ASIAN

AND

Slovak
Academy
of Sciences

AFRICAN

STUDIES

CONTENTS

Articles

Book Reviews

ARTICLES

MAO DUN AND ME[*]

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The aim of this article is to describe the process of the study of Mao Dun's work and life within the framework of Czech and Slovak sinology, especially in connection with the present author during the last more than forty years.
This study is dedicated to and published on the eve of the 100th anniversary of Mao Dun's birthday on July 4, 1996.

The interest in the study of modern Chinese literature in the PRC and else-where, both from the intra- and interliterary aspects, is a positive development in the last more than twenty years. The quantity and sometimes also the quality of scholarly production in this realm of sinology increased tremendously. Not much is known about the physiology of this study, its difficulties, the ways of obtaining materials, bio-bibliographical data, the scholarly collaboration of the critics, historians, writers, etc. Especially before the years ending with the "Cultural Revolution" (1966–1976), the whole field is more or less *terra incognita*, although its more detailed knowledge could show the odyssey of the pioneers of the study of modern Chinese literature and their first disciples.

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My first contact with Mao Dun [1] (1896–1981) or, better to say, the general characteristics of his work, dates back to October 1953 when I started my sinology studies at the Charles University in Prague. Our most indispensable teaching materials included a book of exercises entitled *Učebnice mluvené čínštiny* (The Textbook of Spoken Chinese), originally compiled by Jaroslav Průšek in 1938. It contained two sentences which represented for me the first

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[*] First shorter Chinese version of this article (analysing the facts up to 1986) appeared in Studies in Modern Chinese Literature, 1, 1990, pp. 231–249 under the title: *Wo he Mao Dun* [149] I and Mao Dun. Later nearly full version (analysing the facts up to 1988) appeared in German entitled: *Begegnungen mit Mao Dun. Eine Erinnerung und ein Forschungsbericht*, Minima sinica (Bonn), 2, 1993, pp. 64–90.

information on the subject: "In China there are published many new works of fiction. I personally like those written by Mao Dun. I think that he is the best fiction writer in contemporary China."[1]

Students or disciples, when deciding whether to commit themselves to the chosen field of study, usually look at the "image" of their teachers. They may either accept their opinions or may view them in a critical way, but they always learn from them. In the early 1950s the knowledge of modern Chinese literature in the countries outside China itself was very limited. Průšek thus played a pioneering role in Central Europe and in the West in general. It was thus natural for us to reach for his works and learn from them. At the very beginning, we found two such books. One of them was *Sestra moje Čína* (China – My Sister) published in 1940, the other *O čínském písemnictví a vzdělanosti* (On the Chinese Literature and Instruction) published in 1947. The latter volume comprised studies Průšek wrote in the period 1934–1945. The global political situation, Nazi victory in Germany, impending World War II and the war itself, USSR, occupation of vast Chinese territories by the militaristic Japan, difficult victories both in Europe and Asia, all this was reflected in the work. One of the studies in this collection covering subjects ranging from Confucius, his time and thought, up to the present days, was called *Nová čínská literatura* (The New Chinese Literature) and was first published in the journal Das neue China, Berlin 1940. This study, probably the first one in the world literature outside China with perhaps the exception of *The Creative Spirit in Modern Chinese Literature*[2] by A.Acton, gave us the most relevant information on the new Chinese literature from the end of the last century up to the beginning of the Anti-Japanese War. Průšek's major source was apparently the book, *Zhongguo xin wenxue yundong shi* [2] A History of New Chinese Literary Movement by Wang Zhefu [3], but his study also contains much of the fruits of his own readings and observations. This is distinctly visible in the section devoted to Mao Dun and Bing Xin [4] (1900–). In contrast to German, Czech, or Slovak readers, Chinese readers may not find very interesting Průšek's interpretation of Mao Dun's trilogy *Shi* [5] The Eclipse. All they need to do is to thumb through Wang Zhefu's monograph in one of the libraries.

Průšek's translation of the *Ziye* [6] *Midnight* and his long preface from August 1950 played an important part not only in the cause of gaining Czech and, somewhat later, also Slovak sinologists for the study of modern Chinese literature. This Czech translation was, to a certain extent, stimulated by the German translation by Franz Kuhn published under the title *Shanghai in Zwielicht*, Dresden 1938. The Czech title of the novel *Šerosvit* (The Twilight) is closer to the German *Zwielicht* than to the Chinese *Midnight*. But while the Nazi censorship authorized the publication of Kuhn's translation, Průšek's case was different. Although he translated Mao Dun's novel in the years 1939–40, it appeared in

[1] PRŮŠEK, J.: The Textbook of Spoken Chinese, Zlín 1938.

[2] T'ien Hsia Monthly, 1, 1935, 4, pp. 374–387.

114

print one whole decade later. It was published in 1950 by Svoboda Publishing House with the impression of 10,750 copies.

The translation of the *Midnight*, both in the 1950 edition and in the 1958 edition for the Readers' Club, the largest Czech readers' organisation, is not complete. Probably because of the censorship which, as it is known, befell *Midnight* also in the Kuomintang China, Průšek omitted from his translation a considerable part of Chapter 15 starting with the paragraph which begins as follows: "From a dark corner of the slum a shadow was creeping silent out..." up to the sentence: "You're giving yourself away – you're tarred with the same brush as the liquidationists."[3] It depicts the scenes from a slum room of women workers in which three labour-movement activists meet, i.e Cai Zhen [7], Ma Jin [8] and Chen Yue'e [9] and two Party representatives, i.e. Ke Zuofu [10] and Su Lun [11] and discuss the possibility or the necessity of a general strike for the Shanghai workers in the silk industry. The second edition had 34,000 copies.

The character of Průšek's preface to the translation reminds more of a historical introduction than a literary study. He devotes a relatively limited space to the literary aspects, perhaps due to the need to explain to the Czecho-Slovak readers in the year 1950 the political background against which the changes after the founding of the PRC in October 1949 took place. The following words attest to Průšek's admiration for *Midnight*: "We may say that *Midnight* is, except for the now already classic work of the greatest Chinese man of letters of modern time – Lu Xun, the greatest literary work of prewar China."[4]

Průšek, however, did not invariably approve of Mao Dun. He was aware of his drawbacks and certain remarks brought to my notice before reading *Midnight* provided me with the food for reflection: "Perhaps the rapidity with which Mao Tun wrote his novels is to be blamed for a considerable lack of elaboration of many passages. And, in particular, he does not have the gift of Lu Xun for such a transformation of the seen and carefully observed reality which would enable the perception of it not only as a record of the events, but also as an artistic image and an experience. His realism is more faithful than artistic. He is oppressed by the reality and this feeling prevents him from its artistic sublimation."[5]

The last sentences concerned especially The Eclipse and it was this trilogy he had in mind when writing the following sentences in China – My Sister:

"Driven by revolutionary ardour, he (Mao Dun, M.G.) joined the ranks of the revolutionaries in 1926 and actively worked in the Hankou government. But Hankou fell and Mao Dun returned to Shanghai. He was then seized with the obsession, he wanted and had to express what he lived through. As in a fever, in

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[3] MAO DUN: *Ziye*, Peking 1953. pp. 444–457 and Mao Tun: *Midnight*, Peking 1957, pp. 419–431.

[4] See PRŮŠEK's Preface to his Czech translation of the *Midnight*, 1950 edition, p. 19.

[5] PRŮŠEK, J.: On the Chinese Literature and Instruction, Prague, Družstevní práce 1947, pp. 238–240.

one and a half month he wrote the first volume of the trilogy. It was a frank and horrible confession. A similar one had been written during the Russian revolution by Veresayev. It might also be called *V tupike* (Blind Alley)."[6]

During our studies at the Charles University we never read Mao Dun in the original. Průšek would come as a consultant on Chinese history, read Pu Songling's [12] (1640–1715) poetry with us, conduct seminars on the preparation of term papers and, later on, on the diploma theses topics. The themes were always chosen by us. Understandably, availability of materials, interest and talent were also taken into consideration. When in the last but one year of my studies I presented to Průšek my plan of writing first a term paper and then a diploma thesis on Mao Dun's short stories, he did not seem exactly enthusiastic about the idea. This, however, was not due to the fact that he knew about my profound interest in history since one of my term papers was devoted to the analysis of the reform-oriented activities of Wang Anshi [13] (1021–1086); he simply did not seem to approve of the topic because he was convinced that modern short story production (with the exception of Lu Xun) was very schematic, of little artistic vigour and as such not deserving of the attention of European scholars. It is hard to believe that such was Průšek's opinion at the time around 1956, but it is true. The change of his outlook was visible later when in the *Introduction* to the *Studies in Modern Chinese Literature*, Berlin 1964, p. 30, he affirmed quite opposite: "There is no doubt that the Chinese prose was the greatest manifestation of this epoch. It is at this time (i.e. between the years 1918–1937, M.G.) that the modern lengthy social novel appeared in China, the sketch, the essay, the diary, etc. acquired new forms, but it was the Chinese short story that reached the highest degree of perfection."

My resolution to devote myself to the study of Mao Dun's short stories was firm. Because only a part of Mao Dun's short story production was available in Czecho-Slovakia at the time, I was able to read and to work only on the stories written between 1928 and 1937. Before my leaving for China in September 1958, I signed a contract with Slovenský spisovateľ Publishing House in Bratislava for the publication of the Slovak translation of Mao Dun's short stories under the title *Obchod rodiny Linovej a iné poviedky* (The Shop of the Lin Family and Other Stories) which appeared in 1961. Armed with Průšek's letter of recommendation and an extensive English resumé of my diploma work I landed in Peking on September 15, 1958, where I was to spend a one-year period on a scholarship granted to me by the then Ministry of Education and Culture. The scholarship was extended by one whole year later on by the Czecho-Slovak authorities. After my arrival I notified the Bureau for Foreign Students at the Peking University about the purpose of my stay and asked for the assignment of an adviser and also for an appointment with Mao Dun.

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[6] PRŮŠEK, J.: China – My Sister, Družstevní práce, Prague, 1940, p. 178.

The adviser assigned to me was Professor Wu Zuxiang [14] (1908–1994). I was to discuss with him my projects and to consult him in case of necessity. Wu Zuxiang invited me to his flat in an atrium house at the Peking University. We met on September 23, 1958, slightly over one week after my arrival in China. The discussion was very informal. My Chinese host asked me about the purpose and the duration of my stay. He welcomed my interest in new Chinese literature. At that time, marked by vain efforts at *hou jin bo gu* [15], laying more stress on the present than on the past, my endeavour seemed to be a rare thing. He, however, did not paint my study in glowing colour. As he said, practically nothing had been written on Mao Dun so far, and *Mao Dun pingzhuan* [16] (Mao Dun's Life and Work), edited by Fu Zhiying [17], Shanghai 1931 was, in his words, a very bad book. I was very pleased when he made me a gift of this "very bad book" to remember our first meeting. During my entire two-year stay and frequent visits to the second-hand bookstores (I would go hunting for books practically each Wednesday) I have never come across this valuable source of information. He also disapproved of Wu Benxing's [18] *Mao Dun xiaoshuo jianghua* [19] Talks on Mao Dun's Fiction, Shanghai 1953, the only book printed in the PRC on Mao Dun prior to my arrival. He asked me whether I could understand Mao Dun's language. He did not believe me when I claimed that the only problems I had were dialect expressions. The impression of being able to understand the text can be deceiving, he commented in reply. He thus turned my attention to the need for paying more care to the linguistic and stylistic aspects of Mao Dun's works and the possibility of taking advantage of the assistance of my Chinese fellow students. Because, as I have noticed, from the whole of Mao Dun's work, Wu Zuxiang showed the greatest appreciation for the *Midnight*, the short stories *Chuncan* [20] *Spring Silkworms and Lin jia puzi* [21] *The Shop of the Lin Family*, he recommended me to visit Mao Dun's home region and Shanghai where Mao Dun collected material for these writings. He reminded me to note in the study of Mao Dun's work his ability of developing the idea of reality and social context, his broad outlook and perspective, but he also pointed to the insufficient realism of his delineation of life, and especially of the characters. During this meeting I gave Wu Zuxiang the summary of my diploma thesis.

It was not long before my meeting with Mao Dun took place. Two days after having met Professor Wu, on September 25, 1958, I met Mao Dun, the minister of culture of the PRC, in his office at the Ministry of Culture between 14:45 and 16:00. Mao Dun browsed Průšek's letter, glimpsed through the summary of my diploma thesis. The 75-minute discussion concerned the selection of short stories in my translation and, to a degree, also of Mao Dun's Writings Series to be gradually published by the Státni nakladatelství krásné literatury a um ní Publishing House in Prague under the guidance of Jaroslav Průšek. Concerning my selection, he only expressed one remark and one wish. He asked me to choose between the short story *Zisha* [22] Suicide and *Shi yu sanwen* [23] Po-

etry and Prose, and to include the story *Shuizao xing* [24] Song of the Water-Grass. Of course, in the subsequent edition I fulfilled his wish. As for the Song of the Water-Grass, surely his favourite short story linking him with Lu Xun who ensured its first publication in the Japanese Journal Kaihō [25] Reform; it was probably its first translation into another language (besides Japanese). Later my Prague colleagues included this story in a selection published in 1963 under the title *Jarní hedvábníci* (Spring Silkworms). It was the first of four planned volumes of Mao Dun's Writings Series. Later on, in 1967, the second one appeared, the translation of the novel *Fushi* [26] *Putrefaction*. When I asked Mao Dun about what else he would like to see in the Prague series which, at that time, was still at the preparatory stage, he said it was difficult for him to answer the question. In his opinion, it should contain the novel *Dongyao* [27] Waverings from *The Eclipse*, analogically to the Soviet three-volume selection of 1956. Průšek later decided to publish the whole trilogy, but his intention did not materialize. The third edition of the *Midnight* projected for this series also failed to appear. Our further discussions made it clear that Mao Dun held in special esteem the novel *Hong* [28] *The Rainbow*, also included into the Soviet selection. Unfortunately, I did not write down the words he then used referring to this novel.

In our discussion Mao Dun critically commented on his early short stories, especially their "style" (he used the English word). They were, he said, too long and contained too many expressions from *wenyan* [29]. In his words, in his later short stories he used the descriptive method to a much lesser degree. When I remarked that the descriptive method was extensively used also by Balzac, Zola or Tolstoy, he started to laugh and admitted I was right, but he added that these writers were better at using it than he. He was pleased to learn about the second Czech reprint of the *Midnight*. He asked whether it was just the new reprint of the first edition or a new translation. I told him it was an unchanged impression from 1950. I was sorry I had no copy of the last edition with me to make him a gift of it. I did it later on shortly before leaving China.

Mao Dun agreed he would guide me in my studies and provide me with those stories I would not be able to procure otherwise. But as it may be seen from the letter written by Mao Dun to Průšek on October 25, 1959, our collaboration was not intensive. The letter contains a sentence which concerns me: "I met Mr. Gálik long ago. As I was very busy and often ill, I had not an opportunity to meet him often. I am sorry because of it."[7]

In reality, Mao Dun did not have to apologize. It was me who was responsible for everything. I was convinced about it by Wu Zuxiang. Our second meeting on October 14, 1958 lasted full three hours between 15:00 and 18:00. He immediately reproached me the shortcomings of my diploma work. In his opinion I failed to adequately account for the reality from which the short stories

[7] *Mao Dun shujian, chupian* [30] Mao Dun's Letters. Preliminary Edition. Hangzhou 1984, p. 240.

were drawn, I did not give sufficient consideration to Mao Dun's biographical data. It is true that the summary could not fully reflect the content of my thesis, but I nevertheless felt his criticism as my condemnation. Because the results of my analyses here have, as far as Mao Dun's stories are concerned, never been published, I am not going to acquaint the readers with the content of our discussion which did not refer only to the subject of my diploma work. But because I have a relatively detailed written record from the discussion, I can compare it with Wu Zuxiang's public appearance in front of the foreign and Chinese students on May 14, 1959 and note that they had much in common. My interpretation suffered especially from my insufficient understanding of the Chinese economic and political reality in analyzing Mao Dun's works, inadequate penetration into the literary and extraliterary context, insufficient insight into the specificities of Mao Dun's realism such as the degree of symbolization, hyperbolization, even a certain "distortion" of reality with the aim of achieving the creative aims.

After my meeting with Wu Zuxiang I realized that my knowledge of Mao Dun's personality, his work, his place in the context of the Chinese (and world) literature was so limited that there was nothing else for me to do but to start reading his works, everything written on him by the others and only then ask Mao Dun or the others for consultation.

Up to that time in 1958 six volumes of *Mao Dun wenji* [31] The Collected Works of Mao Dun had apeared in China. These did not contain the short stories I was interested in most of all. My reading of Mao Dun started with the first volume of the *Mao Dun wenji*. During our meeting Mao Dun told me that he only made minor alterations in works to be published in this edition and that the changes were only of stylistic character. But the careful comparison of the first, especially book editions, with *Mao Dun wenji*, revealed that sometimes even a small stylistic alteration changed the ideological and aesthetic message. I wanted to know both Mao Dun of the time he was writing his original works and of the time when he presented their adapted versions to the Chinese readers after 1954. In some cases there was quite a lot at stake, as shown by the reading of the novel *Zhuiqiu* [32] Pursuit, the third novel of The Eclipse, in particular its Chapters 6 and 7. This meant, however, that I had to start searching for older editions, those I could trust, the books published by the editors who co-operated with Mao Dun. My interest in the opinions of others led me to study almanacs and articles written primarily before 1949, but also those of a later date. The desire to throw light on a number of issues concerning his biography to find as much study material as possible, to discover less known works by Mao Dun or perhaps even unknown ones, made me leaf through hundreds of different journals and thousands of separate issues. I was coming across more and more pseudonyms and my notebooks and cards with bibliographical data kept gaining in bulk.

The visits to several Peking libraries were a disappointment. I imagined I would find much more material in the Peking Library, in the Library of the Peking University or in the Library of the Institute of Literature of the Chinese

Academy of Sciences. New and new "ghost" books and articles were appearing in my notes and I suspected the existence of unknown materials in the periodicals.

Reading, research and other obligations of the "foreign student" at the Peking University made the time between October 15, 1958 and May 9, 1959 pass very quickly. On the occasion of the Czecho-Slovak State holiday the Embassy of the Czecho-Slovak Republic gave a reception at the Peking Hotel and, among the guests of honour I met Mao Dun and his wife Kong Dezhi [33]. Mao Dun introduced me to his wife, but she soon left us and we engaged a discussion. He asked me about the progress I made, in my study, about my research on his short stories and about my further plans. I tried to answer him as comprehensively as I could. He approved of my project to visit his native region, the small town of Wuzhen [34], formerly Qingzhen [35], meet people who used to know him, collect material on his life and work. He advised me also to pay a visit to People's Literature Publishing House before going South and to ask for the texts he wrote after he first met me as epilogues to volumes 7 and 8 of *Mao Dun wenji*. Both dealt with his short stories and the volumes were not published as yet.

Our talk did not last long. Not far from us, behind our backs, an elderly gentleman stood with a walking stick in his hand. He may have talked to Mao Dun before I found the latter among numerous Czecho-Slovak citizens and foreign guests. Suddenly, Mao Dun turned to him and at the same time asked me: "Have you met already? This is Mr. Lao She and this is a foreign student from Prague, Mr. Gálik. I'll leave you alone to talk now." Mao Dun left us not to come back again and it is quite likely that he shortly afterwards left the hotel. But this coincidence enabled me and my colleague Dr. Josef Kolmaš, now well-known Tibetan scholar, to have a nice chat with Lao She [36] (1899–1966), probably the most widely read author of new Chinese literature in Czecho-Slovakia. Considering that total impression of his works was 113,500 in four editions and that the population of the republic was around 15 million, the figure is really impressive. The second most widely read author is evidently Mao Dun whose works were published in 65,000 copies.

After having visited People's Literature Publishing House and read both materials, and after my talk with Ba Ren [37], i.e. Wang Renshu [38] (1901–1972), the director of this greatest literary publishing house in the PRC, I got a relatively long letter by Ye Ziming [39] from the Nanking University. It contained, among others, a brief description of his work *Lun Mao Dun sishi nian de wenxue daolu* [40] On Mao Dun's Forty Years Literary Road, published in August 1959 and later, in the second and revised edition, in October 1978. Ye Ziming expressed his hope that we would meet and exchange our ideas. But, to prevent me from expecting much, he warned me that their department was not orientated on the study of the new literature, but the old one, and that he was himself involved into the study of new literature only to a lesser extent. The letter was dated May 12, 1959.

On May 29, 1959 came the moment for me to board the train with the number of introductory letters, notebooks, writing stuff and other necessary aids and supplies setting out for a journey of several weeks. On the next morning an old American car was waiting for me in Nanking Railway Station and took me to the hotel for foreign guests at the Nanking University campus in which used to live general He Yingqin [41]. My Chinese colleagues, not only in Nanking, but also anywhere I came, spared no effort to assist me when I needed help and not only in the research and study of the material. Ye Ziming opened for me the "window" into the problem area under study, and information he willingly offered to me helped me to elucidate many new aspects of Mao Dun's life and work.

After a two-day stopover in the town of Suchou I arrived in Shanghai on June 1. My friends from the Fudan University put me up at the hotel Shanghai dasha [42]. What more could I have wished for? The view of Whangpoo, Soochow Creek, Garden Bridge under my feet, on the other side the huge houses on the waterfront of Pootung, evoked in me the first sentences from *Midnight*: "The sun had just sunk below the horizon and the gentle breeze caressed one's face. The muddy water of Soochow Creek, transformed to a golden green, flowed quietly westward. The evening tide from the Whangpoo had turned imperceptibly ..."[8]

I found myself in a spacious room with amenities and luxury which, to my eyes, was excessive. I realized that I had before me a few-days work in isolation, i.e. completely different from that in Peking or Nanking: "You know what, friends," I said to my companions, "I am the son of a poor peasant and I didn't get used living in a similar luxury. Couldn't you possibly find a bed, table and good light for me at the university so that I might work there and be close to you?"

The bed for me was found in the room where lived Wang Yongsheng [43], assistant lecturer at the time, a man of lower stature, restless and very active. Right after lunch we went together to pay a visit to Ye Yiqun [44] (1911–1966). I learned about Yiqun from Ye Ziming's letter and was told more about him during our first meeting. Yiqun, working at the Shanghai Branch of the Chinese Writers Union, had known Mao Dun since 1931. They worked together at Zhongguo zuoyi zuojia lianmeng [45] Chinese League of the Left-wing Writers, and later, in 1941, they were together in Hong Kong, and after the Pearl Harbour, at Guilin and also at Chungking. The data coincided with Yiqun's information in the book *Zai wenyi sixiang chanxian shang* [46] On the Ideological Literary Front, Shanghai 1957. But, the most important for me were specific indications or accurate data on newspapers and journals to which Mao Dun either contributed or which he edited in Kong Kong. I had previously ignored the ex-

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[8] MAO TUN: *Midnight*, p. 9.

istence of Huashang bao [47] Chinese Commercial Newspaper or Bitan [48] Literary Notes. Although Yiqun claimed the name of the journal was Wenyi bitan [49], he mistook the title with that of Hu Feng's [50] (1902–1986) critical collection. Wang Yongsheng was silent and full of attention only during the talks with Yiqun and later with Kong Yanying [51], Mao Dun's brother-in-law, who was present at one of our meetings. He seldom joined the discussion. These must have been interesting for him as the enthusiastic collector of study materials; he also helped me when there was something I did not understand or when a fact such as the name and the like needed to be written down in Chinese characters. Before we parted, Yiqun recommended him to take me round Shanghai second-hand bookstores and, on behalf of the Shanghai Branch of the Chinese Writers Union, he asked their keepers to kindly open for me "inner rooms" which at that time contained a wealth of material, especially books, on modern Chinese literature. Due to certain reasons, the libraries did not have a great interest in this material: the shelves of Shanghai storerooms were heavy with rare books. Thanks to Yiqun's intervention I was able to buy many important books. Never before and never after have I found so many of them in such a short time. I must thank to the late Wang Yongsheng for having them sent to my Peking address.

On the same day, still before my shopping spree around the second-hand bookstores, I met Wang Xiyan [52] (1914–) who published in March 1958 the booklet *Lun "Ziye"* [53] On "Midnight". The discussion took place while we were standing in the garden of the Shanghai Branch of the Chinese Writers Union. It was a short one, especially due to the fact that I was less interested in the analysis of Mao Dun's works than in bio- and bibliographical data.

I had a longer conversation with Kong Yanying. I wanted to talk to Kong Lingjing [54] (1904–1972), the older brother of Kong Yanying, who knew Mao Dun better and also wrote about him, and was better known in Chinese literary circles and the author of books and articles. My hosts were unable to meet my wish. Kong Lingjing was wearing the "cap" of a rightist and meeting him was quite out of question. Conversation with Kong Yanying partly prepared me for meeting others of Mao Dun's relatives in his native Wuzhen.

My Shanghai stay was fully satisfactory. Shopping in the second-hand bookstores, discussions with Chinese writers, visits at the Library of Fudan University, Department of Chinese literature of Fudan University, Department of Chinese Literature and language of the East China Normal University, Shanghai Library and Shanghai Magazines and Newspapers Library enriched both my knowledge and my collection of research materials. I only regret having never seen the sinking sun and never felt the gentle breeze alluding to the description of the Shanghai evening in the *Midnight*.

On June 6 in the early afternoon I boarded the express train which was to take me to Hangchou. At first, however, the train did not seem to be just of this kind, for it would stop at brief intervals. Several minutes after half past four we arrived in Jiaxing [55]. Here Mao Dun went to the Second Secondary School of the Chekiang province. Our express train reached Hangchou at 6:00 evening.

My guide was Zhang Songnan [56], assistant lecturer at the Chekiang University, located northwest of the town amidst wide open fields. The croaking of the frogs from the nearby canals sounded like a pleasant music of nature, still resisting pollution, to me. The heat, however, and mosquitoes meant a great problem. The visit at the Chekiang Library turned out to be a disappointment. From among Mao Dun's works (I was, interested in those written before 1949), they only had six or seven. Two of them, however, I had never seen before: *Jindai wenxue mianmianguan* [57] A Bird's Eye View of Contemporary Literature and *Xiandai wenyi zalun* [58] Notes on Contemporary Literature, both published in Shanghai in 1929. When I told this to the library staff they were pleased they could be of a service to me and I was glad I got a chance to study them at least a little during the evenings. On our way to the town we had to pass round a garland of mountains embracing the enchanting Xihu [59] Western Lake. "Baochu ta" [60], remarked Zhang Songnan when we were going by Baoshishan [61] Hill of Precious Stone in the bus, and I saw the narrow seven stories pagoda made of bricks for the first time. I immediately remembered Mao Dun's short story Suicide I had translated into Slovak. Later on, I visited alone without Zhang's accompaniment, Lingyin si [62], the most beautiful and largest monastery in Hangchou, and also larger and smaller caves on the Fenglai feng [63] Peak Which Flew From Afar. I could not understand how one of these dark and damp places could become the source of tragedy of a miserable Chinese girl, but passionate love apparently does not choose the place for its fulfilment.

For me and Zhang Songnan Chekiang University became for several days the point of departure. Every morning we would set out on a journey: to admire the wonders of the Western Lake and its surroundings. We spent one day in Shaohsing [64] where we visited the most important places related to Lu Xun's youth, the last period of life and the death of Qiu Jin [65] (1875–1907). We devoted one day to visiting of Fuyang [66], the birthplace of Yu Dafu [67] (1896–1945). So many interesting things and beautiful monuments quenched for two or three days my wish to search for materials on Mao Dun.

Our trip to Tongxiang [68] and Wuzhen was scheduled for June 10. The visit to the Tongxiang District National Committee and at the public authorities in Mao Dun's birthplace had been agreed by phone from the Chekiang University. The letter of introduction from Beida was not needed among my cordial hosts. In the morning we got up at five and were taken by car to Hangchou Railway Station from where we went by train to Jiaxing. After arriving at Jiaxing we were the last ones to board the bus which was to take us to Tongxiang. It had its reason. At the railroad station, there were many sellers offering *zongzi* [69] the boiled dumplings made by wrapping glutinous rice in bamboo leaves. Those of Jiaxing are reputed to be famous and Zhang Songnan was trying to talk me into buying some of them. I did not want any. He bought a few of them and ate them on the way. He did not explain to me what it was. He apparently overestimated my knowledge of Chinese holidays and customs.

The land routes end in Tongxiang. The true *yumi zhi xiang* [70] the land of fish and rice follows. The only means of transport there were motor boats or

junks at that time. The entire countryside was covered by a network of narrower or wider canals winding in all directions like interminable snakes in tortuous serpentines among the rice-fields, interwoven with narrow trails and mulberry orchards scattered in the country.

And what a grand welcome we got when we arrived in Tongxiang! We were greeted by four representatives of the District National Committee and two photographers with Czech cameras. We were given an abundant meal with *yangmei jiu* [71]. They took us with a motorboat, several guides and a book in many volumes bound in *tao* [72]. It was *Wuqing zhen zhi* [73] Local Gazetteers of Wuzhen and Qingzhen. I didn't pay much attention to it because it was not an object of much talk but when I later got back to Czecho-Slovakia, I studied at the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and its Lu Xun Library this book at several occasions.

Following the journey of one and a half hour through the canal network which I knew from the descriptions in Mao Dun's short stories we landed at Wuzhen. The reception here was even more sumptuous and we were offered bunches of flowers. First we visited the Local National Committee and then, after a short discussion and introduction into the situation, we set out to visit that part of Wuzhen which was called Qingzhen until 1951, Mao Dun's birthplace itself. They are twin small towns, as a like as two peas, lying next to each other and separated only by the canal on which we came here. The local guides (in the narrow streets we were surrounded by crowds of on-lookers – both old and young) showed us the pawnshop in front of which might have taken place the story described in *Dangpu qian* [74] In Front of the Pawnshop (the character *dang* was still clearly visible on the wall), and also Li zhi shuyuan [75], in reality the primary school attended by Mao Dun together with his Fourth Uncle, only slightly older, named Shen Jihao [76], then deserted Yongyuan [77] Park owned by the Family of Mao Dun's wife, *tudi miao* [78] temple of the god of the soil and *chenghuang miao* [79] the temple of the town god, serving at that time as the building of the secondary school.

The highlight of the program was the visit to Mao Dun's family house in Guanqianjie [80] Street. It had three large rooms one of which served Mao Dun as the study and contained bookcases, desk and wicker armchair. It was said that the peony growing in the yard had been planted by Mao Dun's mother. I took four pictures. I do not have them any more. Ye Ziming asked me to give the negatives at the disposal of Mao Dun guju [81] Mao Dun House, because everything changed at Wuzhen and there is no record on the original appearance of Mao Dun's home or furnishings which might be related to his youth or the early period of his critical or creative activities. Because I was not able to find the negatives at home, I sent the photographs through the intermediary of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Czechoslovak Embassy in Peking as a gift to Mao Dun House on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Mao Dun's birth on July 4, 1986 along with other materials about which I shall write below.

After a rich dinner we returned to the house of the Shen family, There we started a discussion attended, besides Zhang Songnan and me, by several local

functionaries, Shen Jihao, his son working in a commune and one neighbour who remembered Mao Dun's visits in the 1930s. I was given the most interesting information by the old Shen Jihao who had good knowledge of family and town history of the preceding decades. It was something completely new for me, although some of the information could be found in the Local Gazetteers of Wuzhen and Qingzhen and today much more is known from Mao Dun's autobiographical book *Wo zouguode daolu* [82] Roads I Have Travelled on, and I shall therefore not write about it here. We spent the night in the local hostel.

On the way from Wuzhen I saw the water-grass described in the story mentioned above. I took some photographs and later wrote an article about this journey, published in Slovak under the title *V domovine ryže a rýb* (In the Land of Fish and Rice) in the journal Nový orient, 18, 1964, 4, pp. 111–113. We travelled in the same boat and even our guides were the same. The same book was lying on the upper deck bench.

