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We would like to inform our readers that from 1992 our periodical ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES will be published semi-annually in journal form rather than annually in book form. The conception of our journal, however, will not undergo any major changes.

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# ASIAN AND Slovak Academy of Sciences AFRICAN STUDIES

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## OBITUARY

Anna DOLEŽALOVÁ

On 23 October 1992, after a long and serious illness, one of the co-founders of Slovak Sinology, PhDr. Anna Doležalová, CSc., aged 57, left our ranks. Her articles and professional information about Chinese cultural and literary events had appeared regularly in the Slovak publications since 1959 when she began to work professionally as a fresh graduate of Sinology from Charles University, Prague. First she worked in Bratislava University Library and then, after the foundation of the Department of Oriental Studies, she spent the more than thirty years following in the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava.

Her Sinological work which has now finished, she first started with regular reviews and cultural information about modern Chinese literary phenomena, but even in the first years of her work she also published the important literary studies "Roots and Problems of Modern Chinese Literature" and "The Great Success of the Chinese Novel". In no time also her first Slovak translation appeared on the Slovak market. It was a narrative creation about the inter-war Chinese prose-writer Yü Ta-fu which she published under the title *Večer opitý jarým vetrom* (Evening Drunk with Spring Wind) in 1960.

In the 1970s, the Sinological work of Dr Anna Doležalová was widened for significant Chinese entries in the Slovak encyclopedias, *Pyramída* (Pyramid) and *Malá encyklopédia spisovateľov sveta* (Short Encyclopedia of the World's Writers). At the same time, Anna Doležalová was a member of the authors' collective for the Czech dictionary *Slovník spisovatelů Asie a Afriky* (Dictionary of the Writers of Asia and Africa). In 1971, with her monograph *Yü Ta-fu: Specific Traits of his Literary Creation*, published in English, and in a co-edition from publishers C. Hurst and Paragon Books in London and New York (presently there is a Chinese translation being prepared by Professor Huang Chuan), she had significantly begun her top-quality work in the world research of this modern Chinese writer on the international level.

She reached the climax of her creative Sinological activities in the 1980s when she had regularly acquainted not only Slovak professional and lay public with important data on Chinese life and institutions, but she became a known person in international Sinological circles as well. Of her professional Sinological studies, we would like to bring to attention: "Remarks on the Life and Work of Yü Ta-fu up to 1930", "A Survey of the Views of Yü Ta-fu on Society and Literature", "Two Novels of Yü Ta-fu - Two Approaches to Literary Creations", "Periodization of Modern Chinese Literature", "Suggestions Regarding Periodization of Literature in the People's Republic of China", "Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literature", "New Qualities in

Contemporary Chinese Stories", and "Image of Intellectuals in Chinese Stories of the 1980s". She regularly published in the Oriental annual ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES or in other professional Oriental periodicals; she participated in international Sinological conferences and congresses at which she amazed participants with the perfect Chinese in which she presented her contributions and debated on professional topics. Simultaneously, she very often informed the Slovak public about modern Chinese events in radio transmissions; Bratislava radio broadcast these reports quite a lot, especially in the late 1980s, with her assistance.

In the mid-1980s, the after-effects of the so-called "Cultural Revolution" in China finally quieted down and new societal relations which were very favourable for the birth of original literary waves began to be created. These literary waves were known under the name "literature of scars". Dr Doležalová involved herself very readily into professional research of these specific Chinese literary problems and her contribution in Chinese, "Image of Rehabilitated 'Rightists' in Contemporary Chinese Prose" appeared in Materials for the research of Chinese literature in 1987 in Peking. Also in those years, her very erudite studies about the then literary events in China, appeared in the journal Revue svetovej literatúry (Review of World Literature) under the titles "Discovery of New Continents", "Letter from China" and "Literary Atlas of China". These are some of the first well-informed studies about the new Chinese literary movement. Approximately at the same time she was honoured with a co-authorship in the world literary encyclopedia *A Selective Guide to Chinese Literature 1900-1949* which appeared in Publishing House Brill in the Netherlands and there she was also asked to elaborate literary entries about the writer Yü Ta-fu. Her informative studies about contemporary Chinese literature in 1990 appeared even in literary periodicals in Barcelona and Moscow.

These years now should be the climax of her life-long Sinological work, namely the compilation of the extensive monograph (and in world Sinological dimensions a top one) about contemporary Chinese literature of the so-called "return to roots". Unfortunately, this work remains only in its initial preparatory stage. However, life still indulged her one uncommon Sinological experience before her death - a trip to China which she completed last year as a member and interpreter of the Slovak Cinema Crew which was in China to document the many very interesting historical monuments. She only did not dare to climb Mt Taishan because of her worsening health. Also before her death her "swan-song", a big illustrated book *Čína* (China), managed to appear in Slovak and Polish. In it she made it easier for our public to access the history of Chinese civilization in a really untraditional way, namely dividing the separate parts of the book into specific chapters about Chinese history from the view of the seven most significant capitals of the Chinese Empire, as in the order they became them in the course of the many thousands of years' duration of Chinese cultural tradition. With this book, the life-long work of Dr Anna Doležalová was formally concluded in a dignified manner.

Why "formally"? Because there is still one more chapter in her life-long Sinological activity, namely the chapter of her students. Eight of her youngest Sinological students are studying their second year at the University in Peking and two years from now these

graduates will take over the baton of Slovak Sinology with which she successfully started more than thirty years ago as the youngest generation.

With sorrow and esteem we bow to the memory of the first pioneer in the Slovak Sinological field and in belief that the person left but her work remains, we are parting with Dr Anna Doležalová with words from *Daode jing*:

Not to give up that whom I ought to be - that is persistence!

And then to die and not to be lost - that is long-agedness!

And in the Slovak Sinology, the memory of her co-founder, Dr Anna Doležalová, will in this way live on.

*Marina Čarnogurská*

## ARTICLES

### TEXTUALITY AND REFERENTIALITY IN CHINESE LITERARY DISCOURSE. PRECONSIDERATIONS ON A "CONTEXT THEORY"

Richard TRAPPL, Vienna

In view of the differences between Chinese and Western cultural backgrounds any translation of Chinese literary texts into a European language makes a highly-qualified approach to this task necessary. In addition, however, the European reader ought to have access to a whole sum of different cultural components that are relevant to the context. This requires a specific methodology, which is the subject of this paper.

#### I. Text and References

This paper deals with<sup>1</sup> questions of the "identity" of a text,<sup>2</sup> a problem that has not only a theoretical dimension but also a very practical one when confronted with translation and intercultural reception.<sup>3</sup> When translating a Chinese text into a western language, the product is also a text; but notwithstanding the linguistic divergence and all of the consequences which follow - due to the various variables in the different "cultural competences" - there must be some sort of reference system between the two texts not only to make the original Chinese text linguistically understandable but also to interpret aspects of literary tradition, and cultural

<sup>1</sup>The paper is the written version of a lecture given at the Slovak Oriental Society, Bratislava, on May 25, 1989.

<sup>2</sup>For definition of "text" cf: LEWANDOWSKI, Theodor: *Linguistisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 3, Heidelberg, UTB 1975, pp. 733 – 737. For "text" in interdisciplinary research cf: VAN DIJK, Teun A.: *Textwissenschaft, eine interdisziplinäre Einführung*. Tübingen, Niemeyer Verlag 1988.

<sup>3</sup>Various aspects of "intercultural reception theory" in publications of the author shall not be repeated here. Cf. e.g.: TRAPPL, Richard: *Synchronismus versus Diachronismus. Vorüberlegungen zu einem interkulturellen Interpretationsansatz zur Kalligraphie und Malerei von Gu Gan*. In: *Drachenboot. Zeitschrift für moderne chinesische Literatur und Kunst* 1988/2, pp. 136 – 141.

- *Die Ironie des Zeitlichen. Rezeptionspragmatische Überlegungen zu "Alte Geschichten neu erzählt"*. In: KUBIN, Wolfgang (Hg): *Aus dem Garten der Wildnis, Studien zu Lu Xun (1881 - 1936)*. Bonn, Bouvier 1989, pp. 165 – 175.

- *Kulturtranslatorik und Konnotationssubstituierung. Übersetzungstheoretische und übersetzungskritische Bemerkungen zu deutschen Übersetzungen chinesischer Literatur der letzten Jahre*. In: *Orientierungen* (Univ. Bonn) 1989/2, pp. 45 – 55.

- *Intentionsadäquatheit und Ästhetik deutscher Übersetzungen klassischer chinesischer Dichtung*. In: *Die Horen* 1989/3, pp. 76 – 82.

- *"Modernism" and Foreign Influences on Chinese Poetry. Exemplified by the Early Guo Moruo and Gu Cheng*. In: GALIK, M. (ed.): *Interliterary and Intraliterary Aspects of the May Fourth Movement 1919 in China*. Bratislava 1990, pp. 83 – 92.

background, from the perspective of the author by using specific biographical knowledge about him. The western receiver<sup>4</sup> of a translation-only text must be equipped with external text information. Otherwise the loss of original message is too large to perform the function of a text-based communication between the author and the receiver. This external text information can be provided partly by annotations, prefaces, postscripts, etc.<sup>5</sup> In addition to such "narrower context information" which might be presented in a publication together with a translated text, the reader himself might consult literary histories, biographies and other reference books on the culture of the country and on all different aspects which provide background knowledge ("wider context information") to the translated text (even if the text is received in the original language. Albeit linguistic competence, this other information must also be made use of). Thus, it becomes obvious that the whole spectrum of information which the original (Chinese) text represents, i.e. the whole spectrum of its references, would have to be coped with in some way by the "receptor" (reader) of the other culture by means of various and ever-enlarging "circles" of context knowledge.

So the end-product of the interpretative approach is not the "text" alone, but a text within its multi-level network of references. This complex (and open) system can be called the referentiality of a text.<sup>6</sup> The referentiality of the original text (OT) and the text in its transferred and translated form (TT) (fractured by cultural and/or epoch boundaries) have a certain connection. The question is how this interrelationship between OT and TT can be identified and visualized in a model which is not only based on the assumption that certain aesthetic (or literary) archetypes and universal means of interpretation are enough to analyse and perceive any (literary) texts of all literature in the world.

The method suggested here combines aspects of intercultural communication theory, comparative literature studies, reception theory, semiotics and text-linguistics.<sup>7</sup> It is just the great gap between the linguistic, cultural, literary, and other traditions of China and the West which provide more valuable material for theoretical and methodical reflections than would be provided if only European traditions were compared.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In the field of Chinese reception theory "early classics" were the works of James Liu, esp.: LIU, James: *The Interlingual Critic. Interpreting Chinese Poetry*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1982.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the study of the function of reference books in translation of Chinese poetry by: NIENHAUSER, William: *Diction, Dictionaries, and the Translation of Classical Chinese Poetry*. In: T'oung Pao, vol. LXIV (1978), pp. 47 - 109.

<sup>6</sup> As regards the epistemological dimensions of literariness and the semiotic approach cf: KOCH, W. A. (ed.): *Textsemiotik und strukturelle Rezeptionstheorie*. Hildesheim, Olms Verlag 1976. KLAUS, Georg: *Semiotik und Erkenntnistheorie*. München. Fink Verlag 1973. HARTH, Dietrich und Peter GEBHARDT: *Erkenntnis der Literatur. Theorien, Konzepte, Methoden*. Stuttgart, Metzler Verlag 1982.

<sup>7</sup> DRESSLER, Wolfgang: *Einführung in die Textlinguistik*. Tübingen, Niemeyer Verlag 1972. FIETZ, Lothar: *Funktionaler Strukturalismus. Grundlegung eines Modells zur Beschreibung von Text und Textfunktion*. Tübingen, Niemeyer Verlag 1976.

<sup>8</sup> YUAN, Heh-hsiang: *East-West Comparative Literature: An Inquiry into Possibilities*. In: DEBNEY, John (ed.): *Chinese-Western Comparative Literature. Theory and Strategy*. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980, pp. 1 - 24.



When interpreting a text semiotically, three dimensions can be isolated:<sup>9</sup>

- 1) The syntactic, which describes the relationship between the elements of the text,
- 2) the semantic, between the text and the "real objects" it refers to, and
- 3) the pragmatic, between the text and the reflective receptor.

Since Chinese literature was written in the first place for Chinese receptors, whose perception of "Chinese objects" differs in meaning, or rather significance, as compared to the perception of a foreigner, the perception of a text must differ to a certain degree with regards to Chinese versus Westerners (or other Non-Chinese). Due to postulated differences in the "objects" themselves (e.g. living conditions in Peking vs. in Paris), the references in a Chinese text must at least differ from those in a Western text. Let us begin with a simple example: a person in a Chinese short story says: "*Kuai yi diar!*" [1] ("Hurry up!") the whole range of unpleasant associations of long lines, full buses, overcrowding and rush hours after a boring day may arise. At the same time, the Chinese author may also criticize (or mock) the Chinese who hurries just because of being unconsciously used to saying "*Kuai yi diar!*", even if there is not the slightest necessity, the weather is fine, an empty bus is coming and a charming person has just said something nice. For the western receptor such a single "*Kuai yi diar!*" might become a meaningless "Hurry up!".

The referentiality of such an utterance in a text could be further elaborated as has just been done. But let us turn to the other side of the coin: does the micro-structure of such references affect a text in a different way than expected by Westerners? The concrete semantics might be somewhat different, of course, as we just have seen (e.g. what does "*Kuai yi diar!*" refer to in a Chinese situative context, in the actual praxis of life). The question which now arises is whether the sum of such (different) references, the referentiality as a whole, constitutes the structure of a text itself in a different way. Thus it seems practical to leave behind, or rather, to transgress and widen the concept of "text" and to look for an entity (or interpretative or operational model) which presents itself only at the surface as a text. The term "textuality" suggests such a more open and dynamic conception.

Now, the workings of the Chinese language (or rather different Chinese languages like classic, poetic diction, the contemporary language of short stories, etc.) must be taken into consideration. Yet, again it is not inevitable that the very process of translation changes (falsifies) the original workings of the text. In other words, is not the original "textuality" substituted by a somewhat different one as soon as it is "processed" by translation, cut off from the original connotations of words, utterances, phrases, of all inner- and extra-textual contexts? This seems to be especially evident when translating a classic Chinese poem. It does not seem to be such a problem when translating a modern (maybe a Western-influenced) text.

## II. "Context Theory"

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<sup>9</sup> MORRIS, Charles William: *Foundations of the Theory of Science*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press 1938.

Two verses of Chinese poems should illustrate the concern of this paper: the relevance of increasing "context knowledge" (a more detailed interpretation will be presented in part III.). What enables us to understand the significance of the following two passages:

a) "*Hua luo zhi duoshao* [2] (Who knows how many blossoms fell?).<sup>10</sup>

b) "*Weile jianxin, wo shuang mu yuan zheng*" [3] (For my firm belief's sake I widely open my eyes).<sup>11</sup>

As complete sentences these utterances can be fully understood linguistically either in the Chinese original or in the English translation, provided language competence is given. The semantics of each sentence are evident, as long as the question of interpretability is restricted only to each of the single sentences concerned. Yet, if we go a step further and ponder the significance, the function and referentiality of each of these phrases we are dependent on something wider which was described at the beginning as "narrower" and "wider context knowledge".

It becomes obvious that the broader and deeper our understanding of the "context" of a certain text, the more we should learn about the meaning, intention, function and references of the text.

Since it is not deniable that a linguistic utterance (as a text is) has an interior structure, we can assume that a context also has some sort of structure - not because there is a terminological derivation but since any cognitive entity must be structured in some way. This need not necessarily imply that "chaos" or "nothing" are entirely free from "structure". Even if they are entirely stochastically composed or are entirely empty, if taken as "a whole", their "boundary" (limitations) makes them into a structure (or better a macrostructure) to be different from their antagonistic entities. At least we might say: it is unavoidable for the human mind to think without any concept of "limiting framework" (e.g. it is inevitable to differentiate "nothing" from "chaos"), above all from the well-organized "well-structured being") since different notions (even the widest ones like "existence" and "non-existence") limit each other antagonistically.

Now let us confront the idea of the inevitability of structuredness of any entity (at least for the perceptive human mind) with the previously mentioned concept of "context".<sup>12</sup> Here it again seems obvious that there must be some sort of connection between the structures of the text and a postulated structure of its context. If we try to define both kinds of structures we would have to apply different methodologies: linguistic, historical, psychological, etc. just to enumerate some of the disciplines which present "facts" (content) to explore our text. We might also test methodologies of disciplines which do not present so much knowledge of facts but rather have combining-ability, and offer models of how the structure of an entity can be discerned

<sup>10</sup> MENG HAORAN [4]: *Chun xiao* [5] (Dawn). In: *Quan Tang shi*. Beijing Zhonghua shuju 1979, vol. V. p. 1667.

<sup>11</sup> GU CHENG [6]: *Zha yen* [7] (Twinkling with the Eyes). In: *Menglongshi jingxuan* (Selection of Obscure Poetry). Wuchang, Huazhong shifan daxue cbs. 1986, p. 34.

<sup>12</sup> For definitions cf.: LEWANDOWSKI, Theodor: *Linguistisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1. Heidelberg, UTB 1973, pp. 351 - 352.

and analysed, can illustrate (symbolize) the working of the mind - not so much in a subject-orientated (psychological) sense but in an object-orientated "structural" sense: semiotics, system analysis, etc.

Taking a more semiotic approach, we may define our text as a unique combination of signs connected 'syntactically', showing 'reference' to non-linguistic objects and being 'interpretative' for a member of a certain linguo-cultural group who is familiar with the respective signs. The competence of such a receptor might end with the limitations given by his linguistic understanding. In this case he would accept the two sample sentences as grammatically correct and semantically clear. In the case of a wider cultural and literary competence the receptor will even identify the two sentences as being quotations of specific works of Chinese literature. He might be familiar with them himself. As a function of literary understanding, his ability to recognize the significance of these sentences might widen or narrow his interpretative freedom. If he were in the exceptional position as to find some additional authentic manuscripts of the authors themselves which had not been discovered before him, he would be able to present a new, maybe more interesting interpretation. Whether it would be a more relevant and significant one, is another question. It is a question of the epistemological expectations of the analyst. For he who positively wants to come as close as possible to the "truth" of what the author thought, intended or pretended, such a "find" will appear extremely satisfactory. But suppose there is another kind of receptor: a person who regards himself not as an entirely passive receptor but as a reactive part in a communication process which was launched by a Chinese poet several hundred years ago and which is now being carried out, of course not expecting a new answer from the poet himself, but maybe from some critic several hundred years later.

This suggests a sort of trans-epochal communication referring to a certain text, interpreting it by drawing interpretative hints by its original context, but at the same time creating a new context: the projection of the text onto the imaginative concept of the analyst, based on his specific cognitive competence.

Thus, context becomes an endless time-space "macrostructure", highly selective and highly productive for various interpretators, of various ages and cultures. It is clear that problems of translation (translatology), time-perception, and methodological reflection are highly relevant in demonstrating the difference between a text, which is limited, and its context, which is "open".

Traditional philological studies, literary interpretations and interpretative translation work did, of course, make use of means such as dictionaries, reference books, etc. Yet, to consider the relevance of all sorts of actually applied competences (like language competence, cultural understanding, understanding of connotations...) in so far as the use of these competences deserves more theoretical observation, competence is always necessarily selective (and is decisive for the manner of interpretation, and to consider the decisive significance of the process of "understanding"). It might be formulated in a 'context theory'.

The limitations of this paper allow for only a very sketchy model of such a "context theory". Its elaboration should consist of the examination of the relation between the four phenomena: text, context, discourse, and cultural competence.

"TEXT": can be understood as a coherent verbalization (concretization) of a specific "discourse". "Verbalized" refers to any linguistic utterance (both written and spoken) in a language created by human beings. Text-linguistics developed means to analyse the structure of such a text, whose elements are sentences or similarly discerned semantically independent units which can be combined into macro-semantic ones. "Verbalization" of a discourse means that a "text" is only a selective but verifiable manifestation of a "discourse". It is like a bridge which enables its users to transport goods (in our case: ideas, semantic messages) from one end (communication partner No 1) to the other (No 2).

"DISCOURSE":<sup>13</sup> can be tentatively defined as a multi-levelled, partly self-contradictory reflective process of the human mind (for the contradictions are going to be solved by the performance of a discourse). Such a discourse is an "open" argumentative, try-and-error-communication chain between one person with himself or with others, only selectively coined into various texts. A "discourse" can be carried on by one person on a specific subject, it can be shared by a group of persons and it can also be carried on by generations (e.g. the discourse of a certain ideology, religion, ...). Various discourses within a linguo-cultural group can be called (in an idealistic way) the global discourse, or better yet, the "CULTURAL COMPETENCE" of this group (society, nation, people, ethno-linguistic group etc.). (The term "meta-discourse" should be reserved for a scientific superstructure of communication.)

These discourses are manifested selectively in texts, which refer to each other either directly or indirectly. Such a text is to be taken as a stimulus in a communication process and evokes another text as a communicative response. But the way this response is given - its interior structure, semantics (its textuality) and exterior references (its referentiality) - depends largely on making use for other texts (preciously received or created): These "co-texts" contribute to the 'CONTEXT'. Thus it is clear that the receptor of a certain text is only then able to interpret the text (and only a very small part) when knowing as many as possible of the "co-texts" (of the context) which the communication partner (speaker, writer, author, poet ...) thought of. Irony draws much of its glamour out of this deficiency (at least it pretends a deficient knowledge on the part of its addressees).

### III. Illustrative examples

The following analyses of two verses<sup>14</sup> from Chinese poems illustrate the process of increasing the application of context knowledge:

Example 1: "Who knows how many blossoms fell."

Example 2: "For a firm belief's sake, I widely open my eyes."

<sup>13</sup> An introduction to various discourse-theories offers: FOHRMANN, Jürgen und Harro MÜLLER (Ed.): *Diskurstheorien und Literaturwissenschaft*. Frankfurt/M., Suhrkamp 1988. An investigation into the German-French divergencies of discourse- and text-theories has been presented by: FRANK, Manfred: *Das Sagbare und das Unsagbare. Studien zur deutsch-französischen Hermeneutik und Texttheorie*. Frankfurt/M., Suhrkamp 1989.

<sup>14</sup> See ft. 10, 11 and Appendix.

Both verses describe a reflection, connected with an act of perception. In the first case a presupposition (the knowledge of fallen blossoms) is made while pondering on their quantity. The reader is inclined to ask: Why does the poetic ego want to know how many blossoms fell? In example two the reader might ask: What is it, that challenges of the author's mind to open his eyes "widely". Regarding the narrowest "context", the preceding verses of the poems will add information: Example 1: "During the night there was the sound of wind and rain."

Example 2: "I open my eyes - it turned out to be like the smell of blood."

Of course, one would not read a poem in this order. In reading the lines taken as examples, one is always equipped with much of the knowledge that functions as "narrower context knowledge". But, still, when reading the whole poem (example 1), one might come to a pastoral interpretation: the description of a pleasant morning after a stormy night.

It is the extra-textual information from the specific biography of the author, Meng Haoran, that opens new vistas about the significance of being concerned about such "trifles" as how many blossoms fell. One asks what the poet's personal situation within society is, to have leisure to ponder such things. The deeper the understanding of the cultural, historical, political, and sociological background, the literary allusions, topoi, etc., i.e. the more profound the acquisition of "cultural competence" on the side of the (Western) receptor is, the better the referentiality of the text will be perceived, and the better the way is paved for an adequate evaluation in the intercultural reception process. At the same time, the motivation of why a poem was verbalized in the existing way (against such a specified cultural background), indications of authenticity, coherence, and textual credibility will become clearer and become based on firmer grounds. This epistemological process on the part of the receptor discloses the way in which the "discursive network" around Meng Haoran and his individual "discourse" on the topic of the poem is "densified" into a verbalized form ("discourse densification"), and finally handed down to us.

In example 2, the first verse "I believe firmly, I stare in one direction" only makes more sense, when supplemented by the sarcastic counterpart. The poem begins with an ascertainment about the standpoint of the poet and the consequences therein, how to look at the world, and ends with a sort of self-betrayal: in order to maintain the poet's standpoint, he has to fix his eyes on what he sees. The poem describes three examples of the visualized world which offer insights as "objectively" perceived things turn out to be metaphoric demonic abysses: Again extra-textual knowledge about the situation of the poet, Gu Cheng, and about the tragedies history had shown to him and his contemporaries will lead to the final pessimistic interpretation of this poem: the temptation of self-deception in a society, in which references change in an existential dimension according to the communication partner and situation. A leading "discourse" in Chinese society in the 1980s (e.g. as manifested in "wounded literature" or "obscure poetry") became "densified" through concrete verbalization: the poem in example 2. If a receptor of another culture wants to penetrate this discourse he can analyse poems like this one: not as isolated texts but within the narrower and wider contexts.

#### IV. Conclusion

The reception of (literary) texts fractured by intercultural communication only leads to a better understanding of the text's referentiality when the text stands not only by itself but is instead considered and interpreted as a selectively verbalized surface of its own textuality, whose dimensions can only be traced when taking as much context-knowledge into consideration as possible. To attribute such an importance to context knowledge is, of course, nothing new. But an epistemological approach to a text, such as a "densified discourse" should lead to the elaboration of more differentiated methodological means to receive and interpret texts of a culture such as the Chinese one, being farther away from the Western audience as the quick publishing of translations in the West in recent years might suggest. When receiving a text based on a methodological concept of "textuality and referentiality", the sensibility of its multi-levelled structure for all kinds of information will be raised. A higher sensibility and perceptiveness is so necessary in a world where machines begin the translation work and where at the same time people can mean quite opposite things while sharing the same terminology. Strategies for making references of utterances, texts and entire discourses more congruent have to be developed. Translatology, text linguistics, cultural semiotics must provide their achievements. Comparative literary studies and single disciplines like sinology must open their methodological spectrum for what more theoretical disciplines have to offer. This helps philologies in theoretization and the theoretical disciplines to providing concrete examples from cultures which lose their "exoticism" and are becoming integrated in a "world culture" with all its valuable and - then - understandable variants.

##### Appendix:

Chinese versions of two poems quoted:

Meng Haoran: *Chun xiao*

春眠不觉晓，

处处闻啼鸟，

夜来风雨声，

花落知多少。

Gu Cheng: *Zha yen*

在那错误的年代里，我产生了这样的“错觉”。

我坚信，

我目不转睛。

彩虹，  
在喷泉中游动，  
温柔地顾盼行人，  
我一眨眼 ——  
就变成了一团蛇影。

时钟，  
在教堂里栖息，  
沉静地啗着时辰，  
我一眨眼 ——  
就变成了一口深井。

红花，  
在银幕上绽开，  
兴奋地迎接春风，  
我一眨眼 ——  
就变成了一片血腥。

为了坚信，  
我双目圆睁。

1. 快一点儿
2. 花落知多少
3. 为了坚信，我双目圆睁
4. 孟浩然
5. 春晓
6. 顾城
7. 眨眼

## A STATISTICAL INVESTIGATION OF METAPHORICAL MODELS IN A POLYNESIAN LANGUAGE \*

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The study concentrates upon the analysis of metaphorical expression in the Maori lexicon. There are just a few preferred basic metaphorical models employed for the expansion of Maori vocabulary and these models reflect the culture or "philosophy" of the people. This is what makes so many lexical metaphors easy to understand and interpret.

The classification of the metaphors is based upon conceptual criteria.

Metaphor has been a favourite subject of many linguistic, literary, and psychological investigation of the last decades. A mass of diverse data has been collected and examined and we are not suffering from a shortage of theoretical reflections and speculations, either. As far as the latter are concerned, it is certainly G. Lakoff and M. Johnson who deserve special credit for their attempt to divert the scholars' from their tendency to study metaphors as isolated, even if frequent occurrences in everyday speech or poetry. The two authors have underlined the systematicity of metaphors and, what is likewise very important, they have paid a good deal of attention just to metaphors in everyday speech and to so-called lexical metaphors (Lakoff - Johnson 1980).

The question of metaphor is sometimes restricted to "live" metaphors, i.e. metaphors that are still felt to be creatively individual and lacking unambiguous interpretations typical for conventionalized metaphors. However, the semantic mechanism of metaphor is present even in "dead" metaphors that are no less interesting than live metaphors, at least from the cognitive point of view.

Lexical metaphors no doubt differ from those used in poetry, at least at the functional level. Their aim is (unlike that of metaphors in poetry or slang) mostly practical, to extend the expressive possibilities of the language. Therefore they are valued for being transparent, accessible, and easy to understand, but not for their individual originality. In this respect they are clearly opposed to poetic metaphors.

This study concentrates upon the analysis of the metaphorical content of the whole Maori vocabulary. Methodologically this paper continues ideas explained in three of my recent articles (Krupa 1986, 1987, 1989). Metaphor may be defined here as a transfer from the conceptual domain of the vehicle into that of the topic (Richards 1936); these two terms are viewed as a metaphor's basic structural components, and their mutual relationships are the actual subject of the present examination. I have focused upon semantic processes taking place during metaphorization and my content analysis of Maori lexical metaphors is based on the distinction of a set of conceptual

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domains organized as an anthropomorphic scale. Adherence to the practical aim of lexical metaphors leads to a hypothesis (formulated after a preliminary study of the problem in Maori and Malay) that there are but a few preferred basic metaphorical models employed in the vocabulary extension of Maori (and of any other language) and that these models reflect the culture or "philosophy" of the people, which makes many lexical metaphors easy to understand and interpret.

The relevant lexical data have been extracted from H.W. Williams' dictionary of Maori (Williams 1957). Altogether more than 500 metaphorical lexemes have been identified in this dictionary, and although I have tried to discover as many metaphorical lexemes as possible, I do not think this is an exhaustive list. The initial assumption was that it is the position of the particular conceptual domain upon the anthropocentric scale that is responsible for the degree of utilization of that domain in the metaphorical extension of the vocabulary. This assumption has been corroborated as correct, but only to a certain extent.

The procedure chosen here consists of identifying the conceptual domain of the metaphorical vehicle and linking it with its tenor. The amassed data are organized in terms of a modified anthropocentric scale (cf. Krupa 1989) as comprising the following basic conceptual domains: /1/ H, Human; /2/ A, Animal; /3/ V, Vegetation; /4/ E, Natural Elements, i.e. Active Natural Phenomena; /5/ N, Natural Phenomena, Objects and States; /6/ P, Human Artefacts; /7/ F, Physical Features; /8/ S, Space; and /9/ A, Abstractions.

To be sure, primary processing of the lexical data requires a subtler and more detailed conceptual articulation which is instrumental in looking for significant correlations between sets of data within the corpus. This procedure is pursued in the first phase of my work. However, in the second part of the study the classification criteria have been reshuffled in an attempt to arrive at a more useful and suitable classification. The corpus of lexical data arranged along the anthropocentric scale is given below. The domain of H is further subdivided into Human Anatomy, Vital Functions, Perception (several types), Concrete Activity, Social Sphere, Social Activities, Psychic Sphere, Religion and Ritual; the domain of A includes Animal Anatomy and Fauna; the domain of V is subdivided into Plant Anatomy and Flora; the remaining domains were explained above.

#### A List of Maori Lexical Metaphors

##### H:HUMAN ANATOMY > H:HUMAN ANATOMY : 3

*koopuu* (belly) calf of the leg, *takapuu* (belly) calf of the leg, *waha* (mouth) pudenda muliebra

##### H:HUMAN ANATOMY > H:SOCIAL SPHERE : 12

*arero whero* (*arero* tongue, *whero* red) the fighting men of a tribe, *hope* (loins, waist) main body of an army, *ika toto nui* (*ika* fish, *toto* blood, *nui* great, big, many) a chief of high birth, *iwi* (bone) nation, people, *te koiti o rangapu* (*koiti* little finger, *rangapu* company) small valiant band, *koromatua* (thumb, big toe, penis) chief, *kootore* (lower end, tail, anus) younger brother, *ringa whero* (*ringa* hand, *whero* red) chief, *he waewae tiwhera* (*waewae* feet, legs, *tiwhera* spread) a person related to two tribes, *tuaraa* (back) ally, support, *tumuaki* (crown of the head) head, president, *uru* (head) chief

#### H:HUMAN ANATOMY > H:SOCIAL ACTIVITY : 4

*ene* (anus) to flatter, cajole, *eneene* (anus) to endeavour to obtain by flattery, coaxing, etc., *ngutu tere* (*ngutu* mouth, *tere* swift) false, untrustworthy talk, gossip, *whakanihoniho* (*niho* teeth) to quarrel

#### H:HUMAN ANATOMY > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE : 20

*aro* (bowels, front) desire, inclination, mind, seat of feelings, to favour, be inclined, *aroaro rua* (*aro* front, *rua* two) vacillating, *ate* (liver) the seat of affections, heart, spirit, high feeling, *hinengaro* (spleen) seat of thoughts and emotions, heart, desire, *te koiti o rangapu* (*koiti* little finger, *rangapu* company) forlorn hope, *mahara* (spleen) thought, memory, recollection, to think about, remember, be anxious, *manawa* (belly, bowels) heart, breath, patience, mind, spirit, *mata piko* (*mata* eye, face, *piko* crooked) stingy, *mata poorehu* (*mata* id., *poorehu* dim, misty) sadness, *mata rehu* (id., id.) sadness, *mauri* (thymus) life principle, source of the emotions, *nihoniho* (*niho* teeth) antagonistic, quarrelsome, *ngaakau* (vitals, viscera) heart, seat of affections, inclination, desire, spirit, *puku* (abdomen, stomach, entrails) seat of passions, affections, memory, appetite, desire, *rekanga kanohi* (*reka* sweet, palatable, *kanohi* eye) a dream, *uaua* (sinew) firmness, resolution, strenuous, vigorous, pertinacious, difficult, *ure* (membrum virile) courage, *whanewhane* (liver) choleric, irascible, *whatumanawa* (kidney), seat of affections, *wheua* (*wheua* bone) difficult

#### H:HUMAN ANATOMY > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 4

*io rangi* (*io* sinew, strand of a rope, lock of hair, *rangi* heaven, sky) emblem of an *atua* carried by the priest in the van of an army, *kauae raro* (*kauae* jaw, chin, *raro* lower, below) lore of terrestrial things, *kauae runga* (id., *runga* upper, above) lore of celestial things, *mauri* (thymus) talisman protecting vitality, mana, etc.

