
ASIAN
AND Slovak
Academy
of Sciences
AFRICAN
STUDIES

Volume 1 / 1992 Number 2

CONTENTS

Articles

MODINI, Paul: <i>A Historical-functional View of Ergative Coreference</i>	113
KRUPA, Viktor: <i>Compositional Schemes for Story Initials in Marquesan Legends</i> . .	126
GÁLIK, Marián: <i>Metamorphosis in Modern Chinese Intellectual (and Philosophical) Consciousness: Musing over its "Coming to Be"</i>	132
MÚČKA, Ján: <i>L'Aspect satirique des proses de Nguyen Cong Hoan</i>	146
KOPČAN, Vojtech: <i>Türkische Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Eyalet Nové Zámky. V</i>	154
CHMIEL, Juraj: <i>Czechoslovak Armaments Industry and the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict</i>	170
SKALNÍK, Petr: <i>Rawling's 'Revolution' in Ghana: Countrywide and District Levels</i>	190

Book Reviews

STALPH, Jürgen: <i>Grundlagen einer Grammatik der sinojapanischen Schrift</i> . By Viktor Krupa	204
CHATTERJI, Ranjit: <i>Aspect and Meaning in Slavic and Indic</i> . By Anna Ráková . .	205
HEGYI, K. - ZIMÁNYI, V.: <i>The Ottoman Empire in Europe</i> . By Vojtech Kopčan . .	209
FINKEL, C.: <i>The Administration of Warfare: The Ottoman Military Campaign in Hungary, 1593-1606</i> . By Vojtech Kopčan	211
ENVER PASCIA: <i>Diario della guerra libica a cura di Salvatore Bono</i> . By Naďa Zimová . .	216
NAFZIGER, E. Wayne: <i>Inequality in Africa: Political Elites, Proletariat, Peasants and the Poor</i> . By Ján Voderadský . .	217
ZÚBKOVÁ-BERTONCINI, Elena: <i>Outline of Swahili Literature. Prose Fiction and Drama</i> . By Viera Pawliková-Vilhanová	219
HARRISON, Christopher: <i>France and Islam in West Africa, 1860-1960</i> . By Ján Voderadský	220
MARTIN, Susan: <i>Palm Oil and Protest: An Economic History of the Ngwa Region, South-Eastern Nigeria, 1800-1980</i> . By Ján Voderadský	221
MANNING, Patrick: <i>Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa</i> . By Ján Voderadský	222
BOOKS RECEIVED	224

Editor in Chief:

Viktor KRUPA

Associate and Managing Editor:

Jozef GENZOR

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.

The Editors

Address of the Editorial Office

Klemensova 19
813 64 Bratislava
Slovakia

The editors bear no responsibility whatsoever for the views expressed by the contributors to this journal.

ARTICLES

A HISTORICAL-FUNCTIONAL VIEW OF ERGATIVE COREFERENCE

Paul MODINI, Sydney

It is shown that ergative coreference is part of the grammar of clause coordination of certain languages that have retained a basically segmental means of expression of theme and rheme. In certain languages that derive from ergative original-protolanguages and which have lost this basically segmental means, switch-reference occurs. The phenomenon of the "preponderant ergative construction" (Modini 1989c) is a characteristic of some languages with ergative coreference. Data from American, Australian, Austronesian, Papuan, Sino-Tibetan and Uralic-Altaic languages in particular are examined. Indonesian is the subject of special scrutiny, it being shown to have basically segmental markers of theme and rheme.

1. Introduction: the conventional view

The ergative construction in ergative languages is conventionally considered to be on a par with the active construction in accusative languages; i.e. it is considered the basic transitive constructional type. This is because, like the active vis-à-vis the passive in accusative languages, it occurs more often than the antipassive, the other transitive constructional type. And the antipassive is thus considered to be "derived from" the ergative, just as the passive is taken to be "derived from" the active. Now, since the ergative, the basic transitive constructional type, shares a case-form with the intransitive construction, viz., the absolutive, or transitive-patient/intransitive-agent case, there is deemed to be a "similar treatment" in ergative languages of the transitive patient nominal and the intransitive agent nominal.

The conventional view further sees "ergative coreference" as a *syntactic* manifestation of the similar treatment of intransitive agent and transitive patient: ergative coreference involves the deletion (or zero-pronominalization or non-expression) of a nominal in the second of two coordinated clauses under identity with the agent of an intransitive first clause or with the *patient* of an ergative first clause. On the other hand, in accusative languages, like English, only the *agent* of a first-clause active construction can be coreferential with the deleted NP in the second clause. The English sentence 'JOHN KICKED THE DOG AND RAN AWAY' means that it is John that ran away; in those ergative languages with ergative coreference, the equivalent compound sentence, with first clause ergative and coreferential deletion applying to the second-clause agent NP, means that it is the dog that ran away.

Languages conventionally regarded as ergative which have ergative coreference are Dyirbal (Comrie 1978:349) and Yup'ik Eskimo (Payne 1982:84).

2. A historical-functional view

2.1. Languages with basically segmental markers of theme and rheme

In Dyirbal and Yup'ik Eskimo, ergativity, like passive voice etc. in some other languages, has a theme- and rheme-marking function (Modini 1984). Languages where ergative, passive etc. mark theme and rheme may be described as "segmental", i.e. languages where the transition to basically suprasegmental means of theme- and rheme marking has not occurred (Modini 1989c). Segmental languages, I contend, preserve the original system of coreferential deletion across coordinately-joined clauses, which was deletion of the *theme* of the second clause under identity with the *theme* of the first clause. Coordination implies identical themes and thus the second was deleted since it could be "understood" from the first, which was clearly marked as theme by the constructional type employed.

The theory I am proposing provides the explanation as to why it is possible for John to be doing the running away in constructions like 'JOHN KICKED THE DOG AND RAN AWAY' in Dyirbal when the first clause is not ergative but antipassive. Consider the following Dyirbal sentence (Van Valin 1981:383):

- (1) *bayi yaṛa bani-nyu bagun dyugumbilgu buṛal-ḷa-nyu waynydyi-n*
man-ABS come-TNS woman-DAT sec-ANTI-TNS go=uphill-TNS
'The man came, saw the woman and went uphill.'¹

As this Dyirbal example clearly shows, it is *absolutely*-marked nominals which must be coreferential with one another in transitive or intransitive coordinate-clause constructions in order for an NP in the second clause to be deleted under identity with an NP in the first clause. Ergative coreference is therefore seen to be only part of the system of coreferential deletion involving absolutely-marked NP's. Since the absolute marks the theme in segmental ergative languages, we have from Dyirbal unambiguous evidence that, indeed, it is the thematic NP's of coordinated clauses that coreferential deletion has to do with.

Other segmental languages provide evidence for the view I am putting forward. In Tagalog, where thematic NP's are marked by the prefix *ang-* (Modini 1988:244), constructions like the following, indeed termed "ergative coreference" by Cooreman et al. (1988:415), occur (Foley and Van Valin 1977:302):

- (2) *Sa tindahan b-in-ili ng lalake ang diyaryo at b-in-asa niya*
LOC-store PF-buy AGT-man TH-newspaper and PF-read he
'In the store the man bought the newspaper and read it.'

Here, as in Dyirbal, thematic NP's of coordinated clauses are involved in the pattern of coreferential deletion.

In Japanese, the deleted nominal must be identical with one marked by *wa* (Inoue 1969:104), *wa* being the thematic postposition (Modini 1984:3):

¹The following abbreviations are used in glossing example sentences:

ABS absolutive, AF agent focus, AGT agent, ANTI antipassive, ASP aspect, DAT dative, DEF definite, DIR directional, ERG ergative, IMPL implicated, LOC locative, PAT patient, PF patient focus, PL plural, SG singular, SV serial verb, TH theme, TNS tense

- (3) *Boku wa soko e dekake-te it-te hanashi o tsuke-ta*
 I -TH that=place-DIR go=out-SV go-SV matter -PAT decide-TNS
 'I went out there and decided on the matter.'

2.2. Languages with basically suprasegmental marking of theme and rheme

Most languages have undergone a process whereby their markers of theme and rheme – ergative, passive, etc. – came to correlate obligatorily with, and thus "mark", such grammatical features as tense, aspect, NP definiteness, etc., which, as theme and rheme-markers, they had had high frequency of association with; whereupon the hitherto secondary device of sentence stress became the basic means of expression of theme and rheme (Modini 1989c:sect.2.1). The grammar of clause coordination appears to have been influenced by this shift to "suprasegmentalism" in two alternative ways, depending on the *historical type* represented by the language in question, i.e. according to which of four types of original protolanguages discussed in Modini (1989a) the language in question evolved from.

2.2.1. The first system

In respect of what may be called the "original ergative" languages, i.e. those ergative languages which go back to ergative original-protolanguages and were not the result of the reanalysis of the passive (on which see section 2.2.2 below), the shift in the function of the ergative and antipassive constructions caused the development of an entirely new means of indicating which NP in the first clause in a coordinated pair was coreferential with the deleted NP, which had come to be obligatorily the *agent*, in the second clause. (Previously, of course, the absolutive of the first clause marked the NP coreferential with the second-clause deleted *theme*.) The original ergative languages include Australian and American languages (Modini 1989a:356). The new system, it seems to me, was the origin of the device known as "switch-reference". Switch-reference is generally defined as a grammatical device indicating whether or not the subject of one clause is identical with the subject of another. Sentences exemplifying the device are the following, from the Uto-Aztecan language Pima (Haiman and Munro 1983:x):

- (4) *Hegai 'uuvi 'a-t 'am šohñi hegai ceoj c 'am šoša*
 that woman 3-TNS hit that man SS cry
 'The woman hit the man and cried.'
- (5) *Hegai 'uuvi 'a-t 'am šohñi hegai ceoj ku-t 'am šoša*
 that woman 3-TNS hit that man DS-TNS cry
 'The woman hit the man and he cried.'

(*'am* is a deictic particle; SS = same-subject marker; DS = different -subject marker.)²

Jacobsen's (1983:174) claim that these switch-reference markers go back to agent and patient markers accords with the view I am proposing that switch-reference originated as a substitute system for indicating which first-clause NP was coreferential with the second-clause deleted NP in a coordinated pair of clauses: an indication as to the

²I regard Pima as having previously had ergativity, since it is a member of a family, Amerind (Ruhlen 1987:192), which contains ergative languages of the original-ergative type.

case of the NP in question would serve to identify it adequately. A case-marker origin for the Australian switch-reference markers has also been proposed by Austin (1981:331–332).

One would expect the relationship between the switch-reference clauses always to be one of coordination if, as I am proposing, switch-reference originated as an innovation in the grammar of clause coordination with the historical change in the function of ergativity. However, a glance at Jacobsen's (1983:155–161) extensive survey of clause types reveals otherwise. In fact, the commonest relationship is one of subordination. This is also the situation in Australian languages, as revealed by Austin's data. However, subordinate clauses of the "adjoined" type, e.g. "implicated" clauses, occur in switch-reference constructions in Australian languages; non-adjoined, or truly "embedded", subordinate clauses do not (Austin 1981:310–311). The semantic connection between implicated subordinate clauses and coordinated clauses is brought out by the three possible translations provided by Austin (1981:313) for the following example from Diyari of South Australia:

- (6) *punthapuntha* *mindy-yi* *pangka-nhi* *widi-lha*
mouse(ABS) run-TNS bed-LOC enter-IMPL(SS)
'The mouse runs to get in the bed.'
'The mouse runs and gets in the bed.'
'The mouse runs before getting in the bed.'³

Similarly, in American languages, the relationship between clauses is clearly predominantly that of implication. In Quechua, according to Haiman and Munro (1983:xiii), adverbial clauses marked for switch-reference are temporal (implicating) if they precede the main clause and purpose (implicated) if they follow. In both Australian and American languages the subordinate relation of implication may be seen as the outcome, I believe, of a tendency towards greater specificity of the original coordinate relation between the clauses involved in switch-reference.⁴

2.2.2. The second system

In his discussion of switch-reference, Heath (1975:102) suggests that switch-reference performs the function that pronouns in non-switch-reference languages perform. In fact, pronouns are only part of the other system. This other system constitutes the second of the two alternative ways that the grammar of clause coordination responded to the shift to basically suprasegmental means of expression of theme and rheme, and involves (a) the deletion of the agent (or passive patient) of the second clause under identity with the agent (or passive patient) of the first clause, and (b) the pronomina-

³The fact that the first clause in (6) is *intransitive* is explained under my theory simply by claiming that switch-reference was generalized from coordinate constructions with a transitive first clause to those with transitive or intransitive.

⁴The theory I adopt provides a reason for the concomitant absence in African languages of ergativity (Comrie 1978:336) and switch-reference (Comrie 1983:18). The reason is that the presence of switch-reference presupposes the presence of ergativity. The absence of ergativity accords with the presence of the "object-prefix" system in Niger-Kordofanian languages, for I have suggested in Modini (1989a:352) that these two syntactic traits were originally functionally equivalent. The non-switch-reference system, discussed immediately below in the text, is illustrated for Swahili in Wald (1979:514).

lization of the second-clause agent under identity with the patient of a transitive first clause.

The first part (a) of this new system for indicating coreferentiality clearly developed directly from the segmental system, in the case of those languages that go back to original-protolanguages where word order indicated theme and rheme, with the theme being in initial position in a clause. I have argued elsewhere that the Sino-Tibetan and Indo-European language families (Modini 1989a:355) and Papuan languages (Modini 1990:sect.4.2) come from protolanguages of this historical type, with certain branches of these families subsequently developing the "full passive" (i.e. with agent expressed) as a way of putting the patient NP in the thematic, initial position after initial position had come to correlated with an agent-marked NP; so that word order, besides continuing at this stage to mark theme and rheme, also indicated nominal case, except that the full-passive construction carried an indication that the "agent-looking" initial-position NP was patient. At the post-segmental stage, clause-initial position came to indicate agent (or passive patient) rather than theme, so that the second-clause initial-position agent (or passive patient) NP came to be deleted because it was coreferential with the *agent* (or passive patient), rather than the theme, in initial position in the first clause. This way of indicating coreferentiality is illustrated in the following sentence from Barai, a Papuan language of the Northern and Central Provinces of Papua New Guinea (Olson 1978:151):

- (7) *fu miane sak-i-na barone*
 he firestick bite-3SG die
 'He was bitten by a firestick and died.'

(-na is the marker of the presence of coreferential deletion.⁵)

Verbs in Barai agree with animate patients, and this unique agreement pattern must have begun as a mechanism facilitating passivization, through enabling a clause-initial NP to be marked as patient, and been extended to other, active constructions, such as the following (Olson 1978:151), where normal word order is sufficient to mark case roles:

- (8) *miane ije fu sak-i-ga fu barone*
 firestick DEF he bite-3SG he die
 'The firestick bit him and he died.'

(-ga is the marker of the absence of coreferential deletion.⁵)

Sentence (8) illustrates the second part (b) of the non-switch-reference means of indicating coreferentiality. In Barai, as in English, as we see in the translations I have provided for (7) and (8) above, both parts (a) and (b) of this means – the passive and the pronominal – are available when the coreferential first-clause NP is the patient of

⁵The conventional view among Papuanists, perhaps wishing to impose the American and Australian switch-reference system on Papuan grammar, is that these verbal suffixes, not the system of deletion and pronominalization which Papuan has in common with other families of the same historical type, indicate coreferentiality (e.g. Wurm 1982, Haiman 1983, Foley 1986). Apart from their role of marking, as I contend, the presence/absence of coreferential deletion, these suffixes indicate specific temporal relationships between the events described by the clauses, e.g. simultaneity and consecutivity.

that clause. But only the pronominal way (b) is available to those *ergative* languages where ergativity comes from a reanalysed-passive origin. This is because the reordering of the passive structural type 'PAT(zero) AGT(oblique) V' as the ergativelike 'AGT(oblique) PAT(zero) V' under the influence of the already-existing transitive structure, the active, took the patient NP out of the clause-initial position, which is the position in the first clause "controlling" coreferential deletion in the second clause under part (a) of the system.

Tibeto-Burman and Papuan ergative languages developed ergativity through the reanalysis of the passive, as I argue in the two papers mentioned above. In particular, the following characteristics of Papuan and Tibeto-Burman languages are noted which distinguish them from original-ergative languages: the existence of a large repertoire of types of verb serialization, the lack of syntactic ergativity, the absence of ergative and antipassive verbal markers (on which see below in the text, section 3.1), and the existence of ergativity in only some of the languages derived from the respective original-protolanguages. And in keeping with the derivation of ergativity from a full-passive source, only the agentless passive occurs (e.g. Andersen 1987:298-300, on Classical Tibetan; Li and Lang 1979:314, on Enga, spoken in the Enga, East Sepik and Southern Highlands Provinces of Papua New Guinea).

In the literature dealing with clause coordination in these languages there is, as is to be expected, second-clause deletion under identity with a first-clause agent only, as in this example from Enga (Li and Lang 1979:316):

- (9) *baa-mé kalái pé-ta-la yólé ny-t-á*
 he-ERGH work do-ASP wage get-TNS-3SG
 'He did his work and then received his wage.'

(-la is the marker of the presence of coreferential deletion.⁵)

Classical Tibetan has the same system (Andersen 1987:309):

- (10) *dka'thub kyis lha bsgrubs te grub*
 ascetic -ERG god coerce(ASP) appear ASP
 'The ascetic coerced the god and appeared.'

(te is a clause-final particle.)

2.2.3. Interclausal theme and rheme

In Newari, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal, the grammar of clause coordination has evolved beyond the stage represented by Classical Tibetan. In the coordination of ergative and antipassive clauses, regardless of which clause occurs first, the first of the coreferential agent NP's can take either an ergative or absolutive marker, as in the following pair of alternative (Genetti 1988:31):

- (11) (a) *wɔ duku syan-a -a won-ɔ*
 he(ABS) goat kill-participle-nonfinal go -TNS
 (b) *wɔ -ɔ duku syan-a -a won-ɔ*
 he-ERG goat kill-participle-nonfinal go -TNS
 'He killed the goat and left.'

The different markers reflect a different theme-rheme relationship between the clauses, as established by Genetti's applying (p. 33) the question-and-answer test used notably by Hatcher (1956)⁶ for the determining of the rheme (or "point of view", in

Hatcher's terminology) of a sentence. Thus (11a), where the non-deleted coreferential agent is marked with respect to the intransitive verb *won* 'go' of the second clause, is an answer to the question, 'What did he do after he killed the goat?'; that is to say, the intransitive clause is the rheme, and the first clause is thus the theme of the sentence as a whole. And (11b), where the non-deleted agent is marked with respect to the first-clause transitive verb *şyan* 'kill', answers the question, 'What did he do before he left?'; that is to say, the transitive clause is the rheme, and the second clause is thus the theme of the whole sentence.

Such a theme-rheme relationship characterizes the relationship between subordinate and main clauses of complex sentences, as various studies have shown (e.g. Haiman 1978, Modini 1982, Thompson and Longacre 1985). It thus appears that the Newari development parallels the development I have suggested above (sect. 2.2.1) occurred in Australian and American languages, where coordinated clause constructions, i.e. compound sentences, have evolved into constructions with the adverbial relationship of implication between clauses, i.e. complex sentences.

3. Explanatory value of the historical-functional view

The historical-functional view offers an explanation for the fact noted by Dixon (1979:121; 1980:466) that languages with switch reference do not display ergative coreference are segmental languages, which represent a stage of historical development prior to the suprasegmental stage, when the system of which ergative coreference forms a part is superseded by the switch-reference system; clearly, languages of different stages of evolution are involved.

Similarly, the view I am adopting explains the futility of looking for ergative coreference in ergative languages like Classical Tibetan: Tibeto-Burman languages became ergative only through reanalysis of the passive, which was a process facilitated by the shift to suprasegmentalism caused by the obligatory correlation of a constructional type and an associating grammatical feature (Modini 1989a:359; 1989b:fn.5). None of Andersen's (1987:287-290) supposed examples of ergative coreference is convincing; he himself argues against (p. 309, fn.15) a translation of sentence (10) above that involves ergative coreference and which has the "god" of the first clause "appearing" in the second.

The historical-functional view explains the connection between ergative coreference and the phenomenon of the preponderance of the ergative construction over the antipassive in narrative contexts. In Modini (1989c, sect. 2.2) this phenomenon is treated as one *diagnostic* of segmental languages: not all segmental languages have it, but languages that do are segmental. Thus languages exhibiting this phenomenon can be expected to show ergative coreference, which is a phenomenon of segmental languages only. Conversely, languages without ergative coreference can be expected not to display the "preponderant construction" phenomenon. These links, between the pre-

⁶But, contrary to the view of many, including Firbas, not invented by her: see Hatcher (1956:239, fn.6).

sence of the one phenomenon and the presence of the other, on the one hand, and between the absence of the one phenomenon and the absence of the other, on the other hand, are observable in the Philippine languages Tagalog and Cebuano, respectively. Compare sentence (2) above, from Tagalog, with the following, from Cebuano (Shibatani 1988:106):

- (12) *Mao nga gi-pakuha niya ang iyang kabayo ...*
 so that PF-send he(AGT) TH- his horse
ug gi-mandoan ang iyang mga sakop sa pagsunod kaniya
 and PF-order TH- his PL men to follow he(PAT)
 'So he sent for his horse ... and ordered his men to follow him.'

If we regard the Philippine patient-focus construction as an ergative, and the agent-focus construction as an antipassive, as I have argued elsewhere is justifiable (Modini 1988), and as Shibatani (1988) does, then it is clear from the comparison of sentences (2) and (12) that Tagalog has ergative coreference, while Cebuano does not: in the Tagalog, it is the first-clause patient that "controls" the deletion in the second clause; in the Cebuano, it is the first-clause agent. Coupled with this ergative vs. accusative coreference pattern, counts of transitive clause types in narratives have revealed that in Tagalog 76 % were patient-focus sentences, whereas in Cebuano the figure was 46 % (Shibatani 1988:111).⁷

3.1. Indonesian as a language with basically segmental markers of theme and rheme

Dreyfuss (1978:5) refers to what may be the preponderant ergative phenomenon in 19th-century Malay, noting that constructions with the verbal affix *meN-* tend to occur in the body of a text, while those with the verbal affix *ber-* tend to occur at the beginning. If we take the view that *meN-* is originally an ergative verbal marker, and *ber-* originally an antipassive verbal marker, then this textual distribution of the two constructions accords with the distribution noted in Modini (1989c:fn.10) of the constructions in texts in other segmental languages.

Moreover, the "ergative vs. antipassive" analysis seems to account for Winstedt's (1957:83) observation that the two constructional types seem to be "used indifferently" in certain classical passages: if one were not aware of a difference in terms of theme-rheme distribution, one would think the two constructions meant the same thing.

The view of Indonesian *meN-* and *ber-* as originally ergative and antipassive verbal markers finds partial support in the ingenious attempt by Wolff (1981) to establish cognates of *meN-* and *ber-* in the verbal focus system of Tagalog, for, according to Wolff, *ber-* is the cognate of the Tagalog *mag-* (p. 84), which is one of the forms of the agent-focus, i.e. the Tagalog antipassive verbal marker. However, Wolff also considers *meN-* to be cognate with a form of the agent-focus, rather than with a form of the patient-focus, i.e. the Tagalog ergative verbal marker. Interestingly, whereas he finds

⁷Cebuano has not developed the switch-reference system of other post-segmental ergative languages, but has developed the alternative system, as sentence (12) above in the text demonstrates. The shift from basically segmental markers of theme and rheme was apparently caused by the development of the obligatory correlations, noted by Shibatani (1988:109), between constructional type and definiteness.

semantic similarities between *ber-* and *mag-*, he is unable to find meaning parallels between *meN-* and *maN-* (p. 85), this latter being his supposed Tagalog cognate.

Present-day *meN* and *ber-* constructions correlate obligatorily with several different grammatical features (Dreyfuss 1978), which is a sign of their having lost their original function of markers of opposite theme-rheme distributions. Nevertheless, Verhaar (1988:376) has sentences like the following, which is superficially an example of ergative coreference:

- (13) *Ahmad me-nemui Ali, lalu di-pukul-nya*
 Ahmad run=into Ali then hit -he
 'Ahmad ran into Ali and hit him.'

Since *nya* refers to *Ahmad*, there is deletion of the patient of the second clause under identity with the patient of the first clause, *Ali*. However a *meN-* construction as the first of two coordinated clauses is not necessarily ergative, as the following, almost identical in form to (13) and also from Verhaar (1988:376), shows:

- (14) *Ahmad me-nemui Ali dan di-pukul oleh-nya*
 Ahmad run=into Ali and hit by he
 'Ahmad ran into Ali and got hit by him.'

Here *nya* refers to *Ali*, so that it is *Ahmad*, patient of the second clause, that is deleted under identity with the agent of the first clause. The *meN-* clause thus functions as an antipassive in (14).

Although *meN-* constructions function ergatively or antipassively in first-clause position in a pair of coordinated clauses, with solely sentence stress presumably taking on the function of differentiating the two possible distributions of theme and rheme, the situation with respect to *di-* constructions is more definite. Consider the following brief conversation (Verhaar 1988:368):

- (15) (a) *Bagaimana uang-nya?*
 how money-DEF
 'How about the money?'
 (b) *Beres, sudah saya hitung*
 in=order already I count
 'That's in order; I have already counted it.'

In (b) a patient nominal thematized by being introduced, as rheme, in the preceding construction in (a) is deleted. All of Verhaar's examples of this rheme-theme coreference pattern have the deleted patient in a "preposed-object", or "zero-verb", construction, rather than the *meN-* construction, so that one suspects that in modern Indonesian thematic patients are expressed regularly by the preposed-object construction.⁸ And

⁸There is an interesting parallel here between Indonesian and Mandarin, as comparison of (14) above in the text and the following, from Li and Thompson (1975:173), reveals:

- (a) *Yàoshi ne*
 key question particle
 'What about the key?'
 (b) *Wo wàng le*
 I forget ASP

since the *di-* construction is the narrative-style equivalent of the direct-speech preposed-object construction (Kaswanti Purwo 1983:244), one further suspects that the *di-* construction expresses thematic patients. This suspicion is well-founded, for the preposed-object/*di-* construction is obligatory in cases where *yang*, the relative pronoun, "would be the object of an active transitive verb", as Macdonald and Soenjono (1967:191) put it, illustrating with the following (p. 192):

- (16) *Monopoli hak-milik yang mereka pegang*
monopoly right=of=ownership which they hold
'The monopoly of the right of ownership which they
hold (which is held by them).'

"Object relative clauses" impose a thematic interpretation upon the deleted/pro-nominalized NP (Modini 1984; 1989c: sect. 2.2), so that the obligatoriness of the preposed-object/*di-* construction in this context is a diagnostic of its thematic-patient-marking function. Similarly, *meN-* constructions occur in "subject relative clauses", so that we may conclude that *meN-* constructions function regularly antipassively.⁹

We can account for these Indonesian facts by hypothesizing that the *meN-* construction, the original ergative construction, underwent a process of replacement in its theme-/rheme-marking function by the preposed-object/*di-* construction, which, as we have seen, has the ergativelike thematic-patient-marking function. Thus we can explain also the full distribution of constructions in classical texts noted by Dreyfuss (1978:5), only part of which was referred to earlier. Dreyfuss notes that both *meN-* and *di-* constructions occur in the body of texts, with *ber-* at the beginning: if *meN-* and *di-* constructions were functionally equivalent at that earlier stage, they can be expected to have alternated in the same contexts. The full-passive preposed-object and *di-* constructions had developed, I suggest, from an agentless passive construction (containing a zero-prefixed verb), where the patient NP was thematic, through the addition, in normal preverbal position, of an agent NP. The similarity of form of the prefix *di-* and the third-person singular pronoun *dia* leads one to think that the *di-* construction developed from a preposed-object construction with third-person singular preverbal agent, especially as most *di-* constructions have a third-person singular agent (Thomas 1978:8).¹⁰ The development of the full-passive facilitated the eventual loss of their original theme-/rheme-marking functions on the part of the *meN-* and *ber-* constructions and their taking on certain obligatory correlations with grammatical features, both constructions coming to take on an antipassive function so that a theme-rheme distri-

'I forgot it.'

Here the theme of (b), which makes a rheme-theme coreference pattern with (a), is deleted from clause-initial position.

⁹Thus Kaswanti Purwo (1988:212) notes that sentence stress falls on the patient NP in a *meN-* construction, but not in a zero-verb construction.

¹⁰Compare the development of the full-passive in Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan and Papuan, which also superseded the original means of expression of theme and rheme, as suggested in section 2.2.2 above in the text. Moreover, just as the full-passive constituent order was assimilated to that of the active, and the construction thus reinterpreted as ergative, so assimilation to the constituent order of the *meN-* construction seems to me to be the source of the postverbal patient in the *di-* construction.

bution different from that indicated by the ergative preposed-object and *di-* constructions could be marked. Finally, owing to the great frequency of occurrence of the antipassive, *meN-* construction as first clause in a pair of coordinated clauses, the *meN-* construction supplanted the *di-* construction when the latter was appropriate in first-clause position. There is an interesting parallel between the behaviour of the Indonesian *meN-* construction and that of the intransitive construction in Maori, another language expressing theme and rheme basically segmentally (Modini 1989c: sec. 2.2), in first-clause position in a pair of coordinated clauses. Consider the following Maori sentence, from Bauer (1981:266), whose English translation is structurally very reminiscent of the translation of (13) above:

- (17) *Ka whāwhai atu taua kuia ki taua kai, ka kainga*
 TNS reach away that old=woman DIR-that food TNS eat(ERG)¹¹
 'The old woman reached for the food and ate it.'

Here the patient of the second clause is deleted under identity with the thematic directional-case NP in the first clause – a kind of "intransitive ergative coreference". And just as the *meN-* construction of (13) appears in (14) as an antipassive, so the Maori intransitive can function antipassively, i.e. with a thematic agent NP, as in the following sentence (Bauer, 1981:265):

- (18) *I taka atu tana kāmera ki te moana, kāore i kitea*
 TNS fall away her(SG) camera DIR-the sea not TNS see(ERG)
 'Her camera fell into the sea, and was not seen again.'

Here the patient of the second clause is deleted under identity with the intransitive agent.

Moreover, just as Indonesian marks theme and rheme by basically segmental means outside of the context of the transitive first clause in a pair of coordinated clauses, as illustrated by the grammar of relative clauses, so suprasegmental marking of the theme and rheme of the intransitive first clause in a pair of coordinated clauses in Maori does not reflect the situation outside of this context. Thus instances of ergative coreference in Maori cannot involve an antipassive first clause, as Bauer's examples reveal (pp. 422-424). An example of ergative coreference, with ergative first clause, is the following (p. 265):

- (19) *I tinihangatia a ia e tana iwi mō āna mahi mākutu,*
 TNS cheat(ERG) he ERG-his(SG) tribe for his(PL) work magic
ka mauria ki Whakaari
 TNS take(ERG) DIR-White Island
 'He was cheated by his tribe for his witchcraft, and was taken to White Island.'

(*a* is a personal marker.)

Like some other languages which express theme-rheme distributions in a basically segmental way, Indonesian presents clear evidence of the existence of the "preponder-

¹¹Maori is conventionally regarded as an accusative, rather than ergative, language, so that what I regard as an ergative verbal marker is normally called a passive marker. On this question of classification, see Modini (1988). On the expression of the "agentless passive" idea by the ergative construction in Maori, see Modini (1989c:fn. 9).

ant ergative" phenomenon in narrative contexts. Thus Verhaar (1988:357) notes the "high incidence" of *di-* constructions and the paucity, by comparison, of *meN-* constructions. In transitive imperatives the direct-speech equivalent of the *di-* construction, viz., the zero-verb construction, is obligatory (Verhaar 1978:13), just as the ergative is obligatory in transitive imperatives in certain other "segmental" languages, e.g. Maori (Modini 1989c:sect. 2.2).

4. Concluding remarks

By looking at clause coordination historically and functionally in this paper, I have, I believe, accounted satisfactorily for the distribution of the phenomenon of ergative coreference across languages, for the relationship of mutual exclusiveness between ergative coreference and switch-reference, and for the association of ergative coreference with the "preponderant ergative" phenomenon. Switch-reference is a characteristic of some "suprasegmental" ergative languages, while ergative coreference is part of the same area of the grammar of "segmental" languages, a diagnostic of a "segmental" language being the occurrence in it of the "preponderant ergative".

REFERENCES

- ANDERSEN, Paul Kent. 1987. "Zero-Anaphora and Related Phenomena in Classical Tibetan." *Studies in Language* 11.2, 279-312.
- AUSTIN, Peter. 1981. "Switch Reference in Australia." *Language* 57, 309-334.
- BAUER, Winifred A. 1981. *Aspects of the Grammar of Maori*. Univ. of Edinburgh Ph. D. dissertation.
- COMRIE, Bernard. 1978. "Ergativity." In: Winfred P. Lehmann (ed) *Syntactic Typology*. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press. 329-394.
- COMRIE, Bernard. 1983. "Switch-Reference in Huichol: A Typological Study." In: John Haiman & Pamela Munro (eds) *Switch Reference and Universal Grammar*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 17-37.
- COOREMAN, Ann, Barbara FOX & Talmy GIVÓN. 1988. "The Discourse Definition of Ergativity: A Study in Chamorro and Tagalog Texts." In: Richard McGinn (ed) *Studies in Austronesian Linguistics*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio Univ. Center for Internat. Studies. 387-425.
- DIXON, R. M. W. 1979. "Ergativity." *Language* 55, 59-138.
- DIXON, R. M. W. 1980. *The Languages of Australia*. Cambridge: Univ. Press.
- DREYFUSS, J. V. 1978. "*Men-*, *Di-* and *Ber-*: Three Analyses." *NUSA: Linguistic Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia* 6, 1-6.
- FOLEY, William A. 1986. *The Papuan Languages of New Guinea*. Cambridge: Univ. Press.
- FOLEY, William A. & Robert D. VAN VALIN, Jr. 1977. "On the Viability of the Notion of 'Subject' in Universal Grammar." *Proceedings Berkeley Linguistics Society* 3, 293-320.
- GENETTI, Carol. 1988. "A Syntactic Correlate of Topicality in Newari Narrative." In: John Haiman & Sandra A. Thompson (eds) *Clause Combining in Grammar and Discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 29-48.
- HAIMAN, John. 1978. "Conditionals as Topics." *Language* 54, 564-589.
- HAIMAN, John. 1983. "On Some Origins of Switch Reference Marking." In: John Haiman & Pamela Munro (eds) *Switch Reference and Universal Grammar*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 105-128.
- HAIMAN, John & Pamela MUNRO. 1983. "Introduction." In: John Haiman & Pamela Munro (eds) *Switch Reference and Universal Grammar*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. ix-xv.
- HATCHER, Anna Granville. 1956. "Syntax and the Sentence." *Word* 12, 234-250.
- HEATH, Jeffrey. 1975. "Some Functional Relationships in Grammar." *Language* 51, 89-104.
- INOUE, Kazuko. 1969. *A Study of Japanese Syntax*. The Hague: Mouton. (= *Janua Linguarum, Series Practica*, 41).

- JACOBSEN, William. 1983. "Typological and Genetic Notes on Switch-Reference System in North American Indian Languages." In: John Haiman & Pamela Munro (eds) *Switch Reference and Universal Grammar*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 151–183.
- KASWANTI Purwo, Bambang. 1983. "The Verbal 'Aspect': A Case of the Indonesian 'Passives'." In: Amran Halim, Lois Carrington & S. A. Wurm (eds) *Papers from the Third Internat. Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, vol. 4: Thematic Variation*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics (= Pacific Linguistics, C-77), 239–250.
- KASWANTI Purwo, Bambang. 1988. "Voice in Indonesian: A Discourse Study." In: Masayoshi Shibatani (ed) *Passive and Voice*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 195–241.
- LI, Charles N. & R. Lang. 1979. "The Syntactic Irrelevance of an Ergative case in Enga and Other Papuan Languages." In: Frans Plank (ed) *Ergativity: Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations*. New York: Academic Press. 307–324.
- LI, Charles N. & Sandra A. THOMPSON. 1975. "The Semantic Function of Word Order: A Case Study in Mandarin." In: Charles N. Li (ed) *Word Order and Word Order Change*. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press. 163–195.
- MACDONALD, R. ROSS & Soenjono DARDJOWIDJOJO. 1967. *A Student's Reference Grammar of Modern Formal Indonesian*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown Univ. Press.
- MODINI, Paul. 1982. "Subordinate Clauses and Discourse." *Papers in Linguistics* 15.4, 255–261.
- MODINI, Paul. 1984. "Ergative Syntax in Relative Clauses from a Functional Perspective." *Linguistische Berichte* 92, 1–5.
- MODINI, Paul. 1988. "The Tagalog Verbal Focus Affixes from a Functional Perspective." *Archív orientální* 56.3, 243–245.
- MODINI, Paul. 1989a. "Ergative, Passive and the Other Devices of Functional Perspective." *Folia Linguistica Historica* 8.1-2, 351–363.
- MODINI, Paul. 1989b. "Historical Typology and Language Classification." *Archív orientální* 57.4, 343–346.
- MODINI, Paul. 1989c. "Segmental and Suprasegmental Expressions of Theme and Rheme." *Folia Linguistica* 23.1-2, 55–65.
- MODINI, Paul. 1990. "Japanese as a Uralic-Altaic Language: The Significance of Serial Verbs." *Archív orientální* 58.3, 255–265.
- OLSON, Mike. 1978. "Switch-Reference in Barai." *Proceedings Berkeley Linguistics Society* 4, 140–146.
- PAYNE, Thomas E. 1982. "Role and Reference Related Subject Properties and Ergativity in Yup'ik Eskimo and Tagalog." *Studies in Language* 6.1, 75–106.
- RUHLEN, Merritt. 1987. *A Guide to the World's Languages, vol. 1: Classification*. Stanford: Univ. Press.
- SHIBATANI, Masayoshi. 1988. "Voice in Philippine Languages." In: Masayoshi Shibatani (ed) *Passive and Voice*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 85–142.
- THOMAS, Michael R. 1978. "Indonesian's Unmarked Verbs." *NUSA: Linguistic Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia* 6, 7–10.
- THOMPSON, Sandra A. & Robert E. LONGACRE. 1985. "Adverbial Clauses." In: Tim Shopen (ed) *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, vol. 1: Complex Constructions*. Cambridge: Univ. Press. 171–234.
- VAN VALIN, Robert D. Jr. 1981. "Grammatical Relations in Ergative Languages." *Studies in Language* 5.3, 361–394.
- VERHAAR, John W. M. 1978. "Some Notes on the Verbal Passive in Indonesian." *NUSA: Linguistic Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia* 6, 11–19.
- VERHAAR, John W. M. 1988. "Syntactic Ergativity in Contemporary Indonesian." In: Richard McGinn (ed) *Studies in Austronesian Linguistics*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio Univ. Center for Internat. Studies. 347–384.
- WALD, Benji. 1979. "The Development of the Swahili Object Marker: A Study of the Interaction of Syntax and Discourse." In: Talmy Givón (ed) *Syntax and Semantics, vol. 12: Discourse and Syntax*. New York: Academic Press. 505–524.
- WINSTEDT, R.C. 1957. *Malay Grammar*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon.
- WOLFF, John U. 1981. "Similarities between Indonesian and Tagalog and their Historical Basis." *NUSA: Linguistic Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesian* 10, 83–90.
- WURM, Stephen A. 1982. *Papuan Languages of Oceania*. Tübingen: Narr.

COMPOSITIONAL SCHEMES FOR STORY INITIALS IN MARQUESAN LEGENDS

Viktor KRUPA, Bratislava

This paper deals with the characteristics of some structural features of traditional Marquesan narratives. Attention has been limited to the initial formulas. While time characteristics occur very seldom and are hazy, the location of the story is specified in more detail.

The Marquesas are one of those archipelagoes of Oceania where the impact of European civilization has had very grave consequences in general, and nearly fatal ones in the case of culture. Despite adverse circumstances, Marquesan traditional literature has not become entirely extinct. Portions of it have been recorded and made accessible to subsequent study thanks to the efforts of such scholars as e.g. Karl von den Steinen and E. S. C. Handy earlier in this century, and S. H. Elbert and H. Lavondès in recent years.

The goal of this paper is to reveal and describe some structural features of Marquesan narratives edited by E. S. C. Handy (Handy 1930) and by H. Lavondès (1964–66). Handy collected his texts earlier: in 1920 and 1921, mainly at Atuona, Hivaoa. Although his informants were well-versed in the lore of their ancestors, Handy was aware of the fact that no living Marquesan has more than a fragmentary knowledge of the local oral traditions (Handy 1930:3).