When we arrived in Jiaxing we had to wait for the Hangchou train. I asked then Zhang Songnan what those *zongzi* actually were. "You missed the occasion", said the calm, deliberate young scholar. "Yesterday it was the Duanyang jie [83] Dragon Boat Festival. The Chinese eat *zongzi* on this day to commemorate the death of Qu Yuan [84] (ca. 340–278 B.C.), who had thrown himself into the waters of Milo [85] River," I reproached him immediately: "Why didn't you explain this to me before?" Once in my life I had the opportunity of symbolically partaking in the commemoration of this great poet in his native Chu [86] state, and I did not use it. But no more *zongzi* were to be found at Jiaxing anymore.

Zhang Songnan was different than Wang Yongsheng or other guides I had during this trip. I am grateful to all of them, including those I do not mention here by name; but he was endowed with enormous patience, devoted much of his time to me, he would drink tea with me for hours, talk with me, write down Chinese names and words for which I did not actively master the Chinese characters, relentlessly organize the meetings and he even accepted my whims. Thus, on June 8 we were to go to see the famous places and beautiful landscape on the eastern and southern hillsides of the Western Lake, and in the afternoon of the same day we were supposed to go to the library and look at some journals and newspapers. I, however, got to like Hangchou's surroundings so much that I told Zhang they would not have much of what I need in the library anyway, and that we might as well delete the visit to the library from our agenda. It did not take me long to talk him into accepting this idea. He just gave a short laugh and we first went to visit Hupao si [87] Tiger Spring Monastery and drank famous *Longjing cha* [88] Dragon Well green tea there. Later we went to see the Dragon Well Hill so as to get acquainted with place where this famous tea is cultivated. From there, it was but a short distance to Jiu qi shiba jian [89] Nine Creeks and Eighteen Brooks. The mountains, the path along the valley, tea bushes and trees on the hillsides, and the murmur of the flowing water, all this had a seducing effect on me. The sun was blazing and there was no one to be seen about. Just one man was sitting with back turned to us in a restaurant before the place

where the nine creeks and eighteen brooks meet and then flow together into Qiantang [90] River.

Shortly before noon on June 14, I set out on another leg of my journey, to Canton. Until Shaoguan [91] or Qujiang [92] the weather was always excellent. Here it started to rain. The name of the town reminded me of the words of Ye Yiqun. After Dec. 7, 1941 Mao Dun, his wife, Yiqun with the help of the partisans from the Dongjiang [93] region, were returning from occupied Hong Kong back to the Chinese mainland.[9] Their dangerous journey full of hardships without the possibility of using means of transportation, ended in Qujiang. From here they travelled by train to Guilin which, for a certain period, became their refuge. *Bible* was the only book Mao Dun had in his bag during this journey.[10]

Our express train reached Canton exactly according to the time-table: on June 15 at 22:22. A youngish man greeted me at the railway station. On the next day he introduced me to some teachers of the Department of Chinese Literature at Sun Yat-sen University, among whom the most helpful was Professor Chen Zeguang [94]. They put me up in a lovely hostel, a small cosy room on the upper floor, with windows facing the west. The villa was surrounded by palm trees. I received the guests in a nicely furnished reception room. Besides Chen, two half-students and half-assistants came help me. Professor Wang Jisi [95] (1906–) also paid me a visit or two. Not because of Mao Dun so much: he was curious about my teacher Dr. Dana Kalvodová.

Very important for me were the materials I found in the library there. Originally I only wanted to stay in Canton for four or five days, but the quantity of new articles or materials made me stay there for four or five times as long. In the Sun Yat-sen University Library I found not only Huashangbao and Bitan, but also some other journals to which Mao Dun contributed: Dazhong shenghuo [96] Life of the Masses where he published, inter alia, Putrefaction, first as a novelette and later as a novel, then Shidai wenxue [97] Literature of the Times, Xiaoshuo [98] Fiction, Wentan [99] Literary Scene, Wenlian [100] Literary Alliance, etc.

After Canton, my next stop was at Guilin. Before eight in the morning of July 5, the express train left Canton. After having stayed for several hours at Hengyang [101], Hunan province, we set off the direction of Guilin around midnight. The beautiful, almost fairy-tale countryside of Guilin opened in front of my eyes on the next day. As the guest of the Kuanghsi Normal University, I was greeted at the railroad station by two employees of Chancellor's office. I was placed on the upper floor of a hotel having a magnificient view of the Duxiu Peak [102]. The eyecatching scenery and room situated under the flat roof offered no protection from the scorching sun and heat which, even at night, exceeded the temperature of the human body. Neither the fan revolving overhead nor the room switch to a lower floor did any good. Only then I remem-

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[9] Yiqun: On the Ideological Literary Front, pp. 227–228.

[10] *Mao Dun wenji*, vol. 8, p. 394.

bered the lines by the great Chinese woman poet Li Qingzhao [103] (1081–1143):

Smiling, I whisper to my beloved:
Tonight the muslin bed curtains, the pillows and the mat will be cool.[11]

At the hotel reception I asked for a plain mat which I placed on the bed spread. It helped, I was able to sleep during the night.

In Guilin I had the opportunity of reading some of Mao Dun's works written or published in this town during his stay here. I spent most of the time reading the novel *Duanlian* [104] Tempering published in instalments in the Hong Hong newspaper Wenhuibao [105] between Sept, 9 and Dec. 29, 1948.

I went on an unforgettable one-day excursion to Yangshuo [106] in a fisherman's junk with a cabin which belonged to a young couple.

In Guilin I decided to skip the visit to the town of Changsha and, and on my return journey, visit Wuhan University. At the department of Chinese Literature there I met Liu Shousong [107] (1912–1969). I knew his book *Zhongguo xin wenxue shi chugao* [108] Preliminary Draft of Modern Chinese Literature from the times of my university studies in Prague. The main objective of my stay in Wuhan was to try to find the Hankou Minguo ribao [109] Republican Daily, of which Mao Dun was the editor-in-chief during his stay there in 1927, and one another supplement called Shangyou [110] Upper Stream to the Zhongyang ribao [111] Central Daily in which he published literary essays or short sketches. I was told in the library that they had neither one of them and that if these materials had been preserved at all, they are to be found at the Propaganda Department of the CC CCP. At least I knew where to look for them.

After I left Wuhan I stopped for one more night and a day at Anyang to see the excavations in one of the cradles of the old Chinese culture.

Those 43 books I bought during my travels waited for me in Peking. They included *Mao Dunde wenxue daolu* [112] The Literary Road of Mao Dun by Shao Bozhou [113] which was published in May 1959 in Wuhan. It showed that research on Mao Dun in 1959 was launched in China!

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I did not get any rest in Peking after my journey which lasted over six weeks. There was news from Prague for me that I was supposed to write, as soon as possible, a study of some 20 pages on Mao Dun for a joint project of sinologists from Czecho-Slovakia and GDR under the guidance of Jaroslav Průšek. Each of the contributors was asked to write about the topic he knew best. Some time later I received a letter from Průšek dated August 8, 1959. It said that he was very pleased with the news concerning "new materials and new facts" I was able to collect during my travels through China. The letter then reads as follows:

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[11] Hu Ping-ch'ing: *Li Ch'ing-chao*, New York, Twayne publishers 1966, p. 48.

"As for your article for the collection (which was to be the outcome of the above joint project, M.G.), I believe it should be written and published. Although some of the facts presented in the article might be revised in the course of the subsequent research, such is the fate of all similar undertakings. On the other hand, it is necessary to consider in the collection the greatest of the living writers (Mao Dun was meant M.G.), otherwise it would lack the central point. Without Mao Dun it is impossible to speak about the contemporary or, better to say, new literature. Naturally, I leave it entirely up to your discretion to decide whether you will write about Mao Dun's short stories or about some related phenomena which might have sprung up on the basis of your research in China. The decision is all yours. I believe that it is possible to write about the short stories provided, of course, that your judgments will be carefully deliberated. But, after all, the literary production is not the political work and if someone is politically active and advocating such and such positions, a question must be posed as to whether his political beliefs are also adequately reflected in his literary work and what ideas, impulses, life feelings and developments shape his literary production. And this, in my opinion, may be inferred from the analysis of purely literary material although certain facts concerning the author's life might remain hidden to us."

But there was also something else. An offer which was far more appealing in the hot Peking summer. It was a two-week vacation at Beidaihe [114] financed by the Peking University. Most foreign students took advantage of this opportunity to spend their holidays at the sea coast. I did not go anywhere and stayed in my single room at Beida. During a few vacation weeks I wrote the study on Mao Dun's short stories. In it I briefly analysed all the available short stories starting with *Chuangzao* [115] Creation of February 1928 up to *Jing zhe* [116] The Awakening of Insects of July 1948.

The study was a failure. I learnt this as late as 1964 when the well-known collection entitled *Studies in Modern Chinese Literature* edited by Průšek appeared in Akademie-Verlag in Berlin. The reader will not find my study in the collection.

After the vacations of 1959 I started to organize the acquired and studied material and continued in my search through the Peking libraries for things unknown to me and probably also to others. In the meantime, Ye Ziming's book mentioned above was published and influenced Maodunian studies in the following years. Regrettably, the promising start was soon to be interrupted by the subsequent development leading to the "Cultural Revolution". In 1963, Maodunian research in the PRC was completely stopped and was not restored until 1977.

In the latter half of 1959 I devoted considerable efforts to the identification and classification of Mao Dun's pseudonyms.

It is worth noting that one of the first articles devoted to Mao Dun after the period just mentioned was *Guanyu Mao Dunde biming* [118] On Mao Dun's Pseudonyms written by Cha Guohua, Shandong shih yuan xuebao [118], 3, March 1978.

Sun Zhongtian [119] compiled probably the most complete list of Mao Dun's names and pseudonyms in the book *Lun Mao Dunde shenghuo yu chuangzuo* [120] On Mao Dun's Life and Creative Work, Tianjin 1980. But this has quite a long history beginning in the early 1960s. Zhuang Zhongqing [121] in his letter to Mao Dun of May 21, 1961 apparently suggested the question of the importance of pseudonyms for the knowledge of his work. Mao Dun replied on June 15, 1961 as follows: "I have used many pseudonyms. One Czech student spent much time to make a list, but I am sorry, after reading it, I have returned it to him without making a copy."[12]

The "Czech student" mentioned in the letter was me, Mao Dun did not really have make a copy of my article in Chinese entitled *Mao Dun xiansheng biming kao* [122] Study on Mao Dun's Pennames, otherwise the Chinese friends would have been spared considerable efforts. Mao Dun himself seemed to be convinced that it was unnecessary to study more material than was contained in the Collected Works of Mao Dun. It was surely an incorrect and subjective view. It is possible to understand this personal attitude of Mao Dun, which Yiqun called *zishi pingfan* [123] to look on himself as an ordinary man,[13] but only with the respect to his private life and ambitions. Mao Dun was much too important a representative of new Chinese literature to limit the research to only a part of his work. In spite of his belief he, as we know from his correspondence, was willing to answer the questions which concerned a broader area than that delineated by the narrow space of *Mao Dun wenji*. He did this to help the researchers, although he did not quite agree with their views.

It would be a honour for me if someone in the PRC showed interest in the publication of my study on Mao Dun's pseudonyms. Shortly before my leaving China I offered the article in its Chinese version to Professor Wu Zuxiang during our final meeting. He remarked that in China there was no journal which would publish a similar work. My article was published in English under the title *The Names and Pseudonyms Used by Mao Tun* in the journal Archiv orientální, 1, 1963, pp. 81–108.

In the spring of 1960 I wrote, on the basis of available material, a study of 61 pages on Mao Dun's life and work. The study did not have a name and later on, in the book *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1969, I called it Unpublished Biography. It never appeared in print, but I used some of the data in the above mentioned book.

I sent this manuscript, written also in Chinese, to Mao Dun. He wrote me two letters one of which said that he would return the manuscript to me in person on June 10, 1960 at 15:00 in his flat Beijing Dongsi, Toutiao wu hao [124]. The second letter contained a change and set the date of our meeting for June 12, at 11:00.

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[12] Mao Dun's Letters. Preliminary Edition, p. 247.

[13] YIQUN: op. cit., p. 227.

The meeting was to take place in the villa where he lived before 1975. I was looking forward very much to this possibility of seeing the great writer in his family setting. As a present I took along the Czech edition of the *Midnight* from the year 1958 and I bought a bunch of flowers for Mrs. Kong Dezhi. I remember very well that at Dongan shichang [125] Eastern Peace Bazaar they only had gladioli. I was never buying flowers in China before. I did not ask the price of one piece and just gave the amount of money I had ready for this purpose and I got an armful of flowers.

Mao Dun and his wife greeted me at the entrance. When I handed the flowers to Mrs. Kong Dezhi, she burst out laughing as she had probably never been given so many flowers before. She brought the largest cut-crystal vase they had at home and put the flowers inside. We probably did not exceed the limit of 90 minutes he set before. In the manuscript on his life and work I found a number of notes written in his own hand and the answers to my questions I inserted into the text. Some questions were not answered. Mao Dun must have had his reasons for doing that. I did not ask, of course, for an explanation. We spoke about his close and distant relatives, his visits to his native place in the past and about his own work projects. He said that his future novel (never written, of course), should be something similar to *Shanghaide zaochen* [126] Morning in Shanghai by Zhou Erfu [127] (1913–). He also enquired about my projects after my return home. When he learnt that my translation of his short stories had already been completed, he promised me to write the preface soon. He kept his promise. In the subsequent weeks he wrote it and sent it to me together with a letter of July 8, 1960.

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I came home with the finished translation of the short stories, two studies and lots of most varied materials concerning Mao Dun and various aspects of Chinese literature – both new and old. There was very much work for me at home, because at the time the interest in China in our country was great. I was the first Slovak sinologist who visited China and lived there for almost two years, and popular articles and translations were then in vogue. But for several years to come I continued to concentrate on Mao Dun.

Some time in the second half of October 1960 I was speaking about my Chinese stay in front of a large group of the Czech sinologists and Průšek. This was a custom for everyone who came back from China and had something relevant to say. Průšek suggested that I leave aside Mao Dun's literary works and concentrate on his literary critical and aesthetic opinions. He argued that the former are already known. He himself got acquainted with them through the work by Professor Fritz Gruner who was then lecturing in Leipzig and wrote but never published *Gesellschaftsbild und Menschengestaltung in Mao Duns erzählerischen Werk von 1927 bis 1932/1933*, 1962, 179 pp. Gruner's later work entitled *Der literarisch-künstlerische Beitrag Mao Duns zur Entwicklung des Realismus der neuen chinesischen Literatur*, 1967, 274 pp. met with the same

fate. The idea was not bad and the intention was good although the situation turned out to be different from that he expected. I obeyed him although I realized right away how many new problems I would have to face. I was never interested in this part of literary scholarship and although I had got a relative abundance of materials on Mao Dun, I had at my disposal practically nothing written by the other representatives of literary criticism and theory after 1917, and I felt that attempting to present the evolution of Mao Dun himself in this area without considering the others, both his supporters and his opponents, was an unsound project doomed to failure.

Years of really hard work followed filled with the collection and classification of material, correspondence with noted scholars and librarians, search for books and journals all over the world. In addition, I was writing not only the book on Mao Dun's literary criticism, but also occasional articles and reviews. On the occasion of Mao Dun's 65th birthday in 1961 I wrote two articles: *Mao Tun a česká literatúra* (Mao Dun and Czech Literature), Nový Orient, 4, 1961, pp. 75–76 and *Minor Comédie Humaine of China in the Years 1911–1949*, New Orient Bimonthly, 4, 1961, p. 100. The former was a part of a larger study presented originally at the orientalist conference in November 1960 and published later in Slovak under the title *Česká a slovenská literatúra v Číne v rokoch 1919–1959* (Czech and Slovak Literature in China in the Years 1919–1959) in the journal Slovenská literatúra, 3, 1962, pp. 367–374 and in German as *Die tschechische und slowakische Literatur in China (1919–1959)* in Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), VI, 1970, pp. 161–176.

An important book by V.F. Sorokin was published in 1962 in Moscow entitled *Tvorcheski put Mao Dunia* (Mao Dun's Creative Road), the first one of its kind outside China. I informed about this book and the first major work on Mao Dun in China, i.e. that by Ye Ziming mentioned above, in an extensive review article entitled *A Comment on Two Studies Written on the Works of Mao Dun*, Asian and African Studies, I, 1965, pp. 81–104. Later I published a review article concerned with *Mao Dun wenji* and *Mao Dun pinglun ji* [128] Collection of Mao Dun's Literary and Critical Articles, edited by the Japanese scholar Matsui Hiromi [129]. It appeared under the title *A Comment on Two Collections of Mao Tun's Works* in the journal Archiv orientální, 4, 1965, pp. 614–638.

In 1963–1965 when the attention in China was turning away from Mao Dun and from new Chinese literature in general, I worked on issues connected with his life and work with an exceptional intensity. I completed the Slovak version of the above mentioned book on Mao Dun's literary criticism at the beginning of 1966. At the time of its completion I was invited by the Roman Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente to read a lecture entitled *Naturalism: A Changing Concept* in which I subjected Mao Dun's opinions of realism-naturalism to a critical analysis. The lecture was published in the journal East and West (New Series) 16, Sept. – Dec. 1966, 3–4, pp. 310–328. I presented the book as a qualification for the granting of the scientific degree of candidate of sciences in art and literature (which is approximately the same as Ph.D.) at the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague.

As for me, the date chosen as convenient for the defence jury headed by Průšek, i.e. May 16, 1966, was quite an ordinary day. For the population of the PRC, however, this day was fateful. On that day *The May 16 Circular* of the CC CCP begun to circulate within the Party, announcing the beginning of the "Cultural Revolution". In Oriental Institute, in the most sumptuous hall of the former monastery of Knights of Malta (Johannites) whose mission was to help and protect Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem, a calm and serious discussion was conducted on Mao Dun's contribution to the treasury of Chinese literature. From today's perspective it seems that the handful of Czecho-Slovak sinologists and other orientalists present there, symbolically defended the great pilgrim on the road of Chinese and world literature and, together with him, thousands of others, even less understood and subjected to injust persecution.

In the 1960s and 1970s works devoted to Mao Dun's work, especially novels and short stories were appearing in Europe, Japan or the U.S.A.[14] During that time I did research on that part of the literary theory and criticism between the years 1898 and 1930 which did not directly concern Mao Dun and was getting to write the monograph *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism, 1917–1930*, which appeared in 1980. I could not forget to include Mao Dun into the book and I devoted to him the whole of Chapter 8.

Professor Göran Malmqvist organized on Nov. 4 to 9, 1975 The Nobel Symposium 32: Modern Chinese Literature and its Social Content in Stockholm. As one of the invited foreign sinologists I delivered a paper there entitled *On the Social and Literary Context in Modern Chinese Literature of the 1920s and 1930s*.[15] A part of it focused on the analysis of Mao Dun's short story *Xiao wu* [130] The Little Witch and the socio-economic context in which it was written. As an important source I used Local Gazetteers of Wuzhen and Qingzhen and Mao Dun's essays concerning his birthplace and its surroundings written in the first half of the 1930s.

At the symposium I witnessed the French sinologists presenting nominations of Mao Dun or Ba Jin [131] (1904–) for the award of Nobel Prize for literature. The nomination was presented by Dr. Paul Bady from Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris.

At the beginning of the 1980s I was absorbed in the work on my monograph *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation, 1898–1979*. My ambition was to make comparative analyses of works of the modern and contemporary Chinese literature against the background of world literature. I could not omit Mao Dun's novel. The analysis of the *Midnight* was contained in my book as its Chapter 4. It was intended as a "hommage" to the great writer who had died in 1981. The chapter was near completion when I got hold of *Mao Dun gei Zeng*

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[14] Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), III, 1967, pp. 98–110.

[15] MALMQVIST, G. (Ed.): *Modern Chinese Literature and its Social Context*, Stockholm 1977, pp. 7–45.

Guangcande yi feng xin [132] Mao Dun's Letter to Zeng Guangcan.[16] I finished writing the chapter in spite of Mao Dun's rejection of Qu Qiubai's [134] (1899–1935) views concerning the impact of Zola's *L'Argent* on Mao Dun's *Midnight*. I did not believe that Mao Dun's words in this letter reflected his innermost conviction. The end of 1963 when the letter was written was not a period when a truthful or objective account could be given of his work or himself. The nihilistic attitude towards foreign literature started to gain ground in the literary and cultural area and culminated in 1966–1971.

After 26 years, between April 8 and 20, 1986, I had the opportunity of making my second visit to the PRC as a member of the delegation of Czecho-Slovak translators. Chinese hosts prepared a busy schedule for our visit which included meetings with representatives of large publishing houses in Shanghai and Peking and with renowned writers of the old generation: Ba Jin, Bingxin, Feng Zhi [135] (1905–1993) and Ge Baoquan [136] (1913–). For me, an unforgettable experience was the visit to the Mao Dun House. This spacious atrium house at Houyuan ensi hutong 13 represents a piece of old China, transformed into a shelter of modern literature enabling the preservation of materials related to the life and work of the author and creating conditions for their deeper study. For the first time in my life I met Wei Tao [137], Mao Dun's son whom I had known before by the name Shen Shuang [138] and his childhood nickname Sangnan [139] (information from Kong Yanying). I also met his wife Chen Xiaoman [140]. Both provided an exemplary support to Mao Dun in the last years of his life and now they care of his literary legacy, publication of his individual works some of which still have not seen their second editions, and also of *Mao Dun quanji* [141] The Complete Works of Mao Dun.

Ye Ziming met me shortly upon my arrival in Peking, four hours after the landing. He gave up the participation in a conference at Kunming so as to be able to act as the mediator in the resumption of contacts which were interrupted. We met two more times: once in the house of Mrs. Hu Xieqing [142] Lao She's widow, to whom I handed the Slovak edition of *Luotuo Xiangzi* [143] *Rickshaw-boy* published in 1983, and in Mao Dun House for the second time. At the latter occasion, we discussed the Czecho-Slovak contribution to the study of Mao Dun's life and work and his translations published in Czecho-Slovakia. I promised to donate to Mao Dun House everything I have written so far on Mao Dun including all I achieved in my personal collaboration with him. I kept my promise shortly after my return home. To the photographs I have mentioned above I also added all articles on Mao Dun which appeared in print, and two unpublished manuscripts in Chinese (mentioned above also) which he had read and commented on. I gave the xerox copies of the last two articles not the originals to Mao Dun Home.

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[16] Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan [133] Studies in Modern Chinese Literature, 3, 1981, pp. 126–127.

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My work on Mao Dun did not end with two short contributions published in Vol. 1 and 2 of *A Selective Guide to Chinese Literature 1900–1949*, Leiden, J.E. Brill, 1988 under the editorship of Milena Doleželová-Velingerová and Zbigniew Slupski. The articles were concerned with Mao Dun's novel *The Rainbow* and short story collection Spring Silkworms.[17] This joint project had at the time of the publication a history of nearly ten years, beginning with the Reisenburg's meeting in 1979 where 23 scholars, organized by Brunhild Staiger, discussed a project of study of representative works of modern Chinese literature and decided to present their critical articles to the specialists and interested readers.

I regret that I could not participate at two important international conferences concerned with Mao Dun and held in the second half of the 1980s in the PRC. The first one was organized in Peking in July of 1986 at the occasion of Mao Dun's 90th birthday and the second in Amoy in October of 1988. Especially the last one having Mao Dun and Foreign Literature as the main topic could have meant an enrichment of my further work.

I was happy that I could participate at the following conference organized by Nanking University, October 6–12, 1991. At that time I was a research fellow of the Institute of Chinese Culture, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, and therefore it was an easy financial problem to solve. At this conference with general topic: Mao Dun, Chinese and Foreign Culture I read a paper entitled: *Zhushende shizhe: Mao Dun yu waiguo shenhua zai Zhongguo chieshao (1924–1930)* [144] *The Messenger of the Gods: Mao Dun and the Introduction of Foreign Myths to China.*[18] Even before in Hsin-chu [146], Taiwan, June, 24–26, 1990, I read another paper at the 3rd International Conference on Modern Chinese Literature organized by the New Land Literary Foundation entitled *The Mythopoeic Vision in Mao Dun's Fiction, 1929–1942*, later published both in English and Chinese versions.[19] Another article on Mao Dun's works entitled: *Merchants and* Mercenarie *in the Twilight of China in the 1930's*, analysing his

[17] DOLEŽELOVÁ-VELINGEROVÁ, M. (ed.): op. cit. Vol. 1, Leiden, E.J. Brill 1988, pp. 133–134 and SLUPSKI, Z. (ed.): op. cit. Vol. 2, pp. 137–140.

[18] *Mao Dun yu Zhongwai wenhua* [145] Mao Dun, Chinese and Foreign Culture. Nanking University Press 1993, pp. 264–287. Its English version was at first delivered at the Sixth Quadrennial International Comparative Conference, Tamkang University, Taipei, August 16–19, 1991 and later published in Tamkang Review, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, Autumn 1992–Summer 1993, pp. 639–669.

[19] The English version of the paper appeared in the Bulletin of the International Southern Society (Hong Kong), 4, 1993, pp. 169–178 and its Chinese version was published under the title: *Mao Dun xiaoshuo zhongde shenhua shiye* [147] The Mythopoeic Vision in Mao Dun's Fiction, in Dongbei shida xuebao [148] Bulletin of the North-East China Normal University, 2, 1993, pp. 15–18.

Midnight and some of his short stories, was originally delivered as a paper at the 2nd Biennal Conference of the Chinese Studies Association of Australia, Sydney, July, 1–4, 1991 and published in 1994.[20]

Even before Sydney I read a paper on *The Rainbow* at the 25th Conference of German Orientalists, Munich, April 8–13, 1991, later published first in German and later in an English version.[21]

After 1986 I have visited Mao Dun House or met the students of Mao Dun's life and work a few times during my short stays in Peking. The last time was before the end of April, 1995, when I was invited to participate at the international conference organized at the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of Mao Dun's Birthday in July 1996. I promised to give as a present to the Archives of Modern Chinese Literature in Peking the original copies of the above mentioned two works that were the outcome of the collaboration between Mao Dun and me. There I would like to deliver the Chinese version of a paper entitled: *Mythopoeic Warrior and* Femme Fatale: *Mao Dun's Version of Samson and Delilah.*[22]

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[20] Journal of Oriental Society of Australia, 24, 1992 (in reality 1994), pp. 1–14.

[21] *Persephona, Pandora und Fräulein Mei: Mythopoetische Vision im klassischen griechischen Mythos und im modernen chinesischen Roman.* Minima sinica, 2, 1993, pp. 64–90 and *Persephone, Pandora and Miss Mei: Mythopoeic Vision in Classic Greek Myth and in Modern Chinese Novel.* Zborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského, XXIII–XXIV, 1995.

[22] Its English version will be read at the international workshop, organized for the first time in world history on the theme: *The Bible* in Modern China: The Literary and Cultural Impact, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, June 23–28, 1996.

PHILOSOPHICAL REFLECTIONS ON LIFE AND DEATH IN TWENTIETH CENTURY CHINA: HU SHI'S "ON IMMORTALITY"

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Chinese philosophers either: (1) simply deny the survival of a soul after death; or (2) if they do speak of immortality, conceive of it never in personal terms, but only in the sense that the universe as a whole is never destroyed, and that therefore we, being parts of the universe, continue, after the bodily dissolution that accompanies death, to participate (in newly constituted forms) in the existence of that universe.
Derk Bodde:
"The Chinese View on Immortality: Its Expression by Chu Hsi and its Relationship to Buddhist Thought."
The Review of Religion, May 1942.

In this paper, I will try to analyse Hu Shi's (1891–1962) early philosophy of immortality and to locate its place in twentieth century philosophy. In the first part of my investigation, I will argue paradoxically: On the one hand, I will explain that (im-) mortality is not the most central topic for modern Chinese philosophy, but on the other hand, I will aim to prove that the methodology which is employed to present this issue in the case of Hu Shi is still rather important in the context of contemporary Chinese thought.

In the second part, I will give a brief sketch of Hu Shi's so-called "theory of social immortality" (*shehui de buxiu lun*) in order to analyse its structure which I discuss in the third part of my paper. I shall call the structure of Hu Shi's philosophy "**monistic**" and ultimately contrast it with **dualistically** structured theories of death, found within certain 19th and 20th century Western philosophies. At the core of my philosophical argument is the distinction between monism and dualism. In this context, I will use the term "monism" for a philosophy which does not allow a fundamental distinction, be it ontological or metaphysical, between life and death, and the term "dualism" for a philosophy which is in fact based on such a distinction.

I

Death is not a particularly eminent topic in twentieth century Chinese philosophy.[1] In earlier times the situation was different: One of the central issues of

"classical" Daoism was (im-) mortality, which had been discussed on different philosophical levels with the *Zhuangzi* as a masterpiece standing above all other texts). After the Han-Dynasty, when Buddhist philosophy spread throughout China, the philosophy of death was once again revived.

In modern China neither Daoism nor Buddhism dominates the philosophical discourse. **Neo-Confucianism** (in Taiwan and within the Chinese academic community of North-America) and **Dialectical Materialism** (in Mainland China) have become the leading modes of thinking. In their present forms, both these schools of thought can be classified as ideological *Weltanschauungen*, because they do not primarily try to describe, but rather to create reality in a normative way. Being concerned with present and future society, they do not pay most regard to philosophical questions about the genuinely transcendent realm or existential problems of the individual.

As for **Confucianism**, it has been traditionally more inclined towards issues of life than towards issues of death. Its "optimism" tends to ignore philosophically the unhappy fact of individual mortality and to leave it to ritual.[2] Moreover, a philosophy like Confucianism, which, generally speaking, is based rather on an ontology of process than on an ontology of substance, is likely to regard death as an illusory phenomenon. And the Confucianists, unlike Daoists or Buddhists, do not make use of the concept of illusion as a philosophical starting point.[3]

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[1] This is not to say that death has been completely neglected as a philosophical issue, but that Neo-Confucianism tends to view the problem of death as merely one of the many problems of life. Feng Youlan is, next to Hu Shi, maybe the most interesting example of this general trend. The last chapter of his *Xin yuanren* ("A New Inquiry into Humaneness", in: Feng Youlan, *Sansongtang quanji* ("Collected Works"); Henan: 1986. Vol. 4, p. 509–697) is called "*Si sheng*" ("Death and Life"). He holds the traditional Confucian view that an understanding of life is a prerequisite for an understanding of death, and, moreover, that death is an event in life. He further argues that the meaning of death depends on a person's level of insight, i.e. on the "sphere" he or she lives in. If someone "living" has entered the highest so-called universal sphere, he or she has already intellectually transcended life and death. Death and life are understood as different stages of eternal change, seen from the point of view of the oneness of all differences. Thus, someone living can be identified with the all-encompassing oneness, which is neither mortal nor immortal, while his or her body and soul are mortal and subject to change. In this way, Feng Youlan's (and other Neo-Confucianists) oneness, which transcends death, is not, as by Hu Shi, a social but a cosmic continuum.

[2] See Thomas Metzger, *Escape from Predicament*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1977, for a discussion of the underlying "optimism" of the Confucian worldview. Cf, *Lunyu*, XI, 12: "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?" (James Legge, *Confucian Analects*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1893, p. 241) as the *locus classicus* for the Confucian attitude towards death.

