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CONTENTS

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31

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STUDIES

THE REALITY OF ACOUSTIC ICONS IN VOCABULARY*

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Language is not completely free of iconicity. Iconic signs create a double link with the sources of our perception and have a considerable emotional load.

The widespread belief that language is a system of essentially arbitrary signs is generally accepted and obviously justified. The hierarchical organization of language and, more particularly, its highly restricted inventory of elements capable of distinguishing meaning rule out a consistent correlation between the levels of form and content (meaning). Yet, language is not completely free of iconicity, not only in poetry where a certain parallelism between form and content is desirable if not compulsory; iconicity is an integral part of the design of language.

Iconicity is obviously an archaic device, which, however, does not mean that it belongs exclusively to early phases of diachrony or to linguistic prehistory. It is archaic not only because it is so common in the domain of animal communication and behaviour but also because iconic signs create a double link with the sources of our perception; furthermore, their emotional load is considerable, thus enhancing empathy with our surroundings and blurring the dividing line between the observer's self and its environment. Iconicity is constantly created and re-created, it sprouts incessantly, being one of the sources and passageways of creativity. Iconicity may be subsumed under what is termed figurative language. Acoustic icons are no doubt elementary figures, since they are brought about by an attempt to "paint" real acoustic events as they are perceived. And thus, objective acoustic events (including those of human provenience) are projected into the subjective domain of human acoustic communication. When the domain of objective acoustic phenomena is compared to that of human acoustic communication, the first discrepancy to be detected is a marked profusion of the former and an equally marked paucity of the latter. As a consequence of this, any linguistic representation of the objective acoustic phenomena is inevitably very approximate and selective. These feature of linguistic acoustic icons imply hesitation and variability; the speaker of a language intuitively feels the insufficiency of the linguistic means to describe the acoustic (or other) shape of the referent and therefore tries more than one means – variation cannot be separated from improvisation.

Perhaps one could borrow R. Blust's statement on phonesthemes in Austronesian (Blust 1988a: 68) and describe the acoustic icon as a weed in the garden of language. Acoustic icons truly deserve to be labelled as weeds because they do not "behave"; for reasons just mentioned above, they obviously do not obey the phonotactic rules as rigidly as arbitrary words do. And yet iconicity may truly be characterized as a weed only within the framework of that linguistic conception which regards language as a neat and tidy, rigidly organized system where there is no place for ambiguity, systemic multiplicity and fuzziness.

Iconicity may be viewed as an attempt at direct reference, since here the sounds of language are used not (only) to distinguish meaning but also to construct correlates or analogues of the referents.

R. Jakobson accepts C. Peirce's definition in accordance with which the icon acts chiefly by a factual similarity between its *signans* and *signatum* (Jakobson 1971: 347). Iconicity is a perceptible imitation and thus any iconic sign is intended to be a configurational replica of its referent, to be formally (even if conventionally) similar to its referent. But similarity is extremely hard to define and neither is it always easy to decide what is more and what is less similar. Since the notion of similarity is admittedly hazy if not intuitive, there is inevitably a good deal of variance in onomatopoeia and this is the most important reason why iconic signs do not meticulously obey phonotactic rules. The phenomena in reality are continuous while the sounds of any language represent a conventional set of discrete sounds. In other words, acoustic iconicity in language is never complete, it can only be very crude, as any attempt to characterize a continuous phenomenon with discrete and conventionalized means. Continuity of experience is clearly reflected in a certain fluidity of the iconic signs, cf. English *crack, crake, crash, creak; scream, screech; scratch, scrape, scrawl, scramble, scrabble*; Slovak *bum, buch, bách; puk, prask, tresk; chmatnúť, chopiť, chabrať, hrabať...; miau, mňau*. The variability is not only intralinguistic but also, naturally enough, interlinguistic (cf. Slovak *havhav*, Maori *auau*, Japanese *wanwan* – dog's barking). Let us notice that a certain fuzziness or vagueness is inherent in figurative speech as such.

The existence of interlinguistic variability indicates that conventionality of language extends at least partially to iconic signs. The latter are sometimes subject to regular historical sound changes. This obvious incongruity can easily be solved, and namely in such a way that the iconic signs of language obey two sets of rules. While their chief objective is to imitate real sounds as efficiently as possible, they are under the pressure of obeying standard phonotactic rules, provided the latter do not interfere with their chief goal that consists in imitating their referents.

The partial relevance of phonotactic rules explains that sometimes it is difficult to decide which words or morphemes are iconic and which are not. In such cases only comparison with other languages and historical research may help to clarify the issue.

Quantitative iconicity no doubt deserves special treatment. Pitch and volume of voice as well as the duration of an utterance seem to correlate with the intensity of human feelings such as fear, urgency, excitement – a feature which human beings seem to have in common with some communicating animals. There are, however, specifically linguistic features; (1) vowels are prolonged, e.g. Slovak *Ve-e-ľa toho bolo* "There was a lo-o-t of it", (2) consonants geminated, cf. Japanese *minna* "all", alongside with *mina*, Slovak dialectal *Hodil ho o zzem*, instead of... *o zem* "he threw him to the g-ground", and (3) words repeated, cf. English *Many – many people are coming here.* This phenomenon has been discussed, e.g., by J. Lyons (1977: 71).

Iconicity in language cannot be reduced to a straightforward imitation of acoustic events. The frequently used term of sound symbolism indicates that this is a fairly wide range of phenomena.

In addition to onomatopoeia there is a category of elementary vocalizations that includes such words as *mama, papa, dada, tata, baba,* etc., originally words of address, that may be said to arise universally and spontaneously in the speech of children. Their frequent occurrence in various, often very distant languages of the world, confirms that they are spontaneous while their semantic variance, even if restricted (cf. Slovak *mama* with Georgian *mama* and Indonesian *mamah*), corroborates that they are not the result of borrowing. These words, however, cannot be classed as acoustic icons.

Language can employ acoustic means to describe non-acoustic phenomena and in this way visual or other types of phenomena may be imitated, via a kind of synaesthesia, reminiscent of the application of colour terms to acoustic or psychical events. In this instance the term mimesis would perhaps be more opportune. Mimesis may be defined as an expression in descriptive and symbolic terms of the states or conditions of both animate and inamite objects, and such phenomena, as movement, growth, etc. (cf. Ono 1988: V). A special subcategory of mimetic words in Japanese (termed *gijōgo*) includes sound symbolism descriptive of human emotions and feelings, close to such exclamations as English *oh, ah, gosh,* Slovak *ach, och, jaj, ej,* etc.

Mimesis is not an exclusively Japanese phenomenon. For example, it is known to exist in Dravidian languages (cf. Andronov 1965: 95–96); Telugu *malamala* produces an impression of abruptness and intensity, Kui *jilijulu* characterizes a flash, lightning, etc. In Indo-European the so-called visual metaphor is simply another term for a mimetic word, e.g. *mor-m(o)-* "ant" (Gamkrelidze – Ivanov 1984: 222). Words of this type are attested in Mongolian (cf. Sanzheev 1959: 76), in the Papuan language of Asmat (Voorhoeve 1965: 163) and in other languages. The universal distribution of mimetic expressions is also corroborated by their occurrence in Basque, cf. *kili-kolo* "insecure, hesitant", *rau* "to bite, grasp", *tanpa-tanpa* "to stride" (Mendizabal 1962: 80–82).

Mimetic expressions are doubly figurative, i.e., upon both formal and content levels – because acoustic icons (figures of acoustic phenomena) are em-

5

ployed to characterize non-acoustic (visual, mental and other) phenomena and thus may qualify as metaphorical.

A somewhat different kind of acoustic mimesis is attested in words that reflect variety and diversity in multiplicity, in the echo words. They occur in various languages of the world and from the viewpoint of their form may be characterized as partial reduplication, cf. English *mumbo-jumbo, hoity-toity*, Slovak *trma-vrma* "turmoil", Indonesian *sayur-mayur* "various sorts of vegetables", Tamil *mēcai-kīcai* "some tables, all sorts of tables", Kannada *makkalu-gikalu* "all sorts of children", Kolami *hīt-mīt* "gossip". In words of this type reduplication hints at plurality or multiplicity while the variation, usually in the initial position, signalizes variety. They are very frequent in Indonesian and are termed imitative reduplication (Macdonald and Soenjono 1967: 53–55) or rhyming and chiming words (Hassan 1974: 71–73). In Hassan's opinion, they indicate heterogeneity; the acoustic means which underline this heterogeneity is (1) initial rhyming (e.g. *batu-batan* "stones and bricks of all kinds", *bukit-bukau* "hills and mountains"), (2) final rhyming (e.g., *kuih-muih* "assortment of cakes", *lauk-pauk* "all kinds of dishes", *sélok-bélok* "ways and means"), and (3) chiming (e.g., *usul-asal* "source and origin", *gunung-ganang* "hills and mountains", *suku-sakat* "relatives and clans"). The acoustic iconicity of this device consists in imitating the existence of both partial (generic) similarity and partial (specific) divergence.

An extreme type of iconicity may be said to be represented by interjections, provided we are not inclined to class them as symptoms in C. Peirce's sense. In addition to being virtually outside the sentence structure, they signalize physical or mental states or moods and in this respect they differ from the Japanese *gijōgo*, mimetic words describing (but not signalizing!) those states. This signalization is often virtually involuntary and therefore barely creative at all, unlike mimetic words that represent a higher level of creativity because they establish links between two disjunctive domains as no doubt are acoustic phenomena and mental, emotional states.

Interestingly enough, interjections can be incorporated in the structure of sentence, but they have to be morphologized – converted into verbs, cf. Slovak *jaj* "oh" – *jajkať* "to say oh", English *bang – to bang*. The morhologization of an iconic sign probably implies or at least facilitates its incorporation into the canonical phonotactic structure of the language.

Iconicity exists at many hierarchical levels of language structure. This paper, however, focuses on acoustic iconicity, particularly in Austronesian as reconstructed and meticulously analysed by R.A. Blust (1980, 1983–84, 1986, 1988a, 1988b) and R.D. Zorc (1990) and the obtained regularities are confronted with results arrived at during the examination of other, especially Japanese and Slovak, data.

Several hypotheses (some of them are not postulated here for the first time) will be checked against the Austronesian material:

(1) According to R. Blust who has analysed the variations of the medial vowel in *bVk, gVk* and *ngVc, /*a/* is harsh and discordant, */*e/* is muffled,

/*i/ is high-pitched, and /*u/ is deep (Blust 1988a: 38). It seems, however, that these vowels rather form a continuum based on certain acoustic properties of the oral cavity where they are articulated and where /u/ and /a/ are more voluminous, more resounding, louder than /e/ and /i/.

(2) Fricative consonants, esp. /ng/ and /s/, correlate with continuous acoustic events; on the other hand, /r/ is typically applied to stringent, intermittent, interrupted acoustic phenomena. Blust believes that /ng-/ imitates the mouth or lip area or action (Blust 1988a: 57).

(3) The consonants /b/ and /p/, esp. in connection with the final /k/, are apt to describe acoustic effects that take place as a consequence of a fairly rapid impact of two objects. It comes as no surprise that voiced stops generally signalize a louder acoustic effect than their voiceless counterparts (cf. Blust 1988a; Ono 1988: passim).

(4) The consonant /t/ in connection with the final /k/ tend to characterize acoustic events occurring as a consequence of a less marked impact.

(5) The configuration gVk describes resounding acoustic events.

(6) The configurations kVr, gVr are associated with low, discontinuous acoustic events.

(7) The configurations tVr, dVr are descriptive of vibrant, interrupted and repetitive acoustic events.

(8) Co-occurrence of certain sounds, their configuration (Gestalt symbolism in Blust's terminology, cf. Blust 1988a: 59–61) within the word may intensify the total acoustic effect.

(9) Some role seems to be played by the position of the salient sound within the word; in this respect, the initial slot seems to be more important than the final one.

(10) Finally, some sounds seem to be so salient as to override the role played by their position within the word, e.g. /r/, /s/, /ng/.

Linguistic data from Austronesian:

The following examples from Austronesian confirm the thesis that /u/ correlates with dark, dull, low-pitched sounds:

ngung buzz, hum, *ngu(ng)ngung* buzz, hum, *nguk, nguknguk* grunt, moan, *ngurut* growl, whine, *ngutngut* mumble, whimper, *nguynguy* whine, whimper, *buag, buak, bual* bubbling up, *buReS* spew water from the mouth, *Cebuj* spring of water, *cepuk* dull sound, *CugCug* hit, pound, strike, *derung* deep booming sound, *deRung* distant rolling thunder, *desuR* dull sound, *duRduR* thunder, *e(ng)guk* deep muffled sound *(b, g, r* contribute to the effect of *u)*, *gunggung* deep resounding sound, *guk* deep throaty sound, *gur* purring sound, *gurgur* sound of boiling water, *karungkung* throat, *kaung* reverberate, *kepuk* beat, crunch, break, *kung* sound of cooing or barking, *ku(ng)kung* deep resonant sound, *kuak* deep cry, *kuaw* kind of a bird and the sound of its cry, *kuk* sound of sob, croak, etc., *kulinTang* a percussive musical instrument or ensemble, *kur, kuru* word used to call chicken, *kuriak* cry, shout, *kuyub* sound used to call puppies, *lepuk* stamp, thud, *lu(q)luq* crushed or squeezed out of shape, *muRmuR* gargle, rinse the mouth, *pu(n)dul* blunt, dull, put, *putput*

puffing sound, *ru(ng)gung* thunder, *sa(m)puk* collide, bump into, *Saguk* deep throaty sound, *SaRung* snore, groan, simbuR sprinkle, *tampuk* clap, thud, *te(m)puk* sound of clapping, cracking, breaking, *tegung* boom, resound, *temud* mumble, grumble, *ti(m)puk* clap, clack, *tuqtuq* to hammer, pound, crush, *tuRtuR* resonant sound.

In the following words the effect of /u/ is questionable: *ngulngul* arthritic or rheumatic pain, *bujbuj* pour, sprinkle, *cukcuk* skewer (pierce, stab; influence of the consonants), *cupcup* sip, suck (influence of consonants), *dutdut, DutDut, zutzut, ZutZut, butbut, putput* pluck, pull out (influence of the consonants?).

One method of ascertaining the possible effect of vowels and of /p/ versus /b/ upon the meaning of putative icons is a comparison of the series where the medial *V* is varied (Table 1 and Table 2) while the consonants of the root are kept constant.

The configuration *pVk* imitates the acoustic effect that occurs as a consequence of a rapid impact of two objects. The meaning seems to vary with the vowel in the medium position:

(1) The -*i*- and to some extent -*e*- series correlates with high timbre sounds *(pekpek* beat, hit, *pikpik* sound of patting, *repek* brittle, crumble, *lepik* snap, break off).

(2) The -*u*- series imitates predominantly voluminous, dull sounds *(lepuk* stamp, thud, *rupuk* break, crack); if the preceding syllable contains -*i*-, it refers to a higher sound *(ti(m)puk* clap, clack).

(3) The -*a*- series is the most productive one; the presence of -*u*- in the preceding syllable seems to enhance the spectrum of dull sounds *(rumpuk* thud, strike against); -*i*- indicates a rather high sound *(tipak* slap, clap); otherwise the sounds seem to be neutral *(Repak* break to pieces, *Se(m)pak* crack, split, *Sa(m)pak* crack, split, break, *tempak* split, break).

When the /b-/ series is compared with the /p-/ series, it turns out that /b/ as a voiced stop implies a heavier sound than /p/.

The prepositive elements *(se-, re(m)-, ti-*, etc.) seem just to modify the basic meaning, playing thus only a marginal role.

The consonant /s/ seems to behave in different ways according to its position within the word. Cf. examples for the initial /s/: *sebu* sudden melting of water and heat, *sedsed* kind of grass or rush, *sipsip* (dbl. *sepsep)* sip, suck, *siSul* whistle, sit sound of sputtering, sizzling, *sitsit, zitzit* (dbl. *citcit)* hiss, *siuk* hiss.

Words in which /s/ is not a part of the root have a different semantic content, e.g., *sambak* hit, strike a heavy blow, *sa(m)puk* collide, bump into, *sepak* break, snap off at a joint, *saleTek* clicking sound, *Se(m)pak* crack, split, *simbuR* sprinkle.

The consonant /s/ in the final position does not have the same effect as initial /s/, e.g., *re(n)tes* separate, remove, *disdis* cut, slice, *rebas* fall into ruin, *pespes* squeeze, press out, *gusgus* scratch, rub, *ru(n)tas* sever, tear.

The initial /s/ seems to imitate a fricative sound, at least in most instances (in a few instances the same is true of final /s/, e.g., *ke(m)pes* deflate, *pis, pes, pus* hiss).

Words that contain /ng/ tend to imitate buzzing, humming, fluent acoustic effects, e.g., *teng* buzz, hum *gneng* buzz, hum, *nge(ng)ngeng* buzz, hum, *ngi(ng)nging* buzz, hum, *nging* buzz, hum, *ngung* buzz, hum, *ngu(ng)ngung* buzz, hum, *bengbeng* buzz, hum, *gunggung* deep resounding sound, *tegung* boom, resound, *derung* deep booming sound, *qaung* howl, wail, *raung* howl, wail, *ngang* inarticulate sound, *nga(ng)ngang* inarticulate sound, *ngekngek* mumble, *ngutngut* mumble, whimper, *kengkeng* hollow resounding sound, *kang* animal sound, *kangkang* bark, *ku(ng)kung* deep resonant sound, name of a bird with such a voice, *keng* hollow resounding sound, *kaung* reverberate, *ling* sound of ringing, *kingking* ringing sound, *king* ringing sound, *ngiang* whine, *ngieng* whine, *ngikngik* squeal, screech, shriek, *ngik* squeal, screech, shriek, *ru(ng)gung* thunder, *nguynguy* whine, whimper, *kingking* ringing sound, *nguknguk* grunt, moan, *nguk* grunt, moan, *ngurut* growl, whine.

This, however, holds only in statistical terms and the following words seem not to perfectly conform to the rule, cf. *ngasngas* crush with the teeth, *ngiak* cry loudly, *ngiqik* scream of an animal, *ngulngul* arthritic or rheumatic pain, *peng* dull sound, *ngisngis* grin, show the teeth, *ngingi* grin, show the teeth, *qereng* groan, moan, roar, *SeReng* snore, groan, *SeRung* snore, groan, *ngek* grunt.

Words containing /r/, either in initial or final positions, mark discontinuous, stringent, repeated acoustic events, e.g., *rumpak* beat, *rupuk* sound of breaking or cracking, *repek* to crumble, brittle, friable, *remay* to crumble, break into small pieces, *re(n)tes* separate, remove, *gurgur* purring sound, bubble, *kur = kuru* the word used to call chickens, *kur(i)sing* cracked, peeling (of skin), *remek = Remuk* crush, pulverize, crumble, *kuriak* cry, shout, *keriq* chattering, crying, *geret* slit an animal's throat, *tiRtiR* cut, chop, *desuR* dull sound, *rebas = Rebaq* to fall into ruin, *qereng* groan, moan, roar, *SeReng = SaRung = SeRung* snore, groan, *ngurut* growl, whine, *ger* grunt, *peRpeR* to box, give a blow, *raung* howl, wail, *tuRtuR* resonant sound, *rawraw* rinse, *muRmuR* gargle, rinse the mouth, *rinis* drizzle, *risris* light rustling sound, *kiRus = kaRus = garus* scrape, *kur(e)qit* scratch mark, line, *kurud = ke(r)ud* scrape, *kaRiqit* sound of scratching, *kuris = kuRis* scratch, mark with a line, *karis* scratch mark, *keRang* scab, crust on a wound, *kaSiR* scratch the ground, *gurgur* shake, *gerger* shake, shiver, tremble, *tirtir* shiver, tremble, *berber* shiver, *terter* shiver, tremble, *keriqik* shrill sound, *cerik* shrill (of the voice), *gurgur* sound of boiling water, *ricik* sound of splashing, *simbuR* sprinkle, *peRcik* splash, spatter, *miRmiR* urine, urinate, *buReS* spew water from the mouth, *karungkung* throat, *duRduR* thunder, *ru(ng)gung* thunder, *deRung* distant rolling thunder, *deRdeR* thunder.

On the whole, /g/- seems to imply more resounding sounds than /k/- (cf. Tables 4 and 5 and also Japanese data below).

The contribution of the particular vowels is very important: there is a continuum *u – a – e – i* correlating with the pitch, from the lowest pitch *(u)* to the highest pitch *(i)*, cf., e.g. *kuk* sob, croak, *e(ng)guk* deep muffled sound, *Saguk* deep throaty sound on the one hand, with *kik* peep, squeak, giggle, *qi(ng)kik* squeak, giggle, *re(ng)kik* squeaky voice, *gikgik* titter, giggle.

Sounds in between are notable rather for a medium pitch and medium sonority (e.g., *-kak* cackle, loud laughter, *-kek* squawk, cluck, thud).

The icons based on *tVk* represent the semantic scale flip – click – tick(le) – tap – knock, cf. *saleTek* clicking sound, *Tek* clicking sound, *TekTek* gecko, house lizard, *gi(n)Tik* tap or beat lightly on, *gitik* tickle, *kitik* tickle, *li(n)Tik* clicking sound, *pa(n)Tik* sound of ticking, flipping, light tapping, *pi(n)Tik* throb, beat, *simeTik* tick, click, *geTuk* knock, pound on, *keTuk* knock, pound on, *kaTuk* knock, *pa(n)Tuk* sound of knocking, *tuktuk* to peck, beak of a bird.

Words containing the root *kVr* (cf. Table 7) as well as *gVr* represent the semantic continuum scratch – scrape – crack, cf. *karus (garus, gaut)* scratch, *kaRiqit* sound of scratching, *karis* scratch mark, *kaRus* scrape, *karaq* chattering, crying, *keRang* scab, crust on a wound, *keriq* chattering, crying, *keriqik* shrill sound, *kiri* tickle, *kiRus* scrape, *kur (kuru)* word used to call chickens, *kur(e)qit* scratch mark, *kur(i)sing* cracked, peeling (of skin), *kuriak* cry, shout, *kuRiat = kuRiet = kuRiut* creak, squeak, *kuris = kuRis* scratch, mark with a line, *kurud* scrape, *garus* scratch, *ger* sound of a grunt, *giri* tickle, *gur* purring sound, *gurgur* sound of boiling water, *gurgur* shake.

The words that contain words with the roots *tVr* and *dVr* as a rule describe vibrant, repetitive, and resonant acoustic phenomena, cf. *terter* shiver, tremble, *tirtir* shiver, tremble, *tirtir* rap, tap, *tiRtiR* cut, chop *tuRtuR* resonant sound, *deRdeR* thunder, *derung* deep booming sound, *deRung* distant rolling thunder, *duRduR* thunder. The role of the vowels is not negligible; especially obvious is the difference between icons containing /i/ and /u/.

Acoustic icons are common in other languages too. Since they are onomatopoeic, a certain similarity between unrelated languages may be expected. This will be illustrated with examples from Slovak:

Slovak	AN
haha "laughter"	*hak* "laughter"
'a' "dirt, disgust"(children)	*qang* "smell"
hab(kať) "grope, feel with hand"	*hap* "grope, feel"
bach(núť) "bang"	*bak* "pound, thud"
prch(nuť) "fall, rain, scatter"	*buR* "sow, strew, scatter, spray"
gágať "gaggle"	*gak* "raucous throuaty sound"
kvákať "quack"	*kak* "cackle, laugh loudly"
kvík(ať) "squeak"	*kik* "shrill throaty sound"
kvok(ať) "cluck"	*kuk* "cackle, cluck"
cingilingi "clear ringing"	*ling* "clear ringing sound"
mág(ať) "to crush"	*mek* "crush, pulverize"
ňam "how delicious!"	*nyam* "savory, tasty"

puk(núť) "to crack"	*puk* "brak, crack, etc."
tas(núť) "to hit, cut"	*tas* "cut through, rip"
tik(ať) "to tick"	*Tik* "tick"
ťuk(ať) "to knock"	*Tuk* "heavy knocking"
pst "hush!"	*sitsit* "hiss"
krik "shouting, crying"	*keriq* "chattering, crying of monkeys"
	kuriak "cry, shout"
cmúľ(ať)	*mulmul* "hold in the mouth and suck"
chich(otať sa)	*gikgik, SikSik* "titter, giggle"
chrasta "scab, crust"	*kerang* "scab, crust"
grúľ(iť), kroch)kať) "grunt"	*ger* "sound of a grunt"
ťapťap, ťap(kať) "clap"	*CabCab* "clap, beat"
syk(ot), syč(ať) "hiss"	*cik, sik,* "rustling, hissing sound"

Interesting results have been obtained from Japanese linguistic data that are of immediate interest to the study of acoustic iconicity in language. In Japanese there are hundreds of iconic words and the rules which these words obey when describing perceived acoustic phenomena allow us to see convincing parallelisms between various languages. The initial consonantal position within the word seems to play a more relevant role than the medial position does. Thus /ky/ and /ki/ tend to describe high-pitched, usually animal sounds (voiced /g/ in the contrastive position tends to refer to lower-pitched sounds), e.g. *kii-kii* "a repeated sharp, high-pitched sound, sharp rubbing sound" – *gii-gii* "a continuous dull, heavy sound produced when something hard and wooden bends, warps or rubs, not as high-pitched as *kii-kii*, which is more metallic, high-pitched sound", *kyā-kyā* "a scream or high-pitched voice raised in surprise, fear or high spirits" – *gyā-gyā* "the crying of animals, birds, or the screaming of people, to express a noisy or clamorous situation". It seems that the value of the initial consonant overrides that of the vowel /i/. Although /r/ does not normally occur in the initial position, it signalizes sounds involved in hitting, falling or clattering and is sometimes supported by /k/ or /g/, e.g. *karari* "the sound of something considerably light and thin", *gari-gari* "the sharp action or sound of breaking, shaving or scratching something hard with another such object"; /i/ is reputed to refer to small sounds and quick movements, e.g. *kichitt* "to be tight", *kitt* "an expression of tension, determination or anger", *pii-pii* "the high-pitched sound of a flute, a living thing crying, or a machine; also describing dire economic straits", *piri-piri* "blowing a small whistle continually; ripping thin but strong cloth or action; the sound or action of something continually vibrating, etc.". Voiced consonants (especially in the initial position) seem to describe "dull, heavy, large and dirty conditions" (Ono 1988: xvi) while their voiceless pendants characterize "sharp, light, small and beautiful states or conditions" (ibid.), cf. *kan-kan* "a high, clear sound produced when something metallic is struck intermittently" – *gan-gan* "the sound produced when something metallic is continually struck with something hard; a heavier, duller sound than is *kan-kan*, felt as a rather noisy and

irritating sound". The so-called echo words are also present in Japanese and, just like Indonesian rhyming and chiming reduplications, they usually refer to chaotic, complicated, hurried or disorganized activities, or to a variety of things, events, etc., e.g., *atafuta* "hurried, flustered activity or feelings", *urochoro* "to wander aimlessly". The essence of the echo phenomenon is especially obvious in those instances where echo reduplication contrasts with mechanical reduplication, cf. *karan-karan* "sound of metal or hard wood striking another object continuously" – *karan-karan* "more complicated sound than *karan-karan*". Simple reduplication describes continuity or plurality while the same non-reduplicated word refers to a singular sound, cf. *karan* "a single striking sound".

Tables. Acoustic Icons in Austronesian

Table 1. The role of *V* in icons containing the root *pVk*

(a)	pUk	pAk	pEk	pIk
O				
R	–	beat, hit	patting	–
Re-	–	break to pieces	–	–
re-	–	brittle, crumble	–	–
ru-	break, crack	–	–	–
rum-	–	thud, strike against	–	–
le-	thud, stamp	thud	–	snap, break off
lu(m)-	–	break, split off	–	–
se-	–	break, snap off	–	–
re(m)-	–	crack, split	–	–
sa(m)-	–	crack, split, break	–	–
sem-	–	split, break	–	–
te(m)-	clap, crack, break	–	–	–
ti-	–	slap, clap	–	–
ti(m)-	clap, clack	–	–	–

Table 2. The role of *V* in icons containing the root *bVk*

	bUk	*bAk*	*bEk*	*bIk*
R-	–	heavy clapping	breaking	–
Ce-	–	smack against	–	–
De-	–	pound, thud	–	–
le-	–	pound, thud	–	–
sam-	–	hit, strike	–	–
ti(m)-	pound, throb	clap	–	–

Table 3. The role of the contrast of voice in icons *pAk* and *bAk*

Meanings registered for *pAk*:
beat, hit, break to pieces, brittle, crumble, thud, strike against, thud, break, split off, snap off, crack, split, slap, clap
Meanings registered for *bAk:*
heavy clapping, smack against, pound, thud, hit, strike, clap

Table 4. Semantics of the icons with the root *kVk*

	kUk	*kAk*	*kEk*	*kIk*
O	sob, croak	cackle, loud laughter	squawk	peep, squeak, giggle
R	–	cackle	cluk	–
pe-	–	cackle	–	–
(ctT)e-	–	cackle	–	–
gi(ng)-	–	–	–	squeak, giggle
re(ng)-	–	–	–	squeaky voice

Table 5. Semantics of the icons with the root *gVk*:

	gUk	*gAk*	*gEk*	*gIk*
O	–	–	thud	–
R	animal sound	animal sound	animal sound	titter, giggle
e(ng)-	deep muffled sound	–	–	–
Sa-	deep throaty sound	–	–	–

Table 6. Semantics of the icons with the root *tVk:*

	tUk	*tAk*	*tEk*	*tIk*
O	–	–	clicking sound	light tapping
R-	peck, beak	–	–	–
ge-	knock	–	–	–
gi-	–	–	–	tickle
gi(n)-	–	–	–	tap, beat lightly on
ka-	knock	–	–	–
ke-	knock, pound on	–	–	–
ki-	–	–	–	tickle
li(n)-	–	–	–	clicking sound
pa(n)-	knocking	–	–	tickling, flipping, light tapping
pe-	–	squawk	–	–
pi(n)-	–	–	–	throb, beat
sale-	–	–	clicking	–
sime-	–	–	–	click, tick

Table 7. Semantics of the icons with the root *kVr:*

	kUr	*kAr*	*kEr*	*kIr*
O	used to call chickens	–	–	–
-aq	–	–	–	chattering, crying
-ang	–	–	scab, crust	–
-i	–	–	–	tickle
-iak	cry, shout	–	–	–
-iet	creak, squeak	–	–	–
-iut	creak, squeak	–	–	–
-ud	scrape	–	–	–
-us	–	scratch, scrape *(kaRus)*	–	scrape *(kiRus)*
-is	scratch, mark with line (also *kuRis*)	scratch mark	–	–
-(i)sing	cracked	–	–	–
-(e)qit	scratch mark	–	–	–
-iq	–	–	chattering, crying	–
-iqik	–	–	shrill sound	–
-iqit	–	scratching	–	–

This paper is an attempt at characterizing various kinds of iconicity as a universal phenomenon. The iconic imitation of acoustic phenomena tends to take place upon the level of distinctive features such as voiced – voiceless, vibrant – nonvibrant, etc. but also upon that of an overall configuration. What is important, however, is not only a widespread occurrence of iconicity but also the fact that it fulfils analogous functions. The acoustic iconicity is relevant not only for the theory of linguistic relativity but also for historical linguistics as one of several sources of similarity among languages.

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THE VIET-MUONG LINGUISTIC GROUP AND ITS LEXICAL-MORPHOLOGIC CHARACTERISTIC*

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A characteristic is given of the Viet-Muong language group within Austro-Asian stock, about which various contradictory hypotheses still exist even today.

The Vietnamese language, together with Muong and some others (e. g. Kuoi or Pong, Ruk, Arem, Thavung, Wilo etc.) form part of the Viet-Muong group of the Austro-Asian family of languages. Differences as to the borders, structure and internal division of these languages still exist in linguistic literature to this day.[1] Nonetheless, a fairly total concensus of opinion reigns among linguists that the Vietnamese and Muong languages are genetically very close and may be considered the representatives of this group.[2] Linguists made use of this genetic affinity when reconstructing the proto-Viet-Muong language.

Both these languages belong to the monosyllabic isolating languages.[3] Their basic structural unit is the syllabomorpheme (a semanticizing syllable with a strictly determined phonetic structure). A syllabomorpheme in the two languages can be used either independently as a word, or may form a part of

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[1] See: KRUPA, Viktor – GENZOR, Jozef – DROZDÍK, Ladislav: *Jazyky sveta* (Languages of the World), Bratislava, Obzor 1983. SOKOLOVSKAYA, N.K.: *O klassifikatsii yazykov vyet-myongskoi gruppy* (The Classification of Languages in the Viet-Muong Group). In: *Teoreticheskie problemy vostochnogo yazykoznaniya*, No. 6. (Theoretical Problems of Oriental Linguistics). Moscow, Nauka 1982.

[2] See: NGUYEN VAN TAI: *Gop them tai lieu cho viec doan dinh thoi diem chia sach qua hai ngon ngu Viet va Muong* (Supplementary Materials to the Temporal Interpretation Dividing the Results of Research into the Vietnamese and Muong Languages). In: Tap chi Dan toc hoc (Ethnographic Journal), No. 3, Hanoi 1978.

[3] To this day authors differ over this. See, e.g. GORGONIEV, Y.A. – PLAM, Y.Y. – ROZH-DESTVENSKY, Y.V. – SERDYUCHENKO, G.P. – SOLNTSEV, V.M.: *Obshchie cherty v stroe kitaisko-tibetskikh i tipologicheski blizkikh k nim yazykov Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (General Traits in the Structure of Sino-Tibetan Languages of Southeast Asia and other Typologically Close Languages). In: *Yazyki Kitaya i Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii* (Languages of China and Southeast Asia), Moscow, Nauka 1963. SOLNTSEV, V.M.: *K sopostavleniyu vyetnamskoi predlozhnoi i kitaiskoi predlozhno-posleslozhnoi sistem* (On a Comparison of Vietnamese Prepositional and Chinese Prepositional-postpositional Systems). In: Ibid., op. cit.

polysyllabic words or other lexical units (it then functions as a morpheme in Indo-European languages). Vietnamese or Muong words are, for the most part, monosyllabic. Pollysylabic words (compounds – formed through free word combinations) occur primarily in scientific and professional texts (they are substantially less numerous in Muong). Neither of the languages admits word inflexion and a word can alter its grammatical function without any external signs. For instance:

1. Viet.: *Con chó duôi con mèo.*
   Muong: *Kon² co³ duoj⁴ kon² mew¹.*   The dog chases the cat.
2. Viet.: *Con mèo bi con chó duôi.*
   Muong: *Kon² mew¹ bi⁵ kon² co³ duoj⁴.* The cat is (was) chased by the dog.

Changes in the grammatical function have no effect on the factual meaning of words, in some cases this merely involves a concretization of the basic meaning, without any alteration of the phonetic structure of the word. For instance:

1. Viet.: *mua;* Muong; *muo*   (rain)
2. Viet.: *troi mua;* Muong: *tloj¹ muo²*   (It's raining – lit. sky + rain)

In connection with this peculiarity, many linguists in the past denied the existence of parts of speech in these languages. But traditional grammars of Indo-European languages also reveal varying viewpoints and criteria of division as regards parts of speech and their classification. One weighty drawback is that no uniform principle of division is adhered to; it is difficult to be defined. Parts of speech are determined in modern linguistics in virtue of a complex analysis – from the formal and the semantic aspects. Beside these two cardinal aspects, the specificities of a generalized meaning of words are of great significance; particulary for classification of the inflexible parts of speech (their linking with other words and their syntactic functions).

In sinological literature the view that initially prevailed was that parts of speech have to be determined morphologically and if there were no such determination, then parts of speech did not exist either. But if, despite this, any part of speech could be spoken of at all, then it would not be placed in grammatical, but functional, or even psychological categories. This method was used in almost the same way to characterize all languages typologically close to Chinese (Thai, Vietnamese, etc.). Thus, for instance, according to H. Maspéro,[4] nothing grammatically distinguishes a noun from a verb in Chinese, words as such stand for something undifferentiated. For this reason, he then substitutes the concept of "classes de relations" for those of parts of speech. However, he takes up a slightly different stand when dividing sentences, for

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[4] MASPERO, H.: *La langue chinoise.* Conférences de l'Institut de linguistique de l'Université de Paris. Paris 1934, p. 36.

these he divides into nominal and verbal; here he considers the simple position of phrasal components to be the basis of a sentence – the so-called "zero relation" and a verbal phrase is characterized by the determination between the subject and predicate. His theses on the "diffuseness" of grammatical categories in the Chinese language are a direct consequence of an overestimation of the grammatical structure of Indo-European languages and a classification of a flexional language as being the most perfect. M. Grammont[5] likewise denied the existence of parts of speech in Vietnamese because they are not flexional. He listed a series of words which, in virtue of their syntactic function, can shift from one part of speech into another. For example the word "tren" can be 1. a preposition in the sense of "on – sur", 2. as an adverb in the meaning "above – au-dessus", 3. an adjective in the meaning "superior-supérieur".

Chinese linguists did not generally deny the existence of parts of speech in Chinese, but they looked upon them as being more meaningful than grammatical categories, for the principal criterion with them is the meaning of the word and the context. Such views were applied to the Vietnamese language by Tran Trong Kim.[6]

The earliest Vietnamese source dealing with a classification of Vietnamese words is the work *Tu dien Viet-Bo-dao-nha-La-tinh* (A Vietnamese-Portuguese-Latin Dictionary) by the French missionary Alexandre de Rhodes, which appeared in Rome in 1651.[7] The Preface which deals with Vietnamese grammar gives the following parts of speech: 1. substantives, 2. pronouns, 3. adjectives, 4. verb, 5. invariable words. Nonetheless, many authors considered Vietnamese to be amorphous, generally deprived of parts of speech and of morphology. E.g. A. Chéon,[8] A. Bouchet,[9] and V. Barbier,[10] determined the value of Vietnamese words solely based on the position a word occupied in the sentence.

An important change in views on Vietnamese words and the character of grammatical structure is shown in the works of Le Van Ly[11] and M.B. Emeneau.[12] Both these authors essentially understand parts of speech as word classes that grammatically differ one from another. These differences among word classes should be syntactically understood, in words functioning within the language, in their ability to combine with a certain number of auxiliary

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[5] GAMONT, M. – LE QUANG TRINH: *Etudes sur la langue annamite*, Mémoires de la société de linguistique de Paris. Tome 17, Paris 1911–1912, pp. 201–202.

[6] TRAN TRONG KIM: *Viet-nam van pham* (Vietnamese Grammar), 6th edit., Saigon 1975.

[7] Quoted according to NGUYEN KIM THAN: *Nghien cuu ve ngu pháp tieng Viet*, tap I (Studies on the Grammar of Vietnamese), vol. 1, Ha-noi, Nha xuat ba Khoa hoc, 1963, p. 126.

[8] CHÉON, A.: *Cours de langue annamite*. Ed. 2, Hanoi 1904.

[9] BOUCHET, A.: *Cours élémentaire d'annamite*. Hanoi 1908.

[10] BARBIER, V.: *Grammaire annamite*. Hanoi 1925.

[11] LE VAN LY: *Le parler vietnamien*. Paris 1948.

[12] EMENEAU, M.N.: *Studies in Vietnamese (Annamese) Grammar*. Berkeley – Los Angeles 1951.

words. This permits the assignment of certain grammatical attributes to words, which, on the other hand, determines the ability of words to enter into union with other words.

From the etymological point of view, the Muong language, similar to Vietnamese, contains a relatively large number of words belonging primarily to the basic vocabulary originating from the proto-Austro-Asian lexical fund. The Muong language contains far more of these words than Vietnamese where they have gradually become archaic or have totally disappeared.[13] And some of them may be assumed not to have been in the Vietnamese language at all. This permits in some measure, as does a comparison of lexical concordances or similarities among some Austro-Asian languages (e.g. Mon-Khmer), Viet-Muong languages and the reconstructed proto-Viet-Muong language,[14] to cast doubt on the appropriateness of setting Viet-Muong as a self-standing separate language group. As a matter of fact, Muong in this sense shows a higher affinity with other Austro-Asian languages (e.g. Bahnar, Mon) than with Vietnamese.

Muong (particularly its northern and central dialect) contains a relatively large number of words of Thai origin (more than Vietnamese), e.g. $dông^1$ "field" – $dông$ (Thai), $dông$ (Viet), $tông$ (Tay-Nung); na^1 likewise "field" – $nà$ (Thai, Tay-Nung); $khwan^3$ "tobacco" – $khwan$ (Thai) – but Viet. $thuôc lá$; $hraw^5$ "vodka" – low (Thai), lau (Tay-Nung) – but Viet. $ruou$. Then we have here a common Viet-Muong lexicon (the words may be of an Austro-Asian, Thai or other origin and may (but need not) relate to a proto-Viet-Muong form). E.g. mat^5 "eye" – mat (Viet); bal^2 "to fly" – bay (Viet.) and others.

Muong has relatively few words that do not occur in the other Viet-Muong languages – e.g. ho^2 (I); za^2 (thou); khu^5 (stone) and others. Muong also comprises archaisms relating to the appearance of certain neologisms, or the influence of some related language. For instance, in the past the Muongs had three designations for the three sets of ten days in a month, kol^2 for the first ten days; $lông^2$ for the second batch of ten days, and $kuoj^3$ for the last ten days. The date was formed by adding the respective words kol^2, $lông^2$ and $kuoj^3$ to the first ten cardinal figures. E.g., $hal^2lông^2$ = the 12th of the month, hal^2kuoj^3 = the 22nd. At present the date is expressed by joining the word $ngaj^1$ "day" with the cardinal number (evidently an influence of Vietnamese. E.g. $ngaj^1 hal^2 muol^2$ – the 20th of the month (Viet. $ngày hai muoi$). Similarly, today the months are also designated in Muong according to the Vietnamese usage and calendar. E.g. $khang^3 ba^2$ (literally, month – three = March) (Viet. $tháng ba$). Of interest are certain Muong neologisms taken over from Vietnamese and utilized solely in certain word combinations. E.g. iow^2 – to love (Viet. yeu) in the combination $iow^2 dot^3 nuok^3$ – to love one's country

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[13] See: *Yazyk Myong* (The Muong Language). Moscow, Nauka 1987, p. 24.

[14] See: FERLUS, M.: *Le group Viet-Muong* (Recherches dans le cadre de l'Atlas Ethnolinguistique). In: Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Insulindien, Bulletin du centre de documentation et recherches, Vol. 5. No. 1, Paris 1947.

(Viet. *yeu dat nuoc*). But the proper Muong word uo^2 kha^2 - to love, love, is commonly employed.

Loan words are for the most part adapted to Muong's phonetic structure (similarly as in Vietnamese). In this connection it might be of interest to mention the case of the loan word from French *pédale*. Vietnamese took it over in a partly altered form *pe dan* (although Vietnamese has neither the initial "p", nor a final "l"). The Muong language took over this word from Vietnamese in a further altered form be^2 dan^2 (despite the fact that the initial "p" and final "l" do exist in Muong). In the case of Vietnamese there is the question of an incomplete preference, in that of Muong it is one of complete preference of an oral mode of taking over foreign words.

In modern Vietnamese, two-syllabic words predominate, while monosyllabic prevail in Muong, which is certainly related to the fact that the Muong language has practically no written literature and thus lacks two- and more syllabic words from the cultural lexicon. Monosyllabic words in both the languages for the most part belong to the basic vocabulary, e.g. *dau* (Viet.), $tl\hat{o}k^3$ (Muong) – head; *tôt* (Viet.), $s\hat{o}c^3$ (Muong) – good; *dó* (Viet.), ti^3 (Muong) – that one; *rang* (Viet.), $sang^2$ (Muong) – tooth, etc.

Polysyllabic words for the most part are two-syllabic, at most four-syllabic, e.g. *nói chuyen* (Viet.), naw $cion^5$ (Muong) – to narrate; *mat troi* (Viet.), mat^5tloi^1 (Muong) – the sun; *gà gô* (Viet.), bet^3 det^3 ba^2 ba^2- partridge; *ke tròng cay* (Viet), ke^4 $tlong^1$ kol^2 (Muong) – fruit-grower; *nguoi danh ca* (Viet.), $nguoj^1$ dan^3 ka^3 (Muong) – fisherman, etc.

Simple polysyllabic words may be formed with syllables without any meaning of their own. This primarily refers to morphologically indivisible reduplications, e.g. tôm tôm (Viet.), $s\hat{o}m^2$ $s\hat{o}m^2$ (Muong) – shrimp; ba ba (Viet.), ba^2 ba^2 (Muong) – tortoise; ô tô (Viet.), $\hat{o}^2$ $t\hat{o}^2$ (Muong) – automobile and so on. Polysyllabic words in which one of the syllables has meaning and functions independently as a simple word, while the second one has no meaning also exist, e.g. *thay giáo* (Viet.), soj^1 zaw^3 (Muong) – *thay soj*¹ - teacher.

A relatively widespread phenomenon in the two languages is that of lexical homonymy – in a small measure also synonymy. E.g. mat^5 (Muong) – face, eye; an analogous case in Vietnamese involves a dissonant homonymy (a difference in tone): mat^6 (face), mat^2 (eye). In Muong, this rather involves polysemy (the meanings are associatively linked), although it is rather difficult to determine the boundaries between homonymy and polysemy exactly in these languages. Similarly i^3 (Muong) – 1. aunt, 2. thought; in Vietnamese there is again a difference of tone: *y* – she; *ý* – thought. Considering that these second meanings in Muong are taken from Vietnamese, we realize that tone variability in Muong plays a lesser role than in Vietnamese.

Muong, in contrast to Vietnamese, has more lexical auxiliary elements, old Austro-Asian monosyllabic words conserved in its lexicon. Another character-

istic trait of Muong is a polysemy of kindred terms,[15] a phenomenon greatly eschewed by Vietnamese.

In both Muong and Vietnamese we find simple words, compound words, derived words and reduplications.

Simple words consist of a single morpheme which can be one-syllabic (is equal to one syllable), or polysyllabic. A special type is that of simple words in which one component is a meaningful morpheme and the second one is asemantic (has no meaning of its own). For example, $hok^5 sin^2$ (Muong), *hoc sinh* (Viet.) = pupil *(hoc⁵, hoc* – to learn; *sin, sinh* – are asemantic). For the most part, this involves loan words, in this particular case in the sequence: Chinese – Vietnamese – Muong.

Compound words are made up of one or several meaningful morphemes. As a rule, however, the morpheme in the two languages coincides with the simple word, and this makes it difficult to differentiate the word combination from the compound word. In the case of copulative (insubordinative) compound words with a co-ordinative union, such a compound word carries a broader, more general meaning than its components. E.g. *rùng núi* (Viet.) "forests and mountain ranges" (liter. forest + mountain); $tung^1ko^2$ (Muong) "forests and mountains" (lit. primeval forest + young forest). In contrast to Vietnamese, the Muong language possesses appositive compound words consisting of two co-referent components. One of them is a term of kinship (in the function of a personal pronoun), the second one is a personal pronoun. E.g. $en^2 ho^2$ = "I" (liter. elder brother + I); $un^3 za^2$ = "thou" (liter. younger brother + thou). In the combinations of an "animate noun + gender indicator" there is evidently also question of appositively compounded words, e.g. *trau duc* (Viet.) $tlu^2 duk^5$ (Muong) – liter. buffalo + male; or *trau cái* (Viet.) – liter. buffalo + female, $tlu^2 me^2$ (Muong) – liter. buffalo + mother. An inversion of the components is current in Muong: $duk^5 tlu^2$, $me^5 tlu^2$. Of interest in this connection is the classifier which stands in the second position to the left of the noun, e.g. $môc^5 kaj^3 me^5 tlu^2$ = "one cow buffalo" (liter. one + classifier + mother + buffalo). Relatively frequent in both the languages are compound words of a resultant type (from two verb components), e.g. *nhìn thấy* (Viet), $ngo^3 kio^4$ (Muong) – "to see, to notice" (liter. to look + to see).

Derived words include many in which the second component is linked with several predicative bases, e.g. *di ra* (Viet.), $di^2 sa^2$ (Muong) – to go out (liter. to go + to come out or "sortir" in French); *mang ra* (Viet.), $pang^2 sa^2$ (Muong) – to carry out (liter. to carry + to come out). Among pure Muong suffixes we may assign only morphemes taken over from Vietnamese, which are not used independently – e.g. the substantivizer su^5 – $su^5 zup^3 do^5$ (help); the indicator of ordinal numbers *thú* (Viet.), su^3 (Muong), e.g. *thú hai* (Viet.), $su^3 hal^2$ (Muong) – second, and others. Numerous other morphemes in the

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[15] See: NGUYEN VAN TAI: *Mot vai nhan xet ve tu xung ho cua tieng Muong* (A Few Remarks on Words of Address in Muong). In: Ngon ngu (Language), 1977, No. 2.

two languages merely suggest affixes (some linguists consider them semi-affixes). We might consider as such (i.e. as relatively close to pure affixes) reduplicators in repetitive expressions, e.g. *dep de* (Viet.) – beautiful, pleasant, kind; *dôt*^{3} *da*^{1} (Muong) – earth. "De" and "da" in these words may be qualified as allomorphs of the relevant morphemes resulting in virtue of specific morphologic rules of these languages.

Reduplications in the two languages are formed by polysyllabic words whose components are phonetically linked. They may be divided into complete (congruent segments), e.g. *xanh xanh* (Viet.) – green; *sôm*^{2} *sôm*^{2} (Muong) – small lobster and incomplete, e.g. *dèm dep* (Viet.) – nice; *bok*^{3} *kok*^{3} (Muong) – frog.

A morphological analysis permits reduplications to be divided into several types: 1. morphologically indivisible reduplications – as an entity, they are considered to be simple words, for their primary element cannot be determined, e.g. *ba ba* (tortoise). This statement can, however, be questioned for, from the phonetic aspect either of the elements may be primary, and from the etymological point of view its determination (or nondetermination) is not as yet definitive; 2. morphologically divisible reduplications – the primary, original word can be determined (reduplicant), as also the reduplicator phonetically linked with it, e.g. *dai dang* (Viet.) – to last; *ka*^{3} *kung*^{3} (Muong) – fish. Reduplications in which the reduplicator is phonetically regular but is not concordant with the reduplicant, may be considered as derived words, and the reduplicator itself to be a semi-affix; 3. reduplications proper are likewise morphologically divisible, but cannot be considered to be either simple or derived words. For the most part they are adjectives or verbs. They can be either complete, or partial. The former express a weakened (less intense) quality or action in comparison with the reduplicant, e.g. *den den* (Viet.), *zom*^{1} *zom*^{1} (Muong) – blackish blackened. Partial reduplications by themselves, on the other hand, express a more intensive quality or action, e.g. *con con côc lôc* (Viet.) – very short; *hruom*^{1} *hruk*^{5} (Muong) – very dense.

General words in both Vietnamese and Muong are divided into a) words of full meaning, b) auxiliary words. The former may further be subdivided into predicative and nonpredicative groups of words. The latter comprise nouns and numerals.

In a sentence, substantives act as subject and predicate. The specific characteristic in both the languages is that they are joined with (numerative) classifiers. According to the manner of their being joined, they can be divided them into: 1. countable nouns (they are joined either directly or through a classifier), e.g. *can* (Viet.), *con* (Muong) – kilogramme; 2. uncountable nouns (are joined through the intermediary of an indicator of measure but not through a classifier), e.g. *hai can duong* (Viet.), *hal*^{2} *kon*^{2} *duong*^{1} (Muong) – two kilogrammes of sugar; 3. noncountable nouns (are not joined with numerals), e.g. collective nouns, *thanh nhien* (Viet.) – youth, *mu mang* (Viet.) – caps; *kôk*^{3} *kiok*^{3} (Muong) – glasses.

In contrast to nouns, numerals by themselves cannot fill the function of subject or complement – they can do so with a classifier. Both the languages make use of the decimal system. Before the numeral "one", Muong has four variants, viz. *môc⁵, ma², mô⁵, mu⁵*, while Vietnamese has only one: *môt*. The position of an ordinal with regard to the substantive determines the states of the cardinal or the ordinal numeral. Cardinal numerals stand in preposition, ordinals in postposition to the noun. E.g. *tám tháng* (Viet.), *sam³ khang³* (Muong) – eight months, but *tháng tám* (Viet.), *khang³ sam³* (Muong) – the eighth month (August). Ordinal numerals in Muong are formed under the influence of Vietnamese, with the aid of the indicator *su³* (Viet. *thú*). For example, *cái ghe thú nam* (Viet.), *kaj³ ke³ su³ tam²* (Muong) – the fifth bench. The ordinal "first" has a special form in the two languages: *nhat* (Viet), *noŕ³* (Muong) which are Sino-Viet-Muong words.

The group of predicative words includes verbs and adjectives which have a common syntactic attribute – i.e. they act as a predicate without a copula.

Verbs can be directly joined with the modal verb *dùng* (Viet.), *dung¹* (Muong) – prohibition, no, should not, must not, while adjectives need the aid of the verb *có* (Viet.), *ko³* (Muong). E.g. *dùng trông rau* (Viet.), *dung¹ tlông¹ saw²* (Muong) – do not plant vegetables, but *dùng có dai* (Viet.), *dung¹ ko³ zaj⁵* (Muong) – don|t be silly. Verbs are further divided into transitive and intransitive (according to their ability to form the passive voice), and into copulative and modal verbs.

Adjectives come very close to verbs by their grammatical properties.

Pronouns replace words of full meaning (nouns, numerals, verbs and adjectives) and possess a characteristic syntactic property – they cannot be joined with an attribute. We recognize personal, indefinite-personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns.

Adverbs do not constitute a homogeneous group – they may incline more towards adjectives, nouns or auxiliary words.

Auxiliary words may be nonsyntactic (words of full meaning, but without syntactic functions), syntactic (prepositions, conjunctions) and various kinds of particles (indicators of the theme or rheme, modal particles, terminators of an event, etc.) E.g. *còn* (Viet.), *kon¹* (Muong) – insofar as, therefore: *ròi* (Viet.), *hrôj¹* (Muong) – already; *lám, rát* (Viet.), *lam³, za¹* (Muong) – very.

In conclusion it may be stated that in the lexical sphere Muong, in contrast to Vietnamese, has more monosyllabic words, generally Viet-Muong words and words of Austro-Asian origin. Vietnamese, on the other hand, has fewer words of definite semantics in certain thematic-lexical circuits.

In the domain of morphology, Muong has a greater option of using classifiers, admits a pre- and postposition of indicators, possesses a strong tendency to create ordinal numerals solely by a postposition of the cardinal numeral. In addition, Muong disposes of a number of auxiliary words which do no genetically correspond to functionally analogous words in Vietnamese. E.g. the negative particle *o⁴* (Viet. *không*); the pronoun of the 1st pers. sing. *ho²* (Viet. tôi) – I; the auxiliary word helping to form the passive voice *an³* (Viet. *duoc*)

– i.e. the verb "to obtain" in both the languages; the conjunction me^1 (Viet. *nhung*) – but, mon^5 (Viet. *và*) – and, $hang^3$ (Viet. *hoac*) – or, and further.

Opinions holding that the other languages of the Viet-Muong group have a similar lexico-morphological characteristic are quite plausible and justified at present. However, it is equally possible that a more detailed analysis in the future may reveal new concepts, in virtue of which the present aspects of the genealogical classification of these languages will have to be revised.

ON GLUTINATION IN BENGALI SHORT STORY[*]

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A text is a structured whole organized according to certain rules. The arrangement of text units depends on many text creating factors of objective and subjective nature. A very important role is played by various connecting and uniting means. The act of gradual connecting of particular sentences in text is called glutination. We aim to study the language means, i.e. glutinators, through which the adjacent elementary text units, i.e. utterances, are bound together in the Bengali language, and classify them to find out the degree of glutination which can mark the typological character of text.

In contemporary linguistics, a vast knowledge exists especially of lower language units, i.e., of the vowel and the word, but enough attention has been paid also to the sentence. Various problems have been studied in a number of publications on phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax. However, neither the highest unit of communication, i.e., the text has escaped the scientists attention, but it has been studied rather from literary and then from a sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic points of view. Linguists started to pay more systematic attention to the study of the text only in the 60s and 70s. In those years a new, independent branch of linguistics, i.e., text linguistics was constituted. Its aim was to study the "grammar" of the text, i.e., the problem of the structure of the text as the highest language unit, and to describe all means and ways enabling to create text as a coherent communicative whole. Along with more generally oriented works on text linguistics (e.g. Dressler 1972, van Dijk 1973), studies devoted to the analysis of particular texts appeared (e.g. Harweg 1968, Mistrík 1968). The book Glutination of text in Slovak and Serbo-Croatian by M. Dudok (1987) represents this type of publication. It is devoted not only to the analysis of language means which connect elementary text units in different types of text, but it also lays the foundations of contrastive text linguistics on the basis of Slovak and Serbo-Croatian languages.

The aim of our study is to analyse some Bengali short stories and to show which formal language means serve as uniting means in Bengali text. We follow the problems in existing works, especially the results achieved by Dudok in his research.

In accordance with the work on text linguistics, we understand text as a structured whole, as a "closed unit of communication with a commutable degree

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of dependence of lower language units formally and semantically bound together" (Dudok 1987, p. 24).

In the process of communication any text is composed of lower text units, e.g., a chapter (of a novel), a paragraph, and an utterance (which is conceived as the minimal text unit – Horecký considers the elocutionary act as the minimal text unit). The utterance usually identifies with the sentence in its syntactic meaning. In a text, minimal text units are organized according to certain rules. Their arrangement depends on the content of text (on its deep structure) and also on the aim of the author, on his strategy and many other text creating factors of objective and subjective nature (Dudok 1987, p. 20).

In the organization of text a very important role is played by various connective and linking means. They can be lexical and grammatical language means, but also paralinguistic and extralinguistic means.

At present we aim to study just those language means through which the immediately neighbouring minimal, i.e., elementary text units are bound together.

The elementary text unit is defined here as a part of text which is complete as to the content and organized according to rules of grammatical structure of utterance. It can be segmented from the given text. When segmenting a text, it is neccessary to take into account both the semantic and grammatical points of view.

J. Mistrík (1968) designates the act of the gradual connection of particular sentences, i.e., text units, in text as glutination. He empirically finds out that the degree of glutination of a new sentence to the preceding text varies and that it indicates the space between sentences and thus also the density of text. The closer the sentences are attached to one another, the more condensed the text, and vice versa, the larger the ruptures between sentences, the weaker the cohesion of text. According to Mistrík, the degree of glutination depends on the character of the front of a "glutinated" sentence. He concludes that it is possible to graduate the glutination, i.e., the degree by which particular sentences are attached to one another, to express particular degrees by numerical values and to measure them.

The appurtenance of an expression at the very beginning of a sentence to a certain sentence constituent is considered as a formal signal of the degree of glutination. However, the attribute as a secondary sentence constituent is not taken into account at determining the degree of glutination. Mistrík comes to the conclusion that the scale of glutination given by the beginning of a new sentence ranges from 0 to 4: subject at the initial position of a sentence has the value 0, object = 1, adverb of circumstance = 2, verbum finitum = 3, and connector = 4. He points out the fact that this scale of glutination applies just to non-analytic languages and that a different scale of glutination is to be presumed for analytic languages. Due to our experience with the Bengali language we can add that a different or at least modified scale will apply also to different non-analytic types of languages.

Mistrík's theory has been successfully followed by M. Dudok (1987) who actually accepts Mistrík's classification of connective expressions, for which he

introduces the designation glutinators, as well as the degrees of glutination 0–4. But he gives up Mistrík's terminology, used with regard to sentence constituents, and uses the terms more suitable for text linguistics. He designates the initial position as a glutinatory field, sentence as an elementary text unit and also designates particular means of glutination: the least glutinatory value is ascribed to the thematizator which is, as a rule, expressed by subject, then the object emphasizer with value 1 follows, then the situative (usually adverbial modifier) with value 2, transitivizator (usually a verb) with value 3, and finally the intersentential connector with value 4 follows.

Dudok's definition of glutinatory means appears to have some priorities over the definition by Mistrík. Above all, it unifies designations of glutinators on the basis of text linguistics. We saw that Mistrík used partly the terminology of sentence constituents (when speaking about subject, object and adverbial circumstance as means of glutination), and partly the terminology of parts of speech (verbum finitum). Dudok does not speak about subject, object and adverbial modifier, but about thematizator, object emphasizer and situative, and thus enables his theory to be applied also to some other languages, not only to Slovak. Our analysis of Bengali texts also proves that it is not only subject that functions as a thematizator, but sometimes also the object appears in this function while the subject can function also as a (non)objective emphasizer. In some cases it is not neccessary even for the subject expressed by a pronoun to be taken into consideration as a glutinator in Bengali since it only introduces the following predicative, similarly as e.g. I, you, etc. in English.

Therefore we shall apply rather functional than formal points of view when describing glutinators in Bengali text. At classification of glutinators in Bengali text, we accept Dudok's designations of glutinators. However, we omit the word object from the term object emphasizer, because in Bengali, there are also some other sentence constituents besides object occurring in the role of emphasizer. And in principle we accept also Dudok's definitions of particular glutinators.

The lowest degree of glutination is ascribed to the thematizator. As a rule it signals the beginning of a new theme. On the sentence syntax level, it is usually expressed by the subject, less frequently by the object. In an utterance, it can be specified by the determiner which is, however, semantically and formally attached to the subject therefore it is not taken into account in evaluating the degree of glutination. Two elementary text units connected by the thematizator are linked to one another relatively freely, the connection between utterances is weak, the glutination is usually given just by the juxtaposition.

In Bengali, the thematizator is most frequently expressed by subject in Nominative.

1) *ālo nibhe ela. chabi ārambha habe ābār.*

<div align="right">Nārāyaṇ Gangopādhyāy</div>

2) *byāpārṭā māskhānek purāno. yatin ghaṭanāṭir samkṣipta itihās śuniyāche.*

<div align="right">Mānik Bandyopādyāy</div>

3) *yutikā ye sei suye parla ār uṭhla nā, kathā balla nā. rāt barla. putul ese ḍākla māke.*

<div align="right">Bimal Kar</div>

4) *orā cup kare dāṛiye parasparer madhye nīcu galāy kathā balchila. āmi duek palak oder dike tākiyechilām, orā etai rūpbān ye nā tākiye pārā yāy nā.*

<div align="right">Sunīl Gangopādhyāy</div>

The thematizator is less frequently expressed by subject in Genitive:

5) *dayā kare chere din. āmār kon khārāp matlab nei.*

<div align="right">Sunīl Gangopādhyāy</div>

Sometimes, in certain obligatory grammatical constructions, the thematizator must be expressed by object:

6) *nāgāl se pāy śudhu mahāśvetār. mahāśvetāke tāhār byādhi o byādhigrastha maner bhār bahan karite hay.*

<div align="right">Mānik Bandyopādyāy</div>

Mistrík and Dudok ascribe the degree 0 to the glutination in which the next elementary text unit is connected to the preceding one by the thematizator. Here, the thematic cohesion is provided by the theme itself and text coherence can be indicated by connective means, for example *ābār* in sentence 1) or *oder dike* in sentence 4).

J. Horecký (1991, p. 55) suggests ascribing value 1 to this glutinator because it actually has some connective value, and introducing degrees ranging from 0 to 5 to the scale. Although we agree with him, we continue to use the scale 0-4, purely for practical reasons, in order to be able to compare the average glutination in Bengali texts with already existing calculations for the average glutination in Slovak and Serbo-Croatian languages.

The next degree of glutination is called the emphasizer. It links an elementary text unit to the preceding text unit in the case of the subjective order of the elements of an utterance or as a repeated theme. On the syntactic level it is expressed by the subject or object in Bengali.

The emphasizer expressed by object:

7) *tārā sab hipider tāṛābe. kayekjan hipike mārdhoro karlo khub.*

<div align="right">Sunīl Gangopādhyāy</div>

The emphasizer expressed by subject:

8) *sāmne sundar sājāno cātāl anek nice gaṅgā. gaṅgā ekhāne ekṭā bāk niyeche.*

Sunīl Gangopādhyāy

According to our view, in example 8) the subject *ganga* in the initial position functions as the emphasizer since it is relatively closely linked to the same word in the preceding elementary unit. The close connection of these two words is stressed also by their position in the text, i.e., at the very end and the beginning of the elementary text units.

The pronoun in the Nominative referring to the agent in the preceding elementary text unit also functions as the emphasizer.

9) *tusārer māmā ekhāṅkār puliśer ekjan homrācomrā aphisār. tini diyechen e khabar.*

Sunīl Gangopādhyāy

The utterance linked to the preceding elementary text unit by the emphasizer has the degree of glutination 1.

The next degree of glutination is the situative. When designating this glutinator, Dudok obviously used Mistrík's definition of this glutinator as the means of pointing to the situation, and incorporating a new utterance to context (Mistrík, p. 97). Mistrík does not consider the adverbial attribute as the adverbial modifier here and in accordance with him Dudok also speaks about substantivized adverbial modifier. One can agree with this to a certain extent. It is true that the adverbial attribute expressing the circumstance of manner (he writes well) determines just the verb and in relation to text it has a similar function as an attribute with substantive. So this attribute is not considered as the situative. But we consider as the situative every circumstantial attribute pointing to the circumstance of place and time. In contrast to Mistrík (1973, p. 108), we do not see any difference between the adverbial modifier *zaránky* (in the morning) and *v pondelok* (on Monday) at the initial position of an elementary text unit. Not speaking about the fact that in Bengali they are both expressed by the same way, i.e., the Locative of the substantive (*sakāle, sambāre*).

10) ...*āj āphis theke phirte ekṭu deri habe. ekbār kālighāṭe yāba.*

Nārāyaṇ Gangopādhyāy

11) *cup-cāp bhābite thāke. pardin dupure yatiner rodṭuku haram kariyā ākāś bhariyā megh jamile mahāśvetāke kāche, khub kāche āhbān hare. bāhire byākul barṣan suru haile haṭhāṭ se bahudiner bhuliyā yāoyā abhimāner sure bale...*

Mānik Bandyopādhyāy

The degree of glutination of the glutinator expressed by the situative is 2.