Since S. H. Elbert's *Marquesan Legends* have remained in manuscript form and thus are not available to me, the only other source employed here is H. Lavondès' *Récits marquisiens* published more than forty years after Handy's volume had appeared (in 1964–66). Lavondès' informants are from the island of Uapou; thus, thanks to Handy and Lavondès both main dialect groups are represented in the corpus. Unfortunately, Handy has decided to omit the glottal stop almost completely (with very few exceptions) and neither Handy nor Lavondès mark vocalic quantity. While the latter represents no serious shortcoming, the former makes the texts less unambiguous since it drastically increases the homonymy of the language.

Handy has included ten complete narratives (in addition to quite a few English texts) and published them alongside their parallel English translations. The two volumes by Lavondès comprise altogether eleven stories.

At a glance it is obvious and not at all surprising that most of the stories are very similar as far as their compositional characteristics are concerned. This holds, in particular for their initial segments to which our attention has been confined. Of course, there is some formal variety but of a very restricted nature. One might inquire as to where the reasons for this uniformity are to be looked for.

The explanation of these structural characteristics is fairly easy to comprehend. Traditional literature is oral, intended to be narrated and heard, and as such it inevitably obeys the rules of acoustic communication. The stories used to be told in such a way as to be understood by the audience. Communicating means delivering information. Should the narrator deliver what is well-known to everybody, his audience might lose the interest in what is being told and if, on other hand, his narration would only consist of entirely new, so far unavailable information, no one would understand him. A successful act of communication is such whereby the narrator proceeds from what his audience considers familiar, from what is probable and to be expected, to what is new and surprising. New information may only be digested and absorbed upon the basis of what the recipients already know - because the process of listening and understanding is far from passive. The hearers must be given not only time to process new information but also some points of support to introduce this new information into their cognitive networks; that is why oral traditions contain numerous formulae, repetitions and commonplaces. And this is not all. As a rule, special requirements are set for the most conspicuous structural slot of a story, for its commencement.

The absolute beginning of a story is especially important. Since there is (unlike ordinary conversation) no antecedent utterance for the hearers to rely on, the storyteller is obliged to set the stage for his subsequent narration. Therefore the required data concerning the time and place of the action are expected to be - and usually are - given at the very beginning of the story; simultaneously or immediately afterwards, the main characters are introduced. The temporal characteristics are sometimes quite vague, which is a typically Marquesan and (as a comparison with narratives from other parts of Polynesia confirms) at the same time Polynesian feature. A few prototypical temporal and local characteristics follow:

The legend *Tona-hei-'e'e'e* (Handy 1930) is introduced as follows: *Tenei vahana, Te-po'ea-hei-o-Tona* [TIME:] *'oi te tihe 'i Atuona nei*, [PLACE:] *'ua noho ia titahi vehine 'i Hanaiapa ...* (Now the man, Te-po'ea-hei-o-Tona, [TIME:] before he had come to Atuona on this trip, [PLACE:] had dwelt with another woman at Hanaiapa...).

The legend of *Kae* (Handy 1930) is more laconic and the time specification is only given implicitly, by means of a time span that elapsed between the hero's birth and his departure to another place: [TIME¹:] *Fenau Kae* [PLACE:] *'i Ta'a'oa* [TIME¹:] *'Ua fiti Kae* [PLACE:] *'i Vainoi* (Kae [TIME¹:] was born [PLACE:] at Taaoa. He [TIME¹:] went up [PLACE:] to Vainoi).

In *Kopuhoroto'e* (Lavondès 1964), the time and place of action is given in a little different manner: *Tenei 'enana 'o Tuteanuanua, ta ia vehine 'o Maiotera*, [PLACE:] *to 'aua henua 'o Teahu'otu* [TIME:] *Titahi 'a, 'u pe'au hua 'enana 'i te vehine: "E kanea to taua vaka mea 'avaika."* (Cet homme s'appelait Tuteanuanua. Maiotera était sa femme. [PLACE:] Leur pays était Teahuotu. [TIME:] Un jour, cet homme dit à sa femme: "Je vais fabriquer notre pirogue pour aller à la pêche.")

An important part of the place definition may be the place of origin of the heroes, cf. *'Akahe'e-i-Vevau* (Lavondès 1966): [PLACE:] *Mei Hiva'oa te'a mou 'enana*, [PLACE:] *'o Ta'a'oa to 'aua ka'avai* (Ces deux personnes étaient originaires [PLACE:] de Hiva-Oa, [PLACE:] leur vallée était Ta'a'oa).

The laconism of time characteristics is, as a rule, more pronounced than that of place definition and often is reduced to a mere statement of existence. This produces an impression of initial stability.

As an example cf. the Samoan story *'O Taligamaivalu* (Moyle 1981): *'O la'u tala 'iā Sinasegi, 'o lana tama 'o Sinālemalama*. [TIME:] *Ona nonofo, nonofo Sinasegi ma lana tama* (My story is about Sinasegi, whose child was Sinalemalama. Sinasegi and her child [TIME:] lived together) or another Samoan story, *'O Sinaeusu'imanu* (Moyle 1981): *'O le ulugālii, fānau la tā tama 'o le teine 'o Sina. Māsani o le tamāloa e usua'iina lava ia 'i le fa'ase'e 'ae nonofo 'o le fafine ma lana tama i le fale* (There was a couple who had a child, a girl called Sina. It was the man's practice to get up early and go surfing, while the woman stayed home with her child).

Hawaiian narratives collected by Fornander (Elbert 1959) do not elaborate much on time either.

The story of *Punia* (Elbert 1959) is introduced as having taken place in Punia: *'O ka 'aina i noho ai 'o Punia, 'o Kohala i Hawai'i, make ka makuakane, 'ola 'o Punia me ka makuahine me Hina, 'o ka laua hana ka mahi i 'uala, 'a loa'a ka 'ai, 'a'o'e i'a. 'I aku 'o Punia 'ia Hina, "E iho au i ka lu'u ula na kaua i ka lua ula a ku'u makuakane."* (The land in which Punia lived was Kohala, Hawaii. After the death of his father Punia and his mother, Hina were left. Their occupation consisted in the cultivation of sweet potatoes, and in this way they were supplied with food; but they had no fish or meat. One day Punia said to (his mother) Hina, "Let me go down to the lobster cave where father used to go and get us some lobsters.")

The story of *Iwa* (Elbert 1959) likewise displays just a very hazy temporal definition: *'O Kea'au i Puna ke kumu o keia ka'ao, nana na leho ai o Kalokuna ka inoa. I ka wa e holo ai i ka lu'u he'e, wehe a'e la i ka leho a ho'ike iho, na ka he'e no e pi'i a komo ka wa'a. Pela mau ka Kea'au hana i na la apau.* (The scene of this legend is set in Keaau, Puna, in which part of the country there once lived a man by the name of Keaau, who owned two leho shells called Kalokuna. Whenever the possessor of these shells went out squid fishing all that was necessary to do was to take and expose them and the squid would come up and enter the canoe. This was Keaau's regular occupation every day.)

On the other hand, place characteristics are generally quite detailed and precise. This is far from surprising because the category of time is more abstract than that of place (space) and linguistic means used to denote temporal characteristics are as a rule derived from spatial terminology, that is, metaphorically transferred to the domain of time.

In some *Manihiki* stories recorded only recently (Kauraka 1983), time expressions occur such as *i te tuatai tahito* "long ago" (cf. *Te Toa Herehuroa e Araitetonga*), *i te tuatau mua* "in the time before" (in *Rika*), or simply, *i tetahi tuatau* "once upon a time" (cf. the story *Ko Paraka e te Kehe*), or *i tetahi tuatau i topa* "in the time that had passed away" (in *To Tauhunu e Motuhakamaru Tamakihanga*). Perhaps we are entitled to look for the influence of European tales in those instances where such expressions are employed.

For the introduction to conform to the requirement of furnishing an overture to what follows, the chief character or characters have to fit into a familiar, well-known

cognitive frame, such as no doubt is that of family. This compositional scheme may duly be termed genealogical. The hero of a story is described as a member of a family, as a son of such and such a mother and/or father and as a brother and/or sister of such and such persons. Examples follow:

Tahia-noho-u'u (Handy 1930): *Te inoa o te 'ahana Tuapu'u. Hina-te'i'i te inoa o te vehine ... Te vehine kopu tama i fanau he mo'i, Tahi-noho-u'u te inoa* (The name of the husband was Tuapu'u. Hina-te-'i'i was the name of the woman. The woman was with a child, a daughter was born to her, Tahia-noho-u'u by name).

Tuapu'u (Handy 1930): *Tuapu'u e noho me to ia vahana, fanau e to'u tama, toko'ua tama'oa 'etahi mo'i...* (Tuapu'u lived with her husband and three children were born, two boys, and a girl).

Tona-hei-'e'e'e (Handy 1930): *Tenei vahana, Te-po'ea-hei-o-Tona 'oi te tihe 'i Atuona nei, 'ua noho ia titahi vehine 'i Hanaiapa, no te koa'a e tahi tama, 'o Tona-hei-'e'e'e. E to'u mahina te fanau tina tenei tama, 'ua 'i'o te motua te kamo Naoputu.* (Now the man, Te-po'ea-hei-o-Tona, before he had come to Atuona on this trip, had dwelt with another woman at Hanaiapa, and he had had a son born, Tona-hei-'e'e'e by name. It was three moons after the birth of this boy that the father was stolen by Na-oputu).

Pota-a-te-mau (Handy 1930): *Te kei tina o hua tama. Te-hina-tu-o-Kae, 'ua 'i'o 'oia te haka'iki no Ta'a'oa. Me te noho me to ia vehine. 'Ua tupu te vehine i te tama, 'u fanau he tama'oa... 'Ua keikei hua tau tama pao 'tu. 'Ua noho ta 'atou tuehine me te ahana. 'Ua tupu hua vehine 'i te tama. Te fanau tina he tama'oa, to ia inoa 'o Pota-a-te-mau.* (When the child, Te-hina-tu-o-Kae, grew up he became chief of Ta'a'oa. He dwelt with his woman. The woman grew with child... These children all grew. Their sister (unnamed) dwelt with a husband. This woman grew with child. Then a boy was born, named Pota-a-te-mau).

Tana'oa (Handy 1930): *'Ua noho Meihano me ta ia vehine, 'o Foufi'i. Fanau te tama, 'o I'a-tau-mua, 'o I'a-tau-mu'i. Tahipito, 'a'o'e he inoa. Me te fanau o te tuehine... 'Ua tafai Meihano me te vehine 'i tenei tau tama. 'Ua keikei hua tau tama. I mu'i 'ho 'ua nahu te toua a Meihano me titahi 'enata. Te inoa o hua 'enata 'o Topa-vaiki. 'A tahi 'a to'o Meihano 'i te 'ei. 'A tahi 'a 'aumoto me hua 'ei ma te tua a Foufi'i. Me te tupu 'o Foufi'i i te tama... Te fanau na he tama'oa. Me te 'apa 'i to ia inoa, 'o Tana-'oa.* (Meihano dwelt with his woman Foufi'i. A child was born, name I'a-tau-mu'i (Fish-land-first), or I'a-tau-mu'i (Fish-land-after). There were other children, but they are unnamed. Then a sister was born, named Hina-te-ouihi, Hina-the chestnut-leaf or Hina-te-pipi, Hina-the-shell. Meihano and his woman raised these children, until they grew up. At a later time a war broke out between Meihano and another man, who was named Topa-vaiki. Meihano saw that Topa-vaiki was a very powerful man. So Meihano took a whale's tooth, and with that tooth he struck Foufi'i in the back. After that Foufi'i became large with child, and later she gave birth to another child, a boy. And they gave him the name, Tana-'oa).

Family plays the part of a well-tryed cognitive model in the stories, just as it does in Polynesian cosmogony (where the creation of the world is modelled after the parental creative act), where the Heaven is viewed as father, the Earth as mother and the departmental gods as their children. Family seems to be an all pervasive model and as such it is known to operate in the lexical metaphor of quite a few languages - for new

lexical units also display analogous structure, consisting of a component correlating with old information as well as of another component correlated with new information (cf. the Indonesian lexical metaphor *mata hari* "sun", literally eye of the day; sun both is and is not the "eye" of the day).

The genealogical scheme models the overture of the narration to such an extent that it may be labelled as canonical. As exemplified above, the family background of the hero(es) is sometimes characterized in more detail, at other times with less detail, not excluding occasional notes of some curious or even bizarre events (deviations, injustice) accompanying the hero's birth or childhood.

It often happens that three months after the conception or after the birth of a child is a critical period, when the father disappears, finding himself a new partner (*Tahia-noho-u'u*) or being stolen by an ogress (*Tona-hei-'c'e'e*), or the child is born six months after his father's death (*Te-po'ea-hei-o-Tona*); an unintentional incest occurs with inauspicious consequences (*Tahia-noho-u'u*), the child or children is or are born with a non-human shape, as an eel (*Puhi-nui-a'au-to'o*), as an egg (*Ono*), or from his mother's ear (*Tohe-tika*), etc. Only afterwards does the action begin. Another deviation is cannibalistic inclination of the mother (*Tuapu'u*) or murder within the family (*Ono*).

The data on the family background may be fragmentary. Thus Puhu is portrayed as the youngest of all children, the only one to be physically well-formed, the rest being without arms and legs (*Puhu*, Handy 1930); Ikitepanoa is depicted as a man who has two younger brothers (*Ikitepanoa*, Lavondès 1964); in *Takao a'akakai no Hakatauniua* (Lavondès 1966), the elder brother is described as having several younger siblings; in *Potateuatahi* (Lavondès 1966), the hero is the son of a woman and has seven siblings; in *Tiu* (Handy 1930), the scene is taken up by a mother and daughter whose younger brother is born in an unusual shape and is healed by the sister.

The initial state of the narration, comprising the stage and the main actors, is constructed as having an apparent stability that, however, contains a germ of dynamism.

The structure of the subsequent composition is affected by the ways in which the initial stability is disturbed. The factors of dynamism are inherent in the initial situation, not infrequently in the familial status of the character(s). The stimulative factors may be biological, social, etc., such as famine, the need to procure food, sex, marriage, and these factors may force the actors to interfere or clash with the approved rules of behaviour.

Stories in which family characteristics are largely lacking may also occur.

The story of *Te-Hu'uti* and *Te-mo'o-nieve* (Handy 1930) opens with a scene of young bachelors playing *teka*. The chief character is *Te-Hu'uti* who throws *teka* better than the other bachelors and the story begins to unfold dynamically when he hits *Te-Mo'o-nieve*.

In addition, there are stories in Handy that contrast the initial (primeval) state of affairs - when people behaved in a way deviant from what is customary and sanctioned nowadays - with a subsequent state that is significantly different; at the same time, the described changes are furnished with an explanation.

In the story of *Kae* (Handy 1930), after a brief remark on the hero's place of birth, the narration proceeds to his doings. When *Kae* arrived in a country of women who

had had no husbands and bore children by means of surgery that inevitably led to the mothers' death, Kae taught these women the usual reproductive mechanisms and thus saves their lives.

In the overture to the legend of *Mahuike* (Handy 1930), it is stated that people had no fire at all and fire was with Mahuike: *Na Mahuike te tumu o te ahi i te fenua 'enata. 'Upe'au ho'i te po'i kaki'u, 'a'o'e he ahi ma mua atu o Mahuike* (With Mahuike was the source of fire in the land of men. The people used to tell in the ancient times they had no fire before Mahuike).

In conclusion it may be said that the existence of schemes such as ready-made compositional building blocks that mark the initial portion of Marquesan and Polynesian narratives is due to the oral nature of traditional literature and to the requirements of successful communication. It obeys the general cognitive advance from what is familiar to what is new, which is a procedure well known e.g. in the domain of vocabulary extension technique and in the domain of syntax (cf. Krupa 1987).

REFERENCES

- ELBERT, Samuel H.: *Marquesan Legends*. Honolulu 1934-35. Unpublished Manuscript.
 ELBERT, Samuel H. (ed.): *Selection from Fornander's Hawaiian Antiquities*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1959.
 HANDY, E.S. Craighill: *Marquesan Legends*. Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 69, 1930.
 KAURAKA, K.: *Legends from the Atolls*. Suva, IPS USP, in assoc. with South Pacific Creative Arts Society 1983.
 KRUPA, V.: *The Role of Metaphor in the Extension of Indonesian and Malay Vocabulary in Comparison with Maori*. *Asian and African Studies* 23: 131-140, 1987.
 LAVONDÈS, Henri: *Récits marquisiens* (2 Vols). Papeete, O. R. S. T. O. M. 1964-66.
 MOYLE, Richard: *Fagogo. Fables from Samoa in Samoan and English*. Auckland, Auckland University Press - Oxford University Press 1981.
 STEINEN, Karl von den: *Marquesanische Mythen*. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 65: 1-44; 326-373; 66: 191-240, 1933 and 1934.

METAMORPHOSIS IN MODERN CHINESE INTELLECTUAL (AND PHILOSOPHICAL) CONSCIOUSNESS: MUSINGS OVER ITS "COMING TO BE"

Marián GÁLIK, Bratislava

The aim of this paper is to point out some theoretical and practical aspects of modern Chinese intellectual history and philosophy between the end of the nineteenth century and the 1980s. Works by Wang Guowei, Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Qu Qiubai and Liang Shuming are analysed as examples.

When pondering how to begin this paper I found in a recently published dictionary the following three items explaining the word *Metamorphosis* as a "series of mythological tales or legends in verse written in the years 7-8 A.D. by Ovid", then as "1. a complete change of form, structure, or substance, as transformation by magic or witchcraft (very similar to those procedures put into the practice by Ovid, M.G.), 2. any complete change in appearance, character, circumstances, etc., 3. a form resulting from any such change". There were more characteristics listed but for the purpose of this paper these were irrelevant. At the end, *The Metamorphosis* (*Die Verwandlung*), a short story from the year 1937 by Franz Kafka,¹ is mentioned.

If we look at different explanations of the word metamorphosis in singular or plural more carefully we find that none of them properly fit what we have in mind if the metamorphosis is a concept of modern Chinese consciousness in its philosophical or intellectual realm.

First of all, no complete change is possible within the realm of consciousness since it would mean the loss of identity of the bearers under its impact. We know from modern Chinese history how all attempts at "whole Westernization" could not develop and always ended in failure. Consciousness as the sum total of the mental processes of an individual or of a collective within a nation, race, etc. has a homeostatic (i.e. stabilizing) tendency which is an expression or a manifestation of traditional elements making consciousness possible as a living systemo-structural entity which includes knowledge, political and legal ideas, religious beliefs, world views, ethical and aesthetic notions, and other expressions of human spirit.

Secondly, in the modern times in China, it is more or less meaningless to start prior to the Opium Wars (1839–1842, 1856–1858 and 1859–1860). It is better to begin around

* This writer would like to express his thanks to the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation for financial help which enabled him to participate in the 7th International Conference on Chinese Philosophy, Tübingen, 23–26 July 1991 and read this paper there.

¹ *Webster's Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Usage*. New York, Portland House 1989, p. 900.

1898 with the One Hundred Days Reform, which really meant a beginning of modern Chinese intellectual history, and partly of philosophy also. Although the main topic of this conference is Chinese philosophy and its relations to European counterparts, I seriously doubt whether modern Chinese philosophy in terms of its epistemological, ontological, aesthetical, or even social relevance could be compared with the importance of modern Chinese intellectual history beginning, with Kang Youwei (1858–1927) or Liang Qichao (1873–1929) and ending (or better to say progressing) to the present. It was not without good reason when in October 1969, 23 years ago, together with the convenor of this conference, Professor Wolfgang Bauer, I decided while in Munich to work on the German impact on modern Chinese intellectual history in order to better understand the Sino-German interplay. It was not only Chinese philosophy under the German impact, but a broad framework including many areas of human expression: philosophy and its history, science and its history, religious beliefs and theological doctrines, literature, comparative literature and their histories, the arts and their histories, economic history and the history of economic theories, education and psychology and their histories, political and social history, sociology and law. Later some new areas were added owing to the relevancy of the material. Wolfgang Bauer, Shen-chang Hwang, Hwang-cherng Gong and others who contributed to the volume *German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History (Deutschlands Einfluss auf die moderne chinesische Geistesgeschichte)*, published in the year 1982,² did not change much from the original project primarily adding military information and *varia* including language teaching books, dictionaries and periodicals. Further development in the 1980s brought some alterations and especially a new format, much more material and better indexes. Also the name of the book changed: *Das chinesische Deutschlandbild der Gegenwart. A: Deutsche Kultur, Politik und Wirtschaft im chinesischen Schrifttum 1970–1984. Eine Bibliographie*, edited this time by Wolfgang Bauer, Chang Peng and Michael Lackner and published in 1989. The title of the publication shows that its content transcends the boundaries of intellectual history, but it certainly follows a weighty mission in Sino-German relationships. In any case, all these publications devote much attention to the question of Sino-German philosophical relations as well as those in the field of intellectual history. In April 1991 another book appeared: *Das chinesische Deutschlandbild der Gegenwart. Teil A B. Eine Bibliographie 1985–1986*. This latter closely follows the preceding book. It is a pity that other parts of the Euro-American cultural sphere have not followed the German example.

Thirdly, we see that factor of great significance in all components of intellectual history, even philosophy, was the element of chance, or contingency - an imperfect knowledge of the diverse elements of European culture, the feeble possibilities of choice and various difficulties of adaptation. This is especially true for the first period of the impact, which includes the last years of the 19th and first two or three decades of the 20th century.

²This book and the following concerned with Sino-German cultural interplay have been published by Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden-Stuttgart.

Fourthly, the individual forms of impact and response fulfil a similar function and possess approximately the same efficacy in various cultural spheres. Hence, a more or less uniform methodology may be employed in their study. As to this last question I have devoted a part of my paper read at Oslo in October 1973 just to these methodological considerations,³ so I will not repeat it, even in a very concise manner. This methodology is systemo-structural in character, and much of it has been borrowed (with acknowledgement) from the theory of the famous Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget. Here I would like to stress more its processual tendency in all parts of the intellectual history, the long-lasting and ever-repeating (with some alterations) transformations within the time and space of this history.

One of the most important ideas proposed by my friend Dionýz Ďurišin, the well-known theoretician of comparative literature, is his pointing out of the role of the process, or of the process-like character of all literature. A new literary concept - interliterariness - has been formed which concerns itself with the part of the global literary process which leaves out the purely national (or ethnic) aspects of the literatures (or the aspects that define their individualities) and focuses on geoliterary developments as a whole.⁴ It involves all possibilities of literary impact. The different parts of the broad vista of intellectual history have a different character and to speak about "interphilosophicalness" or "interartiness", etc. would be at the very least awkward. On the other hand, a literary fact (or phenomenon), a philosophical fact (or phenomenon), a fact of art (or phenomenon), etc. is something we may well use in our theoretical musings. In literature, for example, "a characteristic feature of the poetics of recent times is the surmounting of static approaches to the interpretation of the literary phenomenon, which from the point view of current ideas on the nature of literary artistic fact is not merely the summation of those elements and procedures given a constant form by history, but also a living organism subject to transformation by history, showing many-sided affinities to the surrounding historical and social reality, the cultural background of the artist and society, preceding literary traditions, the different branches of art, etc."⁵ Here instead of "etc." we can add linguistics, religion, mythology, folklore, sociology, politics, law, science, psychology, music, visual arts, film, history, biography, and, of course, philosophy. Another of Ďurišin's assertions is important and may serve as a methodological instruction if properly transferred into the realm of philosophy or intellectual history: "Uncovering the relationships and the affinities between literatures which, from the point of view of the final aim of literary scholarship - to know the genesis and essence of a literary phenomenon - is only one level of the cognitive process. This step was made, the final stage of the research. Because of this point of view."⁶ This was a bad solution, since a literary fact or phenom-

³GÁLIK, Marián: *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: I. The World and China: Cultural Impact and Response in the 20th Century*. Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), XI, 1975, pp. 11-56.

⁴GÁLIK, Marián: *East-West Interliterariness: A Theoretical Sketch and a Historical Overview*. In: DEV, Amiya and DAS, Sisir Kumar (eds.): *Comparative Literature. Theory and Practice*. New Delhi, Allied Publishers 1989, pp. 116-128.

⁵ĎURIŠIN, Dionýz: *Theory of Literary Comparatistics*. Bratislava, Veda 1984, p. 11.

enon never could be only interliterary valid, but also intraliterary cogent. Here is a weighty *caveat* for our work in this enormous field of research applicable to the whole realm of intellectual history where processual character, more than any other factor, causes inter- and intrarelations or affinities. What are always present and always working and together forming a dialectal but also a contradictory, in a Hegelian sense, unity.

When I began nearly 25 years ago with the study of modern Chinese intellectual history, nothing pressed me to study the process which I call here, probably for the first time, "interintellectual". Interintellectual is analogical to the interliterary or intercultural; interliterary is now commonly used among many literary comparatists. When studying the intricate problems of modern Chinese intellectual history, we have to observe that the researchers usually follow genetic-contactual lines in relationships and they do not take into account the possibility of devoting themselves to the study of historical processes going on in the different realms of this history. The interintellectual process is a fact or a phenomenon of intellectual history, and as for every process including the "interintellectual" process, certain regularities exist (to say "laws" would be probably too much). To search for them and to analyse them is one of the aims of modern Chinese intellectual history. Here are a few of the more or less obvious observations.

Modern Chinese intellectual history and its existence was made possible through:

1) Foreign impact and domestic response. This dialectical intercourse first took place at the end of the 19th century in the works of progressive thinkers coming into contact with European missionaries, philosophical and other handbooks, Japanese translations, or English classical works (as in the case of Yan Fu, 1854–1921). Earlier impact (Hong Xiuquan, 1813–64) was "interintellectually" shallow and remained without a deeper response in the Chinese environment.

2) Weakening of indigenous Chinese traditions, or even their unconscious existence (e.g. in the field of psychology). At first "wholesale Westernization" was sometimes attempted but never achieved (as shown by Hu Shi, 1891–1962). Later, a sophrosynistic homeostatic tendency prevailed and all different realms of intellectual history tried to preserve, although in a metamorphosed state, their Chinese identity.

3) Developmental acceleration can be seen in all fields of intellectual history, especially after the May Fourth era we may observe the tendency that within a few years many things had been introduced to China which has been produced in the European cultural area, namely from the Renaissance up to H. Bergson, J. Dewey and B. Russell. It is enough to browse the excellent discussion *The May Fourth Movement. Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*⁷ by Chow Tse-tung. Marxist philosophy and its ideology "had a powerful appeal initially but gradually lost its intellectual and spiritual credibility". As a result of its impact in Chinese interpretation, "China was left spiritually

⁶ĐURIŠIN, Dionýz: *Problémy literárnej komparatistiky* (Problems of Literary Comparatistics). Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied 1967, p. 19.

⁷First published in 1960 by Harvard University Press. Paperback edition appeared in 1967, Stanford University Press.

and intellectually resourceless"⁸ in the 1970s. At that time "the highest values disvalued themselves" (to use Nietzsche's wording here)⁹ and new values had to be found. Probably all modern and postmodern trends in intellectual history and primarily in philosophy were introduced within last decade, beginning with Fr. Nietzsche and A. Schopenhauer and ending with J. Habermas and J. Derrida. But the impact of Marxism (at least in the field of reception and not realized influence) is immense in the PRC judging from the vast mass of publications of different kinds.

4) In "interintellectual" process, just like in interliterary or intercultural endeavours, translations represent the most important form of reception or influence. Not all translations, of course, are received and "incorporated" (*mutatis mutandis*) into the receiving Chinese environment and its systemo-structural entities, but in the modern world the existence of different disciplines of intellectual history is impossible without the translation and its different forms (retelling, adapted text, digest, direct translation, second-hand translation, etc.)

5) Very important in this "interintellectual" process was Japanese mediation (1898–1937), the Soviet (namely Russian) (up to the eve of the "Cultural Revolution"), and also in the last decades Anglo-American mediation (first in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and after 1979 in the PRC also).

*

The metamorphosis we have in mind in this paper comes from *morphosis* (i.e. the mode of development, of change) and *homeostasis* (i.e. the tendency to preserve inner stability) as their product, not final, but rather still developing and being in a state of "coming to be", its construction - and deconstruction.

Let us have a look at first at "phenomenon" Wang Guowei (1877–1927), one of the first and most ingenious men of modern Chinese intellectual history: philosopher, aesthetician, literary critic and ancient historian. As a young boy he did not like but read *Shisanjing zhushu* (The Thirteen Classics with Commentaries and Subcommentaries) without which he could not have gone up for the State examinations (he successfully passed only the first degree) and could not have become the convinced Confucianist he remained throughout his whole life. When it came to a confrontation between Confucianism and Western teachings, Wang became a follower of the so-called "conservative reformism" advocated by Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909) who wrote: "If we wish to make China strong and preserve Chinese learning, we must promote Western learning. But unless we first use Chinese learning to consolidate the foundation and to give our purpose a right direction, the strong will become rebellious leaders and the weak slaves."¹⁰ These words became Wang's scholarly and moral instruction. After the fall of the Hundred Days Reforms in 1898 young Wang Guowei enrolled in

⁸ELVIN, Mark: *The Double Disavowal: The Attitudes of Radical Thinkers to the Chinese Tradition*. In: SHAW, Yu-ming (ed.): *China and Europe in the Twentieth Century*. Taipei 1986, p. 116.

⁹NIETZSCHE, Friedrich: *Der Wille zur Macht*. Quoted according to KAUFMANN, Walter: *Nietzsche Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist*. Cleveland and New York, Meridian Books 1966, p. 94.

¹⁰ZHANG ZHIDONG: *Quan xua pian* (Exhortation to Learn). Quoted according to Wm. Theodore de Bary et alii (eds.): *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. New York-London, Columbia University Press 1963, p. 747.

the Dongwen xueshe (Japanese Institute) in Shanghai where he met, among others, Japanese teacher Taoka Sayochi (Reiun) (1870–1912), an admirer of I. Kant and A. Schopenhauer. It was a pure chance that through him Wang became acquainted with the teachings of prominent representatives of German classical and voluntaristic philosophy. It was Sayochi who recommended that Wang Guowei read Schopenhauer instead of Kant. Kant proved to be too hard to read and understand. If we may believe Will Durant who wrote that Kant was "like and unlike Jehovah", he spoke "through clouds, but without illumination of the lightning-flash",¹¹ Schopenhauer's style was different, while there was no "Chinese puzzle of Kantian terminology, no Hegelian obfuscation, no Spinozist geometry; everything is clarity and order; and all is admirably centered about the leading conception of the world as will, and therefore strife, and therefore misery."¹² For a while Schopenhauer became Wang's Jehovah, but only until the moment he came to conviction that Schopenhauer's teaching "derives by half from his subjective temperament, and has little to do with objective knowledge".¹³ From Schopenhauer Wang Guowei turned to Nietzsche and Fr. Schiller. At the end of his path upon the realms of modern Chinese intellectual history influenced by European teachings, I believe, he came back once again to Kant. We should not forget that between 1905 and 1907 Wang Guowei returned three times to the study of Kant, although he has left few obvious traces behind.

Today it would be possible to publish whole volumes about one single concept in Wang Guowei's literary and aesthetic theory: *jingjie*. There are a few translations of this concept into English - "world"¹⁴ (James J.Y. Liu), "sphere of reality delineated"¹⁵ (A.A. Rickett), the German *Die Welt als Vorstellung* (H. Kogelschatz), or the Russian *ideya ili obraz obyekt*¹⁶ (idea or image of an object) (K. Golygina). After reading much analytical material mainly written by Chinese authors, I came to conclusion that among those philosophico-aesthetic hotbeds and background on which Wang's *jingjie* grew, belong the concepts of traditional Chinese literary theory. These are the Buddhist notions of *jingjie*, and also in a great measure the "aesthetic idea" of Kant characterized in *The Critique of Judgement* from the alleged inscription on the temple of Isis: "I am all that is, that was and that shall be, and no mortal hath raised the veil before my face."¹⁷ Just as Kant, Wang also assumed that his *jingjie* ought be so wide, deep and many-sided as to exceed the semantic capacities of the word or the binom.

¹¹ DURANT, Will. *The Story of Philosophy*. New York, Garden City Publishing Company, Inc. 1943, p. 192.

¹² Ibid., p. 233.

¹³ Wang Guanting xiansheng quanji (The Complete Works of Wang Guowei), vol. 5, Taipei 1968, p. 1547.

¹⁴ LIU, James J.Y.: *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1962, p. 84.

¹⁵ RICKETT, Adele A.: *Wang Kuo-wei's Jen-chien Tz'u-hua. A Study in Chinese Literary Criticism*. Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press 1977, p. 32.

¹⁶ GOLYGINA, Kirina I.: *Teoriya izyashchnoi slovesnosti v Kitae XIX - nachala XX v.* (Theory of Literature in China of the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century). Moscow, Nauka 1971, p. 233.

¹⁷ KANT, Immanuel: *The Critique of Judgment*. In: *Great Books of the Western World*. 42. Kant. Chicago-London-Toronto, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. 1952, p. 530.

In the last years of his career Wang Guowei returned to Confucian traditions, and since he could not prevent that "the strong will become rebellious leaders and the weak slaves" he committed suicide in his 50th year.

Lu Xun (1881–1936), usually regarded as the greatest among the men of modern Chinese culture, was not as ingenious as Wang Guowei, but his impact was incomparably greater. If Wang Guowei began with the study of great achievements of 18th and 19th century philosophy, Lu Xun started to read Greek and Roman mythology, Byron's poetry, a biography of Nietzsche and other works, Nietzsche and his *opus magnum Also sprach Zarathustra*, Nietzsche as a mythopoeic writer, became Lu Xun's love for many years; his interest in Greco-Roman mythology evoked in him sympathy toward Prometeian world of the Western civilization. While in his last years Wang Guowei was a discoverer of ancient Chinese history for China, Lu Xun in his youth became a discoverer of mythology and its meaning for spiritual culture. "Mythological (*shenhua*) creations have their origin in peoples' old ages," wrote Lu Xun in 1908, "they observed phenomena from their own unusual angle and then on the strength of their spiritual thought (*shensi*) they anthropomorphized (*renhua*) them; they fancied what had been, narrated it in such an outstanding manner that we might easily imagine it vividly... Spiritual thought of the peoples of ancient times was like that. As to peoples of subsequent ages, how could they abstain from sighing with admiration over all that and not be thrilled by it? And European art and literature reached out even more eagerly after their hidden riches. Who knows what sublime beauty enriched their thought and literary technique? Whoever wants to study Western literature must in the first place be conversant with its mythology; if he is not familiar with it, he will not understand literature and art, will not grasp their mysteries..."¹⁸

Here Lu Xun combined two important concepts of the systemo-structural entity of his views: *shenhua* (myths) and *shensi* (spiritual thought). Mythology has long-term, lasting value; spiritual thought is a *modus cogitandi* similar to reflection (*Reflexion*) in earlier European aesthetics. Probably no one among Chinese men of letters had such broad mythopoeic imagination as Lu Xun, if we understand mythmaking in modern sense. In another place¹⁹ I tried to point out Lu Xun's capability to put his creative "world" between two central myths of Jewish-Christian tradition: the myth of *Genesis* and *Apocalypse* and myth of *Exodus* and *Millennium*. When we read his longest literary and critical essay *Moluo shili shuo* (On the Satanic Power of Poetry) we may come to the conclusion that even his pseudonym Ling Fei is probably taken from *Genesis*, 1:20, where we find in Hebrew the words: "w'of j'ofef" which in Biblical English means "let fowl (i.e. birds, M.G.) fly".²⁰ Lu Xun had read the Old Testament and he must have been fascinated by the "imagery" of the creation of Heaven and Earth. And what is his

¹⁸ *Lu Xun Quanji* (The Complete Works of Lu Xun), vol. 7, Peking 1958, pp. 242–243. Henceforth only LXQJ.

¹⁹ GÁLIK, Marián: *May Fourth Literature Reconsidered: Musings over Mythopoeia as Creation*. In: GÁLIK, Marián (ed.): *Interliterary and Intraliterary Aspects of the May Fourth Movement 1919 in China*. Bratislava, Veda 1990, pp. 270–271.

²⁰ *Biblia Hebraica* (ed. by R. Kittel). Stuttgart, Württembergische Bibelanstalt 1966.

fiction from *Nahan* (*Call to Arms*) to *Ye cao* (*Wild Grass*) if not the modern Chinese world between the *Genesis* and *Apocalypse* of his apprehension? *Exodus* and *Millennium* are also present in his creative and critical works especially from 1926–1936. Among all *Old Testament* writers Lu Xun was most enthralled by *Lamentations*, attributed to Jeremiah (fl. ca 625 B.C.).²¹ Jeremiah's work was a part of the apocalyptic tendency, but in this work, this "poem of woe", the spirit of hope and the possibility of new life after the "Babylonian captivity" are clearly manifested. Lu Xun believed in Chinese *Exodus* and in the *Millennium*. In the last decade of his life he connected his hope with the working class and at least partly with the CCP. Unlike Wang Guowei he did not mind Zhang Zhidong's opinion concerning strong rebels and weak slaves. Lu Xun died at 55. Now, 55 years after his death we may insist that Zhang Zhidong and Wang Guowei were right.

Mao Dun (1896–1981), Lu Xun's devoted friend, was probably the most industrious introducer of modern intellectual history to China: philosophy, literature, women and students question, political and social problems. If Lu Xun was a discoverer of myths and their value for modern China, Mao Dun became "the messenger of the gods", namely of those pertaining to foreign pantheons.²² His self-appointed mission was to spread the knowledge of myths from foreign countries and cultural areas through China. Not just the heralds of Zeus or Odin, but in a similar way he roamed through the territories of Greco-Roman, Nordic and other gods and brought the unknown mythical stories to Chinese readers. Mao Dun's efforts to make contact with the Anthropological School, particularly with Andrew Lang and his book *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, originally published in 1887 (but Mao Dun probably used 1913 edition), was a meritorious deed. Unlike Lang and his friends, characterized by a partial lack of appreciation for the poetic contents of ancient myths, Mao Dun tried to show the opposite. In *Lieyan* (Preface) to his book *Beiou shenhua ABC* (An Outline of Nordic Mythology) he remarked that his aim when writing it was "to present literary models (*gudian*) from Northern Europe" and not "to explain Nordic myths".²³ He thereby underlined the primary literary goal of his efforts. Mao Dun followed mythopoeic vision in some of his works between 1929–1942, but Lu Xun remained faithful to this vision during his whole life. Even one of his last stories *Qi si* (The Raising of Death), written in the form of a one-act play, concerned Zhuangzi (3rd cent. B.C.) and elaborated in part of Chapter XVII about Zhuangzi travelling to Chu and finding a dry and parched skull which came to life and visited him in a dream. This story rightly disqualified by Leo Ou-fan Lee as one of the "especially disappointing",²⁴ is a witness that Lu Xun never betrayed his mythic visions, although owing to some reasons (e.g. his satirical

²¹LXQJ, vol. 1, Peking 1973, pp. 56 and 101.

²²GÁLIK, Marián: *The Messenger of the Gods: Mao Dun and Introduction of Foreign Myths to China (1924–1930)*, paper read at the 6th Quadrennial International Comparative Literature Conference in the Republic of China, Tamsui, 16–20 August 1991.

²³FANG BI (Mao Dun's pseudonym): *Beiou shenhua ABC*. Shanghai 1930, n.p.

²⁴LEE, Leo Ou-fan: *Voices from the Iron House*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press 1987, p. 34.

style and attitude) his works did not belong among the best. Mao Dun was pressed to put these visions aside because of the heavy intellectual atmosphere after the victory of Marxist dogmatists. Due to his prolific activities during his whole life, except for the "Cultural Revolution", the metamorphosis of his intellectual *habitus* we may clearly observe from month to month, from year to year. Mao Dun himself acknowledged the impact of Zhuangzi and the Neo-Taoist epoch of Wei and Jin (220–419 A.D.) upon his intellectual development.²⁵ In 1917–1918 he wrote two articles devoted to young Chinese students where he admired the German system of education and saw in Germany, our host country during this conference, a pattern worthy of imitation for China.²⁶ In these articles he stressed freedom of thought, intellectual independence, a creative relation to foreign impact and a fighting spirit, which according to him, was inconsistent with the social psychology of Chinese people. Mao Dun tried to find his way to or at least to get even with Nietzsche between the years 1919–1920; he was captivated by P. Kropotkin's book *Mutual Assistance*, the handbook of Russian (and also Chinese) anarchists. Later guild socialism and I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) evoked his sympathies and served as a bridge to Marxism.²⁷ For a long time his Marxist creed did not prevent his positive evolution and search. Only with the nearly "wholesale" victory of communists in modern Chinese intellectual history at the end of the 1920s, as asserted rightly by J. Průšek, Mao Dun seemed to have become "more conservative as he became a more convinced Marxist".²⁸ Not only in his case, but generally, there was the hitch buried at: it gradually led to the stagnation and decay of China.

