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K. CZEGLÉDY, B. CSONGOR, G. KARA, A. RÓNA-TAS, G. URAY. I. VÁSÁRY

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F. TŐKEI

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PROLEGOMENA TO THE CODEX CUMANICUS

BY

LOUIS LIGETI

It has been over a hundred years now since Géza Kuun published the complete text of the Codex Cumanicus, together with a lengthy introduction, ample footnotes, several indices, and even an «Addenda et Corrigenda». Géza Kuun addressed non-Hungarian readers in Latin because in those days the Hungarian Academy did not publish foreign language works. Latin, of course, did not number among foreign tongues, since it had been the official language of the country for centuries.

Few books have had such a lasting and profound influence. Several academic generations considered and reconsidered the problems raised by the Codex, criticized and disputed Géza Kuun's views, accepted many of his assertions, and repeated them without mentioning his name. Each succeeding generation contributed valuable partial monographs, yet there remains a lot to be explored. Some details have been superficially handled, if not completely neglected.

A reprint edition of Géza Kuun's Codex Cumanicus will soon appear in a series of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Csoma de Kőrös Society (*Budapest Oriental Reprints*, Series B 1). This gave me the opportunity to make a few remarks concerning the general problems of the Codex hitherto explained in an unsatisfactory way and to comment on some of the details connected with these problems. The results of my research are put forward in the present study.

Count Géza Kuun was born in Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt, Sibiu) in Transylvania, in 1838, and died in Budapest in 1905. He was elected to the Academy of Sciences in 1867 and filled the post of vice president of the Academy between 1901 and 1904.

He studied classical philology and Semitic languages at the University of Pest, and later he improved his knowledge of the latter in Göttingen. With a firm knowledge of Hebrew and Syriac, he next took up the study of Arabic, Persian and the Turkic languages. Oriental studies were, however, only a part of his wide range of interests. Since he was not a linguist, he relied on the metho-

dology used in classical philology when dealing with Oriental philological questions.[1]

His Oriental studies focus on two major subjects. The first is the history of the early Hungarians as revealed in Muslim sources. One study, the *Relationum Hungarorum . . . historia antiquissima*,[2] was written in Latin, while the rest of his works, the text editions, translations and comments of the Arabic and Persian sources concerning early Hungarian history were written in Hungarian.[3] He used a similar method to elaborate Gardēzī's description of the Turks.[4] The other part of Kuun's Oriental studies focuses on the problems of the Coman people and language. These include his study «Data on the History of the Crimea».[5] Two other of his writings were prompted by critical reviews of his publication of the Codex Cumanicus, one responding to the comments of E. Teza, and the other, «On the Language and Nationality of the Comans»,[6] answering I. Gyárfás' paper entitled «The Coman Language of the Petrarca Codex.»[7]

Géza Kuun's edition of the Codex Cumanicus created a stir among a group of Hungarian historians who maintained that the Comans spoke the Finno-Ugric Hungarian language from the earliest times on. The eminent historian, G. Pray (1723—1801) and also the renowned researcher of the Jazygs and Comans, I. Gyárfás (1822—1883) shared this misconception.

[1] Goldziher, I., *Emlékbeszéd Grófj Kuun Géza fölött.* [A Commemorative Address to Count Géza Kuun], Budapest 1906, *Emlékbeszédek* XIII, 4.

[2] Kuun, Comes Géza, *Relationum Hungarorum cum Oriente gentibusque orientalis originis historia antiquissima.* Vol. I—II, Claudopoli 1892, 1895.

[3] Kuun, Count Géza, *Keleti kútfők* [Oriental Sources]. Edited, translated and annotated by —. In: Gy. Pauler—S. Szilágyi, *A magyar honfoglalás kútfői* [Sources of the Hungarian conquest], Budapest 1900, pp. 137—184.

[4] Kuun, dr. count Géza, *Gurdēzi a törökökről* [Gurdēzi on the Turks]: *Keleti Szemle* (Revue Orientale) II (1901) 1—5, pp. 168—181, 260—270; III (1902), pp. 32—44, 81—94, 253—261; IV (1903), pp. 14—40, 129—141, 257—287.

[5] Kuun, Count Géza, *Adalékok Krím történetéhez* [Data on the History of the Crimea], Budapest 1875.

[6] Kuun, Count Géza, *Újabb adatok a kún Petrarca-Codexhez* [New Data on the Coman Petrarca-Codex], in: *M. T. Ak. Értekezések az I. Oszt. köréből* IV, 12, Budapest 1892. Kuun, Count Géza, *A kúnok nyelvéről és nemzetiségéről* [On the Language and Nationality of the Comans], Budapest 1885, in: *Értekezések az I. Oszt. köréből* XII, 11. Upon the publication of the Codex see Hunfalvy, Pál *A Kún- vagy Petrarka-Codex és a kúnok* [The Coman or Petrarca Codex and the Comans], in: *Értekezések az I. Oszt. köréből* IX, No. 5, Budapest 1881; in German: *Der Komanische oder Petrarca-Codex und die Kumanen*, in: *Ungarische Revue*, Leipzig 1881, pp. 602—632. In his basically positive review Hunfalvy criticized Kuun for the casualness of his Latin and justly complained of the clumsiness of the Latin index.

[7] Gyárfás, I., *A Petrarka Codex kún nyelve* [The Coman language of the Petrarca Codex], in: *Értekezések a II. Oszt. köréből* X, 8, Budapest 1882.

Basically, Géza Kuun's edition of the Codex Cumanicus was favourably received in Hungary. The role of the Comans in the history of Hungary was clear, not even I. Gyárfás denied it. It was a well-established fact that King Béla IV of Hungary allowed 40 000 Coman families who were headed by Kuthen (*Kütän*) and in flight from the Tatars, to settle in the country. The Hungarian population, however, received the numerous alien nomads with apprehension, and before long regarded them as spies of the Tatars. An incited mob finally killed Kuthen, upon which the Comans left the country, plundering and murdering as they went.[8]

After the Mongol invasion, Béla IV called in the Comans again (joined by a part of the Jazygs[9]), and attempted to bring them over to his side by granting them various privileges, and arranging royal marriages with them. Coman influence reached its climax during the reign of Ladislaus IV, called the Coman (his mother was the Coman princess Elisabeth). Their privileges were confirmed by several laws enacted in 1279.[10] After the murder of Ladislaus IV, however, their role diminished, and they gradually merged with the Hungarians. By the end of the 18th century even their language had died out, and all that was left of it to posterity was a distorted version of the Coman Lord's prayer, and some other prayers consisting only of a few words. Later scientific examination of mediaeval Coman personal and place names revealed their Turkic origin (Gombocz, Rásonyi). More recently, interest has been turned

[8] R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes. A History of Central Asia*, New Brunswick 1970, p. 264. C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols depuis Tchinguiz-khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan* II, Amsterdam 1852, pp. 135–241.

[9] The Jazygs enjoyed the same privileges as the Comans. The mediaeval Latin diplomas of Hungary refer to them as *Jazones* or *Philistei*. They retained some of their privileges, like the Comans, up to 1848, and their administrative area, established with the Comans under the name «Jászkún-körzet» [Jazygian-Coman district] was abolished in 1867. According to an earlier view, they spoke the Coman language when they settled in Hungary, as they had lived together with this Turkish people for a long time prior to their arrival. Recently it has come to light that at the time of settling in Hungary, the Jazygs spoke their own Iranian tongue which was related to Osset, and Alan. This is evidenced by the Jazygian personal names of Iranian origin in the Latin diplomas, and above all by a Jazygian—Latin word-list from the 15th century found in the Budapest National Archives in 1957. Cf. Z. Gombocz, *Osseten-Spuren in Ungarn*: *Gombocz Zoltán összegyűjtött művei* [The Collected Works of Z. Gombocz] I, Budapest 1938, pp. 78–83. Idem, *Ossètes et Yazyges*: *op. cit.*, pp. 91–95. J. Németh, *Eine Wörterliste der Jassen, der ungarländischen Alanen*: *ADWB*, Berlin 1959. Idem, *Spisok slov na jazyke jasov, vengerskich alan*. Perevod s nemeckogo i primečanija V. I. Abaeva, Ordzonokidze 1960. The Hungarian Jazygs also abandoned their native Iranian tongue for the Hungarian language.

[10] B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, die Mongolen in Russland, 1223–1502*, Leipzig 1943, pp. 67–68. Hóman–Szekfű, *Magyar történet* [Hungarian History] I, Budapest 1935, pp. 537–543; II (1936), p. 10 sqq. Jean Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age*, Rome 1977, pp. 31–33.

to the words of Coman origin in the Hungarian dialects of present-day Coman regions (Mándoky). It is easy to see why Hungarian Turcologists devote special attention to the problems of Coman history and language.

As is well known, the first mention of the Codex was made by Tomasini in 1656. Leibnitz discovered the manuscript in the catalogue of the Venice Library in 1768. In 1769 Daniel Cornides of Hungary, secretary to Count József Teleki sought out the Codex Cumanicus in Venice and copied its first 22 pages. Later, in Hungary he informed Pray about the manuscript with reference to the on-going controversy concerning the Coman Lord's prayer.[11] Finally, through Tomasini, Klaproth re-discovered the manuscript, managed to obtain a copy of the first part of it, and in 1826 edited the copied text. This touched off a series of scientific examinations of the Codex Cumanicus. Despite its deficiencies, G. Kuun's edition constitutes a significant step forward from Klaproth's pioneering edition. Its publication marks the beginning of research on the manuscript itself, together with analyses of its contents.

From Tomasini's time until recently, the Codex Cumanicus was called the Petrarca-Codex, on the basis of the belief that it was one of Petrarca's books left to Venice.

G. Györffy has closely studied the manuscript and its background in Venice, and has arrived at several significant conclusions.[12]

[11] The topic in question is treated by Kuun in detail, (pp. I—XIV). Only the section on Cornides needs some elucidation. According to Kuun, and after him, Gyárfás (*op. cit.*, p. 13), Cornides and József Teleki visited Venice in 1770. They determined this date from Cornides' letter to György Pray. According to Dóra F. Csanak (in her book «Két világ határán» [On the Frontier of Two Worlds], in press), this visit took place in May, 1769. The text (draft) of the letter addressed to Pray can be found almost unaltered in the previously mentioned (Kuun, p. X) manuscript, entitled *Commentatiuncula*, kept in the Manuscript Department of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Tört. 2° 164). The part copied from Cornides begins with the first word of the Codex (*Audio: Mesnoem esiturmen*; he thought the first two words were a single Coman word), and ends with *equita — Atlan*, which is on p. 22 instead of 23. The copy made in Venice soon went astray, as he himself wrote in a letter: «aduersaria mea in Transilvania reliqui». If not definitively lost, it must lie hidden somewhere there (perhaps in Szeben, Sibiu).

[12] G. Györffy, *Autour du Codex Cumanicus*, in: *Analecta orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Kőrös dicata. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* V, Budapest 1942, pp. 110—137. Györffy's argument was accepted by A. v. Gabain, *Komanische Literatur*, in *Fundamenta* II, pp. 243—244. Referring to Gabain, Louis Bazin, *Les calendriers turcs anciens et mediévaux*, Paris 1974, p. 625 reiterated Györffy's view. Györffy's study is a bibliographical rarety, as Vol. V of *BOH* came out in a very limited number of copies due to the devastations of the war. Dagmar Drüll, in her doctoral dissertation entitled *Der Codex Cumanicus, Entstehung und Bedeutung*, Stutgart 1980 (*Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, Band 23, Klett-Cotta), re-examined the date, place, and circumstances of origin of the Codex. Miss Drüll saw and studied the Codex itself, had experts examine the watermarks again, and thoroughly analyzed the paper used for the Codex. All her research confirms Györffy's findings in essentials.

To start with, he has established that the name Petrarca Codex, was an inveterate error. This Nolhac also pointed out in a book published in 1892, but which passed completely unnoticed by Turcologists. Petrarca did indeed leave his books to Venice in his will, but they never arrived there since he lived near Padua at the time of his death in 1374, and the adversities between the two towns prevented the book collection from ever reaching Venice. Nolhac, incidentally, studied each of the 17 manuscripts in the San Marco Library allegedly belonging to the Petrarca collection, including the Codex Cumanicus, and maintained that none of them could have come from the Petrarca library. This is certainly true of the Codex Cumanicus, whose paper (not parchment) pages and leather binding from the 18th century did not blend in at all with the rest of the bibliophile Petrarca's books.

Györffy examined the pages of the manuscript, their water marks, and the former fascicules of the manuscript now bound in one volume.

His research led him to conclude that the manuscript originally consisted of three fascicules. Both Teza and Györffy stress this fact, which means more precisely that the Codex was written on three types of fascicules, the first two of which were of equal size, and contained the same watermark. The third fascicule, however, was larger and apparently clipped round at the time of stitching or binding, which damaged the writing on a few pages. The watermarks of the latter differ from those of the other two types of paper. Apart from this proof, a view had earlier evolved to the effect that the Codex had two parts, a «German» and an «Italian» part.

Let it be noted here that the Codex today consists of 164 pages. This subsequent, modern pagination was used by G. Kuun, A. v. Gabain, Grönbech (in his dictionary) and Monchi-zadeh. We will also adhere to this pagination, as the arbitrary mediaeval paging seems gratuitous and anachronistic, using 82 r-v folios.

The «Italian part» comprises pages 1—110, which simply means that the Italians left pages 111—118 of the second fascicule blank. This is how the next owners obtained the Codex. According to this conception, the new owners started adding their notes on page 119, and continued through to page 164 of the third fascicule. This part, therefore, contains only their material.

The first, or Italian part, offers several chronological clues, first at the very beginning of the manuscript: the date June 11th, 1303 apparently refers to the manuscript from which the present Codex was (either directly of indirectly) copied. This work was undoubtedly not an autograph one, as amply evidenced by the mistakes arising from copying.

Györffy has pinned down the date of copying by showing that the paper was of North Itaian origin, the watermark dating around 1330. This may be considered the copying date of the extant Italian part.

Earlier an older chronological clue was thought to have been discovered, in the names of the months in Latin, Persian and Coman in the Codex. The

Latin names of the Christian calendar, contrasted with the Persian names of Arabic origin, outline the Muslim calendar. The sequence of the Christian and Muslim months in the Codex correspond only cyclically. Disregarding the earlier (1259—1261) and later (1324—1326) concordances, the lists of the months in the Codex coincide only in the years 1292—1294.[13] Through various com-

[13] The correspondence between the Latin and Persian names of months listed on p. 72 of the Codex points to the year 1294, Samojlovič suggests (*Doklady Ak. Nauk* 1924, pp. 86—88); Malov (*Izv. Ak. Nauk SSSR* 1930, pp. 347—349) placed this date at 1295—96. (The questions of the Coman calendar were studied by Kowalski, *Zu den türkischen Monatsnamen*: *Archív Orientalní* I (1930), pp. 3—26, especially pp. 17—26, and by K. Grönbech, *Wörterbuch*, pp. 30—31). The date 1294—95 inferred from the Muslim chronology is attractive but, as stated above, not convincing. In the course of copying, the list of months got mixed up, as seen in the Coman column. It is also obvious that the copier noticed this, and tried to join the horizontal correlations by adding dashes. The names of the Coman column are, in any case, perplexing. Why, for example, is June an autumn month? Why are three summer months missing? Other curiosities were referred to by Kowalski along with possible explanations. Bazin devoted a whole chapter of his book to the Coman calendar (pp. 624—650), and the deficiency of the list did not escape his attention either. He ascribed it to the careless copier. Bazin tried to overcome the difficulties by reconstructing the Coman calendar with 16 months (pp. 642—643), in the following manner: one year starts with November and ends with October, then the next year starts with November again, but ends with February (that's all the list of 16 can provide for). The period November—December of the 16-item list falls in 1293, January—December in 1294, and JanuaryFebruary in 1295. This seems to bolster up the hypothesis of the 1294—95 date. The problem is, however, that Bazin's cleverly reconstructed list of 16 months can in no way be verified. Another proof of the delicacy of the Coman calendar is the fact that erroneous copying can be clearly shown in the Persian column containing the Moslem month-names in distinct Arabic forms. Let us start from a tangible point: *aprilis — gimediaual* (Bazin: *J̌umādā* I, mai); *madius — regep gimedielachel* (B: *J̌umādā* II, mai). The copier left this out, and realized his mistake only after he had put down *regep*. He corrected the error by inserting it afterwards (B: *Raǰab*, juin). From this point on, the list is one line off, marked by the additional dashes of the copier (the dashes are hardly visible in the facsimile, but much clearer in Kowalski's facsimile); *junius — saabam* (B: *Šaʿbān*, juillet); *julius — ramadâ* (B: *Ramaḍān*, août); *augustus — saugal* (B: *Šawwāl*, septembre); *septemb(e)r — čil chaade* (B: *D̲ū'l qaʿda*, octobre); *octub(e)r — dilchia* (B: *D̲ū'l ḥiǰǰa*, novembre) *noue(m)ber — mugarâ* (B: *Muḥarram*, décembre); *decemb(e)r* — the space for the Persian word is blank here. If the word *regep* is fitted in its right place, the lacuna of December disappears in the Persian column. Bazin's Muslim chronology involves only the year 1294 (excluding 1295). His proposed interpretation of the Persian calendar of the Codex basically agrees with Samojlovič's. Both of them name 1294 as the date in question, and both exclude the years 1295—96 suggested by Malov for the date of origin of the calendar. In fact, the date now generally accepted, 1294, is not so convincing, as there are three successive years in which the month *safar* correlates with January, and *muḥarram* with December: 23. 1. 1292 (Wednesday) — 12. 12. 1293 (Friday); 11. 1. 1293 (Tuesday) — 2. 12. (Wednesday); 1. 1. 1294 (Friday) — 21. 12. (Tuesday). In the Moslem calendar: H 691—1291/2; H 692 — 1293/4, H 693 — 1293/4. Cf V. V. Cybuljskij, *Sovremennye kalendari stran Bližnego i Srednego Vostoka, Sinchronističeskie tablicy i pojasnenija*, Moskva 1964, p. 66. Bazin chose the last of the possible three. It is hard to tell how this Moslem date found its way into the Codex, and whether or not

binations with Coman calendars, this agreement seems to point to the year 1294. In my opinion, the value of this date is disputable, though a number of eminent Turcologists accept it. It suggests that the date of the original Codex was 1294, its first copy was made in 1303, and the existing copy dates around 1330.

The «German part» much more eludes chronological dating. Györffy detected a different kind of paper with three watermarks, but only two of these can be dated more or less precisely. On the basis of the paper and the watermarks, Györffy suggested that this part of the Codex was written between 1340 and 1356. An earlier conception maintained that this part was not a copy, but rather a collection of original texts, glosses and insertions, which were added continuously in the course of a relatively long time. However, it is not difficult to prove that a part of these texts are copies of previous texts, or were written down after dictation. At any rate, the «German part» was compiled later than the Italian, which was earlier believed to have reached German Franciscan friars, accounting for the additional German glosses inserted in the Italian part. The manuscript changed hands again, ending up in Italy. This makes it clear how the Codex, now stitched, got to Venice (and not Genoa) without Petrarca's mediation.

The place of origin of the Codex is not independent of the chronology of its separate parts.

The first, or Italian, part is today believed to have been made in the Crimea. Kuun firmly attributed this part to a Genoan author. Brătianu (1929) shared this view. Some researchers (Rasovski, Györffy) named Solkhat as the place of origin. Miss Drüll tried to confirm the theory of the Genoan origin by eliminating all other possibilities.

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the Christian terminology contrasted with it is correct; correcting either of them with the Coman chronology is too risky a venture. Let us consider one example: after the previously mentioned emendation, the *curbâ barâ ay* (= *qurbān bayrām āy*) of the Coman column corresponds to *dilghia* in the Persian; this name did indeed denote (*Dū'l-hiǰǰa*) November in 1292 or 1293. In 1294 the Coman name of November (= *muḥarram*) in Bazin's «corrected» list is *soŋ küz ay*, «the last month of autumn». *Soŋ küz ay* and *qurban bayrām āy* of the Coman column refer to two different mnths. Bazin attempted to eliminate the contradiction with the 16-item list, while Kowalski (*op. cit.*, p. 25), after much hesitation, tended to regard *qurbān bayrām āy* as a special name for «the last month of autumn». In such circumstances, the Coman calendar of the Codex cannot be considered a firm chronological base, and the data inferred from the Persian column of the Moslem calendar are at best shaky hypotheses. Monchi-zadeh's date of 1358 (p. 13), based on the legend of the Petrarca-Codex, is totally unwarranted. Relying on the corrected third edition of Mahler—Wüstenfeld, *Vergleichungstabellen* 3., Miss Drüll tried to modify Malov's dating by identifying the calendar of the Codex with the period of 1292—95, in harmony with the Muslim chronology. We have come back to the former dating; 1295 was commonly disregarded as its last two months extend over to 1296; the «emendations» can be ignored as they only affect days.

The 1303 variant is believed to have been made in the Monastery of St. John near Sarai. No attempts what so ever were made to establish the place of origin of the extant (cc. 1330) copy. The second, «German» part was allegedly compiled by the native German friars of a Franciscan monastery in South Russia (Gabain).

There is no denying that the first part was composed in an Italian setting for other than religious purposes.

The idea entertained from time to time that the author was a friar can be discarded. It is indeed conspicuous that a number of substantives denoting certain groups of subjects, are absent from the text. Brătianu (*Recherches*, p. 231, note 5) also remarked that certain words unbecoming a friar are detectable (Codex p. 68: *bordellum*, *rofiana*, *meretrix*; p. 99: *rofianus*, *castratum*).

It cannot be questioned that the first part of the codex had a secular function. It certainly played a significant, though not exclusive, role in promoting commercial interests. Even Gyárfás emphasized that the trilingual parts had a commercial purpose. To fortify his argument, he cited 89 names of spices, 70 words denoting commercial articles, 17 names of precious stones, and 91 terms connected with office work from the glossary classified by subjects. Regardless of the accuracy of those figures, we must admit that Gyárfás got to the core hinting to questions well worth elaborating.

At this point, a passing remark should be devoted to the role of the Monastery of St. John, mentioned in the 1303 copy, since it seems to contradict the conclusion drawn from the lack of clerical terms.[14] This seeming contradiction can be somewhat resolved if we consider the fact that it is not an original manuscript, but rather a copy whose second part is indisputably of ecclesiastical origin and purpose. The only way to resolve definitively the apparent contradiction is to clear up the relationship between the extant (and lost) copies.

The question originally raised by Gyárfás and later reiterated by others,

[14] W. Bang directed attention to the role of the Monastery of St. John (*Über die Herkunft des Codex Cumanicus*: *SPAW* 1913, pp. 244—245). In his opinion, the monks of this monastery began to write the Codex Cumanicus here in 1294/5. The Monastery of St. John was one of the 17 monasteries north of the Black Sea. According to a text dating from 1314 the monastery was located near Sarai. Bang based his opinion on the last line of the invocation which contains the name of the saint (*Ad honorem dei et B(ea)ti St(ephan)-is euangelifte*). Györffy rightly argued that this invocation was inserted at the head of the text later, during copying. Strangely enough, the name of St. John does not occur at any other place in the Codex. Rather, a passage on the death of St. Stephen can be read among the Coman texts of the second part, cf. Codex, p. 122; Kuun, pp. 159—160; Drimba, *Syntaxe comane*, pp. 228—230 (De la mort de Saint Étienne), which contains the Coman text, its French translation and the relevant part of «The Acts of the Apostles» in Latin. St. Stephen was the only saint whose story the friars thought worthy of including in the Codex. It would lead us too far to search for the causes of this, but it should not be forgotten. It is advisable to check whether there was a monastery with this name among the 17.

should now be worded in the following way: With which Oriental peoples did the Italian colonists settled along the northern fringe of the Black Sea trade? What routes did the Italians use for this trade? What commodities were involved in the exchange? In what sort of offices was the Persian-Coman dictionary used?

The answer to the first question is seemingly pat. Yet only seemingly, as the definition of the Italian colonists itself presents a problem. What sort of Italian colonists have to be reckoned with? No doubt the Genoans played a significant role in the region, yet the more modest but no less active Venetians cannot be bypassed either. So far the aim of research has been to establish in which colony the Codex was written. This question should, however, be extended: were the original and the copies used only in one colony or in both?

The Genoans and Venetians had a wide mediating role in the trade of this region (Pisa and Florence can be disregarded here, since their role was comparatively insignificant). We will leave out of account the radiation of this widespread trade towards the West and North Africa, and will concentrate on the Levant, or more precisely, on the Persia of the Ilkhans, the Golden Horde, and, through the latter, on Central and East Asia.

As for the exchanged commodities in this huge area, detailed information can be drawn from the extant lists of goods which indicate that a wide range of natural resources and products of human activity was involved, including slaves in some places.

Two of the trading routes are of special importance. One led to the Levant with a branch leading to Persia via Trapezunt. This latter demands greater attention in our context. This route being widely known, requires little elaboration here. The same cannot be said of the other route which led through the capital of the Golden Horde to Central Asia and Peking. We owe our description of this route to the 14th century author, Pegolotti.

The starting point of this remarkable trade route was Tana (today Azov). The first leg of the journey ending in Astrakhan (*Gintarchan*) could be made in 25 days in an ox-cart, or 12 days in a horse-drawn cart. Highwaymen also used this stretch of road, so it was rather dangerous. A one-day waterway followed to Sarai (*Sara*), then another 8 days sailing to Saraichik (*Saracanco*) (on the river Ural). A camel-drawn cart covered the next leg from Saraichik to Urgenj (*Organci*) in 20 days. Travelling merchants found a flourishing market in this town. 35—40 days were needed to travel from Urgenj to Otrar. Those travelling without cargo avoided Otrar and reached the next station, Almalik (*Armalec*) in 50 days. The travellers were then carried by pack donkeys along a road which was also full of highwaymen, to Kanchou (*Caexu*) in Chinese territory. This was a 70-day trip. Then came a 75-day journey on horseback to the city of Hangchou (*Cassai*), by a «great water». Here silver coins had to be exchanged for Chinese notes. The trip from Hangchou to Peking (*Cambalec*) took 30 days.

Pegolotti added to his record of the journey: It is advisable for the mer-

chant to take two skilful Coman interpretors with him, and a Coman-speaking woman interpretor might come in handy too.[15]

Of interest for us in Pegolotti's itinerary are the chapters on the journey up to Almalik, and on the Coman language and interpretors.

Mention should be made of Gyárfás' «office vocabulary» as well.

What kind of offices used the Persian—Coman dictionary of the Codex Cumanicus? The Codex itself provides the answer, notably its chapter «Nobilitas hominum et mulierum» (p. 90). As is known, the Genoans as well as the Venetians called their senior official in the Black Sea colonies (and elsewhere like in Tebriz) *consul*. The corresponding words in the Codex are: P *qadi* [chadi] «judge», C *šeriyat* [seriat]. In the same chapter also see: L *potestas*, P *šāna* [saana], C *yaryučï* [yarguzi] «Bürgermeister»; L *torcimanus*, P *kalamači* [ta-

[15] The terms of «office activities» in the Codex contain an intriguing material group; «N(om)i(n)a arti(um) et que per(ti)ne(n)t eis» (p. 80). The Persian and Coman equivalents of L *scriba* can be found here. The chapter makes it clear that the task of the «scribe» or «notary» was to execute the documentation of trading activities: it is preceded by «money» (*pecunia*) and followed by «debtors» and «creditors» (*depitores*, *creditores*), «ledgers» (*manuale*), ink, touchstone» (*lapis auri*), «business paper» (*litera*) and «writing paper» (*papirum*) The chapter is headed by Italo-Latin *bancherius*, the Coman equivalent of which (*saraf*) Grönbech interpreted inaccurately as «Geldwechsler». As for commodity goods, the Latin-Persian-Coman list of the Codex deserves a small monograph (including the careful interpretation and etymology of each word). The Florentine Francesco Balducci Pegolotti was neither a merchant nor a traveller, but he carefully collected information from them. His work *La Pratica della Mercatura* has long been in the focus of attention. For an up-to-date treatment of this subject see Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* III, London 1914, pp. 137—173. Cf. also H. Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine* II, Paris 1920, pp. 430—432. The latest edition of Pegolotti's work: Allan Evans, *Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. by —. Cambridge Mass. 1936. Cf. also R. S. Lopez, *Venezia e le grande linee espansione commerciale nel secolo XIII*, in: *La civiltà veneziana del secolo di Marco Polo*, Florence 1952, pp. 39—82. Let me add here that in Pegolotti's book, the name of the Chinese paper money *baleš* was referred to by Pelliot in *T'oung Pao* XXVII, pp. 190—192. He asserts here that *baleš* is identical with the distorted form of Turkish *yastuq*, mentioned by missionaries visiting the Mongols. Both words originally meant «cushion». Let me stress that the prime meaning of *bāliš* is not «paper money», cf. P *bāliš* «a cushion, a pillow; a weight of gold (eight miskāls and two dānaks)» (Stg.). On the role of Tana, see Elene C. Skržinskaja, *Storia della Tana*, in: *Studi veneziani* X (1968), pp. 3—46. W. Heyd's *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge* II, Leipzig 1885, pp. 555—711 is very instructive on the commodity goods of trade in the Levant. Comprehensive studies have often referred to the export and import goods of Black Sea trade; cf. Brătianu, *Recherches*, p. 247 (with further references), Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 407 sqq. D. Drüll used her findings to explain the «business» words of the Codex (pp. 39—92). A relatively late goods list is of special importance (E. Schütz has drawn attention to it): Devon Khachikian, *Le registre d'un marchand arménien en Perse, en Inde et au Tibet (1682—1692)*, in: *Annales* 1967 (Paris), pp. 231—278. This study was translated from English into French, but retains the original English spelling of the names of articles taken from the native tongue. This list also contributes interesting data on the Persian names of the Codex.

lamaci], C *tĭlmač* [tilmaç] «Dolmetscher». The commercial aspects of office activities will be discussed later.

The connections between the Italian colonies and the Golden Horde deserve much more attention, since the Golden Horde was more than just a trading partner to the Genoans and Venetians of the Black Sea region.

On several occasions the two Italian rivals concluded written treaties with the central, or more frequently, with the local, representatives of the Golden Horde. These pacts were generally bilingual, with the original draft in Turkish, and the translation, done by an interpretor, into Latin or Italian. Let me refer to some of these documents that are already familiar to researchers.

During the reign of Özbeg (1312—1340) the Venetians signed a contract with Kutluctemir in 1333, and gained thereby the right to build in certain areas near Tana. The agreement was worded in the Coman language, and translated into Latin by Dominicus Polonus (*de Cumanico in Latinum*). In 1358, the Venetians concluded a treaty with Berdibek himself, «the Lord of the Mongols and Comans» (1357—1359), which confirmed their trading privileges originally granted in the conventions of 1338 and 1346.

Though the Genoans preceded the Venetians in colonization, their documents date back to later times. One of their pacts is dated 1380, the time of Toqtamïš (1380—1395). Upon the order of the Genoan consul of Kaffa, the treaty was translated from the original «ugaresca» into Latin by a scribe named Julianus Panicarius, with the help of an interpretor. The Genoans signed another pact with the delegates of Toqtamïš in 1387. The original of this treaty, written in «ugeresca», was translated into Latin by Franciscus Gabelete.

The Turkic texts of the diploms have been lost, but it can be argued that the «ugaresca» script of the latter two documents denotes the Uighur script, in which the famous yarlïq of Toqtamïš was written. It can hardly be doubted that both the language and the script were identical. The source does not reveal in what language the Venetian contract of 1358 (and the two previous ones) was written, but it is certain that the 1358 document was drafted in Coman. I do not doubt that this Coman language is identical with the Coman tongue of the first, Italian part. The first document shows clearly that the Venetians did not only use the Coman language for commercial purposes but also in their diplomatic contacts.[16]

[16] For a detailed analysis of the diplomas of the Golden Horde see I. Vásáry, *Chancellery of the Golden Horde* (*BOH*, in press). Gyárfás, *op. cit.*, pp. 16—17. Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, Pesth 1840, p. 250. Hammer also disclosed that according to a document issued by Temür Qutluγ the Venetians were granted three ports in the Crimea, and their consul resided in Tana. G. Kuun dealt with a document dating 1387 in his *Adalékok Krím történetéhez* [Data on the History of the Crimea] (cf. *supra*, note 5). He mentioned three documents (dating 1380, 1381 and 1387), giving only a sketchy translation of the last written in vulgar Genoan. The date of the first document is H 782, the last day of Ša'ban (28), i.e. November 28th, 1380 (*op. cit.*, p. 43). These two

dates are congruent. The Latin translation of this text dates from July 28th, 1383; its Genoan dialectal variant was most likely written in this same year. The document of 1387 fared badly, as Kuun had no time to copy (and edit) the whole text. Acting upon the advice of A. Vámbéry, Géza Kuun explored the material of the Genoan archives, which had also been in Paris for a time during Napoleon's reign, searching for documents in Uighur script, but he found none. It is worth noting that the use of the Italian language did not figure among the privileges of the Genoans. Its dialectal properties are striking, e.g. *consoro* (consul) and *Sorchat* (Solchat). Hammer edited the Italian texts of two contracts signed with the Venetians (*op. cit.*, pp. 517—522). One was endorsed by *Janibek* (1340—1357), dating: *Dado in Gulistan sette cento quarant otto in lo mese de Ramadan die venti doi. in lo anno de porcho.* The year 1347 was indeed the year of the pig. I am afraid Bazin was too rash in his judgment, asserting that the Comans had no knowledge of the animal cycle of 12 years. It is true that the Codex provides no trace of the animal cycle, but this is simply because the author of the Codex started out from Latin, and not vice versa. In those days the calendar of the animal cycle was known by the Mongols, Turks, and even the Persians. The month name *Ramaḍān* in the Persian column of the Codex denotes August, not February. The other diploma comes from *Berdibek* (1357—1359), dated 1358. In Italian: *Dado in Lordo in Accuba* (read *Actuba*) *alli otto di della luna in mese de Siwal, corando lo anno de Can anni sette cento cinquanta nove.* 1356 was the year of the dog; the Venetian *Can* also means «dog». The month *Siwal* corresponds to September, as is recorded in the corrected Persian calendar of the Codex Cumanicus. The correspondence is also confirmed by informations from known concordances. Gulistan was a place famous for its mint; cf. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 544. Spuler (*op. cit.*, p. 99 sqq) misspelled the name of *Janibek* as *Jambek*. On the correct form, *Jani bek*, see Pelliot, *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, pp. 98—101. It is read *Janibek* by B. D. Grekov—A. Ju. Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i ee padenie*, M.-L. 1950, p. 451. Heyd (*Histoire du commerce du Levant* II, p. 181) refers to a decree forbidding the Genoan citizens to spend the winter in Tana or to buy houses there. He also touches upon a diploma dating from 1332, the year of the monkey (the correspondence is faultless), which permitted the Venetians to build a residential area there. This date falls in the early reign of *Özbeg* (1312—1340), the predecessor of J̌anibek. The question is, how does this diploma compare with the documents of similar content dating from 1333 (the year of the hen)? The documents of 1342 and 1357, which renewed the diploma of 1332, show that the Genoans were banned from Tana. From about 1322 on Venetian galleys from Trapezunt regularly put in at this port. Later Venetian trade agencies were set up in the town, and all this was done in agreement with the Tatar lords of the city. Delegations of this character are often mentioned between 1293 and 1303. Heyd gives a lengthy account of the Venetians' settlement and arrangements in Tana, as well as of their trade and other relations with the Muslim leaders in the area. Difficulties gradually arose with their Tatar overlords, and these were aggravated by the Genoans living on other parts of Tana. Eventually bloody clashes took place between the Tatars, Venetians and Genoans, resulting in the expulsion of the Venetians from Tana for a while. Only in 1347 did they once again obtain permission from J̌anibek to settle in the town (on this diploma see above). Heyd (II, p. 198, note) points out that the month of the date is incorrect. He thinks that the 22nd day of *Ramaḍān* corresponds to December 26th, and not to February. Modern concordances also confirm his position, but far-reaching conclusions cannot be drawn from this divergence, since the date of February is found in the short Latin introduction, and not in the Italian translation. On the diplomas of the khans of the Golden Horde concerning the privileges of the Franciscans, from the time of Möngkä-Tämür (1267—1280), see J. Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient*, p. 92. sqq.

All this leads us to believe that the former conception which contributes the origin of the Codex to the Genoans, should probably be revised. The more urgent this revision appears since the hypothesis was based on the «Petrarca Codex» theory. The final answer seems to be within reach.

It seems highly likely that the codex was written and compiled by Italian lay persons, perhaps by the scribes of consuls or merchants, for the use of interpretors. The role of merchants in writing of the Codex should not be exaggerated. Their business was trading with the help of interpretors, not tinkering with the compilation of Coman—Persian data.

The views regarding the place of origin of the «German part» have been mentioned earlier. Let me add here that the Codex was probably not used in a single missionary monastery. The fact that at times Latin dominates besides the German glosses proves this claim. Consequently, non-German Franciscans must have contributed to the writing of the second part of the Codex.

Gabain maintains (*Fundamenta* II, 244) that the Codex in its present form was purchased from German (and other) Franciscan friars by Italian merchants (I cannot prove this hypothesis). Anyway, there is no room for doubt that these Italians were Venetians (even if earlier Genoans might have been somehow involved) and that the Codex eventually reached Venice through their offices.

As for the contents of the Codex, it has been discussed almost exclusively in terms of the second part. So far the notion has prevailed that this part was written during a lengthy period, and contains mostly religious texts in prose and verse. It was not compiled by a single person, but by several tireless German (and other?) Franciscans. As curios were the riddles included, priceless remnants of Coman folklore and folk literature, however damaged they may be. The word-lists, and grammatical glosses were included to aid the friars in improving their knowledge of the Coman tongue.[17]

[17] Gabain, *Fundamenta* I, p. 46; II, p. 245. Even more instructive are two passages quoted by Györffy (*op. cit.*, p. 130), one of them (121) about a priest who tells his flock that he does not know their language, and has no interpretor (*til bilmen tolmač yoχ*). He asks them to pray to God that he might be able to learn their tongue easily. The other passage (125) speaks of a friar ignorant of the local language, who is forced to hear confessions with the help of an interpretor. The interpretor is also obliged to observe the seal of confession. It was a long way from the Franciscan friar hearing confessions through interpretors to the excellent Coman translator of the Latin hymn (it is not impossible that he was a native Coman). In any case, several persons of varying levels of Coman knowledge have to be reckoned with. Turkish barbarisms resulting from the servile translation of Persian expressions should be judged in a different way: e.g. *biçak etikçi*, Persian *card muxadufi* «cultellû», more precisely «cobbler's knife» (86: 5). Compound verb forms like *χarǰ et-* «to spend» (P *χarǰ kardan*), *pešman bol-* «to repent» (P *pēšman būdan*) belong to another category. The latter type of compounds is limited in number, the ones cited here were not created by the influence of the Persian expressions of the Codex. It is remark-

To date there has been no ambitious investigation of the contents and the authorship of the first part of the Codex. It contains a grammar and word-list arranged by subjects. There have been suggestions that the anonymous author created his work with the help of a single interpretor who spoke both Coman and Persian. If this indeed was the case, the interpretor, was of mediocre ability, failing now in one, now in the other language, frequently attributing a single word to both.

The Italian part calls for a more thorough analysis. Suffice to mention here that as is presently known, it was not the brainchild of a single anonymous person, but the application of a lost or so far unknown model. The core of the model is a simple and lucid grammatical outline written in Latin, containing verbs, adverbs, and substantives, followed by a list of substantives grouped by subjects. The verbs and adverbs are listed in alphabetic order. Next comes a sketch of the conjugation of verbs and the declension of pronouns and substantives. The section on verbs starts with the full conjugation of the first verb (*audio*), while the rest of the verbs are represented by three forms (present, past, imperative) and one or two nomina verbalia. Subsequently, between two verbs, some semantically independent substantives are inserted in the alphabetical order.

Passages of a similar grammatical and lexical material can be read in the second part of the Codex. They do not constitute an entity; one tends to regard them rather as random glosses from individual collections. The grammatical glosses on pages 127—132 start with brief grammatical notes, eg. on the plural suffix (*lar*), the comparison of adjectives (*asru* and *rac*), the nomen agentis suffix (*či*), the nominal suffix (*lic*), the interrogative particule (*mä*), the privative suffix (*sis*), etc. This, however, is succeeded by the full conjugation of *intelligo — anglarman* in two columns. The affirmative takes the left, the negative the right column (*non intelligo — anglamaman*). The complete Latin—Turkish paradigms are given without a single omission. They take up all of page 129 and part of page 130. On the same page the paradigms are followed by Latin—Coman substantives in alphabetical order, the first five of which (referring to the seasons) being later additions. The alphabetical word-list continues on page 131 with a sample of words beginning with *b*, followed by a completely chaotic list of Latin—Coman words, and, from p. 132 onwards, Latin—Coman expressions.

The compiler of this grammatical material did not necessarily know the grammatical sketch of the Italian part. He may have used either its source, or a similar outline, so it is a matter of coincidence that the two sets of para-

able that the verbal compounds characteristic of Persian have very simple equivalents in Coman: *war kardan* [uar chardam] «to light a lamp» — *yandur-*; *pēda šudan* [peda suden; Cl. *paida sudan*] «to appear» — C *körün-*; etc.

digms complete each other. The second part contains the Coman equivalents of each Latin verbal form, in contrast to the Italian part, in which the Persian and Coman equivalents of the more complex verbal forms are missing. The (fragmentary) alphabetic listing of the substantives in the «German» part is conspicuous. It allows for the suggestion that the grammatical material of the «German» part also derives from another written text, copied or dictated. Thus, this part must have had a written source just like the grammar of the Italian part had. The sources of the two parts were apparently similar but by no means identical; the author of the Italian part drew on the whole (however imperfectly), while the compiler of the second part only randomly selected from it.

The grammatical outline (and its variant), which served as a model, however, did not aim at teaching the Latin language, since it ignored certain characteristic features of Latin like the grammatical genders, classes of verbal conjugations, and nominal declensions, etc. The obvious purpose of the sketch was to assist persons with a perfect command of Latin to learn Oriental languages which lacked the above grammatical categories. The three-column format facilitated the orientation in the material.

Latin, the language of mediaeval erudition, was most probably chosen because it was also the written language of the Black Sea colonies of Genoa, Venice, and other Italian cities.[18] Besides the Codex Cumanicus there is no other example of a polyglot Oriental grammar and dictionary compiled for interpretors on the basis of the Latin language.

In the Mongol period, primarily in the 14th century, the Arabic language had a similar function. With the triple categories of the Arabic grammar-dictionary (verb, substantive, particule) in view, scholars tried to treat the Turkish, Persian, Mongolian, and sometimes even the Armenian and Byzantine Greek tongues, either in bilingual, or in ploy glot form. These works also list the verbs in (Arabic) alphabetic order, and classified the substantives (including a chapter on adjectival antinomies) according to subjects. The group of particula includes the pronouns, adverbs, etc.[19] It is noteworthy that their

[18] G. I. Brătianu, *Actes des notaires Génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle (1281—1291)*, Bucarest 1927. M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer I., Les Actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289—1290*, Paris—La-Haye 1973. G. L. Fr. Tafel—G. N. Tomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante.* Vom neunten bis zum Ausgang des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts. Zweite Abteilung: Diplomataria et Acta XIII—XIV (Wien 1856—1857). *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum.* These Latin documents are not totally void of Italianisms. Even so, the Genoan records spanning a very short time provide a large number of idiosyncracies, good specimens of which can be found in Brătianu, *op.cit.* pp. 7—11.

[19] The tripartition of the Arabic lexicon can be found in most compendia: *fi'l* «verb», *ism* «substantive», *ḥarf* «particula»; cf. J. A. Haywood—H. M. Nahmad, *A New Arabic Grammar of the Written Language*, London 1965, p. 327. The structure of the well-

material, especially the verbs and substantives, is also arranged into columns. However instructive these vocabularies may be for material research, there is at present no proof that the anonymous authors of the Italian and German parts of the Codex Cumanicus drew upon any of them. The contemporary handbooks (manuscripts) of Northern Italian Latinity might offer further clues here.

It remains to be the major task to edit the complete text of the Codex Cumanicus. Despite its several defects, G. Kuun's work renders great help. A new acceptable edition requires profound knowledge, so it is not surprising that no one has dared to undertake the task during the last hundred years. The facsimile edition of the Codex, published by K. Grönbech, is of great help[20]; but regrettably, it is technically of mediocre quality, and often lets researchers down, right at the crucial points. The editor of a new edition cannot proceed without the original manuscript, no matter how good his fascimiles may be.

The manuscript was written in the black letters commonly used in the Middle Ages. This script was retained by only a few scholars (Bang, Németh), and only for text editions. Kuun replaces this archaic script with Latin letters we use today. His decision cannot be objected to; several others did the same. The proposed new edition must be a precise transliteration, retaining abbreviations as well as errors due to copying. A good many examples of *lapsus calami* arising from copying are known. Errors due to dictation have received

known *Mugaddimat al-adab* also follows this pattern. Cf. I. G. Wetzstein, *Samachscharii Lexicon Arabicum Persicum ex codicibus manuscriptis Lipsiensibus, Oxoniensibus, Vindobonensi et Berolinensi* edidit atque Indicem Arabicum adiecit —, Lipsiae 1850. Among the dictionaries of the Mongol period, reference should be made to Ibn Muhannā's work presenting the Turkish language of the Oγuz type. Its Turkish part: P. M. Melioranskij, *Arab filolog o tureckom jazyke*, St. Pbg. 1900, pp. 01—043. Its Mongolian part: P. M. Melioranskij, *Arab filolog o mongoljskom jazyke*, St. Pbg. 1904. The Persian, Turkish and Mongolian parts were edited by K. Rifat, Istanbul, H 1238—1240. By way of example, let us see the arrangement of Ibn Muhannā's Mongolian grammar-dictionary. The material is divided into 25 chapters following the order of tripartition. These are: 1. The name of God and the like (I). 2. Verbs in the past tense, in Arabic alphabetic order; 3. Grammatical rules, conjugation (II). 4. Particulas. (III) Substantives. 5. Adjectives and antinomies; 6. Parts of the human body; 7. Names of kinship; 8. Time and cycles; 9. Heaven and heavenly phenomena; 10. Seasons; 11. Earth and seas; 12. Places and regions; 13. Foods, drinks; 14. Trees, fruits; 15. Cereals; 16. Bed clothes, instruments, tools; 17. Clothing, jewels, precious stones; 18. Flowers, colours; 19. Animals and beasts; 20. Weapons and accessories; 21. Illnesses, deficiencies; 22. Birds, birds of prey; 23. Trades; 24. Counting, numerals; 25. words not included in the previous chapters.

[20] K. Grönbech, *Codex Cumanicus*. Cod. Marc. Lat. DXLIX. In Faksimile herausgegeben, mit einer Einleitung von —. Kopenhagen 1936. (*Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Maioris* I.) The facsimile of «Ave porta paradisi» (Grönbech, pp. 137—144)i earlier published by Bang (W. Bang—J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, Berlin 1914, III—X tables) is worth comparing. Undoubtedly, Bang's facsimiles are technically better than the reproductions of the same text in Grönbech's otherwise splendid volume.

somewhat less attention. Such are: *borci* «(person)» with a hat in place of *borcci* (87:27); the absence of *k* in the cluster of consonants indicates that the word was recorded on the basis of pronounciation. The absent-minded scribe failed to notice that he took down the word *borc* «hat» correctly in the next line. Also, *ylias ay* (72:12) «the first month of spring» in place of *ilc yas ay*.

E. Teza[21] made a thorough study of Kuun's edition after its publication, which Kuun answered in detail. The author appreciated the loyal criticism, and readily accepted a large number of corrections. The bulk of these errors were made through oversight, and inconsistent attention to abbreviations (sometimes retained, sometimes written out). Worse errors were the omission of words, and at times whole lines. Teza succeeded in deciphering several of the hardly readable Italian verses.

From time to time, however, Teza got carried away in his zeal, imputing to Kuun the printer's errors, which had already been corrected in «Addenda et Corrigenda.» One mistake generally invites another. Let us quote a passage of the Codex (p. 95:6—17), which Kuun edited with a line-shift. He corrected the mistake at the end of his book (p. 389), but not entirely. The list also contains errors of the copier of the Codex. From the facsimile the following (83:6—18) can be read:

Galanga	*Coligiâ*	*Choligia*
Ladano	*Ladan*	*Ambar*
Mumia	*imſiri*	*imſiri*
N. sarche	*Girdahan indu*	
Oleû oliue	*Rugan*	*yag*
Oleû suſima		
O. roſatû	*Rugay Gul*	*Gulaf yage*
O. violatû		
O. nucis	*Rugan yGerdohâ*	*Chox yagi*
Picis	*Cuſt*	*Samala*
Req̄riciū	⟨*Gul*, crossed⟩	*Buyu*
Roſa	*Gul*	*Chulaf*

The copier's errors are: *Rugay Gul*, in place of *Rugan yGul*; *Cuſt* (*šust* in Kuun's), in place of the correct *Çuft* (commentators on the Persian material also use this form). The second line was in fact two lines in the original, the first retained L *Ladano* and P *Ladan*, but the C equivalent was missing. C *Am-*

[21] Emilio Teza, *Un' altra occhiata al Codex Cumanicus*, in *Rendiconti della R. Academia dei Lindei*, Classe de Scienze Morali, storiche e filologiche VI (Roma 1891), pp. 315—327. Kuun answered Teza's critical comments in detail in his paper, *Ûjabb adatok* [New Data]; see *supra*, note 6. Kuun introduced the corrections which he accepted from Teza into his own copy, which is preserved today in the Manuscript Department of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

bar, on the other hand, was the third item of the missing second line, whose L and P equivalents escaped the scribe's notice.

Kuun's reading errors concerning any item in the Codex, are easy to correct now with the help of the facsimile. Correcting Kuun's mistakes, however, does not mean in the least that the Coman, Persian, and other material, cleared of subsequent, added mistakes, will be completely authentic. What has been shown of the passage quoted above from the Italian part holds true of the second part too, worsened by the fact that the scribes, well-intentioned but ignorant of the language, added numerous Coman language barbarisms.

No one doubts that a distinction must be made between transliteration and transcription. The latter relies on the former; it explains and elucidats it. That is why transcription contains an individual hypothetical element. In any given case it is up to the researcher whether he acknowledges a transliterated Persian or Coman form either as authentic, or considers it an error of the copier. The explanation of the transliteration, either accepting or rejecting, is after all an explanation meant to elucidate the reading as well as explain the string of problems stemming from it.

This appears to justify Kuun's method of edition according to which the material of the Codex is published in transliteration, with the editor's transcription and relevant explanations given in the notes. The method used in editing the works of classical authors cannot be imitated: one cannot put the interpreted text, as thought correct by the given editor, in the forefront and relegate the correct or erroneous forms of the transliterated Codex to the footnote section.

Scrupulous accuracy in transliteration is naturally not an end in itself, but its purity must be seen to. Washing over the differences between transliteration and transcription could result in incorrect conclusions. W. Bang, whose contribution to interpreting the texts of the Codex is most valuable, committed this mistake. Interpreting the material of the Codex on the basis of the transliteration, he believed the Coman language to be eastern Turkish, although there can be no doubt that it belongs to the Kipchak tongues.

By way of illustration, let us compare the strophe, «Ave porta paradisi», as semi-transliterated or semi-transcribed by Bang, and as transcribed by Drimba.[22]

[22] In Kuun's edition (see p. 186), the uninterrupted Coman text is divided into verses. He presumed that a line consisted of seven or eight syllables. Bang, the perceptive, severe critic, failed to notice Kuun's priority in these questions. This, however, does not excuse Kuun's readings, poor as they were already in his own time. In his exemplary edition Drimba (*op. cit.*, pp. 265—299) included the Coman text, its French translation and the Latin original, but also an accurate list of earlier editions and critical comments, suggested emendations, the transliteration of the Codex (where necessary), and the different readings of the Latin original (pp. 295—299).

Aue üčmakniṅ kabagi	*Ave učmagnïŋ čabayï*
tiriliknin agači	*tiriliknin ayačï*
jemišširi bisgä tejirdiṅ	*Yemišiŋ bizgä teyirdiŋ*
Jesusne kačan tuurduŋṅ	*Yesusnï qačan tuvurduŋ.*

The two editions differ in other respects as well. In his notes appended to the text, Bang published Kuun's and Radloff's incorrect, or allegeldy incorrect readings, adding to them his frequently caustic remarks; Drimba's notes, on the other hand, carry the precisely copied form of the Codex in every case that he considered unusual or in need of comments.

We have now plunged into the midst of the problems of the Turkish material of the Codex. There is no denying that most of the efforts done in the past century were concentrated on this area.

Let me mention here only the most outstanding works of an immensely rich bibliography: A. v. Gabain's two small monographs devoted to the evaluation of the Coman language and literature; Grönbech's facsimile edition and dictionary; Drimba's book containing the best edition and interpretation to date of the «German» part; J. Németh's short paper clearing up some basic aspects of Coman phonology.[23] The Mameluk-Kipchak grammar-dictionary and other contemporary linguistic records, as well as the Armenian-Kipchak tongue, deserve increased attention.[24] The present-day descendants of one-time

[23] A. v. Gabain, *Die Sprache des Codex Cumanicus*, in: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I, Wiesbaden 1959, pp. 46—73; Idem, *Komanische Literatur*, in: *Fundamenta* II, pp. 243—251. On Grönbech's facsimile edition cf. note 20. K. Grönbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch, Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus*, in *Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Maioris, Subsidia* Vol. I. Kopenhagen 1942. VI. Drimba, *Syntaxe comane*, Bucureşti—Leiden 1973. J. Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Mikló*, Budapest 1932 (*Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* II), pp. 51—59.

[24] Sources of the mentioned Mameluk-Kipchak data: AL: Anonym of Leiden, Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, Leiden 1894; a more recent edition of this work: K. Kuryšžanov, *Issledovanie po leksike «Tjurksko-arabskogo slovarja»*, Alma Ata 1970. The date of this dictionary is not, as Houtsma, and after him, Kuryšzanov, thought, 1245, but rather 1343 (cf. B. Fleming: *Der Islam* 44, 1948, pp. 226—229). Idr.: A. Carferoğlu, *Abû Hayyân: Kitâb al-İdrâk li lisân al-Atrâk*, Istanbul 1931. Bul.: A. Zajączkowski, *Bulġat al-muštāq fī luġat at-turk wa-l-qifǰāq, Vocabulaire arabe-kiptchak*, Warsaw 1958. Tuh.: *Tuḥfat-az-zakïyya*, ed. Besim Atalay, Istanbul 1945, E. I. Fazylov—M. T. Zijaeva, Taškent 1978. Qaw.: *Qawānin*: S. Telegdi, *Eine türkische Grammatik in arabischer Sprache aus dem XV. Jhdt: Kőrösi Csoma Archivum* I. Erg. Bd., 1937, pp. 282—326. Dur.: *Durrat al-mauḍi'a fī-l-luġat at-turkiya*, ed. A. Zajączkowski in: *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XXIX (1965), fasc. 2, pp. 67—116; XXXII (1969), fasc. 2, pp. 19—61. There are Kipchak features in the Turkish material (unpublished) of the Tetraglot dictionary of the Rasulids of Yemen (cc. 1365). On Armeno-Kipchak cf. Ed. Tryjarski, *Dictionnaire arméno-kiptchak*, tome I, fasc. 1—4, Varsovie 1963—1972.

Kipchak languages, Karaim, the Crimean Tatar of Kipchak origin, Karachay-Balkar and other Turkish languages of the Kipchak type should be kept in mind.[25]

The issue of the Coman dialects of the Codex continues to remain at the forefront of discussion. It has long been known that the Coman language of the Codex is not homogeneous. Grönbech was the first to show the significant deviations. His view that the Italian part recorded a different Coman dialect than the «German» part also holds grounds today. Here are some examples to illustrate the differences: *kendi — kensi*; *tizgi — tiz*; *berkit — berk et-*; *tōdaq — totaq*; *oqša- — ovša-*; *sučul- — čučul-*; *astlan — arslan*, etc. I disagree, however, with his conclusion that classifying the Coman texts into distinct dialectal groups is not feasible (Wb. 11). To my mind, the question itself is incorrectly raised. The Coman texts, just like the entire material of the Codex, changed hands several times, and contrary to earlier views, copying has to be reckoned with in the second part, too, even if it can be proved perfectly only for certain passages.

Roughly speaking, the material of the Codex can be divided into two major dialects. Sir Gerard Clauson's method of distinguishing the items of the Codex Cumanucus in his dictionary according to the part (Italian: CCI; German: CCG) which they come from is excellent.[26]

The correct interpretation of the Coman material of the Codex must start with the transcription. It can be contended that today's works on the Coman material of the Codex rarely give erroneous transcriptions. Seldom does a case like *čarčav* [ciarzau] «sheet» (Grönbech, *Wb.* 122), correctly *čaršav* (or *čaršau*) occur, which is identical with the adopted Persian word transliterated in the same way; cf. Osm. *çarşaf* «sheet (of a bed)» (Hony 71). Another ex-

[25] For brevity's sake, I considered only some of the present-day Kipchak tongues. Tat.: Tatar of Kazan, TRS, *Tatarsko-russkij slovarj*, Moskva 1966. Bashk.: Bashkir, BRS, *Baškirsko-russkij slovarj*, Moskva 1958. Kar. T.: Karaim of Troki, T. Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*, Kraków 1929. Kar. L: Karaim of Luck, A. Mardkowicz, *Karaimisches Wörterbuch*, Luck 1935. Krch.-Blk.: Karachai-Balkar, *Russko-karačaevo-balkarskij slovarj*, Moskva 1965. On modern Kipchak languages cf. Karl H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples. An Introduction to Turkic Studies*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 60.

[26] Sir Gerard Clauson (*An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* Oxford 1972) quotes the Coman words drawing upon Grönbech (*Wörterbuch*). This dictionary is a reliable guide, since in every case it marks the later additions to the Italian part (by German or other hands) by setting the page number in cursive, the insertions in normal typs. E.g. *boš* «empty» and *uv* «hunting» are in the Italian part but added later by Germans. Clauson marks both with CCG. With a view to *ED* it makes no difference that one word is not in its place in the Coman column but right after the Latin entry. It is another matter that several of the rare words of the Codex Cumanicus are missing from *ED*. Regrettably, the word *bitik*, for example, is registered both after I and G in the dictionary, while *bitiv*, *bitüv* G are separated without any reference.

ample: *bayov* [baiyow] «colour» (Grönbech, *Wb.* 48), correctly *boyov* [boiyow]. The latter form occurs already in Kuun's book (p. 18:25); Clauson (*ED* 302, s. v. *boduy*) also gives the *boyow* «dye» form, but confused by the false reading of Grönbech, he inserts a question mark after the correct reading, which is a regular derivative of the Old Turkish *boduy*. *Boyow* [boiyow] «dye» is a later insertion in the Italian part followed by the German translation «varbe». It should also be noted that the German glossator failed to realize that the word he recorded had already been included in the Italian part in its correct place, with the related verbal family (p. 54:8—12; Kuun, pp. 58—59). It appears there in the regular form, *boya* «dye», in conformance with the dialect of the Italian part.

Certain amount of standardization, of course, has to be used in making the transcription. Its extent, however, cannot be arbitrary, as it cannot neglect differences that might possess the value of distinguishing a language or dialect.

The distinction between the open and closed *e* belong to this category. Grönbech ignores it and misleadingly transcribes the Montecasino *a* (*ɑ*) into *á*. Gabain essentially follows Grönbech's method.

As is well known, in some of the Kipchak tongues the phoneme *e* is closed in the first syllable, and open in the second (and in the rest). Traces of this characteristic are apparent in both parts of the Codex, though the transcription is inconsistent. There is no standardization in our transcription. We simply respect the written form of the Codex. Thus, our *ä* corresponds to *a* in place of the I *a*, and G *ɑ* or rarely *ae*. In all other cases the original *e* letter is retained. Controversial cases can easily be resolved by consulting Grönbech's method of references: the transcribed form is given first, followed [in brackets] by the original form of the Codex in transliteration:

I *birlä* [*birla*] «together» — G *bilä* [*bilɑ*]
I *inčkä* [*inçka*] «thin» — G *inčkä* [*inčkɑ*]
I *keräk* [*cherac*] «necessary» — G *kerek* [*kerek, kerec*]
I *kertmä* [*chertma*] «pear» — G *termä* [*termɑ*] «uterus»

Variant notations: G *bezgek* [bezgek] «ague»; *ämgäk* [ämgäk] «suffering»; *ägäč* [ägäč] «being». In the latter two cases and in other similar ones both Grönbech and Gabain decided upon the *emgek, egeč* transcription. Drimba retained the *ä*, and I share his view.

The open *ä* occurs in the Codex as a continuation of the former *a* after *y* or *č* (Németh: *BOH* II, 56—57; Gabain, *Fundamenta* I, 51). Gabain extended this explanation to *o* and *u* as well. This form of palatalization is detectable in certain Kipchak languages (Tatar, Bashkir) today. The examples are found in the «German» part of the Codex: *čänäk* [čɑnɑk] «dish, mug»; *čäpčačïq* [čäčačik, sic] «little barrel»; *čäx* [*čäH*] «time»; *yäy* [yɑy] «summer»; *yälči* [yälči] «day-wage man»; *yälin* [yälin] «flame».

Ä in place of the final *a* must also reflect a linguistic characteristic: *yarlï-lergä* [yarlilergae] «for the frail» (137:20), *yarqïnïndä* [iarkinindae] «in its light».

Gabain (*Fundamenta* I, 63—64) interprets the initial *g-* before *i* as *ǰ-*: *ǰïltra-* [giltra-] «it's lightning», *ǰil* [gil] «year», *ǰemiš* [giemis] «fruit». Grönbech disregarded this possibility, presumably because *gi* in the German part equals *yi*, and *ǰ* occurs in very few words besides regular *y-*. Gabain's position is acceptable not only because certain Kipchak languages of today also have the initial *ǰ-* but also because this initial phoneme existed in the language of the Hungarian Comans (*ǰer* «land», *ǰaman* «evil»; Németh in: *BOH* II, 53). The phenomenon is limited to the Coman dialect of the Italian part. An exact analogy of this can be detected in the Kazan Tatar language, where the two initial phonemes co-exist. i.e. besides the dominating *y-*, *ǰ-* can also be found: *ǰil* «wind», *ǰimes* «fruit». In the Codex such are: *ǰïlan* [gillan] «snake», *ǰïrγaq* [girgac] «hook», *ǰïšqïč* [gischic] «mint» and some others. Also, conforming to the Northern Italian dialect (which?), *i* is used to denote *ǰ*: *ǰovap* [ioap] «answer», *ǰahan* [iaghan] «world».

Gabain claims that the copier of a passage of the second part translated into Coman («Reminiscens beati sanguinis», pp. 149—150) made a distinction between the velar and palatal *i*. The Coman words are written under the relevant notes, but their transcription is so blurred, as Kuun already pointed out, that not even the facsimile can provide sufficient clues to establish the difference. Gabain thus remains alone in her view. Kuun fails to comment on it (this would not be decisive in itself, though), nor does Drimba mention it, who was a very careful reader of the Codex. Cf. Gabain, *Fundamenta* I, 50 and 70—73; the latter pages carry the transliteration of the text along with its transcription («standardization») and translation.

Traces of the sporadic final *-z* > *-s* occurrence are detectable in both the Codex and the Hungarian Coman language, as Németh (*BOH* II, 56) pointed out. These cases, however, are not marked in the transcription. It is worth remembering Németh's observation, though I myself would not distinguish the final unvoicing, partly because of the inaccuracy of the orthography in the Codex, and partly because it does not constitute a distinctive phonemic feature of the Coman (Kipchak) tongue.

There is no room here to elaborate on the dialects of the Coman material of the two parts. A single item devoid of problems of transliteration will shed light on this issue which was regarded as hopelessly intangible by Grönbech. Let us consider the behaviour of the final Old Turkish *-γ* (*-g*).

In I, it generally remains in monosyllabic words, and changes into a diphtong with *u* (*v*) in G:

I *yaγ* [yag] «fat, oil» — G *yav* [javˊ];
I *taγ* [*tag*] «mount» — G *tav* [tavˊ].

In polysyllabic words, a sporadic *-q* (*-k*) replaces it:

I *satuq* (Grönbech: *satuq, satuχ*) [satuc, satugh] «trading», *satuqčï* (Grönbech: *satuχčï*) [satugzi] «tradesman» — G *satov* [satov] «trade»;

I *bitik* (Grönbech: *bitik*) [bitik] «writing», followed by *bitik* in «ugaresca» script (surrounding data make it certain that the word in Uighur script cannot be read here as the traditional *bitig*)— G *bitiv* [bitv́, bitiv́].

Apart from the above exceptions, the final *-γ* (*-g*) is completely missing from the dialect of I; G continues to notice the above observed correspondence:

I *boya* [boya] «dye» — G *boyov* [boiyow];

I *arï* [arri] «saint» — G *arov* [arov] «pure»;

I *ačï* [açi, azi] «bitter» — G *ačuv* [ačuv] «bitterness, pain».

Similar data in I: *quru* [churu] «dry, dried out», *biši* [bisi] «ripe», *quyu* [chuyu] «well», *alïčï* [aliçi], etc.

At the same time the material of G also provides such vowel correlation, especially in texts after or next to which a Latin interpretation can be found. Undoubtedly this reveals a dialect of G different from the former one.

Such are: G *arï* [ari, are] «saint», *quru* [kuru] «dry», *ačï* [ači] «bitter» (in the Latin word-list), *sasï* [sasi, sassi] «stinking», etc.

Let us have a look at the corresponding forms of the observed Coman words in the closely related Kipchak tongues: *yaγ* «fat, oil» AL, Tuh. (Tkm.) Idr., Bul., Qaw. (*yayï*), Yem. T, Arm.-Kip.; *yav* Tuh., Kar. T.; *yaw* Kar. L. Krch.-Blk. *jau*;

tay «mount, mountain» AL, Tuh. (Tkm.), Idr., Qaw., Bul., Dur., Yem. T., Arm.-Kip.; *tav* Tuh., Qaw., Kar. T, Nog.; *taw* Kar. L; *tau* Tat., Krch.-Blk.;

satïχ «selling» Arm.-Kip. (*χ* is regular instead of *q*); *satuw* Kar. L; *satuv* Nog.; *satu* «trading» Tuh., Tat.; *satuvsï* «tradesman» Nog.; *satuvcu* Kar. L, *satïčï* AL, Dur., *satučï* Tat.;

bitik «document, writing, letter» AL, Tuh., Idr., Dur., Yem. T, Arm.-Kip., Kar. T, L; *betek* Tat.; *biti* Idr.; *bitikči* «scribe» AL, *bitikci* «letter-carrier» Kar. L;

boya «dye» AL; *boyav* Tuh., *boyov, boyóv* Arm.-Kip., *boyaw* Kar. L, *buyau* Tat., *boyau* Krch.-Blk.; *boyaq* Nog.;

arï «pure» Idr., Yem. T, *aru* AL, Tuh., Qaw., Tat.; *aruv* Krm.-Kip.; *aruw* Kar. L., *arïu* Krch.-Blk.; *arïγ* Yem. T.;

ačï «bitter» AL, Tuh., Idr., Dur., Kar. T, Tat., Krch.-Blk.; *ačï* Arm.-Kip.; *ačuv* «anger» Kar. T, *acuv* Kar. L., *ašuv* Nog., *ačïu* Krch.-Blk., *ačuv* Tat.;

quru «dry» AL, Tuh., Idr., Bul., Qaw.; *kuru* Kar. T, L, Krch.-Blk.; *χuru* Arm.-Kip.; *kurï* Nog., *korï* Tat.; *quruγ* Yem. T; *quruq* Yem. T;

biši «boiled; ripe» Idr., Chag.; *pïšïq* Yem. T, Chag.;

quyu «well» Tuh., Idr., Yem. T, Krch.-Blk.; *χuyu* Arm.-Kip., *kuyu* Kar. T, L; *quyï* Bul.; *kuyï* Nog.; *koye* Tat.;

sasï «stinking» Idr., Tat.; *sasuq* «stink» Kar. L; *sasïq* «stink» Nog.;

alïčï «buyer, sy who takes sg» (*qan alïčï* «blood taker») AL; *alučï* «celui qui prend» Arm.-Kip., Tat. *aluvču* «nehmend, Nehmer», Kar. T, *aluvšï*, Nog., *alïuči* Krch.-Blk». *alu* «buying» Tuh.; *alïq* «a buy» Chag.; *alïγ* «trading» Chag.

This short set of examples clearly displays the major traits of the Coman dialects of the Codex. It is worth noting that here too the final Old Turkish *-γ* (*-g*) is irregularly represented by *-q* (*-k*): *bitik, bilik, satïq.*

The double distribution of the Coman language of the Codex Cumanicus clearly proves that the two dialects were spoken in two different regions; the first in territories in direct contact with the Italian colonies, and the second by the Comans (Tatars) among whom the Franciscan missionaries worked.

It is easy to understand why the Coman linguistic material of the Codex Cumanicus and the relevant historical, commercial, and cultural-historical problems attracted so much attention.

Initially, the Persian material of the Codex was largely neglected. It is true that only the first part contains such material, and this is limited to grammatical and lexical glosses, without coherent texts. Oddly enough, the Persian material was at first resorted to when researchers hoped to use it to find the solution to a Coman linguistic problem.

After the publication of the Codex some thirty years passed before a genuine interpretation of the Persian material appeared. Its author, the eminent Iranist, C. Salemann pointed out almost every essential feature of this valuable Persian linguistic record.[27]

No less time passed before an up-to-date edition of the Persian part of the Codex was completed. Two scholars embarked upon this task almost simultaneously. Davoud Monchi-zadeh undertook the job with the advantage of native fluency in Persian,[28] while A. Bodrogligeti, a scholar of Persian-Turkic

[27] G. Salemann, *Zur Kritik des Codex Cumanicus*: *Izv. Ak. Nauk.* 1910, pp. 943—957. The first section of this paper (pp. 945—+51) covers the Coman texts of the Codex, challenging Bang. The second part (pp. 951—957) contains his valuable comments on the Persian section of the Codex.

[28] Davoud Monchi-zadeh, *Das Persische im Codex Cumanicus*, Uppsala 1969. The first part of this work (pp. 13—19) focusses on the linguistic characteristics, origin, and purpose of the Persian material. Part II (pp. 20—167) deals with the Persian vocabulary of the Codex. Part III (pp. 168—195) contains an index of Persian words in the Coman part of the Codex in Arabic alphabetic order. Part IV (pp. 169—283) carries additions, and omitted words. Finally, Part V (pp. 204—219) reconstructs the whole Persian vocabulary in the Arabic script, marking the number of page and line. It is a significant source, and of great help in cases when a reading suggested by the author is not unambiguous. The index in Part III needs elaboration. Its material includes Persian words whose Persian and Coman forms are homonymous (contrary to M, *agšam* «evening» written similarly belongs here). Words of differing forms like P *ādīna* «Friday», C *ayina* require some attention. These differences stem from various causes. Finally, a separate category is made up by words borrowed by Persian from Coman, or other Turkish languages.

linguistic and literary relations, presented the Persian material on the basis of his thorough knowledge of linguistic history.[29] The two editions were completely independent, though Monchi-zadeh's book preceded Bodrogligeti's by two years. Linguistically, Bodrogligeti's work offers more profound insight, but Monchi-zadeh's book, reflecting a specific Persian view, cannot be neglected.

How does the Persian part contribute to the solution of the problems surrounding the history of the Codex? We have seen that the Persian calendar supports the hypothetical date 1294, a date which is of disputable meaning and value. How does the purpose of the Persian grammar-dictionary bear upon this date?

Monchi-zadeh's view that it was made for the Comans can be wholly discarded.[30] It is beyond doubt that similarly to the Coman part, the Persian material was made by appointment to the Black Sea Italian colonies for interpretors. That it appeared together with the Coman part can hardly be a coincidence. The secular (non-missionary) purpose of the entire Italian part is unquestionable. It is also reasonable to assume that the Italian colonies needed multi-lingual interpretors for their commercial activities.

A knowledge of the Coman language was necessary, above all, in the region north of the Black Sea, up to Sarai or beyond, where Comans lived. It was also needed when Turks, whose mother tongue or second language was Coman, arrived at (or were brought to) the Italian colonies. It has been demonstrated that communication with local representatives of the Mongol authorities who licensed the Italian colonies, had to be (or could be) conducted in Coman, both in speaking and writing.

It would be an oversimplification to assert that the Persian language was only used in trade with the Persian Ilkhans. It should not be forgotten that in this period and region not only was Persian known and indispensable around the Levant and Persia, but it also constituted a sort of «lingua franca»

[29] A. Bodrogligeti, *The Persian Vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus*, Budapest 1971 (*Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* XVI). After the Introduction, the book comprises the following chapters: Orthography (pp. 21—39), Phonology (pp. 40—63), Morphology (pp. 63—90), Syntax (pp. 89—92), Word Formation (pp. 92—96), Lexicon (pp. 96—105). This is followed by the actual word-list (Glossary, pp. 105—211), and an English Index (pp. 212—239). It ends with the Bibliography (pp. 233—235).

[30] According to Monchi-zadeh, *op. cit.*, p. 14 this Persian language was spoken by the Comans: «Das von Fremden (Komanen) gesprochene und von Fremden (Italienern) niedergeschriebene Persisch». His hypothesis on how the Comans learned the Persian togue is even more starting: «Hat man alle diese Tatsachen vor Augen, wird man zu dem Schluß gelangen, daß die Komanen ihr Schulpersisch (sic!) in chorasanischen Traditionen lernten — was bei einem türk. Volk selbstverständlich scheint — aber das Umgangpersische entweder in den kaspischen Provinzen — von Baku (vielleicht noch weiter nach Norden) bis Masenderan — oder bei den persischen Kaufleuten und Mullas aus denselben Gebieten lernten.»

along the routes to distant lands. Persian was Marco Polo's «language of travel» as far as China. It is hardly an accident that the Great Khan's letter to the pope was translated for Plano Carpini from Mongolian into Persian so as «to be easily understood». For this same reason, Eljigidei sent a letter to the pope in Persian. One could fare well with this language on the frequent journeys to Khwarezm; it was spoken and understood in Urgenj, too. Tranoxiana was also a Persian speaking are at this time.[31]

There can be no doubt, of course, that the Italian colonies had trade (and missionary) relations with the Persian Ilkhans.[32] On the other hand, it is well known that the peaceful existence of the Italian colonies largely depended on the leaders of the Golden Horde, who, in turn, were hostile te the Ilkhans, but had favourable connections with the bitter foes of the Ilkhans, the Egyptian and Syrian Mameluks. The Mameluks, as we know, obtained their slaves in the northern ports of the Black Sea.[33]

At this point, a question related to the place of origin of the Codex must be raised: Which Italian colony was in greatest need of the Persian language?

[31] P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or*, pp. 164—165. He reiterates his long-established view that «le persan est la seule langue orientale, que Marco Polo ait vraiment connue et pratiquée à la Cour mongole.» Several examples bear out his position in his great, unfinished, posthumous book: *Notes on Marco Polo* I—III, Paris 1959, 1963, 1973. Disregarding now the Persian terms of Levantine (partly Arabic) origin in Polo's works that found their way in to the Latin of the age, let us refer only to some Chinese place names which have come down to us through merchants using the Persian language. One of them, *Çardandan*, is nothing else than P *Zar-dandān* "Gold-teeth", which, in turn, is the translation of Chinese *Chin-ch'in*. Rašīdu-'d-Dīn relates that the province got this name because its men and women covered their teeth with gold (*Notes* I, pp. 603—606). The Japanese name of *Cipingu* (var. *zipangu*) also occurs in the Persian historian's works, which in fact reflects the Chinese *Jih-pan-kuo* (*Notes* I, pp. 599—600). There are two interpretations for *Pulisanghin*: either P *Pūl-i Sang-kan* «Sang-kan's bridge», or P *Pūl-i sangīn* «Stonebridge». The latter is more probable, since it is a genuine Persian expression (*Notes* II, p. 812). *Facfur* is the Persian title of the Chinese emperor; cf. P *faġfūr* (*Notes* II, pp. 652—661). Cf. R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, p. 307.

[32] G. L. Brătianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1929, pp. 180—191. B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 393—398. Grekov—Jakubovskij, *Zolotaja Orda i ee padenie*, pp. 83—87. B. Grekov—A. Iakoubovski, *La Horde d'Or, la domination tatare au XIIIe et XIVe siècles de la Mer Jaune à la Mer Noire* (*Bibliothèque Historique*, Paris, Payot), pp. 72—97. The presents sent by Baibars, Sultan of the Mameluks, to Berke include (p. 80) «des tapis de prières avec des baldaquins (?)». The right meaning of this suspicious word is a special textile coming from *Baldak* (the name of Baghdad) (see note 62).

[33] B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, pp. 405—406. Grekov—Iakoubovski, *La Horde d'Or*, pp. 115—117. The latter authors lay special emphasis on the fact that the slave-trade was very profitable for the Genoans, and every so often they came into conflict with their Tatar lords for kidnapping Tatar children. G. I. Brătianu, *Actes des notaires génois, de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du treizième siècle, 1281—1290*. The documents of Kaffa only

The Pisans had access to the Ilkhan court, and briefly figured among the colonists of the Black Sea until the Genoans had defeated them in a spectacular sea battle, and ousted them from the region.[34]

Adventurers of Genoan origin, some of them rising to the rank of Mongol envoys, were at the Ilkhan court in great numbers. The most famous of them, Buscarel de Gisolf, visited Philippe le Bel in 1289 and Pope Boniface VIII in 1302, as the delegate to Khan Arghun.[35]

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shed light on the trading activities of ten years. They also include the slave trade, and oddly enough, give the main particulars of each slave sold. The Kaffa records (of these ten years) reveal that the majority of the slaves were 8-10-year-old girls and boys. By way of illustration: *Tamara*, girl about 12 (p. 127), *Camusia*, a girl of 12 (p. 147), an Abkhaz girl (p. 150), *Cuhina*, a white Moslem girl (p. 147), a Cherkess girl of 5 or 6 (p. 157), *Achina*, a Cherkess girl (p. 164), a 5—6-year-old Cherkess girl (p. 165), *Probius*, a Russian slave of 8 or 9 (p. 168), *Balaban*, a «maniar» slave (p. 178), *Aluza*, a Cherkess girl of 10 (p. 183), *Cali*, a Bulgarian girl of around 20 (p. 200), *Paulus*, «Ugalus», (Genoan: Ungarus), around 30, *Cressena*, a Bulgarian woman with her sons Manuel and Potame (p. 220). Miss Drüll (pp. 88—90) classified the data of 32 of the 74 Genoan documents in tables. A thorough study of each document reveals that there was no slave of Kipchak origin sold in Kaffa One of the reasons is that the Mameluks themselves of Kipchak origin, ruled between 1250 and 1390 under the name *Baḥrī mamlūk*, and did not require Kipchak replacement, but were succeeded by the *Burǰī mamlūks* (1282—1517), the descendants of Cherkess and other Caucasian slaves. (D. Avalon, *L'esclavage du mamelouk*, Jerusalem 1951, in: *Oriental Notes and Studies*, published by *The Israel Oriental Society*, No. 1.) One more thing: the Genoan documents in question contain data on slaves sold and bought by private persons. It is in vain to search for traces of the slave trade with Egypt in the records of the Kaffa notaries. It accounted for, as Spuler thinks (*Die Goldene Horde*, p. 406), an average of 2000 slaves a year, even as late as 1420. On the slave trade to Egypt and the West, and the role of Kaffa and Tana in this trade, see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant* II, pp. 555—563. Not only individuals, but entire families were carried off the Genoa or Venice, by the hundreds and thousands. This resulted in an actual uprising by involuntary immigrants in Venice in 1368. In the West, a slave often performed the household chores of a domestic servant. Marco Polo's Tatar slave must have been one of them. It is a well known fact that the role of slaves in Egypt and Syria was essentially different. They constituted the guards of the Moslem ruler, and were eventually able to seize power. From slaves, freed slaves and the offspring of these a military elite was born which was carefully trained, groomed and given special privileges. Cf. Godefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, esp. pp. X—CXIX. F. Quatremère: *Makrizi, Histoire des sultans mamlouks de Caire*, trad. par —. I—II, Paris 1837—1845.

[34] Brătianu, *Recherches*, p. 251. On August 24th, 1274, a sea battle between the Pisans and Genoans took place in the harbour of Soldaia, about a mile from the coast, which the inhabitants of the city turned out in force to watch. Not only did the Pisans lose the battle, but they were also driven out of the region.

[35] The name of the Genoan envoy is *Muskaril qorči* in the Mongol text containing the message of the 1289 delegation. The Mongol text: Ligeti, *Monumenta* II, pp. 230—231; ibidem. further bibliography. The Mongol court title, *qorči* «quiver bearer», denoted a person belonging to the guards of the khan. On this title, see Doerfer, *TMEN* I, pp. 429—

In his capacity as envoy, Tomaso of Siena took a letter of Khan Öljeitü to Philippe le Bel in 1305.[36]

Among the Italians engaged in the Ilkhan court, Ciolus of Pisa deserves special mention. The great Persian historian Rašīdu-'-d Dīn refers to him as J̌ol bahādur, pādišāh of Pisa, and he was supposedly the governor of a Mongolian province. Though his taking the latter high dignity cannot be proved, it is certain that he was the major source for the Persian historian's chapter concerning the Franks.[37]

As early as the time of the early Ilkhans a thriving Italian colony was established in Tebriz, soon followed by a bishopric relying on Dominicans, and two Franciscan monasteries. Several documents attest to the trading activities of the Genoans between 1289 and 1293. Raffo Pallavicini was their consul in 1304, and members of the colony also rendered their services as interpretors and envoys. Around 1300, a Venetian colony also existed in Tebriz. A treaty signed in 1320 laid down the rights and immunity of the Venetians.[38]

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432. In the same year, Pope Nicolaus IV wrote to Edward I, king of England, «dilectus filius nobilis vir Biscarollus de Gisulfo, civis Januensis, nuncius Argone regis Tartarorum illustris»; cf. Mostaert—Cleaves, *Scripta Mongolica* I, pp. 48—49. The same Genoan person is referred to as *Bisqarun* in a letter addressed to Pope Boniface VIII (this time he was not member of the delegation); the Mongol text: *Monumenta* II, p. 250: 2, 4; text, translation, notes: Mostaert—Cleaves, in *HJAS* XV, pp. 467—495. He must have been a delegate to the West on other occasions, since we have a letter by Edward I King of England dated from 1302, which mentions that Khan Gazan sent a written message to him via «Buscarell de Guisurfo». Cf. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* IV, p. 345. Most probably the same person is referred to in a document dated July 4th, 1289, in which Buscarello Ghisulfo invests Giacomo di Guisulfo with general powers. See Brătianu, *Actes des notaires*, p. 344 (missing from the index).

[36] His name in the Mongol diploma is mis-spelled as *Toman* (in place of *Tomas*; *n* and *s* in final position can be easily confused in the Mongolian script); the Mongol text: *Monumenta* I, pp. 30—34. The verso of the Mongol diploma contains the Italian translation of the Mongol text. In the translation the name of the envoy is «Tomaso mio iulduci». Here Tomaso is given the Mongol title *yüldüči* «sword bearer», which is missing from the original (presumably he bestowed this dignity upon himself). In the summer of 1307, Tomaso paid a visit to Edward II, King of England, and on his way back, in 1308, to Pope Clement V, in connection with the same matter. The only available edition of the Italian translation is Abel-Rémusat's *Mémoires sur les relations politiques des princes chrétiens, et particulièrement des rois de France avec les empereurs mongols*, Paris 1824, pp. 178—180. Both the English king and the pope replied to Öljeitü; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols* IV, pp. 591—598.

[37] P. Pelliot, *Isol le Pisan*: *Journ. As.* 1915 II, pp. 495—497. V. V. Bartold, *Pisan Isol. Zap. Vost.* I, pp. 327—329 (Bartold, *La découverte de l'Asie*, Paris 1947, p. 101. K. Jahn, *Histoire universelle de Rašīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh Abul-Khair*, Leyde 1951. J. Richard, *Isol le Pisan, un aventurier franc, gouverneur d'une province mongole?*: *CAJ* XIC, pp. 186—194.

[38] L. Petech, *Les marchands italiens dans l'Empire mongol*: *Journ. As.* 1962, pp. 560—574.

Here too, Genoa and Venice were both present. Via Trapezunt the former and through Cyprus the latter, both could reach Iran easily and establish settlements there. Which of them needed the Persian language more?

No doubt the aim of the interpretors' handbook was not to facilitate their communication with the Ilkhans, for this would not have necessitated the inclusion of the Coman language. The handbook was apparently prepared for a region where Persian was necessary in addition to Coman. It is hardly possible to prove the crucial need for Persian in Kaffa or Solchat. Significant material indications suggest Tana where the major trade route described by Pegolotti started, leading to Sarai and further to the East. In this region both languages were indispensable. This possibility must have priority over all other hypotheses. It is, however, not totally proved due to chronological snags cropping up around the primacy of the Genoans and Venetians, and also due to the lack of a background against which such a work could have been created.

It is beyond doubt that the Codex did not come about to satisfy a non-recurrent need. This is borne out by the fact that the extant material is a copy, most probably one of the several copies lost.

The existing manuscript copy is indicative of other things as well. It shows quite plainly that of the two Oriental languages, Persian was more important for those who ordered the work. Persian stands right next to Latin, preceding Coman. The Persian language lost its domination when the second part, which contains no Persian, was attached to the first part. Only then could the trilingual manuscript, headed by the Persian language, be correctly called the Codex Cumanicus.

The presently known first part is a copy (if not the copy of a copy). When it was completed, the role of the Persian tongue was still predominant. A scribe who was ignorant of the language could have hardly made it into such a serviceable work. There is only one technical question which still intrigues the researchers of the first part. A concensus of opinion holds that the copier first put down the Latin column, then the Persian, and lastly the Coman. This method explains the errors arising from the horizontal line shifts in the columns; The shifting affects the Persian and Coman columns in the first place. Rarely was the Latin column also affected (see the mentioned shifted lines of *december — muharrâ*).

The question is, what was the original like? On the basis of the copy, it appears likely that the Latin column was put down first according to some model. This ready list (probably a draft with insertions, corrections, and cancellations) was completed horizontally by the «author» on the basis of oral information supplied by an interpretor with a knowledge of Persian and Coman. Do the items of both languages derive from the same interpretor, or were the Persian and Coman linguistic data dictated by separate interpretors?

Both views have their advocates, and both have ample arguments for and against.[39]

When interpreting the Persian material of the Codex Cumanicus, both the errors of the copier (just as in the Coman part) and those arising from G. Kuun's edition must be taken into account. In this context, the latter are negligible, and even Teza ignored them in his review of the publication. Later editors could easily disregard Kuun's erroneous readings as the facsimile edition of the Codex was then available to them. Kuun's edition, however, contains a section worthy of our attention. This is the Persian word-list (pp. 308—322), where the Persian words in Latin script are followed by the Arabic-Persian written forms of the classical Persian language, which Kuun intended as an explanation. Every so often they prove the priority of Kuun's correct interpretations. It is also noteworthy that relying upon Vullers' dictionary Kuun quoted the «vulgar» forms of Lit. Pers. in addition to the classical forms (e.g. *ayn* «ferrum» (besides *ahin*), *aou* «aqua» besides *ap*). These data illustrate that the Persian material of the Codex was based on the living, and not on the standard written language. Variants coexisted, which reflect either inconstant features in a single dialect or differences in pronounciation of the several native informants.

We must also be aware of the simple literals of mediaeval manuscripts also present in the Persian data of the Codex. Monchi-zadeh (M) and Bodrogligeti (B) pointed this out, too. One of the most common mistakes is the mixing of *t* and *c*. Such are *targos* for *cargos* «hare», *talamaçi* for *calamaçi* «interpretor», *noghuc* for *noghut* «pea», *duc* for *dut* «smoke». Similar errors of the copier are: *batran* for *barran* «rain», *aut* for *art* «flour», etc.

[39] According to G. Györffy, *Autour du Codex Cumanicus*, pp. 121—122, the Persian-Coman words were dictated by a single interpretor with a knowledge of both languages. He points out that 363 equivalents of the 414 Latin entries are missing in both languages. From among the non-parallel lacunae, 13 Persian equivalents and 38 Coman ones are missing. If only the figures are considered, one might conclude that the interpretor had a better command of Persian than of Coman. However, Györffy also stresses that the Persian and Coman words frequently overlap. He selected seven concordant names of birds from the chapter «Nomina volucrum» (p. 109), which do not even follow each other. Such a comparison is misleading, since there are altogether 24 bird names (Kuun's 23 is a mistake), 20 of them to be found in Persian, and 23 in Coman (one Latin entry has neither a Persian nor a Coman equivalent; this was left out by Kuun). If we take the whole material into consideration, we find that only 8 words are identical in Persian and Coman, and only three of the 8 are of Turkish origin. This was not what Györffy aimed at. His objective was to prove that the Persian—Coman part could not have been written gradually testified to by the large number (which is not so large, after all) of identical words in the two languages. His assertion is also weakened by the fact that the list includes the international loan words of falconry. I am afraid this issue cannot be definitely settled on the basis of the extant manuscript, as it is a copy itself. Under such circumstances, naturally, the opposite of Györffy's hypothesis cannot be proved either.

The original manuscript itself must have contained mistakes arising from mishearing, and misunderstanding. The simplification of the consonant cluster in *kak* for *kark* «dowing» might belong to this category.

The Italian Latin orthography of the Codex is generally a good source of reconstruction. However, there are cases when the reconstructed pronounced form is problematic or clearly wrong. Such is the *si* sign for *š*: already Salemann (p. 953) pointed out this feature of orthography. Such are: *tasina* for *tašna* «thirsty» (M *tišna*, B *tašəna*), *siac* for *šāx* «twig». Similar is the case of *ys*, *is*: *teysa* for *tēša* «a carpenter's axe» (M, B id.), *harais* for *hatais* read *ātaš* «fire» (M *ātaš*, B *hātaš*)[40], *piuskseu* for *puiskseu* read *pušk̆šeu* «froast» (M *paš(ak)-i šab*, B *pušk̆šäw*), *aysdaha* read *ašdaha* «dragon» (M *ažd̆ahā*, B *ažd̆ahān*).

In modern publications, the misidentification of the Persian words of the Codex is rare. E.g.: *ǰawān* [gaouâ] «millet» (105:3), the presumed equivalent of P *ǰawān* «rice» (B p. 151); *gaouâ* «pistû» should be correctly read as *hāvan*, meaning «mortar». It is an earlier mistake later corrected (without the cancellation of the erroneous reading).[41]

There are other points of contention between the two modern editors regarding details of transcription, phonemic and semantic interpretation of the Persian items in the Codex. Differences of opinion are possible in future as well.

Salemann's position is valid to date: the Codex reflects a 13th century vulgar dialectal Persian, which has nothing to do with the contemporary Literary language (pp. 951—952). Consequently, greater attention should be devoted to the Persian linguistic records of the 13th—14th centuries, and on the findings of Persian dialectology.

The excellent work of Gilbert Lazard[42] is highly instructive with regard to classical texts containing dialectal vulgarisms. To improve our knowledge on

[40] B (p. 29) emended P [harais] to [harmis] «fire» and compared it with Cl. *garmiš* (meaning «heat; a fever»). Obviously there was a mistake here, realized by B himself who left it out of the glossary (p. 139), replacing it with the reading *hātaš* [harmis for hatais], compared with P *ātiš* «fire». Personally I would think the initial *h*-is a characteristic of Italian orthography, and would disregard when dealing with Persian. M (p. 20) started from an **ātaiš* form. He considered the initial *h* a prostetic element, and tried to derive the *ai* diphtong from Middle Persian antecedents. This is completely unwarranted: *is* is a special sign to denote the phoneme *š*; cf. *supra*.

[41] The incorrect «millet» *ǰawān* also slipped into the English index (p. 223). Interestingly enough, the word in question occurs twice in the Codex, parallel with another word. Thus, e.g. on p. 105, lines 2—3: *mortale* — P *haouâ* — C *touguç* and *pistû* — P *gabouâ* — C *cheli*; the two words are listed here among the names of kitchen utensils. On page 82, lines 17—18 they can be read in the section on spices among relevant utensils: *mortalis* — P *aouan dasta* (the second word is crossed out) — C *touguç* and *pistû* — P *haouan dasta* — C *touguç ul cheli*. M (p. 164) would change *gaoua* to *g. dasta* on p. 105. He is right, too. Kachikian's list of wares also includes this article (p. 249) in the form *Khavandasta*, meaning «mortier et pilon».

[42] Gilbert Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963.

13th—14rh century Persian, the polyglot dictionaries of the Mongol period should be studied (e.g. Ibn Muhannā's work presenting the Persian of Khorasan, the fragmentary Mongolian-Persian dictionary of the Anonyme of Leiden, the Persian columns of the polyglot dictionaries of Yemen, and finally the Persian part of the tetraglot dictionary of Istanbul). These sources, along with Lazard's work, present useful clues.[43]

The Persian material of Chinese origin dating from the Ming period (early 15th century) also deserves attention. It records the Persian language of Transoxiana. The glossary of the Translators' Office contains entries both in the Arabic script and in Chinese transcription; the words are interpreted in Chinese. The vocabulary of the Interpretors' Office includes the Persian words only in Chinese transcription, followed by Chinese translation.[44]

With regard to dialectology, the dialects of Khorasan (including the so-called Afghan-Khorasan) have priority. We must also bear in mind the Iranian elements found in the Mogol dialects of West Afghanistan which originate from the one-time Mongol garrisons. The same applies to the dialects of the Iranized Hazaras of Mongolian origin. The findings of research on Tajik dia-

[43] I have used Ibn Muhannā's *Hilyat al-insān wa ḥalbat al-lisān* in its well-known Istanbul edition by Rifat (pp. 4—69). I corrected the misprints of this edition on the basis of the photocopy of the manuscript (pp. 2b—57a). I give the fragmentary Persian-Arabic glossary of the Anonym of Leiden on the basis of a photocopy of the manuscript (Poppe moulded the Persian—Mongol and Arabic—Mongol fragments of the Anonym of Leiden into one). I drew upon the Persian material of the polyglot dictionary of Yemen, using its photocopy. The Persian material of the tetraglot dictionary of Istanbul can be controlled in the facsimile edition in *Acta Orient. Hung.* XIV, pp. 77—99.

[44] One of the major advantages of the Sino-Persian glossaries of the Ming period is that they are not recorded in the Arabic script, or, more specifically, that the Sino-Persian word-list of the Translators' Office which contains the forms in Arabic script, gives the pronunciation also in Chinese transcription. In several cases this is a great help, but the Chinese script also has its drawbacks. The short *ä* of Persian words can be reconstructed perfectly when the Chinese syllable with a velar vowel is paired with a syllable with a palatal vowel (*ba — be*; *ta — te*, etc.). Otherwise the scribes had to be content with using the velar vowel. The Middle Mandarin dialect, the core of the transcription, does not include the *hän* type of syllable beside *han* (its *hen* is very closed; *hien* cannot be used for other reasons), so P *xändäk* reads *han-tê-k'ê* (Cl. *xandag*; Coll. *xändäg* Miller 198). In this Chinese dialect the final nasal merges with the preceding vowel into a naso-oral phoneme. This led to the transcription of the clear final P *-n* using a separate syllable: *t'a-pi-ssŭ-t'a-en* «summer», Cl. *tabistān*. In this dialect of specific final nasals, the transcription *pang-ta-tê*, «in the morning», Cl. *bāmdād* is regular. *Pi-la-tse-êrh* read *birāzār* «younger brother» and the like are not special features of Chinese transcription since the Arabic form next to it is *birādar*. A Supplement and some Persian applications in Arabic script with their Chinese translation are attached to the glossary of the Translators' Office. The glossary of the Interpretors' Office represents the above dialect in essentials, but the number of its words, and mainly its expressions is far greater.

lects and on the Tajik literary language also provides helpful information for the examination of this material.[45]

On the basis of the Codex, A. Bodrogligeti elaborated the Persian grammar to the extent which the material permitted, while Monchi-zadeh confined himself to summary remarks.

In the following, comments will be made on certain phonemic problems. Some of these are characteristic of the Persian dialect of the Codex, and some are problematic, and need further research.

It has long been known that the Persian language of the Codex reflects the *maǰhūl* and *ma'rūf* difference in the vowels. Apart from Cl. P., this difference was preserved in the two Sino-Persian glossaries of the Ming period, in certain Persian dialects of Khorasan, in some of the Persian dialects of Afghanistan, including Kabuli, in Tajik, in the Mogol dialects of Afghanistan, and finally, in the Persian elements of Afghan, Urdu, and Kurdish.[46]

Maǰhūl *yā* (*ē*):

mēša [mesa] «forest», also *wēša* [uexa], id. — Cl. *bēša* «a forest, wood, wild, uncultivated country», *wēša*, id.; Coll. *bišä*, *višä*; Kab. *bêša* (Far. 11); Her. *bēša*; Tj. *beša*; Mog. M *bēša* «desert, lieu desert»; Ur. *beša*; Kurd. *mēša*; *biše*, *beše* (Jaba);

šēr [ser] «lion» — Cl. *šēr*; Coll. *šir*; Ming Tr. *šēr* (*shê-êrh* 54b); Ming Int. *šēr* (12); Kab. *šêr* (11); Tj. *šer*; Afg. *šer*; Ur. *šer* «tigre; lion»; Kurd. *šêr* (W);

tēz [tex] «fast» — Cl. *tēz* «sharp, cutting; swift, prompt»; Coll. *tiz*, id.; Kab. *têz* «tranchant; rapide» (11); Her. *tez*; Haz. *tez*; Tj. *tez* «sharp»; Mog. *tez* «tranchant, aigu;» Afg. *tez*; Ur. *tez* «sharp; swift»; Kurd. *tiz* «sharp, swift»; Osm. *tez* «quick, quickly, prompt», *tiz* «high-pitched»; cf. Horn *tēz* «scharf, heftig; schnell».

Similar examples are: *rēg* [reg] «sand», *spēd* [sped] «white», *mēx* [megh] «nail», *nēk* [nec] «well; good»; *pēš* [pes] «before», *hēč* [hec] «nothing»; etc.

[45] The data of the Mangut and Marda dialects, of the Mongol, Persian (Herat) and Hazara dialects of Afghanistan come from the data (so far unpublished) I collected in Afghanistan in 1936 and 1937. On Lit. Tj. cf. *Tadžiksko—russkij slovarj*, ed. by E. Ê. Berteljs, M. V. Rachimi and L. V. Uspenskaja, Moskva 1954. On Tajik dialects see: V. S. Rastorgueva, *Očerk po tadžikskoj dialektologii* I—IV, Moskva 1952—1961.

[46] Abd-ul-Ghafoûr Farhâdi, *Le persan parlé en Afghanistan, Grammaire de Kāboli*, Paris 1955. M. G. Aslanov, *Afgansko—russkij slovarj* (*puštu*), Moskva 1966. V. M. Beskrovnyj—V. E. Krasnodembskij (pod red. A. P. Barannikov), *Urdu—russkij slovarj*, Moskva 1951. Taufquiq Wahby, *A Kurdish—English Dictionary*, Oxford 1966. K. K. Kurdov, *Kurdsko—russkij slovarj*, Moskva 1960. A. Jaba, *Dictionnaire kurde—français* (publié par F. Justi), St. Pbg. 1879. On Cl. Persian the well-known dictionaries of Vullers, Steingass and Desmaisons. On Coll. Persian: S. Haïm, *New Persian—English Dictionary* I—II, Tehran 1934—1936; H. Junker—B. Alavi, *Persisch—deutsches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig 1965; V. V. Miller, *Persidsko—russkij slovarj*, Moskva 1953 (marks open ä). Paul Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893.

Maǰhūl *wāw* (*ō*):

rōbāh [robagh] «fox» — Cl. *rōbāh*; Coll. *rubāh*; Ming Tr. *rūbāh* [*lu-pa-he*; 55b]; Ming Int. *rōbā* (12); Kab. *rôbâh* (12); Tj. *rūbōh*; Mog. Mr, M *rōbā*; Ur *robāh*;

pērōza [peroxa] «turquoise» — Cl. *pīrōza*; Coll. *piruza*; Tj. *pirūza, firūza*; Afg. *pērōza*; Kurd. *pīrōze*;

rōz [rox] «day» — Cl. *rōz*; Coll. *ruz*; Ming Tr. *rōz* (*lo-tsŭ*; 15b); Ming Int. *rōz* (6); Kab. *rôz* (12); Tj. *rūz*; Afg. *roz-* (initial component of a compound word); Ur. *roz*.

Similar examples are: *rōšan* [rosan] «light»; *bōsa* [bosa] «kiss»; *dōst* [dost] «friend»; *drōgān* [drogaan] «liar»; *gōšt* [ghoist] «flesh»; etc.[47]

A part of the old maǰhūl vowels appears in *ma'rūf* form (*ī, ū*) in the Codex.

ī replaces the former *ē*:

bīmār [bin mar] «sick» — Cl. *bīmār*; Coll. *bimār*; Kab. *bêmâr* (11); Tj. *bemōr*; Mog. M *bēmār*; Mog. Mr. *bīmār*; Ur. *bīmār*; Afg. *bimār*; Kurd. *bimar* (Jaba); Uzb. *bemōr*; Osm. *bimar*. Etymology is questionable; cf. Horn n° 209;

mīwa [miua] «fruit» — Cl. *mīwa, maiwa* (Stg.), *mēva* (Laz. 143); Coll. *miwe*; Ming Tr. *mēwa* (*mie-wa*; 62a); Ming. Int. *mēwa* (10); Kab. *mêwa* (11); Tj. *meva*; Her *mēwa*; Mog. Mr, M *mēwa*; Afg. *meva*; Ur. *meva*; Kurd. *mêwe* (W), *meva, maivé* (Jaba);

mīx [migh] «nail» — Cl. *mēx*; Coll. *mix*; Kab. *mêx* (11); Her. *mēx*; Tj. *mex*; Mog. M *mēx*; Afg. *mex*; Ur. *mex*; Kurd. *mêx* (W); Uzb. *mix*. Cf. Horn n° 1005.

Such are: *dīr* [dir] and *dēr* [der] "late"; *dīwāna* [divana] "mad"; *mīzāk* [nizech] «urine»; *darwīš* [daruis] and *darwēš* [darues] «poor».

[47] In Kabuli, the most extensively studied dialect of Afghanistan, some phenomena can be detected that may throw light on certain Persian data of the Codex. It should be noted in connection with maǰhūl cases that compared with colloquial *ê*, literary pronuncation wavers between *ê* and *ai*: *omêd* «espoir», *bêrân* «détruit» (lit. *wairân*). At times *ai* changes into *ê*: *šêx* «cheik». Similar variance can be observed in the pronunciation of *ô* and *au*: *rôšan, rôaan* (Lit. Tj. *ravgan*; I myself heard the form *rauyan* in Afghanistan). The Arabic *au* sometimes changes into *ô*: *tôba* «répantir» (Farhad, pp. 8—9). The latter word occurs in the German part of the Codex as *tōba* «Reue», and in the Italian part among the month-names as *tōb ay* «Reuemonat, Aprilis» (Grönbech, *Wb.* 246). Bazin (*Les calendriers*, p. 633) was right in stating that the correct form of the Coman month is *tōba āy*, and that Coman *tōba* derives from the Arabic *tawbat* «répentir, retour au Dieu» (BK I, 210). Lit. P marks vulgar *tōba* besides *taubat, tauba* (Stg.). Unlike Bazin, I think *tōb āy* is not a contraction, but an inaccuracy caused by dictation. Bazin's explanation is fully confirmed by the quoted Osm. *büyük tövbe* and *küčük tövbe* expressions. The correct interpretation of *tōb āy* was already given by Kowalski (*Archiv Orientalní* I, 21), who pointed out that this month of «confession» referred to Easter, since the converted Comans had to make confessions at that time. Consequently, this month of the «shifting feast» could not denot a fixed month. The Coman *tōba* originates in Persian, but not necessarily in the Persian dialect of the Codex. A similar explanation applies to the name of *Toris* found in Italian documents of the Mongol period, referring to *Tabriz* (*Tawriz*).

ū replaces the former *ō*:

gūš [gouis] «ear» — Cl. *gōš*; Coll. *guš*; Ming Tr. *gōš* (*ko-shih*; 43b); Ming. Int. *gōš* (25); Kab. *gôš* (12); Tj. *gūs*; Ur. *goš*;

gūspand [guspond] «sheep» — Cl. *gōspand*; *gōspand*, *gōsfand* (Laz. p. 138); Coll. *guspänd*, *gusfänd*; Ming Tr. *gōšfänd* (*ko-ssu-fan-tê*; 55a); Ming Int. *gōsfänd* (13); Kab. *gôspand*; Tj. *gūsfand*; Ur. *gospand*, *gosfand*;

mūza [mussa] «boot» — Cl. *mōza*; Coll. *muzä*; Ming Tr. *mōze* (*mo-chie*; 74b); Ming Int. *mōze* (13); Kab. *môza* (12); Tj. *mūza*; Afg. *moza*; Ur. *mūza* «stocking».

Also: *kūistān* [chouistan] «mountain», but *kōī* [koy] «mountainous»; *kūtāī* [cutay] «shortness», *lūč* [lux] «squinteyes» (M *lōš*, B *luž*); *pūst* [pust] «skin», *čākūč* [ciachuc] «hammer», *xāmūš* [ghamus] «tame».

The relatively frequent occurrence of *imāla* in words of Arabic and Persian origin also bear upon the vowel system.[48]

Examples: *fēnus* [fenus] «lamp», Cl. *fānūs*; *nēbīnā* [nebina] «blind», Cl. *nābīnā*; *besbēze* [besbese] «the cover of nutmeg», Cl. *bazbāz*; *selēx* [selech] «arme», Cl. *silāh*; *andēm* [anden] «member», Cl. *andām*; *miēn* [mien] «waist», Cl. *miyān*; *rikēb* [richeb] «stirrup», Cl. *rikāb*.

With regard to historical dialectology it is noteworthy that the Codex contains a relatively large number of forms with *ä* (*e*), *e*, *o*, besides the regular short *a*, *i*, *u*. Mention will be made here only of *e*, conceding that it cannot be established whether it is an open or closed *e*.[49]

Examples: *belend* [belend] «height», Cl. *baland*; *belk* [belch] «leaf», Cl. *barg*; *dēn*, *deen* [deen] mouth, Cl. *dahan*; *dendān* [dendan] «tooth», Cl. *dandān*; *ferbe* [ferbe] «fat», Cl. *farbih*; *gerd* [gerd] «dust», Cl. *gard*; *gez* [gex] «ell», Cl. *gaz*; *ǰeld* [geld] «quick»; *pesīn* [pesin] «back, Cl. *pasīn*; etc.

A similar phenomenon can be observed in the Sino-Persian glossary of the Ming period. The following examples are taken from the glossary of the Translators' Office: *yex* [*ye-he*] «ice». Cl. *yax*; *deryā* (*tie-êrh-ya*) «sea, ocean», Cl. *daryā*; *češme* (*ch'ê-shih-mê*) «fountain», Cl. *čašma*; *lešker* (*le-shih-k'ê-êrh*) «army», Cl. *laškar*; *pider* (*p'i-tê-êrh*) «father», Cl. *pidar*, *padar*; *melex* (*mie-le-hê*) «locust», Cl. *malax*; *berk* (*pe-erh-k'ê*) «leaf», Cl. *barg*; etc.[50]

[48] M. Th. Grünert, *Die Imāle, der Umlaut im Arabischen*: *SBWAW* LXXXI, pp. 447—542. J. Cantineau, *Cours phonétique arabe*, Alger 1941, reprinted in: *Études de linguistique arabe*, Paris 1960, pp. 96—102. D. C. Phillott, *Higher Persian Grammar*, Calcutta 1919, pp. 38. Monchi-zadeh, *op. cit.*, pp. 15—16.

[49] In practice they are the first signs of the short vowels of Cl. Persian shifting towards present-day pronunciation of Coll. Persian. The inconsistent orthography of the Codex, however, provides no firm grounds to establish this trend authentically, not to mention the fact that the shift might have different causes as well, as in Kabuli.

[50] As mentioned above (note 44), there was only one feasible way, with a velar vowel, for Chinese glossators to transcribe certain Persian syllables (*fa*, *fä*; *tan*, *tän*, *dan*, *dän*, etc.) (*fa*; *t'an*, *tan*, etc.). The mechanical usage of a palatal vowel in these transcrip-

The Persian consonant system of the Codex shows several conspicuous dialectal traits. Some of them are the following:

D is sometimes omitted in intervocal position. The same phonemic phenomenon can be observed in certain dialects, e.g. the Caspian dialects, Tat of Azerbaijan,[51] and the Mogol of Afghanistan. Examples:

piar [piar] «father (M *pidar*, B *piyar*) — Casp. dial. *piyar*; Tat. *piyar* (116); Mog. M *piar*; Cl. *pidar*;

brar [brar] «brother» (M *birār*, *birādar*; B *brar*) — Casp. dial. *brār*; Mog. Mr, M *birar*; Mog. Zirni, Kundur *birar*; Her. *birar*; Haz. *birār*; Tat. *birar* (117). *Brādar* [bradar] also occurs in the Codex. Cl. *birādar*;

mār (mar) «mother» — Casp. dial. *mār*; Tat. *may* (116). *Mādar* [madar] also occurs in the Codex besides *mār*.

čāršau [çiarsau] «sheet» — Coman derivative *čaršau* [çiarzau]; Tat. *čaršou* «a woman's kerchief of dark colour» (120); Kurd. *čaršêw* (W), *čaršeb*, *čaršaf* «drap de lit, voile de femme» (Jaba); Osm. *çarşaf* «bed-sheets; a large veil, covering the whole dress.»

B at the end of syllables or words often becomes a fricative, forming at times a diphtong with the preceding vowel. It is found as a vulgar variant in Lit. Pers., and also in numerous Persian, and Afghan dialects, some Tajik dialects, and Mongolian.[52]

Examples:

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tions accounts for mistakes. Is *ta-ni-ssu-t'an* «to know» really to be interpreted as *dānistān* (P. Coll. *danestän*, in Miller), or is *dānistan* the correct reading? Similarly, is the correct reading of *an-tie-she* «though» *andēše* or *ändēše* (the final *e* is doubtless closed), cf. Coll. *ändiše*, Mill. (Codex: *andīša*); is *fa-kê-êrh* «poor» *fäġir* as Coll. *fäġir* (Mill.), or rather *faġir*? The following is unambiguous: *ê-na-ye-t'ê* «grace, faveur», read *enāyät*, like Coll. *enayät* (Mill.). It seems likely that initial open *a* (if short) should be interpreted as *ä*, as there is a sign *e* to transcribe closed *e*: *a-pu-lo* «sourcil», read. *äbrō* (Coll. *äbru*), Cod. *abrū*; close *e* in initial position only occurs with *ʿayn*.

[51] A. L. Grjunberg, *Jazyk severoazerbajdžanskich tatov*, Leningrad 1963.

[52] A voiced bilabial spirant may occur both in initial and intermediate position (also before a consonant); see Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments*, pp. 137—143. I have come across it only as the second component of a final diphthong in the Persian, Mogol and Hazara dialects of Afghanistan. In different dialects this diphthong (*aw*) might have been rising, falling or floating. Thus, *au* is coupled with *au̯* (usually written as *aw*), *ǫu* and even *ǫu*. In the Codex it occurs in initial position: *wāz* [uas] «open», Cl. *bāz*; in intermediate position: *tawar* [taouar] «axe», Cl. *tabar*; *tawa* [taoua] «frying pan», Cl. *taba*. Other examples: Bodrogligeti, p. 57. A similar phenomenon can be observed in today's dialects, e.g. in Kabuli: *tawa* «poële à frire», *aftâwa* «aiguière», *šorwâ* «soupe»; *sawz* «vert», *kawk* «perdrix», *awšâr* «chute d'eau», *qaws* «constipe», *aftaw* «soleil», *mâtaw* «lune», *xaw* «sommeil», *aw* «eau», *simaw* «mercure», etc.; see Farhādi, p. 23. In Kabuli *-êb* changed into *-êw*: *sêw* «pomme», *sar-nesêw* «en pente» (ibid.). «Apple» is *sēf* in the Codex. In Ibn Muhannā's work (Rifat, p. 56) it is *sēb* and *sēw*. *Sēw* (and *sēwa*) can be found in Lit. P. as a vulgar variant (Stg. 716).

au [aou] «water», also *ap*. — Lit. P. *āv* (Stg.), Kab. *aw* (24); Tj. *ōv* (Rast. I, 32); Her. *au*; Haz. *au*; Kurd. *âw* (Jaba);

šau [sau] «night» — Lit. P. *šaw* (Stg.); Kab. *šaw* (23); Tj. *šav* (Rast. I, 32); Kurd. *šaw* (W), *šew* (Jaba);

sauz [saus] «green» — Kab. *sawz* (23), Kurd. *sawz* (K, W), *sowz* (Jaba).

Unvoicing of final plosives sometimes occurs, most frequently *-d* > *t*; *bunyāt* [buniat] «foundation», Cl. *bunyād*; *dūt* [dut] «smoke», Cl. *dūd*; *kabūt* [chabut] «blue», Cl. *kabūd*; *kilit* [kilit] «lock», Cl. *kilid*; *xarāp* [carap] «spoiled», Cl. *xarāb*; *noxūt* [noghuc for noghut] «pea», Cl. *nuxūd*. Analogues from dialects: cf. Kab. *naxot* «pea», Cl. *naxwod*; *zut* «quickly»; Cl. *zud*; *šat* «honey», Cl. *šahd*; *dâmât* «son-in-law», Cl. *dāmād*; etc. (26).

Sporadic examples of *-g* > *-k* change can also be observed: *dēk* «kettle», *belk* [belch] «leaf», *sek* [sec] «dog»; besides them also *seg* [seg] «dog», *dig* [dig] «yesterday», *reg* [reg] «sand».

Some examples of the unvoiced variant of final *-b* can also be found in the Codex: *āp* «water» besides *au*; *ǰoāp* [ioap] «answer», Cl. *ǰawāb*; *qāp* [cap] «instep», Cl. *qāb*; *šerāp* [serap] «wine», Cl. *šarāb*. Apart from the unvoiced final phoneme, voiced variants abound in the Codex: *xōb* [ghob] «good» and *xūb* [ghub]; *kanab* [canab] «hemp»; etc.

Among the sporadic phonemic phenomena, the final *-m* > *-mb* change is of special importance. We have several data for it from early times. Lazard maintains (p. 163) that the forms *xunb* and *xum(m)* "jarre", *sunb* and *sum(m)* «sabot (d'un animal)», *šikanb* and *šikam* «ventre», *karanb* and *karam* «chou», etc. alternate in old manuscripts. The Codex contains the following: *pāldomb* [*paldomb*] «crupper», Cl. *pal-dum* «the crupper-leather», *pār-dum* «a crupper» (*pār* «a skin, a tanned hide»), Lit. P. *dumb*, *dump* «the tail» (Stg.); Kab. *domb* (29); Tj. *pōrdum*. Ming Tr. *sumb* (*sun-pu*) «hoof» (58b) belongs to this category.

The word [ambrut] in the Codex does not reflect a special orthographical feature, but it is an authentic reference to the 13th century Persian pronunciation of *ambrūt*, which Lazard (p. 164) quotes as *anbrūδ* «poire». This is essentially the same form as the Lit. P. *ambarūd* (sic) «pear» (Stg.). Besides *amrūd* and *amrūt*, Vullers (I, 121) mentions the colloquial variant *anbrūt*.[53]

Similarly, *marǰand* [mariâd] «coral», as opposed to Cl. *marǰan*, is not an orthographical distortion. Other dialects also contain a similar unorganic *-d* after final nasals. E.g. Kab. *čamand*, *yâsamand*, *fand*, *golxand*, *ǰend*, *send* (29).

It seems certain that an unorganic *n* should be reckoned with in similar positions. E.g. *namand* [namand] «felt», Cl. *namad*, old *namaδ* (Lazard, p. 201:

[53] Bodrogligeti reads *amrūt* (p. 110), *pāldom* (p 176), and *namad* (p. 111). In Monchizadeh's interpretation they are: *amrōd* (in brackets: *amrō(t)*, *armōt*, *anbrōt*; p. 30); *pārdum* (*pāldum*) (p. 49; also puts the corollary forms *dunb* and *dumb* in brackets); *namad* (p. 159; he omits *n* from the form of the Codex as well).

namaδ-pāra «morceau de feutre»). Analogous forms could be cited from the Ob Ugric languages.[54]

Examples can also be found for the sporadic $r > l$ change: *sulāx* [sulach] «hole», Cl. *surāx*. It is one of the old variants. Lazard (p. 155) quotes the *sûlâ* form from old records, and *sl'x* from Judeo-Persian. Also Kab. *solâx* (26). From the Codex: *belk* [belch] «leaf». According to Lazard (p. 155), *balg* appeared with *barg* already in Firdausi's work. He also quotes Judeo-Tj. *balg*, Māz. *valg*. Also Lit. P. *balg* «feuille d'arbre» (Desm.) besides *barg*; Haz. *balgau* «pâtes de farine fine bouillies» (a compound of *balg* «leaf» and *au* «water»); Afg. *balg* «leaf», Kurd. *belk* «feuille» (Jaba).

In the majority of the cases the original *r* is retained, e.g. *dīwār* [diuar] «wall», but Kab. *dêwâl*; *zangār* [xangar] «vert-de-gris» but Kab. *zangál*; etc.

In some cases Bodrogligeti interprets the initial Cl. *q-* (even in words of Arabic origin). as *ġ-*. This reading reflects the pronunciation of today's Colloquial Persian. The dictionaries of Junker-Alavi, Haim and Miller also mark it this way. The few examples in the Codex are, however, not convincing.[55] Strangely enough, a similar phenomenon can be detected in the Sino-Persian glossaries of the Ming period, with the difference that *ġ* in place of *q* does not only occur in initial position. Examples: *ġāz* «goose» (55b), Cl. *qāz*; *ġulġās* «the edible root of a plant» (65a), Cl. *qulqās*; *ġedeh* «tumbler» (70b), Cl. *qadah*; *nuġre* «silver» (82a), Cl. *nuqrah*; *ġāš* «money» (83a), Cl. *qāš*; *ġäläm* «pen; brush» (89), Cl. *qalam*; *ġawī* «strong» (104), Cl. *qawī*; etc.

At this point the questions should be raised: Where was this Persian dialect spoken? Whose native tongue was it? So far there are only hypotheses instead of precise answers. Salemann located this dialect in Khorasan, while Monchi-zadeh tended to indentify it with the Caspian dialects. Bodrogligeti, an eminent scholar of the Kurdish language, looked for Kurdish affinities in it. His position is compatible with the former ones if we consider the fact that the so-called Kurdish features[56] are the specificities of the Persian elements of Kurdish.

[54] An *n* preceding the final *d* is unetymological, but it is still possible that it reflects an actual pronunciation. A similarly unetymological *n* can be found before the final *t* in the Persian form borrowed into Vogul. It is also possible, however, that the secondary *n* developed in Vogul, see Aulis Joki, *Uralier and Indogermanen*, Helsinki 1973, pp. 290—291. It escaped Joki's attention that the form *namaδ* exists in old New Persian also; cf. *supra*.

[55] Bodrogligeti, pp. 137—139: *ġādi* (chadi) «judge», Cl. *qāżī*; *ġaḥba* (chagba) «prostitute», Cl. *qaḥba*; *ġalp* (chalp) «false», Cl. *qalb*; *ġaranful* (garanful) «clove», Cl. *qaranful*; *ġard* (chard) «loan», Cl. *qarż*; *ġaṣāp* (hasap) «butcher», Cl. *qaṣṣāb*; *ġasīs* (chasis) «priest», Cl. *qissīs*; *ġōz* (chos) «crooked», Cl. *qūz*. Yet in 23 other words he retained the initial *q-*. Monchi-zadeh reads *q-* in all these cases (pp. 122—125).

[56] The words singled out by Bodrogligeti (pp. 99—100) as elements of Kurdish almost exactly coincide with those thought characteristic of the Caspian dialects by Monchi-zadeh (pp. 17—18). Both arguments point to the same fact, namely, that the enumerated features belong to the phonetic and lexical features of a Persian dialect spoken in some unidentified region.

The question remains open, but let me point out that there are two aspects of this problem. One is the question of the homeland of the Persian language of the Codex. This cannot be answered for the time being, although the correct solution doubtless lies somewhere in the above-mentioned hypotheses. The other aspect of the question, namely, where was this language used, can be answered without hesitation. It was used at the caravansaries along the trade routes, and it was the interpretors who were its vehicle and medium. They played a great role in the Mongol empire along with the "coming and going envoys", and the tradesmen.

The interpretor of the Persian part of the Codex was obviously not a Christian, but a Moslem. Suffice it to refer to the names of months, whose Arabic origin points to a Moslem source. The enumeration and examination of single words will be dispensed with here,—but one group of data should perhaps be mentioned.

The chapter of the Codex on time (p. 71), which includes the calendar, also gives the names of the seven *horae canonicae* of the Christian terminology. However hard the Persian (and Coman) interpretor of the Moslem faith tried, he could not translate the Latin definitions of these. He got around the problem by giving the names of the times of Muslim prayers for five of the seven *horae*. It was not plain sailing, however; confusion arose at two points. The Latin column lacked the name of (*hora canonica*) *sexta*, while in the Persian and Coman columns spaces for the Persian and Coman counterparts were left blank. Géza Kuun (p. 80) tried to make up for this deficiency by leaving the Persian and Coman equivalents of *completorium* blank. In the Codex, the Persian and Coman correspondents of L *hodie* shifted a line upwards; the same happened to the lines above it up to *tercia*. The erroneous list can be corrected by inserting *sexta*. The original list of the Codex can be reconstructed as follows:

1. L *matutinû* — P *nî saou* — C *tank*
2. L *prima* — P *sabagh* — C *erta*
3. L *tercia* — P *seſt* — C *aš octi*
4. L *sexta* — P *nim rox* — C *tüš*
5. L *nona* — P *namaz digar* — C *echindu*
6. L *vesperas* — P *acſan* — C *acſan*
7. L *conpletorium* — P *souagam* — C *chezae.*

The interpretor chose analogues for the first and third *horae canonicae*, while the rest he coupled with the names of the five Muslim prayer hours. Our examples are from the pentaglot dictionary of Yemen, which gives the Persian, Arabic and Turkic equivalents. (N. B. this dictionary used a Turkish tongue belonging to the Oγuz, not to the Kipchak languages.) The data are (f. 4rA29—31 and 4rB1—2):

1. P *bāmdād* — T *ärtä* — A *al-faǰr*
2. P *namāz-i pēšīn* — T *öyläk* — A *al-zuhr*
3. P *namāz-i digar* — T *ikindü* — A *al-ʿaṣr*
4. P *namāz-i šām* — T *aχšam* — A *al-ʿišā'*
5. P *vaqt-i xuftī* — T *yatγu* — A *al-ʿatama.*

The Persian name of the fifth *hora canonica* directly demonstrates the Moslem origin. The Turkish equivalents of the second, fourth and sixth *horae canonicae* are either the same as, or synonyms of, the Persian equivalents.

Originally, the names of Christian and Moslem praying hours were meant to denote the periods of a day, like daybreak, evening, nightfall, or were derived from the expressions of certain human activities (meal-time, bed-time). This double semantic function persisted, and later the terms used for religious activities became the definitions of the hour of day.[57]

It is worth noting that the septenary division of the day is recorded in other Turkic sources of the Mongol period in the same order. The following example is quoted from the Anonyme of Leiden in a Kipchak-type language:

1. *ṭayin* «dawn» (*waqtu'l-saḥr*); 2. *ertä* «daybreak» (*bukra*); 3. *qušluq* «early morning meal» (Clauson, *ED* 672); 4. *düš* and *öylän* «midday» (*al-zuḥr*); 5. *igiz*

[57] One of the terms in the above list of five, P *bāmdād*, meaning «in the morning, at break of day», exemplifies the chronological independence. The name of prayer to be said at this time is *namāz-i bāmdād*. This applies to A *faǰr* as well. P *vaqt-i xuftī*, also one of the five, likewise restricts its meaning to «bed-time», while A *ʿatama* means 1. «le premier tiers de la nuit, à partir du crépuscule du soir» and 2. «prière du soir, qu'on fait avant de se coucher». T *yatsun* «(time of) going to bed» exists in Bulġat, too, meaning «soir, entrée de soir» (Zaj. 25). In the form of *yatsu* in Idrāk and *yatsïγ* in Ibn Muhannā's work, it means «Schlafzeit» (Brockelmann, *Osttürk. Gramm.*, p. 136). Its P equivalent is *namāz-i xuftan* «prayer before going to bed, two hours or more after sunset» (Stg.). Grönbech (*Wb.*, p. 269) noticed that *sexta* was missing from the *horae canonicae*, but he was very tentative in identifying it with Coman *tüš*, pointing out that it corresponds to *nona* in the extant manuscript. He relates *ekindü* as well as the correct Persian *namāz-i digar* to *vesperas* (p. 86), which is a mistake. The Coman *aqšam* is not the translation of *completorium* (p. 39), but of *vesperas*. He ignores later (p. 135) that the Coman word *keče* is the equivalent of *conpletorium*. The facsimile clearly shows that the users of the Codex were perplexed by the above inaccuracies, and tried to emend them in the margin, unfortunately not in a faultless way. The Persian equivalents of *horae canonicae* in Bodrogligeti's work are: 1. *nīm šow* «midnight; 2. *ṣabāḥ* «early in the morning (LL prima)»; 3. *šest* «breakfast time, the third canonical hour; Cl. P *čāšt*»; 4. *nimrōz* «midday»; 5. *namāz digar* «the time of the afternoon prayer»; 6. *aqšam* «evening; LL conpletorium»; 7. *šäw-hangām* «nighttime; Cl. P *šab-hangām*». Monchi-zadeh reduced the list to six times of day: 1. *ṣabāḥ nēm-šab* «Tagesanbruch, Morgen»; 2. *čāšt* «Essenzeit (3. kanonische Stunde)»; 3. *nēm-rōz* «Tagesmitte»; 4. *namāz(i) digar* «abends, nach Sonnenuntergang»; 5. *axšām* «Conpletorium; Abend»; 6. *šab-hangām* «sero; nachts». Neither editor realized the omission of L *hora sexta*, and the consequent shift of lines.

and *ikindü* (Tkm.) «afternoon till sunset» (*al-ʿaṣr*); 6. *aqšam* «evening» (*al-maġrib*); 7. *yaṭsun* «bed-time» (*ʿišā' al-axir*).[58]

The above examples clearly show how closely the Oriental languages of the Codex were related to each other and to Islam. Arabic and Coman elements are mixed with the native Persian vocabulary, and Persian and Arabic elements mingle in with the Coman. It is not always easy to find our way in their midst, and this often makes us forget that the two explanatory Occidental languages, Latin and German, are right there too with their complex mediaeval problems.

So far no one has systematically worked on the Latin language of the Codex. G. Kuun (pp. 369—378) annotated some of the seemingly irregular Latin words of the Italian part in their order of occurrence, mainly relying upon Du Cange's dictionary. Grönbech appended an alphabetical list of the Latin words of the Codex to his dictionary (pp. 278—301), but this list does not include the Latin words which have no Coman equivalents. Since it was compiled for Turcologists, it even fails to show whether a word appears in the Italian or German part.

Let me put forward a few passing remarks on the Latinity of the Codex.

Even a cursory glance reveals that two variants of mediaeval Latinity are present. In the first part a vulgar Latin with special Italian features is apparent. This Latin was used by the Italian colonists living along the Black Sea. The second part of the Codex reveals the ecclesiastical Latin of the mediaeval monasteries.

The idiosyncrasies of Italo-Latin seemed strange and unintelligible to the users of the latter variant. No sooner had the Franciscan friars obtained the first part than they started translating the Italian idiosyncrasies into normal Latin. This trend dominates in the beginning of the Codex: a corrector elucidated the words *abrachio, abrachiaui, abrachia,* by inserting *amplector, amplexatus sum, amplecte* next to the Coman counterparts, in black ink (p. 71). Hoping to clear up the meaning of *aleno, alenaui, alena,* the same corrector added *suspiro, suspiraui, suspira* (and *suspirio*) to the Coman equivalents on the same page. Also on this page we find the explanatory, «intelligible» Latin words *libero, liberaui, libera* (and *liber homo*) beside the Coman equivalents of *abasso, abassaui, abassa.* On page 9 the Latin equivalent of *ballo* etc. is *plaudo* etc.; on page 10, *casso* etc. is explained by the Latin *destruo* etc. The Latin

[58] Cf. The Anonym of Leiden, Ms. f. 30a: 12—13 — 30b: 1—5. Th. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch—arabisches Glossar,* the Arabic text, p. 18: 13—17. A. K. Kuryšžanov, *Issledovanie po leksike «Tjurkske—arabskogo slovarja»,* pp. 58—59, arbitrarily changed the sequence of words and even inserted three words that originally came after the list. This is all the more surprising since Kuryšžanov worked with Houtsma's printed Arabic text, and not the manuscript.

glosses gradually disappear, giving way to the Coman counterparts as explanations; Persian seems to have been totally alien to the monks.

A correct interpretation of the orthographic, phonemic and lexical characteristics of this Italo-Latin language would certainly help us to determine the place of origin of the Codex, and the nationality of its author. Can Kuun's suggestions about Genoan features be proved?[59] Be that as it may, caution is needed, since we have to reckon with a certain Italian *koine*, not to speak of the fact that the copier could not escape putting the characteristics of his own dialect into the text.

The mounting questions can only be answered by an Italo-Latinist familiar with the 13th—14th century linguistic records.

The Italo-Latin language of the Codex contains several words of Oriental, primarily Arabic and Persian origin. Without aiming at completeness, let us mention some of these here.[60] For easier orientation, the Persian and Coman words are spelled as they appear in the Codex. On the other side of the colon, the presently accepted transcribed form is given, along with my interpretation

[59] To confirm his assertion, G. Kuun (pp. CXXI—CXXII) quoted orthographical, pronunciational and lexical differences detectable in the Genoan and Venetian dialects. In light of the transcription of the Persian and Coman words, his orthographical explanations are hardly warranted. He considered the words *gragnora* «pea», *sivoro* «to whistle», *carubius* (Du Cange: *carubeus*, carubium) «street, lane», *turcheysa* (recte *turchese*) «tong» clearly Genoan. Kuun (p. CXXII) also pointed out some phonetic and lexical features which he regarded as characteristic of the Venetian dialect. Such are: *endego* (in place of *indigo*), *tenagis* «a farrier's forceps»; *chibebe* «cubeb, Piper cubab»; *latonum* «copper»; *merzarius* «grocer», *caramella* «reedpipe»; *turta* «cake». G. Kuun did not attach great importance to this, however, since these words, in these forms, can be found in other North Italian dialects as well. On the other hand, Prof. A. Csillaghy, whom I asked on the subject, thinks that the Latin words in question display a great many Venetian, or more precisely, Veneto, and not Genoan, characteristics. He includes here: *scarpinu'* «short socks» (p. 102); *specie* (for *spezie*) «spice» (without P and C equivalents), *sal* «salt» (without P and C equivalents), *calderon'* «cauldron», *cazia* «spoon», *pignata* «kettle» (p. 104); *scutella* «plate», *flama* «flame» (reduction of geminata), *ranpin'* «hook», *rama arb̄* «branch» (p. 104); *cocomarû* «cucumber», *papauarû* «poppy» (without P and C equivalents) (p. 106); *gata* «cat», *gatus* «tomcat» (p. 108); *falchon* «falcon», *galina* «hen», *galus* «cock», *paon* «peafowl», *faxan* «pheasant», *cardarina* «goldfish», *paser* «sparrow» (p. 109); etc. Only a detailed monograph will give us the definitive word in this matter.

[60] I used the following abbreviations in the above list: P: Persian; C: Coman. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*. Peg.: Pegolotti, Yule (*Cathay and the Way Thither* III) and in the edition by A. Evans, referring to Dr. Drüll's compendium. Lauf.: B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, Chicago 1919. Pelg.: Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine con speciale riguardo all'Italia*, I—II, Brescia 1972. Schaf.: Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand, A Study of T'ang Exotics*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963. Polo: P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* I—III, 1959—1975. Stg.: Steingass, *Persian—English Dictionary*. BK: Biberstain Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe—français* I—II, Paris 1960. Vull.: I. A. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico—Latinum* I—II, Graz 1962. Desm.: J. J. P. Desmaisons, *Dictionnaire persan—français* I—IV, Rome 1908—1914.

in unsettled cases. Where no difficulties arise, the data of other Italo-Latin sources follow, together with the reconstructed Oriental form (which is never the direct source).

gingabel «ginger»; P *gingibil*: *ǰinǰibil*; C *gingibil*: *ǰinǰibil* (81:1) — Heyd II, 619—623; Peg. (Yule 167, Dr. 61); Lauf. 583. P *šangalīl* «ginger» (Stg. 763), A *zanǰabīl* (Stg. 724), *zanǰabīl* «aunee» (Dozy I, 605);

lacha «gum lacker»; P *luc*: *luk*; C *lac* in: *rangi lac*: *rang-i lak* (81:8) — Pelg. I, 121 (*laca*, Du Cange; *lacha* Stat. Genov.), I, 351 (*lacca*, *lacha*, Ligur.); Heyd II, 624—626; Peg. (Yule 167; Dr. 60 «Gummilack»); Lauf. 475—478; Schaf. 208. P *rang-lāk*, *rang-lukā* «tincture of lac» (Stg. 589); A *lak* «laque», sorte de gomme-resine avec laquelle on prépare des vernis» (BK II, 1019);

titua «zinc-sulphate»; P *tutia*: *tūtiyā*; C *tutia*: *tutiya* (81: 20) — Pelg. I, 121 (*tucia* and *tuzia* after Polo and Pelg.), II, 588 (*tuzia*, Venice); Heyd II, 674—676; Peg. (Dr. 75); Lauf. 511—515, 555. P *tūtiyā* «tutty» (Stg. 333); A *tūtiyā* «tuti» (Dozy I, 154);

chibabe d., s. «cubebe; P *chababa*: *kabāba*; C *chababa*: *kababa* (81: 25). — Pelg. I, 351 (*cubeba*, *cubebe* piper; *cubebe* ; Ligur.), II, 588 (*chubebe*; Venice); Heyd II, 658—664 («poivre noir et blanc»); Peg. (Yule 168; Dr. 64): Kubebe «getrocknete und unreife Frucht eines Pfeffergewechses»); Schaf. 151. P *kabāba* «Cubebs» (Stg. 1011); A *kubāba* «piment; poivre cubebe» (BK II, 851);

canfora «camphor»; P *canfor*: *kānfōr*; C *canfor*: *kanfor* (Grönbech's reading *qanfor* is unwarrantable) (82:1). — Pelg. I, 121 (*canfora*, 14th c.; *canfera*, *canfara*; Polo; *caffera*, Peg.; *ganfora*); Heyd II, 59—595; Peg. (Yule 168; Dr. 62); Lauf. 585; Schaf. 166—168. P *kānfūr* «camphor» (Stg. 1007); A *kāfūr* «camphre» (BK II, 915);

safranum «saffron»; P *zafran*: *zafrān*; C *zafran*: *zafran* (82:12). — Pelg. I, 118 (*zafferano*, 14th c.; *safrani*), I, 351 (*zafferano* 1156, Ligur.; *safranum*, North-Afr., Ligur.); Arm. *zafran* «safran» (251). P *za'farān* «saffron» (Stg. 617); A *za'frān* «sorte de safran» (Dozy I, 593);

galanga «galangale»; P *coligiâ*: *xōlinǰān*; C *choligian*: *xolinǰan* (83:6). — Pelg. I, 120 (*galangga*, *galange*, Venice; *galanga*, *galinga*, *galingale*, Peg.), II, 588 (*galanga*, Venice); Heyd II, 616—618; Peg. *galanga* (Yule 168; Dr. 59); Lauf. 545—546. P *xūlanǰān* «the herbe galangale» (Stg. 488);

ladano «the gum-herb ladanum»; P *ladan:lādan*; C is missing, replaced by *ambar* due to line-shift (83:7). — Heyd II, 631—632 *ladanum* (also refers to Pegolotti); Peg. (Yule 167: ladanum of Cyprus). P *lādan* «the gum-herb, ladanum» (Stg. 1111);

turbiti «a purgatif Indian root»; P *turb*: *turb*; C *turbut*: *turbut* (83:22). — Pelg. II, 588 (*turbiti* «nota pianta la cui radice e purgativa», Venice) Peg. *turbit* (Yule 168); Lauf. 584. P *turbid*, *turbud*, *tirbid* «a purgative Indian root, convolvulus turpethum» (Stg. 292); A *turbid* «convulvulus turpethum» (Dozy I, 143);

nachus «a kind of brocade»; P *nagh*: *nax*; C *nac*: *naq* (91:27). — Heyd II,

698 (*Nacco*); Peg. (Yule 169: *nacchi*; Dr. 57: «Brokat»); Polo (*nac*; Pelliot I, 483); Lauf. 496. P *nax* «filum sericum vel bombycinum vel aliud; tapetum vel stratum elegans et pictum» (Vull. II, 1297); A *nax* «étoffe de soie brochée d'or, brocart» (Dozy II, 648);

nasicius «gold brocate with pearls»; P *nasiz*: *nasič*; C *nasiç*: *nasič* (the reading *našič* put forward by Grönbech is possible only in Mongol) (91:28). — Heyd (*nachetti*) II, 698; Peg. (Yule 169: *nachetti*; Dr. 57: «Goldbrokat»); Polo (*nasici*, *nasiti*, Pelliot I, 332); Lauf. 496. P *nasīǰ* «vestis serica auro testa» (Vull. II, 1314); A *nasīǰ* «étoffe de soie brochée d'or» (Dozy II, 666); cf. A *nasīǰ* «tissé», *našaǰa* «tisser (une étoffe)» (BK II, 1247)[61];

scarlata «scarlet cloth»; P *scarlat*: *sqarlāt*; C *yscarlat*: *ïsqarlat* (92:5) — Heyd II, 607 (grana da tignere scarlatti, graine d'écarlate»); Lauf. 496—498 (makes distinction between the derivatives of P *saqirlāt* and *saqalāt* in the western languages); Pelg. I, 114. P *saqirlāt* «warm wollen cloth; purpet; broadcloth» (Stg. 686);

cremixi «scarlet»; P *cremixi*: *qirmizi*; C *cremixi*: *qïrmïzï* (Grönbech considers the Coman form a mechanical repetition of the Latin) (92:29). — Pelg.

[61] *Nachus* and *nasicius* often occur side by side in our sources, and several researchers treat them together. W. Bang was the first to consider them in his *Über den angeblichen «Introitus natorum et nascitorum in den Genueser Steuerbüchern»*: *Bulletin de l'Académie Roy. de Belgique*, 1912, pp. 27—32. P. Pelliot, *Une ville musulmane dans la Chine du Nord sous les Mongols*: *Journ. As.* 1927 II, pp. 261—279. In this study Pelliot states that one of the trades of the 3000 Muslims transferred from around Samarqand was brocade making. (These people were settled in the North Chinese city of Hsün-ma-lin.) According to Chinese records these textiles were called *na-shih-shih* (*nàšiš* and *na-shih-ssû* (*našis*) in Mongol. Pelliot enlarged upon the explanation of *naq* and *nasiǰ* at this time (p. 269, note 1). Pelliot wished to elaborate on these two terms in his work *Notes on Marco Polo*, and even referred to the planned entry, *Nac and Mascici* (I, p. 332). Unfortunately, he never carried out his plan. Actually, Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* II, pp. 124—125 already mentioned the data of Marco Polo and Pegolotti, and also referred to the *Secret History of the Mongols*, which includes *naqut* «a kind of gold brocate», and *načidut* «a silk stoff interwoven with gold» among the «presents» sent from Baghdad to Khan Ögödei. The Mongol text actually reads: *širamal altatan naqut načidut* (Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, in: *Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta* I, Budapest 1971, p. 247). Haenisch (*Wörterbuch*, p. 113) mistranslates *naqut* as «Golderz». *Naqut* is the Mongol plural of *naq*. *Načidut*, in turn, is the Mongol plural of *načit*, which also occurs in the *Secret History* (Mongolian text: *Monumenta* I, p. 204), in the passage containing the message of Chinghis to the Uighur *Iduqut*, instructing him on what presents he should bring before him. *Načit* is also a plural, derived from *načič*, *načiǰ* or some other related form. Since it is an irregular form, it needs further interpretation. Otherwise, double plurals are not rare in the above mentioned passage of the *Secret History*. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* II, p. 648 contents that *nax* (referring to its Persian equivalent) was made in Tebriz, meaning, among other things, «étoffe de soie brochée d'or». Dozy II, p. 666 also contains the form *nasīǰ* of the same meaning. In both cases reference is made (via Defrémery) to Marco Polo's data.

