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Slovak  
Academy  
of Sciences

AFRICAN  
STUDIES

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Volume 3/1994

Number 1

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## CONTENTS

### Articles

- KRUPA, Viktor: *Structuration of Space and Time in Polynesian Languages* ..... 3
- FINDEISEN, Raoul David: *Professor Luo. Reflections on Bertrand Russell in China* ..... 10
- EBER, Irene: *Western Literature in Chinese Translation, 1949-1979* ..... 34
- MÚČKA, Ján: *Phan Boi Chau (1867-1940) dans le contexte de l'Extrême-Orient* ..... 55
- KOPČAN, Vojtech: *Zur Versorgung der osmanischen Armee während des Uyvar Seferi im Jahre 1663* ..... 69
- GORDON, April: *Class and Ethnicity in Kenya: The Otieno Case* ..... 77

### Book reviews

- KIRCH, Patrick V. - SAHLINS, Marshall: *Anahulu. The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawaii*. By Viktor Krupa ..... 97
- MITTAG, Achim (hrsg.): *In memoriam Achim Hildebrand. Gesammelte Aufsätze*. By Marián Gálik ..... 98
- SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, Helwig: *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur. Die 3000jährige Entwicklung der poetischen, erzählenden und philosophisch-religiösen Literatur Chinas von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. By Marián Gálik ..... 99
- SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, Helwig (Ed.): *Lebenswelt und Weltanschauung im frühzeitlichen China*. By Marián Gálik ..... 101
- WRIGHT, Arthur F.: *Studies in Chinese Buddhism*. By Marina Čarnogurská ..... 103
- SÁRKÖZI, Alice: *Political Prophecies in Mongolia in the 17th-20th Centuries*. By Eva Juríková ..... 104
- YERASIMOS, S.: *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. By Vojtech Kopčan ..... 106
- TULU, Sultan: *Chorasantürkische Materialien aus Kalāt bei Esfarāyen*. By Jitka Zamrazilová-Weltman ..... 107
- KÁKOSY, László: *Zauberei im alten Ägypten*. Von Ján Komorovský ..... 108
- MCCLELLAN, Charles W.: *State Transformation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895-1935*. By Juraj Chmiel ..... 110
- PANKHURST, Richard: *The History of Famine and Epidemics in Ethiopia Prior to the Twentieth Century*. By Juraj Chmiel ..... 112

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

The Editors

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Slovakia

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# ASIAN AND Slovak Academy of Sciences AFRICAN STUDIES

INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES  
SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, BRATISLAVA

SAP - SLOVAK ACADEMIC PRESS, LTD.  
BRATISLAVA  
SLOVAKIA

## ARTICLES

### STRUCTURATION OF SPACE AND TIME IN POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

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Nonspatial uses of spatial markers are described in this paper. Space as a more concrete concept is universally used in the domain of temporal markers. Data from some Polynesian languages are analysed here.

Space and time are both in everyday practice and in theory treated as twin concepts of central importance. If a philosopher would nevertheless be asked to decide which of the two concepts is more elementary, he would probably opt for time, and with good reason: everything that is known to exist in space inevitably exists in time as well – but what exists in time, e.g., thoughts and feelings, need not automatically exist in space, that is, take up some portion of it.

However, a purely pragmatic human perspective puts the relation of these two ideas into a somewhat different light. Space or, to be precise, distances in space may readily be perceived by our senses, especially by our sight; we can move in space just as we can measure distances between objects or points situated in space. And yet time – unlike space – is abstract or at least “invisible”; it eludes our senses, being extremely fuzzy and quite difficult for an unsophisticated mind to quantify.

In this paper, space is dealt with largely in its relation to time and therefore the tridimensionality of the former is not discussed here at any detail.

As observers we are aware that space extends in front of us just as behind our backs and to some extent even vertically, above and below. We can move forward or backward within it and return to the starting point but what about time? Is time moving or are we, in a way, moving in it? This uncertainty is reflected in the “moving-ego metaphor” versus “moving-time metaphor” (cf. Clark 1973). Is the direction of movement in (or of) time always the same or is it reversible? What about the speed of movement in time – is it constant or variable? People would obviously give different answers to these questions in different societies and in different ages. The perception and analysis of time

was obviously not as important to our ancestors as was the perception and analysis of space. In earlier cultures, if time was considered at all, it was often viewed as diffuse and cyclic; this impression was seemingly confirmed by astronomical observations of celestial bodies and has found its reflection in calendars of various civilizations.

It was Western thought that “made” time linear, uni-directional and divisible (Stonier 1990: 77). But time had been linguistically categorized before any plausible physical theory of time was constructed and its intuitive categorization necessarily leans on the categorization of space as a more concrete concept. The basis of the categorization of time is a metaphorical projection of the categorization of space because there is no genuine and unambiguous correlation between the two domains.

In this paper the principles of structuration of the bidimensional space in several Polynesian languages, namely in Maori, Hawaiian, Tongan, and Samoan are being examined alongside with the instances of application of spatial terminology to the domain of time and to other conceptual domains, if necessary.

First of all the most abstract terms referring to space and time will be briefly surveyed and described. A comparison of these expressions confirms that it is hard to separate the terms for space from those for time just as it is hard to draw a clear line between concrete and abstract terms within both conceptual domains. The proliferation of concrete lexemes or of lexemes that combine meanings of varying degree of abstraction points out to the ways of creating truly abstract spatial and temporal terms.

### Abstract Spatial and Temporal Terms in Polynesian Languages

#### MAORI

space: *maanawanawa* (aperture, space, gap), *mokoaa* – *mokowaa* (space, interval, particularly between the main posts in palisading of a fort), *mokotawhaa*, *takiwaa* (district, space, time, period), *tarawaha* (opening, entrance, space, interval, district), *tiriwaa* (space, compartment, district, distance), *waa* (definite space, interval, area, region, indefinite, unenclosed country, time, season), *whaitua* (side, region, space), *whanga* (bay, bight, nook, stretch of water, space, any place to one side)

time: *raro* (day, time, season), *taaima* (time), *takiwaa* (district, space, time, period), *waa* (definite space, interval, area, region, indefinite or unenclosed country, time, season)

#### HAWAIIAN

space: *waa* (space, interval within objects, channel, period of time, epoch, era, time, season, age), *koowaa* (intervening space or time, channel, strait), *aakeaa* (broad, wide, spacious)

time: *waa* (period of time, epoch, era, time, season, age space, interval within objects, channel), *manawa* (time, turn, season, chronology), *au* (period

of time, age, era, the passing of time; current, movement, eddy, tide, motion; weather)

### TONGAN

space: *'ataa* (space, room, clearing, air, atmosphere, space between earth and sky, freedom), *vaha* (space between, space apart, space, distance, extended area, esp. at sea; open sea, high seas, strait, channel), *vaa* (distance between, distance apart; fig. attitude, feeling, relation to), *vaha'a* (intervening space or time, fig. relationship, attitude to); *'ataaloo* (empty space, unoccupied space or position), *'ataanoa* (plenty of room); and see *vahatoka* (space left between yammounds), *langanga* (distance or space between two consecutive transverse stripes on a piece of tapa cloth), *kauefu* (space between rows of planted yams)

time: *taimi* (time), *tu'o* (time, occasion)

### SAMOAN

space: *avanoa* (gap, interval, occasion, time as opportunity), *vaa* (distance, space between two places, things, etc.), *malae* (open space in the middle of a village), *vaai-* (probably consisting of *vaa* space, distance + *i* + *a* noun, with the meaning space, interval, also temporal, e.g., *vaaitaimi* interval, period, *vaaituulaa* period, time of the day, etc.)

time: *avanoa* (gap, interval, occasion, time as opportunity), *ituulaa* (hour, time, cf. *ituu* side, branch; *ituuaso* time of day), *taimi* (time)

The general terms for space tend to overlap with those for a spatial interval or distance. Those for time are as a rule transferred from the spatial domain, from a less abstract and cyclical time unit such as day or season or are borrowed from English (*taimi*, *taima*, etc.).

Below, our attention is confined to a simplified fragment of the whole conceptual domain of space, particularly to its dichotomous subdivision into "front" and "rear" moieties, and to the parallel subdivision of the domain of time, i.e., to the contrast between "before" and "after". An exhaustive structuration would have to cover the lateral sections of space despite the fact that they are of a subsidiary importance. The vertical structuration (above – below or up – down) is likewise more or less supplementary and not analysed here although some of its markers, especially postpositive particles *ake* (or *a'e*), *iho* are employed in the temporal conceptual domain.

## Spatial Terms and their Temporal Functions in Polynesian Languages

### MAORI

<i>mua</i>	the front, in front, the fore part
	the former time, formerly, the past
	the first, before, in advance of
	looking forward, the time to come, the future

In social sphere:  
*mua* the sacred place  
*muanga* first-born, elder  
*muri* the rear, the hind part, behind, backwards  
the sequel, the time to come, the future  
afterwards, after (of time)  
In social sphere:  
working place, common parts of the *kainga*  
*muringa* youngest child  
*tua* back, the farther side of a solid body  
the time past  
the future  
*tua o rangi* the distant time, past or future  
*tuaarangi, tuaiho* those of old (in songs)

#### HAWAIIAN

*mua* before, front, first, foremost, previously, beforehand  
*keeia mua iho* the near future  
*keeia mua a'e* fairly near in the future  
*keeia mua aku* distant future  
In social sphere:  
oldest, older brother or sister, senior branch of a family,  
leader, senior (partner)  
*muli* after, behind, following behind  
after, afterward, last  
In social sphere:  
younger, youngest  
*hope* posterior, buttocks  
after, behind  
*mahope* afterwards, by-and-by, late, behind (referring to  
both time and place)  
*i hope* in back, behind (only place)  
last, late, next, back, rear  
afterwards  
In social sphere:  
deputy, substitute, assistant, proxy

#### TONGAN

*mu'a* front, space or place in front or further forward  
earlier time or period  
time to come, time that lies ahead  
to be or go in front, to precede  
In social sphere:  
high chief's attendant

<i>mui</i>	place or space behind or further back, rear also time further back, the past also time after or later (It all depends on the context and one's point of view)
<i>tu'a</i>	be or go behind (or later) back, space or place behind time behind In social sphere: commoner, person without chiefly rank, to be of lower or less chiefly lineage

# SAMOAN

<i>mua</i>	space: be first, arrive first, go before, precede
<i>luma</i>	in front of, in presence of, forward before
<i>lumana'i</i>	be in the future, future
<i>muli</i>	rear, bottom, butt end of a thing, come last
<i>mulimuliane</i>	afterwards
<i>tua</i>	back of something, behind
<i>tuai</i>	former, old
<i>tuana'i</i>	be past, over, have passed, gone
<i>'uma</i>	be finished, be done, be over, after young, new

It is repeatedly and not without justification maintained that the basis of our subdivision of visible space is egocentric. The existence of egocentric referential framework in Polynesian languages is as easy to illustrate as in any other language. It is, after all, a matter of our orientation in the surrounding world, at least in our immediate environment, which is obviously an indispensable prerequisite of our survival. Viewed from this cognitive point of view, space surrounding ego as the point of reference lacks homogeneity but is skewed (because of the position of our sight) and interpreted or rather constructed as consisting of two psychologically unequal moieties – front and rear ones – of which the former is privileged because of the physical location of our organs of senses (particularly of our sight) in or around our face.

The privileged status of the frontal moiety is confirmed by the numerous instances of the universal metaphorical application of space articulation to other, more abstract conceptual domains.

The first target domain of spatial vehicles is that of family and society in general, cf. Maori *muanga* “first born” versus *muringa* “latest, youngest child”, Hawaiian *mua* “oldest, older brother or sister, senior”, *hope* “deputy, substitute, assistant, proxy”, Tongan *mu'a* “high chief's attendant”, Tongan *tu'a* “commoner, person without chiefly rank, to be of lower or less chiefly lineage”.



The second target domain of spatial vehicles covers the contrast of sacral versus secular, cf. Maori *mua* "the sacred place", versus *muri* "the common place or a working place".

A competitive or rather complementary principle takes part in the cognitive structuration of space. The point of reference within visible space may be defined not only in relation to the speaker's ego but also objectively, independently of him. Perceptible objects may be viewed as arranged in such spatial configurations that an object A is situated in front of another object B or behind it (or by it, above it, below it). In other words, the mutual position of a set of objects may be stated apart from their position relative to ego. Of course, there occurs yet another kind of space organization principle common in Polynesia, namely one based on a salient or constant landscape feature, most frequently upon the line where sea and land meet (*tai* "seaside" – *uta* "inland, shore"). However, the semantics of these words is relative, depending on the position of the speaker relative to sea and land.

The primacy of space versus time seems to be a matter of common sense as maintained by J. Piaget (Piaget 1969), H. Werner and B. Kaplan (Werner – Kaplan 1963), H. Clark (Clark 1973), etc. The perception of concrete space and its organization seems to be primary when compared to that of the abstract and elusive concept of time. No wonder that space is used as a model for cognitive processing of time in many languages.

In the domain of space, the contrast between what is in front and what is behind is non-ambiguous and non-overlapping, which is not the case of temporal dichotomy between past and future. Does this mean that the Polynesians had no idea of what is the arrow of time? Was their idea of time cyclical? I am not sure, I would rather say that two above mentioned discrepant criteria or attitudes clash here.

The Polynesians could very well understand the notion of serial precedence or succession (cf. being older versus being younger, going in front versus going behind – both in connection with *mua* – *muri*). The idea of precedence explains why *mua* (Tongan *mu'a*) "in front of" associates with the ancestors and *muri* (*muli*, *mui* etc. in other Polynesian languages) "behind" with the posterity. In accordance with this *mua* (the primary meaning of which is spatial) undergoes metaphorization into the temporal domain as a label for past events while its pendant *muri* (*muli*, *mui*) is metaphorized into future.

The spatial primacy of the contrast *mua* "front" – *muri* "behind" is confirmed by analogous behaviour of other terms within the temporal domain, i.e. by *tua* "back" in Maori and by *hope* "back" in Hawaiian.

This does not explain everything. The idea of projecting the frontal moiety as the privileged one into the past seems to clash with a different idea, with that of future as something we are heading to. That is why in some instances *mua* may refer to future as the time we are approaching (whether in Maori or in Hawaiian).

A third temporal concept has to be taken into account in addition to "before" and "after", i.e., the notion of "now". "Now" as a notion of the temporal domain is equated with the position of the speaker within the space.

While at least in theory we tend to regard “now” as a point that does not belong either to past or to future, although, psychologically speaking, “now” may be constructed as comprising a bit of both, the Polynesians seem to view it just as this, as a time section where past and future overlap. This is confirmed by the existence of such words as Maori *inaaianei* – *aianei* “now”, where the former points to the past while the latter rather faces the future. The punctuality of the meaning of these expressions may be doubted; their temporal borders seems to be fairly vague and may extend to include this day or the present time in general.

The temporal notion of Polynesian *nei* (Maori, Hawaiian, Samoan) is obviously secondary to the spatial meaning of *nei* that refers to the position occupied by the speaker. Thus the speaker is the true centre of the spatial and temporal (as well as conversational) universe and of the whole deictic system. The morpheme *nei* (in Tongan *ni*, *eni*) may fulfil all these functions, either alone or in co-occurrence with other auxiliary markers such as the definite article (*te* in Maori, *ke* or *ka* in Hawaiian, *le* in Samoan, *he* or *e* in Tongan, etc.) or various nominal particles (e.g. local and temporal). The examples listed above do not exhaust the whole complexity of expressions that have the moment of speech for their point of reference. Neither does the present paper intend to be exhaustive. Instead, its aim consists in accentuating and illustrating the obvious dependence of the structuration of temporal domain in the Polynesian languages upon that of space.

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PROFESSOR LUO <1>.  
REFLECTIONS ON BERTRAND RUSSELL IN CHINA\*

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This paper expounds Bertrand Russell's philosophical views during his stay in China at the beginning of the 1920s.

*For Jean-Louis B.*

"When I went to China, I went to teach; but every day that I stayed I thought less of what I had to teach them and more of what I had to learn from them."<sup>1</sup>

1. Introduction with a Biographical Account

Of course it was not only exelling enthusiasm of the editors of *Xin qing-nian* <2> when, in October 1920, they published a large medallion-portrait of Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) as cover of their usually unillustrated magazine to welcome the British philosopher. The interest in Russell and his work had begun in China some time before the May Fourth demonstrations and had risen to such an extent that Russell, upon his arrival in Shanghai on October 12, 1920, was even celebrated as "Confucius II".<sup>2</sup>

There were many reasons for such an enthusiastic response, not least of course mutual sympathies. These sympathies had a solid basis: As many of the May Fourth intellectuals, Russell had been much attracted by the foundation of the Soviet state in which he first saw, as the Chinese did, the *utopia* of social equality and democracy realized. On the other hand, Russell's "will of a system of philosophy" that would re-establish philosophy as a science of sciences fitted in perfectly well with the aim of Chinese students to acquire

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\* A previous version of this paper was read at the VIIth International Conference on Chinese Philosophy, held July 22-26, 1991, in Tutzing, Germany.

<sup>1</sup> RUSSELL, B.: *The Problem of China*, London: Kegan & Paul 1922, <sup>2</sup>1966; reprint Taipei: Rainbow Bridge 1980, 198.

<sup>2</sup> "The Happiness of China", in: *The Nation* 28 (London, Jan 8, 1921), 506.

Western scientific methods. Highlight of this systematic effort are the *Principia Mathematica* (3 vols., 1910–13), elaborated together with Alfred N. Whitehead (1861–1947) and proposing formal logics as starting point for such a role of philosophy.

The shock of World War I had also some similarities on both sides, with the Chinese and with Russell, and it was commonly known in China that Russell's pacifist activities<sup>3</sup> had brought him to jail. Furthermore Russell's ethical commitment had certain common traits with the still effective traditional Chinese image of the *literatus* and civil servant. Finally Russell's rhetorical and didactic abilities perhaps made him more suitable than any other Western philosopher to quench the Chinese thirst for *yangxue* <3>.

Russell is, after all, having started with logics and mathematics, such an influential writer dealing with so many topics that none has been so widely spread and read since Voltaire.<sup>4</sup> Even now Russell's impact in China is still to be felt. His *History of Western Philosophy* of 1946, for instance, is among the most popular foreign works on the subject in both Chinas.<sup>5</sup> If we exclude the founders of Marxism and their predecessors,<sup>6</sup> it is probably not an exaggeration to say that Russell is still the best-known Western thinker in China.

Especially the young generation of May Fourth activists, i.e. students, who were interested in formal and logical problems of philosophy. They believed that a more systematic approach, to Western ideas as well as to their own tradition, would make their fight against traditional beliefs more effective and turn philosophy to practice. The so-called New Realism (*xin shizailun* <4>) in *Principia Mathematica* starts from the presumption that (1) phenomena not belonging to the sphere of mind exist independently, that (2) propositions can

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<sup>3</sup> See NEWBERRY, J.: "Russell and the Pacifists in World War I", in: THOMAS, J.E. & BLACKWELL, K. (eds.): *Russell in Review*, Toronto: Hakker 1975, and VELLACOTT, J.: *Bertrand Russell and the Pacifists in the First World War*, Brighton: Harvester Press 1988. Cf. also ZHANG SHENFU <31>: "Luosu" [Russell], in: *Xin qingnian* 8, 2 (Oct 10, 1920), 184.

<sup>4</sup> See G. Mann who calls him the "Voltaire of our century" ("Versuch über Bertrand Russell", in: RUSSELL, B.: *Mein Leben*, Zürich: Europa-Verlag 1967, 350).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Appendix and XU YU <32>: "Luosu zhexue sixiang yanjiu qu yu shenru" <33> [Research on Russell's Philosophical Thought Rapidly Deepened], in: *Zhongguo zhexue nianjian* 1984 <34>, Beijing: Zhongguo da baikequanshu chubanshe 7.1984, 194–5. For a recent mainland study see JIN YUELIN <35>: *Luosu zhexue* <36> [The Philosophy of Russell], Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe 8.1988, a systematic analysis begun already in the 1950s, then interrupted by the Cultural Revolution. Cf. SONG ZHIMING <36a>: "Ji zhexuejia luojixuejia Jin Yuelin" <36b> [Notes on the Philosopher and Logician Jin Yuelin], in: *Shehuikexue zhanxian* <36c> 1/1992, 255–6; and HU JUN <36d>: "Jin Yuelin zai zhishilun chufa fangshi shang de biange" <36e> [Changes in Jin Yuelin's Starting Point from Epistemology], in: *Beijing daxue xuebao* <36f> 2/1992, 108–13.

<sup>6</sup> I have in mind Hegel, Feuerbach and Fichte, who appear in all Chinese history of Western philosophy. How numerous publications on their thought have influenced can be clearly seen in BAUER, W. & HWANG SHEN-CHANG: *German Impact on Modern Chinese Intellectual History*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner 1982, 36–69 and id. & al.: *Das chinesische Deutschland-Bild der Gegenwart*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner 1989, 18–83.

be true (or false) independently, and that (3) reality can be perceived without reference to a whole. From this model, Russell developed a “logical constructionism” in which mathematics would be reduced to logical operations. As for perception, each individual perceives reality independently. Consciousness is formed of perceptions and images and tends to systematize them with the least entities as possible. In his *Philosophy of Logical Atomism* of 1918, he therefore states that knowledge can only be presented in so-called “truth-functional compounds”, i.e. propositions that are true or false, because specific facts are not logically connected, whereas knowledge directly stems from immediate perception. He later argued that it was not possible to be certain whether the analysis had advanced to the smallest entities and so postulated classes of similar entities – the core of his New Realism.

On the other hand, his ethics and his social and political thought is only loosely linked to his philosophy of mathematics. The most important category in his ethical beliefs is individual freedom. He differentiates two innate instincts (or passions, or impulses etc.): creative ones (*chuangzao chongdong* <5>) and possessive (or destructive) ones (*zhanju chongdong* <6>). But his concept of freedom proves mainly subjective, being an inner experience of the individual: “In action, in desire, we must submit perpetually to the tyranny of outside forces; but in thought, in aspiration, we are free.”<sup>7</sup> To a similar extent his concept of instincts are quite abstract, even ambiguous, since “blind impulse [is] source of war, but also of science, art and love”.<sup>8</sup> Education should make impulses accessible for critical intellectual reflection, in order to guide them away from destructiveness to creativity.

The invitation of the *Jiangxuehui* <7> [Lecture Society], an organization sponsored by Liang Qichao <8> (1873–1929) and his *Jinbudang* <9> [Progressive Party], to lecture at Peking University reached Russell when he had just come back from his tour through the Soviet Union. He first wondered whether the invitation was a joke, but then was convinced by a cheque. On board the French liner “Porthos” Russell talked publicly on what he had seen in Soviet Russia which incited some fellow-travellers to ask the British Embassy in China whether it would be possible to prevent him getting off board in Shanghai, since he had “expressed pro-Bolshevik and anti-British sentiments” and would “prove subversive and dangerous to British interests at Chinese educational institutions”.<sup>9</sup>

The Chinese authorities, however, were not of the same opinion and Russell held a triumphant *première* in Shanghai, together with his then mistress and future second wife, Dora Black. They were “treated like Emperor and Empress” and Russell would be represented even on a cigarette advertise-

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<sup>7</sup> *Mysticism and Logic* [1918], London: Allen & Unwin 1929, 51.

<sup>8</sup> *Political and Social Reconstruction*, London: Allen & Unwin 1916, 19.

<sup>9</sup> CLARK, R.: *The Life of Bertrand Russell*, London: Jonathan Cape/Weidenfeld & Nicolson 1975, 386–7.

ment.<sup>10</sup> Although they both had declared that they were not married to each other, Chinese newspapers announced Ms. Black as “the favourite concubine of the world famous English philosopher”.<sup>11</sup> Russell sometimes gave four introductory speeches on his ideas every day and the Western guests first travelled to Hangzhou, to reach Changsha via Nanjing and Hankou (Wuhan). In Changsha, the British philosopher met his American colleague, John Dewey (1859–1952),<sup>12</sup> then also lecturing in China, for the first time, and young Mao Zedong <10> (1893–1976) was reportedly among Russell’s audience.<sup>13</sup> When arriving in Peking, Zhao Yuanren <11> [Yuen Ren Chao] (1892–1981),<sup>14</sup> at that time lecturer of English at Qinghua University, was assigned as official interpreter and lived in the same household with Dora Black and Russell at no. 2 Sui’anbo hutong <12> in present-day Chaoyang district.

Russell began his official lectures at *Beida* on November 7, 1920, with an audience of 1,500. He lectured weekly on (1) “Mathematical Logic”, (2) “The Analysis of Matter”, (3) “The Analysis of Mind”, (4) “The Problems of Philosophy”, and later, in early 1921, (5) “The Structure of Society”, and on “Technical Philosophy” for a non-academic audience, while Dora Black talked on women’s education and professional life, on socialism, marriage and free love, mainly at Peking Women’s Teacher College (*Beijing nüzi shifan daxue* <13>). Under the title “Political Thought Under the Influence of Economy”, meant as preparation for Russell’s course in sociology,<sup>15</sup> she gave a detailed overview of Western concepts of the State, using clear-cut Marxist categories for her analysis and applying them to the whole Western history.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Letter from Dora Black to her mother, Peking, Nov 2, 1920; in: RUSSELL, D.: *The Tamarisk Tree. My Quest for Liberty and Love*, London: Elek/Pemberton 1975, 1:115.

<sup>11</sup> Data concerning newspapers were not to be found.

<sup>12</sup> For a contrastive presentation of their thought see *Dewey and Russell*, New York: 1985

<sup>13</sup> Cf. SCHRAM, S.: *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1961, 294–8, and SCHARPING, T.: *Mao Chronik*, München: Hanser 1976, 21.

<sup>14</sup> From Wujin/Jiangsu. Among other works he translated *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll (*Alisi manyou qijing ji* <37>, Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 1921), became known as linguist with his works *Xiandai Yingyu zhi yanjiu* <38> [A Study of Modern English] and *Guoyu Luoma zi changyong zibiao* <39> [List of Frequently Used Characters with Their Transliteration in the National Phonetic Alphabet] and in the 30s contributed regularly to the conservative magazine *Lunyu* <40>. (Xu Xixiang <41> & al. eds.: *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue zuozhe biming lu* <42>, Changsha: Hu’nan wenyi chubanshe 1988, 461; cf. RUSSELL, D.: *The Tamarisk Tree*, London: Elek/Pemberton 1975, 1:131ff., as well as ZHAO YUANREN’s account “With Bertrand Russell in China”, in: *Russell* no. 7, autumn 1972, 14–7). From the late ’40s on Zhao taught at Berkeley/CA, towards the end of his life as Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature.

<sup>15</sup> “Shehui jiegou” <44a>.

<sup>16</sup> “Jingji yingxiang xia de zhengzhi sixiang” <43>, in: *Luos ji Bolake jiangyan ji* <44> [Collected Lectures by Russell and Dora Black], 2 vols., Beijing: Weiwei ribao she 1921 (:Beijing weiwei ribao she congshu 1), 2:1–94, a volume honoured with a title-calligraphy by

During her activities Dora Black came also in close touch with women's lib activists and wrote some articles for the journal *Funü zazhi* <14>. Students from Women's Teacher College asked for her advice, namely how to promote elementary education for girls under corrupt, male bureaucrats, and how to proceed in propagating women's rights within institutions of higher learning where they had to struggle with a repressive administration.

It should be noted that Chinese publications, declared as Russell's works, were usually based on notes taken during his lectures and sometimes even published in the next day's paper. So they do not necessarily correspond to books of the same title. To mention but an example: At least four different printed versions of the lecture on "Problems of Philosophy" existed, with two supplementary Chinese translations made up from the previously published book. Russell partly took already elaborated works as point of departure for his lectures, and partly made a first draft of future works, e.g. for *The Analysis of Mind*. This sometimes confusing situation clearly reflected a period of transition. Last but not least linguistically, as his interpreter noted: "To translate [Russell's work in Chinese] is like trying to build up a palace hall from broken bricks."<sup>17</sup>

Support both from Dora Black and Russell for the just ongoing "Agnosticism Movement" (*Feizongjiao yundong* <15>) caused serious attacks from Christian missionaries, then quite numerous and influential, especially in institutions of higher education.<sup>18</sup>

When lecturing at a middle school in Baoding, Hebei province, on March 14, 1921, Russell – as an Englishman always speaking without an overcoat – caught a severe cold which led to double pneumonia. Throughout the two weeks of extremely high fever suffered by Russell he could just remember his name and the physicians lost any hope. On March 27 a Japanese news agency bulletin reporting Russell's death went around the world. This accorded to Russell, during his smooth recovery, the exquisite pleasure of seeing his own death announced. And a Peking newspaper – just to illustrate Russell's reputation, read as follows: "Missionaries may be pardoned for heaving a sigh of relief at the news of Mr. Bertrand Russell's death."<sup>19</sup> But when the worst was over, he himself, not dead at all, added:

"I have missed much by not dying here, as the Chinese were going to have given me a terrific funeral in Central Park, & then bury me on an island in the Western Lake, where the greatest poets & emperors lived, died, & were buried. Probably I should have become a God. What an opportunity missed."<sup>20</sup>

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Liang Qichao. Cf. CHOW TSE-TSUNG: *The May Fourth Movement*, Cambridge/MA: Harvard University Press 1960, 192.

<sup>17</sup> ZHAO YUANREN: "Luosu zhexue de jingshen" <44b>, in: *Luosu yuekan* no. 1 (1921.1), 4.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Russell's lecture <44c>, in: *Zhexue* <45> (Jan 1921); also in: *Feizongjiao lun* <45a>, repr. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 1989, \$-\$.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted from *The Life of Bertrand Russell*, 392.

<sup>20</sup> Letter to Ottoline, May 11, 1921; quoted from *The Life of Bertrand Russell*, 392.

His chances to become Christian God, at least, were minimal and his reputation damaged to the extent that he would nearly have fallen a victim to a strange kind of euthanasia:

"She [the nurse] was a deeply religious woman, and told me when I began to get better that she had seriously considered whether it was not her duty to let me die."<sup>21</sup>

Russell's health had suffered so that the stay in China could not be extended. Dora Black and Russell then returned to Britain and stopped over in Japan where they met the young anarchist Ōsugi Sakae <16> (1885–1923) and Russell published the following conclusions from his Chinese experience:

"The problem for you, as for us, is to forge a new ethical system in which we can believe and on which we can base our social and political life, some system which will control and subject the industrial machine and the mechanical discoveries of science."<sup>22</sup>

Much of the sympathy Dora Black and Russell encountered in China was certainly due to their ability to put the problems of material civilization in a broader context in which both cultures, West and East, stood at a cross-roads, the Chinese being equal partners who were not alone in their crisis.

The antagonism of industrialization and traditional ways of living, of natural sciences and social moral, of mechanism and politics, ultimately of knowledge and experience, was, with their different opinions on the Soviet system, one of the crucial topics of debate between Dora Black and Russell during their stay in Peking. It resulted in their jointly written work *The Prospects of Industrial Civilization* (1924). In this booklet the suggestions made are quite similar to those coming from the opponents of Ding Wenjiang <17> [V.C. Ting] in the famous "Debate on Scientism and Philosophy of Life": The Russells put forward that science was apt to control nature, but not at all to organize society. In other words: They expressed the very spirit of Zhang Zhidong's (1837–1909) well-known formula of "Chinese learning as substance, Western learning as tool" (*Zhongxue wei ti, yangxue wei yong* <17a>).

## 2. An Eyewitness of Young Soviet Union

*The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, stemming from Russell's journey to the Soviet Union early in 1920 and written while waiting for the liner that would bring him to China, could be compared with *Retour de l'URSS* (1936) and the following *Retouches* by André Gide (1869–1951), but was written many years earlier. Both works express, after their authors had attached many hopes to the socialist experiment, deep disillusion about the Soviet reality.

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<sup>21</sup> *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, London: Allen & Unwin 1968, 2:131.

<sup>22</sup> "Farewell Address to China", in: *Japan Chronicle*, 1921; quoted from *The Tamarisk Tree*, 1:143.



Russell, publicly propagating socialism roughly between 1918 and 1925, was well aware what would be the consequences of a negative statement on the Soviet Union and of the possibility that his decision to write what he had seen and thought would not be taken easily:

"To say anything against Bolshevism was, of course, to play into the hands of reaction, and most of my friends took the view that one ought not to say what one thought about Russia unless what one thought was favorable. [...] It seemed to me that I should be more in harmony with the stars if I published what I thought about Bolshevism than if I did not."<sup>23</sup>

Such considerations, however, as well as the heavy attacks from political friends and in the European leftist press Russell read when in Peking, were not yet known to his Chinese audience. By then, some of his works had already been translated, among them, with the cooperation of Mao Dun <18> (1896–1981),<sup>24</sup> *Roads to Freedom. Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism* (1918) in which Russell undertakes a detailed analysis of the different social and political ideas involved, tending to stress the individual liberty and hence to prefer anarchist ideals.

Nevertheless he concludes that syndicalism was a practicable compromise, as a political system reconciling his "obsession with the relationship between freedom and organization" – no wonder that especially young Chinese syndicalists referred to him.<sup>25</sup>

As known, the young Soviet Union was then model for a large faction among May Fourth intellectuals, merged, however, with a strong *penchant* for anarchist ideas. So some among Russell's audience were almost horrified when in lectures on his Soviet experience he denied the people's masses were able to organize themselves, but hailed the Bolshevik party discipline.<sup>26</sup>

It was the question of how to organize political forces in order to bring about changes in their country that was most discussed among later leading figures of the Communist movement in China, such as Li Dazhao <19> (1889–1927) and Chen Duxiu <20> (1879–1942). Although several groups of intellectuals studying socialist ideas existed, they had not yet found a suitable form of organization and therefore were very receptive to Russell's positive comments on the Bolshevik party's organizational scheme. Especially Chen Duxiu's early individualism, centred on responsibility, and their willingness had much in common with the party workers elite to make sacrifices for a

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<sup>23</sup> *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell*, London: Allen & Unwin 1967–71, 2:124.

<sup>24</sup> *Dao ziyou zhi lu* <46>. Also available in Chinese were *Principles of Social Reconstruction* (1916) and *The Problems of Philosophy* (1913). See Appendix.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. RYAN, A.: *Bertrand Russell. A Political Life*, Harmondsworth: Penguin 1988, 84 *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> See CHEN DUXIU: "Xiaping de wuzhengfu dang" <47> [Lower class anarchist party], in: *Xin qingnian* 9, 2 (June 1, 1921); cf. FEIGON, L.: *Chen Duxiu*, Princeton/NJ: Princeton University Press 1983, 148.

future society, as stressed by Russell when describing the Soviet party organization.

For Russell, however, capitalism as well as State socialism represented destructive forces because they encouraged concentration of power. He therefore had a great sympathy for anarchism and syndicalism, while he had a pronounced disgust towards industrialization, machines etc.