[3] I would like to provide some textual evidence in order to be more precise about this categorization. In the Confucian ritual Classic (*Liji*) we find the following passage, which is also (critically) mentioned in Hu Shis article: "On the day of sacrifice, when he [i.e. the son of the deceased ancestor] enters the apartment (of the temple), he will seem to see (the deceased) in the place (where his spirit-tablet is). After he has moved about (and performed his

As for **Dialectical Materialism**, it is strictly oriented towards the mundane. Even though death is accepted as a fact, it is not of philosophical importance, because the fate of the individual being is of no ideological interest. The individual is just a tool for social progress, and religious beliefs are rejected as irrational. The value of a person's death is measured by its value for the "people". As Mao Zedong puts it:

"As we have to fight, there will be victims. The death of a human being is an ordinary event to happen. But if we think of the benefit for the people, if we think of the sufferings of so many people, then dying for the people makes death a proper thing to be."[4]

In light of the above, it is little wonder that twentieth century philosophy in China has at times labelled itself "life-learning" (*shengming de xuewen*, this ex-

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operations), and is leaving at the door, he will seem to be arrested by hearing the sound of his movements, and will sigh as he seems to hear the sound of his sighing. Thus the filial piety taught by the ancient kings required that the eyes of the son should not forget the looks (of his parents), nor his ears their voices; and that he sould retain the memory of their aims, likings, and wishes. As he gave full play to his love, they seemed to live again; and to his reverence, they seemed to stand out before him. So seeming to live and stand out, so unforgotten by him, how could his sacrifices be without the accompaniment of reverence?.... King Wan [i.e. King *Wen*] in sacrificing, served the dead as if he were serving the living. He thought of them dead as if he did not wish to live (any longer himself)." (*Liji*, ch. 21, p. 5a and 5b in the *Sibucongkan*-edition; translated by James Legge, *The Li Ki*, Delhi: Matilal, 1968, p. 211.) The Confucianists refused to accept death as a definite end to life. Dead ancestors are believed to live on as "this-worldly" spirits, and because they are unforgotten, they still influence everyday-life. The death-life-distinction is neglected as illusory by the ceremonial proceedings, which re-unite the realms of life and death.

Philosophical Daoism does not believe in any kind of personal survival and thus argues against a fundamental death-life-distinction in a more subtle way. In the *Zhuangzi* we find the following passage: "Where there is birth there must be death. Where there is death there must be birth... Therefore the true sage... illuminates all in the light of Heaven." (*Zhuangzi*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Taipei: 1966, p.14, 1, 43; translated by Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968, pp. 39–40). The processing sequence of life and death, often compared to the sequence of dreaming and being awake, is grasped from the impersonal point of view of the sage. One has to lose himself within the ever-changing "natural" or "organic" course of events and should understand the death-life-distinction as merely "perspective-bound".

In Buddhism the death-life-distinction is one of the fatal dualistic illusions of the mind. The following *gongan* (*koan*) might have helped some followers of the Chan-School to experience enlightenment: "Chao Chou asked T'ou Tzu, 'How is it when a man who has died the great death returns to life?' T'ou Tzu said, 'He must not go by night, he must get there in daylight.'" (*Biyanlu*, Example 41, in: *Xuzangjing*, Taipei: Xinwenfeng, 1977, Vol. 117, p. 340; translated by Thomas and J.C. Cleary, *The Blue Cliff Record*, Boulder: Shambala Publishing, 1977, Vol. 2, p. 297.)

[4] Cf. Mao Zedong's speech "Serving the People" (*Wei renmin fuwu*) of September, 8th, 1944, in: *Mao Zedong xuanji*, Peking: Renmin, 1991, Vol.3, p. 1005.

pression, or similar ones, are frequently used, for example by Mou Zongsan[5]) without, however, articulating a genuine philosophy of death – in contrast to the West, where existentialism engendered such theories.[6] At a time when China had not yet found a new philosophical orientation, Hu Shi wrote an essay entitled "On Immortality" (*Bu xiu*) which seems to run counter to the trend described above. However, Hu's essay, which was first published in 1919 in the well-known journal "New Youth" (*Xin qingnian*) is nevertheless a good example of the methodology of modern Chinese philosophy.[7] Hu Shi combines traditional Chinese concepts with specific Western thoughts and thus constructs his own theory of death, or rather of deathlessness. Both the way in which this synthesis is created and the structure of the theory itself may be taken as characteristic of some developments in Chinese philosophy during this century.

II

Hu Shi added a suggestive subtile to his article about immortality: "My Religion" (*Wo de zongjiao*). These words reveal programmatic intentions. A solution

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[5] Cf. Mou Zongsan's programatic essay "The future of Chinese Philosophy" (*Zhongguo zhexue de weilai*) in: *Zhongguo zhexue de tezhi*, Taipei: Xuesheng, 1990, pp. 87–96.

[6] Existentialist Scholars in present-day Taiwan are rather teachers or translators of Western existentialist philosophy and are not trying to found a specific "Chinese existentialism". Wu Kunru spezialized in Heidegger and Jaspers and advocates a Christian philosophy of existence, whereas Zhao Yabo, who extensively studied Western philosophy, is more inclined towards the atheistic existentialism of Sartre. Thus, Zhao Yabo defends the ideas of freedom and subjectivity. Compare Li Shijia, *Jinqi Taiwan zhexue* (Contemporary Taiwanese Philosophy), Taipei: Lin Yu 1992, p. 411–444.

[7] The article was originally published in the "*New Youth*" issue of February, 1919, p. 96-105. It is also included in *Hu Shi wencun*, Vol. IV, Shanghai: Yadong, 1930, 975-988. Hu Shi has, as he states in a note, changed this later draft of the article because of some criticisms by Yu Songhua. The changes mainly concern the use of the word "organistic" (*youji*): In the later version of the article not only a short explanation of this term is left out but also an explicit characteristic of Leibniz as an "organistic" philosopher. In some cases the term was replaced by other expressions (like "steady " (*bu duan*) and "mutual influences" (*jiaohu yingxiang*)). However, even in the revised version Hu Shi used the term when he stated that social life "resembles an organistic organization" (in the version of 1919 he said more frankly that it "**is** an organistic organization"). There is an English translation (of the revised version) of the article by Douglas Lancashire (in: "*Chinese Essays on Religion and Faith*, San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1981. pp. 255–267). There are three later English texts by Hu Shih on the same issue: "What I Believe" in: *Forum* (January/February, 1931, which is in fact a revision); "A View of Immortality", New York: New York Society for Ethical Culture, 1940, pp. 1–4; and "Concept of Immortality in Chinese Thought" in: "*Harvard Divinity School Bulletin*", 1945–46, p. 23–32. Cf. "Annotated Bibliography of Hu Shi's English Writings" by Zhou Zhiping and Christopher E. Olofson in *Hu Shi conglun* (ed. by Zhou Zhiping, Taipei: Sanmin, 1992) for the English and the *Index to the Collected Works of Hu Shih* by James Shih-kang Tung (Taipei: Student Book Co., 1969) for the Chinese works of Hu Shi.

of the philosophical problem of death is used as a foundation for a personal *credo*. The fact that Hu Shi speaks of his (personal) religion makes it quite obvious that his idea of religion is not a traditional one. He wants to establish (possibly influenced by the thought of Kang Youwei) a modern, non-theistic, **original** theory, which like a religion, should be the basis for the cultural identification and the *Weltanschauung* of a social community. At the center of this philosophy, as in a "real" religion, is a theory of immortality, which implicitly contains a promise of redemption. In this way, it is already anticipated that Hu Shi, in line with the religions of East and West, does not look at death as the definitive end of life, but as a stage to be overcome. Thus, Hu Shi is not writing about death in the sense of a limitation, imposed on every individual human being, but writes rather about the possibility of a certain kind of immortality, which nullifies such a form of death.

Hu Shi detects two important theories of immortality in the Chinese tradition: the "theory of the immortality of the 'soul'" (*Shen bu mie lun*), discussed between Buddhists and non-Buddhists in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries,[8] and the "concept of the three kinds of immortality" (*san bu xiu shuo*), documented in the *Zuozhuan*.[9] Hu Shi cares little that these theories are scarcely comparable to each other, differing so much in form and content and stemming from dissimilar historical contexts. He has no interest in giving a scientific analysis of these theories, but is rather trying to relate them ideologically to his own conceptions.

The "theory of the immortality of the 'soul'" was heavily disputed in China after Han-times. Hu Shi had to ignore the specific conditions of this debate (as well as the very pro-blematic definition of the concept of the 'soul' [*shen*][10]) in

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[8] Hu Shi quotes two of the diputers, namely Fan Zhen (*Shen mie lun*, translated into German by S. Balász in: *Sinica* VII, 1932, pp. 220–234) and Shen Yue (*Nan Fan Zhen Shen mie lun*. This text is also included in the Buddhist canon, Taisho ed. 2103)). Compare: Alfred Forke, *Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie*, Hamburg: de Gruyter, 1934, pp. 260–282; Feng Youlan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. II, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 284–292; Walter Liebenthal, "The Immortality of the Soul in Chinese Thought", in: *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol.8, 1952, pp. 327–397; Whalen W. Lai "Beyond the Debate on 'The Immortality of the Soul': Recovering an Essay by Shen Yüeh." in: *Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 19, pp. 138–157.

[9] Cf. *Zuozhuan*, Duke Xiang, 24'th year in: *Harvard Yenching Sinological Index Series*, Supplement no.11, Vol.1, Taipei 1966, p. 302. The expression "*bu xiu*" in this and other passages in the *Zuozhuan* is not used exactly in the sense of "immortality" but rather in the sense of "unfading" and is related rather to reputation than to physical existence.

[10] The concept of "*shen*" has a long history in Chinese thought and is closely related to ancestral religion. *Shen* has traditionally been equated with the *hun*-part, corresponding to the *yang*-element, (as opposed to the *po*-part, corresponding to the *yin*-element) of the human body which departs for the heavens when the body dies. This dichotomy is by no means a dualistic one like the distinction between matter and mind. The *shen*-part of the body is not purely "spiritual", it is rather a "spirit-body", as Walter Liebenthal describes it: "This spirit [i.e. *shen*] is rather not the spiritual part of a person but an independent spirit-body, created

order to be able to relate it to other religious concepts which profess a belief in the immortal soul and, like Christianity, in a last judgement. He wanted to decide "pragmatically"[11] on how to evaluate these concepts of the immortal soul and concluded that people who believe in such theories of immortality are not actually better than anyone else, and that, moreover, the whole issue did not touch on the real circumstances of life very much.

The so-called "concept of the three kinds of immortality" is discussed in more detail and with greater sympathy. Referring to a short passage in the *Zuozhuan*, he gives some simple examples of people becoming "immortal" through their special "virtue" (*de*), their outstanding achievements (*gong*), or their impressive words (*yan*). Hu Shi argues that such a theory of immortality is more reliable (*geng kao de zhu*) than one positing an eternal soul, for it is not irrational and concerned only with the actual. Nevertheless, he still finds three faults with it: Firstly, it is only applicable to a small part of mankind; secondly, it takes only the immortality of positive deeds into account; and thirdly, it is not clear what exactly becomes immortal. Hu Shi wants to avoid all these faults in his own theory of immortality: The "theory of social immortality" (*shehui de bu xiu lun*).

The "theory of social immortality" is explicitly related to Leibniz' metaphysical doctrine of the "Monadology":[12] The whole universe is viewed as a *Plenum*, i.e. as a space which is completely filled. Hu Shi says that in such a space, everything, synchronically as well diachronically, is causally connected to everything else (*you yinguo guanxi*). (Of course, the idea of the mutual causation of all phenomena sounds rather buddhistic.) Every movement inside the *Plenum* (and there is no outside) has an effect on the whole organism: what happens to "this" has an effect on "that", and what happens now effects all later events. In this way, everything is causally included in and related to everything else. Every individual and mortal self, every "little I" (*xiao wo*), is connected to the infinite number of individual selfs in space and time. All the individual "little I's" constitute the universal "big I" (*da wo*), which is nothing else but the eternal and "immortal" totality of (social) processes.

Similar to Leibniz' description, nothing disappears inside the all-embracing closed universe. If everything is connected with everything else, nothing can vanish. Besides, the "theory of social immortality" rectifies the three weak points of the "concept of the three kinds of immortality": Firstly, it is applicable

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by magical means, replacing the matter-body. It resides in the latter like a pupa in its case, leaving it as a dragonfly leaves a pupa-case. Then it starts living a live which continues that on earth under better conditions." (Cf. *The Immortality of the Soul in Chinese Thought*, p. 334) The term "*shen*" was also used to denote gods (of nature) or the mysterious change of all phenomena. In general, it could be called a concept of energetic, invisible power. Cf. the literature mentioned in note no. 5 for the use of the word in the debate of the Wei-Jin-period.

[11] Hu Shi was personally influenced by the American pragmatist philosopher John Dewey.

[12] Hu Shi quotes paragraph no. 61 of Leibniz' *Monadology*.

to everyone; secondly, it also includes bad deeds; and thirdly, it is clearly defined, because everything is included in the infinite causality of all events, where nothing perishes.

Hu Shi also hopes that his theory of social immortality avoids any irrational religious beliefs that are inherent, for example, in Confucian ancestor worship. He stresses that every individual person is part of mankind and responsible for what he or she does, for every single action plays a role in the process of universal causation.

III

The Influences on Hu Shi's theory of immortality may be analized as follows: The Daoistic and Confucian ontology of process of ancient China has been enriched with the Buddhist theory of causation and was then related to Leibniz' metaphysics of the *Monadology*. Finally, this synthesis of concepts was adapted to an American pragmatic social-philosophy, which was popular in China during the period when Hu Shi wrote his essay.[13] It thus is supposed to be modern or progressive, even though it might appear quite naive in the eyes of a reader, who has become sceptical about philosophical conceptions which claim to be able to give definite and positive answers about metaphysical problems. Such eclecticism is somehow typical for the methods of twentieth century philosophy in China: "domestic" philosophical traditions are synthesized and translated into Western philosophical terms in order to adapt such traditions to a modern discourse, which originated in the West. The outcome is a moralistic model of a progressive and harmonious political community – which turns out to be more or less Confucian (and not particularly "modern") in style. Many Neo-Confucianists after Hu Shi have used this pattern of thought in their arguments, and it is likewise to be found within the framework of Chinese Marxism.

It might be that a certain misunderstanding between Eastern and Western philosophy present in Hu Shi's argumentation is one of the reasons why the problem of death or (im-) mortality is not so prominent in modern Chinese thought. Hu Shi tries to preserve the monistic structure of traditional Chinese philosophy, when adapting it to Western philosophy, which is itself (in particular when concerning the philosophy of death) mainly dualistic. This fallacy becomes apparent when Hu Shi "resolves" the problem of (im-) mortality by reducing the dualistic problem of mind and matter (which could have been touched by him if he had not rejected the debate on the "immortality of the soul" as not being "pragmatic" enough) to the monism of Chinese philosophy. He describes the (social) world as an "organistic organization" (*youji de zuzhi*),[14] which resembles very much the traditional concept of *ti-yong* ("organ-

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[13] See note no. 5.

[14] Cf. note no. 6.

ism and function").[15] While ignoring Leibniz's conception of God, he makes use of the idea of the imperishable monads in order to interpret Leibniz monistically. The (social) world is depicted as an all-encompassing unity of elementary units, founded on itself and consequently neither built upon a fundamental inner contradiction nor confronted with an outer origin. The unity of the world is absolutely inclusive, i.e. nothing can vanish and nothing can be of absolute priority. Even though Leibniz's philosophical conception of the imperishable monads, which is indeed connected with a notion of all-inclusiveness (even though it is doubtful whether this notion could be called "monistic"), had no eminent historical impact on Western philosophy of death or (im-) mortality, it becomes obviously quite attractive in the eyes of a Chinese thinker. This inclination towards a monistic worldview might be the reason why, for example, an important dualistic philosopher of death like Kierkegaard, who was very influential on the later "death-philosophers" Heidegger and Sartre, did not become very prominent in modern China. Probably a "pessimistic" and strictly dualistic existentialism cannot be harmonized with monistic Confucianism however modernized it may be.

IV

Finally, I will give a brief sketch of dualistically structured philosophies of death in order to demonstrate that they are not compatible with the monistic theories of immortality, presented by Hu Shi. The monistical concept treats death as a moment of transition thereby devaluing individual existence and giving reign to a continuum of processes, whereas in dualistic philosophies the awareness of death leaves the individual alone and disunited in itself.

In Christianity the death of the individual heals the dualistic gap between the world of man and the kingdom of heaven. The symbol of this religion is the dying son of God, who becomes re-united with his father through his human death. Death is the borderline between immanence and transcendence, the cut in the dualistic world.

Among the Christian philosophers it was mainly Kierkegaard who pointed out that the dualistic gap between immanence and transcendence, between finity and infinity,[16] is not only of existential importance at the moment of death, but is, on the contrary, the very mode of human existence. Kierkegaard defines man as the synthesis of finity and infinity, which is to say that human

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[15] The traditional distinction between *ti* (organism) and *yong* (function) is by no means dualistic, it is rather a distinction between the inseparable aspects of the homogenity of a mode of functioning on the one hand and its "outcome" on the other hand. It has been widely used in Chinese philosophy and was already used in the *Xunzi* (at the beginning of ch. 10, cf. the Harvard-Yenching Sinological Index Series edition, Taipei: 1966, p. 31).

[16] Cf. Sören Kierkegaard, *Sygdommen til Doeden*. My quotations are based on the German translation by Liselotte Richter. *Die Krankheit zum Tode*, Hamburg: EVA, 1984, p. 13.

life is doomed by this conflict. Physical death puts an end to the conflict, but physical death has to be distinguished from the death that is inherent in human existence. As a positted synthesis man is never completely identical with himself during his life, and it is exactly this, which puts him into *Angst* and desperation.

"Thus it is desperation, this disease inside the self, this deadly disease. The one who is desperate is deadly ill... Death is not the utmost of this disease, but death is steadily the utmost. It is impossible to be redeemed from this disease through death, because the disease and its torture – and death is just not being able to die."[17]

In life man cannot expect redemption. He finds hope in his beliefs, but his existence is wrought with desperation, since he is aware of the paradoxical mode of his being. His life is, in fact, a steady death. Until he dies he will never gain life – and still he has to live in order to be able to die.

The existentialist philosophy of the twentieth century, represented by Heidegger and Sartre, internalized death even further. Kierkegaard had already included the dualistic gap, i.e. death, in every moment of life. And Heidegger writes: "Death is a way of being, adopted by the 'Being-There' (*Dasein*) as soon as it is."[18] Because: "To reach in death the completeness of 'Being-There' is at the same time tentamount to the loss of the 'Being' of 'There'."[19] Analogous to Kierkegaard, Heidegger highlights that human existence, i.e. "Being-There" or *Dasein*, is *Dasein* essentially by being a "continual incompletedness" (*ständige Unabgeschlossenheit*).[20] As long as man exists, he exists under the condition of time, which unremittingly keeps him heading towards his limit. The ontic-ontological difference (*ontisch-ontologische Differenz*) keeps him in motion.

It was Jean-Paul Sartre who finally realized that the unfortunate situation of human existence, which is based on a dualistic gap, is essentialy **absurd**: "Le pour-soi est l'être qui se détermine à exister en tant qu'il ne peut pas coincider avec lui-même." ("The 'for-itself' (*Für sich*) is that kind of Being, which determines itself to exist in so far as it is not able to coincide with itself.")[21] While

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[17] Cf. Sören Kierkegaard, *Die Krankheit zum Tode*, p. 21.

[18] Cf. Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 161986, p. 245: "Der Tod ist eine Weise zu sein, die das Dasein übernimmt, sobald es ist." The English translation is my own.

[19] Cf. Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit*, p. 237: "Das Erreichen der Gänze des Daseins im Tode ist zugleich Verlust des Seins des Da." The English translation is my own.

[20] Cf. Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit*, p. 236.

[21] Cf. Jean-Paul Sartre, *L'être et le néant. Essai d'ontologie phénoménologique*, Paris: Gallimard, 1943, p. 121. The English translation is my own.

existing, people steadily outline a model of themselves, without ever being able to come to a definite result. Death does not really give an end to this motion, because it can come at any time. With death, merely the game is over. As opposed to the Christian view, death no longer compensates the existential difference between immanence and transcendence, because "la mort n'est jamais ce qui donne son sens à la vie: c'est au contraire ce qui lui ôte par principe toute signification." ("Death is never that, which makes life meaningful, on the contrary it is that which in principle takes away any meaning of life.")[22]

The fundamental non-identity of identity, the fundamental dualistic structure of human existence is no longer, as Kierkegaard still believed, reversed through death. Such a fundamental dualistic conception of death and life is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, hardly to be found within the mainstream of Chinese philosophy.

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[22] Cf. Jean-Paul Sartre, *L'être et le néant*, p. 624. The English translation is my own.

Glossary

Biyanlu	碧岩錄
bu duan	不斷
Bu xiu	不朽
da wo	大我
de	德
Fan Zhen	范縝
Feng Youlan	馮友蘭
geng kao de zhu	更靠得住
gong	功
gongan	公安
Hu Shi	胡適
Hu Shi conglun	胡適叢論
Hu Shi wencun	胡適文存
hun	魂
jiaohu yinxiang	交互影響
Jinqi Taiwan zhexue	近期台灣哲學
Li Shijia	李世家
Liji	禮記
Lunyu	論語
Mao Zedong	毛澤東
Mao Zedong xuanji	毛澤東選集
Mou Zongsan	牟宗三
Nan Fan Zhen Shen mie lun	難范縝神滅論
po	魄
San bu xiu shuo	三不朽說
Sansongtang quanji	三松堂全集
shehui de buxiu lun	社會的不朽論
shen	神

147

Shen bu mie lun	神不滅論
Shen mie lun	神滅論
Shen Yue	沈約
shengming de xuewen	生命的學文
Sibucongkan	四部叢刊
Si sheng	死生
ti	體
Wei renmin fuwu	為人民服務
Wen	文
Wo de zongjiao	我的宗教
Wu Kunru	鄔昆如
xiao wo	小我
Xin qingnian	新青年
Xin yuanren	新原人
Xunzi	荀子
Xuzangjing	續藏經
yan	言
yang	陽
yin	陰
yong	用
you yinguo guanxi	有因果關系
youji	有機
youji de zuzhi	有機的組織
Zhao Yabo	趙雅博
Zhongguo zhexue de tezhi	中國的特質
Zhongguo zhexue de weilai	中國哲學的未來
Zhou Zhiping	周質平
Zhuangzi	莊子
Zuozhuan	左傳

POETRY, REALITY AND EXISTENCE IN YANG LIAN'S
ILLUSION CITY

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Yang Lian (born 1955) is a poet and literary critic from the People's Republic of China. He grew up in Beijing and began to publish poetry in the late 70s. Yang Lian was one of the so-called "misty poets" who experimented with new forms and contents in poetry which evoked considerable controversy in China in the early 80s. As a major writer of the poetic modernist movement, Yang Lian's poetry is characterised by a highly personalised system of symbols and metaphors and the thematic concern with Chinese cultural traditions. As a recipient of numerous fellowships in the West, Yang Lian has published over ten volumes of poetry.[1] His poetry has been translated into many languages. He has been living in the West since 1988.

This article explores some of the philosophical concepts underlying *Illusion City*, a collection of forty integrated poems which Yang Lian wrote in 1991 and attempts to trace major facets of Western influence in the collection which was conceived and composed entirely in the West–New Zealand and Berlin. It also examines how living in the West has brought about major changes in Yang Lian's poetic style and content and heightened his awareness of the importance of Chinese poetic traditions as well as Western influence upon them. "*Illusion City*", as Yang Lian said in an interview in Sydney in 1993,[2] "marks my exit from the preoccupation with the poetic process *per se* and my entry into the mixed world of poetry, reality and existence, which is what this collection is about."

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[1] The major collections of Yang Lian's poetry are the following:
Li hun. Xi'an: Shaanxi dangdai zhongguo qingnian shiren congshu, 1985
Huang hun. Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1986
Pilgerfahrt. Innsbruck: Hand-Presse, 1987
Huang. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1989
Masks and Crocodile [Mianju yu eyu]. Sydney: Wild Peony, 1990
In Symmetry with Death [Yu siwang duichen]. Hong Kong: Renditions, 1990
Taiyang yu ren. (Yang Lian and Yu Feng). Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe, 1991
Gedichte (Drei Zyklen). Zürich: Ammann-Verlag, 1993.

[2] The interview with Yang Lian was conducted by the author of this article on April 15, 1993 in Sydney. It covered a wide range of topics related to Yang Lian's poetry and views on Chinese and Western literature and culture.

I have translated *Huanxiang zhong de chengshi* [1] which Yang Lian [2] wrote in 1991 while on a DAAD[3] fellowship in Berlin into English as *Illusion City*. In order to highlight the poet's hallucinatory perception of reality (*xianshi*) [3], I have refrained from using the terms "mirage city" or "phantom city".[4] Since the title holds the key to the understanding of this collection, it is necessary to begin with a few introductory observations.

The rendering of the word "huanxiang" as "illusion" is firstly related to Yang Lian's understanding of the Buddhist notion of "illusion" which views everything in the universe as constantly being *in flux*, changing and illusory. This becomes particularly relevant in Yang Lian's view of life after his departure from China in 1989.[5] Secondly, "illusion" refers to the initial conception of the idea of writing a collection of integrated poems at an outing on the outskirts of Auckland near English Point opposite the Ragitono Volcano in New Zealand in 1989.[6] On that day, according to Yang Lian, the city was enveloped in thick fog. From across the ocean, the sea and the sky merged into one. It was an extraordinary spectacle. The colour of the clouds and the sea was silver white and grey, forming a striking contrast between grey, black and white. "It somehow had a special connection with my life in exile, the quality of drifting endlessly in the clouds." The memory of this event forms the basis for *Illusion City* which was completed in Berlin in 1991. Inspired by his life and travels in the West, the poems in this collection constitute a major break in form and content from Yang Lian's earlier poetry written in China which was preoccupied with the rural side of life, the seasonal cycles of nature and the lost cultures and traditions of China's past.[7]

Conceived and written entirely in the West, the forty poems presented in this collection are permeated with reflections on society, life and literature, ancient and modern, and complex imagery strands of life, death, solitude, violence, disintegration and decay in nature. They effectively reflect and chart Yang Lian's disjointed emotional and spiritual life in exile and use a kaleidoscopic system of cryptic allusions to the lives and works of such writers as Hölderlin and Yeats,[8]

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[3] Yang Lian spent 1991 in Germany (mostly Berlin) on a DAAD fellowship (Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst–German Academic Exchange Service).

[4] Wolfgang Kubin uses the term "unreal" (*Unwirkliche Stadt*) in his German translation of the collection. He also locates the majority of the poems of *Illusion City* in Berlin, underpinned by the subtitle "Berliner Gedichte". Cf. W. Kubin: *Unwirkliche Stadt, Berliner Gedichte*. In: Wolfgang Kubin: Yang Lian, *Masken und Krokodile*, Gedichte. Aus dem Chinesischen und mit einem Nachwort von Wolfgang Kubin. Berlin, Aufbau-Verlag, 1994.

[5] This point was stressed by Yang Lian in the Sydney Interview. See note 1.

[6] Cf. "Grafton Bridge" (*Gelafudun qiao*) [4], *Illusion City*.

[7] Cf. Sean Golden and John Minford: *Yang Lian and the Chinese Tradition*. In: Howard Goldblatt (ed.) *Worlds Apart, Recent Chinese Writing and Its Audiences*. Armonk: Sharpe, 1990, pp. 119–137.

[8] Cf. "Person Dying from Illusion" (*Si yu huanxiang de ren*) [5], *Illusion City*.

Rodin,[9] Kafka,[10] van Gogh,[11] Nietzsche,[12] Dante and Mallarmé[13] and the cities of Rotterdam,[14] Prague,[15] Berlin[16] and others as reference points in his journey through the West, although a direct influence is difficult to establish. Yang Lian's allusive technique and his all-pervasive experimental and innovative mood, pessimism and overtly *decadent* view of the world link him with the symbolist tradition of poetry and make *Illusion City* a truly difficult terrain for the critic and reader. Unlike the Chinese poets Feng Naichao (1901–1983), Li Jinfa (1901–), Mu Mutian (1900–1981), Wang Duqing (1898–1940), Dai Wangshu (1905–1950) who wrote their works in the 1920s and 1930s under the direct influence of the French symbolists Baudelaire, Verlaine, Mallarmé and Rimbaud,[17] Yang Lian's poetic craft is closer to the Anglo-American tradition of Walt Whitman, W. B. Yeats, T. S. Eliot, Saint-John Perse and Ezra Pound.[18]

The language used in *Illusion City* is markedly different from that of his earlier works: contemporary and classical registers of diction are integrated and disparate imagery is employed extensively for the purpose of poetic ambiguity. Yang Lian refers to this shift in style and subject matter in the interview in 1993 in Sydney: "*Illusion City* is about a non-state. It is a fictional state of existence. It is a reflection on existence on many levels. The city is where I live. In my exile, I have lived in many of them. It has become the state of my existence and a kind of background. I have become absorbed by it. *Illusion City* is actually myself in illusion, the *Illusion Poet*." "Illusion City", he later added, "marks my departure from my earlier conception and understanding of poetry".[19]

It is not Yang Lian's intention to depict reality photographically and to present descriptive meanings, but to create metaphoric structures similar to the

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[9] Cf. "Reading 'The Gates of Hell'–'La Porte de L'Enfer' (*Du diyu zhi men*) [6], *Illusion City*.

[10] Cf. "The Castle on Paper" (Zhi shang chengbao) [7], *Illusion City*.

[11] Cf. "This Patch of Sky Where van Gogh Is Buried" (*Zhe pian maizang fangao de tiankong*) [8], *Illusion City*.

[12] Cf. "The Snow Without a Name–Sils Maria" (*Wu rencheng de xue-Xi'ersi.maliya*) [9], *Illusion City*.

[13] Cf. "The War Memorial Hall" (*Zhanzheng jinian guan*) [10], *Illusion City*.

[14] Cf. "Summer's Only Harbour" (*Xiaji de weiyi gangkou*) [11], *Illusion City*.

[15] Cf. "The Kafka Memorial Hall" (*Kafuka jinian guan*) [12], *Illusion City*.

[16] Cf. "The Terrorist Foundation" (*Kongbu de diji*) [13], *Illusion City*.

[17] For a comprehensive analysis of Feng Naichao's symbolist poetry and French influence see Marián Gálik: *Feng Nai-chao's Red Gauze Lantern and French Symbolism*. In: *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation* (1898–1979). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986, pp. 135–151.

[18] Yang Lian agreed with my observation at the Sydney Interview. Cf. Note 2.

[19] Cf. Sydney Interview.

Chinese ideogram expressing complex images by linking a configuration of elements together without predication, forming a system of its own, without direct and explicit comment on life and reality. His desire to obscure his poetry and remove it as far as possible from traditions of mimetic representation and denotative values in order to attenuate its meaning becomes more and more obvious. This is supported by Yang Lian's personal observations with regard to *Illusion City*. Poetry, according to Yang Lian is akin to music which is also difficult to paraphrase in words.[20] This shift in poetic style is related to the philosophical reinterpretation of reality in the modernist movement. Nietzsche's universe[21] without a unifying principle of purpose and meaning after the pronouncement of the death of God led to new modes of artistic expression and consciousness registering contemporary chaos and disorder, often contrasting it within the literary text with a lost order based on religious beliefs and the unifying mythological consciousness of the past.[22]

The place which epitomises the homelessness[23] and vulnerability of modern man is the modern city depicted already in its threatening darkness and inhumanity in Rimbaud's and Baudelaire's poetry. As the ultimate poetic symbol of technical progress and modernity, the city encapsulates the predicament of modern man as pointed out by Monroe Spears in *Dionysus and the City*: "the mass man, anonymous and rootless, cut off from his past and from the nexus of human relations in which he formerly existed, anxious and insecure, enslaved by the mass media but left by the disappearance of God with a dreadful freedom of spiritual choice."[24] This is even more acutely felt by the Chinese poet in transition from one society to another, a stranger and outsider, invited and yet rejected at the same time like the protagonist in a Kafka novel. Yang Lian's *illusory* city offers no better alternative:

> The road before my window is covered with white snow
> The whole winter the street has only
> Seven wild cats and a man sleeping in a broken car
> And eight identical pairs of eyes
> Like a hollowed wheat husk without the slightest complaint
> They are so matey to make me believe

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Cf. Yang Lian's allusion to the death of God in Nietzsche's *Also Sprach Zarathustra* in "The Chime" (*Zhongsheng*) [14], *Illusion City*.