I, 123 (*cremisi, chermesi, chermisi, chermisino, cremisino*); Heyd II, 608 (*chermisi*). P *qirmizī* «crimson, scarlet» (Stg. 183); A *qirmizī* «rouge, teint de rouge, cramoisi» (BK II, 725). Cf. Dozy II, 337;

bachami «red of brazil-wood»; P *bachami*: *baqami*; C *bachami*: *baqami* (92:30). — Heyd II, 587—590. The name of the tree in the Codex is *braçile*; P *bachâ*: *baqami*; C *bachan*: *baqam* (81:12); Peg. (Yule 167: «brazil-wood»). P *baqam, baqqam* «brazil-wood; the red extracted of it» (Stg. 194); Uig. *baqam* «arbre dit sapan (Caesalpinia sappan)» in *Acta Orient, Hung.* XIX, 137; A *baqqam* «bois de campêche employé dans la teinture; couleur rouge; teinture en rouge» (BK I, 151);

balaxius «ruby of Badakhshan»; P *balacs*: *balaxš*; C (another word) (93:12). — Pelg. I, 122 (*balscio, balasso, balagio* «gemma color rubino, cca 1230: *balagius*); Heyd II, 653—654; Peg. (Dr. 70); Polo (*balasci*, Pelliot I, 63—65); Schaf. 231 («balas ruby»). P *badaxš* «Badakhshan», *badaxšī* «a ruby» (Stg. 162); A *balaxš* «rubis balais, vient du mot *balakhchan*, qui est employé souvent pour désigner la province de Badakhchan» (Dozy I, 109).[62]

spinatium «spinach»; P *spanac*: *spanāq*; C *yspanac*: *ïspanaq* (106:25) — Pelg. I, 118 (*spinaci, spinachinum, spinachia*); Lauf. 392—398; Schaf. 146—147. *aspanāǰ, aspanāx, aspānaǰ* «herba pulmentis indi solita B. spinachia» (Vull. I, 89); A *asfānāx* «épinards» (Dozy I, 22).

The number of examples could be increased. It seems likely that all of them are international loanwords which occur in mediaeval Latin texts just as in several other contemporary dcuments. For the time being, it is hardly possible to establish the exact time and route of each borrowing. However, it is highly probable that none of the Italo-Latin words of the Codex is a direct borrowing from the Persian or Coman word mentioned next to it. The Genoan or Venetian features of these Italo-Latin words cannot be decisive in determining the nationality of the author, since they likely reflect both the dialect of the scribe, and the mechanical imitation typical of the contemporary clerical practice.

As is well known, the Codex contains Latin words, texts, and glosses in addition to the Italo-Latin material. To make things clearer let us return for a moment to the three paper-fascicules making up the Codex. The first two are related, forming an organic unit, so to speak. The Italo-Latin material was written on these two fascicules.

[62] Several researchers have dealt with the phonetic explanation of *balaxš*. On East Iranian *d* > *l*, see E. Benevistine, *Notes parthes et sogdiennes*: *Journ. As.* 1936, p. 234 (*Baδaxšān* > *Balaxšān*). Phonetically, the name of Baghdad (in mediaeval sources often *Baudach* or *Baldac*) calls for a totally different explanation. Marco Polo's manuscripts contain all the variants, see Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* I, pp. 90—91, s. v. *Baudac*. On the phonetic explanation, see: N. Pellegrini, *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatini* II, p. 588.

Originally, the third fascicule comprised a single independent booklet, made and used by Franciscan missionaries, before they got to know the Italians' guide for interpretors, written on two fascicules. It is possible that the existing third fascicule was preceded by a Franciscan first fascicule, which has not come down to us.

The extant third fascicule is worth studying closely. We can contend that the first two pages of it (today pp. 120—121) contain a «neutral» text: Coman riddles. It is this very material, totally different in content from the rest, which leads us to believe that these two pages may not be the beginning, but rather the continuation of an earlier, lost fascicule of similar contents.

The riddles are followed by a new subject, the actual subject-matter of the Franciscans, on pages 122—159. The bulk of it is religious writings in Coman along with a few comments on the Coman language and grammar.

The explanatory language of this part is exclusively Latin. Its word-lists also serve religious purposes, e.g. p. 131 contains: *baptiste(r)ium* «baptistery», *venalia pec(ca)ta* «venial sins», *confiteor* «I confess», etc. This Latin language also needs a thorough examination before we can rest content with the definition «mediaeval clerical Latin».

The Latin material of the Codex has a third group which should be subjected to an extensive investigation. It emerges in the glosses, and was obviously included by the German glossators. They can be found in the Italian part together with, or without, the later inserted German glosses. Most of them, however, are found on the blank pages at the end of the second and third fascicules, in other words, in the vicinity of the German glosses of the Codex.

For this reason alone we need to focus our attention on the other explanatory language of the Codex, German.

The hometown of G. Kuun was one of the centres of the Transylvanian Saxons. The Saxons were settled there by Géza II, king of Hungary, in the 12th century. Their privileges enabled them to preserve their language and culture. G. Kuun devoted special attention to this archaic German language, so he naturally looked closely at the German glosses of the Codex, as far as his rudimentary philological method allowed him to. This is evidenced by the appendix of his book entitled «Vocabularium Germano-Latinum» (pp. 353—368), which enumerates the German glosses of the Codex in alphabetic order.

In his review, Teza also touched upon the explanations which Kuun had added to the German glosses. Kuun responded to these comments in *Addidamenta zu dem germ. Glossen des Codex Cumanicus*, published in No. 11, Vol. XIV of *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, which is hard to come by these days. At any rate, Kuun was fully aware of the importance the German glosses had for the history of the German language. This awareness must have induced him to include an explanation of Busbecq's

Crimean Gothic glosses in the second appendix of his book (cf. Kuun, pp. 239—244).[63]

Grönbech also published an index of the German glosses of the Codex (*Wb.*, pp. 302—309).

Dagmar Drüll dwelled upon the German glosses of the Codex in her book. It is an indispensable work for Germanists, and some of its conclusions may be of interest to Turcologists as well.

The second, so-calid German part of the Codex has been examined more thoroughly by Turcologists, for unlike the first, it contains longer texts as well as words and grammatical material. Only on the basis of this German part it became possible to form a more or less satisfactory picture of the structure of the Coman language.

Let us see first some facts and figures before discussing this topic. The first, Italian part contains 110 pages, while the second or so-called German part contains 54, two of which are blank (134, 135), and one of which (152)

[63] It is well known that Ogier Ghislain Busbecq, a nobleman of Flemish origin, in the service of Ferdinand I of Austria as Imperial Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, met with two envoys from the Crimea in Constantinople, one of whom knew the Crimean Gothic language. Busbecq included excerpts from this language in his fourth «Turkish letter»: two glossaries and sentences, and 18 cardinal numbers with Latin translation The beginning of a song (*cantilena*) was also added to this, without any translation or comment. Many scholars have dealt with this famous record of the Crimean Gothic tongue, most recently: MacDonald Stearns, Jr., *Crimean Gothic. Analysis and Etymology of the Corpus.* Anma Libri 1978 (USA). This is a dissertation submitted at the University of California, Berkeley. Not only Germanists, but also outsiders interested in the migrations and linguistic conditions in the Crimea can greatly profit from it. The author gives a precise survey of the history of research. Also aware of Kuun's edition, he mentions that Kuun was the first scholar to trace the text of the mysterious *Cantilena* back to Turkish. No doubt his attempt is indefensible though he had followers. Stearns wisely refrains from interpreting this really enigmatic text. The comments of the Flemish Rubruk, on Crimean Gothic are well worth looking at in his paper also (Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana* I, p. 170: *Goti quorum ydioma est teutonicum*). It is of greater import here that Iosaphat Barbaro, a Venetian merchant and traveller wrote in his book, entitled *Viaggio alla Tana*, that while living in Tana between 1436 and 1452, he visited the Crimea and noticed that the Goths living there spoke German. As evidence of this, he refers to his German servant's conversation with these Goths which sounded like two dialects of the same language, like Friuli compared with Florentine (*Gothi parlano todesco; so questo perche, havendo un fameglio todesco con mi, parlavano, insiene et intendevansi assai rasevolmente, cusi como se intenderia un furlano co fiorentino*). MacDonals Stearns (p. 7) quotes Barbaro's text from the edition of E. C. Skržinskaja. E. Schütz, *The* Tat *people in the Crimea*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXI (1977), p. 93 is sceptical of Barbaro's report and the traditions related to the Gothic language in the Crimea. Georgius Torquatus, a German historian and theologian made a striking statement around 1560, referring to earlier sources. He said that the Crimean Goths used their native tongue only among themselves, otherwise communicating with foreigners they used Greek, Tatar or Hungarian (*foris autem et ad alios vel graeca vel Tartarica sive Ungarica utuntur lingua*; MacDonald Stearns, p. 9).

contains the notes of the last owner of the Codex. The actual German parts, the (Coman-German) glossaries can be found only at the beginning and the end of the second part, on pp. 111, 113, 114, 115, 116 and 160, 161, 162, 163, 164. These are complemented by a few little here and there: one word on p. 117, and two German glosses on p. 118 (which also contains an Italian verse and a Latin-Coman vocabulary in hardly legible condition).

As was earlier mentioned, the Italian part also contains German glosses, added to it later. They amount to only 15 in the 110 pages. These 15 words throw interesting light on the command of languages of the missionaries. A part of the glosses can be accounted for by the fact that the missionaries, not understanding the Italo-Latin words, inserted either the Latin equivalents they used, or the German forms, if their native language was German (in theutonico). They also added a gloss to a word if the Coman form did not coincide with the one they knew; in such instances the explanation was in German.[64]

Thus, the German glosses consist of single words and expressions. The number of glosses inserted later into the Italian part is 15. Adding these to the

[64] In the case of the unfamiliar Italo-Latin words, the lines are complete, containing both the Latin and the Persian and Coman equivalents. The latter is followed by the German gloss meant to clarify its meaning. Such are: 1. *blasmo* «to curse», P. *nafrin mecunem*: *nafrin mēkunem*, C *cagirmen*: *cayïrmen*, in theutonico *scäppin* (9, 20); *culo uinum* «to purify wine», P *mepalanem*: *mēpālānem*, C *susarmen*: *süzärmen*, G *Ich sye* (16:1); *culaui*, P *palanden*: *pālāndem*, C *suxdum*: *süzdüm*, G *ich sey* (16:2). It also occurs that the complete line of three items is supplemented with a Coman addition, which in turn is explained by the German gloss, e.g. *veletrum* «penis», P *cher*: *kēr*, C *sic*: *sik* (95:17). For the sake of clarity, the writer added the adjective *trienir*, read *tirenir*, to the Coman entry, followed by the German gloss *stet pitte*, having the same meaning. After the last, Coman item of the three item line, he added another Coman word without any precedence, and attached a German gloss to it, e.g. (99:6) *auogulus* «blind» (cf. Fr. *aveugle*), P *nebian*: *nēbīnā*, C *touluc*: *tövlük*. He then put down C *kotur*: *cotur* «scourf» with no Latin or Persian antecedent, and explained it with the word *š(orf)*. At another point, the Coman item of the tripartite line is replaced by a Coman word, followed by its correspondent German gloss, which has no connection whatever with the previous two items, e.g. (95::22) *brion'* «the muscles of the upper arm», P *ghost ibaxou*: *gōšt-i bāzū*; the corresponding Coman word is missing, and instead we find *koymič* «rump bone»: *qoymïč*, G *der arsbeyn*. Or, only the Latin word is put down. The German scribe who knew no Persian, left the Persian column blank, but inserted the correct Coman word in the appropriate column, followed by a German gloss, e.g. (95:20) *petengriû* «backside, buttocks», C *koti*: *köt-i* (*i* is 3rd person Gen. suffix), G *der ars*. Examining the 15 German glosses of the Italian part should direct our attention to the importance of the Latin and other glosses of this part which were inserted by foreign hands. Most of them were singled out by G. Kuun in the notes of his edition, but Grönbech's facsimile edition enables us to look at them much more closely. The following are later additions: (35:5) *marcesco* «to turn pale, to fade, to wilt», C *oŋarmen*: *oŋarmen*, G *valwit*, and as such, they are crammed into the Latin column: (16:25) *color* «dye», G *varbe*, C *boyiow*. It should be stressed again that the dialect of the Latin and Coman glosses inserted later into the Italian part differ greatly from that of the Italian ones.

225 glosses on the blank sheets at the beginning of the second part (8 German glosses corresponding to 8 Latin words are missing on page 114 due to damage), and to the 254 glosses on the blank pages at the end of the second part, we arrive at the total number of German glosses in the Codex Cumanicus, 499.

The location of the German glosses in the Codex coincides with that of similar Latin glosses, both are located at the beginning and the end of the second part.

To sum up, only 50 of the 54 pages of the extant second part contain written texts. 40 of these pages contain only Latin glosses next to the Coman material (some of these were inserted in small letters above certain words of the Coman text which needed elucidation). Only 10 pages come indisputably from German friars.

Out of respect for the tradition of my predecessors, I retained the label «German» for the second part, with the restriction that it should, in fact, be called the Book of Franciscan missionaries. These missionaries naturally included Germans (the authors of the German glosses), as well as other nationalities. Our sources reveal that there were Hungarian, German, English, French, Italian and even Polish friars in these monasteries. The sources also bear out, as confirmed by Miss Drüll (p. 130, note 257), that the Hungarians, Germans and Englishmen mastered the Coman language most easily, while the French and Italian friars had difficulties.[65] Whenever they had the chance, the non-German monks added their comments to the Codex naturally in Latin.

[65] This statement is based on a letter of 1323 sent by a Franciscan friar from Kaffa to Avignon. The Hungarian friars' ability to master the Coman language quickly must have been due to the fact that Coman was not totally alien to them as in those days a significant number of Comans lived in Hungary, and they still used their language. Richard, *La Papauté et les missions d'Orient*, p. 94 sqq enlarged upon the activities of missionaries in the territories of the Golden Horde. Between 1279 and 1284 the provost of the Franciscan order sent numerous missionaries of various nationalities *ad partes infidelium aquilonares*. Several letters from these missionaries tell of the hardships and occasional successes of the propagation of their faith. E.g., in a letter to the provost of the order, Frater Johanca of Hungary reported that he and his companions were following the migrating nomads (*castra Tartarorum sequendo*). While visiting Sarai, some Bashkir dignitaries asked them for missionaries, and in response three Franciscans, an Englishman and two Hungarians, were sent to the Bashkirs. The Mongol lord of Sibir, around Tobol, also asked for missionaries. Johanca complained that he was unable to meet the requirements, and begged the order to send more missionaries, possibly Englishmen, Germars, or Hungarians. Johanca was apparently very efficient as in 1321 he baptized *Estokis*, «dominus totius Baschardiae». Incidentally, the Franciscans often purchased slaves for themselves. «Convertis au christianisme, ils recevaient la cléricature, certains devenaient convers ou même frères dans l'ordre franciscain. Et dans ces missions où la question des languages se posait avec acuité, les Franciscains pouvaient ainsi disposer de catéchistes ou d'interprètes» (Richard, *op. cit.*, p. 97).

A careful examination of the German glosses also reveals some new information about the Coman material of the Codex. It is conspicuous that this material contains a good many words of unknown origin, while its loanwords include several of Mongol and even Caucasian origin. The Kipchak material of the lexicon is identical in nature with the specific form of the second part, but apparently contains phonemic and lexical differences. It would be worth while working on this Coman material for purposes comparison.[66]

Miss Drüll's Germanistic arguments are very attractive for an outsider. Let me, however, add two remarks. First, Miss Drüll distinguishes 16 different hands in the German part. Isn't that a few too many cooks in the kitchen? Second, Miss Drüll maintains that the German material has Middle-High German roots (we have suspected this too), but exceptions to this rule crop up in the glosses. This can hardly come as a surprise. The German friars did not come from one particular province, or locale, but from different places in the large German-speaking world. The cohesion among these friars was not rooted in their nostalgic desire to foster a certain language (even if some of them used

[66] Miss Drüll also gives the modern German meaning of the German glosses found in the trilingual part (see pp. 125—128). Her non-German readers can only be too sorry that she failed to do the same with the German glosses of the second part (pp. 107—123). Even Grönbech had difficulties in reading and interpreting some German glosses. On the Mongol elements of the Coman language, see N. Poppe, *Die mongolischen Lehnwörter im Komanischen*, in *Németh Armağani*, Ankara 1962, pp. 331—340. Let us refer here only to some Mongol loan words in the vicinity of German glosses; the German interpretation of the Codex is followed by Grönbech's translation. E.g.: *arčila-* «ich scheyde; einen Streit beilegen»; *čeber* (*kiši*) «en reynlich ma'; nett, anständig»; *elpek* «óberik; übrig»; *emegän* «en babe; alte Frau»; *eremsi-* «birumet sich; prahlen»; *erkelen-* «hae czar[t]; «weichlich, verzärtelt sein»; *kenetä* «gelich; plötzlich»; *sergek* «ein wachinde man; wachsam, wach»; *seröün* (*serovn*; Gr.'s reading as *serövün* is not convincing) «kvle; kühl»; *solayay* «eyn liker; Linkshändler»; *totχar* «schade; Böses, Schaden»; *udā* (Gr. *udaa*) «no; nacheinander»; *yege* «breit; breit». Poppe's list fails to include *daraya* «eyn greve; Oberhaupt, Gouverneur. Ähnl.»; *qurulta* «hof; Ratsversammlung; *enči* in: *enčim* «miynes selber; Eigentum.» A Caucasian loan word: *kešene* «der t(oden) hu(w) (Gr.), des toden hws (Dr.)»; «Grabhügel (?)». This word is detectable in some cognate languages of Coman: Karachay *k'ešene* «Friedhof», Balkar *kešene* «Gruft, Mausoleum» (see G. Schmidt, *Über die kaukasischen Lehnwörter des Karatschaischen* in: *MSFOu.* LXVII, p. 468). On occasion even Grönbech, a well-versed scholar, had difficulties with German interpretations, and this naturally hindered the precise indentification of the related Coman words. Such is: *čerê* «en kopicze». Kuun's explanation, *koppizen* «eructare» (p. 360) is unacceptable. It is not impossible that Radloff's interpretation (*Wb.* IV, p. 199) «der Heuhaufen (?)» (s. v. *ceren*) is correct, since Balkar contains a word *ceren* «Garbe» (Pröhle: *KSz.* XV, 214). See also Vl. Drimba, *Quelques mots comans précisés par leurs gloses allenades*, in: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* III/IV (1979—1980), pp. 205—214. But the three subsequent words of the Codex: (p. 162; Kuun pp. 227—228) *saygät* «des heres teyl», *kölöüt*, ? *bölöüt* «des vundes teyl», *yovacä* «des marctes teyl» are still a mystery. D. Drüll's semantic definitions would have been of great help here.

it as a prop for their difficult work), but rather in their pious intention to convert Comans to the Christian faith.

So far so good.

The seemingly firm, logical foundation of this argument, however, totters if we recall the paperstructure of the Codex. The first, Italian part contains two fascicules with 118 pages, 110 of them used by the Italians. Pp. 111—118 were left blank. Surprisingly, the third fascicule begins on page numbered 119 today. On this page the Coman riddles begin, followed by the Coman texts, and the glosses of the Franciscan friars in Latin. This continues until page 151, when several pages are left blank (pp. 152, 153, 154, 155 and 158). Pages 157 and 158 contain a few lines at the top. The last continuous Coman passage can be found on page 159.

From all indications, the next five pages (160—164) were also left blank. It cannot be a coincidence that the five blank pages of the second fascicule and the similar five pages of the third fascicule are filled up with G e r m a n glosses.

This prompts the supposition that the Codex Cumanicus passed through three, not two hands: 1. Italian colonists; 2. Franciscan friars with a knowledge of Latin; and 3. clerical and (lay) persons of German origin.

The Germans may also have been Franciscans, they may have been missionaries as well. Nevertheless, it is certain that the German glosses were the last items to be added to the Codex, since they take up only the pages left blank. This circumstance contradicts the earlier view that the religious Coman texts of the Latin-speaking Franciscans were written by German glossators. Were this true, we would inevitably come across a German glossary or some other evidence pointing to German origin among the clerical passages. Such, however, cannot be found. It is also striking that the clerical purpose of the German glosses is not all that apparent either.

In his edition of the Codex, G. Kuun amply commented on its Italian verses, jumping to the conclusion that they were written by the great Italian poet Petrarca, the alleged owner of the Codex. Teza did not neglect this question either, and following Kuun's path, he deciphered several Italian verses which remained illegible for Kuun. His firm conviction that the poems had nothing to do with Petrarca was later confirmed by other Italian literary scholars. In a new, authentic edition these poems must be, of course, included. They have no bearing upon the Coman, or for that matter upon any other language of the Codex, but they cannot be ignored with regard to its history.

To sum up the research to date, it can be concluded that the Codex Cumanicus was made up of two independent parts. The first can be called the «Interpretors' Book» (pp. 1—110), and the second the «Missionaries' Book» (pp. 111—164).

The Interpretors' Book was compiled using earlier, so far unknown, sources in one of the Italian colonies along the Black Sea. Its compiler remains unknown. Besides Genoa, Venice also figures in its origins. The work must have been frequently copied at the behest of the Italian colonists, and was used by both Genoans and Venetians. The date of its origin is unsettled. The hypothesis that its predecessor goes back to late (perhaps mid-) 13th century, cannot be excluded. The date July 11th, 1303, at the very beginning of the Codex, was preserved in the existing copy which itself dates from around 1330. This precise date (July 11th, 1303) does not mark the date of writing so much as the date of beginning (or ending) of the copying. No copy made by an Italian in an Italian colony has come down to us. The existing copy was made in a Franciscan monastery around 1330.

The predecessor of the Missionaries' Book is shrouded in even deeper mystery. From its original contents, only the so-called third fascicule remained extant headed by the Coman riddles.

This inherited part is followed by the clerical passages used for missionary purposes. It should be stressed, however, that the copy of cc. 1330 was not suitable for missionary objectives, and most probably was not used for such. A letter of Pascal intimates its purpose insomuch as he states in it that the Franciscans (and other friars and tradesmen) went to Sarai to learn Coman.[67] The 1330 copy did not yet contain the glosses. The extant copy of 1330 might have been made in the Monastery St. John, but it might just as well have been written in Sarai.

On the other hand nothing proves that the Missionaries' Book, dating from around 1340—1356, was likewise compiled in the Monastery of St. John, in nearly Sarai. Should this hypothesis hold ground, the question why the Franciscan friars of the monastery waited for over ten years to start with the Missionaries' Book could not be explained.

[67] The friars of the Monastery of St. John were by no means native Germans exclusively, since it was here that the intriguing story of Frater Stephen of Peterwaradin (a town in one-time Hungary called *Pétervárad*) took place. The young Franciscan publicly converted to Islam, but soon after regretted his step, and returned to the Christian faith. This enraged the Muslims, however, so they tore friar Stephen apart, and burned him. His martyrdom was included in the histories of the Franciscan order. Pascal of Vittoria also relates this story in 1338 for his fellow friars left in the Convent of Vittoria from Almalik (*Armalec*). This letter also reveals that Pascal set out from Tana, and arrived in Sarai accompanied by Greeks. His fellow missionaries went on to Urgenj (*Urganth*). He did not join them because he wanted to learn the Coman language and Uighur script in the capital. His Franciscan brothers returned to their monastery from Urgenj, but Pascal remained and preached the faith in the newly mastered language, without, as he stressed, an interpretor. He had been in Sarai for over a year when the martyrdom of Stephen took place. The rest of his letter gives a somewhat vague account of his missionary activities, and of his return to Almalik. Cf. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* III, pp. 81—86.

It seems highly likely that the place of origin of the Missionaries' Book was another, presently undetermined, monastery. In this monastery, the Persian language was no longer needed (as opposed to the vicinity of Sarai), and what is more, a substantially different dialect of the Coman tongue was spoken.

As was seen, this monastery was not the final resting place of the Missionaries' Book. It went on to a third monastery operated by German friars. These friars also obtained the Interpretors' Book, and it was they who filled in the blank pages of the two books with German and Latin glosses.

The three fascicules subsequently passed from the German Franciscans to the Italians again under unknown circumstances.

Finally, the last owner of the Codex has to be mentioned. The following can be read on the originally blank page 156: «iste liber est de Antonio de Finale». This is followed by a verse putting the plague on anyone who tries to steal the book, a common inclusion in mediaeval books. G. Kuun discussed this curse in detail (pp. 218—219). E. Teza also touched upon it in his review (elucidating the abbreviations), he read *malla morte non videatur* in the second to last line. G. Kuun rightly refused the reading *videatur* in his Hungarian response to the criticism (p. 11), replacing it with *viduetur*, the only reading which fits the context. The meaning of the curse confirms him: who ever steals my book «shall not be deprived of the bad death (the plague shall not avoid him)».

According to Kuun, it argues in favour of the Genoan origin of the Italo-Latin part that this certain Antonio di Finale (the reading *Ziuale* or *Zinale* adopted by Györffy is unwarrantable) came from a renowned Genoan family, also called di Finari or di Finar. Referring to an oral comment made by S. Simoni, Kuun claims that a member of the family, Andreas di Finale, is mentioned in documents of the 14th century.[68]

For some reason, the Ligurian origin of the di Finale family is still used today as a big argument in favour of the Genoan origin of the Codex. Somehow it has escaped the attention of researchers that the registration certifying the ownership of di Finale is on a page belonging to the third fascicule of the Codex, and this is the really crucial piece of evidence, it proves that the Codex was no longer in the possession of Italian colonists, nor in the hands of the Franciscans of the Monastery of St. John, near Sarai. But it did not belong to the

[68] D. Drüll reiterates (pp. 131—132) Kuun's arguments in favour of the Genoan origin of de Finale, quoting data on the possible lamily relations from documents dating from 1281, 1289 and 1290, edited by Brătianu: Naturally, the 14th century reference mentioned by Kuun is not among them. Györffy gives the authentic text of this remarkable record after Frati (*Versi italiani*, p. 7): *Iste liber est de ant(onio) de Ziuale (Zinale?) q(ui) manet aput. Qui sc(ri)ssit sc(ri)bat semper c(um) do(mi)no viuat in celix ant(onius) no(m)i(n)e felix. Qui me furat(ur) malla m(or)te no(n) uid(u)atur n(o)n.*

Franciscans compiling the Missionaries' Book, nor to the German Franciscans, who had apparently disposed of it in some way or another. According to the dating of the paper of the third fascicule, the Codex must have come into di Finale's possession around (or probably after) 1356, from whom strangers, the Venetians, obtained it, despite all the threats of plague. How and when did this happen?

The Codex Cumanicus has not yet unveiled all its secrets . . .

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BAUARBEITEN DER TÜRKEN AN DEN BURGEN IN UNGARN IM 16—17. JAHRHUNDERT

VON

PÁL FODOR

Während ihrer Eroberungszüge legten die Osman-Türken immer großes Gewicht auf den Ausbau einer Burgkette, die zur Verteidigung der Grenzen des Reiches berufen war. Über die türkischen Burgbauten bzw. die Herstellungsarbeiten der eroberten Burgen wurde in der Fachliteratur bisher jedoch nicht viel geschrieben.[1] Ausgehend davon werden wir im folgenden mit Hilfe der zur Verfügung stehenden Archivquellen einige wichtigere Beziehungen der auf dem ungarländischen Gebiet des osmanischen Reiches vorgenommenen Befestigungsarbeiten überblicken.

Die Wahl des ungarländischen Gebietes zu einer solchen Untersuchung wird durch seine wichtige Lage im Reich begründet: von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts an wurde es nämlich als europäische Grenzprovinz des Reiches mit einer doppelten Aufgabe belastet: es sollte das als ein wertvoller Teil des Sultanats zählende Rumelien schützen und im Notfall als Ausgangsbasis zu weiteren Eroberungen dienen. Demzufolge erlangte sich die hier entstandene Grenzburgkette eine besondere Bedeutung, die auch in der Gesamtzahl der hier stationierten Besatzungen zum Ausdruck kam.[2] Um diese Aufgaben voll-

[1] Abgesehen von den türkischen Burgen des Bosporus, da über diese auch eine Monographie erschien (A. Gabriel, *Les chateaux turcs du Bosphore*, Paris 1943). Die allgemeine Lage wird aber dadurch gut charakterisiert, daß S. Eyice in der in seinem Artikel *Kale* (*Türk Ansiklopedisi*, c. XXI, Ankara 1973, 137—148) aufgezählten Literatur außer der bereits genannten nur eine einzige Arbeit erwähnt, die sich ausgesprochen mit türkischen Burgen befaßt (A. Sevgen, *Anadolu kaleleri*, Ankara 1959), diese ist aber eher eine populärwissenschaftliche Ausgabe und keine wissenschaftliche, sich auf historische Quellen stützende Bearbeitung. Hier muß man noch die Aufsätze von M. Erdoğan erwähnen (*Osmanlı mimarî tarihinin arşiv kaynakları*: *Tarih Dergisi* III, S. 5—6, 1951—52, 95—122. und *Osmanlı mimarisi tarihinin otantik yazma kaynakları*: *Vakıflar Dergisi* 6, 1965, 111—135), er macht aber nur auf die sich auf die Burgreparaturen usw. beziehenden Archivquellen aufmerksam, ohne daß er sich mit ihnen eingehend befassen würde.

[2] Auf dem Gebiet des Budaer Beglerbegtums war im Jahre 1560 eine Besatzung von 10 352 Mann stationiert (Lajos Fekete—Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda 1550—1580*, Budapest 1962, 771). Zum Vergleich lohnt es isch zu erwähnen, daß 1525 in dem eine ähnliche Lage einnehmenden, territoriel aber

ständig erfüllen zu können, mußten die Burgen in entsprechendem Zustand gehalten werden, zu diesem Zweck dienten die zweitweilige Reparaturen und Erneuerungen der Burgen.

Die Reparaturarbeiten an den Burgen bereiteten sowohl der Bevölkerung des eroberten Gebietes als auch der türkischen Verwaltung große Sorgen. Über die militärischen Beziehungen hinaus kann also die Untersuchung des Verlaufes dieser Arbeiten auch deshalb aufschlußreich sein, weil sie zur gegebenen Epoche wichtige gesellschaftshistorische Beiträge liefern kann.

Wenn wir übrigens nachstehend entscheidend auch die Klärung der in Ungarn verbreiteten Praxis der Burgreparaturen anstreben, wollen wir dies im Interesse der Umreißung eines vollständigeren Bildes auch mit Angaben ergänzen, die sich auf andere Gebiete des Reiches beziehen.

Hauptsächlich zwei Faktoren, Kriegsschäden und natürliche Abnutzung zwangen die türkischen Behörden, die Burgen zu reparieren. Es kam in jenen neu eroberten Burgen die die türkischen Truppen nur auf Kosten größerer Zerstörungen besetzen konnten, fast in jedem Fall zu solchen Arbeiten. In den türkischen Chroniken, die im allgemeinen nicht versäumen, jene Maßnahmen zu erwähnen, die sie nach der Besetzung einer Burg trafen, finden wir zahlreiche Hinweise darauf, daß sie bei solchen Gelegenheiten meistens auch schnelle und oberflächliche Herstellungsarbeiten vornahmen; diese Arbeiten machten aber nur eine vorübergehende Benutzung möglich.[3]

Ein immer wiederkehrendes Moment dieser ersten Bauarbeiten war, daß sie in der betreffenden Burg eine Kirche oder ein anderes geeignetes Gebäude zu einem Dschami umbauten.[4] Danach vergingen oft auch einige Jahre, bis es zur unerläßlichen Generalreparatur kam. In Szigetvár (Sigeth) zum Beispiel, wo die Burg im September 1566 eingenommen wurde, war die Ausbesserung der inneren Burgmauern nach zwei Jahren noch nicht erfolgt, nach einer Anord-

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vielfach größeren Rumelien eine Besatzung von nur 24 107 Mann stationiert war; zur selben Zeit dienten in Ägypten 5611, in dem Wilajet von Anadolu und in den anderen östlichen Wilajeten aber insgesamt 11 335 Mann in den Besatzungen (Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *The first centuries of Ottoman military organization: Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXI, 1977, 170), die Verhältnisse widerspiegeln also die hervorgehobene militärische Lage des Budaer Beglerbegtums.

[3] József Thúry, *Török történetírók* [Türkische Geschichtsschreiber] II, Budapest 1896, 9, 33, 55, 363 usw.; allein Ǧelālzāde Muṣṭafā schrieb (*ebenda* 144) darüber, daß man nach der Eroberung von Belgrad die Großreparatur sofort vornahm und die den Türken nötigen Gebäude zustande brachte.

[4] J. Thúry, *ebenda* 36, 53, 142, 245, 254; diese Praxis wurde übrigens schon im 15. Jahrhundert eingeführt: vgl. *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ: Neşrî Tarihi* II, Ankara 1957, 737. Den Umbau der Kirchen zur Dschamis siehe ausführlicher bei Győző Gerő, *Istolni Belgrád építészeti emlékei* [Baudenkmäler von Istolni Belgrad]; *Székesfehérvár Évszázadai* 3 (Székesfehérvár 1977), 105—107.

nung begann man mit der Wiederherstellung erst im dritten Jahr.[5] Ähnlich war es auch bei der Burg in Ûjvár (Nové Zámky, Neuhäusel). Diese wichtige Festung geriet im Herbst 1663 in die Hand der Türken, und obwohl man nach der Chronik von Silāḥtār sofort an die Wiederherstellungsarbeiten ging,[6] wurde dem Beglerbeg in Ûjvár die Anweisung zur Ausbesserung der Burg erst nach zwei Jahren, Anfang Juni 1665, gegeben.[7] In einem undatierten Brief beklagten sich die Erlauer türkischen Würdenträger bei dem Großvesír *(serdār)*, daß «zwei Türme der Erlauer Burg selbst seit der Besetzung [12. Oktober 1596] vor dem völligen Einsturz stehen, und obwohl wir in diesem gesegneten Jahr . . . die Ausbesserung der Trümmerstellen begannen, und mit Zuversicht, daß diese in der gesegneten Zeit unseres Sultans beendet wird, bleibt dadurch, daß die Armen der genannten Stadt [d.h. die Einwohner der Stadt Gyöngyös] in Buda [Ofen] in Dienst gestellt wurden, bleibt keine Hoffnung mehr zur Ausbesserung und Erneuerung dieser Burg».[8]

Manche Angaben weisen aber darauf hin, daß die türkischen Beauftragten gelegentlich auch schnell handeln konnten. Pascha Ḫādım Süleymān, der Eroberer von Aden, bezeichnete in einem Brief an Sultan Süleyman im Jahre 1538 unter den mit der neueroberten Burg zusammenhängenden Arbeiten als erstrangige Aufgabe auch deren Ausbesserung. Daß er sofort an einen völligen Wiederaufbau dachte, beweist auch die Tatsache, daß er unter anderem um die Entsendung von drei Architekten bat: «. . . außerdem sei dem Beglerbeg von Ägypten befohlen, zur Ausbesserung und Wiederherstellung der genannten Burg sowie zur Befestigung einiger Teile 3 Architekten, 5 Baumeister zu entsenden, im weiteren von den Dingen, die zu den Bauarbeiten nötig sind, Spaten,

[5] Die am 24. September 1568 datierte und Muṣṭafā, dem Budaer Beglerbeg, zugesandte Anordnung berichtet darüber: «Zwecks Reparatur der inneren Mauer von Sigetvār (Szigetvár), der für die Moschee auszubauenden Stellen und der Mauer der äußeren Planke sollst du die nötigen Bretter schon jetzt fertigstellen lassen, weil ich verordnete, daß die Reparatur im Frühjahr erfolgen soll.» s. Imre Karácson, *Török—magyar oklevéltár* [Türkisch—ungarisches Urkundenarchiv] 1553—1789, Budapest 1914, 93.

[6] *Silāḥtār Tārīhi*, Istanbul 1928, 282.

[7] «Anweisung an Pascha Küčük Meḥmed, Beglerbeg von Újvár: Die Reparatur und Wiederherstellung der Burg von Újvár ist eine Sache, die aus den Grundforderungen des Staates und der Religion und dem Wesen des Rumes und der Ehre des Sultanats hervorgeht . . .» — Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Handschrift No. Eb 387. Regesten der auf Ungarn bezüglichen Schriften s. Lajos Fekete, *A berlini és drezdai gyűjtemények török levéltári anyaga* [Türkisches Archivmaterial der Sammlungen von Berlin und Dresden]: *Levéltári Közlemények* 1928, 1—4, 259—305 und 1929, 1—2, 55—106.

[8] Archiv der Stadt Gyöngyös, Urkunde Nr. 12 (Fotokopie des Lehrstuhls für Türkische Philologie der Budapester Lóránd Eötvös Universität). Die Regesten der Schriften von Gyöngyös wurden von L. Fekete herausgegeben: *Gyöngyös város levéltárának török iratai* [Türkische Schriften des Archivs der Stadt Gyöngyös]: *Levéltári Közlemények* 1932, 3—4, 287—318. und 1933, 1—2, 93—140.). Da die Numerierungen der Regesten und der Urkunden übereinstimmen, werde ich mich im weiteren auf sie nicht gesondert berufen.

Schaufeln, Hämmer und Stemmeisen und auch andere bei den Bauarbeiten unentbehrliche Werkzeuge und Mittel in genügender Menge vorzubereiten; und zwar auf solche Weise, daß er diese dem *emīn* von Ǧidda zusende, der *emīn* von Ǧidda diese aber den Leuten des Behrām Begs zukommen lasse».[9]

Die Aufbesserung der auf solche Weise eroberten und in Besitz genommenen Burgen, Planken, Befestigungen machten im weiteren außer der Abnutzung (eventuellen Naturkatastrophen)[10] nicht selten die Kampfhandlungen des Feindes nötig. Solche Fälle kamen auch in den friedlicheren Perioden häufig vor, auch waren diese nicht nur auf die Grenzfestungen beschränkt. Mitte der 1630er Jahre erreichte dieses Schicksal zum Beispiel eine der Planken des Sandschaks von Simontornya: «Die bösen Ungläubigen steckten die im Simontornaer Sandschak liegende Hidvīg-Planke (Hídvég) in Brand; diese wurde dann neugestaltet, und ihre Kanonen sowie andere Bestandteile wurden ersetzt . . .»[11]

Neben den gelegentlichen Reparaturen der einzelnen Burgen nahm man die Reparatur von mehreren Burgen manchmal auch gleichzeitig vor,[12] die türkischen Behörden verwirklichten manchmal sogar die generelle Rekonstruktion des ganzen Burgsystems eines Gebietes. In dem Wilajet von Temesvár (Temeschburg) begann man die alle Burgen des Wilajets umfassenden Reparaturarbeiten zum Beispiel um die Mitte des Jahres 1572.[13] Ähnliche, aber dem Umfang nach noch größere Bauarbeiten beschreibt Mūsā, der Pascha von Buda, in seinem zusammenfassenden Bericht folgenden Titels: «Es wird berichtet, welche Burgen, Mauern, Dschamis, Karawansereien und andere wichtige Gebäude es sind, die wir seit unserem Herkommen im Budaer Grenzland mit Hilfe des mächtigen Allah in den Sultanschen Burgen, gewissen Planken und Befestigungen sowie in den Wilajets von Egri (Eger), Qānīže (Kanizsa), Bosna

[9] *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Kılavuzu*, Istanbul, 1938. V. 27. Facsimile.

[10] Wie zum Beispiel bei Szécsény, wo die Burg 1665 abgebrannt war — Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl. H. No. Eb. 387.

[11] Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, E. 895. In einer solchen Angelegenheit wurde eine Anweisung Mitte Februar 1662 auch nach Buda an den Pascha Ismā'il gesandt: Da du meldetest, daß demzuvor einige Planken im Budaer Wilajet von dem Feind der Religion verwüstet wurden . . ., verordne ich, daß jene Planken in der alten Form . . . gebaut und repariert werden sollen . . .» — Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl. H. No. Eb 387.

[12] Im Jahre 1572 erneuerte man gleichzeitig Esztergom (Gran), Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweißenburg), Szigetvár (Sigeth). Anfang der 1580er Jahre wurden Székesfehérvár, die dortigen Planken, Esztergom, Szigetvár, Csákberény und andere Burgen reparaturbedürftig, im Herbst 1582 wurde der Budaer Beglerbeg angewiesen, die zur gleichzeitigen Reparatur nötigen Maßnahmen zu treffen. Siehe Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme defteri* No. 16. 343. und No. 48. 423. Die *mühimme defteri*, «die Defter der wichtigen Angelegenheiten», sind Protokolle der Kopien der vom Sultan bzw. dem Großherrlichen Diwan erlassenen wichtigeren Anweisungen. Von denen, die Ungarn betreffend sind, hat Gyula Káldy-Nagy Mikrofilme angeschafft.

[13] Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme defteri* No. 14. 526.

(Bosnien) aus eigenen Mitteln und durch gute Maßnahmen wiederherstellten».[14] Im Laufe dieses großen Vorhabens, das zwischen 1630 und 1644 vorgenommen wurde, besserte man 21 Burgen, und 20 kleinere Planken aus.

Die Organisierung und Durchführung der Reparaturarbeiten der Burgen geschah in mehreren Etappen. Im nachfolgenden werden wir diese der Reihe nach untersuchen.

Anordnung der Reparaturen

Im osmanischen Reich durften Burgreparaturen ausschließlich aufgrund der betreffenden Sultanschen Verordnungen vorgenommen werden. Der Antrag zur Beschlußfassung über die Reparaturarbeiten und das Ansuchen um die höchste Genehmigung stand den Vertretern der örtlichen Verwaltung zu. Unseren Quellen nach können wir über keine einheitliche Verfahrensweise sprechen, was das Feststellen der Notwendigkeit der Burgreparaturen anbelangt. Mit diesen Angelegenheiten befaßten sich überall andere Angestellten.

Die Quellen bezeugen übereinstimmend, daß es in den ungarländischen Provinzen (im Budaer, Temesvárer und später im Egerer, Kanizsaer und Várader Wilajet) weder ein Burgaufsichtsamt noch einen Beamten gab, der solche Aufgaben versehen hätte. Das Aufgabengebiet aber, das einer solchen Institution unterstanden hätte, blieb auch in der türkischen Verwaltung nicht unbesetzt. Da die ungarländischen Burgen die europäischen Grenzen des Reiches verteidigten und so ihre Wichtigkeit auf der Hand lag, machte die Zentralregierung den Beglerbegs der Grenzgebiete zur erstrangigen Pflicht die Aufsicht über die Burgen zu führen. Ihre diesbezüglichen Aufgaben werden in der dem Temesvárer Beglerbeg zugesandten Order folgendermaßen umrissen: «Da es notwendig ist, daß die auf dem dortigen Gebiet liegenden Burgen stets in gutem Zustand, gepflegt, ihre Ausrüstung und Vorräte sowie übrige Habschaften bereit und vollständig seien, erteilte ich den Befehl, daß du . . . in dieser Hinsicht immer sorgsam sein sollst, und wenn es Burgen gäbe, die der Ausbesserung und Renovierung bedürfen, sollst du deren Begs und Dizdārs (Befehlshaber) streng dazu ermahnen und darauf aufmerksam machen, daß die Burgen auf entsprechende Weise — daß du davon weißt — ausgebessert und wiederhergestellt sein und ihre Vorräte und Ausrüstung stets bereit und in Ordnung gehalten werden sollen . . .»[15] Die derartigen Vorschriften bedeuteten nicht nur prinzipielle Verpflichtungen. Eine am 19. August 1571 datierte

[14] Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, E. 895. Diese undatierte Meldung dürfte nach Lajos Fekete während der Zeit des Paschas Mūsā, des Budaer Beglerbegs (in den Jahren 1631—34, bzw. 1636—37 und 1640—44) an gefertigt worden sein, s. L. Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban* [Budapest in der Türkenzeit], Budapest 1944, 89, 105, 217.

[15] Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme defteri* No. 12. 691, vgl. No. 14. 1094.

Anordnung berichtet davon, daß der Beglerbeg von Temesvár im Sinne des obigen Befehls,alle Burgen des Wilajets inspizierte und um die Zuweisung der zu den Ausbesserungen nötigen Geldsumme bat.[16] Im allgemeinen inspizierte der Beglerbeg nicht persönlich, er beauftragte damit einen Angestellten oder einen seiner zuverlässigen Leute. Diese Kontrollen fanden wahrscheinlich gleichzeitig mit den periodischen Visiationen der Besatzung (*yoqlama*) statt.[17]

Anderen Verordnungen kann man entnehmen, daß man auf die Mitwirkung der Beglerbegs auch bei der praktischen Durchführung rechnete. Die Budaer Paschas wurden in 16—17. Jahrhundert genauso wie die Beglerbegs von Eger und Várad oft angewiesen, für die Sicherung der Bedingungen (Arbeitskräfte, Geld, Baumaterial etc.) von gewissen Reparaturen persönlich, d.h. über ihre Beauftragten, Sorge zu tragen.[18] Die unmittelbare Teilnahme der Beglerbegs erfolgte in erster Linie erst dann, wenn größere und wichtigere Bauarbeiten begannen. Solche waren hauptsächlich die Ausbesserungen der unmittelbar zur Grenzburgkette gehörenden sowie der naheliegenden Burgen, diese Ausbesserungen wurden zumeist tatsächlich unter Miwirkung der Paschas durchgeführt.

Neben dem für das ganze Wilajet verantwortlichen Beglerbeg bzw. Sandschakbeg spielten in den einzelnen Burgen die sogenannten *dizdār*s eine wichtige Rolle. Mit dem Wort *dizdār* bezeichnete man in kleineren, abgelegenen Burgen den Festungskommandanten, und in größeren Zentren den Burgverwalter, prinzipiell waren also diese für die Instandhaltung, entsprechende Betreuung verantwortlich. In den Festungen, in welchen der *dizdār* die höchste Macht vetrat, war es jedenfalls so. Die Situation war aber auch in jenen wichtigeren Zentren nicht anders, in welchen sich mehrere Amtsträger höheren Ranges aufhielten. Die aufgrund des Berichts des Sandschakbegs von Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweißenburg) am 31. Juli 1568 datierte Anordnung bestimmt zum Beispiel die diesbezügliche Aufgabe des dortigen *dizdār*s folgendermaßen: «An meine glückselige Schwelle sandtest du [nämlich der Sandschakbeg] einen Brief, in dem du bekanntgeben ließest, falls es bei den Planken auf beiden Seitem der Burg von Istōlni Belġrād (Székesfehérvár) etwas zu tun gäbe, soll der *dizdār* diese begehen und untersuchen. Deshalb verordne ich, wenn . . . mit den Planken verbunden irgendeine Sache auftauchte, die wichtig ist, soll der *dizdār* hinausgehen und die Sache erledigen. Erlaube aber nicht, daß er unter diesem Vorwand aus den Planken oft hinausgehe und die Burg ohne Grund

[16] *Ebenda* No. 14. 526.

[17] Evliyā Čelebi erwähnt, daß der Budaer Beglerbeg ihn einmal «mit Überprüfung von drei *eyālet*s mit einem *ṭuġra*-Brief vom Padischah» beauftragte, s. I. Karácson, *Evlia Cselebi török világutazó magyarországi utazásai* [Ungarländische Reisen von Evlia Cselebi, dem türkischen Weltreisenden] II (1664—66), Budapest 1908, 211.

[18] Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme defṭeri*, No. 7. 656. und No. 16. 343. weiters No. 48. 423.; Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl. H. No. Eb 387.

verlasse. Wenn er häufig die Planke verläßt, soll dies gemeldet und sein Amt einem anderen übertragen werden.»[19]

Die Initiative zur Reparatur durfte also infolge ihrer Lage und Aufgabe in sehr vielen Fällen von den *dizdārs* ausgegangen sein. Die Ursache der Tatsache, daß in den Anordnungen trotzdem nur wenige Worte über sie fielen, ist in der speziellen Situation der *dizdārs* zu suchen ; daß sie nämlich in der Rangordnung der Amtsträger verhältnismäßig hinten standen und deshalb ihre Initiativen meistens durch Vermittlung ihrer Vorgesetzten zur Pforte gelangten, die dann auch ihre weiteren Anordungen an die Vorgesetzten richtete. (Diesem Umstand ist zuzuschreiben, daß zur Sicherstellung der Bedingungen zu einer Reparatur die Kompetenz des *dizdārs* offensichtlich nicht ausreichte.) So spielten die *dizdārs* — wie auch die Angaben der Budaer Rechnungsbücher beweisen — meistens die Rolle des durchführenden Beamten.[20]

Während im 16. Jahrhundert die Ansuchen zur Reparatur in erster Linie von den einzelnen Mitgliedern (*beglerbeg, sanǧaqbeg, defterdār, dizdār*) der örtlichen Verwaltung ins Zentrum gelangten, ist vom 17. Jahrhundert an in solchen Angelegenheiten ein kollektives Auftreten der Würdenträger zu beobachten. In der Stadt Mardin, wie dem an die Pforte gerichteten Brief des dortigen stellvertretenden Kadis zu entnehmen ist — wurde zum Beispiel 1636/37 über die Reparatur der Burg und der Stadtmauer folgendermaßen beschlossen: «. . . die hohen Persönlichkeiten des Wilajets, der Architekt, die Sachbearbeiter und Würdenträger zogen gemeinsam hinaus, begingen alle Türme und Mauern und maßen die abgestürzten Mauerteile einzeln der Breite und Länge nach ab und faßten diese in ein Defter. Das alles machte dreitausend Ellen aus. Außerdem, da ein wesentlicher Teil der Mauer ebenfalls dem Verfall nahe stand und die Wiederherstellung notwenig ist, wurden die Kosten genau geschätzt, es wurde dabei festgestellt, diese Teile können zum Preis von sechstausend *riyāl ǧuruš* aufgebaut und repariert werden. Deshalb wurde der glückseligen Pforte ein Vorschlag unterbreitet, der um einen weltgewaltigen, edlen Erlaß bat, in dessem Sinne die Ärarialeinnahmen (*muqāṭa'a*) der Stadt Mardin die Baukosten decken sollen . . .»[21] Im Jahre 1663 wurde in Székesfehérvár über die Notwendigkeit der Reparatur so entschieden, daß «. . . die im genannten Bezirk (*qażā*)

[19] *Mühimme defteri*, No. 7. S. 656.

[20] Es kam oft vor, daß sie das Geld für die Reparaturen aus der Schatzkammer aufnahmen (L. Fekete—Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *a.a.O.* 386, 440, 453, 558, 648 usw.) und auch die Reparatur der in der Nähe der Burgen liegenden Dschami und Mühlen vornehmen ließen (*ebenda* 483, 585). Es ist anzunehmen, daß sie auch bei der Soldverteilung eine Rolle spielten (in kleineren Burgen zweifelsohne) und daneben auch noch mit Sicherheitstätigkeit beauftragt wurden (G. Elezović, *Turski spomenici* I, Beograd 1940, 535 und vom selben Autor, *Turski spomenici* II, Beograd 1952, 153, 817—18).

[21] Nejat Göyünç, *XVI. yüzyılda Mardin sancağı*, Istanbul 1969, 96. Der Verfasser veröffentlicht zwar die Urkunde im Kapitel «Stadtmauern», sie bezieht sich aber offensichtlich auch auf die Burg. Die in der Schrift erwähnte Elle (*zirā'*) war zu dieser Zeit

wohnenden mohammedanischen Rechtsgelehrten (*ʿulemā*) und die gottesfürchtigen Leute (*ṣüleḥā*), die Armen, die Besitzer von Tīmār- und Ziʿāmet-Gütern, die Aġas und ihre Leute und andere Menschen in großer Menge und Zahl zur Versammlung des edlen *šerʿ* (*meğlis-i šerʿ-i šerīf*) zogen» und dort über die aufgetauchten Fragen verhandelten, nachdem sie klargestellt hatten was und auf welche Weise repariert werden soll, sie unterbreiteten der Pforte ein Ersuchen zur Bewilligung der Arbeiten.[22] Dieselbe Verfahrensweise ist 1680 in Temesvár zu sehen; die hohen Persönlichkeiten, Rechtsgelehrten, die gottesfürchtigen Leute und Prominenten des Wilajets erschienen auf der Versammlung in der Burg zu Temesvár und schlugen mit Rücksicht, auf den trümmerhaften Zustand der Burg die Einreichung eines Ersuchens zwecks Reparatur vor.[23]

Mehrere Faktoren konnten die Formen des gemeinsamen Auftretens motiviert haben. Es bestand zwar nicht immer ein unmittelbarer Zusammenhang zwischen einer drohenden Gefahr und dem Ersuchen um die Reparatur in solcher Form (zum Beispiel durch Beschluß der Versammlung des *šerʿ*), es ist jedoch nicht zu leugnen, daß das gemeinsame Auftreten in manchen Fällen durch eine derartige Situation motiviert wurde. Es konnte zu ähnlichen Schritten führen, wenn die Reparatur dringend war und diese deshalb einer schnellen Erledigung bedurfte; in solchen Fällen konnte im Interesse des größeren Nachdrucks eine gemeinsame Initiative erfolgt sein. Auf den wichtigsten Faktor macht jedoch der Umstand aufmerksam, daß nämlich an diesen Aktionen mehrmals auch «bürgerliche» Elemente teilnahmen. Dies ist ein eindeutiger Hinweis auf den lockereren Zustand der Verwaltung des 17. Jahrhunderts, als die Verwaltung ihren Aufgaben immer schwieriger nachkommen konnte.

Zu dieser Zeit zeigten die auf verschiedene Weise gefertigten und der Pforte zugesandten Ersuchen um Reparatur bereits ein einheitlicheres Bild. Es wurde in diesen Briefen der Zustand des ganzen Gebäudes oder dessen Mauern, die einer Reparatur bedürfen, sowie das Ausmaß der notwenigen Reparatur, deren voraussichtliche Kosten eingehend beschrieben (manchmal wurde auch

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allgemein gebräuchliches Längenmaß, sie machte 49,875 cm aus. Bei der Bautätigkeit verwendete man aber meistens die sogenannte Bauelle (*binā ẕirāʿ*), die 79,8 cm betrug. Siehe W. Hinz, *Islamische Maße und Gewichte*, Leiden, 1955. 59. Laut E. H. Ayverdı (*Osmanlı mimarisinin ilk devri 630—805 (1230—1402)* I, Istanbul 1966, 545) aber *binā ẕirāʿ* ist 0, 758 Meter.

[22] Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl. H. No. Eb 387. «*Meğlis-i šerʿ*», «das Religionsgericht» war im Gegensatz zu seinem Namen auch ein Forum für weltliche Angelegenheiten. Die Bezeichnung weist eher darauf hin, daß es die Entscheidungen aufgrund des islamischen Rechts traf. Im Gericht von Ankaraer *šerʿ* befaßte man sich zum Beispiel in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jhs. auch mit folgenden Angelegenheiten: Straftaten, Stiftungen, Bestätigung der Bürgschaften, Erbschafts- und Heiratsangelegenheiten, Aufsichtsfragen der Zünfte und Städte, Kaufgeschäften von Land usw., s. *Ankaranın I. numaralı şeriye sicili*, Herausg. H. Ongan, Ankara 1958, 33—38.

[23] Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl. H. No. Eb. 372.

angegeben, wieviel und was für Baumaterial nötig ist), es wurde um die Bewilligung des Arbeitsbeginns sowie um die Zuteilung von genügend Geld gebeten.

Man dürfte in der zentralen Finanzverwaltung im Amt des Defterdārs oder im großherrlichen Diwan (*dīvān-i hümāyūn*) auf die Ersuchen verschiedenartig reagiert haben. Wenn man diese für unbegründet hielt, oder wenn die nötigen Bedingungen nicht zu sichern waren, wurden die Ersuchen abgelehnt.[24] Im Falle die Umstände nicht klar zu überschanen waren, bat man um einen ausführlicheren Bericht über die Lage und über die bei ähnlichen Gelegenheiten übliche Praxis.[25] Wenn man aber alles in Ordnung fand und das Ersuchen genehmigte, wurden in einer im Namen des Sultans verfaßten Verordnung auch die Aufgaben mehr oder weniger ausführlich vorgeschrieben. In diesen Vorschriften wurden manchmal die Abmessungen des zu reparierenden — zu bauenden Gebäudes genau angegeben,[26] gelegentlich wurden auch die Methoden der Materialbeschaffung vorgeschrieben,[27] Maßnahmen über die Sicherstellung der Arbeitskräfte und die Ernennung der mit der Aufsicht beauftragten Personen getroffen[28] usw. Diese Vorschriften der Verordnungen bedeuteten aber häufig nichts anderes als die Wiederholung der bezüglichen Angaben der Vorschläge (abgesehen vom finanziellen Teil, weil hier häufig Änderungen vorgenommen wurden). Die Pforte fügte zu den Anträgen der Würdenträger eigentlich nur in einer Beziehung Wesetliches hinzu (jene kannten nämlich die örtlichen Bedingungen der erwähnten Angelegenheiten viel besser) : sie konnte durch ihre Anordnungen all das erreichen was den Bittstellern nicht gelang, derjenige nämlich, dessen Mitwirkung bei den Reparaturen unentbehrlich war, nahm seine Verpflichtung tatsächlich zur Kenntnis und konnte sich ihrer nur schwer entziehen. Es wurden deshalb mehrere Verordungen erlassen und außer dem Anmelder auch alle Würdenträger höheren Ranges verständigt, die in jener Angelegenheit eine wichtige Aufgabe zu erfüllen hatten.[29] Den Beauftragten wurde im allgemeinen auch vorgeschrieben, daß sie der Pforte über den Stand der Reparaturarbeiten regelmäßig berichten müssen.

[24] Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Szulejmán*, Budapest 1974, 114.

[25] Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl. H. No. Eb. 372. (1680., Reparatur von Temesvár).

[26] In der Anordnung, die den Aufbau des Arsenals in Szigetvár bestimmt, ist zum Beispiel zu lesen : «. . . es soll ein Steinbau gebaut werden und mit Hinsicht auf seine Abmessungen soll seine obere Länge 22 Ellen, Breite 10 Ellen, Höhe 5 Ellen sein . . .» — s. I. Karácson, *Török—magyar oklevéltár*, 244—45.

[27] Dies wird später eingehender behandelt.

[28] I. Karácson, *a.a.O.*, 93, 282.

[29] In bezug auf die Reparatur von Székesfehérvár im Jahre 1568 wurde zum Beispiel, da die Sandschaks von Mohács, Szekszárd, Simontornya sowie Fehérvár die Arbeitskräfte stellen mußten, ein Sonderbefehl außer an den Sandschakbeg von Fehérvár und den Budaer Beglerbeg auch an die Begs der erwähnten Sandschaks zugeschickt und darin wurden sie zur persönlichen Teilnahme verpflichtet. Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme defteri*, No. 7. S. 308. 2—3. S. 656.

Die Bereitstellung der Mittel

Die finanziellen Fragen bildeten den wichtigsten Teil der Verordnungen. Nicht nur deshalb, weil der Erfolg oder der Mißerfolg der Reparaturen vor allem von der Beschaffung der finanziellen Deckung abhing, sondern hauptsächlich deshalb, weil die Pforte in finanziellen Fragen das Recht der Entscheidung sich selbst vorbehielt. Und zwar in einem Grade, daß obzwar ein Beglerbeg «. . . den Blutbann hatte, aus eigenem Entschluß in den Krieg rücken und seine Soldaten . . . auch mit Tīmār-Gütern belohnen konnte, aber aus der Barschaft des Landesschatzamtes keine einzige Aktsche zuweisen durfte».[30] Eine derartige Beschränkung des Rechtskreises der örtlichen Verwaltung führte gerade auf dem entscheidendsten Gebiet zu einer fürchterlichen Langsamkeit, diese verursachte dann in Verbindung mit dem sparsamen Verhalten der Pforte häufig die Verzögerung oder sogar das Mißlingen der Reparaturen. Genauso wie es 1552 bei der Pester Burg der Fall war, als nämlich die Reparatur unterblieb, weil der Hohe Diwan nicht bereit war den Maurern Kostgeld zu zahlen.[31]

In den Verordnungen bestimmte man anstelle der Zuweisung des Geldes meistens die Art und Weise der Beschaffung der nötigen Summe. Man kann im allgemeinen sagen, soweit es die Tragfähigkeit des betreffenden Gebietes erlaubte, war man bestrebt, die finanzielle Deckung aus örtlichen Kraftquellen aufzutreiben. In der Praxis realisierte dies sich meistens so, daß das Einkommen der lokalen oder nächsten *muqāṭaʿa* (Ärarialeinnahmen) zu solchen Zwekken verwendet wurde.[32] Es kam auch vor, daß irgendeine Steuer des Gebietes,

[30] Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Szulejmán*, 113.

[31] Das geht aus der Anordnung hervor, die im Februar 1552 an den Budaer Defterdār geschrieben wurde: «Du ließest uns wissen, daß ein Baumeister mit seinen 8 Leuten die Budaer Burg ausbesserte, und es jetzt zur Reparatur der Pester Burg gekommen wäre, da sagten sie aber, daß sie nur zu der Budaer Burg gehören und, wenn sie auch an der Pester Burg arbeiten, kommen ihnen täglich 4 Aktschen Kostgeld zu, Ich verordne, daß die Reparatur jetzt nicht nötig ist, deshalb zahle ihnen nichts.» — Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *a.a.O.* 114.

[32] So geschah es auch bei den Reparaturen in Temesvár im Jahre 1571, wo die Summe von 600 000 Aktschen aus dem *muqāṭaʿa* von Temesvár gesichert wurde (*Mühimme defteri*, No. 14. 526.). In Székesfehérvár floß 1572 mehr als die Hälfte des Geldes aus dem Gehalt eines der Kommissare des Fehérvárer *muqāṭaʿa* ein (Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 553., und Antal Velics, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek* I [Türkische Schatzkammerdefter aus Ungarn I], Budapest 1886, 251). Die Burg bzw. die Stadt von Mardin wurden 1574 und 1636—37 ebenfalls aus dem Einkommen der dortigen Schatzkammer umgebaut (N. Göyünç, *a.a.O.*, 93 und 96). — Um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts war ein Aktsche gleich zwei Denar, da der von den Türken *filōrī* genannte ungarische Forint ebenso wie der türkische *guruš* 50 Aktschen wert waren (s. Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Magyarországi török adóösszeírások* [Türkische Steuerlisten in Ungarn], Budapest 1970, 22, und L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1955, 238). Das Geld verlor später — wie es bekannt ist — an Wert, zum Beispiel wurde 1579 der türkische *guruš* mit 64 Aktschen gerechnet (L. Fekete, *a.a.O.*, 389) und der Forint hatte damals denselben Kurs.

auf dem die zu reparierende Burg stand, unmittelbar zur Deckung der Kosten verwendet wurde.[33]

Man wies die nötigen Summen nicht in allen Fällen in voraus an oder man konnte diese nicht im voraus beschaffen. Es kam vor, daß sich die Würdenträger zwecks Auszahlung der Kosten erst nach Beendigung der Arbeiten an die Pforte wandten.[34]

Wenn die Kosten eine größere Summe erforderten oder die dringende Befestigung einer Burg vom strategischen Gesichtspunkt aus als wichtig erschien, dann übernahm die zentrale Schatzkammer selbst die Kosten in hohem Maße. So wurden zum Beispiel um die Wende des 16—17. Jahrhunderts die Reparaturkosten der Burg von Özü (Očakov) in vollem Maße von zentralen Amt gedeckt, weil diese laut Vorlage des Großwesirs «eine Burg ist, die zum Schlüssel des Schwarzen Meeres und des Donaugebietes geworden ist».[35]

Auf eine weitere, sehr wichtige Methode der Beschaffung der finanziellen Deckung machen die mit den sogenannten außerordentlichen Steuern verbundenen Angaben aufmerksam. Unter den «außeronletlichen Steuern» (türkischer Terminus: *ʿavāriẓ-i dīvānīye ve tekālīf-i ʿörfīye*) muß man eine mehrere Elemente enthaltende Steuerform verstehen, die im Osmanischen Reich von der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts an vor allem mit der Absicht angewendet wurde um dadurch das Manko zwischen den normalen einnahmen und den Kriegsausgaben auszugleichen. Mit der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts begann aber jener Prozeß, der dazu führte, daß die außerordentlichen Steuern bis zum 17. Jahrhundert zum größten Teil zu normalen, ständigen Steuern wurden. Parallel dazu erweiterte sich allmählich auch ihr Anwendungskreis und bereits am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts kam es dazu, daß die Reparaturkosten der einzelnen Burgen durch die Auferlegung solcher Steuern gedeckt wurden.[36]

Die gestiegenen Ansprüche und die finanziellen Probleme verlangten auch auf den eroberten Gebieten Ungarns die Inanspruchnahme ähnlicher Mittel

[33] I. Karácson, *a.a.O.*, 282.

[34] In einer solchen Angelegenheit reichte der Burkommandant von Esztergom 1665 ein Ersuchen ein: «Ihr hiesiger Diener ließ die beschädigte Oberfläche der Trommel der am Tor von Esztergom musizierenden Kapelle im Wert von 350 Aktschen ausbessern, dann zwecks Reparierung des Hängetores durch den Hauptschmied einen Bogen im Wert von 120 Aktschen beziehen und ersucht den hohen *buyuruldī*, das Geld vom Defterdār auszahlen zu lassen.» Die auf das Ersuchen aufgeschriebene Anweisung lautet: «Der geehrte Defterdār Efendi möchte 470 Aktschen auf die vorgelegte Weise ganz auszahlen.» S. I. Karácson, *a.a.O.*, 246.

[35] Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı Tarihine âid Belgeler — Telhîsler (1597—1607)*, Istanbul 1970, 78.

[36] Ömer L. Barkan, *Süleymaniye cami ve imareti inşaatı (1550—1557)* I, Ankara 1972, 104—105.

erforderlich, so das sogenannte *taʿmīr aqčesi*, die Erhebung des «Reparaturgeldes». Von den 1570er Jahren an führten die türkischen Behörden — vermutlich bei größeren Reparaturarbeiten — die Methode ein, daß sie die veranschlagte Summe als «Reparaturgeld» den Steuerpflichtigen auferlegten. So gingen sie auch im Jahre 1582 vor, als sie im Zusammenhang mit den gemeinsamen Reparaturarbeiten der Burge von Székesfehérvár, Esztergom (Gran) und Szigetvár an den Beglerbeg von Buda folgendes Schreiben richteten: «... meinen edlen Befehl ersuchend berichtest du, daß es [für die erwähnten Burgen] Ausgaben von vielen hunderttausend *aqčen* geben wird, und — weil in der Zeit des vorherigen Beglerbegs für die Reparatur solcher Burgen die *reʿāyā* des Budaer Wilajets nach jeder *ḫāne* [Familie, Steuerzahler] je einen *ġuruš* oder ein *filōrī* zu geben pflegten — deshalb sei jetzt wie gewöhnlich als Hilfe zur Reparatur von jeder *ḫāne* ein *ġuruš* oder *filōrī* erhoben. Aus diesem Grunde verordne ich, daß du ... der alten Gewohnheit entsprechend von jeder *ḫāne* je einen *ġuruš* erheben, dann durch einen Beauftragten melden sollst, wieviel gesammelt wurde.»[37] Die Verordnung wurde ohne Zweifel auch durchgeführt, die Verrechnung der im Pécser (Fünfkirchen) Sandschak eingehobenen Summe blieb nämlich erhalten. Das diese Verrechnung beinhaltende Verzeichnis trägt den Titel: «Dieser Defter legt über das Reparaturgeld (*taʿ mīr aqčesi*) Rechenschaft ab, das in diesem 990. Jahr [26. Januar 1582—25. Januar 1583] für die für die Wiederherstellung der zerstörten Burgen des Budaer Wilajets — aus dem genannten Wilajet — entsprechend dem in der Angelegenheit des erhobenen Geldes (*aqče*) eingetroffenen Sultanschen Befehl im Sandschak von Pečui (Pécs) erhoben wurde.»[38] Jeder Ğizye-Pflichtige zahlte auf die bei der Erhebung bestimmte Weise einen *ġuruš*. Befreiung von der Zahlung erhielten diejenigen, die im Dienst der Pécser Burg standen sowie «einige an Mangel leidende *ḫāne*», von denen «auf Intervention des Dorfrichters laut dem hohen Befehl kein Reparaturgeld erhoben wurde».[39]

[37] Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme defteri* No. 48. 423. Zum Terminus «*ḫāne*» zu dieser Zeit s. Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Baranya megye XVI. századi török adóösszeírásai* [Türkische Steuerlisten des Komitats Baranya im 16. Jahrhundert], Budapest 1960, 7.

[38] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 565., Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *a.a.O.*, 5.

[39] Eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit muß man der Zeile dieser Anordnung widmen, die die Erhebung des Reparaturgeldes als eine «alte Gewohnheit» erwähnt. Diese alte Gewohnheit konnte aber 1582 kaum älter sein als 10 bis 15 Jahre. Ihre Einführung von den 1570er Jahren an macht nämlich der nachfolgende Umstand wahrscheinlich: eine der Folgen der wachsenden finanziellen Sorgen des Reiches war, daß — auf dem Gebiet von Ungarn wenigstens — die Verpflichtung der *ğizye*-Zahlung bereits auf jeden Familienerhalter und alleinstehenden Geldverdiener ausgedehnt wurde (s. dazu Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *a.a.O.*, 7). Die Erweiterung der *ğizye*-Besteuerung hängt höchstwahrscheinlich mit der Ausbildung der Praxis «des Reparaturgeldes» unmittelbar zusammen.

Beschaffung des Baumaterials

Das zu den Burgreparaturen nötige Baumaterial wurde auf dreierlei Weise beschafft: durch den Ertrag der Bergwerke und Wälder, die im Besitz des Schatzamtes waren, durch Bargeld, Ankauf oder durch Naturalsteuern, die den Bauern auferlegt wurden. Es erfolgte bei den einzelnen Bauvorhaben immer anders, je nach der gewählten Lösung. Bei der Reparatur der Burg zu Székesfehérvár im Jahre 1572 wurde zum Beispiel sehr wenig Geld für Realausgaben verwendet, vermutlich wurden also die beiden anderen Methoden zur Beschaffung des Baumaterials in Anspruch genommen.[40] Demgegenüber machten die Kosten der Materialankäufe im Jahre 1614 bei den Reparaturarbeiten in Eger beinahe 36% der Gesamtausgaben aus.[41] Bei der Reparatur von Mardin 1549 dürfte das Verhältnis der zur Realausgaben verwendeten Summe viel größer gewesen sein, denn die Löhne erreichten nicht einmal 10% der Gesamtkosten die 802 780 Aktschen ausmachten.[42]

Über Einzelheiten der Abwicklung der Materialbeschaffung, von wo und von wem zum Beispiel in den verschiedenen Fällen gekauft wurde, ist aus unseren Quellen sehr wenig zu erfahren. Es ist jedenfalls anzunehmen, daß die zuständigen Behörden bedeutende Schwierigkeiten damit hatten. Einmal wurde zum Beispiel ein Würdenträger folgendermaßen zur Materialbeschaffung angewiesen: «. . . soviel Bretter nur nötig sind, lasse diese woher nur möglich zusammentragen, vorbereiten . . .»[43] Pascha Ṣoqollu Muṣṭafā trat 1578 gerade an den Feind, den Kapitän von Komárom (Komorn) mit der Bitte heran, für seinen Bau Dachziegel und Bretter zu schicken.[44] Auch der Umstand weist auf die Schwierigkeiten der Beschaffung hin, daß die benötigten Baustoffe häufig von sehr weit geholt wurden. Zur Reparatur der Burg von Palota brachte man den Kalk im Jahre 1664 aus der Umgebung von Buda,[45] zu den Reparaturen in Újvár im Jahre 1665 aber aus den Sandschaks von Buda, Esztergom und Székesfehérvár.[46] Bei der Reparatur von Kanizsa ergaben sich in den 1630 er Jahren ähnliche Schwierigkeiten, weil man im Bericht besonders hervorhob, daß «Kalk und Stein von vielen tausend Wagen aus der Umgebung der sehr weit entfernt liegenden Stadt Pečui (Pécs) gebracht wurde».[47]

[40] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 553., A. Velics, *Defterek* I [Defters], 251—252.

[41] Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliye 158.

[42] N. Göyünç, *a.a.O.*, 92.

[43] I. Karácson, *a.a.O.*, 93.

[44] S. Takács—F. Eckhart—Gy. Szekfü, *A budai pasák magyar nyelvű levelezése* [Korrespondenz der Budaer Paschas in ungarischer Sprache] I. 1553—1589. Budapest 1915, 153.

[45] Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl. H. No. Eb 387.

[46] *Ebenda.*

[47] Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, E 895.

Wenn auch nicht ausschließlich diese Probleme bestimmend waren, mußten diese doch eine große Rolle dabei spielen, daß die türkische Administration die auf diesem Gebiet bestehenden Bedürfnisse eher durch Naturalsteuern zu decken suchte. Es ist zu beobachten, daß solche Steuern den verschiedenen Ortschaften immer dann auferlegt wurden, wenn die Reparatur irgendeiner naheliegenden Burg, Brücke usw. fällig war.[48] Diese nicht regelmäßigen und eben dadurch unbedingt eine schwere Last bedeutenden Auswerfungen waren aber nicht ausschließliche Formen der Materialbeschaffung durch Steuern. Mehrere Ortschaften wurden so besteuert, daß die Abgabe von Baumaterial zu den ständigen Steuern der betreffenden Ortschaft gerechnet, deshalb aber die anderen Steuern zuweilen relativ herabgesetzt wurden. So lieferte von den Großstädten der ungarischen Tiefebene zum Beispiel Nagykőrös ständig in Form von Steuern Balken, Brückennägel.[49] Dieses Verfahren bildet sozusagen den Übergang zu jener dritten Methode, die für das Reich als ganzes am typischsten war. Diese Methode bestand nämlich darin, daß einzelne, den zeitweise reparaturdürftigen Objekten naheliegende Ortschaften von gewissen Steuern befreit wurden und diese dann dafür zur Lieferung von Baustoffen verpflichtet waren. Der tägliche Bedarf der Burgen an Baumaterial wurde vorwiegend im Rahmen dieses Systems gedeckt und nur bei größeren Reparaturen wählte man andere Mittel. Typisch ist in dieser Hinsicht, wie die Versorgung der Pester Burg mit Holzmaterial um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts organisiert wurde. Laut Registrierung des Budaer Sandschaks aus dem Jahre 1546 waren dieser Burg vier Dörfer (Szentlőrinckáta, Sződ, Tápiószentmárton, Gubacs) unter folgenden Bedingungen unterstellt: «Die Einwohner des genannten Dorfes sind dazu verpflichtet, wenn zur Reparatur der Brücken, Kanonen und des Kanonendepots der Pester Burg Holzmaterial benötigt wird, die Bäume zu fällen und mit eigenen Wagen in die genannte Burg zu transportieren. Im neuen Sultanschen Defter ist es folgendermaßen aufgezeichnet: indem sie auf diese Weise ihre Dienste verrichten, sollen von ihnen außerordentliche Steuern (*ʿavāriẓ-i dīvānīye ve tekālīf-i ʿörfīye*) — seien diese Burgreparaturen oder irgendeine physische Arbeit, Abgabe von Bauholz und Heu für den Spahi

[48] Laut nachfolgender Anordnung wurde die Stadt Gyöngyös 1669 wegen der Reparatur der Burg in Hatvan mit einer solchen Leistung belastet: «... die Burg zu Hatvan, deren Reparatur ... in diesem heiligen Jahr verordnet wurde, wurde mit auf die Städte und Dörfer als Jahresabgabe auferlegtem Bauholz in entsprechender Weise versorgt; auch die Stadt Gyöngyös lieferte das als Jahresabgabe auferlegte Bauholz ab; da die Burg zur Zeit an keinen Mangel leidet ..., darf nach Eintreffen des Befehls die Bevölkerung der genannten Stadt unter diesem Vorwand nicht gestört werden ...» — Archiv der Stadt Gyöngyös, 194.

[49] Áron Szilády—Sándor Szilágyi, *Okmánytár a hódoltság történetéhez Magyarországon* I—II [Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Ungarn] Pest 1863, s. die die Steuerzahlung der einzelnen Jahre zusammenfassenden Regesten.

oder sonstige Dienste-, sowie außer dem erwähnten Dienst andere Steuern, nachdem sie den Zehnt (*ʿöšr*) und die Abgaben (*rüsūm*) an den Benefizbesitzer bezahlt hatten, nicht verlangt werden».[50] Bei ihrer Reparatur versahen die unterstellten Dörfer — der Pester Burg ähnlich — auch die Burg von Sultanhisari mit Holzmaterial auf solche Weise, daß dafür «ihre außerordentlichen Steuern (*ʿavāriẓ ḫāneleri*) aufgehoben wurden».[51]

Die Arbeitskräfte

1. Die Architekten. Im Osmanischen Reich wurden im westlichen Grenzgebiet in gewissen Perioden Architekten angestellt, die für die Reparatur und Erhaltung der Burgen eines bestimmten Gebietes von architektonischem Gesichtspunkt aus die Verantwortung tragen mußten. So war es auch in Bosnien solange die Linie der Grenzfestungen hier lag. Das Gesetzbuch (*qānūnnāme*) des Wilajets aus dem Jahre 1516 verfügte nämlich über die Führung der zur Reparatur der Burgen verpflichteten, nicht mohammedanischen Meister, daß sie die Reparaturen «unter der Leitung jenes Architekten» vollführen sollen, «der in jenem Land für seinen Architektendienst Tīmār besitzt».[52] Bereits in der Anfangsperiode der türkischen Herrschaft arbeitete auch in Buda ein Architekt. Zwischen 1556 und 1560 hatte zum Beispiel ein gewisser Miʿmār G'ōrg'e (Architekt G'ōrg'e) dieses Amt inne.[53] Seinen Lohn, der nicht zu hoch war (täglich 15 Aktsche), erhielt er von dem Budaer Schatzamt, im allgemeinen jeden 15. Monat.[54] Da er durch seine Arbeit als Architekt nicht besondres beschäftigt war, durfte er — dazu trug vermutlich auch sein

[50] Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Kanuni devri Budin tahrir defteri (1546—1562)*, Ankara 1971, 133, 194, 207, 323 (vgl. ders., *A budai szandzsák 1559. évi összeírása: Pest Megye Múltjából* [Registrierung des Budaer Sandschak aus dem Jahre 1559: Aus der Geschichte des Komitates Pest] 3, Budapest 1977, 86, 96, 217, 120). Ihrerseits ergänzte die Budaer Schatzkammer dieses System damit, daß sie von Zeit zu Zeit anstelle der Geldsteuer — hauptsächlich von den Ortschaften, die eine Pauschalgebühr zahlten — die Abgabe von Baumaterial wünschte, diese dann in Buda einlagerte und notfalls verteilte. S. L. Fekete—Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *a.a.O.*, 427, 683—684.

[51] Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl. H. No. Eb 387. (Sultanhisari: eine Burg im Liwa von Aydin).

[52] Ö. L. Barkan, *XV. ve XVI. asırlarda osmanlı imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 397 und *Kanuni i kanun-name za bosanski, hercegovački, zvornički, kliški, crnogorski i skadarski sandžak*, Sarajevo 1957, 23, 35, 60.

[53] A. Velics, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek* II [Türkische Schatzkammerdefter aus Ungarn II] Budapest 1890, 187, 295, und Fekete—Káldy-Nagy, *a.a.O.*, 385, 432, 694, usw.

[54] Fekete—Káldy-Nagy, *a.a.O.*, 530, 694.

relativ niedriger Lohn bei — daneben auch als Steuereinnehmer arbeiten.[55]

Aus späteren Zeiten kennen wir die Namen von nur vier Budaer Architekten: Meḥmed und Bayrām versahen 1571—72, Ḫüsrev 1579 und Hauptarchitekt Ḥasan 1628 den Architektendienst im Zentrum des Grenzlandes.[56]

Trotzdem also zeitweise Architekten in Buda tätig waren, kam es den Quellen nach bei anderen Burgen des Wilajets sehr selten vor, daß gebildete Architekten die Reparaturarbeiten leiteten. Es nahm zum Beispiel 1572 in Székesfehérvár oder 1614 in Eger den Aufzeichnungen nach kein Architekt an der Wiederherstellung teil.[57] Zur Reparatur der Burg von Szentjobb (Dorf im Várader Wilajet) wurde im Jahre 1667 als Leiter «der Faḫrullāh *alaybegi* bestellt, der den Várader *vaqf* des ehemaligen Paschas Kodscha leitete».[58] In der Angelegenheit der Erneuerung des Dschami in der Burg zu Eger wurde 1672 folgende Entscheidung getroffen: «... Ibrāhīm *aġa*, der *ketḫüdā* der *gönüllüs* soll mit Hilfe des erwähnten Geldes an den nötigen Stellen die erforderlichen Reparaturen verrichten lassen ...».[59]

Wegen der Lage im Falle der Architekten von Buda und Bosnien (daß diese nämlich für ihre Dienstleistungen ein Tīmār- oder Normalgehalt erhielten), ist es allerdings möglich, daß in der Wirklichkeit viel mehr Bauarbeiten unter der Leitung von Architekten durchgeführt worden waren. Wenn nämlich ein solcher Architekt irgendwo angestellt wurde, war seine Aufnahme in die Liste, in der die Auszahlungen festgelegt wurden, durch nichts begründet. Es scheint jedoch, daß man später auf die Beschäftigung eines ständigen Architekten doch verzichtete, weil im weiteren (hauptsächlich nach zerstörenden Kriegen) der Fachmann zur Leitung der größeren Reparaturen meistens vom Zentrum entsandt wurde. Auch im Jahre 1609 nach dem 15jährigen Krieg wurde Architekt Meḥmed *čavuš* auf solche Weise entsandt[60] und ebenfalls aus

[55] *Ebenda* 385, 432, 434, 442, 454 usw.; unter anderem war er *emīn* des *muqāṭaʿa* von Paks und der Insel Kuvin und *ʿāmil* des *muqāṭaʿa* der Heeresgüter von Cegléd, Kőrös und Madocsa. Zu diesen zwei Ämtern s. Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Magyarországi török adóösszeírások* [Türkische Steuerlisten in Ungarn], 57—63.

[56] L. Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban* [Budapest in der Türkenzeit], 253; L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift*, 391. Außerdem ist auch in der Soldliste aus den Jahren 1618 bzw. 1619 von Szigetvár ein Architekt namens Ali zu finden (A. Velics, *Defterek* I. 408.).

[57] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 553., Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliye 158.

[58] I. Karácson, *a.a.O.*, 282.

[59] *Ebenda*, 218.

[60] Ahmed Refik, *Hicrî on birinci asırda Istanbul hayatı (1000—1100)*, Istanbul 1931, 37—38: «Anweisung an den Buda verteidigenden ʿAli-Pascha: die Reparatur und Erneuerung der Burgen der dortigen Grenzgebiete wurde notwendig. Da die Anwesenheit eines sachkundigen, ehrenhaften Architekten eine der wichtigsten Sachen ist, verordnete ich, daß ... Meḥmed *čavuš* ..., der einer von den zu meiner hohen Pforte gehörenden Tschauschen ist und während früherer Feldzüge das Amt des Hauptarchitekten versah und dessen Dienste in den geführten Feldzügen und an den Reparaturen der

Istambul traf der Architekt Sīyāvuš *aġa* ein, Buda wurde nach der früheren schweren Belagerung in den Jahren 1684—85 mit seiner Hilfe wiederhergestellt.[61]

2. Die Handwerker. Für kleinere, alltägliche Arbeiten stellte man in einigen Burgen auch mehrere Handwerker so an, daß sie in die militärische Organisation der Besatzung eingegliedert, anderen Soldaten ähnlich und unabhängig von ihrer Arbeit täglich mit einer bestimmten Summe besoldet wurden. Diese Handwerker waren vorwiegend Zimmerleute, Maurer und sogenannte *kārs*. *Kār* bedeutet Handwerker, unter diesem Namen muß man also verschiedene Handwerker im allgemeinen oder einen Handwerker verstehen, der mehrere Berufe treibt. Die Zahl der Handwerker ist jedoch gering, außerdem sind sie in sehr wenigen Burgen zu finden. 1543 bekamen in Székesfehérvár 10 Schmiede und 11 Zimmermeister ihren Sold, zur selben Zeit waren in der Budaer Soldliste alles in allem 4 Zimmermeister und Schmiede sowie 9 *kārs* zusammengeschrieben. Ebenfalls zu dieser Zeit waren in der Pécser Besatzung 12 Zimmerleute, in Esztergom insgesamt 5 Schmiede und *kār*, in Vác (Waitzen) 2 Zimmerleute und in Pest 10 *kār* und 5 Schmiede bedienstet.[62] In den Soldlisten der größeren oder wichtigeren Burgen findet man bis zum Ende der 1560er Jahre aus einigen Köpfen bestehende Handwerkergruppen[63] und danach sucht man diese meistens umsonst. Nur mitunter, wie zum Beispiel 1590—91 in Lippa[64] oder 1618—19 in Kanizsa und Szigetvár[65] tauchen besoldete Handwerker auf.

Das Fehlen der Handwerker auf den Soldlisten hängt offenbar mit der Stabilisierung der Türkenherrschaft zusammen. Es genügt, auf die erwähnten

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eroberten Burge tadellos waren, in den Budaer Grenzgebieten neben dir das Amt des Hauptarchitekten ausüben soll . . .» Es konnte übrigens auch Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts üblich gewesen sein, daß man Architekten und Arbeitsleiter aus dem Zentrum Ğentsandte, weil nach Ğelālzāde 1521 «zur Reparatur der von Kanonenkugeln zertrümmerten Stellen der Mauern und Basteien der Burg zu Belgrad Begs von den Begs der hohen Pforte gesandt wurden» (J. Thúry, *Török történetírók* II [Türkische Geschichtsschreiber II], 144).

[61] L. Fekete, *a.a.O.*, 48. (Ein Brief von diesem Architekten ist im Archiv der Stadt Gyöngyös erhalten ; s. Urkunde Nr. 236.). Es ist übrigens dem Mangel an örtlichen Architekten sowie der Zentralisierung der staatlichen Architektenorganisation zuzuschreiben, daß meistens auch die Pläne (*kārnāme*) im Zentrum angefertigt wurden. Vgl. *Mühimme defteri*, No. 3. 117 und R. Anhegger, *Die Römerbrücke von Mostar. Ein Betrag zur Geschichte und Organisation des Bauwesens im Osmanischen Reich*: *Oriens* 7 (1954), 94.

[62] A. Velics, *Defterek* I, 15, 18, 24, 21, 20, 19.

[63] Es gab 1554 in Esztergom und Visegrád, 1549—50 in Buda, Pest, Vác und Esztergom, 1556—57 in Székesfehérvár, 1558—59 in Pest, Tata, Székesfehérvár, 1568—69 in Buda, Pest sowie in Szigetvár Handwerker ; s. A. Velics, *a.a.O.*, I—II., in den Soldlisten der betreffenden Jahre.

[64] A. Velics, *Defterek* I, 379.

[65] *Ebenda*, 402, 408.

Zeitpunkte zu blicken und sofort fällt auf, daß es sich um die Zeit unmittelbar nach der Eroberung des Landes handelt, als sich die Wiederherstellung der zerstörten Burgen als erstrangige Aufgabe meldete. Scheinbar wollte man diese Aufgabe auf diese Weise, mit Anstellung von ständig zur Verfügung stehenden Meistern lösen, und als diese ihrer Aufgabe nachgekommen waren, war die Beibehaltung des alten Systems nicht mehr notwendig.

Dieses System existierte aber (hauptsächlich auf anderen Gebieten des Reiches) nicht allein, sondern es war mit einem anderen eng verschlungen. Dieses letztere bedeutete nichts anderes als die Nutzung der nächstliegenden Möglichkeit: die Inanspruchnahme der Handwerkerschicht der örtlichen Bevölkerung. Man muß zwei Arten dieser Inanspruchnahme klar unterscheiden: die eine können wir als «organisiert», die andere aber als «gelegentlich» bezeichnen.

Die erste Form gehört zu den urältesten Institutionen der Osmanen. Das Wesen dieser Form besteht kurz geschildert darin, daß Handwerker in erforderlicher Zahl im Interesse der laufenden Reparatur der Burgen von gewissen (meistens von den außerordentlichen) Steuern befreit wurden und dafür waren sie als «ledige und freie» (*mu'āf ve müsellem*) Rajas verpflichtet, die fälligen Arbeiten zu verrichten. Es ist also zu sehen, daß die Abgabe des Baumaterials gegen Freiheit zur Ausbildung einer ähnlichen Methode führte — die oft auch in der Praxis einen Zusammenfall bedeutete: oft stammten die zur Materialabgabe und zur Handwerkerarbeit Verpflichteten aus einem und demselben Dorf.

Bei den freien Handwerkern kann man im großen und ganzen zwei Arbeitsorganisationen abgrenzen. Im einen, vermutlich im älteren, System hatten die einzelnen Burgen ihre «eigenen», nur zu jener Burg gehörenden Handwerker. Diese Form ist bereits in einem der frühesten osmanischen Defters, in der Registrierung des Sandschaks Arvanid aus den Jahren 1431—32 zu beobachten.[66] Bei diesem System kann man dann zwei weitere Variationen unterscheiden je nachdem, wie sich das Verhältnis zwischen den Handwerkern und der militärischen Organisation gestaltete. Während nämlich in gewissen Orten diese Beziehung lediglich formell ist (ein Dienst militärischen Charakters, zu dem gelegentlich eine Organisation dazukommt, die an militärischen Dienst erinnert, «im bürgerlichen Leben» aber keinerlei Funktion hat) die Meister bleiben ja auch weiterhin in ihren Dörfern und halten sich nur während der Arbeiten in der Burg auf, wird der Dienst anderswo auch im wesentlichen militärisch: hier werden die Handwerker in die Organisation der Burgbesatzung eingegliedert, ziehen in die Burg ein — sie werden zu regulären Soldaten.[67]

[66] Halil Inalcık, *Hicrî 835 tarihli Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, und H. Inalcık, *Stefan Duşandan Osmanlı Imparatorluğuna*, in: *Fatih devri üzerine tetkikler ve vesikalar* I, Ankara 1954, 163.

[67] Vgl. dazu H. Inalcık, *Fatih devri*, 155—56, sowie A. Velics, *Defterek* II, 3—9.

Um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts ist also die Organisation der in ungarländischen Burgen Dienst leistenden Handwerker eher mit dieser zweiten Form zu verknüpfen — mit der Einschränkung, daß in ihrem Fall nicht klar genug zu sehen ist, ob es sich hier um befreite Rajas oder bereits «professionell gewordene», Burgen reparierende Soldaten handelt: aus der Tatsache nämlich, daß ein Teil dieser Leute nicht ortsansässig war, sondern aus den inneren Gebieten des Reiches stammte, kann man auf das Letztere schließen.[68]

Die andere Arbeitsorganisation, in die die zur Burgreparatur beorderten Handwerker gruppiert werden konnten, stellte ganz verschiedene Anforderungen an die eingeordneten Handwerker. Hier bekamen sie nämlich nicht die ständige Reparatur der einzelnen Burgen zur Aufgabe, sondern notfalls die Wiederherstellung der Burgen eines Landteiles oder einer Provinz. Das *qānūn* (Gesetz) aus dem Jahr 1516 bestimmt in Bosnien die Aufgaben der in solcher Form befreiten Handwerker folgendermaßen: «Falls zur Reparatur einer Grenzburg eine Verordnung erschiene, sollen sich die zu allen Burgen des Wilajets in Bosnien als Arbeiter beorderten 70—80 freien, nicht-mohammedanischen Meister versammeln und ... die Burg reparieren.»[69]

Da sich die im Rahmen des Befreiungssystems zur Verfügung stehende Arbeitskraft als zu wenig erwies, kam es zu der — an früherer Stelle als «gelegentlich» bezeichneten — Methode der Anstellung der ortsansässigen Handwerker, welche Folgendes bedeutete: aus verschiedenen (oft sehr weit entfernt liegenden) Orten wurden Handwerker gelegentlich angeworben oder hereinbeordert, denen man dafür im allgemeinen einen bestimmten Lohn zahlte. Die Anforderung eines solchen Verfahrens ergab sich notwendigerweise aus den Mangelhaftigkeiten des Befreiungssystems. Vor allem daraus, daß dieses System trotz seiner großen Verbreitung nicht überall eingeführt worden war, obwohl man doch Reparaturen in den meisten Orten — wenn auch selten — verrichten ließ. Im weiteren, wenn sie die kleineren Arbeiten auch restlos durchführen konnten, waren die befreiten Meister — infolge ihrer Gesamtzahl — allein nicht imstande, die gröSeren Reparaturen durchzuführen. Und letztens — zumindest den zur Verfügung stehenden Archivquellen nach — ist von der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts an der Zerfall dieses Systems zu beobachten, und von diesem Zeitpunkt an ist die gelegentliche Versammlung der Handwerker eine allgemeine Erscheinung. Davon zeugen auch die nach-

[68] A. Velics, *Defterek* I, 15, 18, 69.

[69] Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 396—97, und *Kanuni i kanun-name*, 23. Zur Beseitigung des Mangels an Handwerkern nahm man auch andere Mittel in Anspruch, zum Beispiel die Umsiedlung mit Gewalt. Laut Neşrî ging man auch im Feldzug von Meḥmed dem II., den er in den Jahren 1467—68 in Karmanien führte, vor: «Danach befahl der Padischah die Umsiedlung von Menschen aus Larende und Konya nach Istambul. Der Pascha Maḥmūd ließ viele von den Handwerkern umsiedeln.» S. Neşrî, *Kitâb-ı Cihannümâ* II, 783.

folgenden Beispiele: 1558 entsandte man zur Reparatur der Tataer Burg 9 Zimmerleute aus Csepel;[70] 1572 bestellte man zur Erneuerung der Burgen in Esztergom, Székesfehérvár und Szigetvár Zimmerleute und Handwerker aus den Sandschaks von Izwornik (Zvornik), Aladschahissar (Kruševac), Szendrő (Smederevo), Srem, Požega, Bosnien und Herzegowina;[71] zur Wiederherstellung von Várad sammelte man 1661 Maurer aus dem Gebiet von Eger und Temesvár.[72]

Man muß jedoch erwähnen, daß sich an manchen Stellen im 17. Jahrhundert — aufgrund der Gewohnheiten — ein System zu entfalten begann, und dementsprechend wurden die Handwerker zur Reparatur einer bestimmten Burg im allgemeinen aus demselben Gebiet herbeigerufen. Nach den Anfangsschwierigkeiten dienten zum Beispiel die Handwerker der Stadt Gyöngyös gewöhnlich in der Burg von Hatvan und man bezog sich in Streitfällen mit Erfolg auf diesen Brauch: im 17. Jahrhundert wurde in mehreren Sultanschen Anordnungen festgelegt, daß man die Handwerker von Gyöngyös außer der Burg in Hatvan sonst nirgendwo in Anspruch nehmen darf.[73]

Die gelegentliche Sammlung der Handwerker enthielt übrigens gewisse Elemente der Zwangsarbeit — besonders bei größeren Unternehmungen. Das unlängst zum Vorschein gekommene Material des Süleymānīye-Dschami von Istambul zeigt, daß eine so große Arbeit einen bedeutenden Teil der Handwerker des Reiches mobilisierte.[74] Solche Arbeiten ermöglichten es auch, die Handwerker zu registrieren und sie aufgrund dieser Registratur später wieder in Anspruch zu nehmen.[75] Die Zentralmacht war auch deshalb gezwungen solche Maßnahmen zu treffen, weil die Handwerker — wie die Tatsachen klar beweisen — in nicht entsprechend großer Zahl zur Verfügung standen. Es handelt sich nämlich nicht nur darum, daß bei größeren Bauarbeiten beinahe das

[70] L. Fekete—Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *a.a.O.*, 426.

[71] Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme defteri*, No. 16. 343.

[72] Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibl. H. No. Eb 387.

[73] Archiv der Stadt Gyöngyös, 12, 20, 73, 131, 151. Es ist interessant, daß sich die Türken in manchen Orten an die zur Zeit der ungarischen Monarchie entstandenen Gewohnheiten anpaßten. Zur Reparatur von Eger wurden zum Beispiel die Leibeigenen aus denselben Orten beordert, die früher von dem ungarischen Parlament dazu verpflichtet worden waren. S. Mihály Détshy, *Adalékok a törökkori Eger történetéhez* [Beiträge zur Geschichte von Eger in der Türkenzeit]: *Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* [Jahrbuch des Erlauer Museums] IV (Eger 1966), 159.

[74] Ö. L. Barkan, *Süleymaniye cami*, besonders S. 93—156.

[75] Die zu verschiedenen Arbeiten beorderten Handwerker wurden nämlich im allgemeinen in ein Verzeichnis aufgenommen. Die vom 26. August 1564 datierte und dem Kadi von Edirne zugesandte Anweisung verordnet zum Beispiel: «... Soviel Maurer und Zimmerleute du in der Umgebung des gut verteidigten Edirne nur findest, sollst du alle zusammensammeln, ihre Namen und Personalbeschreibung in den Defter eintragen und sie samt ihrer Ausrüstung ... hierherschicken.» A. Refik *Onuncu asır-i hicrîyyede Istanbul hayatı (961—1000)*, Istanbul 1333/1918, 26.

ganze Reich in Bewegung gesetzt wurde, sondern auch darum, daß dasselbe auch bei vielen anderen Arbeiten (in kleinerem Maße) getan wurde, deren Größe zum Beispiel mit dem Bau eines größeren Dschami nicht einmal verglichen werden konnte.[76] Im Zusammenhang mit dem Befreiungssystem sehen wir, daß das Problem sehr früh entstanden ist. So konnten wir auch beobachten, mit welchen Methoden man damals derartige Schwierigkeiten zu bewältigen suchte. Im Grunde änderte sich die Lage im 16—17. Jahrhundert auch nicht. Die Tatsache, daß in Istambul von Zeit zu Zeit keine Zimmerleute zu finden waren, hatte aber — neben den gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen — auch besondere Gründe.[77] Im allgemeinen ergab sich aber ein Teil der Sorgen zweifellos aus den mit den Arbeitslöhnen zusammenhängenden Problemen.

3. Arbeitslöhne der Handwerker. In der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts lag der Tagessold der zu den Besatzungen der ungarländischen Burgen gehörenden Handwerker zwischen 5 und 13 Aktschen, er betrug aber in den meisten Fällen 6 bis 8 Aktschen. Diese Summe entspricht dem Durchschnittssold der einfachen Soldaten, denn in Buda zum Beispiel bekamen die *müstaḥfiż* (Janitscharen) und die *ʿazab* (Infanteristen) im Jahre 1543 6 bis 7 Aktschen, die *ṭopčï* (Artilleristen) 10 Aktschen und nicht einmal der Sold der *gönüllü* (Freiwilligen) und der Kavalleristen überschrift 10 bis 12 Aktschen.[78] Im Vergleich zu anderen Angaben hat es den Anschein, als ob zu dieser Zeit überall im Reich ähnliche Löhne gezahlt wurden. Unter den an den Bauarbeiten des Süleymānïye Dschami arbeitenden Meistern bekamen die am besten Verdienenden täglich 10 bis 12 Aktschen, der Lohn der Arbeiter mit weniger Sachkenntnissen bewegte sich demgegenüber zwischen 7 bis 10, der der Gehilfen aber zwischen 4 bis 6 Aktschen.[79] Im großen und ganzen gestaltete sich auch das Gehalt der die Reparatur der Székesfehérvárer Burg durchführenden Handwerker im Jahre 1572 so, obwohl es hier zwischen den einzelnen Kategorien wesentlich größere Abweichungen gab. Während der Lohn der Maurer dem Durchschnittsgehalt entsprach, wurden die Zimmerleute und besonders

[76] An der Reparatur von Akkerman und Kilia arbeiteten 1490 zum Beispiel Handwerker aus Istanbul, Bursa, Edirne, Filibe, Sofia, Malkara, Silistre, Dimetoka, Burgas, Vize und aus vielen anderen Orten, s. Ö. L. Barkan, *a.a.O.*, 104.

[77] Die wichtigste von diesen Tatsachen ist, daß die hiesigen Handwerker oft gezwungen waren, an den Feldzügen teilzunehmen (Vgl. A. Refik, *Türk mimarları*, Istanbul 1936, 106—107, 131, 140—142 und A. Refik, *Hicrî on birinci*, 21, 24) und sie sind aus Selbstverteidigung oft einfach davongelaufen (A. Refik, *Onuncu asır-i hicrîyyede* . . . , 43—44. und A. Refik, *Türk mimarları*, 111—112).

[78] A. Velics, *Defterek* I, 18—19.

[79] Ö. L. Barkan, *Türk Yapı ve Yapı Malzemesi için Kaynaklar*: *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 17, c. 1—4, 17, und Ö. L. Barkan, *Süleymaniye cami*, besonders die Tabellen zwischen den Seiten 194 und 329.

die Schmiede ziemlich gering entlohnt, sie bekamen täglich 5 bzw. 3 Aktschen.[80]

Das Schatzamt zahlte im allgemeinen also den festgelegten Lohn. Das Problem bestand aber auch nicht darin, sondern vielmehr im Niveau der Löhne, weil dieses oft unter dem zum Leben nötigen Minimum lag. Dazu trugen in der hier behandelten Zeitperiode (in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts — im 17. Jahrhundert) zwei Faktoren entscheidend bei: die Geldentwertung und die Lohnfestlegungen der Zentralmacht. Der Interessengegensatz der Staatsmacht und der Handwerker wird durch den Erlaß, welches man dem Kadi von Istambul im Mai 1585 zusandte, ausgezeichnet beleuchtet. Aus diesem Befehl erfahren wir, daß «einige, ein Haus besitzende Personen», die an den Baustellen der Schatzkammer arbeitenden Handwerker mit dem Versprechen eines höheren Lohnes zu ihren eigenen Baustellen lockten und deshalb der Sultan folgende Anweisung gibt: «. . . ich erteile den Befehl, daß . . . du jene, die die Baustellen der Schatzkammer verließen und nach Geld lechzend anderwohin arbeiten gingen ernst ermahnen und zurückbeordern sollst, jenen Hausbesitzern bringe zur Kenntnis, daß sie vom Hïzïr-Tag bis zum Qāsim-Tag 12 Aktschen, vom Qāsim-Tag bis zum Hïzïr-Tag aber 10 Aktschen zahlen sollen . . . Wenn künftig so etwas geschieht, und der Bauherr einer aus der Stadt ist, soll er bestraft werden. Oder wenn er einer von den Pfründnern ist, sollst du mir dessen Namen, Personalbeschreibung, Truppe, Sold, also wenn er irgendeine Pfründe genießt, das alles melden, damit . . . er eine gerechte Strafe bekommt.»[81] Nach zwei Jahren aber, — wie es sich aus der dem Hauptarchitekten (*miʿmār baši*) zugesandten Anordnung heraustellt, — fanden die Handwerker den in obiger Weise festgesetzten Lohn auch mit den inzwischen vorgenommenen Erhöhunen zusammen nicht mehr genügend zur Sicherung ihres Unterhaltes: «Vor kurzem sandtest du mir einen Brief, in dem du darüber berichtest, daß der tägliche Lohn der Maurer, Zimmerleute und Steinarbeiter, das 12 Aktschen ausmachte, zu ihrem Unterhalt nicht ausreicht und ihnen daher 16 Aktschen gegeben werden müssen. Nachher erteilte ich einen edlen Befehl, in dem ich anordnete, daß der tägliche Lohn der Genannten 16 Aktschen ausmache, aber keinesfalls mehr. Aber jetzt, da der im Dienst des edlen *ṭuġra* stehende Mehmed Pascha an der Schwelle der Glückseeligkeit ein Dschami bauen läßt, und den dort Arbeitenden im Sinne meines hohen Fermān ein Tageslohn von 16 Aktschen gezahlt wird, diese verlangen aber mehr, meinend: «wenn ihr uns nicht mehr gebt, dann arbeiten wir nicht», weigern sie sich zu arbeiten und hadern so. Mit denen, die meinem hohen Fermān nicht gehorchen,

[80] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 553., A. Velics, *Defterek* I, 252—254. Die Handwerker bekamen manchmal neben dem festgelegten täglichen Lohn auch eine Kosten-Vergütung und Lebensmittelversorgung. Vgl. Barkan, *Süleymaniye cami*, 96—97; A. Velics, *ebenda*; Barkan, *1070—1071 (1660—1661) Tarihli Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Bir Mukayese*: *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 17, c. 1—4, 333.

[81] A. Refik, *Onuncu asır-i hicrîyyede*, 104.

muß man fertig werden . . .»[82] Diese Lage änderte sich bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts auch nicht: im Jahre 1609 hielten die auf dem Bau der Karawanserei von Edirne arbeitenden Handwerker ihren Lohn ebenfalls für gering, obwohl die besten Meister zu dieser Zeit täglich schon 25 Aktschen und auch die weniger guten 17—18 Aktschen verdienten.[83]

4. Die Hilfsarbeiter. Der Großteil der an den Reparaturen teilnehmenden Hilfskräfte kam auch unter türkischer Hoheit aus der Bauernschaft. Die türkischen Behörden nannten die zur Reparatur der Burgen herangezogenen Leibeigenen mit einem spezifischen Terminus «*ǧereḫōr*». Die ehemalige Bedeutung des Wortes war «täglichen Lohn Beziehender» (*yevmiye alan*).[84] Die *ǧereḫōr* wurden vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts an aus der christlichen Bevölkerung des Grenzgebietes geworben und bei Burgreparaturen, bei der Reinigung des Heeresstraßen, beim Transport von Kriegsmaterial eingesetzt.[85] Von der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts an, nachdem man die Rajas bei den ungarländischen türkischen Grenzburgen in ziemlich großer Anzahl in Anspruch genommen hatte, bedeutete das Wort *ǧereḫōr* eher den Begriff des «zur Burgreparatur bzw. Pflichtarbeit herangezogenen Leibeigenen» und es wurde im 17. Jahrhundert hauptsächlich in diesem allgemeinen Sinne gebraucht.

Über die Verwendung der Arbeitskraft der Bauernschaft in solcher Weise ist aus der ungarischen geschichtlichen Literatur vieles zu erfahren.[86] Deshalb möchte ich hier nur zwei Dinge erwähnen; einerseits, wenn es genau, gesetzlich, auch nicht festlegte, wurden zur Reparatur einer Burg im allgemeinen die *ǧereḫōr* eines und desselben Gebietes herangezogen;[87] andererseits, es

[82] *Ebenda*, 105—106. (Die Anweisung ist vom 21. Juni 1587 datiert) und A. Refik, *Türk mimarları*, 119—120, weiters vgl. S. 121—123.

[83] Das geht aus der Anweisung hervor, die am 6. Juni 1609 an den Kadi von Edirne und Inoz gesandt wurde. A. Refik, *Onuncu asır-i hicrîyyede*, 36. Es stimmt nachdenklich, wenn der Lohn diese Handwerker nicht befriedigte, wie sahen dann die in den ungarländischen Burgen Dienst leistenden Soldaten ihre eigene Lage, deren Sold im Vergleich zu dem Sold des 16. Jahrhunderts kaum oder gar nicht größer wurde. Jene sonderbare Angabe, laut der man dem die Lagerhäuser überwachenden Aga und den Schreibern 15, dem Zimmermann des Lagers aber 25 Aktschen pro Tag zahlte! — ist in der Soldliste aus dem Jahr 1619 der Burg von Kanizsa zu finden. (A. Velics, *Defterek* I, 402).

[84] M. F. Köprülüzade, *Bizans müesseselerinin osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri*: *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası* I (1931), 246—47.

[85] *Kanuni i kanun-name*, 23, 29, 35, 60; Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 396; Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *The first centuries*, 179.

[86] Dazu lieferte auch schon Ferenc Salamon, der große Monographienschreiber der Türkenzeit — des vorigen Jahrhunderts — reiche Angaben, s. *Magyarország a török hódoltság korában* [Ungarn in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft], Budapest 1886².

[87] Das ist zum Beispiel im Fall von Székesfehérvár gut zu beobachten, denn hier arbeiteten an den Reparaturen des 16. Jahrhunderts regelmäßig die *ǧereḫōr* des Sandschaks von Fehérvár, Simontornya, Szekszárd.

sieht so aus, daS — zumindest im 16. Jahrhundert — diese «Fronarbeiter» an den Bauvorhaben nicht unentgeltlich, sondern gegen einen festgesetzten Lohn arbeiteten. Nach einer Verrechnung vom 1. Oktober 1551 bekamen die *ǧereḫōr* der Sandschaks von Simontornya, Koppány, Mohács, Székesfehérvár, Zvornik, Szendrő (Smederevo), Srem, Aladschahissar und Požega und der zu einigen Ḫaṣṣ-Gütern gehörenden Städte an einer unbenannten Baustelle täglich 4 Aktschen.[88] Den an der Reparatur der Fehérvárer Burg teilnehmenden *ǧereḫōr* zahlte man täglich 3 Aktschen.[89] Obwohl diese Löhne ziemlich niedrig sind, ist die Tatsache der Lohnzahlung selbst beachtenswert, vor allem wenn wir in Anbetracht ziehen, daß zwischen den Jahren 1551 und 1555 im königlichen Ungarn zum Beispiel bei den Reparaturarbeiten der Burg von Eger sogar für die schwerste Arbeit nur 6—8 Denar pro Tag, d. h. 3—4 Aktschen gezahlt wurden.[90]

Zur Sicherung der Hilfskräfte wurden sowohl auf ungarischer als auch auf türkischer Seite die Gefangenen eingesetzt. Obwohl uns wenige konkrete Angaben bekannt sind, dürfte ihre Inanspruchnahme ziemlich rücksichtslos erfolgt sein, da der Budaer Beglerbeg zum Beispiel in einem Befehl vom 24. September 1568 folgendermaßen ermahnt wurde : «du sollst die Vorbereitungen für die Reparatur von Szigetvár so treffen, daß die Arbeit leicht beendet wird und du keine Kostenvergeudung und keinen Tod der Kriegsgefangenen verschuldest.»[91]

Bei dem Überlick über die Fragen der Burgreparaturen rückten bisher eher jene Momente in den Vordergrund, die die allgemeinen, gemeinsamen Züge der im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert durchgeführten Reparaturen charakterisierten.

Deshalb kann nach all dem auch lehrreich sein wenn wir im Fall von einer Burg untersuchen, wie häufig und unter welchen Umständen dort die Reparaturen und die Arbeiten der Instandhaltung vonstatten gingen. Zu einem solchen Überblick bietet sich Székesfehérvár als das beste Beispiel, weil die bezüglichen Angaben auch die Gegenüberstellung der Reparaturen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts ermöglichen. Vor allem gilt diese Feststellung für die Verrechnung der Reparaturarbeiten der Burg aus dem Jahre 1572 ; diese Verrechnung kann mit den aus dem Jahre 1614 über die Reparatur der Burg von Eger er-

[88] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 593.

[89] *Ebenda*, Mxt. 553. Ebenso regelmäßig bekamen auch die *reʿāyā* Geld, die die türkischen Behörden samt Wagen zum Transportierung beordert hatten. In den obigen Fällen wurden ihnen 4—5 bzw. 8 Aktschen gezahlt. S. noch Ö. L. Barkan, *Süleymaniye cami*, 104—105, und A. Velics, *Defterek* II, 58.

[90] Mihály Détshy, *Munkások és mesterek az egri vár építkezésein 1493 és 1596 között* [Arbeiter und Meister an den Bauten der Burg von Eger zwischen den Jahren 1493 und 1596] II : *Egri Múzeum Évkönyve* [Jahrbuch des Erlauer Museums] II (1964), 167.

[91] I. Karácson, *a.a.O.*, 93. vgl. noch R. Anhegger, *Beitrage zur osmanischen Baugeschichte* : *Istambuler Mitteilungen* 6 (1955), 100.

halten gebliebenen Akten ergänzt werden. Diese geben dann gemeinsam eine gute Information über die eingetretenen Änderungen.

Die ersten Berichte bezüglich der Reparatur der Burg von Székesfehérvár stammen aus den Jahren 1545—46: im Laufe von nicht ganz einem Jahr (7. September 1545—28. Juli 1546) gab man für die Instandsetzung der Burgmauern, des Kanonendepots, der Burgtore, des Waffendepots usw. 8012 Aktschen aus.[92] Irgendwann zwischen 1546 und 1550 fand jene Reparatur statt, bei welcher man «für die beim Bau der Burg nötigen Transportkosten» 62 000, für Werkzeuge aber 1000 Aktschen auszahlte.[93]

Danach sind Angaben von einer neueren Reparatur der Burg in den Budaer Rechnungsbüchern aus den Jahren 1558—60 zu finden: dreimal kommen hier Ausgabeposten des Burgbaues vor. Es handelte sich aber in keinem Fall um eine Generalreparatur, sondern um die Wiederherstellung einzelner Teile wie des Schießpulvermagazins, des Dschamis oder des Minaretts. Der ausgezahlte Betrag charakterisiert am besten den kleinen Umfang der Arbeiten, im Laufe deren insgesamt nur 5950 Aktschen ausgegeben wurden.[94] Zu genauso kleinen Reparaturen, Erneuerungen kam es Anfang der 1560er Jahre, als an einigen Toren der Burg, am Janitscharenquartier, an den Lagerhäusern usw. kleinere Reparaturen vorgenommen wurden.[95] Im Jahre 1568 fanden auch zweierlei Bauvorhaben statt: einerseits wurde zu dieser Zeit ein Teil der Planken in Székesfehérvár ausgebaut, anderseits fand in diesem Jahr der Umbau der Basilika zu militärischen Zwecken statt.[96] Das Jahr 1572 wird als Jahr der größten Bautätigkeit in der Burg in Székesfehérvár aufgefaßt.[97] Auch diese wurde aber durch die Unternehmung weit überholt, die — wenn sie verwirklicht wurde — wahrscheinlich die mächtigsten Bauarbeiten in der Geschichte von Székesfehérvár der Türkenzeit bedeutete: 1582 wurde die Reparatur Mauern und Planken in einer Länge von 5000 Ellen (*zirā'*) angeordnet.[98]

[92] A. Velics, *Defterek* II, 47. Die Türken eroberten Székesfehérvár am 2. September 1543 und die Stadt wurde — wegen ihrer strategischen Wichtigkeit — auf natürliche Weise zum Zentrum des hier bereits 1543 entstandenen Sandschaks. Székesfehérvár geriet 1601—1602 vorübergehend in die Hand der Ungarn, es blieb aber nach der Wiedereinnahme ganz bis zum 19. Mai 1688, als die Befreiungskämpfe die Stadt erreichten, im Besitz der Türken.

[93] A. Velics, *a.a.O.*, 58.

[94] L. Fekete—Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *a.a.O.*, 472, 496, 554.

[95] A. Velics, *a.a.O.*, 266—67.

[96] Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme defteri*, No. 7. S. 308., J. Fitz—L. Császár—I. Papp, *Székesfehérvár*, Budapest 1966, 18, und I. Karácson, *Királyaink síremlékeinek elpusztulása* [Vernichtung der Grabdenkmäler unserer Könige]: *Századok* 1911, 365—366.

[97] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 553.; A. Velics, *Defterek* I, 251—264.

[98] Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme defteri*, No. 48. 423.

Danach befestigte man die Burg zwischen 1596—99,[99] und später im Jahre 1601, Mitten im 15jährigen Krieg, als Vorbereitung auf den voraussichtlichen ungarischen Angriff.[100] (Die Burg fiel noch im selben Jahr den Ungarn in die Hand, auch die kaiserliche Kriegsleitung ließ sie erneuern bzw. teilweise umbauen).[101] Im August 1602 wurde die Burg wieder von den Türken besetzt, neue Angaben bezüglich der Reparatur sind aus dem Jahre 1629 erhalten, da wurden einige Türme und die Tore im Wert von 17 460 Aktschen repariert.[102] In den 1630—40er Jahren kam es zu einer relativ gründlichen Erneuerung. Es wurden unter anderem zwei große, «jeder einzelne zum Kampf von 7—800 Menschen geeignete» Türme, die Mauer am Wiener Tor, der Bogen und das Dach des Tores, die Brücke und Ziehbrücke hergestellt; man erneuerte das Dachwerk des Ärarialpalastes, des Lagerhauses und des Kanonendepots und außerdem wechselte man das Dach des in der Stadt liegenden ärarischen Dschami aus.[103] Danach wurden die Mauern wieder in den Jahren 1648, 1650[104] und am Anfang der 60er Jahre erneuert. Bis zu diesem letzten Zeitpunkt verschlechterte sich der Zustand der Burg wieder in hohem Maße, weil — laut Feststellung der in der Angelegenheit des Baues an den Sandschakbeg von Fehérvár Anfang August 1663 gesandten Verordnung — «eine 553 Ellen (*zirāʿ*) lange Mauer an der westlichen Seite der Burg vom Ṣūret-Tor bis zum Mürteẓā-paša-Turm veraltert ist.[105]» Davon wurden übrigens in den 5 Jahren vorher schon etwa 250 Ellen repariert, die Arbeiten hatten nämlich damals, also etwa 1658 begonnen. Wir wissen von den Arbeiten aus dem Jahre 1663 auch über deren unmittelbaren Grund. In diesem Jahr brach zwischen den zwei Gegnern wieder ein Krieg aus und die Burgbesatzung mußte wegen der Änderung der Frontlinien auf eventuelle Angriffe vorbereitet sein. Deshalb schrieb der bisherige Kadi beinahe verzweifelt in das Lager des Sultans «wenn die übrigen 204 Ellen der Mauer beschädigt bleiben und nicht wieder hergestellt werden, sind wir zur Abwehr des Angriffes und des Sturmes der Ungläubigen nicht imstande.»[106]

Von den aufgezählten Burgreparaturen, wie ich bereits erwähnte, ist die Aufstellung von den Kosten der Reparatur im Jahre 1572 erhalten, die folgen-

[99] A. Velics, *Defterek* I, 392.

[100] A. Velics, *Defterek* II, 696. Aus der Verrechnung des Budaer Wilajets am 16. April 1601.: «Ausgaben. Preis des zur nötigen Reparatur in der Burg zu Székesfehérvár gekauften Holzes und Arbeitslöhne 34 220 Aktschen».

[101] J. Fitz—L. Császár—I. Papp, *a.a.O.*, 18—19, und J. Fitz, *Török erődítések Fejér megyében I* [Türkische Festungen im Komitat Fejér I] *Székesfehérvár*, Sz. fehérvár 1956, 101.

[102] A. Velics, *Defterek* I, 438—39.

[103] Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi. E 895.

[104] J. Fitz—L. Császár—L. Papp, *a.a.O.*, 27; Gy. Gerő, *a.a.O.*, 122.

[105] Dresden, Sachs. Landesbibl. H. No. Eb 387.

[106] *Ebenda.*

den Titel trägt: «Verzeichnis der Gesamtrechnung der zur Ausbesserung der Burg in Istōlni Belġrād (Székesfehérvár) verwendeten Kosten, aus der Feder von Sinān *beg*, dem Notar der Budaer Janitscharen, dem *ziʿāmet*-Inhaber von Srem (Szerém) als Finanzkommissar (*emīn*), sowie von Naṣūḥ, dem *tīmār*-Inhaber von Seksār (Szekszárd) als Finanzschreiber vom 1. des heiligen Muḥarrem (Monats) des 980. Jahres bis zum 6. des Rebīʿülevvel (Monats) des genannten Jahres (13. Mai 1572—16. Juli 1572).»[107]

Im Laufe der mehr als zwei Monate lang dauernden Bauarbeiten verwendete man insgesamt 66 470 Aktschen und diese Summe wurde aus drei Quellen gedeckt: einerseits aus dem Budaer staatlichen Schatzamt, aus dem 30 000 Aktschen kamen, andererseits durch Überweisung eines der Kommissare der Fehérvárer ärarischen Einkommen (*muqāṭaʿa*), diese machte 50 000 Aktschen aus, und letztens durch den Verkauf von alten, abgenützten Brettern, dadurch flossen 597 Aktschen ein. Das alles machte 80 597 Aktschen aus, es wurden also von dem vorher gesammelten Betrag 14 127 Aktschen erspart.

Unter den Ausgabeposten standen die für verschiedene Baumaterialien verwendeten Beträge an einer überraschend bescheidenen Stelle. Für Kalk, Stein, Sand und Balken gab man nichts aus, bzw. man zahlte nur deren Transport. Demnach wurden diese als Steuer oder eben auf andere Weise beschafft; unter anderem auf solche Art und Weise, von der die folgende Eintragung der Abrechnung zeugt: «Die erwähnten Steine gab Ḥamza, einer der *sipāhī* von Istōlni Belġrād, *aġa* der genannten Burg, aus seinem eigenen in der Stadt liegenden alten Haus kostenlos und es wird deshalb gebeten, ihm als Ehrung ein *ziʿāmet*-Gut zu schenken.» Man kann bezüglich des Kalks lesen: «Die genannte Kalkmenge wurde von den *reʿāyā*s des Sandschaks von Istōlni Belġrād ... gebrannt.» Auf solche Weise wurde mit insgesamt 746 Wagen Kalk zusammengetragen, davon verbrauchte man eine Menge von 576 Wagen, 170 Wagen sind also übrig geblieben. Von Brettern beschaffte man eine Menge von 407 Wagen, davon blieben 124 Stück auf Lager, an Steinen brachte man 1160 Wagen heran, davon blieben 20 übrig. Lezteres bedeutete also, daß man außer der Abreißung des Hauses des erwähnten Spahi Steine auch von anderswo bezog.[108]

Für die durch Ankäufe bezogenen Materialien gab man laut der Eintragung am Anfang des Postens 3037 Aktschen aus. In Wirklichkeit wurden aber 150 Aktschen nicht dafür ausgegeben, sondern «für die Transportkosten der ärarischen Hämmer und Eisenschaufeln, diese gerieten durch Meḥmed, den

[107] Wien, Nat.-Bibl. Türk. Hss. Mxt. 553. Die Verrechnung wurde von A. Velics veröffentlicht, seine Publikation ist aber so mangelhaft, daß nur der ursprüngliche Archivtext brauchbar ist (*Defterek* I, 251—264).

[108] Die Menge der verwendeten Steine kennen wir nicht. In der Verrechnung sind nämlich die für den Transport von Steinen und Sand ausgezahlten Kosten in einem Posten rubriziert, so kann man die Menge weder vom einen noch vom anderen feststellen.

Ketḫüdā der genannten Burg nach Belġrād» (d.h. Fehérvár) und weitere 200 Aktschen wurden ebenfalls als Löhne ausgezahlt.[109] Von der übriggebliebenen Summe zahlte man 2080 Aktschen für die 416 Stück (einzeln im Wert von 5 Aktschen) Nadelholzbretter aus, die hauptsächlich beim Umbau des Wächterhauses der Burg verwendet wurden. Außerdem kosteten die «für Bedürfnisse des genannten Baues» gekauften 107 Holzschaufeln 107 Aktschen, während 500 Aktschen zur Beschaffung anderer Werkzeuge ausgegeben wurden.

Einer der interessantesten Teile der Abrechnung ist vielleicht der, der die Aufzählung bzw. Entlohnung der den Bau durchführenden Meister und anderer Arbeitskräfte enthält. Daraus geht hervor, daß im Laufe der Arbeiten Maurer, Zimmerleute und Schmiede als Tagelöhner, im weiteren zwei Personen zum Löschen des Kalkes und mehrere Hunderte von *ǧereḫōr* für Massenarbeiten angestellt wurden. Die Maurer teilte man — aus unbekannten Gründen — in zwei Kategorien ein, von denen die erste Gruppe auch mit Lebensmitteln versorgt wurde, die andere aber nicht. Die erste Gruppe, die aus 14 Maurern bestand, verdiente anfangs neben der Versorgung noch 5 Aktschen, mit dieser Löhnung wurden ihnen insgesamt 1170 Aktschen ausgezahlt.[110] Während der Arbeiten traf aber aus Istambul ein Befehl ein, in dessen Sinne in die Verrechnung das Folgende eingetragen wurde: «Die genannten Maurer, die eine Versorgung bekommen, verdienten bisher im Sinne des früher herausgegebenen edlen Diploms (*berāt*) einen Tagelohn von je 5 Aktschen; jetzt traf wieder eine edle Anweisung (*tezkere*) ein, in der angeordnet wird, daß ihnen je 8 Aktschen gegeben werden sollen; so wurden der edlen Anweisung entsprechend je 8 Aktschen gegeben.» Im weiteren zahlte man der sich inzwischen auf 13 Köpfe verminderten Maurergruppe bei diesem Tageslohn von von 8 Aktschen 2624 Aktschen aus (aus irgendeinem Grund fehlt ein Mann aus der zweiten Lohnliste). Der Lohn der nicht mit Lebensmitteln versorgten Maurer ist — laut «dem edlen Diplom» — «hoch, mittelmäßig und niedriger festgelegt worden.» Von den zu dieser Gruppe gehörenden 21 Leuten bekamen 10 täglich 10 Aktschen, 5 täglich 7, 2 täglich 6 und 4 Personen 5 Aktschen, an die 21 Personen zahlte man insgesamt 6999 Aktschen aus.[111] Was der Grund der Differenzierung in diesem Fall sein konnte, wurde nicht geklärt. Es handelt sich jedenfalls um keine alleinstehende Tatsache: die differenzierte Entlöhnung der Handwerker war ein allgemeiner Brauch.

Man sicherte der aus 34 Zimmerleuten bestehenden Gruppe einheitlich je 5 Aktschen pro Tag, es wurden an sie alles in allem 1905 Aktschen ausge-

[109] Und zwar für Aga Naṣūḥ als Lohn der bei der Vorbereitung des Baues verrichteten Arbeit.

[110] Bei diesen Maurern schwankt die Zahl der Arbeitstage ziemlich, sie beträgt von 7 bis 22 Tagen.

[111] Die Zahl ihrer abgearbeiteten Tage wechselte zwischen 29 und 46, die Mehrheit leistete aber 41—45 Tage ab.

zahlt.[112] Die 14 Schmiede bekamen neben dem Tagelohn von 5 Aktschen 537 Aktschen (durchschnittlich arbeiteten sie 14—15 Tage), die zwei Kalklöscher verdienten während der Bauarbeiten — mit 5 Aktschen pro Tag, je 30 Tage — insgesamt 300 Aktschen.

In der Verrechnung wurden in mehreren Fällen auch der Wohnort und «der bürgerliche Beruf» der Handwerker angeführt. So ging man zum Beispiel auch bezüglich der mit Lebensmittel versorgten Maurer vor, und den sich auf diese beziehenden Eintragungen ist zu entnehmen, daß jeder von den 14 Personen Söldner der Fehérvárer Burg war. Unter ihnen sind Janitscharen, *ṭopčï*, *ʿazab* und auch südslawische Martolōsen zu finden.[113] In der anderen Gruppe der Handwerker, in der der Beruf nicht angegeben war, finden wir nicht nur Türken bzw. Südslawen sondern auch ungarische Meister, die mehr als die Hälfte dieser Gruppe ausmachten. Die Schmiede sind außer 2 Personen ebenfalls Türken und Südslawen und nur die Gruppe der Zimmerleute bestand zur entscheidenden Mehrheit aus ungarischen Meistern.[114]

Was konnte der Grund dafür gewesen sein, daß mit dem beträchtlicheren Teil der Facharbeit die besoldete Burgbesatzung beauftragt wurde, die die betreffende Arbeit vermutlich nicht immer auf Meisterniveau verrichten konnte? Es kann nämlich nicht bezweifelt werden, daß die türkischen Namen fast ausschließlich einen Soldaten decken, da die dortige bürgerliche türkische Bevölkerung kaum fähig gewesen wäre, Handwerker in solcher Zahl zu stellen. Die Antwort darauf bekommen wir mittelbar aus der Anweisung, die am 7. Mai 1572 dem Budaer Beglerbeg in der Angelegenheit der Reparatur von Székesfehérvár, Esztergom und Szigetvár zugesandt wurde. Aus dieser früher bereits zitierten Anweisung stellt sich heraus, daß man die zur Erneuerung unentbehrliche Zimmerleute und Maurer ursprünglich aus den Sanschaks von Zvornik, Aladschahissar, Smederevo, Srem, Požega, Bosnien und Herzegowina hierher beordert hatte.[115] Da diese Handwerker aber in der Verrechnung nicht vorkommen waren, sie offenbar auch nicht eingetroffen, und man war deshalb gezwungen, zu den Arbeiten das örtliche Militär heranzuziehen.

Der größte Ausgabeposten wurde unter folgendem Titel aufgezeichnet: «Die Löhne der *ǧereḫōr* von den genannten Liwa». Insgesamt 1020 Personen

[112] Die Streuung in der Zahl der abgearbeiteten Tage ist hier noch größer: es gab zum Beispiel 3 Männer, die 47 Tage gearbeitet hatten, während die Mehrheit nur an 5—10 Tagen teilnahm (A. Velics, *a.a.O.*, 254, — er hatte den sich auf die Zimmerleute beziehenden Posten mißverstanden, er ließ außer acht, daß die den türkischen Zimmerleuten folgenden Namen ebenfalls Zimmerleute sind, aber Ungarn).

[113] Zum Beispiel «Ilyās bin ʿAbdullāh, *merd* (Janitschar) der Burg von Istōlni Belġrād», «Muṣṭafā, *ʿazab* der genannten Burg», «G'ūrqō, *martolōs* der genannten Burg».

[114] Unter den 34 Personen stoßen wir alles in allen auf 8 Zimmerleute türkischen und slawischen Namens. Die 26 ungarischen Zimmerleute kamen aus den Dörfern Polgárdi, Kajár, Füle, Lepsény und Kenese und arbeiteten einander ablösend.

[115] Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme defteri*, No. 16. 343.

leisteten solchen Dienst, sie kamen aus drei Sandschaks: aus Székesfehérvár (von hier kamen 418), aus Simontornya (von hier 361) und aus Szekszárd (von hier 241). Wie die ungarischen Zimmerleute arbeiteten sie auch einander ablösend (*be-nöbet*) und erhielten einzeln eine tägliche Löhnung von 3 Aktschen. Diesen 1020 Personen wurden alles in allem 40 968 Aktschen gezahlt. Ebenfalls aus den erwähnten Gebieten kamen jene Wagen, mit denen das Baumaterial an den Bestimmungsort befördert wurde. Die Beförderung wurde ebenfalls gegen Entlohnung gewünscht, den Kalkwagen zahlte man je 8 Aktschen, den Wagen, die Bauholz sowie Stein und Sand lieferten, zahlte man je 5 Aktschen, so betrug die Gesamtsumme der Transportkosten 8230 Aktschen. Diese Summe belief sich zusammen mit den Löhnen der *ǧereḫōr* auf 49 198 Aktschen, sie beträgt — auf bemerkenswerte Weise — etwas mehr als 74% der Gesamtausgaben.[116]

Wollen wir jetzt kurz überblicken, was unter den erwähnten Umständen an der Burg repariert bzw. gebaut wurde. Dem nicht sehr ausführlichen Bericht nach wurden — in Bau-ellen (*binā ẕirāʿ*) gemessen — 225 Ellen neue Mauern gebaut und 200 Ellen alte Mauern repariert. Über die Mauern berichtet eine Aufzeichnung folgendermaßen: «Der genannte neue Bau ist vom Grund bis zur Basteihöhe 12 Ellen hoch und 3 Ellen breit. Nach Zusammenzählung betrug das 11 860 Kubikellen.» Außerdem wurden vor Beginn der großen Bauarbeiten an den zur Burg gehörenden Planken 1700 Ellen Heckenmauer aufgestellt, die Pfähle ausgewechselt und die Erde gestampft.[117]

Im Jahre 1614 — kaum 50 Jahre nach den Bauarbeiten in Fehérvár — kam es zur Reparatur der Burg von Eger. Die darüber gemachten Aufzeichnungen sind deshalb besonders interessant, weil darin außer der Verrechnung auch die bezüglich der Reparatur ausgegebenen Sultanschen Anweisungen erhalten sind. Diese vermitteln ein genaues Bild vom damaligen Zustand des Verwaltungapparates.[118]

[116] Dies enthält jene 700 Aktschen, die für Folgendes ausgegeben wurden, nicht: aus dem Szekszárder Sandschak — wie in einer Eintragung zu lesen ist — «sind 360 Mann früher gekommen und nachdem sie ihren Dienst verrichtet hatten, gingen sie weg.» Denen, die auch 101 Wagen mitgebracht hatten, «überwies Ṭurḫan *sipāhī* — ein Mann von Maḥmūd *beg*, *mīr-i livā* von Seksār (Szekszárd), — für Lebensmittel aus eigener Hand 700» Aktschen. Laut einem anderen Posten der Verrechnung kamen auch aus dem Sandschak von Simontornya zu diesem früheren Zeitpunkt 80 Leute (sowie 80 Wagen), diese sind aber in der Detaillierung nicht angeführt und es ist weder auf ihre Versorgung mit Lebensmittel noch ihren Lohn ein Hinweis zu finden.

[117] S. vorige Anmerkung; diese früher angekommenen arbeiteten auf den Planken.

[118] Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliye 158. Die Burg von Eger konnte dem zweiten großten türkischen Sturm nicht widerstehen und öffnete am 12. Oktober 1596 dem Sultan Mehmed III. selbst die Tore. Danach war die Burg 91 Jahre lang ein wichtiges türkisches Zentrum in Ungarn, das am 17. Dezember 1687 für die Türken endgültig verloren ging. — Über die Reparatur von Eger in der Türkenzeit konnte ich folgende Angaben

Anfang Juni 1614 sandte man an Pascha Ibrāhīm, den Beglerbeg von Eger, folgende Verordnung: «Nachdem gemeldet worden ist, daß einige Stellen der Burg von Egri dem Verfall nahe stehen, und ihre Reparatur unaufschiebbar ist, wurden aus meiner Sultanschen Schatzkammer derzeit zwei *yük* [200 000] Aktschen geschickt. Ich befehle, . . . wenn mein edler Erlaß bei Euch eintrifft, sollt ihr die Wiederherstellung der der Reparatur bedürftigen Stellen sofort in Angriff nehmen und die Burg verstärken und bauen lassen. Das nötige Geld nehmet von den Aktschen, die ich mit einem meiner Diener jetzt schicke und beendet diese Sache. Wartet aber nicht das Eintreffen des genannten Geldes ab, sondern fanget die Reparatur sofort an und meldet schriftlich, wie ihr vorwärtskommt.» Der erste Teil der Anweisung beleuchtet also, daß der Bau aufgrund der Meldung der örtlichen Behörden angeordnet wurde. Die weiteren Teile berichten aber darüber, daß um die Bereitstellung des nötigen Geldes etwas nicht in Ordnung war. Diese Vermutung wird durch die etwas später, doch noch auf den selben Monat datierte Anordnung bestätigt, die zum Teil den Inhalt des obigen Befehls wiederholt, gleichzeitig aber auch ein neues Element beinhaltet: sie ermutigt den Beglerbeg, den Bau mittels Anleihe bzw. Kredit anzufangen.: «. . . mit der Beschaffung der zur Reparatur der genannten Burg nötigen Materialien — seien diese Stein, Kalk oder sonst etwas — sollt ihr, angenommen, daß das Geld noch nicht angekommen ist, nicht zögern und Bedenken tragen. Bis das Geld bei dir ankommt, lasse Stein, Kalk und andere Materialien dringend zusammentragen und fange den Bau an. Nachdem das Geld eingetroffen ist, verteile es an die Eigentümer.»

Der Beglerbeg konnte darauf — wie auch seine Verrechnung zeigt — nichts anderes tun, als den größten Teil der nötigen Summe aus seinem eigenen Vermögen vorzustrecken, und wie es die im Juni 1614 datierte Anordnung bezeugt, begann er den Bau. Aus der Anordnung, die dem Beglerbeg von Bosnien im Zusammenhang mit obiger Reparatur zugeschickt wurde, geht klar hervor: die Pforte hatte den Beglerbeg von Eger irregeführt, als sie ihn früher über das Absenden des Geldes verständigte, sie erteilte nämlich dem Pascha

sammeln: die Burg wurde kurz nach der Eroberung repariert (Archiv der Stadt Gyöngyös 12, I. Karácson, *Evlia Cselebi török világutazó magyarországi utazásai* [Ungarländische Reisen von Evlia Cselebi, dem türkischen Weltreisenden] I (1660—1664), Budapest 1904, 116), dann im Jahre 1614 und am Ende der 1630er Jahre (Istanbul, Topk. Sar. Arşivi, E 895.); Köprülü Mehmed ließ zwischen 1655 und 1658 die Mauern und Tore der Stadt verstärken und auch eine Schießpulvermühle bauen, die auch als Befestigung diente (I. Karácson, *a.a.O.*, 117, József Nagy, *Eger története* [Geschichte von Eger], Budapest 1978, 150—151); 1672 wurden das Dschami und dessen Minarett des die Burg eroberten Sultans Mehmed III. neugebaut (I. Karácson, *Török—magyar oklevéltár* [Türkisch—ungarisches Urkundenarchiv], 278) und es gibt noch eine Angabe über die Reparatur im Jahr 1681 (M. Détshy, *Adalékok* [Beiträge], 159).

von Bosnien die Anweisung, für Reparaturzwecke der Burg von Eger 200 000 Aktschen einzuziehen.[119]

Während die Schatzkammer ihre Versuche, Geld zu beschaffen, fortsetzte, gingen die Bauarbeiten zu Ende. In der ins Zentrum geschickten Verrechnung wurde zwar nicht festgehalten, wieviel Zeit die Bauarbeiten in Anspruch nahmen, aber die Zahl der Arbeitstage der Zimmerleute und Steinmetzen zeigt, daß der Bau 100 Tage lang dauerte. Neben der in der Anordnung angesetzten Reparatur der Burgen von Eger und Cserép (in der Nähe von Eger) sowie des ärarischen Getreidespeichers kam es auch zur Reparatur des staatlichen Dschami. Die Gesamtkosten des ganzen Baues machten 173 489 Aktschen aus, die also der Beglerbeg bzw. zum Teil andere hohe Persönlichkeiten liehen.[120] Davon gab man für den Materialankauf 61 489 Aktschen aus,[121] den größten Ausgabeposten bilden auch hier — wie in Székesfehérvár — die verschiedenen Löhne. An der Reparatur der Burg in Eger wirkten insgesamt 20 Zimmerleute und Steinmetzen mit (einzeln wurde ihre Zahl nicht angegeben) und diese bekamen 35 Aktschen täglich. So, nachdem sie alle je 100 Tage gearbeitet hatten, zahlte man an sie 70 000 Aktschen aus. An der Reparatur des Dschami und der Burg von Cserép nahmen 12 Zimmerleute und Steinmetzen teil, die bei ähnlicher Löhnung für 100 Tage insgesamt 42 000 Aktschen aufnehmen konnten. Es überrascht einigermaßen, daß keine Angaben über die Anwerbung von *ǧereḫōr* enthalten sind. Demgemäß wurden diese entweder nicht in Anspruch genommen oder aber sie erhielten kein Entgelt. Dieser Vermutung widerspricht die Praxis in Székesfehérvár, daß nämlich die bezahlte Fronarbeit üblich war, anderseits wo die *ǧereḫor* anwesend waren, dort werden sie meistens auch erwähnt. Es ist jedenfalls eine Tatsache, daß beinahe 64,5% der Gesamtkosten auch ohne die *ǧereḫōr* als Löhne ausgezahlt wurden.

Die Reparaturarbeiten gingen also auf solche Weise zu Ende, die Kraft der Pforte erschöpfte sich aber auch im weiteren in verschiedenen Aktionen zur Geldbeschaffung, sie war nicht fähig, dem Beglerbeg die geliehene Summe zurückzuzahlen. Das wird auch mit der am Anfang des nächsten Jahres, am 31. Januar 1615 datierten Anordnung bewiesen, welche man dem Kadi von Šehirköy und dem dortigen Steuereinnehmer zuschickte. Sie wurden angewiesen dem Beglerbeg von Eger aus der auch bisher uneinbringlichen *ǧizye*-Steuer der Jahre 1612—13 des Bezirzes Šehirköy von 150 000 Aktschen zu überweisen.

[119] «. . . Ibrāhīm, der Beglerbeg von Eger, meldete, daß die Reparatur der Burgen Egri und Čerep (Cserép) sowie des ärarischen Getreidespeichers im Gange ist . . . Dazu sollst du die *tüfenkči-bedeli*-Steuer des Eyalet von Bosna, . . . 200 000 Aktschen . . . erheben.»

[120] Vgl. die bezügliche Anweisung: «Aus eigenem Vermögen und von einigen Personen nahm er . . . 173 489 Aktschen auf.»

[121] Die Summe verteilte sich folgendermaßen: 26 666 Aktschen verwendete man für Schindeln, die Bretter kostete 16 000 Aktschen und schließlich gab man für verschiedene Nägel 18 823 Aktschen aus.

Der Vorsuch, Geld zu beschaffen, war wieder mißlungen. Aus der letzten in dieser Beziehung erhaltenen Anordnung ist ersichtlich, daß es der Pforte nicht gelang, bis zum Ṣafar-Monat 1025 (19. Februar 1616—19. März 1616) auch nur eine Aktsche zu sammeln. Der Befehl wurde wieder dem Beglerbeg von Bosnien zugeschickt, darin wieder die Einhebung der Steuer angeordnet, die man auch früher nicht hatte eintreiben können.

Die Lage des seinem Geld nachtrauernden Paschas Ibrāhīm war somit ziemlich hoffnungslos. Um so mehr, da er inzwischen wahrscheinlich auch sein Amt verloren hatte, die zitierte Anordnung erwähnte ihn ja als «den früheren Beglerbeg von Eger».[122] Ähnlich bezeichnete ihn auch die Aufzeichnung, die irgendwann Mitte 1616 zur Zusammenfassung der Angelegenheit und Kundgebung der Forderungen der Gläubiger dem Sultan unterbreitet wurde. Darauf antwortete vermutlich die Eintragung, laut der befohlen worden war am 1. Juli 1616 «. . . aus der Schatzkammer 13 000, aus der *muqāṭaʿa* von . . . 160 000 Aktschen zu überweisen.» Auf die Erfüllung der Bitte des Paschas, die Zurückzahlung des Geldes läßt aber eher die Tatsache schließen, daß bezüglich dieser Angelegenheit keine Urkunde mehr erhalten ist.