A higher degree (3) of glutination is ascribed to an utterance linked to a preceding elementary text unit by the transitivizator. Dudok gives it this name because the border-line between connected sentences is fluent here and such means of glutination enables de facto fluent transition and fluent developing of an idea (1987, p. 46). The role of the transitivizator is played by verb. In the initial position, the transitivizator closely links to the preceding text.

12) *datta hese uthlen. ballen beś hayeche.*

Nārāyaṇ Gangopādhyāy

In contrast e.g. to Slovak, in Bengali it is not only the finite verb form that functions as the transitivizator. The occurrence of verbum finitum in the initial position is even unfrequent. The role of glutinator is more frequently played by perfect or imperfect participles either alone or in combination with the finite verb form:

13) *āmi thāṭṭā kare ballum, bhārī nirāś halen taruṇḍā. ese dekhlen āmi mitāli nai.*

Nārāyaṇ Gangopādhyāy

14) *rāte ājkāl sañjay baṛa besí kāśe. kāśte kāśte dam atke āse tār.*

Śīrṣendu Mukhopādhyāy

15) *rātre ghum bhāñiyā mahāśvetā dekhite pāy yatin tār bichānā uthiyā āsiyāche. dekhiyā mahāśvetā cokhe boje.*

Mānik Bandyopādhyāy

Finally, we also consider as a transitivizator a verb which stands in the initial position of a sentence and has a personal pronoun referring to the subject of the preceding sentence. The personal pronoun here has a similar function as I, we, etc. in English, or ich, wir, etc. in German. In contrast to these languages, the explicit expressing of subject is not obligatory in Bengali, though it is very frequent.

16) *āmi āmār pather kãtā ekhuni sariye dite pāri. ei muhurtei pāri. nā – tabuo pāri nā. āmi jāni mitālīr mṛtyur sange sange āmākeo yete habe sahamaraṇe.*

Nārāyaṇ Gangopādhyāy

The degree of glutination of the transitivizator is 3.

In the text, there are frequently elementary text units with a connector in the initial position. These elementary text units are very closely linked to the preceding utterance, the border-line between linked utterances being very fluent and the speed of the utterance high. Therefore, the glutinator expressed by the connector has the highest degree of glutination, i.e., 4.

They are usually conjunctions that occur in the function of connector, e.g., *kintu, ar, ebam, kebal, ta chara, athac, tar badle, sudhu, naile, tabe.*

17) *se parasur katha. kintu aj ami thik kare phelechi.*

<div align="right">Narayan Gangopadhyay</div>

18) *mitalir paona theke ekti konao se amake debe na. tar badle amar cokh dutoke se kere nite eseche.*

<div align="right">Narayan Gangopadhyay</div>

19) *buker madhye prajapatir mato uranta ektukhani sukha, ba chotta katar mato ektu dukha – e to thakbei. naile bece ye ache ta bujhbe keman kare manika.*

<div align="right">Sirsendu Mukhopadhyay</div>

Particles can also occur in the function of connector, e.g. *hayto, bodh hay,* etc.

20) *dirghasthayi kono gha dekhle anyarakam ekta sandeha haoya asvabhabik nay. hayto teman kichui nay.*

<div align="right">Sirsendu Mukhopadhyay</div>

21) *tarpar ki balla ami bujhte parlam na. bodh hay oder bhasa ingreji nay.*

<div align="right">Sunil Gangopadhyay</div>

The particle -*o* in its meanings "also", "neither" very frequently occurs as a connector. This particle can be attached to every sentence constituent which can be determined by attributes, therefore, in contrast to the rest of glutinators, it can never be found in the initial position of an utterance. This also serves as proof that the functional point of view is decisive at determinig glutinators in Bengali.

22) *giti ballo, darun jayga. amaro thakte icche karche kintu sange jinispatra ye kichu anini.*

<div align="right">Sunil Gangopadhyay</div>

The above mentioned glutinators and degrees of glutination can be applied to the full especially when analysing of non-fictional texts. In fiction, the author's artistic purposes are manifested to a greater extent, which is reflected also in the choice of words and artistic processes. For example, the repetition of words occurs here more frequently than in non-fictional texts (the following sentence can, e.g., contain just the determiner of a subject of the preceding sentence: *The armchair was comfortable. Very comfortable.*), there are frequently also dialogues which affect the articulation of text (transitivizators occur much more in it than in a fluent text), as well as the occurrence of interjections, etc. Therefore we presume that it is neccessary to take with more tolerance the results of

mechanical application of criteria on measuring the glutination of fictional texts than on non-fictional ones.

However, in spite of this fact we understand the glutination of text as one of the most important markers of composition also in the text of fiction.

The degree of glutination signals a typological character of text, the narrativeness or dynamism of literary processes. Through the glutination we can follow the composition of a text in a given literary work, in work by particular authors or of a particular literary school. It can serve as one of criteria of comparison in various translation processes.

The exact degree of glutination can just be specified between two elementary text units but an average degree of glutination can be found in a text as a whole. If we assign a certain value, so-called coeficient of glutination ranging from 0 to 4, to each glutinator, then we can count the average degree of glutination from the quotient of the sum of coeficients and a number of elementary text units in the text according to Mistrík's formula

$$x_g = \frac{Ex}{n}$$

in which x represents glutinatory coeficients and n a number of elementary text units in a text.

For example

0 – bhāiyerā skule gela – kalejeo gela tārpare. – 4 – kebal āmāder du' baner byāpārei adhbut rakamer rakṣaṇśīltār paricay dilen bābā. – 1 – āmāder skule yete dilen nā. – 2 – bārite basei āmi samskṛter goṭā dui pāś kare phellum. – 4 – ār śikhlum sīta-sabitrī haoyār nirbhul śāstrīya panhā.

<div align="right">Nārāyaṇ Gangopādhyāy</div>

The glutinatory scheme (Horecký 1991) of this paragraph is 0-4-1-2-4, the number of elementary text units being five. After introducing these data to the formula, we get the average degree of glutination of the paragraph:

$$x_g = \frac{Ex}{n} = \frac{11}{5} = 2,2$$

Such a high degree of glutination signals fluency and also a high flow of text. As we shall see later, such a degree of glutination is quite unusual in Bengali. We have come to it because we had purposefully chosen a paragraph in which various types of glutinators occurred. Although this degree of glutination can be found in some parts of Bengali short stories, it has never been found in the whole text. According to our view it is mainly because of frequent occurrence of the thematizator (expressing the subject of an action) with the zero degree of glutination in Bengali.

The above method will be used for finding out the average glutination of text of Bengali short story by some authors. At first we shall attempt to find out whether the short stories by the same author differ as to the glutination. We have chosen three short stories with various backgrounds by Nārāyaṇ Gangopādhyāy. The short story *Ke ye lokṭā* (Who is that man) is from the countryside, *Chāyā saṅginī* (The Duplicate) from the life of film stars, and *Chorā* (The Dagger) has a criminal plot. The results of our analysis are introduced in Table 1. We use following abbreviations for particular degrees of glutination there: thematizator – them, emphasizer – emp, situative – sit, trasitivizator – trans, connector – con, an average degree of glutination – xg.

Table 1. Glutinatory beginnings (in %)

	them	emp	sit	trans	con	xg
Ke ye lokṭā	40,63	10,95	21,90	11,23	14,12	1,47
Chāyā saṅginī	31,40	15,74	31,30	8,40	13,23	1,56
Chorā	25,65	14,57	33,52	7,87	18,36	1,66

As we can see, in all three short stories the glutinatory field is most frequently occupied by the thematizator which represents the lowest degree of glutination. The occurrence of this glutinator is only considerably lower in the short story *Chorā* (25,65 %) since there are relatively few dialogues in it and the text is fluent. The fluency of text is also caused by relatively frequent glutination of elementary text units by the aid of connectors. The initial position is frequently occupied by the situative and occasionally by the emphasizer. In all three short stories, the dynamic glutinators (transitivizator and connector) represent just about one quarter of all glutinators therefore the average glutination of the text is not high (in comparison with Slovak short story where it is about 1,99. Dudok 1987).

The character of the glutinatory scheme of the short stories by Nārāyaṇ Gangapādhyāy ensues from the nature of Bengali language as well as from his tendency to nominalization and partly also from the stylistic processes of the author. The latter fact is obvious mainly when comparing the scheme of his short stories with short stories by other authors as shown in Table 2. We arbitrarily selected short stories *Kuṣṭorogīr bau* (The wife of a leper) by Mānik Bandyopā-dhyāy (MB), *Sabuj ālo* (Green light) by Sunīl Gangopādhyāy (SG) and *Hāoyā banduk* (The air-gun) by Śīrṣendu Mukhopādhyāy (SM). We added the values for the short story *Ke ye lokṭā* by Nārāyaṇ Gangopādhyāy which has the lowest degree of glutination out of his three analysed short stories.

Table 2. Glutinatory beginnings

	them	emp	sit	trans	con	xg
NG	40,63	10,95	21,90	11,23	14,12	1,47
SM	42,94	12,89	19,11	16,84	8,19	1,30
SG	44,82	11,63	25,86	5,60	12,06	1,14
MB	44,06	20,97	22,24	6,35	6,36	1,13

The above table proves that a relatively low degree of glutination is characteristic for Bengali fictional text. The elementary text units are often linked one to another by the aid of glutinators with the low degree of glutination, i.e., by the aid of so-called "sharp" or "hard" glutinators (Dudok 1987, p. 52). More equable usage of all glutinators, sharp and dynamic, occurs only in the analysed short story by Nārāyaṇ Gangopādhyāy. A very low percentage of dynamic glutinators in the glutinatory field occurs in the short story by Mānik Bandyopādhyāy which causes the lowest degree of glutination in the text of his short story.

It appears that Mistrík's notion of glutination is quite a clean-cut criterion for considering the cohesion of text, especially non-fictional one. It can be applied also to the analysis of fictional texts where it differenciates particular authors. When taking into consideration the restrictions ensuing from the type of a language, it can be used also for the comparative research.

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THE ORIGINAL ROLE OF THE BANTU APPLICATIVE EXTENSION

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The semantic contrasts conveyed by the presence vs. absence of the applicative extension in locative sentences in Bantu languages are compared with differences in meaning in Japanese and Hungarian corresponding to differential objective- vs. adverbial-case marking of intransitive verbs' oblique-case complements. The meaning differences, both in Bantu and in Japanese and Hungarian, may be characterized as directedness vs. non-directedness of the verbal action and affectedness vs. non-affectedness of the entity represented by the oblique-case NP. A unified, historical-functional explanation for these Bantu, Japanese and Hungarian contrasts is proposed.

1. Introduction to the problem

In Haya, sentence pairs like the following occur (Hyman & Duranti 1982: 234):

(1) *n-ka-gw-el'*   *ómú-nju*
    1S-P3-fall-EXT   LOC-house[1]
    'I fell in the house.'

(2) *n-ka-gw' ómú-nju*
    'I fell into the house.'

Comparing the Hyman & Duranti translations of these sentences, we can see that (1), with the applicative verbal extension, conveys the idea that the falling took place while the person was in the house, while (2), without the extension but otherwise identical to (1), suggests that the falling took place from outside into the house. Curiously, however, in Swahili the situation is just the opposite. It is the extension that conveys the sense of 'into', as is apparent from the following (R. Botne, pers. comm.; cf. Ashton 1987:219):

(3) *a-li-anguk-i-a*   *nyumba-ni*
    3S-PST-fall-EXT-FV house-LOC
    'He fell into the house.'

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[1] Abbreviations are as follows: ASP: aspect, EXT: extension, FV: final vowel, LOC: locative, OBJ: object, OP: object prefix, PST: past, P3: 'before yesterday' past, 1S: first singular, 3S: third singular.

(4) *a-li-anguk-a nyumba-ni*
    'He fell in(side) the house.'
How to account for these opposite functions the extension in the two languages?

2. A tentative proposal
There are grounds for thinking that at an earlier stage sentences such as (1) and (3) took a verbal object-prefix agreeing with the locative NP. Thus, in certain *transitive* clauses, the extension co-occurs obligatorily with an object-prefix agreeing with a deleted locative NP, as shown in the following Haya pair from Duranti & Byarushengo (1977:55):
    (5) *kat' á-ka-gi-lí-íl-a*   *mw' éŋkôk' (énju)*
        Kato 3S-P3-OP-eat-EXT-FV   LOC chicken house
        'Kato ate the chicken in it (the house).'
    (6) **kat' á-ka-lí-íl-a mw'eŋkôk' (énju)*
        Here the NP *énju* is a "right-dislocated constituent", as described by Duranti & Byarushengo; it is, in other words, a kind of afterthought recovering a deleted theme (cf. Byarushengo & Tenenbaum 1976:94). ("Theme" is used here in the Praguean sense of old information, versus rheme.) In Kinyarwanda, we find the same situation (R. Botne, pers. comm.):
    (7) *y-a-yi-ri-iri-ye-mo*   *inkoko*
        3S-PST-OP-eat-EXT-ASP-LOC chicken
        'He ate the chicken in it (the house).'
    (8) **y-a-ri-iri-ye-mo inkoko*
    Here the OP agreeing with the deleted theme 'house' obligatorily co-occurs with the extension.
    There is a Philippine analogy to the Bantu. A verbal affix incorporating, as the Bantu extension seems to, the case of a NP occurs when that NP is "focused", i.e., when it takes the preposition whose function is to mark it as theme. The verbal affix seems to facilitate the focusing of the NP by compensating for the replacement of the NP's case preposition by the theme preposition (Modini 1988). An example of a Tagalog locative-focus construction is the following (Naylor 1978:400):

(9) *kinanan   nang   bata nang   isda ang   plato*
ate-LOC.FOCUS NON-FOCUS child NON-FOCUS fish THEME plate
'The plate was eaten out of by the child.'

    Now theme-marker seems to have been the original role of the object-prefix in Bantu (Modini 1985, 1989), so that, from the co-occurrence of the verbal device of case incorporation and oblique-case NP theme-marking, both in transitive clauses in Bantu and cross-linguistically, it is reasonable to conclude that originally locative sentences such as (1) and (3) entailed both extension and object-prefix.

How, then, did the extension come to have the seemingly contradictory functions it has in (1) and (3) in Haya and Swahili respectively?

3. A Japanese parallel
We can compare the difference conveyed by the presence versus absence of the extension in Bantu in sentences (1)–(4) with the contrast in meaning to be found in the following pair of Japanese sentences:

(10) *kawa   o   oyogu*
    river   OBJ   swim
    '(I) swim in the river.'

(11) *kawa de   oyogu*
    river LOC swim
    '(I) swim in the river.'

Waseda (1988:140) schematizes the difference between (10) and (11) as follows:

(12)

action of swimming
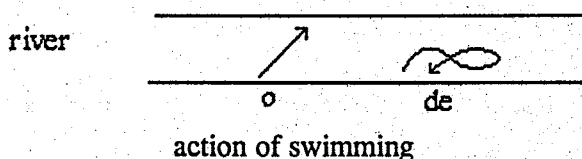
The difference in meaning between (10) and (11) is described by her as "intentional action directed to somewhere" versus "unintentional and not directed" action. Kuno (1973:97) sees the crucial difference rather in terms of the degree of involvement of the entity represented by the locative NP in the action designated by the verb. Thus for him (10) conveys the idea that "the motion designated by the verb takes place covering the entire dimension (or the major portion thereof) of the NP continuously and undirectionally", whereas (11) conveys no such idea. Similarly Moravcsik (1978:259) thinks the degree of affectedness of the entity represented by the locative NP accounts for whether or not it is marked by the object suffix -*t* in Hungarian intransitive sentences.

It seems to me that the notions of affectedness of the locative entity and directedness of the verbal action may be the real meaning conveyed by the extensions in sentences (1) and (3) respectively. Thus the distinction in Haya conveyed by the presence versus absence of the extension may perhaps more properly be looked at in terms of how involved the house is in the falling. And the Swahili distinction may be possibly better characterized as having to do with directedness.[2]

The idea of affectedness of the locative entity is evident in the following pair of Haya transitive sentences (Hyman & Duranti 1982:234):

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[2] Cf. Eastman's (1969:36-37) "intensiveness".

(13) *n-ka-bón-el-a   kat'   ómú-nju*
     1S-PS-see-EXT-FV Kato LOC-house
     'I saw Kato (while I was) in the house.'
(14) *n-ka-bón-a kat' ómú-nju*
     'I saw Kato (while he was) in the house.'

In (13) we can regard the house alone as the location of the seeing; in (14) some other place is also involved. In Kinyarwanda an identical role is performed by the presence vs. absence of the extension in such transitive sentences (Kimenyi 1980:36).

And perhaps we are not mistaken in characterizing the distinction between the presence vs. absence of the extension in the following Nkore-Kiga transitive sentences as to do with directedness vs. undirectedness, as in the Swahili sentences (3) and (4) (Taylor 1985:97):
(15) *bing-ir-a   enjangu omu-kibuga*
     drive away-EXT-FV cat   LOC-compound
     'Drive the cat into the compound.'
(16) *binga enjangu omu-kibuga*
     'Drive the cat out of the compound.'

4. A historical-functional explanation
The Bantu-Japanese parallel can be accounted for by postulating that in essence the same historical change in the role of the marker of a thematic object occurred in both. Thus, like the Bantu object-prefix, the Japanese postposition *o* originally had an object theme-marking role (Modini 1989, 1992b). This function was extended in both Bantu and Japanese to marking non-object oblique-case NPs as theme, in Bantu in both transitive and intransitive clauses and in Japanese in intransitive clauses only. In Bantu the extension seems to have marked the case of the NP in the general-oblique sense, much as the Old Japanese postposition *ni* and the classical Chinese coverb *shì* had a general-oblique sense (Modini 1991:17; 1992a); the locative preposition/postposition or verbal enclitic specified the locativity.

In Japanese intransitive and Bantu transitive and intransitive clauses the theme-markers were reanalysed over time as markers of directedness of the verbal action and/or of affectedness of the entity represented by the non-object oblique-case NP. This was due to the presumed high frequency of association between the theme/rheme role of constituents and these semantic features. In Bantu there was a loss of the object-prefix in constructions with such meanings, the extension coming to take on the role of marker of directedness/ affectedness. Finally, the 'object-prefix plus extension' construction reverted to its original theme-marking function. This is illustrated both in (5) and (7), where the locative case-marker is encliticized to the verb and the thematic locative noun is ellipted, and in the following Swahili sentence from Maw (1976:395):

(17) *a-li-mu-u-li-a   bustani-ni   wageni*
    3S-PST-OP-kill-EXT-FVgarden-LOC strangers[3]
    'He killed the strangers in the garden.'

According to Maw (p. 398), such sentences, with agreement between verb and locative NP, "might arise as responses to specific questions". In the case of (17), the question would be, 'What did he do in the garden?'.[4]

5. Conclusion

The view that the Bantu applicative extension was originally concomitant with the object-prefix and, in fact, facilitated its use allows us to put the semantic contrast expressed by the presence vs. absence of the extension into a larger perspective. Thus we can liken the Bantu situation to that in languages both genetically and typologically distinct from Bantu where there were basically similar processes of historical change. I have concentrated on the extension in locative sentences, but I am sure the same function was performed by it elsewhere in the grammar, just as the various Tagalog verbal focus affixes all refer to a NP with the preposition *ang*.

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[3] R. Botne (pers. comm.) is of the opinion that the construction 'OP + EXT + locative preposition' in both Haya and Kinyarwanda, corresponding to (17) in Swahili, does not occur.

[4] Maw rather feels that the question appropriate to (17) is, 'Where was it that he killed them?'. I feel sure this is mistaken.

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STUDIES IN MODERN CHINESE INTELLECTUAL HISTORY: VI. YOUNG BING XIN (1919–1923)*

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The aim of this study is to show the philosophical, religionist and literary development of the modern Chinese woman writer Bing Xin. Especially the impact of the biblical writings and of Rabindranath Tagore on her life, poetry and prose during the May Fourth Movement 1919 is analysed here.

In the history of modern Chinese literature after 1917 Bing Xin [1] should be regarded as the first woman poet and short story writer. The new Chinese literature written by women began in 1919 with the publication of a short story entitled *Liange jiating* [2] Two Families published between September 18–22.[1] It may be of interest to note that the first modern Chinese short story written by a woman was concerned with the question of women's emancipation. It dealt with problems that arose in connection with the May Fourth Movement when women received more freedom and opportunities than they had had before. The old relationships had to some extent been broken and new ones had not become established as yet. Here Bing Xin joined those who with their *wenti xiaoshuo* [7] problem stories tried to reform traditional Chinese society in harmony with the spirit of modern nations.

On January 26, 1922 the first short poems of Bing Xin appeared in the press that were later published in a collection entitled *Fanxing* [8] *A Maze of Stars*.[2] The featured poem below became typical of her most successful work:

> A maze of stars is shining
> Upon the dark blue sky.
> Have you ever heard what are they talking about?

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[1] Cf. FAN BOQUN [3] (ed.).: *Bing Xin yanjiu ziliao* [4] Materials for the Study of Bing Xin. Peking 1984, p. 11. I did not find short story of this name in *Wusi shiqi qikan jieshao* [5] An Index to the Periodicals of the May Fourth Movement under Chenbao fukan Morning News Supplement where it should have been published. It is probable that the story was originally entitled *Shuizhi zui*[6] Whose Fault?

[2] *Selection from A Maze of Stars*. Transl. by John Cayley. Renditions 32, Autumn 1989, p. 108.

In deep silence,
In mild light,
They mutually pay homage to each other.[3]

And here in this universe of a myriad stars, in the greatness represented by
the Milky Way that we may observe in the firmament, expressed in small
form with plain words, is to be found a poetic genius of this diminutive, frail
Bing Xin.

1

Her real name is Xie Wanying [10] and she was born in the town of
Fuzhou [11] on October 5, 1900 in Chekiang Province. Her native district is
Changyue [12]. Her father Xie Baozhang [13] was at that time an officer of
the Qing Imperial Army (to be exact, an assistant captain). Her mother Yang
Fuci [14] was nineteen years old when her first baby – Wanying was born.
Wanying was seven months old when they moved to Shanghai and was four
years old when her father was sent to Yantai [15] in Shantung Province and
appointed as the Head of the Naval College there. Apart from her mother, the
open sea and wide ocean with the enchanting view of the islands facing the
port, and Yantai Smoking Terrace, were and remained her greatest love. It
helped her to define her later belief and Weltanschauung. Father was an as-
siduous officer but found enough time for his oldest child and was very proud
of Wanying's talents. Mother loved her immensely and cared for her very
much. Sometimes it was necessary, since the little girl, at the age when other
kids only like to play, read and studied very industriously, even forgetting to
eat and wash herself.

As a small girl Wanying liked to hear stories from her mother: Niulang
zhinu [16] Herdsman and Weaver-girl, Liang Shanbo yu Zhu Yingtai [17]
Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai, and some not so well-known. Later she read
famous novels and short stories with the approval of Yang Zijing [18], her
uncle on her mother's side, who became her first teacher. Her first lecture in
the field of Chinese fiction was Sanguo zhi [19] History of Three Kingdoms,
in reality Sanguo yanyi [20] The Romance of the Three Kingdoms; after that
she read Shuihu zhuan [21] The Water Margin and Pu Songling's [22] (1640–
1715) Liaozhai zhiyi [23] Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio. She did not
like Fengshen yanyi [24] Canonization of the Gods, a novel about gods and
spirits from the Ming dynasty, nor Hongloumeng [25] The Dream of the Red
Chamber, the most famous of all Chinese traditional novels; the first one
probably because of its learned and not very imaginative topos, the second
one for its psychological depth and complicated story very different from
those she was accustomed to in her early readings.[4]

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[3] Bing Xin shiji [9] Bing Xin's Poems. Shanghai 1934, p. 120.
[4] BING XIN: Zixu [26] Self-Preface. In: Bing Xin xiaoshuoji [27] Bing Xin's Short Stories.
Kaiming Publishing House, n.p. 1947, pp. 4–5.

Wanying enjoyed playing the storyteller herself. It was usually in the open air, on the board of the ships of Imperial Navy and her audience were the officers and crew under the command of her father. A small girl, tender even for her age, in a black military uniform, starts with stories from the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Xie Baozhang puts her on the round table and the seamen wait patiently for the performance: "It is said *hua shuo* [28] Empires wax and wane; states cleave asunder and coalesce. When the rule of Chou weakened seven contending principalities sprang up, warring one with another till they settled down as Ch'in and when its destiny had been fulfilled arose Ch'u and Han to contend for the mastery and Han was the victor..."[5] The outcome was laughter from the audience. This child spoke like University Professor or a professional storyteller following faithfully the words of Luo Guangzhong [31] (around 1330–1400), the author of the novel. Everybody was enthralled by the performance and they wanted to hear more. After she finished the story, in reality the first chapter of the novel, she began the second one about the rage of Zhang Fei [32], who together with Liu Bei [33] and Guan Yu [34] formed a trinity of "sworn brothers". Then followed another one and the seamen after hearing all these stories all praised her "talent and ability".

After the traditional novels and short stories Wanying began to be interested in contemporary translated literature. She read with attention *Xiao nu Naier zhuan* [35] The Story of the Filial Girl, Nell, in reality *The Old Curiosity Shop* by Charles Dickens in the adapted translation by Lin Shu [36] (1852–1924) that according to Leo Ou-fan Lee turned "the pathetic Nell into a glorious personification of filial piety. A simple sentimental story is given the additional weight of ethical exhortation."[6] Then she read Lin Shu's rendering of Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby* and *David Copperfield*. She was very sad and cried bitterly in her mother's embrace when she went through the passages about David's suffering after the death of his mother. Later she recollected such moments in one of her short poems:

> Mother!
> It came just wind and rain from the skies
> And a small bird is hiding itself in the nest.
> If there is wind and rain in my heart,
> Your bosom is my refuge.[7]

Wanying was ten years old when new teacher came to their family. His name was Wang Jiangfeng [37], her first really good teacher, and likewise

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[5] ZHUO RU [29]: *Bing Xin zhuan* [30] Biography of Bing Xin. Shanghai 1990, p. 75 and BREWITT-TAYLOR, C.H. (tr.): *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. Vol. 1, Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh 1925, p. 1.

[6] LEE, Leo Ou-fan: *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers*. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press 1973, p. 47.

[7] Bing Xin's Poems, p. 206.

another more distant relative from maternal side. He was more orthodox than Yang Zijing and put more stress on basic topic of Confucian orientation, like Confucius'(551–479 B.C.) *Lunyu* [38] *The Analects*, *Zuozhuan* [39] Traditions of Zuo and *Tang shi* [40] Tang Poems, popular version from the series – *Guowen jiaoke shu* [41] Textbooks for Chinese Studies.[8]

In 1911, on the eve of the Xinhai Revolution, Xie Baozhang asked for retirement and returned with the family to Fuzhou. There Wanying began to attend *Fuzhou nuzi xueyuan yuke* [42] the preparatory class of the Fuzhou Normal School for Girls. Here she changed her way of life: a girl who had performed a transvestite dressed as a boy, never coming into the contact with children of her sex (she was educated in the company of her three young brothers), having her brain full with the scenes from *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and *The Water Margin* entered into the society of girls and tried to acquire the habits of young ladies. It was not so easy for her to start becoming interested in make-up, perfumes and Indian incenses. It was difficult for a shy and lonely girl who had even tried to write a novel about heroic stories of famous generals, courageous brigands, noisy gongs and sharp swords.[9] Who could foresee that this Chinese *quasi* Amazone after some years would become an apostle of cosmic love or loving universe as indicated, e.g. by one short poem selected by her later friend Jaroslav Průšek:

> Great Ocean!
> Which of the stars is without brilliance,
> Which of flowers without fragrance,
> Which of my thoughts
> Without an echo of your pure waves![10]

2

After the founding of the Chinese Republic, Xie Baozhang, as one of those who sympathized with the struggle against the Manchus, has been drafted as Director of the Naval Studies Bureau of Admiralty to Peking, and later in 1913 the whole family joined him there. In 1914 Wanying entered *Beijing Beiman nuzhong* [43] Bridgman Academy for Girls in Peking. Both Fuzhou and this school were run by Methodist missionaries and here she received at first basic and later deeper knowledge of *Bible*. After graduation she enrolled in *Xiehe nuda* [44] North China Union Women College that later became *Yanda nuxiao* [45] Women's College of Yanjing University.[11] After the May Fourth Movement in 1919 she began to work as a Secretary for the Students'

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[8] BING XIN: Self-Preface, p. 6.

[9] Ibid., pp. 5 and 7.

[10] PRŮŠEK, J.: *Sestra moje Čína* (China – My Sister). Prague 1940, p. 221 and Bing Xin's Poems, p. 190.

[11] Bing Xin's Self-Preface, p. 8.

Association of the Union College, and to write and publish her first works. Originally she wanted to become a medical doctor like her older colleagues among the writers – Lu Xun [46] (1881–1936) or Guo Moruo [47] (1892–1978), but her new activities forced her to switch to literature. On one of the many demonstrations following the May Fourth she took note of Zheng Zhenduo [48] (1898–1958), who later become one of her mentors and introduced her to the works and world of Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941).[12]

I never come across any information about religious and ideological climate in Bing Xin's family in her child age excepting a few sentences told to me personally by Zhou Ru, probably the best expert on her life and work.[13] She told me that Wanying had grown up in the Taoist environment of which we may guess only its probable overall design: a "flexible and tenacious religion" that "conferred the gift of spells, the art of talismans, all the magic and religious virtues... It seems that nothing was lacking in Taoism for it become a prosperous religion. It was not."[14] There were some reasons for its inadequacy: magical and even mystical qualities, and a lack of organizing abilities of its clergy to become an official and prosperous *oecumene*. This caused an unproblematic and very easy transition for Bing Xin to Christianity and Tagorean pantheism.

In Bridgman Academy in Peking the girls students everyday morning heard the lectures on Hebrew history on the basis of four books: *Samuel I* and *Samuel II* and *Kings I* and *Kings II*. Wanying did not like them: they were very different from the stories she had read in Yantai or in Fuzhou and she regarded them as boring and tasteless.[15] This may surprise Western reader for whom some of them like *David Slayeth Goliath, Absalom Is Slain* or *Solomon's Judgment* are excellent, and where (compared with China) both *wen* [49] literary and *wu* [50] martial genius of the people of Israel and Juda, may be exemplified in an outstanding manner. She was enchanted by the very beginning of the *Bible*, the *First Book of Moses Called Genesis*. They did not read directly from the *Bible* but used the textbook compiled by Professor Luella Miners, who was a Dean of the North China Union Women College.[16] The words as follows sounded like a revelation for her: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without the form, and void; and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. And God said, Let there be light: and

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[12] ZHUO RU: op. cit., p. 24.

[13] Interview with Zhuo Ru on Nov. 10, 1992.

[14] GRANET, M.: *The Religion of the Chinese People*. Transl., ed. and with an Introduction by Maurice Freedman. New York, Harper and Row 1977, p. 130.

[15] ZHUO RU: op. cit., p. 106.

[16] GROELING-CHE, Hui-wen von: *Frauenhochschulbildung in China (1907–1937). Zur Geschichte der Yanjing-Universität in Beijing*. Weinheim in Basel, Beltz Verlag 1990, pp. 88–89 and ZHUO RU: loc. cit.

there was light."[17] She had read nothing like that in Confucian classics or in popular or high fiction, e.g., this was much more interesting and intriguing than the story of goddess Nugua [51] in *Fengshen yanyi* or *Hongloumeng*. The whole story of the creation in the first chapter of *Genesis* was more credible for her than that of Pan Gu [52].[18] Her young and curious soul yearned for this kind of knowledge like the dried soil craves for the rain. The Great Ocean mentioned in the above poem, her first love after her own mother, was the second creation of God after the light: "And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide waters from waters... And God called the dry *land* Earth; and the gathering together of the waters he called Seas; and God saw that it *was* good."[19]

Wanying's third love – the Great Nature – was within the framework of God's creation, too: grass, the herbs yielding seed, the fruit trees, all after its kind, the sun, the moon and a "maze of stars"; then the moving creatures in the waters, the birds (fowl) that fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven, cattle and creeping things and beasts of the earth, all after its kind, and finally man in his (i.e. God's) image, and was it by chance or Providence that he forgot about woman but very soon corrected this mistake, and because it was "not good that the man should be alone", the Allmighty made a "help for him" out of man's rib. She was called Woman "because she was taken out of Man."[20] I do not know what Wanying reading the Chinese feminist journals of that time thought about this last creation made after those famous six days, but she found this as immensely poetical and extremely valuable explanation of her own questions and a solace for her inner consciousness (*chetana*).

This word *chetana* found Wanying (now known as Bing Xin since September 18, 1919) later in an article by Zheng Zhenduo[21] who together with Moses and Miners, became one of her teachers or colleagues. Consciousness was a very modern and up-to-date concept, full of questions and uncertainties, but to change the consciousness of Chinese intelligentsia and later also at least a portion of the Chinese people was necessary if the old Middle Kingdom would like to enter not formally but practically the Family of (modern) Nations. We do not know the extent of Zheng's impact on Bing Xin, but certainly through him, one of the most enlightened men of contemporary China, she began to be interested in Rabindranath Tagore's life and work. He became one of the first admirers of Tagore in China and in 1922, after quite a long

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[17] *Genesis*, 1, 1–3.

[18] On Pan Gu see YUAN KE [53]: *Zhongguo gudai shenhua* [53] Ancient Chinese Myths. Peking 1958, pp. 35–40 or MÜNKE, W.: *Die klassische chinesische Mythologie*. Stuttgart, Ernst Klett Verlag 1976, pp. 254–255.

[19] *Genesis*, 1, 6–10.

[20] Ibid., 1, 11–31 and 2, 18–23.

[21] ZHENG ZHENDUO: *Liyan* [55] An Introduction. In: TAGORE, R.: *Feiniaoji* [56] *Stray Birds*. Shanghai 1922, p. 1.

time spent in preparation, he wrote a short biography of Tagore and translated the greatest part of his volume of short poems entitled *Stray Birds* into Chinese.[22] It is probable that Bing Xin read Zheng Zhenduo's translation in manuscripts and that she discussed with him problems of common interest. Probably she read Tagore's works in English or the critical works about him and his life not translated into Chinese. However Zhou Ru denied this in the conversation she had with me probably on the basis of consultation with Bing Xin,[23] but human memory is not always reliable. Bing Xin's essays devoted to Tagore, and her poetry, too, are deeper and more mystical than the works of Zheng Zhenduo.

Students of modern Chinese intellectual history will probably observe that Bing Xin's greatest interest in the *Bible* and Tagore could be noted in the years 1919–1920. It coincides with the Chinese Nietzsche-*Fieber* shown in the works by Lu Xun, Mao Dun [58] (1896–1981), Li Shicen [59] (1893–1935)[24] and others, especially in *Also sprach Zarathustra*, Superman and antireligious concerns. According to *Bing Xin shengping nianbiao* [60] Annual Table of Bing Xin's Life and Work, she immersed herself into the life and poetry of Tagore in the autumn of 1919,[25] and in the summer of 1920 her first essay in the form of open letter entitled *Yao qi Yindu zheren Taigeer* [61] Sent Far Away to the Indian Sage Rabindranath Tagore, appeared.[26] The source of this literary jewel is, among others, one of the poems by Tagore from the collection *Crescent Moon and Other Poems*, read and translated by Zheng Zhenduo, about the Child Angel "as inhabiting a world of innocence and joy opposed to the stupid, greedy world of man."[27] The *wuxian* [63] endless is stressed here just like in the most famous poem in this collection where the words are written: "On the sea shore of endless worlds the children meet",[28] and applied to the morning as well as evening prayers, to the love of children and mutual love of all adult people. Child is here the angelic messenger of love.

Tagore's paradigm of Child as an object of Love, complements those of Bing Xin's Mother, Great Ocean and Great Nature. Four Gospels of *New Testament* where the physiognomy of Love is explained, as well as some parts of *Old Testament* together with the Gospel of Love of Rabindranath Tagore, formed the basis of Cosmic Love or Loving Universe of Bing Xin. Even before she acknowledged her debt to Judaism and Christianity, she professed spiritual dedication to Tagore. Tagore was for her *meili zhuangyan* [64] the

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[22] ZHENG ZHENDUO: *Taigeer zhuan* [57] Biography of Rabindranath Tagore, ibid., pp. 1–10.

[23] Interview with Zhuo Ru on Nov. 10, 1992.

[24] CHEUNG CHIU-YEE: *Nietzsche in China, 1904–1992. An Annotated Bibliography.* Canberra, The Australian National University 1992, pp. 27–29.

[25] Materials for the Study of Bing Xin, p. 12.

[26] *Bing Xin sanwenji* [62] Bing Xin's Essays. Shanghai 1934, pp. 1–2.

[27] Cf. loc. cit., ZHENG ZHENDUO: Biography of Rabindranath Tagore, p. 1 and MUKHERJEE, S.B.: *The Poetry of Tagore.* New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House PVT LTD 1977, p. 101.

[28] TAGORE, R.: *The Crescent Moon.* London, Macmillan and Co. 1913, p. 3.

beautiful and sublime sage of India who transcended the framework of life and death and became the source of "endless light for humanity".[29]

In the time of Bing Xin's enchantment with Tagore and Christianity, the "endless" or *wuya* [65] limitless were voguish concepts. We may find them in young Qu Qiubai's [66] (1899–1935) early work[30] and in the same vein the words of Li Dazhao [67] (1889–1927), who in his pre-communist phase, yearned for the literature based on *boai xin* [69] heart of universal love, where the "deep thought, erudition, trustworthy statements, beautiful art and spirit of universal love"[31] could be its soil and basis. Universal love was also on the programme of two Bing Xin's colleagues from the *Wenxue yanjiuhui* [72] Literary Association: Wang Tongzhao [73] (1897–1957) and Ye Shengtao [74] (1894–1988).[32]

The "endless" of Bing Xin had its fountainhead in Tagore's concept of Brahman (*fan*) [82] and Atman (*wo*) [83], the first being the God or the Absolute, the second Self or ego. In his understanding of the relation between Brahman and Atman, Tagore probably followed the Indian poet and philosopher Kabir (ca. 1440–1518). Kabir was a disciple of *vishista-advaita* teaching that admitted a difference between Brahman and Atman; both are "ever distinct, yet ever united."[33] Therefore Bing Xin in her first *laudatio* of Tagore, highlighting the principle of "endlesness" wrote that "we are united in 'Brahman', you may see that I am writing (to you, M.G.)."[34] I do not think that my opinion concerning Tagore's belief in relation to the Upanishadic traditions is different from that of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan who regarded him as a fol-

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[29] Bing Xin's Essays, p. 1. In An Introduction to the translations of *Stray Birds* Zheng Zhenduo characterizes not Tagore but his literary works as "beautiful and sublime", p. 2. Zheng's words were in reality the translation of S. Radhakrishnan's opinion as we shall see below in the text.

[30] Cf. my translation of the poem of the same name in *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: II. Young Chü Ch'iu-pai (1915–1922)*. Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), XII, 1976, pp. 109–110, later reprinted in Spence, J.D.: *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books Ltd 1982, p. 175. Original text see in: *Qu Qiubai wenji* [67] Collected Works of Qu Qiubai. Vol. 1. Peking 1954, pp. 6–7.

[31] LI DAZHAO: *Shenmo shi xin wenxue* [70] What is New Literature. In: *Li Dazhao wenji* [71] Collected Works of Li Dazhao. Vol. 2, Peking 1984, pp. 164–165.

[32] ZHAO XIAQIU [75] and Zeng Qingrui [76]: *Zhongguo xiandai xiaoshuo shi* [77] A History of Modern Chinese Fiction. Peking 1984, pp. 424–432. For Wang Tongzhao see also Yang Yi's [78] contribution *Kaifangxingde xianshizhuyi* [79] An Open Type of Realism in ZENG XIAOYI [80] (ed.): *Zou xiang shijie wenxue. Zhongguo xiandai zuojia yu waiguo wenxue* [81] To the World Literature. Contemporary Chinese Writers and Foreign Literature. Changsha 1985, pp. 170–184.

[33] Cf. GÁLIK, M.: *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation, 1898–1979*. Bratislava, Veda–Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1986, p. 47 and *Introduction* to *One Hundred Poems of Kabir*, transl. by R. Tagore and assisted by E. Underhill, Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1954, pp. xxviii and xliii.

[34] Bing Xin's Essays, p. 2.

lower of *vedanta* but without mentioning the difference between *advaita-ve-danta* and *vishista-advaita*. In the first one Brahman and Atman are the same.

The highest eulogy to Tagore, of his *wanquande ai* [84] perfect love and *wanquan jiehe* [85] perfect harmony, is Bing Xin's essay entitled *"Wuxian zhi sheng" de jiexian* [86] Boundary of "Endless Life",[35] finished on the fifth day after *laudatio*. Here Wanying speaks with her *alter ego* Wanyin, one living, one supposedly dead, about the bounds between life and death. Christian vision of *vitae aeternae* here joins the Upanishadic "ocean into which the soul merges when it is released from the bondage of this life, a fire from which the phenomenal world emerges like sparks,"[36] and Judaeo-Christian joins and opposes the same Upanishadic in the notion of creation. The last tradition does not work *ex nihilo*, but Brahman "emanates the universe out of his own substance and then re-enters it as its indwelling Spirit."[37] Thus seemingly pure human beings form a part of God, of Universe through the power called Love by both Tagore and Bing Xin. For Wanying as well as for Wanyin, just for Bing Xin and for Tagore, death is only a momentary, even ephemeral boundary in the "endless life", since she is only a fleeting *ksana* (instant) in the immense ocean as indicated a few lines above.

One another feature is typical for the intellectual portrait of young Bing Xin: her image of a biblical Good Shepherd. This idea, whether from David's *Psalm 23* or *100*, *St. Matthew*, 18, 12–14 or *St. Luke*, 15, 3–7 found a great echo in Bing Xin's soul. From her essay entitled *Hua – shi* [87] Painting – Poem we know that a picture of a Good Shepherd in the room of divinity teacher inspired her to ponder over the love of a shepherd who, having one hundred sheep, when losing one leaves "the ninety and nine in the wilderness"[38] and goes out until he finds it. According to her "confession", this painting changed her attitude, at least for some time, to fine arts, too. Up to that moment fine arts meant for her appreciation and pleasure only; now she understood that the pictures should allude, teach and comfort.[39] When seeing her crying, the divinity teacher opened the *Bible* where Bing Xin could read the words of King David:

"The Lord *is* my shepherd; I shall not want. He makes me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters."

Then the teacher overturned one page and Bing Xin read the verses of *Psalm 19*:

"The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handy-work... *There is* no speech nor language, *where* their voice is not heard."

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[35] Ibid., pp. 3–8.

[36] ZAEHNER, R.C.: *Introduction to Hindu Scriptures.* London and Melbourne, J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd. 1984, p. ix.

[37] Ibid., p. x.

[38] *St. Luke*, 15, 4.

[39] Bing Xin's Essays, p. 10.

This essay was written two days after that on Tagorean "endless life", and Bing Xin entered the Methodist Church.[40]

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Around these three essays just analysed evolves and revolves the whole work of Bing Xin in her youngest and best years. Here the philosophy of love has been manifested as *religious* poetry, fiction and prose with its positive and negative sides. On the whole she did not escape the pitfalls of her elevated religious feelings, but her religiously inspired poetry and essays are worthy of admiration, and if we read them with attention and enough knowledge, they belong to the best ever written in Chinese May Fourth literature.

Psalm 19, dedicated to the Chief Musician of King David, seems to reveal the basis of her poetry, although this poetry has been at least formally more inspired by Tagore or contemporary Chinese poetry. The firmament of heaven and Great Nature that "day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge" of the deeds of God, is like a great canvas upon which Bing Xin painted her own image of Loving Universe.

Stars are often returning motif in her works. When Bing Xin meets Wanyin, there are a few of them shining on the "pitch black sky",[41] and in the first among *Bing Xin Poems* we may find nearly the same words like in the introductory poem of *A Maze of Stars*:

> Upon the firmament
> Lighted up small fire of the stars.
> On the black background they make bows to each other.[42]

In the poem *Wandao (er)* [88] Evening Prayer (2) that was written a few weeks after the publication of the first pieces from *A Maze of Stars* we read the following line:

> I raise my head to see luminous stars.[43]

With what is the content of these poems concerned. The last one is reminiscent of Tagore's *Gitanjali* and the first is similar to *Tianwen* [89] *The Heavenly Questions*, attributed to Qu Yuan [90] (ca. 340–278 B.C.), only the issue here is very different from those in probably "the most fascinating of the seventeen works in the *Ch'u Tz'u* [91] anthology."[44] Otherwise it is put in the

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[40] Cf. ibid., pp. 8 and 11 and Materials for the Study of Bing Xin, p. 102.

[41] Bing Xin's Essays, p. 4.

[42] Bing Xin's Poems, p.1.

[43] Ibid., p. 53.

[44] *Ch'u Tz'u. The Songs of the South*. Transl. by D. Hawkes. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press 1959, p. 45.

same way: "Wherefrom comes that arrives and whereto goes that leaves?" in Bing Xin's poem is logically similar to that from *The Heavenly Questions*: "Where is it whose closing causes dark and whose opening causes the light?" And the answer in the first case: "On this earth, the road we come on is the same as the path we leave. The road we leave becomes the path we come."[45] In the second case it is as follows: "Where does the sun, the Bright God, hide before the Horn proclaims the dawning of the day?"[46]

Bing Xin's mood in this poem seems to be completely under the spell of Buddhist ideas that might have been more familiar to her in that time than Upanishadic or Judaeo-Christian world. At least she was more accustomed to it and it shows clearly just in this time of transition. Here is the description of human universe:

> Flowers in the skies reflecting each other and falling,
> Ten thousand silent sounds
> Are mysteriously gushing forth.
> It is a canopy decorated with gems,
> And golden body and consciousness only.[47]

In this stanza the "endless", "limitless", or as we shall see later – the "infinite" is expressed in the words that have a very strong Buddhist connotation. At that time probably she was not able to write otherwise. A short commentary would be probably useful for the readers: flowers in the skies *konghua* [92] is a metaphor for all illusionary phenomena *maya*, golden body represents Buddha, his personality and its innumerable metamorphoses, and consciousness-only *faxiang* [93] is the basic feature of the most influential Buddhist teaching in modern China, that of Yogacara or Dharmalaksana, teaching that *yi qie wei shi* [94] *idam sarvam vijnaptimatratam* "all this world is consciousness only".[48] The process of development, of motion, of history presupposes the wheel of transmigration *lunzhuan* [95] *samsara*, the road all sentient beings *zhongsheng* [96] *sattva* is unilinear: there is no difference between to go and to come; all we are going to the "boundary of endless life" – death, which is a door to eternal life.

In reality, using the Buddhist vocabulary and idioms, Bing Xin tried to point out her own unsolved problems in connection with Tagorean and Christian philosophy. All the Buddhist terms used in the above poem should serve to highlight her own dilemma: what are these phenomena going on under the canopy of heaven, under the shining but silent stars?

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[45] Bing Xin's Poems, pp. 1–2.

[46] The Songs of the South, p. 48.

[47] Bing Xin's Poems, p. 2.

[48] Cf. CHEN, K.: *Buddhism in China. A Historical Survey*. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press 1964, pp. 320–325 and FUNG YU-LAN: *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Vol. 2, transl. by Derk Bodde and published by the same publishers in 1953, pp. 299–338.

In another poem that forms a sequel to the one just quoted, put Bing Xin once again rendered the above assertion, made a question of it and gave her own answer:

> Where is the canopy decorated with gems,
> Where is golden body and consciousness only?
> That's me –
> That are all sentient beings, too![49]

Even before Guo Moruo who in 1922 had compared himself to God,[50] the 21-year-old Bing Xin on the moonless night of the Mid-Autumn Festival in the year 1921, put the sign of equality between herself, Buddha, Buddha-embodiments *Foshen* [99] *Buddha-kaya*, Buddha-nature *Foxing* [100] *Buddhata*, and between above mentioned and all sentient beings.[51] In the time of the May Fourth Movement, when the individualistic tendency of human personality reached its apogee, it was possible to identify human individuals, usually in the form of Self, to God or god-like beings.

Everything in this poem alludes not so much to Buddha and all connected with him and his or later Buddist teachings, but to Brahman. In Chinese philosophico-religionistic discourse during the long course of history, the associative thinking was a matter of daily use. Just like the greatest philosophical problems, e.g. Cheng Yi's [101] (1033–1008) and Zhu Xi's [102] (1130–1200) *xing ji li* [103] Nature is Principle[52] or Wang Yangming's [104] (1472–1527) *xin ji li* [105] Mind is Principle[53] in Bing Xin's thinking the problem of relation between God, the individual, sentient beings and the Universe is deciphered by identifying Self *Atman* and God *Brahman,* and at least a part of the Universe, its animate compounds.

We may only suppose that Bing Xin had in her hands S. Radhakrishnan's book *The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore* that was used at least once by Zheng Zhenduo who quoted a few sentences from it in his Biography of Rabindranath Tagore. Zheng's translation is not accurate, but these sentences were selected for the Chinese text: "The worldwide interest and popularity of his (Tagore's, M.G.) writings are *literary grace and beauty* of his writings. Rabindranath's teaching, with its vital faith in the redeeming power of spiritual forces and their up-building energy, has a particular value at the present moment, when the civilised world is passing through the crucible of a ghastly

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[49] Bing Xin's Poems, p. 5.

[50] GUO MORUO: *Shaonian Weitezhi fannao xuyin* [97] A Preface to *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. In: *Wenyi lunji* [98] Studies in Literature and Art. Shanghai 1929, p. 341.

[51] Cf. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*. Comp. by W.E. Soothill and L. Hodous. Taipei reprint 1975, pp. 227 and 229.

[52] FUNG YU-LAN: *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*. Transl. by Derk Bodde. New York, Macmillan Paperbacks 1960, p. 301.

[53] Ibid., p. 309.

war which, whether or not it purges the nations of their pride and hate, lust for gold and greed of land, at least proclaims, in no uncertain tones, the utter bankruptcy of materialism."[54]

It is interesting that Bing Xin in 1920 characterized Tagore as the "beautiful and sublime" sage of India and Zheng Zhenduo used the same words for his works: *meili zhuangyan* [64][55] in Bing Xin's *laudatio* of Tagore is not a very precise rendering of the "literary grace and beauty" underlined by me in the quotation above. Was it Bing Xin who at first put it on the paper or Zheng Zhenduo? Did Bing Xin follow Zheng Zhenduo or did Zheng Zhenduo follow Bing Xin? In the first case Zheng Zhenduo should have written his Tagore biography at least two years before its first appearance in print which although not probable, is also possible.

We know that Bing Xin wrote her open letter to Tagore after reading his biography and poems,[56] though she did not detail us their titles. At least two books about Tagore were in the hands of Zheng Zhenduo: *Rabindranath Tagore. The Man and His Poetry* by Basanta Koomar Roy and *The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore* by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.[57] Among some books of Tagore's poetry available in English she certainly read *Stray Birds*.[58] This collection is usually not rated highly. Many of these short maxims were written in Japan and the impact of Japanese *haiku* poems (picture-poems, not song-poems according to Tagore) is seen in some of them.[59] Even if they are not great as poetry in overall Tagore's *oeuvre*, they are often valuable because of their philosophical message and they were well received among the Japanese and Chinese readers.

Buddhist discourse of Bing Xin introducing to the reader the relation between Atman and Brahman is implied in Radhakrishnan analysis: "To me (i.e. to Tagore, M.G.) the verses of the Upanisads and the teaching of the Buddha have ever been the things of the *spirit*, and therefore endowed with boundless vital growth; and I have used them, both in my own life and in my preaching, as being instinct with individual meaning for me, as for others, and awaiting

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[54] Cf. Biography of Rabindranath Tagore, p. 2 and RADHAKRISHNAN, S.: *The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore*. Baroda, Good Companion Publishers 1961, p. 1. The text of Radhakrishnan's book is a reprint of the original edition from the year 1918 that was used by Zheng Zhenduo.

[55] Cf. Biography of Rabindranath Tagore, p. 2 and Bing Xin's Essays, p. 1.

[56] Bing Xin's Essays, p. 1.

[57] Roy's book has been published by Dodd, Mead and Company in New York, 1915.

[58] See BING XIN: *Wo shi zenyang xie "Fanxing" he "Chunshui" de* [106] How I Wrote "A Maze of Stars" and "Spring Waters". In: Materials for the Study of Bing Xin, pp. 156–159, translated into Chinese by J. Cayley in Renditions, 32, Autumn 1989, pp. 88–91. Bing Xin's indebtedness to Tagore's *Stray Birds* has been studied by Fang Xide [107] in *Bing Xin yu Taigeer* [108] Bing Xin and Tagore, Wenyi luncong [109] Literary Series, 18, 1983, pp. 331–354.

[59] See Tagore's *Diary* as noted in KRIPALANI, K.: *Tagore. A Life*. Published by author at Calcutta. Second and revised edition 1971, p. 151.

for their confirmation my own special testimony, which must have its value because of its individuality."[60]

Some lines later Radhakrishnan quoted Western experts who regarded Tagore as typical Christian or Christian-like thinker: "The God of Gitanjali is no impersonal, imperturbable absolute of Hindu philosophy, but in fact, whether He be explicitly Christ or not, He is at least a Christ-like God, and the experience of His suppliant and lover is one with the deep core of all Christian experience."[61] Or: "The man who henceforth must rank among the greatest religious poets of world does not call himself a Christian: but in him we get a glimpse of what the Christianity of India will be like, and we see that it is something better than Christianity which came to it."[62]

There was only one question in Bing Xin's "philosophy of life": the relation between human individual and God including the whole Universe, since the Universe is only creation or emanation of God, and the extension of individuality in life, death and eternal life. According to Tagore's *Sadhana. The Realisation of Life*, the most philosophical among his writings, "perfect harmony", highlighted in Bing Xin's *laudatio*, means nothing else more than to be *yuktamanah* at-one-with-God, as well as with another human beings and nature.[63]

Connected with this perfect harmony is perfect love, because a human being "is not a slave either of himself or of the world; but he is a lover. His freedom and fulfilment is in love, which is another name for perfect comprehension. By this power of comprehension, this permeation of his being, he is united with the all-pervading Spirit, who is also the breath of his soul."[64] The word consciousness *chetana* had a special meaning for Bing Xin: world-conscious is Brahman and we are "immersed in his consciousness body and soul".[65] We should be God-conscious, as he is all-conscious in time and space, or soul-conscious in our inner world. According to Tagore: "All our poetry, philosophy, science, art, and religion are serving to extend the scope of our consciousness towards higher and higher spheres."[66]

4

One of these higher spheres, reminding us to some extent of the macrocosmic spheres of medieval world in Europe – the firmament of heaven – had been decorated by Bing Xin by hundreds of short poems. The focus of this poetic firmament is God or the Creator of all things. Around him revolves the

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[60] RADHAKRISHNAN, S.: op. cit., p. 2.

[61] Ibid., p. 3.

[62] Ibid., p. 4.

[63] TAGORE, R.: *Sadhana. The Realisation of Love*. London, Macmillan and Co. Ltd. 1921, p. 15

[64] Loc. cit.

[65] Ibid., p. 18.

[66] Ibid., pp. 18–19.

whole universe living within the love which pervades all phenomena. Bing Xin had probably in mind the consciousness manifested in *Sadhana* according to which "whatever there is in the world" is in reality "enveloped by God"[67]:

> Idea of infinite heaven,
> Concentrate yourself.
> Your focus,
> Your mean proportional,
> Will become my magnetic needle.[68]

The universe is the cradle for human beings who are the children of nature and all the sons and daughters of mankind should love each other, because: "All we are the pilgrims,/ travelling to the same resting-place."[69] This Loving Universe is full of "endless", "limitless" or "infinite" objects. One of them is Bing Xin's or poetess' heart or better to say – mind:

> Outside, the strings are swept and sing.
> My mind,
> Why dwell so deep within that fading sound,
> The endless soughing of trees
> And limitless moonlight.[70]

The most important for the human beings is his attitude to the infinite. "Man is not complete," wrote Tagore, "he is yet to be... In his *to be* he is infinite, there is his heaven, his deliverance. He *is* occupied every moment with what it can get and have done with; his *to be* is hungering for something which is more than can be got, which he never can lose because he never has possessed."[71] The idea of infinite heaven here joins the idea of "perfect harmony" and together they form the "realisation of the infinite":

> "Disappointments",
> "Perfection" needs you!
> It may be highlighted
> In the midst of myriad of you.[72]

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[67] Ibid., p. 17.

[68] Bing Xin's Poems, p. 178.

[69] Ibid., p. 127.

[70] Ibid., p. 131. This translation with small revision is taken out from J. Cayley's *Selection from A Maze of Stars*, Renditions, 32, Autumn 1989, p. 110.

[71] TAGORE, R.: *Sadhana*, p. 153.

[72] Bing Xin's Poems, p. 136.

Buddha and Jesus were examples for this "perfection".[73] Besides reading the *Bible*, beginning in 1921 at least, Buddhist writings were companions of Bing Xin. She liked to visit Wofosi [110] Monastery of the Sleeping Buddha at Xishan [111] West Mountains near Peking. She found there a place "for the exact observation, thinking and study".[74] Probably here she read the *Surangama Sutra Lengyanjing* [112], a work where the stress on the Buddhist teaching that all things are *sunya kong* [113] empty, seems to be of great importance.[75] Just this Bing Xin doubted:

> In this dynamic tide of mind,
> There is a tendency to study *Surangama* in order to stop it.
> Poor men!
> Are they able to realize that "empty is not empty."[76]

Of great attention to Bing Xin was her own *xin* [114] *hrd, hrdaya*, mind or the heart as a "seat of thought or intelligence"[77] was mainly due to the impact of Tagore and his stress on "soul-consciousness" in the inner world of human beings. Icy Heart does not seem to be an adequate translation of the name of Bing Xin. Bing Xin is *nomen obversum* coming from *xin bing* [115] which is a Buddhist idiom and means either "the heart chaste as ice" or "the mind congealed as ice".[78] The concept of mind was more provocative and questionable for young Bing Xin than heart. Loving Universe was not a problem for her heart, but for her mind and her *chetana*. Like in the poem:

> My mind!
> Yesterday you told me
> That the world if full of joy.
> Today you tell me
> That the world is full of despair.
> What will you tell me tomorrow?[79]
> How can I believe you?

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[73] TAGORE, R.: *Sadhana*, p. 153.

[74] ZHUO RU: op. cit., p. 167.

[75] This sutra used to be "a favor with most Chinese Buddhists" before the 1930s. See WELCH, H.: *The Buddhist Revival*. Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press 1968, p. 113. According to it "all mental conditions and all causal phenomena are but manifestations of mind" which is identical (or at least similar) to Yogacara or Chan. See LU K'AN-YÜ (Charles LUK): *Practical Buddhism*. London, Rider and Company 1971, p. 9. Charles Luk translated this sutra into English, see: *The Surangama Sutra*, London, Rider and Company 1965.

[76] Bing Xin's Poems, p. 286.

[77] *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p. 149.

[78] Ibid., p. 151.

[79] Bing Xin's Poems, pp. 190–191.

She believes in mind under two weighty conditions:

> Cool and quiet mind!
> In any situation
> You are able to build more deep and subtle world.[80]

Just as like in the world of Tagore, in the universe of young Bing Xin, evil is not important. According to him "evil is ever moving; with all its incalculable immensity it does not effectually clog the current of our life; and we find that the earth, water, and air remain sweet and pure for living beings."[81] And "joy is everywhere; it is in the earth's green covering of grass, in the blue serenity of the sky; in the reckless exuberance of spring, in the severe abstinence of grey winter;... Joy is the realisation of the truth of oneness, the oneness of our soul with the world and of the world-soul with the supreme lover."[82]

Not only is joy underlined in the psychic state of her mind but those feelings that are its opposites coming usually from *jimo* [116][83] or *guji* [117][84] loneliness, and more or less are synonymous with *fanmen* [118] or *beiai* [119] melancholy. In this is Bing Xin a typical representative of the May Fourth movement generation. Nevertheless, joy is in her programme and without it the canvass of her starry heaven would be incomplete:

> Loneliness augments melancholy,
> Haste causes vexation.
> My friend!
> Joy is working without rest.[85]

In Bing Xin's universe, joy is really everywhere. Therefore it is full of loving mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, different phenomena of nature, sentient beings, seas, lakes, mountains, monasteries, flowers, moonlit and moonless nights, morning glows and suns, young boys and girls, and of course, poets and poetesses. A firmament made of a "maze of stars" and "spring waters" is reminiscent of the graciousness of Jacopo Tintoretto's (1518–1594) classic painting entitled *Rise of the Milky Way*.[86] Here the blue heaven is also full of flying angels and birds.

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[80] Ibid., p. 150.

[81] TAGORE, R.: *Sadhana*, p.49.

[82] Ibid., p. 116.

[83] Bing Xin's Poems, pp. 163, 246, 249, 262, 288 and 292.

[84] Ibid., p. 173.

[85] Ibid., p. 249.

[86] LEVEY, M.: *A Concise History of Painting from Giotto to Cézanne* (Slovak version). Bratislava, Tatran 1966, pp. 140–142.

Bing Xin's short stories represent another "sphere" of her creation, although they are weaker from the axiological point of view than most of her poems. When reading *Aide shixian* [120] The Realization of Love, one has the impression that the poet Jingbo [121], "Chinese Tagore", does not know what this idea in reality means, except the delineation of two children in the story, sister and younger brother in their walks together and a sleep in his study during a thunderstorm.[87] The same impression holds true for another short story entitled *Shijie shang youde shi kuailo guangming* [122] In the World There Is Joy and Bright Future. Lingyu [123], a young boy just 19 years old, is dissatisfied with the political and social development in China after the Versailles Peace Conference and the May Fourth Movement, and decides to commit suicide. Just before throwing himself into the sea, he meets two children, one girl and one boy, who tell him the message: "The world has its bright future and joy. You have to go and search for it."[88]

Just as weak is probably the best known of Bing Xin's short story *Chaoren* [124] *Superman*. Instead of two children, only one Luer [125] together with the ghost of the mother of the misanthrope He Bin [126], a nihilist, tries to persuade He Bin that mothers are realizations of love and because mothers are loving friends, their sons must be just the same, too. Under the influence of sentimental letter by Luer and a vision of the "lady in white", his own mother, He Bing acknowledges his "crime" which consisted of denial of the mother, of the universe and life, and love and sympathy. Too much "ideology" completely destroys the impact of characters for readers with adequate literary taste.[89] I think that the story *Yishu* [127] Posthumous Letters, is an exception among Bing Xin's stories of her youngest creative period. It is written in epistolary form, heightens the sense of actuality, and didactic purpose, very often present in Bing Xing's works, does not spoil the pleasure from reading.[90] This story is very similar to three early Bing Xin's essays analysed above and "writer" of these letters is Wanyin, her *alter ego*.

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In 1923 Bing Xin graduated from the Faculty of Arts of Yanjing University with a B.A. in literature and was awarded with a scholarship to Wellesley College in the U.S.A. where she studied English literature, translated Chinese poetry into English and wrote her M.A. thesis on Li Qingzhao [128] (1081–

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[87] Bing Xin's Short Stories, pp. 94–98.
[88] Ibid., pp. 40–43.
[89] Ibid., pp. 85–93. Its English translation see in Renditions 32, Autumn 1989, pp. 124–129.
[90] Bing Xin's Short Stories, pp. 145–170.

1143), together with translation of her most characteristic poems.[91] After her return to China in August 1926 she was a witness to a completely different political and ideological situation. Her enthusiasm for Tagore and Christian ideas were a matter of the past for the majority of Chinese intellectuals. One year after Bing Xin's return Cheng Fangwu [131] (1897–1984), well-known critic from the Chuangzaoshe [132] (Creation Society), once admirer of Buddha and Jesus and apostle of Goodness and Sympathy, characterized the literary efforts of Chinese men of letters, including Bing Xin, as a waste of time "through masturbation with short poems".[92] And already at the beginning of 1925 Jiang Guangci [135] (1901–1931), well-known critic from the Taiyangshe [136] (Sun Society), wrote that China does not need the "fragrance of flowers" nor "mother's heart".[93] Liang Shiqiu [139] (1901–1987), later the most important representative of the Chinese New Humanism, was the first who misunderstood Bing Xin. In 1923 he was disappointed by the "amoebic form"[94] of Bing Xin poems and her intellectual habitus as unsuitable for the Chinese woman poet. In this way she was forced to put her pen aside. For the next three years she did not write anything except for one or two poems, one preface and love letters to her future husband.

It is difficult to say what did remain in Bing Xin's consciousness from that she learned from Tagore, Buddhist teaching and the *Bible*. In 1979 she said to an interviewer[95] that where religion is concerned she was *hen suibien* [141] very liberal. In any case her state of mind, her attitude changed due to the circumstances, time and life experience. Her intellectual story is one of the most interesting in the post-May Fourth development. It is a pity that she was not able to get over the tension existing there between the indigenous tradition, the innovation coming from abroad, and, one can say, from the most vital intellectual sources of Oriental and Western civilization, and the socio-political milieu with its requirements.

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[91] Cf. Materials for the Study of Bing Xin, p. 15, then *Li Yian nushi cide fanyi he pianji* [129] Translation and Editing of Li Qingzhao's Songs. In: *Bing Xin wenji* [130] Collected Works of Bing Xin, vol. 5, Shanghai 1990, pp. 101–144 and full or partial translation of eleven Li Qingzhao's poems in Renditions, 32, Autumn 1989, pp. 133–145.

[92] CHENG FANGWU: *Wancheng womende wenxue geming* [133] Let Us Complete Our Literary Evolution. In: *Shiming* [134] The Mission. Shanghai 1927, p. 231.