[22] Cf. W. B. Yeats, J. Joyce and Dylan Thomas.

[23] Cf. H. E. Holthusen: *Der unbehauste Mensch, Motive und Probleme der modernen Literatur*. München: dtv, 1964, pp. 7–10.

[24] Cf. Monroe Spears: *Dionysus and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 74

They have promised to feed on each other's body
And like a pledge most gently touching each other
(The Road Before My Window – *Cong wo chuangkou wang chu qu de jiedao*) [15]

It is a highly personal vision of the Western city, lacking all its stereotypical qualities and characteristics of orderly urban life, material progress and technical efficiency that normally catches the attention of the newly arrived Chinese, deprived and therefore wide-eyed. Instead, the reader is confronted with a missing city, an anti-city with the ubiquitous presence of death, decay, deformity and nightmarish destruction of nature with only few explicit references to the modern metropolis or clearly identifiable landmarks and characteristics as in "The Dead Poets' City" (*Si shiren de cheng*) [16]:

The Dead Poets' City

Not only those who have lived deserve to die
Those whose names are buried in the silence of their one life
Signed silence *this city partitioned by your own hand*[25]
An empty street disguised as a funeral procession
The moonlight is hard and sharp as iron
In palms like white metal bones creak
The early forgotten outdoors the little drum beat
Every word you have deleted in your lifetime has returned to delete you

Delete mercilessly delete viciously
When the world is deleted the face in the fossil grows nearer and clearer
Delete the eyes then eyelight will polish the glass in the path
Engrave a bird in thin lines
Like the one you saw broken
Folded abandoned on the decayed manuscript in the corner
Your final death is already very familiar
An antiquated room waiting to vacate the wreck

The conspicuous absence of a poetic persona and the infrequent turning to a "you" reflects the insignificance and irrelevance of the artist in this world. When it does appear, the poetic voice reveals very little about itself except for rare moments of self-hatred and vulnerability as in "Hatred's Resumé" (*Hen de lüli*) [17]:

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[25] Italics by this author.

Hatred's Resumé

At dusk no walk is towards others
Fire can no longer be shone
Like hatred fill one's own cup
Let me drink to my heart's content

A fruit tree inside such sweet blood
A dark night painted darker by day
Limbs relaxed storm like a tongue rocking
Eyes left in yesterday's spacious sick ward
Are a musical instrument able to shoot

Birds do not belong to reality so always escaping
A ray of sunlight mixed with glass
The clearest water is still blind
He who lives in a shark's silent heart can only dry up cracking
Watching ocean burn himself up
Watching corals slice the extra flesh off my chest
Polish death like an ornament
Decorate the years after death
– Hate me for I am still thirsty

Yang Lian's *Illusion City* is the reality the poetic persona has to travel through, and the experience it has to face up to. The archetypal image of the (sea) voyage is reduced to a labyrinthine search for an escape from this prison:

> The pale stars lock us up behind iron bars
> (The Winter Garden, 14)

The horrors encountered on that never-ending journey through the cultural and intellectual wasteland of our time invariably lead into hallucinatory apocalyptic visions of death and destruction:

> Doomsday is also false a charred log
> Like a crocodile's long mouth tilting out of earth
> The sky is dark like a daytime sleep
> Fish bones spat out by the sea also pierce us
> In the dream fresh fish are scaled alive
> Life under the walking of a knife
>
> All bodies are reduced to a powerless point of retrospection
> (The Winter Garden, 35–41)

154

Yang Lian's professed identification with the modernist movement manifests itself in the self-conscious manner in which poetic imagery is employed in articulating thematic concerns without overt or implied didactic intention. The deliberate fragmentation of time and space, the replacement of the standard flow of Chinese poetic diction with a mixture of colloquial speech and utterances and the substitution for the conventional coherence of poetic structure with the dislocation of parts whereby traditional links between words and words, words and things are broken and remote and incompatible elements are connected by association, continuously challenging the reader to find the missing links. Such structural devices, together with the use of blank spaces[26] and the deliberate omission of punctuation marks intensify the all-pervasive ambiguity underlying Yang Lian's *Illusion City*. In this collection, visual associations succeed each other rapidly, overlap, crisscross and create a cinematographic effect in the reader's mind. To illustrate the above, the opening poem of the collection is cited below:

The Winter Garden[27]

1.

    The trees are frozen red as if wearing a torn jacket
    The snow squeaks underfoot
    The scurrying night has still fresh-soled shoes

    The goats are afraid of loneliness to fill the ears
    Turning every call into cries of sorrow

    The road a cow has just given birth to a calf
    Stiff gasping in bloody mud her body covered with lash marks

    The street lights shine earlier lovers intimate in dark like stones
    Standing by the metal bier faces blurred
    The field vole is a tired nurse stealthily
    Shrinking into the garden's wounds dreaming
    Flowers store young flesh underground
    The ever fresh spirit of dead infants

    The pale stars lock us up behind iron bars

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[26] W. B. Yeats uses a similar technique in some of his poems.

[27] Yang Lian's technique of using blank spaces instead of punctuation marks in the collection has been retained in the translation; this causes a particular problem for the translator because the monosyllabic nature of Chinese characters can't be adequately rendered into English.

2.
The most sceptical of words in the world are poets
In the vacant white snow roses wither at birth
Fire is far away from the cold hands
Winter busies itself like a conscientious editor
I am cut out by the sun
Bending to sniff at the stench of my own corpse
Alone in the north wind the garden has long vanished

Exist for illusion return to illusion
The blue music of trees is only played by silence
The same snowfall pours down my shoulders twice

When the garden is covered I am forgotten
Trampling the street entrance I am misunderstood
The empty lamp-lit street is a hoarse throat
Reciting only the withered word has observed for ages

3.
Those who have dead bodies as a hobby love to walk in a winter garden
Those who bow to ruins can appreciate
A scheme that drowns a kitten in a ditch
Sinking its head as if crushing a nut
It must be a child a child running into a garden

A child better than anyone knows how to violate flowers

Doomsday is also false a charred log
Like a crocodile's long mouth tilting out of earth
The sky is dark like a daytime sleep
Fish bones spat out by the sea also pierce us
In the dream fresh fish are scaled alive
Life under the walking of a knife

All bodies are reduced to a powerless point of retrospection

Touch what can be touched does not exist
Yet the cancer swells deep unfelt
A black pregnant woman wrapping the raped spring
A ray of eyelight slits open the tree trunk
The swan's neck bends into the deathly pale circles
After we dismember the world with the compound eye
All became blind each other's spirit stood out on the white snow
Exposed in the icy wind
Bearing bone-sprouting

156

Until the garden is refreshed by shame
Lashed life-long by an unnameable season

Images and metaphors are piled up, very much in the same way as different shots of a film flash out in cinematic montage. They are concrete and instant, open and abundant, but it is impossible to define the overall meaning although the illusionistic mood is immediately apparent. By removing grammatical and syntactical connectives and thus logical cohesion, the poet opens up a wider range of interpretative possibilities. With the emphasis on mood and evocative appeal as opposed to thematic structure and concern, Yang Lian challenges the reader's imagination and curiosity in pursuit of meaning. In other words, instead of being guided by an underlying logical development of theme, the reader is forced to rely almost exclusively on his own empathy and interpretative intuition and skill.

Yang Lian acknowledges the intrinsic link between form and content of his poetry. His conscious cultivation of style to match the deeper meaning can also be seen in the way the stanzaic structuring of his poetry is realised. "The Winter Garden" can be used as an example to illustrate this point. The poem consists of three sections. They look visually different from one another. In the first section, the verses seem to be scattered in no regular order, casually, forming a Chinese painting like pattern of scattered dots. Through the large scale of different dots, the impression of a mystic evening in the winter garden is created. The second section takes the focus away from the exterior of the winter garden to the poet's consideration of language and reality. This kind of consideration is relatively abstract as if conducted in the background or depth of the world of images. It enters the realm of fantasy and reality. This section is divided into two symmetrical stanzas with seven lines each. This, compared with the first section, creates the effect of a neat and regular line-up. It forms a kind of echo to the poet's deeper rationalisation in form and content. The irregularity of rhythm here is not as pronounced as in section one but it has a kind of gradual lead-in function. Section three, finally, combines the characteristics of sections one and two. The rhythm is much freer, but not as free as in section one, leaping from point to point. This section focuses on the extension of thought and meaning. The use of two single lines and a double line and a double-line forms a contrast to both the long and short stanzas in the previous sections. This creates a unique stanzaic pattern. The line "a child better than anyone knows how to violate flowers" cuts in suddenly. It cuts into the cruelty of existence and man's powerless state when faced with reality to highlight the negation of life. The connotative shift is brought about by the single-line structure.

The poem "The Winter Garden" is also a good example of the absence of a narrative element in individual poems and the collection as a whole. It reflects the poetic persona's state of mind caught in a dissolving and disjointed narrative, broken up into segments of consciousness of a particular object or event. The syntactical patterns are highly irregular, with conspicuous omissions of causal structuring and fragmented utterances, reflecting the flux of the poet's

157

momentary mood and his feverish fascination with the world around him and, to a lesser degree, with his own self. Images and metaphors are piled up like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle except that they don't fit in a coherent order. Another conspicuous feature is the use of the montage of incongruous elements from the sublime to the profane and ridiculous, denying the reader easy access to meaning. A process of trivialisation of the sublime and the serious seems to be at work in most of the poems as for example in "The Cruel Children" (*Canren de haizi*) [18]:

> When they startle the sun with the silence terribly like death
> Angels and blowflies both applaud
> A bean knows well how to shut the final lid
> (The Cruel Children, 19–21)

Another major textual feature of this collection is the extensive system of direct, indirect and often oblique allusions to Western writers, artists and philosophers and their works used as reference points of the poet's own reflective mood. Franz Kafka appears to be of particular relevance because his protagonists, like the poetic voice in this collection are trapped in an enigmatic and overtly hostile world which they try to explore and understand. They are homeless and vulnerable, rejected by society, alienated and threatened by cruel father figures and circumstances beyond their control. "The Kafka Memorial Hall" and "The Castle on Paper" contain explicit references to Kafka and Imperial Prague and cryptic allusions to the writer's life and work:

The Castle on Paper

> The countless feet seeking the entrance tread the stone steps darker
> Terror tortures you like a tunnel going deeper
> The end is still a piece of blank paper
> Evening again the face after coughing blood
> The patient stains the moonlight as it is born
>
> Yet the castle written on paper as if built in heaven
> The pedestrians' moving tower-summit out of which after death bats fly
> Sleep is a loophole
> Let vultures inch into your mouth peck at your tongue
> When you die walled in by brick and stone only to find that words also
>   are empty
>
> So empty that all people must be imprisoned
>
> They dance under the decayed floor picnic in the cemetery
> The rat's life has a dark beauty
> But howling is the swallow fed fat on dead bodies

To mortgage spring like a green hostage
The room is a bridge pier moving against the current on the river
Until yesterday out of sight that bier
Carries back the tyrant father for every son

Stone that exists by being written out is more frightening than stone
The whole world's noise uses your words
To startle you your entire life is by your own *shame*[28] locked up

Witness this castle built higher higher
The fire that burns the lungs red can no longer with its own hand destroy
Moonlight laid bare on white paper is like moonlight on white bones
Like this evening's wind uses the wind's sound
Embraces numerous slim shadows
No one wakes—curse one page is enough

Less direct and obvious are Yang Lian's allusions in the poem "Person Dying from Illusion" (*Si yu huanxiang de ren*) to W. B. Yeats and possibly the great German poet Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843) and his final dark years in insanity in Tübingen. The poet is seen as a victim of his own art which is illusory and finite as human life and creation itself with an echo of cyclic renewal.[29] Poetic creativity borders on the divine and on madness at the same time. The poet's awareness of his vulnerability and rejection by the society in a hostile predatory world is an essential part of the creative process and finds its ultimate expression and compensation in artistic perfection:

Person Dying from Illusion

He who dies from illusion is just like a poet who dies from a poem
Summer enters into your tower so that high above
You think like a god and are as mad as a god
Every other thousand years to count again the flock of swans to revise
The moon under that thin black claw keeping the bloody peace
To use a kind of imagination to control a time of anarchy
You have been weary to die in wisdom is still death

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[28] 'Shame' plays a major role in Kafka's novel *The Trial*. As a matter of fact, it is K.'s last thought before his execution: "But the hands of one of the partners were already at K.'s throat, while the other thrust the knife into his heart and turned it there twice. With falling eyes K. could still see the two of them, cheek learning against cheek, immediately before his face, watching the final act. 'Like a dog!' he said: it was as if he meant the *shame* of it all to outlive him." Cf. Franz Kafka: *The Trial*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968, p. 251. Italics by the author of this paper.

[29] Cf. Note 22.

Yet there are words the stone art lost the second time
Chewing your flesh giving off a foul odour
You again leap into fire yourself like a page of wasted handiwork

Thus we die of you
The only thing you leave the world is a marble chair
For you to sit within the howling of the blind
With one person's feet to crush innocent grapes

Illusion you say is to live to mimic spirit
To question like an old beggar

Die in an alley mourned by the dark red teeth of wild cats
Still a poem forged into a rose has always been an awesome wonder

Even more likely is Yang Lian's allusion to W. B. Yeats and his pessimistic view of Western history and civilisation embodied in his epic poem *A Vision* in which he develops his cyclical view of history and forecasts the imminent end of Christianity and its replacement with a new mythical era. Yeats' view is based on Romanticism and Plato's idealistic philosophy in which all we know is based on appearances. For Yeats, the world is but an illusion. However, his magical world is more real than the real one. Herein lies Yang Lian's own philosophy of life as highlighted throughout *Illusion City* and particularly in this poem.

Existential anguish and pain is also a major concern of the poem "This Patch of Sky Where van Gogh is Buried". The artist's heightened sensitivity (madness) and awareness of the omnipresence of death and decay separates him from others and gives him a special status in society. Like Yang Lian's poetry, van Gogh's paintings *do not* "represent" or depict reality, but create an artistic unity of colour and form:

Lit by the shine of insanity's white head
Constellations like cancer suck you upward
Your death is at last exposed gold-yellow
Spread with bodies that small room
When shame exhausts brushing stroke by stroke the sky is born

Our voice is only another razorblade
To cut every ear that is attuned to your silence
Stars are a herd of animals that don't bleed
Enrage you make you pour sheer scorn from heaven on humanity
        (This Patch of Sky Where van Gogh is Buried, 6–14)

In *Illusion City*, Yang Lian uses facets of the external world as metaphoric reference points for the poetic persona's inner alienation and disorientation in a reality submerged in darkness, illness, aggression and decay:

The hospital windows like the whites of the eyes of the dead
Afternoon like fragments
The scent of flowers plays guest in adjacent homes
Ashes dancing out of the chimney more fresh
The angel revealing false teeth
Cover age like a skirt seduced by wind
A smile is a cruel spring
Another smile and laughter brings the garden up to the sky
That which is not illusion will not be born
      (This Afternoon's Garden – *Zhe ge xiawu de huayuan*, 3–9) [19]

Winter is the dominant season in this collection of Yang Lian's poetry and references to spring and summer are negatively qualified and therefore deprived of their revitalising potential:

Touch what can be touched does not exist
Yet the cancer swells deep unfelt
A black pregnant woman wrapping the raped spring
A ray of eyelight slits open the tree trunk
The swan's neck bends into the deathly pale circles
After we dismember the world with the compound eye
All became blind each other's spirit stood out on the white snow
Exposed in the icy wind
Bearing bone-sprouting
      (The Winter Garden, 42–50)

The sun is no longer a life-sustaining force but associated with the fall of man and the transitoriness of life with distant echoes of the Grandmother's tale in Georg Büchner's *Woyzeck*. In the second stanza of "The Winter Garden", the poetic voice laments in an allusion to Nietzsche:

In the vacant white snow roses wither at birth
Fire is far away from the cold hands
Winter busies itself like a conscientious editor
I am cut out by the sun
Bending to sniff at the stench of my own corpse
Alone in the north wind the garden has long vanished
      (The Winter Garden, 16–21)

Man is painfully aware of his loneliness and vulnerability in a hostile universe and filled with distant memories of a wholesome past and paradise lost. The hope and potential for renewal and rejuvenation through woman and child is continuously overshadowed by death:

161

The foundation digs upwards with cannibal greed
Its breath buried in the ground is also buried in the sky
The child crushed to death by the nipple of the rock
Bones are split like scattered stars
Glittering pale after a windstorm
From the paralysed body only hatred can be born
   (The Terrorist Foundation–*Kongbu de diji*, 1–6)

The universe is depicted in imagery associated with a cosmic wasteland. In fact, the whole of Yang Lian's *Illusion City* conjures up a powerful poetic vision of doom and impending apocalyptic disaster:

Doomsday is also false a charred log
Like a crocodile's long mouth tilting out of earth
The sky is dark like a daytime sleep
Fish bones spat out by the sea also pierce us
In the dream scaled fish agonise alive
Life under the walking of a knife

Every body is reduced to a point of powerless retrospection
   (The Winter Garden, 35–41)

Although Yang Lian does not explore possible reasons for his pessimistic view of the human condition he seems to suggest that man himself in his empirical rationalism is responsible for the loss of the mythical wholeness and unity of the universe, alluding to Nietzsche's assertion of the irrelevance of man's metaphysical dimension without offering Nietzsche's or Yeats' hope for cosmic renewal:

After we dismember the world with the compound eye
All became blind each other's spirit stood out on the white snow
Exposed in the icy wind
Bearing bones' sprouting pain
   (The Winter Garden, 47–50)

Yang Lian's essentially hermetic poetry and hallucinatory poetic visions challenge the reader to share his intimation of imminent crisis, disorientation and search for meaning although the role of the poet in society as presented in *Illusion City* seems to highlight a feeling of inadequacy as in the poem "Before Dawn" (*Liming zhi qian*) [20]:

The butterfly's iron wings pass like a plane
The still pistil is always poison-proof

Watergate upheld in the cataract patient's eyes
The world is a blurred translation
        (Before Dawn, 1–4)

or irrelevance, futility and despair as in "Returning Alive":

A drop of dark-green blood like tainted oil
And let the hollowed heart wood be on heat
Let us forget
In life we have only tasted death on paper
A night shorter than sleep
Wind stalks secret like the enemy
When the moon is just a wrong character
Rising shining then setting under ink
We fall from paper into these mornings
Returning alive to learn to die
        (Returning Alive – *Sheng huan*, 6–15) [21]

and in the last stanza of "The Game of Lies" (*Huangyan youxi*) [22]

When words roll down the dumb are born
The maddening silence in the heart of the dumb
Is the silence in the heart of a tiger springing on an antelope
Flesh torn not even making the shuffling noise of paper
We have always been dumb
So have been toyed with by lies
        (The Game of Lies, 23–28)

Throughout his present journey[30] in the West, Yang Lian carries with him the awareness of his cultural roots in China and her past, however, it is not as ex-

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[30] Cf. Albrecht Conze: *Nachwort*. In: Yang Lian, *Gedichte Drei Zyklen*. Aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt mit der Hilfe von Huang Yi. Zürich: Ammann-Verlag, 1993, pp. 62–63: "Yang Lian braucht für seine Dichtung die Reise. Er sucht die Determinanten seiner Kultur und Herkunft am Ursprungsort auf. Viele Monate hat er bei den Bergvölkern im Süden und Südwesten Chinas verbracht. Auch in Tibet ist er längere Zeit gewesen. Über mehrere Jahre hin haben Orte, die ihm als Chiffren der Vergangenheit gelten, den Gegenstand seiner Lyrik gebildet. Das Ergebnis waren Zyklen, deren drei in diesem Band vorgestellt werden." Cf. also: Yang Lian: *Masks which can't be taken off*. In: Yang Lian, *Masks and Crocodile*. Transl. by Mabel Lee. Sydney: Wild Poeny, 1990, pp. 39–40. Cf. also Yang Lian: *Nachwort des Dichters*: "Und ein Dichter muß dann wie der durch die Hölle wandernde Dante, als er mit bestürztem Antlitz von einem düsteren Lichtstrahl getroffen wurde, diesem Licht folgen, um Sprecher im Namen der Dichtung zu werden." In: Yang Lian: *Pilgerfahrt*. Gedichte mit Illustrationen von Gan Shaocheng. Herausgegeben von Karl-Heinz Pohl. Innsbruck: Hand-Presse, 1987, p. 98.

plicit and powerful as in his previous poetry (eg. "Banpo", "Yuanmingyuan" and "The Wild Goose Pagoda"[31]) and sometimes blurred and ambiguous in its contours. But the poet's search through the West invariably leads him back to his own cultural roots and the splendour and vulnerability of his Chinese Self as to be found in "Summer's Only Harbour"[32] (*Xiaji de weiyi gangkou*), one of the final poems of *Illusion City*:

Summer's Only Harbour

The sky gets dimmer you say this boat is old
A whole life's load of storm has gone far away

It is time to unload yourself let the stone boat rot
Summer is the only harbour

Night the eroded rusty old iron rings
Long broken you say the moon is like an abandoned infant
Those who write words on water can only be turned into water
Turn harbour into wounds

Listen to that unchanging memory in the hot rain's patter
The rain pricks you everywhere the patter is your final home
Lets you live you are old says the boat

This one and only summer has drifted for many years
This one and only time pours into the black lacquered-home
Underneath the waves are only our bodies[33]

Yang Lian's spiritual journey through the cities and civilisations of the West as encapsulated in the forty poems of *Illusion City* is exceedingly painful, arduous and constantly overshadowed by his own vulnerability as an exile in strange and foreign lands.

His identification with Dante, however, highlights his affinity with Western culture and civilisation and his faith in the divine mission of the poet and his

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[31] Cf. Yang Lian, *Gedichte Drei Zyklen*. Aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt mit der Hilfe von Huang Yi. Zürich: Ammann-Verlag, 1993.

[32] Yang Lian told the author of this article in the Sydney Interview that it was a visit to Rotterdam Harbour that inspired this poem. The allusions to the Summer Palace and its history in this poem are quite unambiguous.

[33] All quotations from *Illusion City* contained in this paper are taken from my own translation of the collection completed in 1994.

drive to confront the destructiveness and horrors of this world in order to give poetic expression to it (see footnote [30]).

Although the landmarks of Western culture and civilisation which the poet encounters in *Illusion City* are often ambiguous and cryptic, mirroring the poet's own disorientation and confusion, they seem to give him, nevertheless, creative strength and a sense of direction in his quest through an overwhelmingly powerful world of violence against nature and man (*terra incognita*).

However, there is also the continuous temptation of Orpheus to stop and look back and become mesmerised by his own past and by doing so, forfeit the power of prophetic vision and song.

The forty poems of *Illusion City* reflect that power and Yang Lian's hallucinatory poetic perception of a fragmented and illusive reality and his ability to give poetic expression to it.

[1]《幻象中的城市》[2] 杨炼 [3] 现实 [4] 格拉夫顿桥 [5] 死于幻象的人 [6] 读《地狱之门》[7] 纸上城堡 [8] 这片埋葬凡高的天空 [9] 西尔斯 马利亚 [10] 战争纪念馆 [11] 夏季的唯一港口 [12] 卡夫卡纪念馆 [13] 恐怖的地基 [14] 钟声 [15] 从我窗口望出去的街道[16] 死诗人的城 [17]恨的履历 [18] 残忍的孩子 [19] 这个下午的花园 [20] 黎明之前 21] 生还 [22] 谎言游戏

165

COGNITIVE VAGUENESS AND TERMINOLOGY
OF INTERNAL ORGANS

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The semantic field of anatomical terms in various languages consists of two subsets. The first subset comprises terms referring to directly observable external body parts such as head, hand, eyes, breasts, etc. As far as visible anatomy is concerned, its semantic articulation is very much alike in various languages. However, the subset of terms referring to internal organs may vary from one language to another, chiefly because their referents are not amenable to immediate perception. Data from various languages are discussed and analysed here.

The first steps of human cognitive activity are to be looked for in the process of the self's interaction with its immediate and readily perceivable surroundings. Knowledge and experience accumulated at this interface can be viewed as the cornerstone of elementary human cognition. More remote objects and events are often appraised and included into a human cognitive framework upon the background of this primary intelligence. However, what is going on inside the human body is not much better understood either if judged by the facts of particular languages.

Early man had no access to what was happening inside his body. This ignorance extended to both internal organs and various psychical (emotional and mental) processes that were suspected or believed to be linked with those organs. The resulting cognitive vagueness has inevitably found its reflection in the multiplicity of terms referring to the internal organs of the human body and in the fact that the lexical labels for mental and emotional activities or states were not and could not be clearly discerned from each other. Thus, there is a good deal of semantic overlapping among the internal anatomical terms and also within the domain of psychical and mental functions associated with the organs situated inside the human body. The inclination to explain this insufficient differentiation away as due to a kind of inherent cognitive inferiority of "primitive peoples", however, must be rejected.

Let us pay attention to the cardinal terms for internal body organs in Maori, which is a typical representative of the languages of Oceania in this respect.

Maori *ngaakau* "vitals, viscera; heart, seat of affections or feelings, mind, inclination, desire, spirit" is productive from the phraseological point of view. When combined with adjectives, it refers to various states of mind or psychical properties, e.g., *ngaakau-nui* (big-hearted) "hearty, eager, zealous", *ngaakau-kore* (heartless) "disinclined, having no heart for anything, dispirited", *ngaakau-rua* (double-hearted) "uncertain, wavering, vacillating".

The existence of a certain semantic indeterminacy is confirmed by comparison with other, closely related Polynesian languages. The Samoan cognate of *ngaakau (ga'au)* means simply the entrails and Tahitian *'a'au* "the bowels or intestines, heart, mind, affections, courage, spirit", whereas Hawaiian *na'au* is a term for small intestines which were supposed to be the seat of thought and affection.

Mauli, the Hawaiian counterpart of *mauri* "thymos, source of emotions, life principle", displays a somewhat wider semantic interval including not only heart as a seat of life but also fontanel and, in addition may be transferred to refer to ghosts and spirits.

Maori *ate* "liver" has its counterparts in Mangarevan *ate* which refers to liver and to the intestines. In Hawaiian the indeterminacy is manifested in compounds as *akeloa* or *akemau* "spleen", and *akemama* "the lungs".

Hinengaro has its equivalent in Tongan *finangalo* used in the meaning of mind in the highly polite or regal style. In low style the word *loto* (literally inside, cf. other Polynesian languages) is employed, with the meanings "mind, heart, seat of affection, will, desire, purpose, anger, ire, temper". In addition, there are numerous phraseologisms around this word. Samoan *finagalo*, however, is used only in the transposed meaning desire, will, command.

Terms for bodily cavities in which the internal organs reside may be viewed as hyperonyms that are sometimes synonymous with some of their paronyms. For example, *umauma* "chest, breast" includes also the meanings of heart or character. Maori *manawa* may denote both the abdominal cavity as a whole (belly) and its contents (i.e. bowels, heart), including such hardly perceptible concepts as breath, patience, mind, spirit, encouragement, support and sustenance – and metaphorically the bowels of the earth.

Manawa is the nucleus of a plethora of phraseological expressions, e.g. *manawa kai tuutae* (heart eating filth) "daring, undaunted"; *manawa kino* (bad-hearted) "uneasy, apprehensive", *manawa nui* (big-hearted) "stout-hearted", *manawa paa* (obstructed heart) "grudging, parsimonious, reluctant, regretful, apprehensive"; *manawa popore* (desiring heart) "anxious" or "considerate, parsimonious"; *manawa rau* (embarrassed heart) "distracted, uneasy"; *manawa reka* (sweet heart) gratified, satisfied"; *manawa rere* (rushing heart) "rash, impetuous"; *manawa ruu* (shaking heart) "fidgety, anxious, enraptured, delighted; *manawa wera* (hot heart) "excited, angry". The semantic spectrum of Tongan *manava* is very similar, including womb, heart and bowels as the seat of affection or courage and other feelings. Samoan *manava* denotes belly or waist.

Samoan *loto* has much the same range of meanings – but, according to G.B. Milner, *loto* "heart", "feeling" is opposed to mind and soul, which seems un-

usual for a Polynesian language. Many phraseologisms are centred around it, cf. *lotoa* "hot-tempered", *lotofa'apito* "selfish", *lotoma'a'a* "obstinate", *lotonu'u* "patriotic", *lotovale* "envious, spiteful".

In Maori, *roto* "inside" is known neither in anatomical nor psychological meanings. Here the semantic equivalent of *roto (loto, loko)* of the other Polynesian languages is *puku* meaning "abdomen, stomach, entrails" (also "seat of passion and affections; memory, appetite, desire" upon the psychical level). But in Hawaiian *loko* can also refer to internal organs, which is obvious from many phraseological expressions *(loko'ino* "merciless, heartless, evil, malevolent, cruel"; *lokomaika'i* "generosity, kindness, good will, generous, kind, benevolent").

In Mangarevan *roto* denotes the inward parts, the entrails and in Aniwan the inside, the heart.

Maori *aro* refers to bowels that are obviously regarded as a seat of mind and feelings including desire and inclination. It has cognates in Hawaiian where it may denote breast or belly. The latter meaning is inherent to Samoan *alo* "a chief's belly, belly of a fish, the seat of affections and feelings". It is also used in the meaning of "front, face, presence of someone", which may or may not be a case of homonymy.

These examples justify the following conclusions:

1. In Polynesian languages there are two sets of terms referring to internal body parts: (a) the names of bodily cavities (such as chest and belly), (b) the names of organs situated within these cavities.

2. The semantic (conceptual) field of internal body organs in the languages discussed here may synchronically be viewed as a sum of specific lexemes, but diachronically this set has come about in the process of unfolding from an unspecified lexeme referring to the inside of the human body as a whole. The borderline between the two sets is not watertight. Some words occur at both levels, and level (b) may be occupied by words that obviously are specializations of level (a) terms.

3. The borderlines separating the particular terms at level (b) may be blurred and there is a good deal of overlapping.

4. The internal organs are viewed as seats of both thought and emotions (this holds even for Maori *rangi* head, seat of affectionss, heart) and the distinction of the two domains is seldom carried out consistently.

5. Head is usually not regarded as the seat of rational thought, at least when judged from what is contained in the dictionaries.

The etymology of analogous terms in other (including European) languages seems to corroborate the existence of some universal semantic features or tendencies. Thus, in Classical Greek *kardia* is explained as (a) "heart as a body organ", (b) "entrails, vitals, bowels", (c) "mind", (d) "seat of emotions and passions". In Latin *cord-* denotes (a) "heart", (b) "feelings", (c) "mind", (d) "soul", (e) "ratio", and, finally, (f) "stomach". Again it was reputed to harbour both reason and emotions.

The data from Slavic languages likewise confirm the thesis that level (b) terms are derived from the more general level (a) terms, cf. Czech *játra* "liver" with Old Indian *antrá-* "bowels, entrails", Latin *venter* "belly, stomach" and Greek *éntera* with the same meaning. Lower Lusatian *hutšoba* and Upper Lusatian *wutroba* "heart" is derived from the same root, just as Slovak *srdce* "heart" (and its cognates in many Slavic languages related to Latin *cor(d)-* and Greek *kard-*) are etymologically linked with the root *serd-* "centre".

Interestingly enough, modern European languages do not link liver with life principle and emotions, although this connection is present in Polynesian, Indonesian, Japanese, and even classical European languages, cf. Indonesian *hati* "liver, heart, mind, interest, attention", Japanese *kimo* "liver, gall bladder, one's heart of hearts, pluck, courage, spirit", Greek *hépar* "seat of passions or anger", Latin *iecur, iocur* "seat of life and passions".