Die hier dargelegten zwei Burgbauvorhaben liegen zeitlich nicht sehr weit voneinander entfernt, wir können aber ruhig sagen, daß sie trotzdem in zwei verschiedenen Epochen der Geschichte des Reiches durchgeführt worden waren. Obwohl ich hier auf die Darstellung jener Prozesse durch welche das Reich von der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts auf fast allen Gebieten seines Lebens in eine Krise geriet, nicht eingehen kann, möchte ich doch die Aufmerksamkeit darauf lenken, wie überzeugend die Beispiele — einander gegenübergestellt — die Entstehung dieser Krise bezeugen. Diese Reparaturen fanden nicht nur in zwei unterschiedlichen Epochen statt sondern sie vetreten durch die Art ihrer Verwirklichung selbst auch zwei verschiedene Epochen. Der zuerst untersuchte Bau in Székesfehérvár wurde an der Grenze jener verhältnismäßig schwungvolleren Periode durchgeführt, die zum Schaffen noch Kraft hatte, der Bau in Eger aber fand dann statt, als bereits Hilflosigkeit und leere Schatzkammern charakteristisch waren. Aufgrund des gesagten muß man nämlich feststellen, daß in der Bautätigkeit bedeutende Änderungen im großen und ganzen vom letzten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts, von den 1570er Jahren an zu beobachten sind. Auf diese Zeit fällt das Verschwinden der Handwerker in den Burgbesatzungen, die Entstehung der Praxis «des Reparaturgeldes»,

[122] Der Pascha klagte über diese schwere Lage bereits in seiner zusammen mit Naṣrullāh, dem Kadi von Eger, eingesandten Verrechnung: «Das erwähnte Geld wurde durch Anleihe verschafft und verwendet. Da es bis heute nicht zurückgezahlt wurde, hören wir nicht auf, im Elend zu leben. Seine Majestät, mein Sultan, wird darum gebeten, aus dem Jahreseinkommen die 3 *yük* Aktschen zu senden». Und schließlich wagte er sogar, auch folgenden Rat zu geben: «Die Burgen des Padišahs sollen zur rechten Zeit repariert und gebaut werden!»

zu dieser Zeit ist der Rückgang der Wirksamkeit der Reparaturen zu beobachten usw. Von hier an, hauptsächlich im 17. Jahrhundert, ist — von kürzeren Perioden abgesehen — nur der Wettlauf mit den Ereignissen zu bemerken. Man kann erfahren, wie die Initiative der Hand der Administration entgleitet.

Eben diese, bereits erwähnten «außergewöhnlichen» Perioden zeigen, wie sehr der gesellschaftliche Zustand der gegebenen Periode auch bei den Burgbauten entscheidend ist. Die Fragen werden nicht von Zeit und Raum losgelöst aufgeworfen, ob die Türken im allgemeinen gebaut haben oder nicht. Es ist nämlich kein Zufall, daß es gerade in der gegebenen Zeitperiode zur umfassenden Rekonstruktion der erwähnten Burgen des ungarländischen Gebietes kam: zu dieser Zeit nämlich überwand das Reich auch in anderer Hinsicht einigermaßen jene große Krise, die als Ursache und Folge nicht von 15jährigen Krieg getrennt werden kann. In dieser Zeit, unter der Herrschaft von Sultan Murād IV. (1623—1640), können wir wieder die Herausbildung einer dynamischeren Führung verfolgen, deren Wirkung sich sofort auch auf diesem Gebiet zeigte. Eine ebensolche vorübergehende, verhältnismäßig aktivere Periode folgte unter den zwei Köprülü (den Paschas Meḥmed und Aḥmed), ihre Wirkung zeigte sich sofort auch bei den Burgrestaurierungen.

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OTTOMAN LAND POLICY AND SOCIAL CHANGE: THE SYRIAN PROVINCES

BY

SHERRY LEE WILLIAMS (Los Angeles)

The Ottoman conquest of the Syrian provinces began in 1516. The territory was divided into three, and later (1660) made into four, separate provinces (*eyalet*) : Tripoli, Sidon, Halep and Şam.[1] In 1864, the Law of Vilayets provided for the reorganization of the Ottoman provinces. Larger territorial units were to be placed under the direct control of a government-appointed official.[2] The four Syrian provinces in existence since 1660 were then consolidated into the larger provinces (*vilayet*) of Aleppo and Syria. The vilayet of Syria was further divided with the creation of the independent *mustasarıflık* of Lebanon in 1861, the independent mutasarıflık of Jerusalem in 1873, and the vilayet of Beirut in 1888.[3] Until the outbreak of World War I, the Syrian provinces, however defined, were an integral part of the Ottoman territories. It was not until after World War I that the area, under the sway of international politics, was permanently partitioned into three distinct territorial entities: Lebanon, Syria and Palestine.

As the Syrian provinces came under Ottoman control, Ottoman administration was embarking on a period of major change. From the narrow confines of a frontier principality occupied in religious warfare, the Ottoman dynasty had expanded to cover a vast region of land. Behind the march of *ghazi* warriors fighting to extend the domain of the holy faith, institutions based on earlier Islamic models had been established and adapted to the needs of the Ottoman state. By the sixteenth century, however, the empire was reaching the limit of expansion, and the administrative system of a state expanding through military conquest would have to be readapted to the needs of a state operating within stationary territorial boundaries. The direction of institutional change which began in the sixteenth century was, to a large extent, determined by the prevailing military and fiscal circumstances of the time.

[1] Poliak, pp. 50—51.

[2] B. Lewis, p. 387.

[3] Cuinet, pp. 203, 513 and 3. Cuinet does not include the vilayet of Aleppo in what would properly be called the Syrian provinces under Ottoman rule. The vilayet of Aleppo (the eyalet of Halep) is included here because a portion of that territory has been incorporated into the modern state of Syria.

The classical Ottoman land system

The land system which prevailed during the earlier days of Ottoman rule was based on the fact of military expansion and the constant acquisition of new territories. The Ottoman cavalry (*sipahi*) were compensated for military service by a grant of land, or *timar*,[4] on which they were entitled to levy and retain a specified amount in taxes. Neither they nor the actual cultivators of the land (*reâyâ*) obtained ownership. All agricultural land belonged to the sultan as representative of the religious community.[5]

A certain balance was maintained between the rights and obligations of the sipahi and the rights and obligations of his reâyâ, or *fellâḥîn* as peasants were known in the Syrian provinces. The peasant-cultivator enjoyed the right of usufruct (*taṣarruf*), the right to work a given amount of land (*çift*), as long as he cultivated it properly and paid the required dues.[6] The principal tax he was obliged to pay was the tithe (*uṣr*), legally fixed at one tenth of the total crop yield.[7] This he paid to the sipahi whose jurisdiction he fell under. The timar was meant to provide the sipahi with a livelihood (*dirlik*). It entitled him «to collect a fixed amount of state revenue from the people in a defined area of land.»[8] It also allowed him, until the second half of the sixteenth century, to retain a portion of the land granted him for his own use.[9] The sipahi could not eject a peasant from his land without cause, nor could he exact more than the legal amount of tithe or dues.[10] Neither the taṣarruf of the peasant nor the dirlik of the sipahi represented ownership rights. The land could not be sold,

[4] To be precise, timar land fell into three categories : *hâs*, *zeâmet* and timar proper Hâs land was attached to an office. The beylerbeyi, the sancak beyis and financial administrators of the provinces enjoyed revenues from such land as long as they served in office (Granott, p. 25). The zeâmet and the timar, on the other hand, were personal grants, different only in size. The zeâmet represented a minimum annual revenue of 20,000 aspers (*akçe*) and the timar a maximum of 19,999 aspers. The term «timar» is used in a wider sense to include the last two categories and sometimes even all three categories (Deny, p. 767). *Ikta* was a grant of investiture to military feudatories under both the Selcuks and the Arabs. It was taken over and adapted to Ottoman needs thus becoming the timar system (Turan, p. 959 ; Grant, pp. 22—23).

[5] Shaw, «Ottoman Empire,» p. 780 ; «The Ottoman View», p. 56.

[6] Gibb and Bowen, p. 240.

[7] *Ibid.* Gibb and Bowen state that the tithe varied from one-tenth to as much as one-half of the crop. While the tithe was legally established at one-tenth, it did vary a great deal in practice. However, when speaking in the magnitude of one-half of the crop, I think we are no longer dealing with payment exacted by way of tithe, but rather with some form of tenancy or sharecropping.

[8] Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 110.

[9] *Ibid.* ; Issawi, p. 71.

[10] Gibb and Bowen, pp. 240, 248.

granted as a gift, or transferred,[11] nor could its use be altered, as from agricultural to pastural land, without permission.[12]

The peasant-cultivator was obliged to sow a definite quantity of seed ;[13] the sipahi retained the right to supervise his cultivation.[14] If the land was left vacant for more than three years, the right of usufruct lapsed.[15] Should the right of usufruct be allowed to lapse, the cultivator could still reclaim his land by paying a «neglect due» in addition to the ordinary transfer fee (*tapu*),[16] which the new cultivator would have had to pay when the right of usufruct was passed on to him. The sipahi, for his part, was responsible for the protection of the reâyâ.[17] In addition to various policing duties, he also had military and fiscal obligations to the state. In times of war, the sipahi rendered his own personal service in combat and, according to the size of his timar grant, supplied the military with additional men.[18] Whenever the cavalry was away, one in every ten sipahis was left behind to guard the territories[19] and maintain order. Whenever the sipahis were at home, they saw to the collection of taxes and the application of the land laws.[20]

Both the sipahi and the reâyâ were originally bound to the land.[21] The sipahi was obliged to reside in the village to which his lands were attached,[22] and the peasant who left his çift without authorization could be pursued and legally forced to return.[23] These restrictions, however, were later relaxed. Sipahis eventually took up residence in nearby cities or towns and peasants might easily be relieved of their charge by paying a specified sum, the *çift bozan resmi*.[24]

If the peasant-cultivator continued to perform his duties as prescribed, the taşarruf would pass to his son at his death. A son inheriting his father's

[11] Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 109.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 110 ; Inalcık, *EI*, p. 907.
[13] Inalcık, *EI*, p. 907.
[14] Klat, «The Origins,» p. 55.
[15] Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 110 ; Inalcık, *EI*, p. 907.
[16] Gibb and Bowen, p. 242.
[17] Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 117.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 113 ; B. Lewis, p. 90.
[19] Deny, p. 772.
[20] Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 117.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 111; Gibb and Bowen, p. 242; Inalcık, *EI*, p. 907; Deny, p. 772. Regulations tying the peasant to the land can be attributed to a labor shortage which sometimes led to a contest between sipahis for each other's reâyâ (Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 111 ; Inalcık, *EI*, p. 907). Gibb and Bowen suggest that the tapu fee, paid on transfer of the right of usufruct, worked in favor of peasant freedom insofar as it was an inducement to the sipahi to allow changes (Gibb and Bowen, p. 243).
[22] Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 107.
[23] Karpat, p. 74.
[24] Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 111 ; Inalcık, *EI*, p. 907.

taşarruf was not required to pay the tapu.[25] If there were more than one heir to a given piece of land, the heirs would cultivate it jointly;[26] the çift could not be broken up. If there were no sons to inherit the cultivator, the taşarruf passed to other relatives according to a specific line of succession, at which time the heir would be required to pay the tapu.[27] Legal heirs could not be excluded.[28] If there were no heir, however, the land would revert to the state and the taşarruf would then be reallocated, upon payment of the same tapu fee.[29] The dirlik of a sipahi was also hereditary ; it passed normally to a sipahi's son if the son were eligible for military service.[30] Land could not be left by will,[31] ither by the peasant or by the sipahi.

ela A lab bong as nttoan control of the countryside remained firm, the delicaet s bmetwee Once the rights and obligations of the sipahi and his reâyâ, vis-à-vis each other, were relatively well maintained. The land system was administered on the basis of regular cadastral surveys and carefully drawn up land registers.[32] As the hold of the sipahi over his dirlik was somewhat precarious and could easily be lost through mismanagement,[33] little social distance developed between the sipahi and the peasant. Mobility between the two groups was fluid. The sipahi could be reduced to peasant status through registration on the land, and a peasant could become a sipahi by proving himself on the attlefield.[34]

The sipahi had, moreover, a vital interest in the welfare of the peasant and the land. The dirlik being both a lifetime and a hereditary grant, attention to the needs of agriculture was essential to guarantee the sipahi and his descendants a sustained source of income. It was also not uncommon for the sipahi to farm a part of his land in partnership with a peasant. He would provide the cattle and seed in return for half of the proceeds. Aside from this mutual interest in agriculture, inheritance practices also tended to establish, through time, a peculiar type of solidarity between the family of the sipahi and the families of his reâyâ.[35]

While the sipahi undoubtedly exercised considerable control over the peasant, the peasant, during the earlier days of the empire, had some scope

[25] Gibb and Bowen, p. 239.
[26] Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 110; Inalcık, *EI*, p. 907.
[27] Gibb and Bowen, p. 239.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 248.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 238.
[31] Baer, in Issawi, pp. 86—87; Doukhan, p. 79.
[32] Issawi, p. 71.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] Gibb and Bowen, p. 247; Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 115; Deny, p. 772.
[35] *Ibid.*

for obtaining legal redress against the abuses of the system.[36] Complaints were usually made with regard to the burden or manner of the collection of taxes, or to the excesses of local authorities. Petitions, addressed directly to the imperial council or forwarded on by local judges (*kadi*), might be expected to bring some action.[37] Close supervision by the central government not only facilitated the implementation of the land system but also assured the peasant of a measure of legal security.[38]

The institution of tax farming

During the sixteenth century, when the Ottoman military advance came to a halt, the acquisition of new territories ceased. Consequently, the practice of maintaining Ottoman cavalrymen with the allocation of revenues from a particular grant of land was restricted. As no new land was made available, new land grants could only be awarded as old land grants expired. The consequent pressure exerted on the state treasury for fresh sources of revenue was aggravated by a military shift, from cavalry to standing army (*Janissaries*), made possible by the introduction of firearms from Europe.[39] The institution of a standing army, while limiting the number of sipahi who would become eligible for land grants, increased the number of military directly dependent on the treasury for payment. Financial pressures due to increased military expenditures were further complicated by the inflationary effect of the influx of precious metals from the Americas.[40] All of these factors combined to precipitate a severe financial crisis; the government's need for revenue became acute.

Among the measures taken by the imperial treasury to alleviate the crisis in Ottoman finances was the practice of farming out taxes. The institution of tax farming, known as the *iltizam* system in the greater part of the empire, was first introduced in Anatolia and the Balkans. According to this system, the tax farmer (*mültezim*) advanced the government a sum of money by bidding at auction for the right to collect taxes in a given area. As the mültezim's lease was short-term, generally a lease for no more than a year, he was not constrained to be concerned for the long-term interests of either the peasant or the land. To recoup his price and make a profit, he resorted to extortionate practices in the collecting of taxes, forcing the peasant to squeeze out of the

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 242—243.
[37] Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 91.
[38] Issawi, p. 71.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 39.

land as much as possible in the shortest possible time. While the system of tax farming did meet the immediate needs of the imperial treasury, it was to prove in the end to be ruinous for agriculture and oppressive to the peasants who tilled the land.

As Ottoman forces were moving into Arab territories, the need for fundamental changes in the Ottoman administrative apparatus was already being felt.[41] The timar system which had been instituted in Anatolia and the Balkans was never systematically applied to the Syrian provinces. In this region the system of tax farming as it was being practiced in other parts of the empire was implemented with certain modifications dictated by the locale.

It was characteristic of the region, first of all, that certain areas, particularly the mountainous areas in Lebanon and in the district of Hauran, remained virtually autonomous throughout most of the period of Ottoman rule.[42] These areas were ruled by semi-independent local chiefs (*şeyh*) who exercised absolute authority in the regions under their control.[43] Such were the Shihabi şeyhs in Mount Lebanon[44] and the Druze şeyhs in Hauran.[45] Whenever the government was strong, local şeyhs might be compelled to render a tax payment in the form of tribute to the Ottoman official in charge. At other times, however, they refused to pay taxes of any sort[46] and the government was powerless to make them comply.

Outside of the autonomous pockets in firm control of local leaders, Ottoman control of the Syrian countryside remained, on the whole, tenuous, and depended to a large extent on the number of Turkish army that could be effectively deployed.[47] This military presence was necessitated by the continual threat of *bedouin* invasions. When Ottoman forces were dispatched in sufficient numbers, the security of the interior could be guaranteed. At times, however, when central control was weak or when the Ottoman military was needed elsewhere, the settled population was left vulnerable to the marauding bedouin tribes that moved up from Arabia. Whole villages were devastated,[48] harvests confiscated, cultivated fields ruined and towns or villages plundered.[49] While some villages survived by paying the nomads a heavy «protection» duty,[50]

[41] Gibb and Bowen, p. 254.
[42] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, pp. 5—6.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 6; Ma'oz, in Polk and Chambers, p. 342; Petran, pp. 41—42.
[44] Hourani, p. 26.
[45] *Ibid.*; Shamir, in Polk and Chambers, p. 371.
[46] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 161.
[47] Ma'oz, in Polk and Chambers, p. 340.
[48] N. Lewis, pp. 48—49.
[49] Petran, p. 43.
[50] Ma'oz, in Polk and Chambers, p. 344.

only in the hills and near the larger garrison-towns was the peasant assured of security.[51]

The system of tax farming was generally enforced in those areas over which the Ottomans were able to maintain control. The iltizam which was instituted in Anatolia, the Balkans, and in Egypt,[52] was known in the Syrian provinces as the *mukataa*. It was customary in this particular region for the taxes of a province to be farmed by the governor-general, who was expected, after sending an annual tribute to Istanbul, to meet the cost of the local administration with what remained of the taxes he collected.[53] Sometimes the governor-general would farm out the taxes of a part of his province to a governor, or he would succeed in taking an influential chieftain in the mountain country under his control. These would collect the taxes of a particular area, in the name of the governor-general, remitting in return a specified sum. The governor or local şeyh who represented the governor-general would generally refarm the collection of taxes to a number of district tax farmers (*mukataacı*), who would then refarm their taxes to tax farmers in the village.[54]

With the military-financial crisis of the sixteenth century, central authority began to decline. Due to administrative weakness, the government was forced to relinquish control of agriculture and village affairs. The former system of land survey and registration had to be abandoned.[55] The practice of farming out taxes was a necessary measure taken by the central administration in order to maintain the steady flow of income from the provinces. The consequence of such a measure was to give considerable scope to local powers.[56]

In the absence of central control, there was nothing to restrain the abuses of tax farming. Theoretically speaking, the tax farmer was unable to exact more than his legal due, and the peasant who was able to meet his tax could not be deprived of his land.[57] In practice, however, the peasantry was overburdened by exactions. A peasant who was supporting sometimes as many as six grades of tax farmer had to be considerably overtaxed.[58] The practices of tax collectors who were mindless of peasant welfare or of land conservation often drove the peasant into the grip of the moneylender and finally, more often than not, completely off the land.[59]

[51] Hourani, p. 26; Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 165; Petran, pp. 41—42.
[52] See Baer, *EI*.
[53] Granott, pp. 28—29; Poliak, p. 50.
[54] Granott, p. 29; Poliak, p. 51.
[55] B. Lewis, p. 33.
[56] Gibb and Bowen, p. 255; Issawi, p. 72.
[57] Gibb and Bowen, p. 258.
[58] Shamir, p. 365.
[59] B. Lewis, p. 32.

As the land system deteriorated, so did the administration of justice. The caliber of judicial authorities, of both provincial governors and religious leaders (*ulema*), was not what it had been, and the peasant could not expect to enjoy the same degree of legal redress.[60] The institution of tax farming combined with a lack of effective controls to upset the social fabric of the countryside. Peasant dislocation and the emergence of new social forces, which characterized the Ottoman countryside during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, can be attributed directly, in the Syrian provinces as elsewhere in the empire, to modifications that had to be made in Ottoman land policy.[61]

Social dislocation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

From the turn of the seventeenth century down to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman countryside saw the effects of a decentralizing administration. As fiscal chaos led to the practice of farming out taxes, rural depopulation became a chronic problem. Peasants forced to abandon their land (*çift bozan*) because of overbearing practices in the collection of taxes, formed a reservoir of social discontent. If unable to find more favorable circumstances, peasants driven from the land would turn to banditry[62] or swell the ranks of the urban unemployed.[63] Such landless, unemployed peasants came easily under the hand of disbanded or disaffected soldiery. They fed the *celâlî* armies of the seventeenth century rebellions in Anatolia;[64] they constituted

[60] Gibb and Bowen, p. 255; Issawi, p. 72. I. M. Lapidus, in his study *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* suggests the integrating role of the ulema: «Their contacts played a crucial role in the process by which social communication was carried on and thus in the integration of the society into a working whole» (p. 108). By the eighteenth century, however, Hourani tells us: «The *Ulema* were drawn mainly from families of local standing . . . Although the *Ulema* spoke in general for local interests, they tended to speak more specifically for the more prosperous and influential classes» (p. 27).

[61] Gibb and Bowen, pp. 253, 256; Karpat, p. 75.

[62] Griswold, p. 17; Gibb and Bowen, p. 258.

[63] Gibb and Bowen, p. 258; Hourani, p. 28; Volney, p. 214.

[64] Griswold, pp. 22, 41. As bands of unpaid military roamed the countryside living off the populace, the administration was forced to relinquish a measure of fiscal authority to the military. Encouraged by the weakening of central authority, a number of subordinate officers ventured to undertake operations independently (Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 50). Their forces grew as they were joined by disenfranchised sipahis and local brigand bands. The ranks were swollen by landless peasants who were won over by the preaching of disaffected theology students (*sohta*) (Griswold, p. 41).

By the end of the sixteenth century rebel forces under the leadership of Kara Yazıcı alone numbered some twenty thousand men. While the government authorized the organization of local peasant militia as a measure of defence against the rebels, many of these peasant militia actually went over to the rebel armies. The celâlî rebellion spread

the raw material for factional feuds within cities and towns throughout the empire.

At the same time that Ottoman peasants were abandoning the land, the vacuum left by a retreating administration was quickly being filled by the emergence of local powers. Petty dynasts in Anatolia (*derebey*), tyrannical paşas and şeyhs in the Syrian provinces, and a new class of urban magnates (*ayan*) rose to exercise authority, as the classical system of administration slowly collapsed. These local powers represented an intermediary social stratum that came to interpose itself between the central administration and the populace at large. As the central government lost control over the provinces, therefore, individual peasant cultivators were increasingly locked into the local structure of power.

The severity of conditions in the countryside varied with time, climaxing, generally speaking, during two different periods. Lutfi Paşa, a grand vizier to Sultan Suleiman I, at a time when the empire was at its height, had already warned of the danger of depopulation due to excessive taxation.[65] By 1653, an Ottoman reported that numerous villages had been abandoned throughout the empire.[66] Finally, during the first half of the seventeenth century, the flight of the peasants (*büyük kaçan*) reached disastrous proportions.[67] While the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries saw an easing of social tension, the following century was to bring another wave of dislocation.[68]

Among the measures taken by the central government to alleviate the crisis in the countryside, an attempt was made to replace the yearly lease of the tax farm with the institution of a life tenancy (*malikâne*). This measure, first introduced after the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699,[69] was meant to give the tax farmer a long-term interest in the protection of the peasant.[70] While it seems that the system contributed significantly to an improvement in rural conditions at the end of the seventeenth century,[71] it lent itself nevertheless to many of the same abuses characteristic of tax farming in general. As life farms were put on the market, they were quickly bought up by the rich, who,

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rapidly, seriously undercutting the authority of the central administration. Concommitant to the spread of rebellion, a number of small-scale peasant uprisings swept the countryside. It was not until 1610 that the provinces were again brought under central control. In that year, the celâlî leader, Canbulatoğlu, was defeated. Thousands of rebels were slaughtered and many more fled (Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 50—51).

[65] B. Lewis, p. 32.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 32—33.

[67] Inalcık, *EI*, p. 907.

[68] Gibb and Bowen, p. 257.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[70] Issawi, p. 72.

[71] Gibb and Bowen, p. 256.

by reletting them on a yearly basis, were able to realize a considerable profit.[72] Consequently, the system was abandoned in 1730.[73]

When, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the government was faced with a second rural crisis, the life farm was reinstituted. It became, in practice, a hereditary grant and the land was made alienable. In this way, the malikâne developed into an important source of local power, contributing in time to the rise of decentralizing social forces.[74] The system had therefore to be abolished once again in 1851.[75] While the institution of life farms must have been seen as a short-term remedy for social and economic dislocation, it did not represent a long-term solution.[76] The deterioration of agriculture and of rural social relations continued down to the middle of the nineteenth century.

C. F. Volney, a European traveller in the Syrian provinces at the end of the eighteenth century, vividly described the devastation of the country at the time of his travels :[77]

> In consequence of such wretched government, the greater part of the Pachilics in the empire are impoverished and laid waste. This is the case in particular with that of Aleppo. In the ancient deftars, or registers of imposts, upwards of three thousand two hundred villages were reckoned; but at present the collector can scarcely find four hundred. Such of our merchants as have resided there twenty years, have themselves seen the greater part of the environs of Aleppo become depopulated. The traveller meets with nothing but houses in ruins, cisterns rendered useless, and fields abandoned. Those who cultivated them are fled.

Added to the abuses of tax collection, which went unchecked by government authorities, the general lack of military presence left the country wide open to bedouin attacks.[78] That tax collectors were accompanied by irregular soldiers when they ventured into the countryside was a sign of the unsettled circumstances which prevailed.[79] In 1843, due to the depredations of bedouin tribes, to the exactions of tax collectors and irregular soldiers, and to an invasion of locusts, 75 out of 100 villages in the district of Hauran had been deserted.[80] In 1845, the British consul of Aleppo reported :[81]

[72] Granott, p. 31 ; Polk, pp. 510—511.
[73] Granott, p. 31.
[74] B. Lewis, p. 446 ; Bowen, p. 778.
[75] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 152.
[76] Poliak, p. 62.
[77] N. Lewis, p. 51.
[78] Gibb and Bowen, p. 266 ; Issawi, pp. 206, 213 ; Volney, p. 215.
[79] Volney, p. 214.
[80] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, pp. 164—165.
[81] Polk, p. 509.

> In the district of Killis 30 villages have been ruined and deserted, not by the Arabs [bedouins], but from a combination of evils resulting from misgovernment and injustice which they have experienced and the peasantry have come into the Aleppo district; there are also many villages in other parts which have fallen into a very deteriorated and ruinous state.

In 1861, in the vilayet of Syria, more than two thousand villages had been abandoned, some one thousand of which, it was reported, had been cultivated within the memory of man.[82]

Volney described the plight of the peasant under such circumstances:[83]

> From all these causes we may easily conceive how miserable must be the condition of the peasants. They are everywhere reduced to a little flat cake of barley or dourra, to onions, lentils, and water. They are so little acquainted with dainties that they esteem strong oil and rancid fat as delicacies. Not to lose any part of their corn, they leave in it all sorts of wild grain, even tares, which occasion vertigoes, and dimness of sight for several hours, as I have myself experienced. In the mountains of Lebanon and Nablous, in time of dearth, they gather the acorns from the oaks, which they eat, after boiling or roasting them on the ashes. The truth of this has been authenticated to me among the Druzes, by persons who have themselves made use of them. We must therefore no longer accuse the poets of hyperbole . . .

Once being forced to abandon their lands, many Syrian peasants turned to banditry, frequently joining forces with a bedouin tribe. This increased the pressure on the settled population, as bandits turned to prey upon their own.[84] Other peasants drifted into the city, where employment was hard to find. These unemployed peasants often came under the protection of a military faction or another, augmenting the forces of urban discontent. Interfactional rivalry diminished the potential of military protection to provide an organizational framework for popular social protest;[85] restless social elements were turned against one another.

By way of contrast, in Anatolia, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a number of independent «valley-lords» (*derebey*) emerged, who fashioned themselves as protectors of the peasant.[86] While, on the one hand, they were military vassals to the sultan, serving in Ottoman armies during times of war, they remained, on the other hand, effectively autonomous in their

[82] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, pp. 164—165.

[83] Volney, p. 215.

[84] Issawi, p. 213; Volney, p. 214.

[85] The rural refugee as a source of social unrest in urban areas is a question that deserves further study. Lapidus's study on Muslim cities in the Middle Ages suggests forms of social protest and the manner by which urban elites were able to ease social tension. A study of later periods would be instructive.

[86] B. Lewis, p. 38; Gibb and Bowen, p. 256.

home districts.[87] They seem to have «struck root among the peoples whom they ruled and from whom they had sprung, and formed genuine local dynasties, with strong local traditions and loyalties.»[88] In consequence of the emergence of powerful popular leaders, the eighteenth century became the heroic age of Turkish folklore. Ballads dating from that time contain an element of social protest:[89] they exhalt the rebel chieftain, of whom the derebey was a prototype,[90] who «robbed from the rich to give to the poor.»[91] By the beginning of the nineteenth century nearly all of Anatolia was in control of these local dynasts. Only the eyalets of Karaman and Anadolu were still directly administered by the central government.[92]

As central authority retreated in the Syrian provinces, the power vacuum was filled not by paternal overlords who became legendary champions of popular interests, but by a body of tyrannical paşas,[93] who, in league with local village şeyhs,[94] took advantage of a lack of constraint to squeeze what they could from the peasantry. From the mid-eighteenth century on, paşas in the Syrian provinces came to rule almost independently of Istanbul and were sometimes even, as in Damascus and Mount Lebanon, able to hand down the reigns of government to successive generations.[95]

> . . . the main charges to be brought against the agricultural administration of the Turks are more negative than positive. That the government meant well on the whole is shown by the injunctions which are uniformly found in works on public administration. But good intentions were paralysed by weakness and inertia, by failure to prevent peculation and oppression by its official agents and to maintain order and security (especially against the Beduin Arabs), and by neglect of the utilities and public works necessary to agricultural welfare. Yet, thanks to the steadying influence of long-established usages, the system maintained itself without excessive hardship to the peasantry so long as the central government kept the fiefholders, and still more the *paşas* and local authorities, in effective control. By the middle of the eighteenth century its power to do this was completely non-existent in Egypt and 'Irâḳ, and gravely weakened in Syria. The ensuing disorders were due mainly to the action of those *Paşas* and Beys who sought to take advantage of the weakness of the Porte and to build up a military power on a scale too great

[87] B. Lewis, p. 447.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[89] Gould, p. 25.

[90] B. Lewis, p. 450.

[91] E. J. E. Hobsbawm's model of the social bandit might be useful in analyzing the derebey. Several questions can be raised: How did the «valley-lords» differ from bandits in general? Why were they compelled to seek the authority of the government in Istanbul? What prevented them from breaking away? How were they better able than the imperial government to alleviate the conditions of the peasantry?

[92] B. Lewis, p. 447; Mordtmann, *IA*, p. 540; Mordtmann and Lewis, *EI*, p. 206.

[93] B. Lewis, p. 38.

[94] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, pp. 158—159.

[95] Issawi, p. 205.

> for the economic resources of their provinces. Like the feudal system in the directly administered provinces, the whole structure of agriculture in the quasi-independent *paşaliks* was being thrown into ever greater confusion by the shifts to which these despots resorted in order to obtain increased revenues. It was only in the last years of the eighteenth century that a régime of extortion became all but universal, and the frequency with which the peasantry were deserting their lands bears eloquent testimony to the extent to which the old economy was breaking down.[96]

It would seem, then, that the classes who «lived on the contributions furnished by way of dues and taxes,» in the Syrian provinces during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were engaged in the «long-drawn-out strangling of the unfortunate geese that laid their golden eggs.»[97]

Within district and town quarters throughout the empire,[98] another group of local magnates (*ayan*) emerged in the eighteenth century, to seize control of local administration.[99] Whether they belonged to that perpetual class of men who had, through political persuasion or political force, managed to acquire a bit of private property,[100] or whether they belonged to that class of men, capitalist and financiers,[101] who had acquired land rights by investing in the collection of taxes,[102] these distinguished individuals coalesced in the eighteenth century to form something of a landed gentry.[103] By virtue of their rights over

[96] Gibb and Bowen, p. 270.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[98] Bowen, p. 778 ; Gibb and Bowen, p. 256.

[99] Gibb and Bowen, p. 257 ; B. Lewis, pp. 33, 446 ; Karpat, p. 75. Gibb and Bowen state the ayan were originally «representatives of the local population in their dealings with the government» (p. 256). V. P. Mutafčieva, in her study of ayan in the Balkans, takes issue with the assertion that ayan were popularly elected (p. 235). She claims that «elections» were nothing more than a confirmation of the outcome (p. 237) of armed conflict between local notables for power. The people played a decisive role only as an armed mass with the potential to tip the balance in one direction or another (pp. 239, 240). That the ayan were the «local» (p. 243) rather than the «people's» representatives to the central government is consistent with the thesis presented here that in the course of Ottoman history a stratum of local powers emerged which effectively alienated the bulk of the population from the central administration.

[100] Gibb and Bowen, p. 266 ; B. Lewis, p. 449.

[101] Karpat, p. 78. As an example of capitalist investment in land revenues : «Some *ayan* in the eighteenth century were former Janissaries and even villagers, who began their social ascendancy locally through some sort of economic occupation then bought tax collecting privileges. The Kalabaklı Hikmetoğulları, a group of minor *ayan* from Menemen, were originally from the village of Kalabak and acquired their first fortune by operating a small salt mine in Güzelhisar» (Karpat, p. 78). It should be pointed out here that a study of the increase in commercial activity and the change in the nature of commercial relations in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century are crucial to any understanding of economic development of the time. It is, however, beyond the scope of the present paper.

[102] B. Lewis, pp. 31, 448—449 ; Hourani, p. 25.

[103] B. Lewis, pp. 33, 447—448 ; Warriner, in Issawi, pp. 73, 74.

the land, they came to exercise considerable political influence and were thus accorded official status.[104] This emerging social stratum was gradually able to interpose itself between the central government and those who tilled the soil.[105] The government, because it was dependent on a flow of revenue from the provinces, was forced to allow these notables a large measure of authority.[106] By the early nineteenth century, they had acquired such force, especially in Rumelia, as to be able to maintain their own armies, to levy taxes, and to administer justice.[107]

The political configuration that emerged in the latter half of the eighteenth century worked ultimately to the disadvantage of both the central administration and peasantry. The usurpation of power at the local level not only undermined the authority of the central government but also increased the distance between the central government and the populace at large. Whereas in earlier days it would seem that villagers had been inclined to deal with their sipahi as a body through village leaders,[108] the Ottoman peasant of the late eighteenth century was obliged to deal with the government through the intervention of local notables. Where local leaders had undoubtedly acquired a measure of authority under their sipahi,[109] local notables—şeyh and ayan—of the later period, as self-appointed representatives of the people to the government, came to command a disproportionate amount of power.

When central authority had been strong, a system of checks and balances had impelled the sipahi to be responsive in some measure to the needs and interests of the peasantry. As central authority declined, the system of checks and balances which had originally been maintained—direct central control over the system of taxation and a relatively effective tradition of judicial appeal[110]—declined with it. The peasantry were increasingly isolated within a shell of local interest and deprived of any channel through which they could either influence the making of policy or insure its effective implementation.

The Tanzimat and the Land Code of 1858

The principal objective of the nineteenth century reforms of Mahmud II (1808—1839) was to eliminate rival respositories of power and to reassert the control of the central government over the provinces. The first step in this direction came shortly after the conclusion of war with Russia in 1812, when

[104] Bowen, p. 778; B. Lewis, p. 447; Karpat, p. 75.
[105] B. Lewis, p. 446.
[106] *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 447; Karpat, pp. 77, 80.
[107] B. Lewis, p. 447.
[108] Gibb and Bowen, p. 244.
[109] *Ibid.*
[110] Volney, p. 214. See note 60.

he was able, through a number of military maneuvres and police actions, to succeed in breaking the hold of rebellious paşas and local ayan.[111] When a degree of central control had been returned to the countryside, a number of measures were undertaken to recentralize the administration. Among these, the timar system was finally abolished in 1831. Those sipahi still in possession of timar grants were gradually pensioned off.[112] In accordance with the Noble Rescript of the Rose Chamber (*Hatt-i Şerif of Gülhane*) promulgated in 1839, tax farming was also to be abolished.[113] Tax farmers were to be replaced by centrally-appointed government officials who would henceforth be in charge of the collection of taxes.[114] This last reform, however, was never fully implemented.

Problems of finance remained an obstacle to the reassertion of central authority. While Mahmud II had had the force to overcome decentralizing social forces in the provinces, his inability to effect an adequate fiscal policy continued to allow for the transfer of land rights, the cornerstone of local power, from central to local control.[115] Not only was the tax farming system continued,[116] but a process began in the latter part of the nineteenth century whereby government land was being given over to private ownership. Aside from the practice long established for public land to be granted as freehold to political supporters of the sultan, public land, in the nineteenth century, was being converted and sold as a vital source of government revenue.[117] Another practice which became prevalent, after the abolition of the timar system, was the leasing of land revenues by the issue of a deed called *tapu temessuku*.[118] This became a virtual title-deed which, subject to subsequent agrarian laws, tended to confirm the rights of leaseholder over those of actual cultivator. While the government had, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, virtually liquidated the ayan, it was unable to eliminate the original source of their power.[119] Fiscal control, at the heart of which rested the land question, continued to slip into the hands of local notables.[120]

It would seem that the statesmen of the Tanzimat in drafting the land code of 1858 were aware of the trend toward land accumulation and the effective usurpation of land rights that was well underway at the time.[121] The land code was clearly an attempt to apply a Western model to the problems of the

[111] B. Lewis, pp. 78, 385, 448; Inalcık, *EI*, p. 907.
[112] Baer, in Issawi, p. 81; Deny, p. 772.
[113] B. Lewis, pp. 107, 385.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 385.
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] Issawi, p. 19; Baer, in Issawi, p. 82; Granott, p. 58.
[117] B. Lewis, p. 449; Warriner, in Issawi, p. 77.
[118] B. Lewis, p. 449.
[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 385, 448; Karpat, p. 81.
[120] Karpat, p. 77.
[121] B. Lewis, p. 450.

countryside: an attempt to create a strong government which would have direct control over the actual cultivator and would thus be able to extract the maximum in revenues.[122] By granting title directly to the cultivator, the land code aimed at centralizing the land system against the power of the intermediaries who had sandwiched themselves in between.[123] It prohibited the acquisition of a whole village by a single individual, clearly a measure against the growth of large estates,[124] and it prohibited collective ownership as it existed in various tribal forms.[125] However, like the tax farming reforms of the early Tanzimat, the regulations of the land code were never systematically applied.[126] To the extent that they were applied, moreover, abuses in implementation only served to further widen the scope of private property.[127]

Among the five categories of land outlined in the 1858 code,[128] state domain, or *miri*, constituted the bulk of Ottoman land and the principal source of revenue. The line between miri and true private property (*mulk*), while clearly defined in legal terms, was not always clear in practice.[129] Strictly speaking, the rights and obligations of one who was in legal possession of miri land, in relationship to the state, were not significantly different from the rights and obligations which had characterized the relationship of the reâyâ to their sipahi. Miri land, according to the provisions of the land code, could not be left uncultivated for a period of more than three years.[130] In return for the right of usufruct, the possessor was subject to the tithe and the tapu. If all obligations were met, the land would descend according to a specific order of succession, giving preference, as before, to the son.[131] The owner of the right of usufruct was still required to obtain special authorization to sale

[122] Warriner, in Issawi, pp. 73—74; Warriner, *Land*, p. 17.
[123] *Ibid.*
[124] B. Lewis, p. 450; Young, p. 48 (art. 8).
[125] Warriner, in Issawi, pp. 73—74; Young, p. 49 (art. 8).
[126] B. Lewis, p. 119.
[127] Issawi, p. 19; Baer, in Issawi, p. 85; Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 162.
[128] The five categories are: *miri* (state domain), *mulk* (freehold), *vakf* (land endowed for religious or charitable purposes), *matruka* (public domain: grazing ground, local roads and paths, threshing floors, and so on), and *mavat* (waste land). Islamic law distinguishes three types of land: *uşrie* (granted to Muslim warriors with full ownership, subject to payment of the tithe), *kharajie* (land left in the hands of the conquered, non-Muslim subjects; subject to payment of the tribute), and state land (given over for tillage in return for a single payment, the tapu; subject to payment of the tribute). Under Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1520—1566) the latter two categories were assimilated to *miri* (Granott, p. 21; Klat, «The Origins,» p. 54). The term «kharajie» can be used to distinguish between two kinds of mulk: uşrie (Muslim) and kharajie (non-Muslim); or it can be used to designate land subject to tribute (*kharaj*) as opposed to land subject to the tithe (*uşr*).
[129] Warriner, in Issawi, p. 73.
[130] Baer, in Issawi, p. 86; Klat, «The Origins,» p. 62; Young, p. 65 (art. 71).
[131] Doukhan, p. 79; Young, p. 60 (art. 54).

mortgage, transfer, or divide land. Permission was also required to improve it by erecting buildings or planting trees.[132] Preemption rights were never granted, nor the rights to bequeath land or endow it as vakf without approval.[133] The only right that the state forewent in the land code of 1858 was the right to supervise cultivation.[134] The aim of the state was clearly to reassert its control by making the owner of the right of usufruct directly responsible to the central government.[135]

What was critically different about the system set up by the law of 1858 was that the rights and obligations of the state vis-à-vis the cultivator were henceforth transferred from the cultivator himself to the holder of a title-deed (*senet tapu*).[136] Whereas the right of usufruct had previously been accorded by the state to the actual occupant of the land, it was now attached to the possession of a land title. Any peasant could be deprived of the right to work the land he occupied if he did not possess such a deed. It was not the cultivator, but the possessor of a land deed who could not be evicted from the land, whose heirs could not be excluded, or from whom the tax collector could not legally exact more than was his due.

In 1860 an office for the registration of land, the *deftar khane*, was established. Due to the fact that no adequate cadastral survey was carried out[137] and to the fact that the description of property registered often proved to be unclear, a great deal of confusion arose over the title[138] and delimitation of holdings.[139] Local officials might be persuaded to register a parcel of land to a person not rightfully entitled to it.[140] As deeds were issued without proper investigation, the same piece of land might have several titles. When questions of title were raised, the interests of the influential were assured, while the rights of the small cultivator were, for the most part, ignored.[141]

> . . . the anarchy of land registers inevitably leads to arbitrary decisions; what becomes of importance is not so much the real status of the land as that of its proprietor : the quality of the owner influences that of the land and may even deter-

[132] Baer, in Issawi, pp. 85—86; Young, p. 56 (art. 36 sale), p. 78 (art. 116 mortgage), pp. 55—56 (art. 36 tranfer), p. 50 (art. 17 divide), pp. 52, 53 (arts. 25, 29 plant trees), p. 54 (art. 31 erect buildings). These restrictions were lifted in 1913 : Baer, in Issawi, pp. 85—86. Klat, «The Origins,» p. 60.

[133] Young, p. 58 (art. 46 preemption). For vakf, see note 128. Baer, in Issawi, pp. 86—87; Doukhan, p. 42.

[134] Klat, «The Origins,» p. 59.

[135] Warriner, *Land*, p. 17.

[136] The *senet tapu* is discussed in Warriner, *Land*, p. 18.

[137] Doukhan, p. 99; Klat, «The Origins,» p. 61.

[138] Klat, «Whither Land Tenure,» p. 50.

[139] Garzonzi, p. 84.

[140] Klat, «Whither Land Tenure,» p. 50.

[141] Klat, «The Origins,» p. 62.

> mine it. Such *miri* land will be considered cultivated or abandoned depending on whether it belongs to a *fellah* or to a *notable* . . . such area will be classified as dead or occupied depending on who its claimer is.[142]

Insecurity of tenure or intimidation forced many peasants to seek the protection of local leaders.[143] Other peasants willingly gave over their land rights in order to evade taxation or military conscription. They registered in the name of a wealthy relative, a village şeyh or headman (*muhtar*) or in the name of an urban notable.[144] These latter were eventually able to claim possession on the basis of registration,[145] while the peasant, thus dispossessed, continued to cultivate the land as tenant or hired laborer.[146]

The confusion that arose in the registration of land, undertaken to establish title, and the inability of the government to institute a tax system that would provide an effective alternative to the reliance on tax farming worked in the end to reinforce those social groups the government had originally sought to destroy.[147] The failure of the Ottoman reforms of the nineteenth century to generate a strong and effective administration allowed, moreover, for the continuation of abuses. Peasants who were either unable or unwilling to obtain a land deed put their land rights into jeopardy. The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the growth of large, effectively private estates of land and the increase of peasant tenancy.[148]

Urban penetration of the countryside

The second half of the nineteenth century was characterized by the gradual penetration of townspeople (*effendi*) into the countryside. They came to the village as tax farmers or moneylenders, acquiring the title to land as the peasant was forced to give it up.[149] A pattern was established whereby the peasant, overcome by the burden of taxes, was forced to borrow money at usurious rates of interest in order to meet his financial obligations. Even a prosperous peasant could be plunged into poverty by one or two years of bad harvests.[150] Once in the grip of a moneylender, a peasant was rarely able to succeed in extricating himself without also relinquishing his land rights.[151]

[142] *Ibid.*, J. Weuleresse cited.

[143] Khuri, p. 61.

[144] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, pp. 5—6; Patai, p. 441 n. 18; N. Lewis, p. 55; Warriner, *Land*, p. 18.

[145] Patai, p. 441 n. 18.

[146] Warriner, *Land*, p. 22, Klat, «Musha holdings,» p. 18.

[147] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 162.

[148] Doukhan, p. 94.

[149] Klat, «Musha holdings,» p. 18; Poliak, p. 79.

[150] Warriner, in Issawi, p. 77.

[151] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 162.

A foreign resident of the region later to become the state of Palestine wrote in 1891 :

> Capitalists in the cities are always ready to lend their money at extravagant rates of interest, such as 2 to 3 per cent. a month. Such loans encumber the patrimony of the farmer with hopeless mortgages, and in the end the owner is forced to yield up his title, and become a *Sherîk-el-Hawa*[1] (Partner of the Wind), where he and his ancestors were once proprietors. In this way, as individual capitalists favour certain villages, they gradually absorb all the property of the peasants, and the villagers become their metayers . . . and enjoy for their work a variable proportion of the produce.
> [1]The Sherîk-el-Hawa is a *tenant at will* . . .[152]

While the Ottoman government made great strides in the latter part of the nineteenth century to pacify the hinterland and establish central control, both government efforts to resettle the populace and voluntary colonization by seminomadic tribes were complicated by the inability of the cultivator to maintain economic independence.[153]

Such abuses in tax collection as had been common at the end of the eighteenth century continued, during the second half of the nineteenth century, with rigor. Whenever the tax collector descended on a village he was accompanied by an entourage of agents or irregular soldiers, all of whom, to the man and his horse, were kept at the expense of the village peasants.[154] The tax was not reduced in consideration of a bad harvest.[155] The tax collector, quite to the contrary, frequently pretended losses and intimidated the peasants so that in the end he obtained well over a legal tenth of the total produce.[156] Estimates of the percentage which actually fell to the tax collector range from one-fifth to as much as one-third of the crop.[157]

Practices such as these are vividly depicted in the two following accounts, each written by a foreign resident of the Palestinian coastal plain (1891, 1894) :

> From all the produce of the farming lands of the empire a tithe is taken in kind. As, however, it would be a complicated and difficult process for the Government to collect these taxes directly, they are accustomed to let them out to tax-farmers

[152] Post, p. 105.

[153] N. Lewis, p. 58. See also A. G. Gould's study of the Çukorova region in Anatolia during the late nineteenth century, especially pp. 96, 192—194.

[154] Volney, p. 214; Polk, pp. 509, 510.

[155] Volney, p. 214.

[156] Ma'oz, in Polk and Chambers, p. 344.

[157] See note 7. The British consul at Aleppo in 1845 reported that peasants on malikâne land paid from 50 to 60 per cent more than the legal tithe. This would substantiate the view that the malikâne system served somewhat to alleviate the condition of the peasant (Polk, p. 509).

(*multazamîn*) for a sum agreed upon by both parties. These multazamîn (who correspond to the *publicans* of the New Testament) having to indemnify themselves for their risk, resort to every form of intimidation and oppression to wrest from the poor producer much more than the tithe. As the Government supplies them with soldiers to assist them in the collection of the taxes, they are able to exercise a most effective and odious form of tyranny. As the crops cannot be measured until threshed out and winnowed in heaps on the threshing floors, the farmers are forced to leave their harvests exposed to the attacks of birds and insects, of rats and other vermin, and the depredation of thieves, and the damage of occasional showers, until the multazim chooses to come and measure out the grain. Then he has the power (not *legal*, but none the less *real*) to quarter his horse men and other animals without compensation on the poor villagers who are glad to buy him off and get rid of him by paying two tenths or more.[158]

[N]o villager is allowed to begin harvesting until the arrival of the *'Ashar* or his representative. The *'Ashar*, however, delays going to the village so long as he possibly can, and he creates all kinds of difficulties in order to force the cultivators to compound with him for a fixed quantity of grain and other produce of the land in lieu of the fair tithe or tenth.

On arriving at a village, which he does with a host of servants, he for the first four or five days does nothing on the plea of fatigue, illness, or other excuse, and the community is obliged to provide him and his servants and horses with food all the time.

He then starts by making a list of all the *shaddadeen* and the number of the *faddan* of each one. He then rides round all the fields and professes to be surprised at the amount of the crop, exclaiming—though in reality it may be half the average—«This is the heaviest crop I have ever seen. What a wonderfully plentiful year this is !» when probably it is anything but that.

He then returns to the village and calls all the *shaddadeen* together, with the *Khateeb* and the elders at their head. He then takes the list he has made and addresses one of the *shaddadeen*, «Oh, so and so», naming him, «What a marvellous crop of wheat and barley you have in your *mawaress*. Wonderful ! How bountiful God has been to you. Praise be to Him.» The natural reply given by the *shaddad* thus addressed as well as by all present is, «*El Hamdu l'llah*. Thanks be to God.» «Well,» continues the *'Ashar*, «I am glad you all agree with me that this is a plentiful year. Now how much do you think,» addressing the *shaddad*, «will your entire crop, barley and wheat, &c., amount to in measures (*sâ̂s*) when threshed,» and adds, before the *shaddad* has time to answer, «I think so many»—naming an amount five or six times as great as it could under even the most favourable circumstance produce.

There is then a general outcry from all the *shaddadeen*, «Yes it is a blessing however much or little, but it can never make the amount you state.»

This farce is gone through several times, and over several days, until either one party or the other is wearied out. The villagers—that is each *shaddad*—sometimes agree to pay a fixed quantity of grain or other produce in place of the legal tenth. The *'Ashar* then departs, but leaves a servant to watch that no grain is removed from the threshing floor after it has been brought there and threshed, until the quantities agreed to be paid by each *shaddad* have been delivered to him.

[158] Post, pp. 106—107.

> Sometimes the villagers hold out and refuse to compound, and the *'Ashar* then places several of his servants to watch that all the grain (in the straw as harvested) is brought to the threshing floor. When all the harvesting is done, the straw still unthreshed as brought from the field belonging to each *shaddad* is put up by him, the *shaddad*, into what he considers ten equal stacks. The *'Ashar* is then asked to choose one stack. This he does, but refuses for some days to have it threshed and winnowed (which the *shaddad* is bound to do for him) and until this is done the *shaddad* is not allowed to touch his own stacks.
> After a day or two, the *'Ashar* goes round to look at all his stacks representing the tithe, and having made the inspection he then calls his men and orders them to prepare their horses and bring him his own to leave the village immediately, «I have been robbed of more than half of each stack belonging to me» (totally untrue, because the stacks given for the tithe have all been removed to another part of the threshing floor at a distance from the stacks belonging to the *shaddadeen*, and have been closely watched night and day by the servants of the *'Ashar*). «I am going to put my case into the hands of the authorities.» In the end the villagers each and all agree to pay a certain number of measures of grain, &c., in addition to the division already made, i.e., the stack already set apart for the *'Ashar*.
> When this has been threshed and winnowed and a quantity sufficient for the supplementary amount agreed upon as above has been delivered, camels are provided by the villagers at their own expense to carry the grain of the *'Ashar* to the chief town in the district. The *'Ashar* then clears out together with his servants, and the *shaddadeen* proceed with their own work of threshing, &c.
> I may add that I can safely say from close observations I have made during nearly ten years' farming in the Sharon plains near Ramleh, that the amount collected by an *'Ashar* rarely, if ever, averages under one third of the whole crops, instead of the legal *tenth*, viz., 33 per cent. instead of 10 per cent.[159]

The peasant could be forced to pay at an artificially high tax rate by arbitrarily fixing the value of his crop higher than its actual worth or by requiring him to surrender his wheat at a price lower than the market offered. These and other practices went unnoticed by the local inspector, who was easily bribed.[160]

Beyond the exorbitant sums exacted by the tax collector, other fees and services were demanded of the peasant. At the nomination of a tax collector or the appointment of a şeyh, whether designated by the government or popularly chosen, presents were made to the governing official, the value of which was ultimately reimbursed by the peasants.[161] Peasants might also be expected to make «presents» to local leaders.[162] Another source of government revenue, which was known to yield considerable sums of money, was the practice of imposing fines on a village for some actual or imagined offense.[163] Peasants

[159] Bergheim, p. 197.
[160] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 159.
[161] Volney, p. 214; Polk, pp. 509, 510; Grant, p. 230.
[162] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 159; Polk, p. 509.
[163] Volney, p. 214; Polk, p. 510; Poliak, p. 68.

might also be required to contribute to the cost of a military expedition,[164] or finance a pilgrimage (*hac*) caravan.[165] Aside from the land tax and such other requisitions as have been listed above, the peasant might be required to pay tax on his livestock,[166] on tobacco,[167] or on salt.[168] Finally, he would be held responsible for paying his part of any special levy imposed by the governor-general.[169]

Although theoretically outlawed by the Tanzimat reforms, a peasant continued to be obliged to provide food and supplies for government troops. He was subject, moreover, along with his draft animals to forced labor.[170] Compelling the peasants to feed and keep the regular and irregular soldiers continuously on route was ruinous.[171]

> The villages tremble at every *Lawend* who appears ; he is a real robber under the name of a soldier ; he enters as a conqueror, and commands as a master : *Dogs, Rabble* ; *bread, coffee, tobacco* ; *I must have barley, I must have meat.* If he casts his eyes on any poultry, he kills them ; and when he takes his departure, adding insult to tyranny, he demands what is called *kera-el-dars*, the hire of his grinders.[172]

The lack of moderation exhibited by soldiers in their dealings with the peasantry undoubtedly carried over into the disruptive practice of requisitioning men and animals for government purposes. The British consul at Aleppo reported in 1845 :

> The peasants are sometimes obliged to furnish camels, horses, mules *etc* for the carriage of the wants of the Government on the passage of troops from one place to another, in case of the revolt in districts, or of Tribes and against the Arabs, for which they are either paid at prices much below the rates paid in towns and sometimes obtain no payment at all, to the great detriment of their agricultural interest, which are always in want of their animals and of their own personal attendance. Such requisitions are a serious loss to their interests.[173]

Such practices continued into the second half of the nineteenth century.[174]

The insolence of unruly soldiers was demonstrated in numerous ways, such as was indicated by the observation that passing natives would never

[164] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 160 ; Ma'oz, in Polk and Chambers, pp. 344—345 ; Klat, «The Origins,» p. 55.
[165] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 160 ; Ma'oz, in Polk and Chambers, pp. 344—345.
[166] Gibb and Bowen, p. 240.
[167] Polk, p. 510.
[168] Grant, p. 146.
[169] Poliak, p. 68.
[170] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 160 ; Ma'oz, in Polk and Chambers, pp. 344—345.
[171] Grant, p. 149.
[172] Volney, p. 214.
[173] Polk, p. 510.
[174] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 160 ; Ma'oz, in Polk and Chambers, pp. 344—345.

allow an animal to disturb green grain, but a soldier would ride his horse right into an unreaped field.[175] Even the county police (*başıbozuk*) were known to neglect their duties, turning at times to extortion and highway robbery.[176]

If illegal exactions, burdensome requisitions or blatant extortion did not succeed in delivering the peasant over to the moneylender, a clever manipulation on the part of a local magnate was likely to. As a foreign resident observed :

> In the Ghôr, for instance, the tax may be paid in kind, and this always makes it easier than the practise into which the collectors have fallen with the villages. They drop in upon the village at odd times through the year, long after the crop is out of the way, and demand money payment in cash. This helps to make the fortunes of the local money lenders, but it causes a double damage to the peasants, who are forced to sacrifice their stores for low prices in ready money, or to mortgage their crop expectations for the coming season.[177]

In defense against the overwhelming pressure of fiscal demands the peasant had little to resort to. As a migrant laborer,[178] an owner of livestock[179] or even of an olive tree,[180] he might be able to secure a meager supplementary income. In the end, however, he, more often than not, succumbed to the social forces pressing down upon him.

The rates of interest charged at the end of the eighteenth century which Volney considered to be «usury carried to the most crying excess» and «the greatest scourge of the country-side in Syria» averaged between 12 and 30 per cent per annum.[181] In 1845 the British council of Aleppo estimated interest at 35 to 40 per cent per annum.[182] Reliable estimates for the mid-nineteenth century usually, however, fix the average at 50 per cent per annum.[183] As a consequence of such rates, many peasants were born in debt, lived in debt, and finally died in debt, never to be considered free men.[184]

[175] Grant, p. 134.
[176] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 152 ; N. Lewis, p. 50.
[177] Grant, p. 227.
[178] *Ibid.*, pp. 155—156.
[179] *Ibid.*, p. 142 ; Tannous, «Extension Work,» p. 1.
[180] Grant, pp. 39—40.
[181] Gibb and Bowen, p. 266 ; Poliak, p. 69 ; Volney, p. 215.
[182] Polk, pp. 511, 512.
[183] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 161 ; Ma'oz, in Polk and Chambers, p. 345 ; Klat, «The Origins,» p. 56 ; Poliak, p. 69. R. Patai quotes interest rates at 60 per cent per annum (p. 441) which I believe to be high for this date. Much higher interest rates came to be prevalent in the twentieth century. On the other hand, C. Issawi quotes the British consul at Damascus in 1852, who claims that «both the native and foreign merchants in this country have been in the habit of making advances to the peasants and agriculturists, either against their produce or to enable them to pay their taxes, at an interest varying from 20 to 24 per cent per annum» (p. 211). This is an exceptionally low figure.
[184] Polk, p. 511.

The pressures weighing down on the Syrian peasant in the latter half of the nineteenth century were not unprecedented. The abusive practices of the system of tax farming, the intrusion of military into private life, and the rapaciousness of urban moneylenders were all reminiscent of conditions that had prevailed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What distinguishes the pattern of social relations which emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century is the fact that peasants forced to relinquish their land rights were not necessarily obliged to leave the land. Rather than abandoning their fields, as they had done in the past—fleeing to other regions, joining up with brigand bands, or seeking their fortune in the city—peasants were inclined, with the introduction of new forms of land tenure, to remain on the land, not as cultivators but as tenants. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the Syrian countryside came increasingly under urban control: bedouin invasions were curtailed and the country was opened up to more extensive cultivation, while large urban speculators were gradually taking possession of the land.

As a consequence of the land code of 1858, classical land rights were virtually assimilated to the rights of private ownership. The urban speculator accumulated land by manipulating the legal code and by bringing financial pressure to bear on the independent cultivator. When the individual cultivator was finally forced to give over his land rights, he remained on the land as a tenant. Land was let under various forms of tenancy, according to the nature of cultivation, to the quality of the land, and to whether or not the peasant supplied his own cattle or seed. Rent was usually paid on a share basis; the landlord receiving one-fifth of the crop, if he did no more than pay the taxes; two-fifths, if he provided the seed; and as much as four-fifths, if he provided everything but the labor.[185]

Inasmuch as the landlord had a vital interest in guaranteeing the output of the land, he protected his tenant against the abuses of government and the grip of the moneylender. The peasant, however, in his capacity as tenant was reduced to a position of total dependence. There were no provisions made for him under Ottoman law: he had no right to compensation for improvement; he had no guarantee against the raising of rents; and finally he could be evicted at will.[186] The peasant, while naturally inclined to identify with the land, had no real leverage against the whim of the landlord. That a peasant who was able to meet his financial obligations could now be deprived of the land he cultivated was indicative of a significant drop in the legal status of the peasant.

[185] Warriner, in Issawi, p. 77.
[186] Doukhan, pp. 93—94; Warriner, in Issawi, p. 73.

Local political hegemony and peasant alienation

The shift in social relations brought about by Ottoman land policy in the second half of the nineteenth century took a peculiar form in the Syrian provinces, where the majority of land was traditionally cultivated semi-communally. The effect of land registration on semicommunal cultivation was not a move toward more individualized farming, as was envisaged by Ottoman reformers. It was rather to reinforce the position of local leaders (ṣeyh) at the expense of the peasantry. Alongside the urban notable, the local village ṣeyh acquired land rights which accorded him a measure of power he had never before enjoyed. As the distance between the ṣeyh and the Syrian cultivator widened, local leaders—urban and rural—coalesced to form an insurmountable barrier of local interest, isolating the peasant within a narrow local sphere, separating him from any meaningful contact with society and government at large.

Outside of Mount Lebanon, where a great deal of land was already held as individual property,[187] the system of land tenure prevalent in the Syrian provinces was the *mushaa* system.[188] The mushaa system represented a transition from seminomadic, tribal forms of social organization to a settled society of individual agriculturalists.[189] It was particularly appropriate for agriculture in rain-fed cereal regions, such as the district of Hauran,[190] where a precarious climate and the instability of crop yields made collective forms of organization more secure. More suitable for extensive agriculture, it tended to disappear in the twentieth century, as more intensive agriculture, like the cultivation of citrus fruit,[191] was introduced.

Under the mushaa system, collectively owned land was divided into a number of shares (*feddân*), which represented not a definite plot of land but a fraction of the total area.[192] Land was redivided and realloted periodically[193] according to shares determined in one of two ways.[194] In some cases land had been divided into a specific number of shares at an earlier date, as for example when a tribe settled down on the land. These shares were passed on from generation to generation and remained the basis of allotment at each redivision

[187] Tannous, «The Arab Village,» pp. 531—532.

[188] Patai, p. 438; Khuri, p. 57; Warriner, *Land*, p. 19; Tannous, «The Arab Village,» pp. 531—532.

[189] Warriner, in Issawi, p. 75; Warriner, *Land*, p. 18; Tannous, «Rural Problems,» p. 275; Tannous, «Arab Village,» p. 534.

[190] Warriner, *Land*, p. 19.

[191] Warriner, in Issawi, p. 76.

[192] *Ibid.*

[193] Warriner, *Land*, p. 19; Baer, in Issawi, p. 87; Klat, «Musha Holdings,» p. 532; Khuri, p. 57; Tannous, «Rural Problems,» p. 532.

[194] Doukhan, p. 93; Khuri, p. 57.

of the land. Shares apportioned in this way were subject to division by inheritance, and later came to be bought and sold as though they were actual parcels of land.[195]

Otherwise, shares were apportioned, at each redistribution, according to the number of males eligible to cultivate the land.[196] Eligibility, or capacity to cultivate, was established by the ownership of cattle or other beasts of burden.[197] The peasant who did not have a draft animal automatically became landless.[198] A landless peasant might be alloted a few patches of land lying among rocks and in stony places to dig with a pick-axe.[199] Or he might work on another peasant's land. A foreign observer even reported, in 1894, having seen on several occasions a man or woman attached to a plough pulling side by side with a donkey.[200]

The Syrian village was traditionally a self-contained, relatively self-governed unit, under the charge of a village şeyh or şeyhs.[201] At the turn of the nineteenth century, when Mahmud II succeeded in putting down the more powerful ayan and rebellious paşas who had seized control in the provinces, this sub-stratum of local leadership remained intact.[202] With the implementation of the land code of 1858, the traditional power of the local şeyh was considerably enhanced. As article eight of the land code opposed collective ownership,[203] it became the practice for collective land to be registered in the name of the şeyh. Registration under individual title was largely ignored and land continued to be cultivated in traditional semicommunal ways.[204] In time, however, as possession of title came to represent effective ownership, the status of the şeyh was reinforced as the status of the cultivator was diminished.[205] Rights over the land were no longer determined by capacity to cultivate, but, as already noted, by possession of title. Accordingly, the majority of cultivators became landless agricultural laborers.

The world of the peasant was thus circumscribed by local notables. In dealings with the government peasants were represented by their own şeyh, or by a village şeyh selected from among several, the muhtar.[206] The şeyh, if not the tax collector himself, often worked in close connection with him.

[195] Warriner, in Issawi, p. 75; Doukhan, p. 93.
[196] Warriner, *Land*, p. 19; Doukhan, p. 93.
[197] Post, p. 105.
[198] Poliak, p. 69.
[199] Bergheim, p. 195.
[200] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[201] Gibb and Bowen, pp. 262—263.
[202] Inalcık, *EI*, p. 907.
[203] Warriner, *Land*, p. 17; Young, p. 49 (art. 8).
[204] Warriner, *Land*, p. 18.
[205] Poliak, p. 70.
[206] Gibb and Bowen, p. 263; Grant, pp. 150—151.

The tax collector dealt personally with the şeyh, who then apportioned the taxes required to members of the village under his jurisdiction. He received, for his part, a share in the proceeds and sometimes a special grant.[207] If a peasant resisted, the şeyh had recourse to irregular soldiers, who might beat the peasant or carry him off to prison.[208] The tax collector and his irregular soldiers were representatives of the provincial government.[209]

The interdependence of the central administration and the provincial elite—the government dependent on local leaders for revenues and local leaders dependent on the government for authority—emeshed to form an iron-clad ring around the interests of the peasantry. As for example, in 1878, when the Syrian provincial governor, Midhat Paşa, first took office, he increased the annual revenue of the provincial treasury 50 per cent by putting tax farms on public auction. Because tax farms were going at high prices, local tax farmers were compelled to bear down harder on the peasants. Confronted with petitions protesting against local abuse, Midhat Paşa was forced to admit that the sums being delivered to the treasury were indispensable to the state.[210]

Government authorities were powerless to act without the cooperation of local leaders. In 1845, a report drafted by the Council of Agriculture, later to be known as the Council of Public Utility, revealed that one of the four factors contributing to a decline in agriculture was the «want of circulating capital.» In an attempt to ameliorate the conditions of agriculture, a total of 20 million Turkish piastres was made available to small cultivators. Interest free loans for a period of three to four years were to be used for the purchase of seed, cattle, or agricultural implements. The money was distributed to provincial governors for reallocation, but funds were diverted at the local level.[211] In 1851, the Ottoman government, aware of the ruinous rates of interest charged by moneylenders, issued a firman fixing the legal rate of interest at eight per cent. The ironic result was to aggravate the situation as moneylenders tended to raise their previous rates due to the new risks involved.[212] Land settlement was also encouraged by the central administration. Tax remissions and other special privileges were granted.[213] In practice, however, pressure from local forces discouraged the development of small peasant proprietorships.

The fiction of central authority was nowhere so evident as in the sphere of justice. The local kadi received a one-year appointment, without a fixed

[207] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, pp. 158—159.
[208] Grant, p. 150.
[209] Polk, p. 510.
[210] Shamir, p. 366.
[211] Karkar, pp. 99—100; Post, pp. 113—114.
[212] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, p. 161; Ma'oz, in Polk and Chambers, p. 345.
[213] N. Lewis, p. 58; Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 112.

salary. Inasmuch as he was dependent on legal fees for support, justice went naturally to the highest bidder. The legal powers of the paşa were limited and the secular courts did not take the countryside into their jurisdiction.[214] Justice at the village level was administered primarily by the local *meclis*, about which the British consul at Aleppo wrote, in 1845, the following:

> The Megliss is the Tribunal to which all cases of contestation about the villages should be carried for redress, as a last resource they may be carried before H. E. the Pasha, but if made in the first instance to him, he refers them to the Megliss, but as the members of this Tribunal are all Malikangis and Iltizamgis, they are generally understood together; thus the Peasants do not obtain Justice, frequently arrangements are made between the Iltizamgis and the Peasants, but if not always they are generally to the disadvantage of the latter: the nature of these arrangements are chiefly the amount of the Usher, which is demanded by the Iltizamgi to be paid in cash, and this is one of the most prominent causes and means by which the Iltizamgi is enabled to oppress the peasants, because the medium or average price of the crop is arbitrarily fixed at a high rate by the Megliss the members of which being all Iltizamgis are enlisted against the Peasants and to whom can «He» apply for redress? If he applies to the Pasha His Excellency from various motives inclines to the side of the Iltizamgi, but ostensibly for the reason that the latter is in arrears to the Government on the purchase of the Usher, thus the Peasant succumbs in the appeal, the fact is that scarcely any peasant dares refer his case to the Megliss, much less to the Pasha and he becomes plunged into inextricable difficulty and ruin, having heavy debts at an exorbitant rate of interest to pay, is obliged to realize his crops at low prices, to meet the demands of the Iltizamgis, the charge of taxes and current expenses, and recommences the tillage and cultivation of his lands with heavy arrears and in a worse state than he was before.[215]

The effectiveness of the meclis as an institution of justice was also attested to by the British consul of Damascus (1878—1880), who noted that the local meclis catered to the «powerfully supported and left the bulk of the people to scramble for justice as best they could.»[216]

Given the political hegemony of a local ruling stratum, the village peasant could not but see the government as something outside, foreign, and hostile to him. As the British consul at Aleppo observed:

> [I]n applying a remedy to remove the defects of the present system or substituting another in its place, it may be well to keep in mind that the Moslem population generally in the north of Syria are from various causes, but chiefly the dislike to military conscription and discipline, uniformily of government, levying of taxes and the abuses of the civil government not well disposed towards the Sultan's Government, that all the chief and leading men in Aleppo and its district are personally interested in the continuation of the present system, and that hitherto the Pashas have governed the country through these persons, based on this sys-

[214] Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform*, pp. 153, 156.
[215] Polk, p. 511.
[216] Shamir, p. 361. See also Grant, p. 226.

> tem of venality and that as yet the military system and force is too weak, to permit the removal by one stroke the defects pointed out, thus it will require great singleness of purpose and considerable prudence and firmness in the government to clear the way and introduce those reforms so necessary for the prosperity of the population generally, and for the Sultan's interests.[217]

Inasmuch as a circle of local interest surrounded the village, the village represented a non-integrated unit within the encompassing structure of society and government. This would account for the social alienation of the peasant.

As the outside world pressed in, the peasant was accustomed to resisting in numerous ways. The passive resistance of the peasant was noted by Volney, in the account he wrote of his travels :

> Scarcely does the corn turn yellow, before it is reaped, and concealed in *Matmoures*, or subterraneous caverns. As little as possible is employed for seed corn, because they sow no more than is barely necessary for subsistence ; in a word, their whole industry is limited to a supply of their immediate wants ; and to procure a little bread, a few onions, a wretched blue shirt, and a bit of woolen much labour is not necessary. The peasant lives therefore in distress ; but at least he does not enrich his tyrants, and the avarice of despotism is its own punishment.[218]

N. W. Werry, the British consul of Aleppo in 1845, reported :

> They employ every ingenuity to secret a part of the crop, sometimes by bribery, they are understood with the Chokneh and Soubashi sent by the Iltizamgis and then they succeed in deceiving the receiver of the 10th both as regards its being levied in kind or in fixing the sum in lieu of the 10th, but this generally arises from the arbitrary and enormous demand of the Iltizamgi for receiving his tenth in cash although it may be admitted that the Syrian Peasantry is very cunning and not at all scrupulous in the means of attaining his ends, but can this create wonder when their social position is—considered and that their interests so entirely invaded and ruined, by the oppressions, abuses and defects of the system under which they labor.[219]

Apart from the Maronite revolt in Kisrawan, which was indicative of wider, external forces on internal social change, organized peasant resistance on a large scale was presumably unknown.[220] It is clear, however, that the peasant, locked within his village unit, was progressively alienated from the government and from the society that he served substantially to sustain.

The land policy of the Ottoman government, which directly affected the largest source of revenue available to the Ottoman state, was the single most important policy affecting the lives of the millions of peasant-cultivators

[217] Polk, p. 514.
[218] Volney, pp. 215—216.
[219] Polk, p. 512.
[220] See note 85.

who tilled Ottoman lands. Changes in land policy initiated by the government to assure itself of necessary revenues throughout the history of the empire gave rise to the formation of social groups which acquired considerable power over the peasantry. The balance of changes that took place in the social structure of the Ottoman state throughout the last centuries of Ottoman rule worked ultimately to the disadvantage of the peasant. By the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, the peasant-cultivator had become increasingly more isolated within Ottoman society and his status was critically diminished.

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GEORGIAN SOURCES ON THE CAUCASIAN CAMPAIGN OF HERACLEIOS

BY

MARGIT BÍRÓ

The Georgian sources, in a similar manner to the other Oriental records written at the time of the Khazar Empire, often mention the Khazars and at times other nomadic peoples. This paper is focussed on the documents related to the great Persian campaign of Herakleios, Emperor of Byzantium (610—641). Actually, this campaign was the first crusade in world history, preceding the later formidable crusades by about 500 years. Its ideology corresponds to that of the later crusades to the effect that it advocated the retrieval of Jerusalem and the Holy Cross.

The Persian campaign of Emperor Herakleios constituted the closing notes of the thousand-year struggle between the two major powers, Byzantium and Persia. The campaign weekend the Persian Empire to such an extent that the Persians were no longer able to stop the Arabs from entering the stage of world history. By the time of the decisive Byzantine-Persian clashes in the 620s Mohamed's tenets had become dominant among the Arabs, leading to an unparalleled concentration of forces. The Arabic tribes, torn asunder and slaughtering each other as dictated by the ancient tradition of vendetta, united and the Arabic mounted forces set out from the Arabic peninsula towards the north and north-east.

Thus, the balance was fatally overthrown in the Middle East at a time when the ancient Persian Empire was crushed by the troops of Herakleios and his northern nomadic allies. Within two decades, the warriors of Islam moved beyond Persia and arrived at the borders of the Amu-Darya, Northern Afghanistan and India.

Apart from Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syrian, Armenian and Chinese sources, some Georgian documents also tell of this campaign of Herakleios, which was of major momentum with regard to world history.

The earliest of them is the chronicle entitled *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai*[1] (The Conversion of Kartli), which survived to date in the Šatʿberdi and Čʿeliši

[1] *Jveli kʿartʿuli agiograpʿiuli literaturis jeglebi* [Monuments of the Old Georgian Hagiographic Literature] I (ed. I. Abulaje, Tbilisi 1963), pp. 81—163.

manuscripts. The manuscript of Šatʿberdi was written in the 10th, that of Čʿeliši in the 14th—15th century.[2] The two manuscripts supplement each other, as shown by E. Taqaišvili's research.[3]

The *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai* consists of two clearly distinct parts. The first part commences with the arrival of Alexander the Great of Macedonia in Kartli, and then lists the names of the kings of Kartli, i.e. Eastern Georgia, up to the age of King Mirian in the early 4th century. Next comes the short history of Kartli's conversion, again followed by the names of the rulers and the Katholikoi of Kartli from the 4th century to the 640s. The anonymous scribe is short-spoken on historical events. The first part ends with the list of the East Georgian kings and Katholikoi up to the 9th century.

The second part of the *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai* covers the conversion of Kartli (Eastern Georgia). The life-story of Saint Nino, the illuminatrix of Kartli,[4] is attached to this part.

Iv. J̌avaxišvili regarded only the first part as the actual *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai* and the second as the biography of Saint Nino, at the same time asserting that the two parts completely merge in the manuscript.[5] This is further confirmed by the fact that the Šatʿberdi manuscript is introduced with the title *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai* and a gloss ends it, notably that the *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai* had been found after long years. Consequently, the 10th century chronicler considered the *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai* a single work. This tradition lived on, borne out by the 14th—15th century Čʿeliši manuscript and by Arsen Beri, the 12th century writer of the biography of Saint Nino. Arsen Beri relates that he wrote the biography because the life story of Saint Nino was obscure in the *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* (The History of Kartli), and scattered in the *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai*. The statement of the author proves that he had a thorough knowledge of the *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai*, where both the first and the second section contains the biography of Saint Nino.

As to the sources of the *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai*, G. Melikišvili[6] is of the view that the extant versions of the works making up the *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai* cannot have been written before the 9th century. However, certain parts, such as the Herakleios-episode, could date back to earlier times. As the central part of the text ends with the events of the 640s, the general opinion

[2] In the first section of his work, G. Melikišvili analyzes the oldest Georgian historical sources. He also gives a detailed analysis of the *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai*: G. Melikišvili, *K istorii drevnej Gruzii* (Tbilisi 1959). pp. 23—28.

[3] E. Tʿaqaišvili, *Sami istoriuli kʿronika* [Three historical chronicles] (Tbilisi 1890), pp. 1—32.

[4] G. Melikišvili, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[5] Iv. J̌avaxišvili, *Kʿartʿveli eris istoria* [The history of the Georgian people] I (Tbilisi 1928), p. 163.

[6] G. Melikišvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 26—28.

is not without foundation that the first version of the *Mokc'evai K'art'lisai* dates back to those years. This, naturally, applies only to the first, so-called historical part of the *Mok'c'evai K'art'lisai*. There is no doubt that originally it had been a separate work, later united with the legendary Saint Nino.

The second part of the *Mok'c'evai K'art'lisai* is most probably the result of the mechanically merged old records and oral traditions concerning Saint Nino, which the anonymous chronicler supplemented with data from foreign sources and embroidered with his imagination.

The first part of the chronicle, called the «Historical Chronicle» by G. Melikišvili, is of special interest here. Most scholars agree that this part contains basically authentic historical material.

Significant data on the Byzantine Emperor Herakleios can also be found in one of the valuable sources of Old Georgian hagiographic literature, the «Martyrdom of David and Konstantin».[7] The anonymous 12th century author quotes a work of Antiochos Strategos on the destruction of Jerusalem as the source of the Herakleios-episode.[8] The work of Antiochos was noted down in Greek parallel with the actual events, and later in the 8th—9th century it was translated into Arabic. The Arabic version, in turn, was translated into Georgian in the 10th century. T'. Žordania drew attention to the Georgian redaction in 1893.[9] Žordania found the Georgian version of Antiochos' work in a 13th century Mtskheta manuscript.

In 1902, N. Marr discovered another manuscript of the Georgian version in Jerusalem. On the basis of the two manuscripts, Marr edited the work of Antiochos, containing the complete Georgian version and its Russian translation as well.[10]

Two other Georgian sources give accounts of the Persian campaign of Emperor Herakleios: the 11th century Juanšer-chronicle and the 11th century chronicle of Sumbat, the son of David. Both works form parts of the most outstanding Georgian historical record, the Georgian collection of chronicles called *K'art'lis C'xovreba* (The Life of Kartli, the History of Kartli).[11] Kartli in the title stands for the whole of Georgia, not only its eastern region.[12]

[7] *Č'veni saunje. Jveli mcerloba* [Our treasury. Old literature] I (ed. K. Kekelije, Tbilisi 1960), pp. 435—446.

[8] N. Marr, *Antioch Stratig. Plenenie Jerusalima persami v 614 g.* (S.-Peterburg 1909), pp. 8—9.

[9] T'. Žordania, *K'ronikebi da sxva masala Sak'art'velos istoriisa* [Chronicles and other sources on the history of Georgia] I (Tbilisi 1892), pp. 65—66.

[10] N. Marr, *op. cit.*

[11] *K'art'lis C'xovreba* [The History of Georgia] I (ed. S. Qauxč'išvili, Tbilisi 1955), pp. 222—225, 374—375.

[12] K. Grigolija, *O čem povedala „Kartlis Cchovreba"* (Tbilisi 1973), p. 6.

The works constituting the *K'art'lis C'xovreba* had existed separately until some centuries later they were compiled into a single volume. 14 redactions of the collection are extant. The earliest of them is the 15th century Queen Anne version.

The Georgian collection of chronicles was also translated into Armenian. Eight manuscripts of the Armenian version are known, the earliest dating back to 1279–1311.[13]

The collection was introduced to European scholars by the bilingual (Georgian–French) edition of M. Brosset. The seven-volume work also contains the most outstanding works of the 18th and 19th century Georgian chroniclers and the French translation of the Armenian version of the Georgian chronicles.[14]

At the time of M. Brosset, altogether three manuscripts of the collection were available. Several manuscripts of this invaluable source had been recovered in the 100 years following the edition. This necessitated a new cirtical edition of the work, edited by Simon Quaxč'išvili.[15]

In addition to giving an account of the Persian campaign of Emperor Herakleios, the 11th century J̌uanšer briefly surveys the Byzantine strife for the throne prior to the ascension of Herakleios, which served as a pretext for the Persian ruler to launch an offensive against Byzantium.

Kartli (Eastern Georgia), Armenia and Albania had been under Persian dominion until 591. Then, however, Khosrav II the Persian ruler was bound to renounce Kartli and a part of Armenia to the advantage of Emperor Maurikios, who had assisted him in putting down the revolt led by Bahrām Čobīn.[16] The sources are mute on the fate of Albania after the treaty. Researchers assume that it remained under Persian rule.[17]

However, not long after concluding the peace — still in the time of Emperor Maurikios — the Persian ruler stressed his claim for revising the disadvantageous agreement. The renewal of war against Byzantium was stimulated by the fact that Emperor Maurikios was replaced on the throne by the leader of the revolt, Phokas, in 602.[18]

[13] *K'art'lis C'xovrebis ǰveli somxuri t'argmani* [The Old Armenian translation of the History of Georgia] (ed. I. Abulaje, Tbilisi 1953).

[14] M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX siècle.* I–VII (St. Petersburg 1849–1858).

[15] *K'art'lis C'xovreba* [The History of Georgia] I (Tbilisi 1955), II (Tbilisi 1959), IV (Tbilisi 1973) (ed. S. Qauxč'išvili).

[16] M. I. Artamonov, *Istorija chazar* (Leningrad 1962), p. 142; K. V. Trever, *Očerki po istorii i kul'ture Kavkazskoj Albanii* (M.–L. 1959), p. 236.

[17] K. V. Trever, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

[18] *Sak'art'velos istoriis narkvevebi* [The outlines of the history of Georgia] II (Tbilisi 1973), p. 275.

At that time Stepʿanoz I[19] ruled over Kartli, who was endowed with the title *patrikios* by Emperor Maurikios. J̌uanšer's chronicle describes Stepʿanoz and the Byzantine domestic strife as follows:[20] «*Mepʿobisa saxeli ver ikadra sparsṭʿa da berjenṭʿa šišisagan, aramed eristʿavtʿa-mtʿavrad xadodes . . . Xolo ese Stepʿanoz iqo urcmuno da ušiši ymrtʿisasa, ara hmsaxura ymertʿsa, arcʿa hmatʿa sǰulsa da eklesiatʿa. Da amis-ze ikʿmna špʿotʿi Saberjnetʿs: rametʿu Mavrik keisarsa ganudga Pʿokas mqʿedari, da mokla Mavrik keisari da švilni misni. Da daipqra Saberjnetʿi Pʿokas mqʿedarman. Mašin sijeman keisrisman, sparsṭʿa mepʿeman Kʿasre, icqo jebnad sisxlsa simamrisa da cʿolis jmatʿa mistʿasa, šeslvad da tquenvad Saberjnetʿisa. Ganǰlierda berjenṭʿa zeda, da ver cinaaɣudga Pʿokas keisari. Xolo Stepʿanoz, mtʿavari Kʿartʿlisa, šeušinda mepʿesa sparsṭʿa, ganudga berjenṭʿa da miekcʿa sparsṭʿa:* (Stepʿanoz) did not dare (to assume) the title of a ruler (as) he feared the Persians and the Greeks, but he was called the mtʿavar of the eristʿavs . . . However, this Stepʿanoz was an infidel who did not fear God, did not serve God, and did not support the Church and the faith. It was then that a frightening incident occurred in Greece when the equestrian Pʿokas deserted Emperor Mavrik and killed Emperor Mavrik and his children. The equestrian Pʿokas occupied Greece. Then Kʿasre, the King of Persia, the son-in-law of the Emperor, set out to avenge the deaths of his father-in-law and the brothers of his wife. He went to Greece and devastated it. He was mightier than the Greeks and Emperor Pʿokas could not defend himself against him. Stepʿanoz, the mtʿavar of Kʿartʿli was frightened of the Persian king, deserted the Greeks and went over to t he side of the Persians.»

[19] Several scholars have attempted to define the exact date of the reign of Stepʿanoz I. However, the contradiction between the Sassanian coins minted with the name of Stepʿanoz and the other sources has not yet been solved: C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown 1963), pp. 395—397.; G. Dundua, *E. c. kʿartʿulsasanuri monetebis problema da adrepʿeodaluri xanis Sakʿartʿvelos istoris sakitʿxebi* [The problems of the so-called Georgian-Sassanian coins and the history of early feudalism in Georgia]: *MACʿNE istoriis, arkʿeologiis, etʿnograpʿiisa da xelovnebis istoriis seria* 1. 1976 (Tbilisi), pp. 97—110; V. Goilaje, *Aris tʿu ara Tʿeopʿane žamtʿaaymcereltʿan moxseniebuli Varsamuse Kʿartʿlis erismtʿavari?* [Was Varsamuse, mentioned by the chronicler Theophanes, the erismtʿavar of Kartli?]: *MACʿNE Istoriis, arkʿeologiis, etʿnograpʿiisa da xelovnebis istoriis seria.* 1. 1976 (Tbilisi), p. 136.

Relying on the chronicle of J̌uanšer, several scholars mistakingly consider Stepʿanoz a heathen. In a study of 1955, Il. Abulaje pointed out that Stepʿanoz was regarded as the enemy of the Church, because he had conflicts with certain ecclesiastic personages: Il. Abulaje, *Asurel moɣvacetʿa cʿxovrebis cigntʿa ǰveli redakʿcʿiebi* [Old redactions of the biography of the Syrian fathers] (Tbilisi 1955), pp. 204—205. This rumour about Stepʿanoz is worded in such a way in the chronicle of J̌uanšer that the personality of Stepʿanoz is completely distorted: *Sakʿartʿvelos istoriis narkvevebi* II, p. 274, n. 2.

[20] *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* I, pp. 222—223.

Essentially the same can be read in the Armenian translation of the Georgian chronicles in more succinct wording.[21]

Taking advantage of the grave Byzantine domestic discord, the Persians gained a string of remarkable victories and this state of affairs also prevailed in 610, when the Byzantine aristocracy put Herakleios on the imperial throne.[22] On this occasion, Kartli was again drawn under Persian dominion. The Transcaucasian Christian peoples were also afflicted by the discord between the Georgian and Armenian ecclesiastic leaders, which started in 606 and led to the separation of the two churches in 608. The Georgian church, apparently urged by Constantinople, accepted the Byzantine orthodoxy instead of the monophysite dogmas.[23] In connection with this, Iv. J̌avaxišvili states that the link, formerly strengthening and uniting the Georgians and the Armenians, broke in 608.[24]

The Persian war against Byzantium arrived at a dramatic turning-point in 614, when the Holy City of Jerusalem was occupied. The following can be read in the biography of David and Konstantin:[25] «*Mepʿobasa berjentʿa zeda ymrtʿis msaxurisa didisa Heraklessa, odes igi ganagebda sabrjanebelsa tʿwissa kuertʿxitʿa mepʿobisa tʿwisisaitʿa, ganilaškʿra sparstʿa mepʿeman Xuasro kʿalakʿsa mas zeda ymrtʿiv-dacʿulsa cmidasa Ierusalimsa, romelsa šina ikʿmna qʿsnai qovlisa sopʿlisai. Mišuebitʿa ymrtʿisaitʿa gamoiyo da tque-qo da mosra eri uricʿxvi mamatʿa da dedatʿai, mydelitʿa da diakontʿa da kʿalcultʿai, vitʿarcʿa ceril ars cignsa mas Ierusalimisa cartquenvisasa, ratʿa ayesrulos sitquai igi macʿxovrisai, vitʿarmed: «Ara daštʿes kʿvai kʿvasa zeda, vidremdis qovelive ara dairyues»*»: when the Greeks were ruled by the servant of God, the mighty Herakle, when he governed his empire with his sceptre, Xuasro, the king of the Persians, burst upon the city in the mercy of God, the Holy Jerusalem, where the world had been redeemed. With the help of God he captured and destroyed (the Holy City) and had huge masses of men, women, priests, deacons and virgins massacred, as it is written in the book on the fall of Jerusalem, that the word of the evangelist be fulfilled: «There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.»»[26]

The chronicle of J̌uanšer[27] and its Armenian translation[28] also briefly touch upon the devastation of Jerusalem.

[21] *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovrebis jveli somxuri tʿargmani*, p. 189.
[22] M. I. Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
[23] *Sakʿartʿvelos istoriis narkvevebi* II, pp. 275—276.
[24] Iv. J̌avaxišvili, *op. cit.*, I, p. 391.
[25] *Čʿveni saunǰe. Jveli mcerloba* I, p. 435.
[26] Matthew 24 : 2.
[27] *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* I, p. 223.
[28] *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovrebis jveli somxuri tʿargmani*, p. 189.

The fall of Jerusalem also represented a severe blow to the Georgians who had accepted the *Chalcedonense*. After 614, Khosrav convoked a Christian council where he declared that all the Christians under his rule must convert to the monophysite faith. Undoubtedly, all those ecclesiastic and aristocratic personages who had had a role in spreading the dogmas of Chalcedon, were forced to flee from Kartli. However, the advocates of the monophysite faith, thus gaining power, could not retain their position for long.[29]

The campaign of Khosrav also had significant results well after 614: Alexandria fell in 619 and Chalcedon was also lost to the Persians. The situation of Byzantium further deteriorated with the attack by its eastern enemies, the Avars, who pushed forward as far as Constantinople. In this seemingly hopeless situation, Herakleios won his first major victory over the Persians at Cappadocia in 622. In 623, he made headway into Persarmenia and destroyed Dvin, its capital. The same fate befell the cities of Nahčevan and Gandzak,[30] although a counter-attack of the Persians forced Herakleios to retreat from there. Advancing to the north, he invaded Albania and seized Partav, its capital. In 624, Herakleios concluded an alliance with the Lazs, Abazgs and the Iberians. Headed by erismt'avar Adarnase, those Georgians who professed the Calcedonian doctrines had been on the side of the Emperor all along, while the monphysites favoured an alliance with the Persians.[31]

Herakleios' alliance with the Caucasian peoples did not prove to be lasting, therefore he turned to the Khazars for help. The Khazars lived in the region north of the Caucasus surrounded by the Volga, Don and the Black Sea, and were dominated by the Western Turk Empire. Moses Kałankatvac'i and the Byzantine Theophanes relate that the Khazar khakan had the second highest rank at that time in the Western Turk Empire. On another occasion Moses Kałankatvac'i described the Turk khakan as the King of the North. In the geography allegedly written by Moses Xorenac'i, the name «King of the North» also denotes the title of the ruler of the Turk Empire, whose realm extended to the east of the Volga, i.e. it was identical to the Western Turk Empire.

Moses Kałankatvac'i also describes the family relations of J̌ebgu, the Khazar khakan. J̌ebgu khakan's son was called *Šat'*, corresponding to the Turkic dignitary name *šad*. At other places, Moses describes Šat' as the cousin of the King of the North, consequently J̌ebgu khakan and the King of the North — as Moses understands it — were brothers. All this points to the significant conclusion that the Khazar tribes belonged to the tribes of the Western Turks,

[29] *Sak'art'velos istoriis narkvevebi* II, p. 279.

[30] N. H. Baynes, *The Successors of Justinian: The Cambridge Medieval History* II. (Cambridge 1913), p. 293.

[31] *Sak'art'velos istoriis narkvevebi* II, p. 280.

but bore the name Khazar when ruling over all the peoples living in the area bounded by the Volga, Don and the Caucasus.[32]

In his work entitled the «History of the Albanians», the 10th century Moses Kałankatvac'i gives a detailed account of the conclusion of the alliance with the Khazar khakan. He discloses that in 625, the Byzantine Emperor sent a nobleman called Andrew to the Khazar khakan. The khakan accepted the offer of Andrew hoping for large spoils. The Byzantine nobleman was accompanied by 1,000 mounted Khazars through Derbend, Kartli and Egrisi to the residence of the Emperor.[33]

Supported by the allied Avars, Bolgars, Slavs and Gepids, the Persians launched an attack in 626 against Constantinople, the Byzantine capital. The offensive, however, ended with the defeat of the Persians. Meanwhile, the Emperor resided in Asia Minor and prepared for a new Persian campaign.[34]

Herakleios' new allies, the Khazars launched their first onslaught against the Persians in 627. The massive Khazar forces under the command of Šat', the son of J̌ebgu khakan, overran and devastated Albania. The attack was probably aimed at securing sufficient time for Herakleios, the Byzantine Emperor, to prepare for the decisive campaign against the Persians.[35]

That same year J̌ebgu khakan went to war with his son Šat'. After capturing Derbend and ransacking Albania, they set out for Kartli and occupied Tbilisi. The Khazar khakan met the Byzantine Emperor there.[36] J̌uanšer's 11th century chronicle tells of the siege of Tbilisi:[37] «*Ganǰlierda igi da miiqvanna dasavlet'it' t'urk'ni da šekribna spani uric'xuni da carmoemart'a Sparset'ad jebnad jelisa c'xovrebisasa. Da movida pirvelad K'art'ls. Aman Step'anoz ara ineba gandgoma sparst'agan, da ganamagrna c'ixe-k'alak'ni, da dadga Tp'ilissa šina. Movida Erakle mep'e da moadga Tp'ilissa. Xolo Step'anoz iqo k'ueli mq'edari da šemmart'ebeli; dyet'a qovelt'a gamovides kart'a k'alak'isat'a, da ebrjodis berjent'a. Mašin ukue mas cgobasa šina č'amoagdes Step'anoz da mokles. Da daipqra keisarman Tp'ilisi. Xolo c'ixesa Kalisasa darč'es kac'ni, da ara moert'nes mep'esa; da c'ixit' gamoymart' c'ixist'avman agina mep'esa da rk'ua: «vac'isa cuerni gasxen da vac'botisa kiseri gat'k's». Mašin brjana mep'eman: «dayac'at'u kac'man aman basrobit' mrk'ua me vac'botoba, ara ars c'ud sitqua misi». Da moiγo cigni Daniel,*

[32] K. Czeglédy, *Herakleios török szövetségesei: Magyar Nyelv* XLIX (1953), pp. 319—323.

[33] *Moisej Kagankatvaci, Istorija agvan.* Perevod K. Patkanjana (S.-Peterburg 1861), pp. 109—110.

[34] N. H. Baynes *op. cit.* II, pp. 295—296; M. I. Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[35] N. H. Baynes, *op. cit.* II, p. 297; M. I. Artamonov, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[36] *Moisej Kagankatvaci, Istorija agvan*, pp. 105—106; V. S. Nalbandjan, *Tbilisi v armjanskich literaturnych pamjatnikach drevnich i srednich vekov* (Erevan 1961), pp. 35—47; M. I. Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 146—148.; *Sak'art'velos istoriis narkvevebi* II, pp. 280—281.

[37] *K'art'lis C'xovreba* I, pp. 223—224.

da pova mas šina cerili esretʿ: «gamovides vacʿi dasavlisa, da šemusrnes rkʿani verjisa aymosavlisani». Mašin ganixara mepʿeman da daidastura, rametʿu qovelive ganemarǰueboda sparstʿa zeda: (Herakleios) was reinforced and called Turks from the West. He gathered a huge army and set out for Persia to find the tree of life. First he reached Kartli. But Stepʿanoz did not want to secede from the Persians. He strengthened the fortified cities and stopped at Tbilisi. King Erakle came here and surrounded Tbilisi (with his army). But Stepʿanoz was a very brave and indomitable warrior. Every day he marched through the city gate way and fought against the Greeks. But Stepʿanoz was thrown off (his horse) and killed in that battle. The Emperor seized Tbilisi. However, in the fortress of the Kala some people remained and they did not join the king, and the captain of the fortress abused the king from the rampart with these words: «Your beard is like the he-goat's, your neck is like the leading he-goat's.» Then the king said: «(although) this man called me a he-goat in mockery, (yet) his word is not mistaken.» And he took the book of Daniel and found this there: «The he-goat of the west comes here and breaks the horns of the ram of the east.» Then the king rejoiced because he was assured he won a great victory over the Persians.»

A similar scene is described in the work of Moses Kałankatvacʿi. The authors of the Georgian and Armenian works mentioned above relate that on the mockery of the captain, Herakleios opened the book of Daniel, whose 8th chapter tells that the ram of the west, i.e. Alexander the Great, will defeat the ram of the east, Persia. In connection with this, K. Czeglédy[38] remarks that this episode does not necessarily reflect the wit of the chronicler, as the Byzantine emperors always tended to refer to themselves as the ,,He-goats of the west.'' Theophanes and Sebeos reported that this particularly held true for Herakleios, who was inclined to disguise all his steps in religious attire.

The biography of David and Konstantin mentions that Herakleios' Turkic allies were the «Cumans who are identical with the Qivčʿaqs.» The following can be read about them in the Old Georgian hagiography edited by K. Kekelije:[39] «*Xolo ujnda ese ymrtʿis-msaxursa mepʿesa berjentʿasa Herakles da brjanebitʿa ymrtʿisaitʿa ganilaškʿra sparstʿa zeda da ševida kʿueqanasa komantʿasa, romel arian qivčʿaqni, da miscʿa asuli tʿwisi cʿolad mepʿesa qivčʿaqtʿasa da cariqvana qovlitʿa jalitʿa misitʿa jalad tʿwisad*: But Herakle, the servant of God, the King of the Greeks was overcome by a sorry plight and God commanded him to go into the land of the Komans, who are Qivčʿaqs, and he gave his daughter to the King of the Qivčʿaqs as a wife and then took him (the King) with his entire army to strengthen his own.»

As I pointed out earlier, the original 7th century version of the metaphrased 12th century copy speaks about Khazars, not Kipchaks as the allies

[38] K. Czeglédy, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

[39] *Čʿveni saunǰe, Jveli mcerloba* I, pp. 435—436.

of Herakleios. The Kipchaks as a separate people are first mentioned by 9th—10th century Arabic and Persian sources. The word *Qivčʿaq* probably entered the 12th century metaphrased version, because the Kipchaks had replaced the Khazars at the foot of the Caucasus some 100 years earlier.[40]

The biography of David and Konstantin is also of special interest, being the only Georgian source that refers to the marriage of Herakleios' daughter and the Khazar (in the biography Kipchak) khakan. However, Nikephoros of Byzantium narrates that although the Emperor promised his daughter, Eudokia, to the friendly Turkic warlord Ziebēl, i.e. J̌ebgu khakan, the marriage did not take place because Ziebēl died in 629 at the end of the campaign.[41]

The Emperor succeeded in seizing Tbilisi, but failed to capture the Kala, its citadel. Georgian sources confirm that after the unsuccessful siege, Herakleios appointed the pro-Byzantine Adarnase as the ruler of Kartli. He left the Khazar khakan (J̌ibγu[42] eristʿav) in Tbilisi and commanded him to seize the Kala. The Emperor then started for Baghdad (to Babilon in the *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai*), to fight the Persians. A few days after Herakleios and his army had left Tbilisi, J̌ibγu seized the fortress. The 10th century Moses Kałankatvacʿi, however, reports that the fortress of Tbilisi was captured only a year later in 628, after the death of Khosrav II, the Persian ruler.[43] Khosrav was followed on the throne by his son, Kavādh Siroe, who immediately opened negotiations with the Byzantine Emperor. Peace was concluded in April 628. The exact content of the agreement is unknown, but undoubtedly it included the retrieval of the Holy Cross and the withdrawal of the Persian forces from occupied areas. The borders of the Byzantine Empire prior to the 591 treaty were most likely restored.[44]

J̌uanšer describes the occupation of the Kala as follows:[45] «*Xolo mcʿiredtʿa dyetʿa cariγes Kala da šeipqres cʿixistʿavi igi. Aman eristʿavman pirvelad piri drahknitʿa aγuvso, romel sitqvitʿa šenitʿa keisarman ganixarao. Da šemdgomad amissa tqavi gahqʿada, da keisarsa ukana miscia Gardabans: kadrebisatʿwis mepʿisa uqo*

[40] M. B. Bíró, The '*Kipchaks*' *in the Georgian Martyrdom of David and Constantine*: *Annales. Sectio Linguistica* IV (Budapest 1973), pp. 161—168.

[41] K. Czeglédy, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

[42] The name of the Khazar khakan has the form *J̌ibγu* in the 11th century chronicle of Sumbat, the son of David (*Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* I, p. 375), the form *J̌ibγa* in the 11th century chronicle of the Georgian J̌uanšer (*Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* I, p. 225), and *J̌ibγo* in the 10th century *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai* (*Jveli kʿartʿuli agiograpʿiuli literaturis jeglebi* I, pp. 95—96). It is very likely that the form *J̌ibγu* is correct, because numerous other sources confirm it. Almost phonetically its equivalent is the form *J̌ibγo*.

[43] C. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movses Dasxuranci* (London 1961), pp. 85—86, 94—95; K. V. Trever, *op. cit.*, p. 241; M. I. Artamonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 148—149.

[44] N. H. Baynes, *op. cit.* II, p. 299; *Sakʿartʿvelos istoriis narkvevebi* II, p. 282.

[45] *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* I, pp. 225 - 226.

ese. Da esevitʿaritʿa sikudilitʿa caregnes Stepʿanoz da msaxurni misni. Amistʿwis uqo ese γmèrtʿman mtʿavarsa mas Stepʿanozs, rametʿu ara mindobitʿa γmrtʿisatʿa cʿxovndeboda: morcmunetʿa emtereboda da urcmunotʿa moqurobda: But a few days later they seized the Kala and captured the lord of the fortress. The eristʿav first ordered his mouth to be stuffed with denars (saying): your words delighted the Emperor; then he had him stripped off his skin and sent his skin after the Emperor to Gardaban; he did all this to him for his foolhardiness in face of the king. Such was the death Stepʿanoz and his followers died. God did this to Stepʿanoz mtʿavar because he did not fear God humbly: he was the enemy of the faithful and befriended the infidels.»

According to J̌uanšer's chronicle, Stepʿanoz died earlier in 627, fighting the Greeks and Khazars at the walls of Tbilisi. The Armenian translation of his chronicle gives the same account. Contrary to them, the biography of David and Konstantin makes no mention of either the siege of Tbilisi or of the ruler of Kartli. As E. Tʿaqaišvili[46] pointed out earlier, the *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai* and the chronicle of Sumbat, the son of David, report that Stepʿanoz was still reigning over Kartli when Herakleios arrived there after the recovery of the Holy Cross. On the other hand, the Byzantine Theophanes remembers a certain Varsamuse of that time called *ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Ἰβήρων*, whom he claims was captured by Emperor Herakleios in the battle at Ninive (627).[47]

Georgian sources also disclose that while the Khazars devastated and pillaged Tbilisi, Emperor Herakleios resided in Gardman in Albania. The chronicle of Sumbat, the son of David, recalls that the Byzantine Emperor baptized the ruler of Albania, Varaz Gagel, i.e. Varaz Grigor. Moses Kałankatvacʿi is silent about this event, but at another place he mentions that Varaz Grigor was baptized by Viro, the katholikos of Albania.[48]

Several researchers have dealt with this intriguing question of religious history. Artamonov[49] explained the silence of Moses Kałankatvacʿi, stating that katholikos Viro, an advocate of the monophysite dogmas, was shattered

[46] E. S. Takajšvili, *Obraščenie Gruzii*: *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mestnostej i plemen Kavkaza* (Tiflis 1900), XXVIII, p. 45, n. 2.

[47] Georgika IV/I. (Translated and edited by S. Qauxčʿišvili) (Tbilisi 1941), p. 100. The „Narkvevebi" describes Varsamuse as the erismtʿavar of Kartli and — mistakenly — states that he was captured by the Khazars, the allies of Herakleios, at the siege of Tbilisi (628): *Sakʿartʿvelos istoriis narkvevebi* II, p. 282. V. Goilaje drew attention to this error: V. Goilaje, *op. cit.*, Relying on the etymology of J. Marquart (*βαρσαμούσης* < *βαραμ⟨α⟩σούσης* — *Warham* — *Ašušai*), Goilaje identifies Varsamuse with the Georgian mtʿavar Aršuša mentioned in the Book of Epistles, who was the pitiaxš of Lower Kartli in the early 7th century. He holds that Varsamuse—Aršuša — as the second mightiest lord of Kartli — fought on the side of the Persians against the Byzantine Emperor Herakleios (V. Goilaje, *op. cit.*).

[48] C. J. F. Dowsett, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[49] M. I. Artamonov, *Očerki drevnejšej istorii chazar* (Leningrad 1936), pp. 59—60.

by Varaz Grigor's acceptance of the dogmas of Chalcedon under Byzantine pressure. It must be remembered that Moses Kałankatvacʿi wrote «History of Albania» on the basis of the diary of an eye-witness Viro, the katholikos.

The destruction of Tbilisi, however, did not mark the end of the atrocities of the Khazars. Ordered by J̌ebgu khakan, his son Šatʿ set out with his formidable army for Albania to extract more spoils. Georgian sources relate nothing about this event, but Moses Kałankatvacʿi gives a shocking account of the three-year heroic resistance of the Albanian people.[50] For four years after the Khazar withdrawal, Albania remained subjected to the Persian Empire, but in the mid-7th century — together with the other Transcaucasian lands — it was overrun by the Arabs, the new Oriental conquerors, who finally crushed the power of the Persians.

In the spring of 629, Herakleios went to Jerusalem to recover the Holy Cross. The Georgian sources recall that his return route included Kartli. That was seven years after Herakleios had first ventured into Transcaucasian territory.[51] After his victorious campaign, he mercilessly attacked the monophysites and Zoroastrians. The measures he took are depicted in the 10th century *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai* and in the 11th century chronicle of Sumbat, the son of David. They reveal that Herakleios dispatched messengers to Tbilisi, Mtskheta and Uǰarmo commanding the magi and the pyrolators to convene in the city churches and be converted to Christianity, or they would perish. Herakleios carried out his threat and had the dissenters ruefully massacred. The scribes of the two chronicles state that «blood gushed forth like streams in the churches of Kartli.»[52]

This much can be learnt from the Georgian sources about the last campaign of Herakleios. Hopefully, the study has provided ample evidence that the data of the Georgian sources add significant new information to the other documents and enrich the picture of the political and religious structure of the Transcaucasian countries at the time of Herakleios' momentous campaign. The Georgian records also provide intriguing information concerning the history of the steppe nomads.

[50] *Moisej Kagankatvaci, Istorija agvan*; C. J. F. Dowsett, *op. cit.*,

[51] *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* I, pp. 227, 375; *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai* (*Jveli kʿartʿuli agiograpʿiuli literaturis jeglebi* I, p. 96).

[52] *Kʿartʿlis Cʿxovreba* I, p. 375; *Mokʿcʿevai Kʿartʿlisai*, p. 96.

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PROGRESS OF THE uN CHANGE IN PERSIAN: DÆBESTAN VS. TABESTUN

BY

MARGARET KAHN and JARED BERNSTEIN (Palo Alto, Cal.)

A corpus of transcribed colloquial Persian conversation was studied to determine when and why the historic and orthographic sequence ⟨ɑn⟩ and ⟨ɑm⟩ in many Persian words are pronounced [un] or [um]. Noting many cases where equivalent phonological environments, for instance /dæbestɑn/ and /tɑbestɑn/, yield divergent colloquial forms (e.g. [dæbestɑn] and [tɑbestun]), morphological and lexical distinctions were sought to account for non-uniform implementation of the *aN* to *uN* sound change. Analysis of the corpus showed that in some closed class morphological categories, such as the pronominal plural suffixes and the deictic /ɑn/ and its compounds, the change is nearly obligatory, while in proper names, in European loans, and in learned Arabic vocabulary the change is prohibited. There remains a large group of open class morphemes in which the *aN* to *uN* change is neither required nor prohibited, but more or less likely, depending on, among other things, the speaker, the frequency of the word, and the conversational content.

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A clear distinction has not always been made between literary Persian, the language of Ferdowsi and Sa'di which is preserved in written Persian, and educated colloquial Persian, which is spoken today in Tehran and other Persian speaking parts of Iran. However, any speaker of Persian studying and pronouncing both types of Persian is aware that certain lexical, morphological, phonological, and phonetic changes are obligatory when switching from literary to colloquial. For example, the definite object marker spelled ⟨rɑ⟩ in the script and so pronounced in reading, is more often pronounced [o] when it follows a consonant in conversation. Another feature of colloquial speech is that [in] or even the vocalic nasal [ĩ] is substituted for the second person plural verb ending which is spelled and read /id/. A third change, according to Lazard (1957), is «un des traits les plus caractéristiques qui différencient l'usage familier et populaire de Téhéran de la langue littéraire.» This is the substitution of [u] for /ɑ/ before the nasal consonants /m/ and /n/. Lazard gives as examples /ɑn/ 'that' → [un]; /xɑne/ 'house' → [xune]; /pɑnzdæh/ 'fifteen'

→ [punzdæh] or [punzæ]. The alternation between *aN* and *uN* (where N = m, n), like the alternations described above, is a difference between written and spoken form. Whether or not /ɑn/ or /ɑm/ is the underlying *linguistic* form for all lexical items for all speakers is outside the scope of this paper. Some speakers actually produce [ɑn] which is, for all lexical items considered here, the orthographic representation, and, since all of the speakers in this study were highly literate and could produce correct formal Persian, it is likely that they were aware of /ɑN/ at least as the written, historical form corresponding to certain colloquial forms containing [uN].

Jazayery (1967) has mistakenly said that the change from /ɑ/ to [u] occurs after as well as before nasals, while Hodge (1957) wrote rather impecisely that the change from /ɑ/ to [u] occurs «next to» nasals. However, the real problem is not specifying phonetic environments of the /ɑ/ to [u] change in Persian. As Lazard (1957), Stilo and Clinton (1973) and Hillman (1972) agree, the /ɑ/ to [u] alternation occurs before a following nasal consonant. All the Iranists cited above, including Hodge and Jazayery, allude to the variability of the application of the uN-rule in spoken Persian, but only Lazard and Stilo and Clinton attempt to account for this variability. Lazard notes briefly that it is more common to find uN in everday words, while Stilo and Clinton say that «you will rarely hear /irun/, /tehrun/, or /ruznume/ in a polite conversation, although /mixunæm) and /midunid/ will be used. In more informal discourse, and expecially among family and friends, . . . /irun/ and /tehrun/ are the standards.»

Since the time of the neogrammarians, sound change has been seen as an all-or-nothing phonological process. Yet as Chen and Wang (1975) have pointed out, sound changes, however phonetically and phonologically motivated, do not apply to pure sounds, but to sounds located within words. Sound changes move through lexicons, morpheme by morpheme, and it is possible that certain types of words will change first. However, merely specifying the phonetic environment which conditions a change gives no information about the pattern of penetration of the change in that portion of the lexicon that satisfies a particular environment. As suggested by our title, /ɑn/ will sometimes change and sometimes not change in what seems to be the same phonetic environment ; educated colloquial Persian /dæbestɑn/ 'primary school' never changes, /tɑbestɑn/ 'summer' is usually [tɑbestun]. Fortunately, the method for studying a sound change is the same, whether phonological conditions or lexical patterns of implementation are sought. That is, one needs to collect forms and note those in which the change occurs and those in which it does not. Such a study proved useful in determining that lexical items are often clearly marked for the application of or exemption from the uN change in spoken Persian, and that at least in a number of cases, these lexical items fall into obvious classes.

Method

Since the phonetic innovation in question deviates from the written standard, printed texts were not used to determine the extent of the change (see, however, Boyle, 1952). The data in this paper comes from two sources, the first being primary: *1.* Twenty minutes of taped monologue from each of 4 speakers of Tehrani Persian (three male and one female) who were individually interviewed by another native speaker of Tehrani Persian, and *2.* Judgments regarding general usage of ɑN and uN in Tehran and Iran by two Persian speakers with some experience in linguistic methods: one was the interviewer; and the other transcribed the interviews. The authors' own observations of informal Persian speach originally motivated this study. The monologues of the four speakers were transcribed and the frequency with which orthographic ⟨ɑN⟩ is realized as [uN] was calculated as a fraction so that the reader may see the total number of occurrences for each category of lexical item (see Table 1). The motivation for the choice of such categories will become clear during the following discussion of the data.

Phonological Environment

The primary phonological environment for the alternation can be simply stated in the following formula[c]

$$/ɑ/ \rightarrow [u] / __ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{consonant} \end{bmatrix}$$

From a rule so specified, it would seem that any lexical item in Persian containing the historical and orthographic sequence ⟨ɑN⟩ is eligible to undergo the change, although actual usage and native speaker judgments contradict this. As the table shows, a preponderance of the lexical items and tokens of lexical items where ɑN goes to uN either have ɑN in a stressed syllable in final or penultimate position.[1] It is rare to find a word, even a commonly used word, where /ɑn/ → [un] in the antepenult. For example, /hɑmele/ 'pregnant' never becomes *[humele], /dɑneškæde/ 'college, faculty' never becomes *[duneškæde], and native speakers report that /rɑnænde/ 'driver' does not commonly become [runænde]. The form /rɑnændegi/ 'driving' never becomes *[runændegi], indicating that the further ɑN is from the end of the word, the less likely it is to change to uN. Another exception (beside [runænde]) to the prohibition against

[1] Lexical stress in Persian is fairly predictable; it usually appears on the last syllable of the stem. However some affixes may also be stressed, taking the primary stress off the stem. The ɑN → uN change does not seem to be stress related in that both stressed and unstressed syllables undergo the change, e.g. ɑmǽd umǽd 's/he, it came,' xɑné xuné 'house', jæván jævún 'young', dɔndán dɔndún 'tooth'.

change in the antepenult is in verbs where the stem changes. For instance, from /dɑnest/ 'knew' and /ɑmæd-/ 'came', we find [dunestæn] 'they knew' and [umædæm] 'I came'. Another very clear case wherein phonetic environment is insufficient to differentiate the implementation of the ɑN to uN change involves /ɑn/ in stressed final syllables. Although ⟨-mɑn⟩, ⟨-tɑn⟩, and ⟨-šɑn⟩ of the pronominal first, second and third person plurals uniformly become [-mun], [-tun], and [-šun], the animate noun plural /-ɑn/ is almost never realized as [-un], at least in the Tehrani dialect. If phonological conditioning is incomplete in predicting which lexical items are likely to undergo the change of ɑN to uN, perhaps morphology will help specify the conditions for the change.

Morphological Categories

Three morphological classes emerge in the table on uN usage as those most likely to undergo change: 1) the deictic pronoun ⟨ɑn⟩ 'that' and all compounds formed with ⟨ɑn⟩, such as ⟨ɑnjɑ⟩ 'there' and ⟨hæmɑn⟩ 'the same'; 2) the pronominal plural suffixes, ⟨-mɑn, -tɑn, -šɑn⟩ 'our, your, their', and 3) verb stems with ɑN, including those formed with the causative infix /-ɑnid-/ or /-ɑnd-/. For instance, the stems of /ɑmædæn/ 'to come' and /xɑbɑnidæn/ 'to put to sleep' are normally realized as [umæd-] and [xɑbund-]. Conversely, there are also some morphological categories in which the uN change never occurs, and they are included below in our discussion of prohibitions.

Prohibitions

As was mentioned above, the animate nominal plural suffix /-ɑn/ rarely becomes [-un]. One very likely reason for this is that /-ɑn/ is not commonly used in colloquial Persian where the inanimate plural /-hɑ/, reduced to [-ɑ], often replaces the animate plural. Another strictly morphological prohibition on the application of the change of ɑN to uN is that the rule will rarely apply to an ɑN sequence which crosses morpheme boundaries; but again there are exceptions. In syllables where applying the rule would obscure or render ambiguous a morphological distinction (usually involving an inflection), the prohibition seems total. For instance, [mixɑn] from /mixɑhænd/ 'they want' never becomes *[mixun]; [bæræm] from /bærɑyæm/ 'for me' never becomes *[bærum]; [dustɑm] 'my friends' from /dustɑnæm/ or dusthɑyæm/ never becomes *[dustum].

However, ɑN that occurs across syllabic boundaries between derivational rather than inflectional affixes may occasionally be changed to uN. The group of Persian compounds beginning with the prefix /nɑ-/ 'not' followed by nouns or adjectives with an initial nasal usually do not trigger the change nɑN to nuN, but changes are not unheard of. /nɑmærdi/ 'cowardliness' (literally non-

manliness) and /nɑmæhræm/ 'not intimate' may sometimes become [numærdi] and [numæhræm]. Still, the uN change is more likely to apply elsewhere first as shown by the example /nɑmehræbɑn/ 'unkind', which is more likely to change to [nɑmehrɑbun] than to [numehrɑbun]. *[numehrɑbɑn] is not possible. It is obligatory that the change applies to syllable final, morpheme-internal ɑN first. /jɑnæmɑz/ 'place of prayer', a compound formed from /jɑ/ and /næmɑz/ never changes to *[junæmɑz].

Other prohibitions of a more strictly lexical nature include proper names and borrowings from foreign languages, mainly French, English, and Arabic. Proper names, especially if they refer to people or titles rather than places, almost never undergo the uN change. For example, Mehrɑn (a masculine first name) never becomes *Mehrun, Pærvɑne (a feminine first name) never becomes *Pɑrvune, and *Golestan* (Sa'di's masterpiece) never becomes *Golestun; but the last two forms cited may become [pɑrvune] and [golestun] when they mean 'butterfly' and 'rose garden' rather than when referring to a particular girl or a particular literary work.[2] Some place names, as of countries like Lebnɑn and Yunɑn never undergo the rule, while a city name like Esfahɑn may become Esfahun, although Abɑdɑn will not become *Abɑdun. No borrowing from a modern European language seems to show the ɑN to uN change. /lisɑns/ 'college degree' is never *[lisuns]; /ɑnten/ 'antenna' is never *[unten]. Arabic borrowings, if they are seen as literary or learned, usually do not undergo the change. For example, in our corpus we have /soltɑn/ 'sultan', /onvɑn/ 'title', and /erfɑn/ 'gnosis' without the change; but very common Arabic borrowings may undergo the rule, as in [tæmum] 'all finished' and [meydun] 'city square'.

Style

There still remains a substantial number of cases where style or frequency of occurrence is the only arbiter. In our table, there are two columns labelled «common words»; one group tends to undergo the change, while the other group does not. More of what seem to be the most common words in Persian do undergo the change — ⟨tæmɑm⟩ 'all, finished', ⟨xiyɑbɑn⟩ 'avenue', ⟨xɑne⟩ 'house', ⟨kodɑm⟩ 'which', ⟨tɑbestɑn⟩ 'summer', ⟨gerɑn⟩ 'expensive', and ⟨ærzɑn⟩ 'cheap'. Yet many common words, such as /dɑnešju/ 'student', /kɑmel/ 'perfect', /æl'ɑn/ 'immediately', /dæbestɑn/ 'elementary school', /mɑmɑn/ 'mom', /hɑmele/ 'pregnant', and /emtehɑn/ 'examination' do not change their ɑN to uN. Some cases like the French loan /mɑmɑn/ and the Arabic loans /æl'ɑn/, /kɑmel/ and /emtehɑn/ seem to come under a previously noted prohibition.

[2] Stilo notes (personal communication) that when /xiyɑbɑn/ is used in a street name, it is much less likely to become [xiyɑbun].

Although many speakers of Persian may not realize that /mɑmɑn/ is borrowed, the prohibition seems to hold. The rest of the lexical items in the class of common words which do not change are either Arabic borrowings or terms related to education or both.

Certain morphemes such as the animate noun plural /-ɑn/ and certain words, such as /dæbestɑn/ seem to be formal by definition. Still, it is not possible to predict that a given speaker who uses one variant of a particular lexical item will always use the same variant even within a single discourse.

Variation

All of the four speakers in our study were highly educated in comparison to the general population of Iran, and only one speaker knew the interviewer previously. Therefore, the discourses recorded tended to be toward the formal end of the spectrum of educated colloquial Persian. One speaker used formal forms such as /xɑnevɑde/ and /irɑn/ at the beginning of the interview and then switched to [xunevɑde] and [irun] later when he felt more comfortable. Speakers shifted in their use of uN for ɑN depending on the type of subject they were discussing or the particular word they were using. For example, speaker 3, who conversed on literary topics, used far fewer uN substitutions than the other three speakers. Speaker 2, who was on friendly terms with the interviewer, used /un/ for /ɑn/ 'that' in all cases except preceding [qædær] 'amount'. Our transcriber suggested that if that speaker had chosen to use [qæde] the more colloquial form, then he would have used [un].

Conclusion

Two definite classes of lexical items (or morphemes) have been identified: Those to which the uN rule is almost always applied and those to which it is never applied. It is interesting that the lexical items which most commonly undergo the uN change are closed class morphemes such as the deictics and pronominal plurals. Segments occurring in closed class forms are generally believed to resist changes undergone by other parts of the language (note that English initial /ð/ remains mostly in closed class words; see also Laferriere (1975) on rule exceptions in German). Although some of the most commonly used lexical items in the language almost always change, the majority of relevant words in the Persian language are more variable in the application of the uN change and the number of variable items seems to be growing.[3]

[3] We have omitted the longer time dimension in our study of change in progress, but Stilo (personal communication) suggests that /ɑn/ probably changed first to [on] and then to [un], and that the sound alternation began in northern Iran. The form [on] would

The last twenty or thirty years have been a time of enormous pressure and change for the Persian language and culture. It is an open question what the ultimate fate of the uN sound change may be. It could follow through to penetrate the entire Persian lexicon, be turned back, or be ossified in its present phonologically irregular state. Native speakers report that uN's which would have been unthinkable ten or fifteen years ago are becoming possible. On the other hand, over half the population of Iran are not native speakers of Persian; with the continuing spread of literacy in standard Persian and radio and television broadcasts often read in a very conservative Persian, the sound change may be turned back. When Persian is spoken by the Turks and Kurds of Azerbaijan, ⟨ɑn⟩ is usually [ɑn]. However, since television and radio are much more pervasive than literacy in Iran, the currently most intrenched examples of uN in the closed class forms are frequently broadcast and may prevail even if some open class items slide back to ɑN. But for now, the question remains: How do the Persians really talk? Even as that question is posed, the language is changing.[4]

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be intermediate in both height and degree of rounding. Regarding the geographic location of the sound shift: ɑN to uN is now popularly thought of as a Tehrani (Tehruni) phenomenon, although Tehran is a relatively new center of Persian culture. ɑN ~ uN variation has also been reported for dialects in and around Shiraz.

[4] We wish to thank Mahmoud Badavam for his painstaking transcriptions and Afarin Ordubadi for her skill as an interviewer and her perceptions about usage in Tehran. We are also grateful for the comments of Don Stilo and Martha Laferriere on a preliminary draft of this paper. This research was completed under the sponsorship of Kenneth N. Stevens, Lebel Professor of Electrical Engineering at M.I.T.

Table 1

No. of Occurrences where aN → uN/Total Occurrence of Morphemes in Lexical Class

	Pronominal plural suffixes[1]	Deictic /an/ and its compounds	Verb stems and causatives[2]	Common words where aN → uN[3]	Common words where aN ↛ uN	Proper Nouns[5]	Learned Arabic borrowings[6]
Speaker 1	8/8	27/27	15/16	10/11	0/14	1/11	—
Speaker 2	11/11	19/21	8/10	10/12	0/34	0/12	—
Speaker 3	11/11	38/38	21/21	6/17	0/4	0/10	0/15
Speaker 4	23/23	24/24	36/36	10/11	0/16	0/2	—

[1] /-man/, /-tan/, /-šan/

[2] xandæn, mandæn, amædæn, gozærandæn

[3] xane, (and its compounds), xiaban, tabestan, kodam, aram, geran, ærzan, zæman, zæban, tæmam, divane, jævan

[4] æl'an, emtehan, maman, kudækestan, dæbirestan, šæhrestan, danešga, danešju, daneskæde, kamel, amuz, hamele

[5] Iran, Tehran, Mehran, Keyhan, Golestan

[6] amel, eqdam, erfan, onvan, soltan

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEDIEVAL JEWISH BOOKLORE

FROM THE GENIZA

BY

A. SCHEIBER

I. Further notes on the bibliographical activity of Joseph b. Jacob Habavli

A. Additional copies by him

We have hitherto known of 275 works or copies from the pen of Joseph b. Jacob Habavli.[1] This number is now increased by 47, chiefly from the Additional Series in Cambridge University Library which I examined in August, 1978. We have therefore altogether 322 manuscripts by him.[2] It is striking that among the material I examined in Leningrad — consisting of the entire Antonin Collection — I saw not a single item in his characteristic handwriting.

The supplementary list is as follows:

Cambridge, University Library

T.-S. 12.360	מרינו ורבינו משה הדיין
T.-S. A.S. 82. 4.	
T.-S. A.S. 82. 23.	
T.-S. A.S. 82. 24.	
T.-S. A.S. 82. 25.	
T.-S. A.S. 82. 26.	
T.-S. A.S. 82. 27.	
T.-S. A.S. 82. 163.	
T.-S. A.S. 82. 164.	
T.-S. A.S. 89. 215.	
T.-S. A.S. 89. 230.	
T.-S. A.S. 90. 79.	

[1] A. Scheiber: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXIX (1975), pp. 247—248; J. Sussmann: *Te'uda. I. Cairo Geniza Studies* (Tel Aviv 1980), pp. 26, 30; N. Allony: *Sinai* XLIV (1979), Nos. 3—4, pp. 100—101; idem: *Aresheth* VI (Jerusalem 1980), pp. 15—16; G. Vajda: *REJ* CXXXIX (1980), p. 144.

[2] Facsimiles of his MSS: *Kitâb al-radd wa-'l-dalîl . . . by Judah Ha-Levi.* Ed. D. H. Baneth (Jerusalem 1977), Fig. 3; S. Hopkins, *A Miscellany of Literary Pieces from the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge 1978), pp. 54, 106—107.

T.-S. A.S. 90. 105.	
T.-S. A.S. 90. 190.	
T.-S. A.S. 90. 196.	
T.-S. A.S. 90. 227.	
T.-S. A.S. 90. 234.	
T.-S. A.S. 90. 436.	
T.-S. A.S. 91. 236.	
T.-S. A.S. 91. 330.	
T.-S. A.S. 92. 120.	
T.-S. A.S. 92. 173.	
T.-S. A.S. 92. 417.	
T.-S. A.S. 93. 8.	
T.-S. A.S. 93. 62.	
T.-S. A.S. 93. 69.	
T.-S. A.S. 93. 87.	
T.-S. A.S. 93. 233.	
T.-S. A.S. 95. 164.	
T.-S. A.S. 106. 78.	
T.-S. A.S. 110. 514.	
T.-S. A.S. 116. 206.	
T.-S. A.S. 118. 163.	
T.-S. A.S. 145. 4.	
T.-S. A.S. 145. 257.	
T.-S. A.S. 146. 186.	
T.-S. A.S. 150. 69.	
T.-S. A.S. 151. 28.	
T.-S. A.S. 151. 62.	A Sheela to Maimonides.
T.-S. A.S. 151. 65.	
T.-S. A.S. 152. 208.	On the margin a book-list[3].
T.-S. A.S. 152. 222.	
T.-S. A.S. 152. 226.	

New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America

ENA N.S. 7. II. 4.	A poem.
ENA N.S. 14. 28.	
Schechter Genizah 30.	
Unbound.	

[3] According to N. Allony our author has 20 book-lists (*Alei Sefer* 1 [1975], p. 35; *Sefunot* XVI [1980], p. 64, Note 7.).

B. An unkown letter by him

We know little about the life of Joseph b. Jacob Habavli; there are few private letters from him, and even those are still in manuscript. A further letter has now turned up in Cambridge (T.-S. A.S. 145. 4).

There is writing only on one side. The beginning — the pars pathetica — (lines 1—9) is in Hebrew, the letter itself (lines 10—23) in Arabic, while the formal ending (lines 24—25) is once more in Hebrew.

The introduction offers greetings to Simḥa Hakkohen and his four sons: Abraham, Jacob, Eliezer, and Joseph. The father, Simḥa Hakkohen b. Shelomo, was already known to Al-Ḥarizi.[4] He lived in Alexandria.[5] He had contact even with Abraham Maimûnî.[6]

In the text of the letter itself he complains that he is greatly in debt. He appeals to them for aid, for they are the town's notabilities. He asks each of them to offer something and send it with the person delivering the letter. He mentions that one Manṣûr is in constant touch with him, which no doubt means that he is being given financial support by Manṣûr. Abû Manṣûr appears on a subscription list drawn up to obtain the release of prisoners as one of the donors,[7] and also figures as one of those who borrowed books or ordered copies from Joseph b. Jacob Habavli.[8] There is also a physician with this name in Upper Egypt at this time.[9]

The text and the photostat printed whith permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

[4] Al-Ḥarizi, *Taḥkemoni*. Ed. J. Toporowski (Tel-Aviv 1952), p. 364.

[5] A. Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles* I (Oxford 1887), p. 133; J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt* II (Oxford 1922), p. 317.

[6] Abraham Maimuni *Responsa*. Ed. A. H. Freimann—S. D. Goitein (Jerusalem 1937), pp. 163, 164—165. He married the daughter of Elijahu b. Zekharja Dayyan from Fostat.

[7] J. Mann, *op. cit.* II, p. 291.

[8] N. Allony: *Kirjath Sepher* XXXVIII (1962/63), p. 536.

[9] S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* III (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London 1978), p. 278.

T.-S. A.S. 145. 4.

עזרי מעם יי ע ש וא
משך נעימות יאתיו ממרומות בעז ותעצ[ומות]
לכבוד גדולת קדושת מרנא ורבנא שמחה הכ[הן]
השר הנכבד החכם ו[הנב]ון וכלל בניו בראש[ם]
מרנ ורבנ אברהם השר האדיר החכם הכביר
ואחיו מרנא יעקב אותו בשם טוב לנקוב ומרנא אלע[זר]
הבחור היקר איש מצוות ומעשים טובים [ג]ם מרנא
יוסף [יז]כר בטוב אלהי ישראל יברך אתכם ויַרבה
שלום בניכם והוד והדר ישוה עליכם מעתה ועד עול[ם]
עַרַּף אללה אלסאדה אלאגלא אלנבלא אלפצלא ברכא[ת]
הדא אלעיד ואעאדה עליהם אלסנן אלכתירה בתגדי[ד]
והם פַּרחון סארון האדיין קארין וכן יהי רצון
אנת[ם] תעלמון אַנ עלי מן אלדין מקדאר כביר ומא י[תם לי]
קיאם אלא באלמסאעדה ואנתם אגלא הדא אלבלד וא[סואל]
מנכם אן יתברע כל ואחד מנכם בשי לה טאיל ליגד[ד]
מן דלך ש[...]בה כרק מא פאן אקתצא ראיכם
פליכן מע מוצלהא ואן כאן אלשיך מנצור מא זאל
אלי מתצל ומן נאחיתי[...]ל ואַנ ש...
צור ישראל יברך מעשה יד[יכם]
פליחריץ פי אלמזיד מנ[הא?]....בה
אגלא(?) וקרבה.....ל אל...
אללה פי כונה למתק[...]מן ספרה...
לולא[...]נה למ[.....] אלאגתמאע ויזד...
בגודה ושלומכם ו[ט]ובתכם [ירביון נצח סלה]
וכתב יוסף ברבי יעקב

1 עזרי]תה' קכא, ב.
2 בעוז]שם, סח, לו.

תרגום

10 יודיעכם אלהים, רבותי הנעלים האצילים הנדיבים, את ברכותיו של
החג הזה ויחדש אותו עליכם שנים רבות שוב ושוב
בעוד אתם שמחים עליזים רגועים קבועים וכן יהי רצון
אתם יודעים שאני חייב סכום גדול ואין מתאפשר לי
הקיום אלא על ידי סיוע ואתם גדולי העיר הזאת ובַקָּשָׁתִי
15 מכם כי יתרום כל אחד מכם דבר שיש בלבכם (או: תועלת) כדי לחדש
בזאת... על כן, אם תיפול אצלכם ההחלטה (על זאת)
17—18 ייעשה הדבר על ידי מביא (האגרת הזאת), אף על
פי שהאדון מנצור עומד אתי בקשר כל הזמן...
צור ישראל יברך מעשה יד[יכם]
20 ישתדל להרבות בזה...
21—23 (עוד מלים בודדות, בהן הוא מיחל שישובו וייפגשו)
בטובו. ושלומכם ו[ט]ובתכם [ירבון נצח סלה]
25 וכתב יוסף ברבי יעקב

C. His son as a bibliophile

It seems that the father's penchant for bibliophily was inherited by his son, Isaiah b. Joseph b. Jacob. There is in Oxford a manuscript which was copied for the latter. The colophon is as follows:[10]

MS. Oxford, Heb. b. 13, p. 32b

סליק סדר קדשים הל' פסו'
זכינו ושלמנו לטובה
ולברכה לכ' ג' ק' מר' ור' ישעיה הח' והנ' בן כ'
ג' ק' מר' ור' יוסף החבר המעולה בחבורה

[10] A. Neubauer—A. E. Cowley, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* II (Oxford 1906), p. 269. No. 2834/4. On the title „rosh ha-seder" see M. R. Cohen, *Jewish Self-Government in Medieval Egypt* (Princeton 1980), pp. 96, 105, 106, 167.

5 בן כ'ג'ק' מר' ור' יעקב הח' וראש הסדר
הק'ב'ה' ישימהו עליו סימן טוב ויקים עליו
ענין קר' דכת' אז תקרא ויי' יענה וג'
לישועתך קויתי יְיָ

7 אז]יש' נח, ט.
8 לישועתך]בר' מט, יח.

II. A Karaite Book-List in Leningrad

As early as 1860, S. Pinsker published selections from two book-lists in the collection of Firkowitz: 14 items from the first and 8 from the second.[11] When J. Mann was in Leningrad in the late 1920s, he located the first: «I have found it in Leningrad among the MSS belonging to the late Dr. Harkavy. There is no record how this list came into his private possession.»[12] He did in fact publish the complete list.[13] Of the second book-list he writes as follows: «The other list ... I could not locate.»[14]

I found this second list in Leningrad in October, 1978. It is in the Firkowitz II Collection (Evr.-arab. II. 1118). It contains 31 items, for the most part Karaite (including several works by Yefet b. Ali), but also some Rabbanite material.

I examined two further book-lists in Leningrad. One is on the verso of a letter and contains 6 items (Ant. 349.). The other list (Evr.-arab. I. 127.) was published by W. Bacher,[15] but since he was unable to examine the original, he could read only some of the items. It is time for a new, revised version.

I am most grateful to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for sending me to Leningrad for one month and enabling me to do research there,[16] and also to Dr. Victor V. Lebedev, head of the Geniza section in Leningrad, for helping me in my work.

[11] S. Pinsker, *Lickute Kadmoniot* (Wien 1860), pp. 191—192.
[12] J. Mann, *Texts and Studies* I (Cincinnati 1931), p. 644.
[13] J. Mann, *op. cit.*, pp. 660—662.
[14] J. Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 664, Note 2.
[15] W. Bacher: *REJ* XXXII (1896), pp. 126—129.
[16] A. Scheiber, *Leningrádi genizák között* (Budapest 1978).

H. Firkowitz, Evr.-arab. II. 1118.

[1a] אחתות אלכזאנה" אלשריפה
אלעזיזה אלותיקה אלמפתכרה
אלגְלילה אלכרימה אלמעמרה
אלרפיעה אלעצימה אלכמלה
אלצחיחה אלטאהרה אלדכיה
אלצאפיה אלסדידה אלשהירה
אשהר אתעֹ מא פידא מן כלאמה
אלעזיז פי ד גְהאת אלעלם קריב
אלשאמלה מן כלאם אתעֹ אלרפיע
כמם אספאר אלתורה יג ויא
ניז תם תורה ה אספאר ניז ופשאט
ותאיז גְ כל רק וארבעה ועשרים
סתם ותורה בלי נקוד והפטרות
השנה ושרח אלתורה יג ו
[1b] מן כלאם ר יפת אלבצרי נעֹ ושרח
בקית אלארבעה ועשרים תמאם תעְגז
מגלת אסתר ואיצא ללעאלם אלמד
שרח תהלים ושרח משלי גְזוין וישע‹י›ה
ואיוב
וספרי מצוות ד ור יהודה אבל נעֹ
ושרח אלעתידות ג אגְזא מגְלד
ומגְמוע א סעדון ואלחריז וספר
בראשית ללקרקסאני ואצול אלדין
והו דאלך אלכתאב וכתאב פי מקאלת
אלשבת ומסלה וגְואב מפסור אלתורה
ללחכים עֹ אלכרים תנצבה ותהלים
ניז רק אשורי וגְזוין תפלה

מן קסטנדינא ותפלות השנה
[2a] ג אגזא מגלד ותפלות כפור ערב
ובקר וצ ועלֿ ויהודה חריזי וספר
תשובה ללברקמאני ואגרון
ושמחת תורה והללויה והלל
ואלפאט אלנביאים ואלכתוב

תרגום

כלל הארון הנכבד
היקר הנאמן המפואר
הנשגב האציל הבנוי
הרם העצום השלם
התמים הטהור הזך
הצח הישר המפורסם
— ופרסם־נא אלהים יתעלה את דבריו הנכבדים
שבו בארבע כנפות הארץ בקרוב —
הכולל מדברי אלהים יתעלה הנשגב
חמשה ספרי התורה יג ויא
טקסט אח"כ תורה חמשה ספרים טקסט ופשט
ג כ"ד קלף וארבעה ועשרים
סתם ותורה בלי ניקוד והפטרות
השנה ופירוש התורה יג ו
מדברי ר' יפת הבצרי נ"ע ופירוש
יתר העשרים וארבעה שלם חסר
מגילת אסתר וג"כ לחכם הנזכר
פירוש תהלים ופירוש משלי שני כרכים וישע⟨י⟩ה
ואיוב

ספרי מצות ד׳ ור׳ יהודה אבל נ״ע
ופירוש העתידות שלושה חלקים מכורך
וקוב״ן א׳ סעדון וספר
בראשית לקרקסאני ויסודות הדת
והוא אותו הספר וספר במאמר
השבת ושאלה ותשובה פירוש התורה
לחכם ע׳ המכובד תנצב״ה ותהלים
טקסט קלף אשורי ושני כרכים תפילה
מקסטנדינא ותפילות השנה
שלושה חלקים מכורך ותפילות כיפור ערב
ובקר וצהרים וערב ויהודה חריזי וספר
תשובה לאלברקמאני ואגרון
ושמחת תורה והללויה והלל
ופירוש מלות הנביאים והכתובים

Comments on the Books

Line 10: Five Books of Moses.

Line 11: חומש עם פירוש. S. Poznanski: *ZfHB* XII, 119/5. On פשאט see S. Assaf: *K. S.* XVIII, 275. No. 71; M. Zulay: *ibid.*, XXV, 204/4; N. Allony—A. Scheiber: *ibid.*, XLVIII, 166/112.

Line 12: 24 Books of the Bible. A. Scheiber: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXIX, 250, 253.

Line 13: סתם: The text without Commentary or Massora (explanation of Prof. N. Allony).

Line 14: Commentary on the Pentateuch by Yefet b. Ali. M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden* (Frankfurt a/M. 1902), pp. 81—84. No. 44; S. Poznanski: *REJ* LXXII, 184.

Line 15: Commentary on the Bible (except of the Book of Esther) by Yefet b. Ali.

Line 18: Commentary on Psalms by Yefet b. Ali. J. Mann, *Texts and Studies* I, 660/21—22.

Line 18: Commentary on Proverbs by Yefet b. Ali. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 83.

Line 18: Commentary on Isaiah by Yefet b. Ali. J. Mann, *op. cit.*, 660/3; G. Vajda: *American Academy for Jewish Research. Jubilee Volume.* II (Jerusalem 1980). Hebrew Section: 85—95.

Line 19: Commentary on Job by Yefet b. Ali. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 83.

Line 20: Books of Precepts: a) by Anan. W. Bacher: *REJ* XXXIX, 200/19; A. Scheiber: *JJS* XXII, 73/44; b) by Levi b. Yefet. P. K. Kokowzow, *Bulletin de l'Académie* etc. Ve Série. XXV, 402; S. Poznanski: *REJ* LXXII, 184.

Line 20: Eshkol Hakkofer by Jehuda Hadassi. J. Mann, *op. cit.*, 661/43; S. Poznanski: *REJ* LXXII, 184.

Line 21: ביאור העתידות. A. Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek* (Leipzig 1866), 7; Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 282: «Anonymer Auszug messianischer Stellen aus Jefet's Comm.» See J. Mann, *op. cit.*, 660/4.

Line 22: קובץ אחד של כתבי סעדיה גאון.

Line 23: S. Poznanski: *Steinschneider-Festschrift* (Leipzig 1896), 198; Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 80; A. Scheiber: *JJS* XXII, 70/24.

Line 24: By Saadya. S. Abramson: *K. S.* XXVI, 84/106, 124; H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon* (Philadelphia 1942), 399.

Line 25: שאלה ותשובה by Jeshua b. Jehuda. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 93; ספר לאבו יעקב שאלות ותשובות: *REJ* LXXII, 185.

Line 25: פירוש התורה לע[לי]. See S. L. Skoss, *The Arabic Commentary of ʿAli ben Suleimân the Karaite on the Book of Genesis* (Philadelphia 1928).

Line 26: The Book of Psalms in square script.

Line 27: Prayer Book from Constantinople.

Line 29: J. Mann, *op. cit.*, 662/67.