[93] JIANG GUANGCI: *Xiandai Zhongguo shehui yu geming wenxue* [137] Contemporary Chinese Society and Revolutionary Literature. In: *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue shi cankao ziliao* [138] Material for the Study of the History of Modern Chinese Literature. Vol. 1, Peking 1959, p. 208.

[94] LIANG SHIQIU: *"Fanxing" yu "Chunshui"* [140] "A Maze of Stars" and "Spring Waters". In: Materials for the Study of Bing Xin, p. 374.

[95] Materials for the Study of Bing Xin, p. 102.

1.冰心 2.兩個家庭 3.范伯群 4.冰心研究資料 5.五四
時期期刊介紹 6.誰之罪 7.問題小說 8.繁星 9.冰心詩集
10.謝婉瑩 11.福州 12.長樂 13.謝葆璋 14.楊福慈 15.咽台
16.牛郎織女 17.山伯與祝英台 18.楊子敬 19.三國志
20.三國演義 21.水滸傳 22.蒲松齡 23.聊齋志異
24.封神演義 25.紅樓夢 26.自序 27.冰心小說集
28.話說 29.桌如 30.冰心傳 31.羅貫中 32.張飛
33.劉備 34.關羽 35.孝女耐兒傳 36.休紓 37.王年烽
38.論語 39.左傳 40.唐詩 41.國文教科書 42.福州
女子學院預科 43.北京貝滿女中 44.協和女大 45.燕大
女校 46.魯迅 47.郭沫若 48.鄭振鐸 49.文 50.武
51.女媧 52.盤古 53.袁珂 54.中國古代神話 55.例言
56.飛鳥集 57.太戈爾傳 58.茅盾 59.李石岑 60.冰心
生平年表 61.遙寄印度哲人太戈爾 62.冰心散文集
63.無限 64.美麗莊嚴 65.無涯 66.瞿秋白 67.瞿秋白
文集 68.李大釗 69.博愛心 70.什嗎是新文學 71.李大釗
文集 72.文學研究會 73.王統照 74.葉聖陶 75.趙遐秋
76.曾慶瑞 77.中國現代小說史 78.楊義 79.開放型的現實
主義 80.曾小逸 81.走向世界文學.中國現代作家與外國文學
82.凡 83.我 84.完全的愛 85.完全結合 86."無限之生"的
界限 87.童－詩 88.晚禱(2) 89.天問 90.屈原 91.楚辭
92.空華 93.法相 94.一切唯識 95.輪轉 96.眾生 97.少年
維特之煩惱序引 98.文藝論集 99.佛身 100.佛性 101.程頤
102.朱喜 103.性即理 104.王陽明 105.心即理 106.我是
怎樣寫"繁星"和"春水"的 107.方錫德 108.冰心與太戈爾
109.文藝論叢 110.臥佛寺 111.西山 112.楞嚴經 113.空
114.心 115.心冰 116.寂寞 117.孤寂 118.煩悶 119.悲哀
120.愛的實現 121.靜伯 122.世界上有的是快樂光明
123.凌瑜 124.超人 125.祿兒 126.何彬 127.遺書 128.李
清照 129.李易安女士詞的翻譯和編輯 130.冰心文集
131.成仿吾 132.創造社 133.完成我們的文學革命 134.使命
135.蔣光慈 136.太陽社 137.現代中國社會與革命文學
138.中國現代文學史參考資料 139.梁實秋 140."繁星"和
"春水" 141.很隨便

THE INTERLITERARY COMMUNITY OF TURKIC NATIONS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF ISLAMIC CULTURE*

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In literary-historical research, interliterary communities represent an important intermediary stage between various national literatures and world literature. During the early stage of its development the interliterary community of Turkic nations was determined by several factors, the dominant factor obviously being that of Turkic religious ideology. It determined the centuries-old existence of Turkic literatures within the framework of a wider community of literatures in the medieval Islamic world. This study intends to point out specific features in the coexistence of Turkic literatures within the context of Islamic culture and simultaneously to outline the preconditions for the shaping of a specific interliterary community of Turkic nations, or nationalities based on the principles of ethnic and linguistic kinship.

The rules governing national-literary development cannot be determined in their full range without a knowledge of the rules governing the interliterary process. It is not sufficient here to merely point out the interactions among various national literatures. It is indispensable to find out what had conditioned this interaction during the course of historical development, "to designate and to describe, in concrete terms, an interliterary community, if possible from the times of its origin right down to the present."[1]

The actual interliterary community of Turkic nations, too, has to be considered from this point of view. The mutual coexistence of Turkic literatures altered its form during the course of history under the influence of various internal (genetic) and external (contact) bonds. Nevertheless, we can roughly make out two basic stages in the development of this formation, namely: 1. Its development proceeded within the frame of a wider interliterary community in the medieval Islamic world; 2. Islamic cultural impulses began to weaken and their function was taken over first by original traditions preserved and promoted in folk literature, and later by European literature.

The object of our interest this time will be the first stage in which literatures of the Turkic nations essentialy represent "a smaller", a specific interliterary community in relation to the "wider" interliterary one of the Islamic

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[1] ĎURIŠIN, D.: *Pokus o skúmanie zákonitostí medziliterárneho procesu* (An Attempt to Investigate the Laws of the Interliterary Process). In: *Osobitné medziliterárne spoločenstvá 1* (Specific Interliterary Communities 1). Bratislava, Veda 1987, p. 262.

World. However, since this involves medieval literatures, they may fittingly be spoken of as ethnic literatures which, as the dominant literary form of the period, constitute fundamental historical units in Middle Ages.[2]

The origin of medieval Turkic literatures and their existence within the framework of a specific interliterary community is related to the setting up of State formations under the hegemony of Muslim rulers of Turkic origin in Central Asia, Persia, Asia Minor, Transcaucasia and the Volga basin. Literature was born and flourished in the courts of these rulers, a characteristic feature of which was a high measure of interaction and an intensive convergent relationship to Arab-Persian culture.

At the same time, however, folk literature developed outside political and cultural centres; this grew from a cultural substrata which had been formed in the proto-region of Turkic tribes in the Altai region. This had come to be a permanent common base which, along with subsequent differentiating tendencies in the new environment, played an integrating role in the shaping of specific interliterary community of Turkic nations. In this, we see the manifestation of ethnic appurtenance that created the preconditions for an analogy of poetic motifs and schemes, since the way of life and thinking which had been the impetus for their origin was also analogous.

Linguistic kinship which permitted a mutual exchange of epic motifs and entire plots is also closely related to ethnic origin. This applies both to folklore and literature. In the latter case, however, language plays a double role. Alongside the kindred Turkic dialects, Persian, which was one of the two universal languages of medieval Islamic world, was also as an active integrating factor here.

In this connection, it is pertinent to underline a further important factor which was in decisive in the origin and existence of not only the medieval interliterary community of Turkic literatures, but also of the "wider" community of Islamic literatures – and this was the factor of Islamic religious ideology.

Just as medieval Christianity, Islam was not merely a compendium of faith, but also a political doctrine, law and moral.[3] Just as the rapid spreading of an original local religion of the Arab Peninsula to three continents and its transformation into a world religion was a typical feature of the early Middle Ages, an equally strong religious influence on literary production was typical of this period.[4]

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[2] Ďurišin, D.: *Od jednotlivej literatúry k medziliterárnosti*. De la littérature nationale a l'interlittérarité. In: *Osobitné medziliterárne spoločenstvá 3*. Les communautés interlittéraires spécifiques 3. Bratislava, Veda 1991, pp. 12 and 24.

[3] Konrad, N.I.: *Západ a Východ* (The West and the East). Prague, Lidové nakladatelství 1973, p. 78.

[4] Riftin, B.L.: *Tipologiya i vzaimosvyazi srednevekovykh literatur Vostoka i Zapada* (Typology and Mutual Bonds of Medieval Literatures of the East and West). Moscow, Nauka 1974, p. 12.

The theocratic constitution of the Islamic State resulted in priority being given to religious rather than national allegiance.[5] Pressure on foreign populations in the empire was extremely consequent and uncompromising, particularly under the rule of first caliphs and during the first Islamic dynasty of the Ummayads. Arabic, which had been codified as the language of the Koran prohibiting translation in the first half of the 7th century, was not solely a liturgical language. Up to the end of the 10th century it was also the language of official records, scientific and imaginative works from all territories conquered by the Arabs. Thus, alongside religion, this universal language became the second principal element in the origin of Islamic culture.[6]

For a time, the young culture of Arab conquerors won an ascendency also over the ancient culture of the Persians. Together with Arabic, Arab poetry also became domiciled in Persian literature. However, over the course of time, the reverse came to hold for the latter also, i.e. poetry. The complementarity and synthesis of Arab and Persian forms led to the creation of Arab-Persian poetics which later found an application in literatures of other countries of the Near and Middle East, too – including also Turkic nations. The short lyrical genres prevailing in Arab Bedouin poetry began to develop in Persian literature also which traditionally possessed an epic character, and vice versa, Persian narrative poetic compositions stimulated the origin of Arab epic literature.

The interaction of two cultures thus became a source of their mutual enrichment. It was the impetus for the birth of qualitatively new Persian literature which acquired a far-reaching impact and could exert direct influence on other newly-developing literatures of the Islamic world, due to the universal Arabic language.

The accession of the cAbbasid dynasty meant an end to the period of hegemony of Arabic writings. In the following period, works by Persian authors began to rise in importance; it was no longer Arabic literature, but Islamic literature in Arabic language.[7] Gradually, with the breakdown of the erstwhile unified empire of the caliphs, the first neo-Persian, and later Turkic dialects also, drove Arabic out of offices and literature.

Arab supremacy had disrupted the continuity of Persian linguistic and literary development for more than two centuries. Nevertheless, authentic folklore flourished during this period also and thus, in the 9th and 10th centuries, it became a stimulus for the formation of a new literature in a revived language.

The first attempts to restore the Persian literary language took place as early as the 9th century, but it was only the peaceful reign of the Persian

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[5] This theocratic principle prevailed in the Ottoman Empire throughout its existence and in the mid-19th century led to the rise of the pan-Islamic ideology and religious-political movement.

[6] TAUER, F.: *Svět islámu* (The World of Islam). Prague, Vyšehrad 1984, p. 88.

[7] Ibid., p. 95; GULIYEV, G.: *Etapy formirovaniya i razvitiya azerbaidzhanskogo romana* (Stages of Formation and Development of Azerbaijan Novel). Baku, Elm 1984, p. 37.

dynasty of the Samanids, who derived their genealogy from Sasanids, that created favourable conditions for the development of a new literary language, which besides poetry, also served science.

Through contact with other cultures, explicitly Byzantine and Persian, Arabic did not avoid the infiltration of foreign language elements,[8] likewise, neo-Persian could not possibly avoid strong Arabization. In this case, however, this was a positive phenomenon from a certain point of view. Jan Rypka in his significant contribution to the history of modern Persian literature argued: "The extreme simplicity of morphology and syntax and in addition the penetration of that basis with Arabic vocabulary downright predetermined this language in the course of history, to be an international idiom of the eastern part of Islam."[9]

Neo-Persian was given preference over Arabic in the courts by Turkic rulers. This was not solely the Ghaznavids who ruled in Khurasan from the end of the 10th century (here the ethnic make-up was predominantly Iranian), but also the Saljuq dynasties in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Asia Minor and Transcaucasia, who in the 11th century took over the domination of these territories as a result of powerful invasions by the Oghuz tribes. An exception was that of the Qarakhanids in Transoxania, who conquered Bukhara in 999 and on the ruins of the Samanid Empire created the first Turkic Muslim State in the true sense of the term.[10] "Indeed, as the fate of Persian Islamic literature seems principally connected with the national dynasty of the Samanids, thus that of the Muslim Turkic literature seems to be connected with the national Turkic dynasty of the Qarakhanids,"[11] states the Italian Turkologist Alessio Bombaci.

The first Muslim Turkic literature was born in the empire of the Qarakhanids who gave preference to rhe Uighur-Qarluq dialect over Persian, in an environment where the Turkic element had acquired an ascendency. Two works have been preserved from the earliest period, namely *Qutadğu Bilig* (1069, Gladdening Science) by Yusuf Hass Hadjib of Balasagun and *Dīvān-i Lugati-it-Turk* (1072–73, Divan of Turkic Language) by Mahmūd of Kashgar. Considering the didactic content of his work, Yusuf Hass Hadjib chose the *masnavi* form. But *Qutadğu Bilig* also contains two hundred quatrains (*ruba* $^c i$) and the book is concluded with *qasidas*. The work of Mahmūd of Kashgar comprises specimens of various literary genres not only in East-Turkic (Uighur-Qarluq), but also West-Turkic (Oghuz) dialects which at that time were not as yet, greatly differentiated. This minor differentiation of linguistic

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[8] See LEWIS, B.: *The Political Language of Islam.* Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press 1988, pp. 6–7.

[9] RYPKA, J.: *Dějiny novoperské literatury až do začátku XX. století* (History of Neo-Persian Literature up to the early Twentieth Century). In: *Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury* (History of Persian and Tadzhik Literature). Prague, Nakladatelství ČSAV 1963, p. 59.

[10] CAHEN, C.: *Osmanlılardan Önce Anadoluda Türkler* (The Turks in Anatolia before the Coming of the Ottomans). Istanbul, e Yayınları 1979, pp. 29–30.

[11] BOMBACI, A.: *The Turkic Literatures.* Introductory Notes on the History and Style. In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta II.* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1965, p. XVIII.

expression probably permitted a far more intensive mutual complementation of literary expressions between the eastern and the western branch of Turkic tribes than later, when Oghuzs moved further and further to the southwest.

Offences against the rules of quantitative prosody which are present in *Qutadğu Bilig* and also in *Dīvān* are evidence of the fact that the reception of Arabic-Persian poetry in the Qarakhanid literature was only in its beginnings.[12] The effort to embrace several forms and genres within one single work is typical for both authors of these monuments of early Turkic Islamic culture. So it may be stated that in this case we have an example of polyfunctionalism: an intentional substitution of an entire complex of works from the developed Arabic and Persian literatures.

In contrast to the Qarakhanid Khwarizm, bilingualism was of a subordinative character in the territories that in the mid-11th century came under the domination of Saljuq rulers. Oghuz dialects occupied a dependent position here in comparison with Persian. Saljuqs were of a lower cultural standard than the Qarakhanids, who could lean on Uighur pre-Islamic tradition.[13] Hence, Saljuq rulers chose Persian as official and cultural means of communication. They found it the more acceptable than Arabic, for the contacts between Oghuz tribes and Iranian ethnic were more direct than with the Arabs and had taken place long before they accepted Islam.[14]

Translations of Arabic scientific and literary works into Persian carried out in the courts of Saljuq rulers by their orders, contributed to a further reinforcement of foreign words in the vocabulary of the neo-Persian. Besides Arabic elements it was contamined also with Turkic words, and as a consequence of Mongol expansion, by Mongolian.[15]

Invasions by Chinggis Khan and the Golden Horde in the 13th and 14th centuries were accompanied by a mighty shift of nomadic Turkic tribes from the east to the west, which ultimately resulted in a weakening of the position Persian had held as the dominant literary language in Turkic ruling courts. True, Persian continued to hold considerable weight in works by poets of Turkic origin in whom bi- and even trilingualism was no exception also in the subsequent centuries. However, beginning with the 13th century, more and more literary works began to be written in dialects, out of which three principal Turkic literary languages of the Middle Ages came to be formed: Azeri, Ottoman-Turkish and Chaghatai (old Uzbek). From then on, Turkic dialects did not solely fulfilled the function of a natural language, that is of oral culture,

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[12] I.V. Stebleva calls attention to these offences in her article: *Drevnyaya tyurkoyazychnaya literatura* (Old Turkic Literature). In: *Istoriya vsemirnoi literatury*. Tom vtoroi (History of World Literature. Vol. Two). Moscow, Nauka 1984, pp. 201–202.

[13] KÖPRÜLÜ, F.: *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* (The First Mystics in Turkish Literature). Ankara, Arisan Matbaacilik Sanayı 1984, pp. 132–133.

[14] BOMBACI, A.: *The Turkic Literatures*, p. XVII; TENISHEV, E.R.: *Vvedenie* (Introduction). In: *Istoriya vsemirnoi literatury*. Tom vtoroi, p. 190.

[15] This topic it dealt with by G. Doerfer in his four volumes work: *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Band I–IV. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1963–1975.

but also that of a cultural linguistic instrument. The affinity of these dialects and later of literary languages also reinforced by a common ethnic and cultural origin, created conditions for setting up an interliterary community which, although closely bound with the Arabic-Persian literary tradition, acquired a specific position within its context. Contacts among the various rising literatures became deeper also thanks to the migration of their authors from one region to another.[16]

It was not merely chance that eminent mystic poets became the continuators of Qarakhanid literature and the vanguard of Turkic literary tradition in Asia Minor. Islamic mysticism which stood in opposition to official Islam, acquired an integral philosophical conception which became projected into Persian poetry in the 11th and 12th centuries. Ahmed Yesevī, who lived in Eastern Turkestan in the 12th century (d. 1166), came with the idea of making this philosophy accessible to simple folk, insisting on liberating man from the fetters of Islamic dogmas, releasing him from the fear of God, preaching love of God and of his knowledge through the knowledge of one's own self. As son of a shajkh, he had the possibility of studying in Qarakhanid Bukhara,[17] hence, we may assume with certainty that he mastered both Arabic and Persian and was familiar with the Arabic-Persian poetic system. Nevertheless, he composed his mystical poems – hikmets – which were probably comprised in the divan (Dīvān-i Hikmet) only after his death – in the east-Turkic dialect, a language close to the work Qutadgu Bilig of Yusuf Hass Hadjib.[18]

Thus, Yesevī's Dīvān shows in fact a continuity in the development of the east-Turkic literary tradition and connects literature from the Qarakhanid period with Chaghatai literature. However, it simultaneously constitutes the basis of a new tradition which is that of Turkic mystical poetry. Its principal part moves on the boundary between folk and classical literature. It is held that Ahmed Yesevī was the first to have applied the technique of narration to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, a technique proper to popular poets – ozans, for religious purposes.[19] This practice then spread also in Asia Minor through an order bearing Yesevī's name; it became especially successful thanks to Yunus Emre and poets of the Bektashi order.

The syllabic metre – the most salient element of pre-Islaamic heritage which has persisted to this day in oral traditions of Turkic nations, in combination with an instrumental accompaniment so characteristic of Turkic epos – ensured an enormous impact to Ahmed Yesevī's work not only in a spatial, but also a temporal sense. As Fuad Köprülü states in his work devoted to the

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[16] BOMBACI, A.: *The Turkic Literatures*, p. XXI.

[17] Detailed biography of Ahmed Yesevī: KÖPRÜLÜ, F.: *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, pp. 61–86.

[18] Ibid., p. 145.

[19] WELSH, J. R.: *Yunus Emre: A 14th Century Hymnodist.* In: *Yunus Emre and His Mystical Poetry.* Edited by T. S. Halman. Indiana University Turkish Studies 2. Bloomington 1981, p. 117.

Turkic mystics, *Dīvān-i Hikmet* passed for a sacred book of the Uzbeks, Kirgiz and the Volga Tatars even in the last century.[20]

Ahmed Yesevī's work and the teaching comprised in it, also significantly intervened in the process of the formation of the literary tradition of the western branch of the Turkic ethnic, represented by the Oghuz peoples and their offshoot – the Saljuqs. The multi-domicile of this work, the fact that it has become universal property of several Turkic nationalities, corresponds to Dionýz Ďurišin's view that this phenomen is characteristic of the period of origin and formation of national literatures.[21]

We revert again to the Mongol invasion because its consequences gave rise to the prerequisites for the reception of Yesevī's message in Asia Minor, and to the blooming of mystic poetry in this region which ultimately contributed in a significant measure to the formation of Ottoman-Turkish and Azerbaijan literature. The devastation of traditional centres of Islamic culture and the distances provoked extensive migrations of representatives of religious brotherhoods from Transoxania, Khwarizm, Khurasan, Iraq and Syria to the empire of Saljuqs in Asia Minor where they found support from the rulers, and also a favourable response from the masses who were exhausted by incessant fights for power, wars with the Byzantines and Armenians, and the threat of Mongol destruction.[22]

In the 13th century the Sufi orders of Yasaviya, Haydariya, Ruf'aiya, Qalandariya and vagrant dervishes – the abdals arrived to Asia Minor and settled there. New original orders were also founded here, among which the Bektashiya and Mevleviya are of the greatest importance as regards literary history. The influential, though essentially popular order of Bektashiya derived its origin from Haji Bektash Veli (died about 1250) of Nishapur, who, in the light of the most recent research, was responsible in a decisive measure supporting the spread of Ahmed Yesevī's teaching in Asia Minor.[23] Although he wrote the work *Kitab il-Fevaid* (Book of Benefit) in Persian, at religious meetings he practiced hymns in syllabic metre and in local dialect. Dialects of Asia Minor, as late as the 13th and early 14th centuries, still showed an evident relation to dialects of Central Asia.[24]

On the contrary, the Mevleviya order connected with the name of the ingenious mystic poet Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rūmī (1207–1273) was of an intellectual orientation inspired by Persian mystical literature, namely by Sanā'ī (died

[20] In 1878–96 *Dīvān-i Hikmet* was printed in Taskhent. KÖPRÜLÜ, F.: *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, pp. 120–122.

[21] Ďurišin, D.: *Od jednotlivej literatúry k medziliterárnosti*, pp. 31–32.

[22] KÖPRÜLÜ, F.: *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, p. 204; BJÖRKMAN, W.: *Die altosmanische Literatur*. In: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* II., p. 404.

[23] Sources, see ÖZTÜRK, M.: *Ahmed Yesevi – Haci Bektaş-i Veli ve Yunus Emre Zinciri* (Chain from Ahmed Yesevī through Hadji Bektash Veli to Yunus Emre). Erdem 3, 1987, No. 9, p. 76.

[24] KONONOV, A.N.: *K istorii formirovaniya turetskogo pismenno-literaturnogo yazyka* (The History of Formation of the Turkish Literary Language). In: *Tyurkologicheskii sbornik 1976* (Turkologic Collection 1976). Moscow, Nauka 1978, p. 263.

1130–31) and Farid al-Din Attar (born after 1119). Mawlana spent fifty years of his life in the Saljuq Konya where he wrote his remarkable works that occupies a significant place in Persian literature and at the same time mark the beginnings of Turkish literature. Mawlana's works become organic component of Turkish literature, are intentionally present in it not only thanks to the thirty-five Turkish verses[25] which represent just a negligible fragment of the extensive *Mathnavi* (comprising 27 thousand couplets) but also thank to their intensive and permanent creative impetus.

Credit for this certainly goes to the deeply human content of the work which Mawlana's son Sultan Veled (1226–1312) also helped to mediate. Bilingual Sultan Veled was a biliterary author whith dual-domicile.[26] His work comprises, in addition to Persian poems, also 376 Turkish verses,[27] which testify to his mastery of Turkic poetics.[28] The influence of the environment with predominating Turkic element became evident also in Mawlana's couplets through a preference for the metre whith a caesura which is one of the characteristic signs of Turkic prosody. We find such a metre also in the quantitative couplets of the greatest Turkic mystic Yunus Emre (about 1248–1320), who in his original interpretation of postulates of Islamic mysticism combined Ahmed Yesevī's experience with the humanistic conception of Mawlana's teaching.

In Yunus Emre's work *Risalat un-Nushiya* (Treatise on Counsels), quatrains prevail with the typical rhyming scheme of Turkic folk poetry. In an effort at bringing the mysteries of love and faith closer to the understanding of the masses of Anatolia in general, Yunus Emre made use of pictures from the farmer's everyday life; his language is accessible to Turks even today.[29]

The question of mystic poetry is treated to such an extent within the limited space of this study because it was a decisive factor in the formation of various literatures within the community of Turkic nationalities. The work of mystic authors represents in a specific manner the function of dual or multi-domicile, with a striking impact in the evolutionary process of the participating literatures. This poetry was a mediator between folkore and classical literature and also thanks to it these two components they could complement one another.

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[25] W. Björkman's view is that Mawlana's Turkic verses may have been written on the suggestion of Ahmed Fakih (died about 1252, originated from Konya), author of the mystic mathnavi *Charhname* (Book of Destiny) which is the first integral work in the Turkish dialect on the territory of Asia Minor. BJÖRKMAN, W.: *Die altosmanische Literatur*, p. 408.

[26] The terms "biliterary (poly-literary)" and "dual-domicile (multi-domicile)" occur in theoretical and comparative studies by D. Durišin and his colleagues. They express the mastery of two (or more) literary systems by an author and his conscious and intentional orientation towards these systems, as well as the receptionand incorporation of the author's work into two or more traditions systems.

[27] BJÖRKMAN, W.: *Die altosmanische Literatur*, pp. 406–407.

[28] See the study by FOMKIN, M.S.: *Osobennosti soderzhatelnoi poetiki tyurkskikh stikhov Sultana Veleda* (Specificities of the Poetry of Sultan Veled's Turkic Verses). In: *Turcologicae 1986*. Leningrad, Nauka 1986, pp. 290–296.

[29] SCHIMMEL, A.: *Yunus Emre*. In: *Yunus Emre and His Mystical Poetry*, p. 60.

The abundant symbolics elaborated by Persian mystic poetry and enriched with Turkic folkloric tradition, found an application in classical as well as folk erotics.[30] At the same time works of Turkic mystics intervened in the origin and development of literary languages.

In the specific interliterary community dealt with here, three principal literary languages existed in the Middle Ages, namely Chaghatai, Azeri and Ottoman-Turkish. Because of the Ottoman hegemony in the Islamic world, Ottoman-Turkish become a universal means of communication in the 16th century, on the same level as Arabic and Persian.

A considerable part of the formation of these literary phenomena can be attributed to translations and adaptations of words from the Arabic-Persian literary tradition. Their origin goes back to the 14th century when the extinction of the sultanate in Asia Minor gave rise to numerous minor territorial units – beyliks, governed by a military élite, who were known for a lower degree of culture in comparison with the Saljuq aristocracy. Therefore, the official language – Persian – was replaced by Oghuz dialects.[31] Translations were prepared for the needs of the new rulers – not only classical poems, but also didactic prose and folk epic poetry of religious character.[32]

These translations had a creative function. The translators' bilingualism and biliterary quality permitted a refreshing of the artistic values of the original works. Simultaneously the vocabulary of the original entered the target language, particularly in translations of poetry where foreign words made up for an absence of quantity in Turkic vowels. Thus, since the very beginning of acceptance of Arabic-Persian poetry, Turkic languages became contaminated with foreign language elements. At the peak stage of development of classical Azerbaijan, Ottoman-Turkish and Chaghatai literatures achieved the presence of these elements a striking predominance over words of Turkic origin. On the one hand, this led to a complete severance of the language of classical works from the spoken language and hence also from folklore. On the other hand, it permitted a greater measure of interaction among Azerbaijan, Ottoman-Turkish and Chaghatai literatures. In the 16th century, due to an intensive reception of the polyfunctional work by the trilingual Alisher Navoī (1441–1501), Chaghatai became a favourite means of expression also among Ottoman and Azerbaijan poets. The Chaghatai poet Jemili lived at the Ottoman court. On the other hand, Basirī of Khurasan wrote in Ottoman Turkish, while Nesimī (about 1363–1404) and Fuzūlī (1498–1556), both of Azerbaijan origin, also enjoyed great fame in Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire.

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[30] See BOMBACI, A.: *The Turkic Literatures*, p. LV.

[31] For more details on the linguistic situation in Anatolia in the 13th and 14th century, see DOERFER, G.: *Die Stellung des Osmanischen im Kreise des Ogusischen und seine Vorgeschichte*. In: *Handbuch der türkischen Sprachwissenschaft*. Teil I. Herausgegeben von G. Hazai. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1990, p. 46.

[32] For more details, see BJÖRKMAN, W.: *Die altosmanische Literatur*, p. 413.

A considerable sphere of influence was exercised by the lyric poetry of Bāki (died in 1600).[33]

Hence, we may state that at the time when the classical period of literatures in the Islamic world was at its peak, their mutual interaction was high. Ottoman, Azerbaijan and Chaghatai literatures matched the standard of the developed Persian literature to which they had initially been in a subordinated position, their eminent representatives were also received outside the sphere of their own literary tradition, the dual or multi-domicile of this or that author became a general phenomenon. It is precisely from these relationships that the need to study these literatures as a whole comes out so strikingly, to study them in wider continuities as a community of a specific type belonging to the larger group of literatures determined by Islamic culture, yet simultaneously differing from it through a number of specific features, as has been shown by their further development.

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[33] BOMBACI, A.:*The Turkic Literatures*, p. XXI; TAUER, F.: *Svět islámu*, pp. 204–205.

THE LACK OF PERSPECTIVE AND ITS PRODUCT: PSEUDO-URBANIZATION IN BLACK AFRICA

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Nowadays we are witnessing the growing globalization of the decisive tasks facing mankind. There is a growing awareness that it is in the interest of the entire world to seek an answer to the issues related to economic and social progress, development, modernization, democracy and human freedoms. This paper is discussing one of the possible solutions of this problem.

Recent history has clearly shown that the generally valid categories of our social existence are concepts beyond ideologies, ideological conceptions and social models moving on closed paths. It has also become obvious that all ide-ologies striving for totality inevitably shift onto a forced path, generating their own limitations as well as their own deformities.

Thus, if I conceptually restrict the grave questions weighing down mankind to those of progress and modernization and regionally to Black Africa, it becomes clear that the *a priori* closed ideologies – whether they are labelled "capitalist" or "socialist" – have produced nothing but crisis societies and crisis economies. Nor have the development types subordinated to the "national path" ideology produced "results" or an economic breakthrough. The "national path" ideologies have generally proved to be extreme sub-ideologies of the major ideological currents, a fact that even overemphasizing the national character has not been able to conceal. Despite this, it is becoming increasingly obvious in the second half of the twentieth century that the place of spontaneity in shaping the fate of human communities is diminishing; the responsibility of the decision-makers, those who try to force the forms of social and economic movement onto restricted paths, is becoming ever greater in the evolution and shaping of social existence.

In examining the question of modernization and development in Africa, it is irrelevant to approach the issue from the angle of traditional European growth theories. The fact that for a long while the countries of Black Africa were studied with the same scholarly armament, the Eurocentric approach that has been developed in the course of analysis of the developed societies, has had serious consequences. The scholarly attitude that characterized Marxism also led to the point where, even in the situation of backwardness, they attempted to demonstrate the existence or absence of only those facts which coincided with the course of development believed to be inevitable. And if I

71

accept the five-step hierarchy illustrating the development of society – primitive community – slave-keeping society – feudalism – capitalism – communism – then even development that has begun along a "capitalist" path may appear backward compared to the "socialist orientation". But if I disregard the nature of the development and examine the chain of events from the angle of modernization, the approach and theories that have attempted to draw conclusions regarding perspectives for national development solely from the existence or absence of modern sectors, that is, the spheres subordinated to world contact, have also proved to be erroneous.

Duality concepts can be regarded as more precise than the former theories. In addition to the modern sector mentioned they also place great emphasis on the non-modern or "traditional" sector as regards the perspectives, while at the same time regarding the modern sector as the sole possible driving force of development. However, a failure to meet the expectations attached to the role of the state in the period of decolonization and, even more, the differentiation occurring in the Third World and the appearance of the informal sector have weakened this otherwise more balanced concept, too.

In the following, I shall apply this approach in an attempt to outline the most significant trends that have led to the emergence of the informal sector, growing social marginalization, and to the subsequent acceleration of the pace of this process. This phenomenon is characteristic of practically all countries of Black Africa, although its intensity and the factors that induce it, its system of national conditions, its social weight and the influence it exercises on the economy differ from country to country.

If I examine the category of development, progress and modernization from a historical angle, I find that their interpretation has been given differing economic content in the course of history.

For a considerable while in the course of history, the urbanization rate for a given economy (the ratio of urban population to total population) was regarded as one of the most important yardsticks of modernization and social progress. Today, as I shall see, the explosion in the process of urbanization taking place in the Third World countries is much more an expression of social instability, the product of a series of failures in economic policy.

In a decade, mankind will cross a significant historical threshold: more than half of the population of the world will be urban dwellers.[1] According to statistical forecasts, between 1980 and 2025 the worlds urban population will increase 1.5-fold, while in the developing world this increase will be fourfold. But even by the end of the century the number of cities with a population

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[1] It is worth comparing the figures on the differing paces of the urbanization processes in the developed and developing world: between 1910 and the Second World War the total population grew by 0.9 % a year and the urban population by 2.2 % in the Third World. Between 1950 and 1980 these proportions doubled and according to forecasts the growth of urban population in 1980–2025 will be 16-fold. In the developed world, during the period of most rapid urban growth, in 1840–1914, the increase in the number of urban dwellers was only five-fold. (The figures are published in: Revue du Tiers-Monde, vol. XXIV. No. 94, 1983.)

of more than 5 million will be 42 in the developing world as compared to only 16 in the developed world.

What is the nature of the urbanization processes in the Third World or, more specifically, in Black Africa?

If I examine all parts of the question (including the explosive growth of urbanization, the causes inducing it, its effect on the articulation of society, on the economic processes, reproduction, the supply and demand of labour, consumption, the way of life, ideological and political movements) then I also seek to determine to extent to which these processes and forms of movement are in fact expressions of genuine economic processes.

Is migration away from cities inevitable; how far is the attraction of cities, migration towards cities real, and what role is played by industrialization, that is, by modernization in the classical sense? How far is modernization a product of urbanization, and how far is it a result of social instability?

The social and economic processes taking place in the world act as the result of contradictory tendencies: the process as a whole is determined by stronger and more significant tendencies. But practically every process, including modernization – which in the course of classical European development is linked with the appearance and advance of industrialization – also produces its own deformations too; in Black Africa industrialization has produced the marginalization of large masses, forcing them to the fringe of society.

Historically, in England in the 18th century, agrarian reform and the improved productivity of labour made the liberation of a substantial economic surplus possible. This favoured the industrial accumulation of capital and thus made possible employment of the available manpower in factories. When urban growth accelerated in the 19th century, it took place on the basis of an already stable and established urban structure. The development of industrial capitalism in the course of the 19th century preceded and accompanied the process of urbanization and the emergence of a developed tertiary sector. However, this urbanization had a relatively early origin and took place slowly, as the product of real economic processes, since it arose as a result of people's attraction to industry and followed the pace of the technological revolutions.

However, in the countries of Black Africa, an attempt was made to carry out a belated accumulation of primary capital.

The applied economic policy was unable to serve the function of original capital accumulation guided by the state. Although the necessary condition for original capital accumulation, original expropriation, took place, the combination of capital and labour came up against the limitations of inadequate capital accumulation, thereby creating and preserving the informal sector remaining outside the real current of development.

The heavy migration into cities that can be observed in Black Africa since the fifties occurred along with the weakness of the industrial sector and disproportionately swelled the service subsectors.

As a result, urbanization in Black Africa is a process without natural economic limits and has thus led to the emergence of agglomerations and marcocephaly resting on pseudo-economic bases.

If I wish to apply the instruments of political economics in approaching the nature of the informal sector that has arisen in Black Africa I must take as my starting point the fact that the factors inducing migration away from agriculture, the push effect, are products of real economic processes. In contrast, migration towards the cities, the pull effect, is only a drift towards the cities set off by a moment of inertia for the masses forced out of agriculture: pseudo-urbanization. If I compare the different regions, paradoxically, I find a negative correlation between a low level of per capita GDP and the acceleration index of urbanization.

The constantly expanding tendency of the informal sector and growing marginalization is a product of the lack of social and economic perspective since, in view of the characteristics of African capital accumulation, the path of upward social mobility and the existence of the marginalized strata is restricted and at the same time contributes to distortions in income distribution.

The informal sector expands in each cycle of reproduction of the total national capital since the formal and informal sectors do not expand or shrink unequivocally at each other's expense. The expansion of the formal sector and the partial integration and direct linking of the marginalized masses to capital occurs only sporadically and does not act to eliminate marginalization as a social phenomenon: it catalyzes migration towards the cities.

The marginalized strata occupy a special place in society, but in reality they do not serve the function of industrial reserve army. Their existence is dysfunctional from the viewpoint of society as a whole.

When examining the historical causes of this accelerated pseudo-urbanization, a few basic facts must be stressed. First of all, it becomes clear that the fundamental inducing cause, the decline of agriculture, proved to be a factor above "ideology" since it came into existence independent of "orientation" but rather as a result of erroneous economic policy conceptions.

The traditional slash and burn, hoeing cultivation used in the greatest part of Africa is the optimal solution under the given unfavourable natural conditions: with a low population density it also allows for the reproduction of the natural environment, keeps the production optimum low but requires minimal labour and asset input. However, the fundamental natural limit of this traditional production becomes immediately apparent even if only one of the factors of production is changed.[2]

However, primitive neolithic farming has its own economic, social and cultural logic. It provides a very small product surplus, but even very intensive

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[2] In order to concentrate public utilities, relatively large settlements have been created in many African countries, leading to immeasurable destruction of the environment. This occurred most strikingly in Tanzania as a result of the ujamaa programme, while elsewhere plantation farming disrupted the ecological equilibrium.

work does not bring higher output. As a result, in original African societies the separation of crafts barely occurred on the basis of the low and irregular surplus production and did not provide an incentive even for the development of tool culture. The low population density and the low product surplus together led to a rudimentary division of labour and social differentiation and resulted in a low level of social cohesion. However, the neolithic limits of the economy were also transferred to the primitive state of society building and to the lack of labour skills.

Although opinions differ on the evaluation of the social and economic effects of colonization, paradoxically it would appear that the preservation of the oppressive function of the colonial state in the period of independence in a few countries meant successful economic development measured by African standards, although the political price of direct external and internal dependency had to be paid for it.

At the same time, the states that chose the path of gaining relative independence (the majority of countries regarded as being of socialist orientation) became economically bankrupt. State guidance bears a great responsibility for the ill-conceived modernization plans; in the course of the state planning and guidance of agriculture the traditional model was undermined, but it did not create an efficient agrarian sector capable of functioning, only a contradictory one that operated at a deficit and which moreover threateningly disrupted the ecological equilibrium.

Industry did not become a driving force either in the economy or in society in the countries of Black Africa. The industrialization programme proved to be excessively ambitious; its appearance was not accompanied by background industry and the required infrastructure, merely by a high import requirement. From the side of demand, there was no stimulation for industrialization since the capacity of the internal market was limited, while the products proved to be uncompetitive on external markets.

I have not attempted to cover all aspects here, merely to point out a few of what appear to be the most relevant economic processes. However, these processes have played a determining role in shaping the structure of society.

But this role is a dual one: on the one hand it gave rise to a kind of restructuring of society and on the other hand it caused a polarization of society in which rapid pauperization took place at the lowest levels of social existence.

However, shifts in the structural proportions of society do not mean a substantial growth in the proportion of those employed in industry and the service sector to the detriment of agriculture since on the average for Black Africa this process caused a change in proportion of only a few per cent and even this process came to a standstill in the mid-seventies. In reality, a large-scale industrial working class did not take shape in any African country in view of the fact that the possession of a permanent job became one of the most important social values. As a result, the situation of the working class does not differ significantly from that of the urban middle strata (independent tradesmen,

75

service workers), and they have not become a distinct, independent force in social consciousness either.

And as I have already noted, urbanization has run far in advance of industrialization in Black Africa, and industry has been unable to absorb the masses fleeing from agriculture towards the cities.

The statistics hide a part of these marginal, underemployed masses in industry and the services, in this way dampening the catastrophic problem of unemployment. But the acceleration of the pseudo-urbanization processes occurring in Black Africa points even beyond the dimensions known in the Third World.[3] According to forecasts, by the end of the century the population of the urban shanty towns will reach 50 % of the urbanized population.

An analysis of social disintegration occurring among the marginalized masses would require a separate study. I can only refer in passing here to the catastrophic social phenomena that have arisen with the disintegration of the traditional way of life. The inability to integrate as a result of lacking a stable job, and the resulting rootlessness inevitably lead to a breakdown of the values system.

At the same time, the marginal masses are playing a special role in the recrudescence of the tribal question too. Those who have settled in the cities and have a more or less regular income seek jobs for others from their own tribe, which leads once again to the strengthening of tribal ties, while on the other hand, the obligation to support fellow tribesmen, both close and distant relations, especially those of the younger generation who are unemployed and without a regular income, also grows stronger and leads to the formation of new types of ties in the cities.

As a final thought I would like to stress that if I look back on the more than a quarter of a century history of the African peoples, it would appear that irrespective of the political orientation or allegiance, the narrow stratum at the peak of the hierarchy in these societies, the political élite, has not been able to fulfil its historical task. It is not only the parasitic élite and the bureaucratized economic and social organization functioning at a low level of efficiency that has been decisive in this, but also the fact that following de jure political sovereignty the young African countries have not been able to achieve relative economic sovereignty and independence, despite the fact that the élite in all countries legitimized itself with nationalism. As a consequence, by the eighties political sovereignty also came under threat again. There has been an increase, for example, in dependency of a bilateral nature on the French and the Americans. Nigeria disappeared from the world political stage as a rising middle-sized African power which played a big role in American politics in the seventies. Tanzania has lost almost all of its international prestige too, which up to the early eighties had enabled it to act in international forums as a representative of Black Africa and in some respects in representative of the

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[3] An 80 % growth in the labour force by the year 2000 is predicted, which will mean a further increase in the present unemployment rate of 30–40 %!

Third World. Moreover, the strengthening of Black African dependency cannot be seen with sufficient clarity since Black Africa has been greatly devalued in world politics and the external powers, including even France, no longer have such a strong interest.

The African situation represents a very strong challenge for the socialist countries because ideological commitment and in certain respects military interest has come into conflict with the economic possibilities and capacities, and with the socialist orientation and internal political limits of the progressive countries. It could already be sensed in the mid-eighties that the ideal of socialism was in eclipse in Africa and, as far as it was possible to foresee the trends of development, it appeared that these countries would attempt to follow a pro-Western orientation, and that the system of African relations of the socialist countries would be consolidated at a lower level than ever before.

Now, on the threshold of the nineties, there is almost certainly real substance in the assumption that ideological confrontation is fading in sub-Saharan Africa. And it is not only confrontation but also the ideologies oriented towards a total system that are being forced into the background to make way for the pragmatic questions of social and economic management. In addition, the internal transformation of South Africa could set off new, progressive changes in other African countries in the nineties too.

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NEW ECONOMIC POLICIES AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT OPTIONS. ETHIOPIA IN THE 90s*

Stefan BRÜNE, Osnabrück

After years of low economic growth, preoccupation with natural disaster, crippling costs for internal security and protracted regional wars,[1] Ethiopia remains one of the poorest and "least developed countries" in the world. From a political and economic perspective the 80s were a lost decade for Ethiopia, as they were indeed for other Sub-Saharan African countries. Conscious of the shortcomings of its economic performance, facing a dramatically changing international environment, and confronted with new uprisings in the North, the government has been reviewing its economic policy.

ECONOMIC POLICIES UNDER REVIEW

In his speech of March 5th 1990 President Mengistu announced major changes in macro-economic policy, conceding that the public, private and cooperative sectors all have roles to play in Ethiopia's economic development. Subsequently government and party presented plans for economic liberalization, particularly in agriculture, which envisaged a mixed economy (which de facto it has been anyway) incorporating a combination of plan and market elements. However, at this stage it is difficult to say haw far the reforms will go, because some of the measures are still in the planning stage and others are believed to be the subject of dispute between "hardliner" and "reformist" factions.

However, with regard to the agricultural sector the government now seems convinced that individual peasant farming is bound to persist for many years and that there is significant scope for increasing productivity while using traditional technologies (Worldbank 1990:84). A first step towards the liberalization of agriculture was taken in January 1988 when, after 8 years in which official procurement prices had remained unaltered, the producer prices paid by the Agricultural Marketing Cooperation (AMC) for cereals and other field crops were raised by an average of 7.7 %. Additionally the AMC reduced the crop quotas which Peasant Associations (PA's) were required to supply and reverted to relying more heavily on private traders to deliver them.[2]

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* Paper presented to the XIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, 1–6 April 1991.

[1] According to some estimates 60 % of the government's budget is devoted to defence (African Economic Digest, 17.12.1990).

[2] Private trade in cereals was restored in Arssi and Gojjam, and those parts of Shoa where it had earlier been prohibited. Restrictions on inter-regional movements by traders were also lifted.

In accordance with the new economic policies, peasants are to gain legal ownership of the crops, plants and trees on the land they farmed with usufructuary rights on agricultural land becoming hereditary. Grain market restrictions and quota deliveries have been abolished and the AMC reduced to the role of a state marketing board competing within an open market. Cooperatives were given the right to disband, while further state support for those which chose not to was also promised. While much of the detail of the new policies has yet to be disclosed, all redistribution of rural land has been stopped and no more quotas are being collected. Many cooperatives have disbanded or are in the process of doing so. Peasant associations appear considerably weakened and reluctant to act, knowing full well that any major change in the rural social order is bound to affect their own power and status. Meanwhile state control has crumbled in many of the rural areas, the only exception being army recruiting campaigns, campaigns which are being carried out with increasingly repressive methods. Peasant associations are forced to provide their quota of recruits. In some case executives of those peasant associations which failed to provide the quota were conscripted themselves. Such methods inevitably antagonize peasants and their leaders alike, serving only to spread discontent and turn the peasants against the state and its representatives.

Nevertheless, individual peasants are tentatively beginning to assume their new rights, to test the strength of their new status. The net result is an unmistakable decline in the authority of local administration, and a general feeling of insecurity and unrest, in the expectation of further changes to come. Everybody seems to be trying to consolidate their positions, in the face of an imminent period of struggle over the new rural order.

PRODUCTION STRUCTURE, GROWTH DEVELOPMENT AND FOOD SECURITY

Like most of its Sub-Saharan neighbours, Ethiopia is a pre-industrial, agrarian based society. Almost 90 % of the population live in rural areas and agriculture is still very much the dominant sector of the economy. Its share of the GDP is around 40 % and accounts for 85 % of total employment. For the most part, the country's agriculture is dominated by smallholders who produce largely for their own use: Ethiopia remains a country of subsistence agriculture. With the average farm size being 1–2 ha, according to some estimates 80 %(!) of rural produce does not appear on the market (Dessalegn 1984, 67). Nevertheless agriculture generates some 90 % of export revenue. Taxes on coffee – which is the main export and accounts for some 60 %–80 % of foreign exchange earnings – are the largest single source of government revenue.

Around 28 million people, i.e. almost 60 % of Ethiopia's population, are believed to be living below the absolute poverty line. Classified by the UN as an LLDC, Ethiopia shows all the characteristics of an economy whose devel-

opment is largely dependent on foreign exchange and technology (Dessalegn 1984, 67). Its economic progress is hampered by basis constraints such as a weak infrastructure,[3] low agricultural productivity, heavy dependence on one export commodity, a small industrial base and a shortage of skilled man-power.

Given the generally low level of development and its overriding importance for the economy, Ethiopian agriculture is faced with genuinely complex problems. It has major hurdles to overcome, notably through its physical constraints, current trends in population growth, ecological degradation and limited means of capital accumulation. In view of the agricultural sector's multi-faceted role within the national economy, Ethiopia's planners have to reconcile manifold and partly conflicting aims and interests.

Seen from a development perspective, Ethiopia's agricultural sector has to fulfil at least four main functions. It must (1) feed a steadily growing rural and urban population; (2) finance its own growth and structural change; (3) provide capital and row materials for the country's long-term industrial development, and (4) provide cash crops for export.

At present the Ethiopian agricultural sector is not even able to fulfil its most basic and important function: the provision of food for a large and fast expanding population. Consequently the country's supply problems have become a major international concern, especially since the 1984 drought which forced the government to make repeated appeals to the international community for emergency and food aid. Although domestic production of food crops has risen since it is still no higher than in previous peak production years in the late 70s and early 80s. In the period 1983/84–1987/88 the country's food security depended on imports, which amounted to 16 % of the net cereal availabity and averaged 1 million tons p.a., of which 85 % was food aid.[4] Per capita food production in the 80s is believed to have declined from 82 % of the nutritional norms to only 75 % (World Bank 1990, 7). While Ethiopia's population was growing by some 1.35 million per annum[5] an estimated food deficit of 942,000 metric tons of grain had to be bridged with food aid and imports in 1990/91.

Prospects for a quick recovery are bleak. Ethiopia's dependence on food aid and commercial grain imports can be expected to continue for years, regardless of climatic conditions. Thus the government's forecasts, which predicts agricultural production of 10.6 million tons in 1995,[6] and on which the

[3] This applies particularly to the road system. Nearly three-quarters of Ethiopia's farms are at least half-a-day's walk away from all-weather roads. The lack of roads has been a major hindrance to extension, input supply, output marketing and change in agricultural technology.

[4] Curiously enough figures for cereal import from donor sources are much higher than those in official Ethiopian statistics. According to FAO and WFP data food imports were almost twice as high (93% in the 1983/84–1987/88 period) as indicated in Ethiopian customs data (World Bank 1990, 120).

[5] The annual average growth rate 1973–1987 being 2.7 % (IMF 1990, VI).

[6] International Herald Tribune, 12.1.1991.

80

EEC-Ethiopian Lomé IV negotiations were based, seem somewhat unrealistic. Current trends in population growth, land resource utilization and environmental degradation point to serious problems in the future and, most probably, a sharp increase in famine vulnerability over the next 10 to 30 years. By the year 2000 Ethiopia might have to sustain a population of 100 million (Bureau 1988, 23), while current soil loss rates, which are highest in cultivated land, amount to 1.5 million tons a year. Hurni estimates the current soil loss and the resulting water loss – taken together with biological degradation and land degeneration – effectively mean an annual 2–3 % reduction in soil and productivity (Hurni 1988).

Food availability (cereals and Equivalent)
(thousand tons – annual averages)

	1979/80 to 1981/82	1986/87 to 1988/89
Domestic Production	6691	6942
Less 15% seed & losses	–1004	–1041
Plus root crops, milk	885	853
Plus cereal imports	290	902
Less exports of pulses	–32	–10
Total availability	6830	7646
Population (millions)	38.2	46.6
Per Capita Availability (kg)	178.8	163.9
Percentage of nutritional norm	82 %	75 %

Source: World Bank 1990:72

Area under Major Crops and "Major" Crop Yields

	1979/80	1983/84	1987/88
Total area under Major Crops (ha million): of which:	6.06	5.73	5.94
– State Farm	0.14	0.18	0.21
– Producer Cooperatives	0.14	0.09	0.35
"Major" Crops Yields (t/ha): of which:	12.38	11.05	11.1
– State Farm	15.66	16.70	16.3
– Producer Cooperatives	8.29	10.00	11.5

Source: World Bank 1990:29

Production of "Major" crops (million tons)

	1979/80	1982/83	1983/84	1984/85	1985/86	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89
Total Production	7.5	7.8	6.3	4.9	5.4	6.3	6.6	7.3
(Cereals)	(6.4)	(6.7)	(5.5)	(4.2)	(4.8)	(5.6)	(5.9)	(6.5)
of which:								
– State Farms	0.26	0.34	0.30	0.35	0.41	0.48	0.43	n.a.
– PCs	0.12	0.09	0.69	0.11	0.16	0.23	0.40	n.a.

Above all there are main reasons for the disappointing performance of Ethiopian agriculture. Firstly there has been little change in the area of land under cultivation, the area with major crops (cereals, oilseeds, pulses) having remained at around 6 million ha since the early 80s. Secondly, the yields have remained virtually static. And thirdly, there have been low returns on investment in state farms and cooperatives, where the level of investment has been highest in the past.[7] Self-sufficiency by the year 2000 would require an annual increase in agricultural productivity that few countries in the developing world have attained. This has lead the World Bank to conclude that "a policy of food security rather than food self-sufficiency would be a more efficient objective" (World Bank 1988, 124).

HAS SOCIALISM FAILED?

In Ethiopia, as in other Sub-Saharan African countries the high hopes which had been associated with socialist development ideas in the 60s and 70s have lost much of their original appeal. One reason for this has, of course, been a rapidly changing international environment. The end of the Cold War and the declining ability and fading political will of the Soviet Government to give political and economic support to its allies in the developing world gives African governments less room for manoeuvre, the option of exploiting the East-West-Conflict as a means of securing political, economic and (perhaps above all) military support having vanished.

But apart from this there are equally important economic reasons which point to the need for new policies and a "New Realism" (Kühne 1990, 1). There is a growing consensus in Africa and elsewhere that orthodox socialism as perceived by Marxist-Leninist scholars and politicians has failed to produce a model which is superior to capitalism in terms of economic productivity. Thus the apparent failure of socialist policies in Africa has given rise to lively

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[7] Ironically, as Lofchie and others have emphasized, heavy investment in state farms tends to increase the dependency on foreign capital rather than decreasing it. See: LOFCHIE, Michael – Stephen COMMINS: *Food Deficits and Agricultural Policies in Tropical Africa*. In: The Journal of Modern African Studies 20 (March 1982) 1, pp. 7–25.

debate on the development policies both in Africa and elsewhere. Grigory Polyakov, a Soviet scholar with experience in Ethiopia, looks back: "In trying to apportion blame we make much of «imperialist intrigues»... As far as economics is concerned the blame is primarily ours."[8] And Anatoli Adamishin, until recently Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister responsible for Africa, goes even further: "I do not see convincing evidence for the fact that the confrontation between socialism and capitalism is still the decisive factor for the developing in our world."[9] And the experiences of most African countries opting for socialist development have been aptly summarized by the German scholar Dieter Senghaas, who writes: "While socialist societies have usually successfully carried out the social and economic reforms necessary for development, their momentum has often been stifled by the ubiquitous inability to dismantle those very autocratic and authoritarian modes of government that the reforms normally resulted in. This is particularly true of the failure to decentralize control of the economy and to increase the scope for political participation" (Senghaas 1988, 140).

It is one of the ironies of history that many of those socialist regimes (inside and outside Africa) which embraced the most revolutionary and progressive ideology turned over the years into rigid and even extremely conservative regimes. In this context it is surprising to note the extent to which old fashioned "petty bourgeois nationalistic thinking" has been preserved.

This analysis should not, however, suggest that serious economic difficulties and failings are confined to countries of socialist orientation. They are in fact a general phenomenon. As recent experience in Kenya, Zaire and Ivory Coast[10] has demonstrated development along capitalist lines is not always impressive or effective, the outstanding exception being Botswana. At the same time the PR Congo is one of the few African states with steady, if moderate, economic growth rates. It appears that regardless of the ideological orientation of their respective governments African peasants have chosen the exit option by remaining or even withdrawing into the subsistence economy. Food production in Africa showed a minimal increase of only 1.5 % in the 60s, in real terms a decrease in relation to a population growth of 3.0 %. The situation has been exacerbated by military conflicts and climatic disasters, thus rendering poverty and famines endemic in several parts of Africa. And the most recent World Bank forecast identifies sub-Saharan Africa world wide as the area facing the most serious problems, in sharp contrast to the other developing

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[8] See also POLYAKOV, Grigory: *Soviet-Ethiopian Cooperation in Agriculture*. In: PAUSE-WANG, Siegfried et. al. (Eds.): *Ethiopia-Rural Development Options*. London 1990, pp. 79–88.

[9] ADAMISCHIN, Anatoli: Zum Zerwürfnis verurteilt?, Neue Zeit (1989) 12, pp. 14–16. A more conventional view is taken by A. Gromyko, Director of the Africa Institute in Moscow: "New politicial thinking does not imply renunciations of the class approach, but it develops this approach in a new historical situation." GROMYKO, Anatoli: Adopt New Political Thinking in the Practice of International Relations, in: Asia and Africa Today (1989) 4, pp. 51–54; quoted from Kühne (1990, 12).

[10] For a good analysis see Bayart 1989, pp. 139–153.

regions. While the Bank sees in South Asia reasonable prospects for reducing poverty, and Latin America can hope for moderate development, the African countries south of the Sahara will have to prepare themselves for a "drastic increase in poverty".

Poverty in 2000, by developing region

Region	Incidence of poverty		Number of poor (millions)	
	1985	2000	1985	2000
Sub-Saharan Africa	46.8	43.1	180	265
East Asia	20.4	4.0	280	70
China	20.0	2.9	210	35
South Asia	50.9	26.0	525	365
India	55.0	25.4	420	255
Eastern Europe	7.8	7.9	5	5
Middle East, North Africa, and other Europe	31.0	22.6	60	60
Latin America and the Caribbean	19.1	11.4	75	60
Total	32.7	18.0	1,125	825

Note: The incidence of poverty is the share of the population below the poverty line, which is set at $370 annual income (the higher line used in this Report).

World Development Report 1990, 131

We can quote the most recent World Development Report: "The sharp rise in poverty projected for Sub-Saharan Africa distinguishes it starkly from other regions. The 3.7 % annual growth in GDP that underlies the projections is somewhat higher than the average growth achieved over the previous twenty years, but it will be barely adequate to hold living standards steady over the next ten years. In that time the population will grow by another 165 million, and an additional 70 million people will be living in poverty...To see the scale of the task confronting Sub-Saharan Africa, consider what it would take to prevent the number of poor from increasing. Even with a supportive policy environment that includes greater provision of social services and some improvement in income distribution, a growth rate of about 5.5 % a year – nearly 2 % higher than the projected rate – would be needed to raise the per capita consumption by enough to meet this target. To achieve this, the region would need much more, and better designed, foreign assistance. Such assistance will be effected (and warranted) only if domestic policy is consistent with the reduction of poverty and the development of indigenous capacity."

(World Development Report 1990, 170).

In this light the ideological controversy between capitalist and socialist oriented development appears much less important than believed by many. And the fact, that almost all economically prosperous states have a market oriented economy does not mean that the revival of market and private initiatives is the remedy for all problems as neo-liberal "free-marketeers" maintain. Many, if not the majority of market economies are also failures. The error of one-sided and narrow Marxist thinking should not be substituted by an erroneous one-sided thinking about market forces. In the words of the German economist Meinhard Niegel: "The market economy is not a plant which prospers always and everywhere. It is rather, particularly its social variant (social market economy), a cultural plant which needs...thorough nursing."[11] And Zaiki Laidi, the Paris-based Africanist is probably right in saying "that the rapid conversion of Africa into a neo-liberal model remains just as much an illusion as its sovietization was ten years ago".[12]

It doesn't matter whether we refer to it as class struggle or social stratification (to name two possibilities), there does remain a problem of exploitation and social antagonism in market economies. The extremely uneven distribution of income and wealth are a strong case in point, the widening gap between rich and poor on the North-South axis – which is in danger of becoming irreversible – being a further dimension of the problem. Consequently many countries harbour serious misgivings about the pure market economy, in the sense of laissez faire capitalism. Of the many reasons for this, a major one is that the trickle-down and spread effects of growth measures have often failed to meet expectations or have not taken effect at a politically acceptable pace. Therefore, as Winrich Küne writes, "...the socio-political debate on the limits and risks of the market forces, and private initiative on how to organize state and society in a human way, on how to control the exploitative aspects of the market economy, and how to guarantee more participation at the workplace etc. has to continue, whatever its label will be."[13]

The general disarray prevailing in the developmental debate is also mirrored in the plethora of terminology used. Some people refer to "structural adjustment with a human face", others – borrowing a term from the Federal Republic of Germany – prefer "social market economy". Still others suggest "socialist market economy" or "market economy with a socialist orientation." One of Gorbachev's economic advisers, V.I. Basanetz, stated that the Soviet Union is currently promoting "socialism with a human face and elements of the market economy". It is not clear, however, how this differs from "capitalist economic order with a human face". All these concepts and terms do of course have their origins in the industrialized countries. But exactly what their

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[11] Die Zeit, 4.5.1990, p. 41.

[12] LAIDI 1988, 66 (Translation S.B.).

[13] KÜHNE 1990, 23. As one author put it: "Getting the prices right is not the end of development; but getting them wrong often is."

significance for the majority of African countries is, where 60–80 % of the population is agrarian, remains to seen.

Paul Henze has recently come forward with a significant proposal for a joint peace initiative by the USSR, United States, Canada, the major countries of Western Europe and Japan. Under the heading "Opening the Way to Peace and National Reconciliation in Ethiopia" he has listed certain proposals, among them – point 6 – "Free Trade", which he defines as: "Commitment of all parties to open movement or goods of all kinds within and among all parts of the country. Freedom of all citizens to trade without hindrance" (Henze 1990:34). It seems quite clear now to many that the market is indispensable, i.e. that the negation of the market had a detrimental impact, particularly on Africa's agricultural development. Marxist theory mostly perceived the market and private initiative from a perspective of exploitation, tending to oversee another important aspect. It provides information, through the level of prices, on the efficient allocation of resources, and in providing a key to local conditions indicates what response is required. But the most important question remains unanswered: how can market-oriented concepts be introduced in countries which have no or underdeveloped capital markets and in which privatization would create only private instead of public monopolies.

MIXED ECONOMY – A WAY OUT?

While the simple capitalism versus socialism dichotomy is increasingly challenged as too ideological and too simplistic, mixed economy has become the new catchword and the centre-piece of the new economic thinking. In South Africa, the ANC and other liberation forces including the South African Communist Party have based their economic programmes on this, as did leading social and political forces in Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, PR Benin, PR Congo.

But although "mixed economy" has taken the debate by storm, it has to be admitted that it owes much of its allure to its ambiguity. The term may be flexible enough to appeal to a wide range of political groupings, but the crucial question remains: exactly what mixture of state and private elements is best for specific economies and their individual sectors.

No doubt the centralistic and bureaucratic methods of government, which have all too often resulted in less freedom and humanity, have to be dismantled. But at the same time the state needs, as all successful market economies (in Europe and Asia too) demonstrate, to provide both an efficient and predictable legal and administrative framework and material infrastructure if it is to prosper. Given the overwhelmingly rural character of most African countries, the debate should therefore concentrate on the *transformation of the state (and its bureaucracy), and not just its withdrawal.* Just leaving the peasants on their own, after a long phase of harassing them, would be a grave error. Africa therefore, as well as probably Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself, need a fuller and more exhaustive debate on this. Relatively successful eco-

nomic experience in East Asia (although partially derived from exploiting the Cold War) point to the fact that the state needs to promote and encourage exports while at the same time actively protecting local markets. Market and planning is not the dichotomy it is often presented as. But of course all attempts at the economic and democratic transformation of the state can only succeed if the antagonism between ethnicity and the modern territorial state is reconciled. "Growth with equity" must not necessarily remain an illusion, given properly functioning local markets, decentralization and intelligent state intervention. This includes firm support and economic freedom of peasants, which – like other social strata – should not only be given freedom of expression but also institutionalized guarantees in the central state decision making process. This is no easy reform task for an urban élite, which tenden to believe, that its formal qualifications empowers it to decide what has to be done for backward and illiterate peasants. In the past African governments tried to promote agrarian development, either through nationalized farms, collectivization and nationally operated collectives (in countries with a socialist orientation) or through agro-business jointly managed by state and multinational companies (in countries with a capitalist orientation). The continent's economies did not prosper under these two models. Nationalized farms turned into unproductive capital mongers while agro-business did not care much for the needs of the indigenous population.

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ASPECT OF THEATRICAL CIRCULARITY IN WALE OGUNYEMI'S DRAMATURGY

Dele LAYIWOLA, Ibadan

Theatrical circularity must continually evolve their own rules as occasion demands. The inherent pointer to continuous motion in idea and in production may take on carnival dimensions in idea and in the practice of festival dramas. The response and resolution of this conflict in craft has been tackled in African theatrical traditions as the adoption of the total theatrical technique.

If we agree that much of indigenous African theatre is sophisticated residuums of myth, ritual and folklore, then there is every need to ponder whether this is not the reason that those dramas reach out with such festival appeal and fervor. If a theatre can touch the soul of a people like a ritual moment, it stays in their consciousness like an existential knot. Each recurrence of such a moment evokes at one time a beginning of life and at the same time its end or renewal. This inevitably portends a philosophy that is inherently circular; that mobius strip of existence. This invents a certain similarity with the discussions of August Strindberg on modern drama and modern theatre:

> In the new naturalistic drama a striving for the significant motif was felt at once. Therefore, the action was usually centered around life's two poles, life and death, the act of birth and the act of death, the fight for the spouse, for the means of subsistence, for honor, all these struggles – with their battlefields, cries of woe, wounded and dead – during which one heard the new philosophy of life conceived as a struggle...
>
> [Strindberg 1961: 19]

These tendencies which we have aptly described as 'existential' above are copiously illustrated in two life dramas of Wale Ogunyemi: *Langbodo* (1979) and *Eniyan* (1987).

Langbodo is a play of quest, the epic dimensions of which are obtained in the search of a human community for certain age-old ideals. As the king of the fictional town (presently transposed to Nigeria) explained to the hero, Akara Oogun:

> Akara Oogun, my son.
> I have a mission to request of you,

89

a most important one. And before I even
tell you what it is, I must ask you:
Will you perform this task for you?
My child, you are aware that there is
nothing on earth which surpasses well-being?
And do you realise that there is nothing
more deserving of honour than serving one's country?
These two objectives have greater value than gold
and silver, and it is on their account
that I have to send you on this errand.
Before my father died, he was fond of
telling me about the king of a certain land
which is approached by the same route as
leads to the Forest of a Thousand Daemons.
The name of this place is Mount Langbodo.
My father said that the king of this place
had a singular object which he presented to
hunters who visited him there.
My father never mentioned the object by name,
but he did say that if this object came into the
hand of any king, that king's domain would be
spared the horrors of war, disease and famine such
as we have known for so long and it would win an
abundance of peace and well-being; its fame
resounding to every corner upon earth.