"Politics and economics are more and more dominated by vast organisations in the face of which the individual is in danger of becoming powerless. The state is the greatest of these organizations and the most serious menace to liberty."<sup>27</sup>

For Russell, by far the most important ideal is the individual's freedom. In spite of his liberal opinions and his usual rejection of a powerful State, Russell opted for a strong government as a possible way to solve China's problems. This would be the only way to promote the development of education and individual responsibility. As for the economy, he suggested that it should also be controlled by the State and not by capital or the workers themselves since the latter's political consciousness was still insufficient.<sup>28</sup>

"One who believes, as I do, that the free intellect is the chief engine of human progress, cannot but be fundamentally opposed to Bolshevism as much as to the Church of Rome. The which inspire communism are, in the main, as admirable as those instilled by the Sermon on the Mount, but they are held as fanatically and are as likely to do as much harm."<sup>29</sup>

Drawing on what he saw in China and how he had seen the party work in the Soviet Union, the solution he suggested for the Chinese was definitely not a Western model and proved to have some prophetic qualities:

"You will have to pass through a stage analogous to that of the dictatorship of the communist party in Russia because it is only by some such means that the necessary education of the people can be carried through, and the non-capitalistic development of industry effected."<sup>30</sup> And Dora Black is even more precise on this point: "I can see Asia as a magnificent industrial state, but I cannot see it anything but nominally communistic, for ages to come."<sup>31</sup>

At least, it is remarkable to see that a quite early assessment, made by Westerners who were anything but ideologically deluded and pronounced when China was not short of political and social recipes to follow, proved to have prophetic qualities.

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<sup>27</sup> *Roads to Freedom*, London: Allen & Unwin 1918.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *The Problem of China*, 240-52.

<sup>29</sup> RUSSELL, B.: *The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism*, London: Allen & Unwin 1920, 16.

<sup>30</sup> *Peking Leader*, Jul 7, 1921; quoted from *The Life of Bertrand Russell*, 395.

<sup>31</sup> RUSSELL, D.: Letter to C.K. Ogden, Peking, Jan 1921, in: *The Tamarisk Tree*, 1:129.

### 3. Chinese Followers of New Realism

Briefly after his arrival in China Russell got a letter from the Secretary of the Chinese Anarchist-Communist Association, Yuan Zhenying <48> (1894–). It is a vivid illustration of the expectations with which his visit was burdened, and from which elements the unrivalled Chinese enthusiasm was made up:

“Although Dr Dewey is successful here, but most of our students are not satisfied with his conservative theory. Because most of us want to acquire knowledge of Anarchism, Syndicalism, Socialism, etc.; [...] We are the followers of Mr Kropotkin, and our aim is to have an anarchical society in China. We hope you, Sir, to give us fundamentally the thorough Social philosophy, based on Anarchism. Moreover we want you to recorrect the theories of Dr Dewey, the American philosopher.”<sup>32</sup>

As could be seen, Russell found himself not able to satisfy all these demands, not least because of his recent impressions from Soviet Russia. But there were also Chinese students of Russell’s more interested in theoretical problems, namely mathematics as tool for systematizing knowledge in universal categories and exploring the possibilities of knowledge.

But let us turn to Chinese followers of Russell. Among them is Xu Yanzhi <21>, a member of the “New Tide Society”, who in April 1919 translated portions from Russell’s *Problems of Philosophy* (1912) for his association’s magazine.<sup>33</sup> The most important adherent and propagator of Russell’s philosophy, however, was Zhang Shenfu <198> (1893–1987), mathematician and co-founder of the first CCP party cell in Peking, as well as, by the way, along with Li Dazhao, Mao Zedong’s superior in Peking University library, and the person responsible for Russell during his lectureship.

In February and April, 1919, i.e. on the eve of the May 4th demonstrations, *Xin qingnian* carried two lengthy articles by Zhang Shenfu, meant as an introduction to Russell’s thought. In its first part Zhang complained that, since Hegel, formal logics had almost been banned from philosophy and gave an overview of logics in Western philosophy, starting with Plato and ending with Russell. Yet during the previous 40 years, mathematics and philosophy had grown closer together. This was, according to Zhang Shenfu, mainly due to Russell’s efforts and not without social implications; on the contrary, such an

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<sup>32</sup> Johnson Yuan [Yuan Zhenying <48>], from Guangzhou/Guangdong, active anarchist in Shanghai’s early ‘20s and editor of a column on “Soviet Russian studies” in the *Xin qingnian* magazine, to Russell, Oct [Nov] 6, 1920, in: *Autobiography*, 2:136. Cf. *The May Fourth Movement*, 245; *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue zuozhe biminglu*, 524; Lu Zhe <48a>: *Zhongguo wuzhengfuzhuyi shigao* <48b> [A Draft History of Chinese Anarchism], Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe 1990, 171–2. During his stay at the “Institut Franco-Chinois de Lyon” from 1921 to 1924, Yuan was charged with distributing an Anarchist journal. (*Institut Franco-Chinois de Lyon*, archive nos. A 26–3 & A 26–8).

<sup>33</sup> in: *Xin chao* 1, 4 (Apr 1919).

approach to philosophy could offer models for responsible and rationalized thought.<sup>34</sup>

Zhang Shenfu's confidence in the potency of thought even went so far that in a comment, published on the 1st of May 1919, he wrote under the title "Dangerous Thoughts":

"If proletarians were to think freely and critically, the rich would get upset. If soldiers were to think freely, the military discipline of the warlords would fall apart. If young men and women were to think freely, their sexual desires would sweep away the so-called >morality<. If a country's population were to think freely about human instincts, governmental institutions and laws would lose their power. [...] Thinking is anarchical and lawless. There is nothing in the world more powerful than thinking. The future belongs only to those who dare to think."<sup>35</sup>

No doubt that such thinking would be "dangerous" for the existing political and social order attacked by May Fourth intellectuals. The label "dangerous thoughts" had been attached by the Japanese Taishō <22> government to any idea of social reforms, above all inspired by socialism, together with >radical thoughts<, used as a synonym for socialism, as critical of their system. Zhang Shenfu, of course, took up proudly the expression.<sup>36</sup>

"No matter which subject he deals with, he always manages to make them easy to comprehend."<sup>37</sup>

"Is there nowadays any progressive and reliable philosopher who has not been influenced by him?"<sup>38</sup>

Thus, in Zhang Shenfu's view, philosophy was adapted to realize "science" as well as "democracy" and social changes. It comes out clearly, that Zhang was also convinced that thinking, done duly, would achieve in intellectual goals, but also offer a tool to get along with any broader problem, especially regarding Chinese traditions – and the problems of this were not few at the beginning of 1920s in China. By the way, in his article Zhang does not even deem traditional thought in logics worth mentioning.

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<sup>34</sup> "Lian duoshi. Zhexue shuxue guanxi shi lunyin" <49> [Reflections under a stone roof. Outline of a history of the relationship between philosophy and mathematics], in: *Xin chao* 1, 2 (Feb 1919) & "Lian duoshi. Shu zhi zheli" <50> [Reflections under a stone roof. The philosophy of mathematics], *ibid.* 1, 4 (Apr 1919); for further details see SCHWARCZ, V.: *The Chinese Enlightenment*, Stanford etc.: University of California Press 1986, 103.

<sup>35</sup> "Weixian sixiang" <51>, in: *Xin qingnian* 6, 5 (5.1919), 553–4.

<sup>36</sup> Something similar had happened in 1915, at the submission of the Japanese Twenty-One Demands, when Chinese students protested vigorously and for this were denounced as "student bandits" <52> by the Japanese government and took up themselves the name as title of honour. Cf. as an example Guo Moruo's <53> poem "Feitu song" <54> [Hymn to Bandits], in: *Moruo wenji* <55>, Beijing: Renmin wuxue chubanshe 1957, 1:98–100.

<sup>37</sup> ZHANG SONGNIAN <56> [Zhang Shenfu]: "Luosu" [Russell], in: *Xin qingnian* 8, 2 (Oct 1, 1920), 1.

<sup>38</sup> *ibid.*, 4.

There is no doubt that traditional images of the intellectual's role and capacity, responsibility and duty in society underscored such self-assurance. How strong it was and how closely connected to the ongoing social struggles is evident in the words of another follower and translator of Russell:

"New realism is the most progressive contemporary philosophy [...] Hence, we, the new, emancipated philosophers of China, should enter the ranks of New Realists to know what the New Realism teaches."<sup>39</sup>

When talking about the social environment a foreigner could meet in Republican Peking, Dora Russell observes: "Most foreigners [...] were largely ignorant of what the Chinese were reading and writing. A great many >dangerous thoughts< were flying about."<sup>40</sup> – obviously using the label created for socialist thought and for Russell's philosophy.

While repeatedly pessimistic about the regeneration of human nature, Russell also shows a passionate utopianism when saying that paradise was possible, if only the forces of economy and state were used in a rationalized way: "A world of happiness is not beyond human power to create [...]. The real obstacles lie in the heart of man, and the cure for these is a firm hope, informed and fortified by thought."<sup>41</sup> – a utopianism which stems from the "temptation by the prophetic muse"<sup>42</sup> with social philosophers, as it has been called.

It was certainly due to the slightly changed *Zeitgeist* that Zhang Shenfu stressed Russell's social and political thought,<sup>43</sup> while once again introducing him in October 1920,<sup>44</sup> yet it was also in order to give some publicity for the philosopher arriving in China on October 12th. The eulogy Zhang writes down excels in each respect: Besides being the "greatest living mathematician and philosopher" and a "genius of logics and essayism", Russell is also "leader of the world's reform movements".

Russell's interpreter Zhao Yuanren, however, laid more stress on methodological implications of Russell's philosophy. He characterized it as (1) empirical, (2) analytical and (3) specific. The ultimate goal of Russell's empiricism was to establish experience as standard of Truth, not Matter or Spirit, as done in the two influential philosophical schools of materialism and idealism, but events being immediately accessible to experience. Zhao Yuan-

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<sup>39</sup> ZHENG BOQI <57> (1895–1979): "Xin shizailun de zhexue" <58> [The Philosophy of New Realism], in: *Shaonian Zhongguo* <59> 1, 11 (May 15, 1920), 45; quoted from GÁLIK, M.: "Studies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History III. Young Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai <60>", in: *Asian and African Studies* 12 (1976), 107, n. 111.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, 114.

<sup>41</sup> *Roads to Freedom*, London: Allen & Unwin 1918:215.

<sup>42</sup> LINDEMANN, E.C.: "Russell's Concise Social Philosophy", in: *The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell*, P.A. Schilpp ed., New York: The Library of Living Philosophers 1944:564.

<sup>43</sup> "Luosu", 183–8; cf. GÁLIK 1976, 105.

<sup>44</sup> GAO YIHAN <61>: "Luosu zhexue" <62>, in: *Xin qingnian* (May 1920); see *The Chinese Enlightenment*, 103.

ren conceded similarities with James' empirism, but underlined that Russell's thought integrated the most up-to-date results in modern physics.

When calling Russell's philosophy specific, Zhao reminds that it can not be encapsulated in a central hypothesis (as Descartes' or Schopenhauer's ideas, brought up as examples). It strove to give "specific answers to specific questions", i.e. to carefully and analytically inquire about any question or problem before giving any judgement. Since this analysis stemmed from suggesting "classes of events" (*shiqing de zuhe* <22a>) Russell's philosophy could, as Zhao thought, also be compared to materialism.

The criticism raised against Russell's thought is turned to its most prominent advantage by Zhao who said this philosophical system "basically stresses methods, while the results are less important".<sup>45</sup>

But Russell had not only admirers. Among his critics was, as might be expected, Liang Shuming <23> (1893–1988) who attacked him vigorously, together with the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859–1941), then also well known in China. Though they used different methods, their mathematical and intuitive epistemologies respectively were, according to Liang, nothing but "delusion" that made true knowledge impossible.<sup>46</sup>

#### 4. Russell's Image of China

For Russell, the invitation to China was by no means the first close contact with Chinese culture. He had earlier read, in the library of his father, works on Chinese Buddhism as well as translations of the *Lunyu* and other Confucian writings.<sup>47</sup> Russell had a high esteem for Chinese poetry and stood in touch with Arthur Waley (1889–1966) who sent him the following verses by Bai Juyi <24> (772–846) when Russell was in prison:

"Sent as a present from Annam -  
A red cockatoo.  
Coloured like the peach-tree blossom,  
Speaking with the speech of men.  
And they did to it what is always done  
To the learned and eloquent.  
They took a cage with stout bars  
And shut it up inside."<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> "Luosu zhexue de jingshen", 4; cf. paper delivered by Yang Disheng, typescript, p. 6.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. LIANG SHUMING: *Weishi shuyi di yi ce* <63> [Exposure of the Consciousness-Only School, First Book], Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe 1920, 11–5 passim.

<sup>47</sup> *Autobiography*, 1:13.

<sup>48</sup> *Chinese Poems*, A. Waley trad., London: Allen & Unwin 1946, <sup>2</sup>1962, 167; cf. *Autobiography*, 2:37.

Russell's admiration for Chinese poetry (and for Chinese art in general) went, according to Zhang Shenfu, so far that he even preferred it to Western literature.<sup>49</sup> But Russell was also fascinated by the thought of Lao Zi <25> (604–ca. 520 BC) and Zhuang Zi <26> (369–286 BC) since their subjective epistemology was quite similar to his own. The motto of *Ways to Freedom*, one of Russell's most studied works in China, is taken from Zhuang Zi: "Production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination." (*sheng er bu you, wei er bu te, chang er bu zai* <26a>)<sup>50</sup> characterized as the essence of anarchism in Chinese antiquity.

Furthermore, though aware of the political situation in the country, Russell still saw his ethical ideal of the "creative impulses" embodied in Chinese life. According to Russell, China should preserve "the urbanity and courtesy, the candour and the pacific temper, which are characteristic of the Chinese nation, together with a knowledge of Western science and an application of it to the practical problems of China".<sup>51</sup>

Hence it is not surprising that Russell speaks of the first few months in Peking as a period "of absolute and complete happiness".<sup>52</sup> Overall he admires understatement and humour of the Chinese, and similarly the absence of extreme passions in Chinese art.

Russell regarded State Confucianism as much superior to any religious system in the stricter sense since it offered an ethical model without producing a powerful class of priests (in this point he might be a bit misled), and therefore would not impede scientific research as the Church had done during the Renaissance. What fascinates Russell most is tolerance making possible the coexistence of several religions by which the Chinese have "conquered their conquerors".<sup>53</sup> In Buddhism he sees contemplative needs satisfied whereas Confucianist social thought would serve as guideline for techniques of administration and government. Without losing sight of tolerance, a certain scepticism, acquired by traditional education of taste, could, as Russell thinks, prevent China from the *cul-de-sac* of an ambiguous technical progress that easily turns to destruction. He saw it best expressed in a phrase he cited repeatedly:

"Religions are many, but reason is one."<sup>54</sup>

Later on, Russell summarized his image in words Liang Qichao would undoubtedly have appreciated very much since they corresponded exactly to the roles he had in mind for Western and Eastern culture:

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<sup>49</sup> "Luosu", 185–6; cf. *The Problem of China*, 189.

<sup>50</sup> "Ma ti" <64> 2.

<sup>51</sup> *The Problem of China*, 250.

<sup>52</sup> *Autobiography*, 2:127.

<sup>53</sup> *The Problem of China*, 190.

<sup>54</sup> *The Problem of China*, 196–7; cf. *The Tamarisk Tree*, 1:123.

“China did one thing for me that the East is apt to do for Europeans who study it with sensitive sympathy: it taught me to think in long stretches of time, and not to be reduced to despair by the badness of the present. Throughout the increasing gloom of the past twenty years, this habit has helped to make the world less unendurable than it would otherwise have been.”<sup>55</sup>

It can not be denied that Russell’s image of China is highly emotional and merged with idealizations, reminding us a bit of European illuminist authors of the 18th century, though there are structural affinities based on knowledge more precise than Leibniz could get. The “soft mysticism” underlaying Russell’s sympathy for Daoism, for instance, can be traced back to the sharp separation of reason and experience, stemming from Russell’s “logical atomism” (*mingli yuanzi lun* <27>) and a prominent topic of criticism in Dewey’s lectures on Russell, held about the same time in Peking.<sup>56</sup>

## 5. Conclusions

It can be taken for granted that, in addition to Russell’s familiarity with and sympathy for Chinese culture, a similar commitment to the ethical and ideological outcomes of World War I – the Allies’ decisions taken at the Versailles Peace Conference on the Chinese side, the strong sense of a moral bankruptcy of Western values on Russell’s side – gave an important basis for mutual attraction and understanding.

This crisis has once been explained by Zhang Junmai <28> (1887–1969) to his Chinese readers as follows:

“After the Great War, Europe realized that material resources are limited while man’s desires are boundless. [Therefore] materialism is in decline [here]. However, at such a time, our scholars in the East are infatuated with the omnipotence of materialism.”<sup>57</sup> This statement quite clearly follows Liang Qichao’s lines traced in the very influential and wide-spread account of his post-war tour through several European countries in *You Ou xinying lu* <28a> [New Impressions from a Journey to Europe], of 1919. Liang had declared the ultimate decline of Western material civilization: “Those who praised the omnipotence of science had hoped previously that, as soon as science succeeded, the golden age would appear forthwith. [...] Yet we human beings have not secured happiness; on the contrary, science gives us catastrophes. [...] This is a major turning-point in current world thought. [...] Millions of

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<sup>55</sup> RUSSELL, B.: “My Mental Development”, in: SCHILPP, P.A. (ed.): *The Philosophy of Bertrand Russell*, 1944, 17–8.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. DEWEY, J.: *The Middle Works 1899–1924*, Carbondale & Edwardsville/IL 1982, 12: 243–50.

<sup>57</sup> ZHANG JUNMAI: “Tong xin” <65> [Letter to Lin Zaiping <66>, 27.6.1920], in: *Gaizao* <67> 3, 4 (1920):101–2.



people on the other shore of the ocean [...] sorrowfully and desperately crying for help, waiting for your aid.”<sup>58</sup>

Certainly Russell in several respects was among those looking for such help. It is not by mere chance that Russell, as a European, was quite conscious of this situation as being of the greatest ethical importance, while the American Dewey, not so stricken with war-experience, still saw a way out through technical progress in which science would play a key role. Since Russell argued that “the real problem for the Chinese intellectuals is to acquire Western knowledge without acquiring the mechanistic outlook”,<sup>59</sup> a view at first glance quite similar to that expressed by Liang Qichao, it is not surprising that he and other Chinese new conservatives in the relevant “Jinbudang” faction around him tried to use Russell as one of their prominent Western supporters since they were quite attracted by the clearly two-fold thought of Russell, as they were, for instance, by Bergson. Both could satisfy the need for a coherent philosophical system adaptable to a dichotomy of Chinese and Western thought. The two neatly divided domains in Russell’s philosophy (mathematics and social philosophy, logics and ethics, the former being strictly formalized, the latter adhering to a more a essayistic mood) were mainly connected within his person and his permanent struggle for a synthesis of the concepts of organization and liberty.

Reform-minded Chinese intellectuals of that period had, as well as Russell, a fervent desire for social changes and by his lectureship got the extraordinary opportunity to hear a sympathetic eyewitness describe the socialist experiment in the Soviet Union, then the country in which many set their utmost hopes.

The basically liberal outlook of Russell’s *Weltanschauung*, on the other hand, contributed to development and clarification of the notion and concept of individualism, as it had happened with Chen Duxiu – concepts formerly ephemeral or heterodox in China, but now to become inspirations for future changes in the Chinese political and social system. To adhere to Russell’s opinion was of course considerably eased by his sense of civic responsibility, in many respects harmonizing with the traditional official’s commitment to society and public affairs.

Furthermore Russell’s reputation as a scientist and as a writer made him, as a matter of fact, seem similar to a traditional Chinese scholar – a quality important to his Chinese audience and therefore stressed: Zhang Shenfu introduced him as an “inspired man of letters and genius in logics and essayism”.<sup>60</sup> The fact that Russell had gone to jail for his conviction was repeatedly put out and gave him an overwhelming moral authority, indeed quite close to that of ancient sages. To call him “Confucius II” was, after all, not so exaggerated as it might seem, but reflects the Chinese intellectuals’

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<sup>58</sup> in: *Shishi xinbao* <68> <The China Times> (Shanghai, 3.1919); quoted from CHOW 1960, 328.

<sup>59</sup> RUSSELL, B.: *The Problem of China*, 185.

<sup>60</sup> “Luosu”, 183.

state of mind during the period immediately after May 4, 1919, as well as their need for new leading figures.

Russell's series of lectures were so successful that they led to the foundation of a "Russell Study Group" (*Luosu xuehui* <29>) and in 1921 even to the publication of a journal *Luosu yuekan* <30> ("Russell Monthly")<sup>61</sup> exclusively devoted to his philosophy.

It is not too much to say that Russell's lectureship in China is one of the highlights of Chinese-Western cultural contacts during our century, in a period of fruitful influx of Occidental ideas, but mainly due to the scholarly experience, individual commitment, and the personality of the British philosopher himself, which led to an appreciation quite out of proportion to actual Chinese enthusiasm for Western ideologies might have been. To say the least: Russell had a lot of "sensitive sympathy" for the country and showed a modesty unusual for his time.

### Appendix: A Draft Bibliography of Russell in Chinese

Translations based on notes taken during Russell's lectures in China are marked with an asterisk (\*).

Dates are given in the Chinese form "1234.5.6" (year, month, day).

Since characters from titles can be easily derived, only personal names are given in the glossary, except those unidentified and marked <\$>.

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7\* "Zhexue wenti", Qu Shiyong <106> not., in: *Luosu yuekan* no.1 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1921.1), 1-61; no. 2 (1921.2), 1-55

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 9 進步黨 10 毛澤東 11 趙元任 12 遂安伯衡衡 13 北京女子師範大學 14 婦女雜誌  
 15 非宗教運動 16 大杉榮 17 丁文江 18 茅盾 19 李大釗 20 陳獨秀 21 徐彥志  
 22 大正 23 梁漱溟 24 白居易 25 老子 26 莊子 27 名理原子論 28 張君勱 29 羅素學會  
 30 羅素月刊 31 張申府 32 許余 33 羅素哲學思想趨於深入 34 中國哲學年鑒 35 金岳霖  
 36 羅素哲學 37 阿麗思漫遊奇境記 38 現代英語之研究 39 國語羅馬字常用字表 40 論語  
 41 徐迺翔 42 中國現代文學作者筆名錄 43 經濟影響下的政治思想 44 羅素及勃拉克講演集  
 45 哲學 46 到自由之路 47 下平的無政府黨 48 袁振英 49 哲學數學關係史論引  
 50 數之哲理 51 危險思想 52 學匪 53 郭沫若 54 匪徒頌 55 沫若文集 56 張崧年  
 57 鄭伯奇 58 新實在論的哲學 59 少年中國 60 瞿秋白 61 高一涵 62 羅素哲學  
 63 惟識述義第一冊 64 馬蹄 65 通信 66 林宰平 67 改造 68 時事新報

101 陳與漪 102 徐彥志 103 黃凌霜 104 張廷謙 105 趙元任 106 瞿世英 107 何明  
 108 王星拱 109 鄭太朴 110 王岫廬 111 余家菊 112 張師竹 113 鄭偉民 114 劉國鈞  
 115 吳師瑞 116 劉衡如 117 吳蔚人 118 程振基 119 牟治中 120 李季 121 ?  
 122 雁冰 123 茅盾 124 何新 125 ? 126 吳範寰 127 ? 128 傅種孫 129 張邦銘  
 130 國難後 131 宴成書 132 胡愈之 133 孫伏廬 134 許光迪 135 李小峰 136 ?  
 137 ? 138 楊端六 139 郭英 140 鄭員文 141 昔坐 142 李元 143 吳獻書 144 ?  
 145 王剛森 146 梁遇春 147 邱瑾璋 148 柳其偉 149 謝疊 150 沈海康 151 姚文林  
 152 高名凱 153 ? 154 朱枕薪 155 嚴既澄 156 野廬 157 李惟遠 158 程希亮  
 159 于熙儉 160 傅雷 161 王光煦 162 蔡兵牟 163 譯述 164 趙演 165 陳瘦石  
 167 陳瘦竹 168 王韋修 169 王純修 170, 172 柯碩亭 171 ? 173 沈練之 174 ?  
 175 靳建國 176 鍾建閔 177 何兆武 178 李鈞瑟 179 馬元德 180 張金言 181 ?  
 182 張易 183 陳之藩 184 劉聖斌 185 林衡哲 187 溫錫增 188 ? 189 白皮書  
 190 吳憶萱 191 ? 192 宋瑞 193 ? 194 牟治中 195 羅龍 196 非宗教大同盟  
 197 羅素哲學譯述集 198 張申府 199 哲學之價值 200 晨報 201 哲學裡的科學法  
 202 我們所能做的 203 民主與革命 204 夢與事實 205 語言與意謂 206 哲學評論  
 207 進化國裡的社會主義 208 東方雜誌 209 新理學與光的波動論 210 狂飆運動  
 211 工業文明的將來 212 高佩良 213 自然與人 214 中央副刊 215 甚麼是物質  
 216 世界週刊 217 相對論與哲學 218 世界月刊 219 羅素論英國對華政策  
 220 意謂的意謂 221 民鐸 222 科學是迷信的麼 223 英國對華的臺學 224 中大季刊  
 225 幼兒的訓育 226 教育雜誌 227 行為主義與價值 228 師大教育叢刊  
 229 婚姻與道德 230 甚麼是西洋文明 231 清華月刊 232 甚麼使得人可喜  
 233 人口週報 234 有的人為甚麼讓人喜歡 235 大公報 236 論動轉 237 知己旬刊  
 238 我們實在知道甚麼呢 239 概然與概律 240 歐洲是一個成功者麼 241 非宗教  
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## WESTERN LITERATURE IN CHINESE TRANSLATION, 1949-1979\*

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The aim of this article is to study world literature in Chinese translation in the People's Republic of China since its foundation in 1949 up to 1979. While translation is seen as a window on the world, views on translating and literary policy are also discussed as is the important work done in the rich 1950s, its virtual cessation during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1972) and its slow revival after this period.

In twentieth century China the translating of foreign literary works has been an integral part of literary and intellectual activity. European fiction began to be translated at the end of the nineteenth century, but systematic translation work started only after 1910 and as part of the May Fourth movement. In the twenties and thirties translators seemed to prefer shorter works, drama, poetry, and short stories and, except for the great works of nineteenth century European literature, few long novels were translated. The war years, the forties, were relatively barren, although translating activity never ceased entirely in the several areas of China. However, full scale translation work only resumed after 1949.

The politics of literature in the People's Republic of China is a well known topic, but politics too had an impact on translating and which translated works were allowed to see the light of day. In addition, the Sino-Soviet rift had serious repercussions on translating. The controls imposed on translating for something like thirty years give us, therefore, pause to reflect. Readers, especially writers as readers, had access during those years to only a highly circumscribed selection of literary works. Writers, therefore, were largely isolated from literary trends in many parts of the world (except for those in the Soviet Union until the beginning sixties) and this, together with the imposition of ideological constraints and limited access to earlier twentieth century Chinese works, could not but affect their craft. Considering literary developments elsewhere, for example, in Egypt, where writers had access to such influential writers' works like Beckett, Camus, or Kafka, the damage done by

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\* The partial support by the Truman Research Institute of the Hebrew University for research for this paper is gratefully acknowledged.

Mao Zedong's literary policies becomes obvious. Although the past fifteen years have witnessed great changes on China's literary scene, and today market demands and popular literature are beginning to govern production of translations, one must not overrate the latter. Good literature is not always popular, and popular literature is not always good. But the point I am trying to make is when writers as readers are deprived of reading matter important to practicing their craft, their creative works can be adversely affected. With this in mind, my aim in this paper is to outline policies and writers' views on translating, and to present an overview of foreign works made available in Chinese translation. This discussion of writers and works translated is by no means exhaustive and does not include Russian and Soviet works, as these form a distinct category within the corpus of translated literature and, therefore, demand a different treatment.

Four periods of translating activity can be discerned in post-1949 China. The first, roughly 1949–1959, was punctuated by writers' and translators' conferences that attempted to underscore as well as chart the direction of translation work. The second period, 1960–1966, with its beginning years under the shadow of the "Hundred Flowers", the anti-rightist movement, and the disastrous Great Leap Forward, marked a shift when works by Latin American, African, Middle East, and Vietnamese writers began to appear in quantity. The Third National Congress of Writers and Artists held in 1960 was important for indicating the new directions for both literary and translating work. The third period is that of the Cultural Revolution, from 1966 to 1976, when translating work came to a virtual standstill. A new and entirely different period began after 1976, following Mao Zedong's death. Controls, although not entirely abandoned, are less in evidence. More recently market demands and profits largely determine which writers and works are chosen for translating.

### *Views on Translating and Literary Policy*

Translating was resumed almost at once after the establishment of the PRC in 1949. Chinese writers and readers were urged to acquaint themselves with foreign literary works in spite of possible negative influences from the outside, or because the writers' natural propensity toward individualism and individualistic expression might be supported by reading foreign, non-socialist, literature. Cultural isolation was not desirable and the translating of foreign literary works, it was often stated, would allow Chinese readers to understand other peoples and their cultural traditions.<sup>1</sup>

Many writers had stressed the importance of translating prior to 1949, pointing out the significance of Western literary works to Chinese literary creativity, but also emphasizing the difficulties inherent in translating these. The views by several pre-1949 translators and writers may be summarized as

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<sup>1</sup> This view from the Conference on Literary Translation Work. See *Chinese Literature* (hereafter CL), no. 1 (1955), p. 194.

follows. Translating foreign literary works has a positive influence on the development of Chinese literature. Translated works introduce Chinese readers not only to the content, ideas, and to foreign cultures generally, but also to new methods and styles of writing. Therefore, translations contribute to the development of the language of literature.<sup>2</sup> But who should and can produce good translations? Although specialists of Western literature recognized the treasures which Western literary works contain, it was argued that they were usually not the ones who prepared the translations whereas persons who did the translating were often not aware of the literary significance.<sup>3</sup> Much concern was voiced over which works and authors to choose. Because by far the largest number of translated works were from the nineteenth century, writers frequently complained that twentieth century literature was ignored, and they emphasized the need for more translations of recent works.<sup>4</sup> The process of translating, that is the problem of what happens when a literary work moves from one cultural context into another, and the relationship between the original work, the translator, and reader of the translated work, was rarely mentioned.<sup>5</sup>

These and similar views continued to be elaborated in the fifties. But, in addition, the quality of translations was also frequently criticized. Translating work in the fifties was apparently plagued by two major problems. The first, of a practical nature, arose from the efforts to organize and bureaucratize translating work. Control over translators and works they were to translate was in the hands of two or three publishing houses, and those in charge were not always acquainted with the contents of the works they ordered translated. Added to this was the publishers' censorship, and the right of editors to alter a text without the translator's consent. The second problem resulted from the large number of active translators, many probably part-time workers. Frequently such translators were not adequately trained, were not conversant with theories and methods of translation, and had little or no knowledge of the cultural framework within which originals were produced. Several well known writers and translators, like Mao Dun and Lao She, who were also ardent students of Western thought and culture, were especially sensitive to

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<sup>2</sup> Huang Jiade, ed., *Fanyi lunji* (Selected essays on translation). Shanghai: Xi Fang, 1940, pp. 110-116. Letter from Lu Xun, dated 1931. Also Huang Jiade's introduction, p. 7. Ye Gongzhao, "Lun fanyi yu wenxuedi gaizao" (On translating and literary creation), *Xin Yue*, Vol. 4, no. 6 (March 1933), pp. 1-2, and Chang Naiwei, "Yiwendi fengge" (Style of translation), *Wenxue zazhi*, Vol. 3, no. 4 (1948), pp. 23-26.

<sup>3</sup> "'Fanyi' he 'piping' fanyi" ('Interpretative' and 'critical' translations), *Wenxue*, Vol. 4, no. 3 (March 1935), p. 414.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Hu Fang, "Fanyi gongzuo yu 'Yiwen'" (Translation work and *Yiwen*), in *Wenxuan bitan* (Collection of literary discussions), 1936, pp. 334-335.

<sup>5</sup> Chang Naiwei, "Yiwendi fengge", makes passing reference to the attitude of the original author when writing about the work and the attitude of the translator. For a statement on this question, see Jifí Levý, "The Translation of Verbal Art", in Ladislav Matějka and Irwin R. Titunik, *Semiotics of Art*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976, pp. 218-228.

these deficiencies.<sup>6</sup> There were other problems; major writers remained untranslated; works from capitalist countries were neglected.<sup>7</sup>

Translating was viewed as a part of modern Chinese literary history. According to Mao Dun, the Chinese people love foreign works and need them for intellectual stimulation and the development of a national literature and art. Chinese literature, said Mao Dun, ...absorbed the spirit of realism, democracy and socialism from modern world literature. Foreign literary works gave Chinese people understanding of history, traditions, life and struggles of other peoples. Russian and Soviet literature gave confidence and strength for national liberation.<sup>8</sup>

Another account considered May Fourth a crucial turning point. It gave translating activity a new direction and Lu Xun's role as translator was emphasized.<sup>9</sup> Translating, therefore, was seen to fill an important need in cultural life.

Translating work was also related to questions of literary theory: did advocacy of socialist realism and revolutionary literature inhibit translating work? Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum" in 1942 were a turning-point in modern Chinese literature, and the writers who became popular in the forties and fifties followed the directives laid down in the "Talks". Socialist realism was not a major issue in the 1942 "Talks", nor was it in 1949, when the First National Congress of Literary and Art Workers met. The 1949 Congress emphasized the educational aspects of literature and the importance of popularization. Another significant consideration involved the relationship between traditional and modern, or old and new, literature. Zhou Yang, vice-chairman of the Congress, believed it a mistaken notion to differentiate between feudal and bourgeois literature as both were old forms. The notion of bourgeois literature as new was "based on blind worship of the bourgeois culture of the West", said Zhou, and it reflected semi-colonial ideas. But, he pointed out, writers should not refuse to use feudal and bourgeois literature after it had been revised.<sup>10</sup> Traditional literature as well as modern non-revolutionary literature need, therefore, not be rejected out of hand. In regard to translating,

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<sup>6</sup> Wolfgang Bauer, *Western Literature and Translation Work in Communist China*. Frankfurt/Main: Alfred Metzner Verlag, 1964, pp. 7-15.

<sup>7</sup> Huai Zi, "Fanyi chuban gengduodi waiguo fuxiu zhuzuo" (Translate and publish more excellent foreign literary works), *Renmin ribao* (hereafter *RMRB*), August 30, 1955, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Survey of China Mainland Press* (hereafter *SCMP*), no. 882, August 29, 1954, p. 38.

<sup>9</sup> Cao Jinghua, "Cong 'wusi'chuyi di waiguo wenxue jieshao tanji" (A preliminary chat on the introduction of foreign literature since the May Fourth period), *Yiwen*, no. 4 (April 1959), pp. 2-6.