The semantic vagueness of the terms of internal body organs and their overlapping reflect the past cognitive inaccessibility of the anatomy of bodily cavity. The mysterious inside of the human body was at the same time thought to be the seat of human thoughts, feelings and moods. These were likewise inaccessible and difficult to describe directly. Two basic strategies could be employed to express them in linguistic terms, metonymical and metaphorical. The metonymical strategy reflects perceivable concomitant symptoms, cf. Maori examples *ahi kauri* soot from *kauri* gum (for tattooing stone weapons) "hatred"; *hiikaikai* to move the feet to and fro, writhe "to be impatient"; *mata kaa* red (burning eyes) "wild, fearful, shy"; *taitea* pale, white "fearful, timid". Metaphorical strategy implicitly compares (1) atmospheric and/or natural phenomena: *amai* swell on the sea "giddy, dizzy", *aamaimai* "nervous"; *hinapouri* very dark "very sad"; *huene* swell of the sea "to desire"; *komingo* to swirl, eddy "to be disturbed, be in a whirl, agitate"; *koorehu* haze, mist, fog "regret, disappointment"; *tai* sea "anger, rage, violence", (2) perceivable (usually visible) actions: *aa* to drive "to urge, compel"; *hae* slit, lacerate, tear, cut "to cherish envy, be jealous"; *hauaa* crippled, lame "cowardly, without spirit, angry without cause"; *koopana* to push "to feel a desire, knob"; *kume rua* to pull in two directions "perplexing, distracting"; *rore* snare, trap, to ensnare "to deceive, deceitful, weary, intoxicated", and even (3) objects to the sphere of emotions, mental and psychical states or processes, e.g., *maakoha* soft slaty rock "tranquil, undisturbed"; *mapihi* some ornament for the person "object of affection"; *tokotuu* mast of a canoe "to rise up (of feelings)". There are instances in which metonymical and metaphorical strategies seem to blend, e.g., *hiikaikai* to move the feet to and fro, writhe "to be impatient"; *oho* to spring up, wake up "to start from fear, surprise, etc., arise, be roused (of feelings)".

The sources of linguistic expression of mental and psychical activities and states in English were analysed in some detail by Z. Kövecses (1986).

The amassed evidence confirms that the limits between various conceptual domains are not watertight, but human experience is perceived as a whole with a high degree of homogeneity.

Appendix 1. Maori Terms for Internal Body Parts

ngaakau vitals, viscera; heart, seat of affections or feelings, mind; inclination, desire, spirit

aro bowels; mind, seat of feelings, desire, inclination

mauri thymos; life principle, source of the emotions

ate liver; the seat of the affections, heart; spirit, high feelings

whanewhane liver; choleric, irascible

hinengaro spleen; seat of the thoughts and emotions, desire

mahara spleen; thought, memory, recollection

whatumanawa kidney; bowels of the earth, seat of the affections; bowels of the earth

Appendix 2. Verbs denoting mental and psychical activities and states

aa to drive – to urge, compel

ae calm – to assent, agree

aewa to wander, go round about – dizziness, sickly, unhealthy

ahi kauri soot from *kauri* gum (for tattooing stone weapons) – hatred

ahi tere swift fire – causing discord

amai swell on the sea – giddy, dizzy; *aamaimai* nervous

anu cold – *anuanu* offensive, disgusting, disgusted

aroaro rua two faced – vacillating

auheke surf, short descent – giving to difficulties

hae slit, lacerate, tear, cut – cherish envy, be jealous

hauaa crippled, lame – cowardly, without spirit, angry without cause

hiamo to be elevated (like a *paa*) – be thrilled, excited

hiikaikai to move the feet to and fro, writhe – be impatient

hinapouri very dark – very sad

huene swell of the sea – to desire

huka foam, froth, frost, snow – trouble, agitation

hukihuki convulsive twitching or contraction of the nerves or muscles, spasm – affectionate yearning

ii to ferment, turn sour – to be stirred (of the feelings)

kare ripple – to long for, desire ardently, kakare agitation

karekare surf, waves – agitated, disturbed, eager

kiwakiwa black, dark – gloomy, sad

kohara to split open, gleam, shine – be enraptured, feel passion for

koohengi(hengi) breeze, light wind – yearning, feeling (for absent friend)

kooihiihi reduced to splinters – to thrill with fear

komingo to swirl, eddy – be disturbed, be in a whirl, agitate

koomingomingo whirlpool – be violently agitated

konatu to stir, mix, twinge – yearning, affection

koopana to push – to feel a desire, knob

koorehu haze, mist, fog – regret, disappointment

kororiko black, dark – angry, lowering

kooruru wrinkled, puckered, cloudy, overcast, shadow – apprehension

kume rua to pull in two directions – perplexing, distracting

mae withered – languid, listless, struck with astonishment, paralysed with fear, etc.

maakoha soft slaty rock – tranquil, undisturbed

mapihi some ornament for the person – object of affection

maapuna to well up, ripple, sway, undulate, form a pool – to grieve, sigh

whakamaapuna to float – be at a loss, be in doubt

maarama light, not dark, clear, transparent – easy to understand, plain

mata kaa red (burning eyes) – wild, fearful, shy

maataotao cool, cold – to die out, extinguished (of feelings, recollection)

(mata) poorehu = (mata) rehu misty (eyes) – sadness

mate dead, extinguished, completed, defect, calamity – overcome with any emotion, deeply in love

mawera reddish – uneasy in mind

mawherangi wandering – troubled in mind

natu to scratch, stir up, mix, tear out – to show ill feeling, be vexed, angry

nawe to be set on fire – to be kindled or excited (feelings)

oho to spring up, wake up – start from fear, surprise, etc., arise, be roused (of feelings)

oreore to shake, quiver – alarmed, fidgety

paahunu fire, to burn – anxiety, apprehension

pakeke hard, stiff – difficult, obstinate

paamaaroo hard, solid – steady, without hesitation

panapana to throb – strong emotion

paoa smoke – gall, bitterness

papi blind – *papipapi* bewildered, obstinate

patete to itch, tickle – to importune, irritate

paawera hot – stirred, affected

whakapoo to darken – to grieve

pohe withered, blind, dead – stupid, dull

pouri dark – sorrowful, sad, distressed

puuraurau covered with sharp points, bristling – bitter, offensive

pupuri to hold in the hand – to keep in memory

rapa to be entangled – awkward, unskilful, inexpert

reka sweet, palatable – pleasant, agreeable

rika to writhe, toss oneself about – impatient, provoking, to nudge, confuse

rore snare, trap, to ensnare – to deceive, deceitful, weary, intoxicated

taahurihuri to rock (as a canoe at sea) – to be perturbed, be at a loss

tai sea – anger, rage, violence

taimaha heavy – oppressed in body or mind

taitea pale, white – fearful, timid

tama (tuu ki) roto son standing inside – emotion, desire, craving, strong feeling

taamau to fasten – to love ardently, to betroth

171

tapou bowed down – dejected, downcast

tara point, spike, thorn – courage, mettle

tarakaka southwestern wind – fierce, boisterous

tatuu to reach the bottom – to be at ease, content, to consent, agree

tika straight, direct – just, fair, right, correct

toa male – brave, rough, boisterous

toka firm, solid – satisfied, contented

tokotuu mast of a canoe –to rise up (of feelings)

tuarangaranga rough, boisterous (of sea), broken, rough (of country) – unsettled, perplexed

tuatea pale – distressed, anxious

tumatakuru a thorny shrub, spear-grass – to show consternation, be apprehensive

tunu to roast, boil – to inspire with fear; tunutunu faint hearted, afraid

ue to shake, push, shove – to disturb, incite, impel

ura red, brown, glowing – uraura angry, fierce

ure membrum virile, man, male – courage

u(w)ha woman – calm, gentle

wanawana spines, bristles – fear, thrill, fearsome, awe-inspiring, to quiver, shiver, thrill (metonymy?)

whakapoururu gloomy – sorrowful

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KOREAN AND JAPANESE INTERNALLY-HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES: A COMPARISON BETWEEN THEM AND WITH HEADLESS RELATIVES

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Modern Korean and modern Japanese internally-headed relative clause constructions are compared and different origins for them suggested. The "headless relative clause" in certain other languages is seen as an altogether different phenomenon, having yet another possible origin.

1. Introduction

Of particular interest in the growing field of "Japanese-Korean linguistics"[1] is internally-headed relative clauses (IHRCs), defined as relative constructions which are formally identical to nominalisations and whose semantic head is formally a constituent of the nominalisation (cf. Modini 1993b: 126). In this article I will compare the view of the construction to be found in the paper by Horie in Vol. 5 of *Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics* (HSKL) with those in two other recent works, viz. Whitman et al. (1991) and Martin (1992); and suggest a theory of evolution of the construction in the light of the proposal concerning the origin of the Japanese IHRC in Modini (1994). The internally-headed relative clause, properly speaking, in Korean and Japanese is distinguished from the so-called "headless relative clause" construction in certain American and African languages, which I will claim is of different origin completely. Finally, a typology of non-adjoined relative clauses is proposed, taking into consideration the distinction between IHRCs and headless relatives and between these two types and the ordinary, externally headed relative.

2. Horie's view of the Korean IHRC

In a paper presented at the 1993 LSA Meeting in Los Angeles, and published in Vol. 5 of HSKL, Horie discusses the status and origin of the IHRC in

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[1] The second volume in a series with this name has just appeared, viz. Clancy (1993).

Korean. Stating that its acceptability rating is rather low, he says intriguingly that "some speakers are more tolerant of [it]. What is significant is that these speakers also tend to be more tolerant of the use of <u>kes</u> in cleft constructions". The <u>kes</u> referred to here is the Korean counterpart of the Japanese complementiser <u>no</u>, a characteristic of Japanese IHRCs. The cleft constructions referred to are specifically those where an adverbial element is in focus. Examples given by him of Japanese and Korean IHRCs and adverb clefts, together with indications of their grammaticality ratings, are as follows:[2]

(1) *Taroo*   *wa*   *ringo* *ga* *tsukue*   *no* *ue* *ni*
    ?Chelswu *nun* *sakwa* *ka* *chayksang*   *wiey*
    T/C   TH   apple RH desk   ATT top on

    atta   *no*   *o*   *totte*   *tabeta*
         issnun   *kes* *ul* *cipetulko* *mekessta*
    be(PST) be (PR ATT) COM OBJ take(CTN) eat(PST)

    'Taroo/Chelswu picked up the apple which was on the desk and ate it.'

(2) *Taroo*   *ga* *sooru* *ni* *toochakushita*
    ?Chelswu *ka* *sewul* *ey*   *tochakhan*
    T/C   RH Seoul in arrive(PST) arrive(PST ATT)

    no   *wa* *sanji*   *deshita*
    kes *un* *seysi*   *iessta*
    COM TH 3 o'clock be(PST)

    'It was at 3 o'clock that Taroo/Chelswu arrived in Seoul.'

Horie accounts for the differences in grammaticality between Japanese and Korean, and for the similarities in grammaticality/ungrammaticality within each language, by postulating that a syntactic change is under way in Korean whereby the complementiser <u>kes</u> is continuing to lose its original lexical meaning and becoming more of a function word like Japanese <u>no</u>, thus becoming able to occur, albeit still embryonically, in the full range of constructions that no can occur in.

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   [2] The following abbreviations are used: ATT: attributive form or marker, CL: classifier, COM: complementiser, CTN: continuative form, EXC: exclamatory particle, FUT: future form, HON: honorific verb, HYP: hypothetical form, OBJ: object marker, POL: polite form, PR: present form, PST: past form, RH: rheme marker, TH: theme marker. "Theme" is used in the Prague School sense of "old information," vs. "rheme." The system of romanisation used for Korean examples, together with the translation (unless indicated otherwise), is that of the source. (The McCune-Reischauer system is used in the References.)

3. An alternative view

The fact that a word in one language has over time lost lexical meaning and assumed more of a grammatical role (i.e. become grammaticalised), as kes has, does not, it seems to me, necessarily entail its assuming eventually all of the grammatical functions performed by a counterpart in another language. More importantly, there are grounds for thinking that IHRCs in Korean are different in nature from those in Japanese.[3] These grounds have to do with the matter of the origin of the phenomenon in Japanese. Modini (1994) claims that the source in Japanese was raising constructions, where there was (a) a post-Nara Period *reanalysis* of the o-NP as the object, in the ordinary, non-raising sense, of the raising verb, and consequent reinterpretation of the predicate in the to-clause as a postposed relative clause. There was then (b) *assimilation* of this structure to the form of a perception/thinking verb nominalisation complement structure. This theory accounts for the fact that raising constructions with a verb proper (e.g. an action verb) as the predicate of the raising verb's to-clause complement occurred in Nara Period Japanese (Modini 1993a)[4] but disappeared apparently after the Nara Period, whereas there is no good evidence that IHRCs, indisputably a part of the grammar of Heian Period Japanese (Kuroda 1974), occurred in the language of the Nara Period, *contra* Kaiser (1991: 20).[5]

This theory accounts for not only the mechanism of the development of IHRCs from raising constructions but also why they developed when they did. The assimilation stage of the process could only have occurred in the post-Old Japanese period, since o retained a theme-marking role in at least certain clause types throughout the *Man'yooshuu* (Modini 1993a). Thus o in Old Japanese

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[3] Moreover, the relative-cleft parallelism claimed by Horie to exist is questionable. Horie's view that an ongoing change in the nature of kes accounts for the particular grammaticality rating of Korean IHRCs finds support in the supposedly similar status of adverb clefts, in that both relatives and clefts are said to illustrate the fact that kes is starting to take on more of a complementiser role. The trouble with this view is that, far from being a marginally-acceptable, and therefore possibly only embryonic, construction, the adverb cleft is a fully grammatical part of the language, at least as far as can be ascertained from the discussion in Lee (1968: 116).

[4] Kondoo (1980: 58, 59, 62) discusses four of the *Man'yooshuu* examples of verbal predicate raising constructions given in Modini (1993a, 1994) in poem nos. 2660, 3002, 21 and 3741, respectively. Although his system of classification of the uses of Old Japanese o attempts to be more rigorously "syntactic" than previous *kokugogaku* systems, he nevertheless ignores the possibility of a raising interpretation of the construction containing the particle o in these instances.

[5] Kaiser (1990: 54, fn.15) attempts to account for the fact that, of Kaiser's (1991) five claimed *Man'yooshuu* examples, there is only one formed with ga by raising the possibility that this type was just a regional usage. The other obvious explanation is to claim, as Modini (1994: 113, fn.8) does, that all five IHRC-like constructions are in reality constructions of an altogether different nature, e.g. conjunctional constructions.

was not just a case marker like no, so that NP-o in the postposed relative construction could not have become NP-no under the influence of the perception/ thinking verb nominalisation complement structure at that time.

The proposed historical connection between raising constructions and IHRCs in Japanese makes it impossible for Korean to have independently undergone a similar development. This is simply because verbal predicate raising exists in the contemporary language, fully grammatically (cf. O'Grady 1991: 139).

I propose that the Korean IHRC is originally an *appositional* construction, essentially the same as the Old Japanese structure illustrated in the following famous example, from *Man'yooshuu* poem no. 892 (Kojima et al. 1972: 94):

(3) *kaze majiri   ame furu   yo   no   ame majiri*
    wind mix(CTN) rain fall(ATT) night ATT rain mix(CTN)

   yuki furu   yo   wa
   snow fall(ATT) night TH

'nights when the wind-mixed rain falls, nights when the rain-mixed snow falls'.

This appositional construction may be regarded as having been inherited by Korean and Japanese from a common protolanguage.[6] The Japanese variety may further be regarded as having *merged* with the IHRC (see Modini 1994: 112, fn. 7), which developed in the post-Nara Period, as described above; whereas the Korean variety may be seen as having essentially maintained its identity to the present day. Thus Martin (1992: 324) describes his "postappositional nominalization" [i.e. IHRC] as involving a "generalizing epitheme", or postmodifier, viz. "typically kes 'thing/one' or Middle Korean i 'one that...'", preceded by an "adnominalization". The fact that the Middle Korean construction involved this i whereas perception/thinking verbs' nominalisation complements just ended in the substantive verbform (Martin 1992: 323-324) suggests that the two constructions, whose Japanese counterparts are formally identical in both the modern and classical language in keeping with their suggested historical connection, were fundamentally different and historically unconnected.

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[6] The view that Japanese and Korean are genetically related to each other and to the Altaic languages, at least insofar as their grammars are concerned, seems to me now to be the majority view of linguists (cf. Martin 1991: 269). Modini (1990) surveys the syntactic evidence for this relationship. Martin (1990) discusses possible Korean-Japanese cognates in the area of grammatical morphology, viz. the postpositions. A long period of contact between Japanese and Korean lasting till just before the Nara Period is, according to Chew (1976), *together with* genetic affiliation responsible for the very many syntactic similarities between the two languages. This prolonged contact would no doubt have reinforced the common inheritance of an appositional construction.

This fact is furthermore consistent with the view that i in the Old Korean construction had the function not of complementiser but of repeating, in reduced form, the "internal head", which in the alternative form of the construction simply occurred in full form twice.

Martin gives one example, from Wagner and Kim (1963),[7] of the modern Korean IHRC, as follows:

(4) *Yeki ceki so ka han mali twu mali issnun*
here there cow RH one CL two CL be(PR ATT)

kes i poyessta
KES RH be visible(PST)

'One or two cows were visible here and there.'

A Middle Korean example of the IHRC is the following:

(5) *salom pwon i mata*
person see (PR ATT) I all

'everyone he saw' (Martin 1992: 324).

There is no indication in his discussion that Martin regards this "peculiar construction", as he describes it, as of doubtful grammaticality. Similarly, the two examples given by Whitman et al. (1991: 392) are regarded by them as fully grammatical:[8]

(6) *Piano tangtang hanun ke sa cwuyakeyssta*
piano dingdong do(PR ATT) KES buy give(HYP FUT)

'I have to buy a piano that goes dingdong.'

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[7] Wagner (1971: lesson 8) gives no indication that this example of a "paraphrastic gerund construction consisting of a verbal modifier form plus kes" is regarded by him as anything but a sentential complement of a perception verb. Perhaps he was unaware of the existence of an IHRC identical in form to the nominalisation complement construction, just as, in the case of Japanese, as remarked by Kuroda (1992:4), "[t]he existence of head-internal relative clauses is not sufficiently recognised, even among those who are generally familiar with Japanese grammar".

[8] Dong-In Cho (pers. comm., Nov. 1993) is nevertheless, in support of Horie's position, of the opinion that "[t]he general consensus among Korean linguists is that the IHRCs in Korean are not as productive as those in Japanese. I also find that many counterparts of Japanese IHRCs are marginal, even though IHRCs in Korean are not totally impossible."

(7) *Chayk   pilye   kan   ke   nayil*
    book   borrow go(PST ATT)   KES   tomorrow

kacko   okeyssupnita
bring(CTN)   come(FUT POL)

'I will bring back the book that I borrowed tomorrow.'

Whitman et al.'s examples do not contain the expected particles to mark the subject- and object-case functions of the internal heads within the relative clauses; instead, the head is followed by no particle at all, and it would be tempting to imagine in this informal usage a zero particle which, together with Old Japanese *no* in (3), is a reflex of the protolanguage appositional attributive particle. However, even at the comparatively early, Middle Korean period subject- and object-case particles are able to be discerned by Martin, who calls the adnominalisation preceding i a "sentence". This sententialising of the appositional structure was presumably due to the influence exerted by other structures, viz. the externally-headed relative and the sentential complements of perception/thinking and raising verbs, which are semantically similar.
    Perhaps the following construction, in *Hyang'ga* no. 22, is an example of an Old Korean pronominal appositional construction:

(8) *han   put'yŏdu   kŭrat   hasyan*   *i   roi*
    all   buddhas   thus   do (HON PST ATT)   I   EXC

'all the buddhas who have done thus' (Lee 1959: 94; my translation[9]).

What is at issue here is the precise role of i. Ogura (1929: 130) considers the i and the following syllable to constitute the equivalent of the abstract noun koto. Itabashi (1993: 102), following Yang (1957: 827),[10] rather considers the i itself to be the abstract noun. On the other hand, my pronominal appositional interpretation, whereby the whole line is syntactically and semantically one NP, fits the larger context of the line and provides us with an instance of the type of construction that the Middle Korean IHRC on my analysis derives from.

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   [9] Cf. Lee (1959: 95): "As all the Buddhas have done"; Buzo and Prince (1993: 121): "Indeed, have not all the buddhas done so?"

   [10] Itabashi (1993: 101) does not, however, follow Yang's (1957: 772) characterisation of another instance of i, in *Hyangga* 19, line 6, as an abstract noun, but rather considers it to be a nominaliser. Curiously, Kim (1980), which contains many new readings and interpretations of the *Hyangga*, overlooks the i in *Hyangga* 22, the phonogram in question being mysteriously absent from line 8 of the poem (p. 195). Buzo and Prince (1993: 120) do not recognise a separate function for i: it and the morphemes immediately before and after it just constitute an "emphatic, honorific V[erb] E[nding]".

4. Headless relative clauses

It is questionable whether an IHRC could have arisen in other languages in the same way as in Japanese and Korean. Indeed, in these other languages which supposedly have the IHRC, notably certain American languages (in all of which, as in Japanese and Korean, the verb follows its object) a "headless" analysis (i.e. which views the head as being in the form of a clause-external zero pronoun (cf. Cole 1987: 278)) appears to be correct. Headless relatives may, I believe, constitute the outcome of a diachronic process converting pronominal relativised NPs into full NPs and pronominalising heads. In Navajo, often mentioned in the literature on relativisation, such a process would have brought its relative clause constructions into conformity with the general tendency in that language noted by Nichols (1986: 71) towards the marking of heads rather than of dependents. Moreover, this deletion of the head rather than of the relativised NP would then have made relativisation consistent with the normal direction of pronominalisation (cf. Downing 1978: 398-399, Aristar 1991: 24-25).

The position consistently expressed by Lehmann (e.g.1986: 673; 1992) is that the proponents of the "headless" view are mistaken and that in reality what we have to do with is IHRCs, with no unexpressed head but with a nominal functioning at the same time as head and relativised NP, as in Korean and Japanese. This position seems to have arisen out of his desire to impose the Japanese/Korean grammar on other languages in order to be able to take a unified view of IHRC and headless relatives, i.e. of those relative constructions where there is *full expression* of the relativised NP. This position does not take into account the fact that the headless relative in these languages is, unlike the IHRC in Korean and Japanese, *not* a nominalisation, *pace* Lehmann (1992: 333), as Downing's (1978: 392) discussion of Navajo makes clear. Apart from true, Japanese-style IHRCs, there seem *also* to be true, American-style headless relatives.

5. Conclusion

To conclude, I propose the following typology of non-adjoined relatives. The primary distinction is between (a) externally-headed and (b) internally-headed clauses, which corresponds to whether the relativised NP and the head occupy (a) separate positions or (b) a single position in the construction. Externally-headed ones are further subdivided into those where the head is pronominalised (the headless variety) and those where the relativised NP is pronominalised (the ordinary variety).[11]

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IDENTIFICATION PROBLEMS IN THE ARABIC DERIVATION

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In Arabic, some types of derivational relationships, involving substitutive processes, may create interpretational and classificatory problems. Some of them, associated with the identification of the derivational basis in some types of affix- and pattern-marked derivatives, will be examined in what follows.

1. In Arabic,[1] the word-formational procedure of derivation involves two types of markers: affixes and patterns. They may operate either independently of each other or in combination with each other. From this point of view, three basic types of derivation may be distinguished:

(1) external or affix-marked derivation, as in ^{c}askar (subst.) "army" (+ī) = ^{c}askarī (relat. adj.) "military, army-", possibly resubstantivized: "soldier" – additive process; ^{c}askarīya (subst., *nisba* abstract) "militarism" (-/y/a) = ^{c}askarī (relat. adj.) "militaristic"; possibly resubstantivized: "militarist" – subtractive process; mādda (subst.) "stuff, matter" (-a+ ī) = māddī (relat. adj.) "material" – substitutive process;

(2) internal or pattern-marked derivation, invariably coinciding with a substitutive process, as in:

katab "to write" (root: *k-t-b;* pattern: -a-a-, literally: "he wrote"; in a contextual presentation with a personal suffix -a: kataba – kātib "writer, scribe, clerk" (the pattern morpheme of the derivational basis contrasts with that of the resultant derivative: /-a-a- / -ā-i-/, etc.;

(3) combined or pattern-and-affix-marked derivation, coinciding with a joint substitutive-and-additive/subtractive process, as in: katab (as above) + pattern change: /-a-a-/-∅-a-/ + affication /ma-/ = maktab "office, school, desk", etc.

1.1. Identification problems, examined in what follows, are associated with substitutive processes in both affix- and pattern-marked derivation. In the

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[1] Arabic should be identified with any variety of synthetic Arabic, irrespective of whether true Classical or Modern Standard, written or oral.

former, they will be illustrated on the Arabic *nisba* derivation while, in the latter, they will be related to the binary system of the intensive patterns *fa^cc̄al* and *fa^cc̄āla*.

2. Affix-marked derivation.

2.1. Identification problems, emerging in this structural domain, are deliberately restricted to substitutive processes in the Arabic *nisba* derivation that involve the highly polyvalent affixal morpheme -*a* (in pause)/ -*at* (in context). Since the latter, for the most part, functions or co-functions as a feminine marker, it is currently classified as a feminine morpheme in the Arabic grammars. An attempt has been made, at the same time, to show on a number of selected examples, the extent of applicability of the semantic evidence and its import in reducing the misleading impact of the substitutive affixation.

2.1.1. Substitutive affixation of the *nisba* suffix -*ī* occurs with derivational, derivational-and-inflectional and, less convincingly, inflectional applications of the suffix -*a*:

(1) the suffix -*a*, as a derivational marker, e.g.:

xalīfa "successor; caliph" →

xalīfī, as in: *al-minṭaqa al-xalīfīya* "the Caliphate Zone (formerly, designation of Spanish Morocco)", etc.;

(2) the suffix -*a*, as a derivational-and-inflectional marker, as in:

noun (i): *bašar* "man; men, mankind", masculine,
noun (ii): *bašara* "outer skin, epidermis", feminine,
nisba: *bašarī* "human" (possibly "human being"); epidermal, skin (adj.)";

or:

noun (i): *maktab* "office; desk", masculine,
noun (ii): *maktaba* "library; bookstore", feminine,
nisba: *maktabī* "office (adj.); library, bookstore (adj.)".

The noun (i) – noun (ii) pair represents a derivational, while the masculine – feminine opposition, a parallel inflectional relationship.

(3) The suffix -*a* may further operate as an exclusively inflectional marker. In the latter case, as an element of the -*∅*/-*a* opposition, it signals the feminine gender, as in the following sex-gender pairs:

kalb "dog", male-masculine,
kalba "bitch", female-feminine,
kalbī "canine", etc.

Nevertheless, in this application of the feminine suffix, no convincing cases of substitutive affixation have been found. In the latter case, one might perhaps argue that the relative adjective *kalbī* "canine", for instance, covering the whole species, may theoretically be related to both members of the sex-gender pair. A less sophisticated explanation of the generic value of *kalbī* "canine" seems to be provided by a simple recognition of the same generic value of *kalb*, as its presumed derivational basis, viz. "dog (of whatever sex, gender and number".

2.2. As previously stated, the suffix -*a* is the main source of interpretational ambiguities of the type examined. Since the misleading impact of all other af-

183

fixes, displaying a substitutive behavior, is quite negligible in comparison with the latter, the following survey of substitutive *nisba* relationships will exclusively be focused on those organized along the -∅/-a opposition. In order to provide a contrastive frame, a number of unambiguous relationships will introduce the survey of problematic cases. Finally, in order to round up the inventory of problematic relationships, a number of ambiguous cases of a nonsubstitutive background will be surveyed, too.

2.2.1. In unambiguous *nisba* relationships of both substitutive and nonsubstitutive types, the derivational basis of a given *nisba* adjective can be identified by means of mere lexical evidence. Lexical evidence, as here understood, has to provide data necessary for the delimitation of the derivational relationship under examination. Such a delimitation consists in establishing the number of all actual members of the latter. In the present case, it cannot exceed the limit of two: one derivative related to only one derivational basis. Obviously, the minimum domain of ambiguity in a derivational process, centered on the actual or potential occurrence of the suffix -*a*, is a bipolar opposition -∅/-*a*. Since only one of both poles of this opposition may actually be involved in the process, a fact to be established by the lexical evidence, only two types of what we call unambiguous relationships may be distinguished:

(1) *xalīfa* – *xalīfī* (see § 2.1.1 (1)): no *zero*-counterpart actually occurs, as against:

(2) *xarīf* "autumn, fall" – *xarīfī* "autumnal": no -*a*-counterpart actually occurs.

From a semantic point of view, derivational processes of the present type do not tend to generate multiple meaning relationships except those that are already inherent in this unique derivational basis. The fact that the latter operates, in the present type of relationships, as the unique starting point of derivational processes with no semantically competitive counterparts, leads to a considerable reduction of polysemous, and to a complete exclusion of homonymous meaning relationships.

2.2.2. In ambiguous relationships involving substitutive constituents, i.e. constituents that display, actually or potentially, a substitutive affixation, lexical evidence is not sufficient for the identification of the derivational basis. It should be completed by equally important semantic evidence that has to provide reasonably precise information on the lexical meaning of all actual and potential participants in the derivational process. Without these supplementary data, it would be virtually impossible to distinguish between these two types of participants and to exclude the potential ones from the scope of the inquiry.

Furthermore, from a semantic point of view, in the case of several derivational bases actually participating in the process, it would equally be impossible to establish the nature of the meaning relationship between any of these derivational bases and the corresponding *nisba* adjective. In other words, it would be impossible to decide whether we are dealing with a single polysemous derivative, related to several semantically closely associated or even semantically identical derivational bases (the common origin of which is quite obvious), or

with a pair or even a larger group of homonymous derivatives related, each of them, to its respective dederivational basis which cannot be etymologically related to other forms of the competitive set.

This class of ambiguous relationships includes two particular subclasses in accordance with whether the substitutive constituent of the relationship is an actual or only a potential member of a given derivational sequence.

2.2.2.1. Relationships with actual substitutive constituents may include cases, like:

(1) *nisba* adjectives related to semantically identical bases, as in:

maṭbaᶜ

$\qquad\qquad\longrightarrow$ *maṭbaᶜī*

maṭbaᶜa

where:

maṭbaᶜ, masc. subst., "printing office, printing house, press",

maṭbaᶜa, fem. subst., "idem",

maṭbaᶜī, relat. adj., "printing, printer's, typographical", or:

ḥamās "enthusiasm, zeal, fanaticism",

ḥamāsa "idem",

ḥamāsī "enthusiastic, zealous, fanatic", etc.

In this case, two derivational bases are synonymously related to each other and the *nisba* adjective is simultaneously related to both of them. Features of polysemy, as far as they occur at all, are equally inherent in all participants of the underlying derivational process.

(2) nisba adjectives are derived from semantically related but not identical bases, as in:

kitāb "piece of writing, record; letter; book"; *al-kitāb* "the Koran; the Bible",

kitāba "(act or practice of) writing; system of writing, script",

kitābī "written, in writing; clerical; literary; scriptural; relating to the Koran, Bible".

Figurative meaning relationships seem to fall to this category, as well, e.g.:

daraq "thyroid gland",

daraqa "(leather) shield",

daraqī "shield-shaped; thyroid", or even:

bašar / bašara → *bašarī* (see § 2.1.1 (2) above).

In contrast to the foregoing type, the difference in the lexical meaning between the two derivational bases is responsible for the encreased polysemy of the resultant *nisba* adjective.

