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INSTITUTE OF LITERARY SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

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ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, BRATISLAVA
INSTITUTE OF LITERARY SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

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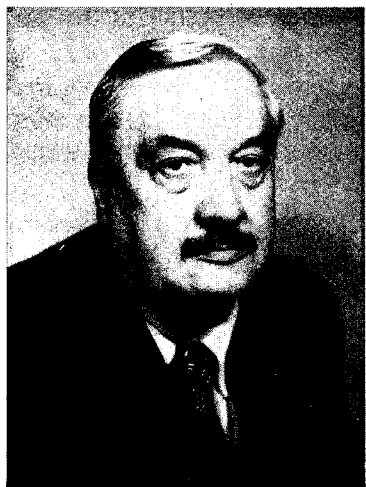
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CENTENARY OF JÁN BAKOŠ, MEMBER OF THE SLOVAK AND CZECHOSLOVAK ACADEMIES OF SCIENCES (1890–1967)



Born in 1890, Ján Bakoš entered the history of the Slovak Oriental studies as an outstanding successor and continuator of scholarly tradition in the field of Semitic studies in Slovakia.

Aged 19, after having finished the secondary school, he continued his studies at the Protestant Academy in Bratislava (formerly Pressburg) where he made his first acquaintance with Arabic and Hebrew. In 1912 he received a fellowship to attend the University of Göttingen, a famous centre of Semitic studies. Here he continued his studies under the guidance of Julius Wellhausen, Enno Littmann and other renowned Semitologists and it was here that he became interested in Syriac that was to play an

important role in the early period of his scholarly career. During the first year of his graduate study at this university he wrote an important scholarly work on the marking of vowels by consonantal symbols in Semitic languages. This study won a high university award and was subsequently accepted as a doctoral dissertation. In consequence of the World War I, however, he obtained the Ph.D. degree several years later, after his return to Göttingen in 1920.

In the period between 1921–1924 he visited several important libraries, in Berlin, Paris and Rome, to study the Arabic and Syriac manuscripts and to gather textual material for his later scholarly work. During these years that proved to be the most formative in his scholarly career, he attained a high degree of philological and philosophical erudition.

In the early thirties he edited the first two parts of the great Syriac encyclopaedia *Menārat quḏṣē* (*Candelabrum of Sanctuaries*) (1930–33), compiled by the famous polyhistor and encyclopaedist Grīg(h)ōr Abu-l-Faraj Bar ʿEb(h)rāyā, in mediaeval

Europe better known under his Latinized name Barhebraeus (1226–1286). The edited parts deal with epistemological, logical and cosmological problems. From this vast encyclopaedia he later edited the eighth part devoted to psychology (1948). Both these editions are followed by an excellent French translation, commentary and analysis of sources. Preparatory studies to the edition of *Menārat qudšē* drew the attention of Ján Bakoš, to another outstanding personality, Mōšē bar Kēp(h)ā (813–903). From his *Hexaemeron* he edited the part dealing with zoology, with a German translation and commentary (1930) and an analysis of sources (1934).

While working on Barhebraeus' *Psychology*, the attention of Ján Bakoš has been attracted by another star of mediaeval science, Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā, in Europe better known as Avicenna (980–1037), since his philosophical encyclopaedia *aš-Šifā'* (*Recovery*) was one of Barhebraeus' main sources. The critical edition of Avicenna's *Psychology*, followed by a French translation and commentary (1956), became a valuable contribution to the study of mediaeval science and its linking points to the Classical scholarship. Avicenna's *Logic*, that was to follow the edition of *Psychology*, could not be completed. Unfortunately, this magnificent editorial project was stopped by the inexorable fate shortly before its completion (Ján Bakoš died on 24 January 1967).

The university career of Ján Bakoš is of no lesser importance than his scholarly activities. As early as 1931 he was appointed Associate Professor for North Semitic languages and cultures at the Comenius University in Bratislava. In 1946 he became Professor (Ordinarius) at that University and was holder of the chair of Semitic philology up to his retirement in 1964. In 1946 he was active as dean of the Faculty of Arts of that University.

Apart from his introducing Semitology to the Comenius University by creating Semitic Department of the Faculty of Arts, Ján Bakoš deserves credit for the establishment of another centre of Oriental studies in Bratislava, Department of Oriental Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (1960). For some years that followed he was active as its director.

For his scholarly achievements Ján Bakoš was honoured by the membership in a number of scientific institutions and learned societies: Oriental Institute in Prague, Royal Czech Society of Sciences, Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts in Prague and Šafárik's Learned Society in Bratislava. In the post-war period, he was appointed Member of the newly established Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava (1956) and, somewhat later, Member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague (1965).

The vast scholarly work of Ján Bakoš bears mark of excellence in all its particular manifestations. Twenty-three years that have passed since his death have by no means filled the gap he had left in Slovak Oriental studies.

Ladislav Drozdík

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ARTICLES

AN ANALYSIS OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN DISCOURSE*

VIKTOR KRUPA, Bratislava

Personal pronouns in typologically diverse languages are compared within the framework of communication. The observed pronominal forms are confronted with various theoretically possible structural patterns and participation of such categories in the observed variety is described as, e.g., gender, spatial proximity and courtesy.

Even today synchronous linguistics is branded with some traces of a narrow-minded approach that restricts language – whether deliberately or unconsciously – to its standard (or even only written) variant cut off from its environment and thus from its basic function. The status of the vernacular and of its manifestations is done away as substandard and virtually “incorrect”. Once the standard, cultural and/or written form of language is considered to be worth scholarly attention, the role of extralinguistic means of communication tends to be neglected – and even the role of some linguistic means such as intonation often tends to be underestimated.

Such a situation has its consequences for the process of everyday communication. At its best, the oral variety of language is flooded with literary, journalistic, artificial and sometimes shabby and awkward ways of expression and, at its worst, the extremely high prestige of the written variety of language may lead to serious disturbances in its spoken variety, which has happened e.g. in Japanese where the high homonymy of lexemes created in the literary language makes them incomprehensible without the support of the script and leads to the necessity of carrying out a language reform (*gembun-itchi*, unity of spoken and written language).

This is no place to discuss such features of informal speech as fragmentary or incomplete sentence structure, fuzzy limits of utterances, inconsistencies, errors, absence of complicated sentences, etc. Saying that any two languages are much more similar upon the level of common speech than upon that of the written and cultivated usage is no exaggeration. The written variant inevitably replaces non-linguistic expressive means with purely linguistic ones and various languages may considerably deviate in this respect. Frances Hodgetts Syder writes about these and similar problems in a very pointed and cogent way in her book *The Fourth R: Spoken Language, English Teaching and Social Competence* (Syder 1983).

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These brief remarks have been included here because, obviously enough, the mutual relations among the elements of the microsystem of personal pronouns and their functioning can only be understood in a proper way if examined within the entire framework of the communicative situation, with due regard paid not only to their identificational roles but also to the tissue of social and emotional factors hidden in the background. It is after all the conversation (as a part of human activity in general) that may with some justification be regarded as the basic and oldest variety of speech, the former including statements, questions, exclamations, commands, exhortations etc. Most other types of speech are believed to be derived from it either through extension or reduction.

Speaking allegorically, conversation or rather dialogue as its minimum basic variety may be regarded as a mini-drama where the human protagonists act upon the background of spatial, temporal and other circumstances, exchanging utterances and indulging at the same time in other forms of behaviour.

Various kinds of discourse (dialogue, political speech, story, etc.) differ considerably as to the explicitness of marking spatial and temporal coordinates and also as to the ways of marking the human participants.

The dialogue as the simplest model of discourse (a monologue is secondary to it and derived from it through reduction) comprises at least the speaker (S), the addressee (A) and optionally the passive participant or hearer (H):

$S \rightarrow A \# H$

S, A (and H) are merely functions of the discourse situation, alternating upon the level of reference in their deictic roles:

1. $S \rightarrow A \# H$

2. $A \leftarrow S \# H$

3. $S \rightarrow A \# H$, etc.

While both S and A take an active part in the consecutive exchange of utterances, H is an optional and virtually passive component, sometimes merely one of the topics of conversation although it may enter into the dialogue, ousting the preceding person or "actor" from the active foreground to the passive background. It goes without saying that only human beings may embrace the roles of S and A (except upon the level of metaphor and allegory) but while the referents of S and A are always living humans, whether or not expressed pronominally, the referents of the personal pronouns of the 3rd person may be either human beings, animals or even things.

Discourse requires, in addition to spatial and temporal circumstances, an identification of the respective participants. There are several complementary and competitive ways of achieving this and individual languages may select them in various proportions.

The most widespread means of identification of the discourse participants is the pronominal deictic system that is always egocentric (unlike other systems that may

be characterized as relative or status-centric). The pronominal deictic system may have its replica in a set of affixes (marking possession and/or verbal person) and, in addition to this, may be complemented with a set of demonstrative pronouns.

In all languages there are circumstances that require the identification of the particular participants to be carried out by expressions of an essentially non-deictic nature, e.g. such expressions as proper names, titles and other descriptive nominations (professor, prime minister, his royal highness, father, mother, etc.). Such expressions are fairly frequent in polite and formal speech but also when talking to children. They are admittedly precise but one of their handicaps in spoken language is that they are awkward and delay the flow of information. Sometimes, however, they develop into true personal pronouns, cf. Indonesian *saya* I (originally slave), Japanese *anata* you (originally *ano kata* that side). However, before reaching this stage, they may be notable for ambivalence. Thus Indonesian *bapak* (literally father) may be applied to the addressee if the latter is an elderly and/or respectable person to whom the speaker feels inferior but likewise to the speaker provided he is older and more respectable than the addressee.

Some languages employ less straightforward methods of identifying the participants of discourse. The latter are namely, in addition to being protagonists of the discourse, members of a society that is hierarchically structured and their social status is linguistically (lexically and/or grammatically) relevant. It is not uncommon for the status relations to interact with the participant roles (Lyons 1969: 276). This non-deictic identification of participants ought to be regarded rather as a by-product of the explicit indication of their status roles than as an alternative formalization of the category of person, which is confirmed by a parallel and/or occasional use of pronominal expressions (e.g. in Japanese, Samoan, Javanese).

The basic or minimum model of conversation $S \rightarrow A \neq H$ undergoes various modifications in speech. The speaker (S) may participate in the conversation either as an individual or as a representative of what may be termed the speaker's group. The latter is fairly heterogeneous since it includes or rather may include, in addition to the speaker himself, one or more hearers and/or the addressee as well. Various contingencies of the speaker's group semantics may be schematized as follows:

- (1) $S + A$,
- (2) $S + H_j$,
- (3) $S + H_j + A$

Any of these three contingencies may be observed with the English pronoun *we*, German *wir*, French *nous*, Russian *my*. Their heterogeneity makes them grammatically very close to the additive plural; cf. the postpositive marker *ma* in Maori: *Ko Te Rauparaha ma* "Te Rauparaha and others", "The Rauparaha and his friends".

The deep semantic differences between (1), (2) and (3) are not formalized in all languages. One major area where this complexity is reflected upon the formal level

is Southeast Asia and Oceania where the opposition of inclusive and exclusive pronouns plays an important role. The simplest variety of a system of this type is found in Indonesian. This language has at its disposal two equivalents of the English pronoun *we* – the inclusive *kita* “we including you” and the exclusive *kami* “we without you”:

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{kita} &= (1) S + A, \\ &\quad (3) S + A + H_j, \\ \textit{kami} &= (2) S + H_j \end{aligned}$$

The same pattern is known from Australia. Thus in the Maung language the inclusive pronoun *ngarwuri* covers (1) and (3) while *ngari*, being exclusive, covers (2).

Other languages within the macroregion may be more specific. Maori, like most Polynesian languages, distinguishes dual (in addition to plural) and manages to formalize all three contingencies:

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{taaua} \text{ “me and you”} &= (1) S + A_i, \text{ where } i = 1, \\ \textit{maaua} \text{ “we and him”} &= (2) S + H_j, \text{ where } j = 1, \\ \textit{taatou} \text{ “we and you”} &= (3) S + A_i + H_j, \text{ where } i + j \geq 2 \text{ and } i \neq 0, \\ \textit{maatou} \text{ “we without you”} &= (2) S + H_j, \text{ where } j \geq 2 \end{aligned}$$

A further specification of the category of number includes an addition of trial to the above pattern, e.g. in Kaliai-Kove (language spoken in northern New Britain) and in Fijian. And thus the English pronoun *we* has six equivalents in Kaliai-Kove:

$$\begin{aligned} \textit{viarua} &= (2) S + H_j, \text{ where } j = 1, \\ \textit{tarua} &= (1) S + A_i, \text{ where } i = 1, \\ \textit{viatolu} &= (2) S + H_j, \text{ where } j = 2, \\ \textit{tatolu} &= (3) S + A_i + H_j, \text{ where } i + j = 2 \text{ (i.e. either } i = 1 \text{ and } j = 1 \text{ or } i = 2 \text{ and } j = 0 \text{ but } i \neq 0), \\ \textit{viai} &= (2) S + H_j, \text{ where } j \geq 3, \\ \textit{teita} &= (3) S + A_i + H_j, \text{ where } i + j \geq 3 \text{ (i.e. either } i = 1 \text{ and } j \geq 2 \text{ or } i = 2 \text{ and } j \geq 1, \text{ or } i \geq 3 \text{ but } i \neq 0). \end{aligned}$$

The Fijian system of personal pronouns is virtually a replica of the Kaliai-Kove pattern since *keirau*, *kedaru*, *keitou*, *kedatou*, *keimami*, and *keda* are exact equivalents of their Kaliai-Kove pendants.

In Tongan the dichotomy of inclusive versus exclusive has been extended to cover the first person singular as well; there are two forms associated with the role of the speaker or rather with the first person singular. While *'ou* (or *kau*) is used as a functional equivalent of the English pronoun *I*, *kita* seems to be a generalized pronoun because its semantics covers the speaker and the addressee and often the hearer as well. This generalized meaning may be explained etymologically as a derivation from the original plural inclusive pronoun of the first person **kita*. In present-day Tongan this pronoun is employed not only in the meaning of English “one”, German “man” or French “on” but also in the polite style as an humble equivalent of *'ou* (*kāu*) “I”. This is easy to explain through one of the basic principles of the strategy

of courtesy according to which a lower degree of definiteness is valued positively in polite speech.

The speaker may address several persons during the discourse (e.g. in a class, during a conference). This so-called addressee's group potentially comprises several persons participating in the discourse or it may include hearers as well. These two alternatives are schematized as follows:

- (1) A_i (where $i \geq 2$) (2) $A_i + H_j$

These two somewhat different alternatives are not formalized upon the lexical level as different although such a distinction is theoretically possible and might even be desirable from the point of view of a greater precision. Quite the contrary, there are languages in which there is only one lexeme for the addressee and his group. Thus in Indonesian *kamu* may refer to one or more addressees (*kamu sekalian* "you all" is employed to underline the plurality), being essentially homofunctional with the English pronoun *you* (*thou* is archaic and functionally restricted). In Oceania, on the other hand, we have to do with a proliferation of distinctions. Maori (selected here as a representative of Polynesian) distinguishes dual and plural:

koorua = (1) A_i , where $i = 2$ or (2) $A_i + H_j$, where $i = 1$ and $j = 1$

Some languages even distinguish trial, e.g. Kaliai-Kove:

amurua = (1) A_i , where $i = 2$ or (2) $A_i + H_j$, where $i = 1$ and $j = 1$

amutolu = (2) $A_i + H_j$, where $i + j = 3$ and $i \neq 0$

amiu = (2) $A_i + H_j$, where $i + j > 3$ and $i \neq 0$

Fijian *kemudrau*, *kemudou* and *kemuni* closely correspond to these Kaliai-Kove examples.

The pronouns referring to the addressee's group seem to be more homogeneous semantically than those of the speaker's group and may be said to have a true plural, especially in those instances when $H = 0$.

A few words should be said about analytical ways of marking the opposition of inclusivity/exclusivity as well as about dual and plural. Traces of such a phase of development are found in many languages of Oceania where the dual forms contain a marker either fully or etymologically identical with the numeral "two"; the numeral "three" is attested for Kaliai-Kove and Fijian trials but also for Polynesian plurals; here the trial forms have been reinterpreted as plural. Initial stages of this development are found in Indonesian; cf. *kamu sekalian* "you all" (you, plural). In Europe, Russian is notable for its frequent use of analytical expressions of inclusivity/exclusivity, cf. *my s toboi* and *my s vami* (alongside with *my* "we"). *My s toboi*, literally "we with thou", may be characterized as inclusive dual (exactly like Maori *taaua*) while *my s vami*, literally "we with you", is inclusive plural (an equivalent of Maori *taatou*); the basic form *my* "we" is neutral in this respect.

There are other ways of rendering the addressee's identification more unambiguous. One of them is based upon the introduction of the category of gender into the pronominal system. However, gender is not known to intersect with the first person,

obviously because the speaker as the centre of the whole deictic system is definite enough, more so than any other personal pronoun.

Quite a few languages distinguish gender in the second person. Thus Standard Arabic distinguishes masculine and feminine forms in both singular and plural:

you (sing.): *anta* = A_i masc *anti* = A_i fem (where $i = 1$)

you (plur.): *antum* = A_i masc *antunna* = A_i fem ($i \geq 2$)

The same pattern is found in Tunica, an Indian language spoken in Louisiana:

you (sing.): *ma'* = A_i masc *he'ma* = A_i fem ($i = 1$)

you (plur.): *wi'nima* = A_i masc *hi'nima* = A_i fem ($i \geq 2$)

The third person pronouns (i.e. those referring to the hearer) deviate in a variety of respects from those associated with the speaker and the addressee. The former may be applied to human beings, animals and to inanimate objects although in some languages they tend to be applied only to human beings. On the whole, the third person is the least definite one and from this point of view it is easy to understand that (1) it often intersects with the categories of gender, animateness, number, spatial proximity, etc.; (2) it frequently competes with other ways of identification such as proper names and descriptive expressions; (3) the inventory of the third person pronouns is frequently extended at the account of demonstratives.

The intersection of gender with deixis makes it possible to distinguish pronominal forms associated with the hearer in many European languages (English *he, she, it*; German *er, sie, es*; Russian *on, ona, ono*). In Arabic and in Tunica there are two third person pronouns differing in gender – masculine and feminine (Arabic *huwa* he, *hiya* she; Tunica *'u'wi* he, *ti'hci* she). It is worth noticing that the gender distinctions tend to disappear in the plural. Thus the English plural *they* contrasts with the singular forms *he, she* and *it* and likewise the Russian plural form *oni* with the singular forms *on, ona, ono*. In Slovak the trichotomy in the singular (*on, ona, ono*) is replaced by a dichotomy in the plural (*oni* animate, *ony* inanimate) including all feminine and neuter nouns. However, in everyday speech as a rule only *oni* is used. This tendency for the gender distinctions to fade in the plural may be due to the fact that the hearer's group is often mixed from the standpoint of sex that is reflected in the category of gender, at least with the animate nouns. However, Arabic and Tunica carry out the gender distinction even in the plural, cf. Arabic *hum* they (masc.) – *hunna* they (fem.), Tunica *se'ma* (masc.) – *si'nima* they (fem.).

The paradigm of the third person pronouns is sometimes complicated by finer distinctions. Chiricahua Apache, a language spoken in New Mexico and Arizona, distinguishes two pronouns of the third person. One of them is traditionally termed the fourth person and is applied by the speaker to certain relatives by marriage with whom a respect relationship is maintained. It may also be used in a context in which it is necessary to distinguish two hearers and thus it is an important means of disambiguation.

The function of the third person pronouns is often taken over by pronouns of

a demonstrative origin. In the Australian Western Desert language there are four such forms – *nga* close to the speaker, *pala* close to the addressee, *nyara* distant, and *palunya* aforementioned. Slavic pronouns of the third person are likewise demonstrative by origin (cf. Russian or Slovak *on*, Bulgarian *toi*), being thus similar to the Latin *ille*.

Russian may also be said to have the so-called fourth person pronoun. For instance, in the sentence *Moi brat vstretil uchitelya i tot skazal emu* "My brother met the teacher and the latter told him" *tot* ("that", "the latter") refers to the teacher and *emu* ("him") refers to *moi brat* "my brother". When the subject of the second clause is identical with the subject of the first clause, *on* ("he") could be used: *Moi brat vstretil uchitelya i (on) skazal emu* "My brother met the teacher and told him".

When discussing the structural organization of the system of personal pronouns, J. Lyons maintains that the primary line separates the first person (in his terminology +*ego*) from the non-first persons (–*ego*) while the opposition of the second versus the third person (–*ego* and –*tu* in his terminology) is secondary (Lyons 1969: 278). Obviously Lyons has been carried away by the egocentric orientation of the whole deictic system. However, it is linguistically more plausible to draw the primary dividing line between the third person on the one hand, and the first and the second person on the other hand, not only because of the three reasons mentioned above but also because it is only the speaker and the addressee that take an active part in the discourse while the hearer may be defined as a potential participant. Another fact that supports this interpretation is the zero marking of the third person with the verbs of many inflective languages, which reflects the need frequently to use nouns and nominal expressions in the syntactic function of the subject. In addition to this, while the roles of both the speaker and the addressee are very clearly defined, the scope of the category of hearer is very wide, including persons immediately present in the discourse situation (within the reach of the speaker and the addressee) on the one hand and those separated from the discourse by spatial and/or temporal barriers.

As mentioned in the beginning, the status relations may to a considerable extent replace deictic markers of the discourse participants. This led some linguists, e.g. B. H. Chamberlain, W. G. Aston and E. D. Polivanov to interpret such a use of the courtesy style in Japanese as a kind of a category of person. Viewing the Japanese category of courtesy through the prism of European languages may indeed lead to a temptation to consider it as homofunctional with the category of person but the overlap is far from complete. The category of courtesy is regarded here as one of the dominant features of the Japanese language. Only a fragment of it will be mentioned here, namely one from the realm of verbs. Quite a few basic verbs display three suppletive series where each triad covers various degrees of courtesy, i.e. humble, honorific and neutral:

	humble	honorific	neutral
to do	<i>itasu</i>	<i>nasaru</i>	<i>suru</i>
to tell	<i>mōsu</i>	<i>ossharu</i>	<i>iu</i>
to know	<i>zonjiru</i>	<i>gozonji ni naru</i>	<i>shiru</i>
to come	<i>mairu</i>	<i>irassharu</i>	<i>kuru</i>

The humble series is used by the speaker about his own actions when addressing someone whose status is culturally defined as higher than that of the speaker. The honorific series, on the other hand, applies to the actions of the addressee enjoying a higher status than the speaker while the neutral series implies an equality of status or a lower status of the addressee.

An analogous distinction exists with the verbs of giving (*yarū* – *ageru* versus *kureru* – *kudasaru*), with the kinship terminology (*chichi* – *otōsan* father, *kanai* – *okusan* wife, *ane* – *nēsan* elder sister), etc. It is important to note that e.g. *ageru* is employed not only as a verb of the first person, i.e. “I am giving something to you whom I esteem”, but also in the meaning “he/she is giving something to you”. This illustrates the essential difference between the deictic category of personal pronouns and that of courtesy in Japanese. While the deictic system is essentially egocentric, the selection of an adequate verb (or of a noun) in Japanese depends upon the status of the addressee or of the hearer relative to that of the speaker. That is why this category may be called role-centric or relativistic. The category of courtesy in Japanese cannot be identified with that of person although the courtesy forms often make the use of personal pronouns redundant. According to R. A. Miller, “... this elaborate system of speech levels has traditionally and historically existed side by side with a remarkable repertory of words more or less equivalent to what would be called pronouns in Indo-European languages” (Miller 1970: 274).

The category of courtesy is also found in other languages of Southeast Asia and Oceania (also elsewhere, e.g. in Nahuatl) but while in Korean it is typologically similar to Japanese, in Javanese and Samoan it is not; in the latter two languages courtesy does not make the use of personal pronouns superfluous.

Courtesy phenomena intersect with the personal pronouns in many languages. For example, in French and in Slavic languages there is an opposition of politeness in the second person; the plural pronoun has acquired the polite meaning when applied to the single addressee (French *vous*, Slavic *vy*). Thus for Slovak we obtain in the familiar style:

Singular	Plural
<i>ja</i> (I)	<i>my</i> (we)
<i>ty</i> (you)	<i>vy</i> (you)
<i>on</i> (he), <i>ona</i> (she), <i>ono</i> (it)	<i>oni</i> , <i>ony</i> (they)

However, in the polite style we obtain:

Singular

ja (I)

Plural

my (we)

vy (you)

The use of the third person pronouns is generally avoided in polite speech and preference is given to names, titles, etc. But in spoken Slovak, especially in rural areas, there is a tendency to employ – per analogiam – the plural *oni* (they) as a polite variant of *on* (he) and *ona* (she). This can be schematized as follows:

Singular

ja (I)

Plural

my (we)

vy (you)

oni (he, she, they)

In the first person, politeness manifests itself as humbleness and at least in the scholarly style *my* (we) is often employed as an humble variant of *ja* (I).

German employs the third person plural pronoun *Sie* when politely addressing someone. While Czech uses the French pattern today, in the past the German model prevailed and, interestingly enough, the third person singular pronoun *on* (he), *ona* (she) was used when approaching persons of an inferior status, e.g. servants. Perhaps the logic behind this usage (derived from German) was based upon the characteristics of the third person as absent, as someone “who is not there”. The usage has disappeared and perhaps the last trace of it may be seen in the reinforcement of the impolite denotation of the third person pronouns, esp. when the person referred to is within the reach of the active participants of the discourse.

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SOME REMARKS ON THE STRATEGY OF COURTESY*

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Various general strategies and domains of application of the category of courtesy are discussed in this paper upon the background of data from various languages.

It is not our intention to discuss the far-reaching philosophical question as to whether human language reflects the world of our experience or re-creates it and not only because we would have to define the content of the two verbs. Perhaps we should embrace a more modest position that language interacts with reality, reflecting not only our experience but reflecting it with a certain bias since experience is processed by the human mind in accordance with human interests and attitudes toward the world, mapping our conceptions onto this mental "map". In this broad definition, however, experience includes, in addition to external objective reality, human mind as well as social organization.

The social function and nature of language implies the existence of a high measure of sensitivity toward social relations holding among the members of a community. Language gives its users virtually infinite possibilities of expressing status and social relations, and the particular languages differ considerably in this respect. While most European languages content themselves with expressing courtesy and related phenomena largely with sparse lexical means, first of all upon the level of personal pronouns and words of address, there are languages displaying not only incomparably more numerous sets of stylistically polite and humble lexemes but also requiring to distinguish what is polite from what is neutral upon the level of grammar, such as Japanese, Korean, Javanese, Ponapean, Nahuatl, etc.

Maintaining that the existence of an elaborate category of courtesy strongly and unambiguously correlates with the existence of a complex social structure of the language community in question would be a stark simplification. There are reasons to believe that Mediaeval European society was by no means simpler than its Japanese pendant and yet the quantitative contrast between their inventories of courtesy expressions is marked. We could – and without hesitation – go even farther and

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maintain that social status is not the only factor that triggers polite speech. Put briefly, one tends to be polite not only to leaders, emperors, chiefs but also to elderly people, one's parents, human beings of the other sex, strangers, etc. Once we have embraced this position, it cannot come as a surprise that Samoan, the language of a no doubt much less complex society than that of Mediaeval Europe, has at its disposal much more abundant courtesy means than any European language.

However, despite all the observed differences in expressing courtesy, there is a set of features that are shared by courtesy styles in all languages. Perhaps we may even speak of a universal strategy (strategies) of courtesy that is (are) essentially prelinguistic.

First of all, it is typical for the linguistic phenomena of courtesy to group in a few conceptual domains, namely, words of address and personal pronouns, kinship and basic social terminology as well as basic bodily functions, actions and items (anatomy, clothes, food, etc.) that are relevant or salient for the human body or rather for the whole person. Thus in Slovak the polite pronoun of the second person is *vy* ("you", plural), contrasting with the intimate *ty* ("you", singular). Likewise, speaking of someone's wife one could employ either *žena* (basically neutral) or *manželka* (more formal and polite). Another important area where courtesy seems to be universally present is that of requests. Explicit commands are ruled out in polite style and are replaced by less straightforward methods, cf. the English "Would you pass me that book?", "I should appreciate...", "Could you...", etc.

Being polite to someone else may imply, in addition to polite words, not only the existence of neutral terms – cf. Japanese *nasaru* to do (polite) versus *suru* to do (neutral) – but also the existence of parallel humble terms – such as Japanese *itasu* to do (humble). The structure of politeness may be even more complex. Thus Javanese displays, in addition to plain Ngoko and polite Kromo, another level, the so-called High Kromo. This extraordinary complexity makes the courtesy style diachronically unstable. The latter seems to be capable of efficient functioning only within a fairly closed community with strictly and transparently defined relations among its members. This would explain why the Javanese themselves prefer speaking Bahasa Indonesia to complete strangers (even if they are Javanese) and why the *tulafale* or orators are needed in Samoan society.

Courtesy is regarded here as a multidimensional space where the speaker evaluates several possible strategies to arrive at an adequate expression. The basic co-ordinates are as follows: (1) close – distant, (2) below – upward, (3) definite – indefinite, (4) direct – indirect. Another co-ordinate utilized for the purposes of courtesy could be formulated as (5) less – more. This means that someone whom we esteem may be viewed as stronger, bigger, more influential, etc. Seen from a different point of view, metaphor, metonymy, and imagery in general, seem to play an important part in polite speech as well. This brings us to a possibility of subdividing polite expressions in any language into two classes. First, there is a class of expressions that

are employed in polite speech but do also occur in ordinary speech, in a somewhat different meaning, e.g. Japanese *mieru* to come (in the polite style) and to be visible (in the ordinary style). Likewise, Maori *rangi* refers to a high chief in the polite style while denoting sky in ordinary speech. Another class of expressions includes lexemes that occur only in polite speech, e.g. Japanese *okusan* wife, *okāsan* mother, Javanese *segawon* dog, *wulan* month, Slovak *ráčit* be willing to do, kindly do.

Logic hidden behind the strategies listed above is understandable enough and does not need much explanation. Someone to whom I feel the need to be polite is viewed a priori as less close to me, cf. the polite German pronoun *Sie* when applied to the addressee. However, this particular pronoun is at the same time a manifestation of the strategy (5), because of its plurality. The Slavic pronoun *vy* (referring to the addressee) as well as its French equivalent *vous* are instances of the application of the strategy (5), because of their plurality but not of the strategy (1) since they are pronouns of the second person.

While the strategy (1) may be qualified as a spatial metaphor, in the case of the strategy (5) we have to do with a quantitative metaphor. The latter comprises not only a contrast in numerical quantity but also that in social weight, influence, power, or status, etc. This seems to explain the use of *saya* I and *tuan* you in Malay. The primary meaning of *saya* is a slave, humble servant (Wilkinson 1961: 237) and that of *tuan* is lord (ibid.: 295).

The strategy (2) may also be regarded as a spatial metaphor; what I esteem is viewed as being in a higher sphere than I am, cf. such usage as *Your Highness* in English, *Vashe prevoskhoditelstvo* in Russian. A classical example of a "vertical" spatial metaphor is supplied by the verbs of giving in Japanese. When the speaker is giving something to a person of a higher status, the verb *ageru* is felt to be appropriate; it could be translated as "giving upward". If, on the contrary, the speaker is given something by an esteemed person, the verb *kudasaru* ought to be employed, with connotations of "giving downward" (Makino – Tsutsui 1986: 63, 209).

As far as social sphere is concerned, the vertical spatial metaphor seems to be at least as adequate as the quantitative metaphor. The contrast of above and below seems to be universally applied to the differences in the social status and is no doubt rooted in religion and mythology. It is manifested not only in language but also in such customs as kneeling or lying prostrate in the presence of royalty or gods; cf. also the archaic Russian expression *bit chelom* to petition (literally "to hit the floor with one's forehead").

The strategy (3), i.e. using indefinite expressions in a polite situation, also seems to be universally present. Thus *taberu* to eat and *nomu* to drink are replaced in polite Japanese by *meshiagaru* to consume; *irassharu* is a polite equivalent of three rather different verbs, i.e. *iru* to be, *kuru* to come, *iku* to go (Alpatov 1973: 47). The same strategy is fairly common in Samoan. For instance, *mata* face, eye, *isu* nose, and *gutu* mouth are politely replaced by *fotoga*. Likewise, *vae* leg, foot and *lima* hand,

arm are replaced by 'a'ao, and 'ai to eat as well as *inu* to drink alternate with the polite and less definite *taumafa* (Milner 1961:). Or in Javanese Kromo Inggil *sugeng* replaces both *slamet* (healthy) and *urip* (to live).

The strategy (4) is very common in situations when the speaker feels the need to ask for something, to request something from the addressee. Being polite in such circumstances means being aware that the partner cannot be directly controlled but only, at the very best, indirectly manipulated. In such an instance suggestions are better than commands or requests, and conditionals are better than imperatives. Suggestions and conditionals are better because – at least linguistically – they grant more freedom of decision to the addressee, e.g. May I ask you to sit down? – Impersonal way of speaking also belongs here, e.g. Japanese *Asoko e itte wa dame desu*, literally Going there is useless (meaning Do not go there).

Various strategies may clash and result in courtesy homonymy. Thus *my* (we) in Slovak, just as in many European languages, has a connotation of modesty in science ("indefinite is more polite than definite") while in the plural of royalty the presence of the strategy "less versus more" is felt.

Courtesy in the proper sense displays some links with ornate speech, euphemism and word tabu. All these phenomena may be regarded as sources for the extension and diversification of polite speech and as such are well known from Polynesian languages. Thus, in Maori, when speaking of a chief's death, one may say *I whati ai te marama* "The moon was broken" or *I makere iho te tara o te marama* "The point of the riven moon fell down". In expressions of this kind the essence of politeness consists in images borrowed from the realm of natural phenomena and elements although the presence of a certain component of vagueness is undeniable.

Only a few aspects of courtesy speech have been dealt with here, basically upon the lexical level; special grammatical markers of politeness have been omitted here.

In conclusion, courtesy may be characterized here as a relation linking two terms. One of them is the speaker and the other one, whether the addressee or the hearer, is that person who, arousing the speaker's respect, is accessible to the latter only indirectly, across a social gap which can be bridged only by carefully selected linguistic means.

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ON TWO TYPES OF ANALYTISM IN THE AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF AREAL LANGUAGE CONTACTS

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The author discusses the question of typological character of the Chamic languages spoken in continental Southeast Asia. She concentrates on the process and factors of the evolution of the analytism in these languages, confronting them with the genetically related Oceanic as well as Malayo-Javanese languages of the Austronesian family and paying attention to extralinguistic circumstances of their historical changes.

The Austronesian family of languages is notable for a high degree of typological diversity of their structure. Traditional morphological typology concentrated upon synthetic means of the word structure – affixes, inflexion, alternation, etc. This paper does not focus upon these questions and that is why I restrict myself to a few brief remarks. As far as the (synthetic) word structure typology is concerned, the Austronesian languages display a predominance of agglutinative structures although inflective features do also occur. Austronesian affixation coincides roughly with affixation of those Eurasian languages that served as a basis for the elaboration of the notion of agglutination. The structural features these two language groupings share are clear morphological divisibility within the word, ability of stems to function as words and some manifestations of synharmonism within the limits of the word.

The above-mentioned Eurasian grouping includes Turkic, Mongolic and Finno-Ugric languages; all of them are suffixal languages notable for their multiplicity of affixes, both derivative and inflective. Unlike them, the Austronesian agglutination displays a predominance of prefixal markers. Another fundamental difference consists in the fusion of derivative and inflective (grammatical) functions within one and the same affixal morpheme. This means that the multiplicity of affixes is much less marked than in the “classical” agglutinative languages. And finally, some regular fusional changes take place at the junctures between some prefixes and subsequent morphemes. However, the agglutinative type of morphology is preserved.

An attempt at drawing an exhaustive characteristic of relational typology of the Austronesian family would be futile without transcending the narrow limits of synthetic morphology. Virtually all languages, including even those notable for a fairly high degree of synthetism (e.g. Tagalog), display a variety of grammatical meanings and categories marked by analytical means (chiefly nominal markers such as articles in Tagalog).

There are also Austronesian languages notable for very low values of their synthetism indices (according to Greenberg's method of quantitative typology). This holds, e.g., for the Polynesian languages (PNL) in the Oceanic peripheral zone of Austronesian. In these languages, analytical structures and constructions have replaced their original Austronesian pendants so that a class of auxiliary morphemes appeared partially upon the basis of a proto-Austronesian inventory of auxiliary morphemes (that behaved as free, not bound morphemes in PNL) and partially upon the basis of morphemes of a different provenance.

Another group of Austronesian languages notable for a low degree of synthetism is also found in a peripheral zone, namely in the eastern part of Indochina, in Vietnam and Cambodia, in the Chamic languages (CHL). This residual group of seven languages is genetically included in the Malayo-Javanese group or, put in the lexicostatistical terms, in the Malaiic hession within Western Austronesian. The latter in their turn are invariably classified as close to PNL. Does this mean that CHL display the same proximity to PNL in terms of their structural parameters as they do in terms of lexicostatistics and genetic affiliation? Far from it. Despite similar values of the index of synthetism, analytism of CHL is structurally deviant, displaying quite a few structural features of monosyllabic languages with which CHL have coexisted and interfered for as many as two millennia of their history.

These differences that will be characterized later in more detail induce us to assume that our typological ideas of analytic languages are in the need of further elaboration.

Let us mention in advance that we have in mind analytism of linguistic structures in a broad sense of the term, i.e., all forms consisting of at least two lexemes kept together in a whole by virtue of their common grammatical or lexical meaning are regarded as analytical units.

In addition to what has been said, both grammatical and lexical analytic units may be considered not only upon the level of synchrony but also upon that of diachrony, in their dynamism, from the standpoint of the tendencies of development operating presently in the language system because these tendencies may lead to the extension of either synthetic or analytic structures.

The explanatory force of word typology will be enhanced if the latter, without confining itself exclusively to the study of internal structure of the synthetic word, will also take into account those analytical forms in which words participate as well as apply a discriminatory approach to the analytical forms in general. This amounts to saying that, as far as analytical means of expression are concerned, one has (a) to distinguish isolation realized in the syntactic relations holding among words within sentence, (b) to single out units in which grammatical meanings are marked by auxiliary non-autosemantic words or by auxiliary autosemantic words, (c) to distinguish morphemized and non-morphemized binomial units – complex and compound words – in the vocabulary. These issues have been at some detail dis-

cussed by several authors both upon data of particular languages and in theory (Analiticheskie k-tsii 1965, Yazyki Yugovostochnoi Azii 1985; Solntseva 1985; QTAA 1982, etc.).

In the present paper we shall restrict our attention to the second issue upon the basis of data from a variety of Austronesian languages. The background of highly divergent grammatical analytical structures of PNL and CHL furnishes us with an opportunity to analyse carefully the structure of analytical units of Bahasa Indonesia (BI) as well as to touch upon the question of competition of tendencies toward a reinforcement of the productivity of analytism and synthetism in BI within the framework of some sociolinguistic and ethnogenetic issues.

Analytical Structures in Polynesian and Chamic Languages

Let us now turn to analytism in the Austronesian family. The Maori language (MAO) as a typical representative of PNL will be compared with the present-day spoken Cham language (CHAM) notable for the highest degree of analytical monosyllabism within CHL. The index of synthetism (M/W according to Greenberg) in the case of MAO = 1.03 and in the case of CHAM = 1.02.¹ It is worth mentioning that it is the causative prefix (*faka-* in MAO and *pə-* in CHAM) that has turned out to be more stable than any other.

This coincidence of statistical data hides deep divergence in the structures of analytical units and inevitably in the text structure as well (as far as its grammatical configuration is concerned). This divergence proves that the analysis and classification of these structures can be further differentiated and it holds that the fewer are the synthetic structures in a language the more varied are its analytical structures. At the same time, some specific varieties of analytical means may prevail in a language, which may supply the basis for a typological characteristics of that language system.

All PNL are notable for the presence of several tens of auxiliaries that as a rule cannot be derived from autosemantic words either in synchrony or in diachrony. They are nominal and verbal particles (either prepositional or postpositional) marking grammatical meanings of various types. Most of them are monosyllables and occur within phrases as unstressed clitics accompanying an autosemantic nucleus. The number of monosyllabic clitics is inflated due to a variety of deictic markers such as personal and demonstrative pronouns and orientation particles.

As a result of this, sentence in PNL consists of typical segments or phrases. The central slot of each phrase is occupied by a disyllabic or polysyllabic (affixed or reduplicated) nuclear autosemantic word surrounded both from left and right by

¹ Calculated from a MAO sample text in Krupa 1968; the author would like to express her gratitude to M. S. Polinskaya for her help, and also from a CHAM sample text "A-girl-hop-o'-my-thumb" in Materialy... Cham.

monosyllabic grammatical markers written down as separate words. These segments are usually labelled phrases in Polynesian studies (for a more detailed explanation cf. Arakin 1973, 1981; Krupa 1968, 1975, 1979).

In CHAM there are just a few, approximately 10, auxiliary words in the proper sense of the word, i.e. such that mark grammatical (and lexico-grammatical) meanings of contiguous autosemantic words, including negation but excluding sentence particles and subordinative conjunctions. These auxiliaries are monosyllabic, however, CHAM is notable for the presence of quite a few monosyllabic words in its basic word stock. Grammatical meanings are as a rule expressed by autosemantic root words in auxiliary or semi-auxiliary functions, due to the paucity of genuine auxiliaries. Unlike PNL where the usage of analytical markers is highly obligatory, the auxiliary markers of CHAM are essentially optional. Both syntactic group (phrase) and sentence of CHAM may be regarded as sequences of monosyllabic word units; the latter do not comprise any clues that could help us either to distinguish autosemantic words from auxiliaries or to recognize their lexico-grammatical affiliation (for more detail on the structure of CHAM see Alieva and B. Kh. Thé, in press).

At a glance a text in CHAM need not be substantially different from that in any other isolating monosyllabic language (Vietnamese, Thai or Laha) – provided the same transcription is employed and tones are neglected.²

A sentence in Maori and in CHAM will be quoted here for illustration.

MAO: (1) *he* (2) *kai* (3) *maakutu* (4) *aana* (5) *kai* (6) *koia* (7) *i* (8) *karanga* (9) *mai* (10) *ai* (11) *i* (12) *a* (13) *Taamure* (14) *ki* (15) *te* (16) *kai* (17) *he* (18) *mea* (19) *kia* (20) *mate* (Krupa 1968, p. 92).

Literal translation: (1) aux: indefinite article (2) food (3) bewitched (4) possessive pronoun, his (5) food (6) aux: and thus (7) aux: past tense (8) called, invited (9) aux: space orientation: hither (10) aux: anaphoric (11) aux: object (12) aux: personal article (13) proper name: Taamure (14) aux: direction (15) aux: definite article (16) food (17–18) so that (19) aux: optative (20) to kill, die.

Free translation: His food has been bewitched and thus he called Taamure to eat so that he would die.

CHAM: (1) *ông* (2) *thông* (3) *mu?* (4) *nan* (5) *mwlow* (6) *ti* (7) *orang* (8) *bjaj* (9) *thông* (10) *kəw?* (11) *pa* (12) *anw?* (13) *nan* (14) *naw* (15) *klah* (16) *ngo?* (17) *klaj* (Materialy... Cham, text 2, No. 8)

Literal translation: (1) oldd man (2) aux: with, and (3) old woman (4) that, those (5) to feel ashamed (6) aux: preposition (7) man, people (8) to judge (9) aux: with,

² This is especially obvious when comparing texts in the minority languages of Vietnam published by the joint Soviet-Vietnamese linguistic expedition. Having been collected upon the basis of the same methodology and subject to the same processing, they display a considerable similarity of sequential organization of linear text segments (Materialy... Laha, Materialy... Muong, Materialy... Ksingmul).

and (10) aux: reciprocity (11) to carry (12) child (13) that (14) to go (15) to throw (16) above, top (17) wood

Translation: Old man and old woman felt ashamed because of the people and decided to take the girl to the wood and to leave her there.

A detailed examination of the structure of analytical units makes it possible to distinguish them according to the manner of marking grammatical relations by means of particles or auxiliaries.

In order to put the abovementioned difference between PNL and CHL upon an objective basis, we shall employ the index of analytism (Aux/W) suggested in the publication QTAA 1982, but Aux includes here only proper auxiliaries and particles in relation to W in a sample of 100 words. In the case of MAO, $Aux/W = 0.44$, while in the case of CHAM its value is equal to 0.14, which is no doubt a considerable difference.

One would no doubt obtain more reliable and representative data provided the occurrence of grammatical markers would be calculated in relation to the number of grammemes within the text. An attempt at such a calculation has been made in the present paper upon the basis of an Indonesian text sample (cf. below).

In the genetically related groups – PNL and CHL – the tendency toward development of an analytical structure has resulted in the formation of different types of analytism. It is well known that the CHAM analytism has developed under the influence of the surrounding isolating languages of Indochina. An analogous tendency of typological evolution operates in the Malay dialects of Malacca that are also subject to the impact of areal contacts. A different nature of Polynesian analytism that has obviously appeared in the absence of any areal contacts makes it possible to speak of a difference in circumstances and evolutionary tendencies of the two groups of Austronesian, i.e. of Polynesian and Chamic groups.

Peculiarities of the Indonesian analytism

The Indonesian language (INL)³ is highly heterogeneous from the viewpoint of word typology. Synthetic means compete with analytical means of various kinds (and possibly of varying provenance). Many original Austronesian grammatical formatives have disappeared in INL, both bound, synthetic, and free, analytical ones (of the type alike to that of Tagalog articles mentioned before).

We have arrived at the following typological characteristics of INL upon the background of the extreme analytism of PNL and CHL. The synthetism index of INL is not too high according to A. K. Ogloblin's calculations, i.e. 1.42–1.59. Obviously,

³ INL is regarded here as an official standard variant of Malay that has also other official written variants and vernacular territorial dialects. INL may be regarded as a representative of the Malayo-Javanese group of the western branch of the Austronesian language family.

a considerable part of the total volume of grammatical meanings is marked analytically. The number of non-autosemantic auxiliaries in INL is likewise small; there are only 22 basic markers of grammatical meanings in INL (depending upon the interpretation of what is autosemanticism this number may vary to some extent). These are, first, markers of relations among the words or grammatical meanings accompanying lexical meanings and, second, predicativeness markers included in the predicate. It may be said in advance that they cannot function in all roles and this problem is solved through an application of various autosemantic units in the quality of auxiliaries.

A. K. Ogloblin's paper on quantitative typology of INL (1982) will be briefly mentioned here. Ogloblin's index of analytism (0.34) is constructed as a relation of the total number of auxiliaries to the total number of words in the text, i.e. 41:119 (the first section of the text). The calculation will be modified to be able to compare the level of analytism of INL with CHAM and MAO (as a relation of the number of auxiliaries to the total number of words in the text section). The auxiliaries occur as follows: *yang* – 6 times, *tidak* – 4 times, *akan* – 2 times, *oleh* – 2 times, *di* – once, *dari* – once, *telah* – once, *dan* – six times, *tapi* – once, *kalau* – once, *lah* – twice, in all 25 occurrences, $25:109 = 0.21$. In CHAM, the same index equals 0.14, in MAO 0.44 while INL is in between.

A statistical analysis of grammar in the text may be carried out in a more strict manner. Calculations made upon the basis of the number of words in the text sample supply us actually with data on the lexical structure of the text while data on its grammatical structure are only obtained in an indirect way.

The vulnerability of such an approach has been recognized by Greenberg who has proposed a construction isolation index, i.e. a relation of the number of isolating constructions to all grammatical nexus (Greenberg 1960). This approach has been rejected by the compilers of the monograph on quantitative typology for a variety of weighty reasons (QTAA 1982, pp. 34–37). We shall replace the notion of the grammatical nexus by that of grammeme because of its acceptance in Soviet linguistics. However, one cannot do without a certain subjectivism when defining grammemes in a given language in general and in a particular text. This may turn out to be acceptable when investigating one particular language but an examination of a considerable number of languages (cf. QTAA 1982) may be linked to quite a few problems.

Now we shall resume our examination of the text, namely of its first section suggested and analysed by A. K. Ogloblin in his paper. The number of grammemes in this text section, including syntactic relations (predicative, objective, attributive), equals 107. Adjoining is employed in 46 instances, morphological marking within the limits of word (active, passive, causativity, transitivity, possessivity) in 15 instances while reduplication occurs in 5 instances (here plural of nouns). In 41 instances, auxiliary words are employed. When the ratio of all these ways of marking

to the number of grammemes (107) is calculated, we obtain the following indices:

Synthetic expression of grammemes: $15 \text{ affixes} + 5 \text{ reduplications} = 20$,
 $20 : 107 = 0.19 (0.187)$

Analytical expression of grammemes: $41 : 107 = 0.38 (0.383)$

Implicit expression of syntactic relations through adjoining: $46 : 107 = 0.43$.

It is easy to notice that the analytism index displays a marked increase from 0.21 to 0.38. The number of grammemes expressed implicitly and explicitly by analytical means equals $46 + 41$; $87 : 107 = 0.81$. The indices of synthetic and analytic expression duly give 1 ($0.19 + 0.81 = 1.0$)⁴ (which is not the case of QTAA where the indices of synthetism and analytism do not in principle harmonize).

The calculation of the indices of analytism via methods employed in this book does not lead to fully correct results, which is corroborated by a comparison of data obtained for INL and Tagalog in the same book. Despite the fact that the indices of inflexion for the Tagalog texts are at least twice as high as those for INL (TGL: 0.215, 0.23, 0.16; INL: 0.08, 0.09), which ought to deflate the TGL index of analytism when compared to INL, nothing like that is obtained in the book. Quite the contrary, the TGL index of analytism is found to be greater there (TGL: 0.51; INL: 0.34, 0.18).

All the indices given above ought to be regarded essentially as illustrations of the typical features on the grammatical structure of INL, not as self-sufficing statistical data. A fully representative value of an index can only be obtained upon the basis of a variety of text samples comprising more than 100 words, which is due to a considerable fluctuation of the level of synthetism/analytism in texts exemplifying different styles. As mentioned by V. Krupa, there are indices that vary considerably with the size of the sample even within one and the same text (Krupa 1965).

The Development of Analytical and Synthetic Structures in INL As Two Competing Tendencies

It has been mentioned before that INL has lost quite a few synthetic features typical for the AN languages and has developed a variety of analytical means in the field of grammar and lexicon. One cannot help asking whether this tendency toward analytism still operates in the present-day language. From the point of view of evolution, a language may change its typological characteristics within a couple of centuries – in individual instances even during a shorter period, under the pressure of far-reaching historical shifts (this is probably the case of the Cham language). As for Malay, its basic structural features have been preserved as proved by a compar-

⁴ Each of the indices may be obtained by subtraction of the other(s) from 1; this method of calculation by subtracting indices from 1 has been proposed – and there are good reasons for doing this, at least in my opinion – by V. Krupa in his paper (Krupa 1965).

ison of the language of the ancient inscriptions of the 7th century A. D. with later inscriptions.

From the point of view of the most general typologically relevant structural features as well as from that of preservation of the word stock this is no doubt the case. However, the validity of this statement ought to be qualified because of the deep changes that took place during an exceptionally short period of time (the 30s – 60s of the 20th century) and led to the appearance of INL as a modern language of macrocommunication of a vast country, a language that has deviated from Malay of the preceding period in quite a few respects.

When considering the mutual relations of analytical and synthetic structures in INL one has to discriminate among the different basic forms of the existence of INL, first of all (1) vernacular dialectal speech, (2) newspaper and non-fiction speech, (3) fiction. Standard spoken Indonesian language cannot be said to exist as a separate variant. The vernacular exists in a variety of dialectal forms that are notable, at least most of them, for a more marked analytism than written language (Ogloblin 1983).

If people's vernacular is regarded as the most usual source of innovations in a language, then there can arise no doubts about the development of INL in the direction of analytism. However, the special interethnic status of INL as the official language of the country renders it an object of conscious, purposeful activities on the part of various official organizations, newspapers, scholars, and writers who are bent on elaborating, developing, and improving it in accordance with their own notions.

Attempts are launched to increase the number of affixal word models that should restrict the influx of borrowings and new combinations of existing affixes. A variety of derivative formatives marking sex differences are employed; *siswa* school-boy – *siswi* schoolgirl, *saudara* brother – *saudari* sister, *seniman* painter – *seniwati* painter (woman). Borrowed formatives are also used for adjectives: *ilmu* science – *ilmiah* scientific, *ekonomi*, *perekonomian* economics – *ekonomis*, *ekonomik* economical. Three causative markers are productive (*per-*, *-kan*, *per-...-kan*) while in dialects there is as a rule only one of them present. The semantics of each of them is specified in the standard language.

The written language enhances the use of complex, two-level affixation: *keberangkatan* < *ke[ber(angkat)]an* departure, *keterbelakangan* < *ke[ter(belakang)]an* backwardness, *berkepribadian* < *ber[ke(pribadi)]an* original, distinctive. If there simple and derived synonyms compete, preference is given to the latter, e.g. *marah* anger, be angry – *kemarahan* anger, *memarahi* be angry with someone.

The increase in usage of such constructions results in a preservation and – at least in some respects – in a deepening of the long existing gap between the standard language of literature and the vernacular styles although a persistent improvement of education should operate in the opposite direction.

INL may thus be characterized as a non-homogeneous language not only from the point of view of word typology. Its evolutionary trends are likewise non-homogeneous and contradictory, leading both to an increase of analytism and to an increase of synthetism.

The manifestations of analytical tendencies in grammar as well as in lexicon of INL may be qualified as analogical to the respective tendencies in the analytical (both Austronesian and non-Austronesian) languages of the continent, i.e. in Chinese, Thai, Vietnamese, Khmer. At the same time, one may see in them similarities with analytical structures of a different type (auxiliary, non-autosemantic words) prevalent in Oceanic languages.

The Austronesian Chamic languages of the continent affiliated with the insular Western Austronesian languages in the same genetic branch have undergone a structural evolution (not to speak of a mass of areal lexical borrowings) is a highly interesting fact from the viewpoint of evolutionary typology which may be viewed as a natural and logical phenomenon to be explained by areal linguistics, in particular by the theory of language unions (cf. Alieva 1984).

On the other hand, the existence of far-reaching structural similarities (alongside with very few lexical similarities) of the Indochinese (or, more generally, of the East Asiatic) type in INL and in Malay as well as in other Malayo-Javanese languages that could have developed in the direction of the Oceanic type, is to some extent difficult to explain.

However, this only marks the beginning of research along these lines.⁵

Let us mention in conclusion that there are weighty grounds for taking into account the problems of ethnogenesis of insular peoples speaking Malayo-Javanese languages. Thus Cowan, when discussing the problem of the origin of similarities of the Aceh language in North Sumatra with the Mon Khmer-languages, preceded the assumption of the existence of areal contacts upon the territory of Indochina between the two peoples (Cowan 1948, p. 490).

⁵ The amount of data that may be subjected to examination with both comparative-historical and typological methods is vast while only a fraction of this corpus has been used by linguists. Scholars started to pay attention to these areals only recently and, besides, the languages belonging to different areals have been investigated in isolation from each other by linguists of various colonial powers. This fact has been stressed by E. M. Uhlenbeck:

"It was thought natural that it was the French who occupied themselves with the Indonesian languages of Madagascar, that the British turned to Malaya and to the languages of Sarawak and North Borneo, that the Dutch kept to the languages of the Dutch East Indies, while the eastern part of the isle of Timor was tacitly assumed to be the concern of the Portuguese" (Uhlenbeck 1967, p. 848). Thus Southeast Asia has been ruled by Great Britain, Indonesia by the Netherlands, the Philippines by Spain and later by the USA, Indochina, parts of Oceania and Madagascar by France, and a small part of Oceania by Germany and Japan. More favourable conditions to a complex and comparative research have appeared only after World War Two.

An analogous assumption is considered to be probable also in the case of other peoples of the Malayo-Javanese branch because of multiple migrations. Concerning the period around the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C., N. N. Cheboksarov has launched this assumption: "The pattern of this settlement seems to have been fairly complicated, the migratory routes of some of the ethnic groups criss-crossing each other both in the islands and upon the continent, and reverse movements (e.g. from Indonesia to the Philippines, to the South of Vietnam, to Hainan and Malaya) cannot be excluded either" (Cheboksarov 1966, p. 46).

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DIRECTIVE SPEECH ACTS IN BENGALI

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In the theory of speech acts, great attention is traditionally being paid to the interpersonal communication which usually has a form of declaration, interrogation or order. The present paper concentrates on the ways of expressing an order, i.e. on various locutionary acts performing the directive illocutionary act in Bengali language.

In the last two decades quite a lot of space has been devoted to the study of speech acts in linguistic research. Questions concerning relations between social interaction and language have been brought to the attention of linguists by philosophers. The theoretical basis of the linguistic approach to the problem developed by Searle, following Austin, has been accepted by a number of linguists. They pay great attention to the relation/distinction between literal meaning and intended meaning of a sentence, i.e. between what the sentence means and what the speaker means when uttering it (Searle 1968: 149). According to Searle, the terms locutionary and illocutionary acts are used to distinguish the two levels of speech act, the term locutionary act being used for denoting literal meaning of the sentence and the term illocutionary act for denoting the meaning of the utterance.

The distinction between locutionary and illocutionary acts is routinely illustrated by the English sentence, *Can you pass the salt?* It is evident that the sentence has the meaning of question at the locutionary level while it stands for request at the illocutionary level. But we have to admit that it can perform a question also at the illocutionary level, for example when asking about the disabled hearer's physical ability to pass the salt (cf. Hausser 1980: 72). Hence it follows that at specifying an illocutionary act, it is necessary to take into account also the situational context which is part of the situational meaning of an utterance performed in a certain situation (Motsch 1980).

In the linguistic literature, we find quite a lot of attempts at classification of speech acts. The first classification based on exact criteria is that by Searle (1976). He considers the following three criteria as fundamental: illocutionary intention, direction of fit of a speech act, and psychological state expressed in a speech act. Searle introduces six additional criteria by means of which speech acts can be classified more precisely, i.e. force of speech act, status of the speaker and the hearer, the concern of the speaker and the hearer, propositional content determined by illocutionary

role, the relationships of speech acts to content and to other parts of speech, and possibility to perform a speech act by the sentence containing a performative verb.

Searle's classification presents the basis for classifications by other linguists, who try to find some other attitudes towards the classification of speech acts. For example Wunderlich (1972) has adopted semantics as the basis of his classification. He specifies eight illocutionary types, i.e. directive, commissive, erotetic, representative, satisfactive, retractive, declarative and vocative. Each of these types comprises several subtypes, found at the pragmatic level. Thus e.g. directive illocutionary type contains appeal, request, order, direction, requirement, instruction and norm.

It is the directive illocutionary type that is the subject of our study. The goal of the present paper is to show which locutionary acts can perform the directive illocutionary act in Bengali.

When analysing Bengali texts, we have come across several typical instances.

(1) Directive illocutionary act is performed implicitly, by grammatical means, i.e. by imperative forms. In such a case illocutionary act is performed directly, i.e. meaning of the utterance is identical with meaning of the sentence, illocutionary and locutionary acts are identical. The sentence

okhāne yāo! (Go there!)

can be analysed as !/your going there/both at the locutionary and illocutionary levels (cf. the way of symbolizing the analysis of locutionary and illocutionary acts by Réconti 1980).

This sentence by itself expresses an unambiguous order, it has no semantical shades, but e.g. intonation (entreating tone) can change it into a request (i.e. a different semantical shade of directive speech act).

If a speaker wants to stress the order, he adds the particle *nā* to the present imperative form:

okhāne yāo nā!

More rarely, the emphatic particle *to* following present imperative form occurs: *jal khāo to!* Drink water!

Quite sporadically the emphatic particle *-ge* (and perhaps also some other emphatic particles) are used:

yāo, yā khuśi karage! Go, do what you want!

Also in these cases the illocutionary and the locutionary levels are identical, similarly as in the order directed to future where the form of future imperative is used:

okhāne yeo! Go there (in the future)!

However, in Bengali, there exist imperative forms for all three persons, but the very essence of the directive speech act causes that the speaker addresses only the hearer with the direct order in interpersonal communication. Therefore especially imperative forms of second person (present or future) occur at the locutionary level.

Of interest are those cases, when speaker asks the hearer to communicate his order to the third person:

oke bai kinte bala! Tell him to buy a book! (liter. to him a book to buy tell)

When uttering such a sentence, the speaker expects both the hearer and the third person to execute the order; he uses imperative to address the hearer (locutionary and illocutionary acts are identical) and infinitive construction to express an order directed to the third person. The sentence may be analysed as follows at the illocutionary level:

!/your saying him/

!/his buying/

The following sentence is formed differently at the syntactic level:

Rasmanike bala sab guchgāch kare nīcer cābi rekhe diye yābe! Tell Rasmani to hide the key from the underneath after setting all in due order!

Here the infinitive construction is replaced by the subordinated sentence with future imperative form (*rekhe diye yābe*).

As we can see, also an order directed to the third person can be performed implicitly, i.e. by imperative forms, but it occurs rather sporadically. More often one can find the imperative of the third person in vocative sentences:

o okhāne rojī yāy. yāk nā! He goes there daily. Let him go!

īsvar tomār maṅgal karun! God bless you!

which, however, are not the subject of our analyses.

The imperative form of the first person occurs sporadically, with the verbs of perception. But as a matter of fact, also in such cases an order is directed to the hearer, i.e. it is the hearer who is supposed to execute an action. The locutionary and illocutionary acts are not identical:

dekhi! is analysed as let me see! at the locutionary level, but as !/your showing me/, i.e. show! at the illocutionary level. Similarly, *śuni!* let me hear! at the locutionary level is analysed as !/your saying me/ at the illocutionary level.

An order directed to more persons inclusively is expressed by means of the imperative of the second person of verbs *calā* and *āsā* and the particular verb in the form of the first person of simple present tense, the verbs *calā* and *āsā* having, as a matter of fact, the function of “exhortative particle” in a sentence:

cala, bāgāne yāi! Let's go to the garden! (liter. come, to the garden we go).

The use of *calā* and *āsā* is not optional. The imperative of *calā* occurs in sentences in which a motion is requested to be carried out (as seen above), while the imperative form of *āsā* is used in other instances:

eso, ekṭu gān gāi! Let's sing a little! (liter. come, a little song we sing)

(2) In Bengali, an order can be expressed explicitly, by means of words expressing order, request, wish, advice, prayer, e.g. *ādeś* order, command, *anurodh* request,

prayer, *prārthanā* request, *cāoyā* to want, *icchā* wish, *minati* humble prayer, earnest request, etc.

āpnār prati āmār ei anūrodh, āpni bhāratbarṣer bhitare āsun! I request you to enter inside India (liter. of you to my this request, you of India inside come)
ataeb tomār kāche āmār minati ei ye, tumi bādhāo diyo nā, anurodhō karo nā!
Therefore I humbly pray you not to involve, not to request! (liter. therefore of you to my humble prayer, this, you an obstacle do not give, neither a request do not do)

As we can see, the explicative expressions occur in imperative sentences, in which an order is expressed implicitly by an imperative form, and their role is to express an attitude of the speaker to the order, i.e. to modify it semantically as a request, a humble prayer, etc.

The choice of a certain expression depends on the social relation between the speaker and the hearer or on the attitude of the speaker to the speech act (on its urgency). This extralinguistic relation has primary importance for the content and mainly for the form of speech acts (Horecký, in press). The speaker notable for his higher status can order, ask, request a hearer of a lower status to execute an action and the hearer must fulfil the order, while the speaker of a lower status will under normal circumstances most probably request, not order a hearer of higher status to do an action and the hearer need not, but may, execute his request.

The majority of the above-mentioned explicative expressions does not occur frequently in Bengali texts. Common are only the expressions *cāi*, *āmār icchā* (I want, I wish) that introduce arbitrarily an imperative or a declarative sentence, which may be connected to the expression by the connective word *yena*:

āmi cāi/āmār icchā (yena) tui okhāne āsis (imperative)

āmi cāi/āmār icchā (yena) tui okhāne āy (simple present)

I want/wish you to go there.

The very fact that the second part of the sentence can be arbitrarily replaced proves that both sentences are identical at the illocutionary level. To utter the explicit performative *āmi cāi tui okhāne āy* is to perform the locutionary act of *saying* that I want you to go there, and the illocutionary act of *asking* you to go there.

In explicative expressing an order/request semantically neutral verb *balā* to say often occurs. In such a case usually a request to the third person mediated by the speaker to the hearer, is the matter. It is the hearer who is expected to execute an action:

mā āpnāke ekṭu baste ballen. Mother asks you to stay for a while. (liter. mother you a little to sit said)

Here also the speaker most probably does not want just to inform the hearer about what mother said but he expects him to react on the request expressed in the sentence. That is to say, also in this case the declarative locutionary act performs the illocutionary act of requesting. But unlike the former instances of explicitly ex-

pressed order, the sentence is differently formed at the syntactic level. The verb *balā* does not introduce the clause, but stands at the end of the sentence in which the verb takes the form of a progressive participle. This sentence corresponds to the English infinitive semi-sentence construction.

(3) The directive illocutionary act is presented also by sentences comprising modal verb *haoyā* to be, the form of the third person of simple present tense or future tense of which in combination with progressive participle of an autosemantic verb correspond with English modal verb must, negative need not. The agent is, as a rule, expressed by Dative, sometimes also by Genitive cases:

tomāke okhāne yete hay/habe. You must go there. (liter. to you there to go is/will be)

a sab tomār chārte habe. You will have to drop all that. (liter. that all of you to drop will be)

The choice between *hay* and *habe* is not facultative. Progressive participle with *hay* expresses a repeated action, progressive participle in combination with *habe* a singular action.

A lesser degree of urgency is expressed by means of verbal noun combined with the word *ucit* is necessary. This corresponds to English ought; an agent is expressed by Genitive:

tomār okhāne yāoyā ucit. You ought to go there. (liter. your there going necessary).

Similarly as in foregoing declarative sentences, the speaker not only informs the hearer that he ought to do something, but expects him to do so.

(4) Directive illocutionary act can be performed by uttering the interrogative sentence. It is evident also from the above-mentioned English sentence, *Can you pass the salt?* In uttering this sentence, the speaker performs the locutionary act of asking whether the hearer is able to pass the salt, and performs the illocutionary act of requesting him to do so. Similarly in Bengali sentences of the type:

ār-ekṭu pare gele calbe nā? Could not you stay for a while?

It is true that the speaker asks the hearer whether he could stay for a while, but as a matter of fact he urges him to do so.

As we could see, directive illocutionary act is performed by various locutionary acts in Bengali. A simple order or an order directed to future is expressed implicitly by an imperative form. After adding an emphatic particle, this order becomes more urgent.

Different explicative expressions, used at performing the directive illocutionary act, vary the directive act semantically. Due to them the degree of urgency of an order, an attitude of the speaker towards an order or towards a hearer, is expressed.

The different degree of urgency and an attitude of the speaker is reflected also in directive illocutionary acts performed by means of a modal verb and by an interrogative sentence.

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METALINGUISTIC ELEMENTS IN THE LEXICOGRAPHICAL PRESENTATION OF MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC

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Besides true linguistic procedures, used to indicate the word-class or derivational class membership of lexical units, a number of additional lexical indicators are sometimes used to this effect. The present paper is an attempt to present and classify them in terms of metalinguistic elements.

1. The domain of metalinguistic elements (meta-elements, in what follows), as conceived in the present paper, will include all types of lexical indicators of linguistic phenomena, such as word-class membership or derivational class membership, provided that they are incorporated in the lexical unit quoted in the lexicon. Despite the fact that any lexicon, irrespective of its type and size, may display meta-elements of the type indicated above, the frequency of their occurrence considerably varies from one type to another. The type the most responsive to the inclusion of what we call meta-elements is that of bilingual or, of course, multilingual lexicons. Nevertheless, the relation between source-language (SL) units and their target-language (TL) equivalents exhibits a conspicuous asymmetry in this respect. While, at the SL-side of a bilingual lexicon, the units calling for lexicographically unwanted meta-indicators tend to be omitted altogether, the same does not hold true of the TL-side of the lexicon. Here, the SL-units, though themselves free from unwanted meta-indicators, frequently make their inclusion inevitable, especially in the domain of multiword lexical units in the process of changing their word-class membership. In some cases, even when a linguistic equivalent is readily available at the TL-side of the entry, various meta-elements may still be included by some lexicographers.

At least one preliminary example taken from bilingual lexicons with Arabic in the position of target language. Here, under the adjectival entry "dental", for instance, several TL-equivalents of both linguistic and what we call metalinguistic types may be found:

(1) The linguistic domain is represented by:

(1.1) morphologically corresponding equivalents: *sinnī*, *'asnānī* (e.g. Schregle 1974: dental), as well as by:

(1.2) a number of equivalents obtained on the substantival basis through the incorporation of a lexically relevant noun into a syntactic construction, as in: *ṭabīb 'asnān* (ibid.: Zahnarzt); *waja' al-'asnān* (ibid.: Zahnschmerzen); etc.

(2) Besides these linguistic solutions we find equivalents involving meta-elements, as well, e.g.: *muta^calliq bi-l-'asnān* (Doniach 1972: dental; lit. 'related to, concerning teeth').

Since *muta^calliq* operates as a word-class indicator, marking the shift from the class of substantives to that of adjectives, and since it relies on clearly nonlinguistic means, we classify it as a meta-element. Of course, the present type of descriptive elements can be identified with word-class indicators only when taking into consideration the explicative power of a larger lexicographical context. The latter consists, in this particular case, of the whole derivational relationship (viz., noun-adjective), as well as the whole interlingual SL-TL relationship. In view of these facts, the latter type of meta-elements will be treated as that of nonspecific word-class indicators. The nonspecific nature of the latter type of indicators results, then, from a multiple word-class membership of units classified by them, as in:

maḍhab al-'inklīz "Anglicanism" – *min maḍhab al-'inklīz* "Anglican" (substantive-adjective; see § 3.1 in what follows).

While *sinnī* or *'asnānī*, quoted in (1.1) above, are true adjectives, obtained by the word-formational procedure of derivation (viz., linguistic level), units of the type *muta^calliq bi-l-'asnān* or *min maḍhab al-'inklīz* are adjectives only declaratively (viz., meta-level).

2. The difference between linguistic and metalinguistic elements, even when disregarding the technical aspect of the problem,¹ affects the very essence of the SL-TL relationship. Lexical units, free from meta-elements of the type examined, quite indiscriminately occur as either SL- or TL- units as against those involving meta-classifiers that almost exclusively occur at the TL-side of the lexicon only.

This asymmetry is largely responsible for a quite substantial difference that exists between current bilingual lexicons in accordance with the position of any of the two languages as either a SL or a TL.

Of course, there are some other limitations affecting the SL-TL relationship than the restrictive effect of meta-classifiers. The most severe restrictive factor is a quite obvious lack of isomorphism between any two languages. Language, as a highly complex system, is reflexive in relation to the objective reality. The reflexive capability of a language comes into effect primarily through the lexicon while that of the grammar is considerably limited. The lack of isomorphism between languages stems from the well-known discrepancy between the discreteness of linguistic categories and the continuity of phenomena of the real world which can never be linked together in an absolutely precise way.² Accordingly, each language displays a different

¹ While, in the case of linguistic elements, the TL-equivalent of a SL-unit is mostly obtained by way of translating, in the case of meta-elements, it is exclusively obtained by way of describing.

² Cf., J o s s, M.: *Description of Language Design* (originally published in *The Journal of the Acous-*

segmentation of the objective reality, a fact that is largely responsible for the irreversibility of the SL-TL relationship within any given set of lexical items that have to be lexicographically presented. Numerous cultural, social, environmental and other discrepancies provide further evidence for the SL-TL asymmetry. In other words, there can be no complete overlap in the lexical stock or any two languages presented in two bilingual lexicons with an opposite SL-TL arrangement.

3. As obvious from what has already been said, the meta-elements of the type examined operate as nonspecific lexical classifiers of linguistic phenomena. Two types of such classifiers will shortly be presented in what follows: (1) word-class indicators, and (2) derivational class indicators.

3.1. Metalinguistic word-class indicators to which belong, as well, the examples previously quoted, are applied to mark shifts in the word-class membership of both one-word (OW) and multiword (MW) units. Since the MW-units exhibit a relatively limited ability to change their word-class membership by way of derivational means, their readiness to accept meta-elements is markedly higher than that observable with the OW-units. These elements, mostly operating as nonspecific lexical adjectivizers, show a great deal of ambiguity in distinguishing between substantival (S) and adjectival (A) units. The degree of the latter ambiguity may slightly vary with individual items. Some examples:

(1) *min*:

S: *maḍḥab al-'inklīz* "Anglicanism" (unattested in the source quoted) –

S/A: *min maḍḥab al-'inklīz* "Anglican" (Bocthor: Anglican, adj., de la religion protestante d'Angleterre; lit. 'peculiar, pertaining to Anglicanism'); despite its double interpretability, the unit is classified as an adjective in the source quoted; or:

S: *maḍīnat 'aṯīnā* "Athens" –

S/A: *min 'abnā' 'aṯīnā* "Athenian" (Doniach; lit. 'pertaining, peculiar to the inhabitants of Athens'; co-occurring here with the true derivate *'aṯīnī*);³ etc.;

(2) *yaxuṣṣ*, *xāṣṣ bi-*, *muxtaṣṣ bi-*:

S: *jaww* "atmosphere" –

A: *yaxuṣṣ al-jaww* "atmospherical" (Bocthor: atmosphérique; lit. 'concerning, peculiar to the atmosphere');

tical Society of America, 22, pp. 701–708 (1950). The present quotation refers to the reprint edition in *Readings in Linguistics*, Ed. M. Joos, New York, 1963, pp. 349–356, see p. 351: "The linguistic categories, then, are absolutes which admit of no compromise. They correspond roughly to favorite categorizations in the real world, and it is widely held that every community subdivides the phenomena of the real world according to the categories of its language, rather than the reverse. But the correspondence between the discrete categories of the language and the continuous phenomena of the real world is not and cannot be precise."

³ With units involving meta-elements the multiple word-class membership is invariably present. Nevertheless, the S/A ambiguity has explicitly been indicated only with some of the most conspicuous cases.

S: *as-sukkān al-'ašliyyūn li-minṭaqatin ma fī fajr at-ta'rīx* "aborigenes" (lit. 'the native inhabitants of a region at the dawn of history') –

A: *xāṣṣ bi-s-sukkān al-'ašliyyīn* "aboriginal" (Doniach; lit. 'peculiar, pertaining to the native inhabitants');

S: *qunṣul* "consul" –

A: *muxtaṣṣ bi-l-qunṣul* "consular" (Doniach; lit. 'peculiar, pertaining to the consul; quoted besides a derivative *qunṣulī*);

(3) *muta'alliq bi-*:

S: *'ilm al-'awrām* "oncology" (lit. 'the study (science) of tumours') –

A: *muta'alliq bi-'ilm al-'awrām* "oncological" (RAMS; lit. 'pertaining, peculiar to the study of tumours'); or:

S: *'ilm at-tawlīd* "obstetrics" –

A: *muta'alliq bi-t-tawlīd* "obstetrical" (RAMS; co-occurring with *tawlīdī*);

(4) *tābi' li-*:

S: *madḥab al-kanīsa al-'inklīziyya* "Anglicanism" (lit. 'the doctrine of the Anglican Church') –

A: *tābi' li-l-kanīsa al-'inklīziyya 'aw muxtaṣṣ bihā* "Anglican" (Doniach; lit. 'pertaining to the Church of England or peculiar to it'; with, however, a great deal of interpretational ambiguity (viz., S/A; co-occurring with *'anklikānī* in the source quoted);

(5) *nisbatan 'ilā:*

S: *bilād aṣ-ṣīn* "China" –

A: *nisbatan 'ilā-ṣ-ṣīn* "Chinese" (Doniach; lit. 'in relation to China; as a relative adjective to *aṣ-ṣīn*'; quoted besides *ṣīnī*);

S: *musta'mara* "colony" (Doniach: *musta'mara wa qāṭinuhā*, lit. 'colony and its inhabitants' –

A: *nisbatan 'ilā-l-musta'marāt* "colonial" (ibid.; lit. 'in relation to the colonies'); etc.

3.2. Meta-elements as derivational class indicators are here identified with lexical means marking shifts in the derivational class membership. The nonspecific nature of these elements stems, once again, from an ambiguous word-class relationship that mostly permits both an adjectival and a substantival interpretation. The examples which follow have to illustrate the derivational relationship of collective (CN) and unit nouns (UN) signalled by lexical markers, as in:

(1) *min* (as a nonspecific UN-indicator):

CN: *al-'arab* "the Arabs" –

UN: *min al-'arab* "(an) Arab" (Bocthor: *arabe, homme qui appartient à la nation arabe*; lit. 'pertaining to the Arabs (as one of them)'; or:

(2) *wāḥid:*

CN: *al-'arab* "the Arabs" –

UN: *wāḥid al-ʿarab* “Arab” (Doniach; lit. ‘one of the Arabs’; quoted besides a true, derivationally conveyed UN *ʿarabī* “an Arab, one Arab”); etc.

As evident from the examples quoted, the nonspecific nature of some of these descriptive elements, marking the CN-UN system that is normally signalled by derivational markers *-Ø/-ī* respectively, may be corroborated in terms of the derivational class membership itself. While the derivationally marked UN *al-ʿarabī*, unless being interpreted as a generic term, quite unambiguously implies the idea of ‘oneness’, the descriptive term *min al-ʿarab* is numerically much more ambiguous. With regard to a broader lexicographical context in which it happens to occur it merely admits the idea of ‘oneness’, i.e. ‘pertaining to the Arabs (as one of them)’. Theoretically, however, the relation between *al-ʿarab* and *min al-ʿarab* may imply the exclusion of any number of single individuals or groups out of their totality. When disregarding this special lexicographical context, the present lexical opposition may be interpreted as a relation between a noun (*al-ʿarab* ‘the Arabs’) and an adjective (*min al-ʿarab* ‘Arabic’) and, accordingly, the meta-element *min* may be classified as a nonspecific lexical adjectivizer, as was the case with some examples previously quoted.

On the other hand, the descriptive element *wāḥid* (‘one’) permits an unambiguous lexical presentation of a UN (viz., *wāḥid al-ʿarab*) since the idea of ‘oneness’ is inherent in it.

4. As obvious, the domain the most frequently calling for lexical classifiers of linguistic phenomena is that of MW-units in process of changing their word-class or derivational class membership. Since these elements mostly operate as nonspecific word-class indicators in the derivational interval between substantives and adjectives, most of them may be classified as nonspecific lexical adjectivizers. Before attempting to state the degree of their justification in the lexicographical practice, we will briefly survey the most common procedures signalling the shift from the class of substantives to that of adjectives in the lexical domain of MW-units.

4.1. Adjectivizing by way of derivation:

(1) derivation with on additional structural changes, as in:

S: *suhūlat al-manāl* “accessibility” –

A: *sahl al-manāl* “accessible” (Khatib);

(2) derivation involving reduction of the number of lexical constituents, as in:

(2.1) modifier-related process:

S: *xaṭṭ al-istiṭwā* “equator” –

A: *istiṭwāʾī* “equatorial, tropical”;

(2.2) head-related process:

S: *ʾitidāl al-layl wa-n-nahār* “equinox” –

A: *ʾitidālī* “equinoctial”;

4.2. Adjectivizing by way of suppletion, as in:

S: *mā warā'a-* (*ba^cda-*) *ṭ-ṭabī'a* "metaphysics" –

A: *mītāfīzīqī* "metaphysical";

4.3. Adjectivizing by way of reinterpretation, as in:

S/A: *mudādd ḥayawī* "antibiotic" (Doniach); or:

S/A: *rākib darrāja* "cyclist"; "(one who is) riding a bicycle", etc.⁴

4.4 Adjectivizing by adopting meta-elements of the type examined in the present inquiry.

5. The point is, whether it is possible to exclude meta-elements of the type examined from the current lexicographical practice? In the domain of OW-units, the answer, speaking against their use, seems to be unequivocal enough. In the case of MW-units, however, their exclusion seems to be much more problematic.

In the former case, the OW-terms involving meta-indicators mostly co-occur with true derivatives, as in *wāḥid al-^carab*; *^carabī* (§ 3.2(2)); *nisbatan 'ilā-ṣ-ṣīn*; *ṣīnī* (§ 3.1(5)), etc.

In the latter case, unless tacitly assuming that for all problematic adjectivally applied MW-terms⁵ noun-centred periphrases (mostly annexion-type constructions) will be substituted, the occurrence of meta-classifiers seems to be inevitable. Nevertheless, when taking into account the latter possibility, the whole set of MW-terms involving meta-classifiers may safely be excluded from the lexicon.⁶

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⁴ For a more detailed discussion of these problems see our paper: *Word-Class Shifts of Multiword Units in the Lexicon of Modern Written Arabic*, in *Asian and African Studies*, 24, pp. 27–35.

⁵ In the present study, the word-class interval is restricted to the relation between substantives and adjectives as one the most frequently occurring in the lexicographical practice (as far as the use of meta-classifiers is concerned).

⁶ The latter method is advantageously followed by some lexicographers in bilingual lexicons with Arabic in the position of TL. In Krahl's *Deutsch-arabisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1964), for instance, only such adjectivally applied MW-units are included that rely on procedures listed in §§ 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 of the present study.

RECEPTION AND SURVIVAL OF GOETHE'S *FAUST* IN GUO MORUO'S WORKS AND TRANSLATIONS (1919–1922)

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For Etienne

The aim of this study is to analyse the translations of Goethe's *Faust* by the modern Chinese poet Guo Moruo and its impact on Guo's works at the beginning of the 1920s.

The discerning reader of the meritorious collection *Goethe und China – China und Goethe*¹ will certainly not fail to note that it tells us little about Goethe's *Faust*, about the greatest work of probably the greatest German writer and poet. And yet, as evident from the "preliminary programme" of the Heidelberg symposium, at least one of the papers was to have been concerned with this topic. The prospective speaker ultimately went in for another theme.

If it is more or less certain that from Goethe's works, *The Sorrows of Young Werther* and his *Faust* elicited the greatest response in China, the former exerted a far more evident impact on Chinese literary structure. The interliterary process still remains to a great extent a less-known area in the international literary relationships and cannot be quantitatively measured. It is regulated far more by the needs and possibilities of the receiving literature, than by the literary values of the translated, read, analysed, or otherwise received literary work.

Alongside the needs of a receiving literary structure, of importance to certain, especially young literatures (and the new Chinese literature of the 1920s and 1930s was certainly such a one) was a relatively easy understanding of the text being translated, or at least of the information about it. This fact played a weighty role also in the reception and survival of *Faust* in China. As is generally accepted, *Faust* does not belong among such works.

1

We have no possibility here of analysing *Faust's* reception in China up to the year 1918. If there was any, it is totally negligible for the history of Chinese literature and its relations to world literature.²

¹ Bern – Frankfurt am Main – New York, Peter Lang 1985.

² Ōhashi Shintarō: *Deyizhi wenhao liu dajia liezhuan* [1] Biographies of Six Great German Poets. Shanghai 1903.

It will prove of interest to observe that *Faust* had made the greatest impact on Chinese literary soil right on its first contact with it in 1919 and the early 1920s. Later it was written about, and relatively much was translated from it, but there is no evidence that it would have by its internal contacts made any deeper impression on Chinese poets and writers and thus left any explicit, distinct traces in Chinese literature.³

Such an influence is connected with the life and work of one single poet – Guo Moruo [2] (1892–1978). It is generally known that during the school year 1917–1918 he read together with his schoolmates passages from Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*,⁴ and that brought him to *Faust*. It is not known when he read *Faust* for the first time, but some indication may be looked for in his personal and conjugal crisis which he went through during the vacation of 1919. His personal crisis came about from his loss of interest in the study of medicine which he had begun at the Kyushu Imperial University at the town Fukuoka. While earlier at secondary schools in Tokyo and Okayama he had devoted considerable effort to the study of languages and reading of literary works, now he had to focus attention primarily at medical terminology in which he was ultimately considerably frustrated. From the age of seventeen, Guo had hearing difficulties. This became later so aggravated that in the spacious lecture halls he could follow the subject matter solely at the expense of all his strength. His wife was absolutely opposed to his studying literature and hence also to any change of his field of study, for she saw in it a threat to the family's financial security in the future.⁵ He took such a liking to the introductory monologue from Goethe's drama where Faust, sitting restless at his desk, deliberates over the vanity of studying philosophy, medicine, law and theology, that he translated it into Chinese vernacular. That was probably the very first translation from *Faust* into Chinese, and it appeared on 10 October 1919, in the supplement Xue deng [4] Lantern of Study of the paper Shishi xinbao [5] The China Times in Shanghai. Guo in his memoirs does not write that in reading and translating these lines he would have entertained suicidal thoughts as had Goethe's Faust, but he admits feeling as if Faust's monologue manifesting medieval erudition, had gushed from his own, not Faust's heart. He even had the impression that he was not translating Goethe's poetry, but writing his own.⁶ In any case it may be said that Guo embodied himself into Faust's character who knows that he cannot know anything, had renounced all

³ In the comprehensive bibliography by Wolfgang Bauer and Hwang Shen-chang: *German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History. Deutschlands Einfluß auf die moderne chinesische Geistesgeschichte*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1982, where the titles of works and translations up to about 1976 are collected, we find thirteen different full or abridged translations of *Faust*.

⁴ Roy, D. T.: *Kuo Mo-jo. The Early Years*. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press 1971, p. 69. See also Guo Moruo: *Xuesheng shidai* [3] My Student Years. Peking 1979, p. 57.

⁵ Guo Moruo: *My Student Years*, p. 63.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

pleasures, was not rich, had no money and lived worse than a dog. At that time Guo had a flat comprising two little rooms on the first floor of a tenement house with his pregnant wife and child.⁷

Such an attitude to the original text necessarily led to certain shifts in translation. This may be illustrated on the example of the scene with *Mondenschein*. Here Guo Moruo "reshaped" the text so that he translated the twelve lines of the original (lines 386–397) by ten, into which he still inserted half of one which had not been in the original at all:

O sähst du, voller Mondenschein,
Zum letzten Mal auf meine Pein,
Den ich so manche Mitternacht
An diesem Pult herangewacht:
Dann, über Büchern und Papier,
Trübsel'ger Freund, erschienst du mir!
Ach! könnt ich doch auf Bergeshöhn
In deinem lieben Lichte gehn,
Um Bergeshöhle mit Geistern schweben,
Auf Wiesen in deinem Dämmer weben,
Von allem Wissensqualm entladen,
In deinem Tau gesund mich baden!⁸

The lunar topos is very characteristic of old China and it is quite possible that according to Guo Moruo it required a special mode of processing. Guo followed his "self-expressive" method. To my mind, stylistic reasons had not prompted the Chinese poet to alter the verse sequence, to combine them, or ultimately even to supplement the statement of the original. Within the context of Goethe's work, this scene takes contact with the "moonshine mood" of his youth "in which Ossian's heroic romanticism combines with Werther's sensibility".⁹ It is quite possible that Goethe had in mind precisely Colma's voice when writing these lines about Faust: "Emerge, O moon, from thy cloud, stars of the night appear! Grant me a ray of light to guide me to the place where my beloved rests from the ardours of the hunt, his bow unstrung, his dogs snuffling around him... Stream and storm roar, and I cannot hear the voice of my beloved."¹⁰

And how could she? He was dead. Death can be felt from both *Werther's* and *Faust's* scene. The scene as translated by Guo Moruo exhales rather an impasse and

⁷ Ibid., p. 45.

⁸ Goethe: *Faust*. Goldmann mit Erläuterungen. München, Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag 1978, p. 162.

⁹ Buchwald, R.: *Führer durch Goethes Faustdichtung*. Stuttgart, Alfred Kröner Verlag 1942, p. 66.

¹⁰ Goethe: *The Sorrows of Young Werther and Selected Writings*. Transl. by Catherine Hutter. New York and Ontario, New American Library 1962, p. 144.

despair, but death as a way out receives there far more emphasis than in Goethe's original. Goethe the poet comes to the aid of Guo Moruo, a poor student, and the latter accepts the helping hand and adjusts the work of Goethe to his needs.

A prosaic translation of the moonshine passage into English might run as follows:

Till midnight I used to lean over this desk

And I was bored the whole days

Over the heap of bone book signs and bamboo scrolls.

Bright moon has come to visit me.

Oh Moon, thou melancholic friend,

I wish thou couldst see my grief!

This night must be considered as the last!

In thy mellow, bright light I would like to climb the peaks of hills

Together with the spirits to accompany thee over meadows and mountain gullies,

To get rid of all the fetters of study and knowledge,

To bathe in thy healthy, pure dew!¹¹

Guo Moruo transposed moonshine into *ming yue* [6] bright moon corresponds better to the Chinese poetics. *Yue guang* [7] moonshine is merely a part of a fuller metaphor of a bright moon and this metaphor is used incomparably more frequently in old Chinese poetry. He may be said to have transposed the entire scene into Chinese, but thereby also into his own reality. In the first two lines he expressed the atmosphere of a poor room in Japan and his own *état d'ame*; he put into them what does not exist in Goethe's original, book signs, bamboo scrolls and that he was bored the whole days (*fan nao qi tian*) [8]. He did it in order to be able to converse with the moon and not with its light, its shine, for the latter can only be observed and felt. This is very reminiscent of Li Bai's [9] (701–762) poetic devices and his famous poem *Yue xia du zhuo* [10] I Drink In the Moonlight.¹² This poem, too, first gives a brief outline of the poet's situation. Li Bai had it incomparably better than Guo Moruo. He is alone with a glass of wine in his hands in the midst of flowers and invites the bright moon to come over for a tot. When the moon accepts his invitation and the shadow of the poet joins in, the poet's monologue begins, presented as a merry, unrestrained extasy of "three comrades", known in paraphrased form in Klabund in German,¹³ but also in other languages.¹⁴ The poem winds up with an invitation to another tryst. The above "transposition" in terms of an inaccurate though subjectively justified translation is a manifestation of Guo Moruo's poetry and we often encounter it in his translation of Goethe's *Faust*.

¹¹ The China Times, 10 October 1919.

¹² *Li Taibai shiji* [11] Li Bai's Poems, juan 23, SPPY ed., Taipei 1966, p. 11B.

¹³ Klabund: *Chinesische Gedichte*. Gesamt-Ausgabe, Wien, Phaidon Verlag, n. y., p. 53.

¹⁴ Mathesius, B.: *Zpěvy staré Číny* (The Songs of Old China). Prague, SNPL 1960, pp. 69–70.

Comparing the next “jail” stanza (lines 398–409), we find that Guo had again translated twelve of Goethe’s lines with ten of his. He described in this stanza his miserable little room at Hakozaki in the northern suburb of Fukuoka, not far from the Hakata Bay, a few minutes’ walk from the seashore and beaches lined with pine forests, rather than a medieval gothic chamber. Instead of “gemalte Scheiben” through which the saddened heaven’s dear light must pass, the Chinese reader of his translation gets the image of *wuzhuo de popian* [12] dirty panes and of *wenhui de chuangling* [13] plague-stained lattices of window.¹⁵ We know that Guo’s little room had two windows. That may be why he immortalized them twice in his translation of this passage, once as a student of medicine.

2

The history of new Chinese literary societies begins with the foundation of Wenxue yanjiuhui [14] The Literary Association in December 1920 or January 1921. But already at the beginning of 1920 a small group of “three comrades” had been formed, made up of Guo Moruo, Zong Baihua [15] (1897–1986), then editor of The China Times and later professor of aesthetics, and Tian Han [16] alias Shouchang [17] (1898–1968), then a student in Tokyo, and later a prominent Chinese playwright. The group was short-lived, but the results of several months of their co-operation, for the most part letters which they had written one to another, and which they published in May 1920 as a collection under the name *Sanye ji* [18] *Kleeblatt*, meant not an everyday literary event. By May 1941 it had seen 15 printings.

Tian Han and Zong Baihua wrote brief prologues to this collection. Guo Moruo adopted a different mode of approach: instead of a “prologue”, he gave voice to his translation of the well-known passage concerning the “zwei Seelen” (lines 1112–1121):

Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach! in meiner Brust,
 Die eine will sich von der andern trennen;
 Die eine hält, in derber Liebeslust,
 Sich an die Welt mit klammernden Organen;
 Die andre hebt gewaltsam sich vom Dust
 Zu den Gefilden hoher Ahnen.
 O gibt es Geister in der Luft,
 Die zwischen Erd und Himmel herschen weben,
 So steigt nieder aus dem goldnen Duft
 Und führt mich weg, zu neuem, bunten Leben!¹⁶

¹⁵ Goethe: *Faust*, p. 162 and The China Times, 10 October 1919.

¹⁶ Goethe: *Faust*, p. 184.

Guo Moruo translated these ten lines in a way that was to be expected, nonetheless, the reader will be surprised. At that time Guo Moruo was an advocate of atheistic pantheism, influenced by the Neo-Confucian philosopher Wang Yangming [19] (1472–1529), certain Buddhist and Taoist elements, and by the notion of the identity of *brahman* (i.e. the God, the Absolute) and *ātman* (i.e. the self, the ego), hence, by an idea deriving from Indian *Upanishads*.¹⁷

Guo Moruo's version might be translated into English as follows:

Ah! Two minds dwell in my breast,

The mind of the body (*ren xin*) [20] wants to part

from the mind of the spirit (*dao xin*) [21];

The mind of the body drowns in voluptuous delights,

It firmly clings to this vain and dirty world;

The mind of the spirit promptly soars above every dust

And intends to fly up into the heights of the spirits.

Oh, if you do exist, spirits, in the empty space

Reigning between heaven and earth,

Come down from the golden clouds

And lead me to a new, bright and shining life!¹⁸

As there was question of the first book in which Guo Moruo figured independently, Goethe's lines in his interpretation replaced, in a sense, a supplication for help of the gods, so typical of ancient Greek or Roman authors, and expressed his creed to which he truly adhered for some time. Guo Moruo's "two minds" are something different from "zwei Seelen" of Goethe. "Two minds" are two old Confucian philosophical categories from *Shujing* [22] *Book of History*,¹⁹ one indicating the "lower" mind of the body which is like a "pearl immersed in impure water"²⁰ and hence, subject to the impact of sexual, selfish passion; the other the "higher" mind of the spirit which is like a "precious pearl lying in clear cold water"²¹ serving the purpose of self-cultivation. We do not know whether Guo Moruo was concerned precisely with this self-cultivation, but his affinity to the "mind of the body" is quite evident and may be proved from his several confessions in *Kleeblatt*. He had an undue feeling of guilt and remorse from acts related to "voluptuous delights", as will be shown presently. In shifting the sense of Goethe's last lines referring to "zwei Seelen" he was less concerned with the circumstances which in Faust had to lead "zu neuen,

¹⁷ G á l i k, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History. IV. Young Guo Moruo (1914–1924)*. In: *Asian and African Studies XXII*, 1986, pp. 43–71.

¹⁸ *Kleeblatt*, Shanghai 1930, p. 1.

¹⁹ *Shangshu Kong zhuan* [23], juan 2, SPPY ed., Taipei 1966, p. 3B.

²⁰ Cf. F u n g Y u - l a n: *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Vol. 2. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1953, p. 560.

²¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 559.

bunten Leben", than with a creation of a new, literally *xinxian* [24] fresh, bright and shining life.

Until the year 1934 when Guo decided for Marxism, he had not accepted as his own any philosophy connected with one concrete man. He had professed a certain form of pantheism in which a place was occupied, in a certain temporal sequence, by prominent representatives of philosophical and poetic pantheism, including also Goethe in the last months of 1919 and early 1920. Guo Moruo had before him a broad and varying image of Faust. Who was, in fact, Goethe according to him? The answer was: "Simultaneously Faust, God, Overman; simultaneously Mephistopheles, devil, dog."²² From Wieland he had taken over the view that Goethe was the "most human among all human beings".²³ Goethe was to him the specimen of this kind of human being; and also of the chief principle of his contemporary philosophy which, though not of Goethe's, yet had in it something from the latter: "I am *shen* [25] God and the entire nature is my *biaoxian* [26] expression."²⁴ Goethe's personality was realized in all his work, *Faust* was his best work, hence also his most adequate artistic realization. Goethe, but especially Faust, was to Guo synonymous with life, and through his translations from that time, Guo endeavoured creatively to introduce this life to his Chinese readers. The stimulus to this came from Zong Baihua. In a letter of 7 January 1920 Baihua asked him to translate the *Prologue in Heaven*.²⁵ From a letter of 15 February addressed to Tian Han we learn that this had been done, and that he himself had translated the *Dedication* more or less for his own need,²⁶ remarking that this poem "can best manifest my (i.e. Guo Moruo's, M. G.) momentary mood".²⁷

As thirty two lines of the *Dedication* would be rather too much for a comparison, we submit but the initial stanza here. In it Goethe addresses himself to all literary and real characters of the drama, once living, though for the most part dead at the time he was writing the *Dedication*, to whom he was indebted as to material for his immortal work:

Ihr naht euch wieder, schwankende Gestalten,
Die früh sich einst dem trüben Blick gezeigt.
Versuch ich wohl, euch diesmal festzuhalten?
Fühl ich mein Herz noch jenem Wahn geneigt?
Ihr drängt euch zu! nun gut, so mögt ihr walten,

²² *Kleeblatt*, p. 14.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²⁴ GUO MORUO: *Shaonian Weite zhi fannao yinxu* [27] Preface to The Sorrows of Young Werther. In: GUO MORUO (transl.): *Shaonian Weite zhi fannao (The Sorrows of Young Werther)*, Shanghai 1932, p. 4.

²⁵ *Kleeblatt*, p. 25.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Wie ihr aus Dunst und Nebel um mich steigt;
Mein Busen fühlt sich jugendlich erschüttert
Vom Zauberhauch, der euren Zug umwittert.²⁸

A translation of Guo Moruo's Chinese version into English would run something like this:

You, erstwhile hazy shadows, today approach my cloudy sight.
Am I perhaps to say that this time I shall retain you?
I feel my heart aiming towards such dreamy vision.
You are pressing on my breast. Well, then!
You may float about me in the manner of clouds and mists!
My open heart feels the commotions of youth,
The bewitching breath that envelops your ranks, shakes my open heart.²⁹

This reads more like a paraphrase than a translation. Young Guo Moruo does not take on old Goethe's role, but transposes his words in such a manner as to make it clear that he is the protagonist in the poem. It is perceived more individualistically. While Goethe used the personal pronoun "I" twice and its case and possessive form likewise twice, Guo employed the corresponding Chinese personal pronoun twice and its appropriate alterations six times. This amounts exactly to twice the number. Goethe referred to the word "heart" once only, Guo Moruo twice, qualifying it as *xin jing* [28] open heart, and this in quick succession in order to set out its signification. *Xin jing* is a heart that flutters like the flag on the back of an East Asian warrior, showing every movement, and everyone must see it. But it is likewise a heart that records every shock of young age, of youth, of Guo Moruo's times, not those of Goethe. Guo Moruo might have quite conveniently put this version at the beginning of his first poetic collection. He did not. But something from the spirit of this poem came into the second stanza of the *Xu shi* [29] Introductory Poem to the collection *Nushen* [30] The Goddesses. In it he appealed to the characters of his book to go and seek out people positively responding to the vibrations he had set in motion and becoming inflamed with the blaze he had lit.³⁰ Vibrations were meant to derive from the heart's strings, and fire from the rays of reason.

3

Between 1918 and 1921 Guo Moruo changed his flat three times.³¹ In the last decade of March 1920, Tian Han visited Guo at the last of these flats, at which the

²⁸ Goethe: *Faust*, p. 147.

²⁹ *Kleeblatt*, pp. 51–52.

³⁰ Guo Moruo: *Goddesses*, Shanghai 1928, pp. 1–2. The introductory poem was written on 21 May 1921.

³¹ Guo Moruo: *My Student Years*, pp. 44–46, 53 and 75.

latter had translated practically the whole first part of Faust, unfortunately, this first version has not been preserved. Tian Han described the lodging on the basis of his fresh experience to an absent member of their “triumvirate”:

Dear Baihua,

I am on the first floor of Guo Moruo's flat,

It is made up of two rooms.

I am sitting in the front of one looking at the Hakata

Bay through an open window.

Distant mountains wind up about the bay, five or six low

houses are to be seen above it.

When I close my eyes, I hear birds twittering;

When I open my ears, I hear a child's cries.

What do you think, whose child is it?

Oh, Baihua! This is the second “work of art” (?) of our friend Guo Moruo. Or is it the second “fruit of sin”?

Tian Han³²

The Hakata Bay belongs among the most beautiful sceneries of Japan. The sea-shore with beaches lined with pine forests was but a few minutes' walk from Guo's flat. Hakozaki, i.e. the suburb to the north of Fukuoka where Guo stayed, was truly an idyllic spot for a poet.

At the place where Guo Moruo used to go and swim with his first-born son Hosheng [31] pet-name Ahe [32], a Mongolian occupation army 30,000 strong, had disembarked off 900 ships in 1274. After part of the army had landed, Mongolian and Korean soldiers began to attack Japanese warriors who retreated before the superior forces. As, however, for some reason or other, the rear of the Mongolian army did not disembark at all, the attacking soldiers returned back to sea. Japanese defenders were saved by a typhoon which destroyed some 200 enemy ships, and soldiers of the great army, substantially weakened, returned to China. Guo liked to roam around these places. Together with Tian Han he paid a visit to the town of Dazaifu, the first target, though never achieved, of the Mongol-Korean invaders.

Tian Han came to visit Guo Moruo on 19 March. Guo's second son Bosheng [33] had been born four days earlier. Tian Han found his friend preparing a meal in the ground-floor kitchen. They soon came to understand each other and Guo liked to listen to the talkative Tian. He did not grasp everything for he was hard of hearing, and did not remember all that Tian Han had told him, but judging from what Guo wrote to Zong Baihua in a letter, Tian Han was interested in Maeterlinck, Wilde, Heine, and that during his stay at Kyoto he visited Kuriyagawa Hakuson [34] (1880–1923), the well-known Japanese literary scholar who subsequently, in the first half of the 1920s, became the most translated foreign critic in China. By an allusion to

³² *Kleeblatt*, pp. 117–118.

the meeting between Confucius and Wenbo Xuezi [35] as we know of it from the record in the book *Zhuangzi* [36],³³ he may imply that in the presence of the young man (Tian Han was 6 years younger than Guo) who could put across what he knew, silence was the best tactic. Guo, however, was not one of those silent men incapable of having their say. In his letter to Zong Baihua he told him just everything, described in detail the Hakata Bay, and also the historical event spoken of above, even though he interchanged it for a similar one from the year 1281,³⁴ even more tragic for the Mongols, but this one had taken place elsewhere. On 20 March, together with Tian Han they read the first part of *Faust*. Tian Han liked best the part about the *Street* (from line 2605) up to *Martha's Garden* (line 3543), while Guo was most impressed by the passages beginning with *At the Well* (line 2544) and ending with Margareta's death in prison. While reading together the scene and simultaneously the poem entitled *A Shrine in the Ramparts*, Guo Moruo wept.³⁵

This is quite understandable. Tian Han and Guo Moruo had different life experiences and different views on the relation between man and woman, on love, and perhaps also on marriage. Tian Han had read one of Goethe's biographies and put before Guo Moruo the example of Goethe, Charlotte von Stein and Christiane Vulpius, arguing that Goethe's "sin" or "guilt" had a greater weight than his, probably because Goethe, living in a "half-marriage" with von Stein, had engendered a son with Vulpius.³⁶ Tian Han admitted that he had a "girl friend"; he was not living with her, and possibly there was "pure love" between them, which in his view was synonymous with a platonic relation.³⁷

The first stage of Margareta's development ends with line 3543 and the second (and the last one) is ushered in with line 3544. Margareta has had her first meetings with Faust and Mephistopheles, lets herself be persuaded that Faust loves her (which was true), cautions Faust against Mephistopheles, but she herself fails to guard against the sensual temptation and the sin against the sixth Commandment. She finds she is pregnant. We are not sure what fascinated Tian Han in the preceding scenes. It may have been the circumstances about the courting. The girl-friend's mother was against him, the son of economically ruined parents, but her father did a service similar to Mephistopheles and Martha in Goethe's play; and enabled the lovers to flee to Japan.³⁸ Guo Moruo was thrilled by the lines, or rather the prayer

³³ Ibid., pp. 120-122 and Zhuangzi: *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. New York and London, Columbia University Press 1968, pp. 222-223.

³⁴ Kleeblatt, p. 123.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 125.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 61-62.

³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 65 and He Yantai [37], Li Dasan [38]: *Tian Han pingzhuan* [39] *The Life and Work of Tian Han*. Changsha 1984, p. 24.

³⁸ He Yantai, Li Dasan: loc. cit.

issuing from the lips of Margareta when putting fresh flowers into a jug in a niche with an image of *Mater Dolorosa*, the Mother of Jesus.³⁹

Guo Moruo suffered for a long time from a sense of guilt because he had seduced and made pregnant his friend Anna (Satō Tomiko) [40]. He expressed this clearly in a letter to Tian Han written on 13 and 15 February 1920, from which it ensued that in December of 1916 he had allured her to live with him, although he was well aware that back in his parental house at Shawan [41], in the south-western part of the Szechwan Province, he had left a wife, and that at that time his “youthful innocence had become destroyed of itself”.⁴⁰ His wife had been chosen for him, as it was the custom then, by his parents. But his remorse may also have been due to his not having divorced her (though he did not do it after, either). But the most likely cause of his gnawing conscience was that he had begotten an offspring, a son who was born on 20 December 1917. He looked upon him as a “manifestation of guilt” or the fruit of sin. The little boy was often the target of his verbal abuse and beatings, although there were moments when Guo felt sorry because of it and considered him to be a “pure and immaculate angel”.⁴¹

Guo Moruo's capacity for empathy became manifest in his attitude toward Margareta's tragedy. He was most impressed by two moments in her life: when she became conscious that she “had sinned” and would bear the consequences of her offence, and the moment in prison when, out of her senses, she waited for the executioner.

Guo Moruo wrote one single poem inspired by Goethe's *Faust* and that refers to Margareta kneeling before the image of the Mother of God, Margareta *peccatrix*, suffering, foreseeing her own shame and death.

As motto of his poem he chose three lines from Margareta's prayer:

Wer fühlet,

Wie wühlet

Der Schmerz mir im Gebein?⁴²

He called the poem *Lei zhi qidao* [42] A Prayer to Tears, but it might likewise be called A Prayer to Margareta. We translate it here in full, albeit it belongs among his weak poems, for it reveals the author's understanding of Margareta and, to some extent also, although indirectly, of the whole of *Faust*:

Margareta in prison!

Margareta in prison!

I want you to know the immense grief of my heart,

I want you to know the regretful sorrow of my heart.

³⁹ Goethe: *Faust*, p. 265.

⁴⁰ Kleeblatt, p. 42.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 40.

⁴² Goethe: *Faust*, p. 266.

The tears you have shed...
 Have flowed into my eyes.
 Flow!... Flow!...
 Tears that are like warm springs!...
 Fall fast like waterfall in the Lushan Mountains!
 Run fast like the rivers Huanghe and Yangzi!
 Swell fast like the deluge, like the ocean!
 Tears, Oh! tears!
 Tears that are like agates, like red wine... Tears!
 Wash away quickly my all-life impurity!...
 From the depths of my heart drain away all longing after gain and gold!
 Put out quickly the flames that consume my body!...
 Tears, Oh, tears!
 Drown me!... Drown!
 Margareta in prison!
 Margareta in prison!
 The tears you have shed, Ah!
 You have poured them into mine eyes, Ah!
 I, too, I, too, wish to go to prison!⁴³

Guo Moruo did not go to prison, although, as evident from his letter to Tian Han, he sincerely thought he deserved the death penalty. Guo Moruo was under the influence not solely of his own personal experiences and reading of the first volume of *Faust*, but likewise of his philosophical conviction referred to above.

Analysis of this piece easily shows that Guo does not take contact with the form of Goethe's poems, nor with his stylistic or other devices, but embodies it into the context of his own work influenced by Whitman's "catalogue technique". The central image is that of tears, their torrent and action. They are even incorporated into the Chinese forms of Margareta's names: Geleiqing [43] or Maerguleida [44], for *lei* [45] in Chinese means tears. Of 23 lines, 18 refer directly to tears, 4 address Goethe's tragic heroine, which means that they are connected with the metamorphosis of tears and to Guo these are personified by Goethe's Margareta. An exception is the last line. But that one is the conclusion of the previous stanza; it represents the persona of the poem, hence the author himself, as also a metamorphosis of tears, and is the apotheosis or climax of a Prayer to Tears.

But metamorphosis of tears is also a concrete poetic expression of Guo Moruo's pantheistic self-expressive tendency. It is a poetic *pars pro toto* of human existence. Chinese or Japanese warm springs, the Lushan waterfalls, the great river Hoanghe and Yangzi, the Sumerian-Babylonian, Jewish or Chinese mythic deluges and the world oceans become a hyperbolic image of tears. Tears were to him at that moment

⁴³ *Kleeblatt*, pp. 125-128.

the substance and the phenomena of being and the world a certain analogy to the European medieval *lacrimarum vallis*.

This poem, probably the most lachrymose in all Chinese literary history, did in no manner of ways fit in with Guo's solar universe, with its energy, optimism, light, phoenixes and rebirth of the goddesses as symbols of a shining life.⁴⁴ Guo never included it in any of his poetic anthologies.

4

Guo Moruo wrote *A Prayer to Tears* before dawn of 21 March 1920.⁴⁵ Some three months later the "triumvirate" of the young Chinese men of letters broke up; Zong Baihua left to study in Germany in May 1920 and Guo Moruo with Tian Han began to plan the launching of the *Chuangzao she* [46] Creation Society.⁴⁶ On 17 July 1920, Guo Moruo received a letter from Zhang Dongsun [47] (1886–1973), editor of *The China Times*, asking him to translate *Faust* which would appear in a series of significant translations from world literature. Guo Moruo replied by return of mail that he would take up the work, but soon felt the translation to be beyond his ability. During four weeks of feverish work he translated the first part, the following month he transcribed it on fine Japanese paper and set to work on the second part, but apparently, besides the introductory scene *Pleasant Landscape* of the Act One, he translated nothing from it.⁴⁷ He volunteered an explanation for this only twelve years later. He claimed that the scenes such as *Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig*, *Witch's Kitchen*, *Walpurgis Night* and *Walpurgis Night's Dream* were *meiyou shiyi* [49] unpoetic and rather *youxi* [50] burlesque.⁴⁸ He found the translation hard going. Well, the term unpoetic is absolutely unjustified, while burlesque in Goethe's creative poetry was appropriate and to the point. These scenes are more difficult to understand, of course, for into the lively, mischievous, occasionally completely unrestrained atmosphere, giving vent also to instincts deemed taboo by normal social conventions, or even immoral, Goethe inserts, in the form of satire or grotesque, theological or literary reflections, innuendos on the cultural scene of the end of the 18th century, plays with the reader by provoking, goading him with the words that would fit in better into his *Zahme Xenien*, or a collection of facetiae, rather into the serious drama. But then, such an approach probably corresponded with the views and creative mood of the poet about fifty years old: otherwise he would hardly

⁴⁴ G á l i k, M.: *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation, 1898–1979*. Bratislava, Veda – Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1986, pp. 43–71.

⁴⁵ *Kleeblatt*, p. 125.

⁴⁶ R o y, D. T.: op. cit., pp. 100–101.

⁴⁷ *Guo Moruo zhuan ji* [48] Materials for the Study of Guo Moruo's Life and Work. Vol. 2. Chengdu 1984, p. 28.

⁴⁸ G u o M o r u o: *My Student Years*, p. 66.

have placed the following words into the author's mouth, in one of the wildest scenes of *Walpurgis Night*:

Wer mag wohl überhaupt jetzt eine Schrift

Von mäßig klugen Inhalt lesen.

Und was das liebe junge Volk betrifft,

Das ist noch nie so naseweis gewesen.⁴⁹

Guo Moruo found that the second volume would be even more difficult to translate than the first one. He stated that it contained even more of those "burlesque" passages, that its composition was broken up and he found it hard to bear the so-called monarchist way of thought and "counter-revolutionary" tendencies (although he did admit that the meaning of revolution in the past and the present differed), which appeared in this work.⁵⁰ It should be observed that at that time, i.e. in 1932, Guo Moruo had a totally different relation toward Goethe and Faust than in 1919–1922.

Guo Moruo advised the Gongxue she [51] Society for Co-operative Studies which had ordered his translation through the intermediary of Zhang Dongsun, about his decision not to translate the Part Two.⁵¹ The editor's disapproval was probably brought home to Guo in that he never received the reply to his letter suggesting publication of the Part One. Thus, he filed, so to say, the manuscript ready for press, away in a wall-built-in drawer. When after some time he retrieved it, he found that over one-third had been eaten away by rats. This intervention on the part of the Japanese rodents proved a bitter blow to Guo Moruo. Anna's commentary, who considered this circumstance as a warning of fate, failed to give him any zest to work on the translation.⁵²

Guo Moruo was a poet who strove to be faithful to his own self. Even at the time of his highest intoxication with Goethe's art, hence in the first months of 1920, shortly after having written a poem where he mentions Goethe and Schiller (on the initiative of Tian Han), he declared in a letter addressed to Zong Baihua: "I think that in future I shall learn neither from Schiller nor from Goethe, but shall adhere to my own conscience."⁵³

All that Guo took over from Goethe, and thereby also from Faust, bears a strong seal of his own personality. From three poetic dramas, i.e. *Feng huang niepan* [52] *The Nirvana of the Phoenixes*, *Nushen zhi zaisheng* [53] *The Rebirth of the Goddesses* and *Xiang lei* [54] *The Tragedy at the Xiang River* which we may ascribe in a greater or smaller measure to the impact of Goethe's *Faust*, we may judge the

⁴⁹ Goethe: *Faust*, p. 281.

⁵⁰ Guo Moruo: *My Student Years*, p. 66.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵³ *Kleeblatt*, pp. 163–164.

degree of transformation of the material and the impulse itself. I think I have devoted adequate attention to the first two works in my book *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation, 1898–1979*. The third one deserves due attention here. But before its analysis, let us read Faust's reply to the question of one of four Grey Hags at *Midnight*. The creature is called Care and represents the troubles currently met with in life, our constant companion by day and night, who can say of herself:

Wen ich einmal mir besitze,
Dem ist alle Welt nichts nütze,
Ewiges Düstre steigt herunter,
Sonne geht nicht auf noch unter, ...⁵⁴

When Frau Sorge asked Faust shortly before death: "Hast du die Sorge nie gekannt?", he replied:

Ich bin durch die Welt gerannt.
Ein jed Gelüst ergriff ich bei den Haaren,
Was nicht genügte, ließ ich fahren,
Was mir entwischte, ließ ich ziehen.
Ich habe nur begehrt und nur vollbracht
Und abermals gewünscht und so mit Macht
Mein Leben durchgestürmt; erst groß und mächtig,
Nun aber geht es weise, geht bedächtig.
Der Erdenkreis ist mir genug bekannt,
Nach drüben ist die Aussicht uns verrant;
Tor! wer dort die Augen blinzelnd richtet,
Er stehe fest und sehe hier sich um;
Dem Tüchtigen ist diese Welt nicht stumm.
Was braucht er in die Ewigkeit zu schweifen!⁵⁵

All the fourteen lines need not be retranslated from Guo's Chinese version into English. Guo Moruo translated more than half of them fairly accurately. The rest is a reflection of Guo's comprehension and of his relation to Faust and Goethe:

I am perfectly acquainted with all things on the earth.
In no way can I turn towards heaven.
Dolts alone turn their eyes to heaven and nourish illusions towards God!
Stand firmly on thy feet and look about thee.
The world is not deaf to a man of action,
Where is the need to trudge on in eternity!⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Goethe: *Faust*, p. 524.

⁵⁵ Loc. cit.

⁵⁶ Guo Moruo: *Posi shiren Omei Gayamu* [55] Persian Poet Omar Khayyām. In: *Wenyi lunji* [56] *Studies in Literature and Art*. Shanghai 1929, pp. 321–322.

⁵⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 320 and Goethe: *Faust*, p. 172.

The author of *Faust* would probably have never written the above first four lines corresponding to Goethe's first three. If Guo Moruo gave them this wording, he did so primarily to utilize Goethe's authority in order to proclaim his own views. This brief analysis should be looked upon as an illustration of Guo Moruo's very individual approach to his translation of literary material. Earlier I made a point of this on several occasions.

Of greater importance, however, is something else. Guo Moruo makes use of the meeting between Care and the dying Faust to present an analysis, in one single place of his work, of Faust's philosophy. He rightly remarks that Faust's most typical feature was his will to act. "Deed" of a modern, new, at that time Euro-American world, had taken place of the Word, *Logos* of old Christian Weltanschauung. The presentation of this main premise in Faust's life philosophy embodies a certain "shift in emphasis" which then shunts Faust on to a different track and Guo Moruo adapts it to his own possibilities or needs. This "shift in emphasis" resides in the statement of Guo Moruo that the conviction of Faust and also of Goethe regarding the "deed" as the basis of philosophy and of creation, derives from a state of metaphysical impasse and an impossibility practically to resolve with satisfactory certainty, the fundamental issues of epistemology, ontology, of the essence of life or of the universe. Shortly before manifesting the main credo of his faith, Faust intended to commit suicide.⁵⁷

The alleged impossibility of resolving the above fundamental questions led Guo Moruo to make an indiscriminate typology of thinkers, scholars; which he applies, first, to such as go mad from similar questions, second, to such as are driven to suicide on realizing an impossibility of their solution, and third, to such as decide for an active or passive epicurianism, for enjoying life, or for an active life in its diverse variants.

The one representing the first and second kind was Qu Yuan [57] (ca. 340–278 B. C.), the third kind, Spinoza or Goethe. Guo considered Goethe as a representative of the active kind of epicurianism.⁵⁸

This classification is, of course, grossly oversimplified. In addition, Goethe's and Faust's philosophy was far more complex and comprehensive than the way Guo Moruo presented it to his Chinese readers. Goethe and Faust were not merely "intoxicated" by "deed" as Guo wrongly presumed, suffering or pleasures of life did not serve them as a means of "self-expression" or "self-extension" towards the whole mankind.⁵⁹ To Goethe "deed" was the most important means towards human self-realization in public and private events, in his all-round contact with nature and its exploitation for man's welfare:

⁵⁸ Guo Moruo: Persian Poet Omar Khayyām, p. 322.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 320–321.

Guo Moruo was fully aware of this most important of Faustian strains: ability to create, to strive for something as yet nonexistent, to transform the possible into reality, yet he went past them practically without noticing them. From the Faustian repertory of traits he was most taken up with feeling, essentially a Wertherian property and the most typical feature. Guo's subsequent turning to Werther might be explained by a harmony, a sympathetic vibration of their souls. But of course, this harmony originates in old Chinese tradition, but the contemporary Chinese reality, too, was responsible for it.⁶⁰ In his time, i.e. in the Chinese society of practically the entire first half of the 1920s, Guo Moruo just could not imagine any active a successful "deed" in Faust apprehension and found an alternative in a philosophical or poetical action of a "madman", or an individual rebel.

Some time in the second half of the year 1920, we may observe that Guo Moruo began to seek for his poetic plays and other works the characters who embraced death (or at least were ready to do so) for certain "idea", e.g. Nie Zheng [58], the hero of the poetic one-act play *Tangdi zhi hua* [59] Wild Cherry Blossoms.⁶¹ His sister Nie Ying [60] sends him into an unequal fight where his "red blood" would allegedly turn into "flowers of freedom" in the future China. In the poem *Misang-suolupu zhi yege* [61] Misanthrope's Night Song Guo Moruo reflected Tian Han's translation of the one-act play *Salome* by Oscar Wilde. He may possibly have been inspired to write this poem by John the Baptist, again one of those madmen who sacrificed their heads for an "idea". He refused the allurements of a Galilean harlot. This poem is but a reflection of the mood of a bright moon and stars manifested by the scene of the Woman on the Moon and a peacock design dress as an allusion to Salome's skirt.⁶² The best-known madmen in world literature were Werther and Zarathustra from Nietzsche's famous work *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. Werther appeared in Guo Moruo's translation in April of 1922 and Zarathustra between May 1923 and February 1924.⁶³ Guo never finished the translation of the latter, but only the first part came out complete and four chapters from the second part.

Madman *topos* is best represented in Guo Moruo's work *The Tragedy at the River Xiang*. As has been shown, Guo Moruo was intensively moved by the prison scene at the end of the first part of Faust, where Margareta receives her lover as the execu-

⁶⁰ Cf. G á l i k, M.: *The Concept of Feeling in Chinese, English and German Literary Criticism*. Neohelicon, X, 1983, 1, pp. 123-130 and W o n g S i u - k i t: *Ch'ing in Chinese Literary Criticism*. Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Oxford 1969.

⁶¹ G u o M o r u o: *The Goddesses*, pp. 33-41.

⁶² Ibid., pp. 199-200. This poem was written on 23 November 1920. It is questionable if its cause was the illness of Guo's second son. Its allusion to Wilde's *Salome* and Aubrey Beardsley famous drawing Peacock Skirt is too strong. See G u o M o r u o: *My Student Years*, p. 60.

⁶³ A s c h e r, B.: *Aspekte der Werther-Rezeption in China (Die ersten Jahrzehnte des 20. Jahrhunderts)*. In: *Goethe und China - China und Goethe*, p. 139 and G á l i k, M.: *Nietzsche in China (1918-1925)*, Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 110, 1971, p. 37.

tioner, recognizes him, but immediately has a moment of doubt whether he came truly to liberate her. He considerably revised the stimuli and adapted them to his creative design. The field of action is not a jail, but the beautiful landscape around the lake Dongting [62] into which flow the waters of the Xiang [63] and the Miluo [64] rivers. The principal character is not Margareta, but Qu Yuan, the place of Faust is taken by Nuxu [65], allegedly Qu Yuan's elder sister, and instead of Mephistopheles Lao weng [66] Old Man, a boatman takes part in the tragedy.

The mentally confused Qu Yuan, claiming to be one of the legendary Chinese emperors Shun [67], complains to his sister that emperor Yu [68], his successor and the alleged founder of the Xia [69] dynasty, had misunderstood him and wished to get rid of him or completely to remove him from the social and political life. Emperor Yu and those close to him consider Qu Yuan to be a fool and do not take him seriously. The latter finds it hard to bear this burden and his mental state goes on deteriorating. His dreams by day and night oppress him like a persisting nightmare, he is afraid to approach every human being, he feels lonely and painfully abandoned. He longs for the world of nonexistence and for death. Nuxu tries to persuade him to become conscious of his role in the life of the country where he is still a high dignitary, of his inner creative strength which "freely flows from him like the waters of the rivers"⁶⁴ Xiang and Yuan [70] running into the lake Dongting. Qu Yuan, however, is dissatisfied with her comparison. He thinks his strength matches that of the Yangzi, the greatest Chinese river, and that he is capable of filling up not only the lake Dongting, but even the immense sea. "I am a creative spirit," Qu Yuan says of himself, "I create freedom, I express myself freely, I create the grandiose mountains, the immense seas, the sun, the moon, the stars, I move fast like the wind, snow, storm and rain. Although I only have my body (yet, through creative energy, M. G.) I can fill the entire universe . . ."⁶⁵ This constitutes one of Guo's most explicit faith in pantheistic demiurgism, comparable uniquely with the creative acts in the *Old Testament*.

"Deed" which Guo Moruo here translates as an alternative to Faust's really objective action, is, however, merely a notion, a figment of imagination, a kind of fiction, something, in fact, impossible.

The unfinished Tragedy on the River Xiang does not go beyond the scene of "tears" evoked by the song of two water nymphs luring Qu Yuan with their sad singing into the lake. Their song is reminiscent, by its design if not by its intonation, of Goethe's ballad *Der Fischer*.⁶⁶ Guo never wrote a direct continuation of the Tragedy on the River Xiang. *Qu Yuan*, his later play from 1942,⁶⁷ is its very indirect and a quite differently apprehended sequence.

⁶⁴ Guo Moruo: *The Goddesses*, p. 26.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

⁶⁶ Guo Moruo translated this poem into Chinese. See *Shenhuade shijie* [71] The World of Myths. In: *Studies in Literature and Art*, pp. 200-205.

After 1920 Guo Moruo became less interested in *Faust*, though not in Goethe. The transfer of his attention to *The Sorrows of Young Werther* was quite a natural sequel of his efforts. Werther suited far more his poetic and human temperament. His translation of the first part of *Faust* appeared in February 1928. His original love of Goethe grew into downright hatred. In 1932 he compared Karl Marx to the brightness of the sun and Goethe to the flicker of a firefly.⁶⁸ He was evidently unaware that Goethe was the favourite poet of Marx and Margareta the most popular female heroine in the whole world literature.⁶⁹ His relation was connected with the influence of ultra-leftist and vulgar literary sociological views then being pushed through in Chinese literary life.⁷⁰ Later in the 1940s after the end of World War II, he somehow corrected his views and decided to translate the second part of *Faust*, which appeared, together with the first part, in November 1947. In May of that year he had written a remarkable document on his relation to *Faust*, an epilogue entitled *Zhongguo de Foushide bu hui si*. "Foushide" dier bu yihou ji [72] Chinese Faust Must Not Die. After the Translation of the Second Part of "Faust".⁷¹

Guo Moruo never compared himself with Goethe, but "in reality he likened himself to Qu Yuan".⁷² That happened when he was writing *The Tragedy on the River Xiang*. "So spoke the Master about himself"⁷³ he said using the words from *Lunyu* [73] *Analekts* by Confucius (551–479 B. C.). Qu Yuan as we know him from works ascribed to him or connected with his tradition, had certainly something in common with Goethe's *Faust*. But even nearer to him was the tradition of the ancient magi from the Near East and European cultural area. He himself was a statesman, a politician or diplomat, but as a poet he took contact with the poetry of the shamans of his native province Chu [74] which spread on a considerable part of the then southern China.⁷⁴

The question is whether there exists a true Chinese Faust. Is he Qu Yuan apprehended in Guo Moruo's manner? Is it not rather a mere imitation? No analogue of Mephistopheles stands by Qu Yuan's side, but an old ferryman, a parallel of the

⁶⁷ Materials for the Study of Guo Moruo's Life and Work. Vol. 2, p. 202. See also its English translation *Chu Yuan, A Play in Five Acts*, Peking 1955.

⁶⁸ Guo Moruo: *My Student Years*, p. 69.

⁶⁹ Marx, K. – Engels, F.: *Über Kunst und Literatur*. Erster Band. Berlin, Dietz Verlag 1967, p. 48.

⁷⁰ Cf. Gálík, M.: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism, 1917–1930*. London, Curzon Press – Bratislava, Veda 1980.

⁷¹ Guo Moruo (transl.): *Foushide (Faust)*. Vol. 2. Shanghai 1952, pp. 373–378 and Materials for the Study of Guo Moruo's Life and Work: Vol. 2, p. 284.

⁷² Guo Moruo: *My Student Years*, p. 69.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 69 and *Gespräche des Meisters Kung*. München, DTV 1987, p. 102.

⁷⁴ Cf. *General Introduction*. In: Ch'u Tz'u. *The Songs of the South. An Ancient Chinese Anthology*. Transl. by David Hawkes. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1959, pp. 1–19.

fisherman from the elegy *Yufu* [75] *The Fisherman*.⁷⁵ Faust, as we know, without Mephistopheles is just impossible. Faust "cannot be thought without a pact or a bet with Mephisto, without a conflict between the forces of order and signs of decay, without an unsatisfied thirst for the delights of life and knowledge, without a discussion between Christian virtue and pre- or post-Christian life attitude, without an experience of love and guilt, and violation of all boundaries laid down by the society".⁷⁶ According to Gerhart Pickerodt: "All attempts undertaken in the history of Faust's reception to break off the bond between Mephistopheles and Faust, to play Mephistopheles down as the representative of evil against Faust's positive quality, or to style him as the personification of an absurd basic universal principle must necessarily fail, ignore the essential aesthetic fact that Faust and Mephisto cannot be thought of one without the other."⁷⁷

China has never known a tradition similar to the one running like a thread through the Judeo-Christian world: Demon, Satan, Lucifer, Devil, Mephistopheles. The first man and woman already had to undergo the test and decide for God or the devil. For instance, the temptation on the part of the devil, or the motif of a pact with the devil were totally unknown in China because of a quite different ethic, inner structuralization, therefore Faust could never have been created on Chinese literary soil, and if he did appear in some of the forms in which we know him in Europe, he would strike us as a stranger.

Guo Moruo remained faithful to himself in his work. In the historical tragedy *Qu Yuan* he reached out after the shamanist practices and rituals of Qu Yuan's times, but he did not strive to connect them with an inner ethical, nor an external political life; to him magic remained a matter of ritual and liturgy and did not become Qu Yuan's need, his inner conviction, rather he fought against it, condemned it and was far from identifying himself with it.⁷⁸ Without magic, Faust is likewise impossible.

To Guo Moruo Faust and Mephistopheles were not the pair of devil's adjutant and his adversary, a representative of the Western mind and a propounder of its negativity, but rather two sides of the same coin, two different images of Goethe's himself, of his "two souls". As noted above, Guo apprehended Faust in 1920 in the Confucian manner, and he repeated that in 1947, when for Goethe's "two souls" as an incorporation of Faust and Mephistopheles, he used the well-known quotation from the *Book of History*: "The mind of the body is unstable, the mind of the spirit

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 90–91. Cf. also *Chuci* [76], juan 7, SPPY ed., Taipei 1966, pp. 1A–3A.

⁷⁶ Faustus. In: D ä m m r i c h, H. S. and A.: *Themen und Motive in der Literatur*. Tübingen, Francke Verlag 1987, p. 134.

⁷⁷ Pickerodt, G.: *Nachwort*. In: Goethe: *Faust*, p. 984.

⁷⁸ Guo Moruo: *Chu Yúan*, pp. 50–54.

is small. Be discriminating, be undivided that you may sincerely hold fast to the mean.”⁷⁹

Guo Moruo translated the Part Two of *Faust* in less than a month. He understood it as a parable of world evolution, particularly in the period of the antifeudal struggle, as canvass of “tragic moods” of the then Germany at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century which resembled, or reminded him of the “tragic moods” of present-day China.⁸⁰ There he also expressed his conviction: “In China Faust will never grow old, never go blind and will never die. Undoubtedly he will not be satisfied with levelling out the shallowness of the seashore, nor will bestow democracy in the manner of feudal princes, but will cause the whole China to become a sea of democracy in which the people will really rule.”⁸¹

Let us leave aside these last of Guo’s statements which rather echo an ancient Hebrew prophet than a modern literary scholar. In any case, if Faust lives in China, he lives through translations and seems to be Chinese only in the measure in which he has something to say to Chinese readers. If when translating the Part One, Guo felt as if he himself were creating, in translating the Part Two he felt a considerable “intimate propinquity”⁸² with Faust. It may therefore be assumed that this translation also comprises much from his poetics and from his subjective comprehension.

If Chinese literature has created a *Faust*, it is most probably only a translated one. Possibly Guo Moruo’s *Faust* is one of the most interesting. Its investigation might enrich our knowledge of the translation phenomenon in the new Chinese literature as an integral part of contemporary literary scholarship.

This study was elaborated during the author’s three months’ stay at Institut für Ostasienkunde, Universität München, November 1987 till January 1988. He expresses his thanks to Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung for having made this stay possible.

⁷⁹ Guo Moruo: “Foushide” jianlun [77] A Short Critique of “Faust”. In: *Foushide (Faust)*. Vol. 1. Shanghai 1952, p. XVII. Cf. *Shangshu Kong zhuan*, p. 3B. Translation is taken over from Fung Yu-lan: *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Vol. 2, pp. 559–560.

⁸⁰ Guo Moruo: *Dier bu yihou ji* [78] After the Translation of the Part Two. In: *Foushide (Faust)*. Vol. 2, p. 375.

⁸¹ Loc. cit.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 375–376.

1. 德意志文豪六大家列传 2. 郭沫若 3. 学生时代
4. 学灯 5. 时事新报 6. 明月 7. 月光 8. 烦恼齐天
9. 李白 10. 月下独酌 11. 李太白诗集 12. 污浊的玻璃
13. 瘟晦的窗棂 14. 文学研究会 15. 宗白华 16. 田汉 17.
- 寿昌 18. 三叶集 19. 王阳明 20. 人心 21. 道心 22.
- 书经 23. 尚书孔传 24. 新鲜 25. 神 26. 表现 27. 少年
- 维特之烦恼序引 28. 心旌 29. 序诗 30. 女神 31. 和生
32. 阿和 33. 博生 34. 厨川白村 35. 温伯雪子 36. 庄子
37. 何寅泰 38. 李达三 39. 田汉评传 40. 佐藤富子 41. 沙
- 湾 42. 泪之祈祷 43. 葛泪卿 44. 玛尔瓜泪达 45. 泪 46.
- 创造社 47. 张东荪 48. 郭沫若专集 49. 没有诗意 50.
- 游戏 51. 共学社 52. 凤凰涅槃 53. 女神之再生 54. 湘
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- 禹 69. 夏 70. 沅 71. 神话的世界 72. 中国的浮士德不会
- 死-《浮士德》第二部译后记 73. 论语 74. 楚 75. 鱼夫
76. 楚辞 77. 《浮士德》简论 78. 第二部译后记

RECEPTION OF CONFUCIUS AND CONFUCIANISM IN BOHEMIA AND SLOVAKIA

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

Motto:

*Nulla major hallucinatio est, quam velle de rebus,
quae nescimus, disceptare.*

*Historica notitia Rituum ac Ceremoniarum
Sinarum, Prae 1711*

The aim of the present study is to outline a short history of the reception of Confucius and Confucianism in Bohemia and Slovakia beginning in 1711 when the first books by F. Noël were published, up to the present times, on the basis of studies, translations and views manifesting either a positive or a negative attitude and analysing this significant part of Chinese philosophy.

1

François Noël (1651–1729) whose motto heads this study, was probably the first author to have acquainted the readers in Prague and possibly also other Czech scholars with Chinese Confucian philosophy and the teachings of Confucius (551–479 B.C.). He had spent practically one quarter of a century in China, twenty-four years to be exact between 1684 and 1708 and on his return to Europe, his superiors in the Society of Jesus sent him to work in Prague. And in the Jesuit College called Clementinum, in the complex of baroque buildings opposite the famous Charles Bridge from the year 1357, he wrote and edited several books that intervened into the history of sinology, translated literature and into European philosophy. Their long Latin titles run as follows: *Philosophia sinica tribus Tractatibus, primo Cognitionem primi Entis, secundo Ceremonias erga Defunctos, tertio Ethicam, juxta Sinarum Mentem complectens*, the second one, *Sinensis Imperii Libri classici sex, nimirum Adultorum Schola, Immutabile Medium, Liber Sententiarum, Memcius, Filialis Observantia, Parvulorum Schola, e sinico Idiomate in Latinum traducti*, and the third one quoted under the motto of this study. All of them appeared in 1711.

The first book deals with the so-called First Essence, i.e. Tian [1], Shangdi [2] and *taiji* [3], the first two of which, in particular, represented a source of mutual conflicts at the early stage of the first Sino-Western encounter. Its second part speaks of the cult of ancestors, parents and spirits, and in the last one the author

devotes himself to values of ethical-aesthetic categories of Confucianist teaching, socio-political institutions, education, etc.

The second book, as the title implies, is a collection of translations of six Confucian books, namely: *Daxue* [4] *The Great Learning*, *Zhongyong* [5] *Doctrine of the Mean*, *Lunyu* [6] *Analects*, *Mengzi* [7] *Mencius*, *Xiaojing* [8] *Classic of Filial Piety* and *Xiaoxue* [9] *The Small Learning*. It is evident at the very first glance that this set represents *Sishu* [10] *Four Books*, while *Classic of Filial Piety* is probably a work from the times of Qin (221–207 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C. – A.D. 220), and *The Small Learning* is a short but during the last centuries of imperial era highly popular work by the Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhu Xi [11] (1130–1200) and was destined for the education of young boys.

The third one is connected with the Rites Controversy, well-known and much discussed during the 17th and at the beginning of the 18th century.

It would be difficult to say if anyone had made a serious study of Noël's books in the Czech milieu of those times. Czech intelligentsia in those days for the most part hated Jesuits because of their anti-Reformation and Germanizing efforts. One of Noël's younger brethren, the Jesuit preacher Antonín Koniáš (1691–1760) has become legendary on account of his censorship, destruction and burning of Czech books. But Noël's books had a considerable impact on the ethico-political views of the outstanding German philosopher Christian Wolff (1697–1754). We know that until December 1721 when Wolff wrote and read a lecture entitled *Oratio de Sinarum philosophia practica in solemni panegyri recitata*, Noël's works and translations had been Wolff's only source of information on Chinese philosophy. He himself admitted that much in two places: "I had seen nothing from Chinese world wisdom before the appearance of Noël's translation of the principal books of the Chinese Empire."¹ Or: "Then I had nothing in hand from Chinese materials, except the principal books of the Chinese Empire which Noël had translated into Latin."² In virtue of his knowledge of Chinese Confucian philosophy acquired from Noël's books (and later also from other authors) Wolff judged that as regards ethics and statecraft, we find nothing in Western philosophy, not excluding ancient Greek teachings, that could match them.³ He proposed both of them to be the models to his European contemporaries. When considering Wolff's concept of science and philosophy, their mutual relation and division, we see that up to a point he had taken over from Noël the idea of the so-called practical sciences, among which he assigned ethics, politics and economics. As a matter of fact, in his book *Philosophia sinica*, Noël divided the third part entitled *De Ethica sinensis*, into *Ethica oeconomica* and

¹ This quotation is taken over from Z e m p l i n e r, A.: *Čínská filosofie v novověké evropské filosofii* (Chinese Philosophy in European Philosophy of Modern Era). Prague, Academia 1966, p. 63.

² Loc. cit.

³ Ibid., p. 66.

Ethica politica, even though in Ethica oeconomica he had in mind ethical, not economical categories. A more detailed study of the impact of Confucian and Neo-Confucian philosophy on Christian Wolff and his pupil Georg Bernhard Büllfinger (1693–1750) was made by the Czech scholar Artur Zempliner. Büllfinger, however, was acquainted with Noël's works solely from data which he found in his master's work. He never succeeded in having Noël's works at his disposal.⁴ They were hard to come by just a few years after their publication.

After Noël interest in Confucius and Confucianism seems to have died down in Prague for many years to come. It was only in the 1880s, hence, over one hundred years ago, that the Czech orientalist and the first sinologist Rudolf Dvořák (1860–1920) began to be interested in the topic. Young Dvořák entered the sinologist field with his booklet *Číňana Konfucia život a nauka* (Confucius' Life and Teaching) which appeared in two parts in 1887 and 1889. A German version of this work came out in Münster in 1895. The Czech version begins as follows: "A few decades before Socrates endeavoured in Greece to uplift the decadent morals of the Athenians through his ennobling principles and teachings, and raise them to their former level, we encounter in the Far East a man, who, although the son of another nation and another nature, educated in a different morale and conditions, nevertheless, speaks in similar manner, and being led by the same moral principles, he resembles the Greek philosopher not solely in his distressful life, but also in his wonderful posthumous destiny, and shows similarities, although incidentally only, also in his teaching. He is an illustrious son of the Chinese nation, wrongly called a philosopher Confucius."⁵

The last sentence of the above quotation is bewildering, but after reading the first page of the second volume, we may grasp what Dvořák had in mind when writing this extraordinary statement. There we find that Confucius "was declared the founder of Chinese literature, although he himself had hardly written anything at all, originator of religion, although he shunned religious questions as far as he could, the true shaper of the Chinese State, although personally he never had any decisive influence; he was called a law-giver, although he had issued no law, a reformer, although he preached nothing new, a philosopher, albeit he had founded no philosophical system."⁶ These rhetorical outpourings detract somewhat from the significance of the Chinese Sage, nevertheless, a perspicacious reader of Dvořák's rather cumbersome book arrives at the conviction that if anything, Confucius, "wrongly called a philosopher", was truly a thinker of towering stature. Dvořák judged Confucius against the background of his period, one of general decay of the Zhou dynas-

⁴ Ibid., p. 84.

⁵ Dvořák, R.: *Číňana Konfucia život a nauka. I. Život Konfuciův*. Prague, J. Otto 1887, p. 217.

⁶ Dvořák, R.: *Číňana Konfucia život a nauka. II. Nauka Konfuciova*. Prague, J. Otto 1889, p. 5.

ty which he intended to remedy and "to renew the former state of prosperity".⁷ From this point of view he looked at Confucius' teachings as at ethics, morals, but without dogmatics, as at a means of moral self-improvement, self-perfection. He devotes most space to an explanation of various virtues which Confucius preached, especially *ren* [12] human-heartedness and *wulun* [13] five basic relations among human beings, however, he alters their rank order. He starts with the husband and wife relationship, in Chinese *fufu* [14], then he takes up the relation between elder and younger generally and between brothers in particular, which corresponds to the Confucian relation between an elder and a younger brother (*xiongdi*) [15], further with relations among friends (*pengyou*) [16], and ends with the relation between the ruler and the subject, which corresponds to the same relation in Confucian teaching (*junchen*) [17]. Very rarely does Dvořák endeavour to explain these relations otherwise than with the aid of Confucius' own statements; yet, for instance, he characterizes the last of these relationships with the strength of Confucian persuasion when he makes use of the Latin proverb "verba movent, exempla trahunt",⁸ and judges that "virtue is that means which asserts power even where violence fails",⁹ or explains Confucian virtue of *xin* [18] good faith to Czech readers through the German proverb "Ein Mann ein Wort".¹⁰ Dvořák closes his book with the observation that Confucius was a great personality and belongs among the greatest men of world history.

Dvořák went back to Confucius at least three times more: in an entry written by him that appeared in *Ottův slovník naučný*¹¹ (Otto's Encyclopaedia), in the study *Konfucius a Lao-tsi*¹² (Confucius and Laozi), and in the work entitled *Konfucius* (Confucius) that appeared in the series *Dějiny mravouky v Orientě*¹³ (A History of Ethics in Orient). All of them, however, are tributary to the booklets mentioned above and rarely go beyond what has been already said there.

After an interval of almost two hundred years between Noël and Dvořák, there was a hiatus of a mere ten years between the latter and Professor Emanuel Rádl (1873–1940) who in his book of philosophical reflections from travels entitled *Západ a Východ* (West and East), takes up also problems of China and Confucianism. No such enthusiasm had gripped Czechoslovakia over China or Japan in the last decade

⁷ Ibid., p. 18.

⁸ Ibid., p. 63.

⁹ Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

¹¹ *Ottův slovník naučný*. Vol. XIV. Prague 1889, pp. 680–682.

¹² *Konfucius a Lao-tsi. Srovnávací studie z filosofie čínské* (Confucius and Laozi. A Comparative Study in Chinese Philosophy). Česká mysl (Czech Mind), I, 1900, 3, pp. 161–174.

¹³ *Dějiny mravouky v Orientě. I. Konfucius* (A History of Oriental Ethics. I. Confucius). Prague, Dědictví Komenského 1904, 118 pp.

of the 19th and the first two decades of the 20th century as was witnessed, say in Germany, France or England. Professor Rádl who had an opportunity in 1922 to pay a visit to China, evaluated it and its philosophy from strictly Eurocentric point of view, although he was not aware of this and was in fact oriented in his programme against such an attitude. A rather negative relation towards the Oriental philosophical teachings in Europe was being handed down since Hegel's time and Rádl succumbed to it almost entirely. Rádl wrote concerning Confucius: "Mediocrity was his ideal, reluctance towards a flight of thought was his philosophy; he was neither genius nor a hero, neither a popular leader, nor a thinker locked up in his study, nor a preacher of morals; he was a voice of the people expressed in classical Chinese, the voice of a living people, but even more so of a people long since dead, when a golden age had still ruled in the land in which allegedly lied the guarantee of absolute truth."¹⁴ And a few pages later: "Confucius was not a thinker according to our concepts, but he is the brightest representative of Chinese mysticism, Chinese stoicism, of a neighbourly understood practicalness. Even among Oriental thinkers he stands out by his calm, civil steadfastness and sense of Statehood. He is a man quite out of the common in world history."¹⁵ Rádl feels rather vexed that modern Chinese like to appeal to this "boring prophet",¹⁶ and is pleased that the "evolving industrialization of the land, relaxation of family ties and Western critical spirit undermine the impact of this teaching which protrudes into our century like an outdated remnant of remote times, when the king was father, i.e. the despotic lord of his subjects, when love was the unique link that bound ruler and subjects in theory and brutal terror that bound them in practice".¹⁷ He expressed such views despite the fact that in writing the chapter on Confucianism, he had at his disposal the works of R. Dvořák, J. Legge, R. Wilhelm and of some other outstanding sinologists.

Equally well-read was the author of the book *Moderní Čína jaká vskutku je* (Modern China as it really Is). His name was Rudolf Cicvárek and used to be a lawyer, entrepreneur and an adventurer. He lived in China from 1908 to 1914, especially in Shanghai. His book which he wrote in Borneo in 1923 was of a general overview in character. It was not philosophically oriented and presented an analysis of Confucius and Confucianism in two chapters, where the author spoke of religion and social ethics. As regards a comprehension of the one and the other in relation to Confucianism, Cicvárek proceeded rationally and impartially, without any bias; he was less successful with regard to an application of the tenets to the contemporary reality where he saw nothing but negative phenomena.

¹⁴ R á d l, E.: *Západ a Východ. Filosofické úvahy z cest* (West and East. Philosophical Reminiscences on the Journeys). Prague, J. Laichter 1925, p. 90.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁶ Loc. cit.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 99.

In the following decade, only one Czech study of any importance appeared, dealing with Confucius and Laozi, and its author was Professor Otakar Pertold, an indologist and an expert in comparative religion. It proved to be tributary to earlier views, for the most part from the times before the World War I. To Pertold the principal authority was R. Dvořák.¹⁸

2

Professor Jaroslav Průšek entered the consciousness of Czech public towards the end of the first half of the 1930s with articles that appeared later in his book of travels entitled *Sestra moje Čína* (My Sister China). The “smiling foreigner”¹⁹ as the Chinese called Průšek during his time in Peking, however, did not write about Confucianism and apparently was not interested in it at all. A different situation came to prevail in the first half of the year 1940. In July of that year France capitulated under the pressure of Nazi Germany and it seemed that Hitler’s adherents would overpower the whole of Europe. Průšek’s study entitled *Trojí učení o společnosti v Číně* (Triple Teaching on the Society in China) was a manifestation of an “almost desperate conviction”,²⁰ yet with a sense of reality, that a system based on violence will come to an end in Europe as it had happened once in China at the twilight of the Qin dynasty. In this study Průšek dealt with teachings of the Legalists (Fajia) [19], Taoists (Taojia) [20] and Confucians (Rujia) [21], reflecting on their priorities and deficiencies. At about that time he wrote a long prologue to a translation of Confucius’ *Analects* which he prepared in collaboration with the well-known indologist Professor Vincenc Lesný (1883–1953). Later, this is what he wrote of that time: “Experiences of those days then revealed to me for the first time what we are thankful for the spirits that at the dawn of history had lifted human beings from barbarism, either inborn or cultivated in him by higher forms of economic life. Formerly, I did not find Confucianism sympathetic at all, I preferred romantic and original dreams of Taoism, only at the time of real despotism did I grasp the values of a strict and uncompromising morality. I rehabilitated before me Chinese ethics which had formed China’s backbone for practically three millennia. Perhaps China owes principally to it that it has survived to this day as the only nation of antiquity. I also became conscious of the entire urgency of Confucius’ personality, his searching for the truth and for the king-saviour of the times when the whole social order was mov-

¹⁸ Pertold, O.: *Lao-tse a K’ung-tse*. In: *Tvůrcové dějin* (Creators of History). Vol. 1. Prague, L. Mazáč 1934, pp. 78–85.

¹⁹ Průšek, J.: *Sestra moje Čína*. Prague, Družstevní práce 1940, p. 129.

²⁰ Průšek, J.: *Úvod* (Introduction). In: *O čínském písemnictví a vzdělanosti* (On Chinese Literature and Culture). Prague, Družstevní práce 1947, p. 5.

ing about him, and when amidst sorrows, it was imperative to take a further step into unknown forms of the future.”²¹

In the Triple Teaching on the Society in China, Průšek saw the most progressive philosophy in Confucianism; in any case, he saw it more suitable to China than the despotic School of Legalists, or the anarchistically oriented Taoism. He connected his inner sympathies towards Taoism with a rational confidence in Confucianism in a greater measure than is usual. In his view: “Taoism probably best expressed certain calm and moderate moods of the Chinese man in bringing him to a harmonious symbiosis, practically to a fusion with nature, and diverted him from the mad bustle of the world. Confucianism, on the other hand, lays considerable claims on man, demands self-cultivation, precisely defines man’s role in the society, in fact, does not see man otherwise than as a member of the human community. But both these systems agree in that the ideal is the society founded on harmony, peace, as an association of good people, both doctrines refuse the teaching of coercion propagated by the Legalists. And indeed, the conviction prevailed in China that the good itself triumphs, that it is a wind before which grass must bend.”²²

In this connection we wish to underline two expressions in Průšek’s above statement, i.e. association of good people and the good. Under the latter Průšek means *ren* which usually means human-heartedness or benevolence. He probably chose this translation because of the period when he was doing this job. It was after his return from China and Japan via USA at a time when the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia was being set up, when the brutal terror of the Nazi political machinery had been unleashed against the Czech nation. Hence, he sees “good” and “evil”, “human government” (*ren zheng*) [22] and “bad government” as contradictions, antitheses, and therefore he imparts even a metaphysical content to the “good” and to the second important Confucian concept of *li* [23] etiquette, suitable social behaviour. He translates *li* as Order and states that both concepts are related to Confucius’ belief in Heaven. “Heaven is to him the symbol of that Order, its ideal is Good, Heaven vivifies the whole world.”²³ In contrast to his predecessor Dvořák, Průšek devoted practically no attention at all to the above-mentioned Confucian five basic relations, with the exception of the characteristics of an ideal ruler whom he failed to find in the political life of his time and space, and against its background the political machinery of the Nazis, must have appeared to him as a tragic pasquinade. Průšek with his Confucian political ideal before eyes wrote as follows: “A golden age may be ushered into the world solely by a “royal man”, a ruler in the true sense

²¹ Ibid., pp. 5–6. Průšek’s and Lesný’s translation appeared in Prague in 1940.

²² Průšek, J.: Triple Teaching on the Society in China. In: On Chinese Literature and Culture, p. 87.

²³ Průšek, J.: *Konfucius, jeho doby a myšlení* (Confucius, his Time and Thought). Ibid., p. 50.

of the word, who through his 'purely moral strength' will ensure the course of the world and give peace to the people."²⁴

Ten years later, Průšek was again concerned with Confucius when writing a brief epilogue to the Czech translation of Carl Crow's book entitled *Master Kung. The Story of Confucius*, prepared by Dr. Pavel Eisner (1899–1958), a Czech-German writer and a friend of Průšek. Professor Průšek was not too enthusiastic over this book which according to him assumes that "genius must also possess a high cothurnus and a variegated mantle",²⁵ and he wished that at least some reader who would read this novel, "would also try to become acquainted with K'ung as a man. Perhaps it will be an adventure less engaging, but all the more beautiful and lasting in its purity".²⁶

Průšek never undertook this other adventure, or at least never made an attempt to put into the hands of the reading community the outcome of his deliberations, although he repeatedly declared to his students that he intended to write, or was already writing about Confucius' life and especially his work.

That task was undertaken by at least one of Průšek's pupils, although he, too, was concerned more with later Confucian philosophy than with the founder's teaching. A perusal of one of Timoteus Pokora's (1928–1985) basic studies *Důležitá křižovatka čínské filosofie*²⁷ (Important Crossroad in Chinese Philosophy) reminds us of Průšek's essay Triple Teaching on the Society in China. The difference lies in Pokora's scant attention to the Legalists and deeper interest in Buddhism, which is but natural, as he focuses on the philosophical development in China, particularly at the turn of the 1st cent. B.C. and the 1st cent. A.D. Pokora concentrated for the most part on two significant representatives of Confucian philosophy: Huan Tan [24] (ca 43 B.C. – A.D. 28) and Wang Chong [25] (27 B.C. – ca A.D. 18). To this pair he liked to add Yang Xiong [26] (53 B.C. – A.D. 18), but wrote far less about him. Pokora expended most effort on Huan Tan, and his book on him is Pokora's principal work of all his writings.²⁸ Perhaps Huan Tan was closer to Pokora as a human being, as a philosopher and the scholar ready to sacrifice even his own career for the sake of conviction and perhaps also truth. From the philosophical aspect, Pokora gave priority to Wang Chong and he rendered the greatest service

²⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

²⁵ Průšek, J.: *Doslov* (Epilogue). In: Crow, C.: *Učitel Kung*. Liberec, Karel Štorch-Marien 1949, p. 217.

²⁶ Loc. cit.

²⁷ *Filosofický časopis* (Philosophical Journal), X, 1962, 1, pp. 52–67.

²⁸ Pokora, T.: *Hsin-lun (New Treatise) and Other Writings by Huan Tan (43 B.C.–28 A.D.)*. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan 1975. To Huan Tan devoted Pokora one article in Czech entitled *Od dvorního učence k materialistickému filosofovi* (From the Court Scholar to the Materialist Philosopher). *Československý časopis historický* (Czechoslovak Historical Journal), XI, 1963, 4, pp. 413–431.

also to the Czech readers by his relatively extensive selection from his *Lun heng* [27] *Critical Essays*, published in 1971. In Wang Chong, Pokora appreciated a critic of Confucian orthodoxy. He put great store by his sense of historicism, of reality of his times, of his evolutionary comprehension of the historical and social development. Wang Chong was not always satisfied with the writings of his predecessors and judged their statements, or at least strove to judge, in a rational manner. That historicism and evolutionary concept then gave rise to a conviction that the present did in no way lie behind the past and that it deserved equal attention. This sense was simultaneously some sort of a driving force in epistemology to which he devoted more interest than had been customary with Confucian philosophers. According to Pokora, the basis of Wang Chong's theory of cognition was given by a direct knowledge, empirical, not mediated. Mediated knowledge (e.g. by books) used to be of course the most frequent contents of his arguments, for with him as a Confucian it could not be otherwise. He could not have asserted his views in the contemporary philosophical world had he not taken over facts, data and statements comprised in the Confucian canon. In cases where he had to reach out for mediated knowledge, he strove to verify them by accessible methods. As a rule, such were historical evidence, hypotheses, and very often also reflections of a logical or psychological nature. He considered of great importance the method of questions and answers, hence, a mode that made Socrates famous. Pokora's musings reveal that despite his high appreciation of Wang Chong's concept of evolution and his belief that the present does not lag behind the remote past,²⁹ he did not like Wang Chong's enthusiasm for the then Chinese present and his odes to the emperor then ruling over the Chinese world.³⁰

Pokora's translation of Wang Chong is the second one into an European language. The first one into English was the work of a German sinologist A. Forke which appeared in London in 1907 and in Berlin in 1911. But while Forke had translated the whole text, Pokora published only about one third of it.

In 1971 Pokora wrote an important essay *Co s Konfuciem?* (What about Confucius?). In it he presents an overview of discussions then taking place in the People's Republic of China concerning the philosophy of Confucius, his class position and his historical significance. Here, more than at any time before, Pokora was concerned with Confucius' personality and teaching, although it was in the form of a few fundamental data.³¹ "Confucianism cannot do without Confucius," he wrote in his article, "although it is not identical at all with him. This gives rise not only to a historical, but also to an actually political need to deal with Confucius again and again,

²⁹ Pokora, T.: *Úvod* (Introduction). In: *Wang Čchung. Kritická pojednání*. Prague, Academia 1971, pp. 43–44.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

³¹ Pokora, T.: *Co s Konfuciem?* *Filosofický časopis* (Philosophical Journal), XIX, 1971, 2, p. 222.

at least in his country – China.”³² He characterizes Confucius’ era as historically revolutionary. Substantial economic changes took place in it. In this essay Pokora asserts that Confucius in that time came up with the idea of “human-heartedness which was to apply to everybody, but in reality to members of the class which exercised a political role. Confucius’ teaching was political and concrete, not a general reflection on the meaning of existence, or the definition of man’s position and his natural rights. Confucius did not confine his judgments solely to concrete events. If he did these could not be easily generalized. Otherwise he laid stress particularly on the necessity of maintaining the appropriate social system and the necessary performance of the relevant functions and obligations. In the given historical context this meant that Confucius sided with the people in the lower positions, for he demanded that they should be treated in a ‘human way’, and criticized those in higher positions, requiring them to implement the moral mission deriving from their public authority.”³³

Pokora also deals with Confucius’ family and social ethics. He approves of it except for the fact that it embodied a considerable dose of utopia. Confucius’ stress on pure ethics, evidently without any but idealistic stimuli, was unreal. He levels critique at Confucius himself saying that “he strove after an official and political career in his Lu and in other states of the tempestuous ancient China, and that even at the price of compromises to which his own pupils had very serious objections”.³⁴

It appears that this Pokora’s essay, particularly his interpretation of the discussions on Confucius in the People’s Republic of China in the 1957–1966, were influenced to some extent by Brunhild Staiger’s book *Das Konfuzius-Bild im kommunistischen China* which had appeared shortly before in Hamburg.

Among Průšek’s pupils we may assign, partially at least, Jaromír Štřeleček (1930–1964). He studied mainly at the Peking University, but on his return home frequented Průšek’s sinological seminary at the Oriental Institute in Prague. He had published already as a student, then lectured on Chinese philosophy at Charles University, but had not the time to do much, as he chose willingly to depart from this world. Besides minor studies he left behind a manual for students which, supplemented with Taoist texts, was revised and edited by Oldřich Král under the title *Úvod do čínské filosofie. Historie a texty I.* (Introduction into Chinese Philosophy. History and Texts I.). We mention it here because it exercised and still does an influence on young adepts of sinology pursuing a study of philosophy. As regards Confucian philosophy, it may be said that it presents a satisfactory introduction into the topic, except that contrary to facts it contains, the book lays superfluous stress on the “reactionary” nature of Confucianism.³⁵

³² Loc. cit.

³³ Ibid., pp. 222–223.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 223.

A monograph originating outside Průšek's group, yet in some co-operation with it, was that by Artur Zempliner, *Čínská filosofie v novověké evropské filosofii* (Chinese Philosophy in European Philosophy of Modern Era) which appeared in 1966. Zempliner was not a sinologist but the dust-jacket of the book says that "he has an adequate command of Chinese and is able to take his bearings in the entire Chinese philosophy" (T. Pokora's view). It seems that Zhu Qianzhi's [28] (1899–1972) works had proved an effective impulse to him, dealing with relations between Chinese and European philosophy, particularly his article concerned with the impact of Chinese philosophy on 18th century European thought.³⁶ It might perhaps be appropriate to observe that the book of Zempliner appeared at the start of the "Cultural Revolution" in China and was written at the time of its preparation. Czech readers had it in hands at the time when the Red Guards dispersed participants of a conference at Qufu [29], Confucius' birthplace, dealing with them as "counter-revolutionary revisionists".³⁷

Zempliner considered Confucius as a member "of a vast stratum of a petty, impoverished nobility *shi* [30]...".³⁸ Against the religious ethics of the ruling class, Confucian philosophy set up morals independent on religion; through its sceptical attitude towards religious problems, it contributed to the spread of atheism in the Chinese world view, in an effort to win over an ally in the ranks of oppressed, it set up the requirement of 'humanism' and 'love of one's neighbour'. Criticism of the ruling feudal class gave rise to Confucius' concept of an ideal society which may be embodied in these points: the main goal of a good government is the welfare and happiness of the whole nation; this goal can be achieved solely on condition that the state is governed by the most capable citizens; the right to participate in the government need not be associated with origin, property, or social standing, it depends uniquely on character and knowledge; character and knowledge are the result of a suitable education."³⁹

The various chapters of the book, as the outcome of Zempliner's research, with references to numerous primary and secondary sources, possess considerable value and in that time had much to say to those interested in the study of Chinese and modern Western philosophy. In the book Zempliner follows up the impact of Chinese philosophy from G. W. Leibniz (1646–1716) up to G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831), thus encompassing the period of the origin of the dialectics of nature in Germany at the beginning of the 18th century, German Enlightenment period, pre-revolutionary French philosophy, English Enlightenment and German classical philo-

³⁵ Král, O. – Štřeleček, J.: *Úvod do čínské filosofie. Historie a texty I.* Prague, Universita Karlova 1971, p. 27.

³⁶ Zempliner, A.: op. cit., p. 70.

³⁷ Pokora, T.: *Co s Konfuciem?*, p. 226.

³⁸ Zempliner, A.: op. cit., p. 17.

³⁹ Loc. cit.

sophy of the early 19th century. In this book those sections are of particular interest which present an analysis of the relations between Confucian philosophy and Ch. Wolff (already referred to above), Voltaire (1694–1778), François Quesnay (1694–1774), Denis Diderot (1713–1784), Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), and of course, Hegel.

Although Zempliner dubbed Wolff's teaching "school metaphysics",⁴⁰ Wolff, nevertheless, came to be the *Kronzeuge* of the whole book; no other philosopher was allotted 25 pages of the text. Neither any one from those great men whose efforts at understanding Confucian philosophy he somehow endorsed, nor those with whom he downright disagreed. According to him Wolff was the most original in "practical philosophy", the one that embodied ethics and politics.⁴¹ Wolff could have hardly found better sources to such a philosophy outside the European cultural area. Chinese ethical philosophy confirmed Wolff especially in the idea that ethics needs no "theological justification".⁴² In Chinese people and their morals, he found corroboration for the idea that a moral life does not require the divine existence, nor the revealed religion, nor ritual worship, but solely human reason capable of distinguishing good from evil. According to Zempliner, Wolff was influenced by Confucian political views even more than by ethics, that is to say, in his concept of natural law and its inference from the moral system. In contrast to other theoreticians of the natural law, e.g. Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), or Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694), who deduced it from reason and human nature, Wolff did the same from the "obligations" of man as a member of the human collective. Wolff was familiar with the concept of *li*. Zempliner translated it as rites, ceremonial, and understood it as "norms of legal obligations".⁴³ I doubt that Wolff would have grasped *li* in its regulating form or function. That is at least what appears from his explication of the relation between "free will" and "delight from virtue" in connection with an "improvement of reason".⁴⁴ In old and even in pre-Confucian China *li* pointed to the bright, positive side of social reality in its most diversified aspects; ideal behaviour in the family, among the friends, in society; it stood for good, for morally tested deeds, and was in contradiction to the dark side of social reality placed under social control, hence, in antithesis to bad deeds that had to be corrected. Therefore *li* represented a traditional system of behaviour in social and political life.

Zempliner claims that Confucian ethics of obligations had influenced Wolff's ethi-

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 60.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 71.

⁴² Ibid., p. 72.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 77.

⁴⁴ Wolff, Chr.: *Rede von der Sittenlehre der Chineser* (ursprünglich *Oratio de Sinarum philosophia practica in solenni panegyri recitata*). In: *Deutsche Denker über China*. Ed. Hsia, A. Frankfurt am Main, Insel Taschenbuch Verlag 1985, p. 64.

cal teaching and that the latter was taken over by his pupil and critic Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) who on this basis subsequently elaborated his “categorical imperatives”.⁴⁵ But Zempliner fails to provide evidence for his statements, similarly as Pokora when invoking a similarity with Wang Yangming’s [31] (1472–1528) concept of *liangzhi*⁴⁶ [32] which he translates as conscience, although this is not correct. *Liangzhi* means “knowing the good”.

Zempliner’s monograph vehicles one serious lesson: the same books from the same philosophy, Confucian philosophy predominantly in its Neo-Confucian interpretation, gave rise to very disparate conclusions, inferred by various philosophical movements. Alongside Noël’s translations spoken of above, mention is most often made of an earlier one by Philippe Couplet (1622–1693) entitled *Confucius Sinarum philosophus, sive scientia sinensis latine exposita*, which appeared in Paris in 1667 and comprised Four Books: *Great Learning*, *The Doctrine of the Mean*, *Mencius* and *Analects*. Just one year later this book appeared in an abridged and more understandable French translation *La morale de Confucius*.⁴⁷ Another important book was the extensive work by Jean Baptiste du Halde (1674–1743) in four volumes called *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, etc. from the year 1736 which appeared that same year in English, in 1747–1756 in German, and in 1774 in Russian.⁴⁸ These were the basic works that served as source to Voltaire, Montesquieu (1689–1755), Pierre Bayle (1647–1707), Matthews Tindall (1656–1733), William Temple (1628–1699), and practically to all those mentioned in Zempliner’s scholarly work. Frequent distortions in translations, inadequate comprehension of terms, endeavours at gaining prestige for one’s own philosophy from old and recognized sources, possibilities of varying explanations of elements from Chinese originals had as their outcome that “representatives of Christian theological movements for the most part presented a theistic explication of Confucian philosophy, the Wolffian movement in Germany accepted Confucianism as an idealistically apprehended pantheistic rationalism, French Enlightenment philosophy of the first half of the 18th century and its English counterpart interpreted Confucianism as deism, while French materialists as an atheistic philosophy”.⁴⁹

Zempliner did not write in this book about the subsequent fate of Chinese philosophy in Europe after Hegel.

⁴⁵ Zempliner, A.: op. cit., p. 77.

⁴⁶ Pokora, T.: *Co s Konfuciem?*, p. 224.

⁴⁷ Müngello, D. E.: *Aus den Anfängen der Chinakunde in Europa 1678–1770*. In: Walravens, H.: *China illustrata. Das europäische Chinaverständnis im Spiegel des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*. Weinheim, VCH Verlagsgesellschaft 1987, pp. 67 and ff.

⁴⁸ Walravens, H.: op. cit., p. 106.

⁴⁹ Zempliner, A.: op. cit., p. 179.

In Slovakia which was bypassed by the confronting efforts of West and East in the philosophical realm, mine was the first article with a similar theme which appeared in 1963, hence, shortly before the onset of the "Cultural Revolution" when the sinological communities outside China began to be disturbed by campaigns such as To Learn from Lei Feng [33], Four Clean-Ups, etc. The overall atmosphere in Czechoslovak sinology and the situation in the People's Republic of China exercised an influence on the study *K vývoju a ku kritike konfuciánskej etiky*⁵⁰ (On the Development and Criticism of Confucian Ethics). A critical attitude towards Confucianism was fostered among Czechoslovak sinologists primarily by two representatives of literature and philosophical thought of the period of the May Fourth Movement of 1919: Lu Xun [34] (1881–1936) and Chen Duxiu [35] (1879–1942). Both were familiar to our sinologists, particularly the former one. They used to meet him during their studies at the University, could read many of his works in Czech translations, nearly all were the pupils of Berta Krebsová (1909–1973) for whom Lu Xun and his work had been practically an all-life pursuit; Průšek, too, devoted considerable efforts to his propagation and knowledge. The article contains a major section devoted to an analysis of Lu Xun's critique of Confucianism and to the image of Lu Xun's A Q from the well-known short story and to -ism which came to be formed on the basis of that name. The reader will find there an analysis of the so-called *sangang* [36] three fetters especially with regard to the female question as a reflection of my interest in the life of Chinese women, particularly in connection with their poetic works I have been reading during my study at the Peking University in 1958–1960. As Průšek's pupil I knew well that his favourite question during exams concerned emperors' consorts and eunuchs in imperial China, and therefore I included in my analysis also the empress Lü [37], a wife of Liu Bang [38], i.e. Gaozu [39] (reigned in 205–194 B. C.) and her actions as an example of Confucian morals carried out in practice. I then had no inkling that later others would compare to her Jiang Qing [40] (1914–), Mao Zedong's wife.

Less than one year following Mao Zedong's death, a book of translations from Confucian classics appeared under the title *A riekol Majster* (And Master Said) including the passages from *Analekts*, then Mencius (385–303 B.C.) and Xunzi [41] (ca 298–238 B.C.) and prepared by Marína Čarnogurská with a foreword written by Anna Doležalová.⁵¹ Doležalová's analysis reveals that she takes up a critical attitude towards Confucianism. "Confucianism as a whole played a retarding role in Chinese society and suited admirably efforts at preserving the slave or feudal social

⁵⁰ G á l i k, M.: *K vývoju a ku kritike konfuciánskej etiky* (On the Development and Critique of Confucian Ethics). *Otázky marxistickej filozofie* (Issues of Marxist Philosophy), XVIII, 1963, 5, pp. 514–523.

⁵¹ D o l e ž a l o v á, A.: *Predslov* (Foreword). In: *A riekol Majster*. Bratislava, Tatran 1977, p. 13.

system and centralized power," Doležalová wrote following a brief but instructing expounding of early, but also later Confucianism.⁵² Towards the end of her foreword she mentioned the campaign to criticize Lin Biao [42] (1908–1971) and Confucius which began in 1973 and saw in it a "manifestation of subjectivism, which, by focusing attention to a peculiar interpretation of two outdated movements in Chinese philosophy (i.e. Confucianism and Legalism, M. G.) does not follow the aims of a serious philosophical analysis, but its own political aims".⁵³

At the turn of the 1970s and 1980s, so far the last study appeared in Slovakia concerned exclusively with Confucius and Confucianism. It was my response to Kim Louie's book entitled *Critiques of Confucius in Contemporary China*, and to the other works published earlier by L. S. Perelomov, V. A. Krivtsov, R. V. Vyatkin, F. Wakeman, Jr., B. Staiger, and others. It also included a reaction to articles criticizing Lin Biao and Confucius in the People's Republic of China. The study made an evaluation of 80 years of re-evaluation and criticism of Confucius and Confucianism in China from 1898 until 1978. The resulting conclusion implies that during these years, and particularly during the recent past (meaning the period of the "Cultural Revolution"), the Confucian views never came to be the subject of a thorough systemo-structural and genetic analysis, their substance (especially that of Confucianism as such) was never investigated deeply against the background of important facts in Chinese history.⁵⁴ During the time of confrontation with Confucianism, its various participants failed adequately to realize that ideological systems, having a sufficient influence on political, legal, moral, aesthetic, religious and philosophical organization of the society and on its different institutions, often possess a very strong capacity of resistance.⁵⁵

Was it solely resistance, however, that was involved in the case of Confucianism? Was not, and is not Confucianism still, a sufficient living systemo-structural entity in certain countries of the world, or, are not some of its elements viable in a symbiosis with elements of other systems?

In 1987 a book of essays was published in Peking under the title *Kongzi sixiang zai guowai de chuanbo yu yingxiang* [43] The Spread and Impact of Confucius Ideas in Foreign Countries. Among materials referring to Korea, Vietnam, Japan, Italy, France, Germany, Great Britain, the USA, Russia and the USSR, we find no word

⁵² Loc. cit.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 14.

⁵⁴ G á l i k, M.: *Controversies about Confucius and Confucianism in China (1898–1978)*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, XVIII, 1982, p. 175.

⁵⁵ Loc. cit.

regarding the reception of Confucius and Confucianism on the territory of present-day Czechoslovakia, although, as we have just seen, this reception enjoys practically 280 years of history. And yet, it may be said that through its highest values, such as were Noël's translations for the whole of the 18th and early 19th century, or Průšek's translation of *Analects* and their significance for the Czech lands at the time of Nazi occupation, something has been done also in this part of Europe. Slovak readers received some fundamental texts of early Confucianism late, at the time when interest in Confucian teaching was revived in the People's Republic of China and it had been transvaluated following the "Cultural Revolution". The whole issue of 7,000 copies, which is quite sufficient for a philosophical work for the needs of a small country such as Slovakia is, was sold within a few days.

So far, no work has been written in Czechoslovakia regarding the new appreciation of Confucianism after 1978 in the People's Republic of China, nor of contemporary Neo-Confucian efforts and the action of Confucian ethics in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kōng, Singapore, Malaysia or elsewhere. These are questions which would certainly deserve attention on the part of our sinologists.

1. 天 2. 上帝 3. 太极 4. 大学 5. 中庸
6. 论语 7. 孟子 8. 孝经 9. 小学 10. 四书
11. 朱熹 12. 仁 13. 五伦 14. 夫妇 15. 兄弟
16. 朋友 17. 君臣 18. 信 19. 法家 20. 道家
21. 儒家 22. 仁政 23. 礼 24. 桓谭 25. 王充
26. 扬雄 27. 论衡 28. 朱谦之 29. 曲阜
30. 士 31. 王阳明 32. 良知 33. 雷锋 34. 鲁迅
35. 陈独秀 36. 三纲 37. 吕 38. 刘邦
39. 高祖 40. 江青 41. 荀子 42. 林彪
43. 孔子思想在国外的传播与影响

REMARQUES SUR LA FORME SPÉCIFIQUE DU DÉVELOPPEMENT HISTORIQUE DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ DES LITTÉRATURES DE L'ASIE DU SUD-EST

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L'étude est une tentative d'esquisser certaines affinités fondamentales dans les relations interlittéraires de l'Asie du Sud-Est susceptibles de conduire à leur solution. Plusieurs des questions abordées sont de nature purement hypothétique, certes, elles sont censées de servir de points de départ théoriques pour mettre au point des aspects particuliers et concrets.

Les communautés interlittéraires de l'Asie du Sud-Est commençaient à se former dès la plus haute antiquité à partir de la mythologie et du folklore de différents groupes ethniques habitant cette partie de l'Asie. Ces traditions ethno-culturelles ont évidemment donné lieu à la toute première communauté proto-interlittéraire de l'Asie du Sud-Est¹ dont le trait caractéristique dans les phases initiales était marqué par des tendances intégrantes. Une différenciation interne, interethnique ne vint se manifester qu'ultérieurement.

Un fait particulier, commun à toutes les littératures de l'Asie du Sud-Est est que nous ne sommes pas encore à même de différencier précisément la ligne de démarcation entre la littérature populaire (verbale) et la littérature traditionnelle écrite. Peut-être pourrait-on désigner ce phénomène comme dittolittéraire. Plusieurs œuvres populaires vinrent à être écrites seulement après qu'elles avaient été supplémentées, ou modifiées et mises au point d'une manière ou d'une autre. En outre, maintes œuvres portant des signes évidents de littérature écrite, fonctionnaient parmi les peuples en tant qu'œuvres folkloriques par exemple la légende *Thach Sanh* et autres, au Vietnam. Alors, un grand nombre d'ouvrages sont devenus populaires et font une partie inséparable de la littérature folklorique. On peut observer de tels phénomènes aussi dans d'autres littératures (par ex. slavoniques), de sorte qu'il s'agit ici de certaines règles de la littératures ou le folklore verbal populaire jouait un rôle important seulement à partir de la fin du Moyen Âge. Tel était le cas dans l'Asie du Sud-Est surtout de beaucoup des œuvres des Indes. Alors, le processus d'une transition de la littérature verbale dans la littérature écrite était accompagné d'un processus en sens inverse qui, semble-t-il, avait une intensité plus grande dans les

¹ Voir M ú č k a, J.: *Le processus interlittéraire et la forme spécifique de la communauté historique et de la littérature vietnamienne et chinoise*. In: *Asian and African Studies*, XXIV, pp. 95–105.

pays de l'Asie du Sud-Est. La cause en était, en une très grande mesure, l'absence à cette époque de leur écriture propre.

L'Asie du Sud-Est entretenait à une période relativement reculée des contacts avec les grandes cultures de l'Orient, telles celles de l'Inde et de la Chine. Cela se manifestait dans des monuments architectoniques imposants dans cette région, comme aussi dans l'acceptance de grandes œuvres classiques dans leurs littératures populaires. Dans l'Inde antique une partie de la littérature populaire était transmise dans beaucoup d'ouvrages de la littérature écrite. Certains d'entre eux, après avoir été acceptés dans l'Asie du Sud-Est, sont rentrés de nouveau dans la littérature populaire locale. La force de popularisation est un trait caractéristique et prépondérant de chaque région de l'Asie du Sud-Est. Aux premiers âges, les mythes et légendes étaient l'histoire ici, et au contraire, l'histoire y changeait aisément en mythes et en légendes. Il paraît que dans la manière courante de penser des gens de l'Asie du Sud-Est, la notion de temps et de place joue un rôle spécifique quoique non essentiel. C'est là une sorte d'un universum fonctionnel émanant des enseignements religieux-philosophiques en Asie. La base de la popularisation étendue était la culture populaire qui renfermait la vie spirituelle entière des gens. La littérature populaire formait une partie intégrale de la culture populaire et était en relation organique avec ses autres éléments. Quant à la forme, l'étude de la littérature populaire se réalisait d'habitude à l'aide d'une analyse des documents qui étaient écrits plus au moins à titre permanent. De ce fait, ce genre de littérature était séparé dans une certaine mesure de la culture générale populaire. A présent, la recherche de la littérature populaire se réalise dans un cadre culturel. Cette littérature fournit une grande quantité d'informations sur le développement et l'histoire des diverses nations, sur leurs relations génétiques ou internes dans le processus des contacts culturels, sur leur manière de vie et de pensée.

De simples mythes étiologiques, tel par exemple la légende de la courge, le mythe sur le déluge, sur l'origine des hommes et autres, sont répandus sur l'immense territoire à partir de l'Inde du Sud jusqu'à l'Asie du Sud-Est, de la Chine du Sud, à travers T'ai-wan jusqu'au Japon, ce qui témoigne des relations historiques des temps reculés parmi les habitants de cette région. Des légendes diverses sur les premiers rois, leur naissance, sont étroitement liées aux traits caractéristiques des nations individuelles. Des genres divers de vieilles légendes populaires traitant en quelque forme de la vie sociale de différentes couches des gens, montrent comment on peut parvenir au bonheur grâce au sort fortuit, à l'aide d'oiseaux fabuleux, ou bien par l'amour et la grâce de Bouddha. En outre, on y trouve des légendes de nature humoriste, révélant maints phénomènes négatifs dans la société féodale, comme par exemple l'incapacité des rois, une compréhension monacale de la beauté, les tromperies et supercheries des riches, etc. Il est à noter que la littérature traditionnelle écrite a réussi à retenir d'une manière quasi parfaite la littérature populaire qui continuait dans son développement aussi au temps présent, voir même

sous la hégémonie, ou l'administration des colons européens. De nouveaux chants et légendes populaires étaient créés, des proverbes et petits poèmes avec un contenu nouveau. Ainsi, une même phénomène était avancé d'un côté par une suprématie étrangère ou une oppression coloniale, et de l'autre, par l'absence persistante d'une écriture propre, ou bien peut-être, par quelque espérance fixée dans le subconscient d'un retour à leur propre écriture qui aurait pu exister dans un passé très, très lointain.

La littérature populaire et, tout spécifiquement les chants populaires, comprenaient toute une gamme de sentiments dans une région donnée. C'était l'amour de la femme et du pays (la nature) le respect envers l'âge humain – la vieillesse et le travail, le bonheur et les recollections (reflections) – tout cela exprimé dans des chants et poèmes allégoriques élégants. La littérature populaire n'existait pas ici comme un synchronisme culturel, car plus que n'importe où ailleurs, elle était étroitement unie à d'autres phénomènes ou expressions culturels, tels le chant, la danse, les fêtes, etc. En général, deux forces agissaient sur la culture populaires, à savoir, une conservatrice et une réformatrice. Grâce à la première, la culture populaire pouvait préserver le noyau des usages et traditions sociales d'autrefois, ce qui nous permet de découvrir en elle beaucoup de traces nationales historiques. Par contre, cette force conservatrice formait un obstacle majeur dans les transformations sociales, détournait la plupart des gens du présent et les attirait vers le passé plein de forces surnaturelles et d'apparitions. La force réformatrice (qui s'efforçait d'atteindre des changements), presque au contraire, transformait et réestimait toute valeur culturelle en conformité avec le temps et le lieu, néanmoins, elle apportait ou occasionnait beaucoup de complications et de différenciations. Cette force actualisante en fait, localisait en une grande mesure et concrétisait la culture populaire, le rendait flexible, et était la cause de son existence persistante sous des formes dispersées.

La littérature traditionnelle écrite devenait en fait, dès ses origines, une littérature nationale. Elle était conditionnée et déterminée par trois sources abondantes: la littérature populaire, la littérature historique et la littérature étrangère. Les littératures étrangères, indienne et chinoise en premier lieu, plus tard aussi arabe et espagnole (aux Philippines) ont joué un rôle important dans la formation des littératures écrites de l'Asie du Sud-Est. Les grandes littératures orientales anciennes offraient un model d'écriture relativement accessible et une source de sujets. L'écriture indienne et les caractères chinois étaient adoptés directement. Dans la suite, ils servaient de base pour créer des signes spécifiques pour la transcription de presque toute langue nationale. Vraiment, l'Asie du Sud-Est est venue en contact avec l'écriture, très tôt: des documents ont été préservés jusqu'à nos jours, datant du 3^e–4^e et 6^e–7^e siècles. Dans les travaux littéraires, l'écriture commença à être utilisée seulement au 13^e–15^e siècle, période à laquelle on trouve la littérature écrite au sens propre du terme. A la longue, à côté de la littérature écrite en langues et écritures étrangères (adoptées, empruntées), aussi une littérature commença à se former en

langues originelles (indigènes), mais transcrites en écritures étrangères, ou écritures formées sur leur base. Depuis ces temps, la littérature se développait intensivement, beaucoup de travaux par des auteurs indigènes apparaissaient, peu à peu elle prenait une place importante dans la vie sociale et graduellement devenait le représentant principal de la culture nationale. La littérature traditionnelle (classique) acheva ses points culminants dans toute la région de l'Asie du Sud-Est au 17^e-19^e siècles. Au Vietnam on voit apparaître l'épopée *Kieu* (*Kim Van Kieu*) et d'autres œuvres littéraires; Au Laos c'est l'épopée *Sin Jai*, et quelques romans versifiés, comme aussi des écrits religieux-didactiques; En Thaïlande – le poème lyrico-épique *Khun Chang Khun Phen* et le poème féerique *Phra Aphai Mani*; En Indonésie (littérature malaise) les épopées romancières hikāyats, les poèmes saïrs et les poèmes lyrique – les pantuns; Au Cambodge le poème *Kakei* et des romans versifiés du genre satra lbayeng (par exemple *Bhogakulakumar*, *Brah Jinavana*), dont le thème principal est l'amour; en Birmanie les histoires mondaines de *Padethayāza*. Dans les anciennes cultures nous trouvons d'ordinaire une transformation naturelle de la littérature orale en une littérature écrite. Un trait spécifique de l'Asie du Sud-Est en ce sens est le fait, qu'avant que sa littérature eut atteint une telle transformation, elle avait été amenée dans une confrontation avec les grandes cultures anciennes du nord et de l'ouest. Il était tout à fait naturel que ces anciennes littératures, bien développées, soient devenues les premiers modèles pour l'Asie du Sud-Est, donc, pour leurs propres littératures alors débutant, écrites en langues adoptées (empruntées) (le pâli, le sanskrit, le chinois, l'arabe et l'espagnol), comme aussi pour les littératures écrites en langues indigènes (mais en écritures empruntées). Au commencement, la littérature écrite en langues empruntées prédominait, elle était considérée comme littérature officielle, noble et académique, alors que celle écrite en langues indigènes était jugée inférieure, populaire, parfois était même méprisée. Plus tard, cependant, elle prit de l'essor, parvint à dominer les cercles littéraires et se constitua comme la principale, sinon l'unique littérature, est devenue l'expression de la vie spirituelle nationale. Par exemple, au Vietnam les poètes utilisaient avec virtuosité la forme nationale du vers luc bat, en Thaïlande khon 8, en Indonésie ils dévouaient une attention assez considérable aux quatrains pantuns. Ce n'est qu'après la conscience et le sentiment national eussent été éveillés que la littérature écrite pouvait se tourner vers la littérature populaire comme vers sa source adéquate et permanente. Et au contraire, grâce à l'attention de la littérature écrite, la littérature populaire avait occasion de devenir une possession commune et équivalente de toute la nation. Beaucoup de mythes et légendes, appartenant formellement et gnoséologiquement à un seul ethnique, ou à une certaine localité, devinrent plus tard un symbol commun de tout le pays. Alors, d'un côté, la littérature populaire apporta son propre dépôt dans la littérature écrite, de l'autre côté, celle-ci enrichit à son tour, et perfectionna la précédente. Ce facteur-la exerçait une action intégrante dans toutes les littératures de l'Asie du Sud-Est et la relation interne entre la littérature verbale et

écrite était devenue l'un des traits fondamentaux de la communauté interlittéraire du Moyen Âge dans cette partie du monde. Cette relation agissait comme une convergence développementale dans le cadre d'une fonction intégrante spécifique.

Dans le processus d'un retour nouveau vers la nation, les littératures nationales acquièrent un contenu national, elles se tournaient vers la réalité de leur pays. Néanmoins, les littératures anciennes diversifiées de l'Inde et de la Chine, lors même que dans le passé elles aient sans doute stimulé la production littéraires dans de nombreux pays, vues d'un autre aspect, elles l'ont aussi restreinte au long aller, (tout spécialement en ce qui concerne les thèmes archaïques) et élargissaient de plus en plus l'abîme entre la littérature et la réalité. Leur fonction médiatrice avait le caractère impulsif-créateur, mais aussi retardateur-restrictif. Cette littérature était de même dépendante en grande mesure des modèles livresques, et conséquemment se développait plus lentement. La réalité d'un pays quelconque était parfois dépeinte directement, plus souvent, cependant d'une manière indirecte. Les scénarios du pays natal, le rendement des aspects intimes et spirituels de l'homme, les problèmes urgents de la réalité étaient remplacés de plus en plus par des paysages imaginaires de l'étranger, tels Himaphan, Kray Lat, Truong An, par des héros mythiques comme Rāma, Arjuna, par des guerres parmi les dieux, les hommes et les esprits, ou bien par des expéditions guerrières pour libérer des princesses du pouvoir des esprits malins. Dans le cadre du retour vers la nation, les littératures de l'Asie du Sud-Est «rendaient national» à peu près tout ce qu'elles acceptaient de sources étrangères. Dans le cadre de l'impact déterminé par les conditions historiques, le Vietnam accepta beaucoup de gains et expériences de la littérature chinoise. La Birmanie, le Cambodge, la Thaïlande et le Laos ont emprunté considérablement de la littérature indienne. L'Indonésie dans la période primitive entretenait des relations abondantes avec l'Inde, plus tard, au 14^e-16^e siècles elle commença à recevoir la culture arabe, alors que les Philippines acceptaient bon nombre de genres littéraires de l'Europe médiévale. Quant au Vietnam d'avant la domination chinoise, on peut présumer qu'il empruntait considérablement de la littérature indienne, seulement on n'en sait pas encore grande chose. «L'appropriation de la culture chinoise au Vietnam a déjà reçu amples éclaircissements, cependant les relations culturelles du Vietnam avec l'Inde qui se réalisaient bien souvent par l'intermédiaire du Champa au cours de l'expansion du bouddhisme, ont été bien moins recherchées. Insuffisamment élucidée est aussi la participation profonde des Viets dans les traditions artistiques qui sont propres aux autres nations de l'Asie du Sud-Est.»² Le royaume du Champa qui existait au Moyen Âge sur le territoire du Vietnam central et sud d'aujourd'hui, évidemment y jouait un rôle important et irremplaçable. «C'est grâce sur-

² Nguyen Van Hoan – Nikouline, N. I.: *Vzaïmosvyazi koul'toury Vietov i drougikh narodov Yougo-Vostotchnoï Azii*. In: *Traditsionnoïé i novoïé v literatourakh Yougo-Vostotchnoï Azii*, Moscou, Nauka 1982, p. 13.

tout à l'entremise de la culture du Champa, influencée par l'Inde, que la culture vietnamienne prit contact avec celle de l'Inde.»³ Cette fonction médiatrice intérieure de la part de la culture du Champa avait un caractère historico-développemental complémentaire. Comme on a observé ci-avant, l'acceptance de phénomènes littéraires importés prit place directement, comme dans le cas du Vietnam et de la Chine, des Philippines et de l'Espagne (le processus interlittéraire était conditionné ici surtout par les relations administratives et idéologiques avec la métropole), ou bien indirectement comme dans le cas de la Birmanie, du Cambodge, de Thaïlande, du Laos et de l'Inde, et de l'Indonésie et des pays arabes (ici dans le processus interlittéraire, les facteurs géographiques, ethniques et linguistiques, et aussi confessionnels prédominaient). Des formes spécifiques d'associations interlittéraires prirent naissance dans les deux cas et les processus de nationalisation avaient aussi leurs spécificités dans chaque pays. Ces éléments, acquis directement ou indirectement, créaient, en conjonction avec les éléments originels, des signes caractéristiques de chaque littérature nationale.

Dans la plupart des littératures de l'Asie du Sud-Est le processus de nationalisation était relativement fort. Par exemple, au Vietnam, l'épopée Kieu susvisée, était transformée de son original chinois en prose, en un roman versifié qui était, on peut dire, le genre principal dans toute l'Asie du Sud-Est. Les signes fondamentaux de ce genre résident dans un lien étroit entre la littérature verbale et écrite, entre le vulgaire et l'érudition. Parmi les genres de la littérature écrite, le roman versifié (en tant que genre original de la littérature populaire) jouait un rôle primordial. Il revint aisément à la «littérature orale» et ainsi il représentait un genre de littérature écrite qui reflétait ingénieusement et assez précisément les traits et les qualités de la littérature nationale. Au Laos c'était l'épopée *Sin Say*, mentionné ci-avant, un roman versifié dont le thème est fondé sur les «jātaka» (épisodes sur les vies antérieures du Bouddha) – une œuvre typique et en même temps la plus populaire de la littérature nationale. En Thaïlande, le genre spécifique est représenté par ce qu'on appelle les légendes encadrées, telles par exemple Cinquante jātakas, *Le livre des oiseaux*, Douze angles; au Cambodge l'ouvrage bouddhiste *Pannyāsajātaka*; en Birmanie Les grandes jātakas et soi-disant drames de la cour sur des sujets de jātakas. Ce phénomène évidemment implique les conséquences qu'ont eu pour le genre les mouvements et relations interlittéraires. Le genre littéraire (le roman ou mythe versifié sur le sujet de jātaka) entre en jeu ici comme un facteur intégrateur dans la continuité développementale de la communauté interlittéraire de l'Asie du Sud-Est. En même temps, «...cette communauté que les spécialistes ont réussie à découvrir dans les notions religieuses, les rites et les mythes de l'Asie du Sud-Est, non seulement trouve des analogies dans le folklore des nations de la Chine et de l'Inde, ce qui peut être remis au compte du «substrat austrique» dans ces pays, mais

³ Ibid., p. 21.

comme on voit, elle peut être clarifiée en grande partie par des concordances typologiques.»⁴

Les motifs de l'épopée de l'ancienne Inde *Rāmāyana* donna naissance dans l'Asie du Sud-Est à de nombreuses versions nationales. «Les textes littéraires <Légendes sur Rāma> qui se sont préservés dans les pays de l'Asie du Sud-Est sont de date assez récente, néanmoins, les données épigraphiques, archéologiques et autres, ne laissent aucun doute sur le fait que <La légende> avait pénétré dans la majorité de ces pays déjà au cours des premiers siècles de notre ère, quand les colonistes, commerçants et missionnaires Indiens y sont venus, et elle gagna très tôt une grande popularité – d'ordinaire dans la forme verbale, mais par la suite aussi en écrit.»⁵ En Thaïlande c'est une version sous le nom *Ramakien*, au Cambodge *Reamker* ou *Riemke*, au Laos *Brah Lak Brah Lam*, en Indonésie c'était *Rāmāyana* de l'ancienne Java, plus tard une autre version nommée *Serat Rāma*, *Uttarakanda*, *Serat Kanda*, *Rāma Keling*. Aux Philippines se sont les Légendes sur Rāma (dans la langue de la nationalité «maranao»), puis *Seri Rāma* en hikāyat malais. En Birmanie on trouve sa forme écrite un peu plus tard (le 18^e siècle) – *Rāma Tegin*. Le Vietnam possède des épisodes similaires dans La légende sur Gia Thoa Vuong, du livre <Contes étranges du pays de Linh Nam> (*Linh Nam trich quai*, 15^e siècle) – qui y sont parvenus probablement par l'intermédiaire du Champa. «Un trait frappant de la <Légende sur Rāma> était que dans tout pays où elle pénétrait, elle devenait de tout droit la possession de la tradition locale, absorbait les éléments du folklore local, de la culture et de l'idéologie, partout les auditeurs et lecteurs la comprenait non comme une traduction ou une adaptation d'une source étrangère, mais comme leur propre épopée nationale.»⁶ Nous pouvons considérer l'épisode sur Rāma comme un «polycompositum» spécifique dans le processus interlittéraire de l'Asie du Sud-Est. Il s'agit de romans versifiés typiques de chacun des pays. L'Indonésie a, en outre, le hikāyat spécifique <Amir Hamzah> fondé sur un sujet arabe. Une autre épopée de l'ancienne Inde *Mahābhārata* s'est domiciliée surtout en Indonésie. Elle comporte principalement des poèmes – kakavins de l'ancienne Java (par exemple *Arjunaviyaya*, *Nagarakertagama*).

La nationalisation s'est manifestée aussi dans l'initiative d'extraire de la littérature importée des idées progressives, car aux pays avec une domination étrangère, la littérature écrite en vernaculaire portait quand même un aspect d'asservissement. Mais par contre, elle transmettait aussi des idées supportant l'indépendance et la liberté, renforçant ainsi la lutte contre la domination étrangère. Un exemple typique

⁴ Parnikel, B. B.: *O folklornom srodstvė narodov Yougo-Vostotchnoї Azii*. In: *Traditsionnoї i novoїē...*, op. cit., pp. 40–41.

⁵ Grintser, P. A.: «*Ramaiana*» v *Yougo-Vostotchnoї Azii*. In: *Traditsionnoї i novoїē...*, op. cit., p. 49.

⁶ Ibid., p. 50.

en sont les Philippines avec leur littérature anti-espagnole, nationaliste et révolutionnaire écrite en espagnol. On trouve des cas analogues en certains respects au Vietnam avec une partie de la littérature écrite en chinois.

Quant aux commencements de la littérature moderne, l'Asie du Sud-Est a passé par des expériences diverses. On pourrait dire que c'était une certaine période transitoire dans toute l'Asie du Sud-Est. Elle devait passer par de grands, souvent surprenant et profonds changements pendant des périodes très courtes. Pour la première fois elle vint en contact avec une culture très différente (matérielle et spirituelle). De prime abord, elle y réagit avec passivité, et en plus, le premier fait qu'elle était obligée d'accepter était une oppression plus ou moins forte. Cependant, l'impact inattendu de l'Ouest et de l'Est était une inévitabilité historique. Un problème confrontant les pays de l'Asie du Sud-Est était celui d'une conscience nationale – on devait non seulement la défendre, mais aussi la réformer et, au défaut, l'édifier.

Les langues vernaculaires qui se sont faites valoir pendant des siècles entiers, se trouvaient face à face à une nouvelle lutte. Dès le commencement aussi l'aspect pratique linguistique était en jeu – les langues européennes semblaient être appropriées à la vie moderne, à la science et à la production industrielle. Il faut admettre qu'en ce qui concerne la langue et surtout l'écriture, l'Asie du Sud-Est était, au point de vue historique, une région d'une assez grande passivité. La raison est qu'elle entra dans le Moyen Age plus tard que l'Inde et la Chine, et dans l'âge moderne plus tard que les pays d'Europe. La langue et l'écriture n'étaient pas ici seulement un problème littéraire, mais aussi un moyen fondamental compliqué de la littérature. A partir de cette période, le rôle de la littérature dans le processus d'une modernisation de la société dans cette région était assez différenciée. En certain pays, la littérature commença à être écrite en langues européennes. Aux Philippines la littérature écrite en espagnol vint à être écrite en anglais. De même, en Indonésie elle fut écrite en hollandais. On peut dire en général que là où les langues nationales originelles avaient été officiellement reconnues dès le Moyen Age, le rôle de la littérature écrite en langues étrangères n'était pas d'une très grande importance; dans les pays où cela n'était pas le cas, elle y devint étape transitoire importante, ou même un phénomène permanent. La Birmanie, le Laos, le Cambodge et le Vietnam considéraient les langues des nations dominantes comme les langues officielles de l'Etat, comme en ressort de leur histoire. Les Philippines et l'Indonésie peuvent être considérées comme des cas à part, et en un certain sens aussi la Thaïlande qui n'était pas une colonie au sens propre du mot.

Vers la fin du 19^e siècle, la révolution nationale aux Philippines renversa les colonialistes espagnols, mais ceux-ci furent remplacés par la suite par les néocolonialistes américains. L'anglais remplaça l'espagnol comme langue officielle et aussi littéraire aux Philippines. En fait, une langue commune des Philippines n'avait pas l'occasion de se former avant les années cinquante de notre siècle. La base initiale pour cette langue était celle des Tagals qui habitaient la capitale Manille et les alentours.

Parmi les quelques centaines de groupes ethniques qui vivent dispersés sur les îles des Philippines, les Tagals sont un d'une dizaine d'ethniques ayant une culture et littérature relativement développées. Le tagal en tant que langue parlée par les habitants de la capitale, avait une meilleure chance de devenir le langage commune des Philippins que les autres langues. Ce processus était aidé en une grande mesure précisément par la littérature tagale (en tant que littérature métropolitaine) car elle contenait de nombreux nouveaux éléments, créait de nouveaux mots, changeait les modes de s'exprimer. Quelques décennies plus tard, la littérature tagale était à même de faire concurrence sous maints aspects à celle écrite en anglais. Ce développement résultait à une dissolution graduelle de la communauté interlittéraire philippino-espagnole, le développement traditionnel indépendant de la littérature tagale prit de l'essor, et dans le cadre de l'association interlittéraire des Philippines, la langue littéraire tagale commença à remplir la fonction intégrante dans la continuité de la littérature philippine. De nos jours, le nouveau tagal est reconnu comme langue sociale aux Philippines sous le nom de pilipino. Néanmoins, la littérature philippine contemporaine comprend deux parties: une littérature écrite en anglais et une en pilipino. Pendant les premières décennies de notre siècle, la littérature écrite en anglais prédominait; au temps présent, on peut dire qu'elle est quelque peu préférée et au sens artistique est de meilleure qualité, mais la littérature écrite en pilipino possède toutes les conditions préalables de lui tenir tête et même de la remplacer. La communauté interlittéraire moderne de la littérature philippine et américaine est un genre spécifique où l'«American English» en tant que langue littéraire remplit une fonction intentionnelle (programmée) complémentaire, ce qui découle, en fin de compte, de la position administrative à laquelle cette communauté était soumise.

Une situation spécifique caractérise aussi l'Indonésie, un Etat avec une histoire très ancienne et une culture bien florissante. Cependant, c'est aussi un Etat insulaire, comprenant une centaine de différents groupes ethniques. Les plus nombreux d'entre eux développaient leur propre culture et leur littérature traditionnelle. Dans l'antiquité et au Moyen Age, les royaumes indonésiens empruntaient les langues et écritures tout d'abord de l'Inde, et plus tard des Arabes. Ainsi, jusqu'au Moyen Age, la littérature indonésienne était entièrement incorporée dans la communauté interlittéraire des pays de l'Asie du Sud-Est qui dépendait des conditions ethniques-linguistiques, géographiques et idéologiques. Cette incorporation se vit dérangée par le progrès de l'islame. Avec l'arrivée des colonialistes européens, le hollandais fut utilisé dans l'administration de l'Etat, dans les écoles et aussi dans la production littéraire. Cependant, cela ne dura pas longtemps par rapport à l'histoire de l'Indonésie. La langue qui jusqu'aux vingtièmes années de notre siècle se développait et s'employait comme du «patois» malais (Melayu Pasar) dans le commerce, est devenue la langue officielle de l'Indonésie. C'était très compliqué non seulement par rapport au hollandais, mais également à propos des langues vernaculaires avec leur riche culture – tel le javanais et le sunda. La proclamation du malais (à présent Ba-

hasa Indonesia) comme langue officielle de l'Indonésie est remarquable aussi parce que la population d'origine malaise ne représente que quelque cinq pour cent du nombre total des habitants de l'Indonésie. Cependant, cette langue reçut le support de toutes les couches progressives de la population qui avaient lutté pour l'unité du pays et de la nation, et sa justification est confirmée aussi par la nouvelle (moderne) littérature indonésienne en donnant preuve de ses capacités d'expression.

Vers le même temps, les langues officielles et littéraires étaient formées aussi dans d'autres pays de l'Asie du Sud-Est à base de la langue parlée, telles le thaï, le birman, le vietnamien, le khmer, le laotien et autres.

Le problème de l'écriture existait dans l'Asie du Sud-Est aussi aux temps modernes. L'histoire écrite dans ces régions a passé essentiellement par trois périodes principales. Au commencement, les hommes de lettres de ces pays empruntaient l'écriture directement d'autres anciennes cultures, par conséquent ils étaient maîtres de la forme écrite de ces langues. Cette période pourrait être désignée comme période de langues écrites, car ces langues étaient usitées seulement dans leurs formes écrites non parlées. Cela appartient à l'antiquité ou au début du Moyen Age. Dans la seconde période, tout à fait clairement au Moyen Age, on trouve une écriture formée à base de celle qui avait été adoptée pour transcrire les langues vernaculaires. C'est ainsi qu'au Vietnam apparut l'écriture chu nôm à base des signes chinois, au Cambodge, en Thaïlande et au Laos une écriture basée sur l'écriture de l'Inde du Sud-Est. Aux temps modernes, alors que quelques pays à l'ouest du continent asiatique du Sud-Est continuaient à faire usage – avec certaines variations – de l'écriture qu'ils avaient eu à leur disposition auparavant, d'autres se sont tournés vers l'alphabet latin, comme par exemple le Vietnam et l'Indonésie. Aux Philippines, où tout d'abord l'espagnol avait été utilisé, et puis l'anglais, naturellement aussi le tagal était écrit en forme latinisée.

A côté des recherches exécutées jusqu'ici sur les langues et écritures de divers Etats, la communauté interlittéraire de l'Asie du Sud-Est devrait être confrontée d'une manière plus systématique avec les langues et écritures de l'ancienne Inde (pāli, sanskrit), avec le vieux chinois et l'arabe, comme aussi avec l'espagnol et le hollandais médiévaux. Restent pratiquement inexploitées les relations avec les langues et écritures des pays de l'antiquité et du Moyen Age de Java, Bali, Mon, Khom, Champa et autres, qui ultérieurement sont devenues une partie composante des Etats unifiés modernes. En vertu des facteurs socio-historiques et des phénomènes ou signes culturels compris dans cette étude, on peut en déduire que la forme spécifique historique de la communauté interlittéraire existait en Asie du Sud-Est jusqu'au début de notre siècle.

CONTEMPORARY INDO-ANGLIAN POETRY: TWO REMARKS

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In the present study, the author should like to underline the relation five Indian poets (Deb Kumar Das, Prithwinda N. Mukherjee, A. K. Ramanujan, P. Lal, Nissim Ezekiel) writing in English bear to the contemporary spiritual and social milieu of India with special regard to the questions of ethics and humanism.

The development of Indo-Anglian poetry began with verses of Derozio (a teacher of English in Calcutta), who was half Portuguese and half Indian. He was the moving spirit of the first period of incubation for Indo-Anglian poetry from 1818. Therefore, Indo-Anglian poetry is now a hundred and seventy years old.

The golden period of Indo-Anglian poetry was that of the last decades of the nineteenth century. The first half of the 20th century was a period in which the endeavours for independence from British political patterns were becoming.¹ Today, we can distinguish between Indo-Anglian poetry originally written in English by Indians and what we might term Indo-English or even Indo-Anglian poetry translated – mostly by the authors themselves – into English from various Indian languages. Similarly, we could discern between original English writing as an act of creation, and the use of English as the most popular foreign medium for translation. But there is not a clear difference between the one and the other in contemporary Indian literature, because English has been inextricably bound up with recent Indian literary history.

Indo-Anglian, just as Indo-English poetry, could hardly be considered to be a genre per se; it has acquired a distinct identity only recently. In this present study I should like to underline the relation Indian poets writing in English bear to the contemporary spiritual and social milieu of India, with special regard to the questions of ethics and humanism. V. S. Gokak is right in saying that "Indo-Anglian poetry, like the rest of modern Indian poetry, is Indian first and everything else afterwards. It has voiced the aspiration, the joys and sorrows of the Indian people. It has been sensitive to the changes in the national climate and striven increasingly to express the soul of India, the personality which distinguishes her from other na-

¹ For a historical analysis of Indo-English verse, see the introductory essay in: *Indian Poetry in English: A Critical Assessment*. Eds. V. A. Shahane and M. Sivaramakrishna. Delhi, Macmillan 1980.

tions. At the same time, its constant endeavour is to delineate the essential humanity and universality which make the whole world her kith and kin."²

The ways to those goals are varied and sometimes also contradictory. Let us turn to a consideration of two different approaches to the spiritual and the social milieu and the moral values in contemporary Indo-Anglian poetry.

1

The first point of view is characterized by reflections on the opposition between the world and the individual, the self and the universe, man and space. Those perplexing but interlocking oppositions are the foundation of the vision of reality and creative perceptions on the part of Indo-Anglian poets, focused on real problems of the common people of contemporary India. This part of contemporary Indo-Anglian poetry has little to do with the past and "the most crucial point of departure" occurred in the sixties. The poets showed "three distinct modes relating themselves to the Indian milieu".³ According to M. Sivaramakrishna three poets stand on the threshold of this new area: Nissim Ezekiel, Kamala Das and A. K. Ramanujan. "These three poets wrought for themselves distinct aesthetic modes not only with their individual sensibilities, but also with enough potentiality to offer significant frames for emerging talent... In short, their poetry exhibits three concentric circles, of the self in relation to society, self in relation to history with family as the core unit, and self in relation to itself, its own self-propelled emotions and feelings."⁴

There is, of course, another distinction possible. Two of the poets who belong to the circle of the self in relation to the universe are Prithwinda Mukherjee (born 1936) and Deb Kumar Das (born also 1936), author of the books *The Night Before Us* and *Through a Glass Darkly*.

Deb Kumar Das does not conceive the human being as an existence of a single personality nor as a particular being that would be severed from natural being; he conceives it as an active genesis of mankind in a concrete world of things, whereby the genetic approach clearly dominates the static elements, especially when the poet speaks about the subject of his thought in universal connections of space and time. One example from the poem *Voices*:

"Only an hour-long eagle? mocked another
Voice, trapped in its own mirage earth:

² *The Golden Treasury of Indo-Anglian Poetry*. Selected and edited by Vinayak Krishna Gokak. Delhi, Sahitya Akademi 1978, pp. XXV-XXVI.

³ V. A. Shahane - M. Sivaramakrishna (Eds.): *Indian Poetry in English: A Critical Assessment*. Delhi, Macmillan 1980, p. 10.

⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

Only hour-long lives freedom, snowbird, eagle
Before its spiral down to blue sky, where
Bird has to grow eggshell, to fight flame
Journey, dreamdark to skybright re-entry.
Well, here's my foolproof answer to that voice.
An hour on edge of all my sky, my pain,
Is deeper answer than all dayright question
All the earthly promise in warm rain...

I would forget every long-lived hunger
Summon up all dregs of earth-bound will
To hold my eager ears so very wide-open
That I could catch in electronic sputter
The random tinkle of an eagle voice...
If you could hear me, Yuri Gagarin: do you hear me still?
(And you: Glenn, Titov, Grissom, Tereshkova?)”⁵

Deb Kumar Das' poetry attempts a synthesis of his own rootedness in environment – and a personal perception of this rootedness – with the objective law of the environment. It includes the certainty of the starting points, of origin, also the certainty of end... but not the full knowledge of it. Because the poet certainly knows only one thing: that the end of man, of a human being is not destruction, because it contains in itself a mystery of such values of life in inter-human relationships, new things, new men, new qualities, new reality – new life.

Prithwinda N. Mukherjee's anthropocentrism is filled with unlimited confidence in the force of testimony. It is a question of testimony which daily comes from our lips, from beneath our hands and which is the praise of human attachment to the world of nature.

“... He cast his arms around the earth
And kisses her in an ecstasy:
A mighty sweetness broke its spell
Upon the sky, the earth, the sea.
And I saw on the ocean-breast
His playful limbs and his sun-vast eyes,
He smiled: I saw the universe
Was rocked in a rhythm of paradise!”

From the poem *The Eternal Child*⁶

⁵ *The Golden Treasury of Indo-Anglian Poetry*. Selected and edited by Vinayak Krishna Gokak. Delhi, Sahitya Akademi 1978, p. 258.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

The mystic union of sky and sea, of night and day is not an opposite to reality. Prithwinda N. Mukherjee, author of *A Rose-Bud's Song*, translates this testimony into the form of legends to embrace in them the starting points to reality. Because the legend is the poet's starting point to reality and the reality is the base, the gist of the legend.

A. K. Ramanujan (born 1929) is "undoubtedly the most impressive Indian poet writing in English now".⁷ He is the author of *Fifteen Poems from a Classical Tamil Anthology*, *The Striders*, and many other volumes of verse. A. K. Ramanujan discerns in principle only one legend about the world which splits into a legend about things and a legend about man. There is no sharp border between these legends; the legend about things – which has rather the character of a myth – permanently turns into a legend about man, mankind, corresponds with it and forms its dialectically contradictory counterpoint. Both legends do not exclude one another; they necessitate one another and overlap; as A. K. Ramanujan puts it, one without the other cannot exist. It would lose its justification in its one-sidedness. It forms a union of two.

The legend about things is considered by A. K. Ramanujan the legend of earth, truth and love, these are no things that would carry full meaning without man. According to A. K. Ramanujan their sense rests on that, how they can fill human life and on that how man takes part in forming their original existence.

To A. K. Ramanujan the base and starting point of all that exists, are the earth and love. A. K. Ramanujan approaches love with a precious combination of a confident naiveté of antique philosophers and the complex wisdom of modern man. Because love is the origin of life, of life containing the beginning and the end.

"I burned and burned. But one day I turned
and caught that thought
by the screams of her hair and said: 'Beware.
Do not follow a gentleman's morals

with that absurd determined air.
Find a priest. Find any beast in the wind
for a husband. He will give you a houseful
of legitimate sons. It is too late for sin,

even for treason. And I have no reason to know your kind.
Bred Brahmin among singers of shivering hymns
I shudder to the bone at hungers that roam the streets
beyond the constable's beat.' But there She stood

⁷ N. Prabhakar Acharya: *Two Decades of Indian Poetry 1960–80*. Ed. N. Daruwalla. In: KAVI India, The Forum for Indian Poetry. Vol. 2, No. 3. 1982, pp. 32–33.

upon that dusty road on a nightlit April mind
and gave me a look. Commandments crumbled
in my father's past. Her tumbled hair suddenly known
as silk in my angry hand, I shook a little

and took her behind the laws of my land."

(*Another View of Grace*)⁸

The destiny of earth is also the destiny of him who lives from and with her: the destiny of man. He must also live because such is the content of the original legend – the myth of his mother – earth, regardless of the fact whether he wants to live or knows how to live. Such is his commitment, his duty.

From this point the curve of A. K. Ramanujan's philosophy of life enters the realm of reflection on human community: because it depends not only on what which we know, that we know the truth of our original essence; my knowledge and cognition are worthless and transitory if they are disconnected and insulated. Their value rests on direct proportionality to the possibility of their being communicated adequately. And Ramanujan's ability is to be found developed to its maximum possible degree in poetry whose bearer is the poet.

2

The content of the second circuit is relation between man and time.

P. Lal (born 1930), professor and founder of Writer's Workshop in Calcutta, is a poet of time. History enters his poems – silently, on tiptoes, reluctantly, without clanking of metal and without the rattle of military trumpets. The morals professed by the lyrical subjects of P. Lal's poems follow from those moral laws in which the principles of social well-being have been identified with the moral happiness of individual man. And the poet, therefore, filters his own vision of history through the picture of the life of an unmistakable, genuine human personality that appears in decisive moments of history. (Who can determine the moment in which the time-machine is triggered optimistically, only to stop immediately in moments of consternation at the horror of war and suffering?) If the poet delves only with hardship into his conviction about the possibility of good and the existence of justice from the lower strata of hope, it is not because he is pusillanimous, it is not because the superficial fear of unpleasant truth would lead him away from seeking ways to human joy and to the experience of everyday's prosaic moments and moods. We read in P. Lal's poem called *A Song for Beauty*:

⁸ Ibid., p. 247.

"If it were less beautiful,
And my eyes did not catch beauty, if in the morning
My eyes did not catch beauty,
I would have peace.

O Beauty, fair goddess
deign to be kind on my heart your worshipper.
If it were less beautiful,
I would catch it,
And my eyes would catch beauty, if in the morning
It were less beautiful.

O Beauty, fair goddess
take my sweet gifts.
And also, perhaps, if I would not catch beauty as I turned the corner,
Alas, if beauty would not come on the sodden streets
And catch my heart in the morning, I would know peace;
And no more,
fair goddess,
supplicate with sweet gifts my heart your worshipper."⁹

Old Heraclitus, whose intimate relationship to dialectics is generally known, is reported to have said that the nature of thing was hiding. Another time he is said to have asserted that if man did not hope, he would not find what cannot be hoped for, because it had been ungraspable and inadmissible to him. We shall encounter in P. Lal's poems not only a striving for knowledge of the genuine "nature of things", but hope and belief, too, that this "genuine nature" can be known and found and have pleasure in seeking and discovering. Yet this seeking is often a mirror of human wrinkles and its result a memorial of worries.

A starting point of Nissim Ezekiel's poetry is the view that individuals and nations sometimes produce a transition to the knowledge of the essence of things, it is the way to the knowledge of the essence of history. See Nissim Ezekiel's poem *Night of the Scorpion*, about "the night my mother was stung by a scorpion":

"... More candles, more lanterns, more neighbours,
more insects, and the endless rain.
My mother twisted through and through
groaning on a mat.
My father, sceptic, rationalist,
trying every curse and blessing,
powder, mixture, herb and hybrid.

⁹ Ibid., p. 250.

He even poured a little paraffin
upon the bitten toe and put a match to it.
I watched the flame feeding on my mother.
I watched the holy man perform his rites
to tame the poison with an incantation.
After twenty hours
it lost its sting.

My mother only said
Thank God the scorpion picked on me
and spared my children."¹⁰

Nissim Ezekiel is a well-known Indian poet, a professor at the University of Bombay. We could say, he is the most outstanding Indian poet to have written in English, in the second half of the 20th century. He is an author of many books (*Sixty Poems*, *A Time to Change and Other Poems*, *The Unfinished Man*, *The Exact Name*, etc.)

Time and history are to Nissim Ezekiel no themes of their own in which the uncertainty of a tiny man would be hiding behind the screen of great words in which the greatness of time sections and periods of history would minimize and ridicule the small step of simple terrestrials. He has never considered them a will-o'-the-wisp which would seduce him from the way of knowing the unique, unrepeatable and always new value of each manifestation of life.

This knowledge and its poetic expression is considered by Nissim Ezekiel in all of his present work a duty of first order for an originator of artistic work. We feel in his volumes of verse, in his poems – especially in those of later years – an awareness of the poet's responsibility not only for the picture of the present times he offers to his readers, but primarily for the way he manages to incorporate into the picture the message of times past and an imagination of the future – and in that way to catch the human time in its three-dimensional form.

The inconspicuous but persevering effort at a synthesis of various views of man and his history led Nissim Ezekiel to the knowledge of the importance of the collective meaning and social dimension of each human act. Nissim Ezekiel's poems always displayed a manifest social-ethical contents. Although this content has never come in Nissim Ezekiel's poems into the foreground in the spate of bombastic words (or even through their mediation), it was always felt as an important, constitutive element of his poems.

The time in Nissim Ezekiel's poems is a human time, the velocity of its flux and the length of its duration are also determined by the great number of questions man

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 235.

is able to answer during his lifetime. But also by the questions man himself is asking history and time.

Perhaps that is exactly why Nissim Ezekiel writes in a way not to lose the controlling presence of human tenderness from his intellectual approach to themes concerning the destiny of the whole earth. He is able to picture the world in its eternal birth pains without losing confidence in the human capacity of modelling the present time and programming its future.

DIE ERZÄHLUNG VON ARDAŠĪR UND ḤAYĀT AN-NUFŪS UND DEREN JÜNGERE VERSION IN TAUSENDUNDEINER NACHT

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Eine große Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des arabischen volkstümlichen Literaturschaffens (und auch der Kunstliteratur) hatten die regen kulturellen Kontakte zwischen den Arabern und den benachbarten östlichen Ethniken und Regionen in der Epoche der Regierung der ersten ʿAbbāsiden (8.–11. Jahrhundert) und vielleicht auch früher. In unserem Artikel machen wir darauf aufmerksam, daß es zu einer jeden kulturellen Assimilation, ob sie nun ein Ergebnis der Übernahme fremder Stoffe oder deren Nachahmung ist, nur unter bestimmten günstigen Voraussetzungen im übernehmenden Milieu kommt. Der Umfang dieser kulturellen Assimilation läßt sich an den einzelnen Proben des arabischen volkstümlichen Literaturschaffens heute nicht mehr genau und eindeutig bestimmen. Als Beispiel diene uns hierbei die Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs sowie deren jüngere Variante, die Geschichte von Tāġ al-Mulūk und der Prinzessin Dunyā. Beide Proben entstammen der Sammlung Tausendundeine Nacht (Textausgabe: Calcutta II).

In den umfangreichen Roman vom König ʿUmar ibn an-Nuʿmān und seinen Söhnen Šarrkān und Dauʾ al-Makān, der sich in der Zweiten Calcuttaer Ausgabe von Tausendundeiner Nacht befindet,¹ ist die Geschichte von Tāġ al-Mulūk und der Prinzessin Dunyā, (vgl. Druckausgabe Calcutta II, Band 1, S. 552–649) eingereiht. Der Ansicht einiger Fachleute zufolge ist diese Geschichte eine neuere arabische Version der älteren persischen Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs, die sich ebenfalls in der Sammlung Tausendundeine Nacht (vgl. Druckausgabe Calcutta II, Band 3, S. 480–540) erhalten hat.

Darüber, daß wir in beiden angeführten Fällen wirklich mit Varianten einer und derselben Erzählung, einer älteren und einer jüngeren, einer ursprünglichen und einer übernommenen zu tun haben, gibt es wirklich keinen Zweifel. Als erster schrieb darüber eingehender der dänische Forscher J. Oestrup in seiner bemerkenswerten Arbeit *Studien über 1001 Nacht* (die ursprüngliche dänische Ausgabe erschien bereits im Jahre 1891).²

J. Oestrup hat recht darin, daß die Geschichte von Tāġ al-Mulūk und der Prinzessin Dunyā als die jüngere Variante der Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs

¹ *Alif laila*. Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night, commonly known as the „Arabian Nights Entertainments“, now for the first time, published complete in the original Arabic, from an Egyptian Ms. brought to India by the late Major Turner Macan, editor of the „Shah Nameh“, edited by Sir W. H. Macnaghten. 4 Bde. Calcutta 1839–1842 (Druckausgabe Calcutta II).

² Oestrup, J.: *Studien über 1001 Nacht*. Stuttgart 1925; S. 66 ff.

in den Korpus von Tausendundeiner Nacht viel später gelangte, anscheinend schon als Bestandteil des großen Romans vom König ʿUmar und seinen Söhnen. So konnte es zur Duplizität, bzw. zur wiederholten Einreihung derselben Erzählung in diese Sammlung kommen.

Die Druckausgabe Calcutta II von Tausendundeiner Nacht, die beide erwähnten Versionen derselben Geschichte beinhaltet, ist das Ergebnis einer verhältnismäßig jungen redaktionellen und sammlerischen Arbeit. Sie stellt die sog. ägyptische Rezension dar, die Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts von einem näher nicht bekannten gebildeten Ägypter so zusammengestellt wurde, daß er zum bereits bestehenden Grundtext von Tausendundeiner Nacht (also zu einer der mehreren bestehenden „1001 Nacht“ – Rezensionen) weitere selbständige anonyme Erzählungen hinzugefügt hat, um die erforderliche Anzahl der Nächte auszufüllen, und so auch dem Umfang nach eine wirklich repräsentative Sammlung zu schaffen.³ Bei dieser Arbeit störte es ihn anscheinend nicht, daß in seine Rezension zwei Varianten derselben Erzählung geraten sind. Es ist auch möglich, daß er sich ihrer Verwandtschaft nicht bewußt wurde, da Paare verwandter Erzählungen, bzw. Erzählungen abgeleitet von älteren anonymen Vorlagen, in Tausendundeiner Nacht recht häufig vorkommen.

Im Buch *Studien über 1001 Nacht* bezeichnete J. Oestrup die Erzählung von Ardašīr und Hayāt an-Nufūs als ein persisches Märchen und reihte es zum ältesten Kern von 1001 Nacht zu. Seiner Ansicht nach befand sich diese Erzählung schon in der alten persischen Sammlung Hazār Afsān, aus der sie die Bagdader Märchen-erzähler in Tausendundeiner Nacht übernommen haben.⁴ Diese Oestrups Ansicht ist nicht zu widerlegen, aber auch nicht zu beweisen. In der erwähnten Arbeit versuchte J. Oestrup die Mehrzahl der bedeutenderen Erzählungen in Tausendundeiner Nacht im Geiste seiner methodologischen Ausgangspunkte „ethnisch“ und genetisch zu bestimmen. Ähnlich wie seine Generationsgenossen, war auch er durch die „Theorie der Einflüsse“ und die Migrationstheorie belastet, so wie sie der deutsche Forscher Theodor Benfey (Pantschatantra 1859) und dessen Schüler ausgearbeitet hatten. Außerdem ging J. Oestrup konsequent aus der Existenz des sog. indisch-persischen Kerns der Sammlung hervor, von dem er die sog. später hinzugefügten Erzählungen (die Bagdader- und Qāhira-Gruppe)⁵ so genau wie nur möglich abzusondern trachtete.

Obwohl man von der Existenz der einzelnen „Schichten“ (der indisch-persischen, der bagdadischen, der ägyptischen) in Tausendundeiner Nacht längst wußte, ließen sich diese nie ganz genau voneinander unterscheiden.⁶ Fast alle älteren Erzählungen

³ Vgl. Grotzfeld, Heinz und Sophia: *Die Erzählungen aus Tausendundeiner Nacht*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1984, S. 45 ff.

⁴ Oestrup, J.: op. cit., S. 65–66. Diese Ansicht übernahm von J. Oestrup auch Elisséeff, N.: *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une Nuits*. Essai de Classification. Beyrouth 1949, S. 46.

⁵ Siehe Oestrup, J.: op. cit., S. 42–71.

wurden nämlich noch in den 'Abbāsidenzeiten in die islamisch-arabische Realität transformiert und waren im kulturellen Kontext der neuen Umgebung diversen Adaptierungsvorgängen ausgesetzt. Es entstanden aus ihnen mehrere Varianten und die erfolgreichsten dieser Varianten wurden mehrere Male redigiert.

Deshalb formulierten die späteren Autoren viel behutsamer als J. Oestrup ihre Ansichten über die Genese und Geschichte der einzelnen Erzählungen in Tausendundeiner Nacht. So schreibt z. B. Enno Littmann bei der Charakteristik der Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs nur folgendes: *Diese Geschichte stammt sicher aus der Baghdader Zeit; Der Name Ardašīr weist nach Persien, die Episode, in der die Prinzessin durch ein geschickt gemaltes Bild eines Vogelstellers, einer Taube und eines Täubers, von ihrer Abneigung gegen die Männer geheilt wurde, stammt aus Indien.*⁷

Noch vorsichtiger, bzw. reichlich unklar und verlegen äußert sich über den Ursprung der Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs Mīa I. Gerhardt: diese könne „wholly or partly of Persian origin“ sein.⁸

Wir sind uns dessen bewußt, daß wir bei der Bestimmung des Ursprungs dieser Erzählung – aber auch anderer, ihr ähnlicher Proben der Volksliteratur – ein sehr dünnes Eis beschreiten und daß wir größtenteils nur auf Vermutungen und hypothetische Kombinationen angewiesen sind. Wenn wir zulassen, daß die Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs in Persien entstanden ist, erfahren wir nie ihre ursprüngliche Gestalt und auf welchen Wegen sie sich aus ihrer „Urheimat“ verbreitet hat. Weder die folkloristische „Urform“, noch irgendein persischer Ausgangstext oder ein persischer Wortlaut dieser Erzählung blieb nämlich erhalten.

Dabei lassen sich durch gründliche und langsame Arbeit in der Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs einige Spuren enthüllen, die in die nichtarabische Welt führen (nach Indien, Persien und vielleicht auch anderswohin) und es sind in ihr auch fremde, nichtarabische wortschatzmäßige Stoffe aufzufinden. Dies alles ist wahr, wir können jedoch nicht wissen, ob dieses Material (die Motive und Sujetschemen) im arabischen Milieu nicht schon längst heimisch gewesen war, als die Erzählung entstand.

Die Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs hat eine sehr einfache Fabel. Es ist die Geschichte eines Prinzen, der sich vom Hörensagen in eine Prinzessin ver-

⁶ Den Termin „Schicht“ führte als erster August Müller (In: *Zu den Märchen der Tausend und einer Nacht*. Bezzenbergers Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, Band 13, Göttingen 1888, S. 222–244) ein. Siehe die kritische Analyse dieses Terminus und die beachtenswerte Überlegung über die Herkunft der einzelnen Geschichten und Geschichtenzyklen in 1001 Nacht in: Grotzfeld, Heinz und Sophia: op. cit., S. 68 ff. und S. 72, 73.

⁷ Littmann, E.: *Die Erzählungen aus den Tausendundein Nächten*. Band 6. 3. Auflage. Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, s. a., S. 966.

⁸ Gerhardt, M. I.: *The Art of Story-Telling*. Leiden, E. J. Brill 1963, S. 32.

liebt. Er hatte sie nie gesehen, lediglich von ihrer Schönheit gehört, doch er entschließt sich, sie müße ihm gehören. Die durch ein Erzählen über ihre Schönheit hervorgerufene Liebe (das Liebesentflammen) zu einer unbekannten Maid ist ein beliebtes persisches literarisches Motiv, dessen Varianten in Tausendundeiner Nacht oft vorkommen.⁹ Der deutsche Mediävist K. Burdach stellte fest, daß ein ähnliches Motiv auch in der europäischen mittelalterlichen Liebesdichtung vorkommt.¹⁰ Es ist interessant, daß diese Art des Liebesentflammens auch der andalusische Dichter und Schriftsteller Ibn Ḥazm kannte.¹¹ In seinem bekannten Traktat über die Liebe *Tauq al-Ḥamāma* widmete er ein kurzes Kapitel jenen, die sich auf Grund einer Beschreibung verliebten.¹² Es ist interessant, daß Ibn Ḥazm diesen Typ der Liebesentflammung nicht als eine literarische Fiktion oder als folkloristisches Motiv, sondern als reale Möglichkeit betrachtete.

Ardašīr muß das Herz der unbekannten Prinzessin für sich gewinnen. Prinzessin Hayāt an-Nufūs hatte nämlich einst einen unliebsamen Traum von einem feigen und treulosen Täuberich, der seiner Gefährtin nicht geholfen hat und sie in der Vogelfängers Falle zurückließ. Aus diesem Traum schließt die Prinzessin, daß die Männer ebenfalls feige und selbstsüchtig sind.¹³ Sie entschließt sich nie zu heiraten. Als Ardašīr nach einer langen Reise in die Stadt der Prinzessin kommt, verkleidet er sich als Kaufmann und verkauft im Basar teure Stoffe, um so die Aufmerksamkeit der Prinzessin, die sich ebenso gern schön kleidet wie jede andere Frau, auf sich zu lenken. Hierbei ist ihm die Zofe der Prinzessin (eine Heiratsvermittlerin)¹⁴ behilflich, aber vergebens. Die Prinzessin ist unbeugsam und gefährlich feindselig. Letztlich kommt Ardašīr ein rettender Gedanke. Er läßt an die Wand der Gartenlaube im Schloßpark der Prinzessin die Fortsetzung jenes Traumes zeichnen. Bei einem Spaziergang kommt die Prinzessin zur Gartenlaube und sieht an der Wand das Bild ihres Traumes. Und sogar dessen Fortsetzung: der Täuberich konnte seiner im Netz gefangenen Gefährtin nicht zur Hilfe kommen, da er selbst von einem Raubvogel gefangen und zerrissen worden war. Beim Anblick dieses Bildes ändert die Prinzessin plötzlich ihre Meinung über Männer: Sie sieht, daß sie dem Täuberich als auch den Männern Unrecht getan hat. Gerade damals wandelt Ardašīr, wie gerufen, durch die Blumen im Schloßgarten. Die Prinzessin erblickt ihn und verliebt

⁹ Vgl. Elisséeff, N.: op. cit., S. 90.

¹⁰ Burdach, K.: *Vorspiel*. Band 1. Halle 1927, S. 311.

¹¹ Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī (994–1064).

¹² Ibn Ḥazm, *Tauq al-Ḥamāma*. Kairo, al-Maktabat at-tuǧāriya al-kubrā 1959, S. 23.

¹³ Vgl. Elisséeff, N.: op. cit., S. 160.

¹⁴ Die Zofe als Helferin der Geliebten kommt in mehreren Erzählungen von Tausendundeiner Nacht vor. Manchmal wird zur Helferin eine Sklavin, ein Dienstmädchen, ein junges Mädchen, ja sogar die Verlobte ist ihrem Verlobten bei der Gewinnung der Gunst einer anderen Frau behilflich (*Die Erzählung von ʿAzīz und ʿAzīza*). Das Motiv der Zofe als Helferin kommt auch in der persischen Kunstliteratur vor. Siehe das Epos von *Wis und Ramin* des Dichters Fahr ad-Dīn Gurgānī (Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts).

sich sofort in ihn. Nichts kann einfacher und natürlicher sein, da der Prinz bildhübsch ist. Dank der Kupplerin kommt es zum Treffen der beiden Verliebten. Beide verlieben sich leidenschaftlich ineinander und entledigen sich, im Taumel der Liebe, bald ihrer moralischer Hemmungen.¹⁵ Als sich dann später herausstellt, daß Ardašīr ein Königssohn ist, erklärt sich der Vater der Prinzessin mit der Heirat seiner Tochter und des wohlgeborenen Freiers einverstanden. Eine festliche Hochzeit, so wie sie in einem jeden Märchen sein soll, findet statt. Die Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs ist ein Gebilde der feudalen Gesellschaft und Kultur. Eine islamische Prinzessin kann nur einem Prinzen gehören.

Die Geschichte von Tāğ al-Mulūk und der Prinzessin Dunyā ist auf den ersten Blick eine fast identische Variante dieser Erzählung. Dabei kann man jedoch nicht behaupten, sie sei lediglich ein Duplikat. Die Geschichte von Tāğ al-Mulūk und der Prinzessin Dunyā ist in ihrem Aufbau mit einer weiteren Geschichte verbunden, mit der Erzählung von °Azīz und °Azīza (vgl. Druckausgabe Calcutta II, Band 1, S. 567–610). Der Jüngling °Azīz ist der gemeinsame Held beider Geschichten. Es geht hierbei also sozusagen um den Versuch eines unbekannten Meisters – wahrscheinlich eines ägyptischen – eine Doppelgeschichte zu schaffen, bzw. in die Rahmengeschichte von Tāğ al-Mulūk die kleinere Liebeserzählung von °Azīz und °Azīza einzureihen, die dann auf eine etwas auskonstruierte Weise wieder im gemeinsamen Rahmen mündet.

Der Prinz Tāğ al-Mulūk erfährt vom Jüngling °Azīz, dem er zufällig bei einer Jagd begegnet, von der Prinzessin Dunyā. °Azīz zeigt ihm eine von der Prinzessin Dunyā angefertigte Stickerei und Prinz Tāğ al-Mulūk verliebt sich sofort in die Maid, die „so meisterhaft Gazellen sticken kann“.¹⁶ Über ihre Schönheit kann freilich kein Zweifel bestehen. Während sich Ardašīr sofort auf die Suche nach seiner Auserkorenen begibt, hört sich Prinz Tāğ al-Mulūk erst die Geschichte des Jünglings °Azīz an und erst dann begibt er sich zusammen mit ihm zur unbekannten Prinzessin, um ihr Herz und ihre Hand zu gewinnen.

Die Geschichten von °Azīz sind nicht reich an Handlung, man kann sie aber auch nicht als kurz und langweilig bezeichnen. Es ist dies ein Erzählen von der bildlichen Sprache zweier Geliebten, von ihren Sehnsüchten, von der unbändigen menschlichen Leidenschaft, vom Trauer und vom großen Tränenvergießen ohne welches jegliche Blüte der arabischen Liebe verwelken würde.

¹⁵ Von der Elementargewalt der Liebe, die weder Scham noch Hindernisse kennt, ist nicht nur in der Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs die Rede. Wir begegnen ihr auch im persischen Epos von *Wis und Ramin*, ja sogar in der altfranzösischen Tristansage. Nach Shirmunski, W. M.: *O hrdinském eposu* (Über das heroische Epos), Prag 1984, S. 177 ff. ist diese Analogie ein Ergebnis der identischen Grundsituation (sie ist von typologischem Charakter).

¹⁶ Dieses Motiv ist in Tausendundeiner Nacht vereinzelt. Verhältnismäßig häufig ist das Motiv des Jünglings, der sich in ein Mädchen verliebt, nachdem man ihm ihr Bildnis (Portrait) gezeigt hat. Siehe Elisséeff, N.: op. cit., S. 90.

Einige Forscher nehmen an, daß die Erzählung von °Azīz und °Azīza in Bagdad entstand,¹⁷ andere wieder glauben sie sei in Ägypten entstanden.¹⁸ Meiner Ansicht nach stammt diese Erzählung ursprünglich aus Bagdad, die Bearbeitung jedoch, die uns erhalten blieb, ist aus den ägyptischen mamlukischen Zeiten. Davon zeugen nicht nur die Anspielungen im Text auf Gestalten aus der ägyptischen Folklore, sondern vor allem die Art der Wiedergabe der Geschichte und die gleichgültige, ja sogar zynische Einstellung des Autors der Erzählung zu den Geschicken der Helden. Der passive, leidende Typ des arabischen Liebhabers, wie es °Azīz ist, wird in der Erzählung zum Gegenstand des Spottes und die ganze Geschichte ist sozusagen eine raffinierte Parodie der Liebeserzählungen aus älterer Zeit. Der ägyptische Sinn für Humor und der ägyptische Sarkasmus siegen auf der Bühne des Liebesgeschehens.

Mia I. Gerhardt wirft der Erzählung von °Azīz und °Azīza Unklarheit und eine unzureichende logische Motivierung vor, als störend empfindet sie die unerwarteten Reaktionen der Helden, die angedeuteten oder nicht zu Ende geführten Situationen u. ä.¹⁹ Das ist richtig. Diese Geschichte ist ein wenig unkonventionell ausgefallen. Ihrem Autor lag wohl nicht viel an der Beibehaltung der traditionellen Sujetschemen und ebensowenig an den positiven Helden. In der ganzen Erzählung gibt es nur eine positive Heldin – die arme °Azīza, die ihren dummen Vetter °Azīz treu und selbstlos liebt. Sie stirbt vor Kummer, als sie sich davon überzeugt, daß ihr ihr Vetter und Verlobter untreu geworden ist, daß er sie nicht liebt. . . In Wirklichkeit sollte er ihr treu sein und er sollte sie auch lieben, da in guter arabischer Gesellschaft Vetter ihre Basen meist heiraten. Der Autor forscht jedoch nicht danach, ob diese Konvention richtig ist und ob die verwandtschaftliche Beziehung die beste Bürgschaft der Liebe ist. Anscheinend nicht. So geht dies zumindest implizite aus der Erzählung hervor.

Nun aber weiter. °Azīz ist seiner Cousine mit zwei bösen, schlaunen Weibern untreu. Beide leben völlig unabhängig, was für orientalische Verhältnisse recht ungewöhnlich ist. Es macht sie jedoch bedeutsam und geheimnisvoll. Die erste Verführerin lockt °Azīz zu sich mit Hilfe von „Zeichen“, wie sie Verliebte einander geben. Seine Base erklärt °Azīz die komplizierten pantomimischen Symbole. Dadurch fördert sie seine Begegnung mit dem Mädchen, in das er sich verliebt hat. So gräbt sich die arme °Azīza jedoch ihr eigenes Grab, und sie weiß es. Der Liebesakt mit der ersten Verführerin rückt aber immer weiter, da das schlaue Mädchen ihren blind verliebten Bewunderer nur auf die Probe stellt, ob er sie wirklich genügend liebt. °Azīz besteht diese Prüfung, doch auch dazu verhilft ihm seine Base.

Nach einer gewissen Zeit des süßen Zusammenlebens mit der ersten Geliebten bemächtigt sich seiner eine noch durchtriebenere Anwärtlerin und zwingt ihn sich

¹⁷ Østrup, J.: op. cit., S. 68; Littmann, E.: op. cit., S. 699.

¹⁸ Payne, J.: *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*. London 1882–1884, Vol. 9, S. 308.

¹⁹ Gerhardt, M. I.: op. cit., S. 134 ff.

mit ihr zu vermählen. Der feige °Azīz, der keinen anderen Ausweg sieht, ist einverstanden und es kommt auch sofort zu der schleunigst inszenierten Heirat – die bei den Moslimen lediglich ein juristischer Akt ist. Danach lebt °Azīz im Hause seiner zweiten Geliebten, nunmehr seiner Gattin, ein ganzes Jahr lang. Nach einem Jahr geht er um seine erste Liebe für eine Nacht zu besuchen. Die verschmähte, verbitterte Geliebte, die alles über ihn erfahren hat, prüft die Beweggründe seiner Untreue nicht lange und kastriert ihn jedoch zur Strafe kaltblütig. Grausam rächt sie sich dafür, daß er seine Gunst einer anderen geschenkt hat, und gleichzeitig beraubt sie ihre Rivalin um deren Geliebten. Interessant ist es dabei, daß der Autor der Erzählung die Namen beider Geliebten von °Azīz verschwiegen hat. Nur von der ersten erfährt der Leser durch Zufall, sie sei die Tochter der bösen Dalīla.

Der kastrierte °Azīz bleibt allein. In den Augenblicken des Schmerzes und der Ratlosigkeit erinnert er sich an seine Base °Azīza, die ihn geliebt, ihm Ratschläge erteilt und um ihn wie um ihren jüngeren Bruder gesorgt hat.

Wie aber war °Azīz, als er noch den Frauen gefiel, als er noch ein ganzer Mann gewesen war? Anfangs passiv und weinerlich, später faul und genießerisch. Er nagte am süßen Kuchen der Liebe so lange es nur möglich war. Es kümmerte ihn wenig, daß seine Cousine vor Schmerz und Verzweiflung gestorben war. Er war unverantwortlich. Obwohl ihm seine Geliebten ständig den Haß der Frauen vor Augen führten, ihre Verdorbenheit überraschte ihn plötzlich und völlig unerwartet. Er wurde ihr Opfer, aber auch das Opfer seiner eigenen Dummheit. Obwohl der Autor der Erzählung nicht moralisiert, ist °Azīz' Ende warnend. Liebesabenteuer mit zweifelhaften Schönheiten sind gefährlich.

Um sein persönliches Mißgeschick zu vergessen zieht °Azīz in die Welt hinaus und erblickt in einem fernen Land in einem Schloßgarten Prinzessin Dunyā. Es ist dieselbe, die solche prachtvolle Gazellen stecken kann. Die Prinzessin gefällt °Azīz, er ist von ihrer Schönheit und ihrer edlen Erscheinung hingerissen, doch leider ist er nur ein Kaufmannssohn und sie des Königs Tochter. Das wäre jedoch noch nicht das Tragischeste. Es ist aber ein Jammer, daß er das „männliche Instrument“ nicht mehr besitzt, und daher kann Prinzessin Dunyā nie die seine werden. Und °Azīz' Unglück verdoppelt sich noch...

Auf dem Weg in seine Heimat begegnet °Azīz den Prinzen Tāğ al-Mulūk. Er erzählt ihm seine Liebesgeschichte und verrät ihm, er habe in einem fernen Land eine schöne Prinzessin gesehen. Tāğ al-Mulūk, von der Stickerei bezaubert, verliebt sich kopfüber in die geheimnisvolle Prinzessin-Stickerin. Hier endet die Erzählung von °Azīz und die Geschichte des Tāğ al-Mulūk beginnt.

Genauso wie Ardašīr muß auch Tāğ al-Mulūk die Liebe der Prinzessin gewinnen. °Azīz und die alte Kupplerin (die Zofe der Prinzessin) helfen ihm dabei. In diesem Teil ist die Erzählung mit ihrer älteren Variante fast identisch. In der Geschichte des Tāğ al-Mulūk und der Prinzessin Dunyā widerspiegelte sich jedoch die Atmosphäre der ägyptischen Basare und des bürgerlich-kaufmännischen Milieus in der

Autorensprache als auch in den Repliken viel ausdrucksvoller. Das einschmeichelnde Benehmen Tāğ al-Mulūks und ʿAzīz' dem Marktvorsteher gegenüber, die Szene im Bad mit diesem lüsternen Greis, dessen Schwäche junge Knaben sind, seine frivolen Verslein und Anspielungen sind ebenfalls eine spätere ägyptische Interpolation. In der älteren Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs finden wir nichts desgleichen. Dort gibt es nichteinmal eine Andeutung der „Plebäisierung“ des aristokratischen Prinzen.

Beim Studium der einzelnen Erzählungen in Tausendundeiner Nacht darf auch deren Komposition nicht vergessen werden. Die Erzählung von Ardašīr und Ḥayāt an-Nufūs und deren jüngere Variante, die Geschichte von Tāğ al-Mulūk und der Prinzessin Dunyā zeichnen sich durch eine Mischform aus, die sich in einem funktionellen Wechsel von Prosa und Vers äußert. Diese Form ist das Ergebnis einer späteren Redaktion, die schon aus der arabischen Zeit stammt. Diese Rezension – oder wenn wir so wollen: die vom Autor durchgeführte Umarbeitung der älteren, nicht erhaltenen Variante – hat auch ihre literatur-historische und literatur-theoretische Bedeutung. In dieser letzten erhaltenen Rezension sollte vor allem der Stellung der Gedichte in der Struktur der Erzählungen eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet werden.

DIE ANFÄNGE DER OSMANISCHEN MACHT IN DER SLOWAKEI

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Der Autor befaßt sich mit den Anfängen der osmanischen Macht im nordungarischen Grenzgebiet aus der militärischen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Sicht. Er beobachtet auch die Beziehung der Eroberer und der untertanen Bevölkerung, widmet sich der Frage der Besteuerung und Steuereinnahme als auch dem Verteidigungssystem.

Obwohl die Erforschung der osmanischen Expansion in der Slowakei in den letzten Jahrzehnten ob nun in der Herausgabe osmanischer Quellen oder in der Bearbeitung einzelner Probleme und Epochen einen bedeutenden Fortschritt verzeichnet, bleiben noch viele Fragen übrig, die ihrer Beantwortung harren.¹ Eines dieser Probleme ist die Einführung der osmanischen Macht in der Slowakei. Die schnelle Festigung der osmanischen Macht und derer Institutionen an der Südgrenze der heutigen Slowakei hatte langanhaltende Folgen für fast ein Drittel der Slowakei. Die schleunig eingesetzte Macht war von sehr langer Dauer und blieb, bis auf eine kurze Unterbrechung um die Wende des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im Grunde bis zum großen Krieg, der zur Befreiung ganz Ungarns (1683–87) führte, bestehen. Auch wenn es infolge veränderter militärischer, als auch ökonomischer und anderer Faktoren in diesem Grenzgebiet zu administrativen und verwaltungsmäßigen Veränderungen kam, blieben die in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts erreichten Erfolge die Grundlage der osmanischen Macht.

Es ist anzuführen, daß es zur unmittelbaren Okkupation Ungarns durch die osmanische Armee nicht sofort nach der katastrophalen Niederlage des ungarischen Heeres bei Mohács (29. August 1526) durch die osmanische Armee, an der Spitze mit dem Sultan Süleyman I. gekommen war, sondern fast fünfzehn Jahre nach dieser Niederlage. Durch den Tod König Ludwig II. von Böhmen und Ungarn ist der böhmische und ungarische Thron freigeworden und die böhmisch-ungarische Personalunion zerfiel. Nach dem Rückzug der osmanischen Armee aus dem Land brachen Kämpfe um den freigewordenen ungarischen Thron aus. Der Großteil des ungarischen Gebiets war in den Händen des reichen Magnaten und siebenbürgischen Herzogs Johann von Zápolya, der vom Klein- und Mitteladel politisch unterstützt wurde. Auf Grund des Abkommens zwischen den Habsburgern und Jagellonen aus

¹ K o p č a n, V.: Die tschechoslowakische Literatur zu den Türkenkriegen. In: *Die Türkenkriege in der historischen Forschung*. Wien, Franz Deuticke 1983, S. 79–97.

dem Jahre 1515 erhob seinen Anspruch auf den ungarischen Thron Ferdinand von Habsburg. Beide Kandidaten sind von den Partikularversammlungen gewählt und sogar von demselben Bischof feierlich gekrönt worden, bloß bei Ferdinand fand die Krönung um ein Jahr später statt. Die kriegerische Auseinandersetzung begann im Frühjahr 1527, unmittelbar nachdem es die Naturbedingungen ermöglichten. Als sich die Überlegenheit von Ferdinands Söldnerheer mit erfahrenen Befehlshabern an der Spitze bald zeigte, floh Johann von Zápolya, im Osten des Landes geschlagen, nach Polen, und wandte sich an Sultan Süleyman um Hilfe.² Anfang 1528 verkündete der Sultan, daß er Johann von Zápolya unter seinen Schutz genommen hat und mit ihm ein Bündnis gegen Ferdinand I. schloß.³ Zu Zápolyas Unterstützung trat der Sultan zweimal persönlich ein, und zwar mit direkten Feldzügen gegen Wien (1529 und 1532), wobei beide Versuche scheiterten.⁴ Im ersten Fall konnte sich Wien erwehren und im zweiten bot dem osmanischen Feldzug die heldenhafte Abwehr der kleinen Burg Güns (Köszég) Einhalt.⁵

Im Rahmen des Kampfes um den ungarischen Thron wurde im Jahre 1530 die West- und Mittelslowakei von einer großen türkischen Plünderung heimgesucht. Der herbeigerufene Sandschakbeg von Smederewo Jahjapaszade Mehmed Beg, der die Besitztümer Ferdinands und dessen Anhänger in Mähren und in den östlichen Teilen von Österreich durch Plünderungen schwächen sollte, überquerte an mehreren Orten die Donau. Ende September 1530 verwüsteten seine Abteile das Nitra-Tal bis Topoľčany, das Wag-Tal bis Hlohovec und dann das linke Wag-Ufer bis Trnava, wobei aber auch das Gran-Tal bis Hronský Beňadik nicht verschont blieb.⁶ Mit ihrem Ausmaß war dies eine der größten Verwüstungen in der Slowakei von den Türken bis zur Tatarenplünderung im Jahre 1599 und sie kann mit der Plünderung während der Belagerung und Eroberung von Nové Zámky im Jahre 1663 verglichen werden. Diese erste Etappe der Konfrontation zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und den Habsburgern wurde durch den am 23. Juni 1533 in Istanbul vereinbarten Waffenstillstand abgeschlossen, der ein Ende der militärischen Hand-

² Die Ursachen dieser Entscheidung behandelt eingehend Barta, G.: *A Sztambulba vezető út (1526–1528)*. Budapest, Magvető Kiadó 1983.

³ Szakály, F.: *Veszthely az út porában. Gritti Magyarországon 1529–1534*. Budapest, Helikon Kiadó 1986, S. 43 f.

⁴ Káldy-Nagy, J.: Suleimans Angriff auf Europa. *Acta orientalia*, 28, 1974, S. 176–183; Turetschek, Ch.: *Die Türkenpolitik Ferdinands I. von 1529 bis 1532*. Wien, Verlag Notring 1968.

⁵ Hummelberger, W.: *Wiens erste Belagerung durch die Türken 1529*. Wien 1976 als auch der Katalog der Ausstellung im Historischen Museum der Stadt Wien: *Die erste Türkenbelagerung*. Wien 1979.

⁶ Rátkoš, P.: Die Slowakei während der osmanischen Expansion der Jahre 1526–1532 (Der erste osmanische Feldzug in die Slowakei vom Jahr 1530). In: *Actes du I^{er} Congrès international d'AIESEE. T. III*. Sofia 1969, S. 737–752.

lungen zwischen den beiden ungarischen Königen, eine Anerkennung des status quo in Ungarn und die Bestätigung der Vasallenstellung Ferdinands dem Sultan gegenüber brachte.⁷

Die Friedensbestimmungen wurden in Ungarn zwar nicht eingehalten, der Sultan griff jedoch im Land nicht militärisch ein, nichteinmal dann, als sich beide Seiten einigten und am 24. Februar 1538 in Großwardein einen Waffenstillstand vereinbarten, mit dem sie sich gegenseitig anerkannten und sich Ungarn auf Grund des status quo untereinander aufteilten. Da Zápolya keinen Nachkommen hatte, sollte nach seinem Tode sein Gebiet an Ferdinand fallen, der die Erben des Siebenbürger Herzogen seinerseits mit Besitztümern in Teilen des Habsburger Reiches entschädigen sollte.⁸

Obwohl wir heute bereits wissen, daß der Sultan in Ungarn eine solche Regelung nicht zugelassen hätte, trug auch die Gruppe um Georg Utešenić-Martinuzzi nach der Geburt eines Sohnes und bald darauf auch nach dem Tode von Johann von Zápolya (22. Juli 1540) zur Annullierung dieser Verträge bei. Schriftlich ersuchten sie den Sultan um dessen Zustimmung und ließen Johann Sigismund (von den Türken Stefan genannt) als zweimonatiges Kind zum ungarischen König krönen. Dann entsandten sie eine Botschaft an der Spitze mit S. Werböczy nach Istanbul mit der Forderung, der Sultan möge die Nachfolgerrechte Johann Sigismunds anerkennen und sie durchsetzen.⁹ Auf Grund der Verträge von Großwardein versuchte Ferdinand von Habsburg sich jener Burgen zu bemächtigen, die Zápolyas Anhänger festhielten, vor allem jedoch die Ofener Burg, wo sich Zápolyas Witwe und sein Sohn aufhielten. Auch den erfahrenen Söldnern befehligt von Leonhard Vels ist es nicht gelungen, Ofen zu erobern.¹⁰ Ein weiterer Versuch im Jahre 1541 Ofen mit einem noch größeren Heer einzunehmen, wurde durch das Eingreifen des Sultans vereitelt. Die osmanische Armee trieb die Belagerer auseinander und bemächtigte sich am 29. August 1541 selbst der Ofener Burg. Nachher erklärte der Sultan, er schließe Ofen dem dar ül-islam (dem islamischen Gebiet) an und unternahm Maßnahmen, die eine feste Verankerung der osmanischen Macht auf ungarischem Boden bedeuteten. Die Versuche von Ferdinands Gesandten, die kurz nach dem Fall der Festung hier erschienen waren, um einen neuen Friedensabschluß zu vereinbaren blieben erfolglos. Der Sultan legte Ferdinand folgende Forderungen vor: „Wenn Du Zuneigung und Freundschaft mit meiner hohen Pforte wünschst, so zahle für die Orte

⁷ Turetschek, Ch.: op. cit., S. 349 f.

⁸ Goos, R.: *Österreichische Staatsverträge. Fürstentum Siebenbürgen (1526–1690)*. Wien 1911, S. 69–86.

⁹ Schaendlinger, A. C.: *Die Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Vasallen, Militärbeamte, Beamte und Richter aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien*. Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1986, S. 3–4.

¹⁰ Sugár, I.: *A budai vár és ostromai*. Budapest, Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó 1979, S. 69 f.

in Ungarn, die (schon) vordem in Deiner Hand und Nutznießung gewesen sind, an meine hohe Schwelle Tribut und nimm Deine Hand von den Festungen Istolni Belgrad, Visegrád und Tata, die diesmal eingenommen wurden, und gib (sie) und Üsturgom, eine der zu Budin gehörenden Festungen, an meine glückhafte Schwelle zurück, so daß dann zwischen uns Freundschaft und Zuneigung bestehen möge.“¹¹

Obwohl die osmanische Armee vorher dreimal in Ungarn eingezogen war oder ihre Abteile Zápolya zu Hilfe kamen, kehrten diese immer heim und nur in äußersten Fällen blieben im Lande zahlenmäßig kleine Garnisonen zurück. Mit der Besetzung der Ofener Burg durch eine starke osmanische Garnison änderte sich die Lage im Lande grundsätzlich. Die erwähnten Bedingungen, die der Sultan vorlegte, wurden von Ferdinand zurückgewiesen und er erwog die Möglichkeiten, die osmanische Garnison zu verdrängen. Zahlreiche Abteile trafen Vorbereitungen nicht nur in Ungarn, sondern auch in den deutschen Ländern, wo man unter dem Eindruck des Verlustes von Ofen für das Heer große Summen abstimmt. Kaiser Karl V. warnte Ferdinand sogar, ein so großes Heer sei für die Zurückeroberung Ofens gar nicht notwendig, da eine große Armee langsam sei, und Krankheiten als auch Disziplinlosigkeit in ihr schnell um sich griffen.¹² Diese Warnung bewahrheitete sich, weil die Armee mit Joachim II. Kurfürst von Brandenburg an der Spitze begann Pest und nicht Ofen erst Ende September 1542 zu belagern. Dank der Unfähigkeit des Oberbefehlshabers und vor allem der mangelnden Kampflust des deutschen Heeres endete die erfolglose Belagerung nach knapp einem Monat. Diese erfolglose Aktion trug bestimmt dazu bei, daß sich der Sultan entschlossen hat einen neuen Feldzug nach Ungarn zu unternehmen. Von unserem Standpunkt aus ist es von Bedeutung, daß sich am 10. August 1543 nach einer kurzen Belagerung die vorwiegend aus spanischen, deutschen und italienischen Söldnern zusammengesetzte Garnison von Gran (Esztergom) ergeben hat.¹³ Der Sitz des ungarischen Primas wurde zum Zentrum eines osmanischen Sandschaks.

Wurde die Grundlage der osmanischen Macht in Ungarn durch die Feldzüge des Sultans gelegt, so sorgten für ihre weitere Ausbreitung in nicht geringem Maß die örtlichen Würdenträger – die Ofener Statthalter und Sandschakbegs. In erster Reihe ging es ihnen um die Sicherung der Verteidigungszone um das Zentrum, indem sie Burgen und befestigte Städte besetzten. So eroberte der Ofener Statthalter Jah-japaschazade Mehmed Pascha im Jahre 1544 Visegrád und Nógrád, die die Verbin-

¹¹ Schaendlinger, A. C.: *Die Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II. aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien*. Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1983, S. 6.

¹² Sutter-Fichtner, P.: *Ferdinand I. Wider Türkennot und Glaubensspaltung*. Graz-Wien-Köln, Verlag Styria 1986, S. 136.

¹³ Szantó, I.: *Küzdelem a török terjeszkedés ellen Magyarországon. Az 1551–52. évi várháborúk*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1985, S. 23–24.

dung und Versorgung zwischen Ofen und dem erst kürzlich eroberten Gran stören könnten. Die weitere Ausweitung der osmanischen Macht war ein Ergebnis der Aktivität des Ofener Statthalters Hadim Ali Pascha, der nach und nach das heldenhaft von Juraj Šucho (Szondy) verteidigte Drégely, sowie Šahy, Gyarmat, Szécsény das zum Zentrum eines weiteren Sandschaks wurde, und Hollókő eroberte.¹⁴ Dank der Initiative des Sandschakbegs von Sičen Hamza, bemächtigten sich zwei Jahre später die osmanischen Abteile mit List der Burg Fiľakovo.¹⁵

Dieser kurze Überblick osmanischer Erfolge in Ungarn bot nur zeitliche und geographische Angaben des Fortgangs, wie auch Namen der Befehlshaber, deren Verdienst sie waren. Die Besetzung strategisch bedeutender Festungen und das Postieren starker Garnisonen kann man natürlich nur als die militärische Besetzung eines Teils des Landes, in keinem Fall jedoch als einen wirtschaftlichen Anschluß an das Osmanische Reich betrachten. Den Profit aus dem neu besetzten Landesteil ergaben Plünderungen, von denen alle Feldzüge des Sultans als auch die Aktionen niedrigerer Würdenträger begleitet waren.¹⁶ Nach der Besetzung von Ofen und weiterer Festungen drangen sie tief ins Hinterland ein, plünderten Dörfer und verschleppten Menschen in Gefangenschaft, ja sie wagten es sogar Kleinstädte zu überfallen, die eine Garnison hatten.¹⁷ Schließlich war dies das wirksamste Mittel damit sich die Bevölkerung unterwarf und Steuerzahlungen zusagte.

Im allgemeinen wird die Ansicht des türkischen Historikers H. İnalcık¹⁸ über einen allmählichen Eroberungszug akzeptiert, derzufolge sich die Osmanen bemühten dem militärisch besiegten Land eine Vasallenstellung aufzuzwingen und nachher, durch Eliminierung der heimischen Dynastie und der herrschenden Schicht, das Gebiet einer direkten Kontrolle zu unterwerfen. Traf dies in einem großen Maß für den Balkan, als auch für die Länder Asiens zu, war das Problem in Ungarn, auf dem Kaukasus und in Nordafrika komplizierter. Von dem Gebiet des ungarischen Königreichs wurde zum Vasallenfürstentum Siebenbürgen, der mittlere Teil des Landes geriet unter die direkte Kontrolle der osmanischen Macht und der Rest, unter der Kontrolle der Habsburger bildete das sog. königliche Ungarn. Trotz der erwähnten Feldzüge des Sultans (außer der bereits angeführten noch jener im Jahre

¹⁴ Szantó, I.: op. cit., S. 138 f.

¹⁵ Tejnil, E.: K dejinám tureckého panstva na Slovensku I. Dejiny fiľakovského sandžaku (Zur Geschichte der türkischen Herrschaft in der Slowakei I. Die Geschichte des Sandschaks Fiľakovo). In: Historické štúdie, 4, 1958, S. 181–194.

¹⁶ 1504–1566 *Memoria rerum* (Verancsics-évkönyv). Hrsg. von J. Bessenyei. Budapest, Magyar Helikon 1981 und Istvánffy, M.: *Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXIV*. Tyrnaviae 1712 bringen zahlreiche Fälle.

¹⁷ *Memoria rerum*, S. 93. Istvánffy, M.: op. cit., S. XIX.

¹⁸ Ottoman Methods of Conquest. *Studia islamica*, 2, 1954, S. 103–129. Reprint İnalcık, H.: *The Ottoman Empire: Conquest, Organization and Economy*. Collected Studies. London, Variorum Reprints 1978.

1566) sowie weiterer Feldzüge osmanischer Wesire und Statthalter (1544, 1551–52, 1554–55, 1565), als auch der alljährlich sich wiederholender Überfälle der Sandshakbeks, ist es den Osmanen nicht gelungen sich des gesamten Ungarischen Königreichs zu bemächtigen. Nahm Ferdinand I. die Bedingungen des Sultans im Jahre 1541 nicht an, so mußte er, gemäß den Friedensbestimmungen von Istanbul aus dem Jahre 1547 für die Überreste des Königreichs ein Jahrestribut von 30.000 Gulden entrichten.¹⁹

Trotz aller Mängel bildete sich auf dem Gebiet des königlichen Ungarns eine antitürkische Abwehr, die dann den Charakter der osmanischen Macht nicht nur im Grenzgebiet, sondern landesweit prägte. Das Grenzgebiet spielte seit der Entstehung des osmanischen Staates eine bedeutende Rolle bei der Ausweitung dessen Grenzen. Als Grenzgebiet muß freilich das gesamte Ofener Vilayet betrachtet werden, und zwar aus mehreren Gründen. Ungarn wurde nicht kolonisiert wie große Teile des Balkans, und auch die moslemische Bevölkerung, die ins Land kam, wurde größtenteils von Bosniern gebildet. Diese gingen jedoch in der heimischen Bevölkerung nie ganz auf, sondern lebten im Grunde getrennt in den Städten oder in Grenzfestungen.²⁰ Das Land erlangte nie den Charakter der zentralen Gebiete des Osmanischen Reichs, ob wir dies vom demographischen oder vom kulturellen Gesichtspunkt her betrachten.²¹

Die nördliche Grenze, oder besser gesagt die Grenzzone²² wurde im Jahrzehnt 1543–54 geschaffen und überdauerte mit kleineren Abänderungen fünfzig Jahre,

¹⁹ Schaendlinger, A. C.: *Die Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Karl V., Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II.* ... S. 17: „Für jene Orte, Festungen, Kastelle und Untertanenschaft des Landes Ungarn, die nicht unter muslimische Verwaltung gelangten und sich de facto in christlichen Händen befinden, für diese sollen als Gegenleistung Abgaben von 30 000 Goldstücken jährlich an meinen großherrlichen Schatz gelangen.“

²⁰ Káldy-Nagy, Gy.: *Macaristan'da 16. Yüzyılda Türk Yönetimi*. In: *Studia Turco-Hungarica I*. Budapest 1974, S. 23 f. Hegyi, K.: *Egy világbirodalom végvidéke*. Budapest, Gondolat 1976, S. 72 f.

²¹ Kreiser, K.: Über den „Kernraum“ des Osmanischen Reichs. In: *Die Türkei in Europa*. Beiträge des Südosteuropa-Arbeitskreises der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft zum IV. Internationalen Südosteuropa Kongreß des AIESEE. Hrsg. von K.-D. Grothusen. Göttingen 1979, S. 53–63. Siehe auch Sugár, P. F.: *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804*. Seattle and London, University of Washington Press 1977, S. 63 f.

²² Die Zonengrenze charakterisiert ein bewegliches, instabiles Gebiet unterschiedlicher Breite mit Grenzfestungen beiderseits. Dies entsprach gleichermaßen der islamischen Ideologie des „heiligen Krieges“ gegen die Ungläubigen (*gaza*) und letztlich auch den Garnisonen ungarischer Grenzburgen, die zu einem Instrument der Steuereinnahmen auf türkischem Gebiet wurden. Dies war jedoch nicht ausschließlich ein osmanisches Phänomen, weil in Osteuropa auch Rußland und weitere Staaten ihre Zonengrenzen hatten. Die Zonengrenze wurde Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts im Zusammenhang mit der Errichtung moderner nationaler Staaten durch feste oder ständige Grenzen ersetzt. Siehe Abou El-Haj, R. A.: *The Nature of the Ottoman State in the Later Part of the XVIIth Century*. In: *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen*. Wien, Verlag des Verbandes der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs 1985, S. 179–180 und McNeil, W.: *Europe's Steppe Frontier*. Chicago 1964.

bis zum Beginn des sog. Fünfzehnjährigen Krieges (1593). Bedeutende Festungen wie Gran (Esztergom), Nógrád, Szécsény und Filakovo wurden zu Zentren der Sandschaks, die die osmanische Verwaltung ein oder zwei Jahre nach der Besetzung dieser Burgen, d. h. in den Jahren 1545–46 (Estergon, Novigrad), bzw. 1553–55 (Sičen, Filek) errichtete.²³ Die Sandschaks waren nicht nur Zentren der militärischen Gewalt, sondern auch der Finanzverwaltung. Ihre Grenzen waren jedoch weder gegenüber dem königlichen Ungarn, noch untereinander bestimmt worden. So z. B. erließ am 15. April 1556 die Porta auf Grund des Schreibens des Sandschakbegs von Filakovo Hamza, eine Anordnung (*bujuruldu*), dem Konskribenten des Vilayets die Anweisung zu erteilen, die im Sandschak Filek Timaren besitzenden Sipahis mögen ihre Einkünfte aus dem Sandschak Sičen abtrennen und sie Filakovo anschließen.²⁴ Dies erwies sich anscheinend nicht so einfach, weil die Porta drei Jahre später (am 23. Dezember 1559 dem Sandschakbeg von Szèged, Derviş, der auch Konskribent einiger Sandschaks des Vilayet Ofen war, anordnete, die Grenzen der Sandschaks Filek, Novigrad und Sičen festzulegen.²⁵ Kurz darauf kam es auch zur Konskription der steuerpflichtigen Bevölkerung nach ihren Siedlungsorten (Städte, Dörfer und Öden). Die erste Konskription in Ungarn wurde von Halil Beg, aus der bekannten Familie Ćandarlı in den Jahren 1545–46 durchgeführt, darunter auch die der Sandschaks Estergon und Novigrad.²⁶ Die weiteren Sandschaks im Grenzgebiet zeichnete der bereits erwähnte Derviş Beg im Jahre 1559 auf, und zwar Sičen und Filek zum erstenmal, und wiederholt auch Novigrad.²⁷ Die neuen Einheiten der osmanischen Verwaltung respektierten im Prinzip die ehemaligen Einheiten der ungarischen Verwaltung – die Komitate, im Grenzgebiet gelang es jedoch nicht dies einzuhalten.²⁸ Der Sandschak Estergon dehnte sich auf dem Gebiet der Komitate Tekov, Komárno, Nitra, Hont und Esztergom aus, genauer gesagt die Dörfer und Städte dieser Komitate entrichteten ihm Steuer. Den Kern des Sandschaks Novigrad bildeten das Komitat Hont mit Teilen der Komitate Novohrad, Zvolen und Tekov. Obwohl der Sitz des Sandschaks Filek in Novohrad lag befanden sich die meisten, zum Sandschak gehörenden Gemeinden auf dem Gebiet von Gemer, teilweise auch auf dem Gebiet der Komitate Zvolen, Malohont, Borsod, Turňa und

²³ K á l d y - N a g y, Gy.: *A budai szandzsák 1559. évi összehírása*. Budapest, Pest megyei levéltár 1977, S. 22–23.

²⁴ Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Mühimme defterleri, No. 3, S. 227 (weiter nur BA, MD).

²⁵ BA, MD 10, S. 73.

²⁶ K á l d y - N a g y, Gy.: op. cit., S. 24.

²⁷ K á l d y - N a g y, J.: The Administration of the Şanjâq Registrations in Hungary. *Acta orientalia*, 21, 1968, Fasc. 2, S. 188. B a y e r l e, G.: *Ottoman Tributes in Hungary. According to Sixteenth Century Tapu Registers of Novigrad*. The Hague–Paris, Mouton 1973, S. 14–17.

²⁸ H a l a s i - K u n, T.: Ottoman Toponymic Data and Medieval Boundaries in Southeastern Hungary. In: *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi. War and Society in the Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary*. Eds. J. M. Bak and B. K. Király. Brooklyn 1982, S. 245.

Abov. Schließlich der kleinste Sandschak im nördlichen Grenzgebiet, Sičen, breitete sich auf den Gebieten der Komitate Novohrad, Zvolen und, der ersten Kon-
skription zufolge, auch Gemer aus.

Das Anwachsen der osmanischen Macht im südslowakischen Grenzgebiet können wir nur am Beispiel der Sandschaks Estergon, Novigrad und Sičen verfolgen. Eine ausführliche Konskription des Sandschaks Filek blieb nicht erhalten. Nach der Eroberung der Festung konzentrierte sich die Armee auf ihre Befestigung, oder im Falle einer großen Beschädigung auch auf den Wiederaufbau der Mauern und anderer Verteidigungseinrichtungen mit Hilfe einer Spezialgruppe der untertanen Bevölkerung (*dscherahor*).²⁹ Anfangs waren die Garnisonen der grenznahen Festungen sehr stark. Estergon hatte zur Zeit nach der Eroberung der Burg im Jahre 1543 2775 Soldaten unterschiedlicher Gattungen mit einem bedeutenden Anteil von Martalosen.³⁰ Novigrad hatte in den Jahren 1544–45 210–214 Soldaten,³¹ Sičen in den Jahren 1556–57 250 Mann³² und Filek zur selben Zeit 315 Mann³³ Besatzung. Etwas später (1558–59) hatte Novigrad 255, Estergon mit der Palanke am linken Donauufer Dschigerdelen Parkani (heute Štúrovo) zusammen 1458, Sičen 256 und Filek 323 Mann Besatzung.³⁴ In kleineren osmanischen Festungen an der nördlichen Grenze waren zu derselben Zeit folgende Zahlen zu verzeichnen: Diregel (Drégely-Palánka) 200, Sobotka (bei Rimavská Sobota) 24 und Hollókő 24 Mann.³⁵ Dies waren jedoch nur die von der Staatskasse erhaltenen Heere. Dazu müssen wir noch das Lehensheer, sowie die Gefolgschaft des Sandschakbegs und die Freiwilligen hinzuzählen.

In dieser fremden und unbekannten Umgebung mußte sich die osmanische Macht an ihre militärischen Vorteile stützen und wandte sich aus der Position der Stärke mit Aufrufen an Institutionen, Würdenträger des ungarischen Königreichs, Befehlshaber der Burgen, an Städte und Dörfer, sich zu unterwerfen und den Forderungen der neuen Herrschaften nachzukommen.³⁶ Anfangs waren die Kontakte zwischen

²⁹ Fodor, P.: The Way of a Seljuq Institution to Hungary: the Cerehör. AOH, 38, 1984, S. 389 f. MD 3, S. 233.

³⁰ Zahlreiche Verrechnungen der Solde blieben in der Nationalbibliothek, Wien erhalten (siehe Flügel, G.: *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der k.-k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien II*. Wien 1865) und wurden ins ungarische übersetzt von Velics, A.: *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek I–II*. Budapest 1886–1890. Die Verrechnung für die Garnison von Estergon Mxt. 566 – Velics, I, S. 20–21.

³¹ Mxt. 590 – Velics I, S. 43.

³² Mxt. 578 – Velics, I, S. 95.

³³ Mxt. 578 – Velics, I, S. 96.

³⁴ Mxt. 633 – Velics, II, S. 231–32.

³⁵ Mxt. 633 – Velics, II, S. 232.

³⁶ Bei der Abgeordnetenversammlung im Jahre 1546 wurde über das Schreiben des Ofener Statthal-
ters Jahjapaszchazade Mehmed Pascha verhandelt, in dem er den Komitaten Nitra, Hont, Tekov und

den beiden Seiten anscheinend minimal. Die heimische Bevölkerung gewährte einige Lebensmittelartikel und leistete verschiedene Dienste. Vor der Verfertigung der Steueraufzeichnungen war es nicht möglich gewesen die Pflichten der Dörfer und Städtchen festzulegen. Erst nach dem Verhören des Richters oder anderer vertrauenswürdiger Menschen über das Ausmaß der landwirtschaftlichen und anderer Produktion wurde die Höhe der Besteuerung schätzungsweise festgelegt (*ber vedschh-itahtmin*).³⁷ Deswegen finden wir in den Briefen osmanischer Würdenträger oft die Forderung, der Richter oder andere vertrauenswürdige Leute mögen in den Sitz des Sandschaks kommen. Diese Art der Registrierung blieb im Grunde bei entfernteren Dörfern auch weiterhin erhalten, weil der Konskribent es kaum wagte sich von der unmittelbaren Umgebung osmanischer Festungen zu entfernen, auch wenn er mit Sicherheit eine bewaffnete Begleitung hatte.

Die ungewöhnlich hohe Anzahl von Konskriptionen aus Ungarn widerspiegelt unter anderem auch die Veränderungen bei der Ausweitung der osmanischen Macht bis zum Schluß der siebziger Jahre des 16. Jahrhunderts. Während die erste Konskription (aus dem Jahre 1546) Esztergom als die Nahiye des Ofener Vilayets³⁸ anführt, hält sie doch an die 200 Siedlungen in der Umgebung von Gran, vor allem am linken Donauufer fest, führt die um ein Viertel Jahrhundert später aufgezeichnete Konskription aus dem Jahre 1750 bereits 470 Städte, Dörfer und Öden an.³⁹ Der Schandschak Novigrad, dessen erste Konskription nach Gy. Káldy-Nagy auch aus dem Jahre 1546 stammt,⁴⁰ hält 92 Siedlungen fest.⁴¹ Die spätere Aufzeichnung, wahrscheinlich aus den Jahren 1559–60, registriert 194 Siedlungen.⁴² Die von G. Bayerle herausgegebene Konskription aus dem Jahre 1570 evidiert 206 Siedlungen

Novohrad mit Feuer und Schwert drohte. Siehe Ma t u n á k, M.: *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí* (Das Leben und die Kämpfe im slowakisch-türkischen Grenzgebiet). Bratislava 1983, S. 33; In diesem Werk sowie im Buch *Z dejín slobodného a hlavného banského mesta Kremnice* (Aus der Geschichte der freien und Hauptbergstadt Kremnica), Kremnica 1928, sind in slowakischer Übersetzung viele Briefe osmanischer Würdenträger im Grenzgebiet an Städte und Dörfer der mittelslowakischen Bergregion veröffentlicht. Zu diesem Fragen ist wertvoll auch die Edition des Briefwechsels der Ofener Statthalter mit den Habsburger Herrschern, Großfürsten und anderen Würdenträgern.

³⁷ K á l d y - N a g y, Gy.: *A budai szandzsák...*, S. 24.

³⁸ Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Tapu-Tahrir Defterleri, No. 449, S. 209–311 nahiye-i Estergon. Ein weiteres Exemplar, nach K á l d y - N a g y, Gy.: *Kanuni devri Budin tahrir defterleri (1546–1562)*. Ankara 1971, S. 5 ausgefertigt 1546, ist BA, TD 410, die Konskription von Gran ist auf S. 206–310.

³⁹ F e k e t e, L.: *Az esztergomi szandzsák 1570. évi adóösszeírása*. Budapest 1943 – bringt die Einleitung und die ungarische Übersetzung der detaillierten Konskription des Esztergomer Sandschaks auf Grund eines in der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek in Berlin erhaltenen Exemplars.

⁴⁰ *A budai szandzsák*, S. 24.

⁴¹ Ba, TD No. 981. Die Konskription befindet sich auf den Seiten 1–39. Das zweite Exemplar befindet sich in Paris, Bibl. Nat. Mss. Turc. Supplement No. 76.

⁴² BA, TD. No. 485, 76 S.

(8 Städte, 166 Dörfer und 32 Öden),⁴³ wobei die weitere, von A. Velics herausgegebene und im Jahre 1579 ausgefertigte Konskription schon 238 Siedlungen anführt.⁴⁴ Die erste Konskription des Szécsényer Sandschaks aus den Jahren 1554–55 hält 206 Lokalitäten fest,⁴⁵ zu dieser Zeit hatte sie jedoch als Aufgabe die Unterwerfung von Gemer und der Gebiete weiter ostwärts, die dann später der neue Sandschak Filakovo übernahm.

Die nächste Konskription aus den Jahren 1559–60 führt jedoch eine kleinere Anzahl von Siedlungen als die frühere an.⁴⁶ Aus dem Sandschak Filakovo, der einige Male aufgezeichnet wurde, blieb leider keine genaue Konskription erhalten. Die erhaltene übersichtliche Aufzeichnung (*defter-i ıdschmal*) aus dem Jahre 969 H. (1561–62) hält 406 Siedlungen fest.⁴⁷ Aus heimischen Quellen wissen wir jedoch, daß sich viele Dörfer noch später unterworfen haben.⁴⁸

Konskriptionen wurden angefertigt, um eine Übersicht über die Quellen der Einkünfte der Staatskasse zu gewinnen. Die festgehaltenen Angaben über die Familienoberhäupter und die erwachsenen Männer, die Anzahl der Häuser, der Zahler der staatlichen Steuer (*dschizje*), der Landscherrensteuer (*ispendsche*), der Zehnten aus der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion und diverser anderer Zahlungen drücken lediglich die Ansprüche der osmanischen Finanzverwaltung aus, nicht aber die Verrechnung der eingebrachten Einkünfte, womit sie Urbaren ähneln.⁴⁹ Die osmanischen Würdenträger forderten jedoch auch weitere Einkommensquellen, wie z. B. einen Anteil an den kirchlichen Zehnten.⁵⁰

Auf Grund einer detaillierten Konskription wurden dann die Einnahmen als Besitztümer des Sultans aufgeteilt (*hassaha-i hazret-i padişah-i alemphenah* oder *havass-*

⁴³ *Ottoman Tributes in Hungary. According to Sixteenth Century Tapu Registers of Novigrad.* The Hague–Paris 1973. BA, TD No. 507, 80 S.

⁴⁴ *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek I.* Budapest 1886, S. 266–322 88 S. hinterlegt im Széchényi Könyvtár, Fol. tur. 3.

⁴⁵ BA, TD No. 293, 83 Sm., S. 1–3 Gesetzbuch (kanunname).

⁴⁶ BA, TD No. 318, S. 186–243.

⁴⁷ BA, TD No. 335, S. 66–116. Näheres siehe K o p č a n, V.: *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska v tureckých archívoch* (Quellen zur Geschichte der Slowakei in türkischen Archiven). Slovenská archivistika, 23, 1988, 1. S. 191.

⁴⁸ Siehe *Urbárium conscriptum in arce Krazna Hwrka ... 2. die Marci (!) anno Domini 1570.* In: *Urbáre feudálnych panstiev na Slovensku I.* (XVI. Jahrhundert). Hrsg. R. Marsina – M. Kušík. Bratislava, VSAV 1959, S. 245–260.

⁴⁹ K á l d y - N a g y, J.: *The Administration of the Sanjâq Registration in Hungary.* AOH, 21, Fasc. 2. S. 181 f.

⁵⁰ B u c k o, V.: *Reformné hnutie v arcibiskupstve ostrihomskom do roku 1564* (Die Reformbewegung im Esztergomer Erzbistum bis zum Jahre 1564). Bratislava 1939, S. 209. Der Esztergomer Sandschakbeg Mahmed am 10. Mai 1559 an die Pfarrer, die auf dem Gebiet des Sandschaks wohnen „mandamus vobis firmiter ut intra sex dierum spacia census ecclesiârum ad tres annos preteritos statim et sine mora huc Strigonium importare...“

i hümajun), die die Staatskasse in Ofen verwaltete, und die Einnahmen daraus in Kassebüchern (*hazine defterleri*) evidierte.⁵¹ Der Rest wurde unter den Sandschakbeg, die Würdenträger der Provinzarmee (*miralaj*) und der größte Teil unter die Sipahis, die provinzielle Lehenkavallerie oder aber anstatt des Soldes unter die Festungsgarnisonen aufgeteilt. Im Unterschied zu Ofen und den südlichen Sandschaks waren im Grenzgebiet die Einnahmen aus den Besitztümern des Sultans kleiner und schrumpften mit der Zeit noch mehr. So gehörte z. B. aus den Einnahmen des Sandschaks Novigrad im Jahre 1559 dem Ärar lediglich 19 % und zwanzig Jahre später (1579) nur noch 3,3 %.⁵² In den Jahren 1561–62 bildeten die Besitztümer des Sultans bis zu 33 % der Gesamteinnahme des Sandschaks,⁵³ spätere Konskriptionen blieben jedoch nicht erhalten. Dem *icmal-defter* aus dem Jahre 1579 zufolge flossen in die Kasse des Ärars nur die Einnahmen von den Häfen und den Furten an der Donau.⁵⁴

Wer waren diese Sipahis an den nördlichen Grenzen der osmanischen Macht in Ungarn? Ein Großteil der Timarioten stammte aus Bosnien oder aus anderen Ländern des Balkans,⁵⁵ die sich bei der Eroberung Ungarns ausgezeichnet hatten, viele darunter waren frische Muslime, sporadisch sind jedoch auch Kurden, Tscherkessen und Zugehörige der übrigen zahlreichen Nationen des Osmanischen Reichs anzutreffen. Das Grenzgebiet bedeutete ein Risiko, bot aber auch Gelegenheit sich auszuzeichnen und sich die Einkünfte aus dem Timar zu erhöhen. Auch die Angehörigen der besoldeten Abteile konnten hier eher zu einem Timar kommen als im Landesinneren.⁵⁶ Die dortigen Begs bemühten sich zu einem Timar für ihre Söhne

⁵¹ *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda (Ofen) 1550–1580. Türkischer Text.* Hrsg. L. Fekete – Gy. Káldy-Nagy. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1962, S. 383–699 für die Jahre 965–967 H./1558–1560.

⁵² Bayerle, G.: *Ottoman Tributes*, S. 95–110. Hegyi, K.: Zdaňovanie okrajových oblastí Turkami dobytých území v 17. storočí. Referát na čs.-maď. komisii historikov (Die Besteuerung der von den Türken eroberten Grenzgebiete im 17. Jahrhundert. Referat anlässlich der tschechoslowakisch-ungarischen Historikerkommission). Komárno 1983.

⁵³ BA, TD 335, S. 66–116.

⁵⁴ Hegyi, K.: Zit. Referat, S. 1. G. Dávid, der die Einnahmen aus den sultanischen chass im Sandschak Simontornya (*A Simontornyai szandzsák a 16. században*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1982, S. 76 f.) eingehend analysierte, weist auf die niedrigen Anteile des Ärars an den Einnahmen, aber auch auf ein nicht so deutliches Herabsinken zum Jahre 1580 hin. J. Matuz (*Die Steuerkonskription des Sandschaks Stuhlweißenburg aus den Jahren 1563 bis 1565* unter Mitwirkung von I. Hunyadi. Bamberg, Verlag aku 1986, S. 31) bemerkt ebenfalls, daß „der Anteil der Staatsdomänen nicht sehr hoch war“.

⁵⁵ İnalcık, H.: *Ottoman Methods of Conquest*, S. 119.

⁵⁶ Solcher Fälle gab es viele und aus verschiedenen Armeegattungen. Der *dizdar* (Kommandant Adschem Divane von den Estergoner farisen (Reiter) erlangte für seine Dienste und aufopfernde Freundschaft am 27. 12. 1554 ein Timar. BA, MD 1, S. 258.

Ein weiterer Aga der farisen, Burakoğlu Hüsejin, bekam auf Grund des Vorschlags des Sandschaks Filakovo ebenfalls ein Timar am 20. April 1556. BA, MD 2, S. 61. Auf Grund des Vorschlags des Ofener

und Verwandten zu kommen, und ebenso gingen auch Würdenträger aus Ofen vor.⁵⁷ Das Leben im Grenzgebiet war trotz der angeführten Vorteile nicht angenehm, eher das Gegenteil traf zu, deshalb trachteten viele Sipahis ein Ersatztimar im balkanischen Hinterland zu erlangen oder zumindest in Ofen oder in Pest zu leben.⁵⁸

Das Problem lag auch darin, daß viele der in den Konskriptionen eingetragenen Dörfer hinter der Verteidigungslinie der ungarischen Grenzbürgen lagen, und deren Garnisonen es den Untertanen verwehrten ihren Verpflichtungen der osmanischen Macht, konkret den Sipahis gegenüber nachzukommen. Auf osmanischer Seite gab es keinerlei Evidenz dieser Einnahmen, deshalb können wir etwas über die Höhe der entrichteten Steuern und die Zahlungsweise nur sporadisch den heimischen Quellen entnehmen. Wir kennen nämlich viele Fälle der Bestrafung steuerpflichtiger Dörfer durch osmanische Abteile dafür, daß sie längere Zeit lang ihre

Statthalters bekam Mustafa, der Aga der beßlis auf der Burg Sičen ein Timar für seine Heldentaten bei der Belagerung von Filakovo. BA, MD 2, S. 176.

Für die erwiesene Tapferkeit beim Zusammenstoß mit dem Feind wurde ein Timar Bajram b. Mehmed, von den Farisen der Festung Filakovo erteilt. 14. Oktober 1560 BA, MD 4, S. 144.

Divane Bali von den Esztergomer Reitern mit einem Tagessold von 8 akçe zeichnete sich vor der Burg Neuhäusel aus, wofür er ein Berat über 1/3 des Timars bekam. Dann zeichnete er sich im Kampf gegen die Soldaten aus Komárno aus, die plünderten und dank seines Eingreifens vertrieben werden konnten. Deshalb bekam er den hohen Befehl, auf Grund dessen er eine Solderhöhung um 1000 akçe erhalten sollte. Da er dies jedoch nicht bekam und sich an die Porta wandte, wurde ihm ein freigewordener Timar und eine Erhöhung überreicht. 19. April 1572. K a r á c s o n, I.: *Török-magyar oklevéltár (1566–1789)*. Budapest 1914, Nr. 117.

Die häufige Bezeichnung der Sipahis mit dem Wort „divane“ erklärte J. Matuz (*Die Steuerkonskription des Sandschaks Stuhlweißenburg*, S. 35–36) „daß es sich dabei um ehemalige deli handelt, die während ihrer Bewährung im Felde eine Kleinpfünde zugewiesen bekommen haben... Auf alle Fälle dürfte es sich hierbei um Personen handeln, die dem Kreis der ‚Berechtigten‘ zugehören, wenngleich sie freilich – da sie keine Söhne von Pfründeninhabern waren – zu den ‚Außenseitern‘ gehörten“.

⁵⁷ Bayezid, ein Vetter des Sandschakbeg von Filakovo Hamza Beg erlangte ein Timar. 22. Oktober 1556. BA, MD 2, S. 175. Vier Tage später (am 26. Oktober) bekam auf Grund des Vorschlags des Ofener Statthalters ein Timar Hasan, ein Verwandter des Sandschakbegs von Sičen, Mehmed, für seine Tapferkeit bei Filek. BA, MD 2, S. 176.

Die Erteilung der Timare für die Söhne des ehemaligen Sandschakbeg von Filek, Velidschan Beg, Abdülaziz und Mustafa vom 13. August 1560. BA, MD 4, S. 117. Auf Grund des Vorschlags des Sandschakbeg von Filek, Arslan, wurde Sefer, dem Sohn des ehemaligen Ofener Statthalters, Rüstem Pascha das Einkommen um 2000 akçe zusätzlich zu den 9000 a. timar im Sandschak Filek erhöht. K a r á c s o n, I.: *Török-magyar oklevéltár*, No. 44, S. 58–59.

⁵⁸ Im Jahre 1561 bekam Jusuf Hoş, ein Mann des verstorbenen Ofener Statthalters Ali Pascha ein Ersatztimar in Rumelien für das timar im Sandschak Novigrad. BA, MD 4, S. 179.

Auf Grund der Anzeige des Sandschakbegs von Filek, daß einige Sipahis und Zaims aus der Festung Filakovo sich Leute aus ihren Gütern auswählten und diese in die Konskription in Pest oder in Ofen eintragen ließen, und sich selbst dort ansiedelten und keinerlei Dienst an der Grenze verrichteten, ordnete die Porta (am 13. April 1565) dem Ofener Statthalter an, die Sipahis sollen ihren Dienst in dem Sandschak ausüben, in den sie entsandt wurden. BA, MD 6, S. 473.

Steuern nicht bezahlen.⁵⁹ Über die Probleme geben auch zahlreiche Briefe osmanischer Würdenträger an Städte und Dörfer Auskunft, in denen sie vehement die Unterwerfung, die Steuerentrichtung und verschiedene Dienstleistungen fordern, wobei sie mit Drohungen nicht sparten.⁶⁰

Die Eintragungen entfernterer Dörfer in den osmanischen Konskriptionen bieten sehr kurze und ungenaue Informationen, beginnend mit dem Namen der Siedlung, der oft derart entstellt ist, daß er eine Identifizierung nicht ermöglicht, bis zu derer großen Zerstreuung und die Enklaven im Hinterland des königlichen Ungarns, bis zu den Namen erwachsener Personen.

Als Gy. Káldy-Nagy vor einer gewissen Zeit den Quellenwert der osmanischen Konskriptionen für die demographische Statistik untersuchte, kam er auf Grund des Vergleichs der Namen der Zehnten-Konskriptionen der Komitate Komárno und Tekov aus dem Jahre 1569 mit den Familienoberhäuptern der detaillierten Konskription (*defter-i mufassal*) des Sandschaks Estergon aus dem Jahre 1570 zur Erkenntnis, daß die Zahl der Familienoberhäupter aus der osmanischen Konskription im Vergleich mit den Namen in der heimischen Konskription lediglich 70–80 % darstellt. Dabei verglich er die Konskriptionen der in der Nähe des Sitzes des Sandschaks liegenden Dörfer – Jur nad Hronom, Šárovce, Bajč und Kürt (Dedinka).⁶¹ Vergleichen wir ähnliche Quellen in den von den Zentren der osmanischen Macht entfernteren Dörfern, so zeichnet die Konskription des Novigrader Sandschaks im Komitat Hont (Dekýš, Počúvadlo, Lišov, Čankov) und im Komitat Tekov (Podlužany) lediglich 5–10 % der wohlhabenderen Dorfbevölkerung auf.⁶² Es ist bekannt, daß die osmanischen Konskriptionen alle Schichten der Bevölkerung registrieren, die Besitzlosen – Diener, Landstreicher, usw. – inbegriffen, warum aber sollten gerade diese Menschen eine kollektive Garantie dafür sein, daß das Dorf seine Steuern bezahlt? Es scheint, daß der Dorfvorstand die osmanische Verwaltung auf diese Weise hinterging, in der Bemühung so wenig wie nur möglich zu zahlen. Auf Grund solcher Angaben hat es oft den Anschein, daß nicht das ganze Dorf, sondern nur ein Teil davon den Türken unterworfen war. Im Falle, daß das Dorf mehreren Guts-

⁵⁹ Über die Ausplünderung des Dorfes Dolná Mičina im Jahre 1590 wissen wir mehr, da dieses zum Gegenstand eines Briefwechsels zwischen dem Ofener Statthalter und dem Großfürsten Ernst wurde. Siehe Bayerle, G.: *Ottoman Diplomacy in Hungary. Letters from the Pashas of Buda 1590–1593*. Bloomington 1972, S. 60.

⁶⁰ Viele davon veröffentlicht in seinen Arbeiten M. Matunák: *Z dejín slobodného a hlavného banského mesta Kremnice* (Aus der Geschichte der freien und Hauptbergstadt Kremnica). Kremnica 1928; *Víglašský zámok*. Žvolen 1960 (Das Schloß Víglaš) und *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí* (Das Leben und die Kämpfe im slowakisch-türkischen Grenzgebiet). Bratislava, Tatran 1983.

⁶¹ Bevölkerungsstatistischer Quellenwert der Ğizye-Defter und der Tahrir-Defter. AOH, II, 1960, S. 268.

⁶² Koppán, V.: *Hontianska stolica v čase osmanskej expanzie* (Das Komitat Hont zur Zeit der osmanischen Expansion). Slovenský národopis, 25, 1977, 1, S. 145–152.

herren gehörte, haben sich nur die Untertanen eines oder zweier Gutsherren unterworfen. Wegen mangelnder Quellen ist dies für das 16. Jahrhundert leider nicht genau festzustellen.

Ein großer Teil der vom Zentrum der osmanischen Macht entfernten Dörfern zahlte ihre Steuern an die Türken mit einem Jahrespauschale. Obwohl die Kon-skriptionen auch die Anzahl der Häuser anführen, dieser Grundeinheit der osmani-schen Besteuerung (insofern diese nicht als unbewohnt bezeichnet waren – *hali ez raiyyet*), entspricht ihnen auch die oben eingetragene Anzahl der Familienober-häupter, es widerspiegelt sich jedoch nicht in der Höhe der pauschal bestimmten Steuer.

All dies weist darauf hin, daß die Unterjochung, bzw. die Sich-Unterwerfung der Dörfer bald zu einer Angelegenheit der Absprache zwischen den Dorfvorstehern und dem zuständigen Sipahi oder einem höheren Würdenträger wurde. Osmani-scherseits erforderte dies eine persönliche Initiative, einen häufigeren Kontakt mit den Untertanen, des öfteren auch durch Vermittlung einer dritten Person, Mahnun-gen, Drohungen usw. Deshalb überließ die osmanische Finanzverwaltung nach ei-ner kurzen Zeit schlechter Erfahrungen mit der Steuerentrichtung diese Einnahmen Leuten, die ihren Dienst im Grenzgebiet verrichteten.⁶³

Obwohl die Steuerverpflichtungen der Untertanen im Grenzgebiet durch eine jährliche Pauschalabgabe ausgedrückt ist, gaben eine ausgesprochen finanzielle Rente lediglich jene Dörfer ab, die etliche . . . zig-Kilometer vom Zentrum des Sand-schaks entfernt lagen. Die umliegenden Dörfer, auch wenn sie ihre Pflichten nicht in Zehnten und Abgaben geteilt ausgeschrieben hatten, brachten ihre Naturalabga-ben direkt den Sipahis.⁶⁴

Interessant war auch die technische Seite der Einnahme und Zahlung der Steu-ern. Dies erfahren wir jedoch aus osmanischen Quellen nur selten. Aus dem Verhör des *pribék* (Überläufer zur türkischen Seite) Galko aus Zvolenská Slatina, festge-nommen von der Besatzung von Sása im Jahre 1579, wissen wir, daß der türkische Vajda (vojvoda) aus Modrý Kameň den Zehnten aus dem Weizen in den nahelie-genden Dörfern persönlich einnahm.⁶⁵ In diesen Fragen konnte sich die osmanische Verwaltung natürlich nicht nur auf eigene Kräfte verlassen und mußte hierzu für die Gewährung bestimmter Vorteile Leute aus den unterworfenen Dörfern benüt-zen. Der bereits erwähnte vojvoda aus Modrý Kameň hatte in der nahe liegenden Ortschaft Horné Struháre einen gewissen Gallo, der einerseits den Türken Nach-richten militärischen Charakters überbrachte, andererseits dafür sorgte, daß die Be-

⁶³ He g y i, K.: A Török birodalom magyarországi jövedelemforrásai. Századok, 117, 1983, S. 346–381.

⁶⁴ Urbarium ad arcem Haynaczkeo (1589). In: *Urbáre feudálnych panstiev I*. Bratislava 1959, S. 434–439.

⁶⁵ M a t u n á k, M.: *Víglašský zámok*, S. 97.

wohner die vorgeschriebenen Steuern auch rechtzeitig und in voller Höhe entrichteten, was er auch kontrollierte. Es war dies ein sog. türkischer Richter (*iudex Turcicus*), den die Quellen auch anderenorts erwähnen. Im Komitat Hont wird im Jahre 1564 ein türkischer Richter in Veľké Krškany⁶⁶ und im Jahre 1570 in Krásnohorská Dlhá Lúka und in Betliar (beide Ortschaften im Komitat Gemer)⁶⁷ erwähnt.

Wenn schon über die aus der Annahme der osmanischen Herrschaft sich ergebenden Steuern und der Weise derer Eintreibung die Rede ist, müssen wenigstens kurz auch die von der osmanischen Verwaltung geforderten Geschenke erwähnt werden. Üblicherweise forderten die Würdenträger im Grenzgebiet Geschenke dann, wenn sie den Besuch des Ofener Statthalters bekamen. Die Geschenke bestanden meist aus Nahrungsmitteln – Geflügel, Butter, Honig, aber auch Geld und Tuchwaren.⁶⁸ Im Vergleich zum darauffolgenden Jahrhundert, als diese Geschenke zur Regel wurden, war das nicht viel.

Es ist bekannt, daß die osmanische Macht in Ungarn im Grenzgebiet die Macht der ungarischen Feudalherren nicht beeinträchtigte. So entstand das System eines Kondominiums – einer gemeinsamen Herrschaft, besser gesagt einer doppelten Besteuerung durch ungarische Grundherren und osmanische Sipahis.⁶⁹ Keine der beiden Seiten hatte genügend Kräfte um die Ansprüche des Gegners zu eliminieren und ihre eigene Macht durchzusetzen. So wurde eine breite Grenzzone von der Donau die Linie des Váh-Flusses entlang bis Sered, dann ostwärts zu Nitra, unterhalb des Tribeč- und des Pohronský-Inovec-Gebirge zum Fluß Hron, das Hron-Tal entlang bis zu den Quellen des Flusses, weiter dann das Flußtal des Hnilec entlang bis zur Grenze der Komitate Spiš und Abov geschaffen. Diese Zone stellte einen großen Teil des fruchtbaren Gebietes der heutigen Slowakei dar. Auf diesem Gebiet entstand die antitürkische Abwehr – ein System befestigter Städte und Burgen, das ein Eindringen der osmanischen Abteile und Plünderungen verhindern sollte. Burgen mit einer zahlreicheren Besatzung übten die Rolle der Steuereintreiber aus, so für die staatlichen Steuer als auch für die Kirchenzehnten und die Renten der Grundherren. Da es in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts nicht gelungen war die natürliche Grenze an der Donau und Ipel zu halten, mußte eine neue Verteidigungslinie von Komárno über Nové Zámky, Šurany, Komjatice, Nitra, Hronský Beňadik, Levice, Pukanec, Krupina, Víglaš, Zvolen, Muráň bis Košice errichtet werden, was

⁶⁶ MOL, Budapest, E 158 Conscriptiones portarum. Comitatus Hontensis A 2638, p. 150.

⁶⁷ Urbarium conscriptum in arce Krazna Hwrka (1570). In: *Urbáre feudálnych panstiev I*, S. 250, 256.

⁶⁸ Matunák, M.: *Život a boje...*, S. 169, 186.

⁶⁹ Außer der älteren Arbeit Salamon, F.: *Magyarország a török hódítás korában*. Pest 1864 (deutsche Übersetzung G. Jurányi 1887) befaßten sich mit diesem Problem eingehender Hegyi, K.: *Le condominium hungaro-ottoman dans les eyalets hongroises*. In: *Actes du I^{er} Congrès international d'AIESEE, T. III*. Sofia 1969, S. 593–603 und in jüngster Zeit F. Szakály in der Monographie *Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1981.

einen großen finanziellen Aufwand und viel unbezahlte Arbeit der Untertanen erforderte.⁷⁰ Obwohl die Einstellung zur Besteuerung beiderseits grundsätzlich unterschiedlich war, wurde die Frage der Doppelbesteuerung auch in die Friedensverträge aufgenommen. Das System des Kondominiums befriedigte keine der beiden Seiten, weil es eine Störung der Bestimmungen der Friedensverträge ohne größere Folgen ermöglichte, was sich im gesamten Grenzgebiet durch destruktive Folgen äußerte. Und da die osmanische Macht diese ungünstige Situation nicht rückgängig machen konnte, mußte sie sich mit ihr abfinden, ohne Rücksicht darauf, daß dies dem islamischen Religionsgesetz widersprach. Durch die Steuererhöhungen seit dem Ende der siebziger Jahre des 16. Jahrhunderts untergrub sich die osmanische Macht im Grunde ihre Positionen, da es zu Aufständen kam und zu Bemühungen sich der Zahlungen zu entledigen, sich den Konskriptionen zu widersetzen usw.

Zu Beginn der neunziger Jahre spitzten sich die Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Rivalen in Ungarn zu. Die Eskalierung des Kleinkriegs so an der nördlichen Grenze als auch im Westen und in Kroatien hätte die osmanische Macht festigen sollen. Gleichzeitig jedoch aktivierten sich die Garnisonen der königlichen Burgen und verwehrten den Türken die Steuereinnahme, die ein Mittel des Lebensunterhalts ob schon der Beamten, der Sipahis oder der militärischen Garnisonen darstellten. Die erfolglosen Versuche das Problem der wirtschaftlichen Sicherung osmanischer Heere im Grenzgebiet zu lösen, war eine der Hauptursachen des langen Krieges. Ihre Gründe zur Konfrontation, die den Rahmen der türkischen Frage in Ungarn überschritten, hatten auch die Habsburger und das Papsttum. Der Kampf um Ungarn im sog. Fünfzehnjährigen Krieg (1593–1606), der beiden Seiten riesige Ausgaben abverlangte, entschied nicht über das weitere Schicksal des Landes, es gab keinen Sieger und daher auch keinen Besiegten. Beide Seiten jedoch gewannen neue politische und militärische Erfahrungen.

⁷⁰ K o p č a n, V. – K r a j č o v i č o v á, K.: *Slovensko v tieni polmesiaca* (Die Slowakei im Schatten des Halbmonds). Martin, Osveta 1983, S. 116–176. N a g y, L.: *A végvári dicsőség nyomában*. Budapest, Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó 1978, S. 41 f.

MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK AND THE IDEA OF A MODERN TURKISH NATIONAL STATE AND REPUBLIC¹

NADĀ ZIMOŤÁ, Prague

There existed only one possible decision, and this decision was to establish a new Turkish state based on national sovereignty and unconditionally independent.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 1919

De toutes les gloires, Atatürk a atteint la plus grande, celle du Renouveau National.

Charles de Gaulle, 1968

The rise and foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 is connected with the activity of the leader of the Turkish national liberation movement. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. This article, therefore, attempts to reconsider his efforts to establish a new Turkish state – based on new principles and a new praxis of government – from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. Simultaneously, attention is paid to the development of both the Turkish national consciousness and a new type of political thinking during the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. The three objectives are closely related; the two latter trends had prepared the ground not only for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's concept of a new Turkish national and republican state, but also for the materialization of his ideas.

The decision to separate the office of Caliph from the office of Sultan and to abolish the latter in 1922 meant a radical departure from the then existing Ottoman-Turkish state's political structure and tradition. The next conscious step in this direction came on 29 October of the following year, when Turkey declared its political independence as a republic. However, the republican form of government had already been implicit in a series of measures implemented by Mustafa Kemal during the national liberation revolution.² Thus the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 did not, virtually, come as a surprise.

"The modern word *jumhūriyat* . . .," Bernard Lewis wrote, "first appears in Turkey, the first Islamic country to encounter the problems, ideas, and institutions of the modern world and to seek and find new words to describe them. . . . *Jumhūriyat* was first used in 19th century Turkish as an abstract noun denoting a principle of belief, and meaning republicanism. In its first appearance in the Turkish dictionary

¹ This is a modified and extended version of a paper submitted to the 6th International Congress on Turcology held in Istanbul from 19 to 25 September 1988.

² K a r a l, E. Z.: *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi (1918–1960)*. Istanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1960, pp. 129–130; S h a b a n o v, F. Sh.: *O kemalistikh printsipakh formirovaniya natsionalnoi gosudarstvennosti v Turtsii*. In: *Turtsiya. Istoriya. Ekonomika. Sbornik statei*. Moscow, Nauka 1978, pp. 127–131.

it is defined as 'the principle of government by the public – the mass'.³ Nevertheless, though the idea of a republic in Turkey was not a new one, the formation of the modern Turkish national state was far from simple.⁴ The purpose of this article, therefore, is to attempt a reconsideration of some of the available evidence bearing on the arduous and protracted process and practices of the formation of Turkey's new republican state.

One possible line of such a reconsideration is through an analysis of the process during which the Turks reached the stage of a national consciousness, as well as of a new type of political thinking. In analysing this process, or at least some of its most important aspects, we must always bear in mind that the Turks – "despite the survival of the Turkish language and the existence of what was in fact, though not in theory, a Turkish state"⁵ – had identified themselves mainly as Muslims and subjects of the Ottoman state and dynasty. Hence, they had to go through the long and complicated process of breaking with the social, cultural, and political traditions of the past, and of social adjustment to new allegiances.

Anatolian Turkey, as the nucleus of the new republican Turkish state, had constituted the central core of the old Ottoman Empire. Already in the 18th century this Empire reached a point at which the internal stresses and foreign dangers were threatening its existence. At that time, the first attempts were made at finding new ways to alleviate its military-political weakness and backwardness; these attempts, which were oriented mainly toward the modernization of the Ottoman armed forces, proved to be ineffective. In the 19th century, after the initial impact of the French Revolution on the Islamic Ottoman state and society, the Ottoman Empire was thrust into the changes with which its traditional political and socio-economic order was not equipped to cope.

The idea of nationhood had emerged in the heterogeneous milieu of the Empire with its intermingled populations whose basis of identity was mainly religion rather than language or ethnic origin. Thus, the cohesion of that Empire's various ethnic-religious groups was affected by these changes, and the old type of allegiances were undermined by new patterns of identity. Within the Islamic Ottoman Empire the dominant group of populations were the Turks, who finally began to seek their own separate national identity at the end of the 19th century.

³ Lewis, B.: *The Concept of an Islamic Republic*. Die Welt des Islams, N. S., 4, 1956, p. 3.

⁴ See e.g. my contribution: *The Formative Roots of the Turkish Republican State*. In: *Rapports, co-rapports, communications tchécoslovaques pour le IV^e congrès de l'Association internationale d'études du sud-est européen*. Prague, L'Institut de l'Histoire tchécoslovaque et mondiale de l'Académie Tchèque des Sciences 1979, pp. 487–494; and my more detailed study on this subject: *Vznik tureckého republikánského státu* (The Origin of the Turkish Republican State). Československý časopis historický, XXXI, 1983, 5, pp. 674–688.

⁵ Lewis, B.: *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. London, New York, Toronto, Oxford University Press 1961, p. 2.

The development of the Turkish national consciousness cannot be characterized as a mere quantitative growth of one single quality. It grew out of the roots of both Ottomanism and the religious adherence to a universal Islamic identity. The influence of Abdülhamidian Pan-Islamism was in conflict not only with that of the non-Turkish national movements in the Empire, but also with the Turkish population's own national sentiments. It was under this pressure and in opposition to it that, at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, the Turkish people's national consciousness began to emerge and increase.⁶

Similarly, a long period of development was needed to produce not only a new type of political thinking, but also new ideas on the praxis of government in Ottoman Turkey at that time. The efforts of the liberal Ottoman reformers to give the Ottoman Empire the form and structure of a modern state had manifested themselves in the first attempts, during the first half of the 19th century, to imitate and adopt certain European administrative practices, as well as European laws and a European type of judiciary. The culmination of these efforts was the promulgation of the first Ottoman Constitution in 1876. This Constitution was partly inspired by the liberal, monarchical Belgian Constitution of 1831 and partly – perhaps more so⁷ – by the conservative Prussian one of 1850, which reserved ultimate authority to the monarch. However, this Constitution and the first Ottoman parliament – convened in 1877 and dissolved the next year – failed to work, and in the course of their breakdown they led to the Sultan's personal rule, despotism and stagnation.

According to Yuri A. Petrosyan, "The short existence of the constitution and of the activities of the parliament indicate their premature emergence in the Ottoman Empire of the period..."⁸ Similarly Bernard Lewis shows that the Belgian Constitution, which was the result of the long historical development of that country, when "adapted into Turkish, was inevitably irrelevant, unrelated to Turkish conditions, and ultimately unworkable".⁹ Although the experience with a parliament and constitutional monarchy was only a short-lived one, both concepts became the symbols of the political modernization of Turkey, and their emergence was an important prerequisite for the state's further progressive development.

⁶ See my contribution: *On the Character and Ideas of the Kemalist Movement*. Archív orientální, 45, 1977, pp. 100–101.

⁷ J ä s c h k e, G.: *Auf dem Wege zur Türkischen Republik. Ein Beitrag zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Türkei*. Die Welt des Islams, N. S., 5, 1958, p. 206.

⁸ P e t r o s y a n, I. E.: *On the Motive Forces of the Reformist and Constitutionalist Movement in the Ottoman Empire* (Some social transformation processes). In: *Économie et sociétés dans l'empire ottomane. (Fin du XVIII^e – Début du XX^e siècle)*. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (1^{er} – 5 juillet 1980). Publié par Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont et Paul Dumont. Paris, Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 1983, p. 23.

⁹ L e w i s, B.: *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, p. 356.

The Constitution of 1876 – which had been tacitly suspended after the dissolution of the parliament in 1878 – was not restored until 1908, when the Young Turks' Revolution broke out. Though that revolution can be said to have been the first Turkish bourgeois revolution,¹⁰ its main goal was not yet the creation of a Turkish national state. Feroz Ahmad notes that the Young Turks "had the alternative of either destroying the old institutions and sources of power and creating new ones; or maintaining the existing institutions and exploiting them on behalf of their movement. Lacking the will to follow the first course they naturally turned to the second."¹¹ We can say that the Young Turks were interested in ensuring the survival of the Ottoman Empire in a constitutional form, although during the last stages of their rule, they themselves resorted to the autocratic policies, which they had criticized when assuming power.

At first, the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, following its defeat in World War I, did not seem to expose the Sultanate and Caliphate to any danger. However, as the victorious Allies began to implement their plans to break up the very existence of the Turkish state, the Turks launched a large-scale struggle to save their homeland. Simultaneously, the Turkish public began to hear ever more of Mustafa Kemal. During the war, Kemal had distinguished himself as the Turkish commander in the successful defence of the Dardanelles and in the final battles on the Syrian front. For half a year after the Mudros Armistice of 30 October 1918, he remained inactive in Istanbul. In the spring of 1919, he was sent to Samsun with instructions to put down the disorders in that area. At the same time, he set about the task of acquainting himself with the conditions prevailing in that part of Anatolia and getting into touch with the local resistance groups. It was in this context that the stage was set for the emergence of Mustafa Kemal as the leader of the national liberation forces and movement.

Thus the second line to be followed in our brief reconsideration of the new republican Turkey's formation is through the development of this process. In the spring and summer of 1919, Mustafa Kemal began to organize the resistance movement. In the days following his landing in Samsun on 19 May 1919, he convened the Erzurum and Sivas Congresses. On 23 April 1920, he opened the Grand National Assembly, and hence he embarked upon a series of efforts to establish a new Turkish state, the centre of which was to be Ankara.

The political unification of the Kemalist movement went through a number of gradual and mutually interwoven stages and Kemal's participation in it, as well as the formulation of the fundamental aims of this movement, assumed various forms.

¹⁰ Miller, A. F.: *Burzhuaznaya revolyutsiya 1908 g. v Turtsii*. Sovetskoe vostokovedenie, 6, 1955, p. 29.

¹¹ Ahmad, F.: *The Young Turks. The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908–1914*. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1969, p. 164.

It may be said that the achievements of the Erzurum and Sivas Congresses, as well as those of the Grand National Assembly, greatly advanced the idea of the promotion of a new political order in Turkey. In his opening speech to this Assembly (24 April 1920), Mustafa Kemal actually submitted a proposal for the establishment of a new state based on new foundations.¹²

At that time, the Ottoman Empire was in fact a mere fiction. However, as Mustafa Kemal was attempting to prevent a split in the nationwide front of the liberation struggle, he did not fully reveal his ideas and opinions on this subject. Orienting his policies towards his immediate tasks, he made use of such powerful symbols as the Sultanate and the Caliphate as tactical rallying points for his long-range strategic political efforts.

Simultaneously, although the convoking of the Assembly in Ankara after the dissolution of the last Ottoman parliament in 1920 was actually a revolutionary act, Mustafa Kemal sought to maintain some sort of legal continuity; following the occupation of Istanbul in 1920, the Sultan was considered to be a prisoner of the Allies. The duties of the dissolved parliament were taken over by the new Assembly in Ankara, which consisted partly of parliamentary deputies from Istanbul and partly of the representatives who had been elected from various parts of Turkey. That new Assembly adopted a large number of resolutions and laws intended to make sure that the emerging Turkish state would be built on entirely new principles.

On 20 January 1921, the Grand National Assembly passed the Law on Fundamental Organizations (Teşkilâtı Esasiye Kanunu), which in effect represented the provisional Constitution of the new Turkey. Its main stipulations can be summarized as follows: the exercise of sovereign power was to be the prerogative of the nation; the executive power and legislative authority were to be concentrated in the Grand National Assembly which was to be the sole rightful representative of the nation and people; the Turkish state (Türkiye Devleti) was to be administered by the Grand National Assembly and its government was to be called the "Government of the Grand National Assembly".¹³

One of the most striking features of that document is that the expression *Türkiye Devleti* was officially used for the first time as the name of the country. Thus far, even though the final collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1919 marked the collapse of Ottomanism as a viable concept of cohesion, the Turks had not yet thought of defining themselves as "the Turkish people". Even the National Pact of 1920, a programme which foresaw the integrity of the territory within the armistice lines inhabited by the Ottoman Muslim majority, did not yet speak of the Turks as such.

¹² Cf. Mustafa Kemal's speech concerning the principles of the new government's policy. In: *Bugünün Diliyle Atatürk'ün Söylevleri*. Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi 1968, pp. 65–68.

¹³ Atatürk, M. K.: *Nutuk*. Cilt: II. 1920–1927. İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1967, p. 562.

After the Turkish military victory in the Anatolian war, the question of the country's future form of government became a fundamental issue. In view of the imminent Peace Conference at Lausanne, the difficulty arose of who should represent Turkey at the peace negotiations. Invitations were sent both to the Sultan's government and to the Grand National Assembly in Ankara. Mustafa Kemal acted promptly: he proposed to the Grand National Assembly the separation of the Sultanate from the Caliphate and the abolition of the former. At the end of a day-long debate he achieved one of his most decisive victories: on 1 November 1922, the Grand National Assembly adopted the resolution abolishing the Sultanate. Henceforth the Caliphate alone was to be conferred on a new Caliph elected by the Grand National Assembly and the new Caliph was to remain a purely spiritual dignitary of Islam.

Nevertheless the debates and controversies over the Caliphate continued. Some *hocas* – the learned Muslim clerics, who were deputies in the Grand National Assembly – did not agree with this interpretation of the Caliph's status. On the other hand, the Islamist modernists such as Rasih Efendi, a hoca and deputy of the Grand National Assembly, or Aġaoġlu Ahmed, supported the principles of the Kemalist revolution on the basis of Islamic precepts. Thus, according to Halil İnalçık, "Aġaoġlu Ahmed, referring to the Islamic sources, *hadith* and *siyar* and recognized authorities of Islamic sciences, said that the Prophet himself made a clear distinction between worldly affairs and religion, and that, in early Islam, under the first four rightly guided Caliphs, between 632 and 661 A. D., the Caliphate was elective and the affairs of the Islamic community were taken care of by consultative bodies as in a republican government and that a republican government conforms best to the spirit of Islam."¹⁴ Furthermore, Halil İnalçık emphasizes the fact that later Mustafa Kemal used these same religious arguments to defend national sovereignty, as embodied in the Grand National Assembly, against those whose allegiance seemed to be oriented toward the Caliphate, with the Caliph as both the head of state and a dignitary with political responsibility.¹⁵

The question of Caliphate further complicated the internal political contradiction between the conservatives, who were supporters of the Sultanate and Caliphate, and Mustafa Kemal's adherents. The early opposition to Mustafa Kemal had already begun to form in 1921. It was not until the end of the following year that the opposition known as the "Second Group" began to rally its forces within the First National Assembly. At that time, objections to the departure from the existing political structure were raised by a number of conservatives. It is interesting to note that some of them were the closest associates of Mustafa Kemal, while still remain-

¹⁴ İnalçık, H.: *The Caliphate and Atatürk's İnkilâb*. Belleten, XLXI, 1982, 182, p. 355.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 356–359.

ning loyal to the Sultanate and Caliphate. Some scholars argue that a far more important issue in connection with the crystalizing of an opposition to Mustafa Kemal was the latter's presumed intention of taking over all power for himself.¹⁶

During this period, Turkey's general public was still sensitive about the issue of the Sultanate. The point was well described by the Turkish journalist Falih Rıfkı Atay who wrote – when explaining the usage of the word 'republic' at that time: "Republic was a dangerous word. Nobody dared either to utter it, or to retain it in his memory. All hocas and conservative deputies were over-cautious upon hearing it, and they used to say: Oh, God forbid that we proclaim a republic..."¹⁷ Nevertheless, it was the discredit that had fallen on the Sultanate in its last days and its role as an instrument of a foreign power that finally gave the Republicans the much-needed support of public opinion.

It was not until the following year that the transition from the period of the Government of the Grand National Assembly to a definitive republican form of government was brought about. Though hotly contested, at first, this effort was finally successful, even without any need for drawing up a new Constitution; certain articles of the provisional Constitution of 1921 were simply amended.¹⁸ The most important of these amendments was the one stating that the Turkish state was to become a republic.¹⁹

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's concept of a new state was developed "not on an abstract plane", as Metin Heper had recently pointed out,²⁰ rather it evolved from pragmatic reactions to a concrete situation. This new Turkish state was created amidst the throes of the declining Ottoman Empire and in the midst of internal and external conflicts. However, it was the development of the Turkish national consciousness, as well as the penetration of new ideas on the praxis of government in previous decades, that prepared the ground for the materialization of Kemal's concept of the new Turkish state at the very moment when the rights of the Turkish nation were being seriously threatened by outside forces.

¹⁶ Finefrock, M. M.: *The "Second Group" in the First Turkish Grand National Assembly*. Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, III, Fall 1979, 1, pp. 6–12. Cf. also Kili, S.: *Kemalism*. Istanbul, School of Business Administration and Economics. Robert College 1969, pp. 27–30, and İnalçık, H.: op. cit., pp. 357–358.

¹⁷ Atay, F. R.: *Cumhuriyet*. In: *Atatürkçülük Nedir?* Ed. Yaşar Nabi. Istanbul, Varlık Yayınevi 1969, p. 9.

¹⁸ Kili, S.: op. cit., p. 26.

¹⁹ In other articles, it was established that the President – the Head of the State – should be elected by the Assembly from among its own members, and that it was possible for him to be re-elected. If he thought fit, he would have the right of presiding over the Assembly and the Council of Ministers. From among the Assembly's members he would choose a Prime Minister. Cf. Atatürk, M. K.: *Nutuk*. Cilt: II. 1920–1927. Istanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi 1967, pp. 803–804.

²⁰ Heper, M.: *The State Tradition in Turkey*. Northgate, Walkington, Beverley, North Humberside, The Eothen Press 1985, pp. 48–49.

In its programme, the Kemalist movement did not link the struggle for the survival of the modern Turkish nation and state with the destiny of the obsolete, worn-out Ottoman Empire. Thus, the new Turkish state had to be constructed upon entirely different principles. In a sense, it was only the beginning of a long process of transformation of the traditional institutions and ways of life when Turkey was declared a Republic on 29 October 1923.

THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN EGYPT (1952–1953)

KAROL SORBY, Bratislava

As soon as the first and essential acts of government had been carried out and the Free Officers' Executive sought to formulate a policy, the opinions clashed and a struggle for power began. The first round of this struggle took part between the junta and the old political parties. However, once this obstacle had been overcome a schism appeared within the ranks of the officers between those who wanted parliamentary government and those who opted for a different form of rule. This study gives an analysis of the political and social development in Egypt in the period from September 1952 until the abolition of monarchy and the proclamation of the Republic in June 1953.

The international situation which characterized the second stage of the universal crisis of capitalism, the altered socioeconomic and class-political relations that had given rise to the Egyptian revolution exercised a decisive influence on the nature, i.e. the socio-class content of the revolution, on its driving forces, its developmental line, its course, depth and breadth, the means and forms of the struggle and principally on its prospects. Although this revolution had its roots in the previous epoch, i.e. had to deal with tasks that were bourgeois by their economic content, nevertheless, by its driving forces, its developmental prospects, its character, it already was a typical expression of the new stage in the national liberation movement. The revolution in Egypt, however, was not merely an expression of this new stage, but it left a specific mark on this stage and imparted to it its own seal in that it meant a revolutionary breakthrough in the entire Arab world.

The contradictions out of which the Egyptian revolution grew and which it tried to resolve, as also the tasks deriving from them, had a varying class content. Some of them were by their nature still typical of bourgeois revolutions, others went beyond this framework, while a few were characteristic of national and democratic revolutions. This was a kneading-trough for contradictions proper to a feudal and a capitalist society, and for those engendered by the epoch of colonialism and imperialism. Consequently, it is urgent thoroughly to analyse the complex of these contradictions, to specify them, to uncover their class essence and determine which are paramount and typical of the given degree of development in the socio-economic and class-political conditions in Egypt, and which are subsidiary to the main event.

The essential socio-economic contradiction in Egypt was that between the advancing capitalist production forces in industry and the surviving feudal and semi-feudal production relations in agriculture. Then there were the contradictions between the growing and developing capitalist economic base and the semi-feudal political and

legal superstructure, made even sharper by the semi-colonial dependence of the country. In terms of socio-class dimensions these contradictions manifested themselves in contentions between the masses at large (workers, farmers, urban petty bourgeoisie and a democratically-minded intelligentsia) and the reactionary semi-feudal forces represented by the court and the big estate-owners.

The Agrarian Reform Law No. 178 of 9 September 1952 was the first serious attack upon the positions of the big bourgeoisie, especially its agrarian wing, whose privileges the army intended to reduce for the benefit of the industrial wing.¹ Even in the previous period, the landed wing of the bourgeoisie had refused to be reconverted, to invest in industry for its own profit. It reinforced itself in its apartment buildings, its bank accounts, its export of capital and its "pasha" style of living.²

Already in August 1952 the government ordered the political parties to publish their programmes and purge themselves of corrupt elements, but none of them really purged itself. So the military régime chose for attack the only party capable of resistance, and pointed out that evil elements remained in the leadership of the Wafd.³ But the negotiations between the military régime and the Wafd were merely a delaying manoeuvre; in reality, the Free Officers hardly intended to return even the smallest fraction of their power to the hands of Muṣṭafā an-Naḥḥās, whose public standing remained high and whom "al-Miṣrī" stubbornly defended step by step.⁴

The heavy blow against the landed bourgeoisie did not mean the liquidation of the whole class: true, the Revolution had the intention to free the farmer from the bondage of this class, but without disrupting the bourgeois economic system. The Revolution needed this system to ensure a smooth transition from a predominantly agrarian type of national economy to industrialization. The notions regarding the transition period held that private capital from agriculture would appear on the market and would then be directed towards investments into industry.⁵ The military régime did try to stimulate new investments outside agriculture. It was hoped that landowners affected by the reform would invest in the industrial sector the proceeds of legal land sales of acreage held over the ceiling, the bonds they received as compensation for land taken over by the State, and any other earnings they might have planned to invest in their prereform holdings. This was the first tentative step to make agriculture pay for industry, but the private sector did not follow the junta's lead.⁶

¹ Abdel-Malek, A.: *Egypt: Military Society*. New York, Vintage Books 1968, p. 71.

² Ibid., p. 87.

³ Little, T.: *Modern Egypt*. London, Ernest Benn Limited 1968, p. 115.

⁴ Abdel-Malek: op. cit., p. 91.

⁵ Ramaḍān, ʿAbdulʿazīm dr.: *As-sirāʿ al-ijtimāʿī wa-s-siyāsī fī Miṣr* (The Social and Political Struggle in Egypt). Cairo, 1989 (second edition), p. 95.

⁶ Waterbury, J.: *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat. The Political Economy of Two Regimes*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1983, p. 61.

In a situation where the majority of political parties took a negative stand towards limitation of land ownership, the leadership of the Revolution could not allow a return to bourgeois parliamentarism for it would have meant a gradual dismantling of the gains of the Revolution and a restitution of pre-revolutionary conditions. It is but natural that under these circumstances it decided to maintain power in its hands and to carry through the revolutionary rebuilding of the society.⁷ For that reason the Agrarian Reform Law decreed on 9 September, was accompanied with a series of other measures calculated to forestall opposition from the political parties and other groups against the army régime.⁸

On that same day, 9 September 1952, the "Parties Reorganization Law" was issued; according to it, every party, association or organized group engaged in politics had to inform the Minister of Interior, i.e. had to request for permission to carry out its activity, attaching to the request its statutes, a list of its founding members and sources of income. The Minister had the right of veto and could refuse the request as a whole within one month and, if necessary, could veto nomination of certain members, the issue would then be decided upon by the Administrative Court.⁹ The parties that submitted a request – they numbered sixteen altogether – had very similar programmes, whereby they again gave support to the view that they defended the interests of individuals and groups and not a different ideology or principles.

The period between the issue of the "Parties Reorganization Law" and the decree on the dissolution of political parties (18 January 1953) was one of open struggle between the political parties, especially that of the Wafd, and the revolutionary régime. The latter was represented in this struggle by Sulaymān Ḥāfiẓ who, as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior in Nagīb's government, disposed of sufficient means for enforcing the designs of the Revolution.¹⁰ The issue of the "Parties Reorganization Law" was a step towards restricting their political activity and their subordination to the power of the revolutionary régime represented by the Minister of Interior, but simultaneously it marked the beginning of an open confrontation of political reactionary forces with the revolutionary régime. And thus, the day before Nagīb's government took office (6 August 1952), scores of the most committed politicians, principally from the Wafd ranks, were rounded up.¹¹

⁷ Al-Bagh dā dī, 'Abdullaṭif Mudakkirāt 'Abdullaṭif al-Bagh dā dī (Memoirs of A. B.). Vol. I, Cairo, 1977, p. 70.

⁸ Vatikiotis, P. J.: *The History of Egypt*. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1985 (3rd edition), p. 377.

⁹ Ar-Rāfi'i, 'Abdurrahmān: *Tawra 23 yūliyū 1952* (The Revolution of 23 July 1952). Cairo, 1959, p. 54.

¹⁰ Ramaḍān: op. cit., p. 128.

¹¹ Hamrūsh, A.: *Qiṣṣat tawra 23 yūliyū* (The Story of the Revolution of 23 July). Vol. I. Beirut, 1977 (2nd ed.), p. 265.

In connection with the arrest of functionaries of various political parties, the most prominent among whom was the Secretary General of the Wafd, Fu'ād Sirāguddīn, the journalist Aḥmad Abū-l-Faṭḥ let out a warning outcry in the daily "al-Miṣrī" to the effect that parties had a patriotic obligation to hasten their reorganization and speedily to work out their programmes so that these would correspond to the needs and the demands of the people. If they failed to do this, the army would intervene again and the outcome would be a disbanding of political parties, something unacceptable to adherents of democracy.¹²

The decisive struggle broke out around the Wafd. The latter endeavoured not to provide the revolutionary régime with an excuse for doing away with parliamentary life and to adapt itself to the new conditions, especially in the question of the agrarian reform. In its new revised programme of 21 September 1952, the Wafd described itself as "a socialist, democratic political organization for the achievement of independence and unity, and a refusal of all types of a common defence".¹³ The Wafd's new programme is a vivid example of how far a liberal party was ready to go towards the working class in order to preserve its power. However, there is no gainsaying that the working class had obtained all its gains until then while the Wafd governments had been in power. Among other things, this programme promised the promulgation of a decree on social welfare of the working people, setting a minimum wage limit for workers (also agricultural), issuing a decree on workers' health insurance – and of their families, consent with a limitation on property holdings so as to promote social justice and a class rapprochement. It also promised a compulsory teaching of religion and prohibition of alcohol and gambling.¹⁴ As to foreign policy, the Wafd strove to direct interest of the revolutionary régime to putting an end to the occupation of Egypt and the Sudan, to unifying the two countries and to refusing all variants of a common defence. It also recommended support to African countries in their struggle for independence, to preserve an Arab character of Palestine and to strengthen the League of Arab States.¹⁵ This programme outlined a clear strategic line in both home and foreign policy, very progressive for the times, and in agreement with the demands of the masses at large. That is why the Wafd came under sharp criticism in Great Britain and Israel where they accused an-Naḥḥās of extremism.

However, all the efforts on the part of political parties, including also the Wafd, came too late and the revolutionary leadership saw no assurance in them of a real change of the way of thinking and attitude. The Wafd's imprisoned Secretary General Fu'ād Sirāguddīn, in an attempt to save the situation, vainly requested the party

¹² R a m a ḍ ā n: op. cit., p. 128.

¹³ Ḥ a m r ū s h: op. cit., p. 266.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 267.

¹⁵ R a m a ḍ ā n: op. cit., p. 130.

definitively and unconditionally to release him from his function, as published in the daily "al-Miṣrī", 9 September 1952, and when Muṣṭafā an-Naḥḥās, hearing about reservations towards his person, published a declaration that he had always worked, and always would work for the people and their interests,¹⁶ the days of bourgeois parliamentarism of the prerevolutionary type were counted. Seeing that the leader of a party traditionally was also its nerve centre, the blow against him meant a paralysing of the whole organism. That is why Sulaymān Ḥāfiẓ insisted on an-Naḥḥās being removed from the new organization of the Wafd on the pretext that the "Ministry has weighty reasons for vetoing his nomination before the State Council";¹⁷ on another occasion he declared that an-Naḥḥās "is a tumour on the nation's body which has to be removed".¹⁸ The leadership of the Wafd understood this signal and its consequences for the party and organized meetings all over Egypt. The outcome was a unanimous conclusion: "either Muṣṭafā an-Naḥḥās will be the Chairman of the Wafd, or there will be no Wafd at all."¹⁹ In this spirit they wrote the following statement to the Minister: "As the Wafd has come to the conviction that decision on its disruption and liquidation has been taken, the leadership of the party has unanimously agreed at its meeting on 27 September 1952 not to submit to the Minister of Interior information on its re-establishment", and this announcement was signed by all the members of the leadership.²⁰

In the first weeks following the Revolution, the Free Officers did not speak of a take-over of power, but of a return to the democratic constitutional régime. The Free Officers were not known among the people, and even General Nagīb, despite his bravery and his personal charm, did not belong among eminent personalities in the political life. Faced with the reluctance of political parties and the Muslim Brethren to take them seriously, the Free Officers' Executive concentrated its efforts on a campaign to secure public acceptance of its undisputed leadership. "On 29 September 1952 it sent its leader, General Muḥammad Naguib, on a tour of the Delta region, where Wafd influence had been strongest. Naguib's public appearances evoked enthusiastic response from the masses. This in itself was some evidence of the waning influence of the Wafd in the Delta."²¹

The Wafd leadership had assumed that through its decision it would force the government to concessions, but "official circles" merely expressed regret that the Wafd should have resorted to empty gestures in order to extort exceptions from

¹⁶ Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., p. 267.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 267.

¹⁸ Ramadān: op. cit., p. 132.

¹⁹ Al-Miṣrī, 23 September 1952. Taken over from Ramadān: op. cit., p. 132.

²⁰ Hamrūsh: op. cit., p. 267.

²¹ Vatikiotis, P. J.: *The Egyptian Army in Politics*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1961, p. 78.

a decree which they themselves had approved, for the sake of their Chairman and a few members.²² If the Wafd leadership had expected to win over the support of the masses for its "firm attitude and principled standpoints", it soon realized that it had overreached itself in its calculations and promptly retreated: already on 6 October it sent to the Minister of Interior notice of the setting up of a new party organization, in which several controversial names were missing and an-Nahḥās figured in it merely as a life-long honourable President.²³

The junta also faced other difficulties. Immediate, though temporary financial relief was secured when the Finance Minister, Dr. al-ʿUmārī, negotiated with Britain the release of five million pounds of Egyptian sterling balances in London. To help deal with the long-range economic problems of the country, a Permanent Council of National Production was organized on 2 October.²⁴ On 14 October the Regency Council collapsed. Colonel Rashshād Mahannā was removed and Bahīūd-dīn Barakāt resigned from the Council, leaving only Prince ʿAbdulmunʿim as Regent.

The Free Officers' Executive realized that a campaign to legitimize its authority and leadership with the people was urgent. Extreme right as well extreme left publications were suppressed when press censorship, lifted on 12 August 1952, was reimposed on 21 October of that year.²⁵ The army had to dissociate itself from previous nationalist agitation and political development led by discredited civilian politicians, it had to connect its movement somehow with the Islamic ethos but distinguish it from the Muslim Brethren and finally, it had to seek acceptance by the economically less privileged classes – workers, peasant farmers and students – by preaching a vision of an equitable society with higher standards of living for all. In short, the junta had the difficult task of asserting effectively that the army represented the nation.²⁶

Early in November 1952 the Minister of Interior made public his reservations towards several political parties. As regards the Wafd, he vetoed the proposal for an-Nahḥās's being an honourable President and ʿAbdulfattāḥ at-Ṭawīl's being a founding member. During the subsequent processes at the Administrative Court, a problem that came up saliently was that of the Constitution. Leaders of the Wafd did not seem to have realized that they in fact were face to face with the army that had deposed the King, did away with titles and enforced the decree on land reform; they kept on referring to the nation's mandate. In following up the dialectics of the universal and the particular, we see that the logic of the Revolution would have re-

²² R a m a ḍ ā n: op. cit., p. 133.

²³ Ibid., p. 134.

²⁴ Vatikiotis: *The History of Egypt*, p. 378.

²⁵ Abdel-Malek: op. cit., p. 91.

²⁶ Vatikiotis: *The Egyptian Army in Politics*, p. 78.

quired abrogation of the Constitution together with the King's expulsion. Concrete conditions, however, did not permit an implementation of this general principle, abrogation of the Constitution was delayed due to several causes, and this provided room to the traditional political parties for manoeuvring and appealing to various articles of the Constitution from the year 1923.²⁷

Not only the political parties but also the Muslim Brethren sought actively throughout the period October–November 1952, to embarrass the junta: the Brethren by using the strength of their organization to demand a share in power, and the parties, particularly the Wafd, by clamouring for an early return to parliamentary government. The junta could not at first deal with both of these threats to their position simultaneously.²⁸ In order to thwart any attempts by the Wafd to challenge legally the “Parties Reorganization Law” in the Council of State, the junta on 13 November made General Nagīb “Leader of the Revolution” by decree.²⁹ Consequently, the junta adopted a clever policy of appearing temporarily to respond to one, while effaced General Nagīb “Leader of the Revolution” by decree.²⁹ Consequently, the abolition of the parties inevitable. Most of the traditional parties “had crumbled at the first onslaught because there was neither widespread popular support, nor an effective organization to sustain them; many of the younger adherents drifted into cooperation with the new régime, while older groups settled back in grumbling protest”.³⁰

The Revolution made no distinction among the various parties or groups, whether they were on the right or the left side of the political spectrum and thus lumped together parties that had shared in the government under the monarchy together with those that had actively fought against colonialism and the reactionary elements. The only advantage of the Parties Reorganization Law was that the majority of them published for the first time their programmes in which they set out their aims and their social role.³¹

The threat from the Muslim Brethren was far more serious than that from the political parties. Thus, in early November, the government decreed a general amnesty for all political criminals. This, of course, affected mainly the Muslim Brethren whose members had been the foremost terrorists in the preceding seven to eight years.³² In a country run by a government which had still to retain good relations with the Brethren, politicians like the Saʿdist Party leader Ibrāhīm ʿAbdulhādī, who

²⁷ Ramaḍān: op. cit., p. 135.

²⁸ Vatikiotis: *The History of Egypt*, p. 378.

²⁹ Vatikiotis: *The Egyptian Army in Politics*, p. 82.

³⁰ Little: op. cit., p. 116.

³¹ Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., p. 271.

³² Vatikiotis: *The History of Egypt*, p. 378.

had courageously fought the terrorism of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1948, could have no future.³³

The countrywide campaign to secure popular support led to the creation of a Ministry of National Guidance on 10 November, headed by Fathī Riḍwān. The junta then moved consciously and deliberately towards the consolidation of its authority. After a reshuffle of Nagīb's Cabinet, the junta declared on 10 December the abolition of the 1923 Constitution.³⁴ By this act the revolutionary government took over all legislative and executive power for a temporary period, pending the making out of a new Constitution. One logical consequence of the abrogation of the Constitution was a postponement of elections originally fixed for February 1953. At that time the junta considered its position strong enough and began to doff the veil masking a revolutionary military dictatorship. Political adversaries had to be gradually removed. On 22 December, the junta set up a Corruption Tribunal (Maḥkamat al-ghadar) to try public servants and politicians who had allegedly abused the public trust to their own advantage. Several of those convicted were deprived of their political rights for a number of years.³⁵

The junta nevertheless felt compelled to make some gesture towards promulgating a new Constitution and on 13 January 1953 a fifty-member Commission to draft a new Constitution was appointed, headed by °Alī Māhir. The Commission, however, never had a chance to submit its report, let alone a draft Constitution, to the government.³⁶ The junta, now constituted as a Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), had proceeded to tighten its political control over the country. On 17 January, General Nagīb in his capacity as the Chief of the Armed Forces and head of the government announced the dissolution of the political parties and confiscation of all their funds. At the same time a three-year transitional period to prepare the way for the restoration of parliamentary government was declared: "so that we might set up a healthy democratic constitutional life".³⁷ The declaration carried also an open threat, that "as from today we shall not admit of any tampering with the country's interests or doing harm to them and we shall deal exceptionally severely with everyone standing in the way towards our goals which have been born out of your age-long pains".³⁸

To protect the Revolution, a legal enactment was passed on 18 January declaring all measures taken by the Leader of the Revolution for the protection of the régime to be decisions by a superior power which cannot be legally questioned for a period

³³ Little: op. cit., p. 116.

³⁴ Hamrūsh: op. cit., p. 273.

³⁵ Vatikiotis: *The History of Egypt*, p. 379.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 379.

³⁷ Hamrūsh: op. cit., p. 275.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 275.

of one year after the victory of the revolution.³⁹ The Constitution for a transition period of three years proclaimed on 10 February 1953 comprised no more than 11 articles, 7 of which carried general principles and the remaining 4 dealt with questions of power in the State. The highest power belonged to the Revolutionary Command Council which had the right to nominate and recall ministers. The government had both the legislative and executive power. Members of these two organs made up the Executive Committee responsible for an implementation of the State's policy.⁴⁰ That day, 10 February, may be considered as marking the termination of the first stage of the revolution, when the revolutionary régime definitively took all power into its hands and this in accordance with the laws and the Constitution.

The Revolutionary Command Council assumed that it would be capable adequately to fill in the vacuum that was formed following the abolition of the political parties, with a new unified organization. On 23 January – six months after the victory of the Revolution – a new party “The Liberation Rally” (Hay’at at-Tahrīr) was inaugurated. “The program of The Liberation Rally (published on 16 January) outlined the national aims of the Revolution in eleven points: (1) The complete and unconditional evacuation of foreign (British) troops from the Nile Valley; (2) Self-determination for the Sudan; (3) A new constitution, expressing the aspirations of the Egyptian people; (4) A social system within which all citizens have the right to be protected against the ravages of unemployment, disease and old age – that is, a welfare State; (5) An economic system designed to assure an equitable distribution of wealth, the total utilization of natural and human resources, and maximum investment of new capital; (6) A political system within which all citizens are equal before the law and in which freedom of speech, of assembly, of the press and of religion will be guaranteed within the limits of the law; (7) An educational system designed to develop the feeling of social responsibility by making youth conscious of its obligations as well as its rights, and of the paramount necessity that exists for the country to increase production in order to raise the standard of living; (8) Friendly relations with all the Arab states; (9) A regional force planned to reinforce the influence of the Arab League; (10) The establishment of friendly relations with all friendly States; (11) Firm adherence to the principles of the United Nations, emphasizing their application to subject peoples.”⁴¹

The Liberation Rally was launched mainly to serve as an organization for the mobilization of popular support for the new régime and as a vehicle through which the RCC could forestall political agitation by the Wafd, the Muslim Brethren, and other elements. Gamāl ‘Abdunnāṣir, who on 6 February became Secretary-General of

³⁹ Ramaḍān: op. cit., p. 137.

⁴⁰ A l - B i s h r ī, Tāriq: *Ad-Dīmuqrāṭīya wa nīzām 23 yūliyū 1952–1970* (Democracy and the Regime of 23 July 1952–1970). Beirut, 1987, p. 104.

⁴¹ A b d e l - M a l e k: op. cit., pp. 92–93.

the Rally declared, that "The Liberation Rally is not a political party, it is a means to organize popular strength for the reconstruction of the society on a sound new basis".⁴²

One of the conditions for a successful progress of a revolution is the shattering of the old State apparatus and its replacement by a new – a revolutionary one. This principle could not be implemented under the then prevailing Egyptian conditions for several reasons: (1) The Revolutionary Command which had come to power took no support from any political party out of which it could have set up the new State apparatus, and tackled the ensuing problems not in a scientific, but an empirical, practical way. (2) The Revolutionary Command was faced by enormous inner political tasks: the revolution had revived in the popular masses hopes that had for years been suppressed; these people expected a speedy solution to all the accumulated problems, but this was beyond its strength. (3) The Revolutionary Command, although it had set up these six principles, had no idea as to the magnitude of the problems ripe for solution, because originally it had not envisaged the possibility of its having to take over the management of State affairs. (4) The Revolutionary Command set as its primary goal to achieve independence and to do away with foreign occupation; consequently it had to reckon with threats from abroad. (5) The Revolutionary Command failed to make in time a detailed analysis of the inner political situation, and as a whole, failed to understand the essence of class warfare. It naively supposed that by removing the peaks of power – the King and the British – it would easily and perhaps automatically ensure the solution of the accumulated problems.⁴³

Essentially, it was solely after the issue of the decree on land reform that the Revolutionary command could begin to assess the relation of the various classes and strata of the society that had not been directly discredited through co-operation with the court and colonialism, towards the Revolution according to their attitude towards this decree. In this process counterrevolution began to be shaped, and the "revolutionary party" only matured in the struggle against it.⁴⁴ Hence, the new stage in the development of the Revolution required the setting up of such political and social organizations as would promote the realization of its aims. The need was felt of the existence of such a "popular" organization as would be capable of standing up to the agitation of the dissolved parties and other groups (e.g. the Muslim Brotherhood) and protect and advance the revolutionary gains. The initial proclamation

⁴² Vatikiotis: *The Egyptian Army in Politics*, p. 83.

⁴³ Anīs, Muḥammad – Ḥarrāz, as-Sayyid Ragab: *Tawra 23 yūliyū 1952 wa usūluhā at-tārīkhīya* (The Revolution of 23 July and its Historical Roots). Cairo, 1965, pp. 232–233.

⁴⁴ Marx, K.: *Třídnt boje ve Francii 1848–1850, Osmnáctý brumaire Ludvíka Bonaparta* (Class Struggles in France 1848–1850, The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte). Prague, Svoboda 1978, p. 37. (In Czech).

of the "Liberation Rally" implied that it was meant to be in its own way a progressive national front unifying all the strata of the Egyptian population to meet the aims it had set itself, the most important of which – as suggested by the name – was liberation of the country from occupational forces.⁴⁵

The programme of the "Liberation Rally" betrays that the Revolutionary Council did not even go as far in some points as the Wafd in its programme published on 21 September 1952.⁴⁶ In addition, certain measures of the RCC tending towards a revolutionary military dictatorship went to show that after the liquidation of political parties, representing the Egyptian big bourgeoisie, it was the turn of the left, the Communists in the first place (on 19 January 1953, a further batch of 102 persons, including 48 Communists were arrested).

Conflicts between the Revolutionary Command and the Egyptian left began to emerge after the incident at Kafr ad-Dawwār in August 1952. The weak points of the left were a lack of organized unity and tactical mistakes, and even leftist deviations. Although members of the organization HADITU, Col. Yūsuf Ṣaḍīq and Maj. Khālīd Muḥīuddīn, had firmly defended leftist standpoints inside the RCC, the Communist Party of Egypt (founded in 1950) levelled criticism at HADITU for failing to denounce the revolutionary performance of the army – as did many democratic parties and organizations abroad – as a reactionary fascist movement. The organization HADITU began to lose adherents who considered its patient and consiliatory attitude towards the Revolution as a serious fault and a rightist deviation.⁴⁷

In every revolution, in its progress, internal strifes and rifts take place and the Egyptian revolution was no exception. These splits may be ascribed to two factors: 1) The political views of the various Free Officers differed according to the family and social milieu from which they came. 2) The younger officers, coming for the most part from petty bourgeois environments had at their choice the same ideological movements and political organizations as the entire society: bourgeois liberalism, political Islam and scientific socialism.⁴⁸ Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir belonged to no party or organization outside that of the army and when he began to organize the Free Officers, he did not side with any ideological or political movement, but strove

⁴⁵ Anīs – Ḥarrāz: op. cit., p. 251.

⁴⁶ Ramaḍān: op. cit., p. 294.

⁴⁷ Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., p. 294.

⁴⁸ Marʿī, Sayyid: *Awraq siyāsiya* (Political Papers). Vol. II, Cairo, 1978 (2nd edition), p. 275. According to Marʿī there were several streams of thought inside the RCC in compliance with the ideological background of its members. Khālīd Muḥīuddīn and Yūsuf Ṣaḍīq represented the Marxist stream, Kamāluddīn Ḥusayn and Ḥusayn ash-Shāfiʿī represented the religious stream, Gamāl Sālim, Ṣalāḥ Sālim and ʿAbdullaṭīf al-Baghḍādī represented the patriotic-dictatorial stream, but Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir and Anwar as-Sādāt who represented the patriotic-liberal stream, always tried to overcome the often contradictory views and dissolve it within the RCC.

to utilize all the forces dedicated to the idea of the revolution on the basis of a unified patriotic front.

After the victory of the Revolution, the ideological differences among the Free Officers began to be manifest in the pursuit of various aims. The first disagreements erupted concerning the question of the revolutionary régime: whether it should be democracy or dictatorship. The thumping majority of the officers (ratio 7:1) proved to be for dictatorship, although G. °Abdunnāṣir himself was for democracy.⁴⁹ The Free Officers, in keeping with their political views, split into several groups, the strongest of which was that of G. °Abdunnāṣir. This group succeeded in enforcing its line and in overcoming various obstacles and difficulties. G. °Abdunnāṣir arrived at the conclusion that once the Agrarian Reform Law passed and political parties disbanded, the time was ripe for doing away with the entire old political structure and to replace it with such a political, social and economic structure that would shift Egypt into a higher stage of development.⁵⁰ As to the remaining groups inside the RCC, their attitudes changed for fear of a military dictatorship. They opined that it would be easier to carry through certain social changes under conditions of a bourgeois liberalism and they even approved the renewal of former political parties. Paradoxically, the left also supported liberalizing tendencies against dictatorial trends which were accepted by the majority of the RCC members, evidently under the impression of new possibilities that were opening to them in the new power apparatus. The attitudes of the leftist officers in the RCC, Col. Yūsuf Ṣadiq's and Maj. Khālīd Muḥīuddīn's, were extremely vague and inconsistent. Khālīd, on the one hand, defended political liberalism but simultaneously was against its being applied in economy, which is incompatible.⁵¹ The attitudes of these two officers deprived the Revolution of that strength which could have enriched it at a later period, for G. °Abdunnāṣir, in the interests of his line, was forced at the given stage, to get rid of both. It must be openly admitted here that the Liberation Rally succeeded in enlisting in its ranks but very few of such as had formerly been concerned with politics. The hand of the army was too evident in this organization and although the Revolution had shaken the foundations of the former régime, it did not allow the working people to set about promptly to carry out essential democratic changes in the society.⁵²

The Free Officers regarded the evacuation of British troops from Egypt as their first task. But by the end of 1952 they were compelled to moderate courses by the grave economic plight of the country, and fresh conflicts with Britain would have

⁴⁹ A l - B a g h d ā d ī: op. cit., p. 70.

⁵⁰ R a m a ḍ ā n: op. cit., pp. 154-155.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 156.

⁵² H a m r ū s h: op. cit., pp. 278-279.

led to new hardships and perhaps total bankruptcy. Both Nagīb and ʿAbdunnāṣir believed that a peaceful settlement with Britain would help them through their immediate economic difficulties and long-term effort to raise the living standards of the people.

This moderation was apparent when the military government approached the Sudan question after General Nagīb's mediation⁵³ among the several Sudanese political parties helped to unify them. The RCC had decided to ensure for the Sudanese the freedom of self-determination without foreign influence. Thus the Prime Minister Muḥammad Nagīb approached the Sudan problem on the basis (1) that the Condominium Agreements and the Treaty of 1936, unilaterally abrogated by the Wafdist Cabinet in 1951 were still in force until self-determination in the Sudan; (2) that these agreements entitled Egypt, like Britain, to take in fact an active part in helping the Sudanese to shape their own future; (3) that the real "Unity of the Valley" must be based on the recognition by the Sudanese that the Egyptian and Sudanese interest in the Nile waters were so closely interwoven that good understanding between the two countries was most essential to both.⁵⁴

In the past, Britain had appeared to be a champion of Sudanese independence on the apparent assumption that the Egyptian Government would continue to oppose it for fear that an independent Sudan, if under foreign influence, might endanger Egyptian interests. The British had frequently declared their support for self-government for the Sudanese. The change of approach in Cairo made it awkward for them not to live up to their promises. Finally after twenty-three plenary sessions, which began on 20 November 1952, Great Britain and Egypt reached accord, and an Agreement along the lines of the Egyptian proposals was signed on 12 February 1952 by General Nagīb and Sir Ralph Stevenson, the United Kingdom Ambassador.⁵⁵ On 12 February Mr. Eden announced the agreement in the House of Commons and described it as "a reasonable settlement of this question which has for long bedevilled our relations with Egypt and contributed so much uncertainty to the future of the Sudan itself".⁵⁶

January 1953 marked a certain breakthrough in the development of the Egyptian revolution, principally in the ranks of the army. Some officers, especially from the artillery, proposed that representatives of the various branches of the army in the RCC be appointed by ballot. The reason for their request was the scandals concern-

⁵³ F a b u n m i, L. A.: *The Sudan in Anglo-Egyptian Relations. A Case Study in Power Politics, 1800–1956*. London, Longmans 1960, p. 292.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 293.

⁵⁵ Agreement on Self-Government and Self-Determination for the Sudan: Britain and Egypt, February 1953. In: H u r e w i t z, J. C.: *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. A Documentary Record: 1914–1956*. Vol. II. Princeton, New Jersey, Van Nostrand Company, Inc. 1956, pp. 335–337.

⁵⁶ F a b u n m i: op. cit., p. 298.

ing two members of the RCC, but a positive stand to it was taken solely by Col. Yūsuf Ṣadiq. The artillery officers met with some members of the RCC and openly explained to them their attitude. The result, however, was not a dismissal of the two members of the RCC, but involved the arrest of 35 officers on 15 January 1953 on the basis of trumped up charges that they were preparing an attempt on the lives of the RCC members. These arrests were the first open split in the ranks of the army. A further uncommon feature was that they were escorted in their uniforms and their grades to a prison for foreigners, although it was customary for officers to be confined to their barracks until a verdict had been pronounced.⁵⁷ Evidently the RCC feared a repetition of Syrian incidents where military coups succeeded one another at brief intervals. As to the officers in question, they were not all from the artillery: there were among them also officers from the infantry, nor were they all of the same ideological views.

In the ensuing days the public were stirred by further incidents, especially by the "case of ad-Damanhūrī". The day after the arrest of the 35 officers, Lt. Col. Ḥusnī ad-Damanhūrī called on the Chief of the General Staff Maj. Gen. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm asking for reasons why the officers had been arrested, but he was given an elusive answer. He therefore contacted several officers of the armoured corps trying to persuade them to undertake steps for their liberation. In the night of 17 January he himself was arrested and following an inhuman interrogation before a commission made up of °Abdullaṭīf al-Baghdādī, °Abdulḥakīm °Āmir, Ṣalāḥ Ṣālim and Zakariyā Muḥīuddīn, was condemned by this tribunal to death.⁵⁸ The dailies brought this report on 20 January and it was the first sentence of death on an Egyptian officer for an act other than high treason. General Naḡīb refused to ratify the sentence despite the fact that members of the RCC urged him to do so and warned him against the danger of military coups. Naḡīb persisted in his standpoint with the words: "I refuse to go along a road sprayed with the blood of my brother officers."⁵⁹ The tortures perpetrated on Lt. Col. ad-Damanhūrī marked the beginning of a wave of atrocities committed by several members of the RCC against their fellows-in-arms and then against most of civilian political prisoners.

The imprisonment of the artillery officers, their interrogation and sentencing by members of the RCC was in fact the end of the organization of Free Officers. Under the new conditions, the RCC had no further need of an organization that might question its decisions and ask for accounts, i.e. one with which it would share power. New officers' organizations began to be set up, but these no longer had decisive influence. The places of commanders were allotted to such officers as enjoyed boundless confidence (*ahl at-tiqa*) and were related to members of the RCC by per-

⁵⁷ Naḡīb, Muḥammad: *Kalimatī li-t-tārīkh* (My word to History). Cairo, 1981, p. 84.

⁵⁸ Mar'ī: op. cit., p. 274.

⁵⁹ Naḡīb: op. cit., p. 87.

sonal and family ties.⁶⁰ It is true that the majority of the Free Officers retained their posts, and some of them were nominated into important functions in the army and outside of it. These functions, however, were not acquired through service promotion, but in virtue of personal connections, where the most important property came to be the ability to obey and to adjust oneself. And thus, officers who refused this trend, looked for new opportunities and new spheres of activity.

Col. Yūsuf Ṣadīq who had previously opposed arrests of civilian politicians, took a firm stand against imprisonment of the officers and submitted his resignation from the RCC giving as his reason that it was against his conscience for him to sit in a Council which issued decisions that go against his conviction, despite the fact that the decisions were accepted by the majority of votes, for the RCC in reality represented neither the people nor the army.⁶¹ He did not alter his decision although he clearly saw that this meant the end of his military and civilian career. In view of the popularity he enjoyed, the RCC did not disclose his resignation, but in March 1953 forced him to leave for Switzerland.

Following Col. Ṣadīq's resignation, the left was defended in the RCC solely by Maj. Khālīd Muḥīuddīn. As early as October 1952 he ran into conflict with the Minister of Interior Sulaymān Ḥāfiẓ who excluded communists from among amnestied prisoners on the ground that there was question of economic criminality to which the amnesty did not refer. When on 19 March 1953 the RCC discussed a bill on workers, he spoke sharply against the proposed abolition of the right to strike and against arbitrary dismissal from work.⁶² In passing this bill, members of the RCC were giving in to the pressure of foreign capital which strove to curtail workers' rights to ensure stability of its profits. Khālīd left the session with the intent to send in his resignation from membership in the RCC, but shortly after, G. °Abdunnāṣir and °A. °Amir came to him with a demand that he changed his decision, that the bill would be discussed again. Khālīd agreed, but in the renewed debate he succeeded in enforcing only the prohibition of an arbitrary dismissal from employment for trades union activities. The remaining points of contention were adjourned with the proviso that they would be resolved in connection with the passing of the new Constitution. Following the expression of dissatisfaction among the officers of the armoured corps, among whom was also Khālīd Muḥīuddīn, the RCC decided to oust him from its ranks. However, this decision was rescinded after Lt. Col. Ṭarwat °Ukāsha from the same branch of arms warned that "if Khālīd is ousted, he could not take responsibility for the armoured corps".⁶³ However, tension remained in the RCC.

⁶⁰ Ḥ a m r ū s h : op. cit., p. 316.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 313.

⁶² Ibid., p. 318.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 318.

Gen. Muḥammad Nagīb noted that at most sessions he attended, problems which the RCC was concerned with, had already been discussed prior to the session with a majority decision all prepared, nay, that the RCC held sessions to which he was not invited at all. Gen. Nagīb was under the impression that the misunderstandings within the RCC derived from the considerable age difference between him and the majority of the members.⁶⁴ Yet, the causes of the split should have been sought in ideological dissensions between the liberal-bourgeois and the petty bourgeois-democratic trends in Egyptian society. At about that time Gen. Nagīb obtained a confidential report that officers of the armoured corps with Maj. Khālīd Muḥīuddīn and Lt. Col. Ṭarwat ʿUkāsha at their head, were dissatisfied with the way work was being done in the RCC and with the manner of acting of Lt. Col. Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir whose position and influence inside the RCC had strikingly been strengthened. The source also stated that Khālīd and Ṭarwat were ready to support his standpoint within and without the RCC,⁶⁵ Gen. Nagīb failed to make a thorough analysis of the proportion of forces within the Council (which goes to show his political naivety) and took the warning to be a trap into which they wished to lure him. He feared that his assent to the given proposal would still increase the disunion in the RCC. His reaction was that at the session of the Council he gave away the whole show; but what was his surprise when he found that there was no question of any trap, but a sincere effort on the part of the two officers to support his standpoint and ward off the trends towards dictatorship. Then he understood that he had made a big mistake and that his indiscretion brought Khālīd and Ṭarwat into an unpleasant situation indeed.⁶⁶ Whether Nagīb raised this question with a good intention or whether it was from naivety, he discovered the hidden truth, viz. that the contentions within the RCC were not the outcome of the will or actions of an individual, but that they were taking on a new character and a new direction.

At that time, Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir carried out his work within and outside the RCC with full commitment and devoted extraordinary attention to maintaining contacts with officers and politicians, to discussions on burning issues and to preparation of RCC sessions, in order to put through and enforce his views.⁶⁷ His priority was in his ability to persuade most of his colleagues about the justness of his view, and this helped him to ensure the necessary majority through which he then controlled the RCC. None of his colleagues were able to realize such a radiation of tasks, who moreover were often at odds over puny problems or personal interests. None of them had a definitive political view, but when someone succeeded in convincing them, they would discuss with full zest in his favour.

⁶⁴ Nagīb: op. cit., p. 92.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 93.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 93.

⁶⁷ Hamrūsh: op. cit., p. 319.

It was becoming clear that not only had G. °Abdunnāṣir been the successful realizer of the military coup of 23 July, but was also the undisputed leader of the national and democratic revolution which gradually went deeper during the course of 1953. Gamāl °Abdunnāṣir was the most level-headed among all his colleagues: he spoke less, preferred to listen to others, but succeeded in resolving complex problems with a remarkable tactical mastery.⁶⁸ He did not stubbornly enforce his view – made proof of adequate flexibility when the situation required it and retreated with tact. He was not the one who had advocated the disbanding of political parties or the introduction of revolutionary dictatorship, but when the time became ripe, it suited him that all power became concentrated in the hands of the RCC. He was conscious that his strength derived from his close contacts with colleague officers from the various branches of weapons. However, these incessant meetings and sessions were time consuming to him, for with the extension of the RCC's power, further duties devolved on him with added responsibility. The events in the artillery corps and reactions to them increased his vigilance: the danger of new explosions of dissatisfaction within the armed forces had to be removed. A lesson was given by the military coups in Syria.⁶⁹

The presence of British soldiers in Egypt was a permanent source of tension. The RCC issued instructions for intensifying the blockade around the British military base in the Suez Canal zone, to prevent the base from being supplied from Egyptian inland, and Egyptians were forbidden to work at the base. These measures were accompanied with organized attacks by guerilla squads against various camps of this base and by diversionary activities against its facilities. These actions persisted for several months until official negotiations opened with Great Britain on 28 April 1953, which took place on the initiative of the British side. The Egyptian delegation had one single aim at the negotiating table – to free the country as soon as possible from the occupation forces. The British delegation was not interested to negotiate the withdrawal of its troops from Egypt, hence, it kept raising up subsidiary and technical problems.⁷⁰ When the negotiations failed to lead to the desired aim, the Egyptian delegation broke off the talks on 6 May and simultaneously the guerilla activity and sabotage of the base were resumed.

At a session of the RCC in May 1953, the question of the double-track power organs cropped up again and Sulaymān Ḥāfiẓ speaking on behalf of civilian ministers, proposed to hand in the resignation of the cabinet so that the RCC could set up a government according to its notions. Soldiers were to take over responsibility for the various departments and set up a purely military government, eventually to

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 320.

⁶⁹ There were three military coups in Syria during 1949.

⁷⁰ Little: op. cit., p. 155.

include in it a few civilian ministers.⁷¹ General Nagīb stood up against this proposal with all the weight of his authority, but essentially he succeeded solely in obtaining a postponement in the solution of a ripe problem: the revolutionary democratic tide could no longer be impeded, much less blocked. Nagīb's opposition to this trend was a question of personal ambition rather than of an ideological premise. He had attained the peak of the pyramid, won great popularity and lost interest in further promoting the Revolution – he essentially understood it as a means to removing the most obvious social problems. His popularity within the armed forces was a standing threat for G. °Abdunnāṣir's wing inside the RCC.⁷² G. °Abdunnāṣir had to take such measures as would ensure him direct control over the armed forces: consequently he decided to appoint Maj. °Abdullḥakīm °Āmir, a colleague and friend from childhood, Commander-in-chief of the armed forces. He was aware that this proposal would arouse stiff opposition on the part of Gen. Nagīb who, as an officer of the old school, could not agree with the proposal, nor with a single promotion of an officer through four grades – from a Major to a Major General, therefore he combined this nomination with a further bold plan.

The "Committee of Five" appointed by the fifty-member Commission to draft a Constitution, in its report on the question what form of government for Egypt, monarchy or republic, recommended a republican régime.⁷³ For G. °Abdunnāṣir and his group in the RCC Gen. Nagīb was the principal obstacle to a further development of the Revolution. In the first place, it was necessary to separate Nagīb from the armed forces, but such a step could be realized uniquely within the framework of an extensive change. Such a change was to have been the abolishing of the monarchy and proclamation of a Republic whose first president was to be precisely Gen. Nagīb. A war of nerves went on in the RCC for over three weeks: Gen. Nagīb refused to agree either with the proclamation of the Republic or with the nomination of Maj. °Āmir to be the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces.⁷⁴ Declaration of the Republic did not involve a question of principle, but rather one of procedure: in Nagīb's view, the setting up of a republic ought to be accompanied with the passing of relevant legal documents, in the first place of the Constitution. As to Maj. °Āmir, Nagīb did not consider him to be qualified for such a high function. However, G. °Abdunnāṣir did not satisfy himself with this refusal and at subsequent sessions of the RCC, passionate discussions went on again and again until finally Nagīb gave way. He himself later judged it as a major mistake, for he soon felt that with his departure from the army, his position became substantially weaker.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Nagīb: op. cit., p. 95.

⁷² Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., p. 320.

⁷³ The "Committee of Five" consisted of following members: Dr. °Abdurrazzāq as-Sanhūrī, °Abdurrahmān ar-Rāfiʿī, as-Sayyid Ṣabīrī, Makram °Ubayd and °Utmān. Khalīl °Utmān Cf. Nagīb: op. cit., p. 95.

⁷⁴ Marʿī: op. cit., p. 276.

Once Nagīb had given his assent, the road to essential changes was open. Less than a year after the victory of the Revolution, on 18 June 1953 the monarchy was abolished and a Republic proclaimed. Gen. Muḥammad Nagīb became its first President, but kept also the function of Prime Minister and of Chairman of the RCC. However, he had to relinquish the post of the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces and Minister of War. The new President by his very first decree nominated Maj. ʿĀmir to be Commander-in-chief of the armed forces and raised his rank to that of Major General (liwāʾ). But neither did the other influential members of the RCC come out empty-handed. When the Republic was announced, Major Ṣalāḥ Ṣalīm, in a prepared statement to the press, emphasized the security of the régime as a major reason for the abolition of the monarchy. For the same reason, he explained, it was necessary that members of the RCC join the Cabinet. Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Interior, Wing Commander ʿAbdullaṭīf al-Baghdādī Minister of War, Major Ṣalāḥ Ṣalīm Minister of National Guidance.⁷⁶ "The appointment of leading RCC members to key ministries implied three things. First, it reflected tighter control by the RCC over the army as well as the civilian population. Second, it indicated the pre-eminence of Gamal Abdel Nasser in making policy for the régime. Third, it was a preventive measure against the possible political accommodation of General Naguib with civilian personnel in government."⁷⁷

A change in the post of the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces meant the end to legal contacts of the RCC members with colleague officers in the various branches of the army. Control over the army had passed entirely into the hands of G. ʿAbdunnāṣir who could unreservedly rely on his friend ʿĀmir. ʿAbdulḥakīm ʿĀmir lacked the abilities proper to an army commander, nevertheless, he succeeded in establishing favourable personal relations with the majority of officers. The principle of subordination disappeared from the army, the decisive role in an officer's career was that of his relation to the Commander-in-chief. The period of a traditional regular army had come to an end, but a period of a revolutionary army did not come up; a period came when the army began to be controlled by covert personal relations.⁷⁸

The proclamation of the Republic and the corresponding measures were significant mile stones on the road of the Revolution. However, in the summer of 1953 there were signs foreshadowing an impending decisive struggle between liberal-bourgeois and revolutionary-democratic forces in Egyptian society.

⁷⁵ Nagīb: op. cit., p. 97.

⁷⁶ Al-Baghdādī: op. cit., p. 77.

⁷⁷ Vatikiotis: *The Egyptian Army in Politics*, p. 84.

⁷⁸ Ḥamrūsh: op. cit., p. 322.

CRISES AND FALL OF THE FIRST INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT IN NIGERIA, 1960–1966

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The aim of the present study is to analyse political developments that took place in Nigeria between 1 October 1960 – the day independence was proclaimed – and 15 January 1966 when, following a military coup, the country was for many years under the rule of the army. Attention is focused here on four principal political conflicts of that period, viz. efforts on the part of the ruling coalition to eliminate the opposition represented by the Action Group, the regional struggle over the 1962 census, the 1964 general strike and the parliamentary elections of 1964 and 1965.

The complex political development in Nigeria, which was a characteristic sign accompanying the accelerated decolonization following World War II, failed to settle down to a peaceful course once independence was achieved. On the contrary, this meant simply the beginning of a new stage of an even more obstinate political struggle. With the aid of constitutional means which the departing colonial administration had left as a dowry and which reflected British interests and nations regarding the development in this part of the world, ethnically, religiously, economically and socially heterogeneous Nigeria was to prove its political and national viability. The problem of dealing with the colonial legacy was no simple matter for any one of the newly-independent countries of West Africa. However, in the case of Nigeria, as shown by a series of conflicts in the first half of the 1960s and even more strikingly by the tragic civil war with secessionist Biafra in 1967–1970, this transformation proved particularly traumatic.

Elimination of Opposition

The parliamentary elections held in Nigeria on the eve of independence, reflected two fundamental geopolitical realities of the country – an unbalanced tripartite regional structure in which one of the regions (the North) had a greater area and number of inhabitants than the other two (the East and the West) put together, as well as a conspicuously ethno-regional character of the three principal political parties. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) won 148 seats in the elections, the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) had 89 seats¹ and the Action Group (AG) 75 seats in the Federal Parliament. Each of these parties won by a convincing majority

¹ Together with NEPU, the Northern minority party.

in its "own" region (i.e. NPC in the North, NCNC in the East and AG in the West) but obtained very little support in the neighbouring ones. The NPC, having failed to win an absolute majority, set up a coalition government with the NCNC and the AG took up the role of the opposition party.

Under these circumstances serious differences arose within the AG leadership. A group whose principal representative was S. Akintola, began openly to oppose the new programme of "democratic socialism" worked out by the party chairman O. Awolowo. Having replaced Awolowo (now entrusted with the leadership of the parliamentary opposition) as Western Premier, Akintola began to show more openly his opposition to any radical changes in the political system and to confrontation with the Federal Government. He rather advocated co-operation with the NPC and NCNC which would ensure the Yoruba of the Western Region a share in advantages deriving from the ruling power.

The conservative elements that grouped around Akintola interpreted Awolowo's efforts towards a more radical course as evidence that he had turned communist.² In reality, Awolowo's "democratic socialism" embodied numerous contradictions and vague elements and his notions differed considerably from the aims of revolutionary socialism.³ The new radical image of the party evidently came up merely as part of the opposition tactics endeavouring to win over all the strata dissatisfied with the prevailing political situation. Ultimately, if Awolowo decided to set himself off as leader of the opposition against the conservative NPC, his partial shift towards the left was quite natural.

Awolowo and his new political programme began to attract the radically minded supporters not solely from the AG but likewise from the left wing of the NCNC and from several other smaller parties. This provoked fears on the part of the leading representatives of the Federal Government, as also those of the conservative part of the AG, referred to above. The dissension in the AG leadership came openly to the surface at the party's annual congress in February 1962. When the majority of the participants sided with Awolowo, Akintola and his adherents broke off the session. Following Akintola's unsuccessful efforts at turning the situation to his advantage, he was expelled for anti-party activity from the AG by a decision of the Executive Committee of the party and the Governor of the Western Region – the traditional ruler of Ife and a long time adherent of Awolowo – ordered his dismissal from the position as Premier of the Regional Government. However, Akintola countered by pointing out that the Governor had thereby exceeded his constitutional competence and that on the contrary, it was he who had the right to depose the

² Òk p u, U.: *Ethnic Minority Problems in Nigerian Politics, 1960–65*. Uppsala, Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis 1977, p. 94.

³ See G l u s h c h e n k o, E. A.: *Pervaya respublika v Nigerii* (The First Republic in Nigeria). Moscow, Nauka 1983, pp. 61–62.

Governor, and went on considering himself to be the Premier. The political situation in the region was getting more and more out of control of the authorities and the rupture culminated in a riot among the deputies of two party fractions at a session of the Western Parliament in May 1962. The final word to the incident, only calmed down by the police, was said by the Federal Government led by A. T. Balewa. Despite protests by Awolowo and his adherents it decided at an extraordinary session to dissolve the Western Government and declared a state of emergency in the region.⁴

The ensuing situation proved suitable primarily to the ruling NPC and its coalition partner the NCNC which had systematically endeavoured, right from their coming to power, to eliminate the opposition represented by the AG. This moment is emphasized by the majority of authors who made a study of this problem. Solodovnikov points out that the NPC leaders who rightly feared a victory by the AG in the next elections, designedly exploited the crisis to their own profit.⁵ Okpu is of the opinion that the crisis in the Western Region was but a convenient pretext for the Federal Government to enforce its plan, prepared in advance, to push out the AG from the political scene.⁶ In describing how the AG "played into the hands of its enemies"⁷ Post recalls that the measures taken by the Federal Government were aimed at removing Awolowo and at installing Akintola at the head of the Western Government.⁸ Sklar points to "the obvious partiality of the Federal Emergency Administration for Akintola's side"⁹ and similar views on the background of the crisis of the Action Group were expressed by Glushchenko¹⁰ and Diamond¹¹ in their more recent works.

The ruling coalition's all-out efforts at eliminating active opposition are also borne out by events that followed. One of the first measures of the temporarily installed administrator of the Western Region was to set up an inquiry commission which was to audit thoroughly the AG's financial matters.¹² True, the Coker Com-

⁴ Okpu, U.: op. cit., pp. 96-98; Schwarz, W.: *Nigeria*. London, Pall Mall Press 1968, pp. 132-133.

⁵ Solodovnikov, V. G. (Ed.): *Afrika v novoe i noveishee vremya* (Africa in Modern and Contemporary History). Moscow, Nauka 1976, p. 255.

⁶ Okpu, U.: op. cit., p. 100.

⁷ Post, K. J. - Vickers, M.: *Structure and Conflict in Nigeria 1960-66*. London, Heinemann 1973, p. 77.

⁸ Ibid., p. 78.

⁹ Sklar, R. L.: *Nigerian Politics; The Ordeal of Chief Awolowo, 1960-65*. In: *Politics in Africa; Seven Cases*. Ed. G. M. Carter. New York, Harcourt, Brace and World 1966, p. 136.

¹⁰ Glushchenko, E. A.: op. cit., p. 81.

¹¹ Diamond, L.: *Class, Ethnicity, and the Democratic State; Nigeria 1950-1966*. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 25, 1983, p. 478.

¹² See Sklar, R. L.: op. cit., pp. 137-138.

mission charged with this task did reveal various machinations and secret transfers from faked business transactions into the party's treasury, but it was public secret that all the other Nigerian parties financed their activities in a like manner. Awolowo, as chairman of the AG, was found to be the chief culprit, while Akintola, his former first deputy, was cleared of all responsibility.

In order to make the blow dealt to a politician who dared actively to stand up as the leader of the opposition definitive, Awolowo was accused in September 1962 of treasonable felony and he was brought to trial. After a protracted process, whose regularity was often subjected to doubt, he was condemned to ten years of prison,¹³ and on the decision of the Supreme Court, Akintola was again reinstated as Premier of the Western Regional Government. In this way representatives of the NPC-NCNC coalition succeeded in profiting by the regional government crisis in the West to consolidate their positions also in the region which used to be the stronghold of the opposition party.

A further weakening of the influence of the Western Region within the Nigerian Federation occurred following its administrative division into two units. This took place in 1963 when a new region, the Mid West, with Benin as its capital, was set up.¹⁴ The decisive role here was also played by political speculations on the part of the Federal Government, made up of representatives of the Northern and Eastern Regions. Although minority movements in all the three regions of Nigeria vehemently demanded the formation of further administrative units, the Federal Government, for obvious reasons, decided first to divide the Western Region. Following the split provoked within the AG, the imprisonment of its leader Awolowo and the putting up of a regional government inclined to further the interests of the Federal Government, no further serious obstacle stood in the way of this development.

The Census

Census in Nigeria had always been a serious problem which went beyond the framework of the normal administrative and managing difficulties encountered in most other countries in the course of such a wide-ranging undertaking. Even in the period of colonial rule there were tendencies to conceal population increases due to fears on the part of the various communities to have to pay higher taxes or send more young men into the colonial army. After independence efforts at falsifying the exact numbers did not disappear, but began to become manifest in a reversed form.

In the system characterized by an internal struggle of three ethno-regionally oriented parties, the principal variable determining their strength and power per-

¹³ Ibid., pp. 140-148.

¹⁴ See Glushchenko, E. A.: *op. cit.*, pp. 83-84.

spectives came to be the population of the respective region. The greater the number of inhabitants a given region was able to exhibit, the greater the number of seats it had assured for itself in the Federal Parliament. During the quiet campaign preceding the census announced for 1962, party agitators did not omit to stress the point that, in the following years, investments for the construction of roads, power grids, water-mains, hospitals, schools and other facilities would be allotted according to the number of inhabitants which the enumerators would count in a given place. Under these circumstances efforts prevailed in the various regions to exaggerate the population data and the census became the arena for a sharp struggle among the principal political parties.

Because of manifest discrepancies, the report on the final results of the census carried out in Nigeria in May 1962, was published only after prolonged procrastination. It became evident that besides respondents, also the enumerators themselves were involved in data falsifications. For instance, in Eastern Nigeria they announced the discovery of villages not registered anywhere until then, one of which was to have had as many as 20,000 inhabitants.¹⁵ A relatively protracted duration of the census – a whole fortnight – permitted thousands of inhabitants to move from place to place and be registered several times. In certain districts the census sheets carried three or four times more names of adult men than the corresponding tax registers.¹⁶ As seen from Table 1,¹⁷ the population increases since the previous census, carried out ten years earlier, proved, particularly in the southern regions, truly incredibly high and demographically little convincing.

Table 1. Results of the 1952–1953 and 1962 censuses – regional increases

Region	Year		
	1952–1953	1962	% increase
North	16.8	22.5	34
East	7.2	12.4	72
West	6.1	10.0	64
Lagos	0.267	0.675	253

The results of the 1962 census had a serious impact on the distribution of political power in the country, especially in the sense that the North had no longer a clear majority of inhabitants and the NPC could not rely any more on the fact that it would maintain control over the entire Federation through its dominant position in the region. Under these circumstances representatives of the North decided to carry out a “verification” during which they discovered in their region 8.5 million persons

¹⁵ Schwarz, W.: op. cit., p. 159.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ According to Post, K. J. – Vickers, M.: op. cit., p. 81.

more than a few months earlier.¹⁸ This meant that more than half of Nigerians who had the right to be represented in the Federal Parliament by a majority of their deputies still lived in Northern Nigeria.

The impending political crisis that threatened to break out as a result of the census farce was successfully averted, at least temporarily, at a meeting of the Federal Premier with leaders of the four Regional Governments. They agreed to cancel the results and to carry out a new census in November of that year with precautions that were to prevent a falsification of the data. The new census was supposed to last no more than four days in order to prevent a "census migration" and the number of enumerators was to be raised from 50,000 in 1962 to 200,000.¹⁹

The new returns (see Table 2²⁰), published in February 1964, proved the least favourable to the NCNC and the Premiers of the Eastern and Mid-Western Regions, where this party was in power, refused to recognize them. However, the Federal Premier A. T. Balewa, fearing that the situation might get out of his hands, refused all protests and demands for a revision and declared the census terminated and its results valid. However, if we compare them with those of the years 1952–1953 and 1963, and if we take into consideration the atmosphere which characterized also this Nigerian census, we may hardly wonder at the fact that their trustworthiness went on to be doubted.

Table 2. Results of the 1952–1953 and 1963 censuses – changes in the distribution of Parliamentary seats

Region	Year				
	1952–1953	1963	% increase	Number of seats after	
				1953	1963
North	16.8	29.8	77	174	167
East	7.2	12.4	72	73	70
West	6.1	10.3	110	47	57
Mid West		2.5		15	14
Lagos	0.267	0.675	253	3	4
Total	30.4	55.7	83	312	312

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Pribytkovsky, L. N.: *Pervaya respublika: vnutripoliticheskaya borba i padenie neokolonialistkogo rezhima* (The First Republic: Inner Political Struggle and the Fall of a Neo-Colonial Regime). In: *Istoriya Nigerii v novoe i noveishee vremya* (Modern and Contemporary History of Nigeria). Eds. Ya. N. Zotova – I. V. Sledzevsky. Moscow, Nauka 1981, p. 254.

²⁰ According to Post, K. J. – Vickers, M.: op. cit., pp. 81, 99; Okpu, U.: op. cit., pp. 103–104.

The two attempts at a census in Nigeria had an important political impact also in the sense that they definitively eroded the pragmatically based alliance among the partners of the Government coalition. It became quite clear that the NPC and the NCNC were willing to promote only the limited interests of their parties and their principal representatives and that in reality there existed no political platform that would be able to unify their procedures at crucial moments. After the defeat of the AG which as the common enemy in the struggle for positions of power had been the main cement in their political union, the road now lay open for the next crisis to witness the definitive end of their alliance.

General Strike

The inner political problems that pestered Nigeria in the first half of the 1960s, were apparently but a reflection of the conflicts among the feuding top Government and party representatives. In reality, standing in the background, were striking social contradictions.

The abysmal social differences, already institutionalized by the colonial system, which from the mass of an impoverished population had set up a narrow stratum of richly remunerated comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, went on growing after the gaining of independence. Former officials and clerks of the colonial administration, representatives of the political life and graduates of various universities who took up positions vacated after 1960 by the British, succeeded in making valid their claims to the high salaries of their predecessors, although these had been fixed by the colonial administration on the basis of British norms and with a consideration of the alien climatic and social conditions. Regardless of Nigeria's limited economic possibilities, this unrealistically high standard served in the post-independence years for fixing also the so-called élite salaries and emoluments of the expanding political and economic apparatus. In this way the annual income of the higher category of civil servants in Nigeria amounted to as much as 120 times (in Great Britain this was only 10 times) the per capita income, which at the beginning of the 1960s was here less than 30 pounds.²¹

This tense economic situation was further adversely affected by the fall in the world price of cocoa which in the monoculturally oriented colonial economy played an important role particularly in Western Nigeria. On the other hand, prices of food-stuffs and other basic commodities, housing rents etc. went on steadily increasing. In towns in the South, with the growing influx of impoverished migrants from rural areas, unemployment came to be the primary problem, and the situation on the labour market was further complicated also by the high ratio of seasonal and temporarily hired labour force. However, dissatisfaction with low and stagnating wages

²¹ Petrov, E.: *Nigeriya*. Moscow, Mysl 1971, p. 124.

and with practically non-existing social and labour security grew even among those who enjoyed full employment.

In sharp contrast to the chronic dearth and shortages in which the majority of Nigerians lived, was the life style of their representatives in political life. The political and bureaucratic élite banded together with private entrepreneurs, corruption spread to unprecedented dimensions, public officials abused their functions, cases of colossal fraud multiplied, as did unlawful appropriations, bribing and machinations.

The people looked on with indignation how politicians, alongside whom they fought for the overthrow of colonial rule, were creating a new class of ruling oligarchy. The best proof that the dissatisfaction in the ranks of the working people was general and becoming intensified, was the fact that it induced representatives of the Nigerian Trade Union Centres to forget for a time their old dissensions and to set up a common co-ordinating organ. In September 1963 the Joint Action Committee (JAC) was established, grouping representatives of all principal Nigerian Trade Union Centres.

At the time of independence the Nigerian Trade Union movement, counting over 270,000 members, was broken into some 330 groups.²² Essentially, however, it had two mainstreams – a rightist, conservative one, represented chiefly by the United Labour Congress (ULC), and a leftist one, designated also as Marxist, at the head of which stood the Nigerian Trade Union Congress (NTUC). While the former oriented itself to co-operation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the latter joined the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The NTUC was not the only organization representing the Nigerian political left. In August 1960 on the initiative of the more radically minded members of certain political parties and trade unions, the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party (SWAFP) was founded. The SWAFP which initially worked underground, adopted principles of scientific socialism and took as its principal aims the realization of a national democratic revolution and the creation of a socialist Nigeria. The tasks set up in SWAFP's political programme included nationalization of the property of foreign investors, home feudal landlords and comprador bourgeoisie, land reform, strengthening of the state sector and the economic rights of government, support to farming co-operatives, democratization of the social and political life, combatting unemployment, introduction of free education, liquidation of corruption and further reforms.²³ The SWAFP came up publicly with this programme in the autumn of 1963 when it contributed in a decisive manner to the formation of the Joint Action

²² Cohen, R.: *Labour and Politics in Nigeria, 1945–71*. London, Heinemann 1974, p. 82.

²³ Solodovnikov, V. G. (Ed.): *Politicheskie partii Afriki* (Africa's Political Parties). Moscow, Nauka 1970, pp. 190–191.

Committee, which became the principal organizer of the increasing activity among Nigerian workers.

Among JAC's most successful actions was the general strike declared in protest against the refusal of the Federal Government to accede to its demand for a general rise of wages which stagnated despite the growing cost of living. The general strike began on 1 June 1964. From the first hours practically all the workers and employees of Lagos joined in, and it soon spread also to Kaduna, Ibadan, Enugu and other large towns in Nigeria. The strike was also joined by the largest Trade Union in the country, grouping some 100,000 Nigerian teachers, and the mark of generality was imparted to it particularly by the participation of a legion of dock-workers and railwaymen, some 4,000 strong. A paralysis of international shipping and home railway transportation led to the stoppage or partial crippling of work in several sectors of the economy.

The ultimatum for an immediate return to work and threats of counter measures to which the Government had recourse, failed to intimidate the workers. The number of strikers did not drop and on various days was estimated at 750,000 to 1.5 million.²⁴ In the midst of the revolutionary atmosphere, the political ambitions of some part of the working class increased. Strikers did not demand solely a more equitable share of the national wealth, but were resolved to alter the entire political system. "The working class will not rest until we rule this country..."²⁵ proclaimed one of the JAC representatives in the most popular Nigerian daily, the Daily Times. The class character of the conflict was evident. For the first time since the gaining of independence the most visible element in the inner political crisis was not an ethnical, but a class antagonism. The situation in the country was characterized by economic chaos which in places grew into political unrest. After twelve days of the strike, the Government who had initially not paid adequate attention to the crisis, was forced to give in to the demands of the workers.

Although the general strike of 1964 indicated the political potential of Nigerian Trade Unions, their representatives did not succeed substantially to alter the development in the country. Old conflicts soon reappeared among the leaders who had so successfully organized the first common national demonstration of Nigerian workers, and after the 1964 elections JAC, the organ that had unified their activity, actually ceased to exist. Thus the performance by the working class remained but one of the serious critical moments that shook the Nigerian political system and showed up its fragility, but the fall of the regime came only after the intervention of the armed forces.

²⁴ Cohen, R.: op. cit., p. 166; Schwarz, W.: op. cit., p. 156; Diamond, L.: op. cit., p. 480; Glushchenko, E. A.: op. cit., pp. 105-106.

²⁵ Cit. in Oyemakinde, W.: *The Nigerian General Strike of 1964*. Genève-Afrique, 13, 1974, 1, p. 58.

The NPC-NCNC coalition which was in power since independence did not stand on firm foundations. It had not come to life on the platform of a common ideology and long-term aims, but conjectural factors had played an important role in its formation. Leaders of the NCNC were mainly concerned with a desire to ensure their participation alongside the strong NPC in the first independent government of Nigeria, while the Northerners saw in the alliance with the Easterners a possibility of preventing the creation of an opposition coalition between the Western AG and the Eastern NCNC. Following the breaking up of Awolowo's AG and the coming of the newly created pro government oriented Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) into power in the Western Region, interest on the part of the NPC in an alliance with the NCNC declined. Before the 1964 federal elections the leader of the NPC, A. Bello, openly declared: "Even if my party fails to get the required majority in the next federal elections, it will definitely not enter into any agreement or coalition with the NCNC... The Ibos have never been true friends of the North and never will be."²⁶ The message was clear and the NCNC, which did not mean to give up the fight for political power, had to look about for another partner before the approaching elections.

In June 1964 an agreement was signed at Ibadan of a political union between the NCNC and the AG. Although some high representatives of the NCNC expressed a critical view of the new contract, nevertheless the majority welcomed the agreement. Even before the formation of the new coalition D. Osadebay, the Prime Minister of the Mid-Western Region, said: "The AG and the NCNC are the two most 'progressive' political parties in Nigeria... It is now time for these two parties to come together... It would then be a struggle between the 'progressives' of the South and the 'conservatives' of the North."²⁷ The renewed NCNC-AG tandem was then joined by minority opposition parties from the North and the political block thus formed was named the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA).

The NPC adopted similar pattern in its tactics – a union with parties that in each particular region were rivals of parties of the opposition block. It found a strong ally in the Western Region in the ruling Akintola's NNDP and the newly formed political union, named the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) embraced also minor opposition parties from Mid-West and East.

In October 1964 the NNA and UPGA – the two great coalition blocks into which Nigeria's political parties grouped under the leadership of the NPC and the NCNC before the 1964 elections – published their election manifestos. They brought nothing new politically and ideologically they represented a shapeless mixture of little

²⁶ Cit. in Schwarz, W.: op. cit., p. 164.

²⁷ Cit. in Post, K. J. – Vickers, M.: op. cit., p. 93.

realistic promises. They primarily fulfilled the symbolic task of a formal acceptance of the British model of election campaign, and had a minimum influence on the voting attitude of the average voter.²⁸ The decisive factor for him remained the candidate's ethnic origin and his place of birth.

An important feature in the political struggle in the various regions was an effort of the ruling parties to assert themselves in 'their' region at all costs and to prevent by all possible means the success of candidates of 'foreign' parties. Electoral defeat meant for most candidates not only loss of political office, but likewise loss of economic and social benefits they had achieved for themselves and their families. The stormy electoral campaigns and a ruthless suppression of all expressions of the opposition in the various regions of Nigeria can be partially explained by the fact that so much was at stake in every election.²⁹

Abuse of the position of the ruling political party, particularly through power over the local police, the judiciary, electoral organs and other regional institutions, was practised equally by the NPC in the North, the NNDP in the West and the NCNC in the East and the Mid-West. Besides semi-legal means, the different parties increasingly made use of the services of hired thugs and murderers. In an atmosphere of mutual accusations, coercion, deceit and terror the 1964 federal election campaign gradually turned into an ordinary farce.³⁰

One week before the elections, on 22 December, the Federal Electoral Commission announced that in 78 out of the 312 constituencies only one single candidate had been registered. In 61 of the cases these were NPC candidates in Northern Nigeria, in 15 cases members of the NCNC in the East and in 2 cases seats were already ensured beforehand in the Federal Assembly for the NNDP candidates from the Western Region. It was clear that the high number of unopposed candidatures was due to various obstructions and machinations in the registration of candidates.

As the political parties in the NNA block had no need of canvassing votes outside their own regions in order to win the necessary majority of seats in the Parliament, it is natural that the circumstances in which the electoral campaign was taking place went primarily against the UPGA coalition whose eventual victory foreshadowed also its successful penetration into the NNDP positions in the West and NPC in the North. In the given situation, especially in view of the high number of unopposed candidatures of the NNA deputies, the leaders of the UPGA decided on 24 December to ask for a postponement of the elections by six months. This proposal was backed by President Azikiwe, patron of the UPGA alliance, but he did not succeed in inducing the Federal Premier A. T. Balewa, the protector of NNA interests, to

²⁸ See *ibid.*, p. 108.

²⁹ Diamond, L.: *op. cit.*, p. 462.

³⁰ See Post, K. J. - Vickers, M.: *op. cit.*, pp. 131-155; Schwarz, W.: *op. cit.*, p. 169.

adjourn the elections; on the contrary, he confirmed as valid the date 30 December 1964.

Under these circumstances the leaders of the UPGA announced on 27 December, a boycott of the elections. However, there was little time thoroughly to organize the entire protest action and ultimately the boycott was complete solely in the Eastern Region and in three Lagos constituencies. The Federal Government subsequently allowed 'little elections' to be held, but only in those constituencies in which not a single vote had been cast. The request by UPGA for elections to be repeated in all places where participation was less than 30% was dismissed. That meant, for instance, that in the Northern Lagos constituency an NNA candidate was recognized as winner with 569 votes cast, although the number of registered voters, mostly UPGA supporters, was 159,000 in that place.³¹

'Little elections' became a one-sided matter of the UPGA block which won 57 out of the 59 contested seats. However, this could not alter the fact that the final victory in the federal elections went to parties grouped in the NNA alliance (see Table 3³²).

The last act of the deep crisis that had engulfed Nigeria soon after the coming of independence took place in the Western Region where elections to the Regional Parliament were to be held in October 1965. As early as January 1965 the AG, resolved to return to power in the West, launched a wide-ranging campaign under the slogan 'Victory or Death'. The NNDP too was resolved to reaffirm its leading position at all costs. Thus, before elections, two blocks were facing each other – the NNDP on the one hand and the AG with the NCNC on the other. Essentially, however, this involved simply a continuation of the struggle between the NNA and the UPGA for asserting their candidates in the new arena.

The election campaign again ran in an atmosphere of fraud, terror and chaos. The elections of 11 October 1965 took place under irregular conditions. In several polling districts voters had the possibility of casting their ballot several times, in others the ballot-boxes had been filled with votes beforehand and polling was interrupted at four stations because of unrest. Several election officials and activists who had evidently stood up against machinations on the part of their colleagues, were shot dead.³³

According to official data given over mass media the NNDP obtained 71 out of the 94 seats and Akintola was entrusted with the formation of the Regional Government. However, the acting leader of the AG D. Adegbenro was not prepared to admit defeat under such circumstances. He declared that in reality the UPGA had won in 69 districts and announced the formation of his new cabinet as a result of which he was accused of attempts at setting up an unlawful government and together

³¹ Post, K. J. – Vickers, M.: op. cit., p. 217.

³² According to Post, K. J. – Vickers, M.: op. cit., p. 213.

³³ Schwarz, W.: op. cit., p. 183.

Table 3. The 1964 federal election results – distribution of seats to regions and parties

Region	Party						Total
	NNA		UPGA			Independent	
	NPC	NNDP	NCNC	AG	NPF*		
North	162	—	—	—	4	1	167
West	—	36	5	15	—	1	57
Mid-West	—	—	14	—	—	—	14
East	—	—	64	4	—	2	70
Lagos	—	—	1	2	—	1	4
Total	162	36	84	21	4	5	312

* Northern Progressive Front – the common name of the opposition parties of the North.

with several representatives of the defeated block he was arrested.³⁴ When it became clear that Akintola's NNDP remained in power, adherents of the AG and the NCNC rose up in a spontaneous rebellion. Skirmishes among activists of the opposing electoral blocks grew into outbursts of a general dissatisfaction with the existing political system. Residences of numerous political prominents on either side were attacked and set on fire, so were also police stations and administrative buildings. During the three months, from the elections until mid-January 1966, several hundred people lost their lives.³⁵

A cumulation of deep inner political dissensions, reluctance on both sides to come to reasonable compromise, undecisiveness and inefficiency of the Federal and the Regional Governments led a few weeks later to the destruction of the political system of the First Nigerian Republic in a military coup.

The fall of Balewa's government meant a definitive end of dreams to make Nigeria – the country whose decolonization proceeded in a relatively smooth way and essentially in accordance with British notions – a model stronghold of democracy in Africa. The parliamentary system set up according to British model, survived the departure of its makers – and that too in a state of permanent crisis – slightly over five years. The political system deriving from British realia and conventions failed to assert itself in the face of the diametrically different African reality. Under conditions of a sharp struggle for political power and the future character of this exuberantly developing young African country it was particularly the principle of the existence of a loyal opposition party, respected by the Government, so typical of the British political system, that broke down completely.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 184.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 187–189.

In Nigeria, as also in most of the other countries of West Africa, the leaders of the anticolonial struggle, once they had achieved independence, directed all their efforts at consolidating their positions and at acquiring the privileges of the former colonial rulers. Various groups which under conditions of independence found new space for political activity, began to clamour boisterously for their share of the 'national cake'. Politics gradually degenerated into a ruthless fight for Parliamentary seats, high office and material benefits that derived from them either directly or indirectly. Although on the surface most of the political conflicts of this period conspicuously appeared as being of an ethnic nature, the driving force standing in the background of this development was very often the socio-economic self-interest of different individuals and groups.

THE IMAGE OF COUNT MORICE BENYOWSKY AND OF HIS ODYSSEY IN SLOVAKIA

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Morice Benyowsky's travels in four continents took place when most of the countries he had visited were unknown or little known to Europeans. The coming 250th anniversary of his birth presents an opportunity to reassess his accomplishments in the light of modern scholarship. The present study seeks, within the limitations posed by the lack of reliable evidence, to examine the ways in which the knowledge of Benyowsky's adventures reached the Slovak public and to assess to what extent the saga of Morice Benyowsky's adventurous life and the very circumstances of his death ever captured the imagination of his compatriots living in the present-day Slovakia from the eighteenth century up to the present.

Morice Benyowsky, who provides the reason for this study, was a man who, by any European-derived standards, played a part in the opening-up of the wider world to the European public. His travels in four continents took place when most of the countries he had visited were unknown or at least little known to Europeans. His different adventures, described in his *Memoirs*, were thus followed avidly by his contemporaries and he received international reputation.

Morice Benyowsky was a child of the eighteenth century. This century – the “siècle de la lumière” – was characterized by a thirst for knowledge about non-European peoples. In these early years, the limited literature that informed the wider public about the non-European world was translated and shared by the literary public in several European countries. The English, French, Portuguese or Dutch travellers' accounts were translated into other European languages. Morice Benyowsky's narratives, published four years after his death, became such a popular work, which was to captivate the popular minds of the Europe and America of his day. Benyowsky's diaries translated from the original French manuscript and first published in London as *The Memoirs and Travels of Mauritius August Count de Benyowsky, Magnate of the Kingdom of Hungary and Poland...*¹ had appeared in two English editions by 1790 (in London and Dublin) and were quickly translated into German,

¹ *The Memoirs and Travels of Mauritius August Count de Benyowsky, Magnate of the Kingdom of Hungary and Poland. One of the Chiefs of the Confederation of Poland. Consisting of his Military Operations in Poland, his Exile into Kamchatka, his Espace and Voyage from that Peninsula through the Northern Pacific Ocean, Touching at Japan and Formosa, to Canton in China, with an Account of the French Settlement, he was Appointed to Form upon the Island Madagascar. Written by Himself. Translation from the Original Manuscript. London – Dublin, William Nicholson 1790.*

Swedish, Polish and other European languages, including Slovak, and published in Berlin, Tübingen, Paris, Hamburg, Haarlem, Stockholm and other European towns.² *The Memoirs and Travels* established Benyowsky's reputation with most of the public in many European countries and made him a popular hero of a very rich literature. This success was followed by numerous novels, plays and dramas. The very circumstances of his death confirmed the image of a great adventurer. For two hundred years Morice Benyowsky's name has been popular all over the world. His memoirs and books about him have been published and republished in Europe and overseas. His name was bequeathed to posterity as that of a soldier and a sailor, an adventurer and a visionary, a revolutionary and a colonizer, an entrepreneur and a king of Madagascar from the will of God and of his own. And what he was not, he pretended to be. But who was Morice Benyowsky actually?

Morice Benyowsky was born in the northern part of the Hungarian empire, i.e. in the territory of the present-day Slovakia, in the little town Vrbové (or Verbó in Hungarian) on 20 September 1741 as a son of Colonel Samuel Benyowsky and Baroness Rosalia Anna Révay, and a great part of his life (or at least a great part of his youth) he spent in Slovakia.³ Eighteenth-century Slovakia covered only one quarter of the territory of Hungary, but almost one half of the Hungarian nobility had settled there, which had been a direct consequence of the Ottoman expansion into Central Europe and the occupation of Hungarian territory and of the southern part of the present-day Slovakia by the Ottoman empire after the Battle of Mohács in 1526. In Slovakia, in the little town of Spišská Sobota, Benyowsky also met his life partner

² *Reisen durch Sibirien und Kamtschatka*. Aus dem englischen übersetzt. Mit Anmerkungen von Joh. Reinh. Forster. Berlin 1790, 1793, 1806.

Schicksale und Reisen. Aus dem englischen ausgezogen. Tübingen 1791.

Neurère Geschichte der See- und Land-Reisen. C.D. und J.O. Ebeling. Bd. 3. Hamburg 1791, 1797.

Grefwens Mauritz August von Beniovskis Lefnadslopp och Resov of honom sjelf beskrefne. Stockholm 1791.

Voyage et mémoires de Maurice Auguste Comte de Benyowszky etc. Paris 1791.

Gedenkschriften en Reisen. Naar de engelsche vortaling int het oordpronglyk handschrift overgezet. 1–4. Haarlem 1791.

Historia podróży i osobliwszych zdarzeń sławnego szlachcica polskiego i węgierskiego z francuskiego tłumaczona 1–4. Warszawa 1797, 1802, 1806.

Pamätné príhody hraběte Beňovského, na větším díle od něho samého sepsané, ve výtah pak uvedené a přeložené od Samuela Čerňanského. Prešpurk, Insstytut literatury slovenské 1808.

Vie et aventures du Comte Maurice Auguste Beniowski resumés d'après ses mémoires par N. A. K. (Koubalski). Tours 1863.

³ For Benyowsky's biography see *Encyklopédia Slovenska*. I, A–D (Slovak Encyclopaedia. Vol. I), Bratislava, Veda 1977, also Epilogue in the Slovak edition of Benyowsky's *Memoirs and Travels*, *Denník Mórica A. Beňovského* (The Diary of Morice Benyowsky). Výber zostavil Jozef Watzka. Z nemeckého vydania *Des Grafen Moritz August von Benyowsky... Schicksale und Reisen I–II*. Leipzig, preložil Anton Špiesz. Doslov napísal Rudolf Skukálek. Edícia Pamäti a dokumenty, 23. Bratislava, Tatran 1966, 248 pp.

Zuzanna Hönsch, who after Morice Benyowsky's tragic death on 23 May 1786 on the isle of Madagascar, returned with both daughters from America to live in Slovakia. She spent her life living with her children on her estate at Vieska near Trenčín and there she also died at the age of seventy-nine on 1 March 1826. She was buried with both daughters on the cemetery at Beckov.

As a young boy Benyowsky joined the army and before 1764 he was already the second deputy commander of the Hungarian Breysaki infantry regiment. Little is known about Benyowsky's life and activities between the years 1764–1769. In 1764 he was allegedly accused of heresy and prosecuted in Levoča. His stay in 1768 in Spišská Sobota and a love affair with Zuzanna Hönsch resulted in the birth of his first son Samuel the same year. For his attempt to organize a military troop Benyowsky was imprisoned at the castle of Lubovňa. What is certain is that in 1769 he was in Poland fighting on the side of the Bar confederacy against the Russians who captured him and escorted him to Kazan. From there he managed to escape to St. Petersburg where he was once again taken prisoner and in 1770 sentenced to an exile to Kamchatka. There Benyowsky took an active part in initiating the Bolsherevsk uprising and together with some ninety-six men succeeded in escaping on the ship Saint Peter from Russian captivity. During his dramatic voyage in the North Pacific in 1771 he visited Kurile Islands, Japan and Taiwan eventually reaching the Portuguese colony of Macao where he sold the ship with the whole cargo and equipment, against the will and consent of the rest of the crew. In December 1771 Benyowsky with a handful of his companions embarked on board two French ships *Le Dauphin* and *Le Laverdie* in Canton and set sail for Europe stopping on the way on Ile de France and Madagascar in March and April 1772, rounded the Cape of Good Hope on 27 April and after many adventures landed on 18 July in southern France.⁴ Upon his arrival Benyowsky offered his services to the French government and submitted his plans for the colonization of Taiwan. Instead it was decided, however, to send him to establish trading posts and a colony on Madagascar. By the end of 1773 he was off for Madagascar.

Benyowsky's first stay in Madagascar in 1774–1777 was only a partial success. With his group of volunteers he built his headquarters Louisbourg in the least healthy region of Madagascar, in Antongil Bay. During his three years' long stay he had to endure many hardships, he had to fight against hostile natives, adverse climate, epidemics as well as the opposition of the governor of Mascarene Islands. Even though he at last managed to win the support of local inhabitants who proclaimed him their king, he was removed from his post and had to return to France.

⁴ Benyowsky's flight from Russian custody is described in a great detail by the Soviet scholar A. B. Davidson in his two books: *Zov dálnikh morei* (The Call of the Far-Away Seas). Moscow 1979. *Oblik dalekoi strany* (The Face of a Far-Away Country). Moscow 1975.

He never gave up, however, his plans to found a colony on Madagascar. He vainly offered his services to England and Austria in order to get assistance for the colonization of Madagascar. As it happened, however, Empress Maria Theresia pardoned him of his previous misdemeanour and her son Emperor Joseph II enabled him to rejoin the army and made him a colonel. Having no success, Benyowsky turned his attention to the United States and tried his fortune there. During his stay in Paris in September 1777 he made his acquaintance with Benjamin Franklin, then American envoy to France, and two years later, in 1779 he actually set off for Philadelphia where he turned to the US Congress "with a determined resolution to sacrifice himself the remainder of his life in their service".⁵ In dealing with the Congress Benyowsky was, however, most unfortunate, his offer was flatly refused and returning to France Benyowsky re-entered the French service.

His second stay in America in 1782 came to be also a failure even though he presented his plans to the highest ranking man – George Washington. At last a member of the London Scientific Society, Hyacinth de Magellan, secured some money to finance the Madagascar project and Benjamin Franklin helped to get a ship *Intrepid* ready for a new expedition to Madagascar. To get more financial aid Benyowsky left for his third and last journey to America. Having left his family in Baltimore, on 25 October 1784 Benyowsky sailed in the direction of Madagascar where he arrived in July 1785. France sent against him military troops. A detailed report from Captain Larcher, one of the twenty documents filed under the name Benyowsky in the National Archives of France, described the story of the military action to secure Benyowsky's capture during which Morice Benyowsky was killed on 23 May 1786.⁶

Morice Benyowsky was and still remains a figure of controversy. Doubts have been cast on his youthful career as well as on his vivid account of his later exploits. The arguments have continued ever since. It is clear that Benyowsky was possessed of an unusually complex personality, the explication of which defies an easy categorization. Benyowsky's reputation has been recently revived in Europe, America as well as in Madagascar itself which could be testified by an ever-growing number of books and studies.⁷ Recent research has attempted to reassess the accomplishments

⁵ See W a g n e r, Francis S.: *Benyovszky Móric Amerikában* (Morice Benyowsky in America). In: Földrajzi múzeumi tanulmányok, 1987, 3, pp. 45–52, also W a g n e r, F. S.: *Hungarian Contributions to World Civilization*. Center Square, Pennsylvania, Alpha Publications Inc. 1977 and D v o i c h e n k o - M a r k o v, E.: *Benjamin Franklin and Count M. A. Benyowski*. In: *Proceeding of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol., 99, Dec. 1955, 6, pp. 405–417.

⁶ For a description of the twenty documents filed under the name of Benyowsky in the National Archives of France see L e C a l o c ' h, B.: *Benyovszky Móric Dossziéja a Francia Nemzeti Levéltárban* (The Morice Benyowsky File in the National Archives of France). In: *Földrajzi múzeumi tanulmányok* 1987, 3, pp. 21–30.

⁷ See e. g. V a c h e r, P.: *Contribution à l'histoire de l'établissement français fondé à Madagascar par*

of Morice Benyowsky in the light of modern scholarship and, if possible, to reach some conclusions about the underlying motivations and deep-seated drives of this complex character. The Institute for World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian Geographical Museum organized on 22 and 23 May 1986 an international symposium to commemorate the bicentenary of Morice Benyowsky's death.⁸ Its main purpose was to reveal new sources and promote the true evaluation of Benyowsky's life and career.

Benyowsky travelled in four continents and the related documents are found in different archives scattered all over the world. To draw a genuine picture of Benyowsky, research should be extended to cover newly-discovered and hitherto unused sources so as to shed new light on such topics as e.g. Benyowsky's role in the organization and direction of the Kamchatka uprising, his plans to construct waterways in Hungary and to connect Hungary with international trade at sea or his activities in North America and in Madagascar. Without studying these topics in detail, Benyowsky's actions and fortunes cannot be fully appreciated.

In Madagascar, his memory is no more than European-inspired. He has in no form been carried over in the folk history of the peoples of Madagascar. There is much about Benyowsky that is still obscure and is likely to remain so. What effect, if any, did Morice Benyowsky have, for example, on the peoples of Madagascar and the course and direction of their life? What did he set out to achieve there? What do we know of Benyowsky's *modus operandi* in the field situation? With personal reminiscences in Madagascar no longer available, it is only from the clues in his memoirs and a handful of other sources that one can to some extent piece together the picture of how Benyowsky lived during his stay on the island and the impression his way of life and his conduct may have made on his Malagasy acquaintances.

By and large, our understanding of Morice Benyowsky is still only partial. His career remains to be very little known, especially to the wider audience. Morice

le baron de Benyowszky (1772–1776) d'après de nouvelles sources manuscrites. Tananarive 1970; Cabanes, R.: *Guerre lignagère et guerre de traite sur la côte nord-est de Madagascar XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles.* In: Bázín, J. – Terray, E. (Eds.): *Guerres de lignages et guerres d'États en Afrique.* Paris 1983, the respective entry on Benyowsky in *Hommes et destins. Dictionnaire biographique d'Outre-Mer.* Madagascar. T. 3, Paris–Nice 1979, p. 63; From the rich Hungarian historical production on Benyowsky see e.g. Lugosi, Gy.: *Benyovszky Móric Madagaszkáron – 'autolegenda' és valóság* (Morice Benyowsky on Madagascar – 'Autolegend' and Truth). In: Századok 2, 1984, pp. 361–390; Sieroszewski, A.: *Benyovszky Móric a magyar és a lengyel irodalomban.* (Morice Benyowsky in Hungarian and Polish Literature). In: Tanulmányok a lengyel-magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok köréből. Budapest 1969, pp. 375–406.

⁸ The International symposium resulted in publication of a special volume dedicated to Benyowsky with contributions from Hungary, France, USA, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. The volume was published by Magyar Földrajzi Gyűjtemény (Hungarian Geographical Collection) in Érd as a special issue of the journal Földrajzi múzeumi tanulmányok, 1987, 3.

Benyowsky, the popular hero of innumerable books, novels and plays, has been more often stereotyped than understood and paradoxically remains both the notoriously well-known name and the most elusive personality.

The present study seeks, within the limitations posed by the lack of evidence, to examine the ways in which the knowledge of Benyowsky's adventures and accomplishments reached the Slovak public and to assess the image of Benyowsky in Slovak society from the eighteenth century up to the present. When preparing it, I have been fully aware of the relative incompleteness of my information. Given the absence of reliable data, it has been found extremely difficult to assess to what extent the saga of Morice Benyowsky's adventures and his subsequent premature death ever captured the imagination of his contemporaries living in present-day Slovakia. The resulting study therefore cannot claim to be more than an outline in need of further amplification and testing or purport to give conclusive judgements on the actual knowledge and public opinion on Morice Benyowsky and his different adventures in the Slovak society.

It is virtually impossible to assess now what the people living in Slovakia knew about Benyowsky and his adventures during his life-time. The first information and news of the wider world and Africa started to reach the broader layers of the population through Slovak newspaper and popular press, newspapers, magazines, journals and calendars which had started to be more or less regularly published in the Slovak language since the end of the eighteenth century. The eighteenth century, and especially the eighties of this enlightened century – siècle de la lumière – were an important milestone in Slovak history. The rise to self-assertion of the Slovak nation, the beginnings of the Slovak national awakening and of the slow transformation of the Slovak people into a modern nation can be dated back to the 1780s. The campaign for the promotion of the national literary language resulted in 1787 in the codification of the first Slovak literary language, an event which could be regarded a historical turning point in the life of the Slovak nation.

Thus already in 1808 Morice Benyowsky's *Memoirs and Travels...*, originally written in French and first published in London in 1790, came out also in Slovak or in Slovak of a sort, in Pressburg or Bratislava under the title *Pamätné príhody hraběte Beňovského, ve větším díle od něho samého sepsané, ve výtah pak uvedené a přeložené od Samuela Čerňanského*. Prešpurk 1808, which means Memorable Adventures of Count Benyowsky, mostly written by himself, selected and translated by Samuel Čerňanský, Pressburg 1808.

Remembering the historical, political and social conditions of the Slovak society of that time, it was quite natural that the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century Slovak newspaper and popular press gave preference to the main aspirations of the Slovak nation, namely the achievement of national freedom and the cultivation of the Slovak language and culture, and most of the contents were therefore designed to appeal to the nationalist and patriotic sentiments. To the nineteenth-century Slo-

vak nationalist leaders Ľudovít Štúr, Michal Miloslav Hodža, Jozef Miloslav Hurban and some others Morice Benyowsky was a too colourful and curious figure to attract their attention. According to the bibliography of Slovak writings from the earliest times till 1900 compiled by Ľudovít Rizner,⁹ only two items had dealt with Madagascar and none with Benyowsky himself. Despite the incompleteness of my information, it can be safely presumed that in 1886 the Slovak newspaper and popular press paid no attention whatsoever to the centenary of Morice Benyowsky's death.

Nevertheless, another book dealing with Benyowsky's life and writing was published in Slovak by the end of the nineteenth century. It came out in Budapest in 1890 under the title *Životopis a zápisky hraběte M. Beňovského*.¹⁰ It should, however, be remembered that the Slovak intelligentsia of that time was well enough versed in foreign languages, namely in Hungarian and German to have been able to follow Morice Benyowsky's fortunes also in books published in those languages.¹¹

For the wider Slovak readership Benyowsky was and has remained a popular hero of numerous novels and plays such as the novel written by the Slovak writer Jožo Nižnánsky under the title *Dobrodružstvá Mórica Beňovského*.¹² The number of books on Benyowsky is considerable; the list appended to the new edition of Mór Jókai's above-mentioned work reaches some 400 items,¹³ some of which could have made their way to the wider Slovak audience.

More than one hundred and fifty years after the first Slovak edition, in 1966 Morice Benyowsky's *Memoirs and Travels* were once again published in a Slovak translation under the title *Denník Mórica A. Beňovského* or *The Diary of Morice A. Benyowsky*. It was a rather short selection from the original German edition *Des Grafen Moritz August von Benyowsky... Schicksale und Reisen I, II* published in 1791 in Leipzig.¹⁴

⁹ Rizner, Ľudovít (Ed.): *Bibliografia písomníctva slovenského na spôsob slovníka od najstarších čias do konca r. 1900, s pripojenou bibliografiou archeologickou, historickou, miestopisnou a prírodovedskou*. 6 vols. Martin, Matica slovenská 1929–1934.

¹⁰ *Životopis a zápisky hraběte M. Beňovského* (A Biography and Records of Count M. Benyowsky). Budapest 1890.

¹¹ It is, however, interesting that the first Hungarian translation made by the well-known Hungarian writer Mór Jókai appeared only some eighty years after the Slovak edition of Benyowsky's *Memoirs*... See Jókai, M.: *Gróf Benyovszky* (Count Benyowsky) 1–4. Budapest 1888.

¹² Nižnánsky, J.: *Dobrodružstvá Mórica Beňovského* (Adventures of Morice Benyowsky). Prague 1933, Bratislava 1958, 1965, 1988.

¹³ Jókai, M.: *Gróf Benyovszky Móric életrajza, saját emlékiratai és útleírásai* (Count Morice Benyowsky's Biography, His Memoirs and Travels). Budapest 1967. Among interesting books dealing with Benyowsky are: Cultru, P.: *De Colonia in Insulam Delphinam vulgo Madagascar a barone M. A. Benyowsky deducta*. Paris 1901; Cultru, P.: *Un Empereur de Madagascar au XVIII^e siècle. Benyowsky*. Paris 1906 and Curzon, Henry de: *Une épisode de l'histoire de Madagascar au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris 1896.

¹⁴ See Note 3.

It was, however, the joint Slovak-Hungarian enterprise, the T.V. series in thirteen parts on Benyowsky made between 1973–1974 in Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, the GDR, Yugoslavia and Madagascar, which did most to popularize Benyowsky's name among the broader layers of the population in Slovakia and the neighbouring countries. Though widely criticized, the film *Vivat Beňovský!* was avidly followed and much discussed.

Slovak professional historians have until now paid little attention to Benyowsky, the only exception being Anton Vantuch who in 1969 published four of Benyowsky's letters he had found in the French archives in Paris.¹⁵ All the four letters published by Vantuch come from the last period of Benyowsky's life, the last one was actually written two months before Benyowsky's death, and are addressed to the French Foreign Minister. While in the first two letters the great adventurer disappointed by the failure of his Madagascar plans offered to serve the French interests in Turkey,¹⁶ the other two letters testify to Benyowsky's unceasing preoccupation with the need for greater European, more particularly French, interest in Madagascar. For Benyowsky Madagascar had always represented a rich field for humanitarian activity and commerce.¹⁷ In the last letter dated 26 March 1786 and addressed to Count de Vergennes, Benyowsky once again attempted to expose the advantages of a French colony on Madagascar and to interest both governmental and business circles in France in a more forward policy in Madagascar with, of course, his own active participation and guidance. He pointed out to the rich human and natural resources and promised to provide the French colonies established on the islands in the Indian ocean, namely Bourbon and Ile de France, with rice, beef, metals, wood and even slaves (sic!) numbering from two to three thousand a year to be shipped to Ile de France from Mozambique, Mombasa, Querimbe and other places on the East African coast.¹⁸

As it was, Benyowsky's listings of significant new markets and resources never stirred the attention of those circles in France which had special concern with Africa, and he failed to gain a backing for his new scheme for Madagascar's development. Two months later he was killed in a clash with French forces sent against him from Ile de France. But although for different reasons Benyowsky's own scheme to open

¹⁵ See Vantuch, A.: *Maurice Beňovský dans les archives de quai d'orsay*. In: *Studia historica slovacica VI*. Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied 1969, pp. 239–245.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 241–242.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 243–245. The letters quoted by Vantuch are kept in the file *Mémoires et documents – Asie*, t. XVII, f. 280, f. 288, f. 278 and the last, and for us the most interesting letter is kept in the file *Mémoires et documents, Fonds divers*, t. XVIII, f. 240–241.

¹⁸ According to Dr. Vantuch, microfilm copies of Benyowsky's correspondence held in the French archives in Paris have been now deposited, thanks to Dr. F. Sedlák, at the State Central Archives in Bratislava.

up the island to French enterprise and to exploit Madagascar and the East African littoral commercially was never accepted by the French government, other documents kept in the French archives, including a detailed plan for the future colony, prove that the great adventurer found successors who, perhaps with less generosity and enthusiasm, carried on with his plans to "civilize" the island, to colonize its people and to develop its commerce.¹⁹

Another interesting study by Vantuch entitled *Keď Móric Beňovský hovorí pravdu*²⁰ is based on source materials kept in the Hungarian Regional Archives²¹ and attempts to prove the essential historicity of certain Benyowsky's claims made by himself in his Memoirs and concerning his violent occupation of family estates at the village of Hrušové on 16 June 1765.

There is still much about Morice Benyowsky that remains hidden and can possibly be unearthed in archives scattered all over the world,²² and only the joint effort of historians can shed new light on the career and exploits of the great adventurer.

¹⁹ See V a n t u c h, op. cit., p. 240. The documents referred to are kept in *Mémoires et documents – Asie*, t. XIX, f. 226–228, and f. 230–233 *Refléxions sur l'établissement de Madagascar*.

²⁰ V a n t u c h, A.: *Keď Móric Beňovský hovorí pravdu* (When Morice Benyowsky Speaks the Truth). *Vlastivedný časopis*, XXIX, 1980, 3, pp. 141–143.

²¹ MOL, C 42, Lad. B, fasc. 87, No. 631. It contains thirty-one letters. A microfilm is kept in the library of the Institute of Historical Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava.

²² Documents on Benyowsky are filed in the following archives:

USA: Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C., American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia.

Great Britain: British Museum, The British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG.

France: Archives Nationales de France, 27, rue Oudinot, 75007 Paris. Section Outre-Mer: 1. Dépôt des Fortifications des Colonies. Fonds Madagascar, 2. Dépôt des Papiers publics des Colonies. Archives Nationales de France, Colonies et Marine: Dossiers personnels: 1. Colonies, 2. Marines. Bibliothèque Municipale de Caen: Fonds de Caen; Bibliothèque Nationale des Manuscrits Français. Archives de l'île Maurice. Archives de l'Académie Malgache.

P a m a t n ě
P ř i h o d y
Grabiéte Benowského,

na největším díle od něho samého
sepsané,

ve vytaž pak vwezené
a přeložené

o d

Samuele Verňanského,
českého ewang. Dětowské Sl. B. Kazatele.

Proti a nákladem Institutu Literatury Slovenské.



W Presspurku,
Dřimem Eřimona Petra Wehera.

1808.

REVIEW ARTICLES AND REPORTS

NEW COMPARATIVE DATA FROM THE PERIPHERY OF AFRICAN LANGUAGE FAMILIES

PETR ZIMA, Prague

0. During the last two decades, the classification of Africa's language families and areas has shifted its focus from the central, and typologically 'clear' regions and branches to the more marginal, transitional, and hence to some extent atypical areas. Ever more scholars are applauding Gabriel Manessy's correct evaluation of the situation existing in the 1960s and 1970s, as Y. Monino (1988: 13) does: "Commentant ces classifications dans l'introduction au volume des Langues dans le monde ancien et moderne (1981) consacré à l'Afrique subsaharienne, G. Manessy soulignait les convergences profondes de ces constructions. Plus que la réalité linguistique, elles reflétaient selon lui l'état des connaissances africanistes, caractérisé par la disparité de la documentation, à l'époque peu fiable et insuffisante pour la plupart des langues; et ce, malgré – ou en raison de – l'ambition globalisante qui animait leurs auteurs, en dépit, aussi, des différences de modèles proposés ..." When placing the new descriptive language data from the vast, hitherto little-known marginal areas of the great language families at the comparativists' disposal, descriptive linguists realize that these new data should not be confined to the often merely presumed genetic context. Such cases as that of the Kadugli language (Schadeberg 1981) underline the importance of comparing new descriptive data also within contexts that had previously been considered to be unrelated, thereby verifying the classifications established so far.

1.0. Two recent major contributions dealing with different areas of the vast transitional belt on the periphery of the three supposedly unrelated genetic families of Africa, i.e. Niger-Kordofan, Nilo-Saharan and Afro-Asiatic undoubtedly offer new opportunities for such an unconventional approach. Both of the above-mentioned monographs are rooted in reliable field research thus offering new descriptive data, but their main purpose is essentially comparative: in fact, both of them open new frontiers for a genetic and areal classification of Africa's languages.

1.1. H.G. Mukarovsky's recent book (1987) is derived to some extent from field research undertaken by its author and his pupils in the southeastern Mande area of

such languages as Samo and Bisa in Burkina Faso. However, its main focus is a comparative one, as the author explores possible links between Mande and Chadic, both of which language groups were long considered to have been branches of entirely different genetic language families, i.e. the Niger-Kordofan and Afro-Asiatic families respectively. Moreover, Mukarovsky makes use of this opportunity to put Mande-Chadic comparative lexical data within broader contexts, especially those of Cushitic and Omotic within the Afro-Asiatic phylum. Interesting previous achievements of his in this direction in the field of numerals are well known (Mukarovsky 1987a). Incidentally, certain affinities of Mande with Songhay were analysed by that same author already two decades earlier (1966). The possibility of further extensions of these Mande-Songhay affinities was suggested by R. Nicolai (1984), in view of the fact that they appear to co-exist with parallel Songhay-Saharan affinities; the possibility of common Songhay-Chadic lexical links has also recently been suggested (Zima 1988, Zima in press a, b). Thus, Mande and Songhay, if indeed they do share common features with Chadic, might possibly belong to one and the same distantly related phylum. Thus, the whole concept of the Niger-Kordofan links of Mande and of the Nilo-Saharan ties of Songhay would, once again, become open to discussion. In this respect, the following question becomes crucial: Are the Mande-Chadic (cum Songhay and/or Saharan) affinities totally isolated from other branches of the Niger-Kordofan family as was previously thought? If this is the case, then obviously special sorts of common ties, confined to the Mande-Chadic (-Songhay, -Saharan) belt must be presumed, be they of a generic or of an areal nature. If, on the other hand, a substantial part of these Mande-Chadic-Songhay-Saharan affinities is shared with other branches of Niger-Kordofan (or perhaps, as a consequence, is even related to a very ancient part of its lexicon), then other theoretical solutions would have to be found to explain this.

1.2. In this context, another book prepared by a team of linguists (most of whom are attached to the well-known LACITO-CNRS centre in Paris) is also highly welcome (Y. Monino, Ed., 1988). Actually it is much more than simply a series of descriptive papers presenting the results of field research carried out in the area of the so-called Ubanguian languages (i.e. the languages of the Eastern branch of the Adamawa – Eastern genetic sub-family of Niger-Kordofan, if J.H. Greenberg's classification, 1966, is strictly followed). This volume offers new descriptive data on such languages and language groups as Gbaya-Manza-Ngbaka, Ngbandi-Sango-Kaptiri, Banda, and even Zande, prepared by such well-known linguists as Y. Monino, P. Boyldieu, F. Cloarec-Heiss, R. Boyd and a number of others. Also included is a preliminary comparative outline compiled by Y. Monino ('Cousines ou voisines?', 11–25) and a 204-item comparative lexicon of all the languages investigated drawn up by Ann Behaghel. Almost all the lexemes of the original 100-terms Swadesh list are included, and thus an opportunity of broad comparison is offered. However, what is most important in our own context is the fact that, of the approximately

300 lexemes dealt with by Mukarovsky, more than 130 of them also appear in the LACITO lexicon, and therefore one can check the possible affinities between the two lists.

2. Even a very preliminary comparison of these two lists proves interesting, especially if further affinities in all of the three main directions (i.e. Chadic and Afro-Asiatic in general, Niger-Kordofan and Songhay-Saharan) are pursued.

2.1. In many cases, the Mande-Chadic lexical affinities are reflected in the lexicon of the Ubanguian languages, but many of these similarities apparently have broader contexts and deeper roots, as the Ubanguian languages are not isolated in this context; similar or partially similar forms appear in other Niger-Kordofan branches. Hence it follows that these are often very ancient PNC or even PNK forms. Let us analyse some of those examples in detail:

2.1.1. HAND, FOREARM, ARM: Mukarovsky (1987: 200) gives various SEM forms such as Samo *gō*, *wōŋ*, *wō*, Bisa *wō* etc. He compares them with such Chadic forms as *kōman*, *kōm* reconstructed by Jungraithmayr-Shimizu (1981: 129) as B **km* (-n). I have stressed the possible links of these and other similar Chadic forms with the respective Songhay *kabe*, *kāmbe*, *kām̐ba*, Dendi dialectal variety *kāmme* (Zima 1988: 188). Mukarovsky extends his Mande-Chadic comparison to such Afro-Asiatic forms as NCU Bedaue *gan'a*, ECU Afar *gena^c-ta*, Somali *ga'an*, etc. The Ubanguian forms given by Monino (1988: 97) for the lexeme "BRAS/MAIN" are *bākà/ká*, *màbákà*, *kpā*, *kwē bē*, *bi*, *kēné* or *kéné*, *áná*, *kānó*, *kōné*, *kōnó*, *né*, *bé*, *bī*. Williamson-Shimizu (1968, 8) give *bóko* as PB 1 with a reminder: "Found widely outside BC. Mukarovsky compares WA Limba *ku-wokon ko* shoulder..."

2.1.2. ASH(ES), sometimes also DUST: Mukarovsky (1987: 82) gives such NM forms as Xassonke *buguti gē* (lit. WHITE DUST), Bambara *bùgùrī*, Dyula *buguri* (= DUST). He links them to such Chadic forms as C Chadic Margi *bugu*. The affinity of numerous other similar Chadic forms (all of them derived probably from PC A **bt*, see Jungraithmayr-Shimizu 1981: 31) to the Songhay forms *búrow*, *bo:so* with a Dendi dialectal variety *bo:so* was established in Zima (1988: 188). Nicolai (1984: 14) underlined the affinity of this same Songhay form with Saharan. Y. Monino (1988: 19) gives under the lexeme "CENDRES", the Ubanguian forms *bùk/bòk*, *mbùru.wà*, *mbī.wà*, *mbī*, *mbé*, *fùrò*, -vú-, *mvùru*, *vùrú*, *mvōrōwò*, *vōrōwò*, *mbūrū*; only the Zande /Geme/Nzakara forms *kūkè*, *kūkū* do not seem to be related to the Mande-Chadic-Songhay complex. Williamson-Shimizu (1968: 20) give PB -bú- with a PP form **buŋ*.

2.1.3. EGG: Mukarovsky (1987: 155) gives such NM forms as Malinke *kīli*, Susu *xelé*, Vai *keli*; Brauner (1974: 154) gives *kili* for Bambara. There are such SWM forms as Mande *ngálú*, Loma *ŋāī*, but there are also such SEM forms as Samo *gi*, *jī*, Bobo *were*, Samo Ba *gùrú*, Bisa *gur* (pl.). These may be compared to such Chadic forms as *ngerli/garli* (Tera), *ngala* (Hwona), *gè'ila* (Ga'andà), and *kwolɔ* (Bata). Newman-Ma (1966: 234) reconstruct for PC **(N)g-(r)*. Compare the Mande-Cha-

dic affinities to Songhay *gù:rì*, *gunguri* and its Saharan affinities outlined by R. Nicolai (1984: 31): Daza *kwili*, Kanuri *gəwul*, Kanembu *ngüül*. The Ubanguian forms, as reported under "OEUF" (Monino 1988: 126): *kúi*, *kúri*, *kúli*, *kár*, *pārā*, *pālā*, *fārā*, *pere*, etc. Williamson – Shimizu (1968: 132) presume PB **gi* (**gidí*) to be "clearly PNC", referring to D. Westermann's **gi*, *gia* (1927: 214).

2.1.4. WATER–THIRST–DRINK: we have already suggested the existence of possible lexical and semantic links between these lexemes in many languages of this area (Zima, in press b). Mukarovsky (1987: 394) gives the details of such SWM forms as *njä* (Mende), *nja* (Loko), *zia* (Loma), *yà* (Kpelle), but for NM he also suggests the forms *ji* (Soninke), *jí* (Malinke), *ye* (Susu). Brauner (1974: 151) gives *jē* for Dyula and *ji* for Bambara, all these forms meaning basically WATER. Compare the Mande forms to the Songhay forms for THIRST: *jèw*, *jaw*, *jowo*, the Dendi dialectal variety *zewyo*, *zowo*. Apart from various particular Chadic forms for WATER (as indicated by Mukarovsky 1987: 395), there is also the remote possibility of a link to PC A **s₂w'h*, as reconstructed by Jungraithmayr–Shimizu for DRINK (1981, 88). As for Ubanguian, the affinity seems more probable with "BOIRE" (Monino 1988: 96): *nɔ/nyo*, *nzō*, *njō*, *nǎnjō*, *njónjō*, *-nyó*, *njò*, *nzū*: Zande and Nzakara once again, appear to be unrelated: *mbir*, *mbil*. Compare all this with D. Westermann's PS WATER **gi*, *gia* (with a probable palatalization – 1927: 221).

2.1.5. BLOW: Mukarovsky (1987: 102–103) collected various NM, SWM and SEM forms with **f*–: Bambara *fyé*, Susu *fe*, Mande *fé*, Kpelle *fee*, Busa *pé*. There are numerous Chadic parallels such as Angas *fī*, Sura *fii*, giving Tera *pīl/piya*, Bura *fiyu*, but Gisiga *fe* in C Chadic. While Newman – Ma (1966: 232) reconstruct this PC as **F*–, Jungraithmayr – Shimizu (1981: 47) reconstruct A as **pt* for W and C Chadic. The Songhay parallels *fú.su* ("SOUFFLER, ENFLER"), and possibly also *funsu* („RESPIRER"), were related both to Saharan (Nicolai 1984: 20: Daza *funar* – "GONFLER", *funər* "SOUFFLER", Teda *funar*, Kanuri *fū*, *fastu* – "DÉ-GONFLER", *fudu* "S'ENFLER", Kanembu *fūdú* "FAIT DE SOUFFLER") and to Chadic (for details see Zima 1988: 186). The Ubanguian forms for "SOUFFLER AVEC LA BOUCHE", as indicated by Monino (1988: 139) are not far from the Mande-Chadic-Songhay-Saharan affinities: *'ufi*, *'ufu*, *húrù*. *wś*, *'ülü*, *fò*, *wülü*, *pīpà*, *'üü*, *'ü'ürrü*, *wòlò* etc. D. Westermann's PWS **pú* ("BLASEN") (1927, 217), L. Gerhardt's PP *pep/pyap* (1983: 229) and even Heine's PTR **pénu* – "PFEIFEN" (1968: 243) suggest a possible PNC form, but some sort of a common onomatopoeic origin cannot be excluded, in this case, too.

2.2. In certain other cases, the affinities are probable, but they are far from certain. For some lexemes, the affinity of the Mande-Chadic parallels with the Ubanguian forms seems probable, but the other possible directions and extensions, dealt with in para 2.1 appear to be merely dead-ends, be they the Songhay-Saharan, or the PB, PP or PTR etymologies, or all of them together. The intricacies of such

lexical fields can be illustrated by the cases of two etymologically “famous” lexemes of this area:

2.2.1. DIE-KILL: rightly presumed by H. Jungraithmayr (1987) to be one of the few common Chadic roots, this lexeme is considered by Mukarovsky to be within the same semantic framework as KILL (owing to a presumed shift of meaning), at least for the purposes of a Mande-Chadic comparison (1987: 141–142). This is how the latter author groups together “under one roof” such NM forms as *fati* (Soninke), *fasti* (Bozo), *fala/faal* (Kono), *fa* (Vai) and the W Chadic forms *fwat* (Zaari), *fata*, *fada* (Musgu), etc. On the other hand, he subsumes under the same ‘combined’ lexeme DIE/KILL the various *waa*, *gwa*, *gà*, *kà*, *kàà*, *gɛ* and *gá* forms of the NM and SEM languages, even comparing them with similar ECU and SCU forms (ibidem, 142). If a sort of semantic shift between KILL/DIE is presumed, then the Songhay form *wí* (KILL), with its Saharan affinities (as established by Nicolai 1984: 47), should also be considered in this context. The Ubanguian forms for “MOURIR” (Monino 1988: 123) are *fe*, *kúi*, *kpi*, *kpi kpè*, *kwí*, *cí*, *cu*, etc., while those for “TUER”, (ibidem, 143) are given as *gbɛ*, *fá*, *fàà*, *ho*, *kwí*, *-kwíngf-wo*, etc. Links with PB **kú*, supposed to be a PNC form by Williamson – Shimizu (1968: 237–238), PP **kwu*, **kwo*, **ku*, **ku* (Gerhardt 1983: 225) or even with PTR **kút* – “STERBEN” (Heine 1968: 225) appear probable.

2.2.2. EAT: Mukarovsky (1987: 152) quotes such NM forms as *yiga* (Soninke), and *ik* (Azer) comparing them to the C Chadic *’àg-ic* (Gude), and E Chadic *yígá* (Ndam D.) which are thought to be related to interesting CCU and ECU parallels. NM *ja* (Bozo) also may have played – if palatalization is presumed – a certain role in this context. Little probability exists, however, of ties to the PC A **twy*, as reconstructed by Jungraithmayr – Shimizu (1981: 92); the same holds true for the Ubanguian forms indicated under “MANGER” by Monino (1988: 121): *nyonyi*, *yí*, *nyonyo*, *tɛ*, *hō*, *zō*, *zī*, *ri*, *li*, etc. The situation is different, however, in the case of the semantically related HUNGER and its various forms. In this case, the PC roots A **my(a)* → possibly from WANT, DESIRE and B **ksm* (from THIRST) reconstructed by Jungraithmayr – Shimizu (1981: 145) may be related not only to their various contemporary Chadic derivatives (including the present-day Hausa form *yunwàa*), but also to the Songhay *n”àá*, several of the above-mentioned Mande forms and the Ubanguian forms indicated under “FAIM” (Monino 1988: 111): *wɔ*, *gwé*, *gòmò*, *gõmu*, *gémè*; *gō*, *əgò*, *gògò*, *gómórò*, *nzàgbà*, etc. The clear possibility of links of all these forms with the PS reconstruction for HUNGER surmised by D. Westermann (1927: 245) as **kúám*, and with the PP **duon* (Gerhardt 1983: 147) or PTR **ku-kâna/*kpam* (Heine 1968: 225, 228) exists.

3. It would be going beyond the scope of this modest preliminary contribution to attempt to establish the exact quantitative ratio of all the affinities affecting the entire 130-item common core of lexemes shared by Mukarovský’s and LACITO lists. Such a comparative analysis would also involve investigating the possible af-

finites to Songhay, Saharan and other branches of Niger–Congo; undoubtedly this should become one of the urgent tasks of comparative linguistics in this region. In order to give at least some idea of the amount of common lexicon, shared by Mande/Chadic and the Ubanguian languages (with possible extensions to other fields), we offer the following preliminary survey of the first 20 lexemes analysed both by Mukarovsky and the LACITO lexicon (the alphabetical order of the French lexemes has been adopted). The following symbols are used:

- + affinity seems very probable or certain
- (+) affinity probable, but not fully documented
- ? affinity dubious, or not documented at all
- affinity improbable at the present stage of research

The items included in the 100-item Swadesh list are marked with an asterisk. The items marked with a double asterisk are also dealt with in detail in the preceding paragraphs.

No.	LEXEME	Mande/Chadic and Ubanguian	PBC	PP	PTR	So	Sa
1	AILE/WING	+	?	?	?	+	?
2	ALLER/GO	+	+	+	+	+	+
3	AMER/BITTER	–	–	–	–	–	–
4	ANIMAL	?	?	?	?	?	?
5	ANNÉE/YEAR	(+)	?	?	(+)	–	–
6	APPELER/CALL	–	–	–	–	–	–
* 7	ARBRE/TREE	+	(+)	(+)	–	–	–
* 8	BLANC/WHITE	+	+	(+)	+	+	(+)
* 9	BON/GOOD	–	–	–	–	–	–
* 10	BOUCHE/MOUTH	?	?	?	?	?	?
** 11	BRAS/ARM	+	+	+	+	+	+
12	BROUILLARD/BRUME – FOG	+	–	(+)	–	+	?
13	BRULER/BURN	(+)	?	?	?	(+)	?
** 14	CENDRES/ASHES	+	+	+	+	+	+
15	CHAMP/FIELD	(+)	(+)	(+)	?	+	(+)
16	CHARBON (DE BOIS) – CHARCOAL	+	+	+	+	?	?
* 17	CHAUD/WARM	(+)	?	–	?	?	?
* 18	CHEMIN/ROAD	–	–	–	–	–	–
19	CHEVRE/GOAT	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	?	?
* 20	CHIEW/DOG	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	–	–

4. These are all still preliminary results; an analysis of all the 130 lexemes shared by Mukarovsky (1987) and the LACITO Ubanguian lexicon (Monino, 1988) may modify these results. Nevertheless, the following conclusions may be formulated, though still only hypothetically.

4.1. A non-negligible proportion of the Mande–Chadic lexical affinities, as outlined by Mukarovsky, is shared not only with Songhay and to a lesser extent with other Saharan languages, but also with the Ubanguian languages (i.e. the languages of the Eastern branch of the Adamawa–Eastern sub-branch of Niger–Congo). As for all these affinities, a certain allowance may be made for the areal factor. All these languages are actually spoken in the vast contact belt between Niger–Congo, the Afro–Asiatic and Nilo–Saharan families, to use the orthodox genetic terms. Yet, a non-negligible part of this Mande–Chadic–Songhay–Saharan–Ubanguian lexical common core displays strong links with the lexicons of other Niger–Congo branches. In the preliminary sample presented above, these links affect between 20 – 25 % of the total sample, involving for the most part the “basic” lexicon of the 100-items Swadesh list.

4.2. We ourselves are still not convinced that special genetic links exist between Mande and Chadic (cum Songhay, etc.), but our own findings indicate that it would be superfluous to attribute the highly interesting Mande–Chadic lexical affinities discovered by Mukarovsky merely to common “areal” roots, in the narrow, traditional sense. We believe, rather, that his results, if placed in the context of those of the LACITO team, bring us closer to an entirely new approach to the lexicon of Central Africa. Quite recently, H. Jungraithmayer expressed – in respect to Chadic – the opinion that its lexicon “c’est constitué à partir de deux grandes traditions linguistiques et culturelles, qui se sont intimement mélangées, à savoir celle du chamito-sémitique (ou afroasiatique) et celle du Niger–Congo” (1988: 249). I agree with this in principle, but the current findings will probably force us to extend the analysis of both the scope and the sources of such lexical interferences. It was not only Chadic within the Afro–Asiatic, but also the Mande, Songhay, Saharan and Ubanguian languages (and perhaps also other languages of other branches as well) that were involved in mass lexical interference within their own original genetic contexts. Further detailed lexical analysis should make it possible, in principle, to distinguish the affinities shared by the “peripheral” branches of different genetic language families from those shared by the language families as entities. This latter type of affinity having very ancient origins should be reflected (and the preliminary findings discussed in this paper appear to confirm this) in the proto-forms of the different families.

Apart from the question of the scope of such an ancient lexical common core, there is also the question of its original sources. Were there really only two sources, as presumed by Jungraithmayr, i.e. the Niger–Kordofan and the Afro–Asiatic and is, accordingly, Nilo–Saharan, therefore, to be considered in principle merely a belt of transition? Or were there, perhaps, three sources of such a process, and, therefore, should Nilo–Saharan be considered a language family in its own right? If this is the case, then most of the languages of this area (including Chadic) should henceforth be studied in the light of a possible three-way interference. Much further

lexical analysis, directed across the long-established frontiers of the language families in this area, will be needed before at least some preliminary answers to these fundamental questions are formulated. The thus far comparative data on grammar will also have to be put into this context. A more recent important monograph by R. Nicolai (*Parentés linguistique, à propos de songhay*, Paris, Editions du CNRS 1990) has appeared when this contribution was in proofs.

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A TURKISH POPULAR POET OF THE 16th CENTURY. PIR SULTAN ABDAL. TRADITION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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The poetry of this 16th-century Turkish popular poet, as well as his personality have for many years now been in the foreground of interest on the part of Turkish folklorists and literary historians. He was first written about in 1928 by the eminent literary historian Mehmet Fuat Köprülü;¹ one year later appeared a book by Sadettin Nizhet (Ergun)² in which the author wrongly situated Pir Sultan in the 17th century, on the other hand, he provided more circumstantial and basic data about him and his work and published one hundred and five of his poems. Nevertheless, it was only a scientific treatise by Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı and Pertev Naili Boratav in 1943,³ indicating a connection between Pir Sultan Abdal's poetry and the historical situation against the background of which it was created and by which it was directly influenced, as also the growing interest in the work of popular or folk poets, that directed experts' attention along that line. An outcome of this focus of attention on Abdal has been a spate of studies in various collections, literary and folklorist periodicals, besides sixteen monographs.⁴

The year 1986 saw two book publications devoted to this prominent representative of Turkish mystic folk literature (*Tasavvufî Halk Edebiyatı*, or *Alevî-Bektaşî Halk Edebiyatı*). The works by Asım Bezirci⁵ and Mehmet Bayrak⁶ that are dealt with here, each approaches the subject with a different design and goal, thus leading not unexpectedly to divergent conclusions.

¹ Köprülü, F.: *Pir Sultan Abdal*. Hayat, III, 1928. No. 64.

² Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun: *XVII Asır Sazşairlerinden Pir Sultan Abdal* (Pir Sultan Abdal, one of Minstrel Poets of the 17th Century). Istanbul, Türkiye Enstitüsü Yayını 1929. 76 pp.

³ Boratav, P. N. – Gölpınarlı, A.: *Pir Sultan Abdal*. Ankara, DTCF Yayını 1943.

⁴ Bezirci gives the bibliography of all articles and books published up to 1985, on pp. 25–456 of his book *Pir Sultan*, which will be spoken of in this article. For data on the book see Note 5.

⁵ Bezirci, A.: *Pir Sultan. Yaşamı, Kişiliği, Sanatı, Bütün, Şiirleri* (Pir Sultan. His Life, Personality, Art, all his Poems). Istanbul, Say 1986, 464 pp.

⁶ Bayrak, M.: *Pir Sultan Abdal*. Ankara, Yorum 1986. 259 pp.

The foremost Turkish literary critic Asım Bezirci (born 1927), whose domain is modern literature and principally poetry, takes as his starting point İbrahim Aslanoğlu's view that besides the folk poet, whose real name was Haydar, executed towards the end of the 16th century at Sivas, five further poets had used the pseudonym (*tapşırma, mahlas*) Pir Sultan (Abdal).⁷

Aslanoğlu, who according to his own words had been concerned with this issue for practically half a century, published the results of his investigation in a monograph entitled, in keeping with its content, *Pir Sultan Abdals*.⁸

In conformity with Aslanoğlu's opinion, Bezirci does not consider it a satisfactory solution to include all poems given under the pseudonym Pir Sultan, or Pir Sultan Abdal, within the common term "Tradition of Pir Sultan". He feels convinced that it is strictly necessary to differentiate poems in which the following pseudonyms figure: Pir Sultan, Pir Sultan'ım Haydar, Abdal Pir Sultan and Pir Sultan Abdal. Contrary to Aslanoğlu, Bezirci extends the number of these poets to seven and provides several concise data on them. Like Aslanoğlu, Bezirci also holds that solely poems with the pseudonym Pir Sultan belong to the poet whose life was extinguished on the gallows and thanks to which event, his name became deeply rooted in the consciousness of the people.

Bezirci polemizes with Aslanoğlu's view that one of the four poets with the pseudonym Pir Sultan Abdal had been the daughter of Pir Sultan Sanem.⁹ As the poems embody declarations to a true love, their author could not have been a woman.

From the fragmentary data given by Bezirci in his characteristics of the various bearers of the common pseudonym, especially as there is question principally of conjectures, one would be hard put to judge how far his statement is correct. Pir (meaning old man, founder of an order, patron saint), Sultan (ruler, shaykh) and Abdal (one who turns away from the world towards God; saint; the name of a nomad tribe) are utilized both as terms, and as parts of names between Alevi-Bektashis so frequently, that there is no way of excluding a far greater number than Aslanoğlu's six or Bezirci's seven who may have adopted a pseudonym consisting of two or three of the above expressions.

On the other hand, however, a poet's pseudonym given as a rule in the last stanza of a poem need not be in this case conclusive. Deviations in motifs, in formal details by themselves do not exclude the possibility of the poem's reaching by its origin

⁷ The fact that the occurrence of identical pseudonyms in poets from various regions and periods during the course of centuries-old traditions of poetry of minstrel poets represented nothing extraordinary, is dealt with by K o z, M. S.: *Aşık Edebiyatında Ortak Mahlaslar Sorunu* (Problem of Common Pseudonyms in Our Literature of Minstrel Poets). In: II. *Uluslararası Türk Halk Edebiyatı Semineri*. Eskişehir, Yunus Emre Kültür Sanat ve Turizm Vakfı 1987, pp. 169-179.

⁸ Aslanoğlu, İ.: *Pir Sultan Abdallar*. İstanbul, Erman Yayınevi 1984. 524 pp.

⁹ Bezirci, A.: *Pir Sultan*, p. 20.

back to the poet whom Hızır Paşa had executed at Sivas. Pir Sultan's poems, like those of other popular poets (*halk ozanları, saz şairleri, aşıklar*) used to be handed down orally and consequently during the course of scores and hundreds of years necessarily succumbed to major or minor changes. And ultimately, one and the same poem often has several variants. And we must also count with the possibility that a poet using some pseudonym, may have introduced some of his own poems under a name which had become a legend, with the aim to ensure its popularity.

As has been emphasized by the outstanding connoisseur of Turkish folklore Pertev Naili Boratav, a folk poet's work is per se an improvisation,¹⁰ and those who have taken up his poems into their repertory continue in this improvisation. Poems of a folk poet represent in their beginnings the work of an individual, but in time they turn into the product of anonymous poetry.¹¹

Undoubtedly, the poetry of that poet who had paid with his life for his sympathies to the ruler of Iran, frankly expressed in his verses, could not have been handed down through centuries in its pristine form. Entire generations of poets passed on verses and simultaneously gave them their own twist, in which the historical situation and social conditions then prevailing were reflected, together with the religious feeling, hopes and yearnings of Pir Sultan's contemporaries.

What is of importance is that for the simple folk to which the poet had belonged and to whom his work was dedicated, there remains but one Pir Sultan Abdal.¹² Hence, in conformity with the way folk poetry originated and developed, İlhan Başgöz's view, looking upon folk poets creating the Pir Sultan tradition as being one unique whole,¹³ is more justified than Asım Bezirci's efforts at setting off a single author, thereby essentially disrupting continuity.

Not even İbrahim Aslanoğlu who is the initiator of the idea of several Pir Sultan Abdals proceeds in so radical a manner as Asım Bezirci. While Aslanoğlu included as many as 439 poems with the pseudonym Pir Sultan – Pir Sultan Abdal in his book, that is he took tradition into consideration which had arisen about this pseudonym, Bezirci published no more than 195 poems with the pseudonym Pir Sultan and even out of these he specifically set aside thirteen as disputable (*kuşkulu şiirler*). He also mentions 11 poems whose content excludes, in his view, Pir Sultan's authorship.

Certainly, a thorough textual analysis, an assessment of the formal and content components of the various poems will enable us to determine whether they belong to Pir Sultan, or more correctly to his tradition. And ultimately, that was the proce-

¹⁰ Boratav, P. N.: *100 Soruda Türk Halk Edebiyatı* (Turkish Folk Literature in 100 Questions). İstanbul, Gerçek Yayınevi 1973, p. 22.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 24–25.

¹² Özkırımlı, A.: *Pir Sultan Bir Gelenektir* (Pir Sultan is Tradition). Halkozanı, 1986, 1, p. 20.

¹³ Başgöz, İ.: *Pir Sultan Abdal ve Pir Sultan Abdal Geleneği* (Pir Sultan Abdal and the Tradition of Pir Sultan Abdal). E y u b o ğ l u, S.: *Pir Sultan Abdal*. İstanbul, Cem Yayınevi 1977, p. 11.

dure adopted by Gölpinarlı and Boratav in the publication referred to in the introductory part of the present study, while Bezirci contented himself with setting up the principal themes and motifs in the poetry of the folk poet and the ideas expressed in them.

The central topic in Pir Sultan's poetry is faith in God and love to the prophet Muhammad, to Ali and his family. But richly enfolded are also topics of nature, man, society, love, friendship, life and death, oppression and resistance.

The influence of Sufism through the intermediary of the great 13th-century Turkish mystic Yunus Emre, who interpreted and developed the idea of man as a creature and an image of God in his poetic works, became manifest in Pir Sultan in his respect for man. Not even numerous human failures, deficiencies justify any one to despise man, to humiliate him. Nature, too, in its multifarious manifestations entered into many of Pir Sultan's verses.

The truth is that Bezirci has delineated the character of Pir Sultan's poetry in a rough outline only. Much more would be said of it by a detailed analysis which, however, is not possible without a through knowledge of the way of life and culture, the poetics of Turkish folk poetry, but above all, of the principles and ideas of Sufism, specifically of its modification which was formed in Anatolia. Attention to this was already drawn by A. Gölpinarlı¹⁴ who, on the basis of an analysis of Pir Sultan's quatrains and on the example of a few terms, pointed out that their meaning escapes readers who are not familiar with regional expressions and customs.¹⁵

For instance among natural motifs in Pir Sultan's poetry, Asım Bezirci mentions also that of the crane, but solely as one of several proofs of the poet's close bond with nature. Yet, especially in Alevi-Bektashis's poetry, this motif has a broad scale of functions and meanings. The crane as a migratory bird is here no longer a mere symbol of the nomad's constant moving, a messenger of those in love, but it also becomes a link between the descendants of Ali in Yemen and his adherents in Anatolia. The poet yearns to fly on the crane's wings off to the holy land of his ancestors, through it he sends his ardent professions of faith and love and his greetings. Alevi-Bektashis likened ritual dances (*semâ*) at religious ceremonies to the flight of cranes.¹⁶ In the poem entered in Bezirci's book under the number 170, on p. 267, cranes are returning from Yemen and the poet asks: "When you danced in the air/oh, cranes, didn't you see my Ali?" (*Havada samâ ederken / Turnalar Ali' mi görmediniz mi?*)

¹⁴ Gölpinarlı, A.: *Halk Edebiyatımızda Zümre Edebiyatları* (Literature of Religious Associations in our Folk Literature). Türk Dili. Türk Halk Edebiyatı Özel Sayısı, 1968, 207, pp. 262-270.

¹⁵ Gölpinarlı, A.: *Pir Sultan Abdal*. Türk Dili. Türk Halk Edebiyatı Özel Sayısı, 1968, 207, p. 418.

¹⁶ This question is dealt with in detail by the paper of Yoksul, C.: *Türkülerimizde Turnalar* (Cranes in our Folk Songs). Alliturna, 1987, 4, p. 106, 6, pp. 175-176.

Even a cursory perusal of Pir Sultan's poems reveals quite a number of interesting details evoking various associations and affinities. Parallels to the beautiful poem – dialogue (36/133) teeming with metaphors, could be found in European folklore. The poet's positive relation to life is expressed in the poem inviting us to enjoy the simple joys of earthly life, to eat and drink until the soul, this bird, flies away from the cage of the mortal body (83/250), but so is also a lament over a dead son whom his loving father calls a bleating lamb; the latter cannot reconcile himself with his loss, complains of the cruel play of fate (47/207). A personal aspect, an unfeigned enthusiasm are typical of all of Pir Sultan Abdal's poems regardless of whether there is question of a declaration of faith and love to God, to the Prophet, to Ali and his family, or of topics of a secular nature. Irony even sarcasm exhale from verses about representatives of the Ottoman power (*Koca başlı koca kadı*, 125/308), but also about the superiors of the Sufi brotherhood (*Çok dedelik gördüm sarı körkünde*, 40/199).

The verses in which are reflected the poet's irreconcilable hatred of enemies of the Shiites, a fiery appeal for a common fight against the Sultan by the side of the Shah,¹⁷ would in itself be sufficient reason for a man spreading such ideas, to find himself in prison, especially at a time when the relations between the Ottoman Empire and Iran were extremely tense.

In the 16th century Eastern Anatolia was the scene of an encounter of two war-like, aggressive dynasties, the Sunni Ottomans and the Shiah Safavids. Naturally, the Alevis representing a specific offshoot of Shiism, made on secret of their sympathies towards rulers who derived their origin from the 7th imam. They paid a cruel price for it; Sultan Selim I (1512–1520) ordered some forty thousand Shiites from Asia Minor to be massacred or thrown in prison.¹⁸ That explains why Pir Sultan Abdal's attitude could be qualified as treason and on this ground he could be sentenced to death. In all probability he became also personally involved in the disturbances provoked by two self-appointed leaders pretending to be Shah Ismail II (1576–1577); however, there are no documents on this in historical sources.¹⁹

Bezirci endeavours to elucidate discrepancies surrounding the person of Hızır Paşa who figures in Pir Sultan's poetry as the one who had condemned the poet to death. Out of four persons of the same name, Bezirci connects Deli Hızır Paşa with the poet's execution – who had acted from December 1588 for eighteen months as the Governor of the province Sivas.²⁰

¹⁷ Bezirci, A.: *Pir Sultan*, p. 53.

¹⁸ Tauer, F.: *Svět islámu. Jeho dějiny a kultura* (The World of Islam. Its History and Culture). Prague, Vyšehrad 1984, p. 186.

¹⁹ Bezirci, A.: *Pir Sultan*, p. 53.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 61.

Bezirci lays stress on the fact that Pir Sultan's poetry reflected not only sympathies towards the ruler of Iran as head of the Shiites and adversary of the Ottomans, but likewise his resistance against oppressors and every form of subjugation of the simple folk from whom he himself stemmed.²¹

Mehmet Bayrak calls Pir Sultan Abdal the "poet-leader" (*lider-ozan*; *önder-ozan* would be more appropriate) in his publication in which he is primarily concerned with determining the historical conditionedness of the phenomenon which this poet truly was, and of the tradition that came to be created about him.²² Approaching the subject from a broader aspect, the author summarized notions about the social structure in the Ottoman Empire in Chapter I of his monograph and those on its ideologico-cultural superstructure in Chapter II, taking support in works of foremost Turkish and foreign turkologists.

The topic of Chapter III in Bayrak's book is a deterioration of the economy in the Ottoman Empire which set in in the second half of the 16th century with a resulting growth of dissatisfaction among the masses at large, culminating in mass uprisings and insurrections especially of nomad tribes. These unrests were contributed to in no small measure also by the religious antagonism between the Ottoman and Safavid rulers.

Bayrak makes a point of the fact that the support provided to the Shiites in Anatolia by Shahs of the Safavid dynasty, was no mark of pure good will. These followed primarily their own expansive goals and in their policy towards the Kurdish tribes they proceeded in the same harsh ways as the Ottomans, carried strifes and dissensions among them which they then exploited for their own advantage in expanding their territory.²³

Extremely acute relations also existed between the class of settled farmers and the nomads who sought for themselves living space on the plains in order to winter their herds – part of them began permanently to settle down.

The population growth in the second half of the 16th century made the precarious economic situation of the Ottoman Empire even worse and in contrast to the European countries, it intended to maintain its prosperity through incursions and raids. By that time, however, these could no longer represent such an abundant source of income as, following the breakdown of the Timar system, the State treasury had

²¹ Ibid., p. 53.

²² Mehmet Bayrak (born 1947) has been for a long time concerned with the question of the movement of popular resistance and literature related to it and had published some of the observations and conclusions comprised in the monograph dedicated to Pir Sultan Abdal, earlier in his publication entitled *Halk Hareketleri ve Çağdaş Destanlar* (Popular Movement and Contemporary Epopees). Yorum Yayınevi 1984, 217 pp. (Pages 109–160 of this publication are devoted to Pir Sultan Abdal.) See Čelaková, X.: *Zwei Beiträge zur Problematik der Bewegung des Volkswiderstands in der Türkei*. In: Asian and African Studies, 23, 1987, pp. 251–265.

²³ Bayrak, M.: *Pir Sultan Abdal*, pp. 54–55.

to finance a constantly growing army also during years of peace. The government increased taxes and from the end of the 16th century began to sell rights for their exaction. The impoverishment of rural populations reached catastrophal dimensions, famine broke out in Anatolia.

Following this summary of conditions prevailing in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century as a whole, and particularly in the Province of Sivas (Rum Eyaleti), Bayrak proceeds to judge specifically the relations between the performance by false shahs – the Ismailis and the life and poetry of Pir Sultan Abdal (Chapter IV). The historical documents quoted by the author imply that the local unrests in north-eastern Anatolia of 1578 whose initiator was the usurper, self-appointed Shah Ismail, did not grow into a mass uprising and were nipped in the bud. This fact came to be reflected also in Pir Sultan's poetry where mention is made solely of the preparations for the uprising.

Mehmet Bayrak is of the opinion that the Shah on whom the poet had pinned his hopes, was the initiator of the 1578 unrests. When in 1590 another usurper took office under the name of Shah Ismail II, Pir Sultan expressed his sympathies also to him, but this time he paid for it with his life.

Bayrak devoted a special chapter to an evaluation of publications that have appeared thus far on Pir Sultan Abdal. He gives a very positive appreciation of a book by Sabahattin Eyuboğlu, published in 1977, to which also Azra Erhat, Asım Bezirci and İlhan Başgöz contributed their essays. The last contribution in particular received a favourable assessment as of essential significance to our knowledge of Pir Sultan Abdal's life and work. Başgöz was the first to draw attention to a possible direct connection between the poet with his poetry, and the performance by the false Shah Ismail. He likewise first expressed the view that all poetry connected with the name Pir Sultan Abdal was to be looked upon as on a team work and to deal with it as a tradition.

In what resides the strength, the attraction of this tradition which has permitted it to persist and to develop through entire centuries down to our days when folk poets and young authors of committed poetry turn to it? This was expressed most aptly perhaps by S. Eyuboğlu in the above publication: "Pir Sultan represented the resistance of the people towards the Palace As soon as an Ottoman ruler tore himself off from the people, the people naturally drew closer to insurgents from their own circle. Even if no heroes had come up who would have risen against a ruler, the people themselves would have, by the strength of their own fantasy and word, created such heroes . . . The oppressed were forced to rise against the oppressors, or at least to express these yearnings be it merely through a legend. Whoever Pir Sultan may have been, he came to be the sultan of an oppressed people."²⁴

²⁴ Eyuboğlu, S.: *Pir Sultan Abdal*, pp. 65–66.

Folk literary creations reflect man's thinking and yearnings corresponding to the times in which he lives. A hero in whom the people see the personification of their ideal of good, truth, justice, develops and changes according as society evolves and becomes shaped. The mythical hero struggled against supernatural beings embodying natural elements; to the folklore hero of the mediaeval epoch, nature ceased to represent the greatest enemy of man; by then he was a human being – antagonistic in the nationalist or the social sense. For, the more human society evolves and improves, the more grows oppression – both nationalist in subjugated nations, and social, the latter both in the victors and the defeated. And thus, motifs of social protest are heard more and more pressingly and frequently.

In this way, back in the 13th century a robber epic is born, which attained its peak in the 17th and 18th century, and in which "antifeudal rebellious moods of the serf masses found their ideological expression".²⁵ In Turkish folk epic, its most striking representative was the cycle of episodes about Koroğlu which was created in north-western Anatolia and Azerbaidjan precisely in the 16th century when misery and oppression here reached their climax, and together with them, also the resistance of popular masses. As in the case of Pir Sultan Abdal's poetry, so also songs relating to the name Koroğlu were handed down from generation to generation of folk poets, were added to, rounded off, new ones were created, and through centuries vehicled the yearnings of the oppressed people after justice, and faith in its victory.

²⁵ Bardach, J.: In: *Przegląd Historyczny*, XLIII, 1952, p. 156.

THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL HAMITO-SEMITIC CONGRESS (VIENNA, 28 SEPTEMBER – 2 OCTOBER 1987)

VÁCLAV BLAŽEK, Příbram

After Paris (1969),¹ Florence (1974),² London (1978),³ and Marburg (1983)⁴ also Vienna – one of the cradles of Afro-Asiatic linguistic scholarship – played host to an International Congress on Hamito-Semitic Languages. It was organized by the staff of the Afrikanistisches Institut headed by its director Hans G. Mukarovsky.

The Congress proved a record not only by the number of participants (over 70), but likewise as regards attendance by representatives from East European countries (USSR 5, CSSR 2, Poland 2, GDR 1). Remarkable by his absence among eminent Soviet experts (similarly as in preceding meetings) was I. M. Diakonov from Lenin-grad, but this time because he was staying at the Assyriological Institute in Chicago.

Unfortunately, the most prominent representative of Hamito-Semitic comparative historical linguistics in Czechoslovakia, Karel Petráček, did not live to attend the Congress; he died unexpectedly on 11 July 1987. H. Mukarovsky opened the Congress precisely with a remembrance of our prematurely deceased colleague whose paper, concerned with the manual in preparation, "Introduction to the Study of Hamito-Semitic Languages", elicited unusual interest (according to the last report, the manuscript ought to have been submitted to press in January 1989).

Abbreviations: Berb – Berber, C – Central, Chad – Chadic, Cush – Cushitic, E – East, Eg – Egyptian, HS – Hamito-Semitic, N – North, Om – Omotic, S – South, Sem – Semitic.

¹ *Actes du Premier Congrès International de Linguistique Sémitique et Chamito-sémitique* (Paris 1969). Eds. D. Cohen – A. Caquot. The Hague, Mouton 1973.

² *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica Camito-Semita* (Firenze 1974). Ed. P. Fronzaroli. Quaderni di Semitistica, Vol. 5. Firenze 1978.

³ *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics: Papers of the Third International Hamito-Semitic Congress* (London 1978). Ed. J. Bynon. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory. Vol. 28. Amsterdam, Benjamin 1984.

⁴ *Proceedings 4th International Hamito-Semitic Congress* (Marburg 1983). Eds. H. Jungraithmayr – W. W. Müller. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory. Vol. 44. Amsterdam, Benjamin 1987.

The set-up of the various sections revealed that the focus of Hamito-Semitic studies had long ceased to reside exclusively in the Semitic branch. On the other hand, the relative decline of Semitic studies at the two preceding congresses – judging by the number of papers (Marburg 5, London 7, while there had been 19 in Paris and 21 in Florence) – was not noted here as evidenced by 18 papers in Vienna. Roughly constant interest has been maintained in Berber languages, with an average of 4–5 papers presented at every Congress. A striking rise of interest was achieved by Egyptian: while at preceding congresses we met with one paper at the most, now there were as many as 5. Likewise Cushitic and Omotic languages enjoyed a considerably higher share of attention than had been the case in the past, as evident again from figures: Paris 1, Florence and London 4 each, while they numbered 8 in both Marburg and Vienna. But evidently the group of Chadic languages are making the greatest progress as shown by the numbers of papers: Paris 1, Florence 2, London and Marburg 4 each, Vienna 10. Papers of a broader range on a Hamito-Semitic level numbered 8 in Vienna, similarly as in preceding congresses (Paris 9, Florence and London 7 each, Marburg 6).

From the great number of papers, some of which were read in the absence of their authors, let us focus on those with a historico-comparative content. As a matter of fact, Hamito-Semitic scholarship has made rather important progress here.

SEMITIC LANGUAGES

Semitic lexicology was the subject of papers by, among others, F. A. Dombrowski (West Berlin): “Materials and Methods for the Use of a Comparative Semitic Wurzelwörterbuch” and F. Pennacchietti (Turin): “L’analisi componenziale dei verbi semitici per la compravendita”. Factually, here belongs also W. Leslau’s address (Los Angeles) who briefed the Congress attendants on the contents and conception of his “Comparative Geez Dictionary. Problems and Challenges” – of exceptional value not solely for Ethiopian, but indisputably also for Semitic lexicology. S. Raz (Tel Aviv) read a paper from the borders of comparative morphology and lexicology: “Areal Features as a Criterion for the Definition of Semitic Ethiopian Languages”. Modern Ethiopian languages were discussed also by R. Richter (Leipzig): “Zur Wortschatzentwicklung in äthiopischen Sprachen”. Among others, the following papers were devoted to problems of Semitic synchronous and diachronous phonology: S. Segert (Los Angeles): “Northwest Semitic Postvelar *ǧ* in Correspondence to Dental Phonemes” dealing with an irregular incidence of postvelar *ǧ* instead of the expected *z* (cf. variants like *ǧ-m-* // *z-m-* “to be thirsty”) – perhaps in the presence of a nasal in the root; B. Podolsky (Tel Aviv): “The Problem of Word Accent in Modern Hebrew”, on movable and fixed accent in modern Hebrew; M. C. Simeon-Senelle (Paris): “Récent développements des recherches sur les langues

sudarabiques modernes”, on a synchronous description of the Mehri languages and a further South-Arabian dialect on the borderline between Mehri and Jibbali.

The greatest number of papers were concerned with Semitic morphology, e.g. K. Tsujita (Jerusalem): “The Retrospective Pronoun as Direct Object in Relative Sentences in Biblical Hebrew”; G. Khan (Cambridge): “Some Functions of Pronouns and Inflection in Semitic Languages”; V. Brugnatelli (Milan): “The ‘Feminine’ Plural of Nouns in Old Aramaic: New Light from Tell Fekherye”; N. Nebes (Marburg): “Zur Syntax der Partikel *fa-* im Sabäischen”; G. Goldenberg (Jerusalem): “Phrasal Perfect in Neo-Semitic”; N. W. W. Dombrowski (Göttingen): “The Creation of Verbal Forms in Eblaitic and Its Significance for the History of the Semitic and Hamitic Language Families”.

THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE

A. Belova (Moscow) in her paper “Sur la reconstruction du vocalisme afroasiatique: quelques correspondances égypto-sémitiques” distinguished two classes of corresponding roots in Egyptian and in Semitic:

	Egyptian	Semitic		
Ia)	jC_1C_2	C_1y/iC_2	or	C_1C_2y (?)
b)	wC_1C_2	$C_1w/\bar{u}C_2$		C_1C_2w
IIa)	jC_1C_2	$-C_1iC_2C_2-$	}	imperfective stem
b)	wC_1C_2	$-C_1uC_2C_2-$		

C. Hodge (Bloomington) came up with his “Etymological Reassessment” in which he tried, on the basis of C. Calice’s work (1936), to establish correspondences between Egyptian and Semitic labials:

Egyptian	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>
Semitic	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>b</i>

Egyptian was also dealt with in papers by A. Loprieno (Göttingen): “Zum Phänomen der Einbettung der Verbalstrukturen im Ägyptischen”; H. Satzinger (Vienna): “Strukturalles zum ägyptischen Personalpronomen” and J. Goff (Vienna): “Linguistic Consideration Concerning the ‘Tun und Ergehen’ Theory”.

BERBER LANGUAGES

A. Aikhenvald (Moscow) in her paper “On Berber Cases in the Light of Afroasiatic” reconstructed the two-case system in Proto-Berber:

1. The Absolute Case (“Status liber”) * \emptyset
2. The Subjective Case – genitive (“Status annexus”) **w-*.

This system finds exact parallels not only in East Cushitic languages (absolute case

-a: subjective case -u/-i), but likewise in further Cushitic and Semitic languages.⁵ The East-Berber languages Audjila and Ghadames conserved the locative -(y)i, deemed to have evolved from the old Hamito-Semitic genitive *-i. Further papers were presented by L. Galand (Bourg la Reine): "Pronoun personnel et proposition nominale en berbère"; L. Serra (Naples): "A propos du tifiñagh et yakûs. Quelques considérations en marge de leur interprétation"; A. Leguil (Paris): "Naissance d'un pronom relatif en tamazight". In the absence of K. G. Prasse (Copenhagen), his paper on "New Light on the Origin of the Tuareg Vowels *e* and *o*" was read. He proves the original nature of these vowels in the Tuareg dialects Hoggar and Adrar (Mali), against an evident erroneous transcription of *i* in Foucauld, from the beginning of this century. R. Nicolai (Nice) in his paper "Songhay septentrional et touareg: contacts de langues et contacts de populations" dealt with lexical parallels between North-Songhay and West-Tuareg dialects.

CUSHITIC AND OMOTIC LANGUAGES

D. L. Appleyard (London) took up again his reconstruction of Central Cushitic (Agaw) historical phonetics. In London⁶ he had submitted a reconstruction of consonantism, and now he came up with one of vocalism ("The Vowel System of Agaw: Reconstructions and Historical Interferences"). The primitive linguistic system is based on the following correspondences:

Proto-Agaw	Bilin	Khamtanga	Kemant	Awngi
*i	i	i ~ ä, a	i	i
*a	a	a ~ ä	a	a
*ä	ä	i	ä	e
*ə	ə	ə	ə	ə
*(k)u	(k ^w)ə	(k ^w)ə	(k ^w)ə	(k ^w)ə

Phonological and morphological isoglosses among the southern dialects of Oromo are dealt with in the paper by H. Stroemer (Leiden): "On the Expression of Grammatical Relations in Oromoid Languages". In this section, too, morphology appeared the most attractive, as may be judged from the papers read by A. Zaborski (Cracow): "Insights into Proto-Cushitic Morphology"; G. Banti (Rome): "The Verb in Omo-Tana" – a comparison of basic verb paradigms in the principal languages of the Omo-Tana group – Somali, Rendille, Boni; Bayso; Arbore, Elmolo;

⁵ Castellino, G. R.: *The case system of Cushitic in relation to Semitic*. In: HS-2 (see 2), pp. 31–41; Sasse, H.-J.: *Case in Cushitic, Semitic and Berber*. In: HS-3 (see 3), pp. 111–125.

⁶ Appleyard, D.: *The internal classification of the Agaw languages: a comparative and historical phonology*. In: HS-3 (see 3), pp. 33–67.

Desenech with similar examples in further East-Cushitic languages – Saho-Afar, Burji, Dullay, and likewise with Egyptian and Coptic suffixal conjugation; R. J. Sim (Inverness), in his study “On Hadiyya and Libido, Two HEC Languages”, focused on a description of the verb in two Sidamo languages; G. Böhm (Vienna) found significant parallels in North-Omotic declination with the Hamito-Semitic case system (“Zur Deklination des Nomens in den omotischen Sprachen”); R. J. Hayward (London) in his paper “The Significance of ‘Default Gender’ for Understanding the Verb Paradigms in Two Omotic Languages” (read in the author’s absence), interpreted the use of various copulae *-ukko* and *-utte* in the closely related languages Koyra and Zayse as relicts of an original uniform system on the plane of the original language of the group of Eastern Omoto which expressed the formants *k*, *t* in opposition to the grammatical gender. Questions of semasiology of antonyms in the Oromo language were dealt with by Mohamed Ali (Warsaw) in his “Antonyms in Oromo”.

CHADIC LANGUAGES

O. Stolbova (Moscow) presented the results of fifteen years of work on comparative-historical phonetics and reconstruction of the West-Chadic proto-language in her paper “Proto-West-Chadic Phonological System”. The authoress had published over 860 Proto-West-Chadic and further batch of 360 partial reconstructions on the basis of 40 West-Chadic languages with complete documentation and a detailed analysis in a monograph study.⁷ A. Dolgopolsky (Haifa) returned after 13 years to the problem of Chadic sibilants in a Hamito-Semitic (and even Nostratic) context, in his paper “On Chadic Correspondences of Semitic **š*”. He arrived at the following system:

I. Sem	Eg	Berb	Cush	Chad (N) (J-S)	WChad	SBauchi	CChad	EChad	HS
				<i>*s</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*s</i>
				<i>*s₁</i>					
<i>*s</i>	<i>*š</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*s₂</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*s</i>
				<i>*š</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*s</i>	<i>*š</i>
				<i>*s₃</i>					
II.	HS			Uralic		Kartvelian		Nostratic	
	<i>*s</i>			<i>*s</i>		<i>*s₁</i>		<i>< *s</i>	
	<i>*š</i>			<i>*š</i>		<i>*s</i>		<i>< *š</i>	
	<i>*š</i>			<i>*š</i>		<i>*š</i>		<i>< *š</i>	

(N – Newman, J-S – Jungraithmayr – Shimizu).

⁷ Stolbova, O. V.: *Sravnitel'no-istoricheskaya fonetika i slovar zapadnochadskikh yazykov*. In: *Afrikanское istoricheskoe yazykoznanie*. Moscow, Nauka, pp. 30–268.

H. Tourneux (Paris) in his paper "Place du Masa dans la famille tchadique" refuted the hypothesis on the existence of an independent Chadic branch Masa alongside the Western, Biu-Mandara = Central and Eastern branches (Newman 1977, p. 7) and adduced convincing reasons for his assertion that Masa belonged to the central branch of Chadic languages – closest to Muzgu languages (cf. Jungraithmayr – Shimizu 1981, p. 12). D. Barreteau (La Limousinière) presented an analysis of various transformational roots in the development of Chadic languages ("Comparaison des systèmes consonantiques dans les langues tchadiques de la branche centrale"). V. de Colombel (Paris) summarized the development of Chadic verb in four stages characterized by a gradual restructuralization of the root ("Evolution du système verbal en linguistique tchadique"). H. Jungraithmayr (Frankfurt a/M) analysed the Hamito-Semitic root $\sqrt{\text{MWT}}$ "to die" in Chadic languages and enunciated the hypothesis that the vocalization *-a-* characterized originally the perfect stem, while the vocalization *-u/i-* helped to form the aorist stem. Support for this Hamito-Semitic ancientness of this opposition derives also from an inner analogy, e.g. from North-Berber Kabyle. H. Mukarovskiy (Vienna) assembled scores of lexical parallels among the Songhay languages and gradually among all the west-Chadic branches, and to a lesser degree among Central Chadic languages.⁸ In his paper "Songhai und Westtschadischen", he interpreted them quite nontraditionally, though fully in the spirit of his preceding studies, on the genetic plane. the Songhay-Chadic relationships, primarily from the sociolinguistic aspects, were dealt with by P. Zima (Prague): "Songhay and Chadic in the West African Context". S. Baldi (Naples) carried out a detailed phonological analysis of Arab loan-words in Hausa ("Some Phonological Remarks on Arabic Loan Words in Hausa"). The structure and origin of modern phraseology in Hausa newspaper texts were discussed by S. Piłaszewicz (Warsaw): "Phraseologism in Hausa. New Developments or an Old Tradition?"

HAMITO-SEMITIC LANGUAGES (general considerations, relationships among the branches)

W. Vycichl (Geneva) in his paper "Hundert Jahre hamitosemitischen Forschung" assessed the past century of research of Hamito-Semitic as a science. K. Petráček (Prague) had intended to familiarize participants of the Congress with the contents of his manuscript *Introduction into the Study of Hamito-Semitic (Afro-Asiatic) Linguistics*. In a short summary which he had written back in June 1987, we find, alongside the contents of the proposed book, also the remarkable idea of unifying the terminology in such a way that the traditional term "Hamito-Semitic" would be understood in a genetic sense, while the term "Afro-Asiatic" would relate to an areal content. Two papers of a fundamental significance were presented by A. Militaryov

⁸ Mukarovskiy, H. G.: *Zur Stellung der Mandesprachen*. *Anthropos*, 61, 1966, pp. 679–688; id.: *Mande-Chadic. Common stock. A study of phonological and lexical evidence*. Wien 1987 (Beiträge zur Afrikanistik, Bd. 32).

(Moscow). The paper "Afrasian Phonetics as Viewed Today by the Comparative Vocabulary of Afrasian Team" (written conjointly with I. Diakonov and O. Stolbova), outlined the present-day state of comparative-historical phonetics of Hamito-Semitic languages. As the Soviet team is probably farther afield in Hamito-Semitic reconstruction than any other workplace in the world, it might be profitable to reproduce at least a fragment of the system of regular responses (for more details on sibilants and affricates, see Blažek 1989⁹).

HS (*)	p	p̣	b	f	t	ṭ	d	s	c	c̣	ʒ	š	č	č̣	ʒ̣	ʂ	č̣	č̣̣
Sem. (*)	p	p/b	b	p	t	ṭ	d	š	s	ʃ	z	ṣ	ṭ	ṭ̣	ḍ	ʂ̣	ṣ̌	ṣ̣̌
Eg.	p	p	b	f	t	d/t	d	s	s	ḍ	z	ṣ-f	s/t	ḍ	z/d	ṣ̌-s	ṣ̌	ḍ
Berb.	f	b	b	f	t	ḍ-ṭ̣	d	s	z	ẓ	z	s	s/t	ẓ	z/d	s	z	z/ḍ
Hausa	f	ḅ	b	f/h	ṭ	ṭ̣	d	ṣ̌i-	č̣	č̣	ẓ	s	č̣	č̣	ẓ̌	ẓ-l	s	č̣
Angas	p	p	b	f	t	ṭ	d	s	s	ṣ	ṣ̌	f	č̣	ṣ	ẓ̌	l	ḷ	ṣ̌-ẓ
Bolewa	p	ḅ	b	f	t	ṭ	d	s	s	c/ʒ	ẓ	s	č̣	č̣-ḍ	ẓ̌	ḷ	ṣ-ḍ	ṣ
Warji	p	p̣	b	f	ṭ	ṭ̣	d	ṣ	c̣	c̣/č̣	ẓ	ṣ	č̣	c̣	ẓ̌	ẓ̌/ḷ	ṣ̌	ṣ̣̌
Saya	p	ḅ-ṿ	ḅ-ṿ	f̣	ṭ	ṭ̣	ḍ	ṣ	c̣	c̣	ẓ/ẓ̌	ṣ	č̣	č̣	-ẓ	ẓ̌	ṣ̌	ṣ̣̌
Ron	f/v	p	b	f/v	ṭ		ḍ	ṣ	ṣ/ṣ̌	ṣ(z)	ẓ	ṣ	č̣/ṣ̌		ẓ̌	ḷ	ṣ	(ṣ̌)
Ngizim	p	ḅ/ḅ	ḅ/ṿ	f̣/ṿ	ṭ	ṭ/ḍ	ḍ	ṣ	ṣ	ẓ	ẓ/ẓ̌	ṣ	č̣	č̣-ḍ	ẓ̌	ẓ̌	ṣ̌	ṣ̌-ḍ

Data are missing from the remaining branches of Chadic languages and also from Cushitic and Omotic languages, for no satisfactory reconstructions exist here as yet.

A. Militaryov's second paper ("Towards a Descent Home for Proto-Afrasians") was written in co-operation with the archaeologist V. Shnirelman. The authors date the break-up of the Hamito-Semitic proto-language back to the 10th–11th millennia B.P. On the basis of a detailed analysis of the ecologic and cultural terminology, they identify the earliest Hamito-Semitic continuum with the Natufian culture of

⁹ Blažek, V.: *A New Contribution to Comparative-Historical Afrasian Linguistics*. In: *Asian and African Studies*. Vol. 24. Bratislava, Veda 1989, pp. 203–222.

HS (*)	k	k	g	h	q	q	9	h	c	'	h	y	w	m	n	l	r
Sem. (*)	k	k	g	h	h	h	g	h	c	'	h	y	w	m	n	l	r
Eg.	k/t	q	g/d	h	h	h	c (h)	h	c	i/l	h	y	w	m	n	r(n) i/l	r(?) i
Berb.	k	γ -qq-	g	g	k	γ -qq-	γ -qq-	h/θ?				y/i	w/u	m	n	l	r
Hausa	k	k	g	g	k	k	h	g	g	θ	h	y	w	m	n	l	r (-r-)
Angas	k	k či-	k -g-	g	g	k	g	γ θa	θ	θ	θ	y	w	m	n	l	r
Bolewa	k ši-		g	g	k ši-	k	g	'-θ				'	w	m	n	l	r
Warji	k	k	g	g	g	k	h	γ	γ	θ	h		w	m	n	l	
Saya	k	k	g	g		k			g	'/θ		y	w	m	n	l	r
Ron	k	k	g	g;h	g	g	h (h, c)	h	(')	'	h/'	y	w	m	n	l	r
Ngizim	k	k	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	θ	θ		w	m	n	l	r

the Syrian-Palestinian region.¹⁰ A Near Eastern localization is supported by scores of parallels of an evidently regional character connecting non-Semitic Hamito-Semitic languages with those of northern Caucasus,¹¹ and with Sumerian.¹² These North

¹⁰ Militaryov, A. Yu. - Shnirelman, V. A.: *K probleme lokalizatsii drevneishikh afraziitsev (opyt lingvo-arkheologicheskoi rekonstruktsii)*. In: *Lingvisticheskaya rekonstruktsiya i drevneishaya istoriya Vostoka*, Part 2. Moscow, Nauka 1984, pp. 35-52;

Militaryov, A. Yu.: *Sovremennoe sravnitelno-istoricheskoe afraziiskoe yazykoznanie: chto ono mozhet dat istoricheskoi nauke?* In: *Lingvisticheskaya rekonstruktsiya i drevneishaya istoriya Vostoka*. Part 3. Moscow 1984, pp. 3-26.

Militaryov, A. Yu. - Peiros, I. I. - Shnirelman, V. A.: *Metodicheskie problemy lingvo-arkheologicheskikh rekonstruktsii etnogeneza*. Sovetskaya etnografiya 1988, 4, pp. 24-38.

¹¹ Militaryov, A. Yu. - Starostin, S. A.: *Obshchaya afraziisko-severnokavkazskaya kulturnaya leksika*. In: *Lingvisticheskaya rekonstruktsiya i drevneishaya istoriya Vostoka*. Part 3. Moscow, Nauka 1984, pp. 34-43.

¹² Militaryov, A. Yu.: *Afraziisko-shumerskie leksicheskie svyazi*. In: *Lingvisticheskaya rekonstruktsiya i drevneishaya istoriya Vostoka*. Part 1. Moscow, Nauka 1984, pp. 58-61; id.: *Afrasian-Sumerian lexical connections*. Paper read at the occasion of 70th birthday of Professor I. M. Diakonov. Leningrad 1984 (45 parallels).

Caucasian parallels have convinced also one of the most authoritative advocates of an African localization of the Hamito-Semitic homeland, I. M. Diakonov,¹³ who now sides with adherents to the theory of a Near-Eastern origin.¹⁴ V. Porkhomovsky (Moscow), in his paper "Morphological Reconstruction and Typology in Afroasiatic", pointed to the parallel processes in the evolution of Chadic verb, in comparison of a well-described model of evolution of the Semitic verb. Likewise, R. M. Voigt (Tübingen) in his paper "Die drei Präfixkonjugationen des Semito-hamitischen" was concerned with a parallel evolution of the structure of Hamito-Semitic verbs from the most archaic systems with three prefixal and one suffixal conjugations, e.g. in Akkadian, Beɖaɣye and Berber, with two prefixal and one suffixal (indirect), e.g. Ethiopian and Boni, and one prefixal and one suffixal (indirect), e.g. in Arabic and Awngi, up to mere relicts of prefixation, extinction of suffixation and the origin of perifrastic constructions in Chadic languages, or extinction of prefixation related to a preservation of suffixal conjugation and the origin of perifrastic constructions as in Egyptian and e.g. also in neo-Aramaic where, however, only relicts of suffixal conjugation can be found. Category of gender was dealt with in the paper "Genre des noms et genre des morphèmes personnels en chamito-sémitique" by F. Aspesi (Gallarate). A paper devoted to a structural and etymological analysis of Hamito-Semitic numerals was that by V. Blažek (Příbram): "A Comparative Approach to Afrasian Numerals", in which the author reconstructed the oldest forms of numerals covering certain dialectal areas:

- 1 – **aši*(*nV/tV*)... Sem + CChad + Om; **wa*^(c)*yV*... Eg + Berb–Guanche + ? SCush; **wa*(*y*)–*hVdV*... Sem + Berb + Chad; *–*hVdV*... Sem + Berb + Chad; **tak*^(w)*V*... CChad + ECush; **mati*(*nV*)... Chad + ECush + NOm; **pati*(*nV*)... Chad + NOm.
- 2 – **cirV*(*dV*)... Chad + ? ECush/Yaaku/+ SCush; **čini*... Sem + Eg + Berb–Guanche.
- 3 – **hami*... Guanche + Eg + Beɖaɣye; *(*ma*)*kanu*(*di*)... W + CChad + ? ECush /Yaaku/+ SOM; **cab*^c*u*... EChad + ECush/Elmolo/, also in composite "7"... Sem + Eg + Berb–Guanche + CChad /Hurzo/+ ECush/Elmolo/, cf. the analogical forms e.g. in Somrai /EChadic/ *súbo* "3": *dénā súbo* "7"/"3rd first"/ or Zar /WChadic/ *māi* "3": *watstse-māi* "7" = "4+3"; **čVIV*(*čV*)... Sem + ? Eg /in the meaning of "6"/+ ? ECush.

¹³ Diakonoff, I. M.: *Earliest Semitis in Asia*. Altorientalische Forschungen, VII, 1981, pp. 23–74.

¹⁴ Diakonov, I. M. – Militaryov, A. Yu.: *Posleslovie* (Epilogue to the Russian translation of the book Lot, A. (Lhote, A.): *K drugim Tassili*. Leningrad, Iskustvo 1984, pp. 195–208); author's personal communications with I. M. Diakonov in 1985 and 1986. The works by Soviet linguists and archaeologists referred to here, were commented by K. Petráček (advocating an African localization of the Hamito-Semitic homeland) in his article *Quelques travaux en russe sur le chamito-sémitique dans un context archéologique*. Archív orientální, 54, 1988, pp. 284–286.

- 4 – **fira(du)/fari(du)* ... Eg + Chad + Beɖaɣye + ECush + Om; **kučV* ... Berb–Guanche + WCad /in the meaning of “9” = “4 + 5”/.
- 5 – **s/šamV(SV)* ... ? Sem + Berb–Guanche + C + EChad; ? **danku* ... W + C Chad + Om.
- 6 – **sidu* ... Sem + Berb–Guanche + Chad.

Further forms may be etymologized on the basis of pronominal roots, such as **'ali-(da)*, **kawyV* “1”, perhaps **wal/ri* “one of the pair; other”, names of fingers as **g'ali*, **kal'i*, **lam'V* “one of the pair; toe-finger”, **kVbV* “3”, probably also **fira-(du)/fari(du)* “4”, “hand (handful, fist)” as Chad **baču* “5”: Tuareg *tibbaž* “handful” (pl.), Eg *diwěj* “5” < HS **dabV-wVyV* (“hand-one” ?), NOm **k'wici* “5”: Eg *kḏ-t* “hand”, etc. The traditionally acknowledged Semito-Berber isoglosses for the numerals “8” and “9” could hardly represent a proto-language heritage. There is question either of Semitic (Phoenician or Punic?) loan-words in Berber and Guanche dialects, or of independently evolved forms, as indicated by hypothetical inner etymology: Sem **tāmāniy-* “8” might have evolved through metathesis from the form **tāniy-mā* “the second one no” (10–2), while the Berber **(hit)tām* “8” might perhaps be related to SCush **('i)tām-* “3”, hence 8 = (5) + 3. Similarly the Berber **tuzṣāh* “9” conceals within it the numeral **hakkūž* “4”, as would indicate the Guanche forms (Tenerife) *acot* “9”: (Gran Canaria) *acodetti* “4”, rather than its being related to Sem **tišc-*, where perhaps we might look for an origin analogically to the preceding numeral (8 = 10 – 2) in the numeral **ašt-* “1”, hence, 9 = (10) – 1. This, of course, only if we admit that the metathesis symbolically (?) expressed a difference. For the large quantity of forms, especially in Cushitic, Omotic and Chadic languages, there exist abundant parallels in Nilo-Saharan languages, and to a lesser degree also in Niger-Congo (especially in Mande).

The Sixth International Hamito-Semitic Congress is foreseen to be held probably in Turin in 1991 or 1992.

THE MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT AFTER SEVENTY YEARS: SOME REMARKS AT THE OPENING OF THE SMOLENICE SYMPOSIUM

MARIÁN GÁLIK, Bratislava

On 4 May 1989, seventy years had passed after probably the most important cultural and political event in China of this century. Before it there was the fall of imperial China in 1911 and after it the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, but the May 4th Movement meant the point of departure for the most basic changes that helped to make China new and through it China entered the family of modern nations.

Two great men come to my mind when I am beginning to speak about the most weighty facts related to our symposium: Confucius (551–479 B.C.) and Ovid (43 B.C. – A.D. 18). The Chinese Sage was quite sure about his truth when he said that a man at seventy could follow what his "heart desired, without transgressing what was right".¹ Although there is a difference between a human being and what we call movement with his context (be it political, economic, intellectual, literary, artistic, and cultural in general) such as was the May Fourth Movement, nevertheless, the time factor is common. Would we, or our colleagues elsewhere, especially in the wide Chinese world, be capable to evaluate correctly, scholarly, the entire systemo-structural reality, or at least some of the parts or elements (e.g. literary) of the complex process which history has designated by that name? The Roman great *poeta doctus* began his masterpiece *Metamorphoses* with these words: "In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas, / corpora", which in English may read as follows: "My intention is to tell of bodies changed, / To different forms."² In some 250 stories, for the most part of mythical character, Ovid described the transformations of

¹ Confucius: *Lunyu (The Analects)*, Book 2, Chapter V, 6. Translation is taken over from Legge, J.: *The Chinese Classics*. Vol. 1. Taipei reprint 1969, p. 147.

² *Metamorphoseon*. Libri XV. In: *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Opera*. Vol. 1. Vindobonae, J. V. Degen 1803, p. 1 and *Metamorphoses*. Translated by Rolfe Humphries. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1955, p. 3.

the world from initial Chaos into the ordered Universe up to Caesar who became (or rather ought to become) under his pen, one of the "bright stars of Heaven".

To my mind, nothing expresses better the essence of the May Fourth Movement than the changes which traditional China has experienced in all the domains of her social being and consciousness, changes that took place in the heads of the promoters of this movement, in their creative, theoretical and other works. These metamorphoses, as we know from numerous other studies, formed the processes that went through the whole of Asia and North Africa, they took place during the period of development and of the incipient crisis of world colonialism and semi-colonial system, and against the background of a wide-ranging social and class differentiation. The conditions for the rise and evolution of these transformations depended on the inner social situation prevailing in the different countries, on the relation they entertained towards the outside world, primarily the European cultural area, on the strength of tradition, readiness to take over inevitable reforms, in their attitude towards foreign cultural impact, on the force of the "counter-currents" that formed within the indigenous structure receiving and reacting to foreign stimuli. I feel convinced that our duty was and still is to write about "true stories" of these metamorphoses, but decisively not about "deifications" whether of Caesar, or his likes in our world and our century.

In October 1959, hence on the 40th anniversary of the May Fourth Movement, Professor Chow Tse-tsung was finishing his monumental work *The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*. Its opening section runs as follows: "There are few major events in modern Chinese history so controversial, so much discussed, yet so inadequately treated as the May Fourth Movement. For some Chinese it marks a national renaissance or liberation, for others a national catastrophe. Among those who discuss or celebrate it most, views vary greatly. Every May for the last forty years, numerous articles have analyzed and commented on the movement. Several books devoted entirely to the subject and hundreds touching on it have been published in Chinese. The literature on the subject is massive..."³ Chow Tse-tsung did not make use in his work of Wolfgang Franke's book entitled *Chinas kulturelle Revolution. Die Bewegung vom 4. Mai 1919*, which appeared in Germany in 1957, nor could he know of Prague booklet entitled *Na přelomu staré a nové Číny. Hnutí 4. května 1919* (At the Turn of Old and New China. The May Fourth Movement), which was written by three then young authors: Walter Stamberger, Timoteus Pokora and Zbigniew Słupski. Probably few people know that in 1958–1959 we made great efforts in Prague to process certain aspects of Chinese literary history of the years 1917–1937. Part of those studies appeared in book form in the collection

³ Chow Tse-tsung: *The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1967, p. vii.

Studies in Modern Chinese Literature in 1964 under the editorship of Jaroslav Průšek. From the years 1959–1960 are Průšek's *Three Sketches of Chinese Literature*. They had been prepared "for a larger publication, which was not realized".⁴ His intention to write together with his pupils or collaborators a "synthetic work" on modern Chinese literature never came to be realized, although he abandoned it reluctantly only when, seriously ill, he could not work any more.

At the time when Průšek's Prague team endeavoured "to cast some light on the great transformation the Chinese nation has been going through, a transformation which undoubtedly is one of the greatest ever witnessed in history",⁵ another group in the USSR, N. T. Fedorenko, V. F. Sorokin, L. D. Pozdneeva, V. V. Petrov⁶ and others were diligently busy with similar problems. Two *verneinende Geister* were on the other side of the "Big Pool": brothers C. T. Hsia and Tsi-an Hsia.⁷ They were adding a bit of "gall" into their remarkable works on the literature after the May Fourth Movement, but that, too, met its purpose. The well-known discussion that appeared in T'oung-pao ended in a draw.⁸ It was no use having referees on either side. C. T. Hsia recognized Průšek's human and scholarly capacity when shortly after their verbal duel he wrote in a letter to me: "Professor Průšek was in New York a few months ago... Though he has written an unkind review of my book, he is personally most charming and his knowledge of Chinese literature is most impressive."⁹

As to other American literary scholars, e.g. those who contributed to the special issue of the *Chinese Quarterly*, 13, 1963, they gave considerable expression to the

⁴ Průšek, J.: *Three Sketches in Modern Chinese Literature*. Prague, Academia 1969, p. 5.

⁵ Průšek, J.: *Introduction*. In: *Studies in Modern Chinese Literature*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1964, p. 1.

⁶ Fedorenko, N. T.: *Kitaiskaya literatura* (Chinese Literature). Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo khudozhestvennoi literatury 1956, Sorokin, V. F.: *Formirovanie mirovozzreniya Lu Sinya* (The Formation of Lu Xun's World View). Moscow, Izdatelstvo vostochnoi literatury 1958 and *Tvorcheskii put Mao Dunya* (Creative Road of Mao Dun). Moscow, Nauka 1962, Pozdneeva, L. D.: *Lu Sin, zhizn i tvorchestvo* (Lu Xun, his Life and Work), Moscow, Izdatelstvo MGU 1959 and Petrov, V. V.: *Lu Sin, ocherk zhizni i tvorchestva* (Lu Xun, a Survey of his Life and Work). Moscow, Gosudarstvennoe izdatelstvo khudozhestvennoi literatury 1960. Later in 1967 a booklet by V. I. Semanov entitled *Lu Sin i ego predshestvenniki* (Lu Xun and his Predecessors) had been published in Moscow. Its English translation appeared under the title *Lu Hsün and His Predecessors* in White Plains, Sharpe 1980.

⁷ Hsia, C. T.: *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, 1917–1957*. New Haven, Yale University Press 1961 and Hsia, T. A.: *The Gate of Darkness. Studies on the Leftist Literary Movement in China*. Seattle – London, University of Washington Press 1968.

⁸ Průšek, J.: *Basic Problems of the History of Modern Chinese Literature* and C. T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*. T'oung-pao, 49, 1962, 4–5, pp. 357–404 and Hsia, C. T.: *On the "Scientific" Study of Modern Chinese Literature, a Reply to Professor Průšek*. T'oung-pao, 50, 1963, 4–5, pp. 428–474.

⁹ C. T. Hsia's personal letter to me mailed on 5 August 1963.

"Cold War temper of the times",¹⁰ yet on the other hand, their search for "the particle of art" meant a weighty effort, which we must always have in view in the study of modern Chinese literature, for literary works remain absolutely valueless and ineffective when they are but the documents of the time.

A change in the scholarly climate in the domain of the study of modern Chinese literature in the USA was at least partly brought about by Průšek's six-months stay in Boston in 1967. He read lectures at Harvard and elsewhere and everywhere reaped unusual successes. I have no intention to detract in the least from Průšek's deserts, but it should be said that he went to the United States with quite a stock of facts in his "knapsack" which had been prepared for 15 years by his Prague and foreign pupils. Průšek was an outstanding speaker and was endowed to an usual degree with a scholarly intuition. We know how he succeeded in fascinating by his knowledge and its presentation, although he was wont to say that knowledge comes solely from industrious study: "Učenost souvisí se slovem učití se a uměti."¹¹ (Erudition is related to the words to learn and to know.) In the USA, it was not long before the first results appeared. Gradually we were witness to the appearance of the works by D. T. Roy on Guo Moruo, Leo Ou-Fan Lee on the romantic generation, Hua-ling Nieh about Shen Congwen and J. C. Lin on the new Chinese poetry.¹² In the meantime, sinologists in Czechoslovakia published in book form works about Lao She (Ślupski), Mao Dun (Gálik) and Yu Dafu (Doležalová).¹³ Yu Dafu appeared in 1971 also in the USSR (V. S. Adjimamudova) and in 1972 Soviet readers had in hand probably the best book on the new Chinese poetry of the 1920s and 1930s written by L. E. Cherkassky.¹⁴ In Great Britain D. E. Pollard wrote about

¹⁰ G o t z, M.: *The Development of Modern Chinese Literature Studies in the West. A Critical View.* Modern China, 2, July 1976, 3, p. 401.

¹¹ Professor Průšek dedicated me an offprint of his study *La nouvelle littérature chinoise*, Archiv orientální, 27, 1959, 1, pp. 76–95 with the sentence just quoted.

¹² R o y, D. T.: *Kuo Mo-jo. The Early Years.* Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 1971, L e e, Leo Ou-fan: *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers*, ibid., 1973, H u a - l i n g N i e h: *Shen Ts'ung-wen.* New York, Twayne Publishers 1972 and L i n, J. C.: *Modern Chinese Poetry. An Introduction.* Seattle – London, University of Washington Press 1972. But the series of studies on modern Chinese literature by American sinologists began with O l g a L a n g's *Pa Chin and his Writings. Chinese Youth between the Two Revolutions.* Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 1967.

¹³ Ś l u p s k i, Z.: *The Evolution of a Modern Chinese Writer. An Analysis of Lao She's Fiction with Biographical and Bibliographical Appendices.* Prague, Academia 1966, G á l i k, M.: *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism.* Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1969 and D o l e ž a l o v á, A.: *Yü Ta-fu: Specific Traits of his Literary Creation.* Bratislava, Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences – London, C. Hurst and Co. 1971.

¹⁴ A d j i m a m u d o v a, V. S.: *Yü Dafu i literaturnoe obshchestvo "Tvorchestvo"* (Yu Dafu and Creation Society). Moscow, Nauka 1971 and C h e r k a s s k y, L. E.: *Novaya kitaiskaya poeziya 20–30-e gody* (New Chinese Poetry in the 1920s and 1930s). Moscow, Nauka 1972. The impact of Russian literature in China was studied by M. E. S h n e i d e r in his book *Russkaya klassika v Kitae* (Russian Classics in China). Moscow, Nauka 1977.

Zhou Zuoren,¹⁵ while at the antipodes, then the youngest of all, B. S. McDougall wrote a book about the impact of foreign literary criticism on modern China in the years 1919–1925.¹⁶

A further significant impetus to a study of the May Fourth Movement was given by the international conference entitled *Modern Chinese Literature in the May Fourth Era*, held in Durham, Massachusetts, 26–30 August 1974, hence, on the occasion of the 55th anniversary, together with a workshop that preceded it. The outcome were 17, for the most part outstanding studies, in some cases the results of many years of research and experience, in others the embryos or parts of future books. Under the former I have in mind the works by Milena Doleželová-Velingerová, B. S. McDougall and P. Pickowitz, under the latter Leo Ou-fan Lee, Yu-shih Chen, Yi-tsi Mei Feuerwerker, P. Link and I. Eber. The volume was dedicated to Jaroslav Průšek “whose work made this book possible”. Most space in the book was reserved to Lu Xun “because of his prominent position and influence”.¹⁷ This thus helped to remedy the deficiency in Western sinology which had until then forgotten Lu Xun (although not entirely), and which subsequently made up for it quite adequately. In 1981, on the occasion of the centennial of Lu Xun’s birth, a conference was held at Pacific Grove, California, 23–28 August. From the 17 papers presented, 11 were printed in the proceedings which, together with a *Selective Bibliography of Works by and about Lu Xun*, compiled by I. Eber, give the reader a very balanced image of this most remarkable personality of the new Chinese culture.¹⁸ Five years later, Wolfgang Kubin organized a symposium in Bonn, dedicated to the 50th anniversary of Lu Xun’s death. The very high or predominantly high standard of the American papers from Pacific Grove is not surprising, for their writing had been preceded by a long methodological preparation and experience. Things were different in Bonn where participants were for the most part young people, educated usually by elderly professors often specialists in other fields of sinology, or by literary

¹⁵ Pollard, D. E.: *A Chinese Look at Literature. The Literary Values of Chou Tso-jen in Relation to the Tradition*. Berkeley–Los Angeles, University of California Press 1973. Before this book E. Wolff’s *Chou Tso-jen* appeared in New York, Twayne Publishers 1971.

¹⁶ McDougall, B. S.: *The Introduction of Western Literary Theories into China 1919–1925*. Tokyo, The Center for East Asian Studies 1971.

¹⁷ Goldman, M. (Ed.): *Modern Chinese Literature in the May Fourth Era*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 1977, p. vii. Earlier in 1968 appeared a mimeographed volume under the title *Major Papers Prepared for the XXth International Congress of Chinese Studies*. Prague, Academia. 50th anniversary of the May Fourth Movement was commemorated in the USA, see *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: A Symposium*. Ed. B. Schwartz. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press 1971. In 1971 appeared also in the USSR a volume of studies entitled *Dvizhenie 4 maya 1919 goda v Kitae* (The May Fourth Movement of 1919 in China). Nauka, Moscow.

¹⁸ Lee, Leo Ou-fan (Ed.): *Lu Xun and his Legacy*. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, University of California Press 1985.

scholars doubting the values of new Asian literatures. The protest on the part of these young scholars against literary positivism, whether conscious or subconscious, brought its results. The majority of them chose as the subject of analysis Lu Xun's creative devices, the role of irony, myths (for the most part Chinese), symbols, relation to reality, fiction and dream in Lu Xun's works, his reminiscences of childhood and his bitter experiences of mature years.¹⁹

In our chronological sequence, we must not omit one significant event. Towards the end of October 1979, hence on the 60th anniversary of the May Fourth Movement, B. Staiger organized in Reims, German Federal Republic, a meeting of 23 scholars from various countries of Europe and overseas, in order to discuss a project of writing a guide to the outstanding works of Chinese literature in the first half of our century. It is still being realized under the auspices of the European Association of Chinese Studies and European Science Foundation, under the direction of Göran Malmqvist. The aim is to publish four volumes of *a Selective Guide to Chinese Literature 1900–1949*. The first two on the novel and the short story have already been published.²⁰

At the turn of our decade, in consequence of the changes that took place in the People's Republic of China after 1978, attention on the part of experts has been focused on contemporary Chinese literature created on the Chinese mainland and elsewhere practically in the whole Chinese world. Nevertheless, more books appeared in the 1980s on the literature of the May Fourth Movement era than in the preceding decades, mention might be made of those by L. A. Nikolskaya, L. Haft, B. Eberstein, Yu-shih Chen, I. Eber, M. Gálik, J. Průšek, E. Eide, J. Kinkley, Leo Ou-fan Lee, Ng Mau-sang²¹ and others. These are for the most part studies which

¹⁹ The proceedings of the symposium appeared in Bouvier Published House in 1989.

²⁰ *A Selective Guide to Chinese Literature 1900–1949*. Vol. 1. Ed. M. Doleželová-Velingerová, Vol. 2. Ed. Z. Stupski, Leiden–New York, E. J. Brill 1988.

²¹ Nikolskaya, L. A.: *Tian Khan i dramaturgiya Kitaya XX veka* (Tian Han and Chinese Drama of the 20th Century). Moscow, Izdatelstvo Moskovskogo universiteta 1980 and Cao Jui (Cao Yu), *ibid.* 1984, Eber, I.: *Voices from Afar: Modern Chinese Writers on Oppressed Peoples and their Literature*. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press 1980, Průšek, J.: *The Lyrical and Epic: Studies of Modern Chinese Literature*. Ed. Leo Ou-fan Lee. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1980, Gálik, M.: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism, 1917–1930*, Bratislava, Veda – London, Curzon Press 1980 and *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation, 1898–1979*. Bratislava, Veda – Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1986, Haft, L.: *Pien Chih-lin*, n. p., Continental Graphics 1981, Eberstein, B.: *Das chinesische Theater im 20. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1983, Chen, Yu-shih: *Realism and Allegory in the Early Fiction of Mao Tun*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1986, Eide, E.: *China's Ibsen. From Ibsen to Ibsenism*. London, Curzon Press 1987, Lee, Leo Ou-fan: *Voices from the Iron House: A Study of Lu Xun*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1987, Kinkley, J. C.: *The Odyssey of Shen Congwen*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1987 and Ng Mau-sang: *The Russian Hero in Modern Chinese Fiction*. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press – New York, State University of New York Press 1988.

had essentially been written, or at least partially prepared in the 1970s or even sooner.

After thirty years, Chow Tse-tsung could hardly say that most Westerners "possess but fragmentary and inaccurate information on the subject".²²

Our present symposium ought to show up the face of the movement and its consequences for the new Chinese literature as part of national culture, its intraliterary aspects, and also as a part and parcel of world literature, hence, its interliterary character, against a background of the overall literary development in the past, but also its consequences for the present. Contributions from the domain of linguistics, folkloristics, possibly also philosophy, can suitably round off the general literary canvass. An interdisciplinary approach, as we know, is a self-evident and much needed phenomenon at the present stage of development of scholarship.

We have called this present meeting a "symposium". *Symposion* means a banquet in Greek. In our interpretation this is not a common banquet, but one at which in ancient Greece and Rome, philosophers, poets or scholars took part to discuss on important issues of philosophy and knowledge of life and death, good and evil, on poetry, beauty and love. They were handed over to us in the form of dialogues. A dialogue, if of a proper standard, is probably the most convenient form of inter-human communication. Its best users in post-Periclean Athens were Socrates and Plato, in ancient China Confucius and his disciples. In Plato's dialogue called *Symposion*, the Greek author of the tragedy Agathon tells Socrates at the banquet that Dionysos, the god of wine, would decide in the "controversy on wisdom"²³ which the two were engaged in in the presence of friends. Confucius and Socrates, in the domain of knowledge or erudition, draw our attention to the self-critical aspect of what we today call "scholarly work". Philosophy, just as scholarship, begins "when one learns to doubt one's cherished beliefs".²⁴ The well-known maxim of Socrates: "Gnothi seauton" (Know thyself) has a meaning precisely in this respect. And the Master said: "When you know a thing, to hold that you know it, and when you do not know a thing, to admit that you do not know it, this is knowledge."²⁵

We should submit our knowledge self-critically and responsibly to those who are going to listen to us during the next three days. At the end of the twentieth century the world is small, the possibilities of international and even intercontinental traffic are just outstanding. Yet, it does not mean that mutual dialogue, intensive communication has at present become in any way easier. Occasionally (or even quite often) the very opposite is true. The lures of our civilization, ruthless individualism and

²² Chow Tse-tsung: op. cit., p. vii.

²³ Plato: *The Banquet*. In: *The Works of Plato*. Transl. by George Burges. Vol. 3. London, George Bell and Sons 1881, p. 481.

²⁴ Durant, W.: *The Story of Philosophy*. New York, Garden City Publishing Co. 1943, p. 8.

²⁵ Lunyu, Book 2, Chap. XVII. Cf. Legge, J.: op. cit., p. 151.

alienated self often cause that the quality of our statements is not enough high and an effective dialogue is being prevented and the transfer of new knowledge is then minimal. Let us reflect on the words of perhaps the wisest men of ancient times whom we have just mentioned. Let us weigh more than usually our words. Let us try during this symposium to mix a bit of the Apollonian with a drop of Dionysian, to enjoy the pre-spring atmosphere of the natural environment and of the castle milieu, and also the mutual presence of younger and older participants, pupils and teachers, friends and colleagues. Our discussions and deliberations will hardly alter the canvass of the May Fourth Movement in spite of the words of Confucius at the beginning of my remarks. If, however, it fills in some blank spot, corrects something here and there in the domain we have chosen as the topic of this symposium, then our meeting will satisfy its goal.

HAWAII CONFERENCE ON SHANG CIVILIZATION

MIREK ČEJKA, Brno /

The two earliest dynasties of Ancient China, Xia (2205?–1766? B. C.) and Shang (1766?–1122? B. C.), were hitherto considered “legendary” and their rulers “mythical”. The latter civilization becomes more and more a matter of historical science, however, being revealed in dozens of archaeological sites across North China, mainly in northern Henan, during the last decades. Near Loyang are the remains of a primitive Shang city that might have been the first Shang capital. The modern city of Zhengzhou lies on the top of other remains which might have been the second legendary capital – Ao. Old reports say there were five Shang capitals after Ao, but only the last of them, Yin, has been so far identified without question in the Anyang area at a place known throughout history as Yinxu (“the ruins of Yin”).

A spectacular review of the immense amount of new information concerning the civilization of the Shang dynasty has been presented at the International Conference on Shang Civilization, which was held on 7–11 September 1982 at the East-West Center Honolulu, Hawaii. Nine panel sessions were focused on different facets of the Shang civilization.

Greater part of the papers in the archaeological sessions (I–III) came of the People's Republic of China. Session One – Shang Beyond Anyang – was opened by Yin Weizhang's (Peking) *Re-examination of the Erlitou Culture*. In consequence of the analysis of the remains from Erlitou Periods III and IV it is possible to regard these two stages as being the first phase of the Shang dynasty. Early Shang China was at that time a slave state with its capital probably at Xi Bo. – An Jinhui (Zhengzhou, Henan) reported on *The Shang City at Zhengzhou and Related Problems* as, e.g., the seven kilometres long rammed-earth wall around the city; An has dated it as the “earliest Shang wall remains discovered to date”. The Zhengzhou site was one of the early Shang capitals; the question whether it was Ao or Bo remains open. – Gao Zhixi (Changsha, Hunan) described 22 double-tonal *Shang and Zhou Bronze Nao Bells Excavated in South China*, mainly in Hunan, presented their typology, and suggested that they “may have been used in contemporary sacrifices

to the mountains and streams, wind and rain, and stars, etc.” – Lin Yun (Changchun, Jilin) ventured *A Re-examination of the Link Between the Bronzes of Shang Civilization and the Northern Region*, especially between Yinxu (Late Shang) and Karasuk (Siberia) cultures, in connection with the shift of the northern border of Shang culture southwards during the Yingxu period; Lin based his views on cultural interaction between Shang and Northern regions chiefly on the tool types.

Sessions II (Archaeology at Anyang) and III (Tomb Number Five at Anyang and Fu Zi) turned chiefly on the dating of the extraordinarily rich tomb M5 and the rather mysterious relics within: Did they belong to a woman or to a man? Can she/he be identified with Fu Hao (or Fu Zi) which name is mentioned many times in the bronze inscriptions in M5 as well as in oracle-bone inscriptions one century older than the tomb? What were her/his social status and family relationships? Was she King Wu Ding's consort? Is Fu Hao (Fu Zi) perhaps a clanname? Such questions were raised (and have remained to be still open) in the following five papers: Kwang-Chih Chang (Harvard), *Yinxu Tomb Number Five and the Question of the Pan Geng-Xiao Xin-Xiao Yi Period in Yinxu Archaeology*, Virginia Kane (Michigan), *Art Historical Issues Arising from the M5 Burial at Anyang*, Chang Ping-Ch'ü-an (Taipei), *On the Fu Hao Inscriptions*, Zheng Zhenxiang (Peking), *The Si-Tu ("Qiao")-Mu Inscriptions Excavated from the Fu Hao Tomb*, Zhang Zhenglang (Peking), *A Brief Discussion on Fu Hao*. – By way of generalization Wang Guimin (Peking) gave *A Tentative Description of the Civilization of the Middle Period of Late Shang*. His image of the Late Shang quickly developing society during the reign of Wu Ding used the new source material from oracle-bone periods III and IV. The basis of his argument was the assumption that the oracle-bones of the Li group of diviners did belong in the Middle period of Late Shang. – Only Xia Nai (Peking) discussed a special different topic, namely *Yin Dynasty Jades*. Xia makes distinction of three types of jades according to their function on the basis of new archaeological excavations: (1) Ceremonial jades; system of six jades in the *Books of Rites* is a fabrication devised by later Confucian scholars. (2) Tools and weapons of jade, mainly following Neolithic traditions and imitating bronze weapons and tools of the Shang period. (3) Decorative jades, pure works of art.

The range of problems connected with divination in this early civilization was the topic of the fourth session (Shang Divination). David S. Nivison (Stanford) asked *The "Question" Question*, whether the "charge" of the oracle inscription must always be understood as a question. The oracle language had final particles for marking a sentence as a question; when a diviner did not use the question form in the charge formula, he did not intend his sentence to be understood as a question. – Jao Tsung-Yi (Hong Kong) raised the problem of *The Yi-Kua in the Shang Dynasty and Various Problems Pertaining to Divination*. Yikua is the method of divining by yarrow stalks in accordance with the scheme of 64 hexagrams, and has been used until recent times. The method existed in the Yin Dynasty already. The connected prob-

lems discussed were numerical systems of the time. – An archaeological aspect of divination from the point of view of freshly developed new branch of study presented by Chang Kwang-Yuan (Taipei) in his paper *An Experiment in Making Late Shang Oracle Bones*; he demonstrated the results of a series of experiments attempting to determine the methods of selection, preparation, and use of turtle shell and cattle bone materials for divination during the Late Shang period. Chang claimed that his discoveries filled in some gaps in oracle-bone studies.

Session V – Nature and Cosmology – was introduced by a team-work paper prepared by Chou Hung-Hsiang, Shen Jianhua, and Lisa Heyes (Los Angeles), *Statistical Analysis of Shang Meteorology*. Their research resulted in the conclusion that during Shang times, there was more rainfall, that it took place during every month of the year, and that the weather was warmer. – Hu Houxuan (Peking) concentrated upon *An Interpretation of the Oracle-Bone Inscription Phrase: "The Sun and Moon Eclipsed" ri yue you shi*; the phrase is not recording an actual event, it is rather a charge or prognostication, Hu says. – Akatsuka Kiyoshi (Nisho-gakusha U.) investigated the representation of time in Ancient China in an inspiring contribution *The Cosmological Meaning of the Ten Gan and twelve Zhi in Shang Civilization*; *shi gan* (ten stem signs) in combination with *shi-er zhi* (twelve branch signs) made a complete cycle taking sixty days. Akatsuka derived the systems from the primitive conceptions of life cycle: *shi gan* symbolized stages in the development of a barley seed from germination in the earth to fruition, *shi-er zhi* symbolizes stages from the conception of a child up to acceptance into the family. "The cycle of the two sets of signs represents the idea of the diffusion of two forces within the cosmos: that which gives life to plants and all living things and that which gives them form and substance."

The sixth session was focused on Language and Epigraphy of the Shang Inscriptions. – Paul L. M. Serruys' (U. of Washington) paper *Graphic Identification, Semantic Interpretation and Phonological Implications in the Oracle Writing of Shang* had a strong methodological accent against any kind of one-sided pictographic analysis. Any graphic analysis needs "to consider the *word* that is represented by the graphic unit and to determine it in meaning(s), grammatical function(s), and its relationship with other words, whether cognates, synonyms or homonyms, liable to be used as loan units (*jiajiezi*)". – Ken-Ichi Takashima (U. of Brit. Columbia) presented a systematic account of *Noun Phrases in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions from Period I to Period V*, paying no particular attention to diachronic developments. – On the other hand, Itō Michiharu (Tokyo) endeavoured to re-examine the *Character of Xuci* (i.e., grammatic particles) *as Seen in the Oracle Inscriptions* in continuous developments of their meanings.

The seventh session dealt with some questions of periodization. – In his very controversial paper Hsü Chin Hsiung [James C. H. Hsu] (Toronto) gave an *Epigraphic Interpretation of Historical Stages in Ancient Chinese History*; Hsü divides the ear-

liest times of Chinese history in three periods: (1) the era of the legendary personages before the Yellow Emperor (typified by the oracle-bone graph for "sage"), (2) the era of the emperors who created social institutions (typified by "jade waist pendant"), (3) the era of authentic dynastic history ("king" as a military commander). The discussion revealed the unacceptability of Hsü's views. – Another controversial paper was presented by Chang Tsung-tung (Frankfurt) who tried to give a *Translation of Some Oracle Inscriptions Unearthed at the Plain of Zhou with a Consideration of Their Dating and Origin*; the author considered them to be of Shang, not Zhou, origin and that they were brought into the heartland of the Zhou from Anyang. – Sharp critical thought of David S. Nivison (Stanford) was documented by his *Pre-Chou Chronology: History vs. Numerology in Hsia, Shang, and Chou*. Nivison's argument is that pre-Conquest dates in the Bamboo Annals are partly historical, but were distorted in two revisions, and partly are sheer numerological constructs. – Jean A. Lefevre (Ricci Inst. for Chinese Studies) in *Some Remarks on a Pictograph*, which represents an unidentified animal and which has developed into the character *xi* (translated differently: "rhinoceros", "ox", etc.), brings evidence that the mysterious animal was a wild buffalo.

The main topic of the last two sessions was State and Society. – Noel Barnard (Australian Nat. U.) attempted to apply *A New Approach to the Study of the Clan-Sign Inscriptions of Shang* by means of detailed study of the clan insignia. – In a partly controversial paper *A New View of King Wu Ding*, Chang Tsung-Tung (Frankfurt) tried to attribute some peculiarities of the oracle inscriptions of Period I to the personality of the King himself and came to the conclusion that Wu Ding must have suffered from a persecution complex. – In Yang Xizhang's (Peking) opinion, *The Cemetery System of the Shang Dynasty* reflected the relation of class, rank, and blood ties within the patriarchal slave society of the Shang kingdom. Yang elaborated this conception within the framework of the clan system of the Shang society. – Tu Cheng-Sheng (Taipei) in his contribution *Some Problems Concerning the So-Called Survivors of the Yin Dynasty* rejected Hu Shi's earlier thesis on the "tragic fate and miserable status of the survivors of the Shang". On the basis of an analysis of bronze-vessel inscriptions and pre-Qin literary sources Tu maintains that "the Yin survivors continued to possess considerable political power and quite high social status". – Qiu Xigui (Peking) carried *An Observation on the State Functionaries Tian, Mu, and Wei in Oracle-Bone Inscriptions and the Origins of the Princes Hou, Dian, Nan, and Wei* and arrived to a conclusion that the latter Zhou feudal terms all evolved from Shang state official institutions. – Jung Bor-Sheng (Taipei) discovered enough source material for a reasonable *Agricultural Geography in Oracle Inscriptions of the Yin Dynasty* based on the study of agricultural geographic names in the oracle-bone inscriptions. His method lead meantime to some tentative results which should be further elaborated. – The closing paper was presented by David N. Keightley (Berkeley); he inquired into the relationship between *Kingship*

and Kinship: The Royal Lineages of Late Shang. Keightley reconstructed ingeniously, on the basis of inscriptional evidence, some principles of the system of secession and inheritance among the lineages forming the Shang Dynasty; the following three of them have key importance: (1) The great Royal Lineage consisted of certain kings (Great Ancestors) and their consorts, selected from a federation of ten patrilineages, named by the ten gan stems. (2) Gan names were inherited through the male line. (3) When kingship remained in the same generation, it passed from one classificatory "brother" to another. When it descended a generation, it passed from the king to his consort's sister's son.

In general, the major part of the new information about Bronze Age China presented at the Conference derived from the oracle-bones and bronze-vessel inscriptions. Owing to this fact the Sinologists were lucky enough to be able to give a thrilling report of the spiritual and social life of a nation in the earliest stages of its existence.

Abstracts of the papers presented at the Conference and a summary of the discussions (prepared by Lothar von Falkenhausen and edited by Nancy T. Price and David N. Keightley) appeared in *Early China*, 9–10, 1983–1985, Supplement 1 (1986), 68 pp. Berkeley, California. Besides, the papers of Yin Weizhang, An Jinhui, Gao Zhixi, Lin Yun, Kwang-Chih Chang, Xia Nai, Chang Ping-Chüan, Zheng Zhenxiang, Zhang Zhenglang, Yang Xizhang, and Noel Barnard have already been published in *Studies in Shang Archaeology: Selected Papers from the International Conference on Shang Civilization*. Ed. K. C. Chang. New Haven, Yale University Press 1986.

BOOK REVIEWS

Etnopsikholingvistika (Ethnopsycholinguistics). Ed. Y. A. Sorokin. Moscow, Nauka 1988. 192 pp.

With this book, the team of authors from the Department of Psycholinguistics and Theory of Communication take contact with their preceding successful publications *Natsionalno-kulturnaya spetsifika rechevogo povedeniya* (Moscow 1977) and *Natsionalno-kulturnaya spetsifika rechevogo obshcheniya narodov SSSR* (Moscow 1984; cf. Asian and African Studies, 1987, pp. 275–277), which investigate variations and conformities in verbal and nonverbal behaviour of users of various, typologically different languages. Like the preceding publications, the collection *Ethnopsycholinguistics* is designed to study fragments of this behaviour. Evidently, a systematic description in this domain is still a matter of the future.

The analysis of verbal and nonverbal behaviour is here presented on the basis of an understanding of the phenomenon of culture as an adaptive-adjusting mechanism, co-operating with linguistic-speech and ethnic (biopsychosocial) mechanisms. This behaviour is explained in terms of the triad *ethnos* – language – culture, which permits the authors to grasp and evaluate not only surface, but likewise depth structures (“archetypes”) controlling the mental and nonmental behaviour of certain linguistic-cultural associations and “images of the world” being formed in them.

The collection is divided into three parts entitled: 1. Theoretical Problems of Ethnopsycholinguistics (pp. 5–48), 2. Ethnopsycholinguistics and Its Applicatory Aspects (pp. 49–152), and 3. Prolegomena to Metatheoretical Bases of Ethnopsycholinguistics (pp. 153–188).

In the first section the authors analyse the concept of culture from the viewpoint of its ethnopsycholinguistic value. From among the various types of its interpretation, they look for the most suitable one, yet they seem to fail to arrive at an unequivocal conclusion even in relation to the concept of civilization. They pursue disparities in “cold” and “hot” cultures, and the role of teleology in the corresponding

cultures (an issue spoken of in some cultures, passed under silence in others). Of interest are studies relating to the way lacunas are filled in texts addressed to recipients of another culture.

The second section brings concrete results of various experiments, e.g. investigation of associations in different languages and cultures with the names of colours; but the authors also study diverse types of symbolism in the Chinese language and culture, portraying of man in classical Chinese novel, the position of the speaker and the listener in speech activity of the Japanese. Japanese etiquette, as is generally known, gives absolute priority in communication to the speaker. A listener is bound to exert maximum effort to grasp the speaker's intention, the aim of his statement. Hence, a Japanese speaker, as the authors instructively point out, is obliged to devote attention not only to what he says, but also to the way he says it, to which is associated also the well developed ability of empathy in the Japanese.

Another part of this section compares complexes where the use of invectives forms part of the "grammar" of a language and where their number and diversity are considerable (= European complex), with complexes where the same ends are attained differently (= Japanese, Javanese and Vietnamese complex). The authors show how, particularly in Japanese, a strong verbal catharsis may be achieved by violating the usual hierarchy of honorific forms.

Further topics pursued in detail by the authors refer to associative reactions in children, a comparison of national cultural specificities in the English and the Russians, bilingualism in speech behaviour of the Paraguayans, verbal etiquette of the Abkhazians, etc.

The third section is concerned with an explication of the biological and the social in the formation of the psyche, and with the inborn and the acquired traits in connection with speech development but, in particular, it deals with the detailed although quite neutral translation of the contents of the book by the famous zoologist and ethologist D. Morrice. Some of his hypotheses and parallels between man and monkey appear to be too direct and, to our mind, deserve to be thoroughly discussed. Often the impression gathered is one of some sort of a personification of the monkey and a depersonification of man.

As seen from the above remarks, the collection *Ethnopsycholinguistics* processes quite a number of interesting topics. Although the explanation in some places appears rather rhapsodic, making an impression of irresponsibility, there are numerous interesting data, insights, or research results which permit the book to be recommended to sociolinguists and sociologists, as well as to psychologists, ethnographers and culturologists. Everyone of these may find in it ready information, useful to his work.

Slavo Ondrejovič

Hashmi, Alamgir: *The Commonwealth, Comparative Literature and the World*. Islamabad, Gulmohar 1988. 71 pp.

Properly speaking, there is question here of two papers, or lectures by a professor of the University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir: A Groundnote for a Comparative and Common Study of English Literatures: Seven Hypotheses and Muslim Literary Imagination and the Shape of the Contemporary World.

Alamgir Hashmi's first paper is very relevant today, fresh and interesting, because it proceeds to a study and research of literature of the Commonwealth from a novel aspect but on a unifying basis. It is divided into seven topical sections (hypotheses). One may certainly subscribe to the idea that "English" is not only a Northern matter, but to my mind, there is primarily question of language as an instrument of communication. When dealing with belles-lettres (artistic verbal – written expression), one must distinguish between national English (American) literature and other national literatures written in English. This does not involve any idea of paying tribute to any nationalism, but as long as nations exist, there also exist national literatures, however conventional the term. Thus, to speak of international literature in English is nonsense, as the author rightly observes, and this from whatever functional aspect one may choose. In my view, the application of new concepts from the theory of the interliterary process and interliterary associations whose author is Dionýz Durišin, literally offers itself for implementation. A. Hashmi claims that " 'English' as 'Language and Literature' proper can only be studied today as 'English in the World', as a worldwide phenomenon (or even phenomena) in language and literature" (p. 10). 'English-written worldwide literature' is in fact an interliterary association of English-written literatures (and within this framework an interliterary association of the Commonwealth). Undoubtedly, cartography is more popular than jogging. Really, the linguistic situation prevailing in the world urgently needs that new linguistic maps be elaborated with numerous corrections against the old ones, together with various new literary research guides. The author graphically sets out the unjustifiable nature of certain terms in publications of this type. A. Hashmi unambiguously refutes a racist approach to the study and classification of literature (The language of colour is highly invisible). Terms like 'littérature nègre' have no justification. Professor Hashmi notes with satisfaction that "... the move in the United States from Red Indian or American Indian Literature to Native American Literature and that from Black American to Afro-American are developments which deserve both the congratulations on the advancement of human reason and an essay all to itself which celebrates human understanding" (p. 20). As to the question of 'common reader', he outlines the views of Virginia Woolf, of Goethe (in connection with the concept of his 'Weltliteratur') and of Etienne, and characterizes the situation in English-written literatures with the views of the Australian poet and critic A. D. Hope.

A. Hashmi rejects eurocentricism and writes: "Europeans and non-Europeans will need to learn more from each other in this matter. The unity of language may not be interpreted always as identity of social context or singularity of the literary and cultural tradition; any more than the unity of the language itself is a guaranteed non-variable" (p. 24). Hence, one may not doubt but that English-written literature also corresponds to the milieu and the society in which it originates. A. Hashmi understands traditions as a free analysis of the relation of culture towards the political conditions and the society, and literature as a criticism of life.

In the section Cultural, Political and Moral Constituents of the Locale of Reading Taste like Country Soup, the author deals with various conditions that help determine the reader or his attitudes, and which influence creative options. He takes up a critical stand towards comparative methods when he writes: "Comparisons, all comparisons, are likely unfortunately to be influenced by the over-all moral and ideological climate" (p. 29). He upholds two questions, worth some reflection: "...can comparison transcend the prevalent local ideology and deal with texts in the high-minded manner of old 'objectivity', without being shackled by its purposive uses and the fairly ramshackle moral foundations of its European practice in the past?", and the second one: "...should comparison transcend its prevalent ideological milieu in the interests of a utopian criticism, which deals with our contemporary texts for a world (of readers) yet to be born?" (pp. 29-30).

In the seventh of his hypotheses Ride Ten Thousand Days and Nights, Please John, (You Are not Easy to Please), A. Hashmi focuses attention on the cultural-ideological problems of present-day world, on the relations between West and East, or North and South (the Third World). He goes on to say that "The so-called South must watch that its Humanities and humanistic systems are not equated with reproductive technology while it is consistently divested of Science; that Northern assumptions will not undermine its strongest resource" (p. 36).

A. Hashmi's second study is concerned with some Muslim Letters and Works of representative value, against the background of which it may be possible to elucidate in a complex manner the problems of Muslim literature. This involves authors such as Mohammad Iqbal (1887-1938), the greatest Muslim poet of the first half of the 20th century, Faiz Ahmed Faiz (1911-1984) whose poetry represents both the precolonial aspirations of freedom from unfair constraint and duress, and the post-colonial dirges of despair, further, the Syrian-Lebanese poet and editor Ali Ahmad Said alias Adonis (b. 1930), the Swahili poet Ahmad Nassir Juma in Malindi, the major Iranian poet Forugh Farrokhzad (1935-1965), Ahmed Ali (b. 1910), Zulfikar Ghose, the Somali writer Nuruddin Farah (b. 1945) and others.

In both the studies the author has come up with new insights into literary research, a fact that deserves appreciation, and he has succeeded in justifying his approach and in applying it. Here and there, however, his attempt at illustrativeness and argumentation seems to be shallow, nor is his use of certain literary terms convincing,

giving them, as he does, a new content (e.g. English literatures, English novels, etc.). Yet, despite such drawbacks, Prof. A. Hashmi's book has to be considered as a contribution in the development of contemporary literary science, one that stimulates numerous questions for discussion by the reader.

Ján Múčka

Alpers, Antony: *The World of the Polynesians*. Auckland, Oxford University Press 1987. 416 pp.

Antony Alpers is born New Zealander and worked as a journalist and in 1966 he has become professor of English. His books concentrate upon South Pacific. The present publication appeared in 1970 under the title *Legends of the South Seas* and it won the National Book League's award for English book design in 1970. It was no doubt born out of the feeling of admiration for the Polynesians and their spiritual achievements and Alpers tried to communicate his noble feelings to wide public.

The book is a carefully compiled and representative selection of literary translations in which the author has made an attempt to combine thematic and territorial approaches. The former furnishes him with the compositional framework. The collection is opened with eleven basically cosmogonic myths from various parts of Polynesia. The reviewer appreciates that Alpers has published here an unusual Wharekauri (Chatham Islands) version of the myth about Rangi and Papa and their offspring (pp. 47–50). This is followed by a Tahitian myth of Ta'aroa; Alpers transcribes him as Tangaroa. His transcription is a compromise between the local orthographies and what could be defined an ad hoc Polynesian standard – cf. *vai ariki* and *Havaiki* in a Tahitian myth (pp. 57–62) alongside with e.g. *ra'i* in the same text. The picture of Polynesian cosmogony is complemented with fragments of myths from Tuamotu, Mangareva, Cook Islands (Mangaia) and Easter Island. The Society Islands oral literature is represented, in addition to Tahiti, by a text from Porapora (pp. 78–79).

Section Two is titled The Heroes (pp. 83–182) and comprises legends of Maui in several territorial versions (Tuamotu, Manihiki) as well as those of Hine, Tahaki and Rata (from the Chatham Islands, Tahiti, Mangareva, and Tuamotu).

The next section (Seven Ages in Thirteen Chants, pp. 185–199) contains about a dozen of specimens of Polynesian poetry; its subjects vary from child birth through war to dirge.

His endeavour to employ a territorial approach has been carried out by Alpers in seven sections. One of them is devoted to the Marquesas and Mangareva (pp. 203–230) and the rest to the Easter Island (pp. 233–250), Hawaii (pp. 253–268), Tonga (pp. 271–290), Samoa (pp. 293–302), Tokelau, Kapingamarangi and Tikopia (pp. 305–315), and, finally, New Zealand and the Chatham Islands (pp. 319–347).

The last section titled From Darkness to Light (pp. 351–364) may be characterized as an intrusion of the chronological approach; Alpers has included here text of a recent origin, from the 18th and early 19th centuries featuring post-contact events.

The author has included extensive notes (pp. 365–396), references (pp. 397–408) as well as a glossary and an index (pp. 409–416). The book is complemented with numerous illustrations commenting on Polynesian past and environment and selected by the author himself. Alpers' collection may be characterized as a balanced unity of text and illustrations that can serve as a suitable introduction to Polynesian oral literature to lay readers.

Viktor Krupa

Orbell, Margaret: *The Natural World of the Maori*. Photographs by Geoff Moon. Auckland, Collins in Association with David Bateman 1985. 230 pp.

Twentieth century New Zealand is one of those countries that are notable for a double national identity which is, however, different from e.g. that of Belgium or Czechoslovakia. This is because the two peoples, Pakeha and Maori, do not live in territorial separation from one another. The degree of mutual interaction is far from being a one-way road. Maori culture is something the whole country is proud of and today there are perhaps more Pakeha trying to learn the Maori language than there are Maori. Unfortunately, a considerable portion of traditional Maori culture is alive only in the recordings by scholars or educated amateurs.

Margaret Orbell's publication can hardly be characterized by a single sentence. It is rather a kind of an encyclopaedia of the Maori world prior to the arrival of Europeans, an encyclopaedia of the Maori world view as well as of the practical activities of the Maori people. The natural world of the Maori is unique – the New Zealand environment is far from being typical for Polynesia. One cannot help admiring the Maori for their ability of adjustment paralleled only by their speculative philosophical inclinations. The latter have given birth to a complex mythological system that is not inferior to Greek mythology, being markedly superior to, say, Japanese *Kojiki* where the flight of fantasy is fettered by the political duty to corroborate the divine origin of the emperors.

Margaret Orbell is author of several books on various aspects of Maori life and culture. Her experience in this genre has contributed to the high qualities of this volume. Its mythologically relevant division into six parts is complemented with a further subdivision into shorter chapters.

Part One, titled Land and People (pp. 3–16) is of an introductory nature. Brief remarks on the origin of the Polynesians and on the settlement of Polynesia are followed by a section on the deviant environment of New Zealand to which the new settlers from tropical Polynesia had to adjust themselves. The ancestors of the Maori

were lucky enough to be able to hunt numerous birds and to catch fish but the conditions were far from ideal for agriculture. The reliance on horticulture tended to increase in the warmer parts of the North Island while the South has remained a periphery. One of the most important innovations was the *pa* (fortification, stronghold).

Part Two titled *Ways and Means* (pp. 17–62) deals more extensively with the new environment and unusual circumstances of the newly discovered homeland. Polynesian settlers could not continue to live in the same way as they did in Central Polynesia. They had to rely on hunting and fishing, and the basis of agriculture changed considerably. The reader will find description of various kinds of hunting, fishing and collecting roots, of cultivating plants and preparing food. Clothing has also changed in the cooler climate of New Zealand. Quite a few pages deal with Maori carving, one of the few climaxes of Oceanic arts, and with ornaments in general.

Part Three, *The World of Light* (pp. 65–96) explains the foundations of Maori mythology – not only cosmogony but also religious ideas about the underworld, tapu mountains, and legends of fairies.

Part Four titled *Shaping the Land* (pp. 99–132) deals with the origin of land. Those who read only popular books could easily believe that the legends of the arrival of the ancestors are omnipresent in New Zealand, which is far from true. Margaret Orbell explicitly mentions the fact that some tribes trace their descent directly from Maui himself and thus believe they are autochthonous. However, the majority of the Maori tribes seem to have preserved some memories of their seafaring past and of the things their ancestors have brought along from legendary Hawaiiki. This proves myths to be virtually indistinguishable from reality and vice versa.

The Realm of Tangaroa (pp. 135–164) is Part Five of the book. Those who are familiar with Maori mythology know that Tangaroa is the god of sea and his kingdom is huge, including not only the ocean itself but also all the creatures living in it as well as reptiles and monsters reminiscent of our dragons and known from oral literature.

In conclusion the author describes the realm of Tane (pp. 167–214), the patron deity of the forest, the same Tane who managed to separate Sky from Earth and thus gave the plants and all living creatures space to live in and to grow. However the children of Tane are not only trees but also everything produced of wood, e.g. canoes.

The Natural World of the Maori is a charming book not only because of its texts but also thanks to numerous marvelous photographs by Geoff Moon. Everybody who loves New Zealand will return to this publication more than once.

Titles of many books promise more than they give but Orbell's publication is different – it gives more than its title promises.

Viktor Krupa

Binney, Judith – Chaplin, Gillian: *Ngā Mōrehu. The Survivors*. Auckland, Oxford University Press 1986. 218 pp.

This, in quite a few respects unusual book, comprises autobiographical stories of eight Maori women linked in some way or another to Te Kooti, the Maori leader and prophet of the second half of the 19th century, well-known as the founder of the specifically Maori religious movement called Ringatu.

The goal of the two authors is of both historical and ideological nature. It is historical because their publication sheds some light on the Maori – Pakeha relations during one of the stormy periods in New Zealand history. In addition to this it is ideological because the particular narratives depict Te Kooti's movement from the Maori point of view.

In their extensive and thorough Introduction (pp. 1–31) the compilers explain the reasons why the individual narratives of the eight women have a historical relevance. All of them have a variety of features in common. They grew up in small rural communities, their families practised tapu and all of them are native speakers of the Maori language, which is far from being the case of all Maori. All of them, despite a considerable range of age (59–93 years), lived in difficult, socially disturbed years and remained faithful to their traditional and cultural heritage.

Judith Binney and Gillian Chaplin believe, together with Mary Chamberlain, that “for much of women's history, memory is the only way of discovering the past – because other sources simply do not exist” (p. 3).

A considerable portion of the Introduction (pp. 4–18) deals with Te Kooti himself and with the beginnings of the Ringatu religion.

The two authors stress Te Kooti's peaceful intentions in the beginning of his activities as well as in the later period of his life. Both his religious doctrine and basic elements of liturgy are explained here. The question of the succession to Te Kooti is dealt with on the subsequent pages (pp. 18ff). This historical phase, however, has resulted in a gradual fragmentation of the Ringatu faith.

The Introduction is concluded by a brief characteristics of the role of women in Maori society (pp. 24–28) and, finally, there is a section devoted to the formation of oral traditions as an ever actual process (pp. 28–31).

The bulk of the book is formed by the autobiographical stories of eight Maori women. They are Heni Brown, Reremoana Koopu, Maaka Jones, Hei Ariki Algie, Heni Sunderland, Miria Rua, Putiputi Onekawa, and Te Akakura Rua (pp. 32–185). All texts included here have been taken by the compilers of the book and transcribed with as few modifications of the original version as possible, despite the fact that English is only a second language to all of the interviewed persons. All the life stories are structured in very much the same way: The genealogical tree is followed by a picture, by a map showing the territory where the interviewed person was

born and lived, and by a short introduction that furnishes some useful background information.

The autobiographical texts themselves contain quite a few Maori quotations (supplied, however, with their English translations) as well as black-and-white photos featuring the Maori way of life. These photos often have historical value.

It is natural and inevitable for a publication of this genre to include numerous notes arranged by the chapters (pp. 186–205). Another useful feature is a glossary of Maori words occurring in the book (pp. 206–211), as well as a classified bibliography comprising unpublished sources, articles, books, including relevant ones not cited in the text (pp. 212–215).

The Index (pp. 216–218) contains names of persons, places, tribes, buildings, and institutions.

Ngā Mōrehu. The Survivors sheds light on recent history of the Maori people and proves that the New Zealanders of today display a vivid and ever increasing interest in the Maori affairs that form a vital constituent of the history of this Pacific country.

Viktor Krupa

Bibliografiya lingvisticheskikh rabot po yazykam Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii (Bibliography of Linguistic Studies on Languages of South-East Asia). Ed. by Yu. Ya. Plam et al. Moscow, Nauka 1988. 2 Vols. 376+456 pp.

From the linguistic point of view mainland South-East Asia represents a rather complicated jigsaw of hundreds of languages and dialects belonging to several big families, the Mon-Khmer, the Thai, the Tibeto-Burmese and the Austronesian. Besides, there are some other groups of languages whose affiliation had been, or still is, disputed, such as the Viet-Muong, the Miao-Yao etc. All languages in this part of the world have many typological features in common and they share similar tendencies of grammar development. From the genetic point of view, not only the affiliation of some languages or language groups to individual language families has been questioned, but since J. R. Logan (1859), through W. Schmidt (1906) and P. Benedict (1942), up to Pham Duc Duong (1983), not to mention but the most important authors, more or less well documented hypotheses have been formulated about broad genetic alignments even between the established language families in South-East Asia, both mainland and the islands. Especially in recent decennaries the study of South-East Asian languages developed considerably not only in Europe and the USA, but also in the USSR, China, Japan and, last but not least, in some countries of South-East Asia itself, first of all in Vietnam. In such a situation, a comprehensive bibliography of studies on all the languages in the area has become an absolute necessity for the further development of South-East Asian linguistics. This

difficult task was undertaken for the first time by a group of scholars at the Department of South-East and East Asian linguistics of the Oriental Institute, the Soviet Academy of Sciences, in Moscow, headed by Yu. Ya. Plam (an expert in Thai languages). The team included I. Ye. Alyoshina (Vietnamese), the now late Yu. A. Gorgoniev (Khmer), Yu. L. Blagonravova (Thai languages, typology, comparative philology), A. Yu. Yefimov (Mon-Khmer), I. N. Komarova (Tibetan), N. V. Omelyanovich (Burmese, general linguistics), A. A. Moskalyov (Chuang and other languages of South China). The present bibliography is, therefore, a work for linguists by linguists, each of the authors having contributed up to ten or more studies in his special field of research to South-East Asian linguistics. Twenty five years after the *Bibliographies of Mon-Khmer and Tai Linguistics* by H. L. Shorto, Judith M. Jacob and E. H. S. Simmonds and the *Bibliography of Sinotibetan Languages* by R. Shafer a work has been brought into being, unprecedented in scale and scope in the world's South-East Asian linguistics.

The frame of time covered by the present work does not considerably differ from that of former bibliographies just mentioned. A relatively complete list of works published in Europe, the USA, the USSR, China, Japan and the countries of mainland South-East Asia has been set up not further than up to 1971. For the period of 1972–1976 the list is said not to be complete, except for works by Soviet authors. Finally, for the period between 1976–1986 only books and articles printed in the USSR have been covered (424 entries). In spite of this, the amount of information given here exceeds by far that of the previous bibliographies, limited as they were mostly to Western authors. While the handbook by Shorto, Jacob and Simmonds included 931 entries, the present Soviet bibliography records 3,312 entries for more or less the same range of languages (works published in 1976–1986 taken apart). Besides, it covers for the first time the works on Vietnamese and Muong (1,151 entries up to 1976).

The present bibliography has been divided into parts according to language families. Special place has been devoted to problems of the linguistic area in general (Vol. 1, pp. 42–88). Vol. 1 contains works on the Viet-Muong group (pp. 102–178) and the Mon-Khmer family (pp. 233–350), Vol. 2 is devoted to the Thai family and Miao-Yao group (pp. 43–173) and the Tibeto-Burmese languages (pp. 213–383). Works published in the USSR during the last decennary (1976–1986) have been added as a supplement to Vol. 2 (pp. 421–451). The rest represents the Introduction by Yu. Ya. Plam, lists of abbreviations, authors' indices and the original versions of the Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Burmese, Thai, Lao, Khmer and Tibetan titles. Every list of entries devoted to a particular language family or group has been sub-divided into parts, such as bibliographies, general problems, dictionaries, manuals, grammars, studies in phonetics, morphology, syntax, ethnolinguistics, sociolinguistics, comparative philology. Besides, Thai languages are listed according to countries they occur in.

The work under review is, no doubt, of considerable value for the further development of South-East Asian linguistics. One may express a wish that the team of authors might continue the work once undertaken in order to compile another volume, bringing up to date the extra-USSR part of printings. This should be feasible in a reasonable future, if some necessary international assistance is asked for. It was, in fact, during the last two decennaries that the Vietnamese linguists discovered Chut etc. to be a link between the Viet-Muong group and the Mon-Khmer languages, that the Lund University team developed its Khmu research project (including language) and the University of Hawaii assured the survival of Mon-Khmer Studies.

The non-inclusion of the Austronesian languages subsisting in mainland South-East Asia, such as Cham, Edé (or Radé) and Jarai is a rather questionable solution. If the linguistic panorama of mainland South-East Asia is to be complete, these languages should not be omitted (and they had been, in fact, included, although rather arbitrarily, by Shorto, Jacob and Simmonds, who thought it convenient, on the other hand, to exclude Viet-Muong and Munda). So the areal approach should not be, in our opinion, entirely given up in favour of the genetic relationship taken as the only criterion for the choice of languages covered. This point of view may be supported by considerations relating to genetic, areal as well as typological approaches in the research of South-East Asian languages. A similar point can be discussed as far as the Tai-wan languages are concerned.

The Thai languages of Vietnam are among the still less explored languages of the Thai family. This situation has been reflected even in the bibliography under review: a Tho language has been classified apart from the Tay-Nung, although it represents no more than an older designation of the latter (Vol. 2, pp. 129–130); White Thai and Black Thai are local groups of Thai, not Tay, neither is Nung another designation for Tay-Nung (Vol. 2, p. 126). In fact, these are two groups of dialects, tending to form a new unified Tay-Nung standard language.

The few shortcomings mentioned do not lessen the unquestionably high value of the work accomplished by the team of the Moscow Oriental Institute.

Ivo Vasiljev

Littrup, Leif (Ed.): *Analecta Hafniensia. 25 Years of East Asian Studies in Copenhagen*. Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Occasional Papers No. 3. London, Curzon Press 1988. 194 pp.

To do justice to this volume by a team of Danish and other orientalist scholars would require quite a number of experts from the domains of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Tibetan and Southeast Asian studies. The task to review the volume devel-

ved upon me for the simple reason that sinological and japanological papers to which I might perhaps have something to say, numerically predominate.

I shall pick out only some papers that attracted my interest to a greater extent, though this does not imply that they are of higher value than those which I shall leave aside because their topic is more remote to me.

The reminiscent essay by Søren Egerod, the founder of the East Asian Studies Institute at the University of Copenhagen, sounds almost unbelievable. He writes that the Institute had its modest beginnings in the form of a small library in his home, and the first book the Institute itself bought was W. Simon's *Chinese-English Dictionary*. This somewhat recalls the story mentioned by Jaroslav Průšek when he began in the late 1920s with the study of sinology in Prague. He found that the libraries of the city had but an incomplete set of the *Chinese Classics* by J. Legge and merely the first two volumes of the *Mémoires Historiques* by E. Chavannes. And if I may add something to this from our experience in Bratislava, we also began at the Department of Oriental Studies in 1960 with an incomplete edition of *Moruo wenji* (Collected Works of Guo Moruo).

What interested me most in the study *Long Live Confucius* with the subtitle *Some Remarks on Creel, Confucius and Humanistic Values*, is the idea that the "main subject of the Linyu (ought to be Lunyu, M. G.) is how to study well and how to implement what has been studied. To study is regarded as a great pleasure, as no one can become a complete human being without so doing" (p. 78). I do not know whether experts on Confucius would agree with the statement on "main subject", but I can well imagine how present-day teachers would wish for something of that kind. To many students nowadays study is anything but a source of joy and spiritual delight.

O. G. Lidin is known as the author of the noteworthy book *The Life of Ogyū Sorai. A Tokugawa Confucian Philosopher*, which represents a stimulative contribution to comparative philosophy. In his study in the volume under review entitled *Treaty Revision in Meiji Japan (1868–1912)* he shows by what skilful diplomacy the Japanese disengaged themselves from the shackles in which the more powerful European "barbarians" had entrammelled them in the years 1866–1867.

L. Littrup in his paper *In a Search of a Centre. Some Notes on Chinese World Histories with Special Reference to the Middle Ages*, propagates the idea of a "world history without a centre" (p. 101), but this a "non-centred world history will, however, not arise from a simple compilation of national histories. Histories from all parts of the world must research the history of parts of the world other than their own and in their familiarity with the sources and the methodological approach, they must become equals of the historians who study the history of their own countries. Such research can put every country and every period into its proper perspective" (ibid.). One can agree with this, but in my view, that "proper perspective" requires

in the first place enhanced efforts at a comparative study in all possible relations, contactual as well as typological.

C. Steenstrup in his essay *On "Legalism" as an Heuristic Device in the Comparative Study of the History of Western and Chinese Institutions*, begins, similarly as K. R. Lauridsen before him, with the time of Confucius full of changes, warlike rivalries, reforms in the domain of administration, taxing, controls of irrigation, drafting of legal norms, etc. China has always had problems with her legal system and this was not due solely, as Mr. Steenstrup supposes, because the relations "between a totally unfree peasant (the old order) and his master require no written code to regulate them, nor any courts, because the master is always judge in his own case" (p. 137). It rather derived from a philosophical view of and a world-outlook on the relation *li* (rites, decorum, proper conduct in a well-ordered society) and *fa* (laws). On the other hand, the Confucian view of reality was unduly idealistic and relations in the social, economic, political and moral domains required legal measures. A sympathetic feature in this study is that it compares the Chinese status of legal thinking and practice with the ancient Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome, but also with European countries in modern era up to the *Code Napoléon*. In a study of Chinese law, its "remnants" as A. F. P. Hulsevé observed, we may take support in a considerable quantity of material of which far more has been preserved than in other parts of the world thanks to abundant archaeological finds. Probably following D. Bodde's and C. Morris's *Law in Imperial China* from the year 1973, the author of this study states that law in China was status law "aimed at securing the supremacy of elders and losses over junior servants, rather than at material justice" (p. 143). I rather miss in it a stress on the role of the individual, e.g. in the comparison of the Chinese and Roman law, although precisely this was most involved, and the author admits this in different words when he writes that for Qin rulers "reform of public law (i.e. status law, M. G.) was paramount, while reform of civil law would have assisted the harbingers of the unauthorized change, i.e. the entrepreneurs and the merchants. Qin, in short, reformed public law and neglected civil law, while Rome did the opposite" (p. 144). Hence, the decision fell already in the last centuries B.C. that the Roman legal system could and did triumph in a healthy but also a violent competition.

The essay by D. B. Wagner *Swords and Ploughshares, Ironmasters and Officials*, with its subtitle *Iron in China in the Third Century B.C.* implies that iron was used in China as early as the 6th century B.C. and by about the year "300 B.C. iron was a normal part of daily life in most of China, and had largely replaced bronze as the metal of choice for most types of weapons and implements. A large industry developed and many fortunes were made in the iron industry" (p. 174).

The volume here reviewed comprises a total of 22 papers from the various domains referred to above. For the most part, the abundant annotations and the care-

fully selected references make of it a valuable book and give a favourable characteristic of the twenty-five years of existence of the Institute of East Asian Studies in Copenhagen.

Marián Gálík

Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim: *Japanische Studien zur Kunst der Seidenstrasse* (Japanese Studies in the Arts of the Silk Road). Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1988. 199 pp.

In all probability nothing made a greater impact on intercultural process before the modern era than the conquests of Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.) and the so-called Silk Road (more precisely Silk Roads) during the Han (207 B.C. – A.D. 220) and Tang dynasties (618–907) in Central Asia through the Tarim Basin, then across the Pamir Mountains, Samarkand, Bukhara, Merv up to Damascus, Tyre, Antioch, Byzantium or to Seleucia. Silk reached imperial Rome even before the Christian era. A mutual influencing along this route measuring over 7,000 km in length is quite evidently assumed although it need not have taken place in every domain of the material and especially the spiritual culture. The caravan travel had the character of a relay; not one of the components that constituted it made the whole journey. Otherwise the Chinese would certainly have come into direct contact with the Romans. In addition, various elements of an ethnic or national culture always create more or less solid systemo-structural entities that cannot be easily disrupted, and at times are unwilling to take over foreign impulses, especially if there is question of cultures with well-grooved stereotypes.

The book under review presents an analysis, or at least a description of various genres of Buddhist art alongside these roads in contemporary Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang). It belongs to the series called Studies in Oriental Religions, and the papers it contains have been translated into German by Renata Herold.

Buddhism is a philosophy and a religion, and was diffused along trade routes. It reached Southeast Asia and south China by sea routes and Central Asia and north China along caravan roads and then proceeded to Korea and Japan. For a better understanding of Buddhist art which has been found along both the branches of the Silk Road in the Tarim Basin, it should be observed that Buddhism from its original cradle in present-day Nepal, reached today's Afghanistan through India and on this westward journey encountered the impact of the sculptural art of the Gandharan School itself influenced by Greek works. The Gandharan art received its designation according to the place of its origin in the environment of the present-day Peshawar, on the borders between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Greek impact spread considerably on the Gandharan territory especially following the downfall of the Maurya Kingdom in Northern India after the year 185 B.C. Between the 1st and the 5th

century A.D., works of art originated there with Buddhist themes influenced by Greek, or rather Greco-Roman forms. Buddha's statues, even those in a sitting position in deep meditation, wore a dress similar to the togas of Greek or Roman orators respective philosophers.

The book consists of studies by three Japanese experts on Buddhist art: Ueno Aki, Hadani Ryōtai and Ueno Teruo.

The book begins with the study of the second scholar and has for task to familiarize the reader with Buddhist art in Xinjiang. At the beginning of the Christian era up to the 8th century this part of Central Asia was an important crossroad of trade routes from Western, Eastern and Southern Asia. This could not fail to have an impact on art principally because its authors and patrons were the economically powerful Buddhist monasteries which with the help of institutions closely related to them, assured a smooth course of trade and religious pilgrimage. Local conditions, insufficiently developed indigenous art traditions and the readiness to take over foreign stimuli, polylinguism, cultural pluralism concurred in ensuring to this art a high degree of the intercultural and interethnic spirit. This, however, does not involve the hybrids, but a considerable harmony, unity, and in some cases even points to the genius originating in an indigenous environment. According to Hadani Ryōtai Xinjiang art was affected by several factors: Indian and Iranian together with Gandharan art which reached out towards Kashgar, Khotan and Yarkand, and Chinese art which flourished principally in the Turfan region. The study devotes considerable space to three discoverers of Xinjiang art, to Sir Aurel Stein, Albert von Le Coq and Albert Grünwedel.

As reader, I drew greater profit from the study by Ueno Teruo dealing with sculpture from the Xinjiang region. As to material, it devotes itself to excavations by Ōtani Kōzui (1876–1946) which, though of lesser artistic value than those found by the above scholars, are nevertheless of a greater extent and consequently also of great import as regards art history. In contrast to the first study, the present one assigns the various works of art into several groups or styles: Classic-Western style, Oriental and Iranian style, Gandharan style, Indian style, Xinjiang style and Chinese style. Ueno Teruo then clearly differentiates between Classic-Western style by which he has in mind Greek art and the Gandharan style affected by Greek sculpture. Among works of this kind he includes the works made of clay that have the forms of amphorae, oinochoe, lekythos, with terra-cotta figurines attached to them which "clearly represent the Gorgons (Medusas)" (p. 43). The same applies to winged angels and pigeons seen about Bodhisattwa in the ruins of the temple at Kocho (p. 44). By Oriental and Iranian style are meant Egyptian and Mesopotamian elements of which only a few have been found, but include, for instance a chair leg carved in the form of a female body, but with a cow's legs. Of interest are terra-cotta figurines from Yotkan, fired in the Indian style, including numerous monkeys representing everyday scenes from life, sexual ones not being excluded.

A peculiar feature in the case of Xinjiang art is that the impact of the different intercultural components can be practically measured in terms of a geometrical proportion of the distance between the giving and the receiving structure. A glance at a map reveals that Western, Near-Eastern or South-Asian influences are evident on the western side of both branches of the Silk Road, Chinese influence on the eastern side, while the Xinjiang style was most prominent in the milieu of Kucha, somewhere half-way between the individual foci of impact. About the indigenous Xinjiang style the author asserts that it is essentially Gandharan, but less plastic, the eyes, noses and mouths being formed differently, the whole being more feminine, and allegedly more elegant. The description implies, although the author does not underline it, that it embodies more mannerism than other styles.

As a sinologist I was mostly interested in the Chinese style. Xinjiang began culturally to be influenced from the Chinese side fairly late indeed, as late as the 7th–8th centuries. The impact was mutual, although not absolutely reciprocal: China received musical stimuli in particular from Central Asia. In Xinjiang these reached besides the region of Turfan, as far as Kucha and Khotan, and at the last stage of the impact, became a part of the Xinjiang culture. In the statues of Buddha, the Chinese style is apparent in more oval, fuller faces (p. 62) which is probably a result of the beauty ideal prevailing during the period of the Tang dynasty. At Astan not far from Turfan, archaeologists found figurines of soldiers and officials, women, horses, camels, etc. The women likewise conform to the then fashionable ideal with dimples on the cheeks and red lips.

The valuable study by Mrs. Ueno Aki evidently shows a greater leaning to Chinese iconography than to Buddhist art; it deals with a depiction of the mythological figures of Fuxi and Nu-gua from Astan. It is based on findings by Otani's mission, Sir Aurel Stein's collections and Chinese excavations.

The omission of a map of Xinjiang from the period analysed in the book is rather regrettable, as it would have facilitated an orientation to readers interested in the subject.

Marián Gálik

Hijiya-Kirschner, Irmela: *Das Ende der Exotik* (The End of Exotics). Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag 1988. 222 S.

Nur wenige Seiten des neuen Buches der jungen hervorragenden deutschen Japanologin, Prof. Irmela Hijiya-Kirschner, aus der Universität Trier mußte ich mit meinem Blick überfliegen, um ihre „Handschrift“ zu erkennen, die mir seit ihren wissenschaftlichen Anfängen in der ersten Hälfte der siebziger Jahre bekannt war. Gleich in der Einleitung sind zwei Probleme aufgegriffen, die für jeden interessant

sind, oder interessant sein könnten, der damit, was für uns „fremd“ und gewissermaßen exotisch ist (auch wenn wir es nicht so benennen sollten), in Berührung kommt, und es muß auch nicht gerade Japan sein, über das im Buch die Rede ist. Es sind zwei Gedanken zu beachten, die bei der Lösung des ernststen Problems der Beziehung zum „Fremden“ ohne Rücksicht auf seinen konkreten Charakter sehr wichtig sind: „Jede engagierte Beschäftigung mit Japan wird Konflikte in uns auslösen, da unweigerlich unterschiedliche Wertsysteme aufeinanderprallen“ (S. 21), und die andere, die uns noch wichtiger erscheint: „... wie denn ein transkulturelles Verstehen überhaupt möglich sei“ (S. 22).

In den letzten Jahren hat sich Prof. Hijiya-Kirschner für die Frage der Frauenemanzipation sehr interessiert. Die gesamte Lage in Nordamerika, Westeuropa, aber vielleicht auch in ihrer Familie und im Milieu, in dem sie verkehrte und noch verkehrt, trugen dazu bei. Schon seit ihren Studentenjahren ist sie mit einem japanischen Maler verheiratet und kennt die japanischen Frauen sowohl von eigenen zahlreichen Aufenthalten in Japan, als auch aus japanischen Büchern, soziologischen Forschungen und Massenmedien. Zum Hauptobjekt ihres Interesses auf diesem Gebiet (siehe die beigefügte Bibliographie) wurde die Frage *onna-kotoba* (Frauen-Sprechen), die sowie im Westen als auch in Japan in den siebziger Jahren modern war. In Japan sind für diese Verständigungsart bessere Voraussetzungen, weil die japanische Sprache die Möglichkeiten der Höflichkeitssprache mehr ausnützt. Die Autorin kommt jedoch zur Schlußfolgerung, daß der Terminus „Frauen-Sprechen“, den die militanten Feministinnen im Westen in verschiedenen Varianten propagiert hatten, im Japanischen nur schwer verwendbar ist. Auch hier gibt es nicht genug grammatische Regeln, die „eindeutig und durchgängig“ spezifisch für *genus femininum* bestimmt wären und das Japanische selbst hat eine ungenügende Anzahl lexikaler Einheiten mit dem „sex-exklusiven“ Charakter. Eine andere Studie hat nur zum Teil sprachwissenschaftlichen Charakter und ist mehr soziologisch eingestellt. Es geht hier um eine folgerichtige Beobachtung des Lebens der japanischen Frauen am Ende der siebziger Jahre und am Anfang der achtziger Jahre im Zusammenhang mit dem Phänomen der sog. *tonderu onna* (fliegende Frau). Diese beflügelte Metapher entstand aufgrund des Lesens der Übersetzung des Romans von der bekannten amerikanischen Schriftstellerin Erica Jong, *Angst vor dem Fliegen* (*Fear of Flying*), der im Jahr 1978, fünf Jahre nach der Veröffentlichung des Originals, in japanischer Übersetzung erschienen ist. Da ich diesen Roman kenne, vermute ich, daß der Ausdruck „fliegende Frau“ seinen Ursprung nicht im Akt des „Fliegens“ (mit dem Flugzeug) hat, sondern im „Fliegen“, als einem der Aspekte des Freud-Komplexes „flying in dreams“, der im Titel des ersten Kapitels des Romans, im Original *En Route to the Congress of Dreams* genannt, genügend klar angedeutet ist. An ihr Ziel, nach Wien, kommt die Heldin gemeinsam mit 116 Psychoanalytikern. Sie wurde von 6 von ihnen analysiert (nicht nur von psychischer Seite) und einer von ihnen war ihr Mann. Es ist schwer zu sagen, ob diese Roman-

heldin zum Ideal der japanischen Frauen wurde. Es war eher eine Darstellung der amerikanischen Frau vom Ende der sechziger Jahre bzw. eine Reklame für Erzeugnisse der Verbrauchsindustrie. Erica Jong stellte so den Lesern vieler Länder die amerikanische Frau vor, die in der Umgebung von Kosmetik, Song-Hits, Hollywoodfilmen und ziemlich ungebundenen Gesellschaftsbeziehungen aufgewachsen ist. Bei der Schaffung des Mythos *tonderu onna* gingen die Japaner etwas zurückhaltender vor, eine gewisse Zeit propagierten sie zwar das Bild einer attraktiven, erotisch und sexuell ziemlich ungebundenen Frau, aber gleichzeitig einer „career-woman“, die, wie es im Original heißt, fähig war „to scope with every man in the zodiac“.

Alles Modische ist in Japan meistens von sehr kurzer Dauer. Man erkannte bald, daß in jeweiliger politischen, ökonomischen und kulturellen Situation die Kritik einer solchen Konzeption helfen kann. Die „Hausfrauen-Verdampfung“, wie Frau Hijiya-Kirschner diese Situation nannte, allarmierte die japanische, besonders die männliche, Öffentlichkeit, die in ihr eine Bedrohung eigener Herrschaft sah. Die japanischen Massenmedien begannen plötzlich ein neues Bild, ein anderes Ideal *ii onna* (der gut aussehenden Frau) zu propagieren, die alle möglichen Frauenattribute besaß und gleichzeitig den Moralkodex verkörperte, was für die japanische Gesellschaft am meisten annehmbar war. Man begann von den Frauen „Schönheit, Sanftheit, geheimnisvolle Stille (*yūgen*), alterslose Attraktivität und reife Zurückhaltung“ zu verlangen (S. 60).

In einer weiteren Studie zeigt Hijiya-Kirschner wie naiv es ist, an ein „goldenes Zeitalter“ der Frauen in der matriloal und matrilineal organisierten Gesellschaft Japans bis zum 14. Jahrhundert zu glauben. Im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert waren hier bestimmt weit bessere Bedingungen für die Entwicklung der Literatur der japanischen Hofdamen als in jedem beliebigen anderen Land der Welt. Jedoch hat sich etwas Ähnliches nie mehr wiederholt. Und wie ist die Lage jetzt? Zum Beispiel was die qualifizierten Berufe anbelangt, sind die statistischen Daten tatsächlich allarmierend. Um nur einige zu nennen, zum Beispiel, die größte japanische Tageszeitung Asahi Shimbun beschäftigt 1008 Angestellte, davon nur 8 Frauen, auf 2867 japanische Richter entfallen 77 Richterinnen und auf 10 Ärzte kommt eine Ärztin. Jedoch sind mehr als 80% der Frauen mit diesem Zustand einverstanden, auch wenn es nicht bedeutet, daß sie damit zufrieden sind. Die Frau wird in der japanischen Gesellschaft nur soweit anerkannt, sofern sie gebärt und für die Kinder sorgt. In der Hierarchie der Werte ordnen 52,6% der Frauen die Kinder und ihre Erziehung auf die höchste und die eigenen Männer auf die niedrigste Stelle ein und nur 2,7% der Frauen bevorzugen die Männer, die Familie und die Möglichkeit einen Beruf auszuüben vor den Kindern. Die japanischen Frauen verdienen im Durchschnitt um 50% weniger als die Männer in denselben Berufen. Im Jahr 1983 fand nur jede elfte Frau von den 65 000 Absolventinnen der Universitäten eine Arbeits-

stelle. Das ist bestimmt ein ziemlich großes Sozialproblem, wenn wir noch bedenken, daß die Japanerinnen durchschnittlich das höchste Alter in der Welt erreichen.

Der letzte Teil des besprochenen Buches wird wahrscheinlich für diejenigen am interessantesten sein, die den interkulturellen Prozeß studieren. In einer der Studien, die diesem Problem gewidmet ist, schreibt die Autorin über die Vexierspiegel und Vexierspiegelbilder, was eine sehr geeignete Bezeichnung für die Begegnungen des „Eigenen“ und des „Fremden“ ist und was im Falle von Japan und Europa oder Deutschland eine mehrere Jahrhunderte dauernde Geschichte hat. Wenn es stimmen sollte, daß aus der Perspektive des Jahres 1986 „nimmt sich Europa als zunehmend in Bedeutungslosigkeit versinkender ferner Kontinent am äußersten Rande des asiatischen Festlandes aus – eine ‚alte‘ Welt, die für den Augenblick noch ein wenig von den Zinsen ihrer glanzvollen Tage zehrt“ (S. 139), dann lohnt es sich über diese Behauptung nachzudenken. Beide Seiten sollten darüber nachdenken. Dieses einst und noch vor einigen Jahrzehnten „sonderbare, grausame, militaristische Inselreich“ (Meinung des chinesischen Schriftstellers Yu Dafu, 1896–1945) ist zu einem schon lange andauernden ökonomischen Wunder mit einer ungewöhnlichen Prosperität geworden, dessen Glanz nur durch „ökonomische Reibungen“ zwischen den Handelspartnern getrübt wird. In dieser Studie erfährt der Leser, daß Europa „bleibt Autorität auf eher peripheren Gebieten, wie Mode und – mit Einschränkungen – Kultur“ (ibid.), was nicht sehr viel ist. Die Japaner zeigen für Europa ein geringes Interesse, wenn es sich nicht um ökonomische Kontakte bzw. die Ausfuhr ihrer eigenen Kultur handelt. Das wird bestimmt nicht ohne Grund von der Autorin als „intellektuelle Nabelschau“ oder „verblüffende geistige Isolation“ (S. 140) bezeichnet. Das letzte gilt nicht für die USA. Andererseits wieder weist sowohl die ursprüngliche als auch die übersetzte Literatur über Japan, die auf dem Büchermarkt in Deutschland erscheint, große Mängel auf, wenn sie nicht ausdrücklich von Fachleuten geschrieben wurde. Die Ausnahmen bestätigen nur die Regel.

Wenn die Japaner etwas über sich selbst lesen, dann sind es meistens Bücher, Artikel usw. von ausländischen Autoren, die ihre Erfolge auf verschiedenen Gebieten loben: in der Wirtschaft, Politik, Erziehung, im Kampf gegen die Kriminalität. Die Auflage von einer Million erreichte die japanische Übersetzung des Buches *Japan as Number One. Lesson for Americans* von Prof. Ezra Vogel. Der Japanologe Edward Seidensticker nannte dieses Phänomen japanische „Fähigkeit zur Selbsttäuschung“ (S. 177). Andererseits wurde ein anderes, mehr kritisches Buch, *Shadows of the Rising Sun. A Critical View of the „Japanese Miracle“* von Jared Taylor, von den Japanern nicht übersetzt.

Die gesamten japanischen Bestrebungen sind ausgesprochen ökonomisch eingestellt. Es wird in Japan verhältnismäßig wenig für die Kultur ausgegeben, relativ klein ist die Möglichkeit im Ausland zu studieren. Wenn etwas in dieser Hinsicht von japanischer Seite getan wird, so ist es vor allem der eigene Kulturexport. Die

Japaner meinen, daß ihre Sprache nicht nur eine der Amtssprachen der UNO, sondern auch *lingua franca* für die Länder, die japanische Produkte importieren und verkaufen, sein sollte.

Die sprichwörtlichen Schwierigkeiten, die mit der Beherrschung der japanischen Sprache verbunden sind, führen bei den Japanern zur Ansicht, daß die ausländischen Japanologen ungenügende Sprachkenntnisse haben und so keine guten Fachleute auf diesem Gebiet sein können. Es werden auch Stimmen laut, daß ausländische Japanologen überflüssig sind und daß sie von japanischen Kulturzentren, Konsulaten oder Werbeagenturen gut ersetzt werden könnten (S. 204).

Welchen Weg soll man gehen, welche Studienmethoden sollten bei der Forschung Japans und den einzelnen Gebieten seines Lebens gewählt werden? Ich vermute, daß Frau Hijiya-Kirschner aus eigener Erfahrung spricht, wenn sie damit nicht einverstanden ist, daß ein Japanologe „sollte sich zuerst und vor allem mit Japan identifizieren, es von innen heraus verstehen und auf diese Weise seine Ausdrucksformen und Seinsmodi akzeptieren lernen“ (S. 202). Sie fühlte sich immer in der Rolle einer Vermittlerin, die sich in den Fachgebieten, die sie studierte, des typisch Japanischen, stets bewußt war, jedoch das spezifisch Europäische auf eine bemerkenswerte Art verwenden und in den Werte- und anderen ihr nahe stehenden Systemen, anbringen konnte.

Der interkulturelle Prozeß stellt bestimmt einen komplizierten Mechanismus genetischer Kontaktbeziehungen, typologischer Affinitäten, internationaler und übernationaler Bewegungen in breiteren Konglomerationen dar, die eine gegenseitige Annäherung und Verständigung zum Ziel haben sollten, wenn manchmal auch in Form von Mißverständnissen. Sie können einen weitgehenden, manchmal positiven, manchmal negativen Einfluß auf das interkulturelle Geschehen haben. Die Aufgabe des Historikers, der sich mit diesen Regungen und dem gesamten Prozeß befaßt, ist unvertretbar. Er muß jedoch ein objektiver Chronograph sein.

Marián Gálik

Early China. The Journal of the Society for the Study of Early China. Published by the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley. Vol. 9–10, 1983–1985. 400 pp.

This volume of the important journal of Sinological studies consists of seven commented main articles (pp. 1–163), three translated articles (pp. 261–314), research notes and communications (pp. 164–219), reviews of articles and books (pp. 220–257), brief notices about books received (pp. 258–260), dissertation abstracts (pp. 339–352), annual bibliography with 165 items (pp. 353–367) and news of the field (pp. 368–400); the volume also contains a summary of Early China studies in Japan during 1982 (pp. 15–338).

Archaeology is represented by L. G. F. Huber's (Harvard) article *A Commentary on the recent Finds of Neolithic Painted Pottery from Ta-ti-wan, Kansu* (pp. 1-19). The article is intended as a follow-up to her comprehensive treatment of neolithic pottery published in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, 1981, and is written in light of a re-assessment by some Chinese scholars of the relationships between the Gansu and Central Plains styles. The Miao-di-gou style is seen in its nascent phase at Da-di-wan and is explained as having developed from a combination of elements from the Ban-po and Wei River styles. The Wei River style is perceived to derive from Ma-jia-yao, although the later stages of Ma-jia-yao may have been coeval with the florescence of Ma-di-gou.

D. N. Keightley (Berkeley) is concerned with a minor problem concerning the oracle-bone inscriptions of Bronze-Age China. In his article *Reports from the Shang: A Correction and Some Speculation* (pp. 20-54) the author argues that scholars trained in Taiwan tend to read one specific oracle-bone crack notation as *shang ji* "highly auspicious"; scholars in the People's Republic read the same graphs as *er gao* "two reports". A re-examination of the evidence leads to the conclusion that *er gao* is the correct reading. In the second part of the article the author considers the possible meaning of various *gao* crack notations, punctuates and translates certain inscriptions, and explains the disappearance of *gao* and the appearance of *ji* in later periods. The article aroused discussion as concerns interpretation of the word *gao* (whereas the reading *er gao* is widely accepted).

An interesting contribution to the knowledge of the earliest period of the Chinese history, i.e., Western Zhou (c. 11th cent.-770 B.C.) presents E. L. Shaughnessy's (Chicago) paper *The Date of the "Duo You DING" and Its Significance* (pp. 55-69). The "Duo You *ding*", a Western Zhou bronze vessel discovered in 1980 in Chang'an county, Shaanxi, contains a 270-graph inscription recording a major battle between Zhou and Xianyun chariotry. In addition to presenting a complete translation of the inscription, this paper attempts to specify the date of the events narrated. The author develops his arguments along three lines: (1) It is shown that personal names mentioned in the inscription require that the events took place shortly after the tenth year of King Xuan's reign (i.e., 818 B.C.). (2) Evidence from other bronze inscriptions is adduced to show that there was fighting between the Zhou and Xianyun in the years 816-815, suggesting that the battle described in the "Duo You *ding*" may have been part of this larger warfare. (3) Comparison of internal calendrical notations in the inscription with other evidence for the calendrical significance of Zhou victory celebrations not only confirms the first two conclusions but also allows the date to be specified as the tenth month of 816 B.C. All this information together gives rough outline of the Zhou-Xianyun war and suggests some of its historical significance.

Some implications of the archaeological discoveries for the history of Chinese civilization and arts are shortly discussed by E. C. Bunker (San Francisco) in her ar-

ticle *The Steppe Connection* (pp. 70–76). The author claims that the old accepted theories concerning the direction of cultural influence between China and the Eurasian steppes during the Eastern Zhou period need to be reassessed in the light of recent archaeological discoveries. The pictorial scenes on the “Hunting Hu”, the trend toward naturalism, the long sword and scabbard slide, all credited at one time or another to northern barbarian influence, can now be shown to reflect Chinese innovations instead. A Shang priority can be recognized for the coiled feline, which was to become a leitmotif of the steppe “Animal Style” world. In the future, extreme caution is suggested when attempting to identify the ultimate cultural source for any usual steppe or Chinese feature that seems exotic.

The only linguistic contribution is presented by Christoph Harbsmeier (Oslo), *Where Do Classical Chinese Nouns Come From? With some Notes on a Syntactic Hybrid in Koiné Greek* (pp. 77–163). The hypothesis presented here is that in Classical Chinese syntax, nouns and noun phrases show signs of being, like verbs, capable of functioning as main predications. A definition of the noun and verb in Classical Chinese is offered, based on analysis of passages from the pre-Han and Han texts, and it is argued that Classical Chinese can be more precisely understood by application of the principles of formal logic to the study of quantification, negation, conditionals, and pronominalization. This approach contrasts with approaches based on more traditional phonological, etymological, or philological methods. The paper stimulated several critical comments (Zhu Dexi, S. Egerod, E. G. Pulleyblank) claiming that Harbsmeier’s theory should be restricted one way or the other.

The original contributions are supplemented by the translation of three papers from People’s China’s sources. The archaeological line is followed by *A Preliminary Study of Early Chinese Copper and Bronze Artifacts* (pp. 261–289) by Sun Shuyun and Han Rubin (Peking). The authors’ observations led to the following conclusions: The discovery of processes for making copper artifacts in China is older than the Qijia culture (c. 2000–1600 B.C.). The earliest copper artifacts date back to the Majiayao culture (3000 B.C.), Machang culture (2300–2000 B.C.) and Longshan culture (2400–2000 B.C.); objects of copper, tin-bronze, and lead-bronze were all made during the same period. According to the authors’ research and replication experiments, the production of early brass by smelting mixed ores of copper and zinc shows that the early appearance of brass was technically feasible. In the light of these facts the riddle of the “sudden appearance” of the sophisticated bronze technology of the Shang dynasty has been solved. A rough outline of the initial phases of development can now be proposed on the basis of the study of early copper artifacts.

Second article concerning archaeology is a talk of Yu Weichao (Peking) *The Origins of the Cultures of the Eastern Zhou* (pp. 307–314). Professor Yu presents a schema of the development and filiation of archaeological cultures of the Eastern Zhou (770–221 B.C.). During this period China entered the Iron Age. Six great cultures

can be differentiated: (1) The Jin culture can be considered a continuation of Zhou culture. (2) The Qin culture was probably a branch of the Qiang-Rong culture of Western China. (3) The Chu culture originated from the indigenous Neolithic culture by repeatedly incorporating elements of the cultures of the eastern seacoast, the middle Yellow River basin, the region south of the Yangtze, and Shanxi. (4) The Qi (Qi-Lu) culture is the local Zhou culture joined with the indigenous Yueshi culture. (5) The Yan culture is also based on the Zhou culture, but it incorporated many elements of the local culture, which in turn embodied the cultural traditions of Lower Xiajiadian. (6) The Wu-Yue (Hundred Yue) culture is a phenomenon embracing the region from the lower Yangtze to the southern seacoast that was under heavy influences of Shang, Zhou, and other cultures; these influences were not distributed equally throughout the region.

The third paper concerns a subject close to D. N. Keightley's one, viz. *On the Burning of Human Victims and the Fashioning of Clay Dragons in Order to Seek Rain as Seen in the Shang Oracle-Bone Inscriptions* (pp. 290–306) by Qiu Xigui (Peking). In ancient times, upon meeting with severe drought, human victims were often sacrificed to Heaven by burning. The analysis of the early inscriptions suggests that the victims could be either female slaves or witches. Another practice how seek rain was making of clay dragons, which existed as early as in the Shang dynasty.

On the Research Notes and Communications level J. Bonner (Pennsylvania) refutes the hypothesis that Wang Guowei (1877–1927), rather than Lo Zhenyu, wrote *Yinxu shuqi kaoshi* (Critical Study of Inscriptions from the Ruins of Yin, 1915), a monograph concerning research on the Shang. – D. W. Pankenier (Akersberga, Sweden) looks for evidence for the historicity of “mythical” accounts of the founding of the Xia dynasty (1989 B.C.) in the combination of ancient oral history tradition recorded in Mozi's work (470–391 B.C.) and astronomical data concerning five main planets' cluster in 1953 B.C. – E. Tinios (Leeds) presents Ban Gu's political opinions about China's “loose rein” policy towards the Xiongnu barbarians as reflected in his appraisal-passages in his work *Han shu* (Book of Han); Ban Gu (A. D. 32–92) was a Han court official and well-known historian. A translation of *Han Shu* 94 is appended. – M. Loewe (Cambridge) gives an explanation of the original meaning of the forgotten word *kan-yu* (later used as a synonym of *feng-shui* (“geomancy”) = an astronomic instrument consisting of two parts “canopy and chassis”. – The meaning of another word, viz. *wu-xing*, is commented by M. Friedrich and M. Lackner (Munich); “element” is the best equivalent, although the semantics of the Chinese word is broader than the meaning of its European counterpart.

The reviewed volume of Early China brings a brilliant critical article of Alfred Bloom's book *The Linguistic Shaping of Thought: A Study in the Impact of Language on Thinking in China and the West*, Hillsdale, N. J., 1981, by M. Garret (Berkeley). The two main claims of Bloom's are: 1. it is more difficult for speakers of Chinese to think counterfactually than it is for speakers of English, and 2. it is more

difficult for them to "entify", to treat actions, properties, relations, or situations as theoretical entities. Garret challenges these claims and argues "that the preference for a particular way of thinking depends on the sort of problems one habitually addresses, must address, or has had the most success in addressing".

Further books reviewed and noticed in this volume are as follows: Wu Rukang and J. W. Olsen (Eds.), *Palaeoanthropology and Palaeolithic Archaeology in the People's Republic of China*, Orlando, FL, 1985. – Zhou Fagao (Ed.), *Jinwen gulin-bu* (Addenda to Jinwen gulin), Taipei 1982. – Ch. Hansen, *Language and Logic in Ancient China*, Ann Arbor 1983. – E. Barnard and Cheung Kwong-Yue, *Studies in Chinese Archaeology, 1980–1982*, Hong-Kong 1983. – Xie Yanping and Yu Xuehua, *Zhongguo jiusiqi shidai wenhua yizhi* (Palaeolithic Sites in China), Hong-Kong 1984. – E. G. Pulleyblank, *Middle Chinese, A Study in Historical Phonology*, Vancouver, B.C., 1984.

The Japanese production in the field of Early China studies of the year 1982 is resumed in a translation from the journal *Shigaku zasshi*, 92, May 1983: "Yin, Zhou, and Chunqiu" by Musha Akira and "Zhanguo, Qin, and Han" by Tomiya Itaru.

This volume of Early China brings many important information and useful references and gives an exciting insight into the wealth of the contemporary world Sinology.

Mirek Čejka

Debon, Günther: *Mein Haus liegt menschenfern doch nah den Dingen*. Dreitausend Jahre chinesischer Poesie. München, Eugen Diederichs Verlag 1988. 304 S.

Vor uns liegt wieder ein Buch von Prof. Günther Debon von der Heidelberger Universität. Absichtlich benützen wir das Wort „wieder“, weil wir seinem Namen in den letzten Jahren öfters auf den Pulten deutscher Buchhandlungen und auf den Seiten verschiedener Fachzeitschriften begegnen. Wir erwähnen nur einige Titel aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt: *Schiller und der chinesische Geist. Sechs Versuche*, Frankfurt a. M. 1983, *Goethe und China – China und Goethe. Bericht des Heidelberger Symposions*, Bern 1985 (hrsg. zusammen mit Adrian Hsia), *Oscar Wilde und der Taoismus. Oscar Wilde and Taoism*, Bern 1986 und das weitere, im Jahr 1988 erschienene Buch *Chinesische Dichtung. Geschichte, Struktur, Theorie*, Leiden, das dem Leser die reichen, fast vierzigjährigen Erfahrungen aus dem Studium der chinesischen Poetik und des Übersetzens der chinesischen Poesie unterbreitet.

Den Übersetzungen und wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten von Prof. Debon begann ich verhältnismäßig früh zu folgen. Am Anfang der sechziger Jahre habe sich seine hervorragende Übersetzung Yan Yus (ca. 1200), *Gespräche über die Dichtung. Ein Beitrag zur chinesischen Poetik*, Wiesbaden 1962 und etwas später die Auslese Chi-

nesische Dichter der Tang-Zeit, Stuttgart 1964 aufmerksam gelesen. Bei unserer ersten Begegnung im Jahr 1964, anlässlich des XVIth Congress of Chinese Studies in Bordeaux, als ich Prof. Debon einige neugierige Fragen stellte, antwortete er etwas verlegen, indem er auf seine Übersetzung hinwies, daß diese einen geringeren Wert hat als ich vermute, da ihm vor der Beendigung der Übersetzung die ausgezeichneten Kommentare und Interpunktionseingriffe von Prof. Guo Shaoyu nicht bekannt waren. Unsere etwas unterschiedliche Einstellungklärte unerwartet der Nestor der französischen Sinologen, der inzwischen verstorbene Prof. Paul Demieville, als er bei seinem Auftritt sagte, daß er die Arbeiten Tökeis auf dem Gebiet der chinesischen Poesie und die kommentierte Übersetzung von Debon für die besten in der damaligen Weltsinologie erachtet. Das bestärkte mich in meiner ursprünglichen Vermutung und zerstreute Debons Zweifel.

In seinem Arbeitszimmer, im Universitätsseminar in der Sandstraße 7, hatte Debon während seiner Tätigkeit (vor der Emeritierung im Jahr 1986) eine Papierrolle mit dem kaligraphischen Symbol *ren* (Mathews' 3112), was auf chinesisch Geduld, das Bedürfnis etwas zu ertragen, bedeutet. Dieses Symbol stellt das Herz eines Menschen mit einem Messer darüber dar. Das Messer ist eine gefährliche Waffe und das Herz kann sich nur durch eine unbeteiligte, parteilose und ruhige Stellungnahme dagegen wehren. Dieses Symbol charakterisierte wahrscheinlich Debons Beziehung sowohl zu der Umwelt, als auch zu seinen nächsten Mitarbeitern und Schülern. Erst die Zeit, als er in den Ruhestand trat, bedeutete für ihn die Befreiung des Herzens von allen Nachstellungen des Messers und seit dieser Zeit ist die wissenschaftliche, übersetzerische und organisatorische Tätigkeit Debons außerordentlich angewachsen. Von seinen älteren Übersetzungen wurde ich am meisten vom Gedicht des chinesischen Essayisten, Literaturkritikers und Dichters Yuan Hongdao (1568–1610) befangen, der irgendwann am Ende seines Lebens schrieb: „Wir gelten nichts in unseren besten Tagen; / Erst wenn wir nicht mehr jung sind, dann kommt das Glück. / Die Fee des Heils und ihre schwarze Schwester / Begleiten sich in jedem Augenblick“. Dieses Gedicht bringt bestimmt die Gefühle Prof. Debons in der 7. Dekade seines Lebens zum Ausdruck.

„Für jeden Tag des Jahres hält diese Sammlung chinesischer Gedichtkunst zumindest ein Gedicht bereit“, steht auf dem Umschlag des besprochenen Buches geschrieben. Es wird dort außerdem festgestellt, daß sein Verfasser „in diese weitgespannte Sammlung 200 neue Gedichte aufgenommen hat“. Meistens erfordert es viel Mut seitens des Übersetzers oder Verfassers und selbstverständlich auch des Verlegers, mit einer umfangreichen Gedichtsammlung vor die Leser zu treten. Lyrische Gedichte sind zu fein um sich in dicken Bänden ganz in ihrem Element zu fühlen. Bei diesem Buch aber hat der Leser das Gefühl der Frische, vom kurzen, jedoch eingeweihten Vorwort beginnend, bis zur letzten Seite des eigentlichen Textes, wo auf dem Bild des ausgezeichneten Malers des vorigen Jahrhunderts, Ren Buonian (1840–1896), der ruhmreiche mittelalterliche Dichter Tao Yuanming

(365–427) in einem Kahn dargestellt wird, wie er, nachdem er das Amt verlassen hat, zurückkehrt. Das Bild illustriert folgende Verse: „Die leichte Dünung läßt mein Boot erzittern, schwanken; / Der Wind braust auf, daß mein Gewand sich bauscht“. Diese Worte stammen aus dem bekannten und oft übersetzten Gedicht *Gui qu lai ci* (*Heimwärts geht es, ach!*). Das Bild befindet sich, ähnlich wie fast alle Reproduktionen aus diesem Buch, in den Sammlungen des Museums für ostasiatische Kunst, Köln.

Das besprochene Buch hat 13 Kapitel, von welchen die meisten lyrischen Themen gewidmet sind. Wie es allgemein bekannt und mehr oder weniger auch anerkannt ist, bildet die Lyrik den Grundgenre der chinesischen Literatur. Die Titel der einzelnen Kapitel weisen auf Ihren Inhalt hin: Der liebende Mann, Die liebende Frau, Die Freunde, Der Wein, Vom Elend des Krieges, Ragende Berge, Strömende Wasser, Blumen und Bäume, Zwischen Amt und Freiheit, Heimat und Fremde, Vergänglichkeit und Stille des Herzens. Der aufmerksame Leser bemerkt sehr bald, daß in diesem Buch viel Raum der Natur gewidmet ist. Obwohl die Natur nicht das häufigste Thema der chinesischen Poesie ist, ist es doch für sie sehr typisch. Die Chinesen haben ihre eigene Philosophie der Natur, ihre Anschauung setzt meistens keinen Schöpfer oder Beweger voraus. Sie versteht die Natur als menschenfreundlich, der Mensch muß sie weder bekämpfen, noch versuchen, sie sich zu unterordnen. Er soll sich eher bemühen, ihr Bestandteil zu werden. Die Natur bedeutet manchmal für die chinesische Literatur mehr als der Mensch selbst, allein der Mensch in seiner gesellschaftlichen Orientierung. Das geht auch aus dem Titel des Buches von Debon hervor. Die Zeit ist ein häufiges Thema sowohl in der europäischen, als auch in der chinesischen Poesie, in China kommt es jedoch häufiger vor und ist oft mit der Natur verbunden. Die chinesische konfuzianische gebildete Welt war am postmortalen Leben nicht interessiert, da sie an seine Existenz nicht glaubte; die Taoisten (gemeint sind die taoistischen Philosophen) sahen im Tod „die Rückkehr in ihre ursprüngliche Heimat“, in den Schoß der Natur, in ihren ewigen Kreislauf; die Buddhisten sahen im Tod den Übergang in ein neues Leben, später in das Nirwana, einer gewissen Form des Nichtseins, aber bei keinem von ihnen ging es um ein persönliches Überleben. Die Chinesen und praktisch alle Bewohner des Fernen Ostens waren von den Jahreszeiten, vom ununterbrochenen Fließen, von der endlosen Wandlung, fasziniert. Der Schmerz beim Abschied und das Heimweh sind etwa die häufigsten Themen der chinesischen Philosophie überhaupt. Sie kommen im Bezug zum Geburtsort, zu den nächsten Verwandten und Freunden zum Ausdruck. Hier sind wir auch bei der Liebe zwischen Mann und Frau angelangt, die in der chinesischen Poesie aus älterer Zeit (etwa bis zum 6. Jh. u. Z.) zu finden war, später noch seltener (Einfluß des orthodoxen Konfuzianismus und wahrscheinlich auch Buddhismus), regelmäßig aber bei den chinesischen Poetinnen, bei welchen die Gefühlsvision die Basis ihrer Schöpfung war. Prof. Debon, treu dem Prinzip „der goldenen Mitte“, nahm die von chinesischen Frauen geschrie-

bene Poesie nur insofern wahr, wie sie in der chinesischen Literatur vertreten und während ihrer langen Geschichte erhalten wurde, obwohl diese ihre Präsenz nicht der Stellung oder Bedeutung gleicht, die sie in Wirklichkeit hatte.

Zu den lyrischen Kapiteln und zu den in ihnen enthaltenen zahlreichen Mustern, fügte Debon noch diejenigen hinzu, die dem philosophischen Gebiet angehören, aber in dichterischer Sprache geschrieben sind und so in einem gewissen Masse einen organisierten Tonfall haben. Auf dem XXXIInd International Congress for Asian and North African Studies in Hamburg im Jahr 1986 trat er mit dem Referat unter dem Titel *Der Reimspruch im philosophischen Schrifttum Chinas* auf, wo er die Überzeugung ausdrückte, daß es in den chinesischen philosophischen Texten mehr gereimte Sätze oder Passagen gibt, als allgemein angenommen wird. Den ersten zwei Kapiteln dieses Buches fügte er die Übersetzungen aus *Daode jing*, *Zuo-zhuan*, *Xunzi*, *Da Dai liji*, *Huainanzi* und aus der Volksweisheit, bei.

Mein Haus liegt menschenfern doch nah den Dingen ist vorläufig die kompletteste und scheinbar auch die bedeutendste Sammlung von Debons Übersetzungen der alten chinesischen Poesie. Man kann sagen, daß sie linguistisch ausgezeichnet sind. Ob jedoch seine Übersetzungen zum zukünftigen Vorbild werden, ob sie auf deutschem Boden heimisch werden oder sich in die Struktur der deutschen Übersetzungsliteratur einbürgern, ist eine Frage, die die Zukunft beantworten wird.

Nicht ganz zufällig habe ich mein Studierzimmer Huanghao tang (Gelben Kranichs Studierzimmer) benannt. Als ich diese Bezeichnung wählte, dachte ich an das bekannte Gedicht von Li Bai (701–762) *Huanghao lou song Meng Haoran zhi Guangling* (Am Turm Gelber Kranich gab ich dem Mong Hau-jan das Geleit), als er nach Guanling (d. h. nach Yangzhou) fuhr: Den zweiten Viervers übersetzte Debon folgendermaßen: „Ein Segel einsam und Meilen weit entschwand im blauen Raum. / Ich sah den Strom, sah nur den Strom zerfließen am Himmelssaum“.

Zu dieser Besprechung habe ich nichts mehr hinzuzufügen. Vielleicht nur soviel, daß mich das Buch des alten Freundes Debon an Meng Haorans Dschunke erinnert, die auf dem großen Jangtze segelt. Sie verschmelzt vor mir mit der Größe der chinesischen Poesie.

Marián Gálík

Ladany, Laszlo: *The Communist Party of China and Marxism 1921–1985. A Self-Portrait*. London, C. Hurst and Co. 1988. 585 pp.

The Chinese revolution and the concomitant problems of modernization of the land, have stimulated heightened interest on the part of foreign observers and scholars in 'things Chinese'. Among authors of numerous and voluminous publications on the new China, an exceptional position reverts to Laszlo Ladany, a sinologist,

doctor of law and journalist, for he has lived four score of years in the Chinese environment – ten years before the formation of the People's Republic of China, and then practically thirty years on the “pro tempore” separated territory of Hong Kong on the south-Chinese coast. However, his knowledge of China does not derive uniquely from the extraordinarily long sojourn in a Chinese environment, but likewise, and in an even greater measure from the nature of his activity there. He was the editor of the well-known weekly *China News Analysis*, a weekly specially oriented to political and cultural issues in China, how they are reflected in Chinese press and expert studies. With a fairly restricted circuit of collaborators he followed and evaluated the enormous quantity of periodical output. On that basis he elaborated analyses and overviews that have come to be an indispensable aid to foreign observers of China. The latter appreciated not only the high degree of exactness of the information conveyed, but also his keen insight and perspicacity so that he was often among the very first to discern, under the surface of events, moments of prospective impact in the Chinese development.

As editor, Ladany eschewed polemics and he supported his image of Chinese life primarily with public or internal prints, hence with official materials. When after decades he put a term to this work, he decided to condense his notions on the subject in a book which follows up the role of the Communist Party of China from its foundation up to 1985, and this in relation to Marxist teachings.

His fundamental approach – similarly as in the case of the bulletin *China New Analysis* – resides in a utilization of Chinese publications of every type, including those that appeared in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Nevertheless, in the book under review, the author gives a more implicit expression to his own evaluation of the events he had experienced. In contrast to many western authors who, particularly during the time of the Sino-Soviet conflicts, boosted Mao Zedong's personality and spread illusions about him, Ladany expressed an unequivocally negative opinion of this Chinese statesman, and this as regards both the results of his activity, and his methods, nay even as regards his motives.

The work comprises 23 chapters which follow up the road of the CP of China until its conquest of power and its activities following its victory, down to the present times. This is definitely no narrow lane of history of congresses, resolutions and of changing political theses. The author apprehends the history of the Communist Party within a broader frame of reference, as a significant factor in the destiny of New China and the worldwide revolutionary movement. In conformity with traditions of Chinese historiography, he devotes considerable attention also to the intricate, many a time tragic course of life of individual personalities, and contingencies of Chinese policy and its cultural background. He often reflects on Chinese communists' relationships towards the international communist movement, particularly towards the Communist Internationale and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He is fully aware of China's national specificities and the distinctive identity of its

culture, nevertheless, he also points out that several among the then Chinese theses or political decisions and theoretical formulations ascribed to Mao, are not as original as had for long been presumed in China and in the world. For example, Ladany assumes that Mao Zedong had construed his utopistic and unsuccessful "Great Leap" in Chinese economy under the influence of N. S. Khrushchev's views (p. 257), whom he otherwise looked upon with disdain.

The author critically evaluates not only the work of Mao, but likewise that of Chou Enlai, of whom it is generally known that he endeavoured to prevent some of the excesses of the "Cultural Revolution" and Mao's radicalism.

In the closing chapter he states that Deng Xiaoping rejected Stalin's and Mao's brand of Marxism, but failed to produce anything positive to substitute for it. Ladany's critical views of the actors and methods of Mao's and Deng's era take support in various hard facts. However, his opinion in the closing chapter that Marxism came to China almost by accident, and that it was alien to China (p. 509) fails to make it clear why the gigantic and complex process of a transformation of old China into the present independent and self-reliant great power has come about under Marxist slogans that exerted an influence on the masses in their millions.

A creditable feature in Ladany's work is his utilization of the daily press as an effective documentary material to contemporary history.

Ivan Doležal

Öz k ır ı m l ı, Atilla: *Türk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopaedia of Turkish Literature). Volumes 1–5. Istanbul, Cem Yayınevi 1987. 1270 + 218 pp.

This is already the fourth edition of the Encyclopaedia of Turkish Literature since 1982 when it first appeared and such a success goes to show that the undertaking by the critic and literary historian Atilla Özkırımlı (born 1942) was of the highest relevance. The author, by his project conceived on a truly grandiose scale, has to some extent saturated the need of experts investigating Turkish literature, of teachers of literature, students, but also of rank-and-file readers, to have at their disposal a compendium of fundamental concepts from literary theory and practice.

In addition to Turkish authors and significant literary works, Özkırımlı has included in his Encyclopaedia also entries elucidating concepts and terms from literary theory, poetics, Islamic religion, philosophy and mysticism. Islamic mysticism (Sufism), in particular, its trends and Sufi Brotherhoods are documented in the Encyclopaedia by numerous entries. This is not given by any subjective approach on the part of the author, but objectively derives from the prominent position Sufism enjoys in the history of Turkish literature. For beginning with the great 13th century mystic Yunus Emre, the works of mystic poets were the carriers of the richly represented and amply developed trend in Turkish literature nearly five centuries. By its

ideational orientation in which humanistic principles triumphed over Islam's dogmas, mystical poetry, written in a simple, comprehensible language, was close and accessible also to the masses at large and formed an opposite pole to the élite Divan poetry.

In this Encyclopaedia the author set himself the aim to encompass in his entries primarily the area of the new Turkish literature. Beginning with the Tanzimat period, all authors of literary works are included in it, but also prominent literary historians, critics, linguists and folklorists. The entries comprise authors' fundamental biographical data, titles of journals in which they regularly published, book titles with the year of their first publication, and a characteristic of the writer's creative development. The range of the entries is more or less proportional to the extent and impact of each author's production. Özkırımlı was guided by this criterion also in his selection of literary works processed under self-standing entries. Here, also divans of classics and epics figure alongside works by contemporary writers.

In this connection it should be observed that at least some of Nâzım Hikmet's collections and his more extensive epic works would have deserved a special entry, particularly his Pictures of People of My Country (*Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları*, 1966–1967) representing the peak of the poet's creative effort. Özkırımlı, of course, cannot be reproached of not having rightly appreciated the importance of Nâzım Hikmet's work. Under the entry "Movements in Turkish Literature" (*Türk edebiyatında akımlar*, pp. 1151–1164), he gives a positive assessment of Hikmet's contribution to Turkish poetry, his decisive share in the origin of a very significant trend in contemporary Turkish literature known as "Social Realism" (*sosyal gerçekçilik*). Likewise under the entry "Journal" (*dergi*, pp. 361–364) Özkırımlı underlined Nâzım Hikmet's deserts for a material and socialist orientation of Turkish literary journals.

The latter entry comprises the titles of all the journals that appeared in the Ottoman Empire and a review of the most important literary periodicals from the origin of the Turkish Republic until the 60s. A special entry deals with periodicals which appeared since 1922 in Ankara and other towns of Anatolia (*Türk Edebiyatında Anadolu dergileri*, pp. 1164–1168) and which were active in promoting both literary and national culture in general. Considerable credit for the publication of these journals went to the so-called Folk Houses (*halk-evleri*), which the Government set up, beginning 1932, all over Turkey with the aim to preserve and promote folk literature and art. The most important literary and cultural periodicals are listed under a special entry giving the date and place of launching of the journal, its editor, its content, eventually the names of its prominent contributors.

The limited space available for this review does not permit us to characterize all the thematic circuits represented in the Encyclopaedia, or to assess them in any detail. Some of them, e.g. satire and humour, would decidedly deserve more attention as a significant phenomenon in Turkish folk and written literature. The term "hu-

mour" and "satire" are not given adequate treatment under the respective entry (*gülmece ve yergi*, pp. 555–556). Nor can we subscribe to the author's view, even though he takes support in such a capacity as was the literary historian Agâh Sırrı Levend (1814–1878) that up to the mid-19th century there existed no satirical works in Turkish literature. This issue was dealt with in a monograph *From the History of Humour and Satire in Turkish Literature (Iz istorii yumoru i satiry v turetskoii literature*. Moscow, Nauka 1972) by the Soviet Turkologist Yelena I. Mashtakova who, through her own research and on the basis of other scholars', arrived at a contrary conclusion.

A critical analysis of the various entries would undoubtedly lead to polemics; all in all, however, Özkırmırlı's approach to the selection and treatment of the entries may be judged as responsible, based on a thorough familiarity with the source material. Özkırmırlı took support in works by famous and acknowledged Turkish scholars, experts in earlier (Abdülbaki Gülpınarlı, Fuat Köprülü, A. S. Levend, etc.) and modern literature (Tahir Alangu, Cevdet Kudret, Rauf Mutluay, etc.). He provides sources to the various entries and in many cases quotes from these sources. Quotations and specimens of literary, historical, theoretical works, from critiques and the provoked responses are given separately in insets and they not only contribute to highlight the material dealt with in the Encyclopaedia, but also enhance its documentary value.

Another praiseworthy feature is that in the case of as yet unpublished works, Özkırmırlı states the library in which the manuscript is deposited and its catalogue number.

The fourth volume of the Encyclopaedia carries an Entry Index (printed in bold type) including names, terms and concepts.

The fifth, a supplementary volume, has appeared for the first time, and besides new data relating to entries from the preceding volumes, Özkırmırlı has added new ones devoted to earlier authors whom he might have overlooked in the first stage, and also to new authors who began to publish after 1980. Entries have also been regarding new works of a certain significance. The author has also supplemented the entry on "Prizes" (*ödüller*, p. 949) with data concerning literary prizes awarded during 1980–1986 and has extended entries on the classical quantitative metre (*arûz*, p. 127) and the folk-syllabic metre (*hece ölçüsü*, p. 626).

Two-thirds of the contents of Volume V of the Encyclopaedia of Turkish Literature are made up of a Small Anthology of Turkish Poetry (*Tanzimattan Günümüze Türk Şiiri*, pp. 99–196) comprising verses by ninety-six poets, written during the course of the past one hundred and fifty years. A glossary interpreting words and expressions from Ottoman Turkish is appended to the anthology.

All the volumes of the Encyclopaedia contain a considerable amount of illustrative material consisting of reproductions of Mediaeval miniatures, drawings, photographs, etc.

Credit for this valuable manual which will certainly be welcome by every expert on and lover of Turkish literature, goes not solely to the author Atilla Özkırım, but also to the foremost Istanbul publishing house Cem which undertook to publish his work.

Xénia Celnarová

Mostyn, T. (Executive Editor) and Hourani, A. (Advisory Editor): *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Middle East and North Africa*. (Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge) Cambridge University Press 1988. 504 pp.

The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Middle East and North Africa, collective work of a considerable number of British and foreign specialists, is a comprehensive volume offering a wealth of information such as a traveller, journalist, businessman or an interested reader in general may ask for. The aim of the authors is to offer an overall view of this vast region that would encompass all aspects of its life, culture and politics, its history as well as its present and tendencies pointing to the future.

Trevor Mostyn, the Executive Editor, a journalist and broadcaster who has been explaining the current Middle East developments on the British television and in newspapers for many years and had spent twenty years living and travelling through the region, has succeeded in gathering an impressive team of contributors, academics and journalists, all international experts in their fields, to contribute to the present volume.

The main problem of a book of this complexity is its organization. It has to deal with a region that spreads from Morocco to Afganistan and from Turkey to Somalia and Djibouti, and it has to follow the developments since the prehistoric times to the present day. In order to cover all the aspects of the subject, including the physical environment, languages and peoples, literatures, visual arts, religions, science and various other spheres of human activity, a strict selection and economy is a prerequisite.

The book has been divided into six parts as follows:

Part I – Lands and Peoples (pp. 9–37) – provides information about the geography of the region and includes essays on various ethnic and linguistic groups as well as on the role of various religions in the Middle Eastern and North African societies.

Part II – History (pp. 38–88) – covers developments from the early beginnings to the start of the Second World War.

Part III – Societies and Economies (pp. 89–158) – deals with the development of the region from the decline of nomadism and the development of agriculture up to the growth of industry, especially the oil industry and the related branches, as well

as the creation of an Islamic banking system. The present part also includes a section on social changes: the impact of wealth and education, the changing roles of women, modern legal systems, development of health care, communication network and sport.

Part IV – Culture (pp. 159–275) – concentrates on Islam, the religion that has clearly had the greatest influence on the region. Besides detailed exposition of its beliefs, traditions and religious practices, the modern trends in Islam, Christianity and Judaism are discussed.

The section on literature presents Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Hebrew and Armenian literatures. It is completed by an essay on Western literary and cultural attitudes to the region.

For all the economy necessarily followed by both the contributors and editors, we are somewhat surprised at reading the section on modern Arabic literature, notably the part devoted to the development of prose. Here, besides the most renowned authors, by now mostly considered as classics of modern prose, no single truly contemporary author is included that would be a generational counterpart of, say, al-Bayātī or ‘Abd al-Šabbūr, quoted in the ‘poetry’ section (p. 199). Such renowned recent authors as Jabrā Ibrāhīm Jabrā or Abd al-Raḥmān Munīf would certainly have deserved to be mentioned.

In the section on visual arts the stress is, once again, laid on Islamic art in all its manifestations. Considerable attention is paid to music and the attitude of Islam towards music in general. There are separate essays on the theatre and film.

The section on science discusses the region’s contribution to mathematics, optics, astronomy, chemistry, engineering, medicine and biology. Due attention is given to the achievements of Muslim historiographers and geographers.

Part V – The Countries (pp. 277–473) – representing about one-third of the volume, offers a general outlook on the region’s history since the Second World War.

Part VI – Inter-State Relations (pp. 498–504) – focusses on inter-regional affairs, the relations with the Great Powers and the most important current issues, such as the Arab-Israeli conflict, Palestine, the Gulf war and the situation in Lebanon.

The *Encyclopedia* will no doubt contribute to a deeper understanding of this eventful region that is, for an average observer, often no more than that of a sudden oil wealth, endless conflicts and international terrorism.

Ladislav Drozdík

Smart, J. R.: *Teach Yourself Arabic* (Teach Yourself Books). Sevenoaks, Hodder and Stoughton Educational 1986 (Third impression, 1988). VII + 298 (+ 14 unnumbered pages of Arabic-English Vocabulary).

The variant of Arabic, presented in the manual, is 'the written and officially spoken means of communication between over 100 million Arabs of some twenty nations...' (p. 1). The predominantly consonantal graphic skeleton of Arabic leaves a relatively wide space for interpreting the typological structure of its oral counterpart. Modern Written Arabic, the living heir of the *'irāb* grammar of Classical Arabic, is unanimously described as a synthetic language. No such clear picture, however, can be drawn for various oral variants of the latter. Modern Written Arabic, or perhaps less contradictorily, Modern Standard Arabic, in its oral representation displays several rather diffuse cultural variants in accordance with the varying degree of cultural prestige associated with them.

Let us say at once that the oral variant of Arabic, as described by Smart, is strictly delimited by the skeletal graphic system of synthetic Arabic and, as such, it does not seem to really exist as an autonomous medium of oral communication at any cultural level of the latter, let alone 'be officially spoken'. The oral variant, proposed by Smart, is obviously too 'low' to be 'officially spoken' on formal occasions possibly calling for a communication of a top-level cultural prestige:

With the exception of the sound masculine plural and the dual, Smart recognizes only one formally marked case, the indefinite accusative *-an*; no distinction is further made between diptotic and triptotic declensions (the only vestige of the case inflection, recognized by the author (viz. *-an*) is an element of triptotism); in verbal morphology, the imperfect does not distinguish between the subjunctive and jussive, etc.

On the other hand, it is too 'high' to be accepted as a really existing medium of a spontaneous oral communication of the Arab intellectuals on all formal occasions incompatible with colloquial Arabic. For the latter application is this variant overcrowded by undue classicisms that are incompatible with its respective cultural level, notably:

- dual forms beyond the class of nouns;
- feminine plural forms in verbal and pronominal paradigms: *katabna*, *katabtunna* (perfect); *yaktubna*, *taktubna* (imperfect); *hunna*, *'antunna*; *-hunna*, *-kunna* (pron.).

Apart from this, the pronominal suffixes (p. 61) are presented in an unrealistically classicized form:

- ka* (instead of *-ak/-k*: *kitābak* / *'abūk*);
- ki* (instead of *-ik/-ki*: *kitābik* / *'abūki*);
- hu* (instead of *-ah*, *-uh/-h*: *kitābah*, *kitābuh* / *'abūh*); as well as some other features.

In attempting to find the right point on the diffuse horizon of the cultural stratification of a noncolloquial (!) oral Arabic, the 'cut' had to be done either somewhat 'higher' or, else, a little 'lower'. And yet one cannot deny the usefulness of Smart's choice for the oral reproduction of what is actually written in Modern Written Ara-

bic is of a first-rate importance, too. It offers, at the same time, a relatively easy access to the linguistic structure of a noncolloquial Arabic, whatever name we may call it. Smart's variant of oral Arabic may even be recognized as a really existing entity when assuming that it is designed not to be 'officially spoken' as rather to be a means of a somewhat substandard (and yet fully realistic) reproduction of what is written in Standard Arabic.

The pronunciation of consonants, as presented in the manual, is one of the best I ever met in the self-teaching devices. In general, the description is as nontechnical as possible and still workable enough. One of the merits of Smart's book is to draw attention to a number of positional difficulties in mastering the pronunciation of some consonant clusters: 'In English this sound (viz., /h/) often disappears (*vehicle*, *vehement*), but in Arabic it must always be sounded, even in such positions as *sahm* (*sah-m*), *shibh* (*shib-h*)' (p. 9). In this connection, it would have been perhaps worthwhile drawing attention to the cluster (*hr*), as in (*'ahrām*), that presents almost insurmountable problems to the native speakers of English.

Modelling the pronunciation of the Arabic *tafxīm* (velarization or 'emphasis') on English examples is, sure, a difficult and risky task. Nevertheless, we must recognize that the 'Sam – psalm' opposition seems to be a really workable approximation (p. 10).

The phoneme /ħ/, Smart's *H*, is said to be 'probably the most difficult sound of all, and it must be distinguished from the ordinary *h*-sound. It is pronounced very deep down in the throat...' (p. 11). Of course, saying that /ħ/ is a voiceless pharyngeal spirant, is of little use in a self-teaching manual. The sound, in itself, is perhaps not so difficult as the problem of maintaining its voicelessness in a vocalic environment. The indication 'very deep down in the throat' may appear somewhat misleading as well, especially in a context that explains the difference between /ħ/ and /h/. At any rate, Smart's *H*, as a pharyngeal constrictive, is located not so 'deep down in the throat' than 'the ordinary *h*-sound' which is, technically speaking, a voiceless glottal spirant, and for that matter is produced 'deeper in the throat' than the pharyngeal /ħ/.

The nontechnical description of /r/ that is, for English speaking students, a relatively difficult sound (especially in certain consonant clusters), would have been perhaps more illustrative by setting a distant parallel with the /t/, orthographically *t* or *tt*, of the American English, as in *butter*, *lot of (money)*, etc.

Digraphic transcription symbols *dh*, *th* and *sh*, as used by the author of the present manual, do not seem to be quite suitable to the Romanized representation of Arabic, since they may easily lead to misinterpretations of the type:

dh: *haadha* = *hādā*, but *mudhiš* = *mudhiš*;

th: *thaqiil* = *taqīl*, but *mathaf* = *mathaf*;

sh: *shibh* = *šibh*, but *tashīl* = *tashīl*.

The same holds true of the velarized *DH*: *al-muwaDHDHaf* = *al-muwazzaf*, as against *mudhik* = *mudhik*.

It must be said, however, that the transcription is used in a few initial lessons only.

In connection with word order and agreement we read: "You will remember that the plural of things (inanimate objects or abstracts) is regarded in Arabic as feminine singular, so the rule for verbs which precede their subjects looks like this: (verb) *he*-form for: one male being; two or more male beings; one object of grammatically masculine gender; *she*-form: one female being; two or more female beings; one object, grammatically feminine; two or more of any object" (presented in a tabular form, p. 79):

As evident, we have to do here with two distinct concord-restricting factors: 1) extra-human or, simply, nonpersonal reference of the noun in the subject slot of a verbal sentence (coinciding with the Smart's class of 'inanimate objects') and 2) the pre-subject position of the verb. While the former of these restrictive factors assures an invariable feminine singular (*she*-form) of the verb, quite irrespective of the word-order, the latter is responsible for the reduction of agreement to gender only. Both concord-restricting factors (extra-human reference of the noun (a) and pre-subject position of the verb (b) – their absence will be symbolized by \emptyset) may, of course, operate cumulatively with the same restrictive effect as that displayed by a single factor:

inharaqat al-buyūt wa taxarrabat "the houses were consumed by fire and went
(a + b) (a) to ruin";

as against:

rafaḍ al-‘ummāl al-‘ilāwa wa ‘aḍrabū "the workmen refused the rise and went
(b) (\emptyset) on strike" (p. 74).

A joint presentation of both concord-restricting factors, as attempted by Smart, is necessarily misleading. The same can be said about the notional class of 'things', identified with 'inanimate objects or abstracts' (p. 79), which does not seem to define all concord-determining factors. The category of 'inanimates', unless covering the notional class of 'animals' (in contradistinction to Arabic, the latter being linguistically relevant in a number of languages), is clearly misleading: *nabaḥat al-kil-āb*; *ṭārat al-‘aṣāfir*, etc.

While discussing 'definites' and 'indefinites' Smart is quite exclusively concerned with deictic (specific) definiteness (pp. 28–29). Grammatically bound definiteness patterns, scatteringly presented in isolated paragraphs (*al kitāb jadīd*; (*al-*) *kitāb* (*al-*) *jadīd*), somewhat complement the general picture. Unfortunately, no mention of generic definiteness may be found despite its primary importance. Generic definiteness, hierarchically superior to both grammatical and deictic definiteness, frequently leads to significant deviations from the grammatically postulated definiteness patterns (cf., e.g.: *al-mawt ar-rawāḥ* "death is liberation"; Reck., *Arab. Synt.*, p. 282: *der Tod ist die Befreiung*; where both terms are generically defined as abstract

nouns, but it is only the predicate that interferes with the grammatically postulated indefiniteness of the nominal predicate). The feature of genericity itself, when not properly understood, may lead to serious misinterpretations, especially in the case of 'generic singulars'. The extraordinarily high importance of generic definiteness that may put the usual patterns of a deictic definiteness totally out of function, may be inferred from a few English examples as well: *man is mortal; the dog is vigilant; a cat is not as vigilant as a dog*; etc. (see O. Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar*, London 1963 reprint ed., (pp. 203–204).

The disappearance of the feminine plural endings in verbal paradigms is treated by the author as an exclusively dialectal phenomenon: "For a mixed group use the masculine plural form (also addressing women in many dialects of spoken Arabic which have lost the feminine plural ending)" (p. 191). For a different interpretation of this feature see the introductory parts of the present review. See also M. Jumali, *Gesprächsbuch Deutsch-Arabisch*, Leipzig 1987, pp. 38–39).

Misprints recorded: "The ending for a group of women (in the countries where it is still preserved) is *-aṇ (tfaDDalan)*" (p. 190), instead of the correct ... *-na (tfaD-Dalna)*.

Incidentally, it is not quite clear why the 'officially spoken' variant of Standard Arabic should tolerate word-initial consonant clusters, as in Smart's *tfaDDal*, *tfaD-Dalii*, etc., instead of the standard *tafaḍḍal*, *tafaḍḍalī*, etc.

Finally, the linguist will probably be surprised at a somewhat conversational style of the book that reminds a relaxed chat between two friends (... The verb coming first is merely a fact of (Arabic) life, about which little can be said (p. 79)). Were it not for a number of small inconsistencies and gaps that necessarily result from a too low level of stylistic rigidity and conservatism, the style adopted might be found innovative and even attractive. At any rate, it seems to be more suitable for a classroom teaching, live, than for a self-teaching manual.

Despite some critical remarks we can say that Smart's book does present a number of truly innovative approaches to teaching Arabic that betray a long and fruitful classroom experience.

Ladislav Drozdík

B a y y u d, Hussein: *Die Stadt in der arabischen Poesie, bis 1258 n. Chr.* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 127. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1988. 278 S. + eine Karte.

Die Stadt in den Versen arabischer Dichter ist gewiß ein ungewöhnliches Thema für eine wissenschaftliche monographische Bearbeitung. Dieses interessante Thema wählte Hussein Bayyud und bietet uns in seinem Buch das erste abgerundete und

vollständige Bild der einzelnen Aspekte des Lebens in den islamischen Städten, so wie sie von den islamischen und teilweise auch vorislamischen arabischen Dichtern gestaltet wurden.

Aus dem Umfang der zitierten Proben ist zu schließen, daß der Autor ein umfangreiches, vor allem in umfassenden Gedichtsammlungen hinterlegtes Material untersucht hat. Er stellte fest, daß während bei manchen Dichtern die Verse über die Städte in größere dichterische Einheiten einkomponiert sind, widmeten andere Dichter ihren „geliebten“ oder „verhaßten“ Städten selbständige Gedichte.

Den Feststellungen Hussein Bayyuds zufolge entwickelte sich die Stadtdichtung anfangs innerhalb der traditionellen Gattungen der altarabischen Poesie wie Lob, Spott, Selbstlob usw., später wurden im Rahmen der Qasiden Beschreibungen von Moscheen und anderen bedeutenden Bauwerken, Märkten u. ä. angeführt. Das erste selbständige Gedicht in der arabischen Poesie dessen Thema die Stadt ist, ist ein Klagegedicht auf das im zweiten Bürgerkrieg zerstörte Makka (seine Autorin ist eine Dichterin °Ā'īša al-°Uṭmāniya; zitiert nach: Ibn al-Mu°tazz, *Ṭabaqāt aš-Šu°a-rā'*, London 1939, S. 54).

In den Abbassidenzeiten kommt das Stadtgedicht schon viel häufiger selbständige Gattung vor, wobei man diese Poesie aus der Sicht ihres Inhalts und ihrer Funktion (und daher auch der Eingliederung in eine Gattung) in eine monothematische oder polythematische teilen kann.

In der selbständigen als auch in der unselbständigen Stadtdichtung kommt häufig die Naturbeschreibung vor: Auen, Gärten, Flüsse, das Wetter. Genauso kommen Beschreibungen von Moscheen, Schlössern, Häusern, Bädern, Stadtmauern, Friedhöfen, Bewohnern usw. vor. Beweise für diese Art der beschreibenden Poesie führt H. Bayyud im ersten Teil seiner Monographie an (Beschreibung der Städte, S. 17–81). Den zweiten Teil dieser Monographie widmete H. Bayyud den Klageliedern auf Städte (S. 83–123); den dritten Teil den Lobliedern auf Städte (S. 124–159); den vierten Teil der Poesie, in der die Städte verschmäht werden (S. 160–190); und den fünften Teil jenen Versen, in denen die Dichter das Leben in den Städten mit dem Leben auf dem Lande verglichen (S. 191–205).

Vom Gesichtspunkt der Bewertung der künstlerischen Qualitäten der Stadtpoesie ist von großer Bedeutung das Kapitel die Bildersprache (S. 206–222). Obwohl die Mehrzahl der poetischen Bilder in den angeführten Proben traditionell ist, widerspiegelt sich in ihnen die Entwicklung der dichterischen Vergleiche: vom primitiven altarabischen Bild bis hin zur höheren Form metaphorisierter Vergleiche, die für das kulturelle Milieu der abbassidischen Städte kennzeichnend waren.

Das rezensierte Buch ist das Ergebnis eines seriösen Studiums heterogenen dichterischen Materials, welches der Autor gesammelt und im Geiste moderner Forschungsmethoden ausgewertet hat.

Ján Pauliny

Schupp, Sabine: *Labsal dessen, der bei Tag und bei Nacht reist. Ibn Maliḥs Uns as-sārī was-sārib*. Ein marokkanisches Pilgerbuch des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 106. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1985. 150 S. + eine Karte.

Im Jahre 1968 veröffentlichte der arabische Editor Muḥammad al-Fāṣī ein unbekanntes marokkanisches Pilgerbuch vom Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts. Dessen Autor ist Ibn Malīḥ (Abū °Abdallāh Muḥammad . . . al-Qaisī), der wahrscheinlich aus Marrākuṣ stammte und seine Pilgerfahrt (*ḥaġġ*) in den Jahren 1630–1633 unternahm.

Wie bekannt, war das Verfassen von Pilgerbüchern vor allem im Maghreb und im muslimischen Spanien verbreitet. In der langen Reihe der Autoren dieser Gattung steht Ibn Malīḥ erst irgendwo an ihrem Ende. Vergleichen wir sein kleines Werk mit der *Rihla* von Ibn Ḡubair (1145–1217) oder mit der *Rihla* von Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1304–1377), ist dieser viel knapper, und dies auch bei der Tatsache, daß Ibn Malīḥ die durchreisten Oasen, Städte und Landschaften relativ genau beschreibt. Im Unterschied zu der Mehrzahl der Pilgerkarawanen, die von Marokko aus nach Mekka reisten, begab sich Ibn Malīḥ und seine Reisegefährten nicht auf die bewährte Karawanen-Route die Küste entlang (die über den Hohen Atlas zum Mittelmeer und weiter Richtung Südosten entlang der tunesischen und tripolitanischen Küste ins Niltal führte), er wählte die schwer befahrbare Südroute über die Twāt-Oasen, den Fazzān, Auġila und Siwa nach Kairo. Das bedeutet, daß er als Pilger die Wüstenstrasse quer durch die Sahara – von West nach Ost – durchreiste, was zu jener Zeit eine außerordentliche Leistung darstellte, wenn wir dazu die nicht leichte Reise von Kairo nach Mekka und, natürlich, auch die Rückkehr auf demselben Weg in die Heimat hinzurechnen. Es muß jedoch betont werden, daß die Karawane, der sich Ibn Malīḥ angeschlossen hat, in den Oasen der Sahara längere Ruhepausen einlegte und daß sich die örtliche Bevölkerung ihnen gegenüber sehr zuvorkommend benahm. Der Grund dafür liegt in der Tatsache, daß es als gottgefällige Tat betrachtet wurde den Pilgern zu helfen, als auch darin, daß die Pilger mit solchen Waren handelten, die in den abgelegenen Oasen sehr rar waren.

Dies alles erfährt der Leser aus dem rezensierten Buch. Den vorwiegenden Teil des Buches bildet eine kommentierte Übersetzung der *Rihla* von Ibn Malīḥ (S. 19–126). Im Vergleich zum Original ist die Übersetzung etwas gekürzt. Die Übersetzerin ließ hierin die Beschreibung der Rückreise aus Kairo nach Hause weg, da sie mit der Hinreise identisch war, weiter ließ sie poetische Einlagen, einige Bauwerksbeschreibungen von Moscheen und anderen religiösen Bauten, Beschreibungen von Friedhöfen, Erläuterungen verschiedener Zeremonien im Rahmen der *Ḥaġġ* usw. weg. Den Hauptteil des übersetzten Textes bildet das Itinerar Ibn Malīḥs.

Die Ortsnamen und die Beschreibungen von Ortschaften, ebenso wie eine ganze Reihe geographischer und soziogeographischer Angaben, die sich im Itinerar befin-

den, wurden von der Übersetzerin sehr gewissenhaft mit der Quell- und Sekundärliteratur verglichen. Sie vermittelte sie der fachlich interessierten Öffentlichkeit eine wichtige Quelle zum Studium der historischen Topographie der nordafrikanischen Wüstenzone. Ibn Maḥīḥ *Rihla* hat ihre Bedeutung auch als eine Quelle nützlicher Informationen über das religiöse Leben, über die Sitten und Bräuche der Sahara-Bevölkerung in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Den Abschluß des Buches bilden Indizes und eine Landkarte, in der die Reiseroute Ibn Maḥīḥ mit den bedeutendsten Haltepunkten in Marokko, Algerien, Libyen, Ägypten und Arabien eingezeichnet ist.

Dem Buch ist leider nicht zu entnehmen, wo sich die Handschrift von Ibn Maḥīḥ *Rihla* befindet (vielleicht hat dies der arabische Herausgeber nicht angeführt) und es fehlt auch die Angabe über den Erscheinungsort dieses Pilgerbuchs.

Ján Pauliny

Escovitz, Joseph H.: *The Office of Qādī al-Qudāt in Cairo under the Bahrī Mamlūks*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, Band 100. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1984. 279 S.

Ende 663 A. H. bestellte der Mamlūken-Sultan Rukn ad-Dīn Baibars al-Bunduqdārī (er regierte in den Jahren 658–676 A. H.) vier Hauptqādī's in Kairo und im folgenden Jahr auch in Damaskus sowie in anderen Städten in Syrien. Der Hauptqādī trug den Titel *qādī l-quḍāt* und war der Hauptrepräsentant einer der vier sunnitischen islamischen Rechtsschulen (maḍāhib: Ḥanafiten, Mālikiten, Ḥanbaliten, Šāfi'iten).

Im rezensierten Buch wird zum ersten Mal eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit der Organisation des Gerichtswesens und der Geschichte des Hauptqādī-Amtes in Ägypten unter der Regierung der Bahrī-Mamlūken (663–784 A. H.) gewidmet.

Wie bekannt, sollte nach dem Gesetz ein jeder Qādī ein unbescholtener, gründlich mit den Vorschriften des heiligen Gesetzes vertrauter, muslimischer Gelehrter sein. Diese grundlegende Forderung wurde jedoch nicht immer eingehalten. Auf Grund eines eingehenden Studiums der Quellen stellte J. Escovitz fest, daß im mamlūkischen Ägypten zur Ernennung der Richter außer der notwendigen Bildung vor allem der Nepotismus, die Schirmherrschaft und das *nā'ib*-Nachfolgerecht beisteuerten. Dabei ergaben sich natürlich auch Fälle, bei denen es nicht mit Gewißheit festzustellen ist, was zur Bestellung dieser oder jener Person in das Amt des höchsten Richters geführt hat. Einzelheiten um die Ernennung der neuen Hauptqādī's erfährt der Leser aus dem Kapitel *Appointments* (S. 41–93) des rezensierten Buches.

Im Kapitel *Social and Geographic Origins of the Chief Judges* (S. 94–130) untersucht der Autor das soziale Milieu aus dem die Richter kamen. Er kommt zum

Schluß, daß diese nicht immer – wie oft vorausgesetzt wird – den bedeutenden *‘ulamā’*-Familien entstammten. Weiter stellte der Autor fest, daß sie, obwohl sie in Kairo ihr Amt versahen, meistens aus Syrien oder aus der ägyptischen Provinz stammten. Einige kamen nach Ägypten sogar von außerhalb der Grenzen des Mamlükenreiches.

Im vierten Kapitel des Buches informiert uns der Autor über die Rechte und Pflichten der Richter (*Judicial Activities*, S. 131–173). Anhand zahlreicher Beispiele zeigt er, inwiefern der Hauptqāḍī oder seine Untergebenen bei der Ausübung ihrer richterlichen, aber auch nichtrichterlichen Aufgaben (z. B. die Aufsicht über die fromme Stiftungen, *awqāf*) mit der herrschenden Mamlüken-Oligarchie in Konflikte gerieten. Richtig macht J. Escovitz darauf aufmerksam, daß der Hauptqāḍī, obwohl theoretisch unabhängig, praktisch an die Weisungen des Herrschers und seiner Vertreter gebunden war, und so konnte er auf die Obrigkeit lediglich moralischen Druck ausüben, wenn diese das Gesetz verletzte, infolge wessen er oft in eine ausganglose Lage geriet.

Fast alle ägyptischen Hauptqāḍī’s der Ära der Baḥrī-Mamlüken behielten sich nach ihrer Ernennung als Richter auch ihre ursprüngliche Beschäftigung. Diesen Fragen, als auch jener, wie sich die Richter am gesellschaftlichen und religiösen Leben in Ägypten beteiligten, widmete der Autor das Kapitel *Other Posts* (S. 173–227).

Joseph Escovitz’s Buch bereichert auf eine bedeutende Weise unsere bisherigen Kenntnisse von der Organisation des Gerichtswesens im mamlükischen Ägypten der Baḥrī-Periode. Auf Grund des Studiums und der Auswertung der umfangreichen Quellenliteratur, vor allem der Chroniken, Enzyklopädien und der biographischen Literatur, in der die Biographien bedeutender Richter aus der Regierungszeit der Baḥrī-Sultane angeführt sind, ist es dem Autor gelungen, tiefer in die Gerichtspraxis der Hauptqāḍī’s einzudringen, ihre Teilnahme an der administrativen Verwaltung des mamlükischen Imperiums einzuschätzen und zu zeigen, wie sie sich als religiöse Gelehrte bei der Ausübung ihrer Ämter als auch in ihrer Nebenbeschäftigung, am häufigsten als Lehrer, bewährten. Insbesondere muß das zeitlich anspruchsvolle Studium der schwer zugänglichen handschriftlichen Materialien geschätzt werden, die der Autor gelesen und nach Bedarf in seine Arbeit aufgenommen hat. Auf ihre Bedeutung macht der Autor im Kapitel *Sources* (S. 4–40) aufmerksam.

Ján Pauliny

Simon, Rachel: *Libya between Ottomanism and Nationalism. The Ottoman Involvement in Libya during the War with Italy (1911–1919)*. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1987. 398 pp.

This book is a revised version of author's doctoral dissertation submitted to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Not very much attention has been devoted to studying those Ottoman provinces which developed outside the boundaries of modernization and secular nationalism in the early 20th century. As the title indicates, the primary focus of this book is the exploration of the Italo-Ottoman rivalry "as a result of Italy's nationalist-imperialist desires into which were interwoven economic, social and religious factors" (p. 333).

The book is divided into a comprehensive Introduction and four chapters. The Introduction gives an account of the situation both in the Ottoman Empire and Libya on the eve of the Italian invasion of Libya, but the stress lies on the internal development in Libya, on the Ottoman administration and the role of the Sanūsīya in the society. The first chapter "Ottoman Political stands regarding the War in Libya" deals with the causes of the Turkish-Italian War, the gradual Ottoman abandonment of its direct involvement, the situation at the beginning of the World War I and finally the strengthening of the local leadership which called for fighting "all the enemies of Islam primarily the Italians, but also the British and the French" (p. 108).

The second chapter entitled "Ottoman involvement in Libya" is divided into two parts: first, the bringing-in on men and equipment and second, the Ottoman-Libyan co-operation. It is correctly pointed out that the previous peace agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Italy caused that despite the population's recognition of the importance of Ottoman assistance during the World War I, "feelings of independence were running high among the Libyan population and the nationalistic ideas which started to spread in the region would made a return of Ottoman sovereignty look like a occupation" (p. 184).

In chapter three "The emergence of the resistance movement in Libya" the author analyses the reasons and the course of the resistance movement in different parts of Libya as well as its leadership. She points also to the tribal divisions and rivalry and the failure to establish an unified leadership, especially in Tripolitania. In the fourth chapter "Daily life in the rebel camp" the author provides an overall picture of the local administrative institutions in the examined period, comparing the situation in Tripolitania with that of Cyrenaica.

The book represents a scholarly comprehensive and detailed description of every aspect of the Libyan history in the period from 1911 to 1919. Elements of both continuity and change are discussed topically under the different categories. However, it is a little confusing that the questions presented in the above mentioned chapters are treated separately in the same repeated periods not in chronology.

The book is well based on archive materials and manuscripts in addition to a remarkable number of published sources. By this comprehensive and in-depth analysis of Italo-Ottoman relations as well as the political and social development in Libya

in the period from 1911 to 1919, Rachel Simon succeeded to fill an evident gap and the book represents a welcome contribution to the modern Libyan history.

Karol Sorby

Richter, R.: *Lehrbuch der amharischen Sprache*. Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie 1987. 584 pp.

Amharic, the official language of Ethiopia, is spoken as a native language roughly by a third of the total population of the country. Owing to the growing development of mass communication and education, Amharic is rapidly spreading all over the country. As the language of greatest prestige, it is in a constantly increasing degree mastered also by the non-Amhara as a second or third language, especially by the educated class. Functionally, the most important languages besides Amharic are Oromo (Galla), in the central and southern part of the country, and Tigrinya, in the north.

The book consists of 25 lessons and an Amharic-German/German-Amharic word-list. Apart from this a substantial introductory chapter (Einführung) is added. It deals with genetic and historical background of Amharic and its relation to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez) as well as to other Semitic and non-Semitic languages spoken in Ethiopia. This important chapter provides also basic data related to the linguistic structure of Amharic, its sound system and script.

Every fifth out of the total of 25 lessons is a revision lesson (Wiederholungslektion). Revision lessons excepted, each lesson consists, as a rule, of a text (Text 1) and text-related word-list (Vokabeln 1), grammatical notes (Grammatik), several drills (Übungen), another word-list (Vokabeln 2) and another text (Text 2).

Despite the fact that the book is primarily designed for classroom instruction, an audio-cassette would have been of great help to the student.

The student would certainly appreciate the Romanized transcription in a few introductory lessons.

The presentation of texts in a typed form, though very adequate and economic, should have been complemented by some hand-written specimens to the benefit of those who will attempt the study of this interesting Semitic language on a self-teaching basis. The few hints concerning the way of writing (p. 38) are certainly not sufficient.

By the neatness of presentation, reliability of grammatical notes, textual diversity and lexical richness Richter's *Lehrbuch* is one of the best recently available in European languages and it will be used with profit even beyond the German speaking countries.

Ladislav Drozdík

Bulcha, Mekuria: *Flight and Integration. Causes of Mass Exodus from Ethiopia and Problems of Integration in the Sudan*. Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala 1988. 256 pp.

This book, comprising 10 chapters, is divided into four parts in which theoretical passages are suitably supplemented with historical and explanatory sections. Although the author has not avoided a certain distortion of facts to the detriment of the Ethiopian government now in power, his book, especially in its treatment of the problems of refugees in exile, constitutes a serious contribution to a search for the most acceptable solution of their distressing situation.

The study is based on data obtained from primary and secondary sources. The techniques used to gather information were household interviews, participant observation and documentary research. The main body of information was collected through the first technique, viz., conducted in 413 randomly selected households in eight sample sites.

Part I contains a general introduction and a brief account of the socio-historical and political events preceding the contemporary refugee exoduses from Ethiopia. Part II sets out the conceptual and methodological framework of the study. In addition, this part deals also with the immediate subjective motives and objective conditions of refugee flows from Ethiopia, to the Sudan. Part III covers the various aspects of respondent integration in the host society. Part IV provides a summary and policy implications. The book is amply provided with tables, figures, maps, which are the results of a preparatory trip to Sudan in November 1981 and of the field research from October 1982 to March 1983. From the methodological point of view of great utility is the appendix – Interview Questionnaire.

An important feature of the book is that its author, when analysing the exodus of the Ethiopians, did not confine himself merely to the situation now prevailing, but also made attempt to unveil the links between the past and current events that produce conflicts and spur mass exoduses from Ethiopia. From the historical analysis presented in Chapter 2, the author came to the conclusion, that the majority of nationalities in present Ethiopia were colonized by the neighbouring Abyssinians, but also that the European powers of the day were actively involved in the Abyssinian expansion. The prime motive force behind Abyssinian colonial expansion was the economic gain.

It is true, that the author calls attention to radical political and economical reforms, which the new régime promised after 1974, but he also writes, that contradictions between the policies and the actions of the new régime were considerable (e.g. no autonomy of the oppressed nationalities, the power became more concentrated in the hands of the Amhara élite, amharization was intensified, economic catastrophe and extensive use of repression against a very large section of the country's inhabitants were still intensified). The fact remains that the Red Terror caused se-

rious political, moral and material damage; however the author here minimizes the activities of those groupings that had initiated the White Terror. The Red Terror was but a natural reaction. Not all the blame may be put on Derg, who then stood at the head of his country. The author also assumes that although the worst period of violence came to end in 1978, state terrorism in Ethiopia continues (implementation of the resettlement and villagization programme, numerous military operations etc.). According to the author, such terror and violence have spurred involuntary migration on an unprecedented scale. So the study shows that those who have sought asylum in the Sudan originate from a wide spectrum of ethnic, social, economic and cultural backgrounds in Ethiopia, but the major motives for flight have been violence and fear of violence.

There are five broad types of refugees identified in the study. The first type are political activists. The majority of this type were connected to or sympathized with the various nationalists movements operating in Ethiopia. The second type consisted of officials of the former government and members of the land-owning class. The majority of the refugees fall under the third type – the displaced masses. Most of them were peasants and the large majority of them left their country under an acute situation caused by the horrors of war. The displaced mass category includes also individuals who fled because of famine – but, as the author supposed, it would be wrong to perceive this masses exodus as the result of drought and the availability of aid in the Sudan – the flight is mainly accounted for by political conditions that hindered access to food relief in Ethiopia. The fourth type are opponents or victims of governments' socio-political and economic policies. The majority of these were escapees from resettlement schemes and state farms. The fifth type were respondents whose reasons for their uprooting fell between refugees and voluntary immigrants. The author characterizes them as those who are 'carried along by the stream'.

The author also analyses further factors, such as distance from an international border, differences between urban and rural refugees, dangers of the escape ways etc.

The main focus in this study was on the problem of refugee integration in the socio-economic environment of the host society. The author analyses in detail the economic, social, cultural and psychological dimensions of integration of refugees. The main indices of economic absorption were employment and income. The economic situation of the majority of refugees is bad in the extreme and causes further serious problems (poverty, malnutrition, ill-health, high morbidity rate). The results of the study showed also a weak internal and external social integration among the study population. Several factors seem to determine social interaction – knowledge of Arabic, relationships with members of the local community, problem of intermarriage, membership in both host and refugee-based voluntary organizations, conflicts among refugees. The results of the research of cultural and psycho-

logical aspects of adjustment and integration also show a low level of adjustment and a slow process of acculturation (adjustment was thwarted by economic problems, socio-cultural factors, climate and dietary problems, cultural and religious differences, insecurity etc.).

The author came to the conclusion, that the degree of integration of the study population in the Sudanese society was very low. According to his view, the best policy in the solution of this problem is that which treats refugees as if they were permanent residents, accords citizenship to those who want to take it and tackles their problem within the framework of the national development programme.

The present review does not permit to analyse the broad range of issues dealt with by author, nor to take up standpoint to each one of his conclusions. A contribution of the study resides primarily in the fact that the author, using a limited set of respondents, has endeavoured to show the problems they encounter and to suggest ways to resolve or improve their situation.

Juraj Chmiel

Pawliková-Vilhanová, V.: *History of Anti-Colonial Resistance and Protest in the Kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro, 1862–1899*. Dissertationes Orientales 45, Prague, Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences 1988. 335 pp.

This study is quite extraordinary by Czechoslovak or even East European standards of Africanist scholarship in its wide usage of primary sources whose mere listing covers as many as twenty pages of the Bibliography. Dr. Pawliková-Vilhanová from the Slovak Academy of Sciences presents herein the results of her study conducted from 1967 to 1971 in different archives in Uganda, Great Britain, Italy and the German Democratic Republik as well as her subsequent research into the questions of African primary resistance to colonialism, most of which appeared as separate studies in the annual *Asian and African Studies*, Bratislava.

The study analyses the genesis and evolution of anti-colonial struggle in the two East African kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro. It is primarily concerned with the opposition to the British colonial conquest by the inhabitants of these two lacustrine states, however, the other types of reaction to the encroachment by foreign power, such as collaboration or neutralism, are permanently kept in view. Nevertheless, the author's focus upon resistance and protest duly reflects her belief that this was the prevailing response to the advance of colonialism on the part of the Africans concerned. The study tackles only slightly the external factor and it concentrates on the analysis of the Afro-European confrontation against the background of inter-

nal history, local political situation and the ongoing power struggle both within and between the two most important kingdoms of the area.

From the methodological standpoint the author views African anti-colonial resistance as a long and complex phenomenon comprising a multitude of resistance and liberation movements which assumed different characteristics in different areas under different leadership during different periods. Although the resistance took numerous forms, active and passive, organized and spontaneous, political, diplomatic or military, small scale and large scale, including collaboration and innumerable local pressures and manoeuvrings through which the Africans attempted to get along with colonialism and satisfy the needs and desires dictated by their own experience and background, in the author's opinion all of these were a demonstration of the African efforts to resist colonialism.

Early anticolonial resistance was, as a rule, led by African traditional ruling classes whose immediate political, economic and social aims had their limitations, however, having drawn her theoretical framework from the Marxist methodological approach to the study of social movements, the author argues that anticolonial resistance, even in its early stages, was a historically progressive phenomenon.

The book consists of two main sections. The first one, introductory in character, contains information on sources, aims and methods of the study, a survey of the main trends in the analysis and interpretation of early anticolonial resistance in Africa in recent historiography and it provides the reader with the necessary historical background to the ensuing more detailed description and analysis of developments in Buganda and Bunyoro in the era of Europe's colonial penetration.

The second section, composed of three chapters, which form the core of the work, brings some fresh evidence on the motivation and activities of Buganda's and Bunyoro's rulers Mwanga and Kabarega whose controversial role in the anticolonial struggle led to some distortions in previous interpretations. The last chapter devoted to the period of the war of independence, fought between 1897 and 1899 on the territory of the present-day Uganda, points to the complexity of the uprising and its forcible repression by the British. The author traces the preparation, organization and course of the war, reconstructs the development of the resistance movement from its clandestine formation to final collapse and makes an assessment of its scale, composition, effectiveness and character. A most significant feature of the 1897-99 war of independence was the novel ability of both kingdoms to overcome traditional animosity and combine forces in what the author views as the culmination of a continuous tradition of resistance against European attempts to establish political supremacy in the area.

On the whole the book makes a remarkable contribution to the debate on the nature of early African resistance to European penetration, which remains one of the great themes of African history. It should find its way to all scholars and libraries

concerned with problems of the imposition of colonialism in Africa. Although, taking into consideration its circulation of a mere two hundred copies – too little for a study which brings new evidence and some original interpretation – it is bound to go soon out of print.

In conclusion, a warning: the book does not make an easy reading. However, this is not because of Dr. Pawliková-Vilhanová's style which is simple and lucid but due to the work of a mischievous book-binder. The volume which keeps relentlessly shutting can only be kept open by a firm two-hand grasp and any attempt at taking notes requires quite an amount of strenuous 'working table gymnastics'.

Ján Voderadský

Larsen, Stephan: *A Writer and His Gods: A Study of the Importance of Yoruba Myths and Religious Ideas to the Writing of Wole Soyinka*. Stockholm, University of Stockholm 1983. 239 p.

If the interviewer of the Swedish radio gave the programme, presenting the famous Nigerian writer, the title "Wole Soyinka – an African and a Cosmopolitan", she was very successful in embracing in two words the basic feature of this remarkable personality. For it is exactly the interconnectedness of the 'local' and the 'universal' which can be considered as the greatest achievement of Soyinka's work. One of the spheres, where Soyinka demonstrates his singular ability to stress the universal relevance of Africa's culture and civilization, is his use of Yoruba myths in his creative writing.

The importance of religious traditions of the Yoruba to the writings of Soyinka has already been underlined by several authors, but none of them has yet presented a work comparable in the extent of the treatment of this topic to the doctoral thesis by S. Larsen from the Stockholm University. The book consists of two basic parts. Section I begins with a biographical outline of Soyinka which, unfortunately, does not tell us practically anything about the famous author's activities after 1977. The second part of this section introduces the reader to the Yoruba pantheon which proves not only an exciting but also necessary excursion. In this way the reader is acquainted with some of the most important Yoruba gods and with the main events in the myths in which they appear.

Section II which is the core of the thesis contains chapters dealing with the use of Yoruba myths in (1) Soyinka's dramas, (2) his poetry, and (3) his narrative prose. Out of a total of fourteen of Soyinka's published plays, the author discusses ten texts for which, according to his opinion, Yoruba mythology has served as a source of inspiration. Special attention is accorded to three dramas, namely *A Dance of the Forests*, *The Road*, and *The Bacchae of Euripides* (pp. 47–89), which are considered

as having been most directly influenced by Yoruba mythology. These plays, each of which would obviously provide enough material for a separate study on the importance of myths in their structure, are not only analysed from this point of view, but the author provides also valuable insights into their general meaning, which is often only slightly hinted at by Soyinka. Analyses of these dramas are preceded by brief summarizations of their plots which, however, prove to be sometimes too complex to be comprehensibly encompassed in one page. As for the rest of the plays, which are included into the category of "containing some allusions to Yoruba myths", as is the case, for example with *The Trials of Brother Jero* (p. 90), the discussion of their mythological inspiration is sometimes too brief to be fully convincing.

From this point of view the situation is quite different with the thorough analysis of Soyinka's novel *The Interpreters* (pp. 137–171). Here the author of the thesis devotes special attention to each of the principal characters and supports his opinion concerning the relevance of Yoruba myths to their performance, with a solid background of arguments.

Yoruba myths have also been important to Soyinka as a poet. There can be no doubt about the presence of the Yoruba god of war in the epic poem *Ogun Abibimani*, or in the poem *Idanre* "which is entirely dominated by Ogun and the myth about him" (p. 112). However, what is quite revealing in Dr. Larsen's analysis is his suggestion that in *Idanre and Other Poems* it is not only the title poem itself, but the whole collection and its structure, which bear the mark of Ogun.

On the whole Dr. Larsen's book is a well composed and intelligibly written work. On reading it one feels that the author constantly kept in mind the reader for whom he wrote; he does not dive straightforwardly into problems which, no doubt, excite him most as a specialist, but he purposefully builds up the structure of his study so that it satisfies not only experts on Soyinka and Yoruba mythology, but also those readers who want to learn more about modern African literature and its position as a medium between the traditional and the contemporary African world.

Ján Voderadský

O n o h, J. K.: *The Nigerian Oil Economy: From Prosperity to Glut*. London – Canberra – New York, Croom Helm – St. Martin's Press 1983. viii + 152 pp.

The 1970s and 1980s which, in the sphere of the world economy, were dominated by developments in the oil market, have turned greater attention to this strategic raw material and to the countries which became its largest exporters. For oil, and the rather dramatic changes in its price and world supply, have not only influenced economies of the industrialized countries, but also called forth major transforma-

tions in the economies of the particular third world oil producers. This aspect of the oil revolution of the 1970s and 1980s gets into the focus of interest of J. K. Onoh in his study *The Nigerian Oil Economy*.

The book, although rather small in extent, offers a broad survey of information and opinion on oil and its impact on the Nigerian economy. In the beginning it provides a short history of prospecting for oil and its extraction in Nigeria, with special emphasis on the period since the second half of the 1960s when crude oil production became significantly intensified.

Another chapter is devoted to the developments in independent Nigeria's oil policies which were constantly aimed at improving the government's influence over the oil industry and which culminated in the formation of Nigeria's own national oil company. In the discussion the author points also to the different adverse aspects of the operations of multinationals in the Nigerian economy although, on the other hand, he admits that the experience gained as a result of foreign companies' operating in Nigeria has been "most rewarding" and "particularly helpful" for Nigerians and Nigerian governments (p. 18). Here the reader may only guess at what is the author's true position in this matter.

As far as the impact of oil on the Nigerian economy is concerned, Professor Onoh does not put the Nigerian oil boom into correlation with the ensuing developments in the different branches of the economy, although a coherent view of such important sectors as, for example agriculture, manufacturing, construction or education in their respective "post-independence", "oil-boom" and "oil-glut" phases of development might be very interesting. The author rather concentrates on the financial aspects of the developments in the oil sector for Nigeria. Although he stresses the importance of the tremendously increased oil revenues to the overall growth of Nigeria's economy, he points also to grave problems caused by the inadequate economic policy of Nigerian governments. He is particularly critical of the borrowing and external reserve policies, as well as of the decision to devalue the naira in 1973 which, in his opinion, "was a mistake and it may have contributed significantly to present economic ills of Nigeria" (p. 84).

A less scholarly detached tone is discernible in the author's analysis of Nigeria's oil crisis of the early 1980s. It is true that he admits the influence of both endogenous and exogenous factors on the crisis, but he obviously concentrates on the latter, stressing the importance of "conservation measures of the industrialised countries", "the tactics of oil conglomerates", "the Saudi Arabian factor" and "the roles of the non-OPEC oil producing countries" (pp. 86-95).

A certain bias is also felt in the discussion of oil politics in the Nigeria-Biafra War and in the revenue allocation policies of the Nigerian post-civil-war governments, where Professor Onoh from the Imo State University seems to be too clearly in favour of the demands of the oil producing states of eastern Nigeria, as against the interests of a strong and economically more balanced federation. As far as the role

of Nigerian oil in African politics is concerned, the author stresses the contribution of Africa's power towards the independence of Zimbabwe, but pays no attention to the equally important role of Nigeria in the establishment and backing of the MPLA as the first independent government of Angola.

The chapter titled Oil in International Economic and Power Politics in the 1970s and 1980s concentrates on the development of relations between OPEC and the industrialized western world. The author comes to the conclusion that "Eurocentrism and Atlantocentrism must give way to a New World Order" (p. 133), but he remains rather unspecific in his call. As far as the question of Nigeria's participation in OPEC is concerned, he is of the opinion that the benefits far outweigh the problems resulting from Nigeria's membership in the organization.

On the whole this small but useful book can be said to have fulfilled its modest aim to provide information on oil and its implications on the Nigerian economy. However, it could not have achieved more than become a partial contribution to the great theme of the full impact of oil boom of the 1970s on Nigeria and other Third World oil-exporting economies and societies, which still remains to be written.

Ján Voderadský

Konings, Piet: *The State and Rural Class Formation in Ghana: A Comparative Analysis*. London etc., KPI 1986. xvi + 391 pp.

Anyone embarking on a study of modern history and contemporary social and political developments of African societies will sooner or later find himself seriously concerned with problems of class formation and, implicitly, with the all-important role of the state in this process. Although much of the available literature approaches this topic from a 'continental' or 'general' viewpoint, one gets often a more profound understanding of the subject from detailed case-studies whose optics are better adjusted to discern the subtle and complex structure of this process.

Piet Konings' analysis of three African cash-crop enterprises, namely the cocoa production, capitalist rice-farming and irrigation schemes in different parts of Ghana (a country whose importance in the discussions of the colonial and post-colonial state is still recognized among students of Africa) is an admirable proof of the virtues of such in-depth probes. The book comprises four chapters. Three of them (each containing some one hundred pages) are devoted to the particular case-studies and these are preceded by a background chapter on the various Ghanaian governments, their economic policies and the role each of them played in the process of rural class formation in the colonial and post-colonial period.

When discussing the history of the cocoa production in the region of Ahafo and the social stratification and class formation that accompanied its development, the author points to the growing state intervention into the enterprise. Attention is also devoted here to reactions on the part of the cocoa growers to what has become a deep antagonism between the producers and surplus extractors.

Another comprehensive case-study, presented in Chapter 3, follows the introduction and development of capitalist rice farming in the Builsa District of Northern Ghana. In contrast to Southern Ghana, this region was characterized by a relatively strong conservation of traditional, pre-capitalist relations of production and the author makes a point of the fact that these were not significantly eroded by the encroachment of capitalist cash-cropping. Contrary to a notion popular with some theorists of the spread of capitalism, no 'avalanche effect' occurred here. The author concentrates on two basic sets of conflict (i.e. those between the capitalist rice farmers and the state and between the farmers and the local peasants) which shaped the emerging class structure in Builsa rice farming communities.

Another example of class formation under the direct pressure of the state is presented in the case-study of the Veia and Tono large scale irrigation projects, which involved extensive expropriation of peasant food farms, the enforced entry of peasants into cash-crop production and their loss of control over the means of production and the process of production and exchange.

In the Conclusion the author offers a brief overview of the most widespread theories of the transformation of African societies under the influence of capitalism, such as the 'market approach', the 'theory of the articulation of modes of production' and the 'theory of the post-colonial state', evaluating their weak and strong points and suggesting that it is probably the combination of these approaches which might best be able to explain the class formation in the contemporary African rural setting and the role of the state in this process.

The book is very well served by numerous economic and political biographies of different actors in the analysed capitalist undertakings (especially in the rice farming case-study), as well as by over seventy tables full of elucidating data.

Ján Voderadský

Last, M. – Richards, P. – Fyfe, C. (Eds.): *Sierra Leone 1787–1987: Two Centuries of Intellectual Life*. Manchester, Manchester University Press 1987. 170 pp.

This collection of essays, marking the Sierra Leone bicentenary, was issued as a special edition (Vol. 57, No. 4) of *Africa*, the journal of the International African Institute. It comprises nine articles and four short communications by scholars from

Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Great Britain, Sweden and the USA. The articles are grouped into three sections titled History and politics, Ecology and technology, Culture and language.

Christopher Fyfe presents a sketch of political history of the country in its last two hundred years, pointing to a marked difference between the two respective centuries, divided by the year 1887, which is seen as an important symbolic turning point in the history of Sierra Leone and, actually, of the whole of Africa. Akintola Wyse's study of the 1926 political crisis which resulted in the dissolution of Freetown City Council, points to one contradiction which soon became typical of much of colonial Africa: councils with elected Africans, which were supposed to represent indigenous opinion and interests and whose flaunting aim was to let the natives learn the art of self-government, were in reality seriously limited in their activities and any 'excess' of independent behaviour on the part of the African members may have easily led to severe restrictions and their eventual dissolution. A different type of discrimination is analysed in LaRay Denzer's study of Women in Freetown Politics 1914-61, which follows the activities of Sierra Leone women organizations of the period and points to the difficulties politically active women had to face both before and after independence.

The section on ecology and technology contains a paper discussing the socio-ecology of firewood and charcoal on the Freetown peninsula by R. A. Cline-Cole, C. M. Fyfe's study of the role of traditional blacksmiths in the Sierra Leone economy and an interesting review of the activities of the small community of African photographers who worked in Sierra Leone's capital as long ago as the middle of the 19th century. This article, written by V. Viditz-Ward, is supplemented by a selection of a dozen of historical photographs, mostly studio family portraits and market scenes taken between the years 1850 and 1918.

Among African countries Sierra Leone ranks as one of the finest examples of specific cross-cultural and linguistic dynamics in the conditions of inherent pluralism. The study by J. Sengova, which introduces the section devoted to problems concerning culture and language, outlines the principal boundaries in the Sierra Leone language map and goes on to examine the main attempts at a national language policy in the 1970s and the 1980s. N. Shrimpton traces the development of the ideas of Thomas Decker, the pre-World War II pioneer of the attempts to accord the Krio the position of a national lingua franca. Although Decker even in those times recognized the Krio as an authentic language in its own right, his thoughts have perhaps only recently gained full appreciation. Sierra Leone's boundaries have proved to be too narrow a space for Ulf Hannerz's most interesting essay called *The World in Creolisation*. The author draws his inspiration from one of the many multi-ethnic towns in Nigeria but in the end he develops a wider, in fact global perspective, which finds the term 'creolization' characteristic of modern cultural history of such unlikely partners as Sierra Leone and Sweden.

If one imagines a list which would rank African countries according to the intensity of attention paid to them by the international Africanist scholarship, Sierra Leone would not certainly occupy any of the top positions. Results of the study of different aspects of development of this country are characteristically scattered in various journals and collections of essays with a more or less diffuse grasp, whereas editions with the monothematic focus remain rather rare. This is one of the reasons why the idea of making use of the Sierra Leone bicentenary and devoting one number of the renown IAI Africa journal to the recent original research on matters Sierra Leonean should be appreciated.

Ján Voderadský

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