<sup>10</sup> D.W. Fokkema, *Literary Doctrine in China and Soviet Influence, 1956-1960*. The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1965, pp. 36-37; Zhou Yang, "Xindi renmindi wenyi" (The people's new literature and art), in *Zhonghua chuanguo wenxue yishu gongzuo zhe diabiao dahui jinian* (Records of the national congress of literary and art workers). Beijing: Xinhua, 1950, p. 86. English translation, "The People's New Literature and Art", in Chou Yang, *China's New Literature and Art, Essays and Addresses*. Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1954, pp. 61-86.

this meant that both older and nineteenth and twentieth century foreign works could be considered. Criteria for selecting works for translating were to be cautiously flexible.

When the Second National Congress of Writers and Artists met in 1953, the central issue, however, concerned socialist realism as the method of literary creativity. Indeed, Mao Dun's closing statement to the Congress underlined that "The creative method of socialist realism is one of the most heatedly debated items in the conference."<sup>11</sup> Borrowing from Soviet literary theory, Zhou Yang who chaired the Congress defined socialist realism as a method which described real life. In 1953, he also had more to say about the nature of traditional literature, bourgeois, and foreign literature. Thus in his 1953 Report to the Congress Zhou Yang explained that bourgeois literature stressed individualism and was indifferent to the fate of the country and to the mass struggle. He blamed May Fourth writers of the twenties and thirties for not dealing correctly with the national heritage, seeing it only as feudal and retrogressive. May Fourth writers, said Zhou, blindly worshipped Western bourgeois culture. Labelling the heritage "the spiritual treasure house of our nation" (*da minzudi jingshen baoku*), Zhou Yang called for research, analysis, education, assessment, and acceptance with discrimination. Democratic and progressive parts should be differentiated from feudal and backward parts.<sup>12</sup>

Zhou Yang's discussion in 1949 about feudal and bourgeois literature did not present sufficiently clear guidelines for what to accept and what to reject. He, therefore, clarified that there was backward old literature and there was progressive old literature. Moreover, foreign literature can make a positive contribution to the development of Chinese literature because great writers and artists of all countries and ages have bequeathed a heritage to the world from which Chinese writers should continue to learn. "Advanced artistic techniques created by mankind have no national boundary. What we need is to adjust and improve our own national techniques by using the methods we have learned from abroad." Zhou did not only have the Soviet Union in mind here. Although elsewhere in the Report he spoke of the Soviet model for socialist realism, he apparently continued to champion also a world context for Chinese literature. Learning from abroad, he concluded "will lead to neither harm nor ruin." Long and intensive study and experiment should eventually raise the level of art, not only ideologically but also technically "till it reaches world levels."<sup>13</sup>

The implications for translating work were obvious. In spite of the importance ascribed to the method of socialist realism, and the shortcomings and

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<sup>11</sup> *SCMP*, no. 663, October, 8, 1953, pp. 5-6.

<sup>12</sup> Zhou Yang, "Wei chuanguangao geng duodi you ziudi wenxue yishu zuopin er fendou" (Fingit for the creation of more and better literary and artistic works), *Wenyi bao*, 19 (October 15, 1953), p. 14. English translation, "For More and Better Literary and Artistic Creation", in Chou Yang, *China's New Literature and Art*, pp. 1-50.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 15.

dangers of bourgeois literature, translating work must continue. Acquaintance with world literature will not pose a threat to Chinese writers. Creative efforts in China, furthermore, should not take place in isolation from world literary currents. There was the suggestion that world literary levels were higher than in China and that Chinese writers had to come up to these. As will be seen below, however, most works chosen for translating during the next five years were not the new and provocative literary works from Europe and America.

Aside from these official statements, others pointed out that Marxism-Leninism was introduced to China by means of translations, and Lenin himself was an exacting translator. But in spite of much progress in recent years, translating work is far too unsystematic. Greater selectivity must be practiced; not all books are suitable for Chinese readers. Nonetheless, translators and publishers should not choose only books from socialist countries. "The refined fruits of other countries", including capitalist countries, can also be translated.<sup>14</sup>

Two conferences specifically concerned with translating work took place in the fifties. The First National Translation Work Conference convened at the beginning of November 1951 and was presided over by Hu Yuzhi, who in 1951 was director of the Publications Administration. The conference did not set specific goals, but enumerated a number of tasks, such as the training of translation cadres, standardization of terms and the compilation of dictionaries and glossaries.<sup>15</sup> Another national conference of translators, convened by the Chinese Writers' Union in August 1954, presented a programme with definite goals. The programme stressed the need for a systematic effort and presented two plans of more than seven hundred works to be translated. The plans included Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and Indian classics in addition to works by contemporary writers.<sup>16</sup>

### *Translation Work between 1950 and 1959*

In spite of Zhou Yang's nod in the direction of world literature, translations from Russian and Soviet literature predominated in this, the first period. A new page for translating was opened in summer 1953 with the appearance of the monthly *Yiwen* (Translations). Whereas previously all translations had appeared in book form or in general literary journals, now shorter works – poems, excerpts, articles, and stories – were published on a regular basis. Until 1959, when the journal changed name and format, translated articles on literary theory and about literary figures also appeared in its pages.

A special feature of the publication was the commemoration of anniversaries of births and deaths of world literary figures. Usually several translations

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<sup>14</sup> *SCMP*, 1136, September 23, 1955, pp. 23–27.

<sup>15</sup> "Chuban zongshu zhaogai diyizhai chuanguo fanyi gongzuo huiyi" (Publishing administration convenes the first National Translation Work Conference), *RMRB*, November 29, 1951, p. 3. The Conference met from November 5 to November 20.

<sup>16</sup> "Conference of Translators", *CL*, no. 1 (1955), p. 194.



from such authors' works appeared in print together with articles on the authors' significance. The latter with few exceptions were translated from Russian. Authors thus honoured were generally selected from lists drawn up by the World Peace Council, an arm of the Warsaw World Peace Congress. The anniversaries were commemorated with literary gatherings, readings of selections from their works, and lectures about the authors and their works.

The first person thus honoured was François Rabelais (ca. 1495–1553), the great French satirist. Excerpts from his masterpieces *Gargantua and Pantagruel* were published, and these were accompanied by a translated article by I.I. Anisimov, head of the Gorky World Literature Institute.<sup>17</sup> When the Second National Congress of Writers and Artists met some weeks later, Zheng Zhenduo described Rabelais as a great French humanist and as one of the most accomplished writers of the Renaissance. He was a crusader (*zhanshi*) against the social evils of his time, said Zheng, who because of his struggles left a mark on the history of civilization. Although he appeared to mock, he really loved people and he loved wisdom.<sup>18</sup> In 1954 the great comic dramatist and poet of Athens, Aristophanes (ca. 448–385 B.C.) was honoured. A translation by Luo Niansheng of the comedy "The Archanians" was carried in *Translation*, and an article translated from Russian introduced his other works. The play extols the virtues of peace, at least, for the honest countryman, Dicaeopolis, but whether all of Aristophanes's plays were a scathing political satire against "everything pernicious and detrimental to Greek society at that time", as the commentary has it, is questionable.<sup>19</sup> Other writers commemorated in 1954 were Henry Fielding (1707–1754), English novelist and playwright, and Anton Chekhov. The essays describing their works were all translated from Russian.<sup>20</sup>

Montesquieu (1689–1755) was honoured the following year, and selections from his *Lettres Persanes* were published in the February issue of *Translations* together with a critical essay by N. Gendrikhson. An especially festive celebration was held for Walt Whitman (1819–1892) and Cervantes (1547–1616), author of *Don Quixote*. Mao Dun, Zhou Yang, and others addressed an audience of 1,300 guests. Both Cervantes and Whitman, said Mao

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<sup>17</sup> I.I. Anisimov, Fang Turen, trans., "Labalai lun" (About Rabelais), *Yiwen*, no. 2 (August 1953), pp. 181–205). The excerpts were translated by Shen Baoji, pp. 153–180.

<sup>18</sup> Zheng Zhenduo, "Jinian Fulangsuowa Labeli" (Commemorating François Rabelais), *RMRB*, September 28, 1953, p. 4. See also the front page article in the same issue, "Wo baowei shijie heping weiyuan huidengde duandi juxing shenghui, jinian siwei shijie wenhua mingren" (Our celebration of the World Peace Council Organization observance, commemorating four world cultural personalities). The four were Rabelais, Copernicus, Qu Yuan, and the Cuban José Martí.

<sup>19</sup> *Yiwen*, no. 4 (April 1954), pp. 70–133, and Mu Lingzhu, trans., "Alisituofan lun" (About Aristophanes), pp. 134–169.

<sup>20</sup> A. Elistratova, Li Xiangchong, trans., "Lun Feierding" (About Fielding), *Yiwen*, no. 9 (September 1954), pp. 98–136. See also, *SCMP*, no. 843, July 6, 1954, p. 28, and *SCMP*, no. 883, September 4, 1954, pp. 19–20.

Dun, wanted a peaceful life for the common people. Cervantes satirized the decaying civilization of feudal knighthood and the impotence of the bourgeoisie. His was a positive attitude toward human progress. When speaking about Whitman, Mao Dun professed his friendship for the American people and peoples of other countries, although many might criticize this friendship. Zhou Yang especially praised Whitman's use of language: as one of the creators of the free verse form, Whitman used the language of the working people. *Don Quixote*, said Zhou Yang, was one of the great works of realism which contributed toward ending the system of chivalry. Cervantes was progressive and opposed his class.<sup>21</sup> The first Chinese edition of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* appeared on the occasion of the centennial.

Kalidasa, Dostoyevsky, and Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) were honoured in May 1956. Mao Dun and others again addressed an audience of more than one thousand people, stressing the influence the three men had on literature. Mao Dun emphasized the Chinese people's love for Heine. At the time of their greatest stress, the Chinese looked to Heine to speak for them, said Mao Dun. In his own life Heine had taken the path of Chinese intellectuals of the twenties and thirties, moving from romanticism to revolutionary democracy and then to socialism. Regarding Dostoyevsky, Chinese readers can see their own humiliation through Dostoyevsky's portrayals of nobles, landowners, and capitalists, all exploiters who injured others. Russia of the 1860s resembled China in the 1930s, he concluded, but where Dostoyevsky saw no solution, the Chinese had hope because of the Russian example.<sup>22</sup> A selection of Heine's poems was published in 1959 in 270,000 copies.<sup>23</sup>

The 200th anniversary of William Blake's birth (1757–1827) was observed in 1957, and some of his poems were published in *Translations*. Apparently there was no grand celebration,<sup>24</sup> probably because of the Hundred Flowers uproar at the time. The centennial of Shalom Aleichem's birthday (1859–1916) was, however, given considerable publicity in 1959. *Translations* devoted a special section to the Yiddish writer and his works. An article by Yao Yi'en described him as "...an outstanding realistic Jewish writer [and] leading representative of... Jewish literature in the second half of the nineteenth century....", all of whose works were imbued with humanism. In December 1959

<sup>21</sup> Yong Li, "Jinian Tange Gucidi chuban sanbaiwushi zhounian" (Commemorating the 350th anniversary of the first appearance of Don Quixote), *RMRB*, November 25, 1955, p. 3. See also *SCMP*, no. 990, February 16, 1955, p. 21, and *SCMP*, no. 1178, November 25, 1955, pp. 38–40.

<sup>22</sup> *RMRB*, May 27, 1956, p. 1. For the discussion on Kalidasa, see Shou Meilin, "Jinian Yindu gudai weida ren Jialituosuo" (Commemorating the great ancient Indian Kalidasa), *RMRB*, May 26, 1956, p. 3. See also, "Kalidasa, Heine and Dostoyevsky in China", *People's China*, no. 12 (June 16, 1956), pp. 28–32.

<sup>23</sup> These and subsequent publication figures are based on *Quanguo xin shumu* (National bibliography).

<sup>24</sup> Song Xueting, "Shizao" (Poetry), *Yiwen*, no. 9 (September 1957), pp. 132–145, and *SCMP*, no. 1608, September 12, 1957, pp. 34–35.

Shalom Aleichem was honoured at a rally attended by more than 1,000 people. Speaking at the rally, Mao Dun said that "His pen mercilessly attacked the social system of exploitation of man by man and he expressed full confidence in mankind's bright future." Cao Jinghua pointed out that Shalom Aleichem inherited the fine tradition of progressive Russian literature. Concurrently an exhibit of Shalom Aleichem's works was held at the Beijing Library.<sup>25</sup> Shalom Aleichem, the gentle humorist, who poignantly and often sadly chronicled the changes overtaking Eastern European Jewry, would have been mystified by the description of his work.

Although only some of the world literary figures are mentioned here, the wide ranging interest from Kalidasa to Heine and from Aristophanes to Shalom Aleichem is impressive. However, it must not be forgotten that these writers had been selected by the World Peace Council and that the critical articles had been translated from Russian. The world context of Chinese literature championed by Zhou Yang was there, but access was well guarded.

Aside from the works of these great men, numerous less famous nineteenth century authors together with modern socialist writers were translated in the fifties. Until 1958, according to Cyrzyk, altogether 15,749 works from 43 countries in 261 million copies were translated.<sup>26</sup> Bauer's statistical analysis shows that throughout the decade Russian literature was a major source and that, moreover, Russian translations of Western or East European literary works were often used for preparing Chinese translations. By considering only translations which appeared in book form Bauer found that production increased steadily from 1949 to 1956, decreased until 1958, and increased again in 1959. A sharp decline occurred in 1960. Between 1950 and 1956 the number of translated works rose from 92 to 480; it dropped to 400 in 1958; rose to 581 in 1959, and fell to 119 in 1960.<sup>27</sup> These fluctuations reflect political issues, literary policy, and economic problems, the last especially was, no doubt, the primary cause for the low 1960 figure. Following is a brief survey of additional works chosen apparently for the most part from Russian sources.

Among Eastern European writers were both nineteenth and twentieth century Rumanians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, and Poles. The October 1953 issue of *Translations* carried several stories by the twentieth century Hungarian authors, Zsigmond Móricz and Sándor Nagy.<sup>28</sup> The poetry of the eighteenth century Polish patriot-poet, Adam Mickiewicz, was translated in 1954. His long epic poem, "Pan Tadeusz", had appeared in the spring of 1950; by 1953 it had gone through four editions. Stories by other nineteenth

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<sup>25</sup> Yao Yan, "Jiechudi Youtai zuojia Xiaoluomu Alaihanmu" (The eminent Jewish writer Shalom Aleichem), *Shijie wenxue* (hereafter *SJWX*), no. 3 (March 1959), pp. 83-85, and *SCMP*, no. 2146, December 1, 1959, pp. 19-20.

<sup>26</sup> Leszek Cyrzyk, "Książka Polska w Chinach", *Twórczość*, 14, no. 6 (1958), p. 161.

<sup>27</sup> *Western Literature and Translation Work*, p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> Song Yong translated "A Letter from Zalaovo", Ling Shan translated "Seven Pennies", Lao Yong translated "Eat Well for Once", *Yiwen*, no. 4 (October 1953), pp. 49-59.

century Polish writers, H. Sienkiewicz, B. Prus, and S. Żeromski were translated in various issues of *Translations* in 1954 and 1955.<sup>29</sup> Among Czech writers, Julius Fučík (1903–1943) and Jaroslav Hašek's (1883–1923) works were frequently translated. Fučík's *Report under the Gallows* appeared in a 700,000 edition in 1955; Hašek's *The Good Soldier Schweik* went through numerous editions. Jan Neruda (1834–1891), whose works had been translated already in the 1920s, was again featured in *World Literature* on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of his birth.<sup>30</sup> More recent writings on World War II and the partisan movement were also translated in quantity. Several works by the Polish writer Wanda Wasilewska (1905–1964) were apparently popular, and her book *Rainbow* on Polish peasant resistance appeared together with the movie script.

Works by French writers which had been well known before 1949 were either reissued or new translations were prepared. Nineteenth century writers like Emile Zola, Honoré de Balzac, Alexandre Dumas (father and son), Alphonse Daudet, Victor Hugo, Simon Stendhal, and Guy de Maupassant predominated. But earlier works were not neglected and several titles by Voltaire were also published. Molière's (1622–1673) drama was apparently appreciated by readers as well as theatre audiences, and between 1959 and 1962 "L'Avare" was performed more than one hundred times in Beijing.<sup>31</sup> Luo Dagang, Professor of French literature at Beijing University, both translated and commented on earlier and contemporary French literature. Special attention was devoted to writers who dealt with the resistance during World War II. Jean Laffite's trilogy, *Nous Retournerons Cueillir les Jonquilles*, *Rose France*, and *Survivantes* was published in 1959. A series of four stories by André Stil appeared in 1957, as did stories by Paul Vaillant-Courtourier (d. 1937) who had visited China in 1933. Vaillant-Courtourier's stories dealt with problems of the Chinese peoples in the thirties. In 1955, a number of stories by Romain Rolland (1866–1944) appeared. Ge Baoquan commented that Rolland developed as a writer from narrow individualism to a proletarian revolutionary outlook. He, moreover, was unique among European writers for opposing the war and, therefore, many people hated him. Who can, after all, asked Ge rather cryptically, love a man who espouses the truth?<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Z. Zbikowski, "O Przekładach Literatury Polskiej w Chinach Ludowych" (Translation of Polish literature in the PRC), *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, no. 2 (1955), pp. 223–225. See also, Eber, "Poland and Polish Authors in Modern Chinese Literature and Translation", *Monumenta Serica*, 31, (1974–75), pp. 438–440.

<sup>30</sup> On Czech and Slovak literature in Chinese translation, see Marián Gálik, "Die tschechische und slowakische Literatur in China", *Asian and African Studies*, 6 (1970), pp. 161–176.

<sup>31</sup> Zhao Shaohou, "French Literature in Chinese Translation", *CL*, no. 6 (1962), pp. 109–112.

<sup>32</sup> Stil's stories were translated by various hands in *Yiwen*, no. 3 (March 1957), pp. 40–95. Ge Baoquan, trans., "Lun Luoman Luolan," (About Romain Rolland), *Yiwen*, no. 1 (January 1955), pp. 1–6.

German literature was translated in considerable quantity. The 125th anniversary of Goethe (1749–1832) who had inspired Chinese romanticism several decades earlier was observed with two poems and selections from his *Wilhelm Meister*.<sup>33</sup> The dramas of the second giant of German literature, Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), were also translated together with a short story by Thomas Mann, “Dreary Hour”, which described Schiller’s writing of *Wallenstein*.<sup>34</sup> Excerpts from *Wilhelm Tell*, published in 1955, were accompanied by an analysis by a Soviet critic.<sup>35</sup> Bertolt Brecht’s poems and plays were frequently featured in translation, and his *Caucasian Chalk Circle* was published in 1962.<sup>36</sup> Throughout the fifties numerous works from what was then the German Democratic Republic were translated. These included poetry by Bodo Uhse and Anna Seghers as well as novels by Johannes R. Becher (1891–1958) and Stefan Heym. In addition there were works by the Austrian writer Stefan Zweig (1881–1942), chosen perhaps because he had earned Gorky’s praise, and the Swiss Gottfried Keller (1819–1890). About the latter an essay was translated from Russian.<sup>37</sup> Much of the credit for translating from German goes to Professor Feng Zhi. Altogether, according to a 1959 notice, 202 books of German literature and art were published, running to a total of 3,080,000 copies.<sup>38</sup>

Several translations from Italian literature (translated from Russian) consisted of stories by the twentieth century Alberto Moravia, with a comment from Russian,<sup>39</sup> and stories by Marcello Venturi. A number of comedies by Carlo Goldoni (1707–1793) included “The Servant of Two Masters” and “The Mistress of Ira”.

Turning to English literature, there was a selection of John Milton’s (1608–1674) poems in 1958, on the occasion of the poet’s 350th anniversary.<sup>40</sup> Professor Fang Zhong of the Foreign Institute completed translating Chaucer’s *The Canterbury Tales* and *Troilus and Cryseyde* in 1955, but Chaucer’s complete works appeared only in 1962. A selection of Shakespeare’s sonnets, translated by the poet Bian Zhilin appeared in 1954.<sup>41</sup> Aside from “Twelfth

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<sup>33</sup> Feng Zhi, trans., *Yiwen*, no. 3 (March 1957), pp. 106–148.

<sup>34</sup> Ji Xianlin, trans., *Yiwen*, no. 9 (October 1956), pp. 29–36. There is a brief postscript by the translator.

<sup>35</sup> N. Vilmont, Mou Lingzhu, trans., “Xile lun” (About Schiller), *Yiwen*, no. 5 (May 1955), pp. 46–99.

<sup>36</sup> Qian Zhilin, trans., *SJWX*, nos. 7–8 (September 1962), pp. 2–69.

<sup>37</sup> E.P. Brandis, Fang Shiren, trans., “Kaile lun” (About Keller), *Yiwen*, no. 6 (June 1955), pp. 203–235.

<sup>38</sup> *SCMP*, no. 2117, October 15, 1959, p. 29.

<sup>39</sup> R. Hlodovsky, Zhong Weizhao, trans., “Lun Molaweijia” (About Moravia), *Yiwen*, no. 7 (July 1957), pp. 111–113, and *SCMP*, no 1604, September 5, 1957, p. 49.

<sup>40</sup> Yin Baoshu, trans., *Yiwen*, no. 7 (July 1958), pp. 99–105.

<sup>41</sup> Bian Zhilin, trans., “Shisi xiangshi qishou” (Seven poems in fourteen stanzas), *Yiwen*, no. 4 (April 1954), pp. 66–69.

Night", "Julius Caesar", and "The Tragedy of Othello", three different versions of "Romeo and Juliet" appeared during the fifties in 84,000 copies with one translation by the playwright Cao Yu. "Hamlet" was printed in an edition of 65,000 copies. But progress on the complete plays was apparently slow and they were not published until after 1976.

Lord Byron, the romantic poet who had cast a powerful spell over Chinese intellectuals in the early twentieth century, was represented in 1954 by excerpts from his "Don Juan", "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage", and the satirical poem "Vision of Judgement". The excerpts were accompanied by an analysis translated from the Russian.<sup>42</sup> Other translations from nineteenth century literature included works by William Thackeray, Shelley, and Keats. Three of Bernard Shaw's plays appeared in 1956, "Mrs. Warren's Profession", "Major Barbara", and "The Apple Cart", together with a critical commentary by Wang Zuoliang.<sup>43</sup> Short stories by the relatively unknown contemporary writers, Alfred A. Coppel (1878-1957) and Gordon Raffan, were published in 1954 and 1955.<sup>44</sup>

From American literature there were such classics as Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha", several stories by Edgar Allan Poe, John Steinbeck, and Mark Twain, the latter with a criticism from Russian.<sup>45</sup> Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* was published in 1956.<sup>46</sup> The tenth anniversary of Theodore Dreiser's death was commemorated in 1955. Described as a "famous progressive novelist", his short stories were said to deal with the lot of women in capitalist society. Ring W. Lardner's satirical story "Nora" of 1957, with its allusion to censorship and editorial rewriting seems to have slipped by the censor. In the mid-fifties several short stories by Howard Fast and William Saroyan appeared. Although Fast had been popular in the Soviet Union and in China where he was considered a progressive writer, especially for his *Spartacus*, he fell from favour and resigned from the Communist Party after he objected to the Soviet intervention in the Hungarian uprising.<sup>47</sup> Occasionally some prose and poetry by Afro-American writers was published, among these poems by Langston Hughes whose poetry had been translated already in the 1930s, and excerpts from Paul Robeson's *Here I Stand*. An anthology of poetry translated by Zhang Qi, *Heiren shixuan* (Selections from black poetry), was published in 1957. But translations from American literature were gen-

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<sup>42</sup> A. Elistratova, Li Xiangchong, trans., *Yiwen*, no. 6 (June 1954), pp. 155-207.

<sup>43</sup> Wang Zuoliang, "Xiabona he dadi xiju" (Shaw and his plays), *Yiwen*, no. 8 (August 1956), pp. 98-108.

<sup>44</sup> Li Wenjun, trans., *Yiwen*, no. 9 (September 1954) pp. 27-42, and Lu Shuxiang, trans., *Yiwen*, no. 10 (October 1955), pp. 76-82.

<sup>45</sup> P. Orlova, Zhang Youjin, trans., "Make Duwan lun" (About Mark Twain), *Yiwen*, no. 8 (August 1954), pp. 141-157.

<sup>46</sup> He Ru, trans., *Yiwen*, no. 12 (December 1956), pp. 3-107.

<sup>47</sup> Ba Jin, "Fastdi beiju" (The tragedy of Fast), *Wenyi Bao*, no. 8 (1958), pp. 28-31.

erally fewer, and even works by Afro-American writers did not appear in quantity.

Among contemporary Australian, South African, and New Zealand writers, Doris Lessing was probably the most important. Her story "A Home for the Highland Cattle" appeared in 1956.<sup>48</sup> The Australians, Dale Stevens, John Morrison, and the better known Henry A.Z. Lawson (1867–1922) had several of their stories translated. Scandinavian writers were not neglected, and the 50th anniversary of Ibsen's death was commemorated with the publication of six plays which included "Enemy of the People" and "Pillars of Society". Ibsen had been popular in the twenties, and his plays had been translated already in 1921 by Pan Jiaxun.<sup>49</sup> Apparently the desire to suppress much of May Fourth literature also included taking a cautious view of earlier translations. The Danish novelist Martin Andersen Nexø (1869–1954), described as a great proletarian writer and the Gorky of Scandinavia,<sup>50</sup> had several stories both in 1954 and again in 1962. Writing in German, Nexø usually described the harsh living conditions of working class people, but with a humane and lyrical touch.

Until 1958, works by Latin American writers were rarely translated except for some poetry. Thus poems by the great Chilean Pablo Neruda (1904–1973), the Brazilian Jorge Amado, the Cuban Nicolás Guillén, the Argentinian R.G. Tunon, and the Venezuelan Carlos Augusto León appeared in the October 1953 and February 1954 issues of *Translations*. A few short stories by Egyptian and Algerian writers from 1956 and 1957 might also be mentioned. People's Literature Publishing House noted in 1958 the scarcity of Latin American and Asian-African works in Chinese translation.<sup>51</sup>

A change was apparent from 1958 on. In October of that year the conference of Asian-African writers met in Tashkent, and the September *Translations* issue with an introduction by Mao Dun, was dedicated to their literature. Aside from Asian writers, works by Iranian, Iraqi, Egyptian, and Mozambique writers were featured. The next four years saw a significant increase of their translated works, and by 1962 more than 380 titles from over thirty Asian and African countries had been printed.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Dong Quisi, trans., *Yiwen*, no. 2 (February 1956), pp. 15–66.

<sup>49</sup> *SCMP*, no. 1339, July 25, 1956, p. 25. A partial translation of "Enemy of the People" was published as early as 1918. See the Ibsen issue, *Xin Qingnian*, Vol. 5, nos. 2–4 (June 1918).

<sup>50</sup> "Guanyu Nigesuo he dadi liangge duanpian" (Nexø and his two stories), *Yiwen*, no. 7 (July 1957), pp. 205–207.

<sup>51</sup> *SCMP*, no. 1877, October 17, 1958, p. 17.

<sup>52</sup> "Konferenz der Schriftsteller der Länder Asiens und Afrikas in Tashkent vom 7–13 October 1958", *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, 30, no. 1 (January 1959), pp. 23–25. See also, *Western Literature and Translation Work*, p. 70. Table 7 shows that there were practically no translations from Asian-African (excluding Japanese) and Latin American literatures before 1957.

Three observations can be made on the basis of this rather dry recital of authors and their works. The large number of active translators of both literary works and critical articles is indicative of the bureaucratization of literature. Not writers, but largely those with language training prepared the translations. The second observation concerns the critical articles. Since these were on the whole by Soviet authors Chinese readers received the correct interpretation together with the translation. The third observation deals with the translated works. Making available in Chinese classical authors like Kalidasa or Aristophanes exposed readers to works which were otherwise inaccessible to them. But such authors were innocuous. Scanning the list of twentieth century authors it is obvious that "progressive" and socialist writers (with the Soviet stamp of approval) predominate. When a "bourgeois" writer like Mark Twain was introduced, the selection was usually accompanied by the critical article on how he is to be read. This then was a highly selected translation literature. Whereas the establishment had no fear that Chinese versions of a seventeenth century Shakespeare or an eighteenth century Goethe would corrupt readers, twentieth century controversial writers like Kafka or Salinger most certainly could.

The change in translating patterns, set in motion with the 1958 Tashkent conference, began to be apparent from 1959 on. Except for the years of the Cultural Revolution, a steady flow of Third World writers became available in Chinese in the next six years, although not all of their works were revolutionary or proletarian literature. This change in the translating scene is taken up below.

#### *Translation Work from 1960 to 1966*

Except for a brief period in 1960 and 1961, when publishing generally fell off due to the enormous problems set in motion by the Great Leap Forward which included paper shortages, translating activity was undiminished in the first half of the sixties. But in this second period literature was no longer translated for the same reasons as in the fifties. The fact that Chinese writers would benefit from the study of Western literature was no longer emphasized and translating was, therefore, not identified with Chinese literary efforts. The larger context for the changing literary line in 1960 are of course the events of the previous three years: the failed blooming of the "Hundred Flowers", the anti-Rightist campaign, and the Great Leap disaster. To this must be added, as Fokkema suggests, the beginning criticism of Soviet literary theory, and the first onslaught on Soviet cultural infallibility.<sup>53</sup>

The Third Congress of Chinese Literary and Art Workers, held in 1960, was of major importance in once again defining directions for literary work. It also affirmed the changing direction for translating work which had been apparent since 1958. Following the Third Congress, in 1962 and especially in 1963, nearly as many Latin American and Asian-African works were trans-

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<sup>53</sup> *Literary Doctrine in China and Soviet Influence*, pp. 235, 250.



lated as Western works. By 1964 and 1965, Latin American and Asian-African writers outnumbered Western writers.

Zhou Yang's Report to the Third Congress must be discussed in some detail because, among others, it also dealt with two issues that were important to the translating of Western works. These are the nature of humanism (*rendao zhuyi*) and the nature of bourgeois literature. According to Zhou Yang, it is necessary to differentiate between proletarian humanism, on the one hand, and bourgeois humanism, on the other. The ultimate aim of bourgeois humanism is to prolong the system of exploitation, whereas proletarian humanism aims at liberating mankind from all systems of exploitation. Proletarian humanism differentiates between the people and its exploiting oppressors advocating love for the former and hate for the latter. There is, moreover, no such thing as an abstract principle of humanism, transcending the age and classes. "In a classless society, humanism as an ideology always possesses a class content of a definite age." And humanism is not an immutable, absolute truth.

But not all humanism should be condemned, according to Zhou. Earlier and later humanism are different. Humanism had a progressive role when it first appeared in the European renaissance as a trend of social thought. Later humanists of the eighteenth century advocated humanism in opposition to divine power, human right in opposition to the right of kings, emancipation in opposition to the bonds of religion. At that time humanism, therefore, played a positive and progressive role in history. Problems began in the nineteenth century when humanism first exhibited its class limitations. Although humanists may have attacked the "seamy side of capitalism" (*ziban zhuyidi yinan mian*), they were unable to go beyond their bourgeois views and the confines of private property and individualism. In spite of using anti-feudal slogans in their writings, they became frauds, covering up exploitation and deceiving the working class. Today's revisionists (not only humanists of a certain stripe, but revisionists were his target as well), such as the Yugoslav writers and Hu Feng and G. Lukács, still use literature and art to advocate humanism.

Although Zhou's views on Western literature were not systematically developed, they revolved about his ideas on humanism in accordance with Marx and Engels's pronouncements. There were eighteenth and nineteenth century progressive works, said Zhou, which combined the methods of critical realism and positive romanticism. They exposed the evils of feudalism and capitalism. Works by Goethe, Balzac, and Tolstoy, for example, were distinguished for this, in addition to their uses of artistic techniques. But these nineteenth century works also had their class limitations because the criticism they contained was taken from the standpoint of "bourgeois democracy, bourgeois humanism and reformism." Western bourgeois literature may have portrayed some positive characters "embodying bourgeois revolutionary ideas", but after the middle of the nineteenth century bourgeois writers were incapable of depicting "outstanding characters of their own class".

Can Chinese writers then learn anything from Western literature? Zhou Yang advised caution. One should learn from good foreign works, he said,

but "the new age demands a new literature and art". Good foreign works are those which contain "penetrating descriptions of the social life of that period", and ideas that once played a progressive role.

Zhou Yang did not contradict Mao's dictum of taking over the legacy from the past and from foreign countries and learning from both as mentioned in the "Talks at the Yenan Forum" and restated later. Stressing Mao's slogan to "develop the new from the old" (*tui chen chu xin*), he went on to say, "The fine heritage of the literature and art of other lands... is an important part of the treasure of human culture, and we must inherit and learn from it. But a critical appropriation is needed...." Earlier in the Report Zhou Yang reminded his listeners that even with good Western literature "...all art forms and techniques of foreign origin when transplanted must be remolded (*gaizao*) and assimilated till they possess national features (*minzudi secai*) and become our own". Western literature worth appropriating critically and developing is the progressive literature which utilized the methods of critical realism and positive romanticism.<sup>54</sup> Notably absent in his discussion is the emphasis on socialist realism which as a literary concept had already begun to lose force two years earlier.

Apparently he had done his homework in Marx and Engels's pronouncements on literature and art. His references to Balzac and Goethe's early years were guided by Engels's judgement that every great work from Goethe's early years was animated by a spirit of defiance and rebellion against the whole of German society.<sup>55</sup> The deterioration of later nineteenth century works was also occasionally mentioned by Engels. The definition of humanism, on the other hand, its differentiation into bourgeois and proletarian humanism, and the changing historical role of bourgeois humanism had their source in the Chinese attacks on humanism and human nature. By combining the issue of humanism with an evaluation of Western literary works, Zhou Yang in effect indicated new directions for translating work. No longer would translators be able to refer to late nineteenth or early twentieth century writers as humanists who because of their humanism deserved translating. Whether a translated work was publishable would, furthermore, depend on the work's utilization of critical realism and positive romanticism and whether the ideas it contained had played a progressive role.

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<sup>54</sup> Zhou Yang, "Wo guo shehui zhuyi wenxue yishudi daolu" (The path of socialist literature and art in China), *Wenyi bao*, nos., 13-14 (July 26, 1960), pp. 30, 22, 34-35. English translation, Chou Yang, *The Path of Socialist Literature and Art in China*. Report delivered to the Third Congress of Chinese and Literary Art Workers on July 22, 1960. Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1960. See also D.W. Fokkema, "Chinese Criticism of Humanism: Campaigns Against the Intellectuals 1964-1965", *China Quarterly*, no. 26 (1966), pp. 68-81.

<sup>55</sup> Zhou probably used Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, *Über Kunst und Literatur, eine Sammlung aus ihren Schriften*, Michail Lifschitz, ed. Berlin: Bruno Henschel und Sohn, 1949, p. 214. This is an enlarged edition of an earlier publication which appeared in the Soviet Union in 1933 and 1937. The 1937 German translation was based on the 1933 Russian edition.

