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

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

## ARTICLES

### THE ISLAND OF IMMORTALS, JAPAN AND JONATHAN SWIFT\*

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In his paper V. Krupa speculates on the likely sources of the motif of the island of immortals in Part III of Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and finds them in the writings of the Portuguese missionary João Rodrigues.

*Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift ranks among the most valuable works in world literature. According to George Orwell it is one of the six finest literary achievements of all time (Orwell 1967) and the jurors of the German periodical *Die Zeit* have included it in the list of 100 best books of all countries and eras (Zeit 1980).

Swift furnished his remarkable novel with the subtitle *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World* as if to intimate that it deals with distant countries and is not without interest to scholars, namely those dealing with what would nowadays be defined as the comparative study of various cultures. But he has selected remote countries as the stage mainly for somewhat different reasons. His preference for the periphery of *oikouménē* had its advantages. It is a realm where conventional and widely accepted standards or rules do not hold, it is a realm of non-trivial phenomena and even if we might be familiar with some of them it is upon the periphery that they are brought ad absurdum, which gives us the opportunity to assess their usefulness – the vices described so to say in full bloom and in unique circumstances are easier to condemn than in our familiar milieu where they seem virtually imperceptible. Thus the periphery offers a variety of new prospects. Swift obviously sought to criticize the political situation in England but he felt it would be safer to situate the target of his disapproval

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somewhere far away, which would render the recognition of the picture of England in it at least difficult if not impossible.

In Part III: *A Voyage to Laputa, Balnibarbi, Glubbdubdrib, Luggnagg and Japan* of his opus maior Jonathan Swift takes Gulliver to the scarcely known seas of Southeast Asia. During a horrible storm Gulliver's sloop is attacked by two pirate ships. One of them is commanded by a Dutchman and the other by a Japanese. Their attitude to the captured Englishmen is very different. The Japanese captain turns out to be more humane than his Dutch partner. This might sound surprising but only to those readers who are not familiar with the history of early contacts between the Japanese and Europeans (Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, and English). Before the end of the 16th century the Europeans (especially the Portuguese) could freely preach Christianity and trade in Japan. However, after the country was closed to all foreigners and effectively isolated from the rest of the world for more than two centuries (from 1639 to 1854), only a handful Dutch merchants were permitted to carry out business in Japan, even if under humiliating circumstances. The policy of *sakoku* (seclusion) and hostility to foreigners was portended by Toyotomi Hideyoshi's prohibition of Christianity in 1557. The reputation of the Dutch in the eyes of other Europeans was tarnished by their avarice and willingness with which they submitted to the humiliating ritual of *fumie* or *ebumi* (trampling the pictures), which, however, is doubted by some scholars. Since the Japanese were prepared to trade only with non-Christians, all suspect applicants were exhorted to trample crosses or holy pictures underfoot and thus prove that they had recanted their Christian religion and given preference to trading with the Japanese. But in addition to this, the English also had other complaints against the Dutch, namely the infamous massacre of English merchants on the island of Amboina.

Let us return now to the Gulliver's fate. When his sloop was captured by the pirates, he asked them "to set him adrift, in a small canoe, with paddles and sail, and four days' provisions, which last the Japanese captain was so kind to double out of his own stores, and would permit no man to search me. I got down into the canoe, while the Dutchman, standing upon the deck, loaded me with all the curses and injurious terms his language could afford" (Swift 1967 edition, p. 197).

Soon after the skirmish with the pirates, Gulliver reached with his canoe a group of islands to the southeast. After landing, he observed the flying island of Laputa and was received by the inhabitants of the island of Balnibarbi. It is not my intention to repeat or paraphrase what is readily available to the readers of Swift's novel. Instead, I would like to pay some attention to the author's fancied report of the existence of immortal persons in the country of Luggnagg (Swift edition 1967, Chapter 10, pp. 251–260) called Struldbruggs. In the first lines of the following chapter Swift observes that "this account of the Struldbruggs might be some entertainment to the reader, because it seems to be a little out of the common way, at least I do not remember to have met the like in any book of travels that hath come to my hands" (Swift 1967, p. 260). This declared ignorance of the matter is, of course, simply a poetic licence and the key to the ori-

gin of the episode with the Struldbuggs is offered by the author himself in the subsequent lines: "There is indeed a perpetual commerce between this kingdom and the great Empire of Japan, and it is very probable that the Japanese authors may have given some account of the Struldbuggs" (Swift 1967 edition, p. 260). Swift describes the immortal Struldbuggs of Luggnagg, especially their looks, in very displeasing terms: "They were the most mortifying sight I ever beheld, and the women more horrible than the men. Besides the usual deformities in extreme old age, they acquired an additional ghastliness in proportion to their number of years..." (Swift 1967, p. 259). However, he elaborates more on the negative aspects of their character.

Islands represent a congenial setting for fantastic or legendary stories as we know them both from Europe and overseas. The specific appeal of an insular topos obviously lies in its seclusion from the familiar rest of the world and in the relative inaccessibility of the former. These attributes explain why the islands may be shrouded in mysteries and populated by strange creatures. Legends of men's or women's islands occur in various parts of the world. Erberto Petola briefly discusses the motif of people living on an island close to the coast of Ireland (Munster) who cannot die natural deaths, and not far from it is an island without women (Petola 1997, pp. 181–182). Bran, a hero of Irish legends reached an island of women where time flows in a very different manner from the rest of the world. This island is situated somewhere in the west. Marquesans inhabiting a group of islands at the northwestern margin of Polynesia have a legend of Kae who visited a peculiar island of women who used to conceive children without men and die when the children were born (Handy 1930, pp. 56–63). Islands coincide with a realm at the periphery of the *oikouménē*, a realm that is threatening or at least strange, where rules different from ours may hold and those who want to reach these parts may undergo unexpected dangers or even succumb to them. And thus, islands in this sense are not so much geographical as cultural islands.

It is no chance that Jonathan Swift has located his island of Luggnagg where the immortal Struldbuggs were said to live in the vicinity of Japan. At that time the Pacific was largely *mare incognitum*, the shores of Japan had not yet been mapped, the Hawaiian archipelago had not yet been discovered, Tasmania (at that time Van Diemen's Land) was thought to be part of the Australian continent and European geographers were dreaming of the legendary *João da Gama's land* or of *Terra Australis incognita* hidden somewhere in the South Seas.

Japan was from the very beginning reputed to be a healthy country where people live to an unusually high age. This was due, in the opinion of the first Europeans visiting Japan, to a favourable climate and healthy food. Besides, the Japanese were said to be fond of medicines that prolong human life. But as Rodrigues remarked, rich and noble people living in abundance, died younger than modest commoners.

We should bear in mind that the author of *Gulliver* was a diligent reader of various books of travels (cf. Real – Vienken 1984, p. 15) and he made use of the knowledge he acquired from them. Data that might shed light on the presence

of the episode of the immortal Struldbruggs in the *Gulliver's Travels* are obviously available in a historical work by the Portuguese missionary João Rodrigues. He was born around 1561 in Portugal and arrived in Japan in 1557 as a sixteen years old boy, completed his education there and acquired remarkable fluency in Japanese. He published the first grammar of Japanese and obviously took part in the compilation of a Japanese–Portuguese dictionary. However, after many years spent in Japan, he had to leave the country because Ieyasu Tokugawa, the military ruler of Japan, issued a decree expelling all missionaries from the country. Afterwards Rodrigues moved to Macao and in this Portuguese settlement in South China he wrote his voluminous history of the Catholic Church in Japan. This work contains a wealth of valuable information not only concerning the Church itself but also on the Japanese way of life, culture, religion, and history, especially in Part I that was meant as its introduction. The whole book seems to have been completed in 1620–1621 but later additions are not excluded. Rodrigues' History or rather parts of it were translated into English as late as 1969 and published in 1973 (Cooper, S. J. 1973, p. 50). Interestingly enough, Rodrigues himself became object of a longevity legend while visiting Peking in 1630. He was reputed to be 250 years old (Cooper 1973, p. 21). In truth, he died in 1633 in Macao at the age of seventy-two years. In addition to writing about the high age of many Japanese, Rodrigues included in his work a story of a certain Wasabioe who found old men unable to die and tired of life after his shipwreck on the Island of Immortals (Chamberlain 1879, pp. 285–308). It cannot be excluded that the motif of the island of immortals is of Chinese origin. The story of the islands of the blessed is present in the Chinese literature of the first century B. C. The literary sources situate these islands called *Penglai* (*Hōraizan* in Japanese), *Fangzhang* and *Yingzhou* in the Eastern sea. They were said to be inhabited by the immortals who drank an elixir of immortality and lived in palaces of gold and jade. By the way, the island of *Hōraizan* was painted in 1900 by Shimomura Kanzan and Yokoyama Taikan and in 1913 by Shimomura Kanzan (Japan und Europa: 1543–1929 1993, p. 512–513).

Swift's discussion of Japan is not exhausted with the motif of longevity or immortality. Gulliver returns to England via Japan. Three Japanese cities are explicitly mentioned in the novel – Yedo, Nangasac and Xamoschi. Yedo is Edo, present-day Tokyo and Nangasac is Nagasaki (*g* is usually pronounced as *ng* in the medial position and final *i* is strongly reduced). Somewhat problematic is the identification of Xamoschi. The ship from Luggnagg brought Gulliver to this small port on the south-east part of Japan across the bay, opposite Yedo. Despite the misleading transcription (*x* points out to Portuguese mediation while *sch* betrays German filter) it might be the town of Samōshi in the Chiba prefecture east of Tokyo, at the western shore of a long promontory barring the bay of Tokyo from the Pacific.

While in Japan, Gulliver was again better treated by the Japanese than by the Dutch, just as before his arrival in Laputa, Balnibarbi and Luggnagg when his vessel had been captured by the pirates. To sum up, Swift's positive attitude to the inhabitants of Japan coincides with that expressed by the early Portuguese

missionaries who sincerely admired the Japanese without being uncritical to their faults and weaknesses. This seems to indicate that Swift has drawn his information on Japan from studying some of the writings of the missionaries or perhaps from works by other authors who made use of the information collected by the Portuguese.

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## „KLEINE AUGEN“ AUF GROßER FAHRT Zur Sternnavigation in Rongorongo

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“Little Eyes” – on a Big Trip  
Star Navigation as Rongorongo Inscriptions

An attempt is made here to prove that rongorongo does not reproduce coherent texts, creation chants, rituals, etc., as has been conjectured so far. All signs are symbols of stars and planets, quaters, winds, the moon, the guiding stars, etc.

The new endeavour to analyse the rongorongo signs is based on the accessible astronomical knowledge of Micronesia and Polynesia. The body of rongorongo signs consists of tropical descriptions of single stars, planets, zodiacal signs and other constellations. What has been registered are particular nights and, on the smaller tablets, general data on astronomical itineraries. The all in all about 12,000 rongorongo signs convey exclusively instructions for sidereal navigation within the Pacific.

This article deals with the signs which are supposed to represent the Pleiades (*matariki*) in rongorongo. More than half of all signs can only be understood through the astronomical knowledge of the New Zealand Maori. The present approach, then, provides the possibility to explain nearly all existing rongorongo signs, which hitherto was held to be an illusion.

This is the first part of the study to be continued in Volume 9, 1999.

In Memoriam Thomas S. Barthel

*And now the story is told. The Expedition has, we hope, brought some new pieces to fit into the puzzle which it went out to study, but the help is needed of every reader who has more to bring, from whatever part of the world; so alone can be finally solved the Mystery of Easter Island.*

Mrs. Scoresby Routledge  
„The Mystery of Easter Island“  
London, undatiert.

## Vorbemerkung

Die Wahrheit wird immer dann als eine Provokation empfunden, wenn sie festgelegte Ansichten, Meinungen oder Vorstellungen zum Einsturz bringt. Die Osterinselschrift Rongorongo ist nicht entziffert und kann nach einhelliger Meinung derer, die sich für eine so absolute Feststellung selbst Kompetenz anmaßen, niemals entziffert werden.

In diesem Aufsatz werde ich aufzeigen, wie Rongorongo verstanden werden muß. Die beweisbare Tatsache, daß ich den Code gefunden habe und weite Teile des Systems auch entziffern konnte, ist das vorläufige Ergebnis von 12 Jahren Forschungsarbeit. Wenn ich die Behauptung aufstelle und die Beweise vortrage, daß das Verständnis der Zeichen ganz einfach ist, kann man das für eine maßlose Übertreibung halten, weil es in 130 Jahren nicht gelang, irgendeinen Sinn in Rongorongo zu finden.

Warum ist das so?

Rongorongo-Forschung wird seit 1864 bis heute betrieben. Weder der Inhalt der 20 Tafeln und des einzig erhaltenen Stabes ist bekannt, noch existiert eine einzige zutreffende Zeichendeutung.

Aber es gibt doch überall auf der Welt Menschen, die Entdeckungen machen. Nur – wie macht man eine Entdeckung?

Der ungarische Biochemiker und Nobelpreisträger Albert von Szent Györgyi hat dazu eine ganz einfache Feststellung getroffen:

*Eine Entdeckung macht man, wenn man sieht, was jeder gesehen hat, und dabei denkt, was noch niemand gedacht hat.*

Viele Forscher haben die Zeichen gesehen und dabei gedacht, daß es sich um Texte handelt. Bisher fand niemand Texte in Rongorongo. Ich habe gedacht, daß die Zeichen Symbole für Sterne und Planeten, für alles das sind, was Navigatoren am Himmel in der Nacht beobachteten, um zielorientiert das Boot an den Bestimmungsort zu bringen. Das war eine richtige Annahme.

Der deutsche Wissenschaftler Thomas S. Barthel dominierte in diesem Jahrhundert die Rongorongo-Forschung. Aber weder Zuspruch noch qualifizierten Widerspruch zu seinen mehr als zwanzig Beiträgen hat es jemals gegeben.

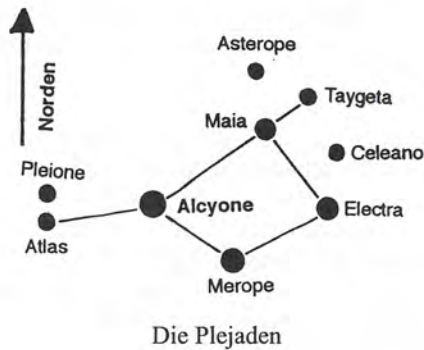
Barthel kannte das Ergebnis meiner Forschungen und war auch darüber informiert, aus welchem Ansatz heraus mir die Lösung des Rätsels gelang. Er wußte, daß keine einzige seiner über 1.500 Entzifferungen einzelner Zeichen und kleiner Zeichenfolgen Bestand haben kann, weil er von Texten in Rongorongo ausging, die es nicht gibt.

Barthel hatte mich gebeten, zu meiner ersten Veröffentlichung einen Kommentar beizusteuern, in dem er die Rechtfertigung für seinen Forschungsansatz vortragen wollte. Er bat mich, wenigstens seine Formentafeln zu übernehmen und weiterzuführen, wenn nötig, auch zu korrigieren. Das mußte ich ablehnen. Aber ich habe versprochen, vorerst seine Nomenklatur zur Auffindung der Belegstellen beizubehalten.

Thomas Barthel ist im April 1997 verstorben.

Bereits vor fünf Jahren kannte ich die Bedeutung der Zeichen. Ich war unwissend genug, anzunehmen, daß ich dadurch bereits in die Lage versetzt sei, die ca. 12.000 Zeichen gänzlich und vor allem allein zu entziffern. Heute habe ich die Gewißheit, daß das Vorhaben von einem einzigen Menschen nicht zu lösen ist. Nicht das Verständnis der Zeichen ist die große Hürde, es ist ein vielschichtiges Problem, das mit dieser ersten Arbeit aufgezeigt und dessen Lösungsansatz vorgetragen werden soll.

NGC 1432 - die Töchter des Atlas.



Die Plejaden

Sternmythen sind die ältesten Überlieferungen in allen Kulturen. Ihr Ursprung liegt tief im Dunkel der Vergangenheit und niemand auf der Welt wußte anzugeben, aus welcher Zeit das Wissen um Sonne, Mond und Sterne kam.

Überall auf der Welt zogen Menschen imaginäre Linien zwischen den Sternen und bildeten damit ihre Sternbilder. Jahrtausende wußten sternkundige Männer und Frauen Botschaften zu entziffern, die sie am Himmel in der Nacht über Sterne und Planeten zu erkennen glaubten. Seuchen und Kriege, Wetterprognosen und Naturkatastrophen, aber auch die beste Zeit zum Fang bestimmter Fische, die Zeit zur Aussaat und Ernte auf den Feldern, die Einteilung des Jahres in Monate und noch vieles mehr, glaubten die alten Astrologen aus den Sternen und ihren Konstellationen ablesen zu können.

Aber einen anderen Nutzen, der nichts mit dem Hokusfokus der Astrologie zu tun hatte, kannten Menschen überall in der Welt, denn die Wege der Sterne in der Nacht, waren auch Wegweiser zu Lande und auf den Meeren. In unserer abendländischen Kultur tradieren wir einen Stern, der drei Könige leitete an die Krippe in einem Stall nahe Bethlehem, wo sie Jesus Christus fanden.

Die Funktion als Wegweiser, die wir heute Sternnavigation nennen, ist das Rätsel der Schrift, die als Osterinselschrift bekannt ist, und deren Notationen nun entziffert werden können.

Die Plejaden waren ein wichtiger Merkpunkt in der Sternnavigation der Polynesier. Ihre Zeichen in der vermeintlichen Osterinselschrift mit Namen Rongorongo werden in dieser Arbeit besprochen.

Deshalb ist es sicher von Interesse, eine kurze Zusammenfassung des neuen Wissens dem alten gegenüberzustellen.

Je nach Katalog bezeichnen wir heute den offenen Sternhaufen der Plejaden im Sternbild Taurus (Stier) mit M 45 oder NGC 1432. Sein volkstümlicher Name „Siebengestirn“ erklärt sich damit, daß bei besten atmosphärischen Sichtbedingungen sieben Sterne zu beobachten sind. Im „Lexikon der Astronomie“ (1995) wird angegeben, daß der Rekord bei 19 mit bloßem Auge beobachteten Plejadensternen liegen soll, woraus man gut erkennt, daß auch in einem Lexikon nicht immer die Wahrheit stehen muß. Die Gesamtzahl aller Sterne wird auf 3.000 geschätzt. In großen Teleskopen erkennt man eine Anzahl von heißen blauen, sehr jungen Sternen, umgeben von einem zarten Nebelschleier, der eine Gas- und Staubmasse ist, aus denen sich die Sterne gebildet haben. Der hellste Stern in den Plejaden heißt Alcyone. Das System, das sich geschlossen im Raum bewegt, ist mit nur etwa 500 Lichtjahren Entfernung aus astronomischer Sicht „vor unserer Tür“, wenn man die Entfernung vergleicht mit den neuesten Daten des Astrometrie-Satelliten „Hipparcos“, der den Andromedanebel von bisher geschätzten 2,5 Millionen Lichtjahre Entfernung von der Erde auf 2,9 Millionen Lj. berechnete. Die Plejaden sind aus kosmischer Sicht „Babys“ im zarten Alter von nur 50 Millionen Jahre. Unsere Erde hat schon vier bis fünf Milliarden Jahre auf dem Buckel, das Universum möglicherweise 15 bis 18 Milliarden Jahre – falls diese Zahlen stimmen!

Rongorongo versetzt uns zurück in eine Zeit, in der die Menschen nichts über die wahre Natur des Universums wußten, aber aus ihren überlieferten Traditionen und ihrem in fünftausend Jahren erworbenen Sternwissen, alles erklären konnten. Astronomie und Astrologie sind in Rongorongo untrennbar miteinander verwoben. Dennoch sind die nüchternen astronomischen Notationen über Sternendreiecke und andere Konstellationen ganz überwiegend das zentrale Thema auf allen zwanzig erhaltenen Objekten. Unter ca. 12.000 Zeichen fand ich nur etwa 250 solcher, die ich nach unseren Vorstellungen als Geister und Dämonen bezeichne. Das ist zwar aus polynesischer Sicht unkorrekt, aber die komplizierten und widersprüchlichen Zusammenhänge im polynesischen Pantheon können für das Verständnis von Rongorongo weitgehend ausgeklammert werden.

Es ist verfrüht, die Bedeutung der Notationen in Rongorongo als astronomisch/wissenschaftliche Aufzeichnungen zu bewerten. Dafür muß wesentlich mehr Forschungsarbeit geleistet werden. Auf Überraschungen darf man schon jetzt hoffen.

Siebengestirn, Kuckucksgestirn und Gluckhenne nannten unsere Ahnen die Plejaden. Nasedha ist ein russischer Name für eine auf ihren Eiern sitzende, brütende Henne und bezeichnete damit die Plejaden. Böse Dämonen wurden in Ba-

bylonien mit den Sternen in Verbindung gebracht. Sie unterstützten den babylonischen Pestgott Erra, verursachten Mondfinsternisse und tranken nach Art böser Vampire Menschenblut. Falsch, meinten die Sumerer, denn die sieben Söhne des Gottes Enmaschara, der Herr aller göttlichen Gesetze und Kräfte, galten als die sieben Sterne der Plejaden. Sehr unromantisch behaupteten die Einwohner Zentralbrasilien, daß die Plejaden nichts anderes waren, als ein Haufen beiseitegefallener Mehlkörner. Der helle Aldebaran in ihrer Nähe war auch nur ein Mehlklumpen und galt als Vater des Haufens. Für die Indianer aus Nordbrasilien und Venezuela galten die Plejaden eher als Glücksbringer. Wenn sie abends am westlichen Horizont untergingen begann die fruchtbare Regenzeit, wenn sie morgens im Osten sichtbar waren, bedeutet es das Ende der Regenzeit. Sie hatten, wie auch die Maori Neuseelands, das Plejadenjahr als Kalendarium. Die Griechen berichteten, daß es Zeus persönlich war, der die sieben Töchter aus der Ehe zwischen dem Titanen Atlas und Pleione an den Himmel versetzen mußte, weil Orion den jungen Damen zu nahe auf den Pelz rücken wollte. (Fasching: 1994)

Australische Eingeborene wußten, daß die drei Gürtelsterne in Orion tatsächlich drei hübsche junge Männer waren, die mit den sieben schönen Mädchen der Plejaden am Himmel herumtollten. (Grossinger: 1988)

Matariki heißt kleine Augen, und das wußte jedes Kind in Ozeanien, das waren die Plejaden. Eine sternkundige alte Frau in Bora Bora berichtete 1822, daß Sirius die Plejaden, die Gürtelsterne und den Rest in Orion heiratete und mit ihnen Kinder zeugte. (Henry: 1907)

Matariki, erklärte ein Tohunga Kokorangi (so nannte man Astronomen) in Neuseeland dem berühmten Maori-Forscher Elsdon Best, sei in Wirklichkeit eine Frau! Andere Maori erzählten, die Plejaden seien die Kinder der Erde aus ihrer Ehe mit dem Sommer. Der Missionar Nicholas bereiste zusammen mit Marsden Neuseeland in den Jahren 1914-15 und erfuhr, daß die Plejaden sieben ihrer Ahnen darstellen, von denen aber nur jeweils ein Auge in Form der sieben sichtbaren Sterne am Himmel zu erkennen ist. Die meisten Stämme der Maori feierten große Feste, wenn erstmals das Siebengestirn beobachtet werden konnte. Eine alte Überlieferung von Hawai'i erzählt, daß die Plejaden die Kinder sind aus der Ehe zwischen Hina und Makalii. In Mangaia wußte man, daß die Plejaden ursprünglich ein einziger Stern waren, der später in sechs Teile zerbrach. (Best: 1922)

Es gäbe noch viele Mythen aus Ozeanien und aus anderen Teilen der Welt zu erzählen, die so märchenhaft und zauberhaft sind, wie die Überlieferungen, die ich angeführt habe. Wer in einer klaren Nacht mit einem Fernglas in Richtung zu den Plejaden blickt, wird verzaubert sein von dem, was er entdeckt - und vielleicht sogar verstehen, was andere Menschen sich vorstellten.

Eine wunderbare Märchenwelt, gebildet aus Fantasie und Wirklichkeit, zerbrach abrupt und unwiderbringlich als aus den sieben Töchtern des Titanen Atlas und seiner Frau M 45 oder NGC 1432 wurde. Wissenszuwachs ist nur über

die Preisgabe wunderbarer Fantasien menschlicher Vorstellungskraft zu erlangen – anders geht es nicht.

### Nichts ist je es selbst

Mit dieser Feststellung ist die Konzeption der vermeintlichen Osterinselschrift vollständig erklärt. Kein Zeichen ist so zu verstehen, wie es sich über sein Design zeigt. Keines der verschiedenen Fisch-Zeichen meint einen Fisch, der im Wasser schwimmt. Keines der Vogel-Zeichen meint einen Vogel, der in der Luft fliegt. Das Zeichen einer Schildkröte meint kein Tier, das auf der Erde lebt. Die stehenden, sitzenden und laufenden Menschen-Zeichen meinen niemals einen Menschen. Kein einziges der zahlreichen Kanus in Rongorongo schwamm jemals im Meer.

In Rongorongo gibt es keine abstrakten oder geometrischen Zeichen. Alle Zeichen sind grafisch verkürzte Formen von realen Vorlagen. Manche Zeichen sind Abzeichnungen von Sternbildern oder anderen Sternkonstellationen, wie wir sie noch heute jede Nacht am Himmel sehen können.

So ist in der Nacht, am 25. November 1997, bei wolkenfreier Sicht das Sternbild Orion von meinem Balkon aus in dieser Konstellation am Südhimmel zu beobachten:



Wenn ich nun die Aufgabe formuliere, ein Zeichen zu entwickeln, mit dem die drei Gürtelsterne geschrieben werden können, gibt es zu diesem Zeichen keine Alternative:



Nichts ist je es selbst – also habe ich auch nicht drei Kreise übereinandergestellt, ich habe vom Himmel „abgeschrieben“ und damit die drei Gürtelsterne im Orion in Form eines Zeichens fixiert, das nicht verbessert werden kann. Egal von welcher Sicht aus, gleichgültig ob Orion von der Nord- oder Südhälfte der Erde gesehen wird, mein Zeichen stimmt immer, weil ich die unterschiedliche Schräglage der drei Sterne nicht berücksichtige, sondern sie dem Corporate Design des Systems Rongorongo angepaßt habe, das mich verpflichtet, alle Zei-

chen exakt im Winkel von  $90^\circ$  auf die „gedachte Grundlinie“ zu stellen. Dieses geniale Zeichen für Alnilam, Alnitak und Mintaka kommt aber nicht aus meinem Kopf, es ist das Zeichen der Gürtelsterne in Rongorongo, das vielleicht erst vor 200 Jahren entworfen wurde.

Alle Zeichen, die so ungemein leicht als Kanu oder als Keule, als ein Reimiro oder als ein Vogel, als ein Fisch oder Mensch etc. zu erkennen sind, wurden von allen Entzifferern auch als solche erkannt und übersetzt. Deshalb ist Rongorongo bisher nicht entziffert worden und deshalb gibt es bis heute keine einzige zutreffende Zeichendeutung, weil man davon ausging, alles ist das, was es darstellt. Niemand fand heraus, welchen der Dominosteine man anstoßen muß, um die Kettenreaktion auszulösen.

Die Zeichen in Rongorongo sind das Ensemble, das Nacht für Nacht eine wunderbare Vorstellung am Himmel gibt, die wir gleichermaßen bewundern und bestaunen dürfen. Alle Zeichen in Rongorongo sind nicht von dieser Welt. Sie sind Symbole für Sterne und Planeten. Sie treten auf in ihrer Rolle als „Milchstraße“ und als „Siebengestirn“, als weit entfernte Galaxien, die wir die Magellanschen Wolken nennen und in vielen anderen Rollen, aber immer ist jeder für sich der Hauptdarsteller.

Es gibt kein vergleichbares System mit Rongorongo. Deshalb ist die Entdeckung, daß alle Zeichen Symbole für die Sterne und Sternkonstellationen sind, die für Navigatoren von Bedeutung waren, nichts anderes als der erste Schritt in die richtige Richtung.

Nach meinen Ergebnissen haben wir ungefähr 120 Basiszeichen aus denen sich mehr als 1.500 Zeichenkombinationen bilden. Die nächsten Arbeitsschritte sind vorgegeben. Jedes der Basis-

zeichen muß in allen seinen Vorkommen untersucht werden. Das sind zwischen zwei und fünfhundert Vorkommen für ein einzelnes Zeichen. Selbstverständlich muß für jede Zeichenerklärung eine Sternkarte vorgelegt werden, aus der klar hervorgeht, an welchem Himmel und zu welcher Zeit sowie von welchem Blickpunkt aus der Navigator den Stern am Himmel in der Nacht sah. Das hat auch so zu geschehen für jede Zeichenkombination.

Rongorongo ist deshalb kein linguistisches Problem, wie es noch heutige Forscher vermuten, es ist ein astronomisches.

Rongorongo ist ein Netzwerk! Es gibt nur ganz wenige Zeichen, die erklärt werden können, ohne daß zwei, drei und mehr Zeichen gleichzeitig hinzugenommen werden müssen. Das ist ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der Verschlüsselungskonzeption. Es genügt nicht, zu wissen, daß dieses oder jenes Zeichen die Plejaden meint, Sirius, Aldebaran, Canopus etc., weil zwar der einzelne Stern auch von Bedeutung war, aber 95% der Notationen sind Sternkonstellationen.

Als ich die Bedeutung der meisten Zeichen kannte, die als Einzelzeichen vorkommen, wußte ich nichts über das System. Die Zeichenverbindungen waren deshalb so schwierig zu verstehen, weil man nicht einfach das eine Zeichen mit dem anderen verband sondern in der Regel nur einen Teil des einen mit einem Teil des anderen. Man muß alle Basiszeichen auswendig kennen, um zu er-

kennen, welche Zeichenverbindung auf welche Sterne verweist. Wer über ein grafisch geschultes Auge verfügt, sich in das grafische Konzept einarbeitet, hat gute Aussichten, konstruktive Arbeit zu leisten.

Rongorongo kann nach meiner Erkenntnis weder aus Karten noch über den Computer gelöst werden. Als *conditio sine qua non* nenne ich das Zauberwort „Planetarium“. Nur an diesem Ort kann fehlerfrei simuliert werden, was die Männer in den Booten sahen, als sie mit Beginn der Dunkelheit die Wege ihrer Ahnen studierten. Sie hatten weder bedrucktes Papier noch einen 17-Zoll Bildschirm, aber sie hatten bei guter Sicht 3.500 Sterne in einem 360° Winkel über sich.

Wenn wir uns deshalb nicht wenigstens Chancengleichheit schaffen, können wir den Sinn der Notationen nie verstehen.

Sternnavigation gab es nicht nur im Pazifik. Wir kennen aus polynesischen Überlieferungen keinen einzigen Kurs, der exakt die Sterne angibt, nach denen Nacht für Nacht navigiert wurde. Wissenschaftliche Literatur zu dem Problem liegt zwar vor, aber darin findet man nur Hypothesen, wie die Navigatoren es wohl angestellt haben könnten. Daß dieser oder jener Stern als Guiding star galt, ist eine astronomisch gesehen unvollständige Antwort. Zu welcher Zeit, an welchem Himmel und für welchen Kurs galt denn der Guiding Star? Wir wissen nichts darüber, wir kennen keine einzige Konzeption und die darüber geäußerten Vermutungen sind keine Beweise. Das könnte sich schlagartig ändern, wenn die in Rongorongo notierten Sterne und Sternkonstellationen vollständig entziffert sind. Bisher ist unser Wissen nur eine Spekulation darüber, wie man es möglicherweise angestellt haben könnte. Rongorongo erzählt uns, wie man es wirklich anstellte.

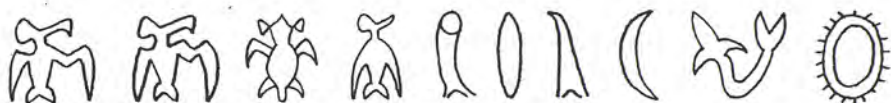
Quod erat demonstrandum.

### **Gleichberechtigung - die Zeichenkonzeption**

Alle Zeichen haben die gleiche Größe, unabhängig davon, was sie darstellen. Es gibt nichts in Rongorongo, das über irgendein Gestaltungsmerkmal hervorgehoben wurde. Auch Schrägstellungen gibt es nicht. Grundsätzlich gilt, daß alle Zeichen aufrecht im Winkel von 90° auf einer gedachten Grundlinie stehen. Dem Anschein nach fehlen Determinative. Deshalb scheint die Zeichenfolge endlos zu sein, nur begrenzt durch das Format der Tafel oder des Stabes. Rein aus dem Erscheinungsbild der Objekte sind keinerlei Auffälligkeiten zu erkennen.

Das erschien mir insofern seltsam, weil die polynesishe Gesellschaft stark hierarchisch gegliedert ist. Rongorongo läßt keine Spur einer hierarchischen Struktur erkennen. Bekanntlich führte ein gestalterisches Merkmal in den ägyptischen Hieroglyphen Champollion auf die richtige Spur. Er vermutete, daß die Zeichen, die in einer Kartusche standen, den Königsnamen enthalten könnten. Seine Annahme erwies sich als richtig. Solche oder ähnliche Hinweise fehlen gänzlich in Rongorongo. Einige Zeichenbeispiele von realistischen Vorlagen,

für die jeder Mensch eine sehr genaue Größenvorstellung hat, demonstrieren gut, was unter Gleichberechtigung aller Zeichen gemeint ist.



Bei der Zeichenerklärung beginne ich mit dem linken Zeichen. Es ist ein Vogel, möglicherweise ein Fregattvogel, was über seinen Schnabel erkennbar ist. Das folgende Zeichen scheint identisch zu sein mit dem ersten, denn worin liegt der Unterschied? Der zugegeben wirklich nur kleine Unterschied wurde in den vergangenen 130 Jahren Rongorongo-Forschung nicht erkannt. Das erste Zeichen zeigt einen Vogel, der einen Flügel weit von seinem Körper abgestellt hat, es ist also ein Vogel mit einem langen Flügel. Der zweite Vogel hat ein Problem, das ihn in der Natur zur leichten Beute werden läßt. Man muß genau hinsehen, denn sein herausgestreckter Flügel ist gebrochen.

Er ist ein Vogel mit einem gebrochenen Flügel. Daß beide Zeichen verschiedene Bedeutungen haben, ist selbstverständlich, sonst wäre es ja nicht erforderlich gewesen, derart feine und sehr schwierig in hartes Holz zu schneidende Details auszuführen. Das nächste Zeichen ist außerordentlich gut gelungen, denn man erkennt eine Meeresschildkröte. Woran erkennt man das? Es sind die flossenartigen Vordergliedmaßen, die gänzlich anders aussehen als Vogelflügel in Rongorongo.

Das nächste Zeichen ist eine kleine Seeschwalbe. Das folgende Zeichen bedarf keiner Erklärung. Jeder Leser hat es bereits richtig erkannt. Es folgt ein Kanu-Zeichen und auch das nächste ist ein Teil eines Kanu, nämlich nur ein Stück vom Bug. Es ist ein hochgestellter Kanubug. Das folgende Zeichen bedarf ebenfalls keiner weiteren Erklärung, denn es ist das, was es darstellen soll.

Dann folgt ein Hai, aber es ist ein besonders großer Hai. Alle Zeichen haben immer die gleiche Höhe. Durch die Körperbiegung und den hochgezogenen Schwanz erkennen wir den Hai sehr gut als einen besonders großen. Das letzte Zeichen ist mehr oder weniger rund und zeigt feine Linien rundherum. Es ist ein großes Auge. Verschiedene andere Zeichen in Rongorongo zeigen die feinen Linien. Es ist eines der ältesten Ausdrucksmittel in der Kunst, mit dem Licht in Form von Lichtstrahlen dargestellt werden kann, wenn Farbe nicht vorhanden ist. Also ist das Zeichen auch kein normales Auge, es ist ein hell leuchtendes Auge für einen sehr hellen Planeten in Rongorongo.

Die zahlreichen kleinsten Details an verschiedenen Zeichen haben stets eine Bedeutung. Man muß sehr genau hinsehen und versuchen herauszufinden, was der Meister wirklich kerbte und sich zurückhalten mit subjektiven Einschätzungen. Die Zeichen sind nicht zu verstehen über das, was jemand glaubt darin zu erkennen, sondern nur durch möglichst genaue formenkundliche Untersuchungen. Bisher wurde eine solche Arbeit noch nicht geleistet. Zu welchen eklatanten Fehldeutungen das aber führte, erklärt das folgende Kapitel.

## Grafische Ökonomie als unbekannte Chiffriertechnik

Alle Objekte sind hervorragend gestaltet. Es gibt keine Freiräume zwischen den Zeichenfolgen. Sehr viel mehr Zeichen als bisher erkannt wurden sind entgegen ihrer Normalposition geschrieben. Bei einigen Zeichen ist das ganz offensichtlich erkennbar, wie z.B. bei dem Zeichen, das ein Pektoral, Reimiro genannt, darstellt. Angeblich war auf der Osterinsel solcher Brustschmuck nur den Ariki (Häuptlingen) vorbehalten. (Métraux: 1938) Getragen wurde er an einer Schnur hängend quer vor der Brust. In Rongorongo ist sein Zeichen entgegen dieser Normalposition hochgestellt:



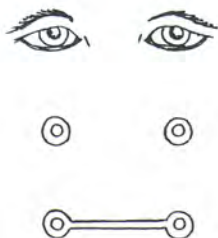
Damit erreichte man zwei Effekte. Hätte man das Zeichen in seiner Größe belassen, aber in die Normalposition auf die gedachte Grundlinie gestellt, wäre ein störender Freiraum oberhalb des Zeichens entstanden, der das geschlossene Bild der Notationen erheblich gestört hätte, wie die Abbildung zeigt:



Weil es weitere solcher Zeichen gibt, die alle so seltsame Löcher hinterlassen hätten, wäre aber nicht nur der Gesamteindruck negativ beeinträchtigt, es wäre auch wertvolle Fläche vergeudet worden. Alle Zeichen, die nicht in ihrer Normalposition erkannt werden, führen zwangsläufig zu Mißdeutungen. So erkannte Barthel (1958) in dem folgenden Zeichen ein stilisiertes Schneckenhorn:

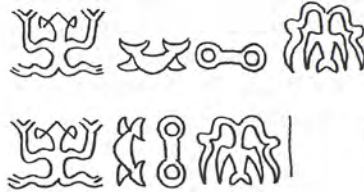


Stellt man das Zeichen waagerecht, erkennt man sogleich die Bedeutung. Zum besseren Verständ-nis für alle, die sich in grafischer Gestaltung nicht so gut auskennen, habe ich eine kleine Zeichnung angelegt, die demonstrieren soll, wie sich aus dem realistischen Vorbild die grafisch verkürzte Form zum Zeichen hin entwickelt:



Es ist ein Augenpaar und hat die Bedeutung Matariki, das heißt übersetzt kleine Augen und ist ein in Polynesien weit verbreiteter Name für die Plejaden.