Deep belief in Marxism-Leninism and in the communist future of mankind was very typical for Qu Qiubai (1899–1935), a devoted friend of Lu Xun and Mao Dun. He died young—singing *Internationale* in Russian. "Probably under the influence of liquor,"²⁹ remarked T.A. Hsia when writing about it. I do not think so. Many zealots sang it on the executions grounds under the spell of the communist millennium. There were not many communists in China, so tender and human as Qu Qiubai. Once Lu Xun compared the young hero Xiao Jianqiu from the novelette *Eryue* (The Second Moon) by Rou Shi (1901–1931) to Buddha Gautama, and his story to the episode of Gautama's "great renunciation". The young prince, living in wordly pleasures, ponders the causes of suffering, illness and death, revolts from desires and lust looking with disgust at the beautiful girls laying in immodest postures in his bedroom exposing to him their charms that should have been hidden. Unnoticed he leaves the palace forever.³⁰ I dare to compare young Qiubai to Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin in Chinese) who most perfectly represented Buddhist *charitas* (*karuṇā*). Elsewhere I have shown that it

²⁵ GÁLIK, Marián: *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²⁸ PRŮŠEK, Jaroslav: *In the Margin of M. Gálik's Study of Mao Tun as a Literary Critic and a Theoretical Writer*, *ibid.*, p. XIII.

²⁹ HSIA, Tsi-an: *The Gate of Darkness. Studies on the Leftist Literary Movement in China*. Seattle and London, University of Washington Press 1968, p. 53.

³⁰ Cf. LXQJ, vol. 4, Peking 1957, p. 118.

was just this Buddhist concept young Qu was striving for.³¹ Therefore, he may have found understanding in L. Tolstoy, his favourite writer, because a typologically similar compassion was at the base of their inner convictions. As the son of a poor scholar and opium addict, he did not lose much when he decided to take the job of correspondent for the newspaper *Chenbao* (Morning News) in Soviet Russia. He went there partly following Bo Yi and Shu Qi, two brothers from the end of the Yin Dynasty (12th cent. B.C.) who refused to eat the "millet" of King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty. Qu Qiubai in a way pronounced his *non serviam* to the reigning social order in his country (the feudal lords and capitalist bosses) with the aim of seeing the country of socialist revolution up close and informing his countrymen about the revolutionary events as an eyewitness. "I shall find in Soviet Russia," he wrote "my Land of Hunger. Let us ignore the facts of hunger and cold, that there one will have nothing to eat, nothing to wear, and so forth; the significant fact is that this is the first country that realized socialist revolution, it is the centre of world revolution where the Western and Oriental cultures meet. I shall not be troubled by the means I take to make this trip possible."³²

To turn from a Buddhist into a Marxist was not simple. Qu Qiubai was not very communicative in this respect. He never told which of the old schools of philosophy fascinated him most. But his travelogues that concerned Soviet Russia *Xiang jicheng* (A Journey to the Land of Hunger) and *Qidu xinshi* (History of the Heart in the Red Capital) make it clear that it has been the Consciousness-Only School (*Weishi*), or *Yogācārā*, introduced into China by Xuanzang (596–664).

We do not know how long young Qu Qiubai studied Buddhism but it certainly lasted at least three years between 1916 and 1919. Using Buddhist philosophy he wanted to resolve vital issues of his time with the help of *bodhisattvahood*. Only as a result of the May Fourth Movement and its endeavour of *chongxin guding jiazhi* (revaluation of all values) Qu Qiubai began to get rid off his Buddhist views of man (*ren wo jian*) and of dharmas (*fa wo jian*). The most influential factor in Qu's intellectual development before embracing Marxism was philosophical realism (*weishi*) by B. Russell. Consciousness-Only gave way in him to Reality-Only. This was in 1919–1920. In spite of that, his style was fully under the sway of Buddhist ideas using Buddhist terminology for depicting the state of affairs in Soviet Russia. For example, Buddhist *xinhai* (the mind's sea) expressing similitude of thought (or consciousness) is connected in his work with European proletariat and Moscow as its centre, or *xinpo* (mind's waves) expressing a stream of ideas is understood as a strength accumulated in the masses of workers. These two powers are *demiurgi* of the new social and political reality of future communist utopia. "I have left my distant native village and came lonely and abandoned into this country cut off from the world," wrote Qu in his confession, "where the rough food sticks in the throat. My soft muscles have been tempered in this 'hungry' Land of Hunger ... It seems that thus abandoned and lonely, I have come far away from the 'realm of reality' (*shiji*, or *bhutamāhāt* of Consciousness-Only, M.G.) and turned my back

³¹GÁLÍK, Marián: *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: II. Young Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (1915–1922)*. Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), XII, 1976, pp. 85–121.

³²Ibid., pp. 86–87.

on my own principles. But there is yet the Land of Hunger's 'realm of reality' and the compass of my boat is set towards it."³³

T.A. Hsia correctly remarked that 20-years-old Qiubai saw the Promised Land in Soviet Russia.³⁴ The Promised Land for him was an ideal country where there would not be ghosts hanging upside down (*ullambana* or *ullumpana*), the land of *māhakarunā* (great compassion) and one that it would be a Holy Land of workers.

The greatest among Hebrew prophets, Moses, was never allowed to enter Canaan "a land that floweth with milk and honey"³⁵ allegedly because of his sins and doubts. The Lord led Moses "from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo," and told to him: "This is the land which I swear unto Abraham, unto Isaac and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither."³⁶ In a way, 23-years-old Qu Qiubai, suffering attacks of hemorrhaging from the lungs, was more happy than 120-years-old Moses although "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated".³⁷ On January 29, 1922 "Moscow suddenly moved closer to East Asia" and Qu felt refreshed - as if he had "climbed atop a high mountain looking at the glory of early dawn during a long summer".³⁸ The High mountains was for him a symbol of hope, just as "the mountain of Nebo". The communist future of this own country as he foresaw in his visions never came true, and the Land of Hunger, after 70 years, still remained the land of hunger. After the events of 1989 in Middle and Eastern Europe no new Daniel is needed to explain the *mene, tekel, peres* to Belshazzars of our days.

Let us look at the end of this paper to one of the most interesting personalities of modern Chinese intellectual history and philosophy - Liang Shuming (1893–1988). He nearly lived to be Moses' age and has been called "the last Confucian",³⁹ but we know now that he was not. Among those analysed here, Wang Guowei was most similar to him. Both were Professors at Peking University, conservative reformists and more or less followers of Zhang Zhidong's policy. Both were also traditionalists and scions of old families: Wang's lineage can be historically traced to the very end of the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1126) and Liang's ancestors can be historically verified back to the fifth son of Khubilai Khan (reigned 1260–1294), grandson of Jinggis Khan (1167–1227). More philosophical spirit was in Liang Shuming than in Lu Xun and his two friends, but he was not as deep and talented as Wang Guowei. If Wang Guowei was not interested in politics and economics, Liang was and it caused his friendship and enmity with Mao Zedong. For Mao Liang was a "teacher" on the one hand and a "stinking" reactionary on the other. Liang compared Mao to Guan Yu, the god of war, as a man

³³ Ibid., pp. 102–103.

³⁴ Hsia, Tsi-an: op. cit. p. 18.

³⁵ Joshua, 5, 6.

³⁶ Deuteronomy, 34, 4.

³⁷ Ibid., 34, 6.

³⁸ GALIK, Marián: *Young Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai*, p. 117.

³⁹ ALITTO, Guy S.: *The Last Confucian. Liang Shu-ming and the Chinese Dilemma of Modernity*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, University of California Press 1979.

"truly matchless, head and shoulders above others",⁴⁰ thus following the words of Zhuge Liang, and as a *junzi* (gentleman) with a high moral codex, he did not openly call attention to Mao's defects, thus following the teaching of Confucius.⁴¹

Liang was very successful as a teacher in the beginning of the 1920s. It was not because his philosophy was excellent. He possessed the qualities of good speaker telling a great number of students what they wanted to hear. In his lectures China, dumb and silent, oppressed by Western imperialists, would one again become - even if only in the spiritual realm - a centre of the world. In his most important and most successful work *Dong Xi wenhua ji qi zhexue* (Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies), Shanghai 1922 became a comprehensive manifesto of sinocentric cultural world order. Even before this date, in 1918, on the eve of the May Fourth Movement, he stated in Beijing daxue rikan (Peking University Daily): "According to my opinion, Eastern and Western cultures are both (together) world culture. Chinese culture is a country of the origin (*fayuan di*) of Eastern cultures."⁴² Liang Shuming regarded culture as the "way of life of the people".⁴³ Life was nothing more and nothing less than an "infinite (*meijinde*) will (*yiyu*)".⁴⁴ Here *yi* means a part of will concerned with an idea, opinion or meaning and *yu* expresses its passionate composite. The more common word for will is *yizhi*, where *zhi* means determination or purpose. When discussing the problems connected with will, Wang Guowei preferred the term *yizhi* which was very probably the best for embodying the concept Arthur Schopenhauer had in mind. Liang Shuming did not want to wholly follow Schopenhauer's path. He stressed the passionate activism of will, its conscious and unconscious tendency and spontaneous activity.

Westerners used this tendency and activity to its greatest possible measure in relation to each other in society, the state and in international relations, as well as between individuals themselves, and between individuals, society and nature. The devastation of national resources and ruthlessness toward nature dehumanized a great part of the world. China, according to Liang, if I may follow the wording of the Evangelist, "has chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her".⁴⁵ The Chinese way was "to harmonize itself with the environment to achieve a balance between the demands of Will itself and the environment. This cultural type of will deals with the problems of having an emotionally satisfying life and thus achieves greater inner contentment and *joie de vivre*."⁴⁶ The third way, that of India, represented the denial of will. It tried to annihilate itself by seeking refuge in final release and looking at life, the world and universe as an illusion.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 290.

⁴¹"The Master said, The gentleman calls attention to the good points in others, he does not call attention to their defects. The small man does just the reverse of this" (See *The Analects of Confucius*. Transl. by Arthur Waley. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, fifth impression 1964, p. 167.

⁴²LIANG SHUMING: *Eastern and Western Cultures and Their Philosophies*, Shanghai 1935, p. 15.

⁴³Ibid., p. 24.

⁴⁴Loc. cit.

⁴⁵St. Luke, 10, 42.

⁴⁶ALITTO, Guy S.: op. cit., p. 83.

Just like Mary, Lazarus' sister, sitting at Jesus' feet, who was regarded by him as better than Martha, who was careful "and troubled about many things" while only "one thing is needful".⁴⁷ China, according to Liang, had done that better part. And not only that. Since many faults "have appeared in the first road (the West) took and now the present generation wants to abandon it for the second road..."⁴⁸ Or: "In a word, the future world culture will be a revival of Chinese culture,"⁴⁹ similar to the renaissance of old Greek culture in the European Modern Era. Liang's prophecy remained unfulfilled.

Later in 1930s and 1940s Liang Shuming changed his philosophical attitude to quite a great extent, shifting more to sociology and politics. It seems that will was no longer the most important concept for him, but rather *lixing* (reason) which according to him distinguishes the human beings from the animals.⁵⁰ This faculty is usually understood in philosophy and psychology as intellect. For the term intellect he used another term - *lizhi*.⁵¹ Anyway Liang was able to transcend his former voluntaristic tendency. To some extent he went the same way as Schopenhauer himself when trying to achieve the wisdom of life: "Man is at once impetuous striving for will (whose focus lies in the reproductive system), and the eternal, free, serene subject of pure knowledge (of which the brain is the focus)."⁵² In opposition to his former stage of development, where life was only "infinite will", now according to Liang: "Reason is life itself; it is essence (*t'i*). Intellect is a tool for (the maintenance of) life; it is utility (*yung*)."⁵³ No more prophetic words about the future Sinification of world were present in his second important book *Zhongguo wenhua yaoyi* (Essence of Chinese Culture) published on the eve of communist victory.⁵⁴

In 1984 (at 91) Liang Shuming published (using his own money) his last new (and probably most philosophical) book entitled *Renxin yu rensheng*. Its title has been translated on the last page as *Mind, Heart and Life*. I do not think that it is correct. Probably Human Mind and Human Life or Mind and Life would be better. Here Liang gives the third definition of life: "Human mind and human life are not two different (substances),"⁵⁵ following to some extent the well-known premise by Wang Yangming (1472–1528), i.e. "*Xin ji li*" (Human Mind Is Principle).⁵⁶

One year before his death Liang enlarged the Chinese proverb: "Huo dao lao, xue dao lao" (To study through old age) with his own: "Sikao dao lao" (To think, to inquire into things, through old age). He was lucky. He could "in joy and in full measure proceed

⁴⁷ St. Luke, 10, 42.

⁴⁸ ALITTO, Guy S.: op. cit., p. 105.

⁴⁹ Loc. cit.

⁵⁰ LIANG SHUMING: *Zhongguo wenhua yaoyi* (Essence of Chinese Culture), first ed. Shanghai 1949, used ed. Taipei 1982, pp. 125–127.

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 126–129.

⁵² SCHOPENHAUER, Arthur: *Essays*. Quoted according to Will Durant, op. cit., p. 249.

⁵³ ALITTO, Guy S.: op. cit., p. 184.

⁵⁴ Originally published by Xuelin chubanshe, Shanghai, and later in 1985 by Sanlian shudian.

⁵⁵ LIANG SHUMING: *Human Mind and Human Life*, Shanghai 1984, p. 4.

⁵⁶ *Yangning quanshu* (The Complete Works of Wang Yangming). SPPY ed., vol. 1, juan 1, p. 2A.

along this way the last months and years". He was happy, he could repeat Li Shangyin's (ca. 813–858) lines:

Setting sun is unsurpassedly beautiful.

It is the time of a near twilight.⁵⁷

*

The process of "coming to be" is a process of historical structuration. Systemo-structural entities of reality (inclusive of human consciousness) in modern China were always in flux, in an ever-changing process, so-to-say continua in continuity. To study these complicated facts or phenomena within their changes, in their morphological processes (and their obstacles) and inquire into (*sikao* according to Liang Shuming) its metamorphosis needs time and duration. "If the character of structured wholes," said Jean Piaget, "depends on their laws of composition, these laws must of their very nature be *structuring*; it is the constant duality, or bipolarity, of always being simultaneously *structuring* and *structured* ...",⁵⁸ and "the being of structures consists in their coming to be, that is being 'under construction'." And once again: "*There is no structure apart from construction*, either abstract or genetic."⁵⁹ We have followed, in our musings, only genetic ones.

Here is only a very small portion of modern Chinese intellectual history and even smaller of modern Chinese philosophy offered to the ears and eyes of critical hearers or readers, and my own inadequate experience with the subject. But this experience says to me that without the necessary knowledge of the metamorphosis of modern Chinese consciousness much of our research into the different realms of human expression in Sinology are vain attempts without satisfactory results.

⁵⁷Yu Qisheng *shi jianzhu* (Running Commentary to Poetry of Yu Qisheng), SPPY ed., vol. 2, juan 6, p. 31B.

⁵⁸PIAGET, Jean: *Structuralism*. Translated and edited by Chaninah Maschler. New York, Harper Torchbooks 1970, p. 10.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 140.

L'ASPECT SATIRIQUE DES PROSES DE NGUYEN CONG HOAN

Ján MÚČKA, Bratislava

L'étude porte sur les éléments satiriques dans les proses choisies de Nguyen Cong Hoan qui ne se laissa influencer dans son œuvre littéraire par aucune idéologie et tout ce qu'il écrivait, il le faisait en toute connaissance et conscience de choses. De par ce fait son œuvre de caractère satirique acquiert une valeur universelle.

La plupart des quatre-vingt contes connus de Nguyen Cong Hoan (1903–1977) - il en a écrit au total de plus de 200 - possèdent en quelque mesure un caractère satirique. Ceci tient en dépit du fait que l'écrivain lui-même ne l'a pas admis d'une manière claire, sans équivoque. L'historienne vietnamienne lettrée Le Thi Duc Hanh évoque le même fait disant: «Une fois alors qu'il discutait avec un homme d'étude d'un pays ami qui s'occupe de la littérature vietnamienne, Nguyen Cong Hoan déclara: «Qualifier les contes que j'ai écrit de satiriques, c'est l'affaire de quelques hommes de lettres. J'ai écrit d'événements drôles par habitude, parce que c'est ainsi que je sentais et pensais, mais je n'avais pas l'intention d'une manière ou d'autre de les écrire qu'elles soient satiriques dessein.»¹ Ses contes apparaissaient surtout dans les journaux An-nam tap chi (Journal Annamite), Tieu thuyet thu bay (Roman pour samedi), Nhat tan (Jour nouveau), Tin van (Nouvelles littéraires), Ich huu (Ami soucieux), Van nghe (Littérature et art), Van (Littérature) et Tram hoa (Cent fleurs). N. I. Nikulin remarque que «La considération lui est venue au commencement des années trente quand il gagna sa popularité comme maître de nouvelles satiriques qu'il publiait dans différentes journaux.»²

Depuis les années vingt jusqu'à la moitié des années soixante dix, il a publié dix collections de ses contes. La première portait le nom *Kiep hong nhan* (Destin de la belle aux joues vermeilles - 1923) que l'écrivain publia à ses propres frais. Elle excelle par la finesse de l'image artistique et la profondeur de la pensée. En 1935 est apparue sa seconde collection *Kep Tu Ben* (Le comique Tu Ben), qui a joué un rôle important dans une discussion très étendue parmi les critiques et les adhérents «de l'art pur». Puis vinrent les collection de contes *Hai thang khon nan* (Deux misérables - 1937), *Dao kep moi* (Un nouveau comique - 1938), *Ngui vo le ban toi* (La concubine de mon ami - 1939), *Song vu mon* (Les vagues dansantes - 1939), *Ong chu bao* (Le chef des journaux - 1940). N. I. Nikulin évalue ces œuvres satirique de Nguyen Cong Hoan, écrites avant

¹LE THI DUC HANH: *Tim hieu truyen ngan Nguyen Cong Hoan* (Etude des contes de Nguyen Cong Hoan), Hanoi, Nha xuat ban khoa hoc xa hoi (Edition des sciences sociales) 1979, p. 151.

²NIKULIN, N.I.: *Predislovye* (Préface). In: *Nguyen Kong Khoan, Zakoldovannaya moneta* (La monnaie ensorcelée), Moscou, Khudogestvennaya literatura 1973, p. 7.

la révolution d'Août 1945, comme «des nouvelles laconiques mais expressives, qui évoquent l'image du Vietnam colonio-féodal».³

En 1955 Nguyen Cong Hoan publia la collection de contes *Nong dan voi dia chu* (Laboureurs et propriétaires) où il concentra son attention sur les problèmes de la réforme agraire, dépeignant en maints cas alertement entre les lignes ses côtés négatifs. Ses deux dernières collections de contes apparurent sous le nom *Truyen ngan chon loc I, II* (Contes choisis) en 1957-1958 et 1973-1974).

Lors même que dans certains cas concrets on ne saurait accepter sans réserve la classification des contes satiriques de Nguyen Cong Hoan dans trois groupes selon Le Thi Duc Hanh, telle un charpente générale: 1) contes facétieux, comiques (*khoi hai*), par ex. *Anh hung tuong ngo* (Le héros bizarre); 2) contes moqueurs, ironiques (*mia mai, gien cot*), par ex. *Cu chanh ba mat gay* (Comment se sont égarées les sandales du chef); 3) contes humoristiques, révélateurs, blâmant (*cham biem, to cao, len an*), par ex. *Tinh than the duc* (Esprit sportif).

L'humour et la satire ne sont pas que des ingrédients dans la vie, mais lui sont indispensables. Chez Nguyen Cong Hoan c'est une attitude spécifiquement active en vers la réalité. L'humour émane d'une heureuse disposition d'esprit, alors que la satire naît d'un engagement critique (sa source est un mécontentement de l'état donné des choses et, en fin de comptes, une tentative au redressement). Cependant, il y a des œuvres satiriques (et on y compte aussi plusieurs de celles écrites par Nguyen Cong Hoan) dans lesquelles la satire a conservé l'aimabilité de l'humour. N. I. Nikulin remarque à ce sujet: «Une qualité remarquable, toute propre à Nguyen Cong Hoan, est son aptitude de prendre acte exactement d'une situation comique et son art de voir au premier coup d'œil les problèmes sérieux de l'époque derrière des faits vulgaires, insignifiants. La satire de Nguyen Cong Hoan - c'est une arme de bonté.»⁴

Nguyen Cong Hoan semble prononcer mollement et indolemment ses jugements critiques qui, certes, n'en sont pas moins pénétrants et frappants. Et en même temps, c'est un naturel satirique qui émane de toutes ses œuvres. Son échelle, allant d'une humeur pure jusqu'au tragi-comique, est très diaprée. Ceci est d'ailleurs confirmé tant par le lettré vietnamien Phan Cu De: «Les contes de Nguyen Cong Hoan sont vivants, captivants, car l'auteur a constamment remanié ses méthodes artistiques, retouché les nuances et les teintes des sentiments,»⁵ que par les mots de N. I. Nikulin: «Dans l'œuvre de Nguyen Cong Hoan, la place la plus importante revient au dévoilement de «l'alogique dans le commun», de l'absurde de tout ce qui avait été accepté au Vietnam féodo-colonial. Nguyen Cong Hoan y met en jeu la palette bigarrée du comique - à partir de la moquerie condescendante dans le conte *Toi chu bao* (Moi - le rédacteur-en-chef du journal), jusqu'au sarcasme dans le conte *Rang con cho cua nha tu san* (Récompense pour des dents de chien), ou dans le conte *Mot tam guong sang* (Exemple

³Ibid., p. 11.

⁴Ibid., p. 14.

⁵PHAN CU DE, HA MINH DUC: *Nha van Viet-nam, tap 2* (Les écrivains vietnamiens, 2^e vol.), Hanoi, Nha xuat ban Dai hoc va Trung hoc chuyen nghiep (Edition des écoles supérieures et intermédiaires professionnelles) 1983, p. 12.

clair).»⁶ Alors, le degré de la satire dans les contes de Nguyen Cong Hoan possède beaucoup de teintes: à partir d'incidents facétieux avec une raillerie condescendante (par ex. *Bo am chen co* - Ancien service de thé), en passant par un sourire sournois, bizarre (par ex. *Noi long ai to* - Qui dévoile son âme), jusqu'aux contes ironiques, tels par ex. *Xin chu cu nghe* (Veuillez donner une petite monnaie, Monsieur lettré), ou moqueurs, comme par ex. *Toi tu tu* (L'incident de mon suicide). Une autre fois, l'ironie de l'écrivain atteint le niveau d'une attaque cruelle, sans trêve, d'invectives évoquent chez le lecteur l'indignation et le mépris, comme par ex. dans le conte *Thit nguoi chet* (Chair humaine). Parfois il s'agit simplement d'une moquerie allégorique avec allusions, qui attaque, bouleverse et détruit, tel le conte *Ngua nguoi va nguoi ngua* (L'homme-cheval et le cheval-homme).

Les contes de Nguyen Cong Hoan font souvent sentir la pointe d'une situation concrète, tout le reste étant comme une introduction la menant par gradation au comble du comique. Dans certains des contes le caractère satirique recule à l'arrière-plan et l'humour commence prendre le dessus sans aucun dessein critique apparent. A ce propos, N.I. Nikulin énonce une idée assez intéressante, savoir que «dans presque n'importe quel conte, la satire est un événement, un incident fortuit, ou un acte du personnage, qui se croise avec la banalité. Dans d'autres de ses contes, l'incident n'est en effet qu'une parodie sur l'événement».⁷

En tant qu'écrivain satirique, Nguyen Cong Hoan se tient sur les positions de la démocratie et de l'humanisme, comprend la mission sérieuse de la satire et ne cherche pas l'effet extérieur comme un but de l'humour. Sa vérité tragique comprend toujours quelque chose même de tragi-comique: c'est une contradiction entre la réalité et l'idée que l'homme a appelé, tant une vision, humanité. Il a un grand sentiment de la miniature de Tchekhov,⁸ du développement des motifs et il sait unir leur stylisation avec une simplicité sobre et le naturel. Dans la gradation de l'événement jusqu'à son point culminant, il insère des réflexions brèves et des caractéristique, cependant, une fois que l'événement approche le dénouement, il supprime tout motif retardateur. «La fin du conte apporte d'ordinaire une tournure soudaine et un dénouement inattendu,»⁹ écrit N.I. Nikulin.

On dit qu'un sentiment de l'humour est de rire là où les pleurs avaient été vains. Et aussi le rire de Nguyen Cong Hoan est pour la plupart un rire gogolien «à travers les larmes», venant de la souffrance, du chagrin et de l'amertume. Cependant, il se dirige vers l'art pour découvrir des associations inopinées, il intervient activement dans la conscience du lecteur, sans toutefois sermonner. Quant au rire vietnamien en général, Le Thi Duc Hanh remarque: «En effet, le rire vietnamien est une singularité, une tradition, un capital de valeur qui incorpore la morale optimistique de la nation.»¹⁰

⁶NIKULIN, N. I.: op. cit., p. 12.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Voir MÚČKA, J.: *Le conte de Nguyen Cong Hoan et le conte de A. P. Tchekhov*. In: *Literaturen Asiens und Afrikas*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1981, pp. 373-376.

⁹NIKULIN, N. I.: op. cit., p. 12.

¹⁰LE THI DUC HANH: op. cit., p. 133.

Evidemment, Nguyen Cong Hoan aimait à lire les œuvres satiriques des poètes vietnamiens Tan Da (1988–1939) et Tu Mo (1900–1976). Cela se manifeste dans sa manière artistique de dépeindre les conflits sociaux et de la hiérarchie du mandarinat. Dans le conte *Dong hao co ma* (La monnaie ensorcelée), le mandarin profite d'une manière vile de l'inattention (mais aussi de l'ignorance) des gens et s'enrichit en fait, par un vol ordinaire. Dans le conte *Thang an cuop* (Voleur) il s'agit d'un cynisme extrême et d'un caractère humain très bas; en l'ironisant, l'auteur fait cas aussi des causes sociales qui avaient conditionné ce phénomène. Dans le conte cité avant, «Chair humaine», le mandarin se procure de l'argent d'une manière rusée et sans scrupules. Dans le conte *Ganh khoai lang* (Hotte de patates), l'auteur a dépeint le caractère cupide et insatiable de l'homme. Les membres des familles mandarines (mais aussi autres) sont maîtres-passés en fait de tromperie et ruses de filous; d'un côté ils se comportent agréablement, voir même avec bienveillance - de l'autre ils sont insolents et cyniques (par ex. le conte *Mua lon* - Achat de la truie, ou *Doi bac* - Echange d'argent, et autres).

Dans sa biographie littéraire *Doi viet van cua toi* (Ma vie littéraire - 1971), Nguyen Cong Hoan a écrit: «Dire des insultes ouvertement n'est pas aussi facile que le faire secrètement.»¹¹ Cela veut dire que l'écrivain se rendait compte de la nature complexe de la critique satirique par l'intermédiaire de l'œuvre littéraire. Et pourtant, il a réussi accomplir beaucoup dans ce domaine.

Dans les premiers temps de l'unification du Vietnam en 1975, l'écrivain parcourait le sud du pays et écrit plusieurs contes. Il dirigea le tranchant de sa satire contre divers abus sociaux et humains (bien connu est son conte *Trong chuyen xe lam* - En chemin).

Amon avis, on peut terminer ces remarques sur les proses courtes de Nguyen Cong Hoan en citant les mots expressifs de Phan Cu De: «Alors que les contes de Thach Lam agissent surtout sur les sentiments et les sensations du lecteur, ceux de Nam Cao pénètrent dans la profondeur de l'âme des personnages, les contes de Nguyen Cong Hoan élèvent la capacité de la conscience et découvrent les phénomènes complexes de la société.»¹²

En 1938 Nguyen Cong Hoan acheva l'un des premiers romans réalistes (sociaux) dans la littérature vietnamienne *Buoc duong cung* (Le dernier pas). L'auteur lui-même a admis qu'au temps où il l'écrivait, il n'en savait pas guère sur la théorie du réalisme dans la littérature et supposait qu'il était en train d'écrire un roman sur la société de ces temps.¹³ Il est incontestable que l'auteur y a assemblé et enregistré beaucoup de matériel sur les coutumes et les mœurs de la société féodo-coloniale (et de par cela il est souvent désigné tout simplement comme le roman de mœurs), par exemple, les coutumes auprès de l'accouchement par la femme du village, les relations entre voisins, les querelles et les superstitions parmi les villageois, les événements bigarrés accompagnant la perception des impôts y inclus aussi les rossées administrées aux contribuables, confiscations des buffles et d'autre propriété des fermiers pauvres, l'usure des

¹¹NGUYEN CONG HOAN: *Doi viet van cua toi* (Ma vie dans la littérature), Hanoi, Nha xuat ban van hoc (Edition de la littérature), 1971, p. 297.

¹²PHAN CU DE, HA MINH DUC: op. cit., p. 13.

¹³En vertu d'une conversation personnelle avec Nguyen Cong Hoan lors d'une rencontre à Hanoi en 1975.

classes dirigeantes vietnamiennes en alliance avec l'administration coloniale, etc. A ce point de vue le roman est vraiment une source de connaissance de différentes situations graves, importantes, mais aussi comiques de la société vietnamienne. D'autre part, l'auteur, quoique avec moins de succès et une qualité inférieure en ce qui concerne la mise au point artistique de la fable, présente dans son roman de grande envergure, le sujet très ramifié de son œuvre réaliste principalement au moyen d'une structure picturale des personnages. Même à cette époque-là le sujet était déjà franchement original et pittoresque: épuré et simple quant à la forme, et modérément ironique quant au langage et l'énonciation. On trouve dans le roman une espèce spécifique d'ironie triste, mélancolique - à cet égard, il est unique dans la prose vietnamienne. Dans toute son œuvre littéraire il avait un dessein clair - à savoir, de s'exprimer au sujet des problèmes de la dignité humaine, et de les résoudre en révélant et en clouant au pilori tous les traits négatifs du caractère des hommes ou de leur manière d'agir.

Alors, le contenu même de l'œuvre devient, dans une certaine mesure, une approche ironique des problèmes propres à la campagne vietnamienne à l'époque féodo-coloniale. En ce qui concerne l'approche de Nguyen Cong Hoan en tant qu'auteur, sa factographie et sa manière de créer l'atmosphère et les personnages, c'est ici une œuvre mûrie.¹⁴ Historiquement, elle montre d'une manière intransigeante le mécanisme d'application du pouvoir dans la société à demi-féodale. Après avoir graduellement mis à nu les qualités des personnages, leurs desseins et découvert leurs visages, elle montre aussi leur manière d'agir, conditionnée par l'histoire.

En tant que prose, c'est une ironie fine, délicate, effective, dans un coup d'œil satirique, apparemment bien intentionné sur le village vietnamien avec le gros fermier Lai en tête (il avait fait sa fortune comme usurier) représentant le type d'un écorcheur impitoyable. Sa fausse condescendance à l'extérieur, ou son aide aux gens qui avaient été persécutés par le régime, ne peut jamais couvrir son vrai visage hypocrite.

Nguyen Cong Hoan parvient à dépeindre d'une manière différenciée ceux qui se rendent compte du pouvoir de cette époque. En comparaison avec sa manière d'écrire dans son roman *Le dernier pas*, Nguyen Cong Hoan passe de l'univocité à une différenciation expressive de type et de caractère. Les personnages ont chacun leur visage individuel, ils sont originaux dans leurs expressions diverses.

Ce qui est remarquable ici, c'est surtout un fond, un courant sourd sarcastique, ironique et satirique, dissimulé sous une oscillation humoristique de la situation. Ici, partant d'une sphère de sourire dans sa prose qu'il réservait plutôt aux petites gens et leurs conflits sociaux, Nguyen Cong Hoan pénètre dans l'essence du phénomène, dans l'image réelle du processus social de l'époque: un processus qui possédait déjà au temps de sa durée des signes évidents d'une tragicomédie, d'une farce.

Une partie de la critique littéraire d'après-guerre reprochait à Nguyen Cong Hoan des traits comiques dans certaines situations habituelles que ne semblaient pas correspondre au sujet traité. Cependant, ces situations ayant un fond comique correspon-

¹⁴Voir MÜČKA, J.: *Nguyen Cong Hoan et son roman «Le dernier pas»*. In: *Asian and African Studies XI*, Bratislava, Veda 1975, p. 87-89.

dent pleinement à la structure générale du roman et il n'y a pas lieu de les considérer comme superflues. Tout au contraire, elles constituent un élément important dans la ligne développementale de la manière d'agir des caractères. Ceci porte par exemple sur la partie où l'auteur décrit le personnage principal Pha, attendant l'accouchement par sa femme. Ce qui se passe dans la famille de Pha, de quoi elle vit et ce qu'il considère lui-même comme juste, acquiert dans le roman la force de la connaissance de la réalité de ces temps et de l'atmosphère. Une compréhension de la subordination de Pha et de son respect, présente une étude cohérente des mœurs féodo-coloniales, une image prosaïque complète qui découvre dans les dialogues des personnages, dans les détails décrits de la vie et dans les comparaisons, une officine de corruption et d'usure de la société. Pha et bien d'autres sont subjectivement convaincus qu'ils agissent correctement. Le lecteur, qui est déjà avisé ou débouche «la juste de la justesse» de ce mode d'agir, individuellement non-libre, pourra pénétrer plus à fond dans ce chemin tragique et en voir plus clairement aussi les causes sociales.

Dans la typologie artistique du fermier Lai et des fonctionnaires coloniaux, l'auteur dévoile justement les forces qui avaient choisi le chemin des profits personnels même au prix de souffrances des autres. Leur découverte satirique est directe et rectiligne. L'ironie des mots s'est pleinement révélée par l'approche de l'auteur, sa poursuite des situations individuelles, personnelles et sociales. Dans ce roman Nguyen Cong Hoan a bien réfléchi et a mis au point son approche satirique: il fait usage de la satire par le personnage à l'intérieur, puis dans les actions de l'intrigue et de nouveau dans les personnages individuels. Ce n'est pas une satire de bon marché, ce ne sont pas non plus ni des sourires ni des sournoiseries de l'époque. Par sa façon de faire, l'auteur donne le coup de fion artistique au sujet d'importance sociale, le complique et amène dans la crise l'antagonisme des types. On apprécie en même temps le langage vivant des dialogues. L'auteur peint d'une manière expressive les pratiques politico-sociales des structures du régime féodo-colonial. Avec une certaine simplification, mais d'une manière plastique il montre les méthodes et l'usage des moyens de répression employés jadis dans la société.

Mais en certains endroits de la gradation de l'intrigue, on sent une certaine fatigue due aux stéréotypes de la situation. Bien que l'auteur ait saisi les caractères avec art et, quant au style, d'aspects multiples, bien qu'il cherche des équivalents non seulement psychologiques, mais aussi linguistiques, on peut lui reprocher un certain manque de mise au point dans sa caractérisation de certains personnages, comme si l'auteur s'était arrêté à mi-chemin. Malgré ces réserves partielles, on peut juger le roman *Le dernier pas* comme une œuvre artistique mûre. Et ceci non seulement en ce qui concerne le développement artistique de l'auteur, mais aussi au point de vue de contexte entier de la littérature vietnamienne en raison de sa verve, de la richesse des coutumes et tradition, de l'atmosphère historiquement véridique et de l'engagement social.

Nguyen Cong Hoan est un adhérent de la construction traditionnelle du texte. Comme élément descriptif dans ses romans de mœurs, il emploie les spécificités du style parlé. Dans son travail créatif il ne se sert d'aucun maniérisme fixe, arrêté et ne succombe à aucun. Son expression et son style sont vifs, rapides, précis et compréhensibles. Son attitude vers la vie comprend quelque chose de transparent à la manière de

Voltaire, au moyen de quoi il réussit à nous captiver et nous entraîner; d'autre part, il y a la quelque chose de sentimental à la manière de Tchekhov, nous révélant des sources abondantes de l'intime émotion domestique. L'auteur dispose d'une grande quantité de délicatesse et de finesse intérieure dont il se sert à merveille. Malgré une nuance quelque peu paconique de tous les personnages, ceux-ci ne deviennent pas des figures grotesques (si non à l'exception du fermier Lai) exposés au ridicule sans goût et sans mesure. Quant à la relation humaine de l'auteur envers les gens misérables ou malheureux - quoiqu'il se cache derrière son humour fin et ironique et qu'il ne soit pas facile à déceler - l'essentiel est qu'il existe quand même. Cet humour occasionne que le lecteur quelque peu perd des sensations torturantes et son exaspération, indignation ou amertume, disparaît. La valeur de ces figures malheureuses et serviles remplit un rôle important au niveau tragicomique où l'auteur lui-même n'est qu'un spectateur attentif et rassis, dans ce cas sans engagement subjectif. Alors, c'est là une question de l'approche du lecteur et du principe choisi, jusqu'au quel degré de l'humour ou de la satire il comprend la commisération humaine émanant de la philosophie de l'humanisme. Il faut admettre que l'humour, lors même que présenté quelquefois d'une manière un peu forcées, est le côté fort de l'auteur, par endroits même une certaine extravagance. Cependant, on peut dire avec certitude que le roman *Le dernier pas* ne parait pas dans une fausse lumière-romanesque, qui est inadmissible tant par l'art vrai, que par la réalité. Tout au contraire, il montre la société vietnamienne féodo-coloniale comme un mélange hétérogène des représentants unis par un utilitarisme impitoyable et une déshumanisation des attitudes. Ils sont dépeints dynamiquement, dans un diapason étendu de caractères et motivation - il va sans dire, avec une condamnation morale sans équivoque. Non pas une condamnation proclamatoire ou sermonnante, mais au moyen d'une ironie effective et d'une satire aboutissant presque en une image grotesque.

Nguyen Cong Hoan fonde le réalisme de son image artistique sur la proportion mutuelle des forces d'une certaine angoisse et d'humour. Cette symbiose spécifique ne mène pas chez lui vers une identité, mais produit l'ironie dirigée vers une action régressive des facteurs sociaux négatifs, sans être un symptôme de l'apathie de la part de l'auteur. Cette authenticité psychologique, armée d'humour contre une réalité dépressive est construite chez Nguyen Cong Hoan sur la base d'une attitude rationnelle envers l'entourage. De ce fait, l'auteur crée, en fait, un genre d'humour original au caractère objectivant. Dans une application assez surprenante, de son action, la fonction de la fortune se fait valoir, qui cependant, peut être comprise et acceptée uniquement dans la forme qui met en doute la causalité. Quant au sentiment d'une situation comique, Nguyen Cong Hoan possède certains traits en commun avec Mérimée et Flaubert, le fond de sa pensée, où le courant sourd de son texte n'est jamais l'expression d'un participant intéressé. En lui se rencontrent le motif du comique vrai d'une situation et celui d'une interprétation originale du personnage principal, qui quoique logique dans son essence, paraît encore plus comique dans la situation donnée.

Dans le roman *Le dernier pas*, mais aussi dans bien d'autres de ses contes Nguyen Cong Hoan a utilisé l'authenticité de la chose vécue avec l'image des gens et de l'époque au sens moral multiple, il s'efforça de créer des événements attrayants - quoique dans

maints d'eux une motivation externe l'emporte sur le dynamisme qui a son tour devrait dériver d'une caractéristique interne-psychologique plus approfondie des personnages. Une approche satirique de l'auteur vers la réalité historique et une intention quasi subconscient de dépeindre satiriquement toutes les couches de la société vietnamienne de ces temps lui ont permis aussi une pénétration nouvelle vers les caractères et les personnages, leur plus grande différenciation et par conséquent aussi vivacité. En certains endroits de ses proses (mais surtout dans ses romans), Nguyen Cong Hoan illustre en détail l'étape historique pertinente dans la vie de la nation vietnamienne ce qui est intimement lié à sa manière réaliste de voir le monde. Ainsi, ses œuvres possèdent aussi un côté socio-moral et historiographique.

Pour conclure on peut constater que la prise de vue artistique de l'auteur de la réalité est une vue à vol d'oiseau ironique, obtenu après un intervalle relatif, un montage historié de l'intrigue. Son fond de satire est fondé sur des faits étudiés et observés minutieusement, néanmoins, leur élément essentiel est fourni par l'ironie des temps dont l'auteur se souvient encore. Cependant l'accentuation du ridicule sous-textuel ne signifie pas chez lui un émoussement de sa critique sociale. Dans ses romans de mœurs Nguyen Cong Hoan a identifié les personnages de la société féodo-colonial du Vietnam conformément avec la vérité historique. Il les a mis à nu et de ce fait a élargi l'étendu de nos connaissances que l'historiographie ne peut pas nous procurer.

TÜRKISCHE BRIEFE UND URKUNDEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES EYALET NOVÉ ZÁMKY. V

Vojtech KOPČAN, Bratislava

Einleitend bietet der Autor einen Überblick der Geschichte des Städtchens Hlohovec (tür. Galgofça, ung. Galgócz, deut. Freystadt) in den Jahren 1663–1685, in denen dieses dem osmanischen Statthalter in Nové Zámky Steuer entrichtete. Weiter veröffentlicht er einen Brief des Großwesirs Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha (1663), in dem das Städtchen aufgefordert wird sich zu unterwerfen und drei Briefe von Salih Ağa, dem Sekretär des Pascha Mustafa von Nové Zámky an den Bürgermeister von Hlohovec in Fragen der Entrichtung von Steuern Geschenken und weiteren Dienstleistungen aus dem Jahre 1676.

Im Städtischen Museum (Mestské múzeum) von Hlohovec, das ein Teil des Westslowakischen Museums (Západoslovenské múzeum) in Trnava ist, sind vier Briefe osmanischer Statthalter erhalten, die dem Städtchen, bzw. seinen Bürgermeistern adressiert sind.¹ Anscheinend ist dies lediglich ein Bruchteil der Briefe osmanischer Statthalter, die dem Städtchen in der Zeit seiner Unterwerfung (1663–1685) dem Statthalter von Nové Zámky geschickt wurden.² Es ist interessant, daß keine Quittungen über Steuerzahlungen erhalten blieben, die in manchen Städtchen (z.B. Rimavská Sobota, Kamenec pod Vtáčnikom) den größten Teil türkischer Urkunden darstellen.³

Hlohovec war seit dem frühen Mittelalter ein strategischer Punkt bei der Furt über Waag und Sitz des Burggespans. Aus heimischen als auch osmanische Quellen hervorgehend kann ein Verlauf der Ereignisse zur Zeit der Belagerung von Nové Zámky in Hlohovec und dessen Umgebung gezeichnet werden. Mit der Ankunft der

¹Ich danke Herrn I. Pastorek, dem Mitarbeiter des Museums, für die Beschaffung der Photographien der Briefe. Die türkischen Briefe erwähnt A. FELCÁN: *Hlohovecko kedysi, dnes a zajtra* (Das Gebiet von Hlohovec einst, heute und morgen.) Nitra, hrsg. auf eigene Kosten 1932, S. 42–45, der den Brief des Großwesirs Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha mit Fehlern auch abgeschrieben hat.

²Aus verschiedene Quellen wissen wir von dem Aufruf des Ofener Statthalters San Hüseyin Pascha an Hlohovec vom 28. 9. 1663, sich zu ergeben. Bekannt sind auch Aufrufe diese Würdenträgers an Pukanec und Trenčín, sowie auch an andere Städte. Aus der Zeit der ausklingenden osmanischen Macht kennen wir Briefe des Statthalters Hocaazade Hasan Pascha (17.2.1683) und Ibrahim Bey vom 28.2.1683, in denen unter Androhung von Strafen unbezahlte Steuern gefordert wurden. Diese wurden auch von M. Mayer im publizistischen Werk *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus, oder der Ungarischen Kriegs-Empörungen historische Beschreibung...* Frankfurt 1665, S. 284 und 572 erfaßt.

³Von den erhaltenen türkischen Urkunden in Rimavská Sobota stellen aus insgesamt 256 Stück Quittungen über bezahlte Steuern und Dienstleistungen beinahe 90 % dar. Siehe BLÁŠKOVIC, J.: *Rimavská Sobota v čase osmanskotureckého pansva* (Rimavská Sobota zur Zeit der osmanisch-türkischen Herrschaft). Bratislava, Obzor 1974, S. 113–184. Von vier Urkunden, die in Kamenec in der oberen Nitra erhalten blieben, sind zwei Schutzbriefe für Einwohner und die zwei weiteren sind Quittungen über bezahlte Steuern. RYPKA, J.: *Čtyři turecké listiny z Dolného Kamence na Slovensku*. (Vier türkische Urkunden aus Dolný Kamenec in der Slowakei). Průdy, 11, 1927, Nr. 6 und 8, S. 335–365, 471–482, auch als Separat.

osmanischen Armee nach Ungarn wurden Maßnahmen zum Schutz der Städte, Burgen, Straßen, Brücken und Furt getroffen. Auf der Burg Hlohovec befand sich eine Kompanie von Söldnern mit Hans Müller an der Spitze und die Burggarnison - die Heiducken - unter dem Kommando des Burgvogten Matej Cedák.⁴ Wegen der Bedeutung der Kommunikation aus Nové Zámky und Nitra auf das rechte Ufer der Waag wurde das Städtchen sehr bald zum Gegenstand des Interesses der Abteile der Osmanen und ihrer Vasallen. Es gab dort nämlich eine Holzbrücke und in der Nähe befand sich auch eine geeignete Furt über den Fluß Waag. Es ist kein Zufall, daß die Osmanen die am rechten Waag-Ufer neuerbaute Festung Leopoldstadt (der Bau wurde 1665 begonnen) Geçit Uyvar (Neuhäusel an der Furt) nannten.

Die Belagerung von Nové Zámky und der Lebensmittel-sowie Futtermangel zwang die osmanische Kavallerie, bei der Belagerung weniger nützlich, Überfälle anfangs auf die unmittelbare Umgebung, später dann auch auf entferntere Gebiete zu unternehmen. Schon drei Tage nach dem Beginn der Belagerung von Nové Zámky, am 19. August 1663 erschienen bei Hlohovec osmanische Reiter und provozierten ein Scharmützel mit einem Abteil von Dragonern aus Nitra. Noch zweimal kamen sie im August (am 21. und am 23.) zu Hlohovec, eher jedoch zur Auskundschaftung als wegen kämpferischer Handlungen.⁵

Inzwischen kamen (am 26. August 1663) ins osmanische Lager bei Nové Zámky die Krimtataren mit dem Sohn des Krimkhans Ahmed Gerey als Befehlshaber in der Zahl von etwa 10.000 Reitern.⁶ Gleichzeitig mit den Krimtataren kamen auch zahlmäßig kleinere Einheiten von Kosaken und am nächsten Tag auch die Heere des wallachischen und moldauischen Herzogs.⁷ Diese sollten vor allem die Belagerer mit Lebensmitteln und Futter versorgen.

Verstärkt durch die osmanische Kavallerie und die Janitscharen mit Kibleli Mustafa Pascha an der Spitze, der Statthalter von Damaskus war, überfielen die Tataren auch Hlohovec und steckten einen großen Teil der Stadt in Brand.⁸ Der größte Teil dieses

⁴FOLLATÁR, J.: *Galgócz eleste 1663-ben*. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, 29, 1928, S. 145.

⁵Ebenda, S. 146.

⁶Osmanische Quellen geben 40-150.000 Mann an. Cevahir üt-tevarih, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Suppl. turc. 506, 27a Wien, Nationalbibliothek, H.O. 84a, 32b und von dieser Quelle abhängig *Silahdar Tarihi I.* Istanbul 1928, S. 272 führen 150.000 Tataren an. *Tarih-i Raşid I.* Istanbul 1282 H., S. 44 "eine Armee die hunderttausend überschreitend". *Evliya Çelebi Seyahamesi VI.* Istanbul 1318 H., S. 319-40.000 Tataren, ähnlich auch Mehmed Necati: *Uyvar Seferi*. Ms. Istanbul, Revan Kütüphanesi, No. 1308, 13b-14a, aber das Datum der Ankunft der Tataren gibt er mit dem 29. August an. Mehmed Halife: *Tarih-i Gılmanı*. Istanbul 1340 H., S. 91 - behauptet am 20. August 1663 seien 80.000 Tataren gekommen.

⁷Schätzungen der Anzahl der Kosaken sind in den osmanischen Quellen übertrieben von 10.000 bis 20.000 Mann. *Theatrum Europaeum IX. Friedens und Kriegs Beschreibung vom Anfang des 1600.sten Jahrs bis an das 1666.ste Jahr* von Martin Mayer. Franckfurt, Verlegung M. Merians 1699, S. 933 führt nur 250 Kosaken an. Ähnlich unterscheiden sich auch die Angaben über die Anzahl der Wallachen und Moldauer in den osmanischen Chroniken, die die Anzahl der Vasalensoldaten mit 20.000 Mann zusammen angeben, während *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus*. II. Frankfurt, D. Fievet 1665, S. 268 6000 Wallachen und 4000 Moldauer verzeichnet, was auch die moderne Geschichtsschreibung bestätigt.

⁸*Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder...* Hrsg. von R. Wolkan. Wien 1923, slowakische Übersetzung von P. Horváth *Pustošenie Turkov in: Rabovali Turci...* Bratislava, Tatran 1972, S. 129; FOLLATÁR, J.: op. cit., S. 146.

Heeres überquerte jedoch oberhalb von Hlohovec den Fluß Waag über die Brücke und drang in zwei Strömen südwärts gegen Trnava und nordwärts gegen Čachtice vor. Der südliche Strom der Tataren drang bis zu Modra und Pezinok vor, plünderte alle Dörfer, die ihm in Weg standen, aus und brannte sie nieder.⁹

Am 3. September 1663 kam Jusuf Pascha mit zahlreichen Tataren und den Janitscharen zu Hlohovec und mit ihnen auch der wallachische Woiwoda mit seinem Heer. Ein Teil passierte die Hlohovecer Brücke, der Rest schlug sich ein Lager neben dem Städtchen oberhalb des Franziskanerklosters auf. Jener Teil, der die Waag überquerte, plünderte die auf dem Gebiet von Záhorie liegende Teile der Komitate Preßburg und Nitra. Einer der Tatarenabteile nahm in der Nähe von Senica den dortigen evangelische Pfarrer Štefan Pilárik gefangen, der ein Zeugnis über seine Gefangenschaft hinterließ.¹⁰ Die offene Landschaft, Städte und Festungen ohne Garnisonen boten den Tataren keinerlei Hindernisse und so waren die durch Plünderungen verursachten Schäden größer als der Verlust mancher Festungen. Die Dorfbevölkerung suchte Zuflucht in den befestigten Städten oder Burgen, am häufigsten jedoch in den Wäldern.

Die Bevölkerung von Hlohovec, obwohl durch Mauern und einer Garnison geschützt, mußte mit Angst zusehen, wie die Abteile aus Nové Zámky kamen und mit Beute und Gefangenen wieder zurückkehrten. Zwei Tage nachdem die Janitscharen und die Kavallerie die Hlohovecer Burg überfallen und die Holzpalisaden niedergebrannt hatten, überquerten am 5. September neue Abteile die Brücke und gelangten durch die Berge bis zu Senica, Skalica und zur March, alles was ihnen in den Weg kam vernichtend.¹¹ Die wallachischen Abteile forderten die Garnison der Burg auf, diese wies aber jede Verhandlung mit ihnen zurück.¹² Am folgende Tag plünderten wieder verschiedene Abteile die Weingärten, belagerten die Runde Bastei und nahmen die Burg unter Beschoß. Im Grunde wurden die Bewohner von Hlohovec bis Ende September 1663 mit diversen an der Stadt verbeiziehenden Osmanen- und Vasalleneinheiten konfrontiert.

Am 30. September 1663 brachte ein Bewohner von Hlohovec, Namens Marko einen Brief vom Großwesir aus Nové Zámky, in dem dieser die Stadt aufforderte sich zu ergeben. Ein weiterer Brief wurde an die Garnison der Burg gerichtet mit derselben Aufforderung.¹³ Gleichzeitig mit diesen Briefen teilte der Großwesir den Bewohnern mit, daß Nové Zámky in osmanische Hände gefallen sei. Eine Woche später entsandte die Stadt seine Ortskapitäne Markus Szabó und Michael Kürschner nach Nitra, das inzwischen (am 10. Oktober) von den Türken erobert wurde, wo sie erklärten, daß Hlohovec bereit sei sich zu ergeben.

⁹*Ortelius redivivus et continuatus II*, S. 272. *Descriptio Tartaricae depopulationis in anno 1663*. Ed. E. Marečková-Štolcová. In: *Zborník FFUK. Graecolatina et orientalia I*, 1969, S. 130.

¹⁰*Turcico-Tartarica Crudelitas*. Bautzen 1684 und *Currus Jahovae mirabilis...* Wittenberg 1679. Beide Arbeiten erschienen im Buch Štefan Pilárik: *Výber z diela*. Ed. J. Minárik. Bratislava, V SAV 1958.

¹¹*Pustošenie Turkov...*, S. 129.

¹²FOLLAJTÁR, J.: op. cit., S. 14.

¹³FOLLAJTÁR, J.: op. cit., S. 148.

Am 12. Oktober 1663 verließ die Garnison die Burg and am nächsten Tag traf hier ein osmanischer Abteil von etwa 100 Mann Stärke an der Spitze mit dem Alaybeg von Székesfehérvár ein und besetzte die Burg.¹⁴

Der Siegelbewahrer des Großwesirs Hasan Ağa schrieb in seiner Chronik Kleinodien der Historien: "Nachdem der Wesir von Ofen, Hüseyin Pascha, die Festung Nitra erobert und den ungarischen Reaya dieser Gegend Ruhe und Sicherheit gebracht hatte, baten auch alle Städte und Kastelle dieser Gegend um Pardon, worauf ihnen allen Schutzbriefe ausgestellt wurden."¹⁵ Ein weiterer Teilnehmer dieses Feldzuges, der osmanische Reisende Evliya Çelebi, schreibt: "... nach dem Fall von Nové Zámky kamen die Kapitäne der Ungläubigen... zum Großwesir und ergaben sich. Weiter wurden drei kleine Festungen mit den Namen Şinte (Schintau), Şele (Schelle) und Galgoşca (Hlohovec) am Ufer des Flußes Waag von Kibleli Mustafa Pascha unter seinen Schutz genommen und sie schlossen Frieden."¹⁶

Der Autor der Eintragungen über die Ereignisse in Hlohovec im Herbst 1663, der Beamte des Forgáchschen Herrschaftsgute Stefan Bogyó bemerkt, daß der Stadtkapitän, Michael Kürschner am 15. Oktober 1663 einen Brief des Großwesirs Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha aus Nové Zámky erhielt. Dies ist zweifelsohne der Brief Nr. 1 unserer Edition, datiert "mind Sent huanak12.dik", also am 12. Oktober 1663. Dieser Brief des Großwesirs, an die Bürgermeister und alle älteren Leute der Stadt Hlohovec und der umliegenden Dörfer Dvorníky, Bojničky, Kľačany, Pastuchov, Bereksek (Sasinkovo) und Červenfk (Veresvár) gerichtet, fordert sie auf in das Lager bei Nové Zámky zu kommen, um dort dem Großwesir zu huldigen und ihm zu dienen. Sollten sie dies tun, würde sie keiner aus dem Heer des Sultans der Türken, Tataren, Walachen, Moldauern und Kosaken belästigen. Auch würden sie vom Wesir einen Schutzbrief (Hit level) bekommen und er würde ihnen die Sicherheit ihrer Person als auch des Eigentums (der Häuser, Weingärten, Gärten, Felder und Wiesen) garantieren. Dem Gesetz gemäß hätten sie jedoch die kaiserliche Steuer (cizye), die Summe und einzelne Zehnte und Zahlungen zu entrichten und das Heer in der Festung zu versorgen.

Ein solches Vorgehen war für die osmanische Verwaltung notwendig, um die Einnahmequellen aus dem eroberten oder unterworfenen Gebiet feststellen und diese vorläufig registrieren zu können. Osmanische Chroniken beschreiben, wie Scharen von Darstellern der Dörfer und Städte in das Lager bei Nové Zámky kamen um dort Gehorsam zu geloben, was bedeutete Steuern zu zahlen und sich um den Schutz des Großwesirs und einen Schutzbrief zu bewerben.¹⁷ Es war zweifelsohne das Entsetzen, die die osmanischen Abteile und die Krimtataren weckten, die diese Handlung der Darsteller der Dörfer und Städtchen nicht nur in der nächsten, sondern auch in der weiteren Umgebung beschleunigte. Mit Aufrufen wandte sich nicht nur der Großwesir, sondern auch andere Würdenträger, wie z.B. der Ofener Statthalter Sarı Hüseyin

¹⁴Ibid., S. 149.

¹⁵Cevahir'üt-tevarih, P 38b, W 44b.

¹⁶Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi* VI, S. 352.

¹⁷Cevahir'üt-tevarih, P 35a, W41a; *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 286; Mehmed Halife, *Tarih-i Gilmanı*, S. 91; Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi* VI, S. 351.

Pascha an die Bevölkerung.¹⁸ Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, daß auch nach dem Abzug der osmanischen Armee aus der Slowakei im November 1663 und der Wiedereroberung von Nitra, Levice und anderer Festungen im Frühjahr und im Sommer 1664 eine bedeutende Anzahl von Gemeinden in der West- und Mittelslowakei in der ersten Konskription des Eyalet Nové Zámky verblieben war.¹⁹

Die Bewohner von Hlohovec gingen ebenso wie andere Städtchen und Dörfer in der Nähe der starken Garnison in Nitra und darüber hinaus bei den häufigen Streifzügen osmanischer Abteile entlang der Waag vor. In der Nahiye Nitra war Hlohovec als varoş (Stadt) eingetragen und die Einnahmen von seinen Steuern gehörten dem Statthalter von Nové Zámky.²⁰ In der Stadt lebten 583 erwachsene Männer, deren Namen die Konskription erfaßte mit den Angaben darüber, welcher von ihnen verheiratet (mücevvez) oder ledig (müzekker) war. Die grundlegende Steuereinheit war ein Haus (hane) oder genauer Haushalte, von denen eine Kopfsteuer oder staatliche Steuer (cizye) in der Höhe von 50 penz (Denaren) oder akçe eingeholt wurde. Hlohovec hatte 476 Haushalte und die Einnahmen von ihnen machte 23.800 penz aus, was das meiste von allen Städten und Dörfern der ganzen Provinz war.²¹

Die Einnahmen des Statthalters stammten vor allem aus den Zehnten der landwirtschaftlichen Produkte, wie z.B. Weizen (hinta), Halbfrucht (mahlut), Most (şıra), Bienenkorb (resm-i kevere), weiter aus verschiedenen Abgaben wie Schafsteuer, die Abgabe für Holz und Heu, die Gebühr für das Bewachen der Felder und das Recht auf Weiden, die Gebühr für Schweine, eine gelegentliche Gebühr und eine Abgabe für die Acker. All dies brachte dem Statthalter von Nové Zámky 127.240 penz ein. Besteuert wurden auch die Mühlen an der Waag. Die eine davon, mit drei Mühlsteinen, mit der Einnahme von 180 akçe jährlich, war im Besitz des Kommandanten der Janitscharen in Nové Zámky, Ahmed. Eine weitere Mühle an der Waag mit dreizehn Mühlsteinen und dem Jahreseinkommen von 780 penz, gehörte dem Statthalter von Nové Zámky. Insgesamt zahlte das Städtchen der osmanischen Macht in Nové Zámky 153.000 penz.²²

Es muß gesagt werden, daß außer dem Zentrum der Provinz, Hlohovec die meist bevölkerte Stadt im Eyalet Nové Zámky war. Es war aber auch ein großer Wein- und Getreideproduzent. Da die Quittungen über Steuer- und Gebührenabgaben nicht erhalten blieben, wissen wir nicht, ob der Statthalter von Nové Zámky eine Natural- oder Geldrente eingenommen hat. Das Städtchen gab 2570 keyl (1 keyl etwa 1,56 Liter) Weizen ab, was etwa 33 Doppelzentner oder 51.400 penz und eine halbe

¹⁸Zum größten Teil wurden diese Briefe ungarisch geschrieben, wir kennen jedoch auch einen Brief von Sarı Hüseyin Pascha der türkisch geschrieben wurde. Rypka, J.: op. cit., S. 7 des Separats.

¹⁹Başbakanlık Arşivi, İstanbul, Tapu Defteri No. 698: Defter-i mufassal-ı eyalet-i Uyvar verzeichnet in sieben Kreisen (nahiye) 750 Lokalitäten. Dies bearbeitete und Teile davon veröffentlichte Prof. J. Blaškovič, eingehend vor allem über die nahiye Žabokreky und teilweise auch über Nitra.

²⁰BLAŠKOVIČ, J.: *Turecký daňový súpis Nitrianskej župy z roku 1664* (Die türkische Steuerkonskription des Komitats Nitra aus dem Jahre 1664). Agrikultúra, 10, 1971, S. 35.

²¹BLAŠKOVIČ, J.: *Nové Zámky pod osmanskou-tureckou nadvládou (1663–1685)* (Nové Zámky unter der osmanisch-türkischen Macht (1663–1685)). Castrum Novum, 3, 1986, S. 49.

²²BLAŠKOVIČ, J.: *Turecký daňový súpis*, S. 35.

Halbfrucht (16.700 kg), was mit dem Betrag 13.600 ausgedrückt wird. Die Produktion von Most betrug 80.000 Pinten (1,56 Liter).²³

In dem osmanischen Quellen blieben nicht viele Angaben über Hlohovec erhalten. Irgendwann in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 1665 beschreibt der Weltbummler Evliya Çelebi auf seiner Reise von Wien nach Nové Zámky die Burg Hlohovec als "eine kleine, schöne, am Ufer des Flusses Waag aus Ziegeln erbaute Burg". Weiter führt er an, daß der Großwesir zur Zeit der Eroberung von Nové Zámky Kibleli Mustafa Pascha mit dem Heer des Damaszener Eyalets und den Kosaken ausgesandt hat, um diese Burg zu belagern. Nach einer zwanzig Tage dauernden Belagerung, als der Sieg bereits in greifbare Nähe gerückt war, kam die Nachricht, der Garnison nahe Hilfe herbei. Auf Befehl des Großwesirs kehrten sie in ihr Lager bei Nové Zámky zurück, samt Kanonen und dem ganzen Heer. Der Autor bemerkt, daß er gerade zu jener Zeit von einem Feldzug in die Weißen Karpaten mit großer Beute zur Hlohovecer Burg zurückgekehrt war, diese jedoch nicht ausreichend besichtigte. "Aber jetzt, in der Zeit des Friedens, habe ich sie mir gut angeschaut." Bei einer weiteren Beschreibung führt er an, dies sei eine kleine, viereckige Burg, errichtet auf einer ebenen Wiese am Ufer der Waag. Jetzt werde am Waagufer eine achteckige, starke und feste Burg aus Ziegeln gebaut. Die alte Hlohovecer Burg sei sozusagen die innere Burg der neuen Festung. Auch die äußere feste Vorstadt, die von Kibleli Pascha mit den Kosaken belagert gewesen sei, werde mit einem Graben, einer großen Palankenfestungsmauer und Palisaden umgeben werden. Dort hätten sie acht Basteien ohne Dächer erbaut. Zu diesen Basteien hätte sie einen großen Graben ausgehoben und in diesen wollten sie den Fluß Waag einlassen.²⁴

Eine bedeutende Maßnahme gegen die Überfälle osmanischer Abteile aus Nové Zámky auf die Westslowakei, Mähren und Schlesien war die Erbauung einer modernen Festung gegenüber von Hlohovec. Der Bau wurde am 20. April 1665 begonnen und die Festung wurde nach dem regierenden Kaiser Leopold I. - Leopoldopolis - benannt.²⁵ Der osmanischen Seite zufolge war dieser Bau gesetzwidrig und die Schuld dafür fiel auf den Statthalter von Nové Zámky Sührab Mehmed Pascha. Auf Veranlassung des späteren Großwesirs Kara Mustafa Pascha wurde er im Juni 1669 in Nové Zámky unter dem Vorwand hingerichtet Schmiergelder von der habsburgischen Seite angenommen und die Errichtung dieses Bauwerks nicht verhindert zu haben.²⁶

Die Angst der Bevölkerung vor den osmanischen Abteilen war groß. Dem Brief eines Beamten der Herrschaft Beckov, gerichtet an den Eigentümer dieser Herrschaft F. Pongrác, datiert am 27. August 1667, ist zu entnehmen, daß als die türkischen Abteile zu Hlohovec eintrafen, wurde die Bevölkerung derart erschreckt, daß sie auf mehr als 300 Wagen in Richtung Čachtice die Flucht ergriffen hat. Die Befürchtungen waren jedoch nicht gerechtfertigt, da diese Abteile in den unterworfenen Dörfern von allem Steuern einholen sollten.²⁷

²³BLAŠKOVIČ, J.: *Nové Zámky pod osmansko-tureckou nadvládou*, S. 54.

²⁴Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi* VII, Istanbul 1928, S. 342-343.

²⁵SEDLÁK, F.: *Z dějin pevností Leopoldov* (Aus der Geschichte der Festung Leopoldstadt). *Vlastivedný časopis*, 12, 1963, S. 151-153.

²⁶Silahdar Tarihi I, S. 552.

Die allgemeine Aktivität der osmanischen Abteile aus Nové Zámky im Jahre 1671 war offensichtlich eine Antwort auf die Tätigkeit der kaiserlichen Abteile aus Leopoldov, Šintava und Šafa. Auf den Bau der Brücke über die Waag bei Hlohovec reagierte Küçük Mehmed Pascha am 5. Februar 1671 mit einem Brief an den General der obersten Hauptmannschaft der diesseits der Donau gelegenen Gebiete P. Eszterházy.²⁸ Der Statthalter von Nové Zámky wendete ein, daß der Brückenbau dem Friedensvertrag widerspreche und er dies daher der Porta melden müsse. Küçük Mehmed Pascha verlangte von P. Eszterházy eine genaue Auskunft darüber, ob der Bau der Brücke bereits beendet oder ob dies lediglich ein Vorhaben sei, und wer den Bau angeordnet habe. Der englische Naturwissenschaftler und Arzt Edward Brown, der wahrscheinlich im März 1671 dieses Gebiet durchgereist hat²⁹ und von Leopoldstadt aus auch Hlohovec besuchte, widmete dem Städtchen einige Sätze. Er erwähnt, daß es vor kurzer Zeit von den Türken niedergebrannt wurde und daß die Bewohner den Türken acht ungarische Gulden jährlich zahlten.³⁰ Die Brücke erwähnt er jedoch nicht. In der allgemeinen Beschreibung von Ungarn, wo Edward Brown die Bergwerke, Bäder, Mineralwasser, Flüsse usw. beschreibt, widmet er seine Aufmerksamkeit auch dem Fluß Waag, wo er wörtlich über eine lange Brücke über die Waag bei Hlohovec schreibt.³¹

Auf Grund der Angaben des deutschen Publizisten J. Ch. Feig kam im Oktober 1671 ein etwa 300-Mann starker osmanischer Abteil aus Nové Zámky nach Hlohovec. Als die Männer eine Brücke über die Waag vorfanden, fragte ihr Kommandant den Kapitän von Leopoldstadt, warum sie diese Brücke erbaut hätten. Der Kapitän erklärte, die Brücke sei bereits fertig gewesen und er würde trachten sie zu halten. Daraufhin schickten sie aus Nové Zámky etwa 600 Männer um die Brücke zu vernichten, die Garnison vertrieb sie jedoch mit Kanonenfeuer.³²

Die Konflikte der osmanischen Macht mit der Garnison in Leopoldstadt dauerten an, aber auch die Beziehungen mit den Bewohnern von Hlohovec waren nicht immer ideal, eher das Gegenteil traf zu. Im Jahre 1675 plünderten osmanische Abteile drei Dörfer bei Hlohovec und verschleppten achtzig Gefangene, offensichtlich wegen un-

²⁷Rabovali Turci..., S. 203–204.

²⁸BLAŠKOVIČ, J. - KOPČAN, V.: *Türkische Briefe und Urkunden zur Geschichte des Eyālet Nové Zámky III*. AAS, 24, 1989, Nr. 2, s. 115–118.

²⁹Der deutschen Ausgabe von Browns Reisebeschreibung aus dem Jahre 1685 zufolge wird die Reise in die Bergstädte in das erste Halbjahr 1671 gelegt, während J. Tibenský im Sammelwerk *Z dejín vied a techniky na Slovensku* (Aus der Geschichte der Wissenschaften und der Technik in der Slowakei), 4, 1966, anführt, daß sich diese Reise im folgenden Jahr (1672) verwirklichte.

³⁰*A Brief Account of some Travels in Hungaria, Servia...* London 1673. Hrsg. von K. Nehring, München, Veröffentlichungen des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars an der Universität München 1975, S. 86–87 "Afterwards I passed the River and came to Freistat, a large fair Town but lately burned by the Turk... They are Tributaries to the Turk, paying yearly eight Hungarische, almost four pence of our money, for every head, whether of Man, Woman, Children, Sheep, Oxen, or Horses."

³¹I am sure, at Freistat, above fifty miles, before it dischargeth into the Danube, it is very large Stream, and hath a long Bridge over it; part whereof was broken down by same year when I was there. Op. cit., S. 3.

³²MATUNÁK, M.: *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí* (Leben und Kämpfe im slowakisch-türkischen Grenzgebiet). Bratislava, Tatran 1983, S. 255.

bezahlter Steuer.³³ Anscheinend nur zufällig blieben drei Briefe aus dem Jahr 1676 von Salih Ağa, dem Sekretär des Statthalters von Nové Zámky Mustafa Pascha, erhalten. Ähnlich wie die Mehrzahl der Briefe osmanischer Würdenträger an die unterworfenen Dörfer und Städtchen³⁴ betreffen auch diese Steuerzahlungen und andere Forderungen. Im ersten Brief, vom 31. Juli 1676 regt sich der osmanische Würdenträger darüber auf, warum der Hlohovecer Bürgermeister nicht gehorchte und nicht nach Nové Zámky gekommen sei. Er lädt ihn abermals ein und befiehlt ihm zu kommen und Krüge und einen Becher mitzubringen. Es handelt sich offensichtlich um Geschenke, die die osmanische Verwaltung und ihre Würdenträger von den Untertanen der Dörfer und des Städte oft verlangten. Der Schreiber verlangte 4 Bogen Papier und Wein. Auch machte er die Einwohner von Hlohovec darauf aufmerksam die kaiserliche Steuer sowie andere Steuern zu schicken.

Der zweite Brief, vom 4. September 1676 beginnt mit wüsten Beschimpfungen an den Bürgermeister und die Bewohner des Städtchens deswegen, weil sich diese beim Ofener Statthalter beschwert hätten. Es ist nicht bekannt, warum sich die Bewohner von Hlohovec nach Ofen zum Statthalter beschweren gingen.³⁵ Wahrscheinlich war der Statthalter von Nové Zámky Mustafa Pascha abwesend und sie wollten ihre Angelegenheit nicht mit Salih Ağa, der anscheinend Anlaß für die Beschwerde gegeben hat, lösen. Salih Ağa hielt es für angebracht die Hlohovecer zu belehren, sie gehörten unter Nové Zámky, sie hätten ihre Steuern den dortigen Begg zu entrichten und ihnen zu dienen. Abschließend mahnte er sie die Steuern mitzubringen.

Einen Monat später (am 4. Oktober 1676) bringt Salih Ağa seine Empörung zum Ausdruck, daß der Bürgermeister weder die Steuern noch die Zehnte mitgebracht hat. Dem strengen Befehl des Wesirs zufolge solle er die Zehnte und Steuern bringen. Außerdem forderte er einen Glaser zur Verglasung des Sitzes des Statthalters und für ihn persönlich 6 Pinten neuen Most zu schicken, dieser solle aber kräftig genug sein.

Der Schreiber dieser Briefe wirkte lange Zeit in Nové Zámky. In bekannten Briefen erscheint er zum ersten Mal am 5. Februar 1671 als Schreiber von Küçük Mehmed Pascha³⁶ und zum letzten Mal am 21. Juni 1679 bei demselben Würdenträger.³⁷ Er war wahrscheinlich kein ethnischer Ungar, was uns die häufigen Anakoluthe, die inkonsequente Orthographie und Wortverzerrungen verraten. Viele Mängel dürfte das direkte Diktat dem Schreiber verursacht haben, der den Brief auch bei der Abschrift stilistisch nicht mehr bearbeitete. Im Unterschied zu den Briefen, die an die Bürgermeister der Dörfer und Städtchen gerichtet waren, sind die Briefe an hohe ungarische Würdenträger, wie z.B. an Paul Eszterházy, den Befehlshaber des oberhalb der Donau liegenden Hauptkapitanats, viel geschliffener vom Inhalt als auch von der Form her.

³³MATUNÁK, M.: Op. cit., S. 257.

³⁴MATUNÁK, M.: Op. cit., S. 245–246, 247, 248, 254; *Rabovali Turci...*, S. 186 ff.

³⁵Statthalter zu Ofen war damals Suyolcu Ali Pascha (19.6.1675 - März 1677). Siehe GÉVAY, A. von: *Versuch eines chronologischen Verzeichnisses der türkischen Statthalter von Ofen*. Wien 1841, S. 36.

³⁶BLÁŠKOVIČ, J. - KOPČAN, V.: Op. cit., III, S. 115–116.

³⁷BLÁŠKOVIČ, J. - KOPČAN, V.: Op. cit., III, S. 121–122.

In zwei von drei Briefen forderte er vom Bürgermeister Wein oder stürmisch gährenden Jungwein "... uy mustot, io czipos legien", was verrät, daß er auch am Hofe des Statthalters von Nové Zámky seinen Gewohnheiten nachgehen konnte.

In den nachfolgenden sieben Jahren schweigen die Quellen über die Beziehungen von Hlohovec zur osmanischen Macht. Erst zu Beginn des denkwürdigen Jahres 1683 begannen die osmanischen Würdenträger wieder ihren Briefwechsel. Am 17. Februar 1683 schrieb der Statthalter Hocasade Hasan Pascha dem Bürgermeister und den Bürgern, er würde sie alle in Gefangenschaft verschleppen, sollten sie binnen vier Tagen den bestimmten Betrag nicht bringen. Für die Rückstände hätten sie 10 Ballen ungarischen Tuchs, als auch einen Schießpulverbehälter aus Horn und ein Paar Handschuhe zu bringen. Eine Woche später bringt ihnen diese Schulden der Sekretär des Statthalters und drei Tage später auch Ibrahim Beg in Erinnerung.³⁸ Damals neigte sich die osmanische Macht in Ungarn bereits ihrem Ende zu. Hinsichtlich der starken Garnison in Leopoldstadt war Hlohovec durch die Kuruzen-Abteile I. Thökölys nicht bedroht. Im folgenden Jahr 1684 begann die Blockade von Nové Zámky und es ist vorauszusetzen, daß auch das Städtchen erleichtert aufatmete, daß es die hohen Steuern nicht mehr zahlen und diverse Geschenke nicht mehr schicken mußte. Mit der Eroberung von Nové Zámky am 19. August 1685 ging die osmanische Macht in der West- und Mittelslowakei zu Ende, Hlohovec, dessen Geschichte zur Zeit der osmanischen Macht (1663–1685) wir vertiefen wollten, inbegriffen.

I

Der Großwesir Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pascha schreibt den Bürgermeistern und den Ältesten der Stadt Hlohovec und den umliegenden Dörfern Dvorníky, Bojničky, Kľačany, Pastuchov, Bereksek (Sasinkovo) und Verešvár (Červeník), diese sollen ins osmanische Lager bei Nové Zámky kommen und dem osmanischen Sultan huldigen. Der Großwesir verspricht, daß die niemand von den Heeren des Sultan belästigen würde und er würde ihnen einen Schutzbrief geben und ihre persönliche Sicherheit sowie den Schutz ihres Eigentums sichern. Sie jedoch hätten ihrerseits laut Gesetz der osmanischen Seite die kaiserlichen Steuern (cizye), die Summe, die Zahnte und die Abgaben aus der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion zu zahlen und nach Bedarf Arbeiten für die türkischen Festungen zu leisten.

Nové Zámky, am 12. Oktober 1663

Orig.: Mestské múzeum (Städtisches Museum), Hlohovec, 28,6 x 43,2 cm, Doppelbogen

Mű az Hatalmas és Győőshetetlen Tündeöl és Fénieskiedő Csasarunk minden némű birodalminak Téngérintul a Téngérén innén Tartomaninak, abban léuő végh varanainak, Sancsaksaginak mindén ésékben (?) lakoza Fénies és erős Hadainak,

³⁸MATUNÁK, M.: Op. cit., s. 260–261 nach *Wunderbarer Adlers-Schwung... II.* Wien 1700, S. 6–7.

Gondviselő Ura és Parancholoia, Fénies és Méltóságus nagy Hatalmus Tékintetés és Na(gysa) gus vitislő Fű vezér Ahmát pasha

Pençe: Ahmad Paşa Sahh

Ti mégh Galgocz varossi Birak, éörégh emberek mind féjenkét éh méllét Galgocz varossahuz tartozando körniös körül ualo, s lakozo, mindén még névezét falusi Birak, ugi mint Uduarnuki Birak, Bainoczkai Birak, Kéléczeni Birak, Pasthoi Birak, Berfk-szeki Birak, Vérés Vari Birak mind féjenkét, kik Hatalmas Csasarunk mindén nímü Hadai előtt Galgocz Varossaban sorultatuk, éörégh emberek, milliekét küldététek mostan az Hatalmas és Gyéöshétitlen Tündeclő és Fénieskiedő Csasarunk som sam-lalhatatlan Taborban giüttinek, veséri előnkben tudunkra adtak Feniessén, hoga az Hatalmas és Gyéöshétitet Tündeclő és Fénieskedő Csasarunknak mégh akarnatok hodulni és féift hajdani, mind esék után, hoga ha az Hatalmas és Gyéöshétitlen Tündeclő és Fénieskedő Csasarunk minden nemü Hadaitul nevezet szerint, Töröktül Tatartul Hauas Allfüldi, Moduai, Kosaki töb á féle Hadaktul, kik mellétünk taborunkban jélén uadnak megh altalmastatnatok hoga sehul ne bantananak a hitetekben Fénies és Méltóságos véséri uri Hit léuelünkét, adnank alaszatossan köniörgesiték, mindén némü alaszatus köniörgétískit mégh értittuk, megis halgattuk, miis azért adtunk méltó sabadsagát elebenni lako, s le telepedő helinkben, ugi mint magatuk a saját falutukban lakjatuk, mindén némü josagtukat, ugi mint haszaitukat, szüliöitükét, kértijvalut, santo vető földijtékét kasalo rétéjtékét, egi soual mindénétékét, ualami uagion mindén mégh bantas nekül sabadon birjatuk, s, birhassatuk, éh méllét Orsagiun be uét régi io sokasi és Törvénik szerint Hatalmas Csasarunk adajat, summat égiéb felé mindék némü fisetiest, s, mindénékbén tizdet, mindén némü hasnos dolgait, végh varbéli sükségait, ki uézerulő s égiéb féli kiánsagi, az houa illik, s, modus parancsoltatik mindenekit igasan bé adgiatuk és be fisesétik, süt pedig mas ualameli emberek saját igsagihoz érő Hatalommal né uiszliatuk, ugi czéleketek au Hatalmas Csasarunk Törük Hadai, Tatar, Hauas Allföld, Moldua, töbék semmi némü bantasal mégh ném bantanak, se megh ném haborgatnak kiro résvé mind magatuk, féleségeted, giermekited, cseleditek, s, mindén némü marhaituk békésegeben laktok, s, laknak paranczoliukis senki innén az Török, Tatar s, méllétünk leuő Hadaktul mégh, ne haborgatassatun, még is haborgassanak anii erővel inkab altalomman légiének. Mélinek nagio bisonisagara és erőségére adtuk és pecsétés és Czimérés Meltsagus véséri uri Hit levelünket kierünkben. Költ Uy varban Mint sent huanak 12. dik. na: Anno 1663

Idem qui supra

ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir, der prachtvolle, ehrwürdige, gnädige, hochwohlgebornene und siegreiche Großwesir Ahmed Pascha, Verwalter und Befehlshaber aller prachtvollen und mächtigen Heere des mächtigen und unbesiegbaren prachtvollen und strahlenden Kaisers in allen hinter und vor dem Meere¹ liegenden Provinzen (seines) Reiches und dort sich befindlichen Grenzfestungen in all den (dortigen) Sandschaks und deren Teilen.

