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THE MARVELLOUS LAMA IN MONGOLIA: THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF A CULTURAL BORROWING

CHRISTOPHER ATWOOD (Bloomington)

The early modern period in Mongolia—from the late sixteenth century to the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1912—began with two overlapping trends.* The first was the "second conversion" of the Mongols to Tibetan-rite[1] Buddhism, which followed the thirteenth–fourteenth century conversion and subsequent apostasy, while the second was the gradual extension of Manchu Qing sway over all of Mongolia. From 1586 on, Buddhism rapidly became the religion, at least nominally, of all the Mongols and exercised a profound effect on their philosophical, literary and artistic, as well as religious life. The extension of Manchu rule over Mongolia, however, at first had few intellectual or cultural consequences; the early Manchu elite tried very hard to assimilate elements of Mongolian culture and to present themselves to the Mongols as not fundamentally different from them. After the Manchus conquered China and migrated in large numbers to metropolises like Beijing, Hangzhou, and Xi'an, though, their civilization began a process of acculturation to the Chinese norm that culminated, by the twentieth century, in the essentially complete extinction of Manchu culture. As many Mongols had joined the Manchus in the garrison banners in China, and many throughout Mongolia were knowledgeable in Manchu (far more than in Chinese), this Manchu acculturation resulted in the growth in Mongolia of an alternative culture to that of the Tibetan dominated Yellow Church (*sira šasin*). The intellectual history of early modern Mongolia, then, consists in the growth, elaboration, and eventual conflict of these two competing world views: the Tibetan Buddhist one and the secular Sino-Manchu one.

* I would like to thank Robert Campany and György Kara for reading drafts of this paper and giving many valuable criticisms and suggestions.

[1] I use this term to distinguish the mixed Mahayana-Vajrayana Buddhist tradition based on the Tibetan-language scriptures and commentaries found in Inner Asia, from the likewise doctrinally mixed Buddhist tradition based on Chinese-language ones found in East Asia. Contrary to common belief, these two great traditions are little different in formal doctrines, which makes it inadequate to characterize one as Vajrayana or Tantric and the other as purely Mahayana. Both in turn contrast to the Pali-rite, doctrinally Theravada, Buddhism of Southeast Asia.

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One curious illustration of this dual tradition lies ironically in the literature found in Mongolia about a purely Chinese subject, the Tang monk, Xuanzang. The story of this Chinese scripture seeker was known in Mongolia from at least the early seventeenth century on. The Chinese version of this story, however, came in not one but two versions: the historically accurate one, being based on the account of the journey published by Xuanzang himself (*Datang xiyu ji* or "Record of the Western Regions during the Great Tang Dynasty"), as well as a biography by his disciples Huili and Yancong (*Da Ci'en Si Sanzang fashi zhuan* or "Biography of the Master of the Law, Tripitaka, of the Great Temple of Motherly Love"), while the other was a version that had circulated as a magical narrative of the monks' trials and culminated during the Ming dynasty in the *Xi you ji* (literally "Record of a Journey to the West", but henceforth called *The Journey to the West* following the title of the English translation). This novel used the story of scripture seeking as a vehicle for a profound reflection on the path of self-cultivation, and the nature of emptiness. Notably, in view of the fact that the historical Xuanzang was a Buddhist monk, and had several times come into conflict with Daoist priests, for whom he had scant respect,[2] the author of *The Journey to the West* merged Daoist, Buddhist, and Confucian concepts to form what may be considered a charter for the kind of syncretic religion widespread in China at the time. The difference of the novelistic version from the historical version thus goes far beyond merely adding magical and, to a rationalist mind, impossible events, but lies most essentially in the presence of a radically different way of looking at religious truth.

Both of these versions did circulate in Mongolia, and more importantly, the Mongols in general clearly understood the religious import of both the historical and the novelistic versions. In general, the historical version was favored by those writers and intellectuals who adhered to the world-view of Tibetan Buddhism. To them Xuanzang's act of going to India to find the true scriptures, taking them back to China, translating them, and thus spreading "the" religion in his native China, recalled the arduous efforts of the great pioneers of Mongolian Buddhism, who likewise had to seek the true scriptures in a foreign land (here Tibet), translate them, and spread the faith. Thus, although Xuanzang was Chinese, his presence in history testified to the universality of Buddhism, as well as furnishing a model and example for the activities of the Mongolian Buddhist missionaries and translators.

Those Mongols, at first concentrated among the Mongolian banner garrisons in China, whose world-view was profoundly influenced by the

[2] Arthur Waley, *The Real Tripitaka and Other Pieces* (London: George Unwin and Allen, 1952), pp. 91–93.

Sino-Manchu culture adopted the novelistic version whose non-canonical and philosophical approach seemed more convincing to those dissatisfied by the prevailing orthodoxy. Later, in the second half of the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Mongolian translation of the novel spread so widely that it largely replaced the historical version as the main version of the story of Xuanzang. But while in most of Mongolia, this translation was read as only another sacred Buddhist text, in East Mongolia (modern Kingγan, J̌uu Uda, and J̌irim ayimaγs), with its still vigorous oral and pagan culture, the syncretist world view of the novel was embodied in literature which, while not always based on the novel, adopted its characters, and its message of guardianship and salvation. In this sense the novel's spread was a mark of all those circles in Mongolia which were unconvinced of the universality of the Buddhist message.

The Historical Xuanzang in Inner Asia, up to the Kangxi Reign

The earliest predecessor of the historical Xuanzang story in Mongolia, was the Old Turkish translation undertaken among the Uygur Kingdom of Qočo (Turpan), in the tenth century. The translation of Chinese texts into Uygur, including Sïnqo Salï Tutun's tenth century translation of the biography of Xuanzang, was a common phenomenon, and a substantial amount of the vocabulary of Uygur Buddhism was borrowed from Chinese (thus *Molon* > *Mulian* > *Maudgalyāyana*; *Qomsim/Kuan ši im* > *Guanshiyin*; *Bišman/Višman* > *Bishaman* > *Vaiśravaṇa*, etc.).[3] The Uygurs of Turphan were the first teachers of the Mongols and formed the large majority of their scribes possibly into the sixteenth century. Even some of the famous fourteenth century translators from Tibetan into Mongolian were ethnically Uygurs. Thus virtually all the Uygur Buddhist terminology, as well as many formulas (including all the Chinese derived terminology above), were then passed on from them to the Mongols. However the Uygur translation of Xuanzang's biography, the *Da Ci'en Si Sanzang fashi zhuan*, does not seem to have achieved great

[3] See Hans-J. Klimkeit, "Buddhism in Turkish Central Asia," *Numen* Vol. 37 (June, 1990), fasc. 1, pp. 61–64. On the translator see Peter Zieme, "Šïnqu Salï Tutung—Übersetzer Buddhistischer Schriften in uigurische," in Walther Heissig, ed., *Tractata Altaica* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), pp. 767–775 and Robert Finch, " 'The Sri Parivarta' (Chapters XVI and XVII from Šïnqu Sali's Uighur translation of I-tsing's version of the *Suvarnaprabhasottama-sutra*)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1976). The most extensive bibliography of Old Uygur philology is in Klaus Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterialder vori slamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977), pp. 17–28, while the Klimkeit article also has a useful, more current, bibliography.

popularity and it is unknown whether it served as a direct textual source for the Xuanzang story in Mongolia.[4]

Another source which the Mongols more certainly drew on was the Tibetan histories of Buddhism. During the Yuan dynasty (1271—1368), Tibetan monks travelled throughout China and began to acquire an interest in Chinese history. Several selections from Chinese historical works were translated into Tibetan and these works were collected and edited by Rin-chen Grags-pa in 1325. These works concentrated on political history, and especially on China's relations with Tibet, but also contained occasional notes on Chinese Buddhist luminaries. These notes on Chinese history were copied into later histories such as the *Deb-ther dmar-po* ("The Red Annals", 1346) and the *Deb-ther sngon-po* ("The Blue Annals") completed in 1478 by Gzhon-nu-dpal.[5] The latter work includes Xuanzang, whom he calls Tang Sanzang ("Tang Tripitaka"), as one of the only three episodes it records about Chinese Buddhist history.[6] The other figures mentioned are Zhu Falan or Dharmaratna of the Han, and a sandalwood image of the Buddha imported in the Jin dynasty.[7] Thus, although the Tibetan scholars seem to have considered Tripitaka and Tang Taizong to be China's most important Buddhist priest and patron, respectively, the subject was clearly of no great interest to them.[8]

[4] The translation is reproduced in Huili, *Huihu wen pusa Datang Sanzang Fashi zhuan* (Beijing: 1951). There are many partial studies of this translations now available, including Annemarie von Gabain, "Die uigurische Übersetzung der Biographie Hüen-Tsangs. I. Bruchstücke des 5. Kapitels," *Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wißenschaften, Philologische-historische Klasse*, 7 (1935), 151—180, and "Briefe der uigurischen Hüen-tsang Biographie." *SPAW, Ph.-Hi. Kl.*, 29 (1938), 371—415; Anthony Thomas Arlotto, "The Uighur text of Hsüan-Tsang's biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1966); L. Yu. Tugusheva, "Uygurskaya versiya biografiy Syuan' Tszana (fragmenty iz gl. X)," *Pis'mennyye pamyatniki vostoka: Istoriko-filologicheskiye issledovaniya*, 74 (1971), 253—296; Semih Tezcan, "Uygurca Hsüan tsang biyografisi. X. bölüm" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Ankara University, 1975); John Claver Toalster, "Die uigurische Xuan-Zang-Biographie. 4. Kapitel mit Übersetzung und Kommentar" (Ph.D. Dissertation Gießen, 1977). Kahar Barat, a Uygur student at Harvard University is preparing a complete annotated translation into English of this work (oral communication, 13 December, 1989).

[5] George N. Roerich, trans. and ed., *The Blue Annals* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1979), p. 47; Joseph Kolmaš, "Tibetan Sources" in Donald Leslie et al., eds, *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1975), pp. 132—133.

[6] Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, p. 55. The account of Chinese history takes up pages 47—60.

[7] Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, pp. 47—60.

[8] In the 1980s Tibetan monks at Sku-'bum made butter images for the Festival of Lights of, among many other things, the four scripture seekers of the novel *Journey to the West*. The style, though, seems to be clearly influenced by modern cartoon and television representations of the characters. See Li Zhiwu and Liu Lizhong, *Ta'er si/Gdan-*

By the early seventeenth century the Mongols too were certainly aware at least of the Chinese pilgrim's translation activities. One of the works in the Tibetan scriptures, the Bka'-'gyur (Mongolian Ґanǰuur) was originally translated into Tibetan from Chinese, not Sanskrit, and the Mongolian colophon noted that the work was translated by the "incarnation of the Buddha, the Chinese (*nanggiyad*) interpreter named Tang Sanzang".[9] The figure of Tang Sanzang probably occupied a greater part of Mongolian thinking than this one colophon might suggest. Ligdan Qaγan, the last emperor of the Latter Yuan Dynasty (1368—1634) adopted among his many sonorous titles, that of Tang Taizong, which presumably symbolized his role as the patron of the team of translators who completed the Mongolian Ґanǰuur.[10] The Mongolian translators and their imperial patron presumably saw the activity of the Tang emperor and the incarnation of the Buddha, Tang Sanzang, as a prototype for their own translation and publication of the dharma. Thus although the story of Xuanzang is not directly mentioned, we may surmise that it was fairly well-known to the high Mongolian lamas of this period.

The other indication of pre-eighteenth century knowledge of the Xuanzang tale comes from the translation of his name used in the 1721 translation of the *Journey to the West* by Arana (on which, see below). Significantly, although all the other characters' names were simply transcribed from Chinese into Mongolian, the name of Xuanzang was always given as *Tangsuγ Lama*, meaning "The Marvelous Lama", a distortion of his Chinese nickname, *Tang Seng*, or "The Tang Monk".[11] This distortion shows that Tripitaka had by the time of Kangxi become more than a bookish curiosity, and was already fairly

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sa chen-mo Sku-'bum byams-pa-ling (Beijing: Wenwu Publishing House), pls. 140 (caption), 157. On this festival and its butter statues at Sku-'bum monastery, see Thubten Jigme Norbu, with Heinrich Harrer, *Tibet is my Country* (London: Wisdom Publications, 1986), pp. 129—132.

[9] Louis Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanǰur Mongol Imprimé* (Budapest: Société Kőrösi Csoma, 1944), p. 294; F. A. Bischoff, *Der Kanjur und Seine Kolophone*, vol. 2 (Bloomington: Selbstverlag Press, 1968), p. 530.

[10] Ligeti, pp. 102, 109; Bischoff, pp. 193, 204—5. Also David M. Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva in the Governance of the Ch'ing Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 38 (1978), pp. 5—34.

[11] This transformation is easily explainable by Mongolian phonetic laws. Since in colloquial pronunciation the second vowel of both *tangseng* and *tangsuγ* would become *-a-*, an alteration in the written form can occur easily. In the word-final position, the alteration of *-γ* and of *-ng* is also found in both loan-words and native Mongolian words, for example *bodisung*~*bodisuγ*, "Bodhisattva," a loan-word (B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel' naya grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo yazyka khalkhaskogo narechiya: vvedeniya i fonetika* (Leningrad: Oriental Institute of Leningrad, 1929—reprinted Moscow: 'Nauka', 1989), p. 395) and *dabusang*~*dabusaγ*, "bladder", a native word (*BNMAU daxi mongol xelnii nutgiin ayalguunî toli bičig*, vol. 1, *Xalx ayalguu, A—W* (Ulaanbaatar: Institute of Language and Literature, Academy of Sciences of the MPR, 1988), p. 99.

well-known figure. To this day Xuanzang is always known to the Mongols as the "Marvelous Lama".

What version had the story of Xuanzang become so well known in? The fact that the Mongols called him "Tangsuγ Lama", a derivative of "Tang Seng", and not "Tang Tripitaka" or a derivative thereof, as did the Tibetans, suggests the story was not transmitted through Tibetan histories. If the medium was the one-hundred chapter version of *The Journey to the West* or something similar, then the name might well represent a pun; *tangsuγ* means not only "marvelous", but also "tasty", an appropriate name for a monk whom demons constantly threaten to eat. Moreover the name "Tangsuγ Lama" later became closely associated with Xuanzang as found in the novel, while the lamas enamored of the great translator often preferred to call him "Tang Seng Heshang", or "Tang Sanzang" (see below). Thus it is most likely the Mongols had already become familiar with the novelistic version.

By 1688, the one-hundred chapter version of the novel had been translated into Manchu, with the Chinese subtitle transcribed into Manchu, *Tang Siyang jiu jing* (i.e. *Tangseng qu jing*). So before the end of the eighteenth century, the novel was already known in the bannermen communities of China, with Xuanzang called Tangseng.[12] We may speculate that this Manchu translation played a large role in the entry of this novel into the Mongolian literary consciousness. If the novel version was so well known, however, it is hard to explain why there were not current nicknames for Monkey and the other pilgrims for Arana to use. They are certainly as prominent as Xuanzang in the novel, and in the nineteenth century acquired their own Mongolian names. Thus the question of the origin of the name "Tangsuγ Lama" cannot be definitely decided yet.

The Entry of *The Journey to the West* into Mongolia: Arana's annotated translation of 1721

The first clear indication of knowledge of the novel *The Journey to the West* comes to Mongolia in the form of a full annotated translation of the one-hundred chapter text. As we have seen above the tale of the Marvellous Lama was probably already familiar in one form or another, and the Manchu translation must have made the task of adaption into Mongolian that much easier. It seems obvious, moreover, that detailed knowledge of the work,

[12] Martin Gimm, "The Manchu Translations of Chinese Novels and Short Stories — An Attempt at an Inventory," in Claudine Salmon, ed., *Literary Migrations: Traditional Chinese Fiction in Asia (17—20th Centuries)* (Beijing: International Cultural Publishing Corporation, 1987), p. 183. The continuation of the *Xi you ji, Hou xi you ji*, was also translated into Manchu at some point (Gimm, pp. 156—7.)

while not necessarily widespread, must also have existed before then, in the bannerman circles that eventually gave rise to the annotated translation. The translator, a Mongolian bannerman named Arana (c. 1650—1724), wrote in his preface:

> The old man Arana on the far frontier, official of the first grade in the all-yellow banner of the Great Qing dynasty, and a Assistant General and Senior Assistant Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard (*dorgi amban*), began from the Chinese scripture on the auspicious two blue mouse days, in the beginning of the first month of spring, the white tiger month, of the sixtieth year of Kangxi, a female white ox year, and finished the Mongolian translation on the two female white rabbit days, in the beginning of the last month of summer, the female blue sheep month in the same year.[13]

In other words he completed the translation in a period of about five months from January 29—30 to June 25—26, of the year 1721. Now we may be sure that the task of translating this hundred chapter novel took a far longer time than that, especially when Arana tells us that the translation was undertaken during free moments while serving with the Qing's Barköl army in modern Xinjiang.[14] Arana must have been familiar with the novel, and most likely the Manchu translation as well, for years, or more likely decades, beforehand, and been preparing various draft translations long prior to the preparation of the final version in spring and summer of 1721.[15]

The Mongolian bannermen consisted of those Mongols who had been taken from their own Mongolian territorial banners and been enlisted in the military banners garrisoning China proper and Manchuria. These Mongolian bannermen preserved their mother-tongue at least through the eighteenth century, but also participated in the flourishing Chinese-language banner

[13] B. Gereltü, *Mongγol γokiyalčid—un sigümγi ögülel-üd 1721—1945*. (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia Educational Publishing House, 1981), p. 23; E. Tümenγargal, "Tansan lamîn baruun etgeeded jorčsonîg temdeglesen tüüx gedeg joxiolîg mongol xelnee orčuulsan ni," in C. Damdinsüren, ed., *Mongolîn uran γoxiolîn toim*, vol. 3, *XIX γuunî üye* (Ulaanbaatar: State Publishing House, 1968), pp. 209. The original 1791 blockprint version which Tümenγargal used and on which Gereltü based his anthologized version, has "the sixth year of Kangxi," which must be a mistake, as the sixth year is a female red sheep year, while only the sixtieth is the requisite female white ox year. Both critics emends the text accordingly, and I have followed their emendation. The "two days" refers to auspicious days which were doubled in the Mongolian calender.

[14] Gereltü, p. 23.

[15] This translation is called the "first edition" in the discussion of Tümenγargal, pp. 200—210. Walther Heissig, *Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur*, vol. 1, *19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1972), p. 271, claims that the translation was done by several Čaqars, a claim which is obviously mistaken. These Čaqars are either the sponsors and scribes for the printed edition of 1791 discussed below, or the translators of the second translation mentioned by Tümenγargal.

culture that produced, among other monuments, *The Story of the Stone*.[16] At the same time Beijing was also a major center of Tibetan-rite Buddhism and the Qing dynasty's Tibetan—Manchu—Mongolian—Chinese tetraglot publishing and translating activity. The Mongols living there thus became a major conduit of entry for elite Chinese culture into Mongolian life; out of sixty-two Mongolian poets writing in Chinese during the Qing, thirty-two certainly belonged to Mongolian garrison banners and seven to Manchu garrison banners, while three were probably bannermen. Only four came from the territorial banners of Mongolia itself.[17]

What little we know of Arana shows that he well exemplified this highly civilised hybrid culture. His family was originally of the Umi lineage in Čaqar. After Ligdan Qaγan's defeat, Arana's grandfather Balayidur Mangnai surrendered to the Qing, and gradually achieved a high position. His son and Arana's father, Qadai, participated in the great Qing campaigns to conquer China, as well as in battles against Qalqa Mongolia and the pirates along China's eastern coast. He died in 1680 with the prestigious title of Senior Assistant Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard; Arana took up his inherited ceremonial duties, at first as Junior Assistant Chamberlain of the Imperial Bodyguard, ten years later.[18]

From 1708 to 1720, he worked on several imperially-sponsored translation projects, such as the *Qorin nigetü tayilburi toli* ("Mongolian Dictionary in Twenty-One Parts"), a translation of a textbook of astronomy, and a reprinting of the Mongolian Bka'-'gyur.[19] The language of his translation of *The Journey*

[16] See Jonathan D. Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor: Bondservant and Master* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).

[17] Wang Shupan and Sun Yuzhen, *Gudai Mengguzu hanwen shi xuan* (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Press, 1984), pp. 218—423; Bayannamur and B. Temürbaγan-a, *Dumdadu Ulus-un mongγol ǰokiyalči-yin namtar* (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Press, 1986), pp. 39—245.

[18] Ertai [Ortai], *Ba qi tongzhi* (Changchun: Northeast Normal University, 1985), vol. 6 (juan 170), pp. 4165—6; cf. Kanda Nobuo, *Hakki tsûshi retsuden sakuin* (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko Seminar on Manchu History, 1965), pp. 16a, 109b, 151b. The date of his succession to his father in the Table of Inheritances of this work (vol. 4 (*juan* 99), p. 2319) is erroneous, being actually the date when Arana's father, Qadai, succeeded *his* father, Balayidur Mangnai. On the Imperial Bodyguard see H. S. Brunnert and V. V. Hagelstrom (A. Beltchenko, trans.) *Present Day Political Organization of China* (Shanghay: Kelly & Walsh, 1912), p. 26. Both Arana and his father also held the Manchu titles of *jingkini hafan*, "upright official".

[19] Tümenǰargal, pp. 209—210; Rinčingawa, *Mongγol orčiγuly-a-yin teüke-yin quriyangγui toyimu* (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House, 1986), pp. 92—93; Inner Mongolian Institute for Mongolian Language, Literature and History, ed., *Qorin nigetü tayilburi toli* (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House, 1977), p. 1. This dictionary was augmented and partially published in Ulaanbaatar as *Γučin ǰirγuγatu tayilburi toli*, Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, vol. 1 (Ulaanbaatar: 1961).

to the West shows his mastery not only of Chinese, but also of the Tibetan-influenced Mongolian then prevalent. From 1715 on, though, his participation in the work of these translations must have been more in name than in fact for he was campaigning with the Qing armies against Čéwangrabdan in the Kumul, Turpan, and Barköl areas. In the first year of Yongzheng (1723) he was promoted to the position of Lieutenant-General of the Mongolian Bordered Yellow Banner. He died at his post in the third moon (March 25—April 22) of 1724.[20]

In the preface to his translation, Arana identifies the text as an exercise in *upâya* (skillful means). He claims that as the novel's comedy and satire was of profound import it was the same as a Mahayana text:

> Since, in my opinion, the allegorical and comic passages in this sutra, *The Journey to the West*, are all both profound and exact, they have the same nature as the Mahayana scriptures. Thus, hoping to perform some small contribution, like adding motes of dust to Mount Sumeru . . . I have translated this Chinese scripture (*sudur*) into Mongolian. If the wise now take a fancy to one word or another, and spread it far and wide to benefit all living beings, the merit thereof will be as large as the number of the sands in the Ganges river.[21]

This preface identifies the *Journey to the West* as a Buddhist scripture by a whole series of means. First he explicitly calls it a *sudur*, the Mongolian term for scripture, derived from Sanskrit *sūtra*, which he earlier used in the phrase "Mahayana scriptures" (*yeke kölgen-ü sudur*). The term *sudur* was used primarily for religious works of Buddhist inspiration; Confucian classics when translated into Mongolian were called "*nom*", or "book". The imagery of the adding motes to Mount Sumeru, and the merit being as large as the number of the sands in the Ganges, of course, is Buddhist, the latter being used in the Diamond Sûtra to describe the merit that come from spreading the Perfection of Wisdom message.[22] Even the language takes on a scriptural cast; the use of *üiledbesü* as a complement for a verb (*delgeregülün üiledbesü*, "spread far and wide") is a calque from Tibetan commonly found in Mongolian translation of Buddhist scriptures from that language. Finally by referring to "Tangsuγ" as a lama in the very title of the work the translator was implicitly asking Mongolian Buddhists to accept him as one of their own; later when writers wished to draw a line between Chinese and Mongolian Buddhism they would call Xuanzang a *quušang* (see below).

[20] Ertai, *Ba qi tongzhi*, vol. 6 (*juan* 170), p. 4166.

[21] Gereltü, pp. 22—23; Tümenǰargal, p. 209.

[22] See, for example, Edward Conze, *Buddhist Wisdom Texts: The Diamond and Heart Sutra* (London, GeorgeAllen and Unwin, Ltd., 1958), pp. 49—50. The Mongolian translation is published in Nicholas Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra: Three Mongolian Versions of the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā: Texts, Translations and Notes* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), pp. 18, 105, 166 (Mongolian texts), and 56, 132, 191 (English translations).

Thus the reader of this preface might expect the text to bear the familiar message of saving living beings through the propagation of the Buddhist message found in the historical Tang Tripitaka story. Arana strengthens this impression by beginning his preface with two sentences that recall the justification given in the novel for the scripture seeking:

> I recall that the Buddha, in his mercy, pitied all living beings, and preached the Mahayana scriptures (*yeke kölgen-ü sudur*) to liberate them from the three evil incarnations, and lead them out from this world. As these sutras of the Great Vehicle can carry anyone, they may certainly transport one beyond the sea of Samsara.[23]

In the novel the Buddha and Guanyin send monk Tripitaka to go to the West to find Great Vehicle scriptures precisely in order to save the damned from hell and lead them beyond this world.[24] By thus echoing this aim in his preface Arana implicitly equates the translating of the novel with Xuanzang's mission to India.

In his commentary on the individual chapters, however, Arana shows himself very responsive to the syncretistic message of the novel, and rather contemptuous of the organized religion of his day. In the commentary to the first chapter we see again the same idea that the allegorical profoundity is comparable to that of the scripture:

> Those readers of the scripture *Journey to the West* who do not understand its meaning will certainly consider it a comedy. . . . If you grasp its true meaning, however, it is more penetrating even than the whole Γanǰuur.[25]

Whereas in the preface he claimed that, despite being a comedy, the work was profound, and hence the same as the scriptures, here he phrases the idea differently, and claims that only the unperceptive reader would take it as a comedy in the first place, and that properly understood, it is more penetrating, more salvific, even than the Γanǰuur, the Tibetan Buddhist canon. He thus introduces the idea of exoteric and esoteric readings, as well as the hint that the novel may not be a conventional Buddhist text after all, but something yet more profound. Arana later stresses this necessity to read for the esoteric meaning, and elevates it to a general principle:

[23] Gereltü, p. 22; Tümenǰargal, p. 209.

[24] Wu Cheng'en, *Xi you ji* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1961), vol. 1, chapter 8, p. 80, and chapter 12, pp. 138—139; Anthony Yu, trans., *The Journey to the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977—1983), vol. 1, pp. 184, 276.

[25] Gereltü, p. 24. See also the Chinese translation of Arana's commentary in *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu gudai meixue sixiang ziliao chubian* (Chengdu: Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House, 1989), p. 98.

[26] Gereltü, p. 28; Tümenǰargal, p. 207; *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu gudai meixue*, p. 100.

> In this sutra there are many comic and humorous episodes, as well as many that transmit the esoteric teaching. The readers must be aware of this. Not only when reading this sutra, but when reading any sutra, one most understand this.[26]

Once again he couples the idea of the necessity of esoteric interpretation, with the fear that his readers have not done it, not only in their reading of *The Journey to the West*, but in their reading of the sacred texts themselves.

He makes clear that this inadequacy is part of a widespread problem. In many instances he points out that the actions of people in this world truly resemble those that they laugh at in the novel. Thus in chapter sixteen, when the monks of Guanyin Dhyâna Hall try to steal Xuanzang's treasures, and in the end burn down their own monastery, Arana sadly concludes, "In general people of the world are all like this",[27] and when speaking of the "wondrous transformations" of the pilgrims, he says, "The transformations of Man's mind are even more wondrous. If people considered this and understood it, they would come to laugh at themselves".[28]

This widespread incomprehension of the nature of one's acts is by no means restricted to such common sense ideas. In fact it is just as widespread if not more in the ideas that both monks and lay people have of religion. In chapter ninety-six, there is an episode where a wealthy man of India (which in the novel is identified with the Western paradise) hopes to gain merit by feeding monks. Arana reflects:

> Others may ask, 'Now people all wish to be born in the Western land. This rich patron already lives there, so what more does he need to do?' I say, 'The people in the Eastern land wish to be born in the Western land, while the people in the Western land always wish to be born in the Eastern land. All those in that place are sick of it, but having left it they will once again come to like it. Now people all wish to be monks, and those monks want to be a layman. The people in the world are all generally sick of where they are and prefer some other thing.'[29]

To Arana, then, the average person's desire forreligious salvation represents nothing more than the restless itch for change. Nor do people understand the profound mystery of non-completion: "Heaven and Earth are not complete. One must understand when it is said that the dharma is broken, and can never be complete. Although this is clear, the people of the world in their greed will complete it. How truly laughable!"[30] The average monk and layman's comprehension of religion are both so low that they really represent two interchangeable states. Just as the novel portrays India as not substantially different from China, so being a "son of the Buddha" and a monk is really no different from being a common layman.

[27] Gereltü, p. 28.
[28] Gereltü, p. 29.
[29] Gereltü, p. 34; *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu gudai meixue*, p. 102.
[30] Gereltü, p. 35; *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu gudai meixue*, p. 102.

In many places Arana makes very clear his dissatisfaction with the Buddhists of his time. In the commentary to chapter forty-three, where Monkey explains the true meaning of the Heart Sûtra to Tripitaka, Arana laments: "Nowadays, there are many people who talk about the dharma who cannot even equal a monkey".[31] Arana reveals the full extent of his contempt for the present-day representatives of Buddhism, in the commentary on chapter eighty-four:

> One must agree that the killing of monks in the Dharma-destroying Kingdom is truly odious. But now, we can see that the ones who really destroy the Dharma are the monks. These monks too ought to be killed. Why are they spared?[32]

We can thus see that although Arana finds the doctrine of Buddhists to be something precious, so precious that those who degrade it are guilty of a capital offence, he feels the enemies of the doctrine are precisly those who claim to uphold it — the monks.

Not only does Arana thus despise the representatives of organized Buddhism, he also shows great sympathy with the novel's spirit of toleration. In chapter forty-four, where Sun Wukong has to subdue a Daoist fiend who has deluded the king of Cart Slow kingdom into oppressing monks, Monkey concludes by demanding that the king henceforth respect all the Three Religions (Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism). Arana writes in his commentary:

> Monks, do not despise the Daoist priests. Priests, do not despite the monks. Even though you are a monk, be an honest one, and even though you are a Daoist priest, be an honest one—both have their own good points. If you are a good monk or a good priest, you will not quarrel with each other. Alas! who now speaks thus?[33]

Thus Arana not only validates the syncretic message of novel, but goes on to contrast that profound understanding to the infirm comprehension of his own time.

Arana did not merely advocate the mutual toleration of Buddhists and Daoists, but was also actively interested in the latters' theory of the five phases in the body, and their use for self-cultivation. In particular, he saw the fire of the heart (represented by Sun Wukong in the novel) as the source of both transformation, but also, if unchecked by water, the source of disease.[34]

[31] Gereltü, p. 31; *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu gudai meixue*, p. 101.

[32] Gereltü, p. 34.

[33] Gereltü, pp. 31—32.

[34] Gereltü, pp. 25—26, 30—31; *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu gudai meixue*, pp. 98—99, 101. This theory that health depends on the proper tempering of the fire phase in body with the water phase was also held by Arana's contemporary, the Kangxi emperor—see Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China: Self Portrait of K'ang-hsi* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1974), p. 111.

To him, this meant that the great puzzle was, if as the novel says "Anyone with nine orifices can achieve the ability to transform . . . Why is it that people are many but transformations are few?"[35] The author may have intended an anti-clerical pun here; "transformation", *qubilyan* in Mongolian, is the same word as that used to refer to incarnate lamas, who were very common at the time. The implication would thus be that the present day incarnate lamas are not real transformations. Although his answer is vague and allegorical, Arana seems to lay this responsibility on those clerics who have spread the fear of hell. He writes:

> In plain words [the novel] says that however fierce the demons be, they fear people. Now, when we see how the ten kings of hell fear Wukong, this is no lie. Nowadays, many are the people in this world, however, who fear demons. Those who fear demons become demons of the demon.[36]

Who are these demons? Although Sun Wukong justly has no fear of hell, Arana feels stupid beings ought to fear it: "No matter how false what is said here is [the journey of Tang Taizong to hell and his view of the punishments of sinners there], the word 'hell' is a very useful tool with which to warn foolish beings."[37] thus we may surmise that the demons in question, which people fear, but Wukong does not, are those who warn people of hell fire. Stupid people should fear them and their words, but to realized immortals a belief in hell can only be an obstacle. Arana here employs the Buddhist idea of *upāya*, or skill in means; one must adapt the teaching to the level of comprehension of the listener. The idea that only we crude and evil creatures require the harsh, punitive doctrine of actual Buddhism, which to refined beings is superfluous, originates in the canonical Buddhist texts, and is reflected in *The Journey to the West* as well.[38]

[35] Gereltü, p. 26; Tümenǰargal, p. 206. Note Tümenjargal has mistranscribed *yisün*, "nine", as *jisü/jüs*, "color, appearance". The reference here to the nine perforations may be found in Wu, *Xi you ji*, vol. 1, chapter 3, p. 34 (cf. chapter 1, p. 2), and in Yu *Journey to the West*, vol. 1, p. 114 (cf. p. 67). Curiously, Arana translated "perforation" (*qiao*) as "color" (*öngge*). This could be mistake for the graphically similar "hole" *nöke*, but as both Gereltü and Tümenǰargal have read it as *öngge*, that is most likely the consistent reading of the manuscripts and block prints.

[36] Gereltü, p. 26; Tümenǰargal, p. 206.

[37] Gereltü, p. 27; Tümenǰargal, pp. 206—7; *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu gudai meixue*, p. 99. Tümenǰargal for *qudal*, "false," has misread *qota*, "city," which makes no sense.

[38] On this theme in scriptural literature see, for example, Robert A. F. Thurman, *The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti: A Mahayana Scripture* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), pp. 81—83; G. Kara, ed., *Vimalakīrti en Mongol* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982, vol. 1, pp. 95—97, and vol. 2, pp. 113—115. In the novel, see Wu, *Xi you ji*, vol. 1, chapter 8, p. 80, and vol. 2, chapter 98, pp. 1107, 1111; Yu, *Journey to the West*, vol. 1, p. 184, and vol. 4, pp. 387—388, 393. In the Daoist polemics about Laozi converting the barbarians, this originally Buddhist idea is turned against its originators; Buddhism is seen as the kind of harsh law appropriate to savage

In an earlier section, Arana comments on the episode where Monkey studies under the Patriach Subhūti.[39] Eventually the simian is exiled by his teacher for being too public about his powers. In his commentary Arana quotes again what Subhūti says: "When you open your mouth your vital force is dissipated, and when you move your lips strife arises."[40] Arana then states that if one performs the right five-phases self-cultivation then all the one hundred diseases will disappear. Continuing, he writes, "there is no difficulty in this world, only the fear of evil-minded people".[41] Thus the main obstacles to self cultivation are the evil minded "demons", who by speaking always of hell, seek to stifle the true way of self-cultivation. Thus, Arana hints, the novel's esoteric message of self-cultivation will run into the jealous opposition of the benighted hell-fire preachers.

In another instance he comments on how, in chapter thirty-nine, Sun Wukong uses a golden pill to bring back to life the king of Black Rooster Kingdom. Here Arana phrases the problem of the rarity of self-cultivation thus: "The golden pill lies within everyone. This pill can bring people back to life, so why is it that people in the world die? Readers consider this deeply and you will know!"[42] Perhaps he left the question unanswered to preserve the secrecy of the esoteric teachings. Moreover Arana himself accepted that hell and its demons are necessary to check the foolish beings, so that the truth of the matter—that there is no hell—can not be bruited about openly.

In general, then, for Arana the real truth of religion is one that can only be known to a small coterie. The books and scriptures that the ordinary people always rely on cripple true insight:

Westerners, while Daoism is appropriate to the more refined Chinese. See Eric Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaption of Buddhism in Early Medieval China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), pp. 298—299, 305.

[39] Chinese, *Xuputi zushi*, see Wu Cheng'en, *Xi you ji*, vol. 1, chapter 1, p. 9. Although Yu's translation as Subodhi is possible as a word by word transcription of the Sanskrit into Chinese, it is unlikely to be the form intended by the novel's author, as "Xuputi" is exactly the standard transcription of the name of Subhūti, the well-known disciple of Buddha. See William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner Q Co., 1937), s. v. Hsü, p. 394b.

[40] Gereltü, p. 26 and *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu gudai meixue*, p. 99. Cf. Wu, *Xi you ji*, vol. 1, chapter 2, p. 19, and Yu, *Journey to the West*, vol. 1, p. 92.

[41] Gereltü, pp. 25—26; *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu gudai meixue*, pp. 99. The Chinese translation seems to take this phrase as a quotation from the Patriarch Subhūti's aphorism "Nothing in the world is difficult, only the mind makes it so" (*shi shang wu nan shi, zhi pa you xin ren*). I have, however, translated it according to the Mongolian text, which seems to reflect a different understanding of the phrase.

[42] Gereltü, p. 30; *Zhongguo shaoshu minzu gudai meixue*, p. 101.

> Now the reader must understand when it is said that after this emperor who was sick while alive died, became a sick ghost, and after being brought back to life, again became a sick man. Nowadays, as there are very few people in the world who have no disease, thay must all soon try to find a cure. Tangsuγ's asking Xingzhe, 'What classic on pulse have you studied? What do you know of medicine's properties? When have you cured people?' shows he is a very silly monk. The doctors in the world today are all ones who know about pulse, classics, and the nature of medicines.[43]

Clearly Arana means sickness and doctors to be a metaphor for spiritual sickness and religious teachers. The great mass of people, both monks and laymen, have already grossly misunderstood their Buddhist scriptures and will no doubt do the same with *The Journey to the West.* Only the select few readers who can penetrate to the profound meaning will realize the truth of the novel's philosophy.

Arana put many blinds in the way of unobservant readers catching his esoteric message. In the preface, as we have seen, the work is presented as another sutra, measured against the already existing Γanǰuur, and not found wanting. Many superficial readers, who merely skimmed the preface, must have been deceived into believing the translation was a philosophically unremarkable, if rather extravagant, piece of Buddhist biography. Also Arana never set forth the actual esoteric interpretation he believed the text contained, contenting himself with allusions and pleas for the reader to "consider deeply". Clearly he felt the allegorical guise of the novel had been adopted for a reason, and it would not be appropriate for him to put its message within the reach of every ignoramus who might read the work in Mongolian. It may well be for these reason that Arana never published his work in his own lifetime. The danger that, as with Sun Wukong in the garden of the Patriach Subhûti, ill-considered words might lead to disaster was too great to risk. This contempt for the crude and uncultivated certainly fit the attitudes of the elite bannermen schools in the Manchu capital.

From the Kangxi Era through the Early Twentieth Century

As the Mongols, both garrison bannermen and those from Inner and Outer Mongolia, gathered in Beijing, their awareness of the Chinese-rite Buddhist tradition also grew. Many inscriptions from Chinese temples in Beijing were translated into Manchu and Mongolian for the edification of patrons more comfortable in those languages. The tale of the sandalwood image (*jandan ǰuu*) kept in Beijing's Hongrensi, which was also known in

[43] Gereltü, pp. 32—33. *Xingzhe*, "pilgrim," is a common name in the novel for Sun Wukong, the monkey king.

Tibet (see above), was translated in 1721, and was later published in a manuscript and blockprint during the Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns.[44]

Fifteen years after Arana's translation, the historical and Buddhist Xuanzang also received his most thorough treatment in Mongolia. Duke Γomboǰab, originally from Üǰümüčin banner on the border of Inner and Outer Mongolia but living in Beijing as the director of the Beijing Tibetan school, published in Tibetan *Rgya-nag chos-'byung* ("The Spread of Religion in China"), a monograph on the history of Buddhism in China that gave much attention to the role of the early translators and pilgrims to India.[45]

The work seems to also have been the first written in the Tibetan-rite Buddhist tradition to have discussed the non-Buddhist religions and philosophies of China. His view of them, however, was sketchy at best. He quoted the old phrase that likened Buddhism to the sun, Daoism to the moon, and Confucianism to the stars, and wrote how it showed that, in China, Buddhism was the most important of the three religions. That may indeed have been the intent of Li Shiqian who coined the phrase, probably in the Song dynasty, but was hardly true of Qing dynasty China.[46]

Although in his discussion of the Xuanzang, Γomboǰab studiously avoided any contamination of his historical, Buddhist, Xuanzang by the novel's character, he showed his awareness of the novel when he introduced the topic as "The ācārya, Xuanzhuang Fashi,[47] known as Tangseng Lama", *Tang-zing bla-mar grags-pa'i slob-dpon ṣân-ḍvang fa-shi'*.[48] The biography of Xuanzang always used the style Sanzang, or "Tripitaka", for him, and the Tibetan histories followed suit. Only in the novel is he called *Tang Seng*, or "Tang monk", and while Γomboǰab did not use exactly the Mongolian "Marvelous Lama", which indeed relied on a pun untranslatable in Tibetan, his reference to Xuanzang as Tangseng Lama, indicates not only that he was

[44] On the temple inscriptions, see Rainer von Franz, *Die unbearbeiteten Peking—Inschriften der Franke—Laufer-schen Sammlung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowith, 1984), pp. 163—202, and on the block prints see Walther Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischen Sprache: Materialien zur mongolischen Literaturgeschichte* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954), pp. 93, 135.

[45] Mgon-po-skyabs, *Rgya-nag chos-'byung* (Chengdu: Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House, 1983), pp. 129—152. On this work, see Sh. Bira (trans. Stanley Frye), *Mongolian Historical Literature of the XVII—XIX Centuries Written in Tibetan* (Bloomington: The Mongolia Society and the Tibet Society, 1970), pp. 32—40, and Walther Heissig, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen*, vol. 1, *16.—18. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowith, 1959), pp. 194—198.

[46] Bira, *Mongolian Historical Literature*, pp. 37. On the metaphor of the sun, stars, and the moon, see Judith Berling. *The Syncretic Religion of Lin Chao-en* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 201.

[47] That is, "The Master of the Law, Xuanzhuang." — *Zhuang* is the more common pronunciation of the character usually read in this name as *-zang*.

[48] Mgon-po-skyabs, *Rgya-nag chos-'byung*, p. 129.

aware of the novel and probably of Arana's work, but that he thought such awareness widespread among his readers. Such an awareness on Ґombojab's part would not be surprising as the learned duke worked on many translation projects with Arana and they undoubtedly knew each other personally.

Ґombojab's section of Xuanzang in the *Rgya-nag chos-'byung* was distributed separately in manuscript under various titles, and achieved great popularity.[49] Upon completing his history of Buddhism in China, Ґombojab also compiled a larger work on Xuanzang, titled *Chen-po Thang-gur dus-kyi Rgya-kar zhing-gi bkod-pa'i kar-chag bzhugs-so*, or "Herein is Contained an Outline Delineating the Area of India in the Time of the Great Tang Dynasty". Based not on Huili and Yancong's hagiography, but on Xuanzang's own work, the *Datang xi yu ji*, it does not seem to have achieved such wide circulation.[50] In both of these works, the Mongolian writer focused primarily on Xuanzang's journey as a record of pilgrimage in the Holy Land of India, rather than on Xuanzang as a monk or on the geography of Central Asia. While the Tang sources on the journey focused as much on the Western Region (*Xiyu*), that is modern Central Asia, Ґombojab had little interest in what they had to say about these areas, even though he did believe the nomadic khans Xuanzang met there were Mongols.[51] Thus, it is not surprising to find that his work was in turn used by the writers of the genre *gnas-yig* (Tibetan, "writings about places"), the description of holy places and how to get there.[52]

Later works, such as J̌imbadorǰi's *Bolor toli*, or "Crystal Mirror", a history of Buddhism in Tibet, China, and Mongolia written from 1846 to 1849, and Dharmatâla's *Padma dkar-po'i phreng-ba*, or "Rosary of White Lotuses", an encyclopedic history of Mongolian Buddhism completed in 1889, devoted sections to the historical Xuanzang.[53] These notices, like their accounts

[49] Bira, *Mongolian Historical Literature*, p. 39, Gereltü, p. 23 n. 3, and Rinčingawa, *Mongγol orčiγulγ-a*, p. 89.

[50] Reprinted with preface by S. Bira, ed. " 'Da Tan si yui tszi' Syuan' Tszana v tibetskom perevode Guna Gombozhava," in *Mongol ba Töw Aziin ornuudîn tüüxend xolbogdox xoyor xowor surbalǰ bičig* (Ulaanbaatar: Academy of Sciences, 1974), pp. 141–209.

[51] Mgon-po-skyabs, *Rgya-nag chos-'byung*, pp. 128–9.

[52] S. Bira, 'Da Tan si yui tszi,' p. 144.

[53] J̌imbadorǰi, *Bolor toli* (Beijing: Nationalities Press, 1984), pp. 255–262; Damchø Gyatsho Dharmatâla (trans. Piotr Klafkowski), *Rosary of White Lotuses, Being the Clear Account of How the Precious Teaching of Buddha Appeared and Spread in the Great Hor Country* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987). The *Bolor toli* was composed over a period running from a horse year to chicken year. L. S. Pučkovskij, "The Date of the Composition of the Bolor Toli", *Acta Orientalia*, vol. 16, n. 2 (1963), pp. 217–223, has argued, on the basis of a manuscript found in South Gobi province by Perlee, that this is Törü Gereltü (Daoguang) year fourteen to year seventeen, i.e. 1834–1837. But in a manuscript in the Inner Mongolia library a date equivalent to Törü Gereltü twenty six

of China in general, were almost entirely derived from Γomboǰab's *Rgya-nag chos-'byung*, to which Dharmatâla, at least, explicitly refers his readers.[54] J̌imbadorǰi also included Γomboǰab's account of the non-Buddhism religions and philosophies of China, with only a little updating (he added Catholicism to his discussion of the religions of China).[55] Like Γomboǰab, he also exaggerated the similarity of these religions to Buddhism, claiming that Mozi, for example, believed in reincarnation and had predicted the coming of the Buddha.[56] Thus, both Γomboǰab and J̌imbadorǰi tended to deal with Chinese religion and philosophy as a sort of pale reflection of those in Tibet and Mongolia. Though some later authors, like Dharmatāla, might honor some of the achievements of the Chinese monks even above those of the Tibetan clergy, this tendency to evaluate Chinese Buddhism entirely within the framework of Tibetan-rite Buddhism continued.

By this time, however, the novel had become well known. Manuscripts of Arana's translations were copied several times in the eighteenth century; one manuscript now in Ulaanbaatar records being copied in 1730, 1746, 1752, and again in 1843.[57] The lesser number of manuscript copies in the eighteenth century signified no lessening interest in the novel, but rather that the translation was finally printed. The White Mountain Temple blockprint publishing house in Čaqar brought out a printed version of Arana's text in 1791, seventy years after the author had completed it. No other translated Chinese novel was considered worthy of being printed by the Mongols and its Buddhist appearance must have played a large part in this,[58] but even so, the publishers felt obliged to print what amounted to a disclaimer above Arana's preface. The publishers said:

> Although the message (*nomlal*) of this biography is not the same as that of the biography translated into Tibetan by Γomboǰab of Üǰümüčin named *Tang Seng Heshang who in Ancient Times Went from China to India to Study Wisdom, and Greatly Propagated the Religion in China*, still a wise and clever man has composed

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to twenty nine (1846—1849) has been written in; see *Bolor Toli*, pp. 6—7. The original appears to have had no reign date, only the animal cycle date, in which case the work must be dated by its contents, not by reign dates added into later copies. The discussion of Catholicism, which he says "has become extremely common recently", (p. 264) supports a post-Opium War (1840—1842) date.

[54] Damchø Gyatsho Dharmatâla, *Rosary of White Lotuses*, pp. 23—24.

[55] J̌imbadorǰi's account of the religions of China in *Bolor toli*, pp. 263—266. He repeated Γomboǰab's interpretation of the primacy of Buddhism in China.

[56] *Bolor toli*, p. 264.

[57] Tümenǰargal, p. 209.

[58] Claudine Salmon, ed., *Literary Migrations: Traditional Chinese Fiction in Asia (17—20th Centuries)* (Beijing: International Culture Publishing Corporation, 1987), pp. 34—35.

> it so that the deeds and passions are called demons, and the Thought of Enlightenment and Skill in Means are given the name Tang Seng and Xingzhe respectively, even though it does combine the Dharma (*nom*) and the Dao (*yosu*), and the episodes can be seen as merely stories. Thus, as it is helpful to those who care for either the literal or the deeper meaning, it has been printed as a sutra at the White Mountain Temple in the fifty sixth year of Qianlong, a female white pig year.[59]

The convoluted "on the one hand, on the other hand" reasoning of the note testifies to the publishers' ambivalence about the text. They feel it does clearly put forth a Buddhist message, but they can't seem to fathom the business of combining the Dao with Buddhism, or why the author put it in the form of a story. One can guess the sort of comments Arana might have made about these earnest and literal-minded Buddhists. They could not even bring themselves to use the name "Tangsuγ Lama", but insisted on the Chinese term "Tang Seng".[60]

Whatever their misgivings, the printers undoubtedly contributed to the growing popularity of the Tangsuγ story. In the course of the nineteenth century, Chinese culture become wider and wider spread in Mongolia. Even in Qalqa Mongolia, translations of Chinese novels were widely available in either oral or written forms;[61] they formed part of the earliest literary education of D. Načuγdorǰi (1906—1937), the most famous revolutionary author in Outer Mongolia, among others.[62] By the 1830s and 1840s *Journey to the West* was spreading in many printed and manuscript editions, both complete and more or less abridged, and often with illustrations. The rise and fall of the Handsome Monkey King (Sun Wukong) and his challenge to heaven, and the birth and early life of Xuanzang seem to have been two episodes which cir-

[59] Gereltü, pp. 24—25 n. 3. *Yosu* is Arna's fixed translation of the Chinese *dao*. See for example the translated chapter titles quoted in Gereltü, p. 24 n. 1, and p. 25 n. 1.

[60] The author of this disclaimer was clearly highly literate in Chinese. He writes "fifty-six" as *tabin bolultai ǰiryuduγar*, a clear calque on the Chinese *wushi you liu*.

[61] On the novel, and especially the Chinese novel in Mongolia, see Françoise Aubin, "A Note about the Spread of Chinese Literature amongst the Mongols" and Boris Riftin, "Mongolian Translations of Old Chinese Novels and Stories—A Tentative Bibliographic Survey", both in Claudine Salmon, ed., *Literary Migrations: Traditional Chinese Fiction in Asia (17—20th Centuries)* (Beijing: International Culture Publishing Corporation, 1987), pp. 209—262, and Heissig, *Geschiche der mongolischen Literatur*, vol. 1, pp. 265—345. On Mongolian translations from Chinese in the nineteenth century, in general, see Rinčingawa, *Mongγol orčiγulγ-a*, pp. 103—110.

[62] P. Qorlo, et al., *Mongγol-un orčin üy-e-yin uran ǰokiyal-un tobči teüke (1921—1965)*, vol. 1 (Höhhot: Inner Mongolian People's Press, 1985), p. 234. This work was originally published in the Cyrillic script in Ulaanbaatar, in 1967. Typically, the biography of Načuγdorǰi in the later, revised, edition of this standard textbook, C. Damdinsüren, *Mongolîn orčin üyeiin uran joxiolîn tüüx* (Ulaanbaatar: State Publishing House, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 78 ff, drops any hint of Chinese influence.

culated independently.[63] The tale thus spread widely in the provinces of Qalqa Mongolia, and among the Ordos Mongols, as well as among the Oyirads in Xinjiang and the Qobdo region.[64] The work also seems to have crossed the border into the Tsarist empire; at least one abridged copy can be found among the Buryats of Russia.[65] It was even transcribed from the Uygur Mongolian script into the Clear Script of the Oyirads and published in that form.[66]

As the story of the Marvellous Lama spread beyond the multilingual banner environment which had given rise to it, the three guardians of Xuanzang had also become thoroughly at home in the Mongolian context. Their names were translated into Mongolian, as Monkey, Earth, and Pig with the title Teacher added to each (*Bečin, Siroi, Γaqai Baγsi*), and these names appeared often in the titles of the manuscript versions. At the same time, those more familiar with the novel found some features of Arana's pioneering translation unsatisfactory. Arana had translated virtually all the names and places, and had not cast the chapter titles in proper Mongolian poetic form. At some point a second anonymous translation, preserved in a sole copy now in the library of Γandan Tegčingling monastery of Ulaanbaatar, was printed as a sutra; in this translation most of the names were left in transcribed Chinese, while the chapter titles were cast in fluent alliterative verse.[67] This version, however, never seems to have ousted the original translation of Arana from its pre-eminent position in the hearts of the Mongols.

Moreover the printing of it as a sûtra may well have resulted in it being taken as more literally true than the author, or Arana, intended. In a history of the Oyirad Mongols, *Dörben Oyirad-un teüke tuγuǰi kemen orosiba*, or, "Herein is Contained the Story of the History of the Four Oyirads" probably written in the early nineteenth century, we find the description of the four continents given in chapter eight of *The Journey to the West*, which is *not*

[63] A. G. Sazykin, *Katalog mongolskikh rukopisey i ksilografov Insituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, vol. 1 (Moscow: Nauka, 1988), p. 99; Tümenǰargal, p. 200.

[64] See Heissig, *Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 271, and vol. 2, p. 862; Tümenǰargal, pp. 200–201.

[65] A manuscript, entitled "The Biography of Tangsuγ Lama's invitation of the dharma from the Western Region: an abridgement," *Tangsuγ-un blam-a-yin barayun oron-ača nom ǰalaγsan namtar bolai, tobči temdeg*, can now be found in the library of the Historical Institute of the Buryat filial of the Academy of Sciences. I am grateful to Galina (Yeshenkhorlo) Dugarova, for this information, contained in a letter dated Dec. 12, 1990.

[66] See the illustrated edition pictured in György Kara, "Blockdrucke und Handschriften," in Walther Heissig and Claudius Müller, ed., *Die Mongolen* (Innsbruck: Penguin Verlag, 1989), p. 251, the catalogue to an exhibition of Mongolian culture held in Munich, 1989.

[67] Tümenǰargal, pp. 205–206. These changes parallel some general trends in translation literature. Thus early Mongolian translations of Sanskrit poetry into Mongolian generally did not make them alliterative, while later ones did.

the same as the canonical one, is quoted directly by the anonymous historian as a preface to the spread of Buddhism among the Mongols, and the Oyirads in particular.[68] The rest of the history is realistic and of a fairly high standard. We can only speculate about what led the author to consider this magical novel to be a reliable geographical source. We have noted however that Γomboǰab's works on Xuanzang focused on the geography of the holy land, India, and it is possible that the Oyirad historian, not realizing that, as the publishers said, "the message is not the same", read it in the same way, a possibility amplified by the fact that the *Journey to the West* was the only Chinese novel commonly circulated among the Oyirad Mongols.[69] With no other indigenous or imported fictional texts, then, the Oyirad historian, somewhat at a loss as to how to read the novel, took it as an example of the genre of pilgrim literature (*gnas-yig*).[70]

More common than taking the translated novel as a geographical text, was to treat it as a means of merit building. As we have seen Arana's caution about pointing up the unorthodox message of the text may well have contributed to this understanding of it as a genuine Buddhist sutra. Many copyists felt that, as with a canonical text, they would gain religious merit by copying it and left notes at the end of the manuscript copy they had copied. Simply to add these colophons, moreover, had significance in itself for the way the work was being read. Like a usual Chinese text, Arana's translation had a preface but no colphon, whereas Tibetan or Mongolian texts usually had no

[68] Luwsanbaldan, *Tod üsgiin dursgaluud*, Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, vol. 19, fasc. 14 (Ulaanbaatar: Academy of Sciences, 1976), pp. 331, 349–350; Badai, Altan-Orgil, and Erdeni, *Oiyrad-un teüken surbulǰi bičig* (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House, 1985), pp. 265–266. Cf. Wu, *Xi you ji*, vol. 1, chapter 8, pp. 80–81; Yu, *Journey to the West*, vol. 1, p. 184.

[69] A. G. Sazykin, "Rukopisnaya kniga v istorii kul'tury mongol'skikh narodov", in O. F. Akimushkin, ed., *Rukopisnaya kniga v kul'ture narodov vostoka (ocherki)* (Moscow: Nauka, 1988), vol. 2, p. 452.

[70] There is one more possible example of the Xuanzang tale in Oyirad literature, but this seems so far-fetched as to be most likely a coincidence. In the J̌angγar epic, the maternal or paternal uncle of J̌angγar is stated to have Emperor Tangsuq Bumba. See Ce. Damdinsürüng, ed., *Mongγol-un uran ǰokiyal-un degeǰi ǰaγun bilig orosibai*, Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, vol. 14 (Ulaanbaatar: Academy of Sciences and Higher Education of the Mongolian People's Republic, 1959), p. 211, and the Inner Mongolian reprint (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Press, 1979), vol. 2 p. 705; Buyankesig and To. Badm-a, eds, *J̌ingγar* (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House, 1982), vol. 1, p. 1; Institute for Research on Philological and Economic Studies, ed., *J̌angγr: Xal'img baatrlg epos*, vol. 1 (Elista: Kalmyk Books Publishing House, 1985), p. 11; *Byangγar* (Ürümči: Xinjiang People's Publishing House, 1985), vol. 1, p. 13. This character is found not only in the Xinjiang version but also among the Kalmyks on the Volga and it is hard to envision how knowledge of the novel could have spread so far. On the other hand Tangsuq's identification as Bumba or "Daoist" is an intriguing reflection of the novel.

preface but rather a colophon. Thus those who added their comments to the end of both manuscript and printed versions of the novel were, in effect, adding a colophon, making the text similar in form to a Mongolian Buddhist one. One wrote:

> This wondrous scripture which contains the myriad-fold good fortune of all the Buddhas that are seen, and all the scriptures that are read, and spreads the good fortune,[71] is very profound. The merit of those who read it and have it read, who write it and have it written, will accumulate like a limitless mountain.

while another writes:

> Having prostrated, sacrificed, and seen for a moment the Buddha, now through rejoicing in him, encountering him, recalling him, praying to him, and testifying to him, may I collect my merit, however little it be, and aim towards the great blessedness of bodhi which has crossed beyond all.[72]

In 1913, the noted Ordos poet Kesigbatu (1849—1916) closed his manuscript "A Summary of the Various Biographies of Tangsuγ Lama" with the following lines:

> Such like marvels of the perfection of patience
> Of those who have kept the vows with wisdom inherent,
> I, the common foolish Kesigbatu in my sixty-fifth year,
> Have from beginning to end written in brief abridgement.[73]

Thus, although by the turn of the twentieth century the Marvellous Lama had quite outstripped the Buddhist Tang Sanzang in popularity, many readers apparently did not see the message of the two as being fundamentally different. The subversive novel and its even more subversive commentary was taken in a way consistent with the orthodoxy of Tibetan-rite Buddhism. We may attribute this partly to Arana's prevarication and misdirection, but more significantly because the majority of Mongols outside the Beijing bannermen community did not possess the intellectual background which Arana expected readers would bring to the work. Thus they placed the work within the context of gathering Buddhist merit through the honoring of sacred texts. This facet of religious practice is, indeed, by no means absent from the novel, although Arana did not emphasize it. Thus the anxiety of the printers over its syncretist message never materialised, as these anonymous readers concentrated on

[71] *kei mori*, literally "wind horse", the name of the flag which symbolizes good fortune and hence metonymically means that good fortune itself.

[72] Tümenǰargal, p. 208.

[73] Damdinsürüng, ed., *Degeǰi ǰayun bilig*, p. 567, and the Inner Mongolian reprint, vol. 4, pp. 1852—3.

facets of the work that its translator had passed over.[74] In these circumstances it is not surprising that by the early twentieth century even high clerical figures were thoroughly familiar with the episodes of the tale of the Marvelous Lama, and even relied on them for protection from evil.

One striking indication of this familiarity was the depiction of the four pilgrims along with an episode from the novel above the main portal of the Gate of Quiet Peace (*Amuγulang engke-yin qaγalγ-a*) of the Green Palace of the Eighth J̌ibjündamba Qutuγtu (r. 1874—1924). The gate, built from 1912 to 1919 showed episodes from the Mongolian epic Geser, as well as the famous scene from chapter fifty-eight of *The Journey to the West* where Sākyamuni Buddha had to distinguish between two identical Sun Wukongs, one false and the other real. Two guardian spirits painted in a thoroughly Chinese manner stared ferociously out from the doors below this scene.[75] Clearly the four pilgrims painted above the door are also exercising the function of guarding against evil-minded visitors while the Buddha is demonstrating his supreme power of protection by distinguishing the real and the false. Although the episode depicted affirmed the dominance of Sākyamuni—Laozi couldn't distinguish the true Monkey from the false, but the Buddha could—it affirmed that dominance precisely in a syncretistic context, where Buddhism had to co-exist with other creeds, rather than in the mono-religious environment which the old Buddhist translators like Γomboǰab had taken for granted.

How did this tremendous popularity of the Marvellous Lama affect the reading of the Buddhist monk of Γomboǰab's biographies? Some clerical writers seem to have sought to dissociate the historic Tang San Zang from the "Marvellous Lama" by changing Γomboǰab's name, "Tang-zing Bla-ma", to something less reminiscent of the figure from the novel. The preface to the 1791 printing of the novel referred to Γomboǰab's work as *Tang Seng* Heshang *who in Ancient Times Went from China to India to Study Wisdom, and Greatly Propagated the Religion in China.*[76] The Mongolian transcription (*quušang*) of the Chinese term *heshang*, "monk", was used by Mongolian writers and translators as an ethnic marker to dissociate the monks of Chinese Buddhism from the Mon-

[74] The Soviet scholar Riftin, too, confused the wrapping for the package inside, saying the novel was translated early on because the translator saw it as "the story of a man's (Xuanzang) grasp of Buddhist doctrine". See Riftin, "Mongolian Translations", p. 235.

[75] Tümenǰargal, p. 211; the pamphlet "Bogd Xaanî Ordon Muzéi: Amgalan Enxiin Xaalga"; D. Maidar, *Pamyatniki Istorii i Kul'tury Mongolii*, vol. VIII (Moscow: Mysl', 1981), twelth plate between pp. 22—23; N. Tsultem, *Arkhitektura Mongolii/ Mongolian Architecture* (Ulaanbaatar: State Publishing House, 1988), pl. 71. Other photos of palace are in Maidar and Tsultem, but in general a whole volume would not exhaust the interest of this palace from either the artistic or the historic point of view.

[76] Gereltü, p. 23 n. 3.

golian lamas of Tibetan-rite Buddhism.[77] Dharmatāla, in his *Rosary of White Lotuses* (1889), went back to the term the classic Tibetan authors had used, *Thang sam tshang*.[78] In both cases we can see a process in which greater familiarity with the Chinese culture and its Buddhist tradition led the Mongolian clerics to make a firmer separation of the Buddhist Xuanzang from the figure of the novel.[79] At the same time, these terms marked the great pilgrim more definitely as a Chinese monk; this meant that respect for him implied a greater respect and familiarity for the Chinese Buddhist tradition.

This respect can be seen in the works of Dharmatâla, who seems to have been rather extreme among Mongolian monks in this regard. He glossed the term for Chinese monks, *heshang*, as follows: "Hwa-shang [= Heshang] means 'venerable essence of wisdom'. No matter whether they had visited India or not, they had all been masters of the unimaginable wisdom of the Scriptures and Observance." He even noted that "It is said that altogether they [the Chinese scholar-monks] translated (even) more dharma than the Tibetans did." This great respect for the Chinese Buddhist monks also influenced Dhamatāla's assessment of Mongolia's secular history, where he claimed that "From time immemorial, the sentient beings of Hor and Sog [Inner and Outer Mongolia] have been included under the rule of the Chinese kings, and since the (two) countries are adjoining, it can be said that they (= Hor and Sog) are parts of China".[80] Even so, though, Dharmatâla's information about Chinese Buddhism seems to have come entirely from Γomboǰab's various translations; neither he nor any other Mongol in this period became a master of Chinese Buddhist literature. Nor did his admiring references to Xuanzang and the other Chinese Buddhist saints alter the basic structure of the work, which revolved around the propagation of the orthodox tradition from Tibet to Mongolia.

The Pilgrims in Oral Poetry and Drama

Parallel to the spread of the novel in its translated form, the story of *The Journey to the West* also spread in other literary genres, particularly drama and oral narrative poetry. This change in genres marked a distinct change in

[77] See Farquhar, "Emperor as Bodhisattva," *HJAS*, vol. 38, pp. 27–28. Farquhar, however, has mis-transcribed *quušang* as *qoošang;* see Ya. Cewel, ed. *Mongol xelnii towč tailbar toli* (Ulaanbaatar: State Publishing House, 1966), s.v. xuušaan, and Mongolian Language Research Office of Inner Mongolia University, ed., *Mongγol Kitad toli/Meng Han cidian* (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House, 1976), s.v. huuxang.

[78] Damchø Gyatsho Dharmatāla, *Rosary of White Lotuses*, pp. 23–24, 56, 375, 430.

[79] Dharmatāla noted, apropos the royal lineages of China, that it begins with the three Huangs and five Di, "as everyone knows" (*Rosary of White Lotuses*, p. 54).

[80] Damchø Gyatsho Dharmatāla, *Rosary of White Lotuses*, pp. 24, 375, and 37. cf. p. 44, where Mongolia is counted as one province (*muǰi*) of China.

the dynamics of interpretation; these public art forms simply could not function as the vehicles for the sort of esoteric message of individual cultivation that drove Arana's reading of the novel. Nor did they lend themselves to the monastic view of Xuanzang as a sort of patron of translators; such a view emphasised the written word and the merit to be gained thereby too much to be have much meaning in an oral medium. Eventually as the story became widespread in drama and ballad songs, the protagonists of *The Journey to the West*, always under their Mongolian names of the Marvellous Lama, and teachers Monkey, Pig, and Earth, achieved the status of divinities unattached to any particular text. In this fashion they became building blocks for a distinct religious world-view, which showed strong similarities to that of the novel, without being in any sense an exegesis or interpretation of that, or any other, written text. It was in this community-centered reincarnation that certain fundamental features of the novel, notably its humor and its concern for salvation of all beings, finally found expression in a Mongolian context.

One of the areas most affected by this trend was East Mongolia, the region of Inner Mongolia east of the Kingγan mountains. There, as the pressure of Chinese immigration increased, growing numbers of Mongols took up agriculture. Moreover due to the frequency of intermarriage with the Qing imperial clan, whose daughters always came with a human dowry of servants and craftsmen, a significant number of East Mongols were actually Mongolised Manchus or Chinese.[81] Just as important was the fact that in East Mongolia the Buddhist culture had never been as firmly implanted as it was in the steppe regions, so that phenomena either frowned on or ignored by the Buddhist monks, such as shamanism, epic singing, and ancestor worship, flourished. In this rich cultural mixture, the *čuγurči* (a kind of fiddle) singers who put Chinese and Mongolian literary tales to music and made them into epic songs played an outstanding role.[82] We know that *The Journey to the West*, *The*

[81] Tayama Shigeiru (trans. Buyandelger and Odqan), *Čing ulus-un- üy-e-deki mongγolčud-un neyigem-ün bayiγulal* (Qayilar: Inner Mongolia Cultural Press, 1988), pp. 235, 246. Lu Minghui, ed. *Taoketaohu shiliao ji* (Höhhot: Inner Mongolian Historical Association, 1965), pp. 3–6, contains an interview with one such man, Ölǰei, whose father came from Shandong in the train of a Manchu princess.

[82] Heissig, *Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur*, vol. 2, pp. 835–895; Cerensodnom, "Xyatad bičgiin joxiol mongol gajar aman ulamǰlalaar delgersen ni", in C. Damdinsüren, ed., *Mongolîn uran joxiolîn toim*, vol. 3, *XIX juunî üye* (Ulaanbaatar: State Publishing House, 1968), pp. 228–236; Rinchen, *Zhanr bengsen-ü üliger v mongol'skom fol'klor*, Studia Mongolica, vol. 1, fasc. 19 (Ulaanbaatar: 1959), 16 pp., continued in vol. 11 fasc. 31–36 (Ulaanbaatar: 1961), 53 pp. *The Journey to the West* is said specifically to have been sung also in the Solon Ewenki Banner in Kölön Buir in Heissig, *Geschichte*, vol. 2, p. 862. Γamala, a Mongolian poet of the early twentieth century, composed a long denunciation of these unscholarly works, which mentions most of the songs transmitted; see Daraq-a and Na. Dongrobdamba, ed., *Γamala-yin silüg-üd* (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Press, 1987), pp. 122–128.

Romance of the Three Kingdoms, and *The Water-Margin*, as well as the numerous other romances of the Han, Tang, and Song dynasties, were all sung by these *čuγurči* singers, who often used written translations as promptbooks. Unfortunately the only published examples are an excerpt from Pajai's version of *The Water Margin*, and even shorter excerpts from his *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*.[83] Thus we cannot say yet how these singers understood *The Journey to the West*.

The development of *The Journey to the West* in dramatic form is also poorly documented. The Qalqa region and especially the Gobi was a center of Mongolian dramatic culture, and it is there that we hear of theatrical representations of the *The Journey to the West*. Such plays are known to have been performed in the banner of the Gobi Mergen Prince (now in East Gobi province), as well as in Uliyasutai city, and Qan Kökei-yin Küriy-e (in modern Uws province). Nor was this theatrical tradition immediately broken by the revolution of 1921; in spring, 1922, three members of the Youth Congress, Buyannemekü, Nasunbatu, and Amuγulang composed and performed a play directed at the youth audience, based on the history of Tangsuγ Lama.[84] Unfortunately the nature of the performance is unknown, but there is no indication that the figures in the novel achieved the same degree of popular veneration in Qalqa as they did in East Mongolia.

The three protectors of the Marvellous Lama, Monkey, Pig, and Earth teachers, however, do appear in a published play first performed in Auqan banner of East Mongolia during the Guangxu era (1875—1908). The play, entitled *Qodoγočin*, or "Clowns", is of all the works discussed so far perhaps the closest in spirit to the novel. The play, like the Buddhist *čam* theater, from which it may stem, featured the antics of the White Old Man (*Čaγan Ebügen*), who bestowed wealth and fertility. Unlike the *čam* drama, however, the play "Clowns" did not embed these worldly frolics in any canonical context.[85] The legend behind it, though, like that of *The Journey to the West*,

[83] For *The Water-Margin*, see Damdinsürüng, *Degeǰi ǰaγun bilig*, pp. 491—519. The corresponding chapter of the Mongolian translation is given in the same work, pp. 486—491. The equivalent pages in the Inner Mongolian reprint are vol. 4, pp. 1579—1695. A selection from this is transcribed in Rinchen's *Zhanr bengsen-ü üliger*, pp. 9—15 (equals Damdinsürüng, pp. 510b—514a, and reprint, pp. 1662—1676). For a Mongolian adaption of the *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, see G. Kara, *Chants d'un Barde Mongol* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970), pp. 80 ff (text), and 139 ff (translation).

[84] Tümenǰargal, p. 210. This "Youth Congress" ought to be the Revolutionary Youth League, but it is impossible to be sure.

[85] Aleksei M. Pozdneyev (ed. John Krueger), *Religion and Ritual in Society: Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19th-Century Mongolia* (Bloomington: Mongolia Society), 1978, pp. 505—521, especially, pp. 518—519. See also the movie "Tsam", shown at the Young Mongolist's Summer School, August 1989, in Ulaanbaatar.

was an extraordinary concatenation of religious figures from diverse traditions. The duke of Auqan banner seeking to cure his wife's barrenness, was sent by his lama to the "Northern Holy One" (*Aru Boγda*, the J̌ibjündamba Qutuγtu of Qalqa Mongolia). The latter told the duke he must bring the White and the Black Old Man to Auqan, but the former was unwilling to go. However, Holy Mi-la-ras-pa (a Tibetan poet and lama of the eleventh century) had long ago told the White Old Man, "Bless the poor man with riches, and the childless man with children! On your way, bring the Black Old Man into subjection to your dharma-power!" He had also commanded Monkey, Earth, and Hog teachers "On your way there, do the good deed of eliminating enemies!" So the White Old Man had no choice but to go, and once he arrived in Auqan, the people grew steadily more prosperous.[86]

In the actual play itself, the three figures from *The Journey to the West* have only small roles. Having escorted the White Old Man to the house of Tegülder, the Mongolian Everyman, they stand guard outside the house, while the White Old Man enters.[87] The bulk of the piece consists of comic exchanges between the White Old Man and those who have invited him; the humor revolves around the differences in lifestyle and dialect between the Qalqa Mongolia of the White Old Man and the half-farming region of Auqan.

The structure of the story, however, bears more than a chance similarity to that of the novel. Once again a human seeker is dispatched to a far land, to bring back, for the benefit of both himself and his people, a talisman of magic power. As in the novel, even when the pilgrims arrive at the place where the sacred power to be invited resides, bringing back the talisman, the scriptures in the novel, and the White Old Man in the play, proves, to be difficult. Thus in the novel, the disciples of the Buddha first give Tripitaka empty scriptures and only give him ones with words after the Buddha commands them to, so too, the White Old Man is at first unwilling to go, and only sets forth after Mi-la-ras-pa reminds him of his task to bless mankind. Mi-la-ras-pa plays the inspiring and protecting role of Guanyin in the novel. And just as in the novel the pilgrims seem hardly to lose their boisterous original personalities in their mission, just so neither the White Old Man nor the family that invited him seem more solemn on the great occasion. As in the novel itself, the play becomes the charter for a cult which gives prosperity, protection on far journeys, and children.[88] The play thus reflects a cultic interpretation of the novel, one which emphasizes the pilgrims' role in purifying

[86] Dorongγ-a, ed., *Mongγol ündüsüten-ü udq-a ǰokiyal-un matériyal-un emkidkel*, Vol. 8: *Si ǰüčüge* (Chifeng/Ulaγanqada: Inner Mongolia Social Science Academy, 1980), p. 5.

[87] Dorongγ-a, pp. 54–55, 59.

[88] Cf. Wu, *Xi you ji*, vol. 2, chapters 99–100, pp. 1121–1123, and Yu, *Journey to the West*, vol. 4, pp. 409–412.

the world of evil and rescuing kingdoms in distress.[89] It thus represents a community-centered, this-wordly interpretation in contrast to the individual-centered message of self-cultivation that so impressed Arana.

Conclusion

We thus can see how the assimilation of certain Chinese cultural ideas in the context of East Mongolia's agricultural communities led to a social interpretation of the novel in contrast to the occult, esoteric understanding of Arana. Both mix Tibetan Buddhist and Chinese motifs, but while for Arana these are conceptual motifs, for the people of Auqan, a provincial region, they articulated this syncretic religion not by abstract concepts but by characters drawn from the religious pantheon of their neighboring peoples. At the same time, however, the professional Buddhists, while showing a degree of interest in Xuanzang and his Chinese background that their Tibetan preceptors had never before evinced, interpreted it in such a way as to embody precisely those values which they as Tibetan-rite Buddhists respected.

The Mongolian interest in and understanding of the story of Xuanzang thus does not just illustrate the common observation that the nature of cultural borrowings depends as much on the world-view of those people doing the borrowing as on the things borrowed. It also demonstrates how the historically contingent interpretations of the novel each expressed moments of the religious world-view which originally lay bound up in the Chinese text. Arana's emphasis on individual self-cultivation, the anonymous colophon writers' stress on the cultivation of merit through the honoring of sacred texts, and the trust in the personal protection of Monkey, Hog and Earth teachers shown by the East Mongolian communities are all themes with undoubted resonance in the novel itself. At the same time, the readings of both the novel and the canonical, Buddhist works by and about Xuanzang, when set in their concrete historical context shows us a taxonomy of the response of a profoundly monolithic and religious society to an on-going syncretist and philosophical challenge.

[89] On this interpretation, see Christopher Atwood, "Self-Cultivation and World-Cultivation in *The Journey to the West*" (unpublished paper).

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A GLOSSARY OF MONGOLIAN MATERIAL CULTURE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO NEEDLEWORK

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The core of the glossary is formed by the Khalkha technical terminology of needlework and of the working of wool and hair, including related terminology of ornament.

Terminology of some further related areas has been included where it was available, but is not intended to be comprehensive. The chief of these areas are dress, and crafts which are practised by non-specialists, with their products. The terminology of the specialist crafts of metal-work and woodwork is excluded.

Terms which are adequately explained in an existing dictionary (including Tsewel 1966) are not included unless the definition given by Mongol informants differs in some way. Most of the terms listed are either absent from dictionaries, or are present but are inadequately defined. Where a term has a well-known general meaning, as well as the specific technical meaning which is relevant here, the specific meaning only is listed.

Ethnographical information is included where appropriate.

Sources

The majority of the terms were taken from written modern Khalkha (Cyrillic) sources. Individual sources are listed at the end of the paper. A small number of Oirad terms are included. Entries in which no source is quoted refer either to commonly used terms or to oral information.

In the many cases where a term was unknown or unclear, definitions were obtained in conversations with Khalkha and Oirad informants in Ulaanbaatar and in Manxan, Myangad and Dörgön *sum* of Xowd *aimag* (Zaxčin, Myangad and Dörwöd population). Enquiries were made both from herdsmen and herdswomen experienced in these crafts, and from intellectuals with an interest in ethnography and folk-art.

With the exception of the names of ornamental motifs, which frequently seem to be either very specialised or very local, the terminology listed here and the techniques which it represents are still, in general, known and used in the

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steppe; in the city many terms are not familiar, and seem to be known only to specialists, for example teachers of needlework. It is these same specialists who use the few Russianisms listed here, and which are not in general use.

The sewing or embroidery techniques which are traditional for Mongolia are almost always referred to by forms of a verb, and not by the name of a stitch, as in European languages; for example *šaglax* [to execute] topstitching. Where a technique has no associated verb, it is likely to have been adopted recently through Soviet influence in education, for example *xerees oyodol*, cross-stitch.

Transcription

The Cyrillic orthography is transcribed except in the few cases where the sole source was oral, or where the term was found only in a western publication in a phonetic transcription.

*

adsaga an old hide used as floor-covering or sitting mat in the southern ('low') half of the tent; especially by the daughter-in-law, who may use it to carry out ashes; hide laid under wool to be fulled for felt RT: 200

alag dees rope (see *dees*) plied from 2 cords, one of which is white, and the other black, brown or reddish

algadax 1. to slap 2. to roll a bunch of hair, wool or sinews (see *tüüdeg*) into a twist between the palms (the first stage of rope-making), by laying the hair on the left palm and working it with clockwise circular movements of the right palm; *algadan tomox* to twist into a string in this way (see *tomox*)

altan xargana the glossy golden bark of a species of caragana shrub, used in W. Xalx and Xowd to execute mosaic and applied ornament, esp. on the pommel and cantle of saddles

altan xuudas 'gold' leaf or foil; for sticking to painted furniture with gold ornamentation; imported from China

alx meander (a border design; lit. 'hammer'); *tal alxan xee* half meander; *dawxar a-an xee* meander where the ends of the 'heads' are hooked; *alxtšil-* (Chahar) to decorate with an *alx* border HA: 75

aman xüzüü lit. atlas (the first vertebra); *a. x. uyaa* a knot (used to fasten the tent-girths to the door-posts); *a. x. zangilaa* a braided ornamental form of the knot ON: 34-5

ar dewsger background; base fabric (in appliqué work)

arawč embroidered or woven wall-covering above a bed; a borrowing from Kazakhs or Russians, not traditional for Mongolia

axar noos the short, fine wool of the autumn (second) shearing; *axryn esgii* felt made of this, used typically for the upper layer *öngö xeseg* (q. v.) of a rug AY: 105 (c.f. *urtyn esgii*); *axarla-* (Urianxai) to shear in autumn TS1: 67

ayagany alčuur 1. ornamented storage pouch for a bowl 2. dish-cloth

ayagany širee miniature bedside table with 2 drawers, often with painted ornament

bad / ergüü b. name of a border design of running spirals AY: 103; *badyn tolgoi* the monster's face typically carved on the sides of a snuff bottle

badam dawjid Torguud name for a flower-head shape in quilting TA: 90; the Torguud *badam* (lotus) is a flower seen from above, as typically in Turkic ornament, the Xalx *badam* is seen from the side

bajii a board game; *b. ölzii xee* name of a design BC1 : 21

barin oyox to couch; *zeegen deesiig örxönd barin oyono* one couches hair edging cord to the smoke-hole-cover BA : 28

basgur Kazakh woven tent-band BC1 : 23

bel 1. in man's dress: counter-weight in semi-precious stone, silver, etc. to knife or flint and steel, hung over the belt to prevent their falling (=*teeg*) 2. in woman's dress: silver ring or ornament hanging from the sleeveless over-garment (Oirad *tsegdeg*) at armpit or waist, on both sides; long coloured scarves are tied to it; c.f. Tu. *bäl* girdle, waist Radloff IV : 1606; *bel zangilaa* type of ornamental knot (as may hang from a woman's *bel*) ON : 34-5

bitüü xatgamal Bokhara couching ON : 49, 51

bitüülex to fill in [an outline] ON : 48

boodog (Oirad) tasselled and beaded ornament on the ends of an unmarried girl's braids, at the back (c.f. *čačwag*) AY2 : 66, 75

boronz see *bronz* DI : 66

borwi a tall cylindrical leather flask for holding liquids; made from the hide of the leg of a horse or ox removed as a cylinder, and closed at the bottom with a sewn-in base; but Xobuq sayiri Torguud *börȫw=köküür* q.v.

bronz powder for making up metallic paint; *altan b.* for gold decoration *möngön b.* for silver decoration; may also be used dry, by sprinkling through a stencil before the background colour is completely dry. Imported from China DI : 65

buč 1. a general term for string, cord, etc., esp. for fixing something with a loop 2. strand (one of several being braided) ON : 31

buguil rawhide lasso, cut in a spiral from a single hide (W. Mongolia)

buidan a soft sitting mat stuffed with feathers; can be used folded over SO : 250

buil zorox to make (whittle) a camel's nose-peg

builan zangilaa a braid with square cross-section ON : 31

bumban zangilaa a most elaborate form of ornamental knot ON : 36

butsaaj xerex see *xerex*

buurtsag bobble (e.g. on the end of a child's shoe-lace) made of thread; lit. berry

bülten (Dörwöd, Myangad) a very small *köküür* q.v.

büslüür a surrounding band; *geriin b.* the heavy hair ropes which encircle the tent walls, both inside and outside the felt covers. May be a 3-ply rope or a flat band (more usually *xošlon* q.v.). The ends may be bound with red fabric to reinforce and ornament. The advantage of a flat band over a rope is that it does not tighten during rain. Now occasionally nylon rope; considered much inferior

čačwag also *čačmag* (Xoton) ornament which hangs from the ends of a married Xoton woman's two braids, at her back TS2 : 277 (in contrast to the braids of Oirad married women, which hang in front)

čüdenznii bulan corner-fret; a Chinese decorative motif, so-called because it looks as if it were composed of match-sticks

daaga 1. Zaxčin: = *tsamxraa*, the cross-bars of the roof-ring TS2 : 11 2. Bayad/Dörwöd: *daagan gezeg* of the 19 braids of an unmarried girl's hair, the two which fall from the very top of the head TS2 : 514

daaxiny alčuur (Zaxčin) a shed piece of the short woolly undercoat of the yak (*sarlagyn daax'*) used as a cloth to wrap and protect a fragile object; resembles a piece of thick but very soft and loose felt

dawtamj repeat [of a design] TA : 92

dawxar erčtei = *d. tomson* see *tomox*; *d. erčteigeer tomj xiine* make [it] by plying several singles BA2 : 59 c.f. *dan erčtei*

dagnaas 1. colour contouring; a stripe of a single colour, in an object with multicoloured striping or with shaded contouring 2. range of colour; the range of the tones and shades of a colour ON : 43; *dagnaaslax* to execute contouring; *dagnax* ibid.

dan erčtei =*d. tomson* see *tomox*

dan naamal appliqué work without couched edging c.f. *zeegt naamal*

darax / xee d. to emboss a design in leather; to print a design onto cloth, felt or paper

daruulax to couch; *daruulj oyox* ibid. ON : 12

'*därbäldschinn*' (Kalmuck) BE : 101 (Kh. *dörwöljin* square) =*olbog* q.v.

dees rope of twisted horsehair (sometimes yak or cattle hair, or a mixture; camel hair in chief camel-breeding areas only); usually 3-plied, about the thickness of a finger AY : 105; *deesen zeeg* (thinner) cord of twisted hair; usually as edging on a felt; *zeegen dees* ibid. BA : 29

degeet züü tambour hook *Kazaxyn d. z-nii xonin xolboo* Kazakh tambour stitch ON : 8

dewsger utas weft (modern technical term)

dolgio =*usan süljee* 1.

dürst xee figurative design or motif (i.e. not abstract) ON : 37

eem (Oirad) the 'shoulder' of a leather flask Oir. *köküür* q.v.; ? c.f. Kh. *eetger* with a turned-up tip

eerüül spindle; *e-iin iš* shaft of the spindle *e-iin ačaa* whorl of the spindle *e-iin damar* ibid. c.f. *iig*

elbees an extra felt layer on the outside of a felt door flap, for warmth; also *nelbees, nelmees* SO : 246

elgewč coat for a young or sick animal, of felt, or of cloth padded with camel hair; spec. a cover for the animal's stomach, used as a set with a *nemnee* q.v.

em noos soft camel wool (from animals of both sexes), as opposed to hair c.f. *er noos*; about 15 cms long; *temeenii em noosyg zogdortoi xol'j xiisen tüüdgeer burantgiig tomno* a camel's rein is twisted from hanks made by mixing camel wool with the [long] hair of the neck BA2 : 65

emjeer border; may be integral (part of the design) or structurally separate (sewn on); *gadna talyn e.* the outer border [of two integral borders] ON : 21

emxerdex =*imxerdex*

er noos camel hair (from animals of both sexes) i.e. the longer parts of the coat, over 30 cms long; 'hard' wool (in Soviet terminology) comprising *öwdög, zogdor, böxiin noos, šilnii noos* (see *em noos*)

erč the twist (of thread, wool); *esreg tesreg erčtei dees* ropes with their twist in opposing directions (in relation to each other); *baruun erčtei tomj, solgoi erčtei niitgej* Z-twisted and S-plied BA : 29; *zöw solgoi erčeer guramsalj tomson torgon utas* three-ply silk thread, Z-spun and S-plied; *erčii n' čangarax zügt erčilj* plied in the same direction as the thread was spun ON : 12

erčilex to twist, spin; to ply; *dawxar e.* to ply; *zöw erčilsen* Z-twisted or -spun; *neg erčilsen utas* single [thread], i.e. unplied ON : 19; *buruu, zöw erčilsen xoyor zeegen deesiig örxönd barin oyono* two hair cords are couched (side by side) onto the smoke-hole-cover, one S-plied and the other Z-plied BA : 28

erčlegč a device for making (cording) rope (western Xalx); c.f. *ergüüleg*

ereelj a multicoloured silk ribbon

ereelzii a band braided from threads of several colours, used in trimming women's clothing (south Gobi) BC1 : 22

ereen mod / geriin e.m. a tent framework with painted ornament SO : 246

ergee (Dörwöd) the four ropes for adjusting the roof-ring =Kh. *ergüüleg*

ergüüleg 1. (Dörwöd) a device for twisting (cording) rope c.f. *erčlegč* 2. the four ropes for adjusting the roof-ring c.f. *ergee*

erweexei zangilaa a form of ornamental knot ON : 34-5

erxeemel xatgamal =*züü oroox* ON : 6

erxeex to stop (from fraying), strengthen; = *teeglüülex*

esgex to cut out (a garment; a piece of fabric or felt)

gadaarlax / dalimbaar g. to cover [*gudas, toiruulga* q.v.] with cloth

galuu tagnai border design of a row of diamonds BC2 : 123; *galuun tawag* ibid. ON : 21 (lit. goose's feet)

gargax / deeš g. to bring [needle and thread] up through the material; *tsaaš g.* to take through to the back of the material (ref. to *zeeg* q.v. threaded in a bodkin)

gerel süüder satin stitch (whether or not colour shading in the Chinese manner is used)

giljrüü a square, four-sided braid, as used (in rawhide) for a whip

ginj 1. chain 2. =*giljrüü*

gogtsoo 1. loop; stitch (in knitting); mesh; eye; *g. gargax* to make a loop 2. skein *gogtsootoi utas* a skein of thread ON : 15 3. *g. daruulax* to execute lazy-daisy (=detached chain) stitch ON : 47

gol 1. spool (to hold thread) ON : 43; *goltoi zangilaa* braiding which forms a sleeve around something e.g. the shaft of a whip ON : 31-2 2. *gol utas* warp (modern technical term in weaving)

görmöl / g. xee a braid-like intertwined border design; also *görölgöö* ON : 22; *g. süljee* braid, plait ON : 31

gudas a felt mat covered in cloth (Dörnöd and Süxbaatar aimags; elsewhere more usually *öngöts* q.v.) see *gadaarlax*; usually for sleeping on, may be folded double for sitting SO : 250; rectangular or with one long edge curved to fit the wooden Mongol bed, on which at least 4 mats are used piled up; not quilted

gulz Torguud: =*ugalz* ram's horn motif TA: 91. Mongol Urianxai: S-curl; horn motif

guramsax to triple *guramsalj tomson* 3-ply; *guramsan zeeg* 3-ply cord

güilgex to sew with a running stitch; quilt in straight lines; *türüi güilgenee* the vertical lines of quilting on the leg of a Mongol sock

güimel running (design) *g. ewer ugalz* running ram's horn motif BC2 : 123

güix uyaa running knot (of a noose), slip knot

güldrüü (Torguud) lace or thong of a Torguud shoe; *myandsan g-tei tookuu* a (Torguud) boot with silk ties c.f. *giljrüü*

iig (Oirad) spindle c.f. *eerüül*; held in use as follows : Bayad┼ Dörwöd (Dörgön)┼ Torguud (Xobuq sayiri) ┼ Zaxčin ┴ Torguud (Etsingol) ┴ Xalx ┴

ilüür iron (Mongol; the term for a European iron for pressing clothes is *indüü*); used in dressmaking to press seams and borders (not large areas); heated to red-heat to even and harden the rough edges of felt by singeing SG : 29—30

imxerdex to overcast the edges of two pieces of material, joining them together

irgewč (Oirad) the felt strip which surrounds the base of the tent walls; =*xaya-awč*

ix biye the body or main part; the field (as opposed to the border) of a rug or door-felt; the main rope (as opposed to the noose *tseej*) of a lasso *buguil*

jawdan rug, mat < Tib. *rgyab-gdan;* esp. a runner intended as a sitting-mat for a row of monks

jirem the section of the saddle girth to the rider's left, typically braided from rawhide; see *olom*

jirmen ugalz a braided knot, =*aman xüzüü* q.v. ON : 34-5

jolom = *jowgo*, usually with a door; used occasionally by Oirad of Mongolia as temporary shelter during nomadizations, used widely by Oirad of Xinjiang on summer pastures

jowgo(n) tent of which the framework consists of the roof-poles only (no walls), with or without a small roof-ring; *jowgon toono* small roof-ring for 4-12 roof-poles SO : 243-4; c.f. *tsomtsoo, tseej ger*

juram rectangular felt mat; may be used as a seat for a guest SO : 250

kal'k tracing paper ON : 11

köküür (Oirad) small ornamented leather flask (for milk alcohol, etc.); = Kh. *dašmag*, but c.f. Oir. *tašmag*; to be distinguished from the large unornamented leather sack for fermented mares' milk Oir. *arxad*, Kh. *xöxüür*

küw (Dörwöd) cylindrical wooden tub; made from a hollowed treetrunk, up to 1 m high; c.f. Tuv. *küb* still (a tub for distilling, =*bürxeer*) E. Vandui, *Dörwöd aman ayalguu* 1965 p. 135

lawšix to fix 2 pieces of material together with running stitches

lanz a decorative motif; < *lanz üseg*, but based on a Chinese, not Tibetan, character

maaga variety of leather boot peculiar to the Mongol Urianxai TS2 : 10

marl' fabric with open weave; surgical gauze ON: 11

martan finely drawn lamaist religious painting on a red ground TU : 46, 51 < Tib. *mar* red; c.f. *nagtan*

metgex to sew (honorific), embroider; *üil m.* to do needlework

moltsog zangilaa a form of ornamental knot ON : 34

mušgix to twist; *čödör m.* to make a hobble (by twisting rawhide); method illustrated BS : 21-4

naax 1. to glue 2. to execute appliqué work *zeegt naamal* q.v.

nagtan finely drawn lamaist religious painting on a black or dark ground < Tib. *nag* black TU : 53, 57; c.f. *martan*

namxa lamaist thread-cross, Tib. *mdos*; now regarded as ornamental

nelbees also *nelmees* =*elbees* q.v. SO : 246

nemnee warm felt cover for a young or sick animal's back (often as a set with an *elgewč* q.v.); also for sweating racehorses

newtgelzex to execute a large running stitch in which the needle is taken straight through for each stitch, so that the stitching appears the same on both sides of the work (e.g. in stitching leather for boots)

nexex to weave; used also as an imprecise general term for knitting, crochet, braiding, etc.

nexüür knitting needle; Oirad *nekür* a flat bamboo stick used in weaving braids and tent-bands

niitgex to twine, twist together; to ply; spec. to ply by holding 2 or more strands together at one end, and twisting; *niitgesen utas* plied thread; *utsyg temeenii öwdög zogdogoor eerč n.* to spin thread from camels' coarse hair and ply it AY: 106; *aduuny deleer baruun erčtei tomj, solgoi erčtei niitgej* of horsehair Z-twisted and S-plied BA: 29 (*nidke-, neyidge-*)

nogt halter; *n. zangidax* to make a halter (by knotting rawhide); method illustr. BS : 18

norow a decorative motif of lamaist origin, the 'flaming jewel',Tib. *nor-bu*

nöxöx to oversew edges (of fabric, felt, leather); to patch by oversewing the edges of the patch onto the material SG : 42

nugalax to turn under (the raw edges of a piece of fabric); *nugalj unagaax* ibid., *2 cm n. zai üldeen esgej* cutting [it] out leaving 2 cm to turn under

nüd / šireesnii n. the gap between the stitches in a line of stitching

nyagt širxegtei [fabric] with a close weave ON : 11

olbog a square felt sitting rug, with cloth or silk border; may also be covered completely with cloth, like a thin cushion; the same term is used for imported pile-woven sitting mats

olom the section of the girth of a saddle to the rider's right, typically braided from a hair/wool mixture; see *jirem*

olsny erč stem-stitch ON : 46-7

or (Oirad) =*orny širdeg* quilted felt mats for sleeping, on the ground or on a bed; *or oyox* see *oyox*

oroolt / o. utas a ball of thread; *gold oroolttoi utas* a spool of thread ON : 43

orox / ger o. for the roof of the tent to be too low on one side (not level); *toono orčixloo* the roof-ring has dropped on one side SO : 248

oyodol 1. stitching (on something) 2. a seam 3. [a variety of] stitch; *xerees o.* cross-stitch 4. [one single] stitch (in a line of stitching)

oyoo [a variety of] stitch; *šüden o.* toothed stitching (an edging stitch) ON : 5-6; *oyoos* 1. line of stitching; seam; *xöndlön oyoostoi* with transverse rows of stitching (visible) 2. stitches (medical term)

oyox to sew; *ed o., or o.* (Oirad) to make the bedding and rugs for the new tent before a wedding AY2 : 65, 75; *oyomol xatgamlyn züil* stitched and embroidered goods

öngö 1. colour; *ündsen ö.* primary colour; *tuslax ö.* secondary colour; *niilmel ö.* ibid.; *zewxii ö.* neutral colours from white through grey to black; *dewsger öngönöösöö tod neg öngöör oyox* to stitch in a colour brighter than the background colour ON : 43; *ö. budag oruulax* to dye 2. surface, face; *ö. xeseg* the upper, finer, layer of a felt rug *širdeg* q.v. quilted from two layers

öngölöx / daalimbaar ö. to cover (a felt mat *gudas, toiruulga* q.v.) with cloth

öngöts a rectangular felt mat covered in cloth; laid under *širdeg* q.v. or sitting mats; also used for sleeping SO : 250

öög (Oirad) camel saddle =*toxoš* q.v.

ör / ö. xee the design of the field (of a rug, as opposed to the border), the design of the inner part TA : 93; the central motif (on an ornamented object) BC2 : 123

örmög (Bayad, Dörwöd) small sack woven or crocheted from camel-wool thread; esp. for holding grain

öwdgöwč 1. leather knee-pads (for pilgrims who proceed by prostrating themselves on the ground) 2. =*öwdgön xee* BC2 : 123

öwdög 1. knee 2. the hair of a camel's upper legs, c.f. *er noos*; typically used for thread 3. (also *öwdgön xee*) the name of a scrolled border design ON : 21, AY : 104

öwsön luu foliate dragon MA : 13

pans a very fine and slippery Chinese silk fabric; *bardam bandiar Banzragč unšuul, bardam xüxeneer pans oyuul* make a boastful novice read the Pančaragča, make a boastful girl stitch *pans*

pürgüülex / zurgiig šiwj pürgüülen tsoxij buulgax to transfer the picture (to the fabric on which it is to be embroidered) by the prick-and-pounce method ON : 44; c.f. *šiwex*

püüzen xee the ornamental form of the Chinese character *shou*, long life

saa gold or silver thread or braid

sagaldraga / üniin s. the loop of twisted hair at the lower end of a tent roof pole, by means of which it hangs from the head of the wall-lattice; also *segeldreg*

sagsuurga a set of silver toilet implements; often carried at a woman's belt, with her needle-case SG : 64

samnax to comb; *yamaa s.* to gather goats' under-wool by combing it out

saran xee =*püüzen xee* q.v. (Torguud?) TA : 94

sawga the long hairs of the yak, from legs, belly and tail; used in making cords

sergeex to restore, conserve (a work of art)

set / set set xaičlax to snip [edges in order to turn under]

solgog =*sagaldarga* q.v. SO : 245

sor üs in sheep: kemp; in a fur-bearing animal: guard-hairs

söxööstei / s. üüd a felt door-flap rolled up above the doorway; an open doorway

sungalax to disintegrate, pull apart (intr.), referring to a hair rope parting under tension

suur' / s. öngö budag the paint of the background DI : 65; *s. xee* 'supporting' pattern (as opposed to *ör xee* q.v. the central design), background design DI : 67

süix (E. Xalx) a trunk or chest mounted on a cart chassis; used for storing and transporting herding equipment

sülden xee (Torguud?) =*norow* q.v. TA : 95

süljee 1. braid, plait 2. weave; *tegš s-tei dawuu* fabric with a regular (even) weave ON : 41

süljix to plait, braid; *dörwöör s.* to braid 4 strands; for a braid constructed from a single strand, *zangidax* q.v. is used

šaglax to execute top-stitching (stitches visible on the surface of the material); the term has a wide range of use: to backstitch (forming an unbroken line) =*šuud š.*; to execute running stitches and go back again over the spaces in the line of stitching, so forming an unbroken line (usually on leather, see *newtgelzex*); to execute decorative running stitches or backstitch, often in white thread, on fabric (e.g. the top border of a sock) or leather (e.g. a saddle-flap), either in straight lines, or forming decorative designs—esp. the dashed designs on wrestlers' costume SG : 39—40; *šaglan daruulj oyono* catches down [the loops in *züü oroox* q.v.] with running stitches ON : 7; *šaglan širex* to seam (quilt) a hat with parallel rows of stitching (in order to stiffen it) ON: 5; *toolj š.* to execute counted thread work ON : 41

šaglaas topstitching, (visible) seaming; *zuuzain daruulga š.* the strengthening topstitching of T or cross-shaped motifs arranged in arcs on a boot, to each side of the wearer's heel SG : 40; *towgor šaglaa* (=*šaglaas*) raised topstitching ON : 44

šalawč large floor covering, often of felt, or felt covered with cloth and coarsely quilted together; c.f. *toiruulga*

šanz esgii (Xoton) very fine felt, of 75% lambs' wool, 25% *axaryn noos* q.v. RT : 210; also occurs in S. Gobi dialect, precise definition unclear BC1: 22

šarz (S. Gobi dialect) fine yellow silk braid (for trimming) BC1 : 22

šaxagč (Oirad) rod used in braiding; the strands are pulled downwards while the rod is inserted between them and pushed upwards to firm the braid

šidems short bit or scrap of rope, cord; the length of soft rope made from one *tüüdeg* (hank) q.v. of camel-wool; the wool is first twisted in the palms, then the centre of the twist is held in the teeth while the two ends are plied together; up to 30 cms long, typically used to fasten camel calves to the tethering-line

šidex to baste [two pieces of material together] temporarily; to tack, often at scattered points, rather than in a continuous line, by picking up the fabric twice only with the needle and knotting off the thread before and after; *axar ba urtyn esgiig dawxarlan šideed* after tacking the fine and the coarse felts one on top of the other BA : 27

šidmeslex / *šörmös š.* to twist several fibres of tendon (after it has been split) together in the finger-tips, to make strong sewing thread

šilbe xadax to sew the button-loops onto a Mongol garment (on the surface of the fabric, as for frogging); name of the couching stitch used to fasten cord edging *zeeg* q.v. to the surface of appliqué work

šilmüüsen oyodol feather-stitch ON : 47

širdeg felt rug, usually rectangular but sometimes square, with quilted designs covering the whole surface; laid on top of *toiruulga* q.v. or other floor covering, often in a set of three, *xoimor bolon baruun, züün talyn š.* the northern, principal rug and the west and east rugs AY : 104

šireeč one who makes (quilts) felt rugs

širees quilting, strengthening stitching; *nariin tüwegtei xee ugalzan š. büxii širdeg* a rug with fine and intricate quilted ornament; *š-nii nüd* the space between one line of quilting and the next

širex to stitch through with lines of backstitching (or sometimes running stitches); especially in order to strengthen or make firm felt; to quilt felt; also used of sewing through several cords laid side by side to form a flat band

širmel quilted (of felt); *š. esgii edlel* quilted felt goods AY : 103; *dan š.* made of a single layer of quilted felt (rather than two quilted together) ON : 22; *dörwöör š. dörwön büslüür* four tent-girths (each) sewn from four cords (laid together)

širxeg 1. fibre, filament, strand; one strand of several plied or braided 2. warp (in weaving); weave (in the sense of the grain of the fabric) *širxgiin daguu* with the warp, with the nap; *büx xorgoigoo širxgiig neg tiiš n' toxiruulsan* all the pieces of fabric arranged with the weave running in the same direction; *nyagt š-tei matyerial* fabric with a close weave ON : 11; *siireg š-tei* with an open weave ON : 16

šiwex to prick, perforate; *šiwj zurax xee* a design to be pricked out (by the prick-and-pounce method); the outlines, drawn on paper, are perforated, and powder or dry paint is puffed through the perforations to transfer the design to the fabric beneath, which is to be embroidered; may also be used on wood; c.f. *pürgüülex*; *šiwees* the perforated design DI : 65

šiwüür awl; sharp instrument for *šiwex* ON : 39

šörmös sinew; thread twisted from sinew; may be twisted as a single, or plied; sometimes mixed with horse or camel hair; for techniques GO : 19

šurguulgan xee (Oirad) = *tagnai xee* q.v.