(3) A partial synonymy between several derivational bases of a given *nisba* adjective, combined with etymologically doubtful meaning relationships with some members of the sequence, considerably obscures the interpretation and classification of the derivational events involved, as in:

kawkab "star"

$\qquad\qquad\longrightarrow$ *kawkabī* "stellar, astral"

kawkaba "star"

co-occurring with:

kawkab "leucoma (med.)	$\longrightarrow$	*kawkabī*	(i)
kawkaba "constellation (astr.)"	$\longrightarrow$	*kawkabī*	(ii)

The adoption of a subjective distinction between polysemy and homonymy, based on the ability of language users to conceive different senses of identical forms as connected or unconnected respectively (Zgusta 1971: 74), would seemingly permit even a homonymous interpretation of at least some components of this semantic relationship, as in:

kawkab "star"	$\longrightarrow$	*kawkabī* (see above)
kawkab "leucoma"	$\longrightarrow$	*kawkabī* (i) (see above).

Nevertheless, a figurative "star-leucoma" connection cannot safely be excluded even here. In view of a frustrating lack of etymological evidence in most of the Arabic roots, no distinction between polysemous and homonymous relationships will be made in the present paper. Accordingly, all cases of multiple meaning relationship within this semantic range will invariably be presented as polysemous ones, i.e.:

kawkab
> *kawkabī* (inclusively of *kawkabī* (i, ii)
kawkaba

(4) *nisba* adjectives simultaneously related to a progressively oriented derivational basis with a substitutive background, and to another one, regressively oriented, of a nonsubstitutive background, will be treated as a special case of these relationships, e.g.:

mādda "stuff, matter" (- a + i)	$\longrightarrow$	*māddī* (i) "material (adj.)"
māddīya "materialism" (-/y/a)	$\longrightarrow$	*māddī* (ii) "materialistic".

In accordance with the adopted principle of treating multiple meaning relationships, the resulting derivative will be presented as a case of polysemy:

mādda
> *māddī* (i, ii).
māddīya

2.2.2.2. Relationships with only potential substitutive constituents may be illustrated on cases like:

wālid $\longrightarrow$ *wālidī*
wālida $\Longleftarrow$

where:
wālid "procreator; father",
wālida "mother; parturient woman",
wālidī "paternal";
similarly:
'insān "man, human being",
'insāna "woman",
'insānī "human; humane", or:
xilāf "difference; contradiction; dispute, controversy",

186

xilāfa "caliphate, office or rule of a caliph",
xilāfī "controversial, disputed", etc.

The exclusion of the substitutive constituent from the process does not seem to have an identical motivation in the three derivational relationships just quoted.

The substitution of *'umm* ——→ *'ummī* (see below) for the missing **wālida* ——→ *wālidī* has seemingly to secure a clear and quite unambiguous distinction between the male-masculine and female-feminine members of this sex-gender pair of highest social and cultural significance.

The exclusion of *'insāna*, apparently a secondary creation due to the impact of analogy with current sex-gender pairs, has to be attributed to the well-established generic status of *'insān*.

Despite the fact that a nisba **xilāfī* "caliphate (adj.)", related to *xilāfa,* is theoretically possible, its actual nonoccurrence is apparently due to an effort to avoid its misleading merger with *xilāfī* derived from *xilāf* (see above). As shown in 2.2.1 (1), this gap is filled in by the lexically and semantically closely related nisba *xalīfī,* derived from *xalīfa.*

2.2.2.3. The interpretation of relationships involving substitutive constituents may further be complicated by the emergence of additional disturbing factors. In identifying the derivational basis of *'ummī,* for instance, two different problems must be settled by means of data provided by the lexical and semantic evidence, as suggested in §§ 2.2.1. and 2.2.2. respectively. It is necessary to relate the derivative under question to:

(1) an additive and/or a substitutive process:

'umm ——→ *'ummī*
'umma ⇄

where:

'umm "mother (and other meanings derived from an inherent polysemy)",
'umma "nation, people; generation",
'ummī "maternal, motherly";

as well as to:

(2) an additive and/or subtractive process:

'umm (+ ī) ——————→ *'ummī*(i)
*'ummīya (- /y/ a)* ——→ *'ummī*(ii)

where:

'umm, 'ummī(i) (as above),
'ummīya "ignorance; illiteracy",
'ummī(ii) "illiterate, uneducated".

In harmony with the accepted principle of interpreting multiple meaning relationships, the resultant derivative will be presented as a case of polysemy:

'umm
⎫
⎬ *'ummī*(i, ii).
⎭
'ummīya

It should be noted, however, that for a full-scale representation of the relationship examined, another derivational link has to be presented despite the fact that it is of no immediate relevance to the subject of this inquiry:

'*umma* (see above) ⇌

'*umam* (plural of '*umma*) ⟶ '*umamī* "international".

In some other cases, both the singular and the plural form may simultaneously operate as parallel derivational bases.

2.2.2.4. It is obvious from the data so far analysed, that the main source of interpretational ambiguities is the suffix -*a* owing to its involvement in substitutive processes. Nevertheless, a number of identification problems, similar to those generated by a substitutive affixation, may emerge even in some types of nonsubstitutive relationships that may simultaneously be interpreted as a result of parallel additive (progressive) and subtractive (regressive) processes, e.g.:

For illustrative purposes two slightly dissimilar examples have been selected:

(1) a potential additive process faced with an actual subtractive process, as in:

jumhūr   (peripheral relationships, that lie
jumhūrīya ⟶ *jumhūrī*   beyond the scope of this inquiry,
(*jamāhīr* ⟶ *jamāhīrīya*)   are enclosed in brackets);

where:

jumhūr, plur. *jamāhīr*, "multitude; crowd, throng; general public, public"; *al-jamāhīr* "the masses, the people",

jumhūrīya "republic",

jumhūrī "republican (adj., subst.)", and:

(2) an additive process confronted with another process of a subtractive background, no peripheral relationships stated:

ᶜaskar   ⟶ *ᶜaskarī*(i)   *ᶜaskar*

          i.e.:   ⟩ *ᶜaskarī*(i, ii)

ᶜaskarīya ⟶ *ᶜaskarī*(ii)   *ᶜaskarīya*

where:

ᶜaskar "army, host, troops",

ᶜaskarīya "militarism",

ᶜaskarī(i) "military, army (adj.)",

ᶜaskarī(ii) "militaristic; militarist" (for the substantival interpretation of *ᶜaskarī*(ii) see e.g. Krahl–Gharieb 1986).

*

3. Pattern-Marked Derivation

3.1. When excluding cases of substitutive affixation, affixal derivation is, in general, transparent enough and can easily be identified at every step of the word-formational process. In pattern-marked derivational relationships, consisting of more than two constituents (see § 3.2.4. below), the identification of the next preceding step of any nonfinal stage of the process, referred to as immediate derivational basis (IDB), may be to a considerable extent problematic. Ano-

188

nymity of the IDB at some crucial stages of the substitutive process has a direct impact on the description and classification of the derivatives involved (see also § 3.3.9. and § 3.4. in what follows). The problem of identification is further obscured by considerable divergencies in defining the very concept of *pattern* or what may equal it in various hierarchies and related terminologies.

3.1.1. Pattern, as the most conspicuous carrier of substitutive processes in Arabic word-formation and inflection, will be identified with the pattern morpheme. The latter consists of a non-contiguous sequence of intra-root vowels, inclusively of their zero-representations, and of intra-root consonants that may co-occur with them, e.g.: /-a-a/ in *katab* (see above) or /-uwa-0/ in *buwayt* "small house, small tent", etc.
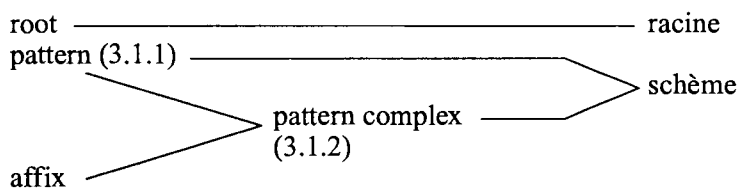
Despite the fact that the pattern morpheme consists, by definition, of intra-root phonemic elements quite distinct from the root-constituting consonants, it may nevertheless induce some modifications of the latter, mainly by way of gemination, viz. *fāʕil* − *faᶜᶜāl*, etc.

3.1.2. Since a pattern frequently operates in combination with one or more affixes, the notion of *pattern complex* (Erwin 1963: 52) will be adopted to denote multimorphemic segments of the type *ʼa/-ø-a-/* in *ʼaḥmar* "red", or *ma/-ø-a-/a* in *maktaba* "*library; bookstore*" (patterns are marked here by slant lines).
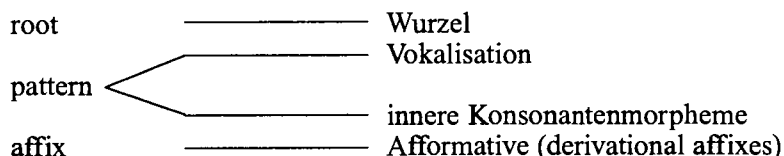
3.2. The current tripartite system of morpheme classes consisting of roots, patterns and affixes (RPA-system henceforth), is shared by numerous authors (Erwin 1963:47-61; Wise 1975:xxiv), sometimes under different headings (Fischer 1972:33; Moscati 1964: 71) and it is adopted in the present paper, too.

3.2.1. This tripartie system contrasts with Cantineau's dichotomy of roots and patterns (1950-a: 119–124; 1950-b: 73–83, also Fleisch 1968:227: racines et schèmes).

When comparing the RPA-system with the French root-and-pattern (RP) system, we obtain the following picture:

```
root ───────────────────────────────── racine
pattern (3.1.1) ──────────────────────┐
                                       ├──> schème
                    ┌──> pattern complex ──┘
                    │    (3.1.2)
affix ──────────────┘
```

3.2.2. The splitting of pattern into its phonemic constituents, organized in two autonomous subclasses: intra-root vowels and intra-root consonants, resulted in a quadripartite system of morpheme classes, as proposed by K. Petráček (1960: 547–606). It may be related to the RPA-trichotomy in the following way:

```
root ───────────── Wurzel
          ┌─────── Vokalisation
pattern <─┤
          └─────── innere Konsonantenmorpheme
affix ───────────── Afformative (derivational affixes)
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189

It is worthwhile noting that the pattern-related intra-root consonants are, for the most part, only tacitly assumed to be pattern constituents (Erwin 1963:52; Wise 1975: xxiv). On the other hand, the Beeston-defined pattern (1970: 31) is quite explicitly defined as "a pattern of vowel (and sometimes consonant) phonemes into which the root consonants are slotted in determined positions".
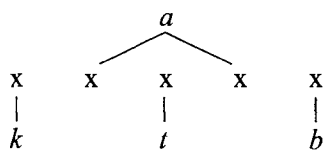
A quite different treatment of pattern-constituting intra-root consonants may be found with some other analysts. L. V. Tsotskhadze (1987: 36), for instance, classifies the pattern segment -/u/w- in cases like *bayḍa – buwayḍa*, in terms of affixes (infixes). Tsotskhadze's wording has apparently been influenced by J. Barth's treatment of Semitic diminutives ((1889: 312 – Nomina mit infigierten Lauten: *quṭail*).

3.2.3. A rather controversial tripartite system of morpheme classes has recently been used in a number of highly formalized linguistic analyses. G. Bohas's PCO-oriented[2] paper (1991), inspired by McCarthy's doctoral dissertation (1979) as well as his subsequent studies (1983, 1986), may illustrate the point. A thematic segment, like *katab*, involves, in Bohas's presentation, three constituents (composantes) and each of them has the status of a morpheme:

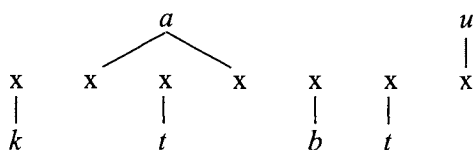| mélodie vocalique | | | a | | | |
| squelette (or schème) | x | x | x | x | x |
| mélodie consonantique | k | | t | | b |

The same for a well represented word unit: *katabtu* "I wrote"[3]

mélodie vocalique			a				u
squelette (schème)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
mélodie consonantique	k		t		b	t	

The notion of scheme is an illusory linking point between Cantineau's RP-system and the PCO/OCP hierarchy. The resemblance, however, is only terminological. In contrast to Cantineau's schème that may be identified with one (viz. pattern) or two (viz. pattern and affix) morpheme classes, its PCO/OCP counterpart is a dematerialized morpheme-said entity, an abstract pattern providing space where both *melodies*, vocalic and consonantal, may be organized in a temporary sequence (Bohas 1991: 119). The organizing function of the PCO/OCP-defined scheme, possibly affecting all morpheme classes of the tra-

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[2] i.e., *le principe du contour obligatoire* (McCaɪʌy's *obligatory contour principle*).

[3] *madadtu*, in the source quoted.

ditional RPA-system, will be marked by a dotted line in the following correlative diagrams.

PCO/OCP – RPA-systems correlated:

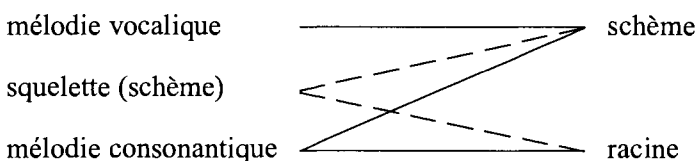| mélodie vocalique | | root |
| squelette (schème) | | pattern |
| mélodie consonantique | | affix |
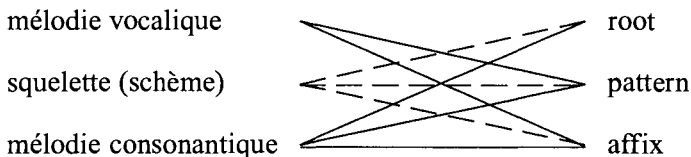
PCO/OCP – RP-systems correlated:

mélodie vocalique		schème
squelette (schème)		
mélodie consonantique		racine

3.2.4. When trying to delimit the domain of what we consider to be a problematic derivation, i.e. derivation where the derivational basis (1) cannot be identified in exclusively formal terms, without recourse to lexical and/or semantic evidence, or (2) it cannot be identified at all on other than a hypothetical basis, we are invariably faced with the feature of substitutiveness.

The former case coincides with affixal derivation of a substitutive type that may, of course, obscure the derivational origin of the whole set of polysemous or homonymous derivatives, accidentally related to it, that need not necessarily be of a substitutive type (e.g.: *bašarī* "human", when derivationally related to *bašar* – additive process; "epidermal", when related to *bašara* "outer skin, epidermis" – substitutive process).

The latter case , that is the proper subject of this study, covers the whole domain of the pattern-marked derivation with the exception of relationships where the number of items that may theoretically be related to a given derivative as its derivational basis, is lexically restricted to one.

The set of problems that may emerge in any attempt at identifying the derivational basis of a pattern-marked derivative of the type stated above, will shortly be illustrated on the highly productive derivational system $fa^{cc}\bar{a}l$ – $fa^{cc}\bar{a}la$.

3.3. Derivational patterns[4] $fa^{cc}\bar{a}l$ – $fa^{cc}\bar{a}la$, organized in a binary system, are amply represented in all linguistic varieties of Arabic. The derivational value of

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[4] The term *pattern*, in accordance with the current usage, is used here nontechnically, in the meaning of *form*, in contrast to its technical application in denoting a specific morpheme class (see §§ 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 above).

intensiveness, associated with the system, most frequently appears in the sense of a repeated or habitual action that typically results in a connotation of agentialness or actorship, in the case of *fa^cc̄al*, or in that of instrumentalness, in the case of *fa^cc̄ala*, as in:

(1) *fa^cc̄al*:

šarrāb "drunkard, heavy drinker"; *'akkāl* "hearty eater, glutton", etc.

When substantivized, the *fa^cc̄al*-type derivatives usually denote members of various professions and trades, apparently under Aramaic influence (Brockelmann 1908:360–1, Nöldeke 1875: 120; cf. also Barth 1889: 49; Fleisch 1968: 55), e.g.: *najjār* "carpenter"; *ḥammāl* "porter, carrier"; *saḥḥār* "sorcerer, magician"; *saḥḥāra* "sorceress, witch", [5] etc.

(2) *fa^cc̄ala*:

nazzāra "telescope; spectacles"; *ṭayyāra* "airplane, aircraft"; *sayyara* "automobile, car"; *ṭallāja* "refrigerator, ice-box"; *xammāra* "wineshop, tavern", etc.

As evident, the *fa^cc̄ala*-type intensiveness most ordinarily displays a connotation of instrumentalness, less currently that of localness, in the sense of *Nomina loci et temporis*, in the traditional classification of the Arabic grammar.

3.3.1. Diachronically, if the term is appopriate at all,[6] the pattern *fa^cc̄al* is related to the form *fa^c̄al* which has in turn developed from the older *fa^cal* (Fleisch 1961: 365; Fleisch 1968:53 ff.: the procedure has been here somewhat improperly qualified as *flexion interne*; cf. also Barth 1889: 11, 40, 48). Some remnants of both these patterns may still be attested in Arabic, e.g.: *batal* "heroic; hero"; *ḥakam* "arbiter, judge"; *ṣanā^c* in: 'imra'a *ṣanā^c* "industrious woman" (ibid. 40), etc.

From a synchronic point of view, the pattern *fa^cc̄al* may be regarded as an augmentative or intensive form of the participle *fā^cil* (Fleisch 1968: 54–55)[7] as in:

ḍāhik "laughing" – *ḍaḥḥāk* "frequently laughing; laugher";

bākin "weeping" – *bakkā^c* "tearful, lachrymose", etc.

3.3.2. The deverbative *fa^cc̄al*-*fa^cc̄ala* patterns, irrespective of how the derivational relationship is organized, are typically related to the basic form of the

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[5] *fa^cc̄ala*-forms in the examples just quoted are feminine inflections of the pattern *fa^cc̄al* and they should be kept apart from the derivational pattern *fa^cc̄ala* as quoted below. For an extensive presentation of the *fa^cc̄al*-*fa^cc̄ala* system see our study *Derivational Patterns* fa^cc̄al *and* fa^cc̄ala *in Arabic. A Study in the Arabic Word-Formation and Inflection*. In: *Graecolatina et orientalia* 7-8 (1978), 155–216.

[6] As all potential constituents of the derivational chain may still be attested in all synthetic varieties of Arabic, even if, some of them, only as highly atypical linguistic entities. The distinction between synchronic and diachronic processes should perhaps more adequately be interpreted as that between actual and hypothetical relationships.

[7] The difference between *fa^cal*-*fa^c̄al*-*fa^cc̄al* and *fā^cil*-*fa^cc̄al* relationships seems to be corroborated by Fleisch (1968:55): "On a perdu le raccord de *qattāl* avec sa base première et il fonctionne, rattaché psychologiquement au nom d'agent *qātil*, intensif de celui-ci."

verb (Form 1, in the traditional 1–10 numbering of verbal and verbonominal patterns, as in:

baḥata "to investigate, examine, explore" – *baḥḥāṯ* "scholar, research worker";

ġāṣa (* ġ-w-ṣ) "to submerge, dive" – *ġawwāṣ* "diver, pearl diver" – *ġawwāṣa* "submarine", etc.

Atypically, some derived verbal stems may produce *faᶜᶜāl-faᶜᶜāla* intensives, as well, e.g.:

verb (2): *fattaša* "to examine, investigate; to supervise, control, inspect" – *fattāš* "investigator, explorer";

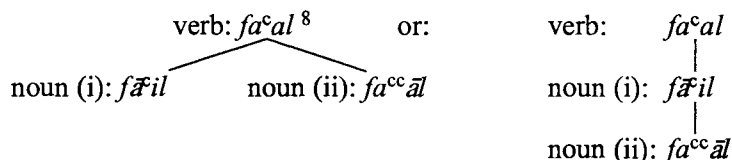verb (2): *ḥaṣṣala* "to collect (a fee, fare)" – *ḥaṣṣāla* "collection box, alms box";

verb (4): *'adraka* "to attain, reach, arrive" – *darrāk* "efficient, successful";

verb (8): *intḥaza l-furṣa* "to seize the opportunity" – *nahhāz al-furaṣ* "quick to seize an opportunity, an opportunist", etc.

3.3.3. No such diversity occurs with denominative patterns. The derivational value of agentialness, with *faᶜᶜāl*, is mostly shaped in the sense of a *maker, producer; vendor, seller; user, consumer*, etc., as in: *zayt* "oil " – *zayyāt* "oil dealer, oilman"; *šamᶜ, šamaᶜ* "wax, (wax) candles" – *šammāᶜ* "chandler, maker or seller of candles"; *ḥašīš* "herbs, grasses; weeds; hay; hashish" – *ḥaššāš* "smoker or chewer of hashish, hashish addict"; *baqar* – "bovines, cattle" – *baqqār* "cowhand, cowboy", etc.

The denominative *faᶜᶜāla*, in contrast to its deverbative counterpart that is typically instrumental, is relatively rare and tends to produce derivatives whose derivational value is closely related to that of *nomina loci et temporis*, as in: *xamr* "wine" – *xammāra* (see § 3.3 above). In most cases, however, there is no clear-cut dividing line between both connotations: *bāb* (*b-w-b) "door, gate" – *bawwāba* "(large) gate, portal"; *ṯalj* "snow; ice" – *ṯallāja* "iceberg; refrigerator, icebox".

3.3.4. In view of the substitutive nature of the pattern morpheme (see § 3.1.1), operating in an intra-root context, it is not possible to give a step-by-step reconstruction of a linearly oriented chain of derivational events. The identification problem is quite particularly involved in deverbative relationships. Here, it is virtually impossible to decide whether, synchronically, a given *faᶜᶜāl* or *faᶜᶜāla* pattern is immediately derived from a verbal basis or rather through an intervening nominal pattern. That is:

verb: *faᶜal* [8] or: verb: *faᶜal*

noun (i): *fāᶜil* noun (ii): *faᶜᶜāl* noun (i): *fāᶜil*

noun (ii): *faᶜᶜāl*

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[8] Or any other verbal form compatible with the *faᶜᶜāl-faᶜᶜāla* system.

3.3.5. When trying to draw diagrams of the succession and representation of derivational events as described by particular authors, a rather confused picture will be obtained. The substitutive nature of pattern-marked derivational processes excludes, quite axiomatically, any formal evidence and gives the results thus obtained a rather hypothetical ring. Most descriptions, however, seem to suggest a mediating nominal element to connect the intensive *faᶜᶜāl* to its presumed verbal basis. Barth (1889: 48), for instance, assumes two parallel lines:

(1) verb: *qatal, qatil* [9]   (2) verb: *qatal, qatil*
   (i): *qatāl*   (i): *qātil*
   (ii): *qattāl*   (ii): *qattāl*

For the sequence (1), apart from few isolated remnants of the old participial form *faᶜāl (qatāl*; ibid.: 40, §27: *'imra'a ṣanaᶜ*), no convincing evidence is provided. The sequence (2) is amply illustrated in quotations drawn from archaic poetry, e.g.: *hammālu 'alwiyatin habbāṭu 'awdiyatin šahhādu 'andiyatin liljayši jarrārun* "(Er ist) Fahnen tragend, hinabstürzend in Thäler, Versammlungen anwohnend, fortziehend das Heer" (ibid.: *Dīwān Xansā*, 27, 3). The *faᶜil-faᶜᶜāl (qātil – qattāl)* derivational relationshipship is also one of the most productive in Modern Written Arabic.

3.3.6. Diachronically, if we venture to use the term (see §3.3.1 above), the presumed derivational relationship will display a still more involved picture. Fleisch's presentation of facts may serve as an illustrative example (1968:53 ff.):

verb:	*qatal*	(unrepresented in explicit terms)
noun (i):	*qatal*	active participle (nom d'agent-i); Barth's Perfect Nomen (1889:10 f., e.g.: *baṭal, ṣamad, ḥakam; formally* coinciding with some types of verbal abstracts, like *xabar, saraq,* etc.);
noun (ii):	*qatāl*	active participle (nom d'agent-ii); Barth's Particip vom Thätigkeitsverb (ibid.: 40, e.g.: *'imra'a ṣanaᶜ; 'arḍ fadā'*, etc., formally coinciding with some types of verbal abstracts, Barth's Infinitive des Perf.-Stamms, like *waḍā', ḥaṣād, halāk* (ibid.: 56);
noun (iii):	*qattāl*	intensive pattern adjectival or substantival (l'aboutissement de l'ancien nom d'agent *qatal* devenu *qatāl* puis *qattāl* (Fleisch 1968: 54–55); Barth's Steigerung des Prtcp.'s vom Thätigkeitsverb (1889:48, §33).[10]

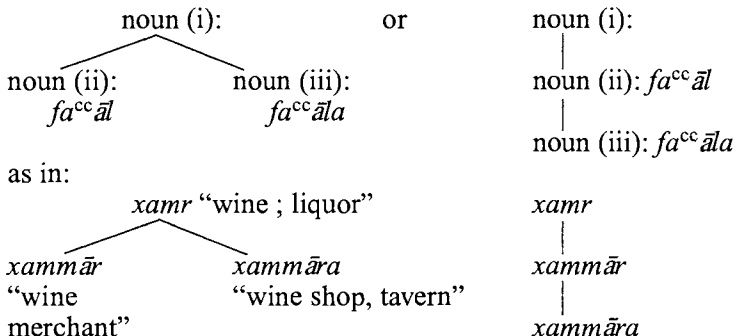[9] The model word *faᶜal*, currently used in Arabic grammars, is here replaced by the pattern *qatal*.

[10] In Barth's diachronic classification all nominal constituents of this derivational relationship are summarily referred to as *Nomina des Perfectstamms* (1889: 10 ff.).

3.3.7. Apart from the latter hypothetical presentation, Fleisch (1968:55) also admits a more transparent relationship, identical with that suggested by Barth (see § 3.3.5 (2) above):

verb: *qatal* (explicitly unrepresented);
noun (i): *qātil* typical active participle (Form 1) of the synchronous system;
noun (ii): *qattāl* corresponding to the noun (iii) in § 3.3 6 above.

The shift from a *faᶜal-faᶜāl-faᶜᶜāl* to a *fāᶜil-faᶜᶜāl* relationship is explained, by Fleisch, by the loss of the primitive linguistic consciousness reflecting a more archaic linguistic stage (see note 7 above).

3.3.8. The derivational history of denominative patterns, even if much more transparent than that of deverbative ones, is not quite free from identification problems. The substitutive nature of morphemic indicators involved in the word-formational process makes it, once again, impossible to decide whether, say, an instrumental or local *faᶜᶜāla* is related to the primitive noun directly or rather through a mediating element, in this case an agential *faᶜᶜāl*, i.e.:

noun (i):   or   noun (i):

noun (ii):   noun (iii):   noun (ii): *faᶜᶜāl*
faᶜᶜāl   *faᶜᶜāla*

                          noun (iii): *faᶜᶜāla*

as in:

xamr "wine ; liquor"   *xamr*

xammār   *xammāra*   *xammār*
"wine   "wine shop, tavern"
merchant"   *xammāra*

Similarly:

(i) *talj* "snow; ice" – (ii) *tallāj* "ice vendor" – (iii) *tallāja* "iceberg; refrigerator, icebox;

(i) *bāb* (*b-w-b) "door;gate" – (ii) *bawwāb* "doorman, gate-keeper" – (iii) *bawwāba* (large) gate, portal";

(i) *ᶜasal* "honey" – *ᶜassāl* "beekeeper, apiculturist" – (iii) *ᶜassāla* "bee-hive",[11] etc.

In some sequences of the present type, the *faᶜᶜāla* pattern may convey the derivational meaning of collectiveness, sometimes interpreted in inflectional terms (plural), as in:

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[11] A derivational sequence like the present one is sometimes paralleled by lexically modified variants, especially at the *faᶜᶜāla* slot of the sequence that is frequently represented by a genuine *nomen loci et temporis*, as in: *naḥl* "bee(s)" – *naḥḥāl* "bee-keeper, apiculturist" – *manḥal* "beehive; apiary, apicultural station".

xayl (collective noun) "horse/s/" – *xayyāl* "horseman, rider" – *xayyāla* "cavalry (horsemen)" [12]

3.3.9. The mediating element, separating the derivational basis (DB) from the derivative (D), as its next-preceding procedural stage, will be referred to as its immediate derivational basis (IDB), in what follows. The IDB, defined in this way, will be opposed to the DB in all derivational relationships which can presumedly be interpreted as involving more than one procedural step, i.e. DB-IDB- and -IDB-D. In relationships, involving only one procedural step, i.e. DB-D, the DB will coincide with IDB, as in:

(1) one-step derivational processes (DB = IDB):

(1.1) deverbative relationships, e.g.:

DB/IDB: verb: *faᶜal* (see note 8 above)

D: noun (i): *fāᶜil*   noun (ii): *faᶜᶜāl* (see § 3.3.4 and § 3.3.5 above).

or, with an extension to *faᶜᶜāla*:

DB/IDB: *faᶜal*

D: (i) *fāᶜil*   (ii) *faᶜᶜāl*   (iii) *faᶜᶜāla*

or even:

DB/IDB: *faᶜal*

D: (i) *faᶜal*   (ii) *faᶜāl*   (iii) *faᶜᶜāl* (§ 3.3.6)

or, extended to *faᶜᶜāla:*

DB/IDB: *faᶜal*

D: (i) *faᶜal* (ii) *faᶜāl* (iii) *faᶜᶜāl* (iv) *faᶜᶜāla*

(1.2) denominative relationships:

DB/IDB: noun (i) – various forms, mostly *faᶜl, faᶜal*

D: noun (ii): *faᶜᶜāl*   noun (iii) *faᶜᶜāla* (§ 3.3.8);

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[12] For a significant interplay of derivational and inflectional functions in the derivational domain examined, see our study quoted in n. 5 above.

(2) more-than-one-step processes (DB ≠ IDB):
(2.1) deverbative relationships, e.g.:

DB:	verb: $fa^c al$		or, extended	DB:	$fa^c al$
IDB	(i):	$f\bar{a}^c il$	to $fa^{cc}\bar{a}la$:	IDB (i):	$f\bar{a}^c il$
D	(ii):	$fa^{cc}\bar{a}l$		IDB (ii):	$fa^{cc}\bar{a}l$
				D (iii):	$fa^{cc}\bar{a}la$

(for further possible modification see § 3.3.9 (1) above);

(2.2) denominative relationships:

DB: noun (i) – see (1.2) above

IDB: noun (ii): $fa^{cc}\bar{a}l$

D: noun (iii): $fa^{cc}\bar{a}la$ (see § 3.3.8 above).

3.4. Obviously, the DB-IDB relationship in any presumed more-than-one-step derivational process may only be established on a hypothetical basis. From this point of view, the very distinction between deverbative and denominative derivatives cannot be indiscriminately applied to the classification of relationships that involve IDB units among their constituents. For a more unambiguous synchronic description (i) either a unique undifferentiated classification of the whole set of existing derivatives or (2) an individually differentiated classification of particular constituents of a given derivational relationship should be adopted. In the former case, the whole set of existing derivatives of a given derivational relationship should be related to DB, with the exclusion of IDB, (§ 3.3.9 (1)) while, in the latter case, they have to be individually related either to DB or to IDB (§ 3.3.9 (2)).

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Unless otherwise stated, the English equivalents of the lexical material included are those of H. Wehr: *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Edited by J.M. Cowan, 4th (enlarged) edition, Otto Harrassowitz 1979. The examples are given in full or reduced quotations. The transcription is slightly modified in accordance with the system of writing adopted in the present paper.

EGYPT 1954–1955: THE SEARCH FOR ORIENTATION

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The author makes an attempt to show the character and motives of Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir, especially his rationalism, anti-imperialism, his aspiration to leadership in the Arab world and neutralism between the two great power blocs – an essential feature of his political outlook. It is a thorough survey of the political events in Egypt of 1954–1955.

The events which took place in the spring of 1954 – known as the March crisis – meant the defeat of the conservative forces struggling for a bourgeois parliamentary system as well as for the crushing of the Marxist left. Only the Muslim Brotherhood with its mass membership and an ambitious leadership, moreover convinced of its right to have a share in power remained strong. The Revolutionary Command Council (the RCC) which emerged victoriously from the March crisis had – within the framework of fulfilling the basic aims of the Revolution – an urgent problem to solve: to accomplish the evacuation of all British troops from the country, to rid Egypt of the hated British colonial yoke and to complete in this way the stage of national liberation.

After signing the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement on self-government and self-determination for the Sudan, the Egyptian Government assumed that the British Government would plunge into fresh negotiations, but Britain was greatly discouraged by Egypt's behaviour in the Sudan question, and in no hurry to concede anything with too much haste. It was Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir who broke nearly three months of glowering inactivity with an interview given to the correspondent of the *Observer* in which he said that Egypt was ready to maintain the base, and, as the Egyptian army was incapable of doing so, would accept British technicians for a period if Britain did not intend by them a veiled protectorate.[1]

It is conceivable that the reluctance of the British Government to start negotiations on such a delicate question rested in the fact that Britain still tended to regard Egypt as a Western protectorate. Although most Englishmen would not have been as explicit as one right-wing Tory MP, Lord Hinchingbrooke, who

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[1] LITTLE, Tom: *Modern Egypt*. London, Ernest Benn Limited, 1968, p. 155.

said: "The Suez Canal and the area surrounding it are in some essential sense part of the United Kingdom", they felt in their bones that he was right.[2]

The negotiations between Great Britain and Egypt over the evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone begun on 27 April 1953. The British delegation was headed by the Ambassador in Cairo, Sir Ralph Stevenson and the Egyptian delegation was led by the member of the RCC, Lieutenant Colonel Gamal cAbdunnasir.[3] However, the talks were short-lived because of the unconstructive attitude of the British delegation. The British Government was not ready to commit itself to total withdrawal in spite of the fact that even the British military no longer regarded Egypt as the centre of Britain's Middle East strategy and in December 1952 the British joint armed forces HQ was moved from Suez to Cyprus. Anyway, the British delegation tried to avoid the central problem by raising secondary technical questions.[4] The Egyptian delegation noticed these manoeuvres with growing suspicion and demanded agreement in principle on certain specific points and particularly Britain's intentions to evacuate the base. The British were not ready to commit themselves to total withdrawal whereupon Gamal cAbdunnasir brusquely broke off negotiations on 6 May 1953.

The negotiations were conducted in three stages. The first, labelled "informal" on Egyptian insistence, consisted of inconclusive exchanges at Cairo (27 April-6 May 1953) on the basis of a British statement of terms. The informal talks broke down on two points. Egypt wished to make a British return to and reactivation of the Canal base conditional upon an armed attack on any country party to the Arab League "Mutual Security Pact",[5] the United Kingdom sought to broaden the sphere by including non-Arab Muslim states in the Near and Middle East. Similarly, the British demanded that their technicians who were to remain at the base for the duration of the proposed agreement should be uniformed soldiers, while the Egyptians stood firm in rejecting the British demand to keep those 7,000 uniformed servicemen in the Canal Zone and insisted that the British technical personnel should be wholly civilianized.[6] It was obvious that the break of talks would consequently lead to further increasing of anti-British sentiment in wide strata of Egyptian society. Because the situation really became tense and recollections of the 1952 disorders were fresh in the mind, British women and children were evacuated from Egypt in May and June 1953.

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[2] MANSFIELD, Peter: *The Arabs*. Penguin Books Ltd. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1968, p. 247.

[3] AL-BAGHDADI, cAbdullatif: *Mudakkirat cAbdullatif al-Baghdadi* (Memoirs of A.B.). Vol.I, Cairo, 1977, p. 75.

[4] Questions related to the maintenance of the base.

[5] Treaty of Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation: The States of the Arab League, 17 June 1950, in: HUREWITZ, J.C.: *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East. A Documentary Record.* Vol. II, 1914–1956. D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., Princeton, New Jersey, 1956, pp. 311–314.

[6] Agreement on the Suez Canal Base. Britain and Egypt, 19 October 1954, in: HUREWITZ, op. cit., pp. 383–384.

In the summer of 1953 Winston Churchill, Prime Minister at that time, still preserved illusions about what he might concede, and when Ambassador Stevenson left Cairo on leave, Churchill personally briefed Mr. Robert Hankey, whom he sent as *charge d'Affaires,* with instructions to retain military control of the base.[7] It was of no avail, but the negotiations once more showed how little the British Government understood the mind of Egypt. When Robert Stevenson returned in the autumn the talks continued and at the turn of the year Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir agreed that the base could be reactivated in the event of an attack on Turkey. The British had not yet conceded total evacuation of the base which was essential to the Egyptians, irrespective of the attitude of the United States, which was quite favourably disposed to the new Egyptian regime and was strongly urging Britain towards a settlement.[8]

As the negotiations dragged on, the RCC allowed armed guerrilla attacks on the base area as a means of pressure on Britain and in order to remind Winston Churchill that things could turn worse. These guerrilla attacks on military installations in the Canal Zone had put a tremendous burden on the British army personnel, because the army needed more men to keep the base in face of popular opposition within the country, especially when workers began to boycott the base.[9] Moreover, the Egyptian broadcasts were disturbing British territories in East Africa. The British Government was faced with the need to maintain over 70,000 troops at great cost in a base which had lost much of its value as a result of the hostility of the people surrounding it.[10] The only alternative was a military operation against the Egyptian Government itself, with possible complications which could not be foreseen. So the main inducement to compromise was that the local national liberation movement had rendered a base on Egyptian soil untenable; facilities that soldiers considered essential – labour, water, and access – were attainable only in a friendly Egypt, and Egyptian friendship was unattainable so long as the British continued to occupy Egyptian soil.[11]

In May 1954, soon after Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir emerged victoriously from the March crisis, he turned again to the question of the base. He wanted an agreement so badly – for he regarded this as an essential requisite before any radical attempt at remoulding the country – that as soon as he became master of Egypt in April 1954 he decided to take the risk of a compromise.[12] Both sides wanted

[7] LITTLE, op. cit., p. 155.

[8] MANSFIELD, op. cit., p. 248.

[9] MARSOT, Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid: *A Short History of Modern Egypt.* Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 109.

[10] MARLOWE, John: *Anglo-Egyptian Relations, 1800–1953.* London, The Cresset Press, 1954, p. 399.

[11] MONROE, Elizabeth: *Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914–1956.* Johns Hopkins Press: Baltimore, 1963, p. 176.

[12] LACOUTURE, Jean and Simonne: *Egypt in Transition.* London, Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1958, p. 206.

a settlement, Prime Minister Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir for reasons of popularizing the revolutionary regime. He ordered an end to the guerrilla operations in the Canal Zone and provided for the renewal of the talks. In this second stage of negotiations (11–27 July 1954) the differences were eliminated by compromise. On 12 July when the situation was relatively tranquil, the British Government submitted new proposals in which it undertook to remove all British troops from Egypt and maintain the base with civilians on contract to British firms.[13] This was decisive for the Egyptians for it meant military evacuation, and on 27 July a mutually acceptable instrument called "Head's agreement" defining the principles for Anglo-Egyptian accord on the Canal Base was initialled in Cairo, in the presence of Antony Head, the British Secretary for War.[14] The agreement provided, among other things, for the complete evacuation of British troops from Egyptian territory within a period of twenty months from the date of signature. It declared the supercession of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty signed on 26 August 1936 including its provisions of various special privileges and exemptions for British troops in Egypt.[15] Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir had won: he had the promise to evacuate for lack of which he had broken negotiations in May 1953, yet he continued to have difficulties in persuading some RCC members to agree to a British re-entry "in time of danger". Simultaneously, Antony Head had to contend with opposition from the influential Suez group accusing him of "digging the grave of British greatness".[16]

The final stage, devoted to filling in the details, proved hardly less time-consuming then the earlier phases of the negotiations. In September 1954, the Minister of State for foreign Affairs, Anthony Nutting was sent to Cairo to conclude the treaty.[17] It was agreed that the British forces would quit the Suez Canal base within twenty months from the signature of the treaty. For a period of seven years the British would have the right to reoccupy the base in case of an attack "by a foreign power" on any country which, at the date of the present agreement, is a signatory of the *Treaty of Joint Defence* between the Arab League States signed in Cairo in April 1950, or on Turkey, but would withdraw when the emergency was over.[18] With respect to the canal treaty, it said only that the parties recognized it as an integral part of Egypt and as a maritime communication route of economic, commercial and strategic importance, and pledged themselves to respect the *Constantinople Convention* of 1888 guaranteeing freedom of navigation.[19] In the Suez negotiations, as in those on the Sudan, US

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[13] LITTLE, op. cit., p. 156.

[14] HUREWITZ, op. cit., p. 383.

[15] VATIKIOTIS, P.J.: *The History of Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Mubarak*. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985, p. 386.

[16] MONROE, op. cit., p. 177.

[17] NUTTING, Anthony: *The Arabs*. A Mentor Book. New York and Toronto, 1965, p. 376.

[18] Agreement on the Suez Canal Base, Articles 5 and 6, in: HUREWITZ, op. cit., p. 384.

[19] Agreement on the Suez Canal Base, Article 8, in: HUREWITZ, op. cit., p. 384.

Ambassador Jefferson Caffery's good offices contributed substantially to the ultimate product.

The final agreement was signed on 19 October 1954, and Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir optimistically remarked that "the ugly page of Anglo-Egyptian relations has been turned and another page is being written".[20] For the Egyptians this was the end of a long struggle to be rid of foreign troops: British troops had been in Egypt since Gladstone ordered in 1882 a "temporary" occupation. For the British it was the best bargain they could make in a situation that was becoming increasingly difficult.[21] The British were of course not happy about the necessity to evacuate the Suez Canal base, yet they aimed at securing Egypt's voluntary cooperation in Middle East defence and the withdrawal on the best terms obtainable, was the indicated course.

Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir on the other hand had given in on the Turkish clause, accepting that the Egyptians should consider that any attack on Turkey involved themselves. In exchange he had obtained that the British be unable to take advantage of an Israeli-Arab dispute in order to return to the base, by stipulating that the attack invoking the application of the treaty would have to come from "a power outside the zone of the Middle East".[22] He was perfectly aware that it was only the starting point for the reconstruction of Egypt. He also knew that the document he had so painfully extracted from the tenacious British would give rise to enthusiasm in Egypt, because the concessions were so obvious.[23]

The American role in these British-Egyptian negotiations has been the subject of criticism to the effect that the USA put pressure on the British to induce them to agree to give up Suez and thus bears responsibility for the weakening of the Western position through the loss of this key base.[24] Like everybody else the Americans were both fascinated and puzzled by what had happened in Egypt. They felt instinctively that these young and energetic soldiers were a decided improvement on their predecessors, and therefore people with whom it might be possible to do business, but they knew as little about them as did the British.[25] The US Ambassador in Cairo, Caffery, was indeed kept fully informed of the course of the negotiations and used his powers of persuasion on both sides to help move them towards agreement. The American purpose, which was not disguised, was to hasten the day when Egypt would be prepared to cooperate voluntarily in Western defence. It was obvious that Egypt would not cooperate so

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[20] HEIKAL, Mohamed: *Cutting the Lion's Tail. Suez Through Egyptian Eyes*. London, Andre Deutsch, 1986, p. 49.

[21] CAMPBELL, John C.: *Defense of the Middle East. Problems of American Policy*. New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1961, p. 65.

[22] Agreement on the Suez Canal Base, Article 6, in: HUREWITZ, op. cit., p. 384.

[23] LACOUTURE, op. cit., p. 208.

[24] CAMPBELL, op. cit., p. 66.

[25] HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 32.

long as Suez remained in British hands. In the American view the Western powers would be in a stronger position in the long run, if the British evacuated the base and took the chance on Egypt's cooperation in the future.[26] Perhaps the fact that this view was made known to both British and Egyptian negotiators gave the latter a certain advantage. Anthony Eden felt that the United States withheld the wholehearted support that Britain had the right to expect, and that Egypt exploited that fact. But it cannot fairly be said that it was American pressure that got the British out of Suez. The decision to evacuate was a British decision based on British calculation of what was in the best interests of Britain and the Western world.[27]

The British, once they had reached the Canal Zone agreement with the Egyptians in October 1954, hoped to be friends with everyone in a westward-facing Middle East. An American precedent suggested that this objective was attainable since the United States, which got on better with Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir than did any other Western power, had signed military aid agreements with Pakistan and Iraq, in 1954. But Britain's path to the same relationship was obstructed by two snags – the bad old British name connoting dominance to the people of every Middle Eastern state, and a problem of timing, which can be explained only by an excursion into the thick of Arab politics.[28]

Compared with the popular nationalist slogan "unconditional evacuation", the concluded treaty looked a bit too "reasonable" and smelled too strongly of "mutual defence" with the West. It was Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir who made the final concessions necessary to get the British to agree to evacuate Suez. But it was also he who got the credit and the acclaim, from Egyptians and from Arabs elsewhere, for taking a great forward step toward emancipation from Western domination.[29] His aim was clear: liquidate the British occupation as cheaply as possible and redirect Egyptian energies away from the hereditary enemy to the real problem – poverty and social stagnation, the problem of modernizing and industrializing the country by attracting capital from the erstwhile enemy.[30] He had a clear determination to lift the masses from their humiliating poverty, to deliver the country from the obsession of hunger, from its resignation to squalor, its abandonment to ignorance. But his bold choice was not founded on any widespread national commitment.

The Agreement could not have been concluded at a more propitious time for the hard pressed military regime. It was a boon to the Prime Minister and his supporters who were then battling for supremacy against a combined civilian-military opposition led by the Muslim Brotherhood. Although it still tied Egypt

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[26] CAMPBELL, op. cit., p. 66.

[27] Ibid., p. 66.

[28] MONROE, op. cit., p. 180.

[29] CAMPBELL, op. cit., p. 67.

[30] LACOUTURE, op. cit., p. 208.

to a British military alliance of sorts, to the general Egyptian public it meant the ultimate triumph over colonialism after nearly seventy-five years of physical presence of British troops in the country.[31] To outward appearances, the agreement that Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir had secured on British evacuation placed him on the top of his world. But in fact his position was still precarious. By signing that agreement for Egyptians he has been insufficiently nationalist, and therefore obliged to defend himself against charges of having given away too much. Only the serious thinkers within the junta knew that Egypt's military strength was negligible, and that the twenty months that the British needed for withdrawal were a blessed respite in which to make good their revolution; they also reckoned that the only suitable source of the arms they needed was the Western world.[32]

After the succesful military coup of 1952 the Supreme Guidance Council (*Maktab al-Irshad*) of the Muslim Brotherhood expected that the army movement was an instrument intended to put the Brotherhood in power.[33] The Free Officers who were members of the Brotherhood believed there was a common purpose, and from time to time had considered an alliance; liaison was sustained by Wing Commander ᶜAbdulmunᶜim ᶜAbdurra'uf. Nevertheless the coordination never took place because the republican regime of the RCC was too secular to suit the Brethren's designs and the Free Officers became convinced that the Supreme Guide (*al-Murshid al-ᶜamm*), Hasan al-Hudaybi was seeking the army movement only to further his ambitions.[34] The regime handled the Brotherhood with care, if only because it had both members and sympathisers in the army, but when the Supreme Guidance Council began to organize cells in the armed forces and the police, and to seek control of the labour unions, the RCC warned the Supreme Guide to desist and, when the warning went unheeded, the clash became inevitable.[35]

In January 1954 the Supreme Guidance Council threw aside its pledge to refrain from political activity and began to organize disorders. The "moderation" of the RCC in concluding the agreement with Great Britain over the Sudan and the initiation of negotiations over the Suez Canal base was interpreted as a betrayal of national aspirations. The Brotherhood agitated for a Holy War against the British troops still stationed in the Canal Zone.[36] Serious disturbances in

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[31] VATIKIOTIS, op. cit., p. 387.

[32] MONROE, op. cit., p. 180.

[33] ABU AN-NASR, Muhammad Hamid: *Haqiqat al-khilaf baina al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun wa ᶜAbdunnasir.* (The Truth about the conflict between the Muslim Brotherhood and ᶜAbdunnasir). Cairo, International Press, 1987, p. 66.

[34] AR-RAFIᶜI, ᶜAbdurrahman: *Tawrat 23 Yuliyu 1952.* (The Revolution of 1952). Cairo, 1959, p. 104.

[35] HAMRUSH, Ahmad: *Qissat Tawrat 23 Yuliyu.* (The Story of the 23 July Revolution). Vol. I, Beirut, 1977, p. 305.

[36] VATIKIOTIS, P.J.: *The Egyptian Army in Politics.* Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1961, p. 88.

January 1954 caused by the agitation of the Brotherhood led to its immediate dissolution by the Government and the arrest of 450 Brethren, including Hasan al-Hudaybi and another leading members of the Supreme Guidance Council.[37] When the March crisis occurred the Brotherhood sprang to the assistance of President Muhammad Nagib. At his orders Hasan al-Hudaybi and other Brethren were released from detention, and such was the potential power and influence of the movement that Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir, when he again took control, exempted it once again from the ban on political parties.[38]

Determination of the RCC to secure an agreement with the British further deepened the political crisis. The guerrilla warfare in the Canal Zone went on, since the negotiations had been broken off, with the unofficial support of the RCC, and was understood as a form of pressure on the British Government. But after the British declared their readiness to come to an understanding the guerrilla activities became a menace rather than a help for the Egyptian negotiators. In fact their credibility as a partner was at stake now, for when the Prime Minister secured a resumption of negotiations in April 1954, any armed incident in the Canal Zone might jeopardize their success.[39] The Muslim Brethren, despite dissensions in their ranks[40] felt strong enough to attempt – profiting by the general dissatisfaction – to seize power. In order to thwart the negotiations they stood for continuation of the guerrilla raids and accused the RCC of betrayal of its own goal "to drive out the British by force", moreover, they considered putting aside the principle of "an unconditional evacuation" a betrayal of national interests. Their propaganda condemned the RCC and Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir in particular, for treacherous negotiations, although it was well known that the Supreme Guidance Council, if they secured power, would willingly have settled with Britain on terms less onerous than Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir's.[41]

The Prime Minister ordered an end to the guerrilla activities. He could not tolerate any new outrages and therefore those militant groups who refused to stop the raids overnight lost their status of patriots and were branded as criminal elements. Within a few days they were dispersed by the Security forces or imprisoned. After these measures Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir could tell the British that he

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[37] They were: Dr Chamis Humayda, ᶜAbdulhakim ᶜAbidin, Husayn Kamaluddin, *shaykh* Ahmad Sharit, *shaykh* Muhammad Faraghli, only from the closest supporters of the Supreme Guide, cf. ABU AN-NASR, op. cit., p. 99.

[38] LITTLE, op. cit., p. 148.

[39] Ibid., p. 149.

[40] They were divided in two main streams. The first stream consisted of the supporters of the Supreme Guide (cf. note 37), the second stream which was more militant was connected with the previous deputy to the late Hasan al-Banna, Salih al-ᶜAshmawi and his associates were Munir Amin Dulla, Hasan al-ᶜAshmawi, Salih Abu Raqiq, Farid ᶜAbdulkhaliq, Salah Shadi, ᶜAbdulqadir Hilmi and others, cf. ABU AN-NASR, op. cit., pp. 63–64.

[41] LITTLE, op. cit., p. 149.

had restored security in the Canal Zone hoping that neither the Brotherhood nor the Left would again disturb the even tenor of negotiations.[42]

In connection with the *Head's agreement* (27 July 1955) a strong opposition became formed in Egypt against the final agreement as well as against the military dictatorship. Already on 2 August a serious act of sabotage took place when unknown terrorists blew up a railway bridge by the village of Abu Sultan (near the Great Bitter Lake).[43] Suspicion fell on forces opposed to the regime and a report of the British intelligence service mentioned the Muslim Brotherhood as the instigator of this act of sabotage which should have put the Government in an inconvenient situation. The speed of the reaction to the acceptance of the *Head's agreement* supports the assumption that the Brotherhood wished to display the general discontent with the Prime Minister, condemned already for his harsh treatment of President Muhammad Nagib, leaders of political parties and the whole Left and who, moreover was "selling" the country's interests to the British, in order to get him into complete isolation.[44] The Supreme Guide was at that time travelling through several Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria) gathering support for the Brotherhood.

As early as 28 July, the Supreme Guide pleaded for the refusal of the *Head's agreement* on the ground that it was unfavourable to Egypt.[45] The Prime Minister took his statements as a stab in the back and made it known in the RCC that it would be convenient to replace the Supreme Guide. The Supreme Guidance Council set up a commission of lawyers under the chairmanship of ᶜAbdulqadir ᶜAwda which, after cautious study of all the articles in the *Head's agreement* came to the conclusion that they were inacceptable for Egypt. The commision drafted a note in which it justified the Brotherhood's negative standpoint on the agreement and recommended that the people should express their view on it by constitutional means. The Supreme Guidance Council approved the note, and the Supreme Guide's deputy, Dr Chamis Humayda was authorized to submit it to the Government.[46] The RCC, however, did not intend idly to watch the destructive activity of the Muslim Brotherhood and increased the repressive measures. On 21 August the Premier Minister made a speech in which he attacked the Brotherhood for its anti-regime agitation and revealed the Supreme Guide's former secret contacts with the British Embassy.[47] The Minister of National Guidance, Salah Salim in secret contacted two members of the Supreme Guid-

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[42] Ibid., p. 149.

[43] TAYYIBA, Mustafa (ed.): *Mudakkirat Kamaluddin Rifᶜat – Harb at-Tahrir al-Wataniya.* (Memoirs of K.R.- National Liberation War). Cairo, 1968, p. 354.

[44] HAMRUSH, Qissat, Vol. II, *Mujtamaᶜ Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir.* (Society of G. ᶜAbdunnasir). Beirut, 1978, p. 35.

[45] ABU AN-NASR, op. cit., p. 127.

[46] Ibid., p. 128.

[47] HAMRUSH, op. cit., p. 35.

ance Council (Dr Chamis Humayda and ᶜAbdurrahman al-Banna, brother of the founder of the movement) and using every form of pressure and threats insisted that the note must not be made public. When regardless of the warning, the Brotherhood's newspaper attempted to publish it, censorship intervened. The Brotherhood then began to spread anti-government leaflets which further aggravated the situation and the Government reacted by implementing the principle of "who is not with us, is against us".[48]

The tension between the Government and the Brotherhood came to a head towards the end of summer 1954. The situation was further complicated by the illness of the Supreme Guide: the hesitant attitudes and irresolute actions of his deputy (Dr Chamis Humayda) roused the suspicion that he submitted to the Government's pressure. Towards the end of September the Government demanded from the Supreme Guidance Council dissolution of its secret terrorist wing and issuing of an official statement that the Brotherhood has no objections against an agreement with Great Britain.[49] At a general assembly session of the Brotherhood *al-Hajj* Muhammad Gawda announced a draft for a statement which was in accordance with the Government's demand, but it was resolutely refuted by the majority of the members. Yet despite this Muhammad Gawda submitted the statement to the Prime Minister and the next day it was published in the press. Apart from this "success" the Government failed to push through the election of a "more cooperative" Supreme Guide; quite the contrary, the general assembly elected Hasan al-Hudaybi to be Supreme Guide for life.[50]

Again there were signs of cooperation between the Brotherhood and the leftists who, loosely grouped into a United Front with a faction of the Wafd, signed numerous tracts in common with the Brotherhood against the treaty. The RCC began to loose patience and published the minutes of their conversations with the members of the Supreme Guidance Council, from which it appeared that the Brethren had advised cooperation with the West "so as to be able to fight communist atheism". Then the Brotherhood's pamphlets became more threatening: "Gamal, if you dare make any attack on the unity of the Brotherhood, your days are numbered. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty which sells Egypt to the West will not be ratified: the military dictatorship will crumble away".[51]

In an atmosphere of constant defiance and threats, the Free Officers maintained cold blood regardless of the common questioning of whether her they were afraid to strike at the Brotherhood and uninfluenced by these threats they signed the final agreement with Britain on 19 October 1954. Yet the decisive encounter was already near. After a week, on 26 October an attempt on the Premier Minister's life was made while he was addressing a Liberation Rally meet-

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[48] ABU AN-NASR, op. cit., p. 130.

[49] Ibid., p. 134.

[50] Ibid., p. 137.

[51] LACOUTURE, op. cit., p. 253.