Wenn in einer Notation das Reimiro und das Augenpaar in ihrer Normalposition oder in ihrer hochgestellten Form nebeneinanderstehen, wird erkenntlich, was ich die grafische Ökonomie nenne:



Der ästhetische Eindruck in der unteren Zeile ist wesentlich besser und man hat wertvolle Schreibfläche gewonnen.

Bei solchen unübersehbaren Hinweisen besteht weitaus mehr als nur ein Verdacht, daß es weitere Zeichen gibt, die erst zu erkennen sind, wenn man sie in ihre Normalposition bringt. Aber bisher hat kein Rongorongo-Forscher formenkundliche Untersuchungen angestellt. Warum eigentlich nicht?

Die Antwort liegt auf der Hand, denn grafische Spezialstudien muß ein Grafiker machen. Ein Linguist oder Ethnologe kann das nicht, weil ihm logischerweise die Kenntnisse fehlen. Deshalb wurden ja auch alle die Zeichen - bis auf das Reimiro - nicht erkannt, die sich erst dann zu erkennen geben, wenn man sie in ihre normale Position stellt.

Barthel (1958) glaubte in dem nachfolgenden Zeichen ein kleines, langbeiniges Huhn zu erkennen.

Die meisten seiner Zeichendeutungen erklärte er damit: „Unter dem Zeichen X kann man sich gut . . . vorstellen“. Für das Verständnis der Zeichen ist sicher auch Fantasie erforderlich, aber keine solche, die in die Zeichen hineininterpretiert sondern aus den Zeichen abliest, was sie wirklich darstellen. Der von Barthel als Huhn erkannte Vogel ist eine fliegende Ente. Wie sich aus dem realistischen Flugbild als Zeichenvorlage auch hier die grafisch verkürzte Form zum Zeichen hin entwickelt, habe ich zeichnerisch dargestellt:



Die Ente fliegt von links nach rechts. Wird ihr Zeichen gebraucht, um von rechts nach links zu fliegen, wird das Zeichen ganz einfach umgedreht:



Auch für die Ente gilt, daß ihre Normalposition sofort als ein fliegender Vogel erkennbar ist. Wer sich aber in solchen relativ einfachen grafischen Tricks auskennt, wird auf die bewußt auch falsch gelegte Spur kaum hereinfallen. Daß solche Tricks vorzüglich arbeiten, beweist die Tatsache, daß diese Zeichen bisher nicht erkannt wurden. Die grafische Ökonomie verhinderte, daß wertvolle Schreibfläche vergeudet wurde, aber viel wichtiger scheint zu sein, daß die Meister eben auch darüber eine sehr intelligente Chiffriertechnik nutzten.

Die Zeichenverdoppelung ist eine notwendige Form für die astronomischen Notationen. Es gab keine andere Möglichkeit dafür. In der Regel bedeutet sie die obere Kulmination eines Sterns oder einer Sternkonstellation in der Nacht. Aber es gibt noch weitere Bedeutungen, auf die ich hier nicht eingehe. Das wird zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt sehr ausführlich zu behandeln sein.

Die einfachste Form einer Zeichenverdoppelung besteht darin, daß man zwei gleiche Zeichen nicht nur nebeneinander stellte sondern sie miteinander verband, also z.B. in dieser Form:



Auch zwei Vogel-Zeichen lassen sich natürlich so verbinden, daß sie als Einheit verstanden werden können und somit ein eigenständiges Zeichen werden:



Um keine Zeichenverdoppelung handelt es sich, wenn ein Doppelkanu als Zeichen in Rongorongo gebraucht wurde. Dafür mußten zwei Kanus verbunden werden, weil zwei nur als Einzelzeichen nebeneinanderstehende Kanus nicht als Doppelkanu erkannt werden können. Das erkennt man nur in dieser Form:



Wie löst man aber das Problem, die obere Kulmination eines Kanus darzustellen, wenn die Zeichenverdoppelung das ausdrückt? Die Meister lösten das Problem genial, so:



In das Zeichen des einfachen Kanu kerbten sie ein zweites, etwas kleineres, womit sofort der Eindruck entsteht, daß es sich um ein eigenes Zeichen handelt. Die Fläche für das zweite Kanu ist voll eingespart und die Täuschung hervorragend gelungen.

Ich habe solche Befunde auch erst nach vielen Jahren eigener Forschung klären können. Sie schärfen ungemein den Blick für ähnliche Tricks in Rongorongo.

Was ich grafische Tricks nenne, darf nicht in einem negativen Sinn falsch verstanden werden. Eigentlich ist es mehr das grafische Handwerk, das die Meister sehr gut beherrschten. Hat man ihre Technik erkannt und verstanden, untersucht man die Zeichen aus einer anderen Sicht. Es ist vergleichbar mit dem Malstil, den jeder Künstler hat. Wer nur einige Bilder von van Gogh kennt, wird ein Bild des Meisters, das er vorher nicht kannte, an dem für diesen Maler so typischen Stil sogleich erkennen. Wer sich in die grafische Konzeption von Rongorongo einarbeitet, erkennt erst dann das wahre Meaning of Design der Zeichen, weil er die Denk- und Arbeitsweise derer erlernte, die einst das System erfanden. Rongorongo konnte nach meiner Überzeugung überhaupt nicht entziffert werden, weil es bisher keine Untersuchung des grafischen Tatbestandes gab. Wie kann ein solches System auch nur in Teilen entziffert sein, wenn so gut wie alle Zeichen bisher falsch gedeutet wurden?

Das folgende Beispiel einer Zeichnverdoppelung scheint eine Aufgabe zu sein, die ohne zwei miteinander verbundene gleiche Zeichen überhaupt nicht zu lösen ist. Aber das Zeichen gibt es nicht in Rongorongo.

Wie läßt sich das nachfolgende Zeichen verdoppeln?



Drei Winkel sitzen oben auf einem Stabzeichen. Setze ich nun zwei Zeichen nebeneinander, entsteht dieses Zeichen:



Ein solches Zeichen gibt es nicht in Rongorongo. Wenn ich nur die drei Winkel verdoppel und auf ein Stabzeichen setze, sieht das so aus:



Aber das ist kein Zeichen, das ist ein grafisches Monstrum im Vergleich zu den eleganten, spielerischen und formal harmonischen Zeichen, die Rongorongo zur Kunst erheben.

So geht es nicht und deshalb gibt es auch nicht ein solches Monstrum.

Es ist so unendlich einfach das Zeichen zu verdoppeln, nämlich so:



Der zweite Winkel ist zerlegt und jeweils rechts und links mit nur einem Strich an die vorhandenen drei Winkel angebunden. Nun zeigen die beiden dadurch entstandenen Winkel zwar nach unten, aber aus drei Winkeln sind deutlich erkennbar sechs geworden. Wenn die Anzahl drei zu verdoppeln ist, entsteht die neue Menge sechs. Wo also ist das Problem?

Es gibt in Rongorongo viel mehr außergewöhnliche grafische Lösungen, als ich hier vorstellen kann. Meisterhafte grafische Lösungen!

## Über Simplifikation zum Chaos

Meine Behauptung, daß es einfach ist, die Zeichen leicht zu erkennen, weil sie sich so bildhaft zeigen, klingt unglaublich. Bildhafte Zeichen gibt es auch in anderen Schriften, die in der Regel dann aber so verstanden wurden, wie es ihrem Bild entspricht. Fische, Vögel, Menschen, Waffen, Boote usw. sind als stilisierte Zeichen in Rongorongo und vielen anderen Schriftsystemen zu finden.

Weil bildhafte Zeichen so leicht zu erkennen sind, eignen sie sich eigentlich nicht, um damit Informationen zu speichern, die anderen nicht zugänglich sein sollten. Das wußten auch die Erfinder von Rongorongo, denn die erste Hürde bauten sie über die Konzeption: Nichts ist je es selbst. Aber das kann man herausfinden. Deshalb bauten sie eine Hürde nach der anderen, so daß am Ende des Parcours ein unverständliches Chaos blieb, das nur der Eingeweihte als Ordnungssystem erkennen konnte. Dabei setzten die Meister auf Simplifikation in der berechtigten Annahme, daß ihre bildhaften Zeichen so verstanden werden, wie es in den vergangenen 130 Jahren auch geschah.

Für die meisten Zeichen in Rongorongo gibt es Erklärungen oder Deutungen. Wenn ich über meine Forschungen in allen Fällen zu ganz anderen Erklärungen komme, ist das doch noch längst kein Beweis dafür, daß meine Erklärungen zutreffen. Für dieses Zeichen



gab Heine-Geldern (1938) an, daß er es mit Augen (*mata*) verstand, Barthel (1958) sah darin ein stilisiertes Schneckenhorn (*pu*) und ich gebe an, daß das Zeichen *matariki* (*kleine Augen*) bedeutet, ein weit verbreiteter Name für die Plejaden in Polynesien und Mikronesien, wobei ich auf die unterschiedlichen Schreibweisen nicht näher eingehe.

In allen Variationen finden sich gerade 36 Vorkommen dieses Zeichens. Als Solo-Zeichen ist es nur mit 26 Vorkommen unter ca. 12.000 Zeichen zu finden, die auf allen erhaltenen Objekten erkennbar sind. Was bedeutet das?

Nehmen wir an, daß für die Plejaden nur dieses Zeichen der kleinen Augen in Rongorongo verzeichnet wäre, und daß es auch für Sirius, Canopus, die Milchstraße u.v.m. immer nur ein einziges Zeichen geben würde, dann wäre Rongorongo längst entziffert. Bildhafte Zeichen taugen nicht für geheime Botschaften oder Informationen. Wer die Bedeutung solcher Zeichen kennt, kann das ganze System leicht verstehen. Diese Schwachstelle muß den Meistern bekannt gewesen sein, denn ihre Antwort darauf hieß: Vielfalt gegen Einfachheit. Für die Plejaden und für alle Sterne und Planeten, für alles das, was Nacht für Nacht am Himmel zu beobachten ist, gab es sehr viele verschiedene bildhafte Namen. Aus diesem Namensfundus bezogen die Meister die Vorlagen für alle ihre Zeichen. Damit konnte vermieden werden, daß einzelne Zeichen viele Vorkommen aufweisen. Die Plejaden sind in Rongorongo mit über 250 Vorkommen vertreten, denn es gibt weitere Zeichen, mit denen man das Siebengestirn notieren konnte.

Aber auch diese Namen enthalten bildhafte Vorstellungen, die leicht in eine grafisch verkürzte Form als Zeichen gebracht werden können. Damit stehen wir nun wieder am Anfang, denn diese Zeichen können unproblematisch erkannt werden. Dagegen wußten die Meister ein vorzügliches Konzept zu setzen. Sie vermieden nicht nur, stets ein einziges Zeichen für einen Stern zu setzen, möglicherweise machten sie aus der Not heraus eine Tugend.

Ich hatte die Hoffnung, daß ich die Zeichen aus dem Sternwissen erklären könnte, das wir z.B. von Hawai'i oder Samoa usw. aus zahlreichen Überlieferungen kennen. Dann mußte ich sehr schnell feststellen, daß es so nicht funktionierte. Die Frage, ob Astronomen in Hawai'i oder anderswo Rongorongo überhaupt einzig aus ihrem Sternwissen heraus hätten erfinden können, ist wohl nicht zu beantworten. Aber ich kann mit Sicherheit angeben, daß dann Rongorongo nur in kleinen Teilen zu verstehen wäre, weil wir nicht genug Namen kennen, die alle Zeichen erklären könnten. Woher kommen überhaupt die unterschiedlichen Namen für polynesischen Sternbilder und andere Sternkonstellationen? Das ist weder ein Geheimnis noch eine Forschungslücke. Die Besiedlung aller Inseln im Pazifik ging von Insel-Asien aus über den Nord- und Südstrang, das ist eine Theorie. Über die Gesellschaftsinseln nach Norden bis Hawai'i und nach Süden bis Neuseeland, ist eine andere Theorie zur Besiedlung Polynesiens. Sicher scheint zu sein, daß zuerst Mikronesien und am Schluß dieser Völkerwanderung Neuseeland in Besitz genommen wurde. Die Siedler brachten nicht nur Nutzpflanzen und Haustiere mit in die neue Heimat, sie brachten auch die alten Traditionen und Rituale, die überlieferten Atua und das Sternwissen mit. An diesem Punkt kann eine weitere Hürde zum Verständnis von Rongorongo erkannt und „übersprungen“ werden. Irgendwann stellte ich fest, daß ich aus dem reichhaltigen Repertoire polynesischer Sternnamen am Ende meiner Zeichen-erklärungen stand. Als ich dann in Mikronesien suchte, kam ich wieder „in Tritt“. Sternwissen als Astronomie und Astrologie galt überall in Ozeanien als geheimes Wissen, das nur den Ariki und Tohunga vorbehalten war. Auf der Wanderung von Nord nach Süd ging das alte Wissen nicht verloren, aber die Maori mußten für einige Sterne und Sternkonstellationen neue Legenden erfin-

den, weil sie von nördlichen Breiten aus nie zu sehen waren. In Rongorongo steckt als Teil der Chiffrierkonzeption die Namensvielfalt aus Insel-Asien bis Neuseeland. Damit verfügten die Meister über genug bildhafte Zeichenvorlagen für ihr System. Wir gehen davon aus, daß nur die Maori das ganze tradierte Sternwissen besaßen, das sie aus Indonesien, Mikronesien und Polynesien bis nach Neuseeland als geheime Wissenschaft mitbrachten. In Rongorongo ist dieses Wissen wiederzufinden mit einem deutlichen Übergewicht des Sternwissens, was Elsdon Best u.a. bei den Maori in Erfahrung bringen konnten. Die *Zeichenvielfalt* in Rongorongo ist also eine Folge der *Namensvielfalt*. Nur wer das ganze Sternwissen kennt, beginnend in Insel-Asien, kann die Zeichen verstehen. Die Maori dürften als Erfinder des Systems natürlich nicht gelten, wenn es nicht viele der bildhaften Vorstellungen als Zeichen in Rongorongo gäbe, die aus ihrem Sternwissen erklärbar sind. So hätten die alten Astronomen in Polynesien sicher weite Teile von Rongorongo verstehen können, aber wohl kaum die vielen Zeichen, die eben nur aus Maori-Traditionen heraus erklärt werden können.

Weil die Tohunga-Kokorangi, wie man die sternkundigen Männer der Maori Neuseelands nannte, über ein großes Repertoire bildhafter Sternnamen verfügten, konnten sie locker die Schwachstelle übergehen, die in einer Zeichenarmut gegeben wäre.

Bevor ich auf weitere Hürden eingehe, die wirklich sehr raffiniert konstruiert wurden, möchte ich noch mehr über matariki erklären, aus dem dann für den Leser ein besseres Verständnis über Rongorongo entstehen kann.

Die Solo-Zeichen enthalten grundsätzlich keine Angaben zur Navigation, d.h. zu allen für den Navigator relevanten Fakten, nach denen er den Kurs hätte bestimmen können. Aber Solo-Zeichen sind mit höchstens fünf Prozent vertreten, in der Regel haben wir es mit Zeichenkombinationen zu tun. Zeichenverbindungen oder -kombinationen kann man aber nur dann verstehen, wenn man sie zunächst in ihre Bestandteile zerlegt. Sind alle daran beteiligten Zeichen bereits zu verstehen, können auch sehr komplizierte Verbindungen erklärt werden. Fehlt nur ein Glied in dieser Kette, kann nichts verstanden und erklärt werden. Es führt also kein Weg daran vorbei, alle am System beteiligten Darsteller identifiziert zu haben, weil sonst Rongorongo nur fragmentarisch zu verstehen ist.

Die Meister verdienen ein dickes Kompliment für diese Technik der Verschlüsselung.

Meine weiteren Ausführungen können viel besser verstanden werden, wenn ich kurz gefaßt erkläre, nach welcher Methode ich gearbeitet habe und worin der Unterschied besteht zu allen bisher praktizierten Konzeptionen.

Barthel erkannte in dem Zeichen ein Schneckenhorn, weil er es sich über seine Fantasie vorstellen konnte. Er bestimmte praktisch alle seine Zeichen dadurch, daß er vorgab, man könne sich unter diesem oder jenem Zeichen sehr gut dieses oder jenes vorstellen. Mit anderen Worten hatte Barthel über sein Vorstellungsvermögen in die Zeichen *hineininterpretiert* und nicht aus den Zeichen das abgelesen, was sie wirklich darstellen. Ich habe keine Zeichen bestimmt, sondern sie in Rongo-rongo gesucht. Also mußte ich ein Zeichen finden, das

kleine Augen überzeugend darstellt. Am Anfang konnte ich deshalb nur mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit davon ausgehen, daß unter allen den Zeichen, die als Kandidaten für kleine Augen galten, meine Entscheidung richtig war. Aber den Beweis konnte ich erst dann führen, als ich so gut wie alle Zeichen in ihrer Bedeutung erkannt hatte.

Rongorongo ist ein Netzwerk, alle Zeichen sind untereinander verwoben, denn das einzelne Zeichen richtig erkannt, genügt nicht, um das System zu begreifen. Ich habe die bildhaften Namen von Sternen und Sternbildern über ihre Zeichen in Rongorongo gesucht und nicht über meine Fantasie bestimmt, daß Zeichen irgendetwas darstellen, was doch möglicherweise nur ich mir darunter vorstellen konnte.

Das ist eigentlich schon alles, was darüber zu sagen wäre.

Auf der Großen und Kleinen St. Petersburgtafel und der Großen Santiagotafel findet man matariki verbunden mit einem anderen Zeichen in dieser Form:



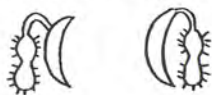
Die Frage lautet, ist die Verbindung der zwei Zeichen zu verstehen als eine Verbindung zwischen den Plejaden und X oder ist das zweite Zeichen ein Namensbestandteil?

Ich habe gelernt, daß Zeichen mit nur wenigen Vorkommen, in diesem Fall drei, nicht zu den Stern- Standardformationen zählen, die sich fast auf allen zwanzig Objekten finden lassen. Deshalb ist es wahrscheinlicher, daß die Verbindung der zwei Zeichen einen Namen für matariki bedeutet oder einen Namen für X. Mit unbekannten Größen können Mathematiker umgehen, für das Verständnis von Rongorongo sind solche Feststellungen unbrauchbar.

Damit ist eine weitere Hürde erkannt. Zeichenverbindungen sind entweder *Sternverbindungen* oder sie sind ein *Namensbestandteil*. Eine dritte Möglichkeit habe ich nicht gefunden.

Weitverbreitete Sternnamen sind populistische Namen und ganz sicher nicht das geheime Wissen der Astronomen in Ozeanien. Solche Namen in bildhafte Zeichen umzusetzen birgt die Gefahr, daß sie leicht von anderen verstanden werden. Die 26 Solo-Zeichen für matariki sind eindeutig zu bestimmen, die weiteren zehn in Verbindung mit anderen Zeichen aber nicht, wie ich eben erklärt habe.

Mit *marama-hue* gibt es einen weiteren populistischen Namen, der für den Vollmond bekannt war. Marama ist ein Sammelbegriff für den Mond und hue ein Name für den Flaschenkürbis. Natürlich gibt es sehr viele Mondzeichen und auch ein Zeichen, daß einen Flaschenkürbis darstellt. Aus der Verbindung beider Zeichen wird der Name des Vollmondes geschrieben, so:



In Hawai'i war einer der Namen für Sirius, den hellsten Fixstern am Himmel, Lono (Rongo bei den Maori), für den Johnson/Mahelona (1975) angeben: symbolized as a gourd (Ipu-o-Lono).

Selbstverständlich ist eine Verbindung zwischen dem Mond und Sirius als Navigationsangabe unmöglich. In diesem Fall ist deshalb zweifelsfrei die Zeichenverbindung als Name zu verstehen.

Solche Schwachstellen vermieden die Meister, so sind es auch nur zwei Vorkommen, die den Namen des Vollmondes nennen in Verbindung mit dem Kürbis-Zeichen.

Rongorongo wäre bereits zum Zeitpunkt der Entdeckung 1864 auf der Osterinsel in Polynesien in Teilen zu entziffern gewesen, weil viele dafür notwendige Informationen vorlagen. Für Amerikaner und Europäer standen solche Informationen erst später zur Verfügung, weil sie in einzelnen Fällen erst einhundert Jahre später, nachdem sie aufgeschrieben waren, auch veröffentlicht wurden.

Bereits zwölf Jahre nach der Entdeckung von Rongorongo erschien 1876 das Standardwerk von W.W. Gill: *Myth and Songs from the South Pacific*.

Er berichtete von einem Brauch in Mangaia im Zusammenhang mit Drachen. Die oft sehr kunstvoll gearbeiteten Drachen erhielten Schwänze, die mit Federbüscheln geschmückt waren. Drei solcher Federbüschel an einem Drachenschwanz galten als Grußbotschaft den drei Gürtelsternen im Orion, vier Federbüschel galten den himmlischen Zwillingen im Sternbild Scorpius und sechs an einem Drachenschwanz befestigte Federbüschel galten den in der Regel sichtbaren sechs Plejadensternen. Gill beschrieb und zeichnete auch die Form der Drachen. In diesem Zusammenhang interessiert jetzt nur der Drachen, der den Plejaden galt.

Bei Gill ist die Abbildung korrekt im Hochformat, ich zeige diesen Drachen im Querformat, weil er sonst zuviel Platz einnimmt:



Es gibt in Rongorongo Zeichen, die diese Drachenschwänze zeigen. Für drei, vier und sechs Federbüschel hatte Gill die Erklärung geliefert, aber es gibt viele Zeichen mit fünf Federbüscheln, dafür mußte ich die Erklärung selbst finden. Das war relativ einfach, denn wenn drei Federbüschel drei Sterne symbolisieren, vier und sechs solcher Federbüschel die jeweils gleiche Anzahl Sterne meinen, dann sind fünf davon mit fünf Sternen zu identifizieren.

Die Zeichen der Drachenschwänze, wie ich vorschlage, alle solche Zeichen künftig zu nennen, gibt es in keinem Vorkommen als Solo-Zeichen, sie sind stets mit anderen Zeichen verbunden.

Aber allen Zeichen gemeinsam ist, daß sie eine wichtige Information verraten, wenn man nur genau hinsieht. Ich bespreche jetzt nur das Zeichen mit den sechs Federbüscheln, weil hier nur die Plejaden das Thema sind.

Das Zeichen wird in vier unterschiedlichen Formen in Rongorongo eingesetzt:



Damit es verständlicher wird, habe ich das Zeichen als Solo-Zeichen gezeichnet, obwohl es das so nicht gibt. Es ist deutlich erkennbar, daß das Zeichen oben und unten an ein anderes Zeichen angebunden werden kann, daß die kleinen Winkel von oben nach unten zeigen und umgekehrt.

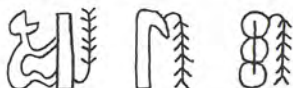
Zwar hatte bereits Jaussen 1872 von dem Scharlatan Metoro das Zeichen erklärt bekommen als eine Schnur, an der Federbüschel hängen, aber der Bischof konnte die Arbeit von Gill ja noch nicht kennen, weil sie erst vier Jahre später erschien. Barthel (1958) erklärte dieses Zeichen



als realistisches Abbild der mit Federn geschmückten Stäbe, die anlässlich des jährlichen Rongo-rongo-Festivals dem Ariki vom Volk geschenkt wurden.

Alle kleinen Details an den Zeichen, und natürlich auch solche Unterschiede, wie sie an dem Zeichen der Plejaden über Anbindung und Richtung der Winkel erkennbar sind, konnte vor Barthel kein Rongorongo-Forscher erklären. Barthel behauptete dagegen, daß solche Kleinigkeiten unerheblich sind. Auch Métraux (1938), hatte das bereits vor Barthel kategorisch erklärt.

Nur drei Beispiele genügen, um selbst zu erkennen, wie leicht ein solcher Tatbestand übersehen werden kann:

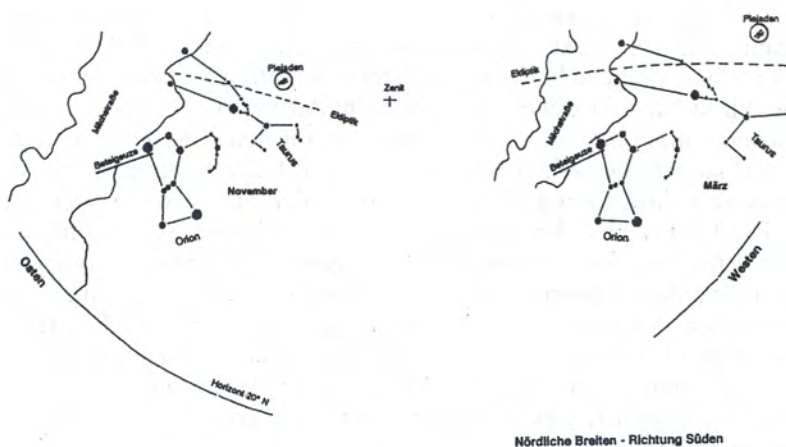


Die Erklärung der Anbindung und der Winkelstellung ist verblüffend einfach. Rongorongo notiert nicht, daß es diesen und jenen Stern gibt, daß Planeten und die Milchstraße am Himmel in der Nacht zu beobachten sind, Rongorongo notiert keine Texte sondern Sternformationen zur Navigation im Pazifik. Das geht aber nur, wenn *Positionen* aller Objekte so gekennzeichnet sind, daß man die Notationen auch am Himmel wiederfinden kann.

Das erste Zeichen mit der unteren Anbindung der Plejaden und der abwärts gerichteten Winkel ist eine Formation zwischen Beteigeuze und den Plejaden. Die an einem Stab oder einer Stütze sitzende Person bedeutet: „*The Pillar to sit by*“ und ist eines der Zeichen für Beteigeuze. *Ana-varu* war einer der Namen für diesen Stern, den eine alte Frau in Bora Bora 46 Jahre vor der Entdeckung von Rongorongo, also bereits 1822, im Zusammenhang mit Sternmythen zu Protokoll gab.

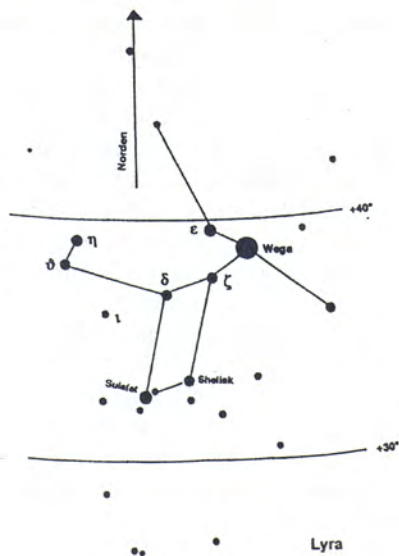
Die Bewegung des Zeichens für Beteigeuze ist ausgerichtet nach rechts. Orion und die Plejaden kommen ab Oktober von nördlichen Breiten aus gesehen an

den Südhimmel und bewegen sich im Laufe einer Nacht, sowie während ihrer gesamten Sichtbarkeit bis Ende März, von links nach rechts. Die Plejaden befinden sich immer *oberhalb* von Beteigeuze und *rechts* von dem Stern, wie die Sternkarte zeigt.



Nördliche Breiten - Richtung Süden

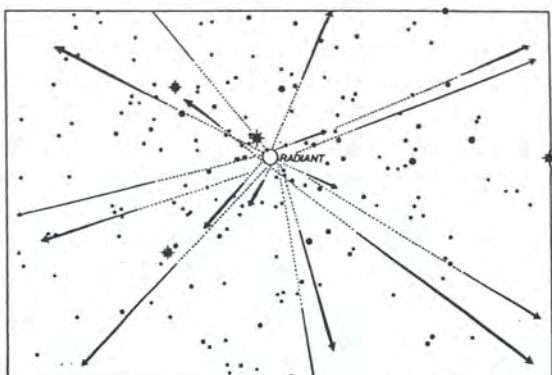
Das zweite Zeichen in Verbindung mit den Plejaden ist zweifelsfrei ein Steinbeil. Als Solo-Zeichen ist es eines der Zeichen für den Alpha Stern im Sternbild *Lyra*, nämlich *Wega* (Emory: 1965).



Alle astronomischen Einzelheiten, die wir heute über Sterne kennen, sind für das Verständnis der Sternnavigation in Rongorongo *nicht* von Bedeutung. Doppelsterne, wie z.B. der Stern Epsilon im Sternbild Lyra, der mit großen Teleskopen betrachtet sogar ein Doppelsystem ist, also aus vier Sternen besteht, werden von mir nur als ein einzelner Stern gezeichnet. Sterne bis zur sechsten Größenordnung sind theoretisch sichtbar, natürlich nur unter besten Sichtbedingungen. Sogar dann kann sie ein sternunkundiger Betrachter nicht finden, wenn er es nicht gelernt hat, sie gezielt zu suchen. Sternnavigation ist *keine* Sternbeobachtung, wie wir sie uns vorstellen. Es geht nicht darum, so viele Sterne wie möglich zu sehen, einzig und allein die Sterne, die für den Kurs gebraucht werden, müssen permanent beobachtet werden. Die Kunst der Navigatoren bestand in der selektiven Wahrnehmung. Unter ganz optimalen Sichtbedingungen auf einer Insel im Pazifik hat man den Eindruck, daß es Millionen Sterne sind, die man vorher noch nie sah. Sich in einem voll ausgesternten Himmel zu orientieren, muß erlernt werden. Theorie nutzt nichts, ausschließlich „learning by doing“ galt, zusammen mit einem „grafischen Auge“, daß jedwede Konfiguration schnell lernt und für immer speichert. Navigator konnten nur wenige sein, denn dafür brauchte man Talent. In allen Wüsten dieser Welt - und damit natürlich auch in der Wasserwüste des Südmeers - gilt die eherne Regel, daß man einen Fehler nur einmal machen kann.

Nicht jeder Sternname ist als ein Zeichen in Rongorongo zu finden und längst nicht alles, was wir über die Sterne wissen aus der alten Zeit, war für Navigatoren wichtig. Die Maori nannten Wega *Whanui*, und erklärten, daß er als ein *whetu-rangi-tira* galt, das bedeutet, daß Wega zu den Sternen mit dem höchsten Rang gezählt wurde. Das konnte ja auch nicht anders sein, denn Wega ist der fünft hellste Stern am Himmel. Das ist aber keineswegs das Wichtigste über Wega. Die Maori wußten das, denn sie erklärten: *Whanui is credited with sending down each year to earth his kumara (sweet potato) children.*

Es ist erstaunlich, daß so wenige astronomische Kenntnisse in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur über Ozeanien zu finden sind, daß aber eine Astronomin, nämlich Maud Makemson (1941), aus deren Arbeit die hier genannten Angaben kommen, auch nicht in der Lage war, ganz einfach zu erklären, was die Maori wirklich meinten mit den Süßkartoffeln, die *Whanui* Jahr für Jahr auf die Erde schickte, ist denn doch außerordentlich verwunderlich. Natürlich flogen keine Kartoffeln als Sperrfeuer vom Himmel. Niemand mußte sich und seine Familie in Deckung bringen, wenn der Zirkus begann. *Whanui* entsorgte auch nicht in wiederkehrender Regelmäßigkeit seine Kinder per Abwurf auf Maoriland. Jedes Jahr zwischen dem 19. bis 25. April begann das Schauspiel der *Lyriden* mit dem Maximum am 21. oder 22. April. Dieser einst gewaltige Meteorstrom läßt sich 2.500 Jahre zurückverfolgen. Am 27. März im Jahre 15 v.u.Z. gab es sogar ein sehr spektakuläres Ereignis am Himmel, denn man berichtete, daß „die Sterne wie Regen niedergingen“. Heutige Astronomen nehmen an, daß der Komet *Thatcher* 1861 mit den *Lyriden* in Zusammenhang gebracht werden könnte. Wahrscheinlich hat dieser Komet seine besten Jahre hinter sich, denn heute sind es schlaife 15 Meteore pro Stunde.



Die Mitglieder eines Meteorstromes scheinen alle aus einem kleinen Bereich des Himmels zu kommen, dem Radianten. Die Karte zeigt den Radiant der Lyriden. Der Stern oberhalb des Radianten ist Wega.

Die Menschen in Ozeanien hatten als Philosophie das Kausalitätsprinzip, das besagt, daß jede Ursache eine Wirkung haben muß, und daß es umgekehrt auch keine Wirkung ohne Ursache geben kann. Die Lyriden waren die sichtbare Wirkung, also mußte es auch eine Ursache geben. Weil Whanui im Zentrum des Spektakels stand, konnte schließlich nur dieser Atua dafür verantwortlich sein. Sie hätten auch angeben können, daß Whanui nur einmal im Jahr seinen Darm entleert. Ob Süßkartoffeln oder Fäkalien durch die Luft fliegen, ist dem Kausalitätsprinzip gleichgültig. Aber keine Erklärung zu haben, ist undenkbar aus der Sicht der Maori und aller anderen Menschen in Ozeanien. Es gibt nicht den geringsten Grund, in den Angaben der Maori über den Strom der Lyriden irgendeinen mystizistischen Hintergrund zu vermuten oder einen solchen hineinzuinterpretieren. Es handelt sich um die einfachste Erklärung eines Phänomens am Nachthimmel, die man sich vorstellen kann: Beobachtung mit bloßen Augen!

Sind die Lyriden in Rongorongo verzeichnet? Gibt es möglicherweise Zeichen für Kometen, Novae oder sogar die Supernovae von 1054 n.u.Z. (Krebsnebel) oder die beiden in Cassiopeia von 1182 und 1572 n.u. Z. usw.? Das sind scheinbar berechnete Fragen. Aber sie sind vollkommen unberechtigt, wenn man weiß, welche Kriterien in der Himmelsbeobachtung tatsächlich galten.

*Pau* erfuhr Alfred Métraux 1938 auf der Osterinsel als einen Sternnamen. Es sollte sich angeblich um einen im Oktober oder November aufgehenden Stern handeln mit ambivalenten Auswirkungen auf das irdische Geschehen. Der russische Rongorongo-Forscher, Sergei V. Rjabchikov (1994), behauptete, daß es sich dabei um den 1682 n.u.Z. von der Osterinsel aus sichtbaren Kometen *Halley* handeln würde, der nach seiner Vorstellung angeblich auf der Tafel *Mamari* verzeichnet ist. Er behauptete weiter, daß er damit den genauen Zeitpunkt des Krieges zwischen den Langohren und den Kurzohren herausgefunden hätte. Sowohl die Angabe von Métraux als auch die Spekulation von Rjabchikov sind un-

zutreffend. In *Hawai'i* tradierte man für *Ursa Maior* u.a. den Namen *Na-Hiku*, übersetzt „die Sieben“.

Makemson (1941) gab die Namen der sieben Sterne und die Autorität an, die über jeden Zweifel erhaben als eine seriöse Information gilt, weil sie zum Königshaus gehörte und deshalb über sehr viel Wissen aus alter Zeit verfügte:

Kahi - Alua - Kolu - Hana - Lima - Ono - and Pau, „finished“, according to *Liliuokalani*. (Sie war eine Prinzessin und wurde die erste und letzte Königin von Hawai'i.)

Wenn wir wüßten, in welcher Reihenfolge man die Sterne zählte, wüßten wir ganz genau, welcher Stern Pau im Sternbild des Großen Wagens ist, der bekanntlich nur ein Teil von *Ursa Maior* darstellt.

Rongorongo-Notationen kann niemand verstehen, der mit unserem naturwissenschaftlichem Verständnis von Astronomie an die Sache herangeht. Unsere Prioritäten sind gänzlich andere, als z.B. die der Maori. Der sehr gründliche Maori-Forscher Elsdon Best hatte Fragen gestellt, weil er wußte, daß ein Maori keinem Menschen Antworten aufzwingt. So erfuhr er, daß der Supergau am Himmel in der Nacht immer wieder auftrat. Das schlimmste Erlebnis im Leben eines Maori war, wenn völlig überraschend, böse Dämonen den Mond attackierten, ihn teilweise auffraßen, sogar sein Licht stehlen konnten und manchmal stundenlang mit dem *Zentralgestirn* aus Sicht der Maori kämpften. Man versuchte mit lautem Geschrei und sonstigem Getöse von der Erde aus die Dämonen zu verjagen. Seit Menschengedenken hatte das jedenfalls funktioniert, aber was wäre geschehen ohne die Hilfe der Menschen? Wenn es der Mond dann schließlich geschafft hatte, diese Bande von Dämonen zu besiegen, er wieder sein altes Aussehen und das Licht zurückerobert hatte, war das der Anlaß für tagelange Festivitäten im Maori-Land. Der Supergau am Himmel, das schlimmste Erlebnis für alle Maori, war also eine simple Mondfinsternis.

Wenn es nicht mindestens eine totale Bedeckung gibt, diese entweder vor oder nach der besten Sendezeit im Fernsehen zu beobachten ist, und nicht mitten in der Nacht, ziehen doch nur ein paar Astro-Freaks mit ihren Teleskopen aufs freie Feld. Wenn in der Milchstraße ein Stern den Geist aufgibt und das nach Sternenart mit viel Tohuwabohu tut, also die Qualität einer Supernova aufweist, würde sofort Hubble im All und die meisten VLT (Very Large Telescope) von der Erde aus in die Blickrichtung geführt.