But Zhou Yang did not sufficiently develop the theme of proletarian humanism. Presumably there were Chinese writers of proletarian humanism. It was difficult to know, however, which contemporary Western writers were acceptable. Even leftist authors could be suspect for their use of improper humanism. Significantly, Zhou Yang's opening and closing statements stressed opposition to imperialism and colonialism and pointed out the positive role of Asian, African, and Latin American countries. His closing words signalled a new direction when he called for uniting with the writers of these countries and for forming a "broad united front of revolutionary literature and art against imperialism".<sup>56</sup>

The changing trend in translation activity can be seen in the number of non-Western literary works translated between 1960 and 1966 when about half of all translated works in book form were from Third World countries. Added to these were short stories, novellas, and poetry which appeared in *World Literature* until it ceased publication in 1966. Between 1960 and 1966, one half to two thirds of the contents of each issue was devoted to Latin American and Asian-African literature.

Fairly ambitious programs of translating Third World works were planned because for these peoples an age of national liberation and renaissance of their cultures had begun. Their works, it was stated, described their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Together with drawing on a rich cultural tradition, they also absorbed inspiration from the people's struggle. The Chinese people are greatly interested in their works "which are part of the common heritage of the peoples throughout the world".<sup>57</sup> When in 1965 the first collection of Paraguayan poetry by Elvio Romeo, *Soldiers at Dawn*, was published, its popularity was said to be due to the patriotic anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian-African and Latin American peoples.<sup>58</sup>

The works translated were drawn from a number of countries, not all by revolutionary writers. Among Latin Americans, Cuban writers predominated, especially after Fidel Castro had conclusively turned to Marxism at the end of 1961. The poetry of José Martí (1853-1895) was published in 1959. Several works by José Soler Puigo, Felix Pita Rodriguez, Onelio Jorge Cardoso, and José Antonio Portuondo appeared in 1962 and 1964. Cuba's struggle against the United States, as depicted in Raúl González de Cascorro's stories, *People of Giron Beach*, was published in 1963. In 1964 and 1965 the works of authors from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Honduras, and Trinidad were translated. Especially important was the translation of poetry by the Peruvian writer César Vallejo (1892-1938) who was then slowly receiving recognition outside Peru as a poet of great originality.

Translations of poetry were most numerous from African countries. Again, a wide range of countries was represented: Angola, Ethiopia, Mali,

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<sup>56</sup> "Who guo shehui zhuyi wenxue yishudi daolu", p. 36.

<sup>57</sup> SCMP, no. 2988, May 28, 1963, pp. 20-21.

<sup>58</sup> SCMP, no. 3527, August 27, 1965, p. 16.

Mozambique, Nigeria, Sudan, Senegal. Works of fiction were far fewer and included the much acclaimed first novel by the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* and two novels by the South African Peter Abrahams, *Mine Boy* and *Path of Thunder*. The October 1964 issue of *World Literature* was dedicated to black literature which included not only African but also Afro-American writers. These will be mentioned below together with American literature.

Works translated from European literature tended to consist as in the previous decade of older classics and new socialist writers. Predictably fewer works from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were included. From German literature mostly East German writers were translated: Brecht, Becher, Seghers, Stefan Heym, Hedda Zinner, Bohde, Willi Bredel, and Erich Wienert. The 1963 publication of Thomas Mann, *The Buddenbrooks*, was a rare exception. *Das Nibelungenlied* and the fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm were representative of older works. From French literature the works of André Stil were especially numerous. Balzac's works continued to be translated and Jules Verne, *20,000 Leagues beneath the Sea* appeared at last. From English literature there were four more plays by Shakespeare. Although the 150th anniversary of Charles Dickens was observed in 1962, when Xie Bingxin described the great writer as a critic of capitalist society with sympathy for the oppressed,<sup>59</sup> only his *American Notes* was published. Dickens, like Elisabeth C. Gaskell (1810–1865), had been highly praised by Engels. According to Engels, the English writers' "...graphic and eloquent pages have issued to the world more political and social truths than have been uttered by all the professional politicians and moralists...."<sup>60</sup> Gaskell's *Mary Barton* appeared in 1963, and between 1961 and 1965 three novels by John Galsworthy were translated. Except for A.J. Cronin, *The Citadel*, contemporary English writers' works were not translated.

In addition to a few Scandinavian works (the Norwegian B. Bjørnson and Jonas Lie, for example), Czech, Rumanian, and Hungarian works continued to appear, but there were far fewer works from Polish literature. Almost all were nineteenth century authors whose works had been translated in the fifties.

Similar to the fifties, translations from American literature, were very few. Several novels by Mark Twain appeared in 1960 and, rather surprisingly, in 1963 a collection of European and American short stories; *Morning, Noon, Night* by the relatively unknown Lars Lawrence about Labour violence in New Mexico appeared in 1962 as did Sinclair Lewis's *Gideon Planish*, a satirical exposure of political and religious racketeering. Two Charlie Chaplin screenplays, "The Great Dictator" and "Gold Rush" were published in 1964, and Lamar Trotti's screenplay of "The Oxbow Incident" was published in 1963.

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<sup>59</sup> SCMP, no. 2886, December 27, 1962, p. 16.

<sup>60</sup> *Über Kunst und Literatur*, p. 231.

Interest in the oppression of Afro-Americans was, no doubt, the reason for translating in 1965 the little known novel, *The White Slave, or Memoirs of a Fugitive* by Richard Hildreth (1807– 1865).<sup>61</sup> This work was a forerunner of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which appeared in 1852 and was one of the earliest books translated into Chinese at the close of the nineteenth century. In 1961, the history of the Chinese dramatized version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was recounted by the playwright Tian Han, according to whom the plot highlighted the awakening of the "broad masses of the negroes", showing their "continuing struggle for emancipation". The initial stage of class consciousness, said Tian Han, was manifested in the oppression of nationality or race and was, therefore, a form of class oppression.<sup>62</sup> The October issue of *World Literature*, dedicated to black writers, featured works by Margaret Walker and W.E.B. DuBois.

Policies of translating in the fifties differed from those in the sixties. Together with Soviet and Russian literature, Western literature provided constructive examples in the fifties. Authors of Chinese literature could benefit, it was said, from the study of Western literary works, and translating such works was, therefore, seen as useful to literary creativity in China. But beginning with 1960 theoretical formulations indicated changing views and Zhou Yang's analysis of Western literature at the Third Congress emphasized a literature with "national features", implying that Chinese writers, in fact, no longer needed foreign works for their creative efforts. Translating Asian and African writers and to unite with them against imperialism was different from translating these writers in order to study and learn from their techniques. Thus the goal of translating literature in the 1960s was seen as distinct from literary work.

### *The Beginning of a New Era*

Translating activity that had for all practical purposes ceased during the Cultural Revolution was resumed in 1978. But the translating and publishing of foreign literary works was slow getting under way. Caution toward translating foreign literature continued to be apparent which in part, no doubt, was due to the absence of clear cut guidelines on foreign writers and works suitable for translating. Translators and publishers seemed to be biding their time.

That translating foreign literature would become acceptable again was hinted at as early as October 1976. Lu Xun, ran a statement, considered translating a vital cultural activity and he "regarded the work of translation as an integral part of the revolutionary cause".<sup>63</sup> Various articles from 1977 to

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<sup>61</sup> Hildreth was an American historian who had edited two antislavery papers between 1840 and 1843. *The Slave; or Memoirs of Archy Moore* was first published in 1836. *The White Slave* was the 1852 edition. An 1855 edition went by the title of *Archy Moore*.

<sup>62</sup> Tian Han, "Tan heinu ren" (Speaking of black slaves), *RMRB*, June 12, 1961, p. 7.

<sup>63</sup> New China News Agency (Peking), no. 6787, October 27, 1976, pp. 15–16.

1979 expressed similar sentiments and the slogan "Make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" (*Guwei jinyong, yangwei zhongyong*) was again frequently invoked. Ye Shuifu declared in 1978 in the newly revived *Literature Critic* (*Wenxue pinglun*) that, "The introduction and study of foreign literature is a component part of literary and art work." An echo of the fifties was heard in the statement that "...all the world's peoples have made their contribution to human progress. Great works of art know no national boundaries but are the common heritage of all mankind."<sup>64</sup> After a nineteen year hiatus, at the Fourth National Congress of Writers and Artists, held from October 30 to November 16, 1979, Deng Xiaoping and Zhou Yang similarly referred to the place of foreign literature in the new era. Said Deng, "Things ancient and foreign should be used to serve China.... We should learn from all progressive and fine pieces of literary and art works... of China's ancient times and foreign countries..."<sup>65</sup> Feng Zhi, chief editor of *World Literature* and well known translator of German literature stressed an aspect not seriously emphasized earlier, namely the Chinese reader who can learn something about other peoples by reading their literary works. "The cultural interflow and mutual influence between countries and nations are inevitable..." and "Chinese civilization has constantly drawn on foreign culture and, in return, contributed to world civilization..." More attention should be paid, said Feng, to contemporary world literature for Chinese readers to become better acquainted with other people's thinking.<sup>66</sup> Even earlier, Wei Wen had similarly referred to the importance of foreign contemporary literature for the Chinese reader, adding that not enough modern works were translated.<sup>67</sup>

In spite of such statements, progress was still slow. Between 1977 and 1979 works by Western writers that had for the most part appeared in the fifties were either reissued or, in some cases, retranslated. There were, to be sure, intense discussions on foreign literature, literary theory, and Western authors. But since these were reviewed in the pages of this journal by Marián Gálík, they need not be reiterated here.<sup>68</sup> The breakthrough for both literature and translating finally came in 1979 with Deng Xiaoping's economic reform

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<sup>64</sup> Zao Ying, "'Hei xianzhuan zheng' lundui waiguo wenxue gongzuo zaochengdi zainan" (Disaster wrought by the theory of the 'dictatorship of the black line' on foreign literature), *RMRB*, January 5, 1978, p. 3; Ye Shuifu, "Pipan 'wenyi hei xianzhuan zheng' lun nuli zuo hao waiguo wenxue gongzuo" (Criticize the theory of 'dictatorship of the black line in literature and art' and strive to make a success of the work on foreign literature), *Wenxue pinglun*, no. 1 (February 1978), pp. 48-52, and Du He, "Make the Past Serve the Present and Foreign Culture Serve China", *CL*, no. 1 (January 1979), pp. 103-105).

<sup>65</sup> Foreign Broadcast Information Service/PRC (*FBIS*), no. 213, November 1, 1979.

<sup>66</sup> *FBIS*, no. 201, October 17, 1978. See also his, "Jixu jiefang sixiang, shishi qiushidi kaizhan waiguo wenxue gongzuo" (Further free the mind and be realistic in the categories of foreign literature), *Shijie wenxue*, no. 1 (1981), pp. 4-19.

<sup>67</sup> Wei Wen, "Translations of Foreign Literature", *CL*, no. 12 (December 1978), p. 96.

<sup>68</sup> Marián Gálík, "Foreign Literature in the People's Republic of China Between 1970-1979", *Asian and African Studies*, 19 (1983), pp. 55-95.

programme and the much heralded "opening up" to the outside world. Almost at once new translation journals appeared, local societies for the study of foreign literature were founded, and conferences on foreign writers were sponsored. Thus a new era began when Chinese readers were at last introduced to important American and British writers<sup>69</sup> and to works that had raised controversy or marked turning points in Western literary history. Works by such influential writers like Kafka, Márquez, Camus, Bellow, Orwell, or Salinger were for the first time translated.

In the past decade a younger generation of writers has engaged in increasingly more sophisticated experiments with language, plot, and characterization. In their search for using new techniques and modes of expression, these writers' works are to all appearances no longer burdened by ideological baggage and political considerations. The creative works of such writers like Jia Pingwa, Wang Anyi, or Mo Yan indicate that Western literary inspiration played a role in their composition. Although political controls have been by no means entirely abandoned, translating in China today has undergone vast changes.

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<sup>69</sup> See *Meiguo duanbian xiaoshuo ji* (Collection of American short stories). Beijing: Renmin wenxue, 1978, and Wang Zuoliang, ed., *Meiguo duanbian xiaoshuo juan* (Selection of American short stories). Shanghai: Zhongguo qingnian, 1980.

## PHAN BOI CHAU (1867-1940) DANS LE CONTEXTE DE L'EXTRÊME-ORIENT

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### PHAN BOI CHAU (1867-1940) IN THE CONTEXT OF THE FAR EAST

This is a study of the intellectual and literary development of Phan Boi Chau (1867-1940), modern Vietnamese philosopher, writer and historian, pointing out his attitude towards the Chinese and Japanese trends in these fields and his way to democracy.

Dans les pays de l'Asie du Sud-Est, la littérature moderne commença à se former à la fin du 19-ème siècle et au début du 20-ème. Bien que la littérature japonaise et chinoise avaient à cette époque une certaine avance, quelques phénomènes de la littérature vietnamienne – dont l'œuvre de Phan Boi Chau est une partie composante – se développaient aussi synchroniquement avec les phénomènes des littératures de l'Extrême Orient. Ce qui était le fait de l'existence de contacts culturels entre l'Est et le Sud-Est de l'Asie. En ce qui concerne le Vietnam, l'influence directe de la Chine et du Japon était visible.

Naturellement, on ne peut pas absolutiser cette influence ou cet impact, ce phénomène ne pouvait pas voiler la spécificité de la culture vietnamienne. L'étude et l'éclairissement des contacts et des relations régionaux contribueront sans aucun doute à une meilleure et plus complexe compréhension des particularités des différentes cultures de cette région. De plus, il faut tenir compte des destinées politiques de chacun des pays. Le Japon demeurait indépendant, la Chine était un pays semi-colonial, la Corée et le Vietnam étaient des colonies. Cet état colonial, et dans une certaine mesure, aussi le caractère de la culture vietnamienne, ont été une des raisons déterminantes de la lenteur du développement de la culture vietnamienne à cette époque.

Phan Boi Chau, qui est souvent considéré comme étant «un Sunyatsen vietnamien», a été vraiment en relations avec ce grand démocrate chinois, pour aider son pays à combler son retard. Mais jusqu'à nos jours aucune analyse scientifique n'en a tenu compte. Phan Boi Chau était un homme créateur et il nous a laissé plus d'un millier d'œuvres de différents genres. Il était surtout publiciste et poète, mais il s'essayait aussi à la prose d'art et à l'art dramatique. Cependant, c'est dans le publicisme que repose son héritage



principal. En analysant son œuvre il ne faut pas omettre un aspect important – l'évolution de Phan du réformisme à une activité révolutionnaire – à cet égard on peut le comparer aux réformateurs chinois de la fin du 19-ème siècle et du début du 20-ème siècle. Certains historiens littéraires vietnamiens<sup>1</sup> ne le considèrent pas comme étant un réformateur – ils accentuent trop le fait, que depuis le début de ses activités, il incitait à la lutte armée contre les colonisateurs français, bien qu'il ait recherché l'appui de la famille royale vietnamienne, donc, formellement, il était à proprement parlé monarchiste. Malgré cela, il était à l'époque probablement proche du réformateur chinois Liang Ch'i-Ch'ao. Il savait comment passer de la monarchie absolue à la monarchie constitutionnelle et finalement à la république. On peut dire qu'au début Phan Boi Chau était probablement plus conservateur que les réformateurs chinois, mais plus tard, il semble, qu'à un certain égard, il les devança.

A cette époque, Phan Boi Chau écrivit deux œuvres autobiographiques où il mit l'accent sur l'individualité humaine. La première de ces œuvres naquit au cours de sa détention dans une prison chinoise (1914–1917) et fut intitulée «Les Lettres de prison» (*Nguc trung thu*). Il y parle de sa propre vie et souligne les aspects de propagation culturelle de son activité. Soulignons son appel aux philosophes des lumières et sa critique des traditions conservatrices de l'Orient. Il écrit: «Le mouvement pour une rénovation et un renforcement de leurs pays, qui commença en l'Europe au 18-ème siècle s'étenda peu à peu au monde-entier. Je regrette que je ne suis pas né en France, mais au Vietnam, qui était depuis un millénaire lié à la Chine et partageait son respect pour la culture chinoise, pour les licences d'Etat. Moi aussi j'ai perdu mes meilleures années à cause de toute cette sagesse. C'est la plus grande offense de la première moitié de ma vie.»<sup>1a</sup> Des philosophes des lumières chinois prenaient parti contre le système scolastique des examens, donc Phan Boi Chau approchait de la culture chinoise moderne. La deuxième œuvre autobiographique de Phan Boi Chau est «La Chronologie de la vie de Phan Boi Chau» (*Phan Boi Chau nien bieu*), qui fut écrite à la fin de sa vie, au terme des années trente de notre siècle. Le manuscrit fut retrouvé en 1940 seulement, et fut publié encore un peu plus tard. Dans la traduction en vietnamien (elle était écrite en chinois) on donna à cette œuvre dans son ensemble un nom incorrect «L'Autocritique» (*Tu phe phan*) – selon le titre de la première partie. On emploie aussi le titre «L'Autobiographie» (*Tieu su*), lequel est plus acceptable.

«Je suis né dans une famille de pauvre instituteur de village. Ma mère a toujours été très bonne et d'une extrême obligeance, elle distribuait aux voisins même le dernier denier. Pendant seize ans je ne l'ai jamais entendu

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<sup>1</sup> Voir: *Van hoc Viet Nam* (La Littérature vietnamienne), Nha xuất bản Đại học và Giao dục chuyên nghiep (Maison d'édition des écoles supérieures et spécialisées), Ha Noi 1988, p. 129–201.

<sup>1a</sup> PHAN THI HAN (pseudonyme de Phan Boi Chau): *Nguc trung thu* (Les lettres de la prison), 1914.

dire un gros mot. A l'âge de cinq ans je savais par cœur pas de mal de choses bien que je ne savais pas lire. Quand j'ai eu six ans je suis allé pour la première fois à l'école où mon père enseignait. J'ai commencé à apprendre à lire, bien sûr à l'aide d'un abécédaire chinois et vu la pauvreté de mes parents j'écrivais sur des feuilles de bananier. A sept ans je connaissais déjà les principaux classiques chinois et je m'efforçais à les imiter dans ma propre création. Quand mon père apprit cette impertinence, il me fouetta avec une baguette.»<sup>2</sup>

A l'âge de neuf ans Phan Boi Chau, armé d'un bâton de bambou, alla avec ses camarades prendre part à la lutte contre la hégémonie française. Puis il participa à de nombreuses insurrections et en même temps il passait des licences de fonctionnaire d'Etat. Après la défaite d'une de ces insurrections, il décida de se consacrer à l'activité littéraire et à l'étude de l'art de combat ancien (comme beaucoup de Chinois à la fin du 19-ème siècle et au début du 20-ème). En 1882, il commença à publier (lui-même ne le mentionne pas dans «L'Autobiographie»). Dans ses premières œuvres («La Réconciliation avec l'Occident et l'occupation du Nord»; «Les Remarques sur les années 1847-1886») il traite de la lutte contre les colonisateurs français. A partir de 1897, Phan Boi Chau commença à voyager à travers le Vietnam et fit ainsi connaissance des différentes opinions sur son œuvre. A cette époque il continuait à s'instruire et lisait «La Description concise du monde» et «Les remarques sur la guerre entre le Japon et la Chine» et d'autres nouveaux livres chinois. Tout cela contribua sans aucun doute élargir ses connaissances géographiques et à ressentir le deuil causé par la désagrégation des Etats et la disparition des nations». Après avoir lu le deuxième de ces livres, Phan Boi Chau écrivit «La Nouvelle lettre sur les larmes sanglantes des Iles Ryukyu» (1904), dans laquelle il a exprimé symboliquement sa propre conscience nationale et son espoir optimiste pour l'avenir. Il s'agissait d'un traité réformateur, qui comptait sur des formes armées de lutte. Il comprend cinq parties: dans la première l'auteur décrit le chagrin et la honte causés par la défaite, dans les trois suivantes il ébauche la conception du sauvetage de l'Etat à l'aide d'activités d'éducation du niveau de conscience nationale et du développement de l'érudition générale et des talents. Dans la dernière partie il envisage des perspectives prometteuses. Son enclin pour la forme armée de la lutte mena Phan Boi Chau de plus en plus à se tourner vers le Japon. Il écrivit: «L'idée de partir à l'étranger pour accumuler des moyens et pour lier des contacts m'est revenue. Nous décidâmes que le plus profitable serait d'aller dans un pays où vivent des gens de même race que nous et où il y a la même écriture. La Chine a cédé le Vietnam à la France et de plus elle-même était faible; cela signifie que le Japon est le plus propice, en tant que pays asiatique en plein essor qui de plus vient de battre la Russie. Sans aucun doute il va nous aider, si non avec son armée, au moins avec des armes.»<sup>3</sup> L'idée de

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<sup>2</sup> PHAN BOI CHAU: *Tu phe phan* (L'Autocritique), Ha noi, 1951, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

panasiatisme qui apparut dans une certaine mesure aussi chez les réformateurs chinois, était chez Phan Boi Chau unie avec une attitude critique envers la Chine.

Au début de 1905, Phan Boi Chau voyagea de Haïphong au Japon. En voyage, il s'arrêta à Hongkong et l'existence de phénomènes peu ordinaires pour une colonie, comme par exemple l'essor de commerce et une grande quantité de journaux et de revues publiés en chinois, le frappèrent. Il visita la rédaction d'un journal révolutionnaire, le «Tchung-kuo j'pao», où on lui témoigna des sympathies, mais l'aide au Vietnam ne lui fut promise qu'après le bannissement des Mandchous de la Chine. Phan Boi Chau était un peu déçu du monarchisme chinois et vietnamien et dans une certaine mesure du peu d'intérêt que les révolutionnaires portaient aux affaires vietnamiennes. Mais à Hongkong, il lut «Les Remarques sur le coup d'Etat de 1898» et «L'âme de la Chine» de Liang K'i-tch'ao et quelques autres articles de cet auteur dans les journaux et cela l'incita à s'adresser encore une fois aux réformateurs chinois: «Je monta sur un bateau allant à Shanghai, je me mis en quête de l'adresse de Liang et j'appris qu il vivait à Yokohama. Je me décidai, qu'après mon arrivée au Japon, la première chose que je ferai serait de lui rendre visite.»<sup>4</sup>

Cette visite eut vraiment lieu. Phan Boi Chau en parle ainsi: «Liang K'i-tch'ao m'accueillit cordialement, il parlait «avec le pinceau» du besoin des Vietnamiens d'instruire leur peuple dans l'esprit d'indépendance, d'accroître réellement leur force, en demandant en même temps au Japon et aux provinces de Sud-Ouest de la Chine – Quang-tung et Quang-si de les aider. Mais, il nous prévint de l'aide militaire japonaise en supposant, qu'après nous ne chasserions plus les troupes japonaises. Je lui demandai de m'introduire auprès de politiciens japonais. Il me promit de me présenter au comte Okuma,<sup>5</sup> qui fut à plusieurs reprises premier ministre et à l'époque était en tête du Parti progressiste. Auparavant Liang K'i-tch'ao me fit connaître à une personnalité faisant partie de ses connaissances proches – le baron Inukai Tzuyehsi. Quand je me suis adressé à lui quant à une aide éventuelle il me demanda si j'avais l'autorisation du gouverneman vietnamien. Je lui montrai quelques attestations. Après plusieurs consultations tous les trois me dirent, que l'aide militaire du Japon pouvait aboutir à une guerre mondiale et qu'il fallait former un véritable parti d'opposition au Vietnam-même. Après cette visite, Liang K'i-tch'ao dit qu'il voyait seulement deux façons d'aide au Vietnam. 1) par des mots sincères et d'affligation dépeindre les souffrances de votre pays et les crimes des Français qui font peser le joug sur votre peuple. Il faut diffuser ces écrits dans le monde entier et, peut-être, ils contribueront à former l'opinion publique et vous assureront un soutien diplomatique; 2) vous conseiller d'envoyer le plus grand nombre possible de jeunes à l'étranger pour

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Okuma Sigenobu (1833–1922) – leader du Parti progressiste japonais (fondé en 1896).

élever le niveau d'instruction du peuple. Et quand la Chine deviendra plus forte, naturellement, elle apportera au Vietnam aussi une aide militaire.»<sup>6</sup>

Bien qu'au fond, Linag K'i-tch'ao ne promet aucune aide concrète, il exprima son soutien au Vietnam. Conscient de ce soutien, Phan Boi Chau écrivit «L'Histoire de l'anéantissement du Vietnam» (Viet Nam vong quoc su, Shanghai 1905; traduction vietnamienne Hanoi 1958). Cette œuvre fut donc préparée au Japon et publiée en Chine avec une longue introduction de Liang K'i-tch'ao. V.I. Semanov écrit: «... plus tard les Chinois commencèrent à insérer «L'Histoire» parmi les œuvres complètes de Liang K'i-tch'ao, comme si celui en était son auteur. Dans le 7-ème tome des matériaux «La Guerre franco-chinoise», qui fut édité en 1957 à Shanghai, on affirme que «L'Histoire de l'anéantissement du Vietnam», fut «racontée» par Phan Boi Chau, mais qu'elle fut écrite par Liang K'i-tch'ao. Vice versa, dans la traduction vietnamienne de «L'Histoire», publiée en 1958 à Hanoi, Liang K'i-tch'ao est présenté seulement en auteur de l'introduction, dans une autre traduction vietnamienne, publiée à Saïgon, le dialogue entre Liang K'i-tch'ao et Phan Boi Chau est visiblement raccourci, se limitant à un alinéa. En bref, la collaboration fructueuse de deux personnalités humanistes – vietnamienne et chinoise – fut insuffisamment reflétée d'une manière objective par leurs descendants et elle devint une arène de lutte inconvenante de priorité d'auteur. Les commentateurs japonais eux-mêmes semblent embarrassés: une fois ils reproduisent la version chinoise, une autre fois ils disent que Phan Boi Chau avait écrit une esquisse du texte et Liang K'i-tch'ao la travailla plus avant. Cette dernière version est suffisamment convaincante, car dans «Les Lettres de la prison» Phan-même annonce, qui il n'a remis à Liang K'i-tch'ao que le brouillon de «L'Histoire de l'anéantissement du Vietnam».<sup>7</sup>

Bien qu'au Japon dans les années quatre-vingt du 19-ème siècle on a édité plusieurs publications sur le Vietnam (traitant de son histoire et de sa géographie) on peut dire que ce fut justement ce livre de Phan Boi Chau, approuvé et soutenu par Liang K'i-tch'ao, qui suscita l'intérêt pour le Vietnam en Extrême-Orient (en 1906–1907 il fut traduit en coréen).

La collaboration de Phan Boi Chau et de Liang K'i-tch'ao continua. En 1906 Phan revint à nouveau à Yokohama et il se plaignit à Liang des jeunes Vietnamiens de riches familles qui ne voulaient pas partir pour s'instruire à l'étranger, et les pauvres n'avaient pas assez d'argent pour le faire. Liang lui conseilla et l'aida à publier un appel à ses concitoyens pour qu'ils soutiennent bénévolement la formation à l'étranger, appel qui fut entendu au Vietnam. La rédaction d'une revue d'esprit révolutionnaire «Min pao» leur apporta son aide. Dans la même année (1906) Phan boi Chau fit connaissance au Japon aussi de Sunyatsen, qui venait de revenir d'Amérique. Dans «L'Autobiogra-

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<sup>6</sup> PHAN BOI CHAU: op. cit., p. 68–69.

<sup>7</sup> SEMANOV, V.I.: *Vietnamskiy pisatel-revoloutsioner Fan Boy Tyau i yego dalnevostotchnye sovremenniki*. Dans: *Traditsionnoye i novoye v literatourakh Yougo-Vostotchnoy Azii*. Moscou, Nauka 1982, p. 159.

phie» il en parle ainsi. «Il se révéla, que Sun avait lu mon «Histoire de l'anéantissement du Vietnam» et il savait, que je n'avais pas encore abandonné mes illusions monarchiques. Il se mit à défendre avec véhémence l'idée de monarchie constitutionnelle et il conseilla aux Vietnamiens de se joindre à l'Union révolutionnaire de la Chine. Il promettait qu'après la libération de son pays, ils commenceront à s'occuper des nations voisines. Je répondis, que moi aussi j'estimais beaucoup le régime républicain et la démocratie, mais pourtant je proposai tout d'abord de libérer le Vietnam, afin qu'il puisse, avec les provinces de Sud de la Chine devenir une base de soutien pour la révolution chinoise. Nous avons parlé très longtemps, à plusieurs reprises, mais à l'époque, en fait, je ne connaissais pas la situation au sein du parti révolutionnaire de Chine et Sun ne connaissait pas encore les besoins réels du Vietnam. C'est pourquoi nos entretiens rappelaient un essai de se gratter à travers une botte.»<sup>8</sup>

Toute activité de publication de Phan Boi Chau avait à l'époque un caractère réformateur. Telle est «La Lettre de l'autre côté de la mer écrite avec le sang» (Hai ngoai huyet thu, 1906-1909), où il s'inspirait du livre de Liang K'i-tch'ao «Trois héros de l'Italie», il se désolait de la politique de destruction de la nation entière, des impôts, des taches militaires etc. Il en vint à la conviction que ni le monarque ni les mandarins ne pensent pas au peuple et que le peuple, à son tour, ne sait rien de ce qu'est l'Etat. Phan Boi Chau appelait à cultiver les idées patriotiques dans le peuple, il s'efforçait de gagner les plus larges couches de la population à sa cause. Le livre suivant de Phan Boi Chau «Le Nouveau Vietnam» (Tan Viet-nam, 1907) est écrit dans l'esprit du conte de Liang K'i-tch'ao «L'Avenir de la nouvelle Chine» (1902). Il y développe un programme démocratique – il est déjà pour un parlement ayant plus de compétences que le roi. C'est une œuvre pleine d'optimisme et d'espoir en l'avenir.

Phan Boi Chau participait aux activités de l'Union révolutionnaire unifiée de la Chine et il était membre du conseil de la rédaction d'une de ses revues «Yun-nan» (appelé ainsi selon une province chinoise à la frontière du Vietnam). Il y publiait des articles dont le contenu reflétait des idées démocratiques, ce qui prouvait des changements d'opinion de l'auteur. Cependant lui-même considérait son livre «Hoan Pham Thai» (1907) comme «le début de la littérature révolutionnaire vietnamienne». Il y décrit la vie d'un lettré confucien, qui, comme le premier au Vietnam, se déclara contre la monarchie absolue et qui critiqua les activités du roi Tu Duc (1852-1883).

En 1908 Sunyatsen présenta Phan Boi Chau à son contemporain japonais Miyadzaki Toradza, qui rêvait de la révolution mondiale et qui recommandait au Vietnam de ne pas se fier seulement aux Japonais, mais d'apprendre les langues – l'anglais, le russe et l'allemand, pour pouvoir prendre connaissance des différentes doctrines, et d'aller en Europe et en Amérique. Miyadzaki était un des initiateurs de la fondation de l'Union unique de l'Asie orientale

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<sup>8</sup> PHAN BOI CHAU: op. cit., p. 79-80.

(novembre 1908), que le gouvernement japonais a dissout peu après. En Chine, Phan Boi Chau apporta son appui aux préparatifs à la révolution de 1911 et enthousiasmé par sa victoire, il écrivit «Le projet de l'Union asiatique» où il démontrait la nécessité de paix entre la Chine et le Japon, qui était dans une grande mesure profitable au processus de libération des deux nations voisines. Aux alentours de 1920–21 Phan Boi Chau écrivit, le soi-disant «Evangile asiatique» où des idées internationalistes ont une teinte de pan-asiatisme, mais certainement elles ne représentent pas l'essence de la pensée de Phan Boi Chau.

Dans les années 1914–1917, Phan Boi Chau était en prison en Chine où il commença à écrire son unique œuvre proprement d'art – le roman «L'Histoire émouvante de Trung Quang» (Trung quang tam su). Il faut remarquer que l'on peut la considérer comme une des premières tentatives de roman dans la littérature vietnamienne en général. Dans son approche de la littérature (préférence de la prose) on peut évidemment percevoir certaines parallèles avec l'attitude de Liang K'i-tch'ao et son œuvre prosaïque «L'Avenir de la nouvelle Chine». Ce phénomène découlait de leur effort commun de développement de la prose de sujet, qui était dans les littératures d'Extrême-Orient considéré comme un genre «vulgaire». Il existe différentes versions de la genèse du roman que G. Boudarel explicite comme suit: «Dang Thai Mai situe le texte avant l'an 1900, Nguyen Dinh avant 1913, Truong Thieu avant 1918 et Le Chu Tran avant 1921.»<sup>9</sup> Le datage précis à une année concrète est cependant problématique parce que la publication du roman s'étend sur une longue période (1919–1925) et manifestement il avait été écrit pour une revue, pour y être publié avec intermittence comme un roman-feuilleton (en Chine de Sud). En ce qui concerne le titre du roman, Phan Boi Chau-même lui donna le nom «L'Histoire amoureuse de Trung Quang». (Ce titre est vraisemblablement analogue à celui de nombreux romans sentimentaux des littératures d'Extrême-Orient à la fin du 19-ème siècle et au début du 20-ème.) Le professeur Dang Thai Mai a été le premier qui s'intéressa à ce roman et, parlant d'un manuscrit sans page de titre, lui donna alors un titre arbitraire: «L'Histoire perdue des jeunes Trans». Ce titre passa aussi dans une traduction vietnamienne en 1957. G. Boudarel emploie le titre original, mais conçoit le mot «amoureuse» comme «émouvante».<sup>10</sup> Une certaine liberté d'interprétation du titre est acceptable, puisque on ne trouve pas dans le roman beaucoup de sentimentalité, mais il est assez riche en événements exaltants.

L'action du roman se déroule dans le lointain des ages (il y a cinq siècles), à l'époque de l'occupation chinoise du Vietnam. Il a vingt chapitres. Dans le chapitre un, un garçon de huit ans, Xi, aide son père à labourer un champ. Le père lui parle des cruels Chinois, qui font payer au peuple des impôts inouïs. Qui s'oppose est torturé ou tué. Xi jure qu'il se vengera des usurpateurs.

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<sup>9</sup> BOUDAREL, G.: *Bibliographie des œuvres relatives à Phan Boi Chau ...*, BEFEO, n. 56, Paris 1969, p. 152.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 157.

Nombre d'années plus tard, les Chinois emprisonne son ami, mais Xi le délivre, tous les deux se sauvent dans les bois et Xi devient capitaine des insurgés. Dans le chapitre deux, un des insurgés annonce que le gouverneur chinois de la province Nghe An (province natale de Phan Boi Chau) avait accroché ses sandales au dessus d'un portail et avait ordonné de les adorer. Il a fait mettre en prison trois personnes (Tinh, Luc et Phan) qui n'avaient pas obéi à cet ordre. Les insurgés les libèrent aussi. Dans le chapitre trois, les héros s'allient aux libérés et ensemble ils créent un Etat autonome. Dans le chapitre quatre, Phan amène dans le camp une jolie fille, Chi. L'insurgé aîné – Khoang se met en colère et déclare qu'il n'y a pas là de place pour des histoires d'amour. Mais Phan explique que Chi aussi n'a pas voulu adorer les sandales du gouverneur et que celui-ci, en tentant de s'emparer d'elle, avait tué son père. Elle rêve maintenant de vengeance. Les insurgés l'acceptent parmi eux. Dans le chapitre cinq, les insurgés accumulent des moyens et des armes et labourent de petits champs sur le plateau. Xi se décide, en toute liberté, de céder son poste de capitaine à Khaong, car celui-ci est le plus âgé et qu'il est le descendant de la dynastie royale des Tran. Le camp des insurgés reçoit le nom d'«Eclair ressuscité» (Trung Quang) – qui est devenu aussi le titre du roman. Dans le chapitre six, les insurgés enlèvent plusieurs artisans, dont ils ont besoin dans le camp. Ils sauvent Cau – un misérable, qui avait l'intention de se noyer. Xi lui reproche qu'un homme véritable ne peut pas permettre, que son esprit s'affaisse, mais qu'il doit lutter. Le «noyé» est finalement accueilli dans le camp. Dans le chapitre sept, les héros libèrent un homme, qui avait refusé de donner à manger son dernier avoine au cheval d'un fonctionnaire chinois. Au cours de sa libération, l'ivrogne Chan, qui s'adonne à la boisson, voyant l'impuissance de sa haine des Chinois, apporte une aide inattendue. On tue finalement le fonctionnaire et l'ancien ivrogne devient conseiller du capitaine. Dans le chapitre huit, un pêcheur, Vo, qui est capable de nager longtemps sous l'eau et qui a déjà noyé beaucoup de soldats chinois, se range aux côtés des insurgés. Il devient aussi conseiller du capitaine. Dans le chapitre neuf, Chi amène dans le camp encore deux femmes: une ancienne chanteuse, qui plus tard était devenue aubergiste – Trieu, que les Chinois faisaient beaucoup souffrir et une religieuse bouddhiste Lien. Trieu veut quitter sa petite auberge, Chi lui explique que les insurgés ont besoin d'endroits de cette sorte pour camoufler leurs activités. Le chapitre dix parle de Lien, qui s'était retirée dans un couvent après la mort de son père, tué dans la lutte contre les Chinois. D'après son avis, le bouddhisme n'est pas contre le combat. La conséquence de son attitude se manifeste quand elle prend presque tous les objets de valeur du couvent et qu'elle les offre aux insurgés. Elle devient leur espion. Dans le chapitre onze, les insurgés s'emparent d'un tampon d'un bureau d'administration de district, qui peut leur être utile. Le chapitre douze est consacré à la vie quotidienne dans le camp: on extrait le fer, on en forge des armes et des charrues, l'agriculture, l'élevage des animaux et le commerce se développent. Les insurgés aident les agriculteurs, qui deviennent leurs alliés. Dans le chapitre treize les insurgés conquièrent et

occupent encore deux districts, ils appellent les cultivateurs à lutter, mais ils ne se dépêchent pas d'attaquer la résidence de la province Nghe An. Ils veulent avant tout renforcer les positions déjà gagnées. Dans le chapitre quatorze, un des officiers vietnamiens en service chez les Chinois est charmé par une belle chanteuse. On apprend que c'est Trieu et que ses «filles» sont Lien et Chi. L'officier tombe dans le piège, mais les héros ne le tuent pas et expliquent qu'ils ne sont pas des bandits. Le Vietnamien sous le choc les prie de l'accueillir dans le camp des patriotes. Dans le chapitre quinze, on fait venir au camp aussi la famille de l'officier pour que les Chinois ne les exécutent pas. Après avoir appris que le commandant de la région voisine Dang Tat et son fils Dang Dung sont des adversaires secrets des Chinois, les insurgés envoient leurs messagers chez eux. Dans le chapitre seize des insurgés transportent dans la ville trente caisses portées par quatre vingt-dix personnes dans lesquelles «des rebelles captifs» sont cachés. Quand le gouverneur chinois sort pour de les voir, on le capture. Dans les cinq chapitres suivants, les insurgés réalisent encore toute une série d'exploits et à la fin ils libèrent non seulement la province Nghe An, mais tout le Sud du Vietnam. Dans le dernier chapitre (vingt-deux) un des insurgés, Kien, qui libéra Nghe An, supprime tous les impôts et les obligations cruels de la province. L'exécution du gouverneur chinois a lieu devant la tombe du père de la jeune Chi. Le commandant de l'insurrection Khoang est promulgué roi et prend pour nom royal le nom du camp insurrectionnel – «L'Eclair ressuscité».

Le roman a un fond historique réel. En ce qui concerne les personnages du roman, l'auteur-même en parle dans le dernier chapitre: «L'histoire sauvegarde que très peu de noms de héros de cette époque. On connaît seulement les nom de Nguyen Canh Chan – Chan dans le roman de Nguyen Xi – dans le roman tout simplement Xi, de Dang Tat et de son fils Dang Dung.»<sup>11</sup> Phan Boi Chau a été obligé d'imaginer les autres personnages en s'appuyant sur des légendes vietnamiennes et aussi sur un roman chinois, qu'il connaissait certainement bien, relatant les destins d'insurgés «L'Histoire du bord du lac» (14-ème siècle). On peut trouver aussi des conformités typologiques avec d'autres romans chinois ultérieurs.<sup>12</sup>

La plupart des héros de «L'Histoire émouvante» sont des gens simples, qui plus tard conquièrent le pouvoir. Une grande importance, du point de vue des événements historiques et de l'atmosphère du sujet, est prêtée aux noms des personnages: Xi (Drapeau), Chan (Véritable), Dung (Gloire), Kien (Dur), Tinh (Pouvoir), Luc (Force), Phan (Spiritualisé), Khoang (Elargissement), Nang (Capable), Vo (Militaire) etc. Des noms courants traditionnels ne sont donnés qu'aux personnages de femme par exemple Lien (Lotus). Le récit est empreint d'un esprit optimiste et l'héroïque y prévaut. Cet optimisme, carac-

<sup>11</sup> PHAN BOI CHAU: *Trung Quang tam su* (L'Histoire de Trung Quang), Hanoi, NXBVH 1957, p. 327.

<sup>12</sup> Voir: SEMANOV, V.I.: *Evoljoutsiya kitayskogo romana*, Moscou 1970, p. 252-265.



téristique pour l'époque des lumières et partiellement pour le préromantisme, est pourtant dans une certaine mesure limité. Phan Boi Chau écrit : « Dès que le nouveau roi monta sur le trône il décida de mener une campagne au Nord. Il porta quelques coups écrasants, à l'ennemi mais il n'arriva pas à libérer tout le pays. Il y en a été ainsi pour beaucoup de raisons, c'est pourquoi on ne peut pas le réprover. »<sup>13</sup> Les personnages chez Phan Boi Chau ne sont qu'esquissés et ne sont que superficiellement ou presque nullement individualisés, ce qui est caractéristique aussi pour d'autres auteurs de l'époque des lumières ou préromantiques de l'Asie orientale. Il peint surtout des scènes d'héroïsme de masse, qui ne sont pas plastiques et donnent une impression d'immobilisme. Les portraits des gens sont en général traditionnels, tant soit peu sentimentaux, mais tout à la fois schématiques et stéréotypés. Par exemple : Kien est dur et courageux avec des yeux étincelants comme les étoiles et un homme simple sans imagination. En faisant la description des situations et des personnages, Phan Boi Chau utilise le discours d'auteur, le dialogue et l'entremise du narrateur (d'habitude c'est un des personnages – par ex. dans le chapitre un, le père de Xi décrit les atrocités des Chinois, dans le chapitre deux il raconte l'histoire tragique de la jeune fille Chi).

Analogiquement au roman « L'Histoire du bord du lac », il consacre des chapitres particuliers à certains personnages (par ex. les chapitres 9 et 10). Il y a d'autres ressemblances dans les détails (par ex. on arrête et amène dans le camp des gens utiles), des traits communs de l'héroïsme des personnages principaux (par ex. Kien et Sung Tiang) etc. D'autre part, l'auteur du roman vietnamien consacre plus d'attention aux activités pacifiques des insurgés (à leurs efforts de développer l'agriculture, les métiers et le commerce) et à cet égard il est plus proche de l'œuvre de Liang K'i-tch'ao « L'Avenir de la nouvelle Chine » qui se distingue par une grande dose d'utopisme. Le sens des idées de la philosophie humaniste apparaît dans le roman « L'Histoire émouvante » dans des passages écrits en ton publiciste comme par ex. : l'avant propos et l'épilogue du roman où on trouve les mêmes paroles : « Debout, debout, debout ô mon peuple, mes compatriotes ! » Ces paroles sonnent comme un rondo pathétique. Dans l'avant propos elles sont suivies par un appel au lecteur pour qu'il écoute un récit « qui ne se déroula pas en Europe, ni en Amérique, ni en Chine, ni au Japon, ni en Inde, ni au Siam, mais dans notre belle patrie ». Les parallélismes de ce type sont courants chez les écrivains de la région de l'Asie orientale au début du 20-ème siècle. Les interpolations publicistes (les écarts d'auteur) se retrouvent aussi dans le texte-même du roman. Par ex. dans le chapitre deux au moment où on libère les prisonniers de la geôle, dans un passage assez long l'auteur s'enflamme pour « les héros, qui vivaient dans notre pays il y a cinq siècles » et reproche aux contemporains la collaboration avec les Français. Mais la plus forte interpolation idéologico-patriotique se trouve dans le dernier chapitre du roman : « Compatriotes ! Ne croyez pas, qu'il ne soit pas utile se souvenir de l'histoire. Le territoire de la

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<sup>13</sup> PHAN BOI CHAU: op. cit., p. 352.

Chine est trente fois plus grand que le nôtre, le nombre de ses habitants dépasse le nôtre de quelques cents fois ... La Chine a toujours l'intention de d'exterminer notre peuple, d'occuper nos territoires, de détruire même le nom de notre pays, mais elle n'y parviendra pas. Malgré que Trung Quang essuie une défaite, l'illustre roi Le Loi réussit à gagner. Il chasse les envahisseurs chinois et il rétablit notre gloire. Il faut estimer non seulement les vainqueurs, mais aussi ne pas oublier les héros, qui furent vaincus, parce qu'ils ont aussi combattu bravement pour nous. Le roi Trung Quang en effet est mort d'une mort héroïque et Xi et Kien devinrent compagnons d'armes de l'illustre roi Le. Xi a été en tête des troupes royales à Nghe An et le nom du paysan Kien vit toujours parmi les gens.»<sup>14</sup> Dans ces écarts d'auteur les opinions de l'écrivain se manifestent bien qu'on retrouve leurs reflets aussi dans quelques épisodes. Par ex. le fait que Xi renonce à son poste de capitaine du camp des insurgés en faveur de Khoang qui est le descendant de la dynastie royale, est peut-être un vestige de l'attitude de Phan Boi Chau (à l'époque où il écrivait le roman il avait déjà renoncé au monarchisme). A quelques endroits du récit l'auteur modernise sciemment plusieurs phénomènes par ex. la religion afin de rallier les croyants à la lutte contre l'occupant. On peut le voir clairement dans le chapitre dix, où la religieuse Lien affirme que «la liberté de pensée» est la principale idée du bouddhisme et que Bouddha n'était pas contre le tuerie, surtout quand s'agit de justice, la passivité menant souvent à l'anéantissement. Par ces actes la religieuse confirme cette interprétation un peu libre de la doctrine bouddhiste (de pareils éléments se retrouve aussi dans le roman chinois «Le pèlerinage de Lao Ts'an» de Liou O, 1857-1909, et dans quelques doctrines vietnamiennes et japonaises relevant partiellement du bouddhisme).

Les héros du roman «L'Histoire émouvante», comme dans les romans «L'Interprétation populaire de l'histoire de trois empires» de Luo Kuan-Tchung (14-ème siècle) et «L'Histoire du bord du lac», sont d'une part moralement et humainement purs, mais d'autre part, cela ne les empêche pas d'utiliser tous les moyens pour réussir. Dans le chapitre deux, ils libèrent les prisonniers non par une attaque directe contre la geôle, mais ils profitèrent d'une fête chinoise, quand les ennemis se divertissent. Dans le chapitre treize au lieu d'une attaque suicidaire de Nghe An, les patriotes préfèrent une campagne dans les provinces du Sud afin de détourner l'attention de l'ennemi. Ils ne tuent pas le commandant collaborateur vietnamien après qu'il a été fait prisonnier et ils amènent sa famille dans le camp, non seulement parce qu'ils s'inquiètent de son destin, mais aussi par la peur de trahison de la part du captif et alors ils veulent avoir des otages pour prévenir toutes les éventualités. Les héros du roman de Phan Boi Chau ne s'abstiennent pas à faire des exploits, mais il ne s'agit pas d'aventurisme – ce qui les caractérise c'est la vigilance, le bon sens et la compétence. Ce n'est pas par hasard qu'un des héros, Xi, se dépêche de commencer l'insurrection, mais un autre, Kien lui conseille qu'il faut tout d'abord «changer l'esprit du peuple» (chapitre deux).

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 376.

Quelque temps plus tard Xi-même (chapitre sept) exhorte les autres à la précaution. Un autre trait du roman de Phan Boi Chau est le démocratisme rationnel évident, qui se manifeste par ex. dans une épisode où des héros du récit, après une bataille victorieuse, veulent occuper encore deux autres districts, mais le conseiller du commandant leur recommande, de s'efforcer à établir une compréhension mutuelle avec leurs habitants. Finalement, les insurgés formulent un appel particulier destiné aux paysans et ceux-ci à la fin, poussés par leur propre conviction, commencent à se débarrasser des fonctionnaires chinois et de ce fait à se joindre aux insurgés (chapitre treize).

Dans le roman «L'Histoire émouvante» de Phan Boi Chau, une place particulière revient aux personnages des femmes (aux héroïnes). Leurs portraits sont relativement proches des personnages des œuvres du courant littéraire réaliste chinois du début du 20-ème siècle (Mao Tun, Tchong Tchen-Tuo, Tchu Ts'-tch'ing etc.) qui étaient sans aucun doute très bien connus de Phan Boi Chau (le dialogue entre Trieu et Cu sur les destins des femmes dans le chapitre neuf le témoigne). Phan Boi Chau suivait avec intérêt l'activité de «La Société pour l'étude de la littérature» fondée à Peking et probablement il était aussi le lecteur du «Mensuel pour le roman et le conte» (Hsiao-shuo yue-pao) et de la revue «La littérature» (Wen-hsue). Cependant, malgré que ses héroïnes se réfèrent avec raison aux événements historiques (la révolte des sœurs Trung contre la domination chinoise), selon leur conception le rôle de la femme dans la société est dans une certaine mesure simpliste, utopique et irréel. Les idées d'émancipation dans la pensée des héroïnes ont souvent un caractère extrémiste.

Les descriptions lyriques de la nature dans le roman de Phan Boi Chau peuvent être considérées comme un nouvel élément artistique dans le cadre de la littérature vietnamienne de l'époque. Ces descriptions apparaissaient déjà dans la littérature chinoise à l'époque du passage au romantisme. Dans le chapitre trois par ex., la fondation de l'organisation des insurgés est accompagnée par une pleine lune, d'un vent d'automne, d'un son de hache de bûcheron et de corne de berger. Et le début du chapitre quatre y fait suite par une description du crépuscule, quand les oiseaux fatigués reviennent dans leurs nids, les branches des arbres glissent jusqu'au sol et la lune illumine l'espace s'étendant devant le camp insurrectionnel. Il n'est pas clair, si ces passages lyriques sont seulement un faible écho d'impulsions littéraires de l'extérieur ou s'ils sont un phénomène nouveau dans la littérature vietnamienne. Peut-être, qu'il s'agit là de première tentative de surmonter la description sèche des faits, de découvrir de nouveaux procédés de narration plus modernes et de cette façon, dans le domaine de la prose de réaliser ou bien d'ébaucher un changement essentiel. Mais des paysages naturels décrits d'une manière légère et laconique, ne reposent certainement sur la métaphore de la poésie classique vietnamienne et chinoise. Il est peut-être intéressant, de constater que Phan Boi Chau écrivait surtout en chinois classique et non parlé. Mais chez Phan Boi Chau les images de la nature ne réduisent pas le caractère vietnamien à l'exotisme ni au respect scrupuleux de la conception originelle

créatrice et artistique de l'Asie orientale. Par rapport à celle-ci elles sont dans une certaine opposition – en tant que nouveauté. Phan Boi Chau commence par des descriptions de la nature et du paysage non seulement différents chapitres, mais aussi tout son roman (le soleil du matin inonde de sa lumière la mer près de Nghe An, le vent frais souffle, des vendeurs crient), ce qui était nouveau dans la prose vietnamienne et chinoise.

Les romans classiques chinois (plus tard aussi les romans coréens, japonais et vietnamiens) commencent habituellement par un prologue irréel (en vers ou avec un cliché impersonnel), les chapitres sont désignés par le mot *hoi* (dans le sens de fois, d'ordre, de tranche de temps). Cette indication a son origine dans le fait que le roman puise dans la tradition verbale du récit. Ce n'est que dans quelques romans plus tardifs, qu'on trouve l'indication *phan* (dans le sens de partie, rubrique) laquelle, selon toute apparence, rapproche le roman du genre publiciste. Il en est ainsi dans le cas du roman de Phan Boi Chau. De même les titres des chapitres sont courts, à la différence de la tradition (pour la plupart ils ne sont composés que de quatre mots), tandis que la tradition classique exigeait un long titre (habituellement composé de deux phrases parallèles). Ce phénomène est plus naturel et rapproche le roman de Phan Boi Chau de la prose européenne. Ce roman est lié avec la prose européenne aussi par l'inversion de sujet, ce qui n'était presque pas utilisé dans les littératures de l'Asie orientale, jusqu'au 20-ème siècle. Par ex., dans le chapitre quatre, un des héros amène une jeune fille dans le camp des insurgés et ce n'est que par la suite que sa propre histoire est racontée. L'inversion de sujet accentue l'élément d'action dans le récit, elle le teint légèrement d'émotion et de cette façon redouble l'intérêt de lecteur.

Les traits nationaux dans le roman sont exprimés surtout par de l'utilisation de faits réels de l'histoire du Vietnam ou de ses légendes. On y trouve de même des détails faisant très couleur locale de l'Asie du Sud-Est (par ex. des combattants sur des éléphants, un chasseur d'éléphants laotien etc.) On peut y percevoir aussi une particularité (par rapport aux autres littératures de l'Extrême-Orient) qu'est une plus grande liberté ou indépendance éthique de l'auteur en ce qui concerne les personnages féminins et la beauté et l'attraction féminines en général. Un des personnages (Phan) parle avec enthousiasme et passion de la beauté de la jeune fille Cu et il ne cache point qu'elle lui plaît vraiment. Il raconte aussi des histoires, des temps fort anciens, de belles vietnamiennes. Ce phénomène (à la différence de la tradition) reflète sans aucun doute l'influence de la littérature française sur la culture vietnamienne.

Les particularités stylistiques du roman «L'Histoire émouvante» résulte du fait, que Phan Boi Chau écrivait en chinois classique (en *venyen*). A l'époque où le roman fut écrit et publié pour la première fois (début du 20-ème siècle), il y avait de considérables différences entre les œuvres écrites en chinois classique et les œuvres écrites en langue parlée (*paykhua*). Mais en fait, Phan Boi Chau commença à écrire son roman juste après la défaite de la révolution chinoise de 1911–1913, au moment où les positions de la langue chinoise classique commençaient à se renforcer dans la littérature. Et de cette façon,

d'une part l'utilisation du chinois classique limitait l'écrivain vietnamien (il n'était pas compréhensible pour les larges couches de la population et ne pouvait pas exprimer les nuances de la langue parlée), mais d'autre part cela lui permettait d'employer certains moyens stylistiques (deux ou plusieurs sens de mots sino-vietnamiens utilisés jusqu'à nos jours, par ex. *phap* – la loi, mais aussi Français et français).

L'auteur employa dans le roman un assez grand nombre de nouveaux mots (par ex. – souveraineté, patriotisme, conflit, époque, psychologie, sphère, peuple, univers, individuel, capital, progrès, etc.) ce qui laisse entrevoir l'orientation des intérêts de l'écrivain, mais il faut dire aussi que la nouvelle lexicologie était en vogue dans les littératures des pays du Sud-Est asiatique de cette époque.

Du point de vue interlittéraire, le roman de Phan Boi Chau est intéressant surtout parce qu'il fut écrit en Chine et essentiellement en chinois classique et il fut publié pour la première fois aussi dans une revue chinoise (*Binh su tap chi Hang Chau*, avec des interruptions entre 1921 et 1925). Il appartient donc sans aucun doute non seulement à la littérature vietnamienne, mais aussi à la littérature chinoise, bien qu'à l'époque où il parût, assez longtemps après avoir été écrit, il passa quasi inaperçu, le développement littéraire en Chine ayant beaucoup progressé et un nouveau processus de création avec d'autres caractéristiques typologiques étaient en plein développement. Pour la littérature vietnamienne le roman de Phan Boi Chau a fait date car même au début des années vingt, il atteignait un niveau artistique plus élevé que les premières œuvres prosaïques d'auteurs débutants. Bien que quelques années plus tard la création romanesque vietnamienne connut un essor rapide et plein de succès selon le modèle européen et que dans les années trente, elle était déjà dominante, il est incontestable que des œuvres comme «L'Histoire émouvante», les romans classiques chinois, les opinions philosophiques des hommes de littérature et des humanistes chinois en avaient posé les fondements. «Parmi les Chinois de la Nouvelle Culture, les plus fameux et les plus connus au Vietnam furent K'ang Yeou-wei (1858–1927) et Liang K'i-tch'ao (1873–1929) dont les écrits ont ouvert les yeux à de nombreux lettrés patriotes vietnamiens.»<sup>15</sup> Phan Boi Chau était l'un d'entre eux.

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<sup>15</sup> DURAND, M.M.: *Introduction à la Littérature Vietnamienne*, Paris, G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose 1969, p. 115.

## ZUR VERSORGUNG DER OSMANISCHEN ARMEE WÄHREND DES UYVAR SEFERI IM JAHRE 1663

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### SUPPLY OF THE OTTOMAN ARMY DURING THE UYVAR SEFERI IN 1663

The subject of this study is the functioning of the Ottoman army during the campaign which was against the Hapsburgs in Slovakia in 1663. In the attempt to understand how the Ottomans mobilized an army to fight on the northwest border of Empire, kept this army fed and tried to ensure that sufficient money was available to fund the war. Three of the elements which comprise the logistic bases of warfare are examined – manpower, food and finance.

Mein Beitrag über die Versorgung der osmanischen Armee während des Feldzugs nach Ungarn im Jahre 1663 erhebt keineswegs Anspruch eine vollständige Bearbeitung des Mechanismus der Versorgung des Heeres während des Anmarsches, der Belagerung von Nové Zámky (Neuhäusel) und des Überwinterns zu sein, er möchte lediglich auf Grund der jüngsten Materiale auf einige Einzelheiten, vor allem auf die Versorgung aus lokalen Quellen hinweisen.

Großwesir Köprülüade Fazıl Ahmed Paschas Feldzug nach Ungarn war nach einer mehr als fünfzigjährigen Pause der erste kaiserliche Feldzug nach Mitteleuropa. Die offiziellen Gründe der Kriegserklärung waren das Eindringen des kaiserlichen Heeres in Siebenbürgen und die Besetzung einiger Festungen zur Zeit des Zerfalls dieses Landes in den letzten Lebensjahren Georg II. Rákóczi, die Errichtung der Festung Zrinyiujvár und nicht zuletzt auch die Einfälle ungarischer Garnisonen auf osmanisches Gebiet.<sup>1</sup> Die Friedensverhandlungen in Istanbul und in Temesvár führten zu keinerlei Ergebnissen und so begann die Porta bereits im Sommer und im Herbst 1662 mit den Kriegsvorbereitungen. Diese Kriegsvorbereitungen waren offiziell gegen Venedig, konkret gegen die venezianischen Häfen in Dalmatien Kotor (Cattaro), Split und Šibenik gerichtet, mit dem das Osmanische Reich schon seit

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<sup>1</sup> HUBER, A.: *Österreichs diplomatische Beziehungen zur Pforte 1658-1664*. Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, 85, 1898, S. 566 und f.; UZUNÇARŞILI, I.H.: *Osmanlı Tarihi III.1. 2. baskı*. Ankara 1973, S. 402-403.

längerem Krieg führte.<sup>2</sup> „Überallhin wurden die Naturalienlieferungen und Proviantankäufe ausgeschrieben“ – schreibt Hasan Ağa, Siegelbewahrer des Großwesirs und Verfasser der Chronik *Cevahir üt-tevarih*.<sup>3</sup> Den zugänglichen osmanischen Quellen ist es nicht eindeutig zu entnehmen wann die Entscheidung gefallen war, gegen Ungarn zu ziehen. Die Bekanntgabe der Kriegsvorbereitungen gegen Venedig am 25. September 1662 (10. Safer 1073) hat auch ein Verschleierungsmanöver sein können. Aus dem Brief des Großwesirs an den siebenbürgischen Fürsten Apaffy vom Ende November 1662 geht klar hervor, daß er nach Ungarn zu ziehen gedenkt.<sup>4</sup> Osmanische Quellen hingegen behaupten, die Entscheidung über den Feldzug gegen Ungarn sei erst nach dem Abschluß der Vorbereitungen, „die dem Feldzug gegen Kotor galten, getroffen und für das feindliche Gebiet von Split und Sibenik in Bosnien sowohl Proviant als auch Munition und das sonstige Kriegsgerät bereitgestellt waren“.<sup>5</sup> Mehmed Necati behauptet sogar, die Entscheidung sei erst in Belgrad gefallen.<sup>6</sup> Wir führen diese Tatsachen deshalb an, weil dieser Änderung der Richtung des Feldzugs die Mängel in der Versorgung nach dem Einzug in Ungarn zugeschrieben wurden.<sup>7</sup>

Nach dem Abschluß der Vorbereitungen begab sich die osmanische Armee am 19. März 1663 auf den Weg von Istanbul nach Edirne. In Edirne versammelten sich alle Abteile aus den asiatischen Provinzen, zum Feldzug wurden die Vasallen – der Tataren-Chan, die Fürsten aus Moldavien und der Wallachei eingeladen, und nach dem traditionellen Zeremoniell trat das Heer am 13. April 1663 den langen Marsch an. Nüchternen Schätzungen zufolge betrug die Anzahl des Heeres 15.000 bis 20.000 Mann, die etwa zehn schwere und an die zweihundert Feldgeschütze mit sich führten.

Der Verlauf des Feldzuges gegen Ungarn bzw. Neuhausel war Gegenstand eines großen Interesses osmanischer Geschichtsschreiber. Außer Chroniken von Mehmed Ağa Silahdar, Raşid Efendi, Mehmed Halife und Abdi Pascha entstanden über diesen Feldzug auch einzelne, im Rahmen der Geschichte des Großwesirats Köprülüzade Ahmed Paschas oder eigens diesem Feldzug gewidmete Werke, Hasan Ağas *Cevahir üt-tevarih*, Mehmed Necatis *Uyvar*

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<sup>2</sup> *Silahdar Tarihi I.* Istanbul 1928, S. 235; *Cevahir üt-tevarih*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Suppl. turc 506, P. 5b; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, H.O. 84a, P. 7a – deutsche Übersetzung von PROKOSCH, E.: *Krieg und Sieg in Ungarn*. Graz – Wien – Köln, Verlag Styria 1976, S. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Krieg und Sieg*, S. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Török-magyarkori történelmi emlékek VI. Okmánytár*. Hrsg. von A. Szilády – S. Szilágyi. Budapest 1870, S. 78–79.

<sup>5</sup> *Krieg und Sieg*, S. 22. *Silahdar Tarihi I.*, S. 235.

<sup>6</sup> MEHMED NECATI: *Uyvar seferi* (falsch genannt als *Tarih-i Yanik*). İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Revan Kütüphanesi, No. 1308, P. 6a-b.

<sup>7</sup> MEHMED HALIFE: *Tarih-i Gilmanu*. İstanbul 1340 H., S. 78.

*seferi* und Mustafa Zühdis *Tarih-i Uyvar*. Es muß ebenfalls erwähnt werden, daß an diesem Feldzug auch Evliya Çelebi teilgenommen hat.<sup>8</sup>

Über den Verlauf des Weges informieren uns eingehend zwei Itinerare.<sup>9</sup> Der erste Itinerar hält die Stationen (*menzil*) auf der Route von Istanbul nach Buda/Ofen, deren Entfernungen in Stunden und das Datum der Ankunft in die bedeutendsten Etappen des Marsches (Edirne, Sofia, Belgrad), die Tage der Rast, die Summe der Stunden einzelner Etappen (Istanbul-Edirne, Edirne-Sofia, Sofia-Belgrad, Belgrad-Buda/Ofen) und Notizen über die Reparatur der Straße fest. Das zweite Exemplar, das über die Route von Edirne bis Neuhäusel berichtet, hält außer der Stationen und der Entfernungen zwischen diesen, den Rasttagen auch die Trinkwasserquellen unterwegs und Angaben über Brücken fest. Außerdem bietet es auch eine kurze Übersicht über die Ereignisse bei der Belagerung von Neuhäusel.<sup>10</sup>

Auf dem Weg von Istanbul nach Buda/Ofen gab es vierundsechzig Stationen (*menzil*) und von Buda bis zur Festung Neuhäusel weitere sieben, insgesamt also einundsiebzig Stationen. Das Heer benötigte 378 Marschstunden, hatte unterwegs siebenundachtzig Rasttage, der längste Aufenthalt war in Sofia (16 Tage), in Belgrad (10 Tage) und in Buda/Ofen (13 Tage). Der Weg von Istanbul bis zur Festung Nové Zámky dauerte beinahe ein halbes Jahr (19. März – 16. August 1663), was teilweise auch auf naturbedingte Gegebenheiten zurückzuführen ist.

Nach diesem anstrengenden Marsch begann die Belagerung der mächtigen Festung, die am 25. September 1663 nach einem mehr als fünfwöchigen Kampf kapitulierte. Nach einem einmonatigen Aufenthalt bei der Festung begab sich der Großwesir am 27. Oktober auf den Weg in Richtung Levice, das sich nach der Aufforderung ergab, und anschließend nach Nógrád. Auch diese Festung, schon längere Zeit belagert, kapitulierte und so konnte der Großwesir am 3. Dezember 1663 zur Überwinterung in Belgrad eintreffen.

Die Versorgung der mehr als 50.000-Mann zählender Armee eine so lange Zeit hindurch stellte eine schwere und komplizierte Aufgabe dar. Vom römischen Militärtheoretiker und Autor des Werkes *Epitoma rei militaris* Flavius Vegetius Renatus stammt bereits die Bemerkung, daß „der Mangel in der Versorgung mit Futter und Proviant Heere häufiger vernichtet als die eigentlichen Schlachten“. Die mittelalterlichen und die neuzeitlichen Heerführer waren

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<sup>8</sup> KOPČAN, V.: *Ottoman Narrative Sources to the Uyvar Expedition*. Asian and African Studies (weiter AAS), 7, 1971, S. 90–100.

<sup>9</sup> Der erste Exemplar befindet sich im Werk Mehmed Necati vor dem Text des eigentlichen Werkes und stammt wahrscheinlich vom Autor selbst. Der zweite Exemplar ist unbekannten Ursprungs und es ist zur Handschrift des Werkes Kemalpaşazade *Tarih-i Al-i Osman* (Wien, ÖNB, H.O. 46a) dazugebunden. Siehe KOPČAN, V.: *Zwei Itinerarien des osmanischen Feldzuges gegen Neuhäusel (Nové Zámky) im Jahre 1663*. AAS, 14, 1978, S. 59–88.

<sup>10</sup> Zwischen beiden Itinerarien sind die Unterschiede bei den folgenden Angaben: die Zahl der Stationen, die Entfernung zwischen einzelnen *menzils* und die verschiedentlichen Namen der Stationen. Diese Unterschiede lassen sich wohl dadurch erklären, daß sich die Autoren in unterschiedlichen Truppen befanden, bzw. ihre Informationen verschiedentlichen Quellen entnahmen.



sich dieser Erkenntnis des antiken Autors auch sehr gut bewußt und vervollkommneten nur das im Grunde antike System der Versorgung der Armeen.

Das osmanische Versorgungssystem für ins Feld ziehende Armeen war auf den ursprünglich unregelmäßigen Steuern und Naturalienabgaben gegründet (*avariz-i divaniye* und *tekalif-i őrfiye*), die mit der Zeit in eine Geldrente umgewandelt und regelmäßig eingetrieben wurden.<sup>11</sup> Aus diesen Mitteln mußte das Militär mit Getreide (Gerste), Mehl oder Brot, Schlachtschafen, Honig und Hühnern, dies vor allem für die Befehlsführung des Feldzuges, weiter mit Holz, Stroh usw. versorgt werden. In Ungarn wird auch Hirse erwähnt. Natürlich muß auch ein großer Verbrauch an Gemüse, Obst und Milcherzeugnissen vorausgesetzt werden.

Gleichzeitig mit der Ausrufung des Feldzuges wurde die Einholung der Mittel für dessen, ob schon finanziellen oder naturalen Sicherstellung angeordnet. Es wurde genauestens bestimmt, in welchen Gebieten des Reichs die *nüzül* und *sürsat* eingeholt, oder der Zwangsaufkauf von Lebensmitteln – *istira* verwirklicht werden, wobei die Höhe pro Steuereinheit – *avarizhane* festgelegt wurde. Diese Gebiete (*sancak*, *eyalet*) wurden von einem *mübaşir* besucht, der den Befehl des Sultans sowie eine Abschrift des Verzeichnisses *mefkûfat* mit der genau bezeichneten Anzahl der *avarizhane* und der Höhe des *sürsat* für das betreffende Jahr mitbrachte. Die *reaya*, die diese Pflicht erfüllen sollten, oder deren Vertreter wurden vor ein *şerʿ*-Gericht geladen und dort wurde ihnen die Anordnung über die Steuereinnahmen mitgeteilt. Die weitere Realisation dieser Anordnung sicherten nach den einzelnen *kazā* die *kādīs*.<sup>12</sup> Die in der Nähe der Marschroute der Armee wohnende Bevölkerung lieferte Proviant bzw. andere Mittel (Holz, Stroh) in einem genau bestimmten Umfang an den *menzilen* (Raststätten) ab. Ging die Armee auf feindliches Gebiet über, und man selbstverständlicherweise nicht in Vorhinein wissen konnte wo sie dort lagern würde, wurde dem Heer Proviant aus jenen Beständen (*nüzül zahiresi*) zur Verfügung gestellt, die nicht nur aus den benachbarten Provinzen, sondern auch aus entfernteren Gebieten des Reiches und aus den *istira* – den angekauften Lebensmitteln – angesammelt wurden.