ing in Alexandria, which sealed the Brotherhood's fate. Mahmud ᶜAbdullatif, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood and a simple-minded tinsmith from the Imbaba quarter of Cairo sitting six rows from the front (some 15 metres from the podium) fired eight shots from his pistol at Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir but failed. While the terrorist was seized and taken away the Prime Minister continued his speech thanking God and stating that he was ready to sacrifice his life for the people and for Egypt.[52]

This attack rid the Free Officers of their inhibitions regarding the Brotherhood, which by organizing such a clumsy action, proved to be far weaker than was generally suposed. It was the moment the Government had been waiting for and Zakariya Muhiuddin, Minister of Interior, could act after the considerations of Muslim foreign policy had ceased. On the same day many of the Brotherhood leaders were in gaol, and before the purge was finished, about four thousand Brethren had been arrested.

Realizing that the mass of the Brotherhood were decent, simple Egyptians, the junta set out to destroy the leadership and the terrorist wing (*an-Nizam al-Khass*) which constituted the real evil of the movement.[53] On 1 November 1954 the RCC issued a decree establishing a special tribunal named "the People's Court" to try the arrested leadership of the Brethren for high treason under the chairmanship of Wing Commander Gamal Salim and the membership of Colonel Anwar as-Sadat and Lieutenant Colonel Husayn ash-Shafiᶜi, all of whom were on the Brotherhood's list for assasination.[54]

The Court showed little mercy and in addition to the terrorist Mahmud ᶜAbdullatif and another three persons directly concerned in the plot against the Prime Minister, two members of the Supreme Guidance Council, its Secretary ᶜAbdulqadir ᶜAwda and *shaykh* Muhammad Faraghli were hanged, which shocked public oppinion not only in Egypt but also in other Arab countries. The Supreme Guide, Hasan al-Hudaybi himself was sentenced to lifelong hard labour.[55] There were three other secondary trials, which sentenced the Brethren to varying terms of imprisonment. Wing Commander ᶜAbdulmunᶜim ᶜAbdurra'uf who was involved in terrorist activities escaped abroad and disappeard.

The attempt on Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir's life further enhanced his popularity and rendered all opposition groups by definition "enemies of the Revolution". This was also the end of President Muhammad Nagib's career. During the main trial evidence was given that he had been in contact with the Brotherhood.[56] On 14 November 1954 he was put under house arrest (which lasted nearly eighteen years) and there were no demonstrations in his support like in the previous Feb-

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[52] AR-RAFIᶜI, op. cit., p. 131.

[53] LITTLE, op. cit., p. 150.

[54] AR-RAFIᶜI, op. cit., p. 133.

[55] Ibid., p. 134.

[56] General M. Nagib resolutely rejected the accusation and denied any involvement, cf.: NAGIB, Muhammad: *Kalimati li at-Tarikh.* (My word to History). Cairo, 1981, p. 213.

ruary. His imprisonment did not cause ripple of disturbance anywhere in Egypt. His detention and the destruction of the Brotherhood organization completed the *coup d'état* which began more than two years earlier.[57]

This was the state of Egypt at the end of 1954: power belonged to the RCC, which had crushed or neutralized all political opposition and was turning toward dictatorship. Evacuation had finally been won and relations with the Anglo-Americans had become more healthy. Everything, it seemed, was auspicious for an invitation to the big Western powers, but also to Egyptian capital, to take up the responsibilities for economic development the key to every problem.[58] The national economy, if not prosperous, was no longer threatened with collapse, and the Prime Minister had secured West German aid in the preparation of plans for a huge high dam at al-Aswan which he believed could be the economic turning point of his new Egypt. The British were busy evacuating the Nile Valley and abroad, relations with the Western powers were more promising than they have ever been.[59] However, in the Arab field, the Prime Minister had alienated the Sudan by eliminating Muhammad Nagib, and had antagonized Syria and Saudi Arabia by disbanding the Free Officers' chief rival for popular favour, the Muslim Brotherhood.

The British and American Governments were at first quite hopeful, once the Sudan and Suez affairs were settled with Egypt, that Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir would prove "reasonable" on the subject of defence cooperation. In particular, they hoped Egypt would join the alliance system then taking shape along the "northern tier". During the negotiations over Suez, Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir had given Western representatives reason for that impression, but neither the British as a price for evacuation nor the Americans as a price for mediation, had tied him down to a specific commitment.[60] It seems likely that insistence on such a commitment would have made the Suez agreement impossible, for the Egyptian leader maintained later that the "cooperation" he had in mind was a strengthening of the Arab League with Western support and without any alliance with the West or with Turkey.[61]

The "neutralism" or "non-alignment" of Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir between the two great power blocs was fundamental to his political outlook. This was an inevitable development of his passionate Egyptian and Arab nationalism which made him want to rid the Arab world of all foreign influence, but was not im-

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[57] LITTLE, op. cit., p. 150.

[58] ABDEL-MALEK, Anouar: *Egypt: Military Society*. New York, Vintage Books, 1968, p. 99.

[59] LITTLE, op. cit., p. 157.

[60] J.C. Hurewitz, "Our Mistakes in the Middle East" *Atlantic*, v. 198 (December 1956), pp. 46–52, argues cogently that the US missed a great opportunity by not securing Egypt's commitment at least to a bilateral military aid agreement, in: CAMPBELL, op. cit., p. 68.

[61] MATAR, Fu'ad: *Bi-saraha ᶜan ᶜAbdinnasiri. Hiwar maᶜa Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal.* (Frankly about G. ᶜAbdunnasir. A Dialogue with M.H.H.). Baghdad, 1989, p. 72.

mediately evident when he came to power.[62] He was casting about for a policy in which two points were fixed – that he needed the gift of time in which to accustom the Egyptian people to the idea that a country in Egypt's position must not depend on foreigners, and that Egypt must have status and dignity, which by his standards meant no links with foreign military pacts. Admittedly he has just signed an agreement with Britain, but that was the end of an old chapter; there must be no new pacts except with the Arab brothers.[63] In the early years of the Revolution Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir was regarded as pro-American and even nicknamed "Colonel Jimmy". The USA seemed to show at least a benevolent understanding of the Free Officers' desire to make Egypt really independent. The American Ambassador, Jefferson Caffery established excellent relations with them. But this pro-Americanism did not last through 1954, largely because the US Government (like so many other governments) misjudged its dealings with Egypt.[64]

In any event the Western powers, once the Suez agreement was made looked forward to a new era of cooperative relations with Egypt. American experts came to Egypt in increasing numbers, and development credits were raised to forty million dollars. It was prepared also to provide military aid under the "mutual security program". Henry Byroade was assigned to the post of US Ambassador in Cairo in order to win Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir's confidence and put relations between the two countries on the soundest possible basis.[65] Yet for a variety of reasons the cooperation did not occur and Egypt's relations with all the Western powers, especially Britain, rapidly deteriorated.[66] The Egyptian Prime Minister, however, was not rushing into any close relationship with the West. He accepted the economic aid. He inquired into the conditions on which military aid would be supplied and found them unacceptable, particularly the requirement for an American "military assistance advisory group" in Egypt to supervise and report on the use of the aid provided. As for an alliance, he pointed out to his Western friends that the Egyptian people were not ready for so drastic a step. They would need to have time to get used to the fact of independence from foreign occupation. To them the idea of an alliance with the West still meant inequality and domination.[67]

The British and Americans had failed in all their efforts to persuade Egypt to join in some sort of military partnership. Whether described as "mutual de-

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[62] MANSFIELD, Peter: *Nasser's Egypt.* Penguin Books, 1965, p. 84.

[63] MONROE, op. cit., p. 181.

[64] MANSFIELD, op. cit., p. 84.

[65] The State Department sent to Cairo Henry Byroade a former army officer with a more specialized knowledge of the area to win G. ᶜAbdunnasir's confidence and improve relations between the two countries, in: HAMRUSH, op. cit., p. 42.

[66] MANSFIELD, *The Arabs*, p. 248.

[67] CAMPBELL, op. cit., p. 68.

fence" or "regional defence" it had always come down to the same thing – commiting Egypt (and other Arab countries if they followed the Egyptian example) to an unequal alliance which would certainly perpetuate the stationing of foreign troops on Egyptian soil and very likely involve Egypt in a war with the Soviet Union.[68] Events, instead of waiting for the Egyptian people to get used to the idea of alliance with the West soon began to push the Egyptian Government into some crucial decisions and those decisions established a policy which was more and more antagonistic to the Western powers and more and more favourable to their enemies.[69]

However, the idea of a regional defence pact had by no means been given up. It remained a standing offence in Washington and London that the Middle East was not covered by the sort of alliances which were supposed to protect Western Europe and Southeast Asia against the threat of communist Russia, and a new idea began to gain ground. If most of the Arabs obstinately refused to participate in their own defence a protective screen might still be erected without them. This was the so-called "northern tier", in which Turkey, Pakistan and Iran, supported naturally by the Western powers, were to play leading parts. It was the implementation of this idea which was to provoke a fatal division in the Arab world and do more than anything else to aggravate suspicion between Egypt and the West.[70]

The United States Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles had already had some success, as part of his campaign to create a world-wide system of anti-Soviet alliances, in creating an anti-communist bloc in the "northern tier" states of the Middle East. Early in 1954 a Turco-Pakistani agreement was concluded and there were good prospects of bringing in Iran. J.F. Dulles, realizing that the Arab states were generally much more concerned with Israel than with the Soviet threat, decided that the pact should not include the Arab world for the time being. But Britain thought otherwise. Its principal ally in the Arab world, the dominating and fiercely anti-communist veteran Iraqi leader Nuri as-Saᶜid, was enthusiastically prepared for Iraq to join.[71] Nuri felt that the time had now come when Iraq, and he personally, could play a role in mediating between Egypt and the West, reconciling their divergent ideas about how the defence of the area should be organized.[72]

Despite all the efforts of Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir to dissuade Nuri, in mid-January 1955 Turkey and Iraq, with the blessing of the United States, announced their intention to conclude a defensive alliance. The RCC in Egypt became convinced, that Iraq's contemplated action would destroy Arab solidarity in interna-

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[68] HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 52.

[69] CAMPBELL, op. cit., p. 69.

[70] HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 52.

[71] MANSFIELD, op. cit., p. 249.

[72] HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 53.

tional politics, and would accordingly curtail in the West the bargaining influence of Egypt, the Arab League's dominant member.[73] Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir feared that if this new alliance took shape it would divide the Arab world into two, being welcome by the Americans as part of the anti-communist crusade and so rewarded with arms. Egypt would then find itself isolated, deprived of any prospect of getting arms, and left to face the threat of Israel alone. In a last effort to prevent a disastrous split he invited the heads of government of all independent Arab countries for a meeting to Cairo on 22 January 1955.[74] The invitation was accepted by the governments of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. The Iraqi Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fadil al-Jamali came to Cairo only the next day bringing with him a message of regret from Nuri and his assurance that anything Iraq did was in harmony with the best interest of the Arabs but the text of the planned agreement was not available. After lenghty talks a resolution was produced agreeing among other things that no (Arab) country would join the Turco-Iraqi Pact, and that the Arab League and the *Mutual Security Pact* should be strengthened.[75] The conference had not achieved anything of much value.

The US Government felt that it was being badly repaid for its efforts to help the young Egyptian republic. The British Government was also resentful. It was carrying out the terms of the Anglo-Egyptian agreement, it was releasing Egypt's blocked sterling balances, and it had sent a small quantity of arms. But neither Britain nor the United States had yet understood that Egypt would no longer be treated as a semi-independent Western protectorate. The governments of some African and Asian states still allowed themselves to be treated in this way, so the USA and Britain saw no reason to revise their attitude towards Egypt. Sir Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, was to attend a meeting of the SEATO Council in Bangkok and had decided to stop off in Cairo on the way to meet Egypt's new rulers.[76] After an exchange of views Eden discovered that he was dealing with an entirely new breed of Arab leaders – revolutionaries who owed nothing to his country or government, single-minded in their aims and confident in their ability to implement them. Nevertheless, at that dinner party on 20 February 1955 Anthony Eden's attitude towards the Egyptian Prime Minister was that he was talking to a junior official who could not be expected to understand international politics.[77]

On 24 February 1955 Iraq and Turkey signed a pact of mutual cooperation which became the nucleus of the notorious Baghdad Pact.[78] Britain, Iran and

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[73] HUREWITZ, op. cit., p. 390.

[74] HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 55.

[75] Ibid., p. 58.

[76] He had met G.ᶜAbdunnasir, ᶜA.ᶜAmir, ᶜA.al-Baghdadi, and the Foreign Minister Dr Fawzi; HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 61.

[77] MANSFIELD, *Nasser's Egypt*, p. 86.

[78] HUREWITZ, op. cit., p. 390.

Pakistan all joined latter the same year. The Egyptian Prime Minister was hostile to this because he believed that it would perpetuate Western influence in the Middle East and, since it included an Arab state – Iraq – would keep the Arab world divided. Cairo radio launched a violent offensive against the pact striking a responsive chord in the deep-seated resentment against the old colonial powers among the Arab masses, and Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir began to acquire his reputation of bitter hostility to the West.[79]

The politically minded Arabs – excluding a small minority of political leaders – were not interested in the pact because they saw it as a plot to make the entire region once again subservient to Western policy at the very moment when the agreement to evacuate British troops from Egypt brought the Arab Middle East in sight of total emancipation.[80] The Arab nationalists also feared that the underlying intention of Western policy was to force them into peace with Israel, for they believed that the Baghdad Pact, by allying the Arabs with Turkey, which had relations with Israel, and to the Western powers through Turkey's NATO connection, would "soften" Arab policy towards Israel. They did not believe that Turkey would, as the Baghdad communique hinted, join Iraq in opposition to Israel. The Egyptians were convinced that the British intended to use the pact to recover the position they were losing in Egypt, and that the pact communique was an invitation to all Arab states to break with Egypt and join an Anglo-Iraqi grouping.[81]

On 20 February 1955 David Ben-Gurion once again became the Minister of Defence in Moshe Sharett's cabinet.[82] On his order, during the night of 28 February the Israelis carried out a large-scale raid on the Gaza Strip, killing 39 soldiers and wounding 33 others.[83] The Gaza raid was a military action carried out with deliberate and merciless brutality, an action of unprovoked aggression for which Israel was condemned in a Security Council resolution. The raid was intended as a message from D. Ben-Gurion to G.ᶜAbdunnasir and he understood the message. At the same time the raid exposed Egypt's military weakness.[84] The Egyptian leadership was brought to conviction that it was inevitable to act swiftly to assert Egypt's position against Israel, against Iraq, and if need be against the West. The Egyptian army was, of course, profoundly shaken by the raid, and since the army was the mainstay of the regime something had to be done to restore its morale. The Prime Minister immediately ordered a substantial increase in the budget allocation for the army. He also summoned the newly

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[79] MANSFIELD, op. cit., p. 84.

[80] LITTLE, op. cit., p. 158.

[81] Ibid., p. 159.

[82] DAYAN, Moshe: *Story of my Life*. Sphere Books Limited, London, 1978, p. 188.

[83] AR-RAFIᶜI, op. cit., p. 141.

[84] MONROE, op. cit., p. 182.

appointed US Ambassador in Cairo, Henry Byroade, demanding an undelayed arms supply,[85] but it was of no avail.

In April 1955 (from 18 to 24) Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir attended the Afro-Asian conference at Bandung in Indonesia, where the importance of Egypt and its Revolution were acknowledged as he was treated as an equal by Asian statesmen such as Nehru, Chou En-Lai and Sukarno. His neutralism gained there a wholy new dimension. He became convinced of the advantage of rejecting alignment with the great power blocs and of creating instead a neutral Arab bloc under Egyptian leadership in alliance with other emerging countries in Asia and Africa. Especially Nehru and Tito were able to strengthen and encourage Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir's instinctive beliefs. Eventually, these three men came to be regarded as the three-cornered foundation of non-alignment. In Bandung the Egyptian leader asked Chou En-Lai to find out if the Russians would be ready to sell arms to Egypt and Chou promised to do it.[86]

In the first half of April 1955, Anthony Eden had taken over as Prime Minister from Winston Churchill. Shortly before he joined the Turco-Iraqi Pact, which became known as the Baghdad Pact. But doing so, Eden discarded the age-old home truth that Egypt was the pivot of any Middle Eastern policy, the success Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir had had in rallying the other Arab states against Nuri, and the known reaction to new foreign pacts of the bulk of the Arab peoples.[87] The British step unwillingly accelerated the final collapse of British policy in the Middle East. It could hardly be otherwise, for the Arab states were at this time dominated by national sentiment which was opposed to the pact. Nuri's control of opinion in Iraq possibly gave a false impression to Britain; and the other Arab leaders, who would have been willing to link their policy to that of Iraq, were afraid of Egypt and Arab opinion.[88] The British Foreign Office felt that if the Arabs knew the benefits to be derived from the pact, that if only Egyptian propaganda would cease and the matter be explained to the Arabs, they would be happy to join. That is why Eden had suggested to Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir that if Egypt stopped its propaganda against the Baghdad Pact, he (Eden) would guarantee that there would be no more attempts to recruit new members of the pact. The Egyptian leadership thought that this idea of a moratorium was good and would hold.[89] Yet when Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir came back from Bandung, he found a message from Sabri al-ᶜAsali, the Syrian Prime Minister, reporting that Syria was under strong pressure from both Iraq and Turkey. It was thought that Turkish moves had the backing of the Americans. In fact, the Americans' attitude was full of contradictions. They encouraged Britain to join the Baghdad Pact, but assured the Egyptians that they had no intention of joining themselves.

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[85] HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 67.

[86] Ibid., p. 69.

[87] MONROE, op. cit., p. 184.

[88] LITTLE, op. cit., p. 158.

[89] HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 71.

The humiliating Israeli raid on the Gaza Strip was a turning point in Egypt's attitude towards Israel. For up to that moment Egypt had been rather less active against Israel than the other Arab countries.[90] But though Egypt was attacking the Baghdad Pact, and Britain for joining it, and the United States for supporting it, Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir did not seal his arms deal with the East yet. He continued to prefer Western arms if he could get them, and at the end of May repeatedly asked Stevenson and Byroade for them, but was confronted with British and American unwillingness to meet his request. He was not prepared to remain militarily inferior to Israel, and did not believe that the 1950 *Tripartite Declaration* guaranteeing the frontiers of the Middle East would be implemented effectively against Israel.[91] Both allies were handicapped by the problem of keeping a balance on the borders of Israel and the United States also by a problem of payment. For Egypt could not be given arms free under the American *Mutual Security Act*, because it would not accept the stipulation in that act that a "military assistance advisory group" must be accepted. The United States did not want payment in Egyptian cotton, and Egypt had no dollars to spare.[92] Although in June 1955 Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir received a limited quantity of British arms, including a few Centurion tanks, which had been ordered already in 1950 by the Wafd Government, he found them insufficient. When another warning that he could buy arms from the Soviet Union went unheeded, he really turned to the Soviets.

The British goodwill, which was strictly limited, soon vanished and the thirty-six-year-old Egyptian leader became an object of hatred to a degree almost unparalleled in British political life in time of peace.[93] There can be no doubt that the very special nature of the British hatred for Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir, which went far beyond the feelings towards rebellious anti-colonial leaders in the British Empire, was due to the ingrained British attitude towards the Egyptian people. He, a simple Egyptian army officer, was not only defying the traditional Western image of his fellow countrymen but challenging the whole concept that the Arab world was a subordinate part of the Western system.[94] Now he resolutely refused to allow his country to be regarded any more as a Western satellite.

The United States, which had no long history of involvement with Egypt, took a more relaxed and dispassionate attitude; but it was to become only marginally less hostile. As we have seen, the initial attitude of the Eisenhower administration to the Free Officers' revolution was favourable. While the United States had none of Britain and France's imperial nostalgia about the Arabs – in

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[90] WINT, Guy and CALVOCORESSI, Peter: *Middle East Crisis*. Penguin Books, 1957, p. 58.

[91] LITTLE, op. cit., p. 159.

[92] MONROE, op. cit., p. 186.

[93] MANSFIELD, *The Arabs*, p. 248.

[94] Ibid., p. 251.

fact regarded it as tiresome and irrelevant – it had hopes that the new Egyptian regime would represent a new type of nationalist but anti-Soviet force in the Middle East.[95] In Egypt at that time Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir was widely regarded as pro-American in his tastes and sympathies. He established close and friendly relations with Kermit Roosevelt, one of the senior hands of the CIA.[96] His real objection to Egyptian communists was that they were unpatriotic citizens who were loyal to a foreign ideology. However, the fact that the principal allies of the United States in the anti-Soviet front were the same old colonial powers, against which the Arabs were still struggling for their independence, meant that the force of G. ᶜAbdunnasir's neutralism tended to be directed against the West rather than the Communist bloc.

The inspiration and explanation for the concrete acts and policies of the Egyptian Government can be found in the small book written by Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir called *The Philosophy of the Revolution*. It may be assumed that the book represents the general line of thought by which the RCC was guided. Cairo was primarily interested in three "circles": the Arab circle, the African circle and the circle of Islam.[97] In each circle the great struggle for liberation would have to be carried on to victory over the enemy who still held many of these lands and nations in subjection, who controlled their seas and skies and exploited their oil and other resources for his own benefit.[98] The problem of the West was that Egyptians did not regard themselves as involved in the great debate between East and West and they did not feel threatened by the communist danger. After the agreement with the British, Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir no longer excluded the possibility of a later adhesion to Western organizations, by way of leading westwards an Arab world under its own aegis, but this was to be done between free powers with neither held hostage to the other.[99]

The Soviet attitude to the Egyptian revolution was initially hostile and the Free Officers' measures against the Left were described as fascist. But the death of J. Stalin in 1953 opened the way to a new flexibility in Soviet policy. V. Lenin had favoured the policy of supporting *bourgeois nationalists* in the emerging nations, even if it meant the collapse of local communist parties, on the ground that this was the best way of ensuring the downfall of both imperialism and capitalism. Seeing the advantage of supporting such popular *bourgeois* nationalist leaders as the Egyptian Prime Minister, Soviet strategists under Nikita Khrushchev's leadership reverted to Lenin's policy.[100]

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[95] Ibid., p. 251.

[96] HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 33.

[97] ᶜABDUNNASIR, Gamal: *Falsafat at-Tawra*. (Philosophy of the Revolution). Cairo, without date, p. 60.

[98] CAMPBELL, op. cit., p. 71.

[99] LACOUTURE, op. cit., p. 222.

[100] MANSFIELD, op. cit., p. 252.

The Gaza raid seriously compromised the precarious prestige of the Egyptian army and the military regime itself, so arms became an urgent necessity for Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir if he was to retain the loyalty of his Free Officers and the army upon whom his control of Egypt rested. Under the terms of the *Tripartite Declaration*, by which the USA, Great Britain and France proclaimed their intention of keeping the peace between Israel and the Arab states weapons had been rationed in such a way as to minimize the prospect of any large-scale attack by one party on the other. It was well understood by all concerned that any attempt to circumvent this rationing by obtaining arms from elsewhere would be regarded by the signatories of the *Tripartite Declaration* as a provocative act on the part of both the supplying country and of the country supplied.[101] Of the three, Britain was now extremely hostile to Egypt. France was an even more bitter enemy because it had become convinced, quite incorrectly, that the Algerian rebellion, which broke out on 1 November 1954, could be easily suppressed if it was not helped and promoted by the Egyptian regime. In fact France had already begun major secret arms supplies to Israel before the outbreak of the Algerian rebellion.[102] In this way the French demonstrated their resentment by forming an alliance with the main enemy of the Arabs. It may be that if the United States had found some way to provide Egypt with arms, Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir would not have turned to the Soviet Union. The US State Department had adequate warning that he might do so. Its failure to see the magnitude of the danger and to act in time may have been a costly mistake for the West.[103]

On 16 April 1955 the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs published a note, which marked the Soviet entry into Middle Eastern politics. It was a document of capital importance, not only because of its violent criticism of the Baghdad Pact and of the pressure exerted by the United States and Great Britain to draw Arab states into a military organization which would be an extension of other anti-Soviet military pacts. It was also stressing that the Soviet Government would not remain indifferent to this situation since the setting up of military bases in the Middle East directly affects the security of the USSR.[104] The Soviet Ambassador in Cairo, Daniel Solod a brilliant Middle Eastern expert, quietly and patiently worked to improve Soviet-Egyptian relations. The line he gently pressed on the RCC was that the USSR was only anxious to see Egypt and other Arab states become genuinely independent of the West. It had no intention of trying to draw them into the Soviet orbit, and the economic aid it was offering,

[101] MARLOWE, John: *Arab Nationalism and British Imperialism. A Study in Power Politics.* London, The Cresset Press, 1961, p. 89.

[102] HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 74.

[103] CAMPBELL, op. cit., p. 72.

[104] *Dokumenty k otázce Blízkého a Středního východu.* (Documents on the Problems of the Near and Middle East). Prague, 1963, pp. 214–217.

unlike that from the West, was tied to no political conditions. Gama ᶜAbdun-
nasir was fully aware of the purpose behind the Soviet blandishment. With his
ingrained anti-communism, he would have much preferred to receive help from
the West if he could have obtained it on the scale that he thought was necessary
for Egypt and without damage to its independence. By 1955 the need for help
and especially for arms was pressing while the chances of getting it from the
Western powers were minimal.[105]

On 19 May 1955 at a diplomatic reception Daniel Solod asked Gamal
ᶜAbdunnasir whether Egypt would be interested in the purchase of arms from
the Soviet Union. The answer was affirmative, of course. When Dimitri Shepi-
lov, the editor of *Pravda*, came to Cairo for the annual ceremonies commemo-
rating the Revolution, he told Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir that details of the deal were
being worked out, but one thing was still worrying the leadership. When news
of the deal leaked out the Americans would try to thwart it. If they succeeded,
and Egypt backed down, the Soviet Union would be humiliated. Shepilov was
assured that once the agreement had been signed, there was no force on earth
that could make Egypt back down.

In the meantime Israel staged more bloody raids in the Gaza Strip. First on
30 May, than on 22 and 28 August.[106] On 31 August Israelis attacked the town
of Khan Yunis. Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir felt that Israel was trying to provoke him
into war, so he made the unilateral gesture of establishing a demilitarized zone
100 metres wide on the Egyptian side of border only, as the Israelis still refused
to make any similar concession on their side.[107]

Anyway, the deal remained a well kept secret. On 26 September the US Am-
bassador Byroade visited Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir and brought up the subject of
arms, saying that there were a lot of rumours going round about what Egypt was
going to do. He regretted that Egypt did not sign the *Mutual Security Pact* and
get the arms from the United States. Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir just said "It's too late
for that now".[108] On 27 September the Americans got confirmation that Egypt
had signed a deal with the Soviet Union and as they found the situation very
dangerous, Kermit Roosevelt was hurrying to Cairo from Washington. It was
clear in Egypt, that the news should be publicly declared before Roosevelt ar-
rived. There was nothing prepared but Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir accidentally found
an invitation to an unimportant army exhibition of photography and the press
was immediately informed that the Prime Minister would be opening the exhi-
bition.[109] There he made an official announcement saying that because the West

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[105] MANSFIELD, op. cit., p. 252.

[106] AR-RAFIᶜI, op. cit., pp. 162–163.

[107] HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 74.

[108] Ibid., p. 75.

[109] HAMRUSH, op. cit., p. 72.

refused Egypt the means of defending its existence a contract for the purchase of arms from Czechoslovakia was just signed as a commercial transaction.[110]

Kermit Roosevelt reached Cairo the same evening reporting that the State Department prepared four countermeasures which would probably be taken if the deal went through: 1) all Point Four aid would be stopped; 2) all economic and cultural links berween the two countries would be severed; 3) diplomatic relations might be broken off; and 4) a blockade of all Egyptian ports to prevent the Soviet arms' coming in could not be ruled out. Roosevelt had asked for an interview with Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir, but this was refused. The refusal led Washington to rethink its tactics. J.F. Dulles despatched to Cairo George Allen, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Middle Eastern Affairs with what amounted to an ultimatum.[111] G. Allen was due to arrive in Cairo on 30 September. He was bringing an ultimatum to the Egyptians to stop the dangerous game with the Soviets. Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir already knew that the Soviets had rejected the protest about arms deal by the USA, Britain and France and was not prepared to compromise. The next day Allen saw the Prime Minister but on the advice of Roosevelt and Byroade did not hand over the letter he had brought and they talked in general terms about mutual relations.[112]

By this one bold stroke Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir declared his independence of the West and proclaimed his leadership of the Arabs. The effect in the Arab world was prodigious. Everywhere the new leader was acclaimed. The feeble reaction of the USA served only to multiply the fervent applause.[113]

The arms deal had its immediate effect on American official opinion. Up to this time, American policy in the Middle East had tended to regard Egypt, in her relations with Great Britain as a nation rightly struggling to be free. Now there was a considerable revulsion of feeling in the State Department where nobody wanted to understand the Egyptian aspirations. What was merely a logical development of, was seen as a radical departure from, previous Egyptian policy.[114] The magnitude of this political success probably surprised even Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir himself: it made him a world figure. In any event it proved to be a great turning point in his career − others had talked, he was the man who acted and who had given Middle Eastern states dignity and equality at last.

The whole elaborate structure of Anglo-American defence policy was altered by this deal. It nullified the Western arrangement for an arms balance between

[110] Prime Minister ᶜAbd-al-Nasir's Announcement of the Egyptian Agreement with Czechoslovakia for the Purchase of Arms, 27 September 1955, in: HUREWITZ, op. cit., pp. 401–405.

[111] HEIKAL, op. cit., p. 77.

[112] Ibid., p. 79.

[113] CAMPBELL, op. cit., p. 73.

[114] MARLOWE, op. cit., p. 90.

the Arabs and Israel (in other words for preserving the arms superiority of Israel and keeping the Arabs under Western tutelage). It converted Western aid from a weapon in Western hands into a bargaining counter for Egyptian or Arab use in the process of taking aid from both sides of the Iron curtain.[115] Out of this situation developed the whole series of moves and countermoves that eventually destroyed all confidence between Egypt and the West: the Egyptian diplomatic and propaganda offensive against the Baghdad Pact; the unwillingness of the United States to meet Egyptian requests for American arms on commercial terms; the arms deal with the Soviets. To try to penetrate the character and motives of Gamal ᶜAbdunnasir himself and to estimate the forces he represented and on which he depended.[116]

By the autumn of 1955 Egypt, under G. ᶜAbdunnasir's leadership, had become almost entirely committed to a policy which by giving a popular content to Arab nationalism and by identifying it with neutralism and anti-imperialism, aimed at an Egyptian hegemony over the Arab world, and in consequence, involved a struggle for power in the Arab world against Great Britain and her remaining Arab allies.

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[115] MONROE, op. cit., p. 186.
[116] CAMPBELL, op. cit., p. 70.

BOOK REVIEWS

DABRINGHAUS, Sabine: *Das Qing-Imperium als Vision und Wirklichkeit – Tibet in Lauf-bahn und Schriften des Song Yun (1752–1835)*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag 1994. 296 pp.

The publication is devoted to Song Yun, a well-known imperial official who was active during the middle period of the Qing Dynasty. The author focuses her interest on the activities of Song Yun in Tibet during the years 1794–1799, but she does not consider this part of Song Yun's official career separately but in the broad context of, on one hand, the life of this statesman and, on the other hand, in the general historical and political situation of the Qing Dynasty period. In particular, the author concentrates on the Qing Dynasty's territorial expansion in Inner Asia and on the methods of control over these newly acquired territories. The aim of her research is not a study of the political institution of control over Innerasian dependencies of the Qing Court, but to analyse in detail – as in the example of Song Yun who worked inside this insitutional framework – the functioning of this institution.

The book under review is divided into six sections in which the author provides the reader with the historical and political background inevitable to the understanding of intentions and means of Chinese policy in Tibet, which are illustrated in the life and work of Song Yun. In the first section ("Die Entstehung des Qing-Imperiums") we find a description of the circumstances which preceded the conquest of Beijing by Manchurian army in 1644. The author briefly summarizes the period of state formation of Manchus in northeast China. The formation of the Mongol Agency (*Menggu yamen*) in 1636 – two years later renamed the Court of Colonial Affairs (*Lifanyuan*) – was an important foreign policy signal which the Manchus sent abroad. The imperial ambitions of the new power did not stop at the line of the Great wall (as was the case of the Ming Dynasty) but they reached well beyond it – to Inner Asia. This territorial expansion was preceded by the consolidation of power in the Chinese provinces. The process of formation of an Innerasian empire lasted 150 years and was accomplished during the reign of the Qianlong emperor (1736–1795). In Tibet itself, the Chinese influence increased during the years 1720–1793 and this process was a consequence of foreign aggressions against Tibet and also of innerpolitical conflicts. The author points out that the intention of Imperial policy was not the acculturation of Innerasian nations but peaceful coexistence which is proved also by the creation of parallel administrative structures (*Lifanyuan*) which were responsible for the administration of these territories.

The second section ("Song Yun: Eine Beamtenkarriere im Qing-Imperium") is devoted to the life, family background and especially official career of Song Yun. Dabringhaus chronologically lists all official posts (and all ups and downs) occupied by Song Yun during his 62-year-long career. Although he was not a career diplomat, during his life he was not only stationed in all the border territories of the Qing empire (Mongolia 1785–92 and again 1825–30, Tibet 1794–99 Xinjiang 1800–09 and again 1813–17, and Manchuria 1819–20), but he also met representatives of European powers – in 1792

he signed an agreement together with the governor of Irkutsk Ludwig von Nagel, and in 1793 he accompanied the Macartney mission in Jehol. Song Yun (he was of Mongol descent) was an experienced statesman who during the reign of three Qing emperors (Qianlong, Jiaqing, Daoguang) occupied important posts in imperial administration. The author enables the reader to get to know also the picture of Song Yun in Chinese historiography, where he is depicted as an uncorrupted model official who implemented a successful policy in Qing dependencies.

In the third section ("Imperiales Wissen: Song Yungs landeskundliche Erfassung Tibets") the author gives a survey of the level of knowledge of Tibet in 18th century China and Europe. From the beginning of 18th century there appeared in China a number of works on Tibet which were by-products of the military engagement of the Imperial Court in Tibet. The authors of these publications (Jiao Yingqi, Du Changding, Wang Shirui, etc.) were interested in Tibet mainly from the military point of view and so they focused their interest on the geography of Tibet, the possibilities of supplying an army, etc. However, in their accounts we can also find some ethnographic information on Tibet. The Europe of that period also had a notion of Tibet which was brought by Jesuit missionaries (the author chose to use the term "Missionarsgelehrte" which better reflects the activities and educational level of these people). Except of missionaries (A. Andrade, J. Grueber, I. Desideri) there were also other envoys who attempted to establish political and economical relations with Tibet (G. Bolge, S. Turner) and adventurers (J.-B. Chevalier, S. Van de Putte). The lengthy quotations from these Western sources are sometimes redundant. Dabringhaus also describes how this information about Tibet were reflected in the works of European scholars (K. D. Hüllman, G. W. F. Hegel). However, the attention of the author is focused on two books written by Song Yun which are related to Tibet (*Weizang tongzhi* and *Xizhao tulüe*). The first work was considered to be a compendium of Chinese 18th century knowledge about Tibet and it also had a practical aim – it was intended to be a manual for subsequent imperial officials stationed in Tibet to provide them with basic facts about Tibetan history, religion, economy and all aspects of social life.

The fourth part entitled "Imperiale Herrschaftstheorie: Song Yun als kaiserlicher Amban von Tibet" is focused on 5-year activities of Song Yun in Tibet in the years 1794–99. The author in particular stresses the problem of the justification of Chinese rule in Tibet, because the Imperial Court could not expect the Lamaistic dignitaries to be attracted by the Confucian concept of the Mandate of Heaven. Song Yun was striving to show to Tibetans the practical advantages of the imperial presence in Tibet. Song Yun was active in Tibet during the peak of imperial influence in Tibet. He went to Tibet shortly after the proclamation of so called 102-point Imperial Regulations (*Qingding zhangcheng*) in 1792–93 which empowered the Amban (and Assistant Amban) with many powers. Song Yun's intention was to implement the new status of Amban into everyday political life in Tibet and to define the position of Amban in Tibetan religious and administrative structure. The Imperial Court understood its engagement in Tibet also as a kind of civilizing mission whose aim was to adjust Tibetan customs and morals to Chinese standards. The author quotes some parts from Song Yun's work where he warned against these assimilation plans. Since the Tibetan aristocracy cooperated with imperial power only with reluctance, in the second half of 18th century, the Imperial Court formulated a policy with which intention it was to restrict traditional powers of nobility and to develop the economic situation of the Tibetan population.

In the next part of the publication under review ("Song Yuns Reformpolitik: Konfuzianisches Beamtenethos contra tibetische Theokratie"), the author analyses the inten-

tions of the new reform policy of Imperial Court in Tibet, whose representative was Song Yun. The first reform package was related to changes in the Tibetan administrative structure and its aim was bureaucratization according to the Chinese model. Imperial officials however did not manage to make changes in the Lamaistic hierarchy. The second important aspect of these reforms was to lower the tax burden of Tibetan population and to initiate the equal distribution of this burden among both peasants and nobility. These reforms were simultaneously intended to popularise Imperial power in the eyes of Tibetans and increase the fame of the Emperor. It was mainly poor Tibetan peasants who profited from these reforms, because – as a consequence of this new policy – their living standards increased. Another important aspect of the Qing rule in Tibet was the incorporation of this territory into the defence system of the Qing Dynasty. Imperial reform program met with much success in this field, because it did not encounter the opposition from Tibetan nobility and representatives of the monasteries (as was the case with the implementation of political and economical reforms). The intention of Imperial Tibetan policy was not to change structurally Tibetan administration but only to reform it.

In the last part of the publication ("Das Qing-Reich, Tibet und das übrige Innerasien am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts: Bilanz imperialer Herrschaftsbildung") the author briefly describes the power vacuum which occured in Tibet in the course of 19th century. During this period the Imperial Court lost its interest in Tibet and among the Ambans there were few strong personalities who had enough authority to push through the reform program. Many of the reforms originally implemented by Song Yun were no longer carried out during the 19th century. Most of the Ambans focused their interest on foreign policy and the inner political vacuum was filled by monastic institutions. As the author stresses, it is the PRC who nowadays bear the heritage of the Innerasian territorial expansion of the Qing Dynasty, so it might be interesting to consult this publication also for researchers focused on interethnic relationships in contemporary China.

The author submitted the original version of her paper as a dissertation at People's University in Beijing and thanks to this she made use of a vast secondary literature written on this subject in China (mainly published during 80's and 90's), which is sometimes omitted by Western Tibetologists. However what disturbs the reader is the use of Tibetan toponyms in Chinese transcription even in the cases where the identification was quite easy (cf. p. 187 and 189 – Jiangzi instead of Gyantse). Also some translation of Chinese terms are quite unconventional (for example p. 134: *manyi* – "wilde Barbaren", p. 133: *tianxia* – "zivilisierte Welt"). Besides these little shortcomings the publication under review is an important and excellent account. To anyone interested in the methods and intentions of Qing policy in Tibet and in border areas in general (unfortunately the Tibetan attitude towards Qing reform policy is missing as a consequence of the lack of Tibetan sources) it offers a vivid picture of the life and work of one imperial official whose books on Tibet represent a rich source for studying the political and economical situation in Tibet in the end of 18th century. The author made a good choice, because Song Yun is an example of an official, who was trying to understand the nature and the social background of people he was supposed to administer, whose aim was not to destroy the social and cultural fabric of Tibetan people, and who respected traditional values and attempted to develop the living conditions of the population. Maybe Song Yun should also be incorporated into the Qing Dynasty tradition inherited by PRC and serve as an example of a tolerant central government official in minority areas.

Martin Slobodník

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