Heaven. But those who were born to the kingdom will be driven out into the dark."

More details about the edition are to be found on the reverse of the title-page, where under the arms of the Bishop of Olomouc in an ornamental frame we read: "Printed at the cost of the Right Reverend Father in God, Sir Stanislav Pavlovský the Bishop at Olomouc etc." These words identify both the editor and the place of edition, that is Olomouc, an important cultural and religious centre of Moravia, a part of the Kingdom of Bohemia.

The volume contains a total of 36 pages (4° . A⁴—D⁴, F⁴) without pagination.

¹⁵ Jungmann, J.: *Historie literatury české aneb: Saustawný přehled spisů českých s krátkou historií národu, oswicení a jazyka*. Druhé vydání. Praha, F. Řiwnáč 1849, p. 159.

¹⁶ *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století*. Rediguje Doc. Dr. František Horák. *Díl II. Tisky z let 1501—1800. Část IX. Ročník XVIII. Sešit 251—263*. Praha, Academia 1967, s. 131.

¹⁷ Kořenský, J.: *Po druhé v Žaponsku. Mládeži vypravuje Josef Kořenský*. Praha, J. Otto 1910, pp. 106—107. In his explanation to the text of *Správa toho wsseho* Kořenský misquotes the name of the Pope as Gregory VIII. A detailed description of the Olomouc print, the reprint of its title-page and quotations of the text preceded by a short biography of Stanislav Pavlovský was published under the title *Zábavné knihy našich předkův*, in: *Selský archiv*, Vol. I, 1902, 3, pp. 174—178. The Pope's name is again given in this erroneous form.

According to the Catalogue of Czech and Slovak Prints prior to 1800 the assumed printer is Fridrich Milichthaler and the year of printing is 1585.¹⁸ The Catalogue indicates three copies preserved in Czechoslovakia. One of them is stored at the University Library in Olomouc (card No 32.814), another two are held by the former University Library (now part of the State Library of the CSR) in Prague (card No 54 H 2042; 54 B 132 add. 8).

A comparison of the Olomouc print with the two Latin Prague prints reveals that Pavlovský's edition is a Czech translation of the *Acta*. It is, however, not sure, whether the original underlying this translation was that printed in Prague by M. Peterle. Both the Prague and the Olomouc editions relate identically the introduction of the envoys to the audience.¹⁹ Following are translations of the letters the Japanese lords sent to the Pope as they had been read during the audience.²⁰ Then comes an extensive speech by Gaspar Consalvus Lusitanicus made on behalf of the envoys²¹ and a short reply by Antonius Buccapadulius on behalf of the Pope.²² Next there comes a description of the rest of that festive day.²³ Both the Prague and Olomouc editions are supplied with a brief description of Japan, entitled in Latin *Brevis Descriptio Insvlae Iaponicae Ex Relatione Legatorum, in qua attinguntur mores, religio, exercitia habitus, vietus, temperies coeli & nonnulla alia illius populi, vna cum ijsquae obtulerunt Magno Duci Hetruariae, ex Italico sermone latinitate donata*,²⁴ while in Czech it reads Krátké poznamenání o samém Ostrowu Japonu / wedlé zprávy Poslův odtud do Ržijma poslaných / z Latinska na Česko přeloženo.²⁵ At the end of both the Latin and the Czech edition there is a list of presents offered by the envoys to the Prince of Florence,²⁶ but the Czech edition adds a notice: "We have heard nothing up to now about the presents for the King of Spain and the Holy Father so that we do not mention them here."²⁷

¹⁸ *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků...*, p. 359. Fridrich Milichthaler, a son of the printer Linhart Milichthaler of Nürnberg, moved in 1567 to Olomouc, where he took over, in 1573, the printing-house of his late master Jan Günther and run it up to 1592. Milichthaler's prints were highly valued because of their design and decoration. (Cf. Jireček, J.: *Rukověť k dějinám literatury české do konce XVIII. věku. Ve způsobě slovníka životopisného a knihoslovního*, Svazek II. M—Ž. Praha, B. Temský 1876, p. 33. Volf, J.: *Dějiny českého knihtisku do r. 1848*. Praha, Arthur Novák 1926, pp. 130—131.)

¹⁹ *Acta*, p. [2]. *Správa toho wsseho*, p. [6].

²⁰ *Acta*, pp. 3—6. *Správa toho wsseho*, pp. [9]—[14].

²¹ *Acta*, pp. 7—20. *Správa toho wsseho*, pp. [14]—[30].

²² *Acta*, pp. 21—22. *Správa toho wsseho*, pp. [30]—[31].

²³ *Acta*, pp. 22. *Správa toho wsseho*, [31]—[32].

²⁴ *Acta*, pp. 23—26.

²⁵ *Správa toho wsseho*, pp. [32]. In the Czech text words "in qua ... Hetruariae" are missing and the text ends by the words „translated from Latin into Czech“.

²⁶ *Acta*, p. 27. *Správa toho wsseho*, pp. [35]—[36].

²⁷ *Správa toho wsseho*, p. [36].

As far as other differences between the Prague and the Olomouc editions are concerned, there are some minor ones to be noted. First of all, due to the fact that the text is written in Czech, the clause introducing the quotation of letters from the Japanese lords to the Pope has naturally been modified. The words “ex Iaponico in Italicum sermonem, atque in Latinum deinde conuersae”²⁸ have been extended in the Olomouc edition so that they read “translated from Japanese to Italian and Latin and now to Czech”.²⁹ The Czech edition has a note in the margin on page [21] mentioning the age of the envoys: “One of the being at the age of twenty, the other of seventeen.” There is also a difference in the enumeration of countries in Gaspar’s speech. Whereas the Latin text reads “non Germaniae, non Bohemiae, Vngariae, Poloniae, non Syriae, non Graeciae, non Dalmatiae”³⁰ in Czech Syria and Greece have been omitted.³¹ In the introductory sentence of the description of Japan, when the extent of the country is explained, the Czech edition omitted the words comparing the size of Japan to that of Italy.³²

But the most essential difference of the two editions consists in that the Olomouc print is preceded by an extensive Preface for the Christian Reader³³ the content of which shows that it had been specially written for this Czech edition. It is very likely that its author was the Bishop Stanislav Pavlovský in person.

Stanislav Pavlovský of Pavlovice (?—1598) was one of the prominent representatives of the Catholic clergy in the Kingdom of Bohemia in his times.³⁴ In 1571—1574 he studied at the Jesuit Collegium Germanicum in Rome, where he was promoted Doctor of Canon Law. After that he was at service in Brno and since 1577 in Olomouc, where he was elected Bishop by a unanimous vote in 1579 and this election was then confirmed by Pope Gregory XIII. Apart from religious activities he was three times entrusted with an important diplomatic mission by the House of Habsburg. In 1587 he headed a Habsburg delegation the commission of which was to push through the candidacy of Prince Maximilian to the King’s throne of Poland vacated by the death of Stephan Bathory in December 1586. In 1592 he was sent for another mission to Poland with the task of pressing the candidacy of Prince Ernst and again in 1595 in order to negotiate an alliance between the Emperor and the Poles against the Turks.

²⁸ *Acta*, p. 2.

²⁹ *Správa toho wsseho*, p. [8].

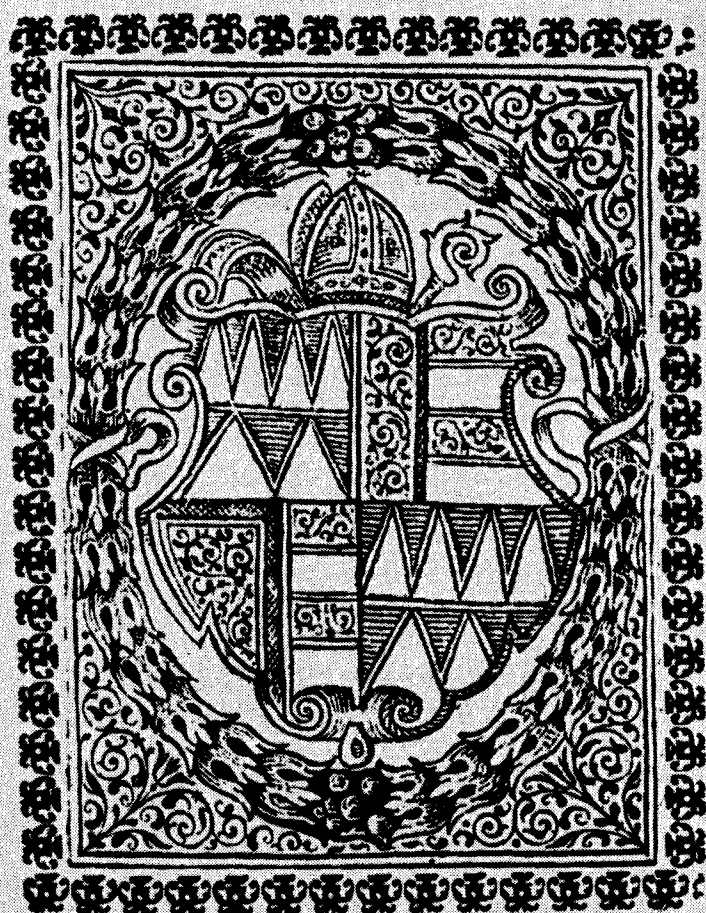
³⁰ *Acta*, p. 18.

³¹ *Správa toho wsseho*, p. [28].

³² *Acta*, p. 23. *Správa toho wsseho*, p. [15].

³³ *Správa toho wsseho*, pp. [3]—[8].

³⁴ See the biography of Stanislav Pavlovský in: Procházka, M.: *Stručný životopis Stanislava II. Pavlovského, knížete biskupa Olomouckého*. Brno, Tiskem dědiců Rudolfa Rohrera 1861.



Wytisťeno Nákladem Wysoce
Důstogneho Kněžete a Pána/ Pana Ste-
nišlawa Pavolowskyho / Biskupa Solo-
maňskyho/ rč.

It should be noted here that during the last quarter of the 16th century, under the rule of Emperor Rudolf II, the Czech lands were faced with an increasing ideological and power struggle. The accession of the Habsburgs to the Czech throne in 1526 itself forecasted the efforts to reintroduce Catholicism into the Czech lands where a strong influence of the native Reformation tradition (the Hussite movement, the *Unitas Fratrum*) as well as that of the German Protestant movement was constantly felt. The latter was strengthened, *inter alia*, by an influx of German immigrants during the second half of the 16th century. The Catholic Church under the patronage of the Habsburgs embarked upon energetic steps in order to impose limitations on the Reformation trends with a view to their eventual extinction. In doing so it used a large range of means by which it wanted to extend its glory and authority.

The confrontation between Catholicism and the Reformation movements at the time was, of course, not a specific Czech phenomenon, it took place throughout Europe. Active part in the crusade for the reintroduction of Catholicism was taken by the recently founded Society of Jesus, the installation of which in the Czech lands took place in 1556. One of the important centres of the Society was the Jesuit College in Olomouc, founded in 1566 as the first one in the whole of Moravia.

As we understand from Pavlovský's biography, published by Matěj Procházka in Brno 1861, Pavlovský was one of the militant representatives of the clergy devoting himself to an energetic struggle against the Reformation. During his provostship in Brno and later as Bishop of Olomouc he actively worked for the reintroduction of Catholicism in Moravia.³⁵ He developed multiform activities in this respect, giving great weight especially to the printed word. He wanted to break the influence of writings published by the *Unitas Fratrum* or imported from the Lutheran printing-houses abroad. M. Procházka, a conservative Catholic author, says on this subject: "As these and other sectarians diverted people to their own camp through numerous writings, Bishop Stanislav, too, spread Catholic writings among the people ..."³⁶ Pavlovský's publishing activities have been mentioned in Selský archiv, too.³⁷

The Czech edition of the *Acta* should, therefore, be evaluated as part of broader efforts to exalt the authority of the Catholic Church while suppressing the influence of the Reformation in this country. In this respect the edition, too, was adequate for the general intentions of the Jesuits who had initiated the Japanese

³⁵ It is worth noticing that Olomouc became during the 16th century a scene of several bloody scraps between Catholic and non-Catholic inhabitants. (Cf. Šembera, A.V.: *Paměti a znamenitosti města Olomouce*. Vienna, published by the author 1861, pp. 24—25.)

³⁶ Procházka, M.: op. cit., p. 14.

³⁷ See note 17.

mission. This can be clearly seen also in the original Czech Preface for the Christian Reader mentioned above. It polemizes with the opponents of the Catholic Church and the papacy interpreting the coming of envoys from Japan as a manifestation of God's will in favour of the latter: "This can be seen through this mission, too. For at a time where many a man in these provinces were falling away from the Holy Church, the Lord was pleased to cause that right at those moments in other and unknown countries many more people were joining it. There had been many in these provinces who taught, preached, wrote and portrayed that Pope be tempter, cursed son, beast of prey and antichrist; the Lord would not leave it with his Deputy, so he sent from remote countries a people unknown, unheard of as credible and genuine witness in order to drive it as a wedge in the mouths of all the like ..." ³⁸

Pavlovský's Preface takes up similar ideas contained in the speech by Gaspar Consalvus. The latter, for example, explains the success of missionaries in Japan as a compensation to the Church for the dissent of England, because "instead of one island, not only one but many islands and kingdoms and even nations separated from ourselves through the ocean and the world's globe have joined the Holy Church in great numbers". ³⁹ At the time of starting anti-Reform offensive in the Czech lands the Jesuits could not but welcome this kind of arguments.

Supplying information on Japan was certainly not the main task of this publication, even this side of the matter, however, should not be underestimated, since in order to exalt the authority of the Pope in the reader's eyes, the author put emphasis on the high cultural level of the country the mission had come from. In his speech delivered before the Pope Consalvus put the Japanese on a par with the European nations: "... her people being clever and dowered with fluency in matters of war, a people so excellent that those who have seen it recognized that it surpassed all the other nations in those parts of the world. And the only thing they lacked to be comparable with our nations in these provinces was the true religion they did not have and the genuine light of the Christian faith ..." ⁴⁰

The purpose of the first Czech publication on Japan was, therefore, to contribute to the success of the efforts to reintroduce Catholicism. Data on that unknown remote country did not perform a purely cognitive function, being subordinated to the basic goal mentioned above. In a similarly clear way as in Pavlovský's Preface the Jesuits' design has been expressed in the edition of French translation of the *Acta* by B. Rigard in Lyon. According to Boscaro's

³⁸ *Správa toho wsseho*, p. [3].

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. [19].

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. [15].

information (No. 24), the editor has added in conclusion a notice saying that he considered the arrival of the Japanese envoys to be a proof confirming the true of the Catholic faith against Calvin's and Zwingli's heresy.⁴¹

⁴¹ Boscaro, A.: *op. cit.*, p. 54.

THE TRIBUTARY KINGS UNDER TIMUR (1370—1405)

SYED JAMALUDDIN, New Delhi

The aim of the present paper is to study the position of the tributary kings under Timur (1370—1405). An attempt has been made to study the precise nature of the relationship between the tributary kings, who belonged to the category of the autonomous chiefs, and their overlord Amir Timur.

In 1370, Timur assumed authority in Central Asia and made Samarqand his capital. Gradually but steadily he extended his authority to other regions, thus bringing a considerable part of the world under his sway. He is, therefore, rightly ranked among the great conquerors of the world. However, it will be unjust to treat Timur as a mere conqueror; he was, in fact, gifted with enviable administrative genius. He created a huge apparatus for his empire. The ruling class under him consisted of several important and distinct segments, such as the princes of the royal house (*amirzadas*), the Chaghtay *amirs*, the tributary kings and the hereditary chiefs. In this paper an attempt is made to study the position of only one section of the ruling class under Timur, that is the tributary kings.

Broadly speaking, both the tributary kings and the hereditary chiefs belonged to the category of the autonomous chiefs. They formed a chain of local despotisms.¹ But there was a marked difference between them. While the territories of the tributary kings were not annexed to the empire, the countries of the chiefs, who are referred to in the chronicles by titles like *wāli*,² *hākīm*,³ *malik*⁴ and *amir*,⁵

¹ Here a clue is taken from Professor Irfan Habib's observation on the role of the *zamindars* and the autonomous chiefs, the so-called *rajas*, *ranas*, *raos*, *rawats*. According to him, they were distinct in some ways but from the view-point of the Mughal government in India they formed a chain of local despotisms, covering the whole Mughal Empire. Habib, I.: *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Delhi, 1963, pp. 183—184.

² For example, Shah-i-Shahan of Sistan is referred to as the *wāli* of Sistan. Yazdi, S.: *Zafar Nama*, Calcutta, 1887, Vol. I, p. 667. For the use of this title also see *Zafar Nama*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 418, 420; *Zafar Nama*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 215.

³ For example, Pahalwan Muhazzab Khorasani, the ruler of Abrqoh, is referred to as the *hakim* of Abrqoh. *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 444. For other examples see *ibid.*, pp. 585, 599, 665, 686.

⁴ For example, Sultan Isa, the ruler of Mardin, is referred to as the *malik* of Mardin. *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 671. For the use of this title also see *ibid.*, p. 810.

⁵ This title appears in few cases. Amir Muhammad of Mantasha is referred to as the *amir* of Mantasha. *Zafar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 469; also see *ibid.*, pp. 350, 458.

had become part and parcel of the Timurid Empire. The tributary kings had entered into a kind of treaty with Timur which recognized the suzerainty of Timur, inclusion of his name in *khutba* and coins, and the pledge to pay annual tribute (*peshkash*). They were not under any other civil or military obligation. They retained the titles which they bore prior to their submission and other privileges connected with sovereignty. On the other hand, the hereditary chiefs, the so-called *wālis*, *hukkām*, *maliks*, *amirs*, etc., although confirmed in their hereditary kingdoms, had been reduced to the position of subordinate chiefs, as their territories had been annexed and incorporated into the kingdoms headed by the princes of the royal house. Still they enjoyed prestige; they had their own armies, held courts, etc. Their right to govern their own countries had been upheld in the royal mandates (*yarlighs*) issued to them by the central authority. Besides, they were also granted *āl-tamgha* that is 'grant in perpetuity'. They continued to be known by their royal titles. But they were amalgamated into the ruling class of the empire by obligations like military service, remittance of revenue from their territories to the centre, attendance at court, participation in decision-making body (*qurittay*), admission of their sons, brothers or other relatives into imperial service.

Christian potentates constituted yet another category of the autonomous chiefs under Timur; they had been confirmed in their kingdoms on conditions of submission and *jizya*. Besides these three main categories of the autonomous chiefs, there existed some tributary *dervishes* and tribal leaders who held sway over small territories.

The present paper, however, deals only with the category of the tributary kings. The main object of the study, which is primarily based on the contemporary sources, is to attempt to answer questions regarding the relationship between this section of the ruling class and the central authority.

Under Timur, the kings and the princes⁶ of Moghulistan,⁷ Qipchaq (Golden Horde),⁸ India, Egypt and Turkey belonged to the category of the tributary kings; they acknowledged his suzerainty, included his name in the *khutba* and

⁶ Names of the tributary kings and princes whose kingdoms were not annexed will appear at several places in the subsequent discussion.

⁷ Moghulistan, or the *Jatah* country, which constituted the eastern section of the original Chaghatay kingdom, stretched from the Sir-Darya to the Tarim basin and to the Irtish. Hookham, H.: *Tambarlaine the Conqueror*, London, 1962, p. 86.

⁸ Chingiz Khan had given to Juchi, his eldest son, as his patrimony, the steppe-lands furthest west from Mongolia, and had commanded him to complete the conquest of Qipchaqs, the nomads of the southern Russian steppes. The Qipchaqs were nomads of Turkic origin. The Juchi kingdom in Russian literature is called as the Golden Horde, a term possibly derived from the golden or royal pavilions of Batu (1227—1256), the son and successor of Juchi. *Ibid.*, pp. 119—120.

in the coins; they also offered him *peshkash*. It was not Timur's intention to govern such countries which lay far off from his seat of power. In the settlement of these countries, he was primarily guided by his concern for the defence of the vast borders of his empire and control over the trade-routes which converged on the silk-route. This brings us to the motives behind some of the major campaigns of Timur. It has been observed that Timur's expeditions into Moghulistan were both predatory and preventive. Although he considered himself "the inheritor and continuer of the empire of the Chaghatay", he did not annex Moghulistan, the eastern section of the Chaghatay *ulus*, and made peace, in 1393, with the Khan, Khizr Khoja (1389—1399), who also offered him a matrimonial alliance⁹ (1397). By this peace, reinforced by bond of marriage, Timur ensured the security of his borders to the east. Besides, it also rendered him access to a country through which ran the three variants of the trunk route to China.¹⁰ In 1398, while preparing a military operation to China, Timur had planned to use one of these variants, which passed through Semirechye and offered good pasturage. For this campaign, Timur had also asked Khizr-Khoja Khan to help army with supplies.¹¹

Regarding Timur's campaigns against the Golden Horde, Hilda Hookham observes that these "were not primarily of predatory intent. They were a military necessity; they were also vital politically in a defensive sense."¹² Timur watched carefully the political and economic conflicts weakening the Golden Horde. The main rivalries had developed between the Right Wing and the Left Wing of the Horde — i.e. the Golden Horde under Emir Mamsy and the White Horde under Urus. Urus Khan aspired to reunite the Horde. This appeared menacing to Timur who waited for an opportunity to intervene. The opportunity came in 1376, when Toqtamish Khan, a prince of the royal blood, deserted the White Horde, owing to some differences with Urus Khan, and took shelter

⁹ Khizr-Khoja had offered his sister, Tukul-Khanam, to be Timur's bride, and, as she was of the royal line of Chaghatay, she received the status of the second queen in the royal household — the Lesser Lady: Kichik Khanum. Timur had made a garden called *Dilkusha*, in 1397, for her. Barthold: *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*. Leiden, 1963, pp. 25, 31 n. 7; Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 90.

¹⁰ Moghulistan comprised two main regions: the area north of the Tien-Shan, with the two great lakes Issik-kul and Balkhash; this province was known as Semirechye. The other was the region south of the Tien-Shan, and included the Tarim basin. Through these regions ran the three variants of the trunk route to China. Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 86.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 268.

¹² Politically speaking, the domination of Eastern Europe and Asia from the Black Sea to the Irish by the Golden Horde was in many respects crucial for both continents. It was the decisive threat to Timur. Economically speaking, the Golden Horde included extensive pasturage, rich grain areas, and trade routes which conducted intercontinental trade. Ibid., pp. 120—121.

at the court of Timur.¹³ Timur received him warmly; addressed him as son; gave him presents of gold, precious stones, robes of honour, magnificent girdles, tissues and furnishings, horses, camels, tents and pavilions, drums, banners, slaves.¹⁴ Subsequently he was assigned the territories in the borderlands between Mawarannahr and the White Horde — Ortar and Sighnaq¹⁵ — and was provided with troops. He was encouraged to engage with the White Horde under the rule of Urus Khan.¹⁶ But Toqtamish suffered many defeats at the hands of the White Horde. Meanwhile, Urus Khan died and Timur once again encouraged his protégé to establish himself as the Khan of the White Horde and gave him all necessary provisions.¹⁷ Toqtamish finally emerged victorious and was successful in establishing himself as Khan of the White Horde (1378).¹⁸ Soon he began a campaign to reunite the two Hordes, Golden and White. He accomplished this task in 1380 and ascended the throne of the combined Hordes.¹⁹ The revival of the combined Hordes menaced Timur's borders on the north: "It sought those areas of pasturage, and those trade centres, which Timur regarded as suitable prizes for himself and his own warriors. Maintaining its dominion over highly developed centres, peasantry, and steppe nomads, the reunited Golden Horde threatened the development of the state of Mawarannahr, whose agricultural regions and urban populations needed unity and protection from feudal discord."²⁰ The conflict ensued in 1387 and came to an end with the defeat of Toqtamish in June 1391. But the Juji ulus — The Golden Horde, were not annexed to the empire because Timur had been intent on destroying the power of the Golden Horde rather than on governing that kingdom.²¹ The Juji ulus were divided among the Chingizid princes — Idiga, Qutlugh Oghlan (a grandson of Urus Khan), and Qunche-Oghlan.²² They were granted *yarlighs* (royal mandates) conferring privileges on them in return to

¹³ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 274; Mirkhond: *Rauzat al-Safa*, Bombay, 1246, Vol. VI, p. 48; *Habib al-Siyar*, Khwandamir, Tehran, p. 426; Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 124.

¹⁴ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 274—275; *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, p. 48; Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 125.

¹⁵ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 275; *Rauzat al-Safa*, vol. VI, p. 48; *Habib al-Siyar*, p. 426.

¹⁶ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 276; *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, pp. 49—50.

¹⁷ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 282—283; *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, p. 50; *Habib al-Siyar*, pp. 426—427; Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 125.

¹⁸ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 290.

¹⁹ Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 126.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

²² *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 547; *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, p. 94; Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 140.

their submission, and were commanded to reassemble their scattered subjects and bring them back to Timur.²³ However, soon they forgot their obligations and did not bring back their hordes.²⁴ Then Toqtamish, after three years of his defeat, reappeared in 1393 and reclaimed his throne. Timur demanded a treaty of submission from Toqtamish but the response was not satisfactory.²⁵ The battle on the river Terek, north of the Darband,²⁶ in April 1395, brought to Timur a decisive victory²⁷ over Toqtamish who disappeared into the Bulghar forests.²⁸ The defeat ruined the caravan routes of the Golden Horde. Moreover, it was Timur's intention to destroy the northern trade route which connected the Near and the Far East, and to redirect the caravans on to the route through Central Asia, which had commanded the intercontinental trade in pre-Chingiz times.²⁹ The caravans, instead of going through Tang, Saray, Urganch, Ortar, and Talas (the trade centres of the Golden Horde), once again took the route via Sul-taniya, Herat, Balkh, and Samarqand; and the revenues accruing from the flourishing trade went into the pockets of Timur and his vassals.³⁰ Timur further reduced the strength of the Golden Horde by patronizing one rival Khan after another. It was this blow which, in the fifteenth century, ultimately led to the breaking up of the Golden Horde into independent Khanates in Kazan, Crimea and Siberia.³¹

After the defeat of Toqtamish at Terek, in 1395, Timur installed a son of Urus Khan, named Qaveri Chaq Oghlan, as the Khan of the *Juji ulus*.³² But Timur's nominee failed to establish himself. Three other claimants emerged. Toqtamish appeared from the forest and reclaimed the throne. Idigu also tried to establish himself as master of the Horde. The third rival, Qutlugh Oghlan, succeeded in becoming Khan of the reduced Horde, and maintained peace with Timur.³³ The dispossessed Toqtamish first took refuge with the Prince of Lithuania. Finally,

²³ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 547—548; *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, p. 94.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 549.

²⁵ Hookham, H.: *op. cit.*, p. 156.

²⁶ Darband is situated to the west of Caspian Sea.

²⁷ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, pp. 745—754.

²⁸ Hookham, H.: *op. cit.*, p. 158.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 160. For a brief account of the break-down of the Golden Horde and the rise of independent Khanates see Kaushik, D.: *Central Asia in Modern Times*. Moscow, 1970, pp. 23—26.

³² *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 755; *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, p. 118.

³³ Hookham, H.: *op. cit.*, p. 161.

in 1404, he “turned up at Ortar where he waited while his roughly clad envoys went to Timur’s court once more as supplicants”.³⁴

Contemporary accounts indicate that the princes of the Golden Horde, and especially Idigu, remained thorns in the flesh of Timur. It is reported that, in 1398, the envoys of two Qipchaq princes, Idigu and Qutlugh Oghlan had arrived at Kabul and were given audience by Timur. According to the message, the two Qipchaq princes had repented of their past actions. Now they pledged that if pardoned, they would serve Timur and submit to the orders of his officers.³⁵ It appears that by the time of Clavijo’s visit to Timur’s court, Idigu, who formerly had been in the service of Timur, had grasped the chief power in the Golden Horde setting up one puppet Khan after another to nominal chiefship.³⁶ The ‘Tartars’³⁷ had thrown all allegiance to Timur and rallied around Idigu.³⁸ Timur failed to capture him. Clavijo reports that Toqtamish and Timur had recently become friends and together they sought to compass the overthrow of Idigu.³⁹ Timur even tried to win over Idigu by diplomacy and is said to have offered him a matrimonial alliance.⁴⁰ But Idigu refused saying that “he understood the ways of Timur so well that it was not thus he was to be beguiled”.⁴¹ So the matters between Timur and Idigu remained undecided. Toqtamish continued to live in the vicinity of Samarqand, and had been joined by his son, who had tried in vain

³⁴ Ibid., p. 161.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 190.

³⁶ Clavijo: *Embassy to Tamerlane*, English translation by Guy Le Strange, London, 1928, pp. 298—361 ns. Shortly afterwards Ibn-i-Arabshah wrote that Idigu gave the place of Sultan to whom he wished and deposed the same man at will; he ordered and none opposed him; of those whom he made Sultan were Qubaligh Timur Khan and his brother Rashadibeg Khan; then Fulud Khan, son of Tuligh Timur, then his brother Timur Khan. *Ajaib al-Maqdur*, English translation by J. H. Sanders, Reprint, Lahore, 1976, p. 86.

³⁷ Chingiz Khan is said to have revived the family name of Mongol, which was applied by the Chinese to his people and those amalgamated with them. The people of Mongolia called them ‘Tatar’. In Europe the word was associated with Tartarus (hell), and the term thus came to be spelt ‘Tartar’. Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 30.

³⁸ Idigu is reported to have brought under his command more than 200,000 horsemen of his Horde. Clavijo: op. cit., p. 299.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 299.

⁴⁰ Clavijo describes that “Timur lately sent messengers to Idiku saying that he, Timur, was now on his side, that he loved him and pardoned him and his misdeeds if indeed any there had been; further to prove he was his friend, and to make public engagement that he Timur and Idiku were indeed of one kindred and lineage, he would send him one of his grandsons who should marry a daughter of the family of Idiku”. Ibid., p. 299.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 299.

to overthrow Idigu with the help of the Genoese of Kaffa (in the Crimea).⁴² The dispossessed Toqtamish survived till 1406, a year after the death of Timur.⁴³ Idigu had survived Timur, but his power gradually declined until Timur Khan, whom he had himself installed as the puppet Khan, slew him.⁴⁴

Notwithstanding the resistance shown by Idigu, Timur had achieved his objective: he destroyed the trade route which bypassed his own state. There was no point in establishing his control over a land (i.e. Dasht-i-Qipchaq) which after continuous wars and internal conflicts had become a desert and waste without marks of a road.⁴⁵

Timur "seems to have had as little idea of permanent conquest and occupation of India as he had of establishing direct control over the Golden Horde. Booty, tribute, and nominal domination may have been sufficient objectives for an Indian expedition."⁴⁶ Commenting on the objectives of Timur's Indian campaign, Professor Mohammad Habib states that it was planned as a pure plundering raid with an excellent timetable. The campaign had to be finished in the winter months of 1398—1399 because he had no time for long sieges. He continues that Timur's real object was to plunder Delhi.⁴⁷ Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi's attempt to justify Timur's invasion of India on the ground that the central government of India, though in Muslim hands was weak, does not appear reasonable to Professor Mohammad Habib as to allow the extinction of that helpless government altogether.⁴⁸ Timur was not disappointed in India because his armies were victorious everywhere and he obtained a handsome booty. He was not worried with the fate of Delhi which he left without a master,

⁴² Ibid., p. 299.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 361 n8.

⁴⁴ Ibn-i-Arabshah: op. cit., p. 87.

⁴⁵ As a result of Timur's campaigns into Dasht and the internal crisis "the cultivated part of Dasht became desert and waste, the inhabitants scattered, dispersed, routed and destroyed, so that if anyone went through it without a guide and scout, he would certainly perish losing the way, even in summer; since winds, lifting and scattering sands, hide the way, passing over it, and wipe it out; but in winter since snow falling there collects on the road and covers it, for the ground is desert without marks of a road and its halting places are thrown into confusion, its stages and watering-places are fearful wastes and the roads utterly dead and difficult". Ibid., p. 85.

⁴⁶ Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 187.

⁴⁷ *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V. Edited by Mohammad Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami. Delhi, Reprint, 1982, p. 119.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 119. Professor Mohammad Habib has said in the same argument that the brutal fact was that Timur, as a robber, could afford to make no distinctions on religious grounds ... he had to plunder indiscriminately and on an extensive scale. Ibid., pp. 119—120.

but he conferred on Khizr Khan⁴⁹ the government (*iyalat*) of the *vilayat* of Multan.⁵⁰

Regarding Timur's settlement of the occupied territories of India, it is important to note that Khizr Khan was not assigned the kingdom of Delhi. On the contrary, Yahya Sirhindi is reported to have said that as soon as Khizr Khan entered the service of Timur after latter conquest of Delhi, he received the government of Delhi by its conqueror,⁵¹ and subsequently, at the time of his departure from India, Timur conferred Multan and Dipalpur on him. Commenting on Yahya Sirhindi's description of these events, Professor Mohammad Habib observes that "it is not clear whether government of Multan and Dipalpur was in addition to Delhi or was granted as an alternative to it".⁵² Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi does not refer to Khizr Khan as having ever received the government of Delhi. However, his appointment as Timur's vassal in Punjab and Upper Sind gave him, as has been rightly pointed out by Professor Mohammad Habib, a definite advantage over contenders for political supremacy.⁵³ Nevertheless he could capture the throne of Delhi, in 1414, after a long struggle against the Tughluq *maliks* and *amirs*.

Considering, therefore, the nature of the settlement of his occupied parts of India which Timur made on the eve of his departure from India, it can be said that in this campaign he was not guided merely by a desire for booty and plunder. Perhaps another important factor could be his concern for the security of the borders of the kingdom of Mahmud of Ghazna, comprising Kabulistan and Zabulistan, which Timur had already conferred, in 1392, on his grandson, Pir Muhammad Jahangir.⁵⁴ Related perhaps with this problem could also be his concern for the safe conduct of trade with India which was connected with the

⁴⁹ Khizr Khan was the son of Malik Sulaiman, an adopted son of Malik Nasiruddin Mulk Mardan Daulat, an eminent *amir* of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. On Mardan's death, his son, Malik Shaikh, got the *iqta* of Multan and when the latter also died, Sulaiman became the *iqtdar* of Multan. After Sulaiman's death, the *iqta* of Multan was assigned to his son, Khizr Khan. Khizr Khan lost the governorship of Multan as a result of a quarrel with Sarang Khan, brother of Mallu Iqbal Khan, who was the governor of Lahore and Dipalpur. Subsequently, Khizr Khan took shelter with Bahadur Nahir, the *maqta* of Mewat. After having conquered Delhi, Timur summoned Khizr Khan and several others from Mewat to pay their homage to the conqueror. Khizr Khan, therefore, joined Timur and remained constant in his company till the exit of the conqueror from India. *Ibid.*, pp. 632—633.

⁵⁰ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 175. According to Mirkhond, Khizr Khan was assigned the *hukoomat* of Multan, *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, p. 152; *Habib al-Siyar*, p. 480.

⁵¹ *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V, op. cit., p. 633.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 633.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 633.

⁵⁴ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 558.

Old Silk Road with Multan as an important stage.⁵⁵ Obviously, there was the need of a friendly vassal in the important region of Punjab and Upper Sind. Timur's immediate successors, Shahrukh and Ulugh Beg, continued to regard this region as of great significance. The settlement of Timur's Indian conquest, therefore, assumes great significance. He did not appoint a deputy or a vassal at Delhi; he appointed a vassal in the Punjab and Upper Sind, a kingdom which could, in the event of the revival of a strong and independent kingdom at Delhi, perhaps serve as a buffer state between the kingdom of Mahmud of Ghazna and the Delhi Sultanate. Moreover, establishment of a vassal at Multan could perhaps ensure the continuance of the caravan trade irrespective of the decline of Delhi.

Khizr Khan continued to recognize the suzerainty of Timur, employing the name of the conqueror on coins, in the *khutba*, and sending tribute to him.⁵⁶ Sultan Mahmud Tughluq, Mallu Shah, and others returned in due course to Delhi and resumed their struggle for power. Eventually Mallu was defeated in battle by Khizr Khan the Saiyyid, who some years later captured Delhi itself, and founded the Saiyyid dynasty.⁵⁷ As long as Khizr Khan ruled, he recognized Timur and his successor, Shahrukh, as his nominal overlords. The Saiyyid rulers who followed Khizr Khan continued to acknowledge "the overlordship of the Timurids and paid regular tribute to them, thus reducing the Delhi Sultanate into a dependency of the Timurids".⁵⁸ It was not only feeling of gratitude which persuaded the Saiyyid rulers to fulfil their obligations⁵⁹ towards the successors of Timur; this attitude was necessitated by 'the harsh realities of the political situation'.⁶⁰ Moreover, they are said to have never felt themselves strong enough

⁵⁵ Multan was connected with Balkh by a trunk road. From Balkh there issued several roads connecting Multan with important centres of trade in Transoxiana.

⁵⁶ Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 200.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 200.

⁵⁸ Zilli, I. A.: *Relations of the Saiyyid Sultans of Delhi with the Timurids. — A Reappraisal*. Paper presented at the Aligarh Session of the Indian History Congress, 1975 (mimeo).

⁵⁹ Such as annual tribute, inclusion of the name of the overlord in the *khutba* and the coins. On the observance of these obligations by the Saiyyid rulers of Delhi I. A. Zilli's observation is worth mentioning. According to his findings, the *khutba* continued to be read at Delhi in the name of Timurid rulers throughout the Saiyyid rule. Tribute from India used to come to Herat regularly down to 1443. Coins of the Saiyyid rulers carrying the names of Timur and his successors are not extant. Ibid.

⁶⁰ I. A. Zilli has argued that "the presence of the ambitious rulers in the adjoining states, and an increasing tendency on the part of the local potentates to assert their independence within the territory precariously held by the Saiyyids, made them (the Saiyyid rulers) desperately grope for moral and material support to sustain themselves in power. Moreover, the Saiyyids did not have any base within the apparatus of political power that they were running, they had no tribal or any other kind of stable support amongst the nobles." Ibid.

to repudiate this association, while there were several advantages in its maintenance to remain in power.⁶¹

Timur's keen interest in the development of trade induced him to seek friendship of the neighbouring rulers. Thus he brought arguments⁶² from history while he sought the renewal of friendship with the Sultan of Egypt. In 1393, an embassy was sent to Barquq, Sultan of Egypt, proposing a treaty of friendship and commercial relations. His motives were clear. Since the lands of Persia and Iraq, which had already passed into his control, bordered on the territories of Egypt, it was felt necessary "in the interest of general tranquility that the trade routes should be free and that the merchants of the two nations should be able to come together in security. This would render their countries prosperity, bring abundance to the towns, and maintain the peoples in peace."⁶³ Barquq responded by holding the main envoy, Atilmish, as prisoner while the other envoys were killed.⁶⁴ Besides, he also gave shelter to an enemy of Timur, the fugitive Sultan Ahmad of Baghdad, and had, in fact, re-equipped him with forces to regain his throne.⁶⁵ Barquq further strengthened this alliance by his marriage with one of Sultan Ahmad's daughters.⁶⁶

Another letter was sent to Sultan Barquq which contained warnings and threats.⁶⁷ The Sultan of Egypt is said to have replied in strong words accepting the challenge. In 1394, Barquq assembled his forces against Timur and arrived at Damascus to settle the matter with the Tatar conqueror. At Damascus, Barquq received envoys from Toqtamish of the Golden Horde and the Ottoman Sultan Bayazid, the former offered an alliance and the latter sent funds against

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Thus Timur is said to have recalled in his message that although the Hulagids had fought with the predecessors of the Egyptian Sultans, but, later on, cordial relations had been established between the two empires. Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 150.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 150.

⁶⁴ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. II, pp. 274—275; *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, p. 168; Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 152.

⁶⁵ *Habib al Siyar*, p. 462; Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 152.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 152.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 152. Ibn-i-Arabshah has reproduced this correspondence (*Ajaib al-Maqdur*, op. cit., pp. 91—94) but does not believe it to be true as he subsequently found "a copy of this letter (attributed to the Sultan of Egypt) and the form of this despatch (attributed to Timur), which was composed by Nasiruddin Tusi in the name of Bulagu Tatar, who sent it to the Sultan of Egypt. And the copy of his reply is in the very style of someone who lived at that time," *Ajaib al-Maqdur*, op. cit., p. 94. Hilda Hookham has put reliance on the statements of Ibn Taghri Birdi while quoting from him the contents of this second correspondence which took place between Timur and Barquq. It is to be kept in mind that both Ibn Taghri Birdi and his father were in service of Barquq's son and successor. Later on, Ibn Taghri Birdi accompanied Faraj to Syria to offer resistance to Timur. Hookham, H.: op. cit., pp. 152—153, 227—230.

Timur.⁶⁸ Timur, however, avoided issue with the Sultan of Egypt and turned to Transoxiana, the security of which had been threatened by the reassembled troops of Toqtamish. Thereafter Barquq also retired to Cairo where he died soon, in 1395, and was succeeded by his young son, Faraj. Timur was ever keen “to force Egypt to her knees, and to bring under his own command the treasure and trade of this powerful state which had long been the main pillar of Islam”.⁶⁹ Egypt controlled the trade and artisan depots of Cairo and Damascus, the main centres of commerce with India, the pilgrim route to Mecca and Medina, and the Muslim shrines in Jerusalem. In 1400, Timur sent a letter to Sultan Faraj, demanding subordination.⁷⁰ The envoy carrying this letter never reached Sultan Faraj for on his way he was seized and killed by Sudun, Viceroy of Damascus.⁷¹ Timur, consequently, turned the direction of his attack against Syria. The fall of the important centres of trade in Syria, like Aleppo (Halb), some times called “little India” because of the volume of Indian produce available in its bazaars,⁷² brought Faraj to Syria. In 1401, Faraj was found camping outside Damascus. Timur also arrived within striking distance of Damascus. Once again he sent a messenger to Faraj with offers of peace: “Deliver our governor Atilmish. Declare your submission by having my name in the Friday prayers. Strike money in my name. Then will I spare you.”⁷³ The answer was conciliatory; Faraj offered submission and promised to send Atilmish back in five days.⁷⁴ Then Timur withdrew to the east where there was fine grassland. The Damascans interpreted this as a sign of weakness and came out of the city to take the enemy by the rear. When the ‘Damascene sortie’ was reported to Timur, he moved into action. As a result the Syrians were pushed back. Meanwhile, Timur received a missive from Faraj: “Yesterday’s affair — the sortie — ... was a popular rising. We had nothing to do with it. We shall carry out our promises and in spite of everything hope to obtain pardon.”⁷⁵ Soon afterwards Faraj slipped away and

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 153.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 212.

⁷⁰ In his letter to Faraj, Timur said that “the Sultan your father committed many crimes against us, murdered our ambassadors, imprisoned Atilmish, one of our officers. Now your father is facing the Divine Tribunal. It is not surprising that a Christian slave, without a drop of royal blood in his veins, should behave thus. There was nothing of the king in him. You are advised to take better care of yourself and the life of your subjects. Strike money in our name and have us mentioned in the Friday sermon. Send back Atilmish our envoy, or suffer the consequences to Syria and perhaps also to Egypt. If you do not, you will be responsible for the blood of the Muslims.” Hookham, H.: op. cit., pp. 223—224; *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, p. 168; *Habib al-Siyar*, pp. 491—492.

⁷¹ Ibn-i-Arabshah: op. cit., p. 120.

⁷² Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 224.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 230.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 230.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 231; *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, p. 176.

the Egyptian army broke up and took to flight. Faraj was pursued but he escaped. Timur then sent a letter to Faraj in which the demand for Atilmish was repeated. Faraj conceded the demand. Concurrently, he also engaged in preparations to renew the struggle against Timur.⁷⁶

According to Ibn-i-Arabshah, the Sultan of Egypt, after his flight, sent a letter to Timur in which he declared war. The historian deplores the 'folly of this sort'. He feels that the Sultan should have instead tried to "put forward something which could have turned Timur's heart and calmed the blazing fire of his wrath with gifts and presents".⁷⁷ Timur ridiculed the wisdom of the Sultan who had chosen as his ambassador a man who did not even know the meaning of his name.⁷⁸ He dismissed him with disgust.

However, Timur saw no menace from Faraj. But in Bayazid Yilderim (Ottoman Sultan of Turkey) there remained an enemy of substance on the western confines of his empire. Timur had already driven a wedge between Faraj and Bayazid. In 1402, he opened hostilities against Sultan Bayazid and overpowered him. After the victory a despatch was sent to Sultan Faraj which said: "We order you to return Atilmish to our court, to have money struck in our name, and to include our name in the *khutba*."⁷⁹ Faraj, Sultan of Egypt and Syria responded with his submission. Atilmish was sent back with ambassadors who brought a modest reply. Faraj sought pardon and repented for the error of his father and himself, and consented to send tribute annually. Timur's name was read in the *khutba* and money was minted in his name. The ambassadors brought quantities of coin in gold and silver, gems, belts, materials of Alexandria, sabras of Cairo, fine horses, and other gifts.⁸⁰ After the Sultan of Egypt had acknowledged the suzerainty of Timur, the latter felt no need to annex the territories of Egypt. Instead, he showed Faraj special favour by sending him, in 1403, a letter some "seventy cubits long by three wide (approximately forty yards by one and a half) of exquisite calligraphy and sentiment".⁸¹

Ottoman Sultan Bayazid Yilderim, the Thunderbolt, had advanced east across Anatolia towards Armenia and the provinces owing allegiance to Timur, had given shelter to Timur's enemies, Sultan Ahmad Jalayir and Qara Yusuf. In

⁷⁶ Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 239.

⁷⁷ Ibn-i-Arabshah: op. cit., p. 155.

⁷⁸ Ambassador's name was Bisaq. Timur asked him 'What is the meaning of this absurd word?' And when the ambassador expressed his ignorance, Timur admonished him and observed that, in fact, the fault lay more with the Sultan who employed him as ambassador. Ibid., p. 156.

⁷⁹ Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 260.

⁸⁰ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. II, pp. 499—501; *Habib al-Siyar*, pp. 514—515; Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 260.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 297.

1402, Timur defeated the Ottoman Sultan and made him a prisoner.⁸² The empire of the defeated Sultan was not annexed. According to Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, Timur had plans to restore Bayazid Yilderim.⁸³ But, in fact, he had already broken up the empire while Bayazid was in his custody. Firstly, he restored the Turkish emirates⁸⁴ seized by Bayazid. Seven dethroned princes who had taken shelter at Timur's court were reinstated in their countries as his vassals.⁸⁵ Timur offered, after Bayazid had died, the remnants of the Ottoman empire to the sons of the deceased Sultan on condition of their submission. Sulayman Chelebi or Mussalman Chalpi, a son of Bayazid, accepted European provinces. He was confirmed as governor of the Turkish provinces in Europe, and was granted *yarligh* with *āl-tamgha* (grant in perpetuity), a robe of honour, belt and crown.⁸⁶ Adrianople became his capital. The original patrimony of the Ottomans, in the north-west of the Anatolian peninsula, with the capital of Brusa, was awarded to Isa Chelebi.⁸⁷ Mehemed Chelebi, another son of Bayazid, continued resistance in the north-east of the peninsula, but he, too, sent an envoy to Timur.⁸⁸ Timur also included into his family a daughter of Bayazid who was given into marriage to his grandson, Prince Aba Bakr b. Miranshah.⁸⁹ The last empire of Islam had submitted to Timur. The Turkish emirates and the Ottoman princes became his vassals. But remote as they were from his main land, Timur left them to rule over their territories. By obtaining their submission, he had, however, secured the defence of his territories.

It may be concluded from the above that Timur's campaigns against the rulers of Moghulistan, Dasht, India, Egypt and Turkey were not aimed at booty and plunder only. The campaigns were launched according to a scheme in which Timur's main objective was the defence of his borders and control over trade routes which passed through Central Asia connecting it with the rest of the then civilized world. He was successful in all his campaigns, but at the same time he

⁸² *Zafar Nama*, Vol. II, pp. 430—438; *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, p. 195; *Habib al-Siyar*, pp. 509—510.

⁸³ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 460. Another version says that the Ottoman *amirs* sent an envoy to negotiate with Timur a ransom for Bayazid and Timur agreed to release him on payment of nine thousand florins. The envoy returned to raise the sum. Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 257.

⁸⁴ These emirates were: Germiyan, Tekke, Saruhan, Aydin, Mentesh, Qizil Amid, and Qaraman.

⁸⁵ Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 256.

⁸⁶ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. II, pp. 478—479; *Rauzat al-Safa*, Vol. VI, p. 202.

⁸⁷ Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 257. Isa died in 1403. Timur then conferred the government of Brusa on Musa Chelebi, another son of Bayazid and granted him *yarligh* with *āl-tamgha*. *Zafar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 491.

⁸⁸ Hookham, H.: op. cit., p. 257.

⁸⁹ *Zafar Nama*, Vol. II, p. 456.

was aware of the roots of the rulers whom he had defeated. In most cases, he recognized hereditary rights to rule and, therefore, restored either the original rulers or their descendants or kinsmen, as in the case of Dasht-i-Qipchaq (Golden Horde), Moghulistan, Egypt and Turkey. In the case of India, however, Timur did not raise a ruler at Delhi. Reasons for this are not known. It may plausibly be said that he could not discover a prince of the dethroned house of the Tughluqs who could be installed as his vassal. However, while returning from India, he was careful to appoint a vassal at Multan which, at that time, commanded the main route connecting India with Central Asia. There is sufficient ground to assume that the tributary kings, whose territories were not incorporated into the Central Asian empire of Timur, continued to enjoy autonomy within their respective territories. Timur demanded from them only inclusion of his name in *khutba* and coins, annual tribute (*peshkash*), and the conduct of the caravan trade.

EGYPT — THE LAST PHASE OF POLITICAL ANARCHY, 1804—1805

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The study analyses the political and social development in Egypt in the years 1804—1805. It is the period from March 1804 to April 1805 when Aḥmad Pasha Khūrshīd held the post of the Egyptian Viceroy; the period known as the last phase of the political anarchy before the rise of Muḥammad ʿAlī to the viceregal throne of Egypt.

The rebellion of the Albanian soldiers and the uprising of the Cairenes in March 1804 meant the expulsion of the Mamlūks from Cairo and the fall of their government. The initiator of these events — Muḥammad ʿAlī understood that his time had not come yet, and therefore he offered the vacant seat to Khūrshīd Pasha, the Governor of Alexandria, which was consequently approved by the Sublime Porte. However, the Mamlūks did not want to reconcile with their defeat, they considered their failure only a temporary one and they tried to regain the lost positions. But neither the Mamlūks nor the Viceroy had enough power to gain the decisive superiority and so the political anarchy more and more paralysed the country.

The situation was purposefully utilized by Muḥammad ʿAlī, who leaned against the new social forces, masses of people as well as the emerging bourgeoisie and with their assistance he definitely foiled the hopes of the Mamlūks to restore their former power and glory. He prepared positions not only for the gradual coming of new social conditions, but for his own irrepressible rise as well.

By the farmān which was delivered to the Beys in November 1803, the Sublime Porte amnestied them and recognized their government. However, the Beys were not satisfied with the concessions made by the Sublime Porte and therefore they continued in their effort to obtain more favourable conditions. They hoped to succeed in convincing the Sublime Porte to reconcile with the reality. Despite constant interventions of both English and French diplomats in Istanbul, almost no change was achieved in the Sublime Porte's attitude towards the Mamlūks. The farmān issued by the Sublime Porte on 20 January 1804, and

brought to Egypt by Ṣāliḥ Aghā,¹ only confirmed the previous changes (the farmān of 5 September 1803), and ordered the Viceroy al-Jazā'irī Pasha and the Mamlūk Beys an urgent dispatch of 4,000 troops to al-Ḥijāz to fight against the Wahhābīs as well as sending 30 thousand ardabs² of grain to Mecca and Medina.

The Mamlūk Beys, typical representatives of a declining medieval military-feudal aristocracy, were firmly convinced that they alone had the right to rule in Egypt. Interventions on the part of the British and the French in favour of the Mamlūks resulted in that the Porte adamantly rejected all their proposals and withdrew its own insistence on evacuation of the Mamlūks from Egypt only when its power in Egypt was wrenched from its hands and the Beys became in fact the true lords of the country excepting Alexandria. However, this concession of the Porte in the face of objective reality did not produce the expected result: the Beys no longer believed in the sincerity of the Porte's intentions, and after the expulsion of the first Viceroy Khusraw Pasha, they killed the second one 'Alī Pasha al-Jazā'irī.

Regardless of the fact whether the recognition of the Beys' government was only a temporary concession or whether it meant reconciliation with the objective reality, the Beys did not believe in honest intentions from the side of the Sublime Porte.³ However, they could not expect — nor in the case of its honest intentions — that the Sublime Porte would tolerate a political crime they committed — the assassination of al-Jazā'irī Pasha. So they lost a suitable opportunity to strengthen their power at the time when the whole of Egypt except Alexandria was under their domination and their dream about the return of the former power and glory passed away due to obstacles they were unable to overcome. The decisive moment was when their amnesty and the recognition of their government by the Sublime Porte lost its validity in view of the assassination of al-Jazā'irī. By their deed the Beys became rebels and insurgents against the legal sovereign of the country and their government lost the support of the inhabitants without which it was unable to retain its power.

It used to be a custom for leaders of some rebellion to summon the shaykhs, ulemas and notables and these had to write a petition to the Sultan, in which they justified what had happened and recommended him to adopt a positive standpoint to the new situation. Following the murder of al-Jazā'irī, the Beys could not stage a similar scene, and thus the population looked upon them as

¹ Ṣāliḥ Aghā was member of a special unit (al-qābijī) of the Porte's couriers by sea.

² Ardab or ardabb — an Egyptian dry measure equal to 197.75 litres.

³ Missett to Hobart, 4 February 1804. Douin, Georges: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. *La politique mameluke (1803—1807)*. Société royale de géographie d'Égypte. Cairo, 1930. Document 72, p. 98.

criminals, and the injustices which they continued to perpetrate only multiplied the people's hatred towards them. It was rather paradoxical that under these circumstances, the Mamlūks were more and more dependent on the support of the Albanians and their leader Muḥamad ʿAlī, although their own conviction grew steadily stronger, and that they must get rid of the Albanians at all cost and by any means, as soon as possible.

The atrocities of the Albanians against the Cairenes increased after the assassination of al-Jazāʾirī. The Beys were unable to keep them under control since they needed them — first in connection with Alexandria and then for the pursuit of al-Alfī Bey and his followers. The Beys could not see any other outcome except the one in imposing new taxes on the inhabitants in order to pay the soldiers' pays. In vain the shaykhs as mediators of the people went to see them with demands to cancel the new taxes and with grievances due to daily looting and killing committed by the Albanians. The Beys argued that they were not strong enough at the time to destroy the Albanians, but they promised them that the day of revenge was approaching.⁴

The situation further worsened after the expulsion of Muḥammad Bey al-Alfī. ʿUthmān Bey al-Bardīsī blamed the Albanians for their inability of accepting effective measures to protect the country. Based on Missett's promises he expected the arrival of the British troops from India, with the assistance of which he wanted to drive out the Albanians and re-establish order in the country. The Albanians, on the other hand, when they saw the division among the Mamlūks violating the traditions which forbade to fight against a "brother", lost their respect for the Mamlūks.

Hence, the fate of the Beys' government in Cairo depended to a considerable degree on Muḥammad ʿAlī's attitude, and he decided to finish with the Mamlūks and drive them out of Cairo. Through a planned overthrow of their rule he followed an all-round consolidation of his position. It is known that according to the decision of the Sublime Porte (farmān of September 1803) the Albanians ought to have left Egypt and their departure would have meant to Muḥammad ʿAlī the ruin of his plans for gaining influence and power in the country, which had developed in so promising a manner following the murder of Ṭāhir Pasha.

Muḥammad ʿAlī did not trust in the Sublime Porte. He knew there was no mercy for rebels, hence he looked for ways how to win Lesseps' friendship so as to be able to take support in the French against the Porte's intrigues.⁵ It was clear to him, that should he return to his own country, they would have murdered

⁴ Lesseps to Drovetti, 21 January 1804. Douin, Georges: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. S.R.G.E., publications spéciales. Cairo, 1925. Doc. 86, p. 142.

⁵ Missett to Hobart, 12 March 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 88, p. 119.

him secretly at the first opportunity regardless of any amnesty, and therefore he did not intend to leave Egypt.

The Mamlūks were in open enmity with the Porte, and Muḥammad ʿAlī as their ally inevitably bore his share of responsibility. Muḥammad ʿAlī and his Albanians also had had their fingers in the original luring of al-Jazāʾirī out of Alexandria and although they took no direct part in his murder, his liquidation suited them. It was clear, that as long as Muḥammad ʿAlī would go on supporting al-Bardīsī and did not fulfil the Sultan's orders, viz. to leave Egypt with all the Albanians, his position would go on worsening.⁶ It was therefore imperative for him to undertake something that would remove from him the stigma of a rebel and insurgent, and present him as a man who wanted to restore Egypt to its lawful lord and destroy his adversaries. In this way he could hope that the Porte would no longer insist on his departure from Egypt, for he would be in the position of a man whose presence is indispensable for enforcing the power of the lawful ruler. To carry through this design, there was no other way than to drive the Mamlūks out of Cairo, which did not appear difficult seeing the deep division reigning in their ranks.⁷

The plan of the overthrow was quite simple: the Beys were unable to pay the mercenaries and therefore they imposed new taxes on the inhabitants. This measure provoked an enormous wave of dissatisfaction, indignation and anger among the people who, led by the shaykhs and notables, rebelled against the tyranny. This popular uprising was the right opportunity for Muḥammad ʿAlī to carry out his planned coup.

It is an indisputable fact that Muḥammad ʿAlī stood behind the popular uprising which culminated between 8—13 March 1804 and which put an end to the Beys' government in Egypt and thus definitely foiled their hopes of return to their former power and glory. It also helped Muḥammad ʿAlī's plans that al-Bardīsī until the last moment blindly believed in his friendship and devotion and acted in compliance with his "advice". In relation towards the people, from the moment Muḥammad ʿAlī had decided to carry out his coup, he acted as one who understood the hard situation of the Cairenes and condemned the Beys' tyranny.⁸ Therefore he established and deepened good contacts with the people's leaders — shaykhs, ulemas and notables.