Pençe: Ahmed Paşa Sahh

Ihr genannten städtischen Richter von Hlohovec, ihr älteren Laute einzeln und die übrigen genannten Dorfrichter, die ihr in der Umgebung lebt und zur Stadt Hlohovec gehört - sowie die Richter (der Gemeinde) Udvarnok,² die Richter von Bainoczka,³ die Richter von Keleczen,⁴ die Richter von Pastho,⁵ die Richter von Berikszek,⁶ die Richter von Veres Var⁷ - persönlich (auch) die älteren Leute, die ihr jetzt in das riesige Lager des mächtigen, unbesiegbaren, prachtvollen und strahlenden unseren Kaisers geschickt habt, sie (mögen) sich vor unserer Wesirsanwesenheit klar äußern, daß ihr euch unterwerfen und verneigen möchtet vor unserem mächtigen, unbesiegbaren, prachtvollen und strahlenden Kaiser.

Deshalb geben wir euch unsere feierliche, glaubwürdige, herrschaftliche Wesirschutzbefehl, (damit) ihr nirgendwo und überhaupt nicht belästigt werdet, so in eurem Glauben (seitens) welcher auch immer unserer Heere - namentlich (von den) Türken, Tataren, wallachischen, moldauischen und Kosaken als auch anderen ähnlichen Armeen, die hier in unserem Lager anwesend sind. Eure untertänige Bitten und verschiedene untertänige Ansuchen haben wir verstanden, sie erhört und deshalb geben wir euch die verdiente Freiheit den dort wohnenden und sich dort befindliche, dort wo ihr auch persönlich wohnt, damit ihr alle eure Eigentümer frei besitzen und benützen könnt, ohne jedwede Belästigung - wie ihre Häuser, Weingärten, Gärten, Ackerland, Wiesen zum Mähen - mit einem Wort alles (was) euer (ist), was ihr besitzt - und dabei sollt ihr abgeben und bezahlen die Steuer unserem mächtigen Sultan, nach den guten alten, althergebrachten Sitten unseres Landes, wie die Summar- und sämtliche andere nützliche Arbeiten nach Bedarf der Grenzbehörden und den gesamten restlichen Bedarf laut Anordnung zu verrichten, wo das gehört und das auf die Art (wie) dies angeordnet wird, habt ihr alles und wirklich zu liefern und zu zahlen. Und noch dazu (sollten) gewisse Leute durch Gewalt um ihr Eigentum kommen, so sollte dies verhindert werden (?). Die türkischen Heere unseres mächtigen Kaisers (und die übrigen) tatarischen, wallachischen, moldauischen (Heere werden) niemals und auf keinerlei Weise belästigen dieselben (oben angeführten), deren Frauern, Kinder, Gesinde (es wird sichergestellt, daß diese) in Frieden wohnen mit allen Besitztümern und werden wohnen und (deshalb) wird angeordnet, daß niemand von den türkischen, tatarischen und bei uns befindlichen Heeren (diese) belästigt und sie auch (in der Zukunft) nicht belästigt werden, sondern mit ihren eigenen Kräfte zu ihrem Schutz dienen werden.

Für ein größeres Vertrauern und Festigung erließen wir hierzu unseren mit Siegel und Wappen versehenen, großherrschaftlichen, wesirlichen Herrschaftsschutzbefehl. Gegeben zu Nové Zámky im Monat Allerheiligen am 12. Tag des Jahres 1663

Idem qui supra

¹In den anatolischen und rumelischen Provinzen.

²Dvorníky, Kreis Trnava.

³Bojničky, Kreis Trnava.

⁴Kľačany, Kreis Trnava.

⁵Pastuchov, Kreis Trnava.

⁶Bereksek, heute Sasinkovo, Kreis Trnava.

⁷Verešvár, heute Červeník, Kreis Trnava.

II

Salih Ağa, Kethüda des Statthalters von Nové Zámky, Mustafa Pascha, ärgert sich über den Bürgermeister von Hlohovec, weil dieser nicht nach Nové Zámky gekommen war und ihm nicht Gehorsam leistete. Er befiehlt ihm die Krüge und einen Becher mitzubringen. Der Schreiber des Briefes verlangt vier Bogen Papier und Wein.

Nové Zámky, am 31. Juli 1676

Orig.: Mestské múzeum (Städtisches Museum), Hlohovec, 20 x 30,7 cm

Mi Ersök uy var veg varanak Heli Tartoyanak, és paranczoloyanak vezir Mustafa Passanak Tihaya Bekye leve, és egez udvari nepenek paranczoloya Salih Ağa

Pençe: Ahkar el-^cibad Salih Kethüda Sahh

Stempel: Muzhir-i feyz-i İllâhî Salih

Te Galgoczi biro hova löttel enne paranczolatunkra be nem iüttel mi lehet ez, hanem hagiom paranczolom te neked. Az mi uri paranczolatunkat latvan iüiön igy (?) be az korsokat, az pohart az kiket paranczoltunk meg hozd, te biro ezt elne halgasd eben volt az halgasa god, mar fillyak (?) halaltani sok ugian mar az te hami sagod, hanem ezt el ne halgast iüion igy be minden nagi hamarszagal iol meg gondold mit ezekekből eleg volt immar az te czelekezete öl, hanm iüiön igy be min deneket meg hozd, az kiket paranczoltunk. En Iró vagion (?) negi konc papirosot, egi fel bortok (?) egi korsó egész bort iob hoz vagi két pintet legien eni, had közönnem meg, ha ihatom lene.

Datum Erszek uy var 31. die Juli 1676.

En Iró vagiok az serfyakat leh.et vagi külgiek penzt az Czasar ado jat az en adomat vart most külgienek

Tergum: Adassek Galgoczai bironak mindöb nagi hamarssagal

ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir Salih Ağa, Sekretär von Mustafa Pascha, dem Statthalter und Befehlshaber der Grenzfestung Nové Zámky, und Befehlshaber aller Hofleute.

Pençe: Der geringste der Diener (Allahs) Salih Kethüda. Richtig.

Stempel: Salih, der mit Allahs Gnade Beschenkte!

Du Hlohovecer Richter, wo bist du gewesen, daß du nach so vielen unsren Befehlen nicht gekommen bist? Was kann das sein, daß du nicht kommst, wenn er es dir ständig befiehlt? Wenn du diesen meinen herrschaftlichen Befehl sehen wirst, komm zu uns und bring die Krüge und den Becher mit, was wir dir zu bringen befohlen haben. Du Richter verschweige dies nicht und (denke daran) daß es deine Pflicht ist. Es dauert schon lange, das wir auf deine Heuchelei hören. Gehorche und komm sofort mit größter Eile. Überlege es dir gut (erwäge es), daß deiner Tätigkeit (was du angerichtet hast) schon genug war, aber komm her und bring alles, was wir dir befohlen haben. Ich der Schreiber (verlange) vier Bogen Papier, ein und ein halb Wein (?), einen Krug guten Weines oder zwei Pinten. Damit ich es euch danken kann, wenn ich davon trinken werde!

Datum Nové Zámky den 31. Juli 1676

Ich Schreiber (verlange), ...also entweder schickt schon das Geld für die kaiserliche Steuer

III

Salih Ağa, Kethüda des Statthalter von Nové Zámky Mustafa Pascha regt sich auf und beschimpft den Bürgermeister von Hlohovec, weil sich dieser beim Ofener Statthalter beschwert hat und macht ihn darauf aufmerksam, daß er unter Nové Zámky gehört und dort sämtliche Steuern zu zahlen habe.

Nové Zámky, am 4. September 1676

Orig.: Mestské múzeum (Städtisches Museum), Hlohovec, 20 x 31 cm

Mi Ersök Uj var veg varanak Heli Tartoyanak és paranczoloyanak vezir Mustafa Passanak Tihaya Bekye leve, és egész udvari nepenek paranczoloya, Salih Ağa

Pençe: Ahkar el-^cibad Salih Kethüda Sahh

Stempel: Muzhir-i feyz-i illâhî Salih

Ti Galgoczi birak kiczintül fogva nagio, hami kurvak Czigan ebek, az Budai Basahoz mentetek panasztani, de kiktek, az mi Hatalmas és Győzhetlen Török Czarot Ersek Uy varhoz rendelt, am uy vari Begak számára rendelt ide adottak szolgálójatak, ti magak kurvak sommaban mink az dezmat hitek mindenekbol az Iro adoknak ugian az sommara adoxtadok, mink azt kivanunk, tükröt ... leszte, vitak vagion harom az ... Czar ad ya, azt meg hazat, az utan ez mi adotis az mi ... leszte.

Datum: Ersök Uy var 4 die sept. 1676.

Tergum: Adatunk az uri paranczolatun Galgoczi birokna mind feyenkin kiczintül fogvan nagik

ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir sind Salih Ağa, Mustafa Paschas Sekretär, des Statthalters und Befehlshabers der Grenzfestung Nové Zámky, sowie Befehlshabers aller Hofleute.

Pençe: Der geringste der Diener (Allahs) Salih Kethüda. Richtig.

Stempel: Salih, der mit Allahs Gnade Beschenkte!

Ihr Hlohovecer Richter, die ihr von Kindheit auf große, falsche Huren seid und Zigeunerhunde, seid zum Ofener Pascha gegangen euch zu beschweren. Ihr wurdet zugewiesen zu uns zur Burg des mächtigen und unbesiegbaren türkischen Kaisers, zu Nové Zámky und ihr soll (zahlen) die vorgeschriebenen Steuern an die Begs von Nové Zámky und ihnen dienen.

IV

Salih Ağa, Kethüda des Statthalters von Nové Zámky Mustafa Pascha fordert den Hlohovecer Richter auf nach Nové Zámky zu kommen und sämtliche Steuern und Zehnte zu bezahlen, weiter verlangt er einen Glaser in den Sitz des Statthalters zu schicken um dort neue Fensterscheiben einzusetzen. Auch fordert er die Vermittlung

mit den Einwohnern von Nitrianska Blatnica und für sich verlangt der Schreiber Mehl und Most.

Nové Zámky, am 4. Oktober 1676

Orig.: Mestské múzeum (Städtisches Museum), Hlohovec, 19,3 x 30 cm

Mi Ersök uj var veg varanak Heli Tartoyanak és paranczoloyanak vezir Mustafa Passanak, Tehava Bekye leven és egesz udvari nepenek paranczoloya Salih Ağa

Pençe: Ahkar el-^cibad Salih Kethüda

Stempel: Muhir-i feyz-i İllâhî Salih

Te Galgoczi biro, és mind feyenkint, mit Czinaltok, mit vartok, fel eztendöye el mult, sem adotok, em dezmatikban egi pénz niczen, mit hamiskodtok, mi szandektot Czak posta által szoltok velünk, hanem az vezír erős paranczoadtya, ti birok be üedtek, az dezmat valami vagion, az... ..mit adot mind meg hozatok mendenekbul, az kezen keresztül be iöyön azok a mot mondnak mink azoknak meg hozatok, ezet ne mulasztok, te biro üveg iarto be iöyön az vezír hazaban ablakok vannak, azokat köl epiteni nemeli ablak el töröt, és hazon üvegöt, czinallya meg ezt el ne halgasak, biro na mulas iöiön igy be és az tizen ket és két be iöjen veled eggiüt. En Iro deyak, biro, egi merz feyer lisztet hoz be, lisnek valot és biro, egi io tobolyo hat pintesset ho uy mustot, io czipös legien, had köszönnyem meg az egesz varosnak. Biro at Sarfyak felöl hoz bizonyos valaszolt, mit montak mit nem iünneke vagi nem, embert kölgi, hozon bizonyos valaszot hozon minekünk, e biro bizonyos valaszot hozon minekünk, e biro vizonyos valaszot hoz mi nekünk.

Datum Ersök uy var, 4 die octobri Anno Domini 1676

Tergum: Adasatok ez uri paranczolatunk Galgocza biraknak minden nagi hamarssagal

ÜBERSETZUNG

Wir Salih Ağa, Sekretär des Wesirs Mustafa Pascha, des Statthalters und Befehlshabers der Grenzfestung Nové Zámky und Befehlshaber aller Hofleute.

Pençe: Der geringste der Diener (Allahs) Salih Kethüda. Richtig.

Stempel: Salih, der mit Allahs Gnade Beschenkte!

Du Hlohovecer Richter und ihr übrigen! Was macht ihr? Worauf wartet ihr? - Schon ein halbes Jahr verging und ihr habt kein einziges Geldstück (bezahlt) weder an Steuern, noch an Zehnten! Auf was spekuliert ihr? Was verfolgt ihr damit, daß ihr mit uns nur über die Post redet?

Der strenge Befehl des Wesirs lautet; ihr Richter kommt zu uns, bringt das Zehnt, was ihr (abzugeben) habt und ... (die übrigen) Steuern von allen (vorgeschriebenen) mit euren eigenen Händen mit. Alles, was (sie) sagen,¹ alle werden wir glauben. Bringt eure Steuern zusammen mit dem Zehnt! Dies verabsäumt nicht!

¹Anscheinend geht es um einen Vertrag in Steuerangelegenheiten, bei dem die osmanische Seite bereit war die von den Einwohnern von Hlohovec vorgeschlagenen Höhe der Steuern zu akzeptieren.

Du Richter! Es komme (zu uns) ein Glaser, im Hause des Wesirs sind Fenster, die man reparieren muß, (weil) einige Fensterscheiben zerbrochen sind. Er soll Glas mitbringen, er soll das machen und es soll nicht vernachlässigt werden. Richter, säume nicht! Es sollen alle zwölf und zwei (?) mit dir kommen!²

Ich (bin) Schreiber. Richter, bring eine Metze weißes Mehl für Brot mit! Richter, bring ein ordentliches tobolyo,³ sechs pintvoll neuen Most, er soll gut scharf sein! Ich (soll mich dafür) der ganzen Stadt bedanken (können)!

Richter, bring auch eine verlässliche Nachricht über die Sarfianer!⁴ Was sie sagten, ob sie kommen oder nicht? Schicke einen Menschen, er soll uns (von ihnen) die Antwort bringen! Richter, bring uns eine wahrhafte Nachricht!

(Dieser) unsere herrschaftliche Befehl solle den Hlohovecer Richtern mit größter Eile übergeben werden!

²Es ist nicht klar, ob es sich um Mitglieder des Stadtrats oder um die Richter der umliegenden Dörfer, die in der Urkunde Nr. 1 angeführt ware, handelt.

³Tobolyo - richtig *csobolyó*, deutsch *Eimer*, slowakisch *džber*.

⁴Wahrscheinlich Sarfia, das heutige Nitrianska Blatnica, Kreis Topoľčany, etwa 17 km nordöstlich von Hlohovec liegend.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK ARMAMENTS INDUSTRY AND THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN CONFLICT

Juraj CHMIEL, Bratislava

The study is concerned with a lesser-known aspect of Czechoslovak pre-Munich foreign policy - Czechoslovak-Ethiopian relations in connection with Czechoslovak munition factories on the eve and at the time of the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. The focus of the study is an analysis of the activity of the arms factories Zbrojovka Brno, Škoda Pilsen and Sellier and Bellot, against the background of Czechoslovak foreign policy.

The author shows that in view of the situation then prevailing in Central Europe, the interests of the ČSR and its consequent efforts at not antagonizing Italy, the Czechoslovak Government, by its policy of neutrality, in fact stood up against the interests of Ethiopia.

The protracted Italo-Ethiopian conflict which came to a head in the armed encounter of the mid-thirties, became the touchstone of the system of collective security, so prominently discussed at the time. During the course of the conflict, the interests of two great powers gradually came to be crystallized those of France and Great Britain, to which support was also provided by a group of Czechoslovak politicians led by E. Beneš who adjusted their foreign policy accordingly. To put it in simple terms, it may be said that the French government supported Mussolini in order to weaken its British competitor in Africa and in the Near East, and simultaneously to win the favour of its fascist neighbour. Great Britain saw a direct threat to her colonial domination in Africa and its route to India in the Italian aggression.

Czechoslovakia, which was playing an important role in the ever more significant Central-European region, looked with apprehension at the growing conflict which, beginning as a regional matter, was becoming a serious European problem. Czechoslovak foreign policy was faced with a dilemma - on the one hand, Italy by its action clearly violated the United Nations' Pact, yet had the support of its Czechoslovak ally and France. On the other hand, Great Britain, uniquely motivated by her own interests, stood for the protection of the League of Nations' Pact. Under the influence of French policy and the situation prevailing in Central Europe (re: Hungarian revisionism and attempts by fascist Germany at an Anschluss of Austria, together with the consequent dangers), Czechoslovak foreign policymakers considered it of the utmost importance to maintain friendly relations with Italy. The dilemma was further aggravated in that Italy flagrantly violated the Pact in which Beneš and his policy saw as the supreme security and guarantee for small nations. Under these circumstances, Czechoslovakia set out on a road which she officially proclaimed as one of strict neutrality.

The aim of the present study, as said earlier, is to elucidate, through an analysis of activities of certain Czechoslovak armament concerns, a less known chapter in Czechoslovak foreign policy towards Ethiopia on the eve and during the course of the

Italo-Ethiopian war. During World War II, the view had already spread that Czechoslovak supplies of war material had helped Ethiopia in her defence against the Italian aggressor, and also that Czechoslovakia had also supported Ethiopia in the diplomatic field. For example the then Negus Haile Selassie of Ethiopia wrote to Beneš on August 10, 1942: "... We cannot forget that your Excellency was one of the sympathizers of Ethiopia at the time when she was without arms and attacked by fascist Italy. Although it was politically very difficult for those countries friendly to us to provide Ethiopia with war materials, Czechoslovakia ignored those difficulties and stretched out her hands to supply these materials to the oppressed party. The accusations put forward by the aggressor did not move Czechoslovakia an inch..."¹ The former Minister of Foreign Affairs and later President of ČSR, Eduard Beneš, wrote in his memoirs that appeared in 1948: "... In September 1935 we endeavoured in Geneva vainly, almost desperately, to check this universal decline by a sharp condemnation of the Italian attack on Abyssinia² and by declaring sanctions against Mussolini's, to halt the fascist bullies... Personally, I then lent full support to the League of Nations, as President of the League Assembly I contributed without reserve and abundantly to Sir Hoar's initiative for enforcing sanctions against the aggressor."³ The forthcoming analysis will show whether matters were really as implied in the two quotations.

Our study is primarily support by information from the archives of Škoda, the Archives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs (AFMZV), and the Archives of the former Institute of Marxism ÚV KSČ (AUML ÚV KSČ). Data regarding business transactions between Zbrojovka Brno and Ethiopia came from the above archives and from the book by Franěk, O.: *Zbraně pro celý svět* (Arms for the Whole World), with the subtitle: Foreign Business with Arms and Munitions of the Zbrojovka Brno Firm between the Two Wars (Brno 1970). According to information from the Zbrojovka firm's archives all regarding materials to Ethiopia were, allegedly, destroyed by some natural disaster. Important documents were also supposed to be held by the Register of the 2nd Section of the Ministry of National Defence (MND) and deposited in the Military History Archives (VHA) in Prague. However, with negligible exceptions, the materials are missing. Further data were taken from press of the period, and another important source was A. Parlesák's work: *Abyssinian Odyssey. A Czech in the Services of the Abyssinian Emperor*. Prague 1948.⁴

¹AFMZV, London Archives. Political matters. Box 65 - Ethiopia. English translation of the Amhara original.

²In the materials quoted here, the period designation of Ethiopia, Abyssinia, has been preserved.

³BENEŠ, E.: *Memoirs. From Munich to the new war and new victory*. Prague, Orbis 1948, pp. 19, 43.

⁴Of aid in the writing of this study were also works by A. GAJANOVÁ: *A Double Face. From the History of Pre-Munich Fascism*. 1962. ČSR and Central-European Policy of the Great Powers. 1918–1938. 1967; Book by R. KVAČEK: *Over Europe - Overcast*. 1966; E. RABOCHOVÁ-NAUSCHOVÁ's Graduation Thesis: *Italian Aggression Against Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia* 1967; Collection of Essays on the Czechoslovak Foreign Policy 1918–1939. 1956; A. BARTNICKI's Study: *The First Front of World War II*. 1971. In addition to these studies and those cited in the present analysis, scores of works exist concerned with the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, or its incorporation into European events (e.g. A. BARTNICKI, J. MANTEL-NIEČKO: *History of Ethiopia*. 1987; L. DEÁK: *Struggle for Central Europe 1933–1938*. 1986; V. BYSTRICKÝ: *Collective Security or Neu-*

The course of the war and Italy's victory revealed all the weaknesses of the League of Nations and gaps through which an aggressor could attain his goal with impunity. That conflict and particularly the way of acting on the part of the great powers should have been a warning. It should have been a lesson to small nations, which were in fact playthings in the hands of great power politics. Although geographically far remote, Czechoslovakia came to be one of the indirect participants in the conflict. True, only from the sidelines; nevertheless, by its attitude and procedure it did partially intervene into the course of the conflict. In addition to the political and diplomatic scene, this became most blatantly evident in the domain of armaments.

It may be taken as an axiom that arms are an instrument of politics, and a very dangerous one indeed! In the ČSR, trade with weapons was subject to the government's approbation. Armaments producers could officially sell weapons solely to legally established governments, however, unofficially, war material was sold everywhere, where profit could be expected. Two of the principal exporters of arms in the first Czechoslovak Republic were Zbrojovka Brno and Škoda in Pilsen. Zbrojovka was a semi-national concern with a three-quarter share held by the Czechoslovak State. Its violations of the rule provoked not only protests on the part of appropriate governments, but also a sharp criticism from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that on National Defence (in reality often only formal complaints). A direct connection between Zbrojovka Brno and Škoda in Pilsen also existed, as the latter had a 20-percent share in Zbrojovka's stocks. Škoda representatives were members of Zbrojovka's administrative council and executive board. The two concerns did not compete between themselves according to mutual agreement; they had a specified production programme. Infantry arms were made at Zbrojovka, heavy weapons by Škoda Pilsen. However, since part of Škoda's shares were owned by the French armaments firm, Schneider, in most cases Škoda Pilsen could not make independent decisions, but was held by various agreements. Thus, the focal point of the present study is an analysis of the two armaments firms in Czechoslovakia, and also business transactions of Messrs Sellier Bellot, all within the context of international policy and Czechoslovak diplomacy. To make the issue more lucid, we chose to deal separately with activities of the various concerns dependent upon the political situation.

Czechoslovak arms enjoyed a very favourable renown in the world. Czechoslovak export of weapons and munitions and its share of the world market steadily increased. In 1934 and 1935 it attained 21.1 % and 24.5 % respectively of the total world export of these items and Czechoslovakia thus was ranked first on a worldwide scale.⁵

Direct Czechoslovak-Ethiopian contacts were at the time being studied at a minimum. No diplomatic relations existed; Czechoslovak interests, particularly those of

trality. 1981). In view of the spate of accessible and exhaustive literature, the author does not consider it appropriate to make the explication more complicated by a more detailed analysis of the international political situation then prevailing and confines his treatment simply to its outline as given in the Introduction and to the essential statements deriving from it.

⁵FRANĚK, O.: Weapons for the Whole World. Foreign Trade with Arms and Ammunition of the Concern Zbrojovka Brno between the Two World Wars. Brno, Blok 1970, pp. 10, 11, 19.

the small Czechoslovak colony in Ethiopia were taken care of by the French Embassy in Addis Ababa. In December 1934, a long-prepared trade agreement was signed, thanks mainly to some Czechoslovak colonists in Ethiopia; however, its ratification by the ČSR never took place because of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. The proposed Czechoslovak Consulate was not established in Addis Ababa for the same reason.

Czechoslovak goods were known in Ethiopia,⁶ but despite the initiative of our citizens in this African country, no Czechoslovak firm was interested in Ethiopia and thus our products arrived there, for the most part, through intermediary export firms in Hamburg and Vienna. An exception was armament engineering firms which only goes to show the high quality of this branch of Czechoslovak industry. It was no easy matter to penetrate into African markets which were carefully guarded by the various colonial powers. The markets in two independent states appeared to have been more accessible - Liberia and Ethiopia.

According to existing materials, the first arms deliveries from Czechoslovakia to Ethiopia left the "Factory for Fire Matches and Cartridges, the former Sellier and Bellot" in 1928. This involved for the most part small-calibre munition - cartridges for Winchester rifles, flobert cartridges, and detonator fuses. The partner firm was Messrs Krob-Freres in Dire-Dawa, the owners of which were Czechoslovak citizens. Importation of arms into Ethiopia was an unusually intricate business and depended on the attitude of French authorities that controlled the Djibuti sea port and the only railway track that then connected the interior of the country with the sea. While the first consignments of Messrs Sellier and Bellot's went without a hitch, those from the end of 1929 and early 1930 met with obstacles as the above firm failed to receive the necessary authorization. The reason was an agreement regarding control of import of arms and ammunitions into Ethiopia from 21 August 1930, which also required a written authorization of the Ethiopian Government. The French authorities prohibited such supplies through Djibuti until the accord went into effect.⁷

However, Messrs Sellier-Bellot were not deterred by such difficulties and despite obstruction on the part of French customs offices, in the first half of the 1930s they supplied various consignments of hunting and sport ammunition to private dealers. Early in 1935, having verified the solid standing of the firm, the Ethiopian Government signed a contract with it to the tune of 1,332,000 French francs for the supply of 4,000,000 sharp military cartridges for hand fire-arms. The transaction, however, was not implemented. True, on 25 March, the Ministry of Defence let it known that it had no objections to the export in question, but on 20 April 1935, it went back on its own decision. From available materials regarding compensation for the damages suffered

⁶The following goods were imported to Ethiopia from the ČSR: Enamelled ware, bentwood furniture, glassware, goods from Jablonec, textiles, sweets, kitchen utensils, brushes, footwear, knitwear and fancy goods, haberdashery, porcelain, and men's linen. According to AFMZV, Section IV, Box 1216, No. 50580/30-IV/5, 75838/33.

⁷AFMZV, Sect. IV, Box 527, Abyssinia, 1930, No. 94 605, 151 754. An alternative was caravan routes; however, these were too long, did not ensure safe transport for such much sought-after goods as arms and ammunition, and were very expensive.

by Messrs Sellier-Bellot it ensues that the Ministry of Defence had acted in a way on the "stimulus, or wishes, demands, even ruling" of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The matter was so serious that a suggestion was made that it would be appropriate to draw the attention of the Italian Embassy to the inconveniences accrued by Czechoslovak authorities because of such a response. That proposal, however, was quashed.⁸

The greatest Czechoslovak arms exporter to Ethiopia was Zbrojovka Brno. In 1929 Zbrojovka terminated the validity of a cartel contract with the Belgian armaments concern Herstal, which these two had signed in 1927. This had been a short-term cartel agreement intended to achieve a worldwide monopoly on the production of rifles. According to the terms of this contract, Ethiopia belonged to Herstal's area of influence.⁹ In May 1930, Zbrojovka's representative Ing. Potěšil went to Ethiopia in order to ascertain the possibilities and conditions for business. By October he informed that interest in arms was keen in Ethiopia, but an import licence was required and prices had to be low. He, therefore, recommended to deliver Mannlicher rifles and ammunition from the stock of the Ministry of Defence first. However, when Zbrojovka opened negotiations in 1931, it soon realized that because of Ethiopia's bad financial situation, there was little hope for concluding any early business transactions.¹⁰

Negotiations were resumed only in 1933 on the initiative of the Ethiopian Government. Its army was in a disastrous situation. Belgian and Swedish military instructors were active in the country, but as an assignment they had to train only the imperial guard. From a technical aspect, only this guard met any claims as a modernly armed and trained military formation. Zbrojovka Brno had relatively reliable information on the state of the other part of the Ethiopian army, if this term can even be applied to badly armed and unorganized crowds of the populace.¹¹

In November 1933, Mr. Oto Beratschen Yadete, empowered by the Ethiopian Government to negotiate arms purchases, called on the Czechoslovak Embassy in Paris. The Czechoslovak Government gave its assent to the negotiations. However, Zbrojovka refused to make an offer for 5,000 rifles and 5,000 Mauser carbines with accessories, as well as for 3,000,000 cartridges on the pretext that Ethiopia formed part of Herstal's sphere. Although at that time, as stated earlier, the agreement on the division of the spheres of influence was no longer being enforced.¹² Ultimately,

⁸AFMZV. Sect. IV. Box 481, Military Matters, Abyssinia, No. 9089/35 and letter of S-B of April 1, 1935; VHA 2nd Dept. MND, No. 54 13/3 11, No. 38898/1.25.3.1935. 54 13/3 15 of 20.4.1935; 54 13/3 21 and 54 13/3 23 of 12.VIII. 1935.

⁹FRANĚK, O.: op. cit. p. 17.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 99–100.

¹¹Exact data on the Ethiopian army are not known, but it is generally accepted that it included 250,000 armed men with fire arms and 100,000 unarmed, 20 airplanes, a few hundred guns from the turn of the century, 150 lorries, 7-25 light armoured cars, and 7 heavy armoured cars. The data about 800,000 rifles, 200,000 of which were to have been modern, as Huyn and Kalmer observe, appear to be exaggerated. In any case, Ethiopia's war equipment lagged far behind that of Italy which relied on 400–500,000 men and 600 incomparably superior planes. For more detailed data and their variance see in: HUYN, L. - KALMER, J.: Abyssinia. Prague 1936, 31 pp.; HRBEK, I. et al.: History of Africa. Vol. II. Prague 1966, p. 445; Der Bewaffnete Kampf der Völker Afrikas für Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit, Berlin 1981, p. 118; FRANĚK, O.: op. cit., p. 154.

however, negotiations were resumed for the purchase by Ethiopia of 2,400 automatic rifles (type 29). Difficulties cropped up during the negotiations concerning the manner of taking over the weapons, but they were finally settled in the sense that they would be taken over on behalf of the Ethiopian Government by Czechoslovak military authorities under conditions valid for the Czechoslovak army.¹³

At the request of the Ethiopian government of 8 September 1934, Zbrojovka also worked on an order of 160 light and 22 heavy machine-guns at the end of 1934. To supply the order for light machine-guns, the firm used some surplus it had from a Rumanian order. In comparison with the execution of other contracts, the Ethiopian order was unduly protracted. The technical report for November 1934 states the deadline as December of that year, but by 28 December, only 22 heavy machine-guns had been assembled. The light machine-guns (type 30) were to have been ready by 18 February 1935 in order that the whole consignment could be shipped from Hamburg by the end of that month. However, this delay was not adhered to either. For reasons that at first sight appear incomprehensible, the Ministry of National Defence issued its authorization for the weapons and ammunition to be exported¹⁴ only on 18 March 1935. The consignment was dispatched the very next day except for 100 automatic rifles,¹⁵ work on which had begun in January and which were to be shipped in May 1935. However, on orders of the management of Zbrojovka, assembly and final checking were stopped in the middle of 1935. The firm had an additional 10,000 rifles (type 98/29) in stock, ready for an eventual order from Ethiopia. There is no record of any such order having been received in Brno, and these rifles were never shipped. The functioning of the arms that were delivered, was demonstrated by a technician from Zbrojovka, O. Klemens in May 1935.

The procrastination, the delays in executing the order and Zbrojovka's eventual internal injunction to stop the assembly of the guns reflect the tense international-political situation in the first half of 1935, and above all an effort to avoid antagonizing Italy. Nor is it without interest that the Czechoslovak Government concluded this order without having consulted France who had prohibited export of arms to Ethiopia on 7 January 1935, exactly when in a secret clause with Italy, France had given Mussolini a free hand in Ethiopia.

The vision of profit and the opportunity to get rid of old superfluous rifles in the beginning of 1935 prevented led the ČSR Government from cancelling outright the orders already approved, but the sharpening of the situation and the fear of angering Italy and also of France ultimately led the government to issue orders for all military

¹²Škoda Concern, S.P. - Firm Archives - Depository Prague. Fund: Joint-stock Company, formerly Škoda Works. Board of management - Arms Correspondence. Various Foreign Countries. File (operational) 011805, Component 9 (Ethiopia) (further referred to in text under abbreviation only PAŠ-PD, GRŽ-Zbr. corresp.) D/10 652 17.XI.1933.

¹³AFMZV, Sect. IV, Box 481, cited document No. 6906/53, 125. 798/34, 147 427/34, 148 239/34.

¹⁴The export licence was for 2,000,000 sharp cartridges Mauser cal. 7.92 mm, 22 light machine-guns ZB model. 30 cal. 7.92 with reinforced barrel and spare parts. 160 light machine-guns model 30 cal. 7.92 with spare parts. 12 short rifles, model 24, cal. 7.92 and 100 automatic rifles. AFMZV, Sect. IV, Box 481 quoted doc. No. 38 232/35 and copy from MND No. 10 743.

¹⁵Ibid.

supplies to Ethiopia to be stopped. The exact date of this prohibition is not known as the relevant document cannot be traced. What is certain is that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had acted "initiatively" in April 1935. However, there are indications implying that the Government's prohibition came out in mid-June 1935 at the latest. The whole affair was strictly confidential, with nothing but guesses and conjectures reaching the public at large. Thus for instance, the daily *Lidové noviny* (People's newspaper) of June 18, 1935 wrote: "The Czechoslovak Government has allegedly declared an embargo on the export of arms and ammunition to Abyssinia and has thereby won Italy to a more favourable standpoint for further negotiations on the Central-European pact. It is hard to find out how much truth there is in this, especially as it is not known whether Czechoslovakia has exported arms and ammunition to Abyssinia at all. However, one thing is certain, whatever the case may be, if this did take place, it was not in order that the plan of the Italian Government in Abyssinia be facilitated, but solely to permit the Italo-Abyssinian conflict to be more easily settled, as had been approved by the League of Nations ... Hence, reports on such a peculiar help to Italy (these reports emanate from Italian sources only) are wishful thinking rather than facts. However, it is out of the question that the Little Entente would take up an unfavourable stand towards Abyssinia, just to obtain agreements in Central Europe..."¹⁶ Thus, despite fragmentary information, the paper *Lidové noviny* uncovered the reason for the embargo - to maintain Italian friendship at all costs.

That there was the question of an attempt at absolutely secrecy is borne out by the fact that the Czechoslovak Ambassador in Paris, Dr. Š. Osuský, learned of this prohibition only through the intermediary of his Ethiopian colleague. This is all the more remarkable as most of the correspondence and the friendly contacts regarding supplies of arms to Ethiopia, had gone precisely through the Czechoslovak Embassy in Paris.

On 1 July 1935, Ambassador Osuský, quoting a report by the Ethiopian Ambassador Hetopo, stated that the Czechoslovak Government had put a ban on the export of weapons ordered and duly paid for and that the Ambassador asked that these should be delivered, otherwise Ethiopia was doomed to annihilation. The Ethiopian Government was particularly surprised at the way the Czechoslovak Government acted and pointed to a similar case when on 7 January France had prohibited such export, yet had at least informed the Ethiopian Government about it. At the same time Hetopo suggested that he would go to Prague to resolve the matter.¹⁷ To this clearly formulated request, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Prague gave this reply: "Please inform Mr. Hetopo that the ČSR has not put any general embargo on the export of arms to Abyssinia nor anywhere else. Our Government issues authorization of export in every specific case. Therefore, when a conflict took place between Abyssinia and Italy, the Czechoslovak Government, in order to adhere as far as possible to the principle of

¹⁶*Lidové noviny*, Vol. 43, No. 304, June 18, 1935; *Lidové noviny* expressed the view of the leading political group of pre-Munich ČSR - the so-called HRAD (Castle), represented by president T.G. Masaryk and E. Beneš. The Little Entente was a military-political alliance made up of the ČSR, Yugoslavia and Rumania during 1921-1939.

¹⁷AFMZV, Cable No. 336/35 from Paris, received July 1, 1935.

neutrality, refused authorization for an export of arms to both the countries involved. If it had been informed at the time the Abyssinian order was received, it would have drawn attention to the possible danger that it might not be in a position to authorize the export. As there is no reciprocal representation either in Prague or in Addis Abeba, it was not possible to inform the Abyssinian Government. The arrival of Ambassador Hetopo in Prague could not alter our standpoint."¹⁸ This shrewd reply is marked primarily by its numerous conditional particles, nonetheless, its contents are not truthful. The only reason for the prohibition of the export to Ethiopia was Italy. This is also attested by the fact that the Czechoslovak Government immediately advised Rome of it.

Hetopo, however, did not resign in his efforts and thus on 12 July, he sent another cable to Osuský asking for information whether export of Czechoslovak arms and ammunition was prohibited without exception. The Ethiopian Ambassador warned him that they were expecting 4 million rounds of ammunition which they had ordered some months before.¹⁹ The reply which the deputy minister for foreign affairs K. Krofta sent on 13 July, was brief: "Prohibition of export without exception, regardless of date of conclusion of transaction."²⁰ However, it has not been possible to determine with certainty which of the arms and ammunition, ordered and paid for by Ethiopia, had not been duly delivered. We can safely speak only of 100 automatic rifles and ammunition. A lack of the latter in particular was keenly felt by the Ethiopian army, as confirmed by the testimony of our countryman A. Parlesák who acted as an adviser in the Ethiopian army during the fighting with Italy in 1935–36.²¹ At stake were not solely the unfulfilled orders, but also the fact that Ethiopia could not order any more arms.

On 5 July 1935, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, W. S. Herouy, addressed a personal letter to Minister Beneš asking for explanations why the rest of the ordered arms had not been delivered, and what is of great importance, he reminded Beneš that France had given authorization for the transit of the arms.²² An archival entry of Škoda Plzeň states that at that time a representative of Zbrojovka Brno for Ethiopia, Mr. B. W. Bohnenberger, called the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague, who was to give Beneš a letter from the Ethiopian emperor. In it the ruler allegedly assured Beneš of his friendship, promised an intensification of economic contacts, but principally ap-

¹⁸AFMZV, Cable No. 402/35, dispatched to Paris on July 3, 1935.

¹⁹AFMZV, Cable No. 345/35, from Paris, received July 12, 1935. It probably referred to cartridges which Messrs Sellier and Bellot should have delivered.

²⁰AFMZV, Cable No. 416/35, dispatched to Paris on July 13, 1935.

²¹See also PARLESÁK, A.: *The Abyssinian Odyssey. A Czech in the Services of the Abyssinian Emperor*. Prague, Toužinský and Moravec 1948. It is practically impossible to ascertain the quantity of arms and ammunition which the ČSR had supplied to Ethiopia. E.g. Franěk states in his book that in 1934, a total of 450 light machine-guns model 30 were dispatched to Ethiopia, with 5 million cartridges cal. 7.92 to the value of 11 million Kčs. This data figures in Table 1 - Arms shipments by Zbrojovka abroad in 1927–1939. There is a complete lack of figures concerning shipments that reached Ethiopia in 1935. FRANĚK, O.: *op. cit.*, pp. 167–169. Suppl. No. 3.

²²AÚML ÚV KSČ, Beneš's Archives, Abyssinia, Copy of a letter from the Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs to Beneš, of July 5, 1935.

pealed to him that no difficulties would be made from the Czechoslovak side for prospective buyers of war material for Ethiopia.²³ However, no traces of the existence of such a letter could be found; the entry probably refers to the letter of the Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs spoken of above. In any case, we can safely conclude that the Czechoslovak Government turned down every request for authorization of export of arms to Ethiopia.

On 11 July 1935, the Ethiopian Government made a further effort at obtaining at least some arms. It sent a note to the governments of Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Belgium, Sweden and Denmark with the request that these countries lift the ban on arms delivery to Ethiopia. In it they appealed to the treaty of 21 August 1930, which permits any government to import arms and ammunition that may be needed for the defence of its country against aggression from the outside.²⁴ The hopelessness of the situation in Ethiopia is also reflected in a note delivered on 12 August 1935 to Mr. Avenol, the Secretary General of the League of Nations, from Ethiopia's delegate to this body, B. T. Havariat: "The Italian Government, in full disregard of the renewed conciliatory negotiations, continues to send its armies into East Africa. Abyssinia has no factories, either national or private, for making arms and ammunition. The Abyssinian Government today has no possibility of procuring itself means of self-defence outside of its own territory, for everywhere it hurts against prohibition of arms export. Is that true neutrality? Will the Council permit that this uneven struggle continue between two members of the League of Nations, one of which is almighty and is allowed to concentrate all its resources for preparing its attack, while the other is weak and peace-loving, abides by all international contracts and cannot provide itself the means to organize its defence?..."²⁵ Ethiopia's notes found no response and thus the Ethiopian were left abandoned, defending themselves with antiquated and primitive weapons against Italy's modern war capabilities.