Eine Sternexplosion wäre für uns heute wirklich eine spektakuläre Beobachtung. Für Maori war eine Supernova unbedeutend, belanglos, keine Rede wert. Warum diese Ignoranz? Weil jeder Papa und jede Mama in Ozeanien ihren lieben Kleinen genau erklären konnten, was sich da oben am Himmel wirklich abspielte. Es gibt keine Sterne für Maori, wie sollte dann etwas explodieren, was es überhaupt nicht gibt?

Was man am Himmel sieht sind Ahnen, vergöttlichte Ahnen, Atua genannt. Nach ihrem Tod auf der Erde lebten sie nach den völlig identischen irdischen Kriterien weiter. Sie feierten Feste, ganz so, wie zu Lebzeiten hier unten. Sie heirateten, zeugten Kinder, spielten, tanzten und verprügelten sich, erklärten Frieden und neuen Krieg. Ihr Leben am Himmel unterschied sich durch nichts

von ihrem Leben auf der Erde. Wenn in der Milchstraße eine Supernova erschienen wäre, so wäre das allemal kein einziges Wort wert, denn die Seelen derer, die keine Genealogie Zeit ihres Lebens aufweisen konnten, die höchst profanen Mitglieder des gemeinen Volkes - das war die Milchstraße. Wenn also plötzlich ein heller Stern entsteht, der sogar immer heller wird bis zu dem Augenblick, an dem er überhaupt nicht mehr sichtbar ist, dann war da oben ein Kampf zugange, den einer verloren hat. Auf Kriege verzichteten die Atua am Himmel so wenig, wie zu Lebzeiten auf der Erde.

Natürlich hatten auch die Menschen in Ozeanien die große Supernova von 1054 n.u.Z. beobachtet und gewiß - entsprechend ihren mündlichen Überlieferungen - mit diversen Ausschmückungen an ihre Nachfahren weitergegeben. Ich fand in der Literatur keine Beschreibung eines solchen Himmelspektakels. Ob die Maori 1054 bereits Neuseeland erobert hatten, wissen wir nicht. Wir gehen davon aus, daß das erst dreihundert oder vierhundert Jahre später stattfand.

Wenn ich angebe, warum die Maori eine Sternexplosion als ein unwichtiges Ereignis einstufen, war das für den Ariki und seine Tohunga aber Grund genug herauszufinden, welche Ahnen namentlich sich den Krieg erklärt hatten und vor allem, was es für die Menschen auf der Welt für Auswirkungen haben könnte. Stellen wir uns vor, daß in den ersten Nächten der Supernova die Schweinepest ausgebrochen wäre, dann hätte die Sternexplosion und alle folgenden ein klares Image. Aus der Sicht der Tohunga wäre es logisch erklärbar, daß der Krieg ihrer Ahnen am Himmel einen so gefährlichen Einfluß auf Schweine hat. *So sind Sternmythen entstanden*. Weder die Maori noch ein anderes Volk in Ozeanien kannten eine Religion, sie hatten keine Götter, Devotion war unbekannt - vor wem sollte man eine devotische Haltung einnehmen? Sie kannten keine Götzen, die sie anbeteten.

Ursache und Wirkung - auf der Grundlage von Naturbeobachtungen - zu erklären, genügte ihnen vollkommen. Abstrakte Denkweisen waren ihnen zuwider. Alle zufälligen, nicht berechenbaren Ereignisse am Himmel, wie Kometen und Meteorschwärme, wie Novae und Supernovae, Mond- und Sonnenfinsternisse usw. sind - und das muß doch jedem Menschen verständlich sein - vollkommen ungeeignet, um sie als Navigationsmerkmale in Rongorongo zu notieren. Die berechenbaren Fixsterne, und in gewisser Weise auch die Planeten, weil diese sich bekanntlich in der Nähe der Ekliptik bewegen, waren die einzigen zuverlässigen Daten zur Navigation. Wenn es seit Menschengedenken jedes Jahr und immer an der gleichen Stelle am Himmel eine Nova gegeben hätte, wäre das als ein Zeichen in Rongorongo von mir entdeckt worden.

Nun sollte jeder Leser erkannt haben, daß in Rongorongo nichts notiert worden sein kann, was sich nicht über 5.000 Jahre Sternbeobachtung als eine *rechenbare, zuverlässige Konstante* erwiesen hat.

Weil die Maori angaben, daß sie Tausend und mehr außergewöhnliche Beobachtungen im Laufe eines Jahres am Himmel in der Nacht registrierten, stößt das auf höchste Skepsis unter heutigen Astronomen. Es gibt ganz einfach nicht Tausend außergewöhnliche Beobachtungen im Laufe eines Jahres. Die sternkundigen Männer in Ozeanien kannten aber nicht die zahlreichen meteorologi-

schen, ganz normalen Vorgänge, von denen wir wissen, das sie jede Sternbeobachtung wesentlich beeinflussen. Ich erinnere mich sehr gut an eine Nacht auf der Osterinsel, in der buchstäblich alle Sterne am Himmel „tanzten“. Ich wußte, daß es sich um außerordentlich feuchte Luftschichten handelte, die in starker Bewegung waren und deshalb die „tanzenden Sterne“ mir vorgaukelten. Das war also kein astronomisches, es war ein meteorologisches Ereignis. Sehr viele solcher Angaben über die z.B. unterschiedlich gewölbte Milchstraße in einer Nacht, haben mit Astronomie in unserer Vorstellung nichts zu tun. Aber nicht wir, bzw. unsere Ahnen, haben Rongorongo erfunden, es waren die Maori Neuseelands. Wenn wir nicht lernen und verstehen, nach welchen Kriterien diese Menschen den Himmel beobachteten, können wir Rongorongo bestenfalls auf der Ebene der Zeichenerklärung begreifen. Aber das ist nicht genug, worauf ich immer wieder hinweisen werde. Rjabchikov – und viele andere Rongorongo-Forscher seit Anbeginn der Forschung – sind verantwortlich dafür, daß die wenigen erhaltenen Objekte mit den so ungemein künstlerischen Zeichen mystifiziert wurden. Man braucht viele Jahre harter Arbeit für das Verständnis der Zusammenhänge. Spekulationen, gebildet aus dem Sammelsurium polynesischer Klischees, erfordern keine Forschungsarbeit. In Rongorongo ist nicht das notiert, was wir gerne hätten, es ist das festgehalten worden, was gnadenloser Pragmatismus fordert: Realität!

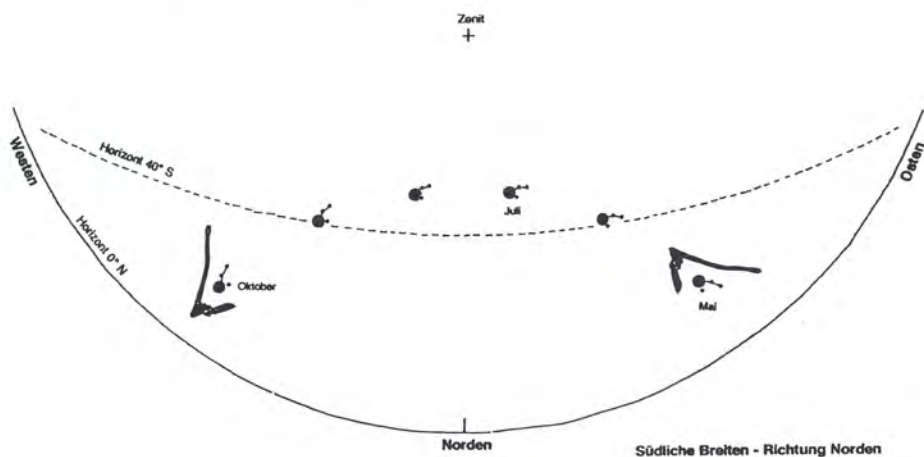
Solche Einschübe sind aus meiner Sicht nützlich, weil sonst meine Erklärungen der Zeichen nicht so verstanden werden können, wie es unbedingt erforderlich ist. Das fängt schon damit an, daß es kein einziges Sternbild gibt, das mit der linearen Struktur unserer Sternbilder identisch ist. Damit müssen wir einen völlig anderen Blick an den Himmel erst einmal lernen. In der ganzen wissenschaftlichen Literatur finden wir nur hier und da kleine Scherben, die erst zusammengesetzt werden müssen in der Hoffnung, daß das auch alles so stimmt.

Wenn sogar eine professionelle Astronomin die Süßkartoffeln von Whanui, die er regelmäßig zur Erde warf, nicht verstehen konnte als die Lyriden, kann man sich vorstellen, welche Arbeit noch zu tun ist.

Der „kartoffelwerfende Atua“ der Maori ist jedenfalls, wie zahlreiche andere Ahnen am Himmel, den Maori auf ihrer Wanderung gen Süden nicht gefolgt. Ihren Kindern konnten sie von den Lyriden nur erzählen, denn zu dem Zeitpunkt muß man sich schon weit nördlich des Äquators aufhalten, um das himmlische Spektakel zu bewundern. Whanui ist von 40° südlicher Breite theoretisch nur zwischen Juni bis September äußerst knapp über dem Horizont stehend zu beobachten. Zwar nicht die Sterne, aber das *Sternwissen* begleitete die Maori bis in ihre neue Heimat. Im April steht Wega von 20° nördlichen Breiten aus gesehen auch nur äußerst knapp über dem Horizont. Von einem Meteorschauer hoch oben am Himmel kann überhaupt nicht die Rede sein. Aber je nördlicher man steht, desto höher steht logischerweise auch Wega. Von Mikronesien aus konnte man die Lyriden bestens beobachten. So kann es sich durchaus um eine solche Sternkenntnis handeln, die einst von Mikronesien über den Äquator bis in 40° südliche Breiten über *Oral History* den Weg nach Neuseeland fand.

Ich fand in Rongorongo keinen kartoffelwerfenden Atua sonst würde ich ihn nun vorstellen. Aber ich habe einen solchen auch nicht mit der gebotenen Sorgfalt gesucht. Zu dem Zeitpunkt, als Lyra und Wega meine Aufmerksamkeit beanspruchten, wußte ich bereits, daß in Rongorongo keine Spekta-  
kel verzeichnet sind. Deshalb habe ich auch nicht nach solchen Atua gesucht, die sich nur alle 76 Jahre als sehr lichtschwacher Nebelstreifen zeigen. Weil ich bereits wußte, daß Kometen sich zur Sternnavigation nicht eignen, habe ich auch Halley und andere Kometen nicht gesucht.

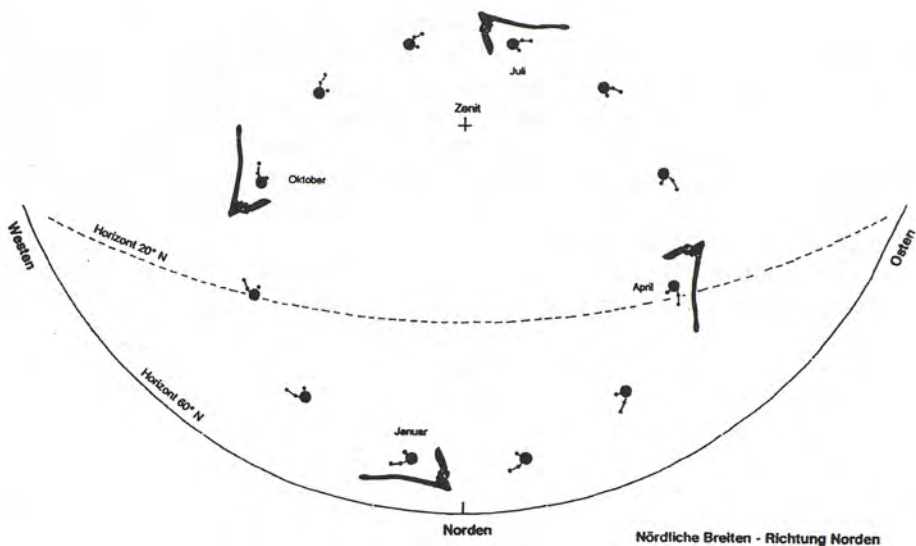
Die Kenntnis der Lyriden kann unmöglich in Neuseeland entstanden sein, was die Sternkarte zweifelsfrei zeigt.



Von 40° südlicher Breite ist Wega eigentlich nur im Juli und August zu beobachten am Nordhimmel. Das Steinbeil liegt dann mit der Klinge nach unten über dem Horizont. Vom Äquator aus ist die Sternformation bereits zwischen Mai bis Oktober zu sehen. Also auch kein Standort, um die Lyriden zu sehen, die eben nur im April für wenige Tage am Himmel in der Nacht ein grandioses Schauspiel bieten.

Im Laufe eines Jahres beschreibt das Steinbeil einen Kreis, wenn man mindestens auf 60° nördlicher Breite steht.

Es gibt Zeichen in Rongorongo, die eine solche Bewegung ausdrücken, wobei in der Regel nach meinen Untersuchungen die untere oder obere Kulmination gemeint ist. Die ca. 450 Steinbeil-Vorkommen sind insofern eine Ausnahme, weil die Klinge fast ausnahmslos nach rechts zeigt. Dafür gibt es aber eine plausible Erklärung. Die Steinbeilkonstellations ist nur unter besten Sichtbedingungen zu erkennen. Wega, als fünftellster Stern am Nachthimmel, kann jeder Navigator noch erkennen, wenn seine lichtschwachen Nachbarn kaum oder gar nicht auszumachen sind. Es genügt infolge dessen, daß der bildhafte Name notiert wurde, gemeint ist aber der Stern Wega.



Mit *Kau-toki* haben wir einen Namen für Wega von *Kapingamarangi* (Emory: 1965). Er gab an:

Kau-toki, Vega and Epsilon, Zeta, and Delta in Lyra. Lit.; adz handle. The point of the blade is Epsilon; the handle is formed by Zeta and Delta. It is also called *Me-mea*, meaning „thing in front“, a synonym for adz.

Von Goodenough (1953) kommt der Name *Meen* für Wega von den Carolinen. Er bedeutet ebenfalls „adz handle“. Bereits Christian (1897) nannte mit *Meal*, *Moel*, *Moul* Namen für Wega von Lamotrek, die vergleichbar sind mit *Me-mua* von *Kapingamarangi* (Emory: 1965), die alle bedeuten „thing in front“ und damit das Steinbeil meinen.

Zweifelsfrei ist die Vorstellung, daß mit den Sternen um Wega ein Sternbild als Steinbeil gesehen wurde, *mikronesischer* Herkunft. Auf der Sternkarte habe ich den Stern *Jota Lyrae* zum Schaft dazugenommen, weil das Steinbeil sonst unproportioniert aussieht. Das ist zulässig, denn damit werden die Informationen nicht verfälscht, sie werden ergänzt und richtiggestellt.



Me-mua

Die Sterne um Wega zählen zur dritten, vierten und fünften Größenordnung, womit sie durchaus im sichtbaren Helligkeitsspektrum liegen. Jota war wohl nur unter besten Sichtbedingungen zu finden, deshalb gab man auch diesen Stern nicht an bei der Beschreibung des himmlischen Steinbeils. Er gehörte wahrscheinlich dazu, weil es kein Steinbeil gibt, dessen Klinge fast genau so lang ist wie der Schaft. Ein solches Beil wäre auch nicht zu handhaben - so einfach ist das zu erklären.

Neben die Sternformation habe ich deshalb ein altes *Maori-Toki* gestellt, womit der sichtbare Beweis meiner Behauptung wohl gegeben ist.

Emory konnte noch mehr über das Sterngebiet Lyra in Erfahrung bringen:

*Me-muri*. Appears to be a star paired with Me-mua (Kapingamarangi). Lit., „thing in back“, called a „friend of Kau-toki“, or Me-mua.

Auch in diesem Fall wußten die Informanten von Emory nur noch einen Teil der ganzen Wahrheit. Im Rücken des Steinbeils stehen die Sterne *Sulafat* und *Sheliak*, die beide zur dritten Größenordnung gehören und deshalb in der Regel sichtbar sind. Schon deshalb stimmt die Angabe, daß es nur ein Stern sein soll, wahrscheinlich nicht.

Wenn *Me-muri* in Rongorongo verzeichnet wäre, müßte das Zeichen des Steinbeils für Wega kombiniert sein mit einem im Rücken angebundenen kleinen Kreis, der dann als „friend of Kau-toki“ verstanden werden müßte, also so:



Ein solches Zeichen gibt es aber nicht. Es gibt das Zeichen auch nicht mit zwei angebundenen Sternen, was dem Himmelsanblick entsprechen würde. Warum ist das so?

Auf den zufällig erhaltenen Objekten sind ohne jede Frage alle die Zeichen nicht zu sehen, die es in Rongorongo gegeben haben muß. Unsere Objekte sind vorwiegend „äquatoriale Notationen“. Die Sternkurse sind Kurse von Ost nach West und umgekehrt. Deshalb sind die Sterngebiete Orion/Taurus auch die häufigsten in Rongorongo. Wega ist ein *zirkumpolarer* Stern, der damit den Nordhimmel markiert. Die zeitweiligen Besucher, das sind solche Sterne, die nur zwei, drei Monate sichtbar sind und dann kurz über dem Horizont laufen, sind zwar in Rongorongo notiert, aber nur in wenigen Vorkommen. Wir haben nicht alle Zeichen auf den Objekten, die es gegeben haben muß.

Die umfangreichste Wega-Notation (mit über vierzig Zeichen) ist auf der Tafel *Aruku Kurenga* zu finden mit 15 Vorkommen auf der sechsten Zeile des von Barthel angenommenen Recto. Auf dem Verso befinden sich nur fünf Steinbeil-Zeichen, die aber das andere Steinbeil in Rongorongo meinen, das hier später erklärt wird.

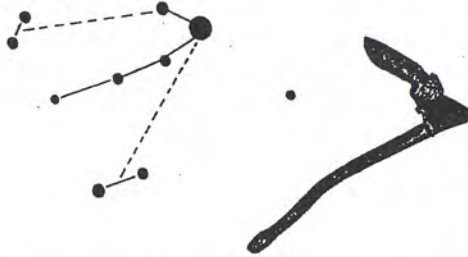
Weil bisher die Forschung davon ausging: „Alles ist das, was es darstellt“, schien es zwingend logisch, daß auf dieser Tafel „Steinbeilgesänge“ notiert sind, die wir von verschiedenen Inseln Polynesiens kennen.

Auf der Aruku Kurenga sind zwei Vorkommen von Wega, die eine Verbindung zu zwei kleineren Sternen zeigen. Es sind diese Zeichen:



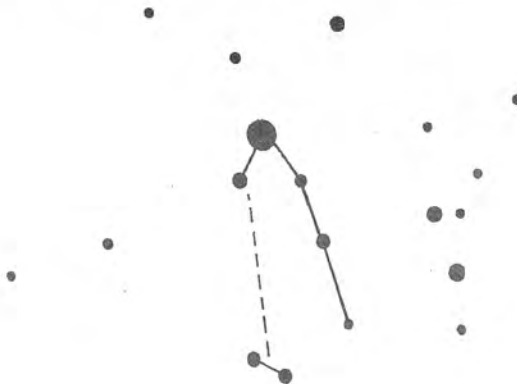
Die durchgehende dünne Kerblinie bedeutet „in a row“. Es besteht kein Zweifel, daß die an Wega angebundenen kleinen Sterne *unter* der Klinge des Steinbeils stehen. Der obere Stern ist *Etha*, der untere *Theta Lyrae*!

Das zeigt diese Sternkarte:

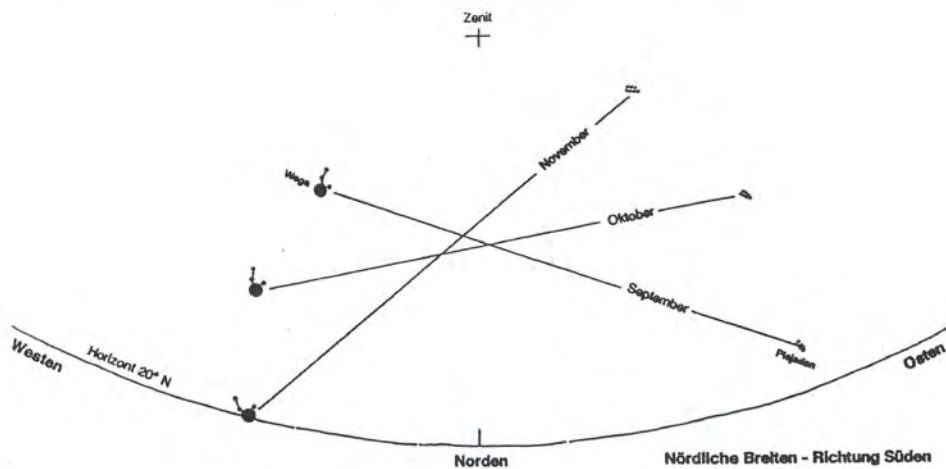


Entweder Me-muri oder eine Konstellation, deren Namen ich noch nicht fand.

Von nördlichen Breiten mit Blickrichtung nach Norden steht das Steinbeil relativ exakt so aufrecht, daß *Etha* und *Theta Lyrae* auch genau unter der Klinge zu finden sind. Das ist aber nur im Mai der Fall. In jedem Monat und an jedem Himmel gibt es unverwechselbare Sternkonstellationen, aus denen mit Sicherheit der Monat abzulesen ist. Deshalb können *Etha* und *Theta* nur dann unter der Klinge des Steinbeils stehen, wenn der Monat Mai gemeint ist. Von Hawai'i aus konnten sternkundige Männer die Wega-Konstellation so sehen:



Nun kann auch der Befund geklärt werden, der die Plejaden so mit Wega verbindet, daß sie unterhalb von Alpha Lyrae stehen. Von südlichen Breiten mit Blickrichtung nach Norden stehen die Plejaden zusammen mit Wega nur im Oktober zeitgleich am Himmel, aber das Siebengestirn steht dann deutlich oberhalb von Wega. Von 20° nördlicher Breite aus gesehen sind Whanui und Matariki drei Monate zeitgleich zu beobachten. Die Rongorongo-Notation sagt zweifelsfrei, welcher Monat gemeint ist. Die Sternkarte zeigt das.



Das dritte Zeichen in Verbindung mit den Plejaden wird nach meinem Verständnis nicht als Solo-Zeichen geführt, denn es ist bereits „aufgerüstet“. Makemson (1941) listete eine Menge Namen, die nicht alle aufgezählt werden. Die drei übereinanderstehenden Kreise für die Gürtelsterne beinhalten den Namen *Tolu*, übersetzt heißt das ganz einfach *Drei* und das ist der komplette Name für die Gürtelsterne, den wir von der Insel *Futuna* kennen.

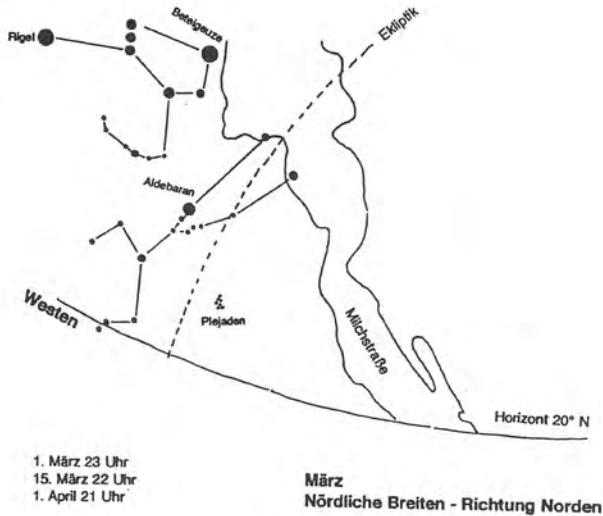
In dem Zeichen ist in der Mitte eine senkrechte Einkerbung zu erkennen. Mit *Alo-tolu*, übersetzt heißt das *Three in a row*, kennen wir einen Namen für die Sterne aus *Tonga* und mit *Tata-o-toru*, übersetzt *Stalk of three*, einen der vielen Namen für die drei Sterne, den die Maori Neuseelands tradierten. (Makemson: 1941)

Es ist deutlich zu erkennen, daß das Drachenschwanz-Zeichen von unten kommend rechts an das Zeichen der Gürtelsterne angebunden ist, also stehen die Plejaden unterhalb der Gürtelsterne.

Von südlichen Breiten aus nach Norden gesehen befinden sich die Plejaden stets unterhalb der Gürtelsterne, aber jeder Mensch, der eine Sternkarte zur Hand nimmt, erkennt auf den ersten Blick, daß Matariki deutlich links von den Gürtelsternen am Himmel zu sehen ist.

Von nördlichen Breiten aus an den Südhimmel gesehen, befinden sich die Plejaden zwar rechts von Orion, aber oberhalb. Wäre das gemeint, würden die Winkel für die Plejaden und die Anbindung ganz anders aussehen.

Aber es gibt eine Konstellation, die exakt die Angabe des Zeichens bestätigt, nämlich diese:



Die exakten Daten der Sichtbarkeit sind angegeben.

Es läßt sich leicht vorstellen, zu welchen Irrtümern es führt, wenn fehlerhafte Zeichen in den Abschriften vorliegen. Ein einziger Winkel mehr oder weniger verweist in eine gänzlich andere Himmelsregion.

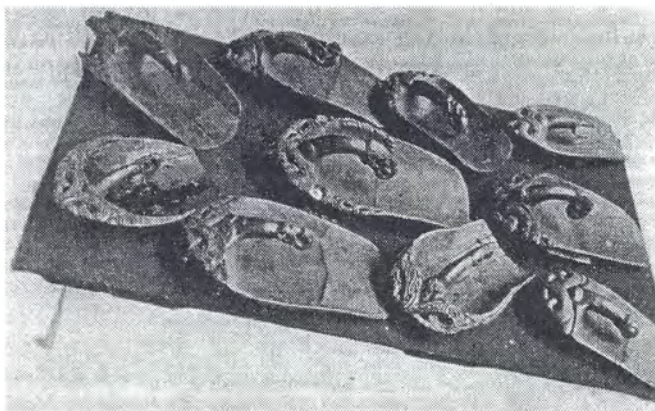
Insgesamt fand ich 64 Vorkommen des Zeichens, das als ein Drachenschwanz mit sechs angebundenen Federbüscheln für die Plejaden in Rongorongo steht. Rechnerisch sind das bisher 36 für Matariki plus 64 gerade einmal 100 Vorkommen unter ca. 12.000 Zeichen für eines der wichtigsten Sterngebiete zur Navigation im Südmeer. Damit steht die Theorie der Sternnavigation auf viel zu schwachen Füßen. Einhundert Vorkommen für ein relativ unbedeutendes Sternbild, das sich nur aus Sternen der dritten und vierten Größenordnung bildet, wäre zu akzeptieren. Aber für die Plejaden müssen ganz erheblich mehr Zeichen, also Vorkommen, nachgewiesen werden, wenn es sich um Sternnavigation handelt.

Aus meinen Entzifferungen habe ich gelernt, daß die meisten Alpha-Sterne und viele Sternkonstellationen auch als *Kanu* in Rongorongo verzeichnet sind. So war zu erwarten, Matariki ebenfalls über ein Kanu-Zeichen zu identifizieren. Aber nur ein einziges Vorkommen auf der Tafel mit dem Fantasienamen *Aruku-Kurenga* (Belegstelle Bv 9) konnte ich finden, dieses Zeichen:



Das kann nicht verwundern, denn man möge einmal in Eschenholz mit einem Messer genau dieses Zeichen kerben in *zwölf Millimeter* Höhe! Weil es ohnehin kaum jemand schafft, erübrigt sich jede weitere Frage danach, warum das Zeichen für die Plejaden nur ein einziges Vorkommen aufweist.

Bei Beckwith (1970) findet man einen Namen für die Plejaden, der in Hawai'i tradiert wurde. *Na-ka-o-makali'i* bedeutet, „the bailers of Makali'i“. Bailer waren die überall in Ozeanien wichtigsten Werkzeuge der Bootsmannschaften gewesen, hölzerne Schöpfkellen, mit denen das Wasser aus dem Kanu befördert wurde. Sie liegen massenhaft in den Asservatenkammern der Museen im Pazifik. Nur die reichhaltig geschnitzten Stücke darf man im Schauraum bewundern. Vom Typ her unterscheiden sich Wasserschöpfer erheblich. Es gibt jedenfalls kein Standardmodell. Vor allem die Anordnung des Griffes macht den Unterschied. Außerordentlich zweckmäßige Bailer kannten die Maori Neuseelands, weil der Griff nach innen gerichtet über dem Schaufelblatt lag, womit man mit deutlich mehr Effekt das Wasser aus dem Boot schöpfen konnte. Einige dieser Bailer zeigt die Abbildung, die allesamt Maori-Bailer darstellen.



Von Elsdon Best stammen viele Informationen über die Plejaden aus dem Sternwissen der Maori. Er erfuhr, daß Matariki zeitweise als eine weibliche Einzelperson angesehen wurde, die sechs Kinder hatte. Der Vater ist unbekannt. Pio, ein sternkundiger Mann von den Ngati-Awa, nannte Best sechs Namen für sechs Sterne in der Gruppe der Plejaden. Es ist außergewöhnlich für Best, daß er ausgerechnet diese Namen nicht übersetzte, denn grundsätzlich tat er das bei jedem noch so kurzen Text. Seine Angaben sind in der Regel zutreffend, denn Elsdon Best beherrschte mehrere Maori-Dialekte. Erst Makemson (1941) listete die Namen von Best in ihrem vorzüglichen Werk über polynesischen Sternnamen

und gab auch die Übersetzungen an. Maud Worcester Makemson war Chairman of the Department of Astronomy am Vassar-College. Leider sind ihre Übersetzungen alles andere als zuverlässig. Hier bestünde Nachholbedarf, falls jemals ein Reprint in Druck gehen sollte. Übrigens konnten nur von den Maori Namen für einzelne Plejadensterne in Erfahrung gebracht werden. Das bedeutet aber nicht, daß man anderswo keine Namen für die einzelnen Sterne in den Plejaden kannte. Aber es war ganz einfach zu spät, als Forscher danach fragten.

Die Namen und ihre Übersetzungen sind:

<i>Tupua-nuku</i>	=	<i>Earth-fairy</i>
<i>Tupua-rangi</i>	=	<i>Sky-fairy</i>
<i>Waiti</i>	=	<i>Resembling-water</i>
<i>Waita</i>	=	<i>Bail-water</i>
<i>Waipuna-o-rangi</i>	=	<i>Celestial Spring-of-water</i>
<i>Uru-rangi</i>	=	<i>Sky-magic</i>

Sowohl die Maori als auch die Moriori (Chatham Insel) erkannten in den Plejaden „a deity“.

Das ist der „Stoff“, aus dem die Zeichen in Rongorongo entziffert werden müssen. Die Vorstellung in Hawai'i, daß die Plejadensterne als Bailer gesehen wurden, finden wir in dem Maori Namen Waita wieder in der Übersetzung Bail-water, also „ausgeschöpftes Wasser“.

Waiti nennt einen Namen, der mit „resemblance“ in der Bedeutung „Ähnlichkeit haben mit . . ., gleichen, ähneln“ verstanden werden kann im Zusammenhang mit Wasser. Wasser kommt auch in dem Namen Waipuna-o-rangi vor als Celestial Spring-of-water, übersetzt als „himmlische Quelle“.

## JAROSLAV PRŮŠEK: A MYTH AND REALITY AS SEEN BY HIS PUPIL

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This is a preliminary contribution to the study of the Prague School of Sinology, dedicated to its founder Professor Jaroslav Průšek (1906–1980), one of the greatest world Sinologists of his time, who left a deep imprint on Sinological and Oriental Studies in former Czechoslovakia and contributed much to the spirit of mutual communication and understanding between East and West in scholarly research and translation work.

I do not remember the weather of the day when Jaroslav Průšek, well-known Czech sinologist, died on April 7, 1980. In the evening of that day my colleague Professor Josef Kolmaš, well-known Czech Tibetologist and Sinologist, telephoned to me: “The old gentleman passed away.” It was not necessary to point out who this “old gentleman” was: we all knew, due to his illness, that this day would inevitably come.

But I do remember exactly the day of Průšek’s funeral on April 14. The ceremony began at 14.00, and it was wonderful day, real spring weather, the streets were full of young people enjoying the sun and pleasant atmosphere. I put aside my books, my writing concerned with Lu Xun’s essays from the years 1903–1908 and with his collection of short stories *Nahan* (Call to Arms), later published in *Asian and African Studies* (Bratislava), 21, 1985, and in the *Milestones in Sino-Western Literary Confrontation, 1898–1979*, from the year 1986. The death of Průšek meant a heavy blow to me, similar to the death of my mother. Their deaths were probably the result of cerebral haemorrhage, and since I had to care myself for my mother in the days preceding her passing away, the death of my teacher had the same impact on me. A few hours before his burial I took the book *Zhuangzi* and read some passages from the chapter entitled *The Great and Venerable Teacher* (Da chong shi) in B. Watson translation: “I received life because the time had come: I will lose it because the order of things passes on. Be content with this time and dwell in this order and then neither sorrow nor joy can touch you. In ancient times this was called the “freeing of the bound”.

There are those who cannot free themselves, because they are bound by things. But nothing can ever win against Heaven – that's the way it's always been."<sup>1</sup>

Průšek was very fond of life. From the philosophical and ethical point of view, as a sinologist, he preferred Confucian philosophy. His philosophy of life is hard to define and it was changing during his life. When he was young, he was fond of the "romantic and original dreams of Taoism",<sup>2</sup> as we know from his confession written in the year 1947. He changed his opinion during the World War II being a witness to the cruel, totalitarian regime of Nazi Germany ruling over Bohemia and Moravia. He was sure that the political system based on violence, hds to collapse just as was the case with the Qin Dynasty in the year 207 B.C. Průšek except being outstanding scholar, translator and teacher, was also a man of intuition and hope. He was the child of his age and in the May days of 1945, he was the man (I was told) who took into his hands the keys put aside by the SS troupes stationed in the Oriental Institute, and opened this institution to his country and to the world. He believed then in the days of Victory, that the new age of Oriental studies begins in Czechoslovakia, in the whole Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union liberated from the Nazi danger and yoke. He was sure that the Soviet Union was a commonwealth of free European and Asian (i.e. Oriental) nations with the possibility of further development. For him the abyss between Europe and the Orient, made after the Munich Agreement in 1938 and World War II, came to end on May 5, 1945, with the end of the first day of Prague Uprising and with the end of the war in Europe on May 9, also in Prague, and with the "victorious and indestructible file"<sup>3</sup> of Slavic nations led by the Soviet Union and its invincible Red Army. This was of course his fateful error. The greatest part of the Czech intelligentsia was of this opinion. He later very much deplored his words and attitudes of the first postwar years. The word "liberation" in the sense of its later explication in the Eastern European countries, was a source of his inner pains in the time of his "great awakening" (*da jue*) (Zhuangzi).<sup>4</sup>

A few words are probably necessary concerning his *curriculum vitae*. Průšek was born in Prague on September 14, 1906. He studied at first European history at the Charles University, Prague. Later he switched to Sinology at first at B. Karlgren, Göteborg, then G. Haloun, Halle and at E. Haenisch, Leipzig. After finishing his sinological studies he tried to get to China and succeeded in receiving fellowship from Mr. Thomas Baťa. This famous Czech industrialist needed to sell his shoes in the vast market of China and Průšek wanted to study

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<sup>1</sup> *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. Transl. by Burton WATSON. New York and London. Columbia University Press 1968, pp. 84–85.

<sup>2</sup> Jaroslav PRŮŠEK, "Úvod" (Introduction). In: *O čínském písemnictví a vzdělanosti* (On Chinese Literature and Culture). Prague 1947, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Jaroslav PRŮŠEK, "Úkoly české orientalistiky v osvobozeném státě" (The Aims of Czech Oriental Studies in the Liberated Country). In: *On Chinese Literature and Culture*, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, p. 47.

in Peking Chinese social history, being enthralled by the teachings of Max Weber and Werner Sombart. Between 1932 and 1936, having the possibility to meet some well-known Chinese and Japanese scholars and men of letters – both in China and Japan – like Zheng Zhenduo, Ma Lian, Guo Moruo, Bing Xin, Shen Congwen, Nagasawa Kikuya, Shionoya On and others, he put aside social history and began to study the medieval popular and modern Chinese literature. Before his return to Czechoslovakia in January 1937, he spent one semester at the University of California at Berkeley reading a course on medieval Chinese popular literature there. This was a completely new field of study for Western Sinology. After coming back to his native country on the eve of the Nazi occupation, he wrote a text-book of Mandarin Chinese for his sponsor (there was much in that book about buying and selling), and was obliged to earn money at the University Library, Prague. He also read some texts concerned with Chinese literature and philosophy with sinological zealots.

Very soon after his return to Czechoslovakia his partial translation of Lu Xun's *Call to Arms* appeared in Prague in 1937, with Lu Xun's short preface with nice words about the literature as the most noble means of the interhuman communication.<sup>5</sup> Later on he worked on the translation of Confucius' *Lunyu* (The Analects)<sup>6</sup> and Mao Dun's *Ziye* (Midnight),<sup>7</sup> and published his travelogue entitled *Sestra moje Čína* (My Sister China) in 1940. It is a pity that this book was never translated into one of the world languages as a wonderful document and witness of the time. As a scholar he devoted much attention mainly to the medieval popular literature, and can now be regarded as a founder of this branch of study in the West. These studies published at first in *Archiv orientální* and later reprinted in the volume entitled *Chinese History and Literature* from the year 1970, made him famous in the sinological world.