The first from a series of disturbances was evoked by the Albanians on 27 January; the soldiers gathered in front of the houses of their commanders — Muḥammad ʿAlī, Aḥmad Bey and Ḥasan Bey — and shouted that they would

⁶ Shukrī, Muḥammad Fu'ād: *Miṣr fī maṭla' al-qarn at-tāsi' 'ashar, 1801—1811* (Egypt at the beginning of the 19th century). Vol. I. Cairo, 1958, p. 240.

⁷ Lesseps to Talleyrand, 5 March 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Doc. 114, p. 180.

⁸ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 240.

kill them unless they paid them off. Then the Albanians surrounded the city's quarter where al-Bardīsī lived and forced him to pay them at least a part of their salaries. He promised them that they would receive the pay for two months in 20 days and another part in 40 days with the condition they would give up the rest of their pay.⁹ The Albanian officers pretended to agree, however the violence against the inhabitants continued and there were fears that an all-round looting would break out.

During the unrest caused by the Albanian troops, Muḥammad ʿAlī behaved as a man who wanted to calm them down. He acted in the role of a mediator between the soldiers and the Beys; on 24 February, "in order to settle the dispute" between the two sides, he went to al-Bardīsī's house with the soldiers who asked for their pay.¹⁰ By that move he wanted to show that he was unable to settle the situation since the soldiers refused him obedience and he "advised" al-Bardīsī to get money for the salaries at any cost.

It was necessary to obtain considerable finances for paying the troops. Al-Bardīsī imposed taxes on foreigners and churches, however, it was not enough since the total of unpaid salaries amounted to 3,700 purses.¹¹ Therefore al-Bardīsī had to impose new taxes on the inhabitants on 7 March 1804: annual rents were imposed on all assets and other properties.¹² The answer was a wave of protests, and there were clashes between money collectors and the inhabitants. Cairo mutinied — the inhabitants gathered in the mosques, masses of the poor with their wives and children went out into the streets. They beat on small drums and shouted various slogans like: "What advantage will it bring to you, if you ruin us, O Bardīsī!"¹³ Then the crowds gathered in front of al-Azhar mosque and asked the shaykhs to intervene for the cancellation of extra taxes.¹⁴ As a result of this popular move the Beys were forced to abolish the taxes.

The popular move had serious direct consequences a) for the Beys, who were surprised by the unexpected resistance of the people and begun to fear; b) for Muḥammad ʿAlī, who realized that he could not further postpone his plan unless the anger of the Cairenes would turn against the Albanians for their previous deeds. The Albanians could find themselves engaging two foes: on one hand there were the Mamlūks, who would like to get rid of them and on the

⁹ Lesseps to Talleyrand, 5 March 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Doc. 114, p. 181.

¹⁰ Missett to Hobart, 6 March 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 86, p. 116.

¹¹ Rosetti to d'Italinsky, 12 March 1804. Ibid., Doc. 89, pp. 120—124.

¹² Ibid., p. 121.

¹³ Al-Jabartī, ʿAbdurrahmān: *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār fī at-tarājim wa al-akhbār* (Peculiarities in Biographies and Reports). Part III, 1216—1220 H (1801—1806). Cairo, 1905, p. 236.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 283.

other hand the population, who could easily beat the Albanian troops dispersed all over the city during the uprising. The popular rebellion really frightened the Albanians, therefore they began to claim they were the allies of the people and in the same way exploited by the Beys' rule.¹⁵ Muḥammad 'Alī went into the streets among stormy crowds and promised he would see to the abolition of the new tax. In the markets there were slogans shouted that the Albanians go with the people and as a result all diverted from the Mamlūks. Muḥammad 'Alī succeeded in getting both the shaykhs and the population on his side.¹⁶

In the course of these events the majority of the Beys realized that they had to wind up disputes with the Albanians, and the future would belong to that side which would liquidate its opponents sooner. This opinion was enforced by Ibrāhīm Bey, who perhaps best of all realized the danger and on every occasion warned al-Bardīsī against Muḥammad 'Alī and the alliance with the Albanians. At a secret gathering of the Beys convened by Ibrāhīm Bey after the events of 7–8 March 1804, he pointed at the necessity of breaking off contact with the Albanians and their leader and destroy them definitely by one strike,¹⁷ because Muḥammad 'Alī's attitudes during these events caused serious doubts about his loyalty towards the Mamlūks. Only al-Bardīsī supported him against all suspicions pointing at the good offices he rendered them before.

Muḥammad 'Alī learned that the Beys did not trust him any more, but al-Bardīsī's blindness protected him. Al-Bardīsī trusted him in such a way that he accepted also his further "advice" and got rid of the bravest and most devoted servant, the French "Mamlūk" Combe and replaced the group of his well-trained artillerymen by a group of Turks, to whom he did not devote attention. The group of Turks was bribed by Muḥammad 'Alī and at that time he knew that there was the right moment for the last decisive strike to the Beys' rule.¹⁸

Only on 12 March al-Bardīsī learned from his spies that the Albanians wanted to assault him in his own house, therefore he immediately gathered all his Mamlūks around him. The assault began at midnight: Muḥammad 'Alī leading a group of the Albanians went to surround al-Bardīsī's house and Ḥasan Bey with another group the house of Ibrāhīm Bey. The Cairenes heard the shooting which lasted also the following day, 13 March. Al-Bardīsī could not use his artillery and so he did not see any way out except cutting his way through the Albanian encirclement and retreat from the city. Ibrāhīm Bey was in the same situation. The Mamlūks in the Citadel headed by Shāhīn Bey fired at the

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 284.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 284.

¹⁷ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 243.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 243.

houses of the Albanians at al-Azbakīyah, but when the news spread about al-Bardīsī's and Ibrāhīm's escape, part of the garrison mutinied and Shāhīn Bey with his followers had to run away.¹⁹ The Nilometer on the island of Roḍa with a garrison of some 200 infantrymen under the command of Ḥusayn Bey az-Zanṭāwī was the last stronghold of the Mamlūks in Cairo. However, after the news about al-Bardīsī's escape, it was also quickly abandoned. Thus the whole of Cairo fell in the hands of Muḥammad 'Alī.

The way to this coup was a chain of intrigues, conspiracies, treachery and murders. Muḥammad 'Alī by means of Ṭāhir Pasha removed Khusraw Pasha, then he got rid of Ṭāhir Pasha with the help of the Janissaries. When Aḥmad Pasha appeared with the Janissaries, Muḥammad 'Alī joined the Mamlūks in order to get rid of them; during his alliance with the Mamlūks al-Jazā'irī Pasha was killed and with his assistance al-Bardīsī expelled al-Alfī. Al-Bardīsī was deceived and the fall of the Beys' government in Cairo had been the price of his blind confidence. It meant the end of all hopes to restore the former power and glory of the Mamlūks.²⁰

It is necessary to emphasize that the Mamlūks themselves had to be blamed for the weakening and consequent end of their rule. Despite repeated warnings of the English agents they dispersed the Janissaries and drove them out of Cairo instead of trying to get them on their side. As enemies of the Albanians, the Janissaries could support the Mamlūks in maintaining the power balance. The Mamlūk Beys obviously thought that they were predestined to rule Egypt by almighty Allah and they were so much influenced by temporary successes that they did not devote attention to reasonable advice.²¹

The fact is that the Albanians won the power struggle. They decided to get the political capital for themselves and therefore after driving out the Mamlūks, they demonstrated for the restoration of the Sublime Porte's sovereignty. Muḥammad 'Alī was interested in the viceroy's seat — empty since al-Jazā'irī's assassination — to be taken, as a proof that he did not follow personal aims by the coup and that his intention was to liquidate the Mamlūks' rule and strengthen the legal power. On the other hand he did not want to give the Sublime Porte enough time to choose a strong personality and supply him with a sufficient number of troops. Muḥammad 'Alī assumed that the Sublime Porte would satisfy as usually with confirming the "status quo", if he succeeded to choose a suitable Viceroy. In that case the real power in the country would

¹⁹ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 285.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 283—284.

²¹ Missett to Hobart, 18 March 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 94, p. 136.

remain in his hands and he would have the chance, if necessary, to overthrow the Viceroy at any time.

Muḥammad ʿAlī made yet another well-considered move: on 13 March he set free Khusraw Pasha, who had been imprisoned in the Citadel for eight months. The news quickly spread and the shaykhs came to Muḥammad ʿAlī's house to congratulate Khusraw for his liberation.²² Muḥammad ʿAlī wanted to use Khusraw for his aims, and therefore he declared that Khusraw had returned to his office. It was clear that the brothers of the murdered Ṭāhir Pasha and commanders of those Albanian troops, who participated in overthrowing Khusraw, could not agree with such a solution. They expressed their negative attitude by the fact that during Khusraw's imprisonment the governorship was passed over to al-Jazā'irī and that Khusraw was appointed governor in Thessaloniki by the farmān of 19 November 1803. Muḥammad ʿAlī "submitted" to the majority and on 15 March he ordered Khusraw's transfer to Rosetta,²³ where he was put on a ship sailing for Istanbul.

Another candidate for the viceroy's office was Aḥmad Pasha Khūrshīd, who would like to get the post in May 1803,²⁴ after Khusraw's overthrow. He tried for the second time after al-Jazā'irī's assassination: he negotiated the matter with the Mamlūk Beys by means of the English agents, but the negotiations broke down on the problem of Alexandria. For the third time Khūrshīd took his chance towards the end of February 1804, when the situation in Cairo became acute and the clash between the Mamlūks and the Albanians was expected, but this time he negotiated with Muḥammad ʿAlī.

There existed a secret agreement between Muḥammad ʿAlī and Khūrshīd, which is proved by the fact that already at night from 12 to 13 March — at the time when his soldiers attacked the houses of al-Bardīsī and Ibrāhīm — Muḥammad ʿAlī sent a group of soldiers to the qāḍī with the farmān containing the appointment of Khūrshīd Pasha the Viceroy of Egypt. The soldiers delivered the farmān and asked the qāḍī to summon the shaykhs, ulemas and notables immediately in the morning and make them familiar with its contents.²⁵ On 13 March the qāḍī sent for the shaykhs; however, in view of continuing fighting and clashes in the city, they refused to come. Then the qāḍī sent them the farmān to read it through and inform the population about its contents.²⁶ Apart from it, two days after publishing the farmān in Cairo, a group of Albanian soldiers reached Alexandria (on 15 March) to inform Khūrshīd Pasha about his ap-

²² Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 285.

²³ Ibid., p. 287.

²⁴ Caffé to Talleyrand, 8 May 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Doc. 28, p. 48.

²⁵ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 285.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 285.

pointment to the viceregal throne. Khūrshīd received the news calmly as if he would expect the course of events and gun salvos from the fortresses of Alexandria greeted the new Viceroy.²⁷

When the news reached Istanbul, the Sublime Porte looked at the events as being an effort of the Albanians to remedy their deeds and regain the Sultan's favour.²⁸

The version on the existence of an agreement between Khūrshīd and Muḥammad 'Alī does not deny the fact that the latter — despite the farmān — offered the same office to Khusraw Pasha: he was convinced, that the Albanian commanders would not agree with a man whose support were the Janissaries — the murderers of Ṭāhir Pasha. Muḥammad 'Alī's calculations were correct; the Albanians really refused this proposal, but he reached his goal: he showed the unselfishness of his motives viz. the Mamlūk's rule was overthrown only in order to return Egypt to the Sultan and not for his personal profit. It is obvious that "the move" with Khusraw brought Muḥammad 'Alī demonstrations of sympathy by the shaykhs and many other Cairenes, who came to congratulate Khusraw for his liberation, and the confidence in sincerity of his designs arose.²⁹ When the goal was reached Muḥammad 'Alī allowed the Albanians to evacuate Khusraw from Egypt. Muḥammad 'Alī's statement that Khusraw returned to his office hid a deeper sense, the substance of which some contemporaries also realized: Muḥammad 'Alī was already so strong that he could appoint or dismiss the viceroys while Khūrshīd Pasha after taking up the office had to count with this force when solving the questions of government and administration. The above-mentioned moves and manoeuvres at the same time veiled Muḥammad 'Alī's plans in a dense screen: he demonstrated how he honoured the Sublime Porte, which increased his prestige both with the shaykhs and ulemas as well as with the people. He could look in the future with satisfaction.

Undoubtedly the proof that Khūrshīd's appointment took place after previous agreement with Muḥammad 'Alī, but without the consent of the Sublime Porte was the farmān that was used during the coup. With regard to the fact that the Sublime Porte did not send anything similar at that time, it is obvious that it was a forgery made in Alexandria on Khūrshīd's order.³⁰

The reality was that when the Sublime Porte received the news of al-Jazā'irī's death, it wanted to appoint to the viceregal throne a man capable of forming a

²⁷ Lesseps to Talleyrand, 16 March 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Doc. 119, pp. 189—192.

²⁸ Straton to Hawkesbury, 10 April 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 101, p. 148.

²⁹ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 285.

³⁰ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 250.

strong government who would suppress all mutinies and rebellions, liquidate the military power of the Mamlūks and safeguard the country against any foreign invasion whether it would come from England or France.

With regard to the contradictory news that reached Istanbul on the circumstances of al-Jazā'irī's death a corvette was sent to Alexandria to get an objective view about the situation in Egypt. A squadron of four ships with thousand Turkish troops on board were getting ready to sail for Egypt; their task was to strengthen the garrison in Alexandria.³¹ After lengthy negotiation the Ottoman dīwān decided to appoint Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār, Governor of 'Akkah the Viceroy of Egypt. The choice was rather unusual since it could be expected that a man like Aḥmad al-Jazzār would throw the country into the turmoil of a civil war if a foreign invasion did not take place in the meantime. There were two possibilities of an unfavourable development: 1) al-Jazzār would agree with the Mamlūk Beys on the division and ruling of the country without the Sublime Porte; 2) both sides (Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār and the Mamlūk Beys) would fight in order to gain superiority.

It was hardly probable that if al-Jazzār went out of the rivalry as a victor, he would be further loyal to the Sultan. As to the Mamlūks it was clear that they would refuse obedience and would not respect the Sultan's orders. Still, such practice — to send one rebel to suppress the other — proved good in the Ottoman Empire.³² It was the measure adopted by a weakening state, which, however, did not want to admit its weakness and hid it.

Khūrshīd Pasha was therefore summoned to the office on the basis of a forged farmān of the Sublime Porte, which he had prepared and was only waiting for a suitable occasion to publish it. There were doubts about the validity of this farmān from the beginning since Khūrshīd before leaving for Cairo recommended to the consuls not to leave Alexandria until they received his news that the clashes were already over.³³ This "thoughtfulness" referred to the fact the Khūrshīd was not sure of his position and the attitude of various groups in Cairo towards his person.³⁴ At that time he could not know that Muḥammad 'Alī's sympathizing with Khusraw and the Janissaries was part of a well-prepared plan for gaining power and that it was not meant seriously.³⁵

³¹ Straton to Hawkesbury, 10 March 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et L'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 87, p. 118.

³² Straton to Hawkesbury, 24 March 1804. Ibid., Doc. 96, p. 139.

³³ Lesseps to Talleyrand, 16 March 1804. Douin: *l'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Doc. 119, pp. 189—192.

³⁴ Missett to Hobart, 29 March 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 98, p. 143.

³⁵ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 253.

Statements by the representatives of foreign powers accordingly denied the existence of a farmān by which the Sublime Porte appointed Aḥmad Khūrshīd the Viceroy of Egypt. They claimed that at the time when Khūrshīd let the news spread on his appointment in Cairo and Alexandria, the Sublime Porte appointed to that office Aḥmad al-Jazzār.³⁶

When the news on al-Jazā'irī's assassination reached Istanbul, the opinion prevailed in the political circles that it was the result of Missett's plot with the aim to occupy Alexandria by the British troops.³⁷ On 12 March General Brune met Reis Effendi and informed him in detail about all attempts of the Mamlūks to seize Alexandria and the role of the English agents in the events. Reis Effendi criticized the attitude of the English, who since Khusraw Pasha's overthrow (May 1803) uninterruptedly interfered in the internal affairs of Egypt. He expressed the firm decision of the Sublime Porte to keep Egypt at any cost and informed the French Ambassador that al-Jazzār's appointment was motivated by this decision.³⁸

The news of overthrowing the Beys' government and expulsion of the Mamlūks from Cairo reached Istanbul on 7 April 1804. Reis Effendi informed Brune immediately on the following day that the majority of the Beys were killed and that Egypt was returned to "the fold" of the Empire at last.³⁹

The French agents in Egypt did not inform their government about Khūrshīd's accession to the Egyptian pāshāliq, since the Sublime Porte's farmān about his appointment was not known. On the eve of Khūrshīd's departure from Alexandria to Cairo Lesseps asked to accompany him: Khūrshīd refused it and asked him to remain in Alexandria until he would be invited in writing.⁴⁰ Lesseps stated that Khūrshīd left for Cairo without the order of the Sublime Porte, since al-Jazzār sent a ship from 'Akkah (it arrived at Damietta on 4 April 1804) with the announcement that rule over Egypt was consigned to him by the Sultan and that messengers were on their way to Cairo.⁴¹ In the middle of April Khūrshīd sent written invitations to Cairo — both to Lesseps and Missett; he wanted to have them under his control in order to use them in negotiations with the Europeans and possibly in "the political game" with the Albanians, too. Still, at that time it was obvious that Khūrshīd Pasha without the farmān of appoint-

³⁶ Missett to Hobart, 26 April 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 104, p. 152.

³⁷ Brune to Talleyrand, 10 March 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Doc. 117, p. 165.

³⁸ Brune to Talleyrand, 24 March 1804. Ibid., Doc. 120, p. 193.

³⁹ Brune to Talleyrand, 17 April 1804. Ibid., Doc. 127, p. 202.

⁴⁰ Lesseps to Talleyrand, 16 March 1804. Ibid., Doc. 119, p. 191.

⁴¹ Lesseps to Talleyrand, 9 April 1804. Ibid., Doc. 124, p. 199.

ment and his own troops, was a mere toy in the hands of the Albanians, and Muḥammad ʿAlī did not conceal the fact from the European agents.⁴²

There was still uncertainty about the viceroyalty for some time, owing to the fact that al-Jazzār was appointed and the question was to which side would the Albanians incline.⁴³ The speculations ended on 25 April, when a ship arrived from Istanbul with the farmān containing the appointment of Khūrshīd as the Viceroy of Egypt. The farmān was dispatched to Cairo at once.⁴⁴ The Sublime Porte again inclined to the recognition of reality and the Sultan confirmed in the office the man who was installed by the Albanian commanders.⁴⁵

The joyful news for Khūrshīd Pasha brought the ṭaṭrī⁴⁶ to Cairo on Monday, 30 April; he announced that al-Qābijī was on his way with the farmān and the third horse tail⁴⁷ for Khūrshīd and two for each of Muḥammad ʿAlī, Ḥasan Bey (the brother of Ṭāhir Pasha) and Aḥmad Bey. Gun salvoes were fired from the Citadel and the shaykhs and notables went to congratulate those promoted. Al-Qābijī arrived at Cairo on Wednesday 2 May: he brought the farmān, but he did not bring the horse tails.⁴⁸

For better understanding of the development of events it is necessary to clarify the following facts:

1. After the expulsion of the Mamlūks from Cairo, al-Jazzār was appointed Viceroy of Egypt; Khūrshīd thus did not have any legal basis for taking over the office. It was only when the news reached Istanbul that Khūrshīd was in Cairo and he in fact exerted his office, that the Sublime Porte cancelled al-Jazzār's appointment and hurried to recognize the objective reality by the appointment of Khūrshīd, mainly due to the following reasons: (a) The Sublime Porte was at a loss: despite the wish to appoint a strong viceroy, who would be able to put an end to the existing anarchy, attributed to the military superiority of the Mamlūks, it was afraid of the consequences, resulting from uniting the rule over Syria and Egypt in the hands of al-Jazzār — the man who already had risen against the Sultan several times; (b) weakness and inability to interfere with the course of events in Egypt forced the Sublime Porte to acknowledge the objective reality and satisfy with its formal superiority. The Sublime Porte could not

⁴² Lesseps to Brune, 25 April 1804. Ibid., Doc. 130, p. 207.

⁴³ Lesseps to Talleyrand, 25 April 1804. Ibid., Doc. 131, p. 209.

⁴⁴ Lesseps to Brune, 25 April 1804. Ibid., Doc. 132, p. 210.

⁴⁵ Straton to Hawkesbury, 25 May 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 110, p. 158.

⁴⁶ Ṭaṭrī — member of a special unit of the Porte's couriers by land.

⁴⁷ Horse tail — sign or symbol of pasha's rank. The Egyptian viceroy was a pasha with three horse tails.

⁴⁸ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., pp. 292–293.

afford to lose all influence in Egypt at the time when the Wahhābīs plundered al-Ḥijāz, most Pashas-Governors refused their obedience and the European powers waited for the occasion to divide the domains of the Empire.

2. The previous agreement between Khūrshīd and Muḥammad ‘Alī on taking over the office of viceroy did not argue the fact that on the day of the coup Muḥammad ‘Alī supported Khusraw’s claims and he “retreated” only upon the unanimous decision of other Albanian commanders to finish with Khusraw and support Khūrshīd. When the group of Albanian soldiers came to Alexandria to accompany the new Viceroy on his way to Cairo, Khūrshīd received it as a matter of course. Muḥammad ‘Alī’s manoeuvre with Khusraw was aimed at securing the support or at least neutrality of the Janissaries, who, though not very numerous, were still considered “the thigh” of the Sultanate. Owing to the fact that Major Missett still advised the Beys to win the Janissaries and with their help resist the Albanians, it was necessary for Muḥammad ‘Alī to foil such a connection. He had to show that there was only one aim behind all his deeds: to return the power in the country to its legal sovereign. Therefore he put an end to the Beys’ rule and in the Janissaries he wanted to gain allies against Khūrshīd himself, if he wished to extricate himself from the dependence of the man who installed him. Muḥammad ‘Alī was sure that he would keep the obedience and loyalty of his troops since the Viceroy did not have finances for the salaries. Moreover, the problem of late pay could any time change into the means of pressure, rebellion or blackmail of the Viceroy.

3. The existence of an agreement between Muḥammad ‘Alī and Khūrshīd in the question of the viceregal throne proves Muḥammad ‘Alī’s consent to pass off the farmān sent to him by Khūrshīd from Alexandria as the original sent by the Sublime Porte. It is not known whether he possessed the farmān long before he presented it to the shaykhs (at the time when his soldiers besieged the houses of the Mamlūk leaders), in any case he had enough time to assure himself about the genuineness of the document with which the Sublime Porte had nothing in common. Muḥammad ‘Alī was not naïve and his behaviour pointed to the fact that he did not believe in the genuineness of the document. In case of genuineness of the document he would not make attempts with returning the post to Khusraw, since his main aim was to gain confidence of the Sublime Porte and it could be implemented only by precise fulfilling of its orders. It should be added that the Albanian commanders who even did not want to hear about Khusraw’s return decided to choose Khūrshīd after consultation. The Albanian detachment headed by Aḥmad Bey left Cairo on 21 March to make a guard of honour to the new Viceroy on his way from Alexandria to Cairo, when the content of the farmān was already known among the people. The farmān was a forgery and Muḥammad ‘Alī took an active part in the whole deceit.

4. In implementing his plan Muḥammad ‘Alī counted with Khūrshīd’s wish

for power and he was not mistaken: Khūrshīd adopted the plan although he had to realize that he was obliged to the Albanians and their leader for his new post. Khūrshīd had to count with the fact that Muḥammad ʿAlī, who had the real power in his hands also before the time — although he formally entrusted the matters of government to the Mamlūk Beys — was a very dangerous partner, as shown by the coup of 12—13 March 1804. However, Khūrshīd needed the Albanians necessarily in order to meet the major demand of the Sublime Porte — to defeat the Mamlūks definitely and liquidate their power in Egypt.

5. By issuing the farmān confirming Khūrshīd as the Viceroy of Egypt the Sublime Porte demonstrated that despite the political anarchy in this part of the Empire, it still remained the sovereign of Egypt. By means of a new Viceroy it wanted at last to realize its old plan to liquidate the Mamlūks, and thus restore its virtual power in the country. The restoration of the Sublime Porte's power and liquidation of the Mamlūks could, however, not be implemented without the alliance with Muḥammad ʿAlī, who — according to general opinion both in Istanbul and Cairo — was of all military commanders the only one able to defeat the Mamlūks. The Sublime Porte was well informed about the activities of the Albanians and their commander in Egypt, about the difficulties they inflicted on the previous viceroys, but the last coup — the overthrow of the Mamlūk government in Cairo — put Muḥammad ʿAlī into a favourable position. Under given conditions it was in the interest of the Sublime Porte to overlook the errors of the past and by the appreciation of Muḥammad ʿAlī's good offices make him a permanent ally. Since the beginning it was clear to Khūrshīd that although he needed the Albanians and Muḥammad ʿAlī, this alliance would be a heavy burden for him and therefore he would have to get rid of it on the first suitable occasion.

It could not be expected that Muḥammad ʿAlī, who had the power at his disposal and was at the time the only one capable of defeating the Mamlūks, would not like the post for himself; however, his time did not come yet. With forethought, he stood behind: he overthrew the Beys' government in Cairo, installed Khūrshīd Pasha and returned Egypt to the Empire, by which he gained the affection of the Sublime Porte. He had only to wait for a suitable occasion in order to stage a coup, which would bring him to the viceregal throne.

Khūrshīd's arrival in Cairo (26 March 1804) and his installation did not calm down the situation. Khūrshīd, who was not officially appointed by the Sublime Porte, felt endangered both by al-Jazzār, who stated he would not give in his claim for Egypt (which was also confirmed by the news that his soldiers had already reached al-ʿArīsh), and also by Khusraw, who was very active in Rosetta aiming at his reinstallation, relying on the support of Muḥammad ʿAlī and the Janissaries.

In order to attain his end Khusraw tried to use the mediation of the English.

From Rosetta endangered by the Mamlūks and Bedouins he went to Alexandria, where he met Missett and asked him for intervention in Istanbul to his benefit. Khusraw pledged that if he would be reappointed on the English intervention, he would ask for strengthening of the garrison in Alexandria by the British troops, he would fully respect British interests in Egypt and would always incline to recommendations of the English agents. However, all these efforts were in vain, since Missett did not trust him. Khusraw had to leave Alexandria on 15 June 1804 and sail to Rhodos, but he still hoped that the situation would soon change to his benefit.⁴⁹

At the end of April Khūrshīd received the Sublime Porte's farmān, appointing him the Viceroy of Egypt and the news was officially announced to the population of Cairo by cannons in the Citadel.⁵⁰ The threat from the side of al-Jazzār became unfounded on 17 May, when the news reached Cairo that Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār died on 9 May 1804.

Nevertheless, neither the farmān nor the death of al-Jazzār nor Khusraw's departure from Egypt warded off the difficulties which surrounded Khūrshīd's office since the beginning. These difficulties were caused by the firm determination of the Mamlūks to win back their lost power and Khūrshīd had only the Albanian units headed by Muḥammad 'Alī capable of fighting with the Mamlūks. The liquidation of the Mamlūks was the backbone of the Sublime Porte's policy in Egypt and if Khūrshīd wanted to win its affection, he had to pursue unconditionally this policy in order to strengthen his own position. Khūrshīd would like best to get rid of the Albanians, but whom could he then send to fight against the Mamlūks! However, there was another complication: Khūrshīd arrived in Cairo without money, the treasury was empty and thus it was difficult to send the Albanians to fight when they had not received their pay for so many months. Khūrshīd realized that he was a mere toy in the hands of the Albanians and their leader. He saw only one possibility of setting himself free from them and strengthening his own power: to ask the Sublime Porte for more troops.

Muḥammad 'Alī did not hurry to fight the Mamlūks. First, he asked to settle the question of the salaries, which considerably complicated Khūrshīd's situation. However, it was in Muḥammad 'Alī's interest to fight against the Mamlūks until their liquidation because they represented a latent threat to the viceregal throne regardless of the person of the viceroy and it meant at the same time meeting the Sublime Porte's wish. Apart from it, since Khūrshīd's taking up the office, he purposefully worked on winning the office for himself. He ordered the

⁴⁹ Missett to Hobart, 16 June 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 114, p. 166.

⁵⁰ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 293.

bank in Istanbul, with which he co-operated, to issue money generously in the interest of his appointment,⁵¹ since he had received de Lesseps' promise that General Brune would give the Ottoman dīwān the best references concerning his person. Since the beginning of August 1804, voices were heard that Muḥammad 'Alī would do his best to become the master of Egypt.⁵² Muḥammad 'Alī's nephew had to sail for Istanbul with a huge amount of money to recruit soldiers and win over the Ottoman Ministers to support his uncle. There were secret rumours that the Albanian units stationed in Syria would like to go to Egypt to take their chance when they heard that their fellow-countrymen enriched themselves there.

Khūrshīd wished to get rid of the Albanians and Muḥammad 'Alī in the same way as Muḥammad 'Alī wanted to get rid of Khūrshīd. They had only one common aim: to defeat the Mamlūks and deprive them of all their influence and power in Egypt. Khūrshīd patiently waited for the Dalāt,⁵³ which had to act as his support. Muḥammad 'Alī again waited for a suitable occasion that would give him legal foundation for standing up against Khūrshīd without getting into the position of a rebel against the Sublime Porte. Muḥammad 'Alī's advantage was that he could at any time make the problem of salaries a pretext of pressure against Khūrshīd. Procuring money for the salaries forced Khūrshīd to adopt the same drastic measures against the population as the Mamlūks did before.⁵⁴

The struggle for power between Khūrshīd and Muḥammad 'Alī began immediately after Khūrshīd's arrival at Cairo. In the first stage it was limited to Muḥammad 'Alī's effort to force his will upon Khūrshīd. The lack of money weakened Khūrshīd's position in such a way that he unwillingly had to be subordinate to Muḥammad 'Alī's will, yet he had to bear responsibility for the measures himself.⁵⁵ The difficult situation in which Khūrshīd found himself was even worsened by the atrocities of the Mamlūks, who after their expulsion from Cairo indulged in widespread anarchy, loot and pillage. Ruined fallāḥīn fled from their homes so that many villages became completely abandoned. Also the Bedouins made use of the government's weakness and joined the Mamlūks: apart from pillaging villages they together attacked and robbed all ships bringing foodstuffs and other supplies to Cairo from Upper and Lower Egypt. There was a threat of famine in Cairo and unrest was caused by the Albanians' raging

⁵¹ Missett to Hobart, 16 June 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 114, p. 167.

⁵² Missett to Hobart, 10 August 1804. Ibid., Doc. 123, p. 177.

⁵³ Dalī (plural dalāt) — irregular Ottoman cavalymen mostly of Kurdish origin.

⁵⁴ Missett to Hobart, 26 April 1804. Ibid., Doc. 104, p. 152.

⁵⁵ Lesseps to Talleyrand, 25 April 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Doc. 131, p. 209.

against the inhabitants including foreigners. The situation was similar to that prevailing in the last stage of the Mamlūks' rule. Khūrshīd realized that maintaining good contacts with the representatives of European countries was in his interest and he therefore tried to ensure the security of foreigners and prevent their offences. His efforts, however, were breaking down with the Albanians, to whom it was necessary to give arrears of pay in order they would be willing to march against the Mamlūks.⁵⁶

The first task was thus to collect money needed for the salaries and this task assumed a permanent character. The ways of obtaining money exceeded the legal frame and were characterized by all shades of blackmail up to open robbery. The heaviest burden laid on the population. Already on 2 April, Khūrshīd ordered the land tax (al-mīrī) to be levied on all districts for the whole of the following year.⁵⁷ Grievances to such injustices came not only from the multazims (tax farmers) but from the fallāḥīn too. After the intervention of the shaykhs and notables Khūrshīd had to lower this demand by half of the land tax for the following year in advance but asked for a supplementary tax for the previous two years.⁵⁸ Those who had arrears of payment received a warning that if they would not pay, they would have to offer their land in auction.⁵⁹

At the beginning of May 1804 Khūrshīd urgently needed money for the soldiers and so he asked for large amounts from the Copts, from Aḥmad al-Maḥrūqī and from other rich merchants and multazims.⁶⁰ Extraordinary taxes from 50 to 100 purses were imposed on trade centres like Rosetta, Damietta, Damanhūr, al-Manṣūrah and others.⁶¹ Khūrshīd decided that the Mamlūks had to bear a part of war expenses, so he took the wives of the Mamlūks, who remained in Cairo, as hostages and asked their husbands to pay high ransoms. On 22 May, he caused Mrs. Nafīsa, the widow of Murād Bey, to be brought to the Citadel, based on the charge that she had tried to mediate between the Albanian commanders and the Mamlūk Beys.⁶² This act caused a public outcry and sharp protests by ʿUmar Makram (Naqīb al-Ashrāf), the qāḍī and the shaykhs. Khūrshīd had to retreat and agreed with her internment in shaykh as-Sādāt's house. Shortly after Mrs. Nafīsa's detention, ʿAdīla hānim the

⁵⁶ Ibid., Doc. 131, p. 209.

⁵⁷ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 288. (The year 1219 H = from 12 April 1804 to 31 March 1805 A.D.)

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 288.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 288.

⁶⁰ Multazim = tax farmer.

⁶¹ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 295.

⁶² Ibid., p. 295.

daughter of Ibrāhīm Bey asked shaykh as-Sādāt for protection and went to stay in his house.⁶³

On 25 May, Khūrshīd again ordered the land tax to be levied for all the following year although he already reduced it by half. He had the lists made and divided the necessary sum of 5,000 purses in the following way: 1,500 from the Copt community, 800 from the Beys' wives and the rest 2,700 from the mul-tazims.⁶⁴ On 27 May, Khūrshīd imposed another 500 purses of tax on crafts-men's guilds. The measures caused general discontent and grumbling of the population. 'Umar Makram protested and explained that all craftsmen were poor since trade was falling all the time, moreover it was not their duty to contribute to soldiers' pay.⁶⁵ Owing to the fact that shop-keepers and craftsmen did not open their shops and the indignation of the Cairenes continued, Khūrshīd was finally forced to abolish the tax.

All these taxes, charges and fines that caused the anger of the shaykhs and notables, and hatred of all Cairenes against Khūrshīd were levied for only one reason: to pay to the Albanians the arrears of salaries to impel them to fight against the Mamlūks, who had uninterruptedly besieged Cairo since their expulsion. When the Albanians got a part of their pay they marched against the Mamlūks to break through the blockade of Cairo and restore the transport of supplies for the city which was threatened by hunger. The first battle took place after short preparations on 5 April, and luck inclined to the Mamlūks. However, it was only a temporary victory for the fighting renewed and the Albanians dispersed the Mamlūk troops in the battle on the plains of al-Gīzah. The Mam-lūks retreated to al-Fayyūm and Muḥammad 'Alī returned with his troops to the city. In honour of his victory over the Mamlūks gun salvoses were fired from the Citadel.⁶⁶

After their defeat the Mamlūks tried to unite their ranks, but the split caused by the attempt to assassinate al-Alfī was still deep. Despite mutual hatred al-Bardīsī tried to wind up the dispute with al-Alfī, but in vain: partly because al-Alfī did not trust him and partly because he intended to use the struggle between Khūrshīd and the Mamlūks of Ibrāhīm's and al-Bardīsī's factions to his own benefit. He played a double game since he was convinced that he could count on the full support of the English. He tried to compromise with both camps, waiting for their mutual weakening and exhaustion in order to occupy Cairo himself and win the power. In compliance with this intention al-Alfī showed willingness to make an agreement with al-Bardīsī, but at the same time

⁶³ Ibid., p. 296.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 296.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 297.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 288.

he sent a proposal to Khūrshīd, that for granting him the district of Girgā he would fight his enemies Ibrāhīm and al-Bardīsī.⁶⁷

When al-Alfī's messenger kāshif ʿAlī ash-Shaghab arrived in Cairo, Khūrshīd received him with great honour in the presence of the shaykhs and ʿUmar Makram.⁶⁸ Ash-Shaghab left Cairo on 2 May 1804 with Khūrshīd's promise that al-Alfī would receive the district of Girgā and ʿUthmān Bey Ḥasan the city of Qena and the area around it.⁶⁹ Al-Alfī played only for time: instead of meeting the agreement with Khūrshīd, he asked Missett's advice whether to receive Khūrshīd's proposal or to march upon Cairo and seize it. Missett, fearing the misuse of his letter, did not express any unambiguous viewpoint writing that "Mais ignorant l'état positif des choses, je ne puis que recommander à Votre Excellence de pendre conseil des circonstances et de vous laisser guider par elles".⁷⁰ So al-Alfī did not take part in the fighting between the Mamlūks and Albanians that had broken out in April 1804.

After their expulsion the Mamlūks took up positions on the western bank of the Nile in Imbābah and Saqqārah. In several minor clashes the Albanians repelled the Mamlūks, but it was only the prelude to a major battle, which broke out in Imbābah on 22 April, and ended with the Mamlūks' victory. Muḥammad ʿAlī did not concede his defeat and sent to Cairo seven heads of dead Mamlūks, which were then displayed on Bāb Zuwaylah gate.⁷¹ When the Mamlūks were preoccupied with looting the armament and other war material left in the battlefield, Muḥammad ʿAlī unexpectedly struck at them and forced them to retreat to the pyramids.⁷²

These battles were not decisive. The Mamlūks rearranged their forces and definitely cut off the connection of Cairo with Upper Egypt so that the Cairenes were again faced with hunger. Al-Bardīsī and Ibrāhīm left their camp in Dah-shūr and marched upon Cairo. On their way the Mamlūks pillaged the villages. Another battle took place on 17 May; the Mamlūks won it, but they did not even reach the gates of Cairo owing to disputes in their own ranks.

After the battle of 17 May, the situation of the Cairenes further deteriorated. The Mamlūks were joined by large detachments of Bedouins and the raids on Cairo and its suburbs increased in number. The Albanian mercenaries did not want to fight unless they received their pay and therefore, due to security

⁶⁷ Lesseps to Talleyrand, 9 April 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Doc. 124, p. 199.

⁶⁸ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 292.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 293.

⁷⁰ Missett a Mahomet Bey Elfi, 11 May 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 106, p. 153.

⁷¹ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 292.

⁷² Shukrī: op. cit., p. 276.

reasons, on 18 May Khūrshīd moved to the Citadel since the course of events filled him with fear.⁷³ Khūrshīd tried to avert the danger that threatened Cairo and suggested that he himself would lead all inhabitants in the battle against the Mamlūks. He presented this proposal on 5 June, at the gathering of shaykhs, but they refused it with the reason that majority of the population were not familiar with the military art.⁷⁴

The famine in Cairo also worried the soldiers, who defended the fortresses and gates. The Mamlūks disliked a siege and assaulting the walls, they liked battles in open areas where they could make use of their cavalry. Therefore by increasing the blockade of Cairo they wanted to force the surrounded and starving soldiers to march out of the city and fight with them in a plain. Nobody in the city except Muḥammad °Alī had the courage to march out of Cairo; on 10 June, a new battle took place near Qalyūb. The Mamlūks tried to cut off the means of retreat for the Albanians, but in another fierce battle Muḥammad °Alī forced his way to Cairo. The Albanians did not want to pursue the Mamlūks until they received their pay and so Muḥammad °Alī had to ask for money. He imprisoned two notables namely Muṣṭafā Aghā al-Wakīl and kāshif °Alī aṣ-Ṣābūnjī on his own account.⁷⁵ They were kept in the Citadel until Muḥammad °Alī received 300 purses for them.

During these events al-Alfī with his Mamlūks moved from Asyūṭ and marched upon Cairo. He thought he would succeed in seizing Cairo without major difficulties by misleading Khūrshīd. His messenger arrived in Cairo on 14 June, with the news that al-Alfī and °Uthmān Ḥasan decided to come to Cairo and therefore they asked to empty al-Gīzah and Qaṣr al-°Aynī.⁷⁶ However, Khūrshīd rejected it and in compliance with the concluded convention he insisted on al-Alfī's return to the district of Girgā. Shortly after (on 23 June) the news reached Cairo that al-Alfī and °Uthmān Ḥasan were approaching Banū Suwayf. Al-Alfī assumed that the Cairenes would be well disposed to him and wanted to win the shaykhs, ulemas and notables. He wrote to them that he was coming to remove injustice.⁷⁷ The shaykhs showed the letter to Khūrshīd, but he remained firm since al-Alfī acted contrary to the convention. Missett wrote that "Contrary to the spirit of the treaty into which Elfi Bey entered some time since with Hurshid Pacha, that Bey has, within these few weeks, formed a sort of alliance with Osman Bey Hassan. The object of the two above-named chiefs was to seize Cairo themselves; and they flatter themselves that the losses

⁷³ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 295.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 298.

⁷⁵ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 301.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 299.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 300.

experienced both by the Albanians and by the Beys Ibrahim and Osman Bardissi, together with the discontent existing among the inhabitants of Cairo, will render their undertaking of easy execution. Elfi Bey, at the head of his Mamlouks, has already descended much below the limits of the territory assigned to him by his convention with the Viceroy; which convention, in consequence of that infraction on the part of Elfi, is by Hurshid Pacha considered as broken."⁷⁸

Since the failure of his plan al-Alfī saw that it would be reasonable to join other Beys. Ibrāhīm and al-Bardīsī were assured that his faction would co-operate with them.⁷⁹ Consequently the Mamlūks of al-Bardīsī and Ibrāhīm returned to Banhā after pillaging in the provinces of al-Minūfiyah and al-Gharbīyah.⁸⁰ Khūrshīd and Muhammad ʿAlī adopted measures to repel the Mamlūk forces surrounding Cairo from all sides. The Albanians headed by Muḥammad ʿAlī and Ḥasan Bey clashed with the Mamlūks in several battles and skirmishes in the Cairo surroundings. On 18 July, Muḥammad ʿAlī defeated the units of al-Alfī junior near Ṭurah and immediately afterwards the units of al-Bardīsī near Shubrā.⁸¹ The decisive battle took place near the village of Shalqān. In the night of 22 to 23 July 1804, Muḥammad ʿAlī attacked the village and occupied it. In a fierce battle the Mamlūk troops were defeated and withdrawn eastwards to Abū Zaʿbal.⁸² The battle near Shalqān meant the end of warfare and the blockade of Cairo.⁸³

During the above-mentioned fighting the Mamlūk Beys strived for an agreement with Khurshīd by means of the shaykhs. They promised him obedience that would deprive him of his dependence on the troops, the maintenance of which forced him to issue unpopular orders. They convinced him that the soldiers were unreliable and therefore they should be withdrawn from Egypt as soon as possible. But Khūrshīd refused all the Beys' efforts and declared that his war was only with the Mamlūks.

When the Mamlūks withdrew to Upper Egypt the Cairenes supposed they would have a rest at last. However, the Albanians, who returned to Cairo after the fight had been over, shortly started atrocities aimed both at the native and the foreigners. Murders took place daily, robberies increased in number, the people

⁷⁸ Missett to Hobart, 28 June 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 115, p. 168.

⁷⁹ Événements d'Égypte du 1^{er} au 10 messidor an XII (20 au 29 juin 1804). Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Doc. 149, p. 227.

⁸⁰ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 302.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 305—306.

⁸² Ibid., p. 306.

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 306—307.

were not secure even in their houses.⁸⁴ The discontent of the population increased, the shaykhs and notables of Cairo did not contact Khūrshīd any more. They went to Captain Taberna (secretary of the British consulate in Cairo) and asked England's protection either directly or indirectly against the Albanians.⁸⁵

Khūrshīd was really powerless against the Albanians. When the Sublime Porte's order came to send troops to defend the port of Yanbu^c in al-Ḥijāz against the Wahhābīs, the Albanian commanders refused to leave Egypt.⁸⁶ Shortly the news about the fall came of Yanbu^c and Khūrshīd lost the opportunity to get rid of some Albanian commanders. He still had one more hope: some Albanian officers wanted to make use of the Sultan's amnesty and return to their homeland. When they were already in Būlāq ready to sail off (on 10 August) they were surrounded by their own soldiers, who prevented them concerning their voyage saying: "Give us our money, otherwise we would not allow you to leave with the looted wealth of Egypt"⁸⁷ and the officers had to return.

The increase of influence and power of Muḥammad 'Alī had several reasons: 1) Khūrshīd urgently needed his support and assistance both in the fight against the Mamlūks and against the part of the Albanians, who threatened him with rebellion; 2) Khūrshīd moved to the Citadel and thus he left a wide space open in Cairo for Muḥammad 'Alī, who appropriately used the situation to his own benefit; 3) the Cairenes felt gratitude towards him, the hero, who broke the city's blockade and saved its inhabitants from starvation; 4) the shaykhs, ulemas and notables felt affection towards the man, who expressed to them his sympathy in crucial moments and disapproved Khūrshīd's despotic measures.

In the summer of 1804 Muḥammad 'Alī's authority was already so great, that he was able to settle the conflict, which threatened to develop into a massacre of the Europeans and looting the European quarter in Cairo. It happened that a non-commissioned officer from Ḥasan Bey's troops was killed by a Frenchman, so Muḥammad 'Alī took Mr. Hildebrand (the secretary of the French consulate) as hostage and convinced the soldiers to demand ransom for the dead man in the interest of his family.⁸⁸ It is obvious that Muḥammad 'Alī had to be careful in order to maintain the friendship of the French and also that of Hasan Bey. In his long-term plans he counted with French support and on the other

⁸⁴ Taberna to Missett, 26 August 1804. Taken from: Ghorbal, Shafik: *The Beginnings of the Egyptian Question and the Rise of Mehemet Ali*. London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1928, p. 228.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 228.

⁸⁶ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 306.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 309.

⁸⁸ Lesseps to Talleyrand, 17 September 1804. Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Doc. 163, p. 239.

hand he knew that "Hassan Bey, who at the head of numerous followers, and deriving additional influence with the Albanians from the circumstance of his being brother of the late Tahir Pacha, may be either a useful friend or a dangerous enemy to Mahomet Ali. This Chief must be aware that by embracing the cause of the French, on this occasion, he would excite the resentment of Hassan Bey, which would not only deprive him of the powerful support of that Commander, but might also reduce him to the necessity of withdrawing from Egypt; an event which would for ever crush his hopes of being raised to the dignity of Viceroy."⁸⁹ Successful mastery of the situation convinced Muḥammad 'Alī that in case of difficulties the Albanians could be relied upon. It encouraged him to make another step forward and take his chance with the Cairenes, whose anger towards Khūrshīd's misgovernment was reaching its climax.⁹⁰

Missett's attitude towards Muḥammad 'Alī at the time could be characterized in this way: since the overthrow of the Beys' government in March 1804 he constantly suspected him of pro-French activities. He was convinced that it was a sabotage of the English plans aimed at facilitating a new French occupation of the country. Missett saw that Khūrshīd was becoming a mere puppet, therefore he advised him to get rid of the Albanians by means of direct intervention in Istanbul. Missett tried to undermine the position of Muḥammad 'Alī also by means of British diplomacy in Istanbul. He wrote: "I wish I could flatter myself that the Turkish Cabinet will reject the deceitful offers of Mahomet Ali; but I am under the painful necessity of acknowledging to Your Lordship that the venality of the officers of the Porte in general renders such an event extremely doubtful."⁹¹

As already mentioned, a group of Albanian officers intended to make use of Sultan's amnesty and return home. In spite of the fact that the soldiers did not allow them to leave on 10 August, the officers decided to use the next occasion for their departure. This departure was used by Muḥammad 'Alī as an attempt to test the attitude of the Cairenes towards his person. He met Khūrshīd and informed him that anarchy was spreading among the soldiers which made it impossible for the government to fulfil its duties. The anarchy was leading to impoverishment of the population, which made the collection of money for soldier's pay almost impossible. He expressed his wish to return to his homeland

⁸⁹ Missett to Hobart, 12 August 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 126, p. 179.

⁹⁰ Shukrī: op. cit., pp. 287—288.

⁹¹ Missett to Hobart, 10 August 1804. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 125, p. 177.

and Khūrshīd eagerly agreed.⁹² After the meeting Muḥammad ʿAlī publicly announced his decision and began to sell the furniture of his house.

The news that Muḥammad ʿAlī wished to leave Egypt spread among the Cairenes very quickly and they were all overwhelmed by anxiety and unrest. City gates were closed and the masses of people went out to the streets loudly expressing their dissatisfaction, shopkeepers and craftsmen shut their shops.⁹³ In the course of these events groups of soldiers began to loot and plunder again, so that many women and children took shelter in the house of shaykh al-Mahdī since Khūrshīd was unable to adopt effective measures to restore peace and security. On the following day (11 September) Muḥammad ʿAlī went into the streets accompanied by high officers, Janissary Aghas, chief of police (wālī) and a large number of soldiers to calm down people's indignation. He walked along the streets, calmed the inhabitants, who returned home on his appeal.⁹⁴ He had several soldiers, who took part in looting, hanged, and Cairo was again quiet. Muḥammad ʿAlī once more turned out to be the man who did not hesitate to sacrifice his personal interests in favour of public benefit and he no longer mentioned his departure from Egypt.

In compliance with the Sublime Porte's wish Khūrshīd had to renew fighting against the Mamlūks. He knew that the Albanians would have to set out for Upper Egypt, which would give him the opportunity to invite new forces to Cairo to strengthen his unstable position. Khūrshīd already at the beginning of September had agreed with the Albanian commanders that he would pay them money for two months on the condition that one part of the troops would set off for Upper Egypt and another part would leave for al-Gīzah and remain in the barracks there. The soldiers who would not be satisfied could return to their homeland.⁹⁵ About 2,000 soldiers and officers took the advantage of the amnesty. By their departure the Albanian units lost their absolute majority and so it could not be expected that they would further refuse to fight against the Mamlūks or oppose Khūrshīd's orders when they would get their pay for two months.

Khūrshīd hurried to fetch the money he needed. He managed to collect 2,750 purses and thus he could pay the agreed salaries. The Albanians who remained in Egypt did not have any reason of further postponing the campaign against the Mamlūks. In the second half of September the soldiers and their commanders gathered in Ṭurah. About 4,000 men were ready to set out for the fight.

⁹² Shukrī: op. cit., p. 289.

⁹³ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 311.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 311.

⁹⁵ Bulletin du 25 fructidor an XII jusqu'au 1^{er} vendémiaire an XIII (12 September 1804 to 23 September 1804). Douin: *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804*. Doc. 164, pp. 240—242.

Khūrshīd handed over the command to ʿAlī Pasha Silāḥdār, whom he previously had appointed Governor of the district of Girgā.⁹⁶ On 2 October, the troops set off for Upper Egypt. At the same time further units (about 3,000 infantrymen and cavalrymen) were getting ready for the campaign under the command of Muḥammad ʿAlī. On 17 November, he received the order to move southwards on the left bank of the Nile and protect ʿAlī Pasha's troops against possible attack of al-Alfī's units, which camped near al-Fayyūm and then seize al-Minyā. The third group of units (approximately 1,200 men) commanded by Ḥasan Pasha⁹⁷ advanced on the right bank of the Nile and had to protect the main body of the troops on the other bank.

The Beys, when they learnt that the Turkish and Albanian troops advanced against them, renewed their attempts to unite their lines. The Beys Ibrāhīm and ʿUthmān Ḥasan succeeded in overcoming the dispute between al-Alfī and al-Bardīsī. Bey al-Alfī jr. with his Mamlūks and Bedouins encamped in the village of al-Fashn in early December 1804 in order to stop the advance of ʿAlī Pasha's troops.

Both armies clashed near al-Fashn on the left bank of the Nile. ʿAlī Pasha attacked the village and seized it after a fierce fighting, then he continued in pursuing the retreating Mamlūk troops to al-Minyā. The situation changed on 14 December, when ʿAlī Pasha's troops were surrounded: from one side they were attacked by al-Bardīsī's Mamlūks and from the other side by the troops of al-Alfī jr. ʿAlī Pasha's troops were defeated and had to retreat to Banū Suwayf. Although both sides suffered considerable losses, ʿAlī Pasha's troops were panic stricken by the Mamlūks⁹⁸ and wanted to retreat even from Banū Suwayf. Only the arrival of Muḥammad ʿAlī with the Albanian units restored their fighting morale. Consequently the plan to attack al-Minyā was adopted.

The truce among different factions of Mamlūks soon collapsed and the old rivalry flared up. Al-Bardīsī remained in al-Minyā while al-Alfī took position on the opposite bank of the Nile.⁹⁹ The troops of ʿAlī Pasha and Muḥammad ʿAlī approached al-Minyā and started the siege of the city, which lasted 56 days.¹⁰⁰ The besiegers were exposed to the want of food for both men and horses, and it was with great difficulty that Muḥammad ʿAlī, who commanded them, was

⁹⁶ Al-Jabartī: op. cit., p. 312.

⁹⁷ Ḥasan Bey (the brother of the murdered Ṭāhir Pasha) was on 11 November 1804 promoted to pasha by Khūrshīd.

⁹⁸ Shukrī: op. cit., p. 294.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 294.

¹⁰⁰ Ar-Rāfiʿī, ʿAbdurrahmān: *Tārīkh al-ḥaraka al-qawmiya wa taṭawwur niẓām al-ḥukm fi Miṣr* (History of Popular Movement and Development of the System of Government in Egypt). Part II. Cairo, 1958 (3rd ed.), p. 327.

able to restrain the seditious spirit of his troops, or prevent their desertion to the enemy.¹⁰¹ On the other hand — as Missett remarked — “So loosely are the reins of Government held by the Viceroy of Egypt, that the Beys are supplied from Alexandria and even from Cairo, with clothing, arms and ammunition. The Commandant of Rosetta has offered a private sale of the muskets, the biscuits and the powder, which had, some time back, been collected in Fort Julian by which the Western mouth of the River is defended, and the Capitan Bey who commands the Turkish Squadron on this station, has clandestinely disposed of a quantity of naval stores.”¹⁰² While such was the negligence and such the corruption of the principal officers of the Porte in Egypt, it was impossible to expect a speedy termination of the contest between the Ottomans and the Mamlūks.

The whole of February 1805 passed in different partial engagements that had been fought between the Albanians and the Mamlūks. Then al-Bardīsī received intelligence of the French Squadron being at sea and his natural arrogance became so offensive, that some of the principal Beys withdrew from him with disgust, and retired to Upper Egypt with their followers. After that al-Bardīsī had been compelled to abandon the formidable position he had occupied at al-Minyā. The town was evacuated by the Mamlūks on 14 March, and on the following day it was occupied by Muḥammad ‘Alī and his troops.¹⁰³

In those days a reinforcement of three thousand Turkish cavalry (the Dalāt) arrived at Cairo and strong detachments, both of infantry and artillery, were expected. It appeared that the Sublime Porte, considering the doubtful and precarious fidelity of the Albanians, had resolved to effect their destruction, as soon as, in conjunction with the other Ottoman troops in the country, they subdued the Mamlūks. But Muḥammad ‘Alī, the Chief of the Albanians in Egypt, early learnt, and by his vigour and activity had frustrated, for a time at least, the designs of the Turkish Cabinet against him and his adherents.¹⁰⁴

Quitting al-Minyā which he had occupied since its evacuation by the Beys, Muḥammad ‘Alī, who no longer concealed his pretensions to the Viceroyalty of Egypt, marched back towards Cairo at the head of 3,500 men, with the obvious intention of driving his adversaries from Egypt by force of arms, or gaining

¹⁰¹ Extract of a letter from Major Missett to Mr. Straton, 18 January 1805. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 146, p. 207.

¹⁰² Missett to Earl Camden, 6 February 1805. Ibid., Doc. 147, p. 209.

¹⁰³ Yaḥyā, Jalāl: *Miṣr al-ḥadītha, 1517—1805* (Modern Egypt). Alexandria, 1969, p. 610.

¹⁰⁴ Missett to Camden, 28 April 1805. Douin: *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte*, Vol. II. Doc. 157, p. 221.

them to his interests by his intrigues.¹⁰⁵ He reached the village of Ṭurah (southwards of Cairo) on 14 April 1805 and since that moment an open struggle for the Viceroyalty between him and Aḥmad Khūrshīd began.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 221.

THE SAHARAN FRONTIERS OF TRIPOLITANIA UNDER OTTOMAN TURKISH RULE: OBSERVATIONS ON THE ROOTS OF THE AOZOU STRIP DISPUTE

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During the last phase of direct Ottoman administration of Tripolitania, the reawakened interest of the Ottoman Turks in this province coincided with the high tide of European penetration and invasion of African countries. Notwithstanding the imperial ambitions of France, Great Britain and, later, Italy, the Ottoman Turks continued to assert their authority even in the deep interior of the African continent. They insisted on their right to the entire area of the Tripolitanian hinterland extending as far as the Bornu region. However, all the efforts of the Ottoman Turks to strengthen their authority in the inner parts of the Sahara remained sporadic in their character.

It is generally recognized that the last quarter of the nineteenth century was, for North and Saharan Africa, a period of intensified European imperial invasions. In contrast to the importance ascribed to the Anglo-French and Italian interests and influence there, the Ottoman Turkish presence in that region has often been underestimated. The point that the character of that particular presence was also one of imperial expansion is frequently overlooked. Although Ottoman Turkey was passing through its declining years at that time, it had nevertheless hitherto represented an empire which had extended over a vast area stretching from the borders of Austria-Hungary in the west to the Russian Empire, Persia and the Arabian Peninsula in the north and east, to North Africa in the south.

The sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire over the northern parts of Africa, from Egypt to Algeria, had been already completed in the sixteenth century when Tripolitania, together with Cyrenaica, became a Turkish province. The latter was to remain under the control of the Ottoman Sultans for the next three hundred years and more, if one includes the more than one-hundred-year rule of the semi-independent Karamanli dynasty as well as the last period of direct Ottoman administration (1835—1911) within this general context of that period. The Turkish province of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica — later called Libya by the Italians — comprised that large area of North Africa which lies

between Tunisia and Egypt and which, from the Mediterranean coastline, extends southwards to include Fezzan, and across the Sahara to undefined limits beyond the tropic of Cancer. The area of the province of Tripolitania was uncertain owing to the indefiniteness of its frontiers. Especially the southern boundaries remained for the most part undetermined.

The first attempts of the Ottoman Turks to enter into contact with the inner parts of the African continent, as far as Lake Chad, date back to the sixteenth century.¹ Though these attempts were never entirely abandoned, it was the period of the European powers' pressure on this area that introduced new aspects into the Turkish presence there. In the 1870s, the Ottoman Turks succeeded in extending their influence even into the deep interior of the continent, to Tibesti and the region of Chad. However, their authority there remained rather limited, being based merely on religious solidarity.² It should be noted that it was through these regions that there passed the caravan trade routes connecting the interior with the merchant towns on the Mediterranean coast. Especially after the 1870s, when the trans-Saharan traffic relatively increased, the busiest caravan routes were those leading from Tripoli via Murzuk and Bilma to Bornu, and from Tripoli via Murzuk and Tibesti to Waday.³

The relevant point to be stressed is that the lands which supplied black slaves to the Ottoman markets in the nineteenth century lay in Central Africa, mainly around Lake Chad, in the regions of Waday, Bornu and Bagirmi. Moreover, those Ottoman subjects who were involved in the Saharan traffic and slave trade were to be found throughout the Central African regions. However, according to Ehud R. Toledano, the main places from which slaves were exported for the Ottoman towns, as well as most of the caravan routes, lay beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, they were not affected either by Ottoman jurisdiction or by the decrees issued by the Ottoman Sultan that abolished the slave trade.⁴

The Ottoman Turkish expansion into the inner parts of Africa directly impinged on the European imperial powers' vital interests, most notably the conflicting ambitions of the British and French. During the 1880s, the French embarked on a drive to join up their North, Equatorial and West African, as well as Central African possessions, including the Chad region, into one single

¹ Orhonlu, C.: *Osmanlı-Bornu münâsebetine âid belgeler* (The Documents on the Ottoman-Bornu Relations). *Tarih Dergisi*, 23, 1969, pp. 111—130.

² Rossi, E.: *Il secondo periodo del dominio ottomano a Tripoli (1835—1911)*. *L'amministrazione ottomana dopo la conquista (1850—1911)*. *Rivista Coloniale*, XXII, 1927, No. 5, pp. 6—7.

³ Mahmûd Nâcî and Mehmed Nûrî: *Trablusgarb*. Constantinople 1912, pp. 62—63.

⁴ Toledano, E. R.: *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression: 1840—1890*. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1982, pp. 28—29.

block of territory. The Say (on the Niger) — Barroua (on the shore of Lake Chad) line agreement of 5 August 1890, was concluded between France and Britain in pursuit of a general settlement of the rivalry between the two countries in central Sudan. It reserved to the French sphere of influence all the territory extending north of this line to the French Mediterranean possessions — Algeria and Tunisia. The frontiers in the central part of the Sahara were further fixed by a Convention concluded by France and Great Britain on 21 March 1899. It determined the northern and northeast boundary of the French zone by an irregular line drawn across the blank spots to the intersection of the tropic of Cancer with longitude 16° east, then descending to the southeast as far as longitude 24° east.⁵

Africa can largely claim to be a highly fragmented continent with its boundaries drawn by the European powers for their own colonial purposes. The problems which such externally inspired boundaries pose for the African states are only now being thoroughly studied, since the present serious boundary disputes often have old roots. The problem of the so-called Aozou strip, which has arisen between Libya and Chad especially during this decade, is obviously one of them. Actually this latter area, a slice of land north of the Tibesti Mountains situated in the middle of the Sahara, was directly affected by both of the above-mentioned Anglo-French conventions delimiting the boundaries of France's African territories.

What sort of administration really did exist in that region at that historical period? It appears that at that time of European penetration into and invasion of Central Africa, the local Tibbu population⁶ co-existed there together with a sort of religious and even political ruling Senussi Confraternity. However, certain powers were exercised also by the representatives of the Ottoman administration. Although their influence in that region was rather limited, the Ottoman Turks nevertheless insisted on their right to this territory. This was one of the reasons for their official protests following the conclusion of the Anglo-French conventions of 1890 and 1899. In those protests, the Ottoman Turks claimed the area of the entire Tripolitanian hinterland extending as far as the Bornu region.⁷ Notwithstanding these protests, the French had made their firm

⁵ Çaycı, A.: *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız Rekabeti (1858—1911)* (The Turkish-French Rivalry in the Sahara). Erzurum, Atatürk Üniversitesi Basımevi 1970, pp. 84—85. For the full text of the Convention, see *ibid.*, p. 196.

⁶ In the southwest parts of Libya lives a local population whose name (used by the Arabs) is that of Toubous; the same people in the region of the Tibesti Mountains are called Teda, in the Tibesti plains, Daza, and, more frequently, Gorane. Cf. Capot-Rey, R.: *Le nomadisme des Toubous*. In: *Nomades et nomadisme au Sahara*. Paris, Unesco 1963, p. 81.

⁷ Çaycı, A.: *op. cit.*, pp. 84—85 and 110—111.

foothold on the Chad region a cardinal point of their imperial policy. On the other hand, the Ottoman Turks simultaneously continued to assert their own authority in Tripolitania, while making only sporadic attempts to extend it southwards.

The Turkish approach to the solution of the question of the inner parts of Tripolitania manifested itself in a sort of reawakening of the official Turkish circles' interest in this African province. In 1888, the Turkish Colonel Omar Subhi presented to Sultan Abdülhamid II his analysis of the situation in Tripolitania and suggested Tripoli and Bengazi as centres for the strengthening and even increasing of the Ottoman Empire's influence in the inner region of the Sahara.⁸ Even the activities of such perspicacious governors as Mehmed Nazif Paşa, Mustafa Asim Paşa and Receb Paşa contributed significantly to the consolidation of the Turkish authority in Tripolitania. During the rule of Receb Paşa, the kaza of Tibbu Reşada, with its seat in Barday, was re-established in 1906.⁹ As stated in his telegram to the Mutasarrif of Fezzan dated 6 teşrin-i evvel 1322 (19 October 1906) Tibbu Reşada, Kavar and Bilma were considered to be attached to the Murzuk administrative district, and the chiefs of the local population were not allowed to enter into any sort of contact with the French.¹⁰

However, all the efforts of the Ottoman Turks to strengthen their authority even in the remote areas of their last remaining province in Africa represented only individual attempts to revive and transform the Ottoman power there. Though counteracted by the French and later by the Italian colonial interests in that region, these efforts of the Ottoman Turks could possibly have helped not only to postpone the break-up of the Ottoman administration in Tripolitania, but also to maintain the Turkish rule even in the southern border regions of that province. However, the efficiency of that administration and Ottoman Turkey's ability to govern that distant province were affected both by the country's continuing socio-economic crisis and by the internal decline of the Ottoman Empire, as well as by the passivity prevailing in the political circles of the Sublime Porte at that time. Thus, the Ottoman Turks' interest in the imperial race for Africa gradually declined while, on the contrary, their feeble participation in the European powers' expansion on the African continent imposed on them the role of a mere subject of the imperial policy being pursued by those powers.

⁸ Rossi, E.: *Storia di Tripoli e della Tripolitania dalla conquista araba al 1911*. Roma, Istituto per l'Oriente 1968, p. 341.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 344—345.

¹⁰ Cf. the document concerning the southern frontiers of Tripolitania in the Turkish Archives of Tripoli. See also my contribution *Quelques aspects de la deuxième période ottomane dans la Tripolitaine*. *Archiv orientální*, 41, 1973, 1, pp. 49—50.

THE NATIONALITY QUESTION IN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ETHIOPIA

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This study is concerned with the solution of the nationality problem on the example of Eritrea. An analysis of a broad range of questions revealed that Eritrea's claim to secession from the Republic is not substantiated by the right of nations to self-determination and her demand of independence in virtue of her historical evolution is likewise disputable. The best solution appears to be that of regional autonomy in the form proposed by the Ethiopian government. The analysis has further shown the existence in Eritrea of two types of separatist movements: one is purely an Eritrean phenomenon with a regional character, the other is of a national character; it is not confined to Eritrea, but includes also the Tigray province.

The solution of the nationality question represents one of the most complex and politically the most delicate problems in any multi-ethnic state. This issue has become of particular importance in developing countries and its solution requires an unusually sensitive approach. Prior to gaining independence, the populations of these countries had in very exceptional cases only formed themselves into a nation, living for the most part on the level of ethnic groupings, but also of clan associations. And the national issue acquires considerable significance precisely in such multi-ethnic states. From this point of view, two main groups of states may be set apart, viz. states in which one ethnic group (nationality)¹ pursues a harsh nationalist oppression towards the others, and states endeavouring to deal with the nationalist question in a democratic manner, including also the principles of Marxism-Leninism in their policy. To the latter type we assign also Ethiopia, and the present study sets out to analyse the solution of the nationality question in this country with a view to the situation prevailing in one of its administrative provinces, Eritrea. The aim of the study is to find an answer to the question whether the separatist movement in Eritrea

¹ In the present study we prefer the term 'ethnic group' to that of 'nationality'. We see the principal difference to reside the fact that the former need not possess territorial contiguity (a frequent form in Ethiopia, but also in further developing countries) while nationality has this territorial solidarity. As this terminological vagueness persists in relevant literature, we consider the two terms to be equivalent, employing 'ethnic group' in our texts, and 'nationality' in references, as the case may be. But this study does not take as its aim to resolve this terminological vagueness.

is of a national, or a regional character and to discuss proposals by the Ethiopian government and of the Eritrean separatists for a constitutional organization of the country.

The nationality question, one of the most burning issues in Ethiopia, provokes in the non-Amharan areas forms of separatism in which an important role is played by language, ethnic and religious dissimilarities. It should be stressed right at the outset that the nationality problem in Ethiopia is an outcome of the unequal position of the non-Amharan ethnic groups at large, exposed until 1974 to the chauvinist policy of the governing class of Amharan feudal and bourgeois groups. The present Ethiopian government has inherited this unfortunate legacy from the past, and is undertaking the necessary steps along this line in order to diminish the differences among the various ethnic groups in the country. The most thorny issue at the present time is that posed by Eritrean separatism.

Eritrea is an administrative province of Ethiopia, lying to the northeast and is Ethiopia's only gate to the sea. Because of its situation as an entrance gate to the Red Sea, it is of extreme strategical significance. Eritrea does not constitute a natural unit and had been artificially set up by European colonialism.² In 1889 this territory became an Italian colony and only then was it named Eritrea. Its borders with the then Ethiopian province Tigray (today's administrative area Tigray) indifferently separated regions that had historically belonged together and whose inhabitants have the same social structure and the same culture, profess the same religion and speak cognate languages.³ Colonial policy divided into two state units the strong ethnic Tigrinya, which moreover professes the same religion — Ethiopian Christianity — as the Amharas who make up the core of the Ethiopian state. During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1936—1941), Eritrea was designedly united with the Tigray province in order that the Tigrinyas from the two provinces would be under one administrative unit and thus “form an antagonistic counterweight to the Amharan south”.⁴ During the years 1941—1952, Eritrea was under British military administration. In 1952, by virtue of a decision of the United Nations in 1950, it was federated with Ethiopia as an autonomous province under the Ethiopian crown. At first, the majority of Tigrinyas welcomed this federation, for they advocated a complete

² Several experts have repeatedly pointed to this fact. Cf. e.g. Trevaskis, G.K.N.: *Eritrea — A Colony in Transition 1941—1952*. London, Oxford University Press 1960, p. 4; Erlich, H.: *The Struggle Over Eritrea 1962—1978. War and Revolution in the Horn of Africa*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1983, pp. 1 and 119; Falkenstörfer, H.: *Äthiopien. Tragik und Chancen einer Revolution*. Stuttgart, Radius-Verlag 1986, p. 47.

³ Poláček, Z., *Etiopie*. Prague, Svoboda 1981, p. 92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 92—93.

union of Eritrea with Ethiopia. However, a part of the Tigrinyas, likewise Christians, fearing an Amharan supremacy, demanded an independent Eritrea in alliance, if possible, with the Tigray province. The majority of the Muslim inhabitants, making up about 40 per cent of Eritrea's population, endeavoured to achieve a total independence of the territory. In this manner, the population's patriotic feeling and religious confession became projected into a demand for a new constitutional arrangement of the state. However, when the central Ethiopian government, from a position of Amharan chauvinism, incessantly violated the federation, most of Christian Tigrinyas went over to join the adherents of independence. In 1962, a truncated and manipulated Eritrean parliament, under pressure of the Ethiopian emperor, voted to abolish the country's federal status and to be united with Ethiopia. But Eritrean separatists had initiated armed struggle against the central Ethiopian government already in 1961 and it is going on to this day. While until 1974 this fight had an antifeudal character, following the downfall of the imperial government, Eritrean separatists failed to support the efforts of the revolutionary government as the most acceptable solution of the future of Eritrea, and with the help of reactionary Arab states and some capitalist countries went over to the side of the counter-revolutionaries, intent on bringing about the downfall of the progressively-oriented Ethiopian government.

Views on the legitimacy of historical claims to Eritrean territory by Ethiopia differ. The difficulty is that in the history of practically every nation we might find pros and cons, arguments to justify, or reinforce the policy that is being pursued. The Ethiopian government argues that the Eritrean territory had been part of Ethiopia, while Eritrean separatists refute this claim. Nor is there any consensus of opinion regarding Ethiopia among experts. A Czechoslovak monograph in 1987 dealing with the dissensions and conflicts in the third world states that "Eritrea had been separated from the Ethiopian state as far back as the 9th and 10th century", nevertheless, it adopts a negative stand towards the separatist movement.⁵ The Israeli Ethiopist H. Erlich is of the opinion that both sides have a right to demand part of the territory, but never the whole. And he goes on to state that the extensive territories of western and northern Eritrea had never been (with the exception of short unimportant episodes) under the political control of Ethiopian rulers. On the other hand, the central regions of present-day Eritrea (essentially the central highlands inhabited by Christians) have been unreservedly an integral part of Ethiopia, the true cradle of Ethiopian civilization. True, direct control over these territories wavered according to the

⁵ Dvořák, L. et al.: *Rozpory a konflikty v rozvojovém světě* (Contradictions and Conflicts in the Third World). Prague, Nakladatelství Svoboda 1987, p. 246.

ability of the emperors to exert power in remote regions, but local rulers had always been politically, culturally and economically in contact with the empire.⁶ On the other hand, the British expert on Ethiopia, G. K. N. Trevaskis, writes that Ethiopian claims on annexation of Eritrea, although open to objections, were efficient. Besides exerting an effective control over the central highlands, Ethiopia also had the northern highlands in its power. Although the duration of its rule in the highlands had been brief and its hold tenuous, Ethiopia may argue — in Trevaskis's view, that it had not been less effective than Fung's and lasted longer than that of the Egyptians. True, Trevaskis remarks that Ethiopia has no right at all to Eritrean Danakils, but if in the 19th century she conquered and absorbed the other Danakils, it appears logical that Eritrean Danakils ought to be united with their kinsmen. The same also applies to the Barias and the Kunamas. Trevaskis also puts forward important economic and strategic arguments speaking for union. Both countries were economically reciprocally dependent, e.g. Ethiopia became dependent on the Eritrean seaport Massawa and on the warehouses and transportation through the capital Asmara, while Eritrea depended on Ethiopia for grain and raw materials. From the strategical point of view Eritrea has proved extraordinarily fateful for Ethiopia. During the past 80 years it has served four times as a base for foreign invasions: in 1868 it was a British invasion, in 1875 an Egyptian and in 1896 and 1935 Italian. A foreign government in Eritrea always presented a potential threat to Ethiopian independence.⁷ The West German author H. Falkenstörfer writes that "the history of the territory now called Eritrea was for over 2000 years firmly united with Ethiopian history, partly even identical with it". The author's concise historical overview of the territory makes evident his view that throughout the period of fighting for Eritrea, the highlands were under the domination of Ethiopian emperors, although at certain times they enjoyed considerable regional autonomy.⁸

From a study of further works devoted to Ethiopian history⁹ it appears incontestable that Eritrean separatists have no right to the entire territory of Eritrea and questionable also is the historical legitimacy of their claim to the Northern Highlands, hence, the different areal views, e.g. between Erlich and Trevaskis. Ethiopian claims, on the other hand, take support in more real historical facts. Mention should here be made of a very important article

⁶ Erlich, H.: loc. cit., pp. 11—12.

⁷ Trevaskis, G. K. N.: loc. cit., pp. 57—58.

⁸ Falkenstörfer, H.: loc. cit., pp. 47—48.

⁹ E.g. Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis: *A History of Ethiopia*. Vol. I, II. London, Cambridge University Press 1928; Bartnicki, A. — Mantel-Niećko, J.: *Historia Etiopii*. Wrocław, Ossolineum 1987.

anchored in the treaty between Ethiopia and Italy in the year 1896, according to which Italy, should she decide to abandon parts of the territory in its possession, would hand them over to Ethiopia.¹⁰

In conclusion of this historical review it should be stressed that two entities which of late had been developing as politically independent one of the other, have been united in one state formation: Ethiopia, which with the exception of a brief period has been independent, and Eritrea, set up as an Italian colony. A specific national feeling of necessity was thus formed and crystallized in the two countries — in Ethiopia, under the influence of the Amharas who kept up an economic, political and social oppression on the other ethnic groups, and in Eritrea, principally among the urban inhabitants, hence, in the majority of cases among the intelligentsia and the emerging bourgeoisie. Following the union of the two entities, these two trends — Amharic chauvinism and Eritrean nationalism — clashed.

Accessible data go to show that 7—9 ethnic associations live on the territory of Eritrea,¹¹ the most numerous of them are Tigrinyas, speaking the Trigrinya language. The Tigrinyas, too, were frequently accused of chauvinism, mention was also made of an Amharic-Tigrinyan chauvinism, but the fact remains that Tigrinyan chauvinism never achieved the dimensions it had among the Amharis. According to the Czechoslovak Ethiopist Z. Poláček, the Tigrinyas are moulded into nationality and possess “the principal traits of a modern nation”.¹² Attention to their role in the separatist movement has been drawn in our historical review. The second most important ethnic group is the population speaking the Tigray language. The majority of them profess Islam and support the separatist movement for the independence of Eritrea. They are organized in clans with an aristocratic caste at their head.¹³ Further ethnic groups in the area include the

¹⁰ *Il conflitto Italo-Etiopico*. Documenti. Volume Primo. Del Trattato di Ucciali al 3 ottobre 1935. Introduzione di Giulio Capvin. Milano, Istituto per studi di politica internazionale 1936, p. 66, § 5.

¹¹ Data differ, e.g. the book *Class Struggle and the Problem in Eritrea*. Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Revolution Information Centre 1979 speaks on p. 87 of no less than 9 nationalities, but on the map in the same book there are only seven. The Ethiopian Revolution and the Problem in Eritrea. Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Revolution Information Centre 1977, on p. 9 mentions no less than seven main nationalities.

¹² Equally as the Amharas. Poláček, Z. deals with it, loc. cit., p. 46.

¹³ Of interest in connection with the origin of the Tigrinya and Tigres is a working hypothesis put forward by the Czechoslovak Arabist and Ethiopist, Prof. K. Petráček to the effect that these two groups were unified as to nationality before our present epoch. In this hypothesis Prof. Petráček, a linguist, started from gutturals and came to conclusion that the original language became split into Tigrinya and Tigre, giving rise to the Giiz language which in turn became split. Unfortunately, because of Prof. Petráček's sudden death, there was no possibility of consulting him again regarding this hypothesis which has probably not been published anywhere. In case it should

Danakils (Afar), living also outside of Eritrea, the Sahos, living also on territories adjacent to Eritrea, then the Baria, the Kunama, and the Bilen (Agau) and the Beja — the last two living only on Eritrean territory.¹⁴

From the aspect of ethnical processes taking place today, Eritrea presents the case of a homogeneous-heterogeneous ethnical conglomeration where representatives of several ethnic groups live within the boundaries of a single territorial unit, some of them forming relatively compact enclaves (e.g. the Tigrinyas and the population speaking Tigray — the Tigres), while others are rather dispersed (e.g. the Bilens). As the Soviet historian and ethnographer, Academician J. V. Bromlei remarks, “among the compact ethnic formations a special place is taken up by those that are linked with the so-called social organization”,¹⁵ — i.e. individual associations, independent units of the social development. And this is precisely the case with the Tigrinyas and the Tigres. And a further observation by Bromlei applies to the area under study when he writes that “... various parts of nationalities — ethnic groups — at present dispersed, are ultimately swallowed up by those nations — ethno-social organizations — with which they are associated in one socio-political formation. At the same time, cases are known when a new nation has been set up through the fusion of several heterogeneous groups of different nationalities — ethnics. And within its framework likewise a new ethnic — nationality comes into being, although the various groups of this new ethnic preserve in some entertain not only notions about the origin of other ethnics, but also some of their characteristic traits.”¹⁶ Some authors, experts on Ethiopia, note that over the past few decades an assimilation could be observed of minor ethnic groups, primarily of inhabitants professing Islam, by the Tigray-speaking population. This involves primarily Muslim

prove right, there looms the existence of a strong ethnic group which has disintegrated during the course of historical evolution and now severely complicates the political course of events in the region. It should also be observed in this connection that the languages of both the groups belong to the Semitic group, the Ethiopian subgroup — North-Ethiopian languages, though not to those that had preceded Giiz, but to its daughter languages. This hypothesis has been evoked here, because, as is generally recognized, a language belongs among the most important, although not always the determining indicators of ethnic associations.

¹⁴ Literature also makes reference to the Jeberti (Jiberti, Jibarti), however, it is not clear whether the Jeberti may be classified as an ethnic group. E.g. Poláček writes about them as being a minor group of Muslims, traditionally referred to as Jeberti. In: Filip, J. et al.: *Etiopie*. Prague, ČTK — PRESSFOTO 1981, p. 58. Pool writes, that “a significant proportion of the merchants in the highlands, the Jibarti, are Muslim and speak Tigrinya, as do Tigre speaking Muslims who have been long resident in the towns of Plateau”. In: *Nationalism & Self-Determination in the Horn of Afrika*. Ed. by I. M. Lewis. London, Ithaca Press 1983, p. 177.

¹⁵ Bromlei, J. V.: *Etnos a etnografia*. Bratislava, Veda 1980, p. 50.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 168.

Sahos, partly also the Bilen and Baria.¹⁷ This ethnical process may be characterized both as one of ethnic (nationality) consolidation — i.e. a process of fusion of several languages and culturally kindred ethnic units into one ethnic association, and also a process of ethnic (nationality) assimilation, i.e. a process of fusion of minor groups (or individual representatives) of one nation in the milieu of another.¹⁸ The unanswered question is whether a process of cross-ethnic (internationality) integration will take place, i.e. of a mutual influencing of the fundamental ethnic units which substantially differ by their linguistic-cultural parameters (in our study such is the case of the Tigrinyas and the Tigres, due to historical development).

In conclusion of this ethnic overview, taking into consideration literary data and the present analysis, it may be stated that an Eritrean nation as such does not exist. The area is inhabited by several ethnic groups, the dominant role among which is played by the Tigrinyas to whom are ascribed the traits of a modern nation, and the Tigres.

In every historical epoch, at every historical stage, the nationality question has its own class content and its specific role in the class struggle, hence, it is imperative to become acquainted with the class and the social composition of the population. The basic component of the society in Ethiopia as an agrarian country is made up of farmers — over 80 per cent of the economically active population. A working class began to be formed in the 1950s (in Eritrea already in the 1930s) and is as yet numerically weak — representing a mere 0.5 per cent of the economically active population, and is thinly concentrated. Likewise the stratum of small investors is numerically weak. Small as to numbers, but of great social significance, is the stratum of intelligentsia. And of course, an important role in the life of the country is played by the army. In a situation when there were no political parties and the working class was weak and dispersed, the army came to be the decisive force; it did away with the old social order and took the lead in building up a new society.¹⁹

To be thorough, an analysis requires the reader to be acquainted also with the composition of the separatist movement. There existed in Eritrea strong social groupings, connected with precapitalist modes of production which formed a base for the activities of nationalist-minded intelligentsia, or of religious circles. The leaders of the separatist movement come from feudal circles, from the social stratum of intellectuals and from that section of the population which under the colonial rule served Italian administration. However, the core of the movement

¹⁷ E.g. Trevaskis, G. K. N.: loc. cit., pp. 9—17.

¹⁸ Bromlei, J. V.: loc. cit., pp. 175—176.

¹⁹ Data on percentages are from Poláček, Z.: loc. cit., pp. 42—43.

is made up of farmers who are “the incontestable ethnic substrate of all emerging small nations, whose resistance to linguistic assimilation constituted an important precondition of a successful national movement”.²⁰ True, the policy of Amharic chauvinism and nationalist oppression could not be fully enforced in Eritrea, none the less, a significant role in the initial stage of the movement was played by religion — adherents of Islam supported Eritrea’s independence, while the majority of Eritrean Christians demanded integration. Religion thus came to be an integrating factor both of the separatist and the unionist movement and united various classes and strata. This gave rise to a paradoxical situation when the separatist movement, headed by feudal and clan leaders, had an antifeudal character. Soon, however, due to the heterogeneous social and religious composition of the separatist movement, hence following the federation’s failure to meet the expectations of Christian Tigrinyas, the latter joined the Muslim separatists and the movement broke up into various antagonistic organizations and fractions. Nevertheless, until 1974, the movement was considered by the progressive worldwide community as being anti-feudal and national liberating and it also had the support of socialist states. Subsequently, under the influence of conservative Arab régimes and exploiting classes and strata fearing the loss of possessions and positions, the movement acquired a counter-revolutionary character. Precisely at the time when the principal element of the separatist movement, i.e. the farmers, began to learn about significant socialist measures of the revolutionary government (e.g. about the land reform), the leaders of the movement misused the patriotic feeling of the masses at large and stirred up Eritrean nationalism and chauvinism.

At the present time, of three separatist organizations in the land, the second strongest — the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) — passes as being the most reactionary one, while the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) follows a relatively more moderate course (it calls itself a Marxist party).

It might be worth considering what tactics the EPLF has chosen. In 1980 it proposed to the Ethiopian government to carry out a people’s referendum on the Eritrean territory on the following three points: full independence; federal association with Ethiopia; regional autonomy.²¹ Quite a democratic programme, at first sight. V. I. Lenin had repeatedly remarked that separation should be decided upon in virtue of the right to vote of a people wanting the separation. However, if the franchise is to take place on a truly democratic basis, a favourable situation must be created in the country. “The right to self-deter-

²⁰ Hroch, M.: *Evropská hnutí v 19. století* (European Movements in the 19th Century). Prague, Nakladatelství Svoboda 1986, p. 307.

²¹ *Resistance*. Vol. II, No. 3, Nov.—Dec. 1980, p. 7.

mination implies a democratic system of a type in which there is not only democracy in general, but specifically one in which there could not be an undemocratic solution of the question of secession."²² And this was precisely the case of Eritrea. While the towns were relatively safe, rural inhabitants were terrorized by various bands. Under these circumstances the Ethiopian government could not guarantee a truly democratic referendum regarding questions of a constitutional organization of the country.²³

Both sides — the Ethiopian central government as also the Eritrean separatists, in their basic documents start from the premise of the right of nations to self-determination,²⁴ the basic Ethiopian document 'Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia' literally mentions "the right to self-determination of all nationalities".²⁵ This expression, however, is open to a broad range of interpretations, unusually dangerous for the Ethiopian reality. The important point here is that while the Ethiopian government proposes to deal with the situation on the basis of regional autonomy, the Eritrean separatists demand recognition of the right to self-determination up to secession, their aim being either complete separation, — or they are willing to negotiate only after recognition of this right regarding the future constitutional arrangement of the state.

In the introduction a point was made of the baneful legacy left by the chauvinistic rule of the Amhara group, as also of the ensuing problems. Conscious of the situation, the Ethiopian government endeavours with great feeling to resolve the nationality question; in this it must take into account also the

²² Lenin, V. I.: *Collected Works*. Vol. 19. Moscow, Progress Publishers 1973, p. 543.

²³ Mention should here be made of the universal referendum on the constitution that took place in Ethiopia in 1987, with a turn-out of 96 per cent of the rightful electorate, at which 81 per cent were for and 18 per cent against the constitution. Under these circumstances the Ethiopian government could again consider the EPLF's proposal from the year 1980. Judging by the above results when no more than 18 per cent of the population voted against the constitution, and hence also against regional autonomy, there can be no fear regarding the outcome of voting. But of course, only in the case that the majority of those 18 per cent were not inhabitants of Eritrea.

²⁴ The question that obviously comes to the uppermost is why is the right of nations to self-determination such a constant subject of discussion, when no Eritrean nation exists. The problem, however, is far more intricate. In Eritrea as a colony, alongside a territorial-political consciousness, also ethnical consciousness was active, even though it was of an incomplete character. Eritrea is also the home of the Tigrinyas who already have the traits of a modern nation. For these reasons, but also because the Eritrean separatists operate with the right of nations to self-determination, this issue must be submitted to a thorough analysis. It should likewise be observed that the work is based solely on the Marxist-Leninist theory of resolving the nationality question — seeing that both the Ethiopian and the Eritrean side start from and refer to Marxism-Leninism.

²⁵ *Class Struggle*, loc. cit., p. 40.

prevailing political situation — the activities of counter-revolutionary forces, and of neighbouring states, not favourably inclined to the Ethiopian revolution (e.g. Somali Republic, Sudan, Saudi Arabia). As the Soviet author Galperin writes: “Ethiopia’s revolutionary democratic leaders admit, that the Soviet solution of the nationalities question is of vast significance for their country. Indeed, despite all the differences between pre-revolutionary Ethiopia and pre-revolutionary Russia (i.e. Ethiopia before 1974 and Russia before 1917 — J.Ch.), they have much in common — they were both multinational empires, each with a particularly acute nationalities question intensified by a motley ethnic pattern, a multiplicity of economic types, and sharply distinctive regional differentiations of economic and cultural development.”²⁶ When analysing the nationality question and its solution, Ethiopian authors drew on Soviet, but also Chinese experience. In 1983, the Institute for the Study of Ethiopian Nationalities was set up. Accessible materials clearly show that the basic literature for Ethiopian authors was provided by Stalin’s works on the solution of the nationalities question. The authors made use of the English translation of J. V. Stalin’s book — *Marxism and the National-Colonial Question*. They also quoted from the English translation of V. I. Lenin’s book — *On the National and Colonial Questions*, published in Peking and made use of quotations and examples from the works by Marx and Engels. The majority of the quotations were to the effect that following recognition of the right to self-determination until complete separation, account must be made of the concrete situation, and therefore, a realization of this right in present-day Ethiopia is just impossible. A secession of one ethnic group might create a dangerous precedent for others of the 75 ethnic groups to whom the Ethiopian government concedes the status of nationality.²⁷ This standpoint of the Ethiopian government takes full support in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. As Lenin remarks, “the self-determination of nations means the political separation of these nations from alien national bodies, and the formation of an independent national state”.²⁸ Initially, however, there is question solely of the right of nations to their own statehood; an implementation of this right is conditioned by a concrete situation that may prevail. V. I. Lenin’s teaching on this point holds that a nation’s right to self-determination is decidedly to be defended, but its implementation must be guided by expediency of the intended separation. He explicitly states in his work

²⁶ Galperin, G.: *Ethiopia: Some Aspects of the Nationalities Question*. The African Communist, No. 83, Fourth Quarter 1980, p. 58.

²⁷ The exact number is not known, e.g. in *Class Struggle*, loc. cit., p. 83, there are 75 nationalities, the latest Ethiopian materials speak of 70—73 nationalities; generally 70 nationalities (ethnic groups, e.g. In: Poláček, Z.: loc. cit., p. 43) are accepted.

²⁸ Lenin, V. I.: *Collected Works*. Vol. 20. Moscow, Progress Publishers 1972, p. 397.

Resolution on the National Question: "The right of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the advisability of secession by a given nation at a given moment. The party of the proletariat (in the case of Ethiopia by the Workers' Party — J.Ch.) must decide the latter question quite independently in each particular case, having regard to the interests of social development as a whole and the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism."²⁹ An additional reason why Ethiopia refuses the unconditional nature of the right of nations to self-determination is also the fact that "the setting up of independent states sometimes may mean a reinforcement of imperialism".³⁰ This fully refers to Ethiopia at a present time. Nor does the economic situation in Ethiopia permit the application of this right in practice.

One cannot but fully agree with the Ethiopian negative stand towards a complete secession of various territories. And above all, the Eritrean administrative province is of extraordinary importance to Ethiopia, and Eritrean separatists are in the services of counter-revolutionaries and the Arab reaction. Eritrea has no claim at all to separation from the aspect of the right of nations to self-determination. But account must also be made of the fact that the non-existence of a nation and a heterogeneity of ethnic groups need not as yet be an obstacle to the setting up of an independent state, say, on the basis of a historical fact. However, not even history brings support to the separatist's claim to the entire territory, and what might eventually fall to them, would not satisfy them. Things are different in the case of the Tigrinyas and the compact territory which they inhabit. This ethnic group might meet the conditions needed for the right to self-determination to be recognized. A glance at a map, however, shows that an eventual Tigrinya state would be an inland, a land-locked state which does not offer promising prospects under African conditions. At the present time, the principal opposition Tigrinya group, the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), has altered its standpoint: it does not demand secession from Ethiopia, but aims to bring down the government of President Mengistu Haile Mariam, accusing it of not being Marxist-Leninist. In order to prove that TPLF is the true Marxist party, it founded in the autumn of 1985 the Marxist-Leninist Tigray League which ought to be the first degree of a Marxist-Leninist party.³¹

The optimum way out under the prevailing conditions seems to be a regional autonomy which marks a significant step forward in solving the burning nation-

²⁹ Lenin, V. I.: *Collected Works*. Vol. 24. Moscow, Progress Publishers 1977, pp. 302—303.

³⁰ Leninism and the Nationality Question under Present-Day Conditions (in Slovak). Ed. by P. N. Fedoseev. Bratislava, Nakladateľstvo Pravda 1972, p. 109.

³¹ Falkenstörfer, H.: loc. cit., pp. 59—60.

ality problem in comparison not only with the situation in pre-revolutionary Ethiopia, but also with that in the majority of African countries. This is what V. I. Lenin said of regional autonomy: "... autonomy, as a reform, differs in principle from freedom to secede, as a revolutionary measure. This is unquestionable. But as everyone knows, in practice a reform is often merely a step towards revolution. It is autonomy that enables a nation forcibly retained within the boundaries of a given state to crystallize a nation ...".³²

Regional autonomy in Ethiopia was defined for the first time in the Programme of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia which contains also this passage: "The right to self-determination of all nationalities will be recognized and fully respected ... Given Ethiopia's existing situation, the problem of nationalities can be resolved if each nationality is accorded full right to self-government. This means that each nationality will have regional autonomy to decide on matters concerning its internal affairs. Within its environs, it has the right to determine the contents of its political, economic and social life, use its own language and elect its own leaders and administrators to head its internal organs."³³ The programme sanctioned primarily two aspects of the right to self-determination: recognition of the legal aspect and the mode of recognition. The solution of the nationality question has been definitively anchored in the Ethiopian constitution which has been approved by a universal referendum, the very first one on the African continent, in 1987. The preamble and several articles lay stress on the right to self-determination, but without any specification whether of nation or nationality. Simultaneously, this constitution guarantees the unity of the country and the equality of nationalities. The Ethiopian unitary state is to be made up of administrative and autonomous regions.³⁴ However, the difference between autonomous and administrative region failed to become evident even from an interview which the highest representative Mengistu Haile Mariam accorded to some Times correspondents at the time this study was being written.³⁵ However, it is likely that administrative regions will be set up where no dominant nationality can be determined.^{35a}

³² Lenin, V. I.: *Collected Works*. Vol. 22. Moscow, Progress Publishers 1974, pp. 344—345.

³³ *Class Struggle*, loc. cit., p. 40.

³⁴ The Ethiopian Herald, Addis Ababa. 30 Jan. 1987. Preamble, Art. 2, § 1—5; Art. 95—99. There were 5 autonomous regions in PDRE: Eritrea, Tigray, Assab, Diredawa and Ogaden, in 1988.

³⁵ Replies to Question from "Time" Magazine. Addis Ababa, The Press Section CC WPE 1986, pp. 12—13.

^{35a} In an EPLF statement, issued after the decision of Shengo, concerning the autonomous regions, in September 1987 was said that Shengo had "no right on mandate to determine the right of self-determination of the Eritrean people" or "redraw the international frontiers of Eritrea" and

Much has also been written about a possible federation of Ethiopia and Eritrea and of the unyielding attitude of the Ethiopian government to revise its negative attitude towards this possibility. Attention was drawn to the fact that V. I. Lenin had gone back on his negative view of federation and pointed out its priorities, on the basis of events in Russia. However, Lenin in changing his view started from the concrete situation which within five years from the October revolution permitted the planned federation to be realized in practice. In today's Ethiopia, neither the political, nor the economic conditions have matured enough for federation to be introduced.

Ethiopian materials take this view of federation: "Federation is one form of union. Still, it provides a wider autonomy, including the right to secede and to establish independent relations with foreign countries. At this moment, there are no conditions in revolutionary Ethiopia that can allow this right to be translated into practice. At the same time, the economic and cultural preconditions for the practice of such right are not fully obvious in any part of Ethiopia. Thus, federation loosens the unity of struggle of the broad masses of Ethiopia instead of strengthening it and cannot be translated into revolutionary practice."³⁶ Concerning the former federation between Ethiopia and Eritrea they add that "... this bourgeois federation was by no means based on a scientific study of the distribution of nationalities. It was simply a design put forward by imperialism..."³⁷ In the above material one may also come across the following: "Some misguided people say that the problem in the administrative region of Eritrea can be solved if the former federal status is reinstated. There is nothing scientific in this view. Federation is bilateral. Unless both parties agree, it cannot be imposed or implemented forcefully. But the secessionists who are fighting our revolution with arms want total separation."³⁸ Mengistu Haile Mariam in an interview he gave to reporters of *Der Spiegel*, to their question "Why don't you propose federation as a solution for Eritrea and Tigre"? (Tigray — J. Ch.), gave the following answer: "The model of a federal state cannot resolve this issue. We still are a multinationality state. We are just preparing a new constitution which will permit our nations an autonomous development. In our so-called "Shengo" national people's assembly, all the nationalities will be represented. The federal solution can be thought of for political units with their own historical development. It is unsuitable for us."³⁹

the case of Eritrea is "... unfinished decolonization" which was the matter of United Nations. Africa Research Bulletin, Political Series, Exeter, 24, 9, 15 October 1987, p. 8625B.

³⁶ *Class Struggle*, loc. cit., p. 84.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Der Spiegel*, 18 Aug. 1986, No. 34, p. 145.

That much regarding the Ethiopian standpoint. As to the 1950 federation, this was truly a step not fully considered — a compromise between the demand of the USSR to Eritrea's independence⁴⁰ and various proposals put forward by capitalist states interested in a more intensive penetration into this strategically important region. At present, the federation would most probably fail to contribute to the concept of the Ethiopian government regarding the shaping of the Ethiopian nation.⁴¹ In order to be constituted, a nation needs political stability, which must be all the longer, the greater is the nation.⁴² The setting up of federation would result in a disruption in the formation of the Ethiopian nation. Against the forming Ethiopian nation, there would stand that of the Tigrinyas, and possibly that of the Tigre now being formed.

Eritrean separatists demand that the right to self-determination be not only recognized, but also implemented. This is one of few issues on which there exists a total agreement among the three mutually antagonistic Eritrean separatist organizations. Eritrean ideologists, aware of the untenable nature of the theory on a single Eritrean nation, now leave out this term from their vocabulary: but solely the term, striving to maintain a semblance of national unity through a play on words. They make use of words such as "Eritrean People",⁴³ "Eritrean Man",⁴⁴ "Eritrean National Revolution", "Eritrean Nationalist", "Eritrean Democratic National Forces", "Eritrean National Unity", "Eritrean National Question".⁴⁵ They even explain some of the expressions: "The Eritrean man is a result of interactions of original civilizations with which this region was contemporary" — and what is of extreme significance — "a result of organic civilized, cultural and political relations which link him with the Arab nation. The Eritrean revolution is an inseparable part of the Arab revolution which struggles against colonialism and it constitutes an extension to the liberation

⁴⁰ At that time, the USSR, in view of the concrete situation prevailing in Ethiopia and in virtue of the right of nations to self-determination, defended the existence of an Eritrean state for which it demanded independence. Cf. e.g. Ninin, V.V.: *Eritreya*. Moscow, Geografiz 1952, pp. 4 and 34; Ivanitskii, M.N.: *Put k nezavisimosti. Iz istorii resheniya voprosa o sudbe byvshikh italianskikh kolonii (1945—1950)*. Kiev, Izdatelstvo Akademii nauk Ukrainsoi SSR 1962, p. 107.

⁴¹ This is also underlined by Soviet African scholarship, e.g. Galperin, G., loc. cit., p.53; *Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik*. Tom pervyi. A—K. Moscow, Sovetskaya entsiklopediya 1986, p. 92.

⁴² Bromlei, J. V.: loc. cit., p. 109.

⁴³ All the separatist organizations.

⁴⁴ Constitution of the General Union of the Eritrean Students amended by the Sixth Conference 5—11/7/1980. General Union of the Eritrean Students Executive Committee, pp. 4 and 6.

⁴⁵ *Eritrean Revolution*. ELF Information Bulletin. Beirut. Vol. 2, No. 2, August—September 1977, pp. 3—6.

movements of the world.”⁴⁶ Here they reach into the sphere of Arab nationalism and strive to create an impression of legitimacy on the part of surrounding Arab nations to intervene into internal affairs of Ethiopia. And even reports have appeared to the effect that preparations were afoot for proclaiming an Arab or Islamic republic in Eritrea which would ask for foreign aid.⁴⁷ Any claim that the Eritrean people is part of the Arab nation has absolutely no foundation.⁴⁸ And the hackneyed expressions, as for example “the people of Eritrea” — “their legitimate right of self-determination”,⁴⁹ of “the right of peoples and nations to self-determination”,⁵⁰ also point to efforts at manipulating public opinion and creating the impression of the existence of a single Eritrean nation.

Of interest is the standpoint of the ELF from the year 1971 in which they write: “All national groups are equal, any move to build a dominant national group shall be considered anti-nationalist.”⁵¹ This implies that the ELF has admitted there is no one nation in Eritrea and hence, implicitly also that the right to self-determination in Eritrea is not based on a national foundation. At the same time, the ELF has exposed itself to the danger that every one of the nationalities might come forward with the demand for self-determination, whereby the fight for an independent Eritrean state would lose its meaning.^{51a}

A study of Eritrean materials further reveals that priority of claim to self-determination reverts to historical factors, which, as has been shown earlier, are equally disputable.

For completeness' sake it should be added that materials have been published incriminating Eritrean separatists of such statements as that they form one nation. Thus, for instance, a representative of the EPLF at a meeting with representatives of the Ethiopian government is alleged to have stated that “... during the period of Italian colonization all the nationalities in the region

⁴⁶ *Constitution*, loc. cit., pp. 6—7.

⁴⁷ Vivó, R. V.: *Ethiopia's Revolution*. New York, International Publishers 1978, p. 104.

⁴⁸ Galperin, too, draws attention to this. Loc. cit., p. 56.

⁴⁹ *The Federal Case of Eritrea with Ethiopia*. Damascus, The Eritrean Liberation Front Office, p. 6.

⁵⁰ *Resistance*, loc. cit., p. 2.

⁵¹ *The Eritrean Revolution. A Programmatic Declaration*. Damascus, The Eritrean Liberation Front Office, p. 37.

^{51a} In the year 1985, EPLF said that “Eritreans struggle not as Tigrynas, Tigres, Afars, Sahos, etc. but all Eritrean nine nationalities as a single people”. Author of the article in *Review of African Political Economy* wrote that “both EPLF and TPLF are united in support of the claim of the nation of Eritrea made up, like Ethiopia, of several ‘nationalities’ to national independence within the historic boundaries created by Italian colonial rule”. He also added that Tigrynyas while claiming the right to self-determination, are not fighting for independence. In: *Nations and Nationalities in Ethiopia*. *Review of African Political Economy*, 35, 1986, pp. 89 and 84.

evolved into one and unified entity".⁵² Ethiopian representatives also submitted to criticism the separatists' statement that the question of Eritrea is a national question, deducing from it that Eritrea is a nation.⁵³ However, we have not come across such categorical statements in our study of accessible Eritrean materials. Ethiopian authors themselves now admit that since 1977, Eritrean separatists, in order to improve their position, have come to proclaim that Eritrea is composed of nine nations.⁵⁴

The essential fact here is that there exists no Eritrean nation as such. Eritrean ideologists have attempted to apply a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the origin of a state and a modern nation under African conditions. In the materials, the ELF came to the conclusion that the nations of Europe were historically formed, while the African nations were forcibly created or brought into existence by the energy of victorious capitalism.⁵⁵ However, they omitted making an analysis of the nationality question on present-day Eritrean territory. A just characteristic of all the analyses of Eritrean ideologists was given by Galperin who wrote: "The Eritrean issue brings in with it the more general problem of self-determination in conditions of a national democratic revolution, of the emergence of a socialist-oriented multinational state. Here the interpretation by separatist "theorists" and their patrons put on the related Marxist-Leninist theses are invalid, to say the least. Actually this is a distinctly bourgeois, nationalistic, time-serving, in short, reactionary interpretation of the principle of self-determination, of which Marxist-Leninists are its sincerest consistent champions ... Their only clear goal is secession from Ethiopia in any way and in circumstances, with Ethiopia's enemies, the reactionary separatist leadership, wilfully placing the sign of equality between the independence movement, which in Africa is anti-colonialist, and the solution for self-determination within the framework of a large progressive multinational state."⁵⁶

A further argument of Eritrean separatists in their demand for a nation's right to self-determination and independence is that, as they affirm, Eritrea is an Ethiopian colony formed through a union of USA's interests, as they needed military and naval bases in the Red Sea, and those of Ethiopia who was in need of an access route to the sea.⁵⁷

⁵² *Class Struggle*, loc. cit., p. 50.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* The ELF, however, spoke of existence of several nations already in 1971 (cf. ref. 51).

⁵⁵ *The Eritrean Revolution*, loc. cit., pp. 13—17.

⁵⁶ Galperin, G.: loc. cit., pp. 56—57.

⁵⁷ *The Eritrean Revolution*, loc. cit., pp. 18—24. Not all the Eritrean population supports the separatists. A major disappointment to them was e.g. the armed resistance by Baria and Kunama.

This analysis of a wide range of questions has sufficiently demonstrated the complex nature of the nationality problem in Ethiopia and its solution — and this in only one of its administrative provinces. It clearly points to the need of an unusually sensitive approach to the entire issue. The necessity of such an approach to a settlement of the nationality question on which will depend the development of the state, has been pointed out for several decades now. For all the authors writing in this sense, mention may be made of the Czechoslovak Arabist and Ethiopist, Prof. K. Petráček, who as far back as 1964 wrote that “further development of the Ethiopian state will evidently depend on a suitable solution of this problem in the north (Tigrinyas-Eritreans) and in the south (Somalis, similarly as the Galas and other nationalities)”.⁵⁸ The author has thus expressed the gist of the problem. A rather symptomatic feature is that this problem acquired an acute character not at the time when all the ethnic groups except the Amharas were cruelly oppressed, but at the period when the Ethiopian government is attempting to deal with it in the most democratic manner possible.

The analysis has further shown that two types of the separatist movement may be identified on Eritrean territory. One is a purely Eritrean phenomenon, with a regional character. Its principal aim is, with the aid of reactionary Arab states, politically and economically to weaken socialist-oriented Ethiopia and by cutting off its access to the sea, to make the strategically important Red Sea into the so-called ‘Arab Lake’. This movement is supported primarily by ethnic groups whose majority professes Islam.

The second type has the character of a national movement, it is not confined solely to Eritrea and is made up of the Tigrinyas. If they confined their demand to the creation of an independent Tigrinya state within the framework of ethnic boundaries, their claim might find some theoretical support. However, part of the Tigrinyas demand the setting up of a unified state comprising the entire territory of the administrative province of Eritrea, Tigre and part of Gondar, although they have no rightful claim to the major part of Eritrea. Simultaneously, here their interests cross with those of Muslim separatists, and their eventual symbiosis in one independent state would usher in a host of problems which are also manifest at the present time, involving especially conflicts within the various organizations. In this connection it should be observed that in the interest of the so-called national unity none of the groups comes out under a religious heading. Differences should likewise be noted between the EPLF and the TPLF, grouped primarily from the Christian population. The former operates on Eritrean territory, the latter at Tigray; the former stands for

⁵⁸ Petráček, K.: *Etiopie*. Prague, Nakladatelství politické literatury 1964, p. 65.

separation, the latter is today against the Ethiopian government and is not for secession of Tigray from Ethiopia. For a certain time both the organizations co-operated, but the EPLF disposes of a far wider base and boasts of far more signal fighting successes than the TPLF which concentrates at present on ideological propaganda.

Under the existing political and economic situation, regional autonomy as proposed by the Ethiopian government seems to be the optimum solution. This political and economic situation in Ethiopia has not achieved a stage at which a federative solution of the problem might be considered — a solution that would appear as a compromise between regional autonomy as proposed by the Ethiopian government, on the one hand, and efforts on the part of separatists at a complete secession, on the other.

In spite of the numerical superiority of Ethiopian armed forces and people's militias, as also to the inner divergences in the separatist movement and the consequent limitation in the supplies of arms and material to the separatists from abroad, the situation in the administrative province of Eritrea is complicated. The Ethiopian government has control over the towns of the territory, while separatists control territories in the north around the town Nakfa. The situation in the countryside is unstable. Moreover, the country has lately been stricken with extreme drought which, together with the pillaging by the separatists, fighting operations on the one and the other side, provoked famine throughout the land. Besides ensuring further measures, the Ethiopian government strives to save the lives of thousands of peasants by resettling them in more fertile regions of the land, a fact that has provoked sharp criticism on the part of Western, and partly also Arab countries who argue that the Ethiopian government forcibly resettles adherents of the separatist movement.

The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has inherited a thankless legacy which it strives to liquidate with the use of all available means. It has achieved quite a number of successes, primarily in the alphabetizing campaign, in the social welfare, in the land reform policy, etc. An open question still remains: the complex nationality issue which cannot be resolved from one day to another. However, through a sensitive approach to the entire question, Ethiopia may achieve, and in fact has already achieved (e.g. in granting equal rights to the Muslim community and to all ethnic groups and their languages) a stage that will be satisfactory to all the ethnics in the state.

REVIEW ARTICLES

A NEW CONTRIBUTION TO COMPARATIVE-HISTORICAL AFRASIAN LINGUISTICS

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK, Příbram

A thin volume with an inconspicuous title *Pismennye pamyatniki i problemy istorii kultur narodov Vostoka* edited as materials of "XIX Godichnaya nauchnaya sessiya leningradskogo otdela Instituta vostokovedeniya Akademii nauk SSSR, Moscow, Nauka 1986" hides within 116 pages an unusually rich contribution to the Afrasian comparative-historical lexicon and grammar.

I

The first and the longest article (pp. 3—46) represents a continuation of a Comparative-historical lexicon of Afrasian languages. This third part brings 85 AA roots with initial sibilants and affricates if the following consonants are labial stops: (*s, *c, *ç, *ʒ, *č, *č̣, *ʃ, *š, *ê, *ĉ) × (*p, *p̣, *b, *f). It is a team-work of five orientalists: A. G. Belova, A. Yu. Militarev, V. Ya. Porkhomovsky, O. V. Stolbova and the leader I. M. Diakonov.

The preceding two volumes edited in 1981 and 1982 were reviewed by A. G. Lundin in the journal *Narody Azii i Afriki* 1984, 1, pp. 171—174. His commentary is very useful because the authors of the Lexicon are extremely laconic (e.g. all entries are without literature). A preliminary survey of the purpose of compilers was published by Diakonov (1978, 1984) and Diakonov and Porkhomovsky (1979).

I. M. Diakonov and his pupils work with the following system of consonants in Afrasian proto-language:

Abbreviations: AA — Afrasian, Akk — Akkadian, Amh — Amhara, Ang — Angas, Arab — Arabic, Aram — Aramaic, B — Bauchi, Bab — Babylonian, Beḏ — Beḏawye, Ber — Berber, Bol — Bolewa, C — Central, CC — Central Cushitic (Agaw), Ch — Chadic, Copt — Coptic, Dem — Demotic, E — East, Ebl — Eblaitic, EC — East Cushitic, Eg — Egyptian, ESA — Epigraphic South Arabian, Gz — Ge'ez, Hbr — Hebrew, IE — Indo-European, Lib — Libyan, M — Middle, N — North, Ngiz — Ngizim, O — Old, Om — Omotic, P — Proto-, S — South, SC — South Cushitic, Sem — Semitic, Som — Somali, Soq — Soqotri, Syr — Syrian, Te — Tigre, Tna — Tigrinya, Ugar — Ugaritic, W — West.

		Consonants			Sonants
Labials	Stops (S)		<i>p</i>	<i>p̣</i>	<i>b</i>
	Fricatives and Affricates (F + A)	<i>f</i>			<i>m/ṃ</i>
Dentals	(S)		<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>d</i>
	(F + A)	<i>s</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>ʒ</i>
Dental vibrants	(F + A)	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č̣</i>	<i>ʒ̣</i>
Dental laterals	(F + A)	<i>ʂ</i>	<i>č̣</i>	<i>č̣</i>	<i>ʒ̣ (= ʒ̣)</i>
Velars	(S)		<i>k</i>	<i>ḳ</i>	<i>g</i>
	(F + A)	<i>h</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>x̣</i>	<i>g</i>
Velars labialized	(S)		<i>kʷ</i>	<i>ḳʷ</i>	<i>gʷ</i>
	(F + A)	<i>hʷ</i>	<i>xʷ</i>	<i>x̣ʷ</i>	<i>gʷ</i>
Laryngeals	(F)	<i>ħ</i>			<i>c</i>
	Glottal stop				<i>ʔ</i>
Pharyngeals	(F)	<i>ħ</i>			

PSem (*)											
(traditional)	<i>š</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>ʒ̣</i>	<i>ʒ̣</i>	<i>ʒ̣</i>	<i>ʒ̣</i>	<i>ʒ̣</i>	<i>ʒ̣</i>
Oakk (*)	<i>s</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č̣</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ṣ̌(?)</i>	<i>č̣ ~ ṣ̌</i>	
spelling	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>ʃ/z</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ(?)</i>
OBab (*)	<i>š</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>ç ~ č̣</i>	<i>z(?)</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ṣ̌ ~ č̣</i>
spelling (MBab)	<i>š</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ/z</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>ʃ/z</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ʃ/z</i>
Ebl (spelling)	<i>š</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>z</i>
Hbr	<i>š</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>h, š</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ṣ̌, -s</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ʃ</i>
Arab	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ʔ, h, š</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Soq	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>š, h</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ṣ̌</i>	<i>ʔ</i>

See Militarev in Mayzel 1983, pp. 114—117; Diakonov 1984, pp. 7—9 and 1985, p. 339.

This system assumes only two vowels **a* and **ə* (Diakonov 1970) while **i* or **u* are found the variants of sonants **j* or **y*. It is pleasant that the authors did not start from a Semitic system as it was usual before them. But it is curious that this model is based on the reconstruction of Cushitic phonology by A. B. Dolgopolsky (1973), although now the author himself does not accept his own comparisons and reconstructions (1983). Only if the gradual reconstruction and mutual comparisons of Cushitic, Omotic and Chadic proto-languages are realized, as in the case of Proto-Western-Chadic by Stolbova in this volume, can this scheme be checked. For the present it remains only a hypothetical construction

based more on the symmetry of the system than on the facts of diachronic typology.

In preceding parts (Vol. I, Labials, Vol. II, Dentals) we can find the tables of regular responses. But such a table is missing in Vol. III. I have tried to compile this table on the basis of a preliminary scheme of correspondences among Semitic, Berber, Egyptian (and Cushitic by Dolgopolsky 1973) according to Militarev in Mayzel 1983, 114—117 and reconstructions of partial proto-languages as PEC (Sasse 1976, 1979, 1982; Dolgopolsky 1983), PCC (Appleyard 1984), PSC (Ehret 1980) and PWCh (Stolbova 1986 = this volume). I have also used responses among P_{Sem}, Eg, PEC, PSC and PCh (Newman 1977) assumed by Bomhard (1984).

We have got the following tables for the reconstructed single Afrasian proto-languages:

PEC (*)	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>d'</i> (= <i>ç</i>)
Saho- ^c Afar	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	^c A. <i>d</i> :NS. <i>z/d</i>	<i>d</i> -(?),- <i>ḏ</i>
Somali	<i>s</i>	<i>s-</i>	J. <i>y</i> :I. <i>d</i>	<i>ḏ</i> (/ <i>j</i> ~ <i>d</i>)
Rendille	<i>s</i>	J. - <i>š</i> - :I. - <i>y</i> -	<i>y</i>	<i>ḏ</i>
		<i>s-</i> , - <i>c-</i>		
Oromo	<i>f</i> (<i>s</i> ¹)	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d'</i> / <i>c'</i> / <i>t'</i>
Konso	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i> (<i>š</i> ²)	<i>t</i>	<i>ḏ</i>
Sidamo	<i>s</i>	<i>s/š</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t'</i>
Kambatta	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>t'</i>
Burji	<i>s</i> , <i>ši-</i>	<i>s/š</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d'</i> / <i>c'</i> / <i>t'</i>
Harso	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>t'</i> / <i>c'</i>
Tsamay	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>t'</i> / <i>c'</i>
Yaaku	<i>s</i> (- <i>h</i>)	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>t'</i>

¹ PEC* *s* > Oromo *s* only if labial stop is in the root.

² PEC* *š* > Konso *š* only after *i*, *y*, *r*.

^cA. — ^cAfar, NS. — North Saho, J. — Jiddu, I. — Isaq.

See Sasse 1979, 1982, 18; Leslau 1980.

PCC (*)	<i>s</i>	<i>s-/c</i> ¹	<i>s</i> ₁	<i>c</i>	<i>š</i> (?)	<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>
Bilin	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>
Xamir	<i>s</i> (~ <i>c</i>)	<i>č</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>
Qemant	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>s š</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>j</i>
Awngi	<i>s</i> (~ <i>c</i>)	<i>č</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i> (- <i>ž</i> -)

¹ Before *i/ə*.

See Appleyard 1984.

PSC (*)	<i>q</i>	<i>tʷ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>tsʼ</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>tl</i>	<i>l</i>
Iraqw	<i>d- -r-</i>	<i>tsʼs</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>tsʼ</i>	<i>tsʼ</i>	<i>tsʼ- -s-</i>		<i>tl</i>	<i>l</i>
Burunge	<i>d- -r-</i>	<i>čʼ- -s-</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>čʼ-</i>	<i>čʼ</i>	<i>čʼ- -s-</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>tl</i>	<i>l</i>
Kwʼadza	<i>d- -l-</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s(-dz-)</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>čʼ- -s-</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>tlʼ(-ʼ-)</i>	<i>l(-l-)</i>
Asa	<i>q- -r-</i>	<i>š- -s-</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š(-ʃ-)</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>		<i>d/r</i>	<i>l(-l-)</i>
Maʼa	<i>q-/-z- -r-</i>	<i>č(-ʃ-)</i>	<i>s(sw)</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>s- -z-</i>		<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>
Dahalo	<i>q(~ -tt-)</i>	<i>tʼ</i>	<i>s(ǣ)</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>tsʼ</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>tlʼ</i>	<i>l</i>

See Ehret 1980.

PWCh *	Hausa	PAng *	PBol *	PNB *	PSB *	NGIZ	RON: Sha	Bokkos
<i>č</i>	<i>č-, -s-</i>	<i>č-,s- -š-</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č(-š-)</i>	<i>č-, -s-</i>		<i>č-</i>
<i>š</i>	<i>š-,z- -š-i-</i>	<i>š-,š</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>š-, -s-, -ž-i</i>	<i>š</i>	
<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>č-, -š</i>	<i>č-, -q-</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>-c-</i>	<i>č-, -q-</i>	<i>č</i>	
<i>c</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s-, -c</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s-, š-, -z-</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>z</i>
<i>ž</i>	<i>z-, ž-i-</i>	<i>š-, -s</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>-ž-, -z- -s-</i>	<i>z-, ž-i-</i>	<i>z, š</i>	<i>z</i>
<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>š</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>s(š)</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s, šu</i>	<i>s, š</i>
<i>č</i>	<i>š-,s-</i>	<i>l-, -s</i>	<i>s-, -d₁-</i>	<i>š(-ž-)</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š(-ž-)</i>	<i>-s-, -š-</i>	<i>l-, -s-, -š-</i>
<i>č</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>s-, -l -q-</i>	<i>š-, -d₁-</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š-, -q-</i>		
<i>š</i>	<i>z-, -l-</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ž(-š-)</i>	<i>ž-, -š-</i>	<i>ž(-š-)</i>		
<i>ž</i>	<i>z-</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>ž-</i>				<i>q-</i>

See Stolbova 1986.

Beq, PCC and PSC correspondences are uncertain and preliminary. Comparative-historical reconstructions of PCh or POm do not exist.

The authors compiled Semitic, Egyptian, Berber and Chadic (esp. Western Chadic) lexicons almost exhaustively. Our addenda are based largely on the material from Cushitic languages, where the modern comparative-historical phonologies for single branches have existed at least in the first approximation. **Ad n. 5:** **sap* “to sew, twist, tie” — Add Akk *šapû* “einbinden, einnesteln” and Oromo *supp-* “to darn” (Dolgopolsky 1983, 137), Dullay *šap-* “binden”; Eg *spy* “schiff zusammenbinden” (Sasse 1981, 146).

PAA *	PSem *	Eg	PBerb *	Beđ	PCC *	PEC *	PSC *	PWCh *
č	<u>t</u>	s; t ¹	s(>š); t ¹	s	s(s ₁ ?)	s		č; š ⁵
ž	<u>d</u>	z, d? ² (d??)	z, (d?) ²	d	ž	z	d/d	ž
č	<u>t</u>	<u>d</u>	z-(ž-) -šš-	-s-	c(?)	d _i '	t''	č
c	s	s	z	d(d)	s- -z-	š(?)	ts(?)	c
ž	z	z	z	s/ž	s- -z-	z	d	ž
č	š	<u>d</u>	z- -šš-	d- -t-	c	d _i '	ts'	č
s	š	s	s(>š)	s/š	s	š	s- -š-	s
š	š	s- -f(?)	s	s(h?)	s	š	s	?Angas f
č	š	š	z	š	c	š	l(=š) ⁴	č
č	š	<u>d</u>	z-(ž-) -šš-	d(d)	c	d _i '	tl(=č)	č
š	š ₁	š- -s	s(>š)	š		š-(?)-l(l) ³ -	l(=š)	š

¹ *či > si, (*ču > su?), *ča > ta, *čC > sC (?).

² *ži > zi, (%žu > zu?), *ža > da, (*žC > dC?).

³ If the following comparison is correct: PWCh */yaši “earth”//PSidamo */ /ulla- “earth, land”, but Tambaro *irra*, POm *yalla/u- “soil” (Stolbova 1986, 106; Dolgopolsky 1973, 195).

⁴ If the following comparisons are correct: PSEm *škk: Arab *šakka* “to pierce, impale, prick, stab”; Hbr *šukkāh* “barb, spear”//PSC *laak- “to stab, pierce” (Bomhard 1984, 158; Ehret 1980, 209); PWCh *čapi “leaf”//PSC *lab- “foliage, vegetation” (Stolbova 1986, 88; Ehret 1980, 208), etc. See also n. 78 far.

⁵ PAA *ča- > PWCh *žV-.

Ad n. 8: *sVpVr “to travel, send” — Add ESA *sfr* “measure” (n.) (Appleyard 1977, 97).

Ad n. 10: *sVp B) “earth, clay” — PEC *sib’-/sub’- “slippery; mud”, also in Som *siib-*, *sibq-* “slip, be slippery”; Harso *sip-te* “mud” (Sasse 1979, 33, 53) and maybe Bilin *šebār*, Xamir *šabir* “Asche”, cf. Gz *šabr* “Thon, Lehm” (Reinisch 1887, 316).

Ad n. 11: *sap “leather” — Add Bilin *sáber*, pl. *šáfet*, Xamir *šáber* “Lederriemen” (Reinisch 1887, 316). Is Te *šābat-ət* “big leather sack ...” a loanword from Bilin?

Ad n. 13: *sVb “sp. of tree” — Add Bilin *šabatā* id. (Conthium Schimperianum) (Reinisch 1887, 316); Burji *sabán-a* “Acacia sp.” (Sasse 1982, 162). Ad complex *sb-l, cf. also Bilin *sibti* “Baumsorte” (Pircunia abessinica) (Reinisch 1887, 294).

Ad n. 14: *sVb A) “blame, shame”; B) “praise” — EC forms as Oromo *sob-* “to lie”, Somali *sab-* (and *sasab-*) “flatter”, Boni *sisob-*, Bayso *sosob-* “lie”, Konso *sassap-*, Burji *sob-* “deceive” and probably *sibaabb-* “spider” (*“deceiver”), cf.

Dullay *sapsap*-, Elmolo *sasap*-, Dasenech *šaa*-zi (**šaab*-ti) originate from PEC *sab*- “to deceive” (Sasse 1982, 164—165). But PEC **s* corresponds to P^{Sem} **ɿ* while P^{Sem} **š* (PAA **s*) corresponds to PEC **š* (see above). On the other hand there is no reason to reconstruct just PEC **s* and not also **š*. PSC **tsob*- in Dahalo **tsob*- “to make a mistake”, *tsobakkud*- “to miss” (Ehret 1980, 327) is not an acceptable equivalent because PSC **ts*- does not correspond neither to PEC **s* nor to **š*.

Ad n. 15: **sVb* III “ear of corn” — Add loanwords from Ethio-Semitic into Cushitic: Bilin, Saho-^cAfar *sabbarā* “Hülsenfrucht” (Reinisch 1887, 294).

Ad n. 16: **sVb* IV “to come”, etc. — Add Te *sābākā* “to descent” (Rössler 1983, 332).

Ad n. 17: **sVb* V “cluster of hair” — Add Bilin *šebkā*, Xamir *sefqā*, Dembea, Quara *šebkā*, Awngi *sifhā* “hair” (Reinisch 1887, 315).

Ad n. 19: **sab* I “sp. of bird” — Somali *šimbir*, Oromo *šimbir*-, *simbir*-, *simp’ir*- together with Boni *šimir* and Rendille *cimbir* represent a palatalized variance of PEC **kimbir* “small bird” (Heine 1978, 77; Sasse 1979, 13, 15), cf. Saho *kimbir*-, Bayso *kimbiri*, Dasenech pl. *kimir*-ri, Arbore *kirmate* and also a loanword in Tigre *kāmbart* “bird”. Bed *šimbūk*“le, *šumbūk*“le “Papagei” can belong here (Reinisch 1895, 215).

Ad n. 21: **səb* “strip, belt, rope” — Add Syr *šebbē* “veins” (Dolgopolsky 1983, 137 compares with PEC **šeeb*- “leather strip”).

Ad n. 22: **sVbVr/l* I “(wedding) ritual, dance” — Sidamo *sirb*- “to sing, dance” and Oromo *širb*- “to dance” together with Somali *širb-o* “circular dance” and Burji *šibir*- “sing and dance” originates from PEC **kirb*- “to dance and sing”, cf. Konso *kirp*-, Gidole *hirp*-, Gawwada *xirip*-, Harso *hirip*-, etc. (Sasse 1979, 12, 13; 1982, 172).

Ad n. 23: **sVbVr/l* “tip, point, edge” — Add Dullay *silp*, Konso *silp-a*, Gidole *silp* “iron” while Burji *sibīl-i*, Boni *sibiil* *siwiil* and Dasenech *sibil* id. are probably loans from Oromo. But Dullay *s* < PEC **s* < PAA **š*. If the original form is PEC **sibil* “iron”, only Berber forms are compatible with it.

Ad n. 24: **sVf* “broad knife” — Ethio-Semitic (Harari *sif* “sword”), Cushitic (Xamir *sif*, *šif* id.) and Omotic (Kafa *šēfō* id.) forms are loans from Arab *sayf* but it is probably also a loan from Aram *sayāfā* “sword” (? < Greek *ksíphos* “sword”, cf. Boisacq 1916, 678—679; Leslau 1963, 137).

Ad n. 25: **sVf* “bad”, etc. — Add Gz *’asfātā* “to deceive, seduce” and Arab *safuṭa* “to be liberal” (Appleyard 1977, 94).

Ad n. 26: **saf* “basket” — Bilin, Qemant *sāba*, pl. *sāf*, Qwara *seba* “flat plate-like basket”, Saho *sāfo* likewise Oromo *safii*, Som *sāfi*, Burji *safée* “a large, flat plate-like basket made of bast” are probably loans from Ethio-Semitic (Sasse 1982, 162).

- Ad n. 27:** *saf* “sp. of bird” — Add Kafa *soffěé* “bird” (Reinisch 1888, 327).
- Ad n. 32:** **cVb* “to drink” — Add Chadic forms: 2 Bacama *səḥə* “to drink”, Mofu *asəḥ* “to suck”, ? Kotoko *s’af* (?) id., Zime *soḥo*; 3 Mokulu *siḥ* “to drink” (Newman 1977, 32: PCh **səḥə* “to suck”).
- Ad n. 35:** **çVp* “to be, become clean” — Add Chadic forms: 1 Kanakuru *joḥe*, 2 Tera *ciḥə*, Higi *yaḥe*; 3 Mubi *cuubi* (Newman 1977, 33: PCh **cVḥə* “to wash something”).
- Ad n. 36:** **çVbV^c* “finger” — Add Ebl *iš-ba-um*, *ì-sa-ba-um*, *iš/iš₄-ba-hum* = /*išba^cum*/ (Krebernik 1983, 18) and Tna *’aşabə^c*, Te *čəb^cit* (> Bilin *čibi^c*, pl. *ačābe* “finger”), Amh *ṭat* (**ṭabat*), Gafat *ṣatā*, Gurage: Gyeto *aṭaybā*, etc. (Leslau 1963, 36—37: Harari *aṭābiñña* “finger”).
- Ad n. 37:** **çVpVr* “bird” — Add Ugar *’sr* “bird”. Fronzaroli connects with the Semitic verb **-spir-* “to twitter” (Fronzaroli 1968, 295, n. 5.69).
- Ad n. 39:** **ʒVp* “times” — Sidamo *saffě* “turn; times” does not belong here because PAA **ʒ* > PEC **z* > Sidamo *z* (see above).
- Ad n. 42:** **ʒVb* “go quickly, pursue” — Add Beḍ *dāb* “eilen, laufen, entfliehen”, *dāb*, *ḡab* “Lauf, Eile, Flucht”. Reinisch (1895, 58) compares it with Arab *zāba* “surripuit se fugā” (and Nil Nuba *dāb* (KD), *dāf* (FM) “fortlaufen”).
- Ad n. 44:** **ʒVb* “hair, coat” — Som *dab-(an)-ayya* “Haare flechten” is related also to Oromo *dab-* “rund machen, flechten”, Dasenech *zaab-* “nähen”, Saho *zaama* “Saum, Naht, Quast” (**zaab-ma*), see Sasse 1976, 139: PEC **za(a)b-* “flechten”.
- Ad n. 46:** **ʒab* “ritual music, dance” — Add Chadic forms: 1 NB: Siri *zəba*, Miya *zabu*, Mburku *zabuzabu*, Tsagu *zābe* and 2 Tera *sapa* “to dance” (Skinner 1977, 17) and maybe Eg *zb.t* “reed”, Dem *zbi’t* “reed, flute”, Copt *sēbē* “reed” (Černý 1976, 147) if it is not Libyan loan, cf. Beni Menacer *ta-žābbu-t* “flute” (n. 75 **čab*) and Om: Mocha *dubbi-*, Kafa *dub-*, Anfillo *dubb-* “to dance” (Sasse 1980, 158).
- Ad n. 52:** **čvb* I “knitting” — Add maybe Qwara *sab* “flechten, nähen”. Reinisch (1887, 293) compared with Bilin *sabā*, pl. *saf* etc. “flat plate-like basket”, see PAA **saf* “basket” (n. 26).
- Ad n. 53:** **čvb* II “to sit”, etc. — Add Xamta *seb-*, Dembea *sem-*, *sim-*, Qemant *səmb-* < PCC **s₁əmb-* “to be, stay” (Dolgopolsky 1973, 97; Appleyard 1984, 43). Ad the complex **w-čb* add Ebl *šu-ba-tum/du* = /*tub(a)tum*/ = Akk *šubtum* (Krebernik 1983, 4).
- Ad n. 54:** **čvb* III “snake” — Add Bilin *sabarā*, pl. *sáfal* id. (Reinisch 1887, 294).
- Ad n. 55:** **čab* “antelope” — Add Ebl *za-ba-a-tum* = /*zabaytum*/ (Krebernik 1983, 42).
- Ad n. 56:** **ʒVb* I “fly” — Add Harari *zəmbi*, Gafat *zəmbä*, Argobba, Gurage *zəmb* “fly” (Leslau 1963, 166) and loans from Ethio-Semitic as Kafa *yammō*

(and Mocha *yä'wuğgo* ?) “fly” (Cerulli 1951, 520; Leslau 1959, 59) and of course Kambatta *zambibu-it*. Naumkin (1981, 65—66) translated Soq *'idbhir* “spider” while “bee” is *'idbher di 'āsel* (“honey spider”). Do belong here also Arab *dawb-/šawb-* “honey” (Mayzel 1983, 152), PSC **daaba-* “honeycomb” (Ehret 1980, 188) and WCh: Ngizim *žəbuwə*, Bade *cəwūwān* “honey” (Kraft 1981, I, 248, 258) < **žəbu-* ? Other parallels, if any, to the complex **žb-r* are in WCh: Karekare *nzuburi* “worm”, Gera *zewuri*, Dira *žimbürè*, Zar *žUbUr* id., etc. (Kraft 1981, I, p. 61, 74, 160, 210) and EC: Sidamo *da'mūli*, Kambatta, Qabenna *zabūllo* “to be worm eaten (meat)” (Leslau 1980, 121).

Ad n. 57: **žVb* II “weed, grass, leaf” — Add PSC *deb-* “leaf”: Asa *debiya* id., Dahalo *dəbere* “greens” (Ehret 1980, 190) and maybe Eg *db;w* (NK) “foliage”, Copt *toobef* id. (Černý 1976, 183) if it does not belong to *g;b.t* (Med) (Erman — Grapow 1971, V, 154).

Ad n. 58: **žVb* III “rich stream of water” — Add Omotic forms: Dime *dēbo*, Bako *dōbi*, Hamar *dubi*, Dizi *dieb* “to rain” and Kafa *dup* id. (Fleming 1976, 320). POm **d-* can reflect the Paa **ž-*, cf. Hamar *doŋger*, Bako *doŋgor* and Central Omoto *daŋgar-sa* “elephant” < PAA **žangar* (**žagan* + *-ar* ?) (Fleming 1976, 318).

Ad n. 59: **žVbVh* “sacrifice” — Somali *dooḥ-*, *dabaah-* “den Bauch einen geschlachteten Tier aufschneiden und es ausweiden” compared with PSem **dbh* by Dolgopolsky (1973, 106) is probably an Arabic loan (Reinisch 1902, 106). Dolgopolsky (1973, 230 and 1983, 131) presented an alternative etymology for Eg *dbh* “to need, ask for (esp. food, drink)”: PEC **d'eeb-* “thirst” in Oromo *d'eeb-* “thirst”, Konso, Gidole *d'eeb-*, Golango *d'eeb-*, Hadiya *t'eeb-a*, Burji *d'ayb-o* id. (Sasse 1982, 62).

Ad n. 60: **žə'b* “carnivorous animal” — Add Amh *ğəb* “hyena”, Tna *zə'bi* (Appleyard 1977, 86). SOM Bako *zab* “lion” (Leslau 1980, 127) is a loan from Gurage or Sidamo?

Ad n. 65: **šVb* “glow, heat” — Is it possible to add also Eg *sb;* “star”, Copt *siw* although the regular reflex is Eg *š*?

Ad n. 71: **čVp* I “measure, calculating” — Bilin *šef* is probably correctly Awngi *šef* “Zahl”, add also Saho-ʿAfar *sab* “(ab)zählen” (Reinisch 1887, 315) and maybe Sidamo *saffé* “turn; times” (see n. 39 above).

Ad n. 75: **čab* I “cane tube, flute” — Add Bilin *sabārā* “flute” (Reinisch 1887, 294). About Eg *zb.t* “reed” etc., see n. 46 **žab*.

Ad n. 76: **čab* II “milk” — Add PSem **subah* “butter” > Rendille *s'ubah* id., Som *subag* “ghee” (Heine 1978, 96). Te *šəben* “sheep” is connected with PEC **sabben-/sibeen-* “ewe” > Som *saben*, Rendille *sub'én*, Saho-ʿAfar *seben* “young female sheep”, Oromo *sabeen-taa* “female goat old enough to bear young”, Burji *subéen-/sibéen-* “heifer goat”, Yaaku *supin* “female goat which has not yet

given birth” (Sasse 1982, 168—169). This root belongs here only in the case if the original initial was *š-. But it is also possible.

Ad n. 78: *čVfI “lip, mouth” — Add Ebl *sa-ba-tum*, *sa-ib-tum* = /šáp(a)tum/ (Krebernik 1983, 11). Iraqw *čufi* “lip” has to be correctly *šufi*, in notation of Ehret (1980, 212) *hlufi*, cf. Kw’adza *hlifito* id., Dahalo *luub-* “to sip” < PSC **luuf*.

Ad n. 83: *čVp^c “water worm, frog” — Add Burunge *tlambe^cu*, Alagwa *tlembe^cu* “frog” (Ehret 1980, 359 compares with Asa *dara’andok* id.).

Ad n. 84: *čVp/f “to braid, comb (hair)” — Add MHbr *šə’pār* “Geflecht”, Gz *šfr* “to plait, twist” and PEC **d’ifr-* “to braid”: Saho *-dful-* “to plait”, Rendille *ḍafar*, Dasenech *dafarri* “clothes”, Oromo *c’ifr-aa* “woman’s hair do”, Konso *jirf-* “to braid”, Gidole *c’irf-* id. (Sasse 1979, 27, 29; Dolgopolsky 1983, 141).

Ad n. 85: *čVb “rain, cloudy weather” — Add Iraqw *thuw-* “to rain, drip”, Burunge *tlub-* id., Kw’adza *tlub-*, Dahalo *luḥ-* “to rain” from PSC **tlub-* “to rain”. Ehret (1980, 217) compares with EC Gawwada *d’ip-* id. (**d’Vb-*). The Ehret’s notation *tl* corresponds to traditional *č*.

The following comparisons could belong also to the Lexicon.

1. Eg *sbk* “God Sobek” /Pyr/ (Erman—Grapow 1971, IV, 95) characterized by the picture of “crocodile” // NOm: Baditu *šebu* “crocodile”, ? Yamma *šignā* id. (**šVbn-* or **šVbgn-* ?) (Cerulli 1938, 84). PAA **sVb* (cf. n. 54 **čVb* “snake”).

2. PSem **-šūp* “to smell”, etc.// Oromo *suf-* id. (Dolgopolsky 1983, 137) PAA **sVp/f*.

3. PSem **-šūp* “to rub (off)” // Som *sōf-a* “lime”, Oromo *sōf* “to file, saw”, Sidamo *sōfi* “adze”, Darasa *sōfe*, cf. Harari *sōfa* “rasp, file” (Leslau 1963, 137; Dolgopolsky 1983, 137) PAA **sVp/f*.

4. PSem **šbg* “to moisten, dye” // PEC **d’ub-* “to dip in” (Sasse 1979, 30; Dolgopolsky 1983, 140). PAA **čVb*.

5. PSem **špy* “to wrap over” // PEC **d’uf-* “to close, to shut” (Sasse 1979, 29, 31; Dolgopolsky 1983, 141). PAA **čVp/f*.

6. PSem **špp* “to press” // PEC **d’iib-* “to squeeze, press” (Sasse 1979, 29, 30) // PSC **tlibiḥ-* “to push” (Ehret 1980, 216), cf. Dolgopolsky 1983, 141 // ? Eg *ḍb*; “verstopfen” (MK) (Erman—Grapow 1971, V, 558). PAA **čVb* (?).

7. PEC **d’oob-* “mud” (Sasse 1979, 30), cf. Harari *čibā* “mud-serving for building houses” (Leslau 1963, 50) // PSC **thuuf-* > Alagwa *tlufa* “mud” (Ehret 1980, 78) // Eg *ḍb.t* “brick”, Dem *tb*, Copt *tōḥbē* id. (Černý 1976, 181) // 1 Hausa *čabi* “dirt”, *čaḥo* “earth, soil, clay”; 2 Bata *čoḥe* “mud for building”, Bacama *səḥwe* “mud” (Newman-Ma 1966, 237; Newman 1977, 29). PAA **čab*.

8. PCC **žab-* “to buy” (Reinisch 1887, 176; Appleyard 1984, 38) // Eg *ḍb*, *ḍb*; “to supply, furnish with, equip, provide” /Pyr/ (Erman—Grapow 1971, V,

555), Dem *tb*; (*db*;) “compensate, repay, punish”, Copt *tōōbē* “to repay, requite” (Černý 1976, 181). PAA **ǰVb* (?).

9. PSem **špw/y* or **špw/y*: Arab *šafā* “to cure, heal, make well” // PSC **lafi* “health, breath, life” (Ehret 1980, 208; Bomhard 1984, 157). PAA **čVf* or **šVf* (?).

10. PSem **šabu*^c- “hyena” (Fronzaroli 1968, 293, n. 5.55) // WCh: Sura *səḫel* “fox” (Jungraithmayr). PAA *çVb*^c.

II

I. M. Diakonov is the author of the second article “Common Afrasian Nominal Categories” (pp. 47—62).

In the first paragraph there is developed the conception of the nominal classes in AA proto-language. An indicator of “harmful animal class” *-(*a*)*b* is productive only in the Semitic languages (e.g. **ta^cl-ab-* “fox”: dimin. **tu^cāl-*). But we may see the same formant in such examples as Berber Iznacen *mulab*, Kabyl *imulab* “lizard” (Basset 1885, 174) versus EC: ‘Afar *mullu^cit*, Somali *mula^c-a*, Rendille *mul’ūḥ* id. (Heine 1976, 217; Reinisch 1887, 277) or PEC **waraab-* “hyena” (Sasse 1979, 42) versus Ma’a (South Cushitic) *waré* id. (Ehret 1980, 337) and maybe PCh **wurV* “leopard” (Newman, Ma 1966, 237). The old suffixal character of **-al* in PSem **’ayy-al-* “stag” confirms probably the Chadic cognate: Ngizim *áayù* “gazelle”.

The class indicator **-n-* with uncertain using was usually infixed before the last radical (by metathesis), cf. Eg *wnš* “wolf” and Berb Tuareg *ehēnši* “jackal” (**a-wanši*): North Berb *uššen* “jackal” (**wašni-* < **a-wššin*), cf. PSidamo **wəš-* “dog”, etc. (Vycichl 1951, 70; Cohen 1947, n. 505; Cerulli 1938, 224) — all from PAA **Hⁿays-(an)-* “wild dog” (?) or EC Yaaku *sunqai* “lion” (Heine 1975, 129) and CCh Chibak *dzungəy*, Ngwaxi *tsiṇi* id., etc. and ECh Jegu *dúngum* id. against PSidamo **zagūm-* “leopard” and WCh Bade *’əzgy-* “lion”, etc. — from AA **ʒəgⁿ-(an/m-)*.

Another class indicator has been often suffixed, e.g. POm **dangar* “elephant” (Cometo *daṅgar-sā*, Mao *tongel*, Bako *doṅgor*, etc. — see Fleming 1976, 318) and PBeḍ **dangar-* > **danhar* > Late Eg *dnhr*, Dem *tnhr* id. (Müller 1896, 203—205): PCC **žak(V)n-*, PEC **zakVn-* (cf. EC loan in Yamma *zaknō*), PSC **doxoN* (Dolgopolsky 1973, 107; Ehret 1980, 166) and Chadic: 2 Bana *thogna*, 3 Sokoro *dogol* id. — from AA **žak^l’ⁿ (-an-) + (-ar/al-)* or Oromo *dangalē* “tadpole” (Reinisch 1888, 280) and POm **dingar* “snake” (Cerulli 1951, 431): Semitic Ugar *dg* “fish”, Hbr *dāg* id., *dayyāg* “fisher” (Aistleitner 1963, 75) — from AA **dVg-(an) + (ar/al)*.

The formant **-n- (/ *-m- ?)* is not limited to animal names. It served rather for

grammatical determination or derivation than as the class indicator. Was its function connected with AA mimation/nunation? The AA proto-language knew certainly also other class indicators than $^{*-(a)b}$, $^{*-(a)l/r}$, $^{*-(a)n}$, $^{*-(a)t}$ (inactive). E.g. indicator of names of body parts *h (prefix in Chadic, suffix in Cushitic, Egyptian and Semitic): PWCh $^{*ha-ganV}$ "arm, shoulder" (Stolbova 1986, 91) // Eg $ḡnh$ "wing, leg" // Sem Arab $ḡanaḥ$ "wing, arm", etc. (Cohen 1947, n. 214) or PWCh $^{*ha-q̣}ari$ "tooth" (Stolbova 1986, 93) and Beḡ *kwire* id. (Vycichl 1934, 73). See also other cases of h -indicator for body part names: PWCh $^{*ha-ḡini}$ "nose" (Stolbova 1986, 104), $^{*ha-kasi}$ "bone" (Stolbova 1986, 103), $^{*h^{(w)}-yarV}$ "neck" (cf. Tuareg *éèri* "neck"; 'Afar-Saho *irō* "back", etc. — Dolgopolsky 1973, 222; Rössler 1979, 22), PWCh $^{*ha-lisim}$ "tongue" (Stolbova 1978, 17) or PEC $^{*nabḥ-}$ "ear" (Sasse 1979, 24), $^{*math-}$ "head" (Sasse 1979, 5, 8, 10, 36, 37, 54, 57). Leslau (1962) assumes for h - prefix in SSem (Mehri) and Egyptian and Hausa *ha-* non-etymological origin. But correspondences of PWCh (and at all PCh) $^{*ha-}$ with $^{*-h-}$ in PEC and probably in Eg and Sem implicate other explanation — probably h is an old class indicator (also Newman 1977, 33 interpreted PCh $^{*a-}$ /in his reconstruction/ as prefix for body parts).

The independent system of grammatical gender (masc. $^{*-Vw/-Vy}$ or $^{*-wa/-ya}$, fem. $^{*-i} > ^{-ay}$, $^{*-ā}$) was created probably later, perhaps originally also from the class indicators. This premise is implicated by content typology: binary classification (active versus inactive class) is developing from the system of nominal classes (Klimov 1983, 186—187). For example, one of the old indicators of the inactive class $^{*-t-}$ was transformed into feminine affix beside other functions (singulative, indicator of the names with abstract or social passive meaning, etc.).

AA case system is analysed in the second paragraph: the original binary opposition of abstract cases $^{*-i/-u}$ and $^{*-θ/-a}$ is best preserved in PSem and PEC. The author cited the nominative/ergative $^{*-u}$ only from Semitic languages (p. 50). But also EC language Burji knows the nominative $-u$ for masc. (and $-i$ for fem. — an influence of the gender classification?), which is an archaism according to Sasse and Straube (Hetzron 1980, 15). Cf. also Sidamo nominative masc. $-u/-i$. Diakonov explains the variation $^{*-u} \sim ^{-i}$ from the history of AA vocalism. In proto-language this opposition was not phonemic. Cf. also relative adjective formants (*nisba*) $^{*-iy(a)-}$ and $^{*-uw(a)-}$, which also confirms the original identity of the $^{*-u}$ and $^{*-i}$ cases.

PEC declensional paradigm in the reconstruction of Sasse (1984, 117):

case	masc.	fem.
absolute	$-a$	$-a$
subject	$-u/i$	$-a$

reminds the situation in IE, where neuter nouns (inactive class as AA feminina) do not distinguish subject and object. But demonstratives are excluded from this neutralization, because they are more likely to refer to animates, cf. PEC system

case	masc.	fem.	
absolute	<i>ka</i>	<i>ta</i>	“this”
subject	<i>ku</i>	<i>ti</i>	(Sasse 1984, 117).

Sasse compares the PEC data with other Cushitic languages:

e.g. Kemant	masc.	fem.	Beḍawye	masc.	fem.
absolute	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	accusative	<i>oo-(<i>*wa-</i>?)</i>	<i>too-(<i>*twa-</i>?)</i>
subject	<i>-i</i>	<i>-a</i>	nominative	<i>uu-</i>	<i>tuu-</i>

Also the system of Berber states (see Diakonov §3) reflects the AA pattern:

Shilha	masc.	fem.	Tamazight	masc.	fem.
status liber	<i>a-</i>	<i>ta-</i>		<i>a-</i>	<i>ta-</i>
status annexus	<i>u-</i>	<i>t-</i>		<i>u-</i>	<i>Ø-</i>

(Sasse 1984, 120—122).

The AA system of the spatial cases **-š* (locative-terminative, dative — see Hetzron 1980, 17), **-d* (comitative, dative), **-k* (ablative), **-m* (locative-adverbialis), **-l* (directive), **-f/p* (ablative) can be supplemented by Omotic objective/accusative **-m/-n* (Fleming 1976, 316) — cf. **-m* above and Omotic genitive **-n* (Fleming op. cit.) with Darasa and Burji *-n-* and Berber and Egyptian nota genitivi *n* in comparison with particles following the dependent genitive in Chadic: 2 Musgu *na*, Logone *n*, etc. (Greenberg 1963, 47; Illich-Svitych 1976, 81).

Also exclusive isogloss between Semitic and Cushitic — accusative **-t-* which is analogical with dative **-š-*, would be named, cf. PCC **-t* noun accusative fem. and pronominal accusative (Hetzron 1976, 46—48), maybe Beḍ object case of fem. *-t* (Klingenheben 1951, 84—85) and Akk accusative of the object pronoun *yāti* “me”: PCC **yāt* id. (Castellino 1962, 35—36). See also Ebl *-ti* in accusative *ku-wa-ti*: Akk *kū-tī*, cf. Hbr nota accusativi *’ēl* (Petráček, personal communication) and Ron (WCh) particle of object *-t-* (Müller 1974, 218). It is evident, the spatial cases originate from various demonstratives (**-š*, **-t*, **-m*, **-n*, **-k*, **-f/p*) or particles expressing spatial relations (**-d*, **-l*). The system of AA states (§3) is connected with the development of the AA case system and with the creation of the stress.

The AA proto-language knew three numbers: singular, plural and dual. The dual was preserved only in Semitic and Egyptian languages, in other branches it is represented only in relicts (Shilha *māraw-in* “twenty”: *māraw* “ten”). The rank position of the dual endings (**-ā-* or in oblique cases **-i-* > **-ay-*) — after the gender indicator and before eventual postpositive article (mimation/nunation) — gives evidence about its later character because the oldest formant of

plural **-ā/-a-* was located before the gender indicator or even infix before the last consonant of noun stem. The old infixation of the vowel marker of the plural may explain e.g. Cushitic internal plurals characterized by vowel apophony (Zaborski 1978) and of course some types of the Berber and Semitic pluralis fractus (Diakonov §5). Traditionally there have been reconstructed more plural markers for AA proto-language (**-(ā)n* or **-(ā)w*, etc.) but Diakonov analysed them in contrary to Zaborski 1976 as the combination of the plural and mimation/nunation resp. plural and gender markers.

But if the AA formant *-n-* known from plural of AA personal pronouns and from all plural persons of the AA verbal conjugation represents really the plural marker (Castellino 1962, 22—23), the traditional point of view will be confirmed (external parallels see Illich-Svitych 1976, 94—95). We may unite both conceptions if we will suppose the origin of *n*-formants in the old AA demonstrative, often with the plural function, cf. Eg *nw*, *nn*, *n*; “these” (Greenberg 1963, 48; Fleming 1976, 315; Illich-Svitych 1976, 93—94, cf. typological parallels in Finno-Ugric **nā-* “these”: **tä-* “this” or **nō-* “those”: **tō-* “that”).

This demonstrative root is also probably a source of the nasal postpositive article (“nunation” — see §6), cf. besides Eg also Bilin *ni* “he”, Kemant *ni* id.; Oromo *inni* id. (and nominative *-ni* ?); SOM: Dime *nu/no*, Galila, Ubamer, Bako *no/nuo/nō* “he”; Chad: 1 Hausa *nàn* “this”, Chip *nī* “he” (subj.), 2 Margi *na* “that”, 3 Mubi *éné* “he”, etc. (Greenberg 1963, 48; Fleming 1976, 315; Hetzron 1976, 49; Illich-Svitych 1976, 93; Hetzron 1980, 15). But the parallel demonstrative *m*-root (cf. “mimation”) is known only from Chadic (Angas *m(w)a* “they”, Buduma *ma* “this”, Masa *mu* “he” — see Illich-Svitych 1976, 70), although its traces are seen in AA interrogative, etc. (Diakonov 1965, 75).

The other forms of the noun determination are later. They have developed independently in separate branches (PSem **han-* and **hal-* or **hā* and maybe Berb-Lib **al-*, see Militarev 1984, 158—159, Eg **pV*, **tV*, **nV*, PEC **-ku/*-ti* masc./fem., etc.).

AA numerals are discussed in the last paragraph (§7). The AA system of numerals is characterized by extreme diversity — numerals in languages of single subgroupings as East and South Cushitic or Western or Central Chadic represent various roots. The most extended numeral roots are **čVn* “two” (Sem, CC and SC, Eg and Berb, maybe PWCh **žanV* “twin” with irregular **ž* instead of **ẓ̌*, see Stolbova 1978, 14) and **fVdC/*fVrC* (North and East Cushitic, Omotic (?), Eg and Chadic). A hypothetical alliteration of Berb **sammūs* “five” (usually compared with PSem **hamiš-* id.) according to the following numeral **saḏis/sūḏus* “six” is an acceptable explanation, but hopeful cognates in Chadic compete with it: Muzgu *šim*, *šim* “five”, Kotoko **šVnsV* id. (Porkhomovsky 1972, 57 — PCCh **š-* < PCh and AA **s-*). But it may be explained also as a Berber loan, of course. Eg *mā(w)* “ten” cannot be a cognate of PSem **ma’d-*

“many”. Its etymologies are only speculative. If *md(w)* reflects the original **mVgu*, it represents an acceptable cognate of PCh **g^wam-* “ten” (after metathesis in Eg or PCh ?). On the other hand, if **m;- < *mVrVgV* was an original form (Rössler 1966, 227), it is a good cognate with Berber **marāw* (but cf. Zenaga *merēg* and Guanche *marago*) “ten”.

A comparative historical analysis of AA numerals shows that the decimal system of recent or historical languages is later and originally it was quinar or even more primitive system (cf. such models as $6 = 5 + 1$ or $6 = 3 + 3$ in some Cushitic and Chadic languages). More detailed analysis of AA numerals was presented by reviewer at the 5th International Hamito-Semitic Congress (Vienna 1987).

III

A. Yu. Militarev in his article “An Origin of the Roots with Meaning ‘to create’ in Afrasian Languages” continues in the series of semasiological-etymological papers (cf. Militarev 1983).

He has found more sources of the notion “to create”: (1) “to open, burst through perforate, be free, appear”, etc., (2) “to make from soil, clay”, (3) “to give birth, cause to being”, (4) “to build”, (5) “to make”, (6) “to share”, (7) “to begin, put in order”.

The author interprets his material in the following way. The notion of “creation” developed in the area of AA languages between 5000 (certainly 4000) and 3000 B. C. The oldest proto-language level where the notion in reconstructable is PCentral Semitic (**qny* and **br*). The most archaic writing records — Old Akkadian and Egyptian of Textes of Pyramids — fix this meaning, too. In this period (4th millennium B. C.) some cosmogonic or anthropogonic text was probably formed in Near East, in which words expressing periphrastically an action of creation have got this contextual sense. The new, secondary meaning has got an independent one.

The material which may be supplemented only confirms author’s conclusions:

p. 70, ftn. 13: AA **dvk^w*- “mud, clay” — add Oromo *doke* and Om: Kafa *dengō*, Mocha *’dāngo*, Shinasha *dēngo* “mud” (**dVḵ-nV-* ?) — see Cerulli 1951, 430; Leslau 1959, 27.

p. 71, n. 3.3a: AA **nyk ~ *nky* “to have intercourse with, impregnate (a woman)” — add EC: Burji *nu(u)ḵ-* “to have sexual intercourse”, Dullay *nuug-* id. (Sasse 1982, 153) // ? Om: Zayse *enkō* “membrum virile” (Cerulli 1938, 199) // WCh: Ron (Bokkos) *nyok* “to copulate” (Rabin 1981, 25).

p. 71, n. 3a.1a: AA **bHš* “to beget, cause to being” — add Ethio-Semitic: Gafat

bušä “child, son” (Cushitic or Omotic loan); Saho-Afar *bus* “matrice” (Cerulli 1951, 416; Leslau 1959, 23) and maybe Eg *msy* “to bear a child” and Berb Zaian *mes* “être originaire de” if they originate from *mb(H)š* (Greenberg 1965, 91).
p. 72, n. 3a.2a: CSem **hwy* “to be” and Beq *hāy* and Som *hay* “to be” has been complemented by EC forms: Rendille *-hai* “to be” (Zaborski 1975, 72).
p. 74, n. 5.3a: AA **p^l* “to make” — add Ethio-Semitic: Tigre *f^l* “to weave” // EC: Boni *fal-* “to make, prepare” (Dolgopolsky 1983, 126).

IV

O. V. Stolbova submitted results of her work on West Chadic comparative-historical phonology and reconstruction in the last article of the volume — “The Reconstruction of the Consonant System of West Chadic Languages” (pp. 80—115). She started to publish the first contributions on this theme in 1972. Preliminary results were edited in 1978 (there see older literature) after series of six articles. Now she reconstructed the following PWCh system of consonants (p. 113):

labials	<i>p</i>	<i>p̣</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>
dentals	<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>d</i>	
sibilants	<i>c</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>s</i>
and				
affricates	<i>č</i>	<i>č̣</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	
laterals	<i>ĉ</i>	<i>(ĉ̣)</i>	<i>(ʒ̣)</i>	<i>š</i>
velars	<i>k</i>	<i>ḳ</i>	<i>g</i>	
labiovelars	<i>kʷ</i>	<i>ḳʷ</i>	<i>gʷ</i>	
uvulars	<i>(q)</i>	<i>(q̣)</i>		<i>(h)</i>
laryngeals	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>(ḥ̣)</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>(ʾ)</i>
sonors	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>
semivowels	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>		

Her results from 1977 were published also in English as an appendix of the article of Dolgopolsky 1981, 38—46.

Stolbova compares 40 languages from all groups of West Chadic branch: 1) Hausa, 2) Angas gr., 3) Bolewa gr., 4) North Bauchi (Warji gr.), 5) South Bauchi (Zaar gr.), 6) Ron gr., 7) Bade-Ngizim. The whole study contents a lot of lexical material (more than 250 reconstructed roots with data from concrete languages). The author’s argumentation is highly precise. She uses a method of gradual reconstruction on the base of reconstruction of partial proto-languages in her preceding studies (Proto-Angas, Proto-Bolewa). Her PWCh reconstruc-

tions are verified by comparison with Semitic, Cushitic cognates or Afrasian proto-forms.

An undisputed contribution of this study is the reconstruction of laryngeals as a typical feature of AA language type and sibilants and affricates inclusive lateral ones. For confrontation we bring the systems of PCh sibilants, affricates and laterals according to Chadists from Marburg (Jungraithmayr et al.) and corresponding PWCh system according to Stolbova (numbers are pages from Jungraithmayr, Shimizu 1981 and Stolbova 1986, resp. 1978).

PCh $*s_1$ = PWCh $*s$ (PCh $*s_1k^w n$ "honey" — 141 = PWCh $*sak^w ani$ — 110)
 PCh $*s_2$ = PWCh $*s$ (PCh $*s_2w'/h$ "to drink" — 88 = PWCh $*s_1wV$ — 1978, 14; see Newman 1977, 25 $*sa$)

PCh $*s_3$ = PWCh $*s$ (PCh $*s_3m$ "name" — 189 = PWCh $*sumV$ — 85; see Newman 1977, 29 $səm$)

PCh $*l_1$ = ? PWCh $*l$ (PCh $*l_w$ "meat" — 177 = PWCh $*lah^wV$ — 98; see Newman 1977, 29 $*hləw-$; but PCh $*l$ "earth" — 91 = PWCh $*l/yaši$ — 106 or

PCh $*l$ "to cough" — 77 = PWCh $*VêV$ — 107)

PCh $*l_2$ = PWCh $*ê$ (PCh $*l_2p$ "leaf" — 160 = PWCh $*êapi$ — 88)

PCh $*l_2$ = PWCh $*ê$ (PCh $*l_2^mb$ "to sew" — 223 = PWCh $*êimb-$ — 89)

PCh $*l_3$ = ? PWCh $*š$ (PCh $*l_3k$ "to stab" — 315 = Sem: Arab *šakka* "to pierce, stab", Hbr *šukkāh* id. and PSC $*lāk^w$ "to stab, pierce"; see Bomhard 1984, 158)

PCh $*s'$ = PVCh $*c$ (PCh $*s'r/sr$ "two" — 277 = PWCh $*cirV$ — 85—86; see Newman 1977, 33 $sər(-)$)

PCh $*s'$ = PWCh $*č$ (PCh $*s'k$ "to dig" — 85 = PWCh $*čVķ$ — 87)

PCh $*s'$ = PWCh $*ç$ (PCh $*s'm(m)$ "sour" — 314 = PWCh $*çami$ — 86)

PCh $*z$ = PWCh $*ž$ (PCh $*zn$ "child" — 69 = PWCh $*žin$ — 87—88)

PCh $*z$ = PWCh $*ž$ (PCh $*zk$ "body" — 48 = PWCh $*ži/q^w/ji$ — 110)

PCh $*l$ = PWCh $*l$ (PCh $*ls_3$ "tongue" — 272 = PWCh $*ha-lisim$ — 1978, 17)

It is evident, the system of Stolbova is more detailed and in comparison with other AA (proto)-languages better reflects AA phonological features. Of course, PWCh level is not identical with PCh level. PWCh reconstruction must be verified primarily in comparison with PCCh and PECh reconstructions. According to oral communication O. V. Stolbova continues her works in this field.

In spite of some inaccuracies in text it is an excellent contribution to Chadic and Afrasian linguistics.

p. 85 — 1.3.a Grm (Geruma) is the language of the Bolewa group. It does not belong among South Bauchi, where is cited its reflex of PWCh $*s-$. Geji is probably the correct name of this language.

p. 85 — 1.3.b PWCh $*caraka$ "vein" instead $*çaraka$.

p. 86 — 1.3.v PWCh $*çikina$ "thigh" instead $*cikina$.

p. 87 — 1.3.e Arabic language does not know \check{c} , only z , which is the reflex of PSem (traditional) $*\check{t} < AA * \check{c}$.

p. 89 — 1.4.v Chip instead of Chin.

The prefix $*ha-$ is reconstructed as an indicator of body parts (see above part II). But the regular reflex of PWCh $*h-$ is e.g. Hausa $g-$ (p. 95) and not $h-$ as Hausa $h\acute{a}n\check{c}i$ "nose" (PWCh $*ha-\check{c}ini$, see p. 104). It needs an explanation.

It is necessary to correct some mistakes in the literature cited.

p. 114, n.2. Ormsby G. — correctly JAS, Vol. 12 (1912—1913), pp. 421—424 and Vol. 13 (1913—1914) and not JAL ...

n.4. Lukas J. — correctly AuÜ 54 (1970), pp. 237—286 and 55 (1972), pp. 114—139 and not JAL ...

n.6. Newman P. — correctly JWAL 7 (1970), pp. 39—51, while JAL, Vol. 5 (1966), pp. 218—251 belongs to the article Newman, P. and Ma, R.: Comparative Chadic: Phonology and Lexicon.

p. 115, n. 19. Skinner N. — correctly AAL 4/1 (1977), pp. 1—49 and not JAL... The abbreviation JAS — Journal of the African Society need to be explained, too.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE COMMUNITY OF CHINESE LITERATURE

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Between 30 June and 4 July 1986, sixty scholars from various part of the world discussed diverse problems of the new Chinese literature written up to now or just being created in the People's Republic of China (PRC), Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, and even in Switzerland, at a conference held at the Reisensburg Castle between Augsburg and Ulm, West Germany.

The exodus of the Chinese intelligentsia, particularly during the interwar period, and the subsequent politico-economic developments resulted in spreading Chinese literature beyond the borders of proper China, and even the confines of the old traditional "sinocentric world", i.e. the countries of South-east Asia, Europe and America. Under "Chinese literature" is meant the literature written by Chinese in the Chinese language.

The chief aim of the organizers of the conference was to map as thoroughly as possible the different parts of this literature, and with the aid of more or less concise characteristics of its different "faces" within China proper and its foreign "enclaves" to provide for interested readers or audiences a relatively adequate knowledge of this as yet quite little known literary community or "commonwealth". The organizers — Professor Helmut Martin, Bochum, West Germany and Professor Joseph S. M. Lau, Madison, U.S.A. — approached this task with ambitions not at all like those with which Professor Dionýz Ďurišin and Slavomír Wollman tackled the questions of the "methodology of literary comparatistics" at a conference held in 1984 at the Smolenice Castle in Czechoslovakia, where one section was fully devoted to the study of various interliterary communities within the framework of world literature. This is simply due to the fact that the literary scholars among orientalists both in the West and in Asia are not familiar with the results of research pursued in the USSR by I. G. Neupokoyeva, in Czechoslovakia by D. Ďurišin and his international team, nor with the theory of "interfields" advocated by Zoran Konstantinović, Innsbruck, Austria. The theory of the so-called "general literature", propounded especially

by French comparatists, fails to provide sufficient guarantee of an effective methodological tool in the study of similar literary communities.

The official heading of the conference, i.e. "Commonwealth of Chinese Literature", in the words of one of the organizers had no deeper, and also no theoretical justification. The American initiator of the conference, in particular, understood it as "public welfare" and rightly called for more "broad-mindedness". I think that this concept would need much more attention. The choice of the word "commonwealth" was not very happy one for historical reasons because in the eyes of many members of Asian and African nations it is a residuum of the notorious British colonial empire which had caused considerable suffering to the Chinese people, among others. In my paper entitled *Interliterary (and Somewhat also Intraliterary) Aspects of the Study of Modern Chinese Literature after 1918* I pointed to this fact and suggested that a different term be used for this phenomenon, one semantically adequate and historically or politically not discredited, i.e. community, *communauté*, *obshchnost*, *Gemeinschaft*, etc., which has already found its place in the systematics of literary comparatistics. I then underlined the need of a more thorough study of internal contacts (most of the efforts thus far have pursued the tracing of external contacts only), further, certain aspects of structural-typological affinities, particularly of genology and literary currents in whose analysis, within the Chinese milieu, numerous misunderstandings occur because the inner, indigenous conditions of evolution are inadequately perceived.

In the domain of modern Chinese literature, the study of that part of the interliterary process has practically not been initiated as yet, which in the scheme of D. Ďurišin, outlined on the inside cover of his book *Teória medzilitérneho procesu* (Theory of the Interliterary Process),¹ represents its various categories and functions within the interliterary communities. My attempt at defining the interliterary community of the Far East entitled *Notes marginales sur le processus interlittéraire en général et du point de vue des communautés littéraires de l'Extrême Orient*,² dedicated to the participants of the 11th Congress of the International Comparative Association in Paris (1985), was concerned with old Chinese literature forming strong bonds with and occupying a leading position in the literary community of Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and partly also Mongolian and Tibetan literatures. The situation underwent a great change especially in the period 1894—1918. The interliterary community of the Far

¹ Ďurišin, D.: *Teória medzilitérneho procesu* (Theory of the Interliterary Process). Bratislava, Tatran 1985.

² Gálik, M.: *Notes marginales sur le processus interlittéraire en général et du point de vue des communautés littéraires de l'Extrême Orient*. Slavica Slovaca, 20, 1985, 1, pp. 49—52.

East proved to be peculiar within the set of other interliterary communities connected with world literature: it was formed against a background of the concept of China as *Zhongguo*, i.e. The Middle Kingdom and its relation to “peripheral territories” lying geographically and culturally close to or further from it. During the long course of the historical development this concept was often changing its content and with it also the interpretation of the “sinocentric world order” whether in China itself or outside of it. An essential difference between the Chinese and the “barbarians” was seen in the concept of *wen*, i.e. culture. The concept of *wen* formed one of the fundamental principles in the systemo-structural entities of China’s political and cultural history, hence also of art and literature. It represents a process becoming manifest in various areas of life: in the Confucian and Taoist philosophy, in the political, legal, ethical, administrative systems, in the Chinese aesthetics and in the axiological aspects of overall cultural consciousness. During the entire first millennium A. D. but also later, Chinese culture spread centrifugally into the surrounding world, at first to Korea, then through Korean mediation to Japan, and from southern China to Vietnam. Linguistically this interliterary community was heterogeneous. The old Chinese literary language *wenyan* with its locally adapted forms was the *lingua latina* of the whole community up to the 19th century, even though in Japan poetry written in native Japanese had begun to appear as far as back as the 9th century A. D. and prose in the 10th century A. D. The interliterary community of the Far East was a bilateral and bilingual one, though never so in China, if we do not include in these categories the relatively rare knowledge of Sanskrit and, for the most part original Buddhist literature which had come to China from India and then spread to Korea and Japan. In this Far Eastern interliterary community, mostly Chinese books used to be translated into Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese and other languages. According to fairly reliable estimates, 129 Chinese books were translated into Japanese between 1661—1895 and only 12 Japanese into Chinese — 9 of these, hence three quarters, by the Japanese themselves, primarily for propaganda reasons.³ The number of Chinese books translated into Japanese would be much higher if it were made to include translations done with the help of the *okurigama* method, i.e. Japanese explanation of the meaning of Chinese words. An adverse relationship is seen in translations from Sanskrit into Chinese where not a single

³ Cf. my review of the books: Tam Yue-him, Sanetō Keishū, Ogawa Hiroshi (Eds.): *Zhongguo yi Riben shu zonghe mulu* (A Comprehensive Bibliography of Chinese Translations of Japanese Books). Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980, and *Riben yi Zhongguo shu zonghe mulu* (A Comprehensive Bibliography of Japanese Translations of Chinese Books). Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1981. In: *Asian and African Studies*, XIX, 1983, pp. 227—228.

Sanskrit translation from Chinese could be contraposed to the thousands of works translated from this classical language into Chinese.

The overall literary development in the Far East became altered during the course of the 19th century. During practically the entire 18th century China was not only the greatest, but also economically the most prosperous country in the contemporary world. China then made use of the most perfect technology of the pre-industrial age, social sciences went through an unprecedented development, an immense quantity of historical, literary and philosophical works were published, with the aid of the financial circles and the State, scholarly and artistic projects were realized that had no match anywhere else in the world at that time. The cause of the decline that set in at the beginning of the 19th century was the conflict between the unsatisfied and evergrowing demands of the imperial court and the feudal society which could not be exploited indefinitely. After the year 1839 the deterioration was quickened by the so-called Opium War and subsequent Taiping Uprising by millions of impoverished peasants. Various countries of the Far East gradually broke away from weakened China, and those of Southeast Asia that had been its tributary vassals, turned away from it. The literatures of those countries, too, turned their backs on Chinese literature and began to seek new stimuli, primarily by the form of contacts, in the literatures of Euro-American area, and Chinese literature was left isolated. In 1919, thanks also to the Great October Socialist Revolution, and as a consequence of the treason of the Western Powers at the Versailles conference which decided that the sovereign Chinese territory of the Shantung Province fell to powerful Japan, the May Fourth Movement was initiated in China which created conditions for a true cultural revolution and for the start of modern Chinese literature. The antifeudal and anti-imperialist character of this movement permitted it to seek ways towards a new development by making contact in the literary domain primarily with the gains of contemporary European realism and post-realist currents. In consequence of a considerably diversified and fairly uneven political and economic development in the various countries of the Far East, no new Far-Eastern interliterary community was formed; at least, not one that would have bridged the linguistic and other barriers. Japan turned into a rapacious imperialist country that came to dominate economically and militarily both Korea and a part of China, and although until 1937 (i.e. the beginning of the Anti-Japanese War) it had played the role of a literary mediator in China, it could not achieve the role of a ruling force in culture, even though it made such claims. China was too weak even to consider competing with French and British colonialism which dominated Vietnam and surrounding territories. Mongolia on its road towards a socialist development turned rather to Russian and Soviet models.

The whole historical and literary development of the past seven decades in China and elsewhere poses the question: How to characterize the community of Chinese literature? Is it an intra- or interliterary community? Eventually, until what time may it be considered as intraliterary and when did it to be such? What are typical signs as a literary community?

Following the disruptive breakdown of the centrifugal model of development spoken of above, Chinese literature consistently followed a centropetal pattern which means that it took a creative part in the selection of stimuli from various literatures of the world. In this process it did not profit from geographical proximity, or to a certain extent only (e.g. from the opportunities presented by Japanese and Bengali literature), it did not confine itself either as to time or space, i.e. it reached out for literature of the European cultural area from the era of mythology down to our present times, with the exception of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Typical of this community is that it cannot, and in practice never could, utilize for its needs the translated literature of other nations and more or less also of other State formations.

Until about 1949 the new Chinese literature was an intraliterary community although it was formed not only on the territory of China, but also in Hong Kong, the Malay Peninsula, the former Dutch Indonesia and the Philippines. Its promoters were Chinese who had come to those parts of the world in search of livelihood, or sought there a refuge from political enemies. When before the World War II voices were heard, for example on the Malay Peninsula, that literature should have a local colouring, their authors never found enough strength within themselves to create works that would clearly distinguish themselves from those written in China itself. The situation there changed somewhat following the victory over the Japanese, when the inhabitants of the peninsula first became British subjects, and later the citizens of the independent Malaysia and then, since 1965 of Singapore. China ceased to be the native homeland to inhabitants of Chinese nationality on the Malay Peninsula and consequently first Malayan Chinese literature and later also Singapore Chinese literature came to be created.

In Hong Kong Chinese literature was written by the emigrants and refugees from China since the setting up of the PRC in 1949. Until the year 1960, the impact of Chinese literature written in the PRC predominated, but then also Taiwanese authors came into the limelight, and Hong Kong, will probably in future also serve as an immense Chinese book fair. For the moment, Chinese literature written in Hong Kong is still at its origin, or at the stage of its initial development, except for the essay form. A positive appreciation is also due to its efforts in the domain of literary criticism and comparative literature.

At the present time, the community of Chinese literature is an interliterary

one, and this applies to all its components. The interliterary community of Chinese literature as such presents certain typical features: It spans at least three continents (Asia, Europe and America), it embraces three different socio-political systems (socialist, capitalist and Third World) and is made by the members of a single nation (or race) inhabiting various countries and State formations, speaking the Chinese language and its different dialects, but generally using the same contemporary literary tool (essentially spoken *putonghua*) enriched with the expressions of local milieu in which the individual components of Chinese literature are being formed. While the author and consumer of Chinese literature in the PRC and at Taiwan — partly also in Hong Kong (particularly as regards the consumer) are monoliterary, for the most part everywhere else bi-even polyliterariness is the general case. The latter applies to Malaysia and Singapore (Malay, English and Chinese languages are taught at schools). The community of Chinese literature comprises at the moment a large number of literatures of nationalities (*minzu wenxue*) on the territory of the PRC whose authors are, for the most part, or even entirely, biliterary, speaking and writing Chinese, besides commanding their own native language and literature.

The community (or if you prefer the commonwealth) of the new Chinese literature has come to be spoken of in recent times only. The first to have shown interest in it, albeit a partial one only, were the literary circles in the PRC when in 1982 they organized a conference on the literature written in Taiwan and in Hong Kong. Before that certain voices along this line came but from peripheral loci, e.g. about Malayan Chinese literature. Extraordinary attention began to be devoted in the PRC to literature by the “Taiwanese compatriots” and to literature of Hong Kong, after 30 September 1981, when Marshall Ye Jianying proposed reunion of the Mainland China with Taiwan (which, by the way, met with a decisive refusal on the part of the Kuomintang government). The cultural policy in Taiwan had remained practically unchanged until recently and has been inimical towards practically everything that was being produced in contemporary literature of the PRC. The same applies also to the progressive Chinese literature from the period prior to the foundation of the PRC beginning with the works around the May Fourth Movement of 1919. Taiwanese readers could learn of anything positive regarding foremost authors of the new Chinese literature solely from critics or literary scholars living outside of Taiwan. The situation is in the state of change now. A “coexistence” of literary phenomena and processes and mutual struggles within this interliterary community become even more complicated when we take into consideration the state of things on the Malay Peninsula and Hong Kong, also in Europe or in America. In Hong Kong, literature of the PRC up to the end of the 1950s found a ready acceptance; after that this attitude has changed a lot. In Malaysia and Singapore the writers and scholars place probably undue stress on the autonomy of the

indigenous Chinese literature produced in their countries. The recent literature in Taiwan is much more appreciated there than that of the PRC.

It should likewise be observed that the linguistic homogeneity of the Chinese literary community excludes the necessity of an interliterary translation: on the other hand, however, the existing political barriers in the Chinese "world" in most cases prevent drawing mutual profit from translations of foreign literatures. Each more important regional components of the Chinese literary community makes its own translations and distributes them within its own sphere of influence or competence. Hong Kong is an exception, fulfilling as it does, a mediator's function, profiting financially on the irregularities.

As the new Chinese literature participates in the history of world literature without the mediation of any wider supranational and polylinguistic interliterary community, then it needs to fulfil certain tasks deriving from the existence of the interliterary process. Pride of place here reverts to the mediating function of one or several literatures (always non-Chinese) or their parts. During the period 1897—1937, this function was fulfilled primarily by Japanese literature. After 1927, classical Russian and the new Soviet literature came more and more to the forefront of interest, but its impact came to an abrupt end on the eve of the "Cultural Revolution" in the early 1960s. After the year 1978, contemporary Chinese literature in the PRC does not strive to lean on any one single national literature or on any one literary mediator, but endeavours selectively to reach out for stimuli which it may need for its own development. Hence, creative searchings, successes and errors are not mutually excluded, rather they are assumed. The Taiwanese literature beginning with the 1960s followed mainly modern American literature and literary criticism then much in vogue.

Not a word was heard at the conference in Reisensburg about American literature written in Chinese, nor about contemporary Chinese-written literature in France, nor about the situation prevailing in Indonesia today.

In future, the study of these problems ought to go along the way of a deeper investigation not only of national and literary (i.e. intraliterary which is the prevalent usage nowadays) process, but also that of interliterary, in the interest of a deeper knowledge of this Chinese literary community, its overall physiognomy, its categories, functions, and its significance for the deeper knowledge of the world literature of our times.

The conference fulfilled its design for it provided room for mutual exchange of information and enriched the general state of knowledge on the present-day state of the various components (or better to say parts) of the new Chinese literatures in the regions or enclaves. Its deeper apprehension as a "community" (commonwealth?) with the huge wealth of issues satisfying the perceptive minds of the theoretically and methodologically grounded literary scholars, remains a matter of the near or the more remote future.

38 papers of the conference in 20 sets had been distributed to 20 major libraries all over the world. A more representative sample had been edited by Professor Howard Goldblatt, San Francisco, U.S.A. for M. E. Sharpe, New York.

The second conference regarding the “commonwealth” of Chinese literature was held in the second decade of August 1988 in Singapore.

TURKISH FOLK LITERATURE (SELECTED PUBLICATIONS OF THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC)

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In 1969 the Ministry of Culture (renamed in 1982 Ministry of Culture and Tourism) of the Turkish Republic initiated an extensive and far-reaching project aiming to make available to the public at large the fundamental values of Turkish literary culture by means of an entire series of adaptations of outstanding works from the past in modern literary language. But simultaneously, the project also intends to satisfy the interests and needs of erudite readers for whom these targeted editions are destined with critical commentaries. In the present informative overview we take note of a few publications bearing on Turkish folk and lyric works.

As an illustration, brief mention is made in the introduction of two works published to meet the first of the above two criteria. The publication entitled *Dede Korkut Hikâyeleri* (Stories of Dede Korkut)¹ is an adaptation of a mediaeval epic cycle destined primarily for the young. Before translating this unique cultural monument into contemporary literary language, Orhan Şaik Gökyay² made a survey among some three hundred students of secondary schools and lycées to verify how far texts, some centuries old, are comprehensible to the present-day young generation. On the basis of the results of his survey, he decided to preserve in the text some of the archaic words and expressions which the students understood in a repeated reading and thus to contribute to an enrichment of the vocabulary of contemporary Turkish.

From the aspect of artistic perfection and ideational wealth, the masterly

¹ Gökyay, O. Ş.: *Dede Korkut Hikâyeleri*. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları: 252 (Publications of the Ministry of Culture), Istanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1976, 245 pp. + 15 pp. of illustrations.

² Gökyay is the author of the as yet most comprehensive critical publication of the Book of My Dede Korkut: *Dedem Korkudun Kitabı*. Edited by Gökyay, O. Ş. Istanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1973, 359 + DCLXXI pp. See Celnarová, X.: *On the Latest Editions of the Book of Dede Korkut*. Asian and African Studies, 12, 1976, pp. 179—184.

poetry of the great Turkish mystic poet Yunus Emre is made available in the publication of his *Divan*.³ The editor Prof. Faruk Timurtaş has preserved the original text in his Latin transcription, explaining old Turkish, Arab and Persian words no longer in use in a voluminous glossary (pp. 267—329).

Among permanent values in Yunus Emre's poetry is its language, close to that spoken by the popular strata and understandable also to present-day peasants.⁴ In the introduction to *Divan*, Prof. Timurtaş stressed that Yunus Emre was one of those personalities who had played the most significant role in shaping the new literary language on the territory of Asia Minor in the 13th century. "In Yunus, the Turkish nation found its own language and its own inner world,"⁵ he writes.

Some of the lithographic editions of Yunus Emre's *Divan* in Arabic transcription contain numerous errors and inaccuracies. The first incomplete edition of *Divan* in Roman characters in 1933 revived interest in its author. Ten years later *Divan* appeared under the editorship of one of the foremost scholars in the domain of classic and mystic literature Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı. This was the first serious attempt at a complete edition of the transcribed text.

In the introduction Prof. Timurtaş remarks that although this edition is destined for the masses at large, it takes support in scientific notions. While preparing the text of *Divan* for publication Timurtaş had on hand seven different manuscripts which he thoroughly examined in an effort at reconstructing as far as possible the most genuine, original text of the poems and exclude those not written by Yunus himself, but by mystic poets adhering to his message. The editor included thirty-seven poems by Aşık Yunus, who lived at the turn of the 14th and 15th century.

The book Introduction into Folk Literature⁶ by the outstanding Turkish folklorist Prof. Şükrü Elçin was written with the expressed aim to provide university undergraduates and students of institutions of higher learning with fundamental notions on Turkish folk literature.

The concept of "folk literature" is not made to comprise uniquely anonymous epic and lyric works orally passed down among popular strata, but it also

³ *Yunus Emre Divanı*. Edited by Timurtaş, F. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları: 380. Ankara, Başbakanlık Basımevi 1986, VII + 345 pp.

⁴ The national and folk character of Yunus Emre's poetry is also dealt with in studies, e.g. by Schimmel, A.: *Yunus Emre*; Tietze, A.: *Yunus Emre and His Contemporaries*; Walsh, J. R.: *Yunus Emre: A 14th Century Hymnodist*. In: *Yunus Emre and His Mystical Poetry*. Edited by Halman, T. S. Indiana University Turkish Studies 2. Ellettsville, Tulip Tree Publications 1981, pp. 59—81, 81—110, 111—126.

⁵ *Yunus Emre Divanı*, p. III.

⁶ Elçin, Ş.: *Halk Edebiyatına Giriş*. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları: 365. Ankara, Emel Matbaacılık Sanayii 1981, 810 pp.

includes works by concrete authors addressed precisely to these strata.⁷ Such works with a religious but also secular content, lyric but also epic, but close to the understanding of the simple man primarily as regards means of expression and ideational content, originated within the framework of "mystical literature" (*tekke edebiyatı*, and also *tarikât, tasavvuf edebiyatı*), or "literature of saz" (*saz edebiyatı*). Their authors were members of mystical brotherhoods and folk poets (*saz şairi, aşık*), about whose lives only legends, incidentally also historical facts have been preserved.

Prof. Elçin allots considerable space to the works of mystic poets, which flourished on the territory of Asia Minor from the 13th century and to the poetry of the ashiks, which reached their peak in the 17th century, devoting adequate attention to them according to their significance within the context of Turkish literature. However, he makes proof of a certain inconsistency in assigning also poems of members of mystic brotherhoods among specimens from works of secular poets. Examples from the work of such eminent representatives of mystic poetry as, e.g. Pir Sultan Abdal, Gevherî, Dertli are to be found not only in Part I (Religious and Mystical Poems), but also in Part II (Secular Poems).

For incomprehensible reasons, Prof. Elçin put in several specimens of epic genres right after religious and mystic poetry and without rounding off the chapter on folk epic, passed on to lyrical genres.

This chaotic arrangement is apt to disorient the reader who, following references to epic works from the pre-Islamic period and the coming of Islam, would expect examples from the only mediaeval Turkish epos preserved in written form The Book of My Dede Korkut. Instead, he finds specimens of a genre quite different from that of the heroic epos. Poems consisting of several quatrains with a fixed rhyme pattern and number of syllables per verse dealing with some historical event of either a wider or only a local impact, are likewise designated as *destan*, but they are linked with the classical *destan*, i.e. heroic epos solely by their designation and their epic content.

So far it has not been definitely determined whether in the remote past versified epos had been represented in epic works of the Oguz Turks, as was the case, e.g. with the Kirghiz. (Prof. Elçin documents the latter with a specimen from the Kirghiz epos *Manas*, pp. 96—107.) A characteristic feature of Oguz Turks' epos is an alternation of passages in prose with singing insets. This mode then found an application also in stories (*hikâye*) which made contact with the epic traditions of *destan* at the turn of the 15th and 16th century. Prof. Elçin also

⁷ Płaskowicka-Rymkiewicz, S.—Borzęcka, M.—Łabęcka-Koecher, M.: *Historia literatury tureckiej* (History of Turkish Literature). Wrocław — Warsaw — Cracow — Gdańsk, Zakład narodowy imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo 1971, p. 367.

assigned The Book of My Dede Korkut into the *hikâye* category. True, the manuscript recording of twelve episodes connected with the personage of legendary Dede Korkut dates from the 16th century, but the oldest episodes originated early in the 11th century at the latest, and the cycle was concluded in the 14th century.⁸

Finally, the outstanding connoisseur of Turkish folklore Pertev Naili Boratav makes a strict distinction between *destan* and *hikâye*, explicitly seeing in the heroic stories (*kahramanlık hikâyeleri*) a continuation of traditions of mediaeval heroic epos. Boratav's classification of types and genres of Turkish folk literature in the first volume of the encyclopaedic manual of Turkish folklore⁹ is practical and logically as well as expertly justifiable, and his characteristic of these genres is both comprehensive and to the point. This could not be said of Ş. Elçin's introductory sections which lack a unified style and proportionality. Here I take leave to point to at least one of several errors. In the essay dealing with *destans*, the author assigns Alp Er Tonga, the hero of the epos (or of the cycle of poems) about whose existence only references have been preserved in various sources, into the 7th century B. C.¹⁰ This is hardly a misprint, for three paragraphs further the author states that one thousand seven hundred years had elapsed between Alp Er Tonga's death and the appearance of *Divanü Lügat-it Türk* (Divan of the Turkish Language, written in the 11th century by Mahmud of Kashgar), where a fragment is given of a lamentation (*sagu*) over the dead hero. Alp Er Tonga, however, is compared to his contemporary Tonga-tegin, who is mentioned in The Orhon Inscriptions (8th cent. A. D.) and in Chinese annals of the T'ang dynasty.¹¹

Prof. Elçin in his Introduction to Folk Literature has gathered extensive complementary documentary material and bibliographic indicators. However, in order that this publication might really become a valuable manual to students, specimens of the various types and genres of folk literature will have to be arranged more systematically and the introductory essays revised and supplemented in a new edition.

In order to determine the genesis and specific features of one of the best known and the most widespread folk stories, Assoc. Prof. Fikret Türkmen

⁸ Zhirmunsky, V. M.: *Tyurkskii geroicheskii epos* (Turkic Heroic Epos). Leningrad, Nauka 1974, p. 532.

⁹ Boratav, P. N.: *Türk Halkbilimi I. 100 Soruda Türk Halkedebiyatı* (Turkish Ethnography I. Turkish Folk Literature in 100 Questions). Istanbul, Gerçek Yayınevi 1973.

¹⁰ Elçin, Ş.: *Halk Edebiyatına Giriş*, p. 72.

¹¹ Zhirmunsky, V. M.—Zarifov, C. T.: *Uzbekskii narodnyi geroicheskii epos* (Uzbek Folk Heroic Epos). Moscow, OGIZ 1947, p. 10.

subjected twenty-four variants of *Tahir ile Zühre Hikâyesi*¹² to a thorough analysis. These variants cover a vast geographic region and, besides variants from Central Asia and Anatolia, the author investigated also a Turkish variant from the Balkans and one each from Albania and Armenia.

Manuscript records of the story about Tahir and Zühre are rare; the greatest number of variants have been preserved in the form of lithographic editions. F. Türkmen had but one single complete manuscript record of forty-six pages at his disposal, which he reproduces in full in the closing section of his publication. Nine variants represent an authentic record of the episode as narrated in the seventies of our century by men and women from various regions of Turkey. The first of these verbal variants figuring in Fikret's publication under the cipher S₁ comes from the repertory of one of the foremost contemporary folk story-tellers (*halk hikâyecisi*) Behçed Mahir of Erzurum and is likewise reproduced in full in the 6th — the closing chapter of the book.

In Chapter One Fikret Türkmen makes a consistent confrontation of the individual variants by breaking down the plot of the story into twelve episodes (a more suitable designation would be "plot section", for there is question for the most part of components of the principal and not a side event). In these he then points to the various analogies and divergences within the framework of the analysed variants of *Tahir ile Zühre Hikâyesi*, but also in relation to other works of the folk epic. For instance, in the 8th episode — Request for Marrying Zühre — we meet with a number of motifs, frequently met with in the epic of nations from Europe and Asia. The unexpected return of the presumably irretrievably missing hero at the time of wedding preparations, his access into the house dressed in a woman's garb (a rather unusual feat in an Islamic milieu), his revealing of his identity before his beloved (or wife — Zühre recognizes Tahir through his song) — all these are plots and motifs well known from the Ulysses, and such as form an integral part and parcel of mediaeval epic tradition.¹³

In the closing section of Chapter One Türkmen recapitulates his partial conclusions from his analysis of the various episodes in the form of a scheme of the plot construction of *Tahir ile Zühre Hikâyesi*, thus confirming the appurtenance of this episode to the tradition of the *hikâye* genre. Simultaneously, however, he points to Tahir's specific place among heroes of folk stories: he stands halfway between the type ashik — the hero who makes good his claims with sword in hand, and the type ashik — the lover who, in place of the sword, makes use of his *saz*, in order to soften the heart of his beloved and opponents

¹² Türkmen, F.: *Tahir ile Zühre*. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları: 477. Ankara, Başbakanlık Basımevi 1983, 288 pp.

¹³ For more details see Zhirmunsky, V. M.: *Tyurkskii geroicheskii epos*, pp. 301—304.

through music and song. In Zühre's presence, Tahir is a passive, beseeching, sighing and weeping wooer, however, in his encounters with those putting obstacles to his affection, he turns into an undaunted fighter.

Of some interest is the author's following conclusion, arrived at in virtue of his confronting diverse variants: when adapted to the needs of Turkish folk theatre *Karagöz* and *Ortaoyunu*, the episode loses its romantic colouring and turns towards the comic, in places even the grotesque.

In Chapter Two Fikret Türkmen analyses the representation of the lyric component in the diverse variants. Poems that, as a rule, replace dialogues in passages unusually loaded with emotions, are in the folk syllabic metre. Solely in variants attached to the urban environment, specifically in adaptations of the story for the shadow theatre *Karagöz* does the quantitative verse come into its own; poems of the type *koşma* and *mani* numerically give way to the classical forms *muhames* and *gazel*.

On the basis of an analysis the author sets up a table presenting the frequency of each poetic form in the different episodes and variants. The table shows that poems of all the variants are numerically the most represented in those episodes: Tahir's First Return — 5; Tahir's End — 9; Zühre's Fate — 10. Here, the heroes of the story give mostly expression to their emotion and feelings when compared to the remaining episodes.

In *Tahir ile Zühre Hikâyesi*, just as in other folk stories, there is no organic bond between prose passages and singing insets. Omission of poems from the text of the story does not disrupt the plot construction. As time went on, a growing trend became apparent to curtail the singing parts or even to remove them completely from the story, as evidenced by the variants of *Tahir ile Zühre Hikâyesi* recorded in the seventies. These also bring support to the well-known fact that an important role in a modification of the story is played by the narrator's sex. Narrated by women, the story tends to be shortened and to be shifted into the plane of a tale, only quatrains of the *mani* type are preserved.

The greatest number of poems are to be found in the Turcoman (101 poems) and the Azerbaijan variant (43 poems). None of these variants contains the *mani* type of poems, the most frequently represented types are the *koşma* and the *semai* whose recital is, as a rule, undercoloured with music on a typical instrument of folk poets — *saz*. From this is ensued that the above variants derive from repertoires of ashiks — professionals.

The oral traditions recorded in Turkey in the seventies of this century do not abound in detailed descriptions, the plot is reduced to its fundamental scheme, the song insets represent a few quatrains of the *mani* type. The Behçet Mahir variant contains seven verses only. This in itself signalizes the extinction of the tradition of folk stories. A proof of it, as stated by F. Türkmen, is also provided

by his survey among professional ashiks from eastern Turkey, some of whom had only a cursory knowledge of *Tahir ile Zühre Hikâyesi*.

The author is concerned with the problems relative to the source, place and period of origin of *Tahir ile Zühre Hikâyesi* in Chapter Three. Four different hypotheses exist concerning the origin of this story of steadfast love known from Central Asia up to the Balkans which in some variants reaches a happy dénouement, though more often ends in tragedy.

P. N. Boratav is of the opinion that plot is based on legends from the life of true Tahir who acted as an ashik in Eastern Anatolia.¹⁴

As to a second hypothesis contained in the well-known discussion on an Uzbek heroic epos and put forward by V. M. Zhirmunsky and C. T. Zarifov, Türkmen fails to interpret it correctly. The Soviet authors do not claim the story of Tahir and Zühre to be a mere variant of the Kazakhstan poetic tale Kozy Korpesh and Bayan Sulu, but speak of the processing of an analogical topic influenced by mediaeval romantic literature.¹⁵ They do not confront the Turcoman variant with the Kazakhstan poetic tale, as wrongly stated by Fikret Türkmen, but an Uzbek folk-tale as interpreted by the female narrator Ziba-bibi Sarymsak. (Incidentally, this, too, supports the tendency in female narrators to shift the epic plot into the plane of tales, for in the recital of the eminent Uzbek folk poet Fazyl Yuldash-ogly, the story of Tahir and Zühre has the form of a *destan*.)

From what has been said it follows that the plot construction in the case of the Uzbek variants might have been influenced by an earlier episode, well known in Central Asia, of Kozy Korpesh and Bayan Sulu, this, however, does into way imply — and Zhirmunsky with Zarifov never assume — that this had been the only and decisive phenomenon involved in the origin of the story of Tahir and Zühre. Quite the contrary, they underline the considerable share of classic literature in the formation of the plot of folk love-stories.¹⁶

Some western turkologists see the origin of *Tahir ile Zühre Hikâyesi* in Arabian and Persian versions. It is indisputable that close contact relationships of Turkish nations with Arabian and Persian culture resulted in a takeover of motifs and clichés from the latter, and also in an adaptation of whole plot schemes. This presents a situation analogous to that in the above Uzbek variant of the Tahir and Zühre story which had absorbed certain situations and motifs from an evidently earlier episode of Kazakhstan origin.

¹⁴ Boratav, P. N.: *Türk Halkbilimi I. 100 Soruda Türk Halkedebiyatı*, p. 58.

¹⁵ Zhirmunsky, V. M.—Zarifov, C. T.: *Uzbekskii narodnyi geroicheskii epos*, p. 300.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 301.

Fikret Türkmen fully accepts the view of the Azerbaijan author M. H. Tahmasib who relates love-stories to ancient astral notions relating to the movement of the planets, and which found a reflection in the folklore of diverse nations. Türkmen indicates the factors that had co-operated on the complex road along which the original plot had to proceed before being moulded into a verbal formation, for which the author proposes the term “symbolic love-story” (*sembolik aşk konulu hikâye*).

In the light of various indications, the author sets the origin of *Tahir ile Zühre Hikâyesi* in Azerbaijan and its date in the 16th century.

Chapter Four is devoted to an analysis of the motifs and their eventual classification according to Stith Thompson: *Motif Index of Folk Literature* (6 Vols., Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1955—1958).

In all the variants the unfolding of the plot embodies the motif of an old ruler (a man of wealth and power) yearning after a descendant. This motif is in fact proper to epic genres of all nations and of all times; in the view of the German turkologist Otto Spies, it is of Indian origin (p. 179).

Some variants contain in the 4th episode (Tahir's First Banishment) the motif of the hero's being thrown in a chest into the river. This, too, is a very old motif, known in the Old Testament in connection with Moses.

A thrilling motif in the 5th episode is that of the “prohibited room”, frequently occurring particularly in the fairy tales (Motif Index C. 611). This episode also comprises the motif of a “bared sword”. The hero places a sword between himself and the woman sharing a bed in common, thus to demonstrate his fidelity to his first love. In this motif, widespread in mediaeval poetry of the East and West, Zhirmunsky sees the idea of a courteous, chivalrous love.¹⁷

In Chapter Five, F. Türkmen speaks briefly of the response the story of Tahir and Zühre elicited among the people, and of its theatre, film, television and literary adaptations.

Prof. Türkmen's work represents a solid approach to the topic in question, supported by a thorough knowledge of the relevant source material and his ability to arrive at his own conclusions in virtue of a detailed analysis.

The personality and work of one of the greatest Turkish mystical poets are elucidated in the publication *Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Mensur Eserleri* (Prose Works of Kaygusuz Abdal)¹⁸ by Assoc. Prof. Abdurrahman Güzel who is both the editor, and also the author of a comprehensive study on the life of Kaygusuz Abdal as well as of the commentaries to each of the four prose works reproduced in it.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 300.

¹⁸ *Kaygusuz Abdal'ın Mensur Eserleri*. Edited by Güzel, A. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları: 545. Ankara, Başbakanlık Basımevi 1983, 224 pp.

In the introductory study (Giriş, pp. 7—41), Güzel acquaints the reader with one of the legends about Kaygusuz Abdal. Using historical facts and indications contained in the works of Kaygusuz Abdal, the author attempts a reconstruction of the true biography of this founder of the movement Alevi-Bektashi within the frame of mystical literature,¹⁹ which can be briefly characterized as follows:

Kaygusuz Abdal, true name Alâyî (Alâeddin) Gaybî was born some time after the year 1342; his father Hüsameddin Mahmut was governor of the district (*sancak*) Alâyîe, that is why the poet occasionally uses the pseudonym (*mahlas*) Sarayî (the one originating in the palace). While still young, he entered the convent of the Bektashi order at Elmalı, the head of which was Abdal Musa. He received the name Kaygusuz Abdal, which may freely be rendered as Carefree Dervish. For long years he then remained in the service of the superior of the convent whom he refers to in his poems as *Sultan*.²⁰ In 1397—1398 he went to Egypt and founded a Bektashi Convent in Cairo. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca, crossed the Hedjaz, Syria, Iraq, southern and western Anatolia and in about 1424—1430 was active in the Balkans. He died probably in 1444 in Anatolia or in Egypt.

Except for certain explicitly epic situations and narrating motifs, Kaygusuz Abdal's legendary biography is concordant with historical indicators. The miraculous instantaneous conversion of a proud eighteen-year old son of a *sancakbeg* into a humble dervish, resolved devotedly to serve his spiritual teacher until the end of his life as depicted in the legend, reflected the conditions then prevailing in centres of sufism. The shaykh wielded absolute spiritual power over members of the order.²¹

According to the legend, Kaygusuz Abdal served Abdal Musa for forty years. This data need not to be taken literally, this is an epic number. We may agree with A. Güzel who suggests that tradition connected with Yunus Emre may have been active here, the latter having served his teacher Taptuk Emre for forty years.

In the concluding section of his study the author presents basic data on Kaygusuz Abdal's works. The dominant topic of his poetic and prose works and of those in which prose passages alternate with verses, is the concept "*wahdat al-wujūd*" (unity of being), which had been formulated by the Hispano-Arabian

¹⁹ Płaskowicka-Rymkiewicz, S.—Borzęcka, M.—Łabęcka-Koecher, M.: *Historia literatury tureckiej*, p. 347.

²⁰ In the early period of the Bektashi brotherhood that was the title of its great saints, hence of such as know The Truth, obtained divine power and authority. Dierl, A.J.: *Geschichte und Lehre des anatolischen Alevismus-Bektaşismus*. Frankfurt, Dağyeli Verlag 1985, p. 246.

²¹ Stepanyants, M.T.: *Filosofskie aspekty sufizma* (Philosophical Aspects of Sufism). Moscow, Nauka 1987, pp. 9—10.

mystic Ibn al ʿArabi (1165—1240). Kaygusuz Abdal strives to capture this fundamental concept of Islamic mysticism and to elucidate it with the aid of a language of symbols, allegories and metaphors.

The publication comprises latinized texts of three of Kaygusuz Abdal's original prose works and one translation of him. As to the latter, entitled *Risâle-i Kaygusuz Abdal* (Treatise of Kaygusuz Abdal), it cannot be ruled out that this is his own original work, although Kaygusuz Abdal himself designated it in the introduction as translation (*Türkîye terceme olundi*, p. 155). As the presumed original of this work has not been discovered to date and Güzel thus had no possibility to compare how far Kaygusuz Abdal adhered to the original version, nor how far *Risâle* is by its content and form reminiscent of the mystic's other works, he considered it right to assign it into a volume reserved for original prose texts.

Each of the four chapters in this publication comprises the complete transcribed text of one prose work, preceded by bibliographic data and A. Güzel's commentary setting off the principal thematic circuits of the work.

Budalanâme (The Fool's Book) like all of Kaygusuz Abdal's works is of a didactic character. The mystic interprets in it the fundamental concepts and rules in the ethics of Islamic mysticism in which pride of place is given to a knowledge of Self and of Truth (*Hakk*). Of interest may be the mystic's conception of the anatomy of the human body which he compares to a town (pp. 63—64).

The earliest manuscript of the work entitled *Kitâb-ı Miglâte* (freely rendered as Book of the Shot Arrow), in some manuscript given as *Kitâb-ı Mağlata* (Book of Lies) dates from the year 1501. By its composition it differs essentially from the mystic's other works. The frequent alternation of dreams with wakefulness which, too, remains remote from reality and temporal planes, is reminiscent of the methods used later by surrealists.

The dervish wanders in the middle of a desert where he meets a white-bearded sheikh. From the episodes which the shaykh narrates to the dervish it ensues that he had once been close to angels, but now was a devil. The dervish falls into a sleep in which one dream follows another. In these dreams he converses with saints and fights with a devil. However, that fight never comes to be a matter of life and death, but rather recalls a friendly measuring of strength from which the devil always runs away. The picture of the devil here corresponds to the Sufi conception of Satan (*Iblis*) whom God had in fact elevated by depriving him of his angelic exterior and sending him to earth to disseminate evil among men. The devil fulfils God's will and serves him when tempting man and thus putting him to a test.²²

²² Ibid., pp. 55—56.

Vücûdnâme (Book of the Being) is primarily a treatise on a human body, its organs which Kaygusuz puts into relation with signs of the Zodiac, natural phenomena, religious conceptions. The attention which Kaygusuz Abdal devotes to the human body is quite understandable in a member of the order of the Bektashi. "A perfect man" (*insân al-kâmil*) as an embodiment of God on earth is inconceivable without his mortal frame.

The negative attitude on the part of the Sufis towards the dogmatic canons of orthodox Islam found in a comparison of the Shari'a law to winter, and of *tariqat* (mystic order) to summer. Kaygusuz Abdal likewise compares the stages of human life to the early seasons. The conclusion of the work is a celebration of man as the crown of creation.

Kaygusuz Abdal's prose works may serve to this day as models of stylistic mastership. The sentences are short, clear, the vocabulary is made for the most part of Turkish word, with occasional Arabic and Persian expressions that were then generally current. And thus, with the help of a glossary which A. Güzel has provided, even a modern reader will find his bearings without difficulty in authentic mediaeval texts.

Seeing that with the exception of some lithographic editions of *Budalanâme*, Kaygusuz Abdal's prose works have not as yet been published, Abdurrahman Güzel's book under review represents a very meritorious deed. The message of an eminent representative of Turkish mystical literature, through its human approach to man and propagation of fundamental ethical principles, persists to be of permanent interest.

The work of another Sufi poet of much lesser significance and of later birth was prepared for publication by Feyzi Halıcı.²³ Âşık Şem'î (true name Ahmet) was born in 1783 at Konya and was subsequently a member of the Mevlevi order (the order of 'Whirling Dervishes') founded in the 13th century by the great Persian mystic Mawlana Jalaluddin Rumi. The shaykh of the order, Mehmet Sait Hemdem Çelebi, was a Maecenas of art, and provided material and moral support to the ashiks. He had a coffee-house built which became a favourite meeting place of folk poets not only from Konya, but also from the more remote corners of the land, and the cradle of young talents. Here also Âşık Şem'î became acquainted and established ties of friendship with the outstanding folk poet Dertli (1772—1846); yet he was more influenced by the poems of Âşık Ömer (died in 1707), one of the most striking representatives of secular folk lyric. Halıcı expresses the view that Şem'î was very familiar with Âşık Ömer's *Divan*, owned by the residence of the Mevlevi order at Konya. As evidence, he

²³ Âşık Şem'î. *Hayatı ve Şiirleri* (Âşık Şem'î. His Life and Poems). Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları: 531. Ankara, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Basımevi 1982, 145 pp.

mentions several couplets of the two poets which show remarkable agreement.

Âşık Şemî did not live to see his *Divan* published, as the Ministry of Education, after untold procrastinations, finally in 1855 gave authorization for the work to be published. In the meantime, however, the only authentic text of the *Divan* was lost and the subsequently recorded poems lost much of their original form. This deformation was aggravated by censorship which deleted many words and verses not agreeing with the Shari'a.

Many of Âşık Şemî's poems still enjoy great popularity to this day. They form part of repertories of folk poets not only from Konya, but also from its environs, and are known throughout Turkey. Hence, this publication of Şemî's poetry in book form is from this point of view both interesting and opportune and should be welcomed accordingly.

Âşık Şemî was a poet of urban origin, hence, most of his poems, particularly those included in the *Divan*, are in quantitative metre, verses in syllabic metre predominate in poems that reached manuscript anthologies of the poetry of ashiks (*cönk*). Şemî's favourite form was the *destan*. As a special supplement, the editor has included specimens of two destans from a manuscript anthology and provided a commentary to the historical event that had inspired the poet. That event was an uprising of the inhabitants of Konya and its environs against the despotic judge Abdurrahman Pasha. This took place under the rule of sultan Mahmud II (1808—1839), and as leader the people chose Koç Bekir Ağa who had distinguished himself during Napoleon's campaigns in Egypt, Palestine and Syria. Şemî celebrated the courageous and unyielding attitude of the leader of rebels in one of the above poems and thus made it clear on whose side his sympathies lay. That explains why the authorities had for so long postponed their permission for Âşık Şemî's work to be published.

The interpreter of the resistant mood of Turcoman tribes of southeastern Anatolia was a contemporary of Âşık Şemî's, the folk poet Dadaloğlu. However, the publication by the Associate Professor from Atatürk University in Erzurum, Saim Sakaoğlu,²⁴ aims to present the last great personality of nomadic poetry "not as a rebel, but as a poet of *saz*, whose heart overflows with affection for the beauties of his tribe" (p. 5).

In Chapter One, the author summarizes data on Dadaloğlu's life, which are relatively fragmentary, as also on the milieu and the times in which the poet lived. Dadaloğlu (true name Veli) was the son of the poet Kul Musa and came from the Avşar tribe of the Turcoman race that played an important role in Turkish history. Its members lived a nomad life until the second half of the 19th century. When the Ottoman government began forcibly to move and settle

²⁴ Sakaoğlu, S.: *Dadaloğlu*. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları: 697. Ankara, Ayyıldız Matbaası A. Ş. 1986, 159 pp.

them, they rebelled. The resistant attitude on the part of the nomads toward the sultan's verdict is concisely and pithily expressed in the well-known verse by Dadaloğlu: "Firman is the sultan's, the hills are ours" (*Ferman padişahın dağlar bizimdir*, p. 111).

Neither the poet's date of birth nor of his death is known. In the Anthology of Turkish Poetry by Ali Püsküloğlu²⁵ and in several other sources we meet with the years 1785—1868, but this is not reliably supported by any other source. Sakaoğlu considers it more proper not to give any definite date, but sets the poet's birth approximately in the last quarter of the 18th century and his death into the third quarter of the 19th century.

Chapter Two is concerned with problems related to a search for poems by folk poets in the past and to determining their authorship. To date, approximately one hundred and thirty of Dadaloğlu's poems have been successfully collected and more or less reliably identified. Seeing that in the twenties only a few of his verses were known, this number may be taken as a tribute to Turkish folkloric research. In this connection Sakaoğlu expresses his conviction that in the years to come this number will still increase, evidently not by way of precipitated conclusions as was often the case in the past, when poems by other ashiks were ascribed to Dadaloğlu, and the other way round.

Dadaloğlu's poetic proficiency is dealt with in Chapter Three. Here, Sakaoğlu underlines the purity of his verses, and lays great store by the originality of his poetic language free of foreign vocabulary and expressions, and of affected artificial metaphors from the Ottoman poetry.²⁶ Comparisons from everyday life, too, helped to set off the beauty and colourfulness of Dadaloğlu's verses. His eschewing of the use of hackneyed expressions, stereotypes and clichés helped to make his poetry fresh and set it apart from other folk poets.

Dadaloğlu wrote exclusively in folk metre. S. Sakaoğlu relates the predominance of eleven-syllabic verses in his poetry to the priority of this metre in Turkish folk poetry which dates from the 16th century. The rhyme in Dadaloğlu's poems which were not written down at the time of their creation but were passed down orally only, came to be distorted in some measure, and in places was either supplanted by one of weak value, or was not maintained at all.

Saim Sakaoğlu attempts to resolve the question whether Dadaloğlu was or was not the author of folk stories in Chapter Four of this publication. Since 1922 certain authors have connected Dadaloğlu's name with the story about

²⁵ Püsküllüoğlu, A.: *Türk Halk Şiiri Antolojisi*. Ankara, Bilgi Yayınevi 1975, p. 532.

²⁶ Cahit Öztelli arrived at a similar view: "He never made use of puns from the Ottoman poetry. That he was a nomad child is evident from his clear, sincere, inwardly experienced and occasionally even rough verbal expression." Öztelli, C.: *Üç Kahraman Şair* (Three Heroic Poets). *Köroğlu — Dadaloğlu — Kuloğlu*. Milliyet Yayınları 1974, p. 162.

Hurşit and Mah Mihri. Like P. N. Botarav, Sakaoğlu refuses this supposition, as there is the question here of a much earlier story. In Sakaoğlu's view, this story formed a permanent part of the poet's repertory and this led unwary researchers to connect it with his name. He considers it right not to speak of Dadaloğlu as author of folk stories, but solely as their interpreter. On the other hand, some of his poems are of an epic character, and are bound to a concrete event which Sakaoğlu documents in three examples.

The closing and the most comprehensive chapter (pp. 62—127) presents a selection from Dadaloğlu's poetry. Of the fifty-eight poems included in the selection, the majority are love poems (18) and such as sing the beauty of nature (19). This bears out the author's conception according to which Dadaloğlu is primarily a lyrical poet. However, he included in the third section also poems with the topic of resistance (15). The final section comprises reflexive lyric (5) and two poems dealing with Dadaloğlu's meeting with the poet Yusuf, which are provoking diverse conjectures as to the latter identity.

Each poem is accompanied with a bibliographic entry, or also with remarks concerning divergences in the various sources. Indices, a glossary and a list of references are provided.

In our view, Prof. S. Sakaoğlu, in his evaluation of Dadaloğlu's poetry ought to have adopted a somewhat more objective approach also towards his poems of resistance. Under no circumstances may they be relegated to the periphery of the poet's work, for together with his love and reflexive lyric, they constitute one whole organic entity in which are reflected the creative forces of a folk spirit, his sense of beauty and harmony.

We have attempted to show that although the various publications dealt with here differ by their standard, yet essentially they meet the design followed by the editorial series. These reasonably priced publications²⁷ help to revive in the consciousness of the masses at large of Turkish readers, values which the Turkish folk had created during the course of centuries and to preserve them for future generations. Consequently, this initiative on the part of the Ministry of Culture of the Turkish Republic deserves credit and appreciation, and it is hoped that it will continue in this meritorious undertaking.

²⁷ The number of copies of this editorial series range from 5,000 to 15,000; solely in the case of *Dede Korkut Hikâyeleri* the number went up to 60,000 copies.

BOOK REVIEWS

Holland, Dorothy—Quinn, Naomi (Eds.): *Cultural Models in Language and Thought*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1987. 400 pp.

Science advances along two lines that are complementary to each other. While the process of increasing specialization deepens our knowledge of a particular subject of study, the other tendency leads through generalization of results gained in various fields to a large-scale synthesis that makes it possible to grasp the meaning of the whole. The volume under review belongs to the latter category. It may be characterized as the result of an effort at an interdisciplinary approach to human cognition. Three disciplines are engaged in the study of this subject, in addition to philosophy — anthropology, linguistics, and cognitive psychology. The concerted effort of the representatives of these disciplines may shed some light upon the nature of cognition as an essential part of our orientation within our environment.

Methodologically, the papers included in this volume proceed on the assumption that cultural knowledge as organized in sequences of prototypical events or cultural models plays an important role in communication and society in general.

Although the majority of the chapters in this book represent later versions of the papers read at a conference held in May 1983 in Princeton, it would be misleading to regard this volume merely as a collection of conference papers.

The contributions included in this publication are grouped in four part and, besides, are supplied with an introduction and with concluding remarks.

The editors, Naomi Quinn and Dorothy Holland have made an attempt to introduce the readers into the problem of relation between culture and cognition (pp. 3—40). One of the first questions asked in the study of the subject is the way of organization of cultural knowledge, the systematicity of the latter. The answer is fairly simple — each culture is characterized by a rather restricted set of fundamental themes — or rather principles. Analogical reasoning is typical of present-day linguistics — or at least of some of its representatives, and a view is gradually gaining ground according to which the structure of any language is simple enough to be manageable by the limited capacity of human memory.

This approach to culture (as well as to language) stresses its processual, dynamic aspect, the ability of existing, available patterns to be extended and applied to other, unknown or less well-known domains of experience. And such patterns are termed cultural models by the contributors to this volume.

Examination of the cultural models is regarded as a unique chance for cognitive anthropology, as a chance for it to enrich the research in the field of artificial intelligence that cannot be successful without a thorough knowledge of how is our cognition organized. The authors pay attention to other aspects of their study as well, e.g., to links of the cultural models to linguistics, behaviour, etc. Their research overlaps with what has been regarded as the domain of the theory of linguistic relativity which seems to have to be reappraised by each subsequent generation of linguists anew.

The reviewer appreciates the discussion devoted to the problem of metaphor as one of the most important devices of the formation and application of the cultural models.

This collective volume comprises contributions by E. E. Sweetser, Paul Kay, Debra Skinner, Roy d'Andrade, Geoffrey M. White, George Lakoff, Zoltán Kövecses, Willett Kempton, Allan Collins, Dedre Gentner, Edwin Hutchins, Catherine Lutz, Laurie Price, and Charlotte Linde. Their papers are arranged in four sections. Part One is concerned with the linguistic aspects of the cultural models (pp. 43—148). Part Two discusses psychology of proverbs and American marriage (pp. 151—192) while Part Three comprises papers on the cognitive role of metaphor and analogy (pp. 195—265). Finally, Part Four (pp. 269—366) focuses upon the treatment of social and psychological realities of the cultural models.

Roger M. Keesing, in Part Five, sketches a survey of the history of cognitive anthropology (pp. 369—393). He had foreseen what is the most promising avenue for anthropology with a cognitive orientation. Ten years ago he suggested that such anthropological research might contribute to an interdisciplinary solution of the problem of artificial intelligence — because the problem of organization of human knowledge is too complicated to be tackled solely by technical sciences.

This collective volume may be without exaggeration regarded as a stimulating contribution to the increasingly important study of human cognition.

Viktor Krupa

Zarubezhnyi Vostok. Yazykovaya situatsiya i yazykovaya politika. Spravochnik (Asia and North Africa. Language Situation and Language Policy. A Handbook). Moscow, Nauka 1986. 419 pp.

This handbook has been compiled by a team of authors in the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and headed by an editorial board including M. S. Andronov, I. F. Vardul, E. A. Kondrashkina, L. N. Morev, L. B. Nikolskii, Y. Y. Plam, V. M. Solntsev and G. S. Sharbatov. The two editors, V. M. Solntsev and L. B. Nikolskii have prepared a preface (pp. 3—4) and Nikolskii, in addition to this, has written a theoretical introduction titled Language Situations and Language Policy in Asia and North Africa (pp. 5—20). In this introduction the author gives a brief but informative survey of what has been discussed at more detail in his recent book on the same subject. The language situation is defined here as a system of functionally distributed languages and forms of their existence that are employed for communication purposes in a country (p. 5). Upon a lower hierarchic level, Nikolskii distinguishes interethnic, regional and local languages; language situations are divided into mononational and multinational ones. The latter can be further subdivided and elaborated on depending upon the nature of the official language as well as the ethnic composition of the population.

Nikolskii pays some attention to various ethnic processes in Asia and Africa, processes that exert such a profound influence upon the language situation.

The language policy is investigated by Nikolskii especially from the point of view of the selection of an adequate official language for the whole country. This is, so to say, the first phase of language policy in practice. The latter should, however, cover the subsequent phases as well, i.e., standardization, modernization, vocabulary (esp. terminology) extension, democratization, etc.

The introductory chapter is followed by Chapter Two titled Language Situations and Language Policy in the Particular Countries of Asia and Africa (pp. 21—386). The individual articles are arranged alphabetically from Algiers to Japan. There are altogether 45 countries and/or regions (e.g. Oceania) in this chapter. As far as Africa is concerned, only the Arab countries, Ethiopia and Madagascar have been included here. The individual articles are structured along the same lines; a general geographical characteristics of the country is followed by information on its ethnic composition, religious groupings and above all its language situation. The latter type of information includes data on horizontal and vertical diversity, bilingualism or diglossia, utilization of foreign languages, the role of mass communication media, education and culture in general. The overall number of statistical data is impressive. The size of the articles varies from a few pages (Brunei, Bangladesh) to as many as about a

hundred (India). This reflects not so much the importance of the country in question as the complexity of its language situation.

A separate section of the book brings a linguistic characteristics of the Arab world (pp. 387—409) as well as of the Kurdish region (pp. 410—416). This special treatment of the two regions has its basis in their specificity and in purely practical considerations. The editors have added an English summary that is, however, too brief and useful just as bibliographical information (p. 417).

The members of the authors' team have collected a wealth of valuable information. The book is written in a matter-of-fact style, without common-places that frequently pollute quite a few publications of this type.

Viktor Krupa

Nikolskii, L. B.: *Yazyk v politike i ideologii stran zarubezhnogo Vostoka* (Language in Policy and Ideology of the Countries of Asia and Africa). Moscow, Nauka 1986. 196 pp.

The author who is known for his study in Asian languages discusses in the present book one of the most intriguing subject of sociolinguistics of Asia and Africa. The fall of colonialism in the countries of the so-called Third World has confronted their governments with a range of far-reaching problems the solution of which is of vital importance for the functioning of their economics and political integration. These problems are linked to the complexity of linguistic situation as well as the level of education of all strata of their population.

Nikolskii has summed his goals as follows: 1) To point out to the importance of language in the life of the newly independent countries and its role in ethnic, political and social processes; 2) To explain why and in what way language becomes a social and political factor and why it exerts influence upon the social and political processes; 3) To investigate the reasons of politicization and ideologization of language and linguistic problems; 4) To unveil the overall tendencies of the development of languages in the East.

Nikolskii has divided his book into six chapters. In Chapter I (pp. 6—29) he defines his basic notions such as ethnolinguistic situation, linguistic situation, ethnic community, and linguistic community. In conclusion, he sketches a typology of linguistic situations.

In Chapter II (pp. 30—46) the author describes the various types of linguistic situations in relation to their stability and exemplifies his point with statistical data.

Chapter III (pp. 47—82) introduces the diachronical attitude in an attempt to discover and understand the factors of dynamism of linguistic situation and

language policy. The direction and pace of the development of linguistic situation is described as closely linked to the improvement of the standard of general education as well as to mass communication media, especially television and radio. In this respect the countries of Asia and Africa do not differ at all from either Europe or America.

A brief excursion into psychological and social premises of the employment of language in political and ideological battle is found on pp. 83—105. Nikolskii examines the mutual relations of language with culture and ideology in Asia and Africa on pp. 106—141.

Chapter VI (pp. 142—170) evaluates the trends of language development in Asia and Africa. The most important among them is nationalization as illustrated with facts from the Arab countries, Korea, Turkey and India.

Nikolskii's book is one of a few attempts at a generalization in the sociolinguistics of Asia and Africa; its chief merit lies in the author's pursuit of the main lines in the rapidly changing linguistic picture of contemporary Asia and Africa. It will no doubt be read with interest by all scholars engaged in Oriental studies as well as in general linguistics.

Viktor Krupa

Terrell, John: *Prehistory in the Pacific Islands*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1986. 299 pp.

The last decades have been witness to an increasing interest in prehistory and early history of the Pacific region. This interest may be illustrated with books by such authors as Peter Bellwood, Marshall Sahlins, Roger C. Green and many others.

The title of the publication under review could at first glance induce an impression that its subject does not have much in common with theory of history or with general history. It would be, however, a wrong impression that vanishes as soon as one opens the book. The subtitle (*A Study of Variation in Language, Customs, and Human Biology*) betrays that Terrell has pursued an ambitious goal and discussed questions of relevance for both theory and methodology of historical investigation at least to such an extent as Pacific archaeological and early historical data and their interpretation. The author does not specialize only in the Pacific; he has conducted field research in Europe and in America, in addition to the Pacific area.

The present book is an attempt at the application of the theory of models to historical data. Terrell considers the role of chance in the historical process, evaluates the part of adaptation and arrives at a conclusion that no serious

historical problem can be explained without a recourse to several theoretically different approaches that complement one another. He rejects the existence of a clear-cut border between prehistory and history. The necessity of an application of several complementary models to one and the same subject follows from the simplifying nature of models; each model is selective and in a sense arbitrary as well — namely, from the viewpoint of the selection itself.

Terrell illustrates his complex approach with the way he solves the open problem of settlement of the Pacific islands (pp. 14—41). He compares five models and in the conclusion of the chapter sums up reasons that make him think that both Austronesian and Papuan languages derive from one and the same proto-language (p. 41). However, nowadays this view can only be regarded as a hypothesis.

In the next chapter the author discusses linguistic data that are relevant for the understanding of ancient history of Oceania at least as much as data from other disciplines (pp. 42—64).

Historians of the Pacific have long been worried by the question whether the settlement of Oceania is the result of accident or design (cf. pp. 65—89). The truth seems to be rather complicated; voyages of both kinds must have taken place in the past. However, Terrell stresses that the problem of the settlement of Oceania cannot be satisfactorily solved without taking into account psychological factors as well (p. 72).

Another puzzle in the history of Polynesia is the existence of islands that were not inhabited when discovered by Europeans. In this connection the author assesses ecological factors (size of the islands and environmental conditions) combining them with subjective human and social factors (pp. 90—121). He discusses the impact of isolation upon the population variation in its various aspects and stresses the key role of those islands that served as bridges or stepping stones between more distant archipelagoes (pp. 131—145). Having paid due attention to various hypotheses, Terrell concludes that the Polynesians did not come to Polynesia as such and that they are Melanesians that have become Polynesians within the area of Fiji — Tonga — Samoa some time around the beginning of our era (pp. 145—151). The basic processes that have determined prehistory of the Pacific are, according to Terrell, migration, colonization, reproduction, adaptation, population growth and organization (pp. 269—270).

Terrell's book is an attempt to shed new light upon Oceanic prehistory, to challenge simplifications in its study and turn attention to the multiplicity of relevant factors. Some readers, however, would appreciate inclusion of more data on material culture of the key areas of Oceania.

Viktor Krupa

Schütz, Albert J.: *The Fijian Language*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1985. 688 pp.

A. J. Schütz, a renowned Pacific scholar has dedicated his latest publication to Charles F. Hockett and G. B. Milner and offered it as a sort of a festschrift on the occasion of their retirement. It is the most exhaustive description of Fijian so far.

More than ten years ago Schütz published his history of Fijian (*The Languages of Fiji*) and the publication under review may be regarded as a continuation of the author's research upon the synchronous level. His subject is structure and functioning of Standard Fijian based upon the dialect of Bau. The character of the book as a reference grammar is underlined by the author's effort to describe each issue in the context of the previous studies carried out since the end of the 18th century. Schütz admits his dependence upon tradition, which, however, is no hindrance to his criticism of the past grammatical studies. He relies especially upon Milner, e.g. in his treatment of grammatical markers (p. xxv).

In his preface (pp. xxiv—xxxi) the author warns against using English translations to explain formal elements of Fijian grammar because they can be misleading. The framework within which grammatical phenomena are discussed surpasses the limits of sentence; sometimes a more extensive context is necessary (p. xxvi). Schütz has worked with an extensive corpus that does not include translations (e.g. Bible). The preface is complemented with a map of the archipelago.

The next chapter has a preparatory character and is titled Background (pp. 1—17). Schütz discusses the earliest recordings of Fijian and reports on the language spoken in the islands as well as on the inhabitants. Another important subject is that of orthography (pp. 27—54) which is more complicated than that of any Polynesian language. The selection of orthography is linked to the problem of standardization upon the background of numerous territorial dialects or rather languages (cf. pp. 65—70).

The grammar itself is described in Sections II—IV. The authors start at the top of the hierarchical structure, i.e. from the sentence. The full sentence is defined as consisting of either juxtaposed noun phrases or a verb phrase is its principal component. What Schütz labels a verb phrase is in our terminology an instance of predicative syntagm (cf. pp. 76—77). His classification of verb phrases makes use of semantic and functional criteria; he pays attention to the role of word order as well.

Further description of Fijian grammar would be hard to imagine without a morphological analysis and classification of morphemes. Descriptivist traditions seem to persist in Schütz' attitude to word that according to him cannot

be explicitly defined (p. 91). However, once we admit that the dominant of language is communication, we cannot dispense with the notion of word. Put differently, word is the minimum free unit upon the level of communication while morpheme is such a basic unit upon the level of linguistic analysis.

The morphemes are classified here into roots and markers; the latter include the so-called particles. Abolition of the category of word leads to problems with distinguishing verbs and nouns upon the morpheme level (cf. p. 95).

The basis for the subclassification of verbs is semantic and universal; there are existential, active and stative verbs in Fijian — classes known from other languages as well (pp. 100—104). Schütz is aware of the inaptness of such an elementary classification to the complexity of actual language data. Upon a more detailed level, Schütz distinguishes motion verbs, emission or projection verbs, processual verbs, verbs referring to mental activities or states of mind, judgment verbs, verbs referring to skills, etc. (pp. 123—131).

A detailed treatment is given to transitivity (pp. 132—171) and other features of verbal morphology (affixes on pp. 172—224, reduplication on pp. 226—245) and such categories as person, number, inclusivity, etc. (pp. 250—259). Verb phrase markers are dealt with separately (pp. 260—308).

Section Three (pp. 309—382) deals exclusively with the noun phrase. Its semantic characteristics and subclassification is followed by chapters on particles functioning as grammatical markers.

In Section Four (pp. 383—470) the author discusses what he terms operations, namely, specification, attribution, subordination, possession and conjunction. This seems to cover the traditional domain of sentence syntax, at least partly, in which phrases (NP, VP) are combined to produce more complicated sequences.

Schütz interprets the basic sentence structure as different from European languages; in his conceptual framework the term specification covers predication but predicative relations may also hold within VP. It is to be appreciated that Schütz treats sentence as a part of a greater whole, of a higher communicative unit so that it cannot be unambiguously interpreted without the recourse to the context (see p. 403).

The last section (pp. 471—562) is devoted to phonology. The detailed analysis includes both the system of phonemes with suprasegmental features and phonotactics. Schütz does not analyse phonology in isolation but tries to uncover links connecting the level of phonology with that of grammar.

The Appendix includes early word lists, an extensive bibliography and an index.

It is hard to give a fair and adequate appreciation of Schütz' impressive work in a brief review. However, it would be no exaggeration to say that it is the most up-to-date and exhaustive description of the most important Oceanic language.

It can serve as a model for the description of other typologically related languages of Oceania.

Viktor Krupa

Kondrashkina, E. A.: *Indoneziya. Yazykovaya situatsiya i yazykovaya politika* (Indonesia. Language Situation and Language Policy). Moscow, Nauka 1986. 154 pp.

Kondrashkina's publication deals with the complex language problems of one of the largest countries in Asia. While in many other countries of Asia and Africa one of the most difficult political problems to be solved after gaining independence was the selection of a national or official language, the language choice for Indonesia has been achieved a long time ago, by the end of the 1920s. This is due to the fact that Malay has been the language of interethnic communication throughout the islands since several centuries. Therefore Kondrashkina could concentrate upon other questions, especially upon the present-day language situation, national integration and language policy after 1945.

In a brief preface (pp. 3—8) the author explains her approach to the subject, characterizes her objectives and sketches a survey of the history of research in Indonesian sociolinguistics not only in the country itself but also abroad.

The Introduction (pp. 9—15) comprises an ethnolinguistic survey of contemporary Indonesia, including chief demographic data. In Chapter One (pp. 16—32) Kondrashkina examines and characterizes language situation and language policy prior to independence. She subdivides this era into (1) a precolonial and early colonial period, (2) a colonial period, (3) a national liberation movement period, and (4) Japanese occupation period.

The present-day language situation is described at more detail in Chapter Two (pp. 33—92). Here the author examines, in addition to the main features of the contemporary situation, the development of modern Indonesian, especially in the field of vocabulary dynamism, the relationship of Bahasa Indonesia to other languages used in the country, the inevitable bilingualism and interference resulting from it.

The problem of national consolidation is dealt with in Chapter Three (pp. 93—115) where Kondrashkina makes an attempt at evaluating the issue of ethnic integration and political aspects of this development, especially with respect to the existence of a numerically strong Chinese minority.

Chapter Four (pp. 116—136) is a critical appreciation of the language policy of the Indonesian government after independence.

This policy has undergone some changes after Sukarno's era, especially as far as regional languages are concerned.

In Conclusion (pp. 137—138) the author summarizes her picture of the Indonesian language situation as consisting of four hierarchical strata, from Bahasa Indonesia at the top, through the regional languages such as Javanese, Madurese, Balinese, etc. to local or tribal languages (in Sulawesi, Irian, etc.) and to Arabic as the language of Islam. She points out that English has also become part of the picture, even increasingly so, to the detriment of Dutch.

Kondrashkina's book is complemented with a bibliography including some 250 items (pp. 143—152).

Kondrashkina's volume will be appreciated by readers as an important contribution to the study of Indonesian linguistics and society.

Viktor Krupa

Materialy sovetskoy-vietnamskoy lingvisticheskoy ekspeditsii 1979 goda. Yazyk muong (Matériaux d'une expédition linguistique soviétique-vietnamienne en 1979. La langue muong). Moscou, Nauka 1987. 518 p.

Le livre *La langue muong* est la deuxième d'une série de matériaux collectionnés au cours d'une expédition linguistique, entreprise en 1979 en commun par des experts soviétiques et vietnamiens (le premier livre *La langue laha* parût en 1986). Il s'agit ici d'un projet vraiment extraordinaire et astreignant de coopération dans le domaine d'une étude linguistique de terrain et dans le domaine théorique. Les auteurs de l'esquisse linguistique de la langue muong sont N. K. Sokolovskaya et Nguyen Van Trai, et le livre a été préparé pour publication par le groupe de rédaction: J. J. Plam (éditeur-en chef), N. V. Solntseva, V. D. Podberezskaya, I. V. Samarina, Ly Toan Thang et I. L. Mikaelyan.

Une telle étude complexe de la langue muong apporte sans doute beaucoup de nouveau matériel, très nécessaire pour un traitement soutenu du problème présenté par le groupe linguistique de viet-muong et contribue à une connaissance plus approfondie des relations mutuelles des langues diverses dans toute la région de l'Asie Sud-Est. C'est précisément ici qu'il existe encore beaucoup de notions vagues et imprécises qui compliquent la carte ethno-linguistique de cette région.

Jusqu'ici, les experts ont utilisé la proximité génétique entre les deux langues — vietnamienne et muong (qui d'ailleurs est généralement admise) — surtout du point de vue diachronique (essais de reconstruire la langue viet-muong primitive); ainsi, du point de vue synchronique, cette publication doit être accordée un accueil particulièrement favorable. La caractéristique linguistique de la langue muong est ici élaborée sur des principes méthodologiques universels, les auteurs y introduisent un grand nombre de faits et affinités peu connus ou tout

à fait inconnus, en font un commentaire et les comparent avec des phénomènes analogues, surtout de la langue vietnamienne. L'objet de leur caractéristique descriptive est le dialecte muong khoi, appartenant au dialecte central de la langue muong. En conclusion de cette partie, ils mettent en relief les différences fondamentales entre les deux langues — muong et vietnamienne et cela au point de vue de la phonologie, lexicologie, morphologie et syntaxe. On doit apprécier le fait que les auteurs de la description linguistique utilisent, en outre de leurs propres matériaux, aussi ceux des autres chercheurs, ce qui assure un schéma uniforme dans la description théorique des langues isolantes.

Les matériaux de l'étude de terrain ici publiés comportent en premier lieu un lexique détaillé russo-vietnamien-muong (contient presque deux mille articles) qui a une structure thématique bien réfléchie. Vu que le matériel avait été collectionné dans le terrain, il est arrangé dans le lexique selon le principe thématique. Pour faciliter l'usage pratique du lexique, celui-ci est supplémenté de trois indexes alphabétiques (russe, vietnamien, muong) donnant le contenu dans la langue correspondante.

Il y a dix enquêtes diagnostiques grammaticales, dont la première est destinée pour une prise de vue générale de la structure de la langue étudiée, les neuf autres étant des enquêtes thématiques, destinées à décrire les différents phénomènes grammaticaux de la structure de la langue, comme par exemple la caractéristique des parties du discours et des classificateurs, manières d'exprimer le mode grammatical et le temps, le modalité, etc. Dans leur recherche les auteurs emploient la langue vietnamienne comme langue médiatrice.

Les matériaux folkloriques sont représentés dans le livre par le conte «La chasse» et un fragment du poème populaire muong «La jeune fille Khot». Ces textes supplémentent convenablement les matériaux grammaticaux et lexicaux de l'enquête diagnostique.

Le livre *Langue muong* est une étude réussie de la série en question; ses auteurs sont parvenus à présenter avec succès et dans une forme brève un maximum de matériaux rassemblés et de généralisations théoriques sur une langue peu connue. De ce fait, la recherche des langues orientales a fait un pas sensible en avant.

Ján Múčka

Wenck, Günther: *Pratum Japanisticum. Exemplizierender Entwurf einer "Japanistik"*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1987. 335 pp.

Günther Wenck is one of the most prolific and prominent German Japanologists whose scholarly versatility is impressive. The present collection of his papers is representative of Wenck's research interest and in fact spans the whole

interval of what is usually termed Japanology — with the possible exception of history. Wenck's personal variety of the discipline ranges from writing through grammar to problems of literature. Some of the papers included in this volume are being published for the first time (or have been read at scholarly meetings) and those that had appeared before have been modified and extended by the author.

In the introductory paper titled Japanese Language Studies since B. H. Chamberlain (pp. 1—16), Günther Wenck pays homage to one of the most influential personalities in the history of Japanology. The author evaluates the import of Chamberlain for the subsequent study of the Japanese language. The paper is, at the same time, a brief survey of the history of Japanese language study.

Wenck is equally at home in the field of Japanese writing, which is confirmed by two articles concerned with the development of *manyogana* (characters for *e* and *na*, pp. 17—41 and pp. 42—72).

Phonetics and phonology rank among the focal points of Wenck's field of study. The particular papers included here deal with the complicated problems of accent (the new term *accenteme* has been suggested by the author, pp. 73—83), with the development of nasal stops, especially in the dialects of the Northeast (pp. 84—97), with the so-called *onbin*, i.e. a complex of sound changes since the beginning of Heian era (pp. 98—109), as well as with word formation (pp. 110—117).

This, however, does not exhaust the whole range of subjects discussed by Wenck. As far as other problems are concerned, at least the following will be mentioned here: some aspects of Japanese conjugation (pp. 132—143), auxiliary verbs (pp. 212—224), reconstruction of Proto-Japanese verb inflection (pp. 144—145), and a variety of syntactic subjects (pp. 118—124, pp. 186—200, pp. 201—211). Although the historical approach prevails, Wenck also pays attention to problems of synchrony, whether it is syntax of complex sentence (pp. 155—174), machine translation (pp. 175—185), or copula (pp. 201—211), etc.

The last group of papers is concerned with some linguistic aspects of literary works (cf. pp. 245—261, pp. 262—272).

Most of the papers have been published in German, the rest in English; handwritten characters are used throughout the book.

The individual papers are supplied with numerous footnotes. Unfortunately, there is no subject index that would help the readers to use the book more efficiently. This, however, does not detract from the scholarly value of the collection that contains a wealth of remarkable stimuli for further research.

Viktor Krupa

Foljanty, Detlef: *Japanisch Intensiv I*. 596 pp. Foljanty, Detlef—Fukuzawa, Hiroomi: *Japanisch Intensiv II*. 440 pp. Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag 1985.

Volume One of this handbook of Japanese appeared in second edition. In Preface to this volume (pp. 3—4) Foljanty specifies the goal of his work. Although so many textbooks of Japanese are available, there is a marked shortage of textbooks focusing on modern written Japanese. This has led the author to concentrate upon this variety of Standard Japanese and thus to help making primary information on Japan more accessible. Foljanty proceeds on the correct assumption that some knowledge of spoken Japanese is easier to extract from a good knowledge of the written language than vice versa.

The textbook consists of three parts. Volume One deals with the basic phenomena of Japanese grammar, concentrating upon syntax of simple sentences; subordinate sentence structure is discussed in detail in Volume Two. Volume Three has not yet been published.

Volume One begins with an Introductory Section (pp. 1—88). There are nine lessons in this section describing basic grammatical rules and complemented with vocabulary as well as various exercises. In addition to this, lessons 10—15 comprise texts. Kana and kanji are used right from the beginning; both cursive and printforms occur throughout the book, which is also of a considerable help to the students. The scope of grammatical phenomena is considerable and includes, e.g., basic sentence types (verbal and nominal), questions, ellipsis of subject, courtesy language, functional sentence perspective (topic and comment), relative sentence, nominalization, quantification, anaphoric use of pronouns, interrogative and demonstrative pronouns, comparison, tense and aspect, location, basic syntactic functions (object, attribute, in addition to predicate and subject), multiple subjects and topicalization, adverbs, numerals, etc.

Volume Two, published jointly by Detlef Foljanty and Hiroomi Fukuzawa much later than Volume One, represents the result of an effort to combine the interest in the Japanese language with that in Japan as such. This volume consists of five lessons. All of them concentrate upon the essential features of present-day Japanese society — trade unions, ecology, education, women's employment, armed forces, arts, minorities, aged people and social structure, political structure, economical growth and relations to other Asian countries. In the authors' word, Volume Two aims at expanding the language competence of the students, especially in the domain of compound and complex sentences. The data on grammar are, however, less systematic than in Volume One and not exhaustive. Both volumes contain indices and surveys.

Foljanty and Fukuzawa have produced a remarkable work that may be of a

lasting value for students and linguists interested in one of the most complicated languages of the world.

Viktor Krupa

Lewin, Bruno—Müller-Yokota, Wolfram—Stalph, Jürgen: *Textlehrbuch der japanischen Sprache*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1987. 505 pp.

This publication is in fact Volume Two of the book published by Harrassowitz in 1983 under the title *Einführung in die japanische Sprache*. Both volumes are the result of teaching practice at the Ruhr University in Bochum. Volume Two is destined to advanced students of Japanese, namely those who are familiar with the introductory course.

The *Textlehrbuch* comprises thirty Japanese texts dealing with a considerable variety of topics. Some of them have been adapted by the compilers to the needs of the students. All of them consist of approximately 1,000 characters and none of them includes more than sixty new lexical items or forty new characters. *Furigana* is employed only with the texts in the first lessons. All texts, except the last five ones, are furnished with a vocabulary. Besides, the compilers have added detailed footnotes explaining the most difficult expressions and constructions.

The authors are well aware of problems posed by Japanese syntax, especially by hypotactic structures and they have included a sample syntactic analysis of one of the texts (The Sea by Osamu Dazai, pp. 125—134).

A very useful addition is a list of postpositions (pp. 135—144) arranged alphabetically and furnished with their German functional equivalents, Japanese examples and their German translations. This list includes, in addition to secondary postpositions, all grammatical suffixes as well as nominal particles (case markers, etc.).

Another remarkable feature of the book is a character vocabulary (pp. 145—327) that takes up a considerable part of the whole volume. The compilers have included all characters that occur in both volumes of the handbook (altogether 1,221 characters). Each character is supplied with all its official readings (Sino-Japanese readings are given in *katakana*, Japanese readings, *kundoku*, in *hiragana*, with the position of accent indicated) and with its German equivalents. The characters are arranged by their radicals. There is also a survey of difficult characters added to the vocabulary (p. 327). The users of the textbook will appreciate the inclusion of a conceptually classified vocabulary (pp. 329—472). Thirty-five conceptual domains are dealt with in this part of the book, such as numbers and quantity, measures, limitations and negations,

order, location and direction, time, weather and natural phenomena, geography, man and human body, life processes, food, family, buildings education and science, government, economics, transportation, agriculture, arts, greetings, etc.

The variety of subjects dealt with in the texts themselves is also considerable, which helps the students to get acquainted, e.g., with basic geographical characteristics of Japan, history of Tokyo, principles of telephone conversation, epistolary style, word processors, dialects of Japanese, Ainu minority, traditional theatre, Japanese constitution, fiction style, etc.

The textbook is concluded with an alphabetical index of on-readings (pp. 473—486) and with an alphabetical list of words occurring in the book (pp. 487—505).

This carefully compiled publication contains a wealth of information on various aspects of the Japanese language, history, culture, and way of life. Its arrangement and extensive apparatus contribute to making it a most useful aid for all students engaged in learning Japanese.

Viktor Krupa

Vasiljevová, Zdeňka: *Dějiny Japonska* (History of Japan). Prague, Svoboda 1986. 604 pp.

The authoress of the book under review is a senior lecturer at the Department of Asian and African Studies, Charles University in Prague. She is an experienced pedagogue, historian and authoress of numerous works from the domain of Japanese history (the period of feudalism and contemporary history of Japan).

As Vasiljevová underlines in her Introduction (pp. 9—11), she approached the task of processing the history of Japan “with the conviction that accent has to be laid primarily on its continuity showing there were no sudden incomprehensible convulsions that would fall outside the rules of historical development, as understood by historical materialism”. Applying the methodology of historical materialism, Vasiljevová presents here a rounded and clear view of the evolution of the history of Japan from the earliest period down to the present times (end of the 1970s). She does not confine herself to a terse, simplified interpretation of historical events, but submits the continuous development of Japanese history to a scientific analysis in which she takes up a critical attitude also to the current, ingrained interpretations of various sectors of this history brought up by bourgeois historiography. She simultaneously makes a point also of the overall problem of scientific research in this domain, its evolution and present-day state. In her work Vasiljevová drew on source materials and the

latest concepts of scientific research in the different sectors of the history of Japan and cooperated in close contacts with prominent Japanese scientific institutions pursuing Japanese history.

Approximately half the monograph (pp. 22—312) is devoted to the historical development from the earliest times until the end of the Tokugawa (first half of the 19th cent.). But considerable space is reserved also to modern history (pp. 313—535) from the Meiji to the present (turn of the 70s—80s).

Vasiljevová's consistent Marxist approach to her processing of the history of Japan is already evident in her breaking down of the historical development into periods. She has eschewed the commonly used, traditional division and has replaced it by a more exact, more truthful periodization in which are embodied the principal traits and the characteristic traits of the historical development.

The development of the history of Japan up to the mid-19th century embraces the following chapters: Earliest settlement and ethnogenesis (p. 21), Origin of a class society and the first states on Japanese territory — up to the 6th cent. A.D. (p. 29), Early-feudal centralized state 7th—9th cent. A.D. (p. 64), Struggles inside the ruling class, and decline of the monarch's power — 10th—12th cent. (p. 110), Accession to power of military nobility at the time of the Kamakura shogunate — 1192—1336 (p. 143), Decline of central power during the Muromachi, and break-up of the state into warring principalities — 1338 — mid-16th cent. (p. 185), Efforts of the military nobility at strengthening the feudal system — mid-16th — mid-17th cent. (p. 227), Conflicts and crisis of the Tokugawa late-feudal society — end 17th — early 19th cent. (p. 265).

The section devoted to modern history (since Meiji up to the present) is divided as follows: Uncompleted bourgeois revolution and beginnings of a monarchistic system — 1841—1890 (p. 314), Policy of interior oppression and foreign expansion at the time of forming and strengthening Japanese imperialism — end 19th cent. — 1918 (p. 360), Bringing social conflicts to a head searching for ways out of the crisis in fascism and war — 1818—1945 (p. 400), Post-war Japan — 1945 — end of the 70s (p. 456), Japan at the turn of the 70s and 80s (p. 517).

In the various chapters of the monograph Vasiljevová carefully follows up the political, economic and social development of the country. She lays stress on the development and formation of class relationships, land tenure, yet deals not solely with the position of the ruling class, but takes note also of the peasantry and the proletariat, the position of these classes, their social and class struggles, and points to the revolutionary role of the peasants and the working class in the country's history.

The monograph has also captured the development and moulding of ideas, ideology and culture and the reader has an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the most valuable monuments of spiritual and material culture of Japan.

Its further significant contribution resides in that, besides a rounded explanation of the basic developmental processes in Japanese history, it also embodies a critical view of and information on sources and literature to a study of the history of Japan (Introduction to sources and literature, pp. 537—565). The book is provided with a detailed index, including three parts: List of names, List of geographical, topical and ethnical terms, Subject index.

Vasiljevová's book embraces a large range of material, but represents a rounded work which means a valuable contribution to an explication of the history of Japan. And although primarily destined to the public at large, this monograph, by the manner it has been processed, ranks among publications of a higher category and thus will prove of use also to experts from the domain of history.

Karol Kuřka

Kho, Songmoo: *Koreans in Soviet Central Asia*. Studia Orientalia, Vol. 61. Ed, by the Finnish Oriental Society. Helsinki 1987. 262 pp.

Questions relating to the life of various nations, nationalities and ethnic groups under conditions of the multi-nationality State in the USSR are of late coming more and more into the centre of attention of scholars. The Korean nationality minority counting some 400 thousand occupies in some ways a special place among the ethnic groups in the USSR. This is due also to the fact that it is made up exclusively of immigrants (often of the 2nd—4th generation already) and is settled for the most part far away from the region of the Soviet Far East, originally the target of Korean emigration. The question of a gradual assimilation with inhabitants of other nations of the USSR, and on the other hand, their preserving their own national identity under conditions in which ethnic Koreans are living for the most part in Soviet Central Asia without direct contacts with their countrymen on the Peninsula and without their own autonomous administration (as is the case, e.g. in the PRC), presents a wide field for investigation in the domain of the nationality policy of the USSR, as also in linguistic, sociological, cultural etc. matters.

Unfortunately, until recently there was no monograph available either in the USSR, or elsewhere in the world that would have dealt with these issues in a comprehensive manner. This gap has now been partly filled by the publication under review whose author has long pursued, alongside his own linguistic specialization, gathering material on the life of Koreans and the spread of Korean studies in Europe.

Chapter One (History of Movement, pp. 16—43) presents a brief outline of

Korean immigration into the region of Russian Far East from the sixties of the nineteenth century and describes the immigrants' conditions of life before and after the October Revolution. It mentions the share of various groups of Koreans in the national liberation struggle against Japanese occupation of Korea and the significant participation of certain revolutionary groups in Russia on the Bolshevik side in their fight against counter-revolutionaries and in setting up Soviet power in the Far East. The author devotes most attention here to the as yet little clarified question of the mass transfer of Koreans from the Far East into the area of Soviet Central Asia in 1937 and its consequences.

In Chapter Two (Modern Conditions, pp. 44—70), besides basic demographic data, the author also deals with certain existential, political, sociological etc. aspects relating to this sudden transfer into the totally different geographical conditions of Central Asia, notes questions of relations to other ethnics in this region, etc.

In Chapter Three (Rice Cultivation, pp. 71—100), he presents on concrete data the outstanding results achieved by Koreans in rice cultivation in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, elucidating also the different technique from the traditional one they had formerly employed in Korea and Primorski Krai.

In Chapter Four (Language and Communication, pp. 101—139) Songmoo Kho, who is an eminent expert on Altai linguistics, provides interesting insights into contemporary knowledge and maintenance of Korean, into the character of the language of ethnic Koreans (based in the great majority of the original immigrants on the North Korean dialect), speaks of provision of the teaching of Korean in future, how it is influenced by Russian and languages of Central Asia, etc.

In the closing chapters, far better supported with annotative material than those in the first part of the book, the author is concerned, besides Korean literature, also with "three pillars of Korean culture in Central Asia, supporting their cultural identity, even though this minority lives scattered over a wide area among various nationalities" (p. 156), viz. The Korean Theatre at Alma-Ata (boasting of an over 50-year-old tradition), the newspaper *Lenin Kichi* (Lenin's Banner), and radio broadcasting in Korean.

A remarkable fact is that the author could write this noteworthy monograph without having had the possibility personally to visit the region of Soviet Central Asia and to carry out a survey on the spot. He must have expended maximum effort to obtain and utilize all the accessible materials and sources (cf. the extensive references, pp. 245—248). He found abundant sources of further information especially in the paper *Lenin Kichi* printed in Korean and in personal correspondence with members of the relevant Korean minority. Thanks to such material, the author occasionally goes down into minor details. Yet he is well aware of places in his work that are not as yet sufficiently

supported, and besides interesting hypotheses, he sets down also concrete circuits of questions that will have to be investigated in more detail in future.

Dr. Kho's work is characterized by careful collection and sorting of his documentation, an objective view and a precise complementary apparatus (544 notes and references following the various chapters, 6 maps, 80, for the most part unique, black-and-white photos, an Index). It brings numerous new materials and conclusions to the topic studied and therefore will be welcomed not solely by Koreanists, but also by scholars of other disciplines, particularly ethnographers, sociolinguists, politologists, etc.

Vladimír Pucek

Marsella, Anthony J.—De Vos, George—Hsu, Francis L. H. (Eds.): *Culture and Self. Asian and Western Perspectives*. New York, Tavistock Publications 1985. 321 pp.

The relative divergence of views on the relation of personality to culture has come during the past two decades or so to be an object of attention on the part of philosophers, psychologists, economists, literary scholars, art historians and the like. The book under review attempts to illustrate and analyse this disparity primarily in Asian world in comparisons with a Euro-American apprehension of the human personality in its relation to culture (spiritual and material), to society and the surrounding milieu. Most space in the book is given to two important cultural areas: to the Far East (China and Japan) and South Asia (India). The extensive introduction, written in common by the majority of the contributors, is concerned with the methodico-methodological aspect of research into the problem of personality in cross-cultural relationships.

The authors are for the most part Asian Americans or orientalists, who write, in part at least, from their own experience. They have spent long years in groups or communities in which the relation of personality to culture, and by that token also to literature and art, differs considerably from the attitude (or attitudes) to which we have become accustomed in our cultural area. Their comparative approach permits us to grasp, in particular, what essential elements cause the view on personality in the European or the Euro-American cultural area to distinguish from that in the Chinese, Japanese or Indian environment. To achieve this end, they do not proceed according to a uniform methodology. Practically every author solves the problem he deals with in his own way, occasionally quite complicated, takes up personality in its whole, sometimes in some of its parts; however, they all have a common interest, to point to various types of human personality to be met with in the various world cultures. The

comparative approach is not of the same tenor everywhere, but it is always latently present, occasionally adequately supported experimentally, elsewhere more hypothetical, in some of the essays with a varying dose of historicism, in others oriented to the present.

It appears that Europeans and Americans were induced by Orientals to reflect on an apprehension of human personality otherwise than had been the custom in individual or social psychology or sociology as pursued in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. More frequent mutual contacts, in many cases a permanent presence of Orientals in Europe and America, their participation in the social and cultural life and their different socio-psychological behaviour have compelled observers and researchers from various disciplines to take note of types of human personality different from their own and to endeavour adequately to characterize them.

On the basis of a relatively extensive material the American psychiatrist Professor F. Johnson strives to make good his claim that the personality typical of the Western world (particularly of America) is analytic, monotheistic, individualistic, materialistic and rationalistic. Although it may be justifiably asserted of this author as being familiar with the research of the late sinologist A. Wright who explicitly cautioned to eschew in such circumstances "false antitheses" and "monolithic comparisons", yet he did not quite follow this advice and his theses on the analytic and monotheistic self of Westerners, in particular, are doubtful. By materialistic he rather had in mind "material" relative to the contemporary welfare and consumer society. He devotes most attention to individualism of the Western man, explaining it chiefly by a political stress laid on personal freedom, independence and alienation in modern society despite the enormous possibilities of communication not enough utilized from the interhuman aspect. Conditions are being created for a narcissist self-assertion, an egocentric attention, but likewise for various forms of fear and personal misfortune. Description of alienation, anxiety, isolation has become a vogue in literature.

While the Western world in this book remains fairly undifferentiated, and this is certainly one of its drawbacks, the Asian world, concretely its Indian and Chinese parts constantly retain their specific traits, with Japan representing a "unique mixture" of foreign and indigenous elements.

By far the most comparative study is the one by the Chinese American Francis L. K. Hsu, who compares personality types as they manifest themselves in the USA, China and Japan. In his view, personality is to be understood not individualistically separated or defined, but within the terms of interhuman relationships and should be judged according to the intensity of its commitment. Personality cannot be comprehended without taking into consideration an individual's unconscious, his consciousness, people intimately close to him and

the culture he daily enjoys, the wider social strata in which he moves and lives, and finally his relation to the surrounding milieu in the broadest meaning of the term. The decisive elements for moulding human personality are those involving his inexpressible and expressible conscious, people closest to him (as a rule his family and friends), spiritual and material culture in contact with him, and the environment of his self-realization. The process of the so-called homeostasis is achieved either through an expansion of activity going beyond the family bonds in the direction of an enterprising and socially active life, or through escape into one's own interior. In the contemporary world the Western kind of psychosocial homeostasis is the most dynamic mode of expression of human self. Less dynamic, but for that matter socially and economically the most effective is the Japanese variety. In the case of the Japanese, similarly as in that of the Chinese who cannot be said to be individualists, separation from the family often takes place, but this always involves those who are not, as sons, the heirs. They then join larger unions of various denominations, but socially very efficient. In the non-agricultural domain, the so-called "*iemoto*" are set up, occasionally gigantic hierarchical organizations exceeding family or clan frameworks, ensuring for their members employment, legal protection, health care, provision in retirement, but they expect mutual subordination, the best working results possible, ability to compete on the Japanese and foreign markets, understandably for lower wages than are normal in approximately equally advanced industrial countries of the West. It is precisely this organized activity, elaborated down to the minutest detail, based on indigenous, even *samurai*-like rough virtues which has made of Japan the second most industrialized power of the capitalist world.

The Chinese, due to considerable residua in their traditional code in personal and social behaviour, the share of family morale in the life of man and the society, still consider even today the close family milieu as decisive and primary, while an individual, hence the personified self, to be secondary in the social mechanism. This protects them from psychic extremes and manifestations of abnormal psychology frequently met with in contemporary western civilization and in Japan, but, on the other hand, leaves them less prepared for the modernizing efforts.

Different aspects of the very conflicting manifestations of Japanese personality are dealt with in the study by George DeVos. The author adheres to the opinion of one of the first European japanologists Lafcadio Hearn who stated that Western tyranny means ascendancy of one over many, while Japanese means ascendancy of many over one. Japanese society pays for its successes in the domain of industry and commerce by the suffering of the members of different groups, unions, bonds, etc. in which an individual's interest may never cross the goals followed by the superior unit. With minor exceptions, relating to the highest financiers, heads of the mightiest clans and managers, all fall into

a position of dependence and must resolve all questions, including those of personal decisions, choice of profession and life partners in the collectives of people close to them. In these communities or groups stress is laid on cooperation and harmony at all cost, even if it would entail an individual's personal tragedy. The results of such relationship towards the individual and of his behaviour in such bonds, which may not suit him at all, are generally known: grave inner neuroses, suicides, aggressiveness towards outsiders, intolerance and ruthlessness on the international arena when commercial interests are at stake. Well known are the practices of Japanese militarists during the period 1937—1945. In the literary domain, Japanese tragedies always affect individuals who in some manner jeopardized the interests of their communities or showed disloyalty towards the superiors. Since the early years of our century a new genre has spread in the Japanese literature, known as *watakushi-shōsetsu* (I-novel). It is extremely popular because it corresponds to the needs of Japanese self. It is a highly personal, empirical, even irrational genre exploiting the possibilities of a drastic self-revealing, even degrading, debasing confession, laying bare personal and intimate feelings, the everyday vicissitudes, conjugal quarrels, etc. It is a product of the specific Japanese environment which would hardly find a place in any other national literature. It serves as a catharsis for the Japanese reading public.

The eminent expert on Chinese Confucianism Tu Wei-ming follows here up solely Chinese Confucian personality. It is for the most part a matter of the past, though it may still be found fairly often in “enclaves” outside the territory of the People's Republic of China. He characterizes this type of personality as “dyadic” (binary or dual), manifesting itself towards “the presence of the other” whether within a close family circle, or clan, or in the society. As the most significant relation here he considers that between father and son. A similar relation, however, is formed between parents and children, brothers and sisters, elderly and younger citizens, the common people and the ruling strata, etc. That “other” is usually a source of authority, respect, of the so-called filial piety (*xiao*). It is demanded of children even if the parents would not be worthy of it; it is said to be the fountainhead of all virtues, personal and social. It might be of interest to observe here that despite the authority and submission which this “filial piety” exacted, Chinese culture or literature knows no work that would prove the alleged universal validity of “Oedipus complex” which S. Freud insisted upon in his work *Totem and Taboo*.

Tu Wei-ming makes no mention of the psychic consequences of a dyadic personality. Another Chinese American Godwin C. Chu, who agrees with Tu insofar as the importance of the “other” is concerned in forming Chinese individual and his self-realization, extends this field by a material environment as a means of action. It is to be regretted that his empirical remarks in compar-

ing the development and adjustment of self in contemporary China (People's Republic of China is meant), are not sufficiently embracing and therefore his study is rather hypothetical. In Chu's view, at least as regards the recent past, the personal subject as such was less important than that "other". This could be witnessed during the "Cultural Revolution" when all the Chinese were seen with a red booklet of quotations in their hands, solely its author was an exception. The endless writing of "self-criticisms" and the immense quantity of *dazibao* (mural newspapers) were likewise a manifestation of this aspect of Chinese personality. This is less applicable now after the beginning of the new road which started in 1978 by efforts at modernization, contacts with the outside world and the socialist countries as well. The "Cultural Revolution" of the years 1977—1976 decidedly had proved a tremendous lesson teaching hundreds of millions of people not to believe mere words and empty slogans, but deeds, acts, results achieved. The weakening of the dyadic relation in this domain will require a reform of the whole social system. Contemporary Chinese personality is returning to itself, begins to rely on its own possibilities and abilities. It is freeing itself of the "other" in order to ensure its own self-realization. At the time of the greatest identification of the self with that what was outside and hierarchically the highest, no literature and art existed in China, if we leave out worthless "Peking operas with contemporary revolutionary themes", one "symphony" and a "group of clay sculptures". Such an apprehension of human self was probably one of the reasons why Chinese literature lacked interest in a deeper psychologism (there are some exceptions). This could not be said of Japan where Freud had come to be one of the initiators of a widespread modernist literature, particularly of the so-called neosensualism which later produced such a man of letters as Kawabata Yasunari, Nobel Prize winner for literature.

For Europeans the most complex and the most difficult to grasp is the Hindu self. The author of the relevant study Agehenanda Bharati accepts the opinion of other specialists when he states that an individual among Hindus, who make up the majority of the present-day India, should be understood not as an individuum, but as a *dividuum*, as something in its essence and manifestations divided (i.e. *divisum*) into two parts: an empirical self including the body, "soul" (consciousness and unconsciousness), and the so-called *ātman*, "real self", higher spirit, a human absolute which assuming that respective norms of moral codex are adhered to, is identical with the divine principle of *brahman* and inseparable from it. That part of personality we daily meet is hierarchically something lower and of lesser importance, tributary, relative, hence, its lack of interest in change, material progress, a certain inertia are fairly self-evident, although activity is programmed in social, political or other institutions, or in the teachings of Gandhi, Tagore or Nehru.

The book is the work of anthropologists, psychologists (psychiatrists) and one philosopher. Culture is understood in a very general light and touches but very superficially on its typical (and valuable) manifestations in the realm of literature and art. It nevertheless succeeds in conveying how a human being as the "measure of all things" is reflected in this sphere of activity and in dependence on various form of its "self", often different from that we are accustomed to in our cultural area.

Marián Gálik

Gálik, Marián: *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation, 1898—1917*. Bratislava, Veda — Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1986. 286 pp.

Marián Gálik has been systematically pursuing research into several developmental stages of Chinese literature, literary criticism and Chinese culture generally right from the time he completed his formal studies. He acquired the necessary professional qualifications for such a broadly conceived research not only during his university studies, but also during his short-term stays of study abroad, including among others also in the People's Republic of China. During the past few years he has focused his attention primarily on an analysis of the ideational differentiation, an exposition of several style genres and modernization of Chinese literature under the influence of European and American literary movements. His works on problems in this domain are founded both on a study of the inner laws of Chinese literature and on its comparison with foreign literatures.

Marián Gálik has attained new positive results in this field in the book under review. This is a comprehensive work. As it comprises a great amount of material, we shall confine ourselves here to at least its principal characteristic signs. What is therefore its sense, its *raison d'être*, and what new aspects does it bring?

In twelve chapters M. Gálik's monograph introduces the evolution of Sino-European-American literary relations (from Asian literatures he points to the impact of Indian and Japanese writings) as these became reflected in the most significant works during the time between the Hundred Days Reforms (1898) and one of its most prominent representatives Liang Qichao, a movement in which China for the first time adopted a positive attitude towards literature, art, philosophy and culture of the Western World and Japan, and which marked the beginning of the prehistory of the new Chinese literature until the year 1979, i.e. until China's second direct confrontation with the foreign cultural and literary world. This second stage of contacts became inevitable following the end of the "Cultural Revolution" which had meant an effective interruption of all foreign

contacts in this field. These two extreme points bracket a period of eighty-one years which we may divide from the aspect of interliterariness, but partly also from that of Chinese national literature, as follows: the period 1898—1916 forms some sort of a prehistory to the new Chinese literature, that of 1917—1949 constitutes the history of Chinese literature of the Republic of China, and lastly the period from October 1949 up to the year 1979 marks the history of literature of the first three decades of the existence of the People's Republic of China.

The first period — in terms of the above periodization — is dealt with in the introductory chapter of the book under review. It is the only one devoted to critical-theoretical works written between 1898—1904, which exerted a striking influence on the development of the literature of that time or at least helped to characterize it in an outstanding manner. An analysis of the history of national Chinese literature showed that there were no suitable conditions for the origin and development of the new literature between the defeat of the reforming movement of 1898 and the beginnings of the Chinese literary revolution of 1917; nonetheless, significant genological changes took place, the platform of understandability of the spoken language became extended, foreign literary thinking became active and a noteworthy Sino-Western literary-theoretical synthesis made its appearance.

More favourable conditions for the origin and later also for the development of Chinese literature were ushered in in 1917. However, openness of the Chinese literary system has not always been uniform and conditions for development *per se* changed in the different periods. The very fact that the greatest number of chapters in the monograph (seven) are concerned with the years 1917—1937 goes to show that this period had been best prepared also from the aspect of an intraliterary and interliterary development for noteworthy works to be produced in it. The possibility of an abundant mutual exchange, a healthy literary contest gave rise to a situation in which works were gradually created that attained the standard of significant works of world literature. The situation deteriorated during the Anti-Japanese and the Civil War (July 1937 till September 1949) when much effort and considerable attention had to be devoted to the defence against Japanese aggression, its military-fascist barbarism, to the reactionary cultural policy of the Kuomintang.

During the period 1939—1944 a wide-ranging discussion was carried on in China on the so-called national forms, which had a retardative action. Undue emphasis began to be put on Chinese folk and popular forms and their utilization in literary practice vs so-called psychologism, formalism and literary works influenced by European literature, a discussion which was over the heads of the public at large (in part illiterate). Efforts at imparting a mass character to literature which failed to be adequately differentiated as to style and taste, stress

on priority of politics in literature over its artistic value, all that resulted in a decline in the standard of literary works. Gálík treats of this period in two chapters of his book. He likewise devotes two chapters to literature written during thirty years of the existence of the PRC — between 1949—1979.

In Chapter Two Marián Gálík presents a broadly designed analysis of the writer Lu Xun, father of modern Chinese literature and brings out the relationships between his collection of short stories *Call to Arms* (*Na-han*) and both the philosophical work of F. Nietzsche and the stories of V. Garshin and L. Andreev. We may note the impact of Russian literature on Chinese authors also in further chapters of Gálík's work: in Chapter Four he makes a concrete reference to genetic-contact affinities between Mao Dun's world-renowned novel *Midnight* (*Ziye*), translated already in 1950 into Czech, and L. N. Tolstoy's *War and Peace*; Chapter Eleven carries an analysis of Lao She's satirical play *Looking Westward to Ch'ang-an* (*Xiwang Changan*) and its relation to Gogol's *The Inspector-General*.

The author devotes Chapter Three to the most outstanding among Guo Moruo's poetic collection *The Goddesses*, and points to the action of various forms of literary pantheism (understood, of course, atheistically) through the works of Goethe, Whitman and Tagore. The revolutionary cultural and literary events around the May Fourth Movement of 1919 proved favourable to romantically tuned forms, a strong mythological expression, which, as a rule, subsequently became valuable original contributions to the new Chinese literature. In this, but also in other chapters, Gálík clearly shows that Chinese writers creatively took contact not only with their old and even their oldest traditions of the mythical age of their country, but also with those of other countries and thus created originally reshaped forms of ancient images from Near-Eastern, Egyptian, Jewish, Graeco-Roman and Nordic mythologies.

Chapter Five, concerned with the as yet most significant and undoubtedly the most played Chinese drama *Thunderstorm* (*Leiyu*) by Cao Yu, implies that the new Chinese drama was capable of taking contact with classical and neo-classical tragedy (Euripides, Racine) and that personages like Phaedra and Hippolytus could be made to impress in novel, modern variations also in a Chinese environment.

New Chinese poetry, primarily that of value, was influenced for the most part by French or English symbolists. This topic is dealt with in two chapters (Seven and Eight). On the basis of theoretical and creative works a point is made in definite cases of the genetic-contact relationships and typological affinities with works by J. Moréas, A. Samain, T. S. Eliot, and particularly Ch. Baudelaire.

Among Western authors, E. Zola evoked considerable response in China through his realistic writings (e.g. in the work by Mao Dun and Ba Jin), then E. O'Neill through his expressionist play *The Emperor Jones* (in the works by

Hong Shen and Cao Yu), and also R. Tagore. Under the influence of R. M. Rilke, the poet Feng Zhi created an unforgettable work through his pantheistically tuned writings (just as are those of Guo Moruo but also of further Chinese poets — male and female).

The closing chapter devoted to the so-called Literature of the Scars (*shanghen wenxue*) describing the bane, the wrongs and deformations of the “Cultural Revolution”, investigates this phenomenon on a typological level and, with few exceptions, eschews a research into genetic-contact-relations which were lacking in it anyway.

Gálik is as yet the only sinologist to have attempted, in virtue of his own research, but also of those of others (Gunn, Birch, Pollard, Lau, Belousov, Cherkassky) to outline a “geoliterary” map of the new Chinese literature. He pinpointed on it stimuli, impulses, motives, genetic contacts with foreign literatures, old and modern, and also with mythologies as their earliest form. In it he pointed out the “internal contacts” with Graeco-Roman, Judeo-Christian, Egyptian, ancient Near-Eastern and Nordic mythology, with Greek tragedy, German classicism, romanticism and decadence, with French neo-classicism, naturalism and symbolism, with Russian realism and the *fin de siècle*, with English symbolism and aestheticism, and with many outstanding individual authors. He also takes note of the typological impact of Soviet literature and underscores the fertile nature of interliterary contacts in the domain of proletarian literature and socialist realism in the 1930s and later in the 1950s when the foundations of socialism were being laid down in the PRC.

In addition, Gálik's book is also a first attempt in Western sinological literature at an analysis of a larger number of important works of the new Chinese literature from a comparative point of view. With its epilogue, briefly synthesizing the interliterary process from the aspect of Chinese literature on a such wide platform, it simultaneously constitutes an attempt at a comparative outline of the history of modern Chinese creative literature.

Miloš Tomčík

Kubin, Wolfgang: *Der durchsichtige Berg. Die Entwicklung der Naturanschauung in der chinesischen Literatur*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH 1985. 424 pp.

This book by Professor Wolfgang Kubin is the first monograph of its kind in world literature that follows up the development of the idea of nature as a theme in Chinese poetry from the very beginning in *Shijing* (*The Book of Poetry*), up to the Song dynasty (960—1278) and, to a lesser extent, also later,

for after Song, nature poetry in China recedes into the background. The author takes contact with numerous works by his predecessors in this field, such as Aoki Masaru, Obi Kōichi, Ogawa Tamaki, Maeno Naoaki, Yoshikawa Kojirō, James J. Y. Liu, J. D. Frodsham, S. Owen and others, supplements their partial observations and follows up the development of this poetry over a period of more than two millennia.

Nature is one of the most frequent topics in old Chinese poetry. It developed in connection with the philosophical, political and cultural events and passed through several mutually related and also divergent stages. The Chinese had a philosophy on nature of their own and their views of it differed from those generally prevailing on nature as we know them e. g. from the works by A. O. Lovejoy, W. Ganzenmüller, L. Schneider, E. R. Curtius and others. As to nature in the sense in which it is written about in the book under review, it was understood as something “that is of itself” (*ziran*), for everything in nature “comes about of itself, without any particular kind of intervention, such as might be the act of divinity or of providence” (M. Kaltenmark: *Lao Tzu and Taoism*, Stanford University Press 1969, pp. 53—54). Chinese view of nature generally does not presuppose a creator or mover. It does not understand it as antithetical to man, the latter need not fight against it, nor attempt to subjugate it, rather he ought to strive to become a part of it. How can he become a part of nature? How can he approach its sublimity, greatness, constancy, beauty, its perilousness and attractiveness to the human eye and hearing? In the poetic domain this was accomplished in three ways. Natural phenomena could serve as signs in poetry. Nature then entered poetry as one of its components and as a rule supplemented the poet’s or author’s statement. Such was the poetic process in China before the year 220 A. D. Natural phenomena became a subject of poetry at the time of the Six Dynasties (420—601), the two centuries between 220 and 420 having been a sort of transition period. The troubled times full of uncertainty following the fall of the Han dynasty (220 A. D.) brought along a feeling of melancholy and a bitter consciousness of dependence on cruel fate. China, similarly as Europe of that time, was entering the Middle Ages, although a period considerably different from that of Europe. Chinese towns began to attract masses of populations at a later date only (during the Tang and Song dynasties); during the previous four centuries at least, life in the countryside, although harsh, yet was freer — if not for the ordinary people, then at least for those sufficiently well off. Poets then came mainly from the then *haozu* (gentry) and *guizu* (aristocracy). The beauty of nature began to appear in military expeditions, on journeys to commemorative sites and on those that already in the past had been remarkable by their natural scenery.

Chinese society, insofar as we know it from written monuments, always had hermits in its midst. But in contrast to hermits from ancient times, those of the

period of the Six Dynasties lived in luxury; true, they were separated from the rest of the world, but they dwelt in expensive villas, worked in rich private libraries, surrounded by gardens with, as far as possible, the prettiest natural scenery in the close vicinity of mountains, lakes, rivers or streams and often in the company of beautiful, intelligent, spirited women. Alongside hedonism, they entertained lively interest in literature, art (painting), philosophy and history. And particularly *shanshui shi* (poems about mountains and waters) became a favourite form of poetic expression. Nature was a place where one could meditate sitting (*zuo*) about the teaching Dao (in the sense of Taoism), or about Dharmakāya (the body of self-nature, the embodiment of truth, the Absolute — according to the Buddhists). The philosophical views of Laozi and Zhuangzi, especially the apprehension of Dao itself, constituted a base for reflection. Dao coming out as *natura naturans*, is realized first as *wu* (in Kaltenmark's renderings "unseen") presenting something like void, giving rise to Heaven and Earth, and later as *yu* ("seen") from which are born myriads of things, among them also man. During these periods Taoists strove to produce the elixir of life, believed in the existence of the immortals — usually of such as dwelt in mountains difficult of access, "living on forever with a youthful, if etheralised body" (Needham, J.: *The Shorter Science and Civilisation in China: 1*, Cambridge University Press 1978, p. 108), gathered plants (*cai yao*) from which it was possible to prepare drugs ensuring longevity.

The transition process from Taoism to Buddhism in China was gradual and cannot be temporally defined with any precision. Taoism created the philosophical premise for a possible transition to Buddhism. Many among Buddhist monks, e.g. Hui Yuan (344—416), had originally been enthusiastic adherents of Confucian or Taoist teachings and only later became pupils of some of the numerous Buddhist schools. One of Hui Yuan's friends allegedly was the great poet of Chinese natural poetry Xie Lingyun (385—433). Hui Yuan lived at Donglinsi (Monastery of the Eastern Grove) in the Lushan Mountains "amidst caves, waterfalls, rock formations mountain springs, and floating clouds" (Ch'en, K.K.S.: *Buddhism in China*, Princeton University Press 1964, p. 104) and Xie Lingyun, a member of a very rich clan, even described his villa and its nature environs in Shining, not far from present-day Shaoxing, in the Chekiang Province.

Nature could become a self-standing object of Chinese poetry because the necessary philosophical, social and literary conditions had been created for it. This happened after the downfall of the all-China Han dynasty, on long military marches in the struggle for power among the wealthiest warlords at the time of the Three Kingdoms, Wei and the Western Chin Dynasties (221—313 A.D.). In the meantime, the major part of China had fallen under the rule of northern, non-Chinese nomadic tribes which set up their own ruling families and the

Chinese population, for the first time in its history, experienced a mass *exodus*, the target being the Chinese south. Countless numbers of refugees settled down at places that in subsequent periods created an economic and cultural base for the flourish of Chinese medieval empire. The period following the foundation of the Eastern Chin dynasty in 317 proved equally tumultuous as those that had preceded it after the fall of the Hans. For the most part, political insecurity prevailed over economic instability and men of influence, in particular, became victims of intrigues of the court and the most powerful families. Under these circumstances the poetry of mountains and waters evidently came to be a natural means of creative expression.

The situation then prevailing in China completely differed from the medieval conditions in Europe of that and the later period. During the Middle Ages and the first centuries of modern age, nature in Europe was taken as a sign, as supplementing man, similarly as in old China. Nature as such failed to find a place in Europe until the 18th century when it entered literature and the 17th century when it entered art in Europe. The reason was that medieval Europeans, as Christians, took no notice of nature on design lest it drew them away from the universal, all-embracing and uniquely real beauty of Omnipresent God. Often, medieval European man was completely encompassed by virgin nature and thus had no need “to have recourse to it”: *hinaus ins Freie* became a necessity to him only during the violent advance of capitalist industrialization and the growing social estrangement. In China, no neoplatonistic idea of God stood behind the beauty of nature; there, Dao or Dharmakāya were mutually interchangeable with nature. Moreover nature in China appeared real in the eyes of highly educated members of the intelligentsia. It was somewhat stylized, of course, according to the literary canons. In contrast to their European counterparts, these could look at it without any inhibition, any restraint, could establish unity between *jing* (scenery) and *qing* (feeling). They had no need to symbolize it, allegorize it, reshape it in view of something else making up nature. This was done in Christian Europe, for nature passed for created and hence, did not speak for itself, but for its Creator.

China outdistanced Europe by more than a millennium in portraying the so-called “verinnerlichte Natur”. The German aesthetician T. Lipps employed the term *Einfühlung* (empathy) for this aesthetic phenomenon, although it need not and indeed did not always refer to the man-nature relationship. In explaining this concept in his outstanding book *Wenyi xinlixue* (*The Psychology of Art and literature*), Zhu Guanqian (1898—) illustrated it, just as did also Mr. Kubin, by the two last verses of Li Bai’s (701—762) quatrain entitled *Du zuo Jintingshan* (Sitting Alone on the Mount Jinting): “We look at each other and find it not loathsome/. There is only Mount Jinting (and me).”

Works from the Tang dynasty (618—907) meant the peak in the development

of Chinese nature poetry. Enforcement of the trends *fugu* (return to the old) in the 9th century and their explication in the Confucian meaning resulted in that nature became a part of a single socio-natural world and ceased to serve as a refuge for the souls and bodies of Chinese scholars. The setting up of large cities, development of commerce and the invention of printing induced literature to incline more towards needs of urban populations; gradually, noteworthy short stories, novels and dramatic works came to be written in the subsequent centuries, that were directly mean (at least at the beginning) for city inhabitants. Poetry adhered to the nature topic sporadically only. On the other hand, landscape painting drew on it more and more, beginning with the Tang dynasty until the end of traditional China, and even up to our times. Poetry as a verbal art, although preserving a lyrical content, devoted itself to human statements on the society: nature in the form of painted scrolls — vertical or horizontal — reached wealthy urban inhabitants as a creative testimony on the surrounding world — whether “mountains and waters”, or *huaniao* (flowers and birds). True, ideas of Neo-Confucianism did penetrate also this domain, but proved less forceful than in poetry. Painting gave proof of the strength of tradition, drawing particularly on a knowledge of works of the 4th- 12th centuries, applying and preserving their aesthetic canons.

The text of the book is accompanied by a great quantity of notes which go to make it reliable. In addition, a long list of references is also appended. The present reviewer would like to point to three studies, relevant to this topic that could have suitably supplemented it: Frodsham, J. D.: *Landscape Poetry in China and Europe*, Comparative Literature 19, 1967, 3, pp. 193—236; Miller, J. W.: *English Romanticism and Chinese Natural Poetry*, Ibid. 24, 1972, 3, pp. 213—236 Eoyang, E.: *The Solitary Boat: Image of Self in Chinese Nature Poetry*, Journal of Asian Studies, 32, 1973, 4, pp. 593—621.

The book reviewed here represents a remarkable contribution to the problem under study.

Marián Gálik

Übelhör, Monika: *Wang Gen (1483—1541) und seine Lehre. Eine kritische Position im späten Konfucianismus* (Wang Gen and His Teaching. A Critical Position in Neo-Confucianism). Berlin, Verlag von Dietrich Reimer 1986. 268 pp.

A typical feature of old Chinese Confucian philosophy which had during two millennia been instrumental in setting up the ideational and ideological hotbed and laying down the foundations for the social base and superstructure, is a

constant return to the sources of its teaching from the origin at the turn of the 6th—5th century B. C. down to the 1st century A. D., and further, the official exposition of the doctrine which changed over the centuries. Since the beginning of the present millennium, but particularly since the 13th century A. D. the so-called Neo-Confucianism asserted itself in the interpretation of the eminent philosopher Zhu Xi (1120—1200) and some of his predecessors. If it be at all possible to use European terms in explaining old Chinese philosophy, then we might speak of a process of rationalization, of a rationalist and pragmatic teaching with stress on the expounding of fairly arbitrarily selected works of Confucius and his followers. Under conditions of a despotic rule prevailing in the East, this explication was binding on the entire stratum of intellectuals who represented the officialdom, state bureaucracy and the teachers at various types of schools.

The binding nature of the explication, however, did not exclude the greater or lesser deviations, which on the whole, did little or no harm to orthodoxy for they did not touch on fundamental premises of Confucian philosophy and Confucian concept of the world. It became evident over the centuries that if Confucianism was to serve as a platform and an indispensable precondition of what in Marxism is termed “superstructure”, it must adapt itself to the new, even if not particularly striking development in the social, economic and institutional domain.

Considerable changes took place between the 13th century when Neo-Confucianism had gained definite sway and was authoritatively sanctioned, and the 16th century which forms the subject of the book under review. Following the fall of the foreign Yuan dynasty in 1368, the native Ming dynasty came to power thanks to the force of peasants uprisings. Its founder, an itinerant monk, Zhu Yuanzhang (1328—1398) restored autocratic system, though it differed somewhat from that had been in force in China earlier. The greatest authority resided with the emperor and people close to him. Development of commerce was on the programme of Zhu Xi's contemporaries and during the reign of the greedy Mongols, had to recede into the background and the Ming rulers taking contact with the traditional orientation began to prefer the physiocratic one, along with a strong social control of the political and ideological system. In the 16th century when, together with Europe, China, too, entered the modern age as a result of the development in the economic and social domain (although this development was often designedly hampered) conditions came to be formed for a criticism of those postulates of Confucian ideology which proved to be little suitable to the new situation.

Confucian superstructure hyperbolized the significance of ethics. A high moral standard was an indispensable condition in every human activity, it governed the politics, the state administration, it stood above the law, and above

even religion, it categorized and hierarchized interhuman and social relations and imparted its own specific seal to all institutions and superstructural phenomena of the times. In the state in which the emperor had the absolute power and its executors were primarily civil officials, morals rather than the law permitted a correct course of the entire life in the country. The underlying premise held that high moral qualities of the emperor, of the ruling strata and of the masses at large would ensure a successful functioning of the social and the natural world, and even of the cosmos, for people believed in a social and natural parallelism. According to the neo-Confucian exegesis only such can attain the highest degree of morality, and hence alone may be justified to rule, who are perfectly conversant with Confucian teaching for they alone ensure conditions for a perfect harmony between cosmic forces and the state of the society.

At the beginning of the Ming rule, towards the end of the 14th century, society came to be petrified fairly forcibly and arbitrarily in a hereditary division into families or clans of soldiers, craftsmen, peasants, to which were added merchants in the mid-15th century. The powerful merchant class came into being when the system of the hereditary division broke down under the influence of social mobility. The merchant class became the most active socially and economically, and precisely its representatives were the ones who felt a need of a critical review and of at least a partial ideological "reform" of the Confucian teaching.

Wang Gen was born in a clan that comprised peasants, salt extractors, middlemen and textile dealers. Essentially he had a fairly elementary education, but his life as a merchant permitted him to get to know the world and to meet many teachers and intellectuals. He came to doubt about the neo-Confucian thesis according to which a study of Confucian writings in itself, their memorizing, or at that time the highly propounded "self-cultivation" (*xiushen*) would create the "sages" (*shengren*) who would be a personification of Confucian ideals.

According to Neo-Confucianism, the basis of everything that exists is *tianli*, the principle of cosmic order, something similar to "will" in Schopenhauer's or "absolute spirit" in Hegel's philosophy. Confronting this principle stand *renyu*, i.e. human yearnings or desires. The principle of cosmic order may exert a beneficial impact in the development of every man only when all human desires or passions are eliminated, insofar as these are not essentially required to maintain life. The basis underlining desires is selfishness, egoism which generates moral and social abuses.

Wang Gen in his tenets started at least partially from the original, hence ancient Confucian writings when he asserted that self-cultivation had sense solely when it simultaneously meant "self-preservation" (*baoshen*), and this is

not possible if man is not given adequate room for personal and social activity which coincidentally serves both the individual and the society and which would be just inconceivable unless it satisfied an individual's needs, including his desires. Wang Gen, too, held egoism to be morally and socially evil; he refused to believe that social existence and activity would be possible out of absolute benevolence or altruism, through an elimination of all interest or motivation. Human desires, nay even passions are fully justified if they enable man to fulfil his obligations. Their exclusion from man's life and the society is undesirable and even impossible. The correcting factor in social and human relationships is mutual love and respect.

Wang Gen was the first Chinese philosopher who dared directly to characterize man as an individual, as a "jewel" who is separated or may be disjoined from the group or even masses of others among whom belongs. It took another 400 years before a fundamental turn occurred in China in this issue, and a liberation of the individual came only in the first decades of our century, although it never acquired the dimensions seen in the European cultural area. Before the year 1900 Chinese did not even use the word for "individual" (*geren*).

Wang Gen's teaching had its social reasons. The development of production forces, of commerce, the great social mobility that dissolved the original unity and resulted in breaking up also large groups, the initiative in the domain of enterprise, etc., ushered in efforts into Confucian teaching to reflect the real relationships existing among men and views on man's moral essence.

Wang Gen conditioned this element of critical relation to Confucian orthodoxy, so very progressive for China of those times, by a need of the so-called *xiaoti* (filial piety and brotherly love) which he considered to be the most important individual and social virtue. From the family milieu, the latter reaches out into the society at large and there manifests itself in the form of further five virtues: benevolence (*ren*), righteousness (*yi*), decorum (*li*), wisdom (*zhi*) and confidence (*xin*). In contrast to others, however, Wang Gen emphasized that filial piety and brotherly love had no absolute validity; self-preservation is a priority factor in its existence and it must be so implemented as not to be prejudicial to the individual.

Wang Gen applied these views of his to various spheres of social life, e.g. to politics and to economic problems. Again in contrast to other students of Neo-Confucianism, he felt that the administration of the state should not be exclusively in the hands of the educated bureaucracy, but all, even the simplest people should have a share provided they are morally fit for the task. In his view, expressed in his essay *Wangdao lun* (About the Way of the True Ruler), the emperor must "administer the empire together with all its inhabitants".

In the economic domain Wang Gen held similar views as the other followers of Neo-Confucianism. Although shortly before he had begun to teach, he had

been a whole-hearted and an outstanding merchant who had through his own strivings and skill acquired considerable property, yet he insisted that in the economic sphere priority ought to be given to agriculture and stress be laid on thriftiness and economy. He vehemently protested against land being concentrated in the hands of a few families which led to the impoverishment of peasants, of financially weaker strata of the population and generated social unrest and revolts.

These views enjoyed considerable attention on the part of Wang Gen's contemporaries. He became the founder of the so-called Taizhou School of Neo-Confucianism. One of its representatives He Xinyin (1517—1579) threw doubt on the Confucian teaching regarding the five relationships among men, i.e. between the ruler and his subjects, the father and son, the elder and the younger brother, husband and wife, and between the friends — belittling all except the last one — for it is alone based on equality and thus morally justified. He Xinyin died in prison, having been wrongly accused of instigating rebellion. Li Zhi (1527—1602) did not belong to this school's adherents, although he was subsequently assigned among them. He was most outspoken among all the critics of the various aspects of Confucian teachings.

This book is the first of its kind to take note of Wang Gen in a European language and deserves readers' attention.

Marián Gálik

Miller, Barbara Stoler (Ed.): *Theater of Memory. The Plays of Kālidāsa*. New York, Columbia University Press 1984. 387 pp.

Kālidāsa is the famous poet of Sanskrit. There is no historical evidence of his life. In tradition he is associated with Candragupta II (4th—5th centuries). Although essentially a lyric poet, he wrote epics and dramas, too.

This volume presents translations of Kālidāsa's plays, i.e. *Śākuntala*, *Vikramorvaśīya* and *Mālavikāgnimitra*. All three plays had been translated into various languages before, especially *Śākuntala* that has won the heart of many admirers all over the world.

In the Editor's Preface to the book under review, Barbara Stoler Miller has this to say concerning the beginnings of the book: "This book began with the idea that the plays had to be studied, translated, and discussed in light of one another, for only in the context of the other plays could the conceptual depth and dramatic art of each one be appreciated" (p. X).

This, it should be said, was a good idea. And equally good was the idea to include essays concentrating on various aspects of Kālidāsa's dramatic art.

The first essay *Kālidāsa's World and his Plays* by Barbara Stoler Miller (pp. 3—41) sets the poet and his plays within the regional, historical, cultural and

religious context. It shows Kālidāsa as a devotee of the Goddess and Śiva, the conception of Śiva's creative mystery being fundamental to his poetry. Further, the relation of Kālidāsa's dramas and classical culture is examined. Kālidāsa knew the dramatic conventions codified in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and composed his plays for performance in this style. He made use of the language of gesture; there is a prologue to each of his plays, his dramas are multilingual, and characters — symbolic personalities are defined by language and gender. Quite a lot of space is devoted to the nature and role of Kālidāsa's heroines and heroes and to the role of remembering and memory in Kālidāsa's plays.

The next essay, named *Sanskrit Dramatic Theory and Kālidāsa's Plays* (pp. 42—62), is by Edwin Gerow. It offers a study of Kālidāsa's plays in terms of the dramatic theory as presented mainly in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata and the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanamjaya. The author analyses the characters of Sanskrit drama, the plot and the role of subplots in Kālidāsa's plays, the problem of aesthetic response to Indian drama and, in short, also the achievement of Kālidāsa's plays.

In the essay *The Theatre in Kālidāsa's Art* (pp. 63—81), David Gitomer describes the construction of a playhouse, the consecration, preliminaries and the gateway to the drama, discusses the time of day at which performances were given, the distribution of roles, the nature of costumes and make-up, the actor's movements on the stage, the use of the language of gesture, and the role of spectators.

Naturally, the main part of the book is presented by the translations. *Śakuntala and the Ring of Recollection* has been translated by Barbara Stoler Miller, *Urvaśi Won By Valor* by David Gitomer and *Mālavikā and Agnimitra* by Edwin Gerow.

From many editions of the texts of Kālidāsa's plays, each of the translators has chosen one "he felt to be most faithful to the style of Kālidāsa" (p. XI). The translators differ also in their approach to the text. For instance, in translating verses, Edwin Gerow has chosen the rhyme and fixed metrical structure, while the other two translators use freer rhythmic forms. Also the diction of prose is different. Barbara Stoler Miller may be right when saying that "the differences are consonant with stylistic differences in the plays" (p. X).

Besides the translations of Kālidāsa's plays and the accompanying essays, the book also includes *Notes to the Introduction* (pp. 315—330), *Notes to the Plays* (pp. 331—376), and a *Selected Bibliography* (pp. 377—387).

This book is a further significant contribution to the study of Oriental literatures published in the edition *Translations from the Oriental Classics*. It will please all interested in Oriental classics, but especially Indologists and Kālidāsa's admirers.

Anna Ráková

Kalinnikova, E. Ya.: *Mulk Raj Anand*. Moscow, Nauka 1986. 198 pp.

E. Ya. Kalinnikova, a well-known Soviet Indologist, systematically follows up Indian literature written in English. In 1974 she published the book *Indian literature in English* (Moscow, Nauka; a review appeared in *Asian and African Studies* 13, 1977, pp. 242—244), in which she presents a global view of the issue, i.e. examines the specific position of this literature among the other Indian literatures, its development, the most outstanding representatives and their works. Contact with this book is followed up in her monograph on the life and work of Razipuram Krishnaswamy Narayana (Moscow, Nauka 1981, reviewed in *AAS* 19, 1983, pp. 256—257) and in the book under review, dedicated to the great Indian writer, philosopher and fighter for peace Mulk Raj Anand.

Kalinnikova takes a close look at Anand's life and at all the personalities (particularly M. Gandhi and J.Nehru) and other factors (e.g. life at Amritsar College, his stay in London, V. I. Lenin's ideas) that exerted an influence on the formation of his outlook.

Personalities that had a tremendous influence on the formation of Anand as a writer-realist were primarily the classics of Indian literature Premchand (the social orientation of his works and his realistic method) and particularly R. Tagore (new prosaic forms, his harmonic union of Western and Eastern tradition, his ability more completely to portray life).

Kalinnikova presents a thorough analysis of Anand's work. She focuses specially on his philosophico-publicist book *Is There a Contemporary Indian Civilization?* in which Anand underlines the self-standing nature of Indian literature, culture and civilization which, in the process of development did indeed accept influences from outside, yet remained in their essence national. She points out that the setting up of the new Indian culture is closely related to the ongoing political and economic changes and cannot be realized without suitable system of national education.

In her analysis of Anand's novels, Kalinnikova observes that the author's humanism is not purely anticolonial, but also antifeudal in character. Anand has enriched Indian literature with new heroes — revolutionaries, and also with novel topics — struggles of the working class and revolutionary movement of peasants, condemnation of militarism, and fight for peace.

Kalinnikova devotes considerable attention to Anand the story-writer. Anand wrote stories all his life and he always brought a serious and responsible approach to them. Kalinnikova takes a special note of the so-called "female topic", stories condemning mammonism and stories in which Anand showed himself a master of satire.

She devotes a special chapter to the influence of Russian and Soviet classics on M. R. Anand, especially of L. N. Tolstoy, Nekrasov, Gorky and Sholokhov.

Of course, Anand did not avoid succumbing also to the influence of some of the then modern authors, e.g. J. Joyce, as evident from his novel *Untouchable*. Yet, in Kalinnikova's view, this was, in Anand's case, but a "disease of growing", a youthful tax to vogue and times, for in his subsequent work he already reveals himself as a critical realist.

She then takes up the novels *Private Life of an Indian Prince* and *Confession of a Lover* which ushers in new moments into Anand's work. In the former he showed to the public the life of Indian feudal élite and in the latter the Hindu-Muslim conflicts.

The closing chapter is concerned with specific traits of Anand's writings: synthesis of East and West, of Indian and European culture, the Punjab way of perceiving the world and the Western technique of presentation, the use of Bharat-English, dynamism of style, and documentarism.

M. R. Anand belongs among writers whose life and work have been the subject of several books and numerous studies, so that it might appear that we know him thoroughly indeed. Nonetheless Kalinnikova's work does not give the impression of carrying coals to Newcastle; quite the contrary, by its systematic analyses, and many a time by its new glance at the problems studied, it contributes to a deeper insight into and understanding of this eminent Indian writer.

Anna Ráková

Poems of Love and War. From the Eight Anthologies and the Ten Long Poems of Classical Tamil. Selected and translated by A. K. Ramanujan. New York, Columbia University Press 1985. 329 pp.

This is a broad-ranging anthology and an excellent sample of classical Tamil poetry. The translator offers here poems selected mainly from the early classical Eight Anthologies (*Eṭṭuttokai*) and the Ten Long Poems (*Pattuppāṭṭu*), but also a selection of late classical poetry (from the fifth and sixth centuries) is included.

The translation is divided into four books.

The first book (pp. 5—110) consists of *akam* ("interior") poems, i.e. poems of love. These are presented in five sections, each of which evokes a particular landscape. The headings of the sections include the name of flower or plant of the region: *Kuṛiñci: Lovers' Meetings*, *Neytal: Anxious Waiting and Secret Meetings*, *Pālai: The Lovers' Journey Through the Wilderness*, *Mullai: Patient Waiting and Happiness in Marriage*, *Marutam: The Lover's Unfaithfulness After Marriage*. The selections in this section are from four anthologies: *Kuṛuntokai*, *Narriṇai*, *Akanāṇūru* and *Aiṅkurunūru*.

Book two (pp. 111—193) contains *puram* (“exterior”) — “public” poems arranged under five themes: *Kings at War*, *Poets and Dancers*, *Chieftains*, *Lessons*, *War and After*. The selections are from the anthologies *Puranānūru* and *Patirruppattu*.

The third book (pp. 195—212) offers *Poems in a Different Key* selected from *Kalittokai*

The fourth book (pp. 213—228) includes religious poems, a hymn to Viṣṇu and two poems on Murukan. Their selections are from the anthologies *Pattup-
pāṭṭu* and *Paripāṭal*.

A. K. Ramanujan presents a good selection of classical Tamil Poetry. His masterly translation of the poems proves not only his outstanding familiarity with Tamil and English and his poetic proficiency, but also his deep knowledge of Tamil poetics and culture and a tradition of commentaries. This is evident also from the interesting afterword (pp. 231—297), discussing the whole range of various aspects of Tamil poetry. The author explains here the key terms of classical Tamil poetry, i.e. *akam* and *puram*, differing from each other in theme, mood and structure, but having also many things in common. He offers readings of a number of poems and shows ways these poems are made. In the world of *akam* poems, time and place, things born in them, human feelings and experience, and above all correspondences between them, are of primary importance. “In the Tamil system of correspondences, a whole language of signs is created by relating the landscapes as signifiers to the *uri* or appropriate human feelings” (p. 241). The objective landscapes of Tamil country become the interior landscapes of Tamil poetry.

The author discusses also the theory of insets, i.e. implicit comparisons (essentially a metonymy), which are favourite poetic figures in classical Tamil poetry; then the *dramatis personae* is observed as well as the two kinds of proprieties (those of drama and those of the world), the poet’s language which is not only Tamil, but also “landscapes, the *personae* and the appropriate moods, which all become a language within language” (p. 250).

The *puram* poems correspond in many ways to the *akam* poems (as shown in Chart 2, p. 252), although several basic differences exist between these two genres. The author examines some of them.

Some space is devoted to the “oral” elements in classical Tamil poetry, to formulas and other elements of production situations and frames, transpositions of language signs (when the signifier remains the same, but what is signified continually changes), the notion of originality and the values embodied in classical Tamil poems.

The book is concluded by notes, references, an index of poets, and an index of titles and first lines.

This delightful book, published in the series *Translations from the Oriental Classics*, will certainly appeal to everyone interested in India, both by its layout and its contents.

Anna Rácová

Krása, M. (Ed.): *Indian National Congress: Problems of the Liberation Movement and Independent Development of India*. Prague, Czechoslovak Society for International Relations — Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences 1986. 316 pp.

This is a collection of papers presented to the International symposium held in Prague on December 1985 to commemorate the Indian National Congress centenary. Besides two opening speeches delivered by B. Kučera (Vice-chairman of the Federal Assembly of the CSSR and President of the Czechoslovak Society of International Relations) and R. L. Bhatia (Secretary-General of the A.I.C.C. of the Indian National Congress (I) and Vice-President of the Indo-Czechoslovak Cultural Association in New Delhi), it comprises nineteen scientific contributions by Czech, German, Hungarian, Indian, Polish and Russian scholars, devoted to various aspects of the Congress activity in colonial as well as independent India.

The opening paper by M. Krása deals with the formative period of the Indian National Congress foreign orientation, particularly in respect to Czechoslovakia. The Congress foreign policy is also discussed in the following four contributions, in which D. Weideman studies the emergence and early development of the international positions of the Indian National Congress, J. Kovář focuses attention to problems of mutual relations, security and regional co-operation in South Asia and India's attitude towards these questions, D. Pospišilová deals with the formation of the principles of India's foreign policy and beginnings of the policy of non-alignment, and H. Krüger pays attention to the relationship between the Indian liberation movement led by the Congress and the international working-class movement in the struggle against imperialism, fascism and war.

The majority of the papers (eight) are devoted to various questions of political history. N. S. Bose studies the struggle for independence and the legacy of human rights in India; E. Komarov examines the role of the Congress in the national freedom movement and in the development of independent India; M. S. Jain explains the Gandhian technique of *Satyagraha* and examines how it was applied in a number of "individual" and mass non-violent non-co-operation movements; B. Mrozek treats of the political development of the Congress

and its methods of activity and tactics in the struggle for independence; S. Rohanová judges the significance of the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress; A. Balogh deals with the role of the Congress in the struggle for independence and subsequently in the organization and management of the State; A. G. Volodin examines the structure of the political process and the political system in colonial and independent India; P. Jandourek's contribution concerns some aspects of the politics of the Indian National Congress (I) in the 80s.

Two papers are devoted to the economic history of India. J. Foltýn pays attention to the positive role of the Congress in stimulating and organizing attempts at economic planning after Independence and J. Holman deals with some aspects of the Indian National Congress agrarian policy.

The rest of the contributions (four) are devoted to different spheres of Indian life. V. Gathy treats of the role of the Congress in the promotion, organization and management of Indian modernization; D. Marková focuses her attention to the All-India Women's Conference that united the women's movement in India; O. Smékal's paper is on his association with the Congressists that have inspired him to write Hindi poems, and Š. Litvinová examines the democratic and secular trends in Hindi poetry of independent India.

The reviewed book presents a valuable contribution to the celebrations of the centenary of the Indian National Congress.

Anna Rácová

Anwari-Alhosseyini, Shams: *Loğaz und Mo'ammā*. Eine Quellenstudie zur Kunstform des persischen Rätsels. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1986. 292 S.

„Von der Wiege bis zu dem Grabstein wird der Iraner von Rätseln begleitet,“ stellt Anwari-Alhosseyini im abschließenden Teil seiner Monographie (S. 218) fest. Diese seine Behauptung ist keineswegs übertrieben, das Rätsel ist ein seit jeher bestehender Bestandteil der sprachlichen Kultur der Iraner und es nahm in der persischen Folklore- und Literaturtradition einen unersetzbaren Platz ein. Jiří Cejpek, der Autor des Kapitels über die iranische Volksdichtung, betonte in Rypkas Geschichte der persischen und tadschikischen Literatur, daß das Rätsel schon in der vorislamischen Zeit und auch nach dem Antritt des Islams zu einem bedeutenden Baustoff umfangreicherer literarischer und folkloristischer Formen gewesen und nicht nur im Rahmen von Erzählungen und Märchen, sondern auch in den Epen und in der theologischen Literatur zur Geltung gekommen ist (Cejpek, J.: *Íránská lidová slovesnost*. In: *Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury*. Praha 1963, S. 620).

Die besprochene Monographie analysiert die Gattung des literarischen Rätsels, das in den Formen *Mo'ammā* und *Loğaz*, bzw. *Čistān*, wie die ursprüngliche persische Bezeichnung des letzteren lautet, und die vom Autor sporadisch auch verwendet wird, auf die Dauer in die Geschichte der persischen Literatur eingegangen ist.

Loğaz (aus dem arabischen *luğaz*) ist eine spezifische gereimte Form, die auf die Eigenschaften und Merkmale eines Gegenstandes oder einer Erscheinung hinweist, indem sie sich der Vergleiche und Metaphern bedient.

Mo'ammā (aus dem arabischen *mu'ammā*), stellt eine Art des dichterischen Rebus oder einer Scharade dar, die auf den Besonderheiten des arabischen Alphabets aufgebaut ist. Diese entwickelte sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte, und erreichte dank zahlreicher bedeutender Persönlichkeiten der Poesie im 15. Jahrhundert seinen Höhepunkt, oft natürlich litt darunter der Inhalt. Umgestaltet in ein raffiniertes literarisches Spielzeug, forderte es dem Perzipienten umfangreiche Kenntnisse und eine reichhaltige Vorstellungsgabe ab.

Der Autor der Monographie trug ein ansehnliches Quellenmaterial zusammen, das mit der Ausnahme zweier Handschriften aus iranischen Bibliotheken und Archiven stammt. Die Mehrzahl dieser Handschriften war in den euro-amerikanischen Bibliographien bislang noch nicht erfaßt worden. Bei der Auswahl des Quellenmaterials bevorzugte Anwari-Alhosseyni jenes aus älteren Zeiten, weil ihre Form authentischer, typischer und sprachlich schöner ist. Das Zusammentragen des zerstreuten Materials und dessen bibliographische Bearbeitung ist einer der Hauptbeiträge des Werkes des Autors.

In der Abhandlung über Form und Inhalt von *Loğaz* und *Mo'ammā* stützte sich der Autor auf die Arbeiten persischer Philologen, er untersucht den Reim, das Metrum, die Metaphorik und Stilistik der Rätsel und vergleicht die formalen Unterschiede dieser beiden Typen. Die Definitionen von *Loğaz* und *Mo'ammā*, die in Rhetorikbüchern und Manuskripten aus der älteren Zeit beinhaltet sind, stimmen in bedeutendem Maß überein (die erste systematische Auslegung des *Mo'ammā* in der persischen Literatur stammt vom Meister dieser Gattung Šaraf ed-Din 'Ali-ye Yazdi aus der Timuridenzeit, der den Anlaß zum Entstehen einer ganzen Reihe theoretischer Abhandlungen, sowie praktischer Anleitungen zum Schaffen von Rätseln gab).

Im Kapitel, das der geschichtlichen Entwicklung des literarischen Rätsels gewidmet ist, betont der Autor mit Recht den Anteil des Korans. Nach der Einführung des Islams als Staatsreligion begann der Einfluß des Korans sich in den lexikalischen, formalen sowie gedanklichen Bestandteilen der Werke der neupersischen Literatur kräftig zu äußern. Sein esoterischer Charakter prädestinierte ihn als eine Inspirationsquelle der Schöpfer vom *Mo'ammā*.

Eine bedeutende Rolle in der Entwicklung der *Mo'ammā*-Tradition hatte auch die arabische Rhetorik. Zu einem allmählichen Schwund dieser Tradition

trug daher auch das wachsende Bestreben nach einer Säuberung der Sprache von der übermäßigen Arabisierung bei, sowie nach der Befreiung der Sprache vom Übermaß an Metaphern, das bereits während der Herrschaft der Dynastie Qağaren einsetzte und nach dem Antritt der Dynastie Pahlawi seinen Höhepunkt erreichte.

Im vorletzten Kapitel der Monographie unternahm der Autor den Versuch um eine Klassifikation der literarischen Rätsel nach drei Merkmalstypen, deren eines formal, deren anderes inhaltlich und deren drittes zielgerichtet ist (S. 194). Zum ersten Typ reiht er vor allem das Chronogramm (*Maddeh Tāriḥ*), das die interessanteste Äußerung des *Mo'ammā* darstellt. Eine weitere wichtige Gruppe bilden mathematische Rätsel. Der zweite Typ wird unter anderem von doppeldeutigen Rätseln dargestellt, die auf der Absenz der Interpunktionsregel aufgebaut sind. Bei den Halslöserätseln, die zum dritten Typ gehören, führt der Autor als Beispiel eine Episode aus Ferdousis *Šāhnāmeḥ* (Dāstān-e Kasrā bā Buzargmehr) an.

„Eine der bedeutendsten Aufgaben des Rätsels in der persischen Literatur ist die Verkündung historischer Ereignisse in präziser und knapper Form an Hand eines Chronogrammes (S. 210),“ schreibt Anwari-Alhosseyni in der Einleitung zum siebenten, abschließenden Kapitel der Monographie, in welchem er die Funktion literarischer Rätsel behandelt. Die erstrangige Bedeutung der Rätsel liegt jedoch in derer kognitiver, bildungsmäßiger und erzieherischer Funktion.

Shams Anwari-Alhosseynis Monographie ist ein solider Beitrag zur Erforschung einer der bedeutendsten Literaturen des Orients. Der Autor stellte darin die spezifische Gattung der persischen Literatur in ihrer Vielfältigkeit und ihren geschichtlichen Abwandlungen vor. Eine Gegenüberstellung von *Mo'ammā* und *Logaz* mit dem volkstümlichen Rätsel *Wāgušak*, das der Autor aus seinem Blickwinkel absichtlich weggelassen hat, hätte unserer Ansicht nach den Blick auf diese interessante Problematik noch vertieft.

In seiner anregenden Studie *Turkish and Iranian Riddles* (In: *Studies in Turkish Folklore*. Indiana University Turkish Studies No. 1. Bloomington 1978, pp. 200—209) deutete Andreas Tietze die Möglichkeit des vergleichenden Studiums der Rätsel der Völker des Nahen Ostens an. Im gegebenen Fall ging es um folkloristische Rätsel, aber auch der Vergleich von künstlichen Rätseln, die in den Literaturen dieser Region eine unwegdenkbare Stellung einnehmen, würde zweifelsohne bemerkenswerte Erkenntnisse bringen.

Xénia Celnarová

Balázs, Judit: *Die Türkei. Das Phänomen des abhängigen Kapitalismus*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1984. 262 S.

Die, vom Akademischen Verlag in Budapest in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Klaus Schwarz Verlag in Berlin herausgegebene Studie setzt sich als Ziel auf die spezifischen Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Entwicklung des Kapitalismus in der „dritten Welt“ hinzuweisen. Die Autorin grenzt auf Grund einer gründlichen Analyse des wirtschaftlichen Mechanismus und der gesellschaftlichen Strukturen in der Türkei seit der Gründung der Republik bis in die Mitte der siebziger Jahre den Begriff des „abhängigen Kapitalismus“ ab, dessen Begleiterscheinungen und Entwicklungstendenzen.

Die Voraussetzungen für die Entwicklung des Kapitalismus in der Türkei entstanden erst nach dem Jahre 1923 im Rahmen des bourgeois Staats, der die führende Rolle im Reproduktionsprozeß übernommen hat. Zu einem der führenden Grundsätze von Atatürks Konzeption der Verwandlung der Türkei in einen modernen, wirtschaftlich und politisch unabhängigen Staat, wurde der Etatismus: „Die generelle Vorstellung der etatistischen Konzeption zielte auf die Intensivierung der Ausnutzung der nationalen Ressourcen auf der Basis der self-reliance, die allgemeine Steigerung der Produktion und die Erhöhung des Lebensstandards.“ (S. 25)

Dank dem staatlichen Sektor verzeichnete die türkische Ökonomik in den Jahren 1923—1938 bemerkenswerte Ergebnisse, nicht nur die Leicht- sondern auch die Schwerindustrie entwickelte sich erfolgreich. Bereits zum Ende dieser fünfzehnjährigen Entwicklungsphase fingen an Anzeichen einer Einkehr der türkischen Ökonomik in eine Sackgasse zum Vorschein zu kommen. Zu den Faktoren, die dabei eine Rolle spielten, reiht Judit Balázs an erste Stelle die Verzögerung der türkischen bourgeois Revolution, die zu einer Zeit stattfand, als der Kapitalismus sein imperialistisches Stadium bereits erreicht hat, und es war daher ausgeschlossen, daß der türkische Kapitalismus den klassischen Weg hätte fortschreiten können. Eine negative Wirkung hatte auch die fälschliche Konzeption der klassenlosen Gesellschaft, infolge welcher neben der Fortdauer feudaler Überreste in Anatolien der Agrarsektor stagnierte. Nicht in letzter Reihe spielten eine wichtige Rolle auch die Profitinteressen der entstehenden und immer stärker werdenden Großunternehmerschicht.

Mit dem allmählich anwachsenden Einfluß des privaten Großkapitals mußte sich der staatliche Sektor, der gleichzeitig als indirekte Akkumulationsquelle für den Privatsektor diente, immer mehr dessen Interessen unterwerfen. Hauptsächlich nach 1950, als die Großbourgeoisie die Macht im Staat übernommen hat, wurden die staatlichen Investitionen ausschließlich den Interessen des Großkapitals unterworfen. Gleichzeitig wachsen ausländische Investitionen an, was im Endergebnis zur Verschmelzung des ausländischen und des heimischen privaten

als auch staatlichen Kapitals führt. In diesem Zusammenhang führt die Autorin Fakten an, die beweisen, daß diese Verschmelzung des Kapitals ein wichtiges Instrument der Steigerung des Gewinns des Privatkapitals darstellt. Sie unterwarf einer kritischen Analyse die Preispolitik der Regierung, die ebenfalls zu einer Gewinnsteigerung bei den Großunternehmern führt.

Den Mechanismus des Eindringens des ausländischen Kapitals in die Türkei untersucht Judit Balázs im vierten Kapitel ihrer Studie (S. 84—105). Der Zeitabschnitt der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Unabhängigkeit endet in der Türkei in den Jahren nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg, als sich der Staat infolge staatlicher Anleihen und Hilfszahlungen völlig an die USA verliert. In den folgenden Jahren wurde die Rolle des ausländischen Kapitals, und das nicht nur des amerikanischen, sondern auch dessen der entwickelten europäischen Staaten in der Struktur der türkischen Ökonomik immer markanter, was bedeutet, „daß das Land weiterhin zur Abhängigkeit mit allen ihren schwerwiegenden sozialen und ökonomischen Folgen verurteilt ist“ (S. 105), wie die Autorin dieses Kapitel abschließt.

Der Kapitalismus bestimmt nicht nur die ökonomischen Beziehungen, sondern auch die sozialen und mit diesen befaßt sich J. Balázs im fünften Kapitel ihrer Studie (Entstehung und Formierung der beiden grundlegenden Klassen des Kapitalismus unter den Bedingungen des abhängigen Kapitalismus, S. 106—164). Im ersten Unterkapitel rekapituliert die Autorin die einzelnen Aspekte der Bildung des nationalen Kapitals, der eine Voraussetzung zur Formierung der nationalen Bourgeoisie einerseits und der türkischen Arbeiterklasse andererseits gewesen ist.

Der zahlreichste Vertreter der Klasse der Bourgeoisie in der Türkei ist die Kleinbourgeoisie (65—70 %). Sie erhält die Tradition der handwerksmäßigen Produktion im Land aufrecht, die einen nicht zu unterschätzenden Teil der Warenherstellung darstellt. Die mittlere Bourgeoisie (23—28 %) ist von der Großbourgeoisie abhängig. Der Staat unterstützt deren Interessen nicht, erteilt den mittleren Unternehmern keine Subventionen, bei Gewährung von Krediten werden von den Banken die Großunternehmer bevorzugt. Das eintragsreichste Unternehmungsgebiet der Mittelschicht der Bourgeoisie ist zur Zeit der Wohnungsbau.

Die Großbourgeoisie begann sich anfangs der fünfziger Jahre herauszubilden, nach den sechziger Jahren differenzierte sie sich allmählich. Je mehr das Auslandskapital im Lande seine Positionen festigte, desto ausdrucksvoller setzte sich die Monopolbourgeoisie durch. Ihre Interessen stehen im Widerspruch zu den Interessen der übrigen Schichten der Bourgeoisie, die jene des Nationalkapitals verteidigt.

Das monopolistische Finanzkapital widerspiegelt besonders markant den abhängigen Charakter des türkischen Kapitalismus. Neben den fortdauernden

feudalen und halbfeudalen Beziehungen entsteht das monopolistische Finanzkapital in einer vollkommenen Abhängigkeit vom Staats- und Auslandskapital.

Bei der Formierung der türkischen Arbeiterklasse spielte der staatliche Sektor eine wichtige Rolle. Ihr Heranreifen verlief in den spezifischen Bedingungen des abhängigen Kapitals, wodurch ihre arge, perspektivlose ökonomische Situation gegeben ist. Streiks im privaten als auch im staatlichen Sektor gipfelten in den sechziger Jahren und waren durch soziale Forderungen motiviert. Die Autorin kommt zum Schluß, daß die türkische Arbeiterklasse noch nicht jenes Reifenniveau erreichte, auf dem sie nach den Leninschen Prinzipien zur führenden revolutionären Macht werden könnte (S. 157).

Zur Zeit der Entstehung der Studie (aus den von der Autorin angeführten statistischen und übrigen Angaben schließen wir auf das Ende der siebziger Jahre) stellte das Halbproletariat in der Türkei an die fünf Millionen Menschen dar. Die Autorin untersucht, welche Faktoren dazu beitragen, daß in der Türkei die Tendenz zur Konservierung des halbproletariaten Status andauert und die Arbeiterzahl dagegen nur ein Drittel des geplanten Standes erreicht.

Die Problematik der Planung im abhängigen Kapitalismus bildet den Inhalt des sechsten, abschließenden Kapitels. Schon im zweiten Kapitel, im Zusammenhang mit der Analyse des Prinzips des Etatismus betont J. Balázs, daß „die Planung im vorliegenden Fall war natürlich keineswegs identisch mit der sozialistischen Volkswirtschaftsplanung“ (S. 26).

Das erste, von der Regierung bereits im Jahre 1927 zusammengestellte Wirtschaftsprogramm war auf die Stimulierung des Privatkapitals ausgerichtet. Der Fünfjahrplan aus dem Jahre 1933 legte die Fundamente zur türkischen Industrie, in erster Reihe der Textil- und Lebensmittelindustrie, und festigte die Positionen der entstehenden Bourgeoisie.

Die bisherige Industrialisierung vermochte nicht das Land aus dessen abhängiger Lage zu bringen, im Gegenteil, sie machte es am Weltimperialismus eher noch abhängiger. Einer der Gründe dafür ist auch die Methodik der Planung in der Nachkriegszeit. Das Makro-Modell des türkischen Fünfjahrplans weist auf das Harold-Domar-Modell hin (S. 198). Auf Grund der Analyse der einzelnen Prinzipien des Modells faßt die Autorin zusammen, daß dieses die spezifischen Probleme und Situationen der Entwicklungsländer umgeht und zu deren allgemeinen Entwicklung der Wirtschaft nicht nur keinen Beitrag leistet, sondern im Gegenteil, eine Verschärfung der Widersprüche des Kapitalismus bewirkt. Diese Widersprüche gehen auch aus der Analyse der fünfzehnjährigen Planperiode in der Türkei der Nachkriegszeit hervor.

Das System der Planung in der Türkei vermochte es nicht das Kapital in eine produktive Sphäre umzuleiten, eine relativ unabhängige, nationale Industrie aufzubauen, und zwar aus dem Grunde, daß der Plan den Interessen der

Großbourgeoisie unterworfen ist und daher der Lösung sozialökonomischer Probleme nicht dienlich sein kann.

Judit Balázs' Werk ist ein Beitrag im Bereich der politischen Ökonomie, angewandt auf konkrete Probleme der Entwicklungsländer. Am Beispiel der Konstituierung und der Entwicklung des Kapitalismus in der Türkei, begleitet von vielen schwerwiegenden Widersprüchen, bewies sie, daß dieser Prozeß in der Epoche des Imperialismus nicht auf dem klassischen Weg verlaufen kann. Aus dem analysierten Material geht eindeutig hervor, daß die Entstehung der Monopole in der Türkei in einer relativ kurzen historischen Zeitspanne nicht das Ergebnis hochentwickelter produktiver Kräfte oder einer beschleunigten Entwicklung des Kapitalismus ist, sondern das Produkt eines modifizierten, für die „dritte Welt“ in so mancher Hinsicht charakteristischen Prozesses der Kapitalisierung.

Xénia Celnarová

Matuz, Josef: *Das Osmanische Reich. Grundlinien seiner Geschichte*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchhandlung 1985. xii + 354 S.

Das Buch von Josef Matuz, des Professors an der Universität zu Freiburg, bringt in seinen elf Kapiteln eine Übersicht der türkischen Geschichte von der ältesten Zeit — seit dem 6. Jahrhundert u.Z. — bis zur Gründung der Türkischen Republik im Jahre 1923. Der Schwerpunkt des Werkes ist die Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches und zwar nicht nur die politische. Eine bedeutende Aufmerksamkeit widmete der Autor der sozialen und ökonomischen Geschichte und teilweise auch den Fragen der Kultur.

In der Einleitung bietet der Autor grundlegende Informationen über die Turkvölker und den Islam, jene Religion, die von der Mehrzahl der Turkstämme und -nationalitäten angenommen wurde, und unter deren Banner sie ihre Macht erweitert hatten. Trotz ihrer Kürze ist die Skizze über den Islam inhaltsvoll und gibt dem Leser eine Reihe wertvoller Informationen, deren Kenntnis beim Leser der folgenden Teile unerlässlich ist.

Den Anfängen der Türken und den erfolgreichen Feldzügen der Seldschuken im Vorderen Orient sind kurze Kapitel gewidmet, von denen das dritte als Prolog zur osmanischen Geschichte betrachtet werden kann. Der Autor überladet seine Erläuterungen nicht mit Einzelheiten, er hebt vielmehr jene Faktoren hervor, die für das weitere Geschick des türkischen Elements in Kleinasien von Bedeutung gewesen sind. Dies war vor allem das Entstehen des Sultanats der anatolischen Seldschuken in Konya, das in einem erfolgreichen Kampf mit den Byzantinern und den turkmenischen Fürstentümern die Grundlage für einen langen Prozeß der Turzisierung Anatoliens schuf. Dem Autor zufolge verlief die

Einführung der seldschukischen Macht langsam und im wirtschaftlichen Bereich gewaltlos. Dadurch ist, außer anderem, zu erklären, daß die anatolischen Seldschuken binnen kurzer Zeit ein hohes kulturelles Niveau erreichten. Der Zerfall des seldschukischen Sultanats in Anatolien nach der Besiegung durch die Mongolen (1243) und das Anwachsen der Macht der grenznahen Fürstentümer bedeuteten zweifellos einen Rückschlag in der Entwicklung dieses Gebietes, aber auch neue Machtverhältnisse.

Matuz machte zutreffend darauf aufmerksam daß der Flüchtlingsstrom aus Mittelasien nach Anatolien vor den Mongolen nicht nur ein Anwachsen des türkischen Elements bedeutete, sondern auch vielerlei Komplikationen mit sich brachte, die erst in den osmanischen Zeiten zum Vorschein kamen.

Zum Kern des Problems gelangt der Autor — nach den nützlichen einleitenden Teilen — erst im IV. Kapitel „Entstehung und Anfänge des Osmanenstaates“. Das erfolgreiche Wachstum des osmanischen Fürstentums schreibt der Autor der Persönlichkeit dessen Gründers zu, der durch seine Tapferkeit für seine Aktionen auch Kämpfer aus anderen Fürstentümern hat gewinnen können. Ein pausenloser Kleinkrieg wurde dann zur ständigen Quelle des Lebensunterhalts für eine große Menge von Kämpfern. Schade, daß der Autor auf die Theorie des amerikanischen Osmanisten R. P. Lindner (*Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*. Bloomington 1983) über die Rolle der Nomaden im Prozeß der Errichtung und der Festigung des osmanischen Staates im Gegensatz zu älteren Behauptungen P. Witteks von der entscheidenden Rolle der „Ghazis“ beim Entstehen des osmanischen Fürstentums nicht eingegangen ist. Dies vor allem deshalb, da vor kurzem auch C. Imber (*Osmanlı Araştırmaları V*) zu dieser Frage zurückkehrte. Matuz' Behauptung über die Einführung des Timarsystems während der Herrschaft Osman I. ist nicht belegt und erscheint als zumindest fraglich. Der gewaltige Aufschwung der osmanischen Macht unter Orhan und Murad I. kann vom Autor lediglich registriert werden. Hierbei weist er richtigerweise darauf hin, daß die Osmanen ihr Gebiet auch mit friedigen Mitteln erweiterten — durch Heiratsverträge und sogar durch Ankauf des Gebiets. Die Machtausweitung und das Anwachsen des Gebiets wurden notgedrungen von Änderungen in der Organisation des Staates begleitet, es entstanden neue Institutionen, das Timarsystem erreichte seine definitive Gestalt und auch die Armee erhielt durch die Errichtung des Janitscharen-Corps ihre feste Grundlage.

Bei der Bewertung der Herrschaft Mehmed II. berücksichtigt der Autor nicht nur die militärische Aktivität des Sultans, sondern auch dessen Maßnahmen in der Wirtschaft, Gesetzgebung usw., die die innere Stabilität des Reiches sicherten. Gleichzeitig weist er jedoch darauf hin, daß die Einführung neuer Maßnahmen nicht leicht und ohne Komplikationen verlief, und daß viele davon nach seinem Tode abgeschafft wurden. An dieser Stelle möchten wir anmerken, daß

bereits zur Zeit der Herrschaft von Mehmed II., also zu einer Zeit der dynamischen Entwicklung des Reiches, dieses finanzielle Probleme zu lösen hatte, die sich dann wie ein roter Faden bis ans Ende ihrer Existenz zogen. Also noch lange vor der Preisrevolution und der Inflationstrends infolge des Imports von amerikanischem Gold und Silber. Sie schlossen lediglich den Zerfall des labilen Wirtschaftssystems ab, das aus den überwundenen islamischen Wirtschaftsdogmen hervorkam.

Der Autor faßte die Herrschaft Bayezid II. und Selim I. kurz und treffend unter dem Titel „Vom Sultanat zum Kalifat“ zusammen. Die nichtaggressive Politik Bayezids schreibt der Autor seinem Charakter zu und weist auf einige positive Züge von dessen Herrschaft hin — auf die umfangreiche Bautätigkeit und die Erhaltung einer großen Armee.

Das Osmanische Reich hatte Schwierigkeiten an seiner östlichen Grenze schon zur Zeit Mehmed II., durch die Besiegung Uzun Hasans, des Führers des turkmenischen Stammesverbandes Akkoyunlu wurde jedoch diese Gefahr gebannt. Bayezid II. komplizierte seine Beziehungen zu den turkmenischen Stämmen durch Einführung außerordentlicher Steuerabgaben, so daß sein Sohn und Nachfolger Selim I. während seiner kurzen Regierungszeit die dringendsten Probleme im Osten zu lösen hatte — vor allem die Unterdrückung der Kızılbaş (der turkmenischen Schiiten in Anatolien). Die Besiegung des schiitischen Persiens und die Eroberung Syriens und Ägyptens machten das Osmanische Reich zur führenden Macht im Vorderen Orient.

Josef Matuz ist zweifelsohne der beste Kenner der Epoche der Herrschaft Sultan Süleyman I. Dies widerspiegelt sich selbstverständlich auch in seinem Buch. Es ist ein inhaltsvoller und in so mancher Hinsicht ein Einblick eines Neuerers in den Staat und die Gesellschaft zur Zeit des größten Aufschwungs des Reiches. Diese Übersicht wird von einer durchdringenden Analyse der Persönlichkeit und der Tätigkeit Sultan Süleyman I. ergänzt, die er treffend bewertet: „Süleyman war weder genial noch als Herrscher sehr selbständig. Er repräsentierte gutes Mittelmaß und verfügte über einen gewissen Machtinstinkt“ (S. 131).

Einigen Behauptungen des Autors ist jedoch einzuwenden. Er behauptet z.B. daß die Lage der osmanischen Bauern im 16. Jahrhundert im Vergleich zu jener der europäischen keinesfalls schlimmer gewesen ist. Die arge Lage der Bauern in Mitteleuropa, die die Aufstände von Dózsa, Münzer und Gaismaier widerspiegeln, kann mit der Situation in Anatolien in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts verglichen werden. Kaum vergleichbar sind jedoch das Lebensniveau und die materielle Kultur, die in Europa ohne Zweifel höher waren.

Josef Matuz nahm Stellung auch zum Charakter der osmanischen Gesellschaft. Er ist der Ansicht, die osmanische Gesellschaft sei feudal gewesen und als Hauptkriterium hält er die Existenz der Feudalrente im Osmanischen Reich.

Der Autor unterscheidet einige Entwicklungsstadien des osmanischen Feudalismus und charakterisiert das Timarsystem als „Pfründen- oder Präbendalfeudalismus“.

Die oft diskutierte Frage über den Verfall des Osmanischen Reiches schiebt J. Matuz korrekterweise von den Persönlichkeiten unfähiger, nach Süleymans Tod herrschender Sultane beiseite und sucht nach tieferen Gründen dieser Erscheinung. Er weist darauf hin, daß die Verfallssymptome mit dem Ende der Expansion zum Vorschein kamen, was sich in vielen Sphären des wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Lebens widerspiegelte. Andererseits muß jedoch gesagt werden, daß die eigentliche Expansion dem Reich viele Schwierigkeiten brachte. Außer anderem bleibt z.B. ungeklärt die Frage, auf welche Art auch die osmanische Expansion im Vorderen Orient zur Verlegung der wichtigsten Handelsstraßen nach Indien aus dem Mittelmeer in den Atlantik beigetragen haben.

Das umfangreiche Kapitel „Der Niedergang des Osmanischen Reiches“ analysiert die Entwicklung seit dem Beginn des 17. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts. Es ist eine schwierige und komplizierte Aufgabe ein vollständiges Bild zu zeichnen. Der Autor mußte grundlegende Angaben aus der politischen Geschichte, dem Militärwesen, der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung und dem Regierungssystem liefern. Deshalb erscheint die Darlegung ein wenig uneinheitlich. Die ausgeprägteste Erscheinung dieses Zeitabschnitts ist eine Desintegration so im Zentrum als auch in den Provinzen. Im Zentrum äußerte sich dies durch Eingreifen inkompetenter Kräfte in die Staatsführung und durch Verkauf von Ämtern und Würden. Die Desintegration in den Provinzen äußerte sich durch Schwächung der Macht der Zentralorgane, in den entfernteren Teilen des Reiches, wie z.B. im Magrib oder auf der Krim auch durch eine unabhängige Außenpolitik. Der Autor machte auch auf einige Änderungen in der Verwaltung der Provinzen aufmerksam. Eingehender hätte er vielleicht jene Erscheinungen analysieren können, die I. Metin Kunt (*Sancaktan Eyālete*. Istanbul 1975) als Transformation der Provinzregierung charakterisiert hat. Hierbei ging es um die Übernahme der höchsten Ränge durch Würdenträger der Zentralverwaltung, die Sandschaks, als grundlegende Einheiten der Administration, wurden durch Provinzen (*eyālet*) ersetzt und die Patenschaftsbeziehungen dieser Würdenträger sowie derer Suiten stiegen zu Hauptfaktoren des politischen Systems empor.

Der Versuch der ungünstigen Entwicklung des Reiches durch Wesire aus dem Geschlecht der Köprülü einhalt zu gebieten brachte zwar eine teilweise Konsolidierung, konnte jedoch alle unerwünschten Erscheinungen nicht abschaffen. Das Osmanische Reich komplizierte sich seine Lage selbst, indem es die militärischen Konfrontationen mit den europäischen Rivalen — den Habsburgern, Polen, Rußland wieder aufnahm, und im Kampf mit Venedig um Kreta fortfuhr. Schließlich enthüllte der Feldzug gegen Wien im Jahre 1683 und die zerschmetternde Niederlage unter den Mauern der Stadt in vollem Maße die

Schwächen des Osmanischen Reiches. Nach den schweren Niederlagen in Ungarn versuchte der Großwesir Mustafa Köprülü das Steuersystem zu reformieren, das vor allem die Christen auf dem Balkan außerordentlich belastete und in kritischen Momenten ihre Unzufriedenheit hervorrief, finanzielle Quellen zur Kriegsführung zu gewinnen und nicht in letzter Reihe Disziplin in die Armee einzuführen. Die relativen Erfolge der osmanischen Armee sind trotzdem eher dem Auftreten Frankreichs gegen die Habsburger am Rhein sowie dem Zerfall der antitürkischen Koalition zuzuschreiben.

Der Frieden von Sremski Karlovci ist der Einschätzung des Autors zufolge eine weitere wichtige Etappe im Prozeß des Verfalls des Osmanischen Reiches. Die Behauptung, der Verlust wirtschaftlich bedeutender, fruchtbarer Gebiete in Ungarn hätte für die osmanische Staatskasse schwere Folgen gehabt, kann jedoch nicht eindeutig akzeptiert werden. Ungarn gehörte zweifelsohne zu den entwickeltsten Provinzen des Reiches, nach Gy. Káldy-Nagy kostet jedoch dessen Verteidigung im 16. Jahrhundert mehr, als die Einnahmen aus dieser Provinz eintrugen. Das Behalten von Ungarn war für das Osmanische Reich eine Prestigefrage. Obwohl im 17. Jahrhundert die Initiative von den Sipahis und den Festungsgarnisonen übernommen wurde, die ausreichend hohe Einnahmen von den untertanen Dörfern für sich sichern konnten, trotzdem mußte die Pforte die dortigen Garnisonen auch aus den Einkünften anderer, vor allem balkanischer Provinzen noch zusätzlich erhalten.

Der Autor widmete eine große Aufmerksamkeit der sog. Tulpenzeit, die durch eine außerordentlich lebhafte kulturelle Aktivität, durch Einführung des Buchdrucks und Nachahmung des europäischen Lebensstils gekennzeichnet war. Zu jener Zeit kommt es auch zum ersten Versuch eine ständige Armee nach europäischem Vorbild zu errichten. Die osmanische Gesellschaft war jedoch für tiefgreifendere Veränderungen noch nicht vorbereitet und der im Jahre 1730 ausgebrochene Aufstand fegte die Repräsentanten des neuen Lebensstils von der Oberfläche.

Im zweiten Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts ist die Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches überfüllt von militärischen Niederlagen, vor allem seitens Rußlands, sowie von inkonsequenten und dadurch auch erfolglosen Reformen im Finanz- und Heereswesen. Weder in der Produktion noch im Handel schuf die osmanische Gesellschaft irgendwelche Voraussetzungen für das Entstehen des Kapitalismus. Richtig beobachtete J. Matuz, daß die bestehende, ja sogar anwachsende Unterentwickeltheit der osmanischen sowie der modernen türkischen Wirtschaft in so mancher Hinsicht durch innere Gründe und nicht durch ein Eingreifen von außen her verursacht ist und wurde.

Der komplizierten Entwicklung vom Ende des 18. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts widmete der Autor das Kapitel „Die Reformenzeit“. Was die Vor-Tanzimatreformen betrifft, machte der Autor auf einige charakteristische

Züge dieses Prozesses aufmerksam. Die Reformen betrafen mehr oder weniger die Armee. Obwohl diese Reformen nicht von tiefgreifenderen Eingriffen in die gesellschaftlich-ökonomische Struktur des Osmanischen Reiches begleitet waren, stießen sie auf Widerstand so bei den unabhängigen und konservativen Tyrannen in den Provinzen, als auch auf die Interessen der Janitscharen. Die sich verändernde außenpolitische Lage und Napoleons Feldzug nach Ägypten komplizierten zweifelsohne ebenfalls die Reformbewegung im Osmanischen Reich, von den desintegrierenden Strömungen gar nicht zu reden, ob dies nun nationale Befreiungsbewegungen oder die puritanische Reaktion in Arabien waren. Vollkommen richtig unterstrich J. Matuz, daß diese Reformen mit Hinsicht auf die absolutistische Macht der osmanischen Sultane nur von oben her durchzuführen waren. Dies hatte jedoch auch seine Schattenseiten. Die vom Sultan aufgezwungenen Maßnahmen waren von dessen Willen abhängig und er konnte sie jederzeit widerrufen, da es keinerlei Institution gab, die die Durchführung der getroffenen Maßnahmen kontrolliert hätte. Sämtliche Reformen waren daher unvollständig und inkonsequent. Außerdem erfüllten sie nicht die Forderungen der nationalen Befreiungsbewegungen. Der, nach der Machtergreifung durch die Jungtürken ausgeprägte Chauvinismus, der gegen alle nichttürkische Nationalitäten des Reiches gerichtet war, führte zum Untergang des Osmanischen Reiches.

Matuz' Buch wird durch einen umfangreichen Hilfsapparat ergänzt, der dem Leser zusätzliche Informationen, eine Bibliographie, Indices usw. bietet.

Das Buch von J. Matuz gehört zu den gelungensten Bearbeitungen der osmanischen Geschichte in der letzten Zeit und erfüllt gleichzeitig auch die Rolle eines hochwertigen Handbuchs für einen breiten Leserkreis.

Vojtech Kopčan

Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society. Ed. by A. Bryer and H. Lowry. Papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982. Birmingham — Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 1986. vii + 343 pp.

Transitory periods in history when for various reasons the existence of one state formation comes to an end and is followed by a new rule are interpreted in historiographies in the most contradictory manner. And this was also the case in the evaluation of the Ottoman domination over Greek territories by Greek historiography and by nationalist Turkish historiography which did not eschew extreme judgments.

The advance of historic scholarship, both Byzantine and Ottoman, has indisputably permitted more objective assessments of even such complex questions as was the incorporation of Greek society into the framework of the Ottoman Empire. What made it possible better to know the late-Byzantine society were primarily editions of sources from the monasteries of Mount Athos, published by French and Greek researchers. On the other hand, of no less significance proved editions of Ottoman tax registers (*tahrir defters*) and further sources by scholars from various countries (Turkey, the U.S.A., France, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria) relating to former Greek territories. In addition to these sources, also major studies appeared, processing longer periods of the Byzantine society both in Asia Minor and on European soil.

The Symposium held at Dumbarton Oaks on 14—16 May 1982 on the topic Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society may be said to have brought valuable contributions enriching the topic not only with new sources, but also with methodological procedures. It was organized by the Centre for Byzantine Studies of the University of Birmingham and the Center for Byzantine Studies of Harvard University, and was attended by American, British, French and Greek scholars.

In the introductory section of the book, the conference organizers A. Bryer and H. W. Lowry provide information on both Greek and Turkish sources to the problems of late Byzantium and the beginnings of Ottoman power. Preservation of the sources influenced also the choice of three areas on which research was centred and which had been conquered by the Ottomans in the course of the 15th century, viz. 1. Chalkidiki and the Strymon valley in Central Macedonia; 2. The Matzouka valley, or the immediate hinterland of the city of Trebizond (Trabzon); 3. The island of Lemnos located in the northeast quadrant of the Aegean Sea. These territories had been subjugated by the Ottomans in 1430—1479.

As implied by the title of the first section “Continuity and Change in Chalkidiki and the Strymon”, the studies included here were designedly oriented to the territory of Central Macedonia which, during the Byzantine period, was predominantly the property of Athonite monasteries. The first two papers by J. Lefort and Heath W. Lowry are micro-analyses of the village of Rodolibos during the Byzantine and the Ottoman times. While J. Lefort (Population and Landscape in Eastern Macedonia during the Middle Ages: The Example of Radolibos, pp. 11—21) devotes rather more attention to natural features of that country and to demographic issues, H. W. Lowry, starting from early Ottoman tax registers of this area from the years 1464—65 and 1478, focuses on peasant taxation and further questions (Changes in Fifteenth-Century Ottoman Peasant Taxation: The Case Study of Radilifo — Radolibos, pp. 23—37). Lowry rightly observes that the driving force of Ottoman incursions and raids was not

prey, but expenditures on military expeditions were derived from taxes imposed on the subject populations. With the expansion of the empire, also taxes on country populations grew. Lowry demonstrated this tangibly on the example of the village Radolibos. V. Dimitriades's paper (Ottoman Chalkidiki: An Area in Transition, pp. 39—50) points out certain sources to this question, the introduction of the Timar system into this area and into Ottoman administration, etc.

The second area as a subject of investigation was Matzouka — Maçuka Valley. The introductory study by Y. Bryer (Rural Society in Matzouka, pp. 53—95) constitutes an exhaustive overview of this region during the Byzantine times. It presents fundamental data on the geography — Population and Settlement, Agriculture, Revenue, Defence, Band and the Ottoman Inheritance, Public Justice and Private Bonds, and deals with the fate of this region during the Ottoman rule. On the basis of four Ottoman tax registers from the years 1486 till 1553, Heath W. Lowry pointed to the fate of the former pre-Ottoman ruling class during the first hundred years of Ottoman domination (Privilege and Property in Ottoman Maçuka in the Opening Decades of the Tourkocratia: 1461—1553, pp. 97—127). This study is of interest also through its methodological approach to the Ottoman *tahrir defters*. This author's analysis of these registers has brought out interesting observations. After practically one hundred years of Ottoman domination, the Maçuka Valley still had a Christian-Muslim population ratio of 25:1 in favour of the indigenous Christian inhabitants. Among the Muslims he identified 4 per cent as local converts to Islam. All in all, this area continued to be predominantly Greek. Chronologically, Lowry's paper takes contact with the study by R. Jennings (The Society and Economy of Maçuka in Ottoman Judicial Registers of Trabzon, 1560—1640, pp. 129—154), which is of interest from several points of view. It states that despite conversions to Islam, this region remained predominantly Christian with a Greek Orthodox population. Tilling of soil and agricultural production remained unchanged, similarly as did architecture, traditional crafts and trades, and the economic life. However, life of this region had to accept the Ottoman legal system, Islamic pious foundations, the Timar system and, of course, taxation.

The third area of study is that of the Lemnos island (Limnos) in the Aegean Sea. The introductory study by J. Haldon (Lomnos, Monastic Holdings and the Byzantine State: ca. 1261—1453, pp. 151—215) presents a detailed analysis of the economic conditions on the island during the course of practically two centuries. Of substantial significance is also the author's contribution to the topography of Mediaeval Limnos with several maps and a register of Byzantine Place-Names and Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Place-Names on Limnos.

"Latins on Lemnos Before and After 1453" (pp. 217—234) is the heading of P. Topping's paper outlining economic contacts and military operations by the Venetians and other Italians on Lemnos Island since the 11th century up to the

incorporation of the island into the Ottoman empire in 1479. Attention is also devoted to demographic conditions.

In the study "The Island of Limnos: A Case Study on the Continuity of Byzantine Forms under Ottoman Rule" (pp. 235—259), Heath W. Lowry refutes the thesis that Ottoman efforts to acquire the Limnos island had been prompted by its strategic significance. He asserts that the Ottomans were primarily concerned with obtaining incomes from taxation and, not in the last place, also Limnian Earth (Terra Limnia) which was considered to be an efficient remedy against revages of plague. On the basis of Ottoman registers from the years 1489 and 1519, he demonstrates how pre-Ottoman practices continued to be applied in various sectors of life on the island (administration, military, agriculture, taxation) and similarly, also the local Byzantine culture persisted practically unchanged.

The fourth — the closing section of the book "Continuity and Change in Town and City" is not geographically circumscribed as are the preceding contributions. It is introduced by A. Bryer's study "The Structure of the Late Byzantine Town: Diokismos and the Mesoï" (pp. 263—279). The author delineates common traits and further issues relating to urban life. He devotes considerable attention to Constantinople (Byzantium) and to its inner division. Similarly as authors in the preceding study in this book, also Bryer makes use of records already published, from Ottoman registers set up immediately after a conquest of towns by the Ottomans.

The extensive study by S. Vryonis Jr. "The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430" (pp. 281—321) is devoted in a large part to an analysis of the sources to this event, but primarily the work of John Anagnostes *Diegesis*. The author goes to show that many statements in *Diegesis* can be corroborated also with other sources and considers him to be a first-class authority on this event. Vryonis equally takes note of the sorrowful plight of the town during its conquest when most of the inhabitants were either enslaved or slain and the town destroyed, as of the efforts of the Ottoman rulers to renew its economic life. Resettlement with new populations could not make up for a long time for the losses of lives incurred during the conquest. It was only in the 16th century, thanks primarily to Jewish population, that the town experienced a new upsurge.

"From Lesser Wars to the Mightiest War. The Ottoman Conquest and Transformation of Byzantine Urban Centers in the Fifteenth Century" (pp. 323—338) is the title of the third study by H. W. Lowry in this book. It focuses on similarities of three Byzantine coastal towns — Constantinople, Thessalonica and Trebizond in the third quarter of the 15th century, when sultan Mehmed II developed and followed plans for the repopulation and urban renewal of such cities, located in the primarily Christian regions of the Ottoman Empire. Of

interest are especially the author's observations regarding the Jewish element in Thessaloniki in the second half of the 15th and the 16th century.

Indices of Documents, Topics and Terms — Greek, Turkish and others — are appended at the end of the book.

The materials from Dumbarton Oaks Symposium constitute a valuable contribution to a knowledge of the transition period between the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empire from the aspect of both the new material and the methodology of processing the topic.

Vojtech Kopčan

Velkov, A.: *Vidove osmanoturski dokumenti. Prinos kām osmanoturskata diplomatika* (Types of Ottoman-Turkish Documents. Contribution to Ottoman-Turkish Diplomacy). Sofia, Narodna biblioteka "Kiril i Metod" 1986. 510 pp.

Ottoman diplomacy as a scientific discipline is relatively young, even though a utilization and critical publication of Ottoman sources go back to the 17th century. It should be observed that Ottoman diplomacy in this sense of the terms was not born in Turkey but in European countries where advanced auxiliary historical sciences existed. One of the first centres of studies of Ottoman diplomacy was Kiel where Prof. Georg Jacob was active; he published several Ottoman documents in translation or as photocopies,¹ meant to serve as practical exercises in teaching. In addition, he investigated collections of Turkish documents in German libraries and archives, supplying well-grounded information on them. Another such centre was Vienna where F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst was working. He was the first to make a diplomatic analysis of Ottoman fermans in the introduction to an edition of 22 documents from the Dubrovnik archives, and one each from Moscow and Vienna.² Later, conjointly with P. Wittek, he published *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, which included numerous contributions to Ottoman diplomacy and palaeography.

The Hungarian turkologist L. Fekete wrote a pioneering review of Ottoman diplomacy, based on documents from the period of Ottoman domination in Hungary in the 16th—17th century.³ The subsequent decades witnessed the

¹ *Türkische Urkunden aus Ungarn*. Kiel 1917; *Hilfsbuch für Vorlesungen über das Osmanisch-Türkische*. Berlin 1917; *Türkisches Hilfsbuch*. I. Berlin 1916.

² *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jhs. Ein Beitrag zur osmanischen Diplomatie*. Wien 1921.

³ *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkisch Diplomatie der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*. Budapest 1926; Appeared also in Hungarian.

publication of a spate of critical editions of Ottoman deeds and diplomatic analyses of Ottoman documents, but a new processing of Ottoman diplomacy and palaeography was made only in the mid-fifties by the Polish orientalists A. Zajączkowski and J. Reychman.⁴ In contrast to Kraelitz's and Fekete's work, that by the pair of Polish authors is not an analysis of the published material, but primarily a bibliographic review of Ottoman documents, their storage and processing in Turkey and in European countries, with specific reference to Poland. The second part brings an overview of palaeography, the third one of diplomacy, and the closing one of auxiliary historical sciences. Following a thorough revision, this work appeared also in English.⁵

The most detailed work on Ottoman diplomacy so far is that by the Bulgarian Ottoman scholar B. Nedkov,⁶ in two volumes. The first one carries theoretical reflexions and practical remarks on Ottoman diplomacy and palaeography, but also a review of the administrative system of the Ottoman Empire. The second volume is meant to serve as a practical section with photographs of documents, their Arabic transliteration and translation. An extensive glossary of Ottoman terms is appended.

As regards Turkish works from the domain of Ottoman palaeography and diplomacy, mention might be made of that by M. Yazar on the writing *siyakat* and his *Key to Reading of Ancient Writing* from the forties, and the more recent work by T. M. Gökbilgin, meant as a manual for students of history.

The work under review by Asparukh Velkov, a long-term member of the Oriental Department of the National Library "Kiril i Metod" in Sofia, has appeared in answer to practical needs. As not all the types of documents edited by Ottoman institutions have been published thus far, his work is meant both to make accessible the enormous production of Ottoman officials, and to serve practical needs as an aid in processing various funds of Ottoman archival material in Bulgarian collections.

From the abundant fund of the Oriental Department at the National Library which preserves some 600,000 Ottoman documents and from certain funds of the Bulgarian Historical Archives, the author has selected 301 types of documents which represent the everyday activity of Ottoman administration from the 15th to the 19th century. He then assigned these, from purely practical reasons, into 29 groups, keeping in mind the Ottoman specificity that many documents published by diverse institutions bear the same name. For instance

⁴ *Zarys dyplomatyki osmańsko-tureckiej* (Outline of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomacy). Warsaw 1955.

⁵ *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*. The Hague—Paris 1968.

⁶ *Osmanoturska diplomatika i paleografiya I—II*. Sofia 1966—1976.

tezkere with the original meaning of letter, note, leaflet, receipt, naming, etc., combined with further expressions, denotes fifty types of Ottoman documents edited by various institutions; *name* (letter, book) in combination with further terms yields over fifty variants, etc. In connection with this last term it might be added that the expression *aman-name* with the meaning "permission, authorization, permit", in the form *aman-kağıdı*, or also *aman-name*, takes the meaning of "permission to settle" on the territory of the Islamic state (*dar ül-islam*), or a safe-conduct. Attention to this fact is also drawn by the author when he states that one and the same document had different names, while on the contrary, various documents were referred to by one name. Therefore, also Velkov's classification of Ottoman documents into 29 groups is a purely conventional one and does not derive from the structure of Ottoman institutions.

In the introductory section of the book, which may be taken as a theoretical analysis of Ottoman documents, the author deals with several issues. We find here notes on Ottoman palaeography, diplomacy, chronology, metrology and numismatics. He is concerned in more detail with the external and internal signs of Ottoman deeds, letters, etc. But his most valuable sections are those devoted to legalization of Ottoman documents. The author treated of these problems also in several studies published in Reports of the National Library and in the French turkological journal *Turcica*. Here he takes up also sultans' *tugras*, stylized signatures of grand viziers and vice-regents (*pençe*), kadis' verifying formulae and signatures of further dignitaries, and provides concise information on seals and further forms of verification of legality of documents.

The principal section of the book consists of an analysis of documents (numbering 50) not investigated as yet from the diplomatic aspect. These studies bring data on the mission and origin of the document, hence, for what purpose it had been issued and by whom, further its structure, type of writing, etc. The author also takes note of the variability of various documents, mode of dating and legalizing signs, such as *sahh*, signature or records on protocoling. A copy of the documents is given with every type.

The second part of the book represents an album of documents from the 19th century. It also carries an index of documents in the Cyrillic and Arabic writing, which considerably facilitates work with the book.

A. Velkov's book is certainly a valuable contribution to an extension of our knowledge of Ottoman diplomacy, although the manner in which the material has been processed could have been more effective.

Vojtech Kopčan

Uğur, Ahmed: *The Reign of Sultan Selīm in the Light of the Selīm-nāme Literature*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen. Band 109. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1985. 405 pp.

Ahmed Uğur's book is a dissertation thesis submitted at the University of Edinburgh and elaborated under the supervision of J. R. Walsh, an outstanding connoisseur of the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry at the beginning of the 16th century. The work had for aim to present an analysis in depth of the content and the interrelationships of historical works dealing with Selīm I's rule, and of their style.

Several traditions met in Ottoman historiography, as did also in other Turkic nations, that differed not only by their origin, but also by their character and style. Thus, for instance historiography in verse drew for its inspiration on Firdausī Shāhnāme and found numerous representatives also among Ottoman historians, including authors of the Selīm-nāme. Arabian and Persian historiography was a model to Turkish-writing authors not merely as to form, but also as to genres — e.g. chronicles of the various rulers, dynastic histories, etc. Naturally, the inspirational sources of Ottoman historiography provided merely the stimuli which gave rise to an abundant and colourful stream of historical works, as may ultimately be seen in works devoted to sultan Selīm I.

A study of Ottoman historiography and its various stages must be made to relate to the development of the Ottoman State. It is quite interesting to follow the original way religious ethics came to be transformed from the times of the conquest of Asia Minor, through the gazāvāt-nāme exalting victories of sultans, as for instance those of Murād II, the viziers, or frontier beys, up to events dedicated to Sultan Selīm I. Works, originally read or recited in military camps, at meetings, in bazaars, or read to the sultan and his court, later became destined exclusively to the latter. Through the building up of a state organization, legislation and militarism, and the rise of the Ottoman Empire to rank among foremost Asian and European powers, also the original idea of the "Holy war" (Cihād) became transformed. True, Cihād continued to be a part of official duties of the Muslim state — and such undoubtedly was also the Ottoman Empire — to the sultan its ruler, but ceased to be a matter of an unorganized element of the gazis on the frontiers, who could disrupt State interests. Cihād came to be a State-organized affair, a matter of the regular army with the sultan at its head. And thereby also the mission was changed of works destined to describe military expeditions and heroic feats; the addressee too, was changed. Simple epically tuned narratives about the heroic deeds of the gazis and their commanders turned into panegyrical works having as ambition to satisfy the prevailing literary taste which, since the early 16th century, was under the strong Persian influence.

From the aspect of the Holy war (Cihād), however, Selīm I's rule presents contradictions. All the wars that he waged were directed against Muslim states or heretics in the Ottoman Empire. In our view, this aspect, too, should have become manifest in works devoted to the rule of Selīm I.

In the introductory sections A. Uğur rightly drew attention to the fact that the study of historical material, of the Ottoman chronicles, to be more exact, neglected the literary component of these works. We may likewise subscribe to the author's statement that "Selīm-nāme are fully a document the way in which Ottoman man saw his place in this world, creating and transmitting an historical personality that flattered his opinion of himself". It is only natural that a truthful and exact description of events in the sense of modern historical science cannot be expected from Ottoman chronicles. "Purpose and motive of the Selīm-nāme — the author writes — were to create the example of the heroic figure from within the dynasty, and to supply a human ideal to a society which had only the spiritual values of Islam offered to it for this purpose" (p. 1—2).

A. Uğur took as his basis of comparison of the various Selīm-name, the work of the Ottoman historian Kemāl Pashazāde *History of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Tevārīh-i Āl-i ʿOsmān), whose 8th and 9th volumes are concerned with sultan Selīm I. The author did this despite the fact that Kemāl Pashazāde's *History* may be considered as a chapter in the general history of dynasty. The reason for this had been not only the wealth of data contained in the work, but also its high stylistic standard.

The author has gathered all the known Selīm-nāme (except the works by Muhyī Çelebī) by the authors: Idrīs Bitlīsī, Ishāk Çelebī, Keşfī Mehmed Çelebī, Saʿdī, Şükrī Beg, Saʿdeddīn and ʿAlī. In addition, he provides basic data on all the chroniclers and information on their works. He deals in substantially greater detail with the work by Kemāl Pashazāde, primarily volumes 8 and 9, their preserved manuscripts and their filiation.

The subsequent chapters represent a latinized transcription of part of the manuscript Fatih No. 4221 (the closing part of volume 8 — pp. 28—64) and of volume 9, events from the accession to the throne until his return from the victorious expedition against Persia in 1514, according to part of the manuscript Süleymaniye, Veliyüddin Efendi No. 2447 (pp. 65—128). With one exception, the variants in further manuscripts of the two texts (pp. 129—145) do not bring any notable versions.

The core of the book is made up of commentaries to the various chapters of both volumes of Kemāl Pashazāde's work and a comparison with versions of the above authors. A. Uğur takes note not solely of the differences in content, but also of stylistic variants, verses, chronograms, etc.

The book is concluded with a bibliography and indexes to the various parts.

A facsimile of the above manuscripts (Fatih No. 4221 and Veliyüddin Efendi No. 2447) permit a check of the author's transcription.

Ahmed Uğur's work is incontestably a valuable contribution to a knowledge of the exacting sources regarding the person of sultan Selīm I up to 1514, and likewise to the Ottoman historiography.

Vojtech Kopčan

Die Steuerkonskription des Sandschaks Stuhlweißenburg aus den Jahren 1563 bis 1565, unter Mitwirkung von I. Hunyadi bearbeitet von Josef Matuz. Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken, Band 3. Hrsg. von K. Schwarz. Bamberg, Verlag aku 1986. 395 S.

Die Herausgabe und Übersetzung osmanischer Steuerkonskriptionen in Ungarn kann auf eine über hundert Jahre lange Tradition zurückblicken, die A. Velics begann und an die L. Fekete nach einer mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert dauernde Pause wieder erfolgreich anknüpfte. J. Matuz, Professor der Turkologie an der Universität zu Freiburg i. B., L. Feketes Schüler, bereitete zur Herausgabe den Defter der Kopfsteuer der Ungläubigen des Sandschaks Stuhlweißenburg (Székesfehérvár) aus den Jahren 1563 bis 1565 vor. Im Unterschied zu den letzten Editionen osmanischer Konskriptionen von G. Bayerle, Gy. Káldy-Nagy und B. McGowan, die Konskriptionen von Novigrad, Budin und Sirem veröffentlichten, nahm J. Matuz als Grundlage seiner Edition die Konskription der *cizye*, die für demographische und geographische Forschung gleichwertiges Material wie die eingehenden Konskriptionen liefert, nicht jedoch für die Wirtschaftsgeschichte.

Matuz' Edition ist auch aus anderen Aspekten unterschiedlich. Außer der kritischen Herausgabe — Faksimile, Transkription in arabischer Schrift und ungarische Übersetzung — bemüht er sich das gesammelte Material auch zu bearbeiten, zumindest in dem Maße, wie ihm dies die Konskription gestattet. Es ist natürlich keine eingehende Synthese, wie sie auf verschiedene Weise auf Grund des umfassenden Materials über den Sandschak Simontornya G. Dávid und über den Ofener Sandschak Gy. Káldy-Nagy (*A budai szandzsák 1546—1590. évi összeírásai.* Demográfiai és gazdaságtörténeti adatok. Budapest 1985) erarbeiteten, sondern wertvolle analytische Sonden.

Das Buch hat zwei Einleitungen — eine deutsche und eine ungarische, die sich nicht nur vom Text her, sondern auch in der Konzeption unterscheiden. Während der deutsche Text Osmanisten bestimmt ist, wendet sich der ungarische an heimische Forscher auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte, der historischen Geographie, Demographie usw.

Das Zentrum des Sandschaks, Stuhlweißenburg, wurde von den osmanischen Heeren mit Sultan Süleyman I. an der Spitze im Laufe des sog. „Feldzugs von Gran“ im Jahre 1543 erobert. Zu einer weiteren Ausbreitung der osmanischen Macht im nördlichen Transdanubien kam es während der erfolgreichen Kampfhandlungen des Ofener Statthalters Hadım Ali Pascha im Jahre 1552, als Veszprém gefallen war, aber auch zur Zeit des offiziellen Friedens — wie dies im Falle der Einnahme der Burgen Sümeg und Schomlau am Ende der fünfziger und zu Beginn der sechziger Jahre des 16. Jahrhunderts gewesen ist.

Ein weiterer Teil der Einleitung ist den osmanischen Konskriptionen im allgemeinen und des Sandschaks Stuhlweißenburg im einzelnen gewidmet. Der Sandschak Stuhlweißenburg gehört nicht zu jenen Einheiten der osmanischen Verwaltung, aus denen zahlreiche Konskriptionen, wie z.B. aus Hatvan, Budin, Esterгон, Novigrad und Segedin erhalten blieben. Es blieb lediglich ein ausführliches, im Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul aufbewahrtes Register erhalten, ein, ebenfalls in Istanbul aufbewahrtes Timarregister aus den Jahren 1570—71, ein summarisches Register in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, München, sowie Konskriptionen in der Nationalbibliothek, Wien. Ersteres (*mufasssal*) stammt aus der Zeit der Herrschaft Murad III. (1574—95). Aus den erwähnten Registern wurde das vom Herausgeber als „Timarregister“ bezeichnete, sign Mxt. 585 aus den Jahren 1563—65, obwohl es sich eindeutig um ein *cizye*-Register handelt, zur Grundlage der vorliegenden Edition. Außerdem ist in Wien auch das Journal (*defter-i ruznamçe*) aus den Jahren 1586—87 hinterlegt. Was den, im BA, Istanbul befindlichen und von L. Fekete erwähnten Defter Nr. 535 betrifft, geht es anscheinend um die ältere Signatur des Defters Nr. 657, weil die von Fekete zum Ende der dreißiger Jahre eingetragenen Signaturen später geändert wurden (*Az esztergomi szandzsák*, S. 9).

Im folgenden Teil analysiert der Autor die Handschrift Mxt. 585, die zur Grundlage der Edition wurde. Da die Kenntnisse vom Umfang und der Gliederung der ungarischen Sandschaks in der Literatur sehr bescheiden bearbeitet sind, widmete J. Matuz mit Recht eine große Aufmerksamkeit der Lage und der Gliederung des Sandschaks. Was die Gerichtsbezirke (*kaza*) im Sandschak betrifft, ist vor auszusetzen, daß hinsichtlich der geringen Anzahl der Moslems in der grenznahen Sandschaks, sich die Grenzen des Sandschaks mit denen der *kaza* deckten. Auf diese Tatsache machte bereits vor längerer Zeit H. Šabanović (*Bosanski pašaluk*. Sarajevo 1959, S. 111) aufmerksam.

Hinsichtlich der Frage nach den Grenzen des Sandschaks Stuhlweißenburg gegenüber dem königlichen Gebiet oder anderen Sandschaks, mußte der Autor beim besten Willen konstatieren, daß „diese Grenze nicht konstant war“. Sie veränderte sich mit der Zeit auch wenn es nicht um große Veränderungen gehen mußte. Wir kennen die Anordnung, herausgegeben für den Segediner Beg Derwiš, der in den Jahren 1559—60 Konskriptor mehrerer Sandschaks gewesen ist,

er solle nach der Konskription die Grenzen der Sandschaks Filek (Fiľakovo), Novigrad und Sečen ausgliedern (BA, MD 3, S. 227 vom 23. rebi^e I 966). Auch die Grenze zwischen dem königlichen Ungarn und dem osmanischen Gebiet änderte sich, meist nach einer neuen Konskription. Bekannt sind die Anordnungen an den Ofener Statthalter aus dem Jahre 1571 über die Zusammensetzung von Kommissionen aus beiden Seiten zur Festlegung der Grenzen und zur Lösung von Streitfragen, um eine Verletzung des Friedensvertrags zu vermeiden (BA, MD 10, S. 73; MD 12, S. 122).

Ein wertvoller Beitrag des Autors ist die detaillierte Übersicht über 11 *nāhiye* des Sandschaks Stuhlweißenburg. Was die Frage der expansiven osmanischen Politik betrifft, die — dem Autor zufolge — die vorosmanische Territorialeinteilung, in diesem Fall das Adelskomitat zumindest anfangs nicht respektierte, später aber sich auf den neuerobernten Gebieten im 17. Jahrhundert, wie dies die *eyālets* Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky) und Großwardein (Oradea) waren, gänzlich der Komitatsordnung anpaßten. Im Prinzip trugen alle *nāhiye* die Namen ehemaliger ungarischer Komitate und nur im Falle einiger großer Komitate, wie z. B. Neutra (Nitra) wurden diese in kleinere Einheiten geteilt.

Der weitere Teil der Einleitung befaßt sich mit den Fragen der Grundbesitzer und der Abgabepflichten. Es ist interessant, daß es im Sandschak keinen einzigen *zeamet* gab. Es überrascht nicht, daß sich im Grenzgebiet weder Besitztümer des Ofener Statthalters (*hāshā-i mūr-i mūrān*), noch Privateigentum (*mülk*), noch Besitzungen frommer Stiftungen (*vakf*) befanden. Diese erscheinen in den grenznahen *eyālets* erst im 17. Jahrhundert infolge der Umbildung der osmanischen Administration. Es ist auch, wie K. Hegyi darauf hingewiesen hat, interessant, daß im ungarischen Grenzgebiet in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts die Anzahl der großherrslichen Staatsdomänen ebenfalls wesentlich gesunken ist (siehe Századok 1983, S. 346—383).

Was die Sandschakbegs von Stuhlweißenburg betrifft, können wir einige Anmerkungen hinzufügen: Arslan Beg wird in den Jahren 1554—55 als Sandschakbeg von Stuhlweißenburg erwähnt, nach dem er sich bei der Eroberung der Burgen Filek und Salgó (MD 1, S. 273) ausgezeichnet hat; er war der Sohn Yahyapaschazade Mehmed Paschas, des dritten Statthalters von Ofen (1543—48), siehe Gévay, A.: *Versuch*, S. 5. Er selbst wurde im Jahre 1565 Ofener Statthalter.

Hamza Beg ist anscheinend der erste Sandschakbeg des neuen Sandschaks Sečen (Szécsény) 1552?—54 und nachher der Sandschakbeg von Filek (Fiľakovo) (MD 1, S. 254) — ernannt Ende Dezember 1554, für seine Verdienste bei der Eroberung dieser Burg.

Ali Beg, genannt Kara, ist im Grenzgebiet bereits im Jahre 1575 bekannt in der Chronik N. Istvánffy: *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri xxxiv*. Pečevî (*Tarih I*. Haz. B. S. Baykal. Ankara 1981, S. 317) führt an, daß Kara Ali Beg

fünfzehn Jahre lang Sandschakbeg in Stuhlweißenburg war, und als Graner Beg im September 1595 gefallen ist (siehe İ. H. Danişmend III, S. 153).

Der, den Timarhältern im Sandschak Stuhlweißenburg gewidmete Teil ist übrigens der erste seiner Art und sehr interessant. Der Autor löst z. B. die Frage der Timarioten mit der Bezeichnung „*dīvāne*“; der Hälter des Timars, die Dienst Soldempfänger gewesen sind und Menschen, die mit dem Militärdienst nicht gemeinsames hatten.

Ebenfalls überraschend ist es, den einzelnen Kompanien (*bölük*) von Burgsoldaten statt Besoldung ein Timar zuweisen, was im Defter nicht vorkommt.

Die Auslegung dieser Fragen wird zweckmäßig durch Tabellen über die Art der Besitztümer und die Struktur der Timare ergänzt.

Im Abschluß gilt des Autors Aufmerksamkeit den Abgabepflichtigen (*reaya*), wo er sich jenem Teil der untertanen Bevölkerung widmet, der sich nicht mit der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion befaßte (Handwerker, Kaufleute, Intelligenz usw.) und deren Anteil in der Konskription nicht unbedeutend ist. Gleichfalls bemerkenswert ist die Feststellung, daß „sich die im Defter aufgeführten Namen der Steuerpflichtigen einzelner Ortschaften in der Regel mit den Namenlisten ungarischer Konskriptionen derselben Orte derselben Zeit nicht decken“. Ein Problem, dem wir auch in Materialien aus der Slowakei begegnet sind. Die Frage der Namen und deren Transkription aus dem osmanischen Original behandelte der Autor eingehender in der ungarischen Einleitung (S. 80 ff.).

Als dritter Teil sind im Buch Faksimile des Defter (S. 90—167) und als vierter Türkischer Text (S. 168—214) eingereiht.

Die nachfolgende deutsche Übersetzung (S. 215—237) bringt nur Angaben über Lokalitäten, deren Zugehörigkeit zur *nāhiye*, den Namen des Timariots und die Anzahl der Häuser. Die ungarische Übersetzung ist vollständig (S. 238—313).

Ein großer Beitrag ist die Identifikation der Ortschaften und ihrer administrativen Zugehörigkeit (S. 314—347), an der auch I. Hunyadi mitgewirkt hat. Bei den Lokalitäten, die laut der Reihenfolge in der Konskription gereiht sind, ist die osmanische Form der Ortsbezeichnung, die ungarische Bezeichnung — und zwar sowohl die historische als auch die gegenwärtige angeführt, die Zugehörigkeit zum Komitat — in der Vergangenheit, als auch in der Gegenwart, die Zugehörigkeit zum jeweiligen Amtsbezirk, zur *nāhiye*, die Namensform bei Velics, ein Literaturhinweis und Anmerkungen.

Das Literaturverzeichnis beschränkt sich auf die grundlegende, zum Thema relevante osmanistische Literatur und auf Behelfe, notwendig für die Bestimmungstabelle der Ortschaften.

Bestandteil des Buches sind auch Landkarten, und zwar zuerst der einzelnen *nāhiye* (I—XI), dann die Karten der Domänen von Burgen und von Abteien (XII—XVIII) und schließlich die Übersichtskarte des gesamten Gebietes (XIX).

Einen sorgfältig ausgearbeiteten Ortsnamenregister stellte die Gattin des Autors, Klara Matuz zusammen.

Die Edition der Steuerkonskription des Sandschaks Stuhlweißenburg ist zweifelsohne eine präzise und in mancherlei Hinsicht auch neuererische Arbeit. Es bleibt die Frage, warum nicht das ausführliche Register zur Grundlage der Edition wurde?

Vojtech Kopčan

Schwarz, K.—Winkelhane, G.: *Hoğa Saʿdeddīn, Staatsmann und Gelehrter (gest. 1599), und seine Stiftung aus dem Jahre 1614*. Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken, hrsg. von K. Schwarz. Band 5. Bamberg, Verlag aku 1986. 166 S.

Allein, bzw. mit seinen Mitarbeitern H. Kurio und G. Winkelhane veröffentlichte K. Schwarz in den letzten Jahren mehrere Stiftungsurkunden osmanischer Würdenträger aus dem 15.—17. Jahrhundert. Die Veröffentlichung dieser Stiftungsurkunden und deren Analyse bringen wertvolle Erkenntnisse zum islamischen und besonders zum osmanischen Stiftungswesen und nicht zuletzt auch zu den Persönlichkeiten der Stifter.

Bei der Bearbeitung der Stiftungsurkunden gingen die Autoren mehr oder weniger auf die gleiche Art vor. Auf Grund verschiedентlicher Angaben, inklusive neuer Quellenmaterialien, bringen sie zuerst Daten über den Stifter, so daß diese Biographien in so mancher Hinsicht auch zu einem Beitrag zur osmanischen Prosopographie der osmanischen Würdenträger, Staatsmänner, bzw. Gelehrter wurden, wie dies im Falle Hoğa Saʿdeddīns ist.

Die Autoren widmeten diesmal ihre Aufmerksamkeit auch seinem Schaffen. Saʿdeddīn wurde vor allem durch seine Chronik der osmanischen Geschichte *Tāğ et-tevārih* (Krone der Historien) von den Anfängen des Reiches bis zum Tode Sultan Selīm I. berühmt.

Hoğa Saʿdeddīn (1536—1599) war eine bekannte Persönlichkeit des 16. Jahrhunderts. Er entstammte einer persischen Familie, die nach der Niederlage bei Çaldırān nach Istanbul gebracht wurde. Nach den Studien war er als müderris an verschiedenen medressen in der Hauptstadt und in Bursa tätig. Im Jahre 1573 wurde er zum Lehrer des Prinzen Murād, des späteren Sultan Murād III. berufen, dem er nach Manisa folgte, wo sich der osmanische Prinz als dortiger Sancakbeg für seine Herrscherpflichten vorbereitete. Nach dem Antritt Murād III. auf den osmanischen Thron (1574) erlangte er nach und nach eine starke Position am Hofe des Sultans und nutzte diese für seine eigene Bereicherung sowie das Einsetzen der Mitglieder seiner Familie und seiner Freunde in

verschiedene Posten von Geistlichen, aber auch in der Administration und in der Armee gebührrig aus. Nach dem Tode Murād III. (1595) wurde er Sultanlehrer dessen Sohnes Mehmed III., mit dem er am Feldzug nach Ungarn im Jahre 1596 teilnahm, der mit der Eroberung von Erlau und mit einer, für das osmanische Heer geglückten Schlacht bei Mezökeresztes endete.

An dieser Stelle möchten wir auf eine interessante Analyse der osmanischen Narrationsquelle zur Eroberung von Erlau sowie zur Schlacht bei Mezökeresztes von J. Schmidt hinweisen (*The Egri-Campaign of 1596; Military History and the Problem of Sources*. In: *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen*, CIEPO Colloque, Wien 1985, S. 125—144). Der Autor zeigt, daß zwei direkte Teilnehmer der Schlacht Abdülkādīr Efendi und Hasan Begzāde bei ihrer Schilderung der letzten Stunden des Zusammenstoßes bei Mezökeresztes weder den Sultan noch dessen Lehrer Saʿdeddīn erwähnen. Er stellt ebenfalls fest, daß die bedeutende Rolle Saʿdeddīns bei der Schlacht lediglich von den späteren Autoren wie Kātip Çelebi und Naimā hervorgehoben wurde, welche ihrerseits Überlieferungen von Saʿdeddīn zugeneigten Zeitgenossen, wie z. B. Peçevī und Mehmed ben Mehmed benutzt hatten. Die Verherrlichung von Saʿdeddīn, Gazanfer aga und Cigalazāde Sinān Pascha gehört, wie Schmidt zeigt, jenen Autoren, die zur Hofclique gehörten, und die Cigalazāde Sinān Pascha als Großwesir durchsetzen wollten, was ihnen letztlich auch gelungen war. Nach einem neuen Sieg der Clique um Sultans Mutter Savīye wurde Saʿdeddīn vom Posten des Sultanlehrers noch vor seiner Ankunft in Istanbul abgesetzt und sein Sohn kam ebenfalls um seine Stellung. Unter seinen Hauptgegnern, zu denen auch der Dichter Bākī gehörte, wurde sogar über die Verbannung des Sultanlehrers verhandelt. Nach dem Tode seiner einflußreichsten Gegner und auf direkten Eingriff des Sultans gelang es Saʿdeddīn im Jahre 1598, *şeyhülislām* und abermals Sultanlehrer zu werden. Bis zu seinem Tode im Oktober 1599 nahm er am politischen Leben aktiv Teil.

Den Kern von Schwarz' und Winkelhanes Werk bildet die Beschreibung, der Inhalt und die Analyse der Stiftungsurkunde von Hoğa Saʿdeddīn aus dem Jahre 1614, also 15 Jahre nach dessen Tod. Nach der Beschreibung der äußeren und inneren Merkmale der Stiftungsurkunde bringt das Werk eine wortgetreue Übersetzung einiger Teile der Urkunde, und zwar den Richterspruch, die spezielle Einleitung und die Zeugenliste. Der Zweite Teil zählt die Stiftungsgüter in Istanbul und Bursa auf, während der dritte die Stiftungseinrichtungen und deren Verwaltung aufweist. Das Faksimile der Stiftungsurkunde bringt den arabischen, in einem schönen *nashī* geschriebenen Text. Das Literaturverzeichnis und ein Index der Namen und Ortsbezeichnungen schließen das Buch ab.

Ähnlich wie bei vorhergehenden Herausgaben von Stiftungsurkunden stellt sich die Frage, ob diese Art der Bearbeitung und Herausgabe von Urkunden die geeignetste ist. Nach unserer Ansicht würde die Übersetzung des vollständigen

arabischen Textes den Umfang des Buches unnötigerweise ausdehnen, daher können die Übersetzungen der wichtigsten Teile und die Bearbeitung von Sachangaben als ausreichend betrachtet werden.

Vojtech Kopčan

Buda Expugnata 1686. Europa et Hungaria 1686—1718. A török kiűzésének európai levéltári forrásai (European Archival Sources on the Expulsion of the Turks) I—II. Budapest, Budapest Főváros Levéltárának kiadványa 1986. 1079 pp. Maps, L + XXXVI Photos.

The tercentenary of the liberation of Buda from under Ottoman domination, similarly as two previous anniversaries, viz. in 1886 and 1936, proved an opportunity to elucidate some of the less known issues of these events, or to present a new processing of the whole period of the liberation wars lasting up to the signing of the peace treaty at Sremski Karlovci (1699) or up the peace signed at Požarevac (1718).

A welcome tradition of these anniversaries has come to be a publication of source materials. Although this did not always involve new sources, but rather reprints of earlier ones or translations destined to a broader circle of readers, this activity was and still is of great value. On the occasion of the tercentennial anniversary of the liberation of Buda, we saw the publication of the diaries of Charles of Lotharingia, a part of M. Bel's work *Notitiae Hungariae Novae*, a correspondence on the conquest of Budin and a large set of sources translated into Hungarian, a reprint of the German report on the siege and fall of Buda, etc.

Among the most ambitious projects prepared for the jubilee by Hungarian archivist from the Budapest Municipal Archives was the collection and sorting of archival and manuscript material from practically the whole of Europe on anti-Turkish wars from the investment of Vienna until the peace of Požarevac (1683—1718). With the aid of a European cooperation they have succeeded in compiling a work in two volumes which presents fundamental information on sources and iconography relating to these events and will undoubtedly play a considerable role as a primary authority on sources concerned with anti-Turkish wars at the end of the 17th and early 18th century. In addition, the work shows the enormous publicity that accompanied the events at the turn of the 17th—18th century in Hungary, the Balkan, and in practically all the European countries.

The compilers — I. Bariska, Gy. Haraszti and J. J. Varga — worked out a model showing how the collected material should be presented to the public and sent out directions to their collaborators abroad. They then processed the

material and arranged it according to countries, following the Hungarian alphabetical order. Each entry is headed by a historical introduction presenting a longer or a shorter explication meant to provide fundamental data on the country at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century, its role in the anti-Turkish wars, numbers of soldiers it supplied in these struggles, etc. Then follow the most important data on the institution preserving the archival material (its name in Hungarian and in the origin language, address, nature of the material, extent and its chronological setting, its division). The compilers, of course, were also interested, besides archival material, in manuscripts in libraries and museums and in iconographic material — plans, maps, engravings and pictures — the processing of which required a different mode of approach. Such an approach may be justified by the divergent historical traditions in the various countries, a specific evolution of the relevant institutions and divergences in the archival system.

These general sections are followed by a description of the concrete archival material (name of fund, temporal span, extent, brief outline of persons and institutions providing the material, concise content of sources, their arrangement and archival aids accessible to researchers).

This procedure, however, could not be adherent to consistently with all the collections seeing the varied degree of their processing. Often such items as signatures, data on the language of the document and on archival aids are missing. Despite every effort, the compilers did not always succeed in filling in these data. And thus, while the reader finds e.g. fairly detailed abstracts — partly also from funds in ČSSR — on the one hand, he has to be satisfied with general characteristics only of the funds, on the other.

The compilers processed manuscripts sent in by collaborators from numerous European countries and as far as possible filled in the missing data and provided chronological tables which bring an overview of the principal events in Hungary and in Europe. However, register and lists of references are lacking in the first copies published in September 1986.

The book clearly shows that a major projects cannot be carried through today with one's own resources if it is to have the required standard, but through international cooperation. And the present one may be said to be a joint venture of archivists from 18 European countries, including also those of Czechoslovakia. Unfortunately, conspicuous by their absence are contributions from Norway, Rumania, Turkey, and partly also Yugoslavia. The most serious is the lack of material from Turkish archives which preserve thousands of documents on the events under study, primarily the Başbakanlık Arşivi (the Presidium Archives) in Istanbul.

The work *Buda Expugnata* incontestably belong among the most significant publications that appeared on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the

liberation of Buda. The material collected in it is of great value and will serve the needs not only of Hungarian researchers, but also those of international science.

Vojtech Kopčan

Malina, R.: *Zum schriftlichen Gebrauch des Kairinischen Dialekts anhand ausgewählter Texte von Saʿdaddīn Wahba* (Cairo Arabic as a Written Language on the Ground of Selected Texts by S. W.). Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Bd. 111. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1987. 218 pp.

The present monograph approaches Cairo Arabic as a written medium of Wahba's dramas. Despite the fact that Modern Written Arabic, as a living symbol of the Arab cultural heritage, is perceived as a prestige linguistic medium throughout the Arab World, the Arabic dialects are not totally deprived of their cultural value. This is quite particularly true of Cairo Arabic which is since many decades almost an exclusive medium of films, stage and TV plays, widely broadcast popular songs, and the like. The set of phenomena related to what is recently referred to as diglossia (Ferguson 1964) or co-occurrence of two socio-culturally stratified linguistic varieties of the same language (here Modern Written and Cairo Arabic) within a unique system of communication, considerably obscure the linguistic situation of Arabic. Realistic trends in literature have introduced dialectal Arabic to the literary production, especially to the domain of dialogues. A curious discrepancy has been thereby created between the language of the authors (Modern Written Arabic) and that of the heroes (local dialect).

The subject of the monograph is the linguistic medium of Saʿdaddīn Wahba (born 1925), a well-known Egyptian playwright. The analysis is based on three dramas of Wahba's produce: *Šāhid nāfy* ("Witness for the defence"), *Gawāzīt sēf* ("Summer wedding") and *il-Wazīr šāl it-tallāga* ("The minister has taken the refrigerator away"), published in the collection *il-Wazīr šāl it-tallāga wi masra-ḥiyyāt uḥra*, Cairo 1980.

In this connection, it should be noted that the title of the first drama, *Šāhid nāfy*, should have been more adequately translated as "A witness for the defence" instead of "A false witness" ("Ein falscher Zeuge"). The latter interpretation corresponds to *šāhid zūr*. Malina's translation of the title has evidently been influenced by the contents of the drama.

The book consists of eight parts as follows: I. Introduction (Einleitung); II. Particles (Partikeln); III. Verbal forms (Verbformen); IV. The verbs *ba'a*, *ṭilʿ*, *rāḥ*, *ʾām*, *ʾaʿad*; V. Types of sentences (Satztypen); VI. Agreement (Kongruenz); VII. The orthography of Cairo Arabic (Die Orthographie des Kairinisch-

Arabischen), and VIII. Summary (Zusammenfassung). Apart from this, the book includes Notes to the chapters II—VII (the Introduction is annotated separately); Index; Appendix (with textual samples and their translations into German); Notes to the Appendix; Glossary and Bibliography.

The dialectal texts are presented in a very consistent and reliable morphological transcription. The vowel elision and cluster-preventing vowels are consistently noted. Nevertheless, a uniform notation of all cluster-preventing vowels (*i*, *a*, and *u*) would have been preferable. The cluster-preventing function of (*i*), as against that of (*a*) and (*u*), is marked by its elevated position, as in: *w-iza ʿazamⁱ ḥaddⁱ w-sibⁱ ḥaddⁱ tibʿa mšība* (96) “when I invite someone and forget to invite another one, it’s a disaster” (“wenn ich (den) einen einlade und (den) anderen vergesse, dann wird es ein Unglück”); or: *ḥaddⁱ ʿandu ʿtirāḍ* (81) “Has somebody an objection?” (“Hat etwa jemand einen Einwand?!”);

as against (*a*):

kullaha in: *liyya wāḥid ṣaḥbi yʿraf is-sikak di kullaha* (90) “I have a friend who knows all these roads” (“ich habe einen Freund, der alle diese Wege kennt”);

šuftaha in: *tišhad yaʿni ʿala ḥawādis it-turmāy zayy il-ḥadsa lli šuftaha di* (165) “you can give testimony about tram accidents such as the accident that you have seen” (du kannst über Straßenbahnunfälle aussagen, so wie dieser Unfall, den du gesehen hast”);

or (*u*), as in:

t(i)himmukum in: *ʿana lli baʿūl wi-baʿūl di ḥāga thimmukum* (171) “I say it and I emphasize that it is something that concerns you” (“ich sage es und ich behaupte, daß es eine Angelegenheit ist, die euch angeht”);

w(i)-zanbukum ʿala ganbukum (171) “then it will be your fault” (“dann habt ihr allein die Schuld”), etc.

The notation of the vowel elision permits the student to get an undistorted picture of the dialect. Nevertheless, in some cases one may doubt whether the most typical reading has been chosen out of several possibilities, as in:

ʿāwiz (actually quoted) as against *ʿawz* (of possible occurrence as well) in the following environment:

ʿinta ʿult il-kilma lli ʿāwiz (ʿawz) aʿulha bi-ḡ-ḡabt (88) “you have said exactly the word I intended to say” (“du hast genau die Worte gesagt, die ich sagen wollte”).

We would perhaps prefer a less literary reading of some participial forms, e.g.: *miš mitʿakkid* instead of *miš mutaʿakkid* (97) (homographs in Arabic).

The neglect of nonetymological emphasis somewhat distorts the phonological picture of the dialect, as in:

ʿinti fēn ya māma (84) as against the expected *ʿinti fēn ya māma* “where are you, mummy?” (“wo bist du, Mama?”), etc.

Some misprints noted:

'ill aṣ'udu (11) "what I have in view" ("was ich beabsichtige") instead of *'ill a'sudu*;

il-wāzīr (70) "the minister" instead of *il-wazīr*;

fi ʔarī'na (164) "on our way" instead of *fi ʔari'na*.

The present monograph is a valuable contribution to the study of Cairo Arabic as a literary medium. It will be of interest to Arabists, sociolinguists and dialectologists concerned with linguistic and cultural aspects of the Arabic diglossia.

Ladislav Drozdík

Knappert, J.: *Islamic Legends. Histories of the Heroes, Saints and Prophets of Islam, I—II*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1985. XII + 312 and VII + 313—481 pp.

The two volumes of the collection present a large number of Islamic legends about the saints, prophets and other outstanding personages of the Islamic cultural area.

The Part One of the first volume (The Creation and the Prophets, pp. 23—184) contains legends centred around lives and miraculous deeds of prophets. Most of them are Old Testament prophets reshaped along the Islamic legendary tradition.

The Part Two (The Prophet Muḥammad and his followers, pp. 185—311) is oriented towards the historical horizon of the early Islam: the Prophet Muḥammad, the four orthodox caliphs, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and related topics.

The tales presented in this volume do not belong to the orthodox collection of the legendary history and many of them are taken from the oral tradition.

The second volume includes Part Three (Legends of the Saints, pp. 313—380), Part Four (Tales of Heroism and Morality, pp. 381—460) and Part Five (What happens after this life, pp. 461—473). At the end of the second volume is a rich bibliography (Works consulted, pp. 474—481).

The transcription of the Arabic names and terms seems to be somewhat oversimplified and not quite consistent. Long vowels are sometimes noted (Sulaymān, al-Kisā'ī, al-Tha'labī), sometimes not (Ṣaḥāba, instead of aṣ-Ṣaḥāba "the Companions", Ali, instead of 'Alī, etc.).

Besides Arabic legends, the collection includes legends of Turkish, Persian and Swahili origin.

The book will be read with profit by Islamists and ethnographers. Owing to the high literary quality of the legendary material, the collection might be attractive to a broader audience, too.

Ladislav Drozdík

Beilis, Viktor A.: *Traditsiya v sovremennykh kulturakh Afriki* (Tradition in Contemporary Cultures of Africa). Moscow, Nauka 1986. 248 pp.

Since the first half of the 1980s, there has been increasing interest in cultural problems and their application to Sub-Saharan Africa in the European socialist countries. Those scholars, who were originally specialists in widely differing fields, like social and cultural anthropology, history, sociology and social psychology, religion, art and folklore studies, languages and literatures, come across various aspects of culture change, traditions and dynamics and feel that they should join forces in investigating African cultures in a more comprehensive manner. Thus, for instance, cultural identity and cross-culture understanding have been discussed in their endeavour to better analyse the ongoing process of cultural development in tropical Africa.

Theoretically, there remains a risk of the following two extreme approaches: African cultures might be viewed as if they were presumably counterparts in Europe many centuries ago, or as if they were exceptions to all the rules known so far. The former extreme approach would suggest Africa's irreparable backwardness, whereas the latter one could find no chances to explain this strange exclusiveness. Fortunately, extreme approaches have been avoided thanks to the improving cooperation of a number of social sciences, attaining more terminological precision and — above all — applying the dialectical method. More profound theoretical views of African cultures and traditions are clearly visible in the Russian-written monograph under review.

Introduction is followed by five chapters, Conclusion, Bibliography and a summary in English. As the author's numerous stimulating works published in the past suggest, African cultures and traditions may be better understood and interpreted if myths, traditional faiths, rites, folklore, modern creative writing and arts are taken into consideration. This complexity of research based on many-sided scholarly interests enables the author to formulate his original conception of tradition and its relation to history (Chapter 1), rite (Chapter 2), religion (Chapter 3), city life (Chapter 4) and literature (Chapter 5). As a result, analytical studies, which are likely to have provided backbones of different chapters, make up a monograph with tradition in the very centre of attention.

The author rejects any dogmatic views, which described traditions solely as conservative hindrances blocking the Africans' path to progress, and — using relatively less well-known sources — he illustrates the genuine role of traditions in the process of social modernization. For him, African city is not entirely cut off from African traditional thinking and, consequently, does not follow only western examples. Thus Chapter 4, which is predominantly sociological, contains some key ideas clarifying the inter-relations of traditions and urbanization

in tropical Africa. The author discusses both the African' traditional ideas of the city and traditions in the present-day African city. The author correctly recalls Colm Legum's view of tribalism as an agent of modernization and explains why detribalization in its vulgar interpretation lost the present-day scholars' favour (p. 150). On the whole, Chapter 4 well exemplifies and convincingly points out specific features of the African city and the African's attitude to it.

The book under review, however, is no sociological treatise and the other chapters are no less significant. Chapter 1 is most instructive for historians from the viewpoint of methodology. The general lack of written records provoked numerous discussions concerning the trustworthiness of oral tradition. The author warns that one and the same event may be considered important by one culture while it may remain unnoticed or — at least — undescribed by another culture (p. 22). Therefore historians should ask only questions to which reasonable answers can be expected. Folk tales and narratives, in particular, require a careful approach on the part of the historian, who — apart from description — searches for his plausible interpretation.

Based on Victor Turner's works, Chapter 2 studies analogical problems in the inter-relations of traditions and ritual data. The author observes the extraordinary applicability of such data in the so-called transitional periods, or, better to say, in studying the decisive key moments of historical development when qualitative changes take place. This applies also to myths. Chapter 3 analyses the complicated relationship between African traditional religions and Islam. He does not view it as a one-way impact and emphasizes the dynamics of African traditional religions, which become affected by world religions, while Christianity and Islam are Africanized (p. 113).

Similarly full of ideas is Chapter 5, discussing first the relations existing between folklore and modern imaginative writing. There follows a good survey of literary criticism and two special sub-chapters devoted to the author's favourite Nigerian writers. Folk traditions and their transformations are analysed first in the highly illustrative fiction by Amos Tutuola and D. O. Fagunwa, then the production of two prominent playwrights — John Pepper Clark and Wole Soyinka. Here the author makes us remember his own outstanding monograph on Wole Soyinka (in Russian, 1977), published almost a decade before the Nigerian dramatist was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature. Also here the role of tradition — and its adaptation to suit the purpose of theatrical topicality — is made comprehensible enough for us to share the author's opinion that dynamics is most clearly expressed where tradition is living (p. 236).

The reviewed book on tradition in contemporary cultures of Africa, quoting numerous sources and touching on many fields of research, succeeds in arriving at some conclusions of general validity concerning tradition. There remain, of

course, further questions to be asked but already this book under review is very useful for all those who wish to learn more about African cultures and to apply this knowledge to different problems of culturology.

Vladimír Klíma

Jungraithmayr, Herrmann (éditeur): *Langues tchadiques et langues non-tchadiques en contact en Afrique Centrale*. LACITO — documents, Afrique 10, Série: Contacts de langues et de cultures. Vol. 5. Paris, SELAF 1987. 152 pp.

Depuis quelques années, l'intérêt des linguistes-africanistes se concentre non seulement sur l'analyse des relations entre les structures apparentées, mais aussi sur celle des affinités des structures linguistiques de langues d'origine génétique différente. C'est précisément dans ce contexte qu'il convient de situer ce recueil de contributions, issu de la Table ronde franco-allemande, organisée à Ivry (France) du 8 au 12 décembre 1978.

En effet, ce volume réunit dix contributions, dont deux (rédigées par l'éditeur lui-même) concernent les problèmes généraux des rapports entre les structures tchadiques et non-tchadiques, tandis que huit contributions descriptives (préparées par les linguistes attachés au Laboratoire de langues et de civilisations à tradition orale — LP 3-121 du C.N.R.S., ainsi que par les linguistes attachés sous une forme ou l'autre à l'école créée par H. Jungraithmayr à Marburg) portent sur les structures particulières, soient-elles tchadiques ou non-tchadiques. Plusieurs des noms des auteurs (comme Daniel Barreteau, Henry Tourneux, K. H. Ebert, F. Cloarec-Heiss, etc.) sont le gage d'une haute valeur scientifique de l'ouvrage tout entier.

Il est inutile de rappeler tout ce que l'éditeur de ce recueil a accompli dans la promotion des études tchadiques, dont il est — en tant qu'élève de J. Lukas — l'un des fondateurs. Or, dès les années 1977—1978 il a commencé à avancer son hypothèse sur l'origine du système verbal tchadique et sa place dans le contexte afro-asiatique, ainsi que sur la position génétique générale du tchadique dans ce même contexte. Sa thèse concernant la place du tchadique est claire: il y a des liens génétiques incontestables entre le tchadique et la famille afro-asiatique, tandis que d'autres liens subsistent avec les langues «nigritiques» lato sensu. Un seul problème reste en suspens, à savoir la nature des liens avec les langues «non-afroasiatiques». Trancher ce problème devient aujourd'hui peut-être encore plus urgent qu'au moment du colloque d'Ivry, car ces affinités entre le tchadique et les langues «nigritiques» paraissent à présent plus importantes qu'on ne l'imaginait il y a dix ans. Il faut même se demander si la notion du «Sprachbund» classique ne devrait pas être méthodiquement élargie.

Dans la seconde contribution de l'éditeur ainsi que dans plusieurs contribu-

tion à caractère descriptif, les problèmes de la structure verbale des langues tchadiques, ainsi que ceux de leurs affinités avec les langues non-tchadiques se trouvent abordés. Henry Tourneux, par exemple, s'intéresse au verbe mbara, alors que Daniel Barreteau compare ce même verbe mbara avec celui du mofugudur et du gisiga. K. H. Ebert établit une comparaison entre les verbes du kera et du kwang, tandis que l'attention de Cl. Ebobissé se tourne vers le dangaléat. C'est la théorie de H. Jungraithmayr sur le rôle de l'apophonie et l'apotonie qui est étudiée et vérifiée à travers des descriptions de systèmes verbaux différents. C'est d'ailleurs aussi dans ce volume que le H. Jungraithmayr essaie de la préciser. Il tend à accorder la préférence à l'hypothèse selon laquelle toutes les langues tchadiques caractérisées par l'apophonie et par l'apotonie proviennent d'une même source commune, c'est-à-dire d'un type de langues lesquelles utilisaient les deux phénomènes l'un à côté de l'autre.

En outre, plusieurs autres questions importantes sont évoquées. C'est ainsi que Henry Tourneux jette une lumière nouvelle sur les verbes de la langue mbara appartenant à la sous-branche masa, autrefois très discutée par le Pr. Paul Newman. Remarquons à ce sujet que c'est dans ce groupe de langues tchadiques que se manifeste un pourcentage assez élevé d'affinités lexicales avec le songhay. C'est dans ce contexte que plusieurs traits du système grammatical mbara acquièrent une certaine importance comparativiste.

Bien que le problème des relations entre l'apophonie et l'apotonie puisse faire encore longtemps (et pour de bonnes raisons) l'objet d'étude des tchadistes, il serait, bien sûr, parfaitement possible de s'attaquer à d'autres problèmes importants à caractère régional, comme celui de l'alternance syntactique des formes verbales. Il est évident que cette alternance déborde les limites génétiques étroites du tchadique. Est-ce un autre phénomène du «Sprachbund», comme le pense O. E. Essien (v. *XIVth International Congress of Linguists, Abstracts of Section Papers and Round-Table Talks*, Berlin, R. D. A., 1987, p. 37)? Ou est-ce un ancien phénomène génétique tchadique (comme le pensent Paul Newman et R. G. Schuh, *Hausa Aspect System*, 1974), répandu peut être plus tard parmi les langues non-tchadiques de la région? En tout état de cause, ce n'est qu'un problème parmi tant d'autres qui méritent de retenir l'attention des tchadistes.

Ce recueil de contributions linguistiques ne représente pas seulement une collection d'études importantes. C'est par son caractère méthodique qu'il oblige tous les chercheurs à reformuler leurs points de départ analytiques. Après tout, ne sommes-nous portés à fixer un beau jour les catégories et les frontières de notre pensée que pour les abandonner par la suite et tracer des frontières nouvelles? N'est-ce pas à cette Fontaine de Juvence que s'abreuve la science du langage?

Petr Zima

Tourneux, Henry—Seignobos, Christian—Lafarge, Francine: *Les Mbara et leur langue (Tchad)*. Paris, Société d'Etudes Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France 1986. 317 pp.

Cette monographie est un exemple très et fort précieux d'une coopération étroite et fructueuse de recherches anthropologiques, ethnologiques, sociolinguistiques et linguistiques sur un terrain extrêmement intéressant de l'Afrique centrale. Vivant actuellement au bord du Chari, les Mbara représentent les restes d'une ancienne population composée de plusieurs strates qui ont toutes pratiqué la réduction du minerai et forgé le fer. Avec les populations apparentées des Kargu et des Budugur, ce sont les gens d'un double refus: «... refus de l'Islam d'une part ... et de la massaisation d'autre part ... Pour les Baguirmiens, ils représentent la survivance de l'époque pré-islamique, dominée par le pouvoir forgeron. Pour les Massa, ce sont des irréductibles, qui ont refusé, même s'ils élèvent aujourd'hui le bétail, cette ethnique équilibrée, centrée sur la vache ...» (p. 118). Dans les quelque sept ou huit villages, les auteurs n'ont recensé que quelque 517 Mbara, plus précisément 517 personnes vivant dans les concessions dont le chef de famille est Mbara. Mais, comme l'a révélé l'enquête sociolinguistique qui précède la partie descriptive de cet ouvrage, moins de 60% des résidents permanents des concessions mbara ont la langue mbara comme leur première langue, le membre des locuteurs mbara étant suivi par 25% des résidents utilisant le vulum, 11% le gumay et 3% le 'barma. Par contre, cette dernière langue de Baguirmi a un statut sociolinguistiquement ambigu: langue de prestige pour les Mbara, elle devient automatiquement langue première, si la mère est baguirmienne. Dans les autres cas, le 'barma peut être appris comme langue seconde et utilisé sur les marchés, ainsi que le fulfuldé, le haussa et la variante locale de l'arabe. L'enquête sociolinguistique, menée par Francine Lafarge entre les années 1973—79, constate d'ailleurs un certain dynamisme sociolinguistique résultant dans un recul du mbara en tant que langue première pour les enfants de mères vulum, les Mbara étant littéralement assiégés par les Vulum et les Gumay qui tendent à leur imposer, par le jeu des alliances, leurs langues respectives.

La description systématique de la langue mbara est l'œuvre de Henry Tourneux, qui a effectué plusieurs enquêtes au terrain mbara et qui a travaillé systématiquement avec deux informateurs principaux. Il nous offre donc un tableau d'une langue tchadique qui ne dispose aujourd'hui que de quelques centaines de locuteurs. Inutile de souligner l'urgence et l'importance d'une telle description systématique. La monographie descriptive se compose d'une section phonétique et phonologique (p. 129—151), suivie d'une grammaire descriptive et d'une comparaison systématique vulum-mbara (p. 153—203), et complétée par un recueil de phrases mbara, arrangées d'après le Questionnaire d'Inventaire

Linguistique, publié par Luc Bouquiaux et J.M.C. Thomas en 1972. Plusieurs autres annexes comportent les matériaux lexicaux d'une grande valeur scientifique: liste des noms des villages où se trouvent des locuteurs mbara, liste des appellations de terrains-cultures correspondantes, etc. Pour présenter les textes mbara, l'auteur a choisi quatre contes qui sont publiés sous leurs formes intégrales; l'analyse grammaticale (accomplie suivant les conventions établies par Jacqueline M. C. Thomas) figure sous les textes, une traduction française suffisamment littérale pour que l'on puisse s'y retrouver dans la langue originale suit. Un lexique mbara-français-English constitue une conclusion logique de cette partie descriptive. En bref, l'analyse grammaticale et lexicale du mbara, effectuée par Henry Tourneux, est une œuvre riche, solide, écrite dans un style clair et modeste, tout en formulant des conclusions cohérentes. Plusieurs sections de cette monographie remplissent des «cases vides» des études tchadiques de nos jours, ou complètent les recherches précédentes. C'est, par exemple, le cas du chapitre concernant la formation du pluriel des noms, des sections concernant les constructions des énoncés ou du passage sur le genre de noms.

Il y a plusieurs passages qui incitent chaque tchadiste à songer aux affinités possibles par de la les frontières que constituent les chapitres analytiquement séparés par l'auteur. En effet, il est très intéressant de noter que les syntagmes avec des adjectifs en sens défini utilisent pratiquement les mêmes morphèmes de détermination que les syntagmes relatifs, c'est-à-dire *yá* (féminin) et *há* (masculin), v. p. 172 et 174. Dans le même sens ne pourrait-on pas songer à découvrir une affinité entre la copula *há* (p. 179) et l'assertif *há*, et peut-être même le morphème de l'inaccompli-futur *ná* (p. 186). La position exacte des morphèmes *kà*, *gà*, utilisés, selon l'auteur, dans les constructions verbales de l'accompli perfectif (p. 185) et de l'inaccompli progressif (p. 186) est, elle aussi, loin d'être claire. Les constructions avec les copulas *ná* et *kí* (p. 179 et 180) suscitent, aussi, l'intérêt plus général, car ces résultats se situent dans le contexte des recherches sur des morphèmes analogues dans les autres langues tchadiques et non-tchadiques (v. par exemple *Zeitschrift f. Phon.* 39, 1986, No. 5, p. 582—594 et *AAS* 23, 1987, p. 149—156).

En général, c'est un livre que l'on peut recommander vivement non seulement aux linguistes, mais à quiconque s'intéresse aux fonctions du langage dans la vie africaine contemporaine. Par sa lucidité méthodologique et par ses résultats concrets, il apporte beaucoup aux linguistes; et par son caractère interdisciplinaire, il ne peut qu'exciter l'intérêt des autres africanistes.

Petr Zima

Freund, Bill: *The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society since 1800*. London and Basingstoke, The Macmillan Press Ltd. 1984. xv + 357 pp.

It is not quite clear what led the author of this book to present it as a mere "introduction to the history of modern Africa" which "assumes no previous knowledge" of the subject and is intended as a textbook for the general reader. Freund has done and must have aspired to do much more; his book which is polemic rather than descriptive is able to address any professional historian engaged in African studies. In spite of the broad aim of the book there is little sense of compilation and most questions posed in its eleven chapters are tackled through the author's own view. There is a lot of generalizing, inevitable in this kind of project, yet even here Freund's arguments and the way of presenting them do not lack persuasion.

It is important to note that the author's interpretation of Africa's history is materialist in the sense that the core of historical development is seen to be formed by 'the web of social and economic relations that emerges from human satisfaction of material needs' (p. xi). Not only in methodology but even in style Freund seems to be influenced by the work (or at least to be close to the ideas of) Basil Davidson.

An attempt to comprise the development of African society since 1800 in one volume is a formidable task and the author must have struggled hard against the ever-present need to abbreviate and reduce without spoiling the whole image. He has achieved this with varying success. Thus, while it proved impossible for instance to mention and characterize all the chief pre-colonial African states in any meaningful manner in a mere seven pages of text, an equally narrow space proved sufficient for him to delineate a relatively concise picture of the two centuries of "the Portuguese epoch" in Africa.

Although the starting point for Freund's analysis is set to the year 1800, there are two introductory chapters on material and cultural developments of African populations and on the European intrusion in the pre-nineteenth century period. The nineteenth century with its era of legitimate commerce is viewed as an organic link between the two historical periods which stood at its beginning and at its end, i.e. the slave trade and the colonial conquest. The role of the legitimate trade as a factor in the genesis of colonialism is well-known, but what is more interesting here is the author's presentation of the era of legitimate trade not in its contradistinction to, but as the continuation and intensification of social and economic processes begun and developed in the era of the slave trade.

Chapters six to nine consider the economic, social, cultural and political aspects of colonialism, resistance to it and decolonization. The period of independence is seen by the author as being basically the neo-colonial continua-

tion of practices of domination by the old colonial powers, however, his analysis of the crises of independent Africa does not concentrate on the importance of external factors, but aims to tell more about the internal social forces which proved fundamental in shaping the contemporary history of the continent.

Freund's one volume history of the making of modern Africa is provided with two excellent appendices, one being the commented select bibliography and the other a survey of the debate and methodological approaches to the history of Africa in different periods of africanist historiography presented in the first chapter of the book.

Ján Voderadský

Wente-Lucas, Renate: *Handbook of Ethnic Units in Nigeria*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden 1985. 466 pp.

Anyone engaged in research in African social studies would agree that one of the greatest set-backs of the profession is the lack of reliable data banks. Editions of documents, dictionaries, encyclopaedias or handbooks are as precious as they are scarce. It is principally in this regard that the present attempt at compiling a detailed guide to the multiplicity of ethnic units of Nigeria — Africa's most populous state — should be appreciated.

The material for the book has been derived from published sources rather than from field work. This could have at least enabled the author (or authors? — assistance of Adam Smith is acknowledged in the form of the book's subheading but remains completely unspecified) to present a balanced collection, unbiased towards "one's own" region or group. However, certain disproportions have not been avoided; if we look, for example at the space devoted to the greatest ethnic groups of Nigeria, we find the Fulani to be dealt with in what amounts to a separate detailed study of 25 pages, while the Hausa, the Yoruba and the Ibo are accorded 5, 6 and 2 pages respectively.

There are up to 600 entries in the handbook, organized in the alphabetic order. A number of them are no more than ethnic fractions, names of villages or hamlets, linguistic denominations, included are even terms such as Wushishi where no information, save for the fact that it was once used in an index of Nigerian languages and dialects, was available to the author. Her liberal approach as to what a handbook of ethnic units ought to contain is crowned by the following entry: Kagarko — they have a language of their own (Plateau language) according to L. Gerhardt (personal communication, 1980). Obviously the author's primary aim was to bring together all information, both positive and negative, available on the subject, not to select and classify. The result is sometimes a bit confusing, as is the case with population figures which offer a

tangle of whole and partial, older and recent, official and estimative often rather contradictory data with no clue to the puzzle offered. However, in other parts this indiscriminative approach proves of more worth — for example the listing of all known synonyms and variants of the principal name of each ethnic unit and settlement and their inclusion in the impressive index of approximately six thousand and seven hundred entries comfortably guarantees that one does not get lost in a hitherto intricate Nigerian ethnic maze, complicated by complex subdivisions, different language usages and misspellings.

As far as the structure of individual entries is concerned, each unit (where the relevant information is available) is divided into six main paragraphs, some of them subdivided as follows: 1.1 principal name; 1.2 autonym; 1.3 synonyms (with the indication of the source where these are found); 1.4 variants (of the principal name); 2. subgroups; 3.1 present location; 3.2 previous locations; 4. population; 5.1 language affiliation (referring to the classification established by Greenberg); 5.2 name of language (with information on the dialect situation); 6. literature (referring to all sources used in the compilation of information to each entry).

Pioneering works of this kind cannot be perfect. It even seems a bit unjust to try to treat them in a review. This handbook will probably be better appreciated in the course of the following years when it is bound to come in handy to all those seriously engaged in the study of Nigeria.

Ján Voderadský

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