<div align="right">(pp. 5–6)</div>

The pivot of the play, after the versions of Fagunwa and Soyinka (1982),
swings around the phenomenon of nationalism based on multiple herohood.
The roll call of questers (represented as hunters) as in Aramanda Okunrin,
Kako, Ẹfo-Iyẹ, Elegbede Ọdẹ, Olohun Iyọ, Imọdoye and others, represent the
subsumption of certain ideal qualities which work together to make a well-
rounded man. The forest of a thousand daemons is none other than the forest
of life, and the various encounters are the daily travails of life. The play
adopts nationalism as an overriding ideology but it raises the vexed questions
of whether society must not first exclude vice to be able to foster that ideo-
logy. This seems to be the point of the First Medium, a shadowy antagonist to
the venture:

> Fools! Fools all! For accepting such a risky assignment. I can understand a
> duck falling down beside his dead mate and dying in sympathy; that is loy-
> alty to the point of death. I also can understand a viper laying down her life
> for her children, for assuredly she knows her children will not renounce her
> in the end and take after lizards – that is honesty and trust. *But if it comes to*
> *suffering for a country full of rogues and dishonest people, count me out!*
> *I said count me out!*

<div align="right">(my emphasis, pp. 17–18)</div>

Ogunyemi realizes that the conflict of drama thrives on balancing the Manichean halves of the idea of good and ill, or life and death, and resolves it by emphasizing that positive attitudes are supreme. Good must cohabit with vice or evil but it will in time overcome that darker half. Vanity, in all its forms, must cohabit so that life and living may be balanced and complete.

This moral insistence in the content of the play is balanced by an even conception of form as circularity. The cosmos is conceived as moments of circular motions which resolve tilting polarities of conflict. It is for this reason that this play is conceived as a dance event, at other times, brothing into the dimensions of a carnival. For though *Langbodo*, and another morality play of Ogunyemi, *Eniyan* (1987) are linear quests, and take into consideration the concept of straight, two-dimensional time, they attain the level of mythical, cyclic, atemporal constructs. The Dance thereby becomes an image for conscious and superconscious explorations of political as well as cosmic boundaries. Therein men dance, birds dance and time dances. The cyclicity with which it presents its motif is reflected in the prefatory note of the author as he takes the play round and round the geographical diversity as well as boundaries of Nigeria:

> I wrote this play drawing much from the diverse cultures of Nigeria. It starts with Oyo State as a springboard catapulting the sojourners to Anambra State and from there to the North, Coming down to the Rivers, leading them to Bendel via Cross Rivers only to be super-imposed upon by Oyo, the initial starting point.
>
> [Prefatory notes]

And to usher in the dream and dance sequences music, the interpretive medium and prompter of the Dance, is brought to bear heavily on the play. This is why in what appears to be the prologue of the play, Old Akara Oogun prepares our mind:

> Our story tonight is a veritable Ogidigbo, it is I who will drum it, and you the wise heads who will interpret it. But I do not want you to dance to my drumming as a mosquito to the deep sounding drums, its legs twitching haphazardly, at loggerheads with the drum. For a start, if you want this dance to be a success, here are two things I must request of you...
>
> (p. 1)

Therein is the difference to be observed between *Langbodo* and *Eniyan*. While *Langbodo*, from the passage we have just cited above, reflects the tendency of a communal aspiration towards a goal, *Eniyan* projects the inklings and misapplication of an individual psyche on its goals towards self accomplishment. The tone of Old Akara Oogun is cautious, that of Eniyan is full of swagger:

91

Eniyan is my name,
A man of this world,
A man like yourself,
A man in no way different from others
I am rich, I am wealthy,
I am bountifully blessed
With all the pleasures of this world
I am happy as happy can be
For I have everything at my beck and call
Abundant, and self-sufficient.

(pp. 1-2)

Eniyan, an adaptation of the medieval 'Everyman' indeed has wealth and influence and his retinue consists of such character stock and types as: Wealth, Goods, Knowledge, Beauty, Strength; and in the neutral wings character, Confession, Poverty, and, of course, Death. In his self-centredness, Eniyan attenuates the potentials of the first group of characters, and thereby incurs the sanctions of the second group.

Both *Langbodo* and *Eniyan* have a deeply pervasive measure of Naturalism wherein lies the penchant for a significant motif or an ideal. Here is the scientific evaluation of environment and other natural or incidental factors on the outcome and tendencies of man and event. There is a near-mechanical determinism on the plot and action of the characters, and they act in ways in which the end of the play is almost predictable and fixed. Usually, the cyclicity which we discussed earlier brings the swing of events right round to where they first began. Ogunyemi's plays are character-centred in their emphases and these breed the moral insistence of his art and his adoptive ideologies as we have elsewhere observed (Layiwola, 1985:53).

All the stock characters in *Eniyan* represent moral traits in content and they affect the life of man in one long, linear purview. In technique and characterization each of them, at the first call, exhibits a theme dance characteristic of its nature or intent in the play. The playwright notes, for instance, that Agbara (strength) 'does a muscular dance' (p.3), and Death (iku) 'does a sinister dance movement on the platform.' Equally, Beauty does a leisurely dance (p. 9), and Eniyan, the prodigal and Spendthrift is almost always involved in mindless dances.

Quite apart from the fact that these two plays are among the most lyrical in Ogunyemi's repertory, his plastic medium is that of the dance (Layiwola, 1985:53), and they give his theatre the robust characteristic of festival dramas. For him, the spectacle and the dance constitute the mediums in which the spice of the theatre are most memorably codified; and in this regard, he has been more influenced by the dramaturgy of Duro Ladipọ and Wọle Ṣoyinka. Even more so by the latter, for Soyinka's *A Dance of the Forests* (1960, 1973); 1–77) represents symbolically as dance man's existential preoccupation from age to age. Much of indigenous African theatre is ladden with an overwhelming surfeit of dance and ritual festivity, and for that reason portrays a

certain inherent circularity as of ebb and flow, life and death, and the lush and dry of the seasons. Whilst Soyinka does an intellectual structuration of this phenomenon, Ogunyemi probes its theatrical potentials whereby his plays ramify as an eternal dance movement around the altar of ideals. A comparison of the stage notes that conclude *A Dance of the Forests* and *Eniyan* will more than illustrate this matter. The protagonist, Demoke, has come to the end of his 'dance':

> Demoke gets wearier and wearier, begins to sag. At every falter the jesters move towards him to snatch their quarry but he recovers... Demoke sags to his knees, the Dead Woman runs to him, snatches the falling Half-Child and is swallowed by the forest. Demoke collapses on the ground. It is now fully dawn.
>
> (1973: 76–77)

And Eniyan:

> 'Iku' and 'Iwa' support Eniyan on either side and bring him onto the plat-form. The high seat screen opens shortly. Eniyan breaks into a song of pity... Crash of cymbals and immediately the expanse screen closes and the high seat screen follows to another crash of cymbals. The gateway slowly swallows Eniyan beneath all. The dirge is taken over by the drummers as lights slowly go out.
>
> (pp. 45–47)

The preoccupation with the principle of circularity as we have describe above is therefore a preoccupation with the very basic of motion and kinetic interchange in all that constitutes the art of the theatre. And what constitutes the art of the theatre? If we are to go by the outline of Gordon Craig, these consists of action as the spirit of acting; words as the body of the play; line and colour, which are the very heart of the scene; and rhythm, which is the essence of dance and movement (Cole and Chinoy, 1963: 147–8). Outside of Craig's nomenclature we can only remember to add music or tone which he possibly subsumes under rhythm.

The implication of technique on the production of African festival dramas in the bouyant arena of play brings to our discussions the production theory of George II, the Duke of Saxe- Meiningen. It will be recalled that we have in the foregoing discussions implied that there is a general tendency for certain African plays to make do with crowd scenes and groups in the same style as festivals do. We also implied that there is the tendency, in this regard, for a certain measure of circular or recurrent motion in general and specific move-ments. Even an insistent leitmotif is a national adaptation of this circular ten-dency. The advantage of this technique, when movement is mastered, is le-gion. But when it is mishandled, it could lead to stiff, boring effects where 'circular' motion could degenerate into monotony and rowdiness. The char-acters become shiftless and undefined, lost in the crowd and flat.

George II, Duke of Saxe-Meiningen has written thus:

> In composing a stage effect, it is important to keep the middle of the picture from being congruent with the middle of the stage. If one follows the geometric principle of the golden mean, the stage divides into two even parts, which is likely to lead to monotony in the distribution and grouping. Assimilation in the total picture becomes more or less symmetrical, creating a wooden, stiff and boring impression...
>
> The exception proves the rule; the grouping of the principal figure – or the principal mass of figures – in the center can work out if the neighbouring figures or groups are placed on the side at more or less regular intervals. It can create a happy artistic effect, particularly if a powerfully exalted mood is desired. But the stage must always depict movement, the continuous unfolding of a story. That is why this method is to be generally avoided, as it creates a lifeless effect and holds up the action.
>
> (Cole and Chinoy 1963: 81).

The general admonition of George II is to avoid any kind of uniformity or recurrence that would indulge monotony or symmetry. In other words, group presentation on stage must always 'divide up' the space or deconstruct the space of which it forms a part. In such plays as *Langbodo* or *Eniyan* with large groups and scenes of circular motion in projection, movement and dance, the circularity must be re-defined or systematically broken to avoid symmetry and monotony. There is no gain saying the fact that Saxe-Meiningen's rule is of great import to the festival dramas and dances of African playwrights of Ogunyemi's plays are a veritable part (cf. Layiwola 1985, 1988)

By way of conclusion, we can thereby affirm that theatrical circularity, as a method, must continually evolve their own rules as occasion demands. The inherent pointer to continuous motion in idea and in production sometimes takes on carnival dimensions in idea and in the practice of festival dramas, The response and resolution of this conflict in craft has been tackled in African theatrical traditions as the adoption of the total theatre technique. The stage or arena is charged with the total arsenal of forms in dance, mime, procession, music, tone, colour (or costume), and at times the plastic medium of masks.

On the modern stage, African ritual and festival plays cannot go on for days on end as in the folk arena, but when it curtails itself to an idle hour or two in the confines of an auditorium, those variety of forms in the total theatre technique are discharged against the consciousness of its receptive audience. And like all true theatre experiences, the inculcation is full and the awareness is total. The audience has been taken through a ritual, and it is never the same again. Neither is one production in space or time the same as another in the same or a different location or season.

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BOOK REVIEWS

LUCY, John A.: *Language Diversity and Thought. A Reformulation of the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis.* Cambridge – New York, Cambridge University Press 1992. 328 pp. ISBN 0 521 38797 3.

Lucy's publication reflects the reviving interest of the linguistic community in the theory of linguistic relativity. There are few such theories or hypotheses that would so persistently attract the attention of linguists in the twentieth century. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis was repeatedly rejected, accepted or modified but usually on aprioristic grounds because so far no linguist has been able to amass such an amount of primary data from various languages and cultures that would render any conclusions on the subject irrevocable. And Lucy's book is another demonstration of this state of affairs. The author asks why there has been so little fruitful empirical research and discusses several relevant attempts to solve the issue. His book concentrates mainly on the twentieth-century research in the United States in a historical perspective. The recent rise of interest in the hypothesis of relativity should be viewed as a part of the overall departure from formal issues accompanying the growing recognition of semiotic and communicative aspects of language. Likewise linguistics is viewed more than ever as one of the social and behavioural disciplines.

The theory of linguistic relativity is difficult to either prove or disprove also because this can only be achieved upon an interdisciplinary basis and any scholar trying to contribute to the solution of this question should also have knowledge other than strictly linguistic, namely experience in anthropological fieldwork and cognitive psychology (cf. p. 3). Besides, the relation of language and thought implies more general problems of the relation of individual and society (p. 5).

John Lucy focuses on the influence of linguistic diversity, cross-language variation in formal structure, on speakers' habitual cognitive responses to the world, on the influence of language on thought and not, for the most part, on the influence of thought on language. It ought to be underlined that the focus is on the formal structuring of meaning in language and, what is very important, on habitual thought, i.e., on everyday, routine ways of categorizing experience (p. 7).

In Chapter 1 (pp. 11–24) the formation of the hypothesis of relativity is discussed, especially in the work of the anthropologist Franz Boas and of the linguist Edward Sapir. The personality of Franz Boas represents a link joining

American research with the European, especially German research tradition (Boas was educated in Germany) but Benjamin Lee Whorf may be said to be a purely American phenomenon. His work is explained and characterized in Chapter 2 (pp. 25–68). This is very useful because Whorf's ideas are sometimes misinterpreted or even distorted.

Chapters 3 to 6 furnish a survey of the empirical research into the ideas of linguistic relativity by anthropological linguists and psycholinguists. Chapter 3 (pp. 69–83) characterizes the traditional approach within anthropological linguistics (Dorothy D. Lee, Madeleine Mathiot and Harry Hoijer) that views language as a direct reflection or parallel of culture. Chapter 4 (pp. 84–126) outlines recent advances in the ways of comparing diversity of classifications across languages; the scholars have emphasized the functional diversity of both inter- and intralinguistic nature as well as the differential awareness of the various language categories. This helps to shed light upon another aspect of the problem of linguistic relativity. One of the promising areas is the comparative study of related languages spoken by divergent cultural groups and diverse languages spoken by similar cultural groups (p. 85). Neither can the study of typological peculiarities and of universal features be ignored. Chapter 5 (pp. 127–187) pays attention to the dominant approach within psycholinguistics. The author evaluates Eric H. Lenneberg's critique of Whorf and finds his approach unsatisfactory. Lenneberg emphasized cognitive process rather than conceptual content, cognitive potential rather than habitual thought (p. 135). Another remarkable issue discussed by John Lucy is that of articulation of the colour spectrum. Chapter 6 (pp. 188–256) reviews the work in psycholinguistics directly concerned with the issue of relativity (cross-linguistic comparison of gramatical differences, parts of speech, classifiers, differences in counterfactual reasoning and its consequences, generic statements, entification of properties and actions, of conditions and events). Chapter 7 (pp. 257–276) presents a theoretical reformulation which characterizes the issues in contemporary terminology, identifies those elements or aspects which deserve prior attention, and indicates which existing research techniques can be effectively applied to the problem.

The publication includes Notes (pp. 277–307), References (pp. 308–321), and an Index (pp. 322–328).

Lucy's interesting publication leaves open the central question, namely, whether the linguistic relativity hypothesis is plausible or not. The reply is obviously positive, at least to some extent. An analogous problem is known from exact sciences and it can be reduced to the question whether the instrument can influence the results of an experiment. It can, obviously, and yet this does not render cognition worthless – simply because the experimenter is well aware of such influence and can take it into account.

Viktor Krupa

HŘEBÍČEK, L.: *Text in Communication: Supra-Sentence Structures*. Bochum, Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer 1992. 115 pp.

The development from investigating a sentence to that of text may be characterized as a transition from a sentence-investigating syntax to a supra-sentence syntax which examines the modes and means of linking sentences, and finally, to textual linguistics analysing the text as a whole. If investigation of sentence linkage, of relationships primarily between two adjacent sentences is characteristic of a supra-sentence syntax, then textual linguistics derives from the text as a holistic structure and also investigates relationships between non-adjacent sentences, too.

Here, L. Hřebíček clearly sides with the holistic premise: he understands text as a whole made up of more or less manifestly divisible elements. In other words, text is to him a structure characterized by its constituents. In his analysis he indicates two possible approaches: from structure to constituents, and vice versa, from constituents to structure. In this connection he refers to B. Mandelbrot's fractional geometry where the author starts from parts, however, he does not elaborate this viewpoint in any detail. Personally, he evidently prefers the view from the whole to the parts.

From this aspect, he devotes most attention to two phenomena existing and detectable in the text as a whole, viz. references and aggregations. Both these phenomena are based on word relationships in the text and sentence. However, while reference involves the use of different words (but possibly also congruent ones) for denoting the same referent, aggregation implies the incidence of the same word in different sentences.

When investigating references, L. Hřebíček starts from the trivial values n = length of text in a number of words, k = length of text in a number of sentences and v = number of lexical units; to these he adds the interesting syntactic characteristic S expressing the number of paths in a diagram with a single peak (a verb), or to be exact, the sum of these values in the various sentences. In tables 1 – 11 he then lists the cumulative values (also adding, of course, the number of references z) and compares the expected and the observed values of this z.

L. Hřebíček also starts from similar basic values when investigating aggregations. In tables 14 – 24 he presents values of vehicle aggregations, but gives the following characteristics: x = length of aggregation in a number of sentences, g = number of aggregations of a given length, w = sum of words in aggregations, as also the level of difference. Finally, in tables 25 – 35, he lists the values of observed and expected sign aggregations. It should be observed that the difference between vehicle and sign aggregations is far from clear: on page 13 the author merely states that interpretation in the given study is investigated at the elementary level of lexical vehicles.

In all his explications the author lays stress on the usefulness of the Menzerath-Altmann law, based on the relationship among the formal values of a

text. As has already been noted, these values are trivial on the whole. In addition, they make no account of meanings (lexies) of the determined words or of the synonymy-hyponymy relations. And this in fact raises the question as to whether these data are sufficient for formulating such far-reaching conclusions, if being known that text coherence, the relationships among its sentences are in fact based on meaningful values.

As to the Menzerath-Altmann law, it should be incidentally observed that Altmann starts from Menzerath's finding of a shortening of vowel length in dependence on the investigated higher formations and passes on – not quite legitimately – from data in the domain of vowel realization to those of sign units. And the latter are not abbreviated in their duration according to whether they are in a longer or a shorter linear formation. After all, ideal objects, such as phoneme and sign have no temporal dimension. True, in the domain of phonology one may find that a certain long vowel is realized in a shorter time within a longer linear series, but that does not alter anything of the distinctive values of the quantitative sign: a long $\acute{a}$ in Slovak possesses a distinctive value against its short counterpart a, regardless of the length of its sonic realization in milliseconds.

In contrast to textual references, a research of aggregations is solely concerned with identical words in different texts and the sets of sentences thus formed are understood as text constituents, that is, as structural constituents. Nonetheless, it should be observed that semantic relationships are also realized in cases where words with a close meaning or the same referent occur in sentences. Some investigators (e.g. E.F. Skorokhodko) set up so-called *sgustki* (clusters) that come very close to Hřebíček's aggregations.

Studies with precisely such an orientation permit one to deduce that between a sentence and a text there exists not merely a level of aggregations, but likewise one of clusters or of categories of expression in terms of F. Miko's theory, or that the text is made up of clusters, clusters are made up of aggregations and aggregations of sentences. This, however, goes to weaken Hřebíček's assumption that aggregations (it is not clear whether vehicle or sign aggregation are meant) constitute a specific linguistic level between sentence and text, or a specific level alongside that of text (on p. 77 the author speaks of adjacent levels). It is, however, doubtful whether a text may be taken as a specific level, seeing the difficulty in disengaging the basic characteristic at every level, a specific unit (e.g. a texteme) and its relation to lower units. And it would be even more arduous to set apart such a unit on the level of aggregations (aggregeme). The consequences inferred from the Menzerath-Altmann law to justify this level fail to be convincing enough precisely when confronted with facts.

Indeed, if the relevant law says that the longer the structure, the shorter are its constituents, that would mean that aggregations would be shorter in longer texts, this shortening being perhaps measured by the number of sentences included in them. But then it would also mean that the longer the aggregation,

the shorter are the sentences represented in it, the aggregation being made up of sentences in which the same word occurs.

L. Hřebíček naturally explains his understanding of the basic words in the introductory chapters – such as communication, expectation, memory, sign. With regard to interpretation he rightly remarks that diverse interpreters may put a different interpretation on one and the same phenomenon and it would consequently be proper to have a larger number of such interpreters, but he considers himself to be an adequate interpeter. Interpetation as such, however, can hardly be based uniquely on memory to which Hřebíček ascribes an unduly important role. He even goes so far as to assume the text to be an output of individual memory and the text an approximate image of memory structure (p. 16), thereby ascribing a certain static nature to memory. However, memory is but one of the components of human consciousness and many of the attributes he ascribes to memory are in fact elements of the linguistic consciousness. Stored in this linguistic consciousness are not merely linguistic facts and rules how to deal with them, but likewise notions on facts. And the interpreter draws precisely on them when decoding or interpreting sentences or entire texts. It should, of course, be assumed that linguistic consciousness is, to a large extent, socialized and that precisely this fact permits text comprehension.

In any case, Hřebíček's monograph constitutes an important contribution to our knowledge of text structure and to the methodology of its investigation.

Ján Horecký

BRUNO, Sabine – SCHADE, Anette: *Fiji, Samoa, Tonga.* München, Verlag C. H. Beck 1993. 160 pp. ISBN 3 406 351 751.,

This publication is a handbook intended for lay readers planning to visit the South Seas. The ambition of the authors, two anthropologists specializing in the Pacific studies, is to give such characteristics of the islands that are realistic and free of any distorting stereotypes, without denying the natural beauties of the Pacific insular world.

The two authors have restricted their attention to four neighbouring countries of the southwestern part of Oceania, i.e. Fiji, Tonga, West Samoa, and American Samoa, that occupy three archipelagoes – Fiji, Tonga and Samoa.

In five sections, the book deals with the nature and ecology (pp. 11–21), culture and inhabitants (pp. 22–61), policy and tradition (pp. 62–87), economics in strenuous circumstances (pp. 88–113), and changing social structures (pp. 114–136).

Section I contains a survey of information on nature including climate and weather which are of a considerable practical use for any visitor to the islands. The authors are conscious of ecological risks threatening life in the Pa-

cific and their efforts to turn the attention of the readers to this fact is no doubt praiseworthy.

An essential component of the ambient is the population of the islands and their distinctive culture. Information on the peopling of the southwestern Pacific is based upon publications by Peter Bellwood and Gerd Koch. The readers can learn something about Lapita pottery, seafaring qualities of the first settlers just as well about the complicated ethnic and linguistic situation of the area. All the four countries have one thing in common: their political structure is closely linked to kinship organization and tradition. The kinship systems are described separately for each archipelago, which is inevitable, despite quite a few shared features. Fiji, Samoa and to a much greater extent Tonga, are countries with a highly modest acreage of agricultural land and one can hardly object to protective measures that restrict the possibility of selling land to foreigners. The missionary activities, the original native religion and present-day religious situation are described as factor of intercultural communication and contact going on since nearly two centuries.

The colonization of the islands has led to a variety of problems, some of them really intricate (e.g. ethnic problems in Fiji) and nowadays there are two independent British Commonwealth states in the area (West Samoa and Tonga), one independent republic (Fiji, since 1987) and an "unincorporated and unorganized territory" of USA (American Samoa).

In political respect, all the four countries share quite a few common features, such as a high measure of conservatism in social structure and internal policy, adherence to traditional values, an increasing inclination to political changes in the direction of democratization, and a tendency to the coordination of their foreign policy as well as to their mutual cooperation.

The economic situation is described as difficult and the hope of its fast improvement poor. Under these circumstances the continuous migration of a substantial percentage to New Zealand and USA is a matter of necessity. The westernization of the society inevitably leads to the gradual decay of kin solidarity and the welfare of the group is losing its decisive importance, being replaced by individual affluence and success. The social conflicts are to be blamed for rising criminality, alcoholism, and urbanization. Some of these factors explain the ever greater fascination of sectarian movements, especially with the young generation.

The publication is complemented with a chronological table (pp. 137–142), practical information for visitors (pp. 142–143), a survey of the particular countries (pp. 143–145), a glossary of Polynesian and Fijian words and expressions (pp. 145–146), a list of literature (pp. 146–149), a register (pp. 150–154), and five maps (pp. 155–158).

The book may be recommended to all future visitors as well as to other readers interesting to acquire some basic information on these four states of the southwestern Pacific.

Viktor Krupa

XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 16. bis 20. September 1985 in Würz-burg. Ausgewählte Vorträge. Hrsg. von Einar von Schuler. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH 1989. 717 S.
XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 26. bis 30. September 1988 in Köln. Ausgewählte Vorträge. Hrsg. von Werner Diem und Abdoldjavad Falaturi. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1990. 611 S.

Die besprochenen Publikationen bilden die Supplementa VII und VIII der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, die im Jahr 1995 das 150. Jubiläum ihrer Gründung feiert. Die einzelnen Tagungen dieser Gesellschaft werden in den letzten Nachkriegsjahren alle drei Jahre abgehal-ten, wobei hier einige hundert Orientalisten zusammentreffen und zwar nicht nur aus Deutschland, sondern auch aus dem Ausland, die ein Fünftel bis ein Viertel sämtlicher Teilnehmer bilden. So werden diese Treffen in einem ge-wissen Maß auch zu bedeutenden internationalen Veranstaltungen, zur Gele-genheit für ein gegenseitiges Kennenlernen aber auch für wissenschaftliche Bereicherung.

In ihrer Organisation ähneln die einzelnen Deutschen Orientalistentagungen einander. Dies rührt, natürlich, von der gänzlichen Organisiertheit des deutschen wissenschaftlichen Lebens und von den Äußerungen dessen Tätig-keit auf dem Gebiet der Orientalistik her. Konkret ist dies aus den Arbeiten der einzelnen Sektionen ersichtlich, die die Altorientalistik und Semitistik, beziehungsweise Bibel und Judaistik, dann Christlicher Orient und Byzanz umfassen; traditionsgemäß stark ist der islamische Orient, die Turkologie, Iranistik, Indologie, etwas weniger schon (so war dies zumindest am XXIV. Deutschen Orientalistentag) die Ostasienwissenschaften vertreten, andererseits waren wieder auf beiden Tagungen Südostasien, der Pazifische Raum und letztlich die Kunst und Archäologie gleichmäßig vertreten.

Beide Tagungen wurden von Prof. Lothar Ledderose, dem ersten vorsit-zenden der DMG geleitet, der ein weltbekannter Fachmann für die traditio-nelle chinesische Kunst ist. Seine Anwesenheit und sein Wirken widerspiegel-ten sich anscheinend auf der Auswahl der wissenschaftlichen Festvorträge; in Würzburg war dies der Beitrag von Wolfgang Bauer (München) mit dem Titel *Gesicht hinter verlorenem Gesicht. Selbstbekenntnis und Selbsterkenntnis in China,* mit dem sich die Leser der besprochenen Publikationen jedoch nicht bekannt machen können, und in Köln war es der Beitrag von Eleanor von Erdberg (Aachen): *Die Ferne im Landschaftsbild Ostasiens,* den ich auf eigene Ohren hören und dessen visuelle Proben, die damit verbunden waren, mit eigenen Augen sehen konnte. Dieser Beitrag gehört zum Besten, das auf der Kölner Konferenz vorgetragen wurde.

Sollten die Materialien aus ähnlichen Konferenzen gerecht bewertet wer-den, müßte diese Arbeit ein Stab von Rezensenten vollbringen. Die Kentnisse und der Horizont auch des besten Fachmannes sind in der gegenwärtigen wissenschaftlichen Welt dermaßen begrenzt, daß er bei der Bewältigung einer solchen Aufgabe nichts anderes tun kann, als sich auf jene Referate zu kon-

zentrieren, die ihn interessierten, oder aber lediglich mehr oder weniger eine Liste der einzelnen Beiträge zusammenzustellen. Ich möchte hier nur jene Er- wähnen, die mich beim Lesen besonders angezogen haben.

Es war z.B. der Beitrag *Die biblische Geschichtsschreibung im Lichte der Altorientalischen Geschichtsschreibung* von Henri Cazelles (Paris). Als euro- päischen Leser der Bibel hat mich überrascht, daß die Existenz der biblischen Könige David und Salomo, die zu den bekanntesten Gestalten der biblischen Geschichte gehören, durch keinerlei außerbiblische Quellen (S. 39) belegt ist oder daß die „Periode des Exodus ihren Platz wohl unter der 19. Dynastie haben dürfte" (S. 40), obwohl es den Anschein hat, daß dies während der sog. Hyksoszeit (17.-16. Jahrhundert) hätte sein sollen (ibid.). Auch eine andere Anmerkung ist erwähnenswert und zwar daß „die Bibel sich nicht in einem Ghetto entwickelt hat, sondern in einer Auseinandersetzung mit den großen religiösen Kulturen ihrer Zeit" und daß sie „anfing in einer mythischen Zeit mit einer dynastischen Regierungsform, um in einer rational hellenistischen Welt zu Ende zu kommen, die durch einen Imperator im Namen des jus roma- num regiert wurde" (S. 42). Der Sinolog kann die Anmerkung nicht über- sehen, die ihn an eine Ähnlichkeit (wenn auch keine Identität) zwischen der Konfuzianischen Idee des *t'ien-ming* (des himmlischen Mandats) in China und der Idee der königlichen Macht im Alten Orient erinnert. Durch „die Königs- riten, die Salbung eingegriffen, verleiht der Gott dem Erwählten eine über- menschliche Kraft, in Israel durch die göttliche ruaḥ (1 Sam 8-11; 16-17), die es ihm ermöglicht, über die Feinde nach außen zu siegen und im Inneren den Frieden zu sichern" (S. 44).

Für jene, die an der großen, wenn auch widerspruchsvollen Gestalt Nietzsches interessiert sind, kann das Lesen des Referats von Annemarie Etter (München) *Die angeblichen Manu-Zitate bei Nietzsche und deren Quellen*, eine gute Belehrung bedeuten. Zu seinem Lebensende schrieb Nietzsche zwei seiner problematischsten Werke: *Götzendämmerung oder wie man mit dem Hammer philosophiert* und *Der Antichrist. Die Umwertung aller Werte*. Ob- wohl man schon seit langem wußte, daß die Manu-Zitate bei Nietzsche sehr zweifelhaft waren, und daß sich seine Kenntnisse auf das Buch *Les legisla- teurs religieux, Manou, Moïse, Mahomet* von Louis Jacolliot aus dem Jahre 1876 stützten, scheint es, daß erst in diesem Beitrag auf die Absurdität nicht nur der Ansichten von Jacolliot, sondern auch Nietzsches, was die Juden und die christliche Denkweise betreffen, hingewiesen wurde.

Im Kölner Sammelband haben mich beide allgemeine Vorträge gefesselt. Jener, den Eleanor von Edberg vorgetragen hatte und den ich bereits oben erwähnte, und der zweite, der der Feder W. Montgomery Watt (Edinburgh) entstammt, *The Self-Image of Islam – Myth and Reality* heißt und Resumee des Buches *Islamic Fundamentalism and Modernity*, Routledge 1988 darstellt, ist ein Versuch um die Anatomie des alten und zeitgenössischen Islam und weist auf jene Probleme hin, die mit den Versuchen um dessen jetzige Renaissance verbunden sind. Dieses „self-image" wird von vier allgegenwärtigen Aspekten gekennzeichnet, die dann zur Quelle diverser Schwierigkeitsgrade bei dessen

Durchsetzung in die breite politische und geschichtliche Praxis im internationalen Maßstab wurden: „unchangingness, finality, self-sufficiency, historical idealisation" (S. 20).

In der Sektion Arabistik verdienen zwei Referate komparatistischer Einstellung Aufmerksamkeit: *Imitations of Arabic in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry* von Arie Schippers (Amsterdam) und *Gazal und höfische Liebe* von Susanne Enderwitz (Berlin). Die andalusische Literatur war wohl die bedeutendste jener mittelalterlichen Literaturen, die an der Grenze der arabischen und der spanischen Welt entstanden. Schippers Beitrag beweist, daß auch die hebräische Komponente in dieser Literatur stark war, sogar so, daß sie bei der Benützung der hebräischen Sprache arabische Gedanken zum Ausdruck brachte (S. 163), was bei den Angehörigen des jüdischen Volkes recht außergewöhnlich war. Viel überraschender, zumindest für mich, ist die Behauptung, mit der der zweite Beitrag beginnt und der die Arbeit von Leo Pallmann zitiert: *Die Liebe in der hochmittelalterlichen Literatur Frankreichs. Versuch einer historischen Phänomenologie*, Frankfurt/M, 1966: „Die höfische Liebe bei den Trobadors steht, amortheoretisch gesehen, wie eine außerabendländische Enklave im Raum des Okzidents", wobei „man auf der Suche nach nichteuropäischen Vorbildern auf die ungefähr dreihundert Jahre ältere arabische Dichtung stieß" (S. 174). Auch wenn zwischen diesen dichterischen Gattungen bestimmt bedeutende Unterschiede bestehen (es kann dem in der normalen Entwicklung des zwischenliterarischen Prozesses gar nicht anders sein), ist dieses Referat ein bedeutender Beitrag zur Erkenntnis der möglichen genetischen und ganz gewiß auch typologischen Beziehungen zwischen den mittelalterlichen Literaturen.

Im Beitrag von Adele Schlombs (Heidelberg, jezt Köln), betitelt *Die „Wilde Konzeptschrift" des Huai-su (725-?). Anspruch und Wirklichkeit künstlerischer Anatomie*, hat mich die tiefe Kenntnis des Problems interessiert, aber auch der Gedanke, der die „Erlebniskunst statt Nachahmungkunst" in den Werken „des Wilden Mönchen" betrifft, die den Gedanken zum Ausdruck bringt, daß „man die Schriftskunst aus sich selbst erlangen müßte (*hsü tzu techih*)" (S. 602), was eigentlich dem modernen Gedanken der Selbstexpressivität in der Literatur und der Kunst entspricht. Dieser Frage widmete sich I. Schäfer (Berlin) in seinem wertvollen Referat *Das dichterische Schaffen und die Veredelung der Gefühle: Über Guo Moruos Beitrag zur literarischen Korrespondenz Sanyeji*.

Es mag ein Zufall sein, vielleicht aber auch nicht, aber die Leser dieser Rezension werden bemerkt haben, daß ein Großteil der hier besprochenen Texte von Ausländern verfaßt wurde. Ich habe diese Auswahl nicht bewußt getroffen. Es mag vielleicht nichts bedeuten, und doch weist es darauf hin, daß die Anwesenheit ausländischer Orientalisten an diesen Begegnungen mit ihren deutschen Kollegen seine guten Gründe hat. Sie ermöglicht wechselseitiges Verständnis und Bereicherung. Die ausländischen Orientalisten leisten dazu ganz gewiß ihren Beitrag.

Marián Gálik

Yazyk ksingmul. Materialy sovetsko-vyetnamskoi lingvisticheskoi ekspeditsii 1979 goda (The Ksingmul Language. Materials of the Soviet-Vietnamese Linguistic Expedition in 1979). Moscow, Nauka 1990. 418 pp.

This is the third publication in the series of materials of the Soviet-Vietnamese linguistic expedition (*Yazyk lakha* – 1986 and *Yazyk myong* – 1987 have appeared to date). The linguistic characteristics of the Ksingmul language were described by T.G. Pogibenko, Bui Khanh The, and the material was editorially prepared by the team of Y.Y. Plam, N.V. Solntseva, V.D. Podberezskaya, T.G. Pogibenko, I.V. Samarina, Ly Toan Thang and E.V. Barinova.

The work is marked by a serious approach. Materials from the field survey, including a thematic glossary and diagnostic grammatical inquiries, are processed on a high professional level. The publication is especially valuable in that it is the very first work in which the linguistic characteristic of the Ksingmul language has been processed on a scholarly basis.

The authors place the Ksingmul language in the Khmu group of the Austro-Asian language family. According to the traditional classification, this then involves a group of "the northern Mon-Khmer languages", or Saluen (Wa-Palaung) languages. The Khmu languages spread across the northern regions of Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, the eastern part of Burma and adjacent areas of China.

According to the results of this field survey (Bui Khanh The) the Ksingmul language has three dialects: za, nget and dong. In the book under review, the Ksingmul language is represented by the za dialect from the settlement Chieng On, district Yen Chau in the Son La (Vietnam) province. Of special interest is the finding that "...the Ksingmuls are gradually becoming trilinguals, using three languages more and more (Ksingmul, Thai, or Laos and Vietnamese – J.M.) with a strictly defined function among them" (p. 11); and that "there are Ksingmuls who are practically ignorant of their own native language and exclusively speak Thai" (ibid.). The Ksingmuls have no written language of their own and in Vietnam, they use Vietnamese Latinized writing. 9,000 is a realistic guess about their number. The survey was carried out by the authors with the co-operation of four local informants.

From the phonological aspect, the authors deal with the syllable, initial and final consonants, vowels, giving a terse characteristic of prosodical markings (of interest is the nazalization of vowels) and variations in presyllables. The lexical area sets off the Austro-Asian stratum (words of a proto-Austro-Asian origin), words taken over from Thai languages and those from Vietnamese. A point is made of the abundant homonymy, polysemy and synonymy. In the area of morphology, besides a classification of parts of speech and their characteristics, the authors also study simple and derived words, affixation and compound words. Strict word order and auxiliary words play a primary role in a syntactic union of words in Ksingmul. The authors analyse various types of verbal connexions, simple and compound sentences.

The supplement carries a map showing the area settled by the Ksingmuls in Vietnam, as well as the transcription employed, and abbreviations.

Thanks to the abundant material collected in the field, the publication is a valuable source of knowledge about the Ksingmul language, as well as helping to resolve certain specific linguistic problems for the whole of Southeast Asia, and questions of general linguistics.

Ján Múčka

DEBON, Günther: *Oscar Wilde und der Taoismus.* Bern – Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang 1986. 161 pp.

The book under review is the second in the series entitled *Euro-Sinica*, edited by Adrian Hsia and an Editorial Board (W. Bauer, G. Debon, C.T. Hsia, E. Kushner, K. Mommsen *et alii*). It comes after the publication *Goethe und China – China und Goethe* (1985), comprising proceedings of a symposium held in Heidelberg (1982) on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Goethe's death. Both volumes are proof of an evident interest in the study of Sino-Western relations in the literary realm.

Oscar Wilde has been repeatedly written about in connection with Taoism. Professor Debon has taken support from Isobel Murray's impressive study entitled *Oscar Wilde's Absorption of 'Influences'. The Case History of Chuang Tzu*, The Durham University Journal, 64, Dec. 1971, 1, and in George Woodcock's book *The Paradox of Oscar Wilde*, New York, The Macmillan Company 1950. On the basis of his own observations and studies, he has written this book, or rather a comprehensive paper, which has appeared in parallel German and English versions.

Since Mr. Debon is an expert on philosophical Taoism, a translator of *Laotse, Tao-Te-king. Das Heilige Buch vom Weg und von der Tugend* (1961), as well as author of works dealing with Chinese literary or art criticism connected with Taoism, at least to a certain extent, the comparative study under review presented no special difficulty to him. His principal source was Wilde's very original and quite extensive review of H.A. Giles' translation *Chuang Tzu: Mystic, Moralist and Social Reformer* (1889), and as to Wilde's own works, Debon analysed the impact of Zhuangzi's ideas on the play *An Ideal Husband*, and the essays entitled *The Critic as Artist* and *The Soul of Man under Socialism*.

Students of comparative literature in East-West literary or philosophical interplay may be grateful to Debon for all this, yet in my view he might have devoted more attention to other works of Oscar Wilde. He would probably have found traces of Taoist impact, adequately adapted and metamorphosed, also e.g. in his *Preface* to *The Picture of Dorian Gray* which originally appeared in the July issue of Lippincott's Monthly Magazine in 1891, about two

years after the first edition of Giles' translation. The same is valid for Wilde's essay *The Decay of Lying*, cf. my analysis in *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*, Bratislava, Veda – London, Curzon Press 1980, pp. 108–109 and in *Yü Ta-fu's anarchistische Vorstellungen im gesellschaftlichen Leben und in der Literatur*, Asiatische Studien, XXIX, 1975, pp. 121–130.

My short review does not intend to detract from the merits of Debon's work. Rather, it is meant as a minor supplement of details. Our views on a common topic need not coincide. Perhaps Oscar Wilde, one of the most successful men of the *fin de siècle*, owes far more to the most poetic among ancient philosophers (i.e. Zhuangzi) than might be judged from the analyses carried out until now. His originality did not suffer in this way, rather the contrary is true.

In recent years Professor Debon has devoted considerable effort mainly to a study of the unknown aspects of genetic-contact relations and structural-typological affinities in Goethe's and Schiller's writings to Chinese literature and culture.

Marián Gálik

HIJIYA-KIRSCHNEREIT, Irmela: *Was heißt: Japanische Literatur verstehen? Zur modernen japanischen Literatur und Literaturkritik*. Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1990. 210 pp.

Only two years after the book *Das Ende der Exotik*, also published by Suhrkamp in 1988, another volume of the well-known German japanologist Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit, now Professor of Japanology at the Free University of Berlin, is available to the German-speaking or –reading public. Similar to the previous volume, the book under review is a selection of her older studies, this time published between 1977–1989.

Being a reader of Mrs. Hijiya-Kirschnereit's works since her debut, published under the title *Kritische Bemerkungen zur japanischen Literaturkritik* in the volume *Ostasienwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Sprache, Literatur, Geschichte, Geistesgeschichte, Wirtschaft, Politik und Geographie*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1974, I dare to say that this volume returns to what is probably the most pressing question in her scholarly work: she examines the question of modern Japanese literature and what methodological means should be used in order to comprehend it in a way compatible with the scholarly spirit. This means without the prejudices connected with a Eurocentric bias or the Japanese stress on "literary scholarship as an art". The second question which is not new in the scholarly work of Mrs. Hijiya-Kirschnereit but is particularly emphasized in the book under review, is intercultural understanding and the comparative approach. She points out in the introduction that her es-

says are the "building blocks for the questions of transcultural understanding" (p. 12).

The work under review consists of the above-mentioned introduction and is followed by an article having the same name as the book itself. Following, there are three sections: East-West Elective Affinities, Tropes and Contexts, and Japanese Discourse on Literature. Here the attentive reader may observe the inverted order, but their importance stays the same.

From the first section the essay entitled *Thomas Manns Novelle Der Tod in Venedig* und *Mishima Yukios Roman Kinjiki – Ein Vergleich* is a fine piece of comparative investigation. It appeared formerly under the title *Thomas Mann's Short Novel "Der Tod in Venedig" and Mishima Yukio's Novel "Kinjiki": A Comparison*, in Ian Nish and Charles Dunn (eds.): *European Studies on Japan*, Tenterden, 1979, but in a much shorter form. Mishima's *Kinjiki* is well-known since the time of its first appearance (1951–1953), but mainly due to its homosexual topic and the satirical delineations of the foreigners. Thanks to this study we know more about the genetic-contact relations between these two great writers. Mishima's *Kinjiki* has been regarded by many as one of his weakest works, and no one devoted the necessary attention to its deeper study. Personally, I think that this essay is too short to show the intraliterary, and especially interliterary, merits of Mishima's novel. I have to say from my sinological experience that interliterary research, if properly done by using all the knowledge at one's disposal, and with the help of adequate methodological instruction enriched with some scholarly imagination, may lead to surprising results. The influence or impact, if adequately understood and explained in a critical essay or scholarly work may lead to quite new and astonishing discoveries.

Next to this essay I would put another one entitled *Abe Kobo und der Nouveau Roman*. This is likewise an interliterary study examining the relationship between Abe's novel *Moetsukita chizu* and Michel Butor's *L'Emploi du Temps*. This study is more detailed than the one analysed above. Both novels are detective stories, both of them describe ugly and inhuman surroundings, loneliness, absurdity, loss of identity and alienation. The indebtedness of Abe to Butor is shown in a quite persuasive way, but because Abe's works are allegedly "unlike anything Japanese writers had produced before him" (p. 75), I suppose that here, too, it would be better to devote more time and space to the interliterary aspects of this and other works of this extraordinary writer.

It is a pity that the essay *Gedanken zum Traditionsbegriff in der modernen japanischen Literatur* is also too short. Tradition is one of the most intriguing but also one of the most difficult problems of the modern Asian and African literatures. Tradition is usually characterized as the historically developed set of customs, rituals, institutions, ideas, ideals, values, etc. transmitted from one generation to another in one ethnocentric situation. Literary tradition is a transposition of literary languages, stylistic and other devices, ideational and aesthetic means from one age or period to another throughout literary history. It is a part of the intraliterary and the interliterary process as well, and pre-

serves the unity of the systemo-structural entity of the individual literature (or literatures) under the study changing it (or them) only towards greater or differentiated creativeness, more perfect or less different expression, which in any case is proof of literary development. As every tradition, the literary one is always a manifestation of a homeostatic adaptability which means that it defends itself against new elements intruding themselves into its systemo-structural arrangements, but it often (although not always) receives and adapts them for its own purposes. Literary tradition and innovation are in a state of interrupted dialectical tension which is a precondition for the continuous and fruitful coexistence of the tradition and innovation. The tradition notwithstanding the apparent inertia facilitates the process of unceasing renovation, reconstruction, continuity, etc. Literature as a systemo-structural formation has always got its prescriptive or norm-setting framework which is changing itself in some way throughout history with the aid of new norms. This is one of the most basic notions of the Prague school of structuralism of which Mrs. Hijiya-Kirschnereit seems to be a follower or at least an attentive reader. Sensitivity, *mono no aware*, awareness of beauty or maybe the vision of beauty are certainly the elements of the Japanese literary tradition. The question is that this tradition is much broader and it is necessary to devote keen attention to its scholarly elucidation. The tradition should always be studied in both intra- and interliterary ways.

Professor Hijiya-Kirschnereit is probably the most severe critic of indigenous Japanese literary criticism among the Euro-American japanologists. *Hermeneutische Unschuld* (hermeneutic innocence) is one of the most used terms in this book which perhaps points out the most basic shortcoming of contemporary Japanese literary scholarship. On the basis of the given evidence we may believe the arguments, but then it is very regrettable that Japanese scholars do not go beyond "powerful word-fetishes with their murky emotional aura and hazy lyrical magic" (p. 170) as has been asserted by Ivan Morris on another occasion. Literary scholarship cannot be only an art, although a particle of art can and should be its part and parcel.

The book under review is a powerful *apologia* of literary scholarship within the interliterary and intraliterary framework of broad intercultural communication. It is likewise a most daring expression of personal belief and a plea for scholarly truth. This work is worthy of our deep interest.

At the end of this review, just two remarks: my critical words should be understood as regret on my part that some essays could not be longer than short sketches; I hope that later they will be elaborated in a more satisfying way. Professor Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit was awarded the Leibniz-Prize for the year 1992 as the first German woman from the humanities, which certainly means a recognition of her meritorious scholarly work.

Marián Gálik

BAUER, Wolfgang, CHANG PENG, LACKNER, Michael (Eds): *Das chinesische Deutschlandbild der Gegenwart. A. Deutsche Kultur, Politik und Wirtschaft im chinesischen Schrifttum 1970–1984. Eine Bibliographie*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH 1989. 1174 pp.

BAUER, Wolfgang, CHANG PENG, LACKNER, Michael (Eds): *Das chinesische Deutschlandbild der Gegenwart. B. Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels im chinesischen Schrifttum 1970–1984. Eine Bibliographie*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH 1989. 853 pp.

The book under review, appearing in two parts, is the work of several experts organized by the Institute for East Asian Studies, University of Munich and is the third of a series to have been published in less than twenty years of research on a project dealing with the influence of German culture on that of China during our century. After very modest beginnings during the school year 1969–70 when, as the holder of the Volkswagen Foundation Fellowship, I initiated this work under the protective wings of Prof. Wolfgang Bauer. Later it was organized much more better, on a broader scale and was at the end rounded off by an outstanding bibliography entitled *German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History. A Bibliography of Chinese Publications (Deutschlands Einfluß auf die moderne chinesische Geistesgeschichte. Eine Bibliographie der chinesischen Werke)*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1982, 580 pp.

While my mimeographed bibliography entitled *Preliminary Research Guide. German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History*. Seminar für Sprache und Kulturwissenschaft, Munich 1971, as also the bibliography by Bauer and Hwang just referred to, appeared in Chinese, German and partly in English, the editors or compilers of the two parts of the bibliography dealt with here, presumably to save space, had evidently in view a predominantly German speaking readership being conscious of the fact principally those conversant with the Chinese language would make use of it. This assumption may certainly have its justification, yet, on the other hand, considering how few sinologists in the West speak or at least read German (and the Chinese characters in this publication are written by hand and are so minute that their reading will prove a laborious task to those with a weaker eyesight), we shall perhaps admit that the use of English would have been a boon.

All the three bibliographies follow a rather broad take of intellectual history (the last two proceed along a practically similar pattern except that one part in the former is concerned with natural sciences and technology, while one part in the latter volume deals with sport). The first two bibliographies endeavoured to enter the names of various libraries in which the book titles are available; the third volume has eschewed this, for of late there are far fewer ghost books thanks to improved communication facilities between the Chinese and the rest of the world also in this domain.

Since, as a sinologist, I am more interested in literature, or in philosophy, I beg leave to make a few remarks relating precisely to these areas. The great-

est number of articles referring to German literature during the period covered by the last bibliography have been written about J.W. Goethe. Of the 121 studies by Chinese authors in the most diverse magazines and journals dealing with Goethe's life and work, 30 analyse his *Faust* from various aspects. *Faust* was often written about in China, although not at any great length, but now, interest in him among Chinese literary scholars has considerably increased. Only 9 studies were written about his novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther* – a substantially smaller figure. Naturally, this involves literary reception which need not act at all on the intracontactual impact, it is, nonetheless, a rather remarkable phenomenon. Up to now, we used to witness something quite different in world sinology. The latter was always more interested in Werther's influence on Chinese literary reality where it found a greater amount of concrete material, than in *Faust's* influence.

A striking growth of interest may be noted in the works of Herman Hesse – while the second volume has only two articles about him, the bibliography under review carries as many as 25 entries. The same, although in a smaller measure, applies to Franz Kafka: the second bibliography has 10 Chinese articles about him, while the third has 28 (all by Chinese authors). This is certainly a fairly high figure seeing that Weiyan Meng in his monograph *Kafka and China*, Munich, Iudicium Verlag 1986, lists a total of 61 Chinese-written units published in the PRC and in Taiwan. This speaks rather well for the work of the Munich-based team.

In the domain of philosophy, G.W.F. Hegel and I. Kant are easily in the lead. Chinese authors have devoted 258 studies to the former and 136 to the latter. Among the more recent authors, K.R. Popper heads the list with 60 titles and is followed by E. Husserl with 31, M. Heidegger with 21 and L. Wittgenstein with 20 studies.

But all this of course fades in comparison with the specific reception of K. Marx and F. Engels. Several thousand bibliographic entries speak for themselves and need no comments. The reader certainly realizes what lies behind such efforts and such a quantity of printers' ink and paper.

All in all, we must admit that the work under review stands for a considerable amount of work by a team of investigators – humble servants of scholarship (let me mention here at least those whom I had the pleasure to meet during the last stages of work in this bibliography in Munich: Stephan von Minden and Astrid Renata Kasten). The work will certainly stand in good stead to all those interested in Sino-German relationships within the various domains of the cultural, but also social and political life.

Nevertheless, despite all those years of work on this project, the whole matter seems to have one *Schönheitsfehler*. That is to say, it would be high time for all-German forces to unite and enfold a purposeful, targeted and systematic work in the study of German-Chinese cultural relations that would ultimately come out in monograph studies, miscellanies, in organizing of conferences and symposia, etc. Much has been done in this respect by the international organization Euro-Sinica under the direction of G. Debon and A. Hsia,

the personal commitments of Prof. Wolfgang Kubin of Bonn; but perhaps the Munich group, too, ought to spare no effort along this line. That would certainly prove a benefit to this issue and would promote a deeper knowledge of relationships in German-Chinese culture.

Marián Gálik

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.

If possible, the contributions should be sent on floppy discs, nonformatted, in ASCII (WP, Win-Word, T602). The authors are requested to give their full name and institutional affiliation. The contributors from abroad should 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.

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

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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

THE BIBLE AND CHINESE LITERATURE AS SEEN FROM THE ANGLE OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION*

Marián GÁLIK, Bratislava

This study concentrates upon the reception of *The Bible* in China from the end of the sixteenth century up to the present, showing the many undesirable misunderstandings and distortions in the new milieu.

The Bible certainly was and still is the most read book in world literature and very probably the one which has had the greatest impact in the last two millennia. In any case this holds for the whole Western Christian world but through the communication channels in the last centuries, *The Bible* has become quite widespread in many different countries of Asian and African continents and elsewhere, being read by the converts and believers in non-Christian religions, and even atheists.

1

A well-known book by Jacques Gernet *China and the Christian Impact* has as its subtitle *A Conflict of Cultures*. Its subject are the last years of the sixteenth and greater part of the seventeeth centuries. As follows from the *Introduction* to this book, if "Christianity found little success in China, if it was the object of violent attacks it could only be for reasons that reflected poorly on the Chinese. Christianity was a religion that changed customs, called into question accepted ideas and, above all, threatened to undermine existing situations. Attention has been drawn to the jealousy of the Buddhist monks, who regarded the missionaries as dangerous competitors, the resentment of the employees and mandarins of the astronomical service at finding themselves supplanted by the Jesuit mathematicians introduced at court, the rivalry between the missionaries and the Chinese men of letters in respect of their authority over the common people and the connection established between the missionaries' evangelical efforts and threats to China from outside."[1]

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[1] GERNET, J.: *China and the Christian Impact. A Conflict of Cultures.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1990, p. 1.

European Christianity, or exactly Catholicism, came into China with Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in 1583.[2] He and the Jesuit fathers had been quite successful in their work, especially in spreading Western mathematical, astronomical (mostly pre-Galilean) and technical knowledge in China, but did not persuade the Chinese intelligentsia about their Christian truths due to many reasons.

Jesuit missionaries, some of them of really towering stature like M. Ricci, Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688) and many their *confrères*, had great impact among the Chinese and European intelligentsia, but they could not be proud of many conversions. Their mathematical and astronomical knowledge was admired by many Chinese experts, even in the court, both of Ming and Qing dynasties, but not always their Christian teachings. For the first time in the history, European missionaries, after the division of the world by the papal authority between Portuguese and Spaniards, they met the "heathens" with such high intellectual and philosophical niveau, and so different in their substance from Europeans and the inhabitants of the Near and Middle East. Jesuit Fathers were humanist representatives of Christianity and they were extremely adaptable to the indigenous conditions. Matteo Ricci could boast of relatively correct knowledge of written and spoken Chinese, his learning by heart "the *Four Books* of the sect (sic!) of Confucius", his knowledge of mathematics and the curious objects he brought with him (clocks, religious paintings, Western books, etc.), his talents in alchemy, and his Christian teachings. He did not forget to regret that those Chinese "who come for the last reason are the least numerous."[3]

Ricci and his followers came to China with the vision of St. Francis Xavier: China was for the Jesuit Fathers a door to the whole Far East. At first the companions of Ricci wore the plain gray robes of Buddhist monks which later they changed for silk garments of Confucian scholars. Scholars were for him, his fellows and successors something similar to the angels parading on Jacob's ladder. Jacob, one of the Hebrew patriarchs, saw a ladder "set up on the earth and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it."[4]

Although Ricci never saw the emperor Wanli (reigned 1573–1620), the most liberal of all Ming rulers, Adam Schall von Bell had an access to the young emperor Shunzhi (reigned 1644–1662), who even used to call him "Ma-fa" that in Manchu means "Honourable Father", not because of his cleri-

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[2] In reality there were Christian Nestorians during the Tang dynasty around 781 A.D. and later during the Mongol rule in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Chinese territories, but they were probably not Chinese themselves with the exception of several thousands of Roman Catholics in Southern China around 1328. The "Black Death" in the years 1348–1350 caused the shortage of clergy even in Europe and for about 70 years no missionaries were sent to China, or those sent there, never reached it.

[3] GERNET, J.: op. cit., p. 18.

[4] *Genesis, 28, 12.*

cal status but due to his deep respect.[5] This, of course, did not make him immune from his enemies and during Shunzhi's successor Kangxi (reigned 1662–1722), the greatest among Qing emperors, he was sentenced to death, although later pardoned. Ferdinand Verbiest's success was even greater during the long reign of the same Kangxi. Not only his knowledge of astronomy but also of engineering has been fully used and he was a steady companion of the indefatigable emperor. The higher was his and his friends position on the ladder, the deeper was the fall of Christianity later. In the so-called Rites Controversy concerned mainly with the worship of the ancestors and of Confucius (and with some portion of Jesuit religious teaching), Jesuits had only two possibilities: to agree with Rome and to fight customs most dearly to the Chinese, or to comply with the court in Peking and literati, to proceed in the way of doctrinal and practical accommodation to the tastes and the minds of Chinese intellectuals.

Both ways were problematic for the members of *Societatis Jesu*, although Pope's decision from the year 1704 meant the end of Jesuit practices in China. In 1706 Kangxi allowed Christian missionaries to follow either the "practices of Ricci" or to leave China.[6] This order was not completely fulfilled and Kangxi remained in friendly relations with Jesuit Fathers.

Rites Controversy was similar to the sword of Damokles. It never fell upon the heads of Catholic missionaries in China with its full weight, but the papal constitutions *Ex illa die* and *Ex quo singulari* with their strictures and prescription of an oath for all Roman Catholic missionaries not to follow just the way of Ricci, meant an end of Xavier's and Ricci's visions. In Jacob's famous dream God promised that his seed "shall be as the dust of the earth" and that Jacob through his seed will "spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south..."[7] The vision of Jesuit missionaries proved to be the *fata morgana* after the two encyclics just mentioned, but not only due to them. The soil of the Middle Kingdom was too arid and their seed did germinate with only negligible results or was exterminated later.

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Matteo Ricci when trying to persuade the Chinese literary elite about the Christian truths as compatible with the indigenous truths of the Confucianists had to begin with the most basic notions of Christianity (and partly, of course, of the Jewish traditions, too): "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth,"[8] we read in the first sentence of the *Genesis*. Already here the difficulties arose. The Chinese were always quite sure that the world (or

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[5] TREADGOLD, D.W.: *The West in Russia and China. Religious and Secular Thought in Modern Times.* Vol. 2. Cambridge, At the University Press 1973, p. 18.

[6] Ibid., p. 25.

[7] *Genesis, 28, 14.*

[8] Ibid., 1, 1.

cosmos) was never created; it came into being by the action of the uncreated primordial energy called *Dao* (as taught by Taoists) or *Taiji* (Great Ultimate or Supreme Ultimate). The second was the teaching of Neo-Confucianists, but nearly wholly "stolen" from the religious Taoism.[9] According to the second, the Great Ultimate is the same as Ultimateless (Wuji) and "through movement (*dong*) produces the *yang* (male principle, M.G.). This movement, having reached its limit, is followed by quiescence (*jing*), and by this quiescence it produces the *yin* (female principle, M.G.). When quiescence has reached its limits, there is return to movement. Thus movement and quiescence, in alternation, become each the source of the other."[10] Then through the transformation and union of both *yang* and *yin*, water, fire, wood, metal and earth are produced. These then further produce all things in the universe. It is the same as in Laozi's *Daode jing*:

"The way (i.e, *Dao*, M.G.) begets one; one begets two, two begets three; three begets the myriad creatures.

The myriad creatures carry on their backs the *yin* and embrace in their arms the *yang* and are the blending of the generative forces."[11]

According to Ricci *Taiji* is either an "abstract concept", or if it is "the first, substantial, intelligent and infinite principle, we should agree to call it God and none other."[12]

The Chinese intellectuals and Jesuit Fathers could not understand each other. The prevalent anthropomorphic view of God (did not God say: "Let us make man in our image and our likeness"[13]?), could not persuade the opponents who thought about God differently. That principle or principles for the mechanism of creation-transformation (*zaohua*) could not be God (or Master of Heaven – *Tianzhu* in Ricci's terminology)[14] who allegedly created the world in six days and on seventh day he rested "from all his work which he had made."[15] Matteo Ricci in his most representative book *Tianzhu shiyi* (*The True Meaning of the Master of Heaven*) used the arguments concerned with Aristotle's four causes "explaining that God is the supreme, efficient and final cause."[16] Many Chinese literati of that time and probably many educated Christians of our days would agree with Martin Heidegger who in one of his lectures said: "God can in the light of causality sink to the level of a cause,

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[9] FUNG YU-LAN: *A History of Chinese Philosophy*. Vol. 2. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1953, pp. 435–451.

[10] Ibid., pp. 435–437.

[11] *Tao Te Ching*. Transl. by D.C. Lau. Hong Kong. The Chinese University of Hong Kong 1982, p. 63.

[12] This is from a letter written by Ricci to the General of the Jesuits in 1604 and quoted according to GERNET, J.: op. cit., p. 211.

[13] *Genesis, 1, 26.*

[14] GERNET, J.: op. cit., pp. 26 and 115 and TREADGOLD, D.W.: op. cit., p. 13.

[15] *Genesis, 2, 2.*

[16] GERNET, J.: op. cit., pp. 209 and 243.

a *causa efficiens*,[17] and then he allegedly added something like following: "If you want to prove God's existence by way of any of the traditional proofs, whether ontological, cosmological, teleological, ethical, and so on, you thereby belittle Him, since God is something like the *tao*, which is ineffable."[18]

The concept of Heaven did not represent less difficulty. Heaven (*tian*) according to the Chinese understanding is different from relatively simple Christian concept of heaven as abode of God, angels, saints and those who entered it after the virtuous or penitential life on the earth. Chinese Heaven manifests a non-anthropomorphic holder of power which is partly divine, partly natural and cosmic. It presents the order whose divinity is in its fateful lot (a bit similar to the Greco-Roman or Nordic understanding of Fate), but also whose natural mission is to direct seasonal life, plant cycles, the weather, agricultural activities very important for the country like China. The Heaven of Chinese Confucianists was not the highest, quasi personal realization of this order, but a completely un-personal and un-psychical entity that is active and silent because the "Heaven does not speak".[19] The attitude of the Taoists to this special deity was very similar: "Heaven and earth are ruthless, and treat the myriad creatures as straw dogs."[20]

Adam Schall von Bell in his *Zhuzhi qunzheng* (Countless Proofs that the Master of Heaven Governs the World) tried in vain to persuade the Chinese to believe that the biblical God was the creator of all things inclusive the *Taiji*, the *yang* and the *yin*.[21] While he stressed to believe, the Chinese tried only to understand.

The same difference between the Christian and Chinese concepts seen in relation to the creation and Heaven held true also in relation to God. It was even worse for Roman Catholics where some of the *New Testament* teachings were concerned. The Chinese could not understand or found it only very difficult to accept the teaching of Christ's incarnation, the dogma upon which the Christianity and in any case the Catholicism is founded. And if they acknowledged it, then only *privatissime*, never in their literary or philosopical work. According to J. Gernet "the seventeenth-century Chinese Christians never make any allusions to Jesus in their writings, limiting themselves to paying homage to the Sovereign on High, or *shangdi*."[22] *Shangdi* was originally a highest "deity" of the Shang-Yin dynasty (1766–1154 B.C.), a divine projection of their royal ancestor, deceased sovereign, and Ricci used design him as an equivalent to the biblical God. The "heathen" Chinese have seen usually in

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[17] HSIAO, Paul Shih-yi: *Heidegger and Our Translation of the* Tao Te Ching. In: PARKES, G. (ed.): *Heidegger and Asian Thought.* Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press 1990, p. 98.

[18] Loc. cit.

[19] These are the words of Mencius (ca. 372–ca. 289). See LEGGE, J.: *The Chinese Classics.* Vols 1 and 2. Taipei reprint 1969, p. 355.

[20] *Tao Te Ching* (Lau's translation), p. 9.

[21] GERNET, J.: op. cit., p. 202.

[22] Ibid., p. 223.

Christ "a criminal of a Western Kingdom in the Han Period",[23] or a "criminal who has transgressed the laws..."[24] One of those Chinese, Yang Guangxian (1597–1669), who was jealous of Jesuits because they were much better than him in astronomy and mathematics, was on the other hand right when he remarked about Fathers: "Why do they say nothing of the way that he died nailed down?"[25] It is true that Jesuits in China never spread their teaching with *Crucifixi dolorosi* in their hands and Ricci in his book *The True Meaning of the Master of Heaven* deliberately did not mention the mysteries of the Christian faith in order not to frighten the educated Chinese. He mentions Jesus' coming but not his death and resurrection, although he knew very well the teaching of St. Paul that "if Christ be not risen, then *is* our preaching vain, and your faith *is* also vain."[26]

Much bad feeling among the Chinese literati and Buddhists bred the Christian idea of original sin and the doctrine of divine perfection. They had in vain pondered over the contradiction between the high moral qualities of God and the reality or existence of bad spirits (like devils) and bad men created by him. Why was God so cruel and trapped Adam and Eve into the net in the Eden just for eating one piece of the "fruit of the tree which *is* in the midst of the garden."[27] God expelled them from this earthly Paradise and made all humankind suffer for a negligible transgression. Xu Dashou (flowered around 1630s), expert also in Buddhism, in his work *Zuopi* (The Aid to Refutation), left posterity his conversations with Father Giulio Aleni (1582–1649), in which he wrote that contrary to the Master of Heaven, Buddhism "shows a true compassion, for it seeks to save even the worst criminals, whereas the Barbarians say that once one has fallen into hell, one remains shut there for all eternity."[28]

When West European and Chinese culture met at the end of the sixteenth and during two next centuries, it was really a conflict of cultures. For the first time in history two religiously, philosophically and linguistically very different worlds came into contact as mentioned earlier.

The pioneers in this field of research were three: Marcel Granet with his *La Pensée chinoise* from the year 1934, Joseph Needham with his article *Human Laws and Laws of Nature in China and the West* published in 1951 and a part of his monumental work entitled *Science and Civilization in China*,

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[23] Ibid., p. 200.

[24] Ibid., p. 227.

[25] Ibid., p. 228.

[26] *I. Corinthians, 15, 14.*

[27] Cf. *Genesis, 3, 1–14* and GERNET, J.: op. cit., p. 236.

[28] GERNET, J.: op. cit., pp. 236, also 12 and 295. More on the problem of the relation of the Chinese intellectuals to Christianity see also: LEE, Thomas H.C.: *Christianity and Chinese Intellectuals: From the Chinese Point of View.* In: LEE, Thomas H.C. (ed.): *China and Europe. Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth centuries.* Hong Kong, The Chinese University of Hong Kong 1991, pp. 1–27.

Vol. 2, with the part concerned with the associative or correlative thinking that appeared in 1956, and Arthur F. Wright with his seminal study *The Chinese Language and Foreign Ideas* from the year 1953. All these three erudites stressed the linguistic differences between Chinese and other languages and Wright has shown that the "proponents of foreign ideas – whether they were Chinese or foreigners – have recognized that the Chinese language was a singularly intractable medium for the expression of their ideas. Many felt that the language by its nature and structure, inevitably distorted or deformed the foreign ideas expressed in it."[29] It was caused not only because the ideas from inflected polysyllabic languages came (were translated or transponed) into the uninflected, isolating language, but also due to the fact that the Chinese characters (signs) had a "wide range of meanings accumulated in the long history of the language plus a still wider range of allusive meanings derived from their use in a richly developed literary tradition."[30] This was, of course, an excellent medium for poetry, prose and fiction but not for the philosophy and even not for religion. The term *shangdi was very misleading* for biblical God in Chinese, as Dainichi (in reality Mahavairocana)[31] for just the same in Japanese.

Another scholar who made an excellent contribution in this field of study was Frederick W. Mote in his article *The Cosmological Gulf Between China and the West*. His research goes back to the basic assumptions concerning the Chinese and European *Weltanschauungen* as reflected in their different mythological and cosmological notions. The non-existence of the divine creator *ex nihilo* in Chinese indigenous tradition (with the exception of Pangu that was of Indian and in any case of alien origin) is here underlined.[32] If God is not the *causa activa* in creating the world, the *causa essendi* is hidden somewhere else, and Joseph Needham has shown it when reconstructing the "philosophy of organicism", where the world in the Chinese eyes (the educated Chinese intellectuals are meant) is "an ordered harmony of will without an ordainer".[33] The Chinese always admitted the existence of spiritual beings but

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[29] WRIGHT, A.F.: *The Chinese Language and Foreign Ideas*. In: Wright, A.F. (ed.): *Studies in Chinese Thought*. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press 1953, pp. 286–287.

[30] Ibid., p. 287.

[31] Cf. ibid., p. 289. In *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, compiled by William Edward Soothill, Taipei reprint 1973, p. 90 is Dainichi identified as the "chief object of worship of the Shingon sect in Japan". We may imagine what could have followed in the minds of the Japanese converts after their conscious or unconscious identification of Dainichi with Christian God.

[32] MOTE, Fr. W.: *The Cosmological Gulf Between China and the West*. In: BUXBAUM, D.C. and MOTE, Fr.W. (eds.): *Transition and Permanence. Chinese History and Culture. A Festschrift in Honor of Dr. Hsiao Kung-ch'üan*. Hong Kong, Cathay Press Ltd. 1972, p. 7. Cf. also BODDE, D.: *Myths of Ancient China*. In: KRAMER, S.N.: *Mythologies of Ancient World*. New York, Anchor Books 1961, pp. 367–408.

[33] NEEDHAM, J. with the assistance of WANG LING: *Science and Civilization in China*. Vol. 2, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1956, p. 287. Revised version of this study ap-

only as a once part of normal human life who became such after the death. It changed somewhat after the impact of Buddhism and its belief in transmigration of souls and *karma*.[34] There were some lesser gods in China in different social and religious levels, but their significance was negligible, and there even primitive polytheism in comparison with other non-Chinese societies, was something different and more or less meaningless.

The different character of Chinese cosmology had more or less an impact more or less in all spheres of life. E.g. the laws important for all human societies with some niveau of development, were in China never sanctified by divine authority:[35] church and state were always separated, the Chinese cared much more, if not fully, for the life here on the earth and not beyond. This, of course, held true for the Chinese elites, and they were in China "salt" and "light" of the world.

<center>3</center>

After the Jesuit humanists left the scene (and it was obligatory after the abolition of the Society of Jesus in 1773), the fundamentalist Protestants slowly fulfilled the vacuum after 1807. While the first were hypostasis of Renaissance humanism and European sciences, and the *Gospel* was the last book the content of which they tried to preach in front of Chinese Confucianists, these uneducated Christian pietists were for the most part ethnocentric Europeans, full of contempt for ordinary Chinese to whom mostly they have little access with the exception of "rice Christians" who were prepared for or even received baptism. For these the *Bible* was the first and last authority and they fully believed in its omnipotence. Ignorant preachers of the *Bible*, often completely in despair for the paucity of conversions, were even dumping "watertight crates of Bible in Chinese translations into the ocean near the China coast, hoping they would float ashore, be opened and read..."[36]

Nobody knows the ending of this kind of catch, but after nearly of half a century with few conversions, there came at the beginning of the 1850s an undreamed success in the Taiping tianguo (Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace). This sort of Christianity may be compared to new Leviathan, the old enemy of God from the *Old Testament*, dragon of the sea, whose heads were broken to pieces by God.[37] To some extent this Leviathan has been a product of the fundamentalist Protestantism. Hong Xiuquan (1813–1864), in future the most important leader of Taiping rebels, somehow came to nine tracts entitled

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peared as *Human Law and the Laws of Nature*. In: NEEDHAM, J.: *The Grand Titration. Science and Society in East and West*. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd 1969, pp. 299–331.

[34] MOTE, Fr.W.: op. cit., p. 12. *Karma* is a *terminus technicus* for moral action (good or bad) causing the future retribution after death, i.e. during the following transmigration.

[35] Cf. ibid., p. 15 and the whole above mentioned study by J. Needham.

[36] TREADGOLD, D.W.: op. cit., p. 37.

[37] *Psalms, 74, 14*.

Quanshi liangyan (Good Words to Admonish Age), whose author was Liang Afa, a disciple of Robert Morrison (1782–1834), the first Protestant missionary in China.[38] Much of these tracts were written on the basis of Morrison's translation of the *Bible* published in 1823. Hong, who was mentally ill, had allegedly several visions, where he found that he himself was a son of the Heavenly father and the younger brother of Jesus Christ. Following the order of God, he had driven all the demons out of the Heaven. Later the God (*Shangdi* in his nomenclature) commanded him to drive the devils out of the earth.

The devils on the earth were synonymous with Confucian gentry and rich Chinese. After he and his cousin mutually baptized each other, Hong received more Christian education from the Baptist missionary Issachar J. Roberts.[39] Having the elementary biblical knowledge and being quite sure about his divine mission, he launched a rebellion and proclaimed himself *tianwang* (Heavenly King). The history of this kingdom lasted thirteen years, less than that of the Nazist empire, but it was equally cruel and disastrous: it cost the lives of about thirty million of people. Its "Christianity" was peculiar. The Taipings took over the idea of the Father and Holy Spirit from the Trinity; Christ was a *Salvator mundi*, although he was not "the only begotten"[40] son; the idea of sin was accepted (but not always that of "original sin" which seems to be irrational for Chinese as shown above), then the keeping of the Sabbath and Moses' Ten Commandments. The Taipings did not have the priesthood (as this was unknown to the Chinese in the history) and the sacrament of Eucharist, they identified more or less religion with ethics.[41]

Primitive Christian and egalitarian ideology became only a façade behind which the mutual misunderstanding between Taipings, totalitarian régime, mass butchery of the devils among themselves completely dominated the arena. The armies led by Zeng Guofan (1811–1872), an ingenious Confucian leader, and the "Ever Victorious Army" led by two Anglo–American Christians – Frederick T. Ward and Charles George Gordon – completely destroyed the "New Jerusalem" (or the "New Babylon") of the Taipings.

Fundamentalist Protestants did not grow wiser after this terrible experience. Probably they never did comprehend the measure of their own fault in Taiping's experiment and if they did, they never acknowledged it. There were some exceptions among them like Timothy Richard (1845–1919) who tried to go the way of Ricci's followers. He succeeded in gaining support of the Chinese intellectuals during the Hundred Reforms in 1898, which was not too

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[38] TREADGOLD, D.W.: op. cit., p. 45.

[39] Ibid., p. 46.

[40] *St. John, 1, 14.*

[41] TREADGOLD, D.W.: op. cit., pp. 49–53. Very good article on the "Christianity" of Taipings appeared recently in the Social Sciences in China, 1, 1993, pp. 85–97 by Xia Chuntao under the title *Changes in Attitude of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Towards the Bible,* where new materials were presented and opinions elucidated.

much, but it was a beginning. Allegedly for him, it was wrong to think that Confucianism and Christianity are either identical or antagonistic to each other; between them there should be harmony and mutual regard.[42] If this assertion is true we have to regard him as an herald of modern intercultural communication and understanding.

The Protestant modernists had much bigger success in Chinese society. This movement was introduced into China around 1900 and later. It was connected more with American than European missionaries, although Europeans were probably its best theoreticians. For the Chinese intellectuals the "social gospel" it brought and disseminated there, was very important, and what is interesting, both for Protestantism and for Marxism in China was typical its pragmatic, instrumental message: new ideology, whether Christian or atheist, as a means for social and political action. Christian modernists were liberal, different translations of the *Bible* in Chinese were at the disposal of the Chinese intellectuals even ordinary people. The modernists were not interested with the theological but only with practical and social aspects of its contemporary interpretation. Christian socialism was one of the slogans of the day. The results seemed to be quite impressive: the first president of the Republic of China Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) lived and died as a Christian.

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The Chinese men of letters reached after the *Bible* as a source of inspiration or an object of creative and critical *Auseinandersetzung* only in the time around the May Fourth Movement 1919. In the era of Protestant fundamentalists the old principles of Confucianism prevailed: the ideology was firmly in the hands of the traditionalists who were conservative, i.e. all fields of spiritual culture should be loyal to the basic Chinese values, and only practical side, some improvements in material culture, could be influenced by or taken from the Euro-American world. In the era of Protestant modernists this *tiyong* formula, i.e. Chinese values as the fundamental structure *ti* and Western achievements for practical use *yong,* has already been discredited. The Chinese understood that the building of the new spiritual and material culture should go hand in hand. At first this impact of Western and Christian ideas was seen in the realm of religion or philosophy, like in the works of Kang Youwei (1858–1927), Liang Qichao (1873–1929) or Tan Sitong (1865–1898); literature came later and hardly before Lu Xun (1881–1936).

It seems that Lu Xun read the *Old Testament* with Ernst Haeckel's (1834–1919) *Die Welträtsel (The Riddle of the Universe)* in hand.[43] Since there was

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[42] TREADGOLD, D.W.: op. cit., p. 212.

[43] According to *Lu Xun shou jihe zangshu mulu* A Catalogue of Books in Lu Xun's Private Library. Vol. 3. Philosophy Section. Peking 1959, p. 1, Lu Xun owned Haeckel's *Die Welträthsel. Gemeinverständliche Studien über die monistische Philosophie.* Stuttgart, A. Kröner 1903.

not much sympathy in Haeckel's mind towards many assertions of the *Bible*, Lu Xun's attitude was similar. As a young scholar in the year 1907 he wrote one of his most important essays entitled *Ren zhi lishi* (The History of Man)[44] which should point out his understanding of the interpretation of the monistic approach to the Haeckelian phylogeny. He, of course, gave preference not to biblical explanations, not to belief but to reason, and followed closely Haeckel's and later arguments. From Lu Xun's arguments it is clear that Qu Yuan (ca. 340–278 B.C.) should be more clever than Moses because of his sceptical attitude to the ancient myths, when he asked in his *Tianwen (Questions to Heaven)*: "When the Great Turtle walks along with an island on his back, how does it keep steady?"[45] In another study (and most famous in his young age) called *Moluo shili shuo* (On Satanic Power of Poetry), Lu Xun took side with Byron's Lucifer and Cain against the biblical God.[46]

Lu Xun was surely one of the first Chinese intellectuals who regarded Jesus Christ (together with Socrates) as a great man in the history of mankind and criticized those who condemned deed for which they both should die.[47] This admiration we may see in his poem in prose *Fuchou (qi er) Revenge (II)*, where he delineated Jesus on the cross. It is addressed to him as a son of man but not the Son of God.[48] Lu Xun was much more critical towards God the Father.[49] Where Jesus is concerned, maybe the impact of Friedrich Nietzsche was involved, "whom he (i.e. Nietzsche, M.G.) respected",[50] while repudiating the faith in him as Christ and *Redemptor mundi*.

Another famous man of letters, Chen Duxiu (1879–1942), one of the fathers of Chinese revolution around 1919 and the Secretary-General of the Chinese Communist Party in the years 1921–1927, in 1920 highly evaluated the

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[44] *Lu Xun quanji* The Complete Works of Lu Xun. Vol. 1. Peking 1973, pp. 13–23. Henceforth only *LXQJ*.

[45] Cf. ibid., p. 14 and *T'ien Wen The Heavenly Questions*. In: *Ch'u Tz'u. The Songs of The South*. Transl. by D. Hawkes. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press 1959, p. 51.

[46] *LXQJ*. Vol. 1, pp. 72–74.

[47] Ibid., p. 48. Here Lu Xun writes: "Those who praise the majority (in relation to the individuals or to minority in human society, M.G.) and revere it like the gods, they see only its bright aspects, they do not look at its other aspects, and therefore they admire it. If they could also see its dark sides, they would realize their faults. One case was that of Socrates who was poisoned by the Greek crowd, and another that of Jesus Christ, whom the Jewish masses crucified. The writers of later generations condemned these deeds, yet, they were executed according to the will of the people."

[48] *LXQJ*, Vol. 1, pp. 478–481.

[49] See *Tantande xuelan zhong Amid Pale Bloodstains*. In: *LXQJ*, Vol. 1, pp. 534–535 and *Selected Works of Lu Xun*. Vol. 1, Peking 1956, pp. 358–359.

[50] KAUFMANN, W.: *Nietzsche. Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist*. Cleveland, The World Publishing Company 1966, p. 288.

life and teachings of Jesus.[51] In Christian teachings (but not in the church institutions), according to Lee Feigon "Chen claimed... to see the kind of purity of intention and ideals that he had long felt very essential ingredients for motivating the Chinese people. Because of Christianity, he said, Westerners emphasize beauty, religion and pure feelings, while Chinese culture stressed only outer feelings and moral doctrine."[52] Contemporary Christianity was very much connected with militarism and imperialism and he tried to find support from those Christians who had a sympathy for his socialist and even communist ideas of that time.

Zhu Zhixin (1885–1920), a faithful socialist and Marxist follower of the first Chinese Christian President, wrote the essay entitled *Yesu shi shenmo dongxi* (What a Creature Was Jesus?). Here he tried to show the "trustworthy records"[53] concerned with Jesus as being an illegitimate child of his mother and a foreign soldier serving in the Roman army. He took this and some other assertions from the same book by Haeckel,[54] as Lu Xun. Jesus was a rebel like many bandits in Chinese history. Another source of information was a booklet by the Japanese anarchist and writer Kotoku Shusui (1871–1911) which appeared later in Chinese translation as *Jidu mosha lun* (On the Obliteration of Christ), according to whom Christianity is a phallic cult and the cross a phallic symbol.[55] If Jesus is comparable to the Chinese charlatans, magicians and rebels, but his teachings are in the view of Zhu Zhixin, of high value, the idea of equality, all-embracing love, love to one's neighbour, are nothing new, they are only the instructions handed down to us from ancient times.[56] Christ's teaching was nice, but his character, just as that of Confucius (551–479 B.C.), was that of *kuangmiu*[57] wild maniac. As a proof of this assertion he gives one of his parables about ten virgins and a story concerned with Jesus' cursing of the fruitless fig tree. Zhu says that the first is an example of Christ's and Christianity's *zili* selfishness and the second one of *fuchou* revenge.[58]

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[51] CHEN DUXIU: *Jidujiao yu jidujiaohui* Christianity and Christian Churches. In: CAI SHANGSI (ed.): *Zhongguo xiandai sixiangshi jianbian* A Concise Compendium of Materials in Modern Chinese Intellectual History. Vol. 2. Hangzhou 1982, pp. 32–34. Henceforth only CP.

[52] LEE, Feigon: *Chen Duxiu. Founder of the Chinese Communist Party*. Princeton. Princeton University Presss 1983, p. 144.

[53] CP, Vol. 1. Hangzhou 1982, p. 508.

[54] Cf. ibid., pp. 508–509 and HAECKEL, E.: op. cit. Leipzig, Alfred Kröner Verlag 1918, pp. 204–205.

[55] CP, Vol. 1, p. 510 and *Zhongguo zongshumu* A Classified Catalogue of Current Chinese Books with Complete *Index Translationum*, Shanghai 1935, p. 256.

[56] CP, Vol. l, p. 511.

[57] Ibid., p. 513.

[58] Loc. cit.

Understanding the story about the fig tree with leaves without fruits "for the time of figs was not *yet*"[59] in rational way, Zhu Zhixin was right when he pointed out that Jesus' anger and curse was not justified, and has shown that Pu Songling's (1640–1715) *Tou tao* (Stealing of Heavenly Peaches) was much more human. Pu's story is longer than that of Christ's, therefore its fabula is only presented here: two actors, father and son, tried to please an audience of scholars and officials, by bringing them the peaches at the beginning of spring. Since at that time they could grow only in the heaven, in the higher nature according to Chinese cosmology, the father using his magic power conjured a ladder reaching from the earth to the highest spheres and commanded his son to climb the heaven. The son steals there a big fruit and throws it down to the earth, but he looses his life, since only *membra disiecta* of his body return back. After putting them into coffin somehow "he is risen", *redivivus* so-to-say, to the immense joy of his trembling and amazed father.[60]

Here Zhu Zhixin rightly plays with the imagination of his Chinese reader: terrestrial father sends his son to the heaven having in mind the danger for and even the death of his son (allusion to the God as Heavenly Father who sent his Son Jesus, i.e. Saviour, who should die on the earth in order to save human beings from their sins). Among the traditionally educated Chinese the death of Jesus was in reality usually understood as that of a rebel, a criminal or an enthusiastic preacher, a wild maniac like in the essay under the analysis. They never needed a Saviour. The death of a young actor has been appreciated as a piece of magic art of the great writer. The deed of the old actor has been received with sympathy, but that of the Heavenly Father remained completely uncomprehended within the cosmological musings of the Chinese intellectuals. The same holds true for Jesus' "cursing".

The conflict of cultures is not a matter of the past in our century. Pu Songling's story is a memento and his ladder leading to the heaven, too. This ladder made of a long and probably thin *sheng* rope was, of course, very different from that in Jacob's dream. This last one was a part of mythopoeic conception found in some different countries of the world representing a means of connection between higher and lower strata of the universe, like that of Buddha Sakyamuni descent from Tushita heaven to the earth with the help of Indra's ladder, or the shapes of Egyptian pyramids enabling to ascend the higher mansions after the death.[61] The Chinese didn't need this kind of the ladder since they did not know that God Father, "the Lord stood above it".[62]

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[59] *St.Mark, 11, 13.*

[60] Cf. ibid., 11, 13–14 and 20 and Pu Songling: *Liaozhai zhiyi xuan* A Selection From the Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio. Selection and Notes by Zhang Youhao. Peking 1957, pp. 384–386. Very good translation is that by Herbert A. Giles' *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*. Third revised edition. Repr. by Chinese Materials Center. San Francisco 1974, pp. 374–376. See also *St. Mark, 16, 6.*

[61] TOKAREV, S.A. (ed.): *Mify narodov mira* (Myths of the Peoples of the World). Vol. 2. Moscow, Izdatelstvo "Sovetskaya entsiklopediya" 1982, pp.50–51.

[62] *Genesis, 28, 13.*

For them the image of the old father-magician was enough attractive in order to appreciate it.

There is no word in the *Bible* about the stuff Jacob's ladder was made of. I read this story when six or seven years old in popular biblical version, a kind of the *lianhuan tuhua* picture book.[63] The story differed quite a lot from the *Bible* and very probably had been written under the impact of the drawing by Julius Schnorr von Carlsfeld (1794-1872). Here the Slovak "translator", enthralled by this picture following the traditions of Raffael's *Bible* in Loggias of the Vatican Museum and Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel,[64] improved upon the original text with the golden ladder (or better to say staircase as alluded by the drawing) and surrounded it with the burning cloud! Here one may feel the scent of the Renaissance and Baroque spirit. Why then not to implant the Chinese spirit into the *Bible* reminiscent of the works of Sima Qian (145-86 B.C.), Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344-406), Li Bai (701-762) or Pu Songling?

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Those Chinese writers – both men and women – who wrote on the biblical subjects and were influenced by the Christianity, may be divided into two groups: one probably smaller consisting of the members which had good experience with Christianity, namely with its institutions, and the second one where chiefly the impact of the last was negative.

When writing about Friedrich Nietzsche and Rainer Maria Rilke, Professor Walter Kaufmann remarked that a poem "can illustrate a philosophy insofar as the philosophy itself is a metaphysical projection of an experience, a mood, an attitude. The poet may know this mood as one among many or as the dominant experience of his own life; he may enter into it as a virtuoso or be trapped in it; he may illustrate the same philosophy over and over again or bring to life many, whether as a tour de force or as an unwitting record of his own range of experience; and he may be quite unaware of the fact that others have converted such experiences into philosophies."[65] Kaufmann illustrates this assertion by the translation of Rilke's poem *The Panther*. Here is its first stanza:

> His glance, worn by the passing of the bars,
> has grown so weary it has lost its hold.
> It seems to him, these are a thousand bars,
> and then behind a thousand bars no world.[66]

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[63] *Písmo sväté v obrazoch* (Bible in Pictures). Trnava, Spolok sv. Vojtecha 1936, p. 31.

[64] Cf. SCHNORR, J. von Carolsfeld: *Die Bibel in Bildern*. Dortmund, Harenberg 1983, p. 81 and the blurb of this book. This is a reproduction of the original edition published in Leipzig, Georg Wigands Verlag, n.d. (after 1852).

[65] KAUFMANN, W.: *From Shakespeare to Existentialism*. Garden City, Anchor Books. Doubleday & Company, Inc. 1960, pp. 222-223.

[66] Ibid., p. 222.

All this could be written as an introductory part to the early literary work of young Bing Xin (born 1900), during the years 1919–1923. I tried to show elsewhere[67] the impact of Judeo-Christian cosmology and teachings on her work within this space of time. Her universe was confined to the firmament of heaven known to her from the *Bible,* but it was fulfilled also with the notions and images taken over from Buddhism and the *Upanishads,* familiar to her through the mediation of Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941). The Chinese always tended to syncreticism in philosophy and religion. When she wrote her early poetry, she was probably unaware of the differences between the three sources of her spiritual inpiration. All-embracing love manifested in her literary works – common for Christ and Tagore – has become a merger and a compass. She has been baptized, but not openly[68] due to the antireligious temper in her surroundings and the overall ideological climate. In contrast to her fictional works, poetry and essays written on the basis of Christian and Tagorean ideals, are excellent.

Xu Dishan (1893–1941), the older colleague and friend of Bing Xin, was not very much different, only his knowledge of religions (Christianity included), was much more broad and deeper. Inspite of the fact that he himself was a Protestant preacher, he valued highly some Buddhist teachings like *sunyata kong* emptiness, all things are unsubstantial, void, impermanent, everything are only the thoughts or fabrications within the Ultimate Mind. According to one of his friend he felt "that the proof of God's revelation in the person of Jesus Christ lay not in His original essence (supernatural origin), but in his moral conduct" and that from his "actual life on earth one can infer both his pre-incarnate nature and incarnate temperament."[69] Here the stress on the unimportance of substantiality and the impact of the Buddhist and Hinduist reincarnation of souls, likewise the teaching regarding the the *Buddha-kaya foshen* Buddha-embodiments is quite apparent. For Professor Xu the morality of Christians was of paramount value and not the belief in virgin birth, miracles, not even resurrection. This two-dimensional character of his short stories has been observed by the researchers. Personally I like most his *Chun-tao* (translated into Chinese as *Big Sister Liu*) where the religious appurtenance is not highlighted, but the sincere love and compassion of Buddho-Christian kind of a poor woman who manages to live with her long lost and

[67] GÁLIK, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: VI. Young Bing Xin (1919–1923).* Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), 2, 1993, 1, pp. 41–60.

[68] FAN BOQUN (ed.): *Bing Xin yanjiu ziliao* Materials for the Study of Bing Xin. Peking 1981, p. 102.

[69] ZHANG ZHULING: *Duiyu Xu Dishan jiaoshoude yige huiyi* A Recollection of Professor Xu Dishan. In: *Zhuidiao Xu Dishan xiansheng jinian tekan* A Special Edition of Mourning in Memory of Mr. Xu Dishan. Hong Kong, International Commercial Press, Sept. 21, 1941, p. 14. Quoted according to ROBINSON, L.S.: *Double-edged Sword. Christianity & 20th Century Chinese Fiction.* Hong Kong, Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre 1986, p. 40.

now returned husband – crippled beggar – and her healthy and robust boy friend.[70]

There are some other outstanding Chinese men of letters whose works were at least partly connected with the Christianity or biblical teachings. Guo Moruo (1892–1978) wrote the novel in letters *Luo ye* (Fallen Leaves)[71] and some poems after the conversion to Christianity in November 1916[72] and proclaimed himself a *shen* god in January 1922.[73] This god was not God from *Genesis,* but a kind of Spinoza's *Deus sive Natura,* a representation of the universe and its self-expressive force. His knowledge of the *Bible* applied to the reality of his own life with the "seduced" Christian girl and delineated from the Freudian point of view, is quite impressive. The strength of the Confucian tradition is also obvious. For the time being Guo Moruo tried to overcome the despotic spirit of Confucianism with the help of Christian ideology, since he believed that modern Christian attitudes are compatible with his efforts for "individuation", the process of self-awakening and complete individual freedom within the framework of his self-aggrandizement and moral selfexposure.

For Guo Moruo's good friend Yu Dafu (1896–1945) the Sermon of the Mount was the point of departure of his story *Nan qian* (Moving South) from the year 1921. Just like L.N. Tolstoy Yu regarded the first sentence of Christ's teaching: "Blessed *are* the poor in spirit: for their's is the kingdom of heaven"[74] as the cornerstone of real Christianity. For this assertion he brought together a sample of examples like that from Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* or from the life of St. Francis of Assisi. While the target of social criticism of the story is opulence of the American missionary stations and poverty of Chinese, the most important literary message of the work is the moral self-criticism of the hero. The best elaborated character of Yu Dafu's fiction is probably Yu Zhifu (evidently alluding to the name and real personality of Yu Dafu) who in one of his stories is introduced with these words: "A man who believes in the future has a bright star upon his forehead. Even when he gropes in the dark sand desert, his mind is ruled by one Jew."[75] This "one Jew" could not be

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[70] *Xu Dishan xuanji* Selected Works of Xu Dishan. Peking 1952, pp. 111–137. Its English translation appeared in *Masterpieces of Modern Chinese Fiction 1919–1949,* Peking 1983, pp. 113–138 under the title: *Big Sister Liu.*

[71] GUO MORUO: *Luo ye* Fallen Leaves, Shanghai 1926. L.S. Robinson analyses this novel in op. cit., pp. 26–33 and M. Doleželová-Velingerová in *A Selection Guide to Chinese Literature 1900–1949.* Vol. 1. Leiden, E.J. Brill 1988, pp. 86–88.

[72] ROY, D.T.: *Kuo Mo-jo: The Early Years.* Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Press 1971, p. 64.

[73] GÁLIK, M.: *Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History: IV. Young Guo Moruo (1914–1924).* AAS XXII, 1986, pp. 55–56.

[74] *St. Matthew, 5,3.*

[75] Cf. YU DAFU: *Fengling* Wind Bell. In: *Yu Dafu quanji* The Complete Works of Yu Dafu. Vol. 3. Shanghai 1929, p. 57 and MA JIA: *Yaoyide shangdide mianying. Jidujiao wenhua he "Wusi" wenxue* Slightly Shaking God's Image. Christian Culture and Literature of the May

anybody else except of Jesus Christ. An analysis of Yu Zhifu's "case" shows wonderful example of literary decadence and psychopathological states of mind of modern Chinese intellectual suffering from guilt: morbidity in his obsession with abnormalities (e.g. fetishistic masochism) which is, provided the promise of Christ to forgive the sins is implied, connected with an effort at self-purification or an act of self-punishment. Yu Zhifu is really penitent, a male hypostasis of Mary Magdalene, when he unexpectedly sees a beautiful girl in the nude and asks God for forgiveness. He also regrets having to re-course to auto-erotic practices after she leaves the bed where they have spent a night together. But we would be misled if we would regard these feeling of guilt only as an outcome of Christian influences. Elsewhere I tried to show the impact of Taoist ideas on his moral development and his endeavour to clean his heart and purge it out of passion in the interest of his individual and social self-realization.[76]

At first the hope in and later the hate of Christianity was characteristic for the prolific writer Zhang Ziping (1895–1947) who was eleven years old when he joined Protestant missionary school with the desire after receiving the baptism and to live in Christian community to become, according to St. John, one of the sons of God.[77] He saw with his own eyes the discrepancy between the teaching of the Church authorities and their deeds and found that they were hypocrites in the service of flesh and Mammon and he described it. Quite similar was the experience of some other writers like Xiao Qian (born 1911), Yang Yi (born 1907), better known as Ou-yang Shan, partly also Lao She (1899–1966) and some others.[78]

The image of Christianity became more sympathetic during the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945) in China, e.g. in some works of Ba Jin (born 1904) or Mao Dun (1896–1981).[79]

After the victory of the Communists in 1949 on the Mainland the interest in the *Bible* dissappeared, or better to say, was suppressed and there are no traces of it in the literature up to the 1980s. It emerged on Taiwan in the 1960s in the works of some authors, among them probably the best is Ch'en

Fourth Movement. Zhongguo xiandai wenxueshi yanjiu congkan Studies in Modern Chinese Literature, 4, 1989, p. 47.

[76] GÁLIK, M.: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism, 1917–1930*. Bratislava, Veda – London, Curzon Press 1980, pp. 104–111.

[77] In *St. John, 1, 12* we read: "But as many as received him, to them gave he the power to become the sons of God, *even* to them that believe on his name" (James' *Bible*). In the Chinese translation into vernacular entitled *Xinyue quanshu All Books of the New Testament*, published in Shanghai by British & Foreign Bible Society, 1934, p. 191, "the sons of God" are translated as "*Shangdide ernu*" children of God. *Shangdide ernumen* God's Children is a title of a novel by ZHANG ZIPING.

[78] ROBINSON, L.S.: op. cit., pp. 89–143.

[79] Cf. ibid., pp. 154–183. For Mao Dun see also GÁLIK, M.: *The Mythopoeic Vision in Mao Dun's Fiction, 1929–1942*. Guoji Nanshe xuehui congkan Bulletin of the International Southern Society Association (Hong Kong), 4 (in press).

Yingzhen (born 1936), but he is also the most problematic. He is similar to young Guo Moruo or Yu Dafu, his is a vivisection of human heart with the double-edged sword of Christ's teaching and moral example including the problems concerned with their following and realization in the everyday life in modern and postmodern world.[80] Robinson was right when he wrote that Taiwanese writers "go beyond strictly religious or humanistic interpretations to apply the teachings of Jesus Christ to the psychological and spiritual inner life of the individual. Faith *is* essential in this new approach, but it is a faith placed not so much in the transcendental Christ – though that is important to some of the Christian authors – as in the inner Christ, the archetypal wisdom behind life which urges us on to great wholeness."[81] This is a Christ as a paradigm of self-perfection in the world of desires and even passions in our hearts and bodies that could be regarded and condemned as bad in certain circumstances.

In the PRC at the end of 1980s one year before the Tiananmen Incident on June 4, 1989 a polygenological work appeared under the title *Shizijie shang On the Cross*,[82] written by Wang Meng (born 1934). Here the spiritual purification is aimed with the hope for the new post-Communist social revolution based on Christ's principles: *renai* love among the people, *qianbei* modesty, *qianjing* mutual respect and namely *kuanshu* forgiveness: maybe here a vision is involved that was accomplished at the end of 1989 in the former Czechoslovakia during its "velvet revolution".

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More than four hundred years after Matteo Ricci reached in 1583 the land of Confucius (571–479 B.C.), Mencius, Laozi (4th cent. B.C.) and Zhuangzi (3rd cent. B.C.), and nearly four hundred years since 1600 when he succeeded in establishing his mission in Peking, there are still many problems connected with the conflict our very different cultures. There are, of course, some achievements, too. For the educated Chinese of Ricci's time a crucifix was a sign of shame, a kind of evil spell, an artifice commemorating a dead criminal who supposed to be a Son of God.[83] For Wang Meng *crucifixi dolorosi* are among the most adored objects of medieval and later art.[84] During the time of Jesuit mission (1582–1774) no one of the Chinese Christians dared to

[80] ROBINSON, L.S.: op. cit., pp. 246–280.

[81] Ibid., p. 325.

[82] Wang Meng's work appeared in the journal Zhongshan, 3, May 15, 1988, pp. 45–58 and has been translated into English by J. Wickeri, Renditions, 37, 1992, pp. 43–68. For the analysis see GÁLIK, M.: *Mythopoetische Vision von Golgatha und Apokalypse bei Wang Meng*. Minima sinica (Bonn), 2, 1991, pp. 55–82, or *Wang Meng's Mythopoeic Vision of Golgotha and Apocalypse*. Annali. Rivista del Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici e del Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi (Naples), 52, 1, 1992, pp. 62–82.

[83] GERNET, J.: op. cit., pp. 121–122.

[84] Renditions, 37, 1992, pp. 47 and 51–52.

write a word about Jesus Christ, but in the twentieth century even in the eyes of the enemies of religion in China, he was admired for his moral teachings, even if regarded sometimes as a magician, charlatan or a rebel.

The land of Confucius, Laozi and of their followers was and still is now different from the land of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and the countries (mostly in the West), from where they took the legacy of the *Old* and later also of the *New Testament*. The cosmological gap between the Chinese and to a great extent the Far Eastern world and our Western world is so wide that to bridge it completely is almost impossible where the religious beliefs are concerned. And just for these beliefs, better to say for this *credo*, there is not much space within the traditional Chinese *Weltanschauung*. The cases of Xu Dishan, Ch'en Yingchen and even of Wang Meng are typical. No one of them discusses the issues (or mysteries) that are behind the grasp of the traditionally educated Chinese. E.g. there is no story concerned with Christ's resurrection in modern literature. But there is relatively much concerned with his teaching and death, and namely his ethical message is embraced and creatively expressed.

From the point of view of intellectual communication and understanding it is a pity that the *New Testament* lacks something comparable to the mythologeme of Jacob's ladder connecting the lands of missionaries and their objects in the countries where the biblical teaching was spread. At first the God of the *Old Testament* and later Logos made Flesh of the *New Testament* were mediators between the heaven and earth, but they were and more or less remained incomprehensible to the Chinese and at least partly for the inhabitants of East Asia. Christ's mission: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature",[85] or "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost",[86] has been supplemented in St. Mark's work partly with the promise: "he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved," partly with the anathema: "but he that believeth not shall be damned."[87] This mythologeme of eternal damnation was not completely different from the mythologeme (and reality) of the sword and *jihad* sacred war used in the spread of the Islam. St. Mark, who was a missionary for some time together with St. Paul, should have had experience with different religious cults in the Near East and the Mediterranean area that had similar features as Christianity, like the belief in the life after death, or even

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[85] *St. Mark, 16, 15.*

[86] *St. Matthew, 28, 19.*

[87] *St. Mark, 16, 16.* The authencity of the last twelve verses (i.e. 16, 9–20) is disputed since they are not present in the best manuscripts of St. Mark Gospel. According to the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the decree issued on June 26, 1912 by the authorities of the Catholic Church, arguments "adduced against the Markan authorship of these verses were not strong enough to prove that they were not truly Markan." See HARTMAN, L.F. (ed.): *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible.* New York, McGraw-Hill Comp. Inc. 1963, pp. 1454–1455. This conservative attitude certainly does not promote the spirit of intercultural understanding and mutual respect.

in the resurrection (like in the case of Osiris or Euridyke), in divine redeemer (Mithra), initiation rites (Dionysos cult) or in the holy supper (Eleusis cult).[88] The soil had been well prepared for a religion like Christianity in this part of the world in the Hellenistic and the Roman era (300 B.C.-300 A.D.). The most important was probably a search for a God who could promise and realize the personal bliss in this life and after. Christ's teaching of mutual love symbolized in *agape*, was the basis of the social and political organization of the first Christians and very important prerequisite for the abolishment of the slavery.

Nothing like that was present in China except for some elements in Buddhist beliefs. But these elements hardly operated like the "convergent currents", when they met foreign Western religion. Around 1600 probably the most prominent Chinese philosopher of that time Li Zhi (1527-1602) wrote about Matteo Ricci, whom he admired very much as a man of deep knowledge and high moral: "I do not really know what he has come to do here for. I think it would be much too stupid for him to want to substitute his own teaching for that of the Duke of Zhou and Confucius. So that is surely not the reason."[89]

And that exactly was the reason. It was, of course, an adventurous enterprise full of risks without any great hope for the success. Ricci certainly had taken the words of Christ into the consideration, but not exactly in their Markan-Pauline explanation. "Much too stupid" were the Christian fundamentalists because of their ethnocentric orientation, religious conceit, mystic belief in the miraculous power of the *Bible*, their intellectual narrow-mindedness and ignorance. Timothy Richards was the first swallow of the new understanding in the intercultural communication at the spreading of the *Bible* in China.

Mythological ladders were always constructed in a simply way. The "ladders" of intercultural communication and understanding are necessarily much more complicated and should be constructed according to different systemo-structural entities coming into direct contact with each other. From this "each other", the other is extremely important and should be stressed in this communication. The awareness of Us and the Others, their specificities, may lead to mutual understanding which always presupposes deep mutual knowledge, not only for the pure living objects, but within the framework of the whole tradition, contemporary state and the overall milieu. Mutual acceptance or at least respect is a *conditio sine qua non* for this communication and its psychological, or even rational justification.

Richard's idea in relation to the necessity of harmony and mutual regard between Christianity and Confucianism should be now and in the future applied also to other religious teachings or philosophical views provided they have adequate intellectual, moral and aesthetic standards.

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[88] FERGUSON, J.: *Mysterienkulte*. In: CAVENDISH, R. and LING, T.O. (ed.): *Mythologie der Weltreligionen*. München, Christian Verlag GmbH 1981, pp. 144-155.

[89] Quoted according to GERNET, J.: op. cit., p. 19.

The accumulated knowledge we have at our disposal at the time of our dying century is sufficient for the assertion that the excellent achievements of Jewish faith, Christianity, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism are of equal value and they are noble and grand products of humanity.

Rilke's image of a panther behind the bars is a *caveat*. Those who work within the realms of intercultural process are also responsible for its results. In any case they should try to transcend the narrow cage of their own vision and to understand the word beyond, to liberate themselves from the cells where they are imprisoned like orang-utans towards more broad horizons. This world really needs an intercultural communication and understanding.

THE INTERLITERARY COMMUNITY OF TURKIC NATIONS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE EUROPEAN CULTURE*

Xénia CELNAROVÁ, Bratislava

The aim of this study is to research the laws governing the interliterary, supranational process. Qualitatively, these laws possess a different character from those deriving from research into the national-literary process. The study considers previous efforts at determining the principles, factors and criteria that have conditioned the origin and development of the interliterary process within Mediaeval Turkic literatures, as well as in their relation to Arabic-Persian literary traditions.

Literary scholarship has not as yet achieved a satisfactory definition of the concept "world literature". An attempt has been made at reducing the tension between the universal and the particular – two extreme poles represented by world literature on one hand, and national literature, on the other – using the concept of a specific interliterary community as proposed and elaborated by the Slovak comparativist Dionýz Ďurišin in collaboration with his team.[1]

A significant role in the integration of national literature into the worldwide system was played by its coexistence with certain other national literatures within an interliterary community. Yet, the specific interliterary community is not understood as a permanent grouping, but rather as a flexible and open system which comes into being, evolves, and/or dies out. The flexible nature of this system is also attested by the fact that one national literature may simultaneously enter into two different interliterary communities.[2]

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[1] The results of an international project directed by D. Ďurišin, were published in five volumes: ĎURIŠIN, D. et al.: *Osobitné medziliterárne spoločenstvá 1* (Specific Interliterary Communities 1). Bratislava, Veda 1987. The first volume comprised various studies in Slovak and a short summary in Russian and English. Volumes 2–5 contained studies in Slovak and summaries in French, therefore, besides a Slovak title, these volumes also carry a French heading. For reasons of space, we give here the French variant only: ĎURIŠIN et collectif: *Les communautés interlittéraires spécifiques*, Bratislava, Veda. Vol. 2 – 1991, Vol. 3 – 1991, Vol. 4 – 1992, Vol. 5 – 1993.

[2] Dealt with in D. ĎURIŠIN's study: *Communautés interlittéraires en tant que concrétisation des conformités à la loi de la littérature mondiale.* In: *Les communautés interlittéraires spécifiques 2*, pp. 11–39.

In our study entitled *The Interliterary Community of Turkic Nations within the Context of Islamic Culture*[3] we tried to show how a community of a specific type, carrying numerous particular features, including Ottoman, Azerbaijan and Chagatai literatures, gradually formed within the framework of an extensive group of literatures primarily determined by Islamic religious ideology.

During the period under study, i.e. roughly from the second half of the 11th century – when the first works of Turkic Islamic literature appeared,[4] until the end of the 16th century – when integration of by then advanced Turkic literatures with Islamic culture culminated, the ideological factor incontestably was of primary significance in the origin and existence of the above specific literary community. The Muslim religious doctrine represented a constitutive and unifying element in a great part of the then known world, acted as an ideological strength influencing mode of thinking, attitudes and the actions of both individuals and entire social groups. The Muslims found their basic identity in the religious community, that is, in the entity defined more by Islam than by ethnic origin, language or State membership.[5]

Not even the advanced Persian culture – ultimately forced by violence to accept Islam – could resist the pressure of this youngest world religion which, at the time of its origin and the peak of its upsurge, held the monopoly of a Weltanschauung in this domain. Soon, however, the former began to revive, to regenerate; an interaction set in with the essentially younger and less advanced culture of the conquerors thus causing two different cultures to supplement each other. The qualitatively new Islamic culture also found application and space for further development within the framework of State formations under the hegemony of Turkic rulers who, in contrast to the Persians, accepted Islam voluntarily. This phenomenon represents a typical feature, a law in the transformation of various cultures and their ultimate historic synthesis.

A contribution to a cultural exchange within the Muslim world was made by the existence of two universal languages of the Middle Ages of the Near and Middle East, viz. Arabic and Persian.[6] In particular, the latter, to be more exact, its revived form, i.e. new Persian *(farsi, dari)* occupied for a very long

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[3] The study was published in: ĎURIŠIN, D. et collectif: *Les communautés interlittéraires spécifiques 3*, pp. 16–20, 41–55 and in an English version in Asian and African Studies, Vol. 2, 1993, No. 1, pp. 61–70.

[4] Two written monuments have been preserved from the early period of Islamic Turkic tribes: *Qutadğu Bilig* (1069, Gladdening Science) by Yusuf Hass Hadjib and *Dīvān-i Lugati-it-Türk* (1072–7, Divan of Turkic Languages) by Maḥmūd Kashgar.

[5] LEWIS, B.: *The Political Language of Islam*. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press 1988, p. 4.

[6] We analyse in more detail the causes of a priority position of Arabic and Persian and how this fact shared in the formation and consolidation of a specific interliterary community of Turkic nations, in our study *The Interliterary Community of Turkic Nations within the Context of Islamic Culture*.

time the position of a superior or sole literary language among the less developed Turkic literary languages.

Bilingualism or even trilingualism was no exception with poets of Turkic origin, however, works written in Turkic dialects out of which Azerbaijani, Ottoman Turkish and Chagatai literary languages developed, were subject to canons of Arabian-Persian poetics which strikingly differed from the traditional Turkic poetic schemes. These facts raise the question as to the measure in which Turkic literatures of the relevant period fulfilled the function of a specific interliterary community. Our study referred to above, attempted at least partially, by suggestions, to give an answer to this question. Alongside the ideological factor which in the early and classical period integrated Turkic literatures into the broad frame of Islamic culture, two further factors were also active here, viz. the principle of ethnic proximity and related linguistic affinity.

The principle of ethnic kinship creates conditions for an analogy of poetic motifs and schemes as the way of life and thinking among related ethnic communities that stimulated their origin, is analogous. This holds not solely in relation to folk, but also artistic literature.

The most conspicuous element of pre-Islamic heritage, hence, a heritage whose foundations had already been laid in the common primeval region of Turkic tribes at the foot of Altai, was the syllabic metre unreservedly maintaining its position in the anonymous poetry and predominating in the works of folk and mystic poets. But a tendency to quantitatively adapt to the metre of the original metric scheme is also apparent in writings belonging to the framework of artistic literature.[7] A preference is also manifest here for certain poetic forms at the expense of others, particularly the Turkic form *tujug* which achieved the greatest flourish in works of Azerbaijani, Ottoman and Chagatai poets in the second half of the 15th and early 16th centuries.[8]

A mutual exchange of achievements in the field of mastering Arabic-Persian poetics among poets of the above three regions, as well as an exchange of epic motifs and entire plots in the literary and folk epic, was made possible by the linguistic affinity which is closely related to ethnic kinship. In the subsequent development of Turkic literatures these two factors grew in importance for the preservation of the significance of the ideo-social component which, thanks to the hegemony of the Turkic element in the Islamic world, acquired new dimensions.

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[7] Cf. MARTYNTSEV, A.J.: *K probleme "ritm i metr" v tyurkoyazychnom klassicheskom stikhoslozhenii* (On the problem of "rhythm and metre" in Turkic classical prosody). In: *Turkologica 1980*. Leningrad, Nauka 1986, pp. 172–179.

[8] For more details, see the study by STEBLEVA, I.V.: *Svyaz formy i soderzhaniya v zhanre tuyug* (Relation of form and content in the Tuyug genre). In: *Teoriya zhanrov literatur Vostoka* (Theory of genres of Oriental Literatures), Moscow, Nauka 1989, pp. 45–58 and STEBLEVA, I.V.: *K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii zhanra tuyug* (On the origin of the Tuyug genre). In: *Tyurkologicheskii sbornik 1970*. Moscow, Nauka 1970.

In the 16th century a great part of the Islamic world came under the rule of Turkic dynasties.[9] The capital of the most expansive of these dynasties, the Ottomans, became not only the administrative centre of a vast empire spreading on three continents, but also the seat of caliph,[10] the religious centre for Islam. Istanbul, thanks to its wealth and influence attracted artists from the entire Islamic world, primarily from areas with a predominantly Turkic population. Ottoman Turkish came to be the third universal means of communication beyond the frontiers of the Ottoman empire; this gave rise to numerous bi- and multi-domicile[11] authors and works.

In the 16th century, hence, at the climax of classicism in Islamic culture, the measure of interaction and complementary processes in Ottoman, Chagatai and Azerbaijani literature, which had achieved the level of the highly developed Persian literature, attained a high degree. On the other hand, Persian literature, as a result of Shi'i orientation, gradually found itself in isolation.[12] If we add to this the persisting stagnation of Arabic literature, then the increasing interaction of Turkic literatures and their orientations was a natural phenomenon.

Disintegrating trends in relation to the Arabic-Persian literary tradition are the first sign of awakening national consciousness. A significant role in this process was played by middle urban strata from the 17th century onwards which became a more and more important recipients of the literary production. This created room for interaction between literature and folklore. And thus, while court poetry began to stagnate proportionately with the growing crisis of the military feudal system and the related global decline of Muslim States, its formalism went on deepening, this creation which was addressed to a non-aristocratic consumer, went on developing with new genres and artistic methods coming into being.

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[9] Besides the Ottoman dynasty which ruled uninterruptedly from 1281 until 1922, there was the Safavid dynasty in Iran (1501–1736), the Shaybanid dynasty in Transoxania (1499–1599) and the Mughal dynasty in India (1526–1838).

[10] From 1517 when Salim I, having conquered Cairo, transferred the last Abbasid calif al-Mutavakkil (1509–1517) to Istanbul, the Ottoman sultans also usurped the title of head of the Muslim religious community. The califat was done away with only after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1924.

[11] The term dual-domicile (multi-domicile) occurs in the theoretical and comparative studies by D. Ďurišin and his team. It expresses the reception and incorporation of an author or of a work (even an anonymous work may be involved) in two or more literary systems.

[12] Jan Rypka justifies this isolation as follows: "Their (i.e. the rulers from the Safavid dynasty – X.C.) 'cultural' interest was focused on propaganda and reinforcement of a politicized religion, which is done through an uplifting of both theological sciences, and religious poetry – however, both in the Shi'i spirit... Nevertheless, a Shi'i orientation could not be endorsed by Central Asia, Afghanistan and India, countries altogether Sunni, hence, neo-Persian literature ceased to be international..." RYPKA, J.: Dějiny novoperské literatury až do začátku XX. století (History of neo-Persian literature up to the early 20th century). In: Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury (History of Persian and Tajik literature). Prague, ČSAV 1963, p. 246.

Azerbaijani, Turkish, Uzbek and from the 18th century also Turkmenian literatures give ample evidence of an interaction with genres of folklore. Folk poets (Azerbaijani and Turkish *ashiks*, Uzbek and Turkmenian *shairs*) contributed to this in significant measure. The works of many of them, namely of those living and creating in an urban environment, represented a specific synthesis of court and folk poetry. Equally as with mystical poetry, which had by that time passed its zenith, the work of folk poets became an intermediary between classical literature and folklore and contributed to the activation of their complementary function.

Probably as far back as the 15th century already, written records from the domain of folklore began to appear. Manuscript collections from the 18th and 19th centuries document in a broad range works of folk poets. Many of them can be spoken of as having dual- or multi-domicile, because their original works as well as their adaptations of works by other authors or of anonymous works formed an organic part of several literary systems. This is undoubtedly related to the fact that these were for the most part migrating authors, the sphere of their activity was often considerable in extent. In addition, the measure of their dual- or multi-domicile existence depended also on the structure of their repertory – indisputably it was enhanced most by the presence of epic topics in the repertory, in the great majority of cases, forming part of several literary systems.

The turn of the 16th and 17th centuries witnessed the culmination in the formation of a specific epic genre represented by romantic stories of couples in love (*hikâye*). This genre was moulded by whole generations of folk poets both on the substratum of oral traditions and on the basis of Arabic and Persian literary topics the roots of which reached back to the earliest mythological conceptions of mankind. A variability of the most diverse literary and folkloric motifs and of entire topical schemes is extremely abundant in this genre.

For example the episode of Kerem and Aslı, widespread from Central Asia up to the Balkans, whose author probably is the Turkish folk poet Kerem Dede (Aşık Kerem, 16th cent)[13] comprises episodes that can also be found in the epopees of Nizami and Fuzuli, but also contains motifs linked to the episode of Bamsı Beyrek Bolu from the Oghuz epic *Kitab-ı Dedem Korkut*. The Azerbaijani version of the story simultaneously shows analogies with that Kozi Korpesh and Bayan Sulu, spread among the Karakalpaks, Bashkirs and Kazakhs.[14] Certain situations from the last one were in turn absorbed by the Uzbek variant of the story about Tahir and Zühre.[15] A great variability of one

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[13] BORATAV, P.N.: *Folklor ve Edebiyat (1982) II* (Folklore and Literature). Istanbul, Adam Yayıncılık 1983, p. 241

[14] TULU, S.: *Chorasantürkische Materialien aus Kalāt bei Esfarāyen*. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1989, p. 176.

[15] ZHIRMUNSKY, V.A. – ZARIFOV, A.T.: *Uzbekskii narodnyi geroicheskii epos* (Uzbec heroic epic). Moscow, OGIZ 1977, p. 301.

and the same plot within the same literary sytem is characteristic of all Turkic epic genres.

A work marked by a considerable variability is the originally Azerbaijani-Turkish epic cycle *Köröğlu* (*Gorogly*) which probably originated in the 16th century and gradually won great popularity among nations of the Near East and the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Siberia. In later Central-Asian versions, the principal hero, of a noble outlaw, became transformed into the image of a just ruler. This may be linked in some measure to the persisting relation to Firdausi's *Shahname* as a source of permanent stimuli in both artistic and folk epics in this area. Central Asian Gorogly simultaneously shifted from the position of a romantic story with realistic elements, to that of a heroic epos – *destan* in which the miraculous prevails.[16]

A frequent recurrence of mythological and fairy motifs is also characteristic of the Uzbek-Kazakh-Kara-Kalpak epos *Alpamys*, which represents the earliest epic plot fixed in the creative memory of Turkic nations, as well as of the Kirghiz epos *Manas* the development of which has not yet been terminated. The residuum of the earliest epic motifs whose roots reach back to the primeval homeland of the Turkic nations below the Altai, brings out the urgency to study the genesis of heroic epic together with the ethnogenesis of these nations, their material and spiritual cultures.[17] Alongside the shamanist traits of some personages, particularly those of the titular hero Dede Korkut, there are parallels of heroes and motifs of the ancient Greek epos in the *Kitab-ı Dedem Korkut* which constitutes the basis of the cultural heritage of the Azerbaijanis, Turks and Turkmens (peoples deriving their origin from the Oghuz). The presence of many classical motifs and their parallel in the epic of Turks, Turkmens and Azerbaijanis goes to show that their centuries-old vicinity to the Byzantine Empire left a trace in the folklore of these peoples.

In the history of Turkic literatures and their interliterary communities, a significant role devolves upon folklore. It was an expression of a cultural identity of various Turkic tribes and tribal bonds in times of their migration to new localities where they came into contact with different ethnic communities and their cultures. Precisely thanks to folklore which represented the basic or exclusive way of cultural life of the masses, no total cultural nor literary assimilation of these tribes – and later of Turkic nationalities and nations – took place with the universal Islamic culture. Can we consider the beginning of the development of Turkic literary tradition in Islamic culture to be in the 11th–14th centuries when elements of traditional Turkic poetry still penetrated into the first written literary works; or at the peak of the classical period in the 15th–16th centuries when some renowned authors, such as e.g. Alishar Navoï consciously turned to the original forms? Or was it in the subsequent centuries

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[16] For more details see CEJPEK, J.: *Íránská lidová slovesnost* (Iranian folk literature). In: *Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury*, pp. 572–576.

[17] This requirement was dealt with by R.Z. KYDYRBAYEVA in her *Genesis eposa Manas* (Genesis of the epic Manas). Frunze, Ilim 1980, p. 278.

when the converging relationship to Arabic-Persian literature began to turn into a divergent one. The rich and steadily developing folk literature was that significant factor which reinforced the consciousness of the specificity of individual Turkic literatures and simultaneously of their solidarity.

Folk literature also played a central role in the formation process of Turkic nations which began roughly in the mid-19th century and was conditioned by an analogous process – already completed – in Europe. It gave rise to new literary languages and alongside European literature, also co-operated in the origin and development of new national literatures.

Manuscript recordings of folkloric expressions were precisely the factor helping to preserve the continuity of the linguistic development, appreciably disrupted in the official sphere by the hegemony of Arabic and Persian. In addition, an orientation to the middle urban strata led within the developed Turkish and Azerbaijani literatures, roughly from the 17th century, to efforts at a democratization of the literary language. The dilemma between literary and spoken languages, nevertheless, persisted until new national literary languages had been formed.

The first effort in the Ottoman Empire at a more extensive linguistic reform took place in the seventies of the last century. It was conditioned by journalism to which is also connected the first stage of development of the new Turkish literature.

The origin of journalism, as also an activization of social events in the Ottoman Empire was the result of four decades of reforms *(Tanzimat)* which opened the way to European capitals. The result was a transformation of the State, weakened in power and economy into a half colony, on the one hand, and the birth of a young nationally-minded bourgeoisie with a new way of thinking, on the other. Contacts with European culture became deeper,[18] the ideas of the French Enlightenment came to be the driving force of the society. Revival literature also took part in propagating them.

A similar course of development also went on in Transcaucasia, Central Asia and Kazakhstan, following the Russian colonization, completed in the sixties of the last century, conditions were created for the formation of a national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, which was the bearer of democratic ideas. Similarly as in the Ottoman Empire, an important role was here played by secularized secondary schools which disrupted the monopoly of the clergy on the interpretation of the world in the spirit of the Islamic religious doctrine. In 1804 a university was set up in Kazan and became the centre of communication of Russian culture with that of the Tatars and the other Turkic nationalities in Russia. The opportunity to study at this, but also further universities, led to contact with a democratically-oriented Russian inteligentsia which ani-

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[18] The presence of ambassadors of the Ottoman empire at courts of European rulers from the beginning of the 18th century contributed to a knowledge of the different European culture and way of life. The so-called "Books of Ambassadors" *(Sefaretnâme)* mediated these notes to a wider reader public from the ranks of the intelligentsia.

mated the national consciousness of Turkic scholars and literati and their endeavours to achieve emancipation of their nations.

Precisely during this period, i.e. in the second half of the 19th century, thanks to a very strong impact of European nationalist ideas, the integrating function of Islam was weakened, the word *millet* ceased to designate a community which was defined more by its religious appurtenance than by an ethnic origin, language or state-forming principle, and acquired the meaning of *nation*. And although the pan-Islamic movement[19] exerted efforts to suppress ideas of a national and State integrity, the latter eventually persisted as dominant in the Ottoman Empire and the remaining territories inhabited by Muslims.

The serious socio-economic changes and the ideational fermentation provoked a whole series of analogous phenomens in Turkic literatures. This involved both a growing orientation to European literature and culture and a deepening interest in folk literature, a serious approach to its study as a starting point and a source of modern national literatures, which is a characteristic sign of the times of national revival.[20]

Efforts at introducing new ideas into the reviving national Turkic literatures or those that were just being formed on the basis of folklore, as also the struggle for an emancipation of the nation, laid enhanced claims on the literati of that period who stood at the head of the revival process. Alongside their literary work, they also intensively pursued publishing, translation, critical, philosophical, and political activity and helped to form national literary languages. Hence, it is quite natural that this revolutionary period gave birth to a number of universal, polyfunctional authors whose significance exceeded the frontiers of their own national literature.

Great credit for the origin of Kazakh revival goes to the ethnographer and folklorist Shokan Valihanov (1837–1885) who likewise left his marks on the history of Kirghiz literature. He was the first to publish various episodes from the epic of *Manas* and thus drew attention to this jewel of the people's creativity which had until then existed solely as oral tradition.[21]

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[19] Efforts at adjusting Islam to the new social, political and international conditions culminated in the activity of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1831–1897) who tried to stem the tide of the growing nationalism through the idea of pan-Islamism. He underlined the urgency of unity and solidarity of the Islamic world. The Turkish Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876–1908) also welcomed certain ideas of pan-Islamism hoping to maintain and strengthen through their intermediary the hegemony of the Ottoman Empire in the Islamic world.

[20] This phenomenon within the Yugoslav context is dealt with by ČERNÁ, M.: *Interakční dynamismus meziliterárního společenství národů Jugoslávie. Epocha národního obrození* (The Dynamics of Interaction in the Interliterary Community of the Nations of Yugoslavia. The Age of National Revival). In: ĎURIŠIN et al.: *Osobitné medziliterárne spoločenstvá 1*, pp. 101–117.

[21] The manuscript fund of the Academy of Sciences of Kirghizia owns some thirty variants of the epos *Manas* and occasionally acquires new ones. In contrast to epics of other Turkic nations where the prosaic text alternates with passages in syllabic verses, all the variants of the Kirghiz epic have a similar versified form. The interpreter – *manaschi*, recites and simultaneously improvises on the text without the accompaniment of any musical instrument, making use of ges-

Of significance is also Valihanov's attempt at substituting the Russian alphabet for Arabic writing, which the writer Ibrai Altynsarin (1814–1889) carried on and applied in his Kirghiz reader (1873). That, too, is one of the signs of the disintegration within Islamic culture. The reformers endeavoured to work out a system that would fully correspond to the vowel structure of Turkic languages and replace the unsuitable Arabic consonant-based writing. Initiative along these lines was also manifested by two further universal personalities of this period: the Turk Ibrahim Şinasi (1827–1871) who has the priority in introducing Latinized writing, and the Azerbaijan Mirza Fatali Ahundzade (Akhundov, 1812–1878) who vainly tried to obtain support from the Turkish ruler for his project of a reformed writing system.

The revivalist thinker, materialist philosopher, playwright and writer Ahundzade is a polyfunctional author par excellence. His role of mediator between the Islamic and European culture, the impact of his multivarious activities on the development of thinking and literatures of Turkic nations, has not as yet been adequately evaluated. His outstanding command of Russian, his close contacts with numerous representatives of the then Russian cultural and political life[22] enabled him to become familiar with new trends in Russian and French literature and philosophy, to become a zealous adherent and propagator of European culture and civilization.

Ahundzade devoted seven years only to literary work and dedicated the rest of his fertile life to socio-political and philosophical issues. Nonetheless, his literary works meant a revolutionary moment in the history of Azerbaijani literature. His novel *Aldamysh kevakib* (Deluded Stars, 1857) foreshadowed the origin of a new Azerbaijani prose. He laid down the foundations of the dramatic genre which was an unknown concept in classical literatures of the Islamic world by his six comedies. Thanks to numerous translations, Ahundzade's comedies soon reached the consciousness of European cultural public.[23]

In the intentions of the Gogolian literary school, Ahundzade considered comedy to be the best means of portraying and criticizing the society and a form most accessible to the public at large. The first Turkish theatre piece also was a comedy. Ibrahim Şinasi's *Şair evlenmesi* (The Poet's Wedding, 1860), written in Istanbul's spoken language, presents a typical example of the com-

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tures and mimics. The most extensive version of the *manaschi* Sarybai Orozbakov comprises over one hundred and eighty thousand verses. See SYDYKOV, A.: *Geroicheskie motivy v epose "Manas"* (Heroic Motifs in the Epic "Manas"): Frunze, Ilim 1982, pp. 3–7.

[22] Ahundzade was linked by friendship with the Dekabrist Bestuzhev-Marlinsky who translated his poem on Pushkin's death into Russian (1834).

[23] A bibliography of all European editions of Ahundzade's comedies is to be found in S.M. MAMEDOV's publication: *Mirovozzrenie M.F. Akhundova* (M.F. Akhundov's World Outlook). Moscow, Izdat. Moskovskogo universiteta 1962, p. 40. Ahundzade's dramatic works are dealt with in H.W. BRANDS' monograph: *Aserbeidschanisches Volksleben und modernistische Tendenzen den Schauspielen Mirzā Feth-ʿAlī Ahundzādes (1812–1878)*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1958.

plementary nature of two diametrically opposite literary systems. The author drew on traditions of Turkish folk theatre and simultaneously utilized means of expression of European dramatic art.[24]

Similarly, the newly evolving prosaic genres,[25] and particularly the short stories, also succeeded in integrating inadequate components of folk epic with artistic principles of European short stories, thanks to which it attained noteworthy results within a relatively short time. It took unduly longer for the novel to get over the level of a mere experiment in this field; its artistic qualities strikingly lagged behind its ideological vigour.

What applies to the novel, also holds for dramatic works which, in the seventies and eighties of the last century, became the dominant genre in Turkish literature and insistently made itself heard in Azerbaijani literature,[26] and in the last quarter of the 19th century the first dramas and novels, permeated with revivalist ideas, appeared in Tatar. These also represent the ideological aim in the dramatic works of Namık Kemal (1840–1888), a polyfunctional author and a leading personality of the movement of the New Ottomans.[27] His dramas *Gülnihal* (1875) and *Celâleddin Harzemşah* (1885) comprise revivalist ideas of the 18th century expressed in the spirit of romaticism of the first half of the 19th century.[28]

Accelerated development was the concomitant phenomenon which resulted in the disintegration of Turkic literatures in relation to the traditions of Islamic culture and their integration into the European cultural context.[29] But of course, we may not forget the criterion of developmental differentiatedness. The two are closely related and development proceeded much faster in literatures that could make contact not only with the European pattern, but also

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[24] PLASKOWICKA-RYMKIEWICZ, S. – BORZĘCKA, M. – ŁABECKA-KOECHEROWA, M.: *Historia literatury tureckiej* (History of Turkish Literature). Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich 1971, p. 177.

[25] Prosaic genres in the form evolved in European literatures did not exist in classical literatures of the Islamic interliterary community. Until the 19th century, nothing but historical treatises, travelogues and the Books of Ambassadors referred to above, had been written there.

[26] We have in mind the northern part of Azerbaijan, annexed by Russia in 1828. Literary development in southern Azerbaijan, incorporated into Iran, went on stagnating.

[27] In 1865, a secret Association of the New Ottomans *(Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti)* was formed in the Ottoman Empire on the model of the Italian revolutionary organization Carbonari, which had for aim to establish a constitutional monarchy where all the citizens regardless of religious denomination would enjoy the same rights. Following the unsuccessful putsch in 1866, many of the leading representatives of the Association, including Namık Kemal, emigrated to Paris and London where they published journals and articles against the government policy of the Ottoman State.

[28] In the preface to the drama *Celâleddin Harezmşah*, Namık Kemal openly sided with Victor Hugo's creative principles.

[29] The specific content and designative ability of this term is defined by ĎURIŠIN, D.: *Pokus o skúmanie zákonitostí medziliterárneho procesu* (An Attempt at an Investigation of the Laws of the Interliterary Process). In: ĎURIŠIN, D. et al.: *Osobitné medziliterárne spoločenstvá 1*, pp. 272–273.

143

with their own tradition of written literature which, following a certain stagnation, again became activated thanks to impulses from outside.

In less developed Turkmenian, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Kara-Kalpak literatures, poetry had retained for a relatively long time a leading position, in the Tatar, Azerbaijani and Turkish literatures this genre – dominant in the Middle Ages – soon relinquished this position at the start of the emancipation process in favour of prosaic and dramatic genres. Incontestably one of the reasons was the fact that poetry was represented far less than prose in the steadily growing volume of translations from French, Russian, English, German literatures.

Translations, as too in adaptations of works from European literatures (where the stress was laid on foregrounding of the artistic and ideational values of the original) fulfilled a double role: on the one hand, they stimulated the origin and devolopment of new literary types and genres, topics and artistic procedures, on the other, they took a significant part in forming new literary languages based on democratic principles.

In this connection we again refer to Ibrahim Şinasi whose translating activities exerted a significant influence on the promotion of Turkish literature precisely from the above two aspects. Şinasi was the first to have made accessible to the Turkish reading public the works of Racine, Lamartine, Hugo, La Fontaine, Musset and simultaneously, through these translations to enhance the reform of the Turkish literary language which he advocated.

Another personality that by his translations of approximately fifty works from Russian literature as well as his own poetic work had a significant share in the formation of Kazakh language was Abai Kunanbayev (1845–1904).

The prospects and conditions of the moulding of literary languages differed in the various Turkic nations. The majority of them had no literary language of their own, some even lacked written literature. Ottoman Turkish and Chagatai had for centuries been the medium for a cultural exchange in the Turkic world. In the mid-19th century Turkic scholars and intelligentsia began through their intermediary to become acquainted in Turkish and Chagatai translations with European literature, particularly French and Russian.

A striking change took place following the formation of Turkic federated and autonomous republics within the Soviet Union. On the one hand, the languages of nations and nationalities were granted the status of official languages, which seemingly gave them the prospect of development, on the other hand, however, this chance was weakened by Russian being institutionalized as the universal means of communication. Russian thus not only relegated national languages into a secondary position, but simultaneously replaced Turkish and Chagatai as a means of cultural exchange among Turkic nations. Alongside a divergent political and social orientation, this fact, too, led towards a gradual disintegration of Turkic nations and nationalities within the framework of the Soviet Union and outside of it.

Compulsory knowledge of Russian created conditions in the former Soviet Union for bilingualism of both authors and readers of literary works. It permitted works of Russian classical and Soviet literature to be available to a

larger audience, as well as those of foreign authors acceptable to the Soviet régime and the production of numerous national literatures of the Soviet Union. However, the hegemony of Russian gradually ushered in a situation where a Russian translation became more accessible even to a non-Russian reader, than the original not only when there was question of literature of a related nation, but likewise when the language of the original was the reader's maternal tongue. Alongside bilingual authors, there are also numerous poets and writers in Turkic literatures of the former Soviet Union who write exclusively in Russian.

Literatures of the Turkic nations of Transcaucasia, Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Siberia became incorporated into the interliterary community of the Soviet Union, formed primarily on the basis of an administrative-political, and then also on an ideological-artistic principle. The so-called socialist realism became for whole decades the only officially recognized criterion for the work of writers, poets and playwrights in the former Soviet Union, but also in all the former socialist countries.

Despite the strong ideological pressures on the part of totalitarian régimes, valuable literary works were also written there that will stand the strictest evaluative criteria: This also applies to Turkic literatures in which not all poets and writers accepted the enforced patterns either, and several attempted a fertile synthesis of the gains of European literature with their own traditions. Such a synthesis occupies an important place in contemporary Turkish literature and the underlying method is especially characteristic of the work of the internationally acknowledged and much translated Yaşar Kemal (1922).

Turkish literature which both in the past and during the present century enjoyed more favourable conditions for its development than the other Turkic literatures, inevitably won better chances to penetrate by means of translations into the context not only of European, but also world literature. As a case in point, we may mention the work of poet Nazım Hikmet (1901–1963), of the humorist and satirist Aziz Nesin (born 1915), awarded several international prizes and of Sait Faik Abasıyanık (1906–1954) whose contribution to 20th century world literature was recognized by the Mark Twain Society by making him an honorary member.

Translations of works from Turkish literature into Russian and languages of Turkic Soviet Republics, as also, although in a far lesser measure, Turkish editions of significant representatives of Turkic Soviet literature, fortunately helped to preserve, at least in outline, the continuity of a cultural exchange among the Turkic nations during the course of their disintegration due to their appurtenance to two different political groupings.

The break-up of the Soviet Union and formation of sovereign Turkic republics have created prospects not only of a new level of their mutual relationships, but also of contacts between these republics and the rest of the world. The principal motive power in efforts at setting up a community of Turkic nations and its integration with the countries of Europe is represented by Turkey.

The Commission for the literary language at the session in May 1992 set down priorities in the domain of language, culture, education and science, the aim being to speed up integration of the Turkic commonwealth and ensure its rightful place in the contemporary world. This involved, among other matters, mutual establishment of cultural centres, exchange of teachers and students, cooperation in preparing dictionaries and grammars, publication of anthologies from the various literatures of this commonwealth in all their languages, mutual exchange of radio and TV programmes, and the introduction of a uniform alphabet.[30]

The last of the tasks mentioned culminated in the decision by The Turkic World Fraternity, Friendship and Cooperation Convention, convened in Antalya (Turkey) between 21–24 March 1993 to introduce a uniform alphabet by all the Turkic languages.[31] This decision will facilitate the educational, scientific, cultural, economic and technological relationships among the Turkic republics. Despite efforts on the part of conservatives to enforce a return to the Arabic writing, the common alphabet is based on Latin, because it will be easier for Turkic republics to take their place in the modern world.

A discussion is going on regarding the question of a common language that would replace Russian in mutual contacts, particularly in official correspondence. A positive stand regarding the need to set up a common, supranational literary language was also expressed for the professional journal Türk Dili (Turkish Language) by the world-renowned Kirghiz writer Chingiz Aytmatov. He also justifies his view by the low standard of literary languages in the former Soviet republics.[32]

From the conservative circles the request is also heard to return to Islamic cultural traditions. In some measure, this demand may be accepted in view of the incontestable values present in these traditions. It was also thanks to them that literatures of Turkic nations have succeeded in preserving their specificities whithin the growing Eurocentrism of the past decades. In the midst of innovations, they did not lose sight of their own cultural substratum created by generations of ancestors.

The ongoing development implies that integration of Turkic literatures into a specific community is but a question of time. And although most of Turkic nations live outside the European continent, the convergent relationship of these nations to European literary traditions is so strong, that this specific interliterary community will doubtless form part of a broader all-Europe context.

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30 Türk Dili, 1992, No. 486, pp. 1034–36.

31 The "Alphabet-Spelling Conference" had already earlier accepted a common Turkish alphabet for Turkey and the Turkic Republics at a meeting in Ankara on 8 March. Each Turkic Republic will prepare its own alphabet by using the Turkish one consisting of 34 letters. Newspot, 11 March 1993, p. 3.

32 Cengiz Aytmatov ile dil ve edebiyat üzerine söyleşi (Interview with Chingiz Aytmatov on language and literature). Türk Dili, 1992, No. 487, pp. 61–62.

ANATOMICAL METAPHOR AND ITS ROLE IN VOCABULARY EXTENSION IN INDONESIAN AND MAORI*

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Metaphor is examined here from the cognitive point of view and attention is paid chiefly to the role of anthropomorphic model in the metaphorical expansion of vocabulary in Indonesian and Maori. In both languages a preference for the metaphorization of the most salient body parts (eye, head, mouth) has been discovered. Terms for internal organs are as a rule applied only to psychic phenomena.

The widespread enthusiasm for metaphor sometimes tends to degenerate into a euphoria encouraged by belief in the discovery of some sort of a panacea that could at last help us to cure language of all its ailments interfering with our cognition. Therefore it comes as no surprise that the tendency to stretch the meaning of metaphor so that everything would deserve this label is not new; we find it not only, e.g., with Lakoff but also with Nietzsche.

From the cognitive point of view, metaphor is no ultima Thule; rather it reflects the fact that human beings in their unrelenting effort to grasp the sense of their ambient, to penetrate into the nature of the surrounding existence, have found out (or rather assumed) that our environment is cohesive, repetitive and – despite its obvious superficial variety – essentially homogeneous. Cohesion means that various features observed around us may be linked or interrelated. The links may be either (1) obvious and usual (and sometimes insubstantial) or (2) deep, hidden from our sight so that their discovery requires some effort on the part of the observers.

Homogeneity presumes similarity and similarity may be found to hold (or be postulated) not only between adjacent domains but also between divergent areas of experience, which, of course, requires more creative intellectual exertion. The property of cohesion is utilized by metonymy that may be defined as a transfer between contiguous domains (English *egghead* used as referring to an intellectual, Maori *aahei* "collar-bone" used in the meaning of "holding the spear against the collar-bone as a guard"). Synecdoche, i.e., transferring part —> whole, is hard to distinguish from metonymy for the simple reason that two phenomena linked by cohesion may often be observed to form a whole. Metaphor is to be viewed as an inventive postulation of a link between

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two conceptual domains, namely between such domains that are convention-
ally held to be detached, and it is their distance, their divergence that supplies
metaphor with its emotional appeal and effectiveness. These properties,
however, are perceived in a particular metaphor only while it is fresh. Once a
metaphor is accepted by the language community and incorporated in the lexi-
con, its motivational basis recedes into the background and ceases to attract
the attention of those who take an interest in its emotional effect. However, it
is the linguist's task to pursue the study of such metaphors because they help
us shed light upon the very path our cognition follows in investigating the
world we live in.

I assume that we have the right to conceive of primeval (both individual
and collective) human experience as inarticulate as well as fragmentary and it
is during his interaction with the surrounding world that a human being
gradually learns to discern what constitutes his person and what comprises his
or her outer milieu. It is at the interface linking the human with the surround-
ing reality that the human mind picks up the first data to be processed later.
And what is going on subsequently in our minds may be said to form some
kind of human cognitive basis.

If the first cognitive articulation of diffuse experience has to do with the
delimitation of ego from its surroundings, then it comes as no surprise that
ego or (usually only) parts of it serve as a cognitive model for other concep-
tual domains. It sounds logical; the mass of perceptions would remain a flood
of opaque experience if they were not evaluated against the background of
preexistent heuristic hypotheses, the role of which consists in giving them
some sense. The resulting interpretation may be adequate or wrong. An ade-
quate interpretation is retained while a wrong interpretation is modified or
replaced by a new one but one has to admit that an absence of interpretation is
definitely much worse than a wrong interpretation. It is questionable where
the first cognitive hypothesis comes from or how it comes about but it may
safely be assumed that the process of cognition does not start from an abstract,
geometrical centre of the human psychophysical being. Quite the contrary, it
is to be sought at the interface, at the border that both separates and links the
human being with the existence surrounding this interface from both sides,
i.e., from outside and inside.

This may help us understand what L. Wittgenstein has to say on the sub-
ject: "Das philosophische ich ist nicht der Mensch, nicht der menschliche
Körper oder die menschliche Seele mit den psychologischen Eigenschaften,
sondern das metaphysische Subjekt, die Grenze (nicht ein Teil) der Welt"
(Wittgenstein 1969: 175). The cognitive process is no mere outward march
into the external world but also a vigorous and incessant attempt to penetrate
the interior of human existence, and it is here that Wittgenstein's quotation
ought to be completed: "Der menschliche Körper aber, mein Körper insbeson-
dere, ist ein Teil der Welt unter anderen Teilen der Welt, unter Tieren, Pflan-
zen, Steinen, etc., etc." (ibid.).

The realm of primeval cognitive models includes elementary human anatomy, basic kin relations (child – parent), vital functions and activities (eat, drink, sleep, lie, stand, etc.), and sensual perceptions (hot, cold, rough, smooth, etc.). By the way, these realms are interrelated: anatomical terms reflect an elementary structuring of the human physical being in terms of relations of the parts and the whole ; the vital functions, activities and sensual perceptions are inputs and outputs linking humans to their environment while kinship terms as a basis of social organization reflect elementary relations between people within their structured social milieu.

What has been said so far seems to harmonize with the assumption that anatomical terms play no negligible part in the extension of vocabulary in most languages of the world. The mechanism of vocabulary extension is to a considerable extent based upon metaphor and, to some extent, upon metonymy. Often, both devices are employed with the same term. The English word head may be quoted as an illustration. In the sentence "He is washing his head", head stands for hair while in "He has a good head for languages", its extension is reduced to intellect, mind; "ten heads of cattle" is metonymical (or rather synecdochical) just as head in the meaning of fan or in phraseologisms hang one's head, make a head.

The metaphorical uses of head are much more frequent (but not necessarily more diverse) and based upon its round shape, cf. the following examples: "head of a muscle", "head of a ram", "head of a violin", "head of a lathe", "head of a tape recorder", "head of lettuce", "head of a column", "head of a missile", "head of a cane", or upon its prominence within an (organic) body or upper, utmost position, cf. "head of a bed", "head of a grave", "head of the family" (or of a committee, etc.), "head in a book", "head waiter", "headmaster", "head of the table", "the head on a glass of beer", "head of a valley", "head of a staircase" (or of a mast), "head of a river", "head of a tree", "head of a ship", "head of a bridge", "headstream", "headstone", "head-word", etc.

Now an attempt will be made to investigate the metaphorical usage of anatomical terms in Indonesian and in Maori. Two methods will be employed here. First, the list of anatomical terms that are productive in metaphorization will be compiled for both languages and then compared for coincidences and divergences. Subsequently, the productivity of the individual terms (both in terms of frequency and diversity of usage) will be evaluated.

The productive anatomical terms may be classified into three main conceptual groups, i.e., head, body, and extremities. The following pattern has been attested for Indonesian:

Tab. 1. Vehicles of Indonesian anatomical metaphors

K E P A L A "head":
m u k a "face" :
mata "eye" *telinga* "ear"

m u l u t "mouth" :
bibir "lips" *gigi* "tooth"
lidah "tongue"

B A D A N "body":
tulang "bone" *darah* "blood"
jantung "heart"
pinggang "waist, loins"
belakang "back"
perut "belly": *hati* "liver"
burit "behind" "extremities":
tangan "hand, arm":
jari "finger"
kaki "foot"

The number of Maori anatomical terms is comparable although some
minor deviations have been attested:

Tab. 2. Vehicles of Maori anatomical metaphors

U R U = U U P O K O = K A U P A N E "head":
huru "hair"
tumuaki "crown of the head"
rae "forehead"
pewa "eyebrow"
mata = puukanohi "eye"
ihu "nose"
waha = ngutu "mouth"
niho "tooth" *arero* "tongue"
kauae "jaw"

T I N A N A "body":
aahei "collar-bone"
mauri "thymus"
hope "loins, waist"
tua "back"
*manawa=koopu*u*=takapu*u "belly"
mahara=hinengaro "spleen" *ngaakau* "vitals, viscera"
ate=whanewhane "liver" *whatumanawa* "kidney"
*ure=*penis *ewe* "placenta, womb"
kootore "buttocks, anus" *ene* "anus"

"extremities":
ringa(ringa) "hand, arm":
koromatua "thumb" *koiti* "small finger":
waewae "foot"

150

The similarities and differences between the two languages are easier to discover in the following table.

Tab. 3. Maori and Indonesian. A comparison of anatomical metaphors

MAORI	INDONESIAN
URU = UUPOKO = KAUPANE "head"	**KEPALA** "head":
–	**muka** "face"
huru "hair"	**rambut** "hair"
tumuaki "crown of the head"	–
rae "forehead"	–
–	**telinga** "ear"
pewa "eyebrow"	–
mata = puukanohi "eye"	**mata** "eye"
ihu "nose"	–
waha "mouth":	**mulut** "mouth":
ngutu "lips	**bibir** "lips"
niho "tooth"	–
arero "tongue"	**lidah** "tongue"
kauae "jaw"	–
T I N A N A "body":	**B A D A N** "body":
aahei "collar-bone"	–
–	**tulang** "bone"
–	**darah** "blood"
mauri "thymus"	–
–	**jantung** "heart"
hope "loins, waist"	**pinggang** "waist, loins"
tua "back"	**belakang** "back"
manawa=koopuu=takapuu "belly"	**perut** "belly":
mahara=hinengaro "spleen"	–
ngaakau "vitals, viscera"	–
ate=whanewhane "liver"	**hati** "liver"
whatumanawa "kidney"	–
ure "penis"	–
ewe "placenta, womb"	
kootore "buttocks, anus"	**burit** "behind"
ene "anus"	–

"extremities":

MAORI	INDONESIAN
ringa(ringa) "hand, arm":	**tangan** "hand, arm":
–	**jari** "finger"
koromatua "thumb"	–
koiti "little finger":	–
waewae "foot"	**kaki** "foot"

The frequency of occurrence of the anatomical metaphors in Indonesian and in Maori are not directly comparable, for several reasons. One of them is the underlying corpora of data. Dictionaries of Indonesian comprise many more lexemes; e.g., Korigodski – Kondrashkin – Zinoviev's *Indonesian-Russian dictionary* contains some 45,000 words (Korigodski 1961 and Echols – Shadily's *Indonesian-English dictionary* some 25,000 – 30,000 entries (Echols – Shadily 1963) while the number of entries in Williams' *Maori-English dictionary* may be estimated at about 15,000 entries (Williams 1957).

Therefore an evaluation of frequency will be restricted here to an intuitive assessment of the productivity within each of the two sets.

In Maori vocabulary it is *mata = puukanohi* "eye, eyes" that takes the top position, followed by *uru = uupoko = kaupane* "head", mauri "thymus", and *kauae* "jaw", by *waha* "mouth", *niho* "teeth", and *kootore* "buttocks, anus"; *mahara* "spleen", *ate = whanewhane* "liver", and *pewa* "eyebrow" taking the next positions in terms of frequency.

Indonesian anatomical metaphors display an analogous utilization pattern, with *mata* "eye" being at the top of the scale, followed by *kepala* "head", *mulut* "mouth", then by *muka* "face, and *lidah* "tongue". Cf. the following table:

Tab. 4. Metaphorical productivity of anatomical terms

MAORI	INDONESIAN
1.eye	1.eye
2.head = thymus = jaw	2.head
3.mouth = teeth = buttocks	3.mouth
4.spleen = liver = eyebrow	4.face
5.belly = viscera	5.tongue

A comparison of the two sequences betrays that within the domain of anatomy both languages display a tendency to prefer the metaphorization of the most salient body parts – eye, head, mouth. This tendency seems to be more conspicuous in the case of Indonesian than in the case of Maori. Such a coincidence is certainly not due to chance and can be explained psychologically; it is a well known fact that drawings of people by children tend to emphasize or even exaggerate facial features and the head in general, drastically reducing the rest of the body. Another minor difference between the two languages consists in the fact that Maori utilizes more anatomical terms in lexical metaphors than Indonesian does, despite the fact that the vocabulary of Indonesian no doubt comprises more lexemes than that of Maori.

The most productive metaphorical vehicles are applied to more than one target domain. In Mauri, the term for "head" (*uru, uupoko, kaupane*) is metaphorized because of its functional importance (cf. *uru* "chief"), or its top position (*uru* "top", *kaupane* "upper end"), very much as in Indonesian, cf. *kepala desa* "village headman", *kepala sarong* "upper edge of a sarong", *kepala*

tahun "the beginning of the year". On the other hand, metaphorizations of the terms for "eye" are usually confined to the saliency of this organ within the human face, cf. Maori *puukanohi* "knot in timber", "bud", "eye of a potato", *mata* "mesh of a net", *puukanohi* "isolated waterhole", Indonesian *mata jala* "mesh of a net", *mata panah* "arrowhead", *mata air* "well, spring".

Parallelisms between Maori and Indonesian are obviously due to the existence of cognitive universals centering around human anatomy. They extend to terms for "mouth" (Maori *waha*, Indonesian *mulut*) or "lips" (Maori *ngutu*, Indonesian *bibir*), cf. Maori *waha* "mouth of a river", "doorway", "opening" and Indonesian *mulut sungai* "estuary", *mulut kulit* "pore of the skin", *mulut gunung* "crater".

Interestingly enough, terms for internal organs (situated in the abdomen) are as a rule applied only to the psychic sphere, cf. Maori *puku* "seat of passion, memory", *takapuu* "affection, appetite, desire", *mahara* "thought, memory, think", *ate* "seat of thought, emotions". In this respect, Maori is richer and more elaborate than Indonesian where only *hati* "liver" is applied metaphorically to the psychic sphere (with the meaning "heart", "mind", "interest", "attention"). This application of terms for internal organs to mental and emotional states is in a way metonymical; both domains are obviously presumed to be located at least side by side, if not at the identical spot.

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A THEORY OF EVOLUTION OF THE MANDARIN FOCUS CONSTRUCTION 'SHÌ...DE'

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Japanese and Mandarin focus constructions are compared and a unified theory of their origin and function proposed. According to this theory, focus constructions came about to indicate that a constituent marked as only part of the rheme (in the Prague School sense, vs. theme) in the non-focus construction was in fact the sole element of the rheme.

The 'shì...de' construction, together with the phenomenon of verb-copying, is seen as an eventual response to a pre-classical standardization of the positions of the different types of adverbials vis-à-vis the verb.

Although there is no evidence that the focus construction existed in the classical language, there is reason to think the homophonous "situational" (in Chao's description) construction did. It was to the form of this latter construction, which in its classical form has been mistakenly regarded as the "pronoun zhi" construction, that the eventual focus construction was assimilated.

1. Introduction

Modini (1989a) postulates that there were four original-protolanguage types, viz., the ergative type, the pragmatic constituent order type (represented by Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Afro-Asiatic and Proto-Sino-Tibetan), the objective-conjugation/definite object suffix type (Proto-Uralic-Altaic[1]) and the object-prefix type (Proto-Niger-Congo). These came about, I suggest, each as the result of one of four interactions of the three factors of standardized constituent order, nominal case inflection and verbal agreement, which had come to carry out the two functions of case marking and theme-rheme marking at the prehistorical stage in all the original protolanguages. The pos-

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[1] Modini (1993) shows that the object particle o had a theme-marking role in Old Japanese, in keeping with the hypothesis of the Uralic-Altaic origin of the grammatical component of Japanese. Concerning the pragmatic constituent order type, I have shown (Modini 1992c) that there are grounds for thinking that, far from being three tokens of the same type, PIE, PAA and PST in fact go back to a more distant single protolanguage (on this idea cf. Pulleyblank (1966: 35; 1981:134–135).) Please note the following important errata in Modini (1992c): On p. 93, to "imperative mood" in the 4th line from the top of the page add: "for being treated as thematic (PEC, p. 151)"; on the same page, after "imperative contexts" in the first sentence of the paragraph beginning "As first suggested" add: "to past-perfective contexts and imperative contexts" before "as a whole"; finally, on p. 96, in the paragraph beginning "The fourth", between "patient" and "disappeared" in the second sentence insert the word "marker".

tulation of the four types accounts for the mutual exclusiveness in the world's languages, owing to functional equivalence, of ergativity, the agentive passive voice (developed in certain languages derived from protolanguages with pragmatic constituent order), the objective conjugation/definite object suffix system and the object-prefix system.

The constructions characterizing the four original-protolanguage types each had the function of indicating that the object NP in a transitive clause was theme, as opposed to the related, unmarked[2] construction, which indicated the more normal situation, that the agent NP was theme, with the verb and the object NP being elements of the rheme. The widespread present-day *non-theme/rheme-marking* function of ergative/antipassive, passive/active etc. seems to have been effected by a general process whereby these constructions came to correlate obligatorily with grammatical features (e.g., tense, aspect or mood) which, as markers of theme-rheme distribution, they had had a high frequency of association with. Whereupon the hitherto secondary device of sentence stress[3] became the essential means of expression of theme and rheme.

2. Japanese focusing

I say "essential" in describing the function of sentence stress in such languages because it is necessary to acknowledge that another means exists which was apparently inherited from the stage of the language at which ergative/antipassive, passive/active etc. did have a theme and rheme marking function.[4] The other, inessential and non-basic means had, I contend, the specific function of indicating that a constituent marked as only part of the rheme in the unmarked member of the pair of related constructions, or in an unmarked intransitive construction, which has the same theme-rheme distribution as regards subject and verb (Modini 1987:151), was in fact the sole element of the rheme. Consider the following from Japanese, which I have shown (Modi-

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[2] I.e. less formally complex or more frequently occurring (cf. Comrie 1988:19). According to the second of these criteria, the Japanese 'S-*wa* O-*o* V' and Mandarin 'S V O' constructions are the unmarked ones in these languages (Shibatani 1988:111, on Japanese; Li and Thompson 1975:185, Sun and Givón 1985, on Mandarin).

[3] Dezsö (1982) has shown that most commonly cross-linguistically it is the object, rather than the verb, that receives sentence stress, i.e. that is the major constituent of the rheme. Modini (1989a:354) rather takes the view that neither verb nor object is inherently more likely to be the major or minor constituent and thus to have occurred in a particular position *vis-à-vis* the other in the prehistorical period when constituents' positions were determined by their theme or rheme role. Thus I saw SVO and SOV basic verb orders as resulting from alternative prehistorical standardizations of the two equally frequently occurring distributions of grammatical roles. In the light of Dezsö, I now consider SOV to have resulted rather from the standardization of the most frequently occurring distribution of lexical roles, i.e. NPs before V.

[4] I did not acknowledge this other, non-basic means in Modini (1989b), my study of the segmental and suprasegmental means of marking theme and rheme.

ni 1984:3) marks theme and rheme basically by the type of construction employed:[5]

(1) (a) *Kare ga   katta   no   wa   hon   deshita*
        he   RH   buy(PAST)   PMM   TH   book be(PAST)
        'It was a book that he bought.'
    (b) *Kare wa   hon   o   kaimashita*
        he   TH   book   OBJ   buy(PAST)
        'He bought a book.'

In (b), *hon* and *kaimashita* are two parts of the rheme; in (a), *hon* without the verb makes up the rheme.[6]

The process of focusing *hon* – i.e., marking it as the sole part of the rheme – involves the *nominalizing* of the other constituents (*kare ga katta no*) to enable the creation of an *equational construction* marking *hon* as rheme by virtue of its being outside the theme-marked part.

Let us now turn our attention to intransitive constructions. When we look at these, we observe the same manner of putting an adverbial into focus as we observed above with the focusing of an object in transitive constructions. Following are an example of a construction focusing an adverbial, and the corresponding non-focusing construction:

(2) (a) *Kare ga   kita   no   wa   kinoo   deshita*
        he   RH   come(PAST)   PMM[7] TH   yesterday be(PAST)
        'It was yesterday that he came.'

    (b) *Kare wa   kinoo   kimashita*
        he   TH   yesterday   come(PAST)
        'He came yesterday.'

In (b), *kinoo* and *kimashita* are two parts of the rheme; in (a), *kinoo* without the verb makes up the rheme.

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[5] These abbreviations are used: in glosses in examples: FIN (final particle), OBJ (object marker), PERF (perfectiveness marker), PMM (prenominal modification marker), RH (rheme marker), TH (theme marker). Thanks to informants Misaki Gallagher, an English and Japanese native speaker, and Michael Hui, a native speaker of English and Mandarin. The elicitation process went like this. For (2) and (3) below in the text, I said to each: 'The situation is he came yesterday', and then asked her/him to reply in one Japanese/Mandarin sentence to each of my questions: 'When was it that he came?' (eliciting (a)) and 'What did he do and when did he do it? (which elicited (b)).

[6] The following is the marked construction corresponding to (1b):
            (i) *Kare ga hon o kaimashita*
                '*He* bought a book.'

[7] This *no* has been analysed variously as a nominalizer, a pronoun and a prenominal modification marker with a following non-lexical head (see Kitagawa and Ross 1982:36). Whichever interpretation is made, the *no*-ending word-group is still a nominalization.

156

There is Russian evidence for the view of focusing presented here. Thus in Russian, on the one hand, there is, unlike in Japanese, no fixed order of object or adverbial *vis-à-vis* the verb, so that either may appear in clause-final position as sole rheme; on the other hand, as we would expect, there is no special focus construction (Borras and Christian 1971:289–290).

The fact that other constituents than object or adverbial are focused in various languages may be accounted for on the assumption that focusing, having begun, as I contend, with object and adverbials, was extended to other constituents – subjects and, much less commonly (cf. Givón 1990:731), verbs.

3. Mandarin focusing

The Japanese focusing process can be shown to be identical in essentials to that of Mandarin, another language marking theme and rheme basically segmentally, viz. by constituent position (cf. Li and Thompson 1975:167), rather than suprasegmentally. The equivalents of (2a) and (2b) are, in Mandarin:

(3) (a) *Tā   shì   zuótiān   lái   de*
       he/she   be   yesterday come   PMM[8]
       'It was yesterday that he came.'

  (b) *Tā   zuótiān   lái   le*
       he/she   yesterday   come   PERF
       'He came yesterday.'

The focusing process in Mandarin, as in Japanese, can be viewed as involving the nominalization of the non-focused elements and the creation of an equational construction. If we disregard *lái de* in (3a) for the moment, the position of the focused word, *zuótiān*, conforms to the 'rheme last' order, just as in (2a) *kinoo* is marked as the sole element of the rheme. The position of *lái de* can be explained by regarding the nominalization *tā lái de* as discontinuous, with part of it, *lái de*, extraposed.[9]

With the Mandarin extraposition may be compared the English cleft sentence, which I used above to translate the Japanese and Mandarin focus constructions.[10] This construction may be viewed as having *all* the nominal-

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[8] This *de* is termed a past tense marker in Lu (1983), Zhao (1979) and elsewhere, other interpretations being relativizer, nominalizer and prenominal modification marker with a following non-lexical head (see Chu (1981:63–65) on all these). I adopt the last-mentioned interpretation, but delay further discussions till section 3.3.

[9] Rather than indicating an "inverse order of 'rheme-theme'", as Chu (1981:71) would have it, the construction may be more accurately described as having only part of the theme in normal, initial position.

[10] The cleft sentence construction is also used by Chao (1968:297) and Martin (1988:864) in their discussions to translate the Mandarin and Japanese focus constructions. As Chao's examples show, the *'shì...de'* construction is used to focus coverb phrases, as well as adverbials; the focusing of the former, however, can be regarded as an extension of adverb focusing. It is also

ized elements extraposed and, as well, an anticipatory *it* as the subject (Harries-Delisle 1978:437).

3.1. Word order change

Modini (1989a) claims Mandarin goes back to a language marking theme and rheme by the order of constituents without any particular positional restrictions. The hypothesis I have advanced above in section 2 concerning the origin of focus constructions therefore predicts that the construction illustrated in (3a) arose after the time in the history of the language when the construction with the adverbial in rhematic, final position had become no longer possible owing to standardization of its pre-verbal position. In other words, (3a) came to express the idea formerly expressed by a construction like:

(3) (c) *Tā lái le zuótiān.*

Certainly time adverbs equivalent to present-day *zuótiān* etc. *preceded* the verb in the classical language (Dobson 1968:132), and so the pre-condition for development of a focus construction existed by then. However there is no evidence that a classical counterpart of the *'shì...de'* construction existed, I have found. Proceeding on the reasonable assumption that *de* goes back, at least in part (Lü 1943), to the particle *zhi*, I examined all the instances of *zhi* occurring clause-finally in Mullie (1942). I was looking for clauses which might be candidates for analysis as structures of the type: *'shì*/zero ADVERBIAL VERB *zhi'*, where the adverbial had some emphatic flavour.[11] My examination found no such candidates.

Jepson (1991:29), following Huang (1984), notes that "Chinese has exhibited certain types of word-order change. In particular, there appears to have been a long-term tendency to reduce the amount of postverbal material by moving constituents to the left of the verb". Indeed, what may be superficially described as a historical process of reduction of material in post-verbal position may, I believe, be responsible not only for the creation of the necessary condition for the development of the *'shì...de'* construction but also ultimately for the rise of the phenomenon of verb-copying, which is illustrated in the following from Li and Thompson (1981:443):

(4) Wǒ pāi shǒu pāi le liǎng cì
    I   clap hand clap PERF two   time
    'I clapped my hands twice.'

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necessary to note two special variations on the construction: the *shì* may be omitted, and the *de* may either follow any postverbal object or precede it; when it precedes, it is felt to combine *le* and *de* (Hashimoto 1969:101).

[11] The copula *shì* which alternated with zero in the classical language, along with adjectival *shì* and pronominal *shì*, can be shown to go back to a locative verb 'be at' (Modini 1992b).

The following, with the object *shou* and the quantity adverbial phrase *liang ci* together after the unrepeated verb, is ungrammatical:

(5) **Wǒ pāi le shǒu liǎng cì.*[12]

The construction represented by (5) was until at least the mid-17th century (Huang 1984:69) the means of expression of the idea of (4), just as, I claim, (3c) once expressed (3a). Reduction in postverbal material does seem to have been effected in the disappearance of (3c), just as in the rise of (4): in the former case a time adverb has been lost from postverbal position; in the latter case both object and quantity adverbial no longer appear together after the verb.

However the historical process resulting ultimately in both the *'shì...de'* and verb-copying constructions may, I believe, better be described as a process of (a) *standardization of the positions* of the two different types of adverbial expressions *vis-à-vis* the verb, together with (b) development of *alternative means of expressions* of theme and rheme distribution. Part (a) of this process involved the standardization of the most frequently occurring orders of verb and adverbial. Thus, adverbs of time like modern *zuótiān*, which would most frequently have occurred *before* the verb since they would in most contexts have the minor rheme role and the verb the major rheme role, came to occur obligatory preverbally. Similarly, quantity and other adverbials would most frequently have occurred *after* the verb since they would in most contexts have the major rheme role, so that the postverbal position became obligatory for them. This first part of the long-term process occurred substantially prior to the classical period. However, as far as verb-copying is concerned, the grammaticalness of the construction represented by (5) till 300-odd years ago suggests that verb-copying resulted from a further, rather recent development eliminating the object from the position between the verb and the post-verbal quantity (etc.) adverbial.

The verb-copying construction can be seen, furthermore, as an alternative means of expression of the theme-rheme configuration expressed by the non-copying construction. Thus the adverbial in both constructions clearly occupies sentence-final position as the sole element of the rheme. And in the verb-copying construction, the verb and object together make up the minor element

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[12] Although sentences like (5) do not occur, the following type does:

(i) *Wǒ tīng le   Zhāngsān liǎng cì*
    I   hear PERF Zhangsan two   time
    'I heard Zhangsan twice.'

As Li and Thompson (1981:445) point out, non-copying of the verb occurs, as in (i), when the object is referential, animate and definite. It seems to me that the reason for this may be that such NPs are not typical objects; referentiality, animateness and definiteness are features associated rather with subjects. Verb-copying, at its present stage of evolution, may only affect "normal" objects, along with (as Hsieh's (1992:80–83) examples seem to show) only canonical transitive verbs.

159

of the theme, as Tsao (1987a:20–29) has to my mind convincingly show. (The minor theme is termed there the "secondary topic".) This is no doubt the function also of verb and object together in the non-copying construction.

This conception of the theme-rheme distribution expressed by the verb-copying construction offers some explanation for the fact that, as Hsieh (1992: 78) puts it "the function of the verb copying construction and the function of the *ba* construction are in complementary distribution". Hsieh points to the ambiguity in the following:

(6) *Tā   qí   lèi   le   mǎ*
    he/she   ride tired PERF   horse
    'He rode a horse, and (as a result) he was tired.'
    'He rode a horse, and (as a result) the horse was tired.'

If (6) is expressed instead as a verb-copying construction, *lei* refers only to the state of the subject; if a *bǎ*-construction is instead used, *lei* can only refer to the state of the object. We can account for this in terms of functional sentence perspective by saying that in a verb-copying structure, the idea expressed by the postverbal adverbial element has to do with the action expressed by the verb and its object combined; in a *bǎ*-construction, the idea expressed by the verb and adverbial combined has to do with the preverbal object, which, as Tsao (1987b) has shown, makes up the minor part of the theme. In other words, something is said about the verbal action (performed by the major theme NP) in a verb-copying construction, whereas something is said about the object in a *bǎ*-construction.

3.2. The classical pseudo-cleft construction

The '*shì...de*' construction under discussion here is to be distinguished from three other '*shì...de*' constructions, viz. the construction with "emphatic" *shì* and "final particle" *de,* the restrictive relative clause construction with ellipted head, and the "situational" construction. These are illustrated with examples from Paris (1978):

(7) *Wǒ   shì   bú   qù   de*
    I   SHI   not go   DE
    'No, I'm not going.'

(8) *Tā   shì   zuótiān   mǎi   shū   de*
    he/she SHI   yesterday buy   book DE
    'He is the one who bought books yesterday.'

(9) *Tā   shì   zuótiān   mǎi   shū   de*
    he/she SHI   yesterday buy   book DE
    'What he did was buy books yesterday.'

160

The function of the (9)-type construction is to divide the information dis-tribution into two clear parts, marking everything before *shì* as the theme and then the material before *de* as the rheme. This function is brought out well by the Chao style of translation (1968:296): 'He bought books yesterday that-was-what-he-did.' To distinguish this *'shì...de'* structure from the adverb-focusing *'shì...de'*, I will adopt normal practice and refer to the former as the pseudo-cleft construction and to the latter as the cleft construction in the discussion below.

Although, as mentioned in the previous subsection, I could find no evi-dence of the cleft construction in the classical language, examples of the pseudo-cleft are, to my mind, to be found where there is supposed to be the "pronoun *zhi*". Rather than itself being the pronoun, the construction of which it is a part, or which it is a sign of, is used when an anaphoric pronoun in zero form occurs; in other words, when the theme of the sentence, introduced into the context in a previous sentence, is deleted as recoverable. The construction characteristically has the form *'zero VERB zhi'*, where zero is the copula and *zhi* is nothing but the classical counterpart of *de*. An example is the following, from Dobson (1959:96; 1974:458):

(10) *Shòu   xiāng   shí. Qiě   rén   wù   zhi*
       animal each:other eat   also person despise ZHI
       'Animals eat their own kind; furthermore, men despise them.'

The Dobson translation above might be recast, to reflect the suggested pseudo-cleft nature of the construction, as: '... furthermore, what they are is despised by people'.

The identical structures in (9) and (10) can be seen in the following sug-gested literal translations:

(9)   (a) He is the buying of books yesterday.
(10) (a) (They) (are) people's despising.[13]

The words shown in brackets represent parts of the classical structures which are not actually expressed. Comparing the modern Mandarin pseudo-cleft with its classical counterpart, we see the clear equational nature of both. As distinct from the modern Mandarin construction, the classical construction, however, has no expression of either copula or anaphoric pronoun. It is this unexpressed pronoun that, I believe, holds the key to understanding why the pseudo-cleft construction came about in the first place. The creation of a nominalization signalled by *zhi* would have helped in decoding a deleted theme because it implied an equational sentence of which the nominalization is

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[13] What these suggested structures imply is that the copula has/had a more general function than expression of mere equivalence. Such a role is well attested in other contexts in both the classical language (Modini 1992b) and the modern language (Chao 1968:718–719).

the rheme constituent and some deleted, recoverable NP the theme constituent.

When the "pronoun *zhi*" occurs before the "object", once again to my mind we have an equational sentence, but the "object" is the rheme. An example is the following, from Dobson (1959:96; 1974:458):

(11) *Wú yǒu dà shù. Rén wèi zhi shū*
     I have large tree person call ZHI shu
     'I have a large tree, men call it the "Shu tree".'

Reflecting the equational nature of the construction, with part of the theme deleted, we might recast the Dobson translation as: 'What people call (it) (is) the Shu', or as the literal: 'People's calling (it) (is) the Shu'.

One further position the "pronoun *zhi*" occupies is the pre-"verbal" position. Consider the following, from Dobson (1968:121):

(12) *Zēng-sūn zhi sè*
     great:grandchild ZHI harvest
     'The great-grandchildren harvest them.'

Here to my mind we have an equational sentence translatable literally as: '(They) (are) the great-grandchildren's harvest', where the "verb" should rather be considered a noun (cf. Dobson 1974:457) and, as well, the *zhi* has its more usual prenominal modification marker function.

In the following, pre-"verbal" "pronoun *zhi*" is traditionally taken to be "repeating" the preceding object, with the subject unexpressed; rather, there is an equational sentence, to my mind, which assists in recovering a deleted thematic *agent:*

(13) *Wéi xīn zhi wèi yú*
     only heart ZHI speak:of FIN
     'It is the mind of which this is said!' (Legge 1960:409)

The true equational nature of the construction is brought out in the following literal translation: '(He, viz. Confucius) (is) the speaking of the mind only'.

Finally, the following is also traditionally viewed as an example of a "repeated object" *zhi,* but the subject is not unexpressed:

(14) *Wú wéi zǐ zhi jiàn*
     I only you ZHI see
     'Vous êtes le seul que j'ai vu.' (Mullie 1942:18)

Here *zhi* for Mullie repeats *zǐ*. What I rather take to be the true equational nature of the construction is brought out in the following suggested literal

translation: 'I (am) the seeing of you only'. The difference between (14) and the previous examples is that there is no thematic element deleted. This fact seems to suggest another role being performed by the equational construction here – viz., that of demarcation of the two preverbal agent and patient NPs.[14]

3.3. Mechanism of development of 'shì...de'

Let us now return to the pseudo-cleft construction illustrated by (9) and compare it with the corresponding, formally-identical cleft construction. Both take the form:

(15) *Tā   shì   zuótiān   mǎi   shū   de*
      he/she SHI   yesterday   buy   book   DE.

The different theme-rheme distributions can be brought out in the following translations:

(15) (a) What he did was buy books yesterday (PSEUDO-CLEFT)
     (b) It was yesterday that he bought books (CLEFT).

A more literal translation, reflecting the equational nature of the Mandarin construction, was earlier given as (9a), repeated here as (15c):

(15) (c) He is the buying of books yesterday.

Although the structure reflected in (15 c) is appropriate to a "situational" utterance marking the pronoun as theme and everything else as the rheme, it is not at all appropriate to an utterance marking the time expression as rheme alone and the rest as the theme. A more appropriate order of constituents, reflecting the normal 'theme then rheme' order, would be:

(15)(d) *Tā   mǎi   shū   de   shì   zuótiān*
         he/she buy   book   DE   SHI   yesterday
         lit.: 'His buying books was yesterday.'

As Kitagawa and Ross (1982:37) note, comparing such Mandarin constructions with the Japanese, the "nonlexical head" after the "prenominal modification marker" *de*, unlike that following Japanese *no*, may not refer to an

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[14] My interpreting "pronoun *zhi*" as a prenominal modification marker does not end with the "pronoun": the "adjectival *zhi*" (Dobson 1974:458) is, I believe, nothing but the only sign of a relative clause whose constituents are ellipted, so that the clause is literally translatable as: '(which) (is at) (it)', where I use the bracketing device introduced above in the text. Here the copula has a locative sense (see fns. 11 and 13 above), and both it and the two NPs are unexpressed, the latter by virtue of being recoverable thematic elements. The only phonologically realized part of the clause is the *zhi*, traditionally translated as a demonstrative.

adverbial. This is regarded as one of the differences between the two languages with regard to *de* and *no*. Unfortunately the authors do not consider the Mandarin cleft sentence at all, except in a footnote (p. 33, fn. 10) where they dismiss the *de* as a "marker of past time reference". Had they taken the cleft sentence into the picture, there would have been no difference between *de* and *no* at all, for while (15d) does not occur, in (15), with the cleft interpretation, the nonlexical head after the prenominal modification marker can be taken as referring to an adverbial, viz. *zuótiān*.

In a later paper, Ross (1983) declares herself firmly in support of the view that the cleft sentence *de* is a prenominal modification marker. The convincing evidence she brings forward is the following (p. 235), which demonstrates the pattern of grammaticality of the final particle *le* – which expresses a "currently relevant state" – in various clause types:

(16) *Wǒ shì zuótiān   chī fàn le de
       I   SHI yesterday   eat rice FIN de
       'It was yesterday that I ate (rice).'

(17) Wǒ   zuótiān   chī fàn le
       I   yesterday   eat rice FIN
       'I ate (rice) yesterday.'

(18) Zuótiān   chī fàn (*le) de rén   dōu bìng le
       yesterday   eat rice FIN   DE person   all   sick FIN
       'The people who ate yesterday all got sick.'

Examination of the above reveals that the final particle can occur in independent clauses but that it can occur neither in clefts nor in relative clauses. From this evidence the conclusion can be drawn that clefts entail a modifying clause subordinated to a non-lexical head by a prenominal modification marker *de*.

The interesting question which now suggests itself is, Why is the cleft construction *not* expressed as (15d), but rather as (15)? The answer seems to be that by the time that adverb-focusing developed, the "situational" (i.e. pseudo-cleft) construction was well evolved and that an adverb-focus construction of the (15d) type was simply assimilated to the form of the pseudo-cleft. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that there were neither structures of the type '*zhi shì*/zero ADVERB', i.e. counterparts of (15d), nor constructions of the type '*shì*/zero ADVERB VERB *zhi*', in other words counterparts of the modern cleft construction, in the classical language, as far as my research has been able to determine, on the one hand, whereas, on the other hand, one can analyse certain instances of the "pronoun *zhi*" as signalling a classical pseudo-cleft, as I have shown.

The fact that a classical counterpart of (3c) – with postverbal adverb – was already ungrammatical and yet no adverb-focus structure occurred at that

period is the reason for my description of focusing constructions in section two as "inessential". That the classical counterpart of (3b) – with preverbal adverb – must have been able to do the job also of a focus construction, in the sense that it must also have been able to be interpreted as expressing the adverb as sole element of the rheme,[15] is not as odd cross-linguistically as one might imagine. As noted in Modini (1989b:59), there are other instances where languages marking theme and rheme basically segmentally allow for a constructional type to be used for a particular context if the theme/rheme marking of only two of the three major constituents would be appropriate to the context. In Maori object relative clauses, for example, the ergative construction occurs, which marks the patient, appropriately, as theme and the agent, appropriately in most relative clauses, as rheme, but the verb (by means of the suffix -ia), inappropriately in most relative clauses, as theme also. Where the construction itself does not adequately express the actual theme-rheme distribution, the device of sentence stress – i.e. the prominent stress placed on the major element, or sole element, of the rheme – seems to be the universal recourse of languages.

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have concentrated on one variety of contrastiveness, viz. that entailed by focus constructions. In this variety the connotation of unexpectedness derives from the marking as sole element of the rheme, either by virtue of the use of a special construction or by virtue of sentence stress being assigned to it, an element which would not be so marked in the non-focus construction or in a construction with sentence stress assigned normally.

This variety of contrastiveness is to be distinguished from that entailed by disjunctively coordinated constructions such as the following, from Makino (1982:136):[16]

(19) Kare no   hoo   wa Nagano ni sukii ni   itte   kanojo no
     he   PMM side TH Nagano to ski   for go:and she   PMM
     hoo wa Izu no   onsen   ni itta   n   datte
     side TH Izu PMM hot:spring to go (PAST) PMM I:heard
     'Apparently he went to Nagano to ski but she went to the hot springs at Izu.'

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[15] This fact suggests the reason for the assimilation of an embryonic (15d)-type construction to the form of the pseudo-cleft. Thus, the pseudo-cleft indicates the same theme-rheme distribution among constituents as in the corresponding non-pseudo-cleft construction (which may explain why some languages which have clefts do not have pseudo-clefts (see Kamio (1991), comparing English and Japanese); and so, because of this functional equivalence, the pseudo-cleft may, like the classical counterpart of (3b), also have been able to do the job of a cleft, so that another special structure, (15d), was felt unnecessary.

[16] In this variety of contrastiveness the connotation of unexpectedness apparently derives from the fact that the theme of the second of two coordinated clauses is *not*, unlike the normal situation (Modini 1992a:114), deleted under identity with the theme of the first.

Here the theme marker *wa* is significant in this Japanese data. Contrary to the *uniform* view of contrastiveness put forward by Chafe (1976) in the Contrastiveness part of his article, the *wa* is an indication that in this construction the contrasted NP does not perform the rhematic function of the focused item in a focus construction. As Makino puts it, in his discussion of the distinction some linguists make between the thematic *wa* (the first *wa* in the example above) and the contrastive *wa* (the second *wa*): "Underlyingly, both thematic and contrastive *wa* indicate old information. I cannot think of any context where *wa* indicates important new information" (p. 137).

Taking the position that focusing originated as the marking as sole element of the rheme of an element marked as only part of it in the non-focus construction, I have in this paper speculated about the history of Mandarin *'shi...de'*. I conclude that a pre-classical standardization of the position of time adverbs before the verb did not require but made for the eventual development of focusing as a means of specifying the adverbial as the sole element of the rheme.

In this paper, I have assumed, after Bolinger (1961) and others, and *contra* the approaches of Chafe and Givón, that focusing is not apart from but one aspect of rheme marking. I hope here to have contributed to our understanding of the precise nature of the connection between the two, and, in so doing, to have clarified our knowledge of the nature of theme and rheme.

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DER OSMANISCHE KRIEG GEGEN DIE HABSBURGER 1663-64 (IM HINBLICK AUF DIE SLOWAKEI)*

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Die Belagerung von Nové Zámky (ung. Érsekújvár, deutsch Neuhäusel) war nich von langer Dauer, doch im Hinblick auf die fortgeschrittene Jahreszeit und den Mangel an Nahrungs- und Füttermittel war es nötig, daß die leichte Reiterei, vor allem die Krimtataren, dies sicherstellten. Im Verlauf von nicht ganz zwei Monaten, haben sie die West- und Mittelslowakei sowie Ostmähren geplündert. Am 25. September 1663 kapitulierte die Besatzung, unter der Bedingung des freien Abzuges. Die kaiserlichen und ungarischen Heere befreiten im Jahre 1664 Neutra, Lewenz und siegten in den Kämpfen bei Žarnovica und Lewenz sowie auch in dem entscheidenden Kampfe am 1. August 1664 bei St. Gotthard-Mogersdorf.

Der Feldzug der osmanischen Armee nach Ungarn im Jahre 1663 und die Eroberung von Nové Zámky (Neuhäusel, ung. Érsekújvár), Nitra (Neutra, ung. Nyitra), Levice (Léva, ung. Lewenz) und Nógrád (Novohrad, deutsch Neograd) war das größte militärische Unternehmen auf dem slowakischen Gebiet während der ganzen beinahe hundertfünfzigjährigen Nachbarschaft mit dem Osmanischen Reich. Diese Ereignisse waren keine lokale Angelegenheit des restlichen Königtums Ungarn, sondern es waren Ereignisse, die ganz Europa verfolgte, wovon gelegentliche Drucke, Flugblätter und verschiedene Traktate zeugen.[1] Ähnlich gibt es auch auf der osmanischen Seite umfangreiche oder kürzere Chroniken, ganz zu schweigen von Dokumenten über diese Ereignisse, die bisher wenig genutzt wurden.[2] Steuerlisten aus den Jah-

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[1] APPONYI, S.: *Hungarica. Ungarn betreffende im Ausland gedrückte Bücher und Flugschriften I-IV.* München 1903-1927, Nos.: 861-991. HUBAY, I.: *Magyar és magyar vonatkozási röplapok, újságlapok, röpiratok az Országos Széchényi könyvtárban 1480-1718.* Budapest 1948, Nos.: 603-695. JÜGELT, K.-H.: *Hungarica Auswahl Katalog der Universitätsbibliothek Jena.* Weimar 1961.

[2] *Cevahir'üt-tevarih* (Edelsteine der Geschichte) von HASAN AGA, ins Deutsche übersetzt von E. PROKOSCH: *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn.* Graz-Wien-Köln 1976. Ausgiebig schöpfte aus dieser Chronik FINDIKLILI MEHMED AGA in seinem Werk *Silahdar Tarihi I.* Istanbul 1928. Die Jahre 1663-65 sind auf S. 235-300. Offizieller Geschichtsschreiber des Zeitraums von 1660-1721 war MEHMED RAŞİD. Ausschnitte aus seinem Werk die Jahre 1663-64 betreffend wurden ins Ungarische und Slowakische übersetzt *Rabovali Turci...* (Die Türken plünderten), Bratislava 1972, S. 135-149. *Tarih-i Gılmanı* (Geschichte eines Palastzöglings) von MEHMED HALIFE herausgegeben in 1921. Die Chroniken von MEHMED NECATI: *Tarih-i feth-i Yanık* oder *Uyvar*

ren 1664–65 und 1673–74, vom unlägst verstorbenen J. Blaškovič bearbeitet, bieten eine große Menge von daten über Ökonomie, Besiedlung und Demographie.[3]

Obwohl dieses wichtige Ereignis mehrmals nicht nur die slowakische sondern auch die ungarische und österreichische Historiographie beschäftigte, zum letzten Mal beim Jubiläum des Jahres 1664, war seine Aufarbeitung nie vollständig.[4] Man hatte vorwiegend Interesse an einzelnen Geschehnissen oder politischen Hintergründen. Die meisten Arbeiten stützten sich nur auf heimische Unterlagen oder einzelne osmanische Quellen. Zu diesen gehört auch die Studie von M. Matunák, die gegen Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts veröffentlicht und jetzt neu herausgegeben wurde, sowie Studien anderer Historiker.[5] Inzwischen ist eine Menge von neuen Unterlagen entdeckt worden und

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seferi (Der Neuhäuseler Feldzug) und von MUSTAFA ZÜHDI: *Tarih-i Uyvar* (Geschichte von Neuhäusel) liegen in Manuskripten vor. Als einzelstehendes Werk *Seyahatname* (Reisebuch) von EVLIYA ÇELEBI. Türkische Dokumente zum Feldzug 1663–64 siehe *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska v tureckých archívoch* (Quellen zur Geschichte der Slowakei in türkischen Archiven) SlArch 23, 1988, S. 187–196; *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska v Archíve Predsedníctva vlády v Istanbule* (Quellen zur Geschichte der Slowakei im Archiv des Präsidium der Regierung in Istanbul). SlArch 26, 1991, S. 156–166.

[3] BLASKOVICS, J.: *Érsekújvár és vidéke a török hódoltság korában*. Budapest 1989 und in Zeitschriften wie Archív orientální, Rocznik Orientalistyczny und in Jahrbüchern wie Historické štúdie, Agrikultúra, Tarih Dergisi, Byzantine Studies, Új Mindenes Gyűjtemény, Asian and African Studies u.a.

[4] Es handelt sich um Studien des genannten J. BLAŠKOVIČ, P. HORVÁTH, J. KABRDA, V. KOPČAN und K. KRAJČOVIČOVÁ u.a. Siehe *Bibliografia slovenskej turkológie a osmanskej expanzie na Slovensku* (Bibliographie slowakischer Turkologie und osmanischer Expansion in der Slowakei). Bratislava 1977. Aber weder die ungarische noch die österreichische Historiographie schenkte diesen Ereignissen in jüngster Vergangenheit große Aufmerksamkeit. Die ungarische Geschichtsschreibung hebt von den Ereignissen der Jahre 1663–64 vor allem den Herzog und Schriftsteller M. Zrinski hervor, z.B. KLANICZAY, T.: *Zrínyi Miklós*. Budapest 1964; PERJÉS, G.: *A „metodizmus" és Zrínyi-Montecuccoli-vita*. Századok 95, 1961, S. 507–35 und 96, 1962, S. 25–45 und MAROSI, E.: *Megyjegyzések az 1664.évi hadjárat és a vasvári béke érkeléséhez*. Hadtört. Közlemények 1971, S.107–128. Über militärische Handlungen in der Slowakei schrieb RÓNAI-HORVÁTH, J.: *A felsőmagyarországi hadjárat 1664-ben*. Hadtört. Közlemények 6, 1894, S.185–321 und Nachträge: *További adatok az 1664-ik évi Felsőmagyarországi hadjárathoz*, S. 573–88. Die österreichische Historiographie über den Krieg von 1663–64 repräsentiert vor allem das umfangreiche Werk von G.WAGNER: *Das Türkenjahr 1664. Eine europäische Bewährung. R. Montecuccoli, die Schlacht von St.Gotthard-Mogersdorf und der Friede von Eisenburg*. Eisenstadt 1964. PEBALL, K.: *Die Schlacht bei St. Gotthard-Mogersdorf 1664*. Wien 1964. Militärhistorische Schriftenreihe, Heft 1. Beim internationalen kulturhistorischen Symposium Mogersdorf 1969 lautete das Thema *Österreich und die Türken*. Eisenstadt 1972, wo österreichische, ungarische und slowenischer Forscher teilnahmen. TEPLY, K.: *Das österreichische Türkenkriegszeitalter. Die Türkenkriege in der historischen Forschung*. Wien 1983, S. 33–35.

[5] *Nové Zámky pod tureckým panstvom* (Neuhäusel unter türkischer Herrschaft) (*1663–64*). Slovan. pohľady 18, 1898, S. 129–32, 231–36, 486–96, 554–61, 568–78, 668–76 und in Auswahl aus seinem Werk *Život a boje na slovensko-tureckom pohraničí* (Leben und Kämpfe im slowakisch-türkischen Grenzgebiet). Bratislava 1983, S. 215–98. HOLUBY, J.Ľ.: *Stopy tureckého hospodárenia v Trenčiansku v XVI. a XVII. stor.* (Spuren der türkischen Wirtschaft in der Umgebung von Trenčín im XVI. und XVII. Jh.). Sloven. pohľady 14, 1894, S. 697–711.

deshalb schien eine Überprüfung dieses Ereignisses, seiner Hintergründe und Folgen auf einer breiteren Quellenbasis, osmanische Quellen inbegriffen, notwendig.

Während im größten Konflikt des 17. Jahrhunderts – im dreißigjährigen Krieg – die angehäuften Antagonismen in West Europa dominierten, traten in der zweiten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts die mittel- und osteuropäischen Länder hervor, in welchen es zu einer neuen Gruppierung der Kräfte und zu grundsätzlichen territorialen Veränderungen kam, welche die Entwicklung Europas auch in den kommenden Jahrhunderten kennzeichneten.[6]

Wie schon oft zuvor wurde Siebenbürgen zum Stoßstein zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und dem Kaiserreich Österreich. Mangels an Interese um dieses Randgebiet, der Osmanen wie auch der Habsburger, bemühten sich die siebenbürgischen Fürsten um eine eigenständige Politik. Das führte unausweichlich zum Zusammenstoß mit den osmanischen Interessen und zur militärischen Intervertionen in Siebenbürgen. Die Interessen der Habsburger, die Befürchtungen vor der totalen Unterwerfung von Siebenbürgen durch die Osmanen, boten Grund zum Eingriff des kaiserlichen Heeres im Lande, was der Hauptgrund des späteren osmanisch–habsburgischen Konflikts war.[7]

Ein weiterer Grund des osmanisch–habsburgischen Streites war eine Festung, gebaut im Jahre 1661 vom kroatischen Ban Nikolaus Zrinski.[8] Diese neue Burg, Zrinyi-Ujvár, sollte den Übergang über die Mura zu Zrinskis Gut schützen, was ein Dorn im Auge des Pascha von Kanizsa war und eine Causa bei der Erneuerung des Friedensvertrages. Zur Steigerung der Spannung zwischen der Porta und Wien trugen verheerende Einfälle auf osmanische Gebiete in Ungarn bei. In der gespannten Situation waren solche Unternehmen ein Grund zur Friedensbruch. Es waren im Juni 1661 Zusammenstöße bei Gran (Esztergom). Im August desselben Jahres drangen ungarische Magnaten und das kaiserliche Heer bis über Ofen (Buda) vor, brannten vier befestigte Orte (türk. Palanka) nieder und verschleppten Gefangene.[9]

Der Bericht von Reniger über die osmanischen Friedensbedingungen kam noch während der Sitzung des ungarischen Landtages und wurde dem ungarischen geheimen Rat zur Stellungnahme vorgelegt. Dieser stellte fest, daß der Frieden mit den Türken höchst notwendig ist, aber daß die vorgeschlagenen

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[6] EICKHOFF, E.: *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen. Umbruch in Südostreuropa 1645–1700.* München 1970, S. 179–208. REDLICH, O.: *Weltmacht des Barock. Österreich in der Zeit Leopolds I.* Wien 1961. BARKER, Th.M.: *Double Eagle and Crescent. Vienna's Second Turkish Siege and its Historical Setting.* New York 1967 (Deutsche Übersetzung, Wien 1983).

[7] EICKHOFF, E.: op. cit., S. 270–80; *Magyarország története III./2.* Budapest 1985, S. 1068–1083. UZUNÇARŞILI, I.H.: *Osmanlı Tarihi III. 1.* Ankara 1973, S. 382–83. KUNT, M.I.: *The Köprülü years: 1656–1661.* Princeton 1971, S. 87–92.

[8] *Die Hauptrelation des kaiserlichen Residenten in Costantinopel Simon Reniger von Reningen 1649–1666.* Hrsg. von V.A. Veltzé. MKA. Neue Folge XII. Wien 1900, S. 120–21. Weiter nur Reniger. –

[9] *Ortelius redivivus et continuatus...* von dem 1607. bis an das Jahr 1665... II. Frankfurt 1665, S. 198.

Bedingungen schwer sind und „der grausame Feind des Christentums" dadurch Siebenbürgen gewinnt, was ihm als Aufmarschgebiet gegen die östlichen Teile Ungarns dienen könnte. Dem osmanischen Vorschlag wurden Anmerkungen beigelegt und nach Istanbul geschickt. Im August 1662 legte der Resident den Vorschlag dem Großwesir vor. Grundsätzliche Vorbehalte hatte die Porta gegen die kaiserliche Forderung, daß auch die Osmanen die neuen Befestigungen demolieren, falls Zrinyi-Ujvár niedergerissen werden sollte und zu der Frage, ob die freien Heiducken unter kaiserlicher oder osmanischer Oberhoheit stehen. Nach diesen Besprechungen legte der Reis Efendi eine neue Version des Vertrages vor, die keine übertriebenen Forderungen der osmanischen Seite mehr enthielt und diese wurde dann zur Basis des Friedensvertrages in Eisenburg (Vasvár) [10. August 1664] unter viel schlimmeren Bedingungen.[10]

Aus zugänglichen osmanischen Quellen geht nicht hervor, wann die Entscheidung über den Feldzug nach Ungarn gefallen ist. Wahrscheinlich war es gegen Ende des Sommers oder im Herbst 1662.[11] Ob die ursprüngliche Entscheidung einen Feldzug nach Dalmatien zu unternehmen noch vor dem Abmarsch aus Istanbul nach Edirne in einen Feldzug gegen Ungarn umgeändert wurde, ist aus den osmanischen Quellen nicht ersichtlich.[12] Es war scheinbar die allgemeine Ansicht, daß die Kriegsvorbereitungen gegen die Venezianer gerichtet sind. Reniger informierte Wien, daß der Sultan dem tatarischen Chan einen Brief und Anordnung geschickt hatte, aber er wisse nichts über deren Inhalt und fügte logisch hinzu „da man in Dalmatien mit einem größeren Kampfheer nicht lagern kann, wären keine Tataren notwendig".[13] Ähnlich wie früher gelagte man zu keiner Übereinkunft in grundlegenden Fragen. Gegen Ende Februar 1663 kam eine Nachricht vom Residenten, daß der Großwesir nach Differenzen bei den Friedensgesprächen ein Ultimatum stellte.

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[10] HUBER, A.: *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen zur Pforte 1658–1664.* Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 85, 1898, S. 566–67.

[11] *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, Manuskript, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Suppl. turc 506 (P) 6a; ÖNB Wien, H.O. 84a (W), 7b und *Silahdar Tarihi I.* Istanbul 1928, S. 236 schreiben über die Herrichtung der Wege nach Bosnien und Cattaro, womit Beyko Ali Pascha beauftragt wurde. Der Preßburger Bürger Johann F. Auer, der am 6. August 1663 in der Schlacht bei Parkan gefangen genommen wurde, behauptet, daß in den bulgarischen Bergen und Engpässen die Wege breit genug waren und ohne Hindernisse.

[12] Seine Absicht einen Feldzug gegen Ungarn zu unternehmen erwähnte der Großwesir in seinem Brief vom 23. November 1662 an M. Apaffy. *Török-magyar történelmi emlékek.* Okmánytár VI., S. 78–79.

[13] RENIGER, S.: op. cit., S. 128. Feldmarschall R. Montecuccoli in seinen Erinnerungen hat den Feldzug nach Dalmatien für ein Tarnmanöver gehalten. *Memoires de Montecuccoli generalissime des troupes de l'Empereur.* Strasbourg 1735, S. 197.

Nach Beendigung der Vorbereitungen setzte sich am 19. März 1663 das Heer von Istanbul nach Edirne in Bewegung mit dem Sultan und dem Großwesir an der Spitze. Über den Verlauf der Reise informieren uns zwei Itinerare.[14] Auf dem Weg aus der Hauptstadt nach Ofen (Buda) machte die Armee 64 Halte und weitere 7 nach Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky), also 71 Halte insgesamt. Für die Reise brauchte das Heer 378 Marschstunden und 82 Tage Rast, die längsten davon in Sofia (16 Tage), in Belgrad (10) und in Ofen (13). Die Reise von Istanbul nach Neuhäusel dauerte beinahe ein halbes Jahr (19. März – 16. August 1663), was teilweise auch durch Naturverhältnisse verursacht war.

In Edirne sammelten sich die Einheiten aus den asiatischen Provinzen sowie Ausrüstung für den Feldzug wie Kanonen, und zwar alte sowie im Istanbuler Waffenarsenal neu abgegossene Kanonen, die man über das Schwarze Meer und die Donau nach Ungarn schickte. Vor dem Aufbruch aus Edirne wurde eine Einladung zum Feldzug, Geld und Geschenke an den tatarischen Chan geschickt.[15] Eine Audienz beim Sultan wurde abgehalten, bei der dieser den Großwesir zum Serdar ernannte. Am 13. April 1663 bewegte sich das Heer von etwa 15 000 – 20 000 Mann aus Edirne.[16] Unterwegs wurde das Heer noch ergänzt.

In Osijek wurde eine Antwort von Wenzel Eusebius von Lobkowitz erwartet. Am 4. Juni wurde wieder verhandelt. Außer den schon bekannten Forderungen verlagte der Großwesir im Falle eines Friedensabschlusses von der kaiserlichen Seite eine Zahlung von 30 000 Dukaten jährlich, wie in den Jahren 1547–1592.[17] Das lehnten die kaiserlichen Gesandten ab. Obzwar eine Forderung finanzieller Kompensationen der bisherigen Ausgaben für den Feldzug zu erwarten war, wollte Fazıl Ahmed Pascha durch Steigerung der Forderungen während des Marsches für den Feldzug Zeit gewinnen (nicht alle Truppen waren unterwegs) und gleichzeitig wollte er bei dem unvorbereiteten Gegner Hoffnung auf Frieden erwecken.[18]

Der ungarische Feldzug war der erste Feldzug des jungen Großwesir. Aus Furcht vor einem Verfall der Disziplin des Heeres noch auf osmanischen Gebiet und seiner Umwandlung in eine raubende und plündernde Herde be-

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[14] Das erste Exemplar befindet sich im Werk von Mehmed Necati vor dem Text der Chronik und stammt von Autor des *Uyvar seferi*. Das zweite ist mit dem Werk *Tarih-i Ali Osman* zusammengebunden und sein Ursprung ist unbekannt. ÖNB, H.O. 46a. Siehe Kopčan, V.: *Zwei Itinerarien des osmanischen Feldzuges gegen Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky) im Jahre 1663.* AAS 14, 1978, S. 59–88.