Hinsichtlich der Tatsache, daß uns nicht alle, die Versorgung des Feldzugs nach Ungarn im Jahre 1663 betreffenden *defters* zugänglich waren,<sup>13</sup> beschränken wir uns auf die Versorgung der Armee aus dem Gebiet der un-

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<sup>11</sup> CVETKOVA, B.: *Izvánredni danáci i dāržavni povinnosti v bălgarskite zemi pod turska vlast*. Sofia 1958; SUČESKA, A.: *Die Entwicklung der Besteuerung durch die 'Avariz-i divaniye und die Tekalif-i őrfiye im Osmanischen Reich während des 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Südostforschungen, 28, 1968, S. 89–130. MCGOWAN, B.: *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe. Taxation, Trade and the Struggle for Land, 1600–1800*. Cambridge, CUP 1981, S. 105–110.

<sup>12</sup> CVETKOVA, B.: Op. cit., S. 68. Siehe auch GRZEGORZEWSKI, J.: *Z sidžyllatów rumelijskich epoki wyprawy wiedeńskiej, akta tureckie*. Lwów 1912, S. 106–110 und BALLINGAL-FINKEL, C.: *The Provisioning of the Ottoman Army during the Campaigns of 1593–1606*. In: *Habsburgisch-osmanische Beziehungen*. Wien 1985, S. 112.

<sup>13</sup> İstanbul, Başvekalet Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi, No. 2635 und Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler Tasnifi, No. 3157.

garischen Provinzen und aus Bosnien. In den uns nicht zugänglichen *defter* befanden sich die nach den *avarizhane* aus Rumelien und Anatolien bestimmten Geld- und Naturalienabgaben. Es ist vorauszusetzen, daß die anatolischen Steuern, ebenso wie jene aus den entfernteren Gebieten Rumeliens, in Geld eingenommen wurden, während die in der Nähe der Marschroute liegenden Gebiete Naturalien zusammentrugen. Aus dem am 4. Mai 1663 herausgegebenen *tezkere* z.B. erfahren wir, daß dem Ferman zufolge die Bewohner aus der Umgebung des westlich von Sofia gelegenen Städtchens Breznik als *sürsat koyunu* 40 Schafe ablieferten.<sup>14</sup> Ähnlich gaben auch die Dörfer in der Umgebung von Edirne schon Anfang Februar 1663 Gerste, Stroh und Holz für die Armee ab.<sup>15</sup>

Hierbei muß erwähnt werden, daß sich die osmanische Armee bei einem so langen Marsch nur nach und nach versammelte. Die syrischen Heere Gürcü Mehmed Paschas aus Aleppo und Kibleli Mustafa Paschas aus Damaskus schlossen sich der Armee z.B. erst in Sofia,<sup>16</sup> weitere zwischen Niš und Belgrad an, und in Ofen kamen die Heere aus Ungarn und anderen Grenzgebieten hinzu.

Wie der Arbeit B. McGowans<sup>17</sup> zu entnehmen ist, waren Ungarn, ähnlich wie weitere Grenzgebiete in Europa, so z.B. Bosnien nicht in das *avariz-nüzül*-System eingegliedert. Bei der Einnahme von außerordentlichen Steuern, von Getreide oder anderen Naturalienabgaben war die *cizyehane* und nicht die *avarizhane* die grundlegende Einheit. Davon zeugt auch das aus dem Jahre 1073 / 1662–63<sup>18</sup> stammende *defter*, das von H. Hadžibegić teilweise veröffentlicht wurde.<sup>19</sup> Dieses *defter* bringt eine Übersicht über nichtmoslemische Häuser oder besser Haushalte der europäischen Provinzen des Osmanischen Reichs, aus denen Proviant für die Armee auf die Rechnung der *cizyehane* gewonnen werden sollte. Es ist nicht ganz klar, ob der Wert der gelieferten Lebensmittel von der Summe der *cizye* abgezogen wurde, oder ob dies eine zusätzliche Abgabe war. Einige Arbeiten sprechen eindeutig von Proviantlieferungen an die Armee auf die Rechnung der *cizye*.<sup>20</sup>

Einer Anmerkung in diesem *defter* zufolge war es üblich aus jedem *cizyehane* je anderthalb (*kamil*) *guruş* als *bedel-i nüzül* zu zahlen. Aus den *eyalets* Buda, Kanija, Eğri, Temişvar und Bosna sollten von 67.704 *cizyehane* 112.544 *guruş* gewonnen werden, wobei in der Eintragung des *eyalet* Temesvár auch die Nachzahlungen aus den vorangehenden Jahren miteinberechnet

<sup>14</sup> CVETKOVA, B.: Op. cit., S. 71.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., S. 100.

<sup>16</sup> *Krieg und Sieg*, S. 26.

<sup>17</sup> MCGOWAN, B.: *Economic Life*, S. 111.

<sup>18</sup> Istanbul, BA, Cizye Muhasebesi Kalemi, Genel Sayı 3525.

<sup>19</sup> HADŽIBEGIĆ, H.: *Glavarina u Osmanskoj državi*. Sarajevo 1966, S. 77–79.

<sup>20</sup> GROZANOVA, E.: *Nalog džiz'je s balkanskich zemel' v sisteme dochodov gosudarstvennoj kazny Osmanskoj imperii (po tureckim dokumentam XVII–XVIII v.)*. In: *Vostočnyje istočniki po istorii narodov Jugovostočnoj i Central'noj Jevropy III*. Moskva 1974, S. 195–198.

waren.<sup>21</sup> Dann jedoch wurde angeordnet anstatt Geld Lebensmittel einzunehmen. Diese Änderung hängt anscheinend mit dem Entschluß gegen Ungarn anstatt nach Kotor und andere dalmatinische Häfen zu ziehen zusammen. Dieser neuen Anordnung zufolge sollte von jedem, in der Nähe eines feindlichen Landes sich befindenden *cizyehane* je zwei Istanbuler *kile* Getreide, d.h. 7 *şinik* Gerste und 1 *şinik* Mehl gezahlt werden, in den entfernteren Gebieten wieder je anderthalb Istanbuler *kile*, d.h. 5 *şinik* Gerste und 1 *şinik* Mehl. Zu den mehrzahlenden Gebieten gehörten die *sancaks* Sirem, Budun, Egre und Kanija.

Für die Versorgung der Armee forderte die osmanische Finanzverwaltung von den *sancaks* Semendire (Smederevo), Budu/Ofen, Esztergom, Sirem (Srem), Alaca Hisar (Kruševac) und von den *eyalets* Temišvar, Eğri/Erlau, Kanija und Bosnien aus 76.929 *cizyehane* insgesamt 121.742,5 Istanbuler *kile* Getreide – 102.510 Istanbuler *kile* Gerste und 19.232,25 Istanbuler *kile* Mehl an.<sup>22</sup> Dieser Proviant (*sürsat*) wurde für die *menzil* auf dem Weg von Niš bis Buda/Ofen zur Verfügung gestellt, sowie zur Vervollständigung jener Vorräte bestimmt, die dann dem Heer nachgeschickt wurden.

Über die Versorgung der osmanischen Armee im folgenden Jahr 1074 (1663–64) aus den *cizyehane* der Grenzgebiete Ungarns und Bosniens erfahren wir aus einer in der Nationalbibliothek in Sofia aufbewahrten<sup>23</sup> Übersicht (*icmal*) der Häuser, die den Proviant für die osmanische Armee haben sicherstellen sollen. Leider lassen sich die Angaben aus dieser Übersicht mit dem *defter* des Vorjahres nicht gut vergleichen, da die einzelnen administrativen Einheiten auf eine unterschiedliche Weise aufgezeichnet sind. Jene *sancaks* und *eyalets* die man vergleichen kann, weisen Unterschiede in den *cizyehane* auf. Im Vergleich zum Vorjahr gibt es eine höhere Anzahl von *cizyehane* im *sancak* Alaca Hisar und im *eyalet* Temišvar, ein Rückgang der steuerpflichtigen Häuser hingegen ist im *sancak* Semendire und im *eyalet* Kanija festzustellen.

Dieser Übersicht der *cizyehane* ist eine Dienstanweisung hinzugefügt über die Art und Weise wie die *sürsat* und *ıstira* für die kaiserliche Expedition sicherzustellen sind. Aus jedem *cizyehane* in der Nähe des *dar ül-harb* (Kriegsgebietes) sollten – ähnlich wie im Vorjahr – als *nüzül zahiresi* je zwei Istanbuler *kile* eingenommen werden. Aus den entfernter gelegenen *vilayets* machte diese Einnahme je anderthalb Istanbuler *kile* als *nüzül zahiresi*. Insgesamt sollte dies 101.383 *kile* Gerste und 18.078 *kile* Mehl betragen. Den Abtransport dieses Getreides sollten die *reaya* (die Untertanen) mit eigenen Wagen und Fuhrmännern gewährleisten. Sie hatten sich aus sämtlichen *kazā* versammeln und dem *serdar* (dem Hauptbefehlshaber) mit dessen Heer folgen

<sup>21</sup> HADŽIBEGIĆ, H.: Op. cit., S. 78.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., S. 80–81.

<sup>23</sup> Sofia, Narodna biblioteka, Orient. otdel, Sign. OAK No. 187/7 İcmal-i hanha-i zahire-i bedel...an sene 1074.

sollen. Mit Wissen des Hauptdefterdars sollten sie das Getreide an einer notwendigen Stelle abgeben.

Der Provianttransport, vor allem aus entfernteren Orten stellte ein kostspieliges und oft gefährliches Unternehmen dar. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, daß die zu solchen Dienstleistungen verpflichteten Einwohner Ungarns dieser Tätigkeit womöglich auswichen oder sie nicht forderungsgemäß ausführten. Fünfhundert Wagen, die die Städte des *eyalets* Buda und Eger zum Abtransport von Proviant nach Neuhäusel hätten zur Verfügung stellen sollen, erfüllten ihre Aufgabe nicht, da die Mehrzahl der Fuhrleute in Esztergom auseinandergefallen waren.<sup>24</sup> Der Kaimmakam von Egri/Erlau ermahnte am 19. Oktober 1663 die Bewohner von Miskolc aufs strengste, die Wagen schleunigst mit Hirse zu beladen und sie ins Lager zu fahren.<sup>25</sup> Einige Tage später mahnte der Statthalter von Egri, Kasim Pascha, das Städtchen Miskolc 2000 *kile* Gerste auf dem schnellsten Weg nach Nové Zámky zu bringen.<sup>26</sup>

Wie der Zwangsaufkauf für staatlich festgesetzte Preise (*iştirā*) in die Tat umgesetzt wurde, erfahren wir aus der Anordnung des Erlauer Kaimmakams Musli an die Einwohner von Miskolc vom 22. August 1663. „Führten viertausend *kile* Gerste in das Lager des mächtigen Kaisers. Im Lager wird euch der Preis ausbezahlt werden. Und außerdem mögen die, die etwas verkaufen haben, es zum Verkauf gegen Geld in das Lager des mächtigen Kaisers zuführen.“<sup>27</sup>

Wie es nur möglich war, versuchten sie sich von dieser Pflicht loszukaufen, wie davon die Bestätigungen an Bewohner von Gyöngyös über die Bezahlung von Lösegeld für den *nüzül zahiresi* (18. August 1663), den *sürsat* (3. Oktober – 1. November 1663) und den *bedel-i nüzül* (29. Januar – 27. Februar 1664) zeugen.<sup>28</sup>

Trotz der Tatsache, daß die ungarischen Städte und Dörfer durch den Zwangsaufkauf sowie auf andere Weise beträchtliche Mengen an Proviant ins Lager brachten, hat die Versorgung während dieses Feldzugs große Mängel aufzuweisen. Schon in Buda litt die Armee unter einem großen Lebensmittelmangel, was Mehmed Halife<sup>29</sup> der Tatsache zuschrieb, daß die Proviantvorräte in Richtung Kotor expidiert wurden.

Auch während der Belagerung von Neuhäusel traten Versorgungsschwierigkeiten auf. So schreibt das deutsche Tagebuch der Belagerung von Neuhäusel zum 2. September 1663: „Den 2 entkamen 2 Gefangene aus dem

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<sup>24</sup> Sofia, Narodna biblioteka, Orient. otdel, Fond No. 316 A, a.e. 37/1.

<sup>25</sup> BLAŠKOVIČ, J.: *Einige Dokumente über die Verpflegung der türkischen Armee vor der Festung Nové Zámky im J. 1663*. AAS, 2, 1966, S. 115, Dok. No. 5.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., S. 118, Dok. No. 7.

<sup>27</sup> BLASKOVICS, J.: *Some Notes on the Turkish Occupation of Slovakia*. Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philologica I. Orientalia Pragensia I. Praha 1960, S. 49–56.

<sup>28</sup> FEKETE, L.: *Gyöngyös város levéltárának török iratai*. Levéltári Közlemények, 11, 1933, Nos. 141, 143, 148.

<sup>29</sup> MEHMED HALIFE: *Tarih-i Gilmanı*, S. 78.

Türkischen Lager, welche uns berichteten, wiedaß die Türken in großer Mänge den Groß-Vezier angelaufen und begehret, man solte ihnen Brod geben oder sie wollten nimmer fechten.“<sup>30</sup>

Bei der Versorgung der osmanischen Armeen nicht nur mit Proviant, sondern auch mit Waffen und Munition, sowie mit Mitteln für die Genietruppen, gibt es noch eine Reihe ungeklärter Fragen auch aus der Sicht der Wirtschaftsgeschichte, von der Militärgeschichte gar nicht zu reden. Nach Caroline Finkel wollten auch wir auf dieses Problem wiederholt aufmerksam machen.

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<sup>30</sup> Journal, der Anno 1663 von den Türken locquirten und endlich auch eroberten Ober-Hungarischen Vestung Uyvar oder Neuheusel; Was von Anfang dieser Belagerung bis zu Ende derselben, von Tag zu Tag merkwürdiges vorgegangen. S.a. et s.l.

## CLASS AND ETHNICITY IN KENYA: THE OTIENO CASE

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The 1987 court case in Kenya pitting Wambui Otieno against the Umira Kager clan of the Luo attracted considerable interest among Africans and scholars alike. The dispute concerned who had the right to bury S.M. Otieno – his wife or his clan. Issues of Kenyan politics, customary law vs. common law, ethnic vs. national identity, and patriarchy vs. women's rights were all involved in the case. This paper examines a related issue that has not been analyzed to date: the implications of the Otieno case for class formation and capitalist transformation in Kenya. My position is that the case illustrates what Robert Fatton refers to as "the crisis of hegemony" of Kenya's bourgeoisie. Ethnicity and the related "familial mode of production" are forces that fragment the bourgeoisie as well as the larger society and constrain class solidarity and capitalist transformation. The Otieno family are examples of the emerging but still weak capitalist classes and capitalist interests in Kenya. Their Luo adversaries represent the still powerful forces of ethnicity and the familial mode of production. By being awarded S.M.'s body by the court, the clan (and ethnicity) appears to have won the battle. But their victory may be short-lived as capitalist, "modernist" elements increase in Kenyan society.

In 1987 a landmark court battle took place in Kenya pitting Wambui Otieno, a wealthy Kikuyu woman, against her late husband S.M.'s Luo kinsmen for the right to bury him. S.M. died intestate but, according to Wambui, wanted to be buried on his farm overlooking the Ngong Hills outside of Nairobi. The Luo, on the other hand, claimed their right, based on Luo custom, to bury S.M. in his "tribal homeland" in western Kenya.

An underlying issue in the case was the disposition of S.M.'s estate, not just his body. According to the customs of the patrilineal Luo, a man's estate belongs to the lineage not to his widow. Although clan leaders in the Otieno case claimed they had no designs on S.M.'s property, S.M. and Wambui had taken precautions before his death to ensure that his clan, the Umira Kager, could not take any of their considerable assets. These included houses, a Mercedes and a Mazda, and the farm; all were put in both Wambui's as well as S.M.'s name. After S.M.'s death, Wambui gave almost everything in the house at the farm to Kikuyu friends for safekeeping so that his relatives could not come and "clean out the house." "She even locked the toilets" (Harden, 1990:99,111; see also Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992:27).

The Otieno case gained great notoriety not only in Kenya but elsewhere in Africa. It symbolized several currents of struggle between conflicting African loyalties and identities. Among these are the place of customary ("tribal") law vs. common ("modern") law, the primacy of ethnicity vs. national identity, and the power of patriarchy (rooted in ethnic- and lineage-based gender relations) vs. the rights of women as individuals and family members in a changing society. Ultimately, after judicial appeal, Wambui lost the case and S.M. was buried by the Luo – with Wambui and her children in conspicuous nonattendance. While an apparent victory for the forces of custom, ethnicity, and patriarchy in Africa, the struggles represented in the Otieno case are likely to increase in Kenya and elsewhere as social change continues to erode and challenge current institutions and practices.

Highlighting these and other issues, Africanist scholar Patricia Stamp (1991a; see also 1991b) wrote an insightful analysis of the case in which she examines the Otieno case within the context of ethnic competition, gender politics, and a struggle between "tradition" and "modernity" in Kenyan politics. Stamp also reveals how the Otieno case reflects current political conflicts in Kenya. Especially salient is the effort of President Daniel arap Moi to maintain power in the turbulent political landscape of the 1980s by playing "ethnic politics." Recently, as opposition to his rule has increased, Moi, who comes from the Kalenjin ethnic group, has been playing Kenya's two largest ethnic groups, the Kikuyu and Luo, against each other while forming alliances with smaller ethnic groups (see Bates, 1989 for more on the complexities of Kenya's ethnic politics). Gender politics enters the picture as well. The regime finds it expedient to support the rights and interests of men (and patriarchy) over those of women, in part because gender relations are central to lineage and clan politics (Stamp, 1991a; see also Harden, 1990). More recently Cohen and Odhiambo (1992) use a deconstructionist methodology to discuss such additional issues as the conflicting meanings and interpretations surrounding death and burial, the nature of marriage, and S.M.'s "true" intentions, as held by the protagonists and others involved with the case.

The academic, journalistic, and popular interest in the Otieno case attests to the many levels of meaning and issues of significance to be found in the Otieno case. One issue that reoccurs in various writings, but is not given any in depth analysis, is that of social class. The Otieno case provides valuable insights into the dynamics of class formation and capitalist transformation in Kenya and perhaps elsewhere in Africa. Kenya is a useful case study because it is considered a relative success story in Africa of the capitalist development path. It is more industrialized than most African countries, has a history of supporting foreign investment and indigenous business activity, and has a strong commercial private farming sector. Privatization of land ownership is well underway and has been encouraged since the 1950s (see Swainson, 1980).

In this paper I will examine the relationship between class formation and ethnicity in Kenya using the Otieno case to illustrate those relationships.

Specifically, the Otieno case clearly demonstrates Fatton's (1988, 1992) thesis that Africa's ruling classes lack "hegemony." According to Fatton, the political and economic elites that comprise the African bourgeoisie typically owe their wealth to their privileged access to the state rather than being an autonomous, economically based bourgeoisie. It is primarily through access to state resources by government officials and businessmen that opportunities for private wealth and capital accumulation occur. Although a ruling class of "government entrepreneurs" is created, most capital accumulation has been unproductive. That is, the bourgeoisie have been unable to generate sustained growth or industrialization. Among the reasons are that property rights are designed to maximize the revenue of the ruling elites regardless of the impact on the wealth of society as a whole or economic efficiency. Moreover, the "predatory African state," as it extracts income from the rest of society in the interests of the elites must rely on political clientage to minimize internal conflicts. Nonetheless, the elites are often fragmented and unable to make the changes necessary to serve their own long-term interests as a class (Fatton, 1992:63,124).

Although class and ethnicity are to some degree overlapping sources of identity, ethnicity is a major source of class fragmentation in Kenya among the bourgeoisie. While a bourgeois class is emerging, it has done so within an ethnically-based, neocolonial, quasi-capitalist social system that constrains capitalist development and class hegemony. Fatton (1992:46,97) observes that Africa's hegemonic crisis explains the politics of ethnic coalitions, whereby ethno-regional elites are incorporated into a cartel under the centralizing power of a personal ruler. At the same time ethnicity is a means by which subordinated individuals and groups or aspirants to economic or political rewards seek protective patronage from "big men." To be sure, economic interests and some capital accumulation can be pursued in such an environment. However, ethnic politics by setting ethnic groups against each other in the pursuit of economic and political spoils or by allowing ethnicity to influence political or economic decisions at the expense of efficiency interpenetrates and undercuts class interest politics more conducive to capitalist development.

One aspect of ethnic politics is the ideological and political manipulation of "custom" and "tradition." Often misinterpreted as an attempt to preserve the past, custom and tradition are, as Stamp (1991b:227) notes, "potent inventions of the present, constructed to serve political ends." The "social construction" of ethnicity and custom pervades the Otieno case. The Luo, Wambui, and the government all used notions of ethnicity and custom to suit their economic or political agendas.

Stated simply, the Otieno case demonstrates the relatively heavy dependence of the Kenyan state on ethnic politics and how this compromises its effectiveness as an agent of an indigenous capitalist class and capitalist transformation. It also shows the conflict between class interest and ethnicity among the elites themselves. Both of these are indications of the lack of hegemony of Kenya's bourgeoisie and their immaturity as a class.



To provide content for the above general claims, three topics will be discussed in the following sections of this paper. First is the relationship between ethnicity, class, and the Kenyan state. This will be followed by a discussion of Kenya's bourgeoisie and their role in capitalist transformation. Last, I will use accounts of the Otieno case to illustrate the interrelationship of ethnicity, class, and politics as discussed in the first two sections.

### *Ethnicity, class, and the Kenyan state*

Before discussing ethnicity and class in Kenya, some general background on the politics of ethnicity in Africa is in order. In his discussion of African politics, Gordon (1992:62-75) points out that African leaders at independence faced a fragile national unity in part due to the diversity among their people. Because most Africans had decentralized political systems and were subsistence farmers tied to the land, most political allegiances were localized – to village, region, clan, and “tribe” (ethnic group). During the colonial period, however, ethnic differences were often manipulated by colonial regimes as a method of control. Ethnic identity became a basis of distributing or withholding resources to subject populations, thus heightening its importance. During and since independence, Africa's new leaders became identified with these localized allegiances or could mainly draw on such bases of support to gain or maintain power. In return for support from regional and ethnic allies, the state was expected to provide resources such as jobs, public office, and development assistance. Opposition to the government, in turn, often reflected ethnicity or region. Ethnic or regional groups who were out of power or neglected by the ruling regime as it distributed jobs, money, or other favors could be mobilized against the government. The resulting political instability led to the creation of increasingly autocratic, single-party states or military regimes that sought to control the political process, maintain regimes in power, and carry out government policies with minimal opposition. Government bureaucracies were greatly expanded, and the state became the main agent of economic development through such means as the expansion of parastatals (government-owned enterprises), joint ventures with foreign firms, and control over the disbursement of development aid from foreign donors.

Without an indigenous capitalist class to lead the development, the state had little choice but continued dependence on foreign investment, aid, and “taxes” on the profits of export agriculture for its revenues. With little political accountability to worry about, those in high positions in single-party states used their access to state resources for their own financial gain and to buy the loyalty of key regional allies and other strategic groups in society. Often this meant playing the “ethnic politics game,” where powerful ethnic leaders were bestowed with land, business licenses, jobs, or other favors. The activities of the state in promoting “development” created wealthy professionals, private businessmen, and commercial farmers and, as frequently happened, highly

placed government officials used their positions to accumulate wealth, business property, and land for themselves and their families.

This bourgeois class, comprised of a dominant and petite bourgeoisie (see Chazan et al., 1992: 120) has grown throughout Africa as African economies have become more modernized and integrated into the global economy. In the cities, the bourgeoisie adopt more Westernized life styles such as wearing Western clothes, pursuing Western education for their children, and consuming luxury goods like expensive cars. They are not a unified group, however, as they occupy different economic and political positions in society. A segment of the bourgeoisie controls the state. Others are linked to the state through jobs as managers, civil servants, or mid-level politicians. Some are private businesspeople or professionals whose ties to the state are based largely on patronage. Others are well-to-do commercial farmers. The bourgeoisie's allegiance to the state fluctuates, attesting to the divergence of interests that can occur between the state and other segments of the elite (see Kitching, 1980; Nafziger, 1988; Markovitz, 1977, 1987).

This general, and admittedly simplified, overview fits Kenya in essential respects. The British colonial economy was based on largely white-owned commercial farms in the temperate highlands near Nairobi and also on smallholder African farms producing for subsistence and cash. Because Kenya was a white settler colony, it received more investment and was more economically developed than most colonies in Africa. As independence neared, the British sought to protect their interests by creating a Kenyan bourgeoisie whose interests would be tied to international capitalism. As one part of this strategy, land settlement schemes were initiated to create a commercial farming class by transferring European farms to Africans. Also, generous loans and grants to the new Kenyan government were used to assure its dependence. Lastly, in the industrial sector emphasis was placed on making Africans partners in foreign-owned businesses and providing aid for new business (Ake, 1979: 124–125). The capitalist transformation of smallholder agriculture was to be accomplished through such policies as the Swynnerton Plan (1954). Through the introduction of individual land ownership to the peasantry (to replace customary land tenure) and export crop production, land-owning vs. landless classes would be created. Excess rural labor would be available for industry (Migot-Adholla, 1979: 157–158). The Plan deliberately favored richer farmers at the expense of poor smallholders (Bradshaw, 1990:5).

At independence in 1963 a Kikuyu-dominated, petit-bourgeois government came to power in Kenya. Kenya's new rulers maintained close ties to their own rural ethnic constituencies promoting the perception that services from the government depended on ethnic group membership. Kenya's harambee (self-help) approach to development also furthered the importance of regional, ethnic identities and the influence of ethnic notables through numerous patron-client relationships. Rural communities (clients) depended on ethnic notables (patrons) to get aid from the state for development projects. Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's president until 1978, encouraged leaders who were ethnic-

and lineage-based constituency representatives. To maintain support for the regime, national policy promoted rural petit-bourgeois interests in commerce through "Africanization" and loans, notable-led cooperatives, agricultural extension services, and land purchases (Holmquist, 1979: 134-141). As Holmquist (1979: 142) observes, "The rural petty bourgeoisie remains a key prop of the regime."

By 1970 considerable social stratification was occurring in Kenya, and a new bourgeois elite was clearly discernible. This elite, less than 4% of all households, was comprised of owners of medium-large enterprises in the formal sector, big farmers, self-employed professionals, and high-medium level employees in the formal sector. The new elites have been protected by the state and sometimes part of the state. In fact, there is much overlap between bureaucratic, business, and professional groups. Many government bureaucrats and managers of foreign firms have their own business interests (including farms) while having full-time salaried jobs (Swainson, 1980, 1987: 153-154; Bradshaw, 1990: 20-22).

As Fatton (1992) observes for Africa in general, Kenya's patronage system, operating from the peasantry to the top of the state bureaucracy, promotes the interests of the elites primarily rather than the interests of national development. According to Bradshaw (1990: 18-19, 22), the President (now Daniel arap Moi) is the major patron. He and his cabinet ministers get regional ethnic support for the government. Ethnic leaders are clients of the President and patrons to members of Parliament; MPs are clients of cabinet ministers and patrons to local interests - e.g., tribal elders and local leaders and businesspeople. Being elected to Parliament is a primary means for individual capital accumulation, which depends on government positions for patronage resources. MPs often are involved in urban businesses linked to foreign capital, one reason the state protects foreign business interests (see also Barkan, 1984: 80-81).

Because Kenya has been highly dependent on multinational investment for its industrialization, government policies in the past discouraged indigenous business ownership in industry while favoring joint ventures with foreign firms. But Kenyans are increasingly coming to own manufacturing industry - over 60% of equity in 1977 was Kenyan (often state-owned). (Control of technology, however, is still mostly in foreign hands.) Most of the prime agricultural land is also Kenyan-owned (Swainson, 1987: 150-153, 160). However, much of the best lands in the fertile former white highlands and Rift Valley are large farms in the hands of institutions and elites with access to capital and credit (Bradshaw, 1990: 6; Migot-Adholla, 1979: 160; Kitching, 1980: 450). These developments in "indigenization" have led scholars like Swainson (1980: 17-18) and Bradshaw (1990: 2-4) to conclude that an indigenous capitalist class is emerging in Kenya that is in some areas now competing with foreign capital and getting help from the state to promote its interests. An expanding middle class of lawyers, physicians, academics, and other professionals "linked to local elites" has also developed.

The power and prominence of the bourgeoisie and its ties to the state does not mean that Kenya is a capitalist country or that a capitalist transformation of Kenya is assured. Neither colonial or postcolonial capitalism has transformed or eliminated African precapitalist economic modes of production but, for the most part, has harnessed them to produce cheap commodities and other raw materials for export. This precapitalist mode of production has been variably conceptualized as "the peasant mode of production" (Fatton, 1992), "the economy of affection" (Hyden, 1983), "the lineage mode of production" (Taylor, 1979), "the domestic mode of production" (Gregory and Piche, 1983), or "the familial mode of production" (Caldwell, 1982). Although there are differences in these terms, they refer to similar realities, well known to any student of Africa. Seventy to eighty percent of all Africans are farmers and most are smallholders (peasant farmers). They produce for household consumption but many, especially men, also produce cash crops for export. Most land is allocated through the extended family dominated by male elders so that all households have access to land. While this system of land allocation assures that most people have access to at least some land (i.e., their own means of production), it has distinct limitations for the efficient mobilization of productive resources for capitalist development. As Kitching (1980: 440,444,450,460) maintains, Kenya does not have a fully developed capitalist mode of production. It is a subordinated production system integrated into the world capitalist system. Capitalism depends on one class owning the means of production and able to determine both the conditions under which another class will produce and the level of that class's subsistence (i.e., the value of labor power) (see also Fatton, 1992: 32-33). In Kenya, capital has only partially commercialized agricultural production or made labor a commodity (i.e., reduced most peasant farmers and petty commodity producers to agricultural or formal sector wage labor).

Similarly, Caldwell (1982: 173) adds that the basic economic transition is from familial to nonfamilial production. "The real productive divide lies between modes of production based largely on networks of relatives and those in which individuals may sell their labor to complete strangers." But in Kenya, as in Africa in general, most production remains within the familial mode of production where relationships of production and allocation of productive resources often reflect patriarchal power and "custom" at the expense of free market-based economic rationality.

Not yet fully subordinated to the state or to the dictates of "classes representing higher forms of sociotechnological reproduction," the peasantry remains "uncaptured," to use Hyden's (1983) expression or "semi-or nonproletarianized" (Fatton, 1992: 32). Because the indigenous bourgeoisie has been small and weak, "capturing" the peasantry has been the job of the state. But despite such measures as privatization of land, pro-business policies, and ideological support for private enterprise, the Kenyan state has been a flawed vehicle for capitalism and the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, largely through the state, have been able to extract the surplus from farmers and workers for capital accumulation and investment

(Kitching, 1980: 450), but they have used much of this surplus in ways which compromise the capitalist transformation they purportedly seek.

To understand why, we must look at the connection between the familial mode of production, ethnicity, the bourgeoisie, and the state. The organization of social life in much of Kenya occurs through various levels of the patrilineal extended family: the household, then lineages and clans, which are part of a still larger group, the "tribe" (ethnic group). Membership within these familialistic groups carries with it clearly specified expectations with regard to authority, obligations, and rights. In rapidly changing, quasi-capitalist African societies these kinship ties are often the main basis for redistributing resources from the rich to the poor, the powerful to the less powerful, the city to the countryside. They mitigate the gross inequities of wealth and capital accumulation occurring in Africa, but they also weaken the development of class formation and class consciousness in favor of ethnic and kin consciousness among the elites as well as other classes (see Chazan et al., 1992: 121-123).

While the familial mode of production and the patrimonial (patron-client) state work to a certain extent to promote some capitalist development, they pose an obstacle to further capitalist transformation (see Hyden, 1983, 1987; Nyang'oro, 1989; Kitching, 1980; Kennedy, 1988; Bradshaw, 1990). As part of the familial mode of production, the demands of ethnicity and "tradition" can conflict with the impersonal, profit-seeking "logic" of capitalism and class interest. It is the state and bourgeoisie, not just the peasantry, who are "uncaptured". As stated by Hyden (1987: 128), the "precapitalist economy of affection" and clan politics limit the effectiveness of state power and the ability of countries to develop. Too often capital accumulation is to meet social and political ends more than "capitalist" ends. More specifically, patron-client politics have contributed to corruption, inefficiency, overregulation, and a stifling of productive investment and effort at all levels. Subsidies and favors that allow the politically-connected to grow wealthy contribute to foreign debt (e.g., due to the cost of imported goods to support the elites' Western lifestyle) and often lucrative but unproductive investments in land, real estate speculation, and public and private businesses. Nafziger (1988: 75) refers to this as "pirate capitalism" rather than an open capitalist economy where efficiency, productivity, and merit are rewarded. Kennedy (1988: 188) adds, "Without productive investment, wealth consists of little more than bits of paper chasing round in ever-decreasing circles capable of benefiting fewer and fewer people. Despite the potential for short-term gain, this kind of capitalism is not satisfactory even from the perspective of political elites and entrenched commercial interests."

While the privileged have flourished in the system, peasant agriculture suffers – its potential stymied by lack of investment, government pricing policies, and unproductive utilization of land and labor. Ethnic group "tradition" or custom is evoked to justify the perpetuation of discriminatory or unproductive land tenure practices, the household division of labor, and male dominance

over women – regardless of the negative economic impacts these have. Because of the power of male ethnic leaders in Kenya, conservatism on many such issues is necessary if a politician hopes to be elected or re-elected (see Barkan, 1984).

We must remember, however, that ethnic group consciousness, the manipulation of custom, and the corruption of politicians and bureaucrats are a logical response to the contemporary socioeconomic environment of uneven development and individual and group competition for scarce resources. For the vast majority of Africans, commitment to ethnicity and the familial mode of production exists in large part because of a lack of alternatives. Neither state-sponsored socialism or capitalism has provided much opportunity for most Africans. Therefore, for many, the “old ways” are the surest or only means by which they can command resources or accountability from the political system or gain access to economic resources such as land necessary for survival or upward mobility.

All in all, the Kenyan state and the indigenous bourgeoisie are still too weak to carry out a capitalist transformation, but the potential for such a transformation is growing. The bourgeoisie show signs of “maturing” into a genuine indigenous capitalist class, as I will explain.

### *Kenya's bourgeoisie: an emerging capitalist class*

As outlined above, Kenya's bourgeoisie is relatively well developed by African standards and controls much of the best land in Kenya as well as considerable equity in foreign businesses and their own (usually non-manufacturing) business enterprises. Most are government bureaucrats, politicians, professionals, big traders, or managers. Much of the capital they have accumulated is derived from the surplus from agricultural production, from their role as intermediaries for foreign capital, and from investments in indigenous enterprises (including manufacturing). There is considerable overlap between those in government, those with private business enterprises, and larger commercial farmers. Although wealth has been made, much of it has not been invested productively. Both business and farming are too often subject to the dictates of ethnic and family-based customary norms or political considerations that result in inefficiency, waste, and inequities.

Despite the autocratic nature of the Kenyan state and the power and wealth of the bourgeoisie, they do not yet comprise a “hegemonic” capitalist class. For one, the elites, while certainly acting on class interests in some cases, often are divided among themselves by “bitter factional political disputes,” and the state has been unable to integrate the bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie (Swainson, 1980: 184, 228). Ethnic- and kinship-based rivalries, such as that between the Luo, Kikuyu, and Kalenjin, are a major source of the factionalism that prevents the convergence of bourgeois class interests (see Hyden, 1987: 119–121, 128).

Normative problems also exist. For Sandbrook (1985), hegemony is not the same as domination. To have effective power, a bourgeoisie must govern through the consent of the lower classes. This requires that the values of the bourgeoisie be held throughout society, a reality which does not exist in Kenya. The wealthy businessman is envied and the lower classes hope to join his ranks, but they haven't yet sufficiently absorbed the individualistic or instrumental ethics of capitalism, such as individual competition, personal accumulation, thrift, efficiency, and innovation. Instead, values such as solidarity with kin and minimization of risks prevail.

What Sandbrook overlooks is that even the bourgeoisie often have weak bourgeois (i.e., capitalist) values. Norms of reciprocity based on kinship and ethnicity and other customary ties continue to limit indigenous capital accumulation and prevent the bourgeoisie from being a true capitalist class able to pursue its interests as a class. Bates (1989: 69) maintains that indeed many Kenyans want high incomes and wealth, to accumulate, invest, and prosper. They want good clothes, homes, etc. All want land. Nonetheless, in societies where rights to income – yielding assets are closely tied to kinship relations and the economic environment is risky, investments often are made in maintaining family relations and communal ties and dispersed among several economic activities (rather than specialization and concentration of assets occurring). This dilutes the emergence of class solidarity while strengthening lineage systems. It is also a major reason many of Kenya's indigenous capitalist enterprises are failing. David Himbara's (1994) recent study of Kenyan capitalists points to the following "cultural" factors in recent business failures: 1) unwise loans to relatives from those in finance or from other family members; 2) managers of African banks persuaded their ethnic kinsmen to invest in them although the investment was unsound; 3) "traditional" family obligations hinder the development of enterprises: sharing income with the extended family, aid to kin during financial crises, employment of relatives whether efficient or not, partnerships with relatives or ethnic group members only regardless of business efficiency, and reluctance to hire competent personnel – instead business owners want to run everything by themselves "like chiefs" or use close friends and relatives. Himbara's (1994) research shows that the results have been mismanagement, withdrawal of capital from the enterprise, and eventual failure.

Several factors appear to be essential if class formation is to become more developed in Kenya. I use class in the sense used by Marx (as articulated in Kitching, 1980) and modified by Max Weber (in Gerth and Mills, 1946). Ownership of the means of production is the primary basis of class division but also opportunities for income. In a class-based stratification system, "style of life" along with position in property structures becomes a basis of class identification and solidarity weakening such loyalties as ethnicity and kinship, especially toward "relatives" far removed from the nuclear, conjugal family. The extended family and ethnic group become less important as a source of security as societies become more individualistic, and personal merit via edu-

cation and entrepreneurship replace kinship connections as the major means to attaining economic resources. Geographic separation is also a factor as urbanites become separated from their rural kin and ethnic places of origin and develop exogenous friendships and marriages. Under these conditions, customary rights and obligations based on kinship – especially those which require redistribution of individually-acquired capital or income to distantly related kin – becomes increasingly resented, especially by spouses and children.

Bates (1989: 41) roots such changing values in the economic environment. Where individuals or groups have greater opportunities for private accumulation and family segments (of extended kinship or ethnic groups) are able to control dominant economic niches, they have less incentive to invest in the maintenance of kinship ties with those in other economic niches. Rights to assets based on kinship become less important and weaken. Some kin segments become wealthy and possess “private” assets that they no longer share with the poor. In this process of what Fatton (1992: 59) calls “class closure,” elites use their resources to solidify their status and transfer it to their children. Toward this end, spouses typically pool their marital assets and use them to accumulate more assets and secure advancement for their children – e.g., via trust funds or investments in education. This is an important aspect of the expansion and strengthening of a capitalist class. It is not enough that the bourgeoisie accumulate capital in a single generation; it must be able to pass on its class position to its children. This perpetuates the values and norms of the accumulating and investing class as well as assures that each generation has the means to further the process of capital accumulation necessary for capitalist expansion.

Although not yet a widespread phenomenon, this process is occurring in Kenya, especially among some sectors of the bourgeoisie. It is likely to become more common as Kenyans move to the cities and raise their families there. Often products of Western-style education, absorbing Western lifestyles and values, enjoying the amenities of urban living, and developing friendships with those of similar status – ties to the countryside and ethnic identities are becoming more tenuous for many city dwellers. Among the elites, their children may travel abroad and receive a foreign university education, further estranging them from their “backward” rural, ethnic kin.

Several researchers have commented on this phenomenon in Kenya. For instance, Bates (1989:42) discusses the weakening of the extended family in favor of the “household” family structure among the Kikuyu due to their greater accumulation of wealth compared to other ethnic groups. Among the privileged in general, Bates (1989:43) notes the desire “to restructure kin relations: to exclude and to accumulate, rather than to purchase social insurance [via kin relations].” In her research, Bujra (1986:134–136) observes that most privileged white collar workers are engaged in reproducing the ideological and organizational conditions for capitalist expansion. Their higher incomes and Western socialization are separating them from the poor. Norms of reciprocity rooted in the village and kinship are eroding among these educated



men and women. Instead, solidarity between professionals and commercial groups based on common interests is growing. Stichter (1987:158-160) adds that elite urban families in Kenya are becoming more like the Western nuclear family. For example, monogamy is the norm, and there is less male dominance and more joint decision-making between spouses – all of which characterize marriages in which the conjugal bond is central.

From his investigations, Kennedy (1988:187) concludes that there is growing class vs. ethnic division and solidarity in Africa and that the climate for a capitalist class is improving. He points to several trends for support: 1) the rise of technocratic bureaucratic elites involved in their own business with national and personal ambition; 2) with the contraction of public employment, private business is becoming more attractive to educated Africans; 3) inter-generational transfer of wealth and resources (especially education and land) is well underway in some countries; 4) a second and third generation of educated middle class professionals has been created who have a relatively secure economic base in different assets including business and employment skills; and 5) privileged elites who initially gained wealth from their access to state power now have secure wealth to invest in productive businesses.

Kennedy (1988:96) believes Kenya is somewhat unique and favorably positioned for the advancement of its capitalist class because of the support the state has given to indigenous capital and the overlap between the two (the ubiquitous politician-businessman). Moreover, the bourgeoisie is not just amassing personal wealth or putting it to unproductive uses. Kennedy also believes that Kenyan business groups will play a greater role in the future. They have more experience, commercial networks, and accumulation of capital (sometimes built up over several generations). There is also growing class consciousness among the bourgeoisie manifested in intermarriage with similar families (regardless of ethnicity), investment in land ownership, deepening of materialist values, technical and educational training, and financial collaboration in business ventures.

While some of the Kenyan bourgeoisie are beginning to resemble and act like a “real” capitalist class, the future remains uncertain. Certainly, external constraints on Kenya’s economy posed by the global capitalist economy are a major factor. And, as Himbara’s (1992) data show, many indigenous business enterprises have failed. But also, the reliance of the Kenyan state on ethno-regional constituencies compromises its ability to serve capitalist class interests. For one, to stay in power, the state under Moi must accommodate interests vested in ethnicity and customs that maintain the familial mode of production. As a result, contends Kennedy (1988:90), the state may impose or prevent change even against classes/groups with whom they share common class background.

The process of class formation as well as the contradictions and ambivalence that surround class and ethnicity in Kenya are clearly manifested in the Otieno case, to which I now turn.

### *The Otieno case: class and ethnicity*

The Otienos are a perfect example of the modern Kenyan bourgeois family described in this paper. Wambui Otieno was the granddaughter of a Kikuyu chief. She received a college education in Tanganyika and was active in Kenya's independence movement. She was a member of KANU, the major (and until recently only) political party, even running for Parliament (unsuccessfully). She is also a leader in the women's movement, having held positions in both of Kenya's major national women's groups: MYWO (Maendeleo ya Wanawake) and the NCWK (National Council of Women of Kenya) (Stamp, 1991a:836). S.M. is described as "the epitome of the developed African" (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992:97). A Luo, S.M. received a mission school education, earned a law degree, and was also active in the nationalist movement. He served in the High Court of Kenya as a judge as well as having a lucrative private practice in criminal law. His learning, investments, property, and lifestyle personified the promise of "the theorized, programmed, funded, and induced transition from 'traditional society to modernity'" (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992:98).

Living in the toney Langata suburb of Nairobi and associating with other members of Kenya's multiethnic urban elites, the Otienos possessed a Westernized lifestyle and values. Wambui is said to have bragged about the fact that they had the money and gall to have moved in among Nairobi's whites. The Otienos sent their fifteen children to the US and Europe for college. Wambui and S.M. identified only secondarily with their "tribal" identities; their mixed marriage was a testimony to this. They considered themselves Kenyans first, and socialized their children to do the same. S.M. rarely visited his Luo relatives or home of origin. Significantly, he had no rural home there. While attempting to distance himself from the Luo and kinship demands, S.M. was at the same time generous to his clansmen when called upon, for instance, paying funeral expenses (Stamp, 1991a:836-837).

S.M.'s loyalty to Kenya was only eclipsed by his commitment to his conjugal family. As he reputedly told Wambui, "Our clan begins with us" (in Harden, 1990:98). S.M. sought to ensure that his assets would remain safely in his family's hands. One example of this is that when he married Wambui he did not pay the customary bridewealth. By custom, paying bridewealth would make Wambui, their children, and their assets subject to Luo claims (Stamp, 1991a:836-837). Another example, as mentioned above, most of the Otieno's property was registered in both S.M.'s and Wambui's names so that the clan could not claim their assets.

The legal controversy between S.M.'s conjugal family and his extended family was not overtly over the property but over the right to bury him. Why was this such an issue? Why did the Moi government eventually get involved, intervening in favor of the Luo rather than an elite family representing the modern Kenyan values the state purportedly seeks to promote? Why didn't the

bourgeoisie rally to Wambui's cause since many of them are similarly Westernized with similar class interests?

Protecting entrenched patriarchal gender relations is a major element, as Stamp discusses so well in her writing. But the class-ethnic-political issues I have discussed are also important. For the Moi regime, it was apparently more important to use the Otieno controversy to drive a wedge between the Luo and Kikuyu who oppose Moi than to promote the "progressive" class interests and values of the bourgeoisie – the class to which the rulers themselves belong (see Stamp 1991a, b; also Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992a:83). Also a factor, beginning in the 1980s Moi has sought to break the political and economic pre-eminence of the Kikuyu that had grown under Kenyatta in favor of Rift Valley agricultural interests (Moi's own Kalenjin ethnic group). Stamp (1991a:835) suggests that by weakening the Kikuyu elite, the largest segment of Kenya's business and commercial agricultural class, the regime has actually contributed to the stagnation of capitalist development while increasing ethnic animosity. Economic stagnation intensifies competition for scarce resources, which in turn heightens ethnic tensions. In other words, rather than using their power to promote its indigenous capitalist class who are needed to transform the economy, Moi and the elites close to him are increasingly dependent on the divisive forces of ethnicity which they have been instrumental in creating.

As Stamp (1991a:813) shows however, ethnic and kinship politics is a risky game. Such politics are the basis of the regime's support, but they also create ethnic enemies for the regime, especially among the Kikuyu and Luo elites who have been the biggest losers under Moi. Moi rightly fears these two groups uniting against him (as they are currently doing; see Widner, 1992).

In catering to the Luo's demands, the Moi court undermined a major legal bulwark that favors capitalist class interests in Kenya, the Law of Succession (passed in 1981) which allows women to inherit their husband's property (in contrast with patrilineal customs). The Law of Succession favors the Western-style conjugal family, class formation, and capitalist accumulation while customary law favors the extended family, ethnicity, and the familial mode of production. As part of Kenya's modernization drive, customary law in the Kenyan legal system was placed lowest in priority. Consistent with this, the first judge in the Otieno case, a white *British* Kenyan, ruled in Wambui's favor. He saw the case as a contest between those upholding atavistic tribal practices and those seeking to "go forward into the twentieth century" (Harden, 1990:113). Moreover, the judge concluded that SM "was a metropolitan and a cosmopolitan, and though he undoubtedly honoured the traditions of his ancestors, it is hard to envisage such a person as subject to African customary law and in particular to the customs of a rural community" (in Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992:7).

After a legal appeal by the Luo, the *African* Appeals Court judge (under pressure from the government) ruled instead in favor of the clan and customary law. Specifically, patrilineage is to have precedence over the conjugal family (wife and children). The judge went even farther by asserting that

tribal customary law should be given even more weight in the future (Stamp, 1991a:825-826). The government's motives were largely political: to avoid conflict with traditional ethnic practices that "affect deep-seated traditional interests and structures of authority" (Cubbins, 1991: 1067-1068). In other words, the government was reluctant to offend its rural ethnoregional allies and others with vested interests in preserving the familial mode of production.

Reaction to the Otieno case reveals the ambivalent admixture of ethnic and class consciousness among many Kenyans. In their book, Cohen and Odhiambo (1992) provide numerous instances of both the erosion of ethnicity and tradition among the elites as well as their continuing influence. For example, in their description of the lawyers and judges involved in the Otieno dispute, it was noted that most of them had experiences of inter-ethnic marriage in their own lives reflecting the breakdown of ethnic endogamy among the urban bourgeoisie. They were also highly educated and Westernized with lifestyles that reflected their "achievement, status, and separation from the masses" (84). S.M. was one of their own. But many also maintained a rural "home" (dala), unlike S.M., indicating their continuing attachment to their rural kin and ethnic group (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992:81-84).

Ambivalence was demonstrated by other Kenyans as well. Harden (1990:102) reports that most Kenyans sympathized with both S.M.'s Luo clansmen and with his family. This suggests that social change is eroding the values of village-based society for many, not just the elites. Loyalties between ethnic identity and individualism and the nuclear family are becoming more divided as families become geographically and socially mobile. Harden (1990:101-102) contrasts "tribal traditionalists" with "modernists." Traditionalists cut across class lines. Even highly educated and influential Africans in major cities still see themselves first as members of their villages and tribes, and major areas of life (e.g., marriage, divorce, children, death) are governed by traditional law and fealties. On the other hand are the modernists who reject tribal law and thinking for "bourgeois values." For them, education, professional achievement, and property ownership are their goals. The nuclear family and nation supercede the clan and tribe. Most Kenyans, unlike the "modernist" Otienos, fall somewhere in between these two polar positions. Thus their ambivalence toward the case is understandable.

At the same time, Wambui and her children's seeming total lack of regard for tradition was a threat to many. Harden (1990:118) mentions that Patrick, one of Wambui's foreign-educated sons, insulted the Luo in the courtroom. His sense of superiority to African tribal customs was an insult to many and lost the family some of its support. Such disregard for traditional, ethnic sensitivities is apparently politically unwise for the elites of an increasingly class-stratified society. Harden (1990:118) remarks that such insensitivity on the part of the elite "ever eager to portray themselves as men of the people, even as they drive through villages in \$55,000 Mercedes sedans" was rare. It was, however, regarded by many non-Kikuyu as "typical Kikuyu arrogance" (Harden, 1990:118).

While the Otieno's lawyer depicted Patrick as "an achiever," "a member of a modern, progressive family," and a "model of the Kenya of the future;" the clan's Luo lawyer painted him as a member of "a spoiled generation of brats." He was impolite to his father's lineage members "on whom he had cast aspersions" (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992:72). On the other hand, many urban school children saw Patrick as a figure with whom they readily empathized in his claim to be from "the Kenya tribe" rather than identifying with his rural Luo clan. The clan were referred to as "miro" – country bumpkins, and rural culture and food were joked about and contrasted with the culture of the city (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992:73).

Although the conflict between Wambui and the Luo was sometimes depicted by the Kenyan press and others as representing "old persisting struggles between the Luo and Kikuyu," issues of class are inextricably interwoven with ethnicity. While the Luo and Kikuyu had been allies in KANU, there have been tensions as well. As Bates (1989:52–53, 94–95) discusses, the Kenyatta government ran the state as a political base for the Kikuyu gentry with the result being the concentration of wealth and power largely in Kikuyu hands. Unlike Central Province, home of the Kikuyu, Luo land was ill-favored for commercial agriculture, and most Luo were geographically isolated from the centers of development in Kenya. Consequently, most were left out of the prosperity that befell the Kikuyu (Bates, 1989:55–64). Many Luo have felt politically and economically marginalized both under Kenyatta and Moi. Since a disproportionate number of Kenya's bourgeoisie are Kikuyu, it is not always easy to separate class from ethnic conflict. Many Luo (and many other groups in Kenya) see the Kikuyu as "denatured, money-hungry business people aping Western values as they betray their African heritage" (Harden, 1990:97). This explains some of their hostility toward Wambui, who is a prominent of the Kikuyu elite.

Under the circumstances, it became difficult for Wambui's "natural" bourgeois or ethnic allies – e.g., feminists, Kikuyu leaders, or other educated elites – to openly support her. Some feared political reprisals from Moi; others were reluctant to identify with someone so radically "modern." For example, Grace Ogot, a Luo feminist and one of two female members of Parliament, backed off from an earlier endorsement of Wambui's cause. To promote the primacy of women's rights and the conjugal family in opposition to her Luo constituents might be political suicide. So instead she reminded women to remember that the husband they loved also had a father, mother, siblings – and an extended family – that also loved him. Kikuyu political leaders also gave Wambui little overt political support. Stamp (1991a:822) attributes this in part to their fear of opposing Moi, given his past repression against the Kikuyu. She also interprets Kikuyu reticence as a reflection of discomfort with Wambui's challenge to "traditional" patriarchal values and practices that they as well as many other ethnic groups perpetuate.

Harden (1990:125) offers another interpretation of the low-profile Kikuyu reaction. As Kikuyu journalist, Chega Mbituru explains, burials aren't a big

deal among the Kikuyu. "We did not see the case as a reason for tribal solidarity. We Kikuyu don't get so excited over bodies, like the Luo. We are more interested in power and property." Mbituru's remarks suggest that the Kikuyu, as one might expect, are in the vanguard of the modernist shift in Kenyan society that accompanies capitalist transformation and the transition to a class society. This is supported by Bates' (1989:42-43) discussion of the Kikuyu and Luo, as well. Bates claims that due to their economic prosperity it has been the Kikuyu who have experienced the greatest erosion of the traditional extended family in favor of the nuclear family and private property. Among the Luo, communal institutions and reliance on extended kinship remain stronger and there is more opposition to private property (Bates, 1989:42-43).

It is interesting that both the Kikuyu and Luo participants in the Otieno case generally side-stepped issues of class directly, preferring instead to couch their arguments in terms of ethnic tradition and culture vs. modernity. Class inequality is an uncomfortable issue confronting the Luo as well as the Kikuyu. Wambui, for instance, argued that Luo burial customs were at odds with the Otieno family's "modern, Christian, Kenyan life." The Luo were portrayed as lazy, primitive, uncivilized vs. the Otienos who were "urbane city people and civilized." The reality of growing inequality between the urban elites and their poor rural relatives is transparent in such remarks. Understandably, Wambui's attorney never directly argued "the importance to many urban citizens, like the Otienos, of protecting their hard-won wealth from the claims of country cousins" (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992:54). By the same token, the Luo avoided the issues of wealth and poverty among the Luo, of the leveling but also impoverishing consequences of lavish expenditures on funerals, or of the pressures on successful Luo to maintain a "dala" (home) in the rural areas as well as the other means by which the poor place claims on the assets of the rich (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992:76).

That S.M.'s burial was an issue at all has significant class overtones rather than being a simple issue of preserving sacred Luo customs. That is, the controversy reflects growing class inequalities and declining economic opportunity under the conditions of underdeveloped capitalism in Kenya. While the Luo claimed it was an ancient tradition to bury their kinsmen in their place of origin, Cambridge University historian John Lonsdale found that colonial burial records in Nairobi show that urban Luo buried their dead in town, not because they couldn't travel back home, but because they were taking advantage of new economic opportunities in places like Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, and Kampala. "The future was opportunity, the place of one's buried placenta too often a place without a future, not a promising site in which to invest a reputation or to which to transport a corpse." S.M.'s burial controversy suggests a "felt narrowing of Luo futures" (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992:109). Oginga Odinga, a prominent Luo, agrees adding that only since 1940 did attention to burial in the countryside begin. Before that people mostly were buried where they died. The present interest in funerals, claims Odinga, is "related to the

accumulation of wealth in the cities." It is only with the legal capacity and financial enthusiasm of the Luo for the purchase of property that the issue of where to bury a corpse would arise (Cohen and Odhiambo, 1992:75).

But even the Luo are changing as class divisions increase and ethnic identification weakens among their members. Luo economics Professor S.O. Kwasa (in his 50s) comments that tribal tradition provides an anchor in a changing world and a sense of continuity with the past and between generations. But he admits that his own children laugh at Luo customs. "Tradition will change, but you will have to give it time. It will change when the current generation of Luo, who were born in town, come of age" (in Harden, 1990:121).

The High Court Judge, S.E.O. Bosire (a Kisii), who presided in the Otieno case, made a similar prediction. Although he ruled in favor of the Luo, he noted that it would not be long before such burial customs as the Luo's would be abandoned, but such change "must be gradual" (Harden, 1990:123).

Change may be more swift than even Bosire envisions. As Cohen and Odhiambo (1992:104) write, most of the Luo who fought to bury S.M. "back home" were life-long urbanites. After the burial they returned to the city without fulfilling most of the funeral rites mentioned in the court as "Luo custom." S.M.'s mourners have a "double consciousness," one rural, one urban. The rural won in court but was largely ignored in practice. The urban consciousness won as the mourners returned to the amenities of the city. The Luo elders won in reality no more than a burial site.

So-called "modernists" like the Otieno family (and the bourgeois class society they represent) are still relatively few in number in Kenya. And as the Otieno case shows, they are politically vulnerable because capitalist, bourgeois values have not penetrated deeply enough into the larger society where communal institutions and identities remain strong. The case also reveals the fragmentation of the bourgeois elites and how ethnicity and the demands of kinship rooted in the familial mode of production can hinder the accumulation of capital and the development of capitalism. As Kennedy (1988:146-147) maintains, "Unless and until the wider society undergoes substantial socio-economic differentiation – so that each emergent class, or incipient class, possesses its own sub-culture and the means of providing viable, intra-class support for fellow members, the possibilities for corporate business endeavor and intensive capital accumulation over many areas of economic life will be held severely in check. Indeed, the ability of capitalist entrepreneurs to distance themselves socially from the pressures of community life is simply an aspect of a far wider, more complex process whereby much larger, impersonal, national markets gradually evolve...." Along with the ability to neutralize extended family demands, one of the major needs for business expansion and capital accumulation is "the successful transfer of business interests to the next generation" (Kennedy, 1988:170).

Change is occurring. While S.M. and Wambui Otieno were unsuccessful in choosing S.M.'s final resting place and "neutralizing extended family de-

mands," what is often downplayed is that Wambui kept S.M.'s estate intact. For the long term interests of the bourgeois elites of Kenya, this is likely to be far more significant than who got to bury Otieno.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

KIRCH, Patrick V. – SAHLINS, Marshall: *Anahulu. The Anthropology of History in the Kingdom of Hawaii*. Two Volumes. 1. Marshall Sahlins: *Historical Ethnography*. 2. Patrick V. Kirch: *The Archaeology of History*. Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press 1992 243 + 201 pp. ISBN 0-226-73363-7, 0-226-73364-5.

This publication is a fascinating attempt at constructing an integrated history of the Anahulu Valley (Northwestern O'ahu) as a combination of archaeology and social anthropology. The success of the realization of this complex project was guaranteed by the joint participation of two prominent scholars, the archaeologist Patrick V. Kirch and the anthropologist Marshall Sahlins.

In Volume One Sahlins investigates the encounter of Hawaiian society with European civilization. The period examined by the author covers historical events from the late 18th century within the framework of the Pacific area. Of course, the archaeological sequence is much longer but the century of overlap of the two is the focus of the joint research of the two scholars.

The historical period begins in Hawaii after the advent of James Cook in 1778. The early historical period brought along the unification of the archipelago by Kamehameha who has managed to suppress centrifugal tendencies. Subsequently the author follows the decline of Hawaiian rule and the steady rise of Haole power. The individual phases of development correlate (according to Sahlins) with the changing role of the Pacific area in the world economy. It was also the role of Hawaiian *ali'i* that contributed to the decline of Hawaiian power. The hierarchy tended to expand and despite the decline of population, the number of chiefs steadily increased.

Sahlins relies on Hawaiian traditional terminology as relevant to his project. His material basis is very broad, comprising Hawaiian text, Hawaiian government papers, the residents' papers, missionary texts, and observations made by European visitors. Of course, the traditional narratives are carefully evaluated by the author who also pays due attention to the cognitive role of metaphor. Thus the land was treated as the inorganic body of the people. The Hawaiians referred to their ancestral lands as *kula iwi* "the plain of one's bones" and to themselves as to *kama'aina*, i.e., "children of the land" which nurtured them (p. 31). The explanation of land ownership is one of the key issues and cannot do without an analysis of traditional culture and law.

The historical period is divided by Sahlins into the conquest period (1778-1812), the sandalwood era (1812-1830), and the whaling period (1830-1860). Part IV is devoted to the description of the Kawaihoa society around the middle of the 19th century. The clash of the traditional Hawaiian system with the Western civilization resulted in an acceleration in historical development. Therefore a good deal of attention has been paid to Hawaiian cultural factors in the history of the islands, for example to the rapid alternation of the cycles of kapu and noa and their adverse effect upon the local hierarchical system. Gradually, the common people were awakening to their hardships.

Marshall Sahlins has come to the conclusion that the people were not silent to their own history, only their voices were ignored (p. 136).

In Volume Two, Patrick V. Kirch describes the archaeological aspects of the history of the Anahulu Valley. While archaeologists typically concentrate on prehistory, Kirch has undertaken an attempt to contribute to the archaeology of history of the Anahulu area. The prehistoric era has been divided by archaeologists into four periods, i.e., colonization, developmental, expansion, and protohistoric periods. As it turned out, the Waialua district on the northwestern O'ahu is a locality highly suited to the refinement of a collaborative ethnographic-archaeological approach to anthropological history (p. 3).

As stated in the Introduction to Volume Two, the Anahulu Project was conceived and operated as a fully collaborative endeavour in which neither ethnography nor archaeology was privileged over the other approach. The complementary nature of these methods has no doubt helped to achieve the goal of showing how Hawaii's entrance into world history – through a series of local mediations – was realized and cemented into the historical landscape of the Anahulu River Valley (p. 3).

Both volumes comprise a wealth of illustrations. Furthermore, there are two Appendixes in both Volumes, classified bibliographies, Indexes, and in Volume Two the readers will also find a glossary of Hawaiian terms.

The two volumes may be regarded as an invaluable contribution to the multidisciplinary study of the Hawaiian past.

Viktor Krupa

MITTAG, Achim (hrsg.): *In memoriam Achim Hildebrand. Gesammelte Aufsätze. Chinablätter* No. 18. München, Rupprecht Mayer Verlag 1991. 396 pp.

Very seldom appears a commemorative volume dedicated to a young man who passed away when only 32 years old. Joachim Hildebrand (1958–1990) was a talented sinologist who during his short life span had enough time and energy to publish two books: *Das Ausländerbild in der Kunst Chinas im Spiegel kultureller Beziehungen (Han-Tang)*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1987 and *Faszination der Kultur – China*, München, I.P. Verlagsgesellschaft 1987.

The volume under review is a mirror of the scholarly interests of his friends, colleagues and teachers, mostly from Munich, where Hildebrand studied between 1977–1986. The whole book is divided into four sections: I. Archaeology, Culture and Art History, II. Philosophy, Intellectual and Religious History, III. Ethnology: China and its National Minorities, IV. Modern China: Society, Economics and Literature, and into one supplement connected with the history of mathematics in China.

It is very difficult to be quite fair to all the 26 contributors when writing a review of this volume that analyses too many aspects of Chinese life and its history. Some of the papers, even very good, will not even be mentioned in this short contribution. I shall follow the “inner demands” and knowledge of my own, and thus judge their merits.

Käte Finsterbusch's *Darstellungen von Musikern auf Reliefs und Wandmalereien in Gräbern der Han- bis Sui-Zeit* has to be mentioned due to its scholarly value and its relation to the work of late Hildebrand. This is probably the most basic contribution.

Franz Peintinger's *Fund eines christlichen Grabsteins in Yangzhou (1344)*. This tombstone with the inscription in Latin is from the time of the mission of Franciscans under John of Montecorvino who lived in China between 1294–1328 and shortly after another well-known friar John of Marignolli reached Cambaluc (now Peking) in 1342. The tombstone was put above the tomb of certain Antonius Ilionis, son of merchant from Genoa, who died in China.

Probably the most deep of all contributions is Achim Mittag's and Marie Huber's: *Spiegel-Dichtung. Spekulationen über einen Bronzenspiegel des 3. Jahrhunderts und dessen Inschrift – Lied Nr. 57 Shi ren*. Huber's observations are connected with special knowledge from archaeology and history and outstanding Mittag's analysis consists of the textual criticism and enviable *Belesenheit*.

*Aspekte des Individualismus im Alten und Neuen China* by Wolfgang Bauer is a short "footnote" to his recent *chef-d'oeuvre* entitled *Das Antlitz Chinas: Die autobiographische Selbstdarstellung in der chinesischen Literatur von ihren Anfängen bis heute* (1990). This important story of the specific "individualism" in Chinese society from its negated selfhood up to the contemporary broken and battered ego is more or less tragic evidence of Chinese culture.

*Ein manichäischer Fund an der Südküste Chinas* by Barbara Stöcker-Parnian shows the last remains of Manicheism in China, in Cangnan (Chekiang Province) on the basis of the inscription on one Manichean monastery from the 14th century. It is interesting that up to this time existed this world religion, otherwise already defunct in other parts of the world, in China. The end of Manicheism in China came at the beginning of the Ming dynasty during the reign of its founder Zhu Yuanzhang (1368–1399).

*China in Blindfug. Oder: Die Teilung Chinas als Chance?* by Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer is really an essay with question mark. The author does not have an adequate answer but it seems to him that at least federalism is probably the way out of the political and economic dilemma of the contemporary China.

The book under review ends with Liu Hui's "*Bogenfeldfigur*". *Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Dai Zhens Rekonstruktion des Hutiantu* by Hermann Kogelschatz, where the author shows his knowledge of mathematics for the specially prepared readers.

The book under review deserves the attention of the readers.

Marián Gálik

SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, Helwig: *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur. Die 3000jährige Entwicklung der poetischen, erzählenden und philosophisch-religiösen Literatur Chinas von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Bern, Scherz Verlag 1990. 686 pp.

Before I had this most comprehensive and, in my opinion best book on the history of Chinese literature accessible in German Language, I carefully read Claus Uhlig's study *Current Models and Theories of Literary Historiography*, Arcadia, 22, 1987, 1, pp. 1–17 and browsed through a valuable volume edited by Tak-wai Wong and A. Abas entitled *Rewriting Literary History*, Hong Kong University Press 1984, 347 pp. The last one, as far as is known to me, is the only one book in English devoted to the theoretical and practical problems of "writing literary history" published in the

Chinese world in English, but in both of them no one history of Chinese literature is mentioned or analysed. The title of the book edited by the two gentlemen from the Hong Kong University tackles but does not give any plausible answer to the question. On the contrary, in the concluding remarks Fredric Jameson talks "about the fear of history itself" (p. 344). Claus Uhlig is also better when discussing the doubts about than when proposing means of writing literary history. As to the doubts, they are clear: "First, histories of literature have often been said to be nothing more than mere monographs on various writers, pieced together in an accidental chronological order. Second, critics have repeatedly pointed to a fundamental incompatibility of the historical and aesthetic phenomenon with regard to literary texts, stressing the essential difference between events of history and artistic artifacts. Third, aesthetic judgements as bound up with the study of literature aim at universal validity and should be dissociated from the relativism inherent in all historical activity. Finally, a fourth objection to literary historiography consists in asserting a radical divergence between historicity and the artwork's mode of existence which definitely seems to transcend time" (pp. 1-2).

As to the positive aspects, Uhlig points namely to E.S. Shaffer's view that the duty of a literary historian is "to clarify the conditions of the process by which art and literature come to be understood" and adds the following remarks to some extent influenced by the opinion of A. Savile: "Whether indebted to Gadamer or independent of him, this enlightened neo-historicist stance, which opposes autonomous conception of art, allows for a multiple approach to works in that it considers them in the light of their canonical, actual, authorial as well as contemporary interpretations" (p. 11). Chou Ying-hsiung's voice at the Hong Kong volume claims *in deserto*, although all participants were comparatists and partly also sinologists. The remark of Frank Stahl and his call for more explanation concerned the specificity of Chinese literature with regard in the book under review, has its *raison d'être*, only to assert that "die Geschichte fremder Literaturen letztlich nur komparativ betrieben kann", is too high an aim and demand for a historian of Chinese Literature (cf. Stahl's review in *Orientierungen. Neue Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen der Universität Bonn*, 2, 1991, pp. 156-157). We should have in mind that Professor Schmidt-Glintzer was always more a historian of philosophy and religion than of literature, and never worked as a literary comparatist or a student of interliterary process. I would like to see one scholar *in orbe universo* who would be able to write satisfactory history of Chinese literature of the three millennia from the comparative point of view, in the flux of world interliterary history. If such a person exists, even now in my sixties, I should go to him and hear him "with docile ear" (cf. *The Analects of Confucius*. Translated and Annotated by Arthur Waley. London, George Allen & Unwin LTD 1964, p. 88).

As is obvious from the undertitle of the book by Professor Schmidt-Glintzer, this work is not a pure history of Chinese literature, but also of Chinese philosophical and religionist writings, which are in Western countries of modern age usually put outside the framework of *belles lettres*, but in China they mostly formed (up to the end of imperial era) a part of literary legacy.

The introduction to the book might be probably more extensive and to show the difficulties in writing the Chinese literary history and to sketch at least the discussions about the literary history in general in order not to give a chance for critics with too high demands concerning the history of Chinese literature. To write a history of Chinese literature is much more difficult than to write the history of any literature from the European cultural area.

The whole book is divided into seven sections:

1. Songs, Myths and Historical Writings (1400–221 B.C.)
2. Official and Poetic Styles (221 B.C.–180 A.D.)
3. Variety in the Understanding of Nature and the Inner Journeys (180–660)
4. *Aetas aurea* of Poetry and of Short Story (600–900)
5. Men of Letters Between Orthodoxy and Freedom (900–1350)
6. Confucianist Milieu and Entertainment for People (1350–1850)
7. Changes and Abandoning of Old Ways (1850–).

If we compare the book under review with the first comprehensive history of Chinese literature in English by Professor Ch'en Shou-yi entitled: *Chinese Literature: A Historical Introduction* (New York, The Ronald Press Company 1961, 664 pp.), we observe nearly the same extent and similar scope of understanding, but the time lapse between the works of both *erudites* (Schmidt-Glintzer is 49 year younger), mean that the methods of exposition, scholarly documentation, up-to-date information of the German scholar is much more perfect. Certainly not for all readers, but for me it was refreshing to read just those parts which should be kept under the restraint and tamed a bit: his expositions using the broad knowledge of philosophico-historical and religionist matters (especially concerned with Buddhism).

Schmidt-Glintzer understood the development of Chinese literature as an uninterrupted flow or process more or less identical, even after 1850, in the tendency, if not in the quality. I personally think that the gap between traditional Chinese literature and modern or even contemporary Chinese literature, was broader and deeper when looked at and analysed from the intraliterary and interliterary point of view.

In any case, this book is worthy of the attention of readers, both sinologists or students of literature and intellectual history in general.

Marián Gálík

SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, Helwig (Ed.): *Lebenswelt und Weltanschauung im frühzeitlichen China*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1990. 265 pp.

The papers of this 52nd volume of the Münchener Ostasiatischen Studien, the series which began in 1969, were all read at a symposium organized in March 1986 and financed by the Werner-Reimers Foundation. The only exception was the *Einleitung* by Professor Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer in which the problematic question of the beginning of the New Age in China in particular was briefly discussed. This is, of course, a very difficult problem. But even more important issue was that of the causes for the shifting of the social and partly also of the cultural development. According to Schmidt-Glintzer and participants of the symposium, and also on the basis of the book by James T.C. Liu: *China Turning Inward. Intellectual-Political Changes in the Early Twelfth Century*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1988, the most important answers to the question could be found in the intellectual and social fermentation in Sung China between the beginning of the eleventh up to the second half of the twelfth century.

Michael Friedrich's contribution: *Tradition and Intuition: zur Vorgeschichte der Schule von Chu Hsi*, stresses the intuition leading to the development of Neo-Confucianism, not neglecting the impact of Buddhism. Highlighting of intuition has its advantages: Chinese language, especially in the works of pre-Ch'in philosophers, is so different in the each period of Chinese history, with a wide range of meanings and al-

lusions, that intuition as a capacity to understand truth directly, not on the basis of complicated proofs and reasoning, is a good opportunity to express these, but in many ways.

Conrad Schirokauer in his relatively short essay *Chu Hsi's Einstellung zur Geschichte* ponders over the attitude of the famous Sung philosopher to the history and philosophy. Since for him philosophy was axiologically higher due to its inherent principles, and the golden age of history was a thing already *passé*. He did not believe like Hegel that the history is a *magistra vitae*, neither in the prophetic talent like the old Hebrews; history was for him only a mirror and its development similar to the pendulous movement: sometimes progressive, sometimes regressive.

Erling von Mende in his study entitled *Wo ist der Geist zu Hause?* follows in a detailed way the persecution of the members of Kao family during the Ch'ing-yüan era (1195–1201) and later, trying to show the questionable reasons causing it. In China it was customary to find scapegoats in the times of political rivalry among different cliques or in the times of dynastic decline.

Monika Übelhör in her essay *Problematische Situationen im Alltag eines Kreibe-amten – nach sungzeitlichen Handbüchern für korrekte Amtsführung* attempts to give a review of ethical manuals teaching the officials how to reign over the common people and to give in their own world according to the maxims of the Confucian *Weltanschauung*. These books representing moral indoctrination were not very useful, since in the pre-imperial and imperial China there was no effective control of executive power.

One has only to appreciate the enviable knowledge of Achim Mittag who in his contribution *Von "Reisenaufenthaltsort" zum "Goldschmelztiegel": Hang-chou und die Akkommodation der Shi-ta-fu-Schicht in der Südlichen Sung* analyses the process of the building of Hang-chou as the metropolis of the Southern Sung Dynasty after 1138 and especially after Shao-hsing Peace in 1141–1142. This city was full of contradictions: situated in a narrow naturel space, although in the very beautiful surroundings, built not according to the old Chinese cosmological assumptions, a new Rome or a New Babylon in the time of terrible danger in the face of the Northern "barbarians": at first Jurchens and later Mongols. Jacques Gernet in his book *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion 1250–1276* or Dieter Kuhn: *Die Song-Dynastie* (980 bis 1279) depicted the way of life in this city in vivid colours; Mr. Mittag devotes more attention to the intelligentsia and officials and given the approximate addresses of many prominent politicians, man of letters, etc. living in Hang-zhou and its surroundings. Also of interest in his attempt at the new evaluation of the Chiang-hu poetry, typical for this decadent era, and produced between the Ch'ien-t'ang River and the West Lake (Hsi-hu).

Probably the most philosophical contribution in the book is Michaels Lackners *Die "Verplanung" des Denkens am Beispiel der T'u*, where the "diagrams" (t'u) concerned the different versions of T'ai-chi t'u (Diagrams of the Supreme Ultimate) and their connection with Buddhist ideas is elucidated.

Gudula Linsk in her essay *Aus der fruchtbaren Erde wie einsame Schatten – zum Wandel der Wahrnehmung von Weiblichkeit bei der chinesischen Oberschicht der Sung-Zeit* discusses the problem of the women's question (their legal position, moralistic instruction, and conservative sexual attitudes). For me the most attractive was Lincks' presentation of Li Ch'ing-chao (1084–ca. 1155), the greatest among poetesses of old China, although I think that the emancipation strains in her life and work, are a bit exaggerated in this essay. In any case she was the exceptional among the ladies of her

age, I am obliged to thank the authoress for mentioning my Italian study on Chinese women's poetry, although the full English version entitled *On the Literature Written by Chinese Women Prior 1917*, Asian and African Studies (Bratislava) XV, 1979, pp. 65–69, would be preferable for interest for interest readers. Lincks' assertion about reduction of 'womanliness' in China after the Sung dynasty is fully valid.

Three essays on the architecture (Klaus Ruitenbeek), medicine (Paul U. Unschuld) and on the Buddhist historiography (Tsuneki Nishiwaki) are outside my scholarly interest, but they seem to be equally worthy of reading as all other essays of the volume under review.

Marián Gálík

WRIGHT, Arthur F.: *Studies in Chinese Buddhism*. New Haven and London, The Yale University Press 1990. 204 pp.

Every sinologist or translator from classical Chinese, pursuing the translation of Chinese originals or expert analysis of some sociological issue from Mediaeval or modern pre-revolutionary China, will inevitably encounter various Buddhist institutions with which he must professionally get even. For the entire social and cultural life in classical pre-revolutionary China had been as deeply permeated with Buddhism as, say, Europe with Christianity. I became thoroughly aware of this, for instance, when translating Ts'ao Hsüeh-ching's novel *Chung-lou meng* and I simultaneously painfully felt how complicated it can be when a sinologist-nonBuddhist scholar has no possibility to become familiar with all the required information on Chinese Buddhism from the times of its first original infiltrations into China, which could be gathered by him from some trustworthy authoritative comprehensive publication bearing the aegis of an internationally recognized sinologist. (There is a spate of untrustworthy publications on Buddhism, particularly since the latter has come to be generally a new vogue in Europe and in the West, although their interpretation often is a far cry from a serious scientific analysis, as well as from a processing of truthful and original historical materials!)

The Yale University continues to publish the life-long work of one of the great world sinological personalities, Professor Arthur Wright, and has lately published a collection of his sinological works on Buddhism. This deed is all the more praiseworthy, as the editors succeeded in processing the material and preparing the book for publication despite the sudden death of the long-term editor of Wright's works, Robert Somers.

Alerted to the fact that this long-awaited publication is finally available, I started eagerly to read this collection of Wright's works on Buddhism, all the more so as I am familiar with an earlier publication, edited by Prof. Wright, which bears a similar heading: *Studies in Chinese Thought* (1953). Using the form of conference papers, unified by Wright's outstanding historiological introduction, the various authors analysed and expertly explained in that publication diverse weighty problems from Chinese philosophy and Chinese specific sociological areas. Since Buddhism substantially affected all the cultural and social structures of Mediaeval Chinese civilization, beginning with its literary and philosophical history, through its economic and political institutions, religious customs, moral codices and artistic traditions of the most diverse genre, a book with a similar title, this time on the contrary exclusively compiled from Prof. Wright's works, is decidedly a meritorious editorial achievement.



Thanks to Robert Somers, the volume is not a mere mechanically compiled collection of Wright's works on Buddhism in their chronological order, but it brilliantly maps the Buddhist issue in China from its initial infiltrations through the further development of relationships between Buddhism and its receiving culture (*Buddhism and Chinese Culture: Phases of Interaction*, 1959). In addition, it carries also Wright's first significant scientific project which simultaneously formed the basic version of his doctor thesis (1948) on the life of the Buddhist missionary Fo-T'u-teng – a monk who, in the 4th century A.D., when conditions in China were a kaleidoscope of uninterrupted cruel invasions by nomadic tribes from Central Asia, succeeded in inspiring the people with enthusiasm for the new religious ideas and simultaneously accomplishing a great deal for further promotion of Buddhism in China, despite the harsh situation that then prevailed. Through further biographies, i.e. *Biography of the Nun An-ling-shou* (1952) and *Biography and Hagiography: Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks* (1954), Prof. Wright's essays have an infectious way of their own in drawing us into the atmosphere of Buddhism's penetration into China. Through the immediate fates of Buddhist monks, we follow all the components of reciprocal penetrations – of Buddhist ideas into Chinese cultural and spiritual structures, and through feedback, Chinese cultural and spiritual structures into the original Indian Buddhism. Thus one can gradually trace the entire process of domiciliation and transformation of the original Indian Buddhism into a new, naturalized Chinese Ch'an-Buddhism. And at the same time, the reader also grasps an objective meaning as to why this happened, nay, why it had happened and what in fact really is Chinese Buddhism.

The closing (the 5th) chapter of the book entitled *Fu I and the Rejection of Buddhism* (1951) presents an analysis of a very acute historical fact which had a dramatic impact on the further development of Chinese Buddhism. It came at the beginning of the T'ang dynasty when, due to the extremely tense atmosphere between Chinese Buddhism and Confucianism (at that time already a State ideology in China), violent attempts were made to uproot it. On that occasion it came out most forcefully to what measure Buddhism had already irrevocably grown into Chinese life and could never be expelled from China.

Prof. Wright's book provides us with abundant notes and a very comprehensive bibliography which will help every budding sinologist-Buddhologist to get his bearings in the domain under study.

Marina Čarnogurská

SÁRKÖZI, Alice: *Political Prophecies in Mongolia in the 17th–20th Centuries*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1992. 165 pp.

Prophetic literature dealing with the end of the world or long-term calamities represent a specific literary genre. It is as old as mankind itself and may be found in practically every nation.

The publication by the Hungarian Mongolian scholar Alice Sárközi is concerned with political prophecies in Mongolia in the 17th–20th century. Although this literary genre had been relatively widespread in that country, the topic as such surprisingly received hardly any attention. The monograph under review is the first attempt to make up for this omission.

The publication is divided into five basic parts: The Introduction (pp. 7–18) summarizes elementary data on Mongolian prophetic literature as a specific genre, with its

own structure, content and aims. The most characteristic trait of this genre is its supranatural origin. As the author intimates, prophetic texts were not written by human hand. Most frequently, they were inscriptions and messages on rocks which either fell directly from heaven, or were mediated by some supranatural being. The text destined to the rich and the poor alike, portrayed mankind's moral decline, threatened with natural disasters and Doomsday, unless the people returned to a moral, devout life, faithfully abiding by the injunctions of spiritual and temporal leaders.

Starting from the source material, the author points out that although the ideas involved in this genre (heaven's support to the ruler and mankind's steady moral depravity) had been known as early as the 14th century, the last documented text dealing with the end of the world comes from the 17th century. The original home elements were enriched through the intermediary of both Chinese and Tibetan apocalyptic literatures.

Prophecies and prophetic texts had practically always a political background and touched the fate of the entire nation, in contrast to divinations – a somewhat younger phenomenon – documented in Mongolian as far back as the 13th century. These referred to the fate of a single person or family, or the success or failure of a warring expedition. The author makes a strict distinction between these two genres, closely related at first sight, and devotes attention exclusively to prophetic texts.

She has included 13 such texts in her monograph, coming from the oriental collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the St. Petersburg collection of the Russian Academy of Sciences, as well as from private collections. However, her comparative studies rest on a far broader base. She worked with some 170 texts which she investigated from the aspect of structure, motivation and aim.

The author devotes considerable attention to the origin of the sources. As the genre of prophetic literature in Mongolia was principally formed through the intermediary of Chinese and Tibetan influence, today it is rather difficult to determine which of the texts is original, which is Mongolian, or which passages were added to Chinese and Tibetan translations on the Mongolian territory. Although in most cases there is a question of compilations created on the basis of a Chinese or Tibetan model, the author has carefully divided this material and included in her monograph the following types of texts: Mongolian prophetic texts translated from Chinese (pp. 19–59), Mongolian prophetic texts translated from Tibetan (pp. 60–78), texts mediated by supranatural powers (pp. 79–82) and prophetic statements whose authors are representatives of Lamaism in Mongolia (pp. 83–133). As a rule, each source is accompanied with its characteristic and description, in many cases also a historico-philosophical commentary is appended. Each section of the monograph has a list of the most important sources and data as to where the given source is to be found.

From Mongolian prophetic texts set up on the basis of Chinese originals, two are included in the monograph and one of them is a unique manuscript from the collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The manuscript of relatively diminutive dimensions, was brought from Inner Mongolia and probably dates from the 17th century.

From the abundant list of Mongolian prophetic texts translated from Tibetan, the author introduces three – two from the collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and one from the Dresden collection. These are statements which were among those most widely spread, their authors being the highest dignitaries of Lamaism – Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama (Tashi).

The next group of texts is represented by a single text – Statements by the holy mandjushiri – coming from the Dresden collection.

The most numerous texts in the monograph are pronouncements by Mongolian representatives of Lamaism – Djavdzandamba Khutagtas. The last of them – the 8th Djavdzandamba Khutagta (1870–1924) – is the author of three out of the total of eight texts included. That is no chance occurrence. The turn of the 19th–20th century marked the greatest flourishing of Mongolian prophetic literature.

The monograph comprises Notes on concrete problems (pp. 135–156) and a Bibliography (pp. 157–165).

The book under review has succeeded in combining the publication of sources, their translation and their scientific discussion. Its contribution resides in that it presents an overview of sources and references to a topic that has not as yet been investigated.

Eva Juríková

YERASIMOS, S.: *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. Ankara, Société Turque d'histoire 1991. 499 pp., 69 maps.

Human activities, mobile in their essence, also existed in the Middle Ages – for instance, artisans and their journeymen, students, but farmers also moved to escape famine. Sinners repenting of grave sins could redeem themselves by making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or Santiago de Compostela and on their return would think twice before backsliding. A specific mobile activity was that seen in the diplomatic service which connected not solely European centres, but also certain parts of Asia and Africa.

Some twenty years ago, the Austrian historian K. Teply published a book entitled *Kaiserliche Gesandtschaften ans Goldene Horn*, compiled from writings left by diplomats and travellers from the 16th–17th centuries, comprising notes on the preparations for the journey, sailing down the Danube, travels along the military road, audiences, stays at the German House, descriptions of cities, celebrations, diplomacy and negotiations, the black death, imprisonment and return back home.

S. Yerasimos endeavoured to utilize travelogues from the Ottoman Empire as a source of historical studies of this Empire and partly also for a historical topography and the history of towns. The author's starting point was the fact that travellers to the Ottoman Empire were of a varying standing and level, hence, he referred to them regardless of whether theirs were serious works or predominantly just fiction.

Travelling to the Orient dated from antiquity with works of classical Arabian geography providing basic data for travellers greatly contributed to it. The routes essentially led to the Holy Land and, whether sinners or zealots, the travellers had to be acquainted with the way and the holy places. The rise of the Ottoman Empire opened new roads not only to major centres, but actually to all parts of the Empire. However, in view of the centre of power, they naturally led to Istanbul.

In the first chapter the author is mainly concerned with European travellers, their routes and notes, of which he gathered some 450. He mentions some interesting data: e.g. the Italians have left 136 travelogues – followed by Germans and Magyars – 9 each, and Czechs 2. As to social standing, pride of place go to high dignitaries and statesmen (106), then come ecclesiastics, noblemen and finally physicians, apothecaries and botanists. During the period 1400–1600, the most interested in travels to the Ottoman Empire were missionaries (191), then came travellers in the broad sense of the term (147) with merchants in the third place only. During their stay travellers

noted down various data referring mostly to the Turks' military power, their customs, the pitiable state of Christians, Islam and polemics with it, as e.g. the *Antialkora*n by Václav Budovec of Budov.

Chapter two is devoted to itineraries in which the author follows up not merely the principal routes, but also the road network in the Balkans and the Near East. S. Yerasimos devotes special attention to the "Middle Road", or the road followed by imperial ambassadors. The latter stopped not only in Bratislava (and Šamorín), but likewise at Komárno (and such localities as Marcelová, Moča, Vojnice, Buč, Mužla, Štúrovo, Kamenica and Chľaba). The route from Vienna through Slovakia to Transylvania essentially followed that of the stage-coach.

In conclusion, the author summarizes all the factors deemed of importance to travellers (safety, condition of the roads, speed, fellow-travellers, etc.), whether these were questions of ambassadors, couriers, soldiers, travellers and whether they used the military road (kept in a good repair), or that followed by caravans or couriers.

The core of the book consists of a list of travellers from the 14th to the 16th centuries, with pertinent data, a brief curriculum vitae, itineraries and the bibliography of 450 authors who left their testimonies to posterity.

I should like to draw attention to the publication by Michael von Sarrau: *Ortten Beschreibung der Reyss gehen Constantinopel*. Eingeleitet und herausg. von K. Wickert, Erlangen 1987 and the translation by M. Okál of the humanist Pavol Rubigal's *Hodoeporicon itineraris Constantinopolitani* (1544) – *Opis cesty do Konštantínopolu*, Bratislava 1985.

Detailed lists of names, persons and towns are appended. The maps document the itineraries from Vienna to Egypt. The book brings a great quantity of material on itineraries in the Ottoman Empire, bibliographies and, not last, also theoretical postulates.

Vojtech Kopčan

TULU, Sultan: *Chorasantürkische Materialien aus Kalāt bei Esfarāyen*. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen. Band 128. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1989. VII + 365 pp.

In 1973 a Turkological expedition led by Prof. Dr. G. Doerfer was at work in Khorasan (in northeastern Iran). On the basis of the material obtained, it was suggested that Khorasan Turkish should be classified as an offshoot of the Oghuz group, on the same level as Azerbaijani, Turkmenian and Anatolian Turkish. Until then, Khorasan Turkish had been considered a dialect of Turkmenian.

Although the collection of materials served primarily linguistic aims, another significant factor is the fact that a large quantity of folk texts were recorded. Unfortunately in other cases, the folklore of Iran's Turkic nations is not very well documented.

Of the 24 tapes recorded in Khorasan, one has been processed by Turkologist Sultan Tulu as her dissertation thesis. This material was obtained from two informants on October 11, 1973 in the village of Kalāt near Esfarāyen: one a farmer, the other a folk narrator by vocation (*bakhshi*). However, more detailed data which are required for a folkloristic processing are lacking. A fact testifying to the author's tenacity and sense of consciousness is that she subsequently succeeded in obtaining the necessary data regarding the folk narrator. Working with material which she obtained second-

hand also proved disadvantageous in other respects. She was not present at the recording and had no opportunity to verify or supplement the information. As all the collected material had to be uniformly processed, S. Tulu's work is somewhat scattered in character, though not by her own fault. In my opinion, Sultan Tulu has given proof of her thoroughness and consciousness in processing both the dialect and the text and shows perception in the domain of Oghuz languages and folk literature. She has processed all the material recorded on the tape and cannot be made responsible for its heterogeneity.

Her dissertation has two parts – linguistic and literary. The linguistic portion comprises a characteristic of the Kalāt dialect and the text of the folk story Aslī – Kārām in the transcription used by Prof. Doerfer, with a literal translation into German.

The literary portion presents a comparison of the Khorasan variant of the story with Azerbaijani and Anatolian variants. The author evidently considers the Turkmenian variant to be so close that she uses it as a complementary source in cases where the recorded texts, especially songs, are incomprehensible. She deals briefly with the spread and variants of the story, with various editions and processings. She appends an index of localities and persons involved, as well as one of motifs. For the sake of completeness, the texts of songs from published Turkmenian editions are given also.

I consider it illogical that the literary section was continued in a purely lexical and grammatical manner. The informants (who, like the rest of Khorasanians, were bilinguals) had to translate expressions belonging to certain groups of concepts from Persian into Khorasan Turkish (e.g. parts of the body, dress, etc.) as well as parts of speech (adjectives, verbs, etc.), grammatical bonds and forms. All these expressions are listed first in Persian, then in Khorasan and German. One may ask, for instance, whether it is convenient to acquire a knowledge of Turkish verbal forms on the basis of translations of Persian paradigms which are Indo-European, and therefore of a totally different nature. However, under the circumstances, that may have been the most suitable.

Following is a list of words occurring in the Aslī – Kārām text with German (Persian, Turkmenian and Azerbaijani) equivalents. The bibliography is again divided into two parts – linguistic and literary.

Seeing the lack of our knowledge of Oghuz dialects and folk literature in Iran, a work of this type is very meritorious. It is to be hoped that all the material obtained in Iran (the expedition led by Prof. Doerfer worked not only in Khorasan, but also in Azerbaijani regions) will soon be processed and made available. Finally, since thousands of Iranian Turks now live in West-European countries, it may also be possible to gather material from them.

*Jitka Zamrazilová-Weltman*

KÁKOSY, László: *Zauberei im alten Ägypten*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1989. 267 S.

In Arbeiten über Religion im alten Ägypten wird Magie verschieden betrachtet. Über das Wesen der Magie, über ihre Beziehung zur Religion wurden verschiedene, oft gegensätzliche, Ansichten ausgesprochen. Einige Forscher sehen in der Magie ein unumgängliches Element jeder Religion, andere stellen Magie und Religion in Gegensatz zu einander, meistens aber stimmen sie darin überein, daß die Magie bei der Entwicklung der Religionen, besonders in den ersten Etappen, eine wichtige Rolle

spielte. Einige, wie J.G. Frazer, sehen in der Magie eine Vorstufe der Religion, andere, wie z.B. K. Preuss und A. Vierkandt, verstehen sie als Quelle der Entwicklung von religiösen Vorstellungen. Als Hauptproblem aber bleibt die Abgrenzung von Magie und Religion. In dieser Hinsicht halten viele an der Ansicht von Frazer fest, der beide Phänomene in direkten Gegensatz stellte. Er meint, daß die Magie am menschlichen Glauben in die eigenen Fähigkeiten beruht durch Nutzung geheimnisvoller Kräfte direkt auf ein Objekt wirken zu können und den gewünschten Effekt zu erlangen, während die Religion sich um Schutz und Patronat höherer übernatürlicher Kräfte bewirbt. Natürlich engte Frazer dadurch den Begriff von Religion wesentlich ein. An solche Ansichten hielt sich im wesentlichen auch der Gründer der Wiener ethnologischen Schule Pater Wilhelm Schmidt, der die Magie als einen Faktor ansah, der destruktiv auf die Religion einwirkte, besonders auf den sog. Urmonotheismus. Und doch spielt die Magie eine wichtige Rolle in der Religion, ja sie tritt als ein wichtiger Bestandteil seiner Struktur auf, wie es gerade in der altägyptischen Religion zu sehen ist, aber auch in anderen Religionssystemen der antiken Welt. Jeder, der über die altägyptische Religion schrieb, mußte sich auf irgendeine Weise mit der Magie als Bestandteil des religiösen Systems auseinandersetzen. Siegfried Morenz widmete in seinem Buch *Gott und Mensch im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig 1964) der Rolle der Magie in der Religion ein besonderes Kapitel. Jaroslav Černý bemerkte in seinem Werk *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London 1952), daß vom ägyptischen Gesichtspunkt jeder religiöse Akt eine magische Handlung sein konnte, denn die ägyptische Sprache hat kein Wort für Religion und das bedeutungsmäßig nächste Wort dazu war *hike* (*heka*) also Magie, magische Kraft. Auch der russische Wissenschaftler M.A. Korostovcev schenkte in seiner Arbeit *Religija drevnego Jegipta* (Religion des alten Ägypten, Moskau 1976) der Magie außerordentliche Aufmerksamkeit. In diesem Sinne könnten wir auch auf Werke zahlreicher anderer Autoren hinweisen.

Die Magie wurde zum Gegenstand mehrerer speziell religionistischer Arbeiten. Zur ersten in dieser Reihe gehört das Werk des tschechischen Ägyptologen František Lexa *Staroegyptské čarodějnictví* (Altägyptische Zauberei) I, II (Prag 1924), das ein Jahr später in Paris in französischer Übersetzung herausgegeben wurde. Im letzten Jahrzehnt erschienen einige ausgezeichnete wissenschaftliche Arbeiten über Magie im alten Ägypten, wie R. Briers *Zauber und Magie in Ägypten* (München 1984), Chr. Jacqs *Le monde magique de l'Égypte Ancienne* (Monaco 1983), der Sammelband *La magia in Egitto ai tempi faraoni* (Verona 1987). Zu diesen reiht sich die Arbeit des ungarischen Wissenschaftlers – Ägyptologen László Kákossy *Zauberei im alten Ägypten*, herausgegeben im Akademischen Verlag in Budapest, welche durch die theoretische und methodologische Ausarbeitung der Problematik unsere Aufmerksamkeit erweckte.

Der Autor L. Kákossy erörtert die altägyptische Magie phänomenologisch, allerdings nicht im Sinne der Methode von G. van der Leeuw, wie er sie in der Arbeit *Phänomenologie der Religion* zum Ausdruck brachte, weiter entwickelte und anwendete. Zur wissenschaftlichen Methode dieses namhaften holländischen Religionisten, dessen wissenschaftlicher Verdienst ansonsten unumstritten ist, wurden schon vor längerer Zeit ernste Vorbehalte ausgesprochen. Der weltbekannte italienische Religionist Raffaele Pettazzoni beanstandet ihren Ahistorismus. Als Vertreter einer strikt historischen Methode ging er von der Erkenntnis aus, daß das religiöse Leben sich in einer unendlichen Vielfältigkeit von historischen Formen ausdrückt. Aber die Phänomenologie von van der Leeuw ist nicht an diesen historischen Formen interessiert, sondern an typischen Komplexen erlebter religiöser Erfahrung, der Vielfalt von historischen

Formen entsprechend. In solchen Komplexen gibt es nicht das Moment von Urzustand und Nachfolge, die Strukturen sind zerlegt und typologisch nach ihren äußerlichen Merkmalen getrennt (M. Nowaczyk, *Włoska szkoła historyczna i fenomenologia religii*. Studia Religioznawcze, II. Warszawa 1970, 11–12). In der Tat ist eine Systemisierung der religiösen Phänomene in typologische Reihen auf Grund äußerlicher Merkmale, außerhalb von Raum und Zeit, ohne Rücksicht auf natürliche kulturhistorische Zusammenhänge, in welchen sie wirkten, nicht nur nicht historisch, sondern sie macht das richtige Begreifen der Semantik einzelner Phänomene unmöglich. Dagegen verband der Autor L. Kákósy in seiner Forschungsmethode erfolgreich den phänomenologischen und historischen Gesichtspunkt.

Der Autor gibt zuerst eine allgemeine Charakteristik der ägyptischen Religion mit ihren Vorstellungen über Götter, Seelen, Kosmogonie und Kosmologie, sowie über abstrakte Begriffe und Anzeichen von Anfängen der Philosophie. Im nächsten Teil widmet er seine Aufmerksamkeit vor allem dem Wesen und Erscheinungsformen des Phänomen Magie in Ägypten. Im Kapitel über Beziehungen von Magie und Religion wertet er kritisch einige Stellungnahmen und theoretische Ansichten zu dieser Frage. Wir fügen hinzu, daß zur theoretischen Erarbeitung des Phänomen Magie Marcel Mauss in seiner *Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie* (In: Mauss, M.: *Sociologie et anthropologie*, Paris 1968) wesentlich beigetragen hat. Besondere Bedeutung kommt seiner kritischen Wertung des „Goldenen Astes“ von J.G. Frazer zu. Es zeigte sich nämlich, daß Frazer magische Handlungen und andere symbolische Handlungen oft nicht genügend unterscheidet, z.B. Akte des Gewohnheitsrechts oder religiöse Riten.

Der Autor fährt fort mit einer Abhandlung über die Quellen der ägyptischen Zauberei und ihrer Vertreter, die Auffindung von Zauberbüchern und ihrer Verfasser, über die Beziehung der Magie zu den Göttern, über magische Praktiken zum Schutz des Staates gegen staatsfeindliche Magie, über Heilzauber, hilfreiche Geister, Dämonen der Mittagsstunde und der Nacht, Zauber gegen Tiere, Liebeszauber, über das Motiv des magischen Überflusses und der Magie der Schatzgräber, über Drohungen gegen die Götter und kosmische Magie, Namenmagie und Zauberworte. Der dritte Teil ist der Geschichte der Zauberei in Ägypten gewidmet. Im vierten Teil beschäftigt sich der Autor mit der Beziehung zwischen Zauberei und Mythologie, im fünften Teil mit großen Zaubern und im sechsten mit magischen Gegenständen (Amulette, magische Statuen, Ringe und Zeichen).

Die ganze Arbeit beruht auf einer kritischen Analyse des Materials, Deutung der Texte und Artefakte. Das Buch ist ein wichtiger Beitrag nicht nur zur Ägyptologie, aber vor allem zu den theoretischen und methodologischen Fragen der Religionswissenschaft.

Ján Komorovský

MCCLELLAN, Charles W.: *State Transformation and National Integration: Gedeo and the Ethiopian Empire, 1895–1935*. African Studies Center, Michigan State University, Michigan 1988. 194 pp.

This monograph by an American historian is concerned with the integration of the small Gedeo (Darasa) ethnic group into the multi-ethnic Ethiopian empire. The study is of importance for an understanding of the complex ethnic situation in the country. With the example of a small, circumscribed territory, the author has succeeded in un-

covering the methods of Ethiopian colonialism and has outlined possible solutions to present-day problems having their roots in the period studied. The author is constantly aware of all the stumbling blocks and obstacles caused by varying interpretations of the same history.

The basis of McClellan's research is interviews he had with informants during his 16 months stay in what was then the province of Sidamo in southern Ethiopia, during 1974–1975. Despite immense difficulties (the beginning of a revolution, problems with co-operation, complex life conditions during the survey), the author completed 300 interviews – something which is unique and never to be repeated in view of the new political reality in Ethiopia.

The first chapter analyses the Ethiopian (Abyssinian) and Gedeo societies of the end of the 19th century before they came into military confrontation, and the form of the occupied territory's political integration. The cause of the confrontation was the "Northerners" expansiveness which was primarily motivated by economic factors. The author divides this period into three sections (this periodization ought to have been included in the introduction). The focus of Chapter Two is on the methods for administration of the colonial territory and the new social structure.

Chapters Three and Four present a more detailed analysis of the social situation and the adaptation of the autochthonous population. Here we find an analysis of the system of land holding, relations between the northern migrants and the autochthonous inhabitants, the manner of profit sharing and its division between the Northerners and the State. The author also deals in detail with the changes that took place after the principal export – ivory – had been replaced with coffee.

The fifth chapter is concerned with the impact of the changes on commerce. During this time, trade also played an extraordinary role in integration and communication, and therefore the central government was trying to control it. The closing chapter is devoted to questions of social integration, including problems of acculturation and assimilation.

The author comes to the conclusion that until 1936 the Gedeo had created a prosperous coffee economy whose significance continued to grow even in the 50s and 60s. However, despite their important economic integration into the empire, the Gedeo failed to obtain either political or social status. The result was frustration which, however, did not lead to separatist efforts. Instead, the Gedeo still hope to play a greater role in the existing State.

The author's conclusion, along with his entire analysis, has a universal validity and may contribute in a significant measure to solving the complex ethnic situation in this country, whereby ethnic groups, oppressed for decades, will have an opportunity to become integrated not only economically (and this often forcibly), but also socially and politically.

In this work the author touches on a great number of other weighty issues, including the "nationality question" under Ethiopian conditions. One of his remarkable conclusions in this respect is, e.g. the idea of the existence of a supra-national Shewa ethnicity.

The monograph includes maps, tables, diagrams, a necessary glossary, and excerpts from selected recordings of interviews with informants. In a small space the author has succeeded in enfolding various complex problems whose solutions ought to intrigue experts' interest on the complex and increasingly urgent question of nationality all the world over.

*Juraj Chmielec*



PANKHURST, Richard: *The History of Famine and Epidemics in Ethiopia Prior to the Twentieth Century*. Addis Ababa, Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, Addis Ababa, s. a. 120 pp.

In his latest book, the British historian R. Pankhurst, a resident in Ethiopia, deals with the history of famines and epidemics in Ethiopia up to the beginning of the 20th century, hence, calamities that have adversely affected the development of this country throughout its existence. He points to the close relationship between the origins or causes, the course and the sequelae of famines and epidemics, on the one hand, and the socio-economic and political situation in the country, on the other.

The monograph is divided into four principal sections which chronologically analyse the causes, course and consequences of the calamities. The author's evaluation of the successes of the present-day régime in Ethiopia, allegedly achieved in agriculture after 1974, strikes one as lacking in sound criticism. This section is probably the inevitable tribute to the publisher of the work.

R. Pankhurst was able to map relatively accurately the history of epidemics and famines from the end of the first millennium of our era due to materials preserved in the Giiiz language. Although the texts are of an ecclesiastic character with legends predominating, the most severe disasters can be deduced from them. Thus, it was possible to ascertain the outbreak of the first major famine in the 9th century which was recorded indirectly. It should be observed that famines and epidemics were such common phenomena that records deal solely with the most horrible ones, such as those that paralysed the life of the whole country.

Better documented are these disasters – from the 15th century onwards. Besides home authors, also Arab historians, European missionaries and travellers recorded them.

The fact that famines and epidemics seriously intervened into the political situation in the country is also supported by the "Great Famine" of 1888–1892. This is the best documented disaster and in its processing the author took support in memories of direct witnesses with whom he made interviews. The famine which was provoked by cattle plague, for instance helped the Italians to get a better foothold inside the country. Famine had always an impact on the demographic situation in Ethiopia: from the economic aspect, it caused a serious recession, from the social point of view, it strengthened the power of some feudal lords and immensely impoverished the greater part of the population. Of interest are efforts on the part of Emperor Minilike II to mitigate the impact of the famine on the population, although his endeavours had no major significance.

Maps showing places with incidence of the greatest disasters would certainly have added to the clarity of the monograph.

R. Pankhurst's book is a valuable contribution to the history of Ethiopia and should not be overlooked by experts on African and Asian issues, nor by those interested in earlier history of the world.

*Juraj Chmiel*

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**Published by**

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

**Text set by**  
ACADEMIC DTP

**Subscription information**

SAP – Slovak Academic Press, Ltd.  
P.O. Box 57  
Nám. slobody 6  
810 05 Bratislava

**Distributed by**

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

Registr. No. 679/92

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