šuumal paper-maché, but including layers of fabric as well as paper GE : 106; the base is a reusable wooden or clay form

šüden oyoo a decorative overcasting stitch used to edge fabric, with a toothed design; there are two variants (a) blanket stitching, but varying the length of the vertical stitches to make a toothed pattern (b) a separate cord is laid along the edge of the fabric, and each stitch turns around the cord and into the fabric in a figure-of-eight ON : 6; = Oirad *šüüj xatgax*

q.v.; the technique seems to be typically Oirad, and the Xalx term, lit. 'toothed stitch', may be recent, and indicate that the technique was borrowed in modern times from the Oirad

šüüj xatgax (Oirad) to embroider with a toothed edging stitch c.f. *šūxe* in die Klauen, Krallen nehmen Ramstedt KW 372b, Kh. *šüüx* to strain; to sieve; Uriang. *š-eer xatgax* ibid.; Zaxčin or Torguud *šüijeer x.*, Dörwöd *süüjeer x.* ibid.

tagnai a design quilted on felt AY : 107; resembles parquet flooring; also *t. süljee*; probably takes its name not from *t.* =palate, but from *t.*=the angled joint in the wooden lasso-pole *uurga*; Zaxčin *tagnā* chevron (design); but c.f. Yakut *tañalai oyū*, a design which 'consists of small curves which represent the arch of the palate', p. 270, W. Jochelson, 'Kumiss festivals of the Yakut and the decoration of kumiss vessels', *Boas anniversary volume*, New York 1906, 257-271; this Yakut design would be called *dolgio* q.v. in Mongol; *tagnātšildž širseŋ ūdē* a felt door-flap quilted with *t.* design (Chahar) HA : 75

taltai zangidax to make a braid which is not flat or rounded, but has a square cross-section (or hexagonal, octagonal, etc.); also *tal gargaj z.* ON : 32

tanz heddle-rod (modern technical term)

tašmag (Dörwöd, Myangad) a large, undecorated leather flask; up to 80 cms. high, with the same raised 'shoulders', narrow neck and flattened form as the *köküür* q.v. < *tašix* to flatten c.f. Ramstedt KW 382b; see also KW 383a

teeg counterweight (or toggle) to objects worn on a chain or cord hung over the belt, c.f. *bel*

teeglüülex to stop (edges, to prevent them from fraying)

teentseg (W. Xalx) ornamented needle-case; hung at a woman's waist; c.f. *züüwč*

tegš xemtei symmetrical (design) DI : 65

telüür embroidery frame, tambour frame ON : 8; used especially by Kazakhs

terem 1. a Tibetan woven fabric 2. (Oirad) =*xana*, the tent wall-lattice

tewne bodkin ON : 12; large needle for sewing felt or heavy material

toiruulga felt carpet or floor covering; a Xalx term in local use only; usually coarsely quilted, and laid underneath the rugs *širdeg* q.v.; frequently semi-circular to fit the tent floor area AY : 102

tomox to twist; to ply; specifically, to twist a handful (see *tüüdeg*) of wool or hair into a string between the palms (see *algadax*) very tightly, passing the right palm the whole way across the left palm for every turn; to ply 2 singles using the same technique; to ply 3 or 4 singles by inserting a stick between the singles at the bottom of the cord at every turn, using it as a lever (a method little used because of the effort required); *dees tomox* to make a rope (of animal hair); *aduuny deleer baruun erčtei tomj, solgoi erčtei niitgej* of horsehair Z-twisted and S-plied BA : 29: in the

case of a heavy rope, may also mean 2 S-twisted singles Z-plied, and 3 such cords then S-plied; *guramsalj tomson* 3-ply; *šörmösiig dan tomox, dawxar tomox yanz bür baidag* sinews may be twisted into a single [thread], or plied [from more than one single], there are various methods GO : 19 (*tomo-, tamu-*)

tonoglox to ornament; partic. with decoration which represents something added; *xatgamal tonogtoi uut* a pouch with embroidered ornament SG : 6

tookuu footwear peculiar to the Torguud, a long felt sock inside a leather mocassin-type shoe fastened with thongs TS2 : 5; also worn by Uighur of the Turfan area

toono tušix a type of hitch or quick-release knot (for tethering a horse, fastening a load, etc.); to tie such a knot; Urian. *tõmdi-*, Kalm. *tõmdö-* TS1 : 67

toonoljin / t. süljee lattice design (=*xanan xee*) AY : 109; *t. xee* (Oirad) = *püüzen xee* q.v.

torgon zurag a thanka or picture in appliqué work, using silk fabric

totgo lintel, the upper cross-piece of the tent door-frame; *Dot'ogt'ā ūD* (Darigangа) a felt door flap decorated across its upper edge with tooth-shaped ornaments RT 2 : 174

towšix 1. to baste [two pieces of fabric together, permanently], using long widely-spaced running stitches SG : 38; to attach to, sew on to; *towšij xawax* ibid., esp. to fasten layers of felt together; *towšij oyox* to sew the decorative regularly spaced parallel stitches which strengthen wrestling costume ON : 5 c.f. *šaglax* 2. to pluck [strings of an instrument] c.f. the regular and distinct beat of the plucked instrument *towšuur*

towšoo prominent raised stitching, e.g. on the sole of a boot, or the surface of a wrestler's jacket; has a strengthening function ON : 5

towtsog (South Gobi dialect) a braid with rounded cross-section composed of 12 or 24 strands BC 1 : 22

tow' ger felt tent of which the framework is composed of roof-ring and curved (not straight) roof poles (without walls) SO : 244

toxoš riding-saddle for a camel; may be of felt, or pile-woven c.f. *öög*

töö 1. span (measurement of length) 2. a small square of red fabric sewn onto the centre of a lama's sitting mat *olbog*; supposed to be a fragment cut from the owner's previous rug, and to be the size of the Buddha's hand A. M. Pozdneyev, *Religion and ritual in society*, Bloomington 1978 p. 461

töönöx / t-j xeelex to decorate [leather] with designs burnt into the surface BC2 : 125

töönüür an iron tool for burning designs on leather BC2 : 123

tsaastai naamal appliqué work in which parts of the original paper cartoon are used as templates, and left glued to the backs of the pieces of fabric ON : 13

tsardax to stiffen fabric by painting it with thin flour-paste glue (for use in collage or appliqué work) ON : 12

tsink dry powder paint; used for prick-and-pounce marking ON : 11

tsomtsoo =*jowgo* SO : 243-4 Mo. *čomčoγ, čomčaγ*

tsoolbor / ts. xatgamal open-work ON : 49, 51; *tsaasan ts.* stencil DI : 65

tsooxorlox to sew decorative and strengthening patterns on the felt soles of socks or boots (a form of quilting); *ts-n towšix* ibid. ON : 5

tsetsgen zangilaa a variety of ornamental knot ON : 34-5

tseej ger a tent composed of roof-ring and roof-poles only, sometimes with a door; frequent in areas which use the *sarxinag toono* type of roof-ring in which the poles are permanently fixed SO : 243-4; see *jowgo*

tugalčilj uyaa a hitch (knot) used to fasten calves to their tethering-line, also for the loop of the catching-pole *uurga*

tulgan eree name of a border design, Torguud TA : 94

tumlaidax / t-j oyox = *ullagaa oyodol* q.v.

tuulai xarailgax ('making the hare hop') to execute topstitching forming a dashed line, each 'dash' being composed of 3 unseparated backstitches SG : 40; see *šaglax*

tuušin a cord or braid

tuušix to tack

tuuxai ölzii a variety of ornamental knot; a decorative design with the form of this knot ON : 34-5

tuuzny utas very fine (industrially woven) ribbon or braid; may be threaded in a needle and used in embroidery ON : 44

tuuzan myetr tape-measure

tümennasan xee swastika-fret (Chinese decorative design)

tür tacking, at scattered points, not in a continuous line; removed when the article is finished

tüšleg / olbog t. a sitting mat with a backrest, covered with a matching mat

tüüdeg hank or twist of wool or hair (for making a cord); see *algadax*

ugalz ram's-horn motif; by extension, any ornamental motif, esp. one with curls or spirals; *baruunaa ergelegt u.* a right-handed curl BC2 : 123

ullagaa oyodol stitching using two threads with one needle; the needle is on a thread on the upper side of the work, while the other thread is fastened to the lower side of the work; the upper thread is taken through to the lower side, the end of the lower thread is inserted between its plied strands, and it is partially pulled back until the end of the lower thread emerges on the upper side. The lower thread is pulled tight on the upper side with the fingers, and the upper thread (with needle) is pulled tight on the lower side, the two threads having exchanged places, crossing

through one hole. The process is then repeated for the next stitch. An extremely strong stitch, used typically for soleing boots < *ul* sole SG : 41

unagan turuu (Torguud) =*dolgio xee*, lit. 'colt's hoof'

urax / del u. to pull the hairs of a horse's mane, to obtain horsehair

urtyn esgii felt made from the longer wool from the main (summer) shearing (as opposed to *axaryn esgii*, see *axar*) AY : 105

usan süljee 1. a repeating design of overlapping arcs, wave pattern, =*dolgio xee* ON : 20 2. a wavy-line border design TA : 93

üdeer [rawhide] thong; camel-hide strip holding the parts of a chest *awdar* together; a mortice-and-tenon joint may be used underneath, but without glueing; camel hide is preferred because it can be used in narrow strips without breaking

üdex to fasten (leather or wood) with rawhide thongs, see *üdeer*; to fasten the tent wall-lattice with knotted thongs; to stitch leather objects or oversew their edges with thongs SG : 41; the thongs are soaked before use, and used wet; the term refers to the material used (thong) and not to a specific technique

üil xiix to do needlework

üildex to work with a needle, sew; *širees oyodol ü. gol bagaj n' tewne yum* the main tool for working quilting stitches is a large needle AY : 106

üisen naamal collage or mosaic of birch-bark

üyelee a repeating pattern of overlapping arcs (like fishscales) =*dolgio* q.v. AY : 106

xadax to sew on to, fasten to; *deesen zeeg toiruulan x.* to sew cord edging around [a rug] AY : 105

xagalax / utas x. (Uriang.) to execute lazy-daisy (=detached chain) stitches, singly or chained; used in borders for women's dress

xairtsgan eree also *x. xee*; name of a Torguud quilting design TA : 92, 96

xaj a border or band of relief decoration; *x-tai zümber* DI : 66 *zümber* with further ornament engraved in it

xana / xurgan x. wall-lattice with very small openings (6-8 cms), usually of larch-wood; *šugaman x.* the standard wall-lattice; *morin x.* wall-lattice with large openings, up to 30 cms, and up to 2 m high SO : 245

xanaruulax to stitch the felt sole of a boot with decorative and strengthening patterns, c.f. *tsooxorlox*; to execute a lattice design

xar zurag cartoon (for use in making a picture in appliqué work; may be coloured) see *zeegt naamal*; several identical cartoons may be made and cut up for one picture, since the pattern pieces (*zagwar* q.v.) are applied in superimposed layers; *dürsiig xar zurgiin daguu xaičina* one cuts out the shapes according to the cartoon

xarlag =*xar alag* =*alag* but with black predominating

xatgaas / širees oyodlyn xatgaasny zai the gap between the individual stitches AY : 109

xatgalt stitch; the amount of fabric taken up by the needle ON : 6

xatgamal embroidery; embroidered

xatgax to embroider

xatguur=tseej ger

xawaas loose catching-down stitches

xawax to catch down loosely; esp. the lining to the outer fabric of a garment; *xiilj x.* two or three running stitches are followed by a gap (*xii*) formed by a long and loose stitch on the reverse; little used before this century, since it is not hard-wearing; *ürgeljlen x.* to quilt (fabric, as opposed to felt) rather loosely with running stitches, esp. to hold the cotton wadding in place in quilted clothing SG : 41; *towšij x.* see *towšix*

xawčaar piping; *x. tawin oyox* to sew piping [into a seam on a leather article]; performs a strengthening function GO : 21

xazaar zangidax to make a bridle [by knotting rawhide]; method illustr. BS : 20

xerees oyodol cross-stitch

xerex 1. to tack, baste (with stitching removed after the work is finished); may fasten the work together at several different points, i.e. not with a line of stitching 2. a method of tethering grazing livestock

xew die, form; block for stamping designs; stencil; pattern (to follow); *tsaasan x.* paper stencil (as used in gilding furniture) c.f. *tsoolbor*

xiws pile-woven rug, carpet or sitting-mat

xoimslox to combine two of something; *x-j tomox* to ply two threads into one

xonin xolboo chain-stitch ON : 46; < method of fastening ewes for milking with a continuous length of rope, illustr. BS : 51; *Kazaxyn degeet züünii x. x.* tambour stitch ON : 8

xooloi tongue or upper edge of the felt door or wall-felts which laps under the roof-felts; also *xooloiwč* BA : 27; *širdegnii x.* a narrow reinforced band along the southern edge of the felt rugs in the northern part of the tent, i.e. the edge which takes the wear AY : 104

xošlon 1. flat tent-bands encircling the tent walls, sewn from 4 or 6 horse (or cattle) hair cords laid side by side, and stitched in pairs with camel-hair thread, working from the outside of the band towards the centre; often made up in decorative dark brown/white herring-bone designs c.f. *alag dees* BA : 29 < Mo. *qos* paired, double 2. =*geriin büslüür* q.v.

xošoo also *xoš*, *xošmog*; multicoloured braid, usually as a border, composed of separate parallel strips of fabric, braids, or lines of stitching, each in a different colour; c.f. *dagnax*, *xošlon*

xošuu / bayan x. a border design in quilted felt ON : 21

xöngön öngö tone (of a pure colour); the lighter or softer colour in *dagnax* contouring; c.f. *xünd*

xöö xuyag lit. chain-mail, an all-over design of Chinese origin ON : 37-8

xööltüür a blunt tool for embossing leather, by pressing it from the reverse side into depressions carved in a wooden form BC2 : 123

xöömöl / aris širen x. the execution of embossed designs on leather ON : 3; < *xööx* to emboss, chase

xöötsöldüür a scroll border design ON : 21

xösix to execute running stitch (often decorative) ON : 46

xöwčdöx / noos x. to fluff wool with a bow in feltmaking

xöwördöx to overcast (edges); spec. to fasten two pieces of skin, felt or fabric together along one edge by overcasting (thus leaving a ridge on the reverse) SG : 38; is the normal method of joining lambskins for a winter garment; *x-n šidex* to sew the edges of two pieces [of leather] together with backstitching in which the stitches are separated on the surface [to make a leather flask, leaving a ridge on the outside of the work] BC2 : 123

xöwöx to unwind, unravel; to pull threads (from fabric)

xözör xunias embroidery with tucking or pleating on the shoulders of Zaxčin women's dress; also Bayad, Dörwöd

xuaiz / šar x. an orange-yellow earth colour, used to stencil large round designs on a white sheepskin coat, which is then called *elgen xamban deel*

xuls spatula (for spreading glue)

xulsan süljee basket-weave design; an all-over pattern quilted on felt AY : 106

xuruuwč thimble; finger-stall; the Mongol thimble guards the underside of the finger-tip, not the end, and is mounted on a finger-ring

xušuu nozzle (as used in *zümber* q.v.) DI : 66

xuultuur (western Mongolia) a stick with a piece of felt tied tightly around one end to form a small pad, used to stir the barley being parched in a hot pan

xünd öngö shade (of a pure colour); the darker colour in *dagnax* contouring; c.f. *xöngön* ON : 6

xüree border; *xoyor dax' x.* double border; *dotor talyn x.* the inner border of two (on a felt rug) ON : 20; braid used as a border BC1 : 22

xüwerdex =*xöwördöx*

yongoruu (Torguud) swastika motif TA : 90 < Tib. *gYung-drung* eternity; swastika

yonxor utas silk thread

zadgai xee all-over (repeating) pattern ON : 37

zagasan nuruu 1. an overcasting stitch of double crossed stitches, used to edge two layers of fabric (e.g. the side of a bag) ON : 6 2. a flat braid of 3 or 4 cords, used for *jirem* q.v.

zagwar 1. paper stencil; used to transfer a design to wood to be painted c.f. *tsoolbor*, *xew* 2. template; paper shapes used as cutting-out patterns; see *xar zurag*

zangidax 1. to knot; *nogt z.* to make a halter (by knotting rawhide) 2. to braid when the braid is not flat ON : 31; *böörönxii z.* ibid. *tal gargaj z.* to make a square [cross-section] braid ON : 32

zangilaa 1. knot (general term) 2. granny knot 3. an ornamental knot (fastening nothing) 4. braiding which does not have the form of a flat band ON : 31; *z. daruulax* to execute French knots (embroidery stitch) ON : 48

zee bad the face of a monster; frequently appears at the sides of a snuff bottle; a decorative motif DI: 67; *badyn tolgoi* ibid., but see also *ergüü bad*

zeeg 1. cord (of twisted hair, or 3-ply silk, or occasionally wool) or thick thread, fastened or sewn around the edges of an object or of a design; outlining in couched thread (esp. in appliqué work); *širdgiin z.* hair cord edging of a felt rug (protective rather than decorative); *deesen z.* ibid.; *üxriin xyalgasaar tomson zeegen dees* an edging cord twisted from cattle (= yak) hair BA : 29; *tsagaan ba xar nooson xos zeeg* a double edging cord in black and white wool (i.e. two cords placed side by side, each one plied from one white and one black strand, and lined up to make a series of black-and-white Vs), used especially in dress BA : 27 2. any thin rope or cord

zeeglex to couch a separate cord edging onto an object

zeegt naamal appliqué work in which silk *zeeg* is couched around the edges of each piece of fabric making up the design c.f. *dan naamal*

zogdor 1. the long hair on the underside of a camel's neck; used also of reindeer 2. camel hair (as opposed to the soft wool) c.f. *er noos*; used particularly for thread AY : 106

zoos, zooson xee a circular design; also used of a simplified form of *püüzen xee* (q.v.) AY : 107

zoos širee a piece of equipment for plaiting, braiding and knotting, consisting of a frame above a wooden table; operates on the principle of a lace-maker's cushion; *orxiul zoos* (Ömnögow' dialect) ibid.; *zoos orxix* (Ömnögow' dialect) to work on a *z.s.* BC1

zos red ochre; *šar z.* yellow ochre; *zoson budagt utsaar* with a thread dipped in red ochre [and water]; used to transfer a design to felt before quilting along the lines AY : 106

zulai protective head-covering for a very young camel (used with a felt back-covering)

zuurawč a half-size wall-trellis *xana* (with 5 or 7 heads) SO : 246

zümber a form of applied relief (normally on wooden furniture and in monastery interiors), *tesso duro*; a paste of gypsum or crushed porcelain with sugar and glue is applied with a leather piping bag, and painted when set; *dan*

z., *owgor z.* ibid.; *dawxar z.*, *xajtai z.* ornamented *zümber* — before the paste is quite dry designs are engraved in it with a pointed wooden tool, sometimes after adding a second layer of relief DI: 66; *zümberdex* to execute *z.*

züü oroolt embroidery in the technique of *züü oroox*

züü oroox to execute Peking stitch; two needles may be used ON : 6-7; *z. orooj oyox* ibid.

züüwč needle-case; often heavily ornamented, and hung at a woman's belt or from her silver *bel* q.v.

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TS1 Tsoloo = Čoloo Ž., Notes on Mongol Uriankhai vocabulary. *AOH* 30 (1976), 59—67.

TS2 Tsoloo J., *Arwan gurwan xülgiin duun*. Ulaanbaatar, 1987.
TU Tsültem N., *Mongol zurag*. Ulaanbaatar, 1986.
YA Yadamsüren Ü., *BNMAU-yn ardyn xuwtsas*. Ulaanbaatar, 1967.

Abbreviations

St. Eth. Studia Ethnographica
St. Hist. Studia Historica
St. Mong. Studia Mongolica
St. Mus. Studia Museologica

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SÜLDE — THE BASIC IDEA OF THE CHINGGIS-KHAN CULT

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The article deals with the sacral attribute which in the European tradition is called "charisma". Charisma is a natural gift (divine grace — *gratia infusa*) specific to an object or person. Charisma is the attribute of magician, prophets, military leaders, and rulers. To my mind, an understanding of the Mongol ideas of charisma is fundamental both to the concrete historical study of Mongolia and a typology of Mongolian history, the charismatic type of the "supremacy — submission" relationship being one of the two types distinguished by Max Weber as specific to archaic and traditional cultures.[1] It is absurd to search in reality for "pure" types of the "supremacy — submission", but it is possible to mark out their distinguishing features and to describe their functions in concrete historical conditions.

In my previous works I wrote about the existence of various terms for "charisma" such as: *sülde, suu ǰali, gegegen sünesün.*[2] Analyzing the terms *suu ǰali*[3] and *gegegen sünesün*[4] in Mongolian original sources, I investigated the functions of "charisma" in the charismatic's life as mediator between nature (the cosmos) and society. In accordance with Pelliot's opinion, the origin of the term *suu* was explained as Chinese. Its appearance in the texts was connected with the names of Chinggis-khan's successors from Ögödei. I ex-

[1] The second is the traditional type. The two types are correlated: in periods of stability, traditional values and "absolute truths" prevail; whereas in periods of change, the sphere regulated by traditions requires new norms of right and wrong. These new norms are introduced by the charismatic person, and give rise to new types of relations. After in innovator's death, there is the problem of the successor. The rules of succession formulated to solve the problem are what eventually end up as the new "tradition".

[2] Скрынникова, Т. Д. Терминологическое обозначение сакральности в монгольских исторических сочинениях XIII—XVIII вв. *История и культура монголоязычных народов. Источники и традиция.* Международный „круглый стол" монголоведов. Улан-Удэ. Окт. 1989. Тезисы докладов и сообщений. Улан-Удэ. 1989. С. 56—58.

[3] Скрынникова, Т. Д. Сакральность правителя в представлениях монголов XIII в. Народы Азии и Африки. № I, 1989. С. 67—75.

[4] Скрынникова, Т. Д. *Термины сакральности: тибето-монгольские параллели.* XX научная конференция „Общество и государство в Китае". Тезисы докладов. М., 1989. Ч. I. С. 181—185.

 Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

tracted the second term from historical sources of the 12th and 13th centuries, and gave a number of notions connected with it. These Mongolian terms with Tibetan parallels are the following:

γoul	*gegebči-yin irmeg*	*gegegen sünesün*
srog-rca	*chaṅs bug-gi rca*	*rnam-šes 'od-dkar-po*
vital vascular	Brahma's hole	light-soul (charisma)

The use of various terms to denote the same quality was the result of ethno-cultural process, which also led to the change[5] in the meaning of *sülde* — the first Mongolian word designating "charisma" known from the *Secret History of the Mongols* (hereafter: SHM). This paper aims to show the initial meaning of the term *sülde* as it appears in the SHM, and its transformation and expression in the Chinggis-khan cult as reflected in ritual texts.

It is generally known that the term *sülde* is mentioned in the SHM three times. The first mention is by Dei Sečen, who dreamt of a white gyrfalcon and called it a *sülde* of the Kiyats. Precisely who was possessed of *sülde* was not mentioned. But one can suppose that it was Yesügei, the chief of the Kiyats, because Dei Sečen said to Yesügei: § 63 *Ta kiyat irgen-ü sülder irejü.*[6]

The two other mentions of *sülde* are in connection with Chinggis-khan:

a) Jamuqa emphasized that he was conquered by the *sülde* (charisma) of his sworn-brother (§ 201 *bi hüle'ü törelhitü anda-yin sülder-e dariqdaba je bi*),

b) it was the *sülder* of Chinggis-khan that frightened the Tangguts and led to the victory of the Mongols (§ 249 *Chinggis qa'an-u nere aldar sonascu ayuju ala't ba edo'e süldertü beye cinu gücü irekdejü sülder-ece ayuba*).[8]

It is evident that the term *sülder* denoted an attribute protecting the society possessed of it, and frightening and defeating strangers. The gyrfalcon was the iconographical image of *sülder* at this time. These examples indicate that of possessor of the charisma was the chief of a clan/tribe, that is, primarily Yesügei, and after his death, Temüjin. Besides practical activities aimed at biological and social survival, the chief's function was to perform magical actions establishing contact with the other world.

[5] Various interpretations of the Mongolian term *sülde* are known: protecting genius (deity), soul, flag, good fortune (see C. R. Bawden, Vitality and Death in the Mongolian Epic. *Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung* Teil III, Vorträge des 4. Epensymposium des Sonderforschungsbericht 12, Bonn 1983. *Asiatische Forschungen*. Bd. 91, Wiesbaden 1985, pp. 11—12).

[6] I. de Rachewiltz, Index to the Secret History of the Mongols, Bloomington 1972, p. 25.

[7] Ibid., p. 113.

[8] Ibid., p. 146.

As to Chinggis-khan in the SHM, there is a description of two rituals: sun worship[9] and flag worship. To my mind it is necessary to pay special attention to the rites connected with the flag: the sprinkling of the flag, and the raising of the flag. The text of the SHM contains the following information:

a) After the death of Yesügei, when Temüjin was still a child, his mother Höelün raised the flag (§ 73 — *tuγlaqu*) and took the field against the Tayiči'uds to gather the tribe's scattered people.

b) When Chinggis-khan was at war with Jamuqa and Ong-khan, his supporters — the Uru'uts and the Mangu'uts — had their own black parti-coloured flag (§ 170 *qaraqči'ut alagči'ut tuq*).

c) The "sprinkling of the flag" rite is performed by the chiefs of the clans/tribes. It is mentioned three times in the text of the SHM: before taking the field against the Merkits, Jamuqa sprinkled the flag (§ 106 *qara'atu tuq-iyan sacuba*); Chinggis-khan sprinkled the flag (§ 193 *tuq sacu'at*) before the battle with the Naimans; Ong-khan sprinkled the white flag (§ 167 *caqa'an-a sacu'asu*).

d) Two supporters of Sangγum — Ong-khan's son — Bilge-beki and Todoyon — raised the flag before taking the field against Chinggis-khan (§ 181 *qatqulduqui tuq bosqaqtu*).

e) A nine footed white flag was raised at the meeting where Temüjin was given the title "Chinggis-khan" after his victory over various tribes (§ 202 *yisün költü caqa'an tuq bayi'ulu'at*).

According to the data presented above, flag worship is connected with power: all the persons performing the rite possessed the title *khan* as a mark of high authority, or the title *beki* designating a senior of the clan.

I would like to draw attention to § 106 of the SHM. I believe that this paragraph contains a concrete description of the "sprinkling of the flag" rite. Until now, the actions of Jamuqa were understood as the usual actions performed by a warrior; the truth is, however, that the episode depicts a priest's practice of flag worship.

I sprinkled my flag with a top,
I beat my drum (bellows) made of black ox skin,
I straddled my black fast horse,
I put on my hard clothes,
I took my fearless spear into my hands,
I put my stinging arrow to bow-string.
(And now) I shall gallop into battle with the Qa'at-Merkits . . ."

To clarify the meaning of this fragment, I should like to comment two attributions connected with Jamuqa: the bellows and the spear. These objects

[9] For the meaning of this rite, see: Скрынникова, *Термины сакральности*. 1989.

are mentioned also in other fragments of the SHM. For instance: enthroned, Chinggis-khan assigned his posts and duties to his subjects; the *kebteüls* were made the guardians of the flag, of the bellows and of the spear made of peach tree (§ 232 *tuq, gü'ürge, dōro ǰida*). His son Ögödei, confirmed them in their duty (§ 278). In addition, it will be recalled that the SHM contains the episode about uriangqadai Jarciudai-ebügen, coming down from the mountain Burqan-Qaldun, carrying the bellows on his back (§ 97).

The Mongol word *ke'ürge/gü'ürge* has two meanings: the bellows (modern Mong. хөөрөр); and the whole skin filled with air (a means of crossing a river; modern Mong. гуур "bridge" гуурэг "viaduct"). The first meaning may be interpreted as an allusion to smithery;[10] the second, as a means of transport to the other world (the function of the shaman's drum). The latter idea was underlined in § 106. I think that the phrase "I straddled my black fast horse" is the continuation of the previous one: "I beat my drum made of black ox skin". As for the different modern meanings, linguists explain the origin of both meanings from one ancient word.

The second point concerns the material of Chinggis-khan's spear, the peach tree. L. Ja. Sternberg has noted that the Manchurians called the peach tree (*toro*) "sun-tree", "life-tree". Among the Tungus it was known as a shaman tree, i.e. the shaman's way to heaven.[11] The personal possession of these two attributes, i.e. the performance of the above-mentioned rites, is evidence that charisma enables one person to simultaneously fulfill function of smith/priest and ruler. The interconnection between smith/shaman and ruler has been described by Masao Mori as typical of the Turkish Empire.[12]

On the direct evidence of the SHM, it can be supposed that Chinggis-khan was the only one to possess charisma. But the indirect evidence allows another interpretation. In addition to the above-mentioned rites performed only by persons possessing charisma, the author of the SHM gives information on the preservation of remains: the special burial of Jamuqa, and the rite performed on Ong-khan's skull. Jamuqa said to Chinggis-khan: "If you kill me without blood flowing out, then my skeleton being on high earth (mountain) will protect the descendants of your descendants" (§ 201 *cisu ulu qarqan ala'ul üküjü gebte'esü ölük yasun minu ündür etügen-tür e'ura turuq uruq-un uruq-a cinu qürtele ihējü öksü hirü'er boluyu-je*).[13] It is necessary to emphasize that the capacity to give protection (Mong. *ihekü*) to the clan is a characteristic

[10] Rashid-ad-din mentions Chinggis-khan's clan being smiths. (See Рашид-ад-дин, *Сборник летописей*. Т. I. Кн. I. М.—Л., 1952. С. 154—155.)

[11] Штернберг, Л. Я. *Культ орла у сибирских народов. Первобытная религия в свете этнографии*. Л., 1936. С. 124.

[12] Масао Мори, *Политическая структура древнего государства кочевников Монголии*. XIII Международный конгресс исторических наук. М., 1970. С. I.

[13] I. de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

feature of charisma (*suu ǰali*).[14] As for Ong-klhan's skull, Gürbesü, naiman Tayang-khan's mother, said: "Let his head be brought. We'll make a sacrifice to it, if it really is his head" (§ 189 *Ong-qan erten-ü ötögü yeke qan büle's. teri'ü inu abciratqun mün bö'esü tayiya*).[15]

That no other charismatic persons are mentioned by name can be explained by author's intention of providing, in the SHM, the ideological grounds on which Chinggis-khan's clan had sole right to supreme authority: in Mongolia, charisma was the prerogative of Chinggis-khan and his clan. The term *sülder*, designating charisma, came to be connected only with his name; in the SHM, however, it was Ögödei's personal charisma that was designated by the term *suu ǰali*. The latter designates the charisma of a living ruler, whereas *sülde* became the term denoting the sacral quality inherent in various objects first connected with Chinggis-khan. For seven centuries, Chinggis-khan's clan ruled Mongolia, and the cult of its founder became a national cult. It was Chinggis-khan's charisma that guaranteed the existence of the Mongolian ethno-cultural community and state. The cult of Chinggis-khan took various forms, because charisma can be embodied in any object: burial place, hair in Ejen-Qoro (real or alleged), flags (black and white), the idol of Chinggis-khan in Batu's court. To understand the form and content of these cults of charisma worship, it is necessary to study their names, which contain the term *sülde*: *Cinggis-qayan-u sülde*, *Süldetngri*, *tuγ sülde*. Scholars believe that these cults were three separate ones.[16]

The Mongols of the 13th century used the Turkish loan-word *tuγ* to designate the flag. The author of the SHM distinguished two terms: *sülde(r)* "charisma" and *tuγ* "flag". Later, the flag received an other designation: it was *tuγ sülde* or simply *sülde*. In any case, scholars have translated the term *sülde* as "flag". The reason for confusing the notions was that the flag, as an object possessing charisma, was easy to identify with charisma itself. From the prayer books, we find that the believers address both the flag (*tuγ*) and the charisma (*sülde*) in asking that a wish be granted. But the mediator of cosmological act was not the flag itself, but the charisma embodied in it. The flag cult is universal, and functionally the flag is equivalent to the

[14] See: Скрынниково, Сакральность правителя . . .

[15] I. de Rachewiltz, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[16] For example, W. Heissig describes these cults as independent (see: W. Heissig, *Die Religionen der Mongolei*, Stuttgart, Köln, Mainz, 1970, p. 392 ff); T. Žamtsarano, describing the Chinggis-khan cult, has pointed out the flag cult (*qara sülde*). He concludes that Chinggis-khan worshipped the genies of the black flag, and thet the Ordos region's *qara sülde* was the same flag. This flag is represented by the lance (spear), with the black stallion's mane hanging down from the top. In Ts. Žamtsarano's opinion, both are dedicated to the victory deity. *Sülde-tengri* (See: Жамцарано Ц., *Культ Чингиса в Ордосе. Из пумешесмвия в Южнуы Монголию в 1910 г.* CAJ VI, 3 (1961), p. 196). The general and particular traits of these cults will be discussed below.

world (life) tree. As already mentioned, the latter is analogous to the spear. The flag — world tree analogy was known to the Mongols: the rite of the khan's election was connected both to the tree of many branches (§ 57 of the SHM) and to the nine-footed flag (§ 202 of the SHM).

As for the term *tuγ* "flag", it designated a group of several flags: the nine-footed (sometimes called 8-footed) white flag consisting of one big and 8 small flags (1 + 8), and the 4-footed black, *i.e.* one big and 4 small flags (1 + 4). The numerical symbolism expresses a horizontal scheme of the universe, with the 1 indicating the center, and two types of designation (4 or 8) for the cardinal points. The addition of small flags to the big one symbolizes the fact that from the moment of his enthronement, the ruler becomes a mediator not only for his own society (the center of the universe), but also for the peoples of the whole world.

The *Sülde-tngri* cult is known as a cult of the horseman-deity. W. Heissig dedicated a special part of his book to *Sülde-tngri*.[17] He writes: "Dieser Sülde-Genius des Herrschers, die Personifzierung des herrscherlichen Charisma, insbesondere Činggis Khans, wurde demgemäß auch als einer der Tengri des volksreligiösen Pantheons angesehen, in dem er als *Sülde tngri* auftritt."[18]

However, we cannot agree with his interpretation that the soul (*sünesün*) became the genius-protector (*sülde*). As W. Heissig saw it, the iconography and protecting function of this deity relate it to the Tibetan *dGra lha*[19] owing to the Lamaistic adaptation of the Mongolian religion. To be precise, however, it is necessary to underline that this relationship was of a typological nature and not a genetic one. As has already been mentioned, *Sülde tngri* was connected to indigenous Mongolian ideas of *sülde* expressed in various forms.

It is interesting that the third group of texts dealing specifically with the charisma of Chinggis-khan — *altan sülde* or *gegegen sülde* — have received no separate treatment from scholars. W. Heissig, describing the Chinggis-khan cult, has failed to mention even the sacral attribute that made for his divine nature.

I think that these cults were various forms of the same worship — namely, charisma worship. It seems that initially, the above-mentioned objects, *i.e.* Chinggis-khan's *sülde* itself indicates their common character. My point of view is also supported by the content of the ritual texts dealing with these cults. In the texts of prayers,[20] the light of Chinggis-khan, his gold, white, black, parti-coloured *sülde*, *sülde*-sovereign, *Sülde-tngri* and Chinggis-khan

[17] W. Heissig, *op. cit.* pp. 392–398.

[18] Ibid., p. 395.

[19] W. Heissig, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

[20] B. Rinchen, *Les Materiaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol: Source literaires.* Wiesbaden 1959.

himself are mentioned. In spite of the formal dissimilarity of these objects of worship, I treat these texts as one due to their inherent meaning.

First of all, it is necessary to note the iconography of the objects, which is syncretic in ritual texts. Three kinds of the iconography can be distinguished in the ritual: anthropomorphous images ornithoid images, and the flag. Each text dealing with an object alludes to two or three of the images. For example, *Sülde-tngri* is a deity with an anthropomorphous image: (All quotations will be given from Rinchen's work): "XXXVIII. (It is) a white-coloured deity decorated with a hard helmet emanating light. His body is dressed in a precious coat of gold mail (armour); he wears on his legs the moon's high boots. (The deity) holding the light sword in one hand and the spear made of white reed in the other straddles a horse with a beautiful saddle and stirrup, and has a tiger skin quiver with sharp hard arrows on the right, and a leopard skin quiver with a tight arc on the left" (p. 83) (My translation).

In addition to this description, it is interesting to cite the beginning of this prayer: "(We) pray to *Sülde-tngri*, worshipping the flag of white horse tail." What we have, in short, is two images of one object — *Sülde-tngri* — but not of two objects, or two cults.

Analogous anthropomorphous description is contained in the prayer to the 8-footed white flag: "XXXV. Having a devil body and an enormous head, a *huur* (a musical instrument)-head, a body able to incarnate"; thus, the object of worship is the flag. It is mainly the top of the flag and the staff that is being described in this text. The enormous proportions of the head were especially underlined. The anthropomorphous image of the head is marked in the text "Prayer to the particoloured flag" in allusion XXXXV "Guarding the hair and the cap" (p. 101).

The anthropomorphous image is inherent in the sunny attribute — Chinggis-khan's charisma (Mong. *Cinggis qayan-u sitügsen altan sülde*): "Making an offering, I worship You, young Saintly Flag, with youthful mien and face, who have loosed your hair done in a knot (on top of the head) . . . Making an offering, I worship You, Saintly Flag, with a circular ornament on your face; who, because you have a thousand eyes in your face, are not ignorant of even one concealed (evil deed)."[21]

The birds of prey has never been the worship's objects by itself, but ornithoid image was inherent to the all three phenomens: the light, the flag, the deity (*Sülde tngri*). It is known from the text of the SHM the gyrfalkon was the personification of the charisma. In the prayer of particoloured flag's incense its ornithoid nature was expressed by the following words: "XXXXV. When the enemies would approach (you (*sülde* — T.S.)) has to catch (them),

[21] H. Serruys, A mongol prayer to the spirit of Chinggis-quan's flag. *Mongolian Studies*, edited by Louis Ligeti (Budapest, 1970), pp. 531–32.

when the enemies would approach (you) as a tearing eagle has to catch (them)" (p. 100).

The ornithoid image appears often both in the prayers and on the icons devoted to *Sülde-tngri*-deity. The bird soaring above the horseman is depicted on the icon of this deity. The above-quoted prayer to *Sülde-tngri* (XXXVIII) combining the anthropomorpous image with the flag's image, containes such a detail: "the iron sharp-clawed hawk is soaring above the horseman".

Needless to say, *sülde* in the true sense of the word is not limited to designating physical images. *Sülde* as mentioned in the ritual texts of the three presented groups can be interpreted as "charisma" according to its content. What, then, is the meaning of *sülde* in the ritual texts? The gyrfalcon, hawk, and eagle as sun symbols, as well as the face with a thousand eyes which can burn enemies to ashes, mentioned in the above passages clearly indicate the solar nature of *sülde* whose essence, from the viewpoint of its reference, is light, the aureole. This idea is supported by concrete information in the texts. In the title of one ritual text, Chinggis-khan's gold charisma is a synonym for light (*altan sülde — gegegen*) (XXIX. p. 59).

The texts of the prayer books answer the question as to the nature of this light. These are a great number of examples: "XXXIV. 8-footed white flag with the moon's and sun's light and with a long staff" (p. 70). "XXXV. The great white charisma of the sovereign of the state of holiness with the golden light of the sun" (p. 71). Sometimes the origin of the charisma is specially emphasized: "XXXVI. The holy charisma originated from the light" (p. 75). The reason for such emphasis on the nature of the light lies in the text being quoted from the prayer of the black flag (*qara sülde*). The text contains the following definition: "The holy charisma originated from the moon and sun with the staff."[22]

In the prayer of the parti-coloured flag one may read: "XXXXV. Flaming charisma" (p. 99). The following words are addressed to it: "Light of the gold charisma, please lead us to our salvation . . . Light of the sacred parti-coloured flag, please help us" (p. 101). The above-quoted passages of the prayer can be regarded as an explanation of the nature of *sülde*: light as the essence of charisma. The effect of the gold charisma can be intensified by sacrifice performed around *obo* on the summit of the mountain on definite days (XXX. p. 52).

As indicated by the passages quoted above, charisma is characterized by ambivalence. For example, the charisma of the black flag (XXXVI) originates from the light of the moon and the sun and possesses this light. The

[22] The interchangeability in the text of the notions of "charisma" and of the "staff/flag" wherein the charisma resides creates difficulties with the reference, but it is necessary to keep in mind the combination of the two senses in the one expression.

golden charisma (*altan sülde*) is not only synonymic to the black one, but the two are attributed simultaneously "gold-black charisma" (XXX. Mong. *altan qara sülde* p. 62).

My last point concerns the above-mentioned interchangeability of the location of charisma: an icon of *Sülde-tngri*, a flag, or bird. From the viewpoint of its reference, I regard *sülde* (charisma) to be the essence of the Chinggis-khan cult, and these objects as its formal expression. "Charisma" forms the basis of these kinds of worship, not the soul or spirit.

The first to introduce this idea was Ch. Bawden, who divided the Mongolian terms denoting sacral attributes into two groups: those referring to the soul (*amin, sünesün*) and those to vitality (*sülde, suu ǰali, čoγ ǰali, čoγ sülde, sür ǰabqlang, kii morin*). The latter group is connected to light. It is interesting to recall that the Latin Greek *ϑεος* and the Indian *deva* derive from the common root *div* — "to shine". Even after the death of its possessor, charisma, embodied in some object, continues as a sacral organizing principle and to regulate the social environment of the object.

Thirteenth century Mongolian society was probably divided into two parts: the plebs and the aristocracy. It was not trifunctional, because the Mongols, I believe, had neither temples nor a special caste of priests (*Üsün-ebügen/beki* and *Kököčü Teb Tenggeri*, considered to be shamans/magis by some scholars were temporal rulers pretending to the supreme authority of Chinggis-khan, and fight with him for the power). As the above quotations show, the ruler had the power and the insignia of a priest. Besides fortune-telling, the performance of religious rites was the duty of the chiefs — from the imperator down to the head of the family — who were thought capable of making contact with the other world by means of the charisma of an ancestor ("the spirit of the dead", or the spirit of the father, as some scholars would have it) embodied in some object. Rites of social importance were performed with objects connected with Chinggis-khan, the founder of the Mongolian state.

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ARGUN ALLER ALTEN HERREN, ČINGIZ ALLER KÖNIGE, UND DIE NÄCHTLICHE REISE DES PROPHETEN

MONGOLISCHE TRADITION UND MUSLIMISCHE INKULTURATION IN DER DICHTUNG DER MONGOLEN VON AFGHANISTAN

MICHAEL WEIERS (Bonn)

Seit über siebenhundert Jahren leben die Mongolen von Afghanistan ohne jede Verbindung zu anderen Mongolengruppen in iranisch-tadschikischer und paschtunischer Umgebung. Kulturell war und ist diese Umgebung sunnitisch-muslimisch geprägt. Der Islam sunnitischer Richtung wurde aus diesem Grunde auch im Verlauf der Zeit zur Grundlage des kulturellen und geistigen Lebens der Mongolen im heutigen Afghanistan. Als *muġūl* "Mongolen" — in der Literatur auch als Moghol oder Mogholen aufgeführt — unterschieden sie sich von ihrer Umgebung schließlich nur noch durch ihre mongolische Sprache, das *mūġūlī* "Mogholi". In arabischer Schrift geschrieben diente ihnen diese mongolische Sprache auch als Schriftsprache.[1] Dieses Schriftmogholi hat durch Fremdeinflüsse seitens des Persisch-Tadschikischen und des Arabischen Eigenheiten entwickelt, die es von den übrigen mongolischen Sprachen erheblich abweichen lassen.

Wann die Moghol, die schon seit langem zweisprachig, d. h. mogholi- und persisch-tadschikischsprachig gelebt haben dürften, begonnen haben das Schriftmogholi zu verwenden, wissen wir nicht. Heute jedenfalls ist der Gebrauch dieser Schriftsprache, die noch in den 30er Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts bekannt war, bereits erloschen.

Nach dem Vorbild der persischen Literatur, deren Hauptakzent auf der Poesie liegt, haben auch die Moghol ein überwiegend poetisch ausgerichtetes Schrifttum entwickelt, dessen Formen und Inhalte ebenfalls dem persischen Muster engstens verpflichtet bleiben. Mongolische Tradition etwa im epischen Bereich hat sich nicht erhalten. Auch ausdrückliche Hinweise auf die große Geschichte ihrer Vorfahren sind in der Moghol-Poesie nicht zu finden. Allerdings belegen einige wenige Textstellen, daß man sich vielleicht einer eigenen mongolischen Vergangenheit doch noch bewußt war. An diesen wenigen Stellen wagte man es, wenigstens durch Anspielungen die mongolische Vergangenheit und damit zumindest Spuren für das Vorhandensein einer mongolischen

[1] Über das Schriftmogolische vgl. M. Weiers, "Das Schriftmoġolī der Mongolen von Afghanistan", in: *ZAS* 23 (1992), 60–66.

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Geschichtstradition aufscheinen zu lassen. Freilich blieben diese Hinweise stets streng eingebunden in die Folie des persischen Vorbilds. Wie solche Anspielungen und Hinweise auf das Vorhandensein einer mongolischen Geschichtstradition aussehen, wird das erste in diesem Beitrag vorgestellte mogholische Gedicht aufzeigen.

Das längere zweite Gedicht vorliegenden Beitrags möge als aussagekräftiger Beweis für die weitreichende muslimische Inkulturation gelten, die sich bei den Moghol und dementsprechend auch in ihrer Poesie vollzogen hat.

Bitt- und Loblied an den höchsten Mittler[2]

Belegt in Ms. IVA[1] : 2—[2] : 12 (Fassung des ʿAbd Ḥaiy);[3] Ms. VIB [84] : 14—29 (Fassung des ʿAbd Qādir);[4] Ms. IX. [16] : 20—[17] : 24 (ebenfalls Fassung des ʿAbd Qādir). Original-Überschriften: Ms. IVA [1] : 1 in Persisch und Mogholi: *ġazal ǧar*.[5] Ms. VIB [84] : 11—13 in Mogholi: *ḥaḍrat ġauṯ al-aʿzam ǧar dū āyatūr* "Der verehrte Höchste Mittler. Ghazal über [seine] Eigenschaften." Ms. IX [16] : 19 in Persisch: *ġazal-i madad-i ḫwāstan az ḥaḍrat ġauṯ al-aʿzam wa midḥat bāū* "Ghazal um Hilfe zu erbitten vom verehrten Höchsten Mittler und ein Lobpreis auf ihn." ar. *ġauṯ* "Mittler" ist Titel hoher muslimischer Heiliger, hier als "verehrter Höchster Mittler" bezogen auf Muḥammad.

Transliteration[6]

(14) *bulpābī bī lār urgasūn yā ġauṯ al-aʿzam ġar barī*
(15) *ūrah-dū bulpah ibatūn*[1] *yā ġauṯ al-aʿzam ġar barī*

[2] Der Titel ist nicht original, sondern stammt vom Verfasser. Die Belegangaben beziehen sich auf die Textfaksimiles in: Materialien zur Sprache und Literatur der Mongolen von Afghanistan (= MASLIMA) II, W. Heissig (Hrsg.), *Schriftliche Quellen in Moġolī*. 1. Teil: Texte in Faksimile = Abh. d. Rhein.-Westfäl. Akad. d. Wissenschaft. (= ARWAW), Band 50, Opladen 1974.

[3] ʿAbd Haiy erscheint öfter als Autor bzw. als Schreiber. Über ihn ist nichts näheres bekannt. Zu den übrigen mogholischen Autoren vgl. MASLIMA III, M. Weiers, *Schriftliche Quellen in Moġolī*. 2. Teil: Bearbeitung der Texte = ARWAW, Band 59, Opladen 1975, 11, 17, 19, 21, 104/105 und MASLIMA IV, M. Weiers, *Schriftliche Quellen in Moġolī*. 3. Teil: Poesie der Mogholen = ARWAW, Band 62, Opladen 1977, 34—36.

[4] Über ihn: W. Heissig, "Der Moghol-Dichter ʿAbd al-Qādir", in *ZAS* 3 (1969), 431—438. S. S. Š. Humām, "Sawāniḥ-i muḫtaṣar-i mullā ʿAbd al-Qādir muġul hirātī", in: *Āryāna*, Afghanistan Academy, Kabul 1349, 20—26 sowie *op. cit.* M. Weiers unter Anm. 3.

[5] Zu *ġazal* bzw. *ǧar* vgl. M. Weiers, in: MASLIMA IV (vgl. oben Anm. 3) 14 unter b).

[6] Zur Transliteration mogholischer Texte vgl. M. Weiers, "Aus der Poesie der Mogholen", in: *AOHung.* XXXVI (1982), dort 564 f. Die in der Transliteration und in der

(16) *bulpāpī bī kaltah ikīn mīdančī ūsanah yaqīn*
(17) *maḥzūn*[2] *dažam bihbī mūtīn yā ġauṯ al-aʿzam ġar barī*

(18) *yurġū minī užah-sah ir ġam ǧūg bī*[3] *tātābah ǧabr*
(19) *ʿanqaṣ bulūbī dū ašir yā ġauṯ al-aʿzam ġar barī*

(20) *nīrah čī bih wird-i kilan kulkah učūr yābuwāluḥsan*
(21) *unābī dundā-i maḥan yā ġauṯ al-aʿzam ġar barī*

(22)[4] *ūī-dančī*[5] *bih bāb fuyuḍ itmīġūnah kulkah ʿarūḍ*
(23)[4] *nandū wašarasah tī fuyuḍ yā ġauṯ al-aʿẓam ġar barī*

(24) *čī ġam-dasah*[6] *digšī minī kiryās*[7]*-dūnah unšī minī*
(25) *ġam bīraġah bišī*[8] *minī yā ġauṯ al-aʿẓam ġar barī*

(26/27) *wāčuġ čī bihčī ǧūgdasah hūlaz ǧuġā tizūgdasah*[9]
(26/27) *āsrāḫčī kul utur wa gadasah yā ġauṯ al-aʿẓam ġar barī*

(28)[10] *ūrah-sah tah inmāq bī činī*[11] *qatāī muštāq bī*
(29) *faiḍasah ūg āmāq bī yā ġauṯ al-aʿẓam ġar barī*

(28) *arġūn-i*[12] *kulkah utalāt čingīz*[13] *kulkah uluʿāt*[14]
(29) *nīrah-čī-dū kulkah ǧahāt yā ġauṯ al-aʿẓam ġar barī*

(28) *karyās-dū-čī kībah nudūn lār-i*[15] *dažam īž ibatūn*
(29) *mūn ʿabd qādir*[16] *gai ūrūn*[17] *yā ġauṯ al-aʿẓam ġar barī*

Übersetzung

(14) Ich lebe[18] ohne Qual durch Dornen, O Höchster Mittler, die Hand nimm!
(15) [Doch] im Herzen ist entstanden[19] Schmerz, O Höchster Mittler, die Hand nimm![20]

(16) Ich lebe [18] ohne Schaden am Kopf, du weißt es selber gewiß.
(17) [Doch] gequält und traurig bin ich gleichwohl, O Höchster Mittler, die Hand nimm!

Übersetzung gegebenen fortlaufenden Anmerkungen beziehen sich auf die Varianten und den Kommentar, die sich unmittelbar der Übersetzung anschließen. Basistext ist jeweils die Fassung aus Ms. VIB. Dieses Ms. enthält Belege von allen uns bekannten Gedichten, während die übrigen Ms. lediglich nur die eine oder andere Fassung aufführen.

(18) Wegen des Anblicks meines Zustandes[21] komm! Der Gram, auf mich hin gerichtet, hat[mir] entzogen die Kraft.
(19) Durstig bin ich geworden nach Freude, O Höchster Mittler, die Hand nimm!

(20) Dein Name ist das dauernde Bemühen [meiner] Zunge. Alle Zeit war sie unterwegs[ihn] zu finden.
(21) [Doch] gefallen bin ich in der Ermüdung vom täglichen Wandern, O Höchster Mittler, die Hand nimm!

(22)[4] Deine Tür ist das Tor für Gnadenerweise. Sie erkennt alles an, was in den Blick kommt.
(23)[4] Mir [komme zu] von dem Blick dies als Gnadenerweise: O Höchster Mittler, die Hand nimm!

(24) Von den Kümmernissen nach dir[6] [kommt] mein sich nach oben Wenden. An deinen Hof ruf mich!
(25) Der Kummer möge kommen zu andern als mir, O Höchster Mittler, die Hand nimm!

(26/27) Nachricht von dir bist du von den [Himmels]richtungen her.[22] Die Verrichtungen kommen fertig vom Buche her.[23]
(26/27) Des Retters Fuß[24] [kommt] vom Gehorsam und vom Bitten her, O Höchster Mittler, die Hand nimm!

(28)[10] Vom Herzen her [ist] auch der Glaube von mir. Von dir ein Kuß [ist] das Verlangen von mir.
(29) Vom Gnadenerweis [etwas] gib ! Ein Schutzsuchender bin ich, O Höchster Mittler, die Hand nimm!

(28) Argun[25] aller alten Herren,[26] Čingiz[27] aller Könige,
(29) In deinem Namen sind alle Zeitalter, O Höchster Mittler, die Hand nimm!

(28) Auf deinen Hof hin hat gerichtet[28] das Auge der gequälte und traurige Gefährte des Schmerzes,
(29) Jener ʿAbd Qādir[16] ohne Ruhelager, O Höchster Mittler, die Hand nimm!

Varianten und Kommentar

Die folgenden Anmerkungen beziehen sich auf die Transliteration und die Übersetzung.

[1]IVA[1] : 4 *ībatūn* [2]IVA [1] : 8 *lār-i* [3]IVA [1] : 9 *ǧūgbī* [4]In IVA [1] deest [5]IX [17] : 9 *ūidančī* [6]IVA [1] : 14 *ġam-nūdasah* IX [17] : 11 *ġamnūdasah* " . . . .von den Kümmernissen . . . ." [7]IVA [1] : 15, IX [17] : 14 *giryās* [8]IVA [1] : 16 *bīšī* [9]IVA [2] : 2 *tīzūgdasah* [10]In Ms. IVA stehen die folgenden Verse in umgekehrter Reihenfolge. [11]IVA [2] : 10 *činī* [12]IVA [2] : 5 *arġūnī* [13]IVA [2] : 6 *čingīzī* [14]IVA [2] : 6 *ūluʿāt* [15]IVA [2] : 10, IX [17] : 24 *lār* [16]IVA [2] : 11 *ʿabd ḥaiy* [17]IVA [2] : 11 *urūn* [18]Wörtl.: Geworden bin ich . . . [19]Wörtl.: wurde [20]Die Dornen sind hier eine Metapher für die äußeren mißlichen Gegebenheiten, die im Gegensatz zum inneren Schmerz (" . . . im Herzen ist entstanden Schmerz . . . ") keine Qual bereiten. [21]Wörtl.: Vom Sehen meines Zustands . . . . [22]Die volksreligiöse Vorstellung, daß im Gebetsruf gleichsam Muḥammad von allen Himmelsrichtungen her sich kundtut als Rufer zum Gebetszeremoniell. [23]Die Verrichtungen sind vor allem die Anweisungen und die Gebote, die fertig festgelegt vorliegen im Buche, d. h. im Koran. [24]Metaphorisch-konkret für das Herankommen der Rettung. [25]Ms. IVA glossiert *arġūn* mit pers. *tāǧ* "Krone". Vgl. ebenso das Vokabular Ms. X [44] : 14. [26]Ms. IVA glossiert den mogh. Pl. *utalāt* mit pers. *pīrān* "Alte, alte Herren" als ehrenvolle Bezeichnung. Vgl. gleiche Glossierung des mogh. Sg. *utal* mit pers. *pīr* in Ms. X [44] : 11. [27]Ms. IVA glossiert *čingīz* bzw. *čingīzī* mit pers.-mo. *šāh ḫāhān*; *hāhān* = mo. *qaγan* "Großkhan". Die pers. Glosse bedeutet demnach "Großkhan-König". [28]Wörtl.: „. . . hat gemacht . . ."

Diejenigen Textpassagen, die in unserem Zusammenhang besonders zur Diskussion stehen, präsentiert der erste Halbvers des vorletzten Doppelverses: Ms. VIB und Ms. IX: "Argun aller alten Herren, Čingiz aller Könige" Ms. IVA: "Krone aller alten Herren, Grosskhan-König aller Könige".
Aus den Fassungen der Mss. VIB und IX darf man durchaus schließen, daß hier wirklich der mongolische Il-Khan Argun (reg. 1284—1291) sowie Tschinggis Khan, der Vorkämpfer für das Mongolische Weltreich, angesprochen sind. Allerdings steigen sie hier nicht, wie das zumindest bei Tschinggis Khan im östlichen Zentralasien der Fall war, zu Heiligen auf, sondern sie werden nur insofern muslimisiert, als ihre Namen aufgrund des folgenden Hemistichs eindeutig mit Muḥammad zu identifizieren sind, der seinerseits in der muslimischen Volksreligion allerdings wiederum als Heiliger Verehrung genießt. Argun und Tschinggis Khan stehen somit für die volksreligiöse Gestalt des "Höchsten Mittlers", d.i. für Muḥammad: Sie fungieren gewissermaßen als Pseudonyme für den Propheten.

Mit diesem Einbinden zweier berühmter Persönlichkeiten aus der genuin mongolischen Geschichtstradition in die muslimische Volksreligion befinden sich die Fassungen der Mss. VIB und IX auf vertrautem Terrain: Schon im Koran (Sure 61,6) wird ein gewisser Aḥmad mit Muḥammad identifiziert, und im türkisch-iranischen Raum geschieht dasselbe mit Musṭafā und Maḥmūd

(vgl. M. WEIERS in MASLIMA IV, *op. cit.* Anm. 3, dort 52 Anm. 23, 98 Anm. 2—4, 101 Anm. 1, 102). Diesen Namen sind nun speziell in der muslimischen Volksreligion der Moghol noch zusätzlich die Herrschernamen Argun und Tschinggis als mit Muḥammad zu identifizierende Ehrennamen beizugesellen. Die Textpassagen der Mss. VIB und IX führen damit anschaulich vor Augen, wie vielleicht noch lebendige genuin mongolische Geschichtstraditionen in die Vorstellungen und Traditionen muslimischer Volksreligion überführt worden sind.

Anders verhält es sich mit Ms. IVA. Hier legt man den Namen von Persönlichkeiten einer vielleicht nur noch rudimentär vorhanden gewesenen genuin mongolischen Geschichtstradition Bedeutungen bei, die etwa sinngemäß der Stellung, die diese Persönlichkeiten bekleideten, entsprechen oder damit in Zusammenhang stehen. Die schwindende genuin mongolische Tradition wird damit gleichsam als Steinbruch für die muslimische volksreligiöse Dichtung der Moghol genutzt.

Beispiele für das Umwidmen genuin mongolischer Geschichtstradition, wie sie das vorstehende Gedicht liefert, sind in der Poesie der Moghol nicht häufig belegt. Muslimische Inkulturation hingegen läßt sich allenthalben nachweisen. In welchem Maße die Moghol muslimische Vorbilder in ihre Dichtung übernommen haben, will nun folgende Qaṣīde[7] über die sogenannte Nachtreise des Propheten vor Augen führen.

In dieser Nachtreise werden Angaben aus den Suren 53 und 81 des Koran, die sich auf Visionen des Propheten beziehen, als Muḥammads *miʿrāǧ* "Aufstieg, Auffahrt" in den Himmel poetisch ausgedeutet.[8] Obwohl die Nachtreise, die Muḥammads nächtliche Reise nach Jerusalem und daran anschließend seine Auffahrt in den Himmel schildert, eine reine Wundergeschichte ist, wurde sie doch vom Ḥadīṯ, das sind die dem Propheten Muḥammad zugeschriebenen Aussprüche, die neben dem Koran als Quelle religiöser Vorschriften gelten, angenommen.

Die Nachtreise ist wohl die beliebteste der muslimischen Wundergeschichten. Sie liegt in besonderen Dichtungen arab. als *kitāb al-miʿrāǧ* "Buch über die Auffahrt" oder pers. als *miʿrāǧ nāmah* "id." vor und fand weiteste Verbreitung.[9] Sogar ins Lateinische wurde der *kitāb al-miʿrāg* übertragen,[10] und später auch bildlich dargestellt.[11]

[7] Zur Qaṣīde in der Moghol-Dichtung vgl. M. Weiers, in MASLIMA IV (vgl. *op. cit.* oben Anm. 3), 13f.

[8] Zu den Visionen vgl. R. Bell, "Muhammad's Visions", in: *The Moslem World* 24 (1934), 145—154. R. Paret, *Mohammed und der Koran*, Stuttgart 1957, 44—46.

[9] Vgl. *Shorter Encyclopedia of islam* (= SEI), Reprint: Leiden/London 1961, 381—384; T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, Reprint: Dubuque, Iowa, o. J., 351 f. (= HUGHES); R. Hartmann, *Die Religion des Islam*, Berlin 1944, 75, 114.

[10] *Liber scale Machometi.* Die lateinische Fassung des Kitab al-mi'radj. Einleitung, (kritische) Edition, Glossar von E. Werner = Studia Humaniora 4 (1986), Düsseldorf 1986.

Verbreitung und Beliebtheit der Wundergeschichte des *miʿrāǧ* verfehlten ihre Wirkung auch bei den Moghol nicht. In Form einer Qaṣīde liegt die Nächtliche Reise in zwei Mogholi-Fassungen vor: Ms. IVB [28] : 19—[33] : 20 eine Fassung des Qādir, und Ms. VIB [9] : 13—[11] : 5 eine Fassung des Nāẓir.

Offensichtlich handelt es sich bei den beiden Texten nicht um ausgesprochene Parallelfassungen. Die Fassung des Nāẓir nämlich weicht nicht nur bei der Schilderung gleicher Vorgänge im Wortlaut ab, sondern sie umfaßt auch insgesamt 16 Distichen weniger. Um die Abweichungen, die auch den Handlungsablauf betreffen, pointiert herauszustellen, wird der *textus brevior* des Nāẓir unter Transliteration und Übersetzung als Basistext aufgeführt, und von diesem Basistext ausgehend dann durch Anmerkungen unter dem nachfolgenden Abschnitt "Varianten und Kommentar" auf den *textus amplior* des Qādir verwiesen.

Die Fassung des Qādir weist ihrerseits wieder Verkürzungen und Abweichungen gegenüber Einzelheiten im Ḥadīṯ auf. Auch diese Abweichungen werden im Kommentar angesprochen bzw. diskutiert.

Transliteration

VIB[9] :

(13) *muḥammad aḥmad maḥmūd gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*[1]
qiyār gītī-dū[2] *tī maqṣūd gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*[3]
(14) *tī ummahānī-dū bihlah usunġar mūtah duz kīlah*
sawuḫsan[4] *ǧaidūnah bihlah gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(15) *burāq sāinakan ai žān ṣabar tī ǧārūbah daidān*[5]
ačarpah ǧabraʾīl urdān[6] *gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*

VIB[10] :

(1) *taḥīyāt salām*[7] *kībah qūnah tingar kalām kībah*[8]
sumāǧāt tī[9] *tamām kībah gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(2) *gabah ǧabraīl kih buḏ ai žān činī irīlpanah daidān*[10]
unūh yā šāfiʿ[11] *ʿiṣyān gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*[12]
(3) *bilah dālān raǧabasah ǧūg-i kūk tā unū bulpah*
dū aqṣā nīkah duz kurpah gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ[13]

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[11] Z. B. die illuminierte Handschrift mit dem türkischen Text in uigurischer Schrift, geschrieben im 15. Jh. von Malik Baḫšī aus Herat, Ausgabe: *Miʿraǧ-name.* Muhammeds wunderbare Reise durch Himmel und Hölle. Manuscript suppl. turc 190 der Bibliothèque Nationale Paris. Hrsg. (und mit Bildkommentaren versehen) von M.-R. Séguy (aus dem Französischen übersetzt von C. Burgauner), München 1977, 157 Seiten + 61 Faksimile-Tafeln in Farb- und Golddruck. Englische Ausgabe: *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet.* Miraj Nameh, London 1977.

(4) *tī hālah-dū kih ǧāruḫsat kūlīlah-nūd burāqnūdah*[14]
burāq-i[14] *tī kūlīġdabah gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*[15]
(5) *tī duz ārābah aqṣa-dū tinī ǧāruḫsat ūžabah*[16]
salām ikrām kīčaġabah gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ
(6) *namāz unšīčaġabah-nūd*[17] *qiyār rakʿat uruḫš aḥmad*
faṣallaitu fīhi unšī gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ
(7) *ġarūbah tindasah aḥmad ačaržī īrabah ǧabraīl*
qiyār ġar-dū qiyār ribkī[18] *gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(8) *nīkah sūn tah šarāb*[19] *nīkah sūn aḥmad āpah āčālpah*[20]
dū kūk[21] *určībah tindasah gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(9) *sah dālān kūk nukčībah dū sidrah kurpanād ūžah*
qučarpah ǧabraʾīl tindah gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ[22]
(10) *ūdah určībah tā (ūl) rafraf qučarpanah*[23] *burāq tī duz*
unūbah rafrafni[24] *tī duz gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(11) *kitūlpah kurpah kul-i ʿarš ḫiṭāb bulpah adin minnī*
sah daidān tindū aryūn[25] *gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*[26]
(12) *salām īrabah ikrām-nūd ʿalaika ayuhā ʾl-maḥmūd*
tī duz ǧūgasah-ʾi maʿbūd[27] *gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(13) *danā unšī fatadallā fakāna qāba qausīn*
bišī šāndūni au adnā[28] *gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*[29]
(14) *būrūbah tīdū daidān kull īmarṯai kih irībah*
ḥiǧāb-i qūīnasah mīdah gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ[30]

VIB [11] :

(1) *kībah ruḫṣat aḥad aḥmad qatilar*[31] *tuḥfah-ʾi ummat*
qarībah īžan-i ʿizzat gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ[32]
(2) *nudūn hīz kī tah kī*[33] *taṣdīq ṯah*[34] *ummat bihčī kī taḥqīq*
biāʾ[35] *ǧāhid tah*[36] *bul ṣādiq gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*[37]
(3) *kībah naql mūnah miʿrāǧ kībah ummat qabūl miʿrāǧ*
nīrah bulpah uluʿ miʿrāǧ gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ[38]
(4) *bilah miʿrāǧ-dū ġurbān duz bišī gahdū bih durbān duz*
(5) *čī nāẓir*[39] *gah muġaṭ mūnaz*[40] *gah ūlǧā āsah tī miʿrāǧ*

Übersetzung[12]

VIB[9] :

(13) Muḥammad, Aḥmad, Maḥmūd[41] — sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.[42]
Für die zwei Welten ist er vorgesehen,[43] sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

[12] Alle folgenden Anmerkungen beziehen sich teils auf die Varianten des Textes IVB (Anm. 1—40), teils auf den Kommentar (Anm. 41—59). Der Kommentar (= Anm. 41—59) verweist allerdings auch immer wieder auf die Varianten und das dort Gesagte zurück. Varianten und Kommentar schließen sich wie beim vorher behandelten Gedicht unmittelbar an die Übersetzung an.

(14) Bei seinen Glaubensgefolgschaften rituelle Waschung[44] war. Diese Stunde man sie vollzogen hatte.
Gesetzt auf seinen Platz er sich hatte, sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(15) Den hübschen Burāq,[45] o Freund, seinetwegen geschickt hat Gott [her].[5]
Gebracht hat Gabriel [ihn] her[6], sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

VIB[10] :

(1) Friedensgrüße[7] entrichtete er. Danach mit ihm ein Gespräch führte er[8].
Seine Sendung[9] führte er aus, sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(2) Es sprach Gabriel: "Steh auf, o Freund, Gott hat dich vorgeladen.[10]
Du sollst [zu ihm] reiten, o Fürsprecher der Sünder." Sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.[12]
(3) Es war vom siebten Rağab[46] an, gen Himmel daß er geworden ein Reitersmann.
An der Aqṣā[47] in einer Stunde kam er an, sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.[13]
(4) An ihrem runden Türklopfer, an dem die Propheten [schon] festgebunden hatten ihre Gescheckten,[14]
sein Burāq[14] wurde festgebunden, sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.[15]
(5) Diese Stunde ging er hinein in die Aqṣā. Ihn die Propheten[48] erblickten.[16]
Friedensgruß und Ehrbezeigung sie entrichteten, sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(6) Als Gebetszeremoniell rezitierten sie zwei Rakʿat,[49] als Imām [fungierte] Aḥmad.[50]
Das "Und ich habe gebetet in ihr" rezitiere![51] Sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(7) Es ging heraus von dort Aḥmad. Es brachte herbei Gabriel in den zwei Händen zwei Trinkschalen,[18] sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(8) Eine [mit] Milch und eine [mit] Wein. Die eine [mit] Milch[52] nahm Aḥmad und trank.[20]
In den Himmel begab er sich von dort, sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(9) An den sieben Himmeln begab er sich vorbei.[53] Zum Zizyphus[-Baum][54] gelangten sie beide, schau!
Es blieb zurück Gabriel dort, sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.[22]
(10) Er begab sich hinauf bis zur Wohnung des Isrāfīl.[55] Es blieb zurück[23] Burāq diese Stunde.
Er war geritten zu Isrāfīls Wohnung [nur in] diese [reinen] Stunde, sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(11) Er begab sich vorbei. Er erreichte den Fuß des Thrones Gottes.[56] Es kam zu einem Gespräch: "Mein [mir] Nähester,
von Gott her [hast du] ihm (= Gott) gegenüber tausend [Pflichten]"[25], sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.[26]

(12) Zum Friedensgruß kam es, zu Ehrbezeigungen für dich, o Maḥmūd, diese Stunde vom Angebeteten (= Gott) her,[27] sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

(13) Das "Er näherte sich" rezitiere, [und das:] "Und er kam nach unten und zwar zwei Bogenlängen [entfernt]"!
Bei einer anderen von seinen Angelegenheiten: "Oder [noch] näher"[28]
Sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.[29]

(14) Es sprach zu ihm Gott über alle Dinge, die er wünschte.
"Hinter einem Vorhang" wisse![57] Sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.[30]

VIB[11]:

(1) Es führte eine Mission durch Aḥmad mit den [Leidens-]Gefährten des Geschenks an die Glaubensgemeinde.[58]
Zurückgenommen hatte es der Herr der Macht, sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.[32]

(2) "Das Auge richte darauf und erkenne als wahr: [Noch] keine Glaubensgemeinde bist du, erkenne es recht!
Sei kein Glaubensgegner, sondern werde getreu!"[59] Sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.[37]

(3) Es brachte von einem Platz zum andern [ihn] diese Auffahrt. Es stimmte zu die Glaubensgemeinde der Auffahrt.
Der Name [von ihm] wurde "König der Auffahrt", sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.[38]

(4) Er war auf der Auffahrt drei Stunden, in anderer Erzählung sind es vier Stunden,
du Nāẓir[39] sage: "Immerwährend [sind] diese [Stunden]", sprich: Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

Varianten und Kommentar

[1]IVB [28] : 19/20 *muḥammad aḥmad maḥmūd mubārak a(!)sah tī miʿrāǧ* [2]IVB [28] : 21 *qiyār ʿālam-dū* [3]Der den Doppelvers abschließende Halbvers lautet in Ms. IVB stets: *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ* "gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt". [4]IVB [29] : 5 *sāwuḫsah* [5]IVB [29] : 7/8 *burāq sāinah aiǧān tī tī-nandū ǧārūbah daidān* "Den schönen Burāq, o Lieber, ihn zu dir geschickt hat Gott" [6]IVB [29] : 9 *tī ān* "ihn soeben" [7]IVB [29] : 11 *taḥīyāt wa salām* "Grüsse und Friedenswunsch" [8]IVB [29] : 12 *muḥammad kalām kībah* "Muḥammad ein Gespräch führte" [9]IVB [29] : 13 *sumāǧātī* "die Sendung" [10]IVB [29] : (15) *gabah tah ǧabraʾīl tī ān* (16) *irībah tānī tah daidān* Es sprach auch Gabriel diesen Augenblick: [16] "Gott hat Euch auch zu sich gerufen." [11]IVB [29] : 17 *unū yā šaʿ* (sic!).

[12]Der Text in Ms. IVB hat folgende zusätzliche, in Ms. VIB nicht belegte Doppelverse:

IVB [29] :

(19) *burāq sāikakan ṣudūn* (20) *guhar bihnah qiyār nudūn*
(21) *čiqīn laʿl wa sah dur sudūn* (22) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(23) *zabarǧad kul-nūd wa ġarnūd* (24) *ikīn lūlū liǧām yāqūt*
(25) *čīnandū ǧārubah maʿbūd* (26) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(27) *bih yāl wa ṯūl tī ʿanbar* (28) *kužūn bih zaʿfarān aṣfar*
[30] :
(1) *nūl furūziǧ(!)ī wa gauhar* (2) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*

IVB [29] :

(19) Burāq[45], der frische, der gute, (20) Edelsteine sind die zwei Augen,
(21) die Ohren strahlendste Rubine, aus Perlen die Zähne, (22) gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(23) Smaragde die Füße und Hände, (24) der Kopf eine Perle, der Zaum Karneole,
(25) zu dir [ihn] sandte der Angebetete (= Gott), (26) gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(27) Es ist die Mähne und sein Schwanz Ambra, (28) der Nacken ist safrangelb,
[30]:
(1) die Mundpartie leuchtend und Edelsteinglanz, (2) gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

[13]IVB [30] :

(3) *raǧabasah bilah dālān tasaḥḥur gāh* (4) *dū ǧūg āsmān*
(5) *burāq ūgpah ǧaulān* (6) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(3) Vom Raǧab an war es, am siebten vor Tagesanbruch früh morgens (4) in Richtung Himmel
(5) Burāq sich bewegte, (6) gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
Es folgt in Ms. IVB ein Doppelvers, der in Ms. VIB nicht belegt ist:
IVB [30] :
(7) *safar kībah samā ǧūgtū* (8) *gažiḫčī ʿurūn-i ʾillāhhū*
(9) *bilah ǧabraʾīl qatīl murdū* (10) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(7) Die Reise er machte dem Himmel zu, (8) zum Ziel nehmend den Thron Gottes.
(9) Es war Gabriel zusammen mit auf dem Weg, (10) gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
Der folgende Doppelvers in Ms. IVB läßt sich nur lose mit VIB [10] : 3 zusammenstellen:

IVB[30] :

(11) *uruḫš určībah nīkaduz* (12) *tī tā baitu ʾl-maqdis-tū*
(13) *čī asrā unšī biʿabdihi* (14) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*

(11) Zuerst begab er sich in einer Stunde (12) bis zum Haus des Heiligtums (= Jerusalem) hin.
(13) Du das "Er reiste" rezitiere "mit seinem Diener", (14) gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

Der Halbvers [30] : 13 vorstehenden Doppelverses führt mit dem arabischen Zitat *asrā biʿabdihi* "Er reiste mit seinem Diener" eine Stelle aus dem Koran, Sure 17, 1, an: *subḥāna ʾlladī asrā biʿabdihi lailan* "Gepriesen sei der, der reiste mit seinem Diener bei Nacht . . ." Es handelt sich dabei um diejenige Stelle im Koran, die als einzige auf die Nachtreise des Propheten anspielt.

[14]Hier liegt ein Wortspiel vor zwischen dem Eigennamen Burāq (vgl. unten Anm. 45) und dem mogh. Wort *burāq* "schwarz-weiß gefleckt, gescheckt; Schecke, Gescheckter".

[15]IVB [30] :

(15) *burāq tī kūlībah* (16) *tī ḥalqadūni anbiyāʾ*
(17) *kūlīžanūd burāq-nūtah* (18) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(15) Seinen Burāq band er fest (16) an diesem ihren runden Türklopfer, an dem [schon] die Propheten
(17) festgebunden hatten ihre Gescheckten, (18) gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

[16]IVB [30] :

(19) *tī duz ārābah masǧidtū* (20) *ūžah-bah anbiyā tinnī*
(19) Diese Stunde ging er hinein in die Moschee. (20) Es sahen die Propheten ihn.
[17] IVB [30] : 23 *unšīčaġabah tīd*

[18]IVB [31] :

(2) *īrabah ǧabraʾīl urdā* (3) *qiyār ġartūni qiyār ribkī*
(2) Es kam Gabriel herzu, (3) in seinen zwei Händen zwei Trinkschalen.
[19]IVB [31] : 5 *sūn šurāb* [20]IVB [31] : 5 *aḥmad iḫtiyār kībah* "Aḥmad wählte aus" [21]IVB [31] : 6 *samā*

[22]In Ms. IVB wird die Schilderung um drei in Ms. VIB nicht belegte Doppelverse erweitert:

IVB [31] :

(7) *sah dālān āsmān ṭayi* (8) *kībah ūžah-bah anbiyā*
(9) *ʿilām kībahʾ wa sānāspah* (10) *mubārāk āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(11) *kitūlpah sidrah-dū kurpah qučarpah ǧabraʾīl tindah*
(12) *kih laudanautu anmulah mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(11) *ūžabah bait maʿmūrī ūžah-bah ǧūī raḥmatī*
(12) *ūžah-bah ḥauḍ kauṯarī mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(7) An den sieben Himmeln reiste er (8) vorbei. Er sah die Propheten
(9) Zeichen gab er und hörte: (10) Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

(11) Er begab sich vorbei. Zum Zizyphus[-Baum] er gelangte. Es blieb zurück Gabriel dort,
(12) wo ich mich doch nur [zu gerne] genähert hätte um eine Fingerspitze! Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(11) Er sah das Bait Maʿmūr, er sah den Fluß des Erbarmens,
(12) er sah den Teich des Überflusses, gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

Das Bait Maʿmūr (ar. *al-baitu ʾl-maʿmūr* "das besuchte Haus") im letzten Doppelvers wird allgemein für ein Haus gehalten, das sich im siebenten Himmel direkt über dem heiligen Tempel in Mekka befindet, ja sich dort schon vor Erschaffung der Welt als Modell für die Kaʿaba befunden hat (HUGHES, 257b). Der Fluß des Erbarmens und der Teich des Überflusses sind im Ḥadīṯ die zwei verborgenen Paradiesflüsse (der *ḥauḍu ʾl-kauṯar* wird auch für einen Fluß gehalten), vgl. *Miškātu ʾl-Maṣābīḥ*, Ausgabe Delhi 1268, Buch 23, Kapitel 12, 521 ff.

[23]IVB [31] : 14 *qučarpah ham* "es blieb zurück auch" [24]IVB [31] : 15 *rafrafnī*
[25]IVB [31] : 19 *hazār čī ḥaqqasah tindū* "tausend [hast] du von Pflichten ihm gegenüber"
[26]Der Text des Ms. IVB hat einen zusätzlichen, in Ms. VIB nicht belegten Doppelvers:

IVB [32] :

(1) *irībah kaltah laq kīġah* (2) *ḫiṭāb īrahbah bī tātā*
(3) *dīrahꝑ ʿarš tī kurpah* (4) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(1) Er ersuchte den Redegehemmten, daß er sich enthemme. (2) Zu einem Gespräch kam es ohne Redehemmung.
(3) Oben an seinen Thron er gelangte. (4) Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

[27]IVB [32] : 7 *tī duz sah ǧūg tī maʿbūd* "diese Stunde von der Richtung her dieses Angebeteten" [28]IVB [32] : 11 *ham au adnā ham au adnā* = eine Iteration in persischer und arabischer Sprache (zur Iteration in der Mogholdichtung vgl. MASLIMA IV, 28 unter IV. 3. a.). Die arabischen Textstellen sind ein Zitat aus dem Koran, Sure 53, 8/9: *ṯumma danā fatadallā fakāna qāba qausīn au adnā* "Hierauf näherte er sich und kam nach unten und war zwei Bogenlängen [entfernt] oder [noch] näher." Die Textstelle "Bei einer anderen von seinen Angelegenheiten" weist hin auf Sure 53, 13: *wa laqad raꝑāhu nazlatan uḫrā* "Er hat ihn ja auch ein anderes Mal herabkommen sehen . . ." sowie auf Sure 81, 23: *wa laqad raꝑāhu bi'lufuqi ʾl-mubīni* "Und er hat ihn fürwahr am deutlichen Horizont gesehen." Teile des zusammenhängenden arabischen Textes aus Sure 53, 8/9 sind hier also voneinander getrennt auf zwei Begebenheiten bezogen verwendet worden.

[29]Ms. IVB belegt folgende Doppelverse, die in Ms. VIB keine Entsprechungen haben:

IVB [32] :

(11) *gabah ḥamd aḥad aḥmad nīkah mīm ūžah bih dundā*
(12) *taḥīyāt tā-dū ḥayāt mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(11) *dū tašrīf īnah salām kih as-salām ʿalainā*
(12) *kībah ummatīyah ilmām mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(11) Es sprach einen Lobpreis Aḥmad: "[Wie] ein klarer Wein der Blick ist innen,
(12) Grüße für Euch und Leben!" Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(11) Dieser Friedensgruß für den Verehrten: "Friede sei auf uns"
(12) machte seine Glaubensgemeinde [mit Gott] vertraut. Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

Im letzten Doppelvers bewirkt der Friedensgruß Gottes an Muḥammad: "Friede sei auf uns" durch den Plural "uns" einen Einbezug auch der Glaubensgemeinde des Propheten in das Vertrauen Gottes.

[30]Ms. IVB belegt folgende zusätzliche Doppelverse, die zwar Ms. VIB nicht aufführt, die aber dennoch für das Verständnis von VIB [11] : 1 vorauszusetzen sind:

IVB [32] :

(13) *gabah tā ṣāliḥīn aḥmad* (14) *tah iṯṯah mārtabah ummat*
(15) *būrūbah tindū al-aḥad* (16) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(17) *ʿaṭā panǧā namāz tuḥfah* (18) *kībah tī ʿaǧz ummatah*
(19) *čil wa tābūnī qubābah* (20) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(13) Erzählt hat es den Rechtschaffenen Aḥmad, (14) und nicht vergaß es die Glaubensgemeinde.
(15) Es sprach zu ihm [dann] der Eine: (16) Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(17) Er gab fünfzig Gebetszeremonielle [zu verrichten] als Geschenk, (18) [doch] machte dies schwach seine Glaubensgemeinde.
(19) Fünfundvierzig [dann] teilte er zu, (20) gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

Der Ḥadīṯ behandelt gerade den Abschnitt IVB [32] : 17—20, der die Anzahl der täglich zu verrichtenden Gebetszeremonielle anspricht, sehr ausführlich. Hiernach waren es zunächst ebenfalls täglich fünfzig Gebetszeremonielle, die Muḥammad und seiner Glaubensgemeinde aufgetragen wurden. Jeweils auf Anraten des Moses ließ Muḥammad die Anzahl der täglichen Gebetszeremonielle am Hofe Gottes dann auf vierzig, dreißig, zwanzig, zehn und schließlich auf fünf Gebetszeremonielle pro Tag herabsetzen. Als Moses dem Muḥammad erklärte, daß das für das Volk auch noch zu viel sei, schämte sich Muḥammad, nochmals an den Hof Gottes zu gehen und auch diese Fünfzahl vermindern zu lassen. So blieb es im Islam bei den täglich zu verrichtenden fünf Gebetszeremoniellen (vgl. HUGHES, 351 f. nach *Miškātu ʾl-Maṣābīḥ*). Nur vor dem Hintergrund des soeben Ausgeführten und im Rückgriff auf IVB

[32] : 17—20 ist der Basistext Ms. VIB [11] : 1 gänzlich zu verstehen.
[31]IVB [32] : 22 *qatīlar*
[32]Das Zurücknehmen bezieht sich auf die Herabsetzung der Anzahl der täglich zu verrichtenden Gebetszeremonielle, welch letztere der erste Halbvers als "Geschenk an die Glaubensgemeinde" bezeichnet. Zum Verständnis des Zusammenhangs vgl. Anm. 30, besonders zu IVB [32] : 17—20.
Der Text Ms. IVB bietet folgende zusätzliche Doppelverse, die im Text Ms. VIB nicht belegt sind:

IVB [32] :

(23) *bihīšt wa dūzaḫ ūžabah* (24) *qarīkūdū duʿā kībah*
(23) *ni*(!)*ǧāt-i ummat irībah* (24) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(23) *īrah-bah bait muqaddas* (24) *nūr ačarpah ǧūg-i makkah*
[33] :
(1) *šahr miʿrāǧ bih nīrah* (2) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(3) *ūžah-bah kārwān-nūtī* (4) *mur-i dundā quraišatas*
(5) *nīkah duz ǧaidūnah kurpah* (6) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(23) Das Paradies und die Hölle hat gesehen er. (24) Bei der Rückkehr ein Bittgebet verrichtete er.
(23) Die Befreiung der Glaubensgemeinde [von den 45 Gebetszeremoniellen] wünschte er. (24) Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(23) Er kam zum Heiligen Haus (= Jerusalem). (24) Das Gesicht er brachte in Richtung Mekka;

[33] :

(1) Stadt der Auffahrt ist [ihr] Name. (2) Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.
(3) Er sah Karawanen. (4) Inmitten des Wegs die Quraischiten.
(5) In einer Stunde an ihren Ort gelangte er. (6) Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

Lediglich im Rückgriff auf den letzten Doppelvers IVB [33] : 3—6 ist der im Basistext VIB [11] : 2 belegte Doppelvers als direkte Anrede des Stammes der Quraisch, dem Muḥammad angehörte, zu verstehen.
[33]IVB [33] : 7 *wā kun wa kun* [34]IVB [33] : 8 *gai* [35]IVB [33] : 9 *bī āʔ*
[36]IVB [33] : 9 *wa*
[37]In Ms. IVB zusätzlich folgender Doppelvers, der die Bekehrung vieler zum Islam anspricht:
IVB [33] :
(11) *saḫar-gāh bāmdād sar bih bišī irgān-nūd īkadah*
(12) *qižīndū kulkah aṣḥābah mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(11) Früher Morgenbeginn ist es. Die anderen [nicht Quraisch-]Leute in weiter
(12) Umgebung [sind] alle seine Gefährten. Gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

[38]IVB [33] :

(11) *gabah naql īnah miʿrāǧ kībah ummat qabūl miʿrāǧ*
(12) *tī īžan burāq wa tāǧ mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(11) Es erzählte einer dem andern von dieser Auffahrt. Es stimmte die Glaubensgemeinde zu der Auffahrt:
(12) Er [ist] der Herr des Burāq und [seine] Krone, gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

Es folgt in Ms. IVB ein in Ms. VIB nicht belegter Doppelvers: IVB [33]:
(13) *munāfiq-nūd wa kāfirnūd* (14) *mūnasah bulpah kul ǧuḥud*
(15) *sah ūīdan-i ilāh mardūd* (16) *mubārak āsah tī miʿrāǧ*
(13) Die Heuchler und die Ungläubigen, (14) von diesen wurde sie ganz verleugnet.
(15) Vom Zugang zu Gott sind sie ausgeschlossen, (16) gesegnet sei seine Auffahrt.

[39]IVB [33] : 19 *qādir* [40]IVB [33] : 19 *īnaz* [41]Die drei Namen stehen alle für Muḥammad, vgl. oben zum ersten Gedicht. [42]Unter Bezug auf Sure 17,1 (vgl. oben unter Anm. 13 zu IVB [30] : 13 den arabischen Wortlaut der einschlägigen Stelle) wird speziell für die Nachtreise Muḥammads nach Jerusalem, die noch vor dem eigentlichen *miʿrāǧ* "Auffahrt" stattfand, der entsprechende Infinitiv zur Koranstelle *asrā* "er reiste", also *isrāʾ* "reisen, bei Nacht reisen" als Terminus gebraucht. Literatur zur Nachtreise vgl. SCHRIEKE, "Die Himmelsreise Muhammed's", in: *Der Islam* 6, 13ff. Beschreibungen u.a. HUGHES, 351ff.; SEI 183. [43]D.h. sein Wirken in den zwei Welten, dem Diesseits und Jenseits, ist ausdrücklich vorgesehen. [44]mogh. *usunġar* wörtl.: "Wasser-Hand" ist eine Lehnübersetzung des pers. *āb-dast* "id.". Diesem entspricht ar. *wudūʾ*, womit die rituelle Waschung vor jedem Gebetszeremoniell gemeint ist. Zum *wudūʾ* ausführlich HUGHES 3ff. unter Ablution. [45]Burāq ist der Name des Tieres, auf dem reitend Muḥammad seine Nachtreise vollzogen haben soll. Obgleich der Koran das Tier weder nennt noch beschreibt, nahmen sich seiner Poesie und Malerei in unzähligen ausschmückenden Beschreibungen und Darstellungen an (vgl. T. W. ARNOLD, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928, 117—122, Tafeln 53—56). Obwohl sich Burāq als Motiv für poetische Beschreibungen sehr gut eignet und auch viele Vorbilder hierfür belegt sind, verzichtet unser Basistext VIB gänzlich auf solch eine Beschreibung. Lediglich die Fassung in Ms. IVB widmet der Beschreibung des Burāq drei Doppelverse, vgl. oben Anm. 12. In dieser Beschreibung sind die sonst gängigen Beschreibungsmerkmale des Burāq, z.B. ein weißes Tier in der Größe zwischen einem Esel und Maulesel mit zwei Flügeln, dem Kopf einer Frau und einem Pfauenschwanz, nicht aufgeführt. [46]Man würde nach alter Tradition erwarten, daß hier nicht vom 7., sondern eher vom 27. Raǧab an die Auffahrt angesetzt würde. Die Nacht auf den 27. Raǧab galt nämlich den Frommen als die *lailatu ʾl-*

miʿrāǧi "Nacht der Auffahrt". Den Abend dieser Nacht widmete man der Lektüre der Geschichte der Auffahrt (vgl. E.W. LANE, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London 1836, 474 ff. C. S. HUGRONJE, *De Atjèhers*, Bd. 1, Leiden 1893, 219). [47]Aufgrund der Verbindung des *miʿrāǧ* "Auffahrt" mit dem *isrāʾ* "Nachtreise" (vgl. Anm. 42 oben) hat man die Aqṣā-Moschee (ar. *al-masǧidu 'l-aqṣā* "das entfernteste Heiligtum") mit Jerusalem identifiziert, d.h. Aqṣā bzw. *al-masǧidu 'l-aqṣā* ist der Name für Jerusalem, wohin sich Muḥammad auf seiner Nachtreise zuerst begab, um dann von dort aus mit dem *miʿrāǧ* "Auffahrt" die Reise in die Himmel fortzusetzen. [48]Es sind dies die Propheten Abraham, Moses und Jesus, die in einigen Traditionen erwähnt werden, vgl. AL-BUḪĀRĪ, *Al-Ǧāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Kairo 1278, Bd. 2, 147. Nach einer anderen Tradition (*Miškātu 'l-Maṣābīḥ*, Delhi 1268, Buch 23, 521f.) trifft Muḥammad Jesus (neben Johannes) erst im zweiten Himmel, Moses im sechsten Himmel, und Abraham im siebenten Himmel. [49]D. h. ein Gebetszeremoniell mit zweimaligem Verrichten einer Rakʿat. Eine Rakʿat "Gebetsbeugung" ist derjenige Teil des Gebetszeremoniells, der mit der Rezitation der Fātiḥa (= 1. Sure des Koran) beginnt, und mit dem zweiten *suǧūd* (= anbetende Prostration, während welcher der Gläubige die Erde erst mit der Nase und dann mit der Stirn berührt) endet. Unser Text spricht bei den zwei Rakʿat von der *ṣalātu 's-safari* oder *ṣalātu 'l-musāfiri* "Gebetszeremoniell der Reise" oder "Gebetszeremoniell des Reisenden". Bei diesem Gebetszeremoniell auf Reisen werden anstelle der gewöhnlich beim Mittags-, Nachmittags- und Nachtgebetszeremoniell zu verrichtenden Rakʿat nur zwei Rakʿat vollzogen (HUGHES, 562). [50]Imām = hier Vorbeter, Leiter beim Gebetszeremoniell. Muḥammads Tätigkeit als Imām mag anzeigen, daß ihm vor den übrigen Propheten der Vorrang einzuräumen ist. [51]Der Bezug dieses Zitats ist nicht nachweisbar. [52]In einer anderen Überlieferung (vgl. *Miškātu 'l-Maṣābīḥ* 521f., Anm. 48) wird dem Muḥammad, erst nachdem er die Paradiesflüsse und das *al-baitu 'l-maʿmūr* im siebenten Himmel (vgl. Anm. 22) gesehen hat, ein Behältnis voll Wein, eines voll Milch und eines voll Honig gereicht. Auch hier trinkt Muḥammad wie in unseren Texten (vgl. Texte zu Anm. 20) die Milch, und Gabriel sagt dazu, daß Milch Religion sei, und daß Muḥammad und seine Glaubensgemeinde aus ihr bestünden. Wein, Milch und Honig führen neben Wasser auch die in Sure 47, 15 beschriebenen Paradiesbäche. [53]In anderen Überlieferungen (*Miškātu 'l-Maṣābīḥ*, loc. cit.; AL-ṬABARĪ, *Ǧāmiʿu 'l-bayāni fī tafsīri 'l-qurʾāni*, Kairo 1331, Teil 15, 4ff.) benutzten Gabriel und Muḥammad für die Auffahrt in die sieben Himmel eine glänzende Leiter. Nachdem Gabriel für sich und seinen Begleiter jeweils an den Toren der einzelnen Himmel um Einlaß gebeten hatte, trafen sie im ersten Himmel Adam, der erst öffnete, nachdem Gabriel für Muḥammad das Prophetenamt bestätigt hatte. Im zweiten Himmel trafen sie Johannes und Jesus, im dritten Joseph, im vierten Henoch, im fünften Aaron, im sechsten Moses, der

unter Tränen beklagte, daß nach ihm einer käme, von dessen Volk eine größere Anzahl als von seinem Volk das Paradies betreten würde, und schließlich trafen sie im siebenten Himmel Abraham. Unser Text in Ms. IVB [31] : 7—10 läßt Muḥammad bei der Vorbeireise an den sieben Himmeln den Propheten lediglich Zeichen geben, ohne sie dabei namentlich zu nennen. [54]Der Zizyphusbaum (*Zizyphus jujuba*) wird erwähnt im Koran, Sure 53, 13—16: *wa laqad raʾāhu nazlatan uḫrā ʿinda sidrati ʾl-muntahā ʿindahā ǧannatu ʾl-maʾwā iḏ yaġšā ʾs-sidrata mā yaġšā* "Und er hat ihn ja auch ein anderes Mal herabkommen sehen, beim Zizyphus der äußersten Grenze, bei ihm [wo sich befindet] der Garten der Einkehr, als den Zizyphus verhüllte, was sich[über ihn] gelegt hatte." Im Rahmen des *miʿrāǧ* ist der Zizyphusbaum auf eine himmlische Örtlichkeit im Paradies zu beziehen, ebenso wie die im Ms. IVB genannten Flüsse und das Bait Maʿmūr (vgl. oben Anm. 22). [55]Isrāfīl ist der Name des Engels, der am Tag der Auferstehung die Trompete bläst. Sein Name findet sich weder im Koran noch im Ḥadīṯ (vgl. über ihn SEI 184). [56]In anderen Überlieferungen werden das Hingelangen zum Thron Gottes sowie die in unseren Texten aufgeführten Gespräche mit Gott nicht erwähnt. Die übrige Überlieferung vermerkt lediglich, daß Gott zunächst täglich fünfzig Gebetszeremonielle anordnete. [57]Das Zitat des Halbverses ist entnommen dem Koran, Sure 42, 50: *wa mā kāna libašarin an yukallimahu ʾillāhu illā waḥyan au min warāʾi ḥiǧābin* . . . "Und es steht keinem Menschen an, daß Gott mit ihm spricht, es sei denn unmittelbar oder hinter einem Vorhang . . ." Die ar. Passage *min warāʾi ḥiǧābin* "hinter einem Vorhang" wird mogh. lehnübersetzt: *ḥiǧāb-i qūīnasah* "id." Die Textstelle will andeuten, daß Gott mit Muḥammad so wie durch einen Vorhang getrennt gesprochen habe. [58]Die Leidensgefährten des "Geschenks" sind die Mitglieder der Glaubensgemeinde, denen Gott durch Muḥammad zunächst das Verrichten von täglich 50 Gebetszeremoniellen zum "Geschenk" machen wollte. Unter "Misssion" versteht der Text das immer wieder am Hofe Gottes vorstellig werden des Muḥammad zwecks Verminderung des "Geschenks", d.h. der täglich zu verrichtenden Gebetszeremonielle, durch welche die Mitglieder seiner Glaubensgemeinde zu "Gefährten des Geschenks" geworden waren. Zum Verständnis des Ganzen vgl. auch oben Anm. 30. Es ist auffällig, dass gerade diejenigen Passagen, welche die Anzahl der täglich zu verrichtenden Gebetszeremonielle betreffen und die auch vom Ḥadīṯ ausführlich behandelt werden (vgl. Anm. 30), der Text des Ms. VIB überhaupt nicht, und MS. IVB nur ansatzweise anspricht. [59]Für das Verständnis dieses Doppelverses VIB [11] : 2 vgl. Text IVB [33] : 3—6 oben unter Anm. 32 sowie das dazu Vermerkte.

Obwohl die beiden Mogholifassungen der Nachtreise des Propheten sowohl voneinander als auch von autochthonen, ihrerseits aber wieder untereinander divergierenden Fassungen abweichen, läßt selbst die verkürzte Mogholifassung aus Ms. VIB erkennen, daß der Stoff der muslimischen

Wundererzählung von den Moghol keineswegs nur oberflächlich rezipiert worden ist. Sogar alle nur irgendwie im Koran relevanten Stellen hat man in Form von Zitaten kunstvoll einzubauen verstanden. Die Mogholifassungen vermögen so auch muslimisch-theologischen Ansprüchen durchaus zu genügen. Die nächtliche Reise des Propheten in mogholischem Gewand demonstriert damit sinnfällig, daß die muslimische Inkulturation bei den Moghol nicht nur fortgeschritten ist, sondern daß man sie als bereits abgeschlossen betrachten muß. Die Mongolen von Afghanistan sind sunnitische Muslime, und zwar in solcher Ausschließlichkeit, dass sie, wie dies unser erstes Beispiel gezeigt hat, sogar auch die Namen berühmter Altvorderer wie Argun und Tschinggis Khan als Ehrennamen für Muḥammad in ihre Dichtung integrieren.