[15] *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 10a-b, W 12b-13a; *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 240.

[16] *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S.241; *Raşid Tarihi I*, S. 27; Necati, 5b; Damad Mehmed Paşa, W 4a.

[17] Den Text der Antwort hat *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 11a-b, W 13b-14b; *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 245–46; *Raşid Tarihi I*, S. 31-32.

[18] Reniger, S.: op. cit., S. 131 erfuhr davon schon während seiner Reise in Sofia von Reis Şamizade Mehmed Efendi.

strafte er streng alle Verstöße gegen die untergebene Bevölkerung. In Osijek ließ er wegen Bestehlen der Bevölkerung den Befehlshaber der Verpflegung hinrichten. Er verbot Gewalt gegen die Untertanen und bestrafte streng das Trinken von Wein.[19]

Am 15. Juni kam die Hauptmacht mit dem Großwesir nach Ofen (Buda). Zurück blieben nur kleinere Einheiten, die den Transport von Ausrüstung und Vorräten sicherstellten. In Ofen (Buda) rief der Großwesir eine Beratung der am Feldzug teilnehmenden führenden Würdenträger zusammen, in welcher über das Ziel des Feldzugs entschieden werden sollte.[20] Noch während des Marsches meldeten Simon Reniger und Johann von Goess nach Wien, daß „die Türken die Donau bei Gran (Esztergom) überqueren und dann gegen Neuhäusel, Fiľakovo und andere Städte ziehen werden...”[21] Unterwegs sammelte der Großwesir von Gefangenen Angaben über die Stärke der einzelnen Befestigungen und forderte die Versammlung auf sich über das Ziel des Feldzugs zu äußern. Entscheidende Bedeutung für die Verteidigung von Nordwestungarn hatten die Burgen Raab (Győr), Komorn (Komárno) und Neuhäsel (Nové Zámky). Nach Ansicht des Großwesirs war es am vorteilhaftesten gegen Neuhäusel vorzurücken, denn diese Festung hatte ein ausgedehntes Hinterland, das genügend Beute bieten konnte und außerdem gab es in der Umgebung Gold- und Silberminen.[22] Die Entscheidung konnte durch die Tatsache beeinflußt worden sein, daß die Hauptkräfte der kaiserlichen Armee vor allem den Hauptzugang zu Wien schützten, sodaß die osmanische Armee sonst sicher auf stärkeren Widerstand gestoßen wäre.

Die Vorbereitungen auf den Krieg mit den Türken wurden von kaiserlicher Seite mit waghalsiger Gleichgültigkeit betrieben. Obwohl seit Herbst 1662 Nachrichten nach Wien kamen, daß die Osmanen einen großen Feldzug vorbereiten und dieser direkt gegen kaiserliches Gebiet gerichtet sein wird, ließ der Kriegsrat des Hofes ein 5000 Mann starkes Korps der besten Truppen in Mailand den Spaniern zu Hilfe.[23] Die Hoffnung auf einen Friedensabschluß war auf dem Wiener Hof so stark und auch die Osmanen halfen taktisch sie zu erhalten, daß erst als die osmanische Armee nach Belgrad kam, man in Wien

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[19] *Theatrum Europaeum IX*, S. 924.

[20] *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 15a, W 18b gibt als Datum der Beratung den 23. Juli an; *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 249 den 17. Juli; *Raşid Tarihi I*, S. 33 den 16. Juli, den Verlauf der Beratung beschrieben sie ziemlich über einstimmend. NECATI, 7a schreibt, daß die Alten und Veteranen aus dem Grenzgebiet gegen Raab waren. Eine andere Version vermittelt MEHMED HALIFE: *Tarih-i Gilmanı*, S. 79–80.

[21] HHStA, Wien, Turcica 134, Reniger an den Kriegsrat des Hofes am 27. Juli 1663.

[22] *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 16a, W 19; *Silahdar Tarihi I*, S. 250; NECATI, 7a; MEHMED HALIFE: *Tarih-i Gilmanı*, S. 80. Walter Graf Leslie, kaiserlicher Botschafter nach Istanbul, schrieb 1666 seinen langen Bericht an den Kaiser Leopold I, in dem er das türkische Interesse an den Bergstädten erwähnt: „solche Mittel an die Hand zu geben, daß die Türkhen sich der Bergstätte in dem Hamor und vielleicht gar im Frühling bemächtigen könnten". HHStA, Wien, Turcica 139, Mai 1666.

[23] *Theatrum Europaeum IX*, S. 927; HUBER, A.: op. cit., S. 572.

erste Maßnahmen ergriff. Einige Einheiten waren in Siebenbürgen und ein Teil lagerte auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei zwischen Kaschau (Košice) und Komorn. Den Rest bildeten Garnisonen der Burgen längs der ganzen habsburgisch–osmanischen Grenze. Erst Ende Juni kamen die kaiserlichen Befehlshaber Johann Rothal, Raimund Montecuccoli, Karl Strozzi und Hohenfeld nach Preßburg um mit dem Palatin Ferencz Wesselényi und den ungarischen Magnaten die militärische Lage zu beraten. Die Armee, die in Siebenbürgen ein Gegenstand des Streits war, schlug Graf Strozzi vor zurückzuziehen und sorgte selbst dafür.[24] Der Palatin sollte Einheiten in der Ostslowakei mobilisieren. Am 7. Juni 1663 erklärte Kaiser Leopold I. laut der Anordnung des letzten Landtages eine Insurrektion zum Tag des heiligen Ladislaus (27. Juni). Nominell hatte der Palatin 26 000 Mann, reell konnte er aber nur mit einer kleineren Zahl rechnen. Die protestantischen Komitate und der Adel lehnten den Befehl in Hinsicht auf unerfüllte Forderungen des Landtages im 1662 ab. Außerdem lehnten die Insurgenten ab sich an Sammelstellen außerhalb ihres eigenen Komitats einzufinden und sie warteten, bis sich die Einheiten des Palatins sammelten.[25]

Der Kriegsrat des Hofes bestimmte bei der Beratung in Komorn (14. Juli) die Sammelstellen: für die Komitate Orava, Turiec, Trenčín und Nitra (Neutra) bei Tvrdošovce, für die Komitate Liptov (Liptau), Zvolen (Altsohl), Tekov, Hont und Novohrad (Neugrad) zwischen Levice (Lewenz) und Krupina (Karpfen), für die Komitate Preßburg und Komorn auf der Großen Schütt-Insel. Der Verlauf der Insurrektion im Komitat Preßburg war schnell. Schon am 9. Juli waren die Insurgenten zur Lustration in Sereď bereit, wo sie auch ihre Kommandanten wählten. Die Insurgenten des Komitats Trenčín erschienen nicht an der Sammelstelle.[26]

Der Oberbefehlshaber der kaiserlichen Armee Feldmarschall Raimund Montecuccoli disponierte mit etwa 6000 Mann, die sich bei Ungarisch Altenburg (Magyaróvár) sammelten. Zu dieser Zeit disponierte der Kriegsrat des Hofes mit 10 500 Reiter und 22 800 Mann Infanterie in verschiedenen Teilen der Monarchie. Dabei wurde die Armee vom Hofkriegsrat taktisch unvorteilhaft in vier Korps geteilt, keines davon und auch nicht einmal das ganze Heer konnte sich mit der osmanische Armee messen. Zu dieser Zeit war es schon klar, daß die osmanische Armee zur Donau-Linie zieht. Diese sollte Montecuccoli mit einem relativ kleinen Korps verteidigen. Außerdem wollte er aber

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[24] FESSLER, I.A. – KLEIN, E.: *Geschichte Ungarns IV.* Leipzig 1883, S. 308; *Descriptio Tartaricae depopulationis in anno 1663.* Ed.: E. Marečková-Štolcová. Graecolatina et Orientalia I, 1969, S. 128.

[25] *Descriptio Tartaricae,* S. 128–29. Diese Insurrektionen in Komitaten waren schon ein Anachronismus, nicht brauchbar im modernen Kampf. Nicht nur, daß sie es ablehnten außerhalb des Komitats zu kämpfen, aber viele beliebten nicht einmal sich zeitgerecht an den Sammelstellen einzufinden. Z.B. in Orava fehlte schon auf der Liste 15% der Insurgenten. Zvolenská župa (Komitat-Altsohl) A.I. fasc. 4, No. 10.

[26] *Auer János Ferdinand pozsonyi nemes polgárnak héttoronyi fogságában írt naplója 1664.* Ed.: I. Lukinich. Budapest 1923, S. 53–54 und *Descriptio Tartaricae,* S. 129.

hauptsächlich den Zutritt nach Wien sichern. Die Verteidigung von Neuhäusel und des Übergangs über die Donau wurde den Insurgenten und dem kaiserlichen Heer, das aus Siebenbürgen ankommen sollte, überlassen. Diese schlecht gewählte Taktik erlaubte den Osmanen Neuhäusel und andere Burgen zu erobern. Erst nach Verlusten ließ der Kriegsrat des Hofes Montecuccoli in der West-Slowakei und Petar Zrinski auf der Großen Schütt-Insel operieren. Im Winter verschob sich auch Louis de Souchès auf die Linie Trenčín – Kremnitz.

Als die osmanischen Einheiten nach Gran (Esztergom) kamen, entstand am anderen Ufer große Panik. Die Bewohner verließen massenhaft ihre Dörfer und suchten Schutz in Festungen oder im Hinterland. Die Garnison von Svodín brannte den befestigten Ort nieder und zog nach Lewenz und Nógrád.[27] Obwohl der Großwesir Korps vorausschickte, die eine Brücke über die Donau bauen sollten, mußte seine Armee auf die Fertigstellung der Brücke und auf Schiffe mit Nahrungsmitteln und Ausrüstung warten. Etwa drei oder vier Tausend Soldaten gingen zum Schutz der Brücke und Schiffe auf die andere Seite der Donau über. Weitere Streitkräfte wurden von der nicht fertigen Brücke aufgehalten.[28]

Der Befehlshaber von Neuhäusel Adam Forgách erfuhr, daß ein Teil der osmanischen Armee auf das linke Donauufer übergegangen war. Das bestätigten auch zwei Flüchtlinge aus dem türkischen Lager, und auch daß die Brücke noch nicht fertig sei. Andere behaupten, daß Forgách von einem Untertanen informiert wurde. Es ist auch zu erwägen, ob diese Nachricht nicht obsichtlich verbreitet wurde. Der Übergang über einen großen Fluß war zu jenen Zeiten ein bedeutendes Hindernis und eine strategisch ungünstige Stelle auch bei zahlenmäßiger Übermacht. In ähnlicher Situation hat ein Jahr später das osmanische Heer beim Übergang über den Fluß Raab bei St. Gotthard eine Niederlage erlitten. Durch einen Angriff auf die Vorhut der Armee die Hauptmacht zu vernichten oder aufzuhalten war für A. Forgách Grund genug für eine voreilige Entscheidung in der Annahme „etwas gutes und nützliches für das Vaterland und das ganze Christentum zu tun".[29] Der ganze Verlauf dieser Aktion zeigte ein großes Maß an Improvisation und Überstürzung. Im gesammelten Heer von Forgách befanden sich die Garnison Neuhäusel, Truppen des kaiserlichen Heeres und Verbände der Komitate Preßburg und Neutra, zusammen etwa 6000 Mann.[30] Man machte Forgách aufmerksam, daß die

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27 *Theatrum Europaeum IX*, S. 928–29; ZEILER, M.: *Neue Beschreibung des Königsreichs Ungarn*. Leipzig 1664, S. 479. Auch der wenig informierte osmanische Historiker MEHMED NECATI, 7a kennt dieses Ereignis. Über die Flucht der Bewohner von Tvrdošovce schreibt AUER, J.F.: *Tagebuch*, S. 67.

28 *Silahdar I*, S. 282–83; *Cevarih'üt-tevarih*, P 18a, W 21b; *Ortelius redivivus II*, S. 262, *Theatrum Europaeum IX*, S. 929, *Hungarisch-Türkische Chronik*, S. 567 brachte die Nachricht ein untertäniger Bauer zu Forgách.

29 Der Brief an Palatin Wesselényi in Hadtört. Közlemények 6, 1893, S. 719–20 vom 7. August 1663, in welchem er seine Entscheidungen begründet.

30 *Descriptio Tartaricae*, S. 129; *Tagebuch* von Auer, S. 68.

Brücke über die Donau schon fertig ist und die osmanischen Einheiten auf die andere Seite übergegangen sind. Nach osmanischen Quellen wurde die Brücke mit 81 Pontons von den Türken am Vormittag des 6. August 1663 fertiggestellt.[31]

Auf Befehl des Großwesirs gingen bis zum Abend die erfahrensten Befehlshaber der osmanischen Armee mit dem Heer und einigen Abteilungen Janitscharen auf das andere Ufer. Osmanische Soldaten besetzten die umliegenden Wälder und Hügel längs der Donau und warteten in Kampfstellung im Lager. Das Heer von Forgách rückte undiszipliniert vor. Die osmanischen Chroniken schreiben von einem plötzlichen Überfall, den das osmanische Heer nicht erwartet hatte. Die Truppen von Forgách stießen auf Einheiten von Kadızade Ibrahim Pascha, die Wachdienst vor den Hauptverbänden hielten. Der Angriff auf die osmanischen Positionen gelang vorerst, ein Teil der osmanischen Streitkräfte fiel, die anderen flüchteten hinter die Schanzen. Andere Verbände stießen auf Kamele deren Lärm den Rest des schlafenden Heeres weckte und so wurde das Vorrücken von Forgách aufgehalten. Vor den Schanzen war die Infanterie und ein Teil der deutschen Kavallerie umstellt. Die Befehlshaber mit A. Forgách an der Spitze und die Kavallerie verließen das Schlachtfeld, wo die Türken die Infanterie liquidierten. Die Reste kehrten nach Neuhäusel zurück, wo nur 1272 Soldaten aller Heeresgattungen ankamen. Schon aus dieser Zahl sieht man, daß die Schlacht große Verluste brachte. Mehr als die Hälfte des Heeres war gefallen oder wurde gefangen genommen einschließlich J. Eszterházy und beinahe alle Insurgenten des Komitats Preßburg.[32]

Schon während der Schlacht brachten die Soldaten nach orientalischer Sitte die Köpfe getöteter Feinde mit der Absicht eine Belohnung zu gewinnen. Dann spielte sich eine Begebenheit würdig des Timur Leng ab. Der Großwesir ließ einen Teil der Gefangenen köpfen und die Köpfe auf einem Haufen vor seinem Zelt schichten. Den Rest von etwa 300 Gefangenen, unter ihnen auch Johann F. Auer, schickte der Großwesir nach Gran (Esztergom) und von dort nach Ofen (Buda) und einen Teil auch nach Yedi Kule, dem Gefängnis von Istanbul.[33]

Aus dem Lager bei Parkan schickte der Großwesir als Vorhut den Statthalter von Ofen (Buda) Sarı Hüseyin Pascha und andere um an den Flüssen Žitava und Nitra Brücken zu bauen und das sumpfige Gelände für den Übergang herzurichten. Am 16. August 1663 gingen die osmanischen Truppen

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[31] *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 18a, W 21b; *Silahdar I*, S. 257 behaupten „anfangs muharrem am Montag" – 6. August.

[32] *Cevahir'üt-tevarih* und ähnlich RAŞID schreiben von 5000 Toten und 1000 Gefangenen. NECATI von 5400 Toten, 600 Geköpften vor dem Großwesir und 500 Gefangenen, bis zu den erdachten Angaben von EVLIYA ÇELEBI.

[33] Dieses Massaker beschreibt in seinem Tagebuch der Augenzeuge Johann F. AUER (S. 82–84), weiter *Ortelius redivivus II*, S. 263; *Hungarisch-Türkische Chronik*, S. 573 und von osmanischer Seite *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 19a, W 23b; *Silahdar I*, S.262–63 und MEHMED HALIFE, S. 82.

über die Brücken an der Nitra unweit der Festung. Sie umgingen Neuhäusel von Norden und Westen gegenüber dem Wiener Tor und errichteten ein La-ger. Vor Beginn der Belagerung wurde die Garnison mit Truppen aus Sieben-bürgen, Komorn und Raab verstärkt. Wahrscheinlich auf eine Aufforderung hin ergaben sich Šurany, wo der Bey von Ohrid Arslanpaschazade Bebir Pascha zum Befehlshaber wurde.[34]

Die Belagerung und Eroberung von Neuhäusel

Wir wollen uns nicht mit den technischen Angelegenheiten der Festungs-belagerung befassen. Vor die Neuhäusler Festung kam eine über fünfzigtau-send Mann starke osmanische Armee, sie bezog Stellung in einem Bogen vom Fluß Nitra im Norden bis nach Südwest.[35] Die einzelnen Sektoren (türk. Kol)[36] waren: der mittlere mit Großwesir Fazıl Ahmed Pascha, Statthalter von Rumelie Beyko Ali Pascha und dem Aga der Janitscharen Salih an der Spitze, rechts befand sich der Statthalter von Bosnien Wesir Köse Ali Pascha und Zağarcıbaşı (hoher Befehlshaber der Janitscharen) und links der Statthalter von Anatolien Wesir Çerkes Yusuf Pascha und Samsuncubaşı (ein anderer hoher Befehlshaber).

Die Festung von Neuhäusel stellte ein großes Hindernis auch für die starke osmanische Armee dar im Hinblick auf die Stärke ihrer Befestigungen. Die Festung wurde in den Jahren 1573–81 nach einem Projekt des Hofbaumeisters Giulio Baldigari gebaut und stellte den Höhepunkt des Befestigungsbauwesens zur Zeit der Renaissance in der Slowakei dar. In der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts wurde der Aufbau der Festung fortgesetzt, aber vor der Belage-rung waren drei Bastionen noch nicht fertiggestellt.

Das osmanische Belagerungssystem bestand aus zwei Arten von Belage-rungsgräben. Zuerst hatte das Heer außerhalb der Schußweite von Musketen Gräben aufgebaut, parallel mit der Befestigungslinie, gewöhnlich nur in der Hauptrichtung des Angriffs. Diese tiefen parallelen Gräben (türk. Meteris) wurden nach Sektoren (türk. Kol) ausgebaut. Dann wurde mit dem Ausbau von Annäherungsgräben (Approchen, türk. Sıçan Yolu – Mauseweg) fortge-fahren, die direkt zu den Festungsmauern gerichtet waren. In gewissen Ab-ständen wurden diese noch durch parallele Verbindungsgräben ergänzt, damit im Falle eines Vorstoßes der Belagerten schnell größere Kräfte der Belagerer

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[34] NECATI, 11a schreibt, daß dieser befestigte Ort (Palanka) sich nach der Aufforderung erge-ben hat und daß Beyko Ali Pascha auszog ihn zu besetzen und Kanonen und Vorräte zu be-schlagnahmen. *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 307 behauptet, daß Beyko Ali Pascha Šurany belagerte und die Garnison sich ihm ergab.

[35] *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 266 und *Theatrum Europaeum IX*, S. 931 aus gemeinsamer Quelle. HHStA, Wien, Turcica 135, vom 8. Juli 1663 No. 11 (Autor Tullio Miglio) gibt 62 000 Mann, 123 kleine und 12 große Kanonen an.

[36] Kol kann Armee, Flügel, Kolonne, Sektor und auch Einheit bedeuten. Siehe KREUTEL, R.F. – TEPLY, K.: *Kara Mustafa vor Wien 1683 aus der Sicht türkischer Quellen*. Wien 1982, S. 203, Fußnote 18.

zusammengezogen werden könnten. In der Nähe des Festung wurden die Gräben mit Holz und Erde zugedeckt um die Sappeure vor der Beschießung durch die Verteidiger zu schützen. Die Türken nennen die gedeckten Gräben (türk. Kubur).

Der Hauptangriff war gegen die niedergerissene Vorstadt beim Wiener Tor und gegen die Forgách Bastei gerichtet. Erst am fünften Tag der Belagerung sind einige Verbände bis an die Palisaden vor dem Burggraben vorgedrungen. Während der Nachtdunkelheit wurden Kanonen in vorbereitete Stellungen näher zur Festung vorgeschoben. Der erste größere Zusammenstoß ereignete sich am 21. August im Kampf um den Ravelin vor dem Wiener Tor. Auf einen Ausfall der Besatzung aus dem Ravelin um die sich nähernde türkische Sappe zu zerstören, griffen offen starke Einheiten, überwiegend Janitscharen, an und eroberten nach wiederholten Stürmen den Ravelin. Die Verluste waren beiderseits sehr hoch, da die Quellen dies ausdrücklich erwähnen.[37]

In den nächsten Tagen der Belagerung (22.-26. August) folgte ein beiderseitiges Artilleriefeuer mit kleineren Schäden. Am 26. August kamen in das osmanische Lager etwa 10 000 tatarische Reiter mit Ahmed Gerey, dem Sohn des Chans.[38] Zusammen mit ihnen kamen auch Kosaken (sog. brüderliche Kosaken) mit Mehmed, dem jüngeren Sohn des Chans, und Hauptleuten.[39] Am nächsten Tag kamen auch Korps des walachischen und moldauischen Fürsten.[40] Mit der Ankunft der Tataren und anderer Hilfskorps, die nur mit Hiebwaffen ausgerüstet und deshalb bei der Belagerung nicht anwendbar waren, begann eine ausgedehnte Verwüstung der West- und Mittelslowakei und später auch von Mähren und Schlesien. Infanterieabteilungen der Hilfskorps hielten zum Teil Wachdienst oder halfen bei den Belagerungsarbeiten.[41]

Die ersten Streifzüge der Tataren nach der Verwüstung der Umgebung von Neuhäusel und der Großen Schütt-Insel konnte man bei Šaľa, Šintava und Freistadtl (Hlohovec) aufhalten. Es scheint, daß es die Aufgabe dieser Gruppen war vor allem das Gelände und die Furten über den Waag auszukundschaften. Bei weiteren Schreifzügen, verstärkt durch osmanische Einheiten mit dem Statthalter von Damaskus Kibleli Mustafa Pascha an der Spitze, begab

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[37] *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 25b-26a, W 31a-b; *Silahdar I*, S. 269-70; *Rašid I*, S. 42; MEHMED HALIFE, S. 86; NECATI, 13b; *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 314–15 es ist die von ihm erwähnte Yasi tabiye.

[38] *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 27a, W 32b und ähnlich *Silahdar I*, S. 272 und *Rašid I*, S. 44 geben 150 000 Tataren an; *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 319 – 40 000 und MEHMED HALIFE, S. 41 – 80 000. Die europäischen Quellen wie *Ortelius redivivus II*, S. 268 und *Theatrum IX*, S. 933 sind realistisch.

[39] Osmanische Quellen schätzen die Zahl der Kosaken zwischen 10 und 20 000, während diese Gruppe von Kosaken nur einige Hundert Käpfer zählte. Nach *Theatrum Europaeum XI*, S. 933 waren es nur 250, was objektiv ist.

[40] Wieder sind die Zahlen der Walachen und Moldauer zu 20 000 Mann angegeben. JORGA, N.: *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches IV*. Gotha 1911, S. 112 gibt zusammen 10 000 Mann an.

[41] JORGA, N.: op. cit., S. 113.

sich ein zahlreiches Heer auf Pferden und Wagen „geleitet von ungarischen Verrätern" über den Waag, den sie am 2. September bei Freistadtl über-querten und in zwei Strömen nach Süden zu Tyrnau (Trnava) und nach Nor-den zu Čachtice vordrangen.[42] Der südliche Strom der Tataren kam angeblich bis zu Modern (Modra) und Bösing (Pezinok), verwüstete alle Siedlungen, die ihm im Wege standen, und brannte sie nieder. Die tatarische Verwüstung traf in der ersten Phase die jenseits der Berge liegenden Teile der Komitate Preß-burg und Neutra, von da ging ein Teil der Tataren nach Mähren und bis nach Schlesien, den Weg zeigten ihnen die ungarischen Grenzhusaren.[43] Im Mäh-ren plünderten sie die Umgebung von Nikolsburg und Brünn bis nach Olmütz. Am 15. September nahm die Garnison der Stadt Olmütz den tatarischen Spion Paul Cosak (Kosak) aus Jarogtow (?) in Litauen gefangen. Dieser geriet in Gefangenschaft der Tataren und begleitete sie, dar er die polnische, deutsche und tatarische Sprache beherrschte.[44]

Die offene Landschaft ohne Garnisonen, die sich aus der Gegend um den Waag zur Verteidigung der Großen Schütt-Insel zurückgezogen hatten, leistete den Tataren keinen Widerstand und so waren die Schäden durch Verwüstung viel schrecklicher als der spätere Verlust militärischer Stellungen. Die Land-bewohner suchten Zuflucht in befestigten Städten und Burgen, aber diese konnten nur einen Teil der Bevölkerung retten. Anderswo hatten sich die Bauern, bewaffnet mit Schußwaffen, erfolgreich verteidigt und die zahlen-mäßige Übermacht vertrieben, besonders wenn die Tataren, wie üblich, nur Säbel hatten.[45] Die Stimmung der Ereignisse erfassen vielleicht am besten die Worte eines damaligen Flugblattes: „Allen Kummer und Not, die hier ge-schah, kann man eher beweinen als beschreiben. Viele flüchteten aus dem Lande in Städte und befestigte Orte und auch in den Städten herrschte große Angst vor dem vordringenden Feind."[46] In der zweiten Septemberhälfte 1663 unternahmen die Tataren verwüstende Streifzüge, unter welchen am meisten die an der mittleren Waag liegende Gegend litt. Anfang Oktober haben sie die Vorstadt von Trenčín (Trentschin) angegriffen, den Senator D. Lipský und Mitglieder des Stadtrates und angeblich auch den evangelischen Prediger S. Chalupka gefangen genommen. Während dieses Einfalls haben die Tataren Dörfer an beiden Ufern der Waag zwischen Beckov und Trenčín und darüber niedergebrannt. In den ersten Oktobertagen ist das tatarische Heer wahr-scheinlich entlang des Waag bis Beluša vorgedrungen, hat den Fluß überquert und Púchov niedergebrannt. Dann gingen sie nach Mähren, wo sie einige Tage die Landschaft plünderten und niederbrannten. Auf dem Rückweg haben sie von Herrschaftsgut in Eisgrub und weiter dann aus Lysá pod Makytou 304

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[42] *Descriptio Tartaricae*, S. 130.

[43] *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 272.

[44] HHStA, Wien, Hungarica 176 (1660–1666), S. 49–52.

[45] *Geschichts-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder*. Ed.: R. Wolkan. Wien 1923.

[46] *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 272.

und aus Lazy pod Makytou 100 Menschen weggeschleppt.[47] Die Folgen dieser Verwüstung, die meistens von den Landbewohnern getragen wurden, waren eine der traurigsten Seiten des osmanischen Feldzugs im Jahre 1663. Über ungeheuere materielle Schäden und persönliche Tragödien von Tausenden Menschen sagen vielen zeitgenössische Dokumente aus.[48]

Bis Ende August ist es den Belagerern gelungen den Burggraben abzulassen und sie versuchten die Pfahlpalisaden zu beseitigen. Den Graben, der etwa 40 Meter breit war, zu überwinden war eine gefährliche Aufgabe, denn das osmanische Heer war im unmittelbaren Schußbereich der Verteidiger. Deshalb hat man außerhalb des mit Balken zugedeckten Stollen über den nicht ganz ausgetrockneten Burggraben begonnen gegenüber der Bastei Žerotín Erde in den Burggraben aufzuschütten und einen Damm errichten. Dieser sollte die Höhe der Festungsmauern erreichen, so daß man nach Annäherung des Dammes direkt angreifen konnte. Der Großwesir hatte befohlen, daß alle nicht kämpfenden Soldaten, vor allem die Verwaltung, Diener und Hilfsabteilungen sich an dieser Arbeiten beteiligen sollen. Diese Arbeit dauerte bis Mitte September, als es den Türken gelang größere Erfolge zu erzielen.[49] Die Situation im osmanischen Lager, wo Mängel in der Versorgung offenbar wurden, war nicht die beste. Deshalb versuchte der Großwesir möglichst rasch die Festung zu erobern ohne Rücksicht auf Opfer, die, es scheint, viel höher waren als die der Verteidiger. Bei Neuhäusel sind hohe Würdenträger wie Yusuf Pascha von Ankara, Sanullah, Aga der Sipahi und Beyko Ali Pascha von Rumelie gefallen.[50]

Als es den Belagerern gelang durch die Stollen über den abgelassenen Burggraben sich den Festungsmauern zu nähern, begann der Angriff. Am 17. September wurde gegen die zwei nicht fertiggestellten Basteien, die Forgách-Bastei und die Friedrich-Bastei gestürmt. Die letztere hatte man bald verteidigt. Stürme gegen die Forgách-Bastei dauerten über zwei Stunden und beide Seiten hatten große Verluste. Mit Rücksicht auf Mißerfolge bei direkten

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[47] Kočiš, J.: *Od Čachtíc po Strečno* (Von Čachtice bis Strečno). Martin 1989, S. 93.

[48] Holuby, J.L.: op. cit., S. 661 ff. Barock weitläufig beschreibt er die Verwüstung der westlichen Slowakei. Kéry, J.: *Martis Turcici ferocia anno a Christi ortu supra 1663 et 1664 in Hungaria.* Posonium s.a. Zeitgenössische Briefe über die Verwüstung veröffentlichte P. Horváth: *Rabovali Turci...* (Die Türken plünderten...), S. 191 ff.)

[49] *Diarium obsidionis*, 6. September.

[50] Die Angaben über den Tod von Würdenträgern außer Su'ullah Aga sind in den osmanischen Quellen uneinheitlich. Z.B. der Tod von Beyko Ali Pascha ist in den osmanischen Chroniken *Silahdar I*, S. 275 und Mehmed Halife, S. 87 am 3. September 1663 verzeichnet. Eine Aufzeichnung im *Diarium obsidionis* vom 21. September lautet: „Heute sind mehrere Feinde gefallen. Unter ihnen auch irgendein Pascha, bei dem ein Brief des ungarischen Palatins an Herrn Montecuccoli vom 16. September gefunden wurde". Den Namen dieses Würdenträgers identifiziert ein Brief des Palatin Wesselényi an A. Forgách, der veröffentlicht wurde (Hadtört. Közlemények 5, 1893, S. 723): „In meinem Brief, geschrieben an Herrn Montecuccoli, den Sie in der Tasche von Becco Pascha gefunden haben, konnten Sie wie im Spiegel sehen, daß wir bemüht waren Neuhäusel mit Hilfe beizustehen".

Angriffen hat der Großwesir entschieden die Festungsmauern zu untergraben und durch den Durchbruch anzugreifen. Am 18. September haben die Türken begonnen die Festungsmauer an mehreren Stellen zu untergraben, besonders bei der Friedrich-Bastei und Forgách-Bastei. Zwei Tage später unternahmen die osmanischen Einheiten einen direkten Angriff auf die Kurtine zwischen den obengenannten Basteien. Dieser wurde, ähnlich wie der gegen die Forgách-Bastei, abgeschlagen. Nach der Zurückziehung der Truppen aus dem unmittelbar bedrohten Gebiet begann die osmanische Artillerie am 22. September die untergrabenen Festungsmauern, die vorher angezündet wurden, aus schweren Kanonen zu beschießen. Unmittelbar nach dem Artilleriefeuer folgte ein starker Angriff gegen die Friedrich-Bastei, der aber abgeschlagen wurde. Durch die Fahrlässigkeit eines Soldaten hatte Schießpulver Feuer gefangen und die Explosion hat viele Soldaten getötet. In den letzten Tagen der Belagerung war die Besatzung einem starken Druck ausgesetzt, besonders als die Türken am 24. September einen Generalangriff unternehmen wollten. Es kamen kapitulantenhafte Stimmungen auf, besonders bei den ungarischen Soldaten. Sie haben Vertrauensmänner zu Pio und Forgách gesandt und zur Kapitulation gedrängt und es ist ihnen gelungen, daß Parlamentarier zum Großwesir gesandt wurden. Am 24. September hat die Festung kapituliert. Die Nachricht über die Kapitulation begrüßte auch Fazıl Ahmed Pascha mit großer Freude – „nicht wegen seiner Großzügigkeit und angeborener Erhabenheit" – aber wegen der Unzufriedenheit der Mannschaft und dem Hunger. Ohne größere Schwierigkeiten hatte er den Bedingungen der Besatzung zugestimmt, nur wollte er nicht erlauben, daß sie eine größere Menge Kanonen mitnehmen. Die einzelnen Punkte der Kapitulation enthielten im wesentlichen die Modalitäten des Abzugs und seiner Gewährleistung. Als der Großwesir die Kapitulationspunkte angenommen hatte, ist ein dreitätiger Waffenstillstand eingetreten. Während diesem sollte die Garnison nach Komorn abziehen und beide Seiten haben Geiseln ausgetauscht. Schon am 25. September haben die osmanischen Verbände die beschädigten Festungsmauern besetzt. Da der Zutritt zum Gran-Tor versperrt war und man da nicht hinausgehen konnte, hat sich die Garnison am Stadtplatz versammelt, wo sie bis Mittag verblieb. Am Mittag des 26. September sind aus der Festung 2422 bewaffnete Soldaten und etwa dreitausend Bewohner der Stadt hinausgegangen. Dem Heer wurde bewilligt vier Kanonen mitzunehmen.[51] Am Morgen des 27. September ist der Zug in Komorn eingetroffen, wo die Befehlshaber des kaiserlichen Heers unverzüglich in Haft genommen wurden.

Osmanische Quellen sprechen über „Ungläubige", die in Neuhäusel blieben und sich unterwarfen.[52] Der Bericht von M. Zeiler behauptet, daß ein Teil der ungarischen Garnison, die eine strenge Bestrafung befürchtete, in der

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[51] *Geschichts-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder.* In: Die Türken plünderten..., S. 133. *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 344.

[52] MEHMED HALIFE, S. 90.

Festung blieb. Es soll sich um 300 Husaren und 200 Heiducken gehandelt haben, die sich freiwillig ergaben und als Belohnung drei Dukaten erhielten.[53]

Am nächsten Tag, den 27. September ist der Großwesir feierlich in die Festung eingezogen und hat die Wiederherstellung der vernichteten Stellen, die Beseitigung der Schanzen und die Durchführung weiterer Maßnahmen für die Verteidigungfähigkeit von Neuhäusel befohlen. Da es ein Freitag war, hat man in den Moscheen, zu welchen die Kirchen umgewandelt wurden, ein feierliches Gebet verrichtet und es wurde gefeiert.[54] Zum Befehlshaber ernannte der Großwesir den Kurden Mehmed Pascha mit 4000 Mann Besatzung aus verschiedenen Truppengattungen mit einem Tagesbezug von 38 732 Akçe.[55] Den Schutz von Neuhäusel hat der Großwesir dem Statthalter von Ofen (Buda) Sarı Hüseyin Pascha anvertraut. Nach dem Tode des Kurden Mehmed Pascha (Ende Oktober oder Anfang November 1663) wurde dieser auch zum Statthalter der neueroberten Provinz.[56] Außer Reparaturen war es nötig die Festung sowie das Hinterland zu sichern. Nach einem Aufruf wurden an die nahe Umgebung aber auch an entfernter liegende Städte wie Preßburg, Tyrnau (Trnava), St. Georgen (Sv. Jur), Freistadtl (Hlohovec – ein solcher Brief ist nur in diesem Städtchen erhalten), Trenčín, aber auch an Bergstädte Briefe gesandt.[57] Gegen Neutra und Nógrád hat der Großwesir Sarı Hüseyin Pascha mit Truppen aus Ofen und Gardeabteilungen und einer weiteren Abteilung in der Stärke von 6000 Mann unter der Führung von Kaplan Mustafa Pascha und Kasım Pascha aus Erlau mit Truppen aus Anatolien sowie Janitscharen schon am 3. Oktober bestimmt.[58] Der Wesir Sarı Hüseyin Pascha hat die Garnison von Neutra zur freiwilligen Aufgabe aufgefordert, was auch am 10. Oktober 1663 geschah.[59] Ähnlich hat sich auch die Garnison von Freistadtl noch vor dem Ankommen der osmanischen Besatzung (am 12. Oktober) ergeben. Aber auch diese ist nicht lange geblieben und Ende Oktober nach Neutra zurückgekehrt. Osmanische Quelle beschreiben, wie in das Lager bei Neuhäusel Scharen von Untertanen kamen, Gehorsam versprachen und sich um den Schutz des Großwesirs bewarben. Es ist nicht daran zu zweifeln, daß das Entsetzen, erweckt durch die plündernden Einheiten von Türken und Tataren, die Entscheidung der Dörfer und Städtchen beschleunigte sich dem Groß-

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[53] ZEILER, M.: op. cit., S. 453; *Ortelius redivivus II*, S. 283–84; *Rabovali Turci...* (Die Türken plünderten...), S. 134.

[54] *Silahdar I*, S. 282; *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S.349.

[55] *Silahdar I*, S. 282.

[56] SÜREYYA, Mehmed: *Sicill-i Osmanı IV*. Istanbul 1315 H., S. 64. Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden. Mühimme Defteri, Eb. 387. Einen kurzen Inhalt Ungarn betreffender Dokumente veröffenlichte FEKETE, L.: *A berlini és drezdai gyűjtemények török levéltári anyaga*. Levéltári Közlemények 6, 1928, S. 302.

[57] *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 284–85; MATUNÁK, M.: *Z dejín* (Aus der Geschichte), S. 410–11.

[58] *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 37b, W 43a; *Silahdar I*, S. 284; *Raşid I*, S. 48; NECATI, 17b; *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 352; *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 285.

[59] FOLLAJTÁR, J.: *Galgócz eleste 1663-ban*. Hadtört. Közlemények 40, 1928, S. 148.

wesir oder Sarı Hüseyin Pascha zu unterwerfen und sich Schutzbriefe zu sichern.

Am 18. Oktober kam zu Neuhäusel der Fürst von Siebenbürgen Michael Apaffy und wurde freundlich aufgenommen, da man in der ungarischen Politik mit ihm rechnete. Er sollte vor allem den Adel und die Städte der Slowakei auffordern sich den Türken zu unterwerfen und mit ihrer Hilfe die Deutschen aus dem Lande zu vertreiben.[60]

Der Großwesir hat sich entschieden, daß er zu den Winterlagern über Lewenz und Nógrád zurückkehrt, die es bis dahin nicht gelungen ist durch Aufforderungen zu zwingen sich zu ergeben. Am 27. Oktober verließ der Großwesir das Lager bei Neuhäusel über gebaute Brücken nach Udvard (Dvory nad Žitavou). Entlang der Žitava setzte er seinen Weg fort nach Vráble und von dort zog er nach Lewenz (Levice). Der Marsch wurde durch regnerisches Wetter und aufgeweichte Wege erschwert – „wir marschierten mit solchen Schwierigkeiten, daß zweitägige Märsche zehn Tage dauerten" – beschwerte sich ein Teilnehmer des Feldzugs. Auch die Gran konnten sie nicht durchwaten, sondern mußten drei Brücken bauen.

Lewenz wurde von Sarı Hüseyin Pascha durch einen Brief aus Neutra am 12. Oktober 1663 aufgefordert sich seinen Truppen zu ergeben. Diese Aufforderung ist wahrscheinlich ohne Antwort geblieben, da Kapıcıbaşı Selim Aga am 22. und 28. Oktober aus Tekovské Lužany (Nagy Salló) den Lewenzer Hauptmann Gašpar Bartakovič erneut aufforderten die Schlüssel zu schikken.[61] Nach Ankunft der osmanischen Armee bei Lewenz hat Bartakovič nach osmanischen Quellen eine schriftliche Aufforderung sich zu ergeben abgelehnt. Als die Truppen aber die Burg umzingelten, entschloß er sich zu verhandeln. Gegen freien Abzug mit Gut und Mobilien ist die Garnison am 2. November 1663 nach Szendrő und Blauenstein (Modrý Kameň) abgezogen.[62]

Die letzte große Kriegshandlung im Herbst war die Eroberung von Nógrád. In den Quellen, in den osmanischen wie in den einheimischen, gibt es Widersprüche. Wahrscheinlich hat die Garnison am 5. November 1663 kapituliert, einen oder zwei Tage vor der Ankunft des Großwesirs.[63]

Die Ergebnisse des ersten Jahres des osmanischen Feldzugs nach Ungarn zeigten sich bedrohlicher, als der Kriegsrat des Hofes erwarten konnte. Nicht nur daß die stärkste und bedeutendste Festung gegen die Türken in der Slowakei – Neuhäusel und andere Stellungen wie Neutra, Lewenz, Nógrád und eine

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[60] Einzelne Quellen geben die Ankunft von M. Apaffy verschieden an, die europäischen am 15. und die osmanischen am 23. Oktober 1663.

[61] ILLÉSY, J.: *Adatok Léva 1663-évi ostromahoz*. Történelmi Tár 25, 1903, S. 373–86.

[62] *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 46a, W 52a; *Silahdar I*, S. 296; *Raşid I*, S. 53; *Evliya Çelebi VI*, S. 389 gibt an, daß Lewenz schon am 22. Oktober 1663 kapitulierte. ILLÉSY, J.: op. cit., S. 379. Der Großwesir nahm die Kapitulationsbedingungen am 1. November 1663 an.

[63] ILLÉSY, J.: *Tanulkihallgatások Nógrád meghóldolása felől 1663*. Hadtört. Közlemények 5, 1892, S. 95–112.

Reihe kleinerer Befestigung gefallen war, sondern es wurden auch weiträumige, strategisch wichtige Landgebiete verloren und Tausende Bewohner verschleppt oder getötet. Die zugespitzte Lage zwischen dem ungarischen Adel und der Armee und den kaiserlichen Garnisonen hat sich im Moment der Bedrohung durch Uneinigkeit, Feigheit und oft auch durch Verrat bemerkbar gemacht. Viele Einzelheiten über die Stimmung des Herbstes 1663 sind auch in den Quellen nicht erhalten, aber Entsetzen und ein Gefühl der Unsicherheit durchdringen jede Eintragung. Das kaiserliche Heer, mit großem Aufwand erhalten, hat weder einen wesentlichen Schritt zur Rettung von belagerten Festungen gemacht noch die Verwüstung der Landschaft verhindert. Ähnlich sind auch Versuche gescheitert in den Kampf gegen die Türken die Insurrektionen der einzelnen Komitate, außer des von Preßburg, einzuschalten. Beim Adel überwogen vollständig egoistische Interessen. Die Mehrzahl hat es abgelehnt mit der Waffe in der Hand anzutreten und sich auf Armut oder Verwüstung des eigenen Guts ausgeredet. In dieser gespannten Atmosphäre steigerten sich die konfessionellen Reibereien und der Verdacht, daß der protestantische Adel – unzufrieden nach dem Preßburg Landtag 1662 – in Verbindung mit den Türken ist.

Die zugespitzte religiöse Lage und die Unzufriedenheit des ungarischen Adels mit der Politik des Hofes wurden schon seit des sechziger Jahren zum Bestandteil der türkischen Politik. Der Großwesir hat von dem National- oder Provinzpatriotismus gewußt, dies ist auch aus osmanischen Quellen ersichtlich. Und natürlich hat er das für die eigene Politik genutzt. Es ist paradox, daß die Unzufriedenheit des ungarischen Adels unter anderem gerade aus dem allzu vorsichtigen Vorgehen des Hofes gegen die osmanischen Eingriffe in siebenbürgische Angelegenheiten entstand. Nach venezianischen Nachrichten war im Herbst 1663 die Lage in Ungarn so, daß die ungarischen Kalvinisten im Großwesir einen Erneuerer der ungarischen Freiheit gesehen und den Anschluß an das osmanische Gebiet gefordert haben. Diese Nachricht ist möglicherweise tendenziös, man kann jedoch nicht ausschließen, daß sie mindestens einen Teil der Wahrheit widerspiegelt.[64]

Militärische Handlungen im Jahre 1664 und Friedensschluß

Die Erfolge der osmanischen Armee und das Entsetzen über die tatarische Plünderungen, über welche zahlreiche Flugblätter ganz Europa informiert hatten und die in wirksamen Stil an die Gefahr auch für deutsche Länder erinnerten, haben dem Kaiser große militärische und materielle Hilfe gebracht.[65] Sogar der Rheinbund – ein Produkt der französischen Politik – stellte ein eigenes Korps von 7000 Mann, zu welchem nominell auch eine französische Hilfsabteilung von 6000 Mann gehörte. Der Wiener Hof hat dann auch andere

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[64] *Descriptio Tartaricae depopulationis,* S. 134.

[65] VALIERA, A.: *Historia della guerra di Canda di... (1664-1666).* Venezia 1679, S. 218–19, zitiert nach JORGA, N.: op. cit., IV, S. 113.

Länder um Hilfe gebeten. Windischgrätz ging nach Schweden, Ditrichstein nach England und Sinzendorf nach Dänemark. Militärische Hilfe aus Polen sollte Graf Kinsky gewinnen.[66] Es war sehr schwierig aus diesen Ländern zu bekommen, besonders aus Polen, wegen des lange andauernden Krieges mit Rußland und den Kosaken.[67]

Für den 25. Januar 1664 rief Palatin F. Wesselényi Vertreter der Komitate und Städte aus dem Gebiet der Slowakei nach Trenčín zusammen, um zehn Punkte betreffend die Verteidigung, die Widerstandsleistung gegen feindliche Handlungen, die Insurrektion, die Heeresversorgung, die Disziplin und andere Fragen in Zusammenhang mit dem militärischen Stand zu besprechen. An der Sitzung in Trenčín von 26.–28. Januar 1664 nahmen die Vertreter der Komitate und Städte eine Entscheidung an, daß sie eine personelle Insurrektion ausrufen werden, daß aber finanzielle Fragen der Landtag überprüfen soll. Der Kriegsrat des Hofes blickte vorsichtig auf die militärische Macht der ungarischen Insurrektion. Auf Grund von Erfahrungen aus den letzten Jahren hat der Rat ganz nüchtern abgeschätzt, daß diese Streitkräfte nicht nur schwierig zu sammeln sind, sondern auch unfähig einen regulären Dienst auszuüben. Deshalb hat sich der Rat mit den ungarischen Magnaten geeinigt, daß sie unter ihre Fahnen werben und der Sold von der kaiserlichen Kasse bezahlt wird.[68]

Während im Süden die militärischen Handlungen schon im Februar 1664 begannen, kam Louise de Souchès Ende März mit sächsischen und brandenburgischen Truppen und kaiserlichen Einheiten aus der Gegend entlang der Waag nach Bojnice und zog weiter bis Neutra, die er mit anderen verlorenen Burgen, Lewenz und Nógrád erobern wollte. Das ungarische Heer – vorwiegend Insurgenten aus slowakischen Komitaten – unter dem Kommando von Stephan Koháry und M. Bercsényi kam früher vor Neutra und versperrte den Weg nach Neuhäusel.[69] Am 13. April kamen die Truppen von L. de Souchès. Sie hatten auch Kanonen, 14 leichte (Falkonette) und 2 schwere und 2 Mörser. Nach erfolglosen Versuchen die Burg ohne Kampf zu gewinnen, begannen sie am 17. April Neutra zu belagern. Es ist ihnen gelungen durch Artilleriefeuer die Burgmauer zu durchbrechen. Am 3. Mai vor dem Generalangriff hat sich die osmanische Garnison ergeben, nachdem zuvor die kaiserliche Armee die Einheiten aus Neuhäusel, die zu Hilfe kamen, abgeschlagen hatte.[70] Unter dem Einfluß von Nachrichten, daß sich starke osmanische Einheiten nähern, stimmten sie zu und leiteten die Garnison nach Neuhäusel. L. de

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[66] HHStA, Wien, Acten und Korrespondenzen, Fasc.147–48, 1663–64; WAGNER, G.: *Das Türkenjahr 1664. Eine europäische Bewährung.* Eisenstadt 1964, S. 9–14.

[67] HHStA, Wien, Turcica 135 (XI–XII 1663; II–III 1664).

[68] EICKHOFF, E.: *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen. Umbruch in Südosteuropa 1645–1700.* München 1970, S. 213.

[69] REDLICH, O.: *Weltmacht des Barock. Österreich in der Zeit Kaiser Leopolds I.* Wien 1961, S. 182.

[70] *Descriptio Tartaricae*, S. 139; RÓNAI-HORVÁTH, J.: *Felső-magyarországi hadjárat 1664-ben.* Hadtört. Közlemények 6, 1894, S. 288–290.

Souchès ließ in Neutra als Garnison 800 Mann und einige Hundert ungarische Soldaten.

Aus Neutra zogen die Truppen nach Vráble, von dort nach Tekov, wo eine Brücke über die Gran gebaut wurde und schon am 8. Mai standen sie vor Lewenz. Obwohl die osmanische Garnison der lewenzer Burg nicht stark war (250 Janitscharen und 400 Sipahi) und L. de Souchès 5000 Infanteristen und 3000 Reiter hatte, ging er nicht gleich zu Belagerung über.[71] Die Umgebung der Burg war sumpfig, was einen direkten Angriff hinderte. Auch hatte er Nachricht bekommen, daß ein starkes osmanisches Heer heranrückt. Gleich danach, als der Großwesir die Nachricht über die Belagerung von Neutra durch kaiserliche Truppen erhalten hatte, sandte er den Statthalter von Großwardein Küçük Mehmed Pascha, Cerrah Kasım Pascha aus Ineu, und den Statthalter von Erlau Arnavud Halil Pascha mit Truppen aus den Provinzen, Gardeabteilungen, Truppen aus Ofen und Gran, sowie Tataren mit Ahmed Aga dem Sarı Hüseyin Pascha in Neuhäusel zu Hilfe.[72] Auch Michael Apaffy und die Fürsten von Moldau und Walachei erhielten Befehl sich den militärischen Handlungen anzuschließen. Genannte Einheiten in der Stärke von etwa 15 000 Mann sind aus Gran zu Hilfe nach Lewenz gezogen. L. de Souchès hat Lewenz verlassen, sich nach Pukanec (Pukkanz) zurück gezogen und den Kriegsrat des Hofes um Hilfe gebeten. Dieser bestimmte Feldmarschall S. Heister, der die Infanterie verließ und mit der Kavallerie über Sv. Beňadik in das Gran-Tal L. de Souchès zu Hilfe eilte.

Ursprünglich wollte L. de Souchès Nógrád oder Waitzen angreifen, aber nach der Nachricht über entlang der Gran heranrückende Türken hat er seinen Plan geändert. Über Hodruša ist er am 16. Mai ins Gran-Tal bei Žarnovica gekommen, wo er sich mit Heister vereinte und mit den osmanischen Truppen unter Küçük Mehmed Pascha zusammenstieß. In der Schlacht sind etwa 1000 bis 1500 Türken gefallen, die Verluste der kaiserlichen Truppen waren geringfügig. Das besiegte Heer verwüstet auf dem Rückweg durch das Gran-Tal alle Dörfer und Königsberg (Nová Baňa).[73]

Noch Ende Mai 1664 war L. de Souchès im Becken von Heiligenkreuz (Sv. Kríž n/Hr) gewesen, wo er auf die ungarischen Truppen in der Stärke von etwa 6000 Mann und über 2000 Reiter aus dem Korps von Heister wartete. Erst am 9. Juni hat L. de Souchès mit einem etwa 15 000 Mann starkem Heer Lewenz belagert. Die türkische Garnison hat sich nach fünftägiger Beschießung ergeben gegen freien Abzug nach Gran.[74] Weitere militärische

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[71] *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 309–310. *Cevahir'üt-tevarih*, P 71b-72a, W 73a; *Silahdar I*, S. 323–324.

[72] RÓNAI-HORVÁTH, J.: op. cit., S. 294. WAGNER, G.: op. cit., S. 121.

[73] WAGNER, G.: op. cit., S. 127–130; *Silahdar I*, S. 366; *Raşid I*, S. 82.

[74] *Ortelius redivivus II.*, S. 326; 17. Mai 1664 haben die Türken etwa 400 Menschen aus Nová Baňa (Königsberg), die sich in unterirdischen Gängen versteckt hatten, erstickt, andere haben sie verschleppt oder geköft. HINDICKÝ, J.: *Nová Baňa*. Vlast. časopis 12, 1963, S. 180. WAGNER, G.: op. cit., S. 120–122.

Operationen in der Slowakei waren von der militärischen Lage, wie sich im Laufe von Mai und Juni in Ungarn entwickelte, abhängig.

Nach der Eroberung von Lewenz beabsichtigte L. de Souchès Nógrád anzugreifen, wo die schwache Garnison kaum der Übermacht der kaiserlichen Truppen hätte standhalten können. Nach der Entscheidung des Hofkriegsrates, der befürchtete, daß die osmanische Armee in die österreichischen Länder eindringen könnte, mußte L. de Souchès die Linie an der Waag einnehmen, um das Eindringen der Türken nach Mähren oder noch weiter zu verhindern. Mitte Juli 1664 sammelten sich die kaiserlichen Truppen bei Freistadtl. Von dort zogen sie nach Neutra, da Nachrichten über Truppenbewegungen des verstärkten osmanischen Heeres zwischen Gran und Neuhäusel verbreitet wurden. Souchès befürchtete einen starken Feind und bat den Palatin und die Komitate um weitere Verstärkungen.

Das osmanische Heer in der Stärke von etwa 20 000 Mann mit Sarı Hüseyin Pascha an der Spitze, mit dem Statthalter von Erlau (Eger) zusammen mit Walachen, Moldauern und Tataren zog zum unlängst eroberten Lewenz und belagerte es. Als die Verteidiger es ablehnten über einen freiwilligen Abzug zu diskutieren, griffen sie zweimal an, aber die Garnison unter Kapitän Neumuth wehrte sich tapfer und hielt bis zur Ankunft der kaiserlichen Truppen durch. Von Neutra zogen die kaiserlichen Einheiten über Zlaté Moravce nach Sv. Beňadik und unterhalb Kozárovce durchwateten sie die Gran. Am 19. Juli morgens begann die Schlacht. Die stärksten Angriffe haben die kaiserlichen Truppen aus der südlichen und mittleren Position gegen die moldauischen und walachischen Truppen unternommen. Diese hielten den wiederholten Angriffen nicht stand und ergriffen die Flucht. Nach der Flucht des linken Flüdels der osmanischen Armee haben sich auch andere Einheiten zurückgezogen, aus Furcht vor Umzingelung hat sich die Schlacht zu einem Massaker der nach Lewenz flüchtenden Türken umgewandelt. In der Schlacht sind ungefähr 6000 osmanische Soldaten gefallen und das kaiserliche Heer bemächtigte sich aller Kanonen, Gepäck und Vorräte. Von dem siegreichen Heer sind der Kapitän der ungarischen Einheiten Stephan Koháry, V. Balassa und die kaiserlichen Offiziere Baron Joanelli und Oberst Zeiss gefallen.[75]

Als der Wesir Sarı Hüseyin Pascha mit den Rasten der osmanischen Heer nach Neuhäusel abzog, ist L. de Souchès mit seinen Einheiten nach Parkan gekommen, das er am 1. August 1664 niederbrannte und die Pontonbrücke über die Donau vernichtete. Dann hat er sich nach Komorn zurückgezogen und an der Großen Schütt-Insel sein Lager aufgeschlagen. Der Feldzug des kaiserlichen Heeres im Frühling und Sommer 1664 in der Slowakei gehört zu

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[75] RÓNAI-HORVÁTH, J.: op. cit., S. 302; Ibid.: *További adatok az 1664-ik évi Felsőmagyarországi hadjárathoz.* Hadtört. Közlemények 6, 1894, S. 579–80. MUSTAFA ZÜHDÎ, in *Tarih-i Uyvar*, 44a schreibt über die achtzehntägige Belagerung von Lewenz. WAGNER, G.: op. cit., S. 125–131 gibt auch Nachricht über die Schlacht bei Lewenz und scheint kritisch zu sein gegen einige Nachrichten von L. de Souchès; Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, München, Kriegsarchiv. *Türkenkrieg 1661–1664*, S. 531–548 bringt die Nachricht von de Souchès und andere Dokumente.

den erfolgreicheren Handlungen des zweiten Kriegsjahres. Außer der Neuer-
oberung von Neutra und Lewenz, was den Umfang des von Türken kontrol-
lierten Gebietes bedeutsam einschränkte, haben die Handlungen von L. de
Souchès einen bedeutenden Teil des osmanischen Heeres gebunden, welches
sonst die Einheiten in Südungarn verstärkt hätte. Die Anwesenheit starker
Einheiten erlaubte dem osmanischen Heer nicht straflos die Landschaft zu
verwüsten, wie im Herbst des Vorjahres.

Die Schlacht am 1. August 1664 bei St. Gotthard war ein großer Sieg der
Koalition. Durch den schnellen Friedensabschluß am 10. August in Eisenburg
(Vasvár) und seine baldige Ratifikation ging der schrecklichste türkische Krieg
in der Slowakei zu Ende.

THE FALL OF COMMUNISM IN EASTERN EUROPE: SOUTH AFRICAN PERCEPTIONS AND REACTIONS*

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The aim of this paper is to sketch and analyse a broad picture and some dynamics of South African reactions to the 1989 blitz revolutions in Eastern Europe, which have often been described as an event of epochal significance, marking the fatal decline of power of world communism. Having been based and carried on the wave of an other progressing revolution, that of technology and communications, the East European upheavals could not but immediately acquire a global dimension and pervade and affect in one way or other developments in different parts of the world.

Research into this topic has been based on the study of a relatively wide range of South African sources such as parliamentary debates, conference papers, articles in various newspapers and professional journals, both English and Afrikaans, as well as on interviews with representatives of some of the main South African political parties and movements.[1]

The impact of development in Eastern Europe on the outside world can be perceived in at least four main spheres – one global and three 'sectoral'. From the global point of view it has been generally recognized that the sudden autumn 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall and the rigid East European communist gerontocracies, was the first truly manifest illustration of the decline of communism which practically meant the breakdown of the framework of the post World War Two international relations, based on the existence of two superpowers. Most countries of the world had their own 'stake' in this system as it developed over the past 40–50 years. There was the first group which based its whole foreign policy on an unconditional support of one of the superpowers. There was the second group which found shelter and stability under the protective umbrella of the other. And there was the third group, which concentrated on profiting from manoeuvring between them. Within a couple of weeks, in autumn 1989, each of these three blocs of countries suddenly

faced a new world, as its bipolar framework, conserved by decades of cold war, collapsed in front of their eyes. From this point of view very few countries can be considered as not having been affected.

From the point of view of individual countries or regions the fallout from the explosion of antitotalitarian revolutions in Eastern Europe has been perceived in three main spheres – economic, political and ideological. In economics the breakdown of centrally planned economics and the vigorous advance of the capitalist free market into Eastern Europe brought with it an imminent danger of a major rechannelling of international capital flows, namely the withdrawal of Western investment and aid from the Third World in favour of the more promising East European alternative. As B.A. Kiplagat, permanent secretary in the Kenyan foreign ministry put it, after the revolutions in Eastern Europe for many in the West "Eastern Europe is a pretty girl and Africa a shabby woman".[2]

In political perspective 1989 was in the first place generally seen as an unprecedented triumph of people's power, human rights, peace and democracy and the dawn of the new era of justice. It gave hope and encouragement to freedom fighters and their supporters across the world and at the same time it issued a staggering warning to many dictator. Especially in Africa, the continent of authoritarian regimes of all kinds, many political leaders responded by introducing and promising democratic measures in the first months of 1990.[3]

The impact in the sphere of ideology is closely related to that in the political field, however, here the emphasis would be on theoretical background and the ideological roots of practical politics. This point, no doubt, deserves a separate treatment since it was mainly the plain failure of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism which brought down the whole edifice of the artificial monolith of the Eastern Bloc. The message was global and powerful since it was coming from the unprecedented majority of those whose four decades of own everyday experience definitely gave them a mandate to tell the ordeal. There is no doubt that in this sphere the most affected were those countries whose governments or influential political movements had been, in one way or other, tied in the past to the now disintegrating communist bloc.

South Africa, this paper will argue, has turned out to be one of the countries of the world most affected by the changes in Eastern Europe. The reasons have been numerous. Here I would like to point in brief only to the most obvious ones, in accordance with the above division into the four spheres of impact (i.e. global, economic, political, ideological):

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[2] ANGLIN, D.G.: "Southern African Responses to Eastern European Developments", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Cambridge, vol. 28, No. 3, 1990, p. 438.

[3] For the countries of Southern Africa see ANGLIN: "Southern African Responses", pp. 431–456. Political changes towards democratization in other African countries which could be clearly related to the changes in Eastern Europe, have been documented and discussed in passim in *Africa Research Bulletin: Political Series*, Exeter, vol. 27, 1990.

– South Africa has traditionally been a favourite object of cold war confrontations of the bipolar world
  – partly due to its geographical position the country has been extremely sensitive to any major changes in capital and trade flows
  – South Africa has just gone through a four decades period of history, very similar in characters, even if not the scope, to that, experienced by Eastern Europe (authoritarianism, isolation); as a result of historical coincidence both regions were practically simultaneously embarking on an all-embracing political transition; such resemblances created an environment in which 'taking lessons' seemed natural
  – the struggle for new South Africa has always been under strong influence of and tied to the communist and radical leftist ideology.

If one ponders about the impact on South Africa of the global power shifts caused by the decline of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, one has to bear in mind that from such broad point of view everything inevitably seems to be too complex, and at this point of time any assessment cannot avoid being but speculative to a great extent. Nevertheless, a hypothesis concerning this global aspect of changes will be formulated at the end of the paper.

In the sphere of economics the impact could neither be immediate and direct yet, even the first reactions by businessmen, politicians and journalists were quick to grasp the economic dimension and potential of the East Europe political upheaval.[4] It has been argued, in the first place, that the opening of Eastern Europe inevitably meant that even with the withdrawal of international sanctions on the horizon the Western capital could no longer be expected to flow to South Africa in any significant quantity because of the new and more attractive investment possibilities in countries like Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and, quite possibly, further east in the near future. However, what looked like quite bleak perspectives for South Africa, immediately led to searching for ways out. The economic strategies for future South Africa began to stress more the inescapability of the country's geographical reality and called for more active building on and further developing of its regional power position within Southern Africa and the African continent. As C. Eglin, the Democratic Party parliamentary spokesman on foreign affairs put it: "Our route to becoming a full member of the world community will not be through America, Europe or Asia, but through Africa to which we belong."[5]

Eastern Europe did not open as a new market only to the West. A stream of South African fact-finders, door openers and contact markers began to visit that part of the world to test its business potential and a variety of opportunities was found. One year after the East European upheavals of late 1989 the

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[4] *Die Burger,* 25 November 1989; *Citizen,* 30 December 1989, 26 April 1990; *Beeld,* 22 February 1990; *Insig,* April 1990.
  [5] *Citizen,* 26 April 1990.

ominous economic consequences for South Africa were much less realistic.
Moreover, what seemed to the thrill Western investors at the turn of 1989 and
1990, cooled down when the extent of infrastructural, legislative and manage-
rial staleness, caused by the four decades of communist rule, began to be
more clearly seen. In spring 1991, fifteen months after the fall of the 'Iron
Skirt', Eastern Europe was no longer considered to be so sexy by Western
capital.[6]

As has been, hopefully, indicated above, South Africa reacted quite sensi-
tively to the new economic situation created by revolutions in Eastern Europe.
The impact of East European developments on South Africa in the spheres of
politics and ideology, as observed in the reactions of the country's main politi-
cal groups, will be dealt with in more detail below.

For the purpose of this paper I have concentrated on reactions of the three
at the time most active, visible and probably strongest South African political
parties and groupings: the governing National Party (NP), the opposition Con-
servative Party (CP) and the extra-parliamentary anti-apartheid alliance of the
African National Congress and the South Communist Party (ANC-SACP).
This analysis does not take into specific consideration the ultra left and the far
right groups, neither, unfortunately, Inkatha Freedom Party, the reactions of
which to changes in Eastern Europe have not been sufficiently visible in avail-
able sources.

a) National Party

It is natural that the National party, being the party responsible for the run-
ning of the government, was among the first to react to the new signals com-
ing from Eastern Europe.

To try to set apart the usually intermingling domestic and foreign influ-
ences on a major initiative by a government is always a precarious task. This
would also be confirmed by an attempt to establish the particular relevance of
internal and external factors behind the 2 February 1990 decision of the South
African government to unban all leftist anti-apartheid political organizations
(including the ANC and the SACP), to free political prisoners and to embark
on a principal political transformation by committing the government to the
new course of profound non-racial democratization. However, notwithstand-
ing all the complexities, inherent to an analysis of this kind, at least one gen-
eral observation can no doubt be made – alongside the ever more intense
internal pressures which forced the South African government to adopt active
steps aimed at a fundamental solution of the protracted internal conflict, ex-
ternal influences, the political upheavals in Eastern Europe in particular, were

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[6] As remarked complacently (and with an apparent allusion to the one year old lament by the
Kenyan diplomat quoted above – see note 2) at a gathering of South African businessmen on 11
April 1991 in Cape Town by the South Africa Foundation's Washington director Michael Chris-
tie. See also *Citizen*, 8 November 1990.

also of major importance.[7] This has been confirmed by the majority of our sources, from parliamentary speeches to opinions expressed by politicians and commentators in massmedia and during interviews.

Reading the debates of the South African parliament between 2 February (the opening session) and June 1990 (the closing of the autumn session), one is struck by the frequency with which Eastern Europe has been mentioned as a factor influencing South African politics. Having announced in his opening speech the radical steps away from apartheid and towards the full democratization of political life, F.W. de Klerk gave a list of causes which brought the government to this decision. The first among them was "the events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe which...weaken the capability of organizations which were previously supported from those quarters".[8] Similarly, in the ensuing controversy between supporters of the new political programme and its firm opponents from the conservative opposition, the chief argument did

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[7] Even if the starting point of our analysis is the late 1989 democratic revolutions in Eastern Europe which began with the exodus of East Germans to the West and culminated in the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, the execution of the Rumanian communist dictator N. Ceauşescu and the peaceful coming to power of the two Czechoslovak famous dissidents Havel and Dubček, we realize that the whole process of the erosion of the power of totalitarian communism had already been going on for some years – quite visibly since the 1985 coming to power of M. Gorbachev in the Soviet Union. What is significant from the point of view of this paper: simultaneously with the softening of the hard line communism within the Eastern bloc a similar 'warming-up' was going on for some years behind the scenes between the Soviet Union and South Africa. Occasions worth mentioning in this regard were the refusal of the Soviet delegation in the International Atomic Energy Agency to vote for the expulsion of South Africa from this international organization (despite calls for this on the part of the ANC and some developing countries), the October 1988 Leverkusen conference on current trends in Soviet-South African relations, attended by top Soviet and Afrikaner academics as well as high ranking representatives of the ANC; a similar March 1989 conference organized in London; the visit of an official Soviet delegation (the first in 33 years) to Cape Town in April 1989 and the high level contacts between South African and Soviet diplomats during the 1988–89 negotiations leading to the Namibian settlement, which culminated in the meeting between Soviet deputy foreign minister A. Adamishin and South African foreign minister R.F. Botha in Brazzaville. See P. NEL: *A Soviet Embassy in Pretoria?* (Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1990), pp. 23–38; V.I. TIKHOMIROV: "Contemporary Politics in South Africa and the Soviet Policy Towards Southern Africa", in A. GROMYKO – J. KANE-BERMAN (eds.): *The Moscow Papers – the USSR and South Africa, similarities, problems and opportunities* (South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1991), pp. 7–16; H. GILIOMEE: "The ANC, the Soviet Union and South Africa", *South Africa Foundation Review (SAFR)*, vol. 14, No. 12, December 1988, p. 4; W. GUTTERIDGE: "Changing Soviet Attitudes to South Africa: some first-hand impressions", *SAFR*, vol. 15, No. 6, June 1989, p. 3; I.V. BELIKOV – A.V. BELYAEV: "Framing Soviet Policy towards South Africa: conflicting strategies", *South Africa International*, vol. 22, No. 2, October 1991, pp. 86–96. Therefore the sudden opening of Eastern Europe and the completely changed international situation did not necessarily have to take the South African government by surprise (even if the pace of changes probably did); over the past 3–5 years it had had enough time to think and prepare for the new alternative.

[8] *Debates of Parliament* (Hansard), Feb.–June 1990, col. no. 14. The Government Printer, Republic of South Africa, 1990.

not point to the internal situation but rather revolved around the question whether the changes in the Eastern bloc could, indeed, be considered as having been significant enough for the government to move along the new line.

As could have been expected, other top government representatives expressed views similar to those of the State President. When asked about the importance of changes in the Eastern bloc for South Africa, the Foreign Minister R.F. Botha stated: "Never before in the history of this country did anything happening so far away from here have such crucial significance to us."[9] The Minister of Constitutional Development G. Viljoen, reacting in parliament to the accusations by A.P. Treurnicht, that the National Party did not have the mandate for such a radical change of political course, said:

"...historically far-reaching events in Eastern Europe and elsewhere in the world have made it possible to adopt measures which go much further than we could have thought possible or practicable a year ago... Developments in the world, especially in Eastern Europe, have shown to the ANC that they can no longer rely on help from these countries and count on victory over the South African state by the use of force."[10]

Minister of Education, Training and Development Aid C.J. van der Merwe unfolded this argument in a way which some of his colleagues may have found embarrassingly sincere. He said:

"The world has changed drastically. Years ago it was necessary to ban the Communist Party by law because communism was an upcoming, blossoming ideology, which drove one to despair...In the meantime that ideology blossomed and faded, demonstrating that it was not a matter of any concern. It is proving to the world that it cannot work, and that is why it is no longer necessary to ban it by way of legislation."[11]

Explanations, such as offered by G. Viljoen, when analysed critically, in the context of the ongoing political struggle between the government and its conservative opposition, may create a suspicion, whether Eastern Europe was not just made use of as an excuse against the accusations from the right. Some of these accusations could not just be ignored. It should be borne in mind that in February 1990 the last white election was just five months away and the programme of the victorious National Party only had spoken of reform plans in the usual vague terms, hardly distinguishable from what the government used to promise on such occasions in the past. In this regard doubts about the NP's mandate to adopt the radical measures had their relevance. Had the NP campaigned with legalizing of the ANC, SACP and PAC (Pan African Congress), the results of the election could have been significantly different. However, most of the sources available to the author, and these included two

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9 *Novoe vremya* (New Times), Moscow, No. 29, 1990, p. 18.

10 *Debates of Parliament*, Feb.–June 1990, cols. 64–67.

11 *Debates of Parliament*, Feb.–June 1990, col. 81.

discussions with G. Viljoen[12] dispelled doubts about the true relevance of changes in Eastern Europe for South Africa.

Yet, uncertainties concerning this issue will probably remain obscured behind some controversial statements. Some representatives of the government, including F.W. de Klerk in his 2 February speech, created an impression that Eastern Europe was one of the most decisive influences behind the new political programme. Others, and this surprisingly includes R.F. Botha in parliament, stressed that the NP had in any case been prepared to implement all the radical measures and Eastern Europe was just a factor which reassured the government that it was moving along the right path.[13] The truth may lie somewhere in between. There is little doubt that in autumn 1989 the unconditional release of N. Mandela was but a question of time, yet measures like the legalization of the most radical leftist groupings, the decision to scrap all apartheid legislation and agree on general non-racial elections on the basis of one man-one vote, would be hardly thinkable had not world communism just received what looked like the fatal blow at that time.

Developments in Eastern Europe did not have a one-dimensional cause-effect impact on South African government perspectives. One can rather speak of a multiple influence which had its clear and its obscured aspects. An important distinction to be realized is that the changed international situation on one hand *enabled* the government to introduce fresh policies but on the other hand it simultaneously *forced* it (through pressures from both domestic and international spheres) to adopt new measures.

On one hand the decline of the Soviet Union as superpower and the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe meant that the South African government no longer had to fear what it had traditionally considered to be its foreign enemy number one. The total onslaught threat suddenly disappeared and the government could start thinking in more relaxed terms.

On the international front the government could even observe a "developing empathy towards South Africa"[14] and the "dramatic breaking of the grip of isolation"[15] represented by the historic visit of the Foreign Minister R.F. Botha to Budapest in January 1990, by the more relaxed approach of the new East European leaders to sanctions, their preparadness to respond positively to radical democratic reforms introduced in South Africa (in contrast to the prevailingly rigidly pro-sanction West) and by their willingness to open diplomatic relations.

Internally the breakdown of the Eastern bloc meant that anti-apartheid organizations such as the ANC and the SACP lost their chief bases of foreign support, which weakened their capability to challenge the government in a revolutionary way. The South African government's nightmare of the ever

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[12] Pretoria, 2 August 1990; Prague, 10 October 1991.

[13] *Debates of Parliament*, Feb.–June 1990, cols. 7216–7220.

[14] *Beeld*, 4 January 1990.

[15] *Beeld*, 16 November 1990.

growing black majority persistently supported and instigated from the world's communist and liberal capitals, lost some of its gruesomeness.

However, as has been pointed out above, the new situation not only allowed the government to implement radically new policies, it simultaneously created an environment in which a new approach became a necessity. Revolutions in Eastern Europe and the ensuing changes towards democratization in many other countries of the world began to be increasingly perceived as a part of the end-of-millennium global move to democracy. Accordingly, reform steps adopted by governments in different parts of the world have now been measured against the depth and the pace of changes in Eastern Europe. "The events in Eastern Europe show symptoms of a real world revolution,"[16] wrote a South African correspondent from East Germany in November 1989. "The collapse of the Berlin Wall has set new international standards by which the world now understands the meaning of political reform,"[17] *Sunday Times* pointed out in January 1990 and one South African social analyst spoke of "the tide of expectations increased by East European short-term changes."[18] At the same time the show of power by mass protest against totalitarian regimes quite naturally made authoritarian leaders throughout the world think once again about the vulnerability of their own positions and it brought several to the decision to use what might easily be the last chance to bring change peacefully.[19] The 1989 Christmas martial execution of the Rumanian dictator was a shocking reminder of what can happen if the suppression of human rights and values is allowed to continue too long and go too far. Thus developments in Eastern Europe altered the political climate in South Africa, the National Party was put under an increased internal pressure to get the country out of the deadlock of the protracted conflict and those groups in the NC which were supporters of a more radical reform obviously felt strengthened.[20]

Besides stimuli from within, there were the external ones, some of which also forced the National Party government to adopt the radically new political line. At least one of these pressures was closely related to the fall of totalitarian communism in Europe. With the decline of the Soviet Union South Africa increasingly found itself in the position to become one of the few remaining

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[16] L. SCHOLZ in *Rapport*, 26 November 1989.

[17] *Sunday Times*, 28 January 1990.

[18] N. RHOODIE in *Die Burger*, 6 March 1990.

[19] For South African government a beacon in this regard, which issued both warning and brought hope, was the massive and relatively peaceful demonstration organized in December 1989 in Cape Town. This has been pointed out by G. Viljoen during a discussion with the author in Prague on 10 October 1991.

[20] More light on this issues could perhaps be shed by a serious attempt to compare the backgrounds, tasks and actions of the two leaders of the larges and most precarious contemporary transitions to democracy – M. Gorbachev and F.W. de Klerk. It is quite possible that the boldness with which Gorbachev set out on rebuilding his 'empire of evil' was one of the factors which encouraged De Klerk to attempt to do the same.

targets of the world democratic lobby.[21] From this point of view radical reform steps and the unconditional acceptance of democratic principles on the part of the National Party proved to be a strategically very important and effective step undertaken under the influence of international factors among which the developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were of crucial importance.

Besides 'learning their lessons' NP representatives found it appropriate to use the East European example to 'teach others their own'. In his 2 February 1990 speech in parliament F.W. de Klerk made the following allusion to the leftist groupings such as the ANC-SACP: "Those who seek to force this failed system on South Africa should engage on a total revision of their point of view. It should be clear to all that this is not the answer here either."[22] In the words of R.F. Botha "certain elements in South Africa must throw out of the window their obsolete and worn-out theories and systems,"[23] and according to G. Viljoen there was no doubt that "the events in Eastern Europe and in Africa have totally discredited communism both as political and economic system".[24] The obviously intentional, although one should admit, not quite unfounded interpretation of developments in Eastern Europe, was offered by N. van Heerden, the Director General of the Foreign Ministry. In an obvious attempt to underrate the relevance of demands for unconditional democracy he reasoned:
"Developments in the far-away Eastern bloc prove that the 'one-man-one-vote' does not form the essence of democracy (this used to be, as a matter of fact, the rule in all those countries); it should be seen as only one aspect of democracy, which also requires the guaranties of other important civil rights."[25]
In these and similar statements the representatives of the National Party expressed opinions which were quite close to some views of the conservatives.

b) *Conservative Party*

The revolutions in Eastern Europe have proven to be of great relevance also to the Conservative Party. The party could feel influenced by the developments in both a positive and a negative sense.
On one hand the failure of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe could be perceived by the CP and its electorate as the victory of anti-communism which has formed an important part of the CP's ideology. All the theses of the economic irrationality and political oppressiveness of the communist system,

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21 Specifically pointed to by the Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism G. Marais during an interview in Cape Town on 19 April 1991.

22 *Debates of Parliament,* Feb.–June 1990, col. 11.

23 *The Star*, 26 January 1990.

24 *Insig,* March 1990, p. 54.

25 *Insig,* February 1990, p. 14.

of its general inhumaneness and unworkability, which the CP kept stressing over the past decade, seemed suddenly to be confirmed by a single-stroke unveiling of the reality of conditions behind the Iron Curtain. Above all, the CP's chief internal enemy – the South African communist oriented left wing – has been given a shattering blow.

On the other hand, the CP could feel also seriously endangered by the changes in the Soviet bloc. The party used to justify its policies, and to a considerable degree its very existence, by the need to build fences against the ever growing expansionism of the communist world whose aims had always been global. The sudden unexpected marginalization of international communism, the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from regional spheres of interest and its rapid decline as world superpower confronted the CP with a completely new situation. With the total onslaught threat no longer there one of the important pillars on which the Conservative Party stood, cracked.

The immediate reaction of the Conservative Party to changes in Eastern Europe and to the ensuing radical democratizing measures adopted by the NP government, seems to have been to a larger extent guided rather by the instinct of the self-preservation than by rational evaluation of the true scope of the change. The CP's response has clearly shown how strongly the party's ideology has been based on the existence of an enemy.

In his reaction to the State President's 2 February 1990 speech in parliament the CP's leader A.P. Treurnicht concentrated on deflating the significance of changes in the Eastern bloc, to which President De Klerk attached prime importance. In an attempt to prove that the Soviet Union remained still as communist as ever, Treurnicht addressed the following words to De Klerk:

"If the hon. State President states... that Stalinist Communism has expired, that the economic system of Eastern Europe or Russia has collapsed, that Russia has turned its back on Southern Africa militarily and ideologically and that it is concerning itself only with its own internal problems, if he asserts that the ANC, PAC, SACP and other front organizations have been cut off from Russian communist influence and aid and that they cannot continue to exist on their own; if he thinks that, then I am honestly of the opinion that he is truly naïve!"[26]

Treurnicht further warned the government that the Soviet leader's communism was still very much alive. He expressed his belief that all Gorbachev's efforts had only been aimed at making the communist system more effective. He said that the Soviet Union was just looking for a temporary peace in order to gather new strength so that it could achieve its aim of victory without war.[27]

As far as the relation of the Soviet Union to the South African anti-apartheid organizations was concerned, Treurnicht used a relatively recent quota-

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26 *Debates of Parliament*, Feb.–June 1990, col. 46.
27 *Debates of Parliament*, Feb.–June 1990, col. 46.

tion from Gorbachev: "Our country has always supported the freedom strug-
gle of African nations, including South Africa. When Oliver Tambo and
I met, I said to him – we are on your side in the struggle against the apartheid
regime..."[28]

Gorbachev, like most other communist reformers, could not avoid making
controversial statements and the true meaning of many of his declarations can
only be properly evaluated when put into the context of the complex process
of changes developing in the Soviet Union. A careful reading of Gorbachev
proves that in order to pacify the still very powerful supporters of the old
communist order in the Soviet Union, when introducing important reform
steps, he typically resorted to stressing his enduring loyalty to the principles of
socialism as defined by the great founders of the ideology.[29] In the same tune,
steps leading to the minimization of involvement in different traditional Soviet
foreign spheres of influence, has often been accompanied by verbal assurances
of the continuing support.[30]

The Conservative Party and its leader A.P. Treurnicht in particular, based
its criticism of the South African government's new policy, on depreciation of
the relevance of the changes in the Eastern bloc by resorting to incontextual
quotations. It is quite remarkable that a very similar method of misinterpreta-
tion, as will be shown below, has been used by the SACP which, in its reac-
tions to developments in Eastern Europe, used practically the same quotations
to prove the same point – the persistence of the Soviet Union as a communist
power.

Another reaction of the Conservative Party to developments in Eastern
Europe was also based on presenting a slightly distorted picture. Various
spokesmen for the Conservative Party looked at and interpreted events in
Eastern Europe and the changes in the Soviet Union through a rather one-
dimensional ethnic prism.[31] They have seen in them a proof of the thesis that
the prime moving factor in world politics, even at the end of the twentieth

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[28] *Patriot,* 9 February 1990.

[29] This has been, perhaps, best exemplified by Gorbachev's explanation of his resolve to quit
one of the sacred principles of communist ideology, that of the primacy of class struggle in his-
tory and politics. Gorbachev offered his astonished readers this explanation: "... We draw inspi-
ration from Lenin. Turning to him and reading his work *each time in a new way* (italics – the
author), one is struck by his ability to see the most intricate dialectics of world processes...
Lenin could see further, he could go beyond the class imposed limits. More than once he spoke
about the priority of interests common to all humanity over class interprests. It is only now that
we have come to comprehend the entire depth and significance of these ideas." (*African Com-
munist,* No. 113, 1988, p. 103.)

[30] The changing attitudes of the Soviet Union towards ANC since the coming of Gorbachev
to power have been analysed in NEL: *A Soviet Embassy in Pretoria?*

[31] *Rapport,* 14 January 1990.

century, was still nationalism.[32] The obvious implication for South Africa then was that the different ethnic and racial groups should be allowed to develop separately, according to their different cultural and historical traditions. Artificial conglomerates of different nationalities, held together by the power of the authoritarian state, proved unworkable and they could not avoid serious conflicts and ultimate disintegration. In order not to make the same mistake, South Africa, with regard to its extreme heterogeneity, should not opt for a unitary state but for the separation of its First World and Third World peoples which could be best realized by the creation of different *volkstate*.[33]

This interpretation of events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, in our opinion, is a one-sided one. The upheavals there were mainly based on a desire for more human rights and for better standards of living, such as the neighbouring western countries had achieved and the ethnic factors came to the fore only later, as a result of what could be called shock democratization which, among other things, meant taking the lid off the pot of ethnic tensions and contradictions suppressed and frozen by the forty years of totalitarian rule. Even in the Soviet Union, what has been perceived by many as mainly ethnic revolutions on the periphery of the empire, was in reality often directed equally against Moscow as well as against the native communist party representatives.

Ethnicity has often served as the best passable outlet for venting otherwise very complex tensions and simple ethnic interpretations have always been tempting. The South African Conservative Party's evaluation of the end-of-1980s developments in Eastern Europe may have been partly influenced by this more or less general inclination, but it also seems to have represented a deliberate attempt on the part of the CP to lay stress on a view which served its purposes. On the other hand, two years after the momentous changes in Eastern Europe, due to the ensuing developments there, the CP's pointing to the relevance of ethnic and national factors in politics and history can no longer be so easily disregarded. Yet, to argue that separation is the inevitable solution, which was the CP's chief conclusion, still sounds as an oversimplification.

c) African National Congress–South African Communist Party

Out of all major South African political parties those which were expected to be most seriously affected by developments in Eastern Europe were the organizations belonging to the left side of the country's political spectrum.

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[32] "Surely it is nationalism that has turned Eastern Europe up-side down, and surely it is nationalism that is giving rise to tensions within Soviet Russia...That is nationalism against which the Government is going to smash its head in South Africa", prophesied A.P. Treurnicht in parliament *(Debates of Parliament*, Feb.–June 1990, col. 42). Practically the same views were expressed by T. Langley, the CP's parliamentary spokesman on foreign relations, during an interview with the author in Cape Town, 22 April 1991.

[33] *Patriot,* 19 January 1990, 26 January 1990.

The decline of communism in Europe did not only make them face a completely new international situation with secondary internal implications, it also led to an immediate and direct draining of some of their principal sources of economic and military support. Likewise, in the sphere of ideology, the flagrant evidence of unfuctionality of the system of socialism of the Soviet type put in serious doubt all the principles from which organizations like the SACP and the ANC have always to a great extent derived their policies.

On the other hand, revolutions in Eastern Europe could also reassure them at least in one important way in their convictions. The ousting of unpopular governments from power by peaceful demonstration could strengthen them in their belief in people's power and the inevitability of victory of the masses over an oppressive regime. However, surprisingly enough, in the wide range of sources available to the author there was little attempt by leftist spokesmen to exploit this comparative potential.

Especially in the first period of fundamental changes in the Eastern bloc, which began with the grandiose attempt by M. Gorbachev to modernize socialism, to free it from outdate dogmas and to admit some of its principal flaws, one could observe an anxious effort on the part of the South African left to disregard and even misinterpret the significance of the changes being introduced in the Soviet bloc.

The ANC monthly *Sechaba*, the journal with very good access to firsthand information on developments in Eastern Europe, practically completely overlooked the issue. In the 1989 volume of the journal, the few materials concerning relations between the ANC and the Soviet Union were all written in the spirit of the May 1989 interview with ANC's secretary general A. Nzo, who spoke of the continuing unconditional backing of the ANC by the Soviet Union.[34] Even more strikingly, during the whole of 1990 *Sechaba* made no single informative mention of what happened and went on happening in Eastern Europe, if one excludes the brief uncommented official protest note of the ANC Executive Committee against the visit of R.F. Botha to Budapest.[35]

In a slight contrast to *Sechaba*, the *African Communist*, the London based quarterly mouthpiece of the SACP, cannot be said to have paid little attention to the changes in the Eastern bloc, represented by Gorbachev's *perestroika*

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[34] *Sechaba*, vol. 23, No. 5, 1989, pp. 2–5. It should be, however, noted that A. Nzo's belief cannot be said to have been completely unfounded. The ambiguous approach of the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s to its freedom-fighting protégés in different parts of the Third World opened possibilities for different, often opposing interpretations of the Soviet policy. The true position of the Soviet Union on South Africa was quite difficult to discern. A step such as the opening of the ANC mission in Moscow at the time when other indications increasingly began to point to the already changing former Soviet attitude of unconditional support of anti-apartheid organizations along the usual radical lines, provided grounds for speculations (see NEL: *A Soviet Embassy*, pp. 59–95). It seems that besides the deliberate ambiguousness of the Soviet statements, two different attitudes to movements like the ANC have already been developing relatively independently among the Soviet foreign policy makers at that time.

[35] *Sechaba*, vol. 24, No. 2, 1990, p. 2.

and the democratic revolutions in the countries of Eastern Europe. The journal published and discussed some important speeches by Gorbachev, it reviewed extensively his book on *perestroika* and it tackled also the issue of Eastern Europe. However, the presentation and interpretation of these developments and events, especially before the year 1990, was very strongly influenced by the SACP's manifest inability to part with old ideological dogmas and its refusal to give the proper hearing to the ever more perspicuous signals coming from the Soviet bloc.

Even if the focus this article is on the post-1989 period, we believe that one can more clearly see the tendency of the journal to present a distorted picture if some of its pre-1989 reactions to Gorbachev's attempt at grand reform of communism are also mentioned. Whenever the real talk by Gorbachev was about admitting the serious crisis of the system and the urgent need to abandon its principal dogmas, the *African Communist* kept on stressing achievements and continuity.[36] This could be easily done, for example, by incontextual quoting of passages where Gorbachev, in an attempt to calm the stirred waters, declares and confirms his determination to reinforce socialism and relates all the efforts to implement fundamental change to his new reading of Lenin (see also above – note 29).

This attitude of the *African Communist* has not changed very much even after the total breakdown of communist ideology and power in the countries of Eastern Europe. The editorial from No. 2, 1990 of the journal states:

"No matter what happens to the existing socialist countries, capitalism has failed and will continue to fail and the fight for socialism will continue... The constitution of the SACP declares that its aim is to establish a socialist republic in South Africa based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to promote the ideas of proletarian internationalism and the unity of workers of South Africa and the world, and to participate in and strengthen the world communist movement. Nothing that happens in Eastern Europe or elsewhere makes us believe that this perspective needs to be altered."[37]

Such views were no exception on the pages of the journal. Other numbers of that year also brought articles whose authors called, for example, for higher appreciation of Stalin's achievements, for the appraisal of the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat and against the abandonment of Brezhnev's doctrine of limited sovereignty.[38]

Although it would be very interesting to concentrate on the criticism of these old-style dogmatic positions, we will rather give here special attention to one serious attempt at analysis of East European developments and their implications for the SACP, made by the general secretary of the party J. Slovo. This, we believe, will mean on one hand giving the journal a more just and

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[36] *African Communist*, No. 113, 1988.

[37] *African Communist*, No. 121, 1990, pp. 18–19.

[38] *African Communist*, No. 120, 1990, pp. 60–69; No. 123, 1990.

balanced treatment and on the other, presenting opinion and views more representative of the SACP's leadership.

The article *Has Socialism Failed?* by J. Slovo, published as a discussion paper approved by the leadership of the SACP in the second quarter of 1990,[39] has already been extensively commented upon, referred to and discussed by several authors.[40] I will therefore only shortly summarize the main points and add brief comments.

Slovo's principal argument runs as follows: The serious errors that emerged in the practice of existing socialism are not rooted in the basic tenets of Marxist revolutionary science. They are the results of misapplications. Similarly the economic stagnation of socialism and its poor technological performance as compared to the advanced capitalist countries, should not be attributed to the ineffectiveness of socialist relations of production but rather to their distortions. Likewise, the obvious great divide, which developed between socialism and political democracy, must not be treated as flowing naturally from key aspects of socialist doctrine which projects a system anchored in deep seated political democracy and the rights of the individual.[41]

Although Slovo draws one important conclusion from developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe by publicly recognizing the impossibility of promoting true democracy under a one-party system and by unequivocally refuting it as option for a future South Africa,[42] it should be realized, at the same time, that doing otherwise in the situation in which world communism was just finding itself, could have been self-destructive. It would actually mean acting against the old communist strategy of pursuing revolution by opportune steps.

When explaining the emergence of Stalinism, Slovo does not see its seeds in the revolutionary theory of Marx and Lenin. Rather his explanation stresses the human error of one leader under special circumstances. He maintains that everything could have been easily different if only the communist party of the Soviet Union had committed itself more firmly to democratic principles. As M. Frost from the University of Natal has observed, with this sort of argument we are more or less told by Slovo that the Bolsheviks failed because they did not behave like liberal democrats.[43]

Having based his principal argument on the distinction between theory and application, Slovo employs the method of the two socialisms which have been used quite intentionally throughout the history of communist rule in Eastern

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[39] *African Communist,* No. 121, 1990, pp. 25–51.

[40] ADAM, H.: "Eastern Europe and South African Socialism – Engaging Joe Slovo", *South Africa International,* vol. 21, No. 1, July 1990, pp. 27–35; FROST, M.: "Joe Slovo and the Fate of Communism", *SAFR,* vol. 16, No. 5, May 1990, pp. 1–2.

[41] The main points of his article "Has Socialism Failed?" have been further discussed and developed by Slovo in an interview with the *New Nation,* 16–23 March 1990.

[42] *New Nation,* 16–23 March 1990.

[43] FROST: "Joe Slovo and the Fate of Communism", p. 2.

Europe. Whenever signs of crisis of the system emerged, there was always one socialism to put all the blame on and another one which was there to ensure the survival of the doctrine and its official bearers. Without going into much detail it can be said that by justifying and relating one's policies to a theory which has never been successfully implemented over a longer period and the political applications of which have resulted in gross failures, one is building on very loose ground.

To relate Slovo's defence of the theory of Marxist-Leninist socialism to developments in Eastern Europe it should be made clear that the revolutions of the end of the 1980s were not aimed only against the unpopular authoritarian rulers and bureaucrats, as has been repeatedly argued by some South African leftist spokesmen. The uprisings were equally against the communist system and its ideology and the new East European political leadership derived its mass support mainly from its unequivocal rejection of the socialist doctrine.

Generally speaking, in spite of the above rather straightforward criticism of Slovo, some of the arguments he put forward in his article *Has Socialism Failed?* are not of the sort one can easily decry and overlook.[44] Much of what be has to say (but had never said before) should be tackled seriously. As a matter of fact, it is sometimes quite difficult to refute it by an explicit counter-argument. However, when his views are compared to the reality, instead of the victory of Slovo we rather see but a proof of the inherent ambiguity of the ideology he worships.

In spite of the general refusal of the South African radical left to accept the discrediting of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and to embark on a "unilateral ideological disarmament"[45] in reality the crisis of communism in Eastern Europe came to be perceived by many of them as a painful disappointment. Besides the controversial J. Slovo,[46] other important representatives of the ANC-SACP leadership such as T. Mboweni[47] and T. Mbeki[48] have expressed their willingness to learn from the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe and, as a result, change their minds on issues like one-partyism or nationalization. Even a figure such as C. Hani, generally considered to be the leader of the more militant group within the ANC, in his answer to the author's question at a public meeting in Stellenbosch, spoke of the "painful

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[44] Although his rather cheap pointing to the statistics of steel production and the number of doctors produced every year by the Soviet Union *(African Communist,* No. 121, 1990, p. 50) makes a surprising exception. Everybody acquainted with the realities of everyday life in the Soviet Union knows well that such date and figures do not offer anything close to an accurate picture of the level of development of the Soviet industry or medical care.

[45] J. SLOVO in *African Communist,* No. 121, 1990, p. 31.

[46] Apart from the two sources quoted above (see note 39 and 41) other important SLOVO's comments on this issue appeared in *Leadership,* vol. 9, February 1990 and *The Star,* 28 March 1990.

[47] *The Star,* 17 October 1990.

[48] *Die Burger,* 14 November 1990.

trauma" which the disintegration of socialism in Eastern Europe brought upon the ANC adherents who "had grown up in a climate in which it was generally believed that socialism would solve all problems" and suddenly "felt threatened".[49]

However, there were many other different-minded, 'hardcore' communists in both the ANC leadership and membership. If one can speak of a certain crisis of unity which the ANC (thrown suddenly into politics where it was faced with the task to formulate official statements and adopt everyday practical measures on behalf of the organization) went through after February 1990, then Eastern Europe seems to have been one of the factors which started the process of the unbanned movement's ideological and political crystallization.

Even if developments in Eastern Europe seriously complicated the situation for the South African left wing organizations, these developments seem to have awoken, at the same time, too much hope and optimism among their chief political opponents. Both the CP and the NP representatives and commentators have, perhaps too often and self-assuredly, expressed their contention that the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe delivered the fatal and final blow to the whole ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Some academics have even gone as far as affirming that the breaking down of the Iron Curtain brought with the end of the era of ideology and history in general.[50] If we relate this to the South African situation we cannot but see such convictions as undue exaggerations.

A decline in the significance of ideologies can, perhaps, quite easily be observed in some of the economically developed and politically stable Western societies. In a consumer oriented, welfarist and affluent environment ideologies indeed tend to suffer from undernourishment. But in situations characterized by principal social and economic dislocations occurring during periods of fundamental transitions, such as Eastern Europe is now experiencing, or in conditions of deep poverty and gross inequality, typical for the majority of Third World countries, a permanent threat exists that the discontent of the masses will be used by prophets of easy solutions. Such societies will always provide fertile ground for the spread of collectivist ideologies of different types, whether they be nationalism, communist or other, with all the dangers which their rigid implementation to political life brings.

Although the focus of this article is on points of contact and lines of influence we realize that there are serious limits to learning from the experience of others which should not be overlooked. If we look from this point of view for example at the ANC-SACP's pointing out that the impact of developments in Eastern Europe on South Africa should not be overemphasized because, among other things, in Eastern Europe the communist system and ideology were implanted forcefully from outside and into conditions unfavourable for

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49 See also *Die Burger*, 3 April 1991.

50 F. FUKUYAMA, cit. in ADAM, "Eastern Europe and South African Socialism", p. 27.

their natural development, while South Africa should consistently draw from its own historical background and its present specific situation, we must admit that it is an argument which any analyst should be prepared to face rather than scorn.

There is no doubt that among the ANC-SACP leaders there are quite a few 'Africanists' who see no logical reason to revise or reject their socialist orientation simply because of the collapse of distant communist regimes in Eastern Europe. Neither can there be doubts about the lukewarm perceptions of the East European events and their implications for the solutions of political problems of South Africa among a great number of their followers. As W. Esterhuyse from the University of Stellenbosch put in:

"Certain myths began to be spread in South Africa after the occurrence of recent events in Eastern Europe. One of them is that the events in Eastern Europe are decisive in the argument against the poor in South Africa who demand a redistribution of wealth... One might agree that the argument against the redistribution of wealth can theoretically be won by pointing to the East European example, but it does not give a dent in the black man's perceptions of capitalism. As far as blacks in South Africa are concerned, the events in Eastern Europe will make no difference to their field of experience... To the average poor black it is not a question of ideology but rather of pragmatism."[51]

With the SACP being probably the only communist party in the world that has been actively gaining support in recent months and years,[52] one can deduce that the group of South Africans who have been thinking along these lines was not negligible.

Another aspect of developments in Eastern Europe, which has come to the fore only recently and which has the potential to diminish the expected adverse impact of the failure of communism in Eastern Europe on pro-communist forces throughout the world, is the magnitude of problems which the dumping of the old Marxist-Leninist order in these countries and the attempts to build a new one cause. Even if, surprisingly enough, the ANC-SACP has not yet begun to exploit this argument against their critics in any significant way, two years after the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe it can with some reason claim that although socialism may have failed in Eastern Europe, the outcome has not yet been much of a victory for capitalism either.

Post-1989 revolution developments in Eastern Europe seem to be providing fresh ammunition for representatives of the other two corners of the South African political triangle presented in this paper too. A.P. Treurnicht of the Conservative Party can now even more convincingly argue with the extent and depth of damage and disruption caused by the four decades of communist rule, which brought the countries of Eastern Europe close to paralysis and which resulted in their inability to compete in practically all spheres with

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[51] *Rapport*, 6 May 1990.
[52] *Leadership*, vol. 9, February 1990, p. 34.

societies unaffected by the yoke of communism. And F.W. de Klerk and his government team can point with much concern and warning to what to many must seem like an unstoppable falling of Eastern Europe into political chaos caused by hasty democratization.

d) Conclusion

This paper has, hopefully, shown that South Africa, in spite of the geographical distance, was one of the countries which reacted very perceptively to the revolutionary changes which took place in Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s. These developments served as significant stimulus for reconsiderations of strategies and policies of the main South African political parties. Among them the National Party's reactions were most pronounced and balanced; the responses of the opposition parties, both from the right and the left, were more selective and biased. Without the intention to put into doubt the predominant role of domestic factors behind the radical democratization embarked on by the South African government few months after the sudden breakdown of totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe, our aim was to stress that external influences, the fall of communism in Eastern Europe in particular, have also been of great importance in this process as well as in South African politics of that period in general. If we look, for example, at one of the crucial political problems South Africa had to face at the beginning of the year 1990 – i.e. the opening of points of contact and the finding of a functional modus vivendi between the government and the anti-apartheid movement – we can see that the developments in Eastern Europe led to the softening of some of the seemingly irreconcilable political positions on both sides and eventually helped to pave the way to negotiations between the NP and the ANC.

From a broader perspective (both in space and time) the process of political change going on in South Africa at the beginning of the 1990s can also be related to developments in Eastern Europe in one other, indirect but very consequential way. With the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the rapid decline of the Soviet Union as superpower, the former East-West polarity suddenly disappeared and the North-South antithesis started coming to the fore. Its economic, social, cultural, racial, religious, political and other dimensions can in no other spot on the earth be found in as concentrated a form as in South Africa. The notorious slogan "South Africa – the World in One" can, as a matter of fact, have much broader meaning than one realizes seeing it at travel agent's – besides tourist attractions it also applies to some serious political problems of the present and the future age. From this point of view, the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union may one day go into history books as the milestone where the world's attention began to be increasingly turned to the new chief global contradiction and the first precedential attempt at its solution in the laboratory of South Africa.

REVIEW ARTICLES

FORTY YEARS OF SINOLOGY IN SLOVAKIA

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Among the positive traditions of advanced European nations is that of establishing excellent professional institutions which provide a source of information and cultural knowledge about the Chinese civilization, which has been developing for at last four thousand years into a special autochthonic civilization in exceedingly original manners. Today, we are becoming increasingly aware that such an intensive spread of ideas about the cultural and intellectual heritage of the Chinese civilization not only helps to expand the horizons of European experiences, but is in fact also vitally important for the further development of mankind. On the ever more shrinking and integrating Eurasian continent, the European and the Chinese civilizations have constituted, since times immemorial, two of the most antithetical self-standing cultural and civilizing wholes, which were simultaneously also complementing each other in their results. And in the developments of these entities, they in the future might constitute the basis for a downright *historically* spiritual, intellectual and socio-cultural synthesis from which a new, even more mature civilization on our planet may arise.

This laudable tradition among advanced European nations – to entertain truly serious interest in the cultural gains and social values of the Chinese civilization – was also taken up by the former Czechoslovakia right from the very first years of its existence, continuing from the outstanding tradition of mainly Czech sinology, founded in the last century by the world-renowned sinologist, Prof. Rudolf Dvořák. Thanks to this tradition and subsequently thanks mainly to the enormous enthusiasm of another great personality of Czech and world sinology, Academician Jaroslav Průšek, a solid Central-European sinological centre of top world standard was relatively quickly set up in Prague. It had several well-developed, efficient organic components of a complex sinological scientific-research unit: – a *scientific* component, represented by the Sinological Department of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, supported by its very valuable Lu Hsün Chinese Library; – a *pedagogical* component, represented by the outstanding sinological standard of Průšek's students at the Department of Oriental and African Studies at the Philosophical Faculty of the Charles University; – a *cultural-artistic* component, represented by artifacts of Chinese material culture at the Náprstek Museum and in the National Gallery in Prague.

Since Slovakia, until quite recently an integral part of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, was from the cultural and educational aspects always within direct reach of Czech socio-cultural orientations and intellectual interests, Czech sinological notions and all the interesting Czech sinological publications were very popular and also read with enthusiasm over here. Maybe, it was only an indirect stimulus that the first two Slovak students – Marián Gálik and Anna Doležalová (née Vlčková) – decided in 1953 to study sinology at the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University in Prague. Their entry to the university, their graduation and their subsequent activity, by then marked the beginning of the history of an independent *Slovak sinology,* yet within the framework of Czechoslovakia.

From the time of the enrolment of these first two Slovak representatives at the Philosophical Faculty, the Slovak sinology, in its subsequent 40-years development, initially went through a moderate, then an accelerated specifically outlined scientific growth, in which right from the very beginning it contended for its rightful place not only within the overall content of Czechoslovak, but also to reach the foremost ranks of world sinology. Its founders were given the basic conditions primarily through establishing, in 1960, an independent research institution for Oriental studies within the Slovak Academy of Sciences, where their sinological work and scholarly growth found the necessary material provisions and publishing and popularizing facilities. And ultimately, setting up of the Department of Sinology at the Philosophical Faculty of Comenius University in Bratislava, in 1988, ensured its further existence and persistence of its research.

After more than forty years of development and achievements, we can today divide the existence of Slovak sinology into three generational stages of its representatives:

The First Generation – (that of the Founders)

Ph.D. *Marián GÁLIK,* DrSc.
Date and place of birth: February 21, 1933, Igram, Slovakia;
Current addresses: Institute of Oriental and African Studies,
Slovak Academy of Sciences, Klemensova 19,
813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia, Europe,
Phone No.: 07 32 63 26, Fax: 0042 7 32 63 26
or: Inovecká 4, 811 01 Bratislava, Slovakia, Europe,
Phone No.: 07 31 61 14
Educational background:
M.A.: Charles University, Prague (1958) – The Short Stories of Mao Tun;
Ph.D.: Oriental Institute Prague (1966) – Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism;
DrSc.: Slovak Academy of Sciences (1985) – The Genesis of Modern Chinese Criticism (1917–1930);

Teaching and lecturing:
Teaching of Chinese literature, philosophy and history at the Comenius University, Bratislava (1988–),
Lectures at various universities in Europe, America, Australia and China since 1966 (Naples, Rome, Venice, Oslo, Göteborg, Hamburg, Bochum, Trier, Bonn, Berlin, Zurich, Basel, Chicago, Boulder, San Diego, Davis, Berkeley, Stanford, Sacramento, New York (Columbia), Sydney, Canberra, Melbourne (La Trobe), Hong Kong and Nanking.

Fields of interest:
Modern and classical Chinese literary criticism,
Modern and classical Chinese literature,
Chinese-Western literary relations,
Modern Chinese intellectual history

Professional associations and positions:
Slovak Oriental Society, member (1960–), Vice-president (1971–1987), President (1987–1991);
Czechoslovak Oriental Society, Vice-president (1988–1991);
Euro-Sinica, member of the Council Board (1988–);
International Association for Nan-she Studies, member of the Council Board (1989–);
Chinese Association for the Study of Mao Dun (1991–);
Advisory Professor of East China Normal University, Shanghai (1989–);

Active participation at the congresses, conferences and symposia;
Conference of Junior Sinologists (1964,'65,'66,'69,'71 and 1972);
Congress of the International Association of Comparative Literature (1970, '76, '79, 1985,'88, 1991);
International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (1986, 1990);
International Conferences on the Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures (1976, 1980, 1984 and 1989);
Nobel Symposium 32 (1975);
Symposia Euro-Sinica (1988, 1993);
International Sinological Symposia at the Smolenice Castle (1989, 1993);
International Workshop to Lu Xun at the Occasion of 50th Anniversary of His Death (1986) (Bonn);
"My Image in Your Eye" – International Symposium on Exoticism (1990) (Bonn);
Two Hundred Years of *Hongloumeng* (1992) (Bonn);
Contemporary Chinese Fiction and Its Literary Antecedents (1990) (Cambridge, Mass.);
Chinese Women in the Imperial and Republican China (1978) (Venice);
Second Biennial Conference of the Chinese Studies Association of Australia (1991) (Sydney);

VIIth International Conference of Chinese Philosophy (1991) (Munich)
2nd Congress of the Chinese Comparative Literature Association (1987) (Xian);
3rd Conference of the New Land Literary Foundation (Hsin-chu) (1990);
1st International Conference on the Translation of Chinese Literature (1990) (Taipei);
6th Quadrennial International Comparative Literature Conference in the Republic of China (1991) (Taipei);
28th International Congress of Art History (1992) (Berlin);
German Orientalists' Conference (1988, 1991);

List of monographs and scholarly studies:

1. Monographs and edited books:

Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism, Wiesbaden, F. Steiner Verlag, 185 pp.;

Preliminary Research-guide. German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History, München, Seminar für Ostasiatische Kultur und Sprachwissenschaft, 1971, 120 pp.;

The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism (1917–1930). Bratislava, Veda – London, Curzon Press 1980, 349 pp.;

Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation (1898–1979). Bratislava, Veda – Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1986, 286 pp.;

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(ed.) *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures*. Bratislava, Literary Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, 1983, 446 pp.;

(ed.) *Interliterary and Intraliterary Aspects of the May Fourth Movement 1919 in China*, Bratislava, Veda, Publishing House of the Slovak Academy of Sciences 1990, 283 pp.;

2. Scholarly studies:

1. *On the Chinese Literature in the Last Decade*, Slovenské poľady, 2, 1961, pp. 91–97 (in Slovak);
2. *Epilogue to Mao Tun's Short Stories*, Bratislava, Slovenský spisovateľ 1961, pp. 251–262 (in Slovak);
3. *Czech and Slovak Literature in China in the Years 1919–1959*, Slovenská literatúra, 3, 1962, pp. 367–374 (in Slovak);
4. *The Names and Pseudonyms Used by Mao Tun*. Archív orientální, 31, 1963, pp. 80–108;
5. *On the History of the Introduction of Marxism to China (1919–1923)*. Otázky marxistickej filozofie, 4, 1963, pp. 344–351 (in Slovak);
6. *A Comment on Two Collections of Mao Tun Works*. Archív orientální, 4, 1965, pp. 614–638;
7. *A Comment on two Studies Written on the Works of Mao Tun*. Asian and African Studies (henceforth only AAS), Bratislava, 1965, pp. 81–104;
8. *On the Influence of Foreign Ideas on Chinese Literary Criticism (1898–1904)*. AAS II, 1966, pp. 38–48;
9. *Naturalism: A Changing Concept. East and West*. New series, Rome, 16, 1966, 3–4, pp. 310–328;

212

10. *The Expressionistic Criticism of Kuo Mo-jo.* Bulletin of the Tokyo Sinological Society, 13, 1967, pp. 231–243;

11. *From Chuang-tzu to Lenin. Mao'Tun s Intellectual Development.* AAS III, 1967, pp. 98–110;

12. *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: I. Mao Tun in 1920.* AAS III, 1967, pp. 111–140;

13. *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: II. Mao Tun on Men of Letters, Character and Functions of Literature (1921–1922).* AAS IV, 1968, pp. 30–43;

14. *Über die kritische Auseinandersetzung Chinas mit dem deutschen Expressionismus,* Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens (Hamburg), 103, 1968, pp. 39–59;

15. *Studies in Modern Chinese Literary Criticism: III. Ch'ien Hsing-ts'un and the Theory of Proletarian Realism.* AAS V, 1969, pp. 49–70;

16. *Nietzsche in China (1918–1925).* Nachrichten der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 110, 1971, pp. 5–47;

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214

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67. *Zhongguo xianzai zhishifenzide fandian – nianqingde Bing Xin, nianlaode Taigeer yu shangliangde muzhe* (A Model for Chinese Intellectuals – Young Bing Xin, Old Tagore and Good Shepherd). Aixin (Loving Heart) (Fuzhou), 1, 1993, 2, pp. 29–32.

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(This List of scholarly studies is only a selection from a larger collection of 100 items!)

Ph.D. *Anna Doležalová*
Date of birth and death: April 28, 1935 – October 23, 1992;
From 1959 till her death Mrs. Doležalová was a member of
          Institute of Oriental and African Studies,
          Slovak Academy of Sciences,
          Klemensova 19, Bratislava, Slovakia

Educational background:
M.A.: Charles University, Prague (1958) – A Test of Appraising the Literary Production of Yü Ta-fu;
Ph.D.: Oriental Institute Prague (1968) – Yü Ta-fu: Specific Traits of His Literary Creation;

Teaching and lecturing:
Teaching of modern Chinese literature at the Comenius University, Bratislava (1989–90);
Lectures at some universities in Italy and China (Rome, Naples, Venice, Peking);
A project supervisor for Ph.D. Dissertation of one doctoral candidate at Charles University, Prague (1989–1990);

Fields of interest:
Modern Chinese literature,
Modern Chinese literary criticism,
Classical Chinese history

Professional associations and positions:
Slovak Oriental Society, member (1960–1992) and a member of the Council Board,
European Association of Chinese Studies, member of the Council Board and a member of the Board for Direction of Publishers Activities (about 1978),
Czechoslovak Oriental Society, member of the Council Board (about 1981),
Chinese-Czechoslovak Association, member of the Council Board (1989–1991);

Active participation at the congresses, conferences and symposia:
International Congress of Chinese Studies (1963 in Italy, 1964 in France, 1966 in Denmark, 1972 in the Netherlands),
1st Promoting Conference of European Association of Chinese Studies (1975 in France);
International Sinologoical Symposium at the Smolenice Castle (1989),
A Council Board's Meeting of European Association of Chinese Studies (1977 in Italy),
Conference of the Chinese Association of Workers in Art and Literature (1982 in Peking),
24th International Congress of the Association of the Chinese Studies (1972 in the Netherlands),
1st International Conference about Contemporary Chinese Literature in the years 1977–1986 (1986 in China);

List of monographs and scholarly studies:

   1. Monographs and translations:
Yü Ta-fu: Specific Traits of his Literary Creation, London and New York, C. Hurst and Paragon Books, 1971, 237 pp.;
Yü Ta-fu: Evening Drunk with Spring Wind (translation into Slovak), Bratislava, 1960, 172 pp.;
A big illustrated book *China* (in Slovak and Polish), Bratislava, Slovart, 1991, 126 pp.;
author of Chinese entries in the Slovak encyclopedias: *Pyramid* and *Short Encyclopedia of the World's Writers;*
a co-authorship in the world literary encyclopedia *A Selective Guide to Chinese Literature 1900–1949* by her literary entries about the writer Yü Ta-fu, E.J. Brill, 1990;

   2. Scholarly studies:
1. *Roots and Problems of Modern Chinese Literature,* Kultúrny život, 1959, p. 2 (in Slovak);
2. *The Great Success of the Chinese Novel,* Kultúrny život, 1959, p. 2 (in Slovak);
3. *Remarks on the Life and the Work of Yü Ta-fu up to 1930.* Asian and African Studies (henceforth only AAS), Bratislava 1965, pp. 53–81;
4. *La particolarita della produzione letteraria di Yü Ta-fu.* Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Annali Vol. XVII, fas. 2, pp. 137–145;
5. *A Survey of the Views of Yü Ta-fu on Society and Literature.* Universitas Comeniana, Philologica, Vol. XVII, pp. 27–81;

6. *Two Novels of Yü Ta-fu – Two Approaches to Literary Creations*, AAS IV, 1968, pp. 17–29;

7. *Subject-Matters of Short Stories in the Initial Period of the Creation Society's Activities*, AAS VI, 1972, pp. 131–144;

8. *Chiang Kuang-tz'u*, Dictionary of Oriental Literature, Vol. 1, London, G. Allen and Unwin, 1974, p. 12;

9. *Chuang-tsao she*, ibid., p. 28;

10. *Yang Mo*, ibid., p. 207;

11. *Yü Ta-fu*, ibid., p. 214;

12. Entries about Chinese writers *Kuo Mo-jo, Yü Ta-fu* and *Chiang Kuang-tz'u* in China Handbuch, Bertelsmann Verlag, Düsseldorf, 1974, pp. 1332–1339;

13. *Movimento 4 maggio, I protagonisti della rivoluzione*. Asia 4, La Cina, Milano, 1975, pp. 85–112;

14. *Modern Chinese Literature*, Orientalists' Society, Bratislava 1970, pp. 24–38 (in Slovak);

15. *Periodization of Modern Chinese Literature*, AAS XIV, 1978, pp. 27–32;

16. *Suggestions Regarding Periodization of Literature in the People's Republic of China*, AAS XVI, 1980, pp. 153–159;

17. *The Role of Culture in Contemporary China*, in the publication Contemporary China, Prague 1979, pp. 91–112;

18. *Traits of Nationalism in the People's Republic of China's Cultural Policy*, in the publication Problems of Nationalities, Ulanbatar 1980, pp. 332–358;

19. *Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures*, AAS XVIII, 1982, pp. 193–196;

20. *A New Image of Wang Zhaojun in Contemporary Chinese Drama*, in a publication Continuity and Changes, (R.P. Kramers ed.) Papers of the 27th Congress of Chinese Studies, Zurich 1982, pp. 265–272;

21. *Two Waves of Criticism of the Film Script Bitter Love and of the Writer Bai Hua in 1981*, AAS XIX, 1983, pp. 27–54;

22. *Nationalism and Literature of National Minorities of the People's Republic of China*, in: Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the Theoretical Problems of Asian and African Literatures, Bratislava, 1983, pp. 83–90;

23. *Liu Binyan's Come-Back to the Contemporary Chinese Literary Scene*, AAS XX, 1984, pp. 81–100;

24. *Chrestomathie der chinesischen Literatur der 50er Jahre*, AAS XXI, 1985, pp. 247–248;

25. *Recent Chinese Literature*, Revue svetovej literatúry, Bratislava, 1986, No. 6, pp. 74–86 (in Slovak);

26. *New Qualities in Contemporary Chinese Stories in the 1979–1980 years*, AAS XXIII, 1988, pp. 45–67;

27. *P'ing-fan ti "you-p'ai" tsai Chung-kuo tang-tai hsiao-shuo ti hsing-hsiang* (Image of Intellectuals in Chinese Stories of the 1980s), Wen-hsüe yen-chiu ts'an-k'ao No. 7, Peking 1987, pp. 16–18;

28. *A művészetek napjaink Kínájában*, Természet és Társadalom, Budapest, 1988, No. 1, pp. 48–53 (in Hungarian);

29. *La literatura xinesa contemporania*, Revista de Catalunya, No. 49, Barcelona 1990, pp. 141–152; (reprint in Moscow 1990) (in Catalan and Russian);

This list of Scholarly Studies is only a selection from a larger collection of sinological articles of Mrs. Doležalová. Her further professional sinological development was interrupted, unfortunately, by her death after a long and serious illness on 23 October 1992.

Early in the 60s, independently of the founding generation of Slovak sinology, two other Slovak students enrolled in the study of sinology at the Charles University in Prague. The first one, Ján Horák, successfully graduated, alongside Sinology also in Economics from the relevant faculty of Charles University, and had all the prospects to become an outstanding expert in research of development of contemporary Chinese economy. (All the more so as, upon completing his sinologic and economic studies in Prague, he was given the opportunity of a long-term work at the Czecho-Slovak commercial attaché in Beijing!) The other one, Marina Čarnogurská (the author of this study), alongside Sinology also graduated in European Philosophy from the relevant faculty of Charles University. In addition, during my studies at the University, I have focused, under the direction of the Czech sinologist Ph.D. Timoteus Pokora, on a textological in-depth research of ancient philosophical, particularly Confucian texts.

Hence, both of us, Horák and myself, met the basic conditions for becoming specialists in certain sinological domains which, from the aspect of the needs of modern scholarship, are steadily becoming the evident areas of sinological interest. Unfortunately, in the following 20 years our sinological destinies were tragically determined by the political events in Czecho-Slovakia. After the occupation of our country by Soviet armies on August 21, 1968, the opportunities for many professionals to further advance in their discipline had come to a definitive, or an almost definitive end. During those twenty years we were forced for existential reasons to earn our living through entirely different kinds of work: and often we had to sacrifice our sinological ambitions to this one. Ján Horák was recalled in 1969 from the commercial mission in China, then fired from the services of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and during the subsequent twenty years, has earned his living as a technical worker in the documentation centre of the Research Institute of Welding in Bratislava. Today, following the changes of political conditions and the fall of communism in Czecho-Slovakia, he finds it too late to start from where he was forced to stop against his will. Hence, for pragmatic reasons, he utilizes his professional sinologic and economic knowledge as a very successful co-owner of a Chinese business venture in a private sector. The Slovak sinology has thus forever lost its potentional economic researcher.

The conditions of my own sinological fate during those twenty years were determined somewhat differently. During 1969–1972 I have still managed to complete my supervised postgraduate studies. During that time I wrote my dissertation thesis on the subject: *Development and Uniqueness of Confucian Philosophy during the Period of Warring States*, but on the intervention of communist authorities, I was not allowed to defend it, and was thereby excluded from any further sinological activity for twenty years. Nevertheless, I had no intention of giving up the sinological research and thus pursued it in total isolation, all only in private and for myself. During those years, by daily

(or better "nightly"!) translation work and experimenting with a special sinological method of linguistic analysis of classical Chinese philosophical and literary texts, I became a self-made translator from classical Chinese and have translated a great many texts, only a part of which was published in the course of time. Only since my rehabilitation in 1990, I am finally again professionally active in the sinological domain, as a senior research worker at the Institute of Oriental and African Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava.

Ph.D. *Marina Čarnogurská*
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Educational background:
M.A.: Charles University, Prague (1969) – A Prolegomenon to the Study of Classical Confucian Ethical Philosophy;
Ph.D.: Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Philosophy, Comenius University, Bratislava (1991) – The Development and Uniqueness of Confucian Philosophy during the Period of Warring States;

Teaching and lecturing:
Teaching of Chinese philosophy and peculiarities of the historical development of classical Chinese civilization at the Comenius University, Bratislava (1991–1993);

Fields of interest:
Classical Chinese philosophy,
Classical Chinese literature,
textual research of classical Chinese philosophical and literary texts,
theory of the Chinese classical poetry,
Chinese mythology;

Active participation at congresses, conferences, symposia and international grant projects:
International Sinological World Congress (1967 in Bochum, Germany),
16th World Congress of Czecho-Slovak Scientists (1992 in Prague),
Symposium on Problems and Perspectives of Czecho-Slovak Sinology (1992 in Prague);
French-Czechoslovak Sinological Seminar (1992 in Prague),
Chinese Literature and European Context, the 2nd International Sinological Symposium at the Smolenice Castle, 1993;

List of sinological translations and monographs:

1. *And the Master Said...* (A selection from the classical Confucian texts: Lun-yü, Meng Tzu, Hsün Tzu, with comments, annotations and epilogue, in Slovak), Bratislava, Tatran Publishers, 1990, 214 pp;

2. *Lao Tzu: About the Way Tao and Its Creative Energy Te,* (A new translation of Tao Te ching, in Slovak, translated in cooperation with Czech philosopher Egon Bondy), Bratislava, Hevi Publishers, 1993, 104 pp;

3. (ed.) *Stories of Dragon Emperors* (A selection from classical Chinese mythology) – a sinological revision of the whole text + comments, annotations and epilogue, in Slovak and Czech, Orbis Pictus Publishers, Prague and Bratislava, 1993, 143 pp;

4. A co-authorship in the *World-literary Encyclopedia* by 54 entries (in Slovak), Obzor Publishers, Bratislava 1989;

5. A new sinological translation of Cao Xueqin Hung-lou-meng *(A Dream about the Red Towerhouse),* in Slovak, prepared for publishing by Tatran Publishers, Bratislava, with comments, annotations and epilogue, about 3000 pages;

6. *Cchaj Wen-ťi* (in Slovak), a book about the great classical Chinese poet Cai Wenji. A complete translation of her poetry (epilogue in this book is written by Slovak orientalist Eva Juríková), prepared for publishing (about 50 pages);

Scholarly studies:

1. *Natural World and Its Reflections in the Thoughts of Chinese Antiquity.* (First chapter of the book "The Cultural Traditions of the Far East), in Czech, Odeon Publishers, Prague, 1980, pp. 11–24;

2. *Classical Chinese Confucian Texts from the Period of Warring States and Their Literary Translation,* Human Affairs, 1, (1991), No. 2, pp. 145–154;

3. *Dialectic World Conceptions in Ancient China,* in Slovak, Echo – journal of Slovak University Students, II, (1991), No. 7, pp. 11–12;

4. *About a Need of Unificating Slovak Transcriptions of Chinese Characters, Names and Words,* in Slovak, journal Slovenská reč, LVI (1991), No. 4, pp. 214–221;

5. *The Bipolar Natural Dialectic of Yin-Yang Energy of Nature and the Beginning of Chinese Concepts of Theory of Being in Ancient Chinese Philosophy,* in Slovak, journal Philosophia XLVI, No. 5, pp. 454–466;

6. *Uniquenesses of the Classical Chinese Prosody,* in Slovak, journal Literárny týždenník, 1992, No. 7, p. 3;

7. *Fundamental Ancient Symbols – Evidence of Original Dialectic Orientation of Mankind,* in Slovak, journal Philosophia XLVII, No. 11, pp. 665–671; (English version of this study appeared in Human Affairs, 1993, No. 1, pp. 30–39);

8. *Obituary – Anna Doležalová,* Asian and African Studies, 1992, No. 1, pp. 3–5;

9. *A View on the Foundation of the Universe through a Prism of Classical Chinese Taoism,* in Slovak, journal Tvorba T, Vol. 3, (1993), No. 3, pp. 28–29;

10. *Peculiarities and Problems in Literary Translation of Chinese Ideographical Texts into Indo-European Phonetic Languages,* (in print), letters of the 2nd International Sinological Symposium at the Smolenice Castle; 1993

The Third Generation – (Postgraduate research students
and undergraduates)

Slovak Sinology has most recently acquired a dimension and guarantee of its future existence. Credit for this primarily goes to Ph.D. Marián Gálik, DrSc., its founder, who in 1988 undertook to set up a Department of Sinology at the Philosophical Faculty of the Comenius University in Bratislava, with the professional help of another Czecho-Slovak sinologists, particularly Ph.D. Oldřich Švarný, Ph.D. Martin Hála and Ph.D. Anna Doležalová and likewise with the effective aid of Chinese lectors, sent out by the Chinese Ministry of Education. Eight Slovak students are now enrolled. Today all eight are in the second year of a scholarship programme in China, at the University of Beijing. At the same time they are collecting and preparing material for their diploma theses which they will defend in 1994, thereby completing their sinological study at the Comenius University in Bratislava. Their achievements thus far allow us to assume that at least some of them, upon completing their university studies, will follow the sinological research on a professional basis, and through their work and results will expand the very good reputation of the Slovak Sinology, ensuring its further existence.

In 1991, M.A. Henrietta Hatalová took up a post with the Institute of Oriental and African Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava as a specialist and simultaneously, a postgraduate research student. In 1984 she has completed her sinological studies at the Philosophical Faculty of the Charles University in Prague, where she successfully defended her diploma thesis: *Characteristics of Economic Thinking in the People's Republic of China after the year 1978.* At the present time, she is engaged in collecting material for her doctoral dissertation thesis: *The Ideological and Organizational Structure of Kuomintang in China in the years 1927–1937.* She has already succeeded in proving her sinological qualities as a capable specialist in modern Chinese history, by lecturing on this topic in a postgraduate course for preparing Slovak diplomatic workers at the Faculty of Law, Comenius University in Bratislava; by elaborating the entries and keywords from classical and modern Chinese history for a Concise Slovak Lexicon – now in print; and by her study, written for the Slovak Historical Journal: *Chiangkaishek, his Life and Times.*

Withing the complex of European sinological traditions Slovak Sinology, with its 40-years of existence, is one of the youngest with such traditions. Nevertheless, by its scientific results and its specific range of areas of sinological research, it has, in my opinion, already sufficiently justified standing on its own right, and also justified that its place and tangible presence among the ranks of the European Sinological Association is warranted and productive.

Abschied vom 20. Jahrhundert. Ein Lesebuch. Hrsg. Katharina Kaever. München, C.H. Beck 1993. 338 pp.

AMIN, Samir: *Eurocentrism.* London, ZED Books 1990. 157 pp.

BAUER, Wolfgang – CHANG PENG – MINDEN, Stephan: *Das chinesische Deutschlandbild der Gegenwart.* Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1991. 792 pp.

BAYERLE, Gustav: *The Hungarian Letters of Ali Pasha of Buda 1604–1616.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1991. 295 pp.

BAZIN, Louis: *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1991. 571 pp.

BERNSTORFF, Dagmar – BRAUN, Dieter: *Political Transition in South Asia.* Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1991. 168 pp.

CHOW, Rey: *Writing Diaspora. Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary Cultural Studies.* Bloomington, Indiana University Press 1993. 223 pp.

COLE, Owen W. – SAMBHI, Piara Singh: *A Popular Dictionary of Sikhism.* London, Curzon Press 1990. 163 pp.

DARABSEH, Mahmoud: *Die Kritik der Prosa bei den Arabern (vom 3./9. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des 5./11. Jahrhunderts).* Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1990. 216 pp.

DAVIDSON, Basil: *Modern Africa. A Social and Political History.* London, Longman 1989. 289 pp.

DIEM, Werner – FALATURI, Abdoldjavad (hrsg.): *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 26. bis 30. September 1988 in Köln. Ausgewählte Vorträge.* Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1990. 611 pp.

DORIAN. Nancy C.: *Investigating Obsolescence. Studies in Language Contraction and Death.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1989. 445 pp.

EKKEHARD, Rudolph: *Westliche Islamwissenschaft im Spiegel muslimischer Kritik. Grundzüge und aktuelle Merkmale einer innerislamischen Diskussion.* Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1991. 217 pp.

FAIRBANK, John King: *Geschichte des modernen China 1800–1985.* München, Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag 1991. 378 pp.

FLIEDNER, Stephan: *'Alī Mubarak und seine Hitat. Kommentierte Übersetzung der Autobiographie und Werkbesprechung.* Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1990. 364 pp.

GARAD, Abdurahman: *Harar-Wirtschaftsgeschichte einer Emirat.* Bern, Peter Lang AG 1990. 300 pp.

HARMATTA, J.: *From Alexander The Great to Kül Tegin. Studies in Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, Arabic, Aramaic, Armenian, Chinese, Türk, Greek and Latin Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1990. 213 pp.

HAZAI, György: *Handbuch der türkischen Sprachwissenschaft. Teil 1.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1990. 492 pp.

HUTERS, Theodore: *Reading the Modern Chinese Short Story.* New York, M.E. Sharpe 1990. 212 pp.

AL-IMAD, Leila S.: *The Fatimid Vizierate, 969–1172.* Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1990. 229 pp.

KAIKKONEN, Marja: *Laughable Propaganda. Modern Xiangsheng as Didactic Entertainment.* Stockholm, Stockholm University 1990. 515 pp.

KEMPSON, Ruth M.: *Mental Representations. The Interface between Language and Reality.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1990. 229 pp.

LEWIS, Bernard: *Die politische Sprache des Islam.* Berlin, Rotbuch Verlag 1991. 257 pp.

MARCUS, Tessa: *Modernising Super-Exploitation.* London, ZED Books Ltd 1989. 207 pp.

MILLER, Louis: *Contemporary Turkish Writers.* Bloomington, Indiana University 1988. 325 pp.

MISHAQA, Mikhayil: *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage, and Plunder. The History of the Lebanon in the 18th and 19th Centuries.* New York, State University of New York Press 1988. 309 pp.

MOKHTAR, Ahmed: *Lehrbuch des Ägyptisch-Arabischen.* 3., erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1992. 419 pp.

MUROJI, Yoshihito G.: *Vasubandhus Interpretation des Patītyasamutpāda.* Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1993. 259 pp.

NOPPEN, Jean-Pierre Van – HOLS, Edith: *Metaphor II. A Classified Bibliography of Publications 1985 to 1990.* Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company 1990. 350 pp.

PARKIN, David – NYAMWAYA, David: *Transformations of African Marriage.* Manchester, Manchester University Press 1987. 350 pp.

RIEMANN, Wolfgang: *Über das Leben in Bitterland. Bibliographie zur türkischen Deutschland-Literatur und zur türkischen Literatur in Deutschland.* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1990. 138 pp.

SÁRKÖZI, Alice: *Political Prophecies in Mongolia in the 17th–20th Centuries.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1992. 164 pp.

SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, Helwig: *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur.* München, Scherz 1990. 686 pp.

SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, Helwig: *Lebenswelt und Weltanschauung im frühneuzeitlichen China.* Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1990. 265 pp.

VERHELST, Thierry G.: *No Life without Boots. Culture and Development.* London, ZED Books Ltd 1990. 189 pp.

WRIGHT, Arthur F.: *Studies in Chinese Buddhism.* London, Yale University Press 1990. 204 pp.

YAHAYA, Yaro Ibrahim – RUBA'I, Abba: *Studies in Hausa Language, Literature and Culture.* Nako, Bayero University 1978. 518 pp.

YERASIMOS, Stephane: *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman (XIVe–XVIe siècles).* Ankara, Imprimerie de la Société Turque d'Histoire 1991. 499 pp., 69 maps.

ZABORSKI, Andrzej: *Rozmówki arabskie. Dialekt egipski.* Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna 1988. 376 pp.

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