Czechoslovak's procedure in this connection cannot be excused by the fact that it did not act independently but in reality was part of an unofficial international consensus against Ethiopia whose presence in the League of Nations was steadily felt to be more inconvenient. It proved particularly inconvenient to Czechoslovak foreign policy which was faced by a serious dilemma: on the one hand, support for the League of Nations in which voices began to prevail for a more radical standpoint against Italy which was manifestly preparing an armed attack on Ethiopia, and on the other, Czechoslovakia's vital interests in Central-European politics. In the view of Czechoslovak politicians, strongly influenced by France, a decisive role here could be precisely played by Italy. It was in fact an overestimation of Italy's role on the part of Czechoslovakia (and paradoxically this came about under the influence of Beneš's orientation to France and Great Britain) that led Czechoslovakia - to a gradual deviation from the principles of the League of Nations and its declaration of neutrality. Czechoslovakia, through this

²³PAŠ-PD, GR-Zbr. corresp., D 12 907.

²⁴PAPOUŠEK, J.: *Chronicle of Czechoslovak and World Politics for the year 1935*. Prague, 0 bis 1936, p. 125 (July 11).

²⁵*Ibid.*, m.p. 150 (Aug. 12).

declaration of neutrality and its attitude, began to prepare the events that ultimately culminated in the autumn of 1938 and the spring of 1939 (Munich agreement and occupation of ČSR).

It must also be stated that this involved a "positive" neutrality, for all the Czechoslovak steps acted in Italy's interests. Beneš cabled his decision for neutrality to Czechoslovak Embassies in 16 European cities on 26 July 1935. In view of the weighty nature of this document, it should be quoted in full: "Position of the Czechoslovak Government in the Abyssinia-Italian conflict:

1. The Czechoslovak Government maintains and will maintain, probably until the end, strict neutrality. It is led to this by the necessity to preserve the existing situation in Central Europe, the best possible relations with Italy, not to complicate further negotiation of the Austrian problem through conflict or tension between Italy, the ČSR, or the Little Entente, and to keep an entirely free hand in this matter for the future in either sense.

2. Consequently, the Government will refrain from all expressions whether for or against Italy, or for or against Abyssinia. Likewise it will take no part in any behind-the-scene negotiations for or against. I request all our representatives thoroughly adhere to these injunctions.

3. Our representative in the Council of the League of Nations will adhere to the same line of action, he will refrain from all proclamations and discussions for or against, and also from such as might be interpreted as intervention, or intercession.

4. Should any resolution be arrived at in the League's Council, our representative will vote in common with France, particularly if there is agreement between France and Great Britain. In any case, our Government will respect the rights and obligations of the League of Nations also in this conflict, but will not become either actively or initiatively involved. Today, such an obligation devolves on Great Britain."²⁶

Beneš immediately applied this policy in practice and failed to take part in the session of the Council of the League of Nations on 31 July through 3 August 1935. The paper *Národní listy* (National Letters) commented this as follows: "The Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, contrary to his custom, took no part in the last session of the Council in Geneva which dealt with Abyssinia... The abstention shown by the minister, can be further maintained... he need not be in the foreground, as was often his favourite task. It would not be in the interests of European policy, nor in the interests of Czechoslovak policy to fight for doctrines that do not agree with reality, to fight for something that in fact does not exist."²⁷

Yet, despite efforts at a "covert neutrality", Beneš did not stand aside, he was even forced to stand at the head of the international organization - the League of Nations. On 9 September, he was elected to be the president of its assembly whose chief objective was a solution of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. The precise reason why Beneš was elected

²⁶AFMZV, Cable No. 420-435/35, dispatched to Paris, Rome, London, Berlin, Belgrade, Bucharest, Bern, Moscow, Warsaw, Vienna, Budapest, Brussels, Copenhagen, Stockholm, the Hague, Madrid, July 26, 1935.

²⁷*Národní listy* vol. 75, No. 237, Aug. 29, 1935; the press organ of the Czech nationalist party led by K. Kramář, associated with part of the Czech industrial and financial capital.

has not been elucidated. One of the explanations could be that he was well-known compromiser and it was expected that in this case, too, he would resolve the conflict to the satisfaction of both parties. But also of interest is the idea that his election was in fact a counter-move on the part of Great Britain for his attempt at distancing himself from the conflict. As Lidové noviny then wrote, Beneš in his first reaction did not have very positive comments concerning the Presidency, but of course, in his official address there was no word at all of this reservations. It was generally held that Beneš enjoyed the confidence of both Italy and Ethiopia.²⁸ Unfortunately, Beneš's undeclared, but pursued "positive neutrality" soon came to be apparent also in the activity of the League of Nations. Not that Beneš would have defended Italy, but his addresses before and especially after the outbreak of the conflict lacked decisiveness and a readiness to try and enforce the hardest possible punishment of the aggressor. Beneš's neutral course also had an effect on the policy of other smaller nations represented in the League of Nations which gave more space to the manoeuvring capacities of the great powers - Great Britain and France, but particularly to Italy, and which ultimately led to the defeat of Ethiopia.

Even after the June prohibition of arms export to Ethiopia, Zbrojovka Brno still considered possibilities of such exports providing the firm with an opportunity of getting rid of old and properly speaking unsaleable arms and ammunition both from its own stocks, as well as from those of the MND. A document from Zbrojovka Brno of 31 August 1935 speaks in clear terms on this subject: "Our authorities do not allow supplies of arms to Abyssinia. On the other hand, Abyssinian markets appear to be very lucrative and they offer a possibility for us to get rid of material which is otherwise unsaleable... In this way, Zbrojovka would rid itself of the so-called Chinese and Yugoslav rifles stored here for 7 years now unsaleable. The total value of the arms (some 15,000 pieces at Kčs 400) amounts to the tune of some 6,000,000 Kčs... Their sale on any terms would mean a profit for Zbrojovka. But in addition we could also sell to Abyssinia the Mannlicher rifles from the MND which the Ministry of National Defence will not otherwise be able to dispose of and which together with the ammunition represent a values of some Kčs 50,000,000 for which we could supply with new rifles the National Defence. In this way our National Defence would acquire new weaponry and Zbrojovka work opportunities. A unique possibility is presenting itself to us now to sell goods to Abyssinia through Chile. We like to hope that the Executive Council (of Zbrojovka - J. Ch.) will have no objection to Zbrojovka's efforts to sell arms in this circuitous way, for our State administrations has approved of such procedures on similar occasions, insofar, of course, as discretion is preserved so that the export license be drawn in the name of a different country." The firm's management expected that the Royal Dutch Company would buy all the stocks of old arms, including legionaries' rifles and ammunition. Everything was to have been shipped - of course,

²⁸Lidové noviny, Vol. 43, No. 451, Sep. 9, 1935; No. 453, Sep. 10, 1935. During our consultations on this point, we also encountered an opposite view: Beneš allegedly was interested in the chairmanship, for he hoped that he would win Mussolini's favour by resolving the conflict. However, events following Italy's attack on Ethiopia made Beneš's position more difficult.

in appearances only - to Chile. As a matter of fact, the required authorization had been received in the meantime. However, in Hamburg, the consignment would be directed directly to Ethiopia, or to a place where it could be transshipped in the case that direct transportation from Hamburg to Ethiopia would not be possible. Chile's part in the transaction resided in that it would sell its older guns and other war material to Ethiopia and for the money thus obtained it would purchase new guns in the ČSR.²⁹ One would be hard put to it to estimate to what degree this transaction could have strengthened Ethiopia. Nothing more would be said much about the activities of Zbrojovka Brno before the outbreak of armed struggle in Ethiopia.

Testimony to further interesting practices by the armaments manufactures is provided by archives of Škoda Pilsen. The first records of contacts between Ethiopia and Pilsen are dated 1933, but neither this nor the subsequent negotiations were initiated by Škoda. In 1932 when Škoda Pilsen concluded a new contract with Messrs Schneider on the conditions of marketing in foreign countries, it did not show any interest in Ethiopia at all. Ethiopia was one of the countries whose representation had been entrusted to Messrs Schneider, and only the execution of orders could be assigned to the two firms.³⁰ Concerning the negotiations spoken of above, in autumn 1933 we learn that similar to Zbrojovka Brno, Škoda Pilsen also approached them with diffidence. However, while Zbrojovka ultimately concluded the deal, Škoda Pilsen showed no interest in it. The Ethiopian party especially wished to purchase artillery material. The senior commercial director Ing. V. Fiala explained Škoda's standpoint in November 1933 as follows: "We have no interest in Abyssinia as regards artillery material, Abyssinia belongs to Messrs. Schneider; Abyssinia wishes to make payments in coffee, we prefer by far Caribbean coffee, where we have a free hand; Abyssinia is in the hands of France, against Great Britain and Italy who want to swallow it up."³¹

However, Zbrojovka was in possession of different information - it was of the opinion that Škoda was interested in supplying five anti-aircraft guns to Ethiopia and in a letter of January 1934, Zbrojovka, through its representative in Addis Ababa, offered to mediate the deal. However, Škoda's reply of 17 January 1934 states: "Thank you for your kind offer of mediating services which, however, we cannot utilize this time."³²

In view of a certain subjugation of Škoda Pilsen to Messrs Schneider, referred to above, and also of their reciprocal agreements, a pertinent question is - did Škoda attempt to penetrate the Ethiopian market? In our search for an answer, our principal guiding material was the correspondence between Škoda and a Czechoslovak citizen, Ing. L. C. Kalvoda, a settler in Ethiopia, who acted as an adviser on Czechoslovak affairs in the French embassy and who was in business contact with Škoda regarding its sale of road rollers.

²⁹FRANĚK, O.: op. cit., pp. 100-101.

³⁰This referred to the 3rd category of countries; the agreement between Škoda and Schneider differentiated 5 such categories, the last one being a free zone for enterprising.

³¹PAŠ-PD, GR-Zbr. corresp. D/10 652 of Dec. 17, 1935. A handwritten note by director Fiala.

³²Ibid., D/632 of Jan. 13, 1934.

However, for completeness' sake it should be mentioned that the very first direct contact between Škoda and the Ethiopian arms market had been established without Kalvoda and had taken place before autumn 1933. In August 1932, Škoda received the first offer from Messrs Agop Sivrisarias and Co., from Addis Ababa, however, it made no response.³³

Škoda also refused Kalvoda's offer in May 1934.³⁴ Kalvoda, however, did not give up and in October of that year sent another letter which, as it turned out, proved a portent of the international political problems that were to come and in fact it was uniquely thanks to Kalvoda that Škoda avoided getting into serious conflicts with the Italian Government. In a letter Kalvoda states, among other things, that the validity of the international agreement of 1930 on the free import of war material for Ethiopia would expire within 1 1/2 years and it is not at all certain whether it would be extended. At the same time he informed Škoda that he had succeeded to obtain a minor order for Zbrojovka Brno and that further were on the way. "As the Government has expressed great interest also in artillery material... it would be a lasting pity not to profit from it. If your representative are really Messrs Spiro, it is extremely doubtful that you could eventually expect the order; (they have no connection, the Government now wishes to negotiate directly with factories).³⁵ The name Benny Spiro which eventually caused so much trouble for Škoda Pilsen, appears here for the first time. At that time, however, Škoda didn't have the slightest inkling of what was in store for it in connection with Messrs Spiro and did not pay any attention to the matter.

In March 1935, Messrs Sellier-Bellot advised Škoda that agent for the requirements of Ethiopia was with them and that he also asked for offers on various artillery material. Škoda's attitude was as follow: "In view of the fact that Abyssinia belongs to the 3rd Category d'entente d'artillerie,³⁶ we are not in a position (because of certain agreements), to hand over to the relevant agent any offers for artillery material."³⁷

On 30 May 1935, Kalvoda sent Škoda a copy of a letter with unusually interesting content. The representative of Messrs Benny Spiro in Addis Ababa, Theodor Borzychovski, because of his sudden departure from Ethiopia, had handed over the firm's representation to Kalvoda. The latter thereby took over representation of Škoda's Works for offers of machine-guns cal. 40 L/39, mod. 33 and ammunition, and a mountain gun cal. 75 mod. 32 with ammunition. In a letter dated 1 June 1935, Kalvoda refers to the testimony of Zbrojovka's technical expert, O. Klemens, spoken of earlier, that Borzychovski had expressed himself in the sense that Messrs Benny Spiro was the exclusive representative of Škoda and that he considered this statement to be true. Borzychovski had even stated the code marking of Škoda's arms.³⁸ Kalvoda goes on to state that the Ethiopian Emperor had personally expressed interest in Škoda's guns.

³³Ibid., D/3673, May 11, 1934 and D/50448 of May 18, 1934.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., Kalvoda's letter of Oct. 12, 1934.

³⁶See note 30.

³⁷PAŠ-PD, GRŽ-Zbr. corresp. D/4317, March 7, 1934, operational notice.

³⁸However, it has not been possible to determine if a true code was implied; every area had its own code.

Nevertheless, in conclusion Kalvoda expressed certain doubts about the firm Spiro, which he formulated thus: "... if Messrs Benny Spiro is not in fact your representative for Abyssinia, kindly file this letter with the documents..." It is likewise of interest that the representative of Zbrojovka Brno, Mr Bohnenberger was convinced, as late as the end of October that Benny Spiro had been, until the summer, the representative of Škoda in Ethiopia.³⁹

Škoda's management was spurred to action by Kalvoda's letter; they made feverish efforts to ward off any suspicion of cooperation with Messrs Benny Spiro and thereby also of any attempts to penetrate the Ethiopian market. In their letter of 17 June 1935 they deny having any connection with Benny Spiro, and on 20 June asked this firm for explanation.⁴⁰ Benny Spiro gave a very evasive answer. However, Škoda's legal advisers, despite their dissatisfaction with the reply, did not recommend any legal proceeding but merely demanded from Messrs Benny Spiro a statement that they would not offer any material from Škoda Pilsen for sale in Ethiopia.⁴¹

The whole issue might have been quietly forgotten had it not been for a piece of information which one of the directors of Škoda, Dr. Kleiner, obtained in Rome; Italian government circles were exasperated at the news of offers of artillery material being made by Škoda Pilsen in Ethiopia. The President of Škoda Pilsen refuted this suspicion in two letters of 22 June and 3 July 1935, addressed to the Czechoslovak Ambassador in Rome Dr. Chvalkovský, and expressed the hope that the whole matter would thereby be settled, all the more so as it had been brought to light at its inception by the loyal procedure of Mr. Kalvoda.⁴²

However, not even the most thorough analysis of the correspondence around Messrs Benny Spiro permits a conclusion to be drawn as to what really took place. One reason is that it has never been possible to have a good look into the behind-the-scene dealings of arms industry and its concerns. Often the existing archives are very incomplete and this leaves room for guessing and hypotheses. The attitude of Messrs Spiro leaves the impression that some incomprehensible misunderstanding had taken place. Nor can it be excluded that Škoda had tried secretly to penetrate into Ethiopian market through the intermediary of this firm, and it became unpleasant when too many people came to know about it and in addition, even the Italian government expressed its dissatisfaction. A further possibility which cannot be overlooked is an attempt at provocation in order to disrupt Czechoslovak relations with Italy (a very positive role would here have been played by L. Kalvoda who indefatigably drew attention to the activities of Messrs Benny Spiro).

The fact remains that Škoda subsequently strictly refused offers for the sale of its arms to Ethiopia - whether through the intermediary of its dealer in Beirut, or through

³⁹PAŠ-PD, GR-Zbr. corresp. Kalvoda's letters of May 30 and 31, 1935, June 1, 1935 and D/12907 of Oct. 26, 1935, operational notice.

⁴⁰Ibid., D/8355 of June 17, 1935; D/8483 of June 20, 1935.

⁴¹Ibid., D/8773 of July 3, 1935, hand-written note; D/8973, of July 10, 1935.

⁴²Ibid., operational notice of June 20, 1935; July 29, 1935, letter from Benny Spiro; June 22 and July 9, 1935, letters to Chvalkovský.

Messrs Felix Siebert of Hamburg. Of interest is also the proposal by an unnamed Czech, mediated by Škoda's Cairo representative, Mr. V.J. Pan, in August 1935. In July of that year, the Ethiopian Government expressed interest in any quantity of rifles, machine-guns, anti-aircraft guns, armoured tanks, etc., for which it would pay in cash, silver Ethiopian dollars or by letters of credit. Attention is especially elicited by the passage which states: "... as it is possible that the Czechoslovak Government would refuse authorization for the export of these arms, this might be circumvented perhaps in bringing in the various parts and having them assembled here... Or, the Abyssinian Government could send its representative somewhere in Persia, Škoda would get an export licence to Persia, and the Abyssinians themselves would transport the arms to Abyssinia. The Abyssinian Government is also interested in putting up a factory for making ammunitions. As a matter of fact, there is already such a factory here, but numerous machines are lacking. Submit a detailed offer."⁴³ Mr. Pan adds to this letter that the consignments could be sent to some port in the Persian Gulf. Škoda's reply, mailed on 14 August was brief: "Department D has asked us to inform you that we are not interested in the transaction."⁴⁴

Our analysis of the preserved materials at Škoda Pilsen permits us to give a reply to our question. Škoda, with the exception of the unclarified case with Messrs Benny Spiro, never attempted to penetrate the Ethiopian arms market, quite to the contrary, it declined every such offer. It is true, that a few of its mountain guns did appear in Ethiopia,⁴⁵ but in all probability these had not reached Ethiopia through their producer. The most plausible explanation of why Škoda did not attempt to penetrate the very lucrative Ethiopian pre-war market resides not solely in the political situation at the time, but also, in Škoda's connection with Messrs Schneider and the agreements it had concluded with them.⁴⁶

The public, and particularly the Czechoslovak public knew practically nothing about Czechoslovakia's armaments policy. Even if a few items oozed out into Czechoslovak press, that was mediated news from foreign sources. Yet this provoked doubts in the public. As mentioned above, the first such information appeared in *Lidové noviny*. That same daily of 19 July, reported that a complaint was expected on the part of Ethiopia against Italy for its pressure on countries exporting arms to declare an embargo on such arms to Ethiopia. This refers also to the ČSR to whom "the Abyssinian government has delivered a note of protest".⁴⁷ On 28 July 1934, the daily "Slovák" quoted the Ethiopian Emperor in these terms: "... It is unprecedented what the Belgian, American and C z e c h o s l o v a k factories have done, which have simply abrogated (one-sidedly)

⁴³Czechoslovakia began work on the construction of a munition factory in Ethiopia towards the end of the 1940s.

⁴⁴PAŠ-PD, GRŽ-Zbr. corresp. of Aug. 5 and Aug. 14, 1935.

⁴⁵Testimony to this comes from HUYN, L. - KALMER, J.: Abyssinia, Prague Publ. Václav Petra 1935. 351 pp., p. 141.

⁴⁶In 1936, Škoda requested of Schneider that Ethiopia be transferred into the 5th category, i.e. into the free zone.

⁴⁷*Lidové noviny*, Vol. 43, No. 356, of July 19, 1935.

signed agreements."⁴⁸ A complete revelation of the practices of the Czechoslovak arms policy towards Ethiopia was made as late as 29 August 1935 by the *Hospodářský rozhled* (Economic Review) in an article entitled "How Far Will Czechoslovak Arms Industry be Able to Exploit Eventual Military Deliveries". The author bases his article on information from foreign press and expresses criticism at the fact that the Czechoslovak public knows so very little about it. According to information from the *Berliner Tagblatt*, our industry was ready to deliver arms to Ethiopia, primarily Zbrojovka Brno and Sellier-Bellot, however, on instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, both firms withdrew from their agreements in view of Czechoslovak political interests. Of interest is also another statement in the article, namely that it is generally known that delivery always takes place, but the important matter is the decision as to which side is supplied. Ultimately the supplies may be made by detour (the Greeks are famous as adroit suppliers). The concluding part of the article truthfully caught the intent of ČSR policy which was to be kept secret: "The Abyssinian case does not imply any official step, but merely suggestions, which are not being carried out solely out of consideration for the League of Nations - shorn of its glamour, or for Italy."⁴⁹ In a subsequent issue, the paper published the view of a reader: "... if export of arms to Abyssinia is to be banned, the export of coal and oil to Italy should not be permitted... these are the most dangerous weapons."⁵⁰ This anonymous reader revealed the naked truth of the "neutrality" pursued by the Czechoslovak foreign policy. The article was taken up both by the paper "Haló", and by "Tvorba". The latter, referring to a commentary in Haló, wrote that the intervention on the part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had probably been made under pressure of the Italian Embassy and the "Abyssinian representative was given the reply that allegedly the factories are overstrained and could not fulfil the order".⁵¹ Although we have not encountered such assertions in the archives, it nevertheless goes to show the way Czechoslovak policy endeavoured to keep its negotiations and dealings towards Abyssinia secret. Here and there some facts came to light, however they were not always correctly interpreted.

As regards the visit of Ethiopian arms purchasers in Czechoslovakia in July 1935, it must be said that it was not well timed, not only in view of the international political atmosphere, but also because at that very time Czechoslovak newsmen were on an excursion in Italy where they were also received by Mussolini. The Czechoslovak side was not at all interested in jeopardizing the relatively favourable atmosphere, by the resumption or promises of new supplies of war material to Ethiopia.

The baneful effects of the neutrality policy became soon apparent. While Ethiopia was left without the much needed raw and war material, supplies of everything necessary were flowing into Italy. Czechoslovakia uninterruptedly supplied, for example, among other items, oil, military footwear and, with a short break, due to technical difficulties,

⁴⁸Slovák, Vol. XVII, of July 28, 1935; Press organ of Hlinka's Slovak Populist Party.

⁴⁹*Hospodářský rozhled* (Economic Review), Vol. VIII, No. 35, Aug. 29, 1935.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, No. 36, Sep. 5, 1935.

⁵¹*Haló noviny*, 1935, No. 239, Aug. 31, 1935; No. 244, Sep. 7, 1935; *Tvorba*, Vol. 10, No. 36, Sep. 19, 1935, p. 615 (*Haló noviny* - a newspaper of Czech leftist progressives).

coal. How far the Ministry of National Defence intended to respect our policy of neutrality can also be seen from two cables it dispatched to Beneš then in Geneva, on 9 and 18 September 1935. In the first one the MND asked for authorization for Škoda Pilsen to be able to demonstrate its machine-gun to Italy. In his reply of 10 December, Beneš stated: "Postpone the decision regarding the machine-gun for Italy until my return from Geneva. The MND insisted in its second cable: "... asking for decision... for the time being solely to demonstrate, this applies solely to an import licence, they would like to open negotiations, saying that should we subsequently be against the sale, negotiations could be blocked by raising claims."⁵² Beneš's reply to the second cable has not been preserved, but the procedure of the Ministry of Defence is further proof of Czechoslovak "neutrality". And as to Beneš, instead of proceeding with the same decisiveness as in the case of Ethiopia, in his reply to the first cable he just procrastinated, adjourning the decision.

On 3 October 1935, Italy attacked Ethiopia. The League of Nations presided over by Beneš, immediately held its session. Its role, despite sanctions on which the member States agreed, was more or less a platonic one, and the League itself as a body showed itself absolutely incapable of resolving conflicts in which several great powers are involved.

On 11 October 1935 the League of Nations approved Resolution No 1, regarding the embargo of arms to Ethiopia and Italy. We are here interested in point 1, which reads: "Governments of member States who are enforcing an embargo on arms to Abyssinia, shall immediately cancel that embargo."⁵³ The ČSR began to apply Resolution 1 on 19 October 1935. Export of arms was transferred into the dispensation proceedings according to decree 418 Sb. of year 1920. Thus, nothing more stood in Czechoslovakia's way to resume supplying Ethiopia.

Zbrojovka Brno reacted instantly to the novel situation. By its letter of 12 October 1935, hence one day after the resolution of the League of Nations on the interdiction of arms export to Ethiopia and a whole week before this resolution became valid in the ČSR, Zbrojovka had requested that the MND issue a new export licence for 100 automatic rifles ZH of range 7.92 mm.⁵⁴ On 2 October, the ČSR consular office in Buenos Aires submitted conditions for the transport of arms through the intermediary of the Chilean agency, spoken of earlier.⁵⁵

However, in all probability, these deals were never realized. The reasons are revealed in the archives of Škoda and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A briefing notice presented on 26 October 1935 by Makovička, an authorized representative of Zbrojovka Brno, contains information for the management of Škoda Pilsen. At the time, Zbrojovka Brno had a visit of their Ethiopian representative, Mr. Bohnenberg who at the same time expressed interest in the purchase of artillery material for Ethiopia. As the above

⁵²AFMZV, cable No. 462/B/35 dispatched to Geneva and supplement to cable No. 462 to Geneva of Sep. 18, 1935; reply cable No. 407/35 received from Geneva Sep. 10, 1935.

⁵³PAPOUŠEK, J.: op. cit., p. 203 (Oct. 11).

⁵⁴AFMZV, Sect. IV, Box 481, docum. cited No. 155 147/35.

⁵⁵FRANĚK, O.: op. cit., p. 154.

notice goes on to state, Zbrojovka wished to conclude a major deal through Bohnenberg, however, for the moment they were in a quandary about it. "Their embarrassment stemmed primarily from military events and political regards." And the concluding text, too, unambiguously speaks about a pro-Italian policy: "It almost seems to us, as if the Czechoslovak government had intimated to Brno, that despite ČSR's assent to sanctions against Italy, our government nonetheless is hesitating to agree, at a time of military conflict, to export arms to the Italian rival."⁵⁶ On 29 October 1935, Bohnenberg wrote a letter to one of the directors of Škoda, Ing. Wachter, expressing interest in purchasing anti-aircraft guns; however, Škoda declined this offer by a letter of 23 November.⁵⁷

Despite Zbrojovka's cautious procedure and Škoda's negative standpoint, information about negotiations reached the foreign press. Czechoslovak consular offices in France and Rumania sent cuttings of reports to Prague regarding large Czechoslovak consignments of arms to Ethiopia. Our government, of course, vehemently denied them, nevertheless, e.g. *Le Temps* in its issue of 4 November 1935, clearly gave proof of the leakage of information. Although it gave exaggerated figures, its report partly corresponded to the negotiations on the transactions then being prepared by Zbrojovka. Such information produced tension between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that of National Defence. The Department of Economy - the 4th - of the MFA passed the remark that the MND ought to inform the MFA about the various supplies of arms. In a reply of 12 November, General Čížek from the MND stated that up to 12 November, hence, "up to this day, the MND has not issued any export licence for arms to Ethiopia, but solely for offers of arms supply in two cases - 20,000 Mauser Rifles with 20 million cartridges and for 100 automatic rifles with 3 million cartridges (capacity 20 rounds). In virtue of these authorizations, armament factories will first negotiate the sale of rifles with ammunition: "General Čížek, however, expressed doubts that Czechoslovakia would obtain these orders in view of the considerable delay in Czechoslovak offers."⁵⁸ Even the way our MFA reacted to reports by foreign correspondents regarding possible supplies of arms to Ethiopia, an attacked country to which arms export had been authorized by the League of Nations, clearly characterizes Czechoslovak efforts not to antagonize Italy. At the same time one really has to wonder at the flexibility of Czechoslovak authorities, particularly in the case of the 100 automatic rifles which the Ethiopian government had, on the basis of a contract, been waiting for since May, when instead of their being instantly expedited, they were only included in a list of offers. Not even the lame pretext regarding a delay in the offer on the part of the ČSR succeeded in camouflaging the true face of Czechoslovak policy towards Ethiopia, to be more exact, of Czechoslovak "neutrality". It may be admitted that the ČSR, in view of the prevailing situation in Central Europe, was afraid of major conflicts with Italy, although, on the other hand, Czechoslovak foreign policy strategists had overestimated Italy's role in Central Europe. In any case we cannot accept the Czechoslovak statement that the ČSR acted on the international scene, as a friend of

⁵⁶PAŠ-PD, GR-Zbr. corresp. D/12 907.

⁵⁷Ibid., Suppl., letters of Oct. 29, 1935 and Sep. 23, 1935.

⁵⁸AFMZV, Sect. IV, Box 481, cited docum. No. 143 774/35.

Ethiopia's, as Beneš's staff and Beneš himself have since tried to make us believe. Czechoslovakia's disregard for Ethiopia's interests and its way of acting in favour of Italy has been amply documented in the present study.

In a final analysis, Czechoslovakia in fact did not even adhere to the first part of Resolution No. 1 - which deals with the lifting of the embargo on arms export to Ethiopia. Czechoslovakia, too, lifted this embargo, but the competent authorities did everything to prevent Czechoslovak arms from being supplied to Ethiopia. Objectively, it should however be said that Czechoslovakia complied immediately with further resolutions regarding sanctions, and even showed some initiative in an attempt to introduce sanctions against Italy on oil. But the true, although not public view of Czechoslovak policy in this matter, is illustrated by the following fact. Following Beneš's speech to the League of Nations regarding Italian aggression and sanctions, although a very moderate one, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague formally assured the Italian Ambassador that Beneš's address "was delivered explicitly to and in view of the League of Nations and that it could in no way be interpreted as a disapproval of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie with Italian aggression on Ethiopia".⁵⁹

Quoting from statements by the two former highest representatives of Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia, we documented in the introductory section the views of the official policy of the two countries on Czechoslovak aid to Ethiopia in the thirties. In the forties, when these views appeared, they could not be understood literally, or taken at face value. Their initiator was very probably the Ethiopian emperor who attempted to win allies after his country's liberation. On the other hand, the stress laid on Czechoslovakia's aid to Ethiopia in its struggle against fascist Italy came in handy for Beneš. The real course of ČSR's policy, although pursued behind the scenes, was rather quickly forgotten, although it had not been unknown to Ethiopia. In addition, in contrast to Czechoslovakia which acknowledged Italy's aggression against Ethiopia, the latter never ceased to acknowledge the existence of Czechoslovakia.

What is bewildering is that this myth was maintained in the next decade also. When analysing Beneš's standpoint in the League of Nations during the conflict, A. Bartnicki, a Polish historian, states that it is understandable for Beneš to have tried at the end of World War II, to "whitewash" his policy, nevertheless he expresses amazement at the uncritical accentuation of the positive role allegedly played by Beneš, on the part of post-war Western historiography. Critical words have appeared in Czechoslovak literature accessible to us, primarily concerning Czechoslovak diplomatic activities, nevertheless, a more detailed analysis of Czechoslovak policy towards Ethiopia is lacking; and this not solely in the domain of armaments, in which Czechoslovakia failed most evidently, but also in other areas. The only generally known reality, and rightly criticized fact was that Czechoslovakia had stopped arms export to Ethiopia.

It should be objectively stated that Czechoslovak arms supplies to Ethiopia until mid-1935 partly helped to improve the state of Ethiopian armies, yet the subsequent course adopted by the ČSR is unjustifiable. Then why was the "myth of aid" able to

⁵⁹On Czechoslovak Foreign Policy 1918-39. Collection of Essays. SNPL, Prague 1956, p. 274.

persist for so long and not solely in the eyes of Ethiopia, but likewise in works by various authors? In addition to Ethiopian efforts at co-operation and Beneš's "whitewashing"⁶⁰ of unpopular policies and decisions (and the taking over of this line by further authors) referred to earlier, a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances also played their part here. Such were, for instance Beneš's presidency at the League of Nations when he was in fact left with a Hobson's choice, viz. to condemn Italy's aggression, another was the activity of a small Czechoslovak colony in Ethiopia and the participation of two Czechoslovak citizens, Ing. A. Parlesák and V. Breyer as advisers to the Ethiopian army during the fighting of 1935–1936 (of course, without the knowledge and approval of the Czechoslovak Government). Present in the subconscious were also the mass demonstrations of the public at large in Czechoslovakia in support of Ethiopia.

Our analysis might end here. However, the word "probably" was used in connection with supplies of Czechoslovak arms to Ethiopia. On 12 April 1938, the Italian Ambassador de Facendis called on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and lodged a protest against the export of Czechoslovak arms to Ethiopia (and also to Spain). He informed K. Kroft that Czechoslovak arms had been supplied to insurgent centres in Ethiopia on a French steamer flying a Greek flag. He was of the opinion that the agents who had purchased these arms in the ČSR were a certain Greek Aslanides (or Aslandis) and the Jew Lustig who had been buying arms for the Ethiopian Emperor earlier. The bad impression against ČSR, which this fact had provoked in Rome was evident from the orders which he, the Ambassador, had received from Count Ciano and Mussolini. He was to tell our government: "Gesti di questo sono destinati a rendere meno bone la relazioni già mon eccellenti tra i nostri paesi."⁶¹ The Ambassador also recalled that during the armed conflict in Ethiopia, 200 machine-guns and numerous other arms and ammunition had been delivered from Czechoslovakia to Addis Ababa.⁶²

It is not without interest that one week later, on the insistence of the Czechoslovak Ambassador in Rome, Dr. Chvalkovský - on 15 April 1938, Czechoslovakia recognized *de iure*, the Italian annexation of Ethiopia,⁶³ sooner even than Great Britain and France.

We have not succeeded so far in finding records to the effect that Czechoslovakia could have officially delivered arms to Ethiopia of the second half of the year 1935, and it should be borne in mind that no other arms transaction was ever realized with the government's consent. Whether some armaments factories despite official prohibitions, did in fact supply arms to that country, at their own risk, is a moot point and for the moment the archives are keeping mum about it.

⁶⁰BARTNICKI, A.: *First Front of World War II*. Warsaw 1971, p. 266.

⁶¹"Such acts disrupt the excellent relations between our countries."

⁶²AÚML ÚV KSČ. Beneš's Archives. Italy. Report of visit by the Italian Ambassador of April 12, 1938.

⁶³AFMZV, Cable No. 351/38, from Rome, April 14, 1938; cable No. 413/38, dispatched to Rome on April 15, 1938.

RAWLINGS' 'REVOLUTION' IN GHANA: COUNTRYWIDE AND DISTRICT LEVELS*

Petr SKALNÍK, Prague

A study based on field research done in Ghana in July–August 1986 attempts to examine the effects of the "31st December Revolution" of 1981 on various segments of Ghana's population. The research revealed an apparent gap between the country-wide interpretation of what the revolution means versus that of the district-level interpretation. The result is an alienation of the tribal chiefs and people from the CDRs (Committees for the Defence of the Revolution), and ensuing apathy as far as mobilization for development is concerned.

A bird's-eye view

When radical soldiers took in Ghana in the early morning hours of 31 December 1981, and asked Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings who had been forcibly retired, to form and chair the new governing body known as the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). Their idea was to launch a revolution. Rawlings seemed, at the time to be the perfect mouthpiece for that aim, as it was he who as the chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), had headed the 'housecleaning exercise' between June and September 1979, and who was by far the most popular citizen of Ghana. In 1979, Rawlings handed power over to the civilian government of President Dr Hilla Limann and the Parliament. Both had been democratically elected under the ostensibly impartial supervision of the AFRC. The election took place on 18 June 1979, only two weeks after the June 4th army uprising, which had brought Rawlings into power for the first time. According to the radical soldiers, the Limann government of the People's National Party (PNP) had failed the expectations of the people of Ghana, and had to be overthrown.

In his first radio announcement of the PNDC takeover, Rawlings suggested that, this is not a coup. I ask for nothing less than a revolution. Something that would transform the social and economic order of

*The field research for this paper was done in Ghana in July–August 1986. An earlier version of the paper was discussed in an Anthropology Seminar, University of Cape Town, and I am grateful to the members of that seminar for their valuable criticism, especially Julia Segar, 'Mugsy' Spiegel and Martin West. Lesley Hay-Whitton has willingly corrected my English.

Since the time of my last field research, Ghana has followed the path of democratization so typical of Africa, Eastern Europe and Latin America in the 1990s. The new constitution was adopted by referendum and the first president of the Fourth Republic will be Jerry John Rawlings who received 58 per cent of the votes. A general election is scheduled for December 1992.

this country (Rawlings I:1).

He reiterated that armed forces were not to cling to power, and that they only wanted to be part of the country's decision-making. Instead, he said, the "sovereign power lies with the people" (idem, p. 15). PNDC Law 42, which contains the directive principles of the new regime, says in the first article, section (1) (a) that

a basis of social justice and equality of opportunities is to be established, particular attention being paid to the deprived sections of the community, and to the reconstruction of the society in a revolutionary process directed against the previous structures of injustice and exploitation (Laws of the PNDC, vol. 3).

To achieve these goals, the locally based People's Defence Committees (PDCs) and the workplace-based Worker's Defence Committees (WDCs) were to be established in order to defend the 'revolution' and expose its 'saboteurs'. As Rawlings put it in another speech,

The Defence Committees are designed to make the people take their destinies into their hands and feel they are part of the Government and not something above them (Rawlings I:15).

The radicals (or 'collectivists' to follow Petras' classification into 'collectivists' and 'corporatists',¹ supporting the PNDC and Rawlings during the first year of the 'revolution', were mostly members of several left-wing organizations such as the June Fourth Movement (JFM), the Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards, the People's Revolutionary League of Ghana and the New Democratic Movement. Chris Atim, the secretary-general of the JFM, became the head of the National Interim Co-ordinating Committee (NICC), which was to guide the formation and activities of the defence committees. This body was changed by Rawlings into the National Defence Committee (NDC) in July 1982, but remained effectively under Atim's leadership, although Rawlings had made himself its chairman. The NICC/NDC under Atim followed a class and 'collectivist' approach, and ruled that the 'class enemies', like managers, chiefs, landlords or absentee farmers, must be excluded from membership in the PDCs and the WDCs. The NDC had an education programme known as the "Guidelines for the Proper Functioning and Effectiveness of the People's Defence Committees", which included mobilization of the 'working people' to know and defend their rights to participate in decision-making on all levels from the state to village,

... so that they are able to expose, fight and

¹The 'collectivists' are class-conscious political actors who "communicate radical political culture among lower-class individuals in order to mobilise their support and to undermine existing elites as the first phase towards the creation of a collectivist society"; the 'corporatists' are supporters of government controls of lower-class associations by linking them with existing economic elites in order to encourage collaboration of all for national development (Petras 1969:5; Konings 1986:261).

conquer their internal enemies, on all fronts and to expose and successfully combat their external enemies - especially imperialism, and rid this country of foreign domination and control over our human and material resources.

The programme also called for the mobilization of ... the human and material resources of the nation for the rapid all around development of our country and peoples, and to ensure that the efforts at our development are based primarily on ourselves (cf. Konings 1986:269).

The PDCs, according to the "Guidelines", were intended to eventually take over the administration of local government in their areas, but, for the time being, were supposed to reveal corruption, waste, mismanagement, smuggling, hoarding, black marketeering (which were widespread in Ghana in the years preceding the 'revolution', (cf. Skalpik 1981) and other attempts at 'sabotaging the revolution'. They were also supposed to act as catalysers of development, by mobilizing the people for self-help projects, and by explaining national issues to them, including the implementation of the PNDC policies.

When the NDC and PDCs undertook violent actions against their 'class enemies' and protested against the slow pace of the 'revolution', Rawlings decided to move against them. He and the PNDC (its membership was changing, but with Rawlings staying as chairman) clearly decided upon the priority of economic recovery, for which they needed class reconciliation more than class struggle. The PDCs and WDCs were to be transformed into organizations predominantly for economic mobilization. As early as his famous revolutionary speech of 29 July 1982, Rawlings criticized the PDCs, WDCs and the National Interim Co-ordinating Committee because

... these organisations have not always acted in ways which we can be proud of. In certain areas they have reportedly assumed police powers, made rash allegations against certain management personnel, and have had problems with local trade unions. Some have even been infiltrated by *agent provocateurs* and career criminals, and in certain areas they have constituted themselves as political witch-hunting committees (Rawlings I:46).

Later Rawlings and the PNDC leadership branded the NDC members 'anarchists', and, after a coup d'état was attempted on 23 November 1982, a number of them were imprisoned on allegations that they were among the organizers of the coup. The NDC secretariat and some regional PDC secretariats were dissolved. However, the local or district PDCs and WDCs stayed, their personnel often unchanged. The reconstituted NDC membership, announced in 1983, included chiefs, bureaucrats, businessmen, etc.

The so-called corporatist approach to mass mobilization received priority and the collectivists suffered a defeat.

The PNDC also introduced new People's National Defence laws for ensuring of national unity which began to be threatened not only by tribunal campaigns of the government i.e. Limann's but also by total ineffectiveness of the former government to curb tribal strifes of the kind that took thousands of lives in the Nanumba-Konkomba conflict as well as in a number of other similar outbreaks (Rawlings I:8).

Besides, the PNDC set up the National Commission for Democracy as a channel not only for educating the rural communities, but effectively making government aware of the conditions of these areas... because democracy is not realised merely by having a machinery for registering voters and getting them to vote every four years, but also by their being a machinery for identifying the needs of those voters in between the election periods, and monitoring the realisation of those needs (idem, pp. 9-10).

The populist rhetoric was received quite enthusiastically by various segments of Ghana's population, although caution and cynicism, developed during the rule of numerous previous régimes which never fulfilled their promises, was also clearly present. The country was in a much worse state economically than politically and Rawlings did not cover it up. The period 1982-83 was marked by the struggle of the 'radicals' (some definitely inspired by either Libyan populism or Eastern European 'real socialism') with the centrists within the power block. This complicated struggle was finally won by the centrists (or corporatists), led by Rawlings and his economic adviser Dr Kwesi Botchwey, the PND Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning. 1983 saw the launching of the four-year national recovery Programme for Reconstruction and Development (1983-1986), which soon included a radical devaluation of Ghanaian currency (Cedi) against the U.S. dollar (from C2.75 for U.S. \$1 to C30 for \$1; in 1986 the banks were selling C90 for \$1, while one could easily get two times more from the flourishing black market; in 1989 C300 for \$1 was a common rate of exchange), and the acceptance of other IMF conditions for loans and economic assistance.

After the NDC was reconstituted in 1983 and "chiefs, top bureaucrats, businessmen and representatives of other fractions of the dominant classes" (Konings 1986:274) were included among its members, it became clear that Rawlings and the PNDC had adopted a 'corporatist' strategy which aimed at class cooperation and reconciliation rather than class struggle. It was decided that the Ghanaian revolution was a 'national democratic' one, in which "all classes may participate in the decision-making process and in which 'class-alliance' is the watchword" (idem, p. 275). In December 1984, the PDCs and

WDCs were dissolved and replaced by the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs).

The economic situation changed so much in 1984-85 that the general deficiency of goods and partial hunger so characteristic of the 1982-83 period was substituted for the general availability of not only so-called essential commodities like soap, matches, kerosene, sugar and batteries, or basic medical drugs, but also a whole range of foodstuffs and luxury goods. This was achieved by a combination of good harvests, liberal trade policies which included the abolition of controlled prices and massive importation of consumer goods, bought with foreign exchange. The latter was obtained mainly in the form of loans from the IMF and a consortium of foreign banks (the so-called Group of Paris), who were persuaded by reports and budgets from Dr Botchwey to make hundreds of millions of dollars available to Ghana. The problem, however, was that the prices were prohibitive for the overwhelming majority of the population, which nevertheless apparently preferred the visibility of unaffordable goods on the shop shelves to the general scarcity of unavailability of goods at controlled prices which would be affordable.

What I experienced in Ghana in the 1982-83 period, during the first year of the 'revolution', was in stark contrast with what I witnessed in 1986. I noted the consensus among the people whom I met in Ghana in 1986 (and there were some of them who had evidently profited from their closeness to the centre of power) about the fact that the 'revolution', which was expected to raise the standards of living, had instead become an experience of the fastest growth of social differentiation in Ghanaian society since independence in 1957. In other words the rich are becoming ever richer, the poor much poorer than ever before. I could particularly see the effects in Accra, the capital, where most foreign loan money ends up: frantic building activity on private plots resulting in palatial houses, conspicuous consumption at parties given by the bourgeoisie, the growing number of brand new expensive cars moving on the otherwise hardly maintained Accra roads.

Nevertheless, the PNDC and its government continue to speak and write about 'revolution'. The CDRs still exist, even though they are increasingly exposed to criticism both in the press and by citizens whenever they talk about them. The PNDC still maintains that the CDRs remain a part of the decentralization policies and should eventually substitute for the existing district organs of power - the district councils. But even the "CDR Eagle", reporting on a national CDR conference, admitted in April 1986 that these 'mass democratic organs' suffered from "loss of enthusiasm and revolutionary energy", and "creeping apathy among the working people". To revive the CDRs, the conference suggested that "political mobilisation must always be centred on the key socio-economic concern of ordinary people" (Vol. 1, No. 5).

One particular critic from the left, Mr Osei Poku, the editor of the "People's Evening News" and Rawlings' former friend, who was also politically active in Nkrumah's Convention People's Party, published a series of articles in his weekly paper that were allegedly aimed at saving 'the progressive cause' and the pace of the 'revolutionary process' (No. 1347). He also maintained that anniversaries of June 4 1979 (the AFRC takeover) "have become simple fashion parades", in which "revolutionary leaders"

rejoice "together with the very cheats whose misdeeds led to the June 4 uprising", thus "making mockery of the essence of June 4" (No. 1348). Poku castigates Rawlings for growing fat, perhaps as a symbol of the revolutionary slowdown (No. 1349). In the last issue (No. 1350; no further issues have appeared since), Poku directly charged that the 'revolution' had been betrayed, that grass roots democracy, fanfared in 1981, had become a farce, and the "instructions from the Castle seat of the PNDC, originally a Danish-built fortified structure, adjacent to the ocean near Accra are presented as grass roots democracy". This he mocked as "Castle Grass Roots Democracy". Mr Poku lauded the idea of the CDR, but claimed that, because of the present composition of the 'revolutionary organs', "the majority of Ghanaians do not want to have anything to do with the CDR".

In this way, "[T]he problem with the present revolution is how to get Ghanaians to respond to the revolutionary needs of the country". The answer, according to Poku, would be in attracting into the CDRs "elites, farmers, urban workers and rural folks". So far the CDRs have had no grass roots impact and "people detest getting themselves committed"; they warn their children against joining the CDRs "for fear of what will happen to them if the PNDC Government falls". Another article in the same issue of the "People's Evening News" posits the question whether the failure of the CDR grass roots democracy should be rectified by modifying the CDRs, so that these represent the entire population, or whether the CDR system "should give way to a multi-party system of government". The editor concluded that his research indicated that the latter would be better, and he proposed a return to a "multi-party state under a new constitution". It is not known whether this series of highly critical articles in the "People's Evening News" was written with Rawlings' approval. What is sure is that there was no further issue offered for sale after issue number 1350.

The policies of the PNDC also changed as far as chiefs and chieftaincy are concerned. After the initial sharp criticism of the chieftaincy for its tendency to concentrate on disputes over land, succession or inheritance, which often resulted in bloody confrontations like the Nanumba-Konkomba war of 1981 (cf. Skalník 1985, 1986a, 1986b), the PNDC government apparently realized that it could not rule without the chiefs' support. The tone of public speeches and articles in the daily press changed to praising chiefs for their role in mobilizing the rural masses for increased production, etc., and the meeting of regional houses and especially the National House of Chiefs [institutions created by Dr Busia's government of 1969-72, in the terms of the Chieftaincy Act of 1971] received more press coverage. The National Commission for Democracy, finally launched in 1984, has among its tasks to see how the chiefs can be institutionally incorporated into the new constitutional order of Ghana. I was present at the first General Meeting of the National House of Chiefs, following the election of new representatives for each region. This meeting took place in Kumasi (former capital of the Asante federation) on 17-18 July 1986 under the presidency of Otumfuo Opoku Ware II, the Asantehene. Besides the President's welcoming address, PNDC member Alhaji Mahama Iddrisu (the personal representative of Chairman Rawlings, who could not come) and the new Secretary for Chieftaincy, Mr E. G. Tanoh (who is a chief as well as a government official) spoke to several dozen chiefs from nine regions of Ghana

(the largest Northern Region was conspicuously absent because of internal disputes over who should represent it).

The PNDC member stressed in his speech the 'immense contribution' of the chieftaincy to the 'national identity', and said that the chiefs were expected to help with the 'development of the country'. He also reiterated the well-known metaphor that 'a chief is the father of the people', who displays "exemplary leadership, wisdom, courage and imagination". He warned the chiefs against indulging in 'chieftaincy disputes' and conflicts which result in the 'loss of lives' and 'could be avoided'. He stressed the urgency for research into customary procedures, and called for a 'progressive interpretation of customary laws'. Nevertheless, he concluded that the "chiefs are the embodiment of the best in our country" and emphasized that the "PNDC looks for qualified support from the chiefs".

The new PNDC Secretary for Chieftaincy praised the Asantehene for his role as informal ambassador for Ghana when travelling abroad. He said that "royalty does not consist in ancestry but in virtues", meaning that the chiefs are expected to be leaders and farmers, that they are "connected with life" and should suppress adverse development such as chieftaincy disputes. He also assured the chiefs present at the meeting that he knew about their material problems (allowances, housing and transport), and would see to their rapid improvement.

In his vote of thanks, the Lawra Naba, a paramount chief from the Upper West Region, stressed the fact that chiefs had survived difficult times (except for Dr Busia's government [Busia was an anthropologist/sociologist], all the independent régimes were either against or indifferent to chiefs), and that they were now happy that the PNDC government supported chieftaincy. He said that the chiefs were thankful for advice concerning disputes and proposed that the identification of 'kingmakers' and those eligible for chiefly offices be clarified. He also expressed the hope that the PNDC would further respect the chieftaincy as an institution, and consult with the chiefs on important national, regional and local matters. He concluded by calling for a government where chiefs would have their say.

One must realize that the PNDC's overtures towards the chiefs are an important tactical device of the country's rulers. It remains to be seen how serious the government is about really admitting the leading chiefs into decision-making. An old idea from 1955 about a special house of chiefs as an upper chamber of the parliament has not re-emerged, and it is not easy to see it doing so in the present political climate. The "CDR Eagle", the national organ of the CDRs (only 5 issues appeared until April 1986 and, although it is a 'fortnightly', there were none thereafter), admitted in its last issue that the new "workable democratic system for Ghana" should be "Ghanaian" and be rooted "in Ghanaian traditions and culture", and that "chieftaincy is a possible basis for Ghanaian democracy". But the writer of the same article asserted that chieftaincy was very new for some ethnic groups in Ghana, and that it was imposed upon these groups. The European intruders got the riches of Ghana thanks to the "personal greed of some chiefs", who became the "agents of colonial rule". Finally, the "CDR Eagle" asks how democratic the chieftaincy was, and thus how suitable as "the bedrock of a uniquely Ghanaian democratic system". The article calls for the selection of the positive elements

contained in the chieftaincy and the integration of these "with modern political and social thought" in order to arrive at an ideal political system. That of course raised the question: "If changes have to be made in the institution, will the product still be the chieftaincy whose tradition we seem to be so impressed with, beyond a regalia bearing ceremonial one?" (a well-known question for anthropologists).

It is to be hoped that further developments in present-day Ghana will show whether the integration of this or some other kind is possible and workable. At any rate, it is unlikely that an easy *modus vivendi* between the chieftaincy and the CDRs is possible. That we will see in the concrete case of the Nanumba District in the Northern Region where I did most of my fieldwork between 1978 and 1983 and to where I returned for three weeks in July-August 1986.

By the end of the 1980s, Ghana once again seems to have exhausted her revolutionary potential. On 4 June 1981, exactly two years after the first attempt at revolution and a few months before he was called by the soldiers to lead the next revolution, Rawlings closed his press conference by citing the late American President John Kennedy: "Those who make a peaceful revolution impossible, make a violent revolution inevitable" (Okeke 1982:185). It remains to be proven that the longevity of his PNDC régime ("P" ironically meaning "provisional") was due to a phase of peaceful revolution; it is however beyond a doubt that in 1990 there is neither a peaceful nor any other kind of revolution in Ghana. That logically means (and the unprecedented growth of his personal power and that of his wife would support this) that Rawlings' Ghana is on its way to the only logical outcome: a violent revolution, or at least a more resolute bid by the broad masses of the people to take what belongs to them: their country and its management.

A frog's-eye view

In the Nanumba District the situation following the Rawlings' take-over on 31 December 1981 was, according to my findings, as follows: the district suffered heavily from the consequence of the Nanumba-Konkomba conflict which culminated in two armed clashes during 1981, reportedly costing several thousand lives and resulting in an unprecedented loss of livestock and other property, mostly by the Nanumba. The Nanumba minority, though 'landowners', was on the defensive because it had suffered a military defeat by the Konkomba majority (cf. Skalník 1986a). In a number of villages, the Konkomba installed their own chiefs (even though traditionally they did not have any) at the expense of the Nanumba chiefs, most of whom left for the district and traditional capital of Bimbilla to attend the burial and wait for the ritual funeral of their 'father', the Bimbilla Naa Dasana. This man, whose official 'modern' title is "The Paramount Chief of the Nanumba Traditional Area and the President of the Nanumba Traditional Council", died in May 1981, between the two armed clashes.

Both 'traditional' politics and the economic life of the district were paralysed; among other things this was because of mistrust between the Nanumba and Konkomba farmers and traders. The army and police units stationed in the district since the June 1981 'tribal war' were removed in January 1982, probably because Rawlings was relying on

the deterrence of his new régime and needed the troops elsewhere. It took the whole of 1982 before the Nanumba managed to consolidate and finally 'enskin' their new Bimbilla Naa, Abarika Attah, in February 1983. It was then widely believed that the new traditional leadership would be more enlightened and would lead the Nanumba to reconciliation and cooperation with the Konkomba in the district. The chiefly house of Naa Abarika, Banyili, was known for a whole range of educated people whose opinion was sought by the Banyili chiefs (on the alternation of the two chiefly houses in Nanun and other 'traditional' matters, see Skalník 1983; 1987).

The People's Defence Committee for Bimbilla was inaugurated on 15 June 1982 (I was present at the ceremony) by a PDC organizer from Tamale (the regional capital). The members were selected according to the 'Guidelines' mentioned above and consisted mostly of young men in their 20s or early 30s, with complete or incomplete middle school education (i.e. they were semi-literate to a considerable degree), and some older, destitute people from Bimbilla. These people had little, or no, informal authority in the Bimbilla town or in the district. A Nanumba-born District Secretary was also nominated at that time by the government. He was of the same young activists - the difference being that he had a secondary education without any professional follow-up - and was instantly superordinated to the experienced civil servants (including the former District Chief Executive and his deputy), who were all non-Nanumba.

Ironically, the new Bimbilla Naa's educated advisers and his most important elder - the Kpatihi Naa - happened to be closely connected with Dr Limann's PNP régime of 1979-1981. Two of these advisers were formerly MPs for Nkrumah's CPP and Limann's PNP respectively; the present Kpatihi Naa was the PNP district chairman. The PDC/CDR members (nothing had changed in the membership of these organs since 1982 in Bimbilla) and the District Secretary have, with two exceptions, all been commoners (*tarma*) who look with great suspicion at the Bimbilla Naa and the educated members or associates of his chiefly house (note the double opposition, a well-known theme in discussions on African social structures, both 'traditional' and 'modern': youth v. elders, and commoners v. chiefs). They can, however, hardly deny that the Banyili chiefly house had been in favour of development and education in the district since the 1940s. The ex-MP for the PNP is also a University of Ghana graduate and Headmaster of the Bimbilla Secondary School (formerly the Senior Tutor at Bimbilla Teacher Training College). He was in the 1970s, and again during my last fieldtrip to Bimbilla in 1986, the president of the Nanumba Youth Association (NAYA), an organization which aims to facilitate modern development in the district, but is also held co-responsible for whipping up Nanumba ethnic consciousness and the passions which led to the Nanumba-Konkomba conflict. The NAYA does recognize the supreme authority of *naam* (chieftaincy) in the district, especially in all 'traditional' matters. The PDC/CDR, as a 'revolutionary organ', has tried from the outset to make clear that it is the most important political force in the district. But, because it has had no informal authority (which instead resides in the chieftaincy, the NAYA, and in business and Islamic circles), the PDC/CDR 'boys' resorted to the tactics of demonstrating their power with a mixture of promises and intimidation.

For example, the Bimbilla PDC promised to procure sturdy Chinese bicycles for farmers at an acceptable price of ₵5,000 apiece (the US \$166). About 100 farmers contributed the money but had not seen their bicycles by the end of the fieldwork period. As inflation and the exchange rate rose, the farmers were asked to pay more so that finally they had paid ₵10,000 each. The inability of the PDC/CDR to supply the bicycles - an essential means of transport for farmers in the savanna - led the population to assume that the money, around one million Cedis, had been embezzled by the very bannerholders of the 'revolution'. This rumour circulated during my research period in 1986, and some Konkomba farmers came to demand their money back. They dared to do this only when it was known that the CDR had accused the Bimbilla Deputy Superintendent of Police of corruption and the responded by counter-accusing the CDR of embezzling the funds entrusted to them by the farmers. The PDC/CDR were also suspected by the people of embezzling ₵12,000 (then US \$400) for diesel fuel for the Bimbilla water pumping station, which had been collected from the town's inhabitants. They are furthermore suspected of embezzling revenue from the sale of confiscated goods. The NAYA pointed out these suspected malpractices and demanded an investigation but, when a Ghana Broadcasting Corporation reporter was told about it, the PDC (with the apparent connivance of the District Secretary) dubbed the NAYA as 'reactionaries' and 'enemies of the revolution', and managed to have 17 of the NAYA leaders and members arrested one night in October 1983. The men were held in Tamale prison, in detention without trial or access to lawyers, for almost three months. They were then released without explanation. These excesses of the 'revolutionary organs' happened in late 1983, about a year after the clamp-down on the leftist leaders in the JFM and the NDC. The composition of the PDC membership in Bimbilla remained unchanged, and nobody was held responsible for the abuse of power. Ironically, the radio report about PDC malpractices and the call for an investigation was broadcast while those who made the allegations were already behind bars!

Approximately at the same time, in the latter part of 1983 and the first quarter of 1984, another episode of confrontation between the 'revolutionaries' and 'reactionaries' in Bimbilla took place. 1983 was a very bad year agriculturally and even the normally well-endowed Nanumbaland suffered terribly from drought. The farmers approached the PDC and the District Secretary with a request to help them build a second dam near Bimbilla, in a very suitable place called Kpukpugri, which is a mere fifteen minutes' walk from the town (unlike the old dam, Wampu, which is two miles away). The people contributed money amounting to about ₵50,000, but nothing was done. The PDC district secretariat continued to assure the farmers and other people who were contributing that a bulldozer would be brought to Bimbilla. Nothing happened until the people learned that the resident Catholic (SVD = Divine Word Society) missionary in Bimbilla had an agreement with a Tamale contractor to build dams elsewhere in the district (the mission is known to be working mostly among the Konkomba who show more interest in the Catholic religion than the Nanumba, who incline towards Islam), but that the people in those localities had failed to collect the necessary monies. This fact was seized by the PDC, who asked the Rev. Father Feliciano Jara (a Paraguayan) to mediate, i.e. to ask the contractor to come to Bimbilla instead and build the dam.

However, when the missionary asked for the money (which was not the whole sum needed for the dam), it transpired that the PDC and the District Secretary were unable to produce it. When the people realized that another embezzlement had been perpetrated, the matter was taken up by the Bimbilla Naa himself who, with the help of his messengers, very efficiently collected another large sum which approximated the previous collection of ₵50,000. When the PDC and the District Secretary learned about this grass-roots action led by the Paramount chief and his advisers from among former politicians and NAYA members, they took it as a flouting of their authority in the district and demanded that the money be given to the District Secretary and used (allegedly) for the dam. This was rejected and the dam was built by the contractor with the mediation of the priest on the proposed site, i.e. Kpukpugri.

As a response to the initiative of the Bimbilla Naa and reports to the regional PDC secretariat, the Bimbilla PDC and the District Secretary acquired two bulldozers on short notice with which a 'retaliatory' dam was built in a most inappropriate place known as 'kom biegu' or dirty water, in a valley running parallel to the town where all the refuse water collects. Ironically again, the quality of the PDC dam was better than that of the chief and the people's dam, while the latter had the advantage of high quality water. Many people believed that the PDC bulldozers were brought to Bimbilla on an order issued by the regional CDR secretariat and northern Regional PNDC Secretariat, i.e. free of charge for the Bimbilla 'revolutionary organs'. That, many concluded, would suggest that the Bimbilla CDR and the District Secretary could keep the supposedly embezzled monies from the original collection. At any rate, the result was that, instead of one good dam with good water, there were suddenly two inadequate dams. The PDC and district administration showed only 'their' dam to all official visitors to the district, not the other dam built on the Bimbilla Naa's initiative. Even more ironically, and tragically, both dams were washed away by the 1985 rains.

This might resemble comical histories from Clochmerle were it not part of a fierce political skirmish. The PDC accused the Roman Catholic priest of being a C.I.A. spy and, when he challenged the accusation by laughing at the PDC and the District Secretary for their ignorance which associated his country, Paraguay-one of the poorest countries in the world - with the United States, "the 'gringos' far in the north", the repeated threats by the PDC compelled him to leave the district for a period of two months. He returned only after the Tamale Roman Catholic Archbishop Peter Dery intervened with the Regional PNDC Secretary, who asked the Bimbilla 'revolutionaries' to drop the case. The letters sent out by the PDC in connection with this affair branded the priest and the Bimbilla Naa as 'reactionary elements' perpetrating 'sabotage' of the 'revolution'. Against them stand 'revolutionary organs' and 'cadres'. The closing paragraphs from one of the letters sent to Tamale are worth quoting *verbatim*: *Cadres are not frustrated at all but are appealing to the higher authorities to come in to let the Reverend Father know his limits as a Missionary and being a C.I.A. Agent as the people now put him to stop his reactionary activities or the peoples power will one day strike him.*

We know him to be a big reactionary, because he has several times condemned the revolution through his sermons and now he is on the field doing the practical work of a C.I.A. Agent.

The Bimbilla-Naa whom we thought was a progressive has been brainwashed by the so called C.I.A. man and his agents in Bimbilla and he is also now practically working against the revolutionary organs.

Once again, cadres are not deterred at all with this imperialist and reactionary moves. The struggle continues.

Long live 31st December, Revolution.

*for: District Co-ordinator
(Iddrisu Abudulai Iron)*

The Reverend Father Jara returned to his work as a missionary and developer. After his return he continued to help needy people building boreholes for clean drinking water (the dams are advantageous for cattle owners - not exactly the poorest people - whose animals contaminate the water; drinking of such water results in the very high incidence of Guinea worm in the Nanumba District during dry seasons). His policy was, however, that those who benefited from such development projects must contribute at least half of the expenditure, either in cash or labour. Because the people were now wary of collecting money among themselves and the Bimbilla Naa did not want to antagonize the District Secretary further, previously constructed boreholes had to be locked. This contributed to increased tension between the Rev. Father, the farmers and the chiefs on one hand, and the District Secretary and the CDR on the other.

What have the PDC/CDR 'cadres' achieved in Bimbilla and the Nanumba district? Did they manage to adhere to their aim of mobilizing the people? The Bimbilla and Nanumba case shows that, instead of mobilization and positive political assets, the PDC/CDR managed to alienate the people through very harsh treatment, especially during the first two years of their existence. This included reporting, threatening, harassment, sowing of fear, and violence. The people in the district agreed that this rule of terror made them turn their backs on the PDC/CDR. They also treated the educated people connected with previous régimes as enemies of the 'revolution' and thus alienated them. The potential of these individuals for facilitating development in the district was almost totally obstructed. The PDC/CDR also alienated the 'traditional' rulers led by the Bimbilla Naa by ignoring them and falsely suspecting them of the same offences as the educated people mentioned above. Tension also existed between the PDC/CDR and the District Secretary because the CDR members felt entitled to unchallenged district leadership. The District Secretary stands, and in a sense stood, in their way. However, this conflict of interest is of secondary importance.

The CDR have done little positive work in the district: the only visible activities are literacy courses, which appear very useful, although the number enrolled is small. Instead, they have developed quite large bureaucratic and nominal structures according to the CDR Guidelines of 1986. In Bimbilla there are 18 coordinators, headed by the District Organizational Assistant and his deputy. These 20 people together make up the district secretariat. Then there are 12 zonal secretariats each with 7 members. That makes nominally 104 CDR activists (even though it is doubtful that they all are active). Plus there are smaller CDR secretariats in the numerous district branches of state and parastatal organizations. The main activity of these CDR bodies, as observed and

commented upon by the members of the public, is only frequent meetings. The CDR 'boys' do not do any normal work like farming, and there is a widespread suspicion that they live off embezzled funds or some obscure moneysupplies coming from the regional or national CDR secretariats. Ostensibly, and according to the "CDR Guidelines", the CDRs "are expected to be self-financing"; they have evidently taken that directive literally.

The CDR also fabricate reports on their alleged mobilizing and consciousness-forming activities to keep their superordinate secretariats happy. As far as I could find out, these reports are, for the most part, inventions. The District Secretary also contributed recently to this well-known tactic of provincial politics by reporting to a "Ghanaian Times" journalist that the Nanumba-Konkomba conflict had been completely resolved and practically forgotten. This is far from truth and neither Nanumba nor Konkomba leaders gave a mandate for such a declaration, which was published to the complete surprise of the inhabitants of the district (see references). In fact the NAYA and the Konkomba Youth Association (KOYA) met in 1984 and early 1985, and new proposals on the solution of the conflict were tabled by the KOYA. NAYA passed these proposals to the Bimbilla Naa, who put them before the meeting of the Nanumba Traditional Council on 4 August 1986, during my visit. The KOYA proposals, which included the installation of Konkomba chiefs in some areas of Nanun, were rejected at that meeting and the dilemma continues. Meanwhile in 1988-89 the District Council elections in Nanun ended with the victory of Mr M. A. Adam who was the PNP Member of Parliament in 1979-81 and detained for a full year by the Rawlings' régime in 1982. Mr Adam is a supporter of the Banyili chiefly house and close adviser of the Bimbilla Naa Abarika Attah. This victory for the intellectual wing in the Nanumba constituency will no doubt have repercussions for the CDR-Oriented in the Nanumba District.

Conclusions

There has been an apparent gap between the country-wide level and the district level as to what the '31 December Revolution' means. Whereas the policies of Rawlings, the PNDC and the government consisted of combining rhetoric about 'revolution' in the media, concentrating on corporatist economic and political actions (which evidently brings dividends in terms of the PNDC and Rawlings staying in power for five years, and is comparatively long by Ghanaian standards), the CDR in Bimbilla and the Nanumba District were left to a great extent to carry on with their bogus activities. This could be explained by the apparent decision of the PNDC to tolerate the CDR's existence as a useful smokescreen. However, it is also obvious that the power centre in Accra cannot entirely control the CDRs in far away districts. This, in the Nanumba case, means that no restructuring in the corporatist fashion ever took place, and the same discredited 'boys' continued to man the CDR in that distant district. There was evidence that this sort of situation obtained in many other places, but generally the power of the CDRs diminished with time.

The alienation of the chiefs and the people from the CDRs (and District Secretaries for that matter), and the ensuing apathy as far as mobilization for development is

concerned, by no means signify that the Ghanaians were resigned and politically crippled. In Accra and the other big cities I visited, as well as in Bimbilla, the people expressed very clear political judgement: the CDRs were self-appointed, they did not represent anyone except themselves, but were responsible for what they had done to the people and for what they had failed to do. That is why they should not be removed by election or some democratic machinery, but left in their positions until they rot from isolation and the contempt they have rightly earned; or, conversely, until they change their attitude and start to work truly on behalf of the people.

REFERENCES

- CDR Eagle. Organ of the CDR (fortnightly), Accra.
 CDR Guidelines. Published as a pamphlet in Accra. 1986
 The Ghanaian Times. Daily, Accra. Articles "Peace comes to "Nanumba" (8 July 1986) "Peace is a must" (14 July 1986)
 KONINGS, P. 1986. "The state and the defence committees in the Ghanaian revolution", in *State and Local Community in Africa*, ed. by W. van Binsbergen, F. Reyntjens and Gerti Hesseling. Brussels: CEDAF/ASDOC, pp. 261-285.
Laws of the PNDC. Vol. 3. Accra: Information Services Dept. (n.d.)
 OKEKE, B. E. 1982. *4 June: A Revolution Betrayed*. Enugu: Ikenga Publishers
 The People's Evening News. Weekly, Accra. Issues 1347-1350, 1986
 PETRAS, J. 1969. *Politics and Social Forces in Chilean Development*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press
 RAWLINGS, J. J. (Rawlings I) n.d. *A Revolutionary Journey. Selected speeches of Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, Chairman of the PNDC. Dec. 31st 1981 - Dec. 31st 1982. Volume One*. Accra: Information Services Department
 SKALNIK, P. 1981. *The role of the state in the dismantling of Ghanaian rural economy*. Journal of Legal Pluralism 19:177-188.
 1983 Questioning the concept of the state in indigenous Africa. Social Dynamics 9(2):11-28
 1985 Chieftaincy and state. The dragging history of the Nanumba-Konkomba conflict. Ghana Newsletter 17:4-22
 1986a The Nanumba-Konkomba War. A Study in Local Politics. Unpublished B. A. (Hons) thesis. University of Cape Town
 1986b "Nanumba chieftaincy facing the Ghanaian state and Konkomba 'tribesmen': An interpretation of the Nanumba-Konkomba war", in *State and Local Community in Africa*, ed. by W. van Binsbergen, F. Reyntjens and Gerti Hesseling. Brussels: CEDAF/ASDOC, pp. 89-109
 1987 On the inadequacy of the concept of the 'traditional state' (Illustrated with ethnographic material on Nanun, Ghana). Journal of Legal Pluralism 25 & 26:301-325

BOOK REVIEWS

STALPH, Jürgen: *Grundlagen einer Grammatik der sinojapanischen Schrift*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1989. 228 pp.

The present volume has appeared as Volume 39 in the Veröffentlichungen des Ostasien-Instituts series published by Ruhr University at Bochum. The author discusses a few aspects of the highly complex phenomenon of Japanese writing, concentrating upon formal, graphic problems.

In a fairly extensive introduction (pp. 11–29) the author rejects the idea that writing ought to be dismissed as a secondary sign system when compared to the spoken language. What he refers to is not the status of writing viewed phylogenetically, but rather the relative autonomy of writing systems, at least those that are not simple reflections of acoustic speech. One such writing system is Japanese. Subsequently, Stalph has launched an attempt at defining a grapheme as the smallest distinctive unit of the written language (pp. 13–14). Provided such a definition is accepted, then a great many characters may be considered to consist of yet smaller components that coincide with graphemes. Stalph's attitude to the solution of the problem takes into account conclusions of various Japanese scholars and characterizes such terms as *mojiron*, *kanji* and *hanji*. Another question dealt with by the author is that of the relation of Japanese characters (*kanji*) to their Chinese equivalents (*hanji*), and briefly traces the history of the graphic analysis of characters from Xu Shen to Jason Wang (pp. 30–51).

Stalph's graphic analysis of the characters is no mechanical decomposition of these complexes into the minimal strokes but rather their breakdown into a finite set of recurrent units, which is no doubt psychologically plausible because it reflects the restricted capacity of human memory. Of course, these basic units are not freely permutable but are subject to certain distributive rules. This approach to Japanese (and Chinese) writing has so far been neglected, despite the fact that they would be so helpful in the practices of teaching and learning.

In the chapter titled *Corpus* (pp. 54–57) the author mentions reforms of Chinese and Japanese characters, explains their consequences and decides on the list of *Joyokanjihyo* (1945 *kanji*) as a sufficient corpus of data for his analysis. Within this corpus, Stalph has identified 445 recurrent character components; his strategy was to avoid a too-detailed decomposition of the characters (p. 67). These *kanji* graphemes are listed in Table 4 in terms of their graphic complexity (p. 73). The subsequent section titled *Graphotactics* (pp. 76–115) amounts to a description of the distribution of all 445 components, including data about their positioning within the characters as well.

Stalph supports his analysis with statistical technique but he has found it inevitable to employ etymological method, too (pp. 139–146). His description is complemented with a phonetic analysis (pp. 147–157), and the concluding chapter deals with the problems of teaching Japanese writing (pp. 158–166). Stalph's advice on how to achieve

some degree of competence is sound. According to him, a university student ought to grasp the structure of *kanji* and would have to learn many *kanji* individually; the selection of *kanji* to be taught at school ought to be based upon the criterion of frequency but this criterion must be combined with that of graphic structure. As far as *kanji* are concerned, the practice of teaching seems to indicate that the realistic goal is to acquire a passive knowledge of some 1000 characters during four semesters (including the most frequent *kanji* graphemes). Another important point for students is to start using character dictionaries as soon as possible. Mnemotechnical devices are highly valued, e.g. etymology because of its support of associative learning.

An important part of the publication is the appendices (pp. 170–205) comprising e.g. lists of phonetics, abbreviated characters, a frequency list of *joyokanji*, structural schemes, and statistical data. There is also a glossary (pp. 207–212) and a list of books and papers relevant to the subject (pp. 213–228).

There can be no doubt that Stalph's publication will be appreciated by all scholars involved in the teaching of Japanese writing at all types of school.

Viktor Krupa

CHATTERJI, Ranjit: *Aspect and Meaning in Slavic and Indic*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company 1988. 137 pp.

The book under review has been published as the 51st volume of *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, Series IV of *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science*. It was written as a dissertation thesis and proves the author's knowledge of the subject (especially older literature).

The author starts with a review of some general and typological studies of aspect and notes changes in conceptions, arguments and trends. Then he concentrates on the history of the study of Slavic aspect, especially Czech aspect, and continues with a very short history of the study of aspect in Indic languages, Indic meaning here the Sanskrit-derived languages of the northern, eastern and western parts of the Indian subcontinent. As a matter of fact, he primarily discusses Bengali, and sporadically Hindi.

The second chapter called *Aspect and Meanings: Slavic* is of great interest. The author studies aspect within the concept of language as an open-ended system which is in constant flux. He links his study of the problem to broader issues in linguistics (e.g. aspect in relation to form, meaning, logic, style; the relationships of "real" time, linguistic time and aspect; the terms objective and subjective in relation to aspect; the delineation of aspect and Aktionsart; the functional reciprocity of the terms aspect and Aktionsart, etc.). He defines aspect as a conceptual semantic category allowing the speaker to express or emphasize a phase or view of verbal action (p. 21), or, following Friedrich's definition, as the relative duration or punctuality along a time line that may inhere in words or constructions (p. 21). The terms punctual and durative, i.e. linear,

are central here. According to the author's view, only linear and punctual meaning qualify as aspect. On the other hand, Aktionsart is distinguished as "any adverbial alteration of the meaning of a verbal form that adds a nuance while also affecting the punctual vs. linear qualities inherent in the unaltered form" (p. 22). The author illustrates this through several Czech examples, one of which is, unfortunately, incorrect. He says, *doběhnout* is an Aktionsart form of *běžet* "to run" (ipf), while *běhnout* is an aspectual form (p. 22). The word *běhnout* does not exist in Czech. A few similar mistakes occur also on other pages, for example on p. 29. In our view, it is not possible to speak about triads *pomyšliti: pomysli: pomysleti* as the word *pomyšliti* does not exist. It should be perhaps *pomyšliti: pomysleti*; *pomyšleti* does not mean to think, but to intend; in *hrát: zahrát: zahrávat (si), zahrávat (si)* does not belong to the series. Its meaning is not to play but to trifle with a t., to temper, to fool a person. On p. 52 *vyznat se* in a sentence given means to know one's way (as the author also correctly translates on p. 58) and does not belong to opposition *vyznat - vyznávat* ("to profess, to confess"). These mistakes intruded into Chatterji's work in spite of his undoubtedly excellent knowledge of Czech and made this reviewer, a specialist on the Bengali language, to realize once again how very difficult it is to study the theoretical problems of a language when one is not a native speaker.

Based on his concept of aspect and Aktionsart, the author refuses the possibility of reducing the semantic of Slavic aspect to a single binary opposition or markedness frame. He points at the elasticity of meaning of each aspect attributable to the inherent lexical aspectual qualities of verbs modified by their contents, and refuses a priori the nature of binary theory outside phonology.

Chatterji pays special attention to the tendencies, regularities and anomalies of Czech aspect. After analysing the most frequent Czech verbs published in Confortiová's study *Seznam nejjrekventovanějších českých sloves* (1972) from the aspectual point of view, he comes to the conclusion that the heart of aspect in Czech is represented by the tension between the "semantic shift in the aspectual derivation process creating mono-aspectuals and/of Aktionsart on the one hand, and the compensatory creation of aspectual counterparts maximally free of semantic shift on the other" (p. 37).

The section *Tracing the Slavic aspect Gestalt* (II) is original and in main ways polemic. Here the author summarizes rules suggested in various grammars and studies and introduces quite a few examples in which they cannot be applied, in his opinion. It is interesting to follow his arguments and one must agree with many of them, but there are some which provoke polemics. In several places, the author tries to prove the invalidity of the rules by using examples which are also unsuitable. Neither can the fact that he combines various rules by a number of authors be considered quite right. For instance the breaking of rule no. 1 *The pf. cannot be used in the expression of habitual, repeated action*, is illustrated by quite a few examples in which iterativity or habituality is provided by adverbs of frequency. As for rule no. 5 *Perfectives cannot refer to the actual present*, the author says that this is "one of the sacred cows of Slavic aspect lore" and tries to introduce examples proving the contrary. But in the mind of this reviewer, it is difficult to use as arguments "not model" (i.e. incorrect) Czech sentences (25), (26); in sentence (28) *zadýmá* does not seem to have pf. meaning, in (29a) *vyznat se* is mono-

aspectual (see above). Sentences (33) - (37) illustrate the breaking of the rule no. 6 *Only imperfectives can be used with "budu" in E. and W. Slavic* but they are not convincing, because as the author also admits, they are usually found in children's speech. It is this reviewer's further opinion that rule no. 9 *Perfectives cannot occur in the first position in the frame While he/she —, he/she—.* is not breakable in Czech. At least, sentences (44) and (45), being incorrect, do not prove the author's thesis.

At the end of the chapter, the author tries to find a way to characterize verbal meaning in context. He proposes to use a feature analysis that will ascribe a matrix composed of a limited set of features to each verbal form in context. The following six features: = continuous, = terminative, = ingressive, = iterative, = resultative, and = background are supposed to account "for the dynamic, contextually-modulated meanings in Slavic aspectual form". He realizes that they do not serve to distinguish all pfs. from all ipfs., but is of opinion that two sets of configurations of these features will correspond to the typical pf. and ipf. meanings. Then he applies his matrix to several examples typical to Czech.

The whole study aims at demonstrating the weaknesses of a morphologically or grammatically based view of aspect. Chatterji tries to prove the advantages of seeing Slavic aspect as a part of lexical semantics. He comes to the conclusion that category of Slavic aspect cannot be strictly divided into pf. and ipf., rather there is functional shifting and overlap. He stresses the primacy of linear : punctual division for Slavic verbs, continuity, iterativity and background being compatible with linearity, and ingression, resultativeness and terminativeness with punctuality.

The next chapter is devoted to aspects and meanings in Indic languages, with special reference to Bengali, supplemented by Hindi. Up to now, very few studies exist on this problem in these languages, most of them being influenced by Slavic aspect literature. Avoiding Slavic aspectual terminology, the author makes use of his own linear : punctual division as the guiding principle in the conceptual semantic category of Indic aspect. In contrast to the study of Slavic aspect, the treatment of Bengali aspect is empirical work with basic data. Chatterji chooses two of the four types of verbal forms in Bengali (vectorless tenses and pure verbal compounds) for a detailed examination of their aspectual meaning. He quite easily comes to the conclusion that Bengali perfect tenses (present and past) inherently express punctuality and thus are "cases of the intersection of explicit, external time (or tense) with implicit, situation-internal time (or aspect)". He refers to the aspectual qualities of vectorless tenses in Bengali as latent.

More complicated is the study of aspectual properties of pure verbal compounds (PVC's) in the semantics of which aspect, tense, manner and modal meanings are expressed by the same formal elements.

As it is known, PVC's are combinations of two verbal roots (the first is non-finite and the second either finite or non-finite) both roots together referring to one action. The first root carries the basic meaning of a PVC while the second, a vector, imparts additional semantic nuances. "The combinations produced by different choices from the possible second elements create shades of aspectual and other meanings" (p. 74).

In connection with PVC's, the author speaks about realized aspect, represented by vectors involved either in the realized punctual or linear viewing of verbal action. The

basis for meanings related to punctuality and linearity is provided by the fact that the majority of the vectors, when used as main verbs, have meanings related to motion or location in space. Within the categories of punctuality and linearity, greater semantic differentiation is indicated. For example, the author shows that nuances which are concomitant with punctuality can be correlated with the verbs expressing them on the basis of the following semantic subcategories: inceptive, subitaneous, versive, ablative, and resultative (p. 86). Chatterji points out some overlap between the subcategories in particular cases, the gradation in the strength of the nuances carried by different vectors, as well as some indication of the degrees of functional shift (grammaticalization) among the various vectors. At the end of this section the author discusses vector involved in the realized linear viewing of verbal action. But the examples are not very convincing in cases where the vectors occur in the present progressive tense which alone indicates the linearity of action. Some problems arise when the same vector occurs in the perfect tense as shown also in sentence (66).

In the chapter *Comparison and Contrastive Analysis*, the author presents the following general common features of Slavic and Indic aspect

1) neither in Slavic nor in Indic can aspect be isolated and treated as a watertight category unrelated to tense and mood

2) neither the Slavic nor the Indic data admit completely predictable (automatic) interpretation of aspectual forms

3) for neither family can aspect be treated as existing in words alone as opposed to sentences or the larger frames of discourse

4) in both families the assignation of aspect to either morphology, or semantics, or pragmatics/discourse is not feasible, since it permeates all three levels (pp. 96-97).

Next he tries to compare and contrast Slavic and Indic aspect, the basis for comparison being the Prague School word-formational approach. After summarizing form and process in Slavic and Indic aspect, he inevitably comes to the conclusion that there are no exact parallels to be found between them at the word-formational level. Just a "subsumption of vectoral and prefixed nuance with the meaning of the main verb can be counted as partial parallel between the two language groups" (p. 101). He fully understands that one cannot expect clear one-to-one correspondences between any phenomena in different language families and having this in mind he tries to find, and actually does find, Indic parallels to Slavic perfectivity as well as some interesting miscellaneous similarities between Czech and Bengali.

The last chapter of the book summarizes the entire study.

This is undoubtedly a very valuable and interesting book. It is a bit heretic in its view of Slavic aspect but contributes to its present knowledge. It is also an important contribution to the study of Bengali aspect of which only a few works exist.

Anna Ráková

HEGYI, K. – ZIMÁNYI, V.: *The Ottoman Empire in Europe*. Budapest, Corvina 1989. 167 pp. 165 col. + 171 ill.

Jubilees marking the 300th anniversary of expulsion of the Ottoman power from Central Europe not only contributed positively to the elucidation of these events, but also proved an inspiration for further works. One of these comes from the pen of the Hungarian historian Klára Hegyi who tried, in a relatively small space, to outline the characteristics of Ottoman rule in Europe, in cooperation with Vera Zimányi who has collected a remarkable number of colour and black-and-white illustrations. The book is destined to have a broader circuit of readers; this, however, does not imply that it is a summary of existing notions and ideas, nor a text explaining and supplementing the numerous illustrations. It has a clear concept and intends to provide the reader with an image of the Ottoman Empire in Europe from its social base, through its policy, administration, military practices, to its culture.

In a succinct introduction characterizing the fundamental traits of the Ottoman Empire, the author compares the stagnation in the East and the rapid changes in modern Europe. Situated between Europe and the East, the Ottoman Empire was forced to react more than other Asian countries to various influences. However, the essential changes took place under the influence of external factors. The interior forces of Ottoman society, like those of all Asian structures, failed to bring about essential changes. This may be ascribed to an absence of private ownership of land. While the Empire went on expanding, the development of its institutions was assured. Once, however, further invasions ceased, or to be more exact, ceased to be successful and became unduly costly, development came to a halt and after a short stagnation, decline set in. The masses of peasant serfs and the urban population organized in themselves guilds and the uprooted Ottoman élites. The élites with the sultan at their head, constituted a hierarchical structure which had practically no inner dynamism and the majority of changes were brought about by development outside the Empire.

In the chapters Five Hundred Years of Warfare, The Sultan's Palace, The Ottoman Army, Muslims and Christians, Science, Literature and the Arts, Provincial Administration in the European Part of the Empire, Economy and Everyday Customs, she explains the most prominent domains of action of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. An overview of Ottoman incursions in Europe until their expulsion from Hungary provides the fundamental data and its evaluation.

The seat of the government was and is a symbol of power both under Asian despotism and in democratic countries. This also applied to the Ottoman empire, which during the course of its existence had three such centres: viz. Bursa (Prousa), Edirne (Adrianopolis) and Istanbul (Constantinople). While the first two centres were primarily of economic and military significance, the transfer of the seat of Ottoman sultans to Constantinople meant taking over Byzantine traditions. In this short chapter the author deals with the sultan's palace and the central bureaucracy - the Sultan's Council, the Grand Viziership and further dignitaries. She does not bypass the sultan's private life, the role of the harem as an educational institution and also as a place from which

influential intervention was directed into politics. The end of the chapter is concerned with the palace guards and servants.

A closely related chapter III on the Ottoman army opens with an extensive quotation from the work of Georgius de Hungaria who spent a long term of imprisonment in the Ottoman Empire and described the Ottoman army: "the permanent 'conscripted' soldiers and the mercenary troops recruited by general levy, the manner of recruiting and finally the soldiers' attitude to military service and the religious rationale behind their enthusiasm." As the author rightly states, that was no Ottoman invention, but a legacy of the Byzantines and the Seldjuks.

Because of flexible mobilization, logistics and training, the Ottoman army triumphed not only over the fragmented, petty Balkan States, and still earlier over the Byzantines, but was also victorious in Central Europe and the Mediterranean. The basic detachments of the Ottoman army were formed relatively fast: the *sipahis* - provincial cavalry, maintained from recruits coming from the land, and the janissaries - infantry with rigorous regulations and slave status, given mercenaries' pay. In addition, the Ottoman State also had numerous special detachments with diverse tasks. Despite a certain isolation of the Ottoman Empire, changes in the international economy also affected Ottoman economy and army. Confrontations with Venice, the Habsburgs, Poland and Russia in the second half of the 17th century led to Ottoman expulsion from Central Europe following the unsuccessful siege of Vienna.

The question of relationships between the ruling Muslim and Christian populations are dealt with in the next chapter. The penetration of the Balkans by Turkish and other Muslim elements in the 14th century, was also accompanied by an Islamization of the local populations. As a matter of fact, this issue is precisely the theme of various controversies and discussions at present. K. Hegyi objectively endeavoured to interpret these questions and made a point of the negative activity of the Istanbul patriarchate and the Phanariots towards the majority of the Balkan nations.

The lucid exposé of Sciences, Literature and the Arts provides basic data on the problem. However, it might have been of more interest had the author specified the share of scientists, scholars and artists of Rumelian origin and clarified the significance of the poetic element in Islamic culture.

The study devoted to provincial administration in the European part of the Empire is valuable. The management of the Balkan and central-European territories of the Ottoman Empire was derived from a model formed during incursions of the Ottoman principality into Asia Minor and the Balkans. The territories that were incorporated directly into the Empire were ruled by the so-called *timar* system, while peripheral territories, such as Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Dubrovnik, etc. were vassal states. Originally, European territories were governed from Edirne. At the beginning of the 16th century this changed to Sofia, and in 1580 Bosnia became an independent province. Hungary, as a border province, had its seat in Buda after 1541, and later Temesvar became a seat of the province also. Other Hungarian provinces, such as Eğri (Eger), Kanije (Kanizsa), Varad (Oradea) and Uyvar (Nové Zámky) constituted the so-called *eyalets* - transformed provincial administrative units as characterized by Metin I. Kunt in his work *Sancaktan Eyalete: 1550-1650 arasında Osmanlı umerası ve*

il ideresi. Istanbul 1978. Of great value is the author's review of the specific development of Ottoman power in Hungary.

The brief outline of Ottoman economy provides basic concepts together with data about Hungary. According to the author, "the Hungarian province was a great burden for the Turkish treasury, causing an annual loss of two hundred thousand gold florins in the middle of the 16th century. To counterbalance this deficit, taxes had to be collected in Egypt and reallocated to Buda" (p. 127). This claim, however, must be supplemented with the statement by C. Finkel (*The Administration of Warfare: The Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593–1606*, pp. 290–92) to the effect that financial contributions to the defence of Hungary from Egypt were not entered in treasury books at the Buda Treasury (1570–81 and 1599–1603), and that the Central Treasury did not contribute any subvention for the Buda Treasury.

The European provinces of the Empire, but particularly Hungary, differed from the central areas of the Islamic lands. In consequence, the author makes a point, in the closing chapter *Everyday Customs*, of the specific nature of these areas.

Due to an accessible and interesting text, and to the abundant illustrations, the book will certainly find its way to numerous readers in many countries.

Vojtech Kopčan

FINKEL, C.: *The Administration of Warfare: The Ottoman Military Campaign in Hungary, 1593–1606*. Wien, VWGÖ 1988. xi + 362 pp. Appendix.

Although Ottoman chronicles and other sources devoted considerable attention to the operations of the Ottoman army, several logistical military questions remain unexplained, including those of provisioning, moving and lodging armies. For over two centuries, those interested in the technical problems of the Ottoman army drew information from the book by L. Marsigli (*L'état militaire de l'Empire ottoman*. Haag - Paris 1732). New books devoted to the logistics of the Ottoman army have appeared only lately, the most noteworthy being that by Caroline Finkel. The very choice of the topic - The Habsburg-Ottoman War 1593–1606 - is of interest not only from the logistical aspect, but also as a whole.

The historical overview of the event termed "The Ottoman Presence in Hungary and the Events of the 1593–1606 War" brings essential data and appraisals. However, it provides more data about the Ottoman than the Habsburg side, although it strives for an account of the entire course of the war. Concerning the beginnings of the confrontation, the author could have made use of the work of Václav Vratislav of Mitrovic who, as a member of the Imperial Embassy was in Istanbul, especially since it is accessible in English. It can not be said that this war had dramatic effects on either side, but they were effaced or at least toned down by the final results. It should be borne in mind that the conflict took place over an immense area of territory reaching from Spain to the south-Russian steppes and from the Baltic down to the north-African shores. Against

the background of the Ottoman-Habsburg confrontation, we can see the post-Trent Council papacy's anti-reformational efforts under the motto of Christian unity against the unbelievers, with the covert intention of suppressing the reformation. In my view, however, the performance by the Habsburg soldiers in Transylvania against the protestants had no major impact on the course of the war. It was only the rebellion of S. Bocskai which significantly intervened into the course of the Fifteen Years War and provided a body of manpower and resources to the Ottomans, thus contributing to the conclusion of a peace treaty, which was advantageous to the Ottomans. This was ultimately admitted by Ottoman dignitaries also.

The first part of the book *Manpower and Mobilization* (pp. 22–117) is based predominantly on archival materials and presents nonconventional views on the recruitment of the army, its composition, mobilization of detachments for the expedition, their pay, foreign detachments in Ottoman services, and auxiliary detachments. The author refuses the traditional division of the Ottoman army into *kul* and *sipahi* which, besides being maintained in a special manner, also represented a social estate. She suggests the Ottoman army be divided into garrisons and mobile detachments, although she admits that neither can these be precisely differentiated. In the section on recruitment and composition of the Ottoman army, she raised a number of weighty problems which have been bypassed by investigations thus far. One of them is the problem of *cebellü* (the author states that it is not known who they really were). It appears that not all of them were armed, but they joined expeditions on horseback. They were members of a *sipahi's* household, of military rather than feudal origin. In Hungary where the Islamic population was very weak and was mainly represented by people from Bosnia, Albania and Serbia, the *sipahi* evidently utilized relatives and domestics for these services.

In several places the author states that the types of army corps were not as strictly separate, or closed, as is generally believed on the basis of traditional ideas and many previously strict regulations were not held in such respect in the changing conditions. An example may be the awarding of *timars* by a dignitary of central offices, etc.

As regarded recruiting of serfs in Central Europe for the Ottoman army, this could be applied solely to the Bosnian population, or also to Serbians living in Hungary. Cases of deserters from Transylvania to Ottoman territory towards the end of the war cannot be qualified as volunteers serving in the Ottoman army. These were in part a military element who used their service as a refuge, but in reality they followed their own interests, rather than promoting Ottoman advantages. The betrayal of the relationship between S. Bocskai and G. Bethlen who stood at the head of this group and the ensuing direct threat by the imperial general Barbiano Belgiojoso to S. Bocskai led to the outbreak of the rebellion.

A revision of İnalcık's theory regarding the demand for manpower which could not be satisfied from traditional sources, has permitted the author İnalcık's statements. In particular, she refutes his statement that the *reaya* (serfs), who had been conscripted into the army as musketeers, were not demobilized after the war, but served in border garrisons. She likewise rejects the view that Anatolia was a large reservoir for the recruitment of soldiers able to handle fire-arms, at least the Hungarian front and claims this function for Bosnia and Albania.

The section dealing with mobilization uses a considerable quantity of concrete data and thus creates a complex picture of that mechanism of mobilization. The contradictory statements in the argument with Mutaščievova about the *sipahi* in Hungary in 1605 and military aid to Bocskai 1605 can also be partially elucidated with the help of home sources and literature, although these do not always recognize the origin of Ottoman detachments.

Mrs. Finkel takes a critical view also of the numbers of Ottoman detachments involved in various expeditions into Hungary. She notes that the numbers stated in Ottoman sources are as equally incorrect as most estimates by European observers. Unfortunately, one finds exaggerated data in modern studies also.

As regards the military road from Istanbul to Budin, which Mrs. Finkel analyses at the close of the section on the mobilization of the Ottoman armies, it should be observed that the Danube and the Tisza rivers had not always been direct lines of connection between Belgrade and Hungary. After the construction of a stone bridge across the Drave under the rule of Süleyman I, Ottoman detachments most often crossed the Srem into Osijek and only from Mohács did they follow the Danube. In this sector (near Batka, Tovarnik and other spots) wells were dug, as is recorded in certain itineraries from the 17th century.

The author critically confronts the problem of financing the war, especially that of paying the detachments, with theories of the great monetary crisis at the turn of the 16th-17th centuries. She points out that despite a permanent lack of funds, certain detachments (primarily the janissaries) were paid on time and in the proper amount. However, a considerable part of the army was maintained by direct tax levies which led to the misuse of power and fraud. Other means of ensuring the army's subsistence was trade, usury and other activities inadmissible in terms of Islamic common law. As far as payment of Ottoman garrisons in Hungary is concerned, as early as the 1560s it was customary to set apart *timars* in castles for the various detachments.

Increases in the incomes of various detachments, primarily of guard armies (*kapı kulu*), were introduced both by independent State and military authorities, e.g. after victorious battles, the conquest of a fortress, taking of prisoners, bringing in captives. This question should be studied more closely, for captives were a source of increased income not only for individuals or military units, but also a source of various rare goods. Finkel observes that before the start of hostilities, horses served to free Ottoman prisoners of war, but once the conflict had started, this was forbidden. Nevertheless, we know such trading occurred right at the start of Ottoman power in Hungary (*Mühimme defteri* 3, 236). Similar forbidden exchanges are also known from the mid-17th century, when a great yearning for Turkish horses prevailed among the Hungarian nobility.

The last chapters of the first section of the book are devoted to "foreigners" and auxiliary detachments. From the remotest times of the Ottoman State, sultans utilized their vassals and their participation was not merely symbolic (e.g. Serbians near Ankara in 1402). Subsequently, Crimean Tatars and Rumanian princes became permanent members of Ottoman excursions into Europe. The author rightly devotes a great deal of attention to the Crimean Tatars in view of their practically permanent presence in

Hungary during the Fifteen Years War. In truth, their military strength was rather relative, although they took part in beleaguering fortresses; however, they predominantly plundered enemy territories. During the great looting of Slovakia in 1599, even peasants succeeded in warding them off with simple weapons from behind fortifications, and proved their match in open fields. But in view of the considerable growth of the Tatar detachment, it was not possible to prevent major damages. Just as Max C. Kortepeter observed some time ago, the author also notes that the Tatars were not always obedient vassals like Russian and Soviet Ottoman science have often asserted, but they often pursued their own interests within the framework of the Gerey dynasty. In the investment of fortresses, the Tatars had to disrupt the beleaguered fortress' lines of communication and food supply for Ottoman detachments. Thereby as well as through plundering, pillaging and looting, they provoked chaos and uncertainty, captured prisoners, etc. The author makes the surprising statement that from June 1599 through May 1601, the Tatar khan and his people received 1.5 million akche. This is evidently because among the "foreign" detachments they were the most important in expeditions into Hungary. Other recipients of financial support were leaders of anti-Habsburg rebellions and Transylvanian princes. In Ottoman accounts such names as Székely, G. Bethlen, V. Drugeth and S. Bocskai can be found.

The second section entitled Provisioning (pp. 119–208), constitutes the core of the book. The author starts here with theoretical postulates of military historians with which, in virtue of her own research, she debates numerous issues and strives to present an objective image of Ottoman logistics. She draws support for her views from the records of the Porte financial department (*maliye*) although she is aware that it is extremely difficult to obtain reliable data.

When speaking of the provisioning of imperial armies, she asserts that private capital had been used. Prominent Hungarian commanders also took part in these undertakings, as for instance N. Pálffy, who from his estates, ensured foodstuffs and supplies not only for his detachments, but at the same time obtaining the leases of royal estates from the then insolvent Prague court.

In view of the contradictory sources, the question of irregular taxes and the provisioning of the Ottoman army has not been reliably resolved. Finkel endeavours to show how various methods of provisioning the Ottoman army were applied under specific circumstances in the war of 1593–1606 by the Ottoman Empire. She means to define in more precise terms the manner in which foodstuffs were obtained from producers and to find out how they were distributed to detachments, hence, whether they were sold or distributed. The official dates for provisioning the Ottoman army were *nüzül*, *sürsat* and *ıştır*. In the category *nüzül*, she states that regulations required a certain quantity of grain to be handed in by every *avarızhane* (tax unit) in the ratio of 25 % flour and 75 % barley and that *nüzül* and *sürsat* were not applied in Hungary, as they were in the war zone. However, we know from provisioning sources of the Ottoman army during the 1663 war that *nüzül* was collected in Bosnia and Hungary in virtue of *cizyehane* (see McGowan, B.: *Economic Life in Ottoman Empire. Taxation, Trade and Struggle for Land, 1600–1800*. Cambridge - Paris 1981, p. 205 and *İcmal-i hanha-yı zahireyi bedel ... ʿan sene 1074*. Sofia, NB. Orient. otdel, OAK No. 187/7).

Food distribution depended on the army's different types of activities. It varied according to whether the army was marching, actively fighting, or in winter quarters. While marching, the army had foodstuffs collected at given spots following a day's march, or at sites of a longer halt. During military operations, food was dispensed from stores, or the army's own reserves were used. Finally during the winter provisioning depended on whether the detachments went into winter quarters, or were billeted at garrisons in various forts or castles. The author makes a thorough and detailed study of the various components of military food provisioning (cereals, rice, biscuits, meat, fat, vegetables, etc.) as well as fodder for horses and heavy draught animals. She specifically investigates the provisioning of *sipahi* and the Tatars, for these armies were not together with detachments of the Porte and castle garrisons. This section of the book undoubtedly presents the most complete view of Ottoman logistics. Of no less significance is the fact that Finkel has shown what information on this topic can be retrieved from Ottoman sources, even though these sources do not record the functioning of this mechanism in detail.

The third section of the book "The Financing of the War" (pp. 209–303) demonstrates how war was and is connected with economy. To do this, the author has appended an analysis of the accounts of various campaigns into Hungary during the Fifteen Years War to the end of her book. Various sources were used for maintaining the armies and the author analyses them in detail. It is of interest to note that loans to the State treasury were made not only by high dignitaries (the grand vizier, the janissary aga, etc.), but likewise by the sultan himself and other personages about whom little is known.

The most important item in the treasury's expenses was that of soldiers' pay (up to 70 per cent, according to the author). Further expenses were less significant, but more colourful. Besides the central treasury, Finkel also audited accounts of provincial treasuries, whose materials unfortunately have been mostly destroyed. Her sources show that over 75 % of the outlays for the Budin province came from incomes outside that province. Not more than 17 % came from the Budin province, while 20 years before the Fifteen Years War this had amounted to almost 70 %. Before the war (1569–78), the Budin treasury received an annual payment of approximately 5.5 million akçe from the Temesvár treasury and the central treasury in Istanbul annually sent some 16,670,000 akçe to Budin as mercenary pay.

However, it would be rather difficult to speak of the consolidation and reconstruction of Ottoman power in Hungary after 1566. Essentially there was the question of an expansion of power, whether voluntarily or by force, which brought increased contributions to the Ottoman treasury in Budin. The author notes that from 1575–81, the Budin treasury did not receive any financial support from Istanbul, because Mustafa Pasha Sokollu ensured incomes from local sources. It suffices to glimpse through the letters of this dignitary (*A budai basák magyar nyelvű levelezése I. 1553–1589*. Budapest 1915, pp. 22–161) to realize how relentlessly he required payment of taxes from villages and towns on the border, threatened localities as yet unsubdued, and in case of nonpayment, used to dispatch border beys on punitive expeditions. He even went so far as to have the castles Modrý Kameň, Divín and Šomoška conquered in 1575 against the terms of the peace agreement.

The records of the treasury on various campaigns, whether due to destruction of materials or the manner of their being entered into the accounts, do not provide an overall image of the military operations of the Ottoman army. They focus on major events, while those events that are relatively less important are not recorded.

One of the interesting notions in the book under review is the fact that the State provisioned, or was responsible for the provisioning of Porte's mercenary army (*kapıkulı ocakları*), while the provincial cavalry (*sipahi*) depended upon itself. Certain trends, which became fully asserted in the 17th century, began to be clearly manifested during the Fifteen Years War. In view of a deficiency of available money, *timar* lands began to be allotted to persons who had nothing to do with the army. The ever growing need for manpower forced the State to engage the serfs (*reaya*) in military service. In the European areas it was mainly serfs from Bosnia and perhaps also Albania. As mentioned earlier in reference to H. İnalcık, the provincial cavalry came under the influence of the general trend in the army. As a result of the improvement of fire-arms, the initiative shifted from the cavalry to the infantry, which in addition, was also cheaper.

Caroline Finkel's work is not merely a contribution to the history of Ottoman military organization and operations during the course of the Fifteen Years War, but also constitutes a stimulus for further research. Another point of interest is the view expressed by the author that Ottoman history should be investigated in relation to that of other countries that are comparable, devoting less attention to the "specific" traits of Ottoman society. Only thus will a better position ensue for understanding the dynamic processes that went on behind the static façade, as has been presented by the then observers and many contemporary historians. In any case, the book is remarkable in both the quantity of archival material used, and the method the author employed to build a clear mosaic out of such complex issues.

Vojtech Kopčan

ENVER PASCIA: *Diario della guerra libica a cura di Salvatore Bono* (A Diary of the Libyan War edited by Salvatore Bono). Studi mediterranei. Bologna, Capelli editore 1986. 95 pp.

The late 19th and early 20th centuries witnessed the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the imposition of British and French rule over its Arab territories. The last remaining Ottoman province in North Africa, Tripolitania (later called Libya by the Italians), was occupied by Italy, the least of the European powers, after the war with Turkey in 1911–1912. Though Ottoman authorities had declared their commitment to Libya at the beginning of that war, they viewed the dispatch of additional forces to that country during the struggle there as wasteful. Nevertheless, several Ottoman volunteer officers, including Enver Paşa went to Libya and joined the fighting in that country.

This translation of the diary of Enver Paşa¹ into Italian provides a detailed account of the Libyan war by this prominent Young Turk leader and military commander in

Cyrenaica. He described the war on an almost daily basis, from 4 October 1911, the day on which the Italians began the bombardment of Tripoli, until 25 November 1912. Following the peace agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Italy, the author decided to leave Cyrenaica.

The text itself is extremely welcome in that it makes more information on Italy's colonial history available to the Italian reader as well as information on the Ottoman Empire's involvement in Libya. During the Libyan war, which has usually been defined as a Holy War (Jihad), much emphasis was placed on the close religious ties uniting the whole Muslim world. These ties obliged all Muslims, especially the Ottomans, to protect Libya - a Muslim land which had been invaded by non-Muslims. Enver Paşa regarded the war as a realization of the Muslims' religious and moral duties (p. 20).

This is a book which provides material for the Islamist as much as for the historian. Ottoman military-political activity in Tripolitania at that time is bound to attract anyone interested in the history of the Ottoman-Turkish Empire, and especially in military history. It contains important material concerning Enver Paşa's efforts to strengthen Ottoman influence in Libya. What emerges from this diary as well is a unique portrait of the author's complex personality.

The organization of the book is clear-cut: a brief preface written by Francesco Gabrieli is followed by a substantial introduction to the text itself. Notes, Enver Paşa's biography, and a short outline of the history of the Libyan war together with a bibliographic note conclude the volume. Salvatore Bono and his son, Francesco Bono, who were the translators, devoted meticulous care and scholarly energy to the production of this book. A historian will look at this volume as a factual resource tool in which data are sorted chronologically in an exhaustive manner. It is a solid piece of work which provides a valuable starting point for further research on the Libyan war and related issues.

Nada Zimová

NAFZIGER, E. Wayne: *Inequality in Africa: Political Elites, Proletariat, Peasants and the Poor*. Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press 1988. xiii + 204 pp.

Among students of African political economy Professor Nafziger's work is well-known and appreciated. Although his recent book published in the Cambridge African Society Today series (general editor Robin Cohen) is a relatively small volume, its value lies in the immense importance of the problem it tackles. Inequality is not only the theorist's tricky term which turns growth into poverty, but as the lives and deaths of millions of Africans sadly attest, it is also a notion which contains much of the developing world's tragedy. Nafziger's approach to the problem is multi-disciplinary

¹ENVER PASHA: *Um Tripolis*. Munich 1918.

and comprises aspects of historical, economic, social and political analysis - something which all good political economy is actually about.

The author begins with a vehement yet matter-of-fact rejection of the thesis that inequality, by spurring high capital formation rates and economic growth, should be seen as an important factor in the process of raising a nation's average material well-being and that in the latter stages it ordinarily becomes beneficial to the poor also. Throughout the book he repeatedly reveals how inequality becomes a self-reproducing phenomenon and how "societies with initial income inequality are likely to remain unequal or become more so" (p. 4). Although the necessity of initial capital formation for the purpose of achieving growth cannot be ignored, the author is of the opinion that in countries where inequality causes especially severe problems, as is the case with most African countries, the alternative of state-regulated simultaneous promotion of both equality and capital accumulation should be opted for.

A major theme of the book which is discernable in the background throughout much of the discussion, is the endeavours on the part of the African elites to make the state pursue economic policies that support their own interests at the expense of Africa's poor and working classes. Nafziger's political economy is not limited to analysing state policies towards markets but it also sets out to examine the interests controlling and contending to dominate these policies. African elites' economic and political interests are shown to be too dependent on foreign influences which, according to the author, enables the developed countries "to transform the real existing conflicts of economic interests between them and Africa into harmonies of interests the countries' elites" (p. 14).

The broad range of topics considered in successive chapters include an overview of independent Africa's position in global income distribution, the process of growing inequality and immiserization in Africa since 1965 and the influence of colonialism and neocolonialism on income discrepancies between various segments of African society. The author explains how the concessive politics of colonial policy makers first towards the traditional rulers at the beginning and then African civil servants at the end of colonial rule, helped to conserve and reinforce the already existing inequalities. As far as the postcolonial period is concerned, various aspects of economic contacts between the developed and underdeveloped world, which include transnational corporations, foreign aid and debt politics, are seen as major external factors contributing to the worsening of the problem of inequality in Africa. The basic types of interest conflicts and income discrepancies, which are treated in separate chapters, are defined as being those between the political elite and working class, the urban and rural classes, the upper and lower elites, the 'comprador' and national elites and the different regional or ethnic elites. A separate brief case-study based on Nigerian experience is devoted to the analysis of economic distortions resulting from a country's dependence on a single export commodity.

Professor Nafziger's book is written in a rather dense style and requires a careful reader. Yet, the complexity of the content is tempered by the clarity of the form. Right at the beginning, the author clearly states his aims and framework and he adheres to these throughout. However, the final chapter and its conclusion are a bit disappointing.

In parts it reads like a manifesto from some previous decades with prescription for proletarian revolution.

Ján Voderadský

ZÚBKOVÁ-BERTONCINI, Elena: *Outline of Swahili Literature. Prose Fiction and Drama*. Leiden, E.J. Brill 1989. 341 pp.

This book addresses itself to the study of and an authoritative and up-to-date assessment of the origins and development in Swahili literature of two foreign genres, namely prose fiction and drama. Since, in the words of its author expressed in short preface, her main point is "that Swahili literature can be aesthetically appealing for Western readers", unlike the few other existing works dealing with modern Swahili literature, her main concern is allegedly with the stylistic qualities of the titles discussed. Therefore, the study is said not to be meant for Africans, "because there are other criteria for judging the relevance of a literary work in East Africa than there are in Europe". The aim of this introductory outline of modern Swahili literature is thus to provide a coherent picture of the development of Swahili prose fiction and drama from their beginnings in oral traditions to their contemporary expressions in the writings of Tanzanian and Kenyan writers.

Divided into four parts of unequal length and an introduction, the volume contains some page forty-page-long survey of traditional Swahili forms in the field of prose – tales, chronicles, memoirs and autobiographies under the title Prose fiction in pre-colonial and colonial times. This also includes a discussion of the role of the traditional artist. Special attention is given to Shaaban Robert, one of the greatest Swahili thinkers and the most prolific Swahili writers. However, the basis of the Outline lies in the two chapters tracing the expression and controversies of contemporary prose fiction and drama respectively. While this part of the book is basically descriptive, there are numerous points at which analytical statements are made. A student of modern Swahili literature will no doubt appreciate evaluations and analyses of selected Swahili writers being made so readily available, along with synopses of plots and themes of the major works, novels, short stories and plays. Among the book's most welcome contributions are the list of Swahili authors containing all the available biographical information and the list of novels, collections of short stories and plays. Professor Bertoncini's work is no doubt a very creative incentive for further research in this area and a valuable contribution in its own right.

Viera Pawliková-Vilhanová

HARRISON, Christopher: *France and Islam in West Africa, 1860–1960*. Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press 1988. xi+242 pp.

This study is devoted to the analysis of one important aspect of French policy in the Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF) - France's largest colonial territory, comprising eight of the present francophone West African states. It focuses on the evolution of the French understanding of Islam and on the development of French policy towards the religion which has been rightly considered a critical factor in the strategy of French colonialism in this region. Although the author's sources include evidence from different parts of the AOF, throughout the book we understandably remain mostly in Senegal and Dakar, the AOF's colonial capital where the interplay between politics, religion and commerce was most intense. This interplay is the object of much of Dr. Harrison's analysis. One important exception is Algeria, which served France as a testing ground of its political and economic colonial doctrines and which is shown to have played an important role in the formation of French Islamic policy in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Dr. Harrison has based his study upon European written sources, found for the most part in archives in France and Dakar. He is aware of the fact that, having concentrated on the problem of the French understanding of Islam, he highlights only one side of the story; however, his profound analysis of the relatively narrow topic also offers insight into Islamic reactions towards France and is able to shed light on more general concerning the European colonization of Islamic societies.

The book is divided into four main parts. Part I presents the contradictory nineteenth century background to the following period which saw the emergence of a more distinctive French policy towards Islam. It is here that the Algerian example is shown to be of much influence. Part II covers the years between the end of the military conquest at the turn of the century and the beginning of the First World War which witnessed a change in attitudes towards Islam, characterized by exaggerated French fears of imminent Islamic conspiracies and by intense French suspicion of all forms of Muslim activity. This intensified 'Islamophobia' could not but result in overreaction by the French on several occasions such as the 1906 'Mahdist plot' and the 1911 'Goumba affair' which is analysed in considerable detail in a separate chapter. Part III describes the emergence of a more considered intellectual reflection by the French about the nature of their presence in West Africa, which was for the most part a result of the research of three French scholar-administrators: F. Clozel, M. Delafosse and P. Marty. Clozel and Delafosse were among the first to point to the importance of the formerly overlooked local animistic traditions in *Islam noir* which was now beginning to be seen as a rather specific modification of the Islamic doctrine known from the Arab world. This idea was further elaborated in the multi-volume study of P. Marty, which is accorded substantial attention in Dr. Harrison's study. P. Marty's work on Islam in West Africa contributed significantly to the new understanding of 'Black Islam' which dissipated some of the old French suspicion and animosity and contributed decisively to the post-World War I reformulation of official French

policy in this matter. As Dr. Harrison points out, the detailed and coherent picture of Islam, painted by P. Marty "has dominated informed European perceptions at least until the 1960s" (p. 204). Part IV, devoted to the period 1920–40 and titled "The French Stake in Islam" shows how, with the growing post-war recognition of the economic potential of the colonies, French economic and political interests in AOF began to be more closely intertwined with the local Muslim establishment, represented mainly by the Sufi brotherhoods. An apparent showpiece of this new marriage of French material and Muslim spiritual interests was the colonial administration's sponsorship of the construction of a new principal mosque in Dakar. This pattern of mutual opportunism, formed in the inter-war period, has survived the colonial era and in many independent states of Africa it helped to create the basis for future Euro-African relations.

C. Harrison's book offers interesting insight into one important aspect of French colonialism in West Africa. Although it focuses on a relatively specific subject and is aimed at a narrow circle of students of colonialism, Islam and West African history, it is written in a style which makes it digestible also to a broader professional readership.

Ján Voderadský

MARTIN, Susan: *Palm Oil and Protest: An Economic History of the Ngwa Region, South-Eastern Nigeria, 1800–1980*. Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press 1988. xi+209 pp.

This book by Susan Martin from the SOAS in London, is based on her PhD thesis written at the Centre of West African Studies, Birmingham, under the supervision of Professor A. G. Hopkins. Her sources include documents from both Nigerian and English archives as well as up to 30 interviews conducted during her stay in the Ngwa region. Having found that the view emerging from local histories was often at variance with the official one which was recorded in the archives, the author made it her duty to attempt a synthesis of the two. On the theoretical level she has undertaken a re-examination of the notorious 'dependency' and 'vent-for-surplus' theories of rural African economic development against the background of her own sources and ideas. Of course, a more general aim was to write an economic history of a relatively small area of the West African forest with the hope of shedding some light on patterns of change common to geographically and ecologically similar regions which were also under the impact of Western capitalism and colonial rule.

British colonial presence is seen in the book as something rather remote and it certainly does not become a dominant topic. The author concentrates on local economic and social developments and points out that especially in the initial phases of colonial rule these were only slightly and indirectly (due to improvements in transport infrastructure mainly) influenced by colonial rule. The Ngwa, who "had fought few battles against their new rulers during the early colonial period; instead, they had

engaged in increased palm production and trade" (p. 72), appear to have been ideal subjects. An uprising, such as the famous Aba Riot of 1929, in which over 50 Ngwa women were shot by the police, is shown to have been sparked off by misunderstanding, although, as the author observed, once the movement began, various grievances surfaced.

One 'feminist topic', that of the role of women in Ngwa economy and society, more or less perceivably threads through the whole story, and it is interesting to observe whether 'Susan's' or 'Martin's' optics will eventually prevail. It must be said that although the former does appear to have attempted to voice her preconceptions here and there, the latter was not overwhelmed and the overall image is balanced.

One minor technical error was noticed: 2 miles cannot be less than 3 kilometres (Map 2).

Ján Voderadský

MANNING, Patrick: *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*. Cambridge etc., Cambridge University Press 1988. xii+215 pp.

Students of different regionally focused topics are naturally inclined to begin their study or research with a brief and simple, yet relatively comprehensive background reading in the area. They are always lucky if they find one written by a top expert in the field. This is exactly what has become possible for students of contemporary francophone sub-Saharan Africa with the publication of Professor Manning's overview of the last one hundred years of economic, social, political and cultural change in French-speaking Black Afrika.

The book is well-arranged; it is divided both chronologically (into two periods: from 1880 to 1940 and from 1940 to 1985) and thematically, with each of these halves consisting of three chapters, i.e. economy and society, government and politics, culture and religion. Throughout the story the author points to different aspects of francophone sub-Saharan Africa's uniqueness while at the same time often showing that in many respects its experience has had important parallels with that of English, Portuguese and Arabic-speaking Africa. Although the aim would naturally have been to lay stress on the specific, the common penetrates the surface and as the reading comes to the close one acquires a feeling of having learned in continental dimension about the nature of the last one hundred years' of change in Africa.

As far as francophone Africa's relations with France are concerned, the author shows how a new synthesis gradually emerged out of the colonial and neocolonial conflict. Culturally this was represented by the shaping of francophone African culture. A certain ambiguity of this process, however, is not seen as a weak point by the author - on the contrary, he suggests that this hybrid is perhaps able to reflect the realities of life in the 20th century more realistically than the European national cultures "whose world views are held within national constraints more appropriate to the 19th century than to the global nature of 20th century society" (p. 182).

Although the book is by its nature mainly a survey of information and argument, intriguing questions, which offer material for independent thought are hinted at here and there. What, for instance, can account for the fact that with the exception of civil wars in Zaire and Chad, the nations of francophone sub-Saharan Africa experienced less political disjuncture than most other areas of the continent in the post-colonial period? The answer certainly deserves separate study.

The overall usefulness of this modest book cannot be disputed. It is very well served by a guide to further reading too. On the other hand, the front page map leads everyone to the false expectation that Madagascar will also be included in the story.

Ján Voderadský

BOOKS RECEIVED

- FREUND, Bill: *The African Worker*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1988. 200 pp.
- GRAF, Gunhild: *Die Epitome der Universalchronik Ibn ad-Dawūdātīs im Verhältnis zur Langfassung*. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1990. 301 pp.
- HARRISON, Christopher: *France and Islam in West Africa, 1860–1960*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1988. xi + 242 pp.
- HIRSON, Baruch: *Yours for the Union. Class and Community Struggles in South Africa, 1930–1947*. London, Zed Books Ltd 1989. 230 pp.
- LIFFE, John: *The African Poor; A History*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1987. 387 pp.
- KITTAI, Eva Feder: *Metaphor. Its Cognitive Force and Linguistic Structure*. USA, Oxford University Press 1987. 358 pp.
- LEWIS, Bernard: *The Political Language of Islam*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press 1988. 168 pp.
- MANNING, Patrick: *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1988. xii + 215 pp.
- MIERS, Suzanne - KOPYTOFF, Igor: *Slavery in Africa. Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*. London, The University of Wisconsin Press 1989. 474 pp.
- MIERS, Suzanne - ROBERTS, Richard: *The End of Slavery in Africa*. London, The University of Wisconsin Press 1988. 524 pp.
- NAEJGER, E. Wayne: *Inequality in Africa: Political Elites, Proletariat, Peasants and the Poor*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1988. xiii + 204 pp.
- SHULMAN, Frank Joseph: *Japan*. World Bibliographical Series Volume 103. Oxford, Clio Press 1990. 873 pp.
- SIMON, R.: *Meccan Trade and Islam. Problems of Origin and Structure* (Bibliotheca Orientalia Hungarica, Vol. XXXII). Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1989. 206 pp.
- STALPH, Jürgen: *Grundlagen einer Grammatik der sinojapanischen Schrift*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1989. 228 pp.
- TAYLOR, John R.: *Linguistic Categorization. Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1989. 270 pp.
- THUL, Sultan: *Chorasantürkische Materialien aus Kalāt bei Esfarāyen*. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1989. 365 pp.
- YOUSEF, May A.: *Das Buch der schlagfertigen Antworten von Ibn Abī Awn*. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1988. 12 + 156 pp. + 265 pp. (Arabic Text).

Published by

Institute of Oriental and African Studies
Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava

Desktop publishing

KORUND *Desk Top*
Nové Zámky

Printed by

Repro Print
Bratislava
Slovakia
Registr. č. 679/92

Subscription information

all orders and requests should be sent to
SAP – Slovak Academic Press, Ltd.

Distributed by

SAP - Slovak Academic Press, Ltd.
Nám. slobody 6, P.O. BOX 57,
810 05 Bratislava
Slovakia

© SAP - Slovak Academic Press, Ltd.

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Manuscripts submitted for publication in **ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES** should conform to international standards now generally recognized as regards presentation and format.

Manuscripts must be typed double-spaced on white paper, submitted in duplicate and should contain the title, author's full name and workplace. If there are several authors, these data should be given for each. The authors outside Slovakia are requested to submit their papers in English.

References should be used as follows: author's name and year are given in brackets inside the text and the final References are arranged in alphabetical order.

Footnotes should be written on a separate sheet.

Illustrations, Figures, Diagrams, Tables must be numbered in Arabic figures and marked in pencil at the back with the author's name. Relevant notes should be typed on a separate sheet. Illustrations must be drawn neatly on white paper and lettering must be legible after reduction in size for printing. Photographs must be submitted unmounted on white glossy paper. A note in the margin should indicate the approximate place for the illustrations to be inserted.