#### H:HUMAN ANATOMY > A:FAUNA: 3

*ihu moana* (*ihu* nose, *moana* ocean) Portuguese man of war, *maikuku kaarewarewa* (*maikuku* nail, *kaarewarewa* *Falco novaeseelandiae*) a shellfish, *maikuku moa* (id., *moa* *Dinornis*) ferns

#### H:HUMAN ANATOMY > V:PLANT ANATOMY: 3

*kongutu* (mouth) stalk end of a gourd, *nihoniho* (*niho* tooth) young shoots, buds, *puukanohi* (eye) knot in timber, bud or eye of a potato

#### H:HUMAN ANATOMY > E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON: 5

*mauri* (thymus) the moon on the 29th day, *pewa* (eyebrow) new moon, anything bow-shaped, *Ka hura te mata o te tai* (*hura* to uncover, expose, *mata* face, *tai* sea) the tide has begun to flow, *Ka ara te uupoko o te tai* (*ara* to rise, *uupoko* head, *tai* id.) the tide has begun to flow, *Ka paa te uupoko o te tai* (*paa* to reach, id., id.) the tide is at its highest

#### H:HUMAN ANATOMY > N:NATURAL PHENOMENON: 3

*io rangi* (*io* sinew, muscle, nerve, strand of a rope, lock of hair, shred, *rangi* heaven, sky) mare's tails, light clouds, cirri, *kiko o te rangi* (*kiko* flesh, *rangi* sky) deep-blue sky, *whatumanawa* (kidney) bowels of the earth

#### H:HUMAN ANATOMY > N:NATURAL OBJECT: 7

*aro maunga* (*aro* front, face, *maunga* mountain) mountain face, *ika wheua* (*ika* fish, *wheua* bone, to be firm) main range of hills, *kongutu* (mouth) mouth of a river, *kootore*

(lower end, tail, anus) outlet of a lake, *mata* (face, eye) surface, point, headland, *puukanohi* (eye) an isolated waterhole, *rae* (forehead, temple) promontory, headland, front edge

H:HUMAN ANATOMY > P:ARTEFACT: 7

*aahei* (collar-bone) snare spread between trees for birds, *ihu* (nose) bow of a canoe, *kaokao* (ribs, side of the body) side of a canoe, etc., *mata* (face, eye) mesh of a net, *ngutu* (lip, beak) rim of a vessel, mouthpiece, *pae manu* (collar-bone) thwart of a canoe, *reo irirangi* (*reo* voice, *irirangi* spirit-voice) radio

H:HUMAN ANATOMY > S:SPACE: 4

*ewe* (placenta, afterbirth, womb) land of one's birth, *kaupane* (head) upper end, *ngutu* (lip, beak) entrance, *toi* (tip, point, summit) top

H:HUMAN ANATOMY > A:TIME: 2

*tua* (back) the time past, the future, *tua o rangi* (*tua* back, *rangi* sky, day) distant time, past or future

H:HUMAN ANATOMY > A:ABSTRACTION: 4

*kauae raro* (*kauae* jaw, chin, *raro* lower, down) lore of terrestrial things, *kauae runga* (id., *runga* upper, above) lore of celestial things, *niho* (tooth, thorn) effective force, *toi* (tip, point, summit) origin

H:VITAL FUNCTION > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 1

*kai rangi* (*kai* to eat, food, *rangi* sky) exalted chief, any thing held in estimation

H:VITAL FUNCTION > H:SOCIAL ACTIVITY: 3

*kai riri* (id., *riri* anger, to be angry) to find fault with, quarrel, oppose, *kai tamahine* (id., *tamahine* daughter) to seek in marriage, obtain a young woman as a wife, *tunutunu* (to roast, boil) faint-hearted, afraid

H:VITAL FUNCTION > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 4

*kai hewa* (*kai* to eat, food, *hewa* mistake) under delusion, to sleep uneasily, *kai taua* (*kai* id., *taua* army) warlike, army-destroying, *mate* (dead, extinguished) overcome with any emotion, deeply in love, *panapana* (to throb) strong emotion

H:VITAL FUNCTION > V:FLORA: 10

*tutae atua* (*tutae* dung, *atua* god) puff-ball fungi, *tutae ika moana* (id., *ika moana* whale) New Zealand spinach, *tutae kaahu* (id., *kaahu* a bird) a plant, *tutae kehua* (id., *kehua* ghost) a net-like fungus, *tutae kereruu* (id., *kereruu* pigeon) a climbing plant, *tutae kiore* (id., *kiore* rat) a plant, *tutae kurii* (id., *kurii* dog) a grass, *tutae manu* (id., *manu* bird) an inferior variety of flax, *tutae tara* (id., *tara* tern) an opprobrium, *tutae whatitiri* (id., *whatitiri* lightning) a net-like fungus

H:VITAL FUNCTION > E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON: 2

*kai waka* (*kai* to eat, food, *waka* canoe, boat) threatening clouds on the horizon, *newha* (to close the eyes when drowsy, doze) to set, of the sun

H:VITAL FUNCTION > N:NATURAL OBJECT: 1

*kai rangi* (*kai* to eat, food, *rangi* sky) rainbow

H:VITAL FUNCTION > A:ABSTRACTION: 1

*mate* (dead, extinguished) defect, calamity

H:TACTILE PERCEPTION > H:ACOUSTIC PERCEPTION: 1

*haarau* (to feel with the hand, grope for, nibble, touch lightly) to be heard vaguely

H:TACTILE PERCEPTION > H:CONCRETE ACTIVITY: 1

*haumiri* (to stroke affectionately, hug) to sail along the shore

H:TACTILE PERCEPTION > H:SOCIAL ACTIVITY: 1

*haarau* (to feel with the hand, grope for, nibble, touch lightly) to win or obtain by chance

H:TACTILE PERCEPTION > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 3

*huuiki* (pinched with cold) crouching in fear, *patete* (to itch, tickle) to importune, irritate, *paawera* (hot sore, tender to the touch) stirred, affected

H:TACTILE PERCEPTION > F:PHYSICAL FEATURE: 1

*huuiki* (pinched with cold) exhausted by frequent cultivation

H:VISUAL PERCEPTION > H:TACTILE PERCEPTION: 1

*nanamu* (to flash, glitter) to sting, irritate

H:OLFACTORY PERCEPTION > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 1

*kona* (savour, smell) affection

H:CONCRETE ACTIVITY > H:VITAL FUNCTION: 3

*aewa* (to wander, go round about) dizziness, sickly, unhealthy, *marere* (to drop) to die, *(oni)oni* (to move) to copulate

H:CONCRETE ACTIVITY > H:VISUAL PERCEPTION: 2

*karipi* (to cut, flash) to glance, *kaaripiripi* (id.) to glance restlessly from side to side

H:CONCRETE ACTIVITY > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 1

*para huuhare* (spittle, scraps of food adhering to the lips) remnants of a tribe of whom rest have been eaten

H:CONCRETE ACTIVITY > H:SOCIAL ACTIVITY: 23

*aamiki* (to gather without omitting any, make a clean sweep) to tell the story without omitting any particular, *aranga* (to rise to the surface, appear) to become famous, known, *aruaru* (to chase) to woo a woman, *hao* (to draw a net around, catch in a net) to capture a fortress, *hii* (to raise, draw up, catch with a hook and line) to lead a song, *hikohiko* (to flash repeatedly, twinkle, move from one thing to another) to recite genealogy indicating principal names on line and omitting others, *huhu* (to strip off an outer covering) to free from *tapu*, *kake* (to ascend, climb upon, over, beat to windward in sailing), to be superior, overcome, *koopepe* (to pluck) to marry a very young girl, *maakahi* (to split, cleave) to talk volubly, irresponsibly, *mururu* (to wipe, rub off) to forgive, *ngaki* (to clear off weeds or brushwood) to avenge, *ngau tuaraa* (*ngau* to bite, *tuaraa* back) to defame, backbite, *oro* (to sharpen on a stone, grind) to defame, backbite, *paawhera* (to open) to violate a woman, *takahi* (to trample, stamp, tread) to disobey, violate, plunder, ravish a woman, *tunutunu maakai(kai)* (to keep eating portions of food while it is cooking) to make frequent raids on an enemy's country to obtain fresh meat, *wani* (to scrape, comb) to defame, speak harshly of, *whakawiri* (to twist, wring) to ill-treat, *whana* (to recoil, spring back, kick, rush, charge) to revolt, rebel, *wharo* (to scrape) to abuse, scold, *whata* (to elevate, support) to bring into prominence, publish

H:CONCRETE ACTIVITY > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 20

*aa* (to drive) to urge, compel, *aupiki* (to ascend, steep, flowing rapidly) to be confronted with difficulties, *hae* (to slit, lacerate, tear, cut) to cherish envy, jealousy,

ill feeling, cause pain, fear, envy, dislike, *hiikaikai* (to move the feet to and fro, writhe) to be impatient, *kai hewa* (*kai* to eat, food, *hewa* mistake) under delusion, *kohara* (to split open, gleam, shine) to be enraptured, feel passion for, *konatu* (to stir, mix, twinge) yearning, affection, *koopana* (to push, incite, surge) to feel a desire, throb, *koorero raakau* (*koorero* to speak, *raakau* stick for memory) to think aloud, *kume rua* (*kume* to pull, stretch, drag away, *rua* two) perplexing, distracting, *mawherangi* (wandering) troubled in mind, *natu* (to scratch, stir up, mix, tear out) to show ill feeling, be vexed, angry, *ninihi* (steep, to move stealthily) to surprise, dizziness, timidity, *paahao* (to catch in a net) to acquire information stealthily, glean, *pupuri* (to hold in the hand, retain possession of) to keep in memory, *rika* (to writhe, toss oneself about) impatient, provoking, to nudge, confuse, *taamaui* (to fasten) to love ardently, to betroth, *tatuu* (to reach the bottom) to be at ease, be content, consent, agree, *tunu* (to toast, boil) to inspire with fear, *tunutunu* (*tunu* to roast, boil) faint-hearted, afraid, *ue* (to shake, push, shove) to disturb, incite, impel

#### H:CONCRETE ACTIVITY > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 9

*amorangi* (*amo* to carry, *rangi* sky) priest, leader, emblem of an *atua* carried by *tohunga* in the van of the army, *karo* (to parry, avoid a blow) a protective spell, *kopani* (to shut lid of a box or door) an incantation to blind the eyes of a pursuer, *papa* (box, chest etc.) medium of communication with an *atua*, *papa* (to place in layers) to recite genealogies, genealogical table in proper order, *taakiri* (to untie, loosen) to free from *tapu*, *poi* (to toss up and down) to bewitch, affect by occult means, *poro* (to cut short) to strike down by witchcraft

#### H:CONCRETE ACTIVITY > E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON: 2

*aho tuu* (*aho* radiant light, *tuu* to stand) moon on the 7th day, *whaatero* (to protrude) to shoot out as lightning flashing

#### H:CONCRETE ACTIVITY > N:NATURAL PHENOMENON: 4

*haapara* (to slit, cut) dawn, *huaki* (to open, uncover, rush upon, charge) to dawn, *hii* (to raise, draw up) to dawn, *ketu* (to remove earth) to clear away darkness, begin to ebb

#### H:CONCRETE ACTIVITY > A:ABSTRACTION: 2

*kotokoto* (to trickle, drop) small, of no account, *patu* (to strike, beat, thrash, subdue) to deny

#### H:SOCIAL SPHERE > H:HUMAN ANATOMY: 1

*tama ngarengare* (*tama* son, child, *ngarengare* to urge, tyrannous, overbearing) penis

#### H:SOCIAL SPHERE > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 4

*tama (tuu ki) roto* (*tama* son, child, *tuu* to stand, *roto* inside) emotion, desire, craving, strong feeling, *tautauwhea* (plebeian, of low origin) cowardly, inactive, *toa* (male) brave, victorious, rough, boisterous, *u(w)ha* (woman) calm, gentle

#### H:SOCIAL SPHERE > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 1

*tama a hara* (*tama* son, child, *hara* sin, offence) object of revenge

#### H:SOCIAL SPHERE > E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON: 4

*ariki mata nui* (*ariki* high chief, *mata* face, *nui* big) the moon on the 10th day, *ariki rangi* (*ariki* id., *rangi* sky) a star which marks the 6th month, *tai tamatane* (*tai* sea, *tamatane* virile) the sea on the west coast, *tai tamawahine* (*tai* id., *tamawahine* feminine) the sea on the east coast

H:SOCIAL SPHERE > N:NATURAL PHENOMENON: 1

*raa mokopuna* (*raa* day, *mokopuna* grandchild) a fine day in winter

H:SOCIAL SPHERE > H:NATURAL OBJECT: 1

*karawa* (dam, mother) bed in the garden

H:SOCIAL SPHERE > P:ARTEFACT: 1

*matua* (parent, father) hull or body of a canoe

H:SOCIAL SPHERE > A:ABSTRACTION: 1

*matua* (parent, father) main, chief, important

H:RELIGION AND RITUAL > H:VITAL FUNCTION: 1

*ika takoto a Tiki* (*ika* fish, *takoto* to lie down, *Tiki* god of creation) a corpse

H:RELIGION AND RITUAL > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 6

*ika a Whiro* (*ika* fish, *Whiro* a malevolent god) an old, tried warrior, *manu a Tane* (*manu* bird, *Tane* one of the main deities) man, *manu a Tiki* (*manu* id., *Tiki* god of creation) man, *taniwha* (a fabulous monster, shark) chief, prodigy, *tupua* (goblin, demon, object of terror) foreigner, strange, *tama a hara* (*tama* child, son, *hara* sin, offence) object of revenge

H:RELIGION AND RITUAL > A:FAUNA: 2

*maara o Tane* (*maara* plot of ground under cultivation, *Tane* one of the main deities, namely of forest) singing of birds together at dawn and dusk, *wairua atua* (*wairua* shadow, spirit, *atua* god) butterfly

H:RELIGION AND RITUAL > V:FLORA: 2

*tutae atua* (*tutae* dung, *atua* god) puff-ball fungi, *tutae keehua* (*tutae* id., *keehua* ghost) a net-like fungus

H:RELIGION AND RITUAL > N:NATURAL PHENOMENON: 1

*Tuahiwi o Ranginui* (*tuahiwi* hill, *Ranginui* Great Heaven) the Milky Way

A:ANIMAL ANATOMY > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 6

*angaanga* (head) elder, chief, *hiku* (tail) rear of an army on march, company of travellers, *hiku toto* (*hiku* id., *toto* blood) expedition to avenge murder, *mata kiirea* (end feathers of wings of a bird) scouts, advance guard, *rei* (tusk, large tooth, ivory) cherished possession, *weu* (a tuft of hair, feather) chief

A:ANIMAL ANATOMY > H:SOCIAL ACTIVITY: 1

*ngutu tere* (*ngutu* lip, beak, *tere* swift) false, untrustworthy talk, gossip

A:ANIMAL ANATOMY > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 1

*wanawana* (spines, bristles) fear, thrill, fearsome, awe-inspiring, to quiver, shiver, trill

A:ANIMAL ANATOMY > V:FLORA: 1

*hawa* (gills of a fish) lichen

A:ANIMAL ANATOMY > E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON: 4

*hiku wai* (*hiku* tail of a fish or reptile, *wai* water) source of a stream, light early rains, *toohua* (yolk) full moon, *unahi o takero* (*unahi* scales, *takero* a fish) shooting stars, *unahi roa* (*unahi* id., *roa* long) ignis fatuus, comet

A:ANIMAL ANATOMY > N:NATURAL OBJECT: 1

*hiku* (tail of a fish or reptile) tip of a leaf, headwaters of a river

A:ANIMAL ANATOMY > P:ARTEFACT: 1

*hiku* (tail of a fish or reptile) eaves of a house

A:ANIMAL ANATOMY > A:TIME: 1

*hiku tau* (*hiku* tail, *tau* year, season) end of a season

A:ANIMAL ANATOMY > A:ABSTRACTION: 1

*hua* (egg, roe) abundance, number

A:FAUNA > H:HUMAN ANATOMY: 2

*kina* (sea-urchin, sea-egg) stomach distended with food, *toke* (earth worm) uvula

A:FAUNA > H:VITAL FUNCTION (?): 1

*ika takoto a Tiki* (*ika* fish, *takoto* to lie down, *Tiki* god of creation) a corpse

A:FAUNA > H:VISUAL PERCEPTION: 3

*whakakiwi* (kiwi Apteryx) to glance sideways, *whakanaonao* (*naonao* midge, small moth) to appear like a speck in the distance, *whakanamunamu* (*namu* sandfly) to appear like a speck in the distance

A:FAUNA > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 31

*haku* (kingfish, *Serida grandis*) chief, *huuia* (*Heteralocha acutirostris*, a rare bird, the tail feathers of which are prized as ornaments, its feathers) anything much prized, *ika* (fish) prized possession, fighting man, warrior, victim, *ika a Whiro* (*ika* id., *Whiro* god of evil, darkness) old, tried warrior, *ika toto nui* (*ika* id., *toto* blood, *nui* great) a chief of high birth, *kaaeaea* (bushhawk) fool, *kaakahi* (a whale, large porpoise) chief, *kaahu* (hawk, harrier) chief, *kaurehe* (*Sphenodon punctatum*) monster, stunted, puny, a term of derision, *kawau puu* (*Phalacrocorax carbo*) chief, *kekeno* (sea-lion) chief, *kiore* (rat, mouse) scout, *koohanga* (nest) birthplace, fort, *kahu koorako* (an old hawk with light plumage) chief, *kootare* (kingfisher) beggar, sponge, *manu* (bird) person held in high esteem, *manu kura* (*manu* id., *kura* something precious) chief, leader in council, *manu taupua* (*manu* id., *taupua* to lie in wait, affording rest) chief, *manu taupunga* (*manu* id., *taupunga* decoy) chief, *manu tiioriori* (*manu* id., *tiioriori* kite, decoy bird) brave warrior, *moho* (*Notornis hochstetteri*, a bird) blockhead, stupid, *muri manu* (*muri* the rear, the hind part, the sequel, *manu* bird) inferior or secondary wife, *ngohi* (fish) victim, person slain in battle, *pae wai* (a species of eel) person of importance, *paraaoa* (sperm whale) chief, well-born, aristocratic, *piipii* (*pui* young, of birds) the young fighting men of an army, *pookai tara* (*pookai* swarm, flock, *tara* tern) band of warriors, *poorohe* (a large species of mussel) chief, *taahuna a tara* (*taahuna* shoal, sandbank, *tara* tern) an assemblage of chiefs, *takupu* (*Morrus serrator*, gannet) chief, *taniwha* (a fabulous monster, shark) chief, prodigy

A:FAUNA > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 3

*huurangi* (fly) unsettled, *kaaeaea* (bush hawk) to look rapaciously, wander, as the eyes, *whakarihariha* (*riha* nit, bad) disgusting, disgusted, annoyed

A:FAUNA > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 10

*ika nui* (*ika* fish, *nui* great) a god, *Te Ika a Maui* (*ika* id., *Maui* a mythical hero) North Island of New Zealand, *ika paremo* (*ika* id., *paremo* to drown) a victim slain to propitiate the god of the ocean, *manu a Tane* (*manu* bird, *Tane* one of the main deities) man, *manu a Tiki* (*manu* id., *Tiki* god of creation) man, *nguu* (sepia, squid) a person unable to swim, ghost, silent, dumb, speechless, *ika iri* (*ika* fish, *iri* a spell to attract someone) object of a love charm, *ika purapura* (*ika* id., *purapura* seed) human victim buried during erection of a house

A:FAUNA > V:FLORA: 8

*maikuku moa* (*maikuku* nail, *moa* Dinornis) ferns, *tutae ika moana* (*tutae* dung, *ika moana* whale) New Zealand spinach, *tutae kaahu* (*tutae* id., *kaahu* a bird) a plant, *tutae tara* (*tutae* id., *tara* tern) an opprobrium, *tutae kereruu* (*tutae* id., *kereruu* pigeon) a climbing plant, *tutae kiore* (*tutae* id., *kiore* rat, mouse) a plant, *tutae kurii* (*tutae* id., *kurii* dog) a grass, *tutae manu* (*tutae* id., *manu* bird) an inferior variety of flax

A:FAUNA > E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON: 6

*Ika wheua o te Rangi* (*ika* fish, *wheua* bone, *rangi* sky) Milky Way, *Te Ika o te Rangi* (id.) Milky Way, *Ika Roa* (*ika* id., *roa* long) Milky Way, *manu waero rua* (*manu* bird, *waero* tail, *rua* two) violent wind, *unahi o takero* (*unahi* scales, *takero* a fish) shooting stars, *Te Whai a Tiitipa* (*whai* sting-ray, *Tiitipa* a name) the Coal-Sack

A:FAUNA > N:NATURAL OBJECT: 1

*ika wheua* (*ika* fish, *wheua* bone) main range of hills

A:FAUNA > P:ARTEFACT: 3

*kaahu* (hawk, harrier) kite for flying, *kina* (sea-urchin, sea-egg) a globular calabash, *kiore* (rat, mouse) a pattern in carving

A:FAUNA > F:PHYSICAL FEATURE: 4

*kanae* (grey mullet) to stare wildly, *whakanaonao* (*naonao* midge, small moth) to appear like a speck in the distance, *whakanamunamu* (*namu* sandfly) to appear like a speck in the distance, *tukuperu* (*Gobicephala melanea*, blackfish, a black mussel) of uninviting appearance

A:FAUNA > S:SPACE: 1

*Te Ika a Maui* (*ika* fish, *Maui*, a mythic hero) North Island

V:PLANT ANATOMY > H:HUMAN ANATOMY: 4

*karihi* (stone of a fruit, kernel) testes, *puaawai* (flower) grey hair, *tara* (point, spike, thorn) membrum virile, *uho* (heart of a tree) umbilical cord

V:PLANT ANATOMY > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 10

*hua* (fruit) progeny, *kore kaupekapeka* (*kore* no, not, without, *kaupekapeka* branch) a person without children, *kaawai* (shoot, branch of a creeping plant) pedigree, lineage, *mahurangi* (flesh of a *kumara*) used to denote importance; applied to persons, food, etc., *mihe* (young fronds of fern) distant descendant, *parito* (centre shoot or heart of endogenous plants) offspring, *peka* (branch, faggot, fernroot) chief, *puutake* (base, root) ancestor, *take* (root) chief, head of a *hapu* or *iwi*, *tee* (young shoot) chief

V:PLANT ANATOMY > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 1

*tara* (spike, thorn) courage, mettle, to disturb

V:PLANT ANATOMY > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 1

*ika purapura* (*ika* fish, *purapura* seed) human victim buried during erection of a house

V:PLANT ANATOMY > A:ANIMAL ANATOMY: 2

*kaawai* (shoot, branch of a creeping plant) tentaculae of a cuttle-fish, *whaa* (leaf) feather

V:PLANT ANATOMY > E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON: 4

*hua* (fruit) to be full, of moon, wax, *koouru o te matangi* (*koouru* top of a tree, *matangi* wind) first puff of a breeze, *tara* (spike, thorn) horn of the moon, rays of the sun, shafts of light, to wane, shoot out rays, *wana* (to bud, shoot) ray of the sun



V:PLANT ANATOMY > N:NATURAL OBJECT: 5

*kaapeka* (branch of a tree) branch of a river, *manga* (branch of a tree) branch of a river, brook, rivulet, watercourse, ditch, *more* (tap-root) extremity, promontory, *taauru* (top of a tree) head or source of a stream, *take* (root, stump) base of a hill

V:PLANT ANATOMY > P:ARTEFACT: 6

*kakau* (stalk of a plant) handle of a tool, *kaawai* (shoot, branch of a creeping plant) loops or handles of a kete, strand in plaiting, *manga* (branch of a tree) snare, *niho* (thorn) edge of a tool/weapon, *rau* (leaf) blade of a weapon, plume, *tee* (young shoot) figurehead of a canoe

V:PLANT ANATOMY > F:PHYSICAL FEATURE: 1

*more* (tap-root) bare, plain, toothless, blunt

V:PLANT ANATOMY > A:ABSTRACTION: 5

*more* (tap-root) cause, *niho* (thorn, tooth) effective force, *puu* (root) origin, source, cause, centre, *puutake* (root) reason, cause, *take* (root, stump) cause, reason, means, origin, beginning

V:FLORA > H:HUMAN ANATOMY: 1

*harore* (an edible fungus growing on decayed timber) shell of the ear

V:FLORA > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 2

*kahika* (*Podocarpus excelsus*, white pine) chief, *tooi* (*Cordyline*) warrior

V:FLORA > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 1

*tumatakuru* (a thorny shrub, spear-grass) to show consternation, be apprehensive

V:FLORA > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 1

*kiokio* (a fern, palm lily) lines in tattooing

V:FLORA > E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON: 1

*kiokio* (a fern, palm lily) the moon on the 26th day

E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON > H:VITAL FUNCTION: 3

*roku* (to wane, of the moon) to grow weak, decline, *taawhati* (to ebb) to die, *tore* (to burn) to be erect, inflamed

E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON > H:CONCRETE ACTIVITY: 1

*kare* (ripple) lash of a whip

E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 9

*aho rangi* (*aho* radiant light, *rangi* sky) teacher of high standing in the school of learning, *amo kapua* (*amo* to carry, *kapua* cloud) chief, leader, priest, *kootonga* (cold south wind) misery, *marau* (meteor, comet) raiding party, *numu* (baffling, boisterous wind) valiant warrior, *pakiwaru* (settled fine weather) person of high birth, *ahi paaraweranui* (widespread fire) war, *poko* (to go out, be extinguished) to be beaten, defeated, *rangi* (heaven, upper regions, sky) head, chief

E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 21

*amai* (swell on the sea) giddy, dizzy, *aamaimai* (id.) nervous, *whakakaa* (*kaa* to burn, take fire) to incite, inflame, *ahi kauri* (soot from kauri gum for tattooing) hatred, *ahi tere* (*ahi* fire, *tere* swift) causing discord, *auheke* (surf) giving in to difficulties, climbing down, *aawangawanga* (*awanga* SW wind) uneasy in mind, disturbed, undecided, distress, *huene* (swell of the sea) to desire, *kare* (ripple) object of passionate affection, to long for, desire ardently, *kakare* (*kare* id.) agitated, stirred, emotion,

agitation, *karekare* (surf, waves) agitated, disturbed, eager, *kooheingi(hengi)* (breeze, light wind) yearning, feeling for absent friend, *komingo* (to swirl, eddy) to be disturbed, be in a whirl, agitate, *koomingomingo* (whirlpool) to be violently agitated, *maapuna* (to well up, ripple, sway, undulate, form a pool) to grieve, sigh, *whakamaapuna* (to float) to be at a loss, be in doubt, *nawe* (to be set on fire) to be kindled or excited, of feelings, *paahunu* (fire, to burn) anxiety, apprehension, *paoa* (smoke, gall) bitterness, of feelings, *tai* (sea) anger, rage, violence, *toretore* (rough sea) rough, bad, unpleasant

E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 3

*amorangi* (*amo* to carry, *rangi* heaven, sky) emblem of an *atua* carried by *tohunga* in van of army, *hau* (wind, air, moisture, dew) vital essence of man, of land, etc., *tai whawhati rua* (*tai* sea, *whawhati* to be broken, *rua* two) error in reciting a spell

E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON > A:FAUNA: 2

*ihu moana* (*ihu* nose, *moana* ocean) Portuguese man of war, *kahukura* (rainbow) butterfly

E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON > E:ACTIVE NAT. PHENOMENON: 3

*aho roa* (*aho* radiant light, *roa* long, high) moon, bright moonlight, *aho tuu* (*aho* id., *tuu* to stand) moon on the 7th day, *aaio* (calm, at peace) moon on the 3rd day

E:ACTIVE PHENOMENON > P:ARTEFACT: 2

*kahukura* (rainbow) garment, *amorangi* (*amo* to carry, *rangi* heaven, sky) litter for persons of high rank, horse formed by securing a horizontal pole to two posts and used to raise heavy timbers

E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON > A:TIME: 2

*ahi maru* (*ahi* fire, *maru* shadow, shelter, glow in the heaven) the 2nd month of spring, *ahi nui* (*ahi* id., *nui* great, big) the 3rd month of spring

N:NATURAL PHENOMENON > H:VITAL FUNCTION: 2

*hukihuki* (to flesh) convulsive twitching or contraction of the nerves or muscles, spasm, *tatau o te poo* (*tatau* sliding slab, shutter, door, *poo* night, nether world) death

N:NATURAL PHENOMENON > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 2

*kaweka* (ridge of a hill) indirect line of descent, *taumata okiokinga* (*taumata* resting place on a hill, *okiokinga* resting) a great chief

N:NATURAL PHENOMENON > H:SOCIAL ACTIVITY: 2

*pari kaarangaranga* (echoing cliff) uncertain, deceptive talk, *riri takurua* (*riri* quarrel, *takurua* winter) a quarrel of no magnitude

N:NATURAL PHENOMENON > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 10

*huka* (foam, froth, frost, snow, cold) trouble, agitation, *hukihuki* (*huki* to flash) affectionate yearning, *ii* (to ferment, turn sour) to be stirred, of the feelings, *koorehu* (haze, mist, fog) regret, disappointment, *maruapoo* (*maru* shadow, shelter, *poo* night dream), *muri* (breeze) to sigh, grieve, *whakapoo* (to darken) to grieve, *pouri* (dark) sorrowful, sad, distressed, *taehurihuri* (to rock, as a canoe at sea) to be perturbed, distressed, *rangi* (heaven, sky) seat of affections, heart

N:NATURAL PHENOMENON > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 2

*poo* (night) place of departed spirits, *wairua* (shadow, unsubstantial image) spirit

N:NATURAL PHENOMENON > P:ARTEFACT: 1

*whakamarama* (*marama* moon) crescent-shaped top of a *ko*

N:NATURAL PHENOMENON > A:TIME: 1

*tua o rangi* (*tua* behind, back, *rangi* sky, day) distant time, past or future

N:NATURAL PHENOMENON > A:ABSTRACTION: 2

*koorero takurua* (*koorero* to talk, a narrative, *takurua* winter) romance, story without weight of authority, *pii* (source, headwater) origin

N:NATURAL OBJECT > H:HUMAN ANATOMY: 2

*whatu* (stone, hailstone) pupil of the eye, eye, core of a boil, *whenua* (land, country, ground) placenta, afterbirth

N:NATURAL OBJECT > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 6

*hiwi* (ridge of a hill) line of descent, *kura* (red, glowing, red feathers, ornamented with feathers) precious, treasure, valued possession, darling, chief, man of prowess, knowledge of *karakia*, *maataarae* (headland, promontory, spur of a hill) person of importance, *tatau pounamu* (*tatau* door, *pounamu* greenstone, jade) enduring peace, *tongarewa* (greenstone) darling, treasure, precious, *tuumuu whakarae* (*tuumuu* promontory, headland, *whakarae* prominent) chief

N:NATURAL OBJECT > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 2

*awe* (soot, cloud) strength, power influence, *maakoha* (soft slaty rock) tranquil, undisturbed

N:NATURAL OBJECT > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 4

*awe* (soot, cloud) the human soul after death, *waro* (deep hole, pit, abyss) abode of the dead, *kura* (red, glowing) ceremonial restriction, *whatu* (stone) victim slain at the dedication of a house or a *pa*

N:NATURAL OBJECT > N:NATURAL PHENOMENON: 2

*awaawa* (valley) trough of the sea, *Tuahiwi o Ranginui* (*tuahiwi* hill, *ranginui* great heaven) the Milky Way

N:NATURAL STATE > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 12

*aaio* (calm, as sea) at peace, *ae* (calm) to assent, agree, yes, *aamaimai* (*amai* swell on the sea) nervous, *hinapouri* (very dark, darkness) very sad, sadness, *kiwakiwa* (black, dark) gloomy, sad, *kooihiihi* (reduced to splinters) to thrill with fear, *kooioio* (dried, hardened) obstinate, *maarama* (light, not dark, clear, transparent) easy to understand plain, *mata poorehu* (mistiness, obscurity) sadness, *mata rehu* (to see dimly, misty, dark) sadness, *tarakaka* (southwestern wind) fierce, boisterous, of sea, broken, rough, of country) unsettled, perplexed

N:NATURAL FEATURE > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 3

*kooihiihi* (reduced to splinters) to thrill with fear, *kiwakiwa* (black, dark) gloomy, sad, *kooioio* (dried, hardened) obstinate

P:ARTEFACT > H:HUMAN ANATOMY: 4

*kaha* (rope) navel string, *kete* (basket) womb, *taekari* (a digging tool) penis, *taukari* (id.) penis

P:ARTEFACT > H:VITAL FUNCTION: 1

*tatau to te poo* (*tatau* door, *poo* night, nether world) death

P:ARTEFACT > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 13

*aho* (string, line, woof) genealogy, line of descent, *arawhata* (ladder, bridge) chief, *kaha* (rope) line of ancestry, pile of an army, *kau ati* (the piece of wood to produce fire) chief, man of importance, *maakoi* (barbed point of a spear) pointed question, *maru* (shadow, shelter, shield) safeguard, power, authority, retinue, escort, company attended by escort, *pou* (post, pole) support, sustenance, teacher, expert, *pou whakapakoko* (a post with carved top) chief man of a tribe, *puna* (oven) wife, ancestor, *puurangi* (bag net, net) crowd, *puutoi* (to tie in a bunch, a bunch) tribe, family, *taahuhu* (a ridge-pole) direct line of ancestry, eldest son of the eldest branch of a family, *takere* (bottom, keel, main part of the hull of a canoe) chief man of a tribe, important part of anything

P:ARTEFACT > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 4

*kuku o te manawa* (*kuku* pincers, tweezers, *manawa* mind, spirit, heart) that which has a hold on the affections - fear, nightmare, colic, *mapihi* (an ornament) object of affection, *rore* (snare, trap, to ensnare) to deceive, deceitful, weary, intoxicated, *tokotuu* (mast of a canoe) to rise up, of feelings

P:ARTEFACT > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 5

*aho* (string, line, woof) medium for an *atua* in divination, *kau waka* (*kau* to swim, *waka* canoe) human medium of an *atua*, *kau whata* (stage or frame for fish, etc.) human medium of an *atua*, *kouka* (the part of latrine behind the beam) abyss, death, *papa* (box, chest, a vessel made for holding preserved birds) medium of communication with an *atua*

P:ARTEFACT > A:ANIMAL ANATOMY: 1

*hoe* (paddle, oar) side fins of a fish

P:ARTEFACT > E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON: 9

(*a*)*koro* (*koro* noose) moon on the 5th day, *Hao o Rua* (*hao* net, *Rua* a name) a constellation near Orion, *imu rangi* (*imu* earth oven, *rangi* heaven, sky) sun-dog, fragmentary rainbow, *kai waka* (*kai* to eat, *waka* canoe) threatening clouds on the horizon, *koro* (noose) bay, cove, *puukoro* (sheath, ease, pocket) halo, *puurangi* (bag net, bag) the Magellan Cloud, *te taatua o Kahu* (*taatua* girdle, *Kahu* a name) belt of clear sky near the horizon, *whare hau* (*whare* house, *hau* wind) a bank of clouds betokening wind

P:ARTEFACT > H:NATURAL PHENOMENON: 2

*haapara* (to slit, cut) dawn, *toko* (pole rod) ray of light

P:ARTEFACT > N:NATURAL OBJECT: 3

*kaha* (rope) ridge of a hill, *riu* (bilge of a canoe) valley, basin, *te taatua o Te Kaha* (*taatua* girdle, *Te Kaha* a name) red clouds at sunset

P:ARTEFACT > P:ARTEFACT: 1

*puu* (pipe, tube, flute) gun

F:PHYSICAL FEATURE > H:VITAL FUNCTION: 2

*maatao* (cold) infertility, *maataotao* (cool, cold) to die out

F:PHYSICAL FEATURE > H:OLFACTORY PERCEPTION: 1

*reka* (sweet, palatable) pleasant, agreeable

F:PHYSICAL FEATURE > H:TACTILE PERCEPTION: 1

*maakinakina* (prickly, rough) piercingly cold

F:PHYSICAL FEATURE > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 10

*hauhauaa* (*hauaa* crippled, lame) plebeian, *kura* (red, glowing, ornamented with feathers) treasure, valued possession, darling, chief, man of prowess, *marake* (bare, bald) exposed to view, public, *pakeke* (hard, stiff) grown up, adult, *puuwhero* (reddish) of high rank, important, *ringa whero* (*ringa* hand, *whero* red) chief, *tika* (straight, direct) just, fair, right, correct, *tiketike* (lofty, high) important, exalted, *whero* (red) chief, *whetowheto* (*wheto* small) insignificant, plebeian

F:PHYSICAL FEATURE > H:PSYCHIC SPHERE: 27

*anuanu* (anu cold) offensive, disgusting, disgusted, *aupiki* (steep, to ascend) to be confronted with difficulties, *hauaa* (crippled, lame) cowardly, without spirit, angry without cause, *hiamo* (to be elevated, like a *pa*) to be thrilled, excited, *kororiko* (black, dark) angry, lowering, *kooruru* (wrinkled, puckered, cloudy, overcast, shadow) apprehension, *mae* (withered) languid, listless, struck with astonishment, paralysed with fear, etc., *mata kaa* (red) wild, fearful, shy, *maataotao* (cool, cold) extinguished, of feelings and recollection, *mata piko* (*mata* eye, *piko* crooked, bent) stingy, *mawera* (reddish) uneasy in mind, *oreore* (to shake, quiver) alarmed, fidgety, *pakeke* (hard, stiff) difficult, obstinate, *paamaaroo* (hard, solid) steady, without hesitation, *papa maaroo* (hard) obstinate, *papipapi* (blind) bewildered, obstinate, *pohe* (withered, blind, dead) stupid, dull, *puuraurau* (covered with sharp points, bristling) bitter, offensive, *rapa* (to be entangled) awkward, unskilful, inexperienced, *reka* (sweet, palatable) pleasant, agreeable, *taimaha* (heavy) oppressed in body or mind, *taitea* (pale, white) fearful, timid, *tapou* (bowed down) dejected, downcast, *taratara* (spine, spike, prickly, rough, barbed) offensive, *toka* (firm, solid) satisfied, contented, *tuatea* (pale) distressed, anxious, *uraura* (*ura* red) angry, fierce

F:PHYSICAL FEATURE > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 2

*maa* (white, pale, clean) freed from *tapu*, *kura* (red, glowing) ceremonial restriction

F:PHYSICAL FEATURE > E:ACTIVE NATURAL PHENOMENON: 4

*ari* (white, clear, visible) the moon on the 11th day, *hina* (dim light, grey, pale, to shine with a pale light) moon, *tama tea* (*tama* son, child, *tea* pale, white) moon on the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th nights, *unahi roa* (*unahi* scales, *roa* long) comet

F:PHYSICAL FEATURE > N:NATURAL OBJECT: 1

*maheno* (to be untied) island

F:PHYSICAL FEATURE > A:ABSTRACTION: 1

*hape* (crooked) beside the point

S:SPACE > H:SOCIAL SPHERE: 3

*karakoraro* (*raro* below, down) man of no consequence, plebeian, *muri manu* (*muri* the rear, the hind part, *manu* bird) inferior or secondary wife, *pikituranga* (*piki* to climb, ascend, support, assist, *turanga* post) successor

S:SPACE > H:RELIGION AND RITUAL: 4

*kootua* (with the back toward one) a class of *aitua*, ill luck, *mua* (front, fore part) the sacred place, *muri* (the rear, the hind part) the place of departed spirits, the common place, a working place, *raro* (the under side, bottom) the underworld

S:SPACE > A:TIME: 6

*aamua* (front of) the time to come, *aamuri* (behind) the time to come, *mua* (front, fore part) former time, the past, the time to come, future, *muri* (the rear, the hind part) the sequel, the time to come, the future, *takiwaa* (district, space) time, period, *waa* (space, area, region) interval, time season

Table 1. COMPRESSED RESULTS

	HA	VF	PC	CA	SS	SA	PS	RR	AN	PL	EL	NT	AR	PF	SP	AB	TT
HA	3	0	0	0	12	4	20	4	3	3	5	10	7	0	4	6	81
VF	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	0	0	10	2	1	0	0	0	1	22
PC	0	0	2	1	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
CA	0	3	2	0	1	23	20	9	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	2	66
SS	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	4	2	1	0	0	1	14
SA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
RR	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	12
AN	2	1	3	0	37	1	4	10	0	9	10	2	4	4	0	3	90
PL	5	0	0	0	12	0	2	2	2	0	5	5	6	1	0	5	45
EL	0	3	0	1	9	0	21	3	2	0	3	0	2	0	0	2	46
NT	2	2	0	0	8	2	24	6	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3	50
AR	4	1	0	0	13	0	4	5	1	0	9	5	1	0	0	0	43
PF	0	2	2	0	10	0	27	2	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	1	49
SP	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	14
AB	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TT	17	13	9	2	112	34	134	46	10	24	44	33	22	6	4	31	541

1. Abridgments in Table 1: HA = Human Anatomy, VF = Vital Functions, PC = Perception, CA = Concrete Activities, SS = Social Sphere, SA = Social Activities, PS = Psychic Sphere, RR = Religion and Ritual, AN = Animal, PL = Plant, EL = Active Natural Phenomena, NT = Natural Objects and States, AR = Artefacts, PF = Physical Feature, SP = Space, AB = Abstractions, TT = Totals

S:SPACE > A:ABSTRACTION: 1

*toi* (tip, point, summit, finger, toe) origin

It is obvious at a glance that the individual conceptual domains diverge considerably as to their role in the functions of vehicle (V) versus topic (T). This divergence is given below as a ratio of V/T:

HA:  $81/17=4.76$ ; VF:  $22/13=1.69$ ; PC:  $9/10=0.90$ ; CA:  $66/2=33.00$ ; SS:  $14/112=0.12$ ; SA:  $0/34=0$ ; RR:  $12/46=0.26$ ; AN:  $90/10=9.00$ ; PL:  $45/24=1.87$ ; EL:  $46/44=1.04$ ; NT:  $50/33=1.51$ ; AR:  $43/22=1.95$ ; PF:  $49/6=8.17$ ; SP:  $14/4=3.50$ ; AB:  $0/31=0$

When these values are ordered into a sequence it turns out that the highest ratio of V/T is displayed by CA: 33.00. It is followed by AN: 9.00, PF: 8.17, HA: 4.76, SP: 3.50, AR: 1.95, PL: 1.87, VF: 1.69, NT: 1.51, EL: 1.04, PC: 0.90, RR: 0.26, SS: 0.12, and the sequence is terminated by SA, PS and AB; these three domains are never used as metaphorical vehicles and their ratio of V/T is equal to 0. This arrangement cannot be explained upon the basis of anthropocentrism. A different factor seems to play a vital role here. It is often maintained that metaphORIZATION takes place from concrete to abstract. This statement, however, ought to be modified in the interest of precision to the effect that it is what can be perceived, what can be observed by the senses; that is, employed for the metaphorical explanation of what is not immediately accessible to our senses.

The ratio of V/T is not the sole parameter that characterizes the universe of the lexical metaphor in Maori. Another important characteristic concerns the utilization of the particular conceptual domains, i.e. their productivity given in absolute numbers. Again, one has to distinguish between vehicle and tenor. If the data are grouped into the nine basic conceptual domains, the following results are obtained for the vehicular function: HUM (incl. HA; VF; PC; CA; SS; RR): 204, ANIM: 90, PLANT: 45, ELEM: 46, NAT: 50, ART: 43, PHYS/F: 49, SPACE: 14, ABS: 0. The human conceptual domain is employed as a vehicle of metaphORIZATION in some 40 % of all instances, followed by the animal domain (almost 20 %). At the other end of the sequence there is the domain of abstractions (0 %) while all the remaining conceptual domains are somewhere in between, each of them accounting for some 10 % of instances, with the exception of the domain of space (less than 3 %).

Conceptual domains notable for their high value of V have thus served as important metaphorical models. This holds first of all for HA, CA, AN, and to a lesser degree for PL, EL, NT, AR, PF.

HA has been employed as a model especially for PS, SS, NT, and PF; CA for SA, PS, RR, and AN for SS, RR, and EL. In the second category, PL ranks high with SS, EL with PS and SS, NT likewise with PS and SS, AR with SS and EL and, finally, PF with PS and SS.

There can be no doubt that the above sequence roughly corresponds to the anthropocentric scale mentioned before. The following regularity has been noted: The total amount of metaphors for the individual domains seems to correlate with their position upon the anthropocentric scale while the ratio of V/T seems to depend upon the level of perceptibility, being high with concrete (or rather directly perceptible) entities and low with abstract (directly not perceptible) ones.

Extremely high values of T shed light upon the main sources of semantic motivation, indicating which conceptual domains have undergone a considerable extension at the expense of other conceptual domains. Thus, very high values of T are observed with SS and PS; somewhat lower with RR, EL, AB. The domain SS has drawn mainly on AN, but also on HA, PL. PS has drawn on CA, EL, NT, PF, HA, RR was extended at the expense of AN, CA; EL on AN, AR, and, finally, AB on HA, SP, PL.

In Table 2 modified data for the main domains are given, the human conceptual domain is duly subdivided,

TABLE 2. A VARIANT CLASSIFICATION

	H1	H2	ANI	PLA	ELE	NAT	ART	PHY	SPA	ABS	TOTAL
HUM 1	11	106	3	13	9	15	7	1	4	9	178
HUM 2	2	11	2	2	4	3	1	0	0	1	26
ANIM	6	52	0	9	10	2	4	4	0	3	90
PLANT	5	16	2	0	5	5	6	1	0	5	45
ELEM	4	33	2	0	3	0	2	0	0	2	46
NATUR	4	40	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	3	50
ARTEF	5	22	1	0	9	5	1	0	0	0	49
PHYS/F	5	38	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	1	49
SPACE	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	14
ABSTR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	42	325	10	24	44	33	22	6	4	31	541

namely into 2 subdomains: HUM 1 (items perceptible senses) and HUM 2 (items not perceptible by senses, relational concepts, etc.). In such a case it turns out that HUM 1 is employed as a very strong metaphorical model accounting for some 33 % of all lexical metaphors while HUM 2 is target for 60 % of all metaphorizations in the Maori vocabulary. Thus the domain of HUM 2 is extended first of all at the expense of HUM 1, and to a somewhat lesser extent at the expense of ANIM, ELEM, NATUR, and PHYS/F.

The results obtained seem to confirm the assumption that anthropocentrism is relevant for lexical metaphorization. Obviously, man is the measure of things, the focus of cognition. This, however, does not hold for the human being as rigorous philosophical category; it is the interface between the human being and its environment that is especially active and our senses play a vital role here. What is behind them, what is hidden from them, be it inside our bodies and minds, is rather a target that the source of our cognition, and in this sense our internal life is on a par with the world of immediately inaccessible science, abstractions, etc. Thus, not only our bodies may become models projected into the spheres of external abstractions but also the perceptible natural environment that surrounds us may motivate nomination processes of phenomena occurring in our minds.

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## COLLECTIVE REFERENCE IN THE POETRY OF IBN AL-<sup>c</sup>ARABĪ

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Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Arabī's collection of poems *Tarjumān al-'Ašwāq* does not cease to be subject to controversial interpretations: love poems presented in a mystical disguise or true mystical odes that merely use an erotic imagery. This paper aims to analyse various type of collective reference, occurring in this collection, and to present them as substrate elements associated with pre-Islamic poetry.

1. *Tarjumān al-'Ašwāq* ("Interpreter of Desires"), by the famous Muslim mystic Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Arabī (1165–1240 A.D.), is a collection of poems written sometimes between 1202 and 1215 A.D. Since most of the poems included are formally presented in traditional erotic terms closely recalling those of the erotic prelude (*nasīb*) to the archaic *qaṣīda*, their sensual interpretation has to be accepted as a possible clue to the understanding of this poetry. On the other hand, however, there are passages and even whole poems that quite explicitly point to a spiritual orientation of the poet. This interpretational ambiguity of Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Arabī's love poems is further obscured by what Badawi calls 'dominance of convention' in classical Arabic poetry (Badawi 1985, p. 98). The erotic imagery in archaic Arabic poetry and its later reflexes may, then, equally well point to a void convention-imposed cliché as also, less typically, to true emotional motivation.

A spiritual interpretation of erotic images is only possible when approaching them as symbols of spiritual ideas. As there is no clear and unambiguous relationship between a traditional poetic image and its symbolic value, not even in Arabic mystical poetry which has a certain literary and doctrinal tradition, the symbolic meaning mostly has a declarative ad-hoc nature and should be defined and redefined from one poetic context to another. In the few examples that follow, the definitions of what is believed to have the status of mystical symbols are proposed by Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Arabī himself and are drawn from the author's commentary to the poetic texts. For the sake of economy, only an abridged English translation of the Arabic terms (Nicholson 1911) will be given. From the great variety of *nasīb*-related images only a few items related to the poet's beloved and her attributes have been selected for illustrative purposes.

(11:11) *zaby mubārqa<sup>c</sup>* "a veiled gazelle": a divine subtlety (68), as in:

*wa min 'a<sup>c</sup>jabi l-'ašyā' i zabyun mubārqa<sup>c</sup>un*  
*yušīru bi-<sup>c</sup>unnābin wa yu'mī bi-'ajfāni* (19)

"and one of the most wonderful things is a veiled gazelle, who points with red finger-tip and winks with eyelids" (67);

(12:1) *zibā'* "gazelles": forms of divine and prophetic wisdom (71), as in:

*bi-dī salamin wa-d-dayri min ḥādīri l-ḥimā*

*ḡibā'un turka š-šamsa ft ṣuwari d-dumā* (19)

"at Dhu Salam and the monastery in the abode of al-Hima are gazelles who show thee the sun in the forms of marble statues" (70);

(19:1) *xurrad 'awānis* "friendly maidens": forms of divine wisdom by which the gnostic's heart is gladdened (85), as in:

*yā ṭalalan cinda l-'uṭayli dārisā*

*lā'abtu fīhi xurradan 'awānisā* (23)

"o mouldering remains (of the encampment) at al-Uthayl, where I played with friendly maidens!" (84);

(20:3) *ṭafla la'ṭib* "a tender playful girl": a form of divine wisdom; *al-ḡawānī* "the married women": the forms of divine wisdom already realized by gnostics (88), as in:

*bi-'abī ṭaflatun la'ṭibun taḥādā*

*min banātī l-xudrī bayna l-ḡawānī* (24)

"may my father be the ransom of a tender playful girl, one of the maidens guarded in howdahs, advancing swayingly among the married women!" (86);

(26:3) *'awānis nuḥḥad*; *ḡibā' šurad* "friendly full-breasted damsels; shy gazelles": the abstruse sciences of pure unification (102), as in:

*wa-l'ab kamā la'ibat 'awānisu nuḥḥadun*

*wa-rta' kamā rata'at ḡibā'un šuradun* (28)

"and play as friendly full-breasted damsels played, and pasture as shy gazelles pastured" (101);

(44:1) *ṭala'a l-badru ft duḡā š-ša'ari* (38) "the full moon appeared in the night of hair": the divine manifestation appeared in the unseen world of mysterious knowledge (130);

(46:7) *kā'ibāt xurrad c'urub* "coy virgins with swelling breasts": subtle forms of divine wisdom and sensuous knowledge (133), as in:

*wa-lā tamurru c'atā rawḡin riyāḥu ṣadan*

*taḥwī c'atā kā'ibātīn xurradīn c'urubī* (39)

"and never do the East winds pass over meadows containing coy virgins with swelling breasts" (132); etc.

2. The primary aim of this paper is to analyse references to some essential characters presented collectively in Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Arabī's love poems from the collection *Tarjumān al-'Ašwāq*. The entity collectively referred to is, according to a tradition going back to pre-Islamic poetry, a nomadic tribe departing in search of new pastures, together with the poet's beloved. The reminiscence of the lost mistress is usually associated with a nostalgic description of the deserted encampment where, many years ago, their love had flourished.

In the poetic language of Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Arabī this collective entity is usually called *'aḥibba* (18:2; 41:2) *'aḥbāb* (60:1) *'aḥibbatunā* (24:1); *'aḥbābunā* (45:1); *'ahl wuddī* (52:2), etc. "the (our) loved ones, dear ones; those whom I love, etc."

In some cases this imaginary tribe may receive a name, as in:

(30:35) *yā banī z-zawrā'i ḥādā qamarun*

*c'indakum lāḥa wa c'indī ḡarabā* (33)

"o sons of az-Zawrā, this is a moon that appeared among you and set in me" (112).

Spiritual reshaping of the *'ahbāb*-identity may considerably distort the traditional wording of the archaic *nasīb*, as in:

(3:2) *fa-'inna bihā man qad<sup>c</sup>alimta wa man lahum  
ṣiyāmī wa ḥajjī wa-<sup>c</sup>timārī wa mawsimī* (16)

"for there dwell those whom thou knowest and those to whom belong my fasting and my pilgrimage and my visit to the holy places and my festival" (53).

2.1. Since practically all poems of Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Arabī's collection *Tarjumān al-'Ašwāq* are modelled on the archaic *nasīb* and since this genetic background may clearly be recognized in most of them, its main thematic and structural features will be shortly surveyed in what follows. The constitutive elements of the *nasīb* may only be vaguely defined in thematic terms because no clear-cut boundaries exist between them. For the purposes of our inquiry they will be presented as follows:

- 1) reminiscence of the poet's lost mistress;
- 2) nostalgic description of the deserted encampment of the mistress' tribe and its remnants (*'aṭāl*, *tutūl*);
- 3) poet's appeal, addressed to his companions, to wail and weep with him for the memory of his lost beloved and to greet her deserted abode;
- 4) reminiscence of the preparations for the departure: the mistress' tribe (i.e. 'the loved ones') is going to set forth on a search for new pastures (saddling and loading the baggage-camels; the women of the tribe are mounting the camel-borne litters, etc.;
- 5) description of the beloved, either individually or collectively, as one of the tribe's women;
- 6) scene of the departure and leave-taking;
- 7) poet's imaginary attempts to stop the departing tribe; his imploring the camel-driver to do so, etc.;
- 8) his inquiring (the dove, the winds, etc.) about 'the loved ones', their itinerary, rest-places and the site of their new encampment, sending them greetings, messages, etc.;
- 9) poet's despair and sorrow, shedding tears and weeping over the lost mistress; imploring the pity of 'the loved ones';
- 10) imaginary apparition of the beloved, a woman of matchless beauty, but treacherous and unattainable; sometimes even her dialogue with the sorrow-stricken lover; etc.

2.1.1. The length of a *nasīb* varies considerably from one case to another as does the representation and the order of various thematic elements therein. Typically, only a part of these elements, intermixed in very various ways, may be found in a *nasīb* or a piece of poetry reflecting its structure. The spiritual orientation of Ibn al-<sup>c</sup>Arabī's mystical poetry adds another dimension to its thematic representation. Concepts and images derived from the nomadic Arab culture, as those typically exploited in the archaic *nasīb*, are frequently supplanted by or co-occurring with those stemming from the spiritual inspiration and religious philosophy of Sufism. Thus, instead of nomadic encampments, traditionally quoted in the archaic poetry, the sacred localities of Meccan pilgrimage scenery may be found (*al-Muḥassab*, <sup>c</sup>*Arafāt*, *Zamzam*, etc. (7:3,4,7; cf. also 3:3,4)). Despite this, some other traditional items of archaic poetic imagery, such as litter-loaded camels, departing women, wailing over the lost beloved,

etc., may be maintained even in this disfigured frame, unless they are spiritually reshaped themselves.

2.1.2. The tripartite thematic structure of the *nasīb*, as presented by Lichtenstädter (1932, pp. 17–96), consists of the following constituents:

- 1) wailing over the remnants of the deserted encampment (die Klage bei den Aṭlāl);
- 2) the parting day (Trennungsmorgen);
- 3) the visionary apparition of the beloved (die Erscheinung des Ḥayāl).

This trichotomic presentation, owing to its high range of generality, does not seem to meet the purposes of the present study, for it does not permit to identify the type of collective reference analysed in terms of the thematic content of the poem. It must be recognized, however, that a more discriminative approach to the thematic structure of the *nasīb*, as that in the present study, has considerable disadvantages of its own since its explicitness produces a rather distorted picture of the constant flow of deviations from what might be accepted as typical.

2.2. In accordance with poetic tradition, the collective entity of *al-ʿaḥibba* 'the loved ones' (see §2 above) should be identified with the nomadic tribe of the poet's former mistress. In some cases, it may be the unique hero of the poem in its integral undifferentiated form. The poet's beloved is, then, tacitly included therein as merely one of 'the loved ones'. More typically, however, this collective entity may be subject to various processes of differentiation, since not all members of the tribe are equally relevant in particular pieces of poetry and not all of them are invariably represented in the poems.

2.2.1. This differentiation may take the form of a tripartite division into:

- (i) the poet's beloved (in the poetic language of Ibn al-ʿArabī: *badr* "full moon" (cf. 44:1); *taṣla laʿṭib* "tender playful girl" (20:3); *ḡaby mubārqa* "veiled gazelle" (11:11), etc.);
- (ii) her lady-companions, i.e. the tribe's beauties (*ḡibāʾ* "gazelles" (12:1); *xurraḍ ʿawānis* "friendly maidens" (19:1); *ʿawānis nuḥḥad; ḡibāʾ šurraḍ* "friendly full-breasted damsels; shy gazelles" (26:3), etc.);
- (iii) the rest of the tribe.

2.2.2. The collective entity of *al-ʿaḥibba* may further display various types of bipartite representation, notably:

- (1) (i) the beloved and (ii) her lady-companions;
- (2) (i) the beloved and (ii-iii) the rest of the tribe;
- (3) (i-ii) the tribe's women including the beloved and (iii) the rest of the tribe.

2.2.3. As in the case presented in § 2.2. above where (i) the beloved is included in (ii-iii) the rest of the tribe, a similar inclusion may take place at a lower level of this hierarchy, namely at the level of (ii). In the latter case *al-ʿaḥibba* are uniquely represented by (i-ii) the female members of the tribe and, once again, they operate as an undifferentiated whole. This type of inclusion is made possible by the fact that the group (iii), consisting of the male members of the tribe, is in some poetic contexts no longer relevant.

3. The collective reference to *al-ʿaḥibba* may be expressed by a variety of formal means. In order to simplify the technique of reference, the following abbreviations will be used:

3MP: third person masculine plural;  
 3FP: third person feminine plural;  
 3MS: third person masculine singular;  
 3FS: third person feminine singular.

The same type of notation will be used with references related to the second and first persons of both genders and numbers (in direct speech, and in grammatically and/or metrically postulated modifications).

The singular-related types of reference will be taken into account only in poetic contexts where they occur with plural-related types as their modifying and restrictive elements.

3.1. When disregarding cases of a direct substantival designation (cf. § 2: *'aḥibba*, *'aḥibbatunā*, *'aḥbāb*, *'aḥbābunā*, *'ahl wuddī*, etc.), proper names (cf. *ibid.*), as well as various phrases (e.g. (4:3) *man ḥalla bi-ḥimā* "those who dwell in the preserve", etc.), the 3MP is the most frequent type of reference to this collective entity whose identity may be supported by an explicit verbal designation or may be not. E.g.:

(6:1-4):

(6:1) verbal inflections: *bānū*, *bānū*; pronoun: *hum* (6:2) pronominal suffix: *-hum*: *sa'altuhum*; *maqtluhum*; (6:3) *-hum* (*-him*): *bihim*; *fa'innahum*; (6:4) *-hum* (*-him*): *balliḡhim*; in: (6:1) *bāna l-<sup>c</sup>azā'u wa bāna ṣ-ṣabru 'id bānū + bānū wa hum ft suwaydi l-qalbi sukkānu* "When they departed, endurance and patience departed. They departed, although they were dwelling in the core of my heart";

(6:2) *sa'altuhum<sup>c</sup> an maqtli r-rakbi qīla lanā + maqtluhum ḥaytu fāḥa ṣ-ṣṡhu wa-l-bānu* "I asked them where the travellers rested at noon, and I was answered, "Their noonday resting-place is where the *shṡh* and the *bān* trees diffuse a sweet scent ";

(6:3) *fa-qultu li-r-rṡhi sṡrī wa-lḥaqī bihim + fa'innahum<sup>c</sup> inda ṡilli l-'ayki quṡṡānu* "Then I said to the wind, "Go and overtake them, for they are biding in the shade of the grove";

(6:4) *wa balliḡhim salāman min 'axī ṣajanin + ft qalbihi min firāqi l-qawmi 'aṣṡānu* "and bear to them a greeting from a sorrowful man in whose heart are sorrows because he is separated from his people" (17; 60).

3.1.1. The same type of reference may also be attested in the archaic poetry. The literal translation of archaic examples quoted throughout this paper, is that provided by M. C. Bateson (1970). Bateson's transcription of poetic samples is adapted to the system of writing used in this study.

Imru'u l-Qays (died cca 540 A.D.):

(verse 4 of his *mu<sup>c</sup>allaqa*: the 3MP is reflected in the verbal inflection *taḥammaltū* "they loaded")

*ka'annti ḡadāta l-bayni yawma taḥammaltū + ladā samurāti l-ḥayyi nāqifu ḥanzali* "as-though I, the morning of parting, the day they loaded, by the acacias of the tribe, were a splitter of colocynth" (135); etc.

3.1.2. Atypically, the 3MP may refer to the female members of the tribe only (for a hierarchized reference to *al-'aḥibba* see § 4 in what follows), as in:

Labīd (died cca 661 A.D.):

(verse 12 of his *mu<sup>c</sup>allaqa*: the 3MP *taḥammaltū* "they loaded-up" and *takan-nastū* "(they) withdrew" refers to *zu<sup>c</sup>nu l-ḥayyi* "the litter-borne women of the tribe"; the feminine gender is only maintained in the 3FS *šāqatka* "(they) excited you", syntactically required in the pre-subject position)

*šāqatka zu<sup>c</sup>nu l-ḥayyi ḥīna taḥammaltū + fa-takannastū quṭnan taširru xiyāmuhā* "the litter-borne- women of the tribe excited you when they loaded-up and then withdrew-under the cotton (cover) whose tents creaked" (161).

4. When distinctively related to the (i-ii-iii) hierarchy, as presented in §§ 2.2, 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, the reference to *al-ʿaḥibba* shows a more diversified picture. In accordance with basic premises of love poetry, the collective frame is not always suitable to deal with emotive meanings and intimate situations, not even in the tradition-controlled clichés of the archaic poetry. The collective entity of *al-ʿaḥibba*, although being the unique celebrated hero in a number of poems (cf. the poem (6:1-4) above), is frequently split into its hierarchized constituents. This particularization, proceeding from a vague generality of the tribe towards a clearly outlined individuality of the beloved, aims at defining identities within the tribal group. The beloved, whose poetic definition is the ultimate goal of the process, is either fully individualized as a distinct entity, clearly distinguished from her tribal community, i.e. (i) in the symbolic representation adopted, or is presented merely as one of the female members of the tribe, i.e. (i-ii).

4.1. As a feminine counterpart to 3MP, presented in § 3.1. as an exclusive indicator of *al-ʿaḥibba* in the poem (6:1-4), the 3FP reference may also be seen in its exclusive application, as in:

the poem (7:1-8): an exclusive 3FP reference to *al-ʿaḥibba*, represented by (i-ii: 'friendly women', 'perfumed women') with a number of direct-speech alternatives of 3FP as well as some grammatically and/or metrically required modifications; in:

selected verses:

(7:1) 3FP grammatically (pre-subject position) and metrically modified (3FP=3FS=3MS): *zāḥamanī*; 3FP: *'atayna*; (7:2) 3FP: *ḥasarna*; *qulna*; (7:3) 3FP (=1FP as a direct-speech alternant): *qatalnā*; (7:8) 3FP *xifna*; *ʿasdalna*; *fa-hunna*; 3FP (= 3FS): *min ḡadā'irihā*; in:

(7:1) *wa zāḥamanī ʿinda-stilāmī ʿawānisun + 'atayna ʾilā ʾi-tawāʾfi mu<sup>c</sup>tajirātī* "As I kissed the Black Stone, friendly women thronged around me; they came to perform the circumambulation with veiled faces";

(7:2) *ḥasarna ʿan ʿanwārī š-šumūsi wa qulna lī + tawarra<sup>c</sup> fa-mawtu n-nafsi fī l-laḥazātī* "They uncovered the (faces like) sunbeams and said to me, 'Beware! for the death of the soul is in thy looking at us'";

(7:3) *fa-kam qad qatalnā bi-l-muḥaṣṣabi min minan + nuṣṭāsan ʿabiyyātīn ladā l-ḡamarātī* "How many aspiring souls have we killed already at al-Muḥaṣṣab of Minā, beside the pebble-heaps";

(7:8) *idā xifna ʿasdalna š-šūʿura fa-hunna min + ḡadā'irihā fī ʾalḥufī z-zulumātī* "When they are afraid they let fall their hair, so that they are hidden by their tresses as it were by robes of darkness" (17-18; 61).

4.1.1. A restrictive 3FP reference to *al-ʿaḥibba*, that does not alternate with the 3MP, may be attested in the archaic poetry as well, e.g. in:

Zuhayr (died cca 615 A.D.):

(verses 7-15 in the *naṣīb* if his *mu<sup>c</sup>allaqa*; with, however, an individual reference to the beloved in the introductory verses 1-2) in:

selected verses:

(1) lexical references to (i): *'umm 'awfā*; (2) 3FS: *dārun lahā*; (7) 3FP: (*min za<sup>c</sup>ā'inin*) *taḥammalna*; (8) 3FP: *ja<sup>c</sup>alna*; (10) 3FP: *warrakna*; *ya<sup>c</sup>lūna*; *alayhinna*; (12) 3FP: *ṣṭhinna*; in:

(1) *'a-min 'ummi 'awfā dimnatun lam takallami + bi-ḥawmānati d-darrāji fal-mu-tatallami* "Is there from Umm Awfā a trace which has not spoken, in the rocky-plain of al-Darrāj and al-Mutathallam";

(2) *wa dārun lahā bi-r-raqmatayni ka-'annahā + marājī<sup>c</sup>u wašmin ṣṭ nawāširi mi<sup>c</sup>ṣami* "and a dwelling of hers in al-Raqmatayn, as-though it were the retracings of a tattoo in the sinews of a wrist?";

(7) *tabaššar xaltī hal tarā min za<sup>c</sup>ā'inin + taḥammalna bi-l-<sup>c</sup>abyā'i min fawqi jurtumi* "Look, my friend, do you see some litter-borne-women, going off in the heights above Jurthum?";

(8) *ja<sup>c</sup>alna l-qanāna <sup>c</sup>an yamīnin wa ḥaznahu + wa kam bi-l-qanāni min muḥillin wa muḥrimi* "They set al-Qanān on the right, and its rough-ground, yet how-many are there, in al-Qanān, of foe and ally!";

(10) *wa warrakna ṣṭ-sūbāni ya<sup>c</sup>lūna matnahu + alayhinna dallu n-nā<sup>c</sup>imi l-mu-tana<sup>cc</sup>imi* "and they swerved in al-Suban, mounting the top of it, (with) on them the coquetry of the easy-liver enjoying-life";

(12) *wa ṣṭhinna malhan lil-laṣṣfi wa manzarun + 'antqun li-<sup>c</sup>ayni n-nāziri l-mutawas-simi* "while among them was a playground for the refined (man) and a pretty view to the eye of the discriminating viewer"; etc. (153-5).

4.2. The 3MP in occurrence with other types of reference within a single piece of poetry.

4.2.1. The 3MP occurring with the 3FS, as in:

the poem (2:1-13): (2:1-2) the 3MP reference to (iii) with the exclusion of (i-ii); (2:3-9) the 3FS reference to (i), potentially identified with any woman out of (ii), in accordance with (2:2); (2:10) the 3MP reference to (i-ii-iii); in:

selected verses:

(2:1-2) 3MP: *rahḥaltū*; *bāntū*; *ḥamaltū*; (2:3) 3FS: *tamaššat*; (2:10) 3MP: (*yawma*) *baynihim*; in:

(2:1-2) *mā rahḥaltū yawma bāntū l-buzzala l-<sup>c</sup>tsā + 'illā wa qad ḥamaltū ṣṭhā ṭ-ṭawāwtsā + min kulli ṣṭatikati l-'alḥāzi mālikatin + taxāluḥā<sup>c</sup>awqa <sup>c</sup>arši d-durri bilqtsā* "On the day of parting they did not saddle the full-grown reddish-white camels until they had mounted the peacocks upon them, peacocks with murderous glances and sovereign power: thou wouldst fancy that each of them was a Bilqīs on her throne of pearls";

(2:3) *'idā tamaššat <sup>c</sup>alā ṣarḥi z-zujāji tarā + šamsan <sup>c</sup>alā falakin ṣṭ ḥijri 'idrīsā*

"When she walks on the glass pavement thou seest a sun on a celestial sphere in the bosom of Idris";

(2:10) *‘abbaytu ‘ajnadā šabrī yawma baynihim + ‘alā t-ṭarīqi karādīsan karādīsa* "The day when they departed on the road, I prepared for war the armies of my patience, host after host"; etc. (15-16; 49); or in:

the poem (13:1-12): (13:8-10) the 3MP reference to (i-ii-iii); (13:12) the 3FS reference to (i); in:

selected verses:

(13:9) 3MP: *wašallū; qaṭa‘ū; fa-li-‘isihim*; (13:12) 3FS: *hawāhā; ‘innahā (ma‘š-ūqatun ḥasnā‘u); takūnu*; in:

(13:9) *wašallū s-surā qaṭa‘ū l-burā fa-li-‘isihim + taḥṭa l-maḥāmili rannatun wa ‘antnu* "They journeyed continuously through the night, they cut the nose-rings of their camels, so that they (the camels) moaned and cried under the litters";

(13:12) *mā li-‘adūlun fī hawāhā ‘innahā + ma‘šūqatun ḥasnā‘u ḥaytu takūnu* "None blames me for desiring her, for she is beloved and beautiful wherever she may be"; (20; 73).

4.2.2. The process of individualization, oriented towards the beloved, may stop at the intermediate level of the (i-ii-iii) hierarchy and the beloved is presented as merely one of the tribe's woman. In the latter case two collective entities alternate, (i-ii-iii) and (i-ii), differing from each other in their respective generality ranges. In the domain of formal reference the latter case is usually reflected in:

the 3MP co-occurring with the 3FP, as in:

the poem (41:1-13): (41:2-5) the 3MP reference to (i-ii-iii); (41:6) the 3FP reference to a verbally unspecified (i-ii); (41:10) verbal reference to *al-‘aḥibba: rakb nafar* "the departure (riding away) of travellers"; in:

selected verses:

(41:2) 3MP: (*al-‘aḥibba*) *šaddū ‘alā rawāḥilihim*; (41:3) 3MP: *min ‘ajlihīm; li-bay-nihīm*; (41:6) 3FP: *rafa‘na*; (41:10) *rakb an-nafar*; in:

(41:2) (*al-xabar*) *bi-‘anna l-‘aḥibbata šaddū ‘alā + rawāḥilihim tumma rāḥū saḥar* "(the story) how the loved ones bound the saddles on their camels and then gat them away at dawn";

(41:3) *fa-sirtu wa fī l-qalbi min ‘ajlihīm + jaḥīmun li-baynihīm tasta‘ir* "I journeyed - and in my heart for their sake was a blazing fire because of their departure";

(41:6) *rafa‘na s-sijāfa ‘aḏā‘a d-dujā + fa-sāra r-rikābu li-ḡaw‘i l-qamar* "the women raised the curtain, the darkness became light, and the camels journeyed on because of the moonshine";

(41:10) *waḥību l-qulūbi li-barqi t-tuḡūr + wa sakbu d-dumū‘i li-rakbi nafar* "(were) the palpitation of hearts at the flash of teeth and the flow of tears for travellers who rode away"; (36-37; 125).

4.2.3. The tripartite hierarchy of *al-‘aḥibba*, whenever relevant in its full-scale representation in a single piece of poetry, must be signalled by three independent indicators:

the 3MP in co-occurrence with the 3FP and 3FS (or their direct-speech substitutes and grammatically and/or metrically postulated alternants), as in:

the poem (52:1-8) with the following distribution of reference indicators: (52:2; 4-6) the 3MP reference to (i-ii-iii); (52:3) the 3FP reference to (i-ii); (52:7-8) the 3FS reference to (i), as in the following selected verses:



(52:1-2) 3MP: *yasma<sup>c</sup>ūna; fa-yattaxidūthu*; (52:3) 3FP: *bi-hinna; bi-hinna*; (52:6) 3MP: *kānū; xayyamū*; (52:7) 3FS: *min 'ajlihā*; in:

(52:1-2): *raḍītu bi-raḍwā rawḍatan wa munāxā + fa-'inna bihi mar<sup>c</sup>an wa fīhi nuqāxā + 'asā' ahlū wuddī yasma<sup>c</sup>ūna bi-xiṣbihi + fa-yattaxidūthu marba<sup>c</sup>an wa munāxā* "I am content with Raḍwā as a meadow and a lodging-place, for it has a pasture in which is cool water. May be, those whom I love will hear of its fertility, so that they will take it as an abode and lodging-place";

(52:3) *fa-'inna lanā qalban bi-hinna mu<sup>c</sup>allaqan + 'idā mā ḥadā l-ḥādī bi-hinna 'asāxā* "For lo, my heart is attached to them and listens silently whenever the camel-driver urges them on with his chant";

(52:6) *fa-mā ṭ-ṭayru 'illā ḥaytu kānū wa xayyamū + fa-'inna lahu fī ḥayyihinna firāxā* "No fortune is found except where they are and where they encamp, for the bird of Fortune has fledglings in their tribe":

(52:7) *tahāraba xawfun lī wa xawfun min 'ajlihā + wa mā wāḥidun <sup>c</sup>an qirnihi yatarāxā* "Fear for myself and fear for her sake battled with each other, and neither gave way to its adversary"; (42; 138-9); or in:

the poem (16:1-16) that displays a similar functioning of reference indicators as the preceding one with, however, two cases where two different indicators (3FP-3MP and 3MP-3FS) co-occur within one-verse segments of poetry, as in the following selected verses:

(16:1) 3FP: *ḥamalna; 'awda<sup>c</sup>na*; (16:2) 3FP: *wā<sup>c</sup>adna*; 3MP: *'an yarjī<sup>c</sup>ū*; (16:3) 3FS: *ḥayyat bi-<sup>c</sup>unnābihā; fa-'adrat*; (16:5) 3MP: *<sup>c</sup>alā 'irihim*; 3FS: *fa-raddat wa qālat*; in:

(16:1) *ḥamalna <sup>c</sup>alā l-ya<sup>c</sup>malātī l-xudūrā + wa 'awda<sup>c</sup>na fīhā d-dumā wal-budūrā* "They (the women) mounted the howdahs on the swift camels and placed in them the (damsels like) marble statues and full moon";

(16:2) *wa wā<sup>c</sup>adna qalbī 'an yarjī<sup>c</sup>ū + wa ḥal ta<sup>c</sup>idu l-xūdu 'illā ḡurūrā* "and promised my heart that they should return; but do the fair promise anything except deceit?";

(16:3) *wa ḥayyat bi-<sup>c</sup>unnābihā lil-wadā<sup>c</sup>i + fa-'adrat dumū<sup>c</sup>an tahlīju s-sadīrā* "and she saluted with her henna-tipped fingers for the leave-taking, and let fall tears that excited the flames (of desire)";

(16:5) *da<sup>c</sup>awtu tubūran <sup>c</sup>alā 'irihim + fa-raddat wa qālat 'a-tad<sup>c</sup>ū tubūrā* "I cried out after them, 'Perdition!' She answered and said, 'Dost thou invoke perdition?'" (21-2; 77-8).

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## EGYPT: THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN MARCH 1954

Karol SORBY, Bratislava

The proclamation of the Republic in 1953 and the subsequent measures taken by the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) came to mark conspicuous milestones on the road of the revolution. Nonetheless, it became apparent already in the summer of that year that a confrontation would take place between the liberal - bourgeois and the revolutionary-democratic forces in Egyptian society. General Nagīb, deprived of direct control over the army, sought support from those forces of the society that were more and more in opposition to the revolutionary regime, and he adroitly profited from the appeals to a return to bourgeois democracy. The decisive conflict began in January 1954 and came to a head during the so-called "March Crisis". After a tactical retreat, the revolutionary forces passed into an offensive and won the struggle for power. The solution of the "March Crisis" meant further development of the revolutionary process in Egypt.

The Egyptian people as a whole accepted quite positively the Republican regime which replaced the monarchy although this fact as such should not be overestimated. "The abolition of the monarchy was not, however, a gesture in favor of less absolute rule. If few Egyptians showed any regret over the passing of the monarchy, it was because the institution was largely an imported one, the dynasty foreign, and experience with the behavior of its members in the country unpleasant, if not bitter."<sup>1</sup> The average Egyptian still thought in terms of a ruler, and here one ruler had been replaced by another, or the monarchy by the new republican system. In the establishment of neither institution did the average Egyptian have a choice, or a voice.<sup>2</sup>

The ban on all activity by political parties in January 1953 affected the Egyptian bourgeoisie most greatly, less so the leftists whose organizations had been forced even earlier to work underground and the ban hardly touched the Muslim Brotherhood. The Egyptian left-wing as a whole had adopted a negative attitude towards the military régime after the events at Kafr ad-Dawwār in August 1952 and kept up sharp criticism of the military dictatorship in its leaflets. Nevertheless, the most influential leftist organization, the HADITU, was as yet reluctant to sever all relations with the RCC and in an endeavour to maintain the democratic character of the revolutionary process, relegated the essential ideological divergences into the background.<sup>3</sup> When, following the dissolution of political parties and mass imprisonment of patriots in Egypt, the international communist and working-class movement declared the army policy to be reactionary and anti-democratic, the HADITU membership subjected its leadership to sharp criticism because it had failed to take up an unequivocal stand in this issue. Many members left the ranks of HADITU and joined the communist party of Egypt

<sup>1</sup> VΑΠΚΙΟΤΙΣ, P.J.: *The Egyptian Army in Politics*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1961, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> This organization was represented in the RCC by Yūsuf Ṣadiq and Khālīd Muḥīddīn.

which supported the censure pronounced by the international communist and working-class movement.<sup>4</sup>

In order to speed up the implementation of certain aims of the revolution, the majority of RCC members were anxious to establish closer contacts with the USA, and to this end authorized the spread of anti-communist feelings. It was important to manipulate public opinion so as to make it possible to pass without any major risk, into an attack against the left wing which was in principle opposed to any collaboration with the West. The organization HADITU boldly reminded members of the RCC of their former platform and on the pages of its journal "al-Wāgib" (Obligation) published the text of the document "Aims of the Free Officers", which had been approved before the revolution. In that document the Free Officers distanced themselves from contacts with any foreign power, consequently, its publication elicited considerable indignation among the latter. HADITU, however, kept up its critical tone and in the next issue of its journal published a poem by one of its members 'Abdurrahmān ash-Shargāwī "From an Egyptian Father to President Truman" in which the author made a sharp attack both on the USA and on the Egyptian policy of rapprochement with that country.<sup>5</sup>

As the repressive policy of the military régime became intensified and the number of imprisoned opponents increased, the left started efforts in April 1953 at a speedy formation of a "Democratic National Front" (DNF) which would consist of the Waf-dists, leftist organizations, the Muslim Brotherhood, socialists, defenders of peace and further organizations.<sup>6</sup> A "Democratic Socialist Programme" was worked out which was accepted by representatives of all the interested parties and organizations except the Muslim Brotherhood. The latter refused to adopt the DNF platform and immediately took up a hostile standpoint towards the Front in the elections to Student organizations at universities. The DNF, despite persecutions, carried on its activity for about six months, until its leading functionaries were imprisoned on orders of the RCC.<sup>7</sup>

Shortly after the dissolution of political parties and confiscation of their property, they launched an extensive campaign throwing doubt on the revolution and its representatives. This campaign went on for several months and when it proved unbearable to the junta, the RCC decided to bring the former politicians to trial, to show before the public how they had abused their position and functions, i.e. to discredit and to imprison them.<sup>8</sup> In an address at a public meeting on 15 September 1953, General Nagīb announced a decision by the RCC on the setting up of a Revolutionary Tribunal which would judge former politicians accused of collaboration with foreign powers.

<sup>4</sup>HAMRŪSH, Aḥmad: *Qisṣat tawrat 23 yūliyū* (The Story of the Revolution of 23 July). Vol. I, Beirut, 1977 (2nd ed.), p. 294.

<sup>5</sup>SA'ID, Rif'at dr.: *Munazzamāt al-yasār al-miṣrī 1950-1957* (Organizations of the Egyptian Left). Cairo, 1983, p. 103.

<sup>6</sup>HAMRŪSH, Aḥmad: *Qisṣat tawrat 23 yūliyū*. Vol. IV. Beirut, 1977 (1st ed.), p. 170.

<sup>7</sup>HAMRŪSH, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 296 and p. 355.

<sup>8</sup>Al-Baghdādī, 'Abdullaṭīf: *Mudakkirāt 'Abdullaṭīf al-Baghdādī* (Memoirs of A.B.), Vol. I. Cairo, 1977, p. 79.

A Permanent Revolutionary Tribunal consisting of three Free Officer members of the RCC - <sup>c</sup>Abdullaṭīf al-Baġhdādī, President, Anwar as-Sādāt and Ḥasan Ibrāhīm, members - which had been set up originally to try ancient régime politicians began to work on 26 September. The tribunal judged not only exponents of the former régime, but also traitors and collaborators, particularly those who, after the Egyptian unilateral abrogation of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, carried out espionage activities on behalf of Great Britain, within the ranks of Egyptian guerilla squads.<sup>9</sup>

A very active role in the disruption of relations between leftist organizations and the RCC was played by the security services<sup>10</sup> who's task it was to infiltrate not only these organizations, but also the ranks of the Muslim Brotherhood. However, the possibility of an alliance between the army movement (representing the interests of the petty and middle bourgeoisie) and the left (expressing the views of farmers and workers), was negatively affected by the following factors: 1) The traditionally open hostility of the Muslim Brotherhood still cooperating with the army towards leftist ideological trends, 2) Activity of Western intelligence services spreading anti-communist propaganda to which most of the officers had succumbed.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, it should be noted that the leftist organizations during their short-lived existence failed to unite the working-class masses and their influence among the latter was decreasing due to a lack of unity in their own ranks and thereby also their consideration in the eyes of the RCC. In addition, the influence of leftist organizations was confined solely to certain labour centres, such as al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā, Alexandria, Shubrā al-Khayma, al-Manṣūra; elsewhere, their influence was incomparably weaker than that of the Muslim Brotherhood. The confrontation between the army and the left came to a peak towards the end of 1953 following the imprisonment of most of its leaders and functionaries. These painful blows, however, did not cripple the left as much as they did the bourgeois parties: those in prison were replaced by new members and thus, despite harsh persecution, the left did not cease to exist and was never totally reduced to silence.<sup>12</sup>

When the Free Officers acceded to power, most groups, including the Muslim Brethren favoured the coup. Among politically conscious Egyptians the active leadership of the army was acceptable as a highly organized and disciplined force to advance national aims.<sup>13</sup> The Muslim Brethren, despite their strong and widely-branched organization, did not enjoy popular support and as regards evacuation of British soldiers, its standpoint differed essentially from the wishes of the people who insisted on their unconditional and immediate departure and on Egypt's nonparticipation in regional blocs.

The Free Officers entertained friendly relations with the Muslim Brethren and many of them had had personal contacts at various times with this organization. However,

<sup>9</sup>AR-RĀFĪ <sup>c</sup>I, <sup>c</sup>Abdurrahmān: *Tawrat 23 yūlyū 1952* (Revolution of 23 July 1952). Cairo, 1959, p. 95.

<sup>10</sup>These were the Central Information Services (al-mukhābarāt al-markazīya) and the Criminal Police (al-mabāḥiṭ al-ġinā'īya).

<sup>11</sup>ḤAMRŪSH, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 297.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 298.

<sup>13</sup>VATIKIOTIS, op. cit., p. 86.

the body of Free Officers had no intention of being associated with any party or political force in order to remain an armed national movement with its own aims. For that reason, early in 1952, Lt. Col. <sup>c</sup>Abdulmun<sup>c</sup>im <sup>c</sup>Abdurra'ūf, who had secretly recruited officers for the Muslim Brotherhood rather than for the Free Officers, was dismissed from this organization.<sup>14</sup> When the Parties Reorganization Law was issued in September 1952, the Muslim Brethren were excluded from it on the intervention of G. <sup>c</sup>Abdunnāṣir because of its previous support of the army. Good relations between the Muslim Brethren and the army continued also during the period of persecution of political parties towards the end of 1952, for the Brotherhood in principle refused a parliamentary system, and a weakening of the other parties provided it with considerable advantages and strengthened its own power ambitions.<sup>15</sup> The Muslim Brethren, officially considered a religious association, were further encouraged in their competition for power with the Free Officers when the dissolution of political parties in January 1953 did not affect them. But they could not very well have favourably viewed the simultaneous inauguration of a Liberation Rally mass organization which meant an open challenge to them. For that reason the Supreme Guide of the Brethren, Ḥasan al-Ḥuḍaybī, insisted "that his association was adequate to provide the popular base needed for the Revolution".<sup>16</sup>

The favourable relations between the RCC and the Muslim Brethren were frequently disturbed: the latter felt it a blow that several of their prominent adherents among the soldiers had been dropped, for instance Colonel Rashshād Mahannā. On the other hand, the army recorded with disfavour the Brotherhood's disagreement with the Agrarian Reform Law, or al-Ḥuḍaybī's public proclamation praising the West at a time when Great Britain foiled the negotiations on her pulling her armies out of Egypt in every possible way.<sup>17</sup> The establishment of a republican régime so soon after the Revolution disturbed the Brethren seriously, for this RCC measure was too secular to suit the Brethren's designs. "Indeed, the RCC had rather hastily decided on a republican regime to counteract mounting religious opposition to their movement, and to disarm such conservative elements as the Azhar and the Brethren."<sup>18</sup>

A quiet, undeclared war came to be unleashed between the RCC and the Muslim Brethren. In lieu of open conflict, each side gave priority to efforts at an inner disintegration of the adversary. Conflicts within the ranks of the Muslim Brethren involved participation in the government, questions of cooperation with the military regime and of preserving their own secret terrorist component. When G. <sup>c</sup>Abdunnāṣir succeeded in winning the leader of the Brethren's secret organization <sup>c</sup>Abdurrahīmān as-Sindī over to his side, a new leadership was set up which refused to cooperate with the regime and began on larger scale to try and win over officers of the army and the police to its ranks.<sup>19</sup> The Brethren's demands may be summarized as follows: 1) To

<sup>14</sup> ḤAMRŪSH, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 300.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 301.

<sup>16</sup> VATIKIOTIS, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>17</sup> ḤAMRŪSH, op. cit., p. 302.

<sup>18</sup> VATIKIOTIS, op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>19</sup> ḤAMRŪSH, op. cit., p. 303.

nominate Rashshād Mahannā as commander-in-chief of the army, 2) Not to support efforts to introduce democracy, 3) Not to permit the renovation of political parties, 4) To send officers back into the barracks, 5) To establish a government satisfactory to the Brotherhood. On becoming aware of the multiplying conflicts within the RCC, the Brethren attempted to make contacts with Gen. Nagīb through the intermediary of his aide-de-camp. Gen. Nagīb, however, categorically refused not only their demands, but all unofficial contacts.<sup>20</sup>

A decisive turn in the attitude of the Muslim Brethren towards the revolution came about in autumn 1953 when a firm conviction took hold of them that the RCC was resolved to rule alone without any partners, and that their past efforts at enforcing some of their aims had proved fruitless. The Brethren felt sufficiently strong and consequently did not mean to become reconciled with this situation; the Supreme Guide began to criticize openly the revolutionary government in home and foreign press; The Brethren received directions to express disagreement aloud at events organized by the regime and actively to influence members of the army and the police. Members of the Brotherhood workers, had to penetrate Trade Union Organizations and gradually to rule them.<sup>21</sup> Towards the end of 1953 when the Revolutionary Tribunal had already condemned most of the former politicians to long-term prison sentences and the political scene had apparently become empty, leaders of the Brotherhood came to the conclusion that the moment was favourable for an attempt at a power take-over.

During a meeting the Supreme Guide had proposed to G. ʿAbdunnāṣir that the long-term task of establishing a state based on Muslim law and education must be undertaken and that the Brotherhood should form a committee to inspect all draft laws prepared by the government, ʿAbdunnāṣir bluntly refused saying that the Revolution will allow no tutelage.<sup>22</sup> The Free Officers became convinced that al-Huḍayr and the Supreme Guidance Council were seeking to use the army movement only to further their ambitions. The Brotherhood had to be handled with care, if only because it had both members and sympathizers in the army, but when it began to organize cells in the armed forces and the police, and to seek control of the labour unions, the RCC warned the Supreme Guide to desist and, when the warning went unheeded, smashed the cells by sending some of the members to distant posts and imprisoning the ringleaders.<sup>23</sup>

G. ʿAbdunnāṣir and further RCC members endeavoured to resolve contentious issues at periodical meetings with leaders of the Brotherhood, as e.g. with ʿAbdulqādir ʿAwda, but without results. The Supreme Guide threw aside his pledge to refrain from political activity and in January 1954 the Brotherhood began to precipitate disorders. The Brethren interpreted the "moderation" of the RCC in concluding an agreement

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 304.

<sup>21</sup>RAMADĀN, ʿAbdulʿazīm dr.: *Aṣ-ṣirāʿ al-igtimāʿī wa as-siyāsī fī Miṣr* (The Social and Political Struggle in Egypt). Cairo, 1989 (2nd ed.), p. 148.

<sup>22</sup>LITTLE, Tom: *Modern Egypt*. London, Ernest Benn Limited 1968, p. 148.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 148.

with Britain over the Sudan in February 1953, and the initiation of negotiations over the Canal Base, as a betrayal of national aspirations. They agitated for a Holy War against British troops still stationed in the Canal Zone.<sup>24</sup> The tension between the revolutionary government and the Brotherhood went on increasing and confrontations could not be prevented. The RCC had to react promptly and decisively lest the situation get out of hand. Nor was inner political stability improved by disagreements between General Nagīb and other members of the RCC, which were openly spoken of.

The spark that started the conflagrations was not long in coming: on 12 January, the Brotherhood at Cairo University organized a commemorative celebration to honour patriots who had fallen two years before fighting against the British in the Suez Canal Zone.<sup>25</sup> At the mass rally the Brethren representative Ḥasan Duḥ addressed the students and then introduced to them Nawwāb Ṣafawī, leader of the Fida'iyyān al-Islām, an extremist Muslim organization in Iran. The students sympathizing with the Liberation Rally saw in this a provocation and openly expressed their disagreement. The encounter soon turned into a bloody fight in which members of the Brotherhood, in addition to sticks, also made use of firearms so that the celebration had tragic consequences.

Lest such clashes and disorders be carried into the streets, on 14 January the RCC issued a decision on the dissolution of the Muslim Brotherhood. General Nagīb alone stood up against this decision and justified his standpoint saying that in his view the decree on the dissolution of political parties had also affected the Brotherhood and since an exception had then been made, now on principle he could not agree with its dissolution.<sup>26</sup> The dissolution of the organization was followed by a wave of arrests which struck 450 representatives of the Brotherhood, not exempting even the Supreme Guide Ḥasan al-Ḥuḍaybi.<sup>27</sup> The public might have justifiably been under the impression that the revolution had definitively parted with the Brotherhood, but in the RCC they soon realized that momentarily there was just nothing to make up for the Brotherhood's support, and likewise the leaders of the Brotherhood came to the conclusion that the conflict had been premature. Under these circumstances, the Ministry of the Interior announced shortly afterwards that all the detained members of the Muslim Brotherhood against whom no definite accusation had been brought, would be freed. The inquiry, however, revealed that despite ideological divergences, efforts existed there at setting up a united front of the Brotherhood with the left and further political forces, with the ultimate aim of overthrowing the revolutionary government.<sup>28</sup> Nonetheless, G. ʿAbdunnāṣir was unwilling to break all the contacts that linked him with the Brotherhood; therefore, on the 5th anniversary of the death of the Movement's founder Ḥasan al-Bannā, on 12 February 1954, he visited al-Bannā's

<sup>24</sup>VATIKIOTIS, op. cit., p. 88.

<sup>25</sup>ABŪ AN-NAṢR, Muḥammad Ḥāmid: *Ḥaqīqat al-khilāf bayna al-ikhwān al-muslimūn wa ʿAbdunnāṣir* (The Truth about the conflict between the Muslim Brotherhood and ʿAbdunnāṣir). Cairo, 1987, p. 98.

<sup>26</sup>NAGĪB, Muḥammad: *Kalimatī li al-tārīkh* (My word to History). Cairo, 1981, p. 184.

<sup>27</sup>AR-RĀFIʿI, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 113.



grave at the head of an RCC delegation.<sup>29</sup> At the same time efforts continued at winning over adherents from the ranks of the Brotherhood with the aid of the wing that cooperated with the RCC. The conflict with the Brotherhood, however, was not averted, but merely adjourned for the time being.

The Muslim Brotherhood was the last organized political force in Egypt which the revolution made an enemy of by decreeing its dissolution. Thus, liberalism which created a favourable atmosphere for political activity became a platform unifying all opposition forces against the military dictatorship. In addition, the split in the ranks of Free Officers when General Nagīb refused to play the role of a mere façade to the RCC, paved the way for a successful counter-revolution.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, by the early months of 1953 the young officers of the RCC had begun to regret that they had ever given so much power to General Nagīb, while Nagīb himself seems to have felt that he did not have enough. It was not so much that he had dictatorial ambitions, as that after a long career in the army he could not accustom himself to having his orders questioned by a committee.<sup>31</sup>

The first symptoms of disunion in the RCC began to penetrate to the public during the summer and autumn of 1953, when several papers brought the news that the strong man in the RCC was Lt. Col. Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir and by several acts he himself gave substance to these reports. General Nagīb did not intend to lag behind and several statements on matters on which the RCC had not as yet expressed its standpoint.<sup>32</sup> At that time Nagīb enjoyed considerable popularity and the people looked at him as the leader of the revolution and a defender of the country, because they did not know the truth. This fact occupied and worried also G. ʿAbdunnāṣir, but at the beginning, for tactical reasons, he enforced an appearance of unity even at the cost of compromises. It should be added that the members of the RCC were then fully engaged with concrete work and found little time for political agitation. General Nagīb, on the other hand, had more time at his disposal and thus frequently visited public meetings where he listened to complaints and demands of the people and won general sympathies for himself.<sup>33</sup>

In the long run General Nagīb was no match for Lt. Col. Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir in the struggle for power. But his extreme popularity in the country was still capable of causing the young officers a lot of trouble. He began to criticize the actions of the RCC as ill-considered and impetuous.<sup>34</sup> Although he officially endorsed the decision of the officers to set up a Revolutionary Tribunal, as 1953 drew to a close, foreign diplomats and others knew that he disliked the whole affair and regarded some of Tribunal's sentences as disastrous blunders. He was consciously challenging the RCC by preaching that there should be an elected assembly and a civilian cabinet and that the army should return to its barracks as soon as possible.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> ABŪ AN-NAṢR, op. cit., p. 99.

<sup>30</sup> RAMADĀN, op. cit., p. 149.

<sup>31</sup> MANSFIELD, Peter: *Nasser's Egypt*. Penguin Books, 1965, p. 48.

<sup>32</sup> AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>34</sup> MANSFIELD, op. cit., p. 48.

The political crisis in Egypt became even worse by mid-February 1954. Members of the RCC met at two unofficial sessions without General Nagīb to consult on how to proceed further. It was clear to all of them that the situation had become unbearable, but nobody succeeded in proposing an acceptable way out. One group wished to issue a proclamation that officers of the RCC could no longer cooperate with General Nagīb and consequently would return to their barracks and leave him to the direction of State affairs. The other group refused such a risk saying that everyone who knows the General does not doubt that power would soon be out of his hands and such a proclamation would mean throwing the country into anarchy. Time was pressing for successfully completing negotiations on the evacuation of British troops from Egypt and on the future of the Sudan. Thus the view that ultimately prevailed, was that matters should not be rushed on such a serious issue as that of further cooperation with Nagīb.<sup>35</sup>

A further incident took place on 21 February when General Nagīb came to a session of the RCC and the remaining members of this council, negotiating in another office, did not go to meet him despite his repeated summons, nor did they invite him to join them. The proposal was made at this meeting for General Nagīb to carry out solely the function of President, and that G. <sup>c</sup>Abdunnāṣir be named Prime Minister as soon as possible. Several members of the RCC said that they should reflect on the consequences of such a decision and of its impact both on public opinion and on Nagīb himself who, aware that public opinion was on his side, might resign and thereby provoke a crisis.<sup>37</sup> The following day an RCC delegation made up of Gamāl Sālīm, Kamāluddīn Ḥusayn and Ḥusayn ash-Shāfi<sup>c</sup> called on General Nagīb with the request that he be satisfied with the function of President of the Republic, but he refused. The General realized that he had but one chance to win: to bring his conflict with the RCC before the people.<sup>38</sup>

General Nagīb decided to act. It was clear to him that the control of decisive instruments of power, such as the army and security forces were in the hands of the RCC and he could rely solely on his popularity with the nation for support. Now, after the dissolution of the Brotherhood when the revolutionary regime had lost the support of the last important political force, the moment seemed opportune. Nagīb did not attend the RCC session scheduled for 23 February, but sent in his aide-de-camp with a letter containing his request to be relieved of all his functions.<sup>39</sup> Nagīb's resignation was no quiet retreat from public life, it meant the start of a decisive political battle. This step on the part of the general put the RCC into a very delicate situation and constituted the direct cause of the "March Crisis".

The letter of resignation was well-timed. On 12 February, after long and difficult negotiations, an Anglo-Egyptian agreement had been reached on the Sudan, marking

<sup>35</sup> NAGĪB, op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>36</sup> AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>38</sup> MAR<sup>c</sup> T, Sayyid: *Awraq siyāsīya* (Political Papers). Vol. II, Cairo, 1978 (2nd ed.), p. 277.

<sup>39</sup> AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 97.

the first positive foreign policy achievement by the revolutionary regime. The Egyptians had accepted Sudanese independence on the basis of self-determination, hoping and expecting that the Sudanese government which emerged, would want unity with Egypt. Nagīb's popularity in the Sudan was their greatest asset and he was due to fly to Khartoum in a few days' time to represent Egypt at the opening of the new parliament.<sup>40</sup>

Despite the preceding events, Nagīb's resignation took most of the members of the RCC by surprise and thus the first concern was that the news should not reach the public before necessary measures could be taken. While evaluating the new situation G. °Abdunnāṣir warned that all the enemies of the revolution would unite around M. Nagīb in an effort to quash the revolution and therefore he recommended that all Nagīb's conditions should be accepted if he called off his resignation. G. °Abdunnāṣir simultaneously indicated that within a month a favourable situation might arise to eliminate Nagīb.<sup>41</sup> °Abdullaṭīf al-Baghdādī disagreed and proposed that Nagīb only remain president, that a civilian government and the Consultative Council (al-Maglis al-istishārī) be nominated and that the soldiers satisfy themselves with the role of supervising the realization of the aims of the revolution. Ṣalāḥ Ṣālim spoke against the removal of Nagīb because in his view, everyone would easily find out that the RCC was behind it. He pointed to the adverse impact of such an action on the Sudanese question in view of the popularity Nagīb enjoyed in the Sudan. Khālīd Muḥtuddīn demanded that the parliamentary system be renewed as soon as possible, a fact he considered more reasonable than accepting Nagīb's resignation or a return to the barracks.<sup>42</sup>

After a common session of the government and the RCC at which speculations had already spread about the resignation, members of the RCC met again in the evening at G. °Abdunnāṣir's house. After a long discussion they decided to withdraw from political life and to hand over RCC's full powers to Nagīb. A communiqué to this end was to have been published on 24 February at midday after a government session, at which °A. al-Baghdādī, K. Ḥusayn and Z. Muḥtuddīn were present, but G. °Abdunnāṣir and the brothers Gamāl and Ṣalāḥ Ṣālim did not attend. Shortly after G. Ṣālim called the cabinet to say that dissatisfaction was seething in the RCC building, that officers rebelled against orders to return to their barracks and were ready to recourse to violence if necessary. The three officers left the government session and the discussion of how to deal with the situation was resumed at the RCC. It was clear to all that both the acceptance of Nagīb's resignation as well as the army's return to the barracks would bring about an internal split in the country.<sup>43</sup>

The final outcome of the discussion was a decision to accept Nagīb's resignation regardless of the expected troubles. General °Amir was entrusted with the task of taking extensive security measures in the army and to replace the guard about Nagīb's house with other units.<sup>44</sup> The morning papers of 25 February brought a communiqué

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<sup>40</sup>MANSFIELD, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>41</sup>AL-BAGHDADĪ, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

elucidating the causes of disagreement between the RCC and M. Nagīb, with the following conclusions: 1) The RCC accepts M. Nagīb's resignation from all the functions which he exercised, 2) The RCC will carry on under the leadership of Lt. Col. G. ʿAbdunnāṣir, pursuing the principal aim, i.e. evacuation of colonizers, 3) The RCC nominates Lt. Col. G. ʿAbdunnāṣir Prime Minister.<sup>45</sup> Following the publication of the communiqué, the Minister of National Guidance Ṣalāḥ Ṣalīm declared that the post of President of the Republic would remain vacant until the renovation of parliamentary life in the country.<sup>46</sup> He also announced to the press that the RCC had to break with Gen. Nagīb because he "aimed at dictatorship" and had played a double game by coming to an understanding with the opposition. Both these accusations were true in a sense, although they were misleading because it was the RCC that had forced M. Nagīb to make the choice of resigning or becoming a mere figurehead.<sup>47</sup> A further communiqué addressed to the Sudanese people had it that "the Revolution is not a revolution of either Nagīb, or Gamāl or Ṣalāḥ... a sacred bond unites the peoples of both our countries, while rulers are but temporary and passing instruments".<sup>48</sup> These reports and proclamations, however, failed to influence the views of the population and expressions of dissatisfaction were not long in manifesting themselves: in the civil sector and the army, in the towns and countryside, in Egypt and the Sudan.

An analysis of the causes of the conflicts between the RCC and General Nagīb reveals that disagreements began to appear shortly after the victory of the revolution. A study of materials and recollections of the participants support the view that efforts on the part of the Free Officers to get rid of General Nagīb had been but a reaction to his inappropriate demands for power. G. ʿAbdunnāṣir and his companions had willingly accepted Nagīb's leadership and he enjoyed their respect. The press was instructed not to mention their names and to focus public attention on General Nagīb.<sup>49</sup> This initial concord had been affected by the following factors: 1) The true rulers of Egypt were the Free Officers in the RCC. All essential political decisions were made here by a majority of votes and General Nagīb could not alter them; 2) As President and Prime Minister General Nagīb had to bear the responsibility for all the decisions thus made, even though he may not have agreed with them; 3) Surprised by his immense popularity among the masses, M. Nagīb began to consider himself to be the true leader of the revolution and demanded a decisive share of power.<sup>50</sup>

The provisional Constitution granted to the Government extraordinary powers for the protection of revolutionary decisions for a three-year period. In conformity with this Constitution, General Nagīb could have immediately turned into a dictator had it not been for the system implemented within the RCC. That was the reason why Nagīb came to the conclusion that for his ambition to be satisfied, the only alternative was

<sup>44</sup> AS-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>45</sup> AR-RĀFIʿĪ, op. cit., pp. 114-117.

<sup>46</sup> MARʿĪ, op. cit., p. 279.

<sup>47</sup> MANSFIELD, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>48</sup> HAMRŪSH, op. cit., p. 330.

<sup>49</sup> RAMADĀN, op. cit., p. 157.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 158.

a return to liberal democracy within which he could obtain the support of leaders of political parties and movements, and thus heighten his personal expectations for a bright political future.<sup>51</sup> From a revolutionary who initially took a very hard line against the political parties, he turned into a liberal and a dauntless defender of their interests. From the end of 1953, the defeated political forces began to group themselves about him, expecting that through his intermediary they would succeed in breaking up the power monopoly of the RCC and to liquidate the revolution, whereby he came to be a supporter of counter-revolution.

As early as the mid-1953, members of the RCC were convinced that they would have to get rid of General Nagīb, for they were not ready to acquiesce to his demands for power (right of veto on all decisions taken by the RCC, the right to nominate and to recall ministers, and so on). There followed a short interval during which members of the RCC endeavoured to exclude General Nagīb from the decision-making process by failing to invite him to their sessions.<sup>52</sup> Nagīb reacted to this by gradually moving to the opposite camp, justifying this move by a need to return to liberal democracy, although in January 1953 he had consented to the postponement of democracy for three years. He saw a suitable opportunity for exercising pressure on the RCC after 15 January 1954 when the decision was taken - without his being consulted - to dissolve the Muslim Brotherhood. This decision significantly helped to strengthen the counter-revolutionary camp which thereby grouped all the organized political forces in Egypt. About one month later, General Nagīb laid down two alternatives before the RCC: either parliamentary life will be revived, or he will hand in his resignation.<sup>53</sup> At a stormy session on 23 February the RCC accepted his resignation and designated G. ʿAbdun-nāṣir Prime minister and Chairman of the RCC.

Nagīb's step taken under the slogan of a return to democracy failed to give a reply to the question of whether the revolution categorically rejected a return to democracy, or if it involved a divergence of views on the form of democracy in Egypt. It would seem that already towards the end of 1953, the RCC had begun - with respect to Nagīb - seriously to consider reviving democracy, but not in the form it had before the revolution. During the three months preceding the crisis, members of the RCC had had a series of conversations with politicians of the former regime.<sup>54</sup> Commenting on these conversations, Ṣalāḥ Ṣālim declared that "they concerned questions of a gradual restoration of a parliamentary life and of further issues of vital importance to the country and that the programme of a common session of the government and the RCC on 23 February comprised all these issues. Had it not been for the unfortunate circumstances (Nagīb's resignation), all the proposed measures would have been passed at that meeting."<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup>VATIKIOTIS, op. cit., p. 89.

<sup>52</sup>AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>53</sup>RAMADĀN, op. cit., p. 160.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>55</sup>AL-AHRĀM, 8. 3. 1954.

As the reason for General Nagīb's resignation had been his demand for a revival of parliamentary life and his disagreement with "military dictatorship", this question was included that day in the programme of the common session of the RCC and the government. It appears that the resignation was accepted principally because the differences of opinion regarding the form of the revival could not be overcome: whether to renew the pre-revolutionary conditions, or to set up such a system of democracy as would not admit a return of the old forces to the political scene and would ensure the development of the revolutionary processes.<sup>56</sup> The acceptance of the resignation was a signal for the opposition forces to increase their activity. All those opposed to the regime: the rich, the left wing, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Wafd-supported Nagīb, not because they believed he was the potential saviour of the country, but because they calculated that through him they might break the autocratic rule of the RCC; he became a rallying point for counter-revolutionary forces.<sup>57</sup>

General Nagīb's resignation following his disagreement with the RCC members over matters of policy and the allocation of authority, had serious repercussions among the public, disconcerting to the junta. But the public reaction to Nagīb's resignation was not the decisive element. The junta was alarmed, rather, at the division among officer ranks over this issue.<sup>58</sup> A serious reaction to the resignation took place among the motorized units and this on the very day following acceptance of the resignation. The officers of these units called a meeting at which they demanded the restoration of democracy and the return of General Nagīb. They were absolutely against the revolution turning into a military dictatorship similar to autocratic rule of King Fārūq. The atmosphere in the hall was growing more and more explosive and Lt. Col. Ḥusayn ash-Shāfi'ī failed to satisfy the officers present. So, G. °Abdunnāṣir himself hurried to confront this hostile meeting in the mess at al-°Abbāsiyah barracks. The roar of tanks coming in from outside aroused in him the suspicion that a new military coup was being launched. Although he exerted all his power of persuasion, he failed to appease the officers.<sup>59</sup> The discussion turned into a quarrel which threatened to grow into an armed conflict and G. °Abdunnāṣir decided on a tactical retreat. Shortly after midnight of 27 February he asked for a break in order that he might discuss the demands laid down with members of the RCC.

At the RCC headquarters, G. °Abdunnāṣir briefed his colleagues on the development of the situation and while seeking a way out of the crisis, he proposed and approval of an early return to democracy and the appointment of Khālīd Muḥtuddīn for premiership.<sup>60</sup> Khālīd who had not taken part in the meeting in the barracks had expressed his objections, but Gamāl stressed that at this moment the country wished General Nagīb's return and Khālīd alone could cooperate with him, so that finally Khālīd agreed. The RCC members approved the solution but warned against too leftist

<sup>56</sup>RAMADĀN, op. cit., p. 166.

<sup>57</sup>LITTLE, op. cit., p. 145.

<sup>58</sup>VATIKIOTIS, op. cit., p. 90.

<sup>59</sup>MANSFIELD, op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>60</sup>AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 106.

a government. Then G. <sup>c</sup>Abdunnāṣir and Kh. Muḥtuddīn returned to the barracks and informed the officers of the following RCC decision: 1) Muḥammad Nagīb would be president of a parliamentary republic, 2) Khālīd Muḥtuddīn would set up a new interim (civilian) government for a period of six months, 3) the government would carry out elections for the constituent assembly, 4) the RCC would be dissolved.<sup>61</sup> The report was accepted and Khālīd, accompanied by a number of officers, went to inform General Nagīb of the RCC decision. Shortly afterwards Khālīd phoned to headquarters that General Nagīb had agreed with the decision.

Officers of other army corps, and principally the second echelon of the Free Officers considered the events of the last night as an attempt to liquidate the Revolution, as a communist coup to oust the RCC, organized by officers of the Armoured Corps.<sup>62</sup> Those Free Officers hastened to the RCC headquarters in the early morning hours of 27 February and demanded the cancellation of the RCC decision to resign, otherwise they threatened an attack on the barracks of the Armoured Corps.<sup>63</sup> When members of the RCC stood by their decision, the other officers were stricken by hysteria and acted on their own: they prevented the publication of the communiqué on the resignation, locked up the members of the RCC in the session hall and put guards at the door. The barracks of the Armoured Corps were surrounded by infantry troops. Those surrounded prepared for defence and an armed conflict threatened to break out in the town. Under these circumstances General ʿAmīr withdrew his resignation and again took up his function as Commander-in-Chief of the army, thus trying to gain control over the situation. Shortly after Khālīd Muḥtuddīn's visit a group of Free Officers arrested General Nagīb in his house in the suburb az-Zaytūn without the knowledge of the RCC as "a participant in a communist plot" and took him to the artillery barracks at Almazāh.<sup>64</sup> When General ʿAmīr learned of this, he ordered his immediate release. Officers of the Armoured Corps (silāḥ al-fursān) were taken unawares by this unexpected development. Some of them tried to prevent an armed encounter: they went to the RCC seat in order to take counsel on the situation, but instead of discussion, they were arrested and interrogated.<sup>65</sup>

An essential change in the situation seemed to have taken place in favour of the RCC, but the struggle for the character of the republic with adherents of liberal democracy had not been decided yet. When news spread in Cairo of General Nagīb's return to office, crowds of many thousands filled the streets since morning hours, expressing their support for both General Nagīb and the RCC satisfied over the renewed unity. Under the influence of the demonstrations, the RCC temporarily retreated from the decision regarding its dissolution and resumed its work. Khālīd Muḥtuddīn, instead of being busy with setting up a new cabinet, had to fend off attacks of angry officers for his sympathy with General Nagīb and was faced with threats of

<sup>61</sup>HAMRŪSH, op. cit., p. 332.

<sup>62</sup>MARʿI, op. cit., p. 280.

<sup>63</sup>AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>64</sup>HAMRŪSH, op. cit., p. 334.

<sup>65</sup>AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 109.

imprisonment or exile.<sup>66</sup> Almost all members of the RCC accused Khālīd of treason and demanded his ousting from the RCC and his subsequent punishment. Lt. Col. al-Baghdādī alone denied the charges against Khālīd as unjustified, and G. ʿAbdunnāṣir closed the discussion stating that the question of Khālīd was not decisive at the moment but rather the return of General Nagīb: if he returned Khālīd would have to remain in the RCC.<sup>67</sup>

During the reopened session of the RCC a discussion went on about the suitability of General Nagīb's resuming the presidency. Moreover a court martial was set up to try the arrested officers of the Armoured Corps. In the meantime the crowds in the streets of Cairo had swollen and demonstrators controlled by activists of the United Front, i.e. the Muslim Brotherhood, the Wafd, Communists and Socialists hailed General Nagīb and blamed the RCC. At about 3 p.m. the exhausted RCC members interrupted the session for a few hours. Only G. ʿAbdunnāṣir, who was empowered to take the necessary measures in case the situation was aggravated, remained in the headquarters. The incoming news was not encouraging: the garrison of Alexandria stood up for Nagīb's return, anti-Egyptian demonstrations took place in Khartoum and the situation in Cairo itself reminded one of the moments before the eruption of a volcano.<sup>68</sup> Opponents of the Revolution were waiting for their opportunity. It seemed that the situation could be saved only by armed intervention of loyal troops, however, Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir did not consider this measure reasonable under the circumstances. He decided for a tactical retreat and at 6 p.m. the radio broadcast the following communiqué: "For the sake of preserving national unity the RCC announces General Muḥammad Nagīb is resuming the presidency of the Republic."<sup>69</sup>

The demonstrations of protest immediately turned into an outbreak of joy. The Minister of the Interior, Zakariyā Muḥiuddīn trying to maintain control over the situation proclaimed that every disturbance of public order would be strictly punished, but despite strong police reinforcements to maintain public order, numerous people were wounded, and he did not succeed in calming the crowds in the streets.<sup>70</sup> The next day (28 February) all morning papers brought news of Nagīb's triumph. The President resumed his post as a victor, but had no real power except the support of the opposition forces, who were demanding a return to liberal democracy. "It was clear that this did not mean the end of the conflict, but a mere armistice for mobilization of forces prior to a new encounter."<sup>71</sup>

The first day after his return to office, General Nagīb went to the ʿAbidīn Palace. A crowd of many thousands had soon gathered in the square in front of the palace despite an appeal by the Minister of the Interior, and several demonstrators were injured in clashes with security forces. When General Nagīb appeared on the palace balcony to address the people, he was unable to calm the crowd. Therefore, he invited

<sup>66</sup>RAMADĀN, op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>67</sup>HAMRŪSH, op. cit., p. 335; AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 110.

<sup>68</sup>AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>69</sup>AR-RĀFĪʿĪ, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>70</sup>NAGĪB, op. cit., p. 196.

<sup>71</sup>MARʿĪ, op. cit., p. 281.



one of the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, ʿAbdulqādir ʿAwda, to his side on the balcony and promised a strict investigation of the intervention of the security forces. He then explained to the cheering crowd that he had withdrawn his resignation only on the promise of liberty, democracy and parliamentary elections.<sup>72</sup> He stated that he had agreed with the RCC on the setting up of a constituent assembly (*gamʿiya taʿsisīya*) representing the whole people, which would prepare and approve a new constitution, and on organizing an election by the end of the three-year transition period which had been proclaimed on 17 January 1953. Nevertheless, on 1 March, the papers brought the news of the arrest of 118 persons,<sup>73</sup> including ʿAbdulqādir ʿAwda and Aḥmad Ḥusayn, the leader of the Socialist Party (the earlier *Miṣr al-fatāt*). In addition, teaching was interrupted for about two weeks in three universities (Cairo, ʿAyn Shams and Alexandria).

The predominance of the Muslim Brotherhood over the Wafd and the minority parties the demonstrations of 27 and 28 February is evidence that the bourgeoisie's capacity for action had been, to a great extent, paralysed due to the hard blows that had been dealt to the large agrarian bourgeoisie and due to the fear of Egyptian capitalists from the arrests and trials of their leaders following the dissolution of political parties. This conclusion is also supported by a comparison of the arrests among the demonstrators where the Brethren greatly outnumbered adherents of the remaining parties: in the case of the Wafd, the ratio ran 9:1.<sup>74</sup> The strict organization among the communists and the Brethren had helped them promptly to mobilize and bring their members and adherents into action against the Revolution. In any case, the demonstrations and riots organized by the United Front in support of Muḥammad Nagīb influenced the attitudes of all groups of Egyptian bourgeoisie and were responsible for a temporary victory by the liberal movement.

The President again became the rallying point for enemies of the regime. The politicians on both the left and right excitedly saw the prospect of power, and the Muslim Brotherhood now believed that it had a chance to capture control of the RCC.<sup>75</sup> President Nagīb, for his part, believed that the will of the people had triumphed over the Council and did not realize that he was only the tool of the opposition. But they all miscalculated because they were unaware of the character and capacity of Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir. He recognized the situation for what it was: an attempt to oust the Free Officers by exploiting the popular appeal of Muḥammad Nagīb for parliamentary government. He had, however, acquired one advantage over his enemies; they had unveiled themselves, and he decided then and there to destroy them.<sup>76</sup>

On 1 March General Nagīb flew to Khartoum to take part in the solemn opening of the Sudan's first parliament. He was accompanied by Ṣalāḥ Ṣalīm and Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Bāqūrī of the Muslim Brotherhood. The date of the journey was not suitable, for the situation in Egypt was still unstable, yet because of the political reasons involved,

<sup>72</sup> HAMRŪSH, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

<sup>73</sup> AR-RĀFIʿĪ, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>74</sup> RAMADĀN, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>75</sup> MANSFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>76</sup> LITTLE, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

it could not be postponed. However, this visit to the Sudan was unexpectedly disturbed by anti-British and anti-Egyptian demonstrations by adherents of the National Party (Ḥizb al-Umma),<sup>77</sup> which ended in bloody encounters with the police. The solemn opening was thus marred and General Nagīb and the British Minister Selwyn Lloyd left the Sudan. The organizers of the demonstrations were subsequently condemned to harsh prison sentences.<sup>78</sup> In the absence of General Nagīb the junta arrested the ringleaders of the Armoured Corps and some communists and Muslim Brothers, and began a systematic check on the loyalty of the Free Officers, while Zakariyā Muḥtūdīn, now Minister of the Interior, investigated the loyalty of the police.<sup>79</sup>

On Thursday 4 March, members of the RCC met (except Khālīd Muḥtūdīn) to analyse the situation after General Nagīb's resumption of the presidency. As confrontational policy proved to be disadvantageous to the RCC at the moment, it was decided to accept measures that would give the RCC respite for certain tactical concessions. At this meeting the RCC decided that the Constituent Assembly that would be set up after the direct general election would start working on 23 July 1954 and would then debate the draft of the new constitution, approve it and until the election of a new legislative assembly would also fulfil the function of a parliament.<sup>80</sup> On 6 March press censorship was abolished and it was announced that martial law would be abolished a month before elections to ensure their smooth course. These decisions by the RCC (known as the Resolution of 5 March) went beyond the framework outlined by General Nagīb on 28 February, but the greatest consequence ensued from the immediate lifting of censorship. Cairo newspapers, with support from the politicians, quickly manifested their discontent with the régime and began to demand a restoration of complete political freedom. Politicians of the old regime began to reappear and consult together, ready at last, after the lesson of two years of military rule, to bury their differences in a national front.<sup>81</sup> The abolition of censorship thus provided all political parties in Egypt with adequate opportunities for open expression of views and attitudes, and on the other hand, it gave a clear idea to the Revolution on the number and strength of its enemies before the decisive struggle.<sup>82</sup>

The Resolution of 5 March, however, did not mean an end to the conflict between the RCC and Muḥammad Nagīb: at a common meeting of the government and the RCC on 8 March, G. ʿAbdunnāṣir relinquished the post of Prime Minister and President of the RCC to General Nagīb and reverted to his old post of Deputy Prime Minister. Most of those present welcomed this change, but simultaneously the view spread that Muḥammad Nagīb's ambitions for power had, in fact, weakened his own position. It could not escape to the public at large that the "parliamentary republic" lasted four days only, to be replaced by a presidential system.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>77</sup>FABUMI, L.A.: *The Sudan in Anglo-Egyptian Relations. A Case Study in Power Politics, 1800-1956*. London, Longmans 1960, p. 341.

<sup>78</sup>AR-RAḤMĪ, op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>79</sup>LITTLE, op. cit., p. 146.

<sup>80</sup>HAMRŪSH, op. cit., p. 339.

<sup>81</sup>LITTLE, op. cit., p. 146.

<sup>82</sup>RAMADĀN, op. cit., p. 173.

The old political forces immediately began to prepare for a power take-over, for they considered the decision to return to a liberal democracy a signal for dissolved political parties and organizations to resume their activities. Discussions went on at various levels as to whether the old political parties should be restored or new ones should be established, with of course, representatives of the dissolved parties demanding their restoration, while independent politicians favoured the creation of entirely new parties.<sup>84</sup> After the abolition of press censorship and General Nagīb's assumption of the reins of government, the forces demanding the installation of a liberal democracy (the Wafd, the communists, the socialists and the Muslim Brethren) began to behave like winners intending to oust the revolutionary forces from the political scene. To achieve this goal they set up a slogan of the army's return to the barracks and an immediate restoration of parliamentary life.<sup>85</sup>

General Nagīb failed to draw a lesson from his previous mistakes and carried on in his "easy-going" system of government: he did not create any organizational bonds with officers devoted to him, did not join with any party of political force through which he might draw support from the masses.<sup>86</sup> The RCC on the contrary, intensified its bonds with the army whose new commanders had already been appointed to their posts on the orders of General 'Amir. For the sake of settling old disputes, the artillery officers sentenced early in 1953, were released from prison. In an effort to calm the situation, General 'Amir gave a banquet in the Officers' Club at which General Nagīb and other RCC members addressed the 1350 officers present.<sup>87</sup>

In mid-March, lengthy excited discussions went on among the RCC members concerning the ways and means of preparing the transition to a liberal democracy. The RCC had to be dissolved on 24 July 1954, immediately after the Constituent Assembly started to work. While initially the view prevailed that the RCC should not take part in the elections as a party,<sup>88</sup> subsequently the majority decided to form a party called the Socialist Republican Party (al-Ḥizb al-ishtirākī al-gumhūrī) with a programme based on "moderate socialist principles" demanding economic and social progress in keeping with the goals of the Revolution.<sup>89</sup> However, attempts at forming a new party were unexpectedly stopped on 23 March, when General Nagīb declared that the RCC had no intention of setting up a new party.<sup>90</sup>

At this time of political turmoil, King Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdul'azīz paid an official visit to Cairo in order to try and ease the tension between the RCC and the Muslim Brethren and recall the ban on their activities. His mediation proved successful, for in an interview with journalists Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir stated that the Brotherhood would be freely permitted to form an Islamic party or organization. On the other hand, he had

<sup>83</sup> AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 133.

<sup>84</sup> RAMADĀN, op. cit., p. 178.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 184.

<sup>86</sup> ḤAMRŪSH, op. cit., pp. 340-341.

<sup>87</sup> NAGĪB, op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>88</sup> AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 88.

<sup>89</sup> AL-AHRĀM, 20. 3. 1954.

<sup>90</sup> RAMADĀN, op. cit., p. 182.

harshly criticized the communists saying that whenever the agreement with London was within reach, they always raise a hue and cry aiming to mar the agreement.<sup>91</sup> It was an attempt to cause a rupture in the national front which likewise tried to unify all the parties and organizations above the highest interests of the homeland, i.e. to bring about the unconditional departure of foreign troops from Egypt. Much of the discussion turned around the issue whether the Communist Party would legally be permitted to act under the conditions of a liberal democracy, with numerous examples being cited from West European countries. The former RCC member Colonel Yūsuf Ṣādiq was of the view that the communists (the left) were a force that could not be ignored and as citizens they had the right to discuss Egypt's future like other Egyptians.<sup>92</sup> On 24 March the daily "al-Miṣrī" published Ṣādiq's article in which he proposed the formation of a coalition government which would carry out parliamentary elections made up of the Wafd, the Muslim Brethren, the socialists and communists under Dr. Waḥīd Ra'fat. Colonel Ṣādiq publicly suggested the communists' participation in the government within the democratic national front.<sup>93</sup>

Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir waged a hard struggle for the survival of the Revolution, but was wrong in his appraisal of the situation when he considered the army as the only force capable of defeating the counter-revolution, although the army was not united during those critical days. The crisis came to a head on 25 March: At the session of the RCC, only two realistic ways out appeared: either to cancel the Resolution of 5 March and return to the status quo ante, or to remove all obstacles in the way of political parties and release all political prisoners. After a five-hour discussion, G. 'Abdunnāṣir's project was accepted by a majority of votes from several alternatives, and subsequently came to be known as "The Resolution of 25 March". 1) It is permitted to form political parties. 2) The RCC will not form a political party. 3) No one may be deprived of political rights in order not to affect the elections. 4) The Constituent Assembly would be elected directly and would have full powers and the sovereignty of a parliament. 5) The RCC would be dissolved on 24 July 1954 as a sign that the Revolution had ended and had handed over the country to representatives of the nation. 6) The Constituent Assembly would elect the President of the Republic at its first session.<sup>94</sup>

The Resolution of 25 March meant a defeat of the Revolution and a victory for the forces of the counter-revolution united about the demand for a return to liberal democracy. From the way the situation developed during the previous month, many observers acquired the conviction that the hand of history was turning back, but this development had several causes. While the Revolution had no ideological base, the forces fighting against it (the Wafd, the Muslim Brotherhood, the communists) had a clear ideological platform. Thus, from the liberal point of view, the liquidation of old social and political forces by the revolution appeared as a caprice of the military

<sup>91</sup> ḤAMRŪSH, op. cit., p. 343.

<sup>92</sup> RAMADĀN, op. cit., p. 181.

<sup>93</sup> ḤAMRŪSH, op. cit., p. 343.

<sup>94</sup> AL-MIṢRĪ, 26. 3. 1954.

dictatorship. At the moment, liberal democracy was the only alternative for the coexistence of all the political forces; for the Revolution, with its vague ideology could not offer any other.

Although G. °Abdunnāṣir and his companions in the RCC were forced by the pressure of the inner political situation to accept the Resolution of 25 March, they did not give up hope of being able to save the Revolution.<sup>95</sup> It should be observed that the decisions did not meet with a spontaneous all-national consensus. A considerable part of the army, too, received the decisions with indignation and resolved not to allow a reversal of the revolutionary road. Members of the RCC were well-aware of the relationship of the Muslim Brotherhood to political parties and that dissolution of the latter had been convenient for the leaders of the Brotherhood. In an effort to introduce disunion into the ranks of the opposition, an order was issued on 26 March releasing the Supreme Guide Ḥasan al-Ḥuḍaybī and the other leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood from prison, while leaders of the other parties remained in custody. Presently, the ban on the Brethren's activity was also lifted and Ḥasan al-Ḥuḍaybī proclaimed that his organization was stronger than ever before.<sup>96</sup>

The standpoint of the Muslim Brethren following the publication of the Resolution of 25 March when they announced that "as yet they had not decided on their further procedure, but that they would wait until the other political prisoners would be released and would preserve peace",<sup>97</sup> meant an important shift in the balance of political forces. On the morning of 27 March when the daily "al-Gumhūrīya" published the decision that activity by the Muslim Brotherhood was again authorized, it also brought a statement from the Brotherhood in which the existence of political parties was related to the moral decline of society and Egyptians were exhorted to join their ranks instead of forming political parties. Through this step the Muslim Brotherhood ceased its support in the struggle for a renovation of democracy and parliamentary way of life and sided with the RCC, for in principle it disagreed with the activities of political parties. It was decided that during the forthcoming critical days, the Brotherhood would adopt a passive attitude and would abstain from participating in demonstrations against the RCC.<sup>98</sup> Representatives of the liberal movement later criticized G. °Abdunnāṣir, saying that he had banked on the Muslim Brethren and "had bought their silence for allowing their activity and they opportunistically utilized this offer in order to prevent a renewal of a parliamentary way of life, not realizing that within a short time they themselves would become a victim (of the dictatorship)".<sup>99</sup>

On 26 March the Journalists' Union Executive Council held a meeting and passed a resolution demanding the immediate lifting of the state of emergency, revocation of sentences passed by the Revolutionary Tribunals and the release of political prisoners. On that same day the Association of Lawyers also held their General Assembly at which

<sup>95</sup> AL-BISHRĪ, Tāriq: *Ad-dīmuqrāṭīya wa niẓām 23 yūliyū 1952-1970* (Democracy and the Regime of 23 July). Beirut, 1987, p. 84.

<sup>96</sup> ḤAMRŪSH, op. cit., p. 345.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 346.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 347.

<sup>99</sup> NAGĪB, op. cit., p. 211.

they decided to go on strike on 28 March in protest against the bad treatment meted out to prisoners. Teachers of the University of Alexandria met on 27 March and demanded the dissolution of the RCC and an immediate abolition of martial law and of further extraordinary measures. Their example was followed on 28 March by teachers of the two Cairo Universities who expressed the same demands.<sup>100</sup> The daily press kept on reporting that Muṣṭafā an-Naḥḥās, Rashshād Mahannā, Aḥmad Ḥusayn and others had not as yet been released. The period between 25 and 28 March may be considered the climax in the struggle for liberal democracy in Egypt.

The serious social movements taking place during the peak of the political crisis could not continue without a response on the part of the working people. The latter were thoroughly conscious of the danger threatening the Revolution and its gains, and they had no wish to return to the old order. Trade Union leaders, too, were aware of their historical opportunity: if they sided with the Revolution, in case of its victory they could expect the advantages due to an ally or a partner, while they could expect nothing from a victorious bourgeoisie if they were to support it.<sup>101</sup> The fact that the communists (the left) fought in the camp of the liberal forces and several workers' Trade Unions (Yellow Trade Unions) supported the Revolution clearly shows that the influence of the communists among the workers was not decisive. Moreover, the majority of the leftist (and the Wafd) leaders were in prison.

The Resolution of 25 March provoked considerable indignation in the majority of the officers' corps. Delegations of officers and representatives of entire regiments came to the RCC headquarters and demanded that the resolution be revoked, or that its implementation made impossible. It was decided that regiments would send their shared viewpoints to the Commander-in-Chief who would the present them to the President.<sup>102</sup> Such a way of acting on the part of certain members of the RCC did not point to their sincere resolve to implement the Resolution of 25 March because they did not attempt to pacify the dissatisfied officers and to convince them of the necessity of submission. On the contrary, they instigated the officers to joint action against General Nagīb.<sup>103</sup> Similarly as at the end of February, so now the initiative was also being taken by second-line Free Officers. An effective tool in support of the Revolution came to be the Liberation Rally which was set up as a mass basis for the Revolution. This organization was directed by Major Ibrāhīm aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī (a deputy of the Secretary General G. ʿAbdunnāṣir) while Major Aḥmad ʿAbdullāh Ṭuʿayma was in charge of the Trade Union movement. On 26 March these two officers joined with leaders of the big transport workers unions (about one million members)<sup>104</sup> and decided to organize a strike for 28 March to defend the gains of the Revolution. The Secretary of the public transport workers union (an-naql al-mushtarak) aṣ-Ṣawī Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣawī was elected

<sup>100</sup> RAMADĀN, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>101</sup> RAMADĀN, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

<sup>102</sup> AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–156.

<sup>103</sup> ḤAMRŪSH, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

<sup>104</sup> They were aṣ-Ṣawī Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣawī, secretary of the TUC of Common Transport, Kāmil al-ʿUqaylī, secretary of the TUC of workers in automobile transport and Muḥammad Nūḥ, secretary of the TUC of Cairo tramways.

Chairman of the Strike Committee, and the principal demand of the trade unions members was not to allow a return of political parties and to keep the RCC in power until the departure of foreign troops from the country.<sup>105</sup> In addition, further groups and organizations were also to take part in the demonstrations in support of the Revolution under the direction of the Liberation Rally. G. ʿAbdunnāṣir did not ascribe any major significance to the planned events, on which he was briefed by aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī and Ṭuʿayma. He even expressed anxiety about possible consequences: as a soldier, he felt convinced that only the army was capable of crushing the camp of liberal forces.

On the night of March 26-27, General Nagīb was aroused from sleep by his aide-de-camp Captain Muḥammad Riyāḍ who informed him that a conspiracy was being prepared against democracy in the form of strikes and demonstrations. General Nagīb immediately contacted the Minister of the Interior Zakariyā Muḥṭuddīn, warned him not to play with fire, telling him he would personally bear responsibility for any results of unrest.<sup>106</sup> Although the minister denied the reports about preparations of demonstrations, General Nagīb was not satisfied and early in the morning had the minister's deputy summoned to him and ordered the deputy to prevent demonstrations at all costs and to disperse demonstrators. When the deputy Minister of the Interior asked for a written order to fire into the demonstrators, the President resolutely refused to consent to bloodshed.<sup>107</sup> Immediately afterwards the President discussed the situation with Khālīd Muḥṭuddīn, the only member of the RCC whom he trusted, but the latter expressed doubts about the existence of any conspiracy.

These fateful moments again showed how ill-timed King Saʿūd's visit in Egypt was, but also the lack of resolution on the part of General Nagīb who apparently failed to differentiate among the degrees of gravity of the various events. As it had been planned, he accompanied the King to Alexandria on 27 March, although only three members of the RCC travelled with him, all the others having excused themselves.<sup>108</sup> While the fate of the country was being decided in Cairo, the President was wasting time performing official duties. After alarming reports about demonstrations in the evening, he hurriedly returned to Cairo. His devoted Colonel Aḥmad Shawqī informed him that a considerable part of the army rebelled against the Resolution of 25 March and that several officers had expressed their determination to kill him (Nagīb). Colonel Shawqī and other officers expressed their readiness to set out immediately at the head of faithful troops against the headquarters of the RCC and to take its members prisoner.<sup>109</sup> However, General Nagīb hesitated to give the order whose implementation carried with it the risk of bloodshed and civil war. Thus, he missed perhaps the last opportunity for the victory of liberal democracy.

Sunday 28 March marked the climax of the struggle for the future political development in the country. By 8 a.m. the striking members of transport workers unions had

<sup>105</sup> RAMADĀN, *op. cit.*, Appendix 3, p. 216.

<sup>106</sup> NAGĪB, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

<sup>107</sup> ḤAMRŪSH, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 353.

<sup>109</sup> NAGĪB, *op. cit.*, p. 220.



totally paralysed life in Cairo. The demonstration in support of the Revolution had swollen further because of youth organizations, soldiers from the Military Police and those of the National Guard (al-Ḥaras al-waṭanī)<sup>110</sup> in civilian dress, and Major Magdī Ḥasanayn brought in workers on lorries from the "at-Taḥrīr" province, armed with sticks. Most frequently the demonstrators called out the slogan "We want no parties, we want no parliament". Muḥammad Nagīb was presented to the country as the man who broke the Revolution and as G. ʿAbdunnāṣir had calculated, the General now found himself in an impossible position. While he had become President through an army revolt, he was about to be responsible for restoring the discredited political system which the revolt had been carried out to destroy.<sup>111</sup> A meeting was held in Nagīb's house on the situation. Besides some of his faithful officers, Dr. ʿAbdurrazzāq as-Sanhūrī, Sulaymān Ḥafīz and ʿAbdurrahīmān ʿAzzām also took part. After refusing the idea of an armed confrontation, Muḥammad Nagīb was obliged to accept that of a victory by the military dictatorship.<sup>112</sup> General Nagīb then went to see King Saʿūd to explain the situation to him. In an effort to settle the conflict the King invited Gamāl ʿAbdunnāṣir and other dignitaries but failed to achieve understanding. That same evening the RCC held a meeting after which a common session of the RCC and the government took place.<sup>113</sup> A sharp exchange of views went on until the early morning hours and when General Nagīb realized that he did not have sufficient mass support, he decided to give in. He offered his resignation to the RCC, but G. ʿAbdunnāṣir, in view of the popularity Nagīb still enjoyed, did not agree even with a change at the head of the government for the time being. Evidently he wanted to postpone such steps until the time when General Nagīb had also lost the remnants of his popularity.

On the morning of 29 March, General Nagīb with the official suite accompanied King Saʿūd to the airport and after the ceremonial parting, he broke down from exhaustion and lay bed-ridden for three full weeks.<sup>114</sup> In view of the persisting strikes and demonstrations, it was urgent that effective measures be taken to restore order. At the continuing joint session of the RCC and the government the following decisions were adopted: 1) the implementation of the 5 and 25 March Resolutions is postponed until the end of the transitional period, 2) and Advisory National Assembly (maglis waṭanī istishārī) will be constituted with due respect to the representation of religious communities, organizations and various regions.<sup>115</sup> The population learned of these new decisions through the evening news broadcast, yet the reactions were not unambiguous. While the general strike had formally ended at 5 a.m. on 30 March, university students received this turn in the situation with disapproval, rioting and threats of death to RCC members. Army units were sent out to the streets to ensure security.

<sup>110</sup> The National Guard had been set up on orders of General Nagīb before the start of negotiations with Great Britain on evacuation of her troops from Egypt. They were irregular guerilla squads operating against British installations in the Suez Canal Zone, commanded by Kamāluddīn Ḥusayn.

<sup>111</sup> MANSFIELD, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>112</sup> NAGĪB, op. cit., p. 222.

<sup>113</sup> AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, op. cit., p. 156.

<sup>114</sup> NAGĪB, op. cit., p. 225.

<sup>115</sup> AR-RĀFĪ, op. cit., p. 124.



Nagf's "fall" and the victory of 'Abdunnāṣir's faction in the army placed all political groups, and especially the Muslim Brethren, in a difficult position. While the junta retained Nagf in his offices temporarily to placate public sentiment as well as Sudanese feelings - it simultaneously set out to consolidate its absolute control in the country.<sup>116</sup> The decisions of 29 March were followed on 5 April with series of tough RCC measures intended to protect the Revolution. These consisted mainly of a purge of the provincial and municipal councils, and of the Press, of so-called undesirable elements. Before announcing the new cabinet, on 15 April the RCC issued a decree depriving all those members of the Wafd, Liberal Constitutionalist and Sa<sup>c</sup>dist parties who had held ministerial posts in the period between 1942 and 1952 of their political rights for ten years. The powerful Journalists' Union Executive Council was dissolved on the same day. It was replaced by another whose members were appointed by the government.<sup>117</sup>

On 17 April 1954, Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir became Prime Minister while Muḥammad Nagf remained President of the Republic for another six months. The new cabinet featured most of the RCC members<sup>118</sup> and only two civilians were left in the government: 'Abdulmun<sup>c</sup>im al-Qaysūnī for Finance and Economics, and Faṭḥ Rīdḡān for Communications. The ascendancy of Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir to the Premiership is considered the official beginning of a change in the development of the Revolution.

By the end of April it was clear that the crisis was over and that the RCC and the army had emerged victorious from the power-struggle. This struggle in fact broke out immediately after the military coup in 1952, when all groups and parties rushed to influence the RCC's political direction and orientation. The Muslim Brethren hoped to control the junta in favour of a traditional fundamentalist orientation. The Wafd, on the other hand, expected that by forcing a return to constitutional forms they could find their way back to power. The communists, socialists, and other radical leftist groups within and outside the army viewed the coup only as the first phase of a more radical revolution. But Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir apparently was not prepared to commit himself or his movement to any other group, at the end rejecting their terms by suppressing every one of them.<sup>119</sup> To save the Revolution, during the crisis, it was necessary to neutralize the Muslim Brotherhood and temporarily to accept the 5 and 25 March Resolution that served as time-gaining devices and helped to fend off the counter-revolutionary attack made under the slogan of a return to democracy. Thus the questions facing the RCC in March 1954 were answered - by actions rather than words - in the only way capable of producing hard, tangible responses to the issues

<sup>116</sup>VATIKIOTIS, op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>117</sup>VATIKIOTIS, P.J.: *The History of Egypt*. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985 (3rd ed.), p. 383.

<sup>118</sup>Lieutenant Colonel Gamāl 'Abdunnāṣir, Prime Minister, Lieutenant Colonel Ḥusayn ash-Shāfi'ī, Minister of War, Lieutenant Colonel Zakariyā Muḥiuddīn, Minister of Interior, Squadron Leader Ḥasan Ibrāhīm, Minister for the Presidency, Wing Commander 'Abdullaṭīf al-Baghdādī, Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs, Major Ṣalāḥ Ṣalīm, Minister of National Guidance and Sudanese Affairs, Major Kamāluddīn Ḥusayn, Minister of Social Affairs and Labour, subsequently Minister of Education, Major General 'Abdulḥakīm 'Āmir, Commander-in-Chief of Armed Forces.

<sup>119</sup>VATIKIOTIS, P.J.: *The Egyptian Army in Politics*, p. 95.

facing that group at the time of Thermidor.<sup>120</sup> Anyway, in the subsequent period corrections in the political line of the Revolution helped to strengthen trends towards a democratization of the political life in Egypt even within the framework of military dictatorship.

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<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 95.

## THE EXPERIENCE OF OLD AGE IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA\*

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Based on interviews of a number of men and women over 60 living in three cities and their surrounding villages in Southern Nigeria, this paper attempts to examine the views of these elderly Nigerians on their power, status, roles and family relationships and their assessment of what Nigeria has become.

As the life expectancy of Africans has risen into the 60s for those who survive the first five years of life, it has become increasingly important to consider what is happening to old people in countries which have traditionally concentrated on their youth. A large proportion of dependents in Africa are still under ten years of age, but the numbers of those over 70 are rising quickly. At the same time, their former roles of elders and advisers in their communities are under threat, since young adults often have both more energy and more resources to accommodate to changing needs. The elderly are usually illiterate and have often spent their lives in work which produced little surplus which could be saved to support them in their old age. They have seen their societies become increasingly materialistic, but have accumulated few material goods themselves. Many participated enthusiastically in the drive for independence, but there is now widespread disillusionment with the large gap between political promises and the realities of daily life (see Miles 1988: 67).

This paper examines the views of elderly Nigerians on their power, status, roles and family relationships and their assessment of what Nigeria has become. It is based on interviews of 668 men and 336 women over 60 living in three cities and their surrounding villages. Interviewers in the cities concentrated on older areas, as these are mostly likely to house elderly people. They went from door to door, asking if anyone over 60 lived in the house. The villages were up to 30 km from the cities and varied in size from a few hundred to over 5,000 people. All areas were covered, asking householders to point out where old people lived. Arrangements were made with the chief for the elderly to stay home from the farm on the day selected, and as many were interviewed as time allowed. In all cases, the goal was to interview two men for each woman, since men have more varied educational and occupational experience than women. Cooperation was good in all cases.

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Ijebu Ode and Abeokuta, in southwestern Nigeria, are about an hour's drive from Lagos and from each other. Both are Yoruba cities on the traditional pattern. Though Abeokuta was only established in 1830, customary rules and norms have continued to be important; it has long been a centre of trade and education (though a rather sleepy provincial town), but since 1976 has been growing rapidly as the capital of Ogun State, to a population of 4-500,000. Ijebu Ode is an older commercial centre, which has taken on increasing educational functions in this century. Its population is about 250,000, including many of the staff and students at the nearby Ogun State University. Port Harcourt was founded in 1912 as the major port for southeastern Nigeria. It used to be a commercial town with a large Igbo population, it has grown very rapidly since the civil war as the capital of Rivers State and of the Nigerian oil industry. Its population is about 900,000. Large numbers of young people leave Abeokuta, Ijebu Ode and the villages we studied to work elsewhere, but many return to spend their old age at home. Port Harcourt, on the other hand, is 'home' to few of its residents, and the proportion of elderly people is much lower.

Those who were interviewed were asked about their households, occupational and migration careers and sources of physical and material support. Finally, they were asked a series of questions about their present position in society, their assessment of Nigerian society today (1985/86) and their income. This was a period when the oil boom was over. Nigerians were experiencing rapid inflation, with large-scale redundancies and unemployment. In the cities, 61 % of the elderly men and 58 % of the women were still in the labour force, compared to 57 % of the men and 49 % of the women living in villages. However, the villagers were, on average, older than the urban residents; villagers usually retire later than urbanites. Nearly two fifths of villagers over 75 were still farming or trading on a small scale, compared to a quarter of the urban residents who were still working at that advanced age (Peil, Ekpenyong and Oyeneke 1985).

It is necessary to distinguish power, status and role, though there is considerable overlap in people's perception of these concepts. Power is the ability to make people do things, whereas status is a measure of prestige. Many but not all powerful people have high status. For example, corrupt politicians have low status though they often have considerable power—a salient point in Nigeria. Village chiefs and family heads often have considerable status but not much power. Roles can give power and/or status, but this partly depends on how an individual carries out the role. An old man who is an astute settler of disputes gains considerable status from this ability; other elderly people may occasionally be called on to settle disputes within the family, but get little prestige for it. An ability to continue carrying out roles is very important to the self-esteem of elderly people; being completely dependent on others is a most unwelcome position in a poor community.

#### Assessment

The general form of the questions we asked was, "Do you think elderly people have about the same status (power, care) as they did in your parents' day, or do they have more or less now?" The responses (see Table 1) showed general agreement that the status of the elderly has dropped in recent years, as has their power and the care that

they receive from their children. Nearly two thirds of our respondents thought that the elderly get less care than in the past. However, this depressing conclusion might have been expected from the comparative nature of the question. There is a general tendency all over the world to think that things were probably better in some golden era than they are today, especially if you are old and poor. Nevertheless, a substantial number of people were ambivalent or even positive on these questions. Some thought that conditions are equal to or better than the past and some were not able to answer, suggesting that they have no firm opinion about the changes they have experienced; at least they do not think it worse.

Table 1 Attitudes toward their own and Nigeria's position, by location and sex<sup>a</sup>

	Males						Females					
	Abeokuta		Ijebu Ode		P. Harcourt		Abeokuta		Ijebu Ode		P. Harcourt	
	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R
Status less	50	73	66	86	92	79	59	68	85	85	90	81
Power less	73	89	72	80	92	72	73	81	74	92	95	79
Care less	43	64	75	68	69	79	29	60	84	67	64	74
equal	7	8	1	30	16	18	11	16	1	31	23	16
better	50	28	24	2	15	3	60	24	15	2	13	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	121	61	116	122	104	126	56	38	75	54	44	64
Nigeria												
worse	35	34	100	78	74	77	28	30	96	70	72	66
ambivalent	31	30	0	18	10	10	36	32	4	24	18	18
better	34	36	0	4	19	13	36	38	0	6	10	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	91	64	116	123	105	126	33	37	73	54	39	62
Income/month <sup>b</sup>												
N50	4	20	17	24	12	15	14	18	35	6	54	31
N51-200	15	67	11	57	41	48	13	79	13	83	26	50
N201+	25	13	7	15	37	33	5	3	1	4	13	17
Unknown	56	0	65	4	10	3	68	0	51	7	7	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	131	64	41	125	94	126	19	38	37	54	42	64

<sup>a</sup>Those who were unable to answer have been omitted, except for income.

<sup>b</sup>The official rate of exchange was about N4 = \$ 1.

An interesting division appears when these answers are examined. Those who approved of their treatment usually spoke in terms of family, especially the care provided by children, whereas negative answers referred to the government and outsiders—people not known personally. Thus, when the reference point was personal experience, they were well cared for by those traditionally responsible for such help.

But the government was not providing much assistance, and people generally were seen as acting from self-interest rather than for the communal welfare. While 'civilization' (modern medical treatment, education and Christianity) have improved the lives of Nigerians, inflation and violent crime have detracted from their economic and physical security. Disillusionment with the Nigeria that has developed since independence is because governments have promised much but delivered little. Materialism has spread, and those who no longer have the strength to compete are left behind. Their main suggestions for government assistance were for improved health services and pensions.

We expected that women would notice less changes than men, because many perform the same roles as their mothers. While old age may bring them status if they have many children and grandchildren, few expect much power except over a resident daughter-in-law. Men face greater competition for leadership now that more people survive into old age, and also greater status problems because the enhanced educational and occupational opportunities have tended to make their sons more independent. Second, even villages in the immediate hinterland of large cities have often undergone relatively little change in authority patterns, whereas in cities the advantages of house ownership and political contacts have favoured the economically successful and may threaten the security of the unsuccessful. The oil boom brought material advantages to large numbers of both urban and rural Nigerians, but the deepening recession of the 1980s has been very hard on the majority, and especially on those dependent on gifts from children or relatives. It is easy to see a decline in one's standard of living as a drop in status and care.

The differences between men and women and between rural and urban respondents were much less than expected; the only significant difference is the higher assessment of present status by men than by women in the two Yoruba cities. These results reflect the widely upheld standard of looking after one's mother and the maintenance of traditional leadership models in the two Yoruba cities, which can be rewarding to the elderly when there are resources to be distributed. Income is also an important factor. Unfortunately, the data on Abeokuta and Ijebu Ode urban incomes are poor, but a rural/urban comparison of income in the Port Harcourt, where the data are better, suggests that most of the missing data in the other two cities belongs in the middle category. Urban people probably have somewhat higher incomes than rural people, but by the time they are over 60 the differences are not large.

The elderly people in Abeokuta were significantly more positive about their status, care and Nigeria's progress than those in the other two cities, and Port Harcourt residents were the most negative. There was more agreement in answers to the question on power, but Port Harcourt residents are again most negative. About half of the men and three fifths of the women in Abeokuta thought that their status had not declined, a quarter considered that their power was as great as in the past, over half said that they were getting better care than their parents had, and a third thought that Nigeria was a better place to live than it was in 1960. In contrast, over 90 % of the men and women interviewed in Port Harcourt thought that both the status and the power of the elderly had declined and two thirds thought that old people now get less care and

Nigeria is not a better place to live. Villagers in the Abeokuta area were less positive than those in the city, but generally more positive than other villagers. Both Abeokuta and Port Harcourt are rapidly growing state capitals, with more money about and better opportunities than in Ijebu Ode, so reference groups in the local environment are not necessarily the answer.

This is not just a case of prestige and power being maintained in a traditional urban environment, because villagers are less likely to see change as for the better than urban residents, though there is some tendency for villagers to say things have not changed very much, which is largely true. The elderly in Ijebu Ode were closer to Port Harcourt residents than to those in Abeokuta on these questions. It is likely that the resurgence of Abeokuta since it has become a state capital and the greater wealth of the elderly there—both from pensions and savings from their earnings as educated migrants and through gifts from highly successful children—makes life look far more promising than it does for a large majority of Nigeria's old people. In addition, there is probably more sharing of the rewards of progress in Abeokuta than in Port Harcourt, because the locals (including the elderly and their extended families) have maintained a strong role in recent developments. House ownership, education, occupational experience and political connections help them to get their 'share of the cake'.

In Port Harcourt, on the other hand, the benefits of 'progress' have gone mainly to strangers, including multinational firms and the national government. Migrants who remain in old age may have few social, political or material resources on which to draw. Indigenes who had migrated and then returned to Port Harcourt appear to be somewhat better off, especially in terms of house ownership, than people who migrated to Port Harcourt and stayed there in old age. Many of these elderly people were already too far along in their careers to benefit from developments in the Port Harcourt economy and polity since independence. In addition, their children's ability to help them has been adversely affected by the economic recession.

#### Status

What characteristics do the elderly use to assess status? We asked, "What sorts of things give the most status today?" This part of Nigeria has placed a high value to material success for generations. It may be obtained through commerce or education (Peel 1978), but money has probably become more important in recent years, especially when the oil boom opened up so many opportunities for private business, both large and small. It is thus not surprising that about half of the men and women, urban and rural, mentioned money as an important component of a person's status. By this standard, not many of those we interviewed have been very successful. The question on income asked how much money the individual had to spend in a month, and was supposed to include family gifts, rents and pensions as well as cash from participation in the labour force, though non-labour sources were less adequately reported in the cities than by rural interviewers. Few of those interviewed had monthly incomes over N200 (\$50). Poor economic position was probably a strong factor in negative assessment, especially when comparisons were made with community leaders, since leadership and the power which goes with it require financial resources. Abeokuta villagers are more positive about Nigeria's progress than about their own

position, especially about their loss of power. This suggests that they have absorbed some of the enthusiasm for growth of their urban relatives, but realize that it has had little effect on their own lives, other than to encourage the migration of their children.

The second source of status can be classified as behaviour or character. This was most often mentioned in Ijebu Ode, where people are most likely to know their neighbours well and be able to assess how they act to uphold local norms. If one cannot afford the trappings of economic success, proper behaviour in other aspects of life takes on an added value. Deference to those older than oneself is still considered very important in Nigerian societies (Togonu-Bickersteth 1986:111). Since the aged are often called on to arbitrate and advise on the behaviour of others, behaviour as a factor in status is probably more highly valued by the elderly than by their juniors.

Taking on the proper character of an elderly person is partly through leadership roles (which are more open to villagers from leading families and to urban landlords than to other old people) and, for a larger number, in giving advice settling disputes (Foner 1984a). Men who said they had nothing material to give in exchange for the gifts brought by their children often mentioned that they gave advice, and four fifths of the men said that they handled family disputes from time to time. Resident landlords are often called on to handle disputes in their houses, and the most successful ones also arbitrate between disputants in the neighbourhood and negotiate with local politicians for the resources needed in their areas (Barnes 1986). Elderly women continue to provide domestic services for their families, as long as they are able (Peil et al. 1989), taking on the role of grandmothers. This involves some dispute settlements, but mainly within the household unless they are landladies and have been highly successful economically.

The next two sources of status were education and family, especially children. Having a large family, with many children, is still a status symbol in Nigeria, and having children who have done well and provide good support for their elderly parents demonstrates the provision of a proper upbringing (Caldwell 1976). Education has historically been an important route to success in Abeokuta; many of those interviewed had worked in the civil service and many of their children had become professionals or university lecturers. The demand for education has grown rapidly in Nigeria, as parents have seen how it can transform occupational opportunities and improve income.

#### Quality of Life

Given the general poverty on Nigerian people, the rarity of pensions and absence of other social welfare payments, many fear rather than look forward to the advent of old age. The best security is having enough children, in sufficiently advantaged positions, to provide the economic, physical and social support which is needed. This is an important reason for the continued value of high fertility. Generally, a large household is seen as the best guarantor of a happy old age, and poverty, ill health and loneliness are the major sources of dissatisfaction.

An examination of the help received by elderly parents showed that children who were farmers were more likely than the rest to give physical services to their parents



(more of them lived in the same household or nearby), but they are less able to provide material help, in cash or gifts. Those with professional and commercial occupations are the most likely to give material help to their parents, though they give it somewhat less often than sons or daughters with lower incomes. The moral obligation to help one's mother is stronger than that of helping one's father. Less than 2 % of women with living children received no help from them, compared to 3 % of urban men and 10 % of rural men. However, women are actually somewhat worse off than men because they are less likely to have living children. The sex of the child makes little difference, except that daughters are likely to have fewer material resources than sons which can be used to help their parents (Peil 1991).

Brown's study of the Ghanaian elderly (1984:91) found that lack of money was their major problem (mentioned by over 60 %), with poor health second (22 %, including those who complained of the high cost of drugs); only 3 % mentioned loneliness. Our study asked, "What is the best, and worst, thing about life today?" Status and power were rarely mentioned in these answers. Urban men and women most often mentioned the opportunity to relax as a retiree, to eat one's food without having to work for it, or at least to work less hard than in the past. Women continue to provide domestic services for themselves and any resident family well into old age, whereas most men get their relaxation at an earlier age, both because they are more likely to be in the wage labour force, with its enforced retirement at 60, and because almost all of them have someone in their households to provide domestic services.

Rural residents, on the other hand, tended to mention home, family and children. Some had never left home and still had their descendants around them; others had returned home to regain their roots and take a larger part in family affairs. Children living elsewhere often visited, bringing them presents and (the most successful ones) taking them out in their cars. Family affairs were as important for Port Harcourt residents as for villagers in all three areas, but almost none of the residents of either Abeokuta or Ijebu Ode mentioned this; perhaps, for them, it was taken for granted that relaxing meant sitting at ease with one's family. This would need to be more explicit in Port Harcourt because the extended family is less likely to be living nearby.

The second or third major factor, contributing to both the best and worst of life, is health, which was most frequently mentioned in Abeokuta. This city has one of the oldest hospitals in Nigeria and health care is more widely available than in the other locations, so we would expect Abeokuta residents to have better health than most elderly Nigerians. Overall, they did report fewer health problems than the rest, but they were more likely than the others (both urban and rural) to mention health as both the best and the worst thing in life. It may be that access to medical care merely makes elderly people more aware of their health than those who can do little about it.

The relationship between health, as represented by the number of serious problems, and its contribution to the best and worst aspects of life is less straightforward than expected. Thankfulness for relatively good health (or just continued life) was mentioned about as often as a good aspect of life as poor health was reported as the worst

aspect of life-about one fifth to one quarter in each case. The correlation between the number of medical problems and mentioning health or longevity as a benefit is low. For some people, coping with problems makes health salient, and engenders gratitude that it is not worse. Generally, villagers have more health problems and are more likely to stop working for health reasons than urban residents, but the ability to pay for medical care, as for other needs, is most relevant in the city (urban residents who can pay can get more treatment), whereas the location of medical care is more salient than its cost to villagers.

Poverty engenders feelings of insecurity from dependence on others, which is unwelcome for those who have struggled against obstacles to assert and maintain their independence all their lives. It is generally a greater source of worry to the urban elderly than their health; half of the men and three fifths of the women said this was the worst thing about their lives, compared to a quarter of the men and a seventh of the women living in villages. The rapid inflation that Nigeria was experiencing meant that many old people needed some work which would produce food or income, rather than enjoying the rest to which they felt entitled. Villagers have fewer expenses than urban residents, providing they can limit their food needs to what is available locally. Almost none of the villagers were paying rent (compared to about a third of urban men), and most rural households provided much of their own food.

It was surprising to find that loneliness is the most frequently mentioned rural problem; half of the rural women and a third of the rural men said this, compared to less than a fifth of urban residents. This turns the myth of urban isolation on its head; it is supposed to be urban people who are lonely and rural people who are poor! Loneliness is not necessarily a lack of companionship; there are plenty of people in the average household and neighbourhood, many of whom have been known since birth. Old people are lonely because spouses and old friends have died and children have left home; they may feel cut off from people (family and neighbours) whose interests and convictions they do not share, yet whose services they need (Foner 1984b: 116-19). Marriages often break down when no more children can be expected; people 'retire' from marriage as well as from the labour force. While men may handle loneliness by taking another wife and even starting another family, but this is less likely after they have retired because they lack the resources to attract a young woman. Nevertheless, very few men live alone, whereas many village women do, either from preference or custom. Women's very low income leaves them dependent on nearby relatives and remittances from distant children.