Line 30: Taḥkemoni by Jehuda Al-Ḥarizi. A. Scheiber: *JJS* XXII, 70/13.

Line 31: On Yefet al-Barqamani see A. Neubauer, *op. cit.*, 25—26; Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 233. No. 172; A. Freimann, *Union Catalog* I. Ed. M. H. Schmelzer (New York 1973), 138.

Line 31: אגרון. See *The Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of the Bible known as Kitâb-Jâmiʿ al-Alfâz* (*Agrôn*) *of David ben Abraham al-Fâsî the Karaite.* I—II. Ed. S. L. Skoss (New Haven 1936—1945).

Line 32: שמחת תורה. J. Mann, *op. cit.*, 662/62; חזאנה... שמחת תורה. W. Bacher: *REJ* XXXIX, 200.

Line 32: הללויה. D. Günzburg: *Steinschneider-Festschrift* (Leipzig 1896), Hebrew Section, 89: קובץ שירים ותשבחות לחתנים (Note of Prof. N. Allony).

Line 32: הלל. W. Bacher, *Hebräische Poesie der Juden Jemens* (Strassburg 1910), Hebrew Section, 42—45: הלילות (שירי הלל ותהילה לחתונות); J. N. Hillgarth—B. Narkiss: *A List of Hebrew Books (1330) and a Contract to illuminate Manuscripts (1335) from Majorca*: *REJ* CXX, 309, 313.

Line 33: S. Assaf: *K. S.* 275/86; J. Mann, *op. cit.*, 661/35.

III. A Rabbanite Book-List in Leningrad

The Leningrad Geniza contains a letter in Arabic (Ant. 349.). The sender is נתן אב בית דין נע and not זאב הורש[17] — this would be impossible in the 11th century. There is a list of books on that part of the letter which was left blank. It consists of only six items. It is, nevertheless, significant, because one of the titles (line 6: Hârûn ar-Rashîd)[18] has not hitherto been noted in the Geniza book-lists. It shows that the Thousand and One Nights was widely known in Jewish circles.[19]

MS. Leningrad, Ant. 349.

עיבור אלורק אל(ל)שרק[י]
אגזא אל רחמים
כתאב אל מכאלה ומדרש...
תרגום הפטרות
אלפצ'ל.....חדיתא(?)
הרון אל רשיד

Comments on the Books

Line 1: ספר עיבור, הנייר מזרחי. See *ZfHB* XII, 122; *K. S.* XVIII, 274/36; *JQR. N. S.* XI, 425/24; XIII, 395. No. 3; J. Mann, *Texts and Studies* I, 653/37.

Line 2: ברך של תפילות ותחינות. *K. S.* XXV, 205. No. 20; XXVI, 83/6; N. Allony: *Alei Sefer* 1 (1975), 46/32.

Line 3: ספר המכולתא ומדרש. *REJ* XXXII, 127; XL, 90; *ZfHB* VII, 185. No. 26; *K. S.* XXVI, 85/18; XXXVI, 394/12; J. Mann, *Texts and Studies* I, 645/25, 652/16, 664/24; N. Allony: *HUCA* XLVII (1976), Hebrew Section: 79; M. B. Lerner: *Teʿuda* I (Tel Aviv 1980), p. 45.

Line 4: Targum of the Haftarot. See *K. S.* XLIV, 547/4; XLVIII, 85.

Line 5: אלפצ'ל = הכבוד

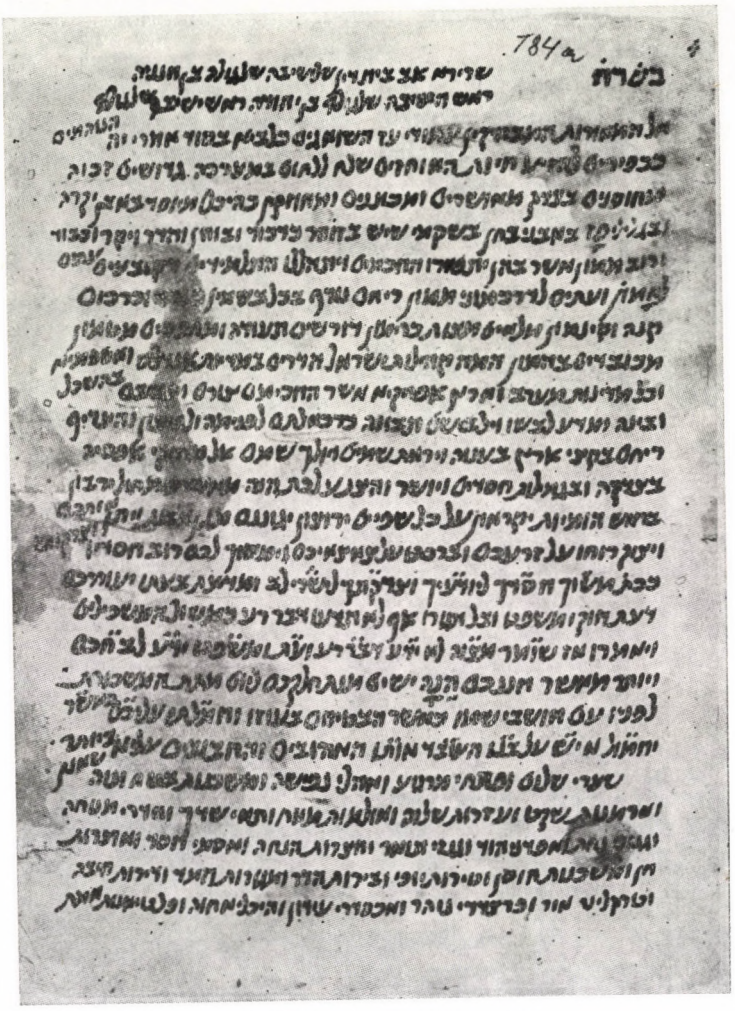
Line 6: Hârûn ar-Rashîd. See the Introduction.

I am grateful to Prof. N. Allony for his help in this Chapter.

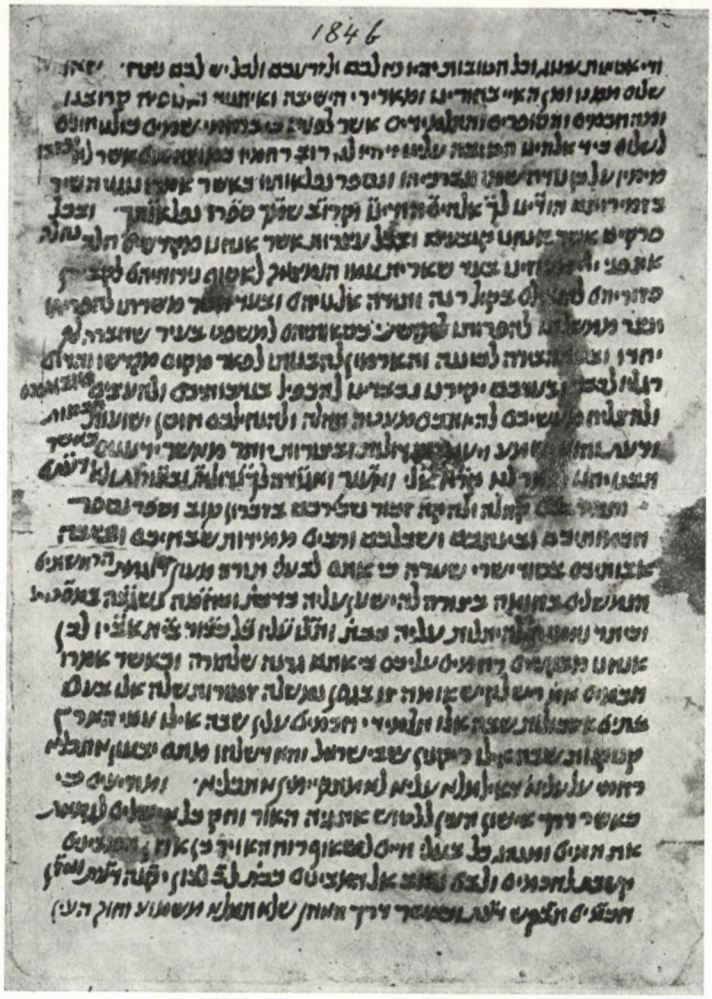
[17] A. I. Katsh: *Leo Jung Jubilee Volume* (New York 1962), p. 128.

[18] G. Vajda, *Index Général des Manuscrits arabes musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Paris 1953), p. 566. No. 3653: Qiṣṣat Hârûn ar-Rašîd; J. Sadan: *Fabula* XV (1974), pp. 63–68, 86.

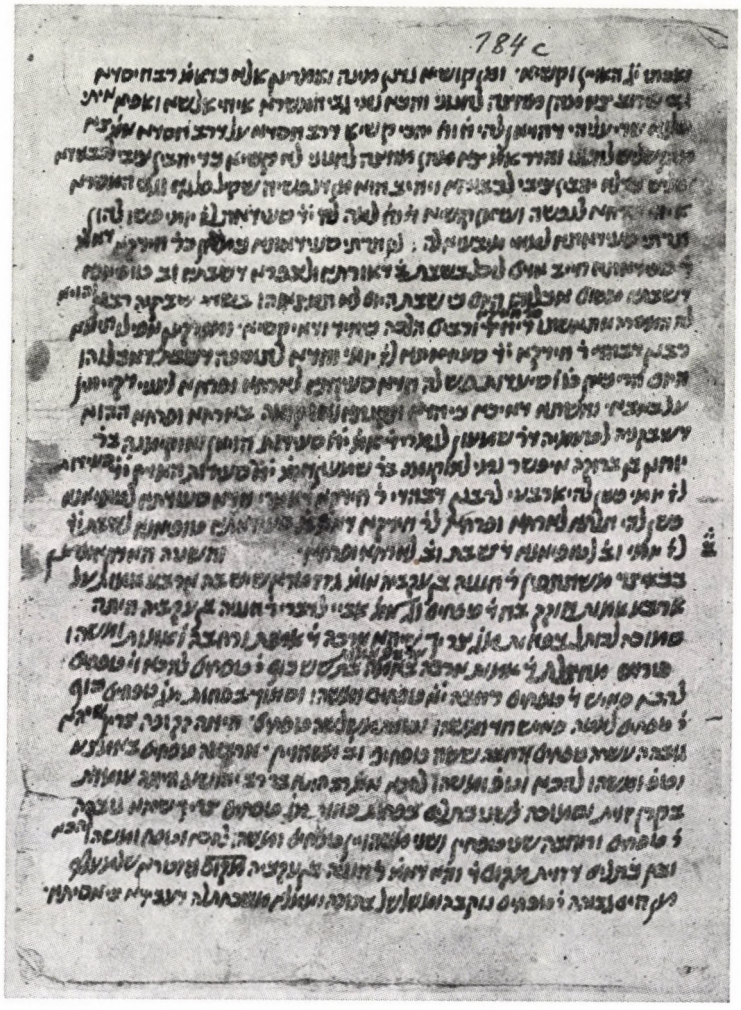
[19] S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* III (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1978), p. 507, Note 217; A. Scheiber: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXII (1979), p. 287.



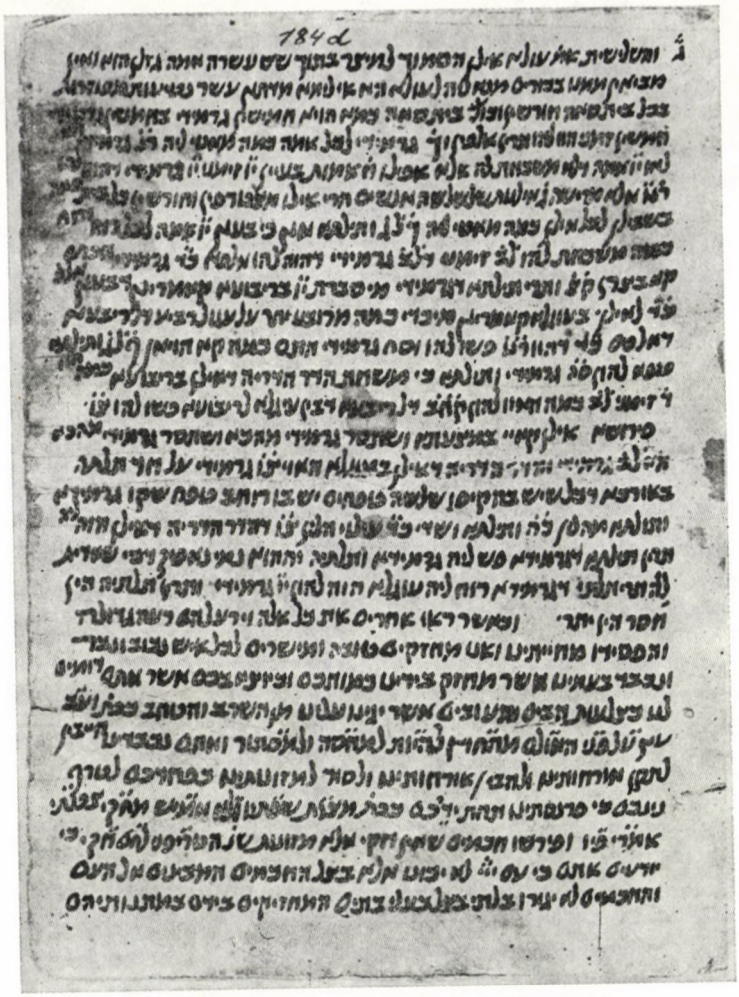
1. MS. Kaufmann, 184, p. 1a



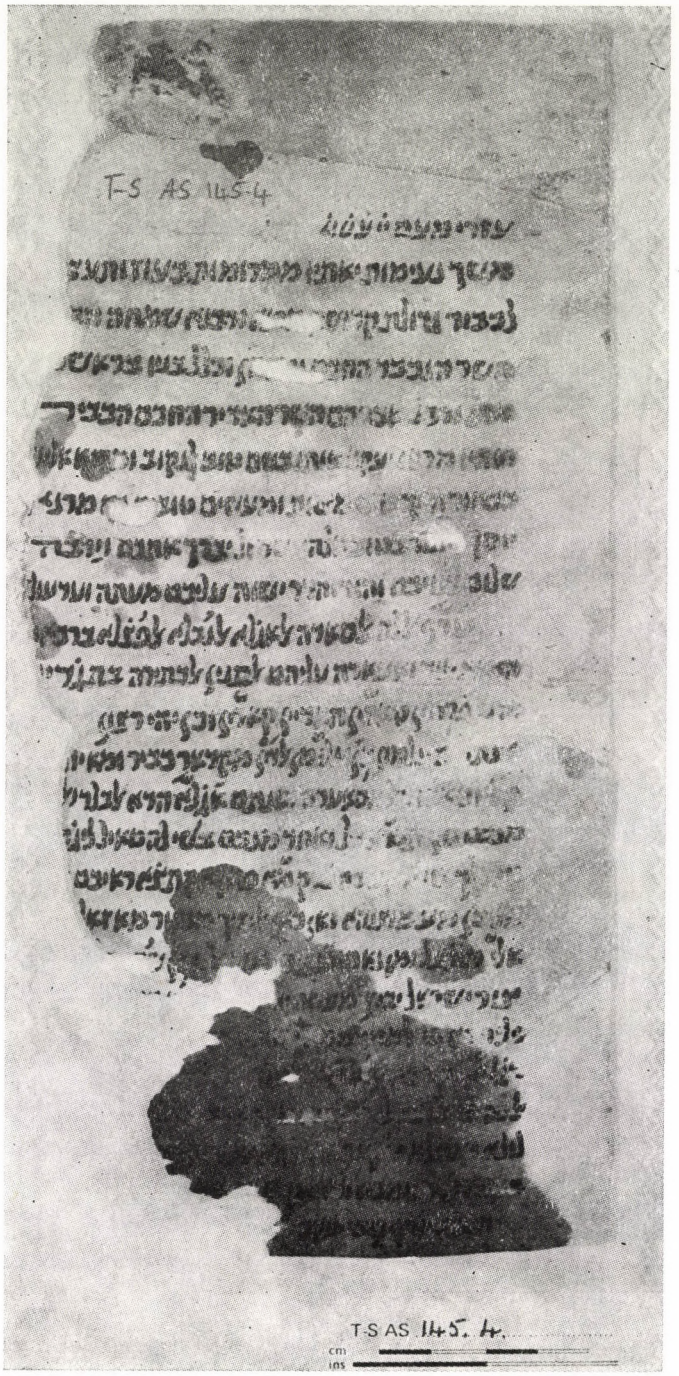
2. MS. Kaufmann, 184, p. 1b



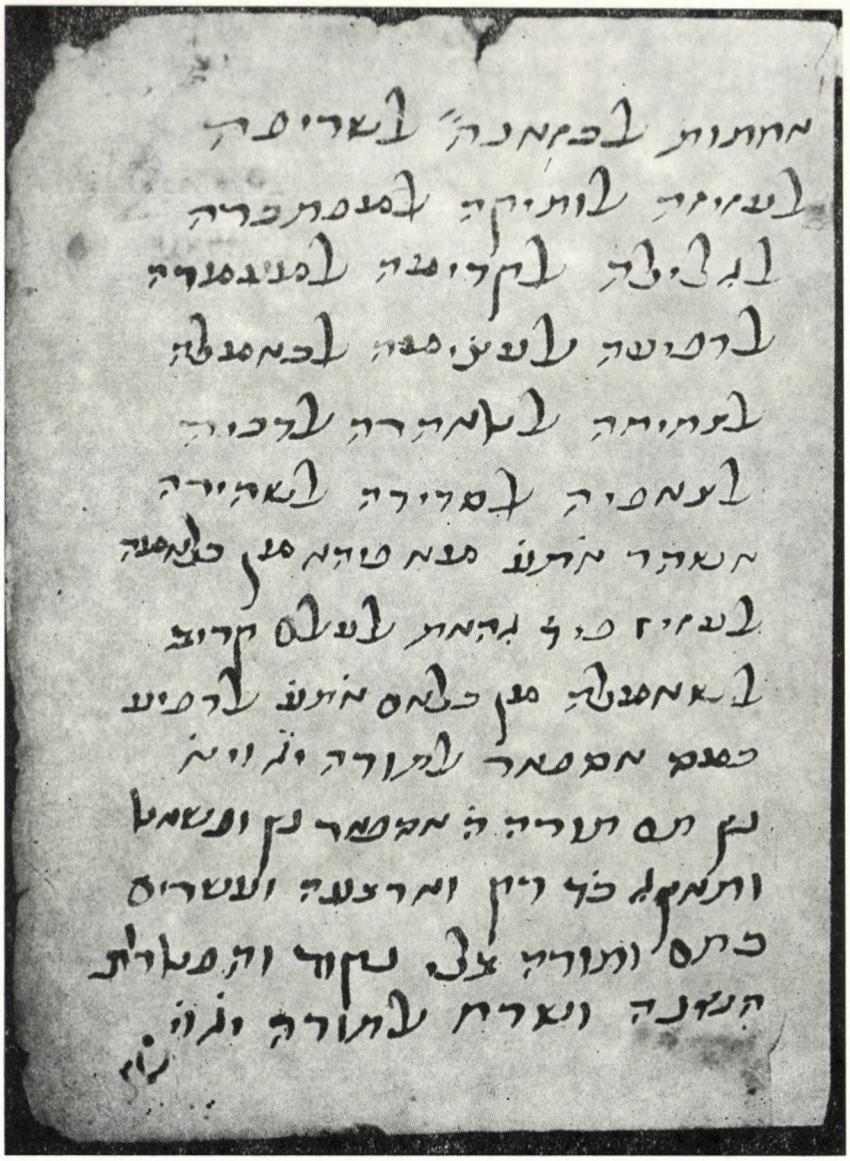
3. MS. Kaufmann, 184, p. 2a



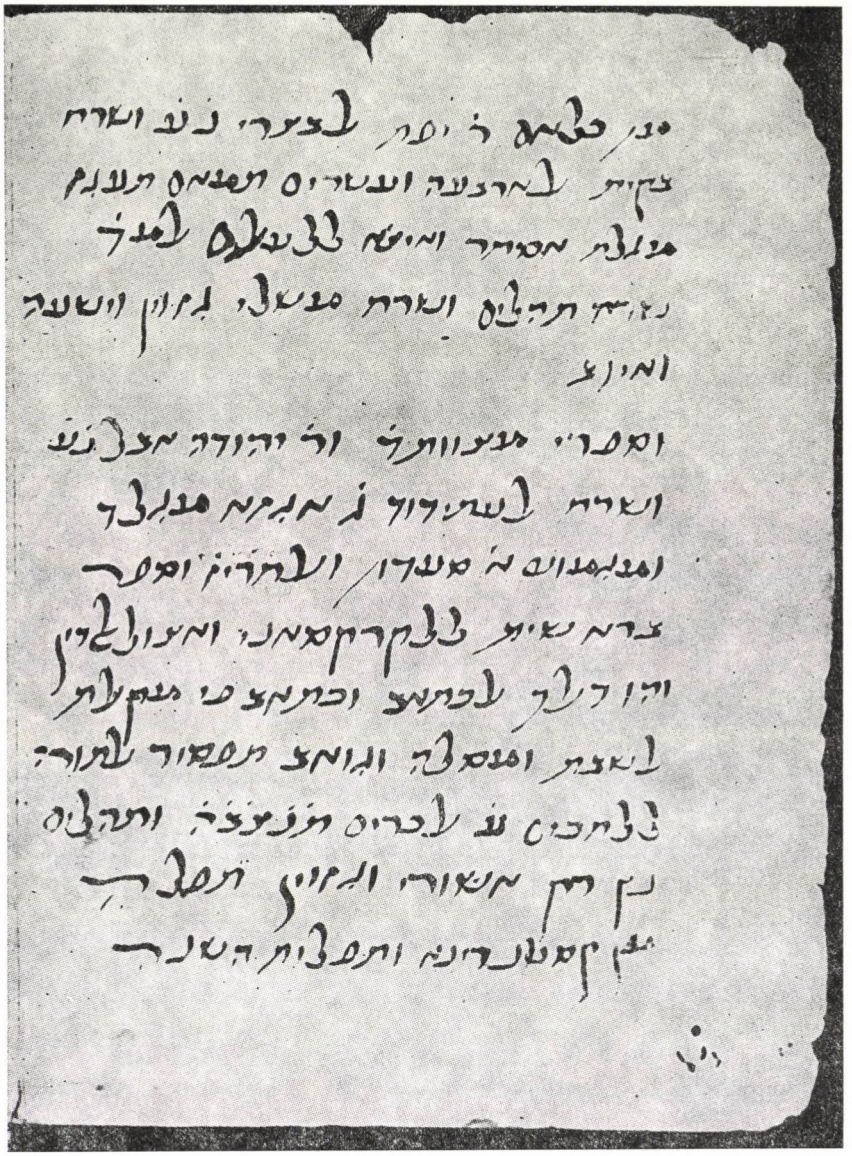
4. MS. Kaufmann, 184, p. 2b



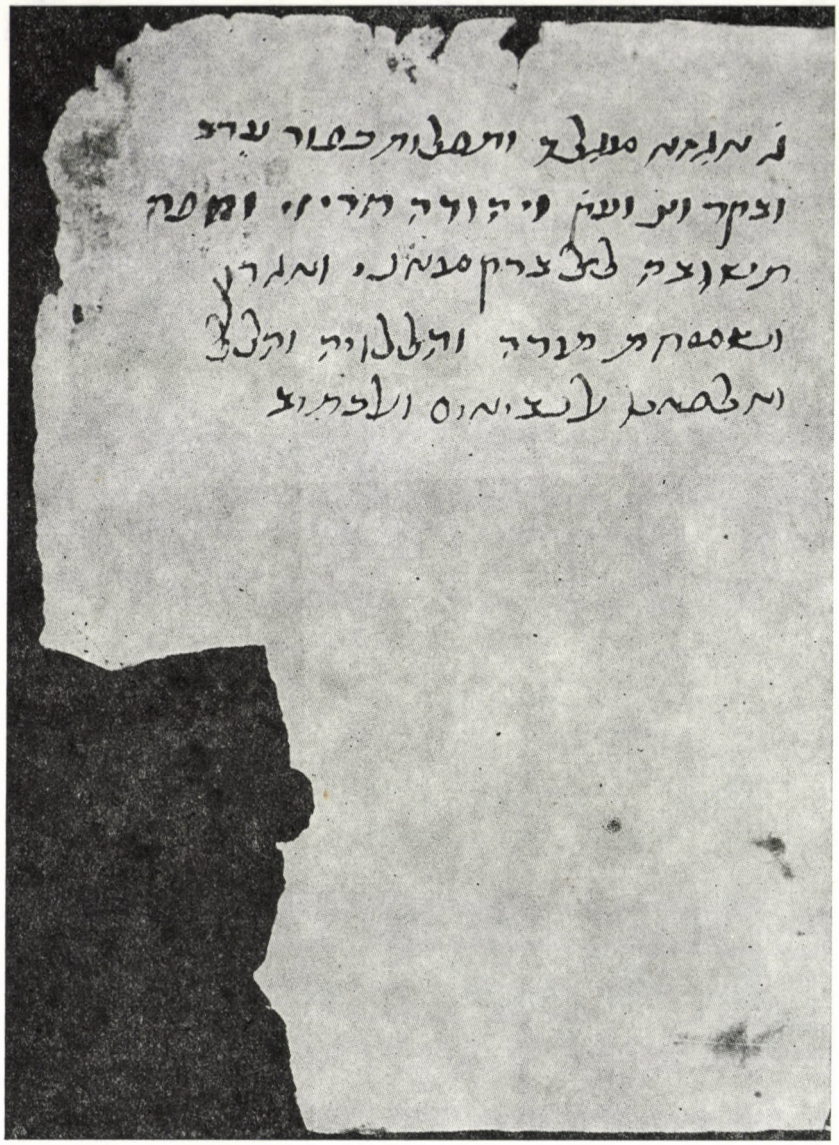
5. MS. Cambridge, T.—S. 145. 4.



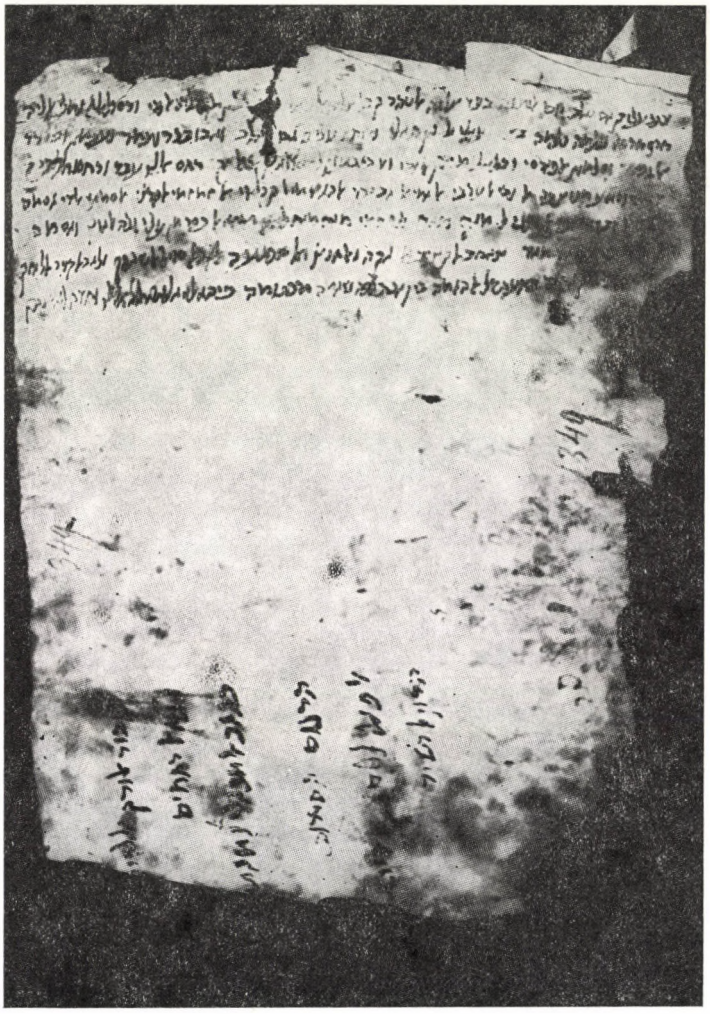
6. MS. Leningrad, II. Firkowitz, Evr.—arab. II. 1118, p. 1a



7. MS. Leningrad, II. Firkowitz, Evr.—arab. II. 1118, p. 1b



8. MS. Leningrad, II. Firkowitz. Evr.—arab. II. 1118, p. 2a



9. MS. Leningrad, Ant. 349.

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XXXV (1), pp. 161—164 (1981)

IN MEMORIAM

J. A. BOYLE

(1916—1978)

The first work which at once secured to Professor Boyle a highly estimated place among the leading scholars in Persian historical studies was his translation of the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahān-Gushā* of the Persian historian ʿAlā'u-'d-Dīn ʿAṭâ-Malik-i-Juvainī. He began to work on this text during his studies in pre-war Germany where he learned at the universities of Göttingen and Berlin. He got the first impetus to work on Juvainī's text in Berlin, as a pupil of Professor Schraeder, and later it was V. Minorsky, then Professor at the University of London, the best scholar of the time and field, who introduced him into the methodology of text editing. A version of Part I of *The History of the World Conqueror* (I—II, Manchester, 1958) was included in his PhD dissertation which was submitted to the University of London in 1947.

His small work *A Practical Dictionary of the Persian Language* (London 1949) was intended for students. In 1950 he became senior lecturer at the University of Manchester. As a visiting Professor he worked 1959—1960 at the University of California, Berkeley and then returned to Manchester where he became Professor of Persian studies in 1966. In the same year he published his *Grammar of Modern Persian* (Wiesbaden 1966).

His interest was focused on Persian history and historiography of the Mongol period. As the editor and one of the major contributors he had an overview of the Saljuq and Mongolian periods in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. V (1968). After having published his Juvainī-monograph he edited the other basic work of the Mongol period, that of Rashīd-al-Dīn. The history of Juvainī breaks off in the reign of the Great Khan Möngke (1251—1259) and the part of Rashīd-al Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh* which has been translated by Professor Boyle (*The successors of Gengis Khan*, New—York—London 1971) carries the history of the Mongolian Empire down to the reign of Temir Öljeitü (1294—1307). On the qualities of Boyle's translations I quote Owen Lattimore: «... no matter how recondite the subject, he sets it forth in an easy, plain English, light in its touch, that invites the unlearned reader as well as the specialist into a study and library of a scholar who is as unpretentious as he is learned» (Preface to J. A. Boyle, *The Mongolian World Empire 1206—1370*, London 1977, p. II).

The best qualities of scholarship, wide overview and philological accuracy, phantasy and abundant knowledge of the facts, the ability of finding what is interesting and important at the same time, characterized his papers as well. The history of the Mongolian Empire is one of the most difficult targets because the most different sources have to be synoptically dealt with, Chinese and Latin, Armenian and Georgian, Russian and Tibetan, Turkish and Arabic and their testimony has to be confronted with those written in Persian. In this painstaking work an important task is to identify places, persons, titles and events occurring in various sources in different forms.

Major contributions to the historical georgaphy of the period are among others the following papers: *The Summer and Winter Camping Grounds of the Kereit* (*CAJ* 17, 1973, 108—110), *Iru and Maru in the Secret History of the Mongols* (*HJAS* 17, 1954, 403—410), *The Seasonal Residence of the Great Khan Ögödei* (*Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker*, Berlin 1974, 145—151), *The Burial Place of the Great Khan Ögödei* (*Acta Orient. Havniae* 22, 1970, 45—50), *The capture of Isfahan by the Mongols* (*Atti del Convegno Internationale sul Tema: La Persia nel Medioevo*, Rome 1971, 331—336), *Sites and Localities Connected with the History of the Mongol Empire* (*Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Mongolists*, Ulan Bator 1972, 75—79).

The task of identifying persons and titles are the main subject of such papers as: *The Mongol Commanders in Afghanistan and India According to the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī of Jūzjānī* (*Islamis Studies* 2, 1963, 235—247), *On the Titles Given in Juvainī to Certain Mongolian Princes* (*HJAS* 19, 1956, 146—154), *The Posthumous Title of Bathu Khan.* (*Proceeding of the IXth Meeting of the PIAC*, Naples 1970, 67—70), *Some Additional Notes on the Mongolian Names in the History of the Nation of the Archers* (*Researches in Altaic Languages*, Budapest 1975, 33—42).

The historian was always interested in the customs and beliefs of the Mongols as can be seen from his papers as: *Kirakos of Ganjah on the Mongols* (*CAJ* 8, 1963, 199—214), *A From of Horse Sacrifice Amongst the 13th- and 14th-Century Mongols* (*CAJ* 10, 1965, 145—150), *A Eurasian Hunting Ritual* (*Folklore* 83, 1972, 177—193), *The Thirteenth-Century Mongols' Conception of the After-Life*: *The Evidence of their Funerary Practices* (*Mongolian Studies* 1, 1974, 5—14 and in: *The journey to the other world*, Cambridge and Ipswich, 1975, 27—41), *Narayrgen or the People of the Sun* (*Altaica Collecta*, Wiesbaden 1976, 131—136), *The Attitude of the Thirteenth-Century Mongols towards Nature* (*CAJ* 22, 1978, 177—185), *The Owl and the Hare in the Popular Beliefs of the Medieval Mongols* (*CAJ* 23, 1979, 65—71).

While working with the historical sources of the Mongolian period he followed up many folkloristic themes to be found in these sources. Already in his text editions he recognized the presence of the Alexander Romance to which he devoted two special papers: *The Alexander Legend in Central Asia* (*Folklore* 85, 1974, 217—228) and *Alexander and the Mongols* (*JRAS 1979, 123—136*), another folkloric theme is dealth with in the paper *The Old Man in the Trunk*: *The Greek Origin of a Theme in the Oghuz-nāma* (*Aspects of Altaic civilization* II, Bloomington 1978, 11—15).

Probably his interest in folk-literature led him to the work of the mystical poet of the 12th century, Farīdu-'l-Dīn ʿAṭṭār-i Neishābūrī, whose *Ilāhī-nāma* he translated into English (Manchester 1977). The result of his studies on the origin of many topics in the *Ilāhī-nāma*, among others the Alexander Romance, the Arabian Nights and ʿAṭṭār's poetical version of the world-wide known tale of the Magician and his Apprentice is the subject of his paper: *Popular Literature and Folklore in ʿAṭṭār's Mathnavīs* (*Colloquio Italo—Iranico sul Poeta Mistico Fariduddin ʿAṭṭār*, Rome 1978, 57—70).

Professor Boyle took an active part in the international life of scholarship and when present in any of the congresses and conferences his wise humanity and gentle humour always warmed the air around him. He organized twice the Permanent International Altaistic Conference in Manchester (1967, 1978) the scholarly and friendly athmosphere of which many of us will remember for ever.

Professor Boyle had very close contacts with his Hungarian colleagues who highly esteemed his work and expressed this by electing him honorary member of the Csoma de Kőrös Society in 1973.

His intimely death deprived us of a great scholar and a good friend.

A. Róna-Tas

ERVAND VI. SEVORTIAN

(October 22, 1901—March 23, 1978)

Ervand Sevortian came from an Armenian family living on the linguistically mixed southern shore of the Crimea (in Yalta), where some Turkish population — preserving the remnants of the Ottoman province on the southern slopes of the Crimean Taurus Range — were within reach, and the steppe Tatars dwelled to the north of them. This synchretism constituted the initial framework for his linguistic interests.

Although the Armenian population, settled there at the time of the flourishing Genoese colonies in the 13th—15th centuries, were transferred to the river Don after the Crimea was attached to Russia (1778), minor groups moved back and some drifted over from Turkey, eventually making up some 10,000 Armenian inhabitants by the early 20th century. It would be intriguing to learn which generation adopted the name of the Sevordik, that played such an imporant role in ancient Hungarian history.

Ervand Sevortian graduated in Simferopol, the centre of the peninsula, at the same institution where some decades earlier, the forefather of the Armenian opera, Alexander Spendiarian (1871—1928) had studied, who first settled in Yalta (1901—1915) and even after never stopped keeping a vigilant eye on the cause of Armenian cultural and musical life in Yalta. Some secret chords in Sevortian must have been touched by the musician, as it was music that first lured him into its world; he was appointed musical director of the Crimean Radio Centre.

His diploma in the Crimean-Tatar language obtained from the Faculty of Philology opened up new vistas for him: in 1931 he was transferred to Moscow, and after elaborating his candidate's thesis in the Linguistic Institute under the supervision of N. K. Dmitriev, he defended it in Leningrad in 1935. His contact with N. K. Dmitriev proved to exert a considerable influence upon his scholarly attitude, his inquiring mind and fields of interest: from the initial steps in descriptive grammar, through linguistic classification, he arrived at a comparative historical syntesis.

«Issledovanija po sravnitel'noj grammatike tjurkskich jazykov», started by N. K. Dmitriev and frequently quoted of the Turkic studies in the Soviet era, is properly speaking not a historical comparative synthesis; it constitutes a survey of phonetics, morphology, vocabulary and syntax based on samples of one particular or of Turkic languages, without several historical analysis of the linguistic connections. E. Sevortian contributed several articles to Volumes 1—3.

Similarly to his master, E. Sevortian took the Ottoman (or some other Oγuz) language, or a European Kipchak tongue to illustrate the phenomena of Turkic languages and to establish comparisons. (N. K. Dmitriev favoured Gagauz, Turkmen, Bashkir, or Kumyk, while E. Sevortian used the Azerbaijan or Crimean Tatar tongues.)

Especially at the onset of his career, his musicality directed him to phonetic examinations. He enlarged upon the problems of reduction, assimilation and dissimilation in various articles for *Issledovanija*, Vol. 1 (1956). His most comprehensive phonetic work entitled *Fonetika tureckogo literaturnogo jazyka* (M. 1955) was also published in that period.

His outlines and summaries concerning descriptive grammatics, and drafted for his lectures first in different institutions of higher education, e.g. the School of Foreign Languages and finally the University of Moscow, proved to be very valuable for Turkological studies; his study circles became the cradle of future scholars engaged in Turkological research. These drafts and outlines, up to late mostly in manuscript, were moulded into his succint summary of the Crimean Tatar tongue (*Jazyki SSSR* II, 1966).

After grammatical and morphological surveying, he turned to analyzing morphological-syntactical problems on the basis of abundant data material in the 1950s and 1960s. A series of articles were published in this field : on the parts of speech (1955), the predicate, the genitive relation, the Turkic case system (*Issledovanija* II, 1956), the transitive-intransitive verbs (1958), and the adjective (1963). His paper *Les verbes de mouvement dans la langue azerbaijanaise*, published in *AOH* XIV in 1962, dealt with verbs expressing motion. One step further from the morphological-syntactial examinations led to the studies on the structure of sentences (*Issledovanija* III, 1961), and the subordinate clause (*op. cit.*).

Comparative morphological syntheses of broad scope on the formation of verbs are offered in his : *Affiksy glagoloobrazovanija v azerbajdžanskom jazyke. Opyt sravnitel'nogo issledovanija* (M. 1962), and some years later his monograph on the Azerbaijan nominal suffixes was published (M. 1966).

Following his master's lead, he examined Turkic lexical material embedded into non-Turkic languages, which led to the article concerning the Turkic elements in the Russian language (1962). The recognition of the historical value of such lexical and phonological material prompted him to explore Turkic elements in old Armenian records (1967, 1971), and to infer phonetic conclusions from Polovec (Coman) records written in the Armenian script (in his editorial foreword to the work of T. I. Grunin, 1967).

The outcome of two decades spent in purposeful accumulation of philological material and examinations on the methodology of Turkology, the first volume of the etymological dictionary *Etimologičeskij slovar' tjurkskich jazykov* (M. 1974) is his most memorable achievement, is a collection of root words with initial vowels. The principles of the mechanics to be used in the presentation of the material and the methodology to be applied in the analysing of the morphological structure and semantic contents of the roots were profound meditation for years. Besides preliminary articles, he enlarged upon these matters in his lecture delivered in the Faculty of Turkology of the Budapest University. After the deliberation of the plan of the dictionary in 1960—61, a preliminary part was published in 1966, followed by a number of articles focussing on particular entry-groups.

Ervand Sevortian having carefully studied the monosyllabic open nomen verbum roots and the derivative system of closed lexemes, could reconstruct the stage of the Turkic language prior to the dialectal differentiation on the basis of abundant present-day data, historical sources and extensive dialectal surveys. His dictionary is the first in the row of historical-etymological dictionaries of Turkic languages, as at the time of Vámbéry's endeavours (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der turko-tatarischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1878) methodological foundations were lacking, and Räsänen's work (*Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuches*, Helsinki 1969) constitutes rather an efficient lexical thesaurus of cognate words.

Ervand Sevortian and his work-team also quoted relevant Mongolian forms and Manchu-Tunguz variants obtained from the collection of the Leningrad branch of the Institute, which provides good facilities for further comparative research and on the periodization of historical linguistics. It also presents comparative material for the examining of genetic relations or Turkic—Mongolian word borrowing. The *Etimologičeskij Slovar'* is the worthy continuation of another major achievement of Soviet Turkology, the *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*.

Hopefully, Soviet Turkology will not let go unfinished the valuable undertaking of Ervand Sevortian, but — under the guidance of leading Turkologists — will continue the work, initiated by Sevortian, so that soon we may have the use of a complete Turkic etymological dictionary.

E. Schütz

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CRITICA

Amnon COHEN and Bernard LEWIS, *Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century.* Princeton University Press, Princeton 1978, XII + 199 + 15 Plate.

The fortunately still extant Turkish archival documents, the written results of a sophisticated administration, penetrating nearly all walks of life, constitute invaluable sources for research into the history of the present-day peoples living on the territory of the former Ottoman Empire. A separate bulk of the ample archival documents consists of the *taḥrīrs*, registers, of certain *sancak*s of the Ottoman Empire. Their utilization today as historical sources requires a profound knowledge of the Turkish *siyāqat*-script, the one-time personal geographical names, and the economic and social conditions of the respective *sancak*. The association of the two authors for the purpose of publishing the 16th century *taḥrīr*s concerning Palestine is to be welcomed because, on the one hand, Professor Amnon Cohen, a native of this area, is an expert on the geography, topography and historical conditions of the Near East, while Professor Bernard Lewis is the most prominent scholar today of Ottoman Islam and the archival sources in the Turkish language.

A. Cohen and B. Lewis enriched world historiography by publishing data on the towns of Jerusalem, Hebron, Gaza, Ramle, Nabulus and Safed from the Turkish *taḥrīr*s date 1525—6, 1548—9, 1553—7, 1562—7 and 1596—7, contained in the significant archival sources. The first part of their joint venture, entitled «Population and revenue» (pp. 3—75) provides a monographic description of Palestine, starting with its Turkish *taḥrīr* registers, then surveying its population (the demographic relationships of the Islamic, Christian and Jewish inhabitants) and also its taxes and revenues, all on the basis of the registers. The second part, headlined «Towns», provides information on the above mentioned six towns, taken from the *taḥrīr* registtrs supplying topographic labels in Arabic script, accurate maps and a detailed explanation of the Turkish terms in the text. Synoptical tables facilitate understanding. The work is concluded by an inclusive bibliography, index and 15 pages of facsimile of the *taḥrīr*s.

At the very onset the authors propounded the question in connection with the *taḥrīr* registers: «What, in fact, can the historian hope to learn from these registers?» (p. 7). After analyzing the question they answer by saying that the Turkish *taḥrīr* registers are one of the most intriguing and valuable sources of 16th century Palestine history. Throughout their work they provide several data to confirm their assumption, which sheds light on the contemporary demographic relations and economic life (agriculture, industry and commerce).

It is particularly worth noting their finding on concluding the source critica, analysis of the *taḥrīr*s that the first register

made in 1525 after the Turkish conquest does not give a precise and complete account of demographic conditions (p. 23). It is conspicuous that e.g. in Jerusalem 616 households were registered in 1525—6, 1,168 in 1538—9, and 1,978 in 1553. Ö. L. Barkan had, however, previously proved that such a population explosion is detectable in several areas of the Ottoman Empire in the first part of the 16th century. Hungarians can also deduce from Turkish *taḥrīr*s made in Hungary that the first registers of 1546 were far from being as accurate as the ones of the following decades. We can compare this with the modification of the assessment of the *cizye*-tax: in the first decades of the 16th century only those people were liable to pay 50 *cizye*-tax whose property was worth 300 *akçe*s; in the 1570s, however, every head of household had to pay it. (A *cizye-defter* extant from 1557 indicates that 619 heads of households paid the general 50 *akçe cizye*-tax, with already 147 poor persons registered, who could contribute 5 *akçe*s each only.) This indicates the fact that in compiling the *taḥrīr*s, the names of very poor people were not recorded in the first decades; later everyone was subject to paying the *cizye*-tax. Thus, the demographic growth could not have been as explosive as had been thought on the basis of early inaccurate *taḥrīr*s.

The authors' work is a valuable contribution to science because they present an illuminating monograph on the development of the economic and demographic conditions of Palestine in addition to the usual source publication. They do this in a manner that also reveals the history of a province of the Ottoman Empire, apart from the 16th century history of Palestine. Moreover, not only historians will rely on this informative monographic work, but Turcologists can also learn how to apply the valuable data of the Turkish *taḥrir* registers to historiography.

Gy. Káldy-Nagy

Jubilee Volume of the Oriental Collection 1951—1976: Papers presented on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Edited by Éva Apor, Budapest 1978. Frt. 60,—.

The Oriental Department of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was formed in 1951, when the oriental items which had been found within the various subject areas of the main stock of the Library were collected to constitute a scientific special library. Today it has 40,000 volumes, 800 reviews and about 5,000 manuscripts, and has thus become the workshop of the Hungarian oriental studies.

The composition of the oriental collection began with the donations of private individuals and scholars, and primarily mention should be made of the bequest of Dániel Szilágyi, an emigrant from Hungary who died in Istanbul in 1849. On the proposal of Ármin Vámbéry, the Academy acquired his collection of old manuscripts and rare items, monuments of the Chagatay language, and a large number of dictionaries, including Arabic-Turkish and Persian-Turkish.

The base of the Tibetan collection was formed by the personal library of Sándor Kőrösi Csoma, the founder of Tibetan studies. His books came into the possession of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences through the enthusiasm of two outstanding scholars: S. C. Malan, an Englishman — a disciple and later the personal friend of Csoma, who possessed Csoma's valuable books after his death — and a Hungarian learned patriot, T. Duka, who made considerable efforts to ensure that the gift of Malan came into the possession of the Academy.

In the Oriental Library, the collection of Dávid Kaufmann takes an eminent place. He assigned large sums to secure rare and valuable manuscripts and books, building up one of the largest and most valuable private libraries of Judaica and Hebraica in the world.

In 1914, a rich collection of altogether 660 items, including 56 valuable manuscripts, mainly Central-Asian Turkish, Persian and some Arabic literary records and dictionaries, was donated to the Library by Rusztem Vámbéry from his father, Ármin Vámbéry's bequest.

The Persian collection of the Library was established with the legacy of Sándor Kégl, university professor and corresponding member of the Academy. It was the largest and richest presentation the Academy Library has ever received. The 11,000 items, amassed with care and great expense over many decades, include 75 Persian manuscripts.

Aurél Stein presented a part of his library, 1,112 volumes, to the Academy in his life-time in 1926. The other items came to the Oriental collection in years after the Second World War from England, where he died.

Among the donators, József Thury must be mentioned whose Turkish and Persian manuscripts were formerly in the possession of the Kiskunhalas Áron Szilády State Colege, and recently obtained by the Academy.

Ferenc Pulszky's bequest enriched the collection with books concerning Sanskrit language and literature.

The collection of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs was established through the efforts of Professor Louis Ligeti, who contributed 122 items to the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The value of this part of the collection is enhanced by the many old and unique manuscripts it contains.

It was a long path from the first steps up to the present position, when — as a result of the enthusiastic efforts of all those mentioned here, and quite a number of other persons — it can be stated that the Oriental Department of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences fulfils successfully its task in the life of Hungarian oriental studies. The Library commemorated its 25th anniversary with a festive session, when papers were delivered concerning the oriental collection. The volume containing these papers is now in hand.

Louis Ligeti's detailed analysis of the history of the collection opens the book. (La Bibliothèque de l'Académie et les études orientales) He points out that it was the Turcic studies that attained the first results in Hungarian orientalism, because its researches were motived by the keen interest in the Eastern origin of the Hungarian people, its language, its original homeland, and towards the Eastern sources about the Hungarian tribes. It was only later that other branches of oriental studies were also joined in this research work. Today oriental studies in Hungary grew out of this compass and cover the field of linguistics, history, religion, and sociology, etc., of numerous oriental peoples.

Speaking about the treasure of the Library, Louis Ligeti also drew attention to the unedited materials of deceased scholars, e.g. the Kalmük and Khalkha texts of Gábor Bálint, the comparative Hungarian-Turcic dictionary of József Thury, the notes of Bernát Munkácsi on the Ossetian language, the linguistic material of Ignác Kúnos of the Tatars of the Crimea and of Kazan, the Mishers and Nogais. It would be desirable that experts of the given subjects should preserve this rich intellectual bequest.

One of the two foreign authors in the volume is H. Ajzenštejn [(Moscow), *O žiznennoj koncepcii Dzseljaljeddina Rumi (Po materialam «žitij» Achmeda Êfljaki)*] who deals with the world view of the great poet, Jelāl ed-din Rumi, over whom four nations have quarelled: Iranians, Turks, Arabs and Afghans.

Éva Apor in her paper (*Sándor Kégl's Bequest and the Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Collection*) gives the first brief description of all the Persian manuscripts n the Library, classified according to subject-matter. The author emphasises the urgent need to prepare a printed catalogue of the 144 Persian manuscripts.

We have the opportunity to read in the volume the first report on the Mongolian

and Manchu collections written by L. Bese (*On the Mongolian and Manchu Collections in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*). This preliminary offers the list of the 285 items of the Mongolian and the 58 items of the Manchu collection, grouped according to literary genres and formal characteristics: 1. Works on Buddhism; 2. Astrology, divination; 3. Publications of the «Mongγol bičig-ün qoriy-a»; 4. Education, didactics, language; 5. History, law, edifying poetry; 6. Literary works (translated from Chinese and Tibetan); 7. Popular religious beliefs; 8. Oiratica (works on various subjects). The list does not include untitled items that are not at present easy to identify. The author expresses the hope that a detailed descriptive catalogue will be completed in the near future, thus making the Mongolian and Manchu collection of the Library available in its entirety for Mongolian studies.

I. Ecsedy raises the problem of the *Historical Time and Mythical History in Ancient China*. On the basis of her latest investigations, the writer came to the conclusion that the Chinese myths may contain historical evidence that may be even more authentic than the early historical records.

A. Fodor in his paper (*The Use of Psalms in Jewish and Christian Arabic Magic*) widens the scope of investigation of the former studies by drawing a comparison between a Hebrew manuscript of a «Shimmush Tehillim» that can be found in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and some Arabic works of the «Shimmush Tehillim» kind that have recently come to light.

J. Harmatta in his article (*Sir Aurel Stein and the Date of the Sogdian «Ancient Letters»* unambigously proves on the basis of archaeological finds of the Tun-huang Limes and with the help of Chinese documents among them, that the Sogdian «Ancient Letters» were written at the end of the Han Age, i.e. in the second half or towards the end of the 2nd century A.D.

G. Hazai (*«Tārīḫ-i Ungārus» — Eine Handschrift aus der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*) reports on his volume in preparation. The «Tārīḫ-i Ungarus» written in the 16th century in Székesfehérvár deals with the history of Hungary from its beginning up to the age of the author. The publication of this work certainly will bring forth valuable data on Hungarian history that will be interesting, not only to students of Turcology, but to all those dealing with history. The author of the 16th century chronicle worked on the basis of different sources, so it is probable that already known chronicles can be traced in this Turkish work, or it may also offer references to lost chronicles.

Anna Horváth gives a short outline of the subject-matter of some of the 596 Turkish manuscripts, including a large number of old and rare items. The author of the article also points out that there are still manuscripts in the collection which have to be studied and recorded. She emphasizes that this was a point which was raised at the Academy's session as far back as 1886 by Ármin Vámbéry.

T. Iványi in his paper (*On the Linguistic Methods of I. Goldziher*) gives a brief account of how Ignác Goldziher approched linguistic data and what methods he applied in language analysis. He draws the conclusion that the outstanding scholar implicitly followed a linguistic approach in his philological works which we still recognize as valid today, in that he rejects an atomistic, isolated examination of language, and argues that even historical linguistics needs systematic synchronic levels as its starting points.

L. Kákosy gives a short analysis on *Zeus — Amun* in the field of comparative history of religion.

Zs. Kakuk (*Ignác Kúnos' Nachlass in der Orientalischen Sammlung der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*) describes the Kúnos collection, arranging the material according to the different languages they belong to (Tatar of Kasan,

Mishertatar, Tatar of Crimea, Nogai of Crimea, Karaim of Crimea, and Tatar of Danube). At the end of her paper the author gives a short sample of the songs of four lines of the Tatar of Kazan, with a translation.

G. Kara presents a Mongolian dreambook which he copied from a manuscript preserved in the Library of Kökeqota (*De l'oniromancie mongole*).

L. Lőrincz (*Heracles in Mongolia?*) draws a parallel between the Greek Heracles-myth and the Buriat-Mongol Geser story, and he suggests that the Greek myths took their origin from Oriental sources, and the myths that were the prototypes of the Greek myths were also widely known in Inner-Asia, Tibet and Mongolia.

A. Róna-Tas deals with *An Unpublished Chuvas Word list in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.*

A. Scheiber, who published a large part of the Kaufmann collection, analyzes «The Kaufmann-Genizah: Its Importance for the World of Scholarship». Kaufmann collected one of the richest private libraries of Judaica and Hebrica in the world. Some of his own research work was based on manuscripts in his own collection. He published texts, historical studies, and carried out pioneering work in the field of Jewish art history. The author draws attention to the still outstanding tasks, and mentions his personal project: he would like to prepare a catalogue of the Genizah prose.

G. E. Weil (Nancy) published *Un Fragment de la Massorah Magna du Targum du Pentateuque dans la collection D. Kaufmann de Budapest* (*Ms.K.G.* 592 *B.M.* 6)».

A volume of Kashmirian Sanskrit works have come down to us from Sir Aurel Stein's legacy. Gy. Wojtilla in his paper (*Sir Aurel Stein's Kashmirian Māhātmya Collection in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*) gives a short characterization of the Kashmirian Māhātmyas, and published and translated the text *Māheśvaranāgamāhātmya.*

The volume, that worthily commemorates the 25th anniversary of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences provides useful new information about the collections of the Oriental Department, as well as valuable papers representing the results of Hungarian oriental studies.

Alice Sárközi

Paul M. Harrison, *The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Saṃmukhāvasthita-Samādhi-Sūtra.* Critically edited from the Derge, Narthang, Peking and Lhasa Editions of the Tibetan Kanjur and accompanied by a Concordance and Comparative Table of Chapters of the Tibetan and Chinese Versions. (*Studia Philologica Buddhica.* Monograph Series I) XIX + 239 p. The Reiyukai Library: Tokyo 1978.

The author's first book contains a critical text edition, with a short but illuminating preface, of a hitherto scantly elaborated early Mahāyāna sūtra. As is known, the original Sanskrit text is lost (except a short fragment of it edited by F. W. Thomas in *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, pp. 88—93 edited by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Oxford 1916) and the author adopted the Derge variant (which in this case preserves the relatively best readings) as the base text of his critical edition, the Chinese versions correspond to *Taishō* Nos. 416 to 419.

Some random samples do not reveal any serious misreadings or misprints, it was also a good idea to divide the text into smaller sections. It is due to this solution that the text is easy to survey and moreover the footnotes can be checked withot difficulty.

However, the elaboration of the variants themselves raise some problems. For the author uses the method of putting into footnotes certain frequent, constantly returning, generally solely orthographical variants (*sar* ~ *gsar*, *'thun* ~ *mthun*, etc.)

only at one of their first occurences then he remarks that they are «hereafter not noted». Practically Mr. Harrison is right as these readings do not add really any new important information but increase (perhaps unnecessarily) the extent. But in any case, they do belong to a complete critical edition just as the other (more important) variants, not speaking about the simple fact that if someone fails to observe at the beginning his «hereafter not noted» will never realize later on that he is now actually «after the hereafter». In these cases, a more suitable method is to mark these variants (with an asterisk, etc.) and to give an alphabetical, cumulative list of them at the end of the book.

The different uses of the *šad* of the other Kanjur editions are uniformly not indicated. Perhaps the marking of the differences at least with one variant, might have proved to be useful.

The various readings of the three other Kanjur versions are only indicated, but are also not evaluated — this is by far the most common (and probably also the easiest) method. I suppose that evaluation is intended to take place at the translation of the text. However, I think that it had been more practical to indicate here the emendations as the author could, on the one hand, have spared himself several references in his next book and, on the other hand, this edition could have been more easily utilized by its readers.

As I have mentioned, the author plans to translate, and analyze the text. This means, of course, a justifiable theme-stop concerning this sūtra for a certain time. It is hoped that the second book will be published in the near future. The careful text edition, and the scholarly comparison of the Tibetan and Chinese translations guarantee that the new book will also contribute a good deal to our knowledge of the history of Buddhism.

Finally I have only one remark. The book under review is indicated as the first issue of the «Studia Philologica Buddhica. Monograph Series». For that reason it would have been desirable if the editors of the series (e.g. The Reiyukai Library) had given some concrete information concerning the aims, and plans, etc., of this series (after all, its title is absolutely non-informative). At any event, we hope that in the future they will publish many more books of such a quality as that of Dr. Harrison's.

János Szerb

CITRABHANU SEN, *A Dictionary of the Vedic Rituals Based on the Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras*, Delhi 1978. Concept Publishing Company.

The present volume embraces the terminology of two important fields of religious history of ancient India, that of the *Śrautasūtras* (dealing with the great sacrifices) and *Gṛhyasūtras* (house rites). These vast books of the brahmanical theology belonged to the last phase of the upper Vedic period (ca. 800 B.C.—540 B.C.) and formed an auxiliary part of religion. The unusually great influence of the ritual in the structure of religion in the above mentioned period, i.e. the priority of this element of religion over the ideological and emotional aspects — can be considered as a striking feature of the age as well as a peculiarity of the religious development in India.

The former researches done in this field bestowed a solid ground for the compiler, however, the wanting of a modern translation-interpretation of several texts forced him to form also his own opinion. The question is how far he could do it? Or, we dare say, the value of the just released dictionary primarily depends on the originality and the meaning of the interpretations.

As a matter of fact, one must recognize that the author exhaustively drew upon the pioneering work of Professor Renou, *Vocabulaire de rituel védique* (Paris 1954), not only in selecting the items, but also in recording the data of the primary sources.

Slight innovations are in the set-up of the word headings. The short reference to the etymology of the word and the descriptive part of the items surely prove to be of good help.

For illustration's sake let us show a few examples:

«*Atyagniṣṭoma* m. the 5th soma *saṁsthā*, a variety of agniṣṭoma obtained by adding a *ṣoḍaśistotra* as well as an oblation called *ṣoḍaśin* and an additional victim to Indra ĀpŚr XIV, 2.10 comm., K.Śr X.9.28. Name of a second of the seven modifications of the *Jyotiṣṭoma*. Also the verse recited at the close of that ceremony.» (pp. 35—36)

«*Ninarda* (ni-√nard, cl.1 «to bellow») m. a mode of pronouncing the second syllable of the third *pāda* of a verse in *udātta*, the first syllable in *anudātta*. The sound 0 is repeated 4 times in such way that in the beginning it is in prolation and *udātta*, then in *anudātta*, and *anudāttatara* and finally in prolation and udatta ĀśvSr VII.11.11. Similar phenomenon is *nyūṅkha*.» (p. 77)

The inclusion of the *Gṛhya*-part is very praiseworthy since we have only detail studies on that subject.

The treatment of the source material follows the model of the *Śrauta*-part:

«*Proṣya* (pra-√vas cl. 1. «to go abroad» ind. rite performed on returned of the householder from abroad PGr I, 18.1. cf. *viproṣya* the return after a journey G.Gr II,8. 21.» (p. 15)

«*Lāṅgalayojana* *n.* rite of harnessing the plough a minor rite performed on an auspicious day, consisting of the offerings of curds, rice grains, fried grains to various deities and feeding the bullocks with honey and ghee PGr II,13.» (p. 155)

The text part is enriched by figures representing practical information.

The source material is completely used and the secondary literature taken into account is almost up to date. Here we should call attention to the lack of some new results of European scholars in the past years.[1] The author could enlarge Renou's vocabulary which is hardly accessible to many scholars because of the problem of the language and the rareness of the book in Indian libraries. The incorporating of *Gṛhya*-ritual was also a happy idea.

As is known, the edition of monumental works such as the *Śrautasūtra* and the *An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles* is going on, however, they are far from being finished. But even the elaboration of certain technical terms in them cannot replace the precise investigation of the special dictionaries like Sen's work.

The Concept Publishing Company also deserves our best acknowledgements for undertaking the publication.

Gyula Wojtilla

LUDWIK STERNBACH, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Poets quoted in Sanskrit Anthologies and Inscriptions*. Vol. I *Aṁśudhara-Dhoyī*, Wiesbaden 1978, Otto Harrassowitz. DM 168,—.

The volume under review is a new testimony of Professor Sternbach's admirable scholarship in the field of Sanskrit poetry and historical biography. Our knowledge mostly derived from the available handbooks of the history of Indian literature is full of gaps and doubts and the numerous detail studies buried in scientific journals are practically beyond one's reach. The demand of a comprehensive work is heavy, however, the solution seemed to be hardly done for long time. It remained a desideratum only. Fortunately this challenge got a proper response from Sternbach's pen, who

[1] For instance P. Rolland *Un rituel domestique védique*: *Le Varāhagṛhyasūtra*. Trad. et. annoté. (Aix-en-Provence 1970) and especially the studies by Professor K. Mylius in the journal of the Leipzig-University, *Acta Orientalia Fennica*, *MIO*, *ZMR*, *Archív Orientální*, *EAZ*, etc. and his *Wörterbuch Sanskrit-Deutsch* (Leipzig 1975).

is a practised writer in the connected subjects, who was able to accumulate an unbelievably great amount of data, to carry out a critical evaluation of the results of the former research. Some crucial problems have been already illuminated in the series of his papers and monographs, text-editions etc. and he justly aimed at the publication of the present catalogue. In spite of the extremely serious difficulties his goal taken up is definitely realistic both in the sense of collection of the source-material and the method applied. This latter statement especially refers to the careful selection of the group of sources which ultimately made possible to cross the impassable barriers in the exploration of the various aspects of Indian literary tradition and the biographical data of the single poets. The sources to be exhausted are the anthologies. The volume consists of two main parts: an introductory study and the catalogue itself.

The list of primary and secondary works used is practically complete and informative. It is followed by a long discussion of theoretical and technical questions concerning the set-up of the catalogue. Beginning with the characterizing of the anthologies Sternbach truly emphasizes the role of them in the literary tradition. These collections embody poems of different epochs of Indian poetry and give a panoramic view of literary life from the whole territory of India beside the local references to certain parts of the subcontinent. The date of the anthologies is fixed and this circumstance furnishes us with a good starting point in chronological considerations, because the inclusion of works of poets into an anthology clearly demarcates the upper time limit of his age. In this manner a lot of previously wrong dates can be corrected, for instance *Amṛtadatta* could not live later than A.D. 1205 for some of his verses were put in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* and consequently Petersson's suggestion of the 14th century must be rejected and so on.

The case of attributions is a highly complicated cluster of problem. There are obviously wrong attributions which can be explained for different reasons: some stanzas were linked to poets in order to make them more glorious, some mistakes were commited by the compilers or even by the scribes of the anthologies (pp. 12—16) The non-evident attributions are innumerable and many of them preserves his secret (pp. 16—18). Similarly the multiple attribution is also not uncommon which makes the definition of authorship almost impossible (see especially the *samasyas* and the case of multiple attribution in a single anthology). The misspelling of names or the simple orthographical mistakes are sources of misunderstanding: *Vittoka* (No 1474) also has the name *Vibhoka, Vimboka, Vettoka* and so on, the abbreviation of names like *Latta* for *Bhallata*, the joining suffixes or prefixes (*bhaṭṭa, ācārya, kavi*), the giving honorific suffixes or prefixes (*guru, ācārya*) are reasons of confusion. It is not rare that the complilator changes the names or uses the so called sobriquets (epithets or names given to a poet by virtue of a striking or fancy conceived by him) many times throws an obstacle in the way of proper recognition. (*Medharudra* is a sobriquet of *Kālidāsa* etc.)

Beside the unknown poets the celebrated representatives of Sanskrit poetry are often quoted in the anthologies (pp. 42—44) and also «new verses» definetely written by them came back to us. Of course there is a chance that some of them are apocriphs. (Sternbach enumerated 65 «new verses» of *Kālidāsa* 3 of *Kṛṣṇamiśra* and *Kokkoka* and 2 of *Kauṭilya* etc.)

It is remarkable that a lot of anonymously cited pieces can be identified and Professor Sternbach was able to find 8 verses of *Amaruka* in the anthologies which are published in the otherwise very popular *Amaruśataka.*

The sporadical plagiarism in the anthologies shows a vivid picture of the cultural milieau of the poets.

The listing of persons who were formerly reputed for works of practical science like *Amarasiṁha, Aśvaghoṣa, Kalhaṇa, Pāṇini,*

Vācaspati are told to have been poets too. (pp. 50—52.)

The significance of the inscriptional evidence is much less, it has minor poetical value, so its treatment is proportionally shorter. Altogether the catalogue administers 295 names taken from inscriptions and there are only 24 among them who have 10 or more verses of real poetical beauty.

The technical arrangement of the items is as follows: the first line gives the name or names followed by (A) information available about the author (B) information about the probable date when he flourished (C) the names of person(s) who, or work(s) which mention the author or what person(s) or work(s) the author mentioned (D) registers of title(s) of work(s) the author wrote if available (E) the anthologies and/or inscriptions in which the verse specifically attributed to the author are quoted as listed in G, (F) the number of verse attributed to the author in anthologies and/or inscriptions (F) the number of verse attributed to the author in anthologies and/or inscriptions (G) the list of the exact data concerning the verses quoted and attributed to the author in genuine anthologies in *devanāgarī* alphabetical order (H) commentary on the name of the author, his aliases, sobriquets etc (I) bibliographical references to the author in particular in NGC (J) general comments on the verses quoted in G and their attributions, their authenticity, sources, if available, their popularity and type of poetry of the author. For the illustration let us take the wordheadings 407 (*Ghaṭakarpara*) and 653 (*Devānanda*).

407. GHAṬAKARPARA

A One of the nine jewels of King *Vikramāditya* of Ujjayinī.

B According to tradition 1st century B.C, but probably different from the court-poet of *Vikramāditya* and much later.

D *Nītisāra*, a short subhāṣita-saṁgraha in the form of a dialogue between a hog and a lion; *Ghaṭakarpara-yamaka-kāvya*, possibly written by *Ghaṭakarpara* II, but also attributed to *Kālidāsa*. See I.

E SG

F One verse.

G SG 751, SMS 10 052 = *Ghaṭakarpara* 12 (or 7)

H See D above.

I NCC_6 266—7. SACA 400; for bibliography see GHD 60, 62, fn. 308, NCC_6 266—9, L. Sternbach in JA (1974), pp. 410—4.

J It is strange that only one verse of *Ghaṭakarpara's kāvya* is quoted in one of the late *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*-s. This seems to prove that this *yamaka-kāvya* was not very popular before the 17th century and even later. The verse is not quoted in other anthologies. Amatory verse.

653. DEVĀNANDA

A No information. Author of the copper-plate inscription of the ascetic *Vakulaja*, now in the British Museum, London. The inscription is from the *Śiva* temple and is dated saṁvat 781 (= A.D. 725) or 981 (= A.D. 925). Damaged.

B First half of the 8th or 10th century.

C, D, E Author of the inscription described in A.

F, G 6 verses of which the first 3 and part of verse 4 are damaged and illegible. Nothing to note.

I CC_1-, IA 13.251—2, BhL 50, SACA 635.

In a book dealing with so many details, it is inevitable that there would be disagreement on some points. It hurts us that *Kāmandaki* was placed in the 3rd century A.D. instead of the reasonable 8th century. We are in two minds why Sternbach omitt-

ed the critical edition of the *Amaruśataka* by Ch. R. Devadhar (Poona 1959).

For the edition of the book the reputed publishing house deserves our best congratulations, the representation of Sanskrit words is excellent only it passes our comprehension why so many misprints occur in the English text.

We have the strong believe that this catalogue furnishes a solid basis of all the research to be done in the history of Sanskrit poetry and cultural history of India. If completed it will be unquestionably one of the most considerable contribution yet made in the history of Sanskrit literature.

Gyula Wojtilla

An Elegant Composition Concerning Relief after Adversity by Nissim ben Jacob Ibn Shâhîn. Translated ... by WILLIAM M. BRINNER. New Haven—London, Yale University Press, 1977. 196 p.

Nissim b. Jacob Ibn Shâhîn compiled a collection of stories of Jewish themes in Arabic in Kairuan in the 11th century, in response to a request from a friend to console the latter upon the loss of his son.

The Hebrew translation of this work has been published a number of times since 1519, but the Arabic original appeared in print less than half a century ago (*The Arabic Original of Ibn Shâhîn's Book of Comfort.* Ed. J. Obermann, New Haven 1933). Since then several fragments have surfaced from the Geniza (S. Abramson, *R. Nissim Gaon*, Jerusalem 1965, pp. 555—557). That it had spread far and wide is shown by medieval book-lists and now by S. D. Goitein's appendix to Brinner's book, from which it is clear that the work is mentioned in private correspondence (pp. XXXII—XXXIII). A new Hebrew translation of the Arabic text was published by H. Z. Hirschberg (Jerusalem 1954).

It was Ignác Goldziher who first recognised that Nissim's work belonged to the genre of *Faraǧ baʿd al-shiddah* (relief or consolation after adversity) (B. Heller, *Bolte-Polivka* IV, Leipzig 1930, p. 325). This began in Arabic literature in the 9th century and culminates in al-Tanûkhî as its classical representative in the 10th century. It was translated into Turkish and Persian, and its influence can also be seen in European literature in the 16th century: in English, German and Hungarian. The topic is dealt with in detail by A. Wiener (*Der Islam* IV, 1913, pp. 270—298, 387—420), and now by Brinner (pp. XXIV—XXVII).

The work transmits a whole series of subjects from East to West. The notes refer only briefly to these. Its chief aim is to give an accurate and reliable English translation of the original Arabic to make the work accessible to scholars who do not read Arabic or Hebrew.

A few comments on the stories are appropriate:

The burial of the sinner and the just man (pp. 8—11) reached Nissim from Hebrew sources and continued to flourish in the medieval exempla-collections (A. Scheiber, *Folklór és tárgytörténet* II, Budapest 1977, pp. 20—21, 31—38, 50—52).

Joshua ben Levi and Elijahu (pp. 13—16) are angel and hermit motifs (H. Schwarzbaum, *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore*, Berlin 1968, p. 501. s.v. Angel and Hermit).

The companion in Paradise (pp. 81—85). B. Heller wrote an excellent monograph on this (*REJ* LVI, 1908, pp. 198—221; *HUCA* IV, 1927, pp. 379—404; T. Alexander: *Yeda-Am.* XIX, 1979, p. 9).

Elijahu as master builder (pp. 99—102). J. Obermann sensitively deduced from its style that this had an immediate precursor in Arabic (*HUCA* XXIII/1, 1950/51, pp. 387—404). He did not know that B. Heller had already shown that the source was Thaʿlabî (*MGWJ* LXXXI, 1937, pp. 76—80).

Brinner's translation opens a new chapter in the history of Nissim's collection of stories. For this the author deserves our grateful thanks.

A. Scheiber

SCHEIBER SÁNDOR, *Folklór és tárgytörténet* [Folklore and Motif History] I—II, Budapest 1977, 464 + 599 pp.

Ever since his first writing appeared some forty years ago, Sándor Scheiber has been a tireless contributor to scientific periodicals both in Hungary and abroad. In over twelve hundred publications of various size he has been dealing with the research, discovery and analysis of the Eastern sources of European culture, the relics of mediaeval Hebrew literature surviving in fragments of manuscripts, the early and modern classics of Hungarian literature, and the history of Hungarian Jews. One of the more recent products of this extraordinarily broad and fruitful research work includes his results in the fields of folklore and motif history.

Volume One of this finely executed work bears the summary title «Folklore». It appears from the first essays already that the author excels in the application of complex research methods. Reading about biblical stories complemented with folktale motifs, we find ourselves in the midst of a wealth of information concerning the highly colourful, variable but always coherent system of relationships characterizing the Mediterranian Basin. The incest of Lot's daughters, the building of the Tower of Babel had been resultants of an ancient fear of catastrophe — holds the Jewish tradition. It is this conception that the early Church Fathers based their announcements on, as also the subsequent commentators that followed in their wake. The legend connected with the sacrificial smoke of Cain and Abel — as popularized by Lord Byron for Europe — had been an invention of twelfth-century Christian illuminators, having had, however, roots reaching back to times of Antiquity. The tale about Samson tearing up trees — of which the Bible does not speak at all — met with in numerous pictorial representations, is *mutatis mutandis* an adaptation of Christ's preexistence as proclaimed by Old Testament texts. In connection with biblical folklore, its place, significance and survivals in diverse variants Scheiber makes the following statement: «There are men who leave long shadows after them in history... There are books that do the same. The Bible is one of them... It is consequential for universal folklore as well.» It is from this aspect that the author introduces certain mediaeval Karaite tale-elements. The Karaites had exerted a great influence on sixteenth-century Antitrinitarian thinkers who had taken over not only theological but also literary motifs from the sources. Therefore, the book of Juda Hadassi translated and complemented with explanatory notes by Sándor Scheiber supplies so far unknown source material for both folklorists and scholars of ideology history. Information of similar value can be found in the analysis of the role of the shofar used at the exorcising rites of burial ceremonies, as well as in the study detecting the Arab — Jewish antecedents of shoulder-predictions.

The most important item in the mediaeval material, representing at the same time one of the peaks of the scientific career of the author, has been the discovery of the earliest Jewish musical notation and the identification of the notator. The proselyte Normann Obadja, who adopted the name Johannes through baptism, converted to the Jewish faith in 1102. As a priest and a man of clerical education, after his arrival in Egypt he made neumatic notations of Jewish liturgical music that had been unknown to him before. For this outstanding discovery, Sándor Scheiber was awarded the golden prize of Oppido, the Italian town where Obadja was born.

A study dealing with the Eastern antecedents of a festive rite recorded at Buda in 1511 leads the reader from the oriental and European Middle Ages over to the renaissance period of Hungary. Following this, we get acquainted with the facsimile reproduction of a Hebrew codex page and a capturing motif thereof, visible on the jacket of the book: a little donkey ascending a ladder. Essentially still in the field

of etymological analyses we have the separation of the name of Bar-Kochba from that of a game enjoying a great popularity in Budapest recently: on historical bases Scheiber has demonstrated that the name of the game has nothing to do with the hero of freedom in Jewish Antiquity. Both the game and its denomination owe their birth to Budapest.

The author settles an old debt of Hungarian science history in the concluding study of the Folklore volume, paying due respect to his one-time master Bernát Heller, a notable researcher of Eastern tales. By presenting a brief biography and assessing his scholarly achievements, Scheiber contributes to the final determination of the place and role of Heller in Hungarian science. He also sheds light on the works of Immanuel Lőw who used to play a leading part in international science, also as a folklorist. Two minor papers have been dedicated to the memory of Bertalan Kohlbach and Izsák Pfeiffer.

The title «Motif History» of Volume Two implies much more than what might be inferred at first glance. In this volume the author has alighed his studies belonging in the sphere of Hungarian education and literary history. Scheiber's essays on Bornemisza are significant from two main points of view. On the one hand, he demonstrates that through the mediation of works written in Latin, the elements of antique Hebrew tales had reached this great author of Hungarian renaissance. He proves in a convincing manner that he received inspiration from the books of Pliny, Lactantius, Cassanius, etc., as well as from those of mediaeval Italian moralists. On the other hand, he calls attention to the fact that earlier-known sources like Melanchton and Luther contain further parallelisms not yet exhausted by scholars dealing with the Bornemisza oeuvre.

The writer of these lines cannot deny that he was very much pleased with the study dealing with the post-biblical Hebrew elements of the Hungarian Sabbatarian songs. In appreciation of the merits of this particular study, we quote a statement made by Scheiber: «. . . we can hardly see the influence of the agada, halacha and liturgy at work in a greater measure in all world literature than just in these Sabbatarian songs.» There are a few minor papers given to show the way from the Hungarian renaissance to the classics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In one of them, the title-page illustration of the Dictionarium of Ferenc Pápai Páriz is identified with the title-page of the Greek — Latin dictionary published by C. Schrevelius in Leyden in 1661. A two further papers deal with the copy-history of the Talmud compendium of József Hermányi Dienes, and with the source of one of the tales by this author.

The motif history of the poem *Vásárfia* by János Garay testifies to the historical respect for thoughts carried by written letters throughout the long course of centuries. Scheiber traces the paths of this motif as far back as Phaedrus. The source of a Gypsy anecdote paraphrased by Petőfi came to light from a calendar published in Pest in 1841. And this latter data provides a link to János Arany to whose interpretation and biography Sándor Scheiber has contributed several particulars, in some of the minor papers we find complementary information about the broadside reading-pieces of the young Arany while others clarify the background of certain poetic expressions and anecdotes used by the poet. The most voluminous essays in this book include the one dealing with Mikszáth's connection with Eastern folklore and those providing motif-historical analyses. By listing a great number of parallelism from world literature, Scheiber adduces further proofs of the broad sphere of interest «the great narrator» had covered in his writings. At the same time, he throws a torchlight also on the secrets of the author's creative methods. He gives a compass to the reader that shows the way from the original sources to the stages where the motifs find their new applications in the study of the genius. The central

problem of the essays dealing with József Kiss is to motivate the Jewish reminiscences of the poet. As a convincing conclusion, we have brought home the information that József Kiss was most possessed with these reminiscences when he was young and later when nearing towards the end of his life. A real feat is the analysis of Ady's poem *The Big Whale* from the aspects of concept (motif) history. The vision of people settling on back of the giant sea-animal had turned up already in mediaeval Arab literature. The biblical metaphors coming forth in the poems of Gyula Juhász are dealt with in a short essay. Two papers make us acquainted with the motif-historical background of the «godly» poems of Attila József and their connections with the formal and contentual properties of Hungarian folksongs. It is an interesting experimentation that Sándor Scheiber performs in the concluding part of Volume Two of his book. Under the title of «The Bible in Hungarian Literature from 1945 to 1973» the material collected for elaboration at a later date is published. This chapter contains the list of belletristic creations of biblical references within the defined cycle. The 185 items adduced in the order of the biblical books testify to the fact that interest in the Bible in recent Hungarian literature is by no means lesser than it had been in earlier periods.

The book *Folklore and Motif History* is not only a carefully edited scientific work but also a creation that provides an exciting intellectual experience from the first to the last page. The erudite author has succeeded in arranging the philological routine works and the more weighty essays in an organic whole, thus multiplying the value of his writings originally published apart from one another.

The book is complemented with a list of Sándor Scheiber's bibliography compiled by the writer of these lines. Orientation in the work is facilitated by a list of first publications, a precise name index made by Ferenc Katona, and a list of illustrations. The work was published with the material support of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture.

Róbert Dán

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EDITORIAL

This special issue of our journal is somewhat unusual in character. The subject of some of the articles exceeds the domain of traditional Oriental studies and at the same time their unity is provided by the authors' common effort to scrutinize non-European social development. *This issue of a multidisciplinary character also contributes to the discussion on the Marxian conception of the «Asiatic mode of production».*

It is worth referring to the fact that some of the authors of this volume published a collection of studies in Hungarian in 1976 (Őstársadalom és ázsiai termelési mód, *Budapest, Magvető Kiadó*), *the second enlarged Hungarian edition of which and the English version of the first Hungarian edition* (Primitive Society and the Asiatic Mode of Production, *Budapest, Corvina Press*) *are already in print. The present special issue of* Acta Orientalia *in fact continues and complements these volumes soon available.*

Ferenc Tőkei
editor-in-chief

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IBN SĪNĀ, AL-ĠAZĀLĪ AND IBN ḪALDŪN A CONTRIBUTION TO THE TYPOLOGY OF A MUSLIM «INTELLIGENTIA»*

BY

RÓBERT SIMON

Introduction

It is unusual in the Eastern philosophies and arts to encounter a philosopher or artist who can be grasped and interpreted as an individual. The communal character of schools preserving, passing on, and perfectioning tradition, aptly called by R. Blachère[1] «families of spirit» (familles d'esprits) is far more usual, which is only apparently contradicted by the many names (such as the figures of the «biographic» literature, for example, of the Arabian *ṭabaqāt* or of the Persian *taḏkira*) unearthed by the busy-body, curiosity loving philologues of later days. These figures are, as a rule, bloodless stereotypes, bearers and ancillaries of their subjects and communal functions, in other words, not social figures creating independent spiritual objectivisations, but — strictly speaking — «intellectual functionaries» of some earlier created (revealed or handed down by tradition, but anyway sanctioned by the consensus of a given community) objectivisations. The reason for this is that in general the substantiality of these societies is made up by theocratically organised communities to whose umbilical chord the individual is still attached[2]

* This paper is based on a lecture delivered at the Csoma de Kőrös Society, October 3rd, 1980, on the occasion of Avicenna's Millenary Symposium,

[1] R. Blachère, *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XVe siècle de J. C.*, Vol. 1, Paris 1952, p. XII. For the artistic aspects of the problem, concretely for the Arabic poetry, see G. E. von Grünebaum's problematic, but instructive experiment in the history of ideas: *Wirklichkeitweite der früharabischen Dichtung. Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung*, Wien 1937, particularly the first chapter: *Das Ich und seine menschliche Beziehungsfähigkeit* (pp. 7—125). The important correlative phenomenon to be investigated within the scope of this problem is the crudeness of the special category of genre which ought to mediate between the individual and the general (see R. Blachère, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Paris 1964, p. 387: «A la division par genres, il est en tout point préférable de substituer une étude par thèmes») which, though it attracted the attention of researchers in the last decade, failed to produce convincing results. The topicality of the latter problem can be observed in the terminological uncertainty of current literary language. For example, there is no generally accepted Arabic term for the category of «genre», sol, for example ʿAbd al-Qaddūs calls it *lawn adabī*, Yūsuf aš-Šārūnī *šakl taʿbīrī* (see *al-Hilā* Augustus 1969, pp. 124—5, 132).

[2] See the philosophical formulation of the same in Hegel's *The Philosophy of History*, tr. J. Sibree, London, Bell, 1905. pp. 124—5.

(from the aspect of social history and the history of philosophy, the first significant philosophers to realise this were the philosophers of the emerging bourgeoisie ; their novelty is paradigmatically represented by Spinoza). With the categories of Hegelian dialectics this phenomenon could be expressed by stating that philosophers and artists never (or only in exceptional cases, proving thereby the rule) preserve tradition by abolishing it, i.e. create a new statement not by negation. Preservation here can only be the culmination of the old, i.e. between thesis and synthesis antithesis is — as a rule — missing. The major Eastern representatives of philosophy and arts are, therefore, characterised not so much by a bold break with the given traditions, as by being capable of using several, in time and space different, more colourful traditions or eventually being able to merge various traditions into a new synthesis. This can be expressed with the apparent paradox that the more marked the personality of the individual, the more thoroughly and more versatilely it will preserve and unfold the various traditions, in contrast to the narrow-minded preservers — inclined to eliminate all contradictions — of homogenised traditions.

It is understandable that the pursuer of the history of philosophy turns with keen interest and congeniality towards the first type and can consider himself very lucky when he is in a position to form his own judgement on the basis of documents in which these thinkers, living — to say the least — ambivalently in their communities provide information about themselves. Such a rare fortunate occurrence was provided by Ibn Sīnā who at the request of his faithful and ardent pupil, Abū ʿUbayd al-Ǧuzǧānī, dictated his biography to the latter, thereby providing an unparalleled unique source for the study of an exceptional career.[3] With regard to the assessment of this rare document it is sufficient to mention that in the history of Muslim philosophy not more than two similarly significant attempts at an autobiography can be

[3] Ibn Sīnā's autobiography which was complemented by his pupils was left to us in four fundamental sources : a. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (600/1203 to 668/1270), *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, edited by A. Müller, Königsberg et al-Qāhira 1884, Vol. 2, pp. 2—9 ; b. Ibn al-Qifṭī (568/1172—646/1248), *Ta' rīḫ al-ḥukamā'*, edited by J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, pp. 413—426 ; c. Ẓahīr ad Dīn al-Bayhaqī, *Ta'rīḫ ḥukamā' al-islām*, edited by Muḥ. Šafīʿ, Lahore 1351/1935 ; d. Šams ad-Dīn aš-Šahrazūrī, *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, still in the form of manuscript. On the margin of the No. 1447 Istanbul manuscript of the latter we find the version of Yaḥyā' b. Aḥmad al-Kāšī (with the date 754/1353 at the end) which is a reproduction of versions *a.* and *b.* This latter version was published on the occasion of the 1000th anniversary (according to the *ḥiǧra)* of Ibn Sīnā's birth by the excellent Egyptian historian of philosophy, Aḥmad Fu'ād al-Ahwānī in such a way that all differences between versions *a.* and *b.* are carefully given in the footnotes. This work was published in 1952 as the 3rd volume of the *Publication de l'Institut francais d'archéologie orientale du Caire, Mémorial Avicenne* and can rightly be considered the critical publication of Ibn Sīnā's autobiography. The following notes will refer to this publication.

found. These three attempts and the three lives outlined in them, are worthy of a brief scrutiny for two reasons. The first reason is that the three paradigmatic lives, though perhaps not typical, do at least indicate three types of intellectuals who lived in traditional Islamic society. It could be said that the documents are merely of the nature of indications, because all three were thinkers of exceptionally outstanding stature. They can therefore be considered as rather atypical representatives of the three types of intellectuals who embody the three possible cases of the traditional Muslim intelligentia and even transcend them without, of course, transcending their functions, but demonstrating the necessity and insufficiency of these functions from the aspect of both the community and the individual. Paradoxically, their atypical nature could be described as immanent transcendency, i.e. they put into words those moments of antinomies of the system, which in their approach are important, but also the fact that within the system these antinomies cannot be solved. On the other hand, by studying these three extraordinary and striking lives as the three possible «intellectual responses» it is possible to separate and distinguish the three «types» and with their help indicate the many points of contact the three paths of the thinkers followed or the three functions without, of course, blurring their most important moments.

The writer of another of the three known biographies, al-Ġazālī (450/1058 to 505/1111), almost a contemporary and the most influential adversary of Ibn Sīnā, of similar Iranian origin, described in his autobiography *al-Munqiḏ min aḍ-ḍalāl*, written when the author was well over fifty, his own conversion, which in its nature can be compared to St. Augustine's Confessions.[4] al-Ġazālī presents the spiritual road which led the 36 year old aš'arit orthodox theologician, who had also flirted with philosophy and had completely acquired the argumentation of Muslim dialecticians (*mutakallimūn* = «loquentes»), to turn his back on his brilliant career (he was the Rector of the Niẓāmīya University in Baghdad) and on his family and embark on the road of ṣūfism, vehemently rejecting the teachings of «philosophers» as being incompatible with Islam, but at the same time criticising Muslim orthodoxy restricted to formal religiousness, which he tried to revive — or, using his own words, «resuscitate» (*iḥyā'*) — by inner religious mystic empathy. In contrast to the usual interpretation of the history of philosophy, the secret of the fascinating and, despite its atypical nature, thoroughly characteristic life of the Muslim theologist is not the rejection of the strictly speaking philosophical reception of the hellenistic and late-antique humanities, but the realisation that the attempts of Muslim philosophy can at best be transmitted to the broader masses when clothed in the veil of mysticism, in this way reconciling with Islamic orthodoxy. Thus, the road followed by al-Ġazālī is the path of the rationalistic (aš'arit)

[4] The Eastern publication used here is that of M. Muḥ. Ğābir, al-Qāhira, n.d.

theologician towards individualistic contemplative (*ṣūfī*) theosophic religiousness, a road utilising the resignation and polemisation with the main ideological trends of the time. These trends which the author lists and analyzes with subjective passion in his spiritual biography are: a. the *ʿilm al-kalām* whose followers the *mutakallimūn* were Muslim scholastics engaged, according to their own definition «in the study of the science of the fundaments of faith and their rationalistic evidences in order to prove the theological truths»; b. *taʿlimīya* or *bāṭinīya*: an extremist *sīʿa* trend mainly for the teaching of mahdī — *taʿlīm* — and *ismāʿilīya* doctrines relying on the revelation of the Word, on the esoteric — *bāṭin* — sense of the Koran; c. *al-falsafa*, the new Muslim Aristotelism impregnated to various degrees by Newplatonism whose main representative was Ibn Sīnā; d. finally the various mystic Muslim trends such as *ṭuruq aṣ-ṣūfīya*, etc.[5]

The other instructive biography was written by the outstanding Muslim philosopher of history, Ibn Ḫaldūn, whose theory of the cyclic movement of classical Arabian statehood was perhaps of the most significant importance within Muslim social-scientific thinking. His autobiography is extremely informative about his Macchiavellian formate and far more tempestouus political career than that of Macchiavelli.[6]

When comparing the three autobiographies, at the first glance it is surprising to note the almost complete lack of subjective elements. Take for example, Ibn Ḫaldūn's autobiography. On the 384 pages of the above mentioned critical edition of the autobiography only three strictly speaking subjective comments can be found, which will be translated because of the insight they provide concerning the traditional Muslim personality. In the first communication he mentioned the death of his parents who were the victims of the 749/1349 Plague: «As I grew up and became an adolescent I devoted myself completely to the acquirement of the sciences and aspired at the acquisition of virtues; to this end I industriously attended the lectures and the circles of scholars, till the destructive plague came and carried off the aristrocats, the officials of rank and all *šayḫ*s and my parents died, Allah be merciful to them.»[7] Ibn Ḫaldūn was 17 years old at the time. The second item of information concerned the 21 months he spent in prison in Fez — his next place of residence after Tunis — in the years 758—9/1357—8. He wrote: «The sultan Ab[2] ʿInān had me arrested, tortured and ūut into prison.»[8] The third event he described concerned the death of his family: in the year 786/1384 he lived in Cairo as the chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) of the strict Mālikit

[5] See *op. cit.*, pp. 14—51.

[6] *at-Taʿrīf bi'bni Ḫaldūn wa-riḥlatu-hū ǧarb*[an] *wa-šarq*[an] is an exemplary critical edition from Muḥammad Ṭāwit aṭ-Ṭanǧī, al-Qāhira, 1370/1951.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 67

religious legal rite and at the request of his protector, the mamlūk sultān, aẓ-Ẓāhir Barqūq, the Ḥafṣid Tunisian ruler set free Ibn Ḫaldūn's family, which had been held as hostages, but his wife and five daughters were involved in a shipwreck near Alexandria and were drowned. He probably mentioned this event only because it coincided with the decline in his public career: «At this time dissatisfaction increased all around me, the atmosphere be'tween me and the men of the sovereign grew worse. This coincided with the blow I suffered with the loss of my family and children who came by ship from Maġrib and were shipwrecked in a tempest; all my personal property, my kin and children perished. Great was the blow and my bereavement. I pondered over the *ṣūfī* way of life and decided to resign my office.»[9]

The lesson conveyed by the three biographies leads to the conclusion that it never occurred to these three exceptional thinkers to draw a line between the subjective moments of their lives and their confinement in the community, and consider these events as independent objects for reflection. Thus, even in their case subjectivity is an inseparable part of the object, that is, of the community, though during the lifetime of all three the community was shaken by considerable shocks. (For the sake of comparison, from the aspect of the history of culture it is very instructive to refer to the collection of two very influential Iranian poets from-the 10th and 11th century, namely to the four-line verses attributed to Abū Saʿīd[10] and ʿUmar Ḫaiyām's *rubāʿiyāt*[11] — the more so, as the famous mystic Abū Saʿīd (from 357/967 to 440/1049) was a contemporary of Ibn Sīnā with whom he maintained a lively correspondence and Ḫaiyām (born after 412/1021, died in 515 or 516/1122) was a professor of the Niẓāmīya university of Nīšāpūr at the same time as al-Ġazālī. The *dīwān* of both responded to the same shocks suffered by the individual and the community, but in such a way that while in the case of the first we have obviously a collection of poems written over a longer period of time to which only the name of Abū Saʿīd was used, in the second case there is an original Ḫaiyām core which, however, cannot be distinguished in the *rubāʿiyāt* that has in the course of time been extended to many times its original length. However, this feature of «being utilisable» precisely confirms the anonymity of the subject, and its indistinct nature as an individual).

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 259.

[10] The *dīwān (soḫanāne manẓūm)* attributed to him was published by S. Nafīsī, Tehrān 1334. š./1955–56. For the authenticity of the *dīwān* see J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, pp. 216–7.

[11] The latest and presumably the most authentic publication relying on the manuscript dated 1207, kept in the Library of the University of Cambridge, is that of K. M. Aliev and M. N. O. Osmanov, Moscow 1959, Parts 1 and 2. The short summary of the so-called Ḫaiyām problem with basic bibliography see in J. Rypka, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–224.

Coming back to Ibn Ḫaldūn, in his case statehood (the dynastic empire) and its relationship to the community becomes the exclusive subject matter of the philosophy of history. The social form of this community, or more accurately of these communities, namely the empire (the least organic, purely poitical and military union of precapitalist societies) having been accomplished, revealed failure of the — so to say — naked attempts by the North-African Almoravid and Almohad dynasties to preserve the very nature the pure (tax) acquisition based on cyclic conquests. Ibn Ḫaldūn's *Introduction* of his philosophy of history[12] and autobiography is in fact a resigned «apologia pro sua causa», a hopeless reflection of the antinomic situation when only a strong «ruler» could create unity from disintegration and social anarchy, but because of its non-organic military political nature such unity would again lead to disintegration. The life of Ibn Ḫaldūn is a good example of the truth that «the structure of the economic elements of society remains untouched by the storm-cloud of the political sky.»[13] Since he experienced and fortunately survived as a high ranking official the rise and fall of many dynasties and sovereigns and spent the rest of his life in Egypt as the leading *qāḍī* of the strict Mālikit rite, that is, he became from the leading political intellectual of state power the delegated intellectual of society (community).

As far as Ibn Sīnā's autobiography is concerned, in the context of this subject it is sufficient to point out that it is of no avail to try to find personal moments or motivations in it (for instance, he obscures the more than once drastic changes in his life, his frequent adventurous journeys with diplomatic caution into stereotypis generalities, such as: «then my circumstances changed — *ṯummā taṣarrafat bi' l-aḥwāl* or 'I was compelled to go there . . .' — *ṯummā daʿat aḍ-ḍarūra ilā'l-intiqāl*)».[14] Nevertheless, the almost ridiculous *agon*-spirit of this proud philosopher scientist with a true claim to brilliance conveys a unique personal note to his unparallelled autobiography. He describes the almost incredible exploits in his youth and adolescence with something like childish pride. What he wrote about the relationship between the 13 or 14 years old prodigy and his master, the vagrant philosopher an-Nātili sounds like the fulfilment of the dream of every ambitious student. Already in the course of studying Porphyrios' *Eisagógé*, that is the foundations of logic, when it came to the more subtle problems of logic — *daqā'iqu-hū* — he outdid his master, and in fact it was he who explained to his master Euclide and the *Megalé syntaxis* — in Arabian *al-Maǧistī*, or in its Latin form Almagest — of Claudius Ptolemaeus, so that his master to avoid greater shame had to hur-

[12] Two basic editions of *al-Muqaddima:* a. ed. Naṣr al-Hūrīnī, Būlāq, 1274/1857; b. ed. by E. Quatremère, Paris 1858.

[13] Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, New York 1967, p. 358.

[14] See al-Kāšī, p. 16.

riedly leave the house of the Ibn Sīnā family.[15] Later, when Ibn Sīnā threw himself into the medical sciences he said about his studies: «Medicine is not one of the difficult sciences and I became, of course, shortly outstanding in it, so much so that excellent physicians came to learn medicine from me . . . I was 16 years at the time.»[16] The enterprising *agon*-mind of Ibn Sīnā can perhaps most strikingly be characterised by the episode when in Iṣfahān, at the court of ʿAlā ad-Dawla not being very well versed in linguistics and philology, he was put to shame by Abū Manṣūr al-Ǧubbā'ī, a professional philologue. Deeply hurt in his vanity, the philosopher decided to devote himself to three years study with his usual vivacity entirely to philology. He even acquired rare books from elsewhere and finally vindicated himself with brilliant bravura (misleading even philologues) by imitating three, hitherto believed to be unrivalled sophisticated stylists of the rhymed prose of high culture, not in a haphazard manner but in front of a cleverly organised audience.[17]

However, from his autobiography — and this is closely related to our subject, namely to the comparison of the intellectual type of philosopher as represented by Ibn Sīnā to the other two types whose representatives are al-Ġazālī and Ibn Ḫaldūn — it appears that Ibn Sīnā's status, and his activity in the «publich sphere» was founded on medical science, i.e. on his profession as a practicing physician. It was his medical profession which opened the doors of the princely courts, first those of the Sāmānid Nūḥ the Second and later — among others — of the Ma'mūnids of Ḫʷārizm, the Ziyārids of Gurgān, the Eastern Būyids of Raiy, the Kākūyids of Iṣfahān and it was due to his knowledge of medicine that he became more than once the leading official in princely courts. He was on two occasions the first vizier of the Būyid Šams ad-Dawla of Hamadān and confident of many sovereigns, such as the Emir ʿAlā ad-Dawla in Iṣfahān, which was the last position of his life. There was, however, a more or less sharp line of demarcation between Ibn Sīnā's activities in the completely legitimate public sphere and his work as a philosopher. The term «more or less» has to be used to indicate an extremely complicated situation. It is known from the philosopher's autobiography that the Emir ʿAlā ad-Dawla of Iṣfahān «fixed Friday night as the time for the exchange of philosophic ideas (*maǧlis an-naẓar*) which took place in his presence and were attended by scientists of various ranks, including šayḫ Abū ʿAlī. At these meetings in no branch of the sciences was he outdone by anyone«.[18] At the same time we learn that when he was the vizier beside Šams ad-Dawla of Raiy

[15] *Op. cit.*, pp. 10—12.
[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 12.
[17] *Op. cit.*, pp. 23—24.
[18] *Op. cit.*, pp. 21—22.

«the army revolted against him, because the generals were afraid of losing their positions. They stormed his house, threw him into prison, put their hands on his goods, deprived him of everything and asked the Emir to put him to death. This the Emir refused to do, but in order to satisfy the rebels he agreed to banish Ibn Sīnā from the country».[19] Thus, the princes needed Ibn Sīnā, the physician and astronomer (he carried out important astronomic measurements in Raiy and Iṣfahān), and the politician even flirted with philosophy, but sacrificed him without hesitation in critical situations. The fundamentally hostile attitude of the army and of theologians (*ʿulamā'*) and scholar-jurists (*fuqahā'*) towards the Muslim philosopher and Muslim philosophy,[20] and the simultaneous — more or less — sympathising attitude of the princely courts require some explanation. This situation did not mean that because of the occasional support of the princes the theses of the philosophers might have been able to seriously compete for the place of hegemonic ideology, but — and this is more important — it did not mean that from the aspect of the organisation and movement of traditional Muslim society, the other two «intellectual» possibilities, that of the theologian and of the representatives of popular religiousness developing and spreading at that time, namely the functions of the *ṣūfī šayḫs*, played an unequivocally negative role. The relationship of the three types to one another, to social reality, primarily to the two large blocks of reality : to the Muslim community and dynastic statehood, is an extremely intricate relationship, which in the course of social movement often appeared in forms not so much antinomous with one another, as supplementing each other or being a transition from one to the other. Let us consider this problem.

The problem of hegemony: consensus of the community or charisma of the ruler

As already indicated, when raising this question we again have to fac a more comprehensive and more essential problem : namely the relationship between the Muslim community and statehood. The function of the Muslim «intellectual strata», primarily in the development of ideologies aspiring at

[19] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

[20] To quote only a single extreme, but nevertheless typical example, it is sufficient to mention the refutation of the «logicians» by the neo-Ḥanbalite Ibn Taymīya (661/1263 to 728/1328) of the Mamlūk age who, a figure of great influence in Muslim orthodoxy, in his refutation characterised al-Kindī in a way which clearly showed that according to him philosophy and Islam were antinomic concepts *(kāna Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī faylasūf fī waqti-hī aʿnī faylasūf alladī fī l-islām wa-illā fa-laysa'l-falāsifa min al-muslimīn* Quoted by Soheil M. Afnan, *A philosophical Lexicon in Persian and Arabic*, Beirut 1969, p 260.

hegemony can only be assessed in the constant changes of the two, and the frequent struggles between the community and statehood. When speaking about hegemonic ideology (in the sense used by Gramsci) this naturally means the ruling sets of values and norms of a given social practice in this — as stressed by Gramsci in his letter written to Tatiana on September 7, 1931[21] — in most cases the intelligentia represents not the organiations of violence of «official statehood» as a political-social body, but far more often the non-official social organisations, in our case in the mosques, *madrasa*s, on the occasion of the sermons held in the streets, or in — from the aspect of statehood extremely ambivalent — *qāḍī*-jurisdiction and this had to be taken into consideration by the adversaries of this practice too. When assessing the motion of Arab society from this aspect, in e sence the following situation is found:

In the case of the Umayyad age, there was an exercise of power by the family, based on the not-yet-surpassed tribalism, which could postpone by almost a century only by relatively protracted conquests the explosion of antinomies of unorganised elements within the realm. Considering in this case the relationship between the communities, statehood and intellectuals active in various spheres of socialisation, a peculiar situation is encountered when 1. the «state» power exercised by the family (dynasty) could rely even within the conquering community only on a part of it (the importants roles of te Kalbits supporting the dynasty and of their rivals, the Qaysits in the «civil wars» which flared up from time to time are well known) and the «reigning community block», the Syrian, was sharply opposed by the Iraqi and mainly by the opposition block of Medina; 2. the relationship between the converted non-Arab Muslims, the so-called Mawāli («client») layers and the Arab Muslim groups within the Islam community remained unsolved; and 3. from the aspect of this subject — the intelligentia — it was important that both the so-called «traditional intelligentia», that is the bureaucratic — mainly secretary — apparatus taken over from the conquered territories and the developing, shaping «organic» Muslim intelligentia, the theologians of Medina and ʿIrāq who were driven out of power, were covertly or openly against the dynasty. Thus, in that period there was no question of statehood having attained some kind of reigning ideological hegemony, and the community which consisted of not yet organised incoherent communities had not attained this, quite evidently because the newly conquered territories were on different stages of development. The communities sought their own adequate ideology as the traditional and newly formed organic intelligentia sought its place in society.

The solution of the explosive atmosphere of antinomies was raised by new ʿAbbāsid era, the era called — more or less justifiably — the «ʿAbbāsid

[21] A. Gramsci, *Lettere dal carcere*, Torino 1972, p. 210.

revolution» by the pertaining literature.[22] Essentially, it was the choice of a heterogeneous empire — having its origin in conquests — to become organised or to decline into disintegration. This problem was not, of course, restricted to the caliphates arising on the basis of Muslim conquests, but was the problem of all ancient empires, from the Eastern, Hellenistic and Roman empires up to the Mediaeval feudal states, a problem whose — in fact limited — possibilities were set out by Marx as follows: «In the case of all conquests there are three possibilities. Either the conquering people subjects the conquered people to its own methods of production (as the English in Ireland in the current century, and partly in India) or leaves the old methods of production and is satisfied with taking ransom (as the Turks and Romans) or an interaction takes place creating something new by way of a certain synthesis (as in some conquests of the Germans).»[23] In the case of Muslim society there were obviously only two alternatives, i.e. 1. the old method of production was left as it was and ransom was considered sufficient or 2. there was an interaction, creating something new by way of synthesis. The real social basis of the alternatives was that in the empire developing after the conquests three fundamental elements had to be taken into consideration: 1. Muḥammad's Islam which emerged on the foundations of traditional tribal society, was open in many directions without having necessarily adopted a solid shape. The openness of this element was due to the purely antithesis nature of Islam created from the antinomian conflict between tribal society and commercial fortune (thus negating many items of the particularly tribal society without being able to represent new concepts originating from the essence of commercial wealth); 2. elements of the Byzantine provinces (Egypt and Syria) representing hellenistic and late antique traditions built on the ancient Eastern substrata; and 3. elements of conquered Iran, which was neither free of late antique influences, but fundamentally continued the trend of ancient Eastern development. The role of Muslim society in «world history» depended upon the relationship between the three elements.[24]

It is well known that the «ʿAbbāsid revolution» took advantage of the manifold hostile feelings of *šīʿa* towards the Umayyads and that mainly with East-Iranian — Ḫurāsānian — help, it succeeded in seizing power. In connection with this subject it is worth pointing out that both the *šīʿa* and the Iranian opposition had notions about the state which — mutatis mutandis — were close to ancient Eastern ideas, to the charismatic Imām,

[22] For the historical analysis of the event see C. Cahen, *Points de vue la «Révolution ʿabbāside»: Revue historique* 230 (1963), pp. 295—331.

[23] Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (Rohentwurf)*, Berlin 1953, p. 18.

[24] See the author's essay: *Tendencies in the flow of Arab history: the question of ownership and statehood: Oikumene* 2 (1978), pp. 79—94.

i.e. to the notion of god-king as the idea ensuring the coherent unity of the community, the religion of the divine representative of the community's substance. This idea as an integrating force of society was obviously an inheritence of the ancient East, although recent research correctly stresses in the case of *šīʿa* the pre-Islamic South Arabian roots.[25] Thus, the political, ideological and cultural struggles of the first century of the ʿAbbāsid period could be characterised — again with a strong bias — by the state power and community (society) fighting for hegemony, or more concretely: the question was whether the charismatic Imām-idea, that is the principle of the god-king could gain the upper hand, which would have meant the regulation of the social practice of the community and its ideological norm-system from above, or the Islamic community in the process of becoming organised would be capable of creating a system of norms built on consensus by means of which it will be able to fight for ideological and social hegemony. Without being able to deal here with the various theological and religionphilosophical details of this extremely important problem (that is with the aspects of the twelfth *šīʿa* or *muʿtazila* serving unambiguously and of *murǧi'a* serving indirectly the above principle), what can be done is to emphatically point out that the ʿAbbāsids naturally endeavoured to very vigorously represent from many sides the first idea and in the first decades of their reign relied on the Iranised Aramean secretary layer (Pehlevi: *dibhérān*, Arabic: *kuttāb*) inherited with respect to the god-king ideological-aministrative «intellectual» functions from the Sāsānid period. This viewpoint was coherently formulated by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (died in 142/759) who was an Iranian mawlā presumably converted from Manicheism directly to Islam. His work centred round the almighty prince and since the community depended upon the sovereign and not the sovereign upon the community, according to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ it was the duty of the «intellectual» of that society to suggest and to disclose to the ruler the principles of correct reign in various forms (collection of rules of behaviour; memorandum; «Fürstenspiegel») of Indian and Middle Iranian origin. I wish to quote here only one of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's works which from this respect is the most important, namely the *Kitāb aṣ-ṣaḥāba* (On the Caliph's retinue) written between 136 and 142 (754 to 759) and dedicated to the Caliph al-Manṣūr, mainly because with respect to their essence the later philosophical notions about the state — the principle of the primacy of the god-king, the prophet-philosopher or the prophet-Imām — suggest a relationship with the legitimate principle of the divine origin of the ruler, presented nakedly and unequivocally, free of any timeless philosophical model in the work cited above.[26] According to the «memorandum» the con-

[25] See W. M. Watt, *Islam and the integration of society*, London 1966, pp. 104—110.

[26] The memorandum was published by Kurd ʿAlī in: *Rasā'il al-bulaġā'*, al-Qāhira 1946, pp. 120—131. This interpretation relied on the analysis of Aḥmad Amīn *(Ḍuḥā'l-islām*, al Qāhira, 1964[7], Vol. 1, pp. 205—216) and particularly of S. D. Goitein *(A Turning*

siderably centralised statehood would firmly rule over the army, which was an unambiguous criticism of the Umayyad practice and obviously a memento of the well known army reform of the Sāsānid Ḫusraw Anōšarwān (531 to 578) that might have had an influence on the *thema* system of the Héraclidés and on the attempt of Muḥammad to create an armoured cavalry.[27] In effect, the memorandum was intended to prevent the soldiers from having anything to do with the land and taxation, to bring to a common denominator the different local practices and ensure that the power of decision in all disputes rested with the Caliph. It would be the Caliph's duty to elaborate a precisely defined «catechism» for the army, in which the shockingly different interpretations of religious questions should be avoided. In all this, the Caliph ought to have relied on his «retinue» (as shown in the title of the memorandum) his «companions» chosen from the rank of outstanding officers and theologians. Here we have the model of a more or less paradigmatic «Asian mode of production» within which the function of the «intelligentia» is quite unambiguously the necessary and wisely self-chosen service of statehood. It is perhaps needless to say that this pattern of production suggested by the memorandum, being a *desiderium pium,* was far from the social reality! Here the historical lesson of the memorandum is that — as indicated by the suggestions — at that time, namely in the middle and second half of the 8th century, the problem of the hegemony of the state or of the community (the consensus of the community as against the opinion of the despot) was far from having been decided. Neither had the problem of ideological hegemony nor the character of the driving force of ideology, of the intelligentia, been solved and in that period there was still no Islamic orthodoxy.

However, Islamic orthodoxy, which finally achieved social and ideological hegemony in the course of this struggle, created — fare less against the irreligion of the Umayyad era than against the ancient Eastern type of god-king of the ʿAbbāsids or against the ruler's despotism based on the charismatic *Imām* idea — the imposing structure of prophetic *sunna* determining the most widely different aspects of theology (*šarīʿa*) and of socialisation.[28] It is known from Goldziher's fundamental research[29] and from the work of his successor,

-*point in the History of the Muslim State,* in : *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions,* Leiden 1966, pp. 149—167).

[27] With respect to this question we refer to Altheim—Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike,* Frankfurt am Main, 1957, pp. 117—140 and 157—163.

[28] In one of his works (published in Hungarian) Goldziher calls it : «The first great era of the secular development of Islam», when the dynasty considered Islam a matter of power and not of doctrine. See : I. Goldziher, *Az iszlám világi fejlődésének korszakai* [The various eras in the secular development of Islam] : *Budapesti Szemle* 1891, pp. 361, 358—359.

[29] Here we had in mind first of all his highly important study of the *ḥadīṯ: Über die Entwicklung des Hadith,* in : *Muhammedanische Studien,* Vol. 2, Halle 1890, pp. 1—274.

J. Schacht,[30] that the progress of this exciting struggle extended to all spheres of existence starting from the legal work of Malik b. Anas (died in 179/795) and gained a firm shape only with aš-Šāfiʿī (150/767 to 204/820), thus in the second half of the second century of the *ḥiǧra*, at the beginning of the 9th century, exactly as a radical counter-action against the attempts of the ʿAbbāsids at legitimisation. as this evolved, they succeeded in elaborating the primacy of the community's consensus (*iǧmāʿ*) and its divine or at least prophetic legitimate form, the prophetic «unwritten law», the *sunna* and its bearers: *ḥadīṯ*-corpuses. The attainment of the hegemony of the community's ideology, in addition to being an event of tremendous social importance having been gained against the principle of despotic statehood, successfully solved from the ideological aspect the squaring of the circle, i.e. how a theocratic society with a *ne varietur* norm system (with revealed script: the Koran) was capable of resolving the tension between permanence sanctioned by divine revelation and the motion of chang- ing social practice. In the course of this, the role of the bridge between the theocratic — *ne varietur* — norm and changing practice was played by *ḥadīṯ* which was in essence the form of legitimisation of the changing social practice of theocratic society. *Ḥadīṯ* is in fact a saying traced back to the Prophet, said to be uttered or at least sanctioned by him, as essentially the sanctioning of all moments of changing social practice is the revelation, an «appendix» of the Koran, an «extra edition» of divine legitimation guaranteed by Muḥammad. Incidentally, it should be noted that Goldziher was able to seize in this process, thus in the genesis of a hegemonic world outlook, the genesis of the organisation of a traditional community, of the Muslim *umma*, namely the relationship of the hegemony regulating the society of the community to the whole of society.

The conception of science with the corresponding disciplines expressing the two kinds of world outlooks appeared as an ideological element of the struggle between despotic statehood and the community principle. This included from developing Islamic orthodoxy the so-called Islamic sciences, the study of the Koran as a starting point and target, and its «auxiliary sciences», exegesis of the Koran — *tafsīr* — which was served by Arabic grammar and lexicography and the study of pre-Islamic poetry, as being indispensable for the latter. Closely related to these was another branch of Islamic sciences, the science of traditions, *ʿilm al-ḥadīṯ*, with its many disciplines, the Prophet's biography (*sīra*), his struggles (*maġāzī*), and the transmitter's biography *muḥadditūn*), etc. In contrast to the Islamic sciences, sometimes tolerated, other times persecuted by them, the sciences of the ancients formed a separate «block of sciences» (*ʿulūm al-awāʾil* or *ʿulūm al-qudamāʾ* or *ʿulūm qadīma*), that is, the sciences summarising antique or rather the late antique knowledge,

[30] See mainly *The Origin of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950.

mainly concerning medicine, astronomy and astrology, alchemy, as well as philosophical studies, as listed in the above mentioned autobiography of al-Ġazālī:[31] mathematics (*ʿulūm riyāḍīya*), logics (*ʿu. manṭiqīya*), physics (*ʿu. ṭabīʿīya*), metaphysics (*ʿu. ilāhīya*), politics (*u. siyāsīya*), and ethics (*ʿu. ḫulqīya*).

Up to al-Ġazālī the blocks of sciences expressing two types of world outlooks developed independently from one another, and it was mainly the science of the ancients which made, both earlier and later, attempts to achieve an approach and compromise. The relationship of the two blocks might be expressed sociologically, of course in a rather exaggerated form, by saying that the block of Islamic sciences served the vision of word aspiring and achieving hegemony of the developing and integrating Islamic community, while the second was more or less closely entwined with statehood, and with the bureaucratic «intellectual» elite in the service of the latter. The social-ideological background of the development of Islamic sciences was clearly revealed by Goldziher's still up-to-date work and the Muslim reception of the «sciences of the ancients» is now beginning to be outlined as a result of the research (to mention only the most important authors) of M. Steinschneider, P. Kraus, S. Pines, F. Rosenthal, De Lacy O'Leary, R. Walzer and ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Badawī. This is probably the first historical experiment during which a valid foreign cultural tradition considered to be authentic is completely transplanted into another culture and in contrast, e.g. to the mediaeval West European receptions, by disregarding religious connotations or aspects. During this fascinating period, which started at the end of the 8th century and lasted until the first half of the 11th century (but took place mainly in the 9th and 10th centuries), all the important works of Aristotle were translated (with the exception of *Politics* which came to light only in the 12th century) and these had a decisive influence on the almost exclusively Platonic attitude of Muslim philosophical theories of state. They also translated several Greek Aristotle commentaries, the paraphrases of Plato's many dialogues, probably the full text of some of these dialogues, a number of Plotinos's texts, some of which were attributed to another author, thus mainly the famous-infamous so-called *Aristotle theology* compiled from books 4 to 6 of *Enneades* which had a fatal influence on the Muslim interpretation of Aristotle, Proklos's *Stoikheiósis theologiké* (*Liber de causis*) which was also attributed to Aristotle, a considerable part of the works of other neo-Platonic authors (Porphyrios, etc.) and a large part of Greek scientific literature, including works on mathe-

[31] *al-Munqiḏ min aḍ-ḍalāl*, p. 23. The competent classification of the science of the ancients was performed by al-Fārābī in *Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*, edited by ʿUṯmān Amīn, al-Qāhira, n. d. (1948?) and A. Gonzales Palencia, Madrid—Granada 1953 (this latter includes two Mediaeval Latin translations by Dominicus Gundissalinus and Gerardus Cremonensis).

matics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, and alchemy, etc., many of which (such as the important works of Galenus) survived in Arabic only. The organised reception of antique and late antique philosophy was supported by the state, as for instance by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn who in 832 established a scientific translating institute, the *Bayt al-ḥikma*, where selected experts had available for their work a large number of manuscripts, many of whith were acquired from Byzantium. As pointed out by S. Pines,[32] the work was based on the support of astrology (possession of the future), of alchemy (possession of infinite wealth), and of medicine (preservation of health and prolongation of life on Earth), and the other theoretical and practical sciences were built on these. Two remarks should be made here. First, that most Muslim philosophers (to mention only some of the important ones : Ǧābir b. Ḥaiyān, died in 200/815, al-Kindī (185/801 to 252/866), Zakarīya' ar-Rāzī (from 251/965 to 313/925), Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Bāǧa (from the end of the 5th resp. 11th century to 533/1139), Ibn Ṭufayl (beginning of the 6th century resp. 12th century to 580/1185), Ibn Rušd (from 520/1126 to 596/1198) were either practising physicians or had a thorough knowledge of medicine, in contrast to the Muslim and Christian scholars, and consequently experiences and experimenting played a certain role in their philosophical thinking, or at least in part of it. Secondly, because of their way of life these philosophers were closely bound to the princely courts which — pointing out only the most important element — due to the acceptance and creative utilisation of the inheritance of Platonic and neo-Platonic theory of state, bound these philosophers as political thinkers quite unequivocally to the sphere of the state, of the ruler. This of course embraces a very wide scale : from the unambiguously Platonic philosopher-king (*ar-ra'īs al-awwal*) of al Fārābī,[33] the charismatic Imām of Iḫwān aṣ-ṣafā' («Brothers of purity»)[34] to Ibn Sīnā's prophetic legislator (*sānn, muʿaddil*) who quite closely approached the Islamic concept.

Here it is worthwhile considering how the relationship between the two types of intellectuals can be summarised : 1. the intelligentia representing the community's consensus (*iǧmāʿ*) made up of religious scholars and scholar-jurists which achieved the hegemony of Islamic society in religious rites (ḥanafit, šāfiʿit, mālikit, ḥanbalit) crystallised in the 9th century and in the first half of the 10th century in the dogmatics of orthodox Islam as elaborated by al-Ašarī and al-Māṭuridī (this islamic community, *ahl as-sunna wa'l-ǧamāʿa*

[32] *Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. 7, 1970, p. 784.

[33] See *Kitāb ārā' ahl-madīna al-fāḍila*, edited by Muḥ. al-Kurdī, al-Qāhira 1368/1948, pp. 81—90.

[34] *Rasā'il iḫwān aṣ-ṣafā' wa-ḫillān al-wafā'*, al-Qāhira 1347/1928, Vol. 6, p. 236.

[35] See the last chapters of the part on metaphysics *(Fann al-ilāhiyāt)* in *Kitāb aš-Šifā'*, published by Yūsuf Mūsā, *La sociologie et la politique dans la philosophie d'Avicenneț Mémorial Avicenne*, Vol. 1, Le Caire 1952, pp. 8—26.

was characteristically «the people of the Prophet's *sunna* and of confederation»); and 2. the «philosophers» who continued and modified the traditions of the sciences of the hellenistic and late antique, and their relationship to the two decisive elements of Muslim society: the Islamic community and statehood.

At the end of his life, in 1915, at the time of the First World War when the orthodoxies of various nationalisms swept away from one day to the other the solidarity of international scholarship, Ignaz Goldziher wrote — probably responding to this situation — an extremely thorough, but very pessimistic essay (*Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften* [Attitude of old Islamic orthodoxy to the antique sciences], Berlin 1916) in which he depicted with dark colours, in the spirit of bourgeois liberal world outlook the history immanent, thus ahistorical religious reaction and scientific philosophic progression, that is religion contra science. This antinomic contradiction, which is so obvious in European bourgeois thinking, is far less evident when we study Eastern societies. To illustrate the complexity of the phenomenon with an example of our present history: it is sufficient to mention present-day Iran; one can hardly characterise the clash between the *šāh*'s statehood and the mass of the people led by the *šī'a* theologians by saying that the first is the positive, and the second is the negative party. In the case of traditional Islamic society, the relationship between the elements is even more complicated. Let us look briefly at the contradictions and transitions.

1. First of all, it has to be stated that Muslim philosophical reception was an extremely narrow, isolated phenomenon with no bearing on the everyday social life of the Muslim community. As pointed out earlier, philosophy became legitimate primarily through medical science, astronomy and alchemy, and this obviously in the courts of the sovereigns. In contrast to the authentic Aristetelic line of philosophical reception (al-Fārābī, the more or less clearly distinguishable part of Ibn Sīnā' philosophy and the most authentic «averroism» of Ibn Rušd) of the practical and theoretical manifestations uniformly constructed by the intellectuals versed in religion, as Goldziher analyzed them, it is sufficient to point out here al-Ġazālī's thorough and highly influential refutation.[36] At the same time, the Platonic and neo-Platonic, Hellenistic, late antique — mainly gnostic — heritage of philosophical reception influenced many very important ideological-political movements of Muslim society through a variety of very different channels. These -movements primarily included the teachings of the *ismā'ilīya* as reflected in the monumental encyclopaedia of Iḫwān aṣ-Ṣafā' who, working in the first half of the 10th century, supported the aspiration to power of the Fāṭimids, or the radical communistic movement of the same sect, the *qarāmiṭa*. This latter movement was initially

[36] *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* edited by Sulaymān Dunyā, al-Qāhira 1366/1947.

based on the peasant and semi-nomadic communities of Iraqi-Qramean origin whose land bordered the Arab Peninsula. Their revolution broke out in Iraq and Syria at the end of the 9th century, and when driven out of this territory they founded a not yet completely known type of «communistic» state on the western shores of the Persian Gulf. But more important and more lasting than this influence of the Platonic, etc., heritage was its effect on Islamic mysticism so that it could be said that the Muslim reception of antique and late antique philosophy penetrated the broad masses in the form of transcendental and pantheistic mysticism. This, of course, was equivalent to the victory of the Platonic and neo-Platonic line, though in the form of pantheistic mysticism it was far from supporting orthodox Islam, ss well as any other definite religion, as shown by the exemplary execution of al-Ḥallāǧ (244/857 to 309/922) or of as-Suhrawardī (549/1155 to 578/1191). There is perhaps no other more convincing proof of the relevance of ṣūfism as a third type of intellectual possibility than the fact that all the most important Muslim philosophers, from al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Bāǧa to Ibn Ṭufayl, flirted with ṣūfism. The often contradictory problematics, for example, in Ibn Sīnā's philosophy, namely that the world was created at one and the same time and is everlasting, that a duality exists between the perishing body and the immortal soul, that there is a link, built in fact on the emanation theory of *Aristotle's theology*, between sublunar and celestial spheras, and finally that a relationship exists between matter and form which often changes in the course of life, etc., cannot be solved without taking into consideration the neo-Platonic gnostic line. This duality explains Ibn Sīnā's confusing posthumous carrer: in Mediaeval Western Europe alongside Ibn Rušd he was considered the most outstanding figure of the Muslim Aristotelic left and was the most persecuted philosopher by the «Thomist» orthodoxy sanctioned by St. Thomas Aquinas,[37] while in the East he was the most honoured philosopher even after his death.[38]

2. By elaborating the dogmatics of religious law, prophetic *sunna* and orthodox Islam the intelligentia versed in theology and religious law achieved the social and ideological hegemony of the Muslim community; it worked out that ideal norm system, which continued to develop — more or less — openly up to the 9th century, that did not sharply contradict the various local practices and customs. From the 9th century, from the disintegration of the Caliphate onwards, this «intellectual strata» was confronted by a very difficult task caused by the rapidly changing political atmosphere. It is well known that within Islam the more important officials were delegated authority by the

[37] See also E. Bloch's excellent essay written in 1952: *Avicenna und die Aristotelische Linke*, Frankfurt am Main 1963 (especially pp. 45—61).

[38] See also Soheil M. Afnan, *Avicenna. His life and works*, London 1958, pp. 233—57.

sovereign (*tafwīḍ*), which was temporary (*walāya*) and could be revoked at any time. On the part of statehood it was the responsibility of the officials to legitimise the reign of the dynasty and state by the hegemonic ideology of the community. When considering the orthodox Muslim theories elaborated for the Caliphs, Sultans, and Emirs, etc., by the šāfiʿit al-Māwardi (364/974 to 450/1058), al-Ġazālī, Badr ad-Dīn, Ibn Ǧamāʿa (1241 to 1333) and the Ḥanbalite Ibn Taymīya (661/1263 to 728/1328) about how to exercise power, it can be seen that, in essence, what they tried to solve was the squaring of the circle, since on the basis of religious law, sanctioned by the *ne variatur* consensus (or more warily: interest) of the theocratic community, they attempted to legimatise the storms of the continuously changing political atmosphere.[39] However, the religious scholars were to some degree at the mercy of the atmosphere of the state only during the short ascendent period, of the dynastic power and it was probably during this period that the «philosophers» put forward political theories proclaiming the primacy of the charismatic sovereign and the orthodox theologians suggested that the existing evil be accepted in order to avoid something even worse. During the period of decline, when a true social ideological hegemony was lacking, statehood itself became the ardent protector of orthodoxy, which enjoyed the true hegemony and at such times orthodoxy could attack the philosophers not only theoretically, but in some much more practical ways by burning their books, by depriving them of their offices, and by exile, etc. In this extremely unstable, changing social situation, the traditional Muslim religious scholar «intellectuals» showed an increasing inclination towards ṣūfism, which in the majority of cases they tried to reconcile with orthodox theology (this was the road followed by al-Ġazālī) or with religious law (which was what Ibn Ḫaldūn did, who as we know was very attracted by ṣūfism and even wrote a mystic essay.[40]) This is how the philosopher (Ibn Sīnā, etc.) and the theologian/scholar-jurist «intelligentia» came together in ṣūfism, in this *tertium datur* possibility of the Muslim intellectuals.

3. Merely to outline the usual negative assessment of the mystic trends, let me point out not more than four aspects of this *tertium datur* which indicate, on the one hand, the close entwining of ṣūfism with traditional Muslim society

[39] As an illustration it might be sufficient to quote a well known paragraph from Ibn Ǧamāʿa's *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām:* «If somebody occupies the Imām's position on the basis of contract (thus legitimately) due to his strength and military superiority, but there is later somebody who by means of his power and army defeats him, then the first must be deprived of his office and the second shall be the *Imām* — in the interest of public welfare and the unity of Muslims.» See Kofler's publication of the text: *Islamica*, Vol. 6, p. 355 etc. See also H. A. R. Gibb, *Some Considerations on the Sunni Theory of the Caliphate*, in: *Studies of the Civilization of the Islam*, London 1962, pp. 141—50.

[40] *Šifā' as-sā'il*, edited by Muḥ. Ṭāwit aṭ-Ṭanǧī, Istanbul 1958.

and, on the other hand, caution us not to rashly judge this phenomenon whose huet changed more than once in the course of time.

a. Reference is made here primarily to what was emphasised before, namely that right from its beginning the Muslim reception of hellenistic and late-antique philosophy was accompanied by trends pointing towards ṣūfism. To summarise it can be said that the two waves of Muslim reception of Hellenistic thinking (the first wave occurred roughly between 750 and 950, the second between 950 and 1258) regularly alternated with mystic trends. In other words, philosophical approaches could at best be transmitted to the broad masses when wrapped in a shroud of mysticism, moreover, in its transcendental form, tames by al-Ġazālī this philosophy could be reconciled with Islamic orthodoxy.

b. Due to the qualitatively different character of Muslim towns from that of western urbanisation, the members of the dervish fraternities came from the rank of craftsmen (as shown also by their surnames) and the fraternities adopted the organisational forms of primitive craftsmen's communities. Later the situation was reversed and these fraternities or orders ensured the possibility of the organisation of craftsmen and their ideology. This phenomenon is somewhat similar to the phenomena of Confucianism contra Taoism, or Hinduism contra Buddhism, thus there is between ritualised orthodox limited to impersonal moral and behavioural rules, and individual religious needs not an excluding but complementary duality, the latter line being based mainly on the social strata made up of craftsmen and traders.

c. Similarly to Taoism and Buddhism, Islamic mysticism also had two basic forms of manifestation: 1. contemplative pantheistic mysticism of a higher formate and 2. from the 12th century onwards, to no small degree due to al-Ġazālī's influence, natural magic which increasingly penetrated popular religion. This magic was very closely entwined with the cult of saints, sorcery and magic, but the «higher formate» did not step out of the trio (as characterised by Max Weber) of mysticism—magic—orientation away from the world; and their antithesis: ascetism — ordered life — orientation towards the world did not appear in a socially relevant way. This, as a matter of fact means that at least from the aspect of the way of life and its ideology, the above mentioned strata of society did not represent a possibility of endogenous capitalist development.

d. Ṣūfism was entwined not only with the world of popular belief and folklore, but also with «high culture» and this phenomenon was equally characteristic of Arabic, Turkish and Persian (Iranian) cultures, particularly after the Mongolian conquest in the second half of the 13th century. This link mainly produced some works of world standard in new Persian poetry.

It was the intention of this brief analysis to outline the relationships of the three traditional types of Muslim «intelligentia» to one another and to

the Muslim community. During the formation and development of Muslim society it appears that two antagonists aspired at hegemony, namely 1. the theocratic Muslim community, and 2. dynastic/imperial statehood, which wished to preserve the ancient Eastern traditions. The intelligentia of theologians and scholar-jurists asserted the hegemony of the first, while the «philosopher intellectuals» who represented the continuation of hellenistic and late antique traditions advocated, because of their roots in the mainly Platonic theory of state or in the ancient Eastern god-king concept, the charismatic *imām* or the god-king. The constant tension and conflict between the social-ideological hegemony of the community and political power finally brought about the third possibility of Muslim «intelligentia», the contemplative, pantheistic mysticism of *ṣūfī šayḫ*.

After this brief analysis it could be said that the extraordinary lives of the three outstanding thinkers were in fact typically extraordinary, for the social-ideological hegemony of the community and purely political exercise of power, though they did not *ab ovo* exclude each other, necessarily created a stalemate for both. The recognition of this situation induced Ibn Ḫaldūn to write a rather pessimistic cyclic theory of state, while the «organic Muslim intellectual», the orthodox Muslim religious scholar al-Ġazālī turned towards ṣūfism and Ibn Sīnā who according to Roger Bacon was «Aristotelis expositor et maximum imitator» (*Opus maius* 1, 20) was induced by the essentially same stalemate to turn more and more from Aristotelism towards «Eastern wisdom» (*al-ḥikma al-mašriqīya*).

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NOMADS IN HISTORY AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH[1]

BY

ILDIKÓ ECSEDY

A comprehensive summary of the complete history of nomads cannot be attempted here, because it could or at least should be equal to an endeavour to write the universal history as a whole. Instead, this paper tries to present a survey of the related difficulties, *i.e.* the problems of nomads in history, to be met and solved in the course of historical research.[2]

The final evolvement of nomadic stockbreeding and its expansion of historical significance came about in an early period — during the 2nd millennium B. C. — when no border-lines were or could have been marked out and defended, and when no frontier limited the spread and gaining of pasturing land by herds and their herdsmen, and no defendable wall-line or effective military defense represented insurmountable difficulties to the raids of nomadic troops. However, information concerning the way of life of pastoral peoples has been richer and much more detailed in recent times: the source material on them is widening — so to say — in direct ratio to the narrowing down of their geographical and historical sphere of activity. But in this recent period, the appearance of political borders compelled the livestock-breeders' societies to exist under living conditions so alien to their original way of life, that even direct information about them, when reflecting their historical role and character, may suffer inevitable distortions.

[1] The Hungarian variant of this paper was prepared for the conference *Nomád társadalmak és államalakulatok* [Nomadic Societies and State Formations], Budapest—Visegrád, October 25—28, 1978 (see the summary review of the conference in this same fascicle of the *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXV, 1981, pp. 393—396). It will be published in the volume of the conference (of the same title, in the series *Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, in press).

[2] For mere practical reasons, no reference is made to my earlier papers on ancient nomads recorded by Chinese sources, formerly published in this same periodical (cf. my book *Nomádok és kereskedők Kína határain* [«Nomads and Merchants in China's Borderlands»], *Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár* 16, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1979); and my summary paper *On the economic and social structure of nomadic societies* (in the volume *Primitive Society and the Asiatic Mode of Production*, ed. by F. Tőkei, Corvina, Budapest, in preparation)

The fragmentary and scanty records concerning the early nomads could not be deciphered without a coherent and detailed total-plan of their world, *i.e.* the direct and scholarly knowledge gained on the spot by purposeful *ethnographical—ethnological* description. But when judging their role and position in world history, more importance ought to be attributed to studies concerning their past, namely to traditional *philological research* of the sources, in close connection with *archaeological discovery* of the material remnants of the culture concerned. That is why a conference of *orientalists* like this could claim successful activity only through harmonized efforts of philologist, archaeologist and anthropologist representatives of historical studies, in order to approach the problems of nomads in an up-to-date, *i.e.* complex way.[3]

The frontier-lines of various disciplines, due to the historical heritage of science history, were by necessity transgressed by the research of nomads, in accordance with the history of the nomads themself, extending — if possible — over or beyond any frontier-line. The historical failure of a nomadic economy to maintain lasting prosperity can be attributed, after all, to a forced narrowing down of its extensive and overall expansive method of production, and this should be a warning regarding every forced narrowing down of fields, within «civilized» disciplinary scopes as well.

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The fate of nomadic communities was always determined by their capacity and possibility to step across the primary and rudimentary limits of their historical sphere. In a geographical sense: in cases when they could conquer new territories for their economy, thus also gaining new fields for human expansion. In an economical way: if they could learn new techniques (but in a measure not yet endangering their original way of life). Or from a political aspect: if they could extend their superiority over other communities, thus crossing borderlines of other types of economy, as far as taking empire-size positions on the borderlands of ancient agricultural civilizations and their neighbourhood of similar historical possibilities.

That is why the entire history of pastoral nomads was designated as «frontier history» by one of their most clear-eyed witnesses, Owen Lattimore who was of the view: «the poor nomad is the pure nomad».[4] It can be added:

[3] Similarly joint efforts seemed desirable for other recent conferences on the related problems, see *e.g. Pastoral Production and Society (Production pastoral et société). Proceedings of the International Meeting on Nomadic Pastoralism (Actes du Colloque international sur le pastoralisme nomade* — Paris 1—3 Déc. 1976). Edited by/sous la direction de L'Equipe écologie et anthropologie des sociétés pastorales. Edition de la Maison des Science de l'Homme, Paris 1979.

[4] See his book, dexcribing that part of Chinese history connected with the steppe nomads: *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (Boston 1962. Beacon Press). Or his paper *The*

the «pure» nomads, of an isolated economy and territory, can be mainly found among the impoverished liverstock-breeders of, say, the 20th century, forced among the given political borders, and thus deprived of their original living conditions. Therefore, a survey of historical problems of nomadic livestock-breeders, such as this paper, must concentrate — as concerns final prospects of this way of life at least — on the historical region without impenetrable geographical borders in the Eurasian steppes and their inhabitants of continent-wide political importance, *i.e.* the mounted pastoral nomads, ruling over or starting from Inner Asia. (All the more so, since for the main and direct lessons of nomadic history, the author of this paper is primarily indebted to the sources of Inner Asian history.)[5]

Thus when judging the character and significance of the activity of those pastoral nomads who were able to get over their own boundaries — *i.e.* to play a role in the history of their area —, the task of research is complicated by the fact that they played an active part in the history of the sphere beyond the related borders, and thus their presence and participation has to be taken into consideration far beyond their occasional registration in chronicle history. Furthermore, their behaviour may be different according to their presence within or beyond their frontier sphere.

The steppe nomads also play a role of historical importance in regions and countries alien for them: in the cultural sphere of those cultivator societies which they had to attack if meeting opposition, in this way initiating regular contacts even with civilizations trying to avoid them, for political reasons, *e.g.* with China. If only for these rudimentary connections — which by the way,

Frontier in History (1955): *Studies in Frontier History, Collected Papers 1928—1958: Le Monde d'Outre-mer. Passé et présent, Troisième Série.* Essais IV. Mouton et Co. Paris—La Haye 1962 (pp. 469—491), p. 471: « . . . frontiers are of social, not geographic origin». On the vulnerability of nomads if their original economic and social conditions become modified, and the lesson «at the core of all steppe-nomadic history: it is the poor nomad who is the pure nomad»: *The geographical factor in Mongol history (Collected Papers,* pp. 241—250; this form of the quotation: p. 257; the above form: p. 258). This «poor» late form is, however, so distant from the earlier prospects of the nomads, that he excludes it from the characteristics of historical nomadism, as confirmed in his recent paper: *Herdsmen, farmers, urban culture* (a paper submitted to the conference cited in the above note, pp. 479—490), introducing the French summary, p. 479: «Ni l'histoire ni l'archéologie ne nous donnent la preuve qu'une societé nomad «pure» ait jamais existé.» The cultivation of land does not seem to have been older than the domestication of animals — he says — and nomadic livestock-breeding developed through specialization, in close contact or mixed with hunting and gathering.

[5] Other papers of the 1978 Conference dealt with the problems of other types of nomadism; among them the two nomadic cultures of lower historical prospects than that of the Inner Asian nomads, namely that of the Near East and Africa respectively. On the former one see the paper by R. Simon in this same fascicle (pp. 229—242), and on the latter that of Cs. Ecsedy (pp. 365—372).

sometimes prove to be the only ties between divergent cultures —, it is inevitable to gain a thorough knowledge of the economy and society of the «other side», in order to shed light on any important action of the history of the nomads. The coherent network of events and the continent-wide or even wider historical processes themselves require a complex approach from a wider horizon, bringing about new difficulties of interpretation of the sources, which need further arguments or further sources, at least at the vague historical beginnings.

The appearance of pastoral peoples was first recorded by their agricultural neighbours and counterparts, withdrawing behind the protective walls of their settlements. These records were naturally made from an alien and hostile angle, sometimes with a view limited to their own sphere, recording merely the harmful appearance of the nomads or at most their apparent differences — striking in a cultivator's «civilized» eyes —, without further prospects. For a cultivator the nomads could only be «martial», «agressive» or simply «robbers»; while in most cases they gained no information about the more distant, «peaceful», *i.e.* weak (already weak or not yet strong enough) pastoral communities. The records also indirectly reveal the authors of the sources as well; these hidden confessions, raising problems far beyond the sphere of nomadic history, by all means have to be deciphered before interpreting their content or even their judgement on their political enemies. In addition, the records limited to occasional or indirect information, do not contain — or at least not necessarily — all the important or just the most important data either, as shown *e.g.* by the treasury of the Chinese sources, representing further problems concerning textual vicissitudes, difficulties of philological interpretation and so on.

However, the eventual survival of written records or material evidence about or from a nomadic people is not at all independent from the historical role of the nomads in question; the powerful ones must have been mentioned more frequently in the sources, too, in forms that could be more easily interpreted and connected with their historical background. Their fame spreading in oral and written ways, and a closer acquaintance with them also belonged to the historical process of their regular attempts at eliminating frontiers by economic or diplomatic contacts, through regular connections or collisions. In a paradox, so to say «unjust» manner, only those nomads took their due place in historiography — or could provide proper conclusions for modern politology — whose recorded existence survived at all; the joint and harmonized efforts of philology, archaeology and ethnology (anthropology) are also needed in order to ensure, *i.e.* to enlighten their appropriate role in the course of world history. Thus a «fair« research of their past, in an effort to avoid conclusions drawn from eventualities, cannot omit traditional methods and minutious jigsaw-puzzle work of the specialized studies, offering merely

fragments of the mosaic of the past time. The frontiers of the separate disciplines, however, no matter how they provide protection — against major errors for instance —, also mean limitations, especially for the up-to-date research of universal history, urged by a limited life-time of human beings, too. There is, therefore, a need of science-historical importance to find a *forum* from time to time where representatives of the different branches of sciences can transgress the due disciplinary boundaries for a peaceful confrontation, according to the character of the topic, *e.g.* the history of nomads, not unaware, but stepping over frontiers of various types.

The nomad conquerors who obtained huge territories without taking them completely in possession — by tilling the lands gained, by organizing the countries won —, when living without respect to frontiers, also missed the protection of those frontiers. Their primary defencelessness — both against the forces of nature and the geographical or historical neighbours — must have been in direct relation to their agressivity, but apparently in much more complicated ways and forms than believed by the chroniclers of the early records and even by a few scholars of recent times. The connection of practical *need* with *violence* is to be explained at least not upon this order of sequence considered as fatal; a mere poverty or weakness cannot be regarded as the main reasons for nomadic martiality, especially not in times of victorious wars and prosperity. Since the lack of limitations — meaning a lack of protection — also makes it possible to develop a kind of mobility, and this could partly serve as an explanation for the successful actions of nomads. Nomadic societies even utilized a constant need of opposition, at least by strengthening their social coherence, provoked by the hostility of their natural and historical environment. Historians of the attacked agricultural societies were hardly able to recognize the double face or multifarious consequences of collisions with nomads, contributing to the dynamics of historical events and processes; thus even the interpretation of their related records require a dialectic approach, inevitably necessary to understand just the most characteristic indications and phenomena of the nomads' role in history.