At the second half of the 1940s and during the 1950s Průšek became a well-known scholar both at home and abroad. The knowledge he admired most of all, was not the ingenious knowledge of genius. Although he himself was very talented, well-versed in many branches of humanistic scholarship, especially in literature, history and philosophy, he used to say in Czech: "Učenost souvisí se slovem učiti se a uměti" (Erudition is related to the word: to learn and to know).<sup>8</sup> Průšek began to devote himself to the study of modern Chinese literature more deeply in the second half of the 1950s. If we take into account this contribution, which made him probably even more famous than his work in the realms of Chinese medieval and late Qing popular literature, then it is true that much he put before the eyes of his readers or delivered at different conferences and taught at different courses, e.g. in the United States, had been at least partly

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<sup>5</sup> *Lu Xun quanji* (The Complete Works of Lu Xun). Vol. 6, Peking 1973, p. 527.

<sup>6</sup> Prague 1940.

<sup>7</sup> Prague 1950, 1958.

<sup>8</sup> Professor Průšek dedicated to me an offprint of his study "La nouvelle littérature chinoise". *Archiv orientální*, 27, 1959, 1, pp. 76–95 with the sentence just quoted.

prepared by his Prague and Eastern European pupils, mostly in their M.A. theses. But it is true that it was Průšek, who caused a change in the overall sinological climate in the field of the study of modern Chinese literature by his articles in the European and American journals, and by his *Introduction to the Studies in Modern Chinese Literature*, the last being published in Berlin in 1964 but prepared for the press already in 1959–1960. In order to be fair in regard to his pupils, I have to say that when he spoke about Lu Xun there was a bit from B. Krebsová, his second wife, then from V. Semanov (Moscow) and V. Petrov (Leningrad); when Průšek spoke about Mao Dun he used the works by F. Gruner (Berlin), and after he left for America in 1967 he asked me to send him all my published and unpublished works, among others my nearly finished book *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*, which appeared later in 1969. In his exposition of Yu Dafu he certainly used the secondary sources prepared by Anna Doležalová-Vlčková; the same is true of Milena Doležalová-Velingerová in relation to Guo Moruo, D. Kalvodová in relation to Ding Ling, Z. Slupski in relation to Lao She, O. Král in relation to Ba Jin, M. Boušková in relation to Bing Xin, and so on. He was the oldest of all, he had the great amount of inventiveness and intuition, he was more or less immune towards the germs of vulgar Marxism, having studied earlier and being influenced by some elements of Russian formalism and Czech structuralism (the best experts in literary scholarship, e.g. J. Mukařovský or F. Vodička were his colleagues at the Charles University). We were the artisans and he was the *maître*.

Průšek's article *Subjectivism and Individualism in Modern Chinese Literature*,<sup>9</sup> perhaps his most quoted work devoted to modern Chinese literature, was read a paper at the 9th Conference of Junior Sinologists in Paris in 1956. It meant a beginning of his triumphant journey through the countries of Europe and America. M. Gotz in his critical article "The Development of Modern Chinese Literature Studies in the West", characterized Jaroslav Průšek as "widely recognized as having been a true pioneer in the field as well as continuing to be a thorough and provocative scholar".<sup>10</sup> Being "a thorough and provocative scholar" Průšek wrote a long review of C.T. Hsia's book *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* which together with Hsia's reply<sup>11</sup> meant the beginning and the end of the most provocative discussion about the nature of modern Chinese literature. Personally I think that Průšek would have done better, if he could have restrained himself and not produced such rigid "scientific" criticism, or ex-

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<sup>9</sup> Jaroslav PRŮŠEK, "Subjectivism and Individualism in Modern Chinese Literature". *Archiv orientální*, 25, 1957, 2, pp. 261–286.

<sup>10</sup> Michael GOTZ, "The Development of Modern Chinese Literatures Studies in the West." *Modern China*, 2, July 1976, 3, p. 404.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Jaroslav PRŮŠEK, "Basic Problems of the History of Modern Chinese Literature. A Review of C.T. HSIA, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction*." *T'oung Pao* 49, 1962, pp. 357–404 and C.T. HSIA, "On the "Scientific" Study of Modern Chinese Literature – A Reply to Professor Průšek". *Ibid.*, 50, 1963, pp. 428–474.

pressed himself with more *sophrosyne* (temperance),<sup>12</sup> the virtue he extolled so much.

How could something like that happen? The time around 1960 was the second and the last apogee of Průšek's enthusiasm (after the end of the 1940s and the first years of the 1950s) with things social and political in the domestic and international realms. At that time he supported the idea that the end of colonialism and the building up of the new socialist society, were the two hopes of the mankind.<sup>13</sup> It was possible to accept the first one but the irony of the fate pressed him later to acknowledge the second as a treacherous belief. There was no victory and no defeat in this Průšek–Hsia duel. But it is necessary to say that Průšek was better in his other studies. All the students of modern Chinese are recommended to devote more time to his other works. But this discussion had its significance for the history of modern Chinese literature. Průšek and Hsia coming with such different and even contradictory insights, provoked mainly young students to more deep reflections of literature. But here also his myth and misunderstanding began. His view meant for many provocation in a good or bad sense. Only those who knew Průšek well from his many other works, were able to evaluate him properly. In 1987 Leo Ou-fan Lee's selection of Průšek's studies *The Lyrical and the Epic. Studies in Modern Chinese Literature*, appeared in its Chinese translation.<sup>14</sup> Hsia's contribution to the debate was not included in this Chinese version. At least for me it was because Hsia's ideas were very much incompatible with the cultural and literary policy of the PRC. To read only this article of Průšek with or without Hsia's reply, means to misunderstand him. For the reason of justice it is necessary to say that Průšek and Hsia remained friendly in their scholarly dialogues and occasional meetings. On August 5, 1963 Professor Hsia wrote to me: "Professor Průšek was in New York a few months ago ... Though he has written an unkind review of my book, he is personally most charming and his knowledge of Chinese literature is most expressive." And I have received another letter from my friend Leo Ou-fan Lee who wrote me on October 8, 1990: "Today at my seminar we discussed Průšek's debate with C.T. Hsia, and most of my students attacked Průšek! And I had to come to his defence..." According to my opinion this defence would be superfluous, if the students knew the scholarly writings of both rivals equally well.

As I knew him, Průšek was probably the best when he was putting questions and when he was provoking more deep deliberations. For example, Průšek's idea of "subjective" and "individual" gave an impetus to many studies and possibly even books. Here I have in mind Leo Ou-fan Lee's "The Solitary Traveler: Images of Self in Modern Chinese Literature", in the book *Expressions of*

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Jaroslav PRŮŠEK, "Doslov k soubornému vydání 'Zpěvu staré Číny' z roku 1950" (Epilogue to the Complete Edition of "Songs of Old China" from 1950). In: *Zpěvy staré a nové Číny* (Songs of Old and New China), Prague 1957, p. 230.

<sup>13</sup> Světová literatura (World Literature), 3, 1962, p. 153.

<sup>14</sup> Published by Hunan wenyi chubanshe and translated into Chinese by LI YANQIAO and others.

*Self in Chinese Literature*, ed. by R.E. Hegel and R.C. Hessney, New York 1985, his chapter called "The Journey of Sentiment" from the book *The Romantic Generation of Modern Chinese Writers*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1973, Don Price's "Diary as Autobiography: Two Modern Chinese Cases", from the volume ed. by C. Ramelb: *Biography. East and West*, Honolulu 1989, Wolfgang Kubin's "Tradition and Modernism in the 20th Century Chinese Novel" from the book entitled *Die Jagd nach dem Tiger. 6 Versuche zur modernen chinesischen Literatur*, Bochum 1984, Ingo Schaefer's "Remarks on the Question of Individuality and Subjectivity in the Literature of the May Fourth Period", in the book edited by me and entitled *Interliterary and Intraliterary Aspects of the May Fourth Movement 1919 in China*, Bratislava 1990, or even Janet A. Walker's *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and Ideal of Individualism*, Princeton 1979. In the last book, excellent of its kind, the authoress wrote the following: "As any new scholarship rests on the work of earlier scholars I am particularly indebted: Jaroslav Průšek, whose great learning and great enthusiasm for the field of East-West literary relations inspired me to research the ideal of individualism in modern Japanese fiction ..." <sup>15</sup>

Another example: Průšek's predominantly anti-modernist attitude and his stress on the realist tendencies in modern Chinese literature, inspired at least partly his best American pupil Leo Ou-fan Lee to the fruitful studies of modernist tendencies in modern Chinese poetry and fiction, and he found his followers. It is true that Průšek's attitudes changed somewhat in the 1960s in this respect and he admitted the impact of modernistic trends on modern Chinese literature as possible, but he did not support this assertion by the proper evidence. The impact of Baudelaire or Lautreamont on Lu Xun's *Ye cao* (Wild Grass) does not sound very convincing. <sup>16</sup>

As a translator of Chinese literary and philosophical works into Czech, Průšek was able to appreciate the value of the word, of its semantic and aesthetic charge. The first he probably learned from his teachers, especially from B. Karlgren. Apart from the three works mentioned above, Průšek made accessible for his Czech readers a collection of twelve *huaben* in the years 1947, 1954, 1964 and 1991; <sup>17</sup> he translated Shen Fu's *Fousheng liu ji* (Six Chapters of Floating Life) published in 1944 and in 1956, <sup>18</sup> Liu E's *Lao Can you ji* (The Travels

<sup>15</sup> Janet A. WALKER, *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism*. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1979, p. xii.

<sup>16</sup> Jaroslav PRŮŠEK, "Introduction." In: *Studies in Modern Chinese Literature*. Berlin, Akademie-Verlag 1964, p. 27. Although Průšek was an eminent Sinologist, his scholarly work was not without shortcomings or inaccuracies, as shown convincingly in a lengthy and conscientious review by Professor LIU TS'UN-YAN of PRŮŠEK's collection *Chinese History and Literature*. Dordrecht, D. Reidel Publishing Co. 1970, published in: *Selected Papers from the Hall of Harmonious Wind*. Leiden, E.J. Brill 1976, pp. 376–391.

<sup>17</sup> *Podivuhodné příběhy z čínských tržišť a bazarů* (Extraordinary Stories from the Chinese Markets and Bazaars), Prague.

<sup>18</sup> *Šest historií prchavého života*, Prague.

of Lao C'an) from the year 1947 and 1960,<sup>19</sup> *Sunzi bingfa* (The Art of War) from the year 1949<sup>20</sup> and a Czech selection of about 1/3 of the stories from Pu Songling's *Liaozhai zhiyi* (Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio) from the year 1955.<sup>21</sup> Especially the first and the last one just mentioned here, were the products of his painstaking research and deep love of many years.

Once I heard Průšek say that a translation ought to precede every serious work in literary Sinology. He adhered to this principle all his life. If not, then his work became axiologically weak, like his monograph *Die Literatur der befreiten Chinas und ihre Volkstraditionen*, Prague 1955.

Průšek's Confucian inclinations were seen in his attitude to teaching. As a teacher he devoted much time and effort, especially to the postgraduates, reading very carefully the submitted theses or articles. He did not like prolific writers among the young and stressed the importance of the first published works: "If your first study is not good," he used to say to his pupils, "nobody will read you afterwards." My first English article entitled *Mao Tun's Names and Pseudonyms*<sup>22</sup> appeared when I was just 30 years old. He encouraged me to publish it probably having in mind the words of Confucius: "San shi er li" (At thirty I stood firm). He himself published his first scholarly articles at the same age in 1936.<sup>23</sup>

Průšek's many duties and obligations, as a Director of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences from 1953 and later permanent representative of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in the Union Académique Internationale, for some time a member of its Executive Bureau representing this body in the Conseil International pour la Philosophie et les Sciences Humaines, Vice-President of the last mentioned institution, and likewise Vice-President of the Fédération Internationale pour les Langues et Littératures Modernes, prevented him devoting much time to undergraduates, but I was so happy that I heard him for 6 school-terms out of 10 during my University studies in Prague. "Despite this load of the public activity (just mentioned, M.G.)," wrote his most devoted friend Professor Augustín Palát, for many years Vice-Director of the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, "he (Průšek, M.G.) always found time not only for lectures at the University or at the regular working sessions of the Oriental Institute staff, for teaching in the courses for foreign post-graduate students coming to him to Prague, but also for extensive

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<sup>19</sup> *Putování starého Chromce*, Prague.

<sup>20</sup> *O umění válečném*, Prague.

<sup>21</sup> *Skazky o šestero cest osudu*, Prague. As to Průšek's contribution to translation from Chinese into Czech, see my study "Two from Czech Babel; Mathesius and Průšek in Sino-Bohemian Literary Confrontation." *Archiv orientální*, 63, 1995, 1, pp. 102–111.

<sup>22</sup> *Archiv orientální*, 31, 1963, 2, pp. 80–108.

<sup>23</sup> PRŮŠEK's first scholarly article "Císařovna vdova Cze Hsi" (The Empress Dowager Tz'u Hsi) and four following it for the encyclopedia *Tvůrcové dějin* (Makers of History), 5, Přítomnost (Present Time), 1, 2, pp. 438–451, 150–157 and 438–445, appeared in Prague in 1936, when he was 30 years old.

research work, in which he is increasingly exacting in his demands on others, but in the first place on himself. Hence stems the dilemma of anyone, who wishes to write any kind of characteristics of Průšek – how to show in their proper relations the bipolarity of his personality, the unflagging enthusiasm of the scholar-researcher and the pedagogue on the one hand and the broadly-conceived activities of an organizer on the other, without reducing the general picture to an oversimplified scheme.”<sup>24</sup>

It is, of course, not possible within the framework of a short article to show the complex personality of Jaroslav Průšek. This one set for his aim to show his human profile through the prism of my own eyes, observations and experience.

Průšek’s “great awakening” become a fact in the year 1963. At that time Paul Sartre and Albert Camus and their existentialist philosophies began to be spread among Czechoslovak intellectuals. Faustian strains, Průšek’s other belief, began to be questioned. One evening when we sat together in front of the Opera in Bordeaux during the 16th Conference of Junior Sinologists (the first in which I participated at) drinking together red Bordeaux wine, he told to me that all human strains and deeds are in fact meaningless, because the future of humankind has got its beginning and will reach its ultimate end; but they are meaningful for us, human individuals, since they are expressions of our joy and self-realization. At that occasion he told me and another colleague and my teacher, Dr. Jarmila Kalousková (1908–1978) that the communists in some points were even worse than the Nazis, since both were killing innocent people, but with the difference, that those first were also defiling their reputation. It was a year after the Liblice conference in 1963, devoted to the life and work of Franz Kafka, which meant a thaw in the Czechoslovak cultural policy and ideological climate. For the first time and openly at the Liblice Castle, built in the refined Rococco style, the Gothic, crude and horrible *Castle* of Franz Kafka had been shown as an example of human, political, social and cultural existence. In 1967 – three years later – at the same castle I heard him at the Orientalist conference (in the presence of Polish Sinologists) say that he was old. At this conference he pronounced openly that he lost confidence in the word “liberation” having in mind his Czechoslovak experience and Chinese history after 1949.

Already before 1963 Průšek tried to build bridges between East and West, and in the second half of the 1960s Prague became a meeting point of many Sinologists (and Orientalists) from Asia, Europe, America and elsewhere. One special journal *New Orient Bimonthly*, founded in Prague in 1960, was intended to serve the noble purpose of broad understanding between East and West. In this time Průšek led a team of specialists who compiled the well-known *Dictionary of Oriental Literatures*, 3 vols., London 1974, of which part, concerned with East Asian countries appeared later in Vermont (USA) and in Tokyo in 1978. The collaboration of Czech and Slovak Sinologists under Průšek’s instructions, was very intensive with the project led by Professor Wolfgang

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<sup>24</sup> Augustín PALÁT, “Jaroslav Průšek (On the Occasion of the 85th Anniversary of His Birth)”. *Archiv orientální*, 59, 1991, 2, p. 10.

Franke of Hamburg, and concerned with China after its encounter with the West, the outcome of which appeared in the encyclopaedic work *China-Handbuch* in German, edited by Professor Franke and Dr. Brunhild Staiger.

This fruitful collaboration did not last long. On August 22, 1968 the 20th Conference of Chinese Studies (former Junior Sinologues) should have opened in Prague. On August 21, the soldiers of five Eastern European countries led by the "invincible" Soviet Army invaded Czechoslovakia. The conference which should have been devoted to the 50th anniversary of the May Fourth Movement, and at which nearly 500 sinologists wanted to participate, was cancelled, and *New Orient Bimonthly* did not appear anymore. In the next two years Průšek's and his collaborators were discredited. He himself and many others were expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (those who followed A. Dubček's line), and later also from the Oriental Institute. Průšek's works, and those of his some collaborators, were put on the "black" lists and could not be published or quoted anymore. Outsiders transformed this institution, famous in the world, into a "service-centre" for politico-economic propaganda of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Průšek suffered much more than he was able to endure. After 1972 he was not even allowed to visit the Oriental Institute in order not to prevent the process of "normalization". The year 1968 and its aftermath meant for him a blow; he could no longer live according to the words he told me in Bordeaux. For some years he helped to edit *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* in Leipzig, but that seems to be his only work. From time to time he met some foreign postgraduates, best pupils, friends and colleagues.

Průšek's speech delivered at Stockholm University in December 1969 on the occasion of receiving the degree of Doctor Honoris Causa was a kind of swan song. It was entitled "Yeh Shao-chün and Anton Chekhov". This one of few Průšek's comparative studies analysed the short story of Yeh Shao-chün's entitled *Ch'iu* (Autumn) and Chekhov's drama *The Cherry Orchard*. Průšek supposed that the theme "is transposed into a Chinese context, but the basic situation remains the same. The heroine is, for Chinese conditions, somewhat unusual. Though she is already in her thirties, she is not married and earns her living as an independent woman; she is a midwife, but obviously is of higher intellectual standing. She returns from Shanghai to the country for the spring festival of the dead, to visit the graves of her family, and is immediately approached by her sister-in-law, who offers her an excellent match with an older banker. Soon, however, the young woman finds out that behind it is a very ulterior motive: the family wish to sell their old family house and dispose her of twenty mou of land left to her by her father. The excursion to the graves, the recollection of the charm of her early life, provide the lyrical background to the tale. Confused and unhappy at the breaking-up the home where she spent the first sixteen years of her life, the young woman returns to Shanghai."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Jaroslav PRŮŠEK, "Yeh Shao-chün and Anton Chekhov." *Archiv orientální*, 38, 1970, 4, p. 451.

Průšek was probably very sad when he read Yeh Shao-chün's short story and re-read or recollected Chekhov's drama. In his own situation and his country, he did not believe in the "end of the past" like Chekhov; he was forced to think about the "end of the future". Sadness coming out from Chekhov's *Cherry Orchard* or from Yeh Shao-chün's *Autumn*, was his companion through the rest of his life.

Three months after the events following November 17, 1989 in Czechoslovakia, Professor Leo Ou-fan Lee in his letter dated February 21, 1990 expressed a hope that "his (i.e. Průšek's, M.G.) spirit is happy". In his book *Voices From the Iron House*, Maestro Lee put Lu Xun's soul into hell.<sup>26</sup> As far as I remember, Průšek never spoke about hell or heaven with me. Průšek in his afterlife home certainly would like to be in the company of those he liked, or studied much: Confucius, Qu Yuan, Li Bai, Bai Juyi, the narrators and creators of *huaben*, Pu Songling, Shen Fu, Liu E, Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Zheng Zhenduo, Bing Xin, Shen Congwen and others. I personally, following the words of Baudelaire, I would appreciate meeting him "anywhere outside of this world".<sup>27</sup>

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I do not finish my recollections at this moment. Maybe a few words about Průšek's connections with myth and reality are needed here. There was nothing mythical in him or around him. His clash with C.T. Hsia, his charismatic personality, his oratory abilities, and later his suffering and bitter end in the middle of the period I have characterized here as the "end of the future", provoked many to different, not always appropriate explanations. Průšek was a human being, more talented, more industrious than many of us. In spite of the fact that for him like for Faust: "In the beginning was the Deed,"<sup>28</sup> he found enough time to marry three times, to beget a daughter and to enjoy the company of his grandchildren; he had nothing against the presence of the nice and intelligent ladies in his circle and always found time to discuss seriously or with humour with his colleagues, students and friends. As a scholar he was never proud of himself (probably having the image of Confucius in mind). He did not try to hide his deficiencies in the field of knowledge. Once in the year 1959 at one discussion with my colleague and me at the Peking Hotel, he put simply this question: "Who is Ho Qifang? Do you know something about him and about his works?" An arrogant teacher would never ask young pupils something like that. During the late 1940s, up to the beginning 1960s as a Party member he could not work

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<sup>26</sup> Leo Ou-fan LEE, *Voices from the Iron House. A Study of Lu Xun*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press 1987, p. x.

<sup>27</sup> This is an allusion to a poem in prose by Ch. BAUDELAIRE entitled "Anywhere Out of the World" from the collection *Le Spleen de Paris*.

<sup>28</sup> Johann Wolfgang GOETHE, *Faust*. Part One. Transl. by Philip WAYNE. Penguin Books 1986, p. 71.

against the Party policy in the field of Oriental studies or in general literary studies, since for some time he was the top manager of literary studies in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. But only due to this fact he could make a tremendous deposit into Czech Oriental studies. It would not be possible if those with power in the Party hierarchy would not allow him to do so. I personally believe in Průšek's integrity. I agree with his German friend Professor Herbert Franke who characterized him as a humanist in its best and most wide sense.<sup>29</sup>

Průšek was really human, maybe, too human.

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<sup>29</sup> Herbert FRANKE, "Jaroslav Průšek, (14.9. 1906 – 7.4. 1980)." *Jahrbuch der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1980, p. 6.

## THE AFRICAN PERSONALITY OR THE DILEMMA OF THE OTHER AND THE SELF IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDWARD W. BLYDEN, 1832–1912\*

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The second stage of Europe's contact with Africa beginning in the late eighteenth century and continuing throughout the nineteenth into the twentieth century started the long and difficult problem of the identity of Africa and of the Africans which is vital even today. During this period of Afro-European contact Africans were repeatedly confronted with the questions of change and choice as they tried to come to terms with the new world of an expanding Western civilization which was in process of moulding the world in its image. One man in nineteenth-century Africa who tried to see the problem in its entirety was Edward W. Blyden (1832–1912), a West-Indian of pure African descent who during his active career in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Lagos summed up his political and cultural theories, based on a rich fund of living experience and profound study, in his concept of African personality.

European contact with West Africa goes back five centuries, but the influence of Europe over this period has varied enormously. If we skip the first, the longest and in its effects entirely negative span of time which covered three centuries of African history and was dominated by the slave trade, it was the second stage of Europe's contact with Africa beginning in the late eighteenth century and continuing throughout the nineteenth into the twentieth century, which actually started the problem of the identity of Africa and of the Africans. It was undoubtedly a time of great upheaval for Africa, when the destiny of the whole continent started to resolve itself for better or worse. A period in African history when regardless of their own wishes Africans were bound to be drawn out of their way of life and brought into a new relationship with the outside world and under the impact of an expanding Western civilization which was in process of moulding the world in its image. It was during this period, that first West Africans in Sierra Leone, in Senegal and in Liberia, and later also Africans in other parts of Africa were confronted with the presence of Europe and forced to deal with the intrusion of Western ideas, moral and ethical codes, including Western religion – Christianity and Western political institutions and economic patterns.

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Culture contact is a two-way affair and the meeting of two civilizations, European and African, was also a two-way process. The attitudes of Europeans towards Africa and the Africans in this period of culture contact can be better understood only if they are seen as a part of a wider intellectual system, a total world view. This world view which Europeans derived from contemplating their own European societies and on which European cultural tradition was based, served to distort and tint the culture filters through which Europeans observed other parts of the world, and namely Africa. To quote Paul Ricoeur, "The fact that universal civilization has for a long time originated from the European centre has maintained the illusion that European culture was, in fact and by right, a universal culture. Its superiority over other civilizations seemed to provide the experimental verification of this postulate."<sup>1</sup>

Many elaborate theories of race and culture that came to be accepted by most Europeans were put forward in the course of the nineteenth century and quite a few in England. As England in the nineteenth-century re-shaped itself into a class-conscious society based on a hierarchy of social grades, the new social order provided a ready foundation upon which to build a hierarchy of races and a set of racial assumptions which became part of the social, cultural, and intellectual baggage carried into Africa by the British and other Europeans in the few decades before and after the "Scramble for Africa".<sup>2</sup> The concept of progress, which was such a prominent feature of the nineteenth-century European set of ideas and of evolutionary theories of historical change of human society, also implied the existence of a social hierarchy and a scalar ordering of societies perceived as a progression from primitive savagery to civilization. Since white race had reached a higher rung upon a symbolic ladder up which all societies were climbing, and was advancing at a faster rate than other races, described as "lower" or "primitive", the European self-declared mission of leading non-white races along the road to civilization, conceptualized not as European civilization, but as "civilization unqualified and sole", knowledge, and true religion through colonization and Christian evangelization was considered as a natural right. For those who had to confront "the other" in a foreign setting, an elaborate ideology and a set of practices designed to control and change "the other" was inevitable.<sup>3</sup> The characterization of subordinate races by the dominant race was expressed in various conceptions of the subject race. The justifications, assertions and domination of the conception rested upon theories of science, evolution, culture and civilization. Deep-seated prejudices inherent in Eu-

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<sup>1</sup> RICOEUR, P.: *History and Truth*. Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1965, p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. LORIMER, D.A.: *Colour, Class and the Victorians*. Leicester University Press, 1978 and CAIRNS, H.A.C.: *Prelude to Imperialism. British Reactions to Central African Society 1840-1890*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965, pp. 35-72 and 147-167.

<sup>3</sup> BURTON, R.F.: *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*. London, Longmans, 1860. 2 vols; CAMERON, V.L.: *Across Africa*. London, Philip, 1885, pp. 540-541; LUGARD, F.D.: *The Rise of Our East African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda*. Edinburgh, W. Blackwood, 1893. 2 vols, pp. 381, 471.

ropean cultural tradition towards dark-skinned people and beliefs about proper relationships between races based on alleged white superiority and an assumption of the white man's civilizing mission had grown up to rationalize them. Within the framework of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century all discourses on alterity or otherness could only be commentaries or exegeses on special traits of societies and cultures encountered and explanations of the possibilities of reducing non-Western otherness to Western sameness, defined and understood in terms of a model and a value standard determining attributes which emerged as classifiers with the power of measuring the social, cultural, historical and psychological distance from the "same" to the "other".<sup>4</sup>

Most Europeans were thus poorly equipped for either the intellectual understanding of African culture or for any degree of empathy with the way of life it represented. Africans, African culture, religions and artifacts were classified according to the grid of Western thought and imagination in which alterity was a negative category of the same. European representations of Africans or more generally of the African continent, demonstrated this ordering of otherness. Descriptions of African inferiority and commentaries on the Africans' backwardness, mental retardation, indolence, etc. formed part of the series of oppositions and of the levels of classification of humans demanded by the logic of the evolution of mankind and the stages of progress and social development. Travellers, missionaries and early administrators in the nineteenth century and their successors in the later period spoke using the same type of signs and symbols and acted upon them. In Mudimbe's words, "The African has become not only the Other who is everyone else except me, but rather the key which, in its abnormal differences, specifies the identity of the Same."<sup>5</sup> The early missionaries and administrators thus expounded the model of African spiritual and cultural metamorphosis and based their actions upon a general ideological framework according to which they saw themselves transforming through a civilizing process, the Africans into people like themselves.<sup>6</sup> Conceptions of Africa's regeneration consistently involved reduction of differences into a Western historicity.<sup>7</sup> Stressing the discrepancy between "civilization" and Christianity on the one hand and "barbarism" or "primitiveness" and "paganism" on the other, means of "evolution" or "conversion" from the lower stage to the higher stage were searched for and various theories of the steps of colonization and subsequent methods for Africa's "regeneration" were proposed as an ideological explanation for forcing Africa and Africans into a new historical dimension. Theories of colonial expansion, of "the white man's burden" on the one hand, and philoso-

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<sup>4</sup> MUDIMBE, V.Y.: *The Invention of Africa. Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 1988, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> ROSCOE, Rev. J.: *Apolo Kaggwa, Katikiro and Regent of Uganda*. In: Church Missionary Gleaner, July 1, 1902, p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> MUDIMBE, V.Y.: *The Invention of Africa*, op. cit., p. 22.

phies of otherness and discourses on African primitiveness which flourished in Europe during the nineteenth century, emphasized the promotion of a particular model of history. In much of the early literature on Africa the nature of the Europeans' mission was described as the bearing of gifts of civilization, Christianity, peace, justice and good government to the natives.<sup>8</sup> The four C's – Commerce, Christianity, Civilization, Colonization – were deemed by many liberal-minded Europeans to provide the most effective recipe for the transformation and regeneration of Africa.<sup>9</sup> As European influence penetrated and then spread into Africa, countless Africans in different parts of Africa were throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth forced by circumstances or induced through preference to deal with the introduction of Christianity and of new moral and ethical codes and customs it brought and comply somehow or other with the new conditions of life generated by Europe's tightening control over Africa. During this period of Afro-European contact Africans were repeatedly confronted with the questions of change and choice as they tried to understand the new world of Western civilization and somehow to come to terms with it. The second stage of Europe's contact with Africa beginning in the late eighteenth century and continuing throughout the nineteenth into the twentieth century also started the long and difficult problem of the identity of Africa and of the Africans which is vital even today and, as can be expected, African reactions to the process of Westernization and dis-Africanization have been widely various.

One man in nineteenth-century Africa tried to see the problem in its entirety and this man was Edward W. Blyden (1832–1912), a West-Indian of pure African descent, who has been considered by many to be “the most brilliant and articulate Negro spokesman on Africa in the half century preceding his death”.<sup>10</sup> Born in what was then the Danish island of St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands, Blyden, whose active career in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Lagos spanned the years 1851–1912, was no doubt a man of extraordinary commitment and many talents.<sup>11</sup> His parents were Romeo and Judith Blyden, believed to have been born about 1794 and 1795 respectively on St. Eustatius, another Danish West Indian island. Both were free, literate and “of unadulterated African blood”, his mother was a school teacher, his father a tailor.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> LUGARD, F.D.: *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, op. cit., p. 381, 471.

<sup>9</sup> HALLETT, R.: *Changing European Attitudes to Africa*. In: *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 5, ed. J.E. Flint, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp. 458–496, esp. 488–492.

<sup>10</sup> LYNCH, Hollis R.: *The Attitude of Edward W. Blyden to European Imperialism in Africa*. In: *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1965, p. 249. See also LYNCH, Hollis R.: *Edward Wilmot Blyden. Pan-Negro Patriot 1832–1912*. London, Oxford University Press 1967. 272 pp.

<sup>11</sup> BLYDEN, Edward Wilmot: *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*. Edinburgh, At the University Press 1967. Christopher FYFE's Introduction, pp. XI–XVIII. It was originally published with an Introduction by the Hon. Samuel LEWIS in 1887 in London by W.B. Whittingham & Co. (second edition 1888) and reprinted eighty years later in Edinburgh.

<sup>12</sup> The term was used by the Hon. Samuel LEWIS in his Introductory Biographical Note to the first edition of BLYDEN's *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*. Himself “a Negro, of

Blyden came to Liberia as a very young man at the age of eighteen in January 1851 via the United States. Hoping to gain a higher education he spent there seven months attempting vainly to enrol first in Rutgers' Theological College and, failing in his effort, in two other theological Colleges both of which refused him admission on racial grounds. Disappointed by the racial discrimination he encountered in the United States due to his colour, he decided to emigrate to Africa at the expense of the American Colonization Society.<sup>13</sup> The destination was the young Republic of Liberia, the black American colony founded in 1822 and independent since 1847, where he hoped to complete his studies. In Liberia he attended Alexander High School in Monrovia where he studied theology, geography, mathematics and the classics. He proved to be a brilliant student who excelled especially in the last two subjects. In 1862 he was appointed professor of Classic languages at Liberia College, the first secular English speaking institution of higher learning in tropical Africa, and remained there as a Professor until 1871.<sup>14</sup>

Blyden was certainly not a personality on which one could pass a cut-and-dry judgement. The same is true of his philosophy. Himself a victim of the racial discrimination, Blyden wished to establish the respectability of his race. Race was the theme which predominated in all his writings. In seeking to oppose current racist theories he developed his own concept of race, stressing the virtues of African race and fostering pride in its history and culture. This theory of Blyden's affected his ideas on African history, culture, religion, education and on Africa's future, including his belief in the importance of a co-operation of Afro-Americans with Africa and the necessity of their repatriation as a first vital step in Africa's regeneration.

Despite a relatively short and limited formal education Blyden developed into an outstanding scholar – historian, sociologist, theologian, classicist and linguist, who could read Greek and Latin fluently and besides all the Romance languages also mastered several West African languages as well as Arabic and Hebrew. "To understand the Hebrew language – to read with facility the poets and prophets of the Old Testament, and the Talmud in the original..." was, as he himself admitted in *The Jewish Question*, one of the strongest wishes of his life

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unadulterated African blood", he claimed that Blyden was also "of the purest Negro parentage". See pp. VII and VIII. It was the father of Romeo Blyden and grandfather of Edward Blyden who came to the West Indies from Iboland. See also ESEDEBE, P.O.: *Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832–1912) as a Pan-African Theorist*. In: *Sierra Leone Studies*, New Ser. No. 25, July 1969, pp. 14–23, esp. p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Blyden, who had long acted as adviser to Liberian Presidents, in 1864 also became Secretary of State and between 1864 and 1866 had to combine his position as Professor at Liberia College with his official position in the Liberian Government. Blyden hoped that Liberia College, the first secular English-speaking institution of higher learning in tropical Africa, would eventually become a University of great international renown serving black students and scholars from all over the world.

and he taught himself Hebrew in his spare time.<sup>15</sup> Born “in the midst of Jews in the Danish island of St. Thomas” from his childhood he developed a lifelong interest in the ancient and current history of “God’s chosen people”, including “that marvellous movement called Zionism”.<sup>16</sup> Blyden attempted to study the Jewish question from the African standpoint, since “the history of the African race – their enslavement, persecution, proscription, and sufferings – closely resembles that of the Jews”.<sup>17</sup> His interest in Zionism was fostered, as he himself put it, also by the fact that “The message of the great Zionist movement to the Jews,”...“in some of its aspects, is similar to that which at this moment agitates thousands of the descendants of Africa in America, anxious to return to the land of their fathers”.<sup>18</sup>

Blyden’s ultimate goal was the vindication the African race. He began writing at the age of eighteen. In his first pieces published in the colonization journals of America he condemned slavery and racial discrimination and advocated strongly the emigration of free Negroes to Liberia. Liberia, the newly independent republic, was for Blyden a synthesis of the best in African and Western cultures, a nucleus of a modern, progressive African nation, destined to play a most important role on behalf of the entire African race and demonstrating to the world African abilities and talents. “It is the earnest desire of Liberians to see American Slavery speedily abolished.... Their object is, *the redemption of Africa, and the disenthralment and elevation of the African race!!!* object worthy of every coloured man, of every Christian..,” he wrote in *A Voice from Bleeding Africa*, one of his earliest writings.<sup>19</sup> “What under the sun, can be worse than America slavery, that ‘mystery of iniquity’” by which energies of men are crushed and their spirit of manliness and independence almost extinguished. “What condition can be worse to a rational being than that which deprives him of the right to exercise those powers which God has given him in such a way as he deems advantageous to himself, and makes him the tool and chattel of another man, with whom he stands equal in the eye of the great Creator?”<sup>20</sup>

Blyden was a prolific writer though not always consistent in his views, which developed, matured and even changed over years.<sup>21</sup> His most active years

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<sup>15</sup> BLYDEN, Edward W.: *The Jewish Question*. Liverpool 1898, 23 pp. In: LYNCH, Hollis R. (Ed.): *Black Spokesman. Selected Published Writings of Edward Wilmot Blyden*. London, Frank Cass & Co. LTD. 1971, pp. 209–214, esp. p. 210.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 209 and 210.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 210–212.

<sup>19</sup> *A Voice from Bleeding Africa*. In: LYNCH, Hollis R. (Ed.): *Black Spokesman. Selected Published Writings of Edward Wilmot Blyden*, op. cit., p. 10. This and many other early pamphlets were privately published, *A Voice from Bleeding Africa* on Behalf of Her Exiled Children. Monrovia, G. Killian 1856. 33 pp. was the very first of Blyden’s many pamphlets.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7 and 9.

<sup>21</sup> Very critical is Mudimbe who talks of “an unbelievable inconsistency in Blyden’s thought”. See MUDIMBE, V.Y.: *E.W. Blyden’s Legacy and Questions*. In: MUDIMBE, V.Y.: *The Invention of Africa*, op. cit., Chapter IV, pp. 98–134, esp. p. 115.

spanned the period of major European penetration and control of Africa, i.e. roughly the half century preceding the outbreak of the World War I. A list of his published writings drawn up by his biographer, Miss Edith Holden, contains nearly a hundred items.<sup>22</sup> His major works were all written between 1851 and 1912. They expounded his views on major problems facing Africa. Blyden had not only a wide knowledge of African history, thought, culture and traditions, but was also an outstanding publicist, a master of written English, and a brilliant speaker. At the age of nineteen he became a correspondent of the *Liberia Herald*, the only newspaper in Liberia and became its editor for a year in 1855–56, and later on he was the editor of the new periodical *Negro* which he himself founded in 1872 in Freetown. Blyden was also a regular contributor to various periodicals published in West Africa, e.g. the *Lagos Weekly Record*, *Sierra Leone Times*, *Liberian Bulletin*, as well as to secular and missionary periodicals published in America and England, such as *Methodist Quarterly Review*, *African Repository*, the journal of the American Colonization Society, *New York Colonization Journal*, *North American Review*, *A.M.E. Church Review*, *Journal of African Society*, *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* and *Fraser's Magazine*. He was, at the time of his death, a resident editor of a British periodical *The African World*.

Blyden was first of all a propagandist. His published writings were all short pieces, some of which appeared during his lifetime in two collections, *Liberia's Offering* and *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*. As a scholar Blyden distinguished himself by yet another work *African Life and Customs*, his major work of a sociological nature attempting to describe customs and institutions of West African societies.<sup>23</sup>

To give Africans confidence, self respect and pride, to refute charges of the inherent inferiority of his race and to rebut the myth that blacks are entirely destitute of intellectual ability and hence slavery is a means of their improvement, he turned to the past. In his pamphlet *A Voice from Bleeding Africa*<sup>24</sup> he listed twenty-seven distinguished Negroes from Africa and the New World, such as two African-born scholars, A.W. Amo, J.E.J. Capitein, Toussaint l'Ouverture and among "the African geniuses" of the nineteenth century he also mentioned Alexander Pushkin and Alexandre Dumas. "In view of such examples of intellectual and moral greatness, as we have mentioned, shall such ordinary white men as the majority of American slave-holders are, despise and insult the race from which they sprung, and allege its inferiority, in justification of their most

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<sup>22</sup> HOLDEN, Edith: *Blyden of Liberia. An Account of the Life and Labors of Edward Wilmot Blyden, LL.D. As Recorded in Letters and Print*. New York 1967. See also Christopher FYFE's Introduction to the reissue of the first edition of Edward W. BLYDEN's *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*. Edinburgh, At the University Press 1967.

<sup>23</sup> *Liberia's Offering*. New York, John A. Gray 1862. 167 pp. and *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*. With an Introduction by the Hon. Samuel LEWIS. London, W.B. Whittingham & Co. 1887. 375 pp. *African Life and Customs*. London, C.M. Phillips 1908. 91 pp.

<sup>24</sup> *A Voice from Bleeding Africa on Behalf of Her Exiled Children*, op. cit.

horrible system...?", he wrote.<sup>25</sup> In another pamphlet, *A Vindication of the African Race*, he skilfully refuted all the theories which purported to prove African inferiority, "the idea of phrenological inferiority" and the myth of Ham's curse.<sup>26</sup>

The basic concept of Blyden's works was a successful endeavour to interpret the history and culture of Africa from the point of view of Africans themselves. Blyden continually had in mind the future of Africa and the Africans, but saw it always in terms of historical continuity. Blyden, a pioneer among African historians, realized the opinion that Africa was without history was demoralizing for Africans. He believed, that Africans not only had a worthy past, they also possessed a unique culture and "in spite of all, the Negro race has yet its part to play – a distinct part – in the history of humanity, and the continent of Africa will be the principal scene of its activity".<sup>27</sup>

An important pre-requisite in "regenerating Africa" and re-establishing its influence was thus in his view a dissemination of the knowledge that Africans had a history and culture of their own of which they could be proud. Blyden believed that "The Sphinx" which was for him a metaphor for Africa, "must solve her own riddle at last".<sup>28</sup> Blyden also began to spread the idea of a common destiny which Americans of African origin shared with Africa. He himself returned to Africa from the New World and believed that other Afro-Americans should return for the very purpose of teaching their fellow Africans skills and standards he believed would improve the Africans' lot. "The opening up of Africa is to be the work of Africans"<sup>29</sup> because "only the Negro will be able to explain the Negro to the rest of mankind".<sup>30</sup> "The African at home," he claimed, "needs to be surrounded by influences from abroad, not that he may change his nature, but that he may improve his capacity."<sup>31</sup> And "the instruments for the regeneration of this continent," he maintained, "are the millions of Africans in the Western hemisphere, where, after nigh three hundred years of residence, they are still considered as strangers".<sup>32</sup>

Even in his early writings Blyden expanded much thought on the character of human civilization and human races and frequently referred to the character of the African race, his concept of race was, however, not fully formulated until

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> *A Vindication of the African Race*. Monrovia, G. Killian 1857. It appeared also in *Liberia's Offering*, op. cit., pp. 31–64 and LYNCH, Hollis R. (Ed.): *Black Spokesman. Selected Published Writings of Edward Wilmot Blyden*, op. cit., pp. 131–133.

<sup>27</sup> *Africa and the Africans*. In: *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, op. cit., p. 276.

<sup>28</sup> *Africa's Service to the World*. In: *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, op. cit., p. 127.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> *Africa and the Africans*. In: *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, op. cit., p. 263.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 277.

<sup>32</sup> *African Colonization*. In: *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, op. cit., p. 349.

the early 1870's.<sup>33</sup> He developed his own theory of human races, which became the basis of his concept of Africanness or of the African Personality, to rebut European charges of African inferiority.<sup>34</sup> Blyden's concept of race was produced within a given historical period in reaction to a specific intellectual climate and the most intolerant racist interpretations of Africa, its history and culture. In the nineteenth century, race became the main explanation of human variety and of cultural and social differences. While the spread of the European power around the world was seen as an eloquent sign of the superiority of the white race, the enslavement of Africans, who had "not made known their existence by remarkable works, by superior monuments in the political field, literature, science or industry" was a sign of their inferiority and stupidity, for they allowed themselves to "be duped, enchained and sold even by men less strong".<sup>35</sup> Blyden seems to have been familiar with contemporary writings on race produced by American upholders of slavery, polygenists, monogenists and followers of Darwinism and with racial theories maintained by the English school of anthropologists led by Richard Burton and James Hunt and he was no doubt influenced by the main ideas on race elaborated in such works as Count Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, which conveniently synthesized the ideas on race of his predecessors and contemporaries and was regarded as the classic nineteenth-century statement on the subject.<sup>36</sup>

Blyden adopted the assumption that mankind is divided into races and their interaction is the driving force behind all developments of history and society. The basic idea behind Blyden's concept was a division of vocations between different races and racial individuality. As each of the major human races had special inherent attributes, he maintained, so did the African race and it was the duty of members of this race "to retain Race integrity and Race individuality" and to develop its special qualities for the ultimate benefit of humanity. Blyden pointed out the derogatory opposition of colour white versus black as a symbol of distance in culture and civilization, "The standard of all physical and intellectual excellencies in the present civilization being the white complexion, whatever deviates from that favoured colour is proportionally depreciated, until the

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<sup>33</sup> Some of his most significant statements on race were expressed in an article entitled *Africa and the Africans* published in August 1878 in the British Quarterly, *Fraser's Magazine*. It appeared as part of *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*. See LYNCH, H.R.: *Edward Wilmot Blyden. Pan-Negro Patriot, Vindicator of the Negro Race*, p. 59.

<sup>34</sup> The phrase "African Personality" which Blyden used occasionally to describe the character and special inherent attributes of the Africans seemed to have been used by him for the very first time in a lecture to the Young Men's Literary Association of Sierra Leone, entitled "Study and Race", delivered in Freetown on 19 May 1893 and published in the *Sierra Leone Times*, 27 May 1893. See LYNCH, H.R.: *Black Spokesman*, op. cit., pp. 195-204, esp. pp. 200-201.

<sup>35</sup> VIREY, J.J.: *Histoire naturelle du genre humain*. I. Paris 1801, pp. 434-435, 2, pp. 52-57. Quoted in: COHEN, William B.: *The French Encounter with Africans. White Response to Blacks, 1530-1880*. Bloomington-London, Indiana University Press 1880, pp. 214.

<sup>36</sup> GOBINEAU, Count Arthur de: *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*. Paris 1854.

black, which is the opposite, becomes not only the most unpopular but the unprofitable colour.”<sup>37</sup> Taking this into consideration, “...for every one of us – there is a special work to be done,” he continued, “a work of tremendous necessity and tremendous importance – a work for the Race to which we belong. It is a great Race – great in its vitality, in its powers of endurance and its prospect of perpetuity... there is a responsibility which our personality, our membership in this Race involves. It is sad to think that there are some Africans, especially among those who have enjoyed the advantages of foreign training, who are blind enough to the radical facts of humanity as to say, ‘Let us do away with the sentiment of Race. Let us do away with our *African personality* and be lost, if possible, in another Race’.”<sup>38</sup> “But to retain Race integrity and Race individuality is no easy task in the hard, dogmatic and insurgent civilization in which we live. It has been said that the fringe of European civilization is violence. All agencies at work, philanthropic, political and commercial, are tending to fashion us after the one pattern which Europe holds out.”<sup>39</sup> Believing in the distinctiveness of races, Blyden argued vehemently, “One race tries to force another into its own mould and the weaker race is sometimes compelled to give way to its own detriment and the detriment of humanity... if you surrender your personality, you have nothing left to give the world”... “to give up your personality would be to give up the peculiar work and the peculiar glory to which we are called.”<sup>40</sup> According to Blyden, and some other black nationalist leaders later on, it was in the spiritual and cultural sphere that Africans were destined to make their major contribution to world civilization. The African Personality was characterized by cheerfulness, love of nature and willingness to serve, by “simple and cordial manliness and sympathy with every interest of actual life and every effort for freedom”.<sup>41</sup> One of the essential characteristics of the African was, Blyden claimed, the spirit of service born of his spiritual genius – “the supple, yielding, conciliatory, obedient, gentle, patient, musical spirit that is not full of offensive resistance – how sadly the white man needs it”.<sup>42</sup>

Blyden accepted the existence of different human races as well as the existence of an African race, but he vehemently protested against such expressions as the Despised Races, frequently used in the publications of the American Missionary Association, or the Dark Continent. Blyden’s perspective which arose as a response to racism and to Europe’s denigration of Africa rejected the evolu-

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<sup>37</sup> *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, op. cit., p. 77.

<sup>38</sup> BLYDEN, E.W.: A Lecture to the Young Men’s Literary Association of Sierra Leone, May 19th, 1893; *Sierra Leone Times*, May 27th, 1893. In: LYNCH, Hollis R. (Ed.): *Black Spokesman. Selected Published Writings of Edward Wilmot Blyden*. London, Frank Cass & Co. LTD. 1971, op. cit., p. 203 and pp. 200–201. Italics are mine.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201 and p. 203.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>42</sup> Blyden to Booker T. Washington, 28th November, 1894. *New York Age*, January 24th, 1895. In LYNCH, H.R.: *Black Spokesman*, op. cit., p. 207.

tionary assumption of “identical but unequal races” which justified colonialism, imperialism and the self-imposed White man’s burden or mission, and asserted the thesis of pluralism in the historical development of races. Blyden deemed races to be different but equal. Africans, he wrote, “are distinct but equal”. “The mistake which Europeans often make in considering questions of Negro improvement and the future of Africa, is in supposing that the Negro is the European – in the undeveloped stage – and that when, by and by, he shall enjoy the advantages of civilization and culture, he will become like the European; in other words, that the Negro is on the same line of progress, in the same groove, with the European, but infinitely in the rear.”<sup>43</sup> “This view proceeds upon the assumption,” Blyden continued, “that the two races are called to the same work and are alike in potentiality and ultimate development, the Negro only needing the element of time, under certain circumstances to become European. But to our mind it is not a question between the two races of inferiority or superiority. There is no absolute or essential superiority on the one side, nor absolute or essential inferiority on the other side. It is a question of difference of endowment and difference of destiny”... “Each race is endowed with peculiar talents,” Blyden argued.<sup>44</sup> According to Blyden, each race had its own “personality” and mission, African customs and institutions representing a significant aspect of the “African Personality”.<sup>45</sup> Due to this special endowment “the Negro race has yet its part to play – a distinct part – in the history of humanity, and the continent of Africa will be the principal scene of its activity”.<sup>46</sup>

Blyden was the nationalist speaker of Africa who had, by study and travel, kept himself abreast of developments in the international situation. The second half of the eighteen-seventies saw Blyden’s thinking enter a new phase. The theoretical background of his thought remained, but new problems thrust themselves into the foreground with the continuing process of Africa’s opening up to a white presence and European colonization of the continent, the need for a theoretical preparation for the future ordering of Africa. The fundamental question became that of Africa’s unity. The idea of the unity of the African continent, the concept of the African nation and of the African Personality were major considerations central to Blyden’s political philosophy. Blyden devoted a great deal of attention to these problems. He conceded the disparity among the inhabitants of the continent, their ethnic and cultural differences as well differences of tongue and religion. He declared, however, with conviction, that along with these differences there existed or should exist a common consciousness of belonging together. He called in the help of history and declared and offered proof – not illogically or unsuccessfully – that the long history of Africa was evidence of an

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<sup>43</sup> *Africa and the Africans*, p. 277 and 276. In: *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, op. cit.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>45</sup> *Africa and the Africans*, op. cit., p. 191.

<sup>46</sup> *Africa and the Africans*, op. cit., p. 276.

inner spiritual and cultural unity based on the toleration of African culture and its ability to assimilate foreign cultures. Though himself profoundly influenced by Western, Christian ideas transmitted through schooling, language and contact with the Western world, Edward Blyden was curiously one of the first Africans to stress the danger of cultural dispossession. Africans, he maintained, should not indiscriminately adopt European values and institutions and should appreciate and cherish their own customs and institutions. Convinced that the African had special attributes and a distinctive contribution to make to world civilization, Blyden stressed the need to foster cultural nationalism in West Africa or Africa based on pride in African history and culture. "Africa may yet prove to be the spiritual conservatory of the world... when the civilized nations, in consequence of their wonderful material development, shall have had their spiritual preceptions darkened and their spiritual susceptibilities blunted through the agency of a captivating and absorbing materialism, it may be, that they may have to resort to Africa to recover some of the simple elements of faith; for the promise of that land is that she shall stretch forth her hands unto God."<sup>47</sup> "Ethiopia and Ethiopians" which is for Blyden a synonym for Africa, "having always served, will continue to serve the world. The Negro is, at this moment, the opposite of the Anglo-Saxon. Those everywhere serve the world; these everywhere govern the world."<sup>48</sup> African slaves, "the black stream of humanity... has fertilized half the Western continent. It has created commerce and influenced its progress."<sup>49</sup> "Africa is distinguished as having *served* and *suffered*. In this, her lot is not unlike that of God's ancient people, the Hebrews, who were known among the Egyptians as the servants of all; and among the Romans, in later times, they were numbered by Cicero with the 'nations born to servitude'.... The lot of Africa resembles also His who made Himself of no reputation, but took upon Himself the form of a servant, and, having been made perfect through suffering, became the 'Captain of our salvation'."<sup>50</sup>

Blyden criticized Christian missions for their sin of cultural alienation, for striving to completely Europeanize Africans and thus thwart the development of the "African Personality", and preached a Christianity adapted to the African context. Western-educated Africans should not only retain pride in the African history, customs and institutions, they themselves should control the process of selecting and integrating aspects or modified versions of Western culture into a new cultural synthesis. On the other hand, Islam, Blyden argued, had brought Africans the benefits of a major world civilization without creating in them a

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<sup>47</sup> *Africa's Service to the World*. In: *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, op. cit., p. 124.

<sup>48</sup> *Ethiopia stretching out her hands unto God*; or, *Africa's Service to the World*. In: LYNCH, H.R.: *Black Spokesman*, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

sense of inferiority.<sup>51</sup> In 1866 he made a journey to the East visiting Egypt, Palestine and Syria with the view of studying the Arabic language which he wished to introduce into the curriculum of the Liberia college.<sup>52</sup> By then Blyden had concluded that Africans lacked education relevant to the goals and aspirations of Africa and this very fact represented the greatest obstacle to creative progress on the part of the black people. When he was appointed President of Liberia College in 1880 he strived very hard to introduce a curriculum which would answer Africa's peculiar needs and he planned to introduce Arabic into the University curriculum and institute a chair of Arabic and West African languages. However, during the short period he was President of Liberia College, he was not able to put his educational theories into practice. Nor did he succeed in Sierra Leone where he strived to found a secular West African University controlled by Africans themselves.

By the 1870s Blyden's ideas had reached maturity and he made a significant impact on the English-speaking literary scene and scholarly world. During his life Blyden was brought into contact with some distinguished literary men of his day. After 1871, Blyden divided his time in West Africa between Liberia and the British colonies of Sierra Leone and Lagos. From this time his influence spread rapidly throughout English-speaking West Africa.

Blyden summed up his political and cultural theories, based on a rich fund of living experience and profound study, in a remarkable volume, entitled *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, his most influential work. This *magnum opus* first published in London in 1887, comprised of fifteen miscellaneous essays written and first published between 1871 and 1887, contained many challenging and stimulating ideas on the themes of the character and achievement of the Negro race and the role, past and future, of the New World blacks in Africa as well as on the influence of Christianity and Islam on the Negro. In it he gathered an imposing mass of factual material, admirably sifted, and worked up in brilliant style. In it, too, he attempted to find an answer to the urgent questions facing Africa and the black race, both Africans and the Negroes living in the diaspora.

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<sup>51</sup> In much of his writings after 1870 Blyden was highly sympathetic to Islam in Africa. Comparing it with Christianity he praised it as a unifying factor cutting across ethnic lines and having an elevating influence by bringing the Arabic language and literature to Africans. On the other hand Christianity and European Christian missions, according to him, created in Africans a sense of inferiority and servility and by their sectarianism were dividing Africans. See e.g. *Mohammedanism in Western Africa*. In: *Methodist Quarterly Review* 1871; *Mohammedanism and the Negro Race*. In: *Fraser's Magazine*, November 1875; *Islam in the Western Soudan*. In: *Journal of the African Society*, 1902, pp. 11–31; *The Koran in Africa*. In: *Journal of African Society*, 1905, pp. 160–166; and relevant parts in *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, op. cit.

<sup>52</sup> Blyden first began studying Arabic in the early 1860s and in 1867, one year after his trip to Egypt and the Middle East, he was proficient enough to teach it at Liberia College. An accomplished linguist, Blyden completely mastered Arabic, reading, writing and speaking it fluently.

It was extremely well written, Blyden was a master of written English, and this book of Blyden's made a tremendous impact in Europe and America. Blyden's criticism of missionaries and his Islamic preferences were not always accepted. However, the cultured sophistication of the author of *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* was greatly admired in Europe and the New World.<sup>53</sup>

Blyden's life, work and achievements have received much scholarly attention. Blyden has been celebrated as "the First African Personality" who attempted and succeeded in fashioning a total philosophy of Africanness which not only had a great appeal for his contemporaries, but for future generations of Africans as well. In his writings he tried to defend, champion and inspire his fellow-Africans and thus re-establish the psychic and emotional sense of security of the Africans in the face of Europe's intrusion with a brilliance that foreshadowed to a remarkable degree African thinking in the mid-twentieth century when another generation of Africans strived to formulate a philosophy of *négritude* and of African personality.<sup>54</sup> Léopold Sédar Senghor, the father of *négritude*, called him the "foremost precursor both of *Négritude* and of the *African Personality*".<sup>55</sup> Some of his ideas concerning European colonization and especially Britain's political influence were ambiguous.<sup>56</sup> Of all the black intellectuals of the nineteenth century, Edward W. Blyden, stands out as by far the most arresting figure. The continuing interest in the life and ideas of Blyden who spent his entire life grappling with the fundamental problems of Africa and of the Africans and seeking to find answers to these questions, is an ample proof of the relevance of some of his ideas even today.

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<sup>53</sup> Some readers doubted that such a book could have been written by a Negro.

<sup>54</sup> See e.g. JULY, R.W.: *Nineteenth Century Negritude: Edward W. Blyden*. In: *Journal of African History* V, No. 1, 1964; also JULY, R.W.: *The Origins of Modern African Thought*. Chapter II. *The First African Personality. Edward W. Blyden*. New York, Praeger 1967; London, Faber 1968 and JULY, R.W.: *An African Voice. The Role of the Humanities in African Independence*. Durham, Duke University Press 1987. See also LYNCH, Hollis R.: *Edward W. Blyden: Pioneer West African Nationalist*. In: *Journal of African History*, VI, 3, 1965, pp. 373–388.

<sup>55</sup> See SENGHOR's foreword to LYNCH, H.R.(Ed.): *Selected Letters of Edward Wilmot Blyden*. New York, KTO Press 1978, pp. XV–XXII.

<sup>56</sup> LYNCH, Hollis R.: *The Attitude of Edward W. Blyden to European Imperialism in Africa*. In: *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1965, pp. 249–260. Also ESEDEBE, P.O.: *Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832–1912) as a Pan-African Theorist*. In: *Sierra Leone Studies*, New Ser. No. 25, July 1969, pp. 14–23. Blyden's ideas concerning European colonization have been recently criticized by MUDIMBE, V.Y.: *E.W. Blyden's Legacy and Questions*. In: MUDIMBE, V.Y.: *The Invention of Africa*, op. cit., Chapter IV, pp. 98–134. Blyden, who became deeply disappointed with Liberia, which was for him a nucleus of a modern, progressive African nation, synthesizing the best in African and Western cultures and destined to play a most important role on behalf of the entire African race, became Liberia's critic. When he started to doubt if Liberia would ever be able to play the ambitious role he assigned her, he attempted to persuade the British to establish a vast Protectorate over West Africa and thus help to elevate and modernize Africa and create a major English-speaking West African nation. He, however, never doubted that European political overlordship would be temporary and he was anxious to foster cultural nationalism in West Africa.

## REVIEW ARTICLES

### VISIONS AND DESIRES IN THE 13TH ICLA '91 TOKYO CONGRESS AND ITS PROCEEDINGS\*

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The aim of this review article is to analyse the complete set of the proceedings of the 13th Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association, Tokyo 1991, and the separate Chinese version containing the contributions of the Chinese participants from the PRC.<sup>1</sup>

*For Haga Toru and Kano Takayo whose tireless  
and enthusiastic work made the ICLA '91 possible*

“Since ancient times,” wrote the unnamed author in the official programme of the 13th ICLA Congress, “people have used vision to try to come to terms with the world, and to find spiritual sustenance. Today as well we seek the power to envision the future. The force of vision is an ardent wish for the infinite and the absolute. It encompasses both love and hatred and the irresistible urge for beauty, wealth and immortality.”

Haga Toru, *spiritus rector* both of the 13th ICLA Congress and of its *Proceedings*, wrote sincerely in the *Preface. A New Breeze from the East, New Breeze toward the East*, that it was Kobayashi Yasuo, a specialist in French literature, who restated the original idea of “illusion, or imagination, as a ‘vision’”, and then Kawamoto Koji, Haga’s *aide-de-camp*, proposed “*vision no chikara*” (the force of vision), that became the most general topic of the congress. Ochi Hiroshi, one of the most lavish sponsors, mentioned the *Bible*, and Haga Toru

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<sup>1</sup> *The Force of Vision. ICLA '91 Tokyo. Proceedings of the XIIIth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association*. Miner, Earl and Haga Toru (General Editors), 6 Vols., Tokyo, University of Tokyo Press 1995, 549, 657, 596, 142, 186 and 626 pp. and *Yuwang yu huanxiang. Dongfang yu Xifang (Desire and Vision. East and West)*. Ed. by Yue Daiyun and Liu Guozang. Nanchang. People’s Publishing House of Jiangxi Province 1991, 511 pp.

looked into it, and found one example of the “force of vision” in the *Proverbs*, 29, 18: “Where *there is* no vision, the people perish: but he that keepeth the law, happy *is* he.” The vision (*yixiang* in Chinese) in the *Bible*, is concerned mostly with two aspects of God’s Providence: words by Prophets and revelations in dreams.<sup>2</sup>

I personally would prefer to use another kind of *biblical* vision. Since my childhood I appreciate very much a woodcut by W. Aarland, one of the painters in the “Nazarite Group” around Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1794–1872),<sup>3</sup> showing Moses, “an hundred and twenty years old”,<sup>4</sup> on the Mount of Nebo (which means, by chance, Heaven in Slovak), with God showing the greatest among the Hebrew Prophets, the whole *Promised Land*: “all the land of Gilead, unto Dan. And all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim, and Manasseh, and all the land of Juda, unto the utmost sea. And the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto Zoar.”<sup>5</sup> What Haga Toru and his ICLA ’91 Tokyo Congress Headquarters has done, mainly thanks to many years of efforts by Kano Takayo, is in our time similarly magnificent as the view and vision just mentioned. The framework of this new vision comprises nearly all corners of Comparative Literature in *orbe universo*.

It is self-evident that the unnamed author immediately after the *Bible* reached for the legacy which was one of the most important sources of the East Asian tradition: for *Zhuangzi*, Chapter Twelve entitled *Heaven and Earth*. Here the man of kingly Virtue “sees in the darkest, hears where there is no sound. In the midst of the darkness, he alone sees the dawn; in the midst of the soundless, he alone hears harmony. Therefore, in depth piled upon depth he can spy out the thing; in spirituality piled upon spirituality he can discover the essence.”<sup>6</sup> The eminent translator Burton Watson is right when he compares these words with Laozi’s *Daodejing*, XXI: “shadowy and indistinct, within it is a thing; dim and dark, within it is an essence.”<sup>7</sup> And maybe, it is likewise right to claim that all these allegations find its most eloquent illustrations in the fabulous Zhuangzian roc, named Peng, that “measures I don’t know how many thousand li across, and when he rises up and flies off, his wings are like clouds over the sky...”<sup>8</sup> This mythical bird, “with a back like Mount T’ai... beats the whirlwind, leaps

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<sup>2</sup> “Chinese Hastings”. *Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by Rees, W. H. and Macgillivray, D. Hong Kong, Shengshu gonghui 1953, p. 611.

<sup>3</sup> SCHNORR VON CAROLSFELD, J.: *Die Bibel in Bildern*. Bilderläuterungen von Heinrich Merz. Dortmund, Harenberg 1983, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> *Deuteronomy*, 34, 7. With the exception of the text to note 11, the translation used here is always the *King James Bible*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 34, 1–2.

<sup>6</sup> *Zhuangzi yinde (A Concordance to Chuang Tzu)*. Peking, Harvard-Yenching Institute 1947, p. 29 and *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. Trans. by Burton Watson. New York and London, Columbia University Press 1968, p. 128.

<sup>7</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 1 and 29 respectively.

into the air, and rises up ninety thousand li, cutting through the clouds and mist, shouldering the blue sky, and then he turns his eyes south and prepares to journey to the southern darkness.”<sup>9</sup>

This *xiaoyaoyou* (free and easy wandering) is not so easy as it seems at first glance. It is not only a product of imagination, it is also a consequence of much efforts, courage, broad and deep knowledge of things and their essence, transcending often the borders of our time and space. The *nanming* (southern darkness), just mentioned, here alludes to something unknown, not as yet studied, for us enigmatic, the very object of our present and future research.

Haga Toru in his *Preface* pointed to Matsuo Basho (1644–1694) and to Yoshida Shoin (1830–1859), François Villon, Henry David Thoreau and Kenneth Clark, as examples for just such a vision. As a representative of the “Tokyo School” of Comparative Literature, he tried and succeeded to bring it closer to Comparative Culture. This tendency quite obvious at the ICLA ’91 Tokyo Congress, became generally accepted also at the ICLA ’94 Edmonton Congress and at the last ICLA ’97 Leiden congress.

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The first volume of the *Proceedings* begins with the section *Dramas of Desire*, ed. by Ziva Ben-Porat and Hana Wirth-Nesher (both of Tel Aviv University). “Dramas of Desire” was also the topic of the first section, and it was probably only by a freak of chance, that it begins with a study by Maria Alzira Seixo (University of Lisbon), the President of the ICLA between the Tokyo and Edmonton Congresses, on two Portuguese and their relation to the Land of the Rising Sun. “Comprehensive differentiation” in the work of F.M. Pinto (1511–1583) and “nostalgic differentiation” (I, p. 17) in the works of Venceslau de Moraes (1854–1929) in relation to his homeland and to Japan, presented here shows us two examples we should strive for in this age of globalization: intercultural communication and mutual understanding. The Japanese proverb: *Au wa wakare no hajime* (Meeting is the beginning of separation), quoted by de Moraes, may be supplemented here by the second sentence from *Lunyu* (*The Analects of Confucius*): *You peng zi yuan fang lai, bu yi luo hu?* (Is it not a joy to have friends come from afar?)<sup>10</sup> Both have one thing in common: the Others and We are involved in dialectical and reciprocal relationship that should be solved for the benefit of mankind.

In one of the shortest essays of the whole *Proceedings*, Kimie Imura Lawlor (Misei University, Tokyo), condensed the work of years on research into the reception of Oscar Wilde’s *Salomé* in Japan. Probably in no other country of the East was Wilde’s one-act-play so manysidedly welcome as in Japan. Probably

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 1 and 31 respectively.

<sup>10</sup> CONFUCIUS: *The Analects (Lun yü)*. Trans. by D.C. Lau. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1983, pp. 3 and 4.

Mishima Yukio's creative elaboration of the theme was most representative and unique, since *Salomé* "gave definitive expression to his aesthetic theory in its final phase", (I, p. 43) before his death in 1970.

As seen from another essay by Sasaki Hideaki (Nagoya Institute of Technology), Morita Sohei, author of the novel *Baien (Smoke)* from the year 1909, was not so successful as Mishima. Maybe because of the inadequacy of his imagination, his vision of the two lovers did not achieve the depth and the zeal of the *Triumph of Death* by Gabrielle d'Annunzio, although it was the author's aim.

Paola Mildonian (University of Venice) in her paper with a long title *Codes d'amour et codes sociaux dans la littérature arménienne du Moyen-Age: à la croisée de cultures islamiques et chrétiennes*, treats the topic of love and desire in some works of Armenian poetry on the background of the Greco-Roman, Christian, Arabic, Persian, Georgian, and famous epics, such as *Layla and Majnun*, *Rustam and Zal*, or *Shirin and Farhad*.

Not desire, but passion, honour, its defence and vengeance, is the topic of Joseph V. Ricapito's (Louisiana State University): *Literary Configurations of Honor: A Comparison between Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Racine and Corneille*. After Corneille's *Cid*, de Vega's *Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña* and *El castigo sin venganza*, Racine's *Phèdre*, Ricapito analyses three novellas by Cervantes where Christian humanism and the author's "great understanding of life's processes break through over cruelty and vengeance" (I, p.155).

József Pal (University of Szeged) devotes only a few pages to another interesting theme within the realm of desires and their (un)fulfilment in wonderful treatment in *Mors osculi: un motif synchrétique dans la Florence du XVème siècle*. Its origin Pal sees in the Neoplatonism and in its predecessors, and nourished by the teachings of Moses, Pythagoras, Plotinus, Zoroaster and Cabbala. The objects of the analysis are Lorenzo de' Medici, Michelangelo, Pico della Mirandola, and even "Osculetur me osculo oris sui"<sup>11</sup> from the biblical *Song of Songs*. For me, at least, the paper *Visions of Beauty: The Western Rhetorical Tradition*, seems to be the best among the section II, introduced by Roseann Runte (Université York, Toronto) and Hans H. Runte (Dalhousie University, Halifax). Its author George A. Kennedy (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), traces the concept of beauty from the words contributed to Homer through Plato, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* up to Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, or William Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty*, and comes to a statement that a "vision of beauty, whether human beauty, natural beauty, or transcendental beauty, is a rhetorical device by which emotional energy is imparted to a text." (I, p. 289). Up to the 4th cent. B.C., there were no really voluptuous representations of womanly beauty in Greek art. More attention was paid to the draperies and beautiful clothes. Beauty was an outcome of different effects on the consumers. Beautiful and good

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<sup>11</sup> *Canticum canticorum Salomonis, I, 1*. In: *Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis*. Tomus II. Ratisbonae 1857, p. 437.

(*kalos k'agathos*) should connect physical and moral beauty. The very different beauty of the *Song of Songs* began exercise its power in Europe during the Middle Ages and later. As to beauty and truth, just the same is valid, as to with beauty and goodness. Beauty is never a guarantee of the first or of the second. It is more or less an illusion. It has much to do with our needs and visions. It may be a source of inspiration as well as of deception.

Walter Bernhart (University of Graz) in his contribution "*Kalogenetic Functions of Prosody: An Exercise in Comparative Poetics*", follows neurophysiological findings (and hypotheses?) by Frederick Turner and Ernst Pöppel, according to which the metrical organization of the poem are "closely related to the hemispheric specialization of the human brain", i.e., to its right part, while "poetry as language is presumably processed by the left temporal lobe" (I, p. 306). Kalogenetic (beauty-begetting) is, according to Bernhart, *kokoro* in *waka* or *tanka* (specifically in *Kokinshu*), where the linguistic shape of the poem is not so important as *kokoro*, which helps to achieve a "profound awareness of reality" and "constructs a unified harmonious image of the world" (I, p. 309).

Rabindranath Tagore would certainly not agree with G.A. Kennedy that beauty is only a "rhetorical device". As shown in the paper *Visions of Beauty: Tagore and European Romanticism* by Mohit K. Ray (Burdwan University), Tagore was most impressed by Keats' idea from the *Ode on a Grecian Urn* that "Beauty is truth and truth is beauty", but also to Plato's *Lysis*, "the good is beautiful", or to his *Republic* where beauty is considered as the manifestation of goodness. From German Romanticists Tagore mostly followed Schiller's idea of the aesthetic education of man and proclaimed that the job of the soul "is to establish communication. This leads to the creation of beauty" (I, p. 347).

Besides Kimie Imura Lawlor, another Japanese scholar Yamashita Mayumi (Tohoku University of Art & Design, Yamagata), in *Aesthetic Resistance of Mishima Yukio in Modern No Plays*, analyses a play *Sotoba Komachi* (*Komachi on the Stupa*). The original version of this No play delineates famous *waka* woman poet Ono no Komachi, celebrated for her beauty and brilliant talent. She was self-proud and cruel to her innumerable adorers. One of them, Captain Fukakusa, could have won her after visiting her one hundred times. He did not succeed because he died of despair after being in her presence ninety nine times. This beauty without mercy was a model of creative imitation by Mishima, who instead of aristocratic gentleman Fukakusa made Komachi's partner in wooing a shabbily dressed and drunken young poet who tries to persuade himself that the old and ugly courtesan is indeed beautiful. He succeeds in it, but according to her prewarning such a declaration would bring his immediate death. If the figure of Salomé was the perfect symbol for Mishima's theory of life (I, p. 43), Ono no Komachi became for him the ikon "of the metaphysical beauty that can survive any kind of disastrous reality" (I, p. 401). If the caricature of the poet from *Sotoba Komachi* is Mishima's self-portrait, *Salomé* presented his aesthetic theory in the last years of his life.

Joshua S. Mostow (University of British Columbia), underlines the idea that in Chinese, and mainly Japanese literature of the classical period, at least from

Heian up to *The Tale of Genji*, there are to be found parallels to the Western art and literature, where paintings are connected with silence, sometime joyful, but even more often full of sadness as in the poem by Sanjô no Machi (7th cent.): “Is this the waterfall/ of the dammed up thoughts/ within my heart? Although I see it fall/ I can hear no sound” (I, p. 464). I personally suppose that the amount of silence in Japanese and Chinese classical poetry far exceeds that in European literatures.

If Mostow’s contribution alludes to the beauty indirectly, Eva Le Grand (Université du Québec à Montréal) makes out of it a part of the research programme in *Kitsch, roman et beauté*, where her compatriot Milan Kundera is the main object of her study. The *bel effet* of the kitsch is an eternal problem of the aesthetic evaluation of the art production. The kitsch is not only a question of the bad taste. According to Hermann Broch every work of art contains a small particle of kitsch, and according to Kundera, kitsch (inclusive its fictional dimension) is an existential category and it is correct to regard it as an “expression esthétique de tout accord catégorique avec l’être” (I, p. 427). We have to live with it in our modern and postmodern age.

Lessley Higgins (New York University, Toronto) considers the beauty from the point of view of its counterpole. “*I think we are in rat’s alley*”: *Modernism and the “Cult of Ugliness”*, turns upside down many of the Plato’s and later visions, fracturing and dismantling them. Hulme, Eliot, Pound and Lewis are a target of his investigations and Jules Laforgue’s irony to “vivre et penser selon le Beau, le Bien, le Vrai”, (I, p. 512) their immediate aim.

## 2

The second volume of the *Proceedings* contains the materials from Section III, entitled Visions of History and introduced by Gerald Gillespie (Stanford University), and Section VI, entitled Visions of the Other and introduced by Sumie Jones (Indiana University, Bloomington) and Margaret R. Higonnet (University of Connecticut, Storrs). As admitted by Gillespie, it is necessary (or “interesting”, as he mentions) “the relative absence of major topic in this volume, or at least the difference in emphasis on or approach to it” (II, p. 7). If the first volume is more excellent in this respect, i.e., the force of vision there is more conspicuous, this one also to be read by the interested scholars, since the vision is only a part of the reality under the research – and literary comparatists should be regarded as such. It is necessary to agree with a very sober reasoning by Alsted in his *Scientiarum omnium Encyclopaedia* from the year 1649: “Si fingat, peccat in historiam, si non fingat, peccat in poesis” (II, p. 21). Therefore some kind of *caveat* in relation to the vision is understandable and to recommend in the scholarship.

One kind of this vision is shown in John J. Boccelari’s (Kanagawa University, Yokohama), *The Resurrection of History: Motoori Norinaga and Text Commentary*. Norinaga (1730–1801) *peccavit in historiam*. He was partly right when being one of the initiators of the attack against the “Chinese learning” (*kara-*

*manabi*) in relation to the Japanese literary heritage. On the other hand, when he supposed that "using Chinese words to grasp Japanese situation can only lead astray" (II, p. 95), he was wrong. A rigid vision of the harmful effect of Chinese language on Japanese thought and culture was erroneous, although a mild national spirit was necessary as a force leading to the revival of the Japanese identity.

Sangkok Lee (Seoul National University) in his contributions to Conrad's *Nostromo* and Gabriel García Márquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* presents two different visions of history. Whereas Conrad "deliberately uses the time-shift technique so that history may appear to have come to a standstill" (II, p. 137), in Márquez's novel "there are many short patches of recollections by major characters... but in Macondo somehow history seems to have stalled" (II, pp. 137–138). In reality, Conrad was more attached to history as it seems at first glance, and in Márquez even more famous novel the history is forgotten and only memory is trustworthy faculty of human brain.

Two other important contributions have something to do with Hebrew and Christian apocalyptic visions. In the first of them Francis K.H. So (Sun Yat-sen University, Kaohsiung) treats them typologically in relation to the endings of popular and hagiographic tales from *Taiping guangji* (5th–10th cent.). The Chinese vision did not presuppose divine end judgement, it was always without threat and terror present in Judeo-Christian apocalypses. There the cosmic rhythm does not cease and the life of the universe remain, so-to-say, forever. Visionary Christian Puritanism, according to Peter J.H. Titlestad (University of Pretoria), produced a peculiar kind of apocalypse in the 17th cent. English literature. It was much less human, built on the (mis)conceptions of the Christian exegeses. The subject of analysis is Milton's *Paradise Lost* on the background of the contemporary struggles between Puritans and Presbyterians trying to achieve power in England. According to Milton, not apocalypse leads to paradise. Paradise on this wicked world is possible only within human souls.

A. Owen Aldridge (University of Illinois, Urbana) in his *Paradise Lust: Sex, Sexuality and Utopianism* certainly does not follow Puritan millenarianism, but European exoticism, especially after Henry Neville's *The Isles of Pines* (1668), "the title of which is an anagram on the male sexual organ" (II, p. 187) and Diderot's *Supplement to the Voyage of Bougainville* (1792). As a prominent comparatist at home both in the East and West, he strides over the centuries in searching for utopian, even more dystopian places describing erotic visions and desires in their common, but also queer forms.

Dreamy visions of Renaissance are treated by Eric MacPhail (Indiana University, Bloomington). They are constructed as prophecies and memoirs, due to the impact of the god Janus Geminus who has two faces symbolizing "both an exit and an entry, both illusion and revelation" (II, p. 193). In the paper by Emma Marras (Italian Association of Comparative Literature), similar dichotomy, this time between history and romance, reality and fiction, we find in Washington Irving's literary analysis of Christopher Columbus' experience.

It was very good choice to reach after the Jewish and Chinese genocide literature and to consider its treatment of obsession and oblivion as two different and nearly contradictory visions. Sheng-mei Ma (James Madison University, Harrisonburg) analyses the approaches of the Jewish and Chinese writers to Nazi Holocaust and Maoist Cultural Revolution. The literature on the Jewish racial genocide is much more deep and valuable from literary point of view, than mostly censored and restrained literature concerned with Chinese *cultural* genocide. Maybe, except for other mostly political reasons, also the need of the traditional Chinese literature stressing the principle of *wen rou dun hou* (moderate, gentle, sincere and deep), had an impact on this literature.

From sociopolitical, not from just literary point of view, the section VI, Visions of the Other, was probably the most significant topic of the ICLA '91 Congress. In addition to it, a special panel discussion introduced by Douwe Fokkema (Utrecht University), and held at the very end of the Congress, was also devoted to it. Let us begin with the last one.

Fokkema in his *Introduction* stressed the cognitive models when dealing with the communication between Us and the Others, which are usually difficult to acquire, and they are in reality insufficient (VI, pp. 358–359). The need of study, research and teaching was underlined by some speakers from the floor, including me and Ziva Ben Porat, as far as I remember, in a very vivid discussion. It is necessary to agree with Fokkema, who was a Chairman, that all these noetic and pedagogical procedures are problematic, if both sides involved in the intercultural or other kind communication are not enough intensive, and do not comprise also counterfluent faculties of Us and the Others, mainly volitional and psychological.

In *Recurring Misrepresentations: Images of Others and Their Interpretations* Ben Porat analysed the interliterary communication between Israelis and Arabs. First, she cited *Genesis* 32, 24–30. There, in the passage depicting the wrestling of the Patriarch Jacob at Peniel (i.e., The Face of God) an unspecified Other certainly appeared, but he was friendly to Jacob anyway. The situation with Arabs (and vice versa) in the state of Israel is different. The relative unwillingness on both sides to acknowledge the cultural, political, religious, ethical and other values of the Other, not enough mutual understanding and esteem, national prejudices, have the result that the successful communication which should always be an aim behind the visions of the Other, will certainly not be achieved in the foreseeable future.

Chieko Mulhern (Fukuoka Jogakuin College) showed in her paper concerned with these visions in Japanese literature that the Japanese women writers “have never felt, much less been treated like ‘mad women in the attic’” and they likewise “never had to apologize for their creative energy as artists, or suffer the negative image of the female artist as a monster or a mad woman in social rebellion, they had no pressing need to define the male as the Other to fight and subjugate” (VI, p. 384), as many other militant feminists usually do.

Ho-Hsiang Yuan (The Chinese University of Hong Kong) followed the “image of the Other” on the basis of very broad material beginning with *The Odys-*

sey and ending with World War II in Japan and China. He understood it more or less in the sense of the ancient Greeks as a contradiction between Greeks and "barbarians", although the objects of mutual confrontation were always in the process of unceasing change. He stresses Foucault's concept of power/knowledge and according to him "the vision of the other is often linked in a circular relation with systems of power which attempt to sustain the power to further perpetuate it" (VI, p. 403). This, of course, prevents any kind of mutual communication and understanding.

In the proper discussion on Visions of the Other Yael S. Feldman (New York University) returns back to the problem analysed by Ziva Ben Porat, but with the shift in emphasis on the distinction between Jews and Israelis, Ashkenazis and Sephardis and the secular-religious coexistence. The "Otherness" among themselves is one of the important aspects in contemporary Israeli fiction.

From *The Rupture of Eurocentric Perspective in Latin America's Fictional and Critical Discourse* by Eduardo de Faria Coutinho (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), shows that the eminence of the Latin American writers in the world does not extend to literary critics, or in the words of the late Octavio Paz, Latin American Criticism "did not as a general rule, nourish itself on its own thought" (II, p. 367), and is satisfied with some exceptions, with the import of currents from Europe, mostly French Structuralism and post-structuralist trends. Here it is necessary to intensify the tendency contributing towards questioning Eurocentrism in literary studies, and revalorization of indigenous traditions, as was the case in Latin American fiction.

Octavio Paz is also *Kronzeuge* in the paper by Tania Franco Carvalhal (Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul) entitled *La tradition du Haiku dans la poésie latino-américaine: un cas de médiation*. Octavio Paz claimed the presence of Japanese *haiku* in the works of Mexican poets Juan José Toblada and Effren Rebollo. The process of communication between "Us" and "Others" may be, or could be mutual. If the Mexicans embraced *haiku* on one side, the Japanese responded with favourable reception of Mexican Concrete Poetry by Haroldo Campos and others.

Muriel Détrie (Université de Tours) in her *La question de l'amour dans quelques adaptations occidentales de la légende du Bouddha*, tries to follow problem of heterosexual love in the works by Paul Morand, Edwin Arnold and Victor Segalen in relation to Buddha's teachings and the mythical stories connected with him. None of them contradict his doctrine which considers "l'amour comme un aveuglement et le pire des attachements" (II, pp. 399–400).

Rien T. Segers (University of Groningen), in his *Research into Cultural Identity: The Case of Japanese 'Uniqueness' between East and West*, doubts the cultural "uniqueness" of every nation, Japanese inclusive. The problem of identity is very problematic in this state of research, and especially it cannot be raised by the representatives of this identity, national or cultural, but must always be checked by the "Others" whose vision could correct the inadequacies of the subjective view. In Comparative Literature, this specific problem, if guided by a

properly elaborated methodology of an interdisciplinary kind, may bring fruitful results.

Claude Gandelman's (Haifa University) *From Metaphysical Aesthetics to Semiotics: Claudel, Malraux, Barthes as Interpreters of Oriental Civilizations for the West*, highlights these three outstanding men of letters for their import to the better knowledge of the East, especially Japan, to the West. Although not one of them was really proficient in any Oriental languages, due to their talents and intuition, or visions, they were able to enrich our understanding of Oriental literatures and arts. I do agree with much in Claudel's and Malraux's contribution, although not in all, since the language is extremely important in this respect, but I doubt about Barthes' contribution in the field of semiotics what is Japan as *The Empire of Signs* concerned. Even if I do not take into account his musings of the kind, "to know a foreign (alien) language and yet not to understand it... to descend into the untranslatable, to experience its shock without ever muffling it until everything Occidental in us totters and the rights of the 'father tongue' vacillate" (II, p. 517), which are too sophistic, Barthes' admiration, e.g. for postal designation in Tokyo not indicating the names of the streets, made me angry and reminiscent of my stay there during the ICLA Congress when I lost four hours in the evening searching for my sleeping place (even with the assistance of a Japanese friend) near Hikashi Nakano Station.

Walter Pache (University of Augsburg), when comparing Lafcadio Hearn's *Kokoro: Hints and Echoes of Japanese Inner Life*, Hugo von Hofmannsthal's introduction to its German translation, and his *Elektra*, points out to the impact of Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, or the idea of preexistence in the case of Elektra, who is not able to take revenge on her stepmother Klytaemnestra for killing her father Agamemnon.

Klytaemnestra (this time as Clytemnestra, or Clitennestra) and Helen, re-visioned and re-presented in contemporary women writers by Kathleen L. Komar (University of California, Los Angeles) were analysed as feminine mythmaking products during the 20th century. Helen is delineated from this perspective by H(ilda) D(oolittle) and Judy Grahn, and Clytemnestra by Dacia Maraini and Christine Brückner. These women authors deconstruct "the earlier female type in order to reconstruct their own versions of female existence," e.g., when asking: "Bist du nun glücklich, toter Agamemnon?" (II, p. 593), or changing her into a lesbian figure, or into an Italian ex-prostitute, textile-worker hating her Sicilian Agamemnone earning his money in America, and dying mentally insane after her pregnant fourteen year old Ifigenia lost her life during childbirth.

Hendrik Birus (Universität München), the editor of the best commented version of Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan*, tries to characterize Goethe's Orientalism, which was according to the author's opinion very different from that proclaimed by Edward W. Said, although Said refers to this work of Goethe "almost as a leitmotiv" (p. 573). A more liberal point of view might be the outcome of German non-involvement in the colonial enterprise of that time and Goethe's sympathetic identification with different Oriental literatures.

The third volume of the *Proceedings* consists of the materials from Section IV entitled Powers of Narration and was introduced by Gillespie and André Lorant (Université de Paris XII), and Section V entitled Vision and Re-vision of Literary Theory, introduced by Will van Peer (University of Utrecht).

I was never interested in the narrative methods in literature and Gillespie together with Lorant (or vice versa) have written an excellent systematic analysis of the papers from this section and therefore I think that it would be superfluous to write down my comments and impressions.

Section V is called very simply Literary Theory on the cover of the third volume of the *Proceedings*. I regard it as just up to the point, since the term "vision" would be probably a bit exaggerating its merits. Maybe "revision" or even "re-vision" would be better, but the second has got a rather feminist flavour in our time. More imagination than vision is to be found in the workshop Literary Theory appended to the volume, chaired by Elrud Ibsch (University of Amsterdam).

Feminist perspective is clear from Margaret A. Higonnet's paper on realism in the works of George Sand, nineteenth century German and English *Bildungsroman*, with the shift of emphasis on gender, as one of the significant features of the social order. Adrian Marino (University of Cluj, Rumania), one of the most eminent literary theoreticians from Eastern Europe, muses on a new comparative vision in relation to "European" and "World" literature. His is a "militant comparativism" modelled on Etiemble, where just this "militant" is probably its most important feature, but because its semantic dress it is a bit redolent of the atmosphere of the totalitarian era. Otherwise the essay is excellent for the end of our and the beginning of the next century, stressing the free communication and circulation of ideas, cooperation and mutual stimulation, competition and creative emulation, and last but not least, a new literary humanism including all literatures of the world.

*Futuristic Directions for Comparative Literature* by Gurbhagat Singh (Punjabi University, Patiala) is too critical of nearly all recent and contemporary theories of literature. He proposes to follow Pierre Bourdieu's *habitus* without explaining it sufficiently, and the so-called *semio-simulacral* study with "Kristeva's notion of 'semio-choric' creative-mother-energy of object (*Desire in Language*) against the reifying 'symbolic' and Baudrillard's 'simulacre' (*Simulacra and Simulation*) in which the signifiers get dissociated with the signifieds" (III, pp. 314-315). Here is *eloquentiae satis* but the rational message is missing.

In his treatise of generic (or genological) aspects of Eastern and Western literariness, József Szili (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest), tries to comment on or slightly expand Earl Miner's pioneering monograph *Comparative Poetics: An Intercultural Essay in Theories of Literature* (1990) and in his study *On the Genesis and Development of Literary Systems* (1979), mainly on the triadic view of genres (in modern Europe), and dyadic, concerned with an-

cient Greek drama, mostly tragedy, and Asian, i.e. lyric in its various manifestation. Narrative genre was pushed behind in the literary mind, not much discussed, but often written and read, although not always highlighted up to modern times in Europe and even up to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th cent. in most Asian countries.

Izumi Keiko's (Shokei Women's Junior College, Sendai) *Similitude and Dissimilitude in Poetics. Motoori Norinaga and English Romantic Poets*, is another attempt in these *Proceedings* at the appreciation of Norinaga's contribution to Japanese poetics. This time, the author's supposition that Norinaga might have had an access to Aristotle's works seems to be impossible to prove. Typological study of this kind is, of course, plausible, but I think that the comparison between Chinese criticism (5th cent. B.C – 6th cent. A.D.) and Norinaga's many critical insights would be much more fruitful and bring enough reliable results.

Makoto Ueda (Stanford University), one of the best specialists on Japanese poetics, follows the closures of the English and Japanese poems and finds that all of them, if they are really closed, then follow circular, linear or spiral structures. Very often the Japanese poems are without end due to predilection for *yoyô* (overtones) or *yûgen* (mystery and depth). Ending without words they stress the "aesthetic of suggestiveness" (III, p. 412). In the 20th century, probably under the impact of Japanese and Chinese poetry and also the overall philosophical uncertainty and polyvalence, the tendency against anti-closure is more obvious even in English poetry.

Yue Daiyun (Peking University), the most prominent Chinese literary comparatist of the 1990s, compares the metaphor of the mirror in Western and in Chinese poetics, and comes to the conclusion that in the first "the mirror as metaphor is used basically for the artistic works to stress a truthful reflection of the world," and in the second "the same metaphor is often used to stress the necessity of keeping a still and empty mind to perceive the world" (III, p. 421).

Richard Trapp (University of Vienna) tries to bring the Chinese ancient concept of literature (*wen*) closer to modern European understanding using mostly the genre of *xiaoshuo* (short fiction), regarded sometimes as "chatting in the streets" (III, p. 489) and unrecognized by Chinese traditional literary criticism.

Eva Kushner (Victoria University, Toronto) in her paper *Towards a Typology of Comparative Literature Studies* simply does not believe that the imaginary mansion of the ICLA Committee on Literary Theory is embellished by Dante's famous admonition: "Abandon all hope ye enter here."<sup>12</sup> She traces many visions of the 1980s and before, and acknowledges their *raison d'être*. Recognizing that holistic theoretical works such as Ulrich Weisstein's *Theory of Comparative Literature*,<sup>13</sup> or François Jost's *Introduction to Comparative Literature*,<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> DANTE ALIGHIERI: *The Divine Comedy*. New York and London, W.W. Norton & Company 1970, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Bloomington and London, Indiana University Press 1973.

<sup>14</sup> Indianapolis and New York, Pegasus: A Division of The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1974.

are no longer produced or published, and more “theoretical” than “comparative” studies are presented to the reading public. She mentioned polysystem studies (not qualifying them precisely, but *sapienti sat*), and she highlighted, among others, the books by Dionýz Ďurišin and his international team on the problems of intra- and interliterary processes and their categories, and especially interliterary communities (or as she expressed herself: “concentrations of families of literatures” and the “dynamics of interaction”). José Lambert’s vision of the “map of literatures” is also welcome, but a “patient construction” (III, p. 509) is recommended. Earl Miner’s *Comparative Poetics. An Intercultural Essay on Theories of Literature*<sup>15</sup> and Lubomír Doležel’s study *Fictional Reference: Mimesis and Possible Worlds*,<sup>16</sup> are also given as two examples of the possible approaches towards the theory of Comparative Literature.

The ICLA Committee on Literary Theory, led by Elrud Ibsch (Free University of Amsterdam) decided to slightly change the main topic of the congress when selecting not “vision”, but “imagination” to be the catchword, while “the latter has a more specific meaning in the history of literature and the arts” (III, p. 519).

Susan Rabin Suleiman’s (Harvard University) *The Surrealist Imagination in Postmodernist Fiction: Angela Carter’s The Infernal Desire Machines of Dr. Hoffmann*, evokes immediately Lubomír Doležel’s vision of “possible worlds” and brings us into the fantastic romantico-surrealist world of “diabolical Dr. Hoffmann”, alluding to E.T.A. Hoffmann and his tales, to Dali, Magritte, Breton, *Gulliver’s Travels*, and also to the personality and ideas of Herbert Marcuse and his book *Eros and Civilization*, the prophet of the optimistic, euphemistic society of liberated sexuality, victorious Freudian Pleasure Principle over Reality Principle, was never realized.

The two following contributions are concerned mainly with Romantic imagination: Tung Chung-hsuan’s (National Chung-hsing University, Taichung) *The Sorts of Imagination of Literary Creation*, and Elinor S. Shaffer’s (University of East Anglia) *Ideologies of Imagination: Remote Readings of Romanticism*. The first one by the Taiwanese author mostly presents research based on his book *Imagination and the Process of Literary Creation* (published probably in Chinese) from 1991, with some later views by John Ruskin, Samuel Alexander, Ernst Cassirer combined with some traditional Chinese ideas, as *shen-ssu* (literally: divine thinking), or the so-called *pi-hsing* (comparing and exalting, according to the author of the paper), which he understands roughly as “visionary imagination and technical imagination” (III, p. 545). The second one by English scholar is more devoted to the criticism of the Romantic imagination and its “revival” within the framework of Nazi ideology.

<sup>15</sup> Princeton, Princeton University Press 1990.

<sup>16</sup> In: *Toward a Theory of Comparative Literature. Selected Papers Presented in the Division of Theory of Literature at the XIth International Comparative Literature Congress*. Ed. and with Introduction by Mario J. Valdés. Bern, Peter Lang 1990, pp. 109–124.

Wong Kin Yuen (The Chinese University of Hong Kong) devoted his attention to the problem of the imagination in the traditional Chinese painting influenced by the Taoist and Buddhist ideas of *yuan* (far-perspective), *hsuan* (dark and mystical), *hsu* (emptiness) and *wu* (nothingness) against the background of the phenomenological approach, mostly of Maurice Merleau-Ponty. He finds close juxtaposition and thus also a similarity between the Chinese ideas of "emptiness" and "nothingness" presupposing the creative imagination and Merleau-Ponty's "paradox of Immanence and Transcendence in perception" (III, p. 553) of the work of art.

Dutch scholars participating in this project put emphasis on imagination in relation to science, metaphor and the learning process in the act of reading of literature.

D. Fokkema, one of the most active contributors, in his paper *Hypotheses as a Product of Imagination: about Theories of Cultural Participation* made use at first of the views of Dutch scholar J.H. van't Hoff, the founder of stereochemistry, on the five stages of imagination and its force in scientific research and then proceeds to definition of the role of imagination in different phases of the scientific process, namely during the last stage of its appointment. He also gives some good advice concerning the established theories in (inter)cultural research, such as that of Pierre Bourdieu. John Neubauer (University of Amsterdam) was more sceptical towards the force of imagination, at least in science, although he also highlighted it to some extent when pointing to Gaston Bachelard's view that "important scientific theories always involve some 'Copernican revolution', a new way of seeing things that contradicts what common sense suggests" (III, p. 575), as in the case of relativity theory or quantum mechanics. It is possible to agree with the idea that "we need some highly imaginative minds", (III, p. 569), but how to connect the interliterary and intercultural studies, remains an unresolved methodological problem.

Will van Peer (University of Utrecht) shows much *Belesenheit* in his short but excellent contribution *Metaphor and Imagination*. By the study of this subject he claims after more interdisciplinary endeavours (just like his older colleague Fokkema), and warns against too much imagination, that one often assumed in literary studies. Not only in sciences, but also in the comparative literature is to recommend: to avoid metaphorical language at least to some extent.

The concept of imagination is also elaborated in the paper by Elrud Ibsch, the last in the third volume. She is interested in it in relation to creativity and to reading of literary texts. Creativity and imagination are, according to her, near-synonyms. The first is "more product-oriented, whereas 'imagination' is more process-oriented" (III, p. 592).

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The fourth and fifth volumes are much thinner than the three previous and the final sixth volume. The first presents the papers of the workshop entitled Translation and Modernization and edited by Theresa Hyun (Kyung Hee Uni-

versity, Seoul) and José Lambert (Catholic University of Leuven). The second consists of the contributions to the workshop entitled *New Visions of Creation: Feminine Innovations in Literary Theory*, and published here under the editorship of Maria Elena de Valdés (University of Toronto) and Margaret R. Higgonnet.

Most attention in the fourth volume was devoted to the impact of and response to Symbolism (chiefly of French origin) in East Asia. Since it first reached Japan, two essays, one shorter, by Kawamoto Koji (University of Tokyo), who devoted more attention to the early years, mainly to Ueda Bin's *Kaicho-on (The Sound of the Tide)* from the year 1905, and one longer by Sugawara Katsuya (Tokyo Institute of Technology), where also Mori Ogai's translation *Omogake (Reflection of Shadows)*, from the year 1899 and Kambara Ariake's *Ariake-shu (Works of Ariake)* from the year 1908, is discussed from the points of view of both form and matter. The impact of traditional poetry (*tanka* and *haiku*) is quite obvious and Kawamoto also points to the indigenous sources, and claims that the "answer to this question lies in the nature of traditional Japanese and Chinese poetry, and its own 'symbolic' mode" (IV, p. 34).

The next two essays pay attention to Korean translations from Symbolist poetry. The first of them by Theresa Hyun, analyses Kim Ok's and Yang Yu-dong's renditions from the 1920s, and the second by Sang-ran Lee (Sookmyung Women's University, Seoul) is following the similar aim, but putting more stress on traditional Korean poetry under Chinese influence. Both of them show the intermediary role of Japanese literature, mainly in the first stage of translation, and Itamar Even-Zohar's or Theo Hermans' theoretical guidance.

Ma Yiu-man's paper (National Taiwan University, Taipei), when analysing the reception of French Symbolism in China in the years 1919–1925, follows a different path of investigation: not the translation of Symbolist works but the literary and critical essays of Chinese men of letters are the target of this essay. Three important papers have a theoretical character. José Lambert muses in his contribution *Literatures, Translation and (De)colonization* about the question of translation within the literatures and cultures of our age of globalization in general against the background of his project of literary and cultural "maps". He stresses the "political" aspects of translation efforts and often uses economic terminology when insisting that "translation is first of all a phenomenon of *importation* (and of *exportation*)" (IV, p. 108). Patterns of translation import (or export?) developed after Even-Zohar's study *The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem*,<sup>17</sup> as well after his own researches, present the core of the problem, and even if regarded by Lambert as hypotheses only, they should be read by theoreticians and translators (IV, pp. 109–111).

Richard Trapp in his contribution with the longest title in the whole proceedings, draws up his vision of future translatology by formulating some pre-methodological reflections in the time of the Space Age, computers, Internet and intercultural (mis)understanding. Trapp follows, among others Lambert's

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<sup>17</sup> In: HOLMES, J.S., LAMBERT, J. and van den BROECK, R. (eds.): *Literature and Translation*. Leuven, Acco 1978, pp. 117–127.

paper entitled *New Patterns in International Translation: A Task from Interdisciplinary Research* and Eugene Eoyang's (Indiana University, Bloomington) *Speaking in Tongues: Translating Chinese Literature in a Post-Babelian Age*, both delivered at the First International Conference of Chinese Literature, Taipei, 1990, where Trappl also participated at. He presents seven (hypo)theses which form methodological instructions for translatology in our age of globalization and cultural diversification (IV, pp. 138–140) and are likewise recommended to read carefully. According to Trappl "if translation is to be an intercultural communication it will not be sufficient to seek similarities in the other; it will become a socio-linguistic and ethnic task and even cultural self-defence (in a polyculturized world community) to cultivate the dissimilarities" (IV, pp. 141–142).

Eugene Eoyang in his paper on translating secular and sacred texts poses a question of difference between these two kinds of writings so important both for Oriental and Western cultures in history and in our times. He shows especially the difference of understanding of these texts, and often the same texts, by the Jews or Christians, the difference in attitudes towards them, e.g. more ironic among some Jews of rabbinic orientation, and very reverential and serious among Christian commentators. For Muslims until recently the translation of the *Koran* was forbidden. The Chinese classics – Confucian, Taoist or Buddhist, did not enjoy divine sanction, and therefore to interpret them in various ways was much easier. Multiplicity of meanings is also inherent in the *Bible*, and therefore a compromise is necessary, as is often the case, if we are aware of the different translations and the histories of their "coming to be".

In the last ten years feminist criticism has been a must at the congresses of the ICLA. A handy volume of contributions to this section is something extraordinary in the history of this association. The section was also carefully prepared. Even I have received a letter sent to me by M.E. de Valdés, who owing to my given name and inadequate reputation among literary comparatists, regarded me as one of the members of the *feminini generis* and asked me to contribute. I have contributed, but not just here.<sup>18</sup>

The first three papers in this volume are very much alike. Mrs. de Valdés analyses three works by Latin American women writers who narrate the life stories of three typical women of these countries, among them Rigoberta Menchú, a Quiche Indian woman from Guatemala, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992. This testimonial kind of fiction seems to be one of the possible feminist self-expression in the future. The other two by Bella Brodzki (Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, NY) on feminist revisionary narratives in fiction and Marga Graf (Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule, Aachen) on the autobiographical visions of women by Latin-American and European writers, have in common the stress on the works of Christina Wolf, namely on her *Kindheitsmuster*, then *Kassandra*, or *Nachdenken über Christa T.* and the diffi-

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<sup>18</sup> GÁLIK, M.: *Some Remarks on Gynocriticism: Observations of a Member of "Masculini Generis"*. Human Affairs (Bratislava), 3, 1993, 1, pp. 62–71.

culties of this kind. Many other German writers, always had and still have, the troubles with, or completely avoid the *Nazi Vergangensheitlebewältigung* which should be regarded as necessary both for male and female writers of this nation. Brodzki's analysis of Tony Morrison's *Beloved* is a good example in mythological feminist criticism.

The next three papers are concerned with different parts of the world: post-communist Poland and Czechoslovakia, postwar Japan and West Africa during the last two decades. The state of things in all these countries is rather gloomy. At the beginning of the 1990s the feminism, mostly of a socio-cultural orientation, was just starting there, and in Slovakia, probably E. Farkašová's essay on feminism and its philosophical issues from the year 1991, mentioned in the paper by Halina Janaszek-Ivaničková (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw), was one of the first swallows. The mythopoeic novel *Cialo niczyje* (*No One's Body*) from the year 1988, stressing the fight against ideology, for self-consciousness, freedom in personal decisions, female self-appreciation is a new feature in the literature of Central Europe. A long confessional essay by Meio Masako, a translator and writer from Tokyo, presents us with a picture very different from that by Chieko Mulhern spoken of above. Mrs. Meio, born in 1939, was a witness of the whole postwar history, and being able to observe and to participate in its whole process, presents the readers with an interesting panorama. Not much has changed in the relation between men and women and the shining image of the "Sun Goddess Amaterasu both as the remotest ancestor of the Emperor and as the supreme divine figure" (V, p. 55) serves up to now as a model of the Great Mother to the Japanese population. But there is still hope for change and it is already possible to see it in the last years. In West Africa the situation is much more worse and according to Aduke Grace Adebayo (University of Ibadan), it is necessary to tear the veil of invisibility of African women. Adebayo stresses the positive complementarity of male and female and declares it as the "specificity of African women's writing" (V, p. 73), which is certainly new in Africa, but rather unusual among the Euro-American feminists.

We find a feminist attitude to the modern drama in the paper by Ross Shideler (University of California, Los Angeles) and in Joan Templeton's (Long Island University, Brooklyn). Both of them regard the modern family as a prison and a place for female death plots. Henrik Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* and August Strindberg's *The Dance of Death* are analysed in the first. Templeton's paper is much broader because among the Fallen Dead Women we can find Marguerite Gautier from *La Dame aux Camélias* by Alexander Dumas fils, Strindberg's Julie, Mrs. Arbuthnot from *A Woman of no Importance*, Mrs. Cheveley from *An Ideal Husband* by Oscar Wilde, and of course, his *Salomé*. Hedda Gabler was not a Fallen Woman but she killed herself because she refused to satisfy "the norms of the patriarchy" (V, p. 117).

A short essay by Saeki Junko (Tezukayama-Gakuin Women's College, Osaka-Sayama) entitled *Visions of Beauty and Eroticism: The Meaning of Images of the Ideal Woman in East and West*, is mildly feminist. She claims that it "is historically inaccurate to conclude that the idealization of women's beauty and

erotic fascination is solely a male vision" (V, p. 135). The line from a poem by Jean Farran: "Toutes ces Muettes adorable" is in the title of the paper by the late Andrea Cady (Loughborough University, Long Island), a dedicated and learned feminist, who is calling the members of her gender to write poetry by and for themselves. She is right that women's voices were not heard, even when written, probably with the exception of the Japanese women around the end of the first and the beginning of the second millennium, but Cady does not mention this last. As to some theories the creation of a female imaginary writing mode, a "parler femme", I am afraid, that something similar is unrealizable. On the other hand I agree that poetry needs the woman poet "to rejoice in her own passions and volitions and feel habitually create them..." (p. 178).

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The title *Inter-Asian Comparative Literature*, otherwise Vol. 6 of the ICLA '91 Tokyo *Proceedings* is misleading. Except for Section VII of the congress, it contains papers concerned with Euro-Asian visions and four different workshops: Madonna Figures in Japanese Literature, ed. by Kinya Tsuruta (University of British Columbia, Vancouver), Visions and Revision on Kurosawa, ed. by Sumie Jones, "Postmodernity"?: An Examination of Avant-Garde Literature in the Third World Countries, ed. by Wang Ning (Peking University) and Kishida Toshiko (University of Tokyo) and even a workshop in Japanese: *Nihon bungaku ni okeru katari no chikara*, ed. by Noguchi Takehiko (Kobe University). The articles in Japanese are presented in the form of short abstracts by Ohsawa Yoshihiro (University of Tokyo) (VI, pp. 28–29) and the articles of Section VII are critically introduced by Heh-Hsiang Yuan. In this volume the interested readers may find also a solemn speech by H.I.H. Prince Naruhito and four keynote speeches. Panel discussion Visions of the Other was already analysed above.

I shall completely omit here the papers published in Japanese, since I do not read this language. Because of the minutious reviewing of the English part of the Section VII by my old and good friend Heh-hsiang Yuan, I ask the readers to follow his remarks and evaluations. I would like only to point out that also this time my gender was mistakenly changed again (and this not consistently since, my allegedly feminine signifier is mentioned there seven times, my male and real only once), although not due to Mr. Yuan, but probably to one of the assistant editors.<sup>19</sup> What should I do at my age, if not to seek refuge (and mild consolation) with old Confucius, who said to his pupils: "Is one not a superior man if he does not feel hurt even though he is not recognized?"<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> This can be deduced from a copy of the letter by Professor Yuan and sent to the editors, and from another letter he sent to me (both dated Nov. 26, 1995).

<sup>20</sup> This translation is taken from Wing-Tsit Chan's translation in *Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton, Princeton University Press 1963, p. 18.

The workshop Madonna Figures in Japanese Literature is connected really with Japanese works on the interliterary background. Takao Hagiwara (Smith College, Northampton) looks at the mothers in the novels of Shusako Endo from different angles: Christian, Jungian and deconstructionist theory. Cody Poulton (University of Victoria) analyses the iconology of women in the work of Izumi Kyoka from a Buddhist point of view, mostly in relation to Maya, mother of Gautama Siddhartha. Kinya Tsuruta (University of British Columbia, Vancouver) is doing something similar, but this time Yasunari Kawabata's Bodhisattva-like figures are the target of the research.

There were three keynote speakers at the 13th ICLA Tokyo congress: Sisir Kumar Das (University of Delhi), Mario J. Valdés (University of Toronto) and Saeki Shoichi (Chuo University). Sisir Kumar Das stressed the friendship with strangers and in reality delineated in his paper a history of relations between Us and Others, from the times of Greco-Persian Wars up to our days. He pointed out the importance of Comparative Literature in this native-foreign opposition and expressed the hope that literature as one part of the social consciousness, will help to transcend the barriers of the past. Mario J. Valdés pinpointed the main theme of the congress more in the direction of the imagination than in vision in spite of the title of his paper. He has done something similar to his Dutch colleagues. He presented musings concerning the creative force of the imagination in poetry (or art) and in science. While scientific research "constantly progresses, making yesterday's laws today's historical reference", poetry and its criticism "consist in constantly remaking the world and redescribing a number of essential players in that serious game of world-making" (VI, p. 344). The Shintoist vision of Saeki Shoichi was a most modest one. This vision was always simple, implicit, never spectacular, never showy, or visualized, but all-pervading. Japanese art, architecture, poetry, drama, or fiction are impregnated with it, although usually hidden under the Buddhist garb. Its is a kind of very special Japanese vision.

## 6

The comparatists from the PRC presented to the ICLA '91 Congress their own volume, as was mentioned at the beginning of this review article. Originally 109 papers were prepared and 31 selected for the *Desire and Vision – East and West*, and published in the last days before the congress in August 1991.

There are 9 papers from this volume in Tokyo *Proceedings* and from the remaining 23 I find at least 4 which could be interesting for the East-West specialists.

Two of them are thematological studies. Chen Yuehong (Peking University) in his *Harp of the Heavenly Kingdom: Death Consciousness in Chinese and Western Poetry* muses over the differences between the concept of death in Western and Chinese philosophy and religion and its expression in poetry. Wang Hongtu (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai) in his *Image of Doomsday in Western and Chinese Literature*, analyses three different attitudes

to the apocalyptic visions in the East and West. Since there was no divine sanction or judgement for the Chinese and thus a real apocalypse impossible in the Chinese understanding of the world, the literary vision was never so tragic, or even dramatic as in Europe. It was more lyric on the other hand. Zhuangzi's words: "Among the dead there are no rulers above, no subjects below, and no chores of the four seasons. Therefore our springs and autumns are as endless as heaven and earth. A king facing south on his throne could have no more happiness than this,"<sup>21</sup> are not typical for Western beliefs, with the exception of the well-known Pauline promise: "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered the heart of man, the things which hath God prepared for them that love him."<sup>22</sup> Four apocalyptic riders and their horses in the *Revelation*<sup>23</sup> have different impact on the readers from those of Du Fu (712–770) in his poem *Deng Yueyang lou (On Yue-jang Tower)*: "The warhorse stamps north of the passes./I lean on railing and my tears flow."<sup>24</sup>

Gan Jianmin's (Suzhou Railway Teacher's College) *Close Reading and Qian Zhongshu Micro-critique* (sic) could be one of the first (if not the first) introductions in English of one of the most (if not the most) famous Chinese literary critics of our time. Close reading points to New Criticism and "micro-critique" (*weiguan piping*) should be his critical method used in his huge work *Guanzhuibian (Bamboo Tube and an Awl)* from 1979. Personally I would say that Qian Zhongshu's method is more similar to the Pointilism, later stage of Impressionism. Using his technique of "point contacts" (*Punktuelle Kontakte*), Qian operates with the "dissociation" (*Zerlegung*).<sup>25</sup> Putting these together, he either makes a new synthesis out of "dissociated" or analysed elements against the background of different disciplines, such as literature, linguistics, anthropology, psychology and East-West contact relations, or he uses typological analogies in order to induce a new knowledge of the old fact. Although Qian Zhongshu is regarded as one of the most brilliant Chinese comparatists by the Chinese themselves, he was against this opinion: "My forthcoming shapeless jumbo of a book (...)," he wrote about the *Bamboo Tube and an Awl*, "does not come under the 'Comparative Literature.'"<sup>26</sup> Whether it is necessary to agree with Qian Zhongshu, or with his Chinese compatriots, is not my duty to decide. In any

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Zhuangzi yinde, p. 47 and *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, p. 193.

<sup>22</sup> I. Corinthians, 2, 9.

<sup>23</sup> *Revelation*, 6, 2–8.

<sup>24</sup> *A Little Primer of Tu Fu*. Trans. by David Hawkes. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press 1967, pp. 206 (Chinese text) and 209 (English translation).

<sup>25</sup> MOTSCH, M.: *Mit Bambusrohr und Ahle. Von Qian Zhongshu's Guanzhuibian zu einer Neubetrachtung Du Fus*. Bern, Peter Lang 1994, pp. 41–46.

<sup>26</sup> See Qian Zongshu's letter, dated Febr. 13, 1979, to John J. Deeney published in his article: *A Prospectus for Chinese Literature from Comparative Perspectives*. In: DEENEY, J.J. (ed.): *Chinese-Western Comparative Literature. Theory and Strategy*. Hong Kong, The Chinese University Press 1980, p. 186.

case Qian "jumbo" is a grandiose source for the students of comparative scholarship in the realm of philosophy, history and literature.

Xie Tianzhen's (Shanghai International Studies University) paper entitled *Creative Treason in Literary Translation* is interesting mainly due to many examples concerned with the Chinese translation of famous works from the realm of world literature.

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In both proceedings analysed here we had the possibility, at least partly, to get acquainted with 346 papers, prefaces or introductions, all comprising exactly 3,267 printed pages. If much of it was not shown in this review article, even the papers of my good friends, it is due to my inadequate abilities and also to the space allotted to a contribution of this kind. The success of the 13th ICLA '91 Congress lay not only in that what was printed, or mentioned here.

The Japanese hosts prepared for the participants a unique atmosphere by showing them two performances of the Kabuki version of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (*Hamureto Yamatonishiki-e*) in the Tokyo Globe Theatre and of the contemporary Noh drama *Azuchi no Mihaha* (*Madonna of Azuchi*) in the Tokyo National Noh Theatre. There was also one-day excursion to Hakone with a wonderful view of Mount Fujijama, a boat ride around the Lake of Ashinoko and a visit to the MOA Museum in the landscape situated in green natural surroundings. In no other congress of ICLA, in which I participated, were the organizers so devoted to the common cause and so nice to their colleagues from the world. Seven years after ICLA '91 one has to agree with Earl Miner, at that time the President of the ICLA, who wrote that it seemed to him unlikely that "there will ever be a second so new in kind, so fresh in innovation, or so generally provided in thoughtfulness as well as financial support" (I, p. III). If there is something to be criticized, then it was very low participation of scholars from Africa. These will find their opportunity at the XVIth ICLA Congress to be held in Pretoria in 2000.

Since 1970 I have attended 8 different congresses of ICLA. The Tokyo Congress, I have to say frankly, was the most interesting, most attractive and with the best scholarly results so far.

## “THE TIME OF THE AUTUMN FLOODS CAME”: A COMMENT ON ESSAYS DEDICATED TO MARIÁN GÁLIK

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The aim of this review article is to analyse two volumes of essays, which were dedicated to the Slovak Sinologist Marián Gálik on the occasion of his 65th birthday on February 21, 1998: – *Autumn Floods*<sup>1</sup> and *Asian and African Studies*, Volume 6, No. 2, 1997.

To the readers of the journal *Asian and African Studies* and to many foreign Sinologists, both in China and in other parts of the world, it is perhaps not necessary to introduce Marián Gálik. About 500 published items of his bibliography, his personal relations to many colleagues in the realm not only of Sinology, but also of other branches of Oriental studies, comparative literature and culture, have made him known in the world of scholarship.

The two publications, which form the subject of this review article, were prepared for Marián Gálik by his friends, pupils and readers of his works (among them also those he has never met) and were presented to him on the eve of his 65th birthday. So, when reviewing, I will try to evaluate them, if possible, not only from the point of their scholarly value, but also in relation to the overall work of the *Jubilar*.<sup>2</sup>

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1. 1. *Autumn Floods*, the volume of essays has its own prehistory. In 1991, a young Swiss postgraduate student Raoul David Findeisen, at the 7th Conference

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<sup>1</sup> FINDEISEN, R.D. and GASSMANN, R.H. (ed.): *Autumn Floods. Essays in Honour of Marián Gálik*. Bern–Berlin–Frankfurt am Main–New York–Paris–Wien, Peter Lang 1998. xxviii+753 pp. Henceforth only *Festschrift Gálik*.

<sup>2</sup> *Festschrift Gálik* is a volume especially dedicated to M. Gálik. Therefore, some contributions, of course, are rather personal, some of them owe their existence to the direct influence by M. Gálik, include personal reminiscences, or have prehistories or allude to facts concerning Gálik's relations to the contributors of which I could not have been aware. I want to thank Marián Gálik for his help and advice in this respect.

of Chinese Philosophy, held in Tutzing, Bavaria,<sup>3</sup> discussed with the late Professor Wolfgang Bauer about the possibility of preparing a *Festschrift* for him. Professor Bauer protested and allegedly said: "Nur durch meine Leiche!" In fact, *Das andere China. Festschrift für Wolfgang Bauer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer, appeared in Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag 1995, 686 pp. Mr. Gálik was a witness of this dialogue, and although he did not participate in it, he contributed to the *Festschrift*.<sup>4</sup>

Maybe during or after this dialogue, Findeisen's mind had the idea of preparing the *Festschrift Gálik*. It is also possible, that after publication of the *Festschrift Wolfgang Bauer*, this impressive book was a kind of pattern to be emulated: both they are of white colour, bound, of comparable size and inner arrangement. What might be considered different is the greater space devoted to reminiscences and the inclusion of an index of Personal Names and Glossary in *Festschrift Gálik*.

The title *Autumn Floods (Qiushui)* alludes to the famous Chapter Seventeen of the book *Zhuangzi*. At the beginning of this chapter, probably one of Zhuangzi's (3rd cent B.C.) disciples, says: "The time of the autumn floods came and the hundred streams poured into the Yellow River."<sup>5</sup> *Autumn Floods*, essays of different character and from different realms of literary, interliterary, cultural and intercultural Sinology, create a scholarly and aesthetic continuum, analogous to "the continuum", which was observed by the Lord of the River during the reconnaissance of his wide domain.

Findeisen in his introductory study *Against the Frog's Perspective* points to the "broad and general view embodied in Peng (mythic bird from the Chapter One of the book *Zhuangzi*) whose wings 'when he rises up and flies off, [...] are like clouds all over the sky'",<sup>6</sup> which could be considered as a contrary to the "frog's perspective". This last is reflected in the words: "You can't discuss the ocean with a well frog – he is limited by the space he lives in. You can't discuss ice with a summer insect – he is bound to a single season. You can't discuss the Way with a cramped scholar – he is shackled by his doctrines."<sup>7</sup>

When Findeisen selected the title *Autumn Floods* for the *Festschrift* dedicated to one of his teachers, he must have had some good reasons for it. There is another famous man of letters, although on the other side of our Eurasian continent, Professor Qian Zhongshu (1910– ), who searching for the most suitable

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<sup>3</sup> This was the first conference of this kind held in Europe, July 23–26, 1991.

<sup>4</sup> GÁLIK, M.: *Parody and Absurd Laughter in Wang Meng's Apocalypse. Musings over the Metamorphosis of the Biblical Vision on Contemporary Chinese Literature*. In: SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, H. (ed.): op. cit., pp. 449–461.

<sup>5</sup> See *Zhuangzi yinde (A Concordance to Chuang Tzu)*. Peking, Harvard-Yenching Institute 1947, p. 42 and *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*. Trans. by Burton Watson. New York and London, Columbia University Press 1967, p. 175.

<sup>6</sup> See *A Concordance to Chuang Tzu*, p. 1 and *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 42 and pp. 175–176.

title for his *chef-d'oeuvre* – *Guanzhuibian (Bamboo Tube and an Awl)*,<sup>8</sup> also reached for Chapter Seventeen of the book *Zhuangzi*, where the Taoist philosopher Prince Mou of Wei criticizes the logician Gongsun Long (380 B.C.–?), saying that his methods of study are similar to “using a tub to scan the sky or an awl to measure the depth of the earth [...]”. Prince Mou of Wei won over Gongsun Long, and the latter “broke into a run and fled”.<sup>9</sup>

1.2. The first section of *Autumn Floods* is entitled *The Scholar and His Work* and begins with a short essay by Viktor Krupa (Institute of Oriental and African Studies, Bratislava) introducing Marián Gálik as a friend and colleague.

The commemorative article by Edoarda Masi, one of the first Italian students at Peking University after 1949, describes the school year 1957–1958 among the foreign students living in the campus originally belonging to the Yanjing University. She depicts Marián Gálik as – “*il carattere discreto e riservato*”<sup>10</sup> – one, who was not the best partner to communicate with. She found the atmosphere of that time partly vivid, at first, and then distressing, when the times of the Anti-Rightist Campaign and of *xia fang*, i.e. transfer cadres, came. In fact, it is doubtful whether Masi and Gálik met at that time, since Masi left and Gálik reached Peking in September 1958.<sup>11</sup>

One of the best Chinese friends of Gálik's, Yue Daiyun (Peking University), a renowned literary comparatist, was “cast out from the people”<sup>12</sup> and sent to Zhaitang, Hebei Province, also in September 1958. She was obliged to carry flat rocks on her back for the construction of a small dam, or raise the pigs starving in the collective piggery in the times of the “Great Leap Forward”. Gálik read her pre-1958 works, and Yue Daiyun later, after 21 years of carrying the rightist “cap”, reached for his *Genesis*,<sup>13</sup> and she was the first one who let the chapter on Lu Xun translated into Chinese.<sup>14</sup> Later she persuaded Chen Shengsheng (Literary Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking) to translate, together with his friends, the whole book. Yue Daiyun's essay is very personal and she depicts a few of their meetings after their first encounter at the XXXII International Congress for Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS) in Hamburg, August 25–30, 1986. Some of her assertions are not completely exact, since human memory alone (without making daily notes) is not always

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<sup>8</sup> Vols. 1–5. Peking, Zhonghua shuju 1986, 1557+267 pp.

<sup>9</sup> See *A Concordance to Zhuang Tzu*, p. 45 and *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, p. 187.

<sup>10</sup> *Festschrift Gálik*, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Masi's letter to M. Gálik, March 20, 1998.

<sup>12</sup> YUE DAIYUN and WAKEMAN, C.: *To the Storm. The Odyssey of A Revolutionary Chinese Woman*. Berkeley, University of California Press 1985, pp. 54–77.

<sup>13</sup> GÁLIK, M.: *The Genesis of Modern Chinese Literary Criticism, 1917–1930*. Bratislava, Veda and London, Curzon Press 1980. 349 pp.

<sup>14</sup> YUE DAIYUN (ed.): *Guowai Lu Xun yanjiu lunji (Lu Xun Studies Abroad)*. Peking, Peking University Press 1981, pp. 228–278.

reliable. For instance, in fact, they had nearly two days for the discussion on the train between Peking and Xi'an before and after the 2nd Congress of the Chinese Comparative Literature (CCLA), August 25–29, 1987, but Yue Daiyun in her contribution to the *Festschrift* speaks about four days in 1991 when the next CCLA Congress was held in Guiyang, Yue Daiyun's birthplace. Gálik has never been to Guiyang.

Chen Shengsheng (Literary Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Peking) in his study outlines the uneasy fate of Gálik's *Genesis* in the PRC. The work on translating it into Chinese, prompted by Yue Daiyun as mentioned above, was finished about the end of the year 1988. Then, the manuscript of the translation was lost and found only after about six years.<sup>15</sup> Yet, Chen Shengsheng in his manuscript, which was meant as a postscript to the translation, compared, very concisely indeed, Gálik's "systemo-structural" method of comparative literary study to the Bian He's most precious jade stone from the Jingshan Mountains in the State of Chu.<sup>16</sup> It is a pity that Chen's *Yi houji* (*Postscript to the Translation*) was not included in the *Festschrift*, although it was originally scheduled to be.<sup>17</sup>

Equally personal and completely reliable are "*Wild Goose*" *Letters: A Correspondence of Two Decades*, written by Irene Eber (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem) on the basis of mutual correspondence between 1975–1997. This is the most intimate of all contributions in the volume. The exchange of letters between these two scholars began shortly after the Nobel symposium 32 entitled "Modern Chinese Literature and its Social Context", Stockholm, November 4–9, 1975, during the difficult stage of Gálik's life. In the period of political "normalization" after August, 1968, there were two possible ways to survive: either to remain silent or to work industriously, but in a special way. At that time, Gálik was, of course, searching for the models of emulation – and, the lives and work of Benedict Spinoza (1632–1677) and Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) provided him enough spiritual food for rumination.<sup>18</sup> Since correspondence between Czechoslovakia and Israel was strictly forbidden up to 1989, at least for those working in the Academy or Universities, the exchange of letters between Eber and Gálik was mediated by a historian Ellis Tinios of the University of Leeds.

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<sup>15</sup> The Chinese version at last appeared in November 1997, a few month before Gálik's 65th birthday, entitled *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue piping fashengshi, 1917–1930*. Peking, Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe. 376 pp., with a congratulatory inscription by the publishing house.

<sup>16</sup> See HAN FEI TZU: *Basic Writings*. Trans. by Burton Watson. New York, Columbia University Press 1964, pp. 80–83.

<sup>17</sup> *Festschrift Gálik*, p. 21.

<sup>18</sup> See GÁLIK, M.: *Two Modern Chinese Philosophers on Spinoza. Some Remarks on Sino-German Spinoza's "Festschrift"*. *Oriens Extremus*, 22, 1975, 1, pp. 29–43. Gálik studied at that time various books concerned with the high Renaissance, Bertolt Brecht's *Leben des Galilei*, and especially his *Schweyk im zweiten Weltkrieg*. Schweyk's admonition addressed to Ajax, his dog: "...keine Extratouren, sondern kutschen. Solang bis du beissen kannst," became Gálik's *credo* in the years of "normalization" in post-1968 Czechoslovakia.

1. 3. This part of the *Festschrift* entitled: *Chinese Tradition and the Asian Context*, treats the mentioned topic either from the point of view of Chinese national literature, philosophy, literacy (or education), and even management, or from that of the international or interliterary context. The second approach is used fully only in one case.

Marion Eggert (University of Munich), analysing four contemporary short stories by the Chinese Zhao Zhenkai alias Bei Dao and by the Koreans Kim Minsuk and Cho Schu, tries to examine the aspects of the “complicated happiness” (*schwieriges Glück*) – alienated fathers, from the period of the “Cultural revolution” in China or from divided Korea, who, when at last meeting their daughters after many years of separation, have to taste much bitterness and a little portion of happiness. This article may be regarded as an extended elaboration of the otherwise mythological topic of the “circular journey” amplified by Marián Gálik in his earlier studies.<sup>19</sup>

All the other studies have a different character and are concerned more or less fully (with some exceptions) with different Chinese aspects and are not of a comparative character.

Erling von Mende (Free University of Berlin) writes here the “continuation” of an excellent monograph by Evelyn Rawski *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*, but enriched by data from the different era of the Chinese history.

Three essays in this part of the *Festschrift* are devoted to the philosophical studies:

The first one, entitled *In Search of a Text – Reflections at Translating the Analects*, is written by Amira Katz-Goehr (Hebrew University of Jerusalem). How to approach (and translate) the text in classical Chinese is the main task launched in this article. Introducing some tendencies in translating *Analects*, mainly from the point of explaining the (basic) terms and concepts underlying them (Chan Wing-tsit, Hall and Ames’s “cross cultural anachronism”, Chad Hansen, etc.), Katz-Goehr tries to advocate her hypothesis that “the attempts to systematize the text or to make it coherent, adapting it to the Western philosophical approach, fail to take account of its literary quality”.<sup>20</sup> She stresses, on the basis of her own experience, that *Analects* can be enjoyed as literary work, and tries to specify rhetorical devices in the text, examining different grammatical functions of the terms and particles.

Knut Walf (Catholic University of Nijmegen), in his essay ponders over dying and death in Daoism, which is something more than “eine Collage”.<sup>21</sup> It presents a good topic for meditation for a reader of our Judeo-Christian realm, where death and dying are looked at differently, and this comparison brings new

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<sup>19</sup> Cf. GÁLIK, M.: *Milestones*, pp. 243–254 and *Some Remarks on the “Literature of the Scars” in the People’s Republic of China (1977–1979)*, AAS 18, 1982, pp. 171–186.

<sup>20</sup> *Festschrift Gálik*, p. 99.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

insights for consideration of this very important “situational limit” of our human life.

The third essay, written by Magda Abbiati (University of Venice), *Qiu xuan-zhu. Alla ricerca della perla nera* (*Searching for a Dark Pearl*) took its title from Bo Juyi’s (770–846) *fu* (epic poem) “Qiu xuanzhu fu” (*Searching for a Dark Pearl*), and represents probably the first attempt to do research of its kind in Western Sinology in this *topos*. “Dark Pearl” is found, for the first time, in *Zhuangzi*, Chapter Twelve: “The Yellow Emperor went wandering north of the Red Water, ascended the slopes of K’un-lun, and gazed south. When he got home, he discovered that he had lost his Dark Pearl.”<sup>22</sup> Abbiati, after studying all the accessible materials throughout more than two millennia, could only assert “Dark Pearl” is something precious and rare, enigmatic and mysterious, which could have a name, but itself is ineffable and unknowable.

In the contribution *Ohne Räder steht der Wagen still – Tradition und Theorie des chinesischen Management-Stills*, Bernd Eberstein (University of Hamburg), analyses the possibilities of applying methods from the famous book *Sunzi bingfa* (*Sunzi: The Art of War*)<sup>23</sup> to the modern economic and political strategies in the contemporary Chinese world. As we can learn from the article, in the “Sunzi-Fieber” these methods are even used for the study of modern Chinese literature.

Traditional China also provides the topic for the last two articles in this section. In *Gedanken zur konfuzianischen Akademie – Die Bedeutung der shuyuan für die politische Kultur*, Hu Qiu-hua (University of Zurich) tries to specify the importance of *shuyuan* (academies) for political education in premodern China and supplies the reader with the translation of Han Yu’s (768–824) essay “Shi shuo” (“On Teacher”).

Claudia Fritz (University of Zurich) describes in her contribution a copy of the so-called *Baoqie yinjing*, a dharani-sutra, allegedly found in Hangzhou, which enriched the collections of the Swiss Museum for Paper, Letters and Printing in Basel.

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<sup>22</sup> See *A Concordance to Chuang Tzu*, p. 29 and *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, pp. 128–129.

<sup>23</sup> I have personal experience of translating *Sunzi bingfa* into Slovak. Since that time whenever I come across this book, the comments by Marián Gálík’s teacher Jaroslav Průšek, published in 1949, come to my mind, since I find them very interesting. Průšek claims, very persuasively indeed, that *Sunzi bingfa* is completely based on the philosophy of Taoism, “the anarchistic philosophy, [...], the theory of the mechanically ruled and militaristic state”. As he says further, even the supreme ideal of the art of war embodied in *Sunzi bingfa* – the concept of *wuwei* (nonaction) – is also of Taoist origin. This ideal is emphasized throughout the book, e.g. in chapter III: “For to win one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the acme of skill. To subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill.” Quoted according to: SUN Tzu: *The Art of War*. Trans. by Samuel B. Griffith. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 77. See Průšek: *Mistr Sun: O umění válečném*. Trans. by Jaroslav Průšek. Praha, Naše vojsko 1949, pp. 124–125.

1. 4. The part called *Mao Dun Studies* starts with Barbara Buri (University of Zurich). Hers is a translation and commentary on Mao Dun's essay *Xianzai wenxuejia de zeren shi shemne?* (*What Are the Duties of Contemporary Men of Letters*), the "neglected document of Chinese literary thought in the period of the May Fourth Movement".<sup>24</sup> Marián Gálík also devoted only a slight attention to this article in the monograph *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*, although it had "its fixed place in the development"<sup>25</sup> of modern Chinese literary theory and of Mao Tun as its important representative.

Likewise new and leaving aside Gálík's endeavours in the study of Mao Dun's life and works are three other essays of this section.

Hilary Chung (University of Sheffield) follows partly Chen Yu-shih and Ching-kiu Stephen Chan, but offers fresh ideas in her *Questing the Goddess: Mao Dun and the New Woman*, a remarkable piece of feminist literary criticism concerned with the girls of the period during the second half of the 1920s, and their overall development.

Roland Altenburger (Harvard University) analyses Mao Tun's ambivalent attitude to Zhang Henshui's (1895–1967) novel *Tixiao yinyuan* (*Fate in Tears and Laughter*), a topic neglected up to now.

Lorenz Bichler (Heidelberg University) tries to find the reasons of Mao Dun's silence as a novelist after 1949. Having studied the recent books published in China, Bichler comes to the conclusion, that Mao Dun's silence in this field of creative activity was caused by his experience during his visit to the Soviet Union (1946–1947), by the depressive situation during the attack against the "Rightists", as Ding Ling, which he was pressed to participate, and by the neverending changes of the Communist Party line.

The most valuable for deeper knowledge of Gálík's contribution to Mao Tun studies is a Chinese version of Professor Ye Ziming's (Nanking University) commemorative essay, delineating their nearly forty year long friendship and collaboration, beginning in 1959. The title of Ye Ziming's familiar article was taken from one of Tang poet Wang Bo's (647–675) five-syllables *lǚshi* (regulated poem): "Hainei cun zhiji, Tianya ruo bilian" (The Intimate Friends Within the Four Seas Are Close, Though Separated by the Ends of the Earth). It must be added, that thanks to Ye Ziming's mediation, Mao Dun's letters addressed to Gálík were included in *Mao Dun quanji* (*Complete Works of Mao Dun*), vol. 37.

1. 5. This part of the *Festschrift* begins with a long article by Raoul D. Findeisen entitled *Kairos or the Due Time: On Date and Dates in Modern Chinese Literature*. It serves as an introduction to the essays on modern Chinese literature and intellectual history, certainly the most important field of research of the *Jubilar*. This study points out the nearly schizophrenic apprehension of time,

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<sup>24</sup> GÁLÍK, M: *Mao Tun and Modern Chinese Literary Criticism*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1969, p. 26.

<sup>25</sup> Loc. cit.

if comprehended, either according to *yinli* (traditional old lunar calendar), or *xinli* (new solar calendar). A keen feeling of passing of time, perceivable especially under the impact of Taoist and Buddhist teachings, but also peculiar to the strictly Confucian understanding of history and literature, found its old and new manifestations in post-1911 China. For modern Chinese intellectuals, if not the shortest space of time, *chana* (*ksana*, in Sanskrit) was worthy of attention, then certainly were the conventional hours of the day or night together with their characteristics. Findeisen in a very diplomatic way indirectly criticizes Gálik for his Slovak translation of Mao Dun's short story *Xiaye yi dian zhong* – *Jednej letnej noci*, where precisely "hour indication" was omitted.

Denise Gimpel (University of Marburg) in his *More Than Butterflies: Short Fiction in the Early Years of the Literary Journal Xiaoshuo yuebao* points to the inadequate understanding of the literature of the Mandarin Duck and Butterfly School.

At least two essays in this section belong to feminist criticism. One of them was written by Wendy Larson (University of Oregon), one of the most prominent representatives of this criticism among American Sinologists, who analyses the problem of women and the sexual revolution in May Fourth China.

The second one, written by Bonnie S. McDougall (University of Edinburgh), Gálik's much younger school-fellow at Peking University from the years 1958–1960, is meant as a post-feminist review of the fiction by Mao Dun and Ling Shuhua. It is to some extent a continuation of her earlier articles, especially of her *Writing Self: Author/Audience Complicity in Modern Chinese Fiction*, *Archív orientální*, 64, 1996, pp. 245–268. The most important issue, which is a subject to McDougall's criticism, is male dominance and female disappearance in modern Chinese fiction. However, in her conclusions, the author says "that reliance on the disappearing women/man phenomenon does not take us very far forward" since in "many stories it is irrelevant; in others, it gives ambiguous reading".<sup>26</sup>

Another essay concerned with literature about women, but not from the feminist position: *Down the Road that Mei<sup>27</sup> Took: Women in Yin Fu's Work*, is written by William A. Lyell (Stanford University), a well-known expert on Lu Xun's short stories.<sup>28</sup> Here Lyell analyses some interesting aspects of the poetry and fiction by Yin Fu (1909–1931), one of Lu Xun's disciples.

Men and women are protagonists of a sample of Tian Han's (1898–1968) plays analysed by Lidia Kasarello (Warsaw University) in her article *Über die Modernität der frühen Stücke von Tian Han*.

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<sup>26</sup> *Festschrift Gálik*, p. 305.

<sup>27</sup> *Mei*, a female protagonist of Mao Dun's novel *Hong (Rainbow)*, a favourite subject of Gálik's interest, see GÁLIK, M.: *The Rainbow*. In: DOLEŽELOVÁ-VELINGEROVÁ, M. (ed.): *A Selective Guide to Chinese Literature 1900–1949*. Vol. 1. The Novel. Leiden, E.J. Brill 1988, pp. 133–135, and *Persephone, Pandora and Miss Mei: Mythopoeic Vision in Classic Greek Myth and in Modern Chinese Novel*. *Graecolatina et Orientalia*. Zborník Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského (Bratislava), 33/34, 1991–1992, pp. 143–151.

<sup>28</sup> LYEEL, W.: *Lu Hsün's Vision of Reality*. Berkeley, University of California Press 1976.

The contribution by Michel Hockx's (SOAS, University of London) is entitled *Mad Women and Mad Men: Interliterary Contact in Early Republican Literature*, and treats one "madman" (Lu Xun's *Diary of a Madman*) and one "mad woman" (Chen Hengzhe's poem *People Say I am Crazy*). Since Lu Xun very probably could not have read Chen Hengzhe's poem (which was published earlier in America), we may speak of parallel phenomena or typological affinities, if we compare these two literary works.

Intraliterary and intracultural, as well as interliterary and intercultural aspects are the targets of the essay by Thomas Fröhlich (University of Zurich), who writes about the New Culture Movement as represented by Hu Shi (1892–1961).

Jana Benická (Comenius University, Bratislava) tries to point out the characteristic features of the satirical in Qian Zhongshu's novel *Weicheng* (*Fortress Besieged*), mainly on the background of Wu Jingzi's (1701–1754) *Rulin waishi* (*The Unofficial History of the Literati*).

Mario Sabattini (University of Venice) follows probably the best Chinese aesthetician of the 20th century, Zhu Guangqian (1897–1986), during the difficult years of criticism and self-criticism in the 1950s.

Three essays in this part are concerned with the exile Chinese literature after 1989.

Mabel Lee (University of Sydney) analyses the relation of Gao Xingjian (1940–) to his *tongxiangren* (fellow-countrymen) from Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province: Xu Wei (1521–1593) and Lu Xun. The topic of Gao's fictitious dialogue is death and its place in the life of human beings.

Not exactly death, but waiting for it, is an issue of Wolfgang Kubin's (Bonn University) contribution entitled *Gu Cheng: Peking. Ich*. Kubin, a most devoted friend of both Gu Cheng (during his lifetime) and Gálik, ponders over the last more extensive cycle of Gu Cheng's poems *Cheng*, which could be translated as *Peking* or *I* as well, or by both. Kubin also renders some of the poems into German using his and Gu Cheng's original commentaries. The last are very valuable, although at least slightly problematic, since they only partly reflect the schizophrenic state of the mind of the author. It seems that the translations by Kubin, Peter Hoffmann (University of Tübingen), as well as Gálik's ponderings on this subject,<sup>29</sup> are only the first attempts of its kind in the study of the phenomenon "Gu Cheng" in contemporary Chinese literary and intellectual history.

Another essay by Li Xia (University of Newcastle, Australia) is partly different. Although the psychopathological state of Gu Cheng's mind during writing of his *Cheng* (this time translated as *The City*) is observed by Li Xia, more attention is devoted either to his earlier poetry or to his novel *Ying'er*, where the paranoid state of his mind is concealed.

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<sup>29</sup> KUBIN, W.: *Der Einzug der Geister. Ein Zyklus*. Minima sinica, 1, 1993, pp. 27–32, HOFFMANN, P.: *Die Stadt*. Die Horen, 38, 1993, 1, pp. 117–132 and GÁLIK, M.: *Gu Cheng and Xie Ye: Contemporary Chinese Poets Who Died Too Early*. AAS, n.s. 3, 1994, 2, pp. 136–138.

This part of *Festschrift* ends with an essay by Helmut Martin (Bochum University), certainly the best European expert on Taiwanese literature and culture, who introduces to the interested readers Taiwan's cultural criticism of the 1980s and 1990s in the works of Yang Zhao (1963–) and the late Lin Yaode (1962–1996).

1.6. The last and most extensive section of *Autumn Floods* is named *Interliterary and Intercultural Networks*. These essays comprise literary, philosophical, aesthetic, religious and historical issues.

Among the literary issues we may mention as first Monika Motsch (Bonn University) with her essay: *Kupplerin Hongniang im Xixiangji, erotisch-komparatistisch betrachtet*. "Erotic comparatistics" seems to be a new branch of this kind of research. Monika Motsch, a student of Qian Zhongshu, in whose works erotic elements are quite obvious,<sup>30</sup> understands it in the metaphorical meaning. According to her, Gálik's "probably greatest attainment as a scholar and comparatist, consists in his abilities to be a real mediator 'between lovers in East and West', i.e. in his talent to always bring together the Chinese and Western culture, and to instigate them to fruitful and mutual exchange of opinions. In this sense his 'erotic comparatistics' represent a red thread drawn through the whole of his work."<sup>31</sup> Therefore Motsch supposes that the scholarly analysis of the character of Hongniang, a female prototype of the mediator in the love between boy and girl, and axiologically most valuable of its kind in the whole of Chinese literature, is the best that she can dedicate to Marián Gálik on his 65th birthday.

*A Choice Morsel of the Divina Commedia, or Dante Fondue* is a playful essay by Andrew H. Plaks (Princeton University) analysing the first three cantos of *Divine Comedy* in the Chinese translation by Qian Daosun (1887–1962), which originally appeared in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (Short Story Monthly), 12, 1921, 9, pp. 2–38 and was later reprinted by Commercial Press in 1924.<sup>32</sup>

Another canto, this time by Ezra Pound, not about hell but about love, is analysed by Lionello Lanciotti (Oriental Institute, Naples). His *Una storia d'amore Na-khi nel canto CX di Ezra Pound*, supplements his earlier study *The Na-khi Religious Tradition and Ezra Pound*, East and West (Roma), n.s. 20, 1970, pp. 375–379.

Another Italian Sinologist Stefania Stafutti (Turin University) ponders over Shen Congwen's (1902–1988) literary work *The Travelogue of Alice in China*, a little studied piece among Shen Congwen's many works. Stafutti in this essay supplemented the critical insights of her predecessors: Peng Hsiao-yen and Jeffrey C. Kinkley.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> MOTSCH, M.: op. cit., pp. 21, 29–33 and 46.

<sup>31</sup> *Festschrift* Gálik, p. 491.

<sup>32</sup> *Bibliografia delle opere italiane tradotte in cinese 1911–1992*. Peking, Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 1992, p. 18.

<sup>33</sup> PENG HSIAO-YEN: *Antithesis Overcome: Shen Congwen's Avant-gardism & Primitivism*. Taipei, Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy 1994, 219 pp. and KINKLEY, J.C.: *The Odyssey of Shen Congwen*. Stanford, Stanford University Press 1987. 464 pp.

Jeff Kinkley (St. John's University) is the author of an article on another neglected field of study: the modern Chinese detective story, of which he is probably the only outstanding expert in the West. He finds decadent and aristocratic interliterary relations between Huo Sang and Sherlock Holmes, or between Lu Ping and Arsène Lupin, writing that "European-Chinese interliterary relations could be no closer".<sup>34</sup> Kinkley also mentions Gálik's love for *décadence* and the mythical in the *Bible*, and elsewhere.<sup>35</sup>

Literary and critical is also an essay *Probleme der Interkulturation: Adam Schall von Bell und sein Bild in der heutigen Massensliteratur* by Adrian Hsia (McGill University, Montreal), a very industrious researcher in the Sino-German intellectual history. He analyses often trivial literature on this towering figure among Jesuit missionaries and "Chinese officials" in the 17th century.

Elisabeth Eide (University Library, Oslo) in her *Nordic Literary Images of China* traces the impact of Chinese philosophy, literature and even of the *mirages*, on literature in Norway and Denmark.

"*Morte di un Nazareno*" di Ai Qing by Anna Bujatti (Rome) is both a literary and religious topic, concerning with the impact of the *Bible* and Christianity on modern Chinese literature and intellectual history.

In his study in Czech, the only one written in a Slavic language in the *Festschrift*, Josef Kolmaš (Oriental Institute, Prague) tries to find an answer to the provoking question concerning the similarities and differences between *aggiornamento*, declared by the Pope John XXIII (1958–1963), and the "accommodation" practiced by the European Jesuit missionaries in China in the 16th–18th centuries. This study brings many new facts on the subject, also due to the research concerned with the Czech Jesuit missionary Karel Slaviček (1678–1735), done by Professor Kolmaš during the last two or more decades.<sup>36</sup>

Robert P. Kramers (Professor Emeritus, Zurich University) dedicated to his friend one of his old unpublished manuscripts from the year 1963, a valuable document concerned with a discussion about a draft translation of the *Bible* by Lü Zhenzhong (Hong Kong) which ended in 1970 by the appearance of the full translation, with a very curious and uncommon remark: "Published for Rev. Lu Chen-chung by the Bible Society in Hong Kong." This translation remained an "experimental edition" and was, in spite of its value being defended by Professor Kramers and some others, never acknowledged by the Church authorities.

Aesthetic issues with much literary flavour are discussed in the essay by Viktor Krupa entitled *Similarity as the Basis of Metaphor?*, on the basis of materials from Aristotle up to Michelle Ye, using mostly Slovak, then Czech, Russian, Greek, English, American, Japanese, Chinese, Indonesian and Maori sources.

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<sup>34</sup> *Festschrift Gálik*, p. 563.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 563.

<sup>36</sup> KOLMAŠ, J.: *List císaře Kchang-si a Čechy (A Letter by Kangxi Emperor and Bohemia)*. Nový Orient, 28, 1973, 1, pp. 15–19 and *Listy z Číny do vlasti a jiná korespondence s evropskými hvězdaři, 1716–1735 (Letters from China to Bohemia and the Correspondence with European Astronomers, 1716–1735)*. Prague 1995.

Alike comparative is the contribution by András Horn (Basel University): *Literary Aesthetics East and West*. Here the typological affinities or parallels between the Anglo-Saxon folk epic *Beowulf*, the first Chinese poetic anthology *Shijing* (*The Book of Songs*) and *Wenxin diaolong* (*The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*), then *The Mysteries of Eloquence* by Abdalqahir al-Jurjani, *The Dhvanyaloka with the "Locana" of Abhinavagupta* by Anandavardhana, together with modern critics, as T.S. Eliot, D. Ingalls, J.Y. Liu and E. Miner, are studied in order to "help us not only in identifying cultural differences but also in finding traces of what is common to all humanity".<sup>37</sup>

Richard Trappl (University of Vienna) in his article *Enzyklopädische Dimensionen: Chinesische Literatur zwischen Ästhetik und Quantität* tries to find a way out of the dilemma posed by the interliterary process within the confines of "world literature", and the intraliterary process within the national Chinese literature against the background of the axiological demands and gigantic quantitative supplies.

In his essay, Hans-Georg Möller (Bonn University) analyses how Nietzsche's conception of the relation between the so-called Dionysian and Apollonian was interpreted (and misunderstood) by the Chinese aesthetician Zhu Guangqian. The author also provides us with his interpretation of the Dionysian, as "a pleasure of dissonance".

An essay by Chiu-yee Cheung (University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia) *Tracing the "Gentle" Nietzsche in Early Lu Xun* treats a problem of the sources of influence of Nietzsche in early Lu Xun, having Japanese materials as its basis, many unknown or not studied by Sinologists. Cheung analyses how Nietzsche's views were "refracted" by the Japanese Nietzscheans and tries to specify the similarities between their comprehension of Nietzsche and that by Lu Xun and the reasons for Nietzsche's attractiveness to them.

*Sinologie und Krieg: Der "Brief zu Kultur Chinas" von Takeda Taijun*, written by Evelyn Schulz (Zurich University) analyses an interesting case in Sino-Japanese cultural history, the reflections of the Japanese writer and Sinologist who served from 1937 to 1939 as a war correspondent of the Japanese army in China, mainly on the relations of the Japanese to China and as a matter of fact on the relation between culture and politics in a broader sense.

There are two historical contributions concerned with cultural relations between China and Germany. The first deals with the Chinese reception of Germany and Berlin among Chinese intellectuals, politicians and students after World War I, written by another of Gálik's *tongxue* from Peking in the years 1958–1960: Roland Felber (Humboldt University, Berlin).

The second by Claudie Jousse-Keller (Institut Nationale des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris), describes, on the basis of many publications and archival documents, the history of cultural relations between the People's Republic of China and the German Democratic Republic. Both bring new and interesting materials, not as yet studied up to now.

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<sup>37</sup> *Festschrift Gálik*, p. 479.

It is necessary to add that the *Festschrift* also includes two poems. A short one by Shu Ting (1952–) entitled *Hao pengyou (Good Friends)*, translated into German by Helmut Martin, and a meditative cycle of poems by Yang Lingye (1923–1924) entitled *Beiye (Sutra Leaves)*, translated into English by Lloyd Haft (Leiden University).

Five different plates are to be found in the book, the most valuable among them is certainly the headpiece and colophone of the *Baoqie yinjing* analysed by Claudia Fritz.

Raoul Findeisen and Marián Gálik, Jr., both deserve the deepest thanks for the *Bibliography* appended to volume, Hu Qiuhua for the assistance in the editing of Chinese texts and Marc Winter for his help in compiling the *Index of Personal Names with Glossary*. Yang Xinglai (Zurich) created an impressive example of Chinese calligraphy for the front page.

Not all contributions to the *Festschrift* appeared in this volume. Due to technical or financial reasons three of them by Raimund T. Kolb (Berlin), Wen Rumin (Peking) and Chen Peng-hsiang (Taipei) will be published in the journal *Asiatische Studien/Etudes Asiatiques*, Zurich.

The readers may supplement their information about the *Jubilar* by browsing through the partly serious, partly joking reminiscences of his son Marián Jr.

2.1. The companion volume to *Autumn Floods* is *Asian and African Studies*, n.s. 6, 1997, 2, pp. 117–232. With the exception of one study by young Gálik's Slovak pupil Martin Slobodník, it is not explicitly dedicated to the *Jubilar*, but all the contributions were written or published at the occasion of his 65th birthday. It is also the first "Sinological issue" in more than 30 years of the history of this journal, published since 1965 by the Institute of Oriental and African Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava.

This special issue begins with a study by A. Owen Aldridge (Professor Emeritus, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), a mentor of many East Asian literary comparatists. The study is entitled *The Vindication of Philosophical Optimism in a Pseudo-Confucian Imitation of Voltaire's "Candide"*. The aim of this essay is to analyse a fictitious story called *L'Avanturier chinois*, written by an anonymous writer, published in 1773. It was unearthed by Aldridge, who is famous among the comparatists for his findings of new and unknown materials for studying of the interliterary and intercultural process. In *Comparative Literature*, *L'Avanturier chinois* belongs to the *chinoiseries*, and in the time it was written and published, it was a part of a French literary and philosophical "mirage" of contemporary China. It has, of course, a little to do with Confucian teaching and heritage.

Bernard Fuehrer, a young Austrian scholar, dedicated to his teacher from Bratislava another study on the subject which is so close to Gálik: Sima Qian's (ca 145–ca 86 B.C.) letter to his friend Ren An (Ren Shaoqing). This great specimen of epistolary writing is analysed from the point of view of the rhetorical

devices, and accentuates the tragic mood of Ssu-ma Qian's state of mind after his castration.

Martin Slobodník dedicates to his mentor a study entitled: *The Early Policy of Emperor Tang Dezong (779–805) towards Inner Asia*. Inner Asia in this case denotes the Tibetan and Uighur Empires. It was originally a part of Slobodník's M.A. thesis in 1994, but revised in later years. It tries to analyse the dilemma of Chinese politicians after the An Lushan rebellion (755–757) when too much expectation was put on the Inner Asian powers to bring order in China.

Heiner Frühauf, a young scholar, who left the study of Chinese and Japanese literature for the traditional Chinese naturopathic medicine, agreed to publish in this issue an extensive chapter of his Ph.D. thesis (University of Chicago 1990) entitled: *Urban Exoticism and Its Sino-Japanese Scenery, 1910–1923*. This extensive chapter presents a minute analysis of a problem, hardly studied as yet (and, for a foreign Sinologist, extremely well documented): the Sino-Japanese exoticism in the Late Meiji, Taisho and May Fourth periods, against the background of Euro-American, mainly French symbolist and decadent visions. Exoticism, an earlier European notion, here finds a contrary direction and westward-looking tendency.

Terry Siu-han Yip's (The Hong Kong Baptist University) contribution *Texts and Contexts: Goethe's Works in Chinese Translation Prior to 1985* is also a chapter from Yip's Ph.D. thesis (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 1985). Under the guidance of Professor A. Owen Aldridge, she was able to collect and analyse a great number of different translations of Goethe's works in the Mainland, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Thus she prepared the soil for further investigation of this kind.

With the essay by Jost O. Zetzsche (Ph.D. Hamburg University) entitled: *Cultural Primer or Bible Stories in Contemporary Mainland China*, presenting approximately 20 collections of *Bible Stories*, which are read by the Chinese in Mainland China, ends the issue of Asian and African Studies, written for, or published at the occasion of Marián Gálik's 65th birthday.

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If the publications reviewed in some detail here, present a *monumentum* of the feelings or attitudes to the teacher, colleague or friend, the last mentioned essays by Terry Yip and Jost Zetzsche are for a *Jubilar* also the *mementos* of his still unfinished projects: the first one connected with the work of Johann Wolfgang Goethe and its reception in China, and the second one concerned with the impact of the *Bible* on modern Chinese literature and intellectual history.

Let us hope, just as Professor Viktor Krupa expressed in his wish, that Marián Gálik's health will remain as strong as his will is, and that he will stay with us as long as possible.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> *Festschrift Gálik*, p. 4.

MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC IN HANS WEHR'S  
*ARABISCHES WÖRTERBUCH FÜR DIE SCHRIFTSPRACHE  
DER GEGENWART* (1ST – 5TH EDITIONS)

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1. The excellence of Wehr's Arabic-German dictionary was recognized in leading centers of Arabic studies almost immediately after the appearance of the first edition (1952). The dictionary, compiled on sound lexicographical principles, presents the vocabulary and basic phraseology of Modern Written Arabic (MWA), sometimes referred to as Modern Standard Arabic, the only codified variant of present-day Arabic and the only one with an indisputable pan-Arab validity. MWA, as a medium of prestigious written and, to a somewhat lesser degree, oral communication over a vast geographical area, with many culturally and politically markedly differing countries, operates as a powerful unifying factor. It contributes to creating among millions of Arabs – literate, semiliterate or illiterate – an awareness of identity derived from their common cultural heritage.

Arabic, as a language with a dual system of communication (diglossia) confronts the lexicographer with a variety of unexpected problems whose solution is not always easy. MWA, as a constitutive part of this system, occupies the synthetic or 'high' (Ferguson 1959:325-340) pole of the typological space of diglossia, and stands under a strong everyday impact of regionally differentiated colloquial varieties of Arabic, situated at the analytic or 'low' pole of this diglossic space. Apart from this basic dichotomy, another prestigious variant of Arabic is rapidly gaining ground in our days. Since it mostly operates as a prestigious oral medium of the Arab intellectual elite, it will be tentatively called here Prestigious Oral Arabic (POA). Despite a relatively great assortment of names, given to this elusive and unstable linguistic entity by various authors (Mitchell's ESA/1986:7-32; Ryding's FSA/1990/), none of them seems to be quite adequate in expressing all vital attributes of this promising 'i'rāb-less linguistic medium that has a good chance of becoming a sort of tacitly accepted analytic standard, if it is possible to say so. POA, is a link connecting both poles of the typological space of diglossia – the synthetic norm of MWA, on the one hand, and the regionally differentiated

analytic variants of Colloquial Arabic, on the other – without reaching, however, the full identifiability with any of them. In this position, it seems to be, besides the immediate lexical influence of local colloquials, another efficient channel to provide the lexicon of MWA with very various types of colloquialisms.

Furthermore, the lexicographer of MWA has to face another, perhaps a still more intricate problem. MWA, closely akin to Classical Arabic and, in basic linguistic structures, even identical with it, is a language whose truly miraculous survival and continuity is primarily due to the impact of cultural heritage and to its affinity with the Koran. The well-deserved pride of the Arabs in their civilization which had reached its highest point in the period of the European Dark Ages, contributed to the creation of the classical ideal with all its lexical and stylistic implications. It became a matter of cultural prestige clearly observable in very various strata of the present-day Arab society: writers, media-men and all types of sophisticated language users. Here are the roots of another channel feeding the MWA lexicon with massive amounts of archaisms, mediaevalisms and various sorts of lexical rarities. The overflow of synonymous units, certainly welcome in the pre-Islamic odes of the Arab pagan poets or, say, in the mystical poetry of Ibn al-ʿArabī, is of no great use for communication in the recent industrial and technological era.

Before venturing any further step, the lexicographer had to solve the cardinal question: What is MWA and what should its lexicon look like? Or, in other words, the lexicographer has to define the identity of MWA in terms of its lexicon. Hans Wehr had to set a sound strategy in the very initial stages of his work with primary sources while collecting, filtering, classifying and lexicographically arranging the material. The lexical material included had to be modern and yet it had to secure access to the main intellectual and aesthetic values of the past. Wehr succeeded in finding the right solution: the principle of attestability of any single unit – old or new, borrowed or native, classical or colloquial – in the representative 20th-century corpus of primary sources and, what is perhaps still more important, he succeeded in rigorously adhering to this principle. MWA as defined by Wehr is a really modern linguistic medium. It is modern in the sense that simultaneously with absorbing great amounts of indisputably modern units from various branches of human knowledge, it has been judiciously relieved of the heavy burden of archaisms and mediaevalisms without thereby totally slamming the door that leads to the treasury of the past. MWA as presented by Wehr is modern and vigorous in yet another sense: with a number of judiciously filtered colloquialisms, incorporated in the lexicon, together with the added true-to-life ring, it succeeded in preserving its prestigious nature.

Summarily, it may be asserted that the crucial methodological problem – defining the identity of MWA in terms of its lexicon, was successfully solved with the first edition of the *Wörterbuch* in 1952. The linguistic contours of MWA, constantly blurred by the pervasive phenomena of diglossia and the lexical impact of the surviving classical ideal, gained a much clearer and much more easily recognizable shape than at any time before. This newly presented identity of MWA is reflected, without any substantial modification, in all subsequent editions of Wehr's

and Wehr-related lexicons. And, more than that, the 1st edition of the *Wörterbuch* has been recognized as a model worth following by a number of leading lexicographers (cf., Schregle 1981, in reference to the 1st ed. of Wehr's *Wörterbuch* and Kh.K. Baranov's *Arabsko-russkiy slovar'*, Moscow-Leningrad 1940-46: *zwei ausgezeichnete und richtungsweisende Werke der modernen arabischen Lexikographie*).

2. The vocabulary of any living language is the most closely bound with the evolutionary progress of the community of its users and, for that matter, the first to display the unconcealable symptoms of aging. Seven years after the 1st edition of the *Wörterbuch* appeared a large *Supplement zum arabischen Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, as a result of extensive collection from the writings of several representative Arab authors and various contemporary newspapers and magazines from various Arab countries. In the meantime several MWA lexicons became available, especially the comprehensive and soundly conceived Baranov's *Arabsko-russkiy slovar'* (1957), which offered Professor Wehr another opportunity to test his own lexical material by way of comparison with the latter.

The excellence of Wehr's work was soon recognized on a world-wide scale. Shortly after the publication of the *Supplement*, a comprehensive English (or rather American) version of the *Wörterbuch* appeared with inclusion of the material contained in the *Supplement*. (Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. Edited by J Milton Cowan, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1961). This challenging project has been made possible by the initiative and financial support of the American Council of Learned Societies. Apart from the new lexical material, added to this edition, a number of improvements have been introduced: an increased number of crossreferences, a new type font for Arabic, some changes in transliteration, etc. The American version found wide acceptance in universities and various scholarly institutions all over the English-speaking world and subsequently appeared in several stereotype reprints (1966, 1971 and 1974).

For a number of reasons, the American edition reached the date of another substantial updating several years before the German version, at that time reprinted without any modifications (the edition of 1958 merely integrated the two volumes of the 1st edition into one, and the lexical material of the *Supplement* was not included in the main corpus, at that time).

The 4th edition of the English version, 'considerably enlarged and amended by the author' (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1979), contains all the material of the original German version and that of the *Supplement*, as well as a considerable number of further additions. Besides a considerable number of recent coinages, the author has also included older lexical units newly attested in present-day contexts. With its original typesetting maintained, the 4th edition has been considerably limited in securing the proper arrangement of the enlarged entries. The additions were inserted into separate entries by cutting and pasting-in instead of the economically too demanding new typesetting of the entire book. Of course, all this was done with the understanding that the 4th edition, in its present shape, is only a temporary solution to the challenging need of a more substantial and technically more adequate innovation. In spite of this, the 4th edition of the English

version remained for a couple of years the unsurpassable champion in MWA-related lexicography.

The amount of the additions has soon proved to be insufficient and the rapidly progressing linguistic growth of MWA, especially in the domain of the lexicon, called for a really substantial revision of the whole Wehr-collected corpus. It is worthwhile remembering that the German version, disregarding the independent publication of the *Supplement*, remained intact in its maiden shape up to the appearance of the 5th German edition (Hans Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*. 5. Aufl. Unter Mitwirkung von Lorenz Kropfitsch. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz 1985 (last reprint at the time of this review: 1998)).

The bulk of primary sources, newly evaluated for the 5th edition, come from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, inclusive of Iraqi and Maghribi newspapers and periodicals. This newly enlarged corpus faithfully reflects multi-form evolutionary features of the MWA lexicon, typical of the lexical usage in seventies and afterwards. The 5th edition, in an entirely new typesetting and with an innovated code for Romanized transcription, includes great numbers of newly created neologisms and borrowings of very various types, as well as other lexical and phraseological units, new or old, that efficiently fill in gaps and complete the material previously recorded with more precision and explicitness. As already observed with any new edition, in addition to the new lexical material, the number of crossreferences has further increased. How useful to the current lexicon user this added number of crossreferences is, may shortly be illustrated on two randomly selected entries from the 4th and 5th editions respectively:

- 4th/5th: *barmağ*a to program / programmieren;  
*barmağ*a programing; program planning / Programmierung;  
Programplanung;  
*mubarmāğ* programed, scheduled, etc. / programmiert, etc.;
- 5th: *barāmiğ*<sup>2</sup> pl. zu *barnāmağ*, siehe Buchstabenfolge.

Under *barnāmağ*, the automatically unretrievable singular form related to the plural *barāmiğ*, the user will be guided to additional information and will, no doubt, better understand both the paradigmatical and derivational relationships involved. In both editions, it would have been perhaps useful to include another derivative, namely *mubarmiğ* Programmierer (in Datenverarb.) / programmer, of no negligible interest in our age of informatics.

The user will certainly be better guided by the more realistic Romanized representation of foreign names and lexical borrowings, such as *al-'Inğilīz*, *al-Inğilīz* die Engländer (5th), as against *al-inglīz* the English (4th). Nevertheless, more liberality with terms like *'influwanzā*, admitting an alternation with *'infulwanzā*, even with the educated speakers, would be much closer to the realistic usage. Transcriptions involving consonants missing in Arabic which, furthermore, occur in consonant clusters, typically inadmissible in Arabic, like *psīkolōğīyā*, *psīkolōğī* (substantially the same in both editions), certainly signal no more than one of the possible phonetic rendering. Similar environments typically involve a *p/b* alternation mostly accompanied by a syllabic restructuring by epenthesis or prothesis.

Of course, all these and similar trifles are hardly worth mentioning. Summarily, the system of transcription, adopted in the 5th edition, is markedly better than before. The most useful innovation occurs with the graphic representation of the glottal stop: *hamzat al-qaṭʿ* is consistently transcribed irrespective of its position in the word, hence *ʿislām*, while *hamzat al-waṣl* is elided as before, as in *istislām*, *istislām*, and the like.

There are, however, some features, mostly associated with formal presentation of a number of inflectional and/or derivational phenomena that would admit, in our opinion, a more consistent and, as well, a more uniform treatment. The following remarks concern all editions of the *Wörterbuch*. The treatment of the derivational system of collective (CN) and unit nouns (UN), frequently alternating with an exclusively inflectional singular (S) - plural (P) relationship, is one of these cases.

The treatment of *karm* (CN) may serve as an illustrative example:

*karm* (CN), with a satellite plural *kurūm* (as part of the CN-UN system), is said to denote 'Wein, Weinstöcke, Reben Weinberg; Garten', while *karma* (UN, not explicitly labelled as UN in the lexicon) is associated with 'Weinstock; Rebe'.

The correct representation, in our opinion, would be:

*karm* (CN) - *karma* (UN), with a (satellite) plural *kurūm*, as part of the CN-UN system: 'Wein, Weinstöcke, Reben', as against a parallel S-P relationship, outside the CN-UN system:

*karm* (S) - *kurūm* (P) 'Weinberg; Garten'.

The treatment of *ʿadas* - *ʿadasa*, on the other hand, correctly distinguishes between the two relationships and so it marks them:

CN-UN: *ʿadas* (koll.; n. un -a) Linse (Lens culinaris, Lens esculenta, bot.);

S - P: *ʿadasa* pl. *ʿadasāt* Linse (auch anat.) Vergrößerungsglas; Objektiv.

In the former case, we have to do with a CN-related, in the latter, with an UN-related resystematization.

There is still another type of CN-UN - related restatement that is not represented in the *Wörterbuch*, notably the reclassification of CN-UNs in terms of sex-gender pairs which leads to a parallel occurrence of a derivational (CN-UN) and an inflectional (sex-gender) system. Both systems are attested in all variants of Arabic:

Classical Arabic: (Lane, 1863-1893/ Beirut reprint 1968, I, 636-7) *ḥamām*, the n. un. is with -a) which is applied to the male and female, ... because the -a is added to restrict unity, not to make fem.; but to distinguish the masc., you may say *raʾaytu ḥamāman ʿalā ḥamāmatin* 'I saw a male (pigeon) upon a female (pigeon) ... or a verse *wa ḍakkaranī ṣ-ṣībā baʿda t-tanāʾī - ḥamāmatu ʾaykatin yadʿū ḥamāman* "and a female pigeon of a thicket, calling the male pigeon, reminded me of youth, after estrangement".

Colloquial Arabic: Takrūna Arabic, Tunisia: *ḥmām* 1. CN, masc. "pigeons";

2. "male pigeon", as in: *ḥallānī nenʿi maṭl-əlḥmām frīd* "il m'a laissé réduit à gémir comme le pigeon mâle qui a perdu sa compagne" ('he left me crying like a male pigeon which had lost his companion'); *ḥmāma* 1. UN, fem. "a (one) pigeon";

2. "female pigeon, dove" (Marçais – Guïga, 1958-1961; see vol. ii, 1958, p. 925-6).

In spite of this evidence, the sex-gender interpretation is omitted in the *Wörterbuch* (all editions): *ḥamām* (koll. n. un. -a) pl. -āt, *ḥamā'im*<sup>2</sup> "Taube (Familie Columbidae; zool.)", etc.

Perhaps an atypical usage. But an equally atypical sex-gender interpretation with *ḥayr* (koll.; bisweilen als n. un. gebr.) pl. *ḥayūr*, *'aḥyār* "Vögel, Vogel, etc." and *ḥayra* "weiblicher Vogel", is noted.

Root reconstruction, possibly involving an alternation of mono- and morphemic units as one of its special cases, has to be formally signalled one way or another. In some cases, however, the distinction between the original and the reconstructed roots is blurred (all editions):

\* *m-d-n*: V *tamaddana* / *tamadyana* "zivilisiert sein od. werden; etc.", as well as its derivatives *tamaddun* / *tamadyun*, *mutamaddin* / *mutamadyin*

As evident, *tamadyana*, *tamadyun* and *mutamadyin* cannot be related to the root *m-d-n*, since the whole set is evidently derived from the assumed derivational basis *madīna* "Stadt" (as a symbol of urban civilization) which gave rise to a new, restructured root *m-d-y-n*.

In most cases, however, the reconstructed roots are properly noted, as in:

\* *r-k-z*: *rakaza*, with all verbal (II, V, VIII) and nominal derivatives, inclusively, of the crucial root-giving *markaz* "Ort, Stelle, etc." co-occurring with:

\* *m-r-k-z*: II *tamarkaza* "sich konzentrieren, etc."; *tamarkuz* "Konzentration; etc.", with an extremely helpful crossreference to the original root *r-k-z*, with *markaz*, *markazī* and *markaziyya*.

Some new and newest coinages, involving root reconstruction, are missing in the *Wörterbuch*, e.g. the neologism *ta'liya* "automatization" (Rabat 1977, vol. I, p. 7):

In contrast to the additive root reconstruction \* *r-k-z* > \* *m-r-k-z*, the latter case is of a substitutive type:

(i) \* *'-w-l*, as in *'āla* pl. -āt "Werkzeug; Gerät; Apparat; Instrument; Maschine; etc.";

(ii) \* *'-l-y*, with a presumable derivational basis *'ālī* "mechanisch; mechanisiert; motorisiert; selbstätig (Gerät); automatisch; automatisiert; etc."

It must be recognized, however, that reconstructions of the latter type, even if attested in terminological vocabularies published by authoritative norm-giving centers, are nevertheless dubious in their actual terminological usage and, as such, they may oppose Wehr's criteria of acceptability.

In presenting some types of verbal abstracts along the lexical axis *causativity* / *reflexivity* which can here perhaps better be represented in terms of *conditionning* (c) and *spontaneity* (s), the Wehr-proposed treatment seems to be too normative in avoiding interpretations brought into being by the progressive neutralization of the causative/reflexive opposition, observable in some types of verbal abstracts. In some quite evident cases where the affiliation of a given unit with any particular pole of the c/s opposition is semantically supported, no lexical ambiguities arise, as in:

(c) *taqwīm al-ʿiẓām* “osteoplasty (surg.)” where the c-orientation of the term (Pattern II) is related to the assumed surgical intervention of an orthopedist; or, in an opposite sense:

(s) *inqisām* “division” in *inqisām al-ḥalāyā* “division of cells (in biology)” where no immediate, terminologically relevant external stimulant may normally be present.

In a number of cases, however, the lexicographical treatment of what we symbolize as a c/s opposition, may be problematic and some lexicographers and codificators prefer quoting all members of the c/s-relationship to avoid too one-sided interpretations, as in:

c-oriented (pattern II): *taḥwīl* “version (of foetus, in obstetrics, i.e. with an assumed reference to external factors, e.g. to the obstetrician), co-occurring with:

s-oriented (pattern V): *taḥawwul* “version (of foetus, with reference to itself)” (Cairo, vol. ii, 1960: 142).

The ambiguous c/s variation may be attested at all levels of communication: (journalistic Arabic):

*at-taḥwīrāt / at-taḥawwurāt al-hāmma (al-ʿaḥīra)* “the important (last) developments”; *at-taḡyīrāt / at-taḡayyurāt al-hāmma* “the important changes”, etc.;

(scientific Arabic):

*ʿammā waḡbat al-ḡidāʾ fa-mutanawwiʿ tanwīʿan kaṭīran* (instead of the expected *tanawwuʿan*); or the undue c/s alternation of *taskīr / tasakkur* in terms like *as-sukkariyyāt waḥīdat (ṭunāʾiyyat, ʿadīdat) at-taskīr / at-tasakkur* “mono- (di-, poly-) saccharides” (ʿAzmi 1961: 174, 181, 203, etc.); or cases like *takwīn / takawwun al-ḡibāl* “orogenesis”; *taḥwīl (tamṭīl) / taḥawwul (tamaṭṭul) ḡidāʾī* “metabolism” cannot normally be attested in the Wörterbuch, the latter being rather selective in this respect, as in:

*takwīnāt ḡiyulōḡīya* “geologische Formationen”, in a selected c-featuring despite the fact that an s-orientation seems to be of more imperative terminological relevance; or:

*takwīn* in the phrase *ḡamīl at-takwīn* “wohlgestaltet”, where the c-featuring does not seem to point to any terminologically relevant external factors, either.

Were the c/s distinction not overtly marked in Arabic, its neutralization with verbal nouns would not deserve any attention. At any rate, the problem should rather be relegated to the responsibility of the Arab norm-giving centers.

3. The Wehr-initiated lexicographical project may summarily be characterized as a first really successful attempt at defining the linguistic identity of MWA by way of its lexicon. One of the greatest merits of Wehr’s lexicons, whatever may be their edition or date of issue, is their unprecedented trustfulness and transparency. The project reached its distinct mark of excellence with the 1st edition of 1952. Despite the whole series of successive additions and innovative improvements, the basic descriptive frame, clearly delimiting the linguistic contours of MWA, remained always the same.

The project reached its climax with the 5th edition of the *Wörterbuch*. Owing to its descriptive and methodological qualities, delimiting the linguistic entity of MWA, it is decidedly more than a current bilingual lexicon. It will be used with

profit not only by Arabists, students and scholars alike, but lexicographers and general linguists will also find valuable thought-provoking stimuli in it.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

So, J. F. and BUNKER, E. C.: *Traders and Raiders on China's Northern Frontier*. Seattle – London, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, in association with the University of Washington Press 1996. 208 pp.

The publication under review was released on the occasion of the related exhibition shown at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, November 19, 1995 – September 2, 1996. The aim of the authors is to throw more light on the “long-misunderstood Asian cultural arena” (p. 7), i.e. on the complex cultural interaction between the Chinese population and the northern tribes in the territory of the so-called Gansu Corridor and the Ordos Desert (as shown on the map on pp. 18–19). Their interest is focused on the period between the second millennium B.C. and first century A.D. As we have at our disposal more comprehensive Chinese written sources on their northern neighbours only as late as the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) – but these sources mirror the Sinocentric attitude of the Chinese –, and in the absence of written records of the northern tribes, recently excavated material remains depicted in this publication are a valuable and primary source for documenting the existence of Sino-steppe relations and for interpreting the character of the manifold interrelationship between them.

The nicely illustrated publication (206 illus., 40 in colour) is divided in two parts. The first part consists of six chapters in which the authors make the reader acquainted with the cultural and historical background of this period. The more general introductory first chapter (“The People, the Land, the Economy”, pp. 17–32) examines the different ecological geographies of the Chinese habitat and the habitat of the northern tribes and briefly mentions the introduction of wheeled transport (in late second millennium B.C.) and horseback riding (late first millennium B.C.) to China via the north populated by various tribes. The following chapters two to five (pp. 32–75) focus in chronological order on the various artistic and cultural traits of the above-mentioned interaction as illustrated on belt plaques, yoke ornaments, knives, daggers, bronze vessels, personal ornaments, and other object excavated in today's northern China. These artifacts illustrate significant changes in the visual symbolism (e.g. the theme of predatory animals, p. 42). The cultural exchange was accelerated after the Zhou's takeover of Shang rule (around 1050 B.C.) and also with the emergence of the Xiongnu empire in the third century B.C. and the foundation of the Han Dynasty. The last chapter entitled “Belt Ornaments and Fasteners” (pp. 77–85) is focused on these artifacts which were not simple articles of clothing but indicators of the tribal affiliation, rank, or social status of their bearers and the authors show the various styles which have been discovered.

The second part of this publication is a catalogue (pp. 89–178) of 108 artifacts shown in the exhibition. As stated by the authors (p. 89) these fall into three categories: Chinese, non-Chinese, and hybrid. These hybrid artifacts with features of both cultures can be fur-

ther divided into three groups: those made by the northern tribes for themselves; those made by the Chinese specifically for non-Chinese consumption; and those made by the Chinese for themselves. Each artifact is shown on a black-and-white picture and briefly described. These artifacts also prove that metalworking techniques of granulation, twisted wire, mechanically linked chains, and lost-wax casting were introduced to ancient China as a result of contact with the Notherners.

The publication under review is wound up with a helpful "Glossary of Chinese Characters" (pp. 179–81), "References" (pp. 182–194), list of "Lenders to the Exhibition" (p. 195) – mainly from the United States, and Index (pp. 196–203). For the interested reader (historian, art historian, anthropologist) it illustrates the rich cultural exchange which took place in this part of the world. One can only agree with the authors "that ancient China's relations with these tribes were more pragmatic and complex than commonly acknowledged" (p. 86, in this context, however, the title of the book – *Traders and Raiders...* – seems to be somehow misleading) and their unbiased presentation is a valuable contribution.

Martin Slobodnik

HARRELL, S. (ed.): *Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers*. Seattle – London, University of Washington Press 1995. 387 pp.

The publication under review is a collection of articles written by anthropologists focused on the on-going process of cultural interaction between the Han majority and various "peripheral peoples" (see p. 3, n. 2 for the definition), i.e. the *shaoshu minzu* ("minority nationalities") in the PR of China. The volume is divided into two parts – "The Historiography of Ethnic Identity" (pp. 37–214) and "The History of Ethnic Identity" (pp. 215–328). The individual case-studies are preceded by the introductory essay ("Introduction: Civilizing Projects and the Reaction to Them", pp. 3–36) written by the editor of the volume which gives a general picture of the civilizing project and the rationale behind it in China, where the "periphery" underwent three different types of civilizing project: Confucian, Christian and communist. The characteristic features behind these respective projects, their different motivations are briefly mentioned. As stated by the author, the implementation of these projects has been more complicated than these theoretical differences would suggest (p. 24), but unfortunately the problems of the interrelationship between them are tackled only very briefly.

The underlying subject of the first part (pp. 37–214) are the complex questions related to the ideological foundation of various *minzu* (mainly in southwest China), the dichotomy between official and popular histories, the process of constructing histories of these *minzu* as part of the identification work done by Chinese ethnographers after the foundation of the PR of China. The most recent stage, the communist civilizing project, is clearly the most systematic and the creators of these histories knew already before, in which way they should present the history of a certain *minzu*. Charles F. McKhann devoted the first part of his article to a helpful and instructive introduction into the nationality question in the PRC – above all the criteria (common territory, language, economy, national culture) which an ethnic group should fulfil to be recognized as a *minzu* by the state are mentioned. Not only his contribution ("The Naxi and the Nationalities Question", pp. 39–62), but also the articles of S. Harrell ("The History of the History of the Yi", pp. 63–91), N. Diamond ("Defining the Miao: Ming, Qing, and Contemporary Views", pp. 92–117), and R. A. Litzinger ("Making Histories: Contending Conceptions of the Yao Past", pp. 117–39) il-

illustrate the tension between the objective characteristics of an ethnic group set by the Chinese state and the subjective consciousness of these groups, i.e. the perception of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic relations by the people themselves. A case worth mentioning would be an example of an ethnic group with a strong sense of historicity and ethnic consciousness, and in autochthonous sources well-documented past (e.g. Tibetans), and the intentional interpretation of their history by the Han majority of China, which is not a tool for constructing their history and identity but it is aimed to support and justify the historicity of the supranational *Zhonghua minzu*. Though S. Rigger analyses the process of the formation of Manchu identity ("Voices of Manchu Identity, 1635–1935", pp. 186–214), the terminal point of her contribution is Manchukuo and the Manchu identity in contemporary China is omitted (although the recent recovery of their heritage would be worth mentioning). M. Byrne Swain is the sole contributor of this volume who focuses his/her interest mainly on the character of the Christian civilizing project in China ("Père Vial and the Gni-p'a", pp. 140–85), some authors mention it only briefly (S. Harrell, Siu-woo Cheung: "Millenarianism, Christian Movements, and Ethnic Change among the Miao in Southwest China", pp. 217–47), but most authors do not touch upon it, so this issue is the least addressed in the publication under review.

The second part (pp. 215–328) consists of four studies which are only very vaguely connected by their historical perspective in which they view cultural encounters in China. Two of these studies are focused on Mongols living in the PR of China. Almaz Khan ("Chinggis Khan: From Imperial Ancestor to Ethnic Hero", pp. 248–277) deals with the cult of Chinggis Khan (as a case of a transformation of an ancient symbol) and its function for the purpose of national revival. He concentrates his interest on the *Chinggisiiin Tahilga*, the Chinggis Khan Sacrificial Ceremony at the Chinggis Khan Mausoleum in Inner Mongolia. Wurlig Borchigud ("The Impact of Urban Ethnic Education on Modern Mongolian Ethnicity, 1949–66", pp. 278–300) examines Mongol ethnicity through the institution of ethnic education in Inner Mongolia. She abandons the usual bipolar structure (minorities versus Han majority) and mentions not only Han chauvinism, which is not unique to Inner Mongolia, but analyses also the split between urban Mongols and Mongols from pastoral areas.

As the situation of *shaoshu minzu* in contemporary China is not only a question of cultural interaction but also a political problem, it would be worth seeing individual civilizing projects (not only the communist one) also in this context. The effect of the civilizing project on the civilizing centre (although briefly stated in the Introduction, pp. 6–7) is completely neglected and the cultural interaction is not perceived as a part of the Chinese and Han quest for national unity. The publication under review is an important contribution as it is focusing on a complex of question which are so far only little understood and researched. The individual studies do not – and cannot – give definite answers to it, but they show some interesting directions for future research.

*Martin Slobodník*

HOLES, Clive: *Modern Arabic. Structures, Functions and Varieties*. London and New York, Longman Linguistics Library 1995. XIV + 345 pp.

Holes' monograph is a comprehensive curriculum vitae of Modern Written Arabic, its main linguistic structures and its interactions with modern colloquial varieties. Nearly three decades have passed since the appearance of A.F.L. Beeston's *The Arabic Language*

*Today* (London 1970) and only a little less since W. Diem published his excellent *Hochsprache und Dialekt im Arabischen* (Wiesbaden 1974). The book is certainly more than a sound introduction to the basics of Modern Arabic to which advanced students have to be introduced. Arabic is conceived as an integrated whole, as a living entity struggling towards lexical and stylistic maturation and self-sufficiency in covering challenging needs of modern civilization. For Arabic, the ongoing process of linguistic updating in the sociolinguistic and generally cultural context of diglossia is not altogether easy since its progress is constantly hampered by never ceasing controversies between innovators and purists.

The Introduction (1–6) surveys the area where Arabic is spoken and offers preliminary information on its main linguistic varieties.

Chapter 1 presents a brief history of Arabic, defines its place in the Semitic language family and surveys the earliest epigraphic and written documents. The account of the spread of Arabic as a result of the great Arab conquests in the 7th and 8th centuries is one of the finest parts of this chapter. Holes' negative attitude towards the pidgin-creole (PC) hypothesis as related to the emergence of modern urban dialects is probably justified by an almost complete absence of creditable evidence. The hazardous and utterly hypothetical PC-scenario, as sketched by Versteegh (1984: 79–111, 129, etc.), would otherwise provide a highly elegant and integrated theory of the genesis of modern urban dialects, the true mother tongue of millions of speakers populating an immense geographical area. Have we here to do with a sudden and unexpected pidgin-like emergence with a subsequent evolution into nativized creoles, or rather the result of a natural development? The weakness of a PC-scenario is doubled by the necessity of positing another unattestable fact, namely that the process of creolization, exposed to a constant levelling impact of the prestigious Classical Arabic, was never completed or else, if completed, that it must have been followed by a reverse process of decreolization in favour of the classical norm that was, by that time, (since the 8th century A.D.), already being established by the first generation of Arab grammarians. Another, perhaps the most realistic interpretation of this evolutionary process, might perhaps be derived from the concurrence of both these factors: inherent evolutionary drift supported by incidental, directly unattestable, contact-motivated phenomena that may play, under certain circumstances, a quite decisive role.

In the case of the recent linguistic situation of Arabic, I cannot share the author's opinion that "the concept of Arabic as a 'diglossic' language, if it was ever accurate, is now a misleading oversimplification" (39). It is true, sure, that most communication in Arabophone areas oscillates between the two poles of diglossia without being fully identifiable with any of these cultural (high / low) and structural (synthetic / analytic) maxima. The process of hybridization may perhaps best be seen on the constitution of a fairly unified prestigious oral Arabic (Mitchell's ESA, Ryding's FSA, etc.) which is taking place before our eyes. This 'i'rāb-less prestigious oral medium, for all its diffuseness and permeability, observable at all linguistic levels, is exactly the materialized product of diglossia and can best be defined in terms of the latter. This prestigious hybrid, the oral medium of the Arab intellectual elite, as well as other hybrids emerging at different cultural levels, are confined within the two poles of the diglossic space. Diglossia, then, seems to remain the best frame of reference for any recent linguistic variety of Arabic, no matter whether written or spoken, codified or not.

Chapters 2–9 deal more technically with various linguistic aspects of Arabic: phonology (2), verb morphology (3), noun morphology (4), pronouns and deictics (5), phrase structure (6), sentence structure (7), lexical and stylistic developments (8), and language level (9). The book further offers an appendix (Arabic Script), references (works consulted) and three indexes (i: General; ii: Arabic language; iii: Arabic dialects).

In dealing with the case inflection (141 f.), it would have been perhaps worth mentioning that besides triptotic and diptotic paradigms, there exists a mixed declension with some types of broken plurals ending in a semi-vowel, as in *ġawārin* (triptotic: nominative, genitive), *ġawāriya* (diptotic: accusative); the same for the definite *ġawārī* (nom., gen.), *ġawāriya* (accus.).

Now, some comments on noun-plus-pronominal suffix and noun-plus-noun construct phrases. In presenting the structural properties of these constructions (163), the author rightly points to the interpretational ambiguity observable in cases like *qatluhu* "his killing/being killed" or in, say, *qatlu l-wazīr* or *ġazwu l-ʿirāq*. The agent/patient ambiguity can be cured by adding another modifier *k* to the patient slot *k* introduced by the particle *li-* that can be omitted in "older, and non-media styles of written Arabic" (ibid.). Here, it would probably have been worthwhile specifying that such directly appended noun stands in accusative, viz. *qatlu l-ḥalifati ġaʿfaran*.

Furthermore, the fact that Pattern I transitive verbs are not marked for voice (*qatl* "killing/being killed") is unduly restricted to verbal nouns derived precisely from this verbal pattern (ibid.). As is evident, the agent/patient ambiguity extends far beyond this narrow limit. With the exception of some typically causative/transitive patterns (especially Pattern II, not so much Pattern IV, frequently intransitive) and some predominantly reflexive / intransitive and passive-like patterns (esp. IX and VII), the latter type of ambiguity, unless being semantically prevented, continues even with most medially featured reflexive patterns from the interval V – X, producing intransitive verbs and related verbo-nominals, such as *iktašafa*, *istaḥaffa*, *istaʿmala*, etc.

Apart from this agent/patient ambiguity there is another one associated with some types of verbal nouns, such as *takwīn/takawwun* (e.g.: *al-ʿizām* "osteogenesis"; *al-ġibāl* "orogenesis"; *taḥwīl/taḥawwul* *ġidāʾī* "metabolism", etc.).

The description of definiteness in the structural domain of construct phrases is kept in traditional lines: "The first, 'annexed' noun must always be grammatically indefinite (i.e. lacking a proclitic (*ʾa*)l- or an enclitic pronoun); the amplifying noun may be definite or indefinite" (167). As far as identifying 'grammatical indefiniteness' with constraints enclosed in brackets is concerned, no objections can be raised to the introductory statement. Unfortunately, however, the latter fails to account for the fact that the first, or better, the nonfinal term of an annexion is *always* paradigmatically definite irrespective of the definiteness state of the final term: *masāġid-u*, *-ī*, *-a* *madīnatin/al-madīnati* (triptotizing of diptota as a formal proof of what we call paradigmatical definiteness). Syntagmatically, of course, the definiteness state of the nonfinal term of an annexion follows that of the final term: *baytu raġulin kabīrun*, *baytu r-raġuli l-kabīru*.

The description of the annexion-type phrases failed to account for two different number-concord patterns of the modifier:

(1) individual constituents of an annexion maintain their lexical autonomy and can be quantified independently of each other: *sayyāratu l-mudīr* "the director's car": *sayyārāt al-mudīr*, etc.

(2) in lexicalized constructions, viz. the construct phrase operates as a single lexical unit, number concord is formal indicator of the lexicalization process: *sāʾiqu s-sayyāra* "car driver", *sāʾiqū / suwwāqu s-sayyārāt*, or *rabbatu l-bayt* "housewife", *rabbātu l-buyūt*, etc.

Holes' Modern Arabic is a valuable source of information based on exact and well-attested data. Impressionistic guesses (or perhaps only oversights) are few in number. At least one of them, at the very first page of the monograph: Sudan and the Bantu languages. If there are any Bantu speakers in (southern) Sudan, their number is certainly not worth mentioning besides the incomparably more numerous (though not mentioned) non-Arab

speakers of the Cushitic Bedawiye / Beja, as well as speakers of the Nilo-Saharan Nuba, Nuer or Shilluk, or those using the Niger-Congo Azande, Banda, and still other (non-Bantu) languages.

Of course, most of these comments tend to add what seems to have been omitted. Nevertheless, the primary aim of the Holes' monograph was to provide an outline of the linguistic structure of modern Arabic, not a reference grammar, and this goal has been successfully achieved. Some minor oversights cannot lower the value of this highly useful and interesting scholarly work.

We believe that the advanced students of Arabic and ambitious general linguists will rightly appreciate Holes' monograph as a valuable source of useful and exciting information.

Ladislav Drozdík

HOLT, P. M.: *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260 – 1290), Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers*. Leiden, New York, Köln, E. J. Brill 1995, viii + 161 pp., ISBN 90 04 10246 9

Volume 12 of *Islamic History and Civilization – Studies and Texts* series presents treaties between the Mamluk sultans of Egypt, Baybars (1260–77) and Qalawun (1279–90), and Christian rulers. As the state archives of the Mamluk sultanate have not survived, the translated documents are from the archives of European powers. All the documents were originally written between the 13th and 15th centuries by four Arabic authors.

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Gabriel Pirický

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