Pressure for the fostering of grandchildren has been discussed as a way of handling both the poverty and the loneliness of village grannies in Sierra Leone (Bledsoe and Isiugo-Abanihe 1988), but in Nigeria village childcare is largely at the instigation of urban parents and does not appear to be seen as an important role by elderly villagers. The alternative is to move to the city and look after the grandchildren there, supported by the grandchildren's parents. Childcare was mentioned as an important role for the elderly by two thirds of the men and women living in Ijebu Ode and about a third of those in Port Harcourt, but very seldom by Abeokuta residents or by any of the villagers. The well-educated generation of Abeokuta parents prefer to rear their

children themselves rather than letting them be spoiled by grandparents, whereas men and women who have left Ijebu Ode to trade are more likely to find it convenient to send their children back to the grandparents for care.

The findings can be summarized briefly. A majority of old people in southern Nigeria, urban and rural, male and female, think that their status and power have declined since independence, that they get less care than their parents did and that Nigeria, on the whole, is not a better place to live. Urban residents tend to be somewhat more positive than villagers, except on national progress. Although many villagers and most urbanites have increased access to amenities and government services, life is still very hard for most Nigerians who survive into old age. Women have fewer resources than men, but the great moral emphasis on looking after one's mother means that very few are left to cope on their own.

Most elderly people's incomes are too small for the level of inflation, especially in a situation where more goods are bought (including food and water by some villagers), and there is very little government welfare for those whose children cannot or do not provide for them. There are probably no more old people's homes in Nigeria than there were in the first decade of the century (Iliffe 1987: Cp. 6). Their generally pessimistic view of their own and Nigeria's position reflects the insecurity of dependence on the next generation in an increasingly materialistic society and the loneliness fostered by widespread migration of young adults. There is an appreciation of the many improvements in Nigeria over the last quarter of a century, but grave disappointment that the golden promises have seldom been fulfilled.

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## REVIEW ARTICLES

### A GUIDE TO THE WORLD'S LANGUAGES. VOLUME 1: CLASSIFICATION. BY MERRIT RUHLEN. Stanford University Press 1987. XXII + 433 pp.

Václav BLAŽEK, Příbram

The first version of this book was a self-published edition printed in 1975. It contained information on roughly 700 languages. The revised edition includes about 5,000 languages not in alphabetical order but according to their genetic connections. Following volumes will be devoted to *Language Data* (Vol 2) on about 2,000 better-known languages and *Language Universals* (Vol 3) on typology.

Part One "Genetic Classification: Principles and Methods" (pp. 4–23) presents a very important general introduction into the aims and methods of genetic classification of languages. Chapters 2–6 gradually cover all world's language (macro-)families according to continents, always including a short history of the development of genetic classification of respective regions and a list of basic literature. Chapter 2 is devoted to Europe (pp. 24–75) with Indo-Hittite, Uralic-Yukaghir and Caucasian families; chapter 3 Africa (pp. 76–124) with Afro-Asiatic, Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan and Khoisan macro-families, Chapter 4 Asia (pp. 125–158) with Altaic, Čukči-Kamčatkan, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan and Austric: Miao-Yao, Austroasiatic, Daic families, chapter 5 Oceania (pp. 159–190) with Austric: Austronesian; Indo-Pacific and Australian (macro-)families, chapter 6 America with Eskimo-Aleut, Na-Dene and Amerind (macro-)families. Chapter 7: "Prospects for Future Research" (pp. 252–274) concerns methodological errors in proofs of genetic relationships, low-level and large-scale groupings and the origin and evolution of a language. The last chapter (8) "Genetic Classification of the World's Languages" (pp. 275–378) contains the following tables "Overview of language phyla" with the number of extant languages, the number of speakers, location and representative examples of languages; "Index to the classification" - a list of 17 main (macro-)families; "Major language groups" with a well-arranged classification in (macro-)families and their branches and groups; and finally "Complete classification" contains all 5,000 of the world's languages and their detailed classifications. The book closes with indexes of personal names, languages groups and proper languages. It is richly supplemented with tables.

The main sources of information on the genetic classification of the world's languages were (besides Voegelin's well-known book from 1978)<sup>1</sup> mostly important works from the early 80s (e.g. Greenberg's "The Language of Americas" from 1987) and

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<sup>1</sup>VOEGLIN, C.F. and F.M.: *Classification and Index of the World's Languages*. New York, Elsevier 1978.

letters by many world specialists in regional classification. The influence of the author's teacher, Professor Joseph N. Greenberg - certainly the hardest-working linguist in world classification - is perceptible. The following reminders, notes, supplements and alternative schemes of classifications are mainly gathered on the basis of sources probably unknown or inaccessible to the author.

Ad p. 30 The discovery of the genetic relationship of languages forming a language family on the basis of comparative works was probably first realized by Mahmud al-Kašghari in the case of Turkic languages<sup>2</sup> (his "Divan" was written in 1072-74) while the unity of other families had been usually recognized only on the basis of information such as the language of Javanese traders being intelligible to the inhabitants of Madagascar,<sup>3</sup> etc.

Ad p. 38-40 The lexical resemblances among Greek, Latin, German and Czech languages are registered by the Czech humanist Zikmund Hrubý from Jelení (1497-1554) in his *Lexicon Symphonum* (1537)<sup>4</sup>.

Ad pp. 57-60 (and 325-327) The author ignored most of the extinct languages known only from epigraphy, ancient glosses or from toponymy, e.g. Phrygian, Macedonian, Thracian, Dacian, Illyrian, Venetic, Messapic, Lepontic, Celtiberian, etc., although some basic sources for these languages are quoted in literature (p. 61).

Ad p. 59 (and p. 327) the classification of Celtic languages based on genetic principles is rather different:<sup>5</sup>

1) INSULAR (GOIDELIC)

2) CONTINENTAL a) ARCHAIC: + CELTIBERIEN (\* $k^w = k^w$ )

b) PROGRESSIVE (\* $k^w > p$ ): i LEPONTIC

ii GAULISH

iii BRYTHONIC

Ad p. 60 The Old Prussian has really been an extinct language since the 17th century. But there has been a very remarkable experiment to renew "New Prussian" in the town of Dieburg near Darmstadt (FRG) since 1980<sup>6</sup> by the Tolkemita society (descendants of immigrants from Eastern Prussia).

Ad p. 65 The Hungarian-Finnish relationship had been recognized before Stiernhelm and Vogel (1671) by the Czech scholar and pedagogue Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius) in his work *Opera Didactica Omnia*, Amsterdam 1657.<sup>7</sup>

Ad p. 70 "Chuvantsy" represents the Russian form of the ethnical name (in plural). The correct name of their language is "Čuvan". The Uralic-Yukaghir genetic relationship is also discussed by other authors than Collinder or Harms, e.g. by Tailleur,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup>KONDRATOV, A.: *Zemlya lyudey - zemlya yazykov*. Moskva, Detskaya literatura 1974, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup>KOBISHCHANOV, Ju.M.: *Drevnie izvestiya o yazykax tropicheskoy Afriki*. In: *Yazyki Afriki*, Moskva, Nauka 1966, p. 113 (AL-IDRĪSĪ: *Džazīrat-al-Ḳumr*).

<sup>4</sup>HORÁLEK, K.: *Úvod do studia slovanských jazyků*. Praha, ČSAV 1955, p. 403.

<sup>5</sup>SCHMIDT, K.H.: *Die beiden antiken Iberiae, sprachwissenschaftlich gesehen*. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, 100, 1987, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup>PALMAITIS, M.L.: *Nemetskij opyt vosstanovleniya prusskogo yazyka i novoprusskij yazyk*. MS 1988.

<sup>7</sup>PRAŽÁK, R.: *J. A. Comenius ja Josef Dobrovský, kaksi isekkilaista fennougristia*. Virittäjä, 73, 1969, pp. 25-34.

Kreynovich<sup>9</sup> or Nikolaeva.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, specific Yukaghir-Altaic connections also exist<sup>11</sup> and their character is not unambiguously areal. Probably, a more adequate explanation is to suppose the independent position of the proper Yukaghir language family in Eastern Nostratic.

Ad p. 74 The genetic unity of all Caucasian languages is very questionable. The Kartvelian family belongs to the Nostratic phylum while North Caucasian (Abxaso-Adygeian + Nax-Daghestan) is a member of the Sino-Caucasian phylum. The connections of North Caucasian and Kartvelian are rather areal and their genetic interpretation is possible only on the level of the hypothetical common proto-language of both phyla.<sup>12</sup>

Ad p. 75 The Basque-North Caucasian genetic relationship is also defended by V. A. Chirikba<sup>13</sup> who works with North Caucasian reconstructions by S. Starostin and S. Nikolaev.

Ad p. 77 Eudoxos from Cizicus (2nd cent BC) who noticed the similarity among the languages from the coasts of the Atlantic and the Indian oceans<sup>14</sup> was probably the first to recognize the affinity of Bantu languages.

Ad p. 90-91 The exclusion of Beja (Beḍawye) from Cushitic is not generally accepted.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the results of a lexicostatical analysis of common Afro-Asiatic lexicon confirm a closer connection of Chadic with the Berber-Libyan branches<sup>16</sup> as well as with the Egyptian one.<sup>17</sup> The split of Cushitic and Omotic (formerly Western Cushitic) defended e.g. by Fleming, Bender, Hetzron, etc. is not so

<sup>8</sup>TAILLEUR, O.G.: *Playdoyer pour le youkaghir, branche orientale de la famille ouralienne*. *Lingua*, 8, 1959, pp. 403-423; Id.: *Les uniques données sur l'omok, langue éteinte de la famille youkaghire*. *Orbis*, 8, 1959, pp. 78-108; Id.: *Le dialecte ichouwane du youkaghir*. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 34, 1962, pp. 55-99; Id.: *La flexion verbale personnelle en youkaghir*. *Études finno-ougriennes*, 2, 1965, pp. 68-88.

<sup>9</sup>KREYNOVICH, E.A.: *Yukagirskiy yazyk*. Moskva - Leningrad: Nauka 1958; Id.: *Issledovaniya i materialy po yukagirskomu yazyku*. Leningrad, Nauka 1982.

<sup>10</sup>NIKOLAEVA, I.A.: *K rekonstruktsii prayukagirskogo yazykovogo sostoyaniya (inlautnyy konsonantizm)*. In: *Yazyk - mif - kultura narodov Sibiri*. Yakutsk, Izd. Yakut. gosuniversiteta 1988, pp. 43-48; Id.: *O sootvetstviyax ural'skix affrikat i sibilyanov v yukagirskom yazyke*. *Sovetskoe finno-ugrovedenie*, 24, 1988, pp. 81-89.

<sup>11</sup>SAUVAGEOT, A.: *La position du youkaghir*. *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 41, 1969, pp. 344-359; NIKOLAEVA, I.A.: *Altaysko-yukagirskie paralleli*. In: *Istoriko-kulturnye kontakty narodov altayskoy yazykovoy obshchnosti (XXIX Sessiya PIAC, Tashkent 1986)*, II. Moskva, AN SSSR 1986, pp. 84-85.

<sup>12</sup>STAROSTIN, S.A.: *Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian*. LP.

<sup>13</sup>CHIRIKBA, V.A.: *Baskskiy i severokavkazskie yazyki*. In: *Drevnyaya Anatoliya*. Moskva, Nauka 1985, pp. 95-105.

<sup>14</sup>KOBISHCHANOV, op. cit. (see fn. 3), pp. 113 (according to Strabo II, 3, 5).

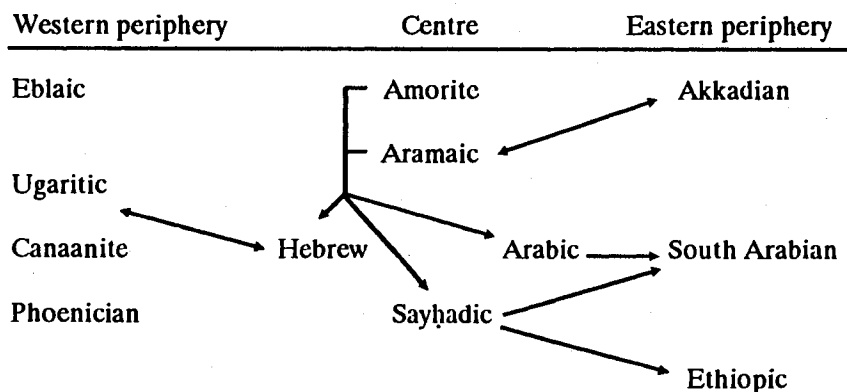
<sup>15</sup>ZABORSKI, A.: *Note on the relative chronology of the Cushitic verb and the genetic classification of the Cushitic languages*. *Africana Marburgensia*, 14, 1981, 2, pp. 72-73; *Der Wortschatz der Bedscha-Sprache - eine vergleichende Analyse*. Paper presented at the 23rd Deutscher Orientalistentag, Würzburg 1985; Id.: *Remarks on recent developments in Cushitic*. *Atti della 4ª giornata di studi camito-semitici e indoeuropei* 1986, p. 223.

<sup>16</sup>MILITAREV, A., 1987: Personal communication. The analysis of Afro-asiatic numerals (Blažek, V.: *A comparative-historical approach of Afroasiatic numerals*. HS-5) gives the same results.

<sup>17</sup>DYAKONOV, I.M., PORXOMOVSKIY, V.Ya.: *O printsipax afraziyskoy rekonstruktsii (v svyazi s rabotoy nad sravnitel'no-istoricheskim slovarom)*. In: *Balkanica*. Moskva, Nauka 1979, pp. 76-77.

unambiguous from the view of the recent comparative-historical analyses of Omotic morphology.<sup>18</sup>

Ad p. 92 (and p. 323) The models of Semitic classifications differ according to the used criteria. One of the last classifications (by Petráček 1986) is mainly based on the geographical distribution of phonological and morphological innovations/archaisms. The result is not a classical tree-diagram but a more complicated picture registering the later connections<sup>19</sup> also.



Again different conclusions were reached by A. Militarev using glottochronological analysis.<sup>20</sup>

#### SEMITIC:

I NORTH: A + Akkadian, ? B + Eblaic

II CENTRAL: A LEVANTINE: 1 + Amorite, 2 + Ugaritic, 3 Canaanite, Aramaic

B ARABIAN: 1 NORTH: a + Liḥyan, + Safaitic, + Ṭamudic  
b Arabic

2 SOUTH: + Sabaic, + Ma<sup>c</sup>in, ...

C ETHIO-SEMITIC: 1 NORTH: + Gec̣ez; Tigre, Tigray

2 SOUTH: Amhara, Harari, Gurage, ...

III SOUTH: SOUTH-ARABIAN.

<sup>18</sup>ZABORSKI, A.: *Can Omotic be reclassified as West Cushitic?* In: Ethiopian Studies. Proceedings of the 6th International Conference, Tel-Aviv, 14-17 April 1980. Ed. by G. Goldenberg. Rotterdam - Boston, Balkema 1985, pp. 525-530. BENDER, M.L.: *A possible Cushomotic Isomorph*. Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere, 6, 1986, pp. 149-155.

<sup>19</sup>PETRAČEK, K.: *Pour une stratigraphie linguistique de la péninsule arabe*. Paper read at ŠULMU (International Conference of the Socialist Countries on the Ancient Near East), Sep 30-Oct 3, 1986.

<sup>20</sup>MILITAREV, A.Yu.: *Proisxozhdenie korney so znacheniem "tvorit', sozdavat'" v afraziyskix yazykax*. In: *Pismennye pamyatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka*. Moskva, Nauka 1986, p. 79.



Ad p. 92 (and p. 320) The independent position of the Masa group in the Chadic family (invented by P. Newman) is rejected by other authors.<sup>21</sup> They connect it with Musgu and Kotoko groups into the Reverain branch of Central Chadic.

Ad p. 112 Ch. Ehret<sup>22</sup> (quoted in literature on p. 113) classifies Nilo-Saharan languages in a way that is a little different. He redefines Greenberg's East Sudanic into I (proper) East Sudanic: A1 Nilotic, 2 Surma, B Nuba Mountains: Temein-Jirru, Nyimang-Afitti, C Daju; II North Sudanic: A 1 Nubian, 2 Tama, B Nara (=Barca); III Jebel: A Berta, B East Jebel; IV Kuliak.

Ad p. 116 Probably the first inclusion of Sandawe into Khoisan family was made by Trombetti.<sup>23</sup>

Ad p. 132 The author accepts the inclusion of Ainu into the Altaic family following Street and Patrie (and also Ramstedt<sup>24</sup>). The position of the Ainu language in genetic classification is not clear as it usually occurs in the cases of languages without near relatives, where proto-language reconstruction is not possible. During the 20th century hypotheses besides the quoted Ainu-Altaic one were presented: e.g. by Gjerdman 1926<sup>25</sup> (Ainu + Austronesian + Austroasiatic), Koppelman 1933<sup>26</sup> (Ainu + Nivx + Altaic + Uralic + Indo-European + Sumerian!), Naert 1958<sup>27</sup> and Lindquist 1960<sup>28</sup> (Ainu + Indo-European), Tailleux 1961 (review on Naert 1958), 1968 with the older literature of his<sup>29</sup> ("Paleo-Eurasian" = Ainu + Basque + North Caucasian + Kartvelian! + Burušaski + Yenisseian + Amerind!), Bouda 1960<sup>30</sup> (Ainu + Nivx + Uralic), etc. The comparison of Ainu with Indo-European was rightly criticized by more authors.<sup>31</sup> Also the Ainu-Altaic conception of Patrie<sup>32</sup> is not very convincing. The most hopeful comparisons of hum represent mainly cultural terms, other lexical

<sup>21</sup>JUNGRAITHMAYR, H., SHIMIZU, K.: *Chadic lexical roots*. Vol. II. Berlin: Reimer 1981, p. 12; TOURNEUX, H.: *Place du Masa dans la famille ichadique*. HS-5.

<sup>22</sup>EHRET, Ch.: *Nilotic and the Limits of Eastern Sudanic: Classificatory and Historical Conclusions*. In: *Nilotic Studies*. Berlin: Reimer 1983, pp. 378-379.

<sup>23</sup>TROMBETTI, A.: *La lingua degli Otentotti e la lingua dei wa-Sandawi*. Rendiconti delle sessioni della R. Acad. delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna, 1910.

<sup>24</sup>AALTO, P.: Preface to Ramstedt, G.J., *Additional Korean Etymologies*. Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, 57, 1953-54, 3, p. 5.

<sup>25</sup>GJERDMAN, O.: *Word-parallels between Ainu and other Languages*. Le Monde Oriental, 20, 1926, pp. 29-84.

<sup>26</sup>KOPPELMANN, H.: *Die eurasische Sprachfamilie*. Heidelberg, Winter 1933. Cf. Greenberg's Eurasiatic macro-phylum containing Indo-European, Uralic-Yukaghir, Altaic with Korean, Ainu and Japanese, Nivx, Čukči-Kamčatkan, Eskaleutan.

<sup>27</sup>NAERT, P.: *La situation linguistique de l'ainou*. I. Aïnou et indoeuropéen. Lund, Gleerup 1958.

<sup>28</sup>LINDQUIST, I.: *Indo-European features in the Ainu language*. With reference to the thesis of Pierre Naert. Lund, Gleerup 1960.

<sup>29</sup>TAILLEUX, O.G.: *Sur une explication de l'ainou par l'indo-européen*. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, 77, 1961, pp. 1-30; Id.: *L'Aïnou, langue paléo-eurasienne*. Studia Linguistica Slavica Baltica C.-O. Falk Oblata, Lund 1966 (68), pp. 267-283.

<sup>30</sup>BOUDA, K.: *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse des Giljakischen*. Anthropos, 55, 1960, pp. 355-415.

<sup>31</sup>Besides quoted Tailleux's review cf. e.g. DOLGOPOLSKY, A.B.: *Étymologie* 1963, Moskva 1963, pp. 293-299.

<sup>32</sup>PATRIE, J.: *The Genetic Relationship of the Ainu Language*. Honolulu, University Press of Hawaii 1982; Id.: *A Comparative Analysis of the Numeral Systems of Ainu, Korean and Japanese*. The Bulletin of the International Institute for Linguistic Sciences (Kyoto Sangyō University) 2, 1981, 4, pp. 243-251.

parallels are not convincing for semantical or phonological reasons.<sup>33</sup> The Ainu-Nivx connections are reliably analysed as areal by Naert.<sup>34</sup> Only the Ainu + Austronesian + Austroasiatic concept of Gjerdman (as well as that of Charency and Sternberg) probably has a chance to be accepted because it is backed by very important parallels in the pronominal system and promising lexical equations from the basic lexicon.<sup>35</sup> Another classificational pattern is thought to be Turkic by Doerfer.<sup>36</sup>

TURKIC: I. BOLGAR: Čuvaš

II. COMMON TURKIC (I): A. KHALAJ

B. COMMON TURKIC (II)

1 OGHUZ (SOUTHERN)

2 KIPČAQ (CENTRAL + WESTERN)

3 UJGHUR (EASTERN)

4 SOUTH SIBERIAN (TUVA-ALTAI)

5 YAKUT (together with

4. NORTHERN)

(Ruhlen's nomenclature is in brackets.)

Ad p. 133 Also Tungus languages can be classified in a different way:<sup>37</sup>

TUNGUS: I. MANCHURIAN: + Ju-chen, Manchu, Sibo.

II. PROPER TUNGUS: A SIBERIAN: 1. Evenki, Solon; 2. Even, Negidal.

B LOW AMUR: Nanaj, Olča, Oroč, Oroč, Udihe.

Ad p. 146 and 331–333 Also other patterns of the classification of Sino-Tibetan have recently been presented, e.g. by Yaxontov;<sup>38</sup> SINO-TIBETAN:

I CHINESE

II WEST HIMALAYAN: Kanauri, etc.

III CENTRAL

A EAST HIMALAYAN: Limbu-Rai, etc.

B NEWARI

C BODO-NAGA-KAČIN

D TIBETO-BURMIC: 1 TIBETAN: Tibetan, Gurung, Kaiké, etc.

<sup>33</sup>XELIMSKIY, E.A.: *Problema granits nostraticheskoy makrosenyi yazykov*. In: *Lingvisticheskaya rekonstruktsiya i drevneyshaya istoriya Vostoka, 5: Problemy izucheniya nostraticheskoy makrosenyi yazykov*. Moskva, Nauka 1984, pp. 31–48.

<sup>34</sup>NAERT, P.: *Contacts lexicaux ainou-gilyak*. Orbis, 11, 1962, pp. 199–229.

<sup>35</sup>This opinion was also formulated by S. Starostin and I. Peyros (personal communication).

<sup>36</sup>DOERFER, G., TEZCAN, S.: *Wörterbuch des Chaladschi (Dialekt von Charrab)*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1980, p. 53.

<sup>37</sup>VASILEVICH, G.M.: *K voprosu o klassifikatsii tunguso-manchzhurskix yazykov*. Voprosy yazykoznaviya 1960, 2, pp. 43–49.

<sup>38</sup>YAXONTOV, S.E.: MS 1979, quoted according to PEYROS, I.I., *Drevnyaya Vostochnaya i Yugo-Vostochnaya Aziya: sravnitelno-istoricheskie dannye i ikh interpretatsiya*. In: *Lingvisticheskaya rekonstruktsiya i drevneyshaya istoriya Vostoka, 4: Drevneyshaya yazykovaya situatsiya v Vostochnoy Azii*. Moskva, Nauka 1984, pp. 3–4.

2 TANGOT-BURMIC; 3 KUKI-ČIN; 4 ABOR-MIRI;  
5 KHAM; 6 ČEPANG; 7 NUNG-TRUNG

or by Peyros and Starostin:<sup>39</sup>

I. CENTRAL: 1 TIBETO-BURMIC:

1.1 SICHUAN-BURMIC: a) LOLO-BURMIC, b) QIANG  
(= DZORGAI), c) TANGUT,  
d) JARUNG, e) PUMI;

1.2 TIBETAN: 1.3 TRUNG; 1.4 ČEPANG, MAGARI; 1.5 KHAM;  
1.6 KAIKE.

2 KUKI-ČIN:

2.1 ČIN; 2.2 TANKHUR; 2.3 SEMA, ANGAMI

3 MIKIR

4 KARENIC

II. EAST HIMALAYAN: Limbu, Sunwar, Thulung

III. BODO-GARO, IV. KANAURI, V. MIRI, VI. LEPČA, VII. NEWARI, VIII. KAČIN, IX. DIGARO, X. MIDŽU, XI. GURUNG, XII. CHINESE.

Ad pp. 174–175 Not only J. H. Greenberg worked on the classifications of South America and simultaneously at New Guinea language areas, but also the Czech linguist Č. Loukotka could be named here.<sup>40</sup>

Ad pp. 258–260 The author quotes his list of the world's language families and phyla and compares it to a similar one by J. H. Greenberg. This problem has also been analysed by the reviewer:<sup>41</sup>

i) Greenberg differentiates A) proper Altaic and B) Korean-Japanese together with Ainu. Another member of his Eurasiatic macrophylum is Čukči-Eskimo with A) Nivx, B) Čukči-Kamčatkan, C) Eskalcutan (p. 259).

ii) Ruhlen (p. 153) cites the Greenberg's opinion (1980) on Austric family consisted of A) Miao-Yao, B) Austro-Asiatic, C) Austro-Thai.

iii) Afro-asiatic seems to be in opposition to other families represented by "Micro-Nostratic" (similarly Militarev, Starostin, etc.).

iv) Including Yanisseian, Burušaski and probably Sumerian and perhaps Basque.

v) Perhaps including Ainu.

Ad p. 260 The author refers to other proposals of further consolidations - some of them are included in the list by Blažek 1985, e.g. Nilo-Saharan + Niger-Kordofanian (Gegersen, Boyd, Bender), Na-Dene + Sino-Tibetan (Sapir, Shafer, Swadesh), others still being far from the scientific proof although they are not new, e.g. Indo-Pacific + Australian.<sup>42</sup> The affiliation of some families is in question. E.g. the author quotes

<sup>39</sup> PEYROS, I.I.: *Linguistic Prehistory of SouthEast Asia*. LP.

<sup>40</sup> LOUKOTKA, Č.: *Les langues papoues*. In: *Les langues du monde*, 2-me éd. Paris, Champion, pp. 723–731; Id.: *Classification des langues papoues*. *Lingua Posnaniensis*, 6, 1957, pp. 19–83.

<sup>41</sup> BLAŽEK, V.: *Genetická klasifikace jazyků světa ve světle rekonstruovaných prajazyků neolitických až paleolitických jazykových jednot* (theses of the lecture read at Brno, Dec 4, 1985). *Jazykovědné aktuality*, 23, 1986, pp. 41–44.

<sup>42</sup> CAROLSFELD, S. von: *Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Ozeaniens. Das australische Festland*. Sitzungsberichten der philos., philol. und histor. Classe der k. bayern. Akademie der Wiss., 2, 1890,

Ruhlen (1987)	Greenberg (1987)	Blažek (1985)
KHOISAN	KHOISAN	KHOISAN
NIGER-KORDOFANIAN	NIGER-KORDOFANIAN	} CONGO-SAHARAN
NILO-SAHARAN	NILO-SAHARAN	
AFROASIATIC	AFROASIATIC	
INDO-HITTITE	} EURASIATIC <sup>i</sup>	} NOSTRATIC <sup>iii</sup>
URALO-YUKAGHIR		
ALTAIC		
ČUKČI-KAMČATKAN		
ESKALEUTAN		
ELAMO-DRAVIDIAN		
	SOUTH CAUCASIAN	} SINO-CAUCASIAN <sup>iv</sup>
CAUCASIAN	NORTH CAUCASIAN	
SINO-TIBETAN	SINO-TIBETAN	
NA-DENE	NA-DENE	} AUSTRIC <sup>v</sup>
AMERIND	AMERIND	
	AUSTRO-ASIATIC <sup>ii</sup>	
	AUSTRO-THAI <sup>ii</sup>	
INDO-PACIFIC	INDO-PACIFIC	INDO-PACIFIC
AUSTRALIAN	AUSTRALIAN	AUSTRALIAN

proposals connecting Dravidian with Uralic (better directly with Nostratic), Australian or Nilo-Saharan. He prefers without a commentary the last possibility (is it the influence of J. H. Greenberg?). Greenberg's manuscript on Nilo-Saharan-Dravidian<sup>43</sup> contains 62 etymologies. For comparison, Dravidian agrees with other Nostratic families in the following numbers of cognates (the numbers in brackets include the questionable items): Afroasiatic 99 (125), Kartvelian 58 (75), Indo-European 104 (125), Uralian 105 (115), Altaic 107 (125) - counted on the basis of 378 Nostratic etymologies hitherto published in Nostratic dictionary (about a half of Illich-Svitych's Nostratic etymologies including pronouns, affixes, etc.). The Dravidian-Australian connec-

pp. 247-292; GATTI, R.: *Studi sul gruppo linguistico Andamanese-Papua-Australiano*. Bologna, Beltrami 1906-09; TROMBETTI, A.: *Elementi di glottologia*. Bologna, Zanichelli 1923, pp. 63-83 (together with Dravidian); lastly FOLEY, W.: *The Papuan Languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge - London - New York - New Rochelle - Melbourne - Sydney, Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 269-275.

<sup>43</sup>GREENBERG, J.H.: *Nilo-Saharan-Dravidian etymologies*. MS, 1987.

tions<sup>44</sup> are discussed by the reviewer.<sup>45</sup> He collected about 70 lexical parallels plus other cognates in pronominal and numeral roots. He concluded that Australian-Dravidian parallels reflect the relics of "Australoid" substratum in Dravidian rather than common heritage.

The Nostratic macro-phylum is the first case when the classical comparative method was used for the reconstruction of the common proto-language of more language families connected only by distant relationship. The following case has become besides specific Australian phylum Sino-Caucasian. Some closer connections among North Caucasian, Sino-Tibetan and Yenisseian were suspected by Trombetti<sup>46</sup> and primarily Bouda who collected a large number of parallels among all of the assumed members of the Sino-Caucasian macro-phylum in Eurasia.<sup>47</sup> The main step to the regular establishment of the Sino-Caucasian was realized by S. Starostin. During the seventies and the early eighties he collected rich material for comparative dictionaries of Sino-Tibetan (together with I. Peyros) and North Caucasian (together with S. Nikolaev) and elaborated a new version of comparative-historical phonologies and reconstructions of the North Caucasian, Sino-Tibetan and Yenisseian families and finally found a regular system of phonetic correspondences among their proto-languages leading to the reconstruction of a common Sino-Caucasian proto-language.<sup>48</sup>

Starostin's last contribution concerns the integration of macro-phyla - he compares the reconstructed Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian proto-languages, again on the basis of the "classical" comparative method based on the establishment of a system of regular phonetic correspondences.<sup>49</sup> The Sino-Caucasian macro-phylum was extended by the inclusion of the Na-Dene family on the American continent. Old comparisons of Na-Dene with Chinese or Sino-Tibetan at all (Sapir, Swadesh, Shafer) were supple-

<sup>44</sup>CALDWELL, R.: *A comparative grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian family of languages*. 3rd ed. University of Madras 1913 (1956), pp. 75-77, 395; TROMBETTI, op. cit. (fn. 42), pp. 77-83 (a comparison of morphology); DIXON, R.M.W.: *The languages of Australia*. Cambridge University Press 1980, pp. 236, 488-489.

<sup>45</sup>BLAŽEK, V.: *Australian elements in Dravidian lexicon?* LP.

<sup>46</sup>TROMBETTI, A.; op. cit. (fn. 42), pp. 201-203.

<sup>47</sup>BOUDA, K.: *Die tibetisch-kaukasische Sprachwissenschaft*. *Lingua*, 2, 1950, pp. 140-169; Id.: *Tibetische Etymologien*. *Orbis*, 5, 1956, pp. 203-215; Id.: *Die Sprache der Jenissejer: Genealogische und morphologische Untersuchungen*. *Anthropos*, 52, 1957, pp. 65-134; cf. also his papers *Die Beziehungen des Sumerischen zum Baskischen, Westkaukasischen und Tibetischen*. *Mitteilung d. Altorient. Gesellschaft*, 12, Leipzig 1938, 3; Id.: *Baskisch-kaukasische Etymologien*. Heidelberg, Winter 1949; Id.: *Die Sprache Buruscho*. *Eusko-Jakintza*, 4, 1950, pp. 37-50, 337-346; Id.: *Buruschaski Etymologien*, *Orbis*, 3, 1954, pp. 228-230.

<sup>48</sup>PEYROS, I.I., STAROSTIN, S.A.: *O geneticheskom sravnenii kitayskogo i tibetskogo yazykov (foneticheskie sootvetstviya)*. In: *Ranneyaya etnicheskaya istoriya narodov Vostochnoy Azii*. Moskva, Nauka 1977, pp. 209-221; Starostin, S.A.: *Praeniseyskaya rekonstruktsiya i vneslunnie svyazi eniseyskix yazykov*. In: *Ketskii sbornik (antropologiya, etnografiya, mifologiya, lingvistika)*. Leningrad, Nauka 1982, pp. 144-237; Id.: *Gipoteza o geneticheskix svyazyax sinotibetskix yazykov s eniseyskimi i severnokavkazskimi yazykami*. In: *Lingvisticheskaya rekonstruktsiya i drevneyshaya istoriya Vostoka, 4: Drevneyshaya yazykovaya situatsiya v Vostochnoy Azii*. Moskva, Nauka 1984, pp. 19-38; Id.: *Kulturnaya leksika v obshcheseverokavkazskom slovarnom fonde*. In: *Drevnyaya Anatoliya*. Moskva, Nauka 1985, pp. 74-94; Id.: *Kommentarii k kavkazovedcheskim rabotam N.S. Trubetskogo*. In: *N.S. Trubetskoy, Izbrannye trudy po filologii*. Moskva, Progress 1987, pp. 437-473.

<sup>49</sup>STAROSTIN, S.A.: *Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian*. LP.

mented by comparison with North Caucasian.<sup>50</sup> Other macro-phyla have been established by the method of mass comparison and so all of these conclusions are only preliminary and they must be verified by more exact methods. It is possible that the borders among macrophyla will be changed in the future. E.g. we are not sure today if Čukči-Kamčatkan and Nivx - both undoubtedly related<sup>51</sup> - belong to Nostratic<sup>52</sup> or to Amerind<sup>53</sup> macro-phyla. On the other hand, the formerly supposed connections between Sino-Tibetan and Austric have been explained by areal convergence.<sup>54</sup> The author does not hesitate to formulate a heretical question such as represented by monogenesis/polygenesis. He analyses some implications of this cardinal question and instead of an answer he quotes Greenberg's "global etymology" \*tV/K- for "finger/one" which can reflect the common heritage of the only human proto-protolanguage with other similar world distributed roots.<sup>55</sup>

Ad pp. 271–274 The literature on genetic links between families can be sizably extended, cf. e.g. Gabelentz (Basque + Afroasiatic),<sup>56</sup> Wölfel (Indo-European

<sup>50</sup> NIKOLAEV, S.L.: *Sino-Caucasian languages in America*, MS 1988; Id.: *On the Sino-Caucasian character of Na-Dene*. LP.

<sup>51</sup> TAILLEUR, O.G.: *La place du Ghiliak parmi les langues Paléosibériennes*. *Lingua*, 9, 1960, pp. 113–147.

<sup>52</sup> ANKERIA, J.: *Das Verhältniss der tschuktschischen Sprachgruppe zu dem uralischen Sprachstamme*. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1951, pp. 109–150; Bouda, K.: *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der Tschuktschischen Sprachgruppe (Tschuktschisch, Korjakisch, Kamtschadalisch)*. *Acta Salmanticensia*, Fil. y Let., V/6, Salamanca 1952; Id.: *Tschuktschisch und Finnisch-Ugrisch*. *Lingua*, 4, 1955, pp. 286–317; Id.: *Tschuktschisch und Uralisch*. *ZDMG*, 111, 1961, pp. 335–360; Id.: *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse des Giljakischen*. *Anthropos* 55, 1960, pp. 355–415; Id.: *Giljakisch und Uralisch*, *Orbis*, 17, 1968, pp. 459–466; Id.: *Giljakisch, Tschuktschisch und Uralisch*. *Orbis*, 25, 1976, pp. 240–248, etc.; PUSZTAY, J.: *Giljakisch-Uralisch?* In: *Festschrift für W. Schlachter zum 70. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. Ch. Gläser, J. Pusztay, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz 1979, pp. 231–242 (comparative morphology); PANFILOV, V.Z.: *Nivsko-altayskie yazykovye svyazi*. *Voprosy yazykoznaniya* 1973, 6, pp. 3–12. Similarly also DOLGOPOLSKY (Nostratic) and GREENBERG (Eurasitic).

<sup>53</sup> STERNBERG, L.: *Bemerkungen über die Beziehungen zwischen der Morphologie der giljakischen und amerikanischen Sprache*. In: *XIV Internationaler Amerikanisten Kongress*. Stuttgart 1904; TROMBETTI, op. cit., pp. 167–189; MUDRAK, O.A., NIKOLAEV, S.A.: *Gilyak and Chukchi-Kamchatkan as Almosan-Keresian languages lexical evidence* (preliminary report), MS 1988.

<sup>54</sup> PEYROS, I.I., STAROSTIN, S.A.: *Sino-Tibetan and Austro-Thai*. Computational analyses of Asian and African languages, 22, 1984, pp. 123–127.

<sup>55</sup> The most industrious advocate of monogenesis was without doubt A. TROMBETTI, see some his works: *L'unità d'origine del linguaggio*, Bologna 1905; Id.: *Saggi di glottologia generale comparata, I (i pronomi personali), II (i numerali), III (comparazioni lessicali)*. *Memoire della R. Accademia delle Scienze dell'Istituto di Bologna*, 1906–07 (08); (Sezione di Scienze storico filologiche), ser. 1, t. X, 1916; ser. 1, t. IX, 1915; t. X, 1916; ser. 2, t. I–III, 1917–1919; *Elementi di glottologia*. Bologna, Zanichelli 1923, pp. 189–213 (Le monogenesi del linguaggio). A similar position is occupied by J. Rahder in his *Etymological Vocabulary of Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Ainu, I. Monumenta Nipponica Monographs* 16, Tokyo 1956; II–III: New Haven, 1959; reprinted in *Journal of Asiatic Studies* 2/1, 1959, pp. 317–406, resp. 3/1, 1960, pp. 317–416; IV: *Orbis* 10, 1961, pp. 175–213; V: *Orbis* 12, 1963, pp. 45–116; Id.: *Words for Abdomen and Entrails*. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik*, 17, 1964, pp. 609–620. The rich material of mass comparisons of both authors can only be useful after the verification by regular comparative methods (e.g. Trombetti is the richest source of Nostratic comparisons of Illich-Svitych).

<sup>56</sup> GABELENTZ, G. von der: *Verwandtschaft des Baskischen mit den Berbersprachen*. Nord-Africas.

+ Basque + Afroasiatic),<sup>57</sup> Mukarovsky (Basque + Afroasiatic + Saharan + West Atlantic + Mande + Songhay),<sup>58</sup> Militarev (Meroitic + Nubian + Afroasiatic),<sup>59</sup> Hohenberger (Nilotic + Cushitic + Semitic),<sup>60</sup> Petráček (Saharan + Afroasiatic),<sup>61</sup> Tuttle (Nubian + Dravidian),<sup>62</sup> Boisson (Sumerian + Dravidian/Nostratic),<sup>63</sup> Fähnrich (Sumerian + Kartvelian),<sup>64</sup> Furnée (Basque + Kartvelian + Burušaski + East Mediterranean substratum in Greek),<sup>65</sup> etc. Some other attempts to prove the distant relationship, or on the contrary their critiques are discussed by Xelimskiy.<sup>66</sup>

Ad pp. 302–303 An alternative classification of the Mande family has been presented by Pozdnyakov.<sup>67</sup>

Ad p. 310 For a more detailed classification of the North Jos group of the Plateau branch of Benue-Zambesi stock of Niger-Congo see Shimizu.<sup>68</sup>

Ad p. 311 For more detailed classification of Jarawan-Bantu group see Gerhardt.<sup>69</sup>

Braunschweig, Sattler 1894.

<sup>57</sup> WÖELFEL, D.J.: *Eurafrikanische Wortschichten des Kulturschichten*. Acta Salmanticensia, Fil. y Let., IX/1, Salamanca 1955.

<sup>58</sup> MUKAROVSKY, H.G.: *Altmediterranes Wortgut in Westafrika*, WZKM, 55, 1959, pp. 1–48; Id.: *Die Grundlagen des Ful und das Mauretanische*. Wien, Herder 1963; Id.: *Über die Stellung der Mandesprachen*. Anthropos, 61, 1966, pp. 679–688; Id.: *Langues apparentées au chamito-sémitiques*. GLECS, 11, 1966–67, pp. 83–90; Id.: *L'Euro-Saharien et les langues Ouest-Africaines*. GLECS, 11, 1966–1967, pp. 160–176; Id.: *El Vascoense y el Berber*. Euskera, 17, 1972, pp. 5–49; Id.: *Einige hamito-semitische und baskische Wortstämme*. Paper read at the 21st Deutscher Orientalistentag, Berlin, Mart 25–29, 1980; Id.: *Wo steht das Saharanische?* AuÜ, 64, 1981, pp. 187–226; Id.: *Mande-Chadic. Common Stock*. Beiträge zur Afrikanistik, Bd. 32, Wien: Afro-Pub. 1987.

<sup>59</sup> MILITAREV, A.Yu.: *Yazyk meroitskoy epigrafiki kak istoricheskiy istochnik v svete ego genezisa*. Vestnik drevney istorii 1984/2, pp. 153–170.

<sup>60</sup> HOHENBERGER, J.: *Semitisches und hamitisches Sprachgut im Masai*. Sachsenmühle: Selbstverlag 1958.

<sup>61</sup> PETRÁČEK, K.: *Altägyptisch, Hamitosemitisch und ihre Beziehungen zu einigen Sprachfamilien in Afrika und Asien*. Praha, Universita Karlova 1986.

<sup>62</sup> TUTTLE, E.W.: *Dravidian and Nubian*. JAOS, 52, 1932, pp. 133–144.

<sup>63</sup> BOISSON, C.P.: *Analogies lexicales entre sumerien et dravidien: les données et les problèmes*. MS Oct 1987; A conjecture on the linguistic affiliation of Sumerian, MS Dec 1987.

<sup>64</sup> FÄHNRIK, H.: *Das Sumerische und die Kartwelsprachen*, Georgica, 4, 1981, pp. 89–101.

<sup>65</sup> FURNÉE, E.J.: *Vorgriechisch-Kartvelisches*. Louvain, Peeters 1979; Id.: *Lexikalische Beziehungen zwischen Baskisch, Burušaski, Kartvelisch und Vorgriechisch*. Georgica, 5, 1982, pp. 27–32.

<sup>66</sup> XELIMSKIY, E.A.: *Problema granits nostraticheskoy makrosemyi yazykov*. In: *Lingvisticheskaya rekonstruktsiya i drevneyshaya istoriya Vostoka, 5: Problema izucheniya nostraticheskoy makrosemyi yazykov*, Moskva, Nauka 1984, pp. 31–48; Id.: *Trudy V.M. Illich-Svitycha i razvitiye nostraticheskix issledovaniy za rubezhom*. In: *Zarubezhnaya istoriografiya slavyanovedeniya i balkanistiki*. Moskva, Nauka 1986, pp. 229–282; Id.: *Reshenie dilemm pratyurkskoy rekonstruktsii i nostratika*. Voprosy yazykoznaniya, 1986, 5, pp. 67–78; Id.: *Analyzing the Arguments of "Anti-Altaicists" and "Anti-Nostraticists"*. LP.

<sup>67</sup> POZDNYAKOV, K.I.: *Yazyki Mande (rezultaty sravnitelno-istoricheskogo analiza)*. Afrikanskiy etnograficheskii sbornik, 12, 1980, p. 178.

<sup>68</sup> SHIMIZU, K.: *Die Nord-Jos-Gruppe der Plateau-Sprachen Nigerias*. AuÜ, 65, 1982, pp. 162–165.

<sup>69</sup> GERHARDT, L.: *Jarawan Bantu - The Mistaken Identity of the Bantu Who Turned North*. AuÜ, 65, 1982, p. 88.

Ad p. 317 The last classification of the Saharan family presented by Petráček<sup>70</sup> follows:

SAHARAN: 1 TU-KAN: a KAN: i Kanuri, ii Kanembu

b TU: i Tubu, ii Tuda

2 BER: a BERI: i Bideyat, ii Zaghawa

b SAGA: Saga-to a (=Berti).

The classification of the Nubian group is rather inaccurate, see Thelwall.<sup>71</sup>

NUBIAN: 1 NILE NUBIAN: a Mahas-Fadicca (=Nobiin), Kenzi-Dongolawi

2 HILL NUBIAN: a Dair, Kadaru-Debri, Ghulfan, El Higeirat

b Dilling, Western Kadaru, Karko, Wali

3 MEIDOB

4 BIRGID

5 + HARAHA.

For a more detailed classification of the Surma group see Fleming.<sup>72</sup>

Ad p. 318 For a more detailed classification of Eastern Nilotic see Vossen;<sup>73</sup> Southern Nilotic see Rottland.<sup>74</sup>

Ad p. 319 Bender<sup>75</sup> quotes more languages of Gumuz family: Disoha, Sai, Sese, Gojjan, Kokit, Hamaj.

Ad p. 320 Militarev<sup>76</sup> includes more languages in Eastern Berber, such as Zurg (=Kufra) and Fezzan with the varieties of Tmessa and of Al-Fojaha, in the Zenati subgroup of Northern Berber e.g. Seghrušen, Figig, Senhaja, Iznacen, etc., in East Zenati e.g. Zrawa, etc.

The Masa group doubtless belongs to Central Chadic (see above ftn. 21). Subsequently, Tourneux<sup>77</sup> classifies it as follows:

1 NORTHERN: i MASA: Gumay, Bayga, Maraw, Walya, Bongor, Yagwa,

Domo, Hara, Wina, Gizay, Bugudum

ii MUSAY (=BANANA)

iii AZUMAYNA: Kolong, Marba, Lew

2 SOUTHERN: i ZIME: Peve, Lame, Tari (=Dari), Hede, Dzepaw

(=Sachnine's Lame), Cimiang

ii MESME.

Ad pp. 320–322 For more detailed list of Chadic languages see Jungraithmayr.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>70</sup>Petráček, K.: *The BER - Group of Saharan Languages*. Archiv orientální, 56, 1988, pp. 129–136.

<sup>71</sup>Thelwall, R.: *Lexicostatistical relations between Nubian, Daju and Dinka*. In: *Études nubiennes*. Cairo, IFAO 1978, pp. 270–271.

<sup>72</sup>Fleming, H.C.: *Surma Etymologies*. In: *Nilotic Studies*. Berlin, Reimer 1983, pp. 532–533.

<sup>73</sup>Vossen, R.: *The Eastern Nilotes. Linguistic and Historical Reconstructions*. Berlin, Reimer 1982, p. 296.

<sup>74</sup>Rottland, F.: *Die südnilotischen Sprachen*. Berlin, Reimer 1982, p. 255.

<sup>75</sup>Bender, L.: *Gumuz: A Sketch of Grammar and Lexicon*. AuÜ, 62, 1979, p. 57.

<sup>76</sup>Militarev, A.Yu.: *Problemy lingvogeneza. Berbero-guanchskaya lingvisticheskaya rekonstruktsiya kak istochnik po etnokulturnoy istorii livio-berberov i guanchev*. MS 1987.

<sup>77</sup>Tourneux, H.: *Place du masa dans la famille tchadique*. HS-5.

<sup>78</sup>Jungraithmayr, H.: *Inventaire des langues tchadiques*. In: *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne. Première partie: Les langues de l'Afrique subsaharienne*. Ed. G. Manessy. Paris, Centre



Ad p. 321 The internal structure of Matakam cluster is more complicated,<sup>79</sup> also Musgu cluster is represented by more languages as Mbara, Vulum, Muskum;<sup>80</sup> similarly Kotoko<sup>81</sup> is a cluster of mutually unintelligible languages.

Ad p. 322 For a full list of Zaar (Southern Bauchi) languages see Shimizu.<sup>82</sup> The Central Ometo cluster is represented by such languages/dialects as Wolaita (= Wolamo), Kullo, Zala, Gemu, Gofa, Malo, Dorse, Dače, etc.<sup>83</sup> The Central Cushitic classification is inaccurate, cf. Appleyard.<sup>84</sup>

a SOUTHERN AGAW: Awngi, Kunfāl

b NORTHERN AGAW: i WESTERN: Kemant, Qwara

ii NORTHEASTERN: i EAST: Xamir, Xamta

II NORTH: Bilin.

The Dullay cluster of languages/dialects is divided in three "branches": 1. Harso-Dobase, 2. Gawwada-Gollango, 3. Tsamay (-Gaba?).<sup>85</sup>

Ad p. 323 The following languages form the Konsoid cluster: Konso, Mashile, Turo, Gidole (= Dirasša), Gato, Bussa (= Mossiya).<sup>86</sup> It is not clear why Epigraphic South Arabian and especially modern South Arabian are not specified while e.g. languages/dialects of the Gurage cluster have a place on the same page. Sabaic, Ma<sup>c</sup>in, Qatabanic Hadramautic, etc. are usually considered Epigraphic South Arabian languages, but they are not ancestors of modern South Arabian. Proper Arabic has its older epigraphic stages in Lihyan, Tamudic and Safaitic. The modern South Arabian languages probably represent an independent branch in the Semitic family.<sup>87</sup> Their internal classification<sup>88</sup> is as follows:

SOUTH ARABIAN: i ISOQOTRI

national de la recherche scientifique 1981, pp. 407–413.

<sup>79</sup>ROSSING, M.: *A Note on Mafa (Matakam)*. *Africana Marburgensia*, 10, 1977, 2, pp. 35–36.

<sup>80</sup>TOURNEUX, H.; SEIGNOBOS, Ch., LAFARGE, F.: *Les mbara et leur langue (Tchad)*. Paris, SELAF 1986, pp. 195–210.

<sup>81</sup>SOLKEN, H.: *Seetzens Áffadéh. Ein Beitrag zur Kotoko-Sprachdokumentation*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1967, pp. 33–35.

<sup>82</sup>SHIMIZU, K.: *The Southern Bauchi Group of Chadic Languages*. *Africana Marburgensia*, 11, 1978, Spec. Issue 2, p. 13.

<sup>83</sup>FLEMING, H.C.: *Omotic Overview*. In: *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, ed. by M. L. Bender, East Lansing, Michigan State University 1976, p. 300.

<sup>84</sup>APPLEYARD, D.L.: *The internal classification of the Agaw languages: a comparative and historical phonology*. In: *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics: Papers of the Third International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, ed. J. Bynon. Amsterdam, Benjamin 1984, p. 60. Cf. also COWLEY, R.W.: *The Kunfāl People and their Language*. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 9, 1971, p. 101.

<sup>85</sup>AMBORN, H., MINKER, G., SASSE, H.-J.: *Das Dullay*. Berlin, Reimer 1980, p. 56.

<sup>86</sup>LAMBERTI, M.: *Some Konsoid Etymologies*. *Anthropos*, 82, 1987, p. 529.

<sup>87</sup>See fn. 20; MILITAREV, *Izvestiya AN SSSR*, ser. lit. i yaz., 41, 1982, p. 382.

<sup>88</sup>PETRAČEK, K.: *Einige Entwicklungstendenzen in den südsemitischen Sprachsystemen*. *Archiv orientální*, 36, 1968, pp. 473–474; MILITAREV, A. Yu.: *Sxemy geneticheskoy klassifikatsii i razdeleniya afraziyskoy semyi yazykov (po glottoxronologii)*. In: *Lingvisticheskaya rekonstruktsiya i drevneyshaya istoriya Vostoka, 3: Yazykovaya situatsiya v Peredney Azii v X-IV tysyacheletiyax do n.e.* Moskva, Nauka 1984, *Sxema 2. Razdelenie obshchesemitskogo yazyka (prilozhenie)*; SIMEONE-SENELLE, M.-C.: *Récents développements des recherches sur les langues sudarabiques modernes*. LP.

II MEHRI-JIBBALI: A MEHRI: Mehri, Bathari, Harsusi  
 B HOBYOT (transient dialect)  
 C ŠHERI-JIBBALI (including the  
 dialect of the Kurya Murya islands)

Ad p. 324 The classification of Kartvelian (South Caucasian) languages is incorrect, Svan is an independent branch.<sup>89</sup>

I SVAN

II ZAN-GEORGIAN: A ZAN: Mingrelian, Laz (Čan)  
 B GEORGIAN.

Ad p. 325 The Hittite branch of Anatolian languages can be supplemented by Carian. Luwian is a name of two closely related but different languages: Cuneiform Luwian and Hieroglyphic Luwian. Also Lycian is a name of two close languages A and B (Milyan). Some epigraphic languages of Hellenistic period such as Pisidic or Sidetic belong to the Luwoid branch, too.<sup>90</sup>

Ad p. 326 The Ormuzi and Parači languages belong to the Northwest subgroup of Iranian languages rather than to the Southeast one.<sup>91</sup>

Ad p. 327 The classification of Celtic languages is incorrect: The Brythonic branch belongs together with Continental Gaulish (see fn. 5).

Other tribal languages/dialects known from ancient and medieval sources belong to the East Germanic branch: Herulish, Rugish, Skirish, Gepidish.

The historical classification of West Germanic languages is more complicated. The tripartite division known from Tacitus and Plinius is probably correct.<sup>92</sup> Mythical names relate to the early medieval languages/dialects: INGWEONIC - Anglosaxon, Frisian, Saxon; ISTWEONIC - Frankish; ERMIONIC - Alamanic, Bavarian, Langobardic. Modern languages have often been consolidated from more sources, e.g. Dutch originated from the basis of Low Frankish and Frisian, Low German through the merging of Saxon and Frankish or High German by the integration of Alamanic and Bavarian with Frankish.

Similarly, the West Baltic branch can be supplemented by such old tribal languages/dialects as Jadvingian, Galindian, Sudinian and East Baltic by Kuronian, Zemgal, Selonian.<sup>93</sup> The recently discovered "Jatvingian" Glossary hides a remarkable Baltic language with feature of both East and West branches.<sup>94</sup>

The traditional tripartite classification of Slavic languages probably does not reflect the real historic development. E.g. Zaliznyak<sup>95</sup> supposes the following model:

<sup>89</sup>KLIMOV, G.A.: *O leksiko-statisticheskoy teorii M. Svodesha*. In: *Voprosy teorii yazyka v sovremennoy zarubezhnoy lingvistike*. Moskva, Nauka 1961, p. 243; Id.: *Voprosy metodiki sravnitel'no-istoricheskix issledovaniy*. Leningrad, Nauka 1971, p. 38 (so already DEETERS 1930).

<sup>90</sup>KOROLEV, A.A.: *Xetto-luviyskie yazyki*. In: *Yazyki Azii i Afriki, I*. Moskva, Nauka 1976, pp. 45-46.

<sup>91</sup>EFIMOV, V.A.: *Yazyk ormuini v sovremnom i istoricheskom osveshchenii*. Moskva, Nauka 1986, pp. 6-10.

<sup>92</sup>ZHIRMUNSKIY, V.M.: *Plemennye dialekty drevnix germansev*. In: *Sravnitel'naya grammatika germanskix yazykov*. I. Moskva, Izd. AN SSSR 1962, pp. 126-161.

<sup>93</sup>ERHART, A.: *Baltiské jazyky*. Praha, SPN 1984, pp. 3-10.

<sup>94</sup>OREL, V.E., XELIMSKIY, E.A.: *Nabhyudeniya nad baltiyskim yazykom polsko-"yatvyazhskogo" slovarika*. Balto-slavyanské issledovaniya 1985, Moskva, Nauka 1987, p. 131.

a NORTHWEST: North Lexitic, Sorbian, Polish, North Krivičian

b MIXED: (Czech), Slovak, South Krivičian, Old Novgorodian,  
Rostov-Suzdal dialect

c SOUTHEAST: Slovenian, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian-Bulgarian,  
south dialects of East Slavic, Ilmen-Slovenian.

Ad p. 328 The Yukaghir language (only traditionally) dialects represent a proper family, approximately on the same level as Samoyedic.<sup>96</sup> For their classification see Tailleux:<sup>97</sup>

YUKAGHIR: 1 NORTH (Tundra)

2 CENTRAL: a + Čuvan

b South (Kolyma); + Northwest

3 + OMOK.

There are better known Samoyedic languages. For their classification see Xelimskiy:<sup>98</sup>

SAMOYEDIC: 1 NORTH: Nenets, Enets, Nganasan

2 SELQUP

3 KAMASIN: Kamasin, Koibal

4 MATOR: Mator, Tajgi, Karagass.

Volgaic unity is questionable. E.g. G. Bereczki quotes 110 isoglosses between Finnic and Mordvian against only 20 between Mordvian and Mari.<sup>99</sup> A full classification of Finno-Ugric must also take into consideration the reason that some extinct languages as Merja or Muroma are known only from historical sources, onomastics, etc., which represented the joining link between Mari, Mordvian, and Finnic.<sup>100</sup>

Ad p. 330 For a more detailed classification of the Kurumba and the Irula tribal languages/dialects see Zvelebi.<sup>101</sup>

Ad p. 335 For a more detailed classification of the Viet-Muong languages see Sokolovskaya.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>95</sup>ZALIZNYAK, A.A.: *Drevnenovgorodskiy dialekt i problemy dialektnogo chleneniya pozdnego praslovjanskogo yazyka*. In: *X mezhdunarodnyy syezd slavistov*. Slavyanskoe yazykoznanie. Sofia, Sep 1988. Moskva, Nauka 1988, p. 176.

<sup>96</sup>XELIMSKIY: personal communication (about 2000 years of divergence according to glotto-chronology).

<sup>97</sup>TAILLEUX, O.G.: *Les uniques données sur l'omok, langue éteinte de la famille youkaghire*. Orbis, 8, 1959, p. 104; Id.: *Le dialecte ichouvane du youkaghire*, Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, 34, 1962, p. 97.

<sup>98</sup>XELIMSKIY, E.A.: *Drevneyshie vengersko-samodiyiskie yazykovye paralleli*. Moskva, Nauka 1982, p. 39; Id.: *Istoricheskaya i opisatel'naya dialektologiya samodiyiskix yazykov*. Tartu: Doctoral Dissertation 1988, p. 14.

<sup>99</sup>BERECZKI, G.: *L'unité finnoise de la Volga a-t-elle jamais existé?* Études finno-ougriennes, 15, 1982, pp. 81-90.

<sup>100</sup>KERESZTES, L.: *Geschichte des mordwinischen Konsonantismus I*. Szeged, Studia Uralo-Altaica 27, 1987, p. 190.

<sup>101</sup>ZVELEBI, K.V.: *The body in Nilgiri tribal languages. A contribution to areal linguistic studies*. Journal of American Oriental Society, 105, 1985, p. 674.

<sup>102</sup>SOKOLOVSKAYA, N.K.: *O klassifikatsii yazykov vyetmyongskoy grupy*. In: *Teoreticheskie problemy vostochnogo yazykoznanija*. Moskva, Nauka 1982, pp. 175-182.

Ad p. 354 For a more detailed classification of the Andamanese languages see Manoharan.<sup>103</sup>

Ad p. 377 The author classifies as languages and isolates the following languages: Basque, Buruškaski, Ket, Nivx (=Gilyak), Nahali, Sumerian, Etruscan, Hurrian, Meroitic.

Ket is a member of a Yenisseian family together with the extinct Arin, Assan, Kott, and Pumpokol languages.<sup>104</sup> The family belongs to the Sino-Caucasian macro-phylum (see above). Buruškaski is probably also related<sup>105</sup> while the Sino-Caucasian affiliation of Basque and that of Sumerian is only hypothetical (see above). On the other hand, Hurrian together with Urartian doubtless belongs to East Caucasian family.<sup>106</sup> The position of Nivx (=Gilyak) language was discussed above (ftn. 51-53). There are relatively hopeful connections known between Meroitic and East Sudanic.<sup>107</sup> The oldest stratum of Nahali determined by Kuiper<sup>108</sup> shows certain common parallels with Australian.<sup>109</sup> The genetic affiliation of Etruscan (together with the language of Lemnos Stele) stays open: Nostratic<sup>110</sup> or North Caucasian?<sup>111</sup> Also other "isolated" extinct languages can be quoted, e.g. Hattic - the old cultural language of Hittite empire - which is most probably related with West Caucasian belonging to North Caucasian<sup>112</sup> although some cognates with Kartvelian are also known.<sup>113</sup>

Conclusions. Despite some supplements, single corrections and alternative schemes the book is the best one of its kind, mainly the parts devoted to the languages of Subsaharan Africa, South-east Asia, Oceania and the Americas. The author works with

<sup>103</sup> MANOHARAN, S.: *Subgrouping Andamanese group of languages*. International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics, 12, 1983, pp. 82-95.

<sup>104</sup> STAROSTIN, S.A., 1982 (see ftn. 48), p. 144.

<sup>105</sup> Besides citations in ftn. 47 see also TOPOROV, V.N.: *Burushaski and Yeniseian languages: some parallels*. Travaux linguistiques de Prague, 4, 1971, pp. 107-125; BLEICHSTEINER, R.: *Die werschikisch-burischkische Sprache im Pamir-Gebiet und ihre Stellung zu den Japhatitensprachen des Kaukasus*. Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, I, 1930, pp. 289-331.

<sup>106</sup> DIAKONOFF, I.M., STAROSTIN, S.A.: *Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language*. München, Kitzinger 1986.

<sup>107</sup> TRIGGER, B.G.: *Meroitic and Eastern Sudanic: A Linguistic Relationship*. Kush, 12, 1964, pp. 188-194.

<sup>108</sup> KUIPER, F.B.J.: *Nahali. A Comparative Study*. Amsterdam: MKNA 25/5, 1962; *The Sources of the Nahali Vocabulary*. In: *Studies in Comparative Austroasiatic Linguistic*, ed. N. H. Zide. London - The Hague - Paris, Mouton 1966, pp. 57-81.

<sup>109</sup> BLAŽEK, V.: *Australian elements in Dravidian lexicon?* LP.

<sup>110</sup> KONDRATOV, A.M., SHEVOROSHKIN, V.V.: *Kogda molchat pisma*. Moskva, Detskaya literatura 1970, p. 145; GEORGIEV, V.L.: *Introduction to the History of the Indo-European Languages*. Sofia, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1981, pp. 229-254 (Hittite = branch of Anatolian); GLUHAK, A.: *Etruscan numerals*. Linguistica, 17, 1978, pp. 25-32; Id.: *Etruscan vocalism*. Živa antika, 29, 1979, pp. 213-222.

<sup>111</sup> IVANOV, V.V.: *K islokovaniyu etrusskix tekstov na osnove sravnitel'nogo yazykoznaniya*. In: *Tekst: semantika i struktura*. Moskva, Nauka 1983, pp. 36-51; OREL, V.E., STAROSTIN, S.A.: *Etruscan as an Eastern Caucasian Language*. LP.

<sup>112</sup> IVANOV, V.V.: *Ob otnoshenii xattskogo yazyka k severozapadnokavkazskim*. In: *Drevnyaya Anatoliya*. Moskva, Nauka 1985, pp. 26-58.

<sup>113</sup> GIRBAL, Ch.: *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Hattischen*. Frankfurt a.M., Lang 1986.

the latest materials on the genealogical classifications of languages, frequently even with as yet unpublished manuscripts. He shows a development of views on various classifications and compares alternative opinions. This approach is new and undoubtedly very useful in comparison to the traditional approaches of the predecessors in this field of research. The book is also more synoptical than other similar books due to various diagrams, maps, etc.

The level of genealogical classification of languages depends on the level of comparative-historical linguistics. It is evident that some data will be currently defined with more precision or changed. And so we hope new editions with fresh information (including the index supplemented with synonyms) will follow.

Abbreviations: AuÜ Afrika und Übersee; GLECS Comptes rendus du Groupe linguistique d'études Chamito-Sémitiques; HS-5 Papers presented at the 5th International Hamito-Semitic Congress, Vienna, Sep 28-Oct 2, 1987; LP Paper presented at the symposium "Language and Prehistory", University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Nov 8-12, 1988; MKNA Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Lett., N.R.; WZKM Wiener Zeitschrift die Kunde des Morgenlandes; ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

## BERLIN 1885 COMPARED TO BERLIN 1878<sup>1</sup>

Naďa ZIMOVÁ, Prague

What was the significance of the Berlin Africa Conference of 1884–1885 and its role in the actual process of territorial partition and the subsequent colonization of Africa? These are the questions permeating the collection of papers which came into being as a result of an international symposium convened on the one hundredth anniversary of the Berlin Africa Conference. The answers suggested by the authors reflect the differing views prevailing among historians concerning the achievements and consequences of that historical event that took place more than one hundred years ago. It was this fact and the idea of the critical reassessment of its results, according to Wolfgang J. Mommsen's preface to this book, that led to the organization of the international symposium held from 5–9 February 1985 at the Deutsche Stiftung für internationale Entwicklung at the Villa Borsig in Berlin-Tegel.

The Berlin Africa Conference has often been described as a meeting of representatives from fifteen states called by Bismarck to ease the tension between the European powers over the partitioning of West and Central Africa. However, far broader and more general considerations were on its agenda. The immediate cause of the tension was the British and Portuguese distrust of Belgian and French ambitions in the Congo and of German expansion in East Africa and the Cameroons. Moreover, the rivalry between the major European powers was being sharpened by the Anglo-French dispute over Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Differences of opinion over the demarcation of the Congo Basin arose between France and Germany when the Africa Conference's first negotiations began. European international affairs rather than those of Africa, were the foremost consideration of the historical conference. In the opening paper, which provides an excellent guide to the most important topics discussed in the volume, Ronald Robinson even doubts "whether West Africa was the main concern of the Conference" at all (p. 1).

In this opening paper, inter alia, various interpretations of the term 'partition' are discussed. The author draws attention to Bismarck's idea of applying to tropical Africa the kind of partition that was imposed on the Ottoman Empire as a result of the Berlin Congress in 1878. That Congress took place - also under Bismarck's presidency - in the same capital as the Berlin Africa Conference of 1884–1885. Similarly, the Berlin Congress of 1878 had been convened to achieve a balance in South-eastern Europe

<sup>1</sup>Subtitle: *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa. The Berlin Africa Conference 1884–1885 and the Onset of Partition*. Edited by Stig Förster, Wolfgang J. Mommsen, and Ronald Robinson. The German Historical Institute London. Oxford - New York - Toronto, Oxford University Press 1988. XVIII + 569 pp.

<sup>2</sup>In this connection, on the increasing mutual distrust between the Ottoman Empire and Britain, and on the Ottoman state's reactions to the crisis in Egypt which was still nominally under its suzerainty, see DERINGIL, Selim: *The Ottoman Response to the Egyptian Crisis of 1881–1882*. Middle Eastern Studies, 24, 1988, No. 1, pp. 3–24.

that would be acceptable to major European powers. It had recognized the independent status of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro. The autonomous principality of Bulgaria was created there, and Russia's possession of the Caucasus was confirmed. Finally, Austria-Hungary and Britain had obtained the right to occupy Bosnia-Herzegovina and Cyprus respectively.

Ronald Robinson shows the absurdity of applying the principle of the Ottoman Empire's partition to Africa. He argues that "Unlike previous partitions in Europe and the Ottoman Empire, the lines projected along unknown watersheds of latitudes on maps in Berlin corresponded to no historic frontiers, but divided whole peoples, so that the partition had no recognizable physical representation on the ground in Africa" (p. 24). According to the same author, the Conference failed to stop the scramble. On the contrary, it stimulated the territorial disputes it had been intended to avert.

The editors, Stig Förster, Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Ronald Robinson, have organized the book into four sections: European interests in Africa; origins of the Conference; issues at the Conference; African reactions to imperial invasion, with H. L. Wesseling and G. N. Uzoigwe contributing the two final chapters on the significance and results of the Berlin Africa Conference.

In the first part, Colin Newbury, A. D. Nzemeke and John Flint concentrate on the economic affects of European trade in West Africa and the commercial interests involved. Horst Gründer examines missionary activities and religious questions, as discussed at the Conference. As the author shows, this Conference resulted in a recognition of "religious freedom for all Christian Churches, missionary societies and, after some hesitation among the Catholic delegates, for Islam as well" (p. 100). In the last two contributions of this section, Harmut Pogge von Strandmann and Klaus J. Bade analyse the German colonial movement and Bismarck's colonial policy. Obviously, the Berlin Africa Conference was merely a chess piece in Bismarck's carefully calculated overall strategy. At the Conference, international attention was attracted to Germany's position within the European system of powers, and to its first steps as a colonial power.

Wolfgang J. Mommsen introduces the second section of the book with a wide-ranging discussion on the changes in the constellation of European powers, which had led to the convoking of the Conference. His thorough analysis of Bismarck's diplomacy constitutes a stimulating approach not only to that German statesman's policy and his efforts to stabilize Germany's imperial status, but also to the role of the leading actors in the diplomatic arena of those times. A. S. Kanya-Forstner contributes a good study of France's African priorities at the Berlin Africa Conference. He opposes the interpretation of the Conference as having dealt a defeat to France, arguing that on the contrary, France actually secured "her privileged position on the Upper Niger" and "the fruits of Brazza's efforts in the Congo" (p. 185). Concluding the section devoted to the origins of the Conference, the collection of essays is on a high level and regards Anglo-Portuguese cooperation, the Portuguese and Spanish roles in the scramble for Africa, and the Belgian initiative on that continent (written by G. N. Sanderson, Gervase Clarence-Smith and Jean Stengers respectively).

The major part of the volume deals with the main issues discussed at the Berlin Africa Conference. In the first essay, Geoffrey de Courcel evaluates the legal document of the Conference, the Berlin Act of 26 February 1885. The Conference recognized the existence of the Congo Free State as a personal possession of King Leopold, and agreed on methods for suppressing slavery and the slave trade. Moreover, it guaranteed free trade in Central Africa and freedom of navigation on the Congo and Niger Rivers, and adopted other decisions concerning the occupation of territories. According to the author, "The Berlin Act, by seeking to extend the principles of international law to the colonies, blazed a trail which, however, ineffectively at first, was to be the path along which future generation would follow" (p. 261). Thus, even Japan's penetration into Africa, which was mainly economic in character, was made possible by the colonial development policy formulated at the Berlin Africa Conference.<sup>3</sup>

Analysing the three basic items discussed at the Conference - free trade, internationalization of the Congo Basin and the principle of effective occupation - Imanuel Geiss devotes special attention to the interaction of European and African history. John D. Hargreaves considers the relationship between the Conference and the eventual partition of the African continent in the context of a series of bilateral boundary agreements, and concludes that "Except for its provisions regarding the Congo (and to a lesser degree those concerning the Niger) the Berlin Conference does not seem to have had important direct effects on the process of territorial partition" (p. 320). L. H. Gann shows that the Berlin Africa Conference's humanitarian intentions "remained largely on paper" (p. 329), and Suzanne Miers argues that "the Berlin Act was of little consequence as a humanitarian instrument" (p. 333). Jörg Fisch devotes his attention to international law as applied to the Conference and demonstrates that "Africa was not the subject but the object of the Conference" (p. 347). Elfi Bendikat analyses the contemporary press' reports on that event. Particular mention should be made of the two essays by George Shepperson and Peter Duignan, which provide valuable synthetic insight into many of the major economic and political dimensions of Africa's role at the Conference.

Turning to other themes, the section devoted to the African reaction to European colonial conquest is a most welcome one. Michael Crowder's methodological essay serves as an introduction to a series of case studies on West African resistance to the imposition of European colonial rule: Elizabeth Hopkins analyses African politics and European rivalry in Bufumbira; the indigenization of European colonialism in Africa is studied in an essay by A. I. Asiwaju on Yorubaland and Dahomey; Obaro Ikime and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene then analyse the Nigerian reaction to the colonial invasion; Afro-European relations in the Western Congo and the African perception of European policies are studied by Mumbanza mwa Bawele and Franz Ansprenger respectively. The particular merit of this section lies in the way in which the questions concerning the broad spectrum of African resistance to colonial rule are analysed. Nevertheless, many more comparative studies on individual cases will be needed for

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<sup>3</sup>MORIKAWA, J.: *The Myth and Reality of Japan's Relations with Colonial Africa - 1885-1960*. Journal of African Studies, 12, 1985, No. 1, pp. 40-41.



further effective research in this field, as Michael Crowder points out in the conclusion of his contribution (p. 412).

This volume, which compiles various opinions of African, American and European historians, is rounded off by two contributions evaluating the significance of the Berlin Africa Conference. H. L. Wesseling concludes that "Politically speaking, the role of the Berlin Africa Conference was not to do partitioning itself, but to draw the attention of the world to this process and to legitimize it. Historically speaking, the meaning of the Berlin Conference is that it represents the partition in a symbolic form" (p. 533). Finally, G. N. Uzoigwe states that "The Berlin West Africa Conference had the immediate result of turning the scramble for Africa into a territorial steeplechase. But it also brought a measure of order and purpose to a movement that was increasingly becoming anarchic and would have led to a European conflagration if nothing had been done" (p. 544).

The principle underlying the Ottoman Empire's partition could not have had the anticipated effects in Africa, as Ronald Robinson demonstrates with considerable precision.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Imanuel Geiss points to the historical link between the scramble for Africa and the Eastern Question. He shows that "The decline of the Ottoman Empire under the pressure from Russia also brought Britain to the Suez Canal (1875), to Cyprus (1878) in the wake of the Eighth Russo-Turkish War and the Congress of Berlin, and to Egypt (1882), all for the sake of protecting her paramount imperial interest, India, but at the same time contributing, by sheer force of geographical circumstances, the onset of the scramble for Africa."<sup>5</sup> For anyone looking at the Berlin Congress of 1878 on the Eastern Question and comparing it with the Berlin African Conference of 1884-1885, nothing will probably be more striking than the fact that the objectives to be achieved at both of these historical gatherings were primarily confined to the European political arena. The Congress of Berlin in 1878 had regulated Ottoman affairs in the interests of the European powers. Similarly, European international affairs rather than African interests determined the great powers' African policy at the Berlin Africa Conference of 1884-1885.

Pitfalls abound in the launching of collective enterprises such as this; not the least threatening is the divergence of opinions among the contributors. Wide coverage of the subject, one strength of this volume, contains its own dangers when the number of authors is as large as it is in this case. Fortunately, the editors have guided this collection of papers with a firm hand and, thus, the centrifugal tendencies have been kept to a minimum. The publication of this book will probably not end discussions on the Conference's significance; rather it will raise the entire discussion to a new level of both empirical and interpretative scholarship.

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<sup>4</sup>See the contribution by Ronald Robinson in this volume, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. the contribution by Imanuel Geiss in this volume, p. 267, note 18.

## BOOK REVIEWS

OLIVER, Douglas L.: *Oceania. The Native Cultures of Australia and the Pacific Islands*. 2 Vols. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1989. 1275 pp.

The present publication is one of those remarkable synthetic works that have begun to be published in the field of Oceania's cultural and social anthropology but are still missing in some other branches of this area study.

Douglas L. Oliver, professor of anthropology at both Harvard and University of Hawaii, is one of those very few competent scholars to launch such a demanding project. Within Polynesia, his main interest is the Society Islands but he has been engaged in the study of other parts of the Pacific as well.

Oliver's encyclopedia of the cultures of Oceania aims at drawing a picture of the Pacific cultures within their external setting. The latter includes not only the natural environment as an essential shaping or at least delimiting factor but also the peoples who have created these cultures and implemented them in their everyday lives. Basic data on the physical anthropology of the Pacific populations, together with a brief characteristic of the linguistic situation (including its genetic aspects) and information on the results of archaeological research are of vital importance for our understanding of the genesis and variety of the cultures of this vast expanse that nevertheless, due to its original point of departure somewhere in Southeast Asia, may be regarded as one area.

Oliver's systemic approach is obvious in Part II of his opus maior (Activities, pp. 123–785), when he starts with defining his basic notions, especially those such as people, social group, household, community, and society, in an effort to avoid or at least minimize ambiguity and to get rid of useless terminological synonymy (pp. 125–127). Both religious ideas (described only very briefly, pp. 130–139) and implements (pp. 139–156) are obviously, and not without justification, viewed by the author as tools that help users to find their way in the surrounding world and supply them with a lever to modify or at least to exploit its resources in their interest.

Oliver adheres to the common practice of subdividing the Pacific world into Australia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia (p. 129). This traditional quaternary subdivision is somewhat complicated by his separate treatment of the Fijian area set between Melanesia and Polynesia for which, however, there are precedents in the past, too.

The author's synthetic approach is accentuated by his removal of the territorial subdivision to the lower hierarchical level, subordinate to the conceptual systemic level. This is no doubt an economical measure because it enables him to discuss analogous if not identical phenomena recurring in several areas, which at the same time stresses his synthetic attitude as well as his conception of Oceania as one cultural region.

The activities described by the author comprise food and food-getting technology discussed with a good deal of separate justification for Australia (pp. 157-184) and the insular world (pp. 185-321), aspects of household and residence (pp. 321-360), navigation and boat-building (pp. 361-422), warfare (pp. 423-500), exchange of goods ranging from ceremonial to commercial exchange (pp. 501-589), sexual life (pp. 590-659), and, finally the course of human life from birth to death including eschatology (pp. 660-786).

Part II includes not only chapters on various aspects of material culture but also basic information on social life and institutions. The latter are hard to divide from the former and that is why Oliver has decided to deal with the questions of social organization in Volume Two of his work consisting only of Part III titled Social Relations (pp. 819-1181). Again, the introductory remarks supply the reader with brief definitions of the basic concepts ranging from kinship terminology to such abstract ideas as prestige, influence, authority, status, and rank (pp. 822-825) since the social structure comprises not only family links but also political organization even if the latter may be modelled after the former.

In Part III, Oliver gives preference to the geographical arrangement of his discussion, under the headings Australia, Polynesia, Micronesia, Melanesia and Fiji. He justifies this treatment on the grounds that a topical basis of the examination would result in erasing some of the clear regional boundaries setting areas apart, especially Australia and Polynesia (p. 821).

The author's method is to concentrate upon selected societies that are regarded as typical and the obtained results may be used for generalizations. In the case of Australia he has decided on Murngin while in Polynesia he describes Tikopia and Tahiti. His task has been made easy by a considerable degree of homogeneity in the two major areas. However, as far as Micronesia is concerned, he had to subdivide it into three major parts corresponding to the Palau - Marianas - Yap region, the southern Gilbert Islands - Banaba, and, finally, the islands between these two regions.

The utmost ethnic complexity and social heterogeneity of Melanesia have forced Oliver to depart from the pattern that was suitable for Australia, Polynesia, and Micronesia. Melanesia with its hundreds of societies, languages, and ethnic units is described topically - a few selected social institutions are characterized and compared to make some generalizations possible.

This seems to reflect the fact that the subdivision of Oceania into Australia, Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia (as well as Fiji) is simply a temporary solution, and more extensive knowledge of Melanesia would no doubt result in its subdivision into a variety of cultural regions. This, however, is hardly feasible at this time.

The reviewer would appreciate the inclusion of a chapter or two on religious ideas, mythology, and oral literature - all of which no doubt form an integral part of the culture of the peoples of Oceania.

An important feature of this monumental publication is its illustrative component consisting of many figures, maps, and drawings so helpful especially for the objects of material culture. There are also detailed notes, an extensive bibliography (pp. 1201-

1260), and three indexes, i.e. a subject index, an index of peoples and an index of authors cited in the publication.

I am sure that Oliver's work will be regarded by its users as an invaluable reference book in their study of the peoples and cultures of Australia and the Pacific.

Viktor Krupa

MATISOFF, James A.: *The Dictionary of Lahu*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press 1988. 1436 pp.

Matisoff's *Dictionary of Lahu* is a remarkable achievement in American lexicography. It is the result of an extensive lexicographical project of the well-known specialist in the field of Sino-Tibetan languages (among others the author of *A Grammar of the Lahu Language*, 1967). Its realization took him more than 20 years. The extent of the carefully classified lexical material, a truly enormous stock of idiomatic expressions, and the amount of lexicographical items, make it impossible to compare it with anything produced up to this time. The dictionary will no doubt contribute to the whole of linguistic and ethnological research of Lahu.

The author made three fieldtrips to Thailand (in 1965-6, 1970, and 1977) to visit and study the national minority of Lahu (Muhsos, Muhsur, Muhso, Co Sung, Khu Xung, Kha Quy). The author himself, in his comprehensive Introduction to the dictionary, writes about it: "It may be of interest to go into some detail about the various stages of this long process, not only to clarify the vital roles that others have played in the production of this dictionary, but also as a kind of memorial to the paleolithic or "cottage-industry" school of lexicography. Basically, the work has followed a curious polyrhythmic curve: relatively brief periods of intense "elicitation" in Thailand, alternating with much longer but irregular periods of processing, digesting, and incorporation back in the U.S." (p. 1).

In the course of his first fieldtrip to Thailand, J. A. Matisoff worked primarily in the Christian Black Lahu village of Huey Tat, about 65 km north of Chiang Mai. He would suggest certain topics for discussion (New Year's celebrations, building a house, etc.), and he would collect texts from individuals (stories, songs, sermons). The second fieldtrip the author made was spent mostly in Chiang Mai, where he began to have an inkling of the eventual proportions that the dictionary would assume. His third fieldtrip was spent mainly back in Chiang Mai and Huey Tat finishing the last few manuscripts and then he was ready to face his Lahu informants again, for one final check of all the entries.

J. A. Matisoff acquaints the readers with his own work on the dictionary in the Columbia Linguistics Department and at Berkeley. The characterization of the Lahu people language are very useful and in some aspects very interesting (e.g. the difference between an animist and a Christian Lahu village as well as the difference between the

language of Christian Lahu as compared to Black Lahu, Red Lahu, and Lahu Shehleh (number of loanwords from English) and the language of the Yellow Lahu (drastically divergent)). Besides dialectal differences among the groups living in enclaves, the author also distinguishes generational differences within a given speech community (what he calls "vertical" dialects).

The Lahu entries in Matisoff's *Dictionary* are presented in alphabetical order according to their initial consonant, vowel, and tone. Naturally, from the beginning of this project, J. A. Matisoff arranged the Lahu entries according to traditional Sanskrit order - derived "devanagari" writing systems, where the consonants appear in a sequence determined by their position and manner of articulation. To help nonlinguist Western users who may be unfamiliar with Southeast Asian languages, the alphabet of the Lahu is printed as "running feet" on the bottom of each page. Wherever possible, etymologies are provided both for inherited Tibeto-Burman items and for loanwords. A number of etymologies from the author's more recent articles are also included and still other etymologies appear in print for the first time. These are usually given in the dictionary without quotation. As the author wrote, the Lahu lexicon has been greatly enriched by loanwords, especially from Chinese, Tai, and Burmese. In the dictionary, if an item is definitely a loanword, the designation "LOAN" appears between the form-class label and the gloss, with the source of the loan given as a remark between slashes.

A number of plates at the end of the dictionary are prepared from beautiful pen-and-ink drawing (most of them by L. Goldman). The rococo majuscules that ornament the beginning of each letter of the alphabet were designed by Jane Becker. The map of the distribution of Lahu settlements, between the Salween and Mekong Rivers (by A. R. Walker) is also included.

This *Dictionary of Lahu* is designated for linguists and other users in the field of Southeast Asian studies. As such, it is the result of many years of experience in the field of linguistic research and lexicography and there can be no doubt that it is very useful and valuable to anyone interested in Sino-Tibetan languages.

Ján Múčka

GUMILEV, L. N.: *Searches for an Imaginary Kingdom. The Legend of the Kingdom of Prester John*. Translated by R. E. F. Smith (Past and Present Publications). Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, Cambridge University Press 1987. XIX + 403 pp.

In the last decades, Soviet historiography (authors such as A. V. Gulyga, J. A. Gurevitch, N. I. Konrad, to name only a few) has established a considerable reputation in the West. Recently L. N. Gumilev's book was published by Cambridge University Press in the series "Past and Present Publications". The main aim of the series is to produce works dealing with economic, social and cultural changes, their causes and consequences. Gumilev's book qualifies very well, because it does just that.

In a book with the subtitle *The Legend of the Kingdom of Prester John* one would expect the author to concentrate on the historical curiosity which undoubtedly was the mentioned kingdom. It is a well-known fact that in 1145 the rumour of the existence of a certain John, a Christian king and priest of the people living "beyond the Persians and Armenians" in the extreme Orient, stirred the imagination of Catholic Europe, where preparations were in full swing for the Second Crusade. This king was said to be willing to come to the aid of the Holy Church and to help free the Holy Sepulchre. Even a letter from him appeared, addressed to the Byzantine Emperor, Manuel Comnenus. It described John's kingdom, which he called "Three Indias", with its capital Suza. All this information was accepted within western Christendom as genuine. Emissaries were sent to look for Prester John's kingdom in Asia. However, this was in vain, since such a kingdom never existed and the letter was a forgery.

The question naturally arises: who was the author of this forgery? The investigator can proceed by asking the obligatory question: cui bono? In due course the answer is given, but the author's main interest lies elsewhere. There cannot be smoke without fire; there must be some truth behind rumour of Prester John. L. N. Gumilev sees this truth in the defeat of the forces of the Seljuk sultan Sanjar by the levies of the Central Asian tribes who had been united by the Khitan Gurkhan Ye-lü Dashi, on the plain of Katwan in 1141. This assumption can be supported by the fact that some members of the tribes were Nestorian, but John's name could not be established among the Khitan lords. The problem arises, first, what was the reality, second, can we get reliable information, and if so, how.

The reality concealed behind the legend seems to be a whole epoch in the history of Central Asia's nomadic peoples filled with events which influenced the entire process of world history. It is the history of the Great Steppe from the fall of the Turkic kaganate in the eighth century to the formation of the Mongol Empire in the first half of the thirteenth. Unfortunately, sources for this period of history are extremely meagre and what is required from the investigator is actually a piece of detective work. It means gathering fragments of information and filling the gaps by applying historical deduction using religious allegiances of ethnic groups above all. Trying not to miss any information and, at the same time, not to get lost in surplus details and to keep things in proper proportion the author decided to look at reality from different points of view.

He takes a panoramatic view, a bird's eye view, a view from the summit of a hillock, and from a mousehole. At the same time he applies different scales showing the degree of approximation. This stereoscopic method of research has enabled him to produce an exceptionally vivid picture of the vast and varied area between European Russia and China in the centuries between 800 A.D. and 1300 A.D.

Although the work is aimed at the general reader, it is not just popularization of the results of academic research written for specialists, but a new investigation published for the first time. The book has added value due to author's extensive use of data and achievements of many diverse scientific disciplines. Starting with physical geography and climatology, the vast mosaic he composes before our eyes, includes pieces from the fields of ecology, demography and, of course, various branches of history. The result is a form which the author of the Foreword, S. Rudenko, rightly calls a scholarly

treatise. This form enables the author to use different methods appropriate to different fields of study and, at the same time, synthesize their results.

Searching for the kingdom of Prester John naturally requires sorting out a whole series of religious systems encountered in the course of study. In the author's view, "ideological systems are nothing but an indicator of deep processes - economic, social and ethnogenetic. Fantastic mythologies are foam on the wave, but it is by the foam that we judge the depth of the river and the speed of the current". In general, the author does not analyse the creeds and their dogma and is not concerned with their economic and social aspects. He sees the religious systems as linked to ethnography, which sometimes means narrowing the scope of vision too much. Looking at the main religious streams of the time and place more closely would perhaps slow down the pace of the investigation. On the other hand, it would mediate a more profound understanding of the spiritual atmosphere of the period.

Undoubtedly, the greatest merit of the book is the analysis of the history of the Steppe. The author makes us see each nomad people as having its own unique features, its own individual aspects. No longer can they be for us just nomadic tribes with vaguely defined backgrounds and existence. Now we can clearly see to what degree people of the Steppe had adapted to its harsh conditions. Their economic activities had almost fused with the processes of nature and they actually became part of the landscape they were inhabiting. At the same time, they developed complex forms of social organization so that they could successfully enter into competition with their sedentary neighbours.

The analysis of the special forces at work among the Steppe peoples, forces that caused the rise of Mongol Power, fills in missing spaces between the centres of gravity in mediaeval Europe and China. By doing this, he enables us to see the connection between them for the first time.

As R. E. F. Smith and Mark Elvin rightly state in their Introduction, specialists will find some of Gumilev's judgements unjustified both in detail and interpretation. Religionists will be probably surprised at the qualification of the study of religions as "not an end in itself" and disagree with at least some of his views concerning, for example, shamanism and the Bon religion. The author prefers a picture drawn in broad lines, though in many places he shows a remarkable sense of detail.

To sum up the results of his investigation, the author reduced all essential information to a synchronic table, four historical maps with annotations and a chronological table. The synchronic table gives a visual survey of the events described in the text against the background of world history. A breakdown into decades provides a summarized conception of the direction of historical processes. In a similar way, the chronological table shows not only precise dates of events but the direction of the course of history as well.

*Jarmila Drozdíková*

*Mebde-i kanun-ı Yeniçeri ocağı tarihi* (Istoriya proiskhozhdeniya zakonov yanicharskogo korpusa). Izdanie teksta, perevod s turetskogo, vvedenie, komentarii i ukazateli I. Ye. Petrosyan. Pamyatniki pismennosti Vostoka, LXXIX. Moscow, Nauka 1987. 283 + 315 pp.

In the second half of the 16th century changes appeared in the social structure of the Ottoman Empire, but their causes have not been adequately investigated. Among those implicated, historians often use the growth of the population, particularly in Anatolia, inflation resulting from an inflow of American silver (this theory is refuted by most recent investigations), rebellions by the *Celalis*, etc. These changes resulted in the creation of qualitatively new State institutions essentially differing from the original Ottoman institutions which had been derived from Turkic or Islamic ones, or from those adapted from the subjugated populations during the course of conquests. This process, occasionally termed a decentralization of administration, primarily affected the so-called *Timar* system, which constituted the basis of Ottoman military organizations. The consequences proved unexpected and affected the entire Ottoman society.

I. Ye. Petrosyan, the editor and translator of this Ottoman treatise from the beginning of the 17th century, gives a very detailed description in her introduction of the changes and their consequences for Ottoman society: violation of laws, corruption, disorder and further abuses. These phenomena did not pass unobserved by Ottoman authors who in their tracts and memoranda turned to sultans or high dignitaries with proposals on how to improve the situation, simultaneously providing them with valuable data on the real state of the Empire.

The earliest group of these authors began with Lüfti Pasha whose *Asafname* from the mid-16th century is still recalled in the traditional *Fürstenspiegel*, continued with Ali Nasihatü'l-müluk, the work of Hasan Kafi Akhisari *Usulü'l-hikem fi nizami'l-alem*, through the anonymous *Hirzül'l-müluk*, which in contrast to some memoranda from the first half of the 17th century complains of injustice in the bestowing of *timars* and spiritual posts. Ali's work *Nasihatü'l-müluk* is also critical of various abuses in the administration and other areas of life, but similar to the preceding treatises, does not idealize conditions under sultan Süleyman I (1520–1566). Such an idealization of conditions under this sultan is characteristic of treatises and memoranda from the first half of the 17th century, such as *Kıtab-i Müstetab*, and Koçi Bey, Ayn-i Ali, Aziz Efendi, Katip Çelebi and others. The work under review is also one of the first works to glorify "old times" dating from 1606.

*Mebde-i kanun-ı Yeniçeri ocağı tarihi* is no code as might appear in various manuscripts from this tract (as e.g. *Kavanın-ı Yeniçeriyân* or *Yeniçeri kanunnamesi*). It is a specific work which points to the past and the present of the janissary corps in order to demonstrate thereby the negative manifestations of the past decades. The wars with Persia and then with the Habsburgs in Hungary certainly left negative marks on the quality of the corps. The heavy losses on both these fronts could not be adequately replaced with élite recruits from *devshirme*, janissaries' sons, the ranks of the *reaya*,



nor even from déclassé elements. This, together with the changing conditions, contributed to a weakening of the fighting spirit and discipline. The janissary corps devoted itself more and more to its own interests, whether they be economic undertakings, or some other activity. The change in quality brought in a numerical growth of the corps and naturally increased outlays also. As stated by Ö. L. Barkan (*The Price Revolution of the Sixteenth Century: A Turning Point in the Economic History of the Near East*. *IJMES*, 6, 1978, p. 20) at the beginning of sultan Süleyman I's rule (1527–28), there were less than 8,000 janissaries. Less than 150 years later, in 1670, they counted 53,500 men, hence, a sevenfold increase. The quota from the whole military budget for the janissaries rose from 10.26 % to 21 %, but the janissaries' true receipts in gold dropped from 35.50 altun to 20.73 altun annually. Of some interest is the fact that despite the decline of the janissaries' military prestige, whether in the eyes of home observers or in works of Western authors and travellers, their political influence seemingly increased. The intervention of the janissary corps in various branches of the economy (in virtue of their diverse privileges) also continued into the 17th century despite attempts to halt this trend.

The anonymous author of *Mebde-i kanun-ı Yeniçeri ocağı tarihi* from the ranks of the janissaries had certainly several reasons for comparing the past of the Ottoman sultans' élite army with the contemporary world, which to him meant wrong and injustice, and for the entire corps, disorder and loss of discipline. It is noteworthy that, similarly to authors of subsequent tracts and memoranda, he eschews novelties (*bid'at*) and advocates a return to old laws and decrees ruling the janissary corps, which, however, did not correspond to the new conditions at all.

In contrast to most memoranda and tracts which are written in lofty style, this work is in simple language. The author recounts events as a contemporary, or even as a participant, and in the parts about the origin and earlier history of the janissaries, he also makes use of the chronicle *Tacü't-tevarih* by Hoca Saadeddin Efendi (+ 1599). The work, naturally, is not concerned solely with the history of the janissaries, but provides abundant material on social life at the end of the 16th and early 17th centuries. The editor ranks the author among the lowest bureaucratic strata of the janissaries. However, it would be difficult to ascribe patriotic tendencies to him.

The editor's introductory sections provide qualified information on the work and its contents, and also on the social and economic situation of the Ottoman Empire at the time *Mebde-i kanun-ı Yeniçeri* was written. Nevertheless, her characterization of the janissaries as unusually cruel, whether in comparison with other adventurers of the Ottoman army or European mercenaries as such, would be difficult to substantiate. In our view, those meting out cruel treatments to civil populations were special armies, déclassé elements, robbers, Tatars, etc.

The tract is divided into an introduction and ten chapters. In the introduction, the author introduces himself as a descendant of the janissary corps and outlines the contents of the various chapters. The latter vary in extent, but also in content. They provide a lucid history of the janissaries' corps and its internal organization, information on the janissaries' pay and their supplies, their officers, specificities of the various corps and their dignitaries, drill and administration, etc.

The book also brings a facsimile of the Leningrad manuscript deposited at the Institut vostokovedeniya, Academy of Sciences, USSR (Sign. A 249), undated, but assigned, by virtue of its filigrees, to the year 1705. The notes include the amended manuscript from Gotha No. 134 in Pertsch's catalogue (*Die türkischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha*. Wien 1864, p. 112) from 1760–61, and the manuscript *Yeniçeri kanunnamesi* from Bratislava, No. 439 (Arabic, Turkish and Persian Manuscripts of the University Library ... Ed. J. Blaškovič. Bratislava 1961, pp. 318–319), which represents an abridged version. On the basis of notes probably made by the first owner of the Gotha manuscript, the Papal Prefect in Istanbul Viguiet, that "Ce livre a été copié sur l'original qui existe dans le Sérail du grand Seigneur", the editor assumes, in virtue of the textual concordance with the Leningrad manuscript, a common protograph which is very close to the autograph. The latter is the *Kavanin-i Yeniçeriyân*, deposited at Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Sign. Ms. R. 1320, or Ms. R. 1319 (?). Evidently, we shall have to wait for an analysis of the manuscript and its critical edition.

The translation itself (pp. 44–198) is a very good one and I. Petrosyan strives for maximum clarity and lucidity. Additions, whether to the text or its explication, are given under Notes (pp. 200–254). This section provides adequate explanations to the user, though many of them could be supplemented. For instance, Note 2 in the introduction might have included the work by A. Matkovski (*Krepesnishstvoto vo Makedoniya*. Skopje 1978, pp. 19–98), when Petrosyan presents a critical analysis of the Ottoman terms *reaya* and *beraya* and refutes the claim by A. Tvertinova. In Note 7 - Halkuvad (Hald al-Wadi) is the Spanish La Galetta. In Note 8 in further places, the editor makes use of the term "medieval" for the period of the end of the 15th century also which is not exact. Concerning Note 99 in the first chapter Altun (gold coin), I wish to draw attention to the work by A. C. Schaendlinger: *Osmanische Numismatik*. Braunschweig 1973, pp. 59–61. In addition, I wish to remark that the spread of the Venetian zecchino in the Ottoman Empire took place as early as the 15th century, and again in the 18th century, but not early in the 19th century, for the Venetian State disappeared in 1798. Explanations of certain Ottoman terms, such as *eyalet*, *kuruş*, *rîsum-i divaniye*, *ecnebi*, *sîrsat* do not correspond to modern interpretations.

The book comprises a Summary for foreign readers and also a list of references and numerous indices which facilitate retrieval of data from the work. The textual section brings a facsimile of the manuscript 1a–148a with indices.

In view of the possibilities at the author's disposal, the edition of this work about janissaries should be commended as a useful editorial undertaking.

Vojtech Kopčan

*Eine Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte. Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbisches Gesprächlehrbuch vom Hofe des Sultans aus dem 15. Jahrhundert als Quelle für die Geschichte der serbischen Sprache. Mit Beiträgen von T. Berger, Ch. Correll, G. S.*

Henrich und W. Lehfeldt. Hrsg. von Werner Lehfeldt. Köln-Wien, Böhlau Verlag 1989. VIII+367 S. 1a-9a Phot.

Die Entdeckung des Reichtums der Sammlungen türkischer Bibliotheken und Archive begann erst in der republikanischen Zeit und dauert bis in die Gegenwart an. Zu solchen Entdeckungen gehören auch zwei Handschriften, die sich in der Süleymaniye-Bibliothek unter den Signaturen Aya Sofya Hs. Nr. 4749 und 4750 befinden und auf welche der bekannte türkische Sprachwissenschaftler aserbajdschanischer Herkunft Professor Ahmed Caferoğlu in der *Revue Internationale des Etudes Balkaniques II* (1936) aufmerksam gemacht hat. Es handelt sich um zwei arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbische Gesprächsbücher, die jedoch nicht identisch sind, da sich die serbischen Textpartien wesentlich unterscheiden. Die griechischen und serbischen Texte sind in beiden Handschriften in arabischer Schrift niedergeschrieben.

Die Hs. Nr. 4750 fesselte vor mehr als zwei Jahrzehnten W. Lehfeldts Interesse, so daß er sie unter dem Titel *Ein arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbokroatisches Sprachlehrbuch in arabischer Schrift aus dem 15./16. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Graphematik*. Bochum 1970 bearbeitete, wobei er der Handschrift auch eine Studie über die serbokroatische Übersetzung der arabisch-islamischen Termini widmete. Eine eingehende Bearbeitung der Hs. Nr. 4750 enthält das besprochene Buch, an dem außer dem Herausgeber und Verfasser der Mehrzahl der Beiträge W. Lehfeldt auch Dr. T. Berger am griechischen Text sowie Dr. G. S. Henrich und der Arabist Prof. Ch. Correll mitgearbeitet haben.

Das Buch ist in neun Kapitel eingeteilt, von denen das fünfte, das sechste und das siebente den Kern der Arbeit darstellen. Die Einleitung bietet grundlegende Informationen über die Handschriften Nr. 4749 und 4750. W. Lehfeldt nimmt richtig an, daß das Arabische die Zielsprache gewesen sei, um deren Erlernung es bei der Benutzung des Lehrbuches gegangen sei. Und richtig ist auch die Annahme, daß das Lehrbuch nicht für die osmanischen Prinzen bestimmt war, wie es der Entdecker dieser Handschriften A. Caferoğlu behauptete, sondern daß die Adressaten des Lehrbuchs vielmehr hochrangige serbische und griechische "Renegaten" gewesen seien. Ich vermute jedoch, daß das Lehrbuch für die Palastschule bestimmt war, wohin die begabtesten, aus den *devşirme* (Knabenlesen) stammenden Christenknaben gelangten. Die Palastschule bildete die höchsten Beamten und Würdenträger des Reiches aus, und für die Administration, von der Religion gar nicht zu sprechen, war die Kenntnis sowohl des Arabischen als auch des Persischen unumgänglich.

Bei der Beschreibung der Handschrift widmet W. Lehfeldt den äußeren Zeichen der Handschrift Nr. 4750: große Aufmerksamkeit dem Titelblatt mit sämtlichen Notizen und Stempeln, von denen für das Alter der Handschrift jener von Sultan Bayezid II. (1481–1512) von entscheidender Bedeutung ist.

Dieser Frage ist ein selbständiges Kapitel gewidmet: Das Alter der Handschrift. Hier beweist Lehfeldt eindeutig, daß die Handschrift vor dem Jahre 1512, dem Jahre des Todes von Sultan Bayezid II., entstanden ist. Eingehend befaßt er sich hierbei auch mit slawischen Urkunden, die von der Kanzlei des Sultans herausgegeben wurden. Man

kann auch seiner Behauptung zu stimmen, da die Verwendung der slawischen Sprachen (altslawisch, serbisch) mit der Regierung Selim I. (1512–1520) oder sogar schon zu Beginn von dessen Regierungszeit geendet habe. Bedeutend ist auch die Argumentierung des Herausgebers zugunsten der alten Herkunft der Handschrift, nämlich v.a. des Hinweis auf die Tatsache, daß "die zahlreichen islamischen Begriffe, die in der arabischen Übersetzungsvorlage vorkommen, im serbischen Text so gut wie ausschließlich durch Termini wiedergegeben werden, die der serbischen Redaktion des Kirchenslawischen entstammen, wie sich auch der morphologischen Ebene der Einfluß des Kirchenslawischen bemerkbar macht". Der Übersetzer des arabischen Textes ins Serbische hatte noch nicht die "Turzismen" zur Verfügung, die sich im Laufe des 16. und des 17. Jahrhunderts in den südslawischen Sprachen verbreiten sollten. Der Autor betont, daß bei der Pforte das Griechische eine größere Rolle gespielt habe als das Serbische, beider Sprachen aber ihre Bedeutung in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 16. Jahrhunderts verloren hätten. Es ist nicht klar, welche Umstände zur Verdrängung diesen beiden Sprachen geführt haben, anscheinend jedoch wurde durch die Ausweitung des Osmanischen Reiches auf das Gebiet der ägyptischen Mamelucken und der schiitischen Perser sowie durch die Erringung des Kalifats für die osmanische Dynastie der islamische Charakter des Reiches immer stärker hervorgehoben.

In einem weiteren Kapitel befaßt sich W. Lehfeldt mit der Bedeutung der Handschrift als einer Quelle für die Geschichte der serbischen Sprache. Er weist auf die Tatsache hin, daß sich seit dem 15. Jahrhundert gerade im stokavischen Dialektgebiet zahlreiche Wandlungen vollzogen und aus der Handschrift auf den Entwicklungsstand einiger dieser Neuerungen zu schließen ist. Die Handschrift hat daher eine große Bedeutung vor allem für sprachgeschichtlich-dialektologische Untersuchungen als auch für die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Serbischen.

In der graphematischen Analyse des serbischen und des griechischen Textes wird eingehend untersucht, mit welchen Schriftmarken beide Texte niedergeschrieben wurden. W. Lehfeldt zeigt, daß die Adaptierung der arabischen Schrift an das Serbische eine bemerkenswerte Leistung darstellt. Einen großen Teil des Buches machen die Transkriptionen des arabischen, des persischen, des griechischen und des serbischen Textes in lateinischer (im Falle des Griechischen auch in griechischer) Schrift als auch die deutsche Übersetzung des arabischen Textes aus. Ebenso grundlegend sind auch die Kommentare zum arabischen, zum persischen und vor allem zum serbischen Text.

Die Untersuchungen zu den Sprachen der Handschrift, mit dem umfangreichsten, dem serbischen Text gewidmeten Teil behandeln außer konkreten Angaben aus dem Bereich der serbischen Dialektologie auch den Einfluß der Vorlage sowie Elemente der serbisch-kirchenslawischen Sprache.

Ein Register der serbischen Wortformen, ein Literaturverzeichnis und Photokopien 1a-9a der Handschrift schließen das Buch ab.

Neben unbestreitbaren neuen Erkenntnissen linguistischen Charakters bringt das Buch auch Anregungen für die Behandlung der Frage, auch welche Weise die neue Elite des Osmanischen Reiches, die den Renegatenkreisen, der *devşirme* sowie den

anderen nichttürkischen und nichtaristokratischen Schichten entstammte, geformt und ausgebildet wurde.

Vojtech Kopčan

SIMON, R.: *Meccan Trade and Islam. Problems of Origin and Structure* (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, Vol. XXXII). Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1989. 206 pp.

The present monograph, being a summary of more than twenty years of research, is a revised and enlarged English version of *A mekkai kereskedelem kialakulása és jellege*, published by Akadémiai Kiadó in 1975.

In compiling his monograph, the author starts from several basic assumptions that determine the methodology of the book and its structure. He assumes that the beginning of North Arabian history has to be considered an organic part of world history, and that Meccan trade was determined by the trade policy of the neighbouring great powers, and their allies and vassals on the Arabian peninsula in the 6th century.

Based on sources evaluated, the author provides a finely structured picture of trade activities on the Arabian peninsula. Here, he distinguishes between the trade of Mecca and that of local markets. On this basis, several types of trade contact are established: (1) contacts between the nomads and great powers; (2) the nomads and oasis dwellers; and (3) the nomads and nomads.

Chapter 1: "Forerunners and rivals of Mecca in oriental trade" analyses external conditions of Meccan trade. The author surveys some of the principal reasons for the failure of Marxist Islam-research.

The monograph is based on the evaluation of both Arabic and non-Arabic sources. The most important Arabic sources exploited are: pre-Islamic poetry, the Koran, the Sīra, as well as works of later historians and geographers.

The unreliability of Arabic sources and the lack of a systematic and accurate chronology made it necessary to start a parallel study of the history of the neighbouring rival powers and to draw evidence from Byzantine, Syrian, South Arabic and Ethiopian sources, as well.

In general, Chapter 1 deals with trade activities on the Arabian peninsula, notably Arabia in oriental trade in the 6th century, Byzantium and Yemen, Yemen in oriental trade, Najrān and Yemen, Ghassānids and Lakhmids in oriental trade, etc.

Chapter 2: "Hums and Ilāf" is concerned with the internal conditions of Meccan trade development as reflected in Arabic sources. Most attention is paid to the traditional Meccan stories *hums* and *ilāf* that are trying to explain the status of contracts and trade agreements at the very beginnings of Meccan trade.

Chapter 3: "The nature of Meccan trade" deals with the internal organization of Meccan trade, the external factors determining Meccan trade, types of local markets on the Arabian peninsula on the eve of Islam, etc.

Further, the monograph offers three appendices:

Appendix I: Who exchanged what for what in Mecca on the eve of Islam;

Appendix II: Comments on the ownership conditions of Muḥammadan Islam, and

Appendix III: Some observations on the institution of *mu'ākhāh*: between tribalism and *umma*.

Simon's monograph, whose main issues are based on evidence drawn from an impressive variety of both Arabic and non-Arabic historical and literary primary sources, surveys the results of a number of investigators of very various methodological orientations. Of special interest are the numerous passages confronting the results of a traditional orientalist approach with those obtained by Marxist scholars. These parts of the book provide a well-founded criticism of the Stalinist historical scheme.

In dealing with local markets, some attention should have been paid to their cultural role, too. In this respect, especially the *Fair of 'Ukāz* became famous for various poetic and oratorical displays which seem to have been responsible for the popular etymology of *al-Mu'allaqāt*, the 'Suspended Odes'.

Simon's monograph fills an important gap in the history of the Arabian peninsula and will be of interest to orientalists and historians alike.

Ladislav Drozdík

CONNAH, Graham: *African civilizations (Precolonial cities and states in tropical Africa: an archaeological perspective)*. Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press 1987. 259 pp.

This book by Graham Connah of the University of New England, Armidale, Australia, is the result of his long research in African archaeology. The book presents a brief synthesis of some of the archaeological evidence concerning the formation of cities and states in precolonial sub-Saharan Africa. The author's intention was to reach a wide range of readers and expose the inaccuracy of the belief that precolonial societies in tropical Africa consisted only of scattered groups of people living in small villages with grass or mud huts - a stereotype, which may still prevail among parts of the reading public.

Some of the main argument concerning African archaeology and precolonial history is usefully summarized and commented upon in the introductory 'Concepts and questions' chapter. The author's attempt right at the beginning to define the basic terms of his topic, as formulated in the title of the book, reveals a great amount of terminological obscurity. What is civilization, what is a city or a state, what, in fact, is archaeology?! However, even if the author does not offer definitive solutions to these problems, he at least recognizes them, which is always more useful than pretending they do not exist. To help the reader, the author indicates his usage of the basic notions and adds a brief presentation of the basic theories concerning state formation and urbanization at both the world level and within tropical Africa.

The main geographical areas with significant archaeological evidence of precolonial cities and states, discussed in the separate chapters of this book, are the middle Nile, the Ethiopian highlands, the West African savanna, the West African forest, the East African coast and the Zimbabwe plateau. A chapter on some Central African equatorial sites of lesser importance is also included. The discussion in these chapters revolves around the basic questions of when, how and why did cities and states emerge in tropical Africa and, in particular, what factors led to their development in some parts of the continent but not in others.

Each of the seven chapters forming the core of the book is divided into eight parts: geographical location and environmental factors, sources of information, subsistence economy, technology, social system, population pressures, ideology, external trade. It is within this frame of reference that each set of archaeological evidence, relating to the respective sites and regions, is investigated.

Geographical and environmental factors are clearly seen as being of great importance in the urbanization and state formation processes and the author devotes special attention and space to the relatively detailed geographical characteristics of the respective regions, logically concentrating on those geographical aspects which could have possibly exerted the greatest influence on socio-political developments.

Equally serious attention is devoted to the characterization and description of sources. Although the book is bound to concentrate primarily on archaeological evidence, this is constantly confronted with historical sources in an attempt to compare their relative significance. The author cannot be accused of any undue bias in favour of archaeology as his own discipline. He acknowledges that in some areas which are better documented historically where available archaeological data shed little light on the origins of cities and states, archaeology has played merely a confirmatory role in the stock of historical interpretation.

When bringing together the scattered evidence on subsistence economy, technology, external trade, population and social system of the societies under study, the author constantly bears one question in mind: were African civilizations mere outposts of the outside world and Islamic culture or were they the result of developments that were primarily African in origin? Although he eschews any simple answer to this complex question, he repeatedly suggests and stresses the autochthonous interpretation.

Avoiding clear answers, however, sometimes results in formulations which are too vague and which do not get the reader any further. For instance, having put forward the question whether Kerma on the middle Nile could have been the earliest black African state (formed around 15 B.C.) and having brought forward the archaeological evidence available (which does not shed much light on the subject) the author appears satisfied to conclude: "Whether Kerma was indeed a state could, no doubt, be debated but it is clear that if it had not actually arrived, it was well on its way" (p. 40).

Having pointed to the above aspect of Professor Connah's work, this reviewer must mention the somewhat limited capacity of the book to offer final solutions

but wishes to point also to its scientific correctness and the absence of presumptuousness which both contribute to its credit.

Ján Voderadsky

ILIFFE, John: *The African Poor; a History*. Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press 1987. 387 pp.

Volume 58 of the Cambridge African Studies Series deals with a problem which has become very noticeable in recent years and it is quite appropriate that a historian of Africa has attempted to provide a continuation of the discussion with some background and has tried to view the problem from a historical perspective. Although the material for John Iliffe's study comes from practically all parts of Africa and is abundant, the author even goes beyond the confines of the continent and attempts a comparative history, referring repeatedly, both factually and methodologically, to the history of the poor in Europe and partially in Asia.

The discussion in most of the fourteen chapters of the book, which follow the problem of the poor from 16th-century Ethiopia to late 20th-century South Africa, is divided into two sets of questions. One concerns the definitions and the nature of poverty at different places and periods of African history while the other presents the means (be it self-help, individual philanthropy or institutional charity) which have helped the poor in Africa to survive.

An attempt to find a suitable definition of poverty results in the division of the poor into two groups according to different levels of want which (as the sources suggest) have existed in Africa throughout centuries. Thus the author discerns the categories of *the poor* (those who have been obliged to struggle continuously to preserve themselves and their dependants from physical want) and *the very poor* (who have permanently or temporarily failed in that struggle). Since, as the author points out, a history of the Africa poor in the wider sense would be almost synonymous with the whole history of Africa, his book is chiefly about the very poor and the circumstances of their becoming so.

Traditionally the very poor in Africa were handicapped persons, those who were unable to work, individuals who lacked the care of the extended family, and persons who had been afflicted by political or climatic disasters. In Africa, a continent with relatively abundant land resources, 'structural poverty' was not traditionally tied to landlessness as was the case in many other parts of the world. The situation, however, became different in South Africa which, during the early 20th century, experienced rapid population growth combined with excessive land alienation, and whose "pattern of famine, like its demography, was about a generation in advance of tropical Africa's" (p. 123). Nevertheless, with the colonial era coming to a close, the picture of poverty was changing throughout the continent. Alongside the traditional poor, a new category



- those willing and able to work but continuously excluded from employment on structural as well as 'conjunctural' grounds - joined the swelling ranks of beggars, criminals, prostitutes, juvenile delinquents, undernourished babies and people stuck in rural areas far from infrastructural facilities.

As far as the poor's strategies for survival are concerned, the author divides them logically into two streams: struggling for independence with the aim of scraping a living by any available means, and struggling for dependence by seeking the favour of the fortunate. In spite of the alternation between these strategies which inevitably occur in practice, for analytical purposes the author considers them separately. Since the 'self-improvement' struggle depended on the actual vital capacity of the individual and was often a mere "surviving of the poor by preying on the poor" (p. 138), many remained who had to rely on provisions made for them by others. Some of these provisions were of long-standing tradition (besides the notorious extended family system, individual largesse towards the less fortunate was also a more or less official obligation of the wealthier members of the community), while others, e.g. those based on missionary activities, the church, numerous ethnic associations, modern social welfare organizations and international relief agencies, are of a more recent origin. The author's examination of the activities of these institutions reveals a surprisingly wide spectrum of provision for the poor; however, their efficacy was limited and much of the poverty in Africa still remained uncared for.

Although pioneering studies of this kind and grasp cannot be too conclusive, the author seems at least able to indicate certain patterns of change which characterized the development of poverty in the last periods of modern African history. He points out that colonial rule not only preserved some forms of poverty but also created new ones. The latter are seen as having been caused by the greater integration of African economies with the world market and its price, demand and labour fluctuations, by the decline of the subsistence economy and the growth of dependency on cash as well as by the disruption of the traditional community and its capacity to care for its poor. These changes were, however, partially compensated for by the new charity and provisions for social welfare, by the new possibilities of employment and earning cash and by infrastructural improvements especially those concerning water supply and transport. Nevertheless, as far as the problem of poverty in post-colonial period is concerned, it suffices to point to the title of the relevant chapter: *The growth of poverty in independent Africa*.

John Iliffe's study of the African poor reveals its preliminariness even by its composition: no explicit conclusion or summary is set off at the end, instead a partial and regional problem is tackled up to the last page. However, the book will be no doubt appreciated and used by many as a springboard to other studies on the subject which are likely to follow. Their authors are invited to make further enquiry into over two thousand notes and references, which the present volume offers.

Ján Voderadský

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