Depending on the geographic-ecological preconditions of their economy, the pastoral nomads were directly exposed to the vicissitudes of their natural environment. As a consequence, the full development of nomadism, of the rider-nomad, stockbreeder way of life came about and became predominant only on the Eurasian steppe region, where all the necessary meteorological, botanical, etc., preconditions were provided, *i.e.* moderate climate and large pasture lands, with the horse for crossing and conquering them. The area of the steppe, however, is not at all so closely and exclusively connected with a mounted conqueror and his stockbreeder way of life as a cultivated land with its tillers and their culture. The living place (territory) of nomads is changed according to the changing or just varying ecological or historical preconditions,

and their way of life is modified, when being adapted to the place concerned. In this way the multitude of the colours on the palette of nomadism can be emberrassing for research, especially while searching for their separate types, for criteria to distinguish them from each other etc. Doubts may arise concerning the validity of one and the same term when applied to the nomads of different territories, *e.g.* to nomadic rulers of prosperous empires, imposing taxes on rich lands, on and around the Eurasian steppe belt; or: to Beduin robbers of the Near-Eastern deserts; or: to African pastoral tribes also living under rudimentary conditions of a small-scale transhumance.

The term *nomad* may cover different content according to the related area, period or source material, even after «final» development and dominance of nomadism in its classical sphere and heydays, *i.e.* rider-nomad empires, with apparent local differences or merely varieties, from the age of the Kimmerian, Scythian or Sarmatian rulers of the steppe to as far as the Mongols and their descendants. Still more varieties of adaptations to the environment can be found among pastoral peoples of less means to protect themselves, especially in recent times, when they are forced to survive in more and more reduced circumstances. The misleading diversity, shown by recent on-the-spot studies as well as by the increasing archaeological or philological details, can be overcome or just enlightened, for practical — *e.g.* terminological — purposes, only through a distinction of the historical aspects of nomad pastoralism as a whole from other significant ways of life.

The historical *differentia specifica* seems the only means of orientation in the research of nomadism, *i.e.* their determinative adaptation to the ecologic environment, closer and stronger by a historic phase, than that of agriculturalists;[6] it is the relatively defenceless nature of this economy that requires a big variety of adjustment to living conditions. As a matter of fact, instead of the «diverseness» of nomads, the diversity of local ecological conditions has to be taken into consideration, apparently bringing about relatively more regional differences or local varietes among pastoral nomads than within an agricultural land of similar size or within the sphere of cultivation as a whole. It is one and the same type of nomadic stockbreeder economy that may show such a lively capacity of adaptation, at least in the period of its historical vitality. The pro-

[6] The economy and society of the nomads was characterized as one type of the productive interrelations between human society and nature, summarizing its historical development from point of view of the «technical» and inner side of nomadic economy — partly as a dispute with and completion to this paper —, at the same Conference by A. Róna-Tas (see his paper *A nomád életforma geneziséhez* [To the genesis of the nomadic way of life] in the volume of the conference, cf. note 1 above). He treated the decisive motives and main types of the birth and evolution of nomadism, with the economic factors maintaining and regenerating it, and with the social relations and forms based on it.

cesses of adaptation, however, were not without risk; especially in cases when a community had to adapt its life to reduced conditions for a longer period of time, at least the reserves and abilities, needed for further efforts had to be wasted. Among these nomads, forced to live under poorer and poorer conditions, wandering in the geographical and economical peripheries of the land of their ancestors, in areas of desert, etc., among the diverse actual appearance of primitive or apparently re-primitivized nomad communities, only good sources and well-informed research can find the reasonable methods of evaluation and points of orientation.

The image of the Eurasian steppe region, *i.e.* the homeland of rider-nomads cannot be considered homogeneous either. Neither as regards the geographical and ecological factors that also have a history of their own, the research of which — as well known — has just begun; nor from the viewpoint of the human, *i.e.* political aspect of the region concerned, formed by various factors of human history.

Within the classical sphere of the history of stockbreeder nomads, all the forms of peoples' movements that had once played a role in history can again appear from time to time, promoting or withdrawing the communities of different ways of life, through their confrontation or even collision. The historical scale of mobility begins from paleolithic-type migrations, at least on the ecological peripheries or in emergency cases, *i.e.*, when the due pre-conditions are endangered. In normal periods a regular movement is characteristic of the herds and herdsmen, between their place of residence and the pasture land (and hunting place, etc.), while the most spectaculous events on the steppe are — in the eyes of the historians at least — the rare steppe-wide actions of the rider-nomads, organized for attack and defence; they may flee from one place and arrive as conquerors at the other one, stopping only at the protecting or awe-inspiring walls that offered assurance of life in return for a fixed place in a cultivators' society. The latter type of extraordinary peoples' movements, *i.e.* changes in the place of residence of whole communities — endangering not only their enemies, but themselves, too, by the loss of life through war — mark out only the sphere of a new political entity, *i.e.* the territory of a rider-nomad empire, where all the social movements take place, either belonging to nomad stockbreeding or inherited from the past, *e.g.* adopted by conquering another community, and another field of life, etc.

The sphere of power of conquering nomads covered not only the place of residence and pastures, hunting places and war routes of the rider-nomad rulers, but their geographical background within or around their land, sometimes preserving the population's own way of life, historically prior to rider-nomad ages. For instance, the steppe region of Eurasia was joined and completed by the Altai Mountain or by the huge woods of the *taiga*, as far as the Arctic Ocean, seemingly useless from the economic viewpoint of stock-breeding,

but providing territories, *e.g.* for temporary withdrawal or as reserves of manpower etc. The actual sphere of the nomads mainly extends in the opposite historical direction, stepping over the frontiers of agricultural empires, since their mounted armies were able to cross the frontiers, accompanied by merchants or diplomats, occasionally reaching even the capitals, *i.e.* the attractive peaks of the attacked civilization, which it was worth robbing or to imposing taxes on, even in cases of short or single expeditions.

Consequently, only certain subjects, willing to pay tribute to the rider-nomad authority ruling over their land and region, can be seen and described as an isolated social unit for a longer period of time, without thoroughly examining those historical events or processes that determined their fate, but in which they did not take a decisive or active part in the time concerned. In assessing them or the ruling elements of the nomadic power that dominated the given territory, we have to take into consideration — especially in case of later or foreign records, *e.g.* those of the retrospective, politically conscious or biased Chinese sources —, which phase of the history of a nomad empire is described by a record.

The related information concerning nomads may be evaluated in different ways if it concerns the conquerors, or their weak predecessors and weakened offsprings, a group of them or just a subject, ally or enemy of theirs, recorded under the name of the political scopes, *i.e.* the ruling rider-nomads. In these cases, the laconic records have to be closely examined with the help of other sources, in written form or of material type, from the same or neighbouring periods, and if available. Later analogies based on recent information, from a surviving, but reduced form of pastoral nomad life should be used only with considerable caution and with the constant cooperation of experts of the separate sources, requiring the above mentioned laboursome, but indispensable specialization.

By a direct dependence on their environment, nomadic societies are exposed — by their way of life — to their historical partners or counterparts, since their role in the historical events and their historical prospects are determined or at least limited by the state of economic and social development of the territory conquered by them (with the earlier inhabitants) and of the surrounding territories. That is why every effort to interpret old or recent sources on nomads ought to mark out the chronological and geographical scopes, *i.e.* the historical phase and prospects of the examined society, with an eye on their actual significance (or just peripheric presence) in the sphere concerned.

Informations originating from the peripheries of a civilization or a way of life cannot be a solid basis for conclusions of general or universal validity. No final lesson concerning nomad stockbreeding as a whole can be taken, *e.g.* from the nomadic waves in Africa, by their herds destroying the shallow

fertile strata of the soil and thus appearing as a mere factor of danger for the cultivators of land. In these regions a low degree of organization of the nomads, and their martiality realized only in acts of robbery, are closely related to the rudimentary economic and social phase of the agricultural communities encountered by them. In brief: the more primitive phase of cultivation is seen on a territory, the more dangerous the nomads can be considered there, especially when the latter learn a comparatively high degree of war techniques. The process of the desiccation of lands, in addition to natural reasons, can be attributed to the animals of nomad stock-breeders, but only to an extent permitted or limited by the cultivators of a given land.

The inhabitants of oasis areas along the long distance trade routes, were quick to use their contacts with the nomads, while the large agricultural civilizations found it profitable to have nomad tribes living in the borderlands. In addition to the indirect historical benefits of their harmful presence — provoking walls, war preparation and the long-term organization of societies — their pasture lands could serve as battle-fields or protective belts around the cultivated lands, and the strong empires both in East and West, *e.g.* China or Byzantium, were willing to allow them to stay at their frontiers or even on their inner side. Their «greediness» represented a market for the products of other types of economy, and they were utilized as mediators in long distance commerce by rich countries with a bustling trade activity. When meeting powerful opponents, they could also get weapons from them, in order to use them against external or internal enemies of the big «friend», even if these weapons could be turned against earlier friends, too. But their presence had at least two facets in the neighbourhood of strong and rich historical partners respectively, often depending on the policy pursued in the territory concerned.

Interrelated with strong and rich agricultural societies, the strong and rich rider-nomad conquerors themselves would not perhaps be willing to recognize or confess an identity with the peaceful and poor nomads among their neighbours or subjects, or even their ancestors. Probably this is one of the reasons why we read so little in the chronicles about the origin and ethnic predecessors of the most powerful nomands, or the components of the dynasty-founding conquerors. The «forgetfulness» of the sources was well-based on the difference between the poor and weak ancestors and their martial offspring, reflected both in the information from and about the nomad rulers and in the sources recording them.

It is, therefore, not surprising that it is so difficult or just impossible to identify certain conqueror nomads, since they are not indeed identical, at least concerning their economical state or historical phase, with another community of nomads prior to the conquest in question — still living under rudimentary conditions — or with a related population which was kept out of power and its advantages, which became hostile or an enemy of the leaders.

At best a continuity of social units or ethnic elements of a nomadic empire can be pointed out with other, earlier or distant communities under the same name or even under different names. Thus the scholar is at the mercy of the sources, both for historical and science historical reasons, and the success of the research depends on the extension and depth of informations of the records, on the degree of knowledge available and the political consciousness of their historians, and, last but not least, on the results on the neighbouring disciplines.

Sometimes the antecedents of an «agricultural» dynasty of nomad origin (*e.g.* in China) cannot be found — even if the steppe-dweller ancestors left written sources of their own for posterity, like the Mongols —, because a strong nomad population of a similar or of the same name is sought after, although earlier the population and its name not necessarily played a significant role either in the related territory or in the sources. It is an unjustifiable method to flash a nomad community back into the past, prolonging the presence of a well-known conqueror retrospectively, in a period far before their appearance on the stage of history. This method cannot be successful, not even in the case of strong and rich nomads, because generally it is not a mere coincidence if they were not mentioned earlier, or were not attributed the same economical and military power etc., and in the case of a narrowed down nomadic way of life or power-lost stockbreeder community this unhistorical effort could also result in a simple falsification. Perhaps the ancestors of the ruling nomads could be found in the sources, if they were searched after in an appropriate manner: after an examination of the scale of phases of their way of life, to connect the social units and their names, common or separate designations accordingly.

The real distinctive feature of the nomads, fatally connecting them with other types of societies and determining their role in the course of world history, is the economic factor of their way of life. It can be revealed only in a context of the correlation of their whole historical sphere, including both the antecedents and the subjugated peripheries, ruled by the socially and economically most significant way of life of the area, *i.e.* that of the stock-breeder rider nomads. The empire-size region of the Eurasian steppes can best be characterized by the dominant form of economy and military power, represented by the rider-nomad rulers of an empire. This actual or potential sphere of pastoral nomadism as a whole is coupled and confronted with that of cultivation, *i.e.* with agricultural civilizations, with a predominance at least of cultivation of land. That is how the whole area, from the walls, *e.g.* from the Great Wall of China onwards, became «nomadic» in the view of the historians inside those walls, and not without reasons — judging from the weapons of nomads to be met there —, even if this simplificatory aspect of the steppes renders the related records understandable only with further difficulties.

This opposition of nomad stock-breeding to the cultivation of land, their co-existence and the confrontation of their divergent interests primarily had a historical importance at the time of their neolithic beginnings and the separation of the two types of economy, until as late as the times when the societies concerned could step out from the state of self-sufficiency of a primitive economy. During long and regular contacts, even the simplest and self-sufficient cultivator and pastoral communities came to recognize the advantages of the symbiosis, or at least of the products of the other economy. The barter of gifts or other forms of primitive exchange, even if they do not bring about conspicuous economical changes, were able to prepare higher types of trade in their region, suitable already — for economic-historical reasons — to participate in symbiotic correlations as a more or less organic part of a larger economical area.

Naturally this comfortable, but prospect-less connection, satisfying mutual interests, could happen to survive in a basically unchanged form on the by-roads and peripheries in the course of world history, without any more direct or historical mobility than that required by the pastoral stock-breeding and the related war preparedness for regular attack and defence. The latter activity itself, that is the constant necessity and an according ability of motion and social-wide organization, made the stock-breeder nomads able to appear as organizers in their sphere, as leaders in any social group bigger than a natural nucleus, and as rulers in political formations.

Even the loose political cohesion unifying the separate social units by the force of weapons, or by the related fear and respect — by a kind of *pax nomadica* — was due to the authority of the pastoral peoples, *e.g.* as apparent in African empires up to the present time. These prefigurations of an empire, sometimes also called «states»,[7] were always mentioned by the name of the

[7] See an expert both of nomadism and modern theory of history, L. Krader on the states of the steppe in the last one-and-a-half millennium, in a sense of his minimum-definition of a state: L. Krader, *Formation of the State. Foundations of Modern Anthropology Series*, ed. by M. D. Sahlins, Prentice-Hall. Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1968, Chapter Six, *The Tatar State: Turks and Mongols.* (The state is defined by Krader as «an on-going process of formation of an institution», «a social institution» or «a political institution . . . it exists alongside, and in interrelation with other institutions of human society»: *Preface*, p. VII; «The state is a non-primitive form of government»: *Introduction*, p. 13.) The same author dealt with the problem of *The Origin of the State Among the Nomads of Asia*, in the volume *The Early State.* Ed. by H. J. M. Claessen—P. Skalnik: *New Babilon Studies in the Social Sciences* 32. Mouton Publishers, The Hague—Paris—New York 1978, pp. 93—107. This time his state-concept involves «the organization» of a «class-divided society» (p. 94) or its «formal organization» (p. 96) only, considering the easily changing, and various types of rudimentary steppe hierarchy as a kind of class division, stating that «The Turks and Mongols had a class-divided society» from the *Hsien-pis*' time on (p. 99, without explaining, why not earlier — if so — or later).

organizer (conqueror) pastoral nomads, both in the oral and written sources, reflecting their organizing role of historical importance in the territory under their authority, this being sometimes the most important consequence of a pastoral-cultivator symbiosis in certain areas. In this case, economic activity was not their only separative factor; the unity and separation of the separate segments were assured by the dominance or even agressivity of the nomads, the balance of power always being tipped in their favour. The stock-breeder nomad was the conqueror, leader or organizing party, expecting or also demanding «gifts» in return, while the cultivator had to pay taxes, without participating even in joint military actions. As a result, there was no common economic or social motive in the segments of the small communities within a territory of their political coherence. It was the «martial» nomad component that defended the whole territory as his own, against any other society, thus gaining a natural ability of political activity, suitable for organizing higher types of political formations as well. In this way, if no external catastrophe of nature or history interfered, it was the pastoral, stock-breeder nomad element, with an inclination and ability for social and political activity, that could break the fatal primitiveness or early pastoral-cultivator symbiosis, to make the efforts needed to create new political scope for a social integration and a higher type of community.

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At the historical beginnings of agriculture — probably for several millennia — the cultivators of lands lived in a relatively peaceful cooperation with the pastoral population of their neighbourhood, by domesticating certain animals and thus also contributing to a transhumance type, early form of nomadism. The «self-sufficient» world of cultivators was connected mostly on the periferies with the appearing and disappearing small pastoral communities, *e.g.* in the early Near East; because of the small number of population, no serious collision was necessary, and no change of the historical interrelation was brought about until the new prosperity of extensive livestock-breeding, beyond the valley-and-mountain cradles of early pastoralism: in the large steppe region.

In neolithic times' «revolutionary» changes, namely the development of a specialized cultivation and a large size grazing livestock-breeding, with its rivalry and mutually profitable progress, prepared the way for an increase in population that needed a new division of the world and new territories for habitation. The economically conquered sphere of the known world became more narrow, in a sense that the different types of extensive and actively extending economies met one another in more and more serious collisions. After a parallel development, first the stock-breeders were forced to search for new territories, to separate themselves by the use of weapons and some-

times by arming their whole community, travelling on horses (and on camels), here and there frightening the settled population that for a time lacked the appropriate methods of defence against them. Recent results of Near-Eastern archaeology have revealed several millennia of a peaceful and primitive, by its nature ever-lasting symbiosis of cultivation and sheepbreeding, thus the initiator of a motion of historical importance must have been the pastoral party, developing a rider-nomadic pastoral way of life and needing new pasture lands for their herds, *i.e.* being forced to do so by objective needs of their economy, exposed to natural and historical vicissitudes.

Although they were known for their marauding expeditions and recorded as robbers, the rider-nomads played a significant role through their demands on their enemies and pillage that evoked a kind of regular exchange of material and cultural goods; through their conquests they forced a kind of rudimentary division of labour between communities with different ways of life. At the beginning of economic history, when autarchy was a means of survival, it was the economy of the nomads that had to seek connections, being by its nature one-sided, at least compared to agriculture's primitive complexity, including complementary gathering and hunting. The rich rider-nomads of the steppe, well able to live on their own production, were also induced to seek economic partners and carry out an exchange of goods, *i.e.* to obtain foreign products for their goods, and to find a market for their surplus herds. The alternative was to resort to the use of arms and force countries to pay this kind of tribute, which was often recorded in those countries as a form of paid tribute.

Both if forcing their neighbours to give them the required goods as gifts — by a measure considered as a tax drawn by the stronger part, and extracted in the form of robbery from the other one —, the nomads compelled their opponents to produce the surplus needed. The demand concerned not only agricultural products; instead of perishable foods, in the main durable, labour-intensive luxury articles were wanted. In this way the rider-nomad invadors or visitors provoked the increased activity of the craftsmen of the agricultural partners, sometimes of an industrial size, as seen from the imitators and dictators of the «nomadic fashion» (of the clothing and weapons, etc.) of Byzantium to the silkware-producing manufactures in the Chinese courts.

The foreign products — demanded or bought, handed over in fear or looted — only partly served the personal use of the nomads; the rest was transmitted in various ways of exchange, during the usual multi-facet diplomatic actions, often supported by military means. This process was sometimes not at all apparent, and the true character and real motive of the involved events has to be learnt by a circumspect confrontation of the sources, not infrequently conceding some unveiling details, independently from or against the intention of the authors. However, being aware of the economic reasons for the alternately shown friendly and hostile attempts to establish connections

(«tributary» contacts, with or from opponents), the short and vague reports of sources and the fragments of folklore do reveal some new informations, which provide more tasks, but also promise more results for thorough textual philology.

Due to their intermediary function, the historical role of rider-nomads is determined by the value, character etc. of the cultures with which they are connected, or the goods they could transmit and so on. Their significance was always dependent on the objective circumstances beyond their control and responsibility. Namely, on the early development of agriculture that founded civilizations at the price of fixing the cultivators to their soil, thus also forcing the stock-breeders to regularly move in order to find new pastures; on the process of developing fortified settlements, thus forcing them to use and increase their mobility, in order to deliberately transgress the just outlined borders, which represented limitations even for those civilizations which had sought protection behind them; or on the final occupation of suitable lands, accompanied by the growing number of settlements (the so-called «urban revolution»), the comparative isolation of which could be and was relieved by the above mentioned process of the forced exchange or peaceful transmission of wares by the rider-nomads, who had the horse — the best means of transport of the time — at hand.

The consequences of the activity of the stock-breeder nomads are dependent, among objective external factors, especially on the character or phase of development of their opponents. Their armed actions and the damage involved could represent extreme peril, as mentioned earlier, mainly for those who were unable to adequately defend themselves in a proper way; the same danger placed those who were able to organize themselves for defence and to develop the technical (military) means, in a stronger position; and their «greedy» agressivity compelled those who were capable of further economical development, to increase their production, for instance for exchange purposes. The armies of the rider-nomads could therefore function as intercontinental mediators between societies temporarily closed in by their new walls, *i.e.* relatively isolated for actual reasons of their historical evolution; and they could act as catalysts even in those historical or economic-historical processes which — by establishing new institutions, and a social and political framework for peaceful and more modern forms of trade, diplomacy, transport, and the dissemination of news, etc. — gradually made the warlike and dangerous form of nomadic intermediation useless, with the nomadic way of life involved.

The relative or complete lack of an external framework or outlined frontier — *i.e.* the form of nomads' life bringing about historical advantages — could also represent a serious danger for their own society, even in times when it may have been considered one of the components responsible for their early victories. Namely, compared to the settled population, their social coherence

was endangered by the fact that they lacked the directly territorial forms of organization. Instead of them the forms of social organization of nomadic character gained special importance, developing close kinship ties and particular forms of their social-wide unity. At the beginning of nomadic history it was the vitally important effort of organizing their own world that distinguished them from the other world and steeled them against the nature around, and their organizing ability proved to be a useful means of social defence in later periods.

The collective forms and regular common efforts of the nomads were provided with a natural and ever-regenerating economical basis by their way of life, especially by the vital precondition of their large land, to be invaded, defended or used as a pasture in common efforts and collective ways. Since these social ties could not be strengthened by constant territorial (local) scopes, under nomad conditions, they sometimes needed to be supported even in conscious ways, by means of memorizable, folkloric forms of common historical and cultural tradition, to be learnt or contributed to by any member of the community. The marked outlines of small communities were also not preconditions for the survival of the whole society, so they were exposed to various modifications to a reasonable extent and within an economical compass of *e.g.* a tribal territory, and so on. These non-primary types of social ties, transgressing natural frontiers of direct blood relations, were apparently evoked by historical concomitants and the special needs of the nomad stock-breeder way of life. That is why the society of the nomads was characterized by a network of fictive kinship, by its basic units: the clans, *i.e.* — under prosperous conditions, among rider-nomads able to conquer, that is to create regular and direct contacts within their sphere — a natural (kinship-based) concatenation of exogamous, patriarchal and patrilineal kinship groups.

In the period of the early contacts or confrontation with a settled agricultural population, compared to its increasingly territorial and bureaucratic social division, the system of clans, and the clans themselves, were given political importance by their basically natural character of blood-relation type, while their fictitious motives and moments of political significance — within organizing activities of a major social formation — had to be regularly strengthened by a collective tradition. Based on a common way of life, *i.e.* a cultural community, and being given a solid foundation by their common territory, the fictitious cohesive factors could render good service in forming a real community, far beyond the original limits of a kinship group, first of all in periods of active or even conscious organizing trials, after a new conquest.

The rider-nomad conquerors tried to automatically establish their own organization on the new territory. The conquering leader declared himself the «head of clan» of the subjugated, surrendered, recently allied communities (or of their joint communities); he was willing to accept those surrendered

persons who had lost their community for any reason and wished to join the conqueror's community or one of his original communities (for usual or special service, in lower or higher status than that of the ordinary clan-members, at the first step at least); and he realized the new types of connection with more distant communities or countries through the traditional practice of exogamous relations, *i.e.* by marriages.

Marriage connections are not unknown elsewhere either in a role of creating a constant connection between isolated communities, *e.g.* pairs of them; this may also occur on the steppe, but it covered a much wider sphere in rider-nomad empires, among politically connected communities. During the millennia of nomad mobility and a regular necessity of different kinds of movements, the rider-nomads could organize the conquered territories by new kinship ties or could also join, by marriage of diplomatic purposes, other communities of higher prestige; this can be seen from the related diplomatic missions of nomad rulers sent to the courts of agricultural civilizations.

The exogamous tradition of establishing an inter-clan or inter-tribal kinship-network could bring about a particular practice and model of social cohesion, having a direct role or an indirect influence in organizing other societies as well in the sphere of pastoral nomad societies. This could primarily be seen in the prosperous period of the nomadic way of life, *i.e.* from neolithic times to the beginning of a commodity-producing economy with an institutional international commerce. Meanwhile the nomads, functioning as economical mediators, were the catalyzers of social processes, contributing to state-forming organization of other societies by providing the conquering dynasties — *e.g.* in the Asian empires — or by contributing as organizers (or models) to the foundation of states in the Mediterranian antiquity or in early feudal times (*e.g.* in Eastern Europe, as it happened in Hungary in the 10th century A.D.).

The tribal society of the stock-breeder steppe nomads based on closely related clans and realized on a common, «tribal» territory — to be conquered and defended, as outlined above, in collective actions — developed and became strengthened in the «revolutionary» period of the agriculture, closed behind the new, various types of protective walls. The small nomadic communities of natural origin, *i.e.* the clans (or, in less prosperous cases, the extended families of clan-prospects), connected both by kinship-ties and the common — tribal — territory of their joint (or common) pasture-lands and neighbouring places of residence, approached a unity of a political type (realized in warlike actions, expressed in a related or common language, culture and tradition), in a period when the agricultural empires were founded on an inorganic unity of taxation, controlling a population of different origin by bureaucratic or even agressive manners, restricting them to a certain place, *i.e.* isolating them and stabilizing their differences.

The most important agricultural tasks, namely: tilling the new lands, and settling the population on the cultivable lands, by their reasonable concentration around the ruler's court (in an «urban revolution», resulting mostly in prefigurations of really urban settlements), primarily required major and constant frameworks for stabilizing and protecting the new institutions, without the direct need for closed natural small communities, able to form a basis of patriarchal resistance and oppose the centralizing effort. In a local and formal (bureaucratic) phase of social development in agricultural state-formations, leaving the politically neutral and controllable kinship forms only untouched for a time, the social organization of the rider-nomads on the steppe could preserve the particular community form of the clans (joint clans forming a tribe in fortunate cases), involving new trends towards political integration, with political activity that did not contradict their natural origin, but originated from their natural bases and patriarchal cohesion.

While the early cultivators' communities and agricultural societies must have defended their cultivated lands and perishable settlements by isolating walls, fortifications and frontiers, limited to a minimum size as a consequence of the rudimentary technical level (of tools and weapons for instance), and the growing external danger, the community units of the clan system of the nomadic societies could remain open to societies and cultures outside their way of life or even beyond their sphere of power.

The societies of settled cultivators with their walled central «countries» beyond a city-wall, even the city-states of the Mediterranean Antiquity (*polis*, and *civitas*) could represent only *exclusive* communities, guarding their achievements with a jealousy, due to their limited capacity and willingness to accept outsiders within their institutional walls. The growth in size and number could have brought about an essentially new situation, requiring new measures concerning the economy and organization. Meanwhile, in the heydays of steppe stock-breeding, the more «natural», tribal communities and their tribal (and, through kinship-ties: sometimes inter-tribal) clan-system — able to be extended under prosperous economical conditions and according to changed social conditions of *e.g.* a conquest —, could become and remain *inclusive*, *i.e.* open: willing and able to accept and include as members all those who wanted to share their way of life. At most a relative overpopulation — compared to the territory needed for their extensive, nomad stock-breeding — may have provoked a movement of a part of the population to find a new land instead, thus establishing a new situation. In fortunate cases it is possible to observe the beginnings of a further clan-system, forming a new tribe under the rule of a leading clan, in order to found a new empire under the rule of a leading tribe, according to rules and customs of the steppe nomads, as far as they could still find new pastures, herds and people to conquer.

On the conquered territory, the natural (kinship-based) political cohesion (stabilized by economic factors) of the social organization of the nomads could have a useful historical function, transgressing and loosening, perhaps elimi-nating the artificial and limiting primary frontiers of too small communities; it could connect geographically distant or otherwise isolated societies or social units — as long as the preconditions of their traditional mode of production could be provided, under the changed conditions as well. If, on the contrary, they wanted to learn the way of life of the conquered population, adopting their institutional achievements, and the bureaucratic means of administration for their own empire — as happened at the time of Chinggis and in the empires of the Chinggisids —, they could lose just their main advantage compared to other societies, which was responsible for their earlier successes: the mobile and natural basic structure of their society. Their capacity and willingness to learn implies this fatal consequence — representing the danger of assimilation to the conquered culture and their ethnic disappearance —, especially after the time when the trade-routes and other ways of international economical-cultural contacts avoided the vicissitudes of the steppe. But even in these cases, the nomad conquerors, while proving too good pupils of the empire-organizing methods *e.g.* in China, could intermediate by conveying the learned civilizatory methods to other regions of the steppe and its neighbourhood.

The open character of the nomads' social organization is also revealed by the difficulties that have to be met when searching for the exact size, number, and territorial extension, of its various units. If a record informs us about a territory designated with the name of a rider-nomad power conquering it, we can never be certain — *e.g.* in case of a Chinese record on a «country» of nomads — if another population is not mentioned, concerning more of less the same time, in the territory given in another record of even in the same source. As a matter of fact, several forest communities, living on hunting or gathering, or even a few oasis trading towns may exist within the same territory, together with small «countries» of cultivators that do not disturb the grazing herds of the new rulers on the steppe, peacefully pay their tributes, or join in the way of life and the communities of the rider-nomads, and disappear behind their name and activity.

Thus the names relating to a nomad empire and its subjects may be ambiguous in many ways. If a new name occurs in the same sphere, it may belong to a smaller region within the old political framework; or the name may be due to a new ruling clan, and tribe of the same old population; or the social group, and territory is re-named after a new leader. Naturally these leading persons must be associated with their community, even if the historical events and processes of a larger extension are attached, by an unintentional falsificatory manner of the chronicle-writers, to one single person (and one single point of time, etc.). It is sometimes a problem to identify certain moments

and processes, treated under a new name (and date) in the sources, not even mentioning the true motives concerned.

Unfortunately not all the nomad conquerors considered it necessary to leave their own-written record to the posterity, with inner information about their world. The need for writing seems to have been not at all inevitable, since their natural communities, able to mobilize their members or their population as a whole, were or could be in constant or at least regular personal contact. They could also organize their society without bureaucratic manners; even the fictive motives and strengthening factors of unity, *i.e.* a common social, cultural or historical memento could spread and survive in oral form. As a matter of fact, the lack of a form of mediation that could be monopolized — by clerks, clerical leaders etc. — made the common tradition more widespread, and more effective as a integrating factor. That could also be responsible for a comparatively late appearance of their own script among the nomads (in the Turk Empire, in the 8th century B. C., before the collapse of their power), in order to unify in a lasting form — on stone, textile, and paper — all that was endangered by disintegration, in order to preserve the memory of the disappearing glory of their people for further generations, perhaps even to revive it. This explains why the historian of the nomads is confronted by records made by foreign hands, information through foreign eyes, mechanically cutting the steppe into unidentifiable parts by unknown names, even in times of an actual power unifying it by weapon. Nevertheless, the «countries» of the nomads and their linguistical-cultural-ethnical integration, or the phases of the latter process — mentioned sometimes under different designations, some of them being misunderstandable as ethnic names — may raise as much problems in the records made by the nomads themselves, in several cases quite similar to those to be solved in the foreign records on them.

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The tribal organization (based on a particular clan-system) of rider-nomads, like every other phenomenon of their society, can be considered of double facets. It could provide every member of the community/communities (of comparatively small size and, on principle, natural character) with all the goods and rights available in their sphere, and all the possibilities provided by customary law or common actions; but this same organization, flexible regarding inner matters within the political outlines concerned, evoked an even stronger unity among the small communities — clans — outlining and separating them from other communities. Inside a nomad society this organization resulted in the equality-minded community feeling and communal practice that used to be called *democratic* — upon its highest early realization and stabilization in the Mediterranean antiquity —, although the related strengthening of the small, patriarchal communities could serve as a basis

of separation and differentiation, able to turn against any other, smaller or bigger communities. However, in the compasses of an empire, this inclination of separatism could hinder both political unity and linguistical-cultural integration, since the more powerful a nomad conqueror was the stronger its clan-system could develop.

The conquered (accepted as subjects, and allies, etc.) clans or tribes could preserve their separate and separating community within a nomad empire, because they paid tribute and participated in military expeditions in such units or according to them, their new position and role being in accordance with their origin, at least for a certain time. As a consequence of these separative tendencies, the democracy was valid mainly inside the privileged communities of the conquerors, rather than in the whole of their empire, the surrendered other nomads included. Democracy of military bases and patriarchal character on one side, and empire-size segmentary division upon a hierarchy of the communities on the other, show two opposite, but related consequences of one and the same social organization; but under certain circumstances they may hinder or even exclude one another.

The patriarchal democratism of the nomad conquerors' society was, after all, provided and protected by the same military preparedness and activity that led to a kind of hierarchy both among communities of different size, character and origin within the conquered sphere in general, and particularly between the privileged conquerors and their subjects. For a general empire-size spread of this weapon-based democratism, the nomad rulers should have renounced their conqueror's role, and that would have brought about the collapse of a steppe empire; thus a social model based upon their society as a kind of «military democracy» could only be a utopian extrapolation. It could develop to real democracy only when entering into another type of economy — that based on the agriculture — and it could become stabilized by the way of life and institution system of the settled civilizations, being protected both against external attacks and from the nomadic type «civilizatory» practice of inevitable conquering wars, which compelled even the conquerors to preserve their «barbarian» strength and the traditional way of life involved.

The democratic forms of social organization of the nomads primarily reached a lasting and peaceful validity in the cultivators' city-states of Mediterranian Antiquity, where the pastoral components of the founders surrendered themselves to the culture of the invaded land. But where a steppe empire was ruled by livestock-breeder nomads, the democratic character of the conquerors' communities had to be implemented within or against hierarchy of clans and tribes, and its most effective forms were made possible inside the social scope of the conquerors, defending their privileges — at least that of requiring tributes — against any other of their subjects.

Within the separate clans of the rider-nomads, the traditional order was adequately ensured by a kinship-based, patriarchal hierarchy that could be modified, if required so, in a conscious or active (fictive) way. A community of the nomads could be represented by its «natural» leaders — heads of clans, tribes — in connection with other communities, against other elements of the empire; however, a hierarchy of these actual or potential leaders sometimes appeared as a patriarchal aristocracy, rapidly developing according to the hierarchy of the separate communities, whose traditional separation was ensured by their way of life, tribute-paying duty and so on.

After a conquest, new tasks would appear — for instance, to control the increased population — which extended beyond the patriarchal separation of the small communities, and new ranks and titles were established to fulfil them, that often avoided or crossed over the old hierarchy, regulated by customs. The new functions were apparently primarily of a military character; they were perhaps more important from the point of view of an empire, than the traditional ranks, and they were attributed higher prestige especially among the conquered subjects. The new rank was not limited to one single community, and it was not necessarily given only to the privileged conquerors, thus the new type of officials were able to promote the political integration of the steppe empires.

The conquerors would send leaders or officials from their own communities or from those of their allies, but generally they were accompanied by their families, and they appeared as representatives of their own exogamous clan-system, *i.e.* as founders and heads of new clans. In this way the new division and unity of the empire was determined both by a patriarchal and an official hierarchy, coloured by the original position and kinship-relations of the wives, *i.e.* «alien» relations, too, of the leaders and their clans (tribes). The related integrating effect was also reflected by the written sources, often leaving unmentioned the original community of a leader or the ethnic affinity of his kinship, without indicating his social distance and its nature in the community which he led as an official, or the territory surrendered to him. But having positions and ranks both in their old and new communities, both of clan (or tribe) and empire-size validity and character, all the persons considered worth mentioning were recorded with their ranks and titles, thus the steppe people seem to have consisted merely of leaders. Consequently, a careful analysis of the sources is needed for an appropriate evaluation of social homogeneity («equality»), *i.e.* patriarchal democractic traditions of the nomads or the related records, even if they are declared *e.g.* by the Chinese historians not to have known social «etiquette» and the «ceremonies» due to a social hierarchy.

Since the democratism of nomads' organization could best develop in the strongest clans/tribes, *i.e.* in those of the conqueror rider-nomads, it could

be manifested by the new acquisitions and rights, first of all in the privileges won against their subjects, even if also influenced by the original patriarchal hierarchy among and inside their original communities. In this way the coherent communities of the conquerors could become a privileged social entity: a type of higher community, functioning as a political organization, while still preserving its natural character. As a political aggregate, it fulfilled the highest possibilities of the historical premises provided by the nomad stock-breeder way of life, and prepared the way for a kind of «national» unity among the ruling elements. Naturally the widening of the leading community (the leaders' communities, also connected by political cohesion) was limited by the natural exhaustion of their means of life, by changes in the power-relations on the steppe, forcing them to re-begin their history as conquerors, according to their military strength and react to the changed political and economical possibilities.

Those nomad conquerors who could gain durable power, stabilized by a conquered agricultural civilization, had to pay for leaving the steppe by giving up their survival as a separate ethnic entity. On the steppe, however, even though the leading communities of the nomad empires were able to exist under their traditional living conditions and according to their social and cultural traditions, they had to make concessions to avoid the bloodshed of constant wars, by forcing an empire-size system of different type hierarchical relations into an institutional order, perhaps shown in a most spectaculous form in the Mongol Empire.

However, since the communities of a different economy, tradition, and size, etc., were unwilling to accept the new measures and organization compasses, or at least not without being urged by military force, this organism of empire — reaching almost a state unity — must have been based on the force of weapons both for external and internal reasons. Therefore, although a rider-nomad empire may be quite similar to *e.g.* an Asian empire, it could develop into a real state only by the majority and increasing importance of their cultivator subjects, which then represented a new danger for the rulers. As a traditional steppe power, a nomad empire was exposed again to external circumstances beyond their control: namely, to world progress, transgressing the limitations of early historical times when the nomads could still play an active and important role in history.

Once their monopoly position to play an intermediary role being over, the double-facet phenomena of the nomad way of life first and foremost began to show the disadvantageous side. The iron weapon — the most effective «tool» of nomadic «production» — that once appeared as a significant technical achievement, involving further innovations in the related techniques, increasingly became a means of bloodshed. Furthermore, the military preparedness required by the rider-nomad way of life, with a «democratic» usage

of weapons — obtainable and owned by every member of the community —, proved victorious against peaceful cultivators, until the professional armies and permanent fortifications were established in the agricultural civilizations, and the challenge of the nomad danger was answered by a development of military technique and organization.

After all, the ever-recurring wars and the manifold mobility of the nomads could also endanger the biological survival of their own communities. Their earlier active part in various contacts, once even forcing other communities to regularly produce a surplus, now became mere plunder, and led the robbers to engage in parasitic behaviour. As a matter of fact, the economical background of the open character of the nomads' society became narrowed down by political frontiers, imposing increasingly poorer living conditions for their traditional way of life, and even this impoverished and small-scale nomadism met the bans that had been lifted by a spread of modern economy.

This last, so-to-say obsolete phase of the history of nomads requires an unbiased and circumspect analysis, never forgetting the original importance and historical correlations of their way of life and activity. Upon their historically active, economically promotive period, they can be evaluated in a more objective («just») way than upon the condemning complaints of the chronicle-writers; and their multi-coloured historical role may also help us to understand the recent colours of their world.

When examining the written or folklore memories of nomad stock-breeding, always directly exposed to nature, we can recognize in them a close and natural contact between man and nature, or society and its environment, that no longer exists, closed in by the protecting walls of our industrial civilization, it is missing in our locally fixed, colour-losing universe. This kind of feeling about something being missed might play a role in the recent upswing in the research into nomadism, also as a concomitant of the illusion about a «happy wild man», but concealing a justifiable nostalgia about the real historical values concerned. Unfortunately, the other lesson, offered by the history of the nomads, is not learnt as much as it would be desirable, namely concerning the «historical crime» of the nomad way of life, involving an economy and prosperity based on the power of weapons, the final failure showing the prospects — *i.e.* the lack of prospects — of any historical practice based on the daily danger of war and social-wide militarism.

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The steppe region was a neighbour, a counterpart and background to the prosperity of Mediterranian Antiquity and feudal development in Europe, while in Asia it was confronted by archaic agricultural civiliza-

tions.[8] Being open to the influences arriving from the world outside their own way of life, the nomad livestock-breeders met different historical circumstances in the West and in the East respectively. In the West the trends of social development were sufficiently strong to defend themselves against any attacks, and they utilized the objective advantages offered by livestock-breeder social or cultural achievements; but the nomads were recorded as merciless robbers in the sphere of the perishable rudimentary economies, or in countries not yet equipped for defence, even if their social development showed several features that seem quite similar to those of the rulers of the Eurasian steppe-belt.

Within a rider-nomad empire, conquered and defended by collective efforts, tribal territories represented earlier or potential «small empires», while the economical tasks of daily life were fulfilled by smaller communities, thus the clans (and even prosperous extended families) could function as — more or less — independent economical units, living on a due part of the common tribal territory. The related ownership-relations, recorded by Chinese sources from the first standard historical works on, were designated by the expression 地分 *ti-fen*, referring to the due share (*fen*) of a certain territory (*ti*: 地 is different from the Chinese term of cultivated lands: 田 *t'ien* etc.). This term, sometimes misinterpreted as a wording of some «private property» in land — impossible *e.g.* to defend on the steppe —, is related by the same Chinese records to belong to everybody (or to every unit: clan or family concerned), this alone implying a contrary statement, *i.e.* a kind of equality (or «democratic» division) regarding the land conquered and used by them for a longer period of time.

The expression *fen-ti*, however, was used in China not only in connection with steppe nomads — from the *Hsiung-nus* on —, and its meaning should be determined at least in the light of its original usage, namely in descriptions of ancient Chinese agricultural communities that were reported to have lived under a system of «well-fields» (井田 *ching-t'ien* — including the term *t'ien* of cultivated land). This vague term, referring to ancient times when social or economical differences had not yet caused any suffering to the cultivators of land, became a Utopian demand of the Chinese peasant movements and a slogan of other reformist efforts. Thus it became the name of land-relations devoid of privacy, representing an ancient type of harmonious common ownership relations, the due share concerned being just the basis or possibility of individual holding within a communal territory. The old Chinese, mythic or Utopian term *ching-t'ien* must have been applied in this sense to the nomads' land relations as well.

[8] This last part of my paper is based on the lecture read at the 1978 Conference under the title *Az eurázsiai lovasnomádok világa mint a földműves közösségek «történelmi környezete»* [The world of Eurasian rider-nomads as a «historical environment» of agricultural communities].

The ancient Chinese «well-field» system referred to the «revolutionary» period of neolithic settlement-organization, where *common* efforts provided the preconditions for the «civilized» world of cultivatable (irrigated) lands, cultivated in «equal» (and regulary changeable) plots by individual families. This small universe of agriculturer settlement-founders — a «localized microcosmos», in Marx's words[9] — was without protection and indefensible as a separate entity, but it was easily organizable and controllable as a tribute-paying unit within a «country», governed by a ruling «royal» clan in a fortified centre. The «small countries» of later agricultural Utopian desires became subjects as taxable agricultural communes, being solid bases of social pyramide controlled from the fortified peaks of the «big country» of the Chou House (11—13th centuries B. C.).

This «civilized» subjugation and paternalist «eternalization», *i.e.* a continuing separation of Asian agricultural settlements became stabilized in the same time as the birth and organization of a higher, bigger and organic community, proved timely in the Mediterranean sphere, namely, on the land of ancient Greece, as symbolyzed by the mythic *synoikismos* of king Theseus, unifying his people within Athen.[10] Thus the two extremities of the Eurasian steppes represent divergent phases of human evolution at the time of appearance of classical nomadism — that of rider-nomads —, thus evoking different reactions from the steppe. The related differences in the historical behaviour of the nomads in the western and eastern area of their sphere respectively, also serve as bases for historical conclusions.

The parallel beginnings of historical settlements and communities in Europe and in Asia respectively, conceal some lessons, *e.g.* when interpreting Chinese sources concerning the time of the early young states on the land of China. A few considerations relating to the preconditions and prospects of Mediterranian Antiquity have proved fruitful in marking out the original trends of historical development in Eastern Asia, similar to the beginnings of world history that started from Ancient Greece, before history took in China its specific «Asiatic» turn, according to the ecological and human preconditions

[9] On the old agricultural communities, and on the double nature of communal ownership and individual possession, *i.e.* private appropriation in them, see L. Krader, *The Asiatic Mode of Production. Sources, Development and Critique in the Writings of Karl Marx: Dialectic and Society* 1, Van Gorcum and Comp. B. V. — Assen, The Netherlands 1975, p. (177—)178 etc.; F. Tőkei, *Essays on the Asiatic Mode of Production*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1979: *Contribution to the new debate on the Asiatic mode of production*, p. 119 sqq, and see his preface to the volume *Primitive Society and the Asiatic Mode of Production* (cf. note 2 above).

[10] Cf. F. Tőkei, *Der Ursprung der Polis: Antike und Feudalismus. Zur marxistischen Geschichtstheorie (Beiträge zu Interpretationsproblemen Marxscher Formulierungen)*, Band II, pp. 31—112.

given there.[11] Naturally Far Eastern history also offers lessons for studies of classical antiquity. The comparison concerned can be made with regard to rider-nomad history, since its location, *i.e.* the steppes are connected with both polar regions of the Eurasian past.

The primitive agricultural communities, examined from point of view of their historical prospects, were characterized by Marx as having been marked by double nature, namely by a communal ownership-base for their production and social relations, accompanied by germs of private appropriation, with the later historical consequences implied.[12] The prospects of both sides being also dependent on the historical environment of the communities in question, the steppe nomads must have had a role of their own in the history of early agricultural civilizations. This role, however, must have been different in the East, where the communal bases became dominant, concluding in Asiatic forms of production and power, and in the West, where the private elements developed into their full forms, promoting the universal beginnings of human history.

In the archaic communities both the collective and private elements belong to the very nature of the production form and social phase concerned; and since the communal features and requirements must gain the upper hand in a natural way, by the power of tradition, the true nature of a historical community becomes clear only when it is confronted by another community. The differences that have to be pointed out may also help conclusions concerning the proper ratio of collective and private elements in the related sphere. *E.g.* classical antiquity, where the patriarchial meetings of political importance, usual among the rider-nomads, were raised to a rank of a political institution — in the form of a *symposion*, on the *agora* or another *forum* of early city-states, demonstrating the political equality of the citizens — can be better evaluated in the light of the Chinese sources that condemned the nomads from the heights of monopolized, despotic political and economical power, and expressed astonished views over the curiosity that in a political or/and military action of the rider-nomads the participants were equally («according to their rank») given their due share of the gifts, or they accompanied their leader to feasts in a «big tent», and so on.

However, the mention of private rights, and demands, in the sources, may be misleading, since their rarity might have been a reason for a record, or just the weakness of a demand or favour must have required a strengthening in written form. Very frequently, the surviving sources register the victory over the «revolting» elements of privacy, as an apology for despotic measures that became dominant in the course of history. Only the related historical correlations, the historical prospects of the phenomena in question and their his-

[11] Cf. my book *A kínai állam kezdetei* [The Beginnings of the Chinese State], Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest (in preparation).

[12] See note 9.

torical environment can help to draw the appropriate conclusions. For instance, the rider-nomad attacks that represented a continuous danger for the defenceless cultivators and the defensive, *i.e.* isolating economic policy *e.g.* in China, offer good examples of the objective necessity of communal factors, also being inevitable for the biological survival of an endangered community. The historical disparity of the Mediterranian sphere can be observed — in the history of the Ancient Orient — in the specific advantage provided for a survival of private factors, *e.g.* for small gardens in the mild climate, offering for barter oil, wine or fruit on the easy routes along the seashores, that led to an experience of historical importance of private production and ownership relations that opened up the beginnings of European history.

Classical nomadism appeared on the Eurasian steppes during the organizing phase of the new communities of the settled agricultural civilizations. Then — in the 2nd millennium B. C., especially in its second half — in the eastern parts of the steppe the rider-nomads mostly met the communal forms of civilization-founding activity, so they could represent a threat — or a strengthening danger — to such collective forms of economical and social development, or, by subjugating the communities concerned, they could contribute to the collective factors of the surrendered society, organizing it as a subject, while utilizing the community-creating capacity of nomad society. In the West, however, the archaic compasses proved too narrow for the prosperous agriculture of increasing communities, the traditional framework was disrupted or lost its earlier importance, and — for historical survival — «private» farmers had to be unified within a new, higher community. In the latter case the patriarchal ties of nomad communities, coloured by an ever-regenerating democratism of social-wide military activity, offered a model of social cohesion that could cross or transgress archaic agricultural frontiers and other traditional limitations.

Under neolithic conditions — and their survivals, to a decreasing extent — it was the specialized nomad stock-breeding that implied an objective, *i.e.* economical factor that made social unity necessary by the need for common pasture: even if used by a smaller group, it could be conquered and defended only by a bigger community. The «private» division of pasture lands was impossible or senseless, so they could be the guarantees or symbols of social unity, long after the military danger that had provoked and maintained it. A symbolizing function of common pasture — and common wood, etc. — also survived in later periods, *e.g.* as a factor of village organization in European feudalism. This could be the reason, although historical research still has the task of clarifying it, why the cultivator founders of city states of classical antiquity — aware of their own civilizatory achievements — glorified their «pastoral» virtues, and sang about their «pastoral Muse» and the «prosperous pasture-lands» of their city.

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SYMBIOSIS OF NOMADS AND SEDENTARIES ON THE CHARACTER OF THE MIDDLE EASTERN CIVILIZATION

BY

RÓBERT SIMON

1. Islam as the Civilization of the Steppe

It is easy to recall that the crude Marxist textbooks of historical materialism flatly rejected geographical determinism. The arguments were unhistorical and carried no conviction.[1] The «only» mistake they committed was that they disregarded the *special*, in the logical-historical sense of the term. They departed from the *individual* (the building of socialism in the Soviet Union), and disregarded the *special* (that it could happen only under specific historical conditions, i.e. after the emergence of the capitalist mode of production: the unfolding of social development and the overcoming of natural barriers), and arrived immediately at a *universal* law. (In line with a logical-teleological conception of history, that method means the identification of the historical object with the historical subject.) The scope of this paper does not permit a detailed discussion of the important problem, or detail the history of research on the problem. (See the correspondence between Marx and Engels in 1853—: *MEW* 28, Berlin 1978, pp. 259—261; 267—279. In one of the letters, Engels attributed the absence of private property in land — in the Middle East — to the adverse geographical conditions. Those conditions literally necessitated a collective artifical irrigation controlled by the state.) Here it is only necessary to quote the view of Marx on the decisive role of the «natural barriers» in precapitalist societies, and how they were overcome upon the unfolding of capitalist production (the qualitative leap when production was given a social character): «Von der mehr oder minder entwickelten Gestalt des gesellschaftlichen Produktion abgesehen, bleibt die Produktivität der Arbeit an Naturbedingungen gebunden. Sie sind alle rückführbar auf die Natur des Menschen selbst wie Race usw., und die ihn umgebende Natur. Die äußeren Natur-

[1] It will be recalled that the geographical factor, which had been given an in-depth discussion by Lenin and Plekhanov, was disregarded first by Bukharin (see: *Historical Materialism*, New York 1934, pp. 121—122, and, under his influence, by Stalin. See the excellent discussion of this crucial problem: Marian Sawer, *Marxism and the question of the Asiatic mode of production*, N. Nijhoff. The Hague 1977, pp. 104—139.

bedigungen zerfallen ökonomisch in zwei große Klassen, natürlichen Reichtum an Lebensmitteln, also Bodenfruchtbarkeit, fischreiche Gewässer usw., und natürlichen Reichtum an Arbeitsmitteln, wie lebendige Wassergefälle, schiffbare Flüsse, Holz, Metalle, Kohle usw. In den Kulturanfängen gibt die erstere, auf höherer Entwicklungsstufe die zweite Art des natürlichen Reichtums den Anschlag.» (K. Marx, *Das Kapital* I: *MEW* 23, Berlin 1977, p. 535.) This long quotation from Marx is presented in order to reveal a prime paradox of this civilization. In terms of ecology, the Middle Eastern «culture continent»,[2] the desert-and-steppe zone between Rio de Oro in Western Africa and the Golden Road in Turkestan is barren: desert and semidesert account for 90 to 95 percent of the territory, with minor cultivated or cultivable areas. And yet the same area is believed to have been a centre if not the cradle of the «neolithic revolution» and the Bronze Age civilization. In fact, the typical Middle Eastern pattern is made up by the unity of desert and the — predominantly irrigated — cultivable areas: the oases. (Egypt on the Nile can from this aspect be regarded as an aggregate of oases !) The two contagious ecologic units of civilization: the humid forest region of Central Africa to the south and circum-Mediterranean regions to the north are much richer than the Middle East in terms of the means of life and production. What Marx wrote immediately after the above quoted passage especially applies to the first-mentioned region and the precapitalist era. «Eine zu verschwenderische Natur ‚hält ihn (i.e. den Menschen: *R. S.*) an ihrer Hand wie ein Kind am Gängelband'. Sie macht seine eigne Entwicklung nicht zu einer Naturnotwendigkeit. Nicht das tropische Klima mit seiner überwüchernden Vegetation, sondern die gemässigte Zone ist das Land des Kapitals» (ibid., p. 536). In the Middle East, the soil is not fertil and is poor in natural resources. Much of the territory was covered by water even in the Mesozoic and Cenozoic eras. In the final stage of its evolution it was covered by sand and lime, which are ideal base materials for construction and the means of labour. However, metals can be found only where mountains folded and pushed up older layers. (Compare the iron ore mines in the Atlas, copper in the Sinai, iron and copper in Armenia, silver in the Taurus, and iron and silver in Afghanistan.)[3] Although this seems to be a drawback, it stimulated the development and stressed the importance of trade, as well as regular cultural and political contacts between remote areas. Consequently, the Middle Eastern «culture continent» turned its disadvantages into advantages. In certain stages of its historical development (the Neolithic and Bronze Ages) the

[2] The term is taken from R. Patai, *The Middle East as a Culture Continent*, in: *Society, Culture and Change in the Middle East*, University of Pennsylvania Press 1969[3], pp. 13—38, and idem, *Some Problems of the Middle Eastern Culture Continent: op. cit.*, pp. 39—72.

[3] See Coon, Carleton S., *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East*, London 1952, pp. 10—11.

Middle East was ahead of any other regions of the world in development. Upon the emergence of the civilization of the Iron Age, started by the Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean (in which the Middle East played an important role, greater than it is believed even today), contemporary historians began to write about a multilinear development. The Middle East came into touch with other civilizations in several «historical moments». (The Greek-Persian wars, Hellenism, the essentially inorganic society of the Roman Empire when it connected the «Orient» with the «Occident», and the mediatory role of the Mohammedan civilization in a diachronic way: it adopted elements of the civilization of the ancient Near East and forwarded them to the Western Europe of the Middle Ages, and synchronically: Asia Minor functioned as a link between the Orient and the Occident.) Gordon Childe (1892—1957),[4] the great Marxist archeologist made an excellent archeological analysis of the history of this unique and complex phenomenon (from the «savage» period of hunting and gathering in the Paleolithic Age to the «barbarian» land cultivation and pastoralism of the Neolithic Age). The scope of this paper allows us to refer to just some historico-geographical aspects of the problem. The Middle East assumed its present form following the Pleistocene. That it broke away in development from the other «culture continents» can be attributed to the role played by its steppes. The term «steppe» is used in this paper in the same sense as that used by Alexander von Humboldt.[5] It denotes those areas that are not covered by continuous vegetation owing to low precipitation, but where at least half of the territory is covered by grass, shrubs or even trees. (Using the term of Th. Middendorf, «Kultursteppe» describes those areas that are artificially cleared of woods and made cultivable.[6] The flora of the latter areas naturally differs from that of the steppe proper.) On the one hand, due to the amount of precipitation, fauna and flora, the steppe is a *transitional zone* between the semidesert and desert, and the forest region, on the other. The limit of rainfall on the first is 200 mm or less a year, and 500 mm on the latter. The rainfall on the steppe proper is between 200 and 400 mm a year. The limits are not rigid anywhere: owing to geographical or political causes, the steppe may turn into desert (it is the ecologic accompaniment of sedentary people becoming nomads). The reverse may also happen: semidesert may be turned into steppe through irrigation. The latter process always indicates sedentarization. It should be noted that it is rare to find a desert that is barren of all vegetation, in fact, in winter, the sole season when

[4] See the fourth edition of *The Most Ancient East* (1928): *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, London 1952; *Man Makes Himself*, London 1939, p. 74.

[5] Quoted in: Gradmann, R., *Die Steppen des Morgenlandes in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte der menschlichen Gesittung*, Stuttgart 1934, p. 22.

[6] Quoted in: Gradman, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

rains do occur, considerable vegetation appears. This brought about a unique symbiosis of nomads and settled people, which can be found only in the Middle East. (Below its particularity is shown by way of comparison to Asia Minor and Central Asia.) A departure will be made from a analysis of that symbiosis when delimiting the three, historically relevant fundamental forms of nomadism. Archeological research discovered the earliest remnants of the Neolithic revolution in the Middle East (the Natufian cavemen in Palestine[7]). Relying on findings of historical geography , archeology has convincingly confirmed that *plow farming*, a product of the Neolithic and Bronze Age civilization that created, used and integrated so many achievements of civilization, evolved or, at least, unfolded, in the Middle East. Speaking of plow farming as a basic form that integrated achievements of civilizations[8] this means the production and/or invention of the staple products of cultivation (for instance, wheat and rye) or its implements (first of all, the plow, and the two-wheel and four-wheel cart), as well as the domestication of wild sheep, cattle, wild goats and boars. (Findings on the civilization of the Middle East refute the theory which alleges that nomadic pastoralism is older, i.e. more primitive than cultivation. As a matter of fact, cultivation was a precondition for the development of nomadic pastoralism.) This also refers to gardening. (Comparative linguists have proved that the olive-tree, grapes and figs, which were so important later, in Mediterranean antiquity, were first grown in the Middle East.)[9] It is also worth enumerating what the organization of artificial irrigation brought for the Middle East civilization: the first state-like formations, the town-like formations of the Bronze Age civilization, based on an elaborate division of labour; and trade, which was usually state monopoly and qualitatively differed from commerce among the immediate producers.[10] Interspersed by oases, the steppe and the semidesert-and-desert areas evolved cultivation related pastoralism in a natural way. Before the domestication of the one-humped camel (the end of the second millenium B. C.; according to W. F. Albright: between the 16th and 12th centuries B. C.), pastoralism meant the

[7] Albright, W. F., *The Archeology of Palestine*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex 1951, p. 37., 59—61.

[8] A library of literature has been written on the problem. It is enough here to refer to a trail blazing, though problematic work by E. Hahn, *Die Entstehung der Pflugkultur*, 1911.

[9] On the basis of researches by Viktor Hehn (see: *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien, sowie in das übrige Europa*, 1870), see Gradmann, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[10] On the various theories of experts on anthropology and comparative history of economy about the forms of exchange within and among the communities (where the life work of Karl Polányi is the most important and has the greatest influence), see the critical survey of R. Meunier, *Formes de la circulation*, in: *L'Anthropologie économique. Courants et problèmes*, sous la direction de F. Pouillon, Paris 1976, pp. 117—145.

keeping of small animals, mainly sheep and goats.[11] The tribes usually engaged in both cultivation and pastoralism (as the Kabyles did until very recently). The conflicts were not antagonistic even between tribes that specialized in any of the two basic spheres. (Take, for instance, the case of the settled Sumerians and the neighbouring nomadic Semitic tribes.) Illustrated in a myth by the combat and subsequent close friendship of Gilgames and Enkidu, the realization of common interests marked their relationship rather than divisions.

(1) An eminent contemporary scholar of this problem, M. B. Rowton, was justified in describing this form of symbiosis between nomads and settle people as «enclosed nomadism».[12] Essentially it means that nomadism (or rather pastoralism) constituted an organic part of the «Lebensraum» and organizational pattern of sedentary life. Rowton added that the intercourse of the two was marked by a general reciprocity — to employ the terminology of ethnology — based on mutual assistance and cooperation, «a balanced reciprocity, based on economic exchange». Only in the event of a major conflict did it transform into «negative reciprocity», the forceful appropriation of goods.

Enclosed nomadism is an ecologically determined subtype of nomadism, prevalent in rugged terrains of Western Asia. It basically differed from big-animal nomadism: the difference is strongly felt in a comparison with the horse nomadism of Central Asia, and less felt in the case of the Bedouin camel nomads. As for the latter, they were described by O. Lattimore and M. B. Rowton as «excluded» or «external nomadism».[13] These terms indicate that they lived economically, politically and organizationally independently of their sedentary neighbours. On the other hand, «enclosed nomadism», *sheep and goat* nomadism is economically, politically and organizationally integrated with the cultivators. Relying on the findings of archeologists, there is appreciable information on this type of nomadism, i.e. this — clearly surprising — symbiosis of nomads and sedentaries, beginning with the early second millenium B. C. On the other hand, the phenomenon proved to be so persevering that it survived to the beginning of the 20th century. Good fortune allows us to furnish examples from the same locale with a difference of four thousand

[11] See especially: Albright, F. W., *Zur Zähmung des Kamels: Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 62 (1949–50), p. 315; Albright, *Archeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore 1953³, p. 227, n. 31; for a discussion of the problem with a detailed bibliography, see: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², s. v. *badw* (H. von Wissmann).

[12] See especially: Rowton, M. B. *Enclosed Nomadism: JESHO* 17 (1974), pp. 1–30. For a better understanding of Rowton's complex approach, it is worthwhile quoting his definition of the term: «To sum up, enclosed nomadism is rooted on the one hand in the physical environment, on the other hand, in social and political interaction.» (p. 7.)

[13] Lattimore, O., *Studies in Frontier History*, Paris 1963, p. 487. («excluded nomads» «enclosed nomads»); Rowton, M. B., *Autonomy and Nomadism in Western Asia: Orientalia* 42 (1972), p. 249 («external nomadism» ≠ «enclosed nomadism»).

years in time. The first example is the highly important find at Māri, dating back to the 18th century B. C.[14] It will be recalled that excavations started in 1933 at the central reaches of the river Euphrates, at Tell Hariri, 11 kilometres from Abu Kemal on the righthand shore, to unearth remnants of a palace of 3.5 hectares in total ground space, of the ancient settlement of Māri. About 25,000 clay tablets with cuneiform inscription were found in the state archives of Zimri-Lim, the last King of Māri, who lived in the 18th century B. C., and was defeated by the forces of King Hammurabi of Babylon. What has already been published and deciphered from the material provides precious, coherent and unequivocal information about the ancient «enclosed nomadism» in Asia Minor. In Upper Mesopotamia and Northern Syria the ecologic conditions created a special, state-legitimated and state-regulated form of the symbiosis of sheep-and-goat nomads — who carried out seasonal migration — and the cultivators. The nomad tribes of the steppe had to transhume to sedentary areas in summer, and to those of the mountainous regions, in winter. In ancient times, as in the recent past, the state had to cope with the problem of migration. The link between the *nomadic tribe* and the *segmentary state* was the urban settlement, which can be regarded as the centre of the first, where the tribe or a part of a tribal federation, and later a tribal aristocracy lived, and it represented toward the state the interests of the tribe or tribal federation. Consequently — as Rowton aptly put it — a «dimorphic» (tribal) headman's institution came into being,[15] which was open both toward the tribe and the state. The headman who settled in the town could found a local dynasty and could represent the state, and inversely: this urban «patriciate» could again become *de facto* leaders of the tribe(s), if the state became weaker and nomadism was on the upswing. Already at that time, therefore, there was a tendency on the nomads' part that, by making the organizational patterns very flexible, the nomads were always ready to offer full-grown *dynasties* for the state, which also included sedentary people. A constant

[14] There is extensive literature on the problem. See especially: the works by pioneering A. Parrot, *Mari, une ville perdue*, Paris 1945; Parrot, *Studia Mariana*, Leiden 1950; the autographic edition: *Archives Royales de Mari* I—III, Paris 1942—8; transcription and translation of the texts: Dossin, G., *Correspondance de Šamši-Addu*, Paris 1950; Jean, Ch.-F., *Lettres diverses*, Paris 1950; Kupper, J.-R., *Correspondance de Kibri-Dagan*, Paris 1950. For the historical and philological analysis of the material see especially: J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*, Paris 1957; Kupper, *Le role des nomades dans l'histoire de la Mésopotamie ancienne: JESHO* 2 (1959), pp. 113—127; from recent years, see especially M. B. Rowton (in addition to his above-mentioned studies): *Urban autonomy in a nomadic environment: JNES* 32 (1973), pp. 201—215; and a survey of the problem in Klengel, H., *Zwischen Zelt und Palast. Die Begegnung von Nomaden und Sesshaften im alten Vorderasien*, Leipzig 1972, which carries a bibliography about further works.

[15] See Rowton, *Enclosed Nomadism*, p. 17.

phenomenon of Middle Eastern history can be pinpointed in this particular political aspect.

Obviously, the state strived to institutionalize and control the nomads economically, politically and organizationally. (Many of the clay tablets of Māri speak of the conflicts that emerged in connection with Yaminitic nomads.) This «etatist» approach is expressed by the fact that the key technical term of the Māri texts is the *nawum* — established by D. O. Edzard (1959)[16] — which has three meanings: a nomadic tribe, the pasture and livestock. An obvious realistic explanation of the phenomenon is that «enclosed nomadism» was «intraterritorial» nomadism, and that administratively the tribe was represented by its town-living element (that is the sedentaries). It often happened that in the first five hundred years B. C., Assyrian scribes considered the names of tribes as being originally names of towns.

Another example of «enclosed nomadism» is taken from the recent past: the nomadic Banū Zubēd tribe, whose wandering area was located in one-time Māri.[17] This tribe consisted of nomadic, seminomadic and settled elements, and had no chief headman. However big and reputed the tribe was, it had no political entity. Yet it was so strong that until the First World War, for two centuries, it was in rivalry with a huge tribe of Bedouins: the Banū Sammār for political hegemony. On the other hand, and this confirms its continuity with the Yamanites of Māri, it retained loose relations with the given state. Both of its subtribes possessed an above-described town-living element. A part of the leading dynasty of the purely nomadic Banū ʿObēd tribe lived in Baghdad and it represented the interests of that subtribe. The head of Āl Bū Rudēnī, the leading family of Banū Dulēm, the other subtribe in which the nomadic-sedentary proportion was two to one, spent part of the year in Ramādī, where he owned houses and gardens.

(2) A milestone in the history of nomadism was the domestication of the camel, for use as a riding and pack animal, and whose milk, meat and skin are all usable. It gave rise to big-animal Bedouin nomadism, which assured for the Bedouins greater economic independence, and increased military and political power. It is noteworthy that the new term for *ʿarab*, which emerged upon the domestication of the camel (beginning with 854 B. C. in the cuneiform clay tablets), denoted originally the camel-herding Bedouin. Until Muḥammad's era, the various sources retained that term; and later Muslim sources used it until quite recently to denote the nomadic (ʿarab) men.[18] From this stage onwards, the symbiosis of nomads and settled

[16] Edzard, D. O., *Altbabylonisch nawūm: ZA* 53 (1959), pp. 168—173; see also Rowton's examples in: *Enclosed Nomadism*, pp. 18—21.

[17] With reference to this question, see: Rowton, *Enclosed Nomadism*, pp. 14—5.

[18] On the history of the development of the concept of ʿarab, see: Lewis, B., *The Arabs in History*, London 1964³, pp. 9—17. The word appeared first in 853 B. C. in an

people is defined in broader historical perspective. Potentially, the above-described balanced reciprocity between the sheep-and-goat nomads and the sedentaries could always be replaced by a forced reciprocity, dominated by the Bedouins, where the economic exposure was greater, yet militarily it was stronger. The essence of this latter form of intercourse was in exchange for military «protection» by the nomads, the settled people (residents of the oases) complemented the unstable economy of the nomads. This forced reciprocity — because it sprang from within tribal society — was usually «justified» by fictitious kinship ties between the two sides. (The technical term for this was *uẖuwwa*, *ẖuwa* or *ẖawa*.[19]) In this unstable forced reciprocity[20] it can be said of the relationship of the two sides that economically the nomads were

Assyrian inscription, and denoted north Arabic nomadic Bedouins. At that time, the term was predominantly used in that sense by sedentary peoples living in the surrounding area. Beginning with Herodotus, the Greek and Roman authors used the term to denote the entire Arabian peninsula and its inhabitants, including the southern Arabs. Among the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula the term referred to the nomadic Arabs of that time, though the same term was used for the *language* of the settled people. In the wake of the Muslim conquests, the term started to refer to the whole of the Arab-speaking Maslin ruling stratum. After the end of the ʿAbbāsid period, when the militarily organized Muslim element ceased to be the ruling stratum of the given historical era, the term had only a sociological sense and referred solely to the nomadic Arabs. There was, however, a short interlude: in the second and third centuries of Islam, chiefly confined to the circles of scientists and literary scholars and occurring mostly in the cultural sphere a so-called *šuʿūbiya* movement existed, which manifested certain connotations of a «national minority,» which confronted the term: *ʿarab* with *ʿağam*, that is non-Arabic, chiefly Iranian elements. (On this question, see especially: Goldziher, I., *Muhammedanische Studien* I, Halle 1888, pp. 141—216). Note that beginning with the crusade, the Western chronicles and other sources also used the term to refer to the nomadic Arabs. See, for instance, Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, XVII, pp. 21—22:

> *altri Arabi poi, che di soggiorno*
> *certo non sono stabili abitanti.*

It will be recalled that the rest of the Muslim population were called Saracens. In Arabic language usage and public thought, the term *ʿarab* was confined to mean the nomadic people until the 20th century. See on this problem, for instance, the excellent work by Ṣāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣri, *Kalimat al-ᶜarab fī Muqaddima Ibn Ḫaldūn*, in: *Dirāsāt ʿan Muqaddima, I., Ḫ.*, Baghdad 1961, pp. 151—167. Concrete examples: p. 153: *ḏahaba ilā l-ʿarab* «he left for the steppe»; *kāna ʿinda'l-ʿarab* «he was among the Bedouins»; tents are called *buyūt al-ʿarab*, etc., etc. On the basically Bedouin substratum of the recent past and present Arabic mentality, system of values, and family model, etc., see: Patai, Raphael, *The Arab Mind*, New York 1976, an excellent and pioneering work.

[19] About *ẖuwa*, from the pre-Islamic times until the most recent times, see: Oppenheim, M. von, *Die Beduinen* I, Leipzig 1939, p. 22—23; Dussaud, R., *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Paris 1955, pp. 15—16, 205; Baer, G., *Population and Society in the Arab East*, London 1964, pp. 121—122, 124, 128, 136.

[20] About the «forced reciprocity» see: R. Simon, *A mekkai kereskedelem kialakulása és jellege* [The Rise and Character of the Meccan Trade], Budapest 1975, pp. 130—131.

more exposed and, as long as the sedentary section was strong enough (possession of their own army, or a steppe «buffer state», as in the case of Sāsānian Iran and Byzantium on the eve of Islam), the form of the intercourse was basically defined by the sedentary element in harmony with their various — chiefly military and trading — considerations; however, the moment the settled peope became weaker politically and militarily, the economic compulsion of the nomads became the dominant principle of the intercourse. Ancient cuneiform, epigraphic and historico-geographical source materials suggest the relative dominance of the sedentary element, while upon the flourishing of Ptolemaid, Roman and Byzantine maritime navigation, the weakening and/or fall of southern state formations and of the power of the Nabateans and Palmyra, and due to other cause (continuous wars between the great powers of that age: Byzantium and Iran, and the disappearance of buffer states), increasing Bedouinization took place, which, after the fall of the southern Arab statehood in the 6th century, increasingly made its influence felt in the life of the sedentarized. Against such a background Islamic Mecca emerged, functioning as a «Porte of Trade» among the great powers and deeprooted in the nomadic tribal society — as a result of the conflicts they themselves could not settle.[21] New emerging Islam defused the conflicts in such a way that it directed the explosive force of «Bedouinizatioh» outwards, and exploited in the wars of conquest. However, the contradictory character of the «Arab empire» that emerged upon the conquests (consider the recurrent conflicts that triggered off the «civil wars» of the Umayyad era) primarily resulted in the persistence — even under the transformed conditions — of a nomadic tribal element. In part, the «Abbasid revolution» can be attributed to it. Proceeding along with the historical ebb and flow, the following — schematic — description can be given: the short-lived Abbasid consolidation (middle of the 8th to the first third of the 9th century) was followed by the «storms of the political sky»: the foundation of dynasties by nomadic conquerors of Iranian, Central Asian Turkic and North African origin. It will be recalled that this recurrent conflict and change of places between the nomads and settled people were the pivotal concept of the famous philosophical Introduction (*al-Muqaddima*), written by the reputed North African scholar of the philosophy of history, Ibn Ḫaldūn (1332—1406).[22] Ibn Ḫaldūn was the

[21] See: Simon, Róbert, *Az iszlám keletkezése* [The Genesis of Islam], Budapest 1967, especially: pp. 117—134; Simon, *A mekkai kereskedelem kialakulása és jellege*, Budapest 1975, especially pp. 121—156.

[22] See the second and third chapters that form the backbone of *al-Muqaddima:* in the edition of M. Qutremère *(Prolegomènes d'Ebn Khaldoun*, Paris 1858) t. XVI, p. 220—t. XVII, p. 211; in the edition of ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (al-Qāhira 1376—82/1957—1962), pp. 407—780, furthermore, in the fourth and fifth chapters, where there is a discussion on the *urban* form of civilization *(al-ʿumrān)*, and the ways in which one can

greatest Oriental representative of the cyclical conception of history, followed by historians from Polybius to Vico. He was rediscovered by 19th century sociological thought in Europe, which regarded him as the precursor of diverse disciplines emerging in bourgeois society (the philosophy of history, history as a science, sociology and political economy). He was a political thinker in the first place. His merit was briefly that he clearly realized that the relationship of Middle Eastern politics and its «economic foundation» was inorganic, and that it was not more than — using Marx's words — the indifferent unity of town and countryside,[23] and that the nomadic element cultivated an intimate relationship with the towns, the «reigning camps», that is the political domain, rather than the cultivators.

(3) Finally, repeatedly stressing the fundamental characteristic of the Middle East steppe civilization that it was based on a particular and complementary symbiosis of nomads and sedentary people, in line with the earlier mentioned outline, it is possible to speak of the differences that separate it from nomadism in Central Asia. As for the latter, research by A. N. Rakitnikov and — complementing his findings — Xavier de Planhol established[24] that the rhythm of the winter-summer transhumance of the nomads either fully exluded the appearance of land cultivation and of town (the nomads had to graze in that season which would best suit cultivation and in those areas most appropriate for plant growing), or his latter may have come into existence only in those places (at the foot of mountains, and always as a result of artificial irrigation!) where they necessarily developed under the control of

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live in town *(fī l-maʿāš wa-wuǧūhi-hī min al-kasb waʾ ṣ-ṣanāʾiʿ)*, land cultivation is not really taken into consideration. However, emphasis is placed on the crafts and long-distance trade that served luxury requirements, and which were run by the state, that was in turn interpenetrated by the nomadic element. The human ecological basis for it was that *outside Egypt* (especially in Northern Africa — the region where Ibn Ḫaldūn made his examinations) land cultivation played a minor role indeed in the state revenues. On the other hand, the long-disrance (in this given case: trans-Saharan) trade, which was intimately linked with the nomads, represented a heavy revenue item!

[23] Marx, K., *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie (Rohentwurf)*, Berlin 1974, p. 382 («die asiatische Geschichte ist eine Art indifferenter Einheit von Stadt und Land»).

[24] Rakitnikov, A. N., *Utilisation agricole et pastorale des terres dans le sémi-désert (par exemple des sémi-déserts de la région pré-caspienne en U.R.S.S.)*. Essai de géographie (Recueil d'articles pour le XVIIIe Congrès International de Géographie), Moscou—Leningrad 1956, pp. 303—311; Rakitnikov, *Некоторые особенности историчекой географии земледелия и животноводства в Средней Азии: Вопросы географии* 57 (1960), *Историческая география:* pp. 71—90; Xavier de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1968, and see especially pp. 21—35. Valuable ethnographic contributions are given to the differences between nomadism in the Middle East and Central Asia in Patai, R., *Nomadism: «Middle Eastern and Central Asian»: Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 7 (1951), pp. 401—414.

nomads. On the other hand, in the Arabian peninsula the winter-summer rhythm of nomadic migration (only during summer was it necessary to pitch the tents in the vicinity of the sedentary people, for the winter rains also permitted the living of a nomadic life in semidesert and desert areas, far from the settled ones) did not coincide in time, i.e. it did not come into conflict with the life rhythm of the residents of the oases and towns — and for this very reason the latter's economic significance, and political-ideological role may at least have been as great as those of the nomads. In can, therefore, be concluded that a campaign of conquest of the type of Genghis Khan, which had a «pure» nomadic character, was an exclusively Central Asian phenonomenon, it is inconceivable in the Middle East, while Muḥammad and Islam were the phenomena of the Middle East, whose inverse proof is that, whenever happening to settle in the Middle East, Central Asian Mongolian or Turkic nomadic conquerors assimilated to the Islamic civilization.

2. The State Interpenetrated by Islamic Nomadism

The — in time and space — highly heterogeneous elements of a complex historical phenomena, almost 1,500 years old, were united by their belonging to the same guiding principle, Islam. Obviously, the interpretation of Islam as the guiding principle of a definite set of historical phenomena, or to put it more precisely, a social reproduction consisting of segments of various quality, means that we evaluate Islam as a unified civilization and type of historical development, manifesting changes and varieties, which is, on the one hand, due to the legacy of the Hellenistic culture, an organic continuation of the ancient Middle East development in the most diverse spheres of social being and, on the other hand, despite extremist attempted responses to the new «challenges» of the capitalism-created world history (economically determined adjustment to the world market on the one extreme: and «Arab nationalism», the negation of what is outside», «over there», that is Western European development, on the other extreme), it is at present and in the foreseeable future determining the historical ebb and flow of the region in the capacity of the «dominant moment» (in addition to the clear-cut about-face in Iran, in this connection reference can be made to the failure of the efforts, started by Kemal Atatürk, to set up a Westernized and laicized Turkey).

Due however, to the exceptional length of this historical process, major changes can be seen: flux and reflux, the generous assimilation and toleration of phenomena of other types. It is one of the enigmas of the Middle East civilization that still has to be solved that different, often rather heterogeneous elements could freely co-exist. To briefly survey the fundamental elements of Islam and draw a comparison with other world religions, it would be possible

not only to exactly define that «enigma», but also to proceed to other problems, such as: (a) where did Islam, in the course of its spread, strike really deep roots and where did it fail to permeate the new conditions and ultimately remained an alien phenomenon, i.e. where to draw the historico-geographical boundaries of the «Islamic civilization»; (b) whether or not the «unity of the contradictions» constituting Islam is dialectic; (c) what explains — to use Marx's words — that «the storms of the political sky did not affect the economic foundations of society», or more exactly, provided a change occurred, which segments of society were affected by it?

Islam emerged on the basis of the traditional tribal society, as facilitated by Mecca's long-distance caravan trade in luxury goods. The maximum this trade could do was dissolve the given social form. As a contribution to the history of relevant research, it should be noted that often in bourgeois research on Islam, and in the Marxist research under the influence of M. N. Pokrovskij, a Russian Soviet historian (1868—1932) especially in the second half of the 1920s, trade and the merchant's and usurer's capital were identified with capitalism or industrial capital,[25] and describing as capitalist the trade of antiquity and the Middle Ages (cf. Mommsen's «Roman capitalism», which was criticized by Marx,[26]), they spoke of Meccan capitalism, and characterized Islam as a capitalist or «capitalistic» ideology. Analysing precapitalist development and the genesis of capitalism, Marx proved unequivocally that «das *bloße Dasein des Geldvermögens* und selbst Gewinnung einer Art supremacy seinerseits reicht keineswegs dazu hin, da jene *Auflösung in Kapital* geschehe. Sonst hätte das alte Rom, Byzanz etc. mit freier Arbeit und Kapital seine Geschichte geendet oder vielmehr eine neue Geschichte begonnen.» (*Grundriß der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, Berlin 1953, p. 405.) Owing to its orientation toward the exchange value, trade and merchant's capital everywhere exerted a distintegrating influence on social reproduction, which was based on use value, however, to quote Marx once again «Die Entwicklung des Handels und des Handelskapitals entwickelt überall die Richtung der Produktion auf Tauschwert, vergrössert ihren Umfang, vermannigfacht und kosmopolisiert sie, entwickelt das Geld zum Weltgeld. Der Handel wirkt deshalb überall mehr oder minder auflösend auf die vorgefundenen Organisationen der Produktion, die in allen ihren verschiedenen Forman hauptsächlich auf den Gebrauchswert gerichtet sind. Wieweit er aber die Auflösung der alten Produtionsweise bewirkt, hängt zunächst ab von ihrer Festigkeit und innern Gliederung. Und wohin dieser Prozess der Auflösung ausläuft, d. h. welche neue Produktionsweise an Stelle der alten tritt, hängt nicht vom Handel ab,

[25] Soviet research on Islam in that era was influenced by Pokrovskij. See: Smirnov, N. A., pp. 184—194. *Очерки истории изучения ислама в С. С. С. Р.*, Moscow 1954,

[26] Marx, K., *Das Kapital I.: Mew* 23, Berlin 1977, p. 182, n. 39.

sondern vom Charakter der alten Produktionsweise selbst.» (Marx, *Das Kapital, MEW*, Bd. 25. Berlin 1977, p. 344.) The disruptive effect of the caravan trade of Mecca — to use the term of Karl Polányi — functioned as a «Porte of Trade» between Sāsānian Iran and Byzantium, and its direction depended in this given case on traditional tribal society. Analysing the genesis of Islam, two basic elements have to be taken into consideration: town-dwelling merchants and the nomadic tribes surrounding them. The cultivators become an important element only after the Arab conquests, and then evolved from the latter two, and was subordinated to the militarily and bureaucratically organized conquesting community. It can be concluded, therefore, that Islam was not a peasant's religion, outlook, way of life, or society-integrating principle, but rather the result of a particular urban development (taking place in precapitalist «merchants' towns» and emperor's seats that evolved from them), which in the domain of politics (as warriors of the recurrent waves of conquering campaigns and in the original structure of resultant dynasties, and being their potential army) maintained close links with the nomads. In traditional Muslim society, which can be seen as an ideal type, the «economic foundations» — that can be located only as a result of multiple abstraction — and the political sphere maintained close, but at the same time, indifferent relations. It is worth once again quoting Marx to describe the relations of these pillars of society, all the more so as he distinguished basic historical forms in this argument: «Die klassische alte Geschichte is Stadtgeschichte, aber von Städten, gegründet auf Ureigentum und Agrikultur; die asiatische Geschichte ist eine Art indifferenter Einheit von Stadt und Land (die eigentlich grossen Städte sind bloß als fürsterliche Lager hier zu betrachten, als Superfötation über die eigentlich ökonomische Konstruktion); das Mittelalter (germanische Zeit) geht vom Land als Sitz der Geschichte aus, deren Fortentwicklung dann im Gegensatz von Stadt und Land vor sich geht; die moderne (Geschichte) ist Verstädtischung des Landes, nicht wie bei den Antiken Verländlichung des Stadt.» (*Grundrisse*, p. 382.) What does the expression: indifferent unity of town and village mean? This is society based on state-organized self-sufficient village communities, which do not have economic or political intercourse among themselves, and which only exceptionally played a role in the social ebb and flow. On the other hand, carriers of political power, the town-dwelling elements (in the beginning, there was a military-bureaucratic stratum of leaders in the top which, beginning with the Būyid (the middle of the 10th century), and the Salğūq age (the middle of the 11th century) and after the age of the Mamlūks (the middle of the 13th century) even more so, were militarized; and the merchant-and-craftsman's strata that served them could provoke only the «storms of the political sky», which did not *radically* affect «the structure of the economic foundations of society». (Note that the changes caused by those «storms» could be substantial in other domains of the social reproduction,

considering for instance, the three major religious «revolutions», Judaism Christianity and Islam, all which originated in the Middle East, as a consequence of — with a drastic simplification — sedentarization, urban life and a complex intercourse with *others*; and consider how many new phenomena these religions sparked off!) The two sides mutually supposed each other in the process of social reproduction, although their relationship was not organic, and did not facilitate the dynamism of social ebb and flow — pointing toward a new mode of production (it should be added that neither the antique nor, viewed in itself, West European feudalism were marked by such a dynamism: it marked only the capitalist mode of production of later times). The character of traditional Muslim society can thereby be outlined: the supremacy of the (trading, military and reigning) urban character, and that the nomadic tribal element persisted as an unremovable Nessus shirt; that the two were in constant conflict yet formed a unity, and that the peasants'-village community stood apart from them in the capacity of an inorganic economic basis.

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ON THE SOCIAL PREHISTORY OF THE GYPSIES

BY

JÓZSEF VEKERDI

Two sources are at our disposal to reach conclusions about the remote past of the Gypsy population now living in Europe: historical analysis of the Gypsy vocabulary and the Sanskrit texts referring to the Gypsies' Indian ancestors, viz., the Ḍomba ethnic group.

The vocabulary of the Gypsy language (*Romani*) is extremely poor. The number of words practically used by Gypsies while speaking Romani (if not counting the words borrowed from the language of the actual host country) is about 1,200, while the colloquial word stock of all other European languages is at least ten times larger.

There is also a remarkable difference in the types of words. In all other languages, the number of derivate words is several times higher than that of primary words (roots). In Romani, the number of derivates is lower than that of primary words: there are about 800 primary words and only about 400 derivates out of the ca. 1,200 words of colloquial Romani.[1]

More than half of the primary words (ca. 400—500) are of Indian origin. This number comes much nearer to the amount of the corresponding category in other languages. The oldest etymologic stratum of roots is about two times higher in other languages. For instance, there are about 1,000 primary words of Finno-ugric origin in Hungarian. The comparatively high proportion of primary words of Indian origin gives a more or less solid basis to trace back the Gypsies' social and cultural history to India. Similarly, the loan words borrowed during their wanderings throw some light on the evolution of Gypsy social and economic life in the subsequent centuries.

[1] J. Vekerdi, *Statistisches zum Wortschatz des Zigeunerischen: Acta Linguistica Hung.* XXI (1971), pp. 129—134. N. B., a theoretic distinction is necessary between loan words and foreign words, with regard to the high proportion of this latter category. In all Gypsy dialects, *earlier* borrowings should be regarded as loan words and should be included in the number of Gypsy words. The words borrowed from the language of their *actual* surrounding should be regarded as foreign words and should be excluded from this number. Accordingly, I did not count the Hungarian words in the case of Gypsy dialects spoken in Hungary; their number is unlimited.

The congruence of words of Indian origin is rather fargoing in the individual Gypsy dialects. The loan words borrowed from Greek and South Slavonian are more different. This indicates a rather strong conservativism of the language and together with it, of the mentality. The conservativism of the earliest stock of Gypsy vocabulary creates the probability that the method of tracing back the social history to India with the aid of the words can be relied upon.[2]

The following analysis is based on the lexical stock of Gypsy dialects at present spoken in Hungary. Four Romani dialects (or languages) are known in this country: Vlax (Wallachian Gypsy), Romungro (Hungarian Gypsy), Gurvāri (grammatically affiliated to Transylvanian Gypsy) and Sinto (German Gypsy).[3] The words will be given in the etymologically earlier variant forms e.g. *čhaj* 'daughter' (Romungro) as against the younger *šej* (Vlax).

1. In the field of agriculture, the names of three domesticated plants are of Indian origin: *giv* 'wheat' from Old Indian *gōdhūma* 'id.' (Turner 4287),[4] *šax* 'cabbage' from *śāka* 'vegetable' (T 12370), *drākh* 'vine, grape', from *drākṣā* 'id.' (T 6628). The name of a fruit tree is to be added to this short list: *ākhor* 'nut' from *akṣōṭa* 'id.' (T 48).

As to animal husbandry, the words *guruv* 'bull, ox' < *gōrūpa* 'cow-shaped' (adjective! T 4313), fem. *guruvni* 'cow' (Romani derivate!), *bakro* 'sheep' < *barkara* 'kid, lamb' (T 9153) and *bālo* 'pig' < *bālaka* 'the young of animal' (T 9216, 11325) have Indian etymologies. Perhaps the word *khāni* 'hen' is also of Indian origin (Gypsy words with aspirate sounds are as a rule Indian or Iranian), but the etymology of this word is unknown. (The Romani word for 'cock' is a Gypsy derivate: *bašno* from the verb *bašol* 'make a sound'.)

The semantic change of the words *šax* 'vegetable > cabbage' and *bālo* 'young animal > pig' suggests a rather vague knowledge of the given things. It is possible that this specialization of meaning took place only at a later time, after having left India.

As to agricultural products, there are words of Indian origin for milk (*thud*, from *dugdha* 'id.', T 6391), curd or cheese (*kiral*, from *kilāṭa* 'inspissated milk', T 3181), butter (*khil*, *čil*, from *ghṛta* 'id.', R 4501), fat (*čiken*, from *cikkaṇa* 'smooth liquid', T 4782), egg (*ānro*, from *āṇḍa* 'id.', T 1111), flour

[2] It is generally accepted to speak of Gypsy *dialects*, though the difference between them is so large that it would be more correct to speak of Gypsy *languages* as stressed by C. J. Hutterer.

[3] See K. Erdős, *A classification of Gypsies in Hungary: Acta Orient. Hung.* X (1960), pp. 79–82. Gy. Mészáros, *Cigánydialektusok Magyarországon (nyelvföldrajz): A Janus Pannonius Múzeum évkönyve* XIV–XV (1969–1970), pp. 309–320.

[4] R. L. Turner, *A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*, London 1966. The references follow the numbers of items.

(*āro*, from **ārta*, T 1338), hay (*khas*, from *ghāsa* 'id.', T 4471), straw (*phus*, from **bhuṣa*, T 9293).

The Romani agricultural vocabulary of Indian origin is exhausted by the words listed above. There are no Gypsy words of Indian origin for agricultural instruments such as plough, hoe, spade, and sickle, etc. Similarly, there are no verbs for agricultural processes such as 'to plough', 'to water', 'to plant', sow, reap, mow, graft, and fatten, etc. Only products serving for direct consumption such as foods are named by Indian words. It should be added that other languages of ancient and mediaeval India (Sanskrit included) have developed a very rich agricultural terminology. More than 400 Sanskrit words are known for determining different processes of tillage and the names of plants are not included in this number.[5] The complete lack of terms of agricultural activity indicates that the Gypsies' Indian ancestors were not concerned with any kind of agricultural productive work. They had not developed agricultural skills. They simply enjoyed the fruits of the handiwork of the Indian peasants.

The later stages of Gypsy economic history, as they are reflected by the vocabulary, also confirm the uninterrupted continuity of the fundamental economic structure of Gypsy society in Europe. They have preserved the inherited manner of life with a unique conservativism. No terms of agricultural productive activity became constant elements of Romani vocabulary through borrowing in later centuries. Similarly as in India, where only words for agricultural products to be consumed without applying productive activity were present in the language of the Gypsies' ancestors, only words of the same category were borrowed by them in other countries. From the Indo-Iranian frontier languages (Dardic languages), the name of the apple became deeply rooted in Romani (*phabaj*, from **bhabbā*, T 9387). From Iranian, oat[6] (*džov* < *džou* 'barley'), garlic (*sir* < *sīr*), pear (*ambrol* < *amrūd*), musk melon (*harbuz* < *xarbūza*), honey (*avdin agvin* < *angabīn*) and goat (*busni*, masc. *busno* < *buz*) were borrowed. From Armenian, the word *dudum* 'pumpkin' was borrowed. From Greek, the words *papin* 'goose' < *πάπια* and *ropaj* 'carrot' < *ραπάνι* went over to Romani. All these words are the names of eatable ready products and foods. Very similar to this category of ready products are two further loan words from Iranian: *rēz* 'vineyard' < *raz* and *dušel* 'to milk' < *dūšīdan*.

These Iranian and Greek loan words (and the words of Indian origin) are common to most of the European Gypsy dialects (languages). No further

[5] See Wojtilla Gy., *Az óind mezőgazdasági terminológia*. PhD dissertation (MS. in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

[6] The accepted etymology of Romani *džov* from Old Indian *yava* 'barley' (T 10431) is improbable, because there are no instances of a phonetic change *a* > *o*. In open syllables, the change *a* > *e* is a general rule, cf. in a similar position OI *nava* > Gypsy *nevo* 'new'.

loan words became similarly constant elements of the individual Gypsy dialects from the field of agriculture in the later periods of their migration (in South Slavonian, Rumanian, and Hungarian, etc., lingual areas). Each dialect borrows a certain amount of agricultural terms from the actual host country's language and uses them as foreign words as long as they dwell in the given country and they give them up very soon after having left for another country. It is clear from this that the different Gypsy groups have preserved their inherited abstinence from agriculture. Agricultural activity has never become a regular source of income for members of the individual Gypsy dialectal groups.

2. In the field of hunting and fishing, we find the following Gypsy words of Indian origin: *šošoj* 'hare' < *śaśa* (? T 12357), *ruv* 'wolf' < **ruka* (T 10754), *māčho* 'fish' < *matsya* (T 9758), *čirikli* 'bird' < **citaka* (T 4571). No other Indian words denominating forest animals, fishes or birds are known in Romani (only *rič* 'bear' may be added to this list, though it is unknown in Gypsy dialects in Hungary). Moreover, there are no terms (neither of Indian origin, nor of later borrowings) denoting hunting and fishing tools or certain acts of these occupations such as arrow, snare, net, angle, lime-twig, and to shoot, etc. This confirms that the Gypsies' ancestors did not possess a hunting or firshing culture. Probably, only the occasional catching of beasts lent variety to their alimentation, just like the catching of hedgehogs or gophers in recent times.

The Romani vocabulary also remained almost unchanged in this field. Not a single word denoting forest animals or fish is known as being common to the different Gypsy di lects. With regard to the birds, only the Greek word *kekerāška* 'magpie' < *κορακάξα* became current in all Gypsy dialects. This conservativism of the language once again reflects the conservativism of the traditional Gypsy manner of life.

The extraordinarily limited number of words referring to hunting and to forest animals, birds and fish could be misleading: it could suggest that the Romani vocabulary of living beings is poor in its entirety. This is not true. A comparatively rich stock of words denoting animals they met in everyday life with considerable regularity is to be found in Romani: *birili* 'wasp' < *varōla* (T 11330), *džukel* 'dog' < *yukuṭa*, *džuv* 'louse' < *yūka* (T 10512), *kermo* 'worm' < *kṛmi* (T 3438), *kir* 'ant' < *kīta* (T 3139), *likh* 'nit' < *likṣā* (T 11045), *māč* 'fly' *makṣikā* (T 9696), *pišom* 'flea' < **prişu* (T 9029) and *sap* 'snake' < *sarpa* (T 13271). All dialects have also preserved the early (Iranian or Armenian) loan word *grast* 'horse'. The comparative richness of this latter semantic category against the paucity of names of animals belonging to animal husbandry and hunting or fishing indicates that the language has preserved most of the words referring to things known from their everyday

practice. Accordingly, words and things that are lacking at present were also lacking in their former social and economic life.

3. In the field of handicraft two Gypsy verbs (no substantives at all) go back directly to India: *khuvel* 'spin, weave' < *guphati* (T 4205) and *katel* 'spin' < *kartati* (T 2855). From this latter verb, a Gypsy derivate noun exists: *katli* 'reel' (not directly from Indian).

The terminology of smithery is not of Indian origin in the Gypsy languages. Only three metals have Indian names: *somnakaj* 'gold' < *suvarṇaka* (T 13519), *rup* 'silver' < *rūpya* (T 1085), *sastri* 'iron' < *śastra* (T 12367). The names of other metals (more important for smithery than gold and silver) are of Iranian, Armenian and Greek origin and the names of smithing tools are Greek and South Slavonian. It should be added that the terminology of smithing tools is less homogeneous in the individual Gypsy dialects than the names of metals. Iranian word is: *aspin* 'steel' < *avsin*; Armenian: *arčič* 'lead', 'tin'; Greek: *xarkom* 'copper' < *χάρκωμα*, *moliv* 'lead' < *μολύβι*. The Armenian *pišot* 'bellows' is present in most of the dialects and the Greek *petalo* is of general use everywhere. The names of the other tools are different in the individuel dialects. The pincers are denoted by a Greek word in Romungro (*silabisto*; this word is seldom used in Vlax in the form *silavi*), by a South Slavonian loan in Vlax (*kljašto*), by a German word in Sinto (*canga*). The anvil has a Greek name in Romungro (*amoni*), South Slavonian or Rumanian names in Vlax (*dopo*, *kovanca*). The Greek loan for rasp (*rin*) was preserved only by Vlax from among the Hungarian Gypsy dialects. All dialects use different words for hammer: Romungro *sviri* < Greek *σφυρί*, Vlax and Gurvāri *čokano* < Rumanian *ciocan*, Sinto *hamro* < German *Hammer*. The nail has a Greek name in Vlax and Gurvāri: *karfin* < *καυφί*, Slavonian in Romungro: *klinco* < *klinic*, German in Sinto: *niglo* < *Nagel*. Thus, the renowned Gypsy smithery does not go back to India. The Gypsies have adopted it in the Balkan peninsula and even there only partially: only some groups became acquainted with it and even they did it independently of each other. Many Gypsy groups (e.g. the Lovāra 'horse dealers') were never concerned with it.

The terminology of other branches of handicraft work (e.g. pottery, carpentry, shoemaking, needlework, and embroidering, etc.) was never borrowed by any of the Gypsy languages.

A common Gypsy word for 'work, job' is *būti* < Old Indian *vṛtti* 'activity, livelihood' (T 12070). The phrase *būti kerel* 'to work, labour' is also used by many dialects.

4. In the field of social organization, the Indian lexical stock of Romani refers to the extended family as the highest social unit known by the Gypsies' Indian ancestors. Words of Indian origin are used for father (*dad* < **dādda*,

T 6261), mother (*daj*), brother (*phral* < *bhrātar*, T 9661), sister (*phen* < *bhaginī*, T 9349), son-in-law (*džamutro* < *jāmātra-ka*, T 5198), daughter-in-law (*bōri* < *vadhūṭī*, T 11250), father-in-law (*sastro* < *śvaśura*, T 12767), mother-in-law (*sasuj śvaśrū*, T 12759). An Indian word also denotes the marriage: *bijav* 'wedding' < *vivāha* 'marriage' (T 11920). Further Indian words of kinship terminology are not met with in Romani. In later times, only two words were borrowed by them: *māmi* 'grandmother' from Armenian and *papu* 'grandfather' from Greek. Although the family as a social unit e.isted with them, no abstract noun denoting 'family' has taken roots in the Gypsy languages.[7]

A higher social unit than the extended family is not reflected either by Gypsy words of Indian origin or by common Gypsy later borrowings.[8] There are two words of Indian origin serving to denote higher social units of the non-Gypsy environment: *gav* 'village' < *grāma* (T 4368) and probably *them* 'country' (the etymology of this latter is not clear; borrowing from Greek *θέμα* is also possible). The town (or fair) is expressed by a Greek loan word in all Gypsy languages: *fōro* < *φόρο*.

5. In the field of the social division of labour and social hierarchy, practically no Romani terminology exists. Neither occupations (fisher, hunter, herdsman, and smith, etc.) nor dignities (chieftain, duke, or voivode, etc.) are denoted by Romani words of Indian origin or by common Gypsy loan words of a later date. The absence of later borrowings indicates that they have preserved the fundamental traits of their Indian social organization without essential changes up to the present time.[8] Only the rather general

[7] Not only a common Gypsy word for 'family' is lacking, but also the individual Gypsy dialects seldom borrow a word expressing this meaning. Thus, the Vlax, Gurvāri and Romungro dialects use the Hungarian word *čalādo* < *család* 'family' only in the sense 'children' (which was the use of earlier Hungarian peasant idiom).

[8] Among the Gypsy dialects spoken in Hungary, only the Lovāri sub-dialect of Vlax uses the Rumanian loan word *fālo* (< *fel*) or the Hungarian loan *fajo* (< *faj*) meaning 'clan'. These words are unknown even to Vlax speakers in other countries just like the Kelderāri Vlax word *vica* 'family, clan' (< Rumanian *viţa*) which is *ad nauseam* referred to in sociological literature, is totally unknown by Vlax Gypsies living in Hungary.

[8] It was natural enough that the social structure and the relating vocabulary remained unchanged, while the Gypsies were wandering in the social units of extended families. After the sedentarization of many Gypsy groups, large Gypsy settlements came into being and it would have been obvious that words expressing the inner relations of the larger communities would be borrowed. The lack of such words is due to the fact that the Gypsy settlements have never been self-supporting organizations. They were entirely dependent on the non-Gypsy environment and this economic parasitism led to stagnation in both social and lingual development. Under these circumstances, the evolution of language and expression has stopped on the inherited microstructural level of the extended family.

terms *raj* 'lord', fem. *rāni* 'lady' (from Old Indian *rājan* 'king', *rājñī* 'queen', T 10679, 10692) and *rašaj* 'priest' (from Prākrit **raṣaya*, T 2460) exist in Romani in this category. Both of them refer to the non-Gypsy society.

While words referring to productive activity are lacking in Romani, many verbs of Indian origin express different non-productive activities of livelihood (household): *kinel* 'buy' < *krīṇāti* (T 3594), *bikinel* 'sell' < *vikrīṇāti* (T 11640), *paruvel* 'exchange' < *pārayati* (? T 8106), *sivel* 'sew' < *sīvyati* (T 13444), *uravel* 'dress' < **ōḍḍh-* (T 2547), *thovel* 'wash' < **dhauvati* (T 6886), *šulavel* 'sweep' < *śōdhayati* (T 12630), *kušel* 'to skin' < *kuṣati* (T 3369), *ušanel* 'sift' < **utkṣāṇayati* (T 1745), *kiravel* 'cook' < *kvathati* (T 3635), *tāvel* 'cook' < *tāpayati* (T 5771), and *pekel* 'bake' < *pacati* (T 7621), etc. Similarly, a number of substantives of this semantic category go back to Old Indian substantives or are derivatives in a homogeneous manner in all dialects from Indian roots (*piri* 'pot', *roj* 'spoon', *gad* 'shirt', *gōno* 'sack', *phal* 'plank', *kher* 'house', and *xāben* 'food', etc.).

This lexical category was enriched by a number of loan words (exclusively substantives!) in later periods. Iranian: *pošom* 'wool', *poxtan* 'linen cloth', *vurdon* 'cart', *kūči* 'cup', *patavo* 'foot clout'; Greek: *kakavi* 'kettle', *sapuni* 'soap', *cerha* 'tent', *coxa* 'skirt', *zumi* 'soup'.

Words expressing singing and dancing are also of Indian origin: *gīli* 'song' < *gīti* (T 4168; the Romani derivation from it is *gilabel* 'sing'), *khelel* 'to dance' < **khell-* (T 3890), *bašavel* 'play a music instrument' (from Romani *bašol* 'to sound' < *vāśyate*).

The preserving of a rich phraseology of things and matters of everyday life confirms that the lack of terminology of other categories was not caused by the dying out of old lexical stock. The absence of words follows from the absence of notions in earlier times. Things and activities that did really exist in Gypsy prehistoric times and later, have preserved their names comparatively well. The very limited extent of Romani lexical stock cannot be explained as a process of impoverishment of the language. One should not be misled by the extraordinary richness of the Sanskrit language (about one hundred thousand words). This does not mean that the languages of all ethnic groups of ancient India stood at a similarly developed level. The lexical stock of the language of the Gypsies' Indian ancestors was probably not richer than it is at present. The needs of their everyday life did not demand a more differentiated vocabularly.

Another linguistic conclusion throws light on the historical and social background of the underdevelopment of prehistoric Gypsy vocabulary. The Gypsies originate from the ancient Indian *Ḍomba* ethnic group, the name of which is not of Aryan origin. It seems to be a Muṇḍa word.[9] The aboriginal

[9] M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heft 7, 1956, S. 464.

Muṇḍa tribes or groups stood on a rather primitive level of cultural development in ancient India and many of them continued to live under the conditions of economic and social structure of primitive communism until recently. Some of the aboriginal Muṇḍa jungle tribes were wandering gatherers on a neolithic cultural level without the knowledge of any productive activity and private property. The Ḍombas have changed their original Muṇḍa language to an Aryan idiom, but their traditional livelihood and culture have remained essentially unchanged.

To sum up: the etymological analysis of the Gypsy vocabulary proves that the Gypsies' ancestors did not pursue either agriculture or hunting, fishing, handicrafts or any regular productive activity in India. Their livelihood seems either to have been based on primitive gathering like that of many other wandering tribes in India[10] or to have been entirely dependent on the producing society from which they might have received food as remuneration for certain services which they carried out (hence the comparative richness of alimentary vocabulary of Indian origin in Romani) or they might have sustained themselves by parasitic means like many other «criminal tribes» in India (Romani *čōr* 'thief' comes from Old Indian *cōra*, T 4931, and the corresponding verb *čōrel* 'steal' also goes back directly to an Indian verb: *cōrayati*, T 4933).

The linguistic inferences can be checked by a few scattered references to the Ḍomba ethnic group in Sanskrit sources.[11]

The earliest reference from the 6th century A. D. mentions the Ḍombas together with musicians: *gandharvāṇāṃ saḍōmbānāṃ* 'of the musicians together with the Ḍombas'.[12] The distinction between the two categories is important. It confirms that the Ḍombas did not belong to the caste of professional musicians in the rigid Indian caste system, music was only a casual source of income for them or something else. This musical activity is in accord with the lexical conclusion that singing and music are denoted by Indian words in Romani.

The next passage from a Sanskrit novellistic tale gives an explanation for the distinction between professional musicians and Ḍombas. The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* 'Ocean of Story' written by Sōmadeva in Kashmir about 1071 throws a curious light on the Ḍomba population as they figured in Indian public opinion of the time.[13] A young lady stole the hoard of gold of a merchant and ran away. As she went out from the city, a Ḍomba with his drum in his hand saw her and pursued her. The lady at once knew that the Ḍomba wanted

[10] Cf. H. Arnold, *Die Zigeuner*, Olten 1965, S. 229, 269.

[11] See in detail my paper *Sanskrit sources on the Ḍomba tribe in Ancient India*: *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, in press.

[12] Varāhamihira: *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 87, 33.

[13] *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* II, 13.

to kill her, so she resorted to a strategy. She asked the Ḍomba to show her how one hangs himself, because she wanted — as she pretended — to commit suicide after a quarrel with her husband. The Ḍomba placed the drum under his feet and fastened the noose round his own throat. The astute lady smashed the drum with a kick and the Ḍomba died.

It is clear from this passage that not all Ḍombas were peaceful wandering musicians earning their livelihood by their art. The Ḍombas' music instrument, the drum, was used to play music, while persons sentenced to death were led to the place of execution. The Ḍombas were professional hangmen in ancient India. Execution was a highly defiling act according to Hindu ritualistic rules and only the two lowest outcaste groups of Indian society were charged with doing it: the Ḍombas and the Caṇḍālas.

The above story presents the Ḍombas not only as hangmen, but also as fearful robbers and murderers. This is no exception in the Indian caste system. Up to the present time there are different «wandering and criminal tribes» in India that professionally live on thieving and robbing. The above passage indicates that the Ḍombas were one of the well-known criminal tribes in ancient India.

It seems that the Ḍomba groups were especially numerous and their behaviour was especially conspicuous in Kashmir around the 10th—11th centuries for the Kashmirian historian Kalhaṇa repeatedly refers to them in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* «Chronicle of kings» (1148). Their presence in Kashmir and in the surrounding territories at that time and also later on can be connected with the Gypsies' emigration which took place via Kashmir a few centuries earlier (hence the influence of Dardic languages in Romani: the Dardic languages are spoken in Kashmir and its Western frontiers). It is reasonable that after the departure of certain Ḍomba groups (which later became the Gypsies of Asia Minor and Europe) other Ḍomba groups continued to dwell in this territory.

Kalhaṇa's short allusions do not contain references to the Ḍombas' occupation. In his work, they became the symbols of the most antisocial, most base elements of society. He considered intercourse with Ḍombas and Caṇḍālas (the two lowest outcaste groups of Hindu society) as the ritually most defiling act. The royal palaces were defiled by the touching of kings having contact with Ḍombas and Caṇḍālas.[14] A dissolute king took in his *purdah* all kinds of unchaste women except for Ḍombas and Caṇḍālas.[15] The same credulous king accepted some liquor from a Ḍomba quack believing that it was a magic potion.[16] Another king addicted to the vice of hunting

[14] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* VI, 192.

[15] *Ibid.* VII, 964.

[16] *Ibid.* VII, 1133. This Ḍomba trick will remind all Hungarian readers of the satyrical poem of the outstanding Hungarian poet J. Arany about a very similar Gypsy

(which was censured by orthodox Hindu ritual) shocked the eyes of his subjects by being surrounded by Ḍomba bands on his hunts.[17] A tyrant debased his minister by dressing him like a comedian and making him run about like a Ḍomba warrior.[18]

There is a passage in Kalhaṇa's chronicle giving an account of the important role played by the Ḍomba tribe on one occasion in Kashmirian political life. King Cakravarman (A. D. 936—937) fell in love with the daughter of a wandering Ḍomba musician who came to Kashmir from abroad with his band. The enamoured king seated the Ḍomba woman on his throne as his first queen. As a result of the royal patronage given to the Ḍombas, they became extremely insolent and began to terrorize the country. Even the ministers flattered the Ḍombas, for their adulators got into the good graces of the royal court. Although many Ḍombas were too uneducated to occupy high posts, the more shrewd ones took over the management of court affairs, i.e. «the robbers became ministers». Everybody obeyed the despotic will of the Ḍombas who overrode the laws. At last, the people of Kashmir could no longer endure this ignominy, they killed the king, and the Ḍombas suddenly disappeared from the country.[19]

The editor of the Rājataraṅgiṇī Sir Aurel Stein remarks that the manner of life and the social position of the Ḍombas were preserved almost without change in the following centuries: «The humblest of these [tribal sections] is probably the one which has least changed its character during the course of centuries. The modern Ḍūmbs, the descendants of the old Ḍombas, are still the low-caste watchmen and village-menials as which they figure in Kalhaṇa's narrative. They . . . cannot intermarry with other Kaśmīrīs. They have thus retained in their appearance a distinctive type of their own.»[20]

There are also different Ḍōm or Ḍūm groups in other parts of Northern India. Everywhere these groups form the lowest layer of the local population. In the Bengal Delta, «they will handle a corpse, kill a stray dog and act as hangman. . . .In the Kumāon and Garhvāl Himālaya, the Ḍōm lives by agriculture and village handicrafts. Further west, the Panjāb Ḍūmnā is often

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transaction: Gypsies prepared a magic bath for a stupid peasant who wanted a moustache and while he was sitting in the tub, they plundered his house (*A bajusz*).

[17] *Ibid.* VI, 182.

[18] *Ibid.* VIII, 94. Of course the Ḍombas have never served as soldiers. Obviously they were typical representatives of cowardliness and the comical effect lay in the antithesis of Domba character and military bravery. Once again, the epic *A nagyidai cigányok* ('The Gypsies in Nagy-Ida') by J. Arany is based on the same comical situation of Gypsy soldiers defending a castle by — roundly scolding the enemies.

[19] *Ibid.* V, 354—413.

[20] M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Râjataraṅgiṇî, a chronicle of the kings of Kaśmîr*, vol. II, 1900, p. 430.

the village sweeper but his ordinary trade is that of cane-work . . . In Bihār and its neighbourhood to the west, the Ḍōm seem to fall into two sections. One settled down to village life, mat-weaving, basket-making, and labour, a little scavenging thrown in, the other more or less nomad, and containing gangs said to be expert and artistic burglars and thieves . . . The Ḍōm of the plains, when settled . . . seem to have no aspirations beyond their traditional occupations.»[21] The Ḍūm in Panjāb are minstrels and genealogists, their women also dance and sing occasionally.[22] The Ḍōm in Hunza, Nagar and Gilgit are musicians and blacksmiths, and also do some agricultural work.[23]

Thus, the descendants of the Ḍombas form neither geographically nor economically a homogeneous population in India in recent time and the same was the situation in ancient India. Scattered Ḍomba groups roamed the country. This is in accordance with the results of linguistic analysis concerning the social and economic structure of the Domba society. On the level of development attained by the «wandering gatherers» and «service nomads»,[24] the society disintegrates into isolated extended families. One cannot speak of a Ḍomba tribe or Ḍomba nation in the proper sense of the word: the Ḍombas were united only by ethnic ties without forming any social unit. The situation has remained the same with the Gypsies in Europe. The Gypsies disintegrate geographically, dialectally, occupationally and socially into incoherent small units. This hereditary disintegration is so strong that it makes them unable to transform their loose gatherings into organized social communities even within the boundaries of compact Gypsy settlements unlike the socially organized settlements (villages) of the non-Gypsy population in each country.

It is quite possible that the pecualiar occupations of the individual Gypsy groups continue to a certain extent the occupations of different Ḍomba groups. E.g., many Romungro Gypsies are musicians, but none of the Romungros deals with horses like the Lovāris or makes troughs like the Beaš Gypsies. We can suppose that the Romungro group originates from a Ḍomba group that was similarly concerned with music. On the other hand, no Lovāri lives on music or on trough making and no Beaš plays music or deals with horses. Probably the ancestors of the Lovāris were never entertainers, and the ancestors of the Beaš group did some handicraft work.

The same refers to social behaviour. The antisocial attitude (criminality) of the individual Gypsy groups is rather different. In Hungary, according to

[21] A. Baines, *Ethnography* (*Castes and tribes*) = Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II, 5 (1912), pp. 83—84.

[22] *Ibid.* p. 88.

[23] Ch. Lorimer, *The Ḍumāki language* (1939), Introduction.

[24] Cf. R. M. Heyden, *The cultural ecology of service nomads*: *The Eastern Anthropologist* 32 (1979), N° 4, pp. 279—309. — I am indebted to Mr. D. Smith for drawing my attention to this important study.

the experience of criminal police and the organs of justice, criminality of Vlax groups (Lovāris) is traditionally much higher than that of other groups and it is remarkable that Lovāris also fall foul of the law in neighbouring countries (Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and Austria) more often than other Gypsies.[25] Lovāri tradition states (in full accordance with non-Gypsy experience) that their hereditary occupation was *mala fide* speculation with horses by men and begging and fortune-telling by women and theft by both sexes.[26] In all probability, these Lovāri professional traditions date back to India. It is likely that the ancestors of these Vlax Gypsy groups formed one of the professional criminal Ḍomba groups (of course, the parasitic dealing with horses supplanted some other parasitic activity of a similar kind at a later period). Sociologists are inclined to overlook this heterogenity of the Gypsy groups and they do not take into account the perseverance of divergent occupational and behavioural traditions inherited by Gypsies from their respective Ḍomba ancestors.

In India the economy and social organization of the ancient Indian Ḍomba groups harmonized with the manifold possibilities of the Asiatic mode of production, but it came into conflict with European economies and societies based on strict rules of private property. In India, the slow evolution of the economic and social structure also made it possible that the inherited forms of primitive communism should be transmitted from generation to generation without essential changes until modern times. In Europe, not only the different situation, but also the rapid evolution has demanded more flexible social behaviour. The Gypsies did not adapt themselves to the changed circumstances and the divergence of their traditional social norms — rooted in the conditions of the Asiatic mode of production — from the demands of the European host society has inevitably led to irreconciliable antagonism between the two systems.

[25] Most Gypsies in Hungarian prisons belong to the Vlax (Lovāri) group despite the fact that Vlax Gypsies number only one quarter of the entire Gypsy population living in the country.

[26] Cf. *Comment les Tsiganes vivaient-ils auparavant?*: *Études Tsiganes* 26 (1980), N° 4, pp. 1—6.

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DAURIEN: DAS KEIMEN UND ABSTERBEN EINES NOMADENREICHES

VON

KÄTHE KŐHALMI

Der Entstehungsprozess der in der Geschichte des asiatischen Steppengürtels erscheinenden Nomadenreiche ist kaum bekannt. Die später zu großer Bedeutung gelangenden Stammesverbände schloßen sich in der Regel im Randbereich der Steppen oder in den anrainenden Waldsteppenzonen zusammen, in Gebieten, die der zeitgenössischen Geschichtsschreibung verschlossen blieben. Im Sichtbereich der Chronisten erscheinen nur die schon gänzlich ausgebildeten Stämme und Stammesverbände, vollständig organisiert, in einer von sauber ausgearbeiteten Abstammungslinien gefeiter Hierarchie, und mit Abstammungmythen, die dazu bestimmt waren, das Gefühl des Zusammengehörens in den verbündeten ethnischen Einheiten verschiedener Herkunft zu sichern. Diese Mythen und Abstammungstabellen lassen nur erschließen, welche Volksgruppen am ethnogenetischen Prozess teilgenommen haben, aber der Vorgang und die Gründe des Zusammenschließens bleiben im Dunkeln. Auch die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen, diese unmittelbare und viele Einzelheiten bewahrende Geschichtquelle, verrät entweder nichts über den Verbindungsprozess der mongolischen Sippen, oder verbirgt aus dynastischen Gründen den Vorgang hinter dem schimmernden Schleier der Mythen.

Der glückliche Umstand, einen Vereinungsprozess von Stämmen mittels zeitgenössischen historischen Dokumenten und Beschreibungen in seinen Einzelheiten verfolgen zu können, ist der Fügung der neuzeitlichen Geschichte zu verdanken. Im 17. Jh. stießen nämlich die beiden sich vergrößernden asiatischen Großmächte, das zaristische Russland und das von der Mandschudynastie beherrschte chinesische Reich, am Amurfluß aneinander, und das Zusammenprallen warf ein Blitzlicht auf das Land und seine Bewohner.

Die Gegenden um den Ober- und Mittellauf des Amur und um den nördlichen Chingan dienten in der Geschichte schon öfters als Wiege späterer Steppenmächte: der Hsien-pi, der Kitan, der Dschürtschen, der Mongolen und endlich der Mandschus. Es kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, daß ohne den Vorstoß der Kosaken nach Transbaikalien und dem Amurgebiet, d. h. in zeitgenössischer Terminologie, nach Daurien, sich hier auch noch eine weitere Steppenmacht herausgebildet hätte.

Bis jetzt blieben die sporadischen Angaben über die ethnischen Vorgänge am Ober- und Mittellauf des Amur in den russischen und den chinesischen Quellen sowie die verstreuten Hinweise der mongolischen und tungusischen Tradition im wesentlichen unbeachtet. Neue Möglichkeiten erhielt die Forschung durch die Herausgabe der diesbezüglichen chinesischen Quellen, von den 20-er Jahre unseres Jahrhunderts an, und der in mandschurischer bzw. mongolischer Sprache abgefassten Dokumente von den 50-er Jahre an.[1] Aber eine systematische Konfrontierung dieser neu zugänglichen Quellen mit den schon bekannten russischen bzw. der oralen Tradition der betroffenen tungusischen und mongolischen Völkerschaften ist bis jetzt noch nicht durchgeführt worden. Die Zielsetzung dieser Arbeit ist es, durch das Übereinanderblenden der verschiedenenen Quellenangaben, Einsicht in die ethnischen Verhältnisse und Geschehen zu erlangen. Diese Aufgabe ist in großen Zügen erfüllbar, obwohl mir einstweilen noch nicht alle Quellen zugänglich waren.

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Am Ende des 16. Jh. erschienen zwei neue Mächte an den Grenzen des geschwächten Ming-Kaiserreiches. Die eine Macht bestand aus den unter dem Großkan Batu Möngke Dayan erstarkten mongolischen Stämmen, die andere aus den unter Nurhači's Führung vereinigten südlichen Dschürtschen-Stämmen unter ihrem neuen Namen, den Mandschus. Aber Dajans Urenkel, Ligdan-Khan, war den zielbewußten Mandschu-Anführern nicht gewachsen und unterlag.[2] Nurhačis Sohn und Nachfolger Abaχai konnte seine Kräfte nun vollkommen der großen Aufgabe der Unterwerfung Chinas widmen. Obwohl er auch mit der Streitkraft der Mongolen rechnen konnte, fuhr er damit fort, sich von den verwandten Dschürtschen-Stämmen mit Gewalt Menschenmaterial für den Militärdienst zu verschaffen. Im Zuge dieser Menschen- und Lebensmittel requirierenden Feldzüge gegen die nördlichen und östlichen Nachbarn zwangen die Mandschus um 1600 die am Sunggari und am *Xûrχa-*

[1] Die am längsten schon zugängliche Arbeit ist Erich Hauer, *Huang-Ts'ing K'ai-kuo Fang-lüeh: Die Gründung des Mandschurischen Kaiserreichs*, Berlin—Leipzig 1926. Gut verwertbare Aufarbeitungen weiterer chinesicher Quellen sind G. V. Melichov's Arbeiten: *Процесс консолидации маньжурских племен при Нурхачи и Абахае (1591—1644): Маньчжурское владычество в Китае*, Москва 1966; Ders., *Маньчжуры на Северо-восток (XVII в)*, Москва, 1974. Von den Ausgaben mandschurischer Quellen sind folgende gut gebrauchbar: *Chiu Man-chou Tang, 'The Old Manchu Archives': The Ninth Year of T'ien-ts'ung (1635/6)*. Ed., transl. and annotated by Kanda Nobuo, Matsumura Jun, Okada Hidehiro. 1—2. Tokyo 1972—1975, im weiteren = *CMCT* IX; *Tongki fuka sindaha hergen i dangse 'The Secret Chronicles of the Manchu Dynasty' 1607—1637 A. D. Man wen lao tang*. Ed., transl. and annotated by Kanda Nobuo, Okamoto Keiji etc. I—VII, Tokyo 1955—1963, = *TFSHD*.

[2] Walter Heissig, *Die Zeit des letzten mongolischen Großkhans Ligdan (1604—1634)*, Opladen 1979, S. 13—16, 19, 20, 24—28, 33—44.

(Mudan)-Fluß lebenden Bauer-Fischer Stämme zum Steuerzahlen (*TFSHD* I, 12, 15; vgl. Hauer, *a. a. O.*, S. 41, 31). Bald nachher wurden auch die näher an der Sunggari-Mündung lebenden Stämme von gleicher Lebensweise von den Mandschus unterworfen und, der ersten Gruppe gleich, ebenfalls *χûrχa* genannt. Das war die zweite *χûrχa*-Gruppe (*TFSHD* I, 16; Hauer, *a. a. O.*, S. 41—42). Um die Untertänigkeit dieser Stämme zu sichern, sandte der Bogdo Khan, wie der Herrscher der Mandschu genannt wurde, 1616 eine Militärexpedition zu den *χûrχa* am Sunggari, und diese drang noch weiter den Amur hinauf, dem *Huang-Ts'ing K'ai-kuo Fang-lüeh* gemäß in nordöstlicher Richtung, tatsächlich aber in nordwestlicher Richtung (Hauer, *a. a. O.*, S. 61). Sie stießen auf die elf Dörfer des *χûrχa*-Häuptlings Boǰiri (das ist schon die dritte *χûrχa*-Gruppe!) und auf die neun Dörfer des *Saχaliyan gurun* 'Saχalijan-Land'. Über eine ungewohnt früh sich bildenden Eisbrücke — übrigens ein verbreitetes Motiv ostasiatischer Märchen — überschritten die Truppen den *Saχaliyan Ula* 'Schwarzen Fluß' (chin. Hei-shui-kiang), d. h. den Amur, und fanden dort noch weitere sechzehn Dörfer des Saχalijan-Landes vor. Diese unterstanden einem *Mokčon* genannten Häuptling. Insgesammt berichteten sie von sechsunddreißig Ortschaften die neu zum Tributzahlen gezwungen wurden, von denen elf zu Boǰiri und fünfundzwanzig zu *Saχaliyan-Ula-gurun* gehörten (*TFSHD* I, 16, 17, 68, 71—75; Hauer, *a. a. O.*, S. 61). Dieses Land wurde übrigens — wahrscheinlich wegen der ähnlichen Lebensweise der Bewohner — auch *Xôrχa/Xorχa-gurun* genannt (*TFSHD* I, 7, 74) und bildete somit die vierte *χûrχa*-Gruppe.[3] Das Saχalijan-Land lag am Mittellauf des Amur, ungefähr zwischen der Mündung der Bureja und der Mündung der Kumara, bzw. am Unterlauf der Seja.

Die Bezeichnung *Xôrχa-gurun* für dieses Gebiet bzw. *χôrχa/χorχa* für seine Bewohner wird auch in späteren Jahren, z. B. 1635, 1637, 1643 angewendet (*CMCT* IX, 123; *TFSHD* VI, 885; Hauer, *a. a. O.*, S. 572), meistens aber werden die Bewohner *solon* oder *saχalča* genannt. In den Jahren 1635—37 erscheint aus dem Land *Saχaliyan-ula* oft ein Stammeshäuptling namens Baldači, mit dem mandschurischen Titel *efu* 'Schwiegersohn', mit großer Begleitung und bringt schöne schwarze Zobelfelle und anderes Pelzwerk, wofür er Seide erhält (*CMCT* IX, 107, 109, 134; *TFSHD* VI, 1072, 1073). Öfters wird seine Provenienz auch genauer angeführt, z. B. *solon-i golo-i saχalča-i Baldači efu* 'der Baldači efu von den Saχalča der Provinz Solon', oder *solon gurun-i Baldači* 'Baldači vom Solon-Land', oder es wird von den drei Häuptlingen der *saχalča*, Baldači, Enebu, Sitai berichtet (*TFSHD* VI, 991; *CMCT* IX, 124, 176). Gelegentlich des Feldzuges gegen die Ming im Jahr

[3] Über die mehrdeutige Anwendung des Volksnamens *χûrχa* vgl. Melichov, *Процесс*, S. 95; Ders., *Маньчжуры*, S. 50—54; B. P. Polevoj, *Дючерская проблема (по данным русских документов XVII в): Советская Этнография* 1979: 3, S. 49—56.

1618 erscheint in den Dokumenten neben dem Mongolen *Enggedel efu* auch ein gewisser *Saχalča gurun-i amban saχaliyan gebungge χoǰiχôn* 'Vornehme des Saχalča Landes, der saχaliyan genannte Tochtermann' (*TFSHD* I, 90; Hauer, *a. a. O.*, S. 65). Aus Saχalča-Land wird auch schon 1621 Zobelfell-Steuer gebracht (*TFSHD* I, 90, 343; IV, 107—8). Vom Sommer des Jahres 1635 erfahren wir, daß ein Duba Taiǰi genannter Solone mit Dunggüne zusammen von dem Moo-minggan-Mongolen Erkem Daičing Bayan Pferde wegtrieb (*CMCT* IX, 135).

Mit den weitesten Informationen über das Land am 'Schwarzen Fluß' dient eine Aufzeichnung vom Sommer 1635, in der die Dörfer angegeben sind, aus denen man Tribut brachte. Baldači kam aus dem Dorf *Sebki*, Sadai aus *Esuri*, von den Dörfern *Galdasu, Gobol, Xolidai, Keyen, Ulusu, Yurgin, Xailun, Gunung, Kundulun, Uran* ist nur die Zahl der erschienenen Männer angegeben. Endlich kamen auch von den nomadischen Solonen acht Männer, vier sind bei den Qorčin-Mongolen zurückgeblieben, vier sind angekommen (*CMCT* IX, 169).

Anhand der angeführten Quellenangaben kann von den Bewohnern des Landes *Saχaliyan-ula* festgestellt werden, daß zu ihnen ausser den *χûrχa* auch Solonen gehörten. Die Solonen teilten sich in verschiedene Gruppen, einige gehörten zum Stamm Saχalča, dessen Häuptlinge Baldači efu und Sadai waren, andere, wie Duba Taiǰi und Dunggüne, gehörten nicht dazu. Auch werden Nomaden-Solonen erwähnt.

Im Jahre 1636 wurde den Mandschus in diesem Gebiet auch ein anderer Solonen-Stamm bekannt, der der Kamniganen. Aus den zahlreichen Berichten über diesen Vorfall ergibt sich folgendes Bild: Alai Darχan verfolgte im Auftrag des Mandschu-Herrschers Moominggan-Deserteure nördlich vom Chinggan-Gebirge, und den Onon-Fluß überschreitend fand er am *Agu* genannten Ort den anders redenden *Qamniyan*-Stamm, der anstatt Rindvieh Hirsche hält. Von dort nahm er gleich ihr Stammesoberhaupt *Yelei/Yegelei eǰen* mit 35 Familien und 350 Pferden mit. Yelei und seine zwei Frauen, sein Töchterchen, 17 Männer und 8 Frauen der Begleitung wurden mit Seidenkleidern und Hüten reichlich beschenkt, Yelei erhielt ein drachenbesticktes Hofgewand, einen vollständigen Waffengürtel und Pferdegeschirr (*TFSHD* VI, 1104—5). Offenbar wollte der Mandschu-Hof ihn zum Steuerzahlen bewegen. Doch Yelei würdigte diese Gunst nicht; heimkehrend rüstete er auf, indem er sehr viele Pferde anschaffte, d. h. raubte. 1637 entsandten die Mandschus unter Anführung Siteku's ein Kommando gegen Yelei. Dem Kommando, das über *Bombogor*[4] vorrückte, gelang es in der Gegend von

[4] *Bombogor* bedeutet auf dagurisch 'Bergfestung' (N. N. Poppe, *Дагурское наречие*, Ленинград 1930, S. 9). In den mandschurischen Quellen ist es auch der Name eines Solonischen Fürsten, s. S. 259.

Oldo[5] Yelei einzuholen und zu töten. In diesem Bericht erscheinen sehr viele mythische Momente[6] (*TFSHD* VII, 1479; Hauer, *a. a. O.*, S. 446—7). Die Unruhen und Auflehnung gegen die Mandschus waren damit bei weitem nicht zu Ende. Abaχai war gezwungen, im Jahr 1639 ein ungewöhnlich großes Heer zu rüsten, das, von der Kumara-Mündung ausgehend, das Solonen-Land bekriegte. Die Festungen *Dečen*, *Asačin*, *Yaksa* und *Dogin* leisteten erbitterten Wiederstand, letztlich fielen sie, und die Mandschus konnten 6950 solonische Krieger gefangennehmen und in ihr Bannerheer einreihen. Nur der schon früher erwähnte Baldači blieb den Mandschus treu, die Bevölkerung der zwei *J̌inkiri-ula*, d. h. der Seja und Selemdscha, hielten zu Bombogor, dem Anführer des Aufstandes. Im nächsten Jahr entsandte Abaχai den Siteku mit seinem erprobten Mordkommando gegen Bombogor. Erst wurde das Lager der Solonen am Orte Gan[7] überfallen, dann Bombogor selbst am Orte *Čilotai* — auf mongolisch 'Felsig' — erfaßt und ermordet. Die Macht der Solonen schien gebrochen zu sein, denn zwei Jahre später, 1643, werden einige früher als solonisch bezeichnete Dörfer bzw. Festungen an der Selemdscha *χûrχa* genannt. Es handelt sich um *Boχori*, *Nergir*, *Duli*, *Galdasu*, *Čokučan*, *Nenggil* (Hauer, *a. a. O.*, S. 502—504, 514—516, 572; Melichov, *a. a. O.*, S. 68—72).

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In den Jahren, in denen die Kriege gegen die Kamniganen und Solonen stattfanden kamen die ersten Nachrichten über Daurien zu den ostwärts vordringenden Kosaken und Pionieren. Und da diese Berichte von Silber, Zobelfellen, Getreide und Obst redeten, rüsteten sich sehr bald Expeditionen zur Erforschung und Eroberung der paradiesischen Gebiete. Als erster kam im Jahr 1643 der Kosakenanführer Vasilij Danilovič Pojarkov über das Stanowo-Gebirge in das Tal der Seja, und anschließend fuhr er als erster den Amur hinunter bis zur Mündung. Ihm folgte 1650 Jerofej Pavlovič Chabarov, der über den Tunggir-Paß den kürzesten Weg ins Schilka-Amur-Tal fand. Sowohl Pojarkov als auch Chabarov berichteten von einer Daur

[5] Bei Hauer, *a. a. O.*, *Ondo*. Aufgrund des im ewenkischen häufigen Wechsel von $n \sim l$ identifiziere ich es mit dem Fluß Oldo, Nebenfluß des Amur zwischen Urka und Olga.

[6] Wildgänse und ein weißer Fuchs helfen den Verfolgern. Beide kommen sehr häufig in sibirischen und ostasiatischen Mythen vor.

[7] Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich hier um den Paß, von dem aus der eine Gan-Fluß in den Argun, der andere, auch Ken genannt, in den Nonni fließt. Schon P. S. Pallas bemerkte, daß häufig die von einem Gebirge in zwei Richtungen fließenden Gewässer den selben Namen tragen (*Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs*, III. Teil, Petersburg 1776, S. 189). — Vgl. hierzu auch den *Tauern*-Paß und die zwei *Taurach* Bäche im Land Salzburg.

genannten Ackerbauer-Bevölkerung mit befestigten Dörfern und aus Balken gebauten Festungen an den Flüssen, wo Getreide aufbewahrt wurde. Die Namen der daurischen Siedlungen und Burgen entsprechen den solonischen bzw. *χûrχa*-Dörfern und Burgen der mandschurisch-chinesischen Quellen (vgl. Tabelle). Die Russen trafen auch mit den Anführern der Einwohnerschaft zusammen, unter denen auch schon bereits bekannte Namen zu finden sind, z. B. *Baldača* (*Baldači*), *Kolpa* (*Olpa*), *Omutei*, *Duva* (*Duba*) usw.

Der dritte Vorstoß gegen Daurien erfolgte 1651, als Beketov den Baikal-See überquerend den Chilok hinauffuhr und am Irgen-See auf zahlreiche pferdezüchtende Tungusen stieß. Weiter die Ingoda und Schilka hinabfahrend traf er an der Mündung des Nertscha/Nirtscha Flußes die Neljud genannte Festung (das spätere Nertschinks) und den daurischen Fürsten Gantimur, der es zurückwies, dem Zaren untertan zu werden, und nur ein Freundschaftsbündnis anbot, da er und seine Vorfahren schon lange vor den Mandschus die selbstständigen Herrscher Dauriens waren. Da Beketov seinen Vorschlag nicht annahm, zog er weiter zu seinen Weidegründen am Ergüne (Argun) und Gan-Fluß.[8]

Der Bogdo Khan kümmerte sich anfangs nicht viel um die Fremden am Schwarzen-Drachen-Fluß, erst als sie schon den Sunggari hinauffuhren, wurden Gegenmaßnahmen getroffen. Wegen der überlegenen Kriegstechnik der Kosaken—sie hatten Feuerwaffen—vermieden die Mandschus, nach einigen schlechten Erfahrungen, die bewaffnete Auseinandersetzung. Es schien zielführender, die Fremden auszuhungern, und darum übersiedelten sie die Ackerbauer vom Seja-Amur-Tal an den Nonni und seine Nebenflüsse. Aber als nicht vorhergesehene Folge übersiedelte im nächsten Jahrzehnt fast die gesamte nomadische Solonen-Bevölkerung, die durch die Maßnahmen der Mandschus ihrer Existenzbasis beraubt war und Handel in der gewohnten Form nicht mehr treiben konnte, unter der Führung von Gantimur in den von Russen überwachten Teil von Daurien. Jahrzehnte hindurch wurde der entwichene Gantimur von dem Mandschuherrscher, der inzwischen den Drachenthron bestiegen hatte, zurückgefordert. Die Auslieferung der Entflohenen wurde von den Mandschukaisern nach der Belagerung von Albasin zur Vorbedingung der Friedensberatungen gemacht. Für die Mandschus bedeutete nämlich die Untertänigkeit Gantimurs das Recht auf sein Stammgebiet. Doch vergebens, Gantimur ließ sich und seine Familie taufen und wurde vom Zaren nach dem Vertrag von Nertschinsk (1689), der Daurien zwischen Russland und China teilte, zum Anführer der transbaikalischen

[8] Die beste Beschreibung der Eroberung Dauriens ist im Buch von J. E. Fischer, *Sibirische Geschichte* I—II, St. Petersburg 1768, besonders, S. 774—778, einige Details bei B. O. Dolgich, *Родовой и племенной состав народов Сибири в XVII в.*, Москва 1960, S. 579—608.

Grenzwache ernannt.[9] Diese Grenzwache bestand aus den daurischen Solonen und den ihnen angeschlossenen burjatischen und mongolischen Sippen. Ihre Selbstbezeichnung, *k'amnīgan* bzw. *moŋgol k'amnīgan*, bewahrten sie bis in unsere Tage.[10]

Aus den geschilderten Ereignissen geht es klar hervor, daß die mandschurischen und die russischen Quellen wohl über dasselbe Land und dieselben Leute berichten, in den Bezeichnungen divergieren aber diese zwei Quellengruppen beheblich. Die Streitfrage besteht im wesentlichen darin, auf welche Volksgruppen sich die Bezeichnungen bezogen und ob eine Gruppe nicht etwa mehrere Namen hatte.

Im Falle der Benennungen: Tungusen, Solonen, Kamniganen ist die Frage noch verhältnismässig leicht zu beantworten. Die Tungusen des 17. Jh. gehörten ihrer Abstammung und Lebensweise nach zu den transbajkalischen Steppentungusen, anders Pferde-Tungusen, und pferdezüchtende Tungusen waren auch die *Solon* und *Qamniyan* der mandschurischen und chinesischen Quellen. Mit diesen zwei Namen wurde annähernd dieselbe Volksgruppe bezeichnet, wenn auch nicht alle Kamniganen als Solonen betrachtet werden können und möglicherweise auch nicht alle Solonen für Kamniganen gehalten werden dürfen (s. dazu S. 269—271). Gantimur und seine Leute wurden übrigens auch *Solon-Kamnigan* genannt.[11]

Den Kern des Problems bedeuten nicht die verschiedenen tungusischen Gruppen und ihre Benennungen, sondern die Frage, wer die Träger der Bezeichnung *Daur/Dagur* im 16—17. Jh. waren. Schon die ersten russischen Berichte nannten die Bewohner des Gebietes, das sich vom Oberlauf des Witim an der Schilka entlang bis zur Mündung der Seja erstreckt, Dauren. Über Gantimur wurde auch öfters als «daurischer Fürst» berichtet.[12] Darum wurde von einigen Forschern angenommen, daß Gantimur tatsächlich daurischer Abstammung gewesen wäre, andere wieder meinten, daß das Siedlungsgebiet der

[9] V. A. Tugolukov, *Конные тунгусы: Этногенез и этническая история народов Севера*, Москва 1975, S. 80—95; S. Patkanov, *Опыт географии и статистики тунгуских племен Сибири*, Санктпетербург 1906, S. 203—204.

[10] K. U.-Kőhalmi, *Der mongolisch-kamniganische Dialekt von Dadal Sum*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* IX (1959), S. 164—204; Dies., *Еще раз к вопросу о происхождении хамниган: Краткие сообщения Института народов Азии* 85 (1964), S. 156—164; Шагдаров—Дамдинов, *О языке ононских хамниган: Труды Бурятского института общественных наук* 10 (1968), S. 38—53.

[11] Vgl. Pallas, *a. a. O.*, S. 240; J. F. Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, London 1919, S. 428, 446. Die Mandschus und die Chinesen nannten die Tungusen eher Solon, die Russen aber Kamnigan, s. Giovanni Stary, *Chinas erste Gesandte in Russland*, Wiesbaden 1976, S. 54.

[12] Patkanov, *a. a. O.*, S. 203—204; Baddeley, *a. a. O.*, S. 290—291, 270; S. M. Shirokogroff, *Social Organisation of the Northern Tungus*, Shanghai 1929, S. 62; Tugolukov, *a. a. O.*, S. 92, 96.

Daguren früher westwärts bis zu Tschita gereicht hätte. Sogar Burjaten wurden unter den Daguren vermutet. Keine dieser Annahmen löst aber das Problem. Die mandschurisch-chinesischen Quellen machen das Bild noch verworrener, in dem sie — im Gegensatz zu den russichen Berichten — bis ca. 1680 weder die Bewohner des mittleren Amur-Beckens, noch die des Seja-Tales und der Selemdscha Daguren nennen (vgl. Melichov, *a. a. O.*, S. 186, 206). Dieser Volksname kommt zum ersten Mal in den Instruktionen vor, die der Kaiser der verhandelnden mandschurischen Delegation nach Nertschinsk mitgab.

Es wäre aber falsch, aus alldem die Folgerung zu ziehen, die Mandschus hätten von den Daguren nicht gewußt (Melichov, *a. a. O.*). Sie wußten genauen Bescheid über sie. Meistens waren aber die Daguren in die *χôrχa*/*χorχa* genannten Völkerschaften vom Saχaliyan-Land inbegriffen, konnten aber notfalls auch unterschieden werden. Im Juli des Jahres 1636 empfing der Bogdo Khan die Huldigung hoher Bannerofiziere, vornehmer Mongolen und Chinesen «und dann kamen noch als Neulinge die *mongγo χôrχa*» (*CMCT* IV, 185). Nicht viel später wurde von den *mongγo χôrχa* behauptet, daß sie sehr reich an Getreide seien (*CMCT* IV, 197). Es wurde von mir schon erwähnt, daß *χôrχa* in den zeitgenössischen mandschurischen Dokumenten weniger die ethnische Zugehörigkeit als die Lebensweise angedeutet hat (s. S. 257). Mongolen von der seßhaften Lebensweise der Fischer-Ackerbauer konnten zu dieser Zeit im mittleren Amur-Tal nur die Daguren sein. Die mandschurischen Dokumente unterscheiden in dieser Gegend auch die *χôwalča χôrχa* (*CMCT* IX, 186—187), die wahrscheinlich einer der Dschürtschen Stämme waren.

Ein Widerspruch zeichnet sich zwischen den mandschurisch-chinesischen Quellen einerseits und den russischen andererseits auch bezüglich der Frage ab, wer in den Dörfern des Amur-Seja-Tales wohnte, wem die Festungen gehörten. Die mandschurischen und chinesischen Quellen sprechen im Zusammenhang mit *Pa-ha-na* (russ. *Bokan*), *Gobol* (russ. *Goguli*), *Sebki* (russ. *Sepki*), usw. nur von Solonen bzw. Saχalča, die ebenfalls ein Teil der Solonen waren; die russischen Pioniere aber berichteten aus denselben Ortschaften nur von Dauren (d. h. Daguren). Viele der Ortsnamen sind auf ersten Blick eindeutig mongolisch (z. B. *Ulusu*, *Xailun*, *Uran*, *Ukur*, usw.). Viel bedeutender ist es aber, daß ein beachtlich großer Teil dieser Dorf- bzw. Festungsnamen des 17. Jh.s mit den Sippen- (*χala-* und *mokon-*)namen übereinstimmen, die V. V. Ponosov 1943 bei den Daguren von Tsitsikar aufgezeichnet hat.[13] Weitere Übereinstimmungen finden wir mit dagurischen Ortsnamen von heute und auch mit Sippennamen der Butha-Daguren[14] (s. Tafel).

[13] V. N. Jernakov, *Dagurs in the Northeast China*: *Zentralasiatische Studien* 8 (1974), S. 411.

[14] Samuel E. Martin, *Dagur Mongolian Grammar. Texts and Lexicon*. Bloomington—The Hague 1961, S. 124, 163; V. S. Starikov, *Тунгусо-маньчжурские народы КНР: Народы Восточной Азии*, Москва—Ленинград 1965. S. 669—70.

Die Übereinstimmung der Orts- und Sippennamen bezeugt einwandfrei, daß die Bewohner der befestigten Dörfer im Amur-Seja-Selemdscha-Tal im 17. Jh. Daguren waren. Entweder trugen die Dörfer die Namen der jeweiligen Sippen schon damals, oder es benannten sich die dagurischen Sippen nach der Umsiedlung ins Nonni-Tal nach ihren alten Siedlungen.

Im Gegensatz aber zu den dagurischen Ortsnamen haben die Personen, meist Anführer und Vornehme, mit denen die Russen verhandelten oder die in den mandschurischen Quellen angeführt wurden, z. B. Mokčon, Baldači, Duba, Olpa, Tolga, Lavkaj, Šilganej, Čipa, usw., klar tungusische oder nach tungusischer Art gebildete Namen.[15] Diese Namen sind zu einem auffallend großen Prozentsatz aus Flußnamen des Amurgebietes gebildet, z. B. *Šilkanej* aus *Šilka*, *Olgamča* aus *Olga*, Nebenfluß des Amur, *Emardi* aus *Emur*, rechter Nebenfluß des Amur (anders Albasika) usw. Da es bei den Tungusen Sitte war, die Kinder nach den Gewässern, in deren Nähe sie zur Welt kamen, zu bennenen (vgl. Vasil'evič, *Эвенки*, S. 171—172), ist daraus zu folgern, daß die solonische Führungsschicht des 17. Jh. schon mindestens die zweite Generation in diesem Gebiet war. Das bekräftigt auch die Behauptung Gantimurs, daß schon seine Väter an der Nertscha gelebt hätten (Fischer, *a. a. O.*, S. 773—775).

Es erweist sich somit, daß im 16—17. Jh. die Solonen und die Daguren in demselben Territorium lebten. Das Andenken des gemeinamen Landes blieb bei den Daguren und den Tungusen noch über Jahrhunderte wach. Darüber berichtete nicht nur Ysbrandt Ides im 18. Jh. sondern auch Shirokogoroff im 20. Jh.[16] In dieser Symbiose bildeten die Dauren/Daguren/*mongγol χôrχa* die Ackerbau-Bevölkerung, die wahrscheinlich auch schon damals ihre Dörfer an den Flußufern erbaute, wo sie auch fischen konnte. Die Dörfer waren nach den von Shirokogoroff (*a. a. O.*, S. 78) aufgezeichneten Erzählungen mit Lehmauern umgeben. Die Daguren bauten ihre Häuser mit quadratischem Grundriß aus Lehm, deckten sie mit Rohr und heizten sie durch einen Herd, dessen Rauchröhren unter den Schlafbänken, den Mauern entlang, herumgeführt waren. In erster Linie bauten sie Getreide an, u. zw. viel Hirse, aber auch Gemüse, Obst, Tabak. Sie hielten Rindvieh und nur wenige Pferde.

[15] Die verbreitetesten namenbildenden Suffixe im Ewenki sind die folgenden: *-ul/-vul, ni/-naj/-laj, -aj, -ča, -ga, tu*, vgl. Vasil'evič, *Эвенки*, Ленинград, 1969, S. 171. Bei den daurischen Tungusen z. B. in den Namen: *Doptiul, Kenjaul, Šanaul; Šilganej, Yelei, Lavkaj, Undaj; Čuronča, Olgamča, Baldača.* Weitere Namen haben in ihrer Bildung Parallelen in ewenkischen Erzählungen, z. B. der Häuptling *Mokčon* im Helden *Kodakčon* (Vasil'evič, *Исторический фольклор эвенков*, Москва—Ленинград, 1966, S. 139), *Šengamon* in Daurien und *Irkušmon* Held (Vasil'evič, *a. a. O.*, S. 296), *Emardi* in Daurien und *Ibdi* Held (*a. a. O.*).

[16] Vgl. E. Ysbrants Ides, *Driejaarige Reize naar China te lande gedaan door den Moskovischen Afgezant*, Amsterdam 1704, S. 57—58; S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social Organisation of the Northern Tungus*, Shanghai 1929, S. 78, 84.

Tafel

Entspechungen der solonischen Siedlungsnamen aus dem XVII. Jh. mit rezenten dagurischen Sippen- und Orstnamen

Die sog. solonischen Siedlungen und Festungen im 17. Jh.				Rezente	
im Huang Ch'ing kai-kuo fang lüe			CMCT	dagurische Sippennamen	Orts- und Flußnamen in Amur-, Seja- und Nonni-Tal
Hauer	Melichov	Rekonstruktion			
Ališan	Аличань	Aličan			Alin *O*
Asajin	Асацзинь	Asačin		achetsin *N*	
(Umnek) bahana	Бахана	Baχan/Bokan			
				bajagir *B*	
Bohori	Бохэли	Boχori		bakara/bakyr *N*	Bokore-cien *O*
Buding	(Улай)будин	Budin			Budinda *O*, *F*
				bulgagir *B*	
				butamu *B*	
				byr'ian *N*	Brjande *F*
				tsinkir *N*	
Cokucan	Чокучань	Čokučan			Čugun *O*
Decen	Дочень	Dočen/Dečen			Dičun *F*
				dankir *B*	
Dedul	Дэдура/Дэдур	Dedul/Dadur		dedur *N*, dadul *B*	
Dogin	Доцзинь	Dogin/Degin		degun *N*	
Doko	Докэ	Doko/Dako		dakutu *N*	Daktuj *O*
Duli	Дули	Duli			
				durmal *N*	Dalmaj *O*
				durtal *N*	
Dusun	Дусунь/Досунь	Dusun/Dosun			
Ertun	Эрту	Ertu/Eltu		el'te *N*	
Ere	Элэ	Ere		vere *N*	
Esuri	Эсули	Esuri	Esuri	khesur *N*	Hesi *O*
Galdasun	Гэрдасу(нь)	Galdasu(n)	Galdasu	galdes *N*	
Gobol	Гобора/Гэбор	Gobol/Gobul	Gobol	gobol, gebol *N*, gobut *B*	
				gapka *B*	

	Гунун	Gunung Guvalar	Gunung Gôwal(ča)		
(Ulan)hajlun	Хайлунь	Xailun	Xailun	khailen *N*	
	Алидай	(X)olidai	Xolidai		Holedi *O*
Hulbur					Kulgur, Hulgur *O*
Yaksa	Якса	Yaksa			
				iare *N*	Ioraχ *F*
				ianyr *N*	
Jurgin	Юйэргэнь	Yurgen	Yurgin		Jurgino *O*
				kaltagir *B*	
	Кеинь	Keyen	Keyen		
				khoto *N*	Choton-obo *O*
	Кундулунь	Kundulun	Kundulun		
Lališan	Лаличань	Laličan			
				merden *N*, *B*	
Mudan	Мудань	Mudan/Modon			
				nadej *N*	
				nakta *N*	
Nenggil	Нэнцзир	Nengil			
Norgal	Норгэр	Nergir		nirgir *N*	
	Улакэ	Olga		valga *N*	Olga *F*
				onon *N*	Onon *F*
Sebki	Сайбуци	Šebki	Šebki	shebke *N*	Šepki *O*, Sepča *O*
				sodor, sudur *B*	Sutur *F*
				togdot *B*	Tugdun *O*
Ukur	Укур	Ukur			Ukur *O*, *F*
	Улай(будин)	Ola		aola *N*	
Umnek(bahana)	Улунакэ/умунакэ	Ulonko		ulonkur *N*	
Ulusut	улусу	Ulusu	Ulusu	ulesu	
Urkan	Урань	Uran	Uran	urat*B*	Ura *O*

Abkürzungen: *B* = Butha Dagur nach Starikov; *F* = Flußnamen; *N* = Dagur vom Nonni-Tal nach Ponosov; *O* = Ortsname.

Auch vor die Karren mit zwei übergroßen Rädern wurden meistens Ochsen gespannt.[17]

Die dagurischen Dörfer unterstanden den Solonen. Pojarkov's Kosaken berichteten von Baldači, daß zu ihm 6 tungusische und 5 daurische Sippen gehörten, von denen er Geisel nahm und Steuer einsammelte (Dolgich, *a. a. O.*, S. 585). Bombogor machten die Mandschus Vorwürfe, daß er von den *χôrχa*-Dörfern Getreide einsammelte (Hauer, *a. a. O.*, S. 502). Die Solonen lagerten das Getreide in den Festungen. Chabarov fand in den Festungen des Lavkaj sehr viel Getreide, und auch Pojarkov wurde von den Dorfbewohnern an die Festung Moldykidič verwiesen, wo viel Getreide sein sollte (Dolgich, *a. a. O.*, S. 585; Fischer, *a. a. O.*, S. 783—784). Der Name dieser Festung kommt von der tungusischen Sippe Moldjakit, die nach Vasil'evič (*Эвенки*, S. 274) heute im Stanowo-Gebirge lebt. Auch andere Festungen führen die Namen tungusischer bzw. solonischer Sippen, z. B. die von Beketov an der Nertscha-Mündung gefundene Festung Neljud oder der befestigte Ort Tu-li (Duli), der im mandschurischen Kriegszug von 1643 zur Selemdscha, erwähnt wird (Hauer, *a. a. O.*, S. 572; Melichov, *Процесс Консолидации*,, S. 93; Ders., *Манчжуры*, S. 213). Die russischen Quellen nennen dementgegen im allgemeinen die Festungen, die sie dem Schilka-Amur-Lauf entlang antrafen, mit den Namen der Häuptlinge, z. B. Festung des Lavkaj, des Albasa (das spätere Albasin), des Tolga usw.

Die Solonen wohnten weder in den Dörfern noch in den Festungen. In letzteren waren gar keine Wohngebäude. Sie bestanden nur aus den in Viereckform gebauten starken Balkenmauern, waren an den Ecken mit Türmen befestigt, und von Wällen und Wassergräben umgeben; drinnen waren höchstens zur Lagerung dienende Gebäude. Nur bei Kriegsgefahr zog sich die Bevölkerung hinter die Mauern zurück (Fischer, *a. a. O.*, S. 782—786, 798—808; Dolgich, *a. a. O.*, S. 579, 582). Nach den Schilderungen der Reisenden lebten die Solonen in ihrer Mehrheit das Leben der Steppenvölker, ähnlich der Mongolen. Sie hielten in erster Linie Pferde, aber auch Rindvieh, Schafe und Kamele, wohnten in Filzjurten, trugen im Sommer blaue Baumwollkleidung und im Winter Schafpelze. Die Reste des traditionellen Waldlebens der Tungusen bewahrten sie in ihrer Kopfbedeckung, in den Bräuchen und Riten, in der Zusammensetzung ihrer Nahrung und in der Stellung der Frauen, die Waffen trugen und sich um die Pferde kümmerten. Ein Teil der daurischen Tungusen jagte in den Wäldern und hielt Renntiere, ein anderer, die Targačin/Torgačin, die im Tale des Chailar- und Gan-Flußes wohnten, übernahmen die Lebensweise der Daguren.[18]

[17] Ides, *a. a. O.*, S. 62; Jernakov, *a. a. O.*, S. 414; L. L. Viktorova, *Монголы*, Москва 1980, S. 145—146, 194.

[18] Die Beschreibung des Lebens der Steppentungusen s. bei Ides, *a. a. O.*, S. 56—60 und bei Pallas, *a. a. O.*, S. 238—243. Die Benennung *targačin/torgačin* läßt sich

In welchen Formen spielte sich nun das Zusammenleben der pferdezüchtenden Solonen und der ackerbauenden Daguren ab? Anhaltspunkte zur Beantwortung der Frage geben schon die ersten Berichte der russischen Pioniere über Daurien. Maksim Perfiliev meldete, daß er, dem Lauf des Witim entgegenfahrend, an den Seen von Baunt auf pferdezüchtende Tungusen gestoßen wäre, die ihm mitgeteilt hätten, daß noch weiter oben am Witim bei der Mündung der Karga (Karenga), ein daurischer Fürst namens Botoga wohne, der reich an Zobelfellen und allerlei Vieh sei, er habe auch viel Seide und Silber. Letztere erhandle er gegen Zobelfelle von einem anderen daurischen Fürsten, Lavkaj, dessen Leute viel Silber-, Kupfer-, und Bleierz graben und verarbeiten sollen. Die Zobelfelle verkaufe er den Chinesen für Seide. Dem Fluß Schilka entlang sollen noch zahlreiche viehzüchtende und Getreide anbauende Daurer leben, die viel Korn ernten, das von Lavkaj und anderen Fürsten für Zobelfelle eingetauscht würde. Weitere Mitteilungen erhielt Ivan Jurjevič Moskvitin von den Tungusen, die an der sich ins Ochotskische Meer ergiessenden Uda lebten: Am jenseitigen Hang des Stanowo-Gebirges, an den Flüßen *Či* (Seja) und Schilka, sollen Daurer leben, bei denen sie ihre Zobelfelle gegen Getreide eintauschen. Die Daurer sollen aus dem Korn auch Schaps brauen, hätten Obstgärten und Wein, hielten außer Pferden und Rinder Schweine und Geflügel. Für ihr Getreide sollen sie von den am Meer wohnenden Kilorcy (Giljaken) Kupfergeschirr und Perlen erhalten. Sie wären auch reich an Gold, Silber und Seide.

Es ist aus diesen Berichten ersichtlich, daß ein reger Wahrenaustausch zwischen den wildreichen bergigen Regionen und dem fruchtbaren Tiefland stattfand. Über den Ablauf des Handels können wir noch Näheres erfahren aus den Berichten der Kosaken: Die Sippen Gantimurs und Lavkajs, die an der Schilka lebten, pflegten die im Winter gejagten kostbaren Pelze und die im Chinggan Gebirge und am Argun gegrabenen und verarbeiteten Metalle, sowie auch Pferde auf großen Flößen zu verfrachten und die Schilka (d. h. den Amur) hinunterzufahren, zu den weiter unten lebenden Ackerbauern. Hier tauschten sie einen Teil ihrer Ware gegen Getreide ein, für den anderen Teil handelten sie von den südlichen und östlichen Nachbarvölkern Seide, Perlen, Baumwollestoff ein. Wenn der Amur zufror, spannten sie ihre Pferde vor die Schlitten und fuhren am Eise der Flüsse heim (Tugolukov, *a. a. O.*, S. 99).

Der Handel war diesen Berichten zufolge in den Händen der sehr unternehmungslustigen, regsamen Reitertungusen. Die kleinen Festungen, die — dem Bericht Chabarovs zufolge — in der Entfernung einer Tagereise standen,

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aus solonisch *targan* 'Acker' (vgl. L. Ligeti, *Les mots solons dans un ouvrage chinois des Ts'ing: Acta Orient. Hung.* IX (1959), S. 264; St. Kaluzinski, *Solonisches Wörterverzeichnis: Rocznik Or.* XXXIV: 2, 1971, S. 45) mit Hilfe des Nom.-Act.-Suff. *-čin* erklären. Ein Zusammenhang mit den westmongolischen Torgud, wie Vasil'evič es annahm (*Исторический фольклор*, S. 352—353), ist nicht wahrscheinlich.

dienten zur Sicherung der Wasserwege und als Lagerplätze der Waren. Kleine Burgen standen nicht nur am Amur und der Seja, sondern, nach den Erfahrungen von Ysbrants Ides (*a. a. O.*, S. 62—63) und den Erzählungen der Chinggan-Tungusen (Shirokogoroff *a. a. O.*, S. 66), auch dem Ergüne (Argun) entlang. Es ist bezeichnend, daß in den transbaikalischen ewenkischen Dialekten das Wort *anjuj* zugleich 'Weg' und 'Fluß' (Vasilevič, *a. a. O.*, S. 344) bedeutet. Die Handelsbeziehungen der Solonen gingen über die Grenzen des daurischen Landes. Besonders mit den Yehe — einem mit der mandschurischen Herrschersippe rivalisierendem Dschürtschenstamm — können gute Kontakte angenommen werden, da Abaχai seine Heerführer öfters mahnt, die solonischen Gefangenen nicht durch das Land Yehe führen, da sie sich dort gut auskennen und leicht entkommen (Hauer, *a. a. O.*, S. 504). Mit den Moo-Minggan, den Qorčin und den Gorlos standen sie ebenfalls in Verbindung, wenn auch nicht immer in friedlicher. In der Chronik des Ostmongolischen Fürstenhauses werden sie schon am Ende des 16. Jh.s erwähnt unter den von Tümen J̌asaγtu Khan bekriegten Völkern am Yalu und Nonni: *ǰürčid neligüd takiχur γurban keleten eče dayilaqu abun* (68r) 'Die J̌ürčed, Neligüd, Dagiγur, die drei Völker von verschiedener Sprache wurden besiegt'.[19] Außer um die Dschürtschen handelt es sich hier ohne Zweifel um die mongolisch sprechenden Daguren, während *neligüd* die regelrechte schriftmongolische Entsprechung zum Namen *neljud* darstellt, mit dem in den russischen Quellen der bedeutendste Stamm der Steppentungusen bezeichnet ist. Es kann daher kein Zweifel bestehen, daß hier von den drei Völkerschaften von Daurien die Rede ist.

Die daurische Ackerbau-Bevölkerung war in politischer Hinsicht völlig passiv und überließ den organisatorisch veranlagten Reitertungusen den Handel und die Verteidigung. Mit dem Handel und durch die Sicherung der Handelswege kam die politische Macht naturgemäß an die Solonen. Dies spiegelt sich auch im Umstand, daß die Mandschus nur mit ihnen verhandelten und vom Land als von dem der Solonen sprachen. Das Verhältnis der zwei Völkerschaften, der Solonen und Daguren, muß verhältnismäßig gut gewesen sein, da die Daguren sich gegen die Solonen nicht auflehnten und im Krieg von 1640 gegen die Solonen nicht Stellung nahmen. Viele Daguren stellten sich in den 50-er Jahren des 17. Jh.s mit den Solonen zusammen unter den Schutz des Zaren.

Die tungusischen, bzw. solonischen Stämme konnten aber das breite Netz der mit Festungen gesicherten Handelswege erst beherrschen, als sie

[19] E. Haenisch, *Eine Urga-Handschrift des mongolischen Geschichtwerks von Secen Sagang* (*alias Sanang Secen*). Deutsche Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung, Nr. 25, S. 67. — Bei I. J. Schmidt (*Geschichte der Ostmongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses*, St. Petersburg 1829, S. 201) findet sich die falsche Form «eligüd». Vgl. auch W. Heissig, a. a. O., S. 12—13.

auch eine gewisse innere Organisation hatten. Die innere Struktur der tungusischen Stämme und ihr Verhältnis zueinander läßt sich mit Hilfe der russischen Steuerlisten rekonstruieren. Im 17. Jh. bestanden die daurischen Steppentungusen nachweisbar aus drei Gruppen, d. h. Stämmen, den Namat/Namjasin, den Neljud/N'eljagir oder Kamniganen und den Saχalča oder Onkor. Der mittlere Stamm spielte die bedeutendste Rolle, auch das Oberhaupt der Stammesfederation, Fürst Gantimur, gehörte zu diesem Stamm.

1. Neljud/Neljagir (Neljuli, Lelluli, Luleli, mong. Neligüd) bewohnte das Gebiet von Tschita an der Schilka und den Amur entlang, bis ungefähr zur Mündung der Kumara. Im Norden reichte ihr Territorium bis zum Tungir-Paß, im Süden bis zum Onon, der Uldsa und dem Gan. In der Mitte des Gebietes lag die Festung Neljud (heutiges Nertschinsk), von wo das fürstliche Geschlecht stammte. Dolgich (*a. a. O.*, S. 331—341, 349) rechnet die folgenden Sippen zu diesen Stamm: 1. *Bajagir*, 2. *Dulikagir/Duligad/Dular/Dulugir*, 3. *Koltagir/Kaltagir*, 4. *Počegor/Počogan*, 5. *Lunikir/Šenkagir*, 6. *Šunin*, 7. *Kajsol*, 8. *Vokraj/Vakuraj/Vakašil/Bekerei* (oder *ukrainskij rod*) (vgl. auch Vasil'evič, *a. a. O.*, S. 267—8, 269—73, 278, 286). Gantimur gehörte zu der Sippe *Dulikagir*, darum wurde diese auch *nojon duligad* genannt (Damdinov-Šagdarov, *a. a. O.*, S. 49). Nach Shirokogoroff (*a. a. O.*, S. 66) erinnerten sich noch die Chinggan-Tungusen an die *Dulugir* und an Gantimur und seinen Sohn Katanaj. Lavkaj, der oft in den Berichten der Kosaken vorkommt, gehörte zu den *Koltagir* und war mit Gantimur verschwägert. Zum inneren Kern des Stammes gehörten noch die *Bajagir*. Diese drei Sippen hatten ein gemeinsames Jagdrevier an den Flüssen Olekma, Tungir, Amasar. Da eben das Jagdrevier recht stark traditionell gebunden ist und darum lange unverändert bleibt, mußten diese Sippen schon seit lange verbunden gewesen sein. Eine andere durch gemeinsames Jagdrevier verbundene Gruppe innerhalb des Neljud Stammes waren die *Lunikir*, *Šunin* und *Kajsol* Sippen (Dolgich, *a. a. O.*, S. 338—339, 341—43, 586, 589, 608; Fischer, *a. a. O.*, S. 799; Vasil'evič, *a. a. O.*, S. 263—4, 267—8, 270—1). Der im Jahr 1639 getötete Häuptling der Kamniganen, Yelei, bewegte sich im Siedlungsgebiet der *Bajagir-Dulikagir-Koltagir* Gruppe, mußte also einer dieser Sippen angehört haben, wahrscheinlich den fürstlichen *Dulikagir*. Das wird dadurch bestätigt, daß in der Familie Gantimurs der Name *Jelej* vorkommt (Tugolukov, *a. a. O.*, S. 94). Gantimurs Leute werden auch *Solon-Kamnigan* genannt (Pallas, *a. a. O.*, S. 240).

2. Der Saχalča-Stamm der Solonen lebte am Unterlauf der Seja und an ihren Nebenflüßen, außerdem am Amur, zwischen der Kumara-Mündung und der Bureja-Mündung. Das Stammesoberhaupt, Baldači, wohnte an der Seja, in der Umgebung der Mündung des Tom. Über die zu diesem Stamm gehörenden Sippen sind wir unzureichend informiert, da die mandschurisch-chinesischen Quellen diesbezügliche Angaben nicht enthalten, die Russen aber von diesem Gebiet keine regelmäßigen Steuer einholten. Nur in den Reisebe

richten der Kosaken sind einige Sippen erwähnt, so die *Šamagir*, *Šelogon/Šologon*, *Turčan*, *Êžegun/Êdžigun*, *Dulagan/Dolon* (Dolgich, *a. a. O.*, S. 583—585). Hierher gehörten die Inhaber der Burg Moldikidič an der Mündung der Selemdscha, die Sippe *Moldjakit* (vgl. S. 266), außerdem die im solonischen Krieg neben Bombogor kämpfenden Sippen *Ch'i-le-li* (*kiler*) und *Êr-t'un* (*orton*).[20] Nach der Umsiedlung der Daguren ins Nonni-Tal und dem Abzug des verbündeten Neljud-Stammes ins russische Daurien zerfiel der Saχalča-Stamm. Einige Sippen zogen sich ins Stanowo-Gebirge zurück, andere wurden in die Bannerarmee der Mandschus als *iče maǰu* 'neue Mandschus' einbezogen. Auch die Benennung *Saχalča* verschwindet aus den Dokumenten, aber es erscheint die wahrscheinlich ursprüngliche Stammesbenennung *Onkor/Ongkor/Khonkhor* ~ dah. *Honkore*, als Bezeichnung der Solonen in der Provinz Heilung-chiang und in der Dsungarei, wohin ein Teil übersiedelt wurde.[21] Diese Benennung mag aus solonisch *χoŋorin* ~ *xoŋnorĩ* ~ *xoŋneren* ~ ewk. *koŋnorin* 'schwarz(es Tier)' (Kałużyński, *a. a. O.*, S. 75; Aalto, *a. a. O.*, S. 65) stammen, und ist somit die sinngemäße Entsprechung von ma. *saχalča* 'schwarzer Zobel'. Die Solonen des Baldači waren ja berühmt für ihre dunkle Zobelfelle. *Onkot* genannte Steppentungusen, die weder zu den Neljud, noch zu den Namat gehörten, sind in den russischen Quellen am Ende des 17. Jh.s im Tal des Onon belegt (Dolgich, *a. a. O.*, S. 345—348; Witsen, *a. a. O.*, S. 77, 113, 682).

3. Der Namat/Namjat/Namjasin Stamm lebte westlich von den Neljud und besiedelte ursprünglich das Tal des Witim und die Talsenken von Jerewna, Baunt und Irgen. Später, nach 1647—48, zog ein Teil zu den Flüssen Ingoda, Tschikoj, Mensa und Jörö/Iro, ein anderer Teil wanderte zu den Argun-, Chaul-, Chailar-Flüssen und hielt sich längere Zeit im Niemandsland zwischen den Gebieten der mongolischen Khane und denen des Zaren auf (vgl. Dolgich, *a. a. O.*, S. 314, 323—4, 347; Vasil'evič, *a. a. O.*, S. 267, 271—76, 284; Baddeley, *a. a. O.*, S. 280; Witsen, *a. a. O.*, S. 113). Zu dem Stamm Namat gehörten die Sippen: 1. *Šara Namjat/Šaranud/Šarnud*, in tungusischer Form *Sino Namjat*, 2. *Hara Namjat/Haranud*, 3. *Čipčin/Čipčagir/Čimčagir*, 4. *Poinkin*, 5. *Džaltot/Želtud*, 6. *Konur*, 7. *Dolot/Dalat/Dulan* (Dolgich, *a. a. O.*, S. 349). Anscheinend war die Bindung der Namjat zu den anderen zwei Stämmen sehr lose, wenn sie überhaupt jemals zum solonisch-kamniganischen Stammesverband gehörten. Jedenfalls werden sie weder im 17. noch im 18. Jh. als Solonen bezeichnet.

[20] Die Sippenbenennung *Kile/Kiler* ist recht verbreitet bei verschiedenen mandschurisch-tungusischen Völkerschaften im Amurbecken, vgl. Vasil'evič, *a. a. O.*, 270; die Sippe *Orton* lebt noch in der Erinnerung der Kamniganen von Dadal-Sum, vgl. K. U.-Kőhalmi, *Der mongolisch-ramniganische Dialekt von Dadal-Sum*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* IX (1959), S. 179, 197).

[21] Vgl. O. Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria*, London 1935, S. 186; Martin, *a. a. O.*, S. 163; Kałużyński, *a. a. O.*, S. 39; P. Aalto, *G. J. Ramstedts onkor-solonisches Wörterbuch* I: *Rocznik Or.* XXXVIII, S. 31.

Nach dem nertschinsker Frieden gehörten aber auch sie in den Verband der tungusischen (kamniganischen) Grenzwache.

Nach dem Zeugnis der Personenbenennungen lebten die Steppentungusen mindestens seit der Mitte des 16. Jh.s in Daurien, doch kann es nicht genau festgestellt werden, wann sie dorthin zogen. Ihre früheren Siedlungsgebiete können aber ermittelt werden. Bei den Tungusen ist es verbreitet, seine Sippen nach den Gewässern zu benennen, an den sie siedeln, bzw. die Gewässer bekommen die Namen der dort wohnenden Gruppen (Vasil'evič, *Топонимика восточной Сибири: Изв. Всесоюзн. геогр. общ.* 1958:4, S. 329—335). Im Tal des Mittellaufes der Lena, den Mündungen des Witim bzw. der Olekma gegenüber, befinden sich zahlreiche Flüsse und Seen, die Stammes- und Sippennamen der Neljud und Namat bewahrten, hier sollen nur der Fluß Naman (Namana) und der Fluß Neljagir-Charjalak, weiters der See Neljagir-Mjakinda erwähnt werden.[22] Wahrscheinlich mußten die Vorfahren der Neljud- und Namat-Tungusen diese Gebiete wegen des Vordringens der Jakuten verlassen. Die Namat wanderten den Witim hinauf und gelangten so zu den Seegebieten von Jerawna und Baunt, die Neljagir/Neljud zogen der Olekma entlang bis zur Wasserscheide von Tungir und wechselten so in das Schilka-Amur-Tal hinüber. In der Volkstradition der Burjaten blieb die Weise in Erinnerung, wie die tungusischen Waldjäger die Pferdezucht übernahmen. Die burjatischen Stämme erschienen erst nach den Tungusen in Transbaikalien, und diese befürchteten, daß die Herden das Wild verscheuchen werden. Die Tungusen verpflichteten darum die Burjaten zur Umzäunung ihrer Weiden, und das ausgebrochene Vieh, besonders Pferde, nahmen sie zum Unterpfand. Im Besitz dieser Tiere, erfuhren die Waldjäger den Nutzen der Tierhaltung. Fortan raubten sie immer mehr Vieh von ihren Nachbarn.[23] Das herrische Auftreten und die historische Rolle der daurischen Steppentungusen macht diese Art der Adaptation weit wahrscheinlicher als das Verlieren der Rentierbestände, was von vielen Forschern für den Grund des Wandels ihrer Lebensweise gehalten wird.[24]

Der Vorstoß der Waldjäger-Stämme in das viel bessere Lebensbedingungen schaffende Großviehzüchtertum verursachte auch einen demographischen

[22] Auch noch weitere Entsprechungen für Sippennamen sind in den geographischen Namen dieser Gegend zu finden, vgl. S. P. Krašeninnikov, *В Сибири, Неопубликованные материалы*, Москва—Ленинград 1966, S. 149—154, 199.

[23] Die Erzählung von den *urtu hürêê* 'langen Zäunen' und den viehraubenden Tungusen-Häuptlingen s. bei Eliasov, *Предания и легенды о взаимоотношениях народов восточной Сибири: Зап. Бурятского научно-исследовательского института культуры*, XXXV (1958), S. 178—187; Rumjancev, *Баргузинские летописи* I, Улан-Удэ 1962, S. 54, 82—3; Baldaev, *Избранные*, Улан-Удэ 1961, S. 112—120.

[24] Unter anderen waren dieser Meinung Shirokogoroff, *a. a. O.*, S. 39, 68—9; Lattimore, *a. a. O.*, S. 164—5; Vasil'evič, *a. a. O.*, S. 86—7.

Aufschwung und verlieh somit den nötigen Massendruck zu den Auseinandersetzungen der ohnehin viel kriegerischeren Tungusen mit den viehzüchtenden Burjaten und Mongolen. Sie verdrängten die Chori-Burjaten, machten die Daguren von sich abhängig, bauten ein dichtes Netz von befestigten Handelswegen in Richtung der Mongolen, der Ergüne-gol/Argun, und in Richtung der Dschürtschen-Stämme, den Amur entlang, aus. Der Ausbau der weitreichenden Handelstätigkeit ging parallel mit der Intensivierung der Beziehungen der tungusischen Stämme untereinander, das Endergebnis war die solonische Stammesfederation. Die Führung behielt der Neljud-Stamm, in dessen Gebiet die Erzgruben lagen, wenn auch die Saχalča das stets strittig machten. Letzten Endes standen die Handelsbeziehungen, die vom Stammesverband gesichert wurden, im Interesse aller Teilnehmer, u. a. der dagurischen Ackerbauern. Das Oberhaupt des Neljud-Stammes war zugleich auch Führer des Stammesverbandes.[25] Trotz befestigter Orte finden wir keine Beweise für die Ausbildung einer Stadt mit zentraler Bedeutung, einer Hauptstadt. Die Festung Neljud, mit anderem Namen Nibču,[26] war nur der Sitz der fürstlichen Dulikagir Sippe. Es gibt auch keine Angaben darüber, daß sich außer dem natürlichen Rahmen der Sippen- und Stammesorganisation irgendeine Machtorganisation gebildet hätte. Die eher lose scheinenden inneren politischen Bindungen blieben im Bereich eines Bündnisses zwischen gleichrangigen Stämmen. Merkwürdigerweise lebte die Erinnerung an dieses Land noch Jahrhunderte bei den Nachkommen der Teilhabenden. Die Chinggan-Tungusen wußten noch in unserem Jahrhundert von Gantimur, seinem Sohn Katanaj, von ihren Festungen, von ihren Kriegen mit anderen tungusischen Stämmen. In den Erzählungen der tungusischen Gruppen, die sich in das Stanowo-Gebirge zurückgezogen haben, kommt oft der Held Katana, Katanučan aus dem Onon-Land vor. Die transbaikalischen Kamniganen bewahrten ihre alten Sippennamen, ihre Lieder, die vom Bund der Sippen sprechen, Legenden über in den Grenz-Obos (Grenzmalen) verborgenen Eisenkisten mit Aufzeichnungen ihrer Geschichte, und endlich ihre altertümliche Merkmale aufweisende mongolische Mundart, die nach Feststellungen von Damdinov und Šagdarov

[25] Vgl. hierzu Gantimurs Offenbarungen über seine Macht und Unabhängigkeit Beketov gegenüber und seine Aussage über die ihm untertänigen 39 tungusischen und dagurischen Sippen. Šagdarov—Damdinov, *a. a. O.*, S. 47; Tugolukov, *a. a. O.*, S. 92.

[26] *Nibču* ist die bei den Mandschus bewarte ursprüngliche Bezeichung des Flusses Nertscha und der bei seiner Mündung liegenden Festung Nertschinks, und dementsprechend führt auch J. B. du Halde die Stadt "Niptchou ou Nerzinski" und die "R. de Niptchou ou Nerza" an *(Description de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* I. Paris 1735, Karte vor dem Titelblatt). Bei Ides erscheint der Name von Nertschinks in den Formen *Niuheu/Nieucheu* (*a. a. O.*, S. 57, 62). Diese Formen scheinen eine Kontamination des Nemens *Nipču* mit der falschen Lesung *nü-chên* der chinesischen Umschrift des Namens *Jürčen* darzustellen. Solche Kontaminationen kommen auch bei anderen europäischen Autoren des 18. Jh.s vor.

den dagurischen Mundarten sehr nahe steht. Der solonisch-kamniganische Stammesverband bedeutete sicherlich viel für die teilnehmenden Sippen. Durch weiteren Ausbau ihres Handelsnetzes bei immer mehr Stämmen der Umgebung hätten sie in die Lage kommen können, die führende Macht eines Nomadenreiches zu werden. Da aber Daurien, eben zur Zeit des Aufbaues des Stammesverbandes, zwischen zwei expandierende Großmächte geriet, mußte es unterliegen und die Geschichte bleibt uns die Antwort schuldig, ob sich aus dem Land der Tungusen und Daguren tatsächlich ein Steppenreich gebildet hätte.

Das hier dargelegte Modell eines angehenden Nomadenreiches mit einer vollbäuerlichen mongolischen und einer tungusischen Komponente, die sich erst kurz davor aus den urgesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen der sibirischen Waldvölker zu einem viehzüchtenden Steppenvolk entwickelt hatte, mit befestigten Siedlungen und durch Festungen gesicherten Handelsstraßen ist ein interessantes Phänomen, das die Allgültigkeit der bisherigen Vorstellungen über das Verhältnis von Nomaden und Ackerbauern bzw. Nomaden und Festungen in Frage stellt. Dieser Fall scheint aber keine Einzelerscheinung zu sein. Am Nordrand des Steppengürtels sind von Archäologen in Gebieten alter Ackerbaukulturen Wasser- oder Landwegen in Reihen folgende, kleine Festungen entdeckt worden. Den Cherlen (Kerülen) und die Tola entlang fand Pêrlêê mit anderen mongolischen Archäologen zusammen kleine Festungen aus der Zeit der Kitan. Aus den Zeiten der Türken und Uiguren stammen die Festungs-Reihen am Zusammenfluß des Orchon und Köktschin-Orchon, im Tal des Choit-Tamir bzw. in den Tälern des Kemtschik, Tschadan, Ak-Sug, Ulug-Kem. All diese Burgen standen in einst bebauten Gebieten. Auf noch frühere Zeiten werden von Okladnikow die kleinen Burgen datiert, die in Burjatien, in der bargusinischen Talsenke und dem Mündunggebiet der Selenge freigelegt wurden, ebenfalls in einstigem Ackerland. Okladnikow nimmt an, daß die Träger dieser Kultur aus türkischen Ackerbauern und mongolischen Jägern bestanden haben.[27]

Es bleibt nun den weiteren Forschungen vorbehalten, die Frage zu beantworten, in welchen Fällen und wie weit man aus der verhältnismäßig gut dokumentierten solonisch-dagurischen Symbiose Schlüsse auf die Gesellschaften, die diese oben angeführten Funde hinterlassen haben, Schlüsse ziehen darf.

[27] Ch. Pêrlêê, *Киданьские города и поселения на территории МНР (X—начало XIIв.): Монгольский археологический Сборник,* Москва 1962, S. 55—68; s. auch S. Jagchid, *The Kitans and their Cities: CAJ* XXV (1981), S. 85—87; ferner E. Nowgorodowa, *Die alte Kunst der Mongolei,* Leipzig 1980, S. 216; A. Egly, *Un Monastère du XVI siècle: Etudes Mongoles* 10 (1979), S. 9; L. P. Kyzlasov *Этапы средневековой истории Тувы: Вестник Московского Университета* 1964:4, S. 66—92; A. P. Okladnikov, *История и культура Бурятии,* Улан-Удэ 1976, S. 76—78. — Vgl. noch Viktorova, *a. a. O.*, S. 145—146, 176—177.

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THE *CHUANG* IN THE SHUIHUCHUAN A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF LANDOWNERSHIP IN CHINA

BY

BARNABÁS CSONGOR

Although the exploitation of land has always been the basis of Chinese society, the actual forms of the ownership of land in Chinese history are not too well known. Historical sources do not seem to offer much in this respect, especially as regards the pieces of land held by other title than having a position in the Mandarin bureaucracy. This is the more regrettable as the lack of positive information easily leads to idle speculations as to the nature of this «private landed property», or even as to the general character of traditional Chinese society itself. Therefore it seems to me of some use to analyse the data found in the novel 水滸傳 Shuihuchuan[1] about the 莊 chuang,[2] seemingly a kind of «private landed property».

In the present paper a novel, i.e. an unconventional historical work has been used for source material. It is, therefore, necessary to say a few words about the problem of how the authenticity of the data can be established. It seems to me that the data contained in the novel are certainly not authentic when taken singly,[3] but the general picture conveyed by them undoubtedly is. This statement can be verified by the fact that the wording of the descriptions listed below is practically uniform in all the nine oldest extant editions. This means that these descriptions were accepted by both the authors and the reading public as having been consistent with their concept of reality.

[1] The three-volume critical edition had been used: Cheng Chen-to (ed.), *Shui hu ch'üan chuan* I—III, Peking 1954.

[2] The results of the present survey probably apply to the time of the earliest extant editions (15th—16th century) rather than to Sung-time, the epoch in which the plot has been set. — About the *chuang* cf. mainly Katō Shigeshi, *Origin and Organization of the Chuang-yüan* [莊園] *during the T'ang Dynasty*: *Tōyō Gakuhō* 7 (1917), pp. 313—338; H. Maspero, *Les régimes fonciers en Chine*: *Mélanges posthumes* III, Paris 1950; E. Balazs, *Le régime de la propriété foncière en Chine du IVe au XIVe siècles*: *La Bureaucratie céleste*, Paris 1968.

[3] In a poetic description (ch. 2, vol. I, p. 22) it is said e.g. that «there are thousand hired hands» (負傭 *fu yung*) in a chuang. This is certainly a hyperbole when compared with other data referring to the same *chuang*. To take another example, pig is never mentioned among domestic animals, although pork is said to be eaten frequently.

The place of the *chuang* in the general context of the novel can be briefly described as follows.

The heroes of the novel, who all belong (or should belong ultimately) to the spontaneous fraternity of the «good fellows of the rivers and lakes» had to become outlaws for a variety of reasons. They had to flee the world of «law and order», the sphere of cultivated lands and imperial authority, and moved into no man's land, into the wilderness of the Liangshan marshes, into the sphere of rebels and hermits. There they were united into a community based on a Utopian-like brotherhood. The first seventy chapters describe the formation of this brotherhood, as well as the individual fate of several heroes leading them to Liangshan. *Chuang*s are mentioned mostly in this part, either as homes of heroes, or as places where, in addition to wayside inns, the heroes could find shelter, food and friendship, and even protection from the law enforcers who pursued them.[4] On the whole, the *chuang* is described in the novel as existing on the borderland between civilization and wilderness, the two spheres of the traditional Chinese world, and therefore functions as a kind of gate of communication between them.

There are in all twenty-two *chuang*s mentioned[5] in the novel; in nearly all the cases only the 莊院 *chuang yüan*, the home of the *chuang* holder[5a] is described. In the following, a list of data thought to be relevant is given before starting with the analysis proper. The list is arranged in the following order: name of the *chuang* and the adjacent village, their geographic situation; description of the *chuang yüan*; animals kept, plants raised, meals, food taken; the holder of the *chuang*; members of the household; how and why the holder had to leave the *chuang* — and eventually other data of interest.

Case 1. The chuang of the Shih family in Shihchiats'un (village of the Shih family) in the district of Huayinhsien, Shensi (ch. 2, vol. I, p. 25). The village consists of 3—400 families (莊戶 *chuang hu*, p. 27.), all bearing the surname Shih.

The *chuang yüan* stands beneath the Shaohuashan mountain within a grove of pines and willows, and is surrounded by an earthen wall. Inside there is a kind of a hall, a 草堂 *ts'ao t'ang*, where guests are received (p. 22),[6] once in a number of 300—400 (p. 27); meals are taken in another kind of hall,

[4] Although villages are frequently mentioned, it occurs only once that one of the heroes finds shelter there (ch. 47, vol. I, pp. 785—788) — and he goes there with the purpose of reconnoitring.

[5] In ch. 19 (vol. I, pp. 272, 273, 276) the home of a fisher is called *chuang* or 打魚莊 *ta yü chuang* ('fishing *chuang*'). As the relation of this kind of *chuang* to landed property is entirely unclear, it was omitted from further treatment.

[5a] The term holder is used on purpose to avoid confusion with the European-type landed proprietor, the 'landed gentry'.

[6] This 'reception hall' meaning of *ts'ao t'ang* is attested in the novel by almost all subsequent cases, although dictionaries seem to ignore it.

the 廳 *t'ing* (p. 23) or in the family quarters, 後堂 *hou t'ang* (p. 24); guests are housed in a guesthouse, the 客房 *k'o fang* (p. 23); there is a threshing ground (p. 22), a stable (p. 23), a backyard garden (p. 33) and several straw huts (p. 44) in the rear.

Cattle, sheep, ducks, geese, chickens, dogs (p. 22, poetic description), horses and mules (p. 23).[7] — Vegetables, beef, soup, wine (p. 23), mutton, and fruit (p. 24); for a banquet connected with a village council, two water buffaloes are slaughtered (p. 27); at the feast of the Moon: mutton, chickens and ducks (p. 33).

The master of the *chuang* is a Shih 太公 *t'ai kung*[8] (grandfather Shih). He is over sixty (p. 22), is appointed by the district (*hsien*) magistrate as 里正 *li cheng* (p. 25). His only son, Shih Chin is 17—18 years old (p. 23). He is addressed as 大郎 *ta lang* (p. 26), he is the undisputed leader of the village and the holder of the *chuang* after his father's death; he organizes the defence of the village against a raid of local outlaws (pp. 27—28).

There are a number of followers, 莊客 *chuang k'o*[9] in the *chuang*, also an instructor in the martial arts, a 教頭 *chiao t'ou*.[10]

Shich Chin made friends with his former enemies, the local bandit chiefs, therefore he was attacked by the constables of the local magistrate and had to flee from the *chuang* (ch. 2, vol. I, p. 34; ch. 3, p. 43—44). He found shelter with his friends in their fortress on the Shaohuashan mountain. As his home had been burnt down during the flight, his friends offered to rebuild the *chuang yüan*, or he could remain with them as one of the chiefs of their band. Shih Chin decided to leave the place for Yenan, in order to look for his former instructor (p. 44) there.

Case 2. The *chuang* lies in the villages Ch'ipaots'un, ten-odd miles from Taichou in Yenmenhsien, Shansi (ch. 4, vol. I, p. 61).

A reception hall, a guest house and a library are mentioned (pp. 61—62).

The master and his guest ride horses; mutton is eaten (p. 61).

The holder is a Chao 員外 *yüan wai*. He lives regularly in Taichou with his concubine and her father and comes to the *chuang* only in order to hide a friend there, who is wanted for murder. Chao yüan wai is also a patron of the nearby Wut'aishan monastery (p. 62).

A number of followers.[11]

[7] In a skirmish with outlaws, only the master of the *chuang* rides a horse.

[8] For this and similar terms cf. below.

[9] In the poetic description (p. 22) a thousand is mentioned; in the skirmish with the outlaws 30—40 able-bodied *chuang k'o* head the army of the village (p. 28).

[10] Several *chiao t'ou* appear in the novel. They are either instructors at a *chuang* holder, or itinerant showmen (of 武術 *wu shu*) also peddling drugs — or, finally, army officers as well.

[11] Prepared for a fight, Chao yüan wai was escorted by 20—30 followers armed with cudgels (p. 60).

Case 3. In a market town (市井 *shih ching*) near the Wut'aishan monastery (ch. 4, vol. I, p. 69) the inns are owned by the monastery (p. 70). An innkeeper is called a 莊家 *chuang chia* (p. 71).

Case 4. T'aohuachuang, in the village T'aohuats'un at the foot of the T'aohuashan mountain (ch. 5, vol. I, p. 82), near to Ch'ingchou, Shantung (p. 83).

The *chuang yüan* is surrounded by willows (p. 81). A main hall (正堂 *cheng t'ang*), a side room (耳房 *erh fang* p. 82), another kind of hall (a *t'ing*, p. 87) are mentioned, as well as a threshing ground (p. 84).

Beef (p. 82) and goose (p. 83) are eaten, also steamed buns (*man t'ou*, p. 88). Horses are practically nonexistent as sedan chairs are used for a mountain trip (p. 88).

The holder is a Liu t'ai kung, over sixty. He has a daughter of 18 years. He has been subjected to the outlaw chiefs living in the T'aohuashan mountain (pp. 82—83, 84).

First villagers (*chuang chia*, p. 81) are mentioned, later only followers.

Case 5. The western *chuang* of Ch'ai Chin in Henghaichün, Hopei (ch. 9, vol. I, p. 137).

The home, the *chuang yüan* is surrounded by a moat and a whitewashed wall in a grove of willows. A hall (*t'ing*), family quarters and another hall (*t'ing t'ang*) are mentioned (p. 139).

There is a wayside inn attached to the *chuang* (p. 137).

Twenty-odd horses, dogs and falcons for hunting are mentioned; meat, fruit, seafood and wine are served (pp. 138—139).

The holder is a Ch'ai Chin, addressed to and spoken of as 大官人 *ta kuan jen*. His ancestor had abdicated in favour of the first Sung emperor, and therefore his family has an imperial pledge of protection; it forbids officials to enter his house or to harass him in any way (p. 137, and ch. 22, vol. I, pp. 333—334). There is an instructor in the martial arts in the house, thirty to fifty «good fellows» and an unspecified number of followers.

Case 6. The eastern chuang of Ch'ai Chin, at a distance of some forty *li* or six hours walk from the western one (ch. 22, vol. I, pp. 332—333).

The *chuang yüan* lies in a forest of *huai* trees and willows, surrounded by water. There is a pavilion (亭 *t'ing*, p. 333) before the gate, and a tower over it (ch. 11, vol. I, p. 162). A main hall (正廳 *cheng t'ing*), a western pavilion (軒 *hsüan*), 3—5 guest houses and an eastern porch (*lang*, p. 333) are mentioned.

Cattle, sheep, mule, horse, duck, chicken, goose (poetic description, p. 333).

In the household there is a tailor (p. 341), and several stewards (主管 *chu kuan*, p. 334).

In the winter the granaries (米囤 *mi t'un*) are watched by the villagers (*chuang chia*) (var. followers, *chuang k'o*) (ch. 10, vol. I, pp. 156—157).

Ch'ai Chin collects rent/tax in rice (收租米 *shou tsu mi*, p. 332).

Following a quarrel with the local magistrate, in which an uncle of Ch'ai Chin and a brother-in-law of the mandarin were killed, notwithstanding the imperial pledge of protection, Ch'ai Chin is put into prison and is threatened by execution (ch. 52, vol. II, pp. 857—861).

Case 7. The *chuang* of Ch'ao Kai, in the village Tungch'its'un near to Yünch'enghsien, Shantung (ch. 14, vol. I, pp. 200—201). The route from Yünch'eng to the *chuang* takes one hour's ride on horseback (ch. 18, vol. I, p. 261).

A guardroom (門房 *men fang*) beside the gate is mentioned, a reception hall, another hall (*t'ing*) with a porch (p. 201), guest rooms, in the courtyard an armrack with lances (p. 204). There is a garden in the rear (p. 262) with a rear gate (p. 264).

There are vinestocks in the garden (ch. 18 vol. I, p. 262). Mutton and pork are eaten (p. 219).

The holder is a 保正 *pao cheng* and a 霸 *pa*. He is a bachelor, has one (or more?) stewards (p. 201) and a number of followers.

As a caravan carrying costly birthday presents to Grand Preceptor Ts'ai Ching had been waylaid by Ch'ao Kai and his friends, and the robbery had been traced down to him, Ch'ao Kai had to flee from his *chuang*. He gave money to the *chuang k'o* which were not willing to follow him that they might look for another patron (ch. 18, vol. I, p. 263), and then set the *chuang yüan* on fire (p. 265).

Case 8. An unnamed *chuang* somewhere between the Huangnikang hill (ch. 17, vol. I, p. 241) and the Erhlungshan mountain (p. 243). Ts'ao Cheng, a wandering butcher from K'aifeng, having lost his capital and thus being unable to return home, married into the family of a «peasant of the *chuang*» (莊農之家 *chuang nung chih chia*) and became an innkeeper (p. 242).

Case 9. The *chuang* of the Sung family (or of Sung t'ai kung, or of Sung ta hu) in Sungchiats'un (village of the Sung family) near to Yünch'enghsien, Shantung (ch. 22, vol. I, pp. 327—328).

The *chuang yüan* is surrounded by a wall (ch. 35, vol. I, p. 563); halls like a *ts'ao t'ing* (p. 330) and a *ts'ao t'ang* (p. 556), a Buddhist chapel (p. 329) and a rear gate (p. 557) are mentioned.

Chicken, duck and wine are served (p. 328, 564).

The holder, Sung t'ai kung ('grandfather Sung') is spoken of also as a 'head of a big family' (大戶 *ta hu*, p. 328); the family is called a 'family of *chuang* peasants' (*chuang nung chih chia*, p. 331) as well. He lives together with his younger son Sung Ch'ing (p. 328) and a number of followers. The elder son, Sung Chiang is a clerk (押司 *ya szu*) in the district office (*yamen*) of Yünch'eng (p. 259). He has been formally disowned by the father, to prevent the family from becoming involved in possible troubles with the *yamen* (pp. 327—328).

Case 10. The *chuang* of a Chang t'ai kung beneath the Wukung pass (ch. 32, vol. I, p. 492). The family has a mourning lodge (墳菴 *fen an*, ibid.) beneath the pass, consisting of ten-odd huts (草屋 *ts'ao wu*, ch. 31, vol. 1, p. 485). The *t'ai kung* and his family were killed by a magician who fell in love with the *t'ai kung*'s daughter. The magician then moved to the mourning lodge with the girl and his pupil. The relatives of the girl, being peasants of *chuang* (*chuang nung chih jen*) could not do anything against all this.

Case 11. The *chuang* of a K'ung t'ai kung, beside the Paihushan mountain (ch. 32, vol. I, p. 498). There is a village nearby where relations live (p. 499).

The *chuang yüan* beside a creek has high, whitewashed walls, is surrounded by weeping willows and pines (pp. 496—497). A reception hall (p. 497) and a «middle hall» (中堂 *chung t'ang*, p. 499) are mentioned.

Mutton and pork are eaten with wine (p. 499).

K'ung t'ai kung has two sons, K'ung Ming and K'ung Liang living with him. The sons have a master (teacher? 師父 *shih fu*), Sung Chiang (cf. case 9.) living temporarily with them (p. 497); there are at least 20—30 followers[12] in the *chuang*.

Case 12. The *chuang* of a Mu t'ai kung (ch. 31, vol. II, p. 654), some two *li* from the market town Chiehyangchen in Shantung (ch. 37, volt II, p. 581).

The *chuang yüan* is situated in a grove of willows and is surrounded by a wall. A guardroom at the gate (p. 581), a reception hall, a threshing ground and a pavilion (*t'ing tzu*, p. 582) are mentioned.

Gruel, soup, vegetables (p. 581), mutton and pork (p. 589) are eaten; for a banquet, an ox, ten-odd pigs and sheep, a number of chickens, geese, and ducks are slaughtered (p. 654). — Mulberry and hemp are mentioned (poetic description, p. 581).

The holder, Mu t'ai kung is a wealthy man (富戶 *fu hu*, p. 588). His sons, Mu Hung and Mu Ch'un are titled as *pa* in Chiehyangchen (ch. 37, vol. II, 588).

A number of followers.

Case 13. The *chuang* of a Ts'ao t'ai kung in a village beneath the Chinling pass, Shantung (ch. 43, vol. II, p. 700).

A reception hall and a hall (*t'ing*) are mentioned (pp. 700—701).

Ts'ao t'ai kung is a retired clerk (閑吏 *hsien li*, p. 700).

Case 14. The *chuang* of the Chu family, at the foot of the Tulungshan mountain, in the village of the Chu family. Shantung (ch. 46, vol. II, p. 767). The chuang covers an area of 300 *li* (of distance?, ibid.).

The «chuang» (i.e. *chuang yüan*, ch. 48, p. 796), or the dwelling place of the holder (p. 767), or his «office» (衙 *ya*, p. 786) is built on the top of the Tulungkang hill beneath the Tulungshan mountain, is surrounded by a moat

[12] This is the number of the *chuang k'o* who chased Wu Sung (ch. 32, vol. I, p. 496).

among weeping willows (p. 796). Its walls are three *chang* (nine metres?) high and covered with stone, with drawbridges and gates with towers in the front and in the rear (p. 781). The walls are studded with weapons. A front hall (*ch'ien t'ing*, ch. 50, vol. II, p. 824), a jail and a well are mentioned.

Beef and horsemeat are eaten (ch. 50, p. 825), cattle and sheep are mentioned (p. 829) and a cavalry at least three hundred strong.[13]

The holder is a *t'ai kung*, Chu, titled 朝奉 *ch'ao feng* (p. 767). His three sons, Chu Lung, Chu Hu and Chu Piao (p. 796), together with the instructor in the martial arts Luan T'ing-yü (p. 798) are the leaders of the *chuang*'s armed forces. The *chuang* master is in alliance with two neighbouring *chuang* holders (p. 786, cf. cases 15 and 17), and is on friendly terms with the local magistrate (p. 788).

There are one-two thousand able-bodied followers in the *chuang* (p. 778). Moreover, 5—700 families of 佃戶 *tien hu*[14] live around the *chuang* (*yüan*). Each of these families gives two able-bodied men into armed service (p. 767).

The settlement[15] of the Chu family has 10—20,000 inhabitants, the majority bearing the surname Chu (p. 787). There are inns and butcher's stalls there (p. 785). The roads in the settlement form a maze with booby traps to keep off outsiders, invaders (p. 786). The inn at the outskirts of the village is constantly watched by 10—20 armed people (p. 767). After war was declared with Liangshan, all able-bodied men are called to arms (p. 786); they wear yellow jackets with the name Chu written on it (p. 785). Together with the villages of cases 15. and 17., the *chuang* (i.e. the settlement) is able to raise an army of 10—20,000 men strong (ch. 47, vol. II, p. 778).

After a prolonged fight, the Chu family is defeated by the Liangshan army, the holder of the *chuang* is killed, together with his entire family (p. 829). Old Chung-li, a peasant from the Chu village with a different surname, who betrayed the secret of the maze is rewarded by the Liangshan leaders with gold and silk, and 永爲鄉民 «is made a local resident for ever» (p. 830). After the Liangshan army had left the village, «the people of the place themselves razed to the ground both the (buildings of the) *chuang* (*yüan*) and the (official buildings of the) 'village' of the Chu family» (p. 830).[16]

Case 15. The chuang of the Li family at the foot of the Tulungshan mountain (cf. case 14). There is a village nearby (ch. 47, vol. II, p. 778), and an inn belonging to the *chuang* (pp. 769—770).

[13] This is the largest number of horsemen participating in the fights with the Liangshan army (p. 827).

[14] As the term occurs only once, I refrain from any interpretation. It certainly does not denote «tenant» as it is frequently translated.

[15] Literally: «village» (村坊 *ts'un fang*).

[16] This sentence is absent from two of the oldest editions, cf. p. 835, note 58.

The *chuang yüan* lies in a grove of huge willows, surrounded by a moat; whitewashed walls, a drawbridge (p. 778). There is a drum in the gatehouse (p. 794). In the courtyard, before the main hall (*t'ing*) there are more than twenty armracks at both sides with weapons (p. 778).

Cattle, horses, sheep, mules, donkeys (ch. 50, vol. II, p. 832). — Tea is served (p. 779).

The holder is a Li Ying, addressed to and spoken of as *ta kuan jen* (cf. case 7) (ch. 47, vol. II, pp. 777—778). A wife and family (p. 782, 832), a schoolmaster (門館先生 *men kuan hsien sheng*, p. 779), a steward (p. 778), several assistant stewards (副主管 *fu chu kuan*, p. 779) are mentioned, together with several hundreds of followers (p. 780).

During the fight between the Chu family and Liangshan, Li Ying remained neutral, in spite of his being a sworn ally to the former. After the victory of Liangshan, the leaders of the latter forced Li Ying to leave his *chuang*, to join them with his family and household, and set fire to the *chuang yüan* (ch. 50, vol. II, pp. 830—832).

Case 16. The *chuang* of a Mao t'ai kung at the foot of a mountain in Tengchou, Shantung (ch. 49, vol. II, p. 806).

In the *chuang yüan* a main hall (*t'ing*) with a porch, two pavilions (*lang*, p. 808) and a backyard garden (pp. 806—807) are mentioned.

Tea is served (p. 807). There are at least 7—8 horses (p. 816).[17]

Mao t'ai kung holds the office of a *li cheng* (p. 807). He has a son and at least 20—30 followers (p. 808). His son-in-law is a minor official (六案孔目 *liu an k'ung mu*, ibid.) in Tengchou.

Mao t'ai kung is addressed by two local hunters, Hsieh Chen and Hsieh Pao as 'uncle' (伯伯 *po po*), he addresses the hunters as 'nephews' (姪 *chih*) (p. 807).

Mention is made of *chuang hu* (p. 816), therefore there was a village nearby.

Case 17. The *chuang* of a Hu t'ai kung (ch. 47, vol. II, p. 778), at the foot of the Tulungshan mountain, allied to the *chuang*s of the Chu and Li families respectively (cases 14 and 15). In the war with Liangshan the whole family was exterminated, only one son survived «Hu Ch'eng (the son) seeing that events have taken a bad turn, gave his horse a slash and ran away, leaving his home for good, fleeing for his life. He fled to Yenanfu; later on, after the foundation of the Southern Sung empire he became an army general» (ch. 50, vol. II, p. 828).

[17] The villagers attached to the *chuang* (*chuang hu*) are also mentioned to have horses (p. 816). This abundance of horses is rather improbable and is to be explained by the context: the rescue party headed by Sun Li needed a number of horses for their future role in ch. 50 posing as a military unit sent from Tengchou to aid the Chu family—and the *chuang* of Mao t'ai kung and the adjacent village were the only possible places to get them from.

Case 18. The *chuang* of a Ti t'ai kung in the village Szuliuts'un (ch. 73, vol. III, pp. 1227—1228). A reception hall (*ts'ao t'ing*) is mentioned and sheep and pigs. The family (家 *chia*) has more than hundred members.

Case 19. The *chuang* of a Liu t'ai kung (ch. 73, vol. III, p. 1231), or of the Liu family (p. 1252), not far from the market town Chingmenchen (p. 1230). A reception hall (*ts'ao t'ing*), a side room, a *k'ang* are mentioned.

Case 20.[18] The *chuang* of the Kung brothers in the village of the Kung family (ch. 102, vol. III, p. 1579) in the district Hsinanhsien (p. 1581).

A vast *chuang yüan* situated in the forest, is surrounded by an earthen wall and by 2—300 willows. A reception hall (*ts'ao t'ang*) and a side room are mentioned, beside a threshing ground.

Chicken, duck, beans, apricots, onion, garlic, fish are eaten, wine is served.

The holders, the brother Kung Tuan and Kung Cheng are indigenous to the village, and «they were promoted by the 200-odd families of the village to be their patrons» (主兒 *chu erh*, p. 1581).

Case 21. Fan Ch'üan, a jailer in the town Fangchou bought (買 *mai*, p. 1590), a 草莊 *ts'ao chuang* (a 'small' (?) *chuang*) (ch. 103, vol. III, p. 1595), consisting of several straw roofed huts and twenty-odd *mu* of land east of Tingshanpao, near to Fangchou. He sent several followers there to cultivate the land (p. 1590).

Case 22. The Tuan family has a *chuang* in Tingshanpao (ch. 103—4, vol. III, pp. 1590—1595). Its master is a Tuan t'ai kung. The sons organize theatrical plays in Tingshanpao and have a gambling den there.

* * *

From the above, two conclusions can immediately be drawn: 1. that a *chuang*, although always situated in the vicinity of a village was a kind of holding itself and not a village; 2. that the holders of the *chuang*s were not peasants, they did not till the land with their own hands. This latter conclusion is evident from the size of their abodes, the *chuang yüan*s, from the number of buildings these consisted of, from the presence of followers (*chuang k'o*) and stewards (*chu kuan*, *fu chu kuan*), and the quality of the food eaten, etc. Though, the holders of these *chuang*s and their families are qualified (cf. cases 8, 9, 10) as *chuang nung chih chia*, *chuang nung chih jen*, i.e. 'peasants of the *chuang*'.

This 'peasant' status of the *chuang* holders seems to be in contradiction with their titles. Some of them are addressed as *yüan wai* (c. 2), others as

[18] The following cases occur in a part of the novel interpolated later, cf. R. G. Irwin, *The Evolution of a Chinese Novel*. Cambridge, Mass. 1953, pp. 66—75.

ta kuan jen (c. 5, 6, 15) or as *ch'ao feng* (c. 14). In actual usage, however, all these titles were already titles of respect only.[19]

This neither-peasant-nor-mandarin status of the *chuang* holders is, besides, in complete agreement with certain basic ideas expressed in the novel.[20] It is not surprising that in the official historical work of the age, the *Ming shih* the types of *chuang*s described in the Shuihuchuan are mainly ignored.[21] As the economic chapters of these official histories are supposed to describe the economic/taxation system of the empire, the absence of our cases from the above list can only mean that these were not considered to be parts of the taxation system, neither as privileged exceptions nor as average cases.

Although these *chuang*s were outside the taxation system, their relationships to the administrative bureaucracy were by no means uniform. The following types can be distinguished:

1. The size of the *chuang*, the wealth of its holder reached a magnitude equal to some of the lesser kingdoms of the earlier periods (case 14); more than ten thousand subjects, a veritable army several thousands strong with a fortress as residence — the armed power at the disposal of a local magistrate was certainly no match for these.[22] The fact that the *chuang yüan* of the Chu family was called *ya*, 'official residence' can be explained only by assuming that its resident, Chu ch'ao feng acted in fact as a mandarin, i.e. collected taxes and imposed corvée — but for himself, not for the state. As well as the fact that the surrounding settlement with 10—20,000 inhabitants was still

[19] Cf. the items *yüan wai, kuan jen* and *ch'ao feng* in the dictionary *T'ung su pien*. *Yüan wai* and *ch'ao feng* were originally titles that could be bought. In fact, no one among the *chuang* holders or anyone from their families are mentioned in the novel to have a position as an official.

[20] Cf. B. Csongor, *On the Popularity of the Shuihuchuan*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXVIII (1974), pp. 307—318.

[21] In one of the economic chapters of the *Ming shih* a list of the various kinds of *chuangs* is given as follows: «Imperial *chuang*, *chuang* of princes, of princesses, of meritorious relatives, of high officials, of eunuchs, of Buddhist and Taoist monasteries» (cf. *Ming shih*, *ch.* 77. Chung-hua shu-chü ed. Peking 1974, vol. 7, p. 1881). Out of our cases only the *chuang* of the Wut'aishan monastery (c. 3) and those of Ch'ai Chin (with an imperial pledge of protection: 'meritorious relative?', c. 5, 6) could be described as having been officially acknowledged.

[22] Shih Wen-pin, the magistrate of Yünch'eng had only forty constables at his disposal to cope with the activities of the Liangshan band (ch. 13, vol. I., pp. 194—195); the party led by Sun Li and posing as a reinforcement unit sent from Tengchou to Yünch'eng was only forty men strong as well (ch. 49, vol. II, p. 815). — Certain places in the countryside, however, where the presence of outlaws was considered to be more dangerous, had garrisons at least several hundred men strong, e.g. the town Ch'ingfengchen (ch. 33, vol. I, p. 513, 516, ch. 34, p. 529) with three outlaw bands in the neighbouring mountains.

called a 'village'[23] suggests that it was exempt from the jurisdiction of the local magistrate, that its inhabitants know only one master above them, the holder, the lord of the *chuang*.

Still, the head of this 'private kingdom' was on friendly terms with the local magistrate,[24] he made common cause with him against the outlaws of Liangshan. His eagerness to cooperate with the imperial authorities was certainly thought to be a safeguard for upholding his position. The anti-bureaucratic bias of the novel made therefore kill him with his whole family.

2. Other *chuang*s were affiliated with local administration, in two ways:

a) The chuang holder was a *li cheng* (c. 1, 16) or *pao cheng* (c. 7). This means that they belonged to the bureaucratic administration, although on the lowest level. They were made responsible for maintaining peace and order in their village, and for the smooth course of tax collection. In view of their privileged position it would be pointless to ask whether they were subject to taxation themselves or not: they certainly could make the village pay for them.

b) A relation of the *chuang* master was a minor official in the neighbouring town (c. 9, 16), or the master himself was a retired minor official (c. 13). These ties with local administration were more indirect, more remote than in the preceding case and could work in various ways: in case 13 Ts'ao t'ai kung used his prestige to extort money from local people;[25] in case 16, Mao t'ai kung used the official position of his son-in-law to put his enemies into prison.[26] On the other hand, in case 9, Sung t'ai kung thought to protect the family from the vicissitudes of his son's career as a clerk by disowning him formally.[27]

3. In case 4, the master of the *chuang* had to pay taxes to the outlaw band living in the neighbouring mountains. It is open to question whether the local magistrate was able to collect taxes from him or not.[28]

As to the origin and the basis of the *chuang* holders' wealth, patriarchal traditions apparently played a major role. The majority of the *chuang* masters was addressed or spoken of as *t'ai kung*. The term is explained in the dictionary

[23] Cf. note 15. — From this and other passages of the novel it is evident that the *ts'un fang* was not a closed settlement.

[24] Cf. e.g. ch. 47, vol. II, pp. 787—788.

[25] Ch. 43, vol. II, pp. 700—701.

[26] Ch. 49, vol. II, p. 808.

[27] The use of disowning as a protective measure shows that the position of the *chuang* master was tacitly acknowledged by local authorities — to say the least.

[28] Chao yüan wai (case 2) living in a town was probably a rich merchant, judging by his title; his holding a *chuang* was perhaps related to his being a patron (檀越 *tan yüeh*) of the Wut'aishan monastery. — Case 21 is not possible to interpret: the size of the land is too small for a landed estate, and the conditions of buying it are not known.

T'ung su pien as 'father; grandfather'[29] obviosuly in an extended sense: in cases 1, 14 and 18 the number of the people living in the neighbouring village and having the same surname as the *t'ai kung* himself was over hundred — or even well over hundred. Only elderly people had this title: wellnigh all the *t'ai kungs* had adult children and two are mentioned to have been over sixty.

It is but natural that aged *chuang* holders should have held a distinctive appellation of patriarchal character: outside the sphere of mandarin bureaucracy, social prestige could only be expressed in patriarchal terms. The social prestige of the *chuang* holders in the villages is shown, in addition, by many facts: in case 20, it is expressly mentioned that the *chuang* holders, the Kung brothers were «the patrons of the village»; in case 14, the *chuang yüan* of Chu ch'ao feng is called the «official residence»; in case 1, it was the *chuang* holder who organized the defence of the village, etc.

The superiority of the holders of the *chuang*s over the villagers was also ensured by the presence of their retainers in addition to the moral support of patriarchal tradition. These retainers consisted of two groups of people: all *chuang* masters employed a number of followers, *chuang k'o*, hired hands who appear in the novel as servants, carriers, grooms, cooks, bodyguards and who were strangers to the villagers (cf. case 7); the richer ones, in addition to the followers, retained a number of 'good fellows' as honoured guests[30] acting as instructors in the martial arts or as stewards sometimes. As the 'good fellows' were professional fighters[31] and as also the *chuang k'o* appear sometimes as a kind of private armed force (c. 1, 2, 14), it stands to reason that the superiority of the *chuang* holders over the villagers was not only a matter of moral prestige. It meant probably that the peasants of the respective villages were taxed by the *chuang* holders.[32] This can be substantiated by two facts: 1. in the five cases (c. 1, 4, 9, 14, 20) when the name of both *chuang* and village is given, the names are identical; 2. the inhabitants of a village, when mentioned at all, are called *chuang hu* or *chuang chia* (c. 1, 6, 16), i.e. 'families (belonging) to the *chuang*'. These terms would be meaningless if the cultivators were not bound to pay taxes to the *chuang* holder and to till his land.[33] This kind of relationship between the cultivators of a village and

[29] *T'ung su pien*, ch. 18.

[30] Cf. the case of Wang Chin (c. 1) or of Sung Chiang and Wu Sung (c. 6), or that of Tu Hsing (c. 15) etc.

[31] About the characteristics of the 'good fellows' cf. B. Csongor, *op. cit.*

[32] This is expressly mentioned in c. 6.

[33] It is not specified anywhere in the novel who the tillers of the *chuang*s' land were. At the same time, the size of a *chuang* is given in two, extreme cases only (c. 14, 21). This loose handling of the *chuang*s' economic activity can only mean that the acquisition of manpower was not a source of social conflicts, it did not constitute any problem for the *chuang* holders (nor for the authors and the reading public of the novel, for that matter). Moreover, it was certainly unthinkable to increase the territory of the *chuang* by expro-

the neighbouring «landlord» was again merely a natural outcome of the patriarchal traditions.

Thus the *chuang*s and the adjacent villages could sometimes form a miniature taxation unit together, sometimes be independent from the taxation system of the empire.

Beside their agricultural activity, the holders of the *chuang*s were also engaged in commerce: the inns mentioned in cases 3, 5, 8, 11, 15 could obtain their supplies from the *chuang*s only. In fact most of them, if not all, were owned by the *chuang* holder. However, this commercial activity could not have been considerable as a survey of the *chuang*s' agricultural produce does not show any tendency towards cultivation of specialized produce for the market, for sale.

Some of the *chuang* holders, or their sons (c. 7, 12) are mentioned as holding the title *pa* (usually translated as 'hegemon'). This term of historical origin[34] denoted in the novel those persons who, in a given locality were regarded as undisputed potentates in business matters. Itinerant merchants, showmen, singers and the like were bound to ask their permission for pursuing their trade in the locality by paying a suitable fee. Recalcitrant people were punished severely or even killed.[35]

As the *chuang* holders mainly lived on the borderland of the civilized world, it was inevitable that they should come in contact with the people living in the wilderness, the various bands of outlaws. These contacts, however, were not always hostile. Even Ch'ai Chin, scion of an imperial house and a privileged person offered refuge for criminals in his house,[36] and had a lively correspondence with the leaders of the Liangshan band as well.[37] It is perhaps not too far fetched to assume that these contacts between outlaws and the *chuang* holders were one of the sources of the latters' wealth. Ch'ao Kai (case 7), who was both a *pao cheng* and a *pa*, i.e. who was a person of unquestioned authority in his village, assumed the organization of the birthday presents' theft without the slightest hesitation.[38] This close relationship between *chuang* holders and outlaws is not just a matter of artistic imagination, a touch of

priating the cultivators of the village. To extort taxes from them was more easy and traditionally more accepted.

[34] Another age-old title of respect, 'great king' (大王 *ta wang*) has been used to address outlaw chiefs (cf. e.g. ch. 5, vol. I, p. 84).

[35] Cf. the quarrel between the Mu brothers and an itinerant showman as told by Mu Ch'un (ch. 37, vol. II, p. 582). — Other *pa* in the novel are: Li Li (ch. 37, p. 588) and Shih En (ch. 29, vol. I, p. 447), innkeepers; Li Chün and Chang Heng (ch. 37, p. 588) watermen and smugglers. The authority of these *pa* was apparently maintained by sheer physical force.

[36] Cf. ch. 22, vol. I, pp. 333—334.

[37] Cf. ch. 11, vol. I, pp. 163—164.

[38] Cf. ch. 14, vol. I, p. 204.

picaresque in the novel, it follows from the very nature of the *chuang* «property» itself. This, in turn, can be established by examining how a *chuang* could be acquired, or what happened if and when it was abandoned by the master.

Nothing essential can be learned from the novel about the acquisition of a *chuang*.[39] The consequences of losing a *chuang*, however, are amply documented. In case 14, it is stated explicitly that after the death of the holder and his family the *chuang* ceased to exist. True, the destruction of the «official residence» and the village centre was a «revolutionary», exceptional feat[40] of the local peasants, a factual obliteration of the memory itself of the Chu family's supremacy, — but it is significant that although many *chuang* holders were compelled in the novel to leave their *chuang* for good,[41] no efforts are mentioned to regain possession of the lost property.[42] This can be explained only by assuming that a legal protection of the *chuang* was nonexistent, and in case of aggression the holders could rely on the number and martial skill of their men only. As shown by the case of Ch'ai Chin (c. 5, 6), in a conflict with a local magistrate, an imperial pledge of protection was not of much value. It is, therefore, not surprising if the *chuang* holders frequently turned to the outlaws with their sympathies, — a *chuang* holder, ambitious to thrive, had much in common with them.

The absence of legal protection is also described in the novel in connection with a commercial venture (ch. 29—30, vol. I, pp. 447—469). Shih En, son of the commander of a prison camp founded a wine and meat shop at a nearby market town, employing ninety-odd convicts for this purpose. His shop acquired the monopoly of the wine and meat supply of the inns and gambling dens in the town, also visiting actresses and showmen had to pay Shih En a tax in order to obtain a permit to perform. Now it happened that a new officer at the prison camp brought a certain Chiang Chung with him, a fellow of strong physical force and skilled in fighting. This Chiang Chung chased Shih En out of his property by assaulting him. The only way for Shih En to get his property back was to find somebody stronger than his enemy and let him fight back. This had been done by Wu Sung who made Chiang Chung publicly renounce the possession of the shop before an assembly of the most valiant people of the town and then to move out. There is not even a hint at a possibility whatever of a legal remedy; even a talk between the

[39] Cf. note 28.

[40] To my knowledge this is the only case in the novel which could be described as a «peasant revolutionary feat».

[41] Shih Chin (c. 1) and Ch'ao Kai (c. 7) had to flee before the armed forces of the magistrate; Chu ch'ao feng (c. 14) and Hu t'ai kung (c. 17) were killed, together with their families; Ch'ai Chin (c. 5, 6) was arrested by the magistrate; Li Ying (c. 15) was forced to join the Liangshan band.

[42] Cf. especially the fate of the last scion of the Hu family (c. 17).

father of Shih En and the friend of Chiang Chung was out of question. Conforming with the general tenor of the novel which wishes to demonstrate that all kinds of ventures such as this were doomed to failure under the rule of mandarin bureaucracy, the story ends with Wu Sung being lured into a trap and imprisoned, and Chiang Chung once again chasing Shih En out of his shop.

By way of summary it can be said that the term *chuang* covered several kinds of relationships to a piece of land in China, at least in early Ming time. Only some of the holders were acknowledged by the imperial authorities as such, the majority being considered peasants, and commoners. These *chuang* holders played a leading part in the villages, either as veritable lords collecting taxes from the peasants and making them till the *chuang*'s field, or as low rank representatives of the local magistrate. As the *chuang* did not enjoy any legal protection, not infrequently armed force was needed to retain it in possession. Due to their unstable position, the *chuang* holders were rather mobile elements of society and showed a variety of social attitudes: they were either ruthless exploiters of the adjacent villages, or their protectors against the bigger robbers; they either associated with the local magistrate to fight rivals, or made common cause with local outlaws and smugglers. In the novel's view the *chuang* holders should make common cause with other mobile elements of society (soldiers, merchants, and vagabonds), because with the actual state of things the *chuang* itself was doomed to extinction.

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LANDOWNERSHIP RELATIONS IN PYLOS

BY

JÁNOS SARKADY

One of the major turning points in world history was the appearance of the ancient form of proprietorship and ancient mode of production, and the consolidation of a new economic and social structure in contrast to the predominance of the Asiatic form of proprietorship and mode of production. With regard to the central locations of the development of civilization, this change involved the growth of the Aegean and, later, of the Mediterranean into important centres of this kind. This shift and subsequent consolidation was completed in developed antiquity, i.e. in Greek history, but its beginnings date to earlier times. The immediate prehistory of the ancient development is the Aegean Bronze Age (3—2nd mill. B. C.), the development of which culminated in Cretan and Mycenaean civilization. These early civilizations on European territory were not yet of the 'European type', despite their special features that emerged at the time, but were 'Asiatic', related in their basic characteristics to the civilizations of the Ancient East.

The connections between the Ancient East and the Aegean civilizations, the parallel between them and, more importantly: the basic identity of their character has continued to emerge more clearly during the research carried out in our century. The decipherment of Linear B confirmed the results arrived at earlier on the basis of the archeological material and the written sources from the Ancient East.[1] Hungarian scholars also contributed to the discussion of problems in this connection.[2] Ferenc Tőkei's article analysed the subject from the point of view of the philosophy of history.[3] Tőkei brought the material of Cretan and Mycenaean social history, first of all the results and problems issuing from Linear B, to bear on the examination of the genesis of antiquity. He emphasized that the basic characteristics of Mycenaean society fit into the general framework of the Asiatic mode of production, while, on the other hand,

[1] Ventris—Chadwick 1956, pp. 106, 110, 119, 232; Webster 1958, 11; Heichelheim 1958, p. 160; Page 1959, p. 178; Tjumenev 1959; Starr 1962, p. 42; Vermeule 1964, p. 232; Finley 1970, pp. 30, 47.

[2] Sarkady 1957, 1975, 1978; Harmatta 1959; Tegyey 1966; Hahn 1969; 1971, 1978.

[3] Tőkei 1965, 1968, 1969, 1977a, 1977b.

he pointed out those elements (especially the role of the ktoina ktimena holdings) which, within the framework of the Asiatic mode of production, prepared the ground for the emergence of the ancient form of society.

An examination of the subject in the above terms helps to reveal the working of the factors, which prepared the 'antique turning' point, and to proceed from there towards a deeper historical understanding of this significant change. This being the case, a study of Mycenaean society becomes especially relevant, particularly the examination of what counts as the basis — the landholding relationships.

The documents relating to agriculture and land-holding relationships are one of the most extensive and most important groups of the Linear B source material. Accordingly, they resulted in extensive literature almost from the very beginning and its volume is still growing.[4] The considerable number of multifarious elaborations and endeavours to reach solutions also include some more comprehensive works, and attempts at syntheses; however, it cannot be said that a final conclusion of the problems has yet emerged. There is no single generally accepted — and acceptable — scientific account of the system of Mycenaean land-holding. In spite of all the efforts, there are very few results that can be regarded as having been established beyond any doubt; there are even crucial terms, the meaning of which is still under discussion, not to speak of an interpretation of the whole land-holding system. This being so, a re-examination of the sources from the very fundamentals cannot be outdated. In the present paper — for going an attempt to make a critical assessment of the various existing solutions proposed and of the comprehensive accounts offered — so far consideration is given to the questions of the land-holding relationships in terms of the basic forms, or modes, of land-holding and their structural connections.

The discussion will be limited to those sources, or groups of sources, which not only provide data, but also indicate something of the inner articulation or structure of the individual territories and communities. There are, in fact, only a few such sources probably representing only a tiny fragment of what could once have existed. The sources in question are: a. the material of *pakijane*, the socalled Great Cadastral; b. the so-called Smaller Cadastral (the Ea series); c. the temenos tablet; d. the *sarapeda* tablets; e. certain summary tablets.[5] These will now be considered, and in discussing the countless

[4] Ventris—Chadwick 1956, pp. 119, 129, 232; 1973, pp. 408, 443; Brown 1956; Bennett 1956; Adrados 1956; Ruipérez 1956, 1957; Finley 1957; É. Will 1957; Calderone 1960; Palmer 1963, p. 186; Deroy—Gérard 1965; Cataudella 1971; Duhoux 1971.

[5] The Es series, the articulation and inner structure of which in terms of land-holding relationships is not clear, is not included in this discussion. On the problems connected with it cf. Ventris—Chadwick 1956, p. 275—280, 1973, p. 456; Lang 1964; Ilievski 1966.

problems connected with them only the forms of land-holding and the structure of communities will be reviewed.

a. *The Great Cadastral* (*Series En-Eo, Ep-Eb*)

'Cadastral' has become the usual designation for this group of tablets though it does not strictly correspond to the actual (not quite clarifiable) purpose of the records.[6] We have the name of the locality of the plot which the records refer to: *pakija* (*pakijane*), and it can also be located geographically, at least in the one important respect that we know it was situated in the immediate vicinity of the capital, Pylos.[7]

Its relative importance within the Pylian state can — more or less — assessed: it was among the smallest of the sixteen «districts», or «taxpaying sections», but was, relative to all the localities there, (one hundred and fifty in number or so), among the first; although its size and the number of its inhabitants were not significant, it probably was became important through its role in administration, its proximity to the capital and its being, probably, also religious centre.

The unique importance of the Great Cadastral for research is not only due to its being the greatest part of the sources providing information about the land-holding relationships, but also the circumstance that it contains almost the whole material relating to the locality *pakijane* and the lands belonging to it. In addition, it offers a rather definite picture of the articulation and structure of the land-holding relationships, at least in outlines. It was not accidental that at an early stage of research, Bennett basically succeeded in «mapping» the spatial situation of the individual tenements as related to each other, although giving a highly abstracted picture, but one which on the whole showed the actual situation as it once was.[8]

The basic terms referring to different forms of landholding are the following: *kotona kitimena*, *kekemena kotona*, *onato*, *etonijo* and *kama*. With regard to some of these terms, linguistic explanations have produced more or less satisfactory interpretations, while others have not yet been «deciphered», despite a number of attempts.[9]

The *kotona kitimena* was always in the possession of individuals designated by some name. As holders of the *kotona* they usually occurred as designated by *kotonooko*; the fourteen ktoina-holders on the En-Eo list are designated on tablet En 609 containing the beginning of the *pakijane* register, as *tereta*.

[6] Cf. Ventris—Chadwick 1956, p. 232; Palmer 1963; Masai 1967.

[7] Ventris—Chadwick 1956, pp. 142, 241, 284; 1973, p. 416.

[8] Bennett 1956.

[9] On the terms see Morpurgo 1963; Chadwick—Baumbach 1963; Baumbach 1971, s. vv.

The owners often gave over part of their ktoina in the form of *onato* — or to use the current, but not thereby also appropriate expression, they leased it out — to different persons, for use.

The holder of the *kekemena* land was the *damo*, the 'people', or 'community' or 'village'. This land was also put to use in plots, in the form of *onato*s. The fixed formula always indicated the «lessor», the *damos*: every «lessee» received his *onato paro damo*. There were many sorts of «lessees»: priests, craftsmen and many *teojo doero*s and *doera*s ('God's servant' and 'God's maidservant') among them. The smaller plot of the *kekemena* land which remained *anono* («not leased») was also carefully registered.

There were only a few instances of what is called the *etonijo*; they were bigger than the usual average acreage of the *onato* and, more importantly, more advantegously situated; obviously this is why we also have a disputed case (the land of priestess *erita*, which she claimed to be an *etonijo*, while the *damo* claimed it to be just the usual *kotonao kekemenao onato*).

The *kama* was less well defined, its users were of various sorts, and their social position was also probably different. Many of the leaseholders bore the designation *kamaeu* (plur. kamaewe), obviously a derivative from *kama* referring to a close association with it and position determined by it. In association with the lease-holders of the *kama* we often come across the verb *woze*, which undoubtedly expresses the execution of some duty, the doing of work. It is interesting that whenever a *kotonooko* appears among the tenants of the *kama*, *woze* does not occur in his column, not even in association with the *teojo doera* receiving a lot from him as «sub-tenant». Though otherwise a well delimitable form, the *kama* is in some particular cases not distinguishable from the *kekemena* land, perhaps because of the person of the land-holder, or his position. These tablets do not tell us who disposed of the *kama* and who the users received their lets from; in any case, it is an established — and probably not insignificant — fact that neither the individual *kotonookos*, nor the *damo* occur as «leasers» of the *kama* lands. This indicates independence and different positions in contrast to the closely connected *kitimena* and *kekemena* lands and the groups of owners owing them.

Parallel to the forms of land-holding, the groups of holders are also outlined. It is the *kotonooko* (ktoinoochoi = ktoina-owners) who figure as the most important group in the system of land-holding in *pakijane*. They have personal, «not transferable» ktoina which they own «by own right» (or at least there is no reference to what the expressions *onato*, *onate*, *paro X*, *paro damo*, *woze* etc. mean in relation to the «lease-holds»); of these they evidently put out *onato*s to lease at their discretion. What makes them really important is that the *kotonooko* constitute the *damo* together, collectively. This emerges clearly from one single datum, the two versions of the record of the «legal action» of priestess *erita*, where her opponent party is in one version referred to as *koto-*

nooko, in the other as *damo*.[10] Accordingly, the «people», the «community» consisted of individual owners with full powers, i.e. it was the stratum of «lower owners». As a collective they also disposed of the *kekemena* land: in their quality as the *damo*, they leased it out in the form of *onato*. The «lease-holders» were of various sorts: the ktoinoochoi themselves received a share of the *kekemena kotona*, then the priests, craftsmen and many *teojo doeros* (and *doeras*), the latter obviously members of the wider circle of the personnel of the cults. The 'lease-holder' (*onate*, plur. *onatere*) is generally a designation of the users of the *kotona kitimena* only as such users and does not characterize them in general. In this sense, *onate* does not represent an independent and separate class. Anybody could be classed as *onate* who «takes by lease» a plot of some land, whether a *kotonooko*, a *teojo doero* or *kamaeu* or anything else. The *kotonooko* was, of course, first of all a group of «lessors» in this context, both on their *kitimena* lands (where, of course, it also occurred that a *kotonooko* took over a lot as *onato* from another), and on the *kekemena* lands where it was the collective of the *kotonooko*, the *damo* which leased the particular parts, first of all to its own members, the individual *kotonooko*. Another aspect of the position and role of the *kotonooko* is given by another label, the *tereta*, found in the introduction to the *pakijane* material. Without discussing here this much discussed term, which has more than one interpretation,[11] it can, as a matter of course, be considered as highly plausible that it characterizes the *kotonooko* from the point of view, and in terms of their relation to, the state which records and taxes and obviously had the cadastral itself made with financial purposes. The specification of their number and the latter's clear correspondance (despite problems of detail) with the continuous list of the *kotona kitimena* land and its kotonooko-holders shows that *tereta* in this case refers strictly, and exclusively, to the *ktoina*-holders of the locality in question, *pakijane*. The other ktoinoochoi not listed in the *tereta* list, but occurring as lease-holders of other *kekemena*- and *kama* plots were not *teretas* or more exactly perhaps: not *teretas* in *pakijane*. They were probably *kotonooko* belonging to other communities who counted presumably in their own community as *teretas* (whatever the exact sense of this term).

The overall position of the *kotonooko* was basically determined by their mode of participation in land, by their having some independent landed property. With the other lease-holders, it was the other way round:-in the case of the priests and officials it was obviously on the basis of their being priests and officials that they participated in a greater measure, and even on distinctively advantageous conditions, in the *kekemena* lands as lease-holders; in the case of

[10] Ep 704, 5—6 and Eb 297.

[11] Ventris—Chadwick 1956, pp. 120—121, 234, 277; 1973 pp. 408, 452—453; Chadwick 1957; Tjumenev 1959b; Palmer 1963, p. 190.

the *teojo doeros* and *teojo doeras'* social position also had similar benefits: their lower status in that they generally received small parcels of land, and their religious role in that they could participate in the leasing of the land at all. On the other hand, with regard to the *kamaeu*, it was their status as land-holders, the form in which they used the land that seemed to be a determinative factor in their whole position. The very name *kamaeu* indicates the intimate connection of its bearer with the *kama*; he received a share of this which he cultivated and this seemed to be his most relevant quality, at least from the point of view of the state taxation register. His special position was indicated first and foremost by the verb *woze*, which appears throughout the columns; that this expresses the accomplishment of some duty is certain from the lists systematically noting cases of the *neglection* of duties. This watchfulness on the part of state bureaucracy admits of the possibility that that duty had to be done expressively for the state while, on the other hand, the *onato* created, at least primarily, some sort of connection involving «payment» or service directly between the *damo* as the lessor and the «lease-holder» of whatever sorts and conditions.

Let us now briefly consider the question whether or not, and if so to what extent, the particular categories of land-holding and land-holder determined the extent of participation in landed property. This is also necessary because there was a tendency — especially in the early phase of research on the Linear B — to suppose a complete regularity of the division of landed property and its central arrangement by the state according to a pre-existing, also quantitatively regulated model.[12] Undoubtedly, this is an exaggeration though certain tendencies, at times almost regularities, can be observed and are even interpretable in some cases.

The *kotona kitimena* estates were the biggest, their extension falling between 1 T 1—8 T 3 (if we discount, that is, the exceptionally big estates of *tiqajo* which comprise actually two ktoinas, the upper limit being 3 T 2).[13] Their average extension was 2 T 4, somewhat rounded off, and, without *tiqajo's* estate, 2 or so; but such averaging, on which earlier research based so much, conveys very little. They segregate clearly from the much smaller units characteristic of the majority of *onatos* only in terms of scale; in and among themselves no regulated or standardized extension of estates is detectable, either with regard to then existing conditions or to a retraceable earlier state of affairs.

Part of the *kotona kitimena* estates were leased out as *onatos*; these *onatos* were generally smally smal, their borders are indicated by V 1 and T 9, with T 1 and T 2 as the most frequent extensions. How big a part of the *kotona*

[12] See e.g. Ruipérez 1956.

[13] On the possibilities of converting these into concrete units of measurement see Ventris—Chadwick 1956, pp. 53—60, 232—239, further 1973, pp. 393—394.

kitimenas were leased out to how many lessees in how big lots is totally «unregulated»; there is no relationship in whichever direction between these factors. And this is typical: in this respect there are only individual cases.

It seems that the situation is similar with regard to the *kekemena kotonas* «taken by lease additionally» to the *kotona kitimena*. The extension of the *kekemena* leaseholds of ktoinoochoi was generally not big, averageing hardly more than the one fourth of the average of the *kotona kitimena*, but the particular cases were scattered between rather wide limits: some belonged to the smallest *onatos* and others were bigger than at least the smaller *kotona kitimenas*. There was no relationship whatever between the extension of the *kotona kitimenas* of the individual lease-holders and that of the *onato kekemena kotonas* taken on lease by them. (At most, the relatively big extension of their *onatos* — primarily in contrast to the lease-holds of the *teojo doeros* — may indicate possible ktoinoochos privileges, or at least a *de facto* advantageous position, and better economic prospects.

The lease-holds of persons of higher dignities (priests, and officials: *opetereu*, *erita*, and *kapatija* etc.) from the *kekemena* land were of bigger extension (in contrast to the *onatos*, that is), averaging 1 T 5, or, if we discount *erita*'s disputed estate (an *etonijo* estate according to her), only 1 T 2. In addition to the priests, a *teojo doera* also occurred in this group, but, typically, it was indicated that this was by special right.[14]

The *kekemena onatos* of the *teojo doero/as* were generally small parcels of land, with the extension of most of them between T 1 and T 2 with very little variability.

The two cases of the *etonijo* are the acknowledged estate of *apimede* and the disputed one of *erita*, the former 4 T 6 big, the latter 3 T 9 V 3. Both were outstandingly big in the given section, bigger even than the area of the *kotona kitimena* (except for *tiqajo*'s double estate). An exceptionally large size also went with a privileged position: the *kemena kotona* was held not as an *onato*, but probably «free of charge».

Two of the ten plus plots held by lease of the *kama* land show outstandingly big extension (10); the text fragment that relates to them seems to mention some double obligation. Almost all of the other areas were, however, uniform (their size being 1 or just a little bit bigger), which is most remarkable since the lessees were obviously persons of different position and legal standing; however, this difference did not significantly influence the extension of the lands leased by them.

[14] Ep 704, 2 = Eb 416.

b. *The Smaller Cadastral* (*Ea series*)

The geographical position and the name of the area are unknown; no datum has survived that could guide us from the start as in the case of the «Big Cadastral». There has been considerable argument about whether it might not be topographically localizable, but so far without any sure results. The names of individual persons and their supposed connections fail to offer sufficient basis for deciding the question.[15] The documentary material is much less, more scanty and much more disconnected than that of *pakijane*, but admits, on the whole, of the supposition that it might have been at least as big as that; however, it offers no foundations for supposing a similar administrative and religious role.

The insufficient and disconnected material (containing connected items and summaries only in some special cases) does not outline the community structure and the land-holding relationships as clearly as in the case of *pakijane*; nevertheless, the main categories of landhold are also palpable here.

The *kotona kitimena* is there, partly so designated, partly more scantily and more vaguely. Particular estates not so designated, but figuring under some private name and privately leased out also very probably belong here.

The *kekemena* land here was entrusted — in contrast to the case of *pakijane*, where it was held directly and collectively by the *damo* and was put to use in the form of *onato paro damo* — to some communal officials with a special economic role (*meriteu*, *qoqota*, *suqota* = «bee-keeper», «cattleherd», «swineherd») who leased it (in some cases in special forms).

There were estates also designated as *paro damo onato*, but were separated from the *kekemena* category, whereas in *pakijane* these two coincide.

There are a number of ambiguous, uncategorizable or special cases, where the holding is referred to without further specification simply as *eke*, *onato* or *kotona*; if these cases some may exemplify the above forms, others may be entirely independent.

The *kama* hardly occurs in this source material — in its extant part, that is, with two cases being referred to.

The system of different categories of holders and their relations to each other seems — notwithstanding certain differences — to be identical in outlines with the state of affairs observable in the case of the «Great Cadastral» in *pakijane*. The terms *kotonooko* and *tereta* do not occur, but this, of course, may be due to the fragmentary survival of the material.

The holders of *kotona kitimena*s are mentioned, as well as the *damo* as a lessor of *onato*s, but there is no direct allusion to its meaning „the collectivity of the *kitimena*-owners". (Although this would be a plausible suppostion

[15] Palmer 1963; Deroy—Gérard 1965, pp. 44—49.

on the basis of the existing parallel with *pakijane*; it should probably be added that the *meriteu*, *qoqota* and *suqota* deciding over the leasing out of *kekemena* lands also belonged to the members of the *damo* as the owner of the whole plot of land.)

There are even of more various sorts of lesses than in *pakijane*; there are many special and uncertain cases. They include *kotona*-holders and craftsmen; part of them qualified as *rawakesio*, 'belonging to the rawaketa'. It is a striking (but understandable) difference to the situation in *pakijane* that there were no priests and *teojo doero/as*.

Two persons of obviously outstanding position, *kereteu* and *apia$_2$ro* represent a special element here, who with their lands «leased together» from different persons and groups are the biggest owners of the territory (approx. 13 and 4 macro-units of land respectively). It is also striking that in general *kotonas* and *onatos* of bigger extension than in *pakijane* are relatively frequent; however, as the material is fragmentary, it is not possible to decide how far this is typical of the territory of the «Smaller Cadastral». In any case, the only related factor is that one of the few instances of the *kama* is 10 macro-units big.

c. *The temenos-tablet (Er 312)*

Er 312.1 wanakatero temeno [
2 tosojo pema GRA 30
4 *vacat*
5 teretao [. . .] toso pema GRA 30
6 tosode tereta VIR 3
7 worokijonejo eremo
8 tosojo pema GRA 6 [. . .
9 *vacat*

Despite the lack of a concrete indication, it can hardly be doubted that this tablet relates to an unity, with parts that belong together: with a territory from some point of view constituting a unity, perhaps with the settlement on it too, though this supposition is much less certain and says almost nothing about the extension and nature of the supposed settlement.

This tablet is exceptionally important, because it refers to the properties of the first and (probably) the second man of the Pylian state, the king and the «commander» that are recorded on it, referred to by the term *temeno*, which exclusively designated their lands. The term *temeno* is especially important for research through its continuance in later Greek antiquity and its sacral character that offers the rare possibility of examining the continuity of development and the real content of a possible Mycenaean form.[16]

[16] Guiraud 1893; Busolt 1920, p. 141; Latte 1934; Thomson 1949, p. 329; Ventris—Chadwick 1956, p. 264; Palmer 1963; Manessy—Guitton 1966.

At the same time, it became fashionable, as it were, for a while in research to overestimate its informational value: many believed they had found in it the general model of land-holding relationships in Mycenae or at least the complementation of the source material of *pakijane*. However, it is necessary to be very cautious with such far-reaching general conclusions. There is no indication whatever regarding the geographical situation of the territory. (The often stressed circumstance that the tablet was written by the same clerk as the *sarapeda*-tablets — discussed below — does not automatically involve territorial unity or even proximity of territory, not to mention that the localization of the territory is also entirely uncertain.[17] And what is even more important: from this document, which refers to a not very big territory and the numerical relationships statable in it — viz. the 3 : 1 : 3 proportion of the lands of the *wanaka*, the *rawaketa* and the *teretas* — we cannot draw any general inference as to the land-holding relationships in the Pylian kingdom: the general proportions of the lands held by the king, the commander and the *teretas*.

In any case, the quantitative relations, the 30, 10, 30 (3×10) and 6 macro-units extension of the tenements indicate an artificially proportioned, consciously planned division. This seems quite certain with regard to the two *temenos* and the lands of the *teretas*;as a remainder of the whole territory, the *worokijonejo eremo* may have been added to these, obviously quantitatively pre-determined, methodically surveyed parts. (It is not, however, entirely impossible that — in its relation to 30 — 6 is also a regular, pre-planned number, i.e. that this is also a methodically pre-surveyed territory.)

It is not only the «separated» tenements of the two leaders of the state and the orderliness of territory division that make this document especially interesting, but also, and at least to the same extent, the special nature of the *tereta lands*, and of the *teretas* holding them. In comparison with the *kotona kitimena* territories of the *teretas* in *pakijane* their land was very big and this fact, conspicuous in itself, is given further significance by the circumstance that the extension of a *tereta* land here was one third of that of the king and was identical to that of the commander. What is the economic and social position of these *teretas*? If we knew of them only from this document, we would be correct in supposing what has often actually been supposed, viz. that they refer to officials of high rank («barons» or «initation-priest», to mention only two of the explanations proposed.[18] But what is the relationship of these three *teretas* to the fourteen who are *ktoina*-holders in pakijane, but whose

[17] Ventris—Chadwick 1956, pp. 266—267, 282—283. — The idea of the identity of the clerk plays an important part in Lejeune's attempt (Lejeune 1975), which connects the temenos and the *sarapeda* tablets as a close unity with regard to the same territories.

[18] Ventris—Chadwick 1956, pp. 120—121, 234, further 1973, p. 408; Palmer 1954; 1955; 1963, p. 190.

lands taken together are at most only approximate to the territory of the lands of the other three? And in addition, what is their relationship to the fourty-five *teretas* who turn up (together with five carpenters) on a tablet of Knossos Am 826 referred to as *apatawajo*? The latter probably is equivalent to *aptarwaioi*, that is'the men of aptarwa' and thus presumably means all the *teretas* of the locality Aptara. These three cases show that the term *tereta* was applicable to people in different places and of widely differing economic and social position. A comparison between them, however, raises the question, but does not solve it.

d. *The sarapeda tablets* (*Er 880, Un 718*)

These two tablets are connected through the word *sarapeda* (probably a specification of a place or even perhaps a place-name, though this is disputed by many)[19] occurring on both, and the mention of *ekera$_2$wo*, one of the most important personalities in the Pylian state. It is also probable that the two tablets come from the hand of the same clerk.

The first tablet records that *ekerawo* holds *kitimena* land in *sarapeda* (in a different version: land of *sarapeda* kind),[20] two lands, by number; these are «planted in«, i.e. horticulturally cultivated territories. Apart from the safely complementable word *[pe]pu$_2$ temeno*, this is also proved by the separate numerical indication of the vine-plants (*weje*[*we* . . .] 1100) and the fig-trees (*suza* [. . .] 1100). With regard to the extension of the *kitimena* lands of *ekera$_2$ wo*, which is specified by the tablet precisely as being 94 macro-units, this is the *biggest* area of land held by one man which we know of. There is sufficient space on it for either the whole territory of *pakijane* or the different lands of the temenos tablet on the land of this man, comprising a vineyard and a fig plantation. (It is, therefore, not surprising that in the beginning there it was believed that *ekera$_2$ wo* had been the king of Pylos, but today this supposition is thought to be groundless.)[21] Nevertheless this need not necessarily be the upper limit of the extension of the lands that actually existed; the possibility of a comparison with *pakijane* at the same time brings out that — considering the extension of *pakijane* and its relative position within the Pylian kingdom — there might have been monarchal *temenos* and *kitimena* lands bigger than this double garden-estate.

The material of *ekera$_2$wo*'s estate in itself reveals interesting things about landholding relationships and economic methods, but its real importance lies in

[19] E.g. Ventris—Chadwick 1956, p. 266, Palmer 1963, 2 15; Lindgren 1973, II. 153.

[20] Palmer 1963.

[21] Ventris—Chadwick 1956, p. 265; Palmer 1963; Lindgren 1973. The current more widespread view is in: Ventris—Chadwick 1973, p. 454.

that it can be connected with the other tablet. On the Un 718 a sacrifice, or gift, or pledge (*dosomo*), offered to, or appropriated for (the verbs are in the future) Poseidon (posedaoni) is recorded. There are four participants — persons and groups — of this religious act, in the following sequence: 1. *ekera*$_2$ *wo*, 2. *damo* 3. *rawaketa*, 4. *worokijonejo kama*. The gifts are also listed in detail; their quantity evidently corresponds to the succession of the donators (thus e.g. *ekera*$_2$ *wo* gives 4 macro-units of wheat and a bull; the *damo* 2 macro-units of wheat and two rams; the *rawaketa* also two rams and 6 medium-units of flour (?), and the *worokijonejo kama* 6 medium-units of wheat and no animal at all.)

This collective delivering its sacrificial share to the *ovideta*, recorded on one tablet, presumably forms a unit apart from their participation in one and the same cult; we can certainly assume that they lived in the same region as neighbours, perhaps even in some unitary organization — in the settlement *sarapeda* and in its vicinity, if *sarapeda* is a place name, that is.

It is at least rather probable, though not absolutely certain, to presume the fact that the proportions of contribution to the communal sacrifice more or less correspond with the economic capacity of the particular units.[2] Taking this as a basis, it seems that the capacity (and the underlying extension) of the *damo* is merely half of that of *ekera wo*'s estate, or at most two-thirds, that of the *rawaketa*'s estate at most one-third, and that of the *worokijonejo kama* the same as the *rawaketa*'s, but rather somewhat less.

In this case there arises the possibility of quantitative determination — within very broad limits, of course — if we can suppose (as we most probably can) that the pledge tablet refers to the estates of *ekera*$_2$ *wo* occurring on the other tablet and also defined as to extension there. However, some difficulties emerge at the very outset: do both estates of *ekera*$_2$ *wo* jointly partake in this sacrificial delivery? Or perhaps one of them only? And if so, which one? (N. B.: as the tablet is damaged, we do not know their extension separately, only that of the two in conjunction !) Or might perhaps *ekera*$_2$ *wo* have had some other estate in the vicinity? (It is not very probable, but is not ruled out, either.)

This situation makes all such efforts rather difficult and can lead only to multiple hypotheses. Thus it is more important that there is a positive result in that the list of the participants of the sacrifice at the same time gives the four basic constituents of the system of land-holding of the *sarapeda* territory:

1. A private estate — on the basis of our present material: a very big one — in two parts, utilised at least partly by fig and grape-vine production. This estate is of the *kitimena* kind (Er 880 l.) but does not belong to the organizational framework of the *damo*; its holder may have held some high position in the state, or might perhaps have been a member of the royal family.

[22] This question is analysed in detail by Lejeune 1975.

2. A *damo*, presumably with the *kotona kitimena* division known from other cases (*pakijane* and the Ea cadastral), with the *tereta* (*kotonooko*) group as its core and different tenants. (Such an inner division may be appropriate in this locality; on the basis of the above approximate estimate of its extension this *damo* was probably not smaller than that of *pakijane*.

3. The mention of the *rawaketa* as the third surely does not mean, despite his occurrence as a donator (*dose*), that the second dignitary of the Pylian state, the *lawagetas*, appears in person here, let alone permanently. The territory in question contributing to the sacrifice is obviously one estate of the *rawaketa*, of a kind of which presumably a good many more existed in the Pylian kingdom. (Whether they, and among them this particular estate, were all of the temenos kind can of course not be defined.) It is probable that a group of the people of the *rawaketa* (*rawakesijo*) lived tilling the soil, outside the organization of the *damo*.

4. Lastly, a *worokijonejo kama*, a smaller part with a smaller economic capacity. Setting aside here the problems connected with the word *worokijonejo*[23] what most importantly follows from the mention of the *kama* as a separate part is that this category of land-holding does not belong to the organization of the *damo*.

e. *Totalling Tablets*

Of the over-all summaries relating to the whole of one unit and of the partial summaries selecting from the material of the particular units from some aspect it is necessary to comment on the following:

1. Ed 317: $oda a_2$ ijereja karawiporoqe eqetaqe wetereuqe onata tosode pemo GRA 21 T 6

— The tablet summarizes a part of the material of *pakijane*, i.e. the lease-holds of the clerical dignitaries and the (probably) military functionary *eqeta*. This additional summary has a sense only if those mentioned do not belong to the *damo* (which we can take for granted) and form a group in a favoured position alongside it, primarily with regard to the deliveries (which we can suppose as highly probable).

2. Ed 236: kamaewe onata ekote kekemenao kotonao wozote toso pemo GRA 30 T 2 V 3

— Possibly, though not certainly, this summary relates to the *kamaeus* of *pakijane* — supposing that most tablets of this sort have not survived. It seems more plausible to think of some other locality or territory. It is instructive that, accordingly, in some territories a significant (perhaps the greater) part of the *kekemena kotona* were taken on lease by *kamaeus*, i.e. persons not

[23] Heubeck 1966.

belonging to the community (*damo*). In the wellknown tablet material of *pakijane* the majority of the tenants do not belong to the community, they were not even *kamaeu* either, but engaged as some sort of cult personnel, *teojo doero*(a).

3. Ed 411: kusutoroqa pato [oekosi?] tereta GRA 44 [? kamaewe GRA 58 T 5
(Lat. inf.:) teojo doera [. . .

— The *teretas* in question cannot, despite several comparative attempts,[24] be identified as either those on the tablet of *pakijane* or on the temenos tablet or some sort of collectivity of these groups. This tablet has to be set apart as the summary of the complete material (*kusutoroqa* is a clear indication of completeness) of some (as yet unidentifiable) community.

The most important fact on the tablet is that the inhabitants fall into two basic groups: *tereta* and *kamaewe*. (It is an independent question wether or not *teojo doera* on the lower edge of the tablet, with no indication of quantity surviving, was intended as a category of the same rank as the other two.) The inhabitants (cultivators and landowners) of the territory fall either into the category *tereta* or *kamaeu*, at least for the bureaucracy of the state which recorded them primarily under the aspect of taxation. Accordingly *tereta* and *kamaeu* are mutually exclusive; they refer to two opposing economic positions, legal status and forms of land-holding. It may be characteristic that the summary tablet does not use the term *kotonooko* but *tereta*, although — by and large — these two seem to practically overlap. The position of the ktoina-holders with regard to the state is precisely expressed by the term *tereta*.

The two groups also simultaneously represent two territories: the *tereta* (= *kotonooko*) community lived within a bigger territory forming one unitfor the state, tilling the soil on their *damo*, *kitimena* and *kekemena* lands, and so did the group of the *kamaeus* on the *kama*. We have no data to decide whether or not this latter also had an organization of an autonomous kind like the *damo*.

4. Ed 901: $oda a_2$ kekemenao kotonao onata ekosi kotoneta toso pemo GRA 3 [. . .

Finally this selective summary. It is not particularly important in itself, and the sole interest is due to the concept *kotoneta* (= ktoinetai). Not by virtue of its meaning because this remains an object of mere conjecture,[25] but rather through calling to mind how many more various forms of holding might have existed on the periphery of the available source material — and still more beyond it, in the material which is probably much more extensive than what is available — that can, at most, be guessed at. This correctly prescribes caution in formulating any inferences.

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[24] Ventris—Chadwick 1973, pp. 452—453.
[25] Lejeune 1966.

It is very difficult to ascertain a general regularity on the basis of a few cases and this automatically gives a rather limited validity to any statements. Still it seems to be a safe starting point to base the outline of an overall picture on the role of the *damo*. In the late phase of the Mycenean Age there were communities, (villages and small towns) settling down and living on the greater and smaller plots of land in Pylos just almost everywhere as otherwise in the whole Greece. The *damo* was the form of organization of these agricultural communities or, more exactly, of the central group of the inhabitants. The word dāmos itself, related in its basic meaning to the verb 'divide (among each other)', refers to the collectivity of 'sharers, co-partners'[26] who had originally shared the prey, since the Neolithic Age the land and its products, among each other. 'A community and the land owned by it' — this remained, in different variants, the basic meaning of the word *dāmos*, *demos* throughout the whole of Greek history. Even later it was only the two meanings 'common people' and 'democratic state' which came to have similar importance in the course of the developments during the archaic and the classical age. With its basic meaning it probably existed as early as when the forefathers of the Greeks migrated in and fused with the aborigines.

The *damo* was constituted by the owners of the settlement, the *koto-nookos*; they owned the territory of the locality, part of it individually, as private estates (*kotona kitimena*), and the other part collectively (*kekemena kotona*). They gave the latter out in the form of *onatos* for use («lease it out»), partly to persons outside the community, and partly also within it. (The essence of this basic bipartition was not affected by the partial differences in the local utilization of the *kekemena*, which was already commented upon in connection with the material of *pakijane* and the Ea cadastral.) There has been considerable dispute over the 'legal standing', the utilization of, and the difference between, the *kitimena* and the *kekemena*, with many attempts to solve the problem, but without convincing final solutions.[27] This, however, does not affect some basic points: a community owned a territory bi-partitioned, in two ways, privately and collectively, which — as it were — foreshadowed the double prorietorship of antiquity — perhaps really as an historical ancestor.

The ownership of the *damo*, at least in a certain sense and to a certain extent meant the right of disposition of the land of the village; it obviously gave out the *onatos* for the *onatere* for (at least partly) its own profit. The basis for this was the monopoly of the village against the people outside the community who wanted to use its land. This situation was also obviously acknowledged and guaranteed by the state. The relationship of the state to the com-

[26] Boisacq 1950, s. v.; Frisk 1960, s. v.

[27] Ventris—Chadwick 1956, p. 232, further 1973, p. 443; Palmer 1963; Bennett 1956; Brown 1956; Finley 1957; Will 1957; Calderone 1960; Deroy—Gérard 1965; Duhoux 1971.

munity was, of course, characterized first and foremost by its imposing taxes and supplies on it. The community defended its rights against those who wanted to enjoy illegal advantages over it, as shown by the questioned etonijo claim of *erita*. At the same time, the acknowledged *etonijo* of *apimede* and the separate summary of the priests and officials showed that there was a group of tenants of higher standing, whose special rights — one can, indeed, say: privileges — the village had to recognize. They stood outside the compass of the *damo* and above the tenants in lower positions, and belonged to the state bureaucracy or the priesthood or perhaps to the independent big estates.

The *damo* was, essentially, the legal unity of the owners of a settlement, with a self-governed organization also acknowledged by the state, an archaic agricultural community within the framework of an Eastern type despotic and bureaucratic state. Genetically, it was not some royal settlement, or tenure, no cult community; its owners did not get their lands from the king or from the priests of some sanctuary, as was often proposed in different theories.[28] The existence of such villages obviously precedes, in most cases, the coming into being of the state, although, of course, many new settlements might also have sprung up during the age of Mycenaean civilization;[29] the organization of these, however, probably followed the form of those already existing. The agricultural community's being 'archaic' must naturally be understood with certain qualifications, mainly because of the degree of development of the ownership relationship. The form of ownership and economic activity characterizing the «true-born» group of the *damo* was entirely private. The entirely private and irregular instances of leasing out the *kotona kitimena* and of additional leasing from the *kekemena kotona* and the *kama* show that neither the community nor the state intervened in the direction and management of the particular smallholdings. These characteristics undoubtedly indicate a situation approaching the coming into being of private property, but whether or not the development reached the theoretically definable borderline cannot, on the basis of the available source material, be settled beyond doubt.

The special independent position of the *kama*, the other basic form of landholding in connection with the material of the cadastral of *pakijane*, was already referred to. The cadastral of *pakijane* and the Ea cadastral, the temenos tablet and the sarapeda tablets clearly outline the most characteristic features of the *kama*.

[28] Ventris—Chadwick 1956, pp. 120—121, 234; Palmer 1954, p. 37, 1963, pp. 191, 205, 457; Deroy—Gérard 1965, p. 79; Wundsam 1968, p. 145. (In contrast to these cf. Hooker 1976, p. 186.)

[29] It is characteristic that the number of places of occurrence of archeological finds in the Messenian territory is *five* during the Middle Helladic Age (20—17th cent. B. C.), while during the Late Helladic Age, IIIB (13th cent.) it is already one hundred and thirty-seven (McDonald—Rapp 1972).

The *kama* did not belong to the *damo*; it was outside its territorial compass comprising the *kitimena* and *kekemena* lands and, accordingly, the *damo* apparently had no right of ownership or control over it. Some attempts have been made to linguistically explain the name *kama*; the two most plausible accounts take as their starting point the Greek word meaning 'earth' and 'effort'.[30] The latter seems factually more meaningful, in any case. In the texts there are three kinds of designation: in the two cadastrals simply *kama*, in *sarapeda worokijonejo kama*, on the temenos tablet *worokijonejo eremo*. *Worokijonejo* is connected with the frequently occurring expression *woze* (= doing work and thereby accomplishing duty); *eremo* (desert, wilderness) seems to refer to an unpeopled territory, perhaps one just to be cultivated.

In connection with most of the «leaseholds» of the *kama*, there is some expressed and officially recorded duty (delivery? sociage?) to be done, the accomplishment of which is expressed in most cases by the verb *woze* (or sometimes *terejae, terapike*). It is an important question to whom the users of the *kama* owe this duty. It is clear from the text that it was not the *damo* or the individual *kotonookos*. Nor can it have been the many-acred landowners outside the *damo*; the documents would obviously have mentioned the fact that they acted as «lessors» (with their names or the designation of their dignities). The same consideration arises if the sanctuaries and the priests are thought to have played such a part, as some suppose;[31] however, no such mention is to be found and, on the other hand, the role of the church-farms cannot be directly grasped. There is only one owner who has to be taken into consideration: the king himself, the state. It was his *tenants* — not simply *tax-paying subjects* — who used the *kama*.

The existence of the term *kamaeu*, a derivative of *kama*, in itself indicates in this case that it refers to an institution, an institutionalized practice dating back to earlier times. The position, or: legal standing, of the *kamaeu*, as its name also indicates, was determined by its relationship to the *kama* (at least originally): he cultivated the kama, and lived exclusively, or mainly, from it; his way of living was basically the cultivation of the *kama*, perhaps together with living on its territory too. In the material of the two cadastrals there is little concrete mention of the *kamaeus*; their number and role are perhaps better characterized by the fact that on the above-mentioned summarizing list tablet Ed 411 it is the *tereta* and the *kamaewe* that are given as the two basic categories of the inhabitants of a territory or settlement (possibly with the teojo doero mentioned in addition). Supposing, for the sake of argument, that it is possible to generalize the testimony to Pylian society or, more exactly,

[30] Ventris—Chadwick 1956, pp. 261, 264; Heubeck 1965; Wundsam 1968, pp. 137, 154; Cataudella 1971, p. 234; Charue 1972; Duhoux 1971.

[31] Palmer 1963, p. 437.

to the society of the agricultural producers (who made up the decisive majority, in any case) the most important groups of this society would be outlined: 1. The ktoinoochoi (*kotonooko*) grouping in *damos* who were independent private landholders and as such were the tax-payers of the state, i.e. *teretas*. 2. The «tenants» of the lands belonging directly to the state i.e. the *kamaeus* who were obliged carry out a duty and provide supplies. And beside these two main groups, the personnel of the sanctuaries, the *teojo doero/as* may also have had a role.

It is not probable that the sanctuaries disposed of big arable territories; this is suggested by the fact that a considerable number of *teojo doero/as* are referred to among the tenants of the *kitimena* and *kekemena* lands of the *damos*.

Apart from these social groups and their characteristic forms of landholding there are very few other cases in the document material. The most important of the few is the special form of ownership characteristic of the *wanaka* and the *rawaketa*, the *temeno*. Researchers generally greeted its appearance with enthusiasm, because it is unambiguous and its continuation can be clearly traced in later times. The picture according to which in the classical era only Gods had *temenos*, while earlier in the Homeric epic poems they were given to kings and heroes for their feats of arms[32] showed a simple and logical line of development. At the same time it served as a basis for the supposition according to which temenos were the root, or the archetype, of private property.[33] The Pylian *temeno* seems to fit into this picture.

However, the question is not quite so simple. This supposed role of the temenos at the beginning of private property — cannot be made to fit into this form of ownership, because the specific feature of the landownership of the king and the state consisted of asserting its role to a greater extent, rather than transcending its being bound up with the state as well as the community.[34] Apart from this, the fact that the *temeno* occurs on this tablet alone considerably narrows down the possibilities of understanding and explanation. We do not known where this temenos was situated (the usual suggestion — in Pylos or its vicinity — has no serious foundation); we do not known where other *temenos* might have been located; whether others apart from the king and the commander, e.g. the sanctuaries, could have had lands of *temeno* qualification; if there were *temenos* elsewhere, and how big could they have been? Did the king and the commander own a temenos jointly everywhere, or in some places also separately? How did they get their temenos and how did they utilize them? The document raises more questions than it answers.

[32] Hahn 1975.
[33] Guiraud 1893; Thomson 1949, pp. 297, 329.
[34] Tőkei 1968, 1969.

As already mentioned in the discussion of the temenos tablet, this only known case that has such an orderly arrangement and being numerically measured out it seems to indicate a relatively fresh, by historical assessment — a quite new development and most importantly: a planned and directed act, a governmental order. It is not known how this complex of estates was created — whether by being cut out from untilled territory or on a territory taken away from a community, or perhaps by transforming an already existing settlement. In any case, if as in the later cases of the temenos and the hypothetical line of development that can be drawn from them, no such restrictions were placed upon us, we should characterize the temenos — on the sole basis of the Mycenaean material — as an artificially created, monarchal form of ownership of late genesis.

Another type of the special case is represented by the horticultural big estate of *ekera$_2$wo* in *sarapeda*. It is, as indicated, a *kitimena* estate, which emphasizes individual rights and private management, but lies outside the organizational scope of the *damo* lands and does not belong to the *kama*, the strictly state-owned territory, either. These facts, together with the exceptional size of the double estate, indicate a privileged position. Though *ekera$_2$wo*'s function is not known, from the other references to him it can certainly be assumed that he was of high rank. His position in the state organization must have enabled him — and presumably others in a similar position — to form an independent big estate, belonging neither to the organization of the *damo* nor to that of the *kama*, paying taxes directly to the state. We do not known how this many-acred estate could have come into being — whether by personal entry (presumably permitted by the state) on uncultivated territories. What is at least sure is that the owner must have had at his disposal a considerable amount of either servile or tenant manpower for cultivateing it, and that with its modern mode of cultivation — vine-grape and fig production, it may have advantageously fitted into the economic prosperity characterized by increasing intensity of farming and increasing influence of industry and trade. Parallel to this, the traits pointing toward private property probably grew stronger on these private estates.

The picture indicated above was intended to characterize the ownership relationships of Pylian agriculture only through elaborating on some of the more important features. Many such attempts have been made during the more than quarter of a century of research, sometimes even in comprehensive works embracing all details of the question. However, most of the problems remained unsettled, primarily because of the sources being what they are. This situation makes it almost necessary for any general examination to re-examine the subject from the bottom, rather than pursue a continuation, on the basis of what-can be described as further dimensions. Owing to the sort of documents which are available and their number, the 'firm ground' is too

scarce in this field of study and their firmness must be tested time and again.

In any case, from this preliminary survey, an overall picture is outlined which reveals a special, in a certain sense transitional, situation. The original communities had already grown over into agricultural communities, characterized by strongly individualistic use and ownership of land with a complex inner articulation, partly already anticipating the antique form. On these as a basis, the Asiatic type, bureaucratic state is built, which in several respects reveals a secondary development and special features. (These will not be dealt with here; what is emphasized is the role of effects from outside and of military power in the genesis, and still more the exceptionally major importance of industry and trade within the material basis of the state.[35] The state exerted its power over the village communities, not only through imposing taxes and communal works, but also directly asserted its proprietary rights over the lands not taken over by the villages and utilised them through leasing to private persons and groups. In addition, it also cut out *temenos* for its own direct use. These special features are the main characteristics of this territory of transitional status, connecting from Europe to Asia in a phase which prepared the major turn of the development from an Eastern-Asiatic stage to Antiquity.

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[35] Sarkady 1957, 1975, 1978.

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CAPITALS IN PRE-AZTEC CENTRAL MEXICO

BY

ZOLTÁN PAULINYI

I

The appearance of the city in Central Mexico dates back to the centuries preceding our era. However, an interpretation of these beginnings is bound to encounter serious difficulties: they are far beyond the sphere enlightened by the written sources that are available, while little information is offered by archeological research. Nevertheless, another sort of undertaking in this connection seems rather promising, viz. an attempt to give a historical picture of the capital-centres in the period extending from the 1—2 centuries B. C. to the 11—12th centuries. The written sources, although they are scant and sometimes even contradictory, do tell us certain things about the history of the last centuries of this long period, sometimes offering even valuable fragments of tradition on Tula, the capital of the Toltecs. Archeological research led to important discoveries, which shed light on the connections in the history of the major centres and their environment, i.e. the valleys of Central Mexico. It has been established that during the end of the First Intermediate, and throughout the Middle Horizon (300—750 A. D.: the flowering and fall of Teotihuacan) and to the last century of the Second Intermediate (750—1325: rise and disintegration of Tula and of the Toltec state) the formation and the fall of the capitals involved a radical change in the settlement pattern. Alongside the towns' rapid development into capitals, the number of the inhabitants of these territories decreased, and a large part of the — very probably urban — local centres disappeared in a manner similar to a considerable part of the villages attached to them. And on the other hand, with the fall of the imperial centres, big local centres as well as a multitude of villages around them reappeared; as the capitals vanished or became less important, the territories which had been scarcely inhabited before became populous. That is to say, the coming into being of a capital was accompanied by the siphoning off much of the population of the adjoining regions while, on the other hand, during its disintegration the inhabitants concentrated in the city were dispersed, producing

a settlement pattern basically similar to that before the appearance of the capital. Whatever historical interpretation is put on these important facts, it is certain that the urbanization process manifesting itself behind them was no longer active after the disintegration of Tula, i.e. after the 12th century at the latest. Therefore, the period in question (the history of Teotihuacan, Tula and Cholula before the Toltecan conquest) can be considered as an independent phase in the urban history of Central Mexico.

The process of genesis, and hence the essential character, of Teotihuacan and Tula being basically the same, it is theoretically possible to project back on Teotihuacan the most important outlines of the picture that can be given of Tula on the basis of written sources and archeological research results. If this task is successfully carried out, this places us in the position to come closer to the beginning of at least the type of capital which crystallized during the special urbanization process that has just been outlined, which was of determinative importance for a thousand years.

The Toltec Empire and its capital, Tula (North of the Basin of Mexico, the present state of Hidalgo) disintegrated sometime in the 11—12th centuries. The ethnic fractions of Toltec origin, who always proclaimed that they came from Tula, were dispersed into different regions of Mesoamerica, during the great migration following the fall of their capital. In order to find a principle capable of guiding our judgment of the contradictory reports of the sources on Tula, first the widely dispersed peoples descending from the Toltecs have to be submitted to a comparative study. That is, the question to be pursued here is the following: are there any historical characteristics common to these ethnic fragments (or to the peoples conquered and organized by them) which they retained under different historical circumstances, perhaps even up to the Spanish conquest, that have to be taken into account in an attempt to specify the basic characteristics of their place of origin, i.e. the Toltec Tula and its state? And, if the answer should be in the affirmative: what are these? It is hoped that what follows will make it clear that it is the state and city organization of the peoples descending from the Toltecs that provides the cardinal clue to tackling the task of reconstructing in outlines the early history of the cities.

II

Paul Kirchhoff who, some decades ago, endeavoured to disentangle the chronological skeleton of Toltec history from the jumble of written sources, came to the conclusion that Quetzalcoatl and Huemac, the two king-heroes who reigned in Tula in the period under consideration, and who, in several sources, appear as separated by about a century, were really contemporaries, and even co-rulers. He put forward the hypothesis that the Toltecs had been

governed by four kings just as later the Colhuas who left Tula.[1] Kirchhoff's conclusions represent only one possible interpretation of the sources relating to the Toltec period, and hence they cannot alone serve as a firm starting point for further analysis. With a comparison of the state and city organization of the peoples descending from the Toltecs, however, we step on firm ground, and the conclusions that, as it were, automatically follow from it give further support to Kirchhoff's pioneering results and even make it possible to outline the characteristics of the organization of the Toltec capital.

Having left Tula which was becoming depopulated, the Colhuas — regarded by those peoples which had had hardly any connection with the once Toltecs and were settling down in the Basin of Mexico, as the main depositaries of the legacy of Toltec civilization — founded their city-state in the Southern part of the Basin, on the peak of the Ixtapalapa peninsula which separates the lakes Xochimilco and Texcoco. Although during the Spanish conquest only one king ruled the city, it can, on the testimony of several sources representing the Aztec tradition, almost certainly be maintained that in the first half of the 14th century, Colhuacan was governed by four *tlatoque* (rulers), with one of them also having perhaps sacral authority and being superordinated to the other three.[2] At the same time, other sources such as the *Anales de Cuauhtit-*

[1] P. Kirchhoff, *Quetzalcoatl, Huemac y el fin de Tula*: *Cuadernos Americanos* LXXXIV (1955), pp. 163—196, and idem, *La aportación de Chimalpahin a la historia tolteca*: *Anales de Antropología* I, 1964, pp. 77—90.

[2] Cf. Kirchhoff, *op. cit.* and C. N. Davies, *Los mexica: primeros pasos hacía el imperio*, Mexico 1973, pp. 57—58. After being defeated by the allied city-states at Chapultepec, the Aztecs who were the last to migrate to the Basin of Mexico, had no other choice than to settle down as a subject people on the territory of Colhuacan. The 16th century chronicles that preserve an Aztec tradition speak of more, sometimes explicitly of four, Colhuacan kings ruling simultaneously. In the *Anales de Tlatelolco* the four kings of Colhuacan — Acxoquauhtli, Cuxcuxtli, Chalchiuhtlatónac, and Achitometl — are in general represented as conferring as a corporate body. (Cf. *Anales de Tlatelolco, Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana y Códice de Tlatelolco*, ed. by H. Berlin and R. H. Barlow, Mexico 1948, pp. 37—41). In the *Crónica Mexicayotl* Coxcoxtli, Colhuacan's king decides about the future of the Aztecs with his co-rulers (cf. Fernando Alvarado Tezozomoc, *Crónica Mexicayotl*, Mexico 1949, p. 50). In the *Códice Azcatitlan*, four figures wearing diadems (Cocoxtli, Chalchiuhtlatonal, Tellitl, and Acamapichtli) receive them. R. Barlow who published the codex thinks that the first three are from the Colhuacan dynasty, whereas Acamapichtli is the first king of Tenochtitlan, a relative, in some degree, of the rulers of Colhuacan. (Cf. R. Barlow, ed., *El Códice Azcatitlan*: *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* XXXVIII (1949), fig. XI, pp. 114—115.) It is more likely, however, that all four figures were kings of Colhuacan and the person referred to here by the name of Acamapichtli is not the younger, but the elder Acamapichtli, the ruler of Colhuacan, whose assassination led to the inner fights that resulted in the disintegration of the city. Probably, the younger Aamapichtli is referred to a few pages further on (fig. XIII, p. 118) being endowed by five nobles with royal insignia, among them a diadem, presumably in Tenochtitlan. The drawing of the four figures in question shows four persons of the same rank, but the

lan, the *Relación de la genealogía* and the *Origen de los mexicanos* give long lists of single *tlatoque*. The history of Colhuacan will probably remove this contradiction. Not long after the Aztecs were driven away, i.e. at the middle of the 14th century, clashes occurred in the city — these be returned to later on — and the dispersing inhabitants of Colhuacan were received into the city-states of the Basin of Mexico. The fall of the city may have involved the elimination of its political structure, with the four kings jointly ruling. When it was repeopled it was given a king from Mexico-Tenochtitlan. It may have been the change that occurred in the city's organization at that time which a remark in the *Relación de la genealogía* and the *Origen de los mexicanos* refers to, viz. that either Acamapichtli — a descendant of Colhuas, founder of the Aztec dynasty of Tenochtitlan — or his sons, sent to Colhuacan, in some way reformed the city.[3] The extension of the lists of single *tlatoque* back to times before the city's collapse can already be regarded as an anachronism coming from the age of the conquista, an incorrect, or distorted, interpretation of the past that has to be abandoned in favour of the sources transmitting the Aztec tradition.

It seems that Colhuacan and some other city-states (most of them neighbours of Colhuacan) and peoples had been in some kind of a special historical connection, which we can no longer accurately reconstruct. According to the *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas* «The Colhuas say that they came to this Tula together with the inhabitants of Mexico, and there they parted company with them and came directly to Colhuacan and then created Xochimilco and Malinalco and Ocuila. It is these four cities that they populated and also populated on their way Cuitlahuac, and had been staying there for hundred and twenty years already when the Mexicans arrived and as they say, arrived at Chapultepec and waged war against the Colhuacans.»[4] We find Chimalpahin preserving a similar Colhuacan historical tradition: in his *Memorial Breve*, he enumerates the cities subjected to the Colhuacans twice (i.e. Xochimilco, Cuitlahuac, Mizquic, Coyohuacan, Ocuilan and Malinalco).[5]

younger Aamapichtli never was a king in Colhuacan, to begin with. Chimalpahin who also speaks of four Colhuacan kings, lists Achitometl II, Coxcoxtli, Chalchiuhtlatonac II, and the elder Acamapichtli which supports the identification I am proposing. (Cf. W. Lehman and G. Kutscher, eds, *Domingo de San Anton Muñon Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin: Das Memorial Breve acerca de la fundación de la Ciudad de Colhuacan*, Stuttgart 1958, p. 123.) These four sources offer a fair enough justification to at least say that at the beginning of the 14th century there were four kings ruling in Colhuacan. One of them — Nauhyotl — was also a high priest (cf. *Crónica Mexicayotl*, p. 83).

[3] *Relación de la genealogía y linaje de los señores que han señoreado de esta tierra de Nueva España*, in: J. García Icazbalceta (ed.), *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México*, México 1886—1892, vol. III, p. 276 and *Origen de les mexicanos*: *op. cit.*, p. 297.

[4] *Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas*, in: *Nueva colección* III, p. 228.

[5] Chimalpahin, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 5.

The report on the sequence of cities founded by the Colhuacans might be dismissed as pure fiction, if our attention were not at once drawn to a rather important similarity: the cities in question were governed by more kings just as Colhuacan founded by the Colhuas, who most certainly had come from Tula, and even with respect to the whole Basin of Mexico it is only Colhuacan and the aforementioned cities which had this sort of organization, similarly to the Matlatzinca state in the Toluca Valley (Discounting Chalco in the Basin of Mexico, of course, although this latter does not undermine, but supports my whole argument, as will be shown in what follows.) Xochimilco was governed by three *tlatoque*, and Cuitlahuac by four, with each of them ruling over one particular district of these cities.[6] The Toluca Valley (the site of Ocuilan and Malinalco) was jointly governed by three rulers before the Aztec conquest.[7]

The assumption of a once historical community between these peoples is also supported by the Xochimilcan tradition, which opposes the claims of the Colhuan tradition. The former says that it was the inhabitants of Colhuacan, Cuitlahuac and Mizquic who were subjected to the Xochimilcas, or originated from them.[8] These two peoples were neighbours and rivals who waged ferocious wars against each other. Therefore, there may be a distortion of the past in both traditions; other information indicates, however, that the groups swarming out from Colhuacan — i.e. groups of Toltec origin — actually had a part in the organization of the states in question. The *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* reports that at the founding of Colhuacan, the first king sent some of his subjects to Ocuila and Malinalco, and Ixtlilxochitl knows of Toltec royal offsprings going from Colhuacan to Toluca.[9] In addition, this very same chronicle contains

[6] Ch. Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, California 1964, pp. 41—42.

[7] The titles of the three rulers in their sequence of higher to lower rank: *tlatoani*, *tlacateccatl*, and *tlacochcalcatl*. If the *tlatloani* died, the *tlacateccatl* succeeded him in office, he in turn being followed by the earlier *tlacochcalcatl* who again was succeeded by the son or the brother of the deceased *tlatoani*. According to Zorita's report, each of them had their own taxpaying territory, but when nominating nobles to head the individual villages, they asked each other's consent. (Alonso de Zorita, *Breve y sumaria relación*, in: *Nueva colección* III, pp. 218—220.) This constitutes a form of co-rulership different to that in the Basin of Mexico. While there there were more dynasties in one and the same city, ruling over their own small district-kingdoms separated from each other, in the Toluca Valley the individual monarchal dignities were not bound to different dynasties, the power spheres of the rulers were not so distinct, but, on the other hand, they had their own centres.

[8] Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y islas de tierra firme*, Mexico 1867—80, vol I, pp. 10—11.

[9] Cuauhtexpetlatzin, the first king of Colhuacan «sent his subjects to Ocuillan and Malinalco where they live.» (*Códice Chimalpopoca. Anales de Cuauhtitlan y Leyenda de los Soles*, translated by P. F. Velasquez, Mexico 1945, p. 16). According to Ixtlilxochitl's narrative, in the last days of Tula, King Topiltzin (Quetzalcoatl) wanted to enable his sons Pochotl and Xilotzin to escape to Toluca. Nauhyotl, king of Colhuacan married

the history of the strange wizard dynasty of Cuitlahuac. These *tzompanteutlis* (wizards) professed to be the direct descendants of the mythic Iztac Mixcoatl. The chronicle has the following to say about one of them: «This is the Quetzalteuctli who then settled the wizard nobles in four places: he founded Tizic, Teopancalcan, Tecpan and Atenchicalcan.» Now, the ancestor of Quetzalteuctli — who, as mentioned earlier, organized the four big districts of the city of Cuitlahuac and obviously its four kingdoms as well — Iztac Mixcoatl descended to the earth exactly at Colhuacan, and came from there to the reeds of Cuitlahuac.[10] That is, the dynasty which organized the city professed, in a way, to have come from Colhuacan. That Cuitlahuac actually had an intimate historical relationship with the Toltecs, or their descendants living in Colhuacan, also emerges from a passage in Duran's chronicle where Moctezuma, the king of the Aztecs, enquiring about Quetzalcoatl, summons the inhabitants of Cuitlahuac for the very reason that they were regarded as the relatives of the Toltecs.

The towns of Chalco in the south-eastern corner of the Basin of Mexico, which were mentioned earlier as exceptions, were also ruled by more *tlatoque* (there were three dynasties in Atenco, seven in Amaquemeca and two in Xochimilco-Chimalhuacan).[11] This area is exceptional in as much as here there is no indication whatever of connections with the Colhuas; however, of the five peoples which settled in Chalco, both the Teotlixcas, who arrived first, and the Axcotecs, who followed them. came from Tula, as Chimalpahin in his *Cuarta Relación* relates.[12] And the examination of co-ruled Olmeca-Xicalanca Cholula will show that the presence of the Olmeca-Xicalancas in Chalco[13] carries, for our argument at least as much importance. With regard to Xochimilco, very little is known about its history. According to the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, the Colhuas and the Xochimilcas, both of them just settling down, fought hard battles against each other and the move of the latter to their later place of residence was a consequence of their defeat by the Colhuas,[14] which makes it probable that Xochimilco was, for some time, subjected to Colhuacan. Lastly, it also constitutes evidence of the existence of historical relationships between the city-states ruled by co-rulers in the Basin of Mexico that they

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Pochotl, who survived the rioting, to his daughter and sent two of their children to Toluca so that they might grow up there. (See in *Don Fernando Alva de Ixtlilxochitl, Obras históricas*, ed. by A. Chavero, Mexico 1891, vol. I, 53, pp. 90—92.)

[10] *Códice Chimalpopoca*, pp. 61—62.

[11] Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 42—44.

[12] *La Cuarta Relación de don Domingo de San Anton Muñon Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin*, translated by S. Rendon: *Anales del INAH* III (1947—48), pp. 213—217.

[13] W. Jimenez Moreno .*El enigma de los Olmecas: Cuadernos Americanos* V (1942), No. 1, p. 125.

[14] *Códice Chimalpopoca*, p. 16.

were situated as neighbours in a continuous zone in the southern part of the Basin, separated only by a few kilometres distance along the shore of, and across the lakes.

The following can be said in summary of the analysis of the sources carried out so far: those states in the Toluca Valley and the Basin of Mexico (the latter all city-states), which were governed by more than one king, had been organized by groups of Toltecan (or Toltecan and Olmec-Xicalancan) origin that broke away from Tula itself or from Colhuacan, and which, in the case of Colhuacan, may have been accompanied by the subjugation of the neighbouring territories. Since this special state and city structure — the city-state as a hierarchic system of more kingdoms — characterizes only cities manifesting Toltec origin[15] the hypothesis can be put forward that the place of origin of the founders, i.e. Tula, and hence the Toltec state, had had a similar organizational structure.

Continuing this examination of the peoples surviving from the Toltecs, Cholula must first be scrutinized. Cholula is one of the most important big centres and undoubtedly the oldest one in the Puebla Valley, bordering on the Basin of Mexico in the east. In the Second Intermediate it shared the historical legacy of Teotihuacan and the hegemony over Central Mexico with Tula. It is of interest for two reasons. First, because it came to be conquered by the Toltec-Chichimecs, who came from Tula which was disintegrating at the time, some time in the 12—13th centuries. Second, because the conquerors — and only the conquerors — preserved very valuable information about the Cholula of the defeated Olmec-Xicalancas, which provides a glance into the organization of the other big capital-centre, existing contemporaneously with Tula. At the time the Toltec-Chichimecs arrived — who were first received in the city as dependants, but later proceeded to take possession of the city through an uprising — Cholula, inhabited by Olmec-Xixalancas and then called Tlachihualtepec, was governed by two kings entitled Tlalchiach and Aquiach and by seven other rulers residing in different districts of the city. The chief rulers of the city were the former two, at least one of them, Aquiach Amapane, a high priest living in the Tlachihualtepetl, the principal temple.[16] That is, to say in Tlachihualtepec there were more co-rulers, each ruling over one part of the city as in the city-states of Toltec origin in the Basin of Mexico. Moreover, the Toltec-Chichimecs also had

[15] The Spanish found two dynasties, of Aztec and of Tepanec origin, in Azcapotzalco, the once powerful Tepanec city-state of the Basin of Mexico. This, however, was a later development, the Aztec dynasty being enthroned in the city by the rulers of Tenochtitlan who defeated Azcapotzalco. In this connection cf. Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 38; the list of the rulers of the two dynasties can be found in R. H. Barlow, *Los tepaneca después de la caida de Azcapotzalco*: *Tlalocan* III (1949—57), pp. 285—287.

[16] *Historia tolteca-chichimeca. Anales de Cuauhtinchan*, ed. by H. Berlin, S. Rendon, P. Kirchhoff and S. Toscano, Mexico 1947, p. 81.

a similar organization: they were ruled by four leaders and one highpriest.[17] Although the history of Cholula from this point up to the *conquista* is wrapped in obscurity, there is one thing that the Spanish sources from the 16th century leave no doubt about: after the Toltec conquest, the city was re-organized along the principles of the above two archaic (viz. Toltecan and Olmec-Xicalancan) practices of essentially the same kind. With respect to the time of the *conquista*, the sources contain abundant information on Cholula; thus an examination of these can provide further clues in reconstructing the history of the early capitals and their state organization.

At the time when the Spanish made their appearance, Cholula which, with its Quetzalcoatl-cult, mass of pyramids and pilgrims streaming from far places to its great religious celebrations, had been the sacred city of Central Mexico — virtually «another Rome»[18] — was ruled by two chief kings just as in the Olmec-Xicalanca times, some centuries before.[19] The city was divided into six big districts, with one ruler for each. From the details of the civil discord that was at an advanced stage at the time Cortes appeared, it unambigously emerges that the rulers acted wholly at their discretion even in matters concerning the whole city. Split into two factions, they quarrelled over the question whether to enter into an alliance with Moctezuma, the king of the Aztecs, or his enemies, the Tlaxcaltecs. The quarrel is said to have gone so far that three of the kings, inclined toward Moctezuma, captured the others; these, however, managed to escape to Tlaxcala and returned with Cortes' soldiers.[20] According to Bernal Diaz' report it was only the Cholulan rulers, seeking an Aztec alliance and supported by Moctezuma, who planned to ensnare Cortes' army, while the others did not take part in the conspiracy.[21] The big districts of the city were

[17] Of the four leaders of the Toltecs, Icxicóuatl and Quetzalteuéyac were more important than the other two, Tezcauitzil and Tololoutzin; very often only the former are quoted or represented (cf. P. Kirchhoff, *La Historia tolteca-chichimeca. Un estudio histórico-sociológico*, in: *Historia tolteca-chichimeca*, p. XXXIV). At the same time, however, on one of the drawings showing Cholula after the coming to power of the Toltec-Chichimecs, the four rulers are represented in the two neighbouring palaces situated in the centre of the city: Icxicóuatl and Tezcalteuéyac in one of them, the other two in that opposite the former (*op. cit.*, fig. XIV) which suggests some sort of connection between the first and third, as well as between the second and fourth persons in the hierarchy.

[18] An early description of Cholula is given by T. Motolinia, a Franciscan monk who went to Mexico not long after the conquest: *Memoriales e historia de los indios de la Nueva España*. Madrid 1970, p. 37.

[19] *Diego Muñoz Camargo, Historia de Tlaxcala*, ed. by A. Chavero, Mexico 1892, p. 208.

[20] *Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, Crónica de la Nueva España*, published by M. Magallon, Madrid 1971 (*Biblioteca de autores españoles desde la formación de lenguaje hasta nuestros días* CCXLIV), pp. 287–292.

[21] The Spanish were informed of the conspiracy by the wife of one of the city's rulers (*cacique, capitán*): « . . . From Mexico they sent a gilded drum to her husband, and

then raised to the status of *cabecera* by the Spaniards, i.r. were acknowledged as independent political units.[22] There is a relatively detailed description about them in a report, made on royal order, dating from the mid — 16th century. The *cabeceras* consisted of 4 to 9 smaller districts. The districts of the *cabeceras* Tequepa and Santiago, which formed the centre of the city, were referred to as *barrio*, *barrio* or *estancia* in the case of Santiago. The other four *cabeceras*, named San Joan, Santa María, San Pablo and San Pedro, were divided into *estancias*[23] — the term applied also to those parts of Indian cities which lay at some distance from the core of the cities —, since these *cabeceras*, as Cervantes de Salazar in his chronicle relates, were regarded as suburbs.[24]

Concerning the origin of the *cabeceras* and the way they came into being, their original names have to be taken into account, which they bore before the conquest. (For the sake of facility, the term *cabecera* is used here with reference to pre-*conquista* times.) Tequepa *cabecera* had once been called Tianguiznahuac, too; Santiago had been called Izquitlan (or Mizquitlan); San Joan had been called Texpolco; Santa María had been called Quauhtlan; San Andres had been called Collomochco and San Pablo had been called Tlayllochoyan and Tecaman.[25] It is worth noting that five of the *cabeceras* bear the name of one of the nine Toltec-Chichimec *calpullis* (Tianguiznahuac, Tecaman, Izquitlan, Texpolco, Quauhtlan) which conquered Cholula.[26] In the first three cases, the

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dear gowns and golden jewels to the three other capitanía so that they should carry us all to their ruler, Moctezuma.» After the massacre by Cortes, *caciqués* and priests from other districts appeared before him and pleaded that they were not involved in the conspiracy. (Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Verdadera historia de los sucesos de la conquista de la Nueva España*, Madrid 1947 (*Biblioteca de autores españoles . . . Historiadores primitivos de Indias* II, pp. 76—77.)

[22] They also did this in the Basin of Mexico, with the cities led by co-rulers: they divided Xochimilco into three, Cuitlahuac into four *cabeceras*, accordingly with the number of the royal dynasties. In Chalco, they followed the example of the Aztec conquerors of the 16th century, in that they considered Amequemeca, Tlalmanalco, Chimalhuacan, and Tenango as individual *cabeceras* (Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 41—44).

[23] *Papeles de Nueva España*, ed. by F. Paso y Troncoso (Segunda Serie, Geografía y Estadística), Madrid 1905, vol. I. pp. 61—62. In what follows I use the abbreviation *PNE*.

[24] Cervantes de Salazar, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

[25] For a summary of the data relating of the *cabeceras* of Cholula cf. B. B. Simons, *The City of Cholula and its Ancient Barrios*: *Verhandlungen des XXXVIII. Internationalen Amerikanistenkongresses*, Bd. II, München 1970, pp. 149—150.

[26] The *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* lists the Toltec-Chichimec *calpullis* on two occasions. The two lists are not exactly identical, but both mention the five *calpullis* in question (Cf. *Historia tolteca-chichimeca*, pp. 80, 101). Earlier, the *calpulli* was thought to be a clan, but recent research suggests that the term was used to refer to territorial units of different kinds. On the other side, the lineages of nobles which ruled over the *calpulli* can be ascertained. Cf. P. Carrasco, *Los linajes nobles de México Antiguo*: *Estratificación social en la Mesoamérica prehispánica*, ed. by P. Carrasco, J. Broda et al., Mexico 1976, pp. 19—35.

cabecera also contains the identically named *barrio* or *estancia.*[27] The sixth of them, Collomochco *cabecera* may have been named after the Collomochcas who followed the Toltec-Chichimecs as inhabitants. Here, the *barrio* bearing an identical name to that of the *cabecera* is also to be found. It is likely that the Toltec-Chichimec *calpullis* or at least some of them (it is these *calpullis* with which the *barrios* and *estancias* bearing their names can be connected), or more precisely their ruling lineages, having gained control of the city through their revolt, raised themselves to ruling dynasties and organized the tax-payers subject to them separately, or perhaps simply reformed the pre-existing *cabeceras*, since the organization of Tlachihualtepec when inhabited by the Olmec-Xicalancas was similar to that of Cholula in the 16th century.[28] The considerably independent political units which were created in this manner (i.e. the *cabeceras*) were originally named after the ruling lineage and its *barrio* or *estancia.* The rulers at the head of the *cabeceras* were given their titles, based on the name of their *cabecera* and — at least in the beginning — their *barrio*: we know of a ruler from Cholula named Tecamecatl Tlaquatzin,[29] who may have been the ruler of Tecaman *cabecera*, while in Tezozomoc's *Crónica Mexicana* the influential king Collomochcatl of Cholula is mentioned[30], who must have been the ruler at least of Collomochco *cabecera.* For a comparison, the fact could be cited that in Huexotzinco *barrios* and *teccallis*, i.e. distinguished high-born lineages, often had the same name. With respect to Tlaxcala, several cases disclose a connection between the names of the districts of the villages and the title of the head of one of the *teccallis*, at least partly living there. This latter is always some noble holding an office, i.e. a *tecuhtli.*[31] In the states of the distant Guatemala Highlands also organized by groups of Toltec origin, it was the high-born lineages (*nim ja*) that the tax-paying districts subject to them were named after, which, along with the example of Cholula, suggests that this was a practice that already existed in the Toltec period.[32]

[27] *PNE*, loc. cit.

[28] M. Olivera and C. Reyes have tried to identify the residences of the Olmec-Xicalanca rulers; *Los choloques y los cholultecas: Aneles del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, 7a epoca (1969), I pp. 247—274.

[29] Simons draws attention to it in: *op. cit.*, p. 149.

[30] Hernando Alvarado Tezozomoc, *Crónica Mexicana*, ed. by M. Orozco y Berra Mexico 1944, p. 287.

[31] P. Carrasco, *op. cit.*, p. 32 and M. Anguiano—M. Chapa, *Estratificación social en Tlaxcala durante el siglo XIV*, in: *Estratificación*, ed. by P. Carrasco, J. Broda et al., p. 144.

[32] R. M. Carmack, *La estratificación quicheana prehispanica*, in: *Estratificación*, ed by P. Carrasco, J. Broda et al., pp. 256—257.

I find the hypothesis concerning the six 16th century *cabeceras* of Cholula put forward by M. Olivera and C. Reyes unacceptable. According to their hypothetical

In the 16th century, the city had a modified form of the original organization of Toltec Cholula. The Collomochcas who came later, either immediately organized an independent *cabecera* for themselves or rose to this position in the course of the city's later history. The possibility cannot be excluded of there once having been more *cabeceras*, similarly to the Olmec-Xicalanca period. In addition, it is certain that two *cabeceras* were not ruled by their eponyms in the 16th century. What could have happened to them and the Toltec-Chichimec *calpullis* who no longer played a part in the *cabecerra*? The disappearance of some of them is accounted for by the series of catastrophic events in Cholula's history. First they suffered a heavy defeat in the war against Huexotzinco; after this famine hit the city: many Cholultec *calpulli* chose migration, among them the Cuauhtecs who gave their name to one of the *cabeceras*.[33]

Before moving on, a rather important question has to be taken up, which was touched on earlier during the discussion of Cholula. The question is: what was the relationship like between the kingdoms making up te city-states? I has already been seen that one ruler, or two rulers, stood above the others. At the same time, there is a specific conflict situation present only in the history of these cities, and most probably due to the nature of their horizontally articulated political organization which, in the extreme case, lead even to the falling apart of the city-state. The source of this unstablenes lay in the collision of the partkingdoms. In Cholula, it was the question of the outward orientation of the city-state that lead to a controversy among the rulers of the *cabeceras*; in Cuitlahuac, it was the question of hegemony in the city itself that caused the civil war in the 15th century. Of the four royal dynasties in

account, four Toltec-Chichimec *cabeceras* should have been added to the two *cabeceras* of the Olmec-Xicalanca period (M. Olivera and C. Reyes, *op. cit.*, p. 257.). However, all I have said above of the naming of the *cabeceras* and the analogies that emerge in this connection strongly contradicts this. Also, their argument is questionable at every point. 1) On the basis of the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* it cannot be shown that the Olmec-Xicalanca Cholula should have been divided into two *cabeceras*. On the other hand it is rather plausible that there should have been 9 *cabeceras* according to the number of the rulers listed. It is true that two of them ruled over the whole city but the same is true of 16th century Cholula, which was nevertheless divided nor into two but 6 *cabeceras*. 2) They hold that the continuance of two monarchal titles *(Aquiach* and *Tlalchiyach)* means the survival of Olmec-Xicalanca *cabeceras* into the Toltec-Chichimec period. It is perfectly implausible however that these two monarchs ruling the whole city (cf. Muñoz Camargo, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.) should have originated from the defeated Olmec-Xicalancas. 3) On the basis of their evidence it is probable only with regard to San Andrés *cabecera* that their inhabitants should have been descendants of the Olmec-Xicalancas. Their statement, however, that Collomochcatl should have been of Olmec-Xicalanca origin can in no way be based even on the new translation of the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca*. (Cf. M. Olivera and C. Reyes, *op. cit.*, pp. 259, 262.)

[33] *Historia tolteca-chichimeca*, p. 111. Apart from the Cuauhtecs it mentions 11 other *calpulli* (or fragments of *calpulli*) coming from Cholula and settling down there.

Cuitlahuac the main ruler was that of the district Tizic. When this king, Tezozomoctli by name, was engaged in war far away from the city Acolmiztli, king of the district Atenchicalcan, overran Tizic. After his return from the war, Tezozomoctli got the upper hand, however, and drove his enemy, along with its sujects, out of the city; he could finally return only on the intervention of Moctezuma Ilhuicamina, the Aztec king.[34] One century earlier, around the middle of the 14th century Colhuacan was practically blown up by its inner conflicts. Those sources which do not know of the four kings ruling in Colhuacan offer the following account of the events: the last lawful king of the city Acamapichtli was murdered by one of his nobles, Achitometl who then usurped his throne. After that, or perhaps only after Achitometl's death, the Colhuas became «discontented» and left their city.[35] According to the formulation of the *Códice Chimalpopoca* — where the chronicler puts the words into the mouth of the Cuauhtitlan prince who prophecies the decay of Colhuacan — «it will happen that the nobles and the principals become irritated and begin to be discontented, and their poor subjects stray to other parts and the city declines.»[36] In one of the sources providing information on the co-rulers of Colhuacan, Achitometl is mentioned as king at the time before the murder of Acamapichtli, while in Chimalpahin the two turn up as kings ruling contemporaneously, together with Coxcoxtli and Chalchiuhtlatonac.[37] In view of this and due to the war that broke out in Cholula and Cuitlahuac among the rulers of the kingdoms composing the city it is very likely that in the case of Colhuacan this was a collision among the royal dynasties of the city. Considering this, Achitometl, a secondary king, having murdered Acamapichtli the chief king, could well have seized power over the whole city temporarily; but he could not have his position consolidated: his attempt to modify the hierarchy of dynasties, in the last resort, led to the disintegration of the whole city-state. This becomes important only in view of the fact that most sources associate the disintegration of Tula — one way or another — with some inner crisis.[38]

The history of that zone of the Puebla Valley which lies east of Cholula very probably is just another example of the revival of a rather similar practice of state and city founding. States were founded by the Chichimecs, called in by the Toltec-Chichimecs who conquered Cholula, with a *tlatoani* at the head

[34] *Códice Chimalpopoca*, pp. 50—51.

[35] *Origen de los mexicanos*, pp. 294—295. The report of the *Relación de la genealogía* is essentially identical, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 271, 273—274. Also *Códice Chimalpopoca*, pp. 28—29.

[36] *Códice Chimalpopoca*, p. 28.

[37] Cf. footnote 2 above.

[38] Thus the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca*, pp. 69—70; Muñoz Camargo, pp. 5—6; Chimalpahin, *Memorial Breve*, p. 13; Ixtlilxochitl I, p. 46; *Relación de la genealogía* cf. 265—266.

of each. For a long time, the highest power was held by the king of Cuauhtinchan until, by the middle of the 15th century, some lineages of the Pinome ethnic group, who had formerly always been subject to the Chichimecs, came to power with the assistance of alien conquerors: Tlatelolcas and later Aztecs. The Pinome lineages re-organized the towns which were then ruled by three or four rulers instead of only one. Each became the ruler of one district, with one always higher in rank than the others.[39] The Pinomes belonged, together with the Olmec-Xicalancas, to the inhabitants of the Puebla Valley before the Chichimecs. Thus, based on the connections emerging from the other examples from Central Mexico, it is possible to hypothesize that the late state-organizing activity of the Pinome lineages drew on an example dating from the times before the Chichimec migration, and revived the methods of the Toltec and Olmec-Xicalanca period.[40]

The Toltec groups moved along the Southern coastal region as far as the Yucatan Peninsula and the Guatemala Highlands. On the Yucatan Peninsula, Chichen Itza became the seat of the Toltec conquerors, and the centre of their rule which probably extended over the whole of Yucatan. The obvious parallel between the architecture of Tula and Chichen Itza leaves no doubt about the presence of the Toltecs, at least regarding the last period of the history of Chichen Itza ending in the 13th century.[41] The Maya sources (the

[39] Cuauhtinchan's power was crushed by the rising of the Pinome lineages and the *tlatoque* of the rivalling towns. The Tlatelolcas, called in by the rebels, conquered the whole region and put the Pinome into power. Later on Axayacatl, an Aztec ruler, subjugated this territory and divided it into five tax-paying city-states (Quauhtinchan, Tepeaca, Tecali, Tecamachalco, and Quecholac), precisely defining their borders (M. Olivera, *El despotismo tributario en la región de Cuauhtinchan-Tepeaca*, in: *Estratificación*, ed. by P. Carrasco, J. Broda et al., pp. 192—193, and M. Olivera, *Papel de los pillis de Tecali en la sociedad prehispánica del siglo XIV*: *Anales de Antropología* XIV, 1977, pp. 267—268).

[40] Thus I do not consider it likely that the system of co-rulership with the Pinome dynasties came into being due to the taxes imposed on them by the Aztecs as M. Olivera, the expert on this territory presumed. According to his hypothesis, the new taxation necessitated changes in the structure of tax-collecting organization in the city-states, and this was the reason why they were divided into three or four *parcialidad*, i.e. big subunits (Olivera 1977, p. 267). It remains unclear, however, how the tax imposed by the Aztecs could have prompted the formation of a new organization of tax affairs and the special political system in question. The Aztec conquest had no such effects elsewhere. It is more likely that the Pinome organized their power according to their own traditions.

[41] In Tozzer's chronology, only thirty years are left for the period of contact between Tula and Chichen Itza (1234—1263). Parsons' estimate expands the period to centuries (987—1263) on the basis of the intensive building activity occurring at that period and the 131 renewed lime strata found in the Warriors' Temple built during the period under consideration (L. A. Parsons, *Bilbao, Guatemala* II (*Publications in Anthropology* 12), Milwaukee Public Museum 1969, pp. 172, 198—199. Roys dates the collapse of Toltec power in Yucatan to between 1204—1224, on the basis of the Maya *katun*

Books of Chilam Balam) and the Spanish chroniclers of the 16th century (Landa and Herrera) give basically the same account of the fall of the Toltec state with Chichen Itza as the centre. According to these, the wicked rule of the three kings of Chichen Itza was overthrown by a revolt among their subjects. The city became depopulated, and famine and anarchy swept through the country.[42] Landa also reports that the three kings who had come from the West, were brothers who dedicated themselves to their gods. They did not get married and so ruled over the city, and it was only after one of them died or disappeared that the other two began to rule in an tyrannic manner.[43] From the aspect of my argument three details deserve special notice here: first, the Toltecs, who came from Tula, organized a state in Chichen Itza with more kings ruling, in a similar manner to their relatives who settled in the valleys of Central Mexico. Second, the history of Colhuacan, Cuitlahuac and Cholula having been what we know it was, it does not appear to be mere coincidence that the fall of the city was brought about by a change in the original system of rule — more precisely by the disappearance of one of the fraternal kings — perhaps by a process of decay encouraged by inner conflicts. It is also remarkable that, similarly to Cholula and perhaps Colhuacan where one of the rulers had been a high-priest, the three kings of Chichen Itza were also high priests, or at least their dignity had undoubtedly been of sacral character.[44]

This assessment of the Toltec population fragments concludes with the Quiches, the Cakchiquels and the Zutuhils who lived on the Guatemala Highlands. Their high-born lineages, of Toltec origin, conquered this territory presumably in the 13th century. They considered themselves unanimously to have come from Tula. The route of their migration can be accurately traced back only as far as the southern coastal region of the Gulf of Mexico, which

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prophecies (R. L. Roys, *The maya katun prophecies of the Books of Chilam Balam*, Series I Carnegie Institute, Washington, Pub. 66, contrib. 57, 1954, pp. 8, 24—25, 42).

[42] *Landa's Relación de las cosas de Yucatan*, translated and with notes by M. Tozzer: *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology* (Harvard University) XVIII (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1941), pp. 19, 177. Landa and his follower, Herrera, explicitly speak of leaving the city (*op. cit.*, p. 177; Appendix A: p. 215). Although the Maya prophecies mention depopulation only in general terms, Roys points out that they use the term *pacabal* to refer to being driven out from the cities (Roys, *op. cit.*, pp. 24—25).

[43] Landa, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[44] Chichen Itza was succeeded in its position as a centre by Mayapan in the same century, which was also governed by co-rulers: as the origin of its founders and its relationship to the Toltec past are unclear, it can be exclude from our further considerations. For a summary of the history and archeology of Mayapan cf. H. E. D. Pollock—R. L. Roys—T. Proskuriakoff—A. Ledyard Smith, *Mayapan, Yucatan, Mexico*, Washington D. C. 1962.

gave rise to doubts about the localization of the Tula referred to in the sources of the Quiches and the others. As an alternative to the idea of a Toltec capital in Central Mexico, Chichen Itza, and a hypothesized Toltec metropolis somewhere around the Gulf of Mexico were proposed.[45] In any case, it is certain that they set out from some capital organized by the Toltecs, thus an examination of their organized states on the Guatemala Highlands cannot fail to be instructive. Similarly to the population fragments of Toltec origin so far examined, here too these were more rulers in a hierarchic order. The Quiches and the Cakchiquels were ruled by four kings, the Zutuhils by two.[46] The first leaders of the conquerors were priests.[47] The hypothesis that their state organization was of the Toltec type is supported beyond the origin of these groups and the analogy with the examples from Central Mexico and Yucatan that have already been taken into account, also by the testimony of the Quiche and Cakchiquel sources, which relate that after they settled down or during their migration their kings appeared before king Nacxit (= Quetzalcoatl) residing in Tula who endowed them with monarchal dignities and accessory property. The *Título de los señores de Totonicapan*, which devotes special attention to the relationship to Nacxit, lists all four royal titles (*ahpop*, *ahpop camhá*, *galel*, and *ahtzic vinac*), and also mentions a few official dignities.[48] Whatever and whomever we assume Tula and Nacxit to refer to here (presumably, Chichen Itza and its ruler, or rather, one of its rulers) there can be no doubt that the inauguration took place in one of the Toltec capitals and that, therefore, the states on the Guatemala Highlands were similarly organized to the Toltec pattern, i.e. they followed, in the last resort, the Toltec state with Tula as its centre in Central Mexico.

[45] The question of origin is discussed in detail in: R. M. Carmack, *Toltec Influence in the Postclassic Culture History of Highland Guatemala*: *Middle American Research Institute*, Publication 26, Tulane University, 1968, pp. 65—70.

[46] On the Quiche rulers see *The Book of Counsel*: *The Popol Vuh of the Quiche Maya of Guatemala*, transl. and with notes by M. S. Edmonson, Publication 35, Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, New Orleans 1971, pp. 239, 240, 248—255. On the kings of the Cakchiquels see Francisco Hernandez Arana, *Francisco Díaz, Anales de los Cakchiqueles*, translated by A. Recinos, with an introduction and notes by M. Galich, Cuba 1967, pp. 39—40, 48, 50, 52; on the structure of the Tzutuhil state see P. Carrasco, *El señorio tzutuhil de Atitlan en el siglo XVI*: *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos* XXI (1967), pp. 317—331.

[47] *Popol Vuh*, pp. 185—185, 214, 242—244.

[48] *Popol Vuh*, pp. 215—218; *Anales de los Cakchiqueles*, pp. 18—19, and especially *Título de los señores de Totonicapan*, translated by D. J. Chonay, Alencon 1885, pp. 32, 42.

III

The results of these considerations can be summarized as follows: The population fragments leaving Tula created their (city-)states according to the same underlying model, from which it can be safely inferred that they followed the example of Tula and the Toltec state. The organization of Olmec-Xicalanca Cholula also indicates that this was an archaic tradition, which had once been widespread over the whole of Central Mexico. And this very probably means that what we have been approaching is a reconstruction of the capital model in early Central Mexico.

Although many sources mention Tula with its notable priest-king Quetzalcoatl, only a few refer in merit to the Toltec period, which actually shades over into legend by the 16th century. The contradictory reports pose some serious difficulties for the researcher, because even the events and the chronology of Toltec history are not yet satisfactorily clarified.[49] The sources which come into question at all tend to mention a number of subsequent Toltec kings in due succession. With regard to three cases, however, fragments of a historical tradition have survived according to which there were more kings ruling in Tula. The states organized by groups which had come from Tula, were governed by co-rulers, so we are bound to give credence to the latter in the contradictory sources.[50] Ixtlilxochitl offers the lengthiest passage on this point. He says that Tecpancaltzin, king of the Toltecs, outwitted three of his relatives who were the lawful heirs to the throne, and gave it to his own son, Topiltzin (i. e. Quetzalcoatl). Supported against the lawful heirs who were ruling kings far away from Tula, by his friends and other relatives, he made Cuauhtli and Maxtlatzin co-rulers of Topiltzin in Tula, however, ensuring that the main power should remain in the hands of Topiltzin. Then Topiltzin and his partner kings became entangled in a lengthy fight with the three heirs. This is the war that is supposed by Ixtlilxochitl to have lead to the decay of Tula and the Toltec state.[51] Chimalpahin's *Memorial Breve* also refers to the triple kingdom, although it does not mention Quetzalcoatl. He relates that

[49] On the two opposite views see the articles by W. Jiménez Moreno, *Tula y los toltecas según las fuentes históricas*: *RMEA* V (1941), pp. 79—83, and idem, *Síntesis de la historia precolonial del Valle de México*: *RMEA* XIV (1954—55), primera parte, pp. 219—236, and P. Kirchhoff, *op. cit.* in footnote 1.

[50] The authors from the 16—17th century who did not know of Tula's co-rulers, and perhaps their Indian predecessors before the *conquista*, misunderstood the Indian codices they used. The writing of the Indians failed to put on record anything important beyond the dates and names of places and persons, which gave ample room for many misconstructions concerning the attached drawings; also, it is hardly possible to construct threefold or fourfold kingdoms from a linear list of a single dynasty, while the opposite is possible, especially if the system of co-rulership has already disappeared or become marginal.

[51] Ixtlilxochitl I, p. 46.

Totepeuh, king of Colhuacan, enthroned his son named Hueymac in Tula, putting Nauhyotzin and Opochtli as «persons of royal rank» by his side.[52] This story recalls that of Ixtlilxochitl, because Totepeuh is referred to elsewhere as Quetzalcoatl's father; in addition he is also described as enthroning three kings, one of whom was his son; and, lastly, the other two were described by Chimalpahin as having been only secondary kings. Although in Ixtlilxochitl's representation, the triple kingdom was forced into being by Tecpancaltzin, the reference to the three lawful heirs suggests that in the original version of the tradition, Tecpancaltzin had not created a new political organization, but merely had unauthorized persons enthroned to royal dignity. This hypothesis is also confirmed by the story in the *Leyenda de los Soles* about Quetzalcoatl. According to this, Mixcohuatl, who appears as Quetzalcoatl's father, and three of his brothers defeat their elder brothers, the four hundred Mixcohuas. Later on, the latter murder Mixcohuatl, but Quetzalcoatl succeeds in taking revenge. What is essential for the interpretation of Ixtlilxochitl is this: Quetzalcoatl has to defeat *three* of his Mixcohua uncles, presumably usurping power, named Apanecatl, Colton, and Cuilton.[53] His enemies may in fact have had monarchal dignity, as Ixtlilxochitl suggests, because the *Relación de la genealogía* mentions that Quetzalcoatl's father had been murdered by his brother-in-law, Atepanecatl, and this would have been a Toltecan monarchal title.[54] It is remarkable that in the version in the *Códice Florentino* and the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan* it was three demons, i.e. wizards — Uitzilopochtli, Titlahuacan (Tezcatlipoca) and Tlacauepan in the former, Tezcatlipoca, Ihuimecatl and Toltecatl in the latter — who drove out Quetzalcoatl from Tula.[55]

Here we have different versions, contradicting each other in many points, of one and the same original tradition, which nevertheless permit the inference that Tula, the scene of the severe inner conflicts, subsequent upon Quetzalcoatl's succession to the throne and his reign, had been ruled by

[52] Chimalpahin, *Memorial Breve*, pp. 8—9.

[53] *Códice Chimalpopoca*, pp. 122—125.

[54] *Relación de la genealogía*, pp. 265—266. The Atepanecatl turning up here can be identified with Atecpanecatl in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, which was the monarchal title of Huemac meaning 'of the water palace.' On the other hand, this same source mentions on two occasions that the place of the ritual baths of Quetzalcoatl who had earlier also held the dignity of priest-king, was called Atecpanamochco. Following W. Lehmann, P. F. Velasquez draws attention to a remark of Chimalpahin that the first ruler of Teotihuacan also bore the title Atecpanecatl (*Códice Chimalpopoca*, pp. 8, 11—12, 79). But so did the «old» Xaltemoctzin, king of Cuauhtitlan (cf. *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und México*, translated and with notes by W. Lehmann, Stuttgart and Berlin 1938, p. 184).

[55] *Florentine Codex*, ed. by A. J. C. Anderson and Ch. E. Dibble, Book 3 (*Monographs of the School of American Research*, N. 14, Part IV), Santa Fe, New Mexico 1952, p. 15; *Códice Chimalpopoca*, pp. 8—10.

co-rulers. It is not possible to be quite sure of their number, because the brief, but valuable report in the *Leyenda de los Soles* mentions four Toltec rulers at the time of the decay of Tula, with Huemac higher in rank than the other three.[56] Though the data relating to the triple kingdom, may conceivably apply in fact to an earlier phase in the history of Tula, the question has to be left open. Apart from the sources explicitly mentioning the co-rulers of Tula, it is possible to bring in, as further evidence, the notable passage in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, where Cuauhtli when succeeding Huemac becomes a priest-king bearing Quetzalcoatl's dignity, but Huemac also remains a king.[57] In his new dignity, Cuauhtli is the 'guard of the gods', their priest, and since the other four kings of Tula are also called 'guards' by the *Leyenda de los Soles* the fact cannot be excluded that the co-rulers may have been priests at the same time.[58]

The question of city organization can also be approached from an archeological point of view. Should it, namely, be true that there were more kings ruling in Tula, the question arises whether or not the settlement pattern of the city shows any elements, which happen to be identical with the big districts, governed by one ruler each, of the cities founded by the peoples descending from the Toltecs. Tula had been erected on, and around, the ridge of the hill which extends along the river bearing a similar name. The number of its inhabitants may have surpassed 50,000 in its golden age (approx. 900—1200 A. D.).[59] Its centre at that time had been the Acropolis, a complex of buildings consisting of temples, palace(s) and ballcourts, composed around a square. The archeological map of the city (Fig. 2),[60] based on excavations and surveys, shows two densely inhabited dwelling sections to the east and west of the Acropolis on the ridge of the hill, which are clearly separated in the north and the south, although obviously there is no natural obstacle to their contact. To the north of the group of houses to the east, on the ridge of the hill, there was another group of houses similar to the former two. To the north-east of this latter, at the foot of the hill on the riverside there was a fourth group, and the small mounds enclosed the buildings in a looser pattern than that of

[56] *Códice Chimalpopoca*, pp. 126—127.

[57] *Op. cit.*, pp. 12—13.

[58] *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

[59] When discussing Tula archeologically, unless I refer explicitly to something else, I am using the chronology and terminology of the Tula Project of University of Missouri. Their publications, which I made use of, included: R. E. Diehl (ed.), *Studies of Ancient Tollan: A Report of the University of Missouri Tula Archaeological Project (University of Missouri Monographs in Anthropology*, N. I., 1974), University of Missouri—Columbia; R. A. Diehl—R. A. Benfer, *Tollan, the Toltec capital: Archaeology* 28(1975), pp. 112—124.

[60] E. M. Moctezuma, *The Tula chronology: A Revision*, in: E. Pasztory (ed.), *Middle Classic Mesoamerica A. D. 400—700*, New York 1978, p. 174.

the other three. Apart from the clearly separeted big groups of dwelling houses there are several smaller residential sections on the periphery. The former were distinguished from those on the periphery not only by their extension and their arrangement that suggested conscious organization, but first of all by the fact that they had a centre. These centres consisted of mounds enclosing buildings of bigger than average size, which were situated in the second and fourth group around a square — the centre of the latter was called Tula Chico — similarly to the Acropolis. The first group of dwelling houses, on the other side, had no centre of its own.

The number and the characteristics of the dwelling sections: their sharp separation from each other, their big size, and their having, with one exception, a centre of their own, related to the fact of the existence of co-rulership, enable us to identify them as the districts discussed as having each belonged to one of these Tulan co-rulers. So far so good: but why did the group of dwelling houses to the west of the Acropolis have no centre? With the peoples surviving from the Toltecs, the king of one of the districts was always, as has been seen, the chief king of the city at the same time. The chief king of Tula undoubtedly resided in the Acropolis, so this would also have been, for him, the centre of the district, i.e. his district cannot have had another centre. And it is no unreasonable to consider it probable that the place of residence of the chief king was built in his district, or somewhere near it. (As we shall see, the buildings of the political and religious centre were attached to one of the big districts in Teotihuacan, which is regarded as the ancestor of Tula.) The dwelling section to the west met all these conditions, therefore, it may have actually been the city's leading district. Lastly, it should be added that the memory of the notable palace of Quetzalcoatl, which was built in the river, has come down to us, according to which this was where the priest-king enacted his ritual baths. It seems that the attribute 'of the water palace' was the title of the chief king of Tula.[61] Since this group of dwelling houses extended to the river it also met this condition.

IV

While in the two big centres of Central Mexico before the 13th century, i.e. in Tula and Cholula, power had been divided among more rulers, neither the Aztec Empire created in the 15th century and extending enormously in less than a hundred years, nor its founders, Tenochtitlan, Texcoco and the less significant Tlacopan, which turned from city-states into imperial seats, knew anything of this manner of state and city organization. Recent archeological research has shown that the early state and imperial centres (Tula, Teotihuacan

[61] Cf. note 54 above.

and Cholula) were the outcome of an urbanization process that was different from that in the case of the late capitals. The former, especially Teoihuacan grew big through a siphoning off of the population of the surrounding territories — at least in the Basin of Mexico and the Puebla Valley — making a good part of its towns and villages disappear.[62] The rise of Tenochtitlan and Texcoco, on the other hand, did not involve a concentration of a considerable part of the population of the Basin in the capitals despite the fact that the former was a city of the same size as Teotihuacan. On the contrary, during the Late Horizon (1325—1521) there was a considerable increase in the population outside those centres, which was probably due to the general increase in irrigation and *chinampa* culture and, in conjunction with this, the way in which the ecological niches, that were scarcely inhabited before became populated.[63] The system of city-states which emerged after the decay of Tula, unlike that of the former interregnum, survived untouched even in the time of the Aztec Empire. The history of the Basin of Mexico obviously turns off its millenarian path, of which it is only one symptom that a third cycle of the capital depopulating and then re-populating its surroundings did not take place after Teotihuacan and Tula.

From what was said earlier, the following crucial question arises with regard to the early capitals: was there a connection between the political organization characterized by co-rulership and the genetic process involving a depopulation of the wider surroundings of the cities?; i.e. was the system of co-kingdom a political form ensuing from the way the cities come into being? The fact that with the beginning of the Aztec period, both motifs disappeared at the same time would suggest a positive answer. But before proceeding in this direction, an attempt has to be made to interpret in historical terms the genetic process in question described in archeological terms. How did the inhabitants of its wider surroundings get to the capital? This question has been answered with respect to Teotihuacan by the lately reconstructed settle-

[62] In this connection cf. *The Valley of Mexico. Studies in Prehispanic Ecology and Society*, ed. by E. R. Wolf, Albuquerque 1976, pp. 69—101, and W. T. Sanders—J. R. Parsons—R. S. Santley, *The Basin of Mexico. Ecological Processes in the Evolution of a Civilization*, New York—San Fancisco—London 1979, pp. 91—221.

[63] *Chinampa* is artificial cropland created on the shallow lakes or watery swamps in the Basin of Mexico, very fertile and so of large demographic capacity. At the time of the Late Horizon, a considerable part of the lakes Chalco, Xochimilco and Xaltocan was occupied by *chinampas*. During the 15th century, *chinampa* culture spread over the Western part of lake Texcoco. It was then that the swampy coastal district of the Texcoco region was peopled. On the question of *chinampas* cf. R. C. West—P. Armillas, *Las chinampas de México: Cuadernos Americanos* 50 (1950), N. 2, pp. 165—182; P. Armillas, *Gardens in Swamps: Science* 174 (1971), N. 4010, pp. 653—661, and the excellent study of A. Palerm, *Obras hidráulicas prehispánicas en el sistema lacustre del Valle de México*, Mexico City 1973.

ment pattern of the Tzacualli phase. Not only the local political centers of the Basin disappeared at this time, but every bigger settlements as well. The inhabitants were absorbed by Teotihuacan which thus concentrated the greater part (80—90%) of the Basin's population. All this can be explained most probably by conquest and subsequent resettlement.[64] Though the interpretation of the changes accompanying the rise of Tula is more difficult, I think it is hardly questionable that they were of a similar nature as the foregoing. Although there is no concentration of almost the whole population of the Basin in one large centre, the big local power centres decline, the number of the population of the Basin decreases and, correspondingly, that of the Tula region, which joins the Basin of Mexico in the north, and of the Zumpango region neighbouring on the Basin, grows significantly (three or four times?) bigger than its original quantity. The population of Tula and its 20 km radius region at this time can be set at 120,000 people or so. Tula's, and perhaps Cholula's, expansion was felt mostly in the southern part of the Basin (the regions of Chalco, Xochimilco, Ixtapalapa, perhaps Tacuba), its population became significantly sparser. It seems that Tula restored the settlement pattern of the flowering Teotihuacan, which disintegrated with the city's fall. In the First Intermediate Period, Teotihuacan absorbed practically the population of the southern territories only, the northern parts being thinly inhabited. During the Middle Horizon, however, or at the close of the First Intermediate Period, the demographic centre of the territories of the Basin outside of Teotihuacan was removed to this zone.[65] The rulers of Teotihuacan may have settled part of the new population in the scarcely inhabited northern zone, near the city. After losing its leading role Teotihuacan, and the northern region, lose a great part of their population in the Second Intermediate: Phase One, the majority of the Basin's population will be concentrated in the southern zone again. The rise of Tula's hegemony, in turn, again produces relative depopulization of this territory and a rise in the number of inhabitants of the northern zone. After the decay of Tula then this territory becomes depopulized, almost uninhabited, another time. It is plausible to suppose from the foregoing that that the Toltec rulers of Tula, similarly to the rulers of Middle Horizon Teotihuacan, resettled the the population transferred from its original settlement territory partly to their capital and its immediate surroundings, partly to the neighbouring northern part of the Basin of Mexico.

Although the sources do not mention anything about Teotihuacan, there is some indirect evidence bearing on Tula, which reflects that the above conjecture is correct. It could be seen that one Toltec group settled in Chichen Itza. Archeological evidence confirms that there was a rather close connection

[64] *The Basin of Mexico*, pp. 105—108.
[65] *Op. cit*, pp. 105—149.

between the Toltec Chichen Itza and Tula. In addition, the city governed, like Tula, by several kings was, in contrast to the majority of the cities founded by peoples surviving from the Toltecs, but in accordance with Tula, the centre of a political unit of big extension. Thus, with regard to Tula, the notes of Bishop Landa about the city-organisatory deeds of the three kings are very remarkable: «Chichen Itza, then, is a very fine site, ten leagues from Izamal, and eleven from Valladolid, in which, as the old men of the Indians say, three lords who were brothers ruled, who as they remember to have heard from their ancestors came to that country from the west, and *brought together in those localities a great population of towns and peoples*; whom they governed in great peace and justice for some years.» but later — after one of them had died or left — their rule became tyrannic and so the people killed them and left Chichen Itza. Herrera, who follows Landa, says about the three brothers that «*they gathered a great settlement and ruled there*».[66] That is to say, the Toltec conquerors organized their capital (or perhaps the capital together with an additional set of smaller settlements around it?) from «peoples» by settling them together and likewise from inhabitants of other cities, which disintegrated after the death of their rulers. This accurately corresponds with what can be disentangled from the archeological research results relating to how Teotihuacan and Tula rose to become capitals and how they then disintegrated. The reports of the *Popol Vuh* and especially those of the *Anales de los Cakchiqueles* on Tula also point towards this conslusion. Whether this refers to the Toltec capital in Central Mexico, or the Chichen Itza of the Toltecs who reached the east from here, or the putative Toltec centre in the southern coastal region of the Gulf of Mexico, it was undoubtedly a city that was created after the pattern of archaic Central Mexican city organizing. The Quiches, as well as the Cakchiquels, considered themselves as having come from this Tula. To them, Tula was the city where at different times many peoples come to — they specify thirteen of these[67] — part of whom later seek another home. According to the *Popol Vuh*, each of these peoples represented one sub-unit of Tula.[68] In Tula they were placed in a subject position: it is an all-important motif of the picture given of Tula by the *Anales de los Cakchiqueles* that the peoples migrating there paid taxes.[69] That is, Tula was a place where they came together, paid taxes, and were later dispersed from. The sources from the Guatemala Highlands confirm and supplement Landa and Herrera, in accordance with the archeological results relating to the Basin of Mexico. This can justifiably be restated by saying that a decisive motif in

[66] Landa, pp. 177, 215.
[67] *Anales de los Cakchiqueles*, pp. 6—8; Popol Vuh, pp. 155—157.
[68] Popol Vuh, p. 157.
[69] *Anales de los Cakchiqueles*, pp. 6—10.

Toltec capital-organising was the settling together of tax-payers (most of whom were, of course, agriculturists). It follows from what has been said that this could also apply to Teotihuacan. In the case of Tula, as we have seen, these people were resettled partly into the capital, partly into the neighbouring villages.[70] The growth of Tenochtitlan, the Aztec city built on a lake, later an imperial capital, took place in the form of alien groups spontaneously moving into the city, most of them refugees of war and communities specialized in some branch of handicraft or trade.[71] The growth of Teotihuacan and Tula would most probably have been furthered by such migrations. The Zapotec community living on the western periphery of Teotihuacan which came from the far Oaxaca around 400 A. D., was very probably an example of this phenomenon. The growth of Teotihuacan could presumably have been due to such migrations in its early period, i.e. before the depopulation of the Basin of Mexico and the vast growth of the city that went with it. With regard to Tula, the following can be stated: the institution of a co-kingdom had been a form of organizing tax-paying communities, either reformed or left untouched, transferred to Tula from the conquered territories. The whole process was, at the same time, the creation of a capital. If a connection is sought between this specific urbanization process and the institution of corulership what we have to examine is the history of Teotihuacan. Everything rather unambiguously points toward the conclusion that there was a historical continuity between

[70] *The Basin of Mexico*, pp. 140—146.

[71] Cf. on this question the article by E. E. Calnek, *The Internal Structure of Tenochtitlan*, in: *The Valley of Mexico*, pp. 289—290. The examination of the history of the late capitals does not seem wholly uninteresting for the genesis of Tula, either. After Tenochtitlan, Texcoco was the other important centre of the Aztec Empire. The city, which emerged in the 14th century, and the territory belonging to it was an important place where groups, part of them of Toltec origin dispersing from Colhuacan were brought to. The migrating Colhuacans founded, and lived in, four of the six big districts of Texcoco. Although the local Chichimec dynasty continued, the Colhuacans reshaped the Chichimecs, most of whom were hunters and gatherers, in their likeness; the Chichimecs learnt agriculture from them, and adopted their language, traditions and their whole civilization. (It is no coincidence that Ixtlilxochitl, the descendant of the Texcocan dynasty, could insert lengthy narratives about the Toltec period into his historical works.) Netzahualcoyotl, the king of Texcoco allied with the Aztecs, defeated after a long fight the vast city-state Azcapotzalco on the west coast of lake Texcoco, which had come very near to founding an empire, and they also conquered a big part of the Basin in the 1430s. Netzahualcoyatl, whose attitude was reminiscent to that of the Toltec rulers, re-organized his war-stricken city and resorted to a method which was unique in the history of the Aztec period: he transferred craftsmen from the conquered territories of Azcapotzalco, Xochimilco and other towns, to Texcoco. With regard to the parallel with the case of Chichen Itza; with regard to the fact that Texcoco was Toltecized and that transfer from the conquered territories was unusual in the Aztec period, I consider it possible that this refers to, if not exclusively, a revival of the forgotten Toltec tradition of capital-organizing. The passages relating to the topic are: Ixtlilxochitl I, pp. 317, 326—327; II, p. 158.

Teotihuacan and Tula. Certainly, Teotihuacan rose to the status of a capital in a similar way as Tula and its transformation produced even more radical changes in its environment than was the case with the Toltec capital. The history of Tula probably extends as far back as the late Teotihuacan period.[72] It has been seen that after the decay of Tula, the groups of Toltec origin wherever they were brought from, stoutly adhered to its principles of organization, and this may be supposed to have been the case with the city-states formed all over the Basin after the disintegration of Teotihuacan. This, too may account for their concentrated settlement pattern.[73] Another possible indication of a continuity between Teotihuacan and Tula is the fact that the cities of the intermediate period were, for the most part, continuations of smaller settlements that already existed in the preceding period, in contrast to the city-states that existed at the time, made up of migrations, that followed the decay of Tula.[74] The evolutionary pattern of the ceramics of the Basin of Mexico and the Puebla Valley also demonstrates that there was no intervening period of a general migration of peoples with a different civilizational inheritance between the periods of the two capitals.[75] On the basis of all the arguments aligned here, it seems legitimate to infer that the empires belonging to the two capitals were organized in a similar manner. This should be explained, in its turn, by the settling of the descendants of the leading stratum of Teotihuacan in Tula.[76]

Teotihuacan seems to have been the beginning and, at the same time, the major example, the creator that simultaneously created the tradition of city-organizing which, in the case of Tula, is indirectly confirmed by the written sources. The inhabitants of Central Mexico knew very little about it at the time of the *conquista*, but they were sure of the one thing, that things had begun in Teotihuacan, in a double sense. Once upon a time, the gods gathered here and set the last world era on its course, viz. the present era; and, secondly, it was still remembered in the worthy tradition preserved by Sahagun that 'There law was established, there rulers were installed'.[77] The rulers of Tula most probably followed the example of the great ancestor, when they re-organized their city to make it the centre of the expanding Toltec state. Now,

[72] Moctezuma, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–177.

[73] Cf. J. R. Parsons, *Settlement and Population History of the Basin of Mexico*, in: *The Valley of Mexico*, p. 92.

[74] Cf. ibid. pp. 90, 97.

[75] D. E. Dumond–F. Müller, *Classic to Postclassic in Highland Central Mexico*: *Science* 175 (1972), pp. 1208–1215.

[76] C. R. E. Blanton, *The Role Symbiosis in the Adaptation and Sociocultural Change in the Valley of Mexico*, in: *The Valley of Mexico*, pp. 200–201, further W. T. Sanders–J. R. Parsons–M. Logan in their summary in the same volume raise the possibility of a direct migration from Teotihuacan to Tula (p. 176).

[77] *Florentine Codex*, Book 10, p. 194.

to inquire into the genesis of the urban configuration reconstructed in the particular case of Tula, it is necessary to enter into the historical period of Teotihuacan, which is not evidenced by written sources.

V

The history of Teotihuacan embraces almost a thousand years. In the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. it was already a city, while its decay can be dated to the 8th century. According to the testimony of archeology, it had exerted a strong influence on the other civilizations of Mesoamerica at its zenith, i.e. in the Tlamimilolpa and Xolalpan phases of its history (approx. 300—650), being the dominant centre of its age for a century and a half.[78] The number of its inhabitants at that time may have reached 150—200,000 or more, according to the most recent estimate.[79] No city of even comparable importance appears in Mesoamerican history until the Aztec Tenochtitlan. The power sphere of its descendants (Tula, Cholula, and Xochicalco) may have extended a little further than the valleys of Central Mexico. The sources contain practically no information about its history, so it is necessary to mainly refer to what archeology has to offer. Fortunately, however, Teotihuacan was scrutinized more than Tula. There is a detailed archeological map of the city (Fig. 3). which shows it at the time of its largest extension, in the Xolalpan phase,[80] and the first results of computerized data-processing are also available. The map, representing the Xolalpan phase, shows a highly articulated settlement structure. Several big groups of dwelling houses can be clearly delineated, with scarcely inhabited or entirely empty strips in between them. The city was divided into four parts by the Street of the Dead along the northern part of which there were the buildings of the sacral precinct and of the political centre of the city, further by the East and the West Avenue which intersect the Street of the Dead at rectangles. The groups of dwelling houses, however, did not conform to this partition, often extending over the big routes, that it was unlikely that the quarters would have been administrative subunits as was the case later in Tenochtitlan. This was also made less probable by the fact that the number of dwelling houses in the southern quarters was insignificantly small in contrast to the two northern quarters. It is much more the groups of dwelling houses look like having been

[78] Cf. the studies in E. Pasztory (ed.).

[79] R. Millon, *Social Relations in Ancient Teotihuacan*, in: *The Valley of Mexico*, p. 212.

[80] The second volume of the work making known the first results of the mapping programme of Rochester University led by R. Millon, contains the detailed, big scale maps of Teotihuacan (R. Millon—B. Drevitt—G. L. Cowgill, *Urbanization at Teotihuacan, Mexico*, vol. 1: *The Teotihuacan Map*, Part Two: *Map*, Austin 1973).

districts. The big groups were situated on the following pattern: 1. Directly to the west of the Street of the Dead and the Great Compound (which, in conjunction with the Ciudadela, may have been the seat of the chief rulers of the city); 2. further to the north, the so-called Old City, the crowded centre of which was in square N6W3 of the map; 3. to the east of, and separated from it, the sacral precinct of the Street of the Dead, approximately in squares N3E2, N2E2, N1E2, N1E3; 4. further to the west, with its centre lying in squares N2E5 and N1E5 — its relationship to the former group of dwelling houses is unclarified: it could simply be a continuation of it; 5. situated in squares N4E2, N4E3, N5E2, it separates from the third group mainly in squares N3E2, N4E3, N3E3; 6. in the south beyond the river San Lorenzo. The size and central position of the first distinguish it from all the others. The walls on its borders, and on the west edge of its core, convey the impression that it was important in some way. To the north, it was sheltered by the Pyramid of the Moon, the adjoining temple precincts enclosed by a wall, and the great wall extending eastward and westward in the northern part of squares N5W1, N5E1, N5W2, terminating after a bend southwards in N2W2, though it may possibly have continued as far as N1W2.[81] Again, to the east it was delimited by compounds of temples enclosed by walls, extending as far as the Ciudadela. To the south and west of the Ciudadela there are again remains of walls. Therefore, this group of dwelling houses, in conjunction with the temples on the Street of the Dead and the Great Compound—Ciudadela complex, formed the defended part of the city, one enclosed by walls. The fact that the biggest group of houses, or at least a good part of it was enclosed by walls indicates that the dwelling groups were actually separate social units.

With respect to Teotihuacan in its Xolalpan phase, the computational processing of the ceramics material gathered on the territory of the city (Fig. 4) gave essentially the same picture as the above. The dense and extensive concentrations of ceramics — which can be taken as indicating the focal points of population — coincide, with one exception, with the place of the above listed groups of dwelling houses. The three biggest concentrations of ceramic material were found at the spot where the three most important sets of houses were situated (1—3). The considerable amount of ceramic material found in the smaller and more loosely arranged group 6 is probably explained by the existence of potteries in this section.[82] The set of ceramic ma-

[81] R. Millon infers to this from the arrangement of the buildings (R. Millon, *The Study of Urbanism at Teotihuacan, Mexico*, in: *Mesoamerican Archaeology, New Approaches*, ed. by N. Hammond, London 1974, p. 347).

[82] During the second half of the city's history, this section specialized in the production of ceramic goods for ordinary use at the time (R. Millon, *Urbanization at Teotihuacan, Mexico*, Vol. 1: *The Teotihuacan Map*, Part One: *Text*, Austin 1973, p. 18).

terial mentioned as an exception, indicating a seventh densely inhabited section, was found on the west side of the city, in squares N2W6, N1W6, despite the fact that the dwelling houses here exhibit a rather loose pattern.

On the basis of the situation of the groups of dwelling houses and the dense finds of ceramics, Teotihuacan can be divided into 5—7 big units. It, therefore, seems to be the case that the type of city formation — which was accompanied by depopulation — had created, similarly to Tula, another example of the settlement pattern characterized by big and considerably separate districts. But what if these districts had already existed before the resettling of the inhabitants of the surrounding territories? Before going futher on in this direction let me examen the population growth of Teotihuacan. According to the old estimate, the number of Teotihuacan's inhabitants shows an uninterrupted increase up to the Xolalpan phase, after which, in the Metepec phase, it decreases a bit, and has its most serious leap in the Tzacualli.[83] However, computational analysis has pointed to a different conclusion. The number of inhabitants in the city appears to have culminated as early as the Tlamimilolpa and not to have changed significantly to the city's disintegration. But during the Patlachique phase its population may have reached a much higher number — 15—20 per cent of that during the Xolalpan phase — than was supposed earlier; that is: part of the increase attributed to the Tzacualli had already occurred by that time. The number of inhabitants during the Tzacualli phase cannot be very accurately judged even on the basis of the data arrived at through computations: it may have been 30 to 70 per cent of that during the Xolalpan phase. And, lastly, with regard to the Miccaotli phase, we are in the position to know only that the number of inhabitants at that time was higher than during the Tzacualli, but lower than during the Tlamimilolpa.[84] According to Millon's latest estimate, 25,000 to 30,000, or perhaps considerably more, seems plausible with respect to the Tzacualli phase. He calculated the population of the Xolalpan phase at 150—200,000, or even more,[85] from which a vast increase during the Miccaotli and the Tlamimilolpa would follow. The pace of the development of Teotihucan obsidian industry, to seems to support the idea of a major growth in the Tlamimilolpa phase. It is known that there were quite a number of workshops producing obsidian implements, the products of which reached as far as the Maya territories. The measure of increase of obsidian industry in terms of the number of workshops is identical to the numerical increase of the population of Teotihuacan. The number of

[83] R. Millon, *Extensión y población de Teotihuacan en sus varios periodos*, in: *De Teotihuacan a los aztecas*, ed. by M. León-Portilla, Mexico 1973, pp. 74—85. The article originally appeared in 1966.

[84] G. Cowgill, *Quantitative Studies of Urbanization at Teotihuacan*, in: *Mesoamerican Archeology*, pp. 363—396.

[85] Millon, *op. cit.*, 1976, loc. cit.

workshops had been growing from the Patlachique phase to the Tlamimilolpa phase, then remained unchanged until the city's decay, despite the circumstance that Teotihuacan's influence in Mesoamerica culminated in the Xolalpan phase and declined after that. The growth of obsidian industry being in proportion to the known increase in the inhabitants of the city, from the considerable changes that occurred in the number of the workshops we can roughly infer to the demographic conditions of the period, which are otherwise not revealed by any direct data. Although from the Patlachique phase onward obsidian implements tended to be produced in more and more workshops, the major upswing occurred in the Tlamimilolpa phase when about 400 new workshops were opened.[86] It is probable, then, that the large-scale growth in the number of the inhabitants of Teotihuacan in the Tzacualli phase continued as long as to the end of te Tlamimilolpa phase. But this was not the only important process going on: in that very same phase — also partly in the preceding Miccaotli phase — the location, settlement structure and the type of dwelling houses in the city underwent a radical and simultaneous change.

In the Patlachique phase, a big part of the city was located in what was its north-western part in the Xolalpan phase. There had been a few smaller population centres on its territory. In the Tzacualli phase, which brought a considerable growth of its population with it, one of the population foci, with its centre in N5W2, N4W2, grew enormously and became more densely inhabited; a major part of the city's inhabitants came to be concentrated there, living in one block (Fig. 5). This was the period when many temples were built: the Pyramid of the Sun was nearly completed, the inner Pyramid of the Moon and the temple precincts along the Street of the Dead were finished. The new sacral centre lay south-south-west of the city's population focus. Changes began in the Miccaotli phase (approx. 150—300), ultimately leading to the formation of the Teotihuacan of the Xolalpan phase. At that time, the city shrank in the north and the west, while extending in the south and the east, with its population focus moving south and south-east to be shifted to both sides of the Street of the Dead, while there was also a growth on the territory of two future districts of the Xolalpan phase, the Old City and the one lying beyonds the San Lorenzo. That is, in effect, the structure of the settlement began to develop in the direction of its later, more articulated state characterizing the Xolalpan phase. These trends of growth continued in the Tlamimilolpa phase, parallel with a considerable amount of growth near the Great Compound, the Ciudadela and the East Avenue. It was at that time that the process began with the Old City's separating out, to come to its completion in the Xolalpan phase. The most important trends of the increase in population during the Xolalpan phase were merely continuations of those already begun in the two

[86] R. Millon, *op. cit.*, 1973, pp. 53, 57—58; further R. Millon, *op. cit.* 1976, p. 215.

earlier phases (the increase in population in the Xolalpan took place in the core of the Old City, in the big West district and in those on the two sides of the river San Juan and to the south of the river San Lorenzo.) In the Metepec phase (approx. 650—750) the structure of the city did not undergo a change.[87]

Alongside the radical transformation of the settlement structure, the apartment compound, a new type of dwelling house appeared at the beginning of the Tlamimilolpa phase and soon became general. These buildings consisted of rooms and corridors arranged around courtyards, but clearly divided into more flats and were enclosed by windowless walls: they were inhabited by one hundred people each on the average. They came into being not by way of continuous growth, but were built according to a previously determined plan, and their original ground-plan had not been significantly affected even by the reconstruction carried out on them during their centuries long existence. These houses were the dwellings of the ordinary people, their variants decorated with wall paintings sometimes with interiors reminiscent of those of palaces, were the dwellings of nobles. The builders may have had the opportunity to construct the interior of the definitely limited, rectangular dwelling unit, more or less as they chose, because the ground-plans of the individual houses were not identical.[88] The resettlings during the Tzacualli phase and the presumable further considerable growth — the courses of which are not kown —; the modification of the city's situation, the appareance of its separated groups of dwelling houses — its big districts along with the apartment compound making its appareance — these are presumably connected phenomena. The whole process can be interpreted along the following lines : as a consequences of the resettlings and the further growth Teotihuacan was completely reorganised by its lords. It was then that the big districts came into being as a new form of organization, and this would have brought the appartment compound into existence, because these big standardized dwellings, concentrating a considerable number of inhabitants, must have considerably facilitated the accommodation of, and control over, the new inhabitants of the capital.

It has been seen that Tula, which became a capital in a similar manner to Teotihuacan, had also been divided into big, well-separated districts, which we can safely assume were wards, each ruled by one king. At this point, the question occurs: were the dwelling groups in Teotihuacan co-kingdoms? The similarities between the two cities, taken in conjunction with the continuity between them that very probably also existed, allows us this identification, but does not, of course, prove it. There are, however, independent aspects in

[87] Cowgill, *op. cit.*, pp. 363—396.

[88] For a detailed discussion of the apartment compound cf. R. Millon, *op. cit.* 1976, pp. 215—226.

favour of the suggestion that Teotihuacan was also governed by co-rulers. The only item of tradition referring to in merit Teotihuacan, definitely speaks of more kings ruling at the same time. Before going to Teotihuacan, its legendary founders — we are told — had Xomiltepec as their seat: «And there at Xomiltepec the *rulers* (*tlatoque*), the old men, the priests conferred . . . they went to settle together there at Teotihuacan. There law was established, *there rulers were installed.* The wise, the sorcerers, the *nenotzolaque* were installed as *rulers*. The leading men were installed.»[89] (My italics — Z. P.). Even as early as sometime before the rise of Tula, i. e. around 800 A. D., there were Nahua-speaking communities coming presumably from Central Mexico, which were dispersed in the southern part of Mesoamerica and came to be referred to as 'Pipil'.[90] It is a familiar fact that some centuries later there were five rulers ruling over the Pipil who at that time lived in the region of Escuintla in Guatemala,[91] which may indicate that the system of co-rulership in Central Mexico already existed around the end of the Teotihuacan era.

Some hundred years earlier, in the second half of the 4th century A. D., Tikal, the most important Maya centre on the lowlands came under the rule of a Teotihuacan group. Its first ruler of Teotihuacan origin, to whom researchers provisionally refer to as 'Curl Snout', is represented on the stele 4 with a Teotihuacan regalia. There can be no doubt that some decades after the death of his descendant — likewise provisionally referred to as 'Stormy Sky' — the city was ruled by more kings at the same time, because there were at least two rulers who erected stelae at exactly the same time.[92] Stormy Sky appears on the stele 31 with two armed figures in Teotihuacan apparel, carved on the lateral planes of the stele. One of them is dressed in the same headdress and necklace, which Curl Snout wore on the stele 4, which probably means that he also had monarchal dignity, though on the basis of the position he occupies on the stele he was lower in rank to Stormy Sky. After the stelae of the two aforementioned rulers, who undoubtedly governed simultaneously, there were at least three stelae with three figures carved on them (stelae 14, 23, 25), with a frontally represented main figure on their frontal plane and one less significant figure of a similar size, in profile, on the lateral sides.[93] After, and

[89] *Florentine Codex*, Book 10, p. 194.

[90] W. Jiménez Moreno, *Mesoamerica before the Toltecs* in: *Ancient Oaxaca*, ed. by J. Paddock, Stanford, Cal. 1966, pp. 13—66, pp. 13—68.

[91] Don Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, *Recordación florida* II, pp. 58—59 (*Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Tomo CCLI), Madrid 1972.

[92] C. Coggins, *A New Order and the Role of the Calendar: Some characteristics of the Middle Classic Period of Tikal*, in: *Maya Archaeology and Ethnohistory*, ed. by N. Hammond and G. R. Willey, Austin 1979, pp. 38—43.

[93] E. M. Snook—W. R. Coe—V. L. Broman—L. Sattertwaite, *Tikal Reports*, Numbers 1—4, Philadelphia 1958, pp. 97—98, 107—111, 113—115, 145—149.

probably as a consequence of the Teotihuacan conquest, a system of co-rulership probably of three rulers, then came into being in Tikal.

It seems that the groups of Teotihuacan or of pre-Toltec Central Mexican origin organized their states in the manner discussed here, i. e. as co-kingdoms. When it is considered how persistent the ethnic fragments emerging from Tula were later on in preserving the principles along which the Toltec capital had been organized, it can be seen as an entity with the unambiguous allusions of Sahagun's informants, with the relationship between Tula and Teotihuacan, which we have been analysing, and also with the settlement structure of Teotihuacan. I think we can justifiably assume that Teotihuacan was also a capital divided into co-kingdoms. Against this interpretation of the genesis of the early capitals as a process of conquest, resettling and organization into co-kingdoms, the objection could be raised whether it might not be a more plausible explanation to speak, instead, of political units and «peoples» settling, or being settled, together in agreement? Is it possible for the groups of different origin, and perhaps different also ethnically, brought together in this way, to have preserved their authonomy within the new unit under the leadership of their rulers? Everything known about the history of the early capitals contradicts this. It could be seen that the groups brought to Chichen Itza and Tula, as represented by the Guatemalan sources, undoubtedly came into a sub-ordinate posisiton of tax-payers. In the Patlachique phase, i. e. before it siphoned off a major part of the population of the Basin of Mexico, Teotihuacan had been six times bigger than any other centre in the Basin, discounting Cuicuilco. On these grounds, I think it quite improbable that with Cuicuilco having been annihilated by a vulcanic eruption, Teotihuacan should have come to an agreement with the surrounding smaller political units, receiving them into a co-kingdom. In addition, if the system of co-rulership had been a hierarchical form of the living together of «peoples», then the decay of the capital should have brought about a disintegration of the co-operation of these peoples, i. e. the end of the institution of co-kingdoms. However, all the population fragments coming from Tula preserved this system, and this strongly suggests that this was the general principle of organization in the Toltec period, independently of homogeneity or heterogeneity of origin and ethnic descendance. (After the decay of Tula, many groups which were homogeneous as to origin and ethnic composition organized their states in this manner.) What is conceivable in this connection is that the resettled inhabitants of the particular regions might have been allowed to stay together, of course, under the rule of Teotihuacan monarchal dynasties. On the other hand, it is equally conceivable that most of their former communities disintegrated, or were re-organized by their conquerors.

The resettlement most probably did not take place in an instant. The people streaming to the city needed food and, what is more important, as the

majority of them were agriculturists, even cropland had to be provided for them. At the time of the Spanish conquest, the use of irrigation and *chinampa* culture was common in the Teotihuacan Valley, which was one of the territories most suitable for intensive agricultural cultivation in the Basin of Mexico. It is almost certain, from indirect evidence, that intensive cultivation methods were already known and in use in the Teotihuacan period. The growth of the city's population obviously made it necessary to enlarge the irrigation systems, which would have taken quite a long time. Like Teotihuacan, Cholula was also situated in a zone ideally suited to irrigation, with respect to which the existence of irrigational agriculture in the 16th century can be proved, as in the case of the area surrounding Tula.

VI

What, then, is the overall picture that can be gained about the early capital? Genetically, the decisive element in the becoming a capital of the triumphant centre in the struggle of competing small states or city-states was the crushing of all or, as in the case of Tula, some of the defeated political units and the resettling of a considerable portion, possibly the majority, of their population. The communities transferred to the capital were accommodated in separate districts, to each of which one dynasty probably of the conquerors was then assigned as its ruler. Part of the communities concerned was probably transformed, or disintegrated during the organization of the capital. What is the answer to the question we formulated above, viz. the question whether or not there is a connection between the resettlings and the institution of co-rulership? It seems that the system of co-kingdoms either came into being in Teotihuacan, after the resettlement that took place in the Tzacualli phase — the appearance of the big districts may be a sign of this — or had already existed in earlier times. Taking the first possibility, the way in which it took place may have been that the king — most probably a priest-king — and the high-born lineages of Teotihuacan divided the tax-payers settled together from the conquered territories, among themselves, so that the first became the ruler of the whole city and of the most important district, while the others became dynasties ruling over one district each, but subject to the chief king. If the second possibility is accepted, we have to account for the institution of the co-kingdom as the original, archaic institution of the early statehood of Central Mexico before the rise of Teotihuacan, characterized by a sacral chief king and some co-kings. The small, separate populational nuclei of the Patlachiqe phase might be taken to point into this direction. This would imply that the model of organization for the capitals had been given, although the formation of the dis-

tricts in the Miccaotli and Tlamimilolpa phases may mean that the demands for forming a capital have somehow or other modified the nature of the institution of co-rulership.

Although each early capital was ruled as a whole by one or two chief kings, the rulers of the individual districts were in fact so independent that the city appeared to be an association of allied kingdoms. This situation gave rise to severe inner conflicts. There was a potential contradiction between the extreme political concentration of the region and the segmentary, and hence disruptive, nature of the power exclusively ruling it. New groups often settled in the city and, depending on their strength, they either become taxpayers or the founders of a new kingdom; the malcontents or the defeated broke away. Dynasties changed, and the hierarchy of the kingdoms could have been modified. The capital being the result of conscious organization, viz. the settling together of agriculturists who are made to pay taxes, craftsmanship, trade or the market played no important role in its genesis. It could have been the other way round: the presence of the city's nobles and its masses of ordinary inhabitants could have had a stimulating effect upon these. A city was not simply a political centre centre with the servants and craftsmen of those in the power, but an attempt to create a kind of totality, uniting the rulers and all or a considerable part of, their subjects in one big settlement or set of settlements. This form of city organization had obvious advantages in taxation, organization and control. With the crushing of their defeated rivals and the resettlement of the majority of their population, the lords of Teotihuacan laid the foundations for their hegemony for centuries. On the basis of these considerations, I am inclined to think that it was not only the above advantages in the exercising of power that originally motivated the resettlement — in the Basin of Mexico and on the surrounding territories there are no really big distances, not to speak of the lakes there, which could have made contact easier than in other areas of Mesoamerica — but that once this step had been taken, the re-organization of the rival centres could be radically prevented.

With the disappearance of Tula, the history of the early capital came to an end. Although the causes of this change are not clear, attention should be drawn to two points. The above mentioned endeavour 'to create a unit' had no point, unless it could actually draw together a large part of the subdued into one settlement and into its immediate surroundings. That this was possible was due to the relative scarcity of population in the period of Teotihuacan and Tula, in the centre of one or two zones with an excellent ecological potential, i. e. suitable for the various forms of intensive cultivation: the Teotihuacan Valley, the Cholula region, and to a somewhat lesser extent the area surrounding Tula, too. The demographic increase in population that occurred by the Late Horizon, in conjunction with intensive cultivation becoming general, probably made such an attempt pointless and unfeasible. Another thing

that would have been important is that in relation to the new peoples settling down during the great migration following the decay of the Toltec state, the representatives of the Toltec inheritance went back to a marginal position, with the new imperial phase becoming subdued city-states and with them the general form of organization of the state formations and capitals of Central Mexico before the Aztecs: the institution of co-kingdoms was also overshadowed.

Fig. 1

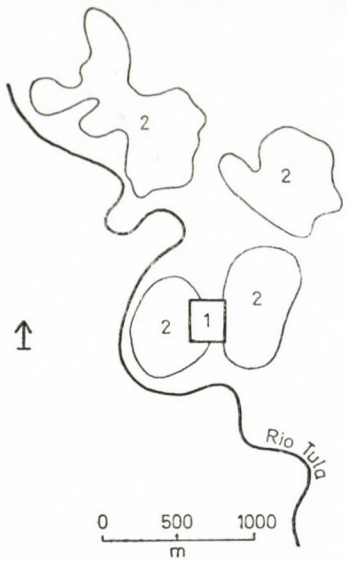

2
2
2
2
1
Rio Tula
0 500 1000
m
1. Acropolis
2. Great dwelling sections

Fig. 2

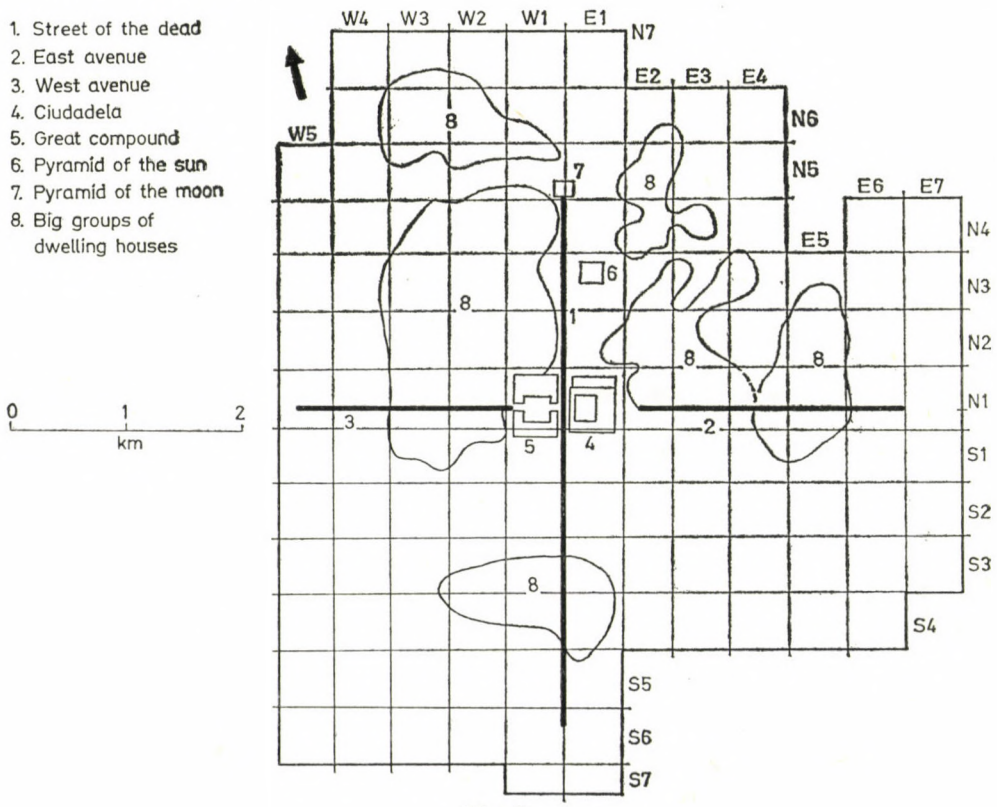

1. Street of the dead
2. East avenue
3. West avenue
4. Ciudadela
5. Great compound
6. Pyramid of the sun
7. Pyramid of the moon
8. Big groups of dwelling houses
0 1 2
km
W4 W3 W2 W1 E1
E2 E3 E4
N7
N6
N5
N4
N3
N2
N1
S1
S2
S3
S4
S5
S6
S7
W5
E5
E6 E7

Fig. 3

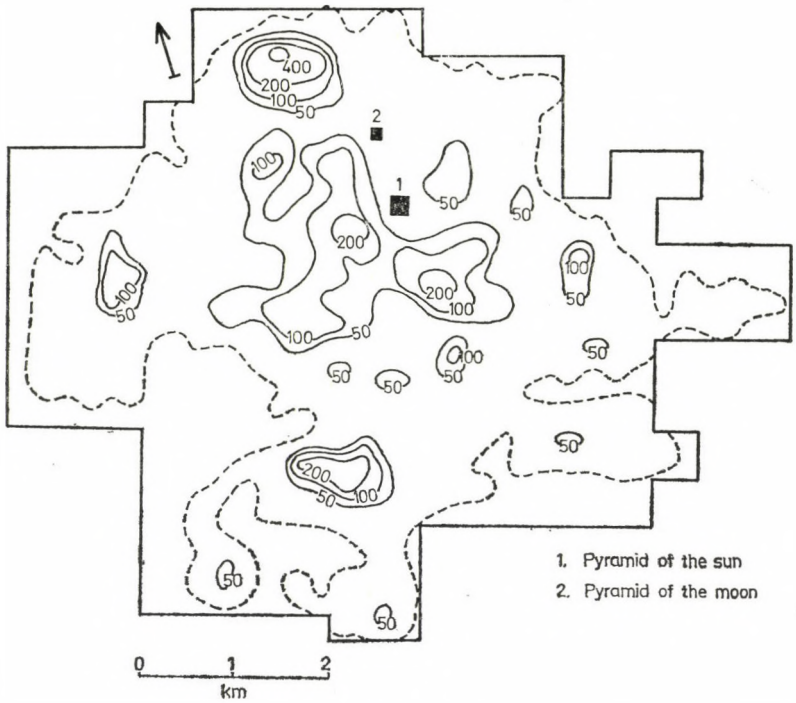
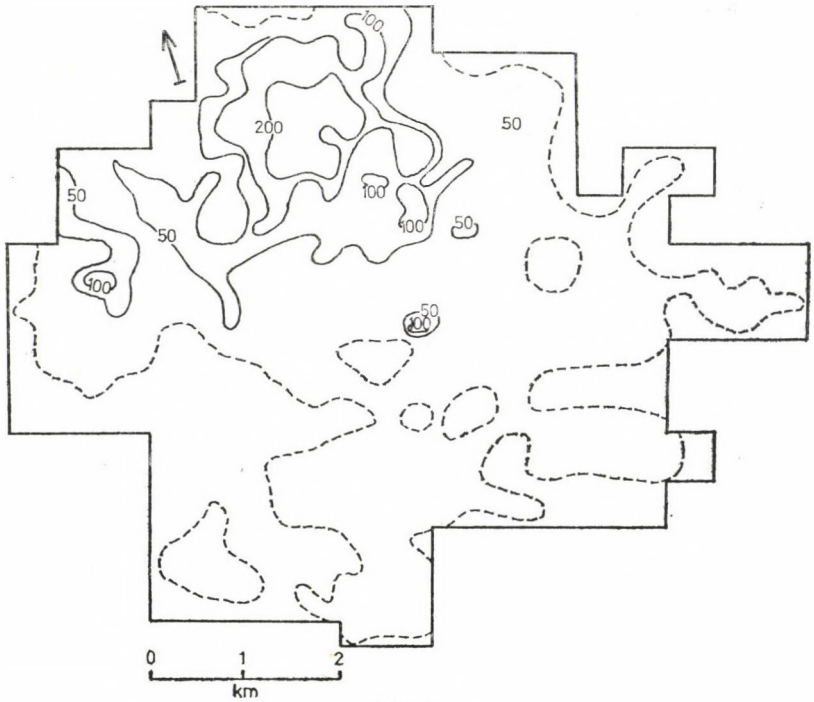

400
200
100
50
2
1
100
50
200
100
50
200
100
50
50
50
50
50
200
50
100
50
50
50
1. Pyramid of the sun
2. Pyramid of the moon
0
1
2
km

Fig. 4


100
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1
2
km

Fig. 5

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THE FORMATION OF PRE-COLUMBIAN ARCHAIC CIVILIZATIONS: CHAVÍN

BY

LAJOS BOGLÁR

The formation of Pre-Columbian archaic civilizations is a question that has given rise to considerable controversy and it is still unsolved. The latter is accounted for not only by the insufficient number of archaeological excavations, but in many cases it is also due to theories misconceiving the dynamics of development. It is a well-known fact that the most characteristic examples of archaic civilizations (*Hochkulturen*) in Mesoamerica and in the Andes, in the most important locations, are buildings generally interpreted by scholars as sanctuaries, and temple-pyramids and, usually defined as complex cultic or ceremonial centres. One must agree with Palerm[1] who considers this interpretation as a conservative ethnological definition, which disregards whether these early «centres» were temporary settlements, villages or cities.

This conception is among others rooted in the fact that archaeology, having been artistically biased, mainly urged the excavation of spectacular buildings and neglected the study of dwelling-houses and settlements. Though this aesthetic approach contributed to the definition of artistic styles, by its conception of the architecture of the civilization *ab ovo* as vultic, it made it difficult to become acquainted with all the functions of buildingcomplexes and to elucidate the circumstances of their development and existence.

There are however other theories that encumber the study of the development of archaic civilizations; e. g. the view that archaic civilizations appeared without any precedents in a «fully developed state»[2] recurs in many

[1] Palerm 1973, p. 11: «La antropología de Mesoamerica como quiza también la de otras partes de America, habia sido distorsionada durante largo tiempo, entre otras, por interpretaciones que hacian de la religion el punto focal del estudio de las culturas nativas. Segun estas actitudes, no habia verdaderas ciudades, sino «centros ceremoniales»; este término se aplicaba con idéntica inconsistencia a Teotihuacán y Cholula, lo mismo que Tula y Tikal. No existian estados organizados, sino confederaciones tribales concebidas segun el modelo morganista de la Liga Iroquesa. No se encontraban clases sociales, sino ciertas formas de estratificacion basadas en la religión, en el prestigio militar y acaso en el comercio, funcionando dentro de esquemas igualitarios caracterizados por relaciones de parentesco.»

[2] Willey 1971, p. 116.

works on the Andes and Mesoamerica. In connection with Olmec culture Coe wrote: The abruptness of its appearance on the scene has no convincing explanation at the present noment.[3] Katz on the archaic civilizations of the Andes wrote: «Ihr Aufkommen weist fast verblüffende Ähnlichkeiten mit dem Beginn der Hochkulturen in Mesoamerika auf.» «Wie die Kultur der Olmeken in Mesoamerika tritt der Chavînstil im Andengebiet plötzlich in voller Blüte, ohne sichtbare vorstufen auf.»[4]

One of the most important features of the above view is that it completely disregards the possibility of inner evolution; according to the simplifying theory if two civilizations appear somewhere unprecedented and one resembles the other, their contact was obvious. Coe argues like this: it is probable that the Olmec merchants got to the South to the territory of the present-day Peru, intermingled with elements of the archaic civilizations of the territory and exerted their commercial and religious influence.

Bushnell, too, finds the solution in migration: «Not only the maize, but the jaguar cult and a number of pottery characteristics suggest a connexion [of the Chavin culture] with the Olmec of Mexico and it has been suggested that these features may have been carried by a small group of immigrants.»[5]

Lumberas also insists on a northern influence: «The fact that many of the traits characteristic of Olmec also occur in Chavîn and the general contemporaneity of the Mesoamerican period of expansion (around 1000 B. C.) with the emergence of Chavîn, strengthen the case for influence from the north.»[6]

Intertribal connections must have contributed significantly to the development of archaic civilizations, but diffusion alone is insufficient to account for their emergence. To be able to analyze the complex chain of causes and elements we need a detailed description on the «centre» in question, known as Chavîn.

By way of introduction it should be mentioned that it is not at all easy to evaluate the excavated archeological material, one has only to think of how variously Chavîn has been classified as an artistic style, religious cult, archeological period, horizont, a basic or mother culture, civilization and lastly as an empire . . .[7]

The above definitions (most of them are second-rate categories and do not contribute very much to the evaluation of the historical significance and place of the given culture) will be touched upon in the summary, but I have to mention now that a «mother or basic culture» is rooted in the same idealistic

[3] Coe 1972, p. 55.
[4] Katz 1969, pp. 168, 170.
[5] Bushnell 1968, p. 121.
[6] Lumberas 1974, p. 57.
[7] Willey 1951, p. 103.

concept that speaks about «unprecedented» cultures. In connection with this, it is worth recalling Berger's words who was of the view that the patrons of a mother-culture theory generally make the mistake of ignoring the father and all the other relatives.[8] What he said about the Olmec also applies to the Chavínians: it should be dennied that a single «brilliant» people could account for the development of archaic civilizations.

Tello and Larco Hoyle, the outstanding students of Peruvian archaeology also wrote a good deal about the origin of Chavín, but neither confined himself to looking for the roots in faraway places, in the case in Mexico, but rather they searched for the origin in the Andes.

Tello maintained the view that the culture of Chavín developed in the jungle area to the east of the Andes,[9] while Larco Hoyle identified the place of origin with the seaside area and a people known as Cupisnique, who also made their influence felt on the highlands.[10]

Tello sees his jungle-theory strengthened by the fact that the central figures of Chavín representations were carnivorous felidae. Larco Hoyle, on the basis of the analysis of the complete set of artistic objects, arrived at the conclusion that this culture had its origin at the seaside. Decades after the theories of these Peruvian researchers with incomparably richer material at his disposal, Willey could only write in 1971 that neither of the theories can be verified and only one thing is sure and that is that Chavín culture reached the highlands «in a fully developed state».[11] It is known from the works of Rowe[12] and others that Chavín stylistic features spread on the highlands as well as on the seaside between 700—200 B. C. According to Rowe the excavated buildings in each of the provenances may have been ceremonial-centres.

What kind of a way of life could the people have who built these so-called cultic buildings?

According to Mason, a main feature of this period was that the inhabitants lived in villages built in the deltas on fertile territories,[13] which show that the cultivators maintained a very simple economy of water-supply. Meggers informs us that in the important and influential «religious centre» that developed around 1000 B. C. on the Peruvian highlands, several buildings have been found made of large perfectly fitted stones, and what is very im-

[8] Berger 1967, p. 7.

[9] Tello 1943.

[10] Larco Hoyle 1945.

[11] Willey 1971, p. 116.

[12] Rowe 1962, p. 5: «In our present state of knowledge all these phases have as good a claim to be centres of cultural influence as Chavin itself. The Chavin style presumably originated somewhere in the area of its distribution, but we do not yet know where.»

[13] Mason 1957, p. 47.

portant, apart from a large number of pottery-fragments, a lot of sea-shells, llama, guinea pig and fish bones were found among the relics.[14]

The diffusion of Chavīn culture coincides with the so-called Middle Formative stage, which was summarized by Lumberas as follows: «By the end of the still obscure Lower Formative stage, the inhabitants of the Andean region had developed a *stable agricultural economy* that permitted the establishment of *more cohesive villages*, a *religious system* associated *with* pyramidal *ceremonial centres* and a notable *advance in all aspects of technology*. About 800 B. C., a highly developed art style and cult known to archeologists as Chavīn, diffused over most of the Central Andes.»[15] (emphasis by L. B.)

For a better understanding of social and habitational circumstances of the period let us analyse the above summary:

a. «stable agricultural economy»

It is known from the relics of earlier periods that the domestication and cultivation of plants was fairly advanced. (I prefer the terms domestication and farming to *agriculture*, whose use I would rather confine to later periods when irrigational land cultivation and animal husbandry appeared side by side.) In the early archaic period (between 4300—2800 B. C. around Ayacucho) a considerable number of plants were cultivated[16] accompanied by the domestication of the llama and the guinea-pig — and for the first time on the highlands these were the main sources of alimentation. From the point of view of permanent settling, maize played a very important role.[17]

In connection with agriculture, Meggers considers that around 1000 B. C. the sources of livelihood were «stable enough» to maintain a settled way of life, in an extension that did not only give rise to, but also called for the «elaboration» of ceremonialism and social stratification.[18]

[14] Meggers 1972, p. 75 writes on Chavin de Huantár that in the site several plat forms are to be found built of perfectly fitted stone blocks that surround a yard. Inside the main building, low corridors *coul de sac* galleries form a network, their walls are covered with stone blocks. Finds on the floor are most probably animal remains.

[15] Lumberas 1974, p. 57.

[16] Lumberas 1974, p. 40. «According to MacNeish (1969, p. 69) the llama and guinea pig were fully domesticated along with such plants as the gourd, quinoa, amaranth, zapallo, lucuma (Lucuma bifera) and other fruit, cotton (Gossypium/sp.), possibly tubers, and in two very disturbed areas there were a single common bean and a couple of cobs of corn.»

[17] Lumberas 1974, p. 40: «Until recently, maize was believed to have been introduced from Mesoamerica along with pottery making, primarily on the basis of Engel's excavations (1957b. 1968) on the coast, which showed it to be absent prior to the Formative. Samples since obtained by Kelley and Bonavia (1963) from a non-ceramic site near Huarmey, north of Lima, have been identified by Mangelsdorf as presenting at least two different strains, suggesting two different sources.»

[18] Meggers 1972, p. 75.

Naturally, several authors could be quoted on the importance of maize cultivation. According to Bird-Bellinger, the arrival of maize cultivators brought about «rapid cultural changes» in the Chavín period.[19] Larco Hoyle maintains the view that the Cupisnique people, also characterized by their specific pottery, had a significant influence on the development of ancient Peruvian cultures, since later on everything depended on this easily storable important nourishment. Most probably it was the Cupisnique who for the first time domesticated both the llama and the alpaca.

Braidwood and Willey[20] think that maize appeared around 1400 B. C., one or two hundred years prior to pottery,[21] then they add that «land cultivation proper» with different kinds of maize began to diffuse from Mesoamerica towards the south before 1000 B. C.

According to Meggers, between 1000 and 500 B. C. (at the time when the Chavín influence began to be felt) a number of innovations appeared, which must have increased productivity; several cultivated plants, such as manioc and different kinds of plants already known in Mesoamerica, e. g. avocado and a new kind of maize, together with new methods of cultivation, though it is not quite clear what the latter statement is based on.[22]

Apart from the above data, little is known about the domestication of animals. From among pre-Chavín cultures, animal finds from Kotosh indicate that the number of domesticated animals increased compared to hunted ones.

While analyzing the Cupisnique, Larco Hoyle stated that in addition to vegetable food, they were also nourished with llama and deer meat[23] most probably dogs were domesticated as well, since their bones were found together with llama-bones in human graves).

Seafood (fish, shell-fish, and snails) was also part of the diet; Cupisnique graves contained shells, which were placed in the hands of the dead, as

[19] Bird—Bellinger 1954, p. 3.

[20] Braidwood—Willey 1962, pp. 169, 171. — Willey 1971, p. 106: on plant cultivation mentions that there are only a few data relating to ancient Peru, but three most important plants, vegetable marrow (Cucurbita moschata), maize (Zea mays) and beans (Phaseolus vulgaris) most probably diffused from Mesoamerica towards the south. — On different kinds of maize in this period Mangelsdorf (1974, p. 155) writes: Tripsacoid Chapalote. Cobs of this race are probably the product of hybridization of Chapolote with corn's closest relative, teosinte . . . This corn became the predominating type of the two succeeding phases, 1200 B. C.—800 B. C. and thereafter was gradually replaced by other races, persisting, however, as a prominent component in the complex until 1800 A. D. . . . .

[21] Lumberas 1974, p. 54. In Kotosh at least three pre-Chavin phases are to be distinguished, the latter ones involve the use of pottery as well. Waira-jirca pottery, the earliest in the Andes can be dated around 1800 B. C. An ornament resembling a maize-ear indicated that maize was already cultivated in the period.

[22] Meggers 1972, p. 78.

[23] Larco Hoyle 1946, p. 150.

can be seen on a sculpture of the highland Chavín de Huantár.[24] Bird was of the view that the Cupisnique may have been the first to domesticate the llama and the alpaca. Llama representations on potteries and a llama sacrifice in a seaside building are among the earliest traces of the use of the animal.[25]

According to Mason, the llama diffused from the highlands to the seaside, but its domestication cannot have been of significance at that time.[26]

Analysis of the contemporary archaeological finds confirms that the Chavín level in question was characterized by the co-existence of highland and seaside motifs. There is no doubt that there must have been a lively contact between the highland and the seaside population prior to the development of ceremonial centres, which is accounted for by the rather varied ecological conditions of production; the highlands, valleys, river-oases and eastern jungles of the Andes. This diversity made possible and stimulated a strong contact between different territories, which were characterized quite ingeniously and aptly by Patterson.[27]

[24] Rowe 1962, p. 19: The so-called «smiling-god» holds a large spiral snail in on hand and a spondylus shell in the other. Such shells were widely used objects of sacrific in ancient Peru — and what the god held in his hands he expected from his worshippers, too . . . Lumberas 1974, p. 59: «Certain shells of the genera *Mytilus* and *Pecten* were apparently highly valued, perhaps for magic purposes, to judge from their occurrence in places as far inland as Chavin and even Kotosh, some kilometres from the ocean.»

[25] Bird—Bellinger 1954, p. 3.

[26] Mason 1957, p. 47.

[27] Patterson 1973, pp. 94, 61 analyzing the demographic history of the Chillon, makes several statements on the gradual change of the economy, which can be of considerable assistance in analyzing later periods. Alimentation had three main sources; fishing and collecting shells at the seaside, in the lower parts of the valleys riverside and washland cultivation (with a single kind of plant), and in the middle of the valley most probably irrigational cultivation with different kinds of plants. These sectors connected by a netweork of redistribution or of exchange trade by which the population of the inland — especially those who lived farther from the coast — could attain sea-food, at the same time different kinds of plants were communicated to the coastal villages. This network of exchange trade was different from the earlier ones, in the sense that several geographically distant groups took part in it with goods of a bigger variety and of a better quality.

On the repetitive and linear patrons of ecological diversity, the author makes an important statement: the difference in the repetitive and linear arrangement of resource areas indicates the direction where people went for food. The food the population of the coast and delta area could obtain directly was the same as the inhabitants of other coastal valleys could find who lived in a similar ecological environment in the or upper part of the same river valley.

On p. 95 he writes: 2500 B. C. the self-sufficient economy of the community became gradually insufficient; the population increased and a new economic orientation developed. The new patron of self-sufficient economy was based on the exchange of food products within members of the same community who lived in different parts of the community territory. One part of the population was fishing or gathering shells on the

b. «more cohesive villages»

According to Meggers, sources of livelihood at that time were sufficiently stable to maintain more complex social formations. Nevertheless, archaeological material is scarce in this respect and further research should be based mainly on comparative studies.

The authors studying the development of cities wrote the following; it may have been the sovereignity of the priests that integrated the villages sustaining the centers.[28] Rowe, one of the most distinguished experts on Chavín, also refers to the villages and is of the view that Chavín de Huantár was more than merely a ceremonial centre. Pottery finds also refer to a contemporary settlement and several smaller settlements have been excavated in a district of some kilometres.[29]

The most information concerning the society of that period is gained from the archeological finds on the Cupisnique excavated at the seaside. According to Larco Hoyle, the form of the Cupisnique settlement shows that groups of people may have lived together permanently (alimentation has already been mentioned; they cultivated manioc, peanuts, caigua, vegetable-gourds and maize, and beans were also found in a site nearby). Stone and cone-shaped adobes, that is durable material, was also used for construction.[30]

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riverside, and others were cultivating land on the lower part and in the middle of the coastal valleys. The population of the fishing villages supplied the inland population with seafood rich in protein, and in exchange they obtained agricultural products . . . On p. 96 he writes: Data from Ayacucho proves that the indigenous inhabitants of the territory were migrating during the year towards seasonal resources. After around 2500 B. C. they seem to be moved to a district where different food resources were available, though the majority of the population moved to an area where land cultivation was possible. It seems certain that this period saw a lively exchange of food products among different settlements.

These community exchange systems probably developed alongside a river valley and the surrounding mountain areas. Several autonomous ethnic groups could invade the different parts of the long and slightly sloping mountain river valleys. After 1900 B. C. each river valley at the coast was populated by a distinct ethnic group as revealed by the archaeological complexes, which are different in each valley. It should be mentioned that this remarkable ecological diversity is characteristic of not only the Andes, but also of Mesoamerica, the other locations where archaic civilizations developed. — Meggers 1974, p. 45: «This juxtaposition of ecological zones with differing resource potentials for human exploitation led to regional specialization and the development of exchange networks, initiating a pattern of economic interdependence that provided a foundation for subsequent political integration. In Mesoamerica, ecological units involve more transitional forms, whereas all this is much more marked in the Andes, that is why the transmission of certain techniques for example is more difficult.»

[28] Braidwood—Willey 1962, pp. 169, 171.

[29] Rowe 1962.

[30] Larco Hoyle 1964, pp. 149—154.

Social conditions were revealed by gravefinds. In addition to simple articles of clothing, there was a surprisingly, rich variety of jewelry; earrings of bone, stone necklaces and bone-beads, together with stone-rings. The latter may refer to social stratification, since many of the dead had rings on two, three or even on five fingers. Clay body stamps could also have had a role connected with social status.

Several other objects were found by the side of the dead; luxurious ground mirrors and amuletlike objects referring to religious life or gods, and sculpted or engraved representations of felidae.

Architectural monuments of the Nepeña-valley are also interpreted as seaside manifestations of Chavīn culture.[31] Early horizon (1300—370 B. C.) in the valley was characterized by the following; a settled society of cultivators most probably with specialized priests who held control over the ceremonial centres. All of this was based on highly organized food production, using the rich waters of the valley. The population of the valley increased considerably in that period and there may have been good communication towards the mountains, and towards Chavīn, which could have played an important role, though no reliable data supports this view.

«Communication» is interpreted by Patterson as «connections» that lead us to an understanding of the «ceremonial centres». In Patterson's view, a number of things create the idea that for a long time there must have been a connection between the seaside and the mountain region.[32] The different ecological environment, population density, social organization and the variety of economic orientations played an important role in the exchanges, where not only raw material and goods, but also ideas were communicated to each other.

With regard to the Upper Archaic Age, Lumbreras states that despite the large variety of sites the finds revealed a good deal of homogeneity, which indicates that the basic cultures of «autonomous groups» developed within the framework of «interregional connections».[33]

On the basis of Patterson's analysis[34] it can be stated that in the Andes around 1500 B. C. land cultivation, most probably with various irrigation and other amelioration techniques, significantly increased the capacity of a number of regions, which in the long-term made the increase of population easier. The

[31] Proulx 1968.

[32] Patterson 1973, p. 64.

[33] Lumberas 1974, pp. 41, 59.: «The population appears to have increased considerably as a consequence of the diversification in subsistence resources and nearly all the coastal and highland valleys were settled. Dwellings of perishable materials were generally constructed near the fields on the slopes bordering the valleys, and a typical village consisted of 20 to 30 irregularly shaped houses.»

[34] Patterson 1973, p. 96.

difference of macro-ecological conditions brought about an uneven socio-economic development. Tribes and tribal groups of a different level of development did not live isolated from one another. The homogeneity of the art style spread over a large region shows that a network system connected the seaside deserts with the heathered highlands and the jungle area. The five or six communicational networks that existed in Peru between 1700—1000 B. C. also involved several river valleys. Chavin is perhaps the most significant example of this process in the Andes.

c. «religious system . . . with centres»

Following the above line of thought the development of cultures in ancient Peru was significantly influenced by the differing ecological conditions with the aid of which, as I mentioned, goods, raw materials and ideas were exchanged.

Chavín became known as an artistic manifestation of a religion. Willey's laconic statement in essence states: Chavín art represented in several art represented in several kinds of material, with temples and specific buildings, can most probably be interpreted as a manifest symbol of a religion or an ideology.[35] Patterson considered that Chavín art belonged to a religious cult, in which oracles played a special role; the dissemination of the art style coincided with the diffusion of the cult alongside the main communicational roads that connected a number of settlements in most parts of Northern and Central Peru.[36] (Everything leads to the conclusion that military invasion played no part in this expansion.)

Regarding the connection of the Chavín complex and religion Meggers states: land cultivation was exposed to the effects of a changeable weather and other natural phenomena, thus, as a consequence of the dependance on cultivated plants, every effort was made to gain the benevolence of gods.[37] Between 1000—500 B. C. Chavín «style» (for that is a manifest sign) diffused all over the Central Andes and became a catalyst in local development.

Lumberas holds a similar view; he maintains that the significance of Chavín de Huantár is not in its ancientry (since several more ancient ceremonial centres are known from the Central Andes), but in its religious sophistication and deep influence. «The most complex world images of the time were apparently synthetized here and disseminated over a large area.«[38] Both

[35] Willey 1971, p. 130. Representation of felidae also occur on smaller pieces — let us call them household objects — which indicates that the cult of «deities» was not confined to the official ceremonies of priests in the temples, but they were also part of the everyday rituals at home.

[36] Patterson 1973, p. 98.

[37] Meggers 1972, p. 75.

[38] Lumberas 1974, p. 67.

processes, that is synthesis and dissemination were easy to implement in Chavín de Huantár, since it stood at the junction of roads and was easy to approach both from the seaside, the mountain region and from the jungle, and this interrelationship must have been of major importance in the cultural development of the Central Andes.

d. «a notable advance in all branches of technology»

In the period prior to Chavín — as has been mentioned — food production became more and more stable with a large variety of cultivated plants, the tribal population increased in number, more permanent villages developed and a number of other innovations contributed to a more complex technological level of the tribes. As Bird-Bellinger puts it briefly: prior to Chavín, around 1200 B. C. a large number of technical innovations appeared in the manufacture of pottery, textile and stone. The gold, silver and copper jewelry from Chongoyape is especially significant as the earliest traces of American metal work.[39]

New plants with new methods of cultivation, and the manufacture of new raw materials (wool and metals) all these gave way to specialization, enlarged the quantity of goods for local use and enriched the variety of goods for exchange.

Summarizing what has been said so far concerning Chavín; everything leads to the conclusion that it was a complex synthetizing all the achievements of earlier periods with subtle qualities that later on were easily available for tribes of the Andes on different levels of development. Monumental architecture using durable material also served the regular communication of different tribes.

The complex may have been sustained by nearby villages; the local layer of designers-builders and specialists were supplied by the land cultivators. Materials of different origin found in the site may have been goods and objects either for exchange or for sacrifice, and may have been supplied for the land cultivators of the villages or other people arriving at that territory.

It is possible to agree with a number of statements made by authors dealing with Chavín, nevertheless, one can hardly accept the supposition that Chavín represented a religious system. Researches on tribal societies show

[39] Bird—Bellinger 1954, p. 3. In connection with stone technique it should be added that the Cupisnique worked the hard stone (porphyry, and granite, etc.) with a special technique — unknown to us. Kroeber 1942, p. 54 notes that the subtly elaborated heads of stone-clubs refer to a highly developed level of metal work. Whoever made them, they were made with a long tradition of craftsmanship and perhaps with the knowledge of metal casting.

that a religious system appears only in a more complex society. Nevertheless, Chavín may have had a mythology preserving jungle traditions in which cultural heroes often represented as animals served various functions; they transmitted knowledge, and took care of fertility, etc. — all this would be a major cohesive force in forming a community. Since the mythology of Chavín is not known, we cannot tell why carnivorous felidae were so much represented. Completely unrelated to Chavín, to illustrate how many different meanings a mythical being can take, I would like to refer to a myth of the Bolivian Takana Indians, where the jaguar was not only the king of all animals, but also ruled over the clear, cloudless night sky, over the dew, woods, and plantations in the forest-glades, but above all he was the king of the maize and the banana . . .[40] (Without going into detail, I only mention in passing that the jaguar rules over the world of hunted animals and cultivated plants, not to mention celestial phenomena.)

The representation of carnivorous animals may have manifested this complexity — a common cultural trait of groups coming from different places and most probably being politically independent of each other was that all of them took over the representation of carnivorous animals (in stone, clay, textile and on metal), but most probably with different contents; they could be fertility symbols (with land cultivators and hunters), but they could be connected with astrology, as well (mainly for religious specialists).[41]

Tribes gathering in Chavín de Huantár, regardless of whether they were of the highlands or from the seaside, comprised different social strata (based on various methods of food production, their participation in production and the different levels of specialization). A visit to the «centre» had a completely different meaning for a religious leader than for a cultivator, an artisan or a merchant. They could become acquainted with new raw materials, goods in Chavín, could exchange their technical knowledge and could also get hold of religious ideas. Even the simplest exchange could take place within ritual circumstances.[42]

A visit to the «centre» could also serve as an opportunity fot the occasionally appearing communities to obtain their building material or to build themselves. According to Mason's view, professional builders and craftsmen may have worked in a period between two pilgrimages[43] — this could also be

[40] Hissink—Hahn 1961, p. 222.

[41] In tribal rituals, too, the tripartide distribution of authors-interpretators-audience was manifest. The organizers of the community rituals were acquainted with the whole process, the interpretators (just like the suppliers of raw materials) knew only part-tasks, while the audience was acquainted with manifest effects and often saw and felt the surface, only.

[42] During his fieldwork in the Andes, Nachtigall observed and described the relationship of fertility rites and the exchange network.

connected with seasonal changes, which was referred to by Lumberas.[44] It cannot be considered impossible that the stratum working in Chavīn was provided for by the pilgrims.

«Pilgrimages» most probably had a dynamic influence on the local development of the villages; tribes from Chavīn took with them, preserved and diffused all the achievements they had obtained.

Braidwood-Willey wrote that among cultural achievements this period lacked the knowledge of mathematics, astrology and the calendar, most probably since they had no writing.[45] Nevertheless, seasonal pilgrimages, and highly developed architectural monuments require a certain knowledge of astrology and geometrics, and some sort of calendar. I have to mention the research carried out by the cartographer, Zoltán Zelkó, who having analyzed the famous Raimondi-stone of Chavīn, maintains that it is not merely a geometrical representation, but also reflects actual geometrical knowledge.[46]

The development of this archaic civilization was not directly connected with the development of later states (Chimu and Inca, etc.), but its analysis helps us to know more about the emergence of archaic civilizations in the Andes.

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[43] Mason 1957, pp. 52—53.

[44] Lumberas 1974, pp. 40. claims that migration could be the result of seasonal changes (transhumance), as well, but this also depended on how they cultivated their land, that is whether or not seasonal migration was necessary. The role the territory had in sustaining the population not only contributed to the stability of settlements and to population growth, but also gave way to many structural changes. Time and energy could be used in several ways. A social layer of part-time or full-time specialists developed who either did not directly participate in food production at all or only to some extent. Its members were religious specialists, and architects, that is those who designed and those who built these monumental buildings.

[45] Braidwood—Willey 1962, p. 172.

[46] This problem cannot be adequately dealt with before the publication of Zelkó's research. If his hypothesis is correct, Chavín de Huantár synthetized the geometrical and astrological information of this period.

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THE ASIATIC MODE OF PRODUCTION IN AFRICA

BY

CSABA ECSEDY

One version of archaic — or in other words «Asiatic» — state formations, namely the Eastern and South-East Asian (furthermore the Pre-Columbian) versions developed their own economy and accordingly their power structure in isolation, «closed» into their own civilization throughout thousands of years. Contact with the outside world was limited to foreign trade organized and controlled at first on the tribal level, later on the state level. This trade, however, had a secondary role both in the transitional periods leading from the tribal stage to state structures and in the further phases of the development of the — seemingly different, but in fact one and the same — combined system of self-sustaining villages and states based on taxation. Naturally it is possible that the role of «foreign trade» (i.e. their diffusional connections) was much greater in the formation of states in the Middle Andes.

The nomadic peoples of the steppe in the eastern part of Asia could not form states in the course of their empire building and enforced-trading-conquering activities without changing their production (i.e. pasturing animal husbadry requiring much movement) i.e. without settling down. This was so in spite of the richness of the courts of rulers, the well developed network of communications and the temporarily existing military organizations capable of welding together multitudes of peoples. At such times when there was a large increase in their stocks, they naturally attempted to break the geographical (and historical) isolation of the agriculturalist civilizations by forcing them to «open» towards the western areas, especially towards Europe; and they did this more or less unintentionally and indirectly. Nevertheless, until the 19th century these countries were hardly connected with the «world economy» of either ancient times or the Middle Ages and not even the ever expanding economy of modern times changed this. As for the civilizations of the Andes and Mezo-America they had more or less become museum relics at the time of their discovery, i.e. when the continent could have been involved in economic life with other continents, even though their raw materials continued to enrich Europe.

Because of their relative ecological uniformity, Western Asia, as well as Mesopotamia and the Middle East including Egypt and the eastern Mediter-

ranean were in a much less advantageous position than the societies of East Asia and ancient America. The majority of the fertile and thus thickly populated river-basins — especially their lower parts where archaic civilizations came into being — lacked stone for building, ores and even fuel. The climatic changes, which started roughly 8,000 years ago and affected several of the continents, led to desiccation, which together with the use of available land for cereal production, meant that in the course of time wood for building and other purposes ceased to be available and there was less and less scope for large scale protein production, i.e. for animal husbandry.

Thus from neolithic times the peoples of these areas were forced to provide the goods needed for subsistance and material growth, either by plunder like conquests or by centralized, state controlled foreign trade, but in either case *outside their own territory*. This centralization sprang from the very nature of archaic societies which were organized into states on a tribal basis. The nomadic Asian stockbreeders who appeared during the process of desiccation conducted this foreign trade, partly by raiding and robbing, thus representing a hardly desirable, alien factor in the lives of the cereal producing and animal keeping village communities.

The sailing that came into being on western rivers and seas, in the Persian Gulf, on the Red Sea and in the Mediterranean was an absolute necessity for the peoples of the Middle East. The societies of East and South Asia were far less dependent on the goods of other territories, at least before the 19th century, because they could find the necessary materials for their weapons, tools and buildings in their own enormous territories. Their isolation was also caused by the fact that the ruling powers — to ensure their security — cut themselves off from the historical changes of the outside world in order to retain the traditions of their societies, which had already been codified in writing. It was only by tiresome caravan routes and sailing that the Levant, and in fact the entire area west of the valley of the Indus, could obtain the raw materials — apart from food stuffs and especially cereals — necessary to reproduce society. The cedar wood transported from afar in the myth of Gilgames, the building stone from southern Egypt or the copper and the tin of the West European mines all provide similar evidence.

Thus the slackening of the isolation by means of foreign trade was facilitated by inter(sub)continental interdependence, furthermore by the relatively high standard of technology or rather of the technology *used in production*, which was most probably developed to this extent here for the first time in the world thus making possible wide scale communication by the use of draught animals, the wheel and the boat.

The two thousand years old social development of Subsaharan Africa (which, however, must have had its beginnings in earlier times) leading out of the tribal stage confirms that the organization and rise of archaic or Asiatic

type state formations was almost entirely due to the incentive of foreign trade. The trans-Saharan caravan trade which — with the North African appearance of the horse and later of the camel — came into being during the first millennium B. C. and the East African coastal sea trade primarily carried — beside salt, spices, hides, slaves and other exotic goods — the gold of the continent to North Africa, but even more importantly to the Middle East and from there to Europe. In the first historical phase of the states of Africa (basically until the 16th century) obtaining, centrally collecting, and exporting gold by the state constituted the main driving force of these states. On the one hand, it necessitated the formation and growth of state administration and the strengthening of central power, on the other hand, it gave an incentive for conquest. Thus it led to the formation of large empires in the Sudan, i.e. from Senegal to Ethiopia, and for a short while on the eastern, south-eastern parts of Africa, in the coastal trading-kingdoms and the gold producing Zimbabwes, at the same time as the monetary economy of Mediaeval Europe began to develop.

From the 12th—13th centuries, the demand for gold decreased to some extent because of the opening of European mines. This led to the gradual weakening of the power and organization of the above mentioned empires. The discovery and conquest of America, from the 16th—17th centuries onwards, meant a new era for Africa as well. From then on, the main direction and objective of African trade changed. Instead of north-east caravan trade, European boats appeared on the seas and slaves — instead of gold — gradually became the dominant export commodities. At the same time, new states, and expanding empires came into being on or near the coastal area all of which were directly or indirectly connected with sea-trade.

America's gold and increasing demand for slaves played a decisive role both in the weakening of the «empires of gold» in the Western Sudan and in the rise and centralizing-conquering aspirations and solidifying of the state organizations of the Central and West African powers. Unfortunately, it must be noted that there has been no important change up to the present day, in as much as the new states of Subsaharan Africa participate in the economy of the world primarily with the export of their agricultural and other raw materials, wood, and ores, etc., and not with produced goods. In addition, the stability of their state structure is also dependent on the efficiency of these exports.

Although in both historical periods African foreign trade was dominated by the centres of state organizations and by rulers and their administrators, trade and the use of money, that goes hand in hand with the former, nevertheless permeated into African societies which had hardly known a market economy and production for markets until the 20th century. Money had taken various forms from cowrie shells and ostrich egg discs to salt money and bundles

of raffia, from «katanga-crosses», and copper manılas to the stylized copies of various iron tools (hoes and arrows) and to the West African gold dust, which even underwent «inflation» at the end of the 18th century. This penetration appeared in the form of exchange between and even within communities, taking the form of everyday social contact in some places, e.g. in West Africa. From the traditional point of view of African societies this trade only dealt with luxury and prestige goods. Although this trade represented one of the most important factors in the formation and growth of African states, its very nature made it impossible for trade and money to significantly influence the non-market producing, *self-sufficient* economy of kin groups or of territorial communities. At the same time, this made the system of power even more rigid, because most of this trade was conducted *outside the system of taxation*, and the production of goods for export required the strengthening of the structure of taxation.

All this also meant that from the beginning, the states of Africa or rather the more clever rulers — acting as guardians or representatives of the community — apparently realised the significance of lucrative trade by struggling against the disadvantages of a primitive economy. That is (for some time and without actually infringing the traditionality and isolation of the Asiatic state) they dropped the isolation, even if not on the continental level, at least for their own societies. Nevertheless, until colonialisation this hardly meant more than a possibility, an unused safety valve. This «opening» could not take place, because of practical geographical-climatic and environmental reasons and hence because of technological ones, as well as because of the survival — to our day — of tribal features of social and political organization.

The development of the Middle East and Europe, and the role of foreign trade in this development was then determined by the internal needs for raw materials and goods of the civilizations of the Middle East and later of the societies of Europe. In all cases, the fate of the states of Africa, the development of their institutions, and the increase of their territory and power were determined by the needs of the outer world, i.e. the Middle East, and later Europe and America.

The societies of Subsaharan Africa mostly lived on a tribal level, but at times showed surprisingly successful organizational achievements (see the relatively scarcely populated Dahomey even with a low standard of technology or the rather short lived centralized state bureaucracy of Buganda, whose administrational achievements can be likened to those of China or Peru). Nevertheless, they profited very little from the transcontinental exchange. The goods and knowledge «imported» by them were in fact forced on them by more developed powers and thus could not significantly contribute to the development of the forces of production, not even within the possibilities of the material growth of the Asiatic type of civilizations. In any case these

dossibilities would be difficult to outline, because they were so very dependent on geographical-historical factors. The caravan trade with the Middle East, India and China, and the coastal trade of East Africa (directed from Axum and later by Arabs) could only provide ornamental nick-nacks in exchange for gold, spices, ivory and slaves. In other words, they provided the ruling groups of the ritual and power centres with the spectacular pomp necessary for their power. This did not change significantly during the centuries of European presence either. The only difference was that (because of firearms, copper and iron) from the 16th century the pace of the process of change from tribe to state increased considerably in societies that were in direct or indirect contact with the coast. This went side by side with the development of rulers' courts and of the system of officials, the latter controlled the increasing taxation, which amounted to one fifth of production, but not rarely in actual fact to as much as 60% of earnings.

This parasite trading with a parasite world was only one reason why African societies south of the Sahara were incapable of showing the same achievements as the archaic civilizations of Asia and Pre-Columbian America, which managed to astonish the modern world with the material, organizational, technological and scientific results of their long development. Africa only achieved this with its tribal art «discovered» at the end of the last century, when it became the main inspiring force of several art trends.

Most of Subsaharan Africa falls within the tropical climatic belt. Therefore, in the course of its history it had to undergo all the negative and positive influences of this climate, which hindered population growth, the development of production technologies and the deepening of — elsewhere necessary — social knowledge. The peoples of the subtropical and especially of moderate climatic zones had to continuously fight for their survival since the last glacial period to ensure their social reproduction and development. The latter was ensured by the fact that the production of subsistence goods needed such a special effort. Apart from the epidemics hindering population growth and cultural achievements, the tropical climate had meant for Africa, on the one hand, that only the least sophisticated technologies could develop and, on the other hand, that there was basically no need for more because land provided sufficient food even with primitive tools (digging stick, hoe, and axe) and whatever else was needed could be obtained from the surrounding forests, savannahs and water.

This was not an «earthly Paradise» like on some islands of Oceania. Nevertheless, it was sufficiently abundant not to inspire the population to produce much more than their minimal needs. Beside this mere biological self-supply they produced some for the customary ritual exchange of gifts between different communities. In addition, they produced a relative surplus for tribal heads or rulers and their officials. This relative surplus, however,

was not really produced for this purpose and took the form of gifts (in fact taxes) to communities larger than the one giving it, in gratitude for protection, jurisdiction, ritual and redistributional services. However, the yearly one or two months of acute need, the «hunger period», has survived to our day — at least in the Sahel and svannah regions — although probably not so much because of the insufficiency of production, but rather because of «conspicuous consumption» dictated by traditions at the time of feasts and rituals.

Slash-and-burn cultivation is said to be shifting and indeed in the Congo Basin every now and then whole villages move, but for the most part it is a fallow system. Lacking effective methods, agriculture has not been able (and for the most part is still not able) to do more than use up — as economically and therefore as completely as possible — the rather thin layer of humus. At the same time, for the past fifteen hundred years they have destroyed forests at an increasing rate. In the course of populating the central regions of the continent, the amount of forests has dwindled to a third and even the remaining ones are thin. Therefore, this type of agriculture together with large scale wood felling and cutting also destroys Africa's present day means of subsistence.

The central, southern and eastern areas — which two thousand years ago had an extremely low density of population — were gradually populated as a result of frequent Bantu migrations and of the southward migration of «Sudanic» peoples after the appearance of ironsmithing around the beginning of the 1st century A. D. Iron tools have brought no major change into the basically neolithic methods of African production. However, they did inspire the «Sudanic» and Bantu groups to conquer the forests — so far only useful to hunting and gatherin groups — because the iron axe and hoe increased the efficiency of slash-and-burn shifting cultivation. At first, the use of iron weapons and tools was the carefully guarded monopoly of certain groups. Thus the use of iron furthered the forming of such military organizations which later in the course of migrations formed centralized chieftainships, kingdoms and large (even if scarcely populated) empires, inspired by a need to control trade routes and water sources.

This also illustrates how short is the period in which we can speak of the history of Subsaharan Africa. From the middle of the 1st millennium A. D. the great states of the Sudan: Bornu, Ghana, Mali, and Songhai etc. were formed. They followed each other, rose and then fell because of outside factors and their own economic weaknesses. At the same time — lasting practically to our day — the Bantu migration started, probably from near the present Nigerian-Cameroonian border. Nevertheless, the appearance of important states started only after the successful «Bantuization» of the larger part of Africa from the first half of the second millennium in the — then already Bantu — Congo Basin and South-east Africa. No African society is known

which would have existed for thousands of years as a continuous and more or less solid state organization and would have prospered throughout like an eastern Mediterranean or Asiatic archaic civilization first dependent on their natural surroundings and later forced to develop by the same surroundings. In the case of African societies, the late beginning and the above mentioned historical and environmental drawbacks and the backwardness following from it have meant that most of the states known to Europeans can only by characterised — even after having existed for several centuries — as new formations still near the first phase of the formation of the Asiatic mode of production. From the point of view of the present day development of Africa, this is a considerable drawback as it has to bridge a much larger gap than the other parts of the developing world.

For students of this substantially significant socio-historical period, i.e. of archaic state formations, Africa provides an important lesson. Leaving the tribal stage, African state organizations — in the course of their rather short existence and according to their historical conditions — have produced such power structures, which in spite of their wide variety can be traced back to one basic formation. And this is a power structure headed by a despotic king ruling over larger territorial systems of productive communities — units based either on kinship or on common residence or (especially in East and Sontheast Africa) on taxation. This type of society — following from the survival of tribal ideology and tribal property — is merely a «traditional», «archaic», «Asiatic» state, which is represented by a ruler and by his officials, whose job included providing jurisdiction and ritual practices to further the interests of the communities of their territory, but primarily meant the control of inner taxation and foreign trade for the state. As this type of state is still near the centralized tribe (i.e. led by a chief) its patriarchalism is obvious, even under the circumstances of conquest, oppression and exploitation. According to first hand remembrance of 20th century Africans, African rulers are represented as heads of the «larger family». This is explained by the fact that primarily their power derived from their authority accepted by their subjects, rather than from their military strength. This was so regardless of whether they were natural leaders of natural communities — i.e. «noble» lineage heads descending from tribal leaders with land rights emanating from rights of first occupation and consequently endowed with the still important benefits of seniority — or originally foreign conquerors who claimed the same by manipulating historical ideology.

This open patriarchalism is the factor which misleads some researchers into talking of a special «family», «kinship» or «African» mode of production, although from the point of view of *mode of production* the African states do not show any significant distinctive features which would set them apart from the other Asiatic type of societies.

In spite of the relative youth of the sub-Saharan states, the three main types of power organizations of the Asiatic mode of production also emerged in African states, as analyzed in more detail in my article «Land Ownership and State Organization in Africa».* These are: decentralised, «aristocratic», segmentary states usually hereditarily ruled by one dispersed group of kin; pyramids of taxation centralised by bureaucratic officials; and, empires, which by military power and slow assimilation united several states and many ethnic groups. From simple centres of power, state centres became populous towns with lavish royal courts and specialised groups of craftsmen and traders. Multi-ethnic societies, having multiple production systems (e.g. Ankole, Rwanda, Mossi states etc.) brought about a wide range of caste-like forms. In other words, the typical features of the Asiatic mode of production of other continents (which are much more than «hydraulic» projects, or pyramid building or the despotic nature of the king) can still be studie dalmost in their entirety in these societies. This provided the main importance of African state formations for historical studies. In the case of archaic empires of long standing, the written documents, clan, tribal and *communal* social structures and power building methods and processes became fragmented. In the case of Subsaharan Africa, however, these are still clearly to be discovered and the subjectivity of scribes does not blur them either. I am convinced that — as we know very little of the formative periods and of the underlying tribal features of the Asian (Chinese, Indian), European (Cretan, Mykenean), American (Mexican, Peruvian) Asiatic modes of production — the use of the examples of African state formations as analogies in interpreting early written documents can be of invaluable help.

Finally returning to the question of historical and natural determination, it is obvious from the above that geographical and ecological circumstances were just as much an obstacle to Africa's social development as in the early phase of state formation to the societies of the Middle East and of East Asia. The belated start, low population density and, last but not least, the tropical climate meant that Africa most probably had less chance for spectacular achievements. The at most two thousand years old history of Subsaharan Africa represents that early phase of the formation of archaic civilizations in which, because of the standards of production (tools, technology, and experience) and the relative newness of state organization, ecological, geographical and historical factors, and the outside world — only interested in exploiting Africa — played a much more decisive role than either in the later forms of Asiatic mode of production, which being more durable could make better use of their own possibilities of development or in European development, which refused to be restricted by geographical limitations and for the most part made the ecological balance dependent on society.

* In print, formerly published in Hungarian *in* F. Tőkei (ed.): *Őstársadalom és ázsiai termelési mód*, Budapest, Magvető 1976, 233—342, second edition 1982.

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A RESEARCHER OF CHINA: LAJOS MAGYAR*

BY

FERENC TŐKEI

Lajos Magyar was born on November 25, 1891 at the village of Istvándi in the south-west Hungarian county of Somogy. He studied law at a lyceum in Pécs, then received practical training in a lawyer's office. Instead of becoming a lawyer, however, he went in for journalism. He was soon appointed senior contributor to the daily *Pécsi Hírlap* (Pécs News), and in 1912, he joined the staff of *Világ* (World), a bourgeois radical daily of Budapest. The same year, he and György Bölöni (1882—1959) co-authored a book: *Háborús Balkán* (The Balkans in War). He worked as a war correspondent in 1914—15 and, in 1916, started another book, entitled: *A háború kulisszái mögött* (The Hidden Aspect of War). [The MS was ready for publication already in 1919. It was published, however, only in 1966 in Magyar Lajos: *Késői tudósítások* (Belated Reports), edited by Blanka Péchy (1894—), his first wife.] He took part in the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1918 and served on the executive committee of the National Council (the government of that time). That same year he wrote and published a minor work: *A magyar forradalom* (The Hungarian Revoluion). (It is also included in *Belated Reports.*) During the 1919 Hungarian Republic of Councils the *Világ* was closed down, and he moved to the daily *Népszava* (Vox populi). Up to that stage he had been a bourgeois-radical journalist, and his acquaintance with Marxism began in those years. He first declared himself to be a communist in his famous *Plea* made at his trial in 1920 when the counterrevolutionary authorities found him guilty and sentenced him to imprisonment. As an inmate of Star Jail in Szeged, he wrote his first Marxist theoretical paper «A tiszta erkölcs kritikája» (A Critique of Pure Moral; both are included in *Belated Reports.*)

In 1922 he was allowed to go to the Soviet Union in an exchange of prisoners deal. He joined the Bolshevik Party. For years he worked for the Soviet news agency TASS (initially called ROSTA), and was a regular contri-

* Originally: «Magyar Lajos, Kína kutatója». Introduction to *A kínai mezőgazdaság hagyományos szerkezete* [On the Traditional Structure of Chinese Agriculture], Budapest, Kossuth 1981.

butor of *Pravda*. He was often sent on confidential missions to countries abroad, ranging from Western Europe to the Far East. In 1926 he was sent to China, where he had the opportunity to engage in some scientific research. Assessing his career up to 1926 it can be concluded that he was an active participant in the events he wrote about, and although he was also a fast-working writer and a journalist by profession, his writings succeeded in drawing conclusions of lasting value. However, it was in China that his theorist's aptness and researcher's devotion could truly unfold. There he wrote the first draft of his masterpiece: a study on Chinese agriculture.

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Fortunately, some very valuable and authentic Hungarian-language documents about the creation of this fine work still exist: Lajos Magyar's letters to Blanka Péchy (and his son). Blanka Péchy preserved the letters and has published them as part of her book, entitled *Regény* (Novel or rather, Romance). The events, as related in these letters, can be pieced together.

«I am now in Peking», he wrote on April 5, 1927, «I work and study much. Perhaps I already know more about China than Richard Timothy, a Hungarian father who evangelized here in 1888. I have recently come across an article of his in a local library.»

«Reading about Chinese generals with those funny names and the involved events here, that are not at all easy to unterstand, please note that I am supposed to have a thorough grasp of all that happens here. Life is going on in funny ways. I would not have thought ten years ago that I would ever come to a place like this and like it. This is a very interesting country, especially now and probably for many years to come.»

At the end of May, he was in the city of Hankow (now part of Wuhan). On July 6, *en route* to the port city of Shanghai, he wrote from the city of Tatung by the river Yangtze: «It is a popular misconception that China is *one* country. As a matter of fact, China is a continent rather than a country. With respect to the development, customs, and economy, etc., of the provinces, the differences are greater than those between certain countries of Europe. That is the reason why travelling is so good here, to see country and people. An image of China would otherwise be rather onesided. I am pleased to go to Shanghai, as it in fact is the centre of the Chinese working class movement. What is more, it has the best libraries on China, which I am now in most need of. I cannot recall, Darling, whether I wrote to you that in Peking I spent twelve to fourteen hours reading books on China each day. Shanghai is going to be an excellent place to continue such studies. The climate is not much better than in Hankow, where the heat relieved me of a few kilos. Provided it will not be so hot and the events do not take any unexpected turn, I am to embark

on a major venture. I want to write a book on China with special regard to its economic life. I have gathered a lot of material. If I succeed in realizing my plan the way I wish, the book will be interesting and illuminating. I now spend all my energy on this book. After so many newspaper articles and similar trash, it will be the first major writing work in my life. How much I can accomplish still remains to be seen.»

At that time, the circumstances of his life were favourable for him to engage in a major project. He was well aware that there was much to discover in China, since a social revolution was under way, although little scholarly research had been made on its economy and social history. His letter of August 20, written in Shanghai, reads: «I have already started writing the book. About one sixth of it is ready. You would be surprised to see what an expert on agriculture I have become. To understand the Chinese land question I have had to study irrigation, rice growing, dunging, and stock-breeding, etc., in such a depth that I could as well be appointed a bailiff. I am afraid that in practice, I cannot tell wheat from rye, yet I have become well-versed in the theory of the production of silk, cotton, tobacco, rice and beans, and I have an understanding of the ownership relations not only in China, but also in Japan, India, Korea and the island of Java, etc. What an interesting world this is, and how greatly it differs from ours where we have grown up. I am working with maximum devotion, care and regard to detail, and I am doing all in my power to create a well-written book. No, Darling, this is not the János of old, any more.» (In *Romance* Lajos Magyar is referred to as János Nikó.) «I could always work ten, twelve or fourteen hours on end, bur never before felt so much the substance, the inner contentedness of a work. It is quite a warm and good feeling. And perhaps some day many may benefit from a boy from Budapest accidentally getting here and studying problems of their life, so far disregarded by others. This, of course, does not mean that I am going to stay here long. I may soon move further to south. I cannot help it, but by nature I prefer action to reporting, and there seems to be room for action. I am writing the book in Russian, but when it is ready, I wish to have it translated first into Chinese and then German. For the time being, my task is to complete it, and it will take four to five months with ten to fourteen hour working days. After completing the book, I wish to return to Moscow, and unless an important engagement withholds me, I shall be able to do it.»

He wrote, among others, in a letter of September 14: «. . .the hot days are gone. Working conditions are excellent. I have read a whole library of books about Japan, India, Java, Korea and the Philippines.» Again in a hot period, he wrote on September 25: «Life has its funny surprises. I would have never thought that Menyhért Lengyel's *Typhoon* will be joined by a veritable typhoon to cause me suffering.» Further on he wrote: «I am working on my book. I am proceeding fast, and the first volume is to be completed

within a month. It is about the land question. A friend of mine took the first part of the manuscript to Moscow, and yesterday he informed me by wire that the setting of that part has already started. I was very pleased at the news, because it meant that the manuscript was accepted for publication, and if so, it cannot be too bad. I am happy to know that I did not work in vain. With multiplied energy and fervour, I will set out to write the remaining parts. The book will be rather long, I am afraid. Already it consists of at least 250 printed pages, and twice or thrice as many are to follow.»

The title of the book he was writing was *Êkonomika sel'skogo hozjajstva v Kitae* [Agricultural Economics in China]. By discussing the «land question», it touches upon a pivotal issue: the well known debate on China in the Communist International. The debate covered vital problems of revolutionary China: the character of the Chinese revolution and the tasks of the Chinese communists. Magyar's work has been a scientific contribution to the debate, to be respected, both because it is well-documented and because it represents a high theoretical standard. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Moscow State Publishing House sent the manuscript to be printed without delay. The problems discussed in the book were related to the most poignant issues of the time: the further progress of world revolution.

The self-confession made in a letter to his first wife on November 14, that same year, is highly characteristic of Lajos Magyar: «To tell the truth, Darling, I can hardly think of living in Budapest for years, even if by a turn of history we become not only a 'legal' but the ruling party. Whenever I read a Hungarian newspaper I somehow find the Hungarian dimensions, problems, men and events frighteningly petty. Terribly low standards throughout. Talented people are rather few, and the political horizon is awfully narrow. I grew unused to those dimensions. I am deeply attached to the Hungarian workers; wherever I am, I always bear in mind the cause of the Hungarian movement, often I am preud to have it as my point of departure, and am ready to do whatever is necessary for it, however, I have been accustomed to large dimensions, big countries and major issues.»

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Lajos Magyar returned to Moscow in 1928. In a letter of February 6, he wrote «. . .I recall my stay in China with affection. I learned, saw and experienced much. I really think politically I came of age in China, I had to think independently there, make judgements and assess situations.»

Soon he became a co-worker of the Comintern, and worked close to Béla Kun, and then with Kuusinen. His field was party politics in China. In addition he continued his research on Chinese economy. «My book is to be published in a matter of days», he wrote on July 13, 1928. «I have signed

a contract on writing another one, a sequel, which is to cover industry, banks, and trade, etc.» On September 4 he wrote: «I could not send You the book for, very cleverly, by the time your letters reached me with your address, you were already at another address throughout the summer. I guess the book will become a success. No critical evaluation has yet been published, but the general response is positive, and I have been asked to write articles for magazines, and even books. I have accepted only some of these offers, because superficial writing would harm my reputation. This week I am to leave for a spa in the Caucasus to convalesce.» Back again in Moscow, he wrote on October 16: «Only one review has so far been published on my book. It praises me so that I am almost ashamed. Critiques are usually published here only three to four months following the issuance of a book. — I write articles very often, more often than I would like to. German journals also frequently carry my articles. I am also to give some lectures, though hardly can imagine myself in the teacher's role. But here the Chinese are at stake and I especially like this work.»

This first hint that there were opponents to his theoretical standpoint can be found in his letter of November 10: «I have not forgotten my promise about writing of the critiques on my book, but I ask for your patience, because I am waiting for the responses of the most important periodicals. I can already tell you that I have received praise even from those who disagree with me over points of theory.»

The basis of Lajos Magyar's theoretical standpoint was that in China imperialism found the archaic mode of production of the ancient Orient, even if in more or less modified, dismembered formes, and this economic structure was described by Marx as Asiatic mode of production. This is how Magyar himself explained his stand in a letter written upon returning from a holiday, that he used for writing another work, in 1930: «For about three years I have been preoccupied with a problem, which has become my Steckenpferd. Marx wrote at least in two of his passages that so far history had seen four social orders: the Oriental or Asiatic, antique, feudal and bourgeois. The latter three are clear and have been fully analysed. However, the first, the Asiatic mode of production, the Oriental society, has yet to be analysed. I arrived at this conclusion during my stay in China and there have recently been heated debates over this problem in the literature here. There are two camps: the one recognizes, the other debates and refutes the existence of a fourth social order. I formulated my final stand in this question, but in Moscow the day-to-day assignments keep me so busy that I cannot find time for theory. I have summed up the results of three years of research in a study of four sheets. I intend it as a first draft for a future major work. Nevertheless, I am happy to know that at least the essence of my thoughts is already on paper.»

This theoretical study on the Asiatic mode of production was published as the introduction to *Ching-t'ien, Agrarnyj stroj drevnego Kitaja* [The Structure

of the Agriculture of Ancient China] (Leningrad 1930) by M. D. Kokin and G. K. Papajan. The publication of his study preceded the «debate» of 1931, which labelled the Marxian concept of the Asiatic mode of production as anti-Marxist. His second book on the Chinese economy: *Očerki po êkonomike Kitaja* [An Outline of the Chinese Economy], was published by the Communist Academy in 1930. He wrote of the event in a letter of May 29: «I am immersed in work now. The proof-sheet of my second book on China is ready. I am proof-reading and making some corrections. Much has happened in China since I finished the book. For instance, today in southern China already 20 million people live in a people's republic, and there the agrarian question is being solved the way I foresaw it when writing my first book. My first book appears to me to be better than the second, though I would not call the latter bad either. When writing the first book I had more time and could work under better circumstances. Unfortunately, now I am not disposed to writing books. I rather write articles for newspapers and periodicals, and my regular job also occupies me. During my holiday, in the course of my recuperation, I wish to write a minor book: Lenin on the agrarian question. That and his theory of imperialism interest me the most. Furthermore, I have to write another minor work, for which I will have to read a lot.»

That summer, he wrote that the publication of the second, revised and enlarged edition of his first book was approaching. His own words on the importance of the masterpiece of his career can only be read with affection: «I have got into my stride, though it was difficult at first. I shall complete the revision of my first book on China within two or three days. It will become much better, I believe. Now I see that I have learned much in the meantime. My approach to many problems is today more mature and conscious. However, with regard to the fundamental issues, the perspectives, and the analysis of the Chinese peasant economy, my assessments have stood the test of time, and things have taken the turn I predicted. I do not know what the papers in your country write of the 'horrors' and 'terrors' of the Chinese republic. They are lying. In effect the time had come when the Chinese peasant said that what was enough, is enough. For five thousand years he had been exploited by landlord, usurer, tax collector and merchant, and for 140 years foreign capital. Now he is trying to live in another way, under the leadership of workers. Warships and troops are now sent against them, but in vain. The population of this region amounts to about 400 million, which will be difficult to cope with. True, for the time being, only a section of the whole population is affected by the upheaval. Defeats may still be suffered, of course, but no force seems to be able to ever stop this movement. And when some day I will die (I don't want to hurry), some will perhaps remember in that enormous and then free country that once there was a Hungarian fellow who studied that poverty-stricken economy and tried to help in seeking

a solution. That will give me some satisfaction mouldering in the grave — to put it in an elevated style — while today it is a source of pleasure and stimulus, being a struggle.»

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His book on Chinese agriculture was published in a second edition in 1931. It was enlarged, but the theoretical parts were omitted (the Introduction, in the first place) that discussed the Marxian concept or mentioned the term the Asiatic mode of production. It is clear from the above quoted letters: not to expose himself so much to his opponents, Magyar left out the first formulation of his theory. Nevertheless, he decided to do so only because he had already given a final form to his conception in a four-sheet study, the Introduction to the work of Kokin nad Papajan. Obviously, his doctrine, based on Marx's theory, had not altered in any major points.

Lajos Magyar's works are apperently the most lasting products of the well known debates on the Asiatic mode of production, due to their thorough theoretical foundation, rather than the facts and figures they offer. Both books by the «Hungarian fellow» and the work of Kokin and Papajan with his introduction were translated into Chinese. (The first in 1930, the other two in Shanghai in 1933.) These works gave Magyar prestige in the academic world which, in addition, was paralelled by political renown. He was head of the colonial section of the International Agrarian Institute between 1929 and 1930. Later he led the Middle Eastern section of the Oriental Department of the Comintern and, for a while, the foreign section of the Oriental Workers' Communist University. He was often sent abroad. He was able to meet Blanka Péchy and their son in Berlin in 1931. In 1932 his son joined him in Moscow and stayed there.

Upon his return from France in 1934, he was arrested and charged in connection with the assassination of Kirov. For a while, his second wife, Erzsébet Sipos (widow of Ottó Korvin) corresponded with him. While in the prison, Magyar translated works by Hegel and Marx into Hungarian. Blanka Péchy visited their son in the Soviet Union in 1937. That same year, Magyar was sentenced to ten years imprisonment, but died soon afterwards. His son is believed to have died at the front during the World War II. In 1956 Lajos Magyar was rehabilitated.

When working on the Hungarian edition of Lajos Magyar's studies on China, the editors were not exclusively motivated by reverence or the wish to contribute to the history of science. These works were written in the spirit of Marx's conception of history and have remained models for research. They offer textbook examples of how specialized disciplines can benefit from the Marxist theory; that, armed with the Marxist philosophy of history, major exploratory work can be carried out and that the Marxist social sciences are

capable of «becoming adept at» and «getting the mastery of» (using Magyar's words) even the most peculiar, for us alien, yet directly affecting developments of this century. They eloquently show that scientific activity can be carried out even in the thick of events, and that scientific accomplishments that amount to discovery, always outlive their «debates», and occasional political misinterpretations. Instead of offering a superficial evaluation of the *oeuvre* of Lajos Magyar, the author of these lines considers it sufficient to express the conviction; from the viewpoint of theory and method, Marxist research on China today should continue at the point where Lajos Magyar finished it.

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QUELQUES REFLEXIONS SUR CERTAINS PROBLEMES ACTUELS DANS LES PAYS ARABES A LA LUMIERE DE LA PROJECTION HISTORIQUE

PAR

AHMAD SADEQ SAAD

Parmi les nombreux problèmes soulevés par la situation actuelle des pays arabes, deux apparaissent, très liés entre eux: l'extension des mouvements islamiques et l'émergence de chefs souvent qualifiés de «charismatiques». Ces deux questions sont l'objet de vives discussions, car beaucoup de chercheurs — dont des Arabes progressistes et démocrates — ont été souvent pris au dépourvu ces derniers temps par les évènements, vu qu'ils relient normalement l'intégrisme religieux et le pouvoir personnel aux tendances réactionnaires, voire aux manoeuvres impérialistes.

Le concept du Mode de Production Asiatique (MPA) semblant dans ce cas pouvoir être utile à la compréhension théorique du cadre historique, quelques mots de rappel sont peut-être nécessaires concernant les points rattachés à ces questions.[1]

Les formations orientales pré-capitalistes étaient caractérisées par une structure sociale communautaire; les communautés villageoises formaient les unités de production à la base; elles étaient coiffées par l'appareil d'Etat-communauté supérieure remplissant les hautes fonctions économiques et centralisant dans ses mains non seulement les institutions militaires, mais également, celles religieuses-idéologiques rattachées au pouvoir d'Etat. Dans ce système l'appareil d'Etat et la classe exploiteuse ne faisaient qu'un. Les rapports d'exploitation — appelés par Marx l'«esclavage généralisé» — différaient des rapports esclavagistes classiques et des rapports de servage féodal en ce que le producteur était un homme libre envers les individus, mais rattaché à la communauté de base qui devait livrer à l'Etat un impôt-tribut.

[1] Pour plus de détails, voir: C. E. R. M., ed. *Sur le mode de production asiatique*, Paris, Editions Sociales 1969; F. Tőkei, *Essays on the Asiatic Mode of Production*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 1979; L. Krader, *The Asiatic Mode of Production*, Assen, Van Gorcum et Co., 1975.

Pour l'Egypte et quelques formations arabes médiévales, voir: Ahmad Sadeq Saad, *Tārīkh Misr al-iqtisādī al-iǧtimāʿī* [Histoire socio-économique de l'Egypte], Beyrouth, Dar Ibn-Khaldoun 1979; Ibrahim Amer, *Al-arḍ wa'l-fallāh* [La terre et le paysan], Le Caire, Ad-dār al-miṣriyya Lit-tibāa wa'l-našr, 1958.

Sur le plan idéologique, ce système se reflétait dans la conception fonctionnelle de l'unité sociale, conception embrassant une dichotomie: principe de l'intervention supérieure (fonctions de l'Etat symbolisé par le Roi-dieu), et opposition — le plus souvent passive par conservation — à la force oppressive de cet Etat-même. Ces rapports d'exploitation revêtaient les formes d'une tutelle patriarchale idéalisée dans le juste despote, bienveillant envers les paysans égaux en droits.[2]

Sur le plan politique, la faiblesse extrême — sinon l'inexistence — d'une classe représentant un système radicalement différent et supérieur au point de vue historique d'un côté, et de l'autre côté la masse des travailleurs — les paysans — ne désirant qu'un retour vers un régime plus communaliste et égalitaire, faisaient que les luttes de l'opposition restaient toujours dans le cadre du même système socio-économique: les longues années de révolution sociale de la première Période transitoire par exemple (entre l'Ancien et le Moyen Empires pharaoniques) firent simplement que les riches devinrent pauvres et que quelques pauvres devinrent riches . . . Dans la mesure donc où les mouvements d'opposition exprimaient leurs objectifs, ceux-ci ne tendaient en substance qu'à une sorte de rénovation du même système, avec ce qu'il comprenait: une forme ou une variation de religion d'Etat était proposée contre celle existante. C'est pourquoi les mouvements d'opposition ou de résistance avaient également un caractère religieux, se présentaient comme mouvements religieux; cependant ils avaient quelquefois — en même temps un certain contenu de laïcité dirigé contre les doctes s'appuyant sur le Pouvoir et argumentant en sa faveur.

Dans sa lettre du 2 juin 1853 adressée à Engels, Marx remarquait que toute l'Histoire de l'Orient apparait comme une Histoire de religions.[3] Sous l'occupation byzantine, l'Egypte — par exemple — adopte successivement diverses doctrines chrétiennes en opposition à la religion officielle de l'Empereur de Constantinople (du IVième au VIième siècles).

L'arabisation du Moyen Orient (du VIIième au IXième siècles) n'a changé que faiblement les structures économiques et sociales de base. Le passage relativement rapide de ses populations à l'Islam révèle combien — selon l'expression d'Engels — cette religion est taillée «à la mesure des Orientaux, particu-

[2] Voir: I. Banu, *La formation sociale asiatique dans le perspective de la philosophie orientale antique*, in CERM, *op. cit.*, pp. 285—307. Sur la conception fonctionnelle de la propriété de la terre, voir par exemple: I. Harari, *La fondation culturelle de N. K. WI. ANKH à Tehneh*: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte* 54 (1957), pp. 317—344; B. Menu, *Le régime juridique des terres et du personnel attaché à la terre dans le papyrus Wilbour*, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Lille, 1970.

[3] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *On Religion*, Moscow, F. L. P. H., undated, p. 121.

lièrement des Arabes».[4] L'Islam n'est pas seulement une religion, c'est également une idéologie ayant une vue fonctionnelle du social, une définition de l'Etat et de ses institutions qui règlent la société, une superstructure culturelle unifiant la communauté (*umma*) et avançant un cadre éthique qui implique un choix socio-économique.[5] A nouveau toujours avec Engels,[6] on peut constater que tous les mouvements politiques dans les pays arabes prenaient un aspect religieux. Les luttes des bédouins, paysans et artisans contre le pouvoir constitué adoptaient les formes variantes du kharijisme, chiisme ou sunnisme en contrepied à la doctrine officielle de l'Etat; elles exprimaient en une forme religieuse les aspirations des pauvres en une certaine «justice» sociale. Souvent les structures organisationnelles prises étaient proches de celle d'une «contre-communauté» (corporations mystiques des Soufis et derviches). On peut remarquer le prolongement de ces tendances jusqu'en 1865 en Egypte (révolte messianique du Mahdi dans la région d'Assiout[7]), et même aujourd'hui en Arabie Séoudite (révolte à la Mecque).

Certainement une simple extrapolation du passé dans le présent serait inconcevable, les pays arabes étant maintenant en général dans le système capitaliste et liés à un contexte international bien différent de celui du Moyen Age. Malgré cela, ce qu'on appelle sous-développement dans les cas arabes signifie une situation contenant des éléments pré-capitalistes, que l'emprise impérialiste s'est préoccupée de maintenir afin de réaliser son exploitation, et que le néo-colonialisme continue à garder. D'un autre côté, si une bourgeoisie nationale s'est développée relativement depuis le XIXième siècle, elle est restée dans une faiblesse permanente, très liée au marché international, au capital étranger et à l'appareil de l'Etat qu'elle a utilisé pour réaliser quelques fois de profondes réformes bourgeoises.[8]

L'exemple de l'Egypte est frappant. La production agricole pour le marché extérieur (coton) transforme la campagne, mais pas entièrement: ce n'est qu'en 1867 que la commune villageoise est définitivement dissoute au point de vue légal en tant qu'unité territoriale;[9] mais les liens communautaires subsistent encore longtemps après. L'inondation regulière du Nil isole relativement les villages quelques semaines de l'année; la responsabilité collective

[4] F. Engels, *On the history of early Christianity*, in: K. Marx—F. Engels, *op. cit.*, note en marge pp. 317—318.

[5] B. Scarcia Amoretti, *Islam e processi nazionali*, in: *Il mondo Contemporaneo* IV: Storia dell'Africa e del Medio Oriente, Roma, la Nuova Italia 1979, pp. 330—348.

[6] F. Engels, *op. cit.*, mêmes pages.

[7] Douin, *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismaïl*, 4 vol., Rome, 1933, vol. 1, pp. 260—261.

[8] Bien qu'avec beaucoup de réserves, il est intéressant à ce sujet de compulser les travaux de Samir Amine, dont: *Le développement inégal*, Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1973.

[9] Guirguis Henein, *Al-atyān wa'd-darāīb fī'l-qutr al-miṣri* [Les terres et les impôts en Egypte], La Caire, Al-matbaᶜa al-amiriyya 1904, p. 115.

des villageois envers la police continue jusqu'en 1882; le maïs — consacré à la consommation directe des paysans — occupe environ 20% des terres en 1960, gardant un certain caractère d'auto-suffisance aux villages;[10] le chef du village (*Omdeh*) — exempté de l'impôt et de la conscription militaire — dirige les forces locales de l'ordre, groupe les conscrits, fixe aux paysans la proportion de certaines récoltes qu'ils doivent cultiver jusqu'en 1950.[11]

Une certaine libéralisation économique accompagne la création d'institutions bourgeoises (Constitution, Parlement, Partis, etc.). Cependant, l'Etat continue a assumer d'importantes fonctions économiques, surtout en ce qui concerne l'agriculture: l'érection de barrages, la construction et l'entretien des canaux et drains sont d'activité gouvernementale. L'irrigation et la fourniture de l'eau aux terres sont toujours surveillées par le gouvernement qui décide des quantités d'eau ainsi que des allocations de culture, et qui a une grande emprise sur la qualité et la quantité des semences à employer; l'Etat soumet en général l'agriculture à un contrôle très étroit et à des plans détaillés.[12] Tout grand investissement agricole ne peut se concevoir en Egypte isolé de l'aide du gouvernement ou indépendant de son contrôle.[13] A 33 reprises pendant la période de 1915 à 1964, puis chaque année jusqu'à aujourd'hui, l'Etat a déterminé la rotation des cultures et fixé la proportion des surfaces à couvrir de coton dans chaque région; c'est encore l'Etat qui fixe maintenaut le prix de la récolte marchande principale, le coton;[14] les paysans sont tenus de lui livrer des proportions déterminées d'autres récoltes (moyenne en 1967 : 26,7% de la production du blé, 60% du riz, 57% des oignons) à des prix déterminés par le gouvernement.[15] C'est toujours l'Etat qui détermine les loyers agricoles par rapport à l'impôt territorial, les fait baisser ou hausser, ou décide du renvoi de leur paiement. Il y a quelques mois, un projet de loi était même à l'étude prévoyant des peines d'amende et de prison pour l'agriculteur n'ayant pas cultivé sa tenure.[16] Nous ne mentionons pas les réformes agraires sous Nasser qui furent une initiative d'Etat, exécutées par la machine gouvernementale.

[10] As-Sayyif Gabballāh, *Muskilat an-nuhūd bi-mahsūl adh-dhora aš-šāmiyya* [Le problème de l'augmentation de la récolte du mais]: *L'Egypte Contemporaine*, No. 306 (1961), p. 39.

[11] Muhammad Al-Babli, *Al-igrām fī miṣr* [La criminalité en Egypte], Le Caire, Matbaᶜa dār-al-Kutub al-miṣriyya 1941, pp. 326—328.

[12] Muhammad Y. El-Sarki, *La monoculture du Coton en Egypte et le développement économique*, Genève, Librairie Droz 1964, p. 139.

[13] Yehia El-Molla, *Features of Expansion and Contraction in the Egyptian Economy*: *L'Egypte Contemporaine*, No. 270 (1952), pp. 13—14.

[14] Z. M. Chabana et M. K. El-Etr, *Al-madḫal fī'l-iqtisād al-qutnī al-ᶜālamī* [Introduction à l'économie cotonnière mondiale], Alexandrie, Dār al-macārif 1965, pp. 121—123, 241, 243.

[15] Nassar Saad, *Structural changes and socialist transformation in the agriculture of the U. A. R. Egypt*: *L'Egypte Contemporaine*, No. 337 (1969), p. 126.

[16] Journal «*Al-Ahram*» du 8 (12) 1979, p. 10.

De même le rôle de l'Etat a été important — quelquefois décisif — dans le commerce et l'industrie, et celà avant les nationalisations nassériennes. Les institution éducatives (écoles, universités), religieuses (Al-Azhar, mosqueés, Eglise Copte), syndicales, de bienfaisance, sportives, etc., sont soumises au contrôle et à l'intervention du gouvernement à différents degrés selon les périodes.

La propriété privée de la terre n'a été définitivement reconnue qu'en 1896; la corvée pour les travaux d'irrigation n'a complétement disparu qu'en 1930; la production agricole est réalisée dans de fortes proportions par les paysans propriétaires ou locataires — souvent métayers — de tous petits lopins de terre travaillés par des moyens primitifs. Les petites échoppes de commerce ou de production semi-artisanale, sans salariés ou ayant quelques ouvriers seulement, sont prédominantes en nombre.

Jusqu'à dernièrement, cette situation était appelée «semiféodale»; aujourd'hui, on commence—à douter de l'exactitude de ce terme.[17] Nous pensons qu'il faut plutôt reprendre l'expression déjà utilisée par Ferenc Tőkei et parler de «*semi-asiatisme*».[18] Ce terme implique l'existence de deux secteurs dans les formations arabes: l'un pré-capitaliste dont nous avous décrit quelques traits, et l'autre capitaliste (cultures destinées au marché, grand commerce intérieur et extérieur, une industrie moderne avec des dizaines de milliers d'ouvriers par usine, concentration du capital, villes énormes, etc.). Mais en même tamps, nous voulons affirmer *l'unité* de ces formations, le fait qu'elles réalisent une synthèse *sui generis* de l'asiatisme et du capitalisme dans les conditions nationales et internationales du XXième siècle. Cette synthèse «colore» toutes les caractéristiques sociales et culturelles de la majorité des pays arabes, avec des teintes différentes de pays à pays.

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La soumission progressive des pays arabes aux Grandes Puissances au cours du XIXième siècle et du début du XXième a placé a l'avant-scène des bourgeoisies nationales libérales liées aux secteurs capitalistes en expansion. L'enseignement, les idées laïques se répandent dans la grande bourgeoisie et une couche supérieure de la petite-bourgeoisie. En 1937 le grand auteur Taha Hussein affirmait que la culture égyptienne est de source méditerranéenne. . .[19] Pendant la période que va jusqu'aux premières décennies de notre siècle, un courant réformiste se fait jour, réflètant dans un fond islamiste la direction

[17] Voir: Assem El-Dessouqui, *Kibār mullak al-arāḍi az-zirāiyya wa durhum fī'l muǧtamā al-miṣri* (1914—1952) [Les grands propriétaipes fonciers et leur role dans la société égyptienne], Le Caire, Dar ath-thaqafa al-gadida, 1975, pp. 326/327.

[18] F. Tőkei, *op. cit.*, p. 125

[19] Taha Hussein, *Mustaqbal aṯ-ṯaqāfa fī miṣr* [L'avenir de la culture en Egypte], Le Caire 1937.

bourgeoise du mouvement d'indépendance nationale.[20] Cependant il ne faut pas oublier qu'un courant plus intégriste continue à être sous-jacent dans les milieux plus populaires (attachement au Califat ottoman, réactions au laïcisme); en 1923 se forme en Egypte l'organisation des Frères Musulmans qui fonde ensuite des branches dans plusieurs pays arabes et musulmans; vers les années 40 apparaissent chez les Frères Musulmans plusieurs tendances, dont une plus libérale qui s'en sépare, et une autre pronant un certain socialisme islamique qui organise des groupes armés.

C'est qu'à partir des années 1920, la crise de l'impérialisme se répercute dans les pays arabes, se rajoutant a celle, chronique, de ces sociétés, crise que les courants politiques bourgeois libéraux n'ont pu résoudre.

Cette situation a donné lieu à une montée générale inégalée du mouvement national dans les pays arabes à partir de la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale, montée caractérisée par une participation remarquable des petits producteurs urbains, des intellectuels petits-bourgeois, des ouvriers et de certaines explosions paysannes.[21] Les réformes — radicales à beaucoup de points de vue — exécutées par les directions petites-bourgeoises à caractère militaire (Nasser, Baath), qui prirent le pouvoir en conséquence vers le milieu du siècle, portèrent des coups sérieux à l'influence de masse de la bourgeoisie nationale; cependant, n'ayant pas résolu en général les problèmes de fond soulevés par les nécessités d'une nouvelle voie de développement socio-économique, ils ont souvent fini par ouvrir le chemin au même cercle vicieux de semi-asiatisme. A nouveau aujourd'hui nous trouvons — en Egypte par exemple — une structure sociale ne différant pas *dans son essence* de celle qui existait il y a trente ans, la grosse majorité de la population étant toujours rattachée à la petite production, surtout dans l'agriculture.

L'ébranlement du système et sa crise grandissante ont mis de plus en plus en état d'alerte cette masse qui s'exprime aujourd'hui — mieux, qui n'a pas cessé de s'exprimer — en termes islamiques de façon ou d'autre. Il s'agit surtout des millions de petits paysans pauvres, de semi-prolétaires et ouvriers agricoles, d'artisans et fonctionnaires des cadres infésieurs, de manœuvres et journaliers dans l'industrie, d'intellectuels petits-bourgeois, etc., dont le mouvement influe sur l'action de tous les partis et courants politiques ou idéologiques presque sans exception. Il s'agit aussi d'une très large majorité d'ouvriers industriels de souche paysanne où artisanale, bien que certaines couches des concentrations prolétariennes aient été touchées par la propagande et l'action marxiste. Enfin, il s'agit de grandes masses de sous-prolétaires, chômeurs

[20] Voir: Jamal M. Ahmad, *The intellectual origins of Egyptian nationalism*, London, Oxford University Press 1960.

P. Gran, «*Islamic roots of Capitalism*», University of Texas Press, 1979.

[21] En 1951, les paysans égyptiens attaquent les résidences des grands propriétaires fonciers dans les villages de Bahout et Koufour Nigen.

saisonniers et flottants de la campagne et des villes, semi-affamés permanents, qui donnent le caractère explosif brusque de certaines révoltes (janvier 1952, janvier 1977). Toute cette masse énorme est inorganisée économiquement et politiquement; mais malgré son hétérogénité elle forme presque un tout populaire où les distinctions de classes ne sont pas perçues idéologiquement; au contraire, sa pensée est communautaire, sensible dans la *umma* de l'Islam à la tradition des prémiers temps égalitaires et simples de «justic sociale».

Le renouveau des mouvements islamiques n'est que le reflet politico-idéologique d'une lutte aux formes et aux expressions particulières d'une sorte de petite-bourgeoisie des campagnes surtout, mais également des villes, dont le niveau de vie s'effondre par l'inflation, que révoltent la morale bassement matérialiste et les habitudes consommatrices effrénées des gens haut placés liés aux étrangers et dont la dignité culturelle nationale est blessée profondément par le suivisme dans le sillage des Puissances impérialistes. A celà se mêlent les échos d'une propagande socialiste et marxiste qui dure déjà depuis quatre décennies au moins, interprétée et amendée par diverses tendances de gauche petite-bourgeoise en un appel à la lutte contre le «capitalisme exploiteur» mais aux côtés du «capital patriotique» (Charte Nationale de Nasser de 1961), théorisation qui rend absolue une situation objective de «sous-développement» pouvant n'être qu'une simple étape dans certaines conditions.

Certains chercheurs voient dans ces mouvements une réaction à l'impérialisme;[22] nous pensons que ceci est exact, mais en partie: il s'y joint et s'y confond une longue tradition de lutte des classes travailleuses pendant toute l'Histoire des dizaines de siècles précédents. Cette lutte n'avait jamais abouti dans le passé à une transformation radicale du système social; à partir de la fin de la deuxième guerre mondiale sur tout, non seulement un contexte international différent se présente avec la formation du camp socialiste, mais l'impotence des bourgeoisies nationales libérales pousse les peuples arabes à la recherche de solutions nouvelles. L'existence d'une classe ouvrière, avec sa combativité, ses formes d'organisation, ses objectifs libérateurs, présente des possibilités qui n'existaient pas auparavant.

Certes, dans nombre de mouvements islamistes arabes, il y a une ambivalence de vieille souche, à laquelle s'adapte la position ambigue des masses paysannes et petites-bourgeoises; des éléments de fanatisme et d'étroitesse d'esprit d'un côté, d'élitisme de l'autre, tournent facilement en anti-communisme forcené ou en acceptation passive du *status quo* grâce à leur habile exploitation par l'impérialisme et ses valets. Cependant, objectivement,[23] le renou-

[22] Voir R. Oulianovski, *Le Socialisme et les pays libérés*, Moscou, Editions du Progrès 1975. Egalement B. Scarcia Amoretti, *op. cit.*

[23] Comparer: V. I. Lenin, *The discussion on self-determination summed up*: *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, p. 356; du même auteur: *Democracy and Narodism in China*, c. w., Vol. 18, pp. 165–167.

veau du mouvement islamiste est dirigé en général contre l'impérialisme et les classes arabes qui lui sont alliées, pousse à la recherche d'une nouvelle voie de développement et de progrès.[24] Si, de tous temps, les luttes de classes ont été le moteur de l'Histoire, les pays arabes n'y ont pas fait exception: on se rappellera que Marx et Engels qualifièrent l'avènement de l'Islam de révolution,[25] et que Lénine salua les organisations musulmanes de l'Est ainsi que l'étroite alliance entre les éléments musulmans et non-musulmans en Inde.[26]

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C'est également à la lumière du passé oriental ou «asiatique» qu'il serait utile d'aborder le second problème, celui du chef arabe appelé «charismatique» par certains auteurs américains et autres. Cet instrument conceptual est aussi utilisé — en partie du moins dans beaucoup de cas — pour expliquer le rôle des coups d'Etat militaires dans l'Histoire contemporaine des pays arabes. A la base de cette idée se trouvent les théories de Max Weber définissant l'autorité charismatique en opposition au rationnel et donc à la bureaucratie, aux considérations économiques, au capitalisme;[27] Weber trouve qu'il s'ensuit à la direction charismatique «une perte d'âme ou encore plus clairement une prolétarisation spirituelle» chez ses partisans.[28] C'est la seule explication que les idéologues de l'impérialisme aient trouvée à l'enthousiasme des foules arabes pour Nasser par exemple; car, pour eux les nationalisations des capitaux étrangers et égyptiens étaient anti-économiques, la lutte nationale irrationnelle et les peuples arabes sans âme. . .

Dans les systèmes orientaux basés sur le MPA, les fonctions économiques nécessaires de l'Etat se transcendaient idéologiquement en une idéalisation de son chef qui lui conférait des pouvoirs sur la nature, en en faisant un dieu aux temps anciens. Plus tard, la croyance monothéiste empêcha que le processus arrive à cette limite, bien que certaines sectes s'en rapprochèrent.[29] Cependant subsiste l'espoir en un juste despote: Marx disait fort bien que les récoltes dans les Empires asiatiques correspondent à un bon ou un mauvais gouverne-

[24] Voir: Hassan Hanafi, *Religious dialogue and Revolution*, Cairo, Anglo—Egyptian Bookshop 1977.

[25] Lettres d'Engels a Marx des 24 mai et 6 juin 1853, in: *On Religion*, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 125.

[26] Voir V. I. Lenin, *Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organisations of the East*, C. W., Vol. 30, p. 151. Egalement: *To the Indian Revolutionary Association*, C. W., Vol. 31, p. 138.

[27] Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, New York, Bedminster Press, 1968, vol. 1, pp. 1185 sqq.

[28] Max Weber, *Le savant et le politique*, Paris, Plon 1959, p. 174.

[29] Au XIIième siècle, 16 000 Egyptiens souscrivent à une déclaration proclamant dieu le Calife fatimide Al-Hākim Bi-'Amr-Allah.

ment comme elles changent en Europe avec les bonnes ou mauvaises saisons.[30] La dispension et l'isolement des communautés paysannes empêchant toute organisation populaire qui soit politiquement efficace, seuls les membres haut placés dans l'appareil d'Etat — surtout les militaires — avaient la possibilité de renverser le pouvoir, de changer le cours du politique et donc la direction de l'économie. Bien que l'évolution capitaliste des pays arabes y ait introduit certaines institutions comparables à celles de l'Europe (Parlement, Partis politiques, syndicats, coopératives etc.), l'ancienne structure économique dissoute n'a pas été, en général, remplacée par un réseau d'organisations groupant les masses de façon organique. Si l'on néglige les nuances, ce sont encore souvent les organismes d'Etat qui sont — en dernière analyse — les seules institutions structurées. D'où l'on retrouve les coups d'Etat, militaires ou non, parallèles à l'espoir en la venue d'un juste au pouvoir; cette binomie n'est évidemment pas sans rapport à la conception fonctionnelle de l'autorité asiatique.

Mais les coups d'Etat dans les pays arabes ne sout pas tous ce qu'ils semblent être au premier abord, une résultante de complots de Palais. Bien que souvent inarticulée parce que prenant des formes passives[31] (travail a basse intensité, inexécution des lois et règlements, anecdotes circulées en sourdine etc.), la lutte sociale prend une forme diffuse créant une sorte d'«opinion publique» dont les juristes musulmans tiennent compte dans leurs consultations (*iǧmāᶜ* ou consensus). A des périodes de crise, cette opinion publique — quelquefois explosive — peut frapper les organes du pouvoir d'une sorte de pasalysie, rendant ainsi possible un coup d'Etat. C'est ainsi que les Janissaires Kuchuk Mohammad et Ifranj Ahmad s'emparent du pouvoir en Egypte (le premier en 1692—1694, le second en 1704—1711) à la suite de famines exploitées par des spéculateurs; que le chef des soldats albanais Mohammad Ali devient vice-Roi (1805—1847) répondant au besoin de mettre un terme à l'exploitation et aux désordres des feudataires; que l'officier Orabi fait une révolte réussie en 1881 contre l'immixion étrangère et le despotisme du Khédive; que le colonel Nasser renverse le Roi en 1952 et réalise la réforme agraire ainsi que l'évacuation des troupes anglaises.

Ces hommes apparaissent de façons particulières aux pays arabes parce que ces pays ont leur spécificité socio-culturelles qui peut être historiquement comprise. Certainement ils avaient des capacités personnelles supérieures à la moyenne; cependant ce ne sont pas leurs qualités «magiques» qui ont créé les évènements de toutes pièces. Dans leur avènement il faut voir le fait qu'ils aient été le plus capables à servir les grands besoins sociaux de leurs époques,

[30] K. Marx, *The British rule in India*, S. W., New York, International Publishers, Vol. II, p. 653.

[31] On raconte que le Prophète aurait dit: «Que celui qui voit le Mal le redresse par l'épée; s'il ne le peut, que ce soit par sa langue; s'il ne le peut, que ce soit par son coleur».

car eux-mêmes et les forces sociales qu'ils ont dirigées étaient le produit de rapports sociaux.[32]

A la lumière de ces éléments, le chef «charismatique» arabe perd beaucoup du caractère mystérieux et trouble que certains commentateurs lui attribuent: on comprend qu'il exprime de certaines façons — et qu'il exploite démagogiquement en même temps — les utopismes paysans et petits-bourgeois particuliers aux pays arabes. Cependant, étant lui-même le produit de forces sociales, le chef et le groupe qui vient au pouvoir avec lui ne sont nullement au-dessus de la mêlée de la lutte de classes, ni les lois économiques et sociales de la situation sont sans influence profonde sur la politique suivie et l'évolution des évènements. Celà signifie que l'élément conscient — l'action marxiste — peut trouver sa place dans la bataille pour le progrès, à condition que la spécificité de la situation arabe soit comprise.

Sans aucun doute, cette situation soulève de nombreux problèmes politiques qui ne tombent cependant pas dans le cadre de cet exposé. Mais il serait nécessaire de mettre en relief ici que ces questions ne peuvent être analysées — et en conséquence maîtrisée — qu'à la lumière d'un marxisme vivant capable d'envisager une évolution qui ne soit pas unilinéaire et rectiligne, et qui ne prenne pas comme modèle absolu l'Europe occidentale. A notre opinion, l'esprit euro-centriste — existant également chez nombre de chercheurs arabes progressistes et marxistes — est la cause du fait que les courants profonds politico-idéologiques des masses populaires paysannes dans beaucoup de pays arabes n'ont pas été un centre d'intérêt. Dans les meilleurs des cas, leur compréhension a été restreinte au rôle — certain par lui-même — des traditions formées au cours de l'Histoire; or, de cette façon, ou peut entendre mettre en relief (même sans le vouloir) que les populations arabes sont réactionnaires, et que leur mise sous tutelle — au nom d'une «modernisation» nécessairement violente — doit être accueillie avec bienveillance. A-t-on besoin de citer les exemples de récentes expériences pour rappéler que les évènements ont mis en défaut ces conclusions, questionnant en conséquence la justesse de leurs prémisses?

Sans vouloir élargir le sujet plus qu'il ne le faut, on doit relever un point: c'est que la grande majorité des courants paysans et petits-bourgeois arabes, bien que souvent progressistes et quelquefois révolutionnaires, ne peuvent être qualifiés de «démocratiques» dans le sens politique européen du mot (parlamentarisme, libéralisme, pluripartisme). L'on constate que, lorsqu'un groupe les représentant vient au pouvoir, il installe — de fait au moins — un parti unique, plus proche d'une institution administrative que d'une organisation politique ayant sa vie propre. Ici, encore une fois, les restes semi-

[32] Voir G. V. Plekhanov, *Essays in Historical Materialism*, New York, International Publishers 1940.

asiatiques semblent apparents, car non seulement le pouvoir progressiste est réalisé grâce à l'appui passif des masses, mais il tend à prolonger cette passivité. La solution à cette sorte de cercle vicieux ne peut être trouvée dans une formule toute faite, mais elle ne réside certainement pas dans une «modernisation» imposée par en haut: il faut la chercher dans les forces populaires influencées par l'action de la classe ouvrière.

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CHRONICA

NOMADIC SOCIETIES AND STATE FORMATIONS

(A joint conference of the Committee for Oriental Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Csoma de Kőrös Society, Budapest, October 25-26—Visegrád, October 27, 1978)

The organizing orientalists had called upon the scientists engaged in Oriental studies to join forces in summarizing topical issues and recent research findings on nomadism with the primary aim of bringing about co-operation and complex historical research that can rely on a firm theoretical basis. The participants did their best to fulfil this urgent task in a two-day series of public lectures followed by an exclusive one-day debate to discuss the problems without disciplinary constraints.

The topics chosen by a large number of readers revealed that research of nomadism in Hungary has roots in «prehistoric» (ethnogenetic) interests, as far as in the time and sphere of antiquity, since the East-European steppe, the vicinity and scene of Hungarian prehistory, was part of the economic and administrative sphere of the Eurasian rider-nomads, i.e. of classical nomadism; the mounted nomadic conquerors made it indispensable that the characteristic traits and adversities of this sphere could only be made accessible to research through surveying its entire history and interrelations. Profound and variegated interests were further motived by the fact that the topic of research was covertly or overtly embedded in a specific way of living. Thus nomadic research had attracted social-historical, and ethnographic, etc., interests well before the era of «modern» specialization and disciplinary separation. New disciplines later emerged to explore the more recently discovered regions and continents of the world; different periods and aspects of the nomadic way of life, and their origins were studied by different sciences: philologists examined those who wrote or were written about; archeologists concentrated their studies on what they had found under the ground; ethnologists were mainly involved with what they experienced on-the-spot; and linguists concentrated on the language alone, etc., all expertly laying bricks for a new Tower of Babel.

In an effort to better understand each other and lay the foundations of a common language, readers, speakers and the members of the debates presented their contributions on two comprehensive subjects. The problems of nomadic economy and society, the theme of the first day of the public session, was discussed in twenty-minute readings with debates following every two or three papers. The second day the readings centred around the issues and historical examples of nomadic state formations, the highest organizational units of the nomadic way of life. The comprehensive study of Ildikó Ecsedy «Problems of Nomadic Economy and Society in History and Research» was delivered to the participants with the invitation to enter into a debate (see in this same volume, pp. 201—227).

In his opening lecture Ferenc Tőkei, the chairman of the conference, referred to a possible and instructive etymology of the word *nomad*, which facilitated the meaning 'distributor' (i.e. reminding that they distributed and re-distributed pastures) to appear in European (Greek) recorded history, by the way, in total harmony with the descriptions of Chinese sources. He touched upon the role the nomads could have played in the history of ownership relations, to be shed on more light by further research.

Ildikó Ecsedy expounded a part of her introductory paper, entitled «The World of the Eurasian Rider-Nomads as the 'Historical Environment' of Agricultural Communities».

To avoid the limiting, though intentional onesidedness of the introductory paper centered on rider-nomads, András Róna-Tas put forward another comprehensive survey analyzing the historical problems of nomadism from a generalizing point of view in his paper entitled «To the Genesis of Nomadism», putting forward some these to the conference with possible answers.

Drawing on various sources, several speakers referred to the power of nomadic economy and society to establish communities anticipating national-ethnic units. This topic was introduced by the paper of Antal Bartha entitled «The Role of Ethnic Units in Nomadic Societies (The development of the Turk and Hungarian peoples respectively)», concentrating on the ethnic mobility of the Turkic empires and the ethnic factors of Hungarian prehistory.

Contributing to this subject, Károly Czeglédy enlarged upon a specific group of tribal names in the times of Central Asian tribal community changes, political integration and disintegration before the turn of the first millennium A. D. He concluded that they signify the «Emergence of the Mongolian Ethnic in the Turkic Age.»

Finally, in his paper «Name and Ethnic with the 13th Century Mongolians» Lajos Bese examined the composition of the Mongolian empire on the basis of name lists in the Secret History of Mongols. He pointed out that the predominance of Turkic names suggests a sizeable Turkic component.

During the afternoon of the first day, readers analyzed the various types and features of societies formed outside the Eurasian steppe region.

Two papers exposed the written and archeological sources related to agrarian-nomadic or sedentary-nomadic co-existence in Mesopotamia, where there was little opportunity for a large, steppe-like stock-breeding. Relying on an abundance of sources, Géza Komoróczy described the restless participants of this co-existence in his paper «Towns through the Eye of the Nomads, Nomads through the Eye of the Townspeople in ancient Mesopotamia». Ha also stressed the divergence of this nomadism from the nomadism of Central Asia. Péter Vargyas elaborated the early emergence of nomads in Mesopotamia with the historical circumstances of their peaceful settlement and the repeated waves of conquests («Nomads on the Outskirts of Mesopotamia in the 2nd millennium B. C.»).

The paper of Róbert Simon «The Role of the Nomads in the Historical Philosophy of Ibn Khaldun» summed up the further development of nomadism in the Middle East with their military and organizing role in the birth and conquests of Islam (Cf. above, pp. 229—242.)

The last three papers of the day explored the limited historical role of nomadism in the traditional societies of the ancient world, untouched by the main stream of historical development.

In his paper «Nomadism in the South American pre-Columbian cultures» Lajos Boglár enumerated the features, primarily the negative ones, of animal husbandry in the «New World»: because of the lack of horses and other saddle animals, as well as pack animals to carry large cargo over long distances, nomadism in South America could not significantly develop even in martial affairs until the appearance of European horsemen. (In Peru the Spanish are considered the first aggressive livestock-breeders.)

Depending on whether the African nomads came into touch with the spheres of Eurasian nomadism, their conquests and model (as in the north and north-east) or the way in which they made a meagre living in the arid regions, African nomadism presents a wide variety of types, including the martial, state-forming kind. In his paper «Types and Historical Role of African Nomadism» Csaba Ecsedy expressed the hope that the conceptual-terminological clues elaborated in ethnology (anthropology) will gain ground in kindred sciences as the basis of a future common language. (Cf. above, pp. 365—372).

In his paper «Ownership of means of production in African pastoral societies» Mihály Sárkány highlighted the social circumstances of stockbreeding communities on the continent with reference to the ban on appropriating commonly used wells, and pastures, etc., and to the conditions of communal ownership.

The second day commenced with István Vásáry reading his paper «People and Country with the Turks» exposing the basic problems of nomadic state formations. Analyzing the structure and organization of the Turk empires on the basis of native language inscription and other sources, he revealed the ethnical-territorial-political frameworks that stood a chance of surviving in the realms of rider-nomadic clans and tribes in the Eurasian steppe.

«The Ethnic Consciousness of the Nomads» was the title of Jenő Szűcs's paper dealing with the waves of conquests reaching West Europe, outlining the development of the sense of coherence, and the mentality of the conqueror in founding barbarian communities — the bases of future nations — on the ruins of the Roman Empire. He also referred to analogous examples in the Turkic empires.

Gábor Vékony's paper «The Role of the Marches in Ethnic and Political Changes» focussed on a specific factor contributing to the formation of ethnic units. Reviewing a score of ancient and early mediaeval examples, he tried to clear up the common misunderstanding that marches were part of nomadic strategy: on the contrary, they were a means of defense for sedentary people to ward off marauding nomads, he concluded. Its impact on the formation of ethnic units prevailed when conquerors and frequently nomadic settlers arrived in this relatively closed «no man's land».

In his paper «The Statehood of the Mongolian Empire» György Kara examined the realm of Chinghis, rider-nomad empire best approximating a state formation. Upon analyzing the Secret History of Mongols, he suggested that their administrative organization and system of military offices indicated a system of statelike institutions exceeding the developmental stage of clans and tribes.

Based on Chinese sources, Mária Ferenczy's contribution «Nomadic Traits in the Tangut State» scrutinized the Tangut state — a prey of the Mongolian conquests —, the nomadic components of Hsi-hsia country created amidst the influences and offensives of China and the steppe, and its administrative world evincing nomadic subjects.

Mária Ivanics's paper «Landownership Relations in the Crimean Khanate» threw light on the conditions of ownership in the land of cultivators dominated by nomadic conquerors and of settling nomadic conquerors, the theatre of repeated encounters and clashes between European feudalism and Asian mounted nomads.

Finally, Előd Vass surveyed the livestock-breeders in the European parts of the Turkish Empire, the longest prevailing rider-nomadic power in Europe from the viewpoints of history and economic history, with references to its ancient origins. His paper was entitled «Balkanian Nomadism in the European Provinces of the Ottoman Empire».

The afternoon session opened with the archeological considerations of István Fodor's paper «The Evolution of Nomadism and Hungarian Prehistory», which dealt with the connections between the development of nomadic cultures and the ethnic processes of the steppe region.

János Matolcsi summed up «The East European Features of Mediaeval Nomadic livestock-breeding» with special emphasis on the fact that the land conquerors of Hungary started from this area. He contended that the natural conditions of East Europe did not require the migration of people in constant search of new pastures well-known in Central Asia, so the livestock-breeders of East Europe could live in various transitory economies leading to permanent settlement in a single large area. «If the mediaeval nomads of

Central Asia had used our present-day concepts they would have termed the real nomads of East Europe semi-nomads compared with themselves.»

Approaching the era of the Hungarian home-conquest, two papers dealt with the Avar age. «Some Problems of the Avar Society», the contribution of István Erdélyi, tackled the problems of the social stratification of the Avar Empire. Relying on the message of Avar dignitary names in extant documents, he also searched for traces of the layers of Avar society in cemeteries. Even the initial research confirms his suggestion that the differences between wealth statuses detectable in cemeteries considerably increased in the second half of the Avar age, signifying a social tendency.

The best strategem to ward off the incursions of the Avar Empire and the contemporary Turkic realms of the steppe was to adopt their military technique. Samu Szádeczky-Kardoss analyzed the passages on «Scythians» (or «Huns»), i.e. Turks or Avars of a Byzantine work on strategy attributed to Maurikios, in his paper «Avar—Turkic Influences on the Byzantine Art of War around 600», comparing it with a comprehensive description by Käthe U.—Kőhalmi done on the basis of other written and art sources: *A steppék nomádja lóháton, fegyverben* [The Nomads of the Steppe on Horseback, in Arms], Budapest 1972.

The three final papers shed light on the nomadic heritage of the post-conquest period. László Földes examined a special aspect of stockbreeding: the role of naturally fertilized lands liable to cultivation around winter residences *(telek)* in the development of sedentary agriculture: «The 'Telek' (plot of land) and Migrating Villages with the Home-Conquering Magyars».

Based on ample archeological and written sources, Csanád Bálint's paper «Some Questions of the Era of Hungarian Raids» suggestively outlined the system of trade relations between pre-millennium Europe and the Eurasian steppe region, in which a significant role was assigned to armed forces facilitating an economic mobility of historical importance even through predatory campaigns. He fitted the Hungarian raids into the framework of this martial trade, which — unintentionally — served as meditor between the East and West, e.g. in the trade of precious metals. He exposed a recent Polish archeological find at a station of the eastward trade route, which early Hungarians might also have passed.

In his paper «Semi-Nomadic antecedents of the Hungarian State Organization» György Györffy looked into the circumstances of the birth of the Hungarian state, listing the *transitory—semi-nomadic* — as he put it — forms leading to agriculture, settlement and social stratification that, in his view, partly characterized the conquerors in pre-conquest times, too. He maintained that the origins of the institutions, hierarchical relations and property statuses of the Hungarian kingdom should be derived from an earlier rudimentary stage, namely from the system of personal bonds of the semi-nomadic states in East Europe.

The public session ended with the closing words of Károly Czeglédy.

During the working session of the next day in Visegrád, readers and guests resumed the discussions over unsettled questions and summed up matters of principle. Ferenc Tőkei opened the meeting, expounding in detail a question only touched upon in his opening paper: the problem of ownership relations — of landownership in archaic circumstances, a decisive question also in the history of nomadism, which must be given emphasis in up-to-date Marxist historical research. The speakers in the morning reviewed the relevant tasks and possibilities in their own fields of research and resources; in the afternoon they discussed the organizational framework of nomadism, the terminological and historical problems of clans, tribes, tribal communities, the cohesive force of kinship and territory, and units of social organization. *Ildikó Ecsedy*

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CRITICA

Some Archaeological Addenda to P. Golden's Khazar Studies*

For almost a century, the investigation of Khazaria and other steppe countries and peoples of the early Middle Ages was the privilege of linguists and historians; archaeology, at its stage of development in those times, contributed not more than some material illustrations to these activities. In the last decades, however, the situation has radically changed. The finds discovered through excavations, and their evaluation now represent indispensible sources concerning knowledge of the past. In addition, the number of data gained in this manner will quite naturally increase incomparably faster than that of written sources to be discovered in future. Being an archaeologist, I hope I am not accused of professional bias for such a statement; however, it is my conviction that a profound knowledge of Khazaria can be obtained by compiling and analyzing not only the relevant records but also some material relics emerging from the territory of Khazaria and dating from the existence of the Khaganate. Of course, at the present stage of the development of the sciences it cannot be expected that every single scholar will at the same time analyze the data provided by linguistic sources and excavations, but P. B. Golden used the sub-title of his book precisely in the full knowledge of these limitations. Therefore, while the publication of this considerable and useful work is to be warmly welcomed, attention should be drawn to the – by now considerable – archaeological research primarily carried out by Soviet archaeologists and – while investigating their specific problems – partly by their Hungarian colleagues, as well. However, it is my intention to give only information on the present state of Khazaria's archaeological investigation, being confined by the extent and the nature of the present paper, I cannot enlarge upon the more divergent archaeological research work on steppe peoples occuring in Europe prior to the Khazars, although P. Golden devoted a special chapter to a short review of their history. This restriction is especially regrettable in the case of the Avars who ruled in the Carpathian Basin for two and a half centuries and whose material culture is rather well known from ten thousands burial-places that were discovered so far.[1]

The present situation of archaeological research on Khazaria can be summarized in the following manner.

* P. B. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An historic-philological inquiry into the origins of the Khazars.* Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica XXV/2, Budapest 1980, (Akadémiai Kiadó) Vol. 1: 291 p, Vol. 2: 252 p.

[1] The latest scientific summary of results and opinions: I. Bóna, *Ein Vierteljahrhundert der Völkerwanderungszeitforschung in Ungarn (1945–1969): AAH* XXIII (1971), pp. 283–329; no similar summary has been written since then.

Due to the geographical circumstances, the overwhelming part of this work has been carried out by Soviet archaeologists. The research work essentially includes the excavations of the former towns of the Khaganate and the culture of the Saltovo-Mayaki (from hereon referred to as the CSM) as well as their analyses. Explorations and the studies on Khazaria were intensified in the Soviet Union after the finds made prior to the construction of the Cimljansk reservoir, i.e. after the partial exploration of Šarkel (1949—1951); for a long time the operations were led by M. I. Artamonov, a historian with a wide horizon, who also worked with archaeological ambitions. He was followed by his worthy disciple, S. A. Pletneva, a devoted collector of data and the most competent authoress of fundamental summaries on the material culture of the Khaganate's peoples.[2] Today several renowned scientists in the Soviet Union deal with questions that concern Khazaria, such as M. G. Magomedov of Daghestan who investigates the early Middle Ages of his country with archaeological methods and a solid knowledge of sources; the authors of the two most important and useful books on the history and archaeology of the Northern Caucasus in the 5th—10th centuries (Ya. A. Fedorov—G. S. Fedorov and especially A. V. Gadlo) should also be mentioned. A new epoch will certainly begin in the research of Khazaria's material culture but most probably in its history too, when the detailed publications of the numerous excavations in Daghestan furnishing very rich material will be published. A lot of fortified and unfortified settlements from the 6th—9th centuries has been discovered and partly excavated, since the 1960s along the rivers Terek and Sulak. This finds represent the Daghestan variant of the CSM.[3]

From among the *towns of Khazaria* the city of *Šarkel* built by the support of Byzance in the 830s can be identified with certainty. It lied on the left bank of the river Don, the fort identical with Šarkel, the town and greater part of the 9—10th century nomadic cemetery were excavated though excavations were held on the so-called right-bank settlement facing it.[4] The cemetery of Šarkel from the Khazar period (9th century) and a certain part of the nomadic kurgan cemetery remained unexplored. The territory nowadays is covered by the Cimljansk reservoir. The fort on the right bank seems to be older, here the remains of a castle built of white limestone blocks and traces of a Saltovo-Mayaki type settlement have come to light. On the basis of the human skeletons found in the houses it is supposed that the life here in the settlement was ended by an enemy attack. Dirhems were found at the feet of a female skeleton, the youngest one them was strucked in 809—813 so the devastation of the settlement can be dated to the first third or first quarter of 9th century. The leftbank, proper Šarkel was probably built after it. The fort of Šarkel is quadrangular (193,5×133,5 m), its walls were built by squared stones and bricks placed down to the ground without any foundation, which is a local and not a Byzantine architectural characteristic. The walls are thick (3,75 m), divisioned by ejecting quadrangular bastions. The main entrance was at the northwestern bastion, the other gates led to the river. The inner part of the fort consisted of two parts, the population of nomadic origin probably

[2] The history of investigations on the CSM see: I. I. Ljapuškin, *Pamjatniki saltovo-majackoj kul'tury v bassejne r. Dona: MIA* LXII (1958), pp. 85—90; S. A. Pletneva, *Ot kočevij k gorodam: MIA* CXLII (1967), pp. 3—5, 9.

[3] M. G. Magomedov, *Hazarskie poselenija v Dagestane.* SA 1975. 2. p. 201. Fig. 1.

[4] Circumstances of the excavations in Šarkel: *Trudy Volgo-Donskoj Arheologičeskoj Ėkspedicii I—III: MIA* LXII (1958); LXXV (1959); CIX (1963); their summary: M. I. Artamonov, *Istorija hazar*, Leningrad 1962, pp. 288—323.

lived in its citadel, while in the remaining part settlement traces of Saltovo-Mayaki type and parts inhabited after the Russian conquest could be recognized. The number of houses belonging to the same period according to the excavations can be esteemed to about hundred, on the basis of what the number of town population in its strictest sense, could be about 400 people (and that of the military garnison). In one of the houses dug into the earth a smaller hoard — with traces of burning — came to light, consisting of a silver belt set, bronze costume jewellery and Arabic coins strung among beads; since the youngest Dirhem was minted between 943—954, its hoarding can be connected to the period of the 965 military expedition of Svjatoslav. The man, whose skeleton was found in one of the ditches probably also died about the time of the Russian expedition, beside him a piece of paper produced in Samarkand before 810 was found. The finds of the cemetery of the 10—11th centuries unambigously show that the Russian conquest did not put an end to the life of the settlement, certain types show the heritage of the CSM, others remind us to the grave-goods of the 10—11 th century Hungarian commons. About threequarters of the 9—10th century nomadic cemetery was excavated outside the walls of the fort. The 44 graves buried under small-sized kurgans — according to the author of the present paper — can be divided into two groups. The first group is characterized by items specified as Pecheneg type by the Soviet research and Europid-Pamirid anthropologic elements. In the other group certain types — together with Mongolid-Turanid anthropologic elements — occur which are also present among Hungarians at the time of the Conquest.

If the definition is relevant the other well-known city of Khazaria is *Balangar*. The find-spot of *Verhnij Čir-jurt* lying on the bank of the river Sulak in Daghestan is identified according to the excavater on the basis of its geographical situation, the duration of the cemeteries and churches excavated here and a well marked steppe origin of a certain part of the finds. An immense earthwork, also fortified by walls, 2 churches, a pottery burning center and 5 cemetery-parts are known from here.[5] The part of the earthwork fitting to the measurement is about 1 × 1,2 km remains of more living and agricultural edifices could be observed. Churches dated to the 6—8th centuries were not far away from each other (about 700 m), had rectangular shapes, were middle sized, the clay cross standing by the altar of one of the two was preserved in a state that it could be restored. From among the cemeteries 3 consist of mainly catacomb graves, some of pit burials and a few of cave graves the elaborators, in spite of the differences of the grave types, consider both the finds and the one-time owners of homogeneous origin and suppose only social differences between them. The other 2 cemeteries, having belonged to steppe population, consist of kurgan groups, their types highly differing from the previous ones. From among the almost hundred excavated graves of the first catacomb cemetery we, first of all, are interested in the occurence of the Martinovka type belt mountings, an earpendant of early Avar type and a characteristic triangular shaped girdle ornament of the CSM. Here a round rosette richly decorated by coloured glass inlaid work of Byzantine origin or inspiration has also to be mentioned. The existence of a 6—7th century type Egyptian silver cloth and the local copies of Heracleios's solidi partly give aid to the dating of this cemetery. It was dated to the 5—7th centuries and, on

[5] N. D. Putinceva, *Verhnečirjurtovskij mogil'nik: MAD* II. (1961), pp. 248—264; M. G. Magomedov, *Verhnečirjurtovskij kurgannyj mogil'nik: MAD* VII (1977), pp. 5—35; idem, *K voprosu o proishoždenii verhnečirjurtovskogo kurgannogo mogil'nika.* ibid. pp. 36—53; idem, *Rannesrednevekovye cerkvi Verhnego Čirjurta: SA* 1979, 3, pp. 186—202; idem, *Kostjanye nakladki sedla iz verhnečirjurtovskogo mogil'nika: SA* 1975, 1, pp. 285—281.

the other hand, to the 7—8th centuries; according to the types of certain ear-pendants and brooches the earlier dating seems to be more probable. We know less about the other two catacomb cemeteries the finds are far more poorish. The novelty of them is that here the skeletons were situated in catacombs under the kurgans. Lots of graves were despoiled which is not astonishing knowing the remains of their richness. Some of the kurgans are extremely big (with 30—50 m diameters). All the finds belong to the sphere of jewels, weapons and harnesses of the Steppe. Up till now bone joggles for fixing stirrups, very characteristic of the Central Asian Turks (T'u-chüeh) were not known from the East-European Steppe, a very unique find is an unbroken saddle panel and bone sheets with hunting scenes ornamenting the saddle (the weapons and hairdressing of the horseman draw a special attention!). The frequent occurance of chain armour and golden jewels is striking. It is an archaeological peculiarity that in some of the catacombs remains of coffins woven of reeds could be observed. In 5 graves of the nomadic kurgan cemeteries 7th century Byzantine coins or their local copies were found, these cemeteries can be dated to the 7th, or to the beginning of 8th century.

Up till now *Itil* has not been found, according to a highly discussed theory, it has been destroyed by the river, at the mouth of the always retreating Volga.[6] Because of the lack of a profound archaeological research the identification of *Semender* with the Mahačkala earthwork seems to be but a noteworthy hypothesis.[7]

Research work was also carried out concering the fort of Derbent.[8] An observation, according to which the life of the settlements in Daghestan's coastal areas ceased at the turn of 8th and 9th centuries, seems to be rather important in respect of the whole Khazar history.[9]

Through the well investigated *culture of Saltovo — Mayaki* a good deal is known about the material culture of the peoples living in the Khaganate (his culture of every day life being mainly represented by the CSM.) The CSM derives its name from the catacomb cemetery found near Verhne Saltovo, which was first excavated in the present century and to the earthwork (Russian: gorodišče) near Mayaky. Both sites are in the region of Kharkov. The settlements, cemeteries and earthworks of the CSM are known today from more than 300 sites (most of them resulting from the field-work of Pletneva).

Until recent times, *the beginnings of the CSM* were generally dated from the middle of the 8th century, by accepting a chronological conception based on a single cemetery — without coins in the graves (Dmitrovka)! — and on a historical hypothesis[10] (the assumed flight of the Alan tribes from the Northern Caucasus to the Don region after the Arab raid in 737).[11]

[6] L. N. Gumilev, *Otkrytie Hazarii*. Moskva 1967, p. 92; idem, *New Data of the History of Khazaria: AAH* XIX (1967a), pp. 79—80, 98—101.

[7] V. G. Kotovič, *O mestopoloženii rannesrednevekovyh gorodov Varačana, Belendžera i Targu: MAD* V (1974), pp. 194—197; idem, *Arheologičeskie dannye o mestonahoždenii Semendera*, in: *Drevnosti Dagestana*. Mahačkala 1974, pp. 232—255; M. G. Magomedov, *Hazarskie poselenija v Dagestane:* SA 1975a 2, pp. 200—216; Ja. A. Fedorov—G. S. Fedorov, *Rannye tjurki na Severnom Kavkaze*. Moskva 1978, pp. 118—125, 158—162; A. V. Gadlo, *Étničeskaja istorija Severnogo Kavkaza IV—X vv.* Leningrad 1979, pp. 152—153, notes 220, 202.

[8] Gumilev, *New Data...*, pp. 67—70.

[9] M. G. Magomedov, *Pogrebal'nye sooruženija hazar*. Materialy po Arheologii i Drevnej Istorii Severnoj Osetii III (1975), p. 64.

[10] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij...*, pp. 135—143.

[11] The finds referred to here as well as their evaluations are practically all unpublished; I became acquainted with some of them in 1978 during a study tour of the Soviet Union. Allusion to the chronological discussion: S. A. Pletneva, *Konferencija po arheologii «prabolgar»: SA* 1977, 2, p. 284. — On the beginning of the CSM at

Recently some Soviet scientists endeavour to defer this date to the end of the 7th century,[12] – this problem cannot be regar-

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the end of the 7 th century, without further motivation: Gadlo, *op. cit.*, p. 204 (in the Kuban region); O. V. Suhobokov–S. P. Jurenko, *Étnokul'turnye processy na territorii Levoberežnoj Ukrainy v I tys. n. ė.*, in: *Problemy étnogeneza slavjan* (red. V. D. Baran) Kiev 1978, p. 139. Fig 3 : 8 (on the territory of the Ukraine); V. S. Flerov, *Rasprostranenie stolovoj loščenoj keramiki na territorii saltovo-majackoj kul'tury* (his opinion is quoted by Z. Vážarova, *Zur Frage der Ethnogenese und der materiellen Kultur des bulgarischen Volkes: IAI* XXXV, 1979, p. 27, note 4); explorations in the Kama region, independent from the above, date the appearance of objects of the Saltovo-Mayaki type from the second half of the 7th century, R. D. Goldina, *Hronologija pogrebal'nyh kompleksov rannego srednevekov'ja v Verhnem Prikam'e: KSIA* CLVIII (1979), pp. 84–85; V. F. Gening, *Hronologija pojasnoj garnitury I tys. n. ė.*, ibidem, pp. 100–101. – However, this earlier datation does not contradict to the fact, that a great number of amphorae – considered as characteristic of CSM – were discovered on nomad temporary settlements (kočev'e). Such sttlements are generally accepted as precursors as well as parts of CSM, and also according to Pletneva, they may be dated to the 7th and early 8th century.

[12] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij. . .*, p. 89. Fig. 23 : 3. – However, according to V. A. Kuznecov, an eminent expert of Caucasian archeology and quoted by this author, the present data do not support this conception *(rec.: Pletneva, Ot kočevij. . .: SA* 1969, 2, pp. 296–300). Fedorov–Fedorov, *op. cit.*, p. 71 point out that the troupes of Maslama did not appear at all in the steppes of Cis-Caucasia, and that the Caucasian Alans, who possibly really did flee after (or from) the campaign of the Mervan, were not forced to wander several hundreds of kilometres, since they could have found refuge from the Arabs in the storm-proof mountains near-by. Furthermore, there is now some doubt about the overall validity of a basic thesis (catacomb-type burial = Alan), regarded as a main proof for the exodus from the Caucasus and for the beginning of the CSM towards the middle of the 8th century and generally used for the ethnical definition of East European finds of the Early Middle Ages (M. G Magomedov, *K voprosu o proishoždenii kul'tury verhnečirjurtovskogo kurgannogo mogil'nika: MAD* VII, 1977, pp. 51–53; M. P. Abramova, *K voporosu ob alanskoj kul'ture Severnogo Kavkaza: SA* 1978, 1, pp. 72–82. Abramova's observations are disputed by L. G. Nečaeva, *O pereselenii kočevnikov iz Azii v Jugovostočnuju Evrope.* X Krupnovskie čtenija po arheologii Severnogo Kavkaza, Moskva 1980, pp. 34–37. – At the same time one should acnowledge that Pletneva has a very good reason to emphasize: the catacombs were unknown in the Pontic steppe during the 5th–7th centuries. (N.B.: although this period is in general not many well known on the steppe.) In addition some types in the decorative pottery of CSM copy the classical form of bronze age cultures. This could be hardly possible without a mediating culture of great traditions.) Now, if the role of the Alans and their numerical proportion within the CSM were exaggerated so far, there seems to be no need for any compromise for the historic interpretation of runic writings belonging to a Turk language and discovered along the Don on the territory of a CSM-variant taken for Alan (i. e., that the Alans are supposed to have embraced a Turk language by that time, cf. M. I. Artamonov, *Nadpisi na baklažkah novočerkasskogo muzeja i na kamnjah majackogo gorodišča: SA* XIX, 1954, pp. 263–268; A. M. Ščerbak, *Neskol'ko slov o priemah čtenija runičeskoj nadpisej, najdennyh na Donu,* ibidem, pp. 269–282; I. Fodor, *Altungarn, Bulgarotürken und Ostslawen in Südrussland.* Szeged, 1977, p. 31). For it is a matter of common knowledge, that similar runic writing was also found at the foot of the Northern Caucasus (V. A. Kuznecov, *Nadpisi Humarinskogo gorodišča: SA* 1963, 1, pp. 298–305; S. G. Kljaštornyj–I. Vásáry, *Runičeskaja nadpis'na čerepa byka iz Povolž'ja.* In press, cited with the kind permission of the authors). It should be emphasized that all this cannot lead to the exclusion of the Alans and other Iranian peoples from the CSM. In fact it has been known that since the beginning of the migration period there were (northern) Alan tribes living in the steppe. Furthermore, after a recent analysis of a chapter of Suj-su (K. Czeglédy, *Ogurok és türkök Kazáriában.* Red.: A. Bartha–K. Czeglédy–A. Róna-Tas: *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok.* Budapest 1977, pp. 59–63) the co-existence of Onoghurs and Alans in Khazaria in the first half of the 7th century can now be regarded as a fact. The Alan origination of the Burtas, their localization to the south of the quarters of

ded as resolved. However, if material confirmation can be found in favour of the latter, then the author of this paper suggests the possibility of yet another historic-political motive for the formation of the CSM, in addition to Pletneva's abovementioned conception. I refer to the disintegration of the Onoghur tribes about 650—670 and their dispersion from Magna Bolgaria. Moreover, the latter date would also precisely agree with the results of Hungarian and Bulgarian archaeology. After the work accomplished for many decades by generations of Hungarian archaeologists in connection with Avarian remains, it can now quite definitely stated that a new and large people imigrated from the east to the Carpathian Basin at around 670—680.[13] The material relics of these people generally called the Late Avars, are in several respects related to the CSM,[14] in fact to such an extent that one is inclined to suggest that in its overwhelming majority this large body of people migrated from Khazaria and presumably a smaller number from Central Asiatic areas.[15] In addition to the universally known historic inherences, this new interpretation offered by East European steppe archaeology concerning the 7th century seems to conform to the results of Bulgarian archaeology, that recently presents encouraging progress in this respect. With a steadily growing amount of material evidence, the latter confirm the close contacts existing both in finds and rites between the CSM and the Danubian Bulgarians.[16] — Thus the question

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the Mordvins (J. Harmatta, *Irániak és finn-ugorok, irániak és magyarok*, ibidem, p. 181) makes it obvious that this people of Iranian origin must have also belonged to the CSM. In agreement with the intention of the cited authors, this specification of problems draws attention merely to the necessity and/or possibility of trying to find Alan remains in Khazaria from other points of view as well.

[13] The results of Hungarian research concerning the migration of about 670/680 are not accepted by some East European archeologists for reasons beyond the limits of this paper; they take into account Bayan's conquest only and thus use the term «Second Khaganate» for the undeniably new period that began in the last third of the 7th century. (According to some opinions even the entire culture of the late Avarians, and their typical nomadic hand-made articles were supposed to be trade goods, and the products of foreign craftsmen.) However, the archeological facts were of such significance that — quite unusually — they required a historic explanation instead of being subsequently adapted to a current source or a popular conception. As a matter of fact, regarding the decade in question in the Carpathian basin there has been a steppe-type material of finds, funeral habits and — as can be deduced from the sources — a newtype social structure, in many respects basically different from their local antecedents. Partly because of this, the formerly rejected report of Theophanes, Nicephoros and the Miracula Sancti Demetrii was re-examined (according to which Kuvrat's fourth son moved with his people to Pannonia) with a positive conclusion concerning the question of truthfulness. (Recent papers on the problem: I. Bóna, *Avar lovassír Iváncsáról: AÉ* XCVII, 1970, pp. 259—261; idem, *A népvándorlás kora Fejér megyében*, in: *Fejér megye története az őskortól a honfoglalásig*, red. J. Makkay. Székesfehérvár 1971, pp. 244—262; S. Szádeczky—Kardoss, *Zum historischen Hintergrund der ersten Inschrift des Reiterreliefs von Madara: Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*. Oxford 1971, pp. 473—477; Gy. László, *Les Onoghours en Europe centrale*. Balcanoslavica I, 1972, pp. 113—119.)

[14] A work summarizing these contacts has not yet been prepared; in rough outlines see Cs. Bálint, *A szaltovo-majaki kultúra avar és magyar kapcsolatairól: AÉ* CII (1975), p. 56.

[15] I would like to deal with this question separately at a later date.

[16] These connections were treated in surveys only, cf. Bálint, *A szaltovo-majaki. . .*, pp. 55—56; Fodor, *Altungarn. . .*, pp. 11—14 (the latter with the complete bibliography of Bulgarian researches); recent publications of important data: D. I. Dimitrov, *Neuere Angaben von den Protobulgaren im Nordöstlichen Bulgarien auf Grund archäologischer Forschungen*, in: *Studia in honorem V. Beševliev*. Sofia 1978, pp. 369—381; V. Dimova, *Frühmittelalterliches bulgarisches Pferdegeschirr und Waf-*

concerning the beginnings of the CSM is also of major significance in the historical respect, but can be elucidated only slowly, because the (Byzantine) coins that would help correct dating occur only very infrequently in the finds concerning the late 7th and the 8th century.[17]

In the past extreme historical hypotheses were put forward concerning the *geographical extension* of Khazaria.[18] However, recent realistic analyses[19] have lead science to the conclusion that the area of the Khaganate, i.e. the country districts under Khazar influence approximately corresponded with the extension of the CSM. Of course, there is still a good deal to be done to elucidate this question. Apart from the Volga Bolgars,[20] it has still not been sufficiently elaborated and is thus unclear what effect and what commercional relationship or even ethnic contact can be deduced from the occurrance of objects of the Saltovo-Mayaki type to the north of the culture's main area, i.e. to Bashkiria and along the river Kama.[21] As far as the northwestern frontiers of Khazaria are concerned, the occurrance of CSM-type finds at the end of the 7th century and at the beginning of the 8th century has been correctly assessed by Ukrainian science to be connected with Khazar expansion.[22] In fact, there are articles in archaeological literature that report on the still more remote occurrance of CSM along the Lower Danube.[23] However, these reports have to be accepted rather critically, not only because such finds are hardly known, but because it is somewhat difficult to imagine a homogeneous archaeological culture covering a territory with a width of 1000 km. With reference to the geographical site, it is more plausible that this is linked with — what is termed in Roumanian literature — the Dridu or Balkan-Danubian culture, which might be partly related to the Danubian Bulgarians.[24] Continuing

fen in einem Grabfund bei Krasen, ibidem, pp. 382—386.

[17] Such coins were found in graves of the Saltovo-Mayaki type on five occasions only: A. I. Semenov, *Vizantijskie monety iz pogrebenii hazarskogo vremeni na Donu: Problemy arheologii* II (1978), pp. 180—183; A. Jeroussalimskaja, *Le cafetan aux simourghes du tombeau de Mochtchevaja balka: Studia Iranica* VII (1978), p. 186. Dealing with the Avarians, several archeologists have drawn important historic conclusions from the fact that the inflow of Byzantine coins into the Carpathian basin ceased after the death of Constans II (668) (cf. conquest of the Danubian Bulgarians). Quite independently from all these problems, A. P. Každan demonstrated that a serious economic (financial) crisis began just at that time in Byzantium. It is the merit of I. Bóna to have recognized thereupon, that the disappearance of the solidi in the Carpathian basin was a consequence of this crisis, and thus the above-mentioned reflections of historical conclusions, i.e. whether the conquest of the Danubian Bulgarians did or did not cut off the Avarians from Byzantium, lost their reason for existence; cf. Bóna, *Avar lovassír*. . . , p. 258.

[18] S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevnehorezmijskoj civilizacii*. Moskva—Leningrad 1948, map 3; B. A. Rybakov, *K voprosu o roli Hazarskogo kaganata v istorii Rusi: SA* XVIII (1953), p. 147, Fig. 5.

[19] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij*. . . , p. 187, fig. 50 : 1—4.

[20] V. F. Gening—A. H. Halikov, *Rannye bolgary na Volge*. Moskva 1964, pp. 130—131; E. P. Kazakov, *Pamjatniki bolgarskogo vremeni v vostočnyh rajonah Tatarii*. Moskva 1978, pp. 11—31; Fodor, *Altungarn*. . . , pp. 18—22.

[21] An excellent recapitulation of the finds: Fodor, *Altungarn*. . . , pp. 19—22, 40.

[22] O. M. Prihodnjuk, *Ob etnokul'turnoj situacii v dneprovskom lesostepnom pograniče'e vtoroj polovine I tyž. n. e.*, in: *Problemy etnogeneza slavjan* (see note 11) p. 112.

[23] A. O. Dobroljubskij—A. G. Zagimajlo, *Opyt svodnogo kartografirovanija arheologičeskih pamjatnikov na materialah Jugo-zapadnyh rajonov Odesskoj oblasti*, in: *Arheologičeskie i arhegeografičeskie issledovanija na territorii Južnoj Ukrainy*. Kiev—Odessa 1976, p. 99 : 6.

[24] M. Comşa, *La civilisation balkano-danubienne (IXe—XIe s.) sur le territoire de la R. P. Roumanie: Dacia VII* (1963), pp. 412—437; Z. N. Vážarova, *Slavjane i prabolgary v svjazi s voprosom sredizemnomorskoj kul'tury*, in: *Les Slaves et le monde méditerranéen aux VIe—XIe s.* Sofia 1973, p. 261, fig. 22.

on the north-western regions of Khazaria, we have to consider the Eastern Slav tribes, a tributary to the Khagan. Their contemporary relics are very well-known. Represented by numerous sites and rich material of finds, the culture of the Romni — identified with the Severians — has been investigated more profoundly than others.[25] It is a historically interesting and an archaeologically instructive fact, that the latter bordered on the CSM and its people lived under Khazar rule, but its archaeological material is hardly related to that of the steppe peoples.[26] Attempts were made to define the Polian material of finds and residental areas of the 10th to 12th centuries.[27] The main ethnical and cultural components of the Kiev region — well-known from the sources — are actually reflected in the archaeological finds; the elucidation of their proportions and their importance, however, belongs to the extremely intricate problems of the beginnings of the Russian state.[28] As far as the steppe elements alone are concerned, it must be admitted that the Hungarian, Khazar and eventually other ethnical elements, cannot be precisely distinguished at the present stage of research. Here is merely an objective example to demonstrate the complexity of the question: a casting mould recently found in Kiev was used to make belt ornaments comparable with those that occurred with regard to the conquering Hungarians, and on the side of which the word „türk" is written in Arabic letters.[29] Among the Slavs in contact with the Khaganate the 8th to 10th centuries relics of the tribe of the Viatich have been the least explored. The few sites where they could be identified were 70 to 100 km away from the northern border of the CSM; the finds revealed to the significant influence of the southern neighbour, but traces of contacts with the Mordvin areas can also be found.[10] To continue the enumeration of peoples that lived in Khazaria or on its borders, the recently attempted archaeological identification of the Burtas has to be mentioned, whose origin is much debated, but not yet definitely clarified;[32] however, their localization in the Volga—Kama region seems to be sufficiently convincing on the basis of the sources. As a matter of fact, the exploration of the material culture of the Northern Caucasian peoples living in the Khaganate has merely begun[32] the description of which would considerably exceed the limits of the present paper. For the same reason it is necessary to refrain from dealing with the manifold and special archaeological questions related to the ancient Hungarians.[33] Concerning the territorial range of the CSM, reference should

[25] O. V. Suhobokov, *Slavjene dneprovskogo Levoberež'ja*. Kiev 1975.

[26] Ethnical conditions of the region, from archeological viewpoint: S. A. Pletneva, *Ob ėtničeskoj neodnorodnosti naselenija Severo-Zapadnogo hazarskogo pogranič'ja*, in: *Novoe v arheologii*. Moskva 1972, pp. 108—118.

[27] I. P. Rusanova, *Kurgany poljan X—XIII vv.* Arheologija SSSR El-24. Moskva 1966.

[28] Latest summary of the Soviet standpoint: A. M. Kirpičnikov—G. S. Lebedev— V. A. Bulkin—I. V. Dubov—V. A. Nazarenko, *Russko-skandinavskie svjazi epohi obrazovanija kievskogo gosudarstva na sovremennom etape arheologičeskogo izučenija: KSIA* CLX (1979), pp. 24—38.

[29] K. N. Gupalo—G. Ju. Ivakin, *O remeslennom proizvodstve na Kievskom Podole: SA* 1980, 2, p. 211. According to the reading of I. G. Dobrovol'skij, the legend: «Jazid», according to B. I. Marsak:«turk» (cf. p. 211, n. 32); the latter interpretation was also orally confirmed by K. Czeglédy.

[30] P. P. Efimenko—P. N. Tret'jakov, *Drevnerusskie poselenija na Donu: MIA* VIII (1948); A. N. Moskalenko, *Gorodišče Tičiha*. Voronež 1965; idem, *Slavjano-vengerskie otnoščenija v IX v. i drevnerusskoe naselenie Srednego i Verhnego Dona*, in: *Problemy arheologii i drevnej istorii ugrov*. Moskva 1972, p. 196.

[31] V. F. Gening, *Južnoe Priural'e v III—VII vv. n. e.*, in: *Problemy arheologii...*, pp. 288—292.

[32] Their summary see: Fedorov—Fedorov and Gadlo, *op. cit.*

[33] Latest recapitulation of the researches: Fodor, *Altungarn...*

be made to those opinions, according to which it included the left bank of the Lower Volga; incidentally graves and ceramics of this type were also found in the Volga delta.[34] Just for the sake of completeness, reference should be make to an article, where the occurrence of some CSM-type jewels in Khazakstan is mentioned,[35] but I think that this interpretation overestimates the importance of the finds involved.

The *CSM* itself can be divided into several *local variants* (they were separated by Pletneva and the subsequent research):[3] the Don region, the shores of the Sea of Azov, Daghestan, the Crimea and the region of the Middle Dnieper, the two former being the most thoroughly and the two latter the least investigated.[37]

Relying upon relevant monographs, the Soviet archaeologists unanimously consider the CSM as of Bulgarian-Turk + Alan population (cf. the groups of the Azov shores and the Don region), in this way ignoring — recently rather just displacing — the other peoples of the Khaganate.[38] It should be noted that in view of recent, persuasive research, the extension of the Azov group would appear to have been larger;[39] when supported by other sources in the future the correlation of this group to Onoghurs is likely to lead to important historical conclusions.

It is obviously unnecessary to emphasize how closely the archaeology of Khazaria is entwined with that of the whole early medieval steppe. (To express it more precisely; with the Turk material of finds — less — and with that of the Avars — more —.) Anyway it can be anticipated that from future finds and research the details of the Turk—Khazar—Early Avar and the Khazar-Late Avar relationship will be more exactly specified. The relics of the Khaganate's early period (6th to 7th centuries) include some cis-Caucasian and trans-Caucasian sites, too,[40] the material of which belongs to the most important Eastern parallels of the Early Avars; these graves may become important sources of

[34] Gumilev, *New Data...*, pp. 130—154, and verbal communication of A. H. Halikov.

[35] O. I. Smirnova, *O dvuh gruppah monet vladetelej Sogda VII—VIII vv: Izvestija Otdelenija Obščestvennyh Nauk AN Tadžikskoj SSR* (XIV (1957), pp. 117—118.

[36] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij...*; idem, *Die Chasaren*. Leipzig 1978.

[37] Regarding the Crimean variant see: A. I. Ajbabin, *Saltovskie pojasnye nabory iz Krima: SA* 1977, 1, pp. 225—239; A. I. Romančuk—L. A. Omel'kova, *Srednevekovye poselenie na levom beregu reki Bel'bek*, in: *Social'noe razvitie Vizantii*. Sverdlovsk 1979, pp. 94—104; V. E. Rudakov, *Elementy saltovo-majackoj kul'tury na posade baklinskogo gorodišča*, *ibidem*, pp. 105—111. In connection with the term «unexplored steppe variant» by Pletneva, sometimes a certain terminological confusion can be observed. It eventually occurs that even the graves of the Mala Pereščepino and Glodosy type — entirely different both in age and ethnical relations (7th century, Early Avars) — are included here. About this variant see: A. T. Smilenko, *Slov'jani ta jih susydi v stepnom Podniprov'ji (II—XIII st)*. Kijiv 1975, pp. 118—157.

[38] L. N. Gumilev—I. Erdeji, *Edinstvo i raznoobrazie stepnoj kul'tury Evrazii v srednie veka: Narody Azii i Afriki* 1969) 3, pp. 78—87; S. A. Pletneva, *Po povodu stat'i L. N. Gumileva i I. Erdeji: SA* 1970, 3, pp. 279—281.

[39] Gadlo, *Etničeskaja istorija...*, p. 214; idem, *Saltovo-majackie (protobolgarskie) pamjatniki vostočnoj časti Stavropol'ja*, in: *Krupnovskie čtenija po arheologii Severnogo Kavkaza*. Moskva 1980, pp. 63—64.

[40] For instance, Čmi, Kamunta, Mokraja balka, Vernaja ešera, and Kislodovsk, etc. A summary thereof, with bibliography and abundant material evidence see: I. Erdélyi: *Az avarság és Kelet*. Budapest (in press). — Due to its special geographic situation the Khazarian ducal grave of Üč-tepe (Aserbeidshan, USSR) permits a historic conclusion to be drawn, the exactness of which passes for rarity in steppe archeology; the grave is probably connected with the Tiflis campaign in 626/28, its material see: A. A. Iessen, *Raskopki bol'šogo kurgana v uročišče Uč-tepe: MIA* CXXV (1965), pp. 173—182. — It is difficult not to put the question: What is concealed in the two other kurgans next to the grave?

knowledge concerning the past of Khazaria through the investigation of the historic circumstances of their occurrence and their ethnic features. There are still some graves in the Middle Dnieper region and the possible historical-ethnical background of an archaeological culture occurring in that area will have to be elucidated from the same viewpoints.[41] The slowly outlined relationships of the above mentioned finds (Caucasus and Dnieper regions, respectively) to the Early Avars are related to a special complex of questions.[42] The former are of major importance concerning the question of the origin of the Early Avars, the latter in the eastern extension of the Avarian Khaganate and its relationship to Kuvrat's Magna Bolgaria as well as — a century later — in the ethnical structure of the Khazar Khaganate. As far as the late period of the Khaganate's history is concerned its complex exploration has to also outgrow the borders of Khazaria. In this respect, it is the responsibility of Hungarian archaeology to continue the investigation concerning the links leading from the CSM to the heritage of the Late Avars and the conquering Hungarians, respectively.[43] This would primarily help to elucidate the still unexplained question of Late Avarian origin and the entire inner chronological order of the Avar period, and at the same time it could furnish important information about the multifarious problems of Hungaro-Khazar contacts and the ethnical structure of the Hungarians who occupied their definite homeland in 894/5 under the leadership of Árpád. As already mentioned, the growing interest of Bulgarian archaeologists permits us to expect several new results from the field of Danubian-Bulgarian—Saltovo-Mayaki contacts in the near future I should also be noted that all these comparative activities should be pursued, because the conclusion thus obtained — reflected to the Orient — can be directly used for the evaluation of Khazarian finds, too. This method would be suitable to enable us to learn about „the unity and manifoldness of nomad world" (terms of I. Erdélyi—L. N. Gumilev).

In addition to written sources, there is also considerable material information that reveals the *everyday life* of Khazarian peoples. It is the most remarkable merit of Pletneva to have demonstrated the coexistance of nomad way of life and agriculture on the territory of the Kaghanate. („From nomad quarters towards the towns".)[44a] This contributes to a more

[41] Grave-goods of the Mala pereščepino and Glodosy type, a component of the culture of Pen'kovka, earring and fibula of the Pastirske type, and belt ornaments of the Martinovka type see: Cs. Bálint, *A magyar őstörténet régészetének keleti kapcsolatai és előzményei (III—IX. század)*, in: *Bevezetés a magyar őstörténet kutatásának forrásaiba*, I : 1, red. P. Hajdu—Gy. Kristó—A. Róna-Tas. Budapest 1976, pp. 97—99, 104—105; above-cited work by I. Erdélyi (in press). Despite their identical territorial and chronological range, and their steppe origin accepted more or less as such, the find-groups enumerated above have not so far been treated together. Such a recapitulation may be justified by the fact that these finds do not apply to just a few, sporadic ducal graves, but to an entire subordinate social pyramid (with people and political formation?) on an area, which no written source has been able to elucidate. Further details thereof see: Cs. Bálint, *Über einige östliche Beziehungen der frühen Periode der Awarenzeit: Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts d. Ung. Akad. d. Wiss.* X (1981), in press. It is quite remarkable and might be helpful for historic orientation that no objects of Byzantine origin occur elsewhere in the East European steppe that would be comparable with these Middle Dnieper finds as far as their frequency and significance are concerned (Cs. Bálint, *Die byzantinischen Beziehungen der frühmittelalterlichen archäologischen Forschung in Ungarn (1970—1980)*. Opuscula Byzantina (Szeged) 1982, in press).

[42] Cf. works of I. Erdélyi, Cs. Bálint cited in Note 41.

[43] Bálint, *A szaltovo-majaki. . .*, Fodor, *Altungarn. . .*, pp. 24—32.

[44] See note 38.

[44a] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij. . .*, pp 144—170; an obvious indication of the settle-

correct interpretation of the historical and economical role of the steppe peoples in the early Middle Ages — a role, that is even now misunderstood and misinterpreted by many — in fact, to an accurate judgement of the concept of nomadism itself. There are several implements of both ways of life — without any clear-cut territorial differentiation! — known in the CSM (sheepshears, hobble, iron and precious metal accessories of harness, sickle, short scythe, hoe, pruning knife and grinding stone, etc).[45] Among the Khazarian agricultural implements special mention should be made of the plough with a symmetric share and a coulter, which belongs to the peak of the entire European agricultural development, both with regard to its construction and its frequent occurrence.[46] Different seeds (wheat, barley, millet, hemp, melon and cucumber)[47] confirm the existence of plant cultivation and horticulture, and since these words should be adapted by the Hungarian language in Khazaria only, it should also be noted that part of the Hungarian terminology on viticulture is of Bulgarian—Turkish origin.[48] The percentage distribution of animal bones found on the CSM sites also indicates a way of life proceeding towards settling (in addition to horses and sheep an outbalanced occurrence of cattle and pigs can also be observed).[49] Fishing also had its material confirmation (hooks and net-ballast).[50] The dug-out, round foundations of the yurts as well as the representation of a tent-like (covered) cart are still extant reminders of the nomadic way of life,[51] but there were also numerous housetypes with a square foundation and purlin roofing, which were fairly frequent in the whole of Central and Eastern Europe during the early Middle Ages.[52]

It would be an important contribution to the European history of *weapons*, if the indications that have emerged so far were rendered probable: somewhere and in a

[49] % Gorodišče on right bank by Šarkel | Karnauhovo | Dmitrovo | Zaplavska

Horses	24	18	24	18.3
Sheep-goats	24	24	27	14.8
Cattle	39	30	29	63.2
Pigs	13	10	20	—
Camels	0.05	2	—	—
Dogs	—	—	—	3.4
Fish	—	2	—	—

(Pletneva, *Ot kočevij*..., p. 147; A. V. Gadlo, *Kočev'e hazarskogo vremeni u stanicy Zaplavskoj na Nižnem Donu: Problemy arheologii* II, 1978, p. 124.)

[50] Ljapuškin, *Pamjatniki*..., p. 120.

[51] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij*..., pp. 52—58; idem, *Hazary*. Moskva 1976, p. 31.

[52] A summary: Pletneva, *Ot kočevij*..., pp. 51—65; most remarkable: a house with ascending mud wall, see K. I. Krasil'nikov, *Žytlo saltivs'koji kul'tury na Doneččyni: Arheologija* XIII (1974), p. 85. So these house types cannot in future be regarded as an exclusively Slavic ethnical particularity; it occurs among the Avars too (about its origins and the weakness of the „Slavic—theory" see: I. Bóna, *Awarische Siedlungen aus dem 7. Jahrhundert und ein ungarisches Dorf aus der Árpádenzeit [11—13 Jh.] in Dunaújváros* [auf ungarisch, mit deutscher Zusammenfassung] Budapest 1973, pp. 143—144); an excellent summary thereof for Central and East Europe see: P. Donat, *Haus, Hof und Dorf im Mitteleuropa vom 7—12. Jhdt.* Berlin 1980.

ment process: the bottom of the yurts is partly sunk in the ground, see Fodor, *Altungarn*..., pp. 17—18.

[45] Ljapuškin, *Pamjatniki*..., pp. 117—125; Pletneva, *Ot kočevij*..., pp. 144—161.

[46] I. Balassa, *Az eke és szántás története Magyarországon*. Budapest 1973, pp. 253—270; I. Fodor, *Hozzászólás:* Ethnographia (Budapest) LXXXV (1974), p. 601.

[47] Ljapuškin, *Pamjatniki*..., p. 126.

[48] About the viticultural knowledge of the ancient Hungarians, based on historic and botanic data: M. Füzes, *Régészeti- növénytani megjegyzések Moór Elemér: A bor és szőlő c. cikkéhez: Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* X (1971), pp. 155—156; M. Égető, *Középkori szőlőművelésünk kérdéséhez*. Ethnographia XCI (1980) pp. 56—57.

certain way the Khazar Kaghanate surely contributed to the „discovery" of the sabre, this typical equestrian nomad weapon.[53]

Because of the prejudice concerning „the" nomads that is partly still extant in Central and Eastern European archaeology, it is necessary to highlight the highly developed pottery among the *crafts*[54, 55].

[53] Cs. Bálint, *Vestiges archéologiques de l'époque tardive des Sassanides et leurs relations avec les peuples des steppes: AAH* XXX (1978), pp. 185–186, 211; L. Kovács, *Honfoglaláskori fegyverek*. Budapest–Moscow 1980 (manuscript of a dissertation, used with the kind permission of the author).

[54] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij*. . . , pp. 103–134; idem, *Sosudy s zoomorfnymi čertami v saltovo-majackih drevnostjah*, in: Kavkaz i Rus'. Moskva 1973, pp. 205–212; K. I. Krasil'nikov, *Novye dannye o gončarnom proizvodstve v saltovskogo vremja na Severnom Donce: KSIA* CLX (1979), pp. 60–69. A detailed summary of CSM ceramics has not so far been written. I. Savčenko (Rostov-na-Donu) was kind enough to inform me, that there are several sorts of vessels with three, territorially also discernible variants to be observed (region of the Upper Don, Kuban region, Daghestan). — By the way, the cultural role of Khazaria played in Eastern Europe is highlighted by the fact that the Eastern Slavs adopted the use of the pottery wheel from steppe peoples.

[55] Research-work in the Carpathian Basin is directly interested in the question of the earthen kettles, which have two main variants in the CSM: In the Don region they were made on the potter's wheel, in the region of the Azov Sea and the Northern Caucasus they were shaped by hand. Since both variants are present in the Carpathian basin, this territorial division might be of interest in the question of the origin of the Late Avarians and the conquering Hungarians as well. In the 11th to 13th centuries earthen kettles made on the potter's wheel certainly occurred (summed up by I. Fodor, *Der Ursprung der in Ungarn gefundenen Tonkessel. AAH* XXIX, 1977, pp. 323–349), while the age of the handmade pieces is at present disputed: are they from the 8th to 9th centuries belonging to the Late Avarians, or to the conquering Hungarians of the 10th century? (see B. M. Szőke, *Zur awarenzeitlichen Siedlungsgeschichte des Körös-Gebietes in Südost-Ungarn: AAH* XXXII 1980, in press. Relying upon my own excavations, I regard at the very moment both possibilities as for plausible. Apparently this question seems to be more complicated, because, according to the Soviet research, the hand-shaped kettles appeared after those made by potter's wheel, at the turn of the 9th–10th centuries (Pletneva, *Ot kočevij*. . . , pp. 109–110.). Consequently the previous type is attributed by Soviet scholars to the Pechenegs. It is unfortunate that they took only the views of the Roumanian archaeology into consideration but not the fact that these kettles made by potter's wheel are known from many hundred, in part surely on the 11th–12th century dated Hungarian settlements in the Carpathian Basin. — I think it may be of interest for the chronological-ethnical identification of the two different kettle-types, that the theory about the Caucasian country of origin of the Hungarians was refuted by conclusive arguments (Gy. László, *Őstörténetünk legkorábbi szakaszai*. Budapest 1961, p. 30, n. 22; K. Czeglédy, *Etimológia és filológia: Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* LXXXIX, 1976, pp. 87–88) and that the earthen kettles of the Azovian and Caucasian CSM variant has been — correctly — brought into connection by Soviet science with the Onoghurs (Fedorov–Fedorov, *Rannie turki*. . . pp. 67, 72, 77–81; Gadlo, *Kočev'e*. . . , pp. 122–125). All this seems not only to confirm the definition «a part of the hand-shaped kettles = Late Avars», but also agrees with our historic knowledge. In case of the Middle and Late Avarians — at least partly of Onoghur origin — it is by no means surprising to find the analogies of their hand-shaped kettles in the western region of the Sea of Azov and the Northern Caucasus (while they are missing at the Early Avarians of quite different — Central and Inner Asiatic — origin); because the ancient Hungarians were assumed to have lived to the north of the CSM it is quite obvious that the analogies to the earthen kettles made on the potter's wheel of the Hungarians in the Carpathian basin will be found at the Don variant of the CSM. — To ensure a more complete survey, I should also mention an opinion that is rather current in Roumanian literature, which considers that the earthen kettles in the Carpathian Basin and at the Lower Danube are of Eastern Slavic, Petcheneg or even local («surviving Dacian») origin. These conceptions are refuted in a well-founded manner by I. Fodor in his paper cited in the present note.

(One of the typical CSM finds is the dark grey, thoroughly washed and fired, polished pottery, sometimes with stamped decorations. As shown by the discovered kilns,[56] this pottery was not imported, but was always a local product. The brands on the bottom of the vessels are usually workshop mark and/or represent tamgas.[57] Papers have been published about CSM ironwork and bone processing.[58] Some tools of smiths and goldsmiths are also known; they may provide interesting information concerning the history of techniques.[59] Apart from everyday CSM objects, such as belt ornaments and female jewellery, etc, a self-contained Khazarian metal-working style actually cannot be mentioned but a few silver dishes reflect (also) Central Asian influence.[60] In this respect, it should also be noted, that the figures of a dish visualize — according to an interpretation — a Turk epos.[61]

The *trade* of the Kaghanate is fairly well-known from written sources, but this has, of course, very few traces in archaeology. Confirmation of manyfold contacts are, among others, some Byzantine and Arab coins,[62] a Byzantine amphora (which raised the question of wine-trade),[63] fragments of paper made in Samarkand before

[56] Smilenko, *Slov'jani ta jih susydi. . .*, pp. 118—157; K. I. Krasil'nikov, *Gončarnaja masterskaja saltovo-majackoj kul'tury: SA* 1976, 3, pp. 267—278.

[57] V. S. Flerov, *O klejmah saltovo-majackoj loščenoj keramiki*, in: *Arheologija i voprosy etničeskoj istorii Severnogo Kavkaza*. Groznyj 1979, pp. 94—102.

[58] T. N. Silčenko—S. S. Sorokin, *Rentgenografičeskie issledovanija železnih izdelij iz Sarkela-Beloj veži: MIA* LXXV (1959), pp. 200—201; V. K. Miheev—R. B. Stepans'ka—L. D. Fomyn, *Noži saltivs'koji kul'tury ta jih vyrobnictvo: Arheologija* IX (1973), pp. 90—99; V. D. Gopak—O. V. Suhobokov, *Pro saltiv'ske žalizoorobne remeslo: Arheologija* XXV (1975), pp. 60—70; K. I. Krasil'nikov, *Izdelija iz kosti saltovskoj kul'tury: SA* 1979, 2, pp. 77—91.

[59] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij . . . .*, p. 152.

[60] V. P. Darkevič, *Hudožestvennyj metall Vostoka VIII—XIII vv.*, Moskva 1976, pp. 167—170. — Occurring on certain Avarian ornaments, a sort of decoration (engraved tendrils, pounced background; termed «Blatnica-Nagyszentmiklós horizon» in a part of archeological literature) seems to represent an archeological problem exclusively affecting the Carpathian basin; perhaps, however, it is more than that. It is generally admitted that this technique occurs in the latest period of late Avarian metal-work (8th—9th centuries, but opinions differ concerning the date of its appearance). Its connection with similar Central Asiatic metalwork is so obvious that a casual co-incidence may be excluded. In this respect, some scientists thought of a minor migration from Khazaria to the Carpathian basin that was supposed to have taken place in the first third of the 9th century. (B. Szőke, *Über die Beziehungen Moraviens zu dem Donaugebiet in der Spätawarenzeit: Studia Slavica* VI (1950), pp. 108—109; I. Kovrig, *Das awarenzeitliche Gräberfeld von Alattyán*. Budapest 1963, p. 241). However, according to our present scope of knowledge, this is neither historically nor archeologically plausible (In the — scanty! — sources there is no trace of such migration, in those times the Dnieper region was already inhabited by the Hungarians; furthermore, we do not know of any material or ritual data from this part of the late Avarian period that would indicate the appearance of new Oriental elements.) Most probably the appearance of the above-mentioned decorative technique in the Carpathian basin cannot be explained with trading activity, since the objects decorated in this way agree in every respect with the local late Avarian metalwork. So this question is at present unsolved, but — if only for geographical reasons — it is obvious that its solution must be sought somewhere in the late Avarian — Khazarian and late Avarian — Central Asiatic relationships, respectively, which still have to be elucidated in many other respects.

[61] V. P. Darkevič, *Kovš iz Hazarii i tjurkskij geroičeskij epos: KSIA* CXL (1974), pp. 28—32.

[62] V. V. Kropotkin, *Ekonomičeskie svjazi Vostočnoj Evropy v I tys. n. e.*, Moskva 1967; Darkevič, *Hudožestvenyj metall. . .*, p. 156.

[63] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij. . .*, pp. 129—131; A. I. Kubysev, *Hronologija odnogo typu amfor času kyjivs'koji Rusji: Arheologija* VI (1972), pp. 60—61; S. G. Kljaštornyj, *Hazarskaja nadpis' na amfore s gorodišča Majaki: SA* 1979, 1, pp. 270—275.

the year 810,[64] a chess-man of Central Asian origin,[65] representations of camels and some camel bones,[66] pottery from the Near East and Central Asia,[67] and trading records written in Chinese characters, as well as many silk dresses and fragments of different origin, all found in a Caucasian catacomb.[68] Many Central Asian silver dishes and vessels[69] and the major part of Sasanian coins[70] may have reached the Kama region through the Khazars. Earlier and merely theoretical hypotheses on *Khazarian coinage* imitating Arab Dirhems are confirmed by a find where coins bear the Arab legend „Ard el-hazar" ('Country of Khazars').[71]

Khazarian *runic writing* resembles that of the Turks.[72] After the legends known so far and mainly consisting of a few words, a text was recently found in Mayaki, that consists of nearly one hundred characters[73] and so there is every hope that it will help in deciphering this writing.[74]

Archaeological traces of *religious life* include some finds of crosses, two 7th to 8th century Christian churches discovered in Daghestan and a few Jewish tombstones of uncertain age.[75] Relics of a heathen creed include various ornaments with animal figures, amulets made of animal teeth and bones and open-work discs (Known in another respect from written sources) of women's apparel, brought into connection with the cult of the Sun[76] (?Cs. B.), etc. It seems that equestrian funerals are actually more frequent in the Kuban region and in the Northern Caucasus and compared to the Turk Kaghanate it is worth to note that sepulchral monuments ('kamennaya baba') are missing. It is an important methodological lesson for archaeology that the funeral habits most probably reflect the ethnical variety of the Khaganate, while at the same time the grave-finds on the whole seem to be homogeneous.[77] Because of its well explored

[64] M. I. Artamonov, *Sarkel—Belaja veža: MIA* LXII (1958), p. 54.

[65] Artamonov, *Sarkel...*, p. 73, fig. 51 : 1.

[66] To the figures see Pletneva, *Hazary...*, p. 31; and note 73 of the present paper. To camel bones see V. V. Kropotkin, *Karavannye puti v Vostočnoj Evrope*, in: *Kavkaz i Vostočnaja Evropa v drevnosti*. Moskva 1973, pp. 227—230.

[67] T. I. Makarova, *Polivnaja posuda: Arheologija SSSR El-38*. Moskva 1967, pp. 32—33.

[68] A. A. Jerusalimskaja, «*Velikij šelkovyj put'» i Severnyj Kavkaz*. Leningrad 1972, p. 8. By courtesy of the author, in the Hermitage I could inspect the finds of Moševaja Balka (Northern Caucasus), which are of crucial importance for the early mediaeval history of silk.

[69] Their range see Darkevič, *Hudožestvennyj metall...*, p. 154.

[70] See Cs. Bálint, *Einige Fragen des Dirhem-Verkehrs in Europa: AAH* XXXII (1981) in press.

[71] A. A. Bykov, *O hazarskom čekanke VIII—IX vv.* Trudy Gos. Ermitaža XII (1971) pp. 36; idem, *Iz istorii denežnogo obraščenija Hazarii v VIII i IX vv.*, in: *Vostočnye istočniki po istorii narodov Jugovostočnoj i Central'noj Evropy* III, Moskva 1974, pp. 26—71.

[72] Kljaštornyj, *Hazarskaja nadpis'...*, pp. 274—275.

[73] I have seen the still unpublished find in the Hermitage; it will be elaborated by S. G. Kljaštornyj.

[74] The solution of Khazarian runic writing will certainly lead to a better knowledge of the famous runic legends of the Nagyszentmiklós treasure, and thus perhaps to the much disputed determination of its creators and owners.

[75] Artamonov, *Istorija hazar...*, p. 277; M. G. Magomedov, *Rannesrednevkovye cerkvy Verhnego Čirjurta: SA* 1979, 3, pp. 186—202. If we think of the Onogur episcopate of the 7th to 8th centuries in the Kuban region (see Gy. Moravcsik, *Zur Geschichte der Onoguren: UIb* X, 1930), the number of Khazar finds referring to Christianity is surprisingly low. (According to M. G. Magomedov there are many finds related to Christianity, *K voprosu o «veroterpimosti» Hazarskogo kaganata: X Krupnovskie čtenija po arheologii Severnogo Kavkaza*. Moskva 1980, pp. 46—48.)

[76] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij...*, pp. 171—179.

[77] This fact indicates the non-absolute identity of archeological culture par excellence and of an ethnic group.

steppe analogies[78] it may be useful to mention here the probably first and archaeologically verifiable funeral with a lance driven in the grave.[79] The majority of Soviet scientist are of the opinion that catacomb funerals are characteristic of the variant along the Don, while grave-pit inhumation is peculiar to the Azov shore[80] However, on some better explored sites a very similar simultaneity of two or three different rites (Verne Saltovo, Čir-jurt) can be observed. On Khazarian territory there are some other funeral types that occurred rather rarely, that were observed not long ago: cremation,[81] kurgan-funeral,[82] catacomb dug under the kurgan[83] and perhaps even exposition of the dead on the earth's surface.[84] All this raises several ethnical-historical questions, but it would be out of the place to attempt to deal with them here.

Limited to a rather small number of cases, *anthropology* underlines the importance of a tall, dolichomorphous and of a short, brachycrane group.[85] The skulls of the nomad burial ground of Šarkel are up to three quarters of Asian origin, while ca. one third of those found in the big graveyard of the fort (according to another calculation: about a half) are of this type, whereas one fifth (according to another calculation ca. a quarter) belong to the brachycrane, Mediterranean type.[86]

No summary concerning Khazarian *stock-breeding* has so far been published from the domain of historic zoology. The author of the only paper of this kind has in the meanwhile summarized in a popular form the conclusions drawn from his measurements of the bones of Hungarian and Khazarian (i.e. finds from Šarkel) domestic animals.[87] Accordingly, the horses of the conquering Hungarians and of the Khazarians belonged to one and the same warm-blooded Oriental type, current in those times on the Eastern European steppe; nearly two thirds of the Khazarian cattle can be grouped among the short-corned brachyceros type; while the sheep along the Volga-Don probably had mixed wool, with horned rams and hornless ewes.

To a certain extent, the *decline of the Khaganate* can also be demonstrated by means of archaeology; this is how we would interpret the appearance of new-type finds in Šarkel in the second half of the 10th century and at the end of CSM, probably towards the middle of the 10th century.

*

Since P. Golden declared immediately at the beginning of his book that he was

[78] K. Czeglédy—J. Harmatta, *Ibn Faḍlān über die Bestattung bei den Wolga-Bulgaren: AÉ* VII—IX (1946—1948) pp. 262—268; L. Kovács, *A honfoglaló magyar lándzsástemetkezés és néprajzi megfelelői*, in: *Előmunkálatok a Magyarság Néprajzához* (in press).

[79] Verbal communication of M. P. Abramova.

[80] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij...*, p. 72. Fig. 17. The map presents 10 catacombs, 18 grave-pits and 3 cremation-type burial-places; since that time the percentage has shifted still more in favour of the latter.

[81] Pletneva, *Ot kočevij...*, pp. 100—102; A. Dimitriev, *Mogil'nik èpohi peresele-nija narodov na reke Djurso: KSIA* CLVIII (1979), pp. 54—56.

[82] Semenov, *Vizantijskie monety...*, pp. 180—183.

[83] Magomedov, *Drevnie političeskie centry...*, pp. 66—67.

[84] Gumilev, *New Data...*, p. 77.

[85] V. V. Ginzburg, *Antropologičeskie materialy k probleme proizhoždenija nase-lenija hazarskogo kaganata: Sbornik Mu-zeja Antropologii i Etnografii* XIII (1951), pp. 329—372.

[86] V. V. Ginzburg, *Antropologičeskij sostav naselenija Sarkela-Beloj veži i ego proizhoždenie: MIA* CIX (-963), pp. 260—281; idem, *Kraniologičeskie materialy iz pravoberežnogo cimljanskogo gorodišča*, ibidem, pp. 295—307; L. G. Buič, *Čerepa iz kočevničeskogo mogil'nika vozle Sarkela-Beloj veži*, ibidem, pp. 420—449. The cited quota is based on these works.

[87] J. Matolcsy, *A kazár állattartás és a magyar honfoglalók háziállatai: Élet és Tudomány* XXX (1975), 34, pp. 1589—1592.

[88] Artamonov, *Istorija hazar...*, pp. 426—436; Gadlo, *Etničeskaja istorija...*, pp. 205—209.

not going to deal with the questions concerning the Hungarians living in Khazaria, it is considered unnecessary here to describe the investigations and problems involved. Nevertheless, it seems to be worthy mentioning that except for a single site along the Dniester[89] — so far no grave or burial ground has been found on Soviet territory which could definitely brought into connection with the ancient Hungarians by every archaeologist[90] — and perhaps not only because of insufficient research. However, at the same time, this strange situation does not mean that no significant progress has been achieved in the archaeology of Hungarian prehistory as far as the main lines are concerned. Due to the growing number of finds we can probably definitely reject the fifty year old theory that the Northern Caucasus was the original home of the Hungarians.[91] In fact the material data and the funeral habits have unequivocally demonstrated that Hungarian ethnogenesis took place near the northern borders of Khazaria, in Magna Hungaria about the Volga curve and Bashkiria;[92] what is still discussed is the date of their departure from here.[93]

The Kabar question represents a special problem, to be approached from the Khazarians and the Hungarians. With reference to this, P. Golden cites only an insignificant number of Hungarian papers. While remaining within the limits indicated in the title of the present work, it is considered necessary to note that for nearly twenty years a historic conception exerted a major influence on Hungarian archaeology; this conception regarded the Kabars chiefly as Kalizes, Alans and Bolgarian Turks (Suvar, Bersil, Eskil~ Székely (Hungarian group in Transylvania)) and designated the Dukate (countries belonging in the 11th and 12th centuries not to the King of Hungary but to the Duke) ;known from later sources as their quarters at the time of the Hungarian conquest.[94] In recent times, however, Hungarian scholars have begun to abandon this theory; investigations concerning the ethnical structure of the conquering Hungarians set out on the basis of other questions.[95]

[89] J. Pasternak, *Die ersten altungarischen Grabfunde nördlich der Karpaten*, in: N. Fettich: *Die Metallkunst der landnehmenden Ungarn: Archaeologia Hungarica* XXI (1937), pp. 297—303.

[90] Fodor, *Altungarn...*, p. 40; I. Erdélyi, *Az ősmagyarság régészeti emlékei Kelet-Európában*, in: *Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok* (see note 12), pp. 65—76.

[91] See note 55.

[92] I. Fodor, *Verecke híres útján...*, Budapest 1975, pp. 158—195.

[93] Fodor, *Altungarn...*, pp. 26, 34—35, notes 52, 56.

[94] Gy. Györffy, *Tanulmányok a magyar állam eredetéről*. Budapest 1959, pp. 44—76.

[95] Cs. Bálint, *Südungarn im X. Jahrhundert*. Budapest (in press), lecture of K. Mesterházi in Szeged (1979) and his work in preparation.

Abbreviations

AAH	*Acta Archaelogica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest)
AÉ	*Archaeológiai Értesítő* (Budapest)
KSIA	*Kratkie Soobščenija Instituta Arheologii Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moskva)
MAD	*Materialy po Arheologii Dagestana* (Mahačkala)
MIA	*Materialy i issledovanija po arheologii* (Moskva)
SA	*Sovetskaja Arheologija* (Moskva)

Csanád Bálint

Bemerkungen zu LAWRENCE KRADER, Die Asiatische Produktionsweise[1]

Die weitreichende Problematik, die sich aus dem Übergang der gewaltsam in Rückständigkeit gehaltenen ehemaligen kolonialen und abhängigen Länder zu weiterentwickelten sozialökonomischen Formen ergibt, hat nicht nur in der marxistischen Forschung zu intensiver Tätigkeit geführt. Wenn man von den Ver-

[1] Krader, Lawrence, *The Asiatic Mode of Production*, Assen 1975.

suchen absieht, diese Problematik als «Nord-Süd-Gegensatz» oder als «Widerspruch zwischen armen und reichen Nationen» hinzustellen und damit vom Kern der Sache — dem weltweiten Übergang vom Kapitalismus zum Sozialismus/Kommunismus — abzulenken, so verdienen die Veröffentlichungen bürgerlichen Marxologen kritische Aufmerksamkeit. Unter dem Vorzeichen einer ausgezeichneten «Kenntnis» marxistischer Theorien und dem angeblichen Bestreben, die Marxisten auf die «echten» Grundlagen des Marxismus hinzuweisen, befassen sie sich u.a. mit der Darstellung eines der Schwerpunkte der marxistischen Theorie, der Lehre von den sozialökonomischen Formationen, den Gesellschaftsformationen.

Kraders umfangreiches Werk gliedert sich in zwei Hauptteile, denen Vorwort und Einführung vorangestellt sind, und dessen zweiter eine englische Übersetzung der Marxschen Exzerpte aus dem Buch von M. M. Kovalevskij, Obščinnoe Zemlevladenie. Pričiny, Chod i Posledstvija ego Razloženija. Teil I. Obščinnoe Zemlevladenie v Kolonijach i Vlijanie Pozemel'noj Politiki na ego Razloženie. Moscow 1879, enthält. Das Buch schliesst mit einem Literaturverzeichnis und Indices.

Der erste Hauptteil besteht aus 7 Kapiteln (Teil 2 bildeten die Übersetzung der Exzerpte mit Einleitung und den Texten über Britisch Ostindien und Algerien), in denen systematisch folgende Probleme untersucht werden:

Kapitel 1, «Die orientalische Gesellschaft und ihre Quellen», befasst sich mit der Geschichte der orientalischen Gesellschaft in der europäischen Geschichtsschreibung des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts. Kapitel 2, «Von der Orientalischen Gesellschaft zur Asiatischen Produktionsweise» untersucht Marx' Schriften über Indien im Jahre 1853, die Periodisierung der Gesellschaftsgeschichte und ihre Kritik durch Marx in den Jahren 1857—59 sowie einen «historischen Exkurs». Das 3. Kapitel ist in vier Unterkapitel unterteilt. Es trägt die Überschrift «Marx über die Asiatische Produktionsweise 1857—1867». Unterkapital A, «Die Asiatische Produktionsweise im engeren Sinn» enthält eine Tafel mit ausführlichen Notizen, «Plan der gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Evolution der Menschheit bei Marx, 1857—1867», gefolgt von Darlegungen über die Überwindung der geographischen Besonderheiten der Asiatischen Produktionsweise. Unterkapitel B untersucht «Gemeinschaft und Boden», darunter die Aspekte des Bodeneigentums und der Stagnation und Entwicklung unter der Asiatischen Produktionsweise. Im Unterkapitel C geht es um «Gemeinschaft und Staat», unterteilt in «Die Asiatische Kommune und Formen des gesellschaftlichen Lebens» sowie «Die slawischen, indischen und peruanischen Gemeinschaften», während sich Punkt D mit «Stadt und Land» befasst. Kapitel 4, «Kovalevskij über die Dorfgemeinschaft und Bodeneigentum im Orient», behandelt A. «Eigentum und Besitz», B. «Kovalevskij und Campbell über die Bodenpolitik des Lord Cornwallis».

Kapitel 5, «Marx über Phear und Maine» setzt sich mit folgenden Fragen auseinander: A. Über menschliche Knechtschaft; Die Dialektik Freiheit (Notwendigkeit und Freiheit) Knechtschaft; Die Sprache von Unfreiheit und Freiheit in der Theorie von der Asiatischen Produktionsweise; B. Marx' Kritik an Phear's *The Aryan Village* und Phear über die Praktiken der Bodenaufteilung; C. Marx und Maine; Das Königreich der Sikh im 18. Jahrhundert; ferner D: Politische Ökonomie und Gesellschaft, unterteilt in: Kapital und die Beziehungen zwischen Mensch und Natur, sowie Kapital und die gesellschaftlichen Beziehungen der Menschen;

Das relativ kurze Kapitel 6, «Engels über die orientalische Gesellschaft», untersucht kurz A. Anti-Dühring; B. Engels über den Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats; C. Waren und das Mehrprodukt im *Kapital*;

Kapitel 7, als letztes des ersten Teils, trägt den Titel «Abriss der Prinzipien und

Kritik der Asiatischen Produktionsweise», unterteilt in: A. Die Asiatische Produktionsweise. Systematischer Abriss; B. Produktionsweisen – ihre Beziehungen und Veränderungen; dabei werden 1. die kapitalistische und die Asiatische Produktionsweise, sowie 2. der Platz der Asiatischen Produktionsweise im System von Karl Marx, behandelt; C. Kritik der Theorie der Asiatischen Produktionsweise; D. Das Ergebnis der Theorie von der Asiatischen Produktionsweise; die Dorfrepublik und der Häuptling; Arbeit als Knechtschaft und freie Arbeit; E. «Die Beziehung der Asiatischen Produktionsweise zum Ursprung der Politischen Ökonomie, bürgerlichen Gesellschaft und des Staats».

In Verbindung mit der Übersetzung des Werks von Kovalevskij im 2. Teil sei noch auf die deutsche Übersetzung des Konspekts durch Harstick[2] verwiesen, die in mancher Hinsicht gegenüber der Kraderschen einen gewissen Vorzug verdient. Erwähnenswert ist auch die französische Teilübersetzung (Zur präkolonialen Bodenbesitzstruktur in Algerien)[3] des Marx-Konspekts.

Man kann Autoren wie Krader u. a. eine recht gute Kenntnis der Grundlagen der marxistischen Theorie (und ihrer Terminologie) nicht absprechen, und gleiches trifft sogar auch auf solche eingefleischte Antimarxisten wie Wittfogel usw. zu. Ihre umfassenden Kenntnisse müssen aber zu einer gewissen Sterilität führen, da sie an ihre Untersuchungen mehr oder weniger re in akademisch herangehen, wenn sie nicht sogar, wie Wittfogel, diese Kenntnisse zur bewussten Entstellung marxistischer Lehren und zur Förderung reaktionärer Tendenzen nutzen.[4] Aber selbst dort, wo man dem Autor nicht ohne weiteres eine bewusste Entstellung des Marxismus unterstellen möchte, zeigen sich doch sehr bald die Grenzen dieser rein akademischen «Forschung». Wer sich nicht klar darüber ist, dass der Marxismus eine lebendige Lehre darstellt, die ständig schöpferisch auf der Grundlage der wegweisenden Erkenntnisse der Klassiker weiterentwickelt werden muss und die gleichzeitig eine «Anleitung zum Handeln» ist, wird nie den Schlüssel zum vollen Verständnis der marxistischen Lehre finden.

Die «akademische» Distanz, die Krader zum Gegenstand seiner Untersuchungen hält, führt dazu, dass der Marxismus dem Leser als einer ein theoretische Konstruktion vorgeführt wird. Die entscheidende Funktion des Marxismus, die «die Theorie zur materiellen Gewalt» werden lässt, seine revolutionierende Rolle in der Weltpolitik, geht dabei unter. Es kann nicht bestritten werden, dass die marxistische Lehre noch viele Ansatzpunkte zu umfangreichen Auseinandersetzungen bietet, aber dieser Aspekt wird von Krader bewusst ausser acht gelassen. Das findet seinen Ausdruck auch in folgenden Worten: «Da Gegenstand dieses Werkes die Quellen, historische Entwicklung und Kritik der von Marx formulierten Theorie von der Asiatischen Produktionsweise selbst sind, kann nicht systematisch auf die Diskussion der Theorie im 20. Jahrhundert eingegangen werden.»[5] Der Autor verweist anschliessend auf einige wichtige Werke zu dieser Diskussion und schliesst diese Bemerkungen mit den Worten: «Eine kurze Kritik an Wittfogel ist unten im Text zu finden anlässlich des tieferen

[2] (Hrsg.) Harstick, Hans-Peter, *Karl Marx über Formen vorkapitalistischer Produktion, Vergleichende Studien zur Geschichte des Grundeigentums*, Frankfurt/New York 1977.

[3] Marx, Karl, *Le systeme foncier en Algérie au moment de la conquête française*, in: *Centre d'Études et de Recherches Marxistes;* sur les sociétés précapitalistes, Paris 1970, S. 382–400.

[4] Vgl. Lewin, Günter, *Die ersten fünfzig Jahre der Song-Dynastie in China*, Berlin 1973, S. 267–307.

[5] Krader, Lawrence, *a.a.O.*, S. 12. Alle im Original in englischer Sprache erschienenen Zitatstellen wurden vom Verfasser übersetzt, der allein für eventuell aufgetretene Übersetzungsfehler verantwortlich ist.

Eindringens in Marx' Ideen: es ist nicht unsere vorrangige Aufgabe, in Kontroversen mit gegenwärtigen Autoren zu treten, denn das würde die Aufmerksamkeit von der hier formulierten Aufgabe des Buches ablenken.»[6] Die Aufgaben sind wie folgt präzisiert: «Die erste ist, die Diskussion über die Asiatische Produktionsweise auf ihren Ursprung, die veröffentlichten und unveröffentlichten Schriften von Marx, zurückzuführen. Die zweite ist, die Quellen blosszulegen, aus denen Marx' Theorie entstand. Die dritte ist es, die Theorie systematisch zu entwickeln und sowohl die Theorie als auch ihre Quellen kritisch zu beleuchten.»[7] Diesem Zweck dienen auch «The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx». Dieses Buch kann hier, auch wenn es grösster Beachtung wert ist, nicht näher behandelt werden.[8]

Ausser einer Analyse einiger Aspekte der Asiatischen Produktionsweise bei Krader sollen nun die Konsequenzen seines Herangehens in Verbindung mit folgenden Problemen behandelt werden: Aufeinanderfolge der Produktionsweisen/Gesellschaftsformationen und ihre Bedeutung im Rahmen der marxistischen Theorie und Praxis. Ferner das Problem der uni- oder multilinearen Entwicklung der menschlichen Gesellschaft und die Relevanz der Konzeption der Asiatischen Produktionsweise für die Untersuchung dieses Problems. Letztlich, die Konzeption des geographischen (oder ökologischen) Determinismus. Dabei soll weitmöglichst vermieden werden, eigene bereits veröffentlichte Äusserungen zu diesen Problemen zu wiederholen — wo nötig, werden kurze Quellenhinweise dazu genügen müssen.

Krader versucht, die Marxsche Konzeption von der Asiatischen Produktionsweise auf ihre «Wurzeln» hin zu untersuchen und diese auf früh- bzw. vorbürgerliche Ideen, zum Teil bis auf Aristoteles[9] zurückzuführen. Dabei hebt er besonders die Rolle des «orientalischen Despotismus»[10] hervor, die weniger bei Marx als bei dessen Kritikern und «Erklärern» immer sehr in den Vordergrund geschoben und von Wittfogel[11] bis ins Absurde aufgebläht wird. Aber auch die eingangs erwähnte Darstellung der Theorie von den Gesellschaftsformationen durch Krader bleibt im wesentlichen ebenfalls in oberflächlichen Betrachtungen stecken. Er zitiert gern solche Marx-Kritiker wie den späten Plechanov, Trotzki u.a., die von pseudo-marxistischen Positionen aus die Marxsche Lehre «weiterentwickeln, korrigieren oder erläutern» wollten.[12] Damit ergibt sich auch eine mit marxistischen Gesichtspunkten nur schlecht zu vereinbarende Art der Betrachtung bei der Einordnung der Asiatischen Produktionsweise in die Entwicklungsgeschichte der menschlichen Gesellschaft. So stellt Krader z.B. Vergleiche zwischen der kapitalistischen und der asiatischen Formation an, die die historische Einordnung beider Gesellschaftsformationen vernachlässigt.[13]

An dieser Stelle hätte man erwarten können, dass Krader auf die gesetzmässige Aufeinanderfolge unterschiedlicher Gesellschaftsformationen und die Bedeutung von Produktivkräften und Produktionsverhältnissen kurz eingeht. Das ist jedoch eine Frage, die der Autor geflissentlich umgeht, umso mehr, als er so besser «Parallelen zwischen Asiatischer Produktionsweise und Kapitalismus» ziehen kann, die nach marxistischer Auffassung kaum als stichhaltig gelten können (wie z. B. die soeben zitierte Stelle). Statt dessen führt er aus: «Die Konzentration des Eigentums

[6] *Ebenda.*

[7] *Ebenda*, S. XIf.

[8] Krader, Lawrence, *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx*, übertragen, herausgegeben und mit einer Einführung versehen von L. Krader, Assen 1974.

[9] Krader, Lawrence, *The Asiatic Mode of Production*, S. 2, Fussnote.

[10] *Ebenda*, S. 75f; 114f (Fuünote 53); 293 u.a.

[11] Wittfogel, Karl-August, *Oriental Despotism. A comparative study of total power*, New Haven/London 1957; Vgl. auch: Lewin, Günter, *a.a.O.*, S. 267—307.

[12] Krader, *a.a.O.*, i.a. S. 88, 114, 315.

[13] *Ebenda*, S. 298. u.a.

an den Produktionsmitteln in den Händen des Souverains war in der Asiatischen Produktionsweise eine nominelle Angelegenheit, im Gegensatz zu der wirklichen Konzentration des Eigentums an den Produktionsmitteln in der Hand einiger weniger im Kapitalismus. Die Personifizierung der Naturkräfte in den Produktionsverhältnissen der Asiatischen Produktionsweise sind ebenso zahlreich wie (im Gegensatz dazu) im Kapitalismus das Kapital konzentriert ist: die Sonne, die Erde, das Wasser, die Pflanzen, die Tiere in Feld und Wald, die Fische sind in den orientalischen Mythologien alle personifiziert. Aber ebenso wie im Kapitalismus Kapital und das Eigentum an Gegenständen konzentriert ist, nimmt auch die Personifizierung des Kapitals eine konzentrierte Form an: es ist die Darstellung des Kapitals als mit eigenem Bewusstsein und eigenem Willen ausgestattet, als Kapitalist.

Die politische Ökonomie der Asiatischen Produktionsweise enthält Elemente der kapitalistischen Form: Produktion und Austausch von Waren, Wert und Mehrwert, Produktion und Zirkulation von Kapital. Jedoch diese Elemente, in der späteren Produktionsweise voll entwickelt, sind in der früheren kaum entfaltet. Zwischen beiden liegt eine lange Evolution und viele Revolutionen. In der früheren Form fehlt die Herstellung der freien Verfügbarkeit (im Original: liberation) der Arbeit durch Vertrag, die für die Arbeit unter dem Kapitalismus charakteristisch ist. Die Evolution der unfreien Beziehungen der Arbeit von der Asiatischen Produktionsweise zur modernen Versklavung und Leibeigenschaft im alten und mittelalterlichen Europa ist von Veränderungen in der Ausdrucksform begleitet. Die Bindung der Arbeitskraft an den Boden und das Dorf wurde in der Asiatischen Produktionsweise nicht offensichtlich. Die Kodifizierung der Formen der Sklaverei im alten Rom drückte unfreie Arbeitsbeziehungen in Worten aus. Die feudalen Leibeigenschaftsbeziehungen wurden während der mittelalterlichen Periode offenbar. Ihre Erscheinungsform ist heute nicht besser bekannt als zuvor, denn sie wird noch immer (fälschlich) als eine persönliche Form der Abhängigkeit betrachtet. Aber in beiden Fällen unterscheiden sie sich von den Formen der Unfreiheit in der Asiatischen Produktionsweise, die unformuliert, durch Gewohnheit bestimmt war. Die kapitalistische Revolution ist die Zusicherung einer formalen Gleichheit und der Freiheit der Arbeitsbeziehungen; das wurde nicht zur ausgesprochenen Doktrin, bis es im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert als Geschichte niedergeschrieben wurde.»[14]

Ohne auf die Stellung der Asiatischen Produktionsweise in der Aufeinanderfolge der Gesellschaftsformationen einzugehen,[15] werden hier Parallelen zum Kapitalismus gezogen, wobei die dazwischenliegenden Formationen nur am Rande erwähnt und im Buch kaum näher beschrieben werden. Auch auf die Grundfragen der hier kurz angedeuteten Aufeinanderfolge von Formationen (Triebkräfte, Mechanismus von Evolution und Revolution) wird nicht eingegangen. Ein solches Herangehen muss als oberflächlich anmuten, denn zum Verständnis der Asiatischen Produktionsweise gehört eine Untersuchung, ob es sich bei ihr u. a. um eine Übergangsformation, um eine antagonistische oder nichtantagonistische Formation handelt.

Diesem Problem geht Krader mit folgender Bemerkung aus dem Weg: «Gewiss, die slawische, germanische, keltische und andere geschichtliche Entwicklungen bieten bedeutende Varianten zum allgemeinen Thema des Übergangs der Menschheit vom primitiven zum zivilisierten Dasein; diese und andere protohistorische Berichte wären in diese Studien aufgenommen worden, wenn sie sich primär mit dem Evolutionsprozess in seiner Gesamtheit befasst hätten, in dem die Asiatische Produktionsweise, wie wir sehen werden, ein Teilstück bildet.»[16]

[14] *Ebenda*, S. 299f.
[15] Marx/Engels Werke *(MEW)*, Berlin 1961, Bd. 13, S. 9.
[16] Krader, *a. a. O.*, S. 4.

Immer wieder versucht Krader, Parallelen oder Unterschiede zwischen Asiatischer Produktionsweise und Kapitalismus herauszustellen. Gerade das muss aber als eins der am wenigsten prägnanten Probleme im Zusammenhang mit der Erforschung der Asiatischen Produktionsweise betrachtet werden. Bekanntlich ist der Kapitalismus nicht aus der Asiatischen Produktionsweise, sondern aus dem westeuropäischen Feudalismus hervorgegangen.[17] Solche ökonomische und soziale Kategorien wie die «Ware»,[18] «Arbeit»,[19] «Wucher»,[20] usw. werden durch Kraders Versuche, sie in die Parallele zwischen Asiatischer Produktionsweise und Kapitalismus einzubauen, ihres Charakters als ökonomische Kategorien beraubt. Als ein repräsentatives Beispiel soll hier näher auf die Behandlung der Wucher-Problematik eingegangen werden.

Krader versucht z. B., die Wirkung des Wuchers auf die Auflösung der Asiatischen Produktionsweise zu untersuchen und schreibt: «Marx bezieht sich auf den Wucher in der vorkapitalistischen Gesellschaftsformation als revolutionäre Kraft in den Dörfern nur dort, wo er die traditionellen Formen des Eigentums zerbricht. Andernfalls kann Wucher für lange Zeit bestehen, wie in den asiatischen Dörfern, ohne das traditionelle System zu stören, d. h. ohne zu etwas anderem als zu ökonomischem Ruin und zu politischer Korruption zu führen. . . Die Revolution tritt in den Dörfern auf, wenn die kleine Produktionseinheit gleichzeitig mit der Trennung des unmittelbaren Produzenten vom Boden zerstört wird, sowie durch die Konzentration der Bedingungen der Arbeit, die hierdurch in der Form von Kapital freigesetzt werden. Wenn er diese Umwandlungen begleitet, wird Wucher zu einer revolutionären Kraft.«[21] Bei Marx heisst der letztzitierte Passus: «Erst wo und wann *die übrigen Bedingungen der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise vorhanden* [Herv.; *G. L.*], erscheint der Wucher als eines der Bildungsmittel der neuen Produktionsweise, durch Ruin der Feudalherren und der Kleinproduktion einerseits, durch Zentralisation der Arbeitsbedingungen andrerseits.»[22] Wenn Krader, wie oben zitiert, vom Wucher in den «asiatischen Dörfern» spricht, so gibt er dem Marxschen Original eine falsche Wendung, denn dort heisst es: «Bei asiatischen Formen [Herv.; *G. L.* — Das ist also nicht gleichbedeutend mit Asiatischer Produktionsweise!] kann der Wucher lange fortdauern, ohne etwas andres als ökonomisches Verkommen und politische Verdorbenheit hervorzurufen.»[23] Marx ist auch offensichtlich nicht der Meinung gewesen, dass durch die Zersetzung der Asiatischen Produktionsweise «Kapital» geschaffen wird.

Ähnlich, als mangelndes Verständnis für den historischen Charakter politökonomischer Kategorien, ist auch folgender Passus zu verstehen: «Es wird zu zeigen sein, dass die Asiatische Produktionsweise weit davon entfernt ist, primitiv zu sein, sondern die gleichen Beziehungen und Faktoren der politischen Ökonomie und Gesellschaft enthält, die in der kapitalistischen zu finden sind: in beiden werden Waren [?; *G. L.*] ausgetauscht und Kapital [?; *G. L.*] gebildet.»[24] Marx stellt hingegen fest: «Indes ist klar, dass, wenn in einer ökonomischen Gesellschaftsformation nicht der Tauschwert, sondern der Gebrauchswert des Produkts vorwiegt, die Mehrarbeit durch einen engeren oder weiteren Kreis von Bedürfnissen beschränkt ist, aber kein schrankenloses Bedürfnis nach Mehrarbeit aus dem Charakter der Produktion selbst entspringt.»[25] Bekanntlich ist es nicht der Gebrauchswert, der im Mittelpunkt des Strebens nach Mehrwert

[17] Vgl. *MEW*, Band 19, S. 107 ff; 242 f; 384 ff.
[18] Krader, *a.a.O.*, S. 98, 120, 123 u.a.
[19] *Ebenda*, S. 97, 266f. u.a.
[20] *Ebenda*, S. 125 u.a.
[21] *Ebenda*, S. 125.
[22] *MEW*, Bd. 25, S. 611.
[23] *Ebenda*, S. 610 f.
[24] Krader, *a.a.O.*, S. XII.
[25] *MEW*, Bd. 23, S. 250.

im Kapitalismus steht, auch wenn sich ohne Gebrauchswert der Wert der Ware nicht auf dem Markt realisieren kann. Aber in der Asiatischen Produktionsweise gibt es, wie Krader an anderer Stelle feststellt, einen Warenaustausch nur zwischen Gemeinden.[26] Da also kein Mehrwert erzielt wird, sondern nur ein geringfügiges Mehrprodukt, ist auch keine Akkumulation von Kapital in diesem Stadium möglich.

Man kann nicht umhin festzustellen, dass Krader das Wirken der objektiven Gesetzmässigkeiten der gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung und deren Ausdruck in der jeweiligen regionalen oder historischen Spezifik im wesentlichen aus dem Auge verliert. Nur so ist es zu verstehen, wenn er feststellt: «Die Asiatische Produktionsweise steht sowohl in einem direkten Zusammenhang mit der kapitalistischen Produktionsweise, als sie auch im Gegensatz zu ihr steht. Fassen wir die Beziehungen zwischen Arbeit und Kapital als die bestimmenden Beziehungen der politischen Ökonomie auf, wird die Opposition zwischen diesen beiden Produktionsweisen deutlich. In der Asiatischen Produktionsweise sind die Bedingungen der Arbeit unfrei, in der kapitalistischen sind sie in dem Sinne frei, dass dort die Arbeit nach dem Gesetz frei ist, dem Kapital und Kapitalisten gleichgesetzt. Ferner, in der Asiatischen Produktionsweise entspricht die Form der Unfreiheit dem Inhalt des täglichen Lebens; die Dorfbewohner in der Asiatischen Produktionsweise waren weder mehr noch weniger frei als die römischen Sklaven oder die mittelalterlichen Leibeigenen. Die kapitalistische Produktionsweise steht im Gegensatz zu den anderen, weil sie den Widerspruch enthält: die Form der freien Arbeitsbeziehungen stehen zu ihrem Inhalt der Unfreiheit im Widerspruch.»[27] (Den Grundwiderspruch des Kapitalismus, den zwischen der kollektiven Produktion und der privaten Aneignung, scheint Krader zu ignorieren — für diesen Widerspruch lassen sich in der Asiatischen Produktionsweise keine Parallelen finden.) Dafür findet Krader eine Reihe von Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen diesen beiden Formationen, darunter u. a.: Warenaustausch, gesellschaftliche Arbeitsteilung, Erzeugung von Wert in Gebrauch und Austausch (was bereits im Terminus 'Warenaustausch' seinen Ausdruck findet) und Erzeugung eines Mehrprodukts. . .[28] Diese Beispiele mögen genügen um nachzuweisen, dass die Bedeutung der Marxschen Erkenntnis von der Aufeinanderfolge der Produktionsweisen und ihren Triebkräften, dass also das von den Klassikern des Marxismus entdeckte Entwicklungsgesetz der menschlichen Gesellschaft nur unvollkommen aufgenommen worden ist.

Das in Verbindung mit dem genannten Entwicklungsgesetz stehende Problem der uni- oder multilinearen Entwicklung der menschlichen Gesellschaft hat in der marxistischen Wissenschaft breite Beachtung gefunden. Die Marxsche Äusserung: «In grossen Umrissen können asiatische, antike, feudale und modern bürgerliche Produktionsweisen als progressive Epochen der ökonomischen Gesellschaftsformation bezeichnet werden»[29] gab Anlass zu recht unterschiedlichen Interpretationen. Hobsbawm[30] verwies zu Rech darauf, dass «progressiv» hier als qualitativer Terminus zu verstehen und keineswegs mit «sukzessiv» gleichzusetzen ist.

Auch wenn die genannten Formationen in der von Marx angegebenen Rangfolge einen Weg zu einer gesellschaftlichen Höherentwicklung der menschlichen Gesellschaft aufzeigen, so behauptet Marx doch nirgends, dass jede menschliche Gemeinschaft diesen Weg gegangensein muss oder ihn zu gehen hat. Das findet seinen Ausdruck nicht nur darin, dass einige der ge-

[26] Krader, *a. a. O.*, S. 287.
[27] *Ebenda*, S. 321.
[28] *Ebenda.*
[29] *MEW*, Bd. 13, S. 9.
[30] Marx, Karl, *Pre-capitalist Economic Formations*. With an introduction by Eric Hobsbawm, London 1964, S. 36.

nannten Sufen übersprungen werden können und auch übersprungen worden sind. Die zitierte These von Marx schliesst keineswegs den Untergang von Gesellschaften auf einer der genannten Stufen oder auch deren Regression aus. Unbestreitbar erscheint, dass der von Marx aufgezeigte Weg den «typischen» Entwicklungsweg zum Kapitalismus, wie er sich in Europa vollzog (besonders in West- und Teilen von Mitteleuropa) andeutet. Dabei scheint allerdings in diesem Zusammenhang die Stellung der Asiatischen Produktionsweise noch nicht voll bewiesen. Andererseits ist z. B. in China auf die Asiatische Produktionsweise weder eine antike noch eine feudale oder gar kapitalistische Form gefolgt.[31] Krader scheint in den wenigen diesbezüglichen Bemerkungen durchblikken zu lassen, dass er der These von einer multilinearen Entwicklung zuneigt. Er zitiert dazu, allerdings nur in kurzen Fussnoten, Marxsche Hinweise aus dem Kapital,[32] in denen der Staat der Inca als eine besondere Form gewürdigt wird — eine Gemeinschaft sui generis, deren Spezifik auf eine multilineare Entwicklungsmöglichkeit der menschlichen Gesellschaft schliessen lässt.[33] Es muss verwundern, dass Krader diesem Problem nicht mehr Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet hat, bietet doch die seinem Werk beigefügte Übersetzung des Marxschen Konspekts zu Kovalevskij genügend Anlass, gerade diese Frage der multilinearen Entwicklung näher zu überprüfen.[34]

In den Teilen des Konspekts, die sich mit Britisch-Ostindien und Algerien befassen, weist Marx nach, dass es sich bei diesen Gesellschaften während des letzten Jahrhunderts (und in Indien auch bereits in vorhergegangenen Jahrhunderten) weder um eine eindeutige Form der Asiatischen Produktionsweise handelt, noch dass man von einer antiken oder feudalen Form sprechen kann, auch wenn es bereits eine gewisse Weiterentwicklung über die Asiatische Produktionsweise hinaus gegeben hat. Die Behauptung von Kovalevskij, dass es im Indien der Moghuln bereits einen Feudalismus gegeben habe, wird von Marx nachdrücklich zurückgewiesen.[35] Marx unterstreicht, dass zu der genannten Zeit in Indien unter anderem keine Leibeigenschaft nachweisbar ist, die als typisch für den westeuropäischen Feudalismus gelten muss. Ferner fehlt, wie Kovalevskij selbst feststellt, die Patrimonialjustiz.[36] Abgesehen von der bereits erwähnten Spezifik der chinesischen Gesellschaft nach dem Untergang der Asiatischen Produktionsweise kann also auch für Indien eine andere, der chinesischen nicht unbedingt ähnliche Spezifik angenommen werden. Sie unterscheiden sich u.a. durch das Fehlen der

[31] Lewin, Günter, *Probleme der uni- oder multilinearen Entwicklung der menschlichen Gesellschaft*, im Sammelband: *Probleme der geschichtswissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis*, Berlin 1977, S. 103—114.

[32] *MEW*, Bd. 25, S. 186—187; *MEW*, Bd. 23, S. 102.

[33] Krader, *a. a. O.*, S. 132 (Fussnote 18), S. 135 (Fussnote 24), S. 137.

[34] M. M. Kovalevskij, *Obščinnoe zemlevladenie...* [Der Gemeindelandbesitz...] Vgl. Krader, *a.a.O.*, S. 343—412. Es sei hier kurz bemerkt, dass eine deutsche Übersetzung dieses Konspekts existiert, die in Bezug auf Genauigkeit und Texttreue der von Krader überlegen zu sein scheint. (Harstick, Hans-Peter, *Karl Marx über Formen vorkapitalistischer Produktion*, Frankfurt/New York 1977, S. 21—210.) Der Autor der deutschen Übersetzung hat auch noch einen russischen Originalnachdruck des Werkes von Kovalevskij herausgebracht, der es ermöglicht, die beiden vorliegenden Übersetzungen zur vergleichen. (M. M. Kovalevskij, *Obščinnoe zemlevladenie. Pričiny, chod i posledstvija ego razloženija* [Der Gemeindelandbesitz, Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen seines Zerfalls]. Unveränderter fotomechanischer Nachdruck der 1879 im Verlag F. B. Miller, Moskau, erschienenen Ausgabe. Frankfurt/New York 1977.) Nicht unerwähnt bleiben sollte auch die 1958 vom Institut für Marxismus—Leninismus beim ZK der KPdSU veröffentlichte russische Ausgabe des Konspekts, die ebenfalls von hoher Qualität ist. *(Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, Moskau 1958, Nr. 3—5.)

[35] Krader, *a.a.O.*, S. 383; Harstick, Hans-Peter, *a.a.O.*, S. 76.

[36] *Ebenda.*

Dorfgemeinschaften in China, die in Indien noch länger fortbestanden. Gemeinsam ist beiden, dass zu einem späteren Stadium Elemente des Kapitalismus von aussen oktroyiert worden sind. Leider gibt es bei Krader keine spezifische Auseinandersetzung mit Kovalevskij oder den Marxschen Bemerkungen dazu. Am nächsten kommt einer solchen Auseinandersetzung noch eine Reihe von Bemerkungen zum Problem der «Stagnation» in der orientalischen Gesellschaft. «In der frühen Periode der Asiatischen Produktionsweise standen die Beziehungen der politischen Ökonomie, das Volk (civil society) und der Staat am Anfang ihrer Entwicklung. Weder die Gesellschaft noch die politische Ökonomie der Asiatischen Produktionsweise stagnierten. Im Gegenteil — während des historischen Verlaufs der Asiatischen Produktionsweise gab es eine Bewegung von der Einheit von Steuer/Pacht zur Trennung der beiden voneinander; Privateigentum am Boden entwickelte sich; Kapital wurde gebildet; die Bindung der Bauern an die Dorfgemeinschaften wurde lockerer; Stadt und Land differenzierten sich zusehends als Zweige der gesellschaftlichen Produktion.»[37] Diesen Versuchen, die Stagnation der orientalischen Gesellschaft zu bestreiten, folgen noch weitere Beispiele — im wesentlichen alle von der Substanz her nicht ganz stichhaltig. Man muss unterscheiden zwischen «absoluter» und «relativer» Stagnation. Erstere ist wohl kaum in einem Lande mit Asiatischer Produktionsweise nachzuweisen, wohl aber z. B. bei den Ureinwohnern Australiens. Eine relative Stagnation, d. h. die Unmöglichkeit, aus der der Asiatischen Produktionsweise folgenden zu einer höheren fortzuschreiten, lässt sich für China nachweisen.[38] Man muss nämlich Krader konzedieren, dass die Asiatische Produktionsweise sowohl in Indien als auch in China eine gewisse Entwicklung durchgemacht hat, die zu einer Folgeformation führte. Diese jedoch gelangte nicht über den Zustand der relativen Stagnation hinaus, weil sie von zu vielen Faktoren gehemmt wurde, die aus der Asiatischen Produktionsweise übernommen und nicht überwunden worden waren. Dazu gehörte vor allem die Zentralisierung der politischen und ökonomischen Macht in den Händen des Staates und seiner Beamten, die zur Behinderung der Entwicklung der Städte und der sie in Europa tragenden frühbürgerlichen Schicht führte. Es könnten noch andere Faktoren genannt werden, aber es soll hier genügen, darauf zu verweisen, dass Krader diese wichtige Tendenz — ein wesentliches Beispiel für die Möglichkeit einer multilinearen Entwicklung der menschlichen Gesellschaft — völlig ausser acht gelassen hat.

Dass auch Marx die «orientalischen Gesellschaften» recht differenziert betrachtete und ebenfalls davon ausging, dass im 19. Jahrhundert weder in Indien noch in China noch eine Asiatische Produktionsweise existierte, geht aus folgenden Ausführungen hervor: «Der einfache produktive Organismus dieser selbstgenügenden Gemeinschaften, die sich beständig in derselben Form reproduzieren und, wenn zufällig zerstört, an demselben Ort mit demselben Namen wieder aufbauen, liefert den Schlüssel zum Geheimnis der Unveränderlichkeit asiatischer Gesellschaften, so auffallend kontrastiert durch die beständige Auflösung und Neubildung asiatischer Staaten und rastlosen Dynastenwechsel. Die Struktur der ökonomischen Grundelemente der Gesellschaft bleibt von den Stürmen der politischen Wolkenregion unberührt.»[39] Diese Definition bezieht sich, wie aus dem Anfang des Absatzes hervorgeht, in erster Linie auf Indien. Es heisst dort: «Jene uraltertümlichen, kleinen indischen Gemeinwesen z. B., die zum Teil noch fortexistieren, beruhn auf gemeinschaftlichem Besitz des Grund und Bodens, auf unmittelbarer Verbindung von Agri-

[37] Krader, *a. a. O.*, S. 337 f.
[38] Vgl. Lewin, *Die ersten fünfzig Jahre...*, S. 187 ff.

[39] *MEW*, Bd. 23, S. 379.

kultur und Handwerk und auf einer festen Teilung der Arbeit, die bei Anlage neuer Gemeinwesen als gegebner Plan und Grundriss dient.»[40] An anderer Stelle unterscheidet Marx recht deutlich zwischen Indien und China: «Die Hindernisse, die die innere Festigkeit und Gliederung vorkapitalistischer nationaler Produktionsweisen der auflösenden Wirkung des Handels entegegensetzt, zeigt sich schlagend im Verkehr der Engländer mit Indien und China. Die breite Basis der Produktionsweise ist hier gebildet durch die Einheit kleiner Agrikultur und häuslicher Industrie, wobei noch in Indien die Form der auf Gemeineigentum am Boden beruhenden Dorfgemeinschaften hizukommt, die übrigens auch in China die ursprüngliche Form war.«[41] In seinem Artikel «Der Handel mit China» sieht Marx, unter Bezug auf britische Berichte, die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse in China anders, eben auf der Grundlage der nicht mehr existierenden Dorfgemeinschaften. Er stellt fest, dass «die ökonomische Struktur der chinesischen Gesellschaft. . . auf der Vereinigung kleiner Agrikultur mit häuslicher Industrie beruht.»[42] Näher erläutert Marx dazu, gestützt auf einen britischen Bericht: «. . . Ich machte alle Anstrengungen . . . von ihnen genaue Auskünfte über die Grösse ihrer Höfe, die Art ihres Grundbesitzes, die Steuern, die sie zu zahlen haben, und dergleichen Dinge mehr zu erhalten. Ich kam zu dem Schluss, dass sie in den meisten Fällen ihr Land, das von sehr begrenztem Ausmass ist, gegen Entrichtung bestimmter, nicht übermässiger jährlicher Abgaben als unbeschränkten Besitz von der Krone erhalten. . .»[43] Ohne näher auf die Gründe dafür einzugehen, kann man bei Marx in Bezug auf Indien und China eine deutliche Differenzierung feststellen,[44] die sich u. a. auch in seinen Kommentaren zu Kovalevskijs Werk über Indien und den obigen Bemerkungen über China belegen lässt. Dennoch sieht Krader die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung in den grossen asiatischen Ländern als gleichgeartet an.

«Die Länder Asiens, die die historischen Daten für die Theorie von der Asiatischen Produktionsweise bildeten, waren in erster Linie Indien, ferner China und Persien. Es handelt sich dabei um Länder, in denen seit Tausenden von Jahren die Landwirtschaft die vorherrschende Basis der Existenz gewesen ist, über die die Geschichtsschreibung während der gesamten Periode berichtet hat. Die überwiegende Mehrheit der Bevölkerung dieser Länder lebt in Dörfern, die Gemeinschaften in direkter Beziehung zum Boden bildeten und die den Boden nach Methoden bestellten, die sich seit vorgeschichtlichen Zeiten nur wenig verändert hatten; aber schliesslich wurde die Kontinuität durch die kolonialistischen Einfälle zu der Zeit unterbrochen, als Marx sich mit der Erforschung dieses Gegenstandes befasste; die doppelten Mittel der Einfälle seitens der Kolonialmächte Europas waren Handel und bewaffnete Macht. In beiderlei Hinsicht besass der europäische Kapitalismus Mittel, die denen der Asiatischen Produktionsweise überlegen waren.»[45]

Abschliessend kann hierzu wohl festgestellt werden, dass die Asiatische Produktionsweise *vor ihrer beginnenden Auflösung* im wesentlichen der von Marx im Kapitel «Vorkapitalistisches» der «Grundrisse» skizzierten Charakteristik entsprach.[46] Sie stellte einerseits die erste antagonistische Gesellschaftsformation und gleichzeitig den Übergang von der nichtantagonistischen Urgemeinschaft zur Klassengesellschaft dar. Aus der jeweiligen regionalen und historischen Spezifik ergeben sich die unterschiedlichen Formen der ihr folgenden Produktionsweise, wobei nicht auszuschliessen ist, dass auch der antiken For-

[40] *Ebenda*, S. 378.
[41] *MEW*, Bd. 25, S. 346.
[42] *MEW*, Bd. 13, S. 540.
[43] *MEW*, Bd. 13, S. 544.
[44] Krader, *a a O* , S. 144.

[45] Ebenda, S. 286.
[46] Marx, Karl, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, Berlin 1953.

mation in Europa eine «asiatische» Form (z. B. in Mesopotamien, mit Ausstrahlung nach Kreta, Mykene usw.) vorangegangen ist.

Sehr zu begrüssen ist, dass sich Krader nicht nur von den Ausfällen Wittfogels distanziert, sondern auch im Sinne der Marxschen Theorie die Konzeption vom geographischen Determinismus ablehnt. Völlig unberechtigt wird Marx mit der Auslegung in Verbindung gebracht, die in der Asiatischen Produktionsweise bestehende Zentralisierung der Macht sei eine Reaktion auf die durch die Umwelt bedingte Notwendigkeit der künstlichen Bewässerung gewesen. Marx vertrat gerade den gegenteiligen Standpunkt.[47] Um solche Anlagen in grösserem Umfang zu bauen, musste, so die Vertreter des geographischen Determinismus, eine starke zentralgeleitete Staatsmacht gebildet werden, d. h. die natürlichen Bedingungen waren die Voraussetzung für die Herausbildung sonderer Produktionsverhältnisse. Wie Krader ebenfalls bestätigt, war genau das Gegenteil der Fall: Die soziale Organisation der Menschen befähigte sie zur Ausnutzung natürlicher Hilfsquellen und zur immer weiter gehenden Beherrschung der vorgefundenen Natur. Krader stellt dazu sehr richtig fest: «Die Arbeiten zur künstlichen Bewässerung in den orientalischen Reichen sind das Mittel, durch das der Mensch die Natur beherrschte, indem er zuerst seinen Mitmenschen beherrschte, indem er ihn versklavte und die Arbeiterarmee für diese Aufgaben rektutierte: die Beherrschung der Natur muss mit einem gesellschaftlichen Phänomen beginnen.»[48]

Obwohl sowohl Krader als auch Harstick die russische Sprache beherrschen (die beiden erstgenannten stellen das besonders durch ihre Kovalevskij-Übersetzungen unter Beweis), nahmen die Arbeiten sowjetischer Forscher in ihren Literaturangaben und in den Arbeiten selbst nur einen sehr untergeordneten Platz ein. Ebenso gehen Krader und Harstick kaum auf die internationale Diskussion über die vorkapitalistischen Formationen ein, während sich Sawer[49] etwas ausführlicher damit beschäftigt. Der Hauptmangel ihrer Arbeiten, und das gilt sowohl für Krader als auch für Harstick, Sawer und Harris,[50] ist das fehlende Verständnis für die praktische Bedeutung der marxistischen Lehre und ihres Kernstücks, der Lehre von den Gesellschaftsformationen.

Günter Lewin (Leipzig)

[47] Marx, Karl, *Formen, die der kapitalistischen Produktion vorhergehen* (2. Aufl.), Berlin 1972, S. 7.) Vgl. auch: Ders., *Grundrisse. . . .*, Kap. «Vorkapitalistisches»); Vgl. auch: *MEW*, Bd. 28, S. 254, 259, 267; Vgl. auch: Lenin, W. I., *Konspekt zum «Briefwechsel zwischen Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels 1844—1882»*, Berlin 1963, S. 28, 71, 303, 307.

[48] Krader, *a.a.O.*, S. 150.

[49] Sawer, Marian, *Marxism and the Question of the Asiatic Mode of Production*, Den Haag 1977.

[50] Harris, Marvin, *Cannibals and Kings*, Glasgow 1978.

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