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PROLEGOMENA ZU EINER DEUTSCHEN ÜBERSETZUNG DES *KUṬṬANĪMATAM*

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Das *Kuṭṭanīmatam* des Dāmodaragupta ist ein Meisterstück der satirisch-humoristischen Literatur, das auch als didaktisch-moralische Literatur gedacht war.[1] Es gibt eine sehr lebendige Beschreibung des alltäglichen städtischen Lebens und gilt als eine wichtige Quelle für die frühmittelalterliche Geschichte Nordindiens.[2]

Der Verfasser war ein sehr berühmter Dichter und Minister des Königs *Jayapīḍa* von Kāśmīr, der in den Jahren 751—782 n. Chr. herrschte.[3] Dāmodaragupta war sehr beliebt und viele Strophen seines Gedichtes wurden oft von den Kompilatoren der *subhāṣitasaṃgrahas* und der Autoren der *Alaṃkāra*-Werke zitiert.[4] Er war in Hinblick auf die Dramaturgie, Philosophie, Grammatik auch ein hochgebildeter Mensch und gleichzeitig ein Mann mit Humor. Er zeigte Sympathie für die Hetären, bedauerte aber Tölpel nicht so sehr. Er besaß die Fähigkeit, sein heikles Thema ganz elegant darzustellen.

Stilistisch nimmt das *Kuṭṭanīmatam* die Regeln der *Kāvya*-Literatur auf. Dāmodaragupta war ein guter Geschichtenerzähler. Er eignete sich einen unvergleichlichen poetischen Stil an. Es gibt wenige handelnde Personen im *Kuṭṭanīmatam*. Betrachtet man diese Personen allein, gäbe es keine andauernde Handlung. Dāmodaragupta führte nun eine neue Erzählmethode ein. Er fügt einige *Āryā*-Stanzen dort ein, wo die Handlung unterbrochen wird. Diese Strophen werden von den Beteiligten zufällig angehört. Dann beginnt eine andere Geschichte von neuem. Dāmodaragupta hat einen reichen Wortschatz[5] und er ist ein Meister des doppelsinnigen Wortspiels. A. B. Keith bezeichnete den

[1] S. N. Dasgupta—S. K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. I. Calcutta 1975², S. 197—199; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, III./1. Delhi—Varanasi—Patna 1963², S. 169.

[2] Vgl. A. K. Shastri, *India as Seen in the Kuṭṭanīmatam of Dāmodaragupta*. Delhi—Varanasi—Patna 1976, S. 41 u.s.w.; Moti Chandra, *The World of Courtesans*. Delhi 1973, S. 232—242.

[3] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* IV, 496; vgl. A. K. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*. IV. Delhi—Varanasi—Patna 1984, S. 568.

[4] L. Sternbach, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Poets Quoted in Sanskrit Anthologies and Inscriptions*. I. Wiesbaden 1978, S. 409—410.

[5] A. K. Warder, ebd., S. 578.

 Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Stil des *Kuṭṭanīmatam* als einfach, aber elegant.[6] J. J. Meyer machte aber die folgende merkwürdige Anmerkung im Vorwort zu seiner Übersetzung: "Das *Kuṭṭanīmatam* ist so schwer, daß man gar zu oft mit hilfsuchenden Augen umherschauen muß."[7]

Die Hauptschwierigkeit hängt mit der schlechten Textüberlieferung zusammen. Unter den benutzten Handschriften gibt es nur eine vollständige Handschrift aus Nepal. Eine zweite nepalische Handschrift, zwei Handschriften aus Jaipur, und eine andere Handschrift aus Canbay, die den Titel *Śambhalī-matam* trägt, sind unvollständig.[8] Eine dritte Handschrift aus Nepal wartet auf eine Bearbeitung.[9] Meyer war imstande viele Dunkelheiten zu erhellen,[10] jedoch haben wir noch sehr viel zu tun.[11]

Die erste Ausgabe dieses Textes in der Reihe *Kāvyamālā*[12] (KM) beruht auf die unvollständigen und fehlerhaften Handschriften aus Jaipur und Cambay. Infolgedessen enthält diese Ausgabe viele Lücken und unverständliche Lesarten. Die Edition von Tanasukharam Manasukharam Tripathi erschien mit dem Kommentar des Herausgebers *Rasadīpikā* genannt.[13] Ich konnte mir diese Ausgabe nicht verschaffen. Daher bleibt es mir fraglich, ob neben die in KM benutzten Handschriften, er die beiden früher bekannten nepalischen Handschriften, d. h. deren Abschrift, mitberücksichtigt hat. Die beste, sogenannte kritische Ausgabe, wurde von Madhusudan Kaul besorgt.[14] Er hat die dritte nepalische Handschrift nicht gekannt. Seine Ausgabe gibt einige Textvarianten in den Fußnoten bis zum Vers 951. Die Edition des Textes mit einer Bengali-Übersetzung von T. Roy[15] und mit einer Hindi-Übersetzung von N. Chaturvedi[16] standen mir leider nicht zur Verfügung. Es gibt eine andere Ausgabe mit Hindi-Übersetzung von Atridev Vidyalamkar.[17] Der Text folgt

[6] A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. Oxford 1920, S. 237.

[7] *Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanīmatam* (*Lehren einer Kupplerin*). Ins Deutsche übertragen von J. J. Meyer. Leipzig 1903, Vorwort.

[8] Vgl. Kalidas Nag's Vorwort zum: *Kuṭṭanīmatam Kāvyam* by Dāmodara Gupta. Edited by Madhusudan Kaul. Calcutta 1944. (Die sogenannte kritische Ausgabe.)

[9] National Archives, Kathmandu (Nepal), unter der Signatur panc. 862/VI kāvya 11. Mein Dank gilt Herrn Prof. A. Wezler (Hamburg) für dieses Angabe.

[10] J. J. Meyer, *ebd.* S. 142—143 und die handschriftliche Notizen in seinem Nachlaß in der Bibliothek der D. M. G. (Halle)

[11] Die Liste der Handschriften in NCC IV. S. 175 ist unvollständig. Eine echte kritische Ausgabe bildet die dringende Aufgabe für uns. Die neue deutsche Übersetzung in Vorbereitung nimmt nur die sogenannte kritische Ausgabe in Hinsicht.

[12] *Kāvyamālā* III. Bombay 1887, S. 32—110.

[13] Diese Edition erschien in Bombay im Jahre 1924.

[14] Vgl. Anm. 8.

[15] Es wurde in Kalkutta im Jahre 1953 gedruckt.

[16] Es erschien in Allahabad im Jahre 1960.

[17] *Kuṭṭanīmataṃ athavā śambhalīmata nāmaka kāvya*. Anuvādak Atridev Vidyalamkar. Varanasi 1961.

hauptsächlich der sogenannten kritischen Ausgabe mit wenigen Veränderungen. Einige Verbesserungsvorschläge des Herausgebers sind wertvoll.

Die erste englische und auch die einzige französische Übersetzung haben keine Originalität.[18]

Die zweite englische Übertragung, *The art of the temptress* genannt, ist eine freie Nachahmung des Werkes.[19] Die erste Hälfte des *Kuṭṭanīmatam* wurde von Professor Otoya Tanaka ins Japanesische übertragen.[20] Meine ungarische Übersetzung erschien mit vielen Illustrationen.[21]

Die sonst sehr zuverlässige deutsche Übersetzung von J. J. Meyer ist lückenhaft und enthält wegen der Fehler in der KM-Ausgabe zu viele vermeintliche Textverbesserungen. Diese Arbeit ist eine erstauenswerte Leistung. Meyer hatte 851 von insgesamt 1058 Strophen übertragen. Verglichen mit der sogenannten kritischen Ausgabe fehlen die folgenden Strophen: 445—453, 640—643, 645, 648, 650 und die Verszeilen, die den Vers 874 folgen. Meyer wollte später auf der Grundlage der in den dreißiger Jahren schon bekannten zwei nepalischen Handschriften seine Übersetzung verbessern.[22] Nach dem Durchsehen seines Nachlasses in der Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenlländischen Gesellschaft erscheint es mir, daß er sich mit dem Text bis zu seinem Tod befaßt hatte, jedoch konnte ich die Handschrift seiner angeblichen zweiten, durchgearbeiteten Version nicht finden.[23]

Hier möchte ich eine Auswahl der von Meyer unübersetzten Stellen, wo man Meyers Übersetzung verbessern kann, in einer neuen Übertragung, sowie eine kurze Inhaltsübersicht über die fehlenden Strophen darbieten.

Zur Str. 76 bemerkt Meyer: "Mit der ersten Hälfte dieser Strophe kann ich nichts Ordentliches anfangen."[24] Der Text lautet so:

[18] Englische Übersetzung von Powys Mathers. Eastern Love. I. John Rodker. London 1927. Die französische Übertragung heißt wie folgt: *Les Leçons de l'Entremetteuse par Damadaragapta* (VIIIe siècle) Traduits ... par Louis de Langle ... Les Maitres de l'Amour, Le Livre d'Amour de l'Orient. Paris 1920. Es scheint mir wahrscheinlich, daß beide aus Meyers deutscher Übersetzung übertragen sind.

[19] *The art of the Temptress. Translation of the 1200-year old Sanskrit classic the Kuttni Mahatmyam of Damodar Gupta.* Translated by B. P. L. Bedi. Bombay 1968. Der Übersetzer war ein Stipendiat in Deutschland und konnte wohl die deutsche Übersetzung benutzen.

[20] Eine persönliche Mitteilung von Prof. A. Yuyama (Tokyo).

[21] Dámódaragupta: *A kerítőnő tanítása.* Szanszkrit eredetiből fordította Wojtilla Gyula. Budapest 1988.

[22] Vgl. seine Briefe an Mr Van Manen (Obersekretär der Asiatic Society of Bengal) in: Kalidas Nags Vorwort zu der sogenannten kritischen Ausgabe.

[23] J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation.* 3. Stück. Zürich—Leipzig 1937. S. 284.

[24] J. J. Meyer, *Lehren* ... S. 13. Anm. 1.

vasunandacitradaṇḍakamuktāyudhakhaḍgadhenubandheṣu vrajati purato 'sya nityaṃ bhārgavatāṃ paraśurāmo 'pi. Eine Variante liest sich *tyajati* für *vrajati.* Ich neige auch eher zu dieser Lesart. Die Übersetzung der einzelnen Wörter im Kompositum ist wohl problematisch. A. K. Shastri erörtet *vasu, nandaka* und *citra* als Variationen des *parikrama,* d. h. eines Tanzschrittes.[25] Ich sehe keine Verbindung zwischen einem Tanz und der Persönlichkeit von Paraśurāma. Daher verstehe ich diese Stelle folgendermaßen: "Hinsichtlich des Besitzens von Reichtum, Glück, Glanz, einem Fahnenstock, einer Wurfwaffe und eines Messers hat vor ihm (d. h. dem Bhaṭṭasohn) auch Paraśurāma auf seine Stellung als beste Bogenschütze verzichtet."

Meyer übersetzt die Versen 81—82 nicht und sagt, daß in diesen beiden Strophen ihm Vieles unklar ist.[26] Der Text lautet so:
katamatkatamallagnaṃ prasthānaṃ kā ca nartakī bhadrā viṭaṣiṅgaṭake kā nṛtyati kohalabharatoditakriyayā kīdṛktvaṃ layamārge dhenukaracite ca bhāṇake kīdṛk preṅkhaṇakādāvevaṃ pṛcchati nṛtyopadeśakaṃ yatnāt. "An welchem *prasthānam*[27] soll man sich erfreuen? Welche Tänzerin ist gut? Wer tanzt vor Lebemännern und Galanen auf die Art, die von Kohala und Bharata gelehrt wurde? Wie qualifiziert bist du im *layamārga,*[28] im von Dhenuka verfaßten *bhāṇaka*[29] und im *preṅkhaṇaka*[30] usw.? — fragt er eifrig den Tanzmeister.

Zur Strophe 248: In der zweiten Zeile übersetzt Meyer die Lesart *śrita-priyāḥ* als "zufluchtsuchende"; in der sogenannten kritischen Ausgabe steht aber *śivapriyāḥ.* So können wir uns eine bessere Vorstellung machen: "Dort wohnen diejenigen, die sich über Ruhe freuen, die auch wenn sie Śiva lieb sind, demnach nach den zum Rudra gehörende Taten nicht begierig sind."

Zur Strophe 252: Meyer übersetzt den größten Teil der ersten Zeile nicht. Die sogenannte kritische Ausgabe liest sich wie folgt:
dhvajinīva dānavānāṃ mṛṣṭakasamādhiṣṭhitā triyāmeva. Hier bietet Atridev Vidyalamkar offensichtlich eine falsche Erklärung: *jisprakār se rākṣasoṅ kī senā meṅ miṣṭaka-rākṣas hai, usī prakār yahāṅ par miṣṭaka (ām ke vṛkṣa) hai.* Ich kenne aber keinen Rākṣasa mit diesem Name. Die Annahme liegt nahe, daß wir hier *mastaka* lesen können. Der Text handelt sich um den Berg Arbudā, und man kann die Zeile folgendermaßen verstehen: ". . . bedeckt mit gipfel-

[25] A. K. Shastri, *ebd.* S. 221.

[26] J. J. Meyer, *Lehren . . .* S. 13 Anm. 5.

[27] A. K. Shastri, *ebd.* S. 223. Das Wort aber wohl bezeichnet eine Art von Drama in zwei Akten. Vgl. Sten Konow, *Das indische Drama.* Berlin 1920, S. 34.

[28] Die Bedeutung des Kompositums *layamārga* ist mir nicht ganz klar. Vielleicht bedeutet es "die Mode des Tempo".

[29] Eine Art von Drama mit einem einzigen Schauspieler, der als Lebemann der Stadt auftritt. Vgl. Sten Konow, *ebd.* S. 31.

[30] Das ist ein einaktiges Drama, dessen Held eine Person niedrigen Standes ist. Vgl. Sten Konow, *ebd.* S. 35.

förmigen Blattknospen von Palmen, sieht er (der Berg) aus wie ein Heer der *Dānavas*, wie die Nacht."

Zur Str. 342: Meyer überträgt die Strophe so: "Gut! Sag, sag, welches Fährgeld, das Fährgeld zu welchem Orte, dir die *Somā* gegeben, als sie das vorzügliche Reifband an den Armen der *Śaśiprabhā* gesehen hat?" Er liest *kalāpī* für *kalāpa* oder *kalāpam* und schlug *niveśita* für *viśeṣaka* vor.[31] Die sogenannte kritische Ausgabe liest sich wie folgt:
dṛṣṭā tvayā viśeṣaka valayakalāpī śaśiprabhābhujayoḥ bāḍhaṃ bhaṇa bhaṇa kīdṛk cārutarā sā mayā dattā. Das Wort *kalāpī* ist nicht in der mir zugänglichen Wörterbüchern zu finden. Atridev Vidyalamkar zitiert aber den *Nāṭyaśāstra*, wo an einer Stelle es wohl die Bedeutung eines Armreifs hat.[32] Der Text läßt sich dann so deuten: "O *Viśeṣaka!* Du hast eine große Anzahl von Armreifen an der Armen von *Śaśiprabhā* gesehen. Sage, sage wie viel schöner ist der von mir gegebene?"

Die Strophen 442—453 fehlen in Meyers Übersetzung. In der Fußnote zur Strophe 442 bemerkt er: "Diese Strophe ist unvollständig erhalten. Es erhellt aber klar genug, daß sie noch zu *Guṇapālita*'s Rede gehört und keinen Übergang zum Folgenden bildet. Die nächste Strophe (443) versetzt uns ganz unvorbereitet in eine andre Szene . . . Solcher (sic!) Sprünge werden wir von jetzt an in der Dichtung noch mehr finden . . . In der Volkspoesie ist solch unvermittelter Szenenwechsel sehr gewöhnlich . . . Die indische Kunstdichtung liebt so etwas nicht, sondern eher eine ermüdende Überleitung."[33] Hier kommt uns die sogenannte kritische Ausgabe zur Hilfe. Nun biete ich hier eine Übersetzungsprobe an: Str. 442—453: "Im freien Lauf des Geschlechtsverkehrs ist das Weib aus guter Familie, die vom Rasseln der vielen Armreifen erschreckt ist, die ein wahres Liebesgefühl hat und treu ist, derer Wunsch durch den Liebesgott in Erfüllung geht, die sich selbst in Liebe begibt und wenn sie ruft "Wehe! was für eine Hochmut! o Schamloser! durch die Liebe verwirrt, hast du vergessen, daß das Verwandtenvolk in der Nähe ist?" wenn sie so spricht in einem mit *hūṃkṛti* begleiteten Redefluß deren Wörter nur schwer verständlich sind, ist sie in zweifacher Weise fleißig beim Geschlechtsakt mit ihrem Gatten. Purandara's Sohn, der aus Angst vor dem herannahenden Abschied von dem ihm so sehr hochgeschätzten Mädchen zitterte, nachdem sein Freund seine Rede beendet hatte, sprach folgendes:
"Nicht mißachtend meines Vaters Befehl, im brennenden Feuer der Trennung von *Hāralatā*, im vom Zwang des Schicksals abhängigen Tode, kennen wir die Früchte der Taten nicht. Oder der aus den Eisen- und Diamantstückchen gemachte, vom Schicksal gerissener (Liebhaber) verläßt die Geliebte, für die

[31] J. J. Meyer, *Lehren* . . . S. 52, Anm. 3.
[32] *Nāṭyaśāstra* XXI, 28: *śaṅkhakalāpī* "Muschelarmreif"
[33] J. J. Meyer, *Lehren* . . . S. 66. Anm. 2.

der Gelderwerb gleichgültig ist und deren Geist nur der Liebe verbunden ist?" Nachdem er sich entschieden hatte wegzugehen, teilte er es der Schönen mit. Obgleich voller Schmerz, begleitete sie den sich auf den Weg Begebenden. Nachdem Sundara, dessen Lust zum Weggehen verschwand, zu dem Stamm eines Banyan-Baumes angekommen war, sprach er zu *Hāralatā*, deren Augenwimper mit Tropfen von Tränen bedeckt war, so: "O meine Liebe! Man sollte den weggehenden Geliebten bis zu einem Milchsaft enthaltenden Baum oder bis zum Wasser begleiten — so ist der Rat. Darum kehre von hier zurück! O schlankleibige! was sollen wir machen, die vom Schicksal heimgesuchten, wenn der Befehl, wie ein Pfeil den Knoten der Liebe zerschneidet, so dringlich offenkundig ist? Es gibt kein Erlanger großen Reichtums, keinen vertrauten Umgang mit dem Liebhaber, keinen doppelsinnigen (?) Umgang, keinen Befehl des Gatten, keine Verlockung durch das Aussehen und keine Berühmtheit. Daher entstammt die Ursache der auf uns bezüglichen Taten aus dem Zwang des Schicksals. Das ist ein Zusammenhang der Ergebnisse, die man nicht beeinflussen kann."[34]

Zur Str. 503 = Meyer 492. Meyer bemerkt hier Folgendes: "*bāṇādayo* ist mir so unverständlich wie den Herausgebern der KM. Da *bāṇa* fünf bedeuten kann, so habe ich an die fünf Sinne gedacht. Ein Ausdruck der *Vaiśeṣika* aber nicht."[35] Seine Übersetzung lautet so: "Und nicht der Geldgewinn

[34] *Kuṭṭanīmatam* 442—453
sadbhāvapremarasaṃ valayāvaliśabdaśaṅkitā nibhṛtam
vidadhānāṅgasamarpaṇamunmīlitakusumasāyakākūtā,
hā hā kimuddhatavyaṃ śroṣyati kaścidgatatrapa svairam
nikaṭe parivārajano vismṛta eva smarāturasya tava.
iti hūṃkṛtisaṃvalitairāyāsaniveditārthapadavākyaiḥ
dviguṇīkaroti kulajā nāvakakarmāṇi mohanaprasare.
itthamudīritavācaṃ suhṛdamavocatpuraṃdarasya sutaḥ
samupasthitajīvasamaviyogabhayakaṃpito vacanam.
tātādeśe 'laṅghye hāralātavirahapāvake tīvre
vidhivaśavartini maraṇe no vidmaḥ kāryapariṇāmam.
anapekṣitadhanalābhāṃ snehaikanibaddhamānasāṃ dayitām
daivākṛṣṭo muñcati ghaṭito vā lohavajrakaṇikābhiḥ.
atha kṛtagamanaviniścitirabhimatarāmāṃ cakāra viditārthām
sāpi tamanuvavrāja prastutayātraṃ śucakulitā.
āsādya vaṭasya talaṃ bāṣpapayaḥkaṇacitākṣipakṣmāgrām
vighnitacaraṇavihāro hāralatāmabhidadhāti sma.
ā kṣīravato vṛkṣādā salilādvā priye priyaṃ yāntam
anuyāyāditi vacanaṃ tena tvamito nivartasva.
kiṃ kurmo daivahatāḥ prabhavati yasminkṛśodari prasabham
premagranthicchettā guruśāsanasāyako nirāvaraṇaḥ.
na draviṇacavaprāptirnaikāśrayaparicayo na ca dviguṇaḥ
na svāmisamādeśo nākāravilobhanaṃ na vā khyātiḥ
hetustava pravrtterasmāsu tathāpi daivavaśāt
īdṛk ko 'pyanubandho yasya vipāko 'pratīkāraḥ.

[35] J. J. Meyer, *Lehren* . . . S. 75, Anm. 1.

allein wirkt als Ursache unter den Menschen. Auch bei den Frauen finden sich Sinne und Seele, wie die Kenner der *Vaiśeṣika*-Lehrbücher dargelegt haben." Die sogenannte kritische Ausgabe liest sich wie folgt: *na ca lābha eka eva pravartane kāraṇaṃ manuṣyeṣu rāgādayo 'pi santi vaiśikaśāstrapranetrbhiḥ kathitāḥ*. "Nicht nur im Falle eines möglichen Geldgewinns gibt es Motivation unter den Menschen. Es gibt die Leidenschaft und andere (Motivationen) — so sagen die Lehrer der Dirnenwissenschaft."

Zur Str. 639 = Meyer 628. Meyer benutzte die lückenhafte Lesart der KM und übersetzte den Vers so: "Selbst der *Muni Vyāsa* hat gerade die beiden niedrigsten Männer in der Welt (*narādhamau loke*) besungen; eine höhere Tugend ist nicht gesetzt für den, dessen Sinn in der Liebeskunst fest gegründet ist." Tatsächlich findet sich ein Vers im *Mahābhārata*, dessen angeblicher Verfasser Vyāsa ist, mit demselben Gedanken.[36] Unser Vers in der sogenannten kritischen Ausgabe liest sich so:

vyāsamuninā̇pi gītaṃ dvāvava narādhamau mano dahataḥ
yo 'nāḍhyaḥ kāmayate kupyati yaścaprabhutvayukto 'pi.

Ich lese gitau für *gītam* und *dahanau* (*dahantau*) für *dahataḥ*. "Besungen hat der *Muni Vyāsa* fürwahr zwei bedauernswerte Männer, deren Herz brennt: derjenige, der nicht reich aber liebesbegierig ist und derjenige, der keine Macht besitzt aber zornig ist."

Zur Str. 747 = Meyer 725. Meyer übersetzt die Strophe wie folgt: "Der Mond hier, der sich in der Nachtlotosgruppe eine Stätte gewählt und der ihre einförmigen Kelche sich hat öffnen lassen, der hat der Welt Gelegenheit gegeben, indem er zur Seite sieht." In der Fußnote fügt er hinzu: "Diese Strophe hat stark gelitten. Die zweite Hälfte der ersten Zeile emendiere ich in *kumudākare vidhṛitáṇḍakosho* (oder noch besser: *vivṛtāṇḍakosho*) *yaḥ*."[37] Hier kommt auch die sogenannte kritische Ausgabe zur Hilfe.

yo 'yaṃ gṛhītavṛṣikaḥ kuśakarṇī vidhṛtadaṇḍakāṣayaḥ
lokaspaṛśāśaṅkī kṛtāpasāro vilokayanpārśvau.

"Der, der den Sitz der Asketen genommen hat, an Ohren *Kuśa*-Gras hat, einen Stab und ein braunrotes Mönchgewand trägt, eine Angst von der Berührung mit Menschen hat, wenn es eine Gelegenheit dazu gibt, schaut zur Seite."

Zur Str. 786 = Meyer 764. Meyer übersetzt den Vers nicht. Anstatt der Übersetzung im Haupttext gibt er eine emendierte Version des Sanskrittextes mit einer dazu passenden Übertragung in der Fußnote:

lāvaṇikācāṭuvacaḥstavanaṃ pallābhahetur asmākam
utpātitasvarūpe yāni naḥ san tu, sa svāmī

[36] *Mahābhārata* V, 33, 53.
[37] J. J. Meyer, *Lehren* . . . S. 117, Anm. 2.

"Sein aus schmeichelnden Worten bestehender Schönheitspreisgesang läßt uns auf die Knien niedersinken; aber er, der unser Wagen ist, indem er unser eignes Wesen (noch) emporfliegen läßt, er ist der Herr."[38] Die sogenannte kritische Ausgabe sagt:

lāvāṇikācāṭuvacastavanaṃ yallābhaheturasmākam
tatpatati te svarūpe yāmi namaḥ santu saukhyāni.

"Deine auch schmeichelnden Worten bestehende Lobpreisung, welche der Zweck uns zu gewinnen hat, fällt mit deiner eigenen Natur zusammen. Ich gehe, Verehrung, sei glücklich!"

Zur Str. 793 = Meyer 771. Meyer hat viele Mühe mit dieser Strophe. Er korrigierte den Vers wie folgt:

sovāca jātv iva vaṇigjana na cetara upāttapātrāṇi
gāthāyanaṃ hi dāsyaṃ yatra, kutas tatra sauṣṭhavam nāṭye?

"Er sprach: Wo ja die "Dienerinnenschar", auf der der Gesang beruht (von der also ein Konzert abhängig ist, wörtlich: die des Gesanges Pfad bildet), wie Baumharz an dem Kaufmannsvolk hängt, und sie zu nichts sonst angewandete kompetente Personen (Schauspielerinnen) abgibt, woher käme da die Vorzüglichkeit in mimischer Darstellung!"[39]

Die sogenannte kritische Ausgabe sagt:

sa uvāca tato vaṇijo netāro yatra yatra pātrāṇi
śāṭhyāyatanaṃ dāsyastatra kutaḥ sauṣṭhavam nāṭye.

"Dann sprach er so: da, wo die führende Schauspielerinnen kaufmännische Hetären und Wohnstätten der Tücke sind, wie käme dort ein Wohlbefinden in der Vorstellung?"

Zur Str. 802 = Meyer 780. Meyers Übersetzung lautet so: "Durch ihre Liebeshingerissenheit, die im Seufzen usw. so durch ihre Pracht hervorragt (lies *śvasanādiṣvevam . . . madanānubandhena*), hat diese (*Mañjarī*) in der Darstellung der Tochter des *Siṃhala*königs (d. h. *Ratnāvalī*) Berühmtheit erlangt."[40]

Die sogenannte kritische Ausgabe enthält den folgenden Text:

udyamasāhityavaśācchobhātiśayena madanubandhena
anayā prasiddhirāptā siṃhalarājātmajānukṛtau

"Sie hat Berühmtheit erlangt durch die Darstellung der Tochter des *Siṃhala*königs (*Ratnāvalī*) aufgrund ihres Fleißes und in dem Aufgehen in ihrer Rolle, und weil sie so schön ist und an mir hängt."

Zur Str. 831 = Meyer 809. Meyers Übersetzung lautet so: Doch wozu weitere Redereien! Tue du, wie es sich gebührt, an dieser, deren Herz sich dahin geneigt hat, wo es nicht hätte sollen. Es gilt etwas Herrliches und die

[38] J. J. Meyer, *Lehren* . . . S. 126, Anm. 1.
[39] J. J. Meyer, *Lehren* . . . S. 128, Anm. 1.
[40] J. J. Meyer, *Lehren* . . . S. 129, Anm. 2.

Rettung des Lebens, du Verschlagner!" Er fügt in der Fußnote hinzu: oder "Das Herrliche (wörtlich: die Pracht) ist auch die Rettung des Lebens (eines Mitmenschen)." Es wird aber am Ende zu lesen sein: *anutiṣṭha yathāyuktaṃ śobhāṃ, śaṭha, jīvarakṣāṃ ca*, "Übe du an ihr etwas, was herrlich ist (sehr gefällt) und die Rettung des Lebens."[41]

Die sogenannte kritische Ausgabe kommt auch hier zur Hilfe:
kiṃ vā kathitairadhikairasthānaviṣṭacetasastasyāḥ
anutiṣṭha yathāyuktaṃ tvatto nāśaśca jīvarakṣāca.
"Ohne viel Reden führe die Sache für sie aus, deren Herz an einen unrechten Ort getreten ist. Von dir hängt ihr Tod und auch der Schutz ihres Lebens ab." Zuletzt gebe ich eine kurze Inhaltsübersicht der von Meyer unübersetzten Strophen.

Die Strophen 874—927 schildern die technische Aufführung der *Ratnāvali*. Diese Art der Vorstellung erscheint als ein leichtes, heiteres Bühnenstück mit Musik und Tanz.

In den mit dem Vers 928 beginnenden Strophen lesen wir den Monolog des Prinzes *Samarabhaṭa*. Der Sanskrittext ist sehr verdorben. Irgendwie kann man herauslesen, daß in den Versen 928—936 es sich um eine Landschenkung von *Samarabhaṭa* an den Tanzmeister als Belohnung für die schöne dramatische Produktion handelt. Vom Vers 937 ab rühmt sich *Samarabhaṭa* seiner tiefen Kenntnis der Dramaturgie und lobt die Musikanten. In den Strophen 947—958 hören wir über die Technik der Reitjagd mit Hunden, d. h. den Sport adliger Personen. In den folgenden Stanzen redet *Samarabhaṭa* überschwänglich von Schönheit, Reize usw. der *Mañjarī*. Im Vers 988 kommt die Bötin von *Mañjarī* an. Sie stellt geschickterweise den angeblichen jämmerlichen Zustand der Hetäre dar; *Mañjarī* habe sich in *Samarabhaṭa* verliebt, dachte immer an ihn und ohne befriedigende Antwort werde sie sicher sterben. Nach einer günstigen Antwort beeilte sich die Bötin zu *Mañjarī*. (Verse 1043—44)

In den Strophen 1045—1055 bekommen wir einen Bericht über das Stelldichein. *Mañjarī* und ihre Mutter kommen zum *Samarabhaṭa*. Die Mutter verwirrt den armen Prinz völlig. Am Anfang spielt *Mañjarī* ein keusches Mädchen, aber sehr bald bringt sie *Samarabhaṭa* durch ihre verfeinerte Liebeskunst in ihre Gewalt. Kurz und gut
nānāsuratavišeṣairārādhya cakāra bhuktasarvasvam
gaṇikāsau rājasūtaṃ tvagasthiśeṣaṃ mumoca nāticirāt.
"Nachdem diese Hetäre durch verschiedene Arten von Wollust den Prinz zufriedengestellt hat, und alles genießen ließ, hat sie den aus nichts als Haut und Knochen Bestehenden bald weggeschickt."

[41] J. J. Meyer, *Lehren* . . . S. 134, Anm. 4.

Die drei Schlußverse kehren zur Rahmengeschichte zurück: *Vikarālā* beendet den Unterricht und *Mālatī* nimmt Abschied. Vers 1058 bietet die didaktische Schlußfolgerung dar:

kāvyamidaṃ yaḥ śṛṇute samyakkāvyārthapālanenāsau
no vañcyate kadācitviṭaveśyadhūrtakuṭṭanībhiriti.

"Wer dieses Gedicht hört, dessen Verstehen einen Schutz bewirkt, wird nimmer von Lebemännern, Hetären, Betrügern oder Kupplerinnen betrügt."[42]

[42] Vgl. *Samayamātṛkā upasaṃhāra* 3.

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IN MEMORIAM

NICHOLAS N. POPPE

(1897—1991)

A most remarkable man of Altaic studies passed away after a long life, leaving behind an extraordinarily rich legacy of learned works in hundreds of publications: books, articles and reviews, monographs, materials and translations, dealing with the structure and history of languages, written and oral literatures and cultures of the peoples of Mongolic, Turkic and Tungusic tongues. This great Russian scholar, whose life was tragically divided by the events of the Second World War, connected the St. Petersburg school of Oriental studies with Oriental research in the West. His main field was Mongolian embedded in the large context of the Altaic world extended to Korean. Though fully aware of the complexity of the interrelations of these languages and cultures, he firmly kept his faith in the Altaic theory. Following the steps of his teachers, Wladislaw Kotwicz, Andrei Rudnev and Boris Vladimircov, he did significant field work, was a pioneer in several areas, and became the teacher for a number of noted Altaicists in many countries of the world. He indeed lived two lives: one in Russia and the Soviet Union as a student and later professor of the St. Petersburg (Leningrad) University and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of that country; his other life began, after a short stay in the Western part of post-war Germany, on American soil, at the University of Washington in Seattle, where he was able to renew his scholarly oeuvre and transplant Altaic studies in the United States of America.

I never met him personally, but we had several common friends and acquaintances. I mention here some of them who passed away before him: Vera Ivanovna Tsintsius, a great scholar of Tungusic, who remained Nikolai Nikolayevich's faithful disciple and used to pronounce his name with reverence even in the time when that name was banned from Soviet scholarship; the Buryat linguist and folklorist Garma Dantsaranovich Sanzheev, who though telling tall stories about Poppe's alleged war crimes, maintained correspondence with him through a third person; Taisa Alekseyevna Burdukova, Eliskeyyin ökin, sometimes secretary to Poppe in Leningrad (to her I owe, I believe, the unwritten ünen maγad qauli of Professor Poppe's tragic fate in the Kalmyk Republic under the ephemeral rule of the Third Reich); she was able to save some of the books of Poppe's old library and sent them to him in Seattle as a

token of her respect when to do so became less dangerous than it had been before; the Mongol patriot Yöngsiyebü Rinchen, whose letters written to Poppe were censored and used against their writer. My teachers, Louis Ligeti and Julius Németh often cited Poppe's works with due respect and due critique when discussing Altaic topics. His Introductions and Grammars and other studies have been used in the Budapest courses of Mongolian philology and will remain good guides for freshmen and elder researchers.

No doubt, his numerous works will not cease to offer a wealth of deep insight, vivid inspiration and ample information for us and the coming generations of Mongolists and other Altaicists. His lucid Reminiscences will recall his Russian and cosmopolitan universe as he used to see it. Taγalal tegüsügsen. Мир праху Его ...

Gy. Kara

ANNA SEIDEL

(1938—1991)

Sinologue renommée est morte (à San Francisco, le 29 septembre 1991). Née à Berlin, 1938, elle avait été formée aux États-Unis, en Allemagne et à Paris. Depuis la publication de sa thèse de doctorat, "La divinisation de Laotse dans le taoïsme des Han" (1969), elle avait poursuivi, des recherches sur le taoïsme et les religions de la Chine et du Japon, qui avaient obtenu une lecture internationale. Fidèle à la tradition française d'études sinologiques, après "Kokuho, trésor national en Chine et au Japon" (paru en 1981), elle avait publié "Impérial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments" (Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, Bruxelles 1983) et une monumentale "Chronicle of Taoist Studies in the West 1950—1990" (Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie, Kyōto 1989—1990). Membre de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient depuis 1969, elle travaillait à Kyōto, au centre de rédaction de l'encyclopédie bouddhique Hôbôgirin. En 1985 elle y avait lancée un péridique orientalista, les "Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie", dont les numéros derniers, les 4 et 5, dédiés à la mémoire de son maître M. Kaltenmark, ont étét parus au moment de sa mort. Anna Seidel, appartenait à une famille qui avait courageusement résisté aux mesures antijuives du nazisme, elle laissera le souvenir d'une intelligence rayonnante à la sinologie européenne.

(D'après le Monde, 1er octobre 1991.)

P. Miklós

GÉZA URAY

(1921—1991)

Stuck on a complicated problem in an Old Tibetan text, I automatically began to dial his phone number when I realized that what had been the natural thing to do for forty years would now be in vain.

Géza had already left the University when, in 1951, Ligeti started a new course in Tibetan. For the beginner, it seemed impossible to learn the bibliographical essentials needed to pass the first exams. Somebody mentioned Uray to me, and I visited him in the small room which he shared with an other colleague in the new Institute of Linguistics. He thoughtfully asked me about my plans and problems, and then offered to help with my first bibliography of Tibetan studies. Since then, bibliography and Tibetan studies has been our common interest.

Géza Uray was born in Budapest in 1921. His father wanted to see him become a professional officer, and he reluctantly enrolled at the Military Academy in 1939. Certainly, he was the last person one could picture lined up in a parade. In 1940, he transferred to the University, where he first studied law, but soon joined those attending the first of Ligeti's official lectures on Tibetan, begun in 1942 to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Csoma's death. In 1944, he could not avoid the draft, and was for a time also a pow of the Russian Army. In 1947, he returned to the University where he first finished his law studies, and then having in his hands something his family considered adequate to live on, passed his exams in Tibetan, receiving the equivalent of an MA in 1948. His thesis was a great success, and Géza got a position at the Institute of Inner Asia. By then, the political climate, however, was such that in 1949 he had to leave the University; from then on, he worked as a fellow of the Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. To tell the truth, the Institute was not much interested in his knowledge in Tibetology, but he turned out to be a very precise bibliographer and the Institute had to publish a bibliography of Hungarian Linguistics. So he became a staff member of the Bibliographical Department, and worked there until 1973 when, under the direction of Ferenc Tőkei, a Workshop of Oriental Studies was set up. Uray moved to this department, and after that he had more time for his Tibetological studies. He retired in 1984 but remained there as a part-time consultant. In 1977 he was invited to Vienna to the *Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde* as *Gastdozent*. His lectures and his dedication to his students were much appreciated, and he got further invitations for the years 1981—82, 1986—87 and 1990—91.

In 1970, he defended his second dissertation, this time for the "Candidate of Sciences" degree, and in 1988, got the academic title "Doctor of

Sciences" from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for his contribution to Tibetan scholarship. The Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, made him a titular Associate Professor in 1979, and a titular Full Professor in 1990. He held special courses at the Chair of Inner Asien Studies, Budapest, and post-graduate courses for young students of Tibetology.

In August of 1991, a Festschrift was published in Vienna to celebrate his seventieth birthday. A "List of Géza Uray's works" appears on pp. XV—XXXIV. The List is not final, because some of his papers are still unpublished. It does, however, give a picture of his scholarly activities. The Tibetological work of G. Uray can be divided into roughly two parts. In the first period, he was more interested in the language. His first publication, in 1949, was in Hungarian, because this was the requirement for doctoral dissertations. There was, however, a two page English resumé, and his tables and examples were also accessible to readers who did not know Hungarian. His was the first attempt to classify Tibetan dialects along the lines of historical linguistics. Though the "List" mentions only two reviews, the work was cited by many other scolars as well. His paper on the Tibetan diminutive suffix *-u*(*rta* > > *rte'u*, where *-u* < *bu*) (List No. 7) was an important step in historical morphology, as was his other paper on the suffix *-e* (List No. 12). In his paper on some problems of Tibetan verbal morphology (List No. 8), he made methodological remarks on the works of J. Durr and R. Shafer, and tried to investigate what type of help could be got from the Ancient Tibetan material, and from the historical approach. In his paper on duplication, gemination and triplication in Tibetan (List No. 16), he investigated a special feature of noun formation. In an important review article of M. Hermann's *Tibetische Dialekte von Amdo* (List No. 18), Uray reconsidered the system of East Tibetan dialects. He was confronted with the problems of the alphabetic order of the Tibetan alphabet and the origin of the letters *ba* and *wa*, and solved the history of these two letters impeccably, stating that *wa* was originally *a-chung* + *ba*. This paper had also important implications for the historical phonology of Tibetan (List No. 19).

The second period of Uray's work began with a paper on the four horns of Tibet according to the Royal Annals (List No. 32). He first investigated the occurrence of the Old Tibetan term *ru* "horn: a military and economic unit in the Old Tibetan Administration". What was originally intended to be a linguistic paper on an old Tibetan term became a study on early Tibetan military administration. To get his results, he had to deal with many philological problems in the Old Tibetan sources as well. For a time, a thorough, many-sided investigation of Old Tibetan words and terminology remained this basic approach. He wrote on the Old Tibetan expression *dra-ma drangs* (List No. 36); on the titles and offices of the *brung-pas* and great *mngans* (List No. 37); on the composed social term *rgod-g-yung* (List No. 61); on the administ-

rative term *khrom* (List No. 93); on the title *dbang-po* (List No. 120); on the *stong-sde*, the "thousand districts" (List No. 101); and on the geographical name *Nyag-nyid* (List No. 116). Pelliot, in a remark on a publication of F. W. Thomas's, suggested that the word "*greng*" occurring in the Tun-hunag and Miran texts could be identical with the Chinese ethnic name Ch'iang. This would have had serious implications for the Chinese transcription of Early Tibetan, and also for historical phonology. Uray investigated all occurrences, and came to the conclusion that the Tibetan word had nothing to do with the Chinese ethnic name Ch'iang, but its original meaning was "man, the upright one" in contrast to "*dud* — beast, animal, the one bent down" (List No. 50).

Beside special papers dedicated to the clarification of the semantic field of special Old Tibetan words, as in his paper on the verb *bon* (List No. 47), he published a series of studies investigating the Old Tibetan historical sources and also their relationship to later Tibetan historical literature. Such are his notes on a chronological problem in the Old Tibetan Chronicle (List No. 54); on the traces of a narrative of the Old Tibetan Chronicle on Zing-po-rje in the Mkhas-pa'i dga'ston of Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag phreng-ba (List No. 55), and the narrative on Srong-btsan sgam-po and on Tibetan legislation and early state organization in the same Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston (List No. 67). This latter paper is a masterful study on the changes in Tibetan historical tradition. As major contributions to the study of Old Tibetan sources we can further mention his papers on the song of Queen Sad-mar-kar in the Old Tibetan Chronicle (List No. 66), on the Annals and their role in Old Tibetan bureaucracy (List Nos 69, 72), on the Annals of the 'A-zha principality (List No. 88), and on the Tibetan chancellary's practices in the local states of Kansu and Khotan under Tibetan domination (List No. 94). He also made a thorough study of the Tibetan documents from the post-Tibetan Tun-huang era (List No. 117). A good survey is his paper on the Old Tibetan sources dealing with the history of Central Asia up to 751 A.D. (List No. 89).

Tibet's relationship with the West was discussed in his papers on the Gesar problem (List Nos 103, 108), and on Tibet's connections with Nestorianism and Manicheism in the 8th—10th centuries (List No. 102).

His writings in Hungarian publications are mainly for the interested layman. His articles in the Hungarian lexicon of world literature (till letter 0) give a comprehensive overview of Tibetan literature and its most important authors. He wrote an excellent chapter on Tibetan writing (List No. 92) in a university textbook. Just as important were his book reviews, most of them published in Acta Orientalia Hungarica. In almost all of them, he not only reviewed the book in question, but also gave some of his findings, those which he did not elaborate in separate papers. After 1983, many of his papers were translated into Chinese.

Those who are acquainted with Uray's writing know that all of his papers reflect a profound knowledge of the sources and of the literature. His sober judgments on many a difficult and debated question of Old Tibetan philology made him a classic already in his lifetime. Many of us tried to persuade him to publish an introduction to the Old Tibetan sources. In 1987, at the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium, Sopron, he announced the publication of a work with the title *Einführung in die frühen tibetischen Quellen der Geschichte und Kultur Tibets bis zum Anfang des 11. Jhs.* He set to work on this, and in 1988 sent a typewritten version of the first part to some colleagues "for the purpose of information, and in the hope that they might contribute some helpful remarks and supply additions in whatever way possible" (from a letter signed by G. Uray and Ernst Steinkellner, December, 1988). This short version contains some very important chapters of the planned work. As far as I know, he worked on further chapters until his death. We can only hope that though the *Einführung* shall now remain a torso for ever, scholars of Tibetan studies will have access to the parts already finished.

In the very last minutes of his life in Vienna, he was handed the Uray-Festschrift (*Tibetan History and Language. Studies dedicated to Uray Géza on his seventieth birthday*, hrsg. von Ernst Steinkellner, Wien 1991, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde. Heft 26, 538 p.). Thirty three authors wrote papers in the volume and many more signed the Tabula Gratuloria. His friends, colleagues and pupils were around him either physically or in spirit in his last days. His memory and his life's work will ever remain with us.

András Róna-Tas

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CRITICA

WILHELM EILERS, *Iranische Ortsnamenstudien.* Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 465. Bd. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1987, 100 ff.

Verf. hat sich seit den dreißiger Jahren mit den alten und jungen geographischen Namen des Irans beschäftigt. Das vorliegende Büchlein beinhaltet zwei kurze Studien aus dem Gebiet der topographischen Namenforschung, in denen Verf. untersucht, wie sich die iranischen Ausdrücke in die allgemeine Semasiologie der Völker einfügen. Das Namengut wurde "aus verschiedenwertigen Karten und Itinerarien, aus Reiseberichten und Geschichtswerken" (31) zusammengestellt und teilweise auch mit dialektologischen und historischen Sprachmaterialien ergänzt. In dem ersten Teil (*Iranische Pass-Namen* [Hochpässe])[1] 5—32) versammelt Verf. die iranischen und nichtiranischen geographischen Namen für den Bergpaß. Die typischen Ausdrücke der Paßnamen machen eine allgemeine Praxis der Namengebung in den untersuchten Sprachen nachweisbar. Diese Praxis wird aufgrund der zehn Hauptgruppen der Bedeutung (z.B. Bergrücken, Durchgang, Weg, Hals usw.) und Wortbildung (der *Hindukusch*-Typ) in zehn Kapitel geteilt.

Im Teil II (*Sonnenseite-Schattenseite* 33—77) wird vom Verf. ein mit den klimatischen Bedingungen zusammenhängendes Namenpaar der geographischen Terminologie untersucht, das den Sonnen- bzw. Schattenhang des Berges unterscheidet. Die Arbeit wird in vier Abschnitte geteilt: A (Die Kategorie in nichtorientalischen Sprachen, 34—37), B (im Vorderen Orient, 37—43), C (in den iranischen Sprachen, 43—72) und D (in den semitischen Sprachen sowie im Chinesischen, 72—75). Die Kapitel A, B und D geben nur die Liste der einschlägigen Terminologie, wärend C versucht, auch die Ableitungen der Wörter mit Einbeziehung historischer und dialektologischer Paralellangaben (teilweise vom Verf. früher publiziert) anzugeben. In vielen Fällen bleibt aber die etymologische Herkunft der Wörter — wegen der lexikalischen und mundartlichen Heterogenität des untersuchten Namengutes — dunkel (vgl. *nasā(r)*, ON Nisā 51).

Das Hauptverdienst der zweiten Studie, wie es auch im Falle der ersten Arbeit festgestellt wurde, besteht im Nachweis einer allgemeinen Praxis der Namengebung in genetisch und geographisch miteinander nicht verbundenen Sprachen.

É. M. Jeremiás

GUNHILD GRAF, *Die Epitome der Universalchronik Ibn ad-Dawādārīs im Verhältnis zur Langfassung. Eine quellenkritische Studie zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Mamluken.* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen Band 129. Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin 1990. 301, 105 S. DM 88.

Die durch eine relativ große Stabilität gekennzeichnete Herrschaft der Mamluken

[1] In Kurzform abgedruckt in *Mehr*, Teheran, 12 (1345/1966) pp. 617—624.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

in Ägypten wirkte sich auf das kulturelle Leben im Lande, wie bekannt, überaus fördernd aus. Die in diesem Zeitalter entstandenen großen Enzyklopädien, die riesigen Geschichtswerke enthalten eine Fülle äußerst wichtigen Materials, werden aber von der Forschung noch immer nicht gebührend beachtet. Ein bedeutender Schritt auf dem Weg zur Erschließung der mamlukischen Geschichtswerke wurde getan, als man 1960 mit der Herausgabe der neunbändigen Weltgeschichte des Ibn ad-Dawādārī begann, der im Ägypten des 13. u. 14. Jh. gelebt hatte. Die den Titel *Kanz ad-durar wa-ǧāmiᶜ al-ġurar* "Der Schatz der Perlen und der Sammler der ersten Schimmer" tragende große Universalchronik existiert allerdings auch in einer einbändigen Kurzfassung, *Durar at-tīǧān wa-ġurar tawārīḫ al-azmān* "Die Perlen der Kronen und die ersten Schimmer der Chroniken der Zeiten" betitelt, die zwar nicht völlig unbekannt, jedoch bisher weder herausgegeben noch ausführlich untersucht worden ist. Die vorliegende Arbeit stellte sich eben dieses Ziel, das genaue Verhältnis beider Werke festzustellen. Nach eingehenden Untersuchungen kam die Autorin zum Ergebnis, daß die Kurzfassung erheblich mit der Langfassung übereinstimmt. Schon aus dem unterschiedlichen Umfang beider Fassungen wird verständlich, daß sich größere Teile der Langfassung in der Kurzfassung vermissen lassen, die Autorin konnte jedoch nachweisen, daß einige Textpartien der Kurzfassung im Vergleich zur Langfassung "neues Material beitragen oder abweichende Darstellungen bieten" (S. 96). Insgesamt erachtete sie etwa 40 Seiten des Originals als editionswert und legt sie in dem vorliegenden Werk — von einer deutschen Übersetzung begleitet — anschließend an die Ergebnisse ihrer Untersuchungen vor (105 S. ar. Text, S. 122—238 Übers.). Diese Partien betreffen vor allem die Biographie Ibn ad-Dawādārīs, "seine Mitteilungen zur Zeitgeschichte sowie die Berichte über die Jahre 138 H. und 628 H., die kurdische und türkisch-mongolische Ursprungs- und Stammessagen enthalten" (S. 96). Die Herausgabe erfolgte auf Grund der beiden bekannten Handschriften der Kurzfassung. Nach einem Bericht über den aktuellen Forschungsstand (S. 4—7) und einem Resümee der Biographie Ibn ad-Dawādārīs (S. 8—11) folgt die Beschreibung der beiden vorhandenen Handschriften, die jedoch einer Autopsie entbehrt (S. 12—29). Nach der detaillierten Inhaltsübersicht (S. 30—52) folgt das vielleicht wichtigste Kapitel des Werkes, in dem das Verhältnis beider Fassungen ausführlich beschrieben wird. Eine synoptische Tabelle schließt sich den Erörterungen an (S. 53—95). Eine Inhaltsübersicht der edierten Textpartien (S. 96—116), Bemerkungen zur Edition und Übersetzung (S. 117—121) sowie ausführliche Indices erleichtern den Gebrauch des Werkes (S. 262—301).

S. 155[8] (dt.) = S. 28[7] (ar.) ist weniger von Sauerkäse (*qarīš*), als vielmehr vom Stamme *Qurayš* die Rede, anschließend ist auch *tuġayyiru* (verändern) in *tuᶜayyiru* (schmähen) zu emendieren (siehe Ibn Manẓūr: *Lisān al-ᶜarab*, Kairo 1979, S. 1966 s. v. *saḫina*). Der Ausdruck ". . .anna l-ᶜarab qadīman kānat + Impf." bedeutet übrigens nicht „. . . daß die Araber seit alters + Präsens", sondern „. . . daß die Araber in alten Zeiten + Präteritum". In dem vorangehenden Verszitat ist *mā* kein Verneinungspartikel, sondern eher *mā az-zā'ida*, und das Zitat wäre etwa folgendermaßen zu übersetzen:

"Wenn einer der Tamīm stirbt, und es freute dich, daß er noch lebte, so bringe Reisevorrat
an Brot oder Butter oder Datteln oder etwas, das in das *biǧād* eingewickelt ist,
dann siehst du ihn aus Gier durch ferne Länder ziehen, um den Kopf Luqmān b. ᶜĀds zu verspeisen."

(Vgl. H. Reckendorf: Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen, Leiden 1967, S. 650[11-14]. Zu Dichter und Varianten siehe die WKAS, Bd. II, S. 955a s. v. *mulaffaf* zitierten Belege, ferner al-Marṣafī: *Raġbat al-āmil*, Bd. II, Kairo 1927, S. 199.)

Ein Vorschlag, S. 177[17-18] (dt.) = S. 51[9] (ar.) zu übersetzen: "Auch der Herr von Ḥamāt schickte ihm Truppen."

Diese Veröffentlichung verdient das Interesse nicht nur der Arabisten und der Historiker des Islams, sondern infolge des in ihr enthaltenen Materials auch die der Turkologen und Altaisten.

István Ormos

DIETHARD NICKEL, *Untersuchungen zur Embryologie Galens*. Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR: Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie: Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der Antike 27. Akademie-Verlag Berlin 1989. 116 S. DM 22,–

Das zu besprechende Buch "Untersuchungen zur Embryologie Galens" ist eine leicht veränderte und erweiterte Fassung der Dissertation B des Verfassers, die im Herbstsemester 1985 von der Gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Fakultät des Wissenschaftlichen Rates der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin angenommen wurde.

Unter dem bescheidenen Titel verbirgt sich ein äußerst straff formuliertes, solides Werk, dessen Bedeutung — um es gleich am Anfang hervorzuheben — wegen der auf Grund der in die Untersuchung einbezogenen möglichst *sämtlichen* relevanten Stellen gefaßten, Galens Methoden im allgemeinen betreffenden Schlußfolgerungen wesentlich größer ist, als es der schlichte Titel vermuten läßt.

Das Ziel des Werkes wird vom Verf. folgendermaßen angegeben: "Mit der vorliegenden Arbeit wird das Ziel verfolgt, eine Auswahl besonders wichtiger Probleme der Galenischen Embryologie auf möglichst umfassender Quellenbasis zu untersuchen" (S. 10).

In Kapitel A analysiert der Verf. "Galens Methoden der embryologischen Forschung" (S. 15—28), wobei er die von den einzelnen Methoden in der Geschichte der antiken Medizin gespielte Rolle, soweit möglich, auch über Galen hinaus zurückverfolgt. Die Befragung weiblicher Personen, die Untersuchung von Abortivfrüchten, an trächtigen Tieren in unterschiedlichen Stadien der Gravidität unternommene Sektionen bzw. Vivisektionen, das Experimentieren an einem aus dem Uterus gelösten und von dem Muttertier getrennten Ziegenembryo werden der Reihe nach erörtert, wobei dem in den antiken Naturwissenschaften eine wichtige Rolle spielenden und auch in diesem Bezug wichtigen Grundsatz der zwischen gewissen Gruppen verschiedenartiger Lebewesen angeblich bestehenden Ähnlichkeiten und der infolgedessen anwendbaren Methode der Analogie (Tier-Mensch, Pflanze-Embryo) besondere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet wird. In Kapitel B ("Männlicher und weiblicher Zeugungsbeitrag"; S. 29—49) untersucht der Verf. Galens Ansichten hinsichtlich "der Frage, welchen Beitrag das männliche und das weibliche Geschlecht zur Zeugung leisten. (. . .) Es handelt sich zum einen um die Relationen zwischen (männlichem) Samen und Menstrualblut (. . .), zum anderen um das Problem des weiblichen Samens (. . .)" (S. 29). Die Rolle philosophischer Argumentation ist besonders auf diesem Gebiet sehr groß und der Verf. hebt mit Recht hervor, was er auch minutiös darstellt, daß es Galen in den Auseinandersetzungen mit seinen Vorfahren nicht gelungen ist, eine "völlig ausgewogene und in allen Einzelheiten wohldurchdachte Lehre" zu schaffen (S. 29). In dem darauffolgenden Kapitel C betrachtet der Verf. die Details der Empfängnis, um zu der Schlußfolgerung zu gelangen, daß es sich bei ihr letzten Endes um einen mechanischen Prozeß handelt ("Die Konzeption — Wesen, Vorgang, Voraussetzungen und Termin"; S. 50—60). Im letzten Drittel des Buches behandelt der Verf. die "Grundfragen der Galenischen Embryologie" (Kapitel D; S. 61—90). Abschnitt I "Entstehung als Veränderung und Ausformung" (S. 61—64) ist den Problemen der Bildung der unterschiedlichen Körpersubstanzen aus dem einheitlichen Ausgangsmaterial so-

wie der Gestaltung der Organe und Körperteile gewidmet, wofür Galen im allgemeinen die als die Fähigkeiten der Natur dargestellten natürlichen Kräfte verantwortlich macht, wobei der Verf. ausdrücklich auf den fehlenden Einklang zwischen den verschiedenen Aussagen Galens hinweist. In Abschnitt II (S. 64—67) schildert der Verf. eine sich von der vorhergehenden unterscheidende Konzeption, die sich bei Galen auch nachweisen läßt: diese im wesentlichen aus der hippokratischen Tradition stammende Konzeption versteht die "Keimesentwicklung als Trocknungs- und Verfestigungsprozeß". In Abschnitt III (S. 67—83) wird Galen anhand seiner diesbezüglichen Aussagen als ein entschiedener Verfechter des im modernen Sprachgebrauch epigenetisch genannten Standpunktes charakterisiert. "Hierbei wird angenommen, daß der werdende Organismus Gegenstand einer sich schrittweise vollziehenden Entwicklung ist, im Gegensatz zur präformistischen Auffassung, deren Anhänger in unterschiedlichen Nuancen den Grundsatz vertraten, daß der Embryo im Keimgut schon vorgeformt ist . . ." (S. 67). Seine Kritik an den Standpunkten seiner Gegner sowie die philosophischen Implikationen dieses Problems werden eingehend geschildert. Besonders einleuchtend ist die Darstellung der Sachlage durch den Verf., daß Galens Ansicht von der Reihenfolge der Entstehung der Hauptorgane (Leber, Herz und Gehirn) "letzten Endes durch die von ihm vertretene philosophische Lehre von den drei Seelenteilen und deren jeweiligem Sitz in den genannten Organen bestimmt" ist, worin er sich bekanntlich der Auffassung Platons anschließt (S. 79—80). In Abschnitt IV (S. 83—90) behandelt der Verf. schließlich die spezifisch von Galen stammende Theorie von den spermatogenen und hämatogenen Körperteilen. Unter dem Titel "Schlußbemerkungen" (S. 91—93) läßt der Verf. äußerst wichtige, allgemeine Beobachtungen folgen, die gewissermaßen den Höhepunkt des Buches bilden.

Das Werk ist gründlich dokumentiert: jede Behauptung ist mit Stellennachweis versehen. Dadurch, daß der Verf., wie oben bereits angedeutet, Galens möglichst *sämtliche* Äußerungen betreffs seines Themas berücksichtigt — im Gegensatz zu seinen Vorgängern, die sich in der Regel mit "relevanten Stellen" begnügten, ein Umstand, der gerade bei einem Autor wie Galen, der sich in seiner umfangreichen Schriftstellerei zu demselben Thema öfters und nicht unbedingt in derselben Weise äußerte, gewisse Gefahren in sich birgt —, ist der Verf. in der Lage, über eine seine Vorgänger überbietende Behandlung der Einzelprobleme hinaus auch gewisse allgemeinere Folgerungen hinsichtlich Galens Methodologie ziehen zu können: "als eines ihrer Kennzeichen hat zu gelten, daß Galen, um Lösungen für Probleme ausfindig zu machen, mit verschiedenen Denkmöglichkeiten gleichsam experimentierte" (S. 93).

Nickels "Untersuchungen zur Embryologie Galens" sind ohne Zweifel als ein wichtiger Beitrag zur Galen-Forschung zu werten und werden sich in ihrer Gründlichkeit und beispielhaftiger Beweisführung sowohl auf die Galen-Forschung fördernd auswirken als auch den Nachfolgern auf diesem Gebiet einen Standard setzen.

István Ormos

Novum Testamentum Aethiopice: The Synoptic Gospels. General Introduction, Edition of the Gospel of Mark by ROCHUS ZUURMOND. Äthiopistische Forschungen; Band 27. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart 1989. xv + 288 + 406 pp.

A modern critical edition of the New Testament in Ethiopic has long been a *desideratum* in the scholarly world and has been acutely missed by both Éthiopisants and students of the textual history of the New Testament. The volume under review is the first part of a critical edition of the Ethiopic version of the synoptic Gospels destined to meet modern requirements.

The sizable volume consists of two parts: I. a General Introduction to the Gospels in Ge'ez (278 pp.), and II. a Critical Edition of the Gospel of Mark (406 pp.). The editor had to tackle a formidable task. Not only is the sheer number of accessible Gospel manuscripts rather high (over 400), but the quantity of variants is likewise very large and the history of the text extremely intricate. (At first glance List C1 in Pt. I, pp. 240—249, seems to suggest that the total number of manuscripts consulted amounts to 1500. This is, however, not the case. The editor has introduced a new system of numbering the manuscripts with plenty of *empty numbers* for future manuscript findings. See Pt. I, p. 5). The editor's aim was to retrieve the text of the Ethiopic Gospel in its earliest accessible form. After careful study of the history of the text, the results of which are set out in Pt. I, pp. 37—133, he has selected 25 manuscripts for the edition. These include all the early items (up to the early 15th century) as well as a selection of later ones representing the major trends of development. This limit had to be set for practical reasons, because "to compose a complete *apparatus*, including the evidence of all extant manuscripts and editions up to the present century, is utterly impossible" (see Pt. I, pp. 138—142). This earliest accessible form of the Ethiopic Gospel is still not necessarily identical with the first translation(s) of the Gospel from Greek into Ethiopic, as the editor rightly emphasizes (Pt. I, pp. 37—38). Great though the progress in the discovery of *relatively* early manuscripts may have been in recent decades (since 1960), still there remains a gap of more than half a millennium between the 5th or 6th century, when in all probability the Gospel was translated from Greek into Ethiopic, and the 13th century, the period of the earliest extant manuscripts. What happened during this half millennium nobody knows.

The editor's careful examination of the history of the text of the Ethiopic Gospel, which he has based on all accessible manuscripts, the quantity of which has increased significantly since 1960, has resulted in a detailed, well-substantiated and balanced account of this intricate subject (Pt. I, pp. 37—133). His research has not basically altered our overall view of the subject as it was advanced by such eminent scholars as Hackspill, Guidi and Ullendorff, yet the picture offered by the editor is much richer in detail, more faceted, more elaborate, and is based on a significantly greater quantity of material. He divides the extant versions into six major groups (A, B, C, D, E, M), of which the first three can in turn be divided into subgroups (Aa, Ab, Ac, Ba, Bb, Ca, Cb, Cc, Cd). Of these, Aa corresponds to the earliest form of the Gospel text as it is represented by three (of the earliest) manuscripts, whereas M at the other end stands for the modern eclectic Textus Receptus, which began to emerge in the 18th century. The various theoretical possibilities of an eventual Arabic, Latin, Armenian, Coptic, Syriac and Greek origin of the Ethiopic Gospel text are considered and discussed at length (Pt. I, pp. 90—131). Pt. I includes a valuable paragraph on the "Contents of an Ethiopic Gospel Manuscript", giving a description of the paraphernalia it contains in addition to the text of the Gospels, i.e. introductions, the Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus, the Eusebian Canons, *tituli*, *stichometry*, special introductions and postscripts, colophons, etc. (Pt. I, pp. 6—31). Paragraph 15 offers some remarks on the future possibility of evaluating the contents of Ethiopic service books in the course of research into the history of the text of the Gospel (Pt. I, pp. 143—154). In Paragraph 13 ("Text-critical Considerations") the main views of the editor have been briefly summarized, but relevant remarks of importance are scattered all through both parts of the present volume (see especially §§ 22—25). Part II contains the critical edition of Mark (pp. 93—300). In addition to the "Description of the Used

Manuscripts" (pp. 42–85) and a "Text-critical Appendix" (pp. 301–334), it also includes a highly informative epilogue ("Collation: Variant Readings of the Ethiopic Version as compared with the Greek Text"), destined first of all to meet the needs of students of New Testament textual criticism (Pt. II, pp. 335–397). The present volume also contains a bulk of important information that will be evaluated by future research into the history of Geez paleography, orthography and grammar.

The Ethiopic types are handwritten and in general clearly legible. A German summary of *both* parts is appended at the end of Pt. I (pp. 279–288). It is somewhat strange that while the numbering of paragraphs is continuous in both parts, the pagination is not. Nor is it quite clear why the numbering of paragraphs had to stop with the "Description of the Used Manuscripts".

The reviewer is looking forward to the publication of further volumes of the synoptic Gospels in Ethiopic.

István Ormos

IRENA POMORSKA, *Les flabellifères à la droite du roi en Égypte ancienne.* Éditions scientifiques du Pologne. Varsovie 1987, 236 p.

The title "fanbearer on the right of the King" is frequently attested in the inscriptions of the New Kingdom. Although well known to every Egyptologist, it has not yet been dealt with in a comprehensive way. This book is the first to examine the historical development of the function and character of this title from the early New Kingdom down to the Late Period.

Following a "Preface", "Bibliography" and "Introduction", the book is divided into two main parts. In the Part One, the author treats four subjects: *1.* the function of the fanbearer; *2.* the forms of the title "fanbearer on the right of the King"; *3.* the social position of the fanbearers; *4.* fanbearers in Egyptian iconography. The Part Two offers a list of the persons to bear the title of fanbearer.

The author traces the changes that occurred in the form and character of the title as early as the 18th dynasty. The title *ḥbs bht* was soon replaced by *ṯ3y ḫw ḥr wnmy n nsw* and its variations. The title was closely connected with the royal court, and the fans held by the bearers of the title on ceremonial occasions never appear in the private sphere. While it originally designated a real function, it became an honorific title already during the 18th dynasty. As shown by the author, those who were given the title were confidants of the Pharaohs. She adduces ample evidence to demonstrate the growing importance of the title by the end of the 18th dynasty. The first vizier to appear with the title "fanbearer" is Ptahmose under Amenhotep III. The next fanbearer vizier was no less a person than Paramessu, the future King Ramesses I. At least 13 viziers bore this title by the end of the New Kingdom. The other high dignity closely associated with the fanbearer title was viceroy of Kush. According to the author (p. 40), it was a strict rule for the two titles to go together from Thutmosis IV down to the reign of Herihor. Under Sethi I, the depiction of the King's sons holding fans made its first appearance. Processions of royal princess with fans occur in a number of temples under Ramesses II, and were later imitated by Ramesses III.

There is little evidence of the title during the 21st dynasty; its use seems to have been strictly limited. A kind of revival took place at the time of the 22nd dynasty, when the title was included among the titles of Theban priests. The last official fanbearers were probably three "chief stewards of divine adorers" in Thebes who do not bear the title but are represented as holding fans.

Part Two of the book will be important to all those who are interested in prosopo-

graphy. The entries present names, parents, dating, sources, a list of titles and ranks, as well as a bibliography. In this way, the list of the bearers of the title develops into a comprehensive picture of the social background of the fanbearers. Also included are individuals who have been represented with fans but not recorded as having borne the title. The book ends with a short index of personal names.

Pomorska's book is a good introduction, and an incentive to further work on titles and ranks. She has produced a contribution of lasting value. At the same time, the reader will regret the lack of illustrations, which detracts considerably from the usefulness of this rich collection of data.

László Kákosy

India bibliográfia. India bibliography, ed. by I. PUSKÁS. *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica* Vol. XXXV, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1991, 602 p.

At a time when there is a new-rounded hope that contact with our East European colleagues will grow and bear fruit we find a very interesting bibliography being published in Hungary. This bilingual work entitled in Hungarian "*India bibliográfia*" or in English "India bibliography" is a most welcomed addition to the field of Indian studies presenting titles published in the series "*Bibliotheca orientalis Hungarica*" as volume XXXV edited by György Hazai. The compiler of this bibliography is Ildikó Puskás. The publisher is the *Akadémiai Kiadó* in Budapest and the volume has been published with financial support from the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR), New Delhi.

This bibliography contains approximately 4000 individual entries, some repeated more than once among the 24 topics chosen by the compiler. Very interesting are older titles, usually quite rare due to limited editions and which seldom reached a large audience. On the other hand, there are also many newer titles which due to the political constellation since World War II could not be easily distributed or obtained in Western Europe or in North America.

Since these titles were published in Hungary and by Hungarians abroad we find titles published within former political boundaries of Hungary which today are no longer politically part of Hungary. Also some of the works are by Hungarians in the diaspora or by Hungarian scholars temporarily living in India. Of course, the language is predominately Hungarian which naturally limits the use of the literature listed as very few indologists outside of Hungary will have a reading knowledge of Hungarian. There are numerous articles, though, written in other Western European languages.

The compiler states that she was not always able to verify her data by autopsy and some of the works were not available at the main libraries in Hungary. Perhaps some of these can later be verified in Western European libraries.

The entries have been arranged thematically under 24 subject headings or topics. The 25th contains 2 appendices. These are followed by an index of names (pp. 571–602). Each entry is in Hungarian and an abridged version follows in English, giving at least the author and title. It is important to know that the name entry in the Hungarian version has the family-name as the foremost entry followed by the given name, or first name, and these are not separated by a comma as we in Western Europe would expect. The name-entry in the English version, however, has been entered without inversion, i.e. the given name and then the family name. The alphabetisation takes place within each subject-heading according to the Hungarian form or the name, taking into account the length of vowels and other specific characteristics of the Hungarian alphabet. A definite article before a noun in a title has been taken into

consideration along with the first letter of the following word when alphabetising. In the Name-index in the appendix the family-name is in capital letters and the given name is in low-cased letters, the family-name being used for the alphabetisation.

The compiler admits that original titles of some translations have not always been traceable and therefore a literal translation has been given. Such fictitious titles have been indicated by an asterisk.

Basic works in the field of Gypsy research have also been included, although these are by no means exhaustive as the the compiler states. With the help of these, though, further literature can be verified.

A list of periodicals and newspapers containing relavant material has been published as an appendix and contains approximately 450 such titles.

This bibliography is certainly a valuable contribution to indological studies and brings to light the long and intensive research on India done by Hungarians. It is testimony to the diligence of the compiler who apparently has prepared this extensive bibliography manually, without the help of modern electronic equipment. She and her assistants have to be complemented for this useful publication.

George Baumann

Schlaglichter über das Sufitum. Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāǧs Kitāb al-lumaᶜ, eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert von RICHARD GRAMLICH. Freiburger Islamstudien Band XIII. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1990. 676 S. DM 270.—

Der 378/988 zu Ṭūs in Ḫurāsān verschiedene Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāǧ zählt zu den bedeutendsten Vertretern des islamischen Mystizismus der auf die bunte Vielfältigkeit der Anfangsperiode folgenden Epoche der Konsolidierung, wo nicht zuletzt als eine Reaktion auf die grausame Hinrichtung al-Ḥallāǧs die eine spürbare apologetische Tendenz aufweisenden großen Handbücher des Sufitums entstanden. Der Feder dieses Verfassers, über dessen Leben sonst nur spärliche Angaben vorliegen, entstammt das früheste auf uns gekommene große Handbuch des Sufitums, das den Titel *Kitāb al-lumaᶜ fī t-taṣawwuf* (Das Buch der Schlaglichter über das Sufitum) trägt. Das stattliche Werk, das aus einer Einleitung und 14 Büchern besteht, die insgesamt in 157 Kapitel zerfallen, behandelt ausführlich die meisten Aspekte der islamischen Mystik, wobei es in erster Reihe für den praktischen Gebrauch von Sufis bestimmt ist. Es spiegelt sich an dem Werk wider, daß as-Sarrāǧ kein großer Synthetisierer, kein bedeutender systematischer Denker war, "es ist eher eine Sammlung von Einzeltraktaten, Schlaglichtern (*lumaᶜ*), denen gemeinsam ist, daß sie das Sufitum von verschiedenen Seiten beleuchten sollen" (S. 21). Diese einerseits vielleicht zu manchem intellektuellen Bedauern Anlaß gebende Sachlage erhöht aber andererseits beträchtlich die Bedeutung des Werkes dadurch, daß der Verfasser bei seinem Mangel an Originalität die Aussagen früherer Autoritäten präzise zu zitieren bestrebt ist, ein Umstand, der as-Sarrāǧs Handbuch zu einer wahren Fundgrube sonst verschollenen Materials aus der frühen Phase des islamischen Mystizismus macht.

Dieses bedeutende Werk liegt nun in einer vollständigen deutschen Fassung vor, die Richard Gramlich auf Grund Nicholsons Textausgabe* unter Heranziehung zweier ihm unbekannter Handschriften erarbeitet hat. Die Kommentare des Übersetzers betreffen vor allem schwierige Textstellen und die Quellen der Zitate as-

* The *Kitáb al-Lumaᶜ fi 'l-Taṣawwuf* of Abú Naṣr ᶜAbdalláh b. ᶜAlí al-Sarráj al-Ṭúsí. Edited for the first time, with critical notes, abstract of contents, glossary and indices by Reynold Alleyne Nicholson. Gibb Memorial Series 22. Leyden—London 1914.

Sarrāǧs. In einer Einleitung zur Übersetzung sind die spärlichen Angaben über as-Sarrāǧs Leben, die wichtigsten Autoritäten für seine Berichte, die bedeutendsten ihn anführenden Gewährsmänner, eine Charakterisierung des Werkes, eine detaillierte Inhaltsübersicht, die wichtigsten Abweichungen as-Sarrāǧs von der klassischen arabischen Schulgrammatik, die in dem Text vorkommenden persischen Wörter, Bemerkungen zu den Überlieferern der von Nicholson benutzten Handschrift Chester Beatty 4094 sowie Angaben über die Nicholson noch unbekannten, von dem Übersetzer-Kommentator aber bereits ausgiebig verwerteten zwei Handschriften zusammengestellt (S. 15—31). Ein ausführlicher analytischer Index dient dem Anliegen des Übersetzer-Kommentators gemäß dazu, "nicht nur ein Lesebuch, sondern auch ein brauchbares Arbeitsinstrument und Nachschlagewerk anzubieten" (S. 31).

Diese wichtige Ausgabe, für die sowohl dem Übersetzer-Kommentator als auch dem Verlag zu danken ist, wird ohne Zweifel nicht nur dem des Arabischen Unkundigen den Zugang zu dem frühesten Handbuch und einer der wichtigsten Quellen der islamischen Mystik überhaupt ermöglichen, sondern durch die Interpretierungsvorschläge zu den zahlreichen dunklen Stellen sowie die Verwertung der Nicholson noch unbekannten Handschriften, ferner durch das in den Kommentaren zusammengebrachte reiche Material auch jedem Forscher auf diesem Gebiet ein unerläßliches Hilfsmittel sein.

István Ormos

Studia linguistica et orientalia memoriae Haim Blanc dedicata. Edited by PAUL WEXLER, ALEXANDER BORG, SASSON SOMEKH. Mediterranean Language and Culture Monograph Series, Volume 6. Published under the auspices of the Irene Halmos Chair for Arabic Literature, and the Department of Linguistics. Faculty of Humanities, Tel-Aviv University. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1989. viii + 314 p., 1 plate.

The present volume was originally planned as a *Festschrift* for Professor Haim Blanc (1926—1984) to celebrate his sixtieth birthday in 1986. Through the untimely death of the dedicate it appears now as a memorial volume. Students and friends of Blanc contributed to it altogether 28 articles with topics ranging from Blanc's own field of Semitics through Scandinavian and Chinese studies to general linguistics. At the head of the volume Sasson Somekh, one of the editors, presents the biography of this distinguished linguist ("Haim Blanc: a personal appreciation", pp. 1—3), followed by Blanc's bibliography (pp. 5—9). Clinton Bailey briefly examines the causes underlying the popularity among present-day Bedouins of a poetical genre originating in the 9th c., that of *zuhdiyyāt* or religious ascetic poems. There follows the text of a *zuhdiyya* recited to the author by a Bedouin from East-Central Sinai in 1970, in transcription with English translation and commentaries ("Traces of *zuhdiyya* in a contemporary Bedouin poem", pp. 11—26). In an informative article Peter Behnstedt undertakes the first steps in investigating the use of *ᶜām* and *sana* in Arabic. He comes to the conclusion that these words are merely "pseudo-synonyms", i.e. they are interchangeable to a limited extent only. He argues that a considerable redistribution can be detected in the use of *ᶜām* and *sana* in Modern Standard Arabic as compared with previous periods. This redistribution, the author pleads, and he seems to be right, came about under the impact

of local dialects, therefore its result is different in areas with various dialects ("Zum Gebrauch von *ᶜĀm* und *Sana* im Arabischen", pp. 27–44). In an intriguing contribution Ruth A. Berman examines the intricacies of lexical blends (e.g. *raxbal* "cablecar" < *rakévet* "train" + *xével* "rope"), a hitherto scarcely noticed and very un-Semitic word-formation device in Modern Hebrew, which seems to be gaining increasing ground at present. This contribution contains interesting and significant data about the high level of acceptability of this device among native speakers of Hebrew interviewed ("The role of blends in Modern Hebrew word-formation", pp. 45–61). Alexander Borg gives a thorough analysis of Maltese toponyms of the *Bayt al-Muqaddas* type (with lack of determination concord), laying special emphasis on the clearly distinguishable modern tendency to reanalyse these compounds via the introduction of the initial definite article ("Some Maltese toponyms in historical and comparative perspective", pp. 62–85). In a highly theoretical contribution Noam Chomsky investigates the possible variety of phrase structure systems within the framework of generative grammar ("A generalization of X-bar theory", pp. 86–93). Federico Corriente discusses important aspects of the development of the Arabic dialect once spoken in Andalusia ("South Arabian features in Andalusī Arabic", pp. 94–103). Lewis Glinert analyses the actual uses of the device *kmo* "as" in modern Israeli Hebrew ("A unified framework for identity and similarity structures: Israeli Hebrew *kmo*", pp. 104–109). In his contribution "Syllable-counting meters and pattern poetry in the Old Testament" Morris Halle demonstrates that the strict metrical scheme based on a syllable-counting algorithm which he discovered earlier in Psalm 137 can also be detected in three other poetical works in the Old Testament. In addition, he argues, Psalm 137 belongs to the genre of "pattern poetry" well known in the Greek poetry of the Hellenistic period. In the present case this means that representation of the metrical syllables of Psalm 137 on a chart shows a striking resemblance to representations of the Temple on coins struck around the beginning of the Christian era (pp. 110–120). Eric P. Hamp examines "Indo-European *(s)dlnǵhuHa" 'tongue', paying special attention to "the true dialectal depth, or extent, of" this etymon (pp. 121–124). Einar Haugen considers the linguistic situation in Scandinavian countries ("Is there a Scandinavian language? Some thoughts about language and dialect", pp. 125–132). Robert Hetzron's insightful article abounds in intriguing observations of hitherto unnoticed phenomena in the tense-system of the verb "to be", which in many languages seems to be different from the tense-system of all other verbs. Hetzron's observations are drawn from an undeniably wide range of languages including English, German, Swedish, Polish, Russian, Hungarian, Hebrew, Amharic, Tigrinya and Somali ("On the tense-system of predications with the verb 'be': a preliminary inquiry", pp. 136–144). (Actually, both in the table of contents and at the head of the article, "predication" is misspelt as "prediction".) Robert D. Hoberman examines one of the basic traits of Eastern Neo-Aramaic morphology ("Agglutination and composition in Neo-Aramaic verb inflection", pp. 145–155). Otto Jastrow presents two texts in the dialect of the Jews of Qāməšli with English translation added and a brief sketch of the main characteristics of this dialect, with special emphasis on the shift of Old Arabic interdental fricatives to dental stops, a trait linking this special dialect to the Jewish dialects of the Diyarbakır subgroup of Anatolian Arabic ("The Judeo-Arabic dialect of Nusaybin/Qāməšli", pp. 156–169). Naphtali Kinberg investigates the changes undergone by the use of *qad* from the period of Pre-Classical to Classical Arabic, limiting his investigations to one syntactic environment only, the "complement of the oath" (*ǧawāb al-qasam*, e.g., *tāllāhi la-qad*

arsalnā ilā umamin min qablika . . .) ("Some modal, aspectual and syntactic constraints on the use of *qad* in the verbal system of Classical Arabic", pp. 170—179). R. B. Lees has collected a fair number of calques in Chinese based on Western models, though some of his explanations are open to doubt. It is not quite clear, for instance, that the Chinese equivalent of "antipodes" is necessarily a calque on German. As for the Red Sea, leaving aside the "widely but not universally accepted folk-etymology from Middle English" (p. 192: 'Red Sea' for 'Reed Sea'), in the present context it is simply inadmissible to leave unmentioned the fact that equivalents of the English expression "Red Sea" have been widely current in many languages ever since Herodot (5th c. B.C.), and, unclear though the ultimate reason may be, it is exactly this colour that denotes this sea in most languages ("On some Western calques in Chinese", pp. 180—199). In "Divergent development of 'inchoatives' in late Old Spanish and Old Portuguese: a further instance of excessive self-assertion", Yaakov Malkiel discusses the details of a significant change of late medieval origin in a specific area of Old Spanish and Old Portuguese verbal systems (pp. 200—218). Wolf Moskovich deals with the deplorable reappearance of certain obsolete ideas concerning the identity, nature and origin of Yiddish in the Soviet Union. Alongside these ideas, however, accounts giving an objective picture of Yiddish are not missing in the Soviet Union ("Recent sociolinguistic theories on Yiddish in the Soviet Union", pp. 219—224). Heikki Palva's "Linguistic sketch of the Arabic dialect of el-Karak" without doubt represents a welcome addition to our knowledge of the various Arabic dialects (pp. 225—251). Herbert H. Paper publishes a Judeo-Persian version of Jonah from a manuscript dated 1788 ("Jonah in Judeo-Persian", pp. 252—255). In "Modifying verbs in full-verb constructions in literary Arabic", Yishai Peled deals with certain idiosyncrasies of the verbs *kāna wa-aḫawātuhā* in Classical and Modern Literary Arabic, offering some valuable insights into the moot question of auxiliaries in Arabic in general (pp. 256—263). On the basis of investigation of the Hebrew, Arabic, Old Aramaic, Kurdish, Persian and Turkish elements as well as general European loans in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic of Iraqi Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, Jona Sabar aims at refuting Irene Garbell's theory "that the Kurdistani Jews were native speakers of Kurdish or Persian before shifting to Neo-Aramaic, which they supposedly adopted from their Christian neighbors". He argues "that the special features of Jewish Neo-Aramaic loans from Hebrew (. . .) and Arabic (. . .) are the outcome of prolonged intensive contact with these languages" ("Substratal and adstratal elements in Jewish Neo-Aramaic", pp. 264—276). Taking up an issue to which Blanc devoted a paragraph in one of his major studies, in a short contribution Frank H. Stewart briefly summarizes available data concerning a curious idiom current among the Bedouins of the Negev and Central Sinai: *aᶜād* + pron. suff. + *b-* used to denote a supposition by A concerning B ("A Bedouin idiom: *aᶜād* + pronominal suffix", pp. 277—278). In order to demonstrate what treatment function words should receive in bilingual dictionaries, Karl Stowasser adduces three examples from the material collected for a dictionary of (spoken) Syrian Arabic — English intended to appear in the Georgetown Arabic Series: *bədd-*, *tabaᶜ* and *b-*. Perhaps it is not too late to plead for the publication of this excellent material? ("On function words in bilingual lexicography", pp. 279—282). Andreas Tietze's article contributes some useful data to the study of the relationship between passive and medioreflexive voices in Turkish ("Observations on the convergence of passive and medioreflexive verb forms: the case of modern Turkish", pp. 283—288). Kees Versteegh's informative article "A sociological view of the Arab grammatical tradition: grammarians

and their professions" investigates, on the basis of *Suyūṭī's Buġyat al-wuᶜāt fī ṭabaqāt al-luġawiyyīna wa-n-nuḥāt*, the social status and main professions of grammarians in the first nine Islamic centuries, laying special emphasis on the considerable difference between the social and professional situation of medieval Arab and modern Western linguists (pp. 289—302). Paul Wexler scrutinizes the factors contributing to the Islamic profile of the Chinese in use among Chinese Muslims both in China and the adjoining territories of the Soviet Union, and compares them to the factors contributing to the Jewish profile of Jewish Iraqi Arabic ("Muslim communal dialects in the Chinese lands: the case of the Dungan language", pp. 303—314).

István Ormos

GIULIANO TAMANI, *Il Canon medicinae di Avicenna nella tradizione ebraica : Le miniature del manoscritto 2197 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna.* Centro Veneto Studi e Ricerche sulle Civiltà Orientali : Helios 1. Collana diretta da Franco Michelini Tocci e Gustavo Traversari. Editoriale Programma, Padova 1988. 93 p.

The present volume under discussion inaugurates a new and elegant series entitled "Helios", issued under the auspices of the "Centro Veneto — Studi e Ricerche sulle Civiltà Orientali", and which is dedicated to Venetian MSS or texts relating to the Orient, as well as to the works of Oriental authors having direct or indirect reference, either historical or cultural, to Venice herself and to the region of the Veneto. The editors could hardly have chosen a sample more fitting to their objective or more suitable for the interrelationship between peoples, religions and cultures, the central subject of this publication being the miniatures executed by Christian hands, perhaps in Venice, in a Hebrew manuscript containing the Hebrew translation of an Arabic textbook of medicine, widely popular in Medieval Christian Europe in Latin translation, by a Muslim author of Persian origin.

Part 1 gives a succinct and balanced sketch of Avicenna's life and activities in the field of philosophy and medicine (pp. 13—33). The Canon is the subject of Part 2 (pp. 35—58): following a general description of its contents the modern translations of the work are enumerated. The short account of the diffusion of the Arabic text of the work in the Muslim world and the treatment of the diffusion of the Latin translation in Europe are edifying. The description of the place occupied by the Canon in the activities of 15—17th c. Venetian and Paduan printers and publishers offers a brief survey of the subject based on important data scattered in many places. The six or seven editions of this magnificent work of Arabic origin between 1482 and 1500, and the good twelve between 1505 and 1595 in Venice alone, plus the two between 1476 and 1479 in Padua, among others, attest to the importance played by the region of the Veneto in the dissemination of Oriental wisdom in the Occident. Part 3 (pp. 59—92: La tradizione ebraica del Canone) starts with a brief delineation of the most important problems concerning the Hebrew translations of the Canon. Chapter 2 is in fact the essential central part of the publication: it contains the description of MS 2197 of the University Library of Bologna, accompanied by excellent reproductions of the illuminated pages. This justly famous manuscript is unique in two respects: it is the only manuscript containing Natan ha-Meati's complete Hebrew translation of the Canon as well as excelling all other manuscripts of this work (Arabic, Latin or Hebrew), in so far as it is the only one to contain seven lavish full-page illustrations in addition to pages ornamented to various degrees. The manuscript dates from the first half of the 15th c. The absence of a clear colophon has

precluded the precise establishment of its place of origin: there have been endeavours to ascribe it to Florence, Lombardy, France, Ferrara and, more recently, to Venice. While far from being interpreted unanimously, the miniatures are of utmost importance to the historian of medicine, the historian of art and the general historian interested in the everyday life of the Middle Ages. The reviewer is perhaps allowed to add a personal comment: he finds the miniatures simply wonderful, a sheer joy to the eyes. (Many medieval manuscripts, important though they may be, are *not* beautiful !)

The Editor and the Publisher are congratulated for this sumptuous edition; they leave all specialists substantially in their debt for having made the illustrations of one of the most splendid medieval manuscripts easily accessible in excellent colour reproductions, accompanied by expert description of the manuscript as well as of the illustrations in detail. The volume is enriched by black and white reproductions of pages from various printed European editions of the Canon, and the ample bibliographical references will no doubt be most welcome to most readers. The reviewer is looking forward to the appearance of the forthcoming issues in this promising new series "Helios".

István Ormos

Tibetan History and Language. Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on his Seventieth Birthday. Herausgegeben von ERNST STEINKELLNER. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde Heft 26. Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien. Wien 1991. XXXIV, 536 p.

Professor Ernst Steinkellner prepared this volume together with his students; the man honored, Géza Uray had spent several years as a guest professor in Steinkellner's department. Together they had tackled the scholarly problems of Tibetology and Buddhism. Luckily, this well-planned volume, meant to be a birthday present, came off the press ahead of time, and Dr. Uray, in Vienna to finish the manuscript of his reference-book on early Tibetan history and its sources, was able to take a look at it in what proved to be the last few days of his life. The volume had turned into an "In Memoriam", but shows no less the loving respect his friends and pupils bore to this eminent scholar, whose tremendous knowledge benefited all around him.

The volume opens with a large black-white photo of Géza Uray, and the congratulations of the scholar editor, Ernst Steinkellner. The list of those offering their birthday wishes the "Tabula Gratulatoria", is an impressive assemblage of scholars; the reviewer can but be grateful for Professor Steinkellner's invitation to contribute. Pages XV-to XXXIII contain A List of Uray Géza's Works from 1949 to 1990, studies ranging from a classification of the dialects of Eastern Tibet to one on an early registration in Tibetan script of an early Tibetan term, preliminary sketches, one might say, to the comprehensive reference book he was working on. My own offering was meant as a contribution to Uray's research on Far Eastern social history, through the pictographic evidence of Chinese script. The other contributors, published in alphabetical order, were briefly as follows:

Agata Bareja wrote on a chapter of Tibetan history entitled "*Čiqula Kereglegči*" in Mongolian. Louis Bazin and James Hamilton wrote about the origin of Tibet's name; Anne Chayet on the methods of producing of porcelaine in Tibet. A collection on the social history of hell was treated by Graham E. Clarke, another related term was discussed by W. South Coblin. E. K. Dargyay wrote about state and church relations in Tibet of the imperial Chinese period, Philiph Denwood gave a few rare words of early Tibetan

documents, and Hildegard Diemberger wrote about further Tibetan terms.

Helmut Eimer congratulated Géza Uray with a paper on an early source of Tibetan tradition. Herbert Franke wrote on the biography of a commander of Qubilai Khan, sent to Eastern Tibet. Herbert Guenther wrote about Tibetan terms, Guntram Hazod on the sovereignty ideology of the Tibetan kings, and Walther Heissig on an epic source of the history of the Kukunor territory. David Jackson gave an article about some interesting works attributed to Sa-skya Paṇḍita; Patrick Kaplanian discussed some origin myths and legends of the people of Ladak. Josef Kolmaš wrote on the spiritual and practical wisdom of the Tibetan lhama; Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp on the political and religious history of 14th century Tibet as reflected in biographies; Dan Martin about a short political history of Tibet after a 14th century Tibetan work; Roy Andrew Miller about the utilization of Tibetan grammars and grammar experts; Thubten Jigme Norbu and Tsuguhito Takeuchi about Mongolian loan-words in Tibetan and their background; Nobuchiyo Odani about a Tibetan term and its semantic background; Jampa L. Panglung about the Tibetan variant of the Sevenstarsutra; and Luciano Petech on the appearance of Sa-skya in Eastern Tibet. Elena De Rossi Filibeck gave a chronological note; Cristina Anna Scherrer-Schaub wrote about a short Tibetan manuscript; Peter Schwieger about some travel notes on Tibet of 1752—53; D. Seyfort Ruegg about the religious and political history of Tibet; Elliot Sperling about the early history of clans in Tibet; Brigitte Steinmann about the diplomatic role of the village chiefs of Tibet on the Nepalese borders; Tom Millemans about Tibetan grammatical categories; Helga Uebach about the historical traditions surrounding the treaty of 821—823; and Wang Yao about a Tibetan office with a Tunhuang official.

Ildikó Ecsedy

LADISLAV ZGUSTA, *The Old Ossetic inscription from the river Zelenčuk.* Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 486. Bd. Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Komission, herausgegeben von M. MAYRHOFER, Nr. 21. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1987. 68 ff.

Die vom Verf. erörterte Inschrift ist eine der drei Quellen, die von der Fachliteratur üblich für *alanisch* gehalten werden. Diese Grabinschrift in griechischer Schrift wurde von D. M. Strukov 1888 im Kaukasus, am oberen Laufe des Zelenčuk, eines Nebenflusses des Kuban, gefunden. Vs. F. Miller hat die *editio princeps* der Inschrift aufgrund Strukovs Abschrift und G. I. Kulikovskijs Abklatsch herausgegeben (1893). Die Expeditionen dieses Jahrhunderts (1946, 1964) konnten die Stele nicht mehr auffinden, so beruhen die neueren Entzifferungsversuche auf denselben Vorlagen, die Miller zur Verfügung standen. Die Datierung (11./12. Jh.) und Feststellung der Grundeigenschaften der Inschrift stammen von Miller.

Die mit einer griechischen Invokation einsetzende (1-5. Z.) und mit einer griechischen Formel auslaufende (21. Z.) Inschrift beinhaltet eine Liste alanischer (altossetischer) Personennamen und Patronymika (6-21. Z.) ferner zwei zweifellos festgestellte Appellativa (ΦΟΥΡΤ 'Sohn', digorisch *furt*, TZHPΘE 'Stele', digorisch *cirt*) aus dem Wortschatz und die Genitivendung (-H) aus der Grammatik.

Verf. gibt eine archäologische und philologische Forschungsgeschichte (5-15. Z.), die paläographische Analyse der verschiedenen graphischen Darstellungen des Textes (16-19. Z.) sowie die linguistische Auslegung, zusammen mit der kritischen Auswertung der neueren Deutungsversuche (20-58. Z.), die die Sprache der Inschrift mit einer der heutigen Sprachen des Kaukasusgebietes in Verbindung bringen wollen (z. B. čečenisch-ingušisch von Vagapov 1980, tscherkessisch von Kafoev 1963,

balkar von Kudaev 1965). Der Text wird durch die Abbildungen moderner Stelen ergänzt. Am Ende gibt Verf. eine komplettierte Lesung der Inschrift mit der Schlußfolgerung, daß ihre Sprache *ossetisch* sei, demzufolge ist sie "the oldest monument of the Ossetic language", in der "the inherited Iranian elements already have their contemporary forms (e.g. *ani*), which sometimes are recognizably close to the Digor dialect (*furt*)" (61).

Die linguistische Interpretation folgt im wesentlichen derjenigen von Miller und Abaev (1949), die die Inschrift in die Kontinuität der sarmatisch-alanisch-altossetischen Entwicklung setzt. Die spärliche sprachliche Überlieferung der mitteliranischen Perioden, die verschiedene Schichte repräsentieren, macht jedoch die Ausgliederung sehr problematisch. R. Bielmeier hat wahrscheinlich recht, indem er sagt, daß "eine klare linguistische Scheidung zwischen Sarmatisch und Alanisch aufgrund der Materiallage nicht möglich ist", demzufolge "das Alanische primär aufgrund historischer Nachrichten bzw. der Zugehörigkeit zu bestimmten Materialcorpora begrenzt" wird.[1] Er hält die Sprache der Inschrift für *alanisch* (d.h. mitteliranisch). Die nur für das Alanische belegbare Lautentwicklung (**ā* inlautend vor Nasal > sarm. *a*, alan. *a* bzw. *a*, oss. *o*, die auch in dieser Inschrift vorhanden ist, z. B. *'Αντaλ-αν-η*, alan. *-αν*, oss. *-on*[2]), scheint seine Meinung zu unterstützen. Der Hauptverdienst des Buches besteht in der kritischen Erörterung der einschlägigen Fachliteratur, die eindeutig beweist, daß die letztlich in der Sowjetunion herausgegebenen Studien im Gebiete der Datierung und Darstellung der sprachlichen Probleme nicht immer zuverlässig sind.

É. M. Jeremiás

[1] Sarmatisch, Alanisch, Jassisch und Altossetisch, *Compendium linguarum orientalium*, herausgegeben von R. Schmitt, Wiesbaden 1989, p. 236.

[2] Bielmeier 1989, p. 242.

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BURIAL MASKS OF EURASIAN MOUNTED NOMAD PEOPLES IN THE MIGRATION PERIOD (1ST MILLENIUM A.D.)

MIHÁLY BENKŐ

I. The origin and spreading of this burial custom

In 1973 during agricultural work a nomad horseman's grave was brought incidentally to the surface in the Ukraine near to the town of Dnepropetrovsk in the fields of a small village, called Manvelovka. Among the finds, transported to the Dnepropetrovsk museum there were the following objects: an iron helmet, a silver jug, a straight, single-edged sword, and a thin silver mask having once covered the face of the deceased. On the four corners of the mask there were holes indicating that it had been sewn onto a piece of textil. The archaeologists of the local museum hurrying to the site of the discovery found plates of armour, arrow-heads, bones of a male human being and also those of a horse in the grave (Fig. 1). The orientation of the grave-pit was East-Western.

The Manvelovka find was published by L. N. Churilova in 1986.[1] She presumed that the find — unique in the Dnepropetrovsk area — was connected to the pre-Hungarians, who were advancing Westward (in the IXth century A. D.) through what is known today as the Ukrainian steppes. As Churilova writes "the use of noble metal burial masks, face-covers and the partial horse-burial as ensemble were singularly characteristic of the "pre-Hungarian" cemeteries of the Ural-district".[2]

We mention this example to show the deep effect made on Soviet archaeologists by the significant discovery of István Dienes, the well-known scientist of the Magyar conquest: by the silver- or gold-eyed silk (or other textil) masks of the conquering Hungarians unearthed from their graves in the Carpathian Basin.[3] Soviet archaeologists and other scientists of the migration

[1] L. N. Čurilova, *Pogrebenie s serebranoj maskoj s sela Manvelovki na Dnepropetrovišče. Sovetskaja Archeologija.* 1986/4, pp. 261–266.

[2] L. N. Čurilova, *Op. cit.* ,p. 265.

[3] I. Dienes, Honfoglalóink halottas szokásainak egyik ugorkori eleméről [Über ein aus der Ugrischen zeit stammandes element der bestattungssitten der landnehmenden Ungarn]. *Archeológiai Értesítő* 90, 1963, pp. 108–113. German and Russian summary: pp. 112–113. I. Fodor, Honfoglaláskori régészetünk néhány őstörténeti vonatkozásáról

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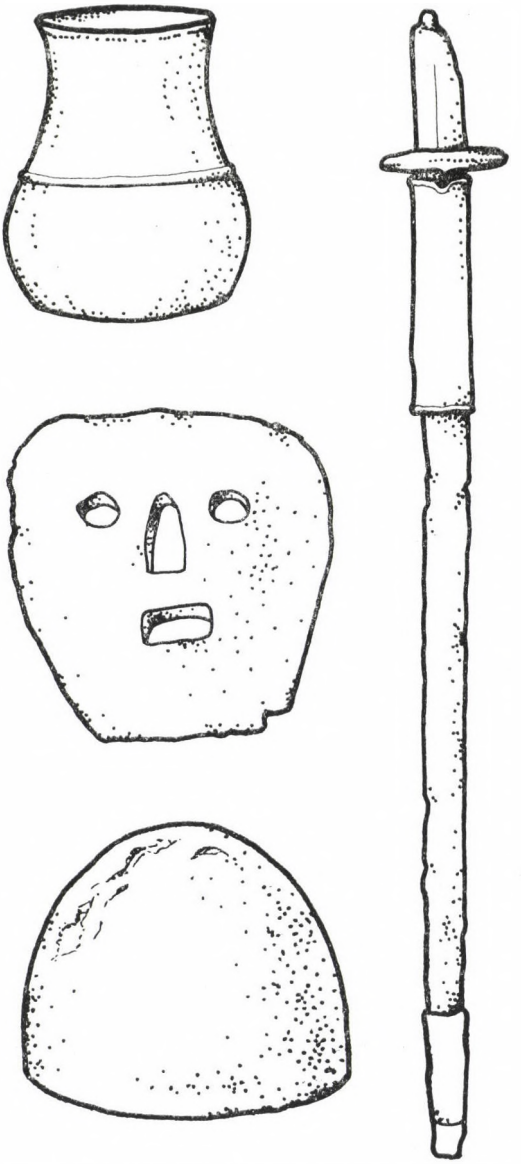


Fig. 1. The Manvelovka find

of peoples generally bring this custom together with the Ugrian–Hungarians living in Western Siberia and in the Ural-District, or with their cultural and ethnical influence on other peoples (for example on the Bulgarian Turks who

[Über einige frühgeschichtliche beziehungen unserer Landnahmezeitlichen archäologie] *Folia Archaeologica* 24, 1972, pp. 150–174. German summary: pp. 175–176.

were arriving into the Ural District between the VIth and VIIIth centuries A.D.).[4] The presumption of these scientists is based on the fact that ethnographic parallels of this burial custom still existed among the nearest akin in language to the Hungarians: among the Ob-Ugrians almost up to the present. The Voguls and Ostyaks covered the face of their deads with textil or with animal's skin and sewed on this face-cover silver coins, copper buttons over the eyes, mouth and nose of the deceased. They believed that this way the dead would remain in their graves and would not disturb the living people, nor take any of them into the underworld.[5]

However, this burial custom was characteristic not only for the Finno-Ugrian peoples in the migration period of peoples. Its direct parallels — we can even say: premilinaries — can be found in Central and Middle Asia; furthermore its routs can be followed into the depths of the past of the ancient Mediterranean and Near-Eastern civilizations.[6]

The ancient kings and aristocrats of Mesopotamia and the Eastern Mediterranean were often buried with golden masks, eye-covers and mouth-covers. Without going into details we wish to mention the Egyptian, Myceanean,[7] and Thracian[8] masks, the eye-covers found in the royal graves of Ur[9] and on the Island of Mochlos,[10] the mouth-covers (epystomions) from Cyprus,[11] and Tel Halaf.[12] This custom appeared in certain intervals in this area from the IIIrd Millenium B.C.; up to the second half of the first Millenium B.C. The practice was spread by the Parthians in the wider geographical area of the Near East around the beginning of our era.[13] As cultural influence of the Parthians it appeared soon also in the bordering territories of the Parthian Empire: in the Roman province of Syria, on the lower slopes of the Caucasian Mountains, and on the Northern coast of the Black Sea including the Crimean

[4] L. N. Čurilova, *Op. cit.*, p. 265. See also: Finno-ugri i balty v epocha srednevekovja. *Archeologija S.S.S.R.* Moskva 1987, pp. 236–239; Tablica CIII. Fig. 10.

[5] K. F. Karjalainen, *Die religionen der Jugra-Völker* I. Helsinki 1921, p. 92.

[6] M. Benkő, Halotti maszk és sírobolus. [Burial mask and Charon's obol] *Antik Tanulmányok* [Studia Antiqua] XXXIII 1987–88/II, pp. 189–200.

[7] Mylonas, *Mycenae and the Mycenaen Age.* New Jersey 1966, pp. 90, 92, 102, 132; figs 84, 97.

[8] A. Rieth, Antike Goldmasken. *Antike Welt* 1973/1, Abb. 4.

[9] L. C. Woolley, *Ur Excavations II. The Royal cemeteries.* New York 1934, pp. 195–196; 202–203; pl. 147.

[10] R. B. Seager, *Explorations in the island Mochlos.* New York 1912, pp. 26–28; fig. 9.

[11] F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery. Greek, Etruscian, and Roman, in the Department of Antiquities of the British Museum.* London 1911, pl. 3. *Sokrovišča Kipra.* Moskva, 1976, fig. 18.

[12] M. von Oppenheim, *Tel Halaf IV.* Berlin 1962, pp. 4–5; Tafel 1, 2; fig. 8, 8/a, 9.

[13] J. Curtis, Parthian gold from Niniveh. *The British Museum Yearbook I.* 1976, pp. 47–66.

Peninsula.[14] Golden masks and mouth-covers were found on the very same skull in certain cases in Parthian graves.[15] A certain type of face-cover tied with a narrow ribbon covering both eyes of the deceased appeared first in the Parthian cemeteries.[16] Sir Aurel Stein unearthed the parallels of this type of Parthian face-covers from the Astana Cemetery (Chinese Turkestan, Turfan)[17] and named them as "spectacles".

The appearance of the "spectacles" form in place of the simple golden eye-covers was a result of formal development. Namely, the masks, eye- and mouth-covers of the Mediterranean world were not sewn on textil, only strengthened on the nape of the deceased by wires. These wires laced through holes, which were drilled on the corners of the masks, or on the small golden plates. This was followed by the innovation of the Parthians: they melted the two eye-covers together with a golden ribbon. This way two short pieces of wire were enough to tie the two eye-covers onto the head of the deceased. The "spectacles" form of the burial eye-covers soon spread among the Caucasian peoples to the Northern coast of the Ponthian sea, and also on the Crimean peninsula. Its variations, made of different precious metals and sewn on silk appeared in Central Asia in the first half of the 1st Millenium A.D.; and later after the VIth century A.D., in the rich Nomadic graves of the Ural District (Fig. 2). (Such "spectacles" were found in the Carpathian Basin in one case: in the Hungarian princely grave of Rakamaz; Xth century A.D.)[18]

In the 1920s Michael Rostovtzeff presumed that certain motifs and objects, which were characteristic of the Hellenistic World, infiltrated into Middle and Central Asia not from the coasts of the Black Sea and through the great Eurasian steppes, but straight from Asia Minor and Syria, through the Southern way: through Parthia and Bactria.[19] This commercial road, which — much later, already in the XIXth century — became known as the Silk Road, established direct contact between China, Central Asia and the Mediterraneum. Beside commercial contacts, the Silk Road also intermediated cultural influences (Fig. 3). The accuracy of Rostovtzeff's theory is proved by the fact that two Mediterranean burial customs: the burial masks, eye- and face-covers, and the so-called "Charon's obol" were introduced into Central Asia via this route.

In the predominantly Nomadic Central Asian territories, Northward from China, from the T'ien Shan Mountains to the Altai-Sayan region, the custom of

[14] N. N. Pogrebova, Zolotye licevye plastiny iz pogrebenij mavzoleja Neapolja Skifskogo. In: *Istoria i archeologija drevnego Kryma*. Kiev 1957, pp. 142–155.

[15] J. Curtis, *Op. cit.* p. 53, plates 87–90.

[16] J. Curtis, *Op. cit.* plate 90.

[17] A. Stein, *Innermost Asia II*. Oxford 1928, p. 646.

[18] *Les peuples Ouraliennes*. Budapest 1975, Fig. 23.

[19] M. Rostovtzeff, *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*. Princeton 1929, p. 86.

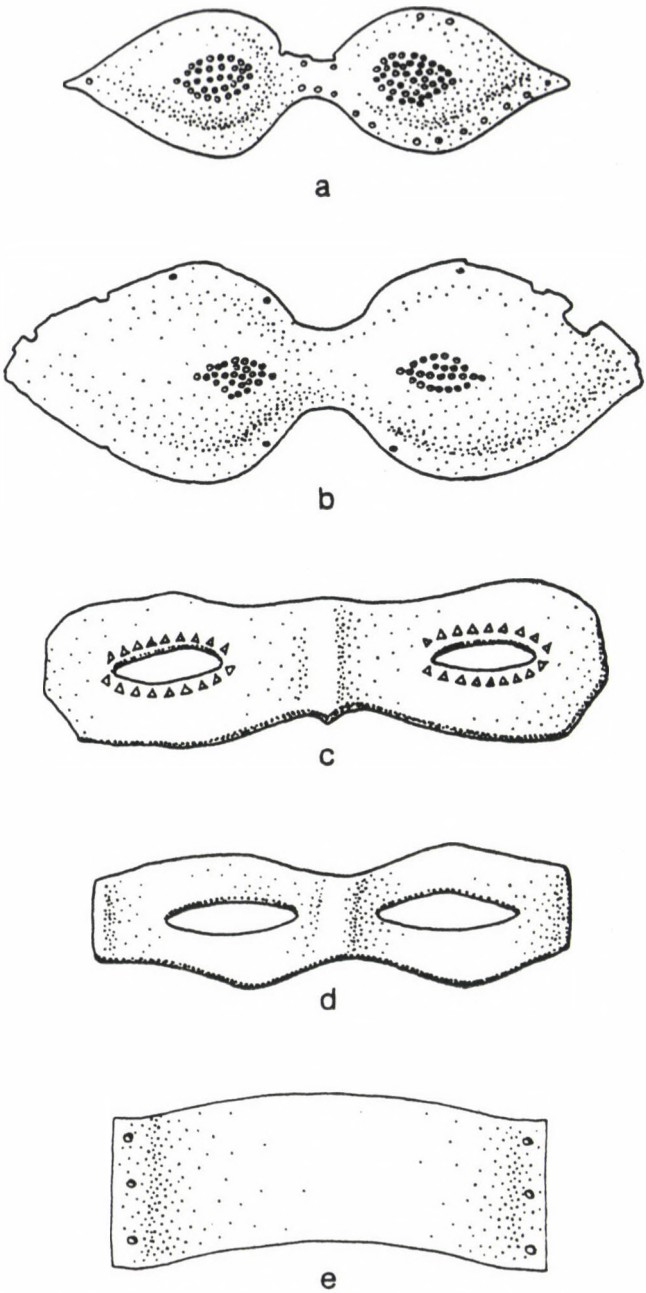


Fig. 2. **a**, b: Silver spectacles from the Astana cemetery (Turfan) c, d: from Demionki (Ural District, Káma region) e: from the pre-Hungarian cemetery of Bolshije Tigan' (Bashkiria)

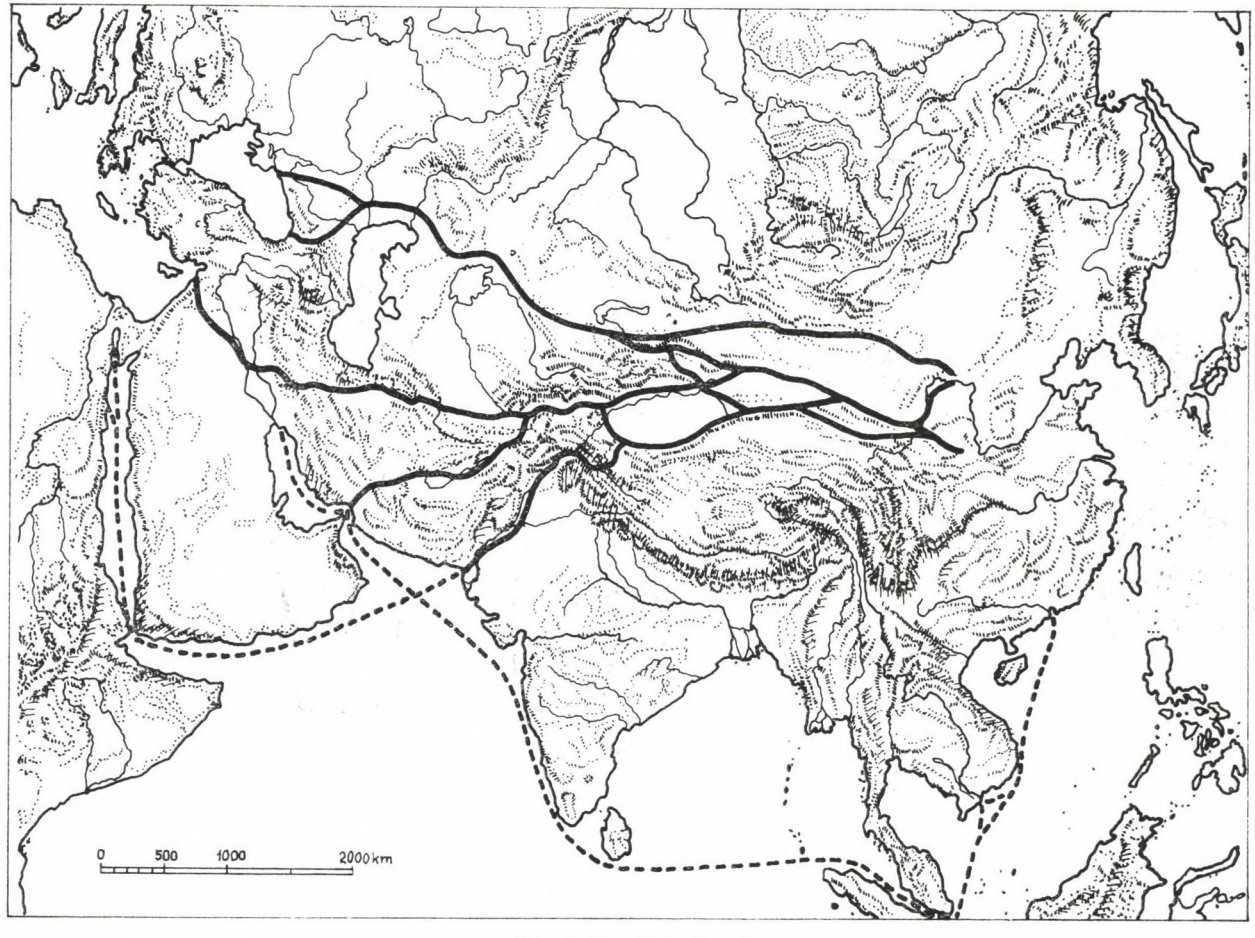


Fig. 3. The Silk Road

burial with masks, eye- and face-covers met and fused with an ancient Chinese burial custom described in the Ceremonial Book of the Chou Dinasty, the *I Li Shu*. This custom was to wrap the noble deceased's head in silk, or in other words, silk face-cover was used as a mask. From the turning point of the IInd–IIIrd century A.D.[20] the masks, eye-covers were sewn or placed on silk face-covers in Central Asian Nomadic burials.

Nikolai Mikhailovich Pržhevalskij unearthed a wealthy female's grave on the Southern side of the Tarim Basin, on the bank of the River Cherchen where the Southern branch of the Silk Road led towards the Chinese Empire. Here at that time the silk face-covers had not appeared yet.[21] However, in those three cemeteries which were discovered and escavated by Sir Aurel Stein in 1915–16: in the cemetery of Astana, (the oasis of Turfan);[22] in the cemetery of Yingpan,[23] and in the cemetery of Lou Lan,[24] the basic material of the found masks was silk. An eye-cover, made of silk was also discovered on the escavation led by P. K. Kozlov and G. I. Boroffka, in the Asian Hun tumuli-graves of Noin Ula[25] (Central Mongolia). Masks, eye- and mouth-covers, sewn on silk were unearthed in nine cemeteries of the Kenkol civilization in Kirghizstan.[26] These Nomadic burial masks, similarly to the Central Asian ones appear between the Ist and VIIth centuries A.D. Kirghiz archaeologists are more and more convinced, that the mounted nomads, who brought the Kenkol culture to the T'ien Shan mountains, were Asian Huns, and arrived from Central Asia.

I find it significant, that those eye- and mouth-covers, and masks, which were unearthed in Western and Southwestern Siberia, in the Ural Region, on the Ukrainian steppes and in the Carpathian Basin, dated to the second half of the 1st Mill. A.D., were sewn on silk like the Central and Inner Asian masks, and were not strenghtened by wires on the deceased's heads as in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean. This fact is sufficient to prove that this burial custom entered Siberia and Eastern Europe from Central Asia in the migration period and not directly from the Ponthian sea and the Caucasian region.

[20] A. M. Tallgren, The South Siberian cemetery of Oglatky from the Han period *E. S. A.* XI, 1937, p. 82.

[21] N. M. Prževalskij, *Ot kjasty na istoki Žeštoj Reki. Issledovanije severnoj okrajni Tibetam i put' čerez Lob Nor do bassejna Tarima.* St. Peterburg 1886, p. 366.

[22] A. Stein, *Op. cit. II*, pp. 549–718.

[23] A. Stein, *Op. cit. II*, pp. 755–758.

[24] A. Stein, *Op. cit. I*, p. 256; *III*, plate 15.

[25] S. I. Rudenko, *Kul'tura chunnov i noinulinskie kurgany.* Plate XVI, fig. 1. Silk face-covers were also wrapped around the deceaseds' heads under the clay burial masks of the Minussinsk Basin, from the Han period. See: A. M. Tallgren, *Op. cit.* pp. 69–90.

[26] A. Abetekov, Kul'tury kočevnikov drevnej Kirgizii. In: *Skvoz' veka*, Moskva 1986, p. 39.

I must also mention that all three types of the burial masks found in the Siberian and East-European steppes during the migration period, were also discovered in the medieval cemeteries of the Turfan Oasis (the ancient K'ao Chang), where Chinese archaeologists are continuing the research begun more then eight decades ago by Le Coq and Sir Aurel Stein. The most frequent variant of the burial masks found in Turfan was the silver or bronze "spectacles" sewn on a silk face-cover, which was wrapped around the head of the deceased. This mask — as a peculiarity of the Astana Cemetery of Turfan — was covered by the so-called "fu mien" (mask in Chinese) which is a piece of very precious polychrom silk, ornamented in Sasanian style (Fig. 4).[27] Together

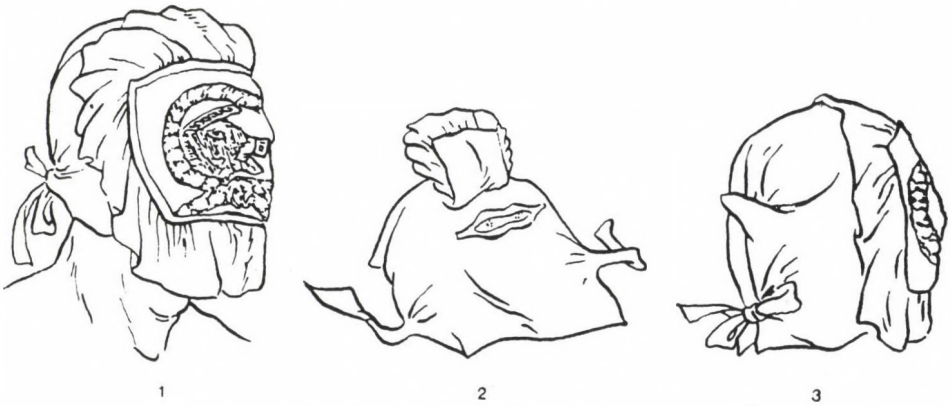


Fig. 4. The reconstruction of the masks of the Astana Cemetery. (After Wang Shu; Wen Wu, 1962/7—8)

with this type of mask in the mouth-cavity of the deceased nobles sometimes "Charon's obols" were found.[28]

The most ancient burial mask of Turfan is from a grave dated to 561 A.D. On the plain silk face-cover two beans of bone were sewn over the eyes of the dead, and a piece of agat over his mouth.[29] This is a perfect parallel — and surely an antecedent — of the silver-gold eyed masks used by the conquering Hungarians in the IXth–Xth centuries A.D.; and also by the Ugrian peoples of the XIXth century. A gilded iron mask with several holes in its corners for sewing up was also discovered in Turfan, and it is now kept in the Chinese collection of the Hermitage.[30]

[27] A. Stein, *Op. cit. II*, pp. 646–648; 670.

[28] A. Stein, *Op. cit. II*, p. 646.

[29] Khrisna Riboud, Some remarks on the face-covers (Fu mien) discovered in the tombs of Astana. *Oriental Art* 33, 1977, pp. 444–445.

[30] E. I. Lubo-Lesničenko, Mogil'nik Astana. In: *Vostočnyj Turkestan i Srednaja Azija*. Moskva 1984, p. 116; fig. 54.

Returning to the find of Manvelovka, examining the data at our disposal we cannot state that the mounted warrior buried there was a Hungarian. Silver or gold masks covering the whole face of the corpse were not unearthed from the graves of the conquering Hungarians. Conversely, more than a dozen silver masks resembling in every detail to the mask of Manvelovka were discovered in the largest excavated Bulgarian–Turkish cemetery in the Ural-District: from the graves of the rich warriors in Tankeevka. (Xth–XIth century A.D.)[31] The rest of the finds at Manvelovka are not characteristic either of the cemeteries of the conquering Hungarians or of the cemetery at Tankeevka. The parallels of the silver jug found in the Manvelovka grave-pit turned up most frequently in the ancient Turkish cemeteries of the Altai region dated between the VIIIth and IXth centuries A.D. according to L. N. Churilova too.[32] Sabres were more frequently used by the conquering Hungarians than straight single-edged swords. No helmets were discovered in Tankeevka; in the Carpathian basin only one is known from the period of the Hungarian conquest. Plates of armour have been unearthed neither from the graves of the Hungarian conquerors nor from those of Tankeevka up to our days.

The ensemble of helmet, plates of armour, and a single-edged sword was characteristic of two large groups of Nomadic peoples during the migration period: of the Avars of the VIIth–VIIIth century A.D. and of the Oghuz-Kipchaks of the IXth–Xth century A.D.[33] It seems probable that the mounted warrior found in the grave at Manvelovka was either a Bulgarian–Turkish horseman who had joined the Avars, or an Oghuz-Kipchak warrior. I myself am rather inclined towards the latter opinion. The reason of this is that no masks have been unearthed from the Avar period on the steppes up to this date and only one has been discovered in the Carpathian Basin: the T-shaped gold plate sewn on textil from the grave of an Avar Kakhan at Kunbábony (South-Central Hungary) (Fig. 5). The grave of Kunbábony is dated to the VIIth century. On the other hand, the iron burial masks strengthened to the helmets of the deceaseds were quite frequent among the aristocracy of the Steppe Kipchaks and — as it is proved by the discovery of the silver mask, sewn on silk, found in the grave of a Kipchak horseman in Chelkar[34] (XIth–XIIth c. A.D.; Northern Kazakhstan) — they were also acquainted with the burial custom described in detail in this article.

[31] E. Chalikova–E. P. Kazakov, *La cimetière de Tankeevka*. In: *Les ancient Hongrois et les ethnic voisines à l'Est*. (Ed. by I. Erdélyi), Budapest 1977, p. 56, fig. 14; plates I, III, V, XI, XII, XXII, XXIII.

[32] L. N. Čurilova, *Op. cit.* p. 261.

[33] U. S. Hudjakov, *Vooruženije srednevekovych kočevnikov Juznoj Sibiri i Central'noj Azii*. Novosibirsk 1986, pp. 192–203.

[34] I. Fodor, *Op. cit.* p. 173, note 74.

Beside the silver masks the metal-eyed silk masks were also known among the Oghuz-Kipchaks having lived in Kazakhstan and Western Siberia in the IXth–Xth centuries A.D. The skeleton of a Nomadic horseman was unearthed on the Baraba steppe from the 5th tumuli-grave of the Ust' Tartass cemetery by S. M. Chugunov in 1895. In the eye-sockets of the skull there were found two heart-shaped bronze plates waven through with silver threads, and embedded into thin, disintegrating textil.[35] The other finds of the grave were: gilded

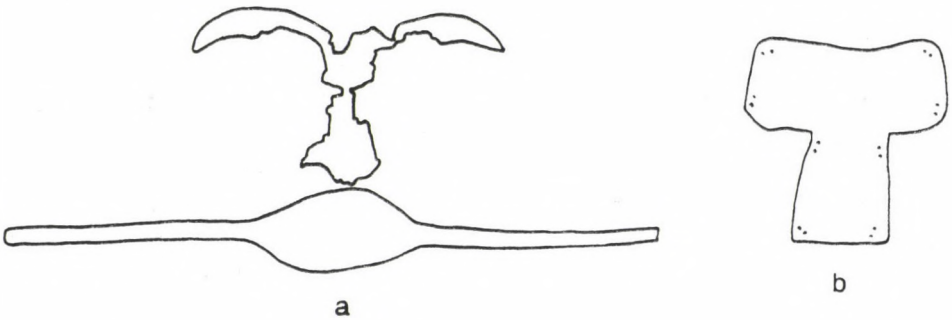


Fig. 5. Golden plates of burial masks: a: from Ketmen' Töbe (Kirghizstan, Vth–VIth. c. A.D.) b: from the princely grave of Kunbábony (South-Central Hungary, VIIth c. A.D.)

silver ear-pendants; remnants of a leather-belt with bronze fittings and strap-ends; eleven iron arrow-heads, two of which had whistling-frame from bones; a straight, single-edged sword which had crumbled into pieces; stirrup, bridle. The heart-shaped bronze-plates found in the eye-sockets of the deceased relate to the use of the Hungarian-type of metal-eyed silk mask in the Ust' Tartass cemetery. The find has a direct parallel in the Carpathian Basin. In 1925 János Sőregi unearthed the grave of a conquering Hungarian warrior on the pasture-lands of an East-Hungarian town, Hajduböszörmény. Two rectangular gold plates were discovered in the eye-sockets of the deceased, and a heart-shaped bronze-plate in his mouth-cavity (Fig. 6).[36]

The Siberian archaeologists of our days date the 5th tumuli-grave of the Ust' Tartass cemetery between the IXth and Xth centuries A.D. and connect it with the ancient Turkish tribe-group of the Oghuz-Kipchaks or Kimaks. (All the other tumuli-graves of the Ust' Tartass cemetery had been robbed and

[35] S. M. Čugunov, *Kurgany Kainskogo okruga Tomskoj gubernii: Izvestija Imperatorskogo Tomskogo Universiteta 16*, 1900, p. 54.

[36] J. Sőregi, Ásatások a hajduböszörmény-vidi pusztán. [Excavations on the farmstead of Hajduböszörmény-Vid] In: *Jelentés Debrecen szabad királyi város múzeumának és közművelődési könyvtárának 1926. évi működéséről.* [Report on the 1926 year's operation of the museum and public Library of the free royal town Debrecen], p. 18.

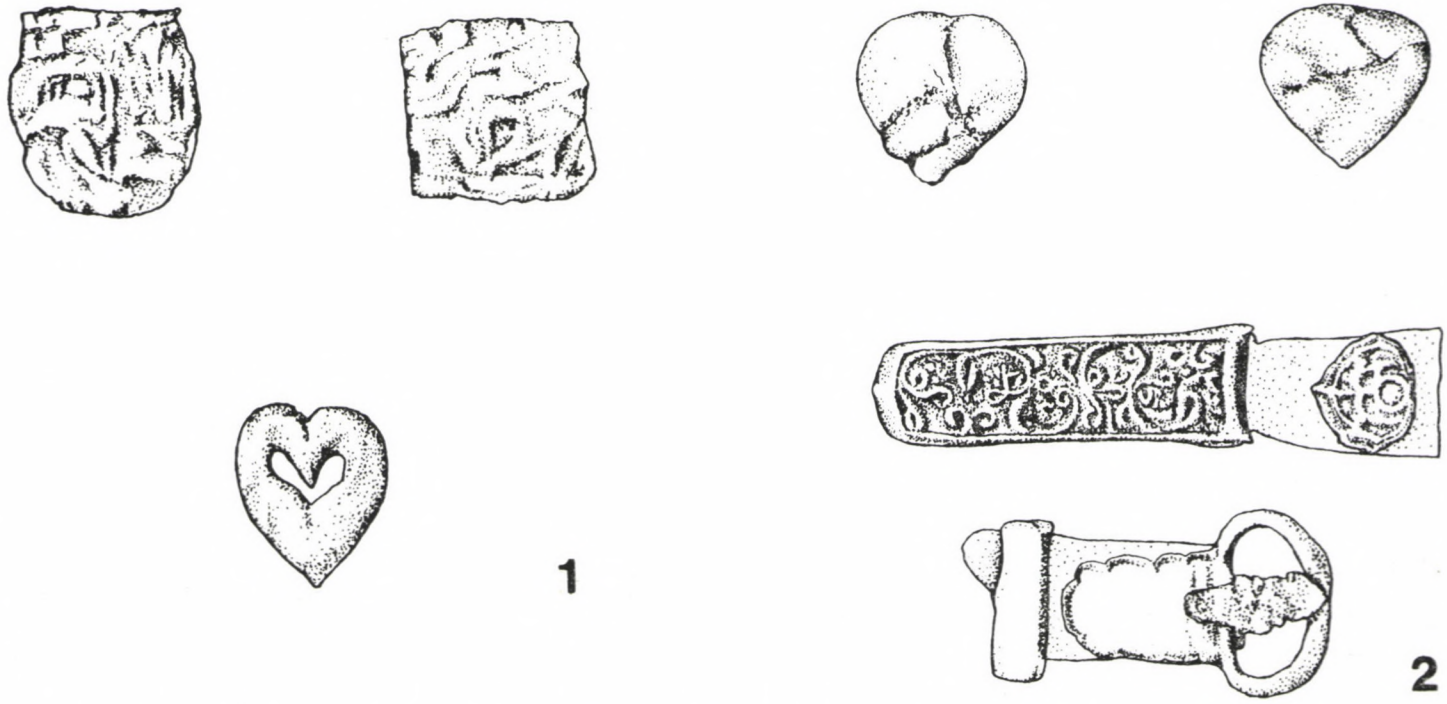


Fig. 6. 1: Golden eye-covers and bronze mouth-cover from Hajduböszörmény-Vid. 2: Bronze eye-covers, belt-strap and clasp from the 5th tumuli-grave of the Ust' Tartass cemetery. (After the photography of S. M. Čugunov)

therefore nothing else was found there.) Their research made it clear that the tumuli-graves of the Baraba steppe cannot be connected to the Ugrian peoples as it had been supposed before.[37] Direct parallels of the bronze strap-ends and fittings of the belt unearthed from the 5th tumuli-grave of the Ust' Tartass cemetery are well known from the ancient Turkish cemeteries of the Minussinsk Basin and of the Altai Mountain Region dated to the IXth–Xth century A.D.[38]

The connections of the Western-Siberian silver-bronze eyed silk burial masks (Ust' Tartass, Barsov Gorodok,[39] Basandajka)[40] (Fig. 7) with their parallels from Central Asia, the Ural Region, the Eurasian steppes and the Carpathian Basin demand further investigation. These are the most direct parallels of the gold-, silver-, or bronze-eyed burial masks, widely spread among the leaders and prominent warriors of the conquering Hungarians. What is more, they were found on a territory where aboriginal Ugrians and ancient Turks who migrated into Siberia from Central Asia, had lived side by side in the second half of the first Millenium A.D. So, the custom of the metal-eyed silk and other textil or leather burial masks got to Western Siberia, Northern Kazakhstan and to the Ural Region from the direction of Central Asia and most probably through Asian Hun and ancient Turkish intermediation.

II. Ethnographic parallels among the Kazakhs of the Mongolian Altai

During my last two expeditions to the Mongolian Republic (in 1990–91) I did historical-ethnographic field-work among the Kazakhs of Central Mongolia and of the Mongolian Altai. These people under the cover of their Islam faith kept a lot of customs which relate to their ancient Shamanistic religion.[41] As my collected data show ancient Turkish customs as the burying with gold-,

[37] *Baraba v tjurskoje vremja*. Novosibirsk 1988, pp. 10–13; D. G. Savinov: *Narody Južnoj Sibirii v drevnetjurskuju epochu*. Leningrád 1984, pp. 114–118. Compare with: V. A. Mogil'nikov, Anan'evskoje gorodisče i vopros o vremeni tjurkizacii Srednego Priirtisa i Baraby. *SA* 1963, pp. 275–282.

[38] I express here my gratitude for the kind verbal information of *G. V. Dlužnevskaja*.

[39] T. J. Arne, *Barsoff Gorodok*. Stockholm 1935, p. 69; fig. 154, 155.

[40] K. E. Grinevič, *Basandajka: Sbornik materialov i issledovanij po archeologii Tomskoj oblasti*. Tomsk 1947, p. 29, plates LXVI–LXVII.

[41] Here I must express my gratitude to the Arnold Stein Exploration Fund of the British Academy and to the George Soros–Hungarian Scientific Academy Foundation for the financial help which made it possible for me to cover the expenses of my 1990–91 expeditions to Mongolia. Also, I would like to express my gratitude to István Mándoky Kongur for the information and advice which he gave me on the burial customs of the Kazakhs living in Bayan Ölgiy.

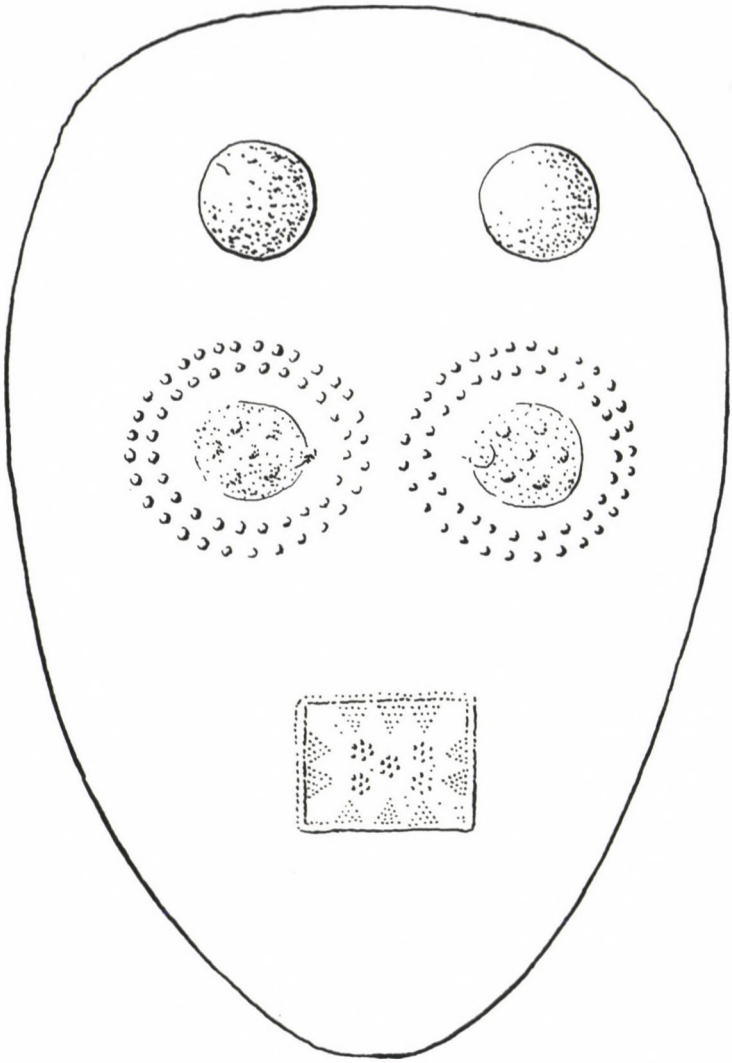


Fig. 7. Burial mask, made of silk and bronze plates from the Basandayka cemetery. (South Siberia, Tomsk region, XIVth c. A.D.)

silver-, bronz-eyed silk masks and the partial horse-burial lived among them up to our days. I also gathered some explanations to these customs throwing light upon the Kazakhs' ancient faith.

As introduction I must mention that each Mongolian Kazakh man (and woman) insists upon being buried in his (or her) homeland: in Bayan Ölgiy County in the Altai Mountains, where his clan's cemetery exists mostly since the end of the XVIIth century. If the Kazakh lives in one of the other

counties of Mongolia he (she) asks the family to bring him (her) into Bayan Ölgiy when – because of old age or a fate-illness – he (she) senses the approach of his (her) last hour. He wishes to arrive on his home soil alive, as the burial must take place one or at latest two days after the death.

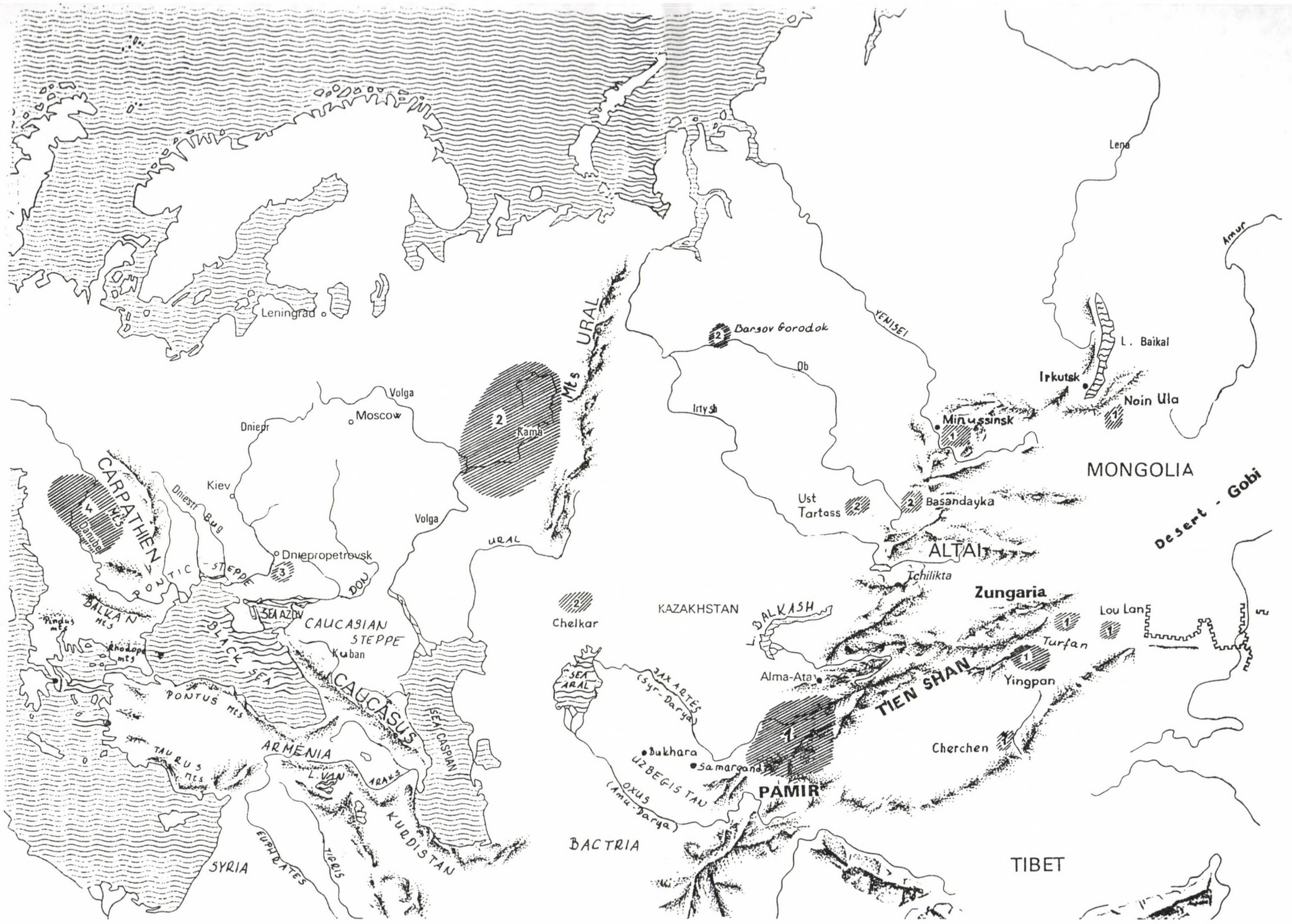
On the morning of the funeral, shortly before the mourning men begin the journey with the deceased to the clan's traditional burial place, the favourite horse of the deceased is led to the funeral yurt. A white weil on the animal's neck signifies that the horse will be sacrificed. The crowd gathers around to take a look at the horse before the animal is killed. Then, the deceased Kazakh with his relatives and close friends begins his last journey which leads to the clan's cemetery through the river valleys and mountain passes of the Mongolian Altai. Formerly the corpse was carried on a horse or a camel but today it is carried by a truck.

In the meantime, the body of the deceased's favourite saddle-horse is brought to the burial feast where the women who are not allowed to take part in the immediate burial ceremonies cook the horse meat and serve it to the mourners when they arrive from the cemetery. According to the Bayan Ölgiy traditions the horse as sacrificial animal can be replaced by a lamb but never by cattle or camel.

On the seventh day after the funeral the bones of the sacrificial animal are buried on one of the mountain peaks. Sometimes the head of the horse is placed on the top of a pole. Formerly the skin of the animal was buried with the bones. In the last few decades, since the delivery of animals' skin has become obligatory, the skin is given to the imam leading the ceremonies so that he can fulfil his delivery obligations.

For a whole year after the bereavement the relatives and close friends, who for some reason could not take part in the burial ceremonies, can visit the funeral yurt and have a look at the clothes and favourite belongings of the deceased there: these might be for example his pipe, smoker's set, whip, arms, military awards. If his family moves to an other place, his second favourite horse carries these objects and nobody rides the horse. This way everybody who meets the family in the course of its moving can see that there was a bereavement in the family and the year of mourning still has not passed.

On the first anniversary of the death the relatives take part in a mourning ceremony in the clan's cemetery. They say prayers not only at the grave of the mourned member of the family, but also at the grave of his father, mother, brothers and sisters, and – as I saw it on one occasion – at the graves of the ancestors of the family. Then the second favourite horse of the deceased is led up to the first one's burial place and is sacrificed, cooked and eaten. After this, the second horse's bones are buried beside the first one's. This way the soul of the deceased have his two favourite saddle-horses in the other world. In case of very rich families he can have various ones. An eighty



Archaeological sites of nomadic burial masks from Eurasia. The migration period. (Ist Millenium A.D.; the first half of the IInd Millenium A.D.)

1. Innermost and Central Asia I—VIII. c. A.D. 2. Western Siberia, Kazakhstan and the Ural—District. VI—XIII. c. A.D. 3. The Ukrainan steppe IX—X. c. A.D. 4. The Carpathian Basin VII—X. c. A.D.

year old aksakal, who belonged to one of the ruling Kazakh clans of the Mongolian Altai and the bordering Chinese regions, told me that on the occasion of the first anniversary of his elder brother's death three horses were sacrificed and the bones and skins of these horses were buried beside the first one in a cross-shaped pot-hole after the feast. This brother, who had lived in Chinese Turkestan, had been very rich: he had owned over 5000 horses.

Up to the first decades of our century in Bayan Ölgiy heroes killed in fight were buried with their belts which were ornamented with gold and silver fittings, sabres and other valuable objects. The horses of these heroes were sacrificed near the burial place and the burial feast also took place there. In the grave-pit the skull and shin-bones of the horse, with his ornamented harness, saddle, stirrup were set into a small cave. So, together with the warrior "the soul of his horse" was buried too.[42] If the horse had been also killed in the fight it was buried as it was — with all his equipment — beside the warrior. In local tradition eating from a horse killed in battle was considered a great sin.

The graves of the *baaturs* (fallen heroes) are known by all Kazakhs in the mountains of Bayan Ölgiy. Their tumuli-graves are holy and inviolable: not only because the heroes of the Kazakh nation lie there about whom heroic poems are sung but also because these graves conceal precious objects.

As I was informed by the aksakals of Bayan Ölgiy the above-mentioned heroes, and the chiefs and prominent members of the Kazakh tribes were buried with a mask made of silk and precious metal. The deceased's head was wrapped in a white silk-veil and over his eyes and mouth gold or silver coins, plates, or in the case of very rich people whole silver or gold masks were sewn onto this veil.

My informants told me that the white silk-veil symbolized the innocence and honesty of the dead person. The gold or silver coins and plates shine light according to the belief of the Kazakhs of Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan. They were sewn over the deceased's eyes so that he could see in the underworld. The coin or plate over the mouth represented the mouth itself. So, the mask, made of silk and precious metal represented the deceased's face. For poorer people the coins or plates were often made of bronze.

The explanation connecting this burial custom with the idea that precious metals shine light has ancient tradition in Central Asia. Not long ago a mounted warrior's grave was unearthed in the North-Western border-region of China. The grave can be dated to the period of the Kitay dinasty ruling in Northern China in the XIth–XIIth centuries A.D. The skull of the unearthed warrior was complete. In one of his eyes a gold coin, in the other a silver coin

[42] Gy. László, *Régészeti Tanulmányok* [Archaeological Studies]. Budapest 1977, pp. 107–115.

was discovered. In other words "the light of the Sun run from one of his eyes and the light of the Moon from the other". The gold was the symbol of the Sunlight and the silver of the Moonlight in Chinese symbolism in the Middle Ages and in earlier periods.[43]

Today this custom is dying out in Western Mongolia, because the Kazakh communities own very little precious metal. The deceased's head is wrapped in gauze or white textil as white silk became a rarity, too. The gauze or textil is wrapped around men's head five times and around women's seven times. An opening is left on the cloth over the eyes, and a piece of twig or grass is placed into this opening. This way it is ensured that the dead can still see in the underworld. So, despite compromises the spirit of the traditional burial custom still lives on.

The ethnographic descriptions of horse-sacrifices, partial and complete horse-burials, well known from the archaeology of Nomads during the migration period, are abundantly represented in scientific literature from the time of V. V. Radloff.[44] But the ethnographic parallels of the gold- and silver-eyed textil masks were primarily known from Western Siberia from the land of the Ugrian peoples. Even then some — not widely known — parallels appeared from the Turkish world too. For example in Fergana a scarf was put on the dead woman's head during the dressing and a cut in the shape of a cross was made on this scarf in such a way that it fell over the eyes of the deceased.[45]

It is interesting that exactly this form of face-cover was used even recently in the rural regions of Hungary and in the Hungarian-inhabited areas of neighbouring countries: Transsylvania, Slovakia. According to the data the explanation given for this custom was the following in most cases: the cross-like opening on the face-cover was necessary in order that the deceased could see and breath under the ground.[46] The collector of these data thinks it possible that this type of face-cover with the cross-like opening is a modification of the silver- and gold-eyed silk masks of the conquering Hungarians which is living up to our days.[47] So, this custom may have survived in spite of the fact

[43] I express my gratitude to *Ildikó Ecsedy* and *György Kara* for the informative conversation which we had about the symbolic meaning of gold and silver in Central Asia in ancient times. For the Ugrian explanation of the same custom, see above, p. 115.

[44] V. V. Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*. Moskva 1989, pp. 371–377; t. 1, fig. 4; S. P. Pesterov, *Kon' v kultah tjurkojazičnyh plemen Central'noj Azii v epohu srednevekovja*. Novosibirsk 1990, pp. 51–92.

[45] B. Ch. Karmysheva, Archaičeskaja simbolika v pogrebal'noj pominal'noj obriadnosty uzbekov Fergany. In: *Drevnije verovanija i kul'ty narodov Srednej Azii*. Moskva 1986, p. 145.

[46] L. Szabó, A halotti maszk felhasításának szokása a magyaroknál [The custom of slitting the burial face-covers among the Hungarians.] In: *Előmunkálatok a magyarság néprajzához*. [Premilinary works to the Hungarians' ethnography]. 10, pp. 163–184.

[47] L. Szabó, *Op. cit.* p. 177–179.

that the pagan burial customs were prohibited and persecuted by the Catholic Church in Hungary especially in the Middle Ages.

András Róna-Tas quotes a Chuvash ballad in which seven brothers go to fight in a war. Six of them survive but the youngest falls in battle. When his wife asks about her husband the brother-in-laws tell her that her husband is sleeping in a big house on a hill, he is lying on his horse's skin, there is a white scarf on his face and he holds a green mace in his hands.[48] The image of "the house on a high hill" brings to my mind the tumuli-graves built from stones, wood, and hidden among the high mountains of the Western Mongolian Kazakhs: the graves of the *baaturs* in which the warriors lie with covered face and with their horses just like the fallen warrior of the Chuvash ballad.

The Shamanistic burial customs are religious secrets among the Kazakhs of Bayan Ölgiy. Women are kept away from these secrets as are men below the age of 50. From generation to generation this information is passed to the men over 50, who will become religious leaders of the Kazakh communities later. The only reason why I succeeded in getting information from the initiated was because my interpreter and caravaneer was a respected man among Kazakhs and a relative of my informants.[49]

The degrees of secrecy vary. All my informants were willing to talk about the horse-sacrifices and the partial and complete horse-burials.[50] However, it was far more difficult to get any information about the face-covers with gold- or silver-eyes and mouth-covers. My attention was drawn to a certain legend told by all of my informants asked about burial masks. According to this legend in the depth of the ancient graves of the Altai Mountain there are stone-doors behind which there are strung bows with arrows waiting for intruders.[51] This legend shows how deeply the old Kazakhs worry that if they speak about the silver and gold buried in the graves of their nation to anybody who

[48] *The opinion of A. Róna-Tas as opponent on the candidacy work of István Fodor.* Jósa András Múzeum Évkönyve XXI–XXII (1978–80), p. 117.

[49] I would like to take the opportunity here to express my gratitude to T. Eedge, who was my caravaneer, interpreter and comrade on my expedition in the Mongolian Altai. Without his help I could not have gained the confidence of the inhabitants of Bayan Ölgiy.

[50] Only one person disclosed to me any information about the valuables buried in the graves: Aksakal Delel. He had spent the greatest part of his life far from the closed community of the Kazakhs in Bayan Ölgiy and only returned to die into his birthplace in the summer of 1991. (I took part in his burial ceremony and by doing so attained important information for my work.) When we talked in Ulan Bator in 1990 he warned me that the graves of the *baaturs* were holy, untouchable and inviolable, because there were objects of great value in them.

[51] It would be interesting to know, whether the old Altaian Kazakhs know about the grave of the first Chinese emperor, Ch'in Huang-ti, which was defended by such bows and arrows, according to the contemporary chronicles (Ma Ch'ien, Historical Notes) or perhaps the legend was created by the Kazakhs themselves?

is not absolutely trustworthy, treasure-hunters will disturb the eternal dream of their ancestors.

In spite of these difficulties, my data show clearly that the customs described above existed among the inhabitants of the Mongolian Altai for several centuries and have survived in modified form up to our days.

The Oghuz-Kipchak Kazakhs living in Bayan Ölgiy, moved in waves from Eastern Turkestan into the Mongolian Altai during the last three hundred years. They brought the custom of the gold–silver-eyed burial masks with them from their original homeland where this custom has existed for at least 1500 years.[52]

Hence more and more archaeological and ethnographic data show that the silver- and gold-eyed silk mask and the partial horse-burials known as ethnical characteristics of the Ugrian peoples and the ancient Hungarians were well known among the Turkish-speaking peoples of Central Asia and remained so up to our days. As we summarized in the archaeological section of this article, we may correctly suppose that when several Central Asian Turkish speaking tribes directed their way towards the West during the migration period, the custom of burying with this type of mask spread through their immediate and cultural influence among the peoples of Western Siberia and the Ural Region, and took root in the leading strata of the pre-Hungarians, who brought this custom into the Carpathian Basin at the end of the IX-th century A.D.

The same can be said about the partial horse-burial. Like the Kazakhs of the Mongolian Altai and of the bordering region of Eastern Turkestan, the ancient Hungarians ate the cooked meat of the horse of their fallen fellow-warrior during the burial feast, before they placed the skull and the shin-bones of the war-horse together with its saddlery on its folded skin at the feet of its master, or in its stuffed skin beside him in the grave-pit.[53]

So, our ancestors also took the soul of their war-horses with themselves when they departed for the underworld, and their gold- and silver-eyed burial masks assured that they would not wander blindly on the endless meadows of the afterworld (Fig. 8).[54]

[52] Khrisna Riboud, Pratiques funéraires dans les nécropoles d'Astana. In: *Cultes et monuments réligieux dans l'Asia Centrale préislamique.* Paris 1987, pp. 90–97.

[53] Gy. László, *Árpád népe.* (The people of Árpád.) Budapest 1989, p. 54.

[54] In 1992 I succeeded in collecting some illustrative documentation of the Kazakh burial customs described above, in the Saksai River Region, and on the alpine pastures of the 3945 meters high (about 12000 feet) Cengel Khairkhan Mountain. This material is represented by Plates X–XII and Fig. 8 in my article.

The original photography of the white silk burial cerement with golden eye- and mouth-covers is not printable for technical reasons, that is why I publish the drawing of it. (Fig. 8.) This silk shroud with the golden eyes and mouth is a perfect and undoubtable historico-ethnographic parallel of the silver–golden-eyed masks of the Land-conquering

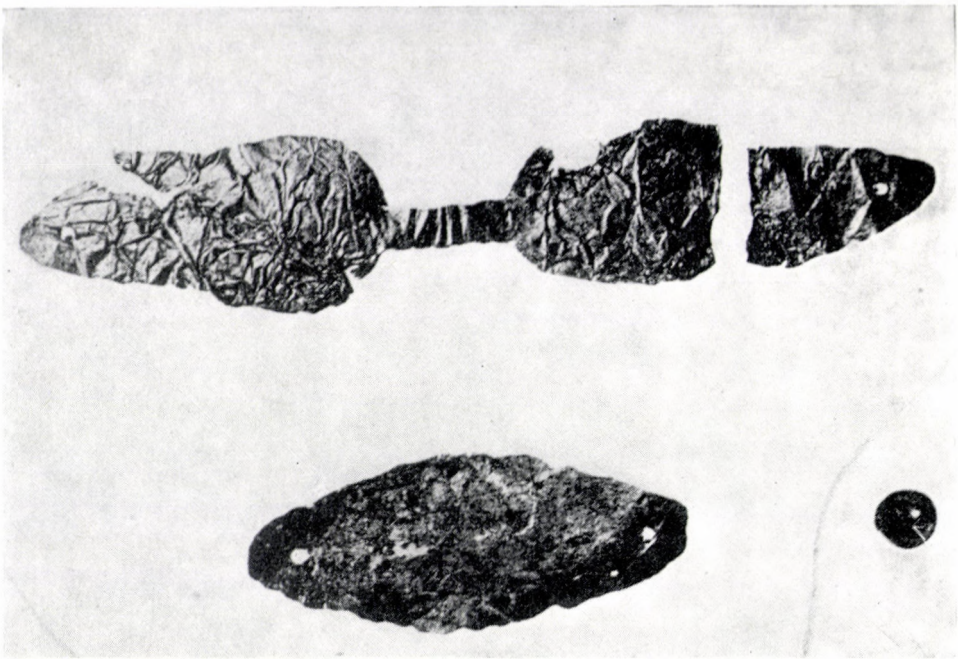
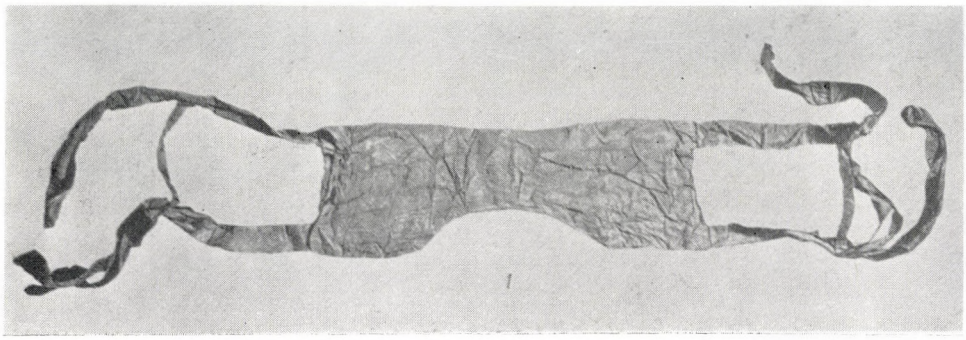


Plate I. Golden "spectacles" and mouth-cover from the Parthian cemetery of Dura Europos (Ist–IInd c. A.D.)



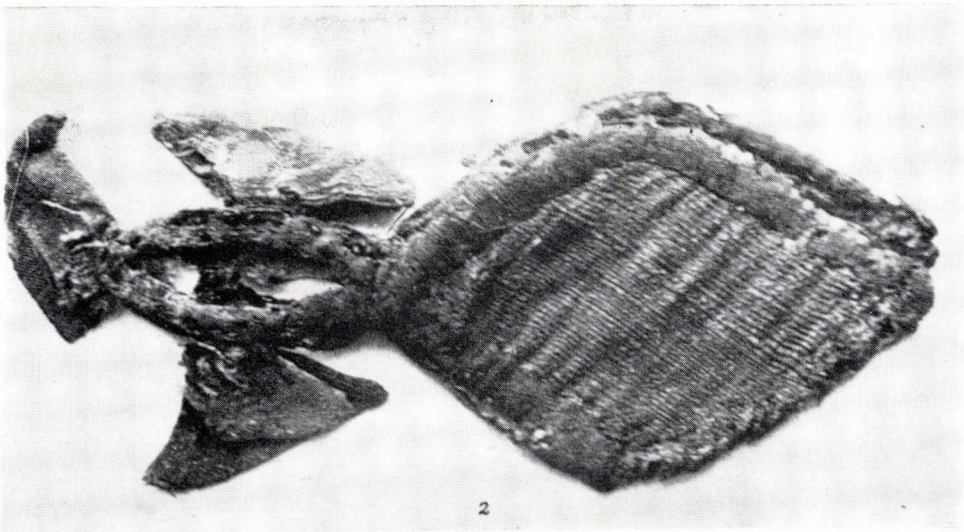


Plate II. 1: Silk "spectacles" from the 6th tumuli-grave of Noin Ula. (Central Mongolia, Ist–IInd c. A.D.) 2: Silk "spectacles" from the cemetery of Kara Bulak. This one was sewn on a silk face-cover. (Kirghizstan, IInd–IVth c. A.D.)

Plate III. Fragment of a "fu mien" from the Astana cemetery.

Plate IV. The golden mask from Shamshi. (Kirghizstan, IVth–Vth c. A.D.)

Plate V. Imitation of a golden mask from the symbolical grave of Džallak Džebe. (Kirghizstan, IIIrd–Vth c. A.D.)

Plate VI. Silver mask and silk face-cover from the Bulgarian–Turkish cemetery of Tankeevka. (Ural District, Volga-Kama region, Xth–XIth c. A.D.)

Plate VII. Skull of a Land-conqueror Hungarian warrior, with silver plates on his eyes and mouth. (Tiszaeszlár-Bashalom, East-Hungary, Xth c. A.D.)

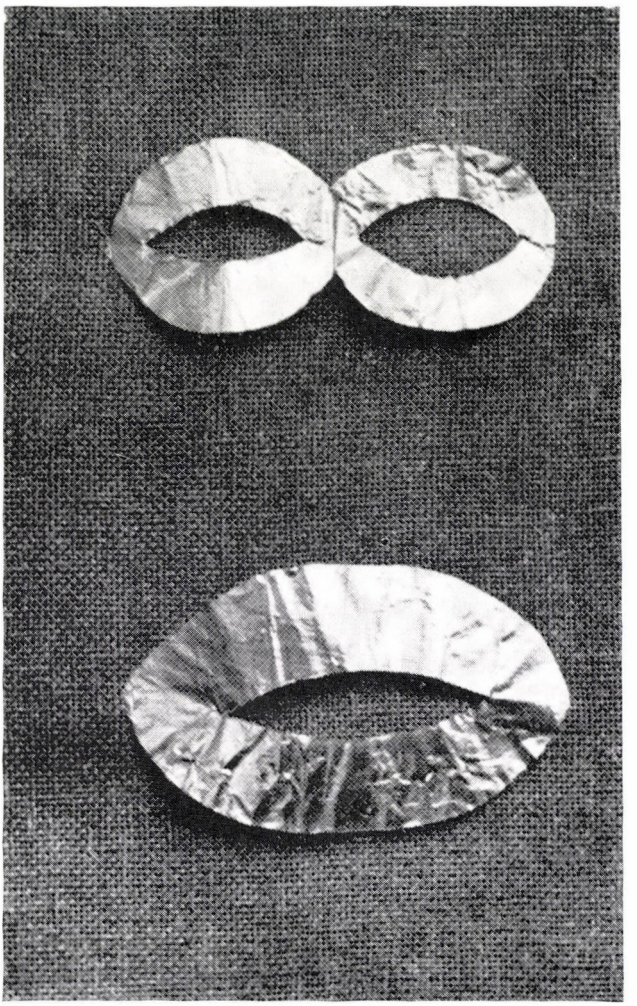


Plate VIII. Golden "spectacle" and mouth-cover from the princely Hungarian grave of Rakamaz. (Northwestern Hungary, Xth c. A.D.)

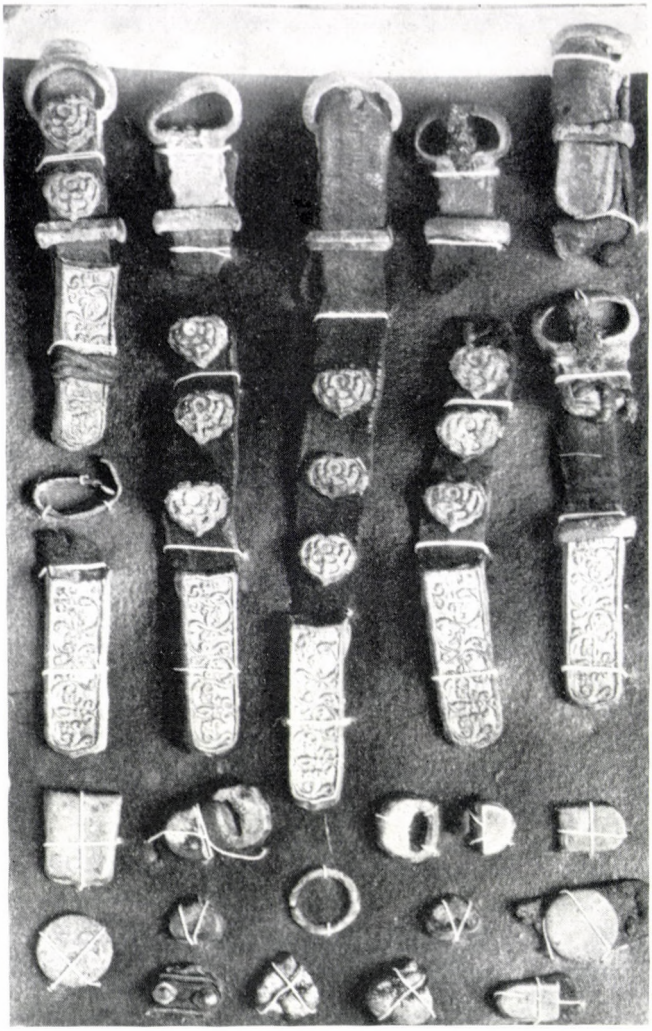


Plate IX. The find of the 5th tumuli-grave of Ust' Tartass. Down in the first row there are the two heart-shaped bronze plates, found in the eye-sockets of the buried mounted warrior

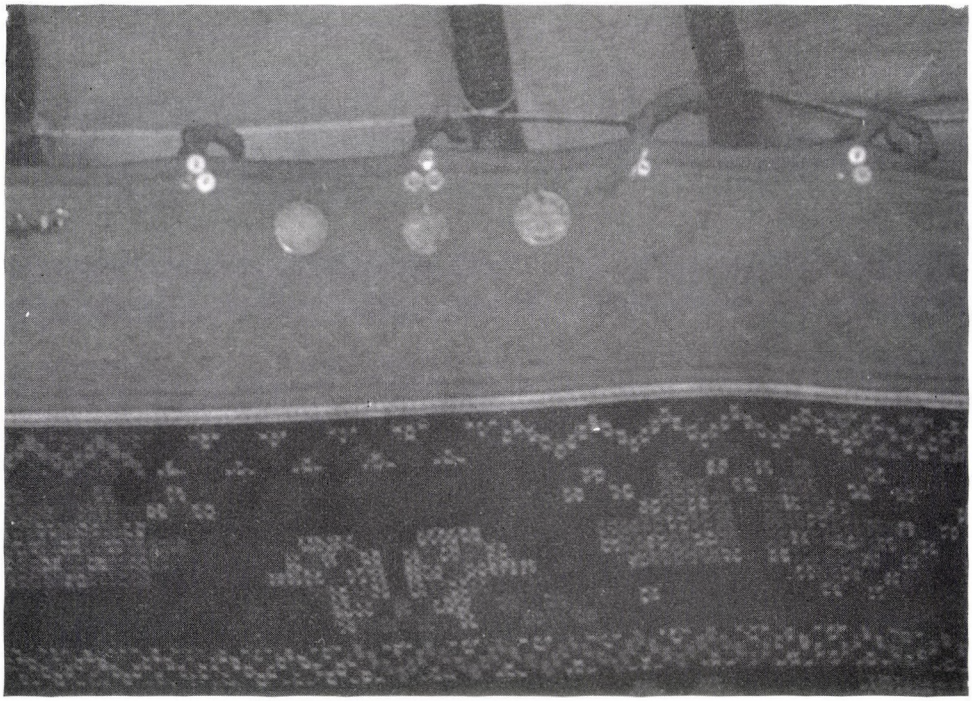


Plate X. Picture A: Kazakh Aksakal and his wife in the yurt. (Bayan Ölgiy Aymak, Northwestern Mongolia. (Picture B: The three silver coins over the Aksakal's bed are serving for him as health-preserving amulets up to the end of his life, and will be sewn on his silk face-cover to represent the eyes and the mouth after his death.

Plate XI. The two triangles at the end of this burial ceremonial carpet are representing two eyes. The bereaved is lying on this carpet in the yurt on the first night after his death

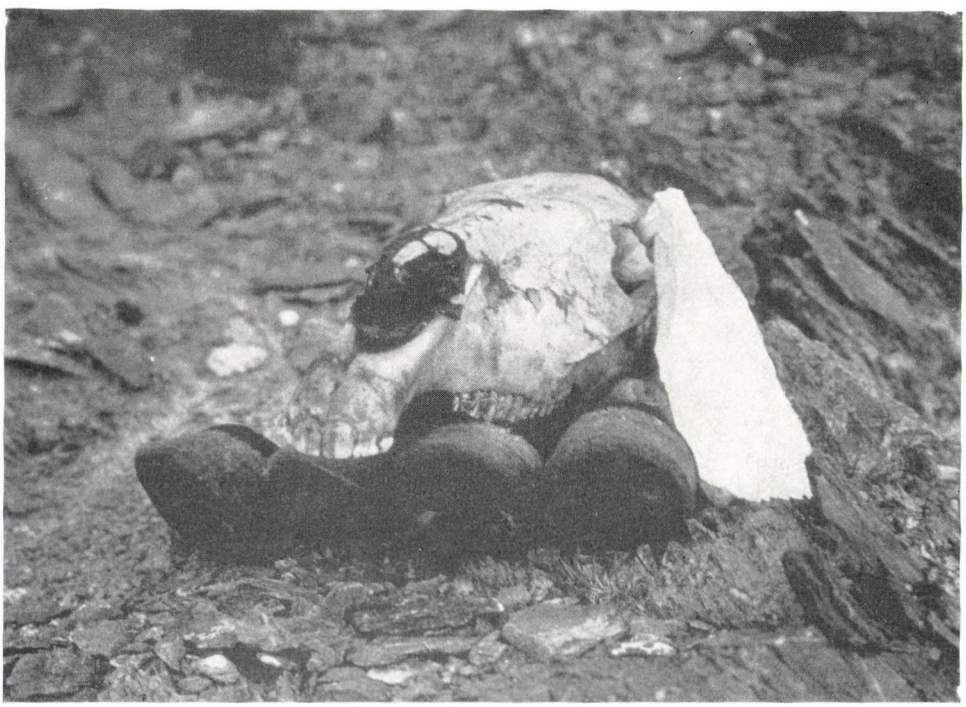


Plate XII. Sacrificed horse's skull and shin-bones, placed by Nomad Kazakhs onto a rock of the Mongolian Altai. The white veil bound on the skull shows the pureness of the sacrifice. (Bayan Ölgiy Aymak, Northwestern Mongolia)

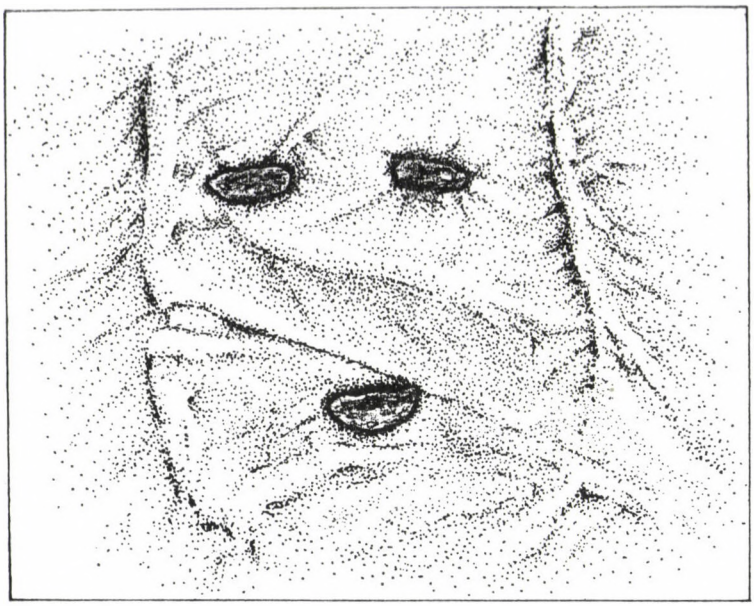


Fig. 8. Silk face-cover with golden eye- and mouth-covers from the Kazakh region of the Mongolian Altai. (Bayan Ölgiy Aymak, Mongolia. Recent. (After the photography of the author)

Just making the first correction of this study I got a letter from Gábor Ilon, dated to the 1-st of November 1993, with the information that in the year 1972, a fragment of a thin silver plate was found in one of the eye-sockets of a 12–14 years' old child, excavated by S. Mithay from the 6-th grave of the Bakonytamási–Hathalom-puszta Avarian cemetery. (The end of the VII-th century A.D.) The second silver plate was not found, it might have been unnoticed, (it was a rescue excavation) or might have been perfectly decayed in the course of time. I am very grateful to Gábor Ilon as his letter made for me prossible to publish this really important information literally in the last moment.

*

Finally I wish to express my gratitude to those researchers of Nomadic history and life, who helped and supported my work with encouragement, pieces of advice and criticism, and whom I did not mention above: A. Abetekov, I. Dienes, I. Erdélyi, I. Fodor, J. Harmatta, A. Kiss, K. Mesterházy, T. Nagy, A. Róna-Tas, D. D. Vasil'ev.

The drawings were prepared by Ágnes Váry (Hungarian National Museum) the folded map, showing the archaeological sites of the Eurasian Nomadic masks from the migration period was prepared by Marianne Cseh. To them I also express my deepest gratitude for the help.

Hungarians. It was made in Chinese Turkestan, in the Oasis of Turfan. (The Kazakhs of Bayan Ölgiy can freely visit Chinese Turkestan.) The customer was an old Kazakh, living in the Mongolian Altai, who wishes to have it put on his face in the course of his future burial ceremony.

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ON GERUNDIAL SYNTAX IN TURKIC

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Gerundial subjunctors

From the viewpoint of formal surface grammar, the morphological and syntactic properties of Turkic gerunds (or converbs) are relatively well known. Various sets of gerundial markers form deverbal adverbs with a predicative potential, i.e., predicative cores expandable according to the valency pattern of the verb (Johanson 1975), and join adverbials based on these adverbs (gerundial segments = GS) hypotactically to superordinate (finite or infinite) segments (basis segments = BS) at different levels of a sentence. GS is dependent upon BS in a subordinate way, the similarity in syntactic behaviour being greater between GS + BS and BS than between GS + BS and GS (Johanson 1974, 100). Thus the markers carried by the GS — simple ones, consisting of one suffix morpheme, or complex ones, containing more (even free) morphemes — are subjunctors fulfilling tasks comparable to those of subordinating conjunctions in languages of the dominant European type.

Within the limited scope of this contribution,[1] the focus of attention will be on some features of gerundial syntax which, in spite of all language-specific differences, seem to be common to many Turkic languages. The discussion will mainly be limited to some uses of the old and widespread Turkic 'syndetic' ⟨B⟩ gerunds.[2]

[1] The text is based on a paper presented at the Second European Seminar on Central Asian Studies, University of London (SOAS), 7–10 April 1987.

[2] We use angular brackets to mark interlingual units, comprising etymologically identical forms of different Turkic languages and various stages of their development. ⟨B⟩ varies with respect to the phonetic nature of the labial consonant ([p], [b], [b], [β], etc.), the quality of the preceding vowel, and the presence of an initial 'buffer consonant' [y].

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Levels of linking

In the following analysis of Turkic formal syntax patterns,[3] a *predication* is taken to consist minimally of [subject] + predicate. A *predicate* consists minimally of a *predicate nucleus*, expandable according to its valency pattern. Predications may be finitized and non-finitized by means of predicators; those of subordinate predications (such as gerundial markers) will be called *subjunctors*.

One common task of ⟨B⟩ gerunds is, as it were, to 'duplicate' the function of the BS, signalling that the GS, albeit formally subordinated to BS, is used at the same level of the sentence as BS. This kind of linking is, in spite of its hypotactical form, reminiscent of some coordinative devices in European languages. Thus, ⟨B⟩ forms can often be interpreted *as though* they carried the same prefinal and final suffixes as the predicate nucleus of BS. Depending on the function duplicated, three main types of linking are discernible:

(1) The function of 'predication' — including a possible subject function — is duplicated. Result: complex predications of the structure (SUBORDINATE) PREDICATION + (SUPERORDINATE) PREDICATION, where each predication may have its own first actant, lexically expressed as a subject or not. A Bashkir example with different subjects: *Qïš ütěp, yåδ yěttě* 'Winter passed, spring came'.

(2) Only the function of 'predicate' — without a subject function — is duplicated. Result: complex predicates of the structure (SUBORDINATE) PREDICATE + (SUPERORDINATE) PREDICATE, where a possible first actant, whether lexically expressed as a subject or not, is shared, and where each predicate nucleus may be more or less expanded, e.g. *Qïz [. . . čïq-ïp + + . . . ket]-ti* 'The girl came out . . . and went away . . .'.

(3) Only the function of 'predicate nucleus' is duplicated. Result: complex verbs of the structure (SUBORDINATE) PREDICATE NUCLEUS + + (SUPERORDINATE) PREDICATE NUCLEUS, in which only GS, but not BS is expandable according to its normal predicative potential, e.g., *[yazïp tur]-*.

Type 2 has a broad validity, whereas the use of types 1 and 3 is limited in different ways. Only the restrictions concerning type 1 will be discussed here.

[3] This analysis of the formal constitution of language-group-specific units should not be mistaken for the (not less legitimate) kind of 'functional' analysis dealing primarily with formal units and patterns in their function of expressing content.

Limitations of type 1

Type 1 allows the juncts (both the embedded and the matrix predication) to have first actants with different referents. This may be the case even if one of them remains lexically unexpressed; as for Ancient Turkic and Uighur see von Gabain (1941, 120); Schulz (1978, 148 sqq.); as for Uzbek (of Andijan) see Wurm (1945, 87).

The type GS ([subject$_1$] + predicate$_1$) + BS ([subject$_2$] + predicate$_2$) is rather widespread in older and/or less Europeanized Turkic languages and registers. It is nevertheless often claimed by grammarians that so-called 'subject shift' occurs only occasionally in Old Turkic, Old Uighur, Karakhanid, etc. For the allegedly irregular character of frequent 'subject shift' in Ottoman see Buri-Gütermann (1972, 22 sqq.) and Prokosch (1980, 145 sqq.). Some languages are apparently more restrictive than others; their ⟨B⟩ gerunds are only found in GS + BS constructions of type 2 (with a common first actant). Later and more standardized languages, particularly Modern Turkish, show considerable limitations. Thus, too far-flung generalisations on the use of type 1 in different languages should be avoided. Nevertheless, general limitations are discernible, the possible syntactic and semantic conditions which will be discussed briefly in this survey.

Interpretations

In the literature on Turkic gerunds, possible interpretations of the relationship between GE (the event expressed by the GS), and BE (the event expressed by the BS), are generally discussed in terms of (1) temporal sequence and (2) semantic modification:

(1) Is there temporal succession GE/BE, e.g., *čïq-ïp ket-* 'go out' + 'go away', or overlapping GE×BE, e.g., *kül-ip qara-* 'laugh' + 'look'?

(2) Does GE modify BE (GE ⇒ BE)? Or is GE on a par with BE (GE ⇔ ⇔ BE); are the contents, thematically and narratively, of equal rank?

Type 3

As for combinations of type 3, they are commonly of a special kind which renders the interpretation GE/BE impossible, since the GS and the BS do not express different activities. The BS is mostly chosen from a limited set of 'auxiliary' verbs (*qal-* 'to remain', etc.), functioning as postverbial elements (*-p qal-*, etc.) and expressing actional modifications of the GS content: GE ⇐ ⇐ BE (e.g., phasal specifications; see Schönig (1984). Such constructions may

even, as the history of Turkic shows, develop into aspecto-temporal markers (predicators of finite sentences), e.g. *-p turur* > *-ptur* > *-p* in several languages (as Chaghatai and some modern dialects).

In single cases, this use of ⟨B⟩ forms as finite predicators of the 3rd person may be difficult to distinguish from the gerundial uses. However, the spoken language also possesses distinctive means of a prosodic character. In finite uses, there may thus be a falling tone on the last syllable of the verb form, whereas there is a rising tone on it in nonfinite uses. According to Wurm (1945, 87), the latter is the case with *kelip* and *kijip* in the Uzbek example *pa·dša: qava·p jεγïsï kelip . . . čεpanïnï kijip . . . köčεγε čqïp kettï* 'the ruler wanted to eat roast mutton, put on his coat, went out in the street'.

Types 1 and 2

As for the other types, which deserve closer attention, they allow for various semantic interpretations of the relationship between GS and BS with respect to sequence and modification. We cannot discuss all these possibilities here, but want to point out that it is often impossible to interpret the ⟨B⟩-predication as a circumstancial (temporal, causal, instrumental, etc.) modification of the superordinate one in the sense of GE ⇒ BE. Subordination does not necessarily imply modification (Johanson 1974, 102). Note that even in relative constructions, the content of the relative predication may be narratively on a par with the content of the matrix predication. Non-restrictive relative clauses are often considered 'stylistic variants of coordinate sentences' (Quine 1960, 110). The same is often true of Turkic gerundial constructions, particularly the ones using ⟨B⟩ as a subjunctor.

⟨B⟩ generally signals no other specific semantic relation between the predications than a kind of unidirectional 'and' relation (Johanson 1975). As for the linear successivity expressed by the Turkish *-(y)Ip* gerund as opposed to the *-(y)ErEk* gerund, see Johanson (1971, 241 sq. and 1975, 116 sq.). Since ⟨B⟩ conveys no additional semantic idea (temporality, causality, instrumentality, conditionality, etc.) in a systematic way, it is often considered a subjunctor with rather 'vague' functions. The unidirectional 'and' relation does not necessarily have to be interpreted temporally. Often the relation between GE and BE cannot even be meaningfully interpreted in terms of sequence, for example, in cases where they do not represent different activities (*yaz-ïp bildir-* 'write' + 'communicate', etc.). These issues, which include a good deal of language-specific differences, will not be discussed here.

Conceptually vague junctors

According to context and situation it is, on the other hand, often possible to paraphrase the relation by using junctors of temporal, causal, instrumental, or conditional content. This is one of the features reminiscent of 'reduced' constructions based on participles in many European languages, e.g., English reduced clauses occurring in the front adverbial position (in formal writing). If, moreover, the GS predication has a subject, this Turkic type of junction may come very close to 'absolute' constructions such as Latin *natura docente* 'nature teaching' and *vere ineunte* 'spring coming'. For these kinds of clauses, the languages in question use junctors[4] which are vague enough to convey a similarly unspecified relation.

This use of conceptually vague junctors instead of explicit ones presupposes that the relation between the predication is unimportant or obvious from context and situation. Explicit markers may be dispensable if lexical items sufficiently specify the relations, including the relative roles of the participants in the situations described. This leads to the assumption that there may be constraints on the kind of lexemes used in these conceptually vague junctions. We shall return to this question.

Interrelated contents

What factors limit the use of type 1, which allows for 'subject shift'? What are the conditions for predications entering into such junctions? Much like the conditions for relativisation, the GS and BS often contain co-referential nominals, i. a. in the sense that the first actant of the GS (whether expressed or not) is co-referential with a non-first actant of the BS (expressed or not). In many cases, there are possessive relationships holding between (expressed or implied) entities of the two predications.

Some examples: Uighur *Ol qïlïč köziŋä ört yalïn täg közünüp inčä saqïnur* 'That sword appears to HIS eye like a flame, [HE] thinks like this'; Karakhanid (Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī) *Köŋli köyüp qanï qurïp aγzï ačïp qatγurar* 'HIS heart burns; HIS blood dries up, [HE] opens the mouth, [HE] laughs wildly'; Ottoman (. . .) *ötmäsi ǰihānï tutub härkäs qušun säsinä āšïq olur* 'ITS singing fills the whole world; everybody falls in love with THE BIRD's voice'; Kirghiz *Anïn buγu čïγïp qabaγï ačïla tüštü* 'HIS sorrow disappeared; HE felt happy' (lit. 'HIS eyelid opened'); Uzbek: *Qåziniŋ χåtini ȯlib u yålγiz qåldi* 'The wife of THE CADI died; HE was left alone'.

[4] Sometimes a certain *casus obliquus*: genitive (Greek), ablative (Latin), dative (Old Church Slavonic).

Certainly, in many languages the GS can have a subject of its own even if the BS does not contain a nominal which is co-referential with or bears a possessive relation to it. At least, however, the contents of the GS and BS tend to be closely interrelated. Often there is even a kind of thematic identity between the predications, a parallelism by which the same state of affairs is expressed in two ways or from different viewpoints. This parallelism can often be made explicit in a translation by interpolating such expressions as 'and thus'.

Relativisation

The special relationship often holding between referents of A and B offers a parallel to relativisation, namely with respect to the strategy the addressee of the message has to apply in order to interpret the surface signals adequately. To identify the first actant of a given ⟨B⟩ form, the addressee searches for the (potentially identical) first actant of the superordinate item. To identify the first actant of the relative predication, e.g., Turkmen *oqayan* 'reading', he similarly searches for the (potentially co-referential) superordinate basis segment, e.g., *adam* 'man', which yields *oqayan adam* 'the man who reads'. This normal kind of relativisation, subject to few restrictions, is comparable to type 1 of gerundial constructions, since the participle carries a predication consisting of a predicate without a subject. The participial predication may also have a subject of its own. However, like our gerundial constructions of type 1, the relativisation resulting in this structure pattern is more restricted.[5] If the specific conditions are fulfilled, a subject + predicate predication such as *ġïzï oqayan* can function as a modifying attribute of the following nominal (*ġïzï oqayan adam* 'the man whose daughter reads'). Of course, the restrictions for gerundial and participial constructions by no means coincide. The important point is that they represent two similar ways of expanding predicates into fuller predications.

Type 1 in temporal subordinations

In many Turkic languages, first actant shift occurs more readily when BS is itself a gerundial predication (e.g., based on a temporal subjunctor as *-inǰä* or *-gäč*; see, e.g., Juldašev 1981, 306). Speakers of modern Turkish seem more ready to accept first actant shift if the whole complex predication GS +

[5] Each Turkic language has its own specific constraints. In Turkish, a possessive relationship normally obtains between the subject of the relative predication and the superordinate nominal. Cf. Csató (1985b).

+ BS is used to modify the content of some higher predication. This tendency may be corroborated by the fact that, otherwise, duplication would be possible only by a clumsy coordinative repetition of the B suffix.

Weakness of the subject role

Are GS-predications in type 1 characterized by some special semantic properties of the ⟨B⟩-marked verbs and the subject constituents? Are there any limitations as to the kind of lexemes used? A possible answer would seem to concern the 'strength' of the specific part the subject referent takes in the activity expressed. The occurrence of Turkish -(*y*)*Ip*-gerunds in type 1 seems to be correlated with semantic roles ascribable to their subject referents.

The verbs used in type 1 are in general intransitive. Among these, the non-passive verbs seem to fall into certain semantic classes: we often find verbs such as *bat-* 'sink', *öl-* 'die', *bol-* 'occur', *čïq-* 'appear'. This observation might even give evidence for a cross-linguistic tendency. It is interesting to note that, in several languages, intransitive verbs belonging to similar semantic classes — referred to as 'unaccusative verbs' by Perlmutter and Postal (1984) — display certain syntactic properties different from those of other intransitive verbs.[6]

Unaccusative verbs typically describe non-volitional acts. Consequently, their subjects are typically 'non-agentive' (in the sense of Fillmore 1968). In many of the modern Turkish cases under discussion we find non-agentive subjects, often a non-animate subject referent or a subject referent which is not the instigator of the action but rather affected by the state or action described by the verb.

Multilevel description

Perlmutter and Postal argue that unaccusative verbs in some languages have specific syntactic properties which can be accounted for only by assuming that the syntactic structure defining the grammatical relations is represented at more than one level. Thus, a sentence has an 'initial' and a 'final' representa-

[6] Verbs designating volitional acts (*work*, *play*, *walk*, *fight*, etc.) and certain involuntary bodily processes (*cough*, *sneeze*, etc.). Classes of unaccusative verbs as characterized by Perlmutter (pp. 98 ff.): a. Predicates expressed by adjectives in English: This is a very large class, including predicates describing sizes, shapes, weights, colors, smells, states of mind, etc.; b. Predicates whose initial nuclear term is semantically a Patient: *burn*, *fall*, *drop*, etc.; c. Predicates of existing and happening: *exist*, *happen*, etc.; d. Involuntary, emission of stimuli that impinge on the senses (light, noise, smell, etc.): *shine*, *sparkle*, etc.; e. Aspectual predicates: *begin*, *start*, *stop*, etc.; f. Duratives: *last*, *remain*, *stay*, *survive*, etc.

tion; and its constituents may obtain different grammatical relations at these levels. The grammatical properties of the sentence are defined by these syntactic representations. The authors claim that unaccusative constructions do not have a 'subject' at the initial level.

In our Turkic type 1, we typically find verbs providing for weak 'subject' roles, i. e., passive and unaccusative intransitive verbs. If we wished to use the above-mentioned argumentation, we might claim that the type goes back to initial constructions lacking a 'subject'. For example in *qïš ütěp* 'winter passing', the nominal *qïš* 'winter' would not be the 'subject' of *ütěp* 'passing' initially, but advance to its position only later. Brendemoen and Csató (1986) argue — within another multilevel theory — that the rule in Turkish accounting for the subject in gerundial *-(y)Ip*, *-(y)ErEk*, *-(y)E* predications applies at an initial level. If there is a 'subject' at this level, it must be co-referential with the subject of the BS. If not, the rule of 'obligatory subject control' does not apply: we may find an overt subject which is different from that of the BS and which has been promoted later to its position. It can be claimed to have syntactic properties which pattern 'objects' in certain respects and 'subjects' in other respects.

This analysis is based upon the assumption that the 'subject' of Turkish unaccusative constructions can be distinguished by other means from that of transitive and non-unaccusative intransitive constructions. Evidence for this can be found in other types of syntactic constructions; see the arguments presented by Kornfilt (1984) and Özkaragöz (1980).

Conclusions

⟨B⟩-marked gerundial predications of type 1 in Turkic display properties reminiscent of 'reduced', 'absolute' constructions in European languages. Like these, they function as adverbials of superordinate predications, and their content tends to be closely interrelated with the content of the latter (by identity or possessive relations between entities referred to). Furthermore, verbs that provide for weak 'subject' roles seem to be typical of type 1. Apparently, 'absolute' constructions in some other languages tend to be similarly restricted, e.g., the Hungarian verbal adverb in *-vÁn*, almost obsolete in the modern spoken language but used earlier in constructions similar to Latin *ablativus absolutus* constructions.[7]

[7] For a description of its use, see Benkő and Imre (1972, 113–115); for syntactic properties of *-vÁn* constructions, see Raisz (1980); for examples from older texts, see Beke (1913). Though none of these works describe any restrictions on subject shift, the examples given show a tendency parallel to the restrictions found in our type 1.

Through further research we hope to gain better insights into the nature of the principles — language-specific as well as cross-linguistic — underlying the tendencies cursorily sketched above.

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THE *SANCAḲBEGI*S OF ARAD AND GYULA

GÉZA DÁVID

One of the most neglected areas of research into the Ottoman period in Hungary is the history of administration in general and within it, archontology. In an endeavour to remedy this oversight, I started to collect a variety of material some years ago. Part of this work was an attempt to reconstruct the list of office holders. Since comparatively good records exist about the *beglerbegi*s and other dignitaries of Buda,[1] I mainly concentrated on the *sancaḳ*s (but did not ignore those appointed to head the rest of the *paşalıḳ*s of Temesvár, Eger and Kanizsa). The most abundant material available concerns the *sancaḳbegi*s, with far less information on those subordinated to them, and on the kadis. Therefore, a relatively complete list can be assembled only in respect of the *sancaḳbegi*s, at least for the 16th century.

The question of sources immediately arises. The registers which contain all the *sancaḳ*s of the Empire at a given time are outstanding and detail the newly appointed high ranking officials for many years. At present four such *defter*s are known, two for the 16th and two for the 17th century. The first was virtuously discovered by Metin Kunt, after the source had been categorized as a list of *ziʿāmet* allocations on the basis of the first page of the *defter* bound in an incorrect sequence.[2] After repagination and an examination of the material, it turned out that the document recorded officials on a higher level, i.e. *beglerbegi*s, *sancaḳbegi*s and heads of the local *defterdār* offices (the latter being granted *ziʿāmet*s). It also became clear that the first date of registration was 1568, with modifications noted up to 1574. The section concerning Hungary appears to be complete, but the succinct remarks can, and should, be supplemented from

[1] Antal Gévay, *A' budai pasák* [The Pashas of Buda] (Bécs 1841); Lajos Fekete, *Budapest a törökkorban* [Budapest in the Ottoman period] (*Budapest története* [A history of Budapest] III. Ed. Károly Szendy) (Budapest 1944), the *beglerbegi*s: pp. 216–218, n. 49, the *defterdār*s: pp. 211–213, n. 28, the kadis: pp. 214–215, n. 40.

[2] Metin Kunt, *Sancaktan eyalete. 1550–1650 arasında Osmanlı ümerası ve il idaresi* (İstanbul 1978), pp. 44–46. In an appendix the book presents the list of *vilāyet*s and *sancaḳ*s, without identifying the names (pp. 133–149). Identification mark of the register: Istanbul, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliye defteri 563.

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other sources. The next register was made 4 years later and updated for about 10 years,[3] with slightly less accuracy than the previous one. Concerning the 17th century lists, the earlier one was completed in Istanbul in the latter part of 1630 in two parallel copies. One version had been known earlier,[4] the other was found by Metin Kunt.[5] While doing research in Istanbul in 1985, I came across a further similar register.[6] As indicated by its title, it contains the names of the leaders and dignitaries of the provinces ordered to take part in the campaign against Transylvania and the starting date is given as the 6th of *ṣaʿbān* 1070 (April 17, 1660), i. e. the date of the move to besiege Várad. However, compared to the other registers, this one is less carefully compiled, often giving only the name of the current office holder, while, due to territorial proximity, several changes were recorded in Hungary. On this basis it can be declared that the list was "up to date" until the beginning of 1663.

Regarding the other sources, there are significant differences between the 16th and 17th centuries. As for the former, a rather abundant amount of archival source material is available. Two groups of documents are extremely important. First, the *tīmār-* or *icmāl-defteri*s are significant for us, because apart from the names of the actual officials holding high posts, a detailed list of their prebends is also given, whereas in the above-mentioned sources they were noted down in one sum. Though the completion of these *defter*s cannot always be dated unambiguously, the year is almost always indirectly definable.

The other group of sources truly providing the largest number of minute data, often the only item of information, are the continuously kept *rūznāmçe*s. Several thick tomes of these journals that registered the changes among the timariots survived from the 1550s[7] to the end of the century,[8] mainly in

[3] This has been known for some time, since Gyula Káldy-Nagy brought home the microfilm of the Hungarian part. It was introduced to international literature by Metin Kunt, *op. cit.* pp. 46–52, and the list of administrative units: pp. 150–181.

[4] Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kepeci 266.

[5] Ibid. Cevdet Dahiliye 6095. On the circumstances of how the two lists were made, see Kunt, *op. cit.* pp. 52–57, and the names of *sancaḳ*s: pp. 182–198.

[6] Kepeci 434.

[7] The earliest: Wien, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, ehem. Konsularakademie, Krafft 284; it begins with April 1553.

[8] The latest perused date was 1596: Maliye defteri 16052 and Kepeci 344, but the over two thousand *rūznāmçe*s made available to research recently, include many concerning Hungarian territories. Up to the end of the 16th century three dated after 1596 feature in the archives' catalogue, two of them (Ruznamçe 216, 218) from 1007/1598–1599 complementing each other territorially, and one (Ruznamçe 228) from 1008/1599/1600, which only includes a few Hungarian *sancaḳ*s. (Another fragment from 1008 [Ruznamçe 2153] covers only the short, 4-page, material of the *livā* of İstōlnī Belġrād.) From among them, I had the opportunity to see No. 216 in February 1989. By contrast, no less than 85 *rūznāmçe*s are listed by the catalogue for the period between 1009/1600 and 1100/1689. Some of the 17th century journals are preserved in the material of Kepeci's *tasnif*. On the

Istanbul and Vienna, with a few coming from other places.[9] Occasionally they contain information on the exact date of the appointment of a *beg*, on the composition of his *ḫāṣṣ*es and the reason for the nomination. More frequently, however, they are mentioned when submitting the *sipāhī* in question for a prebend or a "pay rise" (*teraḳḳī*). In such cases, it is not always clear when the person served in the named *sancaḳ*. In fortunate cases, the date of his appointment is explicitly mentioned, thus giving the clue, but more frequently only the date of the sultan's order is referred to, which, especially in protracted cases, does not coincide with the date of the entry into the *rūznāmçe*. Yet in the overwhelming majority of cases these dates are reliable termini ante quem. However, it also happened that the explanation part of the entry began with the following formula: "The *beg* of X *sancaḳ*, N. *beg* sent a letter/*defter* . . .". In such instances, the named person can be regarded as the actual leader when the subject-matter is the granting of a prebend, arranged within a short time. At other times "the former *beg* of X, N. *beg*" is written in the same context, which makes the dating of his period in office more uncertain. Sometimes the word "former" was omitted and only further details help to clarify the situation. Such "misleading" moments are, however, quite rare, so the material of the *rūznāmçe*s can as a rule be relied upon — their testimony being accurate with the deviation of a few days, or rarely months.

Other useful, though quantitatively less, information can be gathered from the *taḥrīr-* or *mufaṣṣal-defteri*s (doomsday books) in which *sancaḳbegi*s can be encountered as the owners or users of small plots of arable land, *pusztas* (*mezraʿa*s), or mills, or they may feature in official procedures; from the *ruūs-defteri*s in which very brief entries were made about the granting of prebends, and at a certain period the *sancaḳbegi*s were also registered in them, although in theory they should not have been; from the *mühimme-defteri*s or records of the sultan's council[10] in which the addressee of the given order or at times the

basis of those I picked at random for examination — Ruznamçe 738 (1070/1659–1660), 744 (1071/1660–1661), and Kepeci 373 (1036/1626–1627), 375 (1033/1623–1624), 377 (1034/1624–1625), 383 (1038/1628–1629), 400 (1054/1644–1645) and 431 (1070/1659–1660) — it can be stated that they are definitely different from those of the previous century on two counts: on the one hand, the number of entries for a year was radically reduced, and on the other, of importance for the studied subject, the names of *sancaḳbegi*s no longer appeared in the explication part for *tīmār* grants, since the recommendations were made either by the *alaybegi*s or the *beglerbegi*s. Therefore, this significant group of documents becomes almost completely useless for the reconstruction of the list of *sancaḳbegis* throughout the 17th century.

[9] I last saw a material of this type in Sofia; Narodna Biblioteka Kiril i Metodi, Orientalski Otdel, D. 666.

[10] In the two earliest, the ones for 1544–1545 and 1551–1552, the Hungarian *beg*s are rare (one cannot expect many in the first one, of course), though they were of importance, since there is a scarcity of material for this period (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı

initiator of the case were mentioned by name; and naturally from every other type of document, but to a decreasing extent.

The narrative material as a source of complementary data is not negligible either, but it has to be borne in mind that only the more distinguished persons were included in the chronicles, and at the beginning only in the years of campaigns. This changed around the turn of the 16th century, when certain chroniclers were better versed in court affairs, and they more often mentioned newly appointed *sancaḳbegi*s, than their colleagues earlier. The variety of source material originating from the Hungarian side is of importance, though their reliability is often questionable and can only play a secondary role, compared to the wealth of Ottoman sources, which are often accurate even as far as days are concerned.

The situation in the 17th century was different. Due to the transformation of the Ottoman administrative organization and the *tīmār* system, hardly any homogeneous material is at our disposal. Apart from the two general lists mentioned above, I do not know of any archival source that encompasses the entire Hungarian territory under Ottoman rule. The importance, and fortunately the number, of documents in Hungarian, German and Latin increases, and so do the Ottoman chronicles. All this notwithstanding, there are large gaps since the quantity of documents is uneven and, on the other hand, the material involved in the "name hunt" becomes completely undefinable.

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During the forward advance of the Ottomans in the region beyond the Tisza, a *sancaḳ* was established around Arad as its centre about 1552–53.[11] Its area continued to increase and soon extended beyond the height of Gyula.[12] With the capture of Gyula on September 2, 1566, an important modification was made in the administration: the town became the seat of the *sancaḳ*, while Arad was relegated to the role of a *nāḥiye* centre, however, for quite some time the documents were inconsistent about the name. According to the *defter* of 1567, this large *sancaḳ* covered 4 towns, 222 villages, 15 separately registered arable fields (*mezraʿa*) and several others noted only as parts of villages and

Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Koğuşlar 12321 and Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi 888). — It should be noted here that several volumes of the collection of *mühimme–defteri*s actually contain *ruūs* entries, as warned by Attilâ Çetin after Sertoğlu, *Başbakanlık Arşivi kılavuzu* (Istanbul 1979), pp. 49–51.

[11] Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A Budai szandzsák 1559. évi összeírása* [The register of the *sancaḳ* of Buda for 1559], (*Pest megye múltjából* [From the past of Pest county] 3) (Budapest 1977), p. 10.

[12] This can be deduced from the *cizye defteri* for 1557–1558. See: Antal Velics–Ernő Kammerer, *Magyarországi török kincstári defterek* [Ottoman treasury *defter*s from Hungary] *II* (Budapest 1890), pp. 194–209.

1 monastery, all arranged in 5 *nāḥiyes*: those of Gyula, Arad, Békés, Zaránd and Bihar.[13]

Several attempts were made to compile a list of *begs* in office in the subsequent administrative units, i.e. those of Arad and Gyula, but the lists produced are not only extremely defective, but mix the *sancaḳbegis* with other military officers of lower rank.[14] None of them includes Ḥasan, presumably the very first *sancaḳbegi* of Arad, on whom the first data I found comes from October–November 1554 (*ẕīlḥicce* 961).[15] Somewhat later, on May 13, 1555 a relative of his is mentioned.[16] Over one and a half years later Ḥasan was again, or still, the *beg* of Arad. His submission is referred to in April and later in August 1557.[17] The same applies to April 9, 1560 as well.[18] He is referred to again three years later, on December 20, 1563: that was when he received a rise of 30,000 *aḳçe* over his 250,000 on the recommendation of the *beglerbegi* of Temesvár.[19] The last reference to one of Ḥasan *beg*'s presentations dates from June 20, 1564.[20] However, in view of the frequency of the name, caution must be exercised and until the recovery of further data, the question must be left open whether a single person was in office in Arad for nearly a decade or not. Though it would sharply contradict the so-far known administrative practice in Hungary,[21] the instability of circumstances might have required that a *beg* familiar with the local conditions should run affairs so long.

[13] Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A Gyulai szandzsák 1567. és 1579. évi összeírása* [The registers of the *sancaḳ* of Gyula for 1567 and 1579] (*Forráskiadványok a Békés Megyei Levéltárból* [Source publications from the Archives of Békés County] 10) (Békéscsaba 1982).

[14] Benedek Göndöcs was the first to collect 5 names termed "Turkish commanders of Gyula castle" in his article titled Békés megye a török uralom idején [Békés county in the Ottoman period], but he mistakenly included an *alaybegi* among them: *A Békésvármegyei Régészeti és Művelődéstörténelmi Társulat Évkönyve* [Yearbook of the Society of Archeology and Culture History of Békés County], IV (1877–78) p. 126. — The next list, compiled by Lajos Haan gives 8 "castle commanders", again including an *alaybegi*: Huzain bég, gyulai török várparancsnok magyar levele és magyar köriratú pecsétje 1604. évből [The Hungarian letter and seal with Hungarian inscription by Huzain *beg*, Ottoman commander of Gyula castle]: *A Békésvármegyei Régészeti és Művelődéstörténelmi Társulat Évkönyve* V (1878–79), pp. 33–36. — For the so-far most complete list with the same error, see Ferenc Virágh, *Török hódoltság Gyula térségében* [Ottoman domination in the region of Gyula] (Békéscsaba 1960), p. 42.

[15] Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme defteri vol. 1, p. 183, No. 1050.

[16] Kepeci 213, p. 134. The named Rüstem was the *alaybegi* of the *sancaḳ* of Arad and was given *ziʿāmet* for his valour.

[17] Mühimme defteri vol. 2, p. 192, No. 1752, p. 237, No. 2113, and Kepeci 216a, p.31.

[18] Mühimme defteri vol. 4, p. 47, No. 501.

[19] Kepeci 218. p. 73.

[20] Kepeci 74, p. 43.

[21] Cf. Géza Dávid *A Simontornyai szandzsák a 16. században* [The *sancaḳ* of Simontornya in the 16th century] (Budapest 1982), p. 30.

On July 4, 1564 the new *beg* of Arad, Meḥmed, who formerly held the same office at Fülek was entered into the shortened court register (*ruūs-defteri*) with unchanged although not definitely indicated prebends.[22] Hungarian historiography regards Meḥmed *beg* as a renegade and alleges that his original name was Mihály Kunovics and he served in Bálint Török's castle at Enying.[23] From the Ottoman side, however, the statement — recorded by Istvánffy at the end of the 16th century — cannot be verified.

Namely İbrāhīm Peçevī, always well-informed in Hungarian affairs, maintains that the surrender of the fortress of Gyula was arranged by "Yaḥyalu and Ṣōfī Meḥmed *beg*, who was the *sancaḳbegi* of Vārāt at that time".[24] It is evidently a slip of the pen: Várad was not under Ottoman domination at that time, therefore, Arad must be meant here, whose governor is known to have been called Meḥmed. The designation Yaḥyalu may refer to his Anatolian origin, or is perhaps a sign of his belonging to the famous Yaḥyapaşazade family. The adjective Ṣōfī, i.e. mystic, could not be easily added to the name of a fresh convert. Consequently, this person had surely had a Turkish background.

The total value of the *ḫāṣṣ*es Meḥmed *beg* laid claim to is not known, but undoubtedly a part of it was not practically distributed to him — a contributory factor was that through the good offices of the *beglerbegi* of Temesvár he had received a rise of 20,000 *aḳçe* for valour.[25] He complained of his accumulated deficiencies (*noḳṣān*) in May 1565.[26] Before the taking of Gyula, his name

[22] Kepeci 74, p. 76. Ḥasan was moved to Fülek on the same day: ibid. p. 75.

[23] The identification dates back to a remark by the humanist historiographer Miklós Istvánffy ("On the one side the commander of Arad, Mehmed, earlier called Mihály Kunovics, who went over to the Turks of his own will . . . from the service of Bálint Török") last published by Gyula Kristó, *Békés megye a honfoglalástól a törökvilág végéig. Nyolcszáz esztendő a források tükrében* [Békés county from the Hungarian settlement to the end of the Ottoman period. 800 years reflected in the sources] (Békéscsaba 1981), p. 149. — The memoirs of Bálint Török's scribe, Imre Martonfalvay, also refer to his earlier career: " . . . I captured Ferenc Brizló and Mihály Kunovyt and kept them in irons for a good measure of time in Szegliget, then they were released by my master and they served his excellency." *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Scriptores 31. Magyar történelmi évkönyvek és naplók a XVI–XVIII. századból* [Hungarian historical annals and diaries from the 16th–18th centuries]. Published by Imre Szopory Nagy (Budapest 1881), p. 138. A more recent edition: *Magyar emlékírók, 16–18. század* [Hungarian diarists, 16–18th centuries]. Ed. István Bitskey (Budapest 1982), p. 82. The event is related to the period between 1531 and 1540. There is no comment about the name in either publications.

[24] *Tārīḫ-i Peçevī* (Without date and place), p. 421. In Hungarian, among others, Kristó Gyula, *op. cit.* p. 150. In the latter source publication the two contradictory accounts, Istvánffy's and Peçevī's, are very pregnantly near to each other.

[25] Kepeci 74, p. 437.

[26] Başbakanlık Arşivi, Ali Emiri 292. without pagination. The order for this presentation sent to the *beglerbegi* of Buda, İskender Pasha, also survived. Published by Anton C. Schaendlinger, *Die Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Vasallen, Militär-*

occurred several times,[27] last on October 20, 1565.[28] Though earlier references did not seem sufficient to declare that he remained continuously in office after the fall of the castle as well, I became convinced of this by the coincidence of certain Ottoman sources. In connection with the mills near the village of Tamáshíd (later Tamásda) registered in the first *tahrīr defteri* of the *sancak* of Gyula, it is recorded that "the above-named mills were sold by the former *māl defterdārı* of Ṭemeṣvār, Meḥmed Çelebi, to Meḥmed *beg*, the former *sancakbegi* of Arād and that of İstōlnī Belġrād (= Hung. Székesfehérvár) at present"[29] for 500 *akçe*". Now, according to the above-mentioned register of all the *sancak*s of the Empire kept between 1568 and 1574, the *sancak* of Székesfehérvár "was in the possession of Meḥmed *beg*, formerly the *emīr* of Arād" at the time of entry. The date was March 16, 1567 (5 *ramazān* 974), most probably indicating the date of transfer. When in the same *defter*, the *sancak* of Gyula is referred to which is still in the form "the *livā* of Arād with Gūla", precisely the same date of nomination is found there next to the name of the *beg* in office, i.e. ʿAlī.[30] We have come full circle: Meḥmed, the *beg* of Arad, then of Gyula, was immediately succeeded by ʿAlī transferred from Csanád to head the *sancak* of Gyula, whose name was still unstable at the time.

The starting income of ʿAlī *beg* amounted to 280,000 *akçe*, a good average. He was twice confirmed in his post, both with a pay rise. First, his prebend was raised by 20,000 *akçe*, which boosted his expected income to 313,218 *akçe* (this is indirect proof that his *ḫāṣṣ*es had also been raised in the meantime); for the second time, he received a rise of 50,300 *akçe*.[31] Quite remarkable reasons are given for the allocation of the 20,000 *akçe*, which was found by chance: "Order to the *beglerbegi* of Ṭemeṣvār: The Ḳırāloġlı (= János Zsigmond

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beamte, Beamte und Richter aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien. Transkriptionen und Übersetzungen (Wien 1986), pp. 59–60. He received the prebend of 5304 *akçe*, formerly belonging to the late timariot Oruc in the *sancak* of Szendrő.

[27] Schaendlinger, *op. cit.* pp. 60–62. He applied for a rise in two of his men's prebends which were granted as they accompanied him on the marches and behaved valiantly. A third document (*ibid.* pp. 62–63) refers to a plan to construct a fortress at "Erdőheg (Erdőhegy), the crossing place of hayduks coming from Gyula castle with the intention of damaging the well-protected Empire" and its cancellation, when it became unnecessary after the capture of Pankota. It also suggests that there was hesitation about attaching Pankota to Arad or Lippa. (Though the editor read Gyula as Kule and identified it with Kula, and read Erdevik in place of Erdőhegy, and hence located the event more to the south, both in the facsimile and in a draft of the document found in a *mühimme-defteri* (vol. 6, p. 566, No. 1233) the names I specified can be read clearly.)

[28] Kepeci 75, f. 79. r.

[29] Gyula Káldy-Nagy *A Gyulai szandzsák*. p. 384. Date: September 25–October 4, 1567.

[30] Maliye defteri 563, p. 49. — One of his recommendations was favourably responded to in December 1568: Kepeci 77, f. 12. v.

[31] Maliye defteri 563, p. 63.

or John Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania) sent a letter, to let it be known that ʿAlī, the *sancaḳbegi* of Gyula is competent and the *reʿāyā* are also grateful to him. Therefore, I have ordered a rise (*teraḳḳī*) of 20,000 *aḳçe* for him, which you shall give him from vacancy."[32] Two things immediately strike the eye: the person who recommended him,[33] and the reference to the satisfaction of the *reʿāyā*, which were normally understood to include the Christian subjects. There is no room here to evaluate this statement, but it is difficult to imagine that one could not have found other pretexts, had they been necessary for the application. The fact that this was the only text among the several dozen recommendations concerning *sancaḳbegi*s I perused, which gave the above argument, also suggests that János Zsigmond's statement must have an element of truth in it.[34]

On the rise in the hierarchy, after his first confirmation in office, the *beg* decided to allot two of his men, Meḥemmed (sic !) and Muṣṭafā, *tīmār*s of 5,352 *aḳçe* and 5,880 *aḳçe*, respectively, under the condition that "[the *beg*] will not demand recompense (*bedel*) for them."[35] I know hardly any instances of such a gesture.

[32] Kepeci 77, f. 57. v. Date: 6 January 1570.

[33] Vassal princes occasionally sent recommendations. For example on January 15, 1596, the Crimean Khan, Ġāzī Girāy ensured that one of his protégés, who had participated in the Szigetvár campaign and distinguished himself at Győr, should get a rise of prebends. Maliye defteri 15567, p. 205. — I mention the following similar incident as it is related to Gyula: in 1575 "István Báthory begged the Grand Vizier to promote the cause of the beg of Jenő Recheff (= Receb) before the majestic Emperor, may your highness appoint him to be the beg of Gyula, giving a token of your great generosity" (János Karácsonyi, Törökvilág Békésmegyében 1559–1604-ig [Ottoman period in Békés county from 1559 to 1604]: *A Békésmegyei Régészeti és Művelődéstörténelmi Társulat Évkönyve* XI (1884-85), p. 21. His intervention was not successful as Receb is mentioned in Jenő as late as 1579 (Mühimme defteri vol. 37, p. 106, No. 223). What is interesting, however, is the fact that he was appointed to the post at Jenő also through the intervention of Báthory. A short entry (Mühimme defteri vol. 37, p. 106, No. 223). What is interesting, however, is the fact that he was appointed to the post at Jenő also through the intervention of Báthory. A short entry about this reads as follows: "The voyvode of Erdel sent a letter. [He let it be known] that the *beg* of the named *livā* — may he increase in dignity — is ill and incapable of its protection and defence. As he asked that [it be given] to Receb *aġa*, who has eligibility for a *sancaḳ* in vacancy, it has been ordered." Date: 17 June 1574 (Mühimme defteri vol. 25, p. 171, No. 1717).

[34] It should be added, however, that there were some complaints against him 1 1/2 years earlier, namely that he had taken captives from a village near Várad: Imre Karácson, *Török–magyar okleveltár, 1533–1789* [Turkish–Hungarian archives]. Eds Lajos Thallóczy, János Kresmárik, Gyula Szekfű (Budapest 1914), pp. 90–91, No. 108 (this document is identical with Mühimme defteri vol. 7, p. 1002, No. 2751). This letter was addressed to the Prince of Transylvania, but the *beg* himself also received an order concerning the same matter, asking for information: had he really intervened and if so what were his reasons for doing it ? (Mühimme defteri vol. 7, p. 520, No. 1492).

[35] Maliye defteri 563, p. 63.

The next *beg* arrived at Gyula from Szigetvár on January 19, 1571. His name was Sinān and he had a prebend of 275,000 *akçe*. When he was confirmed a year later, he enjoyed *ḫāṣṣes* worth 335,000 *akçe*.[36]

A far weightier personage was Sinān's successor, Muḥarrem *beg*, who had earlier worked as "*defterdār* of the imperial treasury". Probably he was not *başdefterdār*[37] but a high ranking treasury official.[38] At any rate, he was sent to the marches on September 3, 1572 with a substantial starting prebend of 400,000 *akçe*.[39] The next year, when he was confirmed, he received a rise of 58,788 *akçe* — in theory at least, for he had not received all of the previous amount of pay, either.[40] When he was transferred to head the *sancak* of Szendrő, his demand for unusually high *ḫāṣṣes* caused problems there as well.[41]

Ca'fer *beg* also came to Gyula directly from Istanbul on February 26, 1574. He had also been the incumbent of a high palace office: he led one of the four page training schools (*oda*), namely the third one — the *kiler odası* —, heading a group of thirty in charge of the sultan's food and the candles of the Seraglio. Though his rank would have entitled him to a post of *beglerbegi*,[42] he still accepted the annual prebend of 440,000 *akçe*.[43] That was perhaps partly due to his Hungarian origin. What Peçevī wrote of him some decades later is

[36] Ibid. His next post was Szeged. Cf. I. Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants. The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550–1650* (New York 1983), pp. 151–153.

[37] Neither Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Maliye teşkilâtı tarihi (1442–1930)* (Ankara 1978), 4 vols, nor İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi* (Istanbul 1948, vol. 2) know about a *başdefterdār* under this name.

[38] According to İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı* (Ankara 1985²), p. 328, n. 1 three *ḫazīne* or *māl defterdārı*s were working around 1560.

[39] The various collections of laws slightly differ as to the amounts high ranking central officials were entitled to receive when being appointed to the post of *sancakbegi*. A *ḳānūnnāme* from the first half of the 16th century, specifies 500,000 *akçe* for the *yeniçeri ağası*, followed by 450,000 *akçe* for the *mīr-i 'alem* and by 400,000 *akçe* for others, with *defterdār*s missing altogether as possible candidates: M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, Kanûnî Sultan Süleyman'ın timar ve zeamet tevcihi ile ilgili fermanları. *Tarih Dergisi* XVII (1968), p. 48. Only the witness of the turn of the century, 'Ayni 'Alī recorded that the *nişāncı*, the *başdefterdār*s and the *mīr-i 'alem* were entitled to 450,000 *akçe*: Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi Ktp. No. 2361, f. 9. r-v.

[40] Maliye defteri 563, p. 63. — Reference to him in connection with a *tīmār* case of December 1573: Mühimme defteri vol. 25, p. 8, No. 62.

[41] His transfer: ibid. p. 69, No. 744; his prebends: Wien, Nationalbibliothek, Türk. Hss. Flügel 1384, ff. 200. v—201. r.

[42] At least in the case of promotion: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı* (Ankara 1984²), p. 313.

[43] Maliye defteri 563, p. 63. The original entry of the nomination also survived: Mühimme defteri vol. 25, p. 69, No. 742.

accurate on the major points. Accordingly, Ca'fer came precisely from the vicinity of Gyula and had been taken to the Seraglio. For some time he served in the *ḥarem*, which required his castration — hence his by-name Ḫādım. What Peçevī alleges to know, through personal communication with his "friend", of his function preceding his appointment, tallies with the archival sources.[44] The last data that I know about him from petitions is from November 1574.[45]

One encounters the name of İsḥāḳ *beg* after a hiatus of two and a half years. It was sometime before the end of August 1577 that he sent a letter to the Porte asking for instructions concerning the punishment of the local cavalrymen and foot-soldiers who had been neglecting their service.[46] He is also mentioned in the 1579 *sancaḳ*-register of Gyula, into which an earlier testimonial was copied concerning a disputed garden near Vári. Those involved in the legal procedure included the *beg* of Gyula, İsḥāḳ, the kadi of Gyula, Sinān, and the representative of the *beglerbegi*, Meḥmed Çelebi. The date of the document finally given to the inhabitants equals the days between October 23 and November 1, 1577.[47] The next occurrence of his name is in June–July 1578, as a participant of an infrequent case of *zi'āmet* granting.[48] His next station was Szeged: he received an order of transfer dated July 8, 1578. When his new post was entered into the register, the sum of his prebend in Gyula was referred to as amounting to 370,398 *aḳçe*.[49]

This unambiguous note is contradicted by the testimony for Gyula in this very same comprehensive list. It is somewhat strange that it still lists the *sancaḳ* of Arad separately, immediately remarking, though, that it was "attached to Gūla". The first item of information carries the following odd statements: "The present *beg* of the *sancaḳ* of Gūla, Ca'fer *beg*, sent a man [and let it be known that]: the above-named *livā* had been granted to him with 330,000 *aḳçe* on the 4th of the noble [month of] *ẕīlḳ'ade* of the year 981 (= February 25, 1574). He received a *berāt* of the nominal value of 350,000 *aḳçe* on the 19th of [the month] *ṣafer* of the year 985 (= May 8, 1577).[50] The date of nomination is almost correct, with the difference of one day. Something is wrong, however, with the total of the prebends, and both the

[44] József Thúry, Dsáfer pasa. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* IX (1892), pp. 399–403.

[45] Mühimme defteri vol. 25, p. 304, No. 2819.

[46] The corresponding rescript was addressed to the *beglerbegi* of Temesvár: Mühimme defteri vol. 31, p. 211, No. 466.

[47] Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *A Gyulai szandzsák*. pp. 303–304.

[48] Nationalbibliothek, Flügel 1387, 101. v. Oddly enough, the *mīralay* of Szécsény, Meḥmed had to be content with 5,999 *aḳçe*, poor even for a *tīmār*, instead of the *zi'āmet* of 44,467 *aḳçe*, though his patrons listed 8 different deeds of valour to his credit.

[49] Kepeci 262, p. 19.

[50] Ibid. p. 33.

acquisition of the *berāt* three years later and the word "present" are surprising. The last remark is especially ungrounded, since in the same register Ca'fer "the former *beg* of Gūla" is first mentioned in Alaca Hisar with March 15, 1575 as the date of appointment (though allegedly he only received its *berāt* on March 14, 1577),[51] then he is named as the *beg* formerly of Alaca Hisar and currently of Székesfehérvár with two dates: June 9, 1576 for allocation and August 30, 1577 for the issuing of the *berāt*.[52] That means that the entry for Gyula is partly erroneous. It is difficult to find an explanation. However, it cannot be excluded that when Ca'fer *beg* came to Hungary, he did not bother about getting all the documents (or there was some financial-technical difficulty) and only sent his man to acquire them several years later. Meanwhile, it must have turned out that there was no way to give him 440,000 *aḳçe* referred to earlier, so he accepted a nominal pay of 350,000 *aḳçe*, still a considerable amount.

Apart from the hazy points about Ca'fer, the name of the above-mentioned İsḥāḳ is also missing from the list in question under the heading of Gyula. So is the next *beg*, Ḥasan. One only learns about him when — indicating his former station, namely Gyula — one reads about his appointment to head the *sancaḳ* of Koppány on August 12, 1580. This note also reveals that, compared to his *ḫāṣṣes* of 456,000 *aḳçe* in Gyula, he had to be content with 262,836 *aḳçe* in his new post.[53]

The successor of Ḥasan is also left out of *defter* No. 262. There are, however, three loci where the name of 'Alī *beg* occurs between July and October 1581.[54] The latest note makes it clear that the person is identical with the one who had served in Gyula between 1567 and 1570. Namely, he sent his man to the capital asking: "earlier, when he was the *sancaḳbegi* of Gūla, his competence was reported, and therefore a honourable order was issued for a rise of 20,000 *aḳçe*; since he applied for its renewal, it has been ordered." What is there to be said about this? That a *sancaḳbegi* could not enforce a decree ordering his pay rise in 11 years does not indicate a very efficient financial administration or abundant possibilities. According to Hungarian historians, this 'Alī *beg* was buried in Gyula in 1581, after he died in Buda.[55] The place of death seems accurate[56]

[51] Ibid. p. 30.

[52] Ibid. p. 19. Based on Peçevī, Thúry also knows of his activity in Székesfehérvár.

[53] Nationalbibliothek, Flügel 1387, ff. 220. v–221. r.

[54] Mühimme defteri vol. 45, p. 27, No. 319, p. 180, No. 2115, p. 279, No. 3361.

[55] Ferenc Virágh, *op. cit.* p. 83.

[56] *Tārīḫ-i Peçevī*, p. 453. He gives a short biography as follows: "Pīrsiz 'Alī *beg*. The aforesaid was one of the most renowned of the contemporaneous *emīr*s. He always kept some 700–800 people with him and he had famous, ambitious people at his gate. He had *voyvoda*s who fed 40–50, even 60–70 horses and men each. He was mostly the *mutaṣarrıf* of the *sancaḳ*s of Fīlek, Ṣōnloḳ and Gūla. He succeeded Ṣarı Alī *beg* at Sigetvār. He was fond of jollity and drinking, and he was constantly entertaining guests. He gath-

but the date is dubious.[57] Designated as "the former *beg* of Gūla", ʿAlī was appointed to Szigetvár on April 1, 1584,[58] so he must have been alive, even if he did not stay in one place all the time. That he was buried in Gyula is supported by the fact that in the 17th century there still was a *cāmiʿ* and *türbe* named after him.[59]

Piyāle *beg* fared better and was not overlooked by the compilers.[60] From other sources, we have the entire list of *ḫāṣṣes* distributed to him.[61] He was entered into the journal kept in Istanbul on February 11, 1582. His prebends totalled 298,941 (correctly: 298,041) *akçe*. This included 24,000 *akçe*

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ered the illustrious personages and feasting would not stop for weeks. In the meantime his *voyvodas* went on raid after raid, never ceasing to plunder. It happened that sometimes he gave generous gifts of horses, harness, captives, clothing or furnishings [worth] 5–10,000 *ġuruṣ*. I was present when he died in Buda. His sister's son was the heir to his estate. It was said that in his great desire for a *sancaḳ* after having detained a large quantity of his belongings and generously spending so much, merely his personal chattels sold by auctioneers and his silver and gold dishes were worth over 40–50,000 *ġuruṣ*." For the passage on Şarı ʿAlī see *ibid.* p. 451.

[57] Ferenc Virágh refers to the *Török–magyar oklevéltár* (p. 99, n. 207). Indeed, the editors of the volume carelessly titled the pertinent document as "The order of Sultan Murad III about the estate of Ali, the sancakbegi of Gyula". However, it is concerned with the death not of ʿAlī *beg*, but of his wife (!) and the fact that he sequestered and kept back for himself 3,000 golden coins, a house worth 3,000 florins, a farm worth 1,000 florins, chattels worth 5,000 florins, pearls for 2,000 golden coins, cups worth 500 golden coins . . . [and] the maid-servants." Imre Karácson, *Török–magyar oklevéltár*. p. 115, No. 134. On this issue, see the parallel order to the *beg* himself, which threatens him with dismissal if he does not send the above mentioned valuables to the Porte: Mühimme defteri vol. 48, p. 328, No. 962. — Though it might be slightly exaggerated, the list tallies with Peçevī's above quoted remark about the *beg*'s affluence, which seems partly due to his wife, a relative of Pashas. — Upon one of his petitions, the *kapu ketḫüdası* of Muḥarrem *beg*, formerly stationed in Gyula and buried as the *sancaḳbegi* of Szendrő, was assigned *teraḳḳī* in June 1581: Maliye defteri 15567, p. 504.

[58] Kepeci 262, p. 25. — A Hungarian source also narrates this change. In a letter dated May 13, 1584 the Transylvanian nobility informed Báthory that "The beg of Gyula was also changed, he is being transferred to Sziget and that one is coming here to Gyula." Lajos Haan — Mihály Zsilinszky *Békésmegyei oklevéltár* [Archives of Békés county] (Budapest 1877), p. 184, No. 7. — In his script dated May 26, 1584 Sinān, the *beglerbegi* of Buda vindicates the replacement to himself as a measure on the complaint of archduke Ernest against the *beg* of Szigetvár. He subtly passed over the fact that the *beg* of Szigetvár was transferred to Gyula, consequently one cannot speak of real punishment. What he was boasting of was that his sphere of authority was large enough to do that, naturally "from the will of the mighty Emperor". Cf. *A budai basák magyar nyelvű levelezése* [Hungarian correspondence of the Pashas of Buda] *I. 1553–1589*. Eds Sándor Takáts, Ferencz Eckhart, Gyula Szekfű (Budapest 1915), p. 313, No. 283.

[59] Evliyā Çelebi Seyāḥatnāmesi VII (Istanbul 1928), p. 383.

[60] Kepeci 262, p. 33. A presentation by him is known from May–April 1583: Velics–Kammerer, *op. cit.* II, p. 564.

[61] Maliye defteri 15283, pp. 658–659.

from the *nāḥiye* of Arad, 87,465 from that of Zaránd, 142,001 from that of Békés and 34,575 from the *nāḥiye* of Gyula, with another 10,000 *aḳçe* as shares of various dues. The short passage narrating the change of *sancaḳbegi*s reads like this: "Since the aforenamed Piyāle *beg*, who earlier had been the *beg* of Çanād with *ḫāṣṣ*es of 291,423 *aḳçe*, was granted the *livā* of Gūla with the same revenue on the 15th day of *ẕīlḥicce* of the year 989 (= January 10, 1582), he has now sent a man to the Gate of Felicity. As he had begged for the grace of allocating his *ḫāṣṣ*es, a sublime order was issued to the *beglerbegi* of Ṭemeṣvār, saying: give him his due from the *icmāllu ḫāṣṣ*es of the mentioned *livā* from the named date. Then there was a *fermān* [ordering] that his *teẕkere* be given him from the Gate of Felicity with a surplus of 7,000 *aḳçe*. Then it was commanded that he be granted another surplus of 518 *aḳçe*. According to the high order, from the *icmāllu ḫāṣṣ*es of the s[aid] *livā*, according to the *taḥvīl* of the former *beg*, the above mentioned 298,941 *[aḳçe] ḫāṣṣ* was granted to the aforenamed Piyāle *beg* as compensation for what had gone out of his hand (i.e. his prebends in the former *sancaḳ*), as well as for the surplusses ordered twice, and a *teẕkere* was issued upon the glorious *berāt* from the Gate of Felicity. Dated: 9th [day] of the [month of the] pious *muḥarrem* of the year 990 (= February 3, 1582)."

Despite the complicated wording, it is clear that the status of the *sancaḳ* of Csanád and that of Gyula must have been around the same at this date. It is noteworthy that a mere one month passed between the appointment, the arrival of Piyāle's man in the capital and the final arrangement of his prebends, although two applications had to be submitted before the matter was settled.

It can be seen from the above that ʿAlī *beg* returned to Gyula, from where he was transferred to Szigetvár. It cannot be excluded, however, that the latter change did not actually take place. Though on the same day (April 1, 1584) the former *beg* of Szigetvár, Ḥasan, was ordered to move to Gyula, on September 1, it was noted that Szigetvár "was given to Ḥasan *beg* who had [earlier] received the *sancaḳ* of Gūla".[62] Had the change taken place, it could not have lasted long. The remark on an application of ʿAlī *beg* deliberated on September 3, 1584 still says: "*beg* of Gūla".[63]

[62] Kepeci 262, p. 25. The Ḥasan in question is no one else than the later influential *beglerbegi* with the by-name Tiryākī, active in Buda and Kanizsa for years, being one of the best specialists on Hungary of the Porte at that time. His person was the target of some Ottoman chronicles, out of which one suggests at least in its simplified edition a somewhat longer, although unidentifiable period in Gyula. See: Tiryaki Hasan Paşa'nın gazaları ve Kanije savunması. Haz. Vahit Çabuk (Istanbul 1978), pp. 49–63. In this eulogizing text there is no word about his being punished and the transfer is ordered by the Sultan himself.

[63] Başbakanlık Arşivi, Muhtelif ve mütenevvi defterler 48, f. 46. v–47. r.

After this reshuffle of local potentates, on August 22, 1585 the post of Gyula was assigned to Aḥmed Pasha,[64] an official who had hardly moved into his new office in one of the remotest corners of the Empire, the *vilāyet* of Pelengān.[65] It is highly uncertain whether this person took up his position in Hungary at all.

The last entry in the list concerning the present issue is dated April 12, 1586: namely, the transfer of the former *beg* of Szolnok, Sinān, to Gyula. His *ḫāṣṣes*, though identical down to the last item with those allocated to his predecessors, were only registered in the central *rūznāmçe* as late as January 15, 1589. The main reason must have been that Sinān *beg* was entitled to very high incomes: in Ohri (where he served before Gyula) he had 528,000 *aḳçe*, to which another 110,000 *aḳçe* were added as a result of three pay rises. That meant he was entitled to a nominal "salary" of 638,000 *aḳçe* (to be more precise, 30,000 *aḳçe* of this sum was granted to him after the transfer). But his bargaining ended without success: officially, he could only lay claim to 289,941 *aḳçe*, which meant that the missing part of his revenue was larger than the actual income.[66] I know of no other example of such a large deviation on Hungarian territory. Several of his recommendations can be traced in 1588–1589.[67]

At this point, the published Hungarian material almost leads us into a trap. Two independent orders sent by the sultan to the *beglerbegi* of Temesvár, which only survived in translation, are concerned with certain blameworthy affairs of Ḥüseyn *beg*. However, another of the sultan's ordinances dated somewhat earlier, and two imperial orders flanking the former in time, clearly mention Ḥüseyn in the rank of *alaybegi* — partly in relation to the same matter, therefore, the chance of erring is excluded.[68] And indeed, the court journals carry the new *beg*, Meḥmed, from July 1589, who was transferred from Kösten-

[64] Melek Aḥmed *beg*, out of office from the *sancaḳ* of Malatya, was appointed on May 17, 1585 as *beglerbegi*. Kepeci 262, p. 228.

[65] Kepeci 262, p. 33. This *vilāyet* must have been in Persian territory; at least, there is a group of mountains known by the name Palangān in Iran.

[66] On his appointment: ibid. p. 33. On his *ḫāṣṣes*: Ruznamçe 107. Part Lipova, Yanova, Modava, Çanad, Gula pp. 5–6. The entry immediately before it concerns the son of Sinān *beg*, Aḥmed (p. 4), for whom the *beglerbegi* of Temesvár applied for a *ziʿāmet*. Though the grant was officially for 20,000 *aḳçe*, he could not be given more than a *tīmār* of 8,000 *aḳçe* in a few months' time. Yet it well exemplifies the ambition of the ruling elite to help members of their family acquire prebends.

[67] A complaint about him and his *voyvoda* was made by the Transylvanians, as they had killed peaceful persons, seizing their horses and harness: Haan–Zsilinszky, *op. cit.* p. 191, No. 15 — His presentations: Kepeci 336, p. 264, Kepeci 252, pp. 27, 39, 59. Narodna Biblioteka Kiril i Metodi, Orientalski Otdel, D. 666, p. 1.

[68] He is only mentioned as *beg* in later 1589 and January 1590. Haan—Zsilinszky, *op. cit.* p. 199, Nos. 25–26. He appears as *alaybegi* in a document dated September 16, 1588, one from the end of the same year, and one dated the end of September 1591. *Ibid.* pp. 194–195, No. 19, p. 196, No. 20, and p. 209, No. 34.

dil to Gyula on 29th of that month.[69] His letters sent to Istanbul can be traced to early January 1591.[70] According to the interpreters of the Hungarian sources, he also served here in 1593 and 1594, and first became wounded in the battle of Pákozd, losing four fingers and being shot in his leg, then he was killed at Tura.[71] The Ottoman data, however, suggest another story. In the first half of October 1592 the *beg* of Gyula, Ḥasan, formerly the *küçük mīrāḫōr*, sent "ears and tongues" to the Porte,[72] and there are recommendations by him from late November as well.[73] Some time after November 22, 1592 the new *beg* of Gyula was ʿÖmer, whose career can be tracked to the end of June 1596 in connection with various affairs.[74]

The last item of information before the turn of the century, snapshots the person of "Bekhtar" (with all probability Bektaş) *beg* from 1599 as causing, through his men, damage on Transylvanian territories.[75]

[69] Kepeci 252, p. 27. Sinān *beg*, who already had an unusually high income, was promoted to the post of *beglerbegi* of Temesvár: ibid. p. 27.

[70] Kepeci 344, p. 138, Maliye defteri 15567, p. 56.

[71] János Karácsonyi, *Törökvilág Békésmegyében*. pp. 41–42. He partly misunderstood an intricate sentence by János Mogyoróssy (*Gyula hajdan és most. Történeti és statisztikai vázlatokban* [Gyula then and now. Historical and statistical sketches] (Gyula 1858), p. 75). In fact it was the *beglerbegi* of Buda who was wounded and that is why Meḥmed "went to Buda to lend help by defending the castle". — One can read about Meḥmed's death at Tura in Istvánffy (*Regni Hungarici historia* . . . (Coloniae Agrippinae 1724), p. 387a). It cannot be excluded that the outstanding humanist did not err much, except for recording a state of office a few years before.

[72] On his previous function: Muṣṭafā Selānīkī, *Tārīḫ-i Selānīkī. Die Chronik des Selānīkī* (Freiburg 1970. Reprint by Claus Schwarz Verlag), p. 338.

[73] Kepeci 253, pp. 4–6.

[74] The date mentioned refers to the death of a *zaʿīm* which the *beg* wrote about, but the reply to it only arrived in the last days of 1595 (Maliye defteri 15567, p. 526). Some time earlier, in late February 1595 a soldier got a *tīmār* upon ʿÖmer's recommendation (*ibid.* p. 517). The entry for 1596: Maliye defteri 16052, p. 117. — A letter of 1636 written by a certain Ẕūlfiḳār *aġa* to the Pasha of Buda and translated in a ponderous way recalls Çerkes ʿÖmer *beg* again (Haan—Zsilinszky, *op. cit.* p. 224). Lajos Haan accepted the date — 1636 — and made out the story that the *beg* was killed in the siege of Facsél (sic). (*Huzain bég*, p. 36). The text, however, brings him in connection with much earlier events, i. e. the loss of Lippa and Jenő in 1595. Ẕūlfiḳār *aġa*'s memory could not have failed him at this point, and as can be seen, he remembered the name of the *beg* well. — In the chronicle of Farkas Bethlen, the *begs* of Gyula and Csanád died at Facset in 1595 (*Historia de rebus Transsylvanicis* (Cibinii 1783), III, 585), which proves to be incorrect regarding the *beg* of Gyula, since the above-cited eyewitness was taken to the centre of the *sancaḳ* after the fall of Jenő, i. e. October 22, which means several months after the battle of Facset.

[75] *Török–magyarkori állam-okmánytár* [State archives of the Turkish–Hungarian period]. Eds Áron Szilády–Sándor Szilágyi I. (*Török–magyarkori történelmi emlékek. Első osztály: Okmánytár*. III.) (Pest 1868), p. 39, No. 31. — An undated *telḫīṣ* by the Grand Vizier, dating from between 1601 and 1603, presumably before April 5, 1602, recommends the former *beg* of Gyula, ʿAlī, who had earlier headed Bender, to the post of Akkerman,

The name of the very first *sancaḳbegi* of the 17th century is preserved in a document in Hungarian. The person who dictated the letter dated 1604 styled himself "the chief Zanczak Beg of the magnificent invincible Emperor, the guardian of the castle of Gyulla, the Honourable Huzeyn bek". Ḥüseyn *beg* certainly gave himself airs as he even had a seal made, which must have flattered his vanity, regardless of how defective it might have been. It said: AZ: NAGSAGOS: HUZAI: BEI 16002 ("The Honourable Ḥüseyn *beg*, 16002") The distorted year is probably meant to denote the year of appointment, 1602.[76]

A great leap in time now has to be taken, to around 1618–1619, when two of our sources refer to the death of Ḥüseyn *beg*. Tamás Borsos, a Transylvanian envoy to the Porte, was informed, on the basis of an eyewitness's report, that he was killed near Makó,[77] while in a list of grievances, submitted to international diplomatic negotiations, written in 1619, and later copied by the scribe of Mihály Apafi, Prince of Transylvania, Dávid Rozsnyai, who was well versed in the Turkish language, the case is quoted in the following manner: "In the districtus of Tömösvár the sancakbegi of Gyula, Hocsa-Huszaim beg, was slain together with sixty notable agas and noble gentlemen by the Germans."[78] It is hard to establish whether this Ḥüseyn is the same as the one mentioned above or not.[79]

After another 9 years according to a letter by the *ḳā'imaḳām*, Receb Pasha to Gábor Bethlen and dated March 21, 1628 "when this your present envoy arrived, for the respect of your face . . . I gave the beg post of Gyula to

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upon the suggestion of Jeremy, the voyvode of Moldavia. (*Osmanlı Tarihine Âid Belgeler: Telhisler (1597–1607)*. Haz. Cengiz Orhonlu. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları* No. 1511. Istanbul 1970, p. 16, No. 16.) Because of the lack of sufficient information to precisely identify this person, I left him out of the list, since it is not impossible that he is identical with someone known earlier (in that case the *türbe* probably belongs to another ʿAlī *beg* – cf. note 59).

[76] Lajos Haan: *Huzain bég*.

[77] Tamás Borsos *Vásárhelytől a Fényes Portáig. Emlékiratok, levelek*. [From Vásárhely to the Sublime Porte. Memoirs, letters]. Ed. László Kócziány (Bukarest 1972), p. 136. The date of the entry is September 26, 1618, the previous one (p. 135) is September 7, the next September 8(!) (p. 136). Kócziány noted that this place belongs perhaps to April 26, 1619 (p. 452, n. 59). Ferenc Szakály found this observation ungrounded: *Magyar adóztatás a török hódoltságban* [Hungarian taxation on Ottoman territories] (Budapest 1981), p. 366, n. 63. In the light of the next citation, however, 1619 would make our chronology more congruent.

[78] *Rozsnyai Dávid, az utolsó török deák történeti maradványai* [The historical remains of Dávid Rozsnyai, the last Turkish scribe]. Ed. Sándor Szilágyi. *Magyar történelmi emlékek* [Hungarian historical remains] II. *Írók* [Writers] VIII (Pest 1867), 109.

[79] Borsos mentions five of his Turkish visitors, among them "Musztafa bék of Gyula, the son of Haszán bék" (*op. cit.* p. 135). It remains open if this person was really a governor in Gyula, or simply "inherited" the *beg* title from his father.

Mehmed beg, the son of Ali beg".[80] Two years later, the two parallel *defters* compiled in late March 1630 named Aḥmed as the current *sancaḳbegi* of Gyula.[81]

An even longer obscure period follows, ending with a reference to a case heard sometime in late 1652 or early 1653, which was recorded in an abridged form in the *sicil* of the kadi of Temesvár. In the first stage of a dispute among the Muslim inhabitants of Gyula, i.e. between a husband handling his wife roughly and slandering her, and his father-in-law and brothers-in-law, Meḥmed, the *sancaḳbegi* had one of the brothers, who hurried to help his sister and took her back to her parental home, imprisoned upon the unlawful verdict of the local *imām*.[82]

The next piece of information was overlooked by Hungarian research, although it was published in the middle of the last century. On July 17, 1654 Sefer *beg* sent a letter of the sort protecting subjects to the Transylvanian lord, Gábor Haller, who was then captain-general of nearby Borosjenő, in which he named himself as "the neighbour well-wisher of your excellency, the chief bégh of the champions of Gyula, Szefer Bégh".[83]

In the list of 1660, there is a single name noted for Gyula, that of ʿAṭṭār Alp *beg*, who was probably in office for several years.[84]

Former research reconstructed the subsequent 17th century *begs* as follows: in 1661 İbrāhīm,[85] in 1671 ʿÖmer, in 1679 Ḥāccı Ḥaydar, and in 1681 Aḥmed *beg*.[86] From Turkish sources, we may add İbrāhīm heading for the siege

[80] *Török–magyarkori állam-okmánytár* II (*Török–magyarkori történelmi emlékek. Első osztály*: *Okmánytár* IV.) (Pest 1869), p. 16, No. 3. (Only the Hungarian translation is known.)

[81] Kepeci 266, p. 39, and Cevdet Dahiliye 6095, p. 34.

[82] *Sicil* of Temesvár, p. 65, No. 51. An entry two pages earlier is dated between October 4 and 13, 1652 (p. 63, No. 47), one a bit later was written between May 19–27, 1653 (p. 66, No. 53). The source was preserved at Sarajevo, its precise location is unknown.

[83] *Erdélyi történeti adatok* [Data on Transylvanian history]. Ed. and publ. Gr. Imre Mikó. IV (Kolozsvár 1862), pp. 104–105.

[84] Kepeci 434. f. 4 r. — In the reading of Imre Karácson "the mir-i-liva of Gyula, Atallah bég" can be found among the signatories of a frontier description dated January 23, 1661 (*Török–magyar oklevéltár*, p. 296, No. 280). Though the original of the document is missing, I can safely declare that Karácson should have misread the name which must be identical with the one I deciphered.

[85] Ferenc Virágh, *op. cit.* 42, without indicating the source. In the light of what was said in relation to ʿAṭṭār Alp his presence here is not yet conclusively clarified.

[86] János Karácsonyi, *Békésvármegye története* [A history of Békés county] I (Gyula 1896), p. 265. The published archives included the following designations of rank: "Hadzsi Hajdár, commander of Gyula castle" (Haan–Zsilinszky, *op. cit.* II, 246, No. 83), Aḥmed without any function (!) (*ibid.* p. 246, No. 84), "Ömer, commander of Gyula" (*ibid.* pp. 246–247, No. 85). Though in the practice of the age, the commander was often identical with the *sancaḳbegi* (only in the Hungarian versions, of course), I have some doubts about the correctness of identifications in the absence of the Turkish originals of the documents, especially in the case of Aḥmed.

of Vienna in 1683,[87] and from August 29, his successor Ḥaydar *beg*.[88] After a gap, in 1688 we encounter the name of Aḥmed Pasha.[89] There is nothing to wonder about his rank: it frequently happened in the 17th century that active *begler-begi*s or those out of office were given the *ḫāṣṣ* incomes of a *sancaḳ* in the form of "*arpalıḳ*".[90] Meḥmed also held the rank of Pasha when he served as the *beg* of Gyula,[91] until the collapse of Ottoman domination in Békés county.[92]

Now, if we wish to evaluate the listed data, at least the more complete ones for the 16th century, from certain aspects, it is worth summing up what we already know of the *sancabegis* in Table 1.[93]

As can be seen, there are significant differences in the duration of residence at a post. The extremes range from 5 months to nearly 10 years, the majority falling somewhere between 1 and 3 years. The 18 *beg*s registered for the 42 years, would have had an average term of 28 months in office, dependant on the completeness of the list. This, however, is not the case even if one of the Ḥasans or the ʿAlīs were perhaps included in the list without justification. The omission of 3 or 4 *beg*s can be presumed, which would produce an average office term of 2 years.[94] This outcome is the polar opposite of what was earlier maintained by literature about a typical office term of 20–30 or 10–12 years;[95] on the other hand, it coincides with the findings of Metin Kunt concerning other regions of the Empire.[96] Consequently, in this respect there is no significant difference between the centre and the peripheries.

Regarding the direction from which they arrived, most — exactly five — were transferred to Gyula from one or another *livā* of the *vilāyet* of Buda. Two were transferred from the neighbouring *sancaḳ* of Csanád, and three came

[87] *Kara Mustafa pod Wiedniem. Źrodła muzulmańskie do dziejów wyprawy wiedeńskiej 1683 roku.* Trl. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz (Kraków 1973), p. 103. (The quotation is from the history of Silaḥdār.)

[88] *Ibid.* p. 152 (also on the basis of Silaḥdār), as well as: *Kara Mustafa vor Wien.* Trl. Richard F. Kreutel. *Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber* 1 (Graz–Wien–Köln 1955), p. 93. (from the chronicle titled Veḳāyiʿi Beç from before Silaḥdār).

[89] János Karácsonyi, *Békésvármegye története.* I. p. 267, with reference to a letter by Imre Thököly.

[90] The *sancaḳ* of Szolnok was once assigned to the *beglerbegi* of Adana and Várad (!), Sinān Pasha, and then to the *beglerbegi* of Buda, İsmāʿīl Pasha in this way. The *sancaḳ* of Koppány was the *arpalıḳ* of another *beglerbegi* of Buda, Gürci Kenān. Kepeci 434, f. 4. v.

[91] Gyula Kristó, *op. cit.* pp. 202–203. Named as *beg* here.

[92] *Ibid.* pp. 205–206. Mentioned as Pasha.

[93] The last *beg* of this period, i. e. Bektaş, is omitted from the Table.

[94] The average for the *beg*s of Simontornya is very similar to this at around 24 months.

[95] Sir Hamilton Gibb–Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West.* I (Oxford 1957), p. 145 and M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Osmanlı müesseseleri teşkilatı ve medeniyeti tarihine genel bakış* (Istanbul 1977), p. 116.

[96] I. Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants.* pp. 70–73.

Table 1

Name of *sancakbegi*	beginning	end	duration (months)	former post	total of *ḫāṣṣes* (*akçe*)
	of office term				
Ḥasan	10.1554	06.1564	105	?	280,000
Meḥmed	07.1564	03.1567	33	B	?
ʿAlī	03.1567	01.1571	47	T	363,518
Sinān	01.1571	09.1572	21	B	335,000
Muḥarrem	09.1572	02.1574	18	I	458,788
Caʿfer	02.1574	03.1575	14	I	440,000
İsḥāḳ	10.1577	07.1578	11	?	370,398
Ḥasan	?	08.1580	?	?	456,000
ʿAlī	06.1581	02.1582	9	?	298,941
Piyāle	02.1582	04.1583	15	T	298,941
ʿAlī	?	04.1584	?	?	?
Ḥasan	04.1584	09.1584	6	B	?
ʿAlī	1584		?	B	?
Aḥmed	07.1585	04.1586	10	A	?
Sinān	04.1586	07.1589	40	B	638,000
Meḥmed	07.1589	?	?	R	?
Ḥasan	10.1592	11.1592	2	I	?
ʿÖmer	?	06.1596	?	?	?

B = *vilāyet* of Buda T = *vilāyet* of Temesvár I = Istanbul
A = Asia R = Rumelia

Note: the rubric 'duration of service' contains the interval found in the sources, which does not necessarily tally with the actual term in office. The beginning and closing months were taken as full months. As for the *ḫāṣṣes*, the highest registered sum is noted irrespective of occasional missing details.

directly from the court in Istanbul. One leader was appointed from the not too distant Rumelia and only one had to make a really long journey. Although there are no clues as to the former posts of six-seven *beg*s, general experience and the above mentioned aspects permit the assumption that the majority had been moved around in the region for some time.[97]

As for their *ḫāṣṣes*, concerning the sums that were theoretically their due, it can be contended that the *sancaḳ* of Gyula was among the richer districts. Though it was not compulsory to distribute a *sancaḳbegi*'s *ḫāṣṣes* locally, it was reasonable to do so. Regarding relatively small or poor *sancaḳs* it happened that some settlements had to be "borrowed" from administrative units nearby.[98] As the central authority had an insight into the resources of each area, *beg*s in a lower category of prebends were not nominated to rich *livā*s, and conversely, no *beg*s of a higher income status were normally sent to poor districts (of course,

[97] Géza Dávid, *op. cit.* p. 30 and at the level of the Empire I. Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants*. pp. 67–70.

[98] More frequently occurring mostly in Transdanubia. The *beg*s of Simontornya, for instance, for a longer period of time possessed Fadd, belonging to Szekszárd. Géza Dávid, *op. cit.* pp. 28–29.

there may have been exceptions — e.g. Sinān in our sample, who arrived in 1586). Thus in Hungary, a certain hierarchy also emerged among the *sancaḳs*, although it was not very rigid. In the *vilāyet* of Buda, the *livās* of Szendrő (Semendire), Pécs, Szigetvár, Szeged and Szolnok were better off, while Gyula was the first *livā* in the *vilāyet* of Temesvár. Naturally, the comparison should be made for several points of time. So far I only drew on ʿAyni ʿAlī's survey of 1609, which was known to refer to an earlier period. In it the figure for Gyula perfectly tallies with the prebends of Piyāle *beg* in 1582.[99] In general it was relatively rare for a *sancaḳbegi* to have a *ḫāṣṣ* of over 400,000 *aḳçe*, and in the list under review, four of them exceeded this amount. It is, of course, another matter that in practice many did not manage to assert all their legal claims. Defective prebends implied the grave danger of the multiplication of illegal practices: it probably encouraged the *beg* to squeeze the missing amount out of his subjects.

The outlines of the picture for the 17th century are still blurred. Sparse information is available on the duration of service, irrespective of other aspects. It seems probable that no major change occurred in the frequency of appointments, which is borne out by some of our sets of data. Nevertheless, there might have been periods in which less attention was concentrated on the marches and hence the officials were not transferred too frequently. This and other questions will hopefully be answered by the examination of better documented *sancaḳs*.[100]

[99] ʿAyni ʿAlī's collection of laws was published: Paul Andreas von Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in den Moslemischen Staaten insbesondere im Osmanischen Reiche.* (Reprint: Klaus Schwarz Verlag) (Berlin 1982), data concerning Hungary: pp. 68–70.

[100] This can be hoped for in *sancaḳs* of Transdanubia that were in the vicinity of territories of significant Hungarian landlords, whose correspondence survived in large quantities and are mostly unexplored.

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ZUR BIOGRAPHIE DES ZHONG HONG (467?–518)[1]

BERNHARD FÜHRER (Wien)

1. Einleitung

1.1. Bekannte Zeitgenossen

Die eminente Bedeutung der Zeitspanne des ausgehenden fünften und des beginnenden sechsten Jahrhunderts, insbesonders die Regierungszeit von *Xiao Yan* (464–549), Kaiser *Wu* (reg. 502–549) der *Liang*-Dynastie, für die Literaturtheorie und Literaturkritik Chinas hier besonders hervorzuheben, erscheint wie das oft bemühte Tragen der berühmten Eulen nach Athen.

Myriaden an gelehrten Artikeln und Monographien der asiatischen und westlichen Sinologie beschäftigen sich mit dem wohl prominentesten literaturtheoretischen Werk jener Epoche, mit *Liu Xies* (465?–520?) *Wenxin Diaolong*. Ausgezeichnete Arbeiten zu den literaturtheoretischen Abschnitten der von *Xiao Tong* (501–531), dem Kronprinzen *Zhaoming*, kompilierten Anthologie *Wenxuan* und zu der unter den Auspizien von *Xiao Gang* (503–551), dem späteren Kaiser *Jianwen* (reg. 549–551) der *Liang*-Zeit, vom Hofdichter *Xu Ling* (507–583) ca. 545 zusammengestellten Gedichtsammlung *Yutai Xinyong* sind Legion.

[1] Dieser Aufsatz entstand im Rahmen meiner am Institut für Sinologie der Universität Wien in Arbeit befindlichen Dissertation zu *Zhong Hongs* poetologischem Werk *Shipin*. Es soll an dieser Stelle *Zhong Hongs* Biographie in Hinsicht auf meine weitere Forschung am *Shipin* diskutiert werden.

Bibliographische Notiz: Quellenverweise zu den Dynastiegeschichten beziehen sich auf die in Beijing herausgegebene interpunktierte Ausgabe des *Zhonghua Shuju*, Angaben zu den konfuzianischen Klassikern auf die vom *Yiwen Yinshuguan* in Taibei mehrfach wiederaufgelegte achtbändige Ausgabe der *Shisan Jing Zhushu*. Die Textangaben zu *Zhong Hongs Shipin* beziehen sich auf Band 1 der von Prof. Helmut Martin edierten Ausgabe von *He Wenhuans Lidai Shihua* (Index to the Ho Collection of Twenty-Eight Shih-hua with a Punctuated Edition of the Ho Collection of Twenty-Eight Shih-hua. Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center, Taibei, 1973. 2 Bde.).

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1.2. Zhong Hong und sein Shipin

Sowohl *Zhong Hong* (auch: *Zhong Rong*)[2] als auch das von ihm in dieser Blütezeit kritischen Denkens auf literaturtheoretischer Ebene verfaßte Werk *Shipin* (auch: *Shiping*)[3] wurden — besonders in der westlichen Sinologie — verglichen mit ihren Zeitgenossen sehr stiefmütterlich behandelt.[4]

[2] Zum Schriftzeichen seines Namens (*ming*) sind zwei Aussprachen zulässig: *Zhongwen Da Cidian* (*Zhongguo Wenhua Daxue*, Taibei, 1973. 10 Bde.), Nr. 8737 nennt unter Berufung auf die älteren chinesischen phonologischen Wörterbücher *Guangyun* und *Jiyun* die Aussprachen *hong* und *rong*. Im Gegensatz zu den meisten neuchinesischen Lexika, die *rong* vorziehen, wird bei Herbert A. Giles (A Chinese English Dictionary. Reprint: *Chengwen*, Taibei, 1978), Nr. 5287 nur *hong* angegeben. Séraphin Couvreur (Dictionnaire Classique de la Langue Chinoise. Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, Sien-Hien, 1930), 257 listet beide Aussprachen. Da es sich im gegebenen Kontext um den Bestandteil eines Eigennamens handelt, folge ich der von Prof. *Wang Shumin* (persönliche Gespräche, Academia Sinica, Nangang, Taibei, April 1991) vorgeschlagenen Aussprache *hong*.

[3] Das bibliographische Kapitel der offiziellen Geschichte der *Sui*-Dynastie nennt *Zhong Hongs* Werk unter dem Titel *Shiping*, vermerkt jedoch, daß es auch den Titel *Shipin* trägt. Siehe *Sui Shu*, 35 : 1084. Ob und wie der Autor selbst sein Werk betitelte, sowie die Belegstellen zu den Modalitäten der Modifikation des Buchtitels, die ab der südlichen *Song*-Dynastie eine Präferenz für den heute üblichen Titel *Shipin* erkennen lassen, werden an dieser Stelle nicht gesondert untersucht.

[4] Die m.W. bis dato einzige westlichsprachige Gesamtübersetzung des *Shipin* legte Prof. Ferenc Tőkei (Műfajelmélet Kínában a III–VI. Században. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1967), 177–208 u. 310–325 (Anmerkungen) vor, der es im Rahmen seiner Analyse von *Liu Xies* Genretheorie ins Ungarische übersetzte. In der englischen Version dieses Werkes (Genre Theory in China in the 3rd–6th Centuries. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1971) erschien dieser Appendix jedoch nicht. Unter den westlichsprachigen Teilübersetzungen, die jedoch meist eines nenennswerten Apparates entbehren, soll hier John Timothy Wixted (The Literary Criticism of Yüan Hao-wen. Ph. D. Dissertation, Oxford 1976. 2 Bde.), II : 462–491 hervorgehoben werden, der das *Shipin* im Rahmen seiner Bearbeitung von *Yuan Haowens* (1190–1257) literaturkritischen Gedichten fast vollständig übersetzte. Seine später als Monographie erschienene Überarbeitung dieser Dissertation (Poems on Poetry. Literary Criticism of Yuan Hao-wen. Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1982) beinhaltet in passim einige Übersetzungen von Textausschnitten des *Shipin*. Eine durchgehende Übersetzung, wie in Appendix A seiner Dissertation, wurde jedoch nicht aufgenommen. Bei beiden Autoren erscheint das *Shipin* im Anhang einer nicht auf das gegenständliche Werk fokusierten Studie.

Als weitere westlichsprachige Arbeiten zum *Shipin* liegen m.W. vor (in chronologischer Reihenfolge): Hellmut Wilhelm (A Note on Chung Hung and His Shih-p'in. In: Chow Tse-tsung [Ed.]: Wen-lin. Studies in Chinese Humanities. University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1968), 111–120, Bruce E. Brooks (A Geometry of the Shr pin. In: Chow-Tse-tsung [Ed.]: op. cit.), 121–150, Yeh Chia-Ying & Jan W. Walls (Theory, Standarts, and Practics of Criticizing Poetry in Chung Hung's Shih P'in. In: Ronald C. Miao [Ed.]: Studies in Chinese Poetry and Poetics. Chinese Materials Center, San Francisco, 1978, Vol. 1), 43–80 und John Timothy Wixted (The Nature and Evaluation in the Shih-p'in [Grading of Poets] by Chung Hung [A. D. 469–518]. In: Susan Bush & Christian Murck [Eds.]: Theories of the Arts in China. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1983), 225–264.

Aus *Zhong Hong*s Œuvre ist, abgesehen von zwei Throneingaben, nur sein poetologisches Opus *Shipin* überliefert, das als Progenitor der späteren chinesischen Poetiken (*shihua*) bezeichnet wurde.[5] Dieses Genre findet im *Shipin* sein historisches Vorbild, vergleichbar mit der Modellfunktion von *Sima Qian*s (145?–90? v.Chr.) *Shiji* für die chinesische Geschichtsschreibung.

Im *Shipin* beurteilte der Autor — so die Zählung nach den namentlich genannten Dichtern in den Einzelbesprechungen — 123 Dichter von der *Han*- bis zur *Liang*-Dynastie und ordnete sie auf Grundlage seiner ästhetischen Kriteria in drei Rangklassen.[6]

Erstmals in der Geschichte der chinesischen Literaturtheorie und -kritik versuchte er dabei inhaltlich und stilistisch orientierte historische Entwicklungslinien von 36 der bedeutendsten Dichter in systematischer Form zu zeichnen, wobei er sich auf die pentasyllabischen Gedichte (*wuyan shi*) bereits verstorbener Poeten beschränkte.[7]

1.3. Zur Quellenlage der Biographie des Zhong Hong

Zur Darstellung der Lebensgeschichte des *Zhong Hong* bietet uns die offizielle chinesische Historiographie nur je eine kurze Biographie in den *Wenxue Zhuan* betitelten Kapiteln der unter der *Tang*-Dynastie von *Li Yanshou* kompilierten Offiziellen Geschichte der Südlichen Dynastien (*Nan-Shi*) und in der von *Yao Cha* (533–606) und *Yao Silian* (557–637) edierten Offiziellen Geschichte der *Liang-Dynastie* (*Liang Shu*).[8]

[5] Siehe *Zhang Xuecheng* (*Wenshi Tongyi* [mit einem Kommentar von *Ye Ying*]. Reprint *Yangzhe*, Taibei, o. J., 2 Bde.), I : 559 und Yeh/Walls (Chung Hung's Shih P'in), 46.

[6] Siehe *He Wenhuan* (*Lidai Shihua*), 01002.22ff, Tőkei (Műfajelmélet Kínában), 184, Wixted (Yüan Hao-wen), II : 467f, wo sich *Zhong Hong* gegen Ende des ersten Teiles seiner theoretischen Abhandlung (*xu*) des *Shipin* auf das von *Liu Xiang* (77–6 v. Chr.) begonnene und von seinem Sohn *Liu Xin* (53? v. Chr–23 n. Chr.) fertiggestellte Werk *Qilüe* als methodologische Vorlage bezieht. Zu der in jener Zeit mehrfach praktizierten Übertragung von Klassifizierungsschemata in die Kunstbetrachtung vgl. z.B. *Yu Jianwus Shupin* etc.

[7] Siehe *He Wenhuan* (*Lidai Shihua*), 01002.31, Tőkei (Műfajelmélet Kínában), 184, Wixted (Yüan Hao-wen), II : 469. Der inhaltliche Rahmen der Einzelbesprechungen des *Shipin* spannt sich von den pentasyllabischen Gedichten der *Han*-Zeit bis zum pentasyllabischen Œuvre des 513 verstorbenen *Shen Yue* (441–513).

[8] Die beiden Textversionen dieser Biographie finden sich in *Nan Shi*, 72 : 1778–1779 bzw. *Liang Shu*, 49 : 694–697 und werden hier in vollständiger Übersetzung vorgelegt. Einige Textabschnitte und die Throneingaben des *Zhong Hong* wurden dabei weitgehend paraphrasiert, um die Gedankengänge und Absichten des Autors in den Vordergrund treten zu lassen.

Zur Biographie des *Zhong Hong* vgl. auch H. Wilhelm (Chung Hung), 111ff, der in diesem Aufsatz eine erste westlichsprachige Teilübersetzung vorlegte. Dabei orientierte er sich, unter Einfügung einiger Passagen der *Nan-Shi*-Version, an der *Liang-Shu*-Version der

Dieser Aufsatz ist auf die in *Nan Shi* vorliegende Textversion fokusiert, da sich dort meist detailliertere und umstrittenere Angaben finden.[9]

2. Genealogie

2.1. Bericht der Biographen

Zhong Hong, Mannesname *Zhongwei*, stammte aus *Changshe* in *Yingchuan* und war ein Nachkomme in der siebenten Generation von *Zhong Ya*, der während der *Jin*-Dynastie im kaiserlichen Sekretariat diente. Sein Vater *Zhong Dao* war unter der *Qi*-Dynastie Adjutant der Zentralarmee.[10]

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bona-Edition der Dynastiegeschichten. Trotz des unleugbaren Verdienstes der westlichsprachigen Erstbearbeitung dieses Textes ließ H. Wilhelm leider nicht nur viele in direktem Zusammenhang mit *Zhong Hong*s biographischen Daten stehende Probleme unangesprochen. Aus nicht ersichtlichen Gründen sparte er auch *Zhong Hong*s zweite Throneingabe aus. Dirk Reinder Jonkers Besprechung (In: T'oung Pao, 59 [1973], 279–281) von H. Wilhelms Aufsatz bietet zwar einige interessante kritische Ansätze zur Bearbeitung des *Shipin*, auf biographischen Fragen geht er jedoch kaum ein.

[9] Es kann davon ausgegangen werden, daß der Einbezug von Familienregistern (*jiapu*) des *Zhong*-Clans oder relevanter Regionalgeschichten weitere interessante Aspekte zum Studium von *Zhong Hong*s Biographie bieten würde. Da das Aufzeichnen von Familienregistern in jener Zeit der Teilung Chinas zur Aufrechterhaltung der Machtstellung des Adels dienen sollte, bin ich der Auffassung, daß hier — soweit tradiert — sehr detaillierte Angaben vorliegen müßten. U.U. wären dadurch einige, wenn nicht sogar alle genealogischen Lücken in *Zhong Hong*s Stammbaum zu klären. Im Rahmen dieser Arbeit war es mir jedoch aus bibliothekstechnischen Gründen nicht möglich, derartige Unterlagen einzusehen.

In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich mich bei Herrn Dr. *Chen Qinghao* [Chan Hing-ho] (persönliches Gespräch, Paris, 18.9.1992) bedanken, der mir die Existenz von Untersuchungen und Studien dieser Quellenmaterialien seitens chinesischer Sinologen zur Kenntnis brachte. Genaue bibliographische Angaben konnten jedoch nicht in Erfahrung gebracht werden.

[10] Da *Zhong Hong* bis zu seinem Tod Privatsekretär (*jishi*) von *Xiao Gang* (503–551), dem damaligen Prinzen von *Jin'an* war, wird er auch »Sekretär *Zhong*« (*Zhong Jishi*) genannt. So betitelte z.B. *Gu Zhi* seine kommentierte Ausgabe des *Shipin* als *Zhong Jishi Shipin Jian* [Erstausgabe 1928. Reprint: *Guangwen Shuju*, Taibei, 1968].

Changshe in *Yingchuan*, das Stammgebiet des *Zhong*-Clans, liegt im Gebiet des heutigen *Changge* der Provinz *Henan*. Zu *Zhong Hong*s Lebenszeit lag es außerhalb des Herrschaftsgebietes der *Song*-, *Qi*- und *Liang*-Dynastie. Der Geburtsort des *Zhong Hong* konnte nicht ermittelt werden.

Zhong Ya (?–328?), Mannesname *Yanzhou*. Biographie: *Jin Shu* 70 : 1877f. Sein Vater *Zhong Ye* war Adjutant der Zentralarmee, verstarb aber sehr früh. Außer den Werken, die in *Yan Kejun*s (1762–1843) *Quan Jin Wen* (In: *Yan Kejun* [Ed.]: *Quan Shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao Wen. Zhonghua Shuju*, Beijing, 1965. 5 Bde. [incl. Indexband]) erhalten sind, existierte eine Sammelausgabe seiner Werke unter dem Titel *Zhong Ya Ji*, die jedoch nicht tradiert ist.

Eine Texttradition des *Liang Shu* schreibt *Zhong Dao*s Name als *Zhong Tao*. Vgl. H. Wilhelm (Chung Hung), 111. Von ihm ist eine zwölfbändige Werkausgabe unter dem Titel *Zhong Dao Ji* tradiert.

2.2. *Vorfahren und Standesbewußtsein*

Zu einer genaueren Bestimmung von *Zhong Hong*s familiärem Hintergrund erscheint der Versuch einer vereinfachten Rekonstruktion seiner Genealogie angebracht.

Wenn auch die vorliegenden Biographien den direkten Deszendenzbezug nur zu *Zhong Ya* aufzeigen, so kann bei den Mitgliedern des Clans der *Zhong*s ein sehr konkretes und weit zurückreichendes Bewußtsein der eigenen Clangeschichte und der darin implizierten Genealogie angenommen werden. Man kann weiters annehmen, daß *Zhong Hong* sehr wohl wußte, daß sich bereits sein Vorfahre *Zhong Hao* während der späteren *Han*-Dynastie den Studien der *shi*-Dichtung gewidmet hatte.[11]

Abgesehen von dem für die alten Adelsfamilien (*shizu*) charakteristischen Tenor einer dominanten historischen Orientierung, kann ein starkes Bewußtsein der Familiengeschichte auch deshalb angenommen werden, weil der *status nascendi* des Adels sehr reale Machtansprüche und Privilegien implizierte.

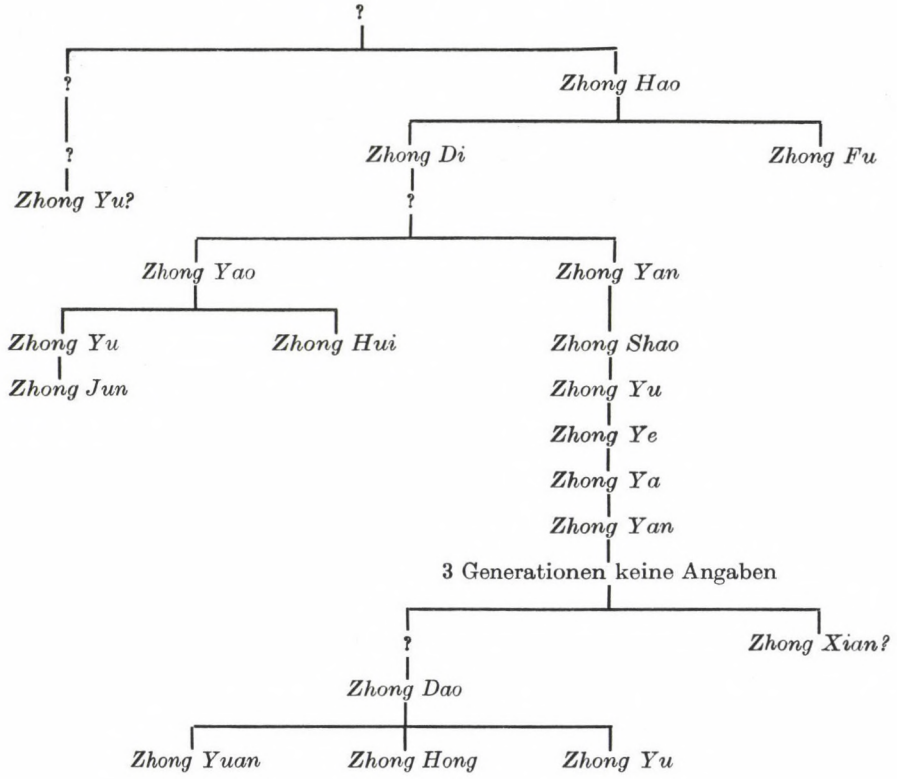
Es erscheint auch erwähnenswert, daß unter den in den vorliegenden Unterlagen namentlich benannten Vorfahren des *Zhong Hong* keiner gefunden werden konnte, der von den Historikern mit — im Sinne des die chinesische Historiographie prägenden *baobian*-Prinzipes — negativen Attributen belegt worden wäre. Vielmehr zeichneten sie sich alle durch *admiranda* wie militärische Verdienste, hohe Beamtenposten, edle Gesinnung, hingebungsvolle Studien oder hervorragende Bildung aus.[12]

[11] *Zhong Hao*, Mannesname *Jiming*, lebte während der östlichen *Han*-Dynastie als lokale Berühmtheit in *Yingchuan*. Er soll sich auf einen Berg zurückgezogen haben und dort Poesiestudien betrieben haben. Siehe *Hou Han Shu*, 62 : 2064 und die Anmerkung in *Sanguo Zhi* (*Wei Shu*), 13 : 391f. Seine Söhne *Zhong Di* und *Zhong Fu* standen — wie ihr Vater — aus Gründen politischer Indisposition nicht im öffentlichen Dienst. Siehe *Sanguo Zhi* (*Wei Shu*), 13 : 392.

[12] Zu den genealogischen Ausführungen vgl. auch *Chen Qinghao* (*Zhong Hong Shipin Jijiao*. Centre de publication orientale. Paris, Hongkong, 1978), 1, *Huang Jingming* (*Zhong Hong Buzhuan — Jian lun Shipin de bianzhu Niandai*. In: *Singapore Daxue Zhongwen Xuehui Xuebao* 11 [1971], 51ff), 51 und die biographischen Anmerkungen bei Richard B. Mather (A New Account of Tales of the World. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1976), 516–518.

Zhong Xian, zu dessen Biographie keine weiterführenden Materialien gefunden werden konnten, hatte unter der Herrschaft der *Qi*-Dynastie ein kleines Amt inne. Im *Shipin* reihte *Zhong Hong* das pentasyllabische Œuvre seines paternalen Onkels in die Rangklasse C und zitierte eine seiner Aussagen zur Stilgeschichte der Literatur der Perioden *Daming* (457–464) und *Taishi* (465–471) der *Song*-Dynastie. Siehe *He Wenhuan* (Lidai Shihua), 01010.27–33, Tőkei (Műfajelmélet Kínában), 205. Warum *Zhong Hong* in dieser Textstelle des *Shipin* nicht einen posthumen Namen oder einen Ehrennamen, sondern den *ming* seines Onkels direkt nannte, ist unklar. Selbst unter Berücksichtigung z. B. von *Yan Zhituis* (531–590?) diesbezüglichen Aufzeichnungen im *Yanshi Jiaxun* zum *Usus Temporis* muß hier ein Normverstoß zumindest in Hinsicht auf die soziale

2.3. Simplifizierte Skizze der Genealogie



2.4. Das Schicksal eines Patriziergeschlechtes

Einen Höhepunkt an politischem Einfluß des *Zhong*-Clans stellte *Zhong Yao*s führende Position im kaiserlichen Sekretariat der *Wei*-Dynastie dar. Er war Ende der östlichen *Han*-Dynastie *xiaolian* geworden, hatte auch als

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Herkunft des Autors festgestellt werden. Ist *Xian* demnach vielleicht gar nicht als *ming*, sondern als posthumer oder Ehrenname von *Zhong Hong*s Onkel anzusehen? Eines der Gedichte von *Zhong Xian* fand Aufnahme in *juan* 4 von *Ding Fubaos Quan Çi Shi* (In: *Ding Fubao* [Ed.]: *Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nanbei Chao Shi. Yiwen Yinshuguan*, Taibei, 1974. 3 Bde.), II : 1051 und wurde somit bis in die Gegenwart überliefert. Da *Zhong Xian*s Autorenschaft an diesem Gedicht jedoch nicht unumstritten ist, findet man immer wieder Vermerke, daß keines seiner Gedichte tradiert worden sei.

Zu den Verwandtschaftstermini *zufu* und *congzu*, die besonders in Hinblick auf ihre Generationszuordnung nicht vereindeutigt werden konnten und daher mit einem Fragezeichen hinter dem Namen gekennzeichnet wurden, vgl. das Kapitel *Shiqin* des *Erya*, VIII : 61f, *Rui Yifu* (*Erya Shiqin Buzheng*. In: *Wen Shi Zhe Xuebao* 1 [1950], 101–134), 103 und Feng Han-yi (The Chinese Kinship System. Reprint: Southern Materials Center, Taibei, 1985), 10, 20, 25.

Kommentator des *Zhouyi* und als Kalligraph Berühmtheit erlangt und verstarb, nach langjähriger Tätigkeit in der Zentralverwaltung, während der Periode *Taihe* (227–232) unter *Cao Rui* (205–239), dem Kaiser *Ming* (reg. 227–239) der *Wei*-Dynastie. Angesichts seiner Stellung bedurfte sein Sohn *Zhong Yu* (*Zhishu*) (?–263) keinerlei Empfehlungen der *Zhongzheng*-Behörde, um in jungen Jahren bereits ein lukratives Amt zu bekleiden, denn die Umgehung des Selektionsverfahrens war eines der Privilegien der Familien hoher Beamter der *Wei*-Administration.[13]

Über mehrere Generationen hindurch konnten die *Zhong*s so eine der prominenten Stellen in der Adelsgesellschaft halten.

Zur entscheidenden Zäsur kam es jedoch bei jenem Vorfahren *Zhong Hong*s, der uns in der Biographie als Deszendenzbezug namentlich genannt wird: *Zhong Ya*. Er war nach dem frühen Tod seines Vaters als Halbwaise aufgewachsen und zeichnete sich durch großen Fleiß und starke Willenskraft aus.

Die Okkupation Nordchinas durch die nicht-chinesischen Invasoren zwischen 307 und 312 löste starke Migrationsschübe von Adelsfamilien in den Süden aus. So berichtet auch *Zhong Ya*s Biographie, daß er sich vor den Kriegswirren in Sicherheit brachte. Wahrscheinlich ist ein Teil des *Zhong*-Clans mit ihm südwärts gezogen, als er im Jahre 311 nach *Jiankang* emigrierte.[14]

Unter den Kaisern *Yuan* (reg. 317–322), *Ming* (322–324) und *Cheng* (325–342) der östlichen *Jin*-Dynastie war *Zhong Ya* in hohen Ämtern tätig, mußte jedoch im Verlauf der durch die Rebellion des *Su Jun* (?–328) ausgelösten Unruhen, auf der dem Kaiser loyalen Seite kämpfend, sein Leben lassen.

Als direkte Konsequenz dieses Unglücksfalles und des frühen Todes von *Zhong Ya*s Sohn *Zhong Yan* ging der Clan seines politischen Einflusses verlustig und — wie *Fang Xuanling* (578–648) in *Jin Shu* vermerkt — verarmte.[15]

[13] *Zhong Yao* (auch: *Zhong You*) (?–230?), Mannesname *Yuanchang*. Biographie: *Sanguo Zhi* (*Wei Shu*), 13 : 391–399, wo von einem älteren männlichen Verwandten (*zufu*) namens *Zhong Yu* berichtet wird, der *Zhong Yao* nach *Luoyang* brachte und seine Ausbildung unterstützte.

Zu seinen Söhnen *Zhong Yu* (?–263), Mannesname *Zhishu*, und *Zhong Hui* (225–264), Mannesname *Shiji*, siehe die Biographien in *Sanguo Zhi* (*Wei Shu*), 13 : 399f u. 28 : 784f.

[14] Zu den Abwanderungen aus dem Norden siehe z.B. *Tan Qixiang* (*Jin Yongjia shangluan hou zhi minzu qianxi* [Migrations after 312]. In: *Yanjing Xuebao* 15 [1934]), 51–76. Zu *Zhong Ya*s Flucht vor den Kriegswirren siehe *Jin Shu*, 70 : 1877.

[15] Zu *Zhong Ya*s Sohn *Zhong Yan* siehe *Jin Shu*, 70 : 1878.

2.5. Zur Bedeutungslosigkeit des Zhong-Clans

Der Adel des Südens spaltete sich infolge der massiven Einwanderungswellen aus dem Norden in zwei teils rivalisierende Lager: die aus dem Norden emigrierten (*qiaoxing*) und die aus dem Süden stammenden (*wuxing*) Familien.

Gemeinsam hatten sie einen Gegenspieler: die meist durch militärische oder wirtschaftliche Erfolge aufgestiegenen Nichtadeligen (*hanmen*).[16]

Um die immense politische Macht des Adels im Süden zu beschränken, versuchten die Herrscher mehrmals, die Machtverteilung zu Gunsten der Nichtadeligen zu verlagern. Die strengen Regeln zur Aufrechterhaltung einer klar stratifizierten Gesellschaft, wie etwa Endogamieverordnungen, waren von der Adelsseite als Gegengewicht zum vermehrten Einfluß der Nichtadeligen in Militär und Verwaltung gedacht. Weitere starke Machtverluste mußten die Adelsfamilien auch durch die Tatsache hinnehmen, daß sich ihre Söhne mit Begeisterung in »Leeren Gesprächen« übten und somit ihre traditionellen politischen Einflußsphären weitgehendst verwaist ließen.

Quellentechnisch erscheinen somit besonders die genealogischen Lücken für jene Zeitabschnitte symptomatisch, wo die realpolitische Macht des *Zhong*-Clans in den Wirren der Zeit in Bedeutungslosigkeit versank.

Es ist anzunehmen, daß *Zhong Hong*, wie sein Vater *Zhong Dao* oder seine beiden Brüder *Zhong Yuan* und *Zhong Yu*, den Biographen keine ausführlichere Einzelbiographie wert gewesen wäre, hätte er nicht den (nicht tradierten) Hymnus *Ruishi Song* zu Ehren des hochangesehenen *He Yin* (446–531) komponiert oder sein poetologisches Opus *Shipin* vorgelegt.

3. Geburt und Studium

3.1. Bericht der Biographen

> Sowohl *Zhong Hong* als auch seine Brüder *Zhong Yuan* und *Zhong Yu* widmeten sich ihren Studien mit Hingabe und verfügten über Intuition und Ratio [*you si li*].[17]

[16] Zur Population des Südens siehe z.B. *Zhou Liang* (*Nan Chao jingnei zhi gezhong ren ji zhengfu duidai zhi zhengce*. Original in: Bulletion of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 7 [1938]. Reprinted in: *Han Fuzhi* [Ed.]: *Zhongguo Tongshi Lunwen Xuanji. Nantian Shuju*, Taibei, 1990, 2 Bde.) I : 521–586 und die anderen bei *Han Fuzhi* (op. cit.), 417–602 gesammelten Aufsätze. Ein interessante Fallstudie bietet Patricia Buckley Ebrey (The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China. A Case Study of the Po-ling Ts'ui Family. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1978).

[17] Zu *Zhong Hong*s älterem Bruder *Zhong Yuan* und zu seinem jüngeren Bruder *Zhong Yu* siehe den Appendix zu *Zhong Hong*s Biographie.

Ad »Intuition und Ratio« vgl. James J. Y. Liu (Chinese Theories of Literature. University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1975), 33f, Vincent Yu-chung Shih

Während der Periode *Yongming* [483–493] der *Qi*-Dynastie studierte *Zhong Hong* an der Adelsakademie und spezialisierte sich auf das Buch der Wandlungen [*ming Zhouyi*]. *Wang Jian*, der General des Palastwache, schätzte als Vorsitzender der Adelsakademie den Kontakt mit *Zhong Hong* außerordentlich.[18]

3.2. Zhong Hongs Geburtsjahr

Da weder in den gegebenen Biographien noch aus anderer verfügbarer Quelle direkte Angaben zu *Zhong Hong*s Geburtsjahr vorliegen, bedarf es eines kurzen Exkurses.

3.2.1. Eintritt in die Adelsakademie

Die in der Biographie genannte Adelsakademie war in der *Qi*-Dynastie von *Xiao Daocheng* (427–482) im ersten Monat des vierten Jahres seiner Periode *Jianyuan* (482) wieder eingerichtet worden.[19]

Nachdem die ersten Studenten — sie waren bei Eintritt in die Akademie zwischen fünfzehn und zwanzig Jahre alt — aufgenommen worden waren, wurde der akademische Betrieb und damit wohl auch eine weitere Aufnahme von Studenten im neunten Monat des Jahres 482 durch den Tod des Kaisers unterbrochen.[20]

(The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons. Reprint: The Chinese University Press, Hongkong, 1983), 299ff und die Annotationen von *Fan Wenlan* (*Wenxin Diaolong Zhu*. Reprint der Ausgabe von 1958: *Taiwan Kaiming Shudian*, Taibei, 1985), 6 : 1ff.

[18] *Yongming* (483–493) war die Regierungsdevise von *Xiao Ze* (440–493), dem Kaiser *Wu* (reg. 483–493) der *Qi*-Dynastie.

Wang Jian (452–489), Mannesname *Zhongbao*. Biographien: *Nan Qi Shu*, 23 : 443–438 und *Nan Shi*, 22 : 590–596. Er wurde 483 zum General der Palastwache (*wei jiangjun*) ernannt. Siehe *Nan Qi Shu*, 23 : 436. Ähnlich auch *Nan Shi*, 22 : 594, wo »nach Kaiser *Wu*s Inthronisation« zu lesen ist. 484 und 485 war er als Vorsitzender der Adelsakademie (*guozi jijiu*) tätig. Siehe *Nan Qi Shu*, 23 : 436, vgl. aber auch *Nan Qi Shu*, 16 : 315, wo nur 485 genannt wird. Zu den terminologischen Divergenzen betreffs *wei jiangjun* vgl. *Liang Shu*, 49 : 694 und die Annotation in *Nan Qi Shu*, 23 : 443f.

Bis zu dieser Textstelle sind die Versionen von *Zhong Hong*s Biographie in *Liang Shu* und *Nan Shi*, von geringfügigen Divergenzen abgesehen, identisch.

[19] Durch die politische Instabilität war das Erziehungssystem der Südlichen Dynastien nicht sehr entwickelt. Unter *Liu Yu* (363–422), Kaiser *Wu* (reg. 420–422) der *Song*-Dynastie, erging der Befehl zur Errichtung der Akademie. Der Kaiser verstarb jedoch vor Realisierung des Vorhabens. Unter *Liu Yilong* (407–453), Kaiser *Wen* (reg. 424–453) der *Song*-Dynastie, wurde die Akademie im Jahr 443 wiedererrichtet, um sieben Jahre darauf wieder geschlossen zu werden. Zur Wiedereinrichtung der Adelsakademie unter der *Qi*-Dynastie siehe *Nan Qi Shu*, 9 : 143, wo sich auch Angaben zum Alter und zur sozialen Stellung der Familien der Studenten befinden. Siehe auch *Shen Jianshi* (*Zhongguo Kaoshi Zhidu* Shi. *Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan*, Taibei, 1969), 54–65.

[20] Siehe *Nan Qi Shu*, 3 : 45. Vgl. auch *Nan Qi Shu*, 16 : 315, wo die durch den Tod des Kaisers verursachte Staatstrauer als Ursache für die Unterbrechung des Betriebes der Akademie genannt wird. *Nan Qi Shu*, 9 : 144f dagegen betont Schwierigkeiten bei der Thronfolge als Ursache für die Unterbrechung des Lehrbetriebs.

Nachdem *Xiao Ze* (440–493) im ersten Monat des dritten Jahres seiner Periode *Yongming* (485) die Adelsakademie wiedereröffnet hatte, wurden im Herbst 200 Studenten aufgenommen, die durchwegs aus Beamtenfamilien stammten.

*Zhong Hong*s Familie erfreute sich zwar schon längst nicht mehr des Einflusses und Glanzes vergangener Tage, ihre Zugehörigkeit zum Stand der traditionellen Beamtenfamilien war jedoch nicht in Frage gestellt. *Zhong Hong* müßte also zwischen der Wiederöffnung der Akademie (485) und spätestens *Wang Jian*s Todesjahr (489) an der Adelsakademie gewesen sein. Da er *Wang Jian* im *Shipin* als seinen Lehrer (*shi*) benannte,[21] kann angenommen werden, daß er während *Wang Jian*s Tätigkeit als Vorsitzender der Adelsakademie an dieser Ausbildungsstätte studierte.

Höchstwahrscheinlich befand er sich unter jenen 200 Studenten, die im Herbst des Jahres 485 in die Adelsakademie eingetreten waren.

3.2.2. Bisherige Hypothesen und Schlußfolgerung

Jiang Liangfu meinte, aus der *Liang-Shu*-Version der vorliegenden Quelle und der Biographie des *Xiao Gang Zhong Hong*s Lebensdaten und das Jahr 469 als sein Geburtsjahr erschließen zu können.[22]

Wenn wir aber zur Berechnung eines wahrscheinlichen Geburtsjahres ins Kalkül ziehen, daß *Zhong Hong* bei seinen Studien an der Adelsakademie bereits ein relativ hohes Niveau erreicht hatte, was sich aus der Formulierung »*ming Zhouyi*« des Biographen ableiten läßt, so erscheint es kaum wahrscheinlich, daß sein Eintritt in die Akademie im Mindestalter von 15 Jahren stattgefunden hatte.

Wang Shumin schlug vor, daß man mindest ein Alter von 16, besser aber 17 Jahren für den Zeitpunkt von *Zhong Hong*s Eintritt in die Akademie annehmen sollte.[23] Diesen Eintritt in die Akademie nimmt *Wang Shumin* allerdings mit dem Jahre 484 an, was mit meiner Auffassung der Quellenlage,

[21] Siehe *He Wenhuan* (*Lidai Shihua*), 01010.25f, Tőkei (Műfajelmélet Kínában), 204, wo *Zhong Hong Wang Shi Wenxian* schreibt, also *Wang Jian*s posthumen Namen *Wenxian* verwendet. Aus dem in der Biographie hervorgehobenen engen Kontakt zwischen *Wang Jian* und *Zhong Hong* kann verstanden werden, daß *Wang Jian* als Mentor und Förderer des jungen *Zhong Hong* nicht nur dessen Studien unterstützte, sondern u.U. auch sehr konkret auf dessen zukünftige Beamtenlaufbahn einwirkte.

[22] Siehe *Jiang Liangfu* (*Lidai Renwu Nianli Beizhuan Zongbiao. Wenshizhe Chubanshe*, Taibei, 1985), 80. Auch Wixted (Evaluation in the Shih-p'in), 225 nennt — ebenfalls ex cathedra — 469 als scheinbar gesichertes Geburtsjahr von *Zhong Hong*.

[23] *Wang Shumin* (*Zhong Hong Shipin Gailun*. In: *Zhongguo Wen Zhe Yanjiu Jikan*, 1 [1991], 11–24), 12 verwendet in seinem chinesischsprachigen Aufsatz zwar den Terminus *sui*, legt seiner Berechnung des Alters jedoch die westliche Zählung zugrunde, wenn er 467 als *Zhong Hong*s Geburtsjahr folgert.

wonach er erst 485 sein Studium an der Adelsakademie begonnen hatte, nicht in Einklang steht.[24]

Wang Dajin meinte, daß *Zhong Hong*s Alter beim Eintritt in die Akademie, den auch er mit dem Jahr 485 annimmt, »nicht als sehr jung« — er spricht von 18 *sui* als wahrscheinlich — angenommen werden sollte.[25]

Chen Qinghao entwickelte *Wang Dajin*s Gedankengang weiter und folgerte, daß die Plausibilität der Berechnung umso höher sei, je früher man das Datum annehme.[26]

Wenn auch *Zhong Hong*s Geburtsjahr nicht mehr mit Sicherheit bestimmbar zu sein scheint, so kann man davon ausgehen, daß *Zhong Hong* unter der Herrschaft von *Liu Yu* (439–472), dem Kaiser *Ming* (reg. 464–472) der *Song*-Dynastie, wahrscheinlich in der ersten Hälfte der Periode *Taishi* (465–472), also 465 bis 467, spätestens aber 469, das Licht der Welt erblickte.

Angaben, wonach *Zhong Hong* während der *Qi*-Dynastie (479–502) geboren sei, erscheinen in jedem Fall als viel zu spät angesetzt.[27]

4. In den Diensten der *Qi*-Dynastie (479–502)

4.1. Version 1: Der wirkungslose Traktat eines Sekretärs

Zu Beginn der Periode *Jianwu* [494–498] war *Zhong Hong* im Sekretariat des Prinzen von *Nankang* [*Xiao Zilin*] tätig.[28]

[24] Das dritte Jahr der Regierungsperiode *Yongming* (485) wird expressis verbis als jenes Jahr genannt, wo 200 Studenten aufgenommen worden waren, wogegen für 484 keinerlei derartige Aufzeichnungen bestehen. *Wang Shumin*s Referenzstelle besagt bloß, daß *Wang Jian* 485 um Entlassung aus seinem Amt angesucht hatte, was jedoch nicht genehmigt wurde. Siehe meine Quellenangaben in Fußnoten 18 bis 20.

[25] Siehe *Wang Dajin* (*Zhong Hong Sheng Zu Niandai Kao*. In: *Guangming Ribao*: *Wenxue Yichan*, Nr. 170, 18.8.1957) erschließt 468 als wahrscheinliches Geburtsjahr von *Zhong Hong*. *Wang Dajin*'s Berechnungen zu den Lebensdaten des *Zhong Hong* wurden von der Mehrzahl der Referenzwerke übernommen.

[26] Siehe *Chen Qinghao* (*Shipin Jijiao*), 2. Einen ähnlichen Standpunkt scheinen auch *Huang Jingming* (*Zhong Hong Buzhuan*), 51, der die Zeitspanne zwischen 465–468 vorzieht, und Craig Fisk (In: William H. Nienhauser Jr. [Ed.]: The Indiana Companion of Traditional Chinese Literature. Reprint: Southern Materials Center, Taibei, 1988, 701–704), 701, der ca. 465 angibt, einzunehmen. *Chen Qinghao* nennt im Umschlagtext seines Buches die Lebensdaten *Zhong Hong*s als »environ 463–618«.

[27] *Liu Dajie* (*Zhongguo Wenxue Fada Shi*. Reprint: *Zhonghua Shuju*, Taibei, 1980), 286 gibt an, daß *Zhong Hong* unter der Herrschaft der *Qi*-Dynastie geboren und im Jahre 552 gestorben sei. In einer anderen Ausgabe (*Zhongguo Wenxue Fazhan Shi. Guji Chubanshe*. Shanghai, 1982, 3 Bde.), I : 316 erscheinen die Lebensdaten korrigiert (ca. 468–518), der Text besagt jedoch, daß *Zhong Hong* unter der *Qi*-Dynastie geboren sei.

[28] *Jianwu* (494–498) war die erste Regierungsdevise von *Xiao Luan* (459–498), dem Kaiser *Ming* (reg. 494–498) der *Qi*-Dynastie.

Kaiser *Ming* der *Qi*-Dynastie [*Xiao Luan*] beschäftigte sich bis in die kleinsten Details hinein mit den Staatsgeschäften, das Gesetzesnetz wurde immer engmaschiger, in der Ausführung gewöhnlicher Amtsgeschäfte kam es zu Kompetenz- und Prioritätsstreitigkeiten zwischen regionaler und zentraler Verwaltungsebene. [Die Vergabe] ziviler und militärischer Ämter basierte auf Präzedenzfällen und nicht auf ministeriellen Anweisungen. Machtpositionen wurden dazu verwendet, sich gegenseitig Wege zu öffnen und Vorteile zu verschaffen, der Herrscher handelte oberflächlich und verstrickte sich in mühselige Kleinigkeiten.

Zhong Rong reichte daraufhin eine Throneingabe folgenden Wortlautes ein:[29]

> Die weisen Herrscher des Altertums vergaben politische Funktionen gemäß dem Talent, wägten die Fähigkeiten ab und vergaben danach Beamtenposten.
>
> Die drei höchsten Würdenträger [*sangong*] saßen und erörterten den rechten Weg [*dao*], die neun Minister [*jiuqing*] agierten und brachten ihre Aufgabe zur Vollendung — der Sohn des Himmels ward in ehrfürchtiger Tugend bloß südwärts gewandt.[30]

Der durch die Vorlage der Throneingabe keineswegs beglückte Kaiser fragte *Gu Hao*, einen seiner persönlichen Berater: »Wer ist dieser *Zhong Hong*, der über meine Amtsgeschäfte Urteile fällen will? Kennt Ihr ihn?«[31]

»*Zhong Hong*s Stellung ist zwar niedrig, er selbst reichlich unbekannt«, antwortete *Gu Hao*, »doch seine Worte mögen manch brauchbaren Gedanken beinhalten. Für die Vielfalt all der detaillierten Aufgaben gäbe es [theoretisch] spezifische Ämter. Wenn nun Eure Majestät all diese Aufgaben bei sich konzentrieren und [ihre Bearbeitung] persönlich in die Hand nehmen, so werden Eure Mühen vermehrt und die Beamten in ihrem Müßiggang bestärkt. Das ist, als würde man an des Kochs Stelle Vieh schlachten oder an des Zimmermanns Stelle Holz fällen.«[32]

Der Kaiser nahm [diese Worte] nicht zur Kenntnis und wechselte das Gesprächsthema.

Xiao Zilin (484?–498), Mannesname *Yunzhang*. Biographien: *Nan Qi Shu*, 40 : 714 und *Nan Shi*, 44 : 1117. Er wurde 490 als Prinz von *Nankang*, das etwas südwestlich des heutigen *Nankang* in der Provinz Jiangxi lag, belehnt. Bald darauf teilte er jedoch das Schicksal seiner Brüder: 498 wurde er im Alter von 14 Jahren im Verlaufe einer der vielen internen Ausrottungskampagnen der kaiserlichen Familie ermordet.

[29] Zur folgenden Throneingabe vgl. H. Wilhelm (Chung Hung), 112 und Jonker (Review), 280.

[30] Zu *Zhong Hong*s Bezugsstellen, dem Konklave der *sangong* und zu den *jiuqing* siehe das Kapitel *Zhou Guan* des *Shangshu*, besonders *Shangshu*, I : 270, James Legge (The Chinese Classics. Reprint: Southern Materials Center, Taibei, 1983. 5 Bde.), III : 526f, Séraphin Couvreur (Chou King. Les Annales de la Chine. Reprint: Cathasia, Paris, 1950), 333, weiters *Liji* (Kap. *Wang Zhi*), V : 220, James Legge (The Texts of Confucianism. The Li Ki. Reprint: Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1958. 2 Bde.), I : 213, Séraphin Couvreur (Li Ki ou Mémoires sur les Bienséances et les Cérémonies. Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique. Ho Kien Fou, 1918. 2 Bde.), I : 273. Zur Ausrichtung des Kaisers nach Süden siehe besonders *Lunyu* (Kap. *Yong ye* u. *Wei Ling Gong*), VIII : 51–57 u. VIII : 137 und die weiterführenden Literaturangaben bei *Yang Bojun* (*Lunyu Shizhu. Zhonghua Shuju*, Beijing, 1980), 54 u. 162, Legge (Classics), I : 184 u. I : 295, Richard Wilhelm (Kungfutse. Gespräche. Diederichs, Düsseldorf, 1955), 72f u. 154.

[31] *Gu Hao*, auch *Gu Haozhi*, Mannesname *Shiming*. Biographie: *Nan Qi Shu*, 43 : 767. Ende der Periode *Yongming* (483–493) war er Sekretär des Kronprinzen, kehrte aber zu Beginn der Periode *Jianwu* (494–498) aus vorgeblich gesundheitlichen Gründen der Palastpolitik den Rücken, zog sich in seine Heimat zurück und verstarb im Alter von 49 Jahren.

[32] Die von *Gu Hao* angesprochenen Gleichnisse von Koch und Zimmermann finden sich in den Kapiteln *Yang Sheng Zhu* und *Ren Jian Shi* des Buches *Zhuangzi*. Siehe

4.2. Aufruf zur imitatio antiquitatis

Der aus *Yingchuan*, einem der Heimatländer der *Xia*-Dynastie[33] stammende *Zhong Hong* legte in dieser Throneingabe — ungeachtet seines niedrigen Amtes — seine Ansichten über die wahren Aufgaben des Kaisers vor.

In der Darstellung dieser Aufgaben findet er den Bezug zu den Beschreibungen von *Yao* und *Shun*, die nach traditioneller Auffassung von 2356–2256 und 2255–2205 v.Chr. regiert hatten. Die konfuzianischen Klassiker berichten, daß diese beiden legendären Herrscher die Verwaltung des Reiches gemäß der Erkenntnis aus jener Zeit, die für sie die Antike darstellte, strukturierten. Sie wählten die Beamten aufgrund deren edler Gesinnung aus und beeinflußten und lenkten Volk und Staat im Sinne des *wuwei* durch ihre vollendete Tugend (*de*).

Zhong Hong betonte damit, daß diese in der konfuzianischen Tradition als modellhaft betrachteten Herrscher ihre Erkenntnisse aus dem Altertum zur Grundlage ihrer Organisation der Verwaltung machten, wogegen *Xiao Luan* alle diese Grundsätze unbeachtet ließ: seine Hyperaktivität im Bereich des Unwesentlichen stellt einen selbstredenden Gegensatz zu *Shuns wuwei* dar.

Die Gefahr, der sich *Zhong Hong* durch Vorlage dieses Schriftstückes aussetzte, wird vom Biographen durch die Aussage des alten kaiserlichen Weggefährten, der unerwarteterweise die kritischen Worte weiterführte, leicht abgeschwächt. *Gu Hao* fügte durch seinen Verweis auf Koch *Ding* und Zimmermann *Shi* zu *Zhong Hongs* konfuzianischer Argumentation eine weitere, vielleicht etwas populärere Ebene hinzu, indem er sich auf das in den südlichen Dynastien vielrezipierte Buch *Zhuangzi* berief.

Zhong Hong selbst bedurfte in seinem Aufruf zur *imitatio* der *exemplaria antiquitatis* dieses zeitgeistig inflationären Argumentes nicht. Er spannte einen, in seinen Augen in der Wahrheit begründeten und daher zeitunabhängigen Argumentationsbogen. Dieser führt — kontrapunktierend zu den dunklen Ränken, Machenschaften und Meuchelmorden seiner Zeit — von den legendären weisen Vorbildern über die Darstellung der Beamten und ihrer Aufgaben — i.e. die Harmonisierung der kosmischen Kräfte *Yin* und *Yang* — zu der auch äußerlich sichtbaren Manifestation der Erreichung des Idealzustandes, der Orientierung des Kaisers nach Süden.

Guo Qingfan (*Zhuangzi Jishi. Zhonghua Shuju*, Beijing, 1961. 4 Bde.), I : 117–124 u. I : 170–175, A. C. Graham (Chuang-tzu. The Seven Inner Chapters and other writings from the book Chuang-Tzu. Allen & Unwin, London, 1981), 63f u. 72f, Richard Wilhelm (Dschuang Dsi. Das wahre Buch vom südlichen Blütenland. Diederichs, Düsseldorf, 1969), 54 u. 67ff.

[33] Siehe *Shiji* 123 : 3269.

Es mag kein Zufall sein, daß sich der Sinngehalt dieses Erfassens des Wesentlichen aus jenem Buch ablesen läßt, das im Zentrum von *Zhong Hong*s akademischen Studien stand:

> Das Haftende ist die Helle, in der alle Wesen einander erblicken. Es ist das Zeichen des Südens. Daß die Weisen mit dem Gesicht nach Süden gewandt waren, wenn sie den Sinn des Weltreichs anhörten, hat die Bedeutung, daß sie sich dem Hellen zuwandten bei ihrem Walten.[34]

4.3. Version 2: Eine durchschnittliche Karriere

Die Zeitspanne von *Zhong Hong*s Ausbildung an der Adelsakademie bis knapp vor Ende der Periode *Yongyuan* (499–501) wird von der *Liang Shu*-Version der Biographie unter Auslassung von *Zhong Hong*s erster Throneingabe mit folgenden kurzen Worten beschrieben:

> [Er] wurde in seiner Heimat zum *xiucai* promoviert, begann seine Karriere als Sekretär eines kaiserlichen Prinzen, wurde als Adjutant zur Provinzarmee versetzt und war außerhalb der Hauptstadt als Präfekt von *Anguo* tätig.[35]

4.4. Am Vorabend des Dynastiewechsels

Zu *Zhong Hong*s Karriere in den letzten Jahre der *Qi*-Dynastie berichten beide Biographien übereinstimmend:

> Gegen Ende der Periode *Yongyuan* [499–501] wurde *Zhong Hong* Ministerialrat.[36]

[34] *Zhouyi* (Kap. *Shuo Gua*), I : 184. Übersetzung von Richard Wilhelm (I Ging. Das Buch der Wandlungen. Diederichs, Düsseldorf, 1956), 250.

[35] Ich folge im ersten Satzteil der Interpunktion der *Zhonghua*-Edition des *Liang Shu*. Eine divergierende Interpunktionsvariante liest: »*Zhong Hong* wurde in seiner Heimat zum *xiucai* promoviert und hob [das Ansehen] seiner Familie«. Vgl. H. Wilhelm (Chung Hung), 112.

Anguo, eine der nördlichen Präfekturen im Gebiet der heutigen Provinz Hebei, lag außerhalb des Territoriums der *Qi*-Dynastie. Das aus der *Jin*-Dynastie tradierte System, teilweise oder auch völlig verlorengegangene Territorien nominal weiterzuführen, wurde von den folgenden Dynastien weiter praktiziert. So etwa zählen die geographischen Kapitel des *Nan Qi Shu* die Verwaltungseinheiten namentlich fast völlig ident mit den Verhältnissen der *Song*-Dynastie auf.

*Zhong Hong*s Amt als Präfekt von *Anguo* kann in diesem Sinne auch als Präfekt jenes Siedlungsgebietes betrachtet werden, das den Emigranten aus *Anguo* zugeteilt worden war, denn die Verwaltung von Emigrantengebieten wurde oft in die Hände von Beamten gelegt, die selbst aus Gebieten stammten, die dem Reich verlustig gegangen waren. Wilhelm (loc. cit.) bezeichnete dieses Amt als »*in partibus infidelium*«.

[36] *Yongyuan* (499–501), die Regierungsdevise von *Xiao Baojuan* (483–501), war durch blutrünstiges Morden und chaotische Verwaltungsverhältnisse gekennzeichnet, weshalb ihm von seinen Nachfolgern der posthume kaiserliche Tempelname vorenthalten wurde. Wohl aber bedachte man ihn mit dem aussagekräftigen posthumen Titel *Donghun Hou* (reg. 499–501), Graf der Trübung des Ostens.

*Zhong Hong*s Ministerialposten wird von Jonker (Review), 280 als »adviser in the Finance Department« bezeichnet.

5. In den Diensten der Liang-Dynastie (502–557)

5.1. Vorschläge zur Wiederherstellung der Ordnung

Zu Beginn der Periode *Tianjian* [502–519] der *Liang*-Dynastie war es zwar zu Umgestaltungen [*ge*] des Systems gekommen, eine gänzliche Änderung [*jin gai*] der aus der Vergangenheit übernommenen Mißstände konnte jedoch noch nicht durchgeführt werden.[37]

[Da] reichte *Zhong Hong* eine Throneingabe mit folgendem Wortlaut ein:[38]

> Während der Periode *Yongyuan* [499–501] wurde [das Reich] ins Chaos gestürzt. Man saß [auf Beamtenposten] und gab vor, dem Seelenadel [*tianjue*] anzugehören. [Militärische] Verdienste [um das Reich] erwarb man, ohne in den Krieg gezogen zu sein, und Beamtenposten erlangte man durch Bestechungsgelder.[39]
>
> Man warf ein Goldstück [*yijin*] hin und nahm sich einen Spitzenposten [*jiulie*], versandte ein Holztäfelchen [*zha*] und erhielt einen Kommandoposten [*liuxiao*]. Kommandanten der berittenen Leibwache verstopften die Marktplätze, und Befehlshaber der Palastwache überfüllten die Straßen.

[37] *Tianjian* (502–519) war die erste Regierungsperiode der *Liang*-Dynastie. Als *Xiao Baojuans* Entmenschlichung endgültig unerträgliche Ausmaße annahm, setzte der aus einer Nebenlinie der kaiserlichen Familie stammende *Xiao Yan* (464–549) dem Spuk ein Ende. Bei seinem Sturm auf die Hauptstadt *Jiankang*, dem heutigen Nanjing, wurde *Xiao Baojuan* von seinen eigenen Truppen ermordet. Bevor *Xiao Yan* jedoch den Beginn seiner neuen Dynastie ausrief, setzte er pro forma *Xiao Baorong* (485–502), einen jüngeren Bruder von *Xiao Baojuan* als Kaiser *He* (reg. 501) der *Qi*-Dynastie ein. Im darauffolgenden Jahr bestieg er dann selbst auf Vorschlag seines Beraters *Shen Yue* als erster Kaiser (reg. 502–549) der neu ausgerufenen *Liang*-Dynastie den Thron.

Die Termini *ge* und *gai* erscheinen in diesem Absatz in interessanter rhetorischer Parallelfunktion: *ge* trägt die Bedeutung von »Rohleder«. Vergegenwärtigt man zu seiner verbalen Verwendung z.B. das Bild einer sich häutenden Schlange — die sehr wohl Schlange bleibt — so haben wir es mit einer Form non-substantieller Veränderung zu tun. Zur Hervorhebung dieses Aspektes sei hier noch auf die Formulierung *jin gai*, also die völlige, substantielle Veränderung, hingewiesen. Vgl. auch die lexikalischen Ausführungen von *Xu Shen* (58–148?) in seinem *Shuowen Jiezi* und *Duan Yucais* (1735–1815) Kommentar (*Shuowen Jiezi Zhu. Guji Chubanshe*, Shanghai, 1981), 107 u. 124 und Hexagramm 49 des *Zhouyi*, I : 111f, R. Wilhelm (I Ging), 182–185 u. 563–568.

Die *Liang Shu*-Version der Biographie beschreibt die Zustände zu Beginn der Periode *Tianjian* sinngemäß gleich, differiert jedoch leicht in der Formulierung: »Es kam zwar zu Veränderungen [*ge*] des Systems, doch [für substantielle Veränderungen] ward man zu sehr in Anspruch genommen.«

[38] Zur folgenden Throneingabe vgl. Takamatsu Kōmei (Shihin shôkai. Hirosaki University, Hirosaki, 1959), 132f, dessen Interpunktion teilweise divergiert.

[39] Zum Terminus *tianjue* als Seelenadel im Sinne einer durch edle Gesinnung und hohe innere Werte qualifizierten Elite im Gegensatz zu *renjue*, dem Amtsadel, siehe *Mengzi* (Kap. *Gaozi* 1), VIII : 204, Legge (Classics), II : 418f, Richard Wilhelm (Mong Dsi. Diederichs, Köln, 1982), 169. Dieser Satz erscheint auch in folgender Lesevariante sinnvoll: »Der Seelenadel wurde zum [allgemeinen] Gespött.« Lesevariante des folgenden Satzes: »Verdienste [um das Reich] erwarb man, indem man unrechtens zu den Waffen griff [*jirong*].« Ad *jirong* siehe Hexagramm 43 in *Zhouyi*, I : 103, R. Wilhelm (I Ging), 163 u. 537, wo der nicht förderliche Aspekt betont wird: »*bu li jirong*«.

Obwohl in der äußeren Aufmachnung des Edlen, so wurden dennoch die niedrigsten Taten begangen. Obwohl Amtsträger in höchsten Würden, so beugte man sich doch im Dienst der gemeinen Polizeibüttel.

Sein und Schein waren durcheinandergeraten, wie es schlimmer nicht hätte sein können.[40]

Meiner bescheidenen Ansicht nach sind sämtliche Militärs und Beamten der Periode *Yongyuan* [499–501] wahrhaftig als aus dem gemeinen Volk stammende [*suzu*] Amtsträger anzusehen, die, nachdem sie Untergebene hatten, [ungerechtfertigterweise] geadelt wurden. Es ist angebracht, sie [aus ihren Ämtern] zu entfernen und abzusetzen, um sie für ihr unqualifiziertes wildes Streben nach Ämtern zu bestrafen.[41]

Betreffs der aus dem einfachen Volk stammenden Amtsträger soll die Rangklasse ihres Amtes mit ihrem sozialen Status in Einklang gebracht werden. Die Klarheit der hierarchischen Ordnung soll nicht durch militärische Gefolgschaften überflutet werden. Was die [aus dem Norden emigrierten] Fremdlinge [*cangchu*] betrifft, so muß es darum gehen, [die Situation] zu beruhigen.[42]

Um sie zu berichtigen [*zheng*], muß die Macht, die sie kraft ihrer einträglichen Ämter innehaben, gebrochen werden. Ihrem Widerstand gegen die berichtigenden [Reformen] und dem alleinigen Verlangen nach leeren Amtstiteln muß Einhalt geboten werden.[43]

Nach reichlicher Überlegung [lege ich dies] ungeachtet der zahlreichen Kritiker in Treue und Aufrichtigkeit [vor].[44]

Die Throneingabe nahm auf kaiserlichen Befehl ihren Amtsweg zum Kaiserlichen Sekretariat und wurde in die Praxis umgesetzt.

5.2. Xiao Yans Konsolidierungpläne als Chance für den Zhong-Clan?

Im Gegensatz zu seiner ersten Throneingabe konnte sich *Zhong Hong* bei Vorlage dieser Abhandlung sicher sein, daß seine Vorschläge bei *Xiao Yan* Anklang finden würden, denn der Kaiser war sich selbst der von *Zhong Hong* beschriebenen Mißstände nur zu sehr bewußt. Bereits 502, im ersten Jahr seiner

[40] *Yijin* verstehe ich in rhetorischer Funktion, etwa im Sinne einer kleinen Geldsumme. Siehe *Jin Shu*, 68 : 1815, wo der Preis eines Beamtenpostens mit weniger als einem *jin* beschrieben wird. *Jiulie* scheint hier der Sammelbezeichnung *jiuqing* zu entsprechen, die oben als »neun Minister« übertragen wurde. Die als *zha* bezeichneten Holztäfelchen hatten den Charakter von Urkunden und dienten als eine Art Empfehlungsschreiben. *Liuxiao* scheint hier einen der unter der Sammelbezeichnung *xiaowei* zusammengefaßten militärischen Ehrentitel zu bedeuten.

[41] Zum Terminus *suzu* siehe auch *Nan Qi Shu* 2 : 38, wo berichtet wird, daß *Xiao Daocheng* (427–482) kurz vor seinem Tod von seiner eigenen Abstammung aus dem gewöhnlichen Volke (*buyi suzu*) sprach.

[42] Der Terminus *cangchu* (auch: *huangcang*) ist ein Pejorativ für aus dem Norden Stammende, die in den Süden emigrierten. Im Gegensatz zu den *qiaoxing* (auch: *qiaoren*) bezeichnet *cangchu* die relativ spät aus dem Norden Eingewanderten.

[43] Zu dieser Textpassage, die in ihrer Funktion als Schlußsatz der Throneinlage sehr ambivalent formuliert wurde, schlage ich als Lesevarianten vor: »Um sie zu berichtigen, muß ihre Amtsführungskompetenz streng geprüft werden . . .«, »Das alleinige Verlangen [*qi*] nach leeren Amtstiteln muß in rechte Bahnen gelenkt werden.« Oder: »Den Aufrichtigen bräuchte man bloß kompetenzlose Ämter [*xuhao*] geben [*qi*].« Zur Interpretation von *qi* als »geben« siehe *Jin Shu*, 79 : 2075.

[44] Der Schlußsatz der Throneingabe erscheint nur in der Textversion des *Liang Shu*.

Regierungsgeschäfte, hatte er Erlässe verfaßt, in denen er die Grundzüge seiner Reformpläne formulierte.[45]

*Zhong Hong*s lexikalischer und thematischer Aufbau der Throneingabe zeigt klare Spuren seiner Anlehnungen an *Xiao Yan*s Reformpläne. Im Vergleich zu diesen kaiserlichen Erlässen wählte *Zhong Hong* eine deutlichere Sprache, um den Standpunkt seiner Gesellschaftsschicht darzulegen.

Anders als seine Vorgänger der *Song*- und *Qi*-Dynastie hatte sich *Xiao Yan* ein Vorbild an den Gepflogenheiten der Herrscher der östlichen *Jin*-Dynastie (317–420) genommen und wertete die politische Bedeutung der Adelsfamilien wieder auf, um damit seine eigene Machtposition zu stärken. Dadurch sollten nun viele der seinerzeit unter der östlichen *Jin*-Dynastie in hohem Ansehen gestandenen Familien wieder in einflußreiche Positionen kommen.

*Zhong Hong*s Familie paßte perfekt in dieses Schema. Er selbst mag hier eine große Chance gesehen haben, um durch Wiedererlangung von politischer Macht Glanz und Glorie seiner Familie wiederherzustellen.[46]

Auf die Tatsache, daß er mit seinen Analysen und Vorschlägen manch Gegenstimme provozierte, deutet nicht nur der Schlußsatz der Textversion des *Liang Shu*. *Zhong Hong*s kompromißloses Eintreten für die Interessen der Adligen, in denen er wohl den Seelenadel (*tianjue*) schlechthin personifiziert zu sehen meint, gegenüber den in den Wirrnissen der vergangenen Dynastien »emporgekommenen Gemeinen«, denen er die Qualifikation für höhere Ämter abspricht, ist von letzteren gewiß nicht widerspruchslos entgegengenommen worden.

5.3. An verschiedenen Prinzenhöfen

Wenn auch seine Throneingabe *Xiao Yan*s Absichten weitestgehend entsprach, so ist der folgende Zeitabschnitt in *Zhong Hong*s Leben nicht etwa durch seinen kometenhaften Aufstieg in der Zentralverwaltung, sondern durch seine intensive Beschäftigung mit Literatur an diversen Prinzenhöfen gekennzeichnet:

> *Zhong Hong* wurde als Adjutant zur Zentralarmee des Prinzen von *Linchuan* [*Xiao Hong*] versetzt.[47]

[45] Siehe z.B. *Liang Shu*, 2 : 37f.

[46] Vgl. hierzu auch jene Lesevariante der *Liang-Shu*-Version, wonach *Zhong Hong* als *xiucai* bereits »[das Ansehen] seiner Familie hob«, woraus die Stellung der *Zhong*s ersichtlich wird. Siehe meine Fußnote 35.

[47] *Xiao Hong* (473–526), Mannesname *Xuanda*. Biographien: *Liang Shu*, 18 : 339–341 und *Nan Shi*, 51 : 1275–1279. Nach *Liang Shu*, 22 : 340 und *Nan Shi*, 51 : 1275 wurde er im Jahr 502 als Prinz von *Linchuan*, das im Gebiet der heutigen Provinz Jiangxi liegt, belehnt. Im Jahr 504 wurde er General der Zentralarmee. Nach *Liang Shu*, 50 : 710 war *Liu Xie* (465?–520?) von 504 bis 507, vielleicht nur kurz nachdem *Zhong Hong* in die Dienste von *Xiao Yuanjian* trat, am Hofe von *Xiao Hong* tätig. Haben die beiden Literaturtheoretiker am Hofe *Xiao Hong*s eine kurze Zeit gemeinsam gedient, oder haben

Als [*Xiao*] *Yuanjian*, der Prinz von *Hengyang*, als Präfekt nach *Kuaiji* entsandt wurde, wurde *Zhong Hong* als Privatsekretär [*ningshuo jishi*] berufen und konzentrierte sich auf die Bearbeitung von Schriftstücken.[48]

Zu jener Zeit hatte sich der Einsiedler *He Yin* am *Ruoye*-Berg eine Klause [*shi*] errichtet. Als es im Berggebiet zu großen Überschwemmungen kam, bei denen die Wassermassen Bäume und Felsen ausrissen, blieb einzig seine Klause bestehen. Auf Befehl von [*Xiao*] *Yuanjian* verfaßte *Zhong Hong* eine *Laudatio Camerae Fortunatae* [*Ruishi Song*] von äußerster klassizistischer Schönheit als Zeichen der Anerkennung und Ehrung [des *He Yin*].[49]

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sie einander dort knapp verfehlt? Siehe auch *Yang Mingzhao* (*Liang Shu. Liu Xie Zhuan Jianzhu*. In: *Wenxin Diaolong Lunwenji* [1949–1982]. *Qilu Shushe*, Jinan, 1987, 2 Bde., I : 1–29), I : 11 und *Mu Kehong* (*Wenxin Diaolong Yanjiu. Fujian Jiaoyu Chubanshe*, Fuzhou, 1991), 33f.

Dieser Satz erscheint nur in der Textversion des *Liang Shu*.

[48] Nach *Liang Shu*, 23 : 363f identifiziere ich *Hengyang Siwang Yuanjian* als *Xiao Yuanjian* (gest. 519), Mannesname *Xiyuan*. Biographien: *Liang Shu*, 23 : 363f und *Nan Shi*, 51 : 1273f. Nach *Liang Shu*, 23 : 364 wurde er im Jahr 504 mit dem erblichen Titel Prinz von *Hengyang*, das in der heutigen Provinz Hunan liegt, belehnt und als Präfekt nach *Kuaiji*, das im Gebiet des heutigen Shaoxing der Provinz Zhejiang liegt, gesandt. Vgl. hierzu H. Wilhelm (Chung Hung), 113, der *Hengyang Wang Yuanjian* an dieser Stelle als *Xiao Daodu* identifiziert, dem 480 das posthume Lehen *Hengyang Wang* und der posthume Name *Yuan* verliehen worden waren.

Ich verstehe *Ningshuo* hier nicht als Ortsname. Falls es jedoch als Ortsname aufzufassen wäre, so ist wohl das im Nordwesten an die chinesische Mauer grenzende Gebiet *Ningshuo*, im heutigen Ningxia, gemeint, das weit außerhalb des Herrschaftsgebietes der *Liang* lag. Eine Anstellung als *Ningshuo jishi* müßte demnach ähnlich wie *Zhong Hong*s Tätigkeit als »Präfekt von *Anguo*« angesehen werden. *Liang Shu* und *Nan Shi* der *Zhonghua*-Edition der Biographie kennzeichnen *Ningshuo* nicht als Ortsname. Es ist aber anzunehmen, daß er auch als »secretary of Ning-shuo« (H. Wilhelm, loc. cit.) am Hofe von *Xiao Yuanjian* beschäftigt gewesen wäre, wofür *Xiao Yuanjian*s Befehl zur Abfassung des *Ruishi Song* spräche.

[49] *He Yin* (446–531), Mannesname *Ziji*. Biographien: *Nan Qi Shu*, 54 : 938, *Liang Shu*, 51 : 735–739, *Nan Shi*, 30 : 789–794. Nachdem der auf *Zhouyi*, *Shijing* und Riten spezialisierte Gelehrte mehrere hohe Verwaltungsposten (z.B. Präfekt von *Jian'an*) und Ämter im Erziehungsbereich (z.B. *guozi jijiu*) innegehabt hatte, zog er sich gegen den kaiserlichen Willen während der Regierungsperiode *Jianwu* (494–498) als Einsiedler zurück. Die vorliegenden Biographien des *Zhong Hong* nennen den im Gebiet des heutigen Shaoxing Xian der Provinz Zhejiang gelegenen Berg *Ruoye* als Ort seiner Klause. *Liang Shu*, 72 : 1794 (Annotation 17) und *Nan Shi*, 30 : 792 berichten, daß er sich zuerst auf den in der Nähe von *Xiao Yuanjian*s Hof gelegenen *Ruoye*-Berg zurückgezogen habe, später aber auf einen anderen Berg übersiedelt sei. Zur Zeit der Periode *Tianjian* (502–519) der neu ausgerufenen *Liang*-Dynastie wurden ihm mehrmals Ämter angetragen, die er jedoch ablehnte. Von seinen Werken, die die Biographen penibel auflisten, kennen wir nur noch die Titel. *Ding Fubao*, der in *juan* 12 seiner Gedichtsammlung *Quan Liang Shi* (In: *Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nanbei Chao Shi*), III : 1523f einige Gedichte von *He Yin* aufgenommen hat, verdanken wir deren Überlieferung. *Liang Shu*, 51 : 738 und *Nan Shi*, 30 : 791f berichten von *He Yin*s engem Verhältnis zu *Xiao Yuanjian*, besagtem Unwetter am *Ruoye*-Berg und von *Zhong Hong*s *Ruishi Song*, das in Stein gemeißelt worden war. Der Text dieses Lobgesanges auf *He Yin*s Klause ist weder in geschriebener, noch in gemeißelter Form tradiert. In Ermangelung des Textes dieses Lobgesanges kann die Bedeutung des Titels, insbesonders das Schriftzeichen *rui*, nicht eindeutig geklärt werden.

[Dann] wurde [*Zhong Hong*] als Privatsekretär [*jishi*] des Prinzen von *Jin'an* [*Xiao Gang*] berufen.[50]

5.3.1. Zhong Hong als Literat

Seit *Xiao Yans* Regierungsantritt hatten die Mitglieder des *Xiao*-Clans sowohl in der Hauptstadt als auch in den Provinzen literarische Zirkel und Salons eingerichtet. Wenn auch der provinzielle Hof des relativ unbedeutenden *Xiao Yuanjian*, bei dem *Zhong Hong* von 504 bis 518 diente, über keine besondere derartige Reputation verfügte, so ist zumindest *Xiao Yuanjians* reges Interesse an Fragen der Geisteskultur dokumentiert.

In diesem Umfeld hoher Wertschätzung von Literaten und deren Schöpfungen seitens des Herrscherhauses ist anzunehmen, daß sich *Zhong Hong ex officio* nicht nur mit administrativen Schriften, sondern auch mit literarischen Werken beschäftigte.

Da ihm die Komposition des *Ruishi Song* (*Laudatio Camerae Ferlinotae*) aufgetragen wurde, gehe ich davon aus, daß er zu jener Zeit bereits einen gewissen Ruf als Literat genoß, wodurch vielleicht u.a. *Xiao Gangs* Interesse an *Zhong Hong* geweckt wurde.

5.3.2. Die Hauptarbeitsphase des Poetologen

Die traditionelle Auffassung setzt *Zhong Hongs* Arbeitsbeginn an seinem *Shipin* erst mit dem Jahr 513 an, wenn sie davon ausgeht, daß das *Shipin* zwischen 513 und 517 geschrieben worden sei.

Es erscheint mir jedoch wahrscheinlich, daß *Zhong Hong* in dieser Lebensphase bereits früher, eher 502 oder 503, seine literaturkritische Arbeit begonnen hatte. Durch die Evidenzen, die uns der Text des *Shipin* bietet, ergibt sich, daß wir das erste Jahrzehnt der Regierung *Xiao Yans* als Hauptarbeitszeit am *Shipin* ansehen können.[51]

Die traditionelle Auffassung zur Entstehungszeit des *Shipin* wäre demnach insofern zu berichtigen, als wir davon ausgehen sollten, daß das *Shipin* in seiner heutigen Textform zwischen 513 und 517 fertiggestellt und dem Publikum vorgelegt wurde. Dies bedeutet jedoch nicht, daß *Zhong Hong* nicht schon vor 513 am *Shipin* arbeitete, oder nicht schon vor 513 eine — mit seiner späteren Ausgaben — inhaltlich nicht deckungsgleiche Version in Literatenkreisen kursierte.

Xiao Gangs Interesse an *Zhong Hong* könnte demnach nicht nur auf dessen schriftstellerische Tätigkeit, sondern auch auf die uns heute vorliegende,

[50] *Xiao Gang* (503–551) wurde im Jahr 506 als Prinz von *Jin'an* belehnt. 518 wurde ihm der Titel eines Prinzen des Westlichen Inneren Palastes (*xizhong langjiang*) verliehen. Siehe *Liang Shu*, 4 : 103–109.

[51] Eine gute Zusammenstellung der Textevidenzen zur Entstehungszeit des *Shipin* siehe bei *Lü Deshen* (*Zhong Hong Shipin Jiaoshi. Beijing Daxue Chubanshe*, Beijing, 1986), 4f.

oder aber auch auf eine früher als bisher angenommene z. B. die — die Besprechung *Shen Yues* noch nicht beinhaltende — Version des *Shipin* zurückzuführen sein.

5.4. Konservativismus und Innovation

5.4.1. Version 1: Eine persönliche Sichtweise

Li Yanshou unterbrach in seinem Werk *Nan Shi* an dieser Stelle die Darstellung des Lebens von *Zhong Hong*, um dessen Verhältnis zu *Shen Yue* und dessen Bedeutung für das *Shipin* aus seiner Sicht darzustellen:

> *Zhong Hong* hatte sich einst um *Shen Yues* Anerkennung bemüht, wurde von diesem jedoch abgewiesen. Nach *Shen Yues* Tod [513] klassifizierte er alte und zeitgenössische Gedichte, unterzog sie einer kritischen Beurteilung durch Besprechung ihrer Vorzüge und Schwächen und machte [dabei] folgende Feststellung:[52]
>
> > Unter all den verschiedenen Werken des *Shen Yue* sind seine pentasyllabischen Gedichte das Hervorragendste.
> >
> > Bei Prinz *Xiang* [*Xiao Ziliang*] schlossen sich während der Periode *Yongming* [483–493] *Wang Rong* und andere *Shen Yue* an.
> >
> > Damals war *Xie Tiao* noch nicht gefestigt, *Jiang Yans* Talent bereits erschöpft und *Fan Yun* war noch von geringer Bekanntheit und Stellung. Daher wurde *Shen Yue* als einzigartig bezeichnet.
> >
> > Sein sprachlicher Ausdruck ist kompakter als bei *Fan Yun*, der geistige Inhalt seichter als bei *Jiang Yan*.[53]

[52] *Shen Yue* (441–513), Mannesname *Xiuwen*. Biographien: Song *Shu*, 100 : 2466–2468, *Liang Shu*, 13 : 232–244, *Nan Shi*, 57 : 1403–1414. Siehe auch Richard B. Mather (The Poet Shen Yüeh. The Reticent Marquis. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1988) und *Yao Zhenli* (*Shen Yue ji qi xueshu tanjiu. Wenshizhe Chubanshe*, Taibei, 1989). Zu meinen Ausführungen vgl. insbesondere das Kapitel »The Flowering of the Yung-ming Style« bei Mather (Shen Yüe), 37–84 und David R. Knechtges (Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1982–87, bis dato 2 Bde.), I : 1–21.

Der folgende Textabschnitt der Biographie stellt ein Exzerpt der Besprechung des *Shen Yue* in Rangklasse B des *Shipin* dar. Zur vollständigen Textversion siehe *He Wenhuan* (*Lidai Shihua*), 01008.29–01009.01, Tőkei (Műfajelmélet Kínában), 199f, Wixted (Yüan Hao-wen), II : 487f, H. Wilhelm (Chung Hung), 114, Mather (Shen Yüeh), 62. Vgl. auch *Che Zhuhuans* [Cha Chuwhan] Vorschläge zur Änderung des *Shipin*-Textes (*Zhong Hong Shipin Jiaozheng [Bu]*. In: Journal of Asian Studies [Seoul], 3 : 2 [1960], 117–158, 4 : 1 [1961], 203–237 u. 6 : 1 [1963], 299–330. Separatum, 1967), 90.

[53] *Zhong Hongs* Kommilitone und Diskussionspartner, der Poet *Xie Tiao* (464–499), sowie die Poeten *Jiang Yan* (444–505) und *Fan Yun* (451–503) wurden im *Shipin* in Rangklasse B, *Wang Rong* (467–493) in Rangklasse C gereiht.

Xiao Ziliang (460–494), Mannesname *Yunying*. Biographien: *Nan Qi Shu*, 40 : 692–701 und *Nan Shi*, 44 : 1101–1105. Er war ein überragender Förderer der Literaten, organisierte 489 einen Kongreß zu Übersetzungsproblemen buddhistischer Sutren aus dem Sanskrit und ließ das Sammelwerk *Sibu Yaolüe* in tausend Bänden (*juan*) kompilieren. Die in seinem Kreise geführte *sisheng*-Diskussion steht in engem Zusammenhang mit der Konfrontation der chinesischen Sprache mit dem Sanskrit. Die von *Zhong Hong* genannten Literaten gehörten zum prominenten Freundeskreis des Prinzen, in dessen Villa

Wahrscheinlich [schrieb *Zhong Hong*] aus nachtragendem Mißmut, um [*Shen*] *Yue* hiermit posthum zu denunzieren.

5.4.2. Der Erfolg des Liu Xie als Vorbild?

Es wird auch *Zhong Hong* bekannt gewesen sein, daß *Liu Xie* seinen in den ersten Jahren des sechsten Jahrhunderts fertiggestellten *Wenxin Diaolong Shen Yue* zur Begutachtung vorgelegt hatte. *Shen Yue*, der sich höchster Reputation erfreute und schier unermeßlichen Einfluß auf die Literatenkreise seiner Zeit ausübte, fand, nach anfänglicher Reserviertheit, großen Gefallen an *Liu Xie*s Werk.[54]

Aus dieser erfolgreichen Buchpräsentation kann der Schluß gezogen werden, daß es nicht unwahrscheinlich erscheint, daß auch *Zhong Hong* analog zu *Liu Xie* versucht hatte, seine literaturkritische Abhandlung *Shen Yue* vorzulegen.

Dem meist strapazierten Gegenargument, daß dies als wenig wahrscheinlich anzunehmen sei, da sich *Zhong Hong* in seiner Kritik *expressis verbis* auf bereits verstorbene Dichter beschränkte, kann entgegengehalten werden, daß sehr wohl die Möglichkeit besteht, daß *Zhong Hong* eine frühere Ausgabe des *Shipin* vorlegte, die noch keine Besprechung und Beurteilung von *Shen Yue*s pentasyllabischen Gedichten beinhaltete.

Dies würde implizieren, daß die traditionelle Ansicht, wonach *Zhong Hong* sein *Shipin* zwischen den Jahren 513 und 517 geschrieben hatte, im oben beschriebenen Sinne in Frage zu stellen ist.[55]

5.4.3. Dominanz der Divergenzen oder der Konvergenzen?

Anders als *Liu Xie*, dessen Kapitel *Shenglü* des *Wenxin Diaolong* viele Parallelen zu *Shen Yue*s Regeln der Euphonie aufweist, verwendete *Zhong*

(*xiti*) es zwischen 487 und 494 zu einer bemerkenswerten Konzentration von Gelehrten und zu zahlreichen Literatentreffen kam. *Shen Yue*, *Wang Rong* und *Xie Tiao*, die führenden Protagonisten dieser innovativen (*xinbian*) Literatengruppe, die auch unter dem Namen *Jingling Ba You* bekannt ist, experimentierten dabei mit neuen Regeln der Euphonie und Prosodie und prägten den nach der Regierungsperiode *Yongming* benannten literarischen Stil. Zu den *Jingling Ba You*, denen auch *Xiao Yan* vor seiner Inthronisation angehörte, siehe *Liang Shu*, 1 : 2, weiters *Nan Qi Shu*, 52 : 898, *Liang Shu*, 49 : 690 und *Nan Shi*, 48 : 1195 u. 50 : 1247.

[54] Siehe *Nan Shi* 72 : 1779 und *Liang Shu*, 50 : 712. Die Vorgangsweise, wie *Liu Xie* sein *Wenxin Diaolong* präsentierte, erinnert — das mag nicht übertrieben scheinen — an moderne Verkaufsmethoden und erscheint nur im Lichte des enormen Einflusses, den *Shen Yue* auf das weitere Schicksal eines Werkes ausübte, verständlich. Zu den Hintergründen dieser Begebenheit siehe auch *Yang Mingzhao* (*Liang Shu. Liu Xie Zhuan Jianzhu*), I : 20–23.

[55] Siehe Punkt 5.3.2. zur Hauptarbeitsphase des Poetologen *Zhong Hong*.

Hong einen großen Teil des dritten Abschnittes seiner theoretischen Abhandlung des *Shipin* dazu, um gegen das *sisheng*-Konzept zu argumentieren.[56]

Die Verschiedenheit der euphonischen Konzepte von *Zhong Hong* und *Shen Yue* scheint mir eine stichhaltige Argumentationsbasis für *Shen Yues* ablehnende Haltung gegenüber *Zhong Hong* darzustellen.[67] Besonders *Zhong Hongs* Ausführungen zu *Shen Yues* Regeln der Wohlklanges scheinen von einem grundlegenden terminologischen Mißverständnis geprägt zu sein, wodurch von den konservativen Gegnern des innovativen Konzeptes unzulässige Verbindungen zwischen *termini technici* aus Musik (*wuyin*) und Phonologie (*sisheng*) hergestellt wurden.[58]

Betrachtet man andererseits *Shen Yues* (heute noch vorliegende) literaturtheoretische Ausführungen und vergleicht man sie mit den entsprechenden Passagen des *Shipin*, so stellt man fest, daß die beiden Theoretiker teils sehr ähnliche Formulierungen, Argumente und Beispiele benützten, um z.B. die *raison d'être* von Poesie zu beschreiben oder literaturhistorische Entwicklungen nachzuzeichnen.

Zhong Hongs poetologische Ansichten stehen somit zwar einerseits im Gegensatz zu *Shen Yues* phonologischem Konzept (*sisheng*). Auf dem Gebiet

[56] Die relevante Textstelle aus dem *xu* des *Shipin* liegt in mehrfacher Übersetzung vor. Siehe Chen Shouyi (Chinese Literature. A Historical Introduction. Ronald Press, New York, 1961), 228f, Tőkei (Műfajelmélet Kínában), 187, Wixted (Yüan Hao-wen), II : 471f, David E. Pollard (A Chinese Look at Literature. C. Hurst & Company, London, 1973), 92, Mather (Shen Yüeh), 55.

Zum Verhältnis zwischen *Wenxin Diaolong* und *Shipin* siehe u.a. *Feng Jiquan* (*Wenxin Diaolong yu Shipin zhi shilun bijiao. Wenshizhe Chubanshe*, Taibei, 1981), *Wen Quan* (*Guanyu Wenxin Diaolong he Shipin de yitong*. Original in: *Wenxue Yichan Zengkan* 11 [1962], 20–28. Reprinted in: *Zhongguo Yuwen Xueshe* [Ed]: *Zhongguo Gudan Wenxue Yanjiu Lunwen Ji Huibian. Zhongguo Wenxue Piping Yanjiu Lunwen Ji*), 186–194, *Wu Linbo* (*Wenxin Diaolung yu Shipin*. In: *Wenxin Diaolong Xuekan* 4 [1986]), 153–174 und *Jiang Zuyi* (*Shixi Liu Xie Zhong Hong de shilun*. In: *Wenxin Diaolong Xuekan* 4 [1986]), 394–414. Zum Thema *Zhong Hong* versus *Shen Yue* siehe z.B. *Chai Feifan* (*Zhong Hong Shipin yu Shen Yue*. Original in: *Zhongwai Wenxue* 3 [1975], 58–65. Reprinted in: *Zhongguo Gudian Wenxue Luncong. Zhongwai Wenxue Yuekanshe*, Taibei, Bd.2), 209–216 und *Shu Zhongzheng* (*Shen Yue, Liu Xie, Zhong Hong sanjia shilun zhi bijiao yanjiu*. In: *Guoli Zhengzhi Daxue Xuebao* 3 [1961]), 299–313 etc.

[57] In westlichsprachigen Arbeiten erscheint das Argument der Verschiedenheit der poetologischen Konzepte als Ursache für *Shen Yues* ablehnende Haltung gegenüber *Zhong Hong* m.W. erstmals bei H. Wilhelm (Chung Hung), 114. Er stellt jedoch einen Bezug auf das gesamte *Shipin* her, wenn er formuliert: »The claim . . . that Chung composed the Shih-p'in in order to get even with Shen Yüeh seems hardly justified.« Siehe auch Mather (Shen Yüeh), 13.

[58] Siehe hierzu auch *Xiao Yans* berühmten Dialog mit *Zhou She* (469–524), in dem der Kaiser vorgibt, den *terminus technicus sisheng*, nicht zu verstehen. Siehe *Liang Shu*, 13 : 243, Knechtges (Wen xuan), I : 496, der auch *Zhou She*'s prägnante Antwort (*tian zi sheng zhe*) als t'ien tsi: si̯äng ti̯ät transkribiert.

der rhetorischen Figuren und stilistischen Tabus (*babing*), wie z.B. zur extensiven Verwendung von Anspielungen und Zitaten, vertreten sie jedoch weitgehend konvergente Standpunkte.

Es stellt sich somit die Frage, ob das *Shipin* — in Hinblick auf die literaturtheoretischen Divergenzen zwischen konservativer und innovativer Schule — *eo ipso* ein Werk ist, dem es kaum möglich gewesen wäre, *Shen Yues* Wohlgefallen zu erregen. Oder hat *Zhong Hong* die Vorlage seines Werkes angesichts der Konvergenzen einfach riskiert? Oder bekam *Shen Yue*, egal aus welcher Quelle, eine Abschrift einer früheren *Shipin*-Version zu Gesicht?

5.4.4. Li Yanshou und das Wörtchen »hiermit«

Li Yanshou erwähnte *Shen Yues* ablehnende Haltung gegenüber *Zhong Hong* nur an dieser einzigen Textstelle in *Nan Shi*, wo er weder auf den Zeitpunkt noch auf konkrete Kausalzusammenhänge eingeht. Seine Angaben können nach vorliegender Quellenlage heute weder verifiziert oder falsifiziert werden.

Bei genauer Betrachtung der im *Shipin* verwendeten Kriteria kann jedoch die Einordnung von *Shen Yues* pentasyllabischen Gedichten in die Rangklasse B kaum als Akt der Denunziation bezeichnet werden.[59]

Li Yanshous Formulierung ». . . um [*Shen*] *Yue* hiermit posthum zu denunzieren« (*yi ci bao Yue ye*) verleitete mehrfach zur Schußfolgerung, daß *Zhong Hong* durch *Shen Yues* Ablehnung zur Niederschrift des gesamten *Shipin* motiviert worden sei, um den Ruf seines Kontrahenten hiermit posthum zu schneiden. Diese Ansicht erscheint mir nicht nur im Lichte der Inhalte des Disputes unglaubwürdig. Selbst wenn ich *Li Yanshous* Aussage Glauben schenkte, so bezöge ich »hiermit« (*yi ci*) nicht auf das gesamte *Shipin*, sondern nur auf die Besprechung des *Shen Yue*, insbesonders auf die Textpassage des in *Nan Shi* erscheinenden Exzerptes aus Rangklasse B des *Shipin*.

5.4.5. Version 2: Eine emotionslose Beschreibung

In *Liang Shu*, das eine wesentliche Quelle für *Li Yanshou* darstellte, befindet sich keinerlei Beschreibung eines wie auch immer gearteten Verhältnisses zwischen *Zhong Hong* und *Shen Yue*. *Zhong Hongs* Tätigkeit als Literaturkritiker wird dort mit folgenden kurzen Worten beschrieben:

[59] Siehe z.B. *Siku Quanshu Tiyao Zongmu* (Abt. *Ji Bu, Shiwen Pinglei. Zhonghua Shuju*, Beijing, 1965, 2 Bde.), I : 1780. Siehe auch das von *Gu Zhi* formulierte Argument gegen die Denunziationstheorie des *Li Yanshou*. Er machte auf die Tatsache aufmerksam, daß *Zhong Hong* das pentasyllabische Œuvre seines Lehrers *Wang Jian* — ungeachtet seiner persönlichen Wertschätzung für den Menschen *Wang Jian* — in Rangklasse C des *Shipin* einordnete, und meinte hiermit einen Beleg für *Zhong Hongs* Objektivität im Sinne seiner Wertungskriteria gefunden zu haben.

Zhong Hong klassifizierte einst alte und zeitgenössische pentasyllabische Gedichte, diskutierte ihre Vorzüge und Schwächen und nannte [sein Werk] *Shiping*.[60]

5.5. Ableben

Im Gleichklang beschließen beide Textversionen die Darstellung von *Zhong Hong*s Leben:

Kurz darauf verstarb er in Amtswürden.

Im Gegensatz zu *Zhong Hong*s Geburtsjahr, herrschen zu seinem Todesjahr wenig Zweifel. *Xiao Gang* wurde im Jahr 518 der Titel eines Prinzen des Westlichen Inneren Palastes (*xizhong langjiang*) verliehen. *Zhong Hong* war 518 in *Xiao Gang*s Dienste getreten und »kurz darauf«, d.h. höchstwahrscheinlich noch im Jahr 518, verstorben.[61]

6. Appendix

*6.1. Zhong Hong*s *älterer Bruder*

Zhong Yuan, Mannesname *Zhangqiu*, der als Präfekt von *Jiankang* verstarb, schrieb ein zehnbändiges Werk namens *Biographien Tugendhafter Beamter* [*Liangli Zhuan*].[62]

*6.2. Zhong Hong*s *jüngerer Bruder*

Zhong Yu, Mannesname *Jiwang*, war Verwaltungsassistent in *Yongjia*. Er war unter jenen Gelehrten, die im fünfzehnten Jahre der Periode *Tianjian* [516] auf kaiserlichen Befehl [die Enzyklopädie] *Bianlüe* erstellten.

Die Brüder hinterließen Sammelausgaben ihrer Werke.[63]

[60] Hierauf folgt in der *Liang-Shu*-Version der Biographie ein Exzerpt der theoretischen Abhandlung (*xu*) des *Shipin*, der ich mich bei anderer Gelegenheit widmen möchte.

[61] Die Sekundärquellen stimmen in der Bestimmung von *Zhong Hong*s Todesjahr weitgehend überein. Vgl. allerdings *Wang Shumin* (*Zhong Hong Shipin Gailun*), 12, der 519 vorzieht und *Huang Jingming* (*Zhong Hong Buzhuan*), 53, der *Zhong Hong*s Todesjahr bedeutend später ansetzte, da er »kurz darauf« [*qingzhi*] als »einige Jahre nach 518« versteht.

[62] Eine divergierende Texttradition schreibt *Zhong Yuan*s Mannesnamen als *Zhangyue*. Siehe *Liang Shu*, 49 : 697 und Annotation 10 in *Liang Shu*, 49 : 700. Sein Werk *Liangli Zhuan* fand Erwähnung in den bibliographischen Kapiteln den Offiziellen Geschichten der *Sui*- und der *Tang*-Dynastien.

[63] Jonker (Review), 280f versteht *Bianlüe*, an dessen Abfassung *Zhong Hong*s jüngerer Bruder mitarbeitete, als orthographisch entstellte Kurzbezeichnung für die nicht tradierte Enzyklopädie *Hualin Bianlüe*. Siehe auch die kurze Erwähnung in Teng Ssu-yü & Knight Biggerstaff (An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works. Oxford University Press, London, 1971), 83. Die bibliographischen Kapitel der Dynastiegeschichten listen außer *Zhong Hong*s *Shipin* und *Zhong Yuan*s *Liangli Zhuan* keine weiteren Werke der drei Brüder.

Die letzten beiden Sätze erscheinen nur in der Textversion des *Liang Shu*.

7. Schlußwort

Wollte ich an dieser Stelle *Zhong Hong*s Weltbild skizzieren, so sehe ich einen Konservativismus, der sich — soweit heute noch nachvollziehbar — erstmals in seinen pragmatischen Äußerungen zu Politik und Gesellschaft seiner Zeit zeigte.

Wie schon bei seiner zweiten Throneingabe, so war er auch in den ästhetischen Fragen der Komposition von Poesie einer Meinung mit dem Kaiser und stand, wie auch *Pei Ziye* (469–530), einer der prominentesten Vertreter der konservativen Theoretiker, auf dem Standpunkt, daß die Poesie durch die neuen Kompositionsregeln gefährdet sei.

In seinen Augen würde der direkte natürliche Ausdruck des Empfindens durch die neuen Reglementierungen zu künstlicher, in Gedichtform verpackter Äußerung unechter Gefühle führen.

Durch das heute unter dem Titel *Shipin* bekannte κριτήριον wollte er den ästhetischen Maßstab festlegen, wodurch die Spezifika der literarischen Schönheit der Werke der Altvorderen, insbesonders der Meister der Periode *Jien'an* (196–220) bewahrt bleiben sollten. Im *Shipin* formulierte er seinen poetologischen Konservativismus, der das Bewahren von Natürlichkeit der Emotionen und Schönheit des Ausdrucks als höchsten Wert ansieht.

Als sein Plädoyer für den Ausdruck wahrer tiefer Gefühlsempfindungen in kraftvoll direkter und glanzvoller Form, wie dies z.B. in den *Gushi Shijiu Shou* oder in den von *Zhong Hong* als Ideal angesehenen pentasyllabischen Gedichten des *Cao Zhi* (192–232) vorliegt, erlangte das *Shipin* seine nicht unumstrittene Stellung in der Geschichte der chinesischen Poetologie.

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SARIG YUGUR MATERIALS

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The Sarig Yugurs, or 'Yellow Uygurs,' of the People's Republic of China are one of the components of the national minority called Yugur. Numbering only 10,569 people in 1982, the Yugurs live in the Sunan-Yugur Autonomous County (*Sunan Yuguzu Zizhixian*) created within the Zhangye Prefecture (*Zhangye Zhuanqu*) of Gansu Province in 1954. The 4500 Sarig Yugurs inhabit localities of the Minghua, Huangcheng, and Dahe districts in the western part of this county, and for the most part engage in livestock herding and small farming. The Turkic language of the Sarig Yugurs officially is designated 'Western Yugur' (西部裕固語) to distinguish it from 'Eastern Yugur' (東部裕固語), or the Mongol language of the Shira Yugurs whose name also means 'Yellow Uygurs'. The 3500 or so Shira Yugurs mainly reside in the Kangle, Minghua, and Huangcheng districts in the eastern part of this county and in Jiuquan City outside the county. In addition to those who speak Turkic or Mongol, small groups of Yugurs also speak only Chinese or Tibetan today.[1]

Sarig Yugur poses a number of unsolved problems in its historical development and thus, for Turkologists, constitutes one of the most tantalizing languages of the Turkic family. In attempting to clarify its history and to define its position within this family, some specialists have treated Sarig Yugur as a kind of "museum of antiquities" that conserves "archaic" elements from an older stage of Turkic or "ancient" elements from early written forms of Turkic. At the same time, they have drawn comparisons between Sarig Yugur and Siberian Turkic languages which they also regard as conservatoires of older features, as well as between Sarig Yugur and modern Uygur dialects because of their geography and common ethnonymy.

These historical and comparative researches on Sarig Yugur have not yielded confident results. On one hand, their focus on "archaic" or conservative aspects of this language neglects its substantial innovations. For example,

[1] See: Tenishev 1962; Henry G. Schwarz, *The Minorities of Northern China. A Survey* (Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, 1984), 57–68; Saguchi 1986, 17–18; Hahn 1987, 300–305.

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Sergej Malov cited the lack of person markers on verb endings as an illustration of its "most ancient" nature:

men	*pïltï*	I	knew
sen		you	
ol		he	
mïs		we	
seler		you	
olar		they	

So alien was the idea of person marking to the Sarig Yugurs that when Malov, by force of habit, said *pïltïm* 'I knew,' his contacts heard the first person marker *-m* as the interrogative particle *+mi*. For Malov, this circumstance proved both that the definite past *-ti* was a participle in origin and that Sarig Yugur conserved a primitive state of Turkic in this regard (1957, 6–7). On the contrary, person marking of the verb is regular in Chuvash and thus must be at least as old as the reconstructed unitary stage of Turkic.[2] This means that, far from demonstrating its "archaic" character, impersonal conjugation in Sarig Yugur represents one of its several innovations, specifically one that in all likelihood arose under the influence of the Mongol language of the Shira Yugurs.[3]

On the other hand, classifications that place Sarig Yugur within the Khakas group solely on the basis of its development of *-z-* < **-d-* (*azaq* < **adaq* 'foot'), or even within the Karluk (modern Uzbek and Uygur) group, leave its historical trajectory in darkness.[4] Its definition by Malov and Tenishev as an independent language derived from "Ancient Uygur" and influenced by "Ancient Kirgiz" similarly obscures a number of important historical and linguistic issues (Malov 1957, 7; Tenishev 1970, 51; 1976, 165–167; 1978, 32).

[2] See: L. S. Levitskaja, *Istoricheskaja morfologija chuvashskogo jazyka* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka". Glavnaja redaktsija vostochnoj literatury, 1976), 57–58; Shcherbak 1981, 23–40.

[3] Turkologists have taken into consideration both Chinese and Mongol as a source of the impersonal conjugation in Sarig Yugur and Salar (cf. Tenishev 1976, 268; 1976a, 137–138; 1989, 7; Shcherbak 1981, 23). For the original lack of person marking in Mongol, see: Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, (Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 110, Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1955), 251–252; G. D. Sanzheev, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skikh jazykov, II. Glagol* (Moskva: "Nauka", 1964), 82–90.

[4] Khakas: A. N. Samojlovich, The Turkish Languages, *Encyclopedia of Islam* 4, 1934, 908; M. Räsänen, Contributions au classement des langues turques, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 17, 1953, 94; Thomsen 1959, 565–566; N. Poppe, *Introduction to Altaic Linguistics* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965), 40; N. A. Baskakov, *Vvedenie v izuchenie tjurkskikh jazykov* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Vysshaja shkola", 1969), 328. Karluk: K. H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples. An Introduction to Turkic Studies* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), 60; A. Róna-Tas, *An Introduction to Turkology* (Szeged: Attila József University, 1991), 32.

As evidence for these older affinities, Tenishev cites Sarig Yugur words that also occur in early written languages and thus, in his view, constitute "archaic" or "ancient" elements (1976, 168); for example, the root *ay-* 'to speak' (M13, T171), which is attested as early as the 8th century (C266 *ay-*) and contrasts with the modern causative form *ayt-* id., or the word *qurtqa* 'old woman' (M61, T204), which is found in early Uygur texts (C648 *kurtğa*). However, it does not follow from cases like these that Sarig Yugur embodies an "archaic" stage of Turkic or that it reflects a continuation of classical Uygur. Whatever their explanation, such isolates as *ay-* appear in other modern languages; for example, Turkish *büyü/büğü* 'spell, incantation, sorcery, witchcraft' is the only modern cognate to early Turkic *bügü* 'sage, wizard' (R83, C324). In the same way, common lexical items do not by themselves support the idea that Sarig Yugur descends from classical Uygur, since other Turkic languages also attest such words; for example, modern cognates to the early Uygur word include standard Tatar *kŏrtka* id. (R304).

Tenishev's strongest claim regarding the historical development of Sarig Yugur is that, along with Khakas and other Siberian dialects, it borrowed elements from *spoken* ancient Kirgiz. He contends that written ancient Kirgiz was the *adaq*-language of the runic inscriptions in the Minusinsk and Tuva regions which he dates to the 8th–12th centuries, whereas spoken ancient Kirgiz was an *azaq*-language whose modern descendant he identifies as the language of the Kirgiz living in the Fu-yü district of Heilongjiang province in China (1989, 3–4). According to this scholar, not only did Sarig Yugur and Khakas adopt *-z-* $<$ **-d-* and other features from spoken ancient Kirgiz, but their lexicons also retain words borrowed from that language (1976, 168–169); for example, *qayaq* 'cream' (M50, T199) also occurs in Khakas dialects as *qayaq* 'butter'.[5] However, Turkologists still have not formulated a clear distinction between spoken and written forms of the older Turkic languages, so that we cannot specify which older spoken language, if any, could have served as the source of such borrowings.[6] Nor does a lexical item like *qayaq* by itself imply

[5] Tenishev expressed these views regarding Sarig Yugur and ancient Kirgiz for a number of years (1962, 65–66; 1966a, 95–96; 1976, 166–167; cf. Hu and Imart 1987, 1–3), but only recently (1989) attempted to reconstruct spoken ancient Kirgiz from the modern languages, including Sarig Yugur.

[6] To illustrate the complexity of this issue, we might recall that, according to the evidence of Chinese sources, the Kirgiz probably assimilated from a non-Turkic to a Turkic language in the 8th century and that they also used the same writing system as the Uygurs (cf. Louis Ligeti, Mots de civilisation de Haute Asie en transcription chinoise, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1, 1950, 150–151). Given the historical contact implied by the use of the same literary language and by the geographical proximity of Uygur tribes to the Kirgiz, nothing precludes the possibility that it was the Uygurs who assimilated the Kirgiz to Turkic — that is, that spoken ancient Kirgiz was spoken ancient Uygur.

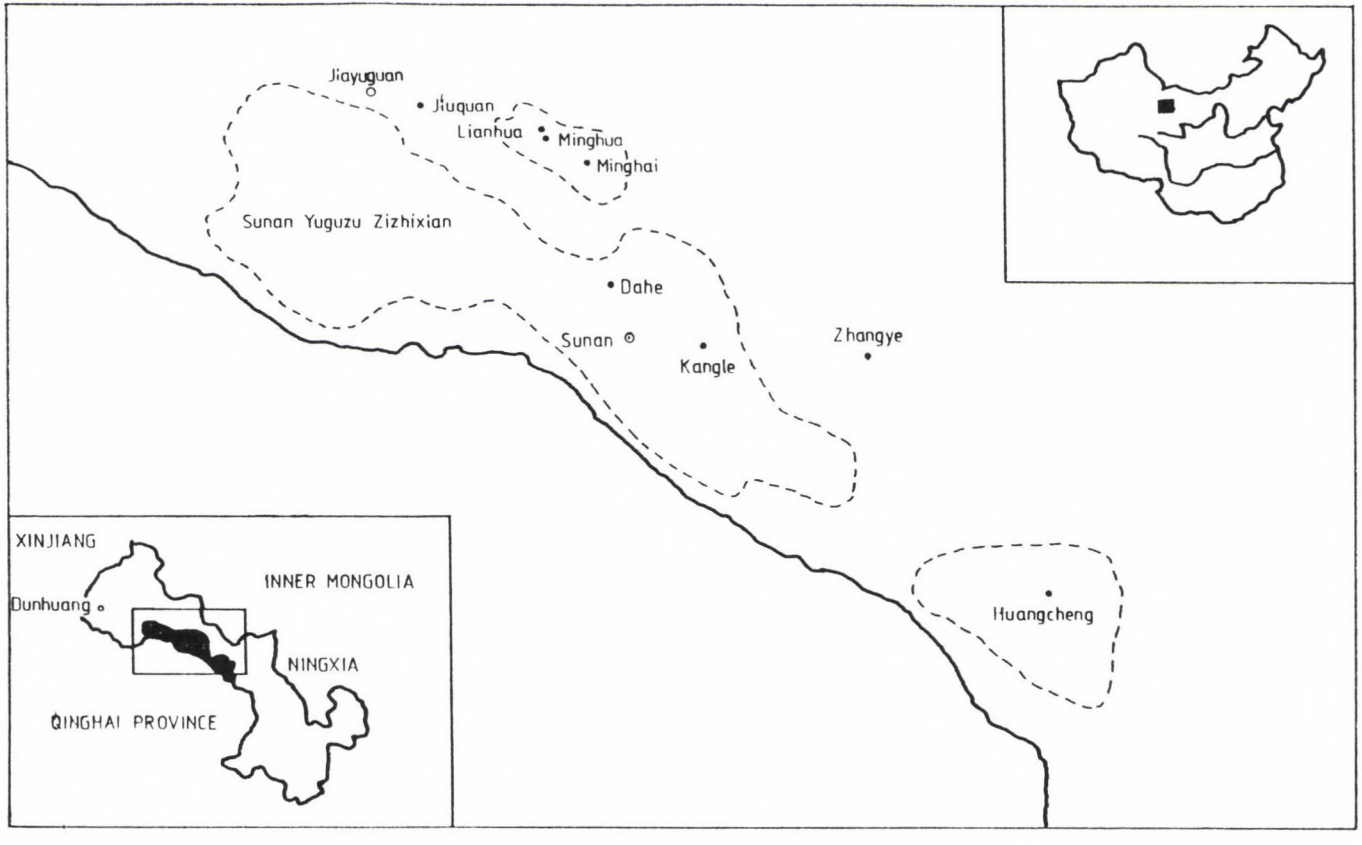

Fig. 1. Yugur settlements in Gansu province

borrowing, since it is known in various phonetic shapes throughout Turkic (R231, C636 **kañak*). What is striking about Tenishev's comparison is the development of *-y-* < **-ñ-* just in the Sarig Yugur and Khakas reflexes of this word. This feature, along with such Sarig Yugur–Khakas isoglosses as *-z-* < < **-d-*, indicate historical connections between these languages that merit detailed investigation, but that do not entail descent from or contact with spoken ancient Kirgiz.[7]

Living languages like Sarig Yugur are not "archaic" or "ancient" languages, nor do such concepts possess validity in general linguistics. While Sarig Yugur unquestionably exhibits characteristics typical also of older Turkic written languages, it remains the task of historical linguistics to document which specific complex of features, if any, uniquely link it to one or more of these early forms. We need to define the relationship of Sarig Yugur to written *Türk tili* "the language of the Türks" which both the Uygurs of Mongolia and the Kirgiz of South Siberia used in the 8th–9th centuries, as well as to the classical Uygur language which developed in the northern Tienshan and Gansu regions and which the migrating Uygurs adopted in the 9th century. At the same time, Sarig Yugur shares a number of features with Siberian Turkic languages, especially with the Khakas group, but only careful comparative studies can establish these correspondences and lay the groundwork for historical interpretation. Is Sarig Yugur most closely related to the Khakas group, or even to Tuva and Yakut as well? If so, what is the connection of this group to early Uygur and ancient Kirgiz? These are the tantalizing questions. But their answers must await not only the analysis of available data, but also the collection of further evidence.

Only two major collections of linguistic data exist for Sarig Yugur. Potanin gathered some notes on this people and a small glossary of their language in the 19th century, and Mannerheim recorded some observations and a list of words during the two weeks he spent with them in 1907. Sergej Malov made extensive collections of linguistic and folkloristic materials in nearly all the villages of the Sarig Yugur in the course of the 14 months he lived with them in the years 1909–1911 and 1913–1915. Apart from language samples cited in articles, decades elapsed before his materials were published — his dictionary in 1957 and his texts and translations in 1967. In 1940–1941 P. Matthias Hermanns published a description of aspects of their culture that included several texts in Sarig Yugur with a substantial Chinese admixture. Edkhjam Tenishev collected a second body of materials during his participation in the joint Sino–Soviet linguistic expedition of 1956–1958, and specifically in the localities of Xihaizi and Minghua in July 1958 (Tenishev 1961, 183).

[7] Tenishev (1989) has provided a valuable treatment of the Sarig Yugur-Khakas comparative material. For another attempt to systematize the Sarig Yugur–Khakas isoglosses, see: Borgojakov 1976; 1981, 76–91.

In 1976, Tenishev published a grammatical description based on the texts which his Chinese colleague Chen Zongzhen had recorded in phonetic transcription. In the 1980s Chen Zongzhen and Lei Xuanchun carried out further fieldwork in Lianhua and the Sunan-Yugur county seat and published a grammatical description and other materials in 1985.

These collections of Sarig Yugur linguistic materials together could form the basis of more detailed research on various historical, comparative, and descriptive questions concerning this language. However, the corpus collected by Malov still awaits analysis, the texts recorded by Hermanns remain untouched by Turkologists, and some aspects of the materials gathered in 1958 and the 1980s require clarification. Since the history of Sarig Yugur studies demonstrates that every recording of this language is precious, the purpose of the present study is to provide Turkologists with additional Sarig Yugur texts, accompanied by a brief analysis of their grammar and a glossary.

Professor Geng Shimin of the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing spent a week in the Sunan-Yugur Autonomous County in October 1990 (see *Map, Fig. 1)*. While at the county seat, located in the Qilian Mountains at the site of a former Buddhist temple called *Hongwan Si*, he took down in phonetic transcription the narratives of three Sarig Yugur individuals: 1. He Zihua, a 46-year old mother of five children and wife of the director of the county's agricultural bank, who was born in Huangtupo village of the Minghua district (= text *1*); 2. He Xiyuan, the 50-year old brother of He Zihua and deputy cihef of the county's court, who was born in the Minghua district (= text *2*); 3. Ke Zaiyong, a retired 65-year old former cadre of the county's security bureau, and born in Jiucaigon village of the Dahe district (= text *3*). During October 10–15, Geng Shimin stayed in the Lianhua township of the outlying Lianhua area of the county, where he transcribed a narrative by a 61-year old man named Ganjer Dunjil (Chinese name: Guo Bocheng). This man was born in Hubianzi village and tended sheep for a living (= text *4*). While in Lianhua, Geng also recorded other narratives — not presented here — from Sarig Yugur individuals whose language essentially was Chinese with some remaining Turkic elements. In recording the texts published below, Geng used a broad phonetic transcription that took into account individual variants. He confirmed his transcriptions and translations with the speakers through the medium of Chinese.

Texts and Translations

1. He Zihua.

Men atqa Xï Zixua diyik. Men buyïlï dïordon ahldï. Mende bes mula bar. Bezigi mula yigirmi ahldï. Šiginǰi mula yigirmi bes. Úǰinǰi mula yigirmi šiki. Dïordinǰi mula saɢïs yigirmi. Besinǰi mula yidigirma. Men yuanlay Oyda doɢqan. Mende aǰam anam xosï bar. Mende ùš aɢa bar. Šigi ɢïzaɢa bar. Mende ùš ïnï bar.

I am named He Zihua. I am forty-six this year. I have five children. The oldest child is twenty-six. The second child is twenty-five. The third child is twenty-two. The fourth child is eighteen. The fifth child is seventeen. Originally, I was born in Minghua. I have both father and mother. I have three older brothers. I have two older sisters. I have three younger brothers.

Gïnïŋde aɢïnï üš bar didi. Yüsinde yoqsïdi. Bezik aɢasï giozi göru yoqdï. Šikinǰi ïnïsï kunts'en tikin čaxbadi. Bir kün yitkende, bezik aɢasï talaγa izet baryan. Bir yipdi tikinge palγu atqan. Mïnïya bezik aɢasïnɢa tutdïr atqan. Aɢasï yipdi tutɢa bir ǰoo booγanda ɢïdiigende kisi yoqdu. Andaɢanda yipdi osïɢa baryanda kisi yoqdu. Tikinge poɢɢašdu. Soonda molei molei maŋγan didi. Bir semige toq boptï dedi. Andaɢanda ičinge kir baryan dedi. Ičinde bir bïrqan oluryan edi. Andaɢanda bïrqan ardïnγa čoɢï qapdïï.

Formerly, they say, there were three brothers. They were poor people in that house. The big brother was blind. The second brother cut thornbushes (for firewood) everyday. One day, he led his big brother out to the fields. He tied a rope to a thornbush. Thereupon, he had his big brother hold (the other end of the rope). When his big brother had been (there) a while holding the rope, he called out, (but) there was no one. Then, he went along pulling(?) the rope, (but) there was no one. He tied (the rope) to the thornbush. After that, he went even farther, they say. He came upon a temple, they say. Then, he went inside, they say. An image of Buddha sat inside. Then, he sat down behind the image of the Buddha (1).

2. He Xiyuan

Meniŋ yüy Ard Oyda barii. Ard Oy yaxši yerii. Qomïšte bir xayzi barii. Xayzi išde awut qus barii. Xayzi ortasïnda ïrlïγ ɢamuš barii. Xayziniŋ yaqa bašïnda doɢïs ɢarašïn barii. ɢarašïnda bezik su un gege, xayziniŋ qïzïγïnda ǰünkin barii. J̌ünkinde ɢoy uqarxaqii. Bohdï ɢoy išdi, kučalxaqii. Bo xayzida gïnïŋde semi barii. Deŋir yaγmayanda bu semide lom unšït qïšdï. Yaγmur yaqïšdïï. Alvatï söyingešii.

My home is in Lianhua. Lianhua is a good place. There is a lake in a desert depression. There are all kinds of birds in the lake. In the middle of the lake there are tall reeds. At the southern end of the lake there are nine springs. At the springs arises a big river and there is *ǰünkin*-grass on the shore of the lake. Sheep graze in the *ǰünkin*-grass. Sheep eat this grass and get strong. Formerly, there was a temple at this lake. When the sky did not rain, they had them read the sutras at this temple. It started raining. The people were happy.

3. Ke Zaiyong

Men Xanniŋɢol kisi. Meniŋ at Ke Zayyung. Xanniŋɢol ɢumilï J̌orɢa šiaŋda Art Qïryaq ts'unda meniŋ yüy varii. Tayda yaxši ot barii. Mal yese, kušul bolxaqii. Tayda daɢï ǰers varii. Daɢï arǰa, guy barii. Daɢï qarlïy tay barii. Qarlïy taydan ɢuzï su gelgegii. Kisi, mal xosï bu sunï išigegii. Tayda daɢï suyun, šïvar, yaŋyaŋ amtan barii. Šïvarda ǰar varii. Suyunda muŋus varii. Bu xosï ɢuoǰianiŋ ïrïmbooči.

I am a person from Khanninggol. My name is Ke Zaiyong. My home is in Art Kirgak Village of the Gumili Valley Township of Khanninggol. There is good grass in the mountains. When animals eat it they become strong. There is also *ǰers*-grass in the mountains. There are also junipers and pines. There are also snowy mountains. Water comes down from the snowy mountains. People and animals both drink this water. There are also deer, musk deer and all sorts of creatures in the mountains. The musk deer have musk. The deer have horns. Both of them are national treasures.

Düysinde meniŋ yüyde doɢïs baš kisi varii. Ïndanla meniŋ yüyde nimema yoq edi. Mal yoqii. Ot qurol yoqii. Biz šaldan kisi. Kun ma yaxši emesii. Dïordon doɢïs yïlda Maoǰuši Goŋčandaŋ gelge bizdi ǰiefaŋnayanii. Andan soŋ, biz mal asrayan edi. Yaxši kun gečirgenii. Men ganbu bolyanii. Bu daɢïla Goŋčandaŋ Maoǰušïniŋ yaxši yeri.

Formerly, there were nine people in my home. Recently, there has been nothing in my home at all. There are no animals. There is no feed-pen. We are poor people. Life is not good. In the year Forty-Nine, Chairman Mao and the Communist Party came and liberated us. After that, we had raised livestock. Those were good days. I became a cadre. This also was one of Chairman Mao's good areas.

Úǰun ahldï yïlda Xoŋǰün gelgenii. Meniŋ bezik goɢï Xoŋǰünya yol izetgenii. Bayanɢol ičï ïr maŋyanii. Oynïŋ yusï kisi Sart ǰirigi depdro. Sart ǰirigi Xoŋǰünnï baoweyla vapdro. Xoŋǰün Sart ǰirix wïǰin atïsïpdro. Xoŋǰün pïrïnɢa unalmeendro. Meniŋ bezik goganï tutup gepdro. Oynïŋ yusï kisi Sart ǰirige depdro: "Bu ma goŋčan mula iir." Sart ǰirix meniŋ goganï ɢoy ülirmečïlïy ülirgenii. Ol dügeyde men ahldï odïs yas.

In the year Thirty-Six, the Red Army came. My big brother showed the way to the Red Army. It advanced into Bayangol. Bad people of the steppe told the Sart army. The Sart army encircled the Red Army. The Red Army and Sart Army fought. The Red Army was unable to gain victory. They captured my

big brother. Bad people of the steppe told the Sart army: "This one is a communist boy." The Sart army killed my brother just as one would kill a sheep. At that time, I was twenty-six years old (*2*).

Yuγur sözi varii. J̌ügla pudïγ yoq. Yuγurnïŋ qarmanγï dise Yuγur ard oydan gelgenii dedi. Čeǰi-γaǰi deme oydan gelgenii dedi. J̌uyola sowa sowanï yaγïγa yadaγa, andaqɢa ol oydan tezgen. Unup kelgen. Bo oγγa yedik gelgenii. Bo oγγa yedik kelgeš, ol dügeyde bo oyda Gïzïl Bïq deme bo oyda čaγlaγa barii dedi. Yuγur Gïzïl Bïq biǰin yaγïlasqan didro. Yuγur Gïzïl Bïqdïŋ pïrnïŋγa ungen didro. Bu Gïzïl Bïq qorqɢaš tezgen. Hanïγan didro. Andanla Yuγur bo oynï čaγlapdro.

The Yugurs have a language. They never(?) had writing. As for the ancestors of the Yugurs, they say the Yugurs came from the western steppe. They say they came from the steppe called Cheji-Ghaji. Basically, clans became enemies with each other(?), and so (the Yugurs) fled from that steppe. They moved away. They reached this steppe. Upon reaching this steppe, they say, there was at that time in this steppe those called Red Caps living in this steppe. It is said the Yugurs fought with the Red Caps. It is said the Yugurs gained victory over the Red Caps. It is said the Red Caps were afraid and fled. It is said they ran away. Since then, the Yugurs have been living in this steppe (*3*).

4. Ganjer Dunjil

Boyïlï men ahdon bir. Meŋ yüde saɢïs kisi bar. Dïort olγan bar. Šigi ɢïz bar. Men dïordan tohɢïs yïlda kelin ahdï. Men J̌oyingïda bar. J̌oyingï yaxši yer. Oht ba yaxši. Su ma yaxši. Mal ma yaxši. Meŋ yüde kun ma yaxši. Meŋ išgiš horuu yoq. Meŋ gezgiš horuu yoq. Mïs daŋɢar ča išiik. Taqɢan ča išiik. Sut ɢuzɢaq. ɢayaq, čormi, yaγ išiik. Mende ɢoy yüz dïordon bar. Mende gus dïort bar. Mende či šigi bar. Bir ǰigen bar.

This year I am sixty-one. I have eight people at home. There are four boys. There are two girls. I took a bride at the age of forty-nine. I am in Joyingi. Joyingi is a good place. The grass is good, the water is good, the animals are good. Life is good in my home. I am not lacking food. I am not lacking clothing. We drink tea in the morning. We drink tea with parched wheat. We pour in milk. We drink it with cream, curds and butter. I have one hundred and forty sheep. I have four oxen. I have two camels. There is a donkey.

Commentary

1. After searching through the folklore of other Turkic and Mongol peoples of China for parallels to this story told by He Zihua, we found a single, but rather close example in text 114 of Malov's collection. The relevant section appears in Malov's transcription as follows:

Tuyto aqïnï-ške var nimidro. Lotasï küzi tegilïq pidro. Lornïŋ küzi ačïq pidro. Men lotasïnγa ne giliin. Men lotasïnγa, ne gileen, men lotasïnγa tiken čaqqïla pariin, deptro. Lotasï tergenge elep paroo soqašte sav-adïptro. Sen pu kustïŋ nüǰanna tuto, deptro. Pu kelgeš sav-atqaš la tergenni alïŋγaš, yusunge yetïp keptro. Pu yiŋer boptro, kün yaγïrtro, yaqqaš kěteptro. Yoq boptro. Andan la pï la maŋo, pěr kise yoq yerge yetïptro. Kise yoq yerge yetkeš, qonǰonïŋ uzige čoquyuptro.

In olden times, it seems, there were two brothers. The older brother was blind· The younger brother could see. He (the younger brother) thought, "What can I do with my older brother? What can I do with my older brother? I will go out to cut thornbush with my older brother." Seating his older brother in a cart, he went off (to cut thornbush) and sat (the cart) in an area of mounds covered with feathergrass. He (the younger brother) said to him, "You hold the reins of this ox." He (the younger brother) came back and put (the thornbush in the cart), and then he took the cart and went home (without the older brother). It became evening and the sun fell. When it fell, he (the older brother) called out. There was no one. And so he went and he reached a deserted place. When he reached that deserted place, he sat down upon a *qonǰo* (bench?). (Malov 1967, 114–115)

The remainder of this story concerns the regaining of his sight with the help of several animals, after which the older brother becomes important and gets married. He arrives home just as his funeral feast is being held. The younger brother is jealous of his older brother's stature, goes off to become important like his brother and reaches the *qonǰo*, where he is eaten by the animals.

2. The term Sart generally referred to the Muslims of Turkestan, but here specifically designates the army of the Dungan or Hui Muslims whose administration of Gansu and Southern Xinjiang was terminated in 1937; see Andrew D.W. Forbes, The Role of the Hui Muslims (Tungans) in Republican Sinkiang, *Cultural Change and Continuity in Central Asia*, Edited by Shirin Akiner (London: Kegan Paul, 1991), 361–371, and Forbes, *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinkiang* (Cambridge: University Press, 1986).

3. This historical legend regarding the origin of the Sarig Yugurs shares with those summarized by early observors and those recorded by Malov and

Tenishev the designation Cheji-Ghaji (Sijo-Khajo, Siji-Khaji, etc.) for their settlement prior to moving to Gansu; (cf.: Potanin 1950, 482, Mannerheim 1911, 5–6, Malov 1967, 211, 213, Tenishev 1976, 226–227, Saguchi 1986, 11–14). However, none of the other versions cite clan conflict as the stimulus for migration, and most of them speak of other settlements between Cheji-Ghaji and Gansu. Despite a few preliminary studies, research on the history of the Sarig Yugurs has not arrived at any firm conclusions regarding the identity of these places (cf. Tenishev 1962, 1971, 1976; Saguchi 1986).

The other versions of this legend do not refer to a war with the *Gïzïl Bïq* which, according to the Sarig Yugur speaker, means 'Red Caps'. The form *bïq* is a possible development from C362 *börk* id, even though Malov (91) records this word as *perk/perik* and Tenishev (198) as *perik/perïk*. Tenishev (30) cites several Sarig Yugur examples of the same structure in which *-r-* disappears (*k'ö'ki-* < **körkit-* 'to show' and *o'k-* < **ürk-* 'to be startled'), and there are forms without *-r-* in Uygur dialects (cf. J59 *börk/bök*). On the basis of this explanation of *bïq* (by no means firm), it is possible to suggest an identification with an obscure group whom Mannerheim recorded as the former inhabitants of this region of Gansu:

> According to a statement made by the Chinese mandarin in Li-yen, the country now inhabited by the Yögurs had been earlier peopled by a tribe called *Hung maotzŭ* (the red-haired) or *Huang fan* (the red barbarians) who were in bad repute as robbers. By the command of the emperors they had been quite exterminated. To this desolate country, where wild beasts began to thrive in startling numbers, were sent at the request of the *t'idu* in Kanchow, by *Chiangsh'ün* (a kind of Governor General) in Ili six *tshi Huang-fan* from the district of Urumtchi. The Chinese Government provided them with cattle. This movement is supposed to have taken place during Yungch'eng's reign. The Saro and Shera Yögurs are the remnant of these six *tshi* and the Chinese military authorities consider them even yet a kind of irregular troop which can be called upon in case of need (1911, 32–33).

Mannerheim's report is riddled with errors in the transcription and translation of Chinese words. Of those relevant to this question, *Hung maotzŭ* (= 紅帽子, *màozi* 'cap') must be translated as 'the red-capped' or 'Red Caps' and not as 'the red-haired' (紅毛子, *màozi* 'hair (other than on the head)'), while *Huang fan* (黄番) must be translated as 'the yellow foreigners' and not as 'the red barbarians'. According to Saguchi, Chinese sources have applied the latter term to the Yellow Uygurs since the 16th century (1986, 4–13). Our purpose is not to resolve this obvious historical contradiction, but to suggest that the *Gïzïl Bïq* 'Red Caps' of Sarig Yugur legend may be identified as Mannerheim's *Hung maotzŭ* 'Red Caps'.

Phonology

These recordings provide only limited data for the analysis of the phonological system of these Sarig Yugur speakers. Therefore, we confine ourselves to drawing some descriptive and historical generalizations of its main features, and to comparing these conclusions with those made by Tenishev (1976, 7–46)[8].

Vowels. The language of these recordings reflects an eight-vowel system with a few allophonic variants (cf. T7–10):

(*a*)	[*a*]	back unrounded: *ana* 'mother', *olγan* 'boys'.
	[*ah*]	pharyngealized: *ah-/ahl-* 'to take', *ahldï* 'six', *ahdon* 'sixty'.
(*e*)	[*e*]	high front unrounded: *emes* 'not', *yese* 'when they eat'.
(*ï*)	[*ï*]	high back unrounded: *ïnï* 'younger brother', *ɢïzïl* 'red'.
(*i*)	[*i*]	high front unrounded: *išgiš* 'food and drink', *kisi* 'person'.
(*o*)	[*o*]	mid back rounded, non-final: *odïs* 'thirty', *ahdon* 'sixty';
	[*oh*]	pharyngealized: *oht/ot* 'grass', *tohɢïs/doɢïs* 'nine'.
(*u*)	[*u*]	high back rounded: *un-* 'to rise', *qus* 'bird', *göru* 'seeing'
(*ö*)	[*ö*]	mid front rounded, non-initial and non-final: *söz* 'word';
	[*io*]	[*ïo*] diphthongs, non-initial and non-final: *gioz* 'eyes', *dïort* 'four'.
(*ü*)	[*ü*]	high front rounded, non-final; *ülir-* 'to kill', *yüz* 'hundred';
	[*ü*]	reduced in word-initial position: *üš* 'three', *üǰinǰi* 'third', *üǰun* 'thirty'.

The pharyngealization (or "squeaky voice") in the vowels [*ah*] and [*oh*] in Sarig Yugur may arise in the environment of originally aspirated stops, especially in 4: 1 *ahdï/ahldï* < *al'tï* 'he took', 1,3 *ahldï* < *ahl'tï* 'six', 4 *ahdon* < *al'ton*, 4 *bohdï* < *bo oh'tnï* 'this grass', 4 *tohɢïs* < *to'quz* 'nine'. In his grammar of Sarig Yugur, Tenishev records these forms as *al-* 'to take' (171), *al'tï/haltï* 'six' (172), *al'ton/halton* 'sixty' (172), and *o't* 'grass' (194 only *ot'* 'fire', but 201 *o't quran* 'barn for hay'), and *to'qïs* 'nine' (213). Thus, he treats what others perceive as pharyngealization as a feature of aspiration that spreads from an aspirated voiceless stop to a preceding vowel or that surfaces as initial (*h*)[9].

The diphthongs [*io*] and [*ïo*] occur in only three words, one of them in the same environment as *göru* 'seeing', and thus may be nonfunctional speech variants.

[8] Sergej Malov (1880–1957) did not prepare for publication the grammatical section that appeared in his 1957 book, which presumably accounts for its chaotic organization and unanalytical nature.

[9] Pharyngealization also occurs in the Salar vowels [*ah*], [*eh*], [*oh*] (cf. Tenishev 1962a, 264). György Kara connected the Sarig Yugur and Salar phenomena to the pharyngealized vowels in Tuva and Tofalar, where they regularly appear in place of original short vowels and non-pharyngealized vowels in place of original long vowels (cf. his review in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27, 1973, 241–249; Thomsen 1959, 567).

The several occurrences of long vowels in these texts may be explained as emotional nuances (*ɢïdiigende, qapdïï, yaqïšdïï*), contractions (*booγanda* < *bolγanda, -ii/iir* < *erür, išiik* < *išgek, unalmeendro* < *-meyin* < *-medin*), or compensatory lengthening (*soonda* < *soŋda*) (cf. T10–11).

The vowels of words in these recordings conform to the rule of palatal harmony, with the exception of loan words, *gïnïŋde* 'formerly', certain suffixes, and other cases explained below (*göru, išde, ülirmečilïγ*) (cf. T39–41; M6; Thomsen 1959, 567).

Historically, this material reflects the reduction of initial **ü* (*üš, üǰinǰi, üǰun*), with the exception of *ülir-* 'to kill', and its merger otherwise with (*u*) (*göru* < *görü* 'seeing', *kučal-/kušul-* < *küčel-* 'to get strong', *kun* as well as *kün* 'day', *muŋus* < *müŋüz* 'horn', *sut* < *süt* 'milk', *un-* < *ün-* 'to rise'). After initial (*y*) this vowel is retained (*yüy/yü* 'home', *yüz* 'hundred').

Etymologically, the (*u*) in *ɢuzï* 'downwards' and *uqar-* 'to graze' originates from **o* (C596 *kodi*, 48 *otğar-*). In *pudïγ* 'writing' (C303 *bitig*), however, the (*u*) probably reflects the vowel in Shira Yugur *pučig* and Monguor *pudzɪɢ* 'script, letter' (S153). Original **u* is unrounded in *pïrïn* < *burun* 'front', *bïrqan* < *burqan* 'image of the Buddha', and *mïnïya* < *munuya* 'thereupon', as well as in the second syllable of *doɢïs/tohɢïs* < *toquz* 'nine' and *odïs* < *otuz* 'thirty'.

In addition, original **ö* becomes high back unrounded (*ï*) in *bïq* < *börk* 'cap', *ïr* < *örü* 'upwards', *ïrlïγ* < *örülüg* 'high', and a dipththong in *dïort* < *tört* 'four', *dïordon* < *törton* 'forty', and *gioz* < *köz* 'eyes'.

In several cases, the front vowel **i* becomes a back vowel that may simply reflect a "schwa" in rapid speech: *mïs* beside *biz* 'we', *ïnï* < *ini* 'younger brother', *gïnïŋde* < *kéninde* 'formerly', *pudïγ* < *bitig* 'writing', and in the suffix of *ülirmečilïγ* (cf. T21–24 for other examples of these changes).

Consonants. The sound system of these Sarig Yugur speakers includes the following consonants, several with allophonic variants (cf. T11–18):

(*p*)	[*p*]	voiceless bilabial stop: *pïrïn* 'front', *vapdro* 'becomes', *yip* 'rope'.
(*t*)	[*t*]	voiceless dental stop: *taγ* 'mountain', *atïs-* 'to fight', *sut* 'milk'.
(*k*)	[*k*]	voiceless front velar stop: *kisi* 'person', *tiken* 'thornbush', *bezik* 'big';
	[*q*]	voiceless back velar stop: *qus* 'bird', *uqar-* 'to graze', *ɢayaq* 'cream';
	[*ɢ*]	lenis back velar stop, non-final: *ɢuz ɢaq* 'we pour in'.
(*b*)	[*b*]	voiced bilabial stop, non-final: *bes* 'five', *čaxba-* 'to cut';
(*d*)	[*d*]	voiced dental stop: *dïort* 'four', *odïs* 'thirty', *ard* 'western, back'.
(*g*)	[*g*]	voiced front velar stop: *gus* 'ox', *ǰigen* 'donkey', *ǰirig* 'army';
	[*γ*]	voiced back velar fricative: *yaǰi* 'Ghaji', *yayï* 'enemy', *yaγ* 'butter';
(*x*)	[*x*]	voiceless back velar fricative, non-final: *xosï* 'all', *yaxši* 'good';
(*s*)	[*s*]	voiceless dental-alveolar sibilant: *su* 'water', *yusï* 'bad', *muŋus* 'horn'.
(*š*)	[*š'*]	voiceless palatal sibilant: *šiki* 'two', *kušul-* 'to get strong', *ɢamuš* 'reed'.
(*č*)	[*č'*]	voiceless palatal stop, non-final: *či* 'camel', *kučal-* 'to get strong';

(*z*) [*z*] voiced dental-alveolar sibilant, non-initial: *ɢïzïl* 'red', *ɢïz* 'girl'.
(*ǰ*) [*ǰ'*] voiced palatal stop, non-final: *ǰar* 'musk', *ŭǰun* 'thirty'.
(*v*) [*v*] voiced labial-dental fricative, non-final: *var* 'there is', *šïvar* 'musk deer'.
(*w*) [*w*] bilabial semivowel, non-initial and non-final: *awut* 'all kinds of', *sowa* 'clan'.
(*y*) [*y*] palatal semivowel: *yoq* 'there is not', *ɢayaq* 'cream', *ɢoy* 'sheep'.
(*l*) [*l*] lateral glide: *lom* 'sutra, book', *kelin* 'bride', *yol* 'road'.
(*r*) [*r*] rolled flap, non-initial: *göru* 'seeing', *yer* 'place'.
(*m*) [*m*] voiced bilabial nasal stop: *men* 'I', *deme* 'named', *anam* 'my mother'.
(*n*) [*n*] voiced dental nasal stop: *nimema* 'anything', *meniŋ* 'my', *kun/kün* 'day'.
(*ŋ*) [*ŋ*] voiced velar nasal stop, non-initial: *muŋus* 'horn', *soŋ* 'after'.

The affricate (*ts'*) appears only in the Chinese loan *ts'un* 'village' and unexpectedly in *kunts'en* < *kün sayïn* 'everyday'. In addition, the aspirate [*h*] may be only a variant of (*x*) in the two words *hanï-* 'to run away' and *horuu* 'lacking', while [*x*] and [*w*] are nonfunctional variants in the pairs *ǰirix/ǰirig* 'army' and *wiǰin/biǰin* 'with'.

Other phenomena encountered in these recordings include metathesis (*olɣan* < *oɣlan* 'boys', *palɣu-* < *baɣla-* 'to tie', *šiki/šigi* < *iški* < *iki* 'two'), anticipation (*taqɢan* < *talgan* 'wheat', *yedik kel-/gel-* < *yetip kel-* 'to reach'), loss of vowel (*bohdï* < *bo ohtnï* 'this grass'), and loss of consonant (*ahdï* < *ahldï* 'he took', *ahdon* < *ahldon* 'sixty', *bīq* < *börk* 'cap', *booɣanda* < *bolɣanda* 'when it became', *gege* < *kelge* 'coming', *meŋ* < *meniŋ* 'my', *yoqsïdi* < *yoq kisi erdi* 'they were poor people', and *gepdro, qapdïï, qïšdïï, vapdro*).

We may draw attention to three historical aspects of this material. First, the language of these materials presents a strong tendency toward the retention of **b-* and the voicing of **t-* and **k-*, in contradistinction to the materials of Malov and Tenishev, where occurrences of voiced initials are a rarity. Here, the environments for the voiceless: voiced opposition of initial stops are not mutually exclusive:

(1) initial (*p*) occurs before (*d*), (*g*), and (*l*), and once before (*r*) (*pudïɣ* 'writing', *poɢ-* 'to tie', *palɣu-* 'to tie', and *pïrïn* 'front'); initial (*b*) occurs before other consonants, including (*r*).
(2) Initial (*t*) occurs before (*t*), (*k*), (*l*), (*z*), and once before [*ɣ*] and [*ɢ*] (*tut-* 'to capture', *tikin* 'thornbush', *toq* 'meeting', *tala* 'field', *tez-* 'to flee', *taɣ* 'mountain', and *tohɢïs* 'nine' (conditioned by [*oh*]?));
initial (*d*) occurs elsewhere, including before [*ɢ*].
(3) Initial (*k*) occurs before (*p*), (*s*), (*z*),(*š*), (*č*), (*l*), (*r*), (*m*), and (*n*), and its allophone [*ɢ*] before (*d*), (*s*), (*z*), (*y*), (*r*), and (*m*);
initial (*g*) occurs before (*p*), (*g*), (*s*), (*z*), (*č*), (*y*), (*l*), (*r*), (*n*), and (*ŋ*).

It may be that the devoicing of **b-* and the voicing of **t-* and **k-* are due to allophonic, combinatory and other phenomena, but the material is too limited to justify such conjectures[10].

Secondly, we call attention to the treatment of Turkic **š* and **č* in these recordings. Whereas **š* is retained in 3 *doɢïs baš kisi* 'five (head of) people', 2 *bašïnda* 'at the end (head) of', and 2 *ɢamuš* 'reed', in all other cases it merges with (*s*): *atïs-* < *atïš-* 'to fight', *bes* < *beš* 'five', *besinǰi* < *bešinči* 'fifth', *yas* < *yaš* 'year', etc. We cannot suppose that this retention of **š* is dialectal, since the speaker in 2 also has *qus* < *quš* 'bird'. By the same token, **č* is retained as (*č*) in initial position always and elsewhere in most cases, but merges with (*š*) in several other cases, both within the speech of single individuals:

1 *ùš* < *üč* 'three'	*ùǰinǰi* < *üčünči* 'third'
2 *išde* < *ič(i)de* 'within'	*kučal-* < *küčel-* 'to get strong'
3 *kušul-* < *küčel-* 'to get strong'	*gečir-* < *kečür-* 'to live, pass'
iši- < *ič-* 'to drink'	*ači* < *iči* 'inside'

The materials of Malov (cf. Thomsen 1959, 565) and Tenishev (1976, 26) reflect a similar status. Until further investigation, we cannot say more than that in Sarig Yugur **š* and **s* show a tendency to merge into (*s*) and **š* and **č* into (*š*)[11].

Finally, original **-d* regularly appears in these and all other Sarig Yugur materials as (*z*), a feature that links this language to those of the Khakas group: *bezik* < *bedük* 'big', *izet-* 'to show, to lead' < *ïd-* 'to send', *gezgiš* 'clothing' < *ked-* 'to wear', *qïzïγ* < *qïdïγ* 'edge', *ɢuz-* < *qud-* 'to pour', *ɢuzï* < *qodï* 'downward' (cf. M162, T36, Räsänen 1960, Thomsen 1959, 565).

Morphophonology

In such a small corpus it is difficult to establish rules of assimilation of the initial consonants of suffixes to stem final consonants. Malov only proposed a few tentative rules for some suffixes, while Tenishev formulated them for

[10] Gerhard Doerfer has pursued such explanations for similar developments in Tuva (cf. Bemerkungen zu den sojonischen Anlautsklusilen, *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 45, 1973, 254–260). Tenishev establishes a fortis: lenis opposition of stop consonants in Sarig Yugur, so that the occurrence of initial voicing is relegated to the allophonic level (1976, 11–14; same for Salar, Tenishev 1976a, 44–48, 57).

[11] Tenishev suggested that the ancestors of the Sarig Yugurs moved to the southern Tarim Basin, by which time **š* and **s* already had merged into (*s*), so that cases of the retention of **š* reflect borrowings from a southern Uygur dialect (1971, 90). However, it seems implausible that the speaker of 2 might have retained *qus* 'bird', but borrowed *baš* 'head' in *bašïnda* 'at the end (head) of' and *ɢamuš* 'reed'.

most suffixes. Generally, the dialects in these recordings do not conform to their rules; in particular, here we find far more cases of suffix consonants becoming voiced after stem final voiceless consonants. Without attempting to reformulate this question, we note the following distribution:

Genitive: +*nïŋ* except 3 *bïqdïŋ* (M165–166, T55 +*diŋ* only after -*r*, +*tiŋ* after voiceless -*C*, +*niŋ* otherwise).

Definite object: +*nï* in 3 *Xoŋǰünnï*, *sowanï*, *sunï*, *oynï*, and +*di* in 1 *yipdi*, 2 *bohdï* (< *bo oht*+*nï*), 3 *bizdi* (M167, T56 + *di* only after -*z*, +*ti* after voiceless -*C*, +*ni* otherwise).

Dative: +*γa* in 1 *talaγa*, *ardïnγa*, 3 *yaγïγa*, *pïrnïŋγa*, +*ɢa* in 1 *aɢasïnɢa*, 3 *pïrïnɢa*, +*ge* in 1 *tikinge*, *ičinge*, 3 *ǰirige*, and +*qa* in 1 *atqa* (M168–169, T55 +*ka* after voiceless -*C*, +*ga* otherwise).

Locative: +*da*/+*de* except 2 *qomïšte* (but 2 *išde*) (M169–170: +*ta* after -*V*, -*y*, -*r*, -*l*, -*n*, -*š*, but +*da* after -*y*, -*r*, -*m*, -*n* is not a rule; T56: +*ta* after voiceless -*C*, +*da* otherwise).

Ablative: only +*dan* noted (M170, T57 +*tan* after voiceless -*C*, +*dan* otherwise).

Definite past: -*dï* in 1 *ahldï*, *čaxbadï*, 2 *qïšdï*, 4 *ahdï*, -*di* in 1,3 *dedi*, *didi*, -*dïï* in 1 *qapdïï*, 2 [*q*]*išdïï*, -*tï* in 1 *boptï* (cf. M190, T92).

Past predicate: -*γan* in 1 *baγan*, *maŋγan*, *oluγan*, *booγanda*, 2 *yaγmaγanda*, 3 *asraγan*, *hanïγan*, *ǰiefaŋnaγanii*, *bolγanii*, *maŋγanii*, -*ɢan* in 1 *andaɢanda*, -*gen* in 1 *ɢïdiigende*, 3 *tezgen*, *kelgen*, *ungen*, *gečirgenii*, *gelgenii*, *izetgenii*, *ülirgenii*, -*qan* in 1 *doɢqan*, *atqan*, 3 *yaγïlasqan*, -*ken* in 1 *yitkende* (cf. M184, T111).

Present participle: -*ɢaq* in 4 *ɢuzɢaq*, -*geg* in 3 *gelgegii*, *išigegii*, -*xaq* in 2 *uqarxaqii*, *kučalxaqii*, 3 *bolxaqii* (cf. M185, T110).

Coordinative gerund: -*ɢaš* in 1 *poɢɢašdu*, 3 *qorqɢaš*, -*geš* in 2 *söyingešii*, 3 *kelgeš*, -*γa* in 3 *yadaγa*, *čaγlaγa*, -*ɢa* in 1 *tutɢa*, *osïɢa*, -*ge* in 2 *gege* (cf. M185, 187, T112).

Morphosyntax

In the following, we provide a summary of the main morphosyntactic features of the language of these recordings. This summary is restrained not only by the limited corpus, but also by the viewpoint and structure of the texts themselves in the sense that they do not attest certain grammatical distinctions and categories.

Number. No instance of the plural marker +*lar* was recorded.

Possession. Sarig Yugur has several means of expressing possession that conform to those typical of Turkic languages, including constructions with a possessive pronoun plus the unmarked noun: 3 *meniŋ at* 'my name', *meniŋ yüy* 'my home', *meniŋ goga* 'my brother'. A clipped form of this pronoun also

appears in the speech of one informant: 4 *meŋ yü* 'my home', *meŋ išgiš* 'my food', *meŋ gezgiš* 'my clothing'.

A second common means of indicating possession is that of adding the locative *+da/+de* to the possessor and ending with *bar* 'there is': 1 *mende bes mula bar* 'I have five children', 3 *šivarda ǰar varii, suγunda muŋus varii* 'the musk deer have musk, the maral deer have horns', 4 *mende gus dïort bar* 'I have four oxen', etc.

Sarig Yugur has lost first and second person possessive suffixes (M177–178; T51–52), although occasionally the Turkic first person possessive suffix *-m* appears in narratives, as here in 1 *aǰam anam* 'my father and my mother'. No other examples of these person markers occur in these texts.

Third person possession is expressed through the typical Turkic construction: Noun 1 *+niŋ* (optional) + Noun 2 *+(s)i*: 1 *yüsinde* 'in their home', *bezik aɢasï giozï* 'the eyes of his big brother', 2 *xayziniŋ yaqa bašïnda* 'at the southern end (head) of the lake', *xayziniŋ qïzïγïnda* 'on the shores of the lake', 3 *guoǰianiŋ ïrïmbooči* 'treasures of the country = national treasures', *Maoǰušiniŋ yaxši yeri* 'one of Chairman Mao's good areas', *ɢïzïl bïqdïŋ pïrnïŋγa* 'in front of the Red Caps', 3 *Yuγur sözi* 'Yugur language', *Sart ǰirigi* (but same text: *Sart ǰirix*) 'Sart army'. However, we note that in several cases the third person possessive suffix *+(s)i* is not added to a word ending in the vowels */i, ï/*: 3 *men Xanniŋɢol kisi* 'I am a person of Khanninggol', *oynïŋ yusï kisi* 'bad people of the steppe', *Yuγurnïŋ qarmanγï* 'the ancestors of the Yugurs'.

Case. These recordings attest markers for the definite object and for the dative, locative, and ablative cases. The genitive suffix *+niŋ* also occurs in possessive constructions (above).

Recorded instances of the definite object are: 1 *yipdi* 'the rope', 2 *bohdï* (<*bo ohtnï*) 'this grass', 3 *sunï* 'the water', *bizdi* 'us', *xoŋǰünnï* 'the Red Army', *meniŋ goganï* 'my brother', *sowanï* 'the clan', and *oynï* 'the steppe'.

Examples of the dative are: 1 *atqa* 'to/by name', *talaγa* 'to the fields', *tikinge* 'to the thornbush', *semige* 'to the temple', 3 *xoŋǰünγa* 'to the Red Army', *pïrïnɢa* 'to the front', *ǰirige* (<*ǰirix + ge*) 'to the army', *yaγïγa* 'to the enemy', *oyγa* 'to the steppe'. After the possessive suffix *+(s)i* the element *+n* is added before the dative: 1 *aɢasïnɢa* 'to his older brother', *ičinge* 'to its inside', *ardïnγa* 'to its back, behind', and 3 *pïrnïŋγa* 'to its front' (*+ŋ*<*+n* by sandhi).

Examples of the locative, including those with the element *+n* after the possessive *+(s)i*, are: 1 *yüsinde* 'in their home', 1,4 *mende* 'on/by me', 3 *oyda* 'in the steppe', 2 *qomïšte* 'in a desert depression', *bašïnda* 'at the end (head) of', *ɢarašïnda* 'at the springs of', *qïzïγïnda* 'on the shores of', *ǰünkinde* 'on the *ǰünkin*-grass', *xayzida* 'in the lake', *semide* 'in the temple', 3 *šiaŋda* 'in the township', *ts'unda* 'in the village', *taγda* 'in the mountains', *šivarda* 'on/by the musk deer', *suγunda* 'on/by the maral deer', *yüyde* 'at home', 4 *yïlda* 'in the year', *yüde* 'at home'. The locative also occurs on postpositions and adverbs:

1 *ičinde* (but 2 *išde*) 'inside', 2 *ortasïnda* 'in the middle of', 1 *gïnïŋde* 'formerly', *soonda* 'after that', 3 *düysinde* 'formerly', *ol dügeyde* 'at that time'. The locative also forms part of dependent clauses added to the predicate: 1,2 *-gende* 'when ..'

Occurrences of the ablative are: 3 *taγdan* 'from the mountains' and *oydan* 'from the steppe'.

Predicates. The predicates *bar* 'there is' and *yoq* 'there is not' are frequent in these recordings. Full and clipped forms of the present and past tenses of the Turkic verb *er-* 'to be', often added to *bar* or *yoq,* are also characteristic. Tenishev did not isolate any of these forms, whereas Malov (184, 189) noted only *emes* (<*ermez*) and *er*(<*erür*). The forms attested in the present texts are:

iir (<*erür*):	3 *bu ma goŋčan mula iir* 'This is a communist boy'.
+*ii* (<*erür*):	2 *Ard Oy yaxši yerii* 'Lianhua is a good place'.
	2,3 *barii* 'there is', *yoqii* 'there is not', *emesii* 'it is not'
	3 *-genii* (past predicate)
	2,3 *-xaqii/-gegii* (present participle)
edi (<*erdi*):	1 *oluryan edi* '(had) sat', 3 *asraγan edi* '(had) raised', *yoq edi* 'there was not'
+*di*/+*du* (<*erdi*):	1 *yoqsïdi* (<*yoq kisi erdi*) 'they were poor people', *yoqdï* 'there was not', *kisi yoqdu* 'there was no one', *poɢɢašdu* 'he tied'
emes (<*ermez*):	3 *kun ma yaxši emesii* 'life is not good'

The predicate +*dro* (<*turur*) 'is' occurs with the past gerund *-p* and the subordinative gerund *-y* (see *Past gerund* below).

Definite past. The definite past tense marker *-di* occurs in 1,3 *didi/dedi* 'they said = they say', 1 *čaxbadï* 'he cut', 4 *ahdï* 'I took', etc. In 2 *bohdï ɢoy išdi kučalxaqii* 'sheep eat this grass and get strong', the element *-di* may reflect a dissimilation of the *-ge* gerund.

Past predicate. These recordings attest a number of examples of the past predicate in *-gen*: 1 *doɢqan* 'born', *palγu atqan* 'tied', *tutdïr atqan* 'gave it to hold', *baryan* 'went along', *maŋγan* 'went', 3 *tezgen* 'fled', *kelgen* 'came' *yaγïlasqan* 'fought one another', *pïrnïŋγa ungen* 'gained victory', *hanïγan* 'ran away'.

Addition of the predicate *edi* may indicate the perfect past tense in 1 *oluryan edi* '(had) sat' and 3 *asraγan edi* '(had) raised'.

The construction *-gen*+*ii* typifies the narrative in 3 *ǰiefaŋnaγanii* 'liberated', *gelgenii* 'came', *ülirgenii* 'killed', *gelgenii* 'came', etc.

With the locative suffix, the past predicate *-gende* forms a dependent clause indicating that an action is committed at the same time or just before a second action is committed: 1 *bir kün yitkende* 'when it reached a day = the next day (he led his brother)', *bir ǰoo booγanda ɢïdiigende* 'when he was (there) a while and when he called out = when he had been (there) a while, he called

out (but there was no one)', *yipdi osïɢa baryanda*, 'when he went along pulling(?) the rope (there was no one)', *deŋir yaγmaγanda* 'when it did not rain (they had them read)'.

Present-future participle. The Sarig Yugur speakers of 1 and 4 use the suffix *-gek* as a marker of the present-future tense, indicating an action completed habitually and consistently (cf. T110): 1 *men atqa Xï Zixua diyik* (<*tégek*) 'I, by name, they say = I am named He Zihua', 4 *ča išiik* (<*išgek*) 'we drink tea', *yaγ išiik* 'we eat butter', *sut ɢuzɢaq* 'we pour in milk'[12].

Unique to the Sarig Yugur speakers of 2 and 3 is the use of this form with the predicate +*ii* (<*erür*): 2 *ɢoy uqarxaqii* 'sheep graze', *ɢoy . . . kučalxaqii* 'sheep get strong', 3 *mal . . . kušul bolxaqii* 'animals become strong', *su gelgegii* 'a river comes' (note the similar construction in *-gek*+*tro* (<*turur*) cited in M185, T85).

Other participles. The relativizing suffix *-me* occurs twice in 3 *deme* 'which one says = named' (note M184 *taruma yer* 'arable land', *time* 'named'). An expansion of this suffix appears in the unique 3 *ülirmečülïγ ülirgenii* 'they killed in a manner of one who kills = they killed as one would kill'.

Past gerund. In these recordings the gerund in *-p* is used only in conjunction with predicates and the aspectual verb *kel-*, and not to link coordinative sentences together. With the predicate +*dro* (< *turur*), the following examples occur in the speech of one individual: 3 *depdro* 'it has been said = it is said', *vapdro* (< *bolïp turur*) 'it has become = it is', *atïsïpdro* 'fought one another', *tutup gepdro* (< *kelip turur*) '(finally) caught = captured', *čaγlapdro* 'have lived'[13]. The negative of this construction appears in a single example: 3 *unalmeendro* (< *un almeen turur*) 'was unable to gain (victory)' (note M192 *sïnmindro* 'did not break', and T113 *-meen*). With the predicate +*di* (< *erdi*), the following examples occur: 1 *toq boptï* (< *bolïp erdi*) 'came upon', *čoɢï qapdïï* (< *qalïp erdi*) 'sat down', 2 *unšït qïšdï* (? < *qalïp erdi*) 'had them read', *yaq ïsdïï* (= (*q*)*ïsdïï* ? < *qalïp erdi*) 'it started raining'.

[12] In early Turkic, the suffix *-γaq*/*-gek* forms nouns reflecting habitual or repeated action; cf. *oryaq* 'sickle (that mows < *or-* 'to mow')' (C216), *tamγaq* 'throat (that constantly drips < *tam-* 'to drip') (C505), etc. In the Khotan dialect of Uygur, this suffix functions as a present-future tense: *Äski ädämgä män qetilmiγaq* 'I don't belong to the old people', *män öygä kätkäk* 'I will go home' (Tenishev 1963, 146). Tenishev contended that this suffix was borrowed from Sarig Yugur into the Khotan dialect and that this contact reflected a temporary migration of the ancestors of the Sarig Yugurs into the southern region of the Tarim Basin (1971, 89–90; cf. note [11] above).

[13] Baskakov (1976) argued that the Sarig Yugur construction *-p tro* derives from **-p turur ol*, and compared the use of the demonstrative pronoun *ol* 'that; he, she, it' as a copula in such early Turkic examples as *ol tarïγ tarïtγan ol* 'he is constantly ordering cultivation' (C123, 536), etc. However, he did not cite any cases of the use of **-p turur ol*. On the contrary, occurrences only of the formation *-p turur* are attested as early as the Uygur civil documents (cf. C529–530 *tur-*).

The addition of this gerund to the first verb of compounds with the aspectual verb *kel-* 'to come' indicates completion of an action, again in one individual's speech: 3 *tutup gepdro* (< *kelip turur*) '(finally) captured', *unup kelgen* '(finally) moved away', *yedik gelgenii* (< *yetip kelgen erur*) '(finally) reached', *yedik kelgeš* (< *yetip kelgeš*) 'upon (finally) reaching' (for the aspectual use of *kel-*, see below).

Several of the Sarig Yugur speakers employed a construction that involves the disappearance of the gerund *-p*, leaving only the verb stem before an aspectual verb. We have not noted a similar construction in the materials of Malov and Tenishev, but of course it is possible that in casual speech such forms occur in some of their texts[14]. We may presume that this process is similar to that which transforms *al-* 'to take' or *bil-* 'to know' into abilitative suffixes *-al-* and *-bil-* in modern Turkic languages, just as in 3 *unalmeendro* < *ün-* 'to rise' + *al-* 'to take' = 'to be able'. But whether the aspectual verbs in the examples cited below ought to be treated as verbal suffixes is a question requiring further examination. We present the occurrences of this construction according to the aspectual verbs employed:

at- 'to throw' (Y531: completion of an intentional action [Mongol *orki-* 'to throw']; note that the examples cited for the aspectual use of *yat-* 'to lie down' in T104 actually are cases of *at-*):
1 *palγu atqan* 'tied' < *paγla-* 'to tie' + *at-*, *tutdïr atqan* 'gave to hold' *tutdïr-* 'to have someone hold' + *at-*.

bar- 'to go along' (T104: action is progressing toward a goal; H612: action is progressing uninterruptedly with an anticipated result; Y530: the continuance of an action irrespective of time [Mongol *yabu-* 'to go']):
1 *izet baryan* 'led' < *izet-* 'to lead' + *bar-*, *kir baryan* 'entered' < *kir-* 'to enter' + *bar-*.

bol- 'to become' (H613: completed or accomplished action; Y535: passage of time or an action reaching termination or decision [Mongol *bol-* 'to become']):
3 *kušul bolxaqïi* 'they become strong and . . .' < *kušul-* 'to get strong' + *bol-*, 3 *baoweyla vapdro* (< *bolïp turur*) 'encircled < *baoweyla-* 'to encircle' + *bol-*.

kel- 'to come' (T104: action is being completed gradually as it approaches the speaker; H614: action performed persistently and continuously until a point in time; Y531: motion towards the speaker or the person addressed [Mongol *ire-* 'to come']):
2 *un gege* (< *kelge*) 'rises and . . .' < *ün-* 'to rise, come up' + *kel-*.

[14] Tenishev recorded this construction in Salar: *čəx keymiš* 'he came out, left' (< *čïqïp kelmiš*), *kir paamiš* 'he went in, entered' (< *kirip barmïš*), *iŋ kiymiš* 'he came down, descended' (< *inip kelmiš*), etc. (1962a, 269; 1976a, 177).

qal- 'to stay' (T105: action performed repetitively or permanently once; H616: unexpected or accidental action with a permanent or temporary result; Y528: action in progress or a state maintained at the time expressed or understood [Mongol *bayi-* 'to be, to stay']):
1 *čoɢï qapdïï* 'sat down' (< *qalïp erdi*) < *čoqï-* 'to sit down' + *qal-*, 2 *unšït qïšdï* (?< *qalïp erdi*) 'had them read' < *unšït-* 'to have someone read' + *qal-*, 2 *yaq ïšdïï* (= (*q*)*ïšdïï* ? < *qalïp erdi*) 'it started raining' < *yaɣ-* 'to rain' + *qal-*; also note 1 *čaxbadï* 'he cut' (< *čabxadï*) < *čap-* 'to cut' + *qal-*.

Coordinative gerund. The gerund in *-geš* and its clipped form *-ge* (M187, T112) serves to connect sentences together in several of these texts: 1 *tutɢa* 'holding (the rope)', *osïɢa* 'pulling(?) (the rope)', 2 *un gege* 'arises and . . .', 3 *gelge* 'came and . . .', *yedik kelgeš* 'upon reaching', *qorqɢaš* 'were afraid and...', and the enigmatic verb phrase *yaɣïɣa yadaɣa* '(?)'[15].

This gerund also is used in constructions with predicates: 1 *tikinge poɢɢašdu* (< *paɣɣaš erdi*) 'he tied (the rope) to the thornbush', 2 *alvatï söyingešii* (< *söyingeš erür*) 'the people were ('are') happy', 3 *čaɣlaɣa barii* 'they were living'.

Subordinative gerunds. The gerunds *-u* and *-y* are used in constructions with predicates twice in these recordings: 1 *giozi göru yoqdï* 'his eyes did not see = he was blind' and 3 *didro* (< *téy turur*) 'it is said'.

Conditional mood. Two examples of the conditional suffix *-se* (M189, T100) occur in these texts: 3 *mal yese* 'if/when animals eat (this grass)' and *Yuɣurnïŋ qarmanɣï dise* 'if one says = as for the ancestors of the Yugurs'.

Lexicon

Pronouns. Only the pronouns for the first and third persons occur in these recordings: 1,3,4 *men* 'I', 3 *biz* and 4 *mïs* 'we', and 3 *ol* 'he/she/it'. The oblique forms 2,3 *meniŋ*, 4 *meŋ*, 1,4 *mende*, and 3 *bizdi* also occur. Here, as in other Sarig Yugur collections, there is no personal agreement between pronominal subjects and verbs. The vowel of the demonstrative pronoun varies between (*o*) and (*u*) in these texts and within the speech of a single individual (as M92, T77): 1,2,3 *bu* and 2,3 *bo*.

Numerals. These recordings attest the numerals 1 through 9 and the decades *yigirmi* '20', *odïs*, *ŭǰun* '30', *dïordon* '40', and *ahdon* '60', in forms close to those heard by Malov and Tenishev. Both Malov (178–179) and Tenishev

[15] The gerund in **-kač* occurs in numerous Kipchak and some Oguz Turkic languages, as well as in Tuva; see: Shcherbak 1981, 131–132; *Sravnitel'noistoricheskaja grammatika tjurkskikh jazykov. Morfologija* [Edited by E. R. Tenishev] (Moskva: "Nauka", 1988), 480–481 (where the Sarig Yugur form is not cited).

(71–73) found that the staircase ('X-number of steps on the way to 20 or 30') method was used for counting in the 10s and 20s, while the additive ('30, 40 . . . plus a number') method was used for the 30s and above. Examples of the staircase method for counting in the 10s are found in 1 *yidigirma* (< *yidi yigirmi*) '17' and *saɢïs yigirmi* '18', while examples of both additive and staircase methods for counting in the 20s are found in 1 *yigirmi šiki* '22', *yigirmi bes* '25', *yigirmi ahldï* '26', but 3 *ahldï odïs* '26'.

The ordinal suffix *+inǰi* that occurs in 1 *šiginǰi* 'second', *ïǰinǰi* 'third', *dïordinǰi* 'fourth', and *besinǰi* 'fifth' is also noted by Tenishev (74), who, along with Malov (179), recorded the expanded suffix *+ïnǰïlïq*.

The word *baš* 'head' is used as a classifier in the expression in 3 *doɢïs baš kisi* 'nine (head of) people'.

Mongol Elements. The vocabulary of each of the Sarig Yugur speakers recorded here includes Mongol elements. Expectably, the phonological shape of these elements conforms for the most part to that of the Mongol language of the Shira Yugurs, with whom the Sarig Yugurs have shared a close relationship for the past centuries[16]. In the following list, we limit our documentation of the Mongol forms to Shira Yugur and other Mongol languages spoken in China (cited after B, S) and to Written Mongol (cited after L)[17]:

aɢa 'older brother' ←B3, S126 *aɢa*, L59 *aqa* id.
aǰa 'father' ←B6, S90 *adʒa*, (Chahar) *aadʒɛ*, (Barin) *ɛɛdʒɛ*, (Khorchin) *aadʒaa*, (Dagur) *ačaa* id.[18]
alvatï 'people' ←B3 *alβatə*, S117 *alwatə*, L28 *albatu* id.

[16] There are also specifically Sarig Yugur loans in Shira Yugur; as samples, cf. S193 *xanad* 'wing' ← M52 *qanat* id., S360 *aartə* 'north, back' ← M17 *art* 'west, back', S395 *məla* 'children' ← M77 *mla/mīla* id., S610 *dʒoɢɢui-* 'to sit' ← *čokuy-* id., S693 *yeldes* 'root' ← M47 *yïltïs* id., etc. It should be noted that, despite its title, Tenishev 1976b actually deals with Mongol loans in Sarig Yugur, which he mistakenly terms "Šir-a Uighur". There, he cites from his materials *amïtan* 'creature', *ǰigen* 'ass, donkey', *lom* 'book, manuscript', *yata-* 'to be unable', and 16 other words not attested in the present recordings. For Mongol loans in Salar and Uygur dialects, see: V. Drimba, Remarques sur les mots d'emprunt mongols de la langue salare, *Revue Roumaine du Linguistique* 21, 1976, 417–427; A. Róna-Tas [Review of Jarring 1964], *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 16, 1966, 431–435.

[17] We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Professor György Kara with Mongol and Chinese sources.

[18] The word *aǰa* 'father' is isolated in Sarig Yugur, Lobnor, and Tuva (cf. L. A. Pokrovskaja, Terminy rodstva v tjurkskikh jazykakh, *Istoricheskoe razvitie leksiki tjurkskikh jazykov* [Edited by Je. I. Ubrjatova] (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1961), 28–29). Within Mongol, *ača/aǰa* also occurs as 'father' in the Mongol glosses of Jamāladdīn Ibn Muhannā's manual (cf. N. Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovar'. Mukaddimat al-adab, I–II* (Moskva–Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1938, 432). Whatever its ultimate origins, the word perhaps reflects a contamination with L292 *ečige* 'father'.

amtan 'creature' ←B6 *amtan*, L38 *amitan* id.
arǰa 'juniper' ←S120 *ardʒa*, L50 *arča* id.
asra- 'to raise' ←B60 *hsəra-*, S122 *asara-* 'to take care of', L56 *asara-* id.[19]
čormi 'curds' ←B138, S247 *čörme* 'curds'[20]
dügeyde/düysinde 'formerly, at that time' ←**dügey*; cf. Monguor *ɒeeɢii* 'formerly, of old, in the past', L242 *degedü* 'higher, upper . . . preceding, previous'[21]
ɢarašïn 'spring' ←**ɢarašïn*, S119 (Ordos, Alashan) *aragšaan*, (Barin, Khorchin, Oirat) *aršaan*, L650 *rasiyan/arasiyan*, Khalkha *rašaan/aršaan* id.[22]
goga/gogï 'older brother' ←S126 *googo*, (Barin) *göög*, (Khorchin) *gəəgə*, (Santa) *gaga*, (Baoan) *gagə* id.
hanï- 'to run away' ←B55 *hanə-* 'to go away'
horuu 'empty, lacking, poor' ←**horuu*; cf. S355 *xuusən* 'empty, vacant', L953 *qoγosun*, Khalkha *xooson* 'vacuum, emptiness . . . poor, hungry', L953 *qoγorundu* 'between, in the middle'
ïrïmbooči 'treasure' — S265 *ərənbuuče*, (Baoan) *rəmbotçe*, (Monguor) *rəmbu* ← Tibetan *rim po che* 'great value, treasure'
ǰar 'musk' ←B141, S397 *dʒaar*, L1023 *ǰaγar* id.
ǰers 'a grass' ←S569 (Chahar, Barin, Sunit, Khalkha, Oirat) *čiirs*, L179 *čigirsü(n)*, 'straw or rush mat; straw, rush'
ǰigen 'donkey' ←B10 *eldʒigen*, S256 *əndʒiγen*, (Monguor) *dʒige*, L311 *elǰigen* id.
ǰorɢa 'valley' ←B146 *dʒɔrqə* 'gorge, ravine', B144 *dʒelɢa*, S301 *dʒilɢa*, S428 *dʒalɢa* id., L1055 *ǰilγa/ǰilaγa* 'ravine, dell, hollow, basin, ditch'
lom unšït- 'to have someone read sutras (Turkic causative *-t-*)' ←B88, S611 *lɔm əŋšə-* 'to read sutras', L877 *nom ungsi-* 'to recite the scripture'
ot qurol 'feed-pen (Turkic *ot* 'grass')' ←**qurol*, cf. L967 *qoriγul* 'enclosure for feeding livestock'
šaldan 'poor' ←B105 *šaltaŋ* id., L750 *šaldang* 'nude, naked, bare'
semi '(Buddhist) temple' ←**semi*, S617 (Monguor) *smeen*, L743 *süme* id.

[19] See: A. Róna-Tas, The Altaic Theory and the History of a Middle Mongolian Loan Word in Chuvash, *Researches in Altaic Languages*, Edited by L. Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975), 201–211.

[20] Róna-Tas derived both Yugur words from Tibetan **chur-ma* 'a kind of cheese or curd' (1962, 266). On the other hand, Kara regarded the Shira Yugur word as a borrowing from Sarig Yugur; cf. Le dictionnaire étymologique et la langue mongole, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 18, 1965, 15. It should be noted that Tibetan *č'u-ra* is reflected directly in S247 (Monguor) *tçuraa* (Baoan) *tçüra* 'curds'.

[21] A. de Smedt et A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les mongols du kansou occidental, III. Dictionnaire monguor-français* (Pei-p'ing: Imprimerie de l'Université Catholique, 1933), 48.

[22] The word is originally Sanskrit *rasāyana* and also occurs in classical Uygur *rasayan* (cf. *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* [Edited by V. M. Nadeljajev and others] (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka". Leningradskoe otdelenie, 1969), 476). Here, the *ɢ-* element of the Sarig Yugur form may be due to a perceived connection with a geographical name like J239 *Qara Su* 'black water'.

šivar 'musk deer' ←B105 *šəbar*, S396 *šbar* id. (cf. C878 *yipar*)
tala 'field, plain, steppe' ←B115, S371, L771 *tala* id.

The immediate origins of certain Sarig Yugur words with Mongol counterparts are unclear. Some could be reflexes of originally Turkic words that have been borrowed into Mongol or reverse borrowings from Shira Yugur: *ǰirix/ǰirig* 'army' ?←B136, S567 *čerəg*, L173 *čerig* id. ←Turkic *čerig* id. (cf. C428); *taqɢan* 'parched wheat' ?←B115 *talgan* id., L773 *talqan* 'powder, flour, meal, bread' ←Turkic *talkan* id. (cf. C496); *ča* 'tea' ?←S559 *ča*, (Monguor, Santa, Baoan) *tça* id. ← Turkic (or Chinese) *čay* (cf. R95); and *čaγla-* 'to live < pass the time (with Turkic +*la-*)' ?←S556 *čeg*, L156 *čaγ* 'time' ←Turkic *čaq* (cf. R95).

Chinese Elements. There is a substantial Chinese component in the Sarig Yugur lexicon that also is reflected in these recordings. This influence is due both to the cultural intermixture of Turks and Chinese in this area and to the modern sociopolitical realities. Not only is Chinese the official language of administration and education today, but nearly all of the Yugurs in Gansu are bilingual in Chinese and use this language as a *lingua franca* (cf. Tenishev 1962, 59–60).

Malov (1957, 5–6) pointed out that Chinese words are treated as an integral part of Sarig Yugur vocabulary, to the degree that such loans can be made into verbs with the Turkic suffix +*la-*: M73 *lotola-* 'to speak rapidly, chatter (Chinese 羅嗦, *luosuo*)', M75 *maŋla-/maŋna-* 'to arrange, contrive (Chinese 忙, *mang*)', etc. This process is attested in these texts as well: 3 *ǰiefaŋna-* 'to liberate (Chinese 解放, *jiefang*)' and 3 *baoweyla-* 'to encircle (Chinese 包圍, *baowei*)'. It also appears that the particle +*la* may be added to Chinese words, at least in 3 *ǰuyola* 'basically'. The following Chinese loans have been identified in these recordings:

baoweyla- 'to encircle (with Turkic +*la-*) ← 包圍 *baowei*, see above
ganbu 'cadre' ← 幹部 *ganbu*
goŋčan 'communist' ← 共產 *gongchan*
Goŋčandaŋ 'Communist Party' ← 共產黨 *Gongchandang*
guoǰia 'country, state' ← 國家 *guojia*
ǰiefaŋna- 'to liberate (with Turkic +*na-* < +*la-*)' ← 解放 *jiefang*, see above
ǰuyola 'basically' ← 主要 *zhuyao*
Maoǰuši 'Chairman Mao' ← 毛主席 *Mao zhuxi*
šiaŋ 'township' ← 鄉 *xiang*
ts'un 'village' ← 村 *cun*
xayzi 'lake' ← 海子 *haizi*
Xoŋǰün 'Red Army' ← 紅軍 *Hongjun*
yaŋyaŋ 'all sorts of' ← 樣樣 *yangyang*
yuanlay 'originally' ← 原來 *yuanlai*

Other Lexical Elements. Other aspects of the vocabulary of these Sarig Yugur speakers command interest. Several of their Turkic words are not attested in the materials of Malov and Tenishev, including *gečir-* 'to live, to pass the time', *ïr* 'upwards', and *mïnïya* 'thereupon, then', as well as the unique form *awut* 'all kinds of, variety < handful' and derivations *gezgiš* 'clothing', *išgiš* 'food and drink'. The origins of a few isolated words cannot be identified: *ǰoo* 'while(?), time(?)', and *ǰügla* 'never(?)'.

Among the lexical items that occur here and in the collections of Malov and Tenishev, several cannot be identified as certainly Turkic, Mongol, or Chinese in origin: *guy* 'pine tree', *qarmanγï* 'ancestors', *sowa* 'clan' (cf. S98 [Baoan] *sova* 'tribe, clan'), *xosï* 'all, both' (M137, T220: Chinese), and *yusï* 'bad'. At the same time, the Sarig Yugur words for certain domesticated animals appear in clipped forms: *či* 'camel' (C447 *tevey*), *gus* 'ox' (C120 *öküz*), and *ǰigen* 'donkey' (←Mo *elǰigen*).

Glossary

In this glossary, nominals and verbals are cited in their stem or root forms and accompanied by references (s. = see) to their occurrences in other forms. Loanwords are marked as Mongol (Mo) or Chinese (Ch), with a few elements marked as Turkic (Tk) or Tibetan (Tib). Several comparisons for Mongol loanwords are cited from the language of the Lobnor Turks (Ln, after Malov 1956).

aɢa 1 older brother (Mo), M13 *aqa*, T172 *aqa/aγa*, Ln79 *aγa*, s. *ɢïzaɢa*, *aɢïnï*
aɢïnï 1 brothers (Mo + Tk), M14, T173 *aqïnï*, Ln80 *aγaine*, s. *aɢa*
ah- (= *ahl-*) 1 to take, M14, T171 *al-*
ahdon (< *ahldon*) 4 sixty, *a. bir* sixty-one, M14 *alton*, T172 *al'ton*
ahl- (= *ah-*) 1 to take
ahldï 1,3 six, 1 *dïordon a.* 46, *yigirmi a.* 26, 3 *a.odïs* 26, *ükjun a.* 36, M14 *alta/altï*, T172 *al'tï*
aǰa 1 father (Mo), M19 *ača*, T171 *aʒa*, Ln88 *ača*
alvatï 2 people, subjects (Mo), M14 *alvatï*, T171 *alva'tï* subject (to taxes)', Ln 84 *alvan/alman* 'tax', *alvanči* 'subject (to taxes)'
amtan 3 creature (Mo), T171 *amï'tan/amïl'tan*
ana 1 mother, M15, T172 *ana*
andaɢanda (< *andaγ* 'thus' + *qïlγanda* 'when done') 1 then, M63 *andaq qanda*, T235 *antaqqanta*, s. *andaqɢa*
andan 3 from that, *a. soŋ* after that, recently, M16 *andan*, T172 *antan*
andanla (= *ïndanla*) 3 since then, after that, T172 *antanla*
andaqɢa (< *andaγ* 'thus' + *qïlγa* 'doing') 3 and so, s. *andaɢanda*

ard (= *Art*) 3 back, west, *a. oy* western steppe, M17, T173 *art*, s. *Ard Oy*, *Art Qïrγaq*
Ard Oy 2 Lianhua, s. *ard*
ardïnγa 1 behind, M17 *artïnγa*, T173 *artïŋγa*
arǰa 3 juniper (Mo), M17 *arča*, T173 *a'rča/harʒa*, Ln85 *arča/arša*
Art Qïrγaq 3 Art Kirgak, s. *ard*
asra- 3 to raise, tend, take care of (Mo), M18 *asra-/asïra-*, T180 *hasïra-*, Ln86 *asya-/asïya-*
at 1,3 name, M19, T173 *at*
at- to throw (*aspectual verb*), M19, *at-*, T173 *a't-/at-/hat-*, s. *palγu-*, *tutdïr-*
atïs- 3 to shoot one another, fight, T174 *a't'ïs-*
awut 2 all kinds of, variety < handful', M84 *oš*, T194 *oš'* 'palm of the hand' (cf. C44 *adut*, with the dialect form *awut* 'handful' and variants of *avuč* 'palm')

ba (= *ma*) 4 *emphatic particle*
baoweyla- 3 to encircle (Ch + Tk +*la-*)
bar (= *var*) 1,2,3,4 there is, M21 *var*, 87 *par*, T195 *par/var*
bar- 1 to go along (also *aspectual verb*), M87 *par-*, T195 *par-/bar-*
bas 2 end < head, 3 head (*classifier*), M88 *pas/paš*, T195 *paš/pa'š*
Bayanɢol 3 Bayangol, M90 *Peyan gol* locality west of Sakhkys, T195 *peyan* rich (Mo)
bes 1 five, *yigirmi bes* 25, M91 *pes/piš/peš/bes*, T196 *pes/peš*
besinǰi 1 fifth, M92 *pisinči*, T196 *pesinʒï*
bezigi 1 oldest, s. *bezik*
bezik 1,2,3 big, 1 *b. aɢa* big brother, M89 *pezik*, T196 *pezek/pezïk*
biǰin (= *wiǰin*) 3 with, M94 *puǰin/vuǰin/voǰin/večin/velin*, T197 *puʒin/oʒin/uʒin*
bïq 3 cap, *ɢïzïl b.* red caps, M91 *perk/perik/perük*, T198 *perik/perïk*
bir 1,2,4 one, a, 4 *ahdon b.* 61, 1 *b.ǰoo* a while(?), M91 *per*, 92 *pir*, T196 *per/pïr*
bïrqan 1 image of the Buddha, M96 *pïrqan*, 95 *purqan*, T198 *p'urqan/p'ïrqan*
biz (= *mïs*) 3 we, M95 *pïz/mïz/mïs*, T191 *mes/mïs/mïz*
bo (= *bu*) 2,3 this, M92 *po/pu*, 95 *pï*, T197 *pu*
bohdï (< *bo ohtnï*) 2 this grass
bol- (= *boo-*) 3 to become (also *aspectual verb*), M93 *pol-*, 20 *bol-*, 21 *vol-*, T196 *pol-/bol-/vol-/ol-*, s. *boptï*, *vapdro*
boo- (= *bol-*) 1 to become, *bir ǰoo booγanda* after a while(?), M191 *voγanda*
boptï (< *bolïp erdi*) 1, s. *bol-*
boyïlï (= *buyïlï*) 4 this year
bu (= *bo*) 2,3 this
buyïlï (= *boyïlï*) 1 this year

ča 4 tea (Mo?), M138, T177 *ča*
čaγla- 3 to live (Mo? + Tk +*la-*), M139, Ln187 *čaγla-*, T177 *ʒ'aγla-/ʒaγla-*, Ln188 *čaq*, 187 *čaγlïq* 'belonging to time'

čaxba- (< *čabxa-* <*čap qal-*) 1 to cut, chop, root out, M140 *čap-* 'to root out', *tiken čap-* 'to root out thornbush for firewood', T176 *ʒap-* 'to cut, chop, pull up', Ln189 *čap-* 'to chop, strike, beat'
Čeǰi-γaǰi 3 Cheji-Ghaji; name of original habitat according to Yugur legends, M102 *Siǰo-Xaǰo*, T206 *Siʒi/Šiʒï/Šiʒï-Xaʒi*, s. *Commentary* 3
či 4 camel, M118 *ti/te/či*, T222 *ʒ'i/ti*
čoɢï- 1 to sit down, kneel down, M143 *čoqï-/čoqu-/čoquy-/čöki-*, T222 *ʒ'öki-/ʒ'ük-/ʒ'üke-/ʒ'ukï-/ʒoqe-/ʒoqïy-*, Ln192 *čök-* 'to kneel down (of camels)' (C413 *çök-* 'to kneel down (of camels)')
čormi 4 curds, cheese (Mo/Tib), M145 *čörme*, T222 *ʒ'örme/č'örme*

daɢï 3 also, M110 *taqo/taqï/taqa*, T211 *ta'qï/taγe*
daɢïla 3 also
daŋɢar 4 in the morning, M112 *taŋgar/taŋγar*, T211 *taŋqar*
dedi (= *didi*) 1,3 said, they say
deme 3 named, M119 *time*
deŋir 2 sky, M117 *teŋir/teŋre*, T212 *teŋer/teŋïr*
depdro (< *tép turur*) 3 it is said
+di = *+dï* = *+du* s. *edi*
didi (= *dedi*) 1 said, they say
didro (< *téy turur*) 3 it is said
dïordan (= *dïordon*) 4 forty, *d. tohɢïs* 49, M123 *törtön*, 24 *dürtön*, T214 *törton*
dïordinǰi 1 fourth, T214 *törtinʒi*
dïordon (= *dïordan*) 1,3 forty, 1 *d. ahldï* 46, 3 *d.doɢïs* 49, 4 *yüz d.* 140
dïort 4 four, M123 *tört/türt/dürt*, T214 *t'ört/t'ort*
dise 3 as for
diyik (< *tégek*) 1 *men atqa . . . diyik* I am named . . .
doɢ- 1 to be born, M119 *toγ-/tuq-*, 123 *tuγ-* id., T214 *tuγ-* 'to give birth to'
doɢïs (= *tohɢïs*) 2,3 nine, 3 *dïordon d.* 49, M120 *toqus/toqïs*, T213 *to'qïs*
+dro s. **tur-*
dügeyde 3 at that time, formerly (Mo), M124 *tuyto/tuytï* 'in the old days, long ago, formerly; this word usually begins Yugur stories (Chinese *tou li*)', s. *düysinde*
düysinde 3 formerly (Mo), s. *dugeyde*

edi (< *erdi*) 1,3 was
emes 3 is not
**er-* to be, s. **di, edi, emes, +ii, iir*

γaǰi 3 Ghaji, M134 *xaǰo/xaǰin/qaǰi*, T219 *Haʒi/Haʒï/Xaʒi*, s. *Čeǰi*.

ɢamuš 2 reed, M52 *qamïš*
ɢarašin 2 mineral spring (Mo)

ɢayaq 4 cream, M50, T199 *qayaq*
ɢïdii- 1 to call out, cry, M62 *qïde-*, T200 *qetee-/qïte-* 'to call out, invite'
ɢïz 4 girl, daughter, M62, T201 *qïz*
ɢïzaɢa 1 older sister (Tk + Mo), M62 *qïz-aγa*, T172 *qïz aqa*, s. *aɢa*
ɢïzïl 3 red, M63, T201 *qïzïl*
ɢïzïl bïq 3 Red Caps, s. *Commentary* 3
ɢoy 2,3,4 sheep, M56, T200 *qoy*
Gumilï 3 Gumili
ɢuz- 4 to pour, M60, T201 *quz-*
ɢuzï 3 down, M60 *quzï/qozu/qozï*, T201 *quzï/quzu*

ganbu 3 cadre (Ch)
ge- (< *gel-*) 2 to come, s. *gepdro*
gečir- 3 to pass, to live (cf. C698 *keçür-* id.)
gel- (= *kel-*) 3 to come (also *aspectual verb*), M65 *kel-*, T187 *kel-/gel-/kil-/ki-*, s. *un-*
gepdro (< *kelip turur*) 3, s. *ge-*
gezgiš 4 clothing, cf. M65 *kezgi/kezgu/kezgï*, T187 *kezġï/kezγï*
gïnïŋde 1,2 formerly, before, T116,222 *qïnïnte* 'basically' (Tenishev bases his definition on T201 *qïn* 'root, base (Chinese)'; however, context requires the meaning 'formerly', which indicates that the root of *gïnïŋde* is C724 *kén* 'behind, after')
gioz 1 eyes, *giozi göru yoqdï* he was blind, M68 *köz/kös*, 70 *küz*, T187 *köz/küz*
goga = *gogï* 3 older brother (Mo), T188 *kuka* 'brother'
goŋčan 3 communist (Ch)
Goŋčandaŋ 3 Communist Party (Ch)
gör- 1 to see, M69 *kör-/kür-*, T187 *kör-*
guoǰia 3 country, state (Ch)
gus 4 ox, M70 *kus/qus*, 81 *oqus* (Mountain Yugur), T189 *k'us/kus* (C120 *öküz* id.)
guy 3 pine tree, M71 *kuy* '(Mountain Yugur) spruce(?), fir(?), pine(?)'

hanï- 3 to run away (Mo), M135 *xanï-/xana-*, T180 *hana-/han(ï)-*
horuu 4 empty, lacking (Mo), *h. yoq* not lacking

ïndanla (= *andanla*) 3 since then, after that
ïnï 1 younger brother, M154 *ïnï/ene/eni*, T220 *ïnï/ïnïy*, s. *aɢïnï*
ïr 3 upward, *ïr maŋ-* to advance, M133 *ür/ürï* 'upward' (C197 *örü*), s. *ïrlïγ*
ïrïmbooči 3 treasure (Mo/Tib), M26 *Erǰerim Bočï* 'name of the Buddha'
ïrlïγ 2 tall, high, M84 *örlex/örlig*, 133 *ürlex*, T194 *örliγ/örleg/yörleg/ïrlig*

iči 3 within, M32 *ič*, 33 *iš*, T181 *hiz/siz/ši*
ičinde (= *išde*) 1 inside, in, M32 *ičinte*
ičinge 1 inside

+ii s. *iir*
iir (< *erür*) 3 is
iš- (= *iši-*) 2,4 to drink, eat M33 *iš-/eč-/ič-*, T181 *ič'-/ič'-/ï'č-/ïš-/hiʒ-/hiʒ'-*
išde (= *ičinde*) 2 in, inside, M33 *gun ište* 'inside this'
išgiš 4 food, M33 *iške/iški/iškï*, T209 *šikï*
iši- (= *iš-*) 3 to drink
izet- 1 to lead, 3 to show, M31 *izit-/izït-*, T220 *izït-* 'to send, let go'

ǰar 3 musk (Mo)
ǰers 3 name of a grass (Mo)
ǰiefaŋna- 3 to liberate (Ch + Tk *+la-*)
ǰigen 4 donkey (Mo), M29 *ǰigen*, T176 *ʒigin*
ǰirig = *ǰirix* 3 army, soldiers (Mo?), M142 *čerïγ/čerig*, T221 *ʒereg/ʒirïγ*, Ln190 *čeik*
ǰoo 1 while(?), time(?), *bir ǰ.* a while(?) (cf. L1026 *ǰai* 'space between, interval, time between; free time')
ǰorɑa 3 valley (Mo)
J̌oyingï 4 Joyingi, M30 *Joyingo* 'a locality around Yanchen'
ǰuyola 3 basically (Ch + Tk *+la particle*)
ǰügla 3 never(?) (? cf. M35 *yaq* 'no (negative used only in some cases, e.g. in refusing food or drink, *emphatic negative*), J149 *yaq* 'no'', C869 *ya/yah* id.)
ǰünkin 2 name of a grass, M147 *čüngen* 'name of a grass, place where this grass grows', T175 *čünk'in/čünk'ïn/ʒünken/ʒïŋk'en* 'name of a grass; steppe, pasture, meadow' (cf. C423 *çimgen* 'meadow, peat', 421 *çim* 'peat')

Ke Zayyung 3 Ke Zaiyong
kel- (= *gel-*) 3 to come
kelin 4 bride, M66 *kel'in/kelïn*, T188 *k'elin'k'elïn/kelïn*
kir- 1 to enter, M67 *ker-*, T189 *k'er-/kïr-/k'ïr-/qïr-*
kisi 1,3,4 person, M67 *kisi/kise/kese*, T188 *k'ïsï*
kučal- (= *kušul-*) 2 to get strong (cf. C697 *küçel-*, citing Turkmen *güüǰel-* 'to get strong'; other Turkic languages have formations from *kücle-* or *küče-* in the meaning of 'to get strong', cf. R306, C695,697)
kun (= *kün*) 3,4 days = life, M71 *kün/kun/xon*, T190 *k'ün/k'un*
kunts'en (< *kün sayïn*) 1 everyday, M101 *kün säin*, T206 *k'unsen*
kušul- (= *kučal-*) 3 to get strong, fat
kün (= *kun*) 1 day

la 2,3 *emphatic particle*, s. *andanla, daɑïla, ïndanla, ǰuyola, ǰügla, molei molei*
lom 2 sutra (Mo), *l. unšït-* to have someone read the sutras, M73 *lom* 'scripture', T190 *lom* 'book of Buddhist content'

ma 3,4 *emphatic particle*, s. *nimema*
mal 3,4 animals, M74, T191 *mal*
maŋ- 1,3 to go, 3 *ïr m.* to advance, M75 *maŋ-*, T191 *maŋ-/mïŋ-*
Maoǰuši 3 Chairman Mao (Ch)
men 1,3,4 I, M76 *men*
mende 1,4 on me
meniŋ (= *meŋ*) 2,3 my
meŋ (= *meniŋ*) 4 my
mïnïya 1 thereupon, then
mïs (= *biz*) 4 we
molei molei 1 even farther(?), M77 *mo la . . . mo la* 'still . . . and still'
mula 1 child, 3 boy, M77 *mla/mïla*, T192 *mula/mla*
muŋus 3 horn, M77 *moŋus*, 78 *muŋïs/mus*, T192 *moŋïs*

nimema 3 anything, cf. T193 *nime ma oŋšïmayantro* 'and he did not read anything at all'

odïs 3 thirty, *ahldï o.* 26, M84 *otïs/otus*, T194 *o'tïs*
oht (= *ot*) 4 grass, M83 *ot*, T201 *o't quran*, s. *bohdï*
ol 3 that, M81 *ol/ul*, T193 *ol/o/ö/vol/vu* 'he, she'
olyan (< *oγlan*) 4 sons, M81 *oγlan*, 82 *olyan/ulγan*, T217 *ulγan* 'youths, boys', Ln 150 *olγan* 'son, young man', 199 *oγlad/oγlat* 'children'
olur- 1 to sit, M82 *olur-/olïr-*, T193 *olïr-/ulïr-* 'to settle, live, be located'
ortasïnda 2 in the middle of, M83 *orta/orto*, T181 *horta/ur'ta/u'rta* 'middle'
osï- 1 to pull(?) (cf. C241 *es-* 'to stretch (a rope), to pull', citing Tuva *es-* 'to pull (meat off a bone, a pot off the fire)', C248 *esin-* 'to pull on (a rope))'
ot (= *oht*) 3 grass, *ot qurol* feed-pen
oy 1 Minghua, 3 steppe, M81, T193 *oy* 'valley, steppe, plain, populated place', s. *Ard Oy*

palγu- (< *paγla-*) 1 to tie, *p. at-* 'to tie', M85 *paγla-*, 86 *palγa-*, T195 *palγa-* 'to tie', 194 *paγla-* 'to castrate (horse)' (the final *-u* is unclear)
pïrïn 3 fore, front, *pïrïnɢa un-* to gain victory, M96 *pïrïn*, T199 *p'ïrïn* 'former, previous' (C366 *burun* 'nose; preceding, previous')
poɢ- 1 to tie, M92 *poγ-*, T198 *p'oγ-/poγ-*
pudïγ 3 writing, M96 *pïtïγ/pïtïq/pïčiγ*, T198 *p'utïγ/pïtïγ*

**qal-* to stay (*aspectual verb*), M50 *qal-*, T202 *q'al-/qal-/xal-*, s. *qapdïï, qïšdï*
qapdïï (< *qalïp erdi*) 1, M53 *qap-tro* < *qalïp-turur*, s. **qal-*
qarlïγ 3 snowy, M53 *qar* 'snow'
qarmanγï 3 ancestor, M53 *qarmanγï/qarmaŋγï*, 59 *qorman* 'old, previous', T199 *qarmaŋγï* 'ancestors'

qïšdï = *qïšdïï* (? < *qalïp erdi*) 2 *unšït q.*, *yaq* [*q*]., s. **qal-*
qïzïγ 2 shore, M62 *qïzïγ/qïzïq*, T201 *qïzïq* 'edge, shore'
qomïš 2 a desert depression (cf. R229, C626 *kamıç* 'ladle, spoon'; thus, 'a depression or hollow like that of a spoon'?)
qorq- 3 to be afraid, to fear, M59 *qorq-*, T204 *q'u'rq-/qorh-*
qurol 3 enclosure, pen (Mo), *ot qurol* feed-pen (cf. M59 *qora* 'fenced yard', T201 *o't quran* 'barn for hay', Ln59 *qoyo* < *qora* 'a wall of reeds to the left of the door in a reed hut' ← S366 (Ordos, Alashan, etc.) *xoroo*, L967 *qoriya/qoruγa* 'enclosure, courtyard')
qus 2 bird, M62 *qus/qos*, T204 *q'us/qus/qos*

saɢïs 1,4 eight, 1 *s. yigirmi* 18, M99 *saqïs*, T206 *sekes/sak'ïs*
Sart 3 Sart = Chinese Hui Muslims, M100, T205 *sart* 'Dungans', s. *Commentary* 2
semi 1,2 temple (Mo), M101 *seme/semey/semi/semii*, T206 *seme*
soŋ 3 after, *andan s.* after that, M104, T207 *soŋ*
soonda 1 after that, M104 *soŋda*
sowa 3 clan, M103 *sova* 'bone (clan)', T207 *sova* 'clan, generation' (the connection of *sowa* to C838 *süŋük* 'bone, clan', M104 *soŋuk/sïmïq/sunuq* 'bone, clan, generation', T207 *sumïk'/sumuk/sumïk*, 208 *sïmïq* 'bone', is not a direct one; possibly *sowa* is a borrowing that has blended the meaning of the Turkic word due to similar phonetic shapes — note that this word is isolated in S98 (Baoan) *sova* 'tribe, clan')
söyin- 2 to be happy, M105 *söyön-/söyün-/söön-*, T207 *sön-*
söz 3 word, *Yuγur sözi* Yugur language, recently, M104 *söz/sös/süz*, T207 *söz/šoz*
su 2,3,4 water, M105 *su*
suγun 3 maral deer, M105 *suγun*, T207 *suγïn* 'a kind of deer with large antlers'
sut 4 milk, M107 *süt/sut/söt/sot*, T208 *süt/söt/sut*

šaldan 3 poor (Mo)
šiaη 3 township (Ch)
šigi (= *šiki*) 1,4 two, M33 *iške*, T209 *šike/šikï/iški/ški*
šiginǰi = *šikinǰi* 1 second, M33 *iškenǰï/iškenǰi/iškenǰe/iškenǰel*, T209 *šikenzï/škïnzï*
šiki (= *šigi*) 1 two
šïvar 3 musk deer (Mo), M153 *šïvar* 'name of an object that reeks'

taγ 3 mountain, M109 *taγ*, T215 *t'aγ/taγ*
tala 1 field (Mo), M110 *tala*, T215 *t'ala/tala*, Ln168 *tala* 'steppe, field'
taqɢan (< *talqan*) 4 parched wheat (Mo?), M110 *talqan*, T215 *t'alqan/t'aqan*, Ln 168 *talqan* (cf. Mannerheim 1911, 11: 'roasted wheaten flour is often mixed with tea')

tez- 3 to flee, T213 *teez-*
tikin 1 thornbush, M118 *tiken*, 119 *tikken*, T216 *t'iken*
tohɢïs (= *doɢïs*) 4 nine, *dïordan t.* 49
toq 1 obstacle, *toq bol-* to come upon, meet, M121 *toq pol-*, 124 *tuq pol-*, T196 *t'uq pol-*, M123 *tuγla-* 'to find at home, to meet' (cf. C463 *toğ* 'obstacle, obstruction')
**tur-* to stand, s. +*dro*
tut- 1 to hold, 3 to capture, M126 *tut-*, T214 *tut-/t'ut-*
tutdïr- 1 to have someone hold, hand over, M126 *tuttur-/tuttïr-*, T217 *t'uttur-*

ts'un 3 village (Ch)

un- 2,3 to come up, rise, 3 *pïrïnɢa un-* to gain victory, 3 *u. gel-* 'to move away' M132 *ün-/on-/un-*, T218 *ün-/ùn-/un-*
unšït- 2 to have someone read (Mo + Tk causative *-t-*), *lom u.* to have someone read the sutras, M130 *unšït-* 'to have someone read', *lom unši-* 'to recite a prayer', T193 *oŋši-/unši-/uŋši-* 'to read'
uqar- 2 to graze, M129 *qoy uqar-* 'to graze sheep', M81 *oqar-*, 83 *otqar-* 'to graze, pasture' (cf. C48 *otğar-* 'to pasture')

ùǰinǰi 1 third, M133 *üčünǰü/üšünčö*, T218 *ü'čunʒï/ʒüʒünʒï*
ùǰun 3 thirty, *u. ahldï* 36, M133 *üčon/üčön*, T218 *ü'čon/üʒon/u'čon*
ùš 1 three, M132 *uš/üš*, T218 *ü'č/üš/vïš*

ülir- 3 to kill, *ülirmečülïγ u.* to kill as one would kill, M132 *ülür-*, T184 *yolür-/yulur-/yülur-/yülïr-*

vapdro (< *bolïp turur*) 3, s. *bol-*
var (= *bar*) 3 there is, M87, 21, T195 *par/var*

wiǰin (= *biǰin*) 3 with

Xanniŋɢol 3 Khanninggol
xayzi 2 lake (Ch), M134 *xayzi* 'sea'
Xï Zixua 1 He Zihua
xosï 1,3 both, all (Ch ?), M137 *xosa/xosan/xosïn*, T220 *xosï/hosï/hosïn*, M56 *qo* 'all'
Xoŋǰün 3 Red Army (Ch)

yada- 3 (?), *sowa sowanï yayïγa yadaγa* 'clans became enemies with each other (this translation was provided by the Sarig Yugur speaker, but the verb phrase *yayïγa yada-* is otherwise unknown (cf. M34 *yayï bol-* 'to become enemies'); phonetically, *yada-* can be compared only with M38, T183

yata- 'to be unable, to not be in a position to', Ln116 *yada-* 'to get tired' ←S731 *yida-*, L422 *yada-* 'to have no strength . . . to be in need, to suffer, to be unable'; an example of the use of Mongol *yada-* as a transitive verb preceded by a noun with the definite object marker is cited by Henry Serruys: *Nančung kümün ǰolγaqu-yi yadaγsan metü* 'Nanchung evidently had failed to meet with many people...' (The Mongol Verb *yada-* and Its Syntax, *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9, 1985, 221); a similar usage has been noted for its Monguor cognate *(ADA-): BU nieni yuuaa ADAWA* 'I could not overtake this one by walking' (A. de Smedt—A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les mongols du kansou occidental, II. Grammaire.* Peking: The Catholic University, 1945, 143); in this ligt, *sowanï* could be the definite object of *yadaγa* or of the phrase *yaγïγa yadaγa* with a meaning something like '(clan) hated (clan)')

yaγ 4 butter, M34, T181 *yaγ*

yaγ- (= *yaq-*) 2 to rain, M34, T181 *yaγ-*

yaγï 3 enemy, hostility, M34, T181 *yaγï* 'hostility, quarrel, fight, war', s. *yada-*

yaγïlas- 3 to fight with one another

yaγmur 2 rain, M34, T181 *yaγmïr*

yaŋyaŋ 3 all sorts of (Ch)

yaq- (= *yaγ-*) 2 to rain

yaqa 2 south, M35 *yaxqa* 'name of all the mountains lying south of the Yugur steppe', T182 *ya'qa* 'south' (cf. C898 *yaqa* 'edge, frontier; collar')

yas 3 year (of age), M37 *yas*, T183 *yas/ya's*

yaxši 2,3,4 good, M38 *yaxši*, T183 *yaxši/yahši*

ye- 3 to eat, M38 *ye-*, T184 *yi-*

yed- (= *yit-*) 3 to reach, M39 *yet-/yit-*, T184 *ye't-/e't-/het-/hit-*

yer 2,4 place, 3 area, M39, T183 *yer*

yïl 3,4 year (of calendar), M47 *yïl*, 48 *yel*, T186 *yïl/yel/ʒil*

yidigirma (< *yidi yigirmi*) 1 seventeen, Mannerheim 1911, p. 62: *žitigerma*

yigirmi 1 twenty, *saǵïs* y. 18, *y. šiki* 22, *y. bes* 25, *y. ahldï* 26, M40 *yigirmi/yigïrma/yigïrmi*, T72 *yiγïrmo/yïγïrmo/ʒiγïrmo*

yip 1 rope, M39 *yep/yip*, T175 *č'ip/še'p/šip/šïp*

yit- (= *yed-*) 1 to reach

yol 3 road, M42, T185 *yol*

yoq 1,3,4 there is not, does not exist, M42 *yoq*, T185 *yoq/yoq'*, s. *yoqdï, yoqsïdi*

yoqdï = *yoqdu* (< *yoq erdi*) 1, s. *edi*

yoqsïdi (< *yoq kisi erdi*) 1 they were people with nothing = poor people

yuanlay 1 originally (Ch)

Yuγur 3 Yugur, M43 *yuγur/yoγur*, T184 *yoγur/yoγïr* (M3, 43, 162: metathesis of *Uygur*, just as in M45 *yü* < *üy* 'home')

yusï 3 bad, M45 *yus* 'bad, evil' (cf. Clauson 881 *yavız* id.?)

yü (= *yüy*) 1,4 home, house, M45 *yü/yüe/yu/ǰüe*, T185 *yü/yüy/yüö/iyö/šü*
yüy(= *yü*) 2,3 home, house
yüz 4 hundred, *y. dïordon* 140, M45 *yüz/yöz/yuz*, T186 *yüs/yüz*

Abbreviations

B = Bulchilagu 1985
C = Clauson 1972
H = Hahn 1991
J = Jarring 1964
L = Lessing 1960
M = Malov 1957
R = Räsänen 1969
S = Sun Zhu 1990
T = Tenishev 1976
Y = Yoshitake 1928–1930

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THE NAMES OF THE MILKY WAY IN THE TURKIC LANGUAGES*

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The Milky Way, which is a peculiar unification of hundreds of thousands of faint stars lighting up in the evening sky, has evoked different images in people observing it from the earth. The names of this special astronomical formation were mostly produced in the way of extension based on analogies. These names usually refer to the shape or the colour of the Milky Way. Nevertheless, there are some names which have a peculiar culture-historical background.

The names of the Milky Way used in European languages originate from the Greek *Κύκλος γαλαξίας* and its Latin equivalent *Via lactea* "Milky Way" ⟨: "the way of milk"⟩, and they were produced in the way of calque. Compare: e.g. English *Milky Way*, German *Milchstraße*, French *Voie lactée*, Italian *Via lattea*, Hungarian *Tejút*, Polish *Droga Mleczna*, Russian *Mlečnyj put'* "Milky Way" ⟨:"the way of milk"⟩, etc. Though calque is a characteristic feature of forming a part of the Turkic starnames, and this linguistic phenomenon can be detected in the Turkic names of the Milky Way (see below), the influence of the above-mentioned Greek–Latin cultural sphere cannot be traced in the Turkic world except in the Azerbaijan *Südyolu*. The Azerbaijani starname in question was surely given recently in the way of a scholarly translation and presumably it was taken from the Russian name *Mlečnyj put'* "Milky Way" ⟨: "the way of milk"⟩. Attention must be drawn to the fact that the Greek–Latin name of the Milky Way did not root in other parts of the Moslem world. Probably, this can be connected with the fact that the name in question cannot be traced in Turkic languages either. After its Islamisation, the Turkic astronomy was influenced by the very sophisticated Persian and Arabic astronomy in many ways, and as a result, the knowledge of the stars of the former nomadic peoples was also soon influenced by the Mohammedan features. The Moslem, and within this especially the Persian astronomy has a fairly unique feature, a sort of protective role. This case shows itself in that the

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Persian astronomy strove to preserve its own starnames, i.e. those names with semantic contents are unknown to it as are those from totally different culture-historical criteria. This role of the Persian astronomy is visible also in the Turkic astronomical onomastics, too, and its influence appears not only in the Turkic names of the Milky Way but also in those of the Virgo configuration of the Zodiac.[1]

Of the names of the Milky Way used by the Turkic peoples the most frequent are those designated the shape or the colour of this peculiar sky phenomenon. Compare e.g. Uyg., Chag. *Yolaq* "Milky Way" ⟨: "Celestial Path"⟩, Kipch. *Kök yolu*, Tur. *Gök yolu* "Way of the Sky", Tur. Dial. *Gök kapusu* "Gate of the Firmament", *Gök yaruğu* "Cleft/Fissure of the Sky", *Gökdere* "Brook of the Firmament", *Aklık* "Whiteness", Tel. *Qar yolï* "Way of the Snow", "Snowy Way", Shor, Sag., Koyb. *Qïrā čol* ~ *Qïrānïŋ čolï*, Alt., Leb. *Qurūdŭŋ yolï* Khak. *Xro čolï* "Way of the Hoar-Frost", "Frosty Way".

These names were based on the overall visual appearance of the phenomenon outer similarity. This is supported by the fact, that the special physical parameters, the appearance and the colour of the Milky Way evoked pictures of a "way" or "snowy way" in the former nomadic observers, too.

From a semantic point of view the Kazakh *Aq maya ǰolï* Turkmen *Aqmāyanïŋ Yolï* "Way of the White Camel-mare", and the Kirghiz *Koy ǰolu* "Way of the Sheep" starnames belong to this group, too. These names were partly produced in the way of extension based on outer similarities; the nomad man placed his precious animals, the sheep and the white camel-mare on this imaginary sky path.

Apparently, the names "Way of Birds", Way of Wild Geese" belong to the same category, too. Compare: Kipch. *Quš yolï*, Bashk. *Qoš yulï*, Kkalp. *Quš yolï*, Kaz. *Qös ǰolï* "Way of Bird", Tat. *Kaz yulï* "Way of Goose", "Goose-way", *Kiyek kaz yulï* "Way of Wild Goose", Chuv. *Kayăk śulĕ* "Way of Bird", "Bird-way", *Xurkayăk śulĕ* ~ *Kayăk xur śulĕ* "Way of Wild Goose".

These names, however, require a more thorough examination. It is unquestionable that extensive livestock-breeding, which meant a constant migration from one pasture to another, was not the only from of subsistence in the life of the nomads of the steppe. They also had, at their special estates, certain supplementary activities, like — among others — capturing birds and wild animals of the steppes and semi-deserts of the region. This activity is still carried on in a masterly fashion by the late descendants living in the given geographical area. Consequently, the birds migrating in winter from the rough, northern areas to the south, approximately to the areas inhabited by the Turkic peoples, gave a certain economic potentiality to the nomads living here.

[1] Gyarmati I., Die Gestirnnamen des Zodiakus in den türkischen Sprachen. *AOH* XL (1986), 58–61.

In spite of this, attention must be drawn to the fact, that among the Finno-Ugric peoples, whose inhabit areas neighbouring the Turkic peoples, the structure "Way of Birds/Wild Geese" is generally known and it can be shown in all Finno-Ugrian languages except in Hungarian. Compare e.g. Komi *Pötka-lebźan-tui* "Bird-flying-way", Udmurt *Lud-džadžäg-śuräs* "Wild Goose-way", Esthonian *Linnu-rada*, Finnish *Linnunrata* "Bird-path", "Bird-way", etc. (see further: Erdődi 135–142). Knowing this linguistic fact, in the background of the Turkic starnames' formation we can possibly suppose a Finno-Ugric influence, which can be explained with the various connections that have been existed between the Finno-Ugrian and the Turkic peoples for many centuries. However, in this case, from a scientific point of view this influence is more difficult to determine, therefore we must not conclude that the examined Turkic starnames were formed by a conscious translation, just like some names of the Zodiac's and those of the planets in the Turkic languages.

As the above-mentioned names of the Milky Way referred to as the "Way of Birds/Wild Geese" were so widely used in the area, we can suppose that these names are/were also known more generally among the Turkic peoples, but this fact is not supported by linguistic sources. Attention must be drawn from the fact, that after the Islamisation, which caused such great and deep changes in the life and the cultural history of the Turkic peoples, the emphasis changed to the traditions of the Mohammedan world. This can be seen in the fact that the Milky Way symbolises the "Pilgrims' Way towards Mecca" for some Turkic Moslems – especially for those who live farther from the Finno-Ugric peoples (see below). It is possible that the western Turkic peoples also knew the names "Way of Birds/Wild Geese", but these names were forgotten with the fundamental changes in the customs. A similar phenomenon may have taken place among the Hungarians, too. Before the conquest, they had probably also known the names "Way of Birds/Wild Geese", but in their new homeland the old starnames became obscure, and in time were replaced by new ones. The Hungarian names *Tündérek útja* "Way of Fairies", *Isten úttya* "Way of God", *Róma útja* "Way of Rome" are of later origin and one can see the very significant changes in the life of the Hungarian people, the new world concept and the influence of the Christian religion on them.

The Nog. *Äǰi yolu*, Tur. *Hacıyolu* "Pilgrim's Way", *Hacılaryolu*, Az. *Haǰılar yolu* "Pilgrims' Way", Tur. Dial. *Kâbeyolu* ~ *Kabeyolu* "Way of Kaaba", "Way leading to Kaaba", *Mekkeyolu* "Way of Mecca", "Way leading to Mecca", *Hicazyolu* "Way of Ḥiǰāz", "Way leading to Ḥiǰāz" names refer to a completely different culture-historical background. According to Vámbéry the expression "Pilgrims' Way" originates in Middle Asia because the road leading from this area to Mecca corresponded with the direction of the Milky Way. In later times this name went over into the Azeri and the Osmanli (Ottoman) languages but there it does not correspond with the geographical

reality any more; the pilgrims' way towards the Kaaba goes exactly in the opposite direction from the western branches of the Turkic peoples. Vámbéry's explanation is dubious because the name in question cannot be found in Chaghatay. In spite of this, it is possible that the examined starname was indeed produced by the Turkic peoples of Turkestan, but it is not supported by linguistic sources. It is more likely that the above-mentioned starname was formed in Azeri and originally it referred to the direction in which the pilgrims went from the Caucasus and Middle Asia to the sacred city of the Moslem world. The names "Way leading to the Kaaba", "Way leading to Mecca", "Way leading to Ḥiǰāz", which were dated in the Turkish (Osmanli) dialects, had probably been formed under the influence of the names *Haǰïyolu* "Pilgrim's Way", *Haǰïlaryolu* "Pilgrims' Way".

From a culture-historical point of view the story of the Yakut starname *Ayï̄ uolun xayïsarïn suola* "Milky Way" meaning "the Trace of the Male Good Spirit's Sky" is very interesting. The origin of this name goes back to Yakut mythology and a peculiar analogy can be traced. In the Yakut mythology the Milky Way is the footprint of the sky's son, who is chasing a reindeer in the skies (MitEnc. II, 484). This is a projection of the Yakut everydays onto the sky. Although the forming of this Yakut starname is rooted in their mythology it is not free from foreign influences; similar names exist in Ob-Ugrian and the Samoyed languages, too. Compare e.g. Yurak *Yombu lamb'etoma* "Yombu's path of sky". The popular myth has eternalized the adventurer in the figure of Yombu. At first, Yombu had travelled in the skies, later he was pulled on a sledge by a reindeer. One day he flew to the sky and his footsteps can be seen clearly in the evening sky. A similar view is found in an Enyets legend, and also some traces of this myth can be found in the Ob-Ugric languages (Erdődi 134).

In the Turkic, just like in other languages, names with the word "Straw" as their first part can often be found as names of the Milky Way. Compare: Chag., Az. *Saman oγrïsï*, Tur. *Samanoğrusu* ~ *Samanuğrusu* ~ Tur. Dial. *Samanuğrısı*, Tat. *Saman uγrïsï* (Budagov) "Straw-thief", Tur., Gag. *Samanyolu*, Mod. Uyg. *Saman yoli*, Tar. *Saman yolï*, Uzb *Såmån yòli*, Crm. Tat. *Saman yulï*, Kirg. *Samančï ǰol*, *Samančïnïn ǰolu*, Kaz *Saban ǰolï* "Straw-way", Tur. Dial. *Samanyalağı* ~ *Samanyolağı* "Straw-path", *Samandöken* "Sprinkling Straw".

In the Turkic languages, the names "Straw-way" or "Strawy way" were produced in the way of calque, the pattern may have arrived from Arabic. Compare: Ar. *Darb at-tabbāna* "Milky Way" ⟨: "Straw-way"⟩. It is possible that the above-mentioned Turkic starnames may have been influenced by the Persian name *Kähkäšān* "Pulling Straw". From a semantic point of view, however, this Persian starname was translated into the *Samandöken* "Sprinkling Straw" in the Turkish (Osmanli) dialect. The calque appeared after that the Turkic people had settled and turned to a new way of life on the areas

inhabited by Iranian and other Indo-European and Caucasian peoples who had already been familiar with agriculture, commerce and the sciences for a long time. Attention must be drawn to the fact that the name in question can be found in Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Taranchi, though these peoples only gave up the nomad way of life in the recent past. These tribes, or rather peoples, did not become familiar with the names in question not directly but as they came into contact with one of the Turkic peoples who had been dealing with agriculture since the beginning of the Middle-Turkic age. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that the expressions "Straw Way" or "Strawy Way" came to these herdsmen-peoples during commercial and other contacts with peasants of different ethnic groups.

The formation of the names with the word "Straw" as their first part can be explained by the observation that the special white, light yellow colour of the Milky Way, which can be seen as a long and narrow stripe in the dark sky, was connected in the imaginations of people with straw. The ancestors of these peoples, who probably dealt with agriculture, cultivation of corn on the fertile plains of rivers, watched the phenomena of the sky with hundreds of thousands of stars accumulated in this peculiar sky way and it reminded them of the straw dropped and strewn on the roads. These names are widely known throughout the Mediterranean, but their roots cannot be defined.

The Tuvan *Dēr tī* and the Yakut *Xallān sīgä* names, which mean "Seam of the Sky", "Edge of the Sky", were also produced in the way of calque. The name may have derived from the Mongolian languages group. Compare e.g. Written Mong. *Tengri-yin oyudal* "Milky Way" ⟨: "Seam of the Sky"⟩, Khalkha *Tengerijn ojodol*, Bur. *Tengerīn Züjdel* id., etc.

Lastly, I would like to say something about those names of the Milky Way which have foreign origins in the Turkic languages. These names were brought to the Turkic languages after the Islamisation of the Turkic peoples. From this time on — as it is known — the Turkic languages have been influenced very strongly by the Persian and the Arabic. I would like to emphasize the fact that the names of the Milky Way which have Persian and Arabic origins can be found only among the western branch of the Turkic peoples: in the Osmanli Turkish and in the Azerbaijani languages.[2] This phenomenon can be related to the fact that of the names of the Milky Way which are used by the Turkic peoples, the inner formations, which were given as an analogy based on outer similarity, and the names which were formed in the way of calque from foreign patterns and are/were so popular that names with foreign origins: in this case words borrowed from Arabic and Persian loan-words could not really take root in the Turkic languages.

[2] Compare: Turk. *Kehkeşan*, Az. *Kähkäšan* "Milky Way" < Per. *Kähkäšān* id.; Turk. *Meǰerre* "Milky Way" (Redhouse) < Ar. *Maǰarre* id. (Wahrmund).

The starname *Çarkı-felek* "Milky Way", noted in one of the Osmanli dialects is quite interesting. Its common meaning is "Wheel of the Sky". Both elements of the mentioned starname are from the Persian. The meaning of the "starname" meaning probably had a significance in the usage of the Osmanli Turkish language. So this starname is special because, in fact, it was produced in the way of extension based on an analogy: the Milky Way evoked the picture of a narrow circle, the "Wheel of the Sky" in the members of a certain — and I suspect that it was a Turkish—community. But this view was converted into a form or rather into a sound which did not exist in the elements of the ancient Turkic inheritance. This Persian structure with the meaning "Milky Way" cannot be traced neither in Persian nor in other Iranian languages.

In my thesis I have introduced the names of the Milky Way used in Turkic languages. From among these names, the names "Sky Path", "Way of the Sky", "Gate of the Sky", "Cleft of the Sky", "Stream of the Sky" refer to the shape, to the outer appearance of the Milky Way which appears to the observers from earth. The names "Whiteness', "Snowy Way", "Frosty Way" express the colour of the examined sky-phenomenon. The formation of the names "The Way of the White Camel-mare", "The Way of the Sheep" meaning the "Milky Way" can be explained in that the nomads placed their favourite animals on the sky-way outlined above. These names originated in Turkic land and probably they are free from foreign influence. The nomad man knew most of the obvious features of the starry sky very well even before taking up the Mohammedan religion, and it is unlikely that they had not noticed this peculiar astronomical formation when looking up to the sky.

The origins of the formation of the names "Way of Birds", "Way of Wild Geese" reflect economic interests; the migration of the birds moving from north-west to south-east played an important economic role in the life of the Turkic peoples, too. In spite of all these, it is possible that the formation of the starnames in question reflect Finno-Ugric influence.

The formation of the names "Pilgrims Way", "Way of Kaaba", "Way leading to Mecca", "Way leading to Ḥiǰāz" can be connected to the spreading of the Moslem world concept.

The formation of the Yakut expression "The Trace of the Male Good Spirit's Sky" with a "starname" meaning can be traced back to a mythological background.

The names with "Straw" as their first part have spread over a wide area. Among the Turkic peoples these names can be traced back mostly to Arabic, and in a less part to Persian patterns.

The names "Seam of the Sky", "Edge of the Sky", which can be found in Yakut and Tuvan were also produced in the way of calque, in this case the pattern was taken from the Mongolian language.

In the Turkic languages those names of the Milky Way which have foreign origins are from the Arabic and the Persian languages. These loans are fairly infrequent, and they are probably known only by a small section of the populace who deal with sciences and astronomy, while the names of inner formation and the names which were produced in the way of calque from foreign patterns but essentially on Turkic land are preserved on the lips of the people.

Abbreviations

Alt. Altaic (Oirot): *Radloff*

Ar. Arabic: A. Wahrmund, *Handwörterbuch der neu-arabischen und deutschen Sprache.* I–II, Giessen 1898;
Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart. Unter Mitarbeit mehrerer Fachgenossen bearb. und hrsg. von Hans Wehr. I–II, Leipzig 1952.

Az. Azeri, Azerbaijani: *Azerbajdžansko-russkij slovar'*. Red. koll. I–II, Baku 1986–1989;
Azärbayǰan dilinin izahlï lüγäti. Red. h.
I–IV, Bakï 1964–1987;
Vámbéry

Bashk. Bashkir: V. Sulejmanov, *Russko–baškirskie i baškirsko–russkie terminy po astronomii*, Ufa 1954;
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Bur. Buriat: K. M. Čeremisov, *Burjatsko–russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1973.

Chag. Chaghatai: M. Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental*, Paris 1870;
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Chuw. Chuwash: H. Paasonen, *Csuvas szójegyzék. Tschuwaschisches Wörterverzeichnis*, Budapest 1908;
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Crm. Tat. Crimean Tatar: O. Zaatov, *Polnyj russko–tatarskij slovar'*. Simferopol' 1906;
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Gag. Gagauz: *Gagauzsko–russko–moldavskij slovar'*,
Pod red. N. A. Baskakova. Moskva 1973.

Kaz. Kazakh: B. N. Shnitnikov, *Kazakh-English Dictionary*, The Hague 1966;

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SACRED METAMORPHOSIS: THE WERETIGER AND THE SHAMAN

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Introduction

Traditionally, the Chinese believed that people could change into tigers.[1] Since this role corresponds to the role the werewolf plays in European folklore, weretiger is the term that seems most suitable as a name for its tigrine counterpart.[2] Legends of weretigers show the Chinese see the metamorphosis sometimes as caused by the magical power of the tiger, and sometimes by heaven. Many sources attest to the sacred nature of tigrine manifestations in general, and of the appearance of the weretiger in particular. Accordingly, certain Chinese ritual exorcisms of fated death also required shamans to appear as tigers.[3] Records of the time demonstrate that power and control were an essential aspect of both the weretiger and the shaman.

[1] Even the skeptic Wang Ch'ung 王充 (A.D. 27–ca. 100) accepts legends of weretigers as factual. He argues that people can change into tigers without dying; *Lun heng* 論衡 (Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng edn.), 20.12b, and maintains the legend of a person who changes to a tiger and eats his brother is factual; 21.10a. Though many call this famous weretiger Niu Ai, his name is actually Kung-niu Ai 公牛哀; cf. *Huai-nan tzu* 淮南子 (SPPY), 2.42, where the editor suggests the illness was the result of illness.

[2] Indeed, there is even a Chinese counterpart to the story of Little Red Riding Hood, with a tiger instead of the wolf; see Hsi Ti 西諦, "Lao-hu p'o-p'o" 老虎婆婆, *Hsiao-shuo yüeh-pao* 20.5 (May 1929), p. 800.

[3] For a general examination of tiger folklore, see J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, (Taipei: Literature House, 1964), 4, pp. 163–182; 5, pp. 544–63; Minakata Kumagusu 南方熊楠 (1867–1941), "Tora 虎 ni 關 kansuru 史話 shiwa to densetsu 伝說, minzoku 民俗" in *Minakata Kumagusu zenshū* 南方熊楠全集 (Heibonsha, 1971), 1, pp. 5–64; and Ts'ao Chen-feng 曹振峯, Chung-kuo min-i yü Chung-kuo hu wen-hua 中國民藝與中國虎文化, in. Chung-kuo min-i hsüeh – li-lun yen-t'ao-hui lun-wen-chi, 中國社會文化編輯委員會, ed., Chung-kuo she-hui wen-hua pien-i wei-yüan-hui, 中國民躬學–理論研討會論文集 Peking: Peking kung-i mei-shu ch'upan she, 1989, pp. 24–50.

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There are several notable sources of Chinese tiger lore: *Hu yüan* 虎苑 (A Garden of Tigers),[4] *Hu hui* 虎薈 (A Tiger Anthology),[5] and *T'an hu* 談虎 (Discussions of Tigers)[6] which unfortunately generally omit the sources for most of their quoted legends. Many other such legends date from the T'ang or earlier,[7] but such beliefs were current at least until the late seventeenth century.[8] However, since the recorders of these legends often omit the setting and time of the legends, and place contemporary accounts side by side with items from centuries earlier, it is often difficult to determine the origin and extent of many such beliefs.[9]

Tigrine Metamorphosis

The phenomenon of the werewolf, technically known as lycanthropy, has been rationalized in terms of sadism, hallucinations or delusions, or even porphyria.[10] The belief that people change into beasts exists in many cultures; the creature a person becomes is usually the one that the locals most fear. Historically in China, it is the tiger that arouses more fear than any other animal,[11] and people believe that it is possible for humans to change into tigers.

[4] Wang Chih-teng 王穉登 (1535–1612), comp., (Ts'ungshu chi-ch'eng hsü-pien); unlike the later works, this book classifies the legends by subject.

[5] Ch'en Chi-ju 陳繼儒 (1558–1639), comp., (Ts'ungshu chi-ch'eng); he compiled many other anthologies of legends and anecdotes.

[6] Chao Piao-chao 趙彪詔 (Ch'ing dynasty), comp., (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng hsü-pien).

[7] Generally from Li Fang 李昉 (925–996) et al., comp., *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 太平廣記, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1963); hereafter TPKC.

[8] For the non-fictive character of T'ang legends, see Charles E. Hammond, "T'ang Legends: History and Hearsay," *Tamkang Review* 20.4 (summer 1990), pp. 359–82. More specifically, for tiger legends, see Charles E. Hammond, "An Excursion in Tiger Lore," AM 4.1 (1991), 87–100, which also analyzes the tiger as heaven's envoy, often conveying a political message.

[9] Indeed, the Chinese vision of the weretiger may well have been influenced by non-Han ideas, as similarities with Southeast Asian lore indicate; see Robert Wessing, *The Soul of Ambiguity: the Tiger in Southeast Asia*, (Northern Illinois University: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1986), who discusses the role of the weretiger and shamans at length.

[10] W. M. S. Russell and Claire Russell, "The Social Biology of Werewolves," in *Animals in Folklore*, ed. J. R. Porter et al., (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), pp. 166–171. The assumption is that the symptoms of this disease, which include the skin's sensitivity to light, as well as being yellow and hairy, redness of the teeth, disturbed behavior, and deformations of the face and hands, may have helped give rise to the notion of the werewolf.

[11] The Chinese feared other animal gods as well as the tiger; cf. Lin Hui-hsiang 林惠祥, *Wen-hua jen-lei hsüeh* 文化人類學 (Shanghai: Shanghai Shang-wu yin-shu-

In contrast to Christians, who usually perceive the werewolf as evil, the Chinese are more ambivalent, often seeing the tiger as a magical or sacred beast.

According to a T'ang compiler of legends, the appearance of weretigers is simply one of a number of natural, if bewildering transformations. He sees the tigrine metamorphosis as echoing the cosmic rhythm:

> The changes and transformations of the myriad creatures — the sparrow's becoming a mollusk, the pheasant's becoming a giant clam, peoples' becoming tigers, rotten grass' becoming fireflies,[12] dung beetles' becoming cicadas, the leviathan's becoming the roc[13] — all of these are recorded in books and annals, but they cannot be logically understood.[14]

Though the author writes of these transformations (*hua* 化) as difficult to comprehend, the texts he cites speak of them as natural, or even seasonal.[15] Taoists similarly understand the metamorphosis as a natural process.[16] Though Buddhists recognize that changing into a tiger is not rebirth into an animal form, but rather a direct transformation, they nevertheless detect a similarity between the two.

However, few legends of the weretiger depict the transformation as such a natural or even intentional metamorphosis;[17] the subject involved has usually

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kuan [1934]), pp. 287–89. However, tigers appear in the legends far more often than other animals.

[12] These four transformations are respectively found in *Huai-nan-tzu*, 5.169, 5.172, 2.42, 5.162, as well as in the *Li chi* 禮記.

[13] The source of the dung beetle transformation is unknown, but the leviathan's appears in *Chuang-tzu* (SPPY), 1.1a.

[14] "P'ei Ch'en" 裴諶, in Niu Seng-ru 牛僧孺 (779–847), comp., *Hsüan-kuai lu* 玄怪錄, (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1985), p. 13. All translations are my own.

[15] Victor H. Mair, *Transformation Texts: a Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Council on East Asian Studies, 1989), pp. 44–46, distinguishes such change as evolutionary in the sense that one thing changes into another rather than constituting a spirit's miraculous manifestation. Manfred Porkert, *Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine: Systems of Correspondence* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1982), p. 15, explains that such change is of a fundamental, essential nature.

[16] The universe and everything in it continually renews itself through transformation, and Taoists adapt themselves to these transformations. Isabelle Robinet, "Metamorphosis and Deliverance from the Corpse in Taoism," History of Religions 19, 1 (1979), 38–42. Cf. T'an Ch'iao 譚峭 (fl. ca. 922), *T'an-tzu hua shu* 譚子化書, (Pai-pu ts'ung-shu), a Taoist text collated by Ch'en Chi-ju.

[17] In describing Six Dynasties legends, Karl Kao, *Classical Chinese Tales of the Supernatural and Fantastic* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 11–12, claims the transformation into an animal is primarily caused by shamans exercising their powers on others, as well as a self-induced change engineered by Buddhists and Taoists, or a mysterious change without apparent cause. However, as far as weretigers are concerned, the transformation tends to be either accidental or imposed by heaven.

not tried to effect the change.[18] So powerful is the tiger that those who think about it excessively can find themselves physically transformed. In the case of one old man, his transformation into a tiger occurs because of such an obsession.

Yang Chen's 楊眞 life-long obsession with tiger paintings is the reason for his transformation. When he falls ill at the age of ninety, he reveals this obsession has led him to hallucinate tigers. As a result, he has destroyed his paintings, but it is too late. After taking to his sickbed, he has even begun to dream of being a tiger, and expects to become one. He accordingly asks his relatives to spare any tiger they may meet on the chance that it may be him.

After he dies, his corpse changes into a tiger that bounds away, eating one of his sons, who has followed him. When he later appears in a dream to announce his contentment at his metamorphosis, and the fact that he has already eaten a person, he reveals his failure to recognize his son.[19] A neighbor excuses the tiger's behavior, since it is simply in accordance with its new nature. (Metamorphosis often leads to the victim's alienation from human society.) The point is not whether the transformation occurs, but once it has occurred, whether one remembers one's previous existence. Note that the neighbor discusses the transformation in terms that treat it as equivalent to reincarnation.[20] However, this does not directly address the problem of how to treat the transformed father — if he is for all intents and purposes now a tiger, and a menace to humans, he ought to be killed, but since the discussion treats the transformation as equivalent to reincarnation, he should presumably be left unharmed, particularly in light of filial sanctions (as he himself requested). To the extent that no one tries to kill the tiger, one could say that filial piety triumphs. Similarly, in an earlier legend where a man's weretiger mother dies of wounds incurred in her tiger state, he buries her with the rites due a mother.[21]

[18] One of the exceptions is "Wang Chü-chen" 王居貞, in P'ei Hsing 裴鉶 (fl. ca. 860–878), comp., *Ch'uan-ch'i* 傳奇, Wang Meng-ou 王夢鷗, *T'ang-tai hsiao-shuo yen-chiu* 唐代小說研究 (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1974), vol. I, p. 197.

[19] One man whose illness changes him into a tiger at one point drools hungrily at his son; *Hu yüan* B 8b.

[20] "Yang Chen," in Liu Hsiang 柳祥 (ninth century), comp., *Hsiao Hsiang lu* 瀟湘錄, TPKC 430.3494–95. The concern with inherent nature is typical of the legends in this anthology, but T'an Ch'iao, 2.4a, agrees the transformation is complete: "When the licentious change into women or the violent into fierce tigers, their minds must also change." Huang Hsiu-fu 黃休復 (fl. ca. 1001) comp., *Mao-t'ing k'o-hua* 茅亭客話, (Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan), 8.3a–b, records a similar story, which in addition links the transformation to a rebellion.

[21] "Wu Tao-tsung" 吳道宗, in Tung-yang Wu-yi 東陽无疑 (fl. ca. 432), comp., *Ch'i Hsieh chi* 齊諧記, TPKC 426.3467–78.

Metamorphosis into animal form generally requires wearing the animal skin or the use of incantations.[22] In China, however, simply wearing the skin is usually sufficient. According to an early dictionary, the two bottom strokes of *hu* 虎, the character for tiger, similar to representations of a person's feet, are the tiger's feet, while the balance of the character — the tiger radical in Chinese dictionaries — represents the tiger skin.[23] This suggests that the Chinese conceive of the skin as a separate entity, holding the essence of the beast.[24]

A biography of a nameless monk tells of an unintentional metamorphosis that occurs because of an ill-considered impulse. The monk initially puts on a tiger skin as a practical joke, but finds that his victims are so convinced, they flee in terror, leaving their valuables for him to enjoy. Soon after he accepts his ill-gotten gains, he finds that he cannot regain his human form. Though the transformation is again unintentional, the victim is more at fault. The monk spends a year as a tiger, serving ghosts and gods by eating those they designate, yet his mind is still human, and he only kills a person out of dire need. It is only at this point, when he nearly consumes a fellow monk, that he fully understands the error of his ways, and before the echoes of his regretful cry die away, his skin sloughs off. As his teacher later tells him, this shows both the ease of slipping into evil ways and of turning over a new leaf: a single thought can cause either damnation or salvation. (However, even if one reads the legend as an allegory, the beast's service to ghosts and gods reveals the presumption that is the normal tiger's behavior.) The transformation into a tiger is not, strictly speaking, reincarnation, but the protagonist understands this instantaneous transformation of human to animal as similarly determined by *karma*, a punishment differing from reincarnation only in the speed with which it is imposed.[25]

In another legend, the original cause of the unintentional metamorphosis is medical rather than jocular, but the weretiger's motivation for continuing his practice is similarly greed. The protagonist uses the tiger skin as a cover to

[22] In the West, Christians often connect the incantation with the devil; ointment, special foods, or drinks may also be necessary; Frank Hamel, *Werewolves and Other Transformations*, (New Hyde Park, New York: University Books, 1964), p. 5. Cf. how shamans in Sumatra, Java, or Malaysia wear a striped cloth to become transformed; Wessing, p. 80.

[23] Hsü Shen 許愼 (30–124), *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* 說文解字, s.v. *hu*.

[24] See "Cheng Hsi" 鄭襲, in Liu Ching-shu 劉敬叔 (fl. 411–ca. 470), comp., *I yuan* 異苑 TPKC 426.3469; when the protagonist tries to regain his human state, peeling off the skin leaves him covered in blood.

[25] "Seng hu" 僧虎; TPKC 433.3510–11 attributes the story to Tsan-ning 贊寧 (ca. 976–995), comp., *Kao-seng chuan san-chi* 高僧傳三集; however, the Tripitaka edition of the work does not include this story. Ssu Shan-t'ang 思善堂 (fl. ca. 1206–1227), comp., *I Chien hsü-chih* 夷堅續志 (Pi-chi hsiao-shuo ta-kuan), p. 378 records an instantaneous transformation into tiger as punishment for eating a fish.

treat his malaria.[26] However, rather than cure his malady, it causes him to become a tiger. While his family is willing to accept the cattle he steals, human flesh is beyond the pale. When his wife interferes with his transformation, one of his hands fails to change, which serves to identify him, so that when the locals see a tiger with a human hand and call out the old man's name, it spares them. Finally, he is killed by a thunderbolt; significantly thunder, like the tiger, is a tool of fate.[27] The old man has become a tiger more or less by chance, through his contact with dangerous powers, but when he persists in behaving as a tiger rather than a human being, heaven strikes him dead.

In "The Ch'en-chou Assistant Clerk", attested to by the dynastic history because of its cosmological significance, the protagonist starts to become a tiger because of his illness itself, rather than because of any cure. The fact that this weretiger has only a tiger's tail is nonetheless emblematic of his tigrine nature.[28] Here women are the weretiger's chosen victims. He targets his sister-in-law because, as a novice tiger, he is expected to provide a meal, and she is an easy catch for him.[29] Though he gives a roar like a tiger's to help prove his story, there is further evidence of this incident. The manifestation of the weretiger prodigy was an indication of political upheaval. The Five Phases section in the dynastic history briefly mentions this incident, though the historical version contends that though his body remains human, it is covered with tiger hair.[30] Presumably because it is said to have occurred just before Wu Tse-t'ien 武則天 (r. 684–704) declared the Chou dynasty in an unsuccessful bid to found her own state, the reader is to understand that the significance of the partial change is symbolic of the T'ang state's regaining power. Just as her dynasty was only temporary, and hardly a true dynasty, so was the clerk's existence as a tiger brief and superficial.[31]

[26] The tiger skin is supposed to cure the disease because it functions as a talisman, frightening the spirits that cause the illness. In his preface to *Hu hui*, p. 1, Ch'en Chi-ju admits that he has read *Hu yüan* in order to expel the demons causing his malaria. His admission the treatment failed is ominous; he has instead developed a taste for such stories.

[27] *Hu hui* p. 70; Cf. *T'an hu* 23a–b.

[28] *Hu hui* p. 30 records the significance of the tail; "tail burning" is the expression used for the graduation banquet of officials; the meaning is that the true character of the scholars will stand revealed.

[29] J. Beatty, *Human Leopards*, (London, Hugh Rees, Ltd., 1915), pp. 6–9, 23, 86, discusses cannibal societies such as the Human Leopard Society, whose members dress up in leopard skins, alligator skins, or baboon skins, and are expected to provide a human victim as a condition of joining.

[30] Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007–72) et al., *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975) 36.955.

[31] Ch'en-chou tso-shih 郴州佐史, Tou Wei-wu 竇維沃 (T'ang dynasty), comp., in *Kuang ku-chin wu-hsing chi* 廣古今五行志, TPKC 426.3471–72.

Sometimes unintentional transformation is imposed by heaven for its own reasons. "The Nan-yang Scholar" tells of a scholar who has no choice but to function as heaven's agent.[32]

The Nan-yang Scholar

Recently a man staying at the Nan-yang 南陽 mountains[33] suddenly fell ill of a fever. After ten days, he still had not recovered. It was summer, and the moon was bright. One night as he was reclining in the courtyard to get some fresh air, he heard an unexpected knocking at the door. He listened carefully: it was like a dream; no one else in the household seemed to hear it, so he dazedly arose, hardly conscious of it, to see who it was himself.

Outside the door, there was a person who said, "You must change into a tiger: here are your orders."

He was astonished, but without thinking, stretched out his hands to receive them. He noticed that the messenger's hands were tiger's paws. After the messenger had left the letter, he opened it and looked at it, but it was only a row of seals on blank paper, which he found very strange. Putting it under his mat, he fell asleep again. The next morning, he vaguely remembered a little of the incident, and spoke to his household about it. When he took out the paper, it was still there, which everyone thought was yet stranger.

His illness seemed to be cured, and he suddenly felt like going for a stroll, so he went walking with his cane. None of his children accompanied him. After walking over a *li*, he came to a brook at the foot of a mountain, where he walked slowly along the bank. All of a sudden, in the water he saw the reflection of his head, already changed into a tiger's, and looking at his hands and feet, he saw they were also a tiger's. It was all very clear. He realized that if he went back home, he would only frighten his wife and children. Feeling nothing but anger and shame, he followed a road into the mountains.

After a day had passed, his family did not know where he had gone, and looked for him everywhere. His neighbors all thought that he had been eaten by tigers or wolves, and his family could only weep and wail.

Having become a tiger, and having spent two days in the mountains, he felt hungry. Crouching by some water, he saw enough tadpoles to fill several *sheng* 升,[34] and remembering that he had once heard that tigers also ate mud, he scooped some up, and felt it was quite tasty. He went back to slowly prowling, and seeing a rabbit, pounced and caught it at just the right moment, then ate it. His body felt light but more powerful. In the mornings he would lie deep in the underbrush, and in the evenings he would go out to look for something to eat, catching several deer and rabbits. Thus he learned to harm other creatures.

When he happened to climb up a tree, he saw a woman picking mulberry leaves. He watched her from the grass, thinking, 'I have heard that tigers all eat people". Trying to catch her, he got her, ate her, and found her delicious indeed.

[32] This function of the weretiger as vehicle of fate is redolent of the onerous duty imposed on the *ch'ang*, the spirit of a person killed by a tiger, which then forces it to help catch other victims.

[33] Probably those near present Nan-yang in Honan.

[34] By current measure, one-fifth of a gallon.

Once he was near a small road, waiting for travelers. As the sun was setting, a man carrying firewood passed by. Just as the tiger was about to pounce, someone behind him suddenly said, "Don't take him! Don't take him!" He turned in surprise, seeing an old man whose whiskers and eyebrows were all white. He knew that it was a spirit. Although he had changed into a tiger, he still thought of home, and he told his sad story.

The old man said, "People like you are transformed at the behest of envoys of the spirits of heaven. For you it will end now, and you will return to your human form. However, if you kill the woodcutter, you will never change. Tomorrow you must eat a certain Case Reviewer Wang 王, and then you may change back to a person." When he finished speaking, he disappeared.

The tiger then prowled in the grass stealthily, and the next evening, he approached the official road, waiting for him. When he heard the sound of a bell, he hid in the grass.

All at once he heard the sound of a voice in the air, asking, "Whose retinue is this?"

Another voice answered, "Case Reviewer Wang's retinue."

The first again asked where Wang was, and the second answered, "In the suburbs. The district officials are seeing him off. His companions from the farewell banquet have left."

Hearing this, the tiger walked by the roadside, awaiting him. After the first watch, when there was a little moonlight, he heard the sound of men and horses, and the voice in the air said, "Case Reviewer Wang has come."

In a little while, the tiger saw a man of about forty, riding a horse and wearing red, and looking half drunk. His retinue was quite large, but still far from him, so the tiger snatched him up from his horse, and dragged him deep into the underbrush where he ate him. The man's followers scattered.

When he had finished eating, he felt his mind awaken, and remembered the way home. He was over a hundred *li* from home, but he started back through the mountains. Arriving back at the brook that reflected his image, he saw his body had changed back into a human's. When he returned home, his household was astonished, having not seen him for seven or eight months. His speech was muddled, like a very drunk person's, but gradually he was able to eat gruel, and in a little over a month was back to normal.

Five or six years later, he was travelling in Ch'ang-ko 長葛 district[35] with Ch'en Hsü 陳許. At that time, the district magistrate held a banquet with about thirty guests. The host was talking about people who had changed into animals, and said, "There have been many absurd stories about people like Niu Ai 牛哀."[36] Then the man told his own story, to show that it was not preposterous to be changed. The astonished host was Case Reviewer Wang's son. Saying his father had been killed by a tiger, and having met his enemy, he killed him. Knowing the facts, the officials pardoned him.[37]

While illness may be involved in his transformation, the scholar finally hears from a spirit that his metamorphosis into a tiger serves heaven's purpose:

[35] Corresponding to Ch'ang-ke in Honan.

[36] See n. 1.

[37] "Nan-yang shih-jen" 南陽士人, in Anon. (T'ang dynasty), comp., *Yüan-hua chi* 原化記, TPKC 432.3504–6.

devouring a certain official. Initially, when he sees the paper, he realizes his dreamlike meeting with the tigerpawed envoy actually happened. While the blankness of the paper the tiger-pawed envoy presents may be indicative of heaven's inscrutable nature, such papers commonly appear in the stories to prove that the weretiger's role is sanctioned by heaven. When fate comes knocking, only its victim hears, and is in fact forced to heed its call. Despite his homesickness and resentment at the ways of fate, the weretiger is too ashamed of his condition to return home. Later overcome by hunger, he soon accustoms himself to life in the wild, doing what he has heard tigers do, finally eating people. Significantly, he begins with a woman: the victims of weretigers are often defenseless women and children. However, he has been transformed solely to punish an official, a mission he accomplishes with the help of spirits who show him his victim. Since the change is not his fault, he feels free to disclose it when the topic arises. Unfortunately, when the dead official's son discovers what has happened, he kills him. The official recognition of the extenuating circumstances ignores the injustice done the anonymous scholar, a victim of fate.[38] The official reaction could be more sympathetic: in a similar legend, when the weretiger's deed is discovered, he is pardoned. Those who talk about it agree that though one's father's death should be avenged, this was not really murder, the weretiger having had no choice.[39] Though such legends recognize the absence of free will, they are of different minds as far as the punishment due those who serve as accessories to murder. One might fault the legends for failure to explore the psychological tensions that such a disagreement would entail, but perhaps they are simply recording the reactive nature of the local government.[40]

Sacred Tigers

The legends often present tigers and weretigers as sacred, in the sense that they are associated with a divine power, performing heavenly missions. The belief that the gods send tigers is still the case in the early Ch'ing as a legend from that time demonstrates.

> In the fifteenth year of K'ang-hsi (1676), in Yü-yao 餘姚[41] there was a traveler in the hills, who spent the night at the shrine of a hill god. Halfway

[38] The same is true of "Shih Tao-hsüan" 師道宣, in *Ch'i Hsieh chi*, TPKC 426.3468, who is jailed and starves to death for what is perceived as a crime.

[39] "Chang Feng" 張逢, in Li Liang 李諒 (775–833), comp., *Hsü Hsüan-kuai lu* 續玄怪錄, (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1985), p. 193.

[40] Cf. "Li Cheng" 李徵, in Chang Tu 張讀, (833–888), comp., *Hsüan-shih chih* 宣室志, TPKC 427.3476–79; its far greater degree of fame is probably due to the titular character's description of his reactions to his life as a tiger. It was later incorrectly attributed to another author and titled "Jen hu chuan" 人虎傳.

[41] In Chekiang.

through the night there was a tiger that knelt worshipping before the altar, and spoke in a human voice, begging to eat. The god permitted it to eat Woodcutter Teng 鄧. The next morning the traveler waited outside the temple where he saw a woodcutter pass by.

Approaching him, he said, "Is your name Teng?"

"Yes."

Then he told him what he had seen and heard in the night, warning him not to proceed.

Teng said, "I have a mother who lives off of my woodcutting. If I do not cut wood for just one day, my mother will go hungry. Dying and living are fate. Why should I fear it?"

Then he left without a glance backward. The traveler followed him to watch. Just as the woodcutter was collecting firewood, the tiger shot out of the underbrush. The woodcutter repeatedly struck at it barehanded. Grabbing the tiger's tail he twisted it for a long while. Unable to overcome its anger, the tiger gave a shattering roar and jumped, pulling away its tail, then fled, nursing its pain. Pursuing it, the woodcutter killed it. The traveler then approached him again, praising him.

The woodcutter said, "I am grateful for your eminent righteousness. Please lead me to the temple."

When he arrived, he loudly cursed, and showing the dead tiger to the god, said, "How about this, now!"

Then he smashed the earthen idol, and with a laugh mounted the god's pedestal, and closing his eyes, expired. The local people built another altar, naming it The Temple of Lord Teng.[42]

The tiger's seeking guidance from a local god appears in other legends; this again suggests that such gods are playing the role of heaven's agents.[43] While its ambivalent victim here initially seems to acquiesce to his fate, confronted with the tiger, he kills it. By killing the tiger, he is exerting control over it, hence he is substituting himself for the god that sent it. His smashing of the idol is not out of anger at his fate, but out of contempt at the god's incompetence. As the expression *mingmu* 瞑目 ("closing his eyes") implies, he dies content, accepting his new role as a god.

The divine association between the tiger or the weretiger on the one hand and spirits or heaven on the other is paralleled by a similar tigrine association with monks or priests.[44] There are numerous anecdotes of Buddhist ascetics living peacefully together with wild beasts, typically tigers, demonstrating their spiritual power over the fierce beast (as paintings of Buddhists calmly

[42] In Wang Yü-yang 王漁洋 (fl. ca. 1705), comp., *Hsiang-tsu pi-chi* 香祖筆記 5.5a–b; also quoted in *T'an hu*, 3a–b.

[43] See Hammond, "Tiger Lore." The wounded tiger often proves to be a god whose idol must be destroyed; see *Hu yüan* A 14a. Ssu Shan-t'ang, p. 371 records the anecdote of another idol destroyed; the discovery of human bones inside it proves that it, too appeared as a tiger.

[44] On the religious associations of tigers, see also Minakata, p. 17.

consorting with tigers also suggest).[45] If the biographies of Buddhist monks are to be believed, many monks raised tigers as a matter of course.[46]

However, the association between temples and tigers is also due to the fact that religion, particularly Buddhism, may serve as a defense against tigers. One religious confronted by a tiger silently recites the "Diamond Sutra." When villagers arrive, they find a pool of saliva where the tiger had been crouching.[47] According to other legends, monks used the *dharma* to subdue tigers, or even convert them.[48] In fact, one monk's virtue is so great that a tiger in his charge becomes a human being, freed from its animal incarnation.[49]

Similarly, another monk cures a man transformed into a tiger when a *ch'ang* 倀 throws a tiger skin over him, and is forced to serve the creature until he escapes into a temple, where a monk raises him until he finally loses his fur and becomes a human. But as soon as he steps out of the temple, the *ch'ang* throws the skin back over him. Fearing another transformation, he spends the rest of his life in the temple.[50]

Yet other anecdotes show how the weretiger was also associated with Taoists. One brief anecdote tells of an old Taoist found in a tiger trap; released, he changes back into a tiger.[51] A legend of Hsieh Yün 謝允 (a nebulous Taoist figure of the Six Dynasties period)[52] is more specific. Rather than saving a human being, he releases a tiger from a trap. When he confesses his action at the district office, the magistrate has him tortured. That night Hsieh Yün dreams of a young man dressed in yellow who later appears outside the bars, intimidating the magistrate, who frees him. He later travels to Wu-tang 武當 mountain,[53] where he meets the young man who appeared in order to save him, and is in fact a transcendant. His repayment for rescuing the tiger is initiation into

[45] The same is true of many Christians, Moslems, and Brahmans; see Robert Eisler, *Man Into Wolf: An Anthropological Interpretation of Sadism, Masochism, and Lycanthropy* (London: Spring Books, n. d.), p. 113.

[46] *Kao-seng chuan san-chi*, passim.

[47] In Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式 (803–863), comp., *Yuyang tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1981), p. 223.

[48] *Hu yüan* B 6a–b, *T'an hu* 6b–7a.

[49] "T'ang Shou-chou Tz'u chin shan Hsüan-tsung chuan" 唐壽州紫金山玄宗傳, Taishō Tripitaka 50.838.

[50] "Ching-chou jen" 荆州人, in Tai Fu 戴孚 (fl. ca. 757–800), comp., *Kuang-i chi* 廣異記, TPKC 431.3499–500. Cf. "K'uai Wu-an" 剸武安, in Lu Ch'iu 盧求 (*chin-shih* ca. 825), comp., *Pao-ying chi* 報應記, TPKC 102.773–74.

[51] "Hsiao T'ai" 蕭泰, in *Kuang ku-chin wu-hsing chi*, TPKC 426.3470; cf. Kan Pao 干寶 (fl. ca. 317), comp., *Soushen chi* 搜神記, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979), p. 152, where it is a village elder who is trapped.

[52] "Hsieh Yün," in Tai Tso 戴祚 (Chin dynasty) comp., *Chen-yi chuan* 甄異傳, TPKC 426.3468; for *Chen-yi chuan*, see Lu Chin-t'ang 盧錦堂, "*T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* yin shu k'ao," (Cheng-chih University dissertation, 1980), pp. 173–74.

[53] A haunt of Taoists in northern Hupei that was in fact associated with Hsieh Yün.

the secrets of immortality. The implication is that Taoists are able to change into tigers.

However, in similar legend, it is a Buddhist monk who is found in a tiger trap; released, he changes into a tiger.[54] This suggests not only that the nature of the connection is not between any particular religion and the tiger, but between the tiger and spiritual forces in general.

Shamans

The ultimate source of religion is the sense of dependence, but the equivalent faith in magic encourages the belief that one can overcome both self-evident natural forces and occult powers. The belief in the efficacy of such rites derives from the conviction that natural effects are largely dependent on human deeds. Although people have recourse to them only in the face of pressing needs, the performance of such rites provides people with a sense of their own control over their destiny.[55]

The shaman is a priest-doctor or healer who performs such rites, communicating with the spirits to discover how to cure the sick, or control events affecting peoples' welfare. The healing process, founded on shared beliefs, proceeds through suggestion, rather than analytic consciousness-raising. In spite of surrendering control to the therapist, rather than merely witnessing the ritual, the patient may often be expected to participate in the healing process. Finally, the treatment involves the redirection of violence, to enable the patient to regain power.[56]

In fact, a medical system (a set of ideas and practices having to do with illness), when approached as an aspect of religion, is concerned with power as an attribute of people and objects in the patient's environment. The system seeks to answer questions of the locus and control of usually malevolent power: the illnesses are usually caused by an act of will on the part of such a power.[57]

The shaman's communication with the spirit world, often in the form of a theatrical performance, may involve trances or hallucination. This shamanistic

[54] The author is impressed at his cleverness; see "Hu hua wei seng" 虎化爲僧, in *Mao-t'ing k'o-hua* 8.4a–b.

[55] Ernst Cassirer, *An Essay On Man* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 91–93.

[56] Jeanne Favret-Saada, "Unbewitching as Therapy," *American Ethnologist* 16 (1) (February 1989), pp. 47–48.

[57] Leonard B. Glick, "Medicine as an Ethnographic Category: the Gimi of the New Guinea Highlands," *Ethnology* 6 (1) (January 1967), pp. 32–37. Rather unlike the Chinese problem treated by the weretiger shaman, his definition of an illness is one that, having a socially significant cause, requires a cooperative response from the patient's social group.

seance is formalistic, following a set pattern, and the dramatized aspect may include acts with a symbolic meaning.[58] The ceremony may require a sacrifice, though the sacrifice need not be alive, nor even be an actual animal. One may also substitute a scapegoat: an animal, object, or another person to which the shaman transfers the threat aimed at the patient.[59] Sometimes there is an offering of blood to appease the gods; blood from a wound is dribbled on rags, which then serve as a surrogate for human sacrifice.[60] Though the performance, like magic, involves simulation, the magician and the audience both believe in it.[61]

Several aspects of the shaman's behavior are similar to the werewolf's. Part of the symbolism of the shamanistic seance concerns his or her dress. Not only may the shaman wear an animal skin, in itself a powerful medicine by virtue of its rarity, but both the audience and the shaman may believe she or he has become the animal: a mythical being with special powers.[62] Because the people believe the aspect of the fiercest beast frightens the spirits as much as it does human beings, the shaman's behavior may be little different from that of beasts. Such violent rites have an atavistic element, and in fact, like the werewolf, the shaman is sometimes characterized as psychotic.

In some Chinese legends, though the stories do not explicitly identify them as such, the religious appear to be shamans.[63] Like the solitary tiger with which he is associated, the weretiger shaman regularly appears deep in the lonely forest, outside the matrix of civilization. His solitary nature may be due to his association with the tiger, but is also characteristic of shamans generally.[64]

[58] Spencer L. Rogers, *The Shaman: His Symbols and His Healing Powers* (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1982), pp. 123, 142–143.

[59] Rogers, pp. 95–97.

[60] John Lee Maddox, *The Medicine Man: a Sociological Study of the Character and Evolution of Shamanism* (New York: MacMillan, 1923), pp. 180–181.

[61] Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), p. 54.

[62] Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Willard C. Trask, tr. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), pp. 167–168, 460.

[63] Minakata, p. 52, suggests that the encounter in *Nihongi* 日本記 (Chronicles of Japan) with a tiger that gives a Korean a needle with curative powers illustrates that, with the tiger as totem, the shaman acts as an acupuncturist dressed as a tiger; cf. W. G. Aston, tr., *Nihongi* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1956, 2, p. 190). The year in question — 632 — suggests at least the possibility of a connection with Chinese weretiger shamans.

[64] According to Rogers, p. 21, the shaman spends long periods alone, and is in fact a man apart socially. This distinguishes him from *fang-shih* 方士, the state functionaries who perform exorcisms as well as other tasks ranging from medical cures to divination. The shamans in these legends appear as concerned solely with the exorcism of fated death as embodied in the tiger, and are never associated with the state, unlike shamans from the state of Ch'u or the Han Dynasty. Cf. Van Xuyet Ngo, *Divination, magie, et politique dans la Chine ancienne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976).

Chinese weretiger legends nearly always present this type of shaman as male. If he does not appear as a Buddhist monk or a Taoist priest, then it may be as a god with ambiguous affiliations. While occasionally he may cure a disease,[65] more commonly he works to exorcise the even more fearsome threat of fated (though not inevitable) death with which heaven has charged him.[66]

Two aspects of the Chinese shaman as weretiger distinguish him from most other shamans. First of all, the meeting with the shaman who exorcises decreed death is a meeting between the endangered individual and the therapist who helps save him, without an audience. Secondly, the weretiger shaman simultaneously plays a pair of ambivalent roles: while he functions as an exorcist, usually he is also the vehicle of heaven's will (like the weretiger itself), the very will that he is trying to thwart.

Several legends depict exorcisms conducted by shamans who dress as tigers or even become tigers. While these explicitly state the connection between tigers and fate, the stark vision of this confrontation leaves such a deep impression in the minds of the witnesses that they tend to present the religious as an actual weretiger rather than a human wearing a tiger skin.

Liu Ping 柳幷

Liu Ping[67] of Ho-tung 河東[68] was an Investigating Censor who went into the mountains on an investigation, taking with him a clerk who was frequently appointed to work for him. At the foot of the mountains, they stayed at an isolated inn, where the clerks all slept on the mat floor of the hall.

When it was the middle of the night, and the moon had just come out, everyone was asleep, except for Ping. All at once, he saw a small ghost, about a foot tall, that looked like a macaque. Holding a paper pennant in its hand, it climbed the steps. Planting the pennant by the clerk's head, it left. Ping stealthily rose and plucked it out, then lay down to wait. In a little while, a tiger entered, and sniffed all around the people, then left. In a little while, the little ghost came again, planting another pennant. He again plucked it out. In a little while, the tiger returned, sniffed all around, then left again. This happened a third time, then the sky brightened, as dawn arrived.

[65] After man afflicted with leprosy recites from the "Diamond Sutra" at a monk's suggestion, a tiger comes to lick his sores, and the monk then gives him herbs to wash the sores. He is cured, without any scars; "Ch'iang Po-ta" 强伯達, in *Pao-ying chi*, TPKC 107.819; cf. the explanation by Wessing p. 63, of how the Southeast Asian shaman behaves like a tiger, licking the patient; his saliva has magical power just as the Chinese tiger's does.

[66] According to Cassirer, pp. 82–83, the belief in the indestructible unity of life means that rather than a necessary, natural phenomenon, death is an accident, or the result of inimical influences.

[67] Fl. ca. 766–769. According to his biography in *Hsin T'ang shu* 202.5771, he was a scholar fond of Taoism.

[68] In modern Shansi.

He summoned the clerk and told him about it. "In the daytime, it will be hard to avoid. You need to make your own plan. You can't follow me, but I have a sword." He took it out and giving it to him, ordered him to flee the difficulty.

This clerk was strong and brave, and took the sword into the mountains, seeking the tiger's lair. Walking twenty *li*, he arrived at a thatched hut. Entering it, he didn't see anyone. There was only a table on the mat with an ink stone and a red writing brush, and a small scroll consisting of a list of people's names, some with a check next to them. Among those not yet checked was his own. On the ceiling, he saw a tiger skin. Taking the document and the skin, the clerk left, leaning on the sword.

Before he had gone a few *li*, he saw a foreign monk, who came up from behind him, calling out to him, "Stop ! You'd better tell me your plan; then you'll be able to escape." As he spoke, the clerk saw that he had an unusual appearance, and did not dare kill him.

The monk said, "I'm not harming you out of mere brute force. It is heaven that has apportioned you to feed me. Didn't you see that document ? Yesterday you transgressed several times. Even if you escape now, I'm afraid it won't end well. It would be better to get over it with a little trick."

The clerk asked about the trick. The monk ordered him to climb a tree and secure himself with a belt, using the sword to prick himself, then smear the blood on an unlined garment, and throw it to him. "I'll take the garment and make a sacrifice with that."

Climbing the tree as he was told, the clerk threw the skin to the monk, who put it on, then took on the aspect of a roaring tiger, his eyes flashing like lightning. The frightened clerk nearly fell several times. Taking the unlined garment, he smeared blood on it that he got by pricking himself. When he threw it on the ground, the tiger pounced on the garment, and clawing and ripping it, swallowed it.

After a long time, the tiger changed back into a person, and said, "You've escaped," sending him away. In the end, he was unharmed.[69]

The little ghost who comes to identify the victim is actually a *ch'ang*.[70] Here the list of victims the clerk finds clearly shows that death is fated, a fact that the monk reiterates. The secret language the shaman uses to communicate with the spirit world[71] has simply become the written language, mysterious to the illiterate. The fact that the clerk must stay out of harm's way when the monk wears the skin suggests that the latter is not just acting like a tiger, but is transformed into one that eats the scapegoat. The list of names of those who are fated to be or have already been killed by tigers, while proving that this is at heavens' direction, could also have been used by the shamans as a means to prove the necessity of an exorcism.

[69] "Liu Ping," in *Yüan-hua chi*, TPKC 433.3511–12.

[70] Were it not for the fact that the moon appears but rarely in the legends, the *ch'ang*'s arrival on a moonlit night might suggest that there may be some connection between the moon and the weretiger's transformation, as there is with the werewolf's.

[71] Eliade, p. 96; there may also be a connection with the talismans used in Chinese popular religion.

Kuang-i chi 廣異記 includes a number of legends of these shamans exorcising fated death. When a tiger confronts Wang T'ai 王太, who is walking with a group of friends, they decide they cannot all be slated to die, and remove their clothes to see whose excite the tiger. When he sees that his clothes attract the tiger, Wang T'ai realizes that he has been selected, and fights it. (Though his friends, like him, are each armed with sticks, they do not assist him.) Knocking it unconscious, he retreats into the grass, where he finds a temple, upon whose crossbeam he hides. That night in the moonlight, when the tiger returns, he sees it change into a human form, though it is actually a god. The god enters a wooden statue, then sees T'ai. He explains to T'ai he initially escaped his fate because he met the weretiger too early. In the subsequent exorcism, the scapegoat is a pig smeared with Wang's blood.[72]

In another legend from the same anthology, the exorcist is apparently a Taoist. When Chi Hu 稽胡, a hunter, pursues a deer to a Taoist's retreat, the latter identifies himself as the Tiger King 虎王, in charge of tigers, and he shows Hu a list with his name on it. Yet he offers to help Hu escape: the Tiger King admits that not eating him would only mean missing a meal. Here the surrogate is a straw man and a bowl of pig's blood. After the Tiger King has eaten the scapegoat, he checks Hu's name off his list.[73]

Another destined victim is able to spy on his intended executor. Fei Chung 費忠, hiding in a tree, spies a tiger that removes its skin, becoming an old man. Taking advantage of the old man's falling asleep, Chung ties him up and interrogates him. His prisoner explains that heaven has transformed him into a tiger, and given him a calendar telling him when to eat his victims. Chung releases him and when he returns the skin to him (from a safe distance), the old man becomes a tiger. Here the substitute is someone else with the same name.[74]

"The Hsia-k'ou Taoist Master" suggests a local tradition of human sacrifice.

The Hsia-k'ou Taoist Master

In the K'ai-yüan period,[75] there were tigers in the Yangtze gorges. All the boats that travelled there suffered harm. Thereafter, whenever a boat was about to descend through the gorges, those aboard would choose someone to serve as food for the tigers; only then would the whole boat escape unharmed. If they did otherwise, many of the people on the boat would be harmed. Consequently, it became the standard practice for each boat to abandon a traveler[76] on the bank to feed the tigers.

[72] "Wang T'ai," in *Kuang-i chi*, TPKC 431.3499.
[73] "Chi Hu," ibid., TPKC 427.3475–76.
[74] "Fei Chung," ibid., TPKC 427.3474–75.
[75] 713–42.
[76] Reading one for two here and below.

Several months later, among a group of rich and powerful people aboard a boat sailing there was a poor, solitary person whom they pushed out, ordering him to climb up the bank to feed the tigers.

Feeling he lacked the power to resist, he left the boat, but said to the others, "I'm poor, and so it's suitable for me to die in your place. But everyone has his individual destiny. If I am not harmed by them, I have an earnest wish: will you promise to fulfill it?"

Hearing his earnest words, the others were deeply moved, feeling sorry for him, and asked, "What is it?"

He said, "I'll go up the bank to look for tiger tracks, but I also have another plan: I wish that you would just stop the boat for me below the rapids. If I'm not there by noon, then let the boat sail on without me."

The others said, "All right; today we will stop the boat for you below the rapids. We'll not only stay until noon today, but we'll stay for you overnight, waiting until tomorrow. If you don't come by then, we'll leave."

When they had finished talking, the boat sailed towards the rapids, and carrying a long axe, the person went up the bank, going into the mountains to seek the tiger. He saw no evidence of any people, but did see tiger tracks. Deep in the woods, seeing a road thick with tiger tracks, he followed it, arriving at a mountain pass deep in mud. There the tiger tracks were even more numerous.

Half a *li* on, he saw a big stone room, with a stone bed. Fast asleep on the stone bed was a Taoist priest. A tiger skin hung on a rack. Thinking it was a place of tiger shapeshifting, he walked in on tiptoe, took the skin off the rack, and stood holding the skin and the axe.

Suddenly awakening, the Taoist noticed the skin was missing from the rack, and said, "It is quite proper for me to eat you. Why did you steal my skin?"

The person countered, "It is quite proper for me to eat *you*. How can you say such a thing?"

After a short struggle, the Taoist yielded, saying, "Having committed a crime against the Lord on high, I was exiled here as a tiger. I was to eat one thousand people. Up to now, I have eaten nine hundred ninety-nine. I lack only one: you, and then the number will be complete. Unfortunately for me, you've stolen my skin. If you don't return it, I'll be made into a tiger again, and must eat another one thousand people. I have a plan, now, that will help us both. May I?"

The person said, "If you please."

The Taoist said, "Take the skin back on the boat; cut a little hair and beard, some nails, and from your face, feet, hands, and body, collect two or three *sheng*[77] of blood, and wrap it all in a bundle of old clothes weighing three *liang* 兩.[78] Wait until I reach the river bank, and then you can throw the skin to me. When I've put on the skin and changed into a tiger, then you can throw the other things to me. I'll take them and eat them; it'll be no different than eating you."

The person then took the skin and his axe and returned. He explained what had happened to the amazed people on board the boat. Then he waited on the boat as instructed by the tiger. When it got light, the Taoist was already on the river bank. When he threw the skin to him, the Taoist put it on, and in a flash, changed into a tiger, roaring and prancing. Then he threw the clothes to it, and it ate them and left. From then on, no one heard of a tiger harming people there.

[77] From three and a half to five pints by modern measure.
[78] One third of a pound by modern measure.

People said since the number of people he had to eat was complete, he probably had returned to heaven.[79]

The legend insists that this kind of human sacrifice was necessary; even the poor victim is more sorrowful than angry, agreeing that it is suitable for him to serve as a scapegoat because of his poverty. Rather than doubt that the rich and powerful have a right to life that the less fortunate lack, he wonders if his fate is to survive. In fact, he is slated to die, escaping only through a clever stratagem. He tells his fellow passengers that the weretiger is a Taoist whom he has surprised without his skin, and who has explained that for an offense against the Lord on high (Shang-ti 上帝), the latter had sentenced him to be a tiger and eat a thousand victims. One short of his quota, he has asked his final intended victim to make a scapegoat. When the victim throws the bundle ashore from the boat, the Taoist puts on the skin, changing to a tiger and eating the bundle. After that, there are no more problems with tigers; the author assumes that the quota was filled, but the fact that the passengers hear about it from an intended sacrifice suggests the possibility that this was a ruse to avoid sacrifice.

Some of the legends compiled after the T'ang are more critical of conniving with heaven's victims at their escape. A Sung legend records how people move to the city to escape the depredations of a tiger. One man who stays hides from a tiger on the crossbeam of a house. When the tiger removes its skin, changing into a human being, he steals it. Since he was the tiger's last meal, the weretiger offers to let him go free. After the tiger leaves, it is struck by a thunderbolt.[80] Heaven has expressed its displeasure at the weretiger's resistance to its dictates. Presumably, a scapegoat would have fooled it.

Yet at the end of a still later story, two authors both express their disapproval even of the scapegoat tactic. The legend of fated death begins by comparing the argument that the Lord (*Ti* 帝) sends tigers with an alternative argument that states that tigers have been changed by fierce spirits.

A Record of Changing to Tigers

Recently, my hometown has had many tigers. They frequently bite people. When I traveled around, visiting Min 閩, Ch'u 楚, Chin 晉, and Yü 豫[81] I discovered the same problem. Some say they're sent by the Lord, and that taking up weapons against them will fail. Others say that existing fierce ghosts and cruel spirits are transformed into them through the arousal of their own emotions.

[79] "Hsia-k'ou Tao-shih" 峽口道士, in Anon., (T'ang Dynasty), comp., *Hui-ch'ang chieh-i lu* 會昌解頤錄, TPKC 426.3472–73.

[80] "Ching-nan Hu" 荆南虎, in Hung Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202), comp., *I Chien chih* 夷堅志, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1982), p. 1586.

[81] Respectively Fukien, Hunan and Hupeh, Shansi, and Honan.

Perhaps there is truth in both theories. Nothing is quite as strange as the strange story of old man Huang 黃 told by Wei-tzu Yün-tsang 危子允臧.

Old Huang was from Mi-hsi 密溪, and lived several dozen *li* from Ch'iao-ch'eng 樵城.[82] He had three sons who were very strong. In the spring of the year *i-wei*,[83] he sent them into the mountains to plow the fields. They went out every morning and returned at the period of the cock.[84]

After several days, one evening a neighbor told him, "Your fields lie fallow and unplowed. Is that on purpose?"

The old man said, "My sons use their plows every day. How could my fields lie fallow?"

The neighbor said, "They have not plowed them."

The old man wondered about it, and at dawn, when his three sons went out, he secretly followed them to see where they went. He saw them go into the forest and remove their clothing, which they hung in the trees. They changed into tigers, roaring and jumping in all directions.

Terrified, the old man fled home, where he whispered to his neighbor what had happened. He then locked his door and hid. At nightfall, his three sons returned, and called outside the gate a long time, but he would not reply.

The neighbor explained it to them, saying, "The old man does not consider you to be his sons."

When they asked why, he told them what the old man had seen.

The sons said, "It did occur, but we were forced to by the Lord's decree. It was not of our own free will."

They cried, and one called to the old man, "How could we even think of not repaying your infinite favor? But there's no way out. Your name was there all along, Father. For several days we went far away to seek a substitute for you, but if you won't come out, we may no longer stop your destiny. In the collar of your clothing, there is a small booklet. Fortunately we saw it. If we hadn't, you would certainly have suffered, and the three of us would have been forced to commit the deadly offense of killing you."

So he took a candle and looked into his collar, where he found the booklet, which had the names of all the people in the Ch'iao commandery who were to be hurt by tigers. The old man's name was second.

He said, "What's to be done?"

They said, "Open the gate. We have a plan."

Their father did just as he was told, and when his three sons received the booklet, they bowed, weeping, "This is all the Lord's decree."

"We have a way to save you. You should wear three layers of thick clothing, without cinching the belt, and put yellow paper on the outside. Then prostrate yourself and pray respectfully."

He did as he was told, and one by one, each of the three jumped at him from behind, grabbing a layer of clothing in its mouth. Roaring like tigers, they left, never to return. The old man is still alive.

From ancient times, there have been many cases of people changing into tigers, including Feng Shao 封邵[85] and Li Cheng 李徵, but they simply changed

[82] Neither place is identifiable.

[83] Possibly 1655.

[84] 7–9 p.m.

[85] In the original, Shao is misprinted Tai 台邑. See "Feng Shao," in Tsu Ch'ung-ch'ih 祖冲之 (427–498), comp., *Shu-i chi* 述異記, TPKC 426.3466.

their appearance and left. No one ever made a disturbance among people like these three. But the fact that they were sent by the Lord to hurt people, and that their father's name was in the booklet, put them in a very difficult position. However, one may say that the fact that after they had unsuccessfully sought a substitute, they finally found a solution, shows that though their form had changed, their minds had not. There are others in the world who have the appearance of a human being, but do not recognize their sovereign or their father when he is in front of them. How then could the three be tigers if they still did not forget their obligation? Yet they were. Nor is there anything to be done about the old man's being listed in the booklet. How could those in charge of it happen to forget it? His luck might change in future years, and they might go so far as to kill their father even though it would demonstrate the greatest ingratitude. Would the Lord let them do as they pleased and not ask about it? This is something I cannot tell.

Chang Shan-lai 張山來 says, "The three sons' plan to seek a substitute for their father was stupid. If the substitute had been killed by a tiger, that would only have served to conceal the father's guilt rather than substitute for his crime. If the three sons had subverted the law, arranging for someone who was not to be killed by a tiger to die, the father's crime would have gone unpunished. They themselves would have violated the law. But what else could they have done?[86]

When their father discovers that his three sons change to tigers, they maintain that this is at the Lords' direction, showing him a list of names of people hurt by tigers to prove it. His name is next. They say if he had not seen them, they could have found a substitute. Still, he can escape. They have him offer up prayers to the tiger as he wears several layers of clothing; each of the tigers pounces on him, taking off one layer.

Hsü Fang 徐芳 begins by presenting the man-eating tiger as either sent by the Lord — a personification of heaven, or by ghosts. Though he refers to other such legends, he is far from an expert on weretigers. On the basis of the two examples he cites, he contends that they typically do not harm people, even though we have seen weretigers are actually more likely to be man-eaters than actual tigers. However, he believes that while transformations into tigers may occur more or less spontaneously, heaven's decree is also involved in the behavior of tigers: the trio in his story are obviously tools of heaven, as the booklet demonstrates. (It also shows that administrative divisions in the supernatural world correspond with those in the human bureaucracy.) More than most earlier writers, both the author and his editor are concerned with the conflict implicit in the (still human) mind of someone who must serve as heaven's tool. Hsü Fang is convinced that their minds did not change with their bodies. Unlike T'ang writers, whom the scapegoat ceremony satisfies,

[86] "Hua hu chi" 化虎記, Hsü Fang 徐芳 (*chin-shih* in 1640), in Chang Ch'ao 張潮 (fl. ca. 1676), comp., *Yü Ch'u hsin-chih* 虞初新志, (Shanghai: Wen-ming shu-chü, n.d.), 7.6a.

the injustice inherent in the use of substitutes disturbs him. Hsü Fang wonders if their father will be safe in the future, since he has escaped his fate. His editor Chang Ch'ao 張潮 agrees, criticizing their idea of substituting someone else since it would only have meant concealing his crime at the cost of an innocent person's death. While these two Ming authors were better at analyzing the consequences of such avoidance, they do not discuss this as symbolic of a child's duty towards a guilty parent.

Conclusion

Chinese legends of weretigers show the metamorphosis into an animal is sometimes caused by human action, but sometimes imposed by heaven. Indeed, the interaction between humans, tigers, and weretigers is often suffused with a sacred aura. Despite the notion that being killed by a tiger is a fated death (even if the question of guilt is rarely explored), not everyone acquiesces; some weretigers work as shamans, exorcising such death. Together with suggestions that Chinese shamans dressed as tigers (like their Southeast Asian brethren),[87] this suggests that the Confucian recorders of the legends are blind to the religious aspect of the scapegoat ceremony. They fail to grasp that the weretigers are humans transformed by a religious experience, and that the weretigers are simply shamans.[88]

[87] Ts'ao, p. 45. Cf. Derk Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China* (Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press: 1975), p. 129 notes that the tiger was an expeller of demons.

[88] Eliade, pp. 33, 324, 467, notes that the shaman's initiation may involve a pathological illness, but even though he concedes there are similarities, to him it is the shamans' ecstatic powers that fundamentally distinguish them from werewolves and cannibal societies.

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THREE LETTERS OF LAJOS FEKETE ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF OTTOMAN HUNGARY

COLIN HEYWOOD (London)

In memoriam Lajos Fekete (1891–1969)

To the historian, any attempt to chart the history of the formation and dispersal of other historians' libraries compels him to navigate dangerously close to the shoals of antiquarianism, and to risk, at best, the charge of dilettantism, at worst of bibliomania. It is, however, a salutary *memento mori*, and has its other uses.[1]

We may therefore be permitted to utilise this context to commemorate the Hungarian scholar Lajos (Ludwig) Fekete, born one hundred years ago, and a leading figure of that pioneering generation of Ottoman scholars of Central European — in effect, mostly, of Dual Monarchy — origin, whose careers were formed in the matrix of the Great War and the personal vicissitudes which it engendered.[2] Fekete himself is remembered with affection by

[1] To take only one notable example, we should be much the poorer in our understanding of Edward Gibbon as a historian without the painstaking reconstruction of the contents of his library undertaken by Geoffrey Keynes (*The Library of Edward Gibbon*, London, 1940), or the illuminating essays on Gibbon's reading by J. A. W. Bennett (*Essays on Gibbon*, Cambridge, 1980). But with even the library of the father of modern history, Leopold von Ranke, still largely unstudied as a source for the formation of the historian (cf. the remarks of Jeremy C. Jackson, 'Leopold von Ranke and the von Ranke Library', *The Courier* [of Syracuse University Library Asociates], ix/4–x/1 (Syracuse, N. Y., 1972), 38–56), it is not surprising that what may be termed the biohistoriography of non-Western history in general, and of Ottoman studies in particular, has received only the most formal attention in the standard necrologies.

[2] As is well known, Fekete, 'ein Kind der alten Doppelmonarchie' (K. Jahn, in *Islam* xlvi (1970), 307–8), served on the Galician front in the first campaigns of the war as an officer in the *K. u. k.* Army — as did the Austrian Paul Wittek (1894–1978), Fekete's near-contemporary and the other leading Ottomanist of his generation (cf. C. J. Heywood, 'Wittek and the Austrian Tradition', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1988/1, pp. 8–9; ibid., ' "Boundless Dreams of the Levant" ', *JRAS*, 1989/1, 49–50). Wittek, wounded in Galicia, was stationed for most of the remainder of the war in Turkey. Fekete, perhaps less metaphysically affected by his experiences than Wittek, was captured by the Russians and spent long years in confinement in Siberia, where he learned Turkish from Ottoman fellow-prisoners of war (cf. Bayerle, *Archivum Ottomanicum*, i, 1969, 303).

On Fekete see, in addition to the above, K. Czeglédy, *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xiii (1961), 3–8; and a further formal obituary by L. Ligeti, *AOH*, xxii (1969), 379–81.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

western students for his three magistral studies in Ottoman diplomatics and palaeography with particular reference to Ottoman rule in Hungary. These three works — the *Einführung*, the 'Esterházy Documents' and the *Siyāqat-Schrift* (to use the abbreviated titles by which they are universally known),[3] appeared at regular intervals during Fekete's long and productive career.[4] His major works have contributed, as much as any other, to the autodidactic education of three generations of Ottomanists eastern and western, most of whom never knew in person this modest and self-effacing scholar.[5]

Less well known than his major works, partly as a result of their more limited subject-matter, partly because many of them (despite their considerable significance) were published in Hungarian, are Fekete's shorter contributions to Ottoman palaeography and diplomatic and to the history and geography of Hungary during the century and a half in which a large part of the lands of the crown of St. Stephen lay under the direct or indirect control of the Ottoman sultanate.[6] One such work, a relatively early study by Fekete on the Ottoman geographical literature relating to Hungary which also appears to be his only specific contribution to the subject, furnishes a case in point, and provides a starting-point for this brief communication on the occasion of the centenary of Fekete's birth.

In 1930 there appeared in the Hungarian *Journal of Military History* [*Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*] an article (written in Hungarian, with a résumé in German) entitled 'Geographical knowledge of the Turks concerning Hungary in the seventeenth century'.[7] The article — or at least its German résumé — was noticed by Fekete's near-contemporary, the German Ottomanist and

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The sympathetic essay by Gustav Bayerle, 'Lajos Fekete, 1891–1969', *Archivum Ottomanicum*, i (1969), 303, ff., also furnishes (pp. 306–316) an exhaustive bibliography of Fekete's writings (cf. further the Introduction (pp. 11–13) by its editor, G. Hazai, to Fekete's posthumous *Einführung in die persische Paläographie*, Budapest, 1977).

[3] Ludwig Fekete, *Einführung in die Osmanisch–Türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*, Budapest: Königliche Ungarische Universitätsdruckerei, 1926 ('Veröffentlichungen des königlichen Ungarischen Staatsarchivs'); idem, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy, 1606–1645*, Budapest: im Auftrage des Fürsten Paul Esterházy, 1932 ('Schriften des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy'); idem (L. Fekete), *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung. Beitrag zur türkischen Paläographie*, 2 vols., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1955.

[4] Cf. also L. Fekete und Gy. Káldy-Nagy, *Rechnungsbücher türkischer Finanzstellen in Buda (Ofen) 1550–1580. Türkischer Text*, [Budapest]: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962.

[5] Bayerle, *op. cit.*, 305–6 for a personal appreciation.

[6] Bayerle, *op. cit.*, 306–16.

[7] Fekete Lajos, 'A hódoltság-kori törökség Magyarországra vonatkozó földrajzi ismeretei', *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, xxxi (1930), 1–17, 134–154 (German résumé: 'Die auf Ungarn bezughabenden geographischen Kenntnisse der Türken im XVII. Jahrhundert', *ibid.*, 1–2 (separate pagination).

geographer Franz Taeschner.[8] Taeschner's own survey of Ottoman geographical literature, published seven years earlier, in 1923, marks the starting-point for serious studies in a field which, for many decades, he was to sustain almost single-handedly.[9]

Taeschner's earlier work had been drawn on by Fekete for his article in *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*.[10] A closer connection between Fekete and Taeschner on the subject of the latter's article referred to above can now be established, thanks to one of those accidental discoveries which so often are made when browsing in second-hand bookshops. Taeschner died, two years before Fekete, in 1967. His extensive library, acquired by Messrs Brill in Leiden, was soon thereafter offered for sale and most of it was rapidly dispersed. Thanks to the kindness of their (at that time) antiquarian specialist, the indefatigable Mr. E. Smitskamp, the present writer was enabled to make the pleasant discovery, while on a visit to the University of Leiden in the spring of 1983, that Messrs Brill at that time possessed a few volumes still unsold from the Taeschner collection. One item which was acquired by the present writer consisted of offprints of the two parts of Fekete's 1930 article, neatly bound (in this case in brown half-cloth over marbled paper boards) in the distinctive style of binding which Taeschner seems to have favoured.[11] Testimony to the another idiosyncrasy of the volume's former owner was also apparent: inserted either between the endpapers or at random between the leaves were a number of documents.[12] These documents, handwritten or in typescript, turned out to consist of (the major part of?) a correspondence, stemming from Fekete's 1930 article, which had passed between Taeschner and Fekete in the summer of 1932.

Fekete's article consisted in the main of an annotated translation (into Hungarian) of the section dealing with Hungary in the work of the late seventeenth-century Ottoman geographer Abū Bakr b. Bahrām al-Dimišḳī (d.

[8] On Taeschner see Hans-Joachim Kissling, 'Franz Taeschner (1896–1967)', *Islam*, cxviii (1968), 14–17. For a bibliography of Taeschner (with reference also to reviews and ephemeral publications) see 'Schriftenverzeichnis Franz Taeschner', *Islam*, xxxix (1964), 261–70 (covers the years 1912–1962).

[9] F. Taeschner, 'Die geographische Literatur der Osmanen', *ZDMG*, N. F. ii (= lxxvii) (1923), 31–80, 114.

[10] Cf. Fekete, 'A hódoltság-kori', p.2, n.2.

[11] Taeschner appears customarily to have caused his books to be bound in various colours but in a uniform style of half-cloth with matching marbled paper boards, and with the spine bearing, together with the customary indication of author and title, a distinctive monogram in which the initials of the owner form the base of a stylised mosque and minaret.

[12] That this was Taeschner's general practice was kindly confirmed to me by Mr. R. Smitskamp.

1102/1691).[13] Al-Dimišḳī's significance lay in his work as the hitherto unidentified continuator and redactor of Kātib Čelebi and, as the translator and epitomiser of the seventeenth-century Dutch geographer Blaeu's *Atlas Major*, as a geographer in his own right.[14] Al-Dimišḳī's literary activities, deriving from his membership of a small circle of late-seventeenth century Ottoman literati, for the most part under the enlightened patronage of members of the Köprülü family, were evidence for the circle's tenuous links with contemporary European learning and scholarship, a connection which had only recently come to be recognised at the time Fekete published his article.[15]

The correspondence which passed between Taeschner and Fekete in the spring and summer of 1932 on the subject of al-Dimišḳī thus reflects an intermediate stage in the discovery and evaluation of Ottoman geographical writing in the later seventeenth century. It appeared to Taeschner, in the pioneering article on Ottoman geographers which he had published almost a decade earlier, that little could be said concerning the state of the art during the 'fundamentally obscure' three-quarters of a century which had elapsed after the death of Kātib Čelebi (in 1067/1657) and down to the appearance (in 1145/1732) from the press of Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa of the first printed edition of the *Cihān-nümā*.[16] To explain away the manifestly posthumous additions to the *Cihān-nümā* which are to be found in the Müteferriḳa edition, Taeschner turned, mistakenly as it transpired, to Evliyā Čelebi as a possible continuator, and concluded that, with the death of Evliyā Čelebi, 'so schliesst . . . die Reihe der grossen orientalischen Geographen im weiteren Sinne'.[17]

By the time (1926) his next contribution to the subject[18] appeared, Taeschner was able to revise his earlier opinions. In the summer of 1924 he had visited Istanbul, where he had been able to examine some of the real or suppositious *Cihān-nümā* manuscripts.[19] Subsequent visits to the libraries in Berlin, Dresden, Leiden, London, Oxford and Vienna enabled him to extend further his examination and comparison of the real and pseudo-*Cihān-nümā*

[13] Fekete, 'A hódoltság-kori', 11–17, 134–154. Fekete made use of a manuscript of al-Dimišḳī's work preserved in the Köprülü Ahmed Paša Library, Istanbul (MSS. 173, 174, 176; cf. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 226–7).

[14] Heidrun Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyn b. Ǧaʿfer, genannt Hezārfenn, und die Istanbuler Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1971, 39, ff.

[15] Wurm, *passim*, and especially Tafel VIII (p. 167) where the personal connections are set out in tabular form.

[16] Taeschner, 'Die geographische Literatur', p. 60.

[17] Ibid., pp. 61, n. 3, 64.

[18] F. Taeschner, 'Zur Geschichte des Djihānnumā', *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* (Berlin): Westasiatische Abteilung, xxix/2 (1926), 99–111.

[19] Taeschner, 'Djihānnumā', p. 110, for a list of the MSS. available to Taeschner at that time.

literature.[20] The existence of two separate recensions of the *Cihān-nümā* was now postulated, and the significance of the so-called 'Wiener Konzept', a draft, now established as being partly in Kātib Čelebi's own hand, and partly in that of al-Dimišḳī, was recognised. Taeschner had already pointed out in a note[21] published in the previous year (1925) that the 'Wiener Konzept' was the work which had served as the basis for von Hammer's *Rumeli und Bosna* (1813), which had been attributed by him entirely to Kātib Čelebi. At this point Taeschner could speak only of the existence in the manuscript of 'a Third Hand', in the section dealing with events under the Köprülüs, but he was forced to admit that 'wer dieser Fortsetzer war, vermag ich vorlaüfig noch nicht zu entscheiden'.[22] By the appearance of his article in *MSOS* in 1926, however, Taeschner had identified the unknown continuator of Kātib Čelebi as Abū Bakr b. Bahram al-Dimiškī, and had recognised his role as the translator of Blaeu's eleven-volume *Atlas Major* (1662).[23] A set of this work had been presented to the sultan, Meḥemmed IV, by the Dutch Resident at the Porte, Justinus Colyer, in 1668, and it had been translated into Turkish by al-Dimišḳī between 1675 and 1685.[24] In addition, the so-called 'London Fragment' of the *Cihān-nümā* (British Library MS Or. 1030 = Rieu, 111) was also now recognised as part of al-Dimišḳī's reworking of Kātib Čelebi, and Taeschner also attributed to him the fragmentary and anonymous Dresden manuscript containing a description of Hungary and the German lands, and written in obvious haste in the fateful year 1094/1683.[25] The publication in the following year, 1927, of Babinger's *Geschichtsschreiber*[26] provided Taeschner with an opportunity to further distil the contribution of al-Dimišḳī from the mass of manuscripts arbitrarily linked with Kātib Čelebi.[27] Further to these developments the publication of Fekete's article in 1930, and the ensuing correspondence between Taeschner and Fekete, take their place as the last phase of a sequence of scholarly exchange.[28]

[20] Taeschner, 'Djihānnumā', p. 99, n. 5.

[21] F. Taeschner, 'Die Vorlage von Hammers Rumeli und Bosna', *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, ii/2 (1925), 308–10.

[22] Taeschner, 'Vorlage', 310.

[23] Taeschner, 'Djihānnumā', pp. 104 ff.

[24] Taeschner, 'Djihānnumā', p. 106.

[25] Taeschner, 'Djihānnumā', p. 105, n. 5 (referring to Dresden, Königliche Bibliothek [now Sächsische Landesbibliothek] Ms. 370 (Fleischer, *Cat.*, 57). For a recent survey of the Turkish manuscript holdings of the former Royal Library of Saxony see Helmut Nowka, 'Türkische Handschriften in den Bibliotheken der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik', *Turcica*, xiii (1981), 207–8.

[26] Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig, 1927.

[27] Cf. Taeschner's review of *GOW* in *Byzantinische-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, vii (1928–9), pp. 489, ff.

[28] Fekete's principal interest, in any case, lay in Ottoman Hungary and not in Ottoman geographers: the 1930 article appears to have been his only excursion into the

The surviving correspondence between Taeschner and Fekete on the subject of al-Dimišḳī, as published below, may be briefly described. Taeschner's original enquiry (written, possibly, early in 1932), precipitated by the linguistic inaccessibility to him (of Fekete's article) is not extant here. Document I, dated from the Hungarian State Archives in Budapest on 27 April 1932, is the reply to this. Further correspondence from Taeschner, now lost, must have ensued. Document II(A) is a short note from Fekete, dated 4 June 1932, enclosing Document II(B), a translation into German of extensive passages from "A hódoltság-kori" relating to al-Dimiškī and his work. Document III, a carbon copy of a typewritten original, and dated Münster im Westphal, 12 June 1932, is Taeschner's reply to Document II. Document IV(A), finally, is a last letter from Fekete, dated 1 July 1932, which had enclosed, in all probability, Document IV(B), a further brief annotated excerpt from al-Dimiškī.

I.

FEKETE TO TAESCHNER **BUDAPEST**
27 APRIL 1932

Holograph, signed. Single sheet, folded to make a folio.

1r Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Ich bitte tausendmal um Verzeihung, dass ich Ihren lieben Brief[1] erst heute beantworte, in den letzten Wochen war ich aber so sehr beschäftigt, dass ich dazu bisher keine Zeit finden konnte.

Ihren werten Brief habe ich mit grosser Freude gelesen und Ihren gefälligen Vorschlag für mich äusserst ehrend gefunden. Eben deshalb muss ich mich besonders entschuldigen, dass ich diesem derzeit wegen meiner anderswertigen Beschäftigung nicht nachkommen kann.

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latter field. As the correspondence demonstrates (cf. Doc. I pp. 274–275), he firmly declined Taeschner's suggestion that they should engage in further joint work on the subject. Taeschner continued to publish extensively in Germany through the Nazi period and in the postwar years, mainly on the *aḫī* movements and on the Anatolian *futuwwa* (cf. *Schriftenverzeichnis* [n.8, above], *passim*); on Ottoman geography his contribution (1962: s.v. 'Djughrāfiyā, VI: the Ottoman geographers') to the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* failed to add anything substantial to his pre-1933 work.

[1] Taeschner's letter to Fekete, referred to here, which may presumed to have initiated the correspondence with a proposal — unspecified in Fekete's reply — for cooperation, possibly in further work on the geography of Ottoman Hungary, is not represented in the present collection.

Mein Aufsatz[2] über die geographischen Kentnisse der Osmanlis zur Türkenzeit in Ungarn war bloss ein Nebenprodukt meiner
1v sonstigen Forschungen,[3] eine Zusammenfassung / der dabei während mehreren Jahren nebensächlich aufgezeichneten Daten.

Nach meinen speziellen Studien auf dem Gebiete der osm.-türkischen Diplomatik begab ich mich vor etwa drei Jahren zur Ausgabe eines türkischen Diplomatariums, welches unter dem Titel: »Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterházy«, türkisch und deutsch, in diesen Tagen erschienen ist.[4] In ein-zwei Tagen werde ich Ihnen aus diesem einen Ehrenexemplar zusenden lassen. Mit dieser Arbeit fertig geworden, beschäftige ich mich schon mit einem neuen Arbeitsplan, dessen Durchführung mich sicherlich Jahrelang in Anspruch nehmen wird.

Verehrter Herr Kollege, dieser Umstand möge zur Erklärung und Entschuldigung dienen dafür, dass ich Ihren sehr ehrenden
2r Vorschlag — welcher doch / eine gründlichere und von meinen jetzigen Studien abweichende Arbeit voraussetzen würde — derzeit nicht erfüllen kann. Aus Ihrer besonderen Freundlichkeit nehme ich aber mir die Freiheit, Ihre Gefälligkeit in dieser Angelegenheit oder auch in anderen Fragen vielleicht später in Anspruch nehmen zu dürfen.

Mit wiederholtem Dank und vielen innigen Grüssen

Ihr sehr ergebener

Ludwig Fekete

Budapest, I., Vár, Bécsi kapu-tér 4,

Staatsarchiv

27. Apr. 1932.

2v [Blank]

[2] 'A hódoltságkori', etc., published two years before the initiation of the correspondence between Taeschner and Fekete. Taeschner's own copy bears an ownership stamp showing his address as (21a) Münster (Westf.), Eichendorffstrasse 6; his letter to Fekete dated 12 June 1932 was sent from Wienburgstrasse 1.

[3] Published in 1932.

[4] Here must be indicated the commencement of Fekete's involvement with Ottoman documents in *siyāḳat* script, deriving from his work in reorganising the Turkish archives. It culminated nearly a quarter of a century later in the publication of *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der Türkischen Finanzverwaltung* (2 vols., Budapest, 1955), in which he speaks (i, 10) of the photographic copies of pages from financial registers in numerous archives as being "von mir eine lange Zeit hindurch gesammelt".

II.

FEKETE TO TAESCHNER **BUDAPEST**
4 JUNE 1932

(a)

Holograph, signed as previously. Single sheet, folded as previously.

1r Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Beiliegend[1] übersende ich Ihnen die womöglich strenge Übersetzung der von Ihnen angegebenen Stellen meines Aufsatzes. Sicherlich werde ich es später bedauern, dass ich eine so günstige Gelegenheit, wie die von Ihnen angebotene, nicht ergreifen habe, derzeit bin ich aber wegen andersweitiger Beschäftigung beim besten Willen nicht im Stande diese Arbeit fortzusetzen. Wiederholt bitte ich Sie, Verehrter Herr Professor, um Verzeihung, und bin ich mit besten Grüssen

Ihr ergebenster

L. Fekete.

Budapest, 4. Juni 1932.
I., Vár, Bécsi kapu tér 4,
Staatsarchiv.

1v–2v [Blank]

(b)

Holograph, unsigned. Two pages, folio, numbered 1–2.

1r §1 S.4., letzt*er* Abs*atz*[1a] *Dimišḳīs* Arbeit ist in zwei Fassungen bekannt. (Besser gesagt: Dimišḳī hat angeblich zwei geographischen Werke). Die eine ist ein Teil einer Geographie, der nur die europäischen Länder bespricht und demzufolge als eine Ergänzung des geographischen Werkes *Džihānnumā Kjātib Čelebis* — wo Europa nicht besprochen wird — betrachtet werden kann;*)[2] die andere ist eine ganze, vollendete, und — im orientalischen Sinne genommen selbständige Kosmographie.

[1] Doc. II(b), *infra*.

[1a] The identifying entries for each extract are written in pencil. Fekete's own footnote references within the extracts are *followed* by a parenthesis, as in the ms.; editorial footnotes are indicated as here. Editorial expansion of contractions, abbreviations, etc., are *italicised*; sqare brackets, parentheses, etc., where encountered, form part of the text. The numbering of the extracts (§§ 1–5) has been added.

[2] Sic: one must read (p.4, n.7), as in the Hungarian original.

§2 S.5, Abs*atz* 4. Die vollständige geographische Arbeit von *Behrām Dimišḳī* führt den Titel: *Terdžüme-i džografja-i kebīr*: 'Übersetzung [Deutung, Fassung] der grossen Geographie'. Die Arbeit wurde im Auftrage Sultan Meḥmeds IV. fertiggestellt. Aus ihren Handschriften von Konstantinopel sind mir die der Köprülü-
2r und der Ḥamīdīje-Bib/liothek bekannt.[1)3]

1r (bis) §3 S.4, Anm*erkung* 7. [1)] So wurde es — auf Grunde einer allgemeiner Forschung auf dem Gebiete der geographischen Literatur der Türken — von F. Taeschner festgestellt. Ich wäre aber geneigt, dieses Werk, d. i. die geographische Beschreibung der europäischen Länder, — zwar nur auf Grund meiner Untersuchung ihrer auf Ungarn bezüglichen Teilen —, einer anderen Person zuzuschreiben. Dazu habe ich zwei Gründe. Der eine ist, dass diese Arbeit den Friedensschluss zwischen Ferdinand III. und Mehmed IV. als ein gleichzeitiges Geschehnis darstellt, obwohl der Friede nicht in der Zeit, die allgemein für Dimišḳīs Wirksamkeit angenommen wird, sondern viel früher geschlossen wurde. Der andere Grund ist aber, dass diese Arbeit, — d. h. die Teil-Geographie über den europäischen Ländern, — im Wesentlichen, gerade in ihrer Konstruktion von ihren angeblichen Geschwisterarbeit, d. h. von der vollendeten Kosmographie Dimišḳīs abweicht. Der »Teil-Geographie« beschreibt Ungarn nicht dem Wegnetze (den Hauptstrassen) nach, wie das bei der vollendeten Kosmographie der Fall ist, sondern nach der Bezirkseinteilung, also mit einer richtigeren, entwickelteren Methode. Es ist zwar wahr, dass die (weniger wichtigen) Daten in diesen beiden Arbeiten identisch sind, die obenerwähnte Zeitpunktangabe aber (d. i. die des Friedensschlusses als eines Geschehnisses aus derselben Zeit) sowie die Abweichung in dem Aufbau (Konstruktion) scheinen mir so wichtig, dass es fraglich erscheint, ob diese beiden Arbeiten von derselben Person stammen.)

1v [Blank]
2r (bis; 1.2)

[3] Sic: read (p.5, n.8). This extract (§3) forms the *fifth* paragraph on p.5.

§4 S.6, Abs*atz* 6.[4] *El-müterdžim* ('Der Übersetzer, Tolmetscher'), ein anderer Vortsetzer [sic] der Arbeit *ʿĀšîḳ Meḥmeds*, hat seine Arbeit im Jahre 1094 (= 31. XII. 1682 — 19. XII. 1683), vermutlich bei den Vorbereitungen der letzten türkischen Belagerung von Wien, vielleicht im Auftrage und offenbar in kurzer Zeit zusammengestellt. Mir ist allein die Handschrift der Landesbibliothek zu Dresden bekannt. Diese Arbeit, die bloss aus einer Beschreibung von Ungarn besteht, ist zwar die neueste, aber doch die lückenhafteste von allen geographischen Arbeiten, die bisher erwähnt wurden. Nirgends wird in ihr erwähnt, dass der Verfasser die von ihm beschriebenen Örtlichkeiten persönlich gesehen hätte. Weiterhin ist feststellbar, dass der Verfasser irgendein Exemplar der oben besprochenen Werke bei dieser Arbeit verwendet hat; es kommen nämlich, ausser wenigen originellen (neuen) Daten, die in dieser Arbeit neu Erwähnung finden, mehrere Teile wörtlich aus anderen Werken übernommen vor. Übrigens ist auch die Handschrift von Dresden nur eine lückenhafte Kopie, vielleicht aus späteren Zeiten; unter anderen fehlen daraus die Karten, auf welche mehrmals hingewiesen wird (*ṣūrette mesṭūrdir* '[die Gegend, Ortschaft etc.] ist auf der Karte angedeutet'). Es ist aber auch möglich, dass man hier mit einer vollkommen unse*l*bstständigen »Umarbeitung« zu tun hat, deren »Verfasser« sogar diese Ausdrücke (Hinweisung auf die Karte, die der Kopie nicht angeschlossen wurde) aus seinen Quellen sklavisch übernommen hatte. — Besondere Bedeutung verdient bloss die Äusserung des Verfassers, dass er Budīn und seine Appertinenzen in einer selbstständigen — derzeit unbekannten — Arbeit beschrieben hatte:

و الحاصل بودين احوالى و اكا تابع اولان ولايتلرى تفصيلى تحرير ايتديكمز كتابده مسطوردر لكن حالا سرحد اولان ولايتلر و انلره متصل اولان نمچه و مجار كفر ه سى ولايتلرينى بعض مرتبه ذكر ايده‌لم.

Die Übersetzungen folgen nach der Handschrift 173 der Köprülü-Bibliothek.

[4] In fact §4 = p.6, para. 5.

§5 S.6, Anm*erkung* 8.[5] [1)] Die letztere wurde schon von *Emmerich Karácson* gesehen und in *Századok* (Zeitschr*ift* der Ung*arischen* Historischen Gesellschaft, Budapest, 1908, S. 455 ff.) kurz besprochen. Von ihm wird die Arbeit für die »Handschrift« (originale Arbeit? Umschrift? Kopie? — ist unklar) *Šejḫ Meḥmed bin Ḥasans* gehalten und *Džihānnumā-i Evropa* genannt.

[5] Sic: read p.5, n.8.

III.

TAESCHNER TO FEKETE — MÜNSTER IM WESTPHAL 12 JUNE 1932

Typescript (carbon copy), unsigned. Three (unnumbered) pages.

1r

Münster i. W., den 12. Juni 1932.
Wienburgstr. 1

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege,

Vielen Dank für Ihre mir sehr wertvolle Übersetzung der mich speziell interessierenden Abschnitte Ihrer Arbeit über die türkischen Berichte über Ungarn. Bevor ich daraus einen kleinen Artikel[1] mache, möchte ich aber noch einige Fragen klären. Ich sehe nämlich eine gewisse Divergenz zwischen meinen Ermittelungen und Ihren Erörterungen, die vielleicht auf Mißverstehen [oder *cancelled*] beruhen, vielleicht aber auch auf eine korrek-

[1] Was this article ever published? The standard bibliography of Taeschner (*Schriftenverzeichnis Franz Taeschner* [*1912–62*]), *Der Islam* xxxix (1964), 261–70, lists only a short article (in *Imago Mundi* i (1935), 44–8) on the *Cihān-numā* as his sole post-1932 contribution to Ottoman geographical studies. There exists also in the present small collection of documents the carbon copy (½ sheet, typescript; unfinished) of a review (in German) of Fekete's 'A hódoltság-kori', the publication details of which from amongst Taeschner's multifarious reviewing activities I have so far been unable to trace (it is not in *Islam*, *OLZ*, *ZDMG*, or *Die Welt des Islams*, where the majority of T. 's reviews appeared in this period !).

tere Auffassung hinführen; deswegen erscheint es mir wichtig, sie zu klären.

Ich will Ihnen zunächst darlegen, wie ich das Verhältnis der verschiedenen Werke Dimisqī's[2] sehe und deren Verteilung auf die versch*iedenen* Handschriften. Außer in meiner Arbeit in MSOS, auf der die [*in ms, over* in *cancelled*] Zusammenstellung bei Babinger beruht, ist das folgende auch niedergelegt in meiner Besprechung des Babinger'schen Buches in »Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher« VII, 1930, 493 f. Also, soweit ich sehe, hat Dimisqī folgende Geographica geschrieben:

1) Fortsetzung des Gihānnumā des Kātib Celebi; gesondert nur vorhanden in der Londoner H*an*dschr*ift* Or. 1030; diese H*an*dschr*ift* enthält nur asiatische [*ts.*: asaiatische] Länder, beginnend mit Anatolien, [von da immer *cancelled*] in der Richtung von Westen nach Osten (also umgekehrt [*ts.*: imgekehrt; wie *cancelled*] der in Gihānnumā herrschenden Richtung); von Ibrāhim Müteferriqa zu seinem Druck des Gihānnumā mit verwendet (natürlich nun in der im Gihānnumā herrschenden Reihenfolge), und zwar geschlossen seit S. 422 des Gihānnumā-Druckes (abgesehen von einigen Einlagen aus Dimisqī, die schon vorher im Gihānnumā-Druck enthalten sind).

2) Die i. J. 1090 H./1679 D. vollendete Übersetzung des Blaeu'schen Atlas Major in 11 Bänden auf Befehl Sultan Mehmed's IV unter dem Titel Nusrat ul-Islām
1v we's-surūr fi tahrīr Atlas Mājūr. 9 Bände des Dedikationsexemplares an den Sultan sind [nun *cancelled*] noch in der Serai- Bibliothek vorhanden; sonstige Abschriften dieses Werkes, bei denen aber die Bandeinteilung weggelassen ist, sind Köprülü 174 und Nūri Osmānije 2994. Der Inhalt dieses Werkes deckt sich natürlich mit dem der Vorlage, des Blaeu'schen Atlas, also behandelt nicht nur Europa, sondern alle Erdteile; dem damaligen Stande der geographischen Kenntnis nach natürlich Europa am ausführlichsten.

3) Von diesem Werke stellt die Tergüme-i Gografijā-ji kebīr eine Bearbeitung in zwei Bänden dar, in die auch die Fortsetzung des Gihānnumā (s. o. Nr. 1) hinein-

[2] Sic, as in all other cases of deficient transcription in Doc. III.

gearbeitet ist. Dieser Bearbeitung gehören die meisten vorhandenen Handschriften an: von den bei Babinger unter A genannten alle außer den hier unter 2 genannten, also auch die, aus der Sie übersetzt haben, Köprülü 173.

4) Endlich giebt [sic] es auch noch eine arabische Übersetzung des Werkes in Köprülü 176. In der Köprülü-Bibliothek finden sich also ausser Nr 1 sämmtliche »Auflagen«, wie man sie wohl bezeichen kann, des Werkes; das kommt daher, daß Dimisqī zu den Köprülüs besonders gute Beziehungen gehabt hat.

Im weiteren Sinne gehört in den Kreis ja auch noch als Nr. 5) der Dresdener Anonymus, der sich nur als el-Mütergim bezeichnet, und von dem Sie ermittelt haben, dass er außerdem eine Beschreibung von Ofen verfaßt hat, die aber noch nicht zu Tage gekommen ist.

Nun stellen Sie S. 4, letzter Absatz, die Tätigkeit Dimisqī's so dar, dass er 1) eine Fortsetzung des Gihānnumā des Kjātib Celebi verfaßt hat, in der nur die europäischen Länder besprochen werden, und 2) eine große Kosmographie, in der sämtliche Erdteile behandelt werden. Dies letztere deckt sich wohl mit meinen Ermittelungen (s. o. Nr. 2 und 3); nicht aber Ihre Aufstellung Nr. 1 mit der meinigen Nr. 1; worauf beruht das: [haben Si *cancelled*] kennen Sie eine Handschrift, die in der von Ihnen unter Nr 1 angegebenen Weise nur Europa behandelt und als Fortsetzung des Gihānnumā zu betrachten ist? Das wäre mir sehr interessant und zweifellos sehr wichtig. Wie aus Anm*erkung* 7 hervorgeht, haben Sie für beide von Ihnen angemerkten Werke Handschriften vor sich; welche sind das?

Auf Grund Ihrer Handschriftenstudien kommen Sie zu der Vermutung, daß die beiden von Ihnen angemerkten Werke unter Umständen / doch nicht von einem und demselben Verfasser seien; das wäre natürlich auch eine wichtige Feststellung, der man nachgehen müßte. Sie geben [*dittography of last*] zwei Gründe an: 1) Das in dem nur Europa behandelnden Werke von dem Friedensschlusse zwischen Ferdinand III. und Mehmed IV. als einem gleichzeitigen Ereignis die Rede ist, was mit dem für Dimisqī's Tätigkeit bekannten Datum nicht stimmen will. Könnte dieses Faktum nicht auch darauf zurückzuführen sein, daß das Werk des Dimisqī eben

2r

nicht eine originale Arbeit, sondern eine Übersetzung ist (der Blaeu'sche Atlas ist datiert 1662, i. J. 1668 überrichte der holländische Gesandte Colier[3] ein Examplar davon dem Sultan, aus welchem Ex*emplar* dann Dimisqī übersetzte. Wenn es Ihnen nicht zu viel Mühe macht, wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar, wenn Sie mir event*uell* im Wortlaut, die in Betracht kommende Stelle mitteilen würden.

Als 2. Grund [da *cancelled*] der dafür sprechen würde, daß u*nter* U*mständen* beide Werke nicht von einem und demselben Verf*asser* stammen, geben Sie an, daß die Anordnung in beiden Werken eine verschiedene ist: die vollständige Kosmographie bringt den darzustellenden Stoff in einer etwas primitiven, rein empirischen Anordnung, nach den Hauptstraßen, während die »Teil-Geogra*p*hie« i*h*n, methodisch entwickelter, nach der Bezirkseinteilung bringt. Ein sehr beachtliches Moment; wenn Sie mir darüber auch noch etwas Details geben könnten, so wäre ich Ihnen sehr dankbar. Nach welchem der beiden Prinzipien ist den der Stoff angeordnet in der Handschrift, aus der Sie übersetzt haben? Und nach welchen Gesichtspunkten ist denn der Dresdener Anonymus angeordnet?

Ich habe natürlich nur die Werke als ganze behandelt, in Einzelheiten konnte ich nicht gehen; um so mehr begrüße ich es, daß Sie bei Ihrer Arbeit Gelegenheit genommen haben, in's Einzelnen zu gehen; es ergeben sich dabei naturgemäss manche beachtenswerten Gesichtspunkte, die u*nter* U*mständen* geeignet sind, das Bild, das man sich zu machen hat, zu modifizieren. Um dies festzulegen, möchte ich die kleinen Artikel schreiben, und auf die von Ihnen ermittelten Fakten hinweisen. Zu diesem Zwecke wäre ich Ihnen dankbar, wenn Sie mir über die genannten Punkte und Fragen noch Ihre Mitteilungen machen würden.

Mit besten Grüssen

[Fr. Taeschner]

2v [Blank]

[3] Colier *inserted below line.*

IV.

FEKETE TO TAESCHNER **BUDAPEST**
1 JULY 1932

(a)

Holograph, signed as in nos. I and II. Single sheet, folded as in nos. I and II plus one-half sheet.

1r Sehr geehrter Herr Professor!

Meine wiederholte Verzögerung bei der Beantwortung von Ihren werten Briefen, ich muss es [be *cancelled*] anerkennen, kommt aus der Sachlage selbst. Die von Ihnen gestellten Fragen lassen sich nicht leicht beantworten; ich habe viel nachgesucht, ohne alles, was ich zur Antwort brauchen würde, gefunden zu haben.

Mir scheint, es wird sehr schwer sein, bezüglich der türkischen Geographen etwas wichtigeres zum Tage zu bringen oder feststellen zu können. Wie Sie, verehrter Herr Professor, die verschiedene Werke mehr als ganze gehandelt haben, ebenso habe ich nur die auf Ungarn bezügliche Teile in Betracht gezogen, das ganze aber ausser Acht gelassen, wofür unsere Feststellungen sicht nicht immer decken, ja sogar schwerlich zusammenpassen lassen./

1v Ich muss Ihnen mitteilen, dass ich eine genaue Abschrift nur aus der Köprülü-Handschrift habe, aus den übrigen von mir durchgeschehenen [sic] Handschriften aber nur Anmerkungen, Notizen bei etwaigen Mängeln, Ergänzungen bei den [*inserted above line*] Stellen, die von der zum Grund genommenen Handschrift irgendwie abweichen. Jene von diesen, die mir wichtiger erschienen, habe ich bei der Übersetzung als Ergänzung oder Anmerkung in den Fussnoten angegeben.

Zwecks Nachforschung der Zeit, in welcher die Arbeiten gefasst wurden, muss der gewisse Teil, der sich mit dem Friedensschlusse zwischen der Türkei und dem Hause Habsburg beschäftigt, in Betracht gezogen werden. Der betreffende Passus lautet in der H*andschrift* Köprülü:

... سلطان سليمان ايله مقسملیان سکز سنه‌یه وارنجه‌یه دکین صلح ایدوب بعده ایکنجی فردیناند⟨د⟩ بعده اوچنجی بعده دودنجی فردیانو صلح ایدوب [صلح اوزره لر ایدی *cancelled*] تا که حالا اولان قرال که لیوبولدی‌در اکا کلنجه صلح اوزره لر ایدی اول دخی التی یوز اللی سکزده تکرار صلح ایتمشدر

Dagegen in einer anderen H*andschrift* (von Nūr^{-i} ʿOṯm. ...):

... و حالا دردنجی فر دینانو غازی سلطان محمد بن ابراهیم خان ایله صلح اوزره‌در

(vgl. Hadt*örténelmi* Közl*ények xxxi* (*1930*), S. 145, Anm. 137)

2^{r} Also die eine spricht von Leopold I., die andere von Ferdinand IV. (der soll aber wohl der III. sein, da sein Sohn, Ferd*inand* IV., zum König von Ungarn i. J. 1647 gekrönt, jedoch zu Lebenszeiten seines Vaters gestorben, auch als ung*arischer* König nicht regiert hat). Oder sollte das für einen Fehler betrachtet werden? Das ist nämlich dagegen [*inserted above line*] schon feststellbar, dass Várad (erobert i. J. 1660) und Újvár (1663) als türkische Festungen angegeben sind, — ich weiss aber schon nicht mehr, ob in allen Exemplaren. Dazu reichen meine Aufzeichnungen nicht.

Bezüglich der Fassungsmethode finde ich in meinen Notizen, dass zwei Exemplare — auch ein aus Nūr^{-i} ʿOṯm. — nach der Bezirkseinteilung gefasst sind, dabei aber behalten sie meistens dieselbe Angaben. Diese Abweichung ist ziemlich auffallend und auch durch rote Aufschriften zum Ausdruck gebracht (در بیان ولایت فانیژه، لوای قوپان، لوای پچوی لوای سکتوار، u.s.w.), wofür ich doch für wahrscheinlich halte, dass irgendjemand dasselbe Material in einer neueren, verbesserten Auflage um-
2^{v} gearbeitet hat. Bei dem Exemplare, die mir zu der / Übersetzung für Grundlage diente, kommt diese Met*h*ode nicht zur Geltung: da sind z. B. die Bestandteile des Ejālets Kanizsa nicht einmal erwähnt [h *inserted above*] (nämlich als Bestandteile bei Kanizsa, s. S. 142, oben), dagegen das Sandžak Szigetvár schon früher (S. 141) besprochen [erwähnt *cancelled*] wird, obwohl es, als in ein Teil des Ejālets Kanizsa, erst später folgen sollte.

Die Dresdener H*andschrift* bespricht diesen Teil in dieser methodischen Weise, also weicht vom sog*enannten* Dimiski-H*andschrift* ab. In anderen Teilen folgt ihm dagegen [*inserted above line*] manchmal auch wörtlich, so z. B. bei Besprechung einiger Festungsbelagerungen, Eroberungen, Beschreibung der Festungen.

Ohne ein entgültiges Resultat fassen zu können, sehe ich eigentlich nur die grosse[n *cancelled*] Schwierigkeiten klar, die im Wege stehen, wenn man die verschiedenen H*andschriften* von einander trennen und ihr Verhältnis ins reine bringen will. Dazu waren meine Forschungen, die bloss die ungarische Verhältnisse zum Ziele gehabt haben, viel zu wenig. Dass ich Ihnen,
3 verehrter / Herr Professor, nicht im gewünschten Masse zu Diensten stehen konnte, oder sogar Ihnen überflüssige Mühe machte, mögen Sie mir verziehen.

Mit besten Grüssen

Ihr Ergebener

L. Fekete

B*uda*pest, 1. Juli 1932.

(b)[1]

Holograph, unsigned. Half-sheet, as in previous.

1r Wenn ich recht verstehe, bezüglich der Dresdner Hs. dürfte Sie vielleicht folgendes interessieren: و الحاصل بودين احوالى و اكا تابع اولان ولايتلرى تفصيلى تحرير ايتديكمز كتابده مسطوردر لكن حالا سرحد اولان ولاييلر و انلره متصل اولان نمچه و مجار كفرەمى ولايلرينى بعض مرتبه ذكر ايدەلم. (Diese Stelle befindet sich am Ende der Beschreibung von Buda).

»... [er, der Schriftsteller] habe sein Buch i. J. 1094, als Liōpōldūs der Kaiser war, geschrieben« (am Ende [? daran bin ich nicht ganz sicher] der Handschrift).

1v [Blank]

[1] It it unclear whether this half-sheet supplementary note was sent as an annex to II (b) or to IV. Since the extract from the Dresden MS. of "El-Mütercim" is word for word identical with that provided by Fekete in II(b) on the basis of MS. Köprülü 173, the second possibility appears to be the most likely. The order in which these documents were placed when first encountered renders impossible a definite conclusion.

PLATE I

DOCUMENT I

Fekete to Taeschner, Budapest, 27 April 1932, f.1r.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Ich bitte tausendmal um Verzeihung, dass ich Ihren lieben Brief erst heute beantworte, in den letzten Wochen war ich aber so sehr beschäftigt, dass ich dazu bisher keine Zeit finden konnte.

Ihren werten Brief habe ich mit grosser Freude gelesen und Ihren gefälligen Vorschlag für mich äusserst ehrend gefunden. Eben deshalb muss ich mich besonders entschuldigen, dass ich diesem derzeit wegen meiner anderswertigen Beschäftigung nicht nachkommen kann.

Mein Aufsatz über die geographischen Kenntnisse der Osmanlis zur Türkenzeit in Ungarn war bloss ein Nebenprodukt meiner sonstigen Forschungen, Eine Zusammenfassung

PLATE II

DOCUMENT II (b)

Annex to Fekete to Taeschner, Budapest, 4 June 1932, f.1r.

Dimiškīs Arbeit ist in zwei Fassungen bekannt. (Besser gesagt: Dimiškī hat angeblich zwei geographischen Werke). Die eine ist ein Teil einer Geographie, der nur die europäischen Länder bespricht und demenfolge als eine Ergänzung des Geographischen Werkes Džihānnumā Kjātib Čelebis – wo Europa nicht besprochen wird – betrachtet werden kann;[1] die andere ist eine ganze, vollendete, und – im orientalischen Sinne genommen selbständige Kosmographie.

Die vollständige geographische Arbeit von Behrām Dimiškī führt den Titel: Terdžüme-i dēografja-i kebīr: "Übersetzung [Deutung, Fassung] der grossen Geographie". Die Arbeit wurde im Auftrage Sultan Mehmeds IV. fertiggestellt. Aus ihren Handschriften von Konstantinopel sind mir die der Köprülü- und der Ḥamīdīje-Bib-

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[1] So wurde es – auf Grunde einer allgemeiner Forschung auf dem Gebiete der geographischen Literatur der Türken – von F. Taeschner festgestellt. Ich wäre aber geneigt, dieses Werk, d. i. die geographische Beschreibung der europäischen Länder, – zwar nur auf Grund meiner Untersuchung ihrer auf Ungarn bezüglichen Teilen, – einer anderen Person zuzuschreiben. Dazu habe ich zwei Gründe. Der eine ist, dass diese Arbeit den Friedensschluss zwischen Ferdinand III. und Mehmed IV. als ein gleichzeitiges Geschehnis darstellt, obwohl der Friede nicht in der Zeit, die allgemein für Dimiškīs Wirksamkeit angenommen wird, sondern viel früher geschlossen wurde. Der andere Grund ist aber, dass diese Arbeit, – d. h. die Teil-Geographie über den europäischen Ländern, – im Wesentlichen, gerade in ihrer Konstruktion von ihrer angeblichen Geschwisterarbeit, d. h. von der vollendeten Kosmographie Dimiškīs abweicht. Der „Teil-Geographie" beschreibt Ungarn nicht dem Wegnetze (den Hauptstrassen) nach, wie das bei der vollendeten Kosmographie der Fall ist, sondern nach der Bezirkseinteilung, also mit einer richtigeren, entwickelteren Methode. Es ist zwar wahr, dass die (weniger wichtigen) Daten in diesen beiden Arbeiten identisch sind, die obenerwähnte Zeitpunktangabe aber (d. i. die des Friedensschlusses als eines Geschehnisses aus derselben Zeit) sowie die Abweichung in dem Aufbau (Konstruktion) scheinen mir so wichtig, dass es fraglich erscheint, ob diese beiden Arbeiten von derselben Person stammen.

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XLVI (2–3), 277–282 (1992/93)

ÜBER EINIGE WORTPAARE IN DER »GEHEIMEN GESCHICHTE DER MONGOLEN«

STANISŁAW KAŁUŻYŃSKI (Warschau)

Die meisten der zahlreichen Wortpaare, die in der »Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen« (im folgenden: *GG*) auftreten, bereiten keine Schwierigkeiten bei der Interpretation. Es gibt aber auch solche, bei denen oft zweifelhaft ist, ob ihre bisherige Deutung und Übersetzung richtig ist. Als Beispiel dafür können *adu'un ide'en, eme kö'ün* und *öki qatun* angeführt werden.

adu'un ide'en

Das Wortpaar *adu'un ide'en* ist in der *GG* fünfmal belegt (§§ 39, 132, 146, 162, 177; ein weiterer Beleg ist *adūsun ide'e* im § 23). Es besteht aus dem Wort *adu'un* »Herde«, insbesondere »Pferdeherde«, und dem Wort *ide'en* »Essen, Nahrung, Speise« (eine Ableitung von *ide-* »essen«). Bisherige Erforscher und Herausgeber der Übersetzung des Textes der *GG* betrachten *adu'un ide'en* als zwei gleichwertige Satzglieder, die zwei verschiedene Begriffe ausdrücken. Dementsprechend übersetzt E. Haenisch diesen Ausdruck als »Herde(n) und Vorrat (Vorräte)« und F. W. Cleaves als »herd(s) and food«. Auch für P. Pelliot bedeutet *adu'un ide'en* »troupeaux et approvisionnement (provisions)«. Um nicht allzu viele Ausgaben der *GG* anzuführen, habe ich mich im weiteren auf eine der ersten, nämlich die von E. Haenisch (im folgenden: H), und eine der letzten, die von F. W. Cleaves (im folgenden: C), beschränkt. Andere Textausgaben und Deutungen sind seltener angeführt.

(§39) *tede irgen-i aqa-nar de'ü-ner tabu'ula dawuliju adu'un ide'en-e haran tutqar-a aqui sa'uqui-a gürbe.*

(H) »Dadurch, daß sie jenes Volk raubten, gelangten die fünf Brüder zu *Herden und Vorräten*, zu Dienstleuten und zu Lebensunterhalt und Wohnung.«

(C) "The brethren — all five — spoiled those people and attained unto *herd and food*, unto people and servant, unto living and dwelling."

(§132) *Ongging-čingsang Megüǰin-se'ültü teri'üten Tatar-i Ulǰa ö'ede adu'u ide'en selte türiǰü ayisi.*

(H) »... der Kanzler Ongging den Megudschin mit den Tatar die Uldscha aufwärts drängte und sie mitsamt *Herden und Vorräten* herangezogen kämen«.

(C) "Ongging Čingsang, driving up along the Ulǰa [River] the Tatar having Megüǰin Se'ültü at their head, with their *herds and food*, draweth nigh."

(§162) *Ong-qan-u Telegetü-amasar-a bükün ǰarimut irge adu'un ide'e dawuliǰu abu'at.*

(H) »[Kokse'u sabrach] entführte auch Ongchans halbes Volk, das sich bei der Telegetu-Schlucht befand, nebst *Herden und Eßvorräten...*«

(C) "... having spoiled and having taken half the people, *herds, and food* of Ong Qan which were at Telegetü Outlet."

Wie aus den angeführten Beispielen zu ersehen ist, weist der Kontext, in dem das Wortpaar *adu'un ide'en* gebraucht wurde, darauf hin, daß es hier keineswegs um »Essen, Futter« oder »Vorräte« geht. Andererseits haben wir es hier nur mit *einem* Begriff zu tun, mit dem ganzen Vermögen, mit Hab und Gut, mit dem gesamten Haushalt eines Nomaden. Diesen Gebrauch bestätigt u.a. der gleichwertige, bis heute im Burjatischen erhaltene Ausdruck (Wortpaar) *adū ed'ēn*, der den Begriff »xozyaystvo kočevnika-skotovoda« ausdrückt. Mehr noch, der zweite Bestandteil dieses Wortpaares wurde in das Ewenkische (Tungusische) in der Form *idęgę̄* entlehnt (es handelt sich also um eine alte Entlehnung) und es bezeichnet in dieser Sprache keineswegs »Essen« oder ähnliches, sondern »Gegenstand, Sache, Eigentum« (»vešč, predmet, skarb«).

eme kö'ün

Das Wortpaar *eme kö'ün* wird in der *GG* viel häufiger gebraucht (18 Belege: §§104 — zweimal, 105, 109, 112, 123, 146, 162, 163 — zweimal, 174, 177 — zweimal, 181, 183 — zweimal, 185 — zweimal). Es besteht aus dem Wort *eme* »Weib, Gattin, Frau« und *kö'ün* »Kind, Knabe, Sohn«. Der Ausdruck *eme kö'ün* wird nur dann gebraucht, wenn ein Mann selbst oder jemand anders über die Familie des Mannes spricht.

Die Erforscher und Herausgeber der *GG* übersetzen dieses Wortpaar in der Regel mit Hilfe von zwei Begriffen als zwei gleichwertige Satzglieder, z.B.: (H) »Frauen und Kinder« oder »Frau und Kind« oder »Weib und Kind« und (C) "wife (wives) and son (sons, children)". Für P. Pelliot ist es auch "les femmes et les fils".

(§105) *eme kö'ün* inu ečültele hawuluya.
(H) »... seine [Tochto'as] *Frauen und Kinder* wollen wir restlos vernichten«.
(C) "We shall destroy Until his *wives and sons* be extinguished.«
(§112) hülekset *eme kö'ün* anu ebüri[t]kün medüs-i ebüritbe.
(H) »Die übrigen *Frauen und Kinder* nahmen sie zum Beischlaf, soweit sie dazu paßten.«
(C) "... of their *wives* which remained, he enbraced in his bosom [those which were] such as one might embrace in the bosom".
(§123) engke üdür eye činu ebde'esü ... *eme kö'üd-eče* manu hiriče'-üljü ...«
(H) »Wenn wir an Tagen des Friedens deinen Bund verletzen, dann trenne uns ... von unseren *Frauen und Kindern* ...«
(C) "If we, a day of peace Break thy counsel, Severing (us) ... From our *wives and children* ..."
(§146) urit ire'esü Tayyiči'ut noyat minu qočoruqsan *eme kö'ün* ... minu hünesü'-er geyisgekün tede.
(H) »Wenn ich ... schon früher gekommen wäre, dann hätten die Taitschi'ut-Befehlshaber mein zurückgelassenes *Weib und Kind* ... zu Asche gemacht und zerstreut.«
(C) "If, ... I am come before, my Tayiči'ud chiefs, those, will make to blow away as the ashes [of my hearth] my *wife and sons* ..."
(§181) Sükegei-ǰe'ü-nü *eme kö'ün* tende To'oril-tur aǰu'u.
(H) »Sugegai dsche'un, dessen *Frau und Kinder* sich dort bei To'oril befanden ...«
(C) "... the *wives and children* of Sügegei J̌e'ün were there at [the side of] To'oril."
(§174) Qada'an-daldurqan *eme kö'ün-eče* qaqas irebe.
(H) »Chada'an Daldurchan ... hatte sich von *Weib und Kind* getrennt und kam ...«
(C) "Qada'an Daldurqan came, separating himself from his *wife and* [*his*] *son.*"

Die Übersetzung von S. A. Kozin weicht manchmal von den übrigen Übersetzungen ab, weil er neben »žena (ženščina) i deti«, d. h. »Gattin (Weib) und Kinder«, auch eine andere Entsprechung gebraucht, und zwar »sem'ja« (»Familie« — so z.B. §§146, 162, 163, 177 u.a.). Meines Erachtens ist eben diese Übersetzung korrekt, da *eme kö'ün* in der *GG einen* Begriff bezeichnet: Familie bzw. Familienmitglieder vom Standpunkt des Mannes oder des Oberhauptes dieser Familie.

Dies bestätigen einige Beispiele, in denen dieser Ausdruck gebraucht wird. In den meisten Fällen kennen wir zwar die Zusammensetzung der

entsprechenden Familie nicht, aber gerade dann, wenn wir genau wissen, aus welchen Personen diese Familie bestand, erweist sich die Übersetzung »Frau und Kind (Sohn)« als unzutreffend. Besonders überzeugend ist das Fragment (§104), wo davon die Rede ist, wie Temüdshin nach dem Überfall der Merkid zum Ongchan ging, um Hilfe zu bitten. Damals wurden — wie bekannt — seine junge Frau Börte und die Mutter seines Stiefbruders Belgütej entführt. Obwohl bei diesem Überfall kein Kind, sondern nur Frauen entführt wurden (Temüdshin hatte noch keine Kinder), werden sie als *eme kö'ü* bezeichnet:

Qurban Merkit-te genen büküi-tür ireǰü eme kö'ü-ben dauliǰu a[b]daba qan ečige minu eme kö'ü aburaǰu öktügei.

»Von den Drei Merkit bin ich unversehens überrascht und meiner Familie (od. Familienmitglieder) beraubt worden. Mein königlicher Vater, rette mir (meine) Familie (od. Mitglieder meiner Familie)«.

E. Haenisch schreibt auch in diesem Fall konsequent von »unseren Frauen und Kinder«, obwohl — wie gesagt — keine Kinder entführt wurden. In Anbetracht dessen, daß sie über die aktuellen Familienverhältnisse von Temüdshin Bescheid wußten, übersetzen andere Autoren die Wörter *eme kö'ü* in diesem Fall einfach mit »Frau, Gattin«: "femme" — P. Pelliot und "wife" — F. W. Cleaves.

Eine ähnliche Deutung ist auch im §183 zu finden:

Qasar eme kö'ü-ben Yegü Yisüngge Tuqu-tan qurban kö'üd-iyen Ong-qan-tur gēǰü čö'en beyes nököd-iyer-iyen qarču . . .

(H) » . . . Chasar, der unter Zurücklassung seiner *Frau* und seiner drei Söhne Yegu, Yesungge und Tuchu . . . mit nur wenigen Begleitern von Ongchan entkommen war . . .«

(C) "Qasar, casting away unto Ong Qan his *wife* and his three sons, Yegü, Yesüngge, and Tuqu, went out with his companions, few [in number and with nothing other than their] bodies."

Da *eme kö'ü* nicht in einem Fall zwei Begriffe — Frau und Kinder (Söhne) — und ein anderes Mal *einen* Begriff — Frau, Gattin — bezeichnen kann, handelt es sich hier wohl um einen Sammelbegriff, um ein Kollektivum, das zugleich Frauen, Kinder (Söhne und Töchter) und Mütter (Stiefmütter) bezeichnet. Am besten entspricht diesem Begriff die Bezeichnung Familie oder Familienmitglieder, die vom Standpunkt des Oberhauptes dieser Familie (des Mannes) bestimmt werden.

öki qatun

Das Wortpaar *öki qatun* ist in der *GG* sechsmal belegt (einmal — §123 — in der umgekehrten Reihenfolge: *qatun öki*): §§54, 55, 123 — zweimal, 179, 197.

Das erste Wort *öki* bezeichnet »Mädchen, Tochter«, das zweite — *qatun* — »Frau«, insbesondere »Edelfrau« (Chansfrau, Frau eines Prinzen, eines Adligen).

Ein adäquate Wiedergabe dessen, was dieses Wortpaar ausdrückt, bereitet ebenfalls gewisse Schwierigkeiten. In den meisten Fällen wird angenommen, daß es sich hier wieder um zwei Begriffe und zwei gleichwertige Satzglieder handelt (in einigen Fällen sogar um eine alternative Verbindung), z.B.:

(§55) *amin ele činu bö'esü öki qatu oluyi ǰe či.*

(H) »Solltest du am Leben bleiben, dann kannst du noch *ein Mädchen oder eine Frau* finden.«

(C) "If there be [for thee] but thy life, thou shalt find *a maiden or a woman.*"

(§123) *olon dayin-tur alginči ha'ulǰu öngge sayin ökin qatun ordo ger qari irgen-ü qačar qo'a qatun öki qarqam sayin aqta qatara'ulǰu abčiraju ö[k]sü ba.*

(H) »... wollen wir als Spitze gegen die Feinde anreiten und ihre schönsten und besten *Mädchen und Frauen* und ihre Palastjurte, aus ihrem Staate und Volke die schönwangigen *Frauen und Mädchen* und die feinschenkligen Wallache wollen wir dir im Trabe anbringen.«

(C) "Hasting as spies unto the many enemies, *Maidens and ladies* Good of beauty, Palace tents, *Ladies and maidens* Comely of cheek Of realms and peoples, And geldings good of rump. Making [them] to trot, we shall bring for [thee]."

(§197) *qari irgen-ü qačar qo'a öki qadun ... učira'asu qahan-nu'an gü ke'eǰü amu ǰe bi.*

(H) »Wenn ich bei den unterworfenen Völkern schönwangige *Mädchen und Frauen* ... gefunden habe, bin ich immer der Ansicht gewesen, daß sie Eigentum des Herrschers seien.«

(C) "If I encounter A *maiden or lady* fair of cheek ... of a foreign people, I am saying, 'They are, indeed, [possessions] of my Qahan'."

Und auch hier, im einzigen Fall, wo man genau weiß, worauf sich der Ausdruck *öki qatun* bezieht, können die oben angeführten Deutungen nicht angewendet werden. Es geht um das Fragment (§54), in dem davon die Rede ist, daß der Vater von Temüdshin, Yesügej, die zukünftige Mutter von Temüdshin (Hö'elün) getroffen hat, die er dann entführt und zu seiner Frau macht. Obwohl es sich hier zweifellos um eine Person handelt, wird sie als *öki qatu* bezeichnet:

(§54) . . . *önggeyiǰü üǰe'esü öngge ǰisu busitai öki qatu üǰeǰü* . . . » . . . als er sich [vom Sattel] hinunterbeugte und hinschaute, erblickte er eine ungewöhnlich schöne junge Edelfrau . . .«

Angesichts solch einer eindeutigen Tatsache geben alle oben genannten Autoren den Ausdruck *öki qatu* in diesem Falle mit Hilfe eines Wortes wieder: (H) »Als er hinspähte und sah, daß es eine besonders schöne *Frau* war . . .«; (C) "When he leaned forward [upon his horse] and looked, seeing a *woman* whose beauty [was] other [than ordinary] . . ." Für P. Pelliot ist hier *öki qatu* auch »une femme«.

Es erhebt sich daher die Frage, ob es möglich ist, daß derselbe Ausdruck, der hier in bezug auf eine Person gebraucht wurde, sich in anderen Fällen auf zwei Personen oder zwei Personenkategorien beziehen kann (»ein Mädchen und eine Frau« bzw. »Mädchen und Frauen«) oder ob er die alternative Verbindung »ein Mädchen oder eine Frau« bzw. »Mädchen oder Frauen« bilden kann. Da dies kaum wahrscheinlich ist, muß man annehmen, daß *öki qatun* eine junge adlige weibliche Person (Mädchen oder Frau) bezeichnet. Auf ein junges Alter weist *öki* hin, und *qatun* auf die adlige Abstammung oder Zugehörigkeit. Dies scheint berechtigt zu sein, wenn man bedenkt, daß man in der *GG* mit Hilfe von *öki qatun* die im Krieg eroberten Frauen bezeichnet, die dem Chan gehören und gewissermaßen schon von vornherein sein Eigentum darstellen. Es ist bekannt, um was für Frauen es sich in solchen Fällen handelte, nämlich um Frauen und Töchter der unterworfenen bzw. besiegten Chane, Herrscher, Fürsten und in früheren Perioden um Frauen aus den Familien, die den besiegten Stammesführern angehörten. Aus naheliegenden Gründen konnten es daher keine beliebigen einfachen Frauen oder Mädchen sein, sondern im Grunde nur Vertreterinnen des damaligen Adels und Hochadels.

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BAABAR'S "DON'T FORGET!"*

Analysis of a Mongolian Social Democrat's Treatise, 1990

GYÖRGY KARA

For nearly seventy years, Mongolia was ruled by a Bolshevik type political organisation, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. It was on the whole the local copy of the highly centralized Soviet Communist Party and seemed to have been a zealous imitator of its model. During its long history of uninterrupted rule, there were however many stormy episodes, when even true executors of its policy were found guilty of heresy and were banned or executed by more fortunate and righteous executors.

It was the young Mongol intelligentsia that suffered the most during the repeated purges and it was again its new generation, which this year succeeded in shaking the monopoly of the M.P.R.P. Hungerstrikes and political demonstrations led to the acknowledgment of several new parties and similar organizations like the Democratic League of Mongolia, the Democratic Party, the Democratic Socialist Movement, the Social Democratic Party, the New Progress League, the National Progress Party, the Workers' United League, and the Students' League.

Freedom of the press is impressive; new opposition newspapers appeared, such as the populist Democracy and the National Progress, the social democratic Word, the Mongolian Worker, the patriotic New Mirror, the Jewel Garland, and a non-political paper in Mongol script, the Mongolian Century, all competing with the old party's renewed daily, Truth, or the new organ of the government, The People's Right. A vivid new style and a hitherto unknown wealth of information make these organs attractive for readers. Among the fresh publications there are political pamphlets full of ideas that were forbidden for decades or never discussed in the Mongolian language.

The treatise entitled "Don't forget! If you forget, you'll perish" was written in 1988, but published this year in Ulan Bator together with a political dialogue by the same author, Baabar.**

* (Paper read in Bloomington, 1991)

** *Buu mart!* (*Martwai sönönö*). Ardchilsan Sotsialist Xödölgöönii Xewlel, Ulaanbaatar 1990, 55 p.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Baabar is the pseudonym of Batbayar who was born in 1955 in the Northern Khangai province of Mongolia; a biophysicist, he graduated in 1981 from the Mongolian National University; a senior researcher in a laboratory, he was elected the president of the Social Democratic Party of Mongolia, founded March 2, 1990.

His writing "Don't forget!" is divided into eleven chapters.

Chapter One starts with a sharp criticism against the alien idioms used in the contemporary language. Worried about the survival of his nation, Baabar emphasizes the protective role of the national language and traditional culture. The navel left after the umbilical cord was cut from the mother is an old metaphor, which stands for the physical and spiritual continuity of the vital force of the nation. The navel, a sacred but most vulnerable point, must be protected when facing an enemy; it is in greater danger, however, when embracing a false friend: the Mongols' delicate relations with both their giant neighbours, China and Russia, are not only alluded to, but also elucidated by some historical parallels. Jews represent a positive model for survival, the Manchus — the opposite.

Chapter Two deals with what is seen by Baabar as Great Russian nationalism, a continuous expansion from Ivan the Terrible to Brezhnev's time. As a revenge for the medieval Mongol conquest, Russian rule expanded over the old Golden Horde territory, and through Siberia to the Pacific. West European maritime power over distant colonies is compared with Russia's continental growth. Militant Western Christianity is contrasted with Russian indulgence towards other religions. With some exceptions, Russian rule over other nations in the past before Stalin, seems less bloodthirsty than Western colonialism; the Russian Empire, conqueror and oppressor, also played the role of the protector of the weak. This protection could be, however, a device of expansion and Russification (the fate of the Buryats is mentioned here in a rather simplified form). Baabar describes how Russia's interest turned to Mongolia, and how it met the Mongols' aspirations to recover independence from the Manchu Empire and later from the Republican China.

In Chapter Three he compares the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian October Revolution with uncontrolled chain reactions or biological mutations accelerated by excessive radiation. The utopia of social equality, justice and prosperity is faced here with the harsh reality of what appeared instead of the Promised Land of socialism. Lenin's Soviet Union inherited, despite his warning, the imperial tradition of expansionism intact.

In Chapter Four the Mongolian People's Revolution of 1921 is bracketed as an event much debated, but still disputable. This four and a half page sketch embraces the following topics: Republican Chinese occupation of theocratic Mongolia; Japanese plans of a Pan-Mongol Empire; Soviet Russia as

a possible redeemer; Irkutsk Bolsheviks as Russian expansionists; their libretto for a Mongol revolution; Tuva's seclusion as the price of Russian aid; Baron Ungern's white terror in Mongolia, his Pan-Mongol plans and anti-Soviet activity prompting Soviet intervention.

Chapter Five continues the sketch with the first period of Soviet influence. This was maintained through Buryat and Kalmuck instructors, delegated by the Komintern to the Mongol party. The Buryat-Mongol Zhamtsarano's patriotic views on Mongol evolution led to a temporary breakup of the Komintern membership of the Mongol party.

Chapter Six portrays Stalin as an unparalleled mass murderer who, though a Georgian, was a zealot of Russian expansionism. His dictatorship embodied the anti-utopia of Lenin's communist utopia. Russification under his rule surpassed the results of forced assimilation during Alexander the Third's reign. Baabar's judgment is in general fair, but he fails to mention a moment crucial for modern Mongol history; this is Stalin's demand in Yalta to maintain the status quo of the M.P.R.

Chapter Seven interrupts the historical sketch for a discourse about Mongol psyche and national identity. An anecdote about different nations in hell and a proverb illustrate the disharmony of the Mongols. In Baabar's vision, the nomadic way of life may be responsible for divergence. Convergent forces are represented by the heroic image of Chinggis Khan, the perennial symbol of the Mongols' unity and part of their national identity. Another construent of this is Lamaist Buddhism. A third is the national script with the classical language.

With the grim portrait of Choibalsan in Chapter Seven, Baabar returns to his somewhat rugged sketch of modern history. On the Seventh Congress of the M.P.R.P. (held in October–December, 1928) the Komintern launched a campaign against the "Rightists". (Baabar is silent about a decade of alternating anti-"rightist" and anti-"leftist" purges.) Choibalsan is described as Stalin's Mongol puppet selected for the task to eliminate the disobedient leaders, Genden and Amar. In the Great Slaughter of 1937–1938 the intelligentsia was decapitated, some years later the national script abandoned, and a Russian-language university was founded in order to create a new, obedient intelligentsia, almost totally ignorant about national history.

In Chapter Nine Baabar refutes the official evaluation of Tsedenbal's merits and demerits. Born and grown up in Tsedenbal's Mongolia, he only sees the dark shadows of Tsedenbal's long reign, albeit the period saw a wide international recognition of his country, including admission to the United Nations; it saw the rapid growth of its population, industrial and urban development, the foundation of an Academy of Sciences, and thousands of young Mongols who studied in the Soviet Union and other Soviet-type countries and learned there not only the official ideology. Tsedenbal, a colourless, but devoted exec-

utive of all that was called "proletarian internationalism", became a symbol of all that was felt ill and evil in political and social life. He was born an ethnic Oirat and this mere circumstance is enough to be a dislike in the eyes of the Khalkha majority. In addition, his Russian wife, the too active first lady never tried to learn the language of the nation.

Khrushchev's ambiguous role in Mongolia's fate: his refusal of Mao's demand for Mongolia and his own demand for several square miles of Mongolian territory is mentioned to show Tsedenbal's servile obedience; he gave Russia a part of his homeland.

Chapter Ten describes how Tsedenbal suppressed the traditional culture and how his policy violated human rights, whereas he and his comrades enjoyed a wide range of prerogatives. He believed Mongolia would be absorbed in the near future of completed communism. He would blame the slightest shade of patriotism as nationalism. During Tsedenbal's leadership the country was full of foreign, mostly Russian experts and agents who were given special rights. Tsedenbal allowed pressure on Chinese and Inner Mongolian immigrants and refugees during the Sino-Soviet "cold-war". The only Buddhist monastery left undestroyed was transformed into a station of the secret police.

Tsedenbal is shown here as an enemy of his native language. Baabar ridicules Tsedenbal's self-criticism of 1978 when the party leader confessed his Mongolian was very poor, while he and his Russian wife were diligent in enforcing the influence of the Russian language. In a wordplay Baabar changes "the language of translations", a term for the Mongolian tongue corrupted by alien forms into "the language of the obliteration [of the nation]".***

In his list of Tsedenbal's and his court's demerits, Baabar highlights parasitic and antidemocratic bureaucracy, the ubiquitous corruption, the special shops for the privileged, the unpunished wrongdoings of Russians in the country, the moral crisis, the liquidation of private property by forced organization of collective farms, the degeneration of the livestock by excessive hybridization, the disastrous consequences of the reckless exploitation of the soil and the natural resources, the destruction of the environment, and the foolish economy transforming the country into a beggar's bag.

Chapter Eleven sheds some light on the future. "Let us find our own way" — says Baabar. Mongolia has to look for new possibilities and realize them according to the national, geographical and historical peculiarities, without slavishly imitating any other country. Here Baabar acknowledges the importance of the Soviet aid in 1921, during World War II and since, but he protests against Russian expansionism. He wishes no Mongol be the hero of either Russian or Chinese stories about a dying out race.

*** Mong. *orchuulgaiin xel* and *orshuulgaiin xel*.

The treatise is written in a colourful, dramatic, though here and there uneven language. It is rich in comparisons and metaphors. Baabar often uses neo-classical forms (which are now revived and much appreciated), but his text is not free of foreign elements (which otherwise are easy targets for his anger and mockery). A favoured device of his style is the catalogue-like list of features or notions, e.g. the random chain of more than fifty words, names and terms characterizing our century or another one sketching life under Tsedenbal's rule in twenty parallel phrases of complaint and bitter irony.

Baaber's text abounds in data. He mentions more than eighty historical personalities (rulers, politicians, generals, writers, thinkers, and religious leaders), he cites from a dozen of them. He mentions more than fifty countries and lands of all ages and continents, some thirty other places, some twenty-five nations or ethnic groups and ten languages. But he often proves to be inaccurate in the details. Sometimes he is ready to quote vague rumours or mere speculations, sometimes he repeats the same topic in contradictory versions. Romantic historicism and one-sided judgement may obscure his mirror. Some of his ideas (e.g. religion as a part of national identity) seem to go back to Zhamtsarano and show Baabar to be a patriotic liberal or liberal nationalist, rather than a Social Democrat. But like the "reformed" Social Democrats, he rejects the use of force in politics.

It is but natural that now, after so many years of silence and taboos on the one hand, and of loud distortion of the truth on the other, it is not easy to keep up with the growing freedom: to find the right ways of how to treat the heavy burden of the past and solve the problems of a ruined economy. It is easier to refuse the near past and turn to the earlier traditions, the glory of the ancestors, than to answer the questions of today's distress.

Yesterday's men of power claimed anything old was wrong, now there is another danger to believe anything old is right. And yesterday's uneven friendships and lame internationalism fed an ill and clandestine nationalism or even chauvinism. This is now a sad commonplace in most societies that have just taken off the totalitarian uniform, and not only in them. Nevertheless it is sure that a healthy national identity, based on realities and accompanied with mutual international understanding, is badly needed for the Mongols to emerge from the present crisis.

May their Eternal Blue Sky give them strength and time for doing so!

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UNE CURIEUSE AFFAIRE: L'ALLOCATION DE LA SOCIETE ASIATIQUE DU BENGALE A ALEXANDRE CSOMA DE KŐRÖS

BERNARD LE CALLOC'H (Paris)

Le 15 juillet 1829, le docteur Horace Hayman Wilson, médecin, sanscritiste, et secrétaire de la Société Asiatique du Bengale, envoie une lettre à Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös. C'est seulement la deuxième qu'il lui écrit depuis que, six ans auparavant, l'explorateur anglais William Moorcroft lui a personnellement recommandé le voyageur hongrois. Ce dernier était alors sur le point de quitter Srinagar du Cachemire pour monter au Ladakh y entreprendre l'étude du tibétain. Malgré les termes explicites employés par l'explorateur, Wilson n'a pas répondu à l'appel qui lui était adressé. Il n'a pris aucune disposition, n'a donné aucune suite aux demandes de son correspondant, pourtant membre actif de la Société Asiatique. Cela ne l'a pas empêché, au cours des années qui ont suivi, de se tenir au courant des activités d'Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös comme de la progression de ses travaux. Pour le prouver, il suffirait de rappeler qu'en mars 1825, par exemple, il publie dans le Quarterly Oriental Magazine un article qui reprend l'essentiel des renseignements donnés par Csoma lui-même dans sa lettre au capitaine Kennedy, chef du poste de Sabathou, le 28 janvier 1825. Il est donc informé de ce que le voyageur hongrois a fait dans les monastères du Zanskar, au Ladakh, tout comme de ce qui se passe à présent dans celui de Kanam, au Kinawar.

Mais il ne réagit pas.

Le rapport de J. G. Gerard

Il ne réagit pas . . . jusqu'au jour où le résident britannique à Delhi, William Fraser, lui fait tenir copie du rapport qu'il a reçu du docteur James-Gilbert Gerard, chirurgien major du régiment gourkha de Sabathou, dans l'Himalaya occidental, à la suite de la visite que ce dernier a faite à Kanam, lors d'une tournée d'inspection médicale et de prophylaxie antivariolique, les 28 et 29 septembre 1828, puis le 1er novembre suivant. Ce long rapport, daté du 22 janvier 1829, ne comporte pas moins de dix-huit-pages consacrées uniquement à Csoma de Kőrös, pages dans lesquelles Gerard montre notamment à

 Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

quel degré de haute connaissance de la langue, de la religion et de la civilisation tibétaines son ami est parvenu, malgré son extrême dénuement et l'isolement complet où il vit.

C'est alors que le docteur Wilson décide de soumettre à la Société Asiatique une proposition d'allocation mensuelle à verser à Csoma de Kőrös. Officiellement, cela doit avoir pour but de faciliter les recherches du tibétologue et d'améliorer quelque peu ses conditions d'existence. En réalité, il convient surtout de voler sans plus tarder au secours de la victoire. L'intérêt le plus élémentaire commande de s'attacher dorénavant un homme d'autant plus précieux qu'il est unique et qu'il est le premier de son espèce. Nul doute que la Société trouvera grand profit moral et intellectuel à faire de ce savant étranger aux origines obscures son obligé. Comment le faire mieux qu'en lui fournissant les moyens pécuniaires et matériels dont il manque cruellement? Le silence observé jusque là doit donc être à présent rompu en prenant l'initiative de se mettre en relation directe avec lui, comme si cela était la chose la plus naturelle qui fût.

Le 1er juillet 1829, la Société est convoquée pour sa séance mensuelle. Il y a une vingtaine de présents, ce qui est l'effectif habituel, la plupart des membres ne résidant pas dans la capitale. Il y a toutefois aussi, par pur hasard, un auditeur étranger de passage: Victor Jacquemont. Le naturaliste, au Bengale pour le compte du Museum d'histoire naturelle de Paris depuis déjà deux mois (il a débarqué à Calcutta le 5 mai), est en effet membre depuis le 14 juin 1828 de la Société Royale Asiatique de Londres, ce qui lui donne droit d'assister aux séances de celle de Calcutta. Comme c'est un esprit curieux, avide de connaissances et d'impressions nouvelles, il n'y manque pas, certain d'apprendre à cette occasion beaucoup de choses intéressantes. Par chance, cet observateur perspicace et précis nous en a laissé le compte-rendu détaillé dans son journal de voyage.

Après « la partie niaise » de la réunion — lecture du procès-verbal de la séance précédente, remerciements aux donateurs, nomination de nouveaux membres, énoncé des livres reçus, etc . . . — « Monsieur Wilson, nous dit-il, donne lecture d'une lettre très longue », que le jeune homme trouve « assez piquante », où il est question de « ce savant philologue hongrois dont j'avais entendu parler en Europe comme ayant visité le plateau du Thibet et presque toutes les parties inaccessibles de l'Asie ». La lettre en question est justement ce rapport rédigé par le docteur Gerard à l'intention de William Fraser dans le but d'attirer l'attention des autorités britanniques de l'Inde sur le fondateur de la tibétologie. « Il est maintenant dans un village situé à neuf mille pieds anglais au dessus de la mer . . . à très peu de distance des frontières du Thibet ». Il s'agit, bien sûr, de Kanam, chef-lieu éponyme du Kinawar, ou haut Bishawar, dans la vallée supérieure du fleuve Satledj, à 2750 mètres d'altitude, au cœur du Grand Himalaya. Jacquemont, en écrivant ces mots, ne se doute pas encore

que, un an plus tard, presque jour pour jour, il s'y trouvera à son tour, au cours de ses pérégrinations himalayennes, et qu'il s'empressera dès son arrivée d'aller visiter l'ermite sicule dans sa petite cabane. Il trouvera tant d'intérêt à leurs entretiens que, au risque de passer pour un importun, il restera là six jours complets à presser son hôte de questions sur les aspects les plus divers de ses investigations.

Pour le moment, il relève que le Hongrois « a passé l'hiver avec un très savant lama thibétain, dans une chambre dont la température se trouvait habituellement au dessous de zéro du thermomètre de Fahrenheit » (soit près de —18°du thermomètre de Celsius) « enveloppé dans les peaux les plus chaudes », grâce à quoi, malgré ce froid polaire, il a pu travailler « avec une ardeur incroyable ». Quelles sensations ont éprouvé à l'évocation de ces températures sibériennes les dignes messieurs de la Société Asiatique, cravatés jusqu'au menton, engoncés dans leurs habits noirs, transpirant et suffocant dans la moiteur tropicale de Calcutta, en ce mois de juillet, au plus fort de la chaleur caniculaire et de la mousson?

A lire Jacquemont, on a le sentiment que les membres de la savante compagnie ne se sont pas appesantis sur les travaux de Csoma de Kőrös, comme si ceux-ci étaient déjà si parfaitement connus de tous qu'il a paru inutile de les évoquer. En revanche, il a été question des frais qu'il doit engager pour subvenir à ses besoins les plus élémentaires, et le Français remarque combien « le compte de ses dépenses est singulier ». En ne consacrant qu'une seule roupie par mois pour son logement, l'ermite de Kanam nous donne une idée de la petitesse et de la simplicité de sa maisonnette, une construction des plus rudimentaires faite de pierres et de poutres grossièrement équarries, si basse qu'un homme de grande taille n'y peut tenir debout. Jacquemont, qui mesure 1,86 mètre, en fera l'expérience lorsque, pénétrant chez son hôte, il se verra contraint de le faire en se pliant en deux et ne pourra y demeurer qu'assis sur une mauvaise planche servant de lit.

Csoma de Kőrös donne quatre roupies de gages mensuels à son domestique. C'est bien payé. En ce temps-là, un journalier agricole ne gagne pas plus de trois roupies, un bûcheron à peine deux. A quoi ce serviteur passe-t-il son temps auprès d'un maître si peu exigeant, qui ne prend même pas soin de sa toilette et se contente des mets les plus simples? Un ascète a-t-il besoin qu'on le serve, qui ne demande rien? Il est vrai qu'en hiver, le domestique entretient le feu, dans le but louable, mais vain, de combattre les courants d'air et la mauvaise isolation de la cabane. Quant à ses activités culinaires elles se limitent à préparer le sempiternel thé salé au beurre, à griller l'orge de la tsampa, ou à bouillir du riz dans un peu d'eau. Comme Csoma ne mange ni viande ni fruits et n'a aucune exigence gastronomique, le menu est à peu près le même d'un bout de l'année à l'autre. La présence à ses côtés de Sangye Phuntsog depuis le 1er juillet 1827 ne suscite au cuisinier d'autre complication que de préparer un peu

plus de nourriture, car le lama est d'une frugalité totale, aussi totale que celle de son élève.

Malgré cela, s'il faut compter chaque mois vingt roupies de dépenses au titre de l'alimentation, c'est, nous dit Jacquemont, qu'il faut « la faire venir de deux cents milles » (320 kilomètres), ce qui paraît étrange. Kanam, en effet, n'est pas au milieu d'un désert. Les paysans qui l'habitent produisent des céréales, cultivent des légumes, récoltent des fruits, et même un peu de raisin. Leurs animaux donnent du lait, leurs volailles des œufs. Il faut donc supposer — mais c'est vraiment surprenant — qu'à la farine d'orge produite sur place Csoma de Kőrös préfère le riz apporté de la plaine à grands frais, ou bien — chose encore plus étonnante — qu'il ne lui est pas possible de se fournir en vivres au marché local. Nous savons pourtant par les récits des voyageurs qui ont circulé par là à l'époque, que Kanam est entouré de « champs couverts de riches moissons et ombragés de . . . pommiers, d'abricotiers, de noyers et de peupliers » (Jacquemont), qu'on y fait même « deux récoltes chaque année, l'une de blé ou d'orge, l'autre de menus grains ou de polygonum paphoeur (sarrasin) », que les cultures y sont « superbes » et que les « champs y sont fertiles ». Jacquemont nous précise encore que les troupeaux de vaches y sont nombreux « pour le beurre », mais, que en revanche, « le bois de chauffage est rare ». De son côté, Alexandre Gerard nous informe de ce qu'il y a « de nombreux vergers et vignobles » dans le Kinawar, de ce que les « jardins où viennent de magnifiques navets sont entourés de haies de groseillers », et de ce qu' « il y a partout un grand nombre d'abricotiers, d'excellents raisins au goût délicieux, et des pommes d'une très belle qualité ». Tout cela ne fait assurément pas la lumière sur les raisons qui amenaient pourtant Csoma de Kőrös à faire venir de loin ses approvisionnements, surtout si l'on sait encore que, selon Jacquemont, les prix « sont excessivement bas » dans cette partie du Bishawar.[1]

Enfin, il faut prévoir chaque mois un traitement de vingt-cinq roupies pour son professeur, juste rétribution des efforts que doit faire l'érudit zanskari pour expliquer à son disciple européen, sans l'aide d'aucune langue intermédiaire, les règles de la sienne et les subtilités de la métaphysique bouddhique. A la demande expresse du capitaine Kennedy, il a tout abandonné; le monastère de Zangla dont il est l'abbé, sa femme car il est marié, ses activités publiques car il appartient au gouvernement du Ladakh, sa pratique médicale car il est médecin et même médecin-chef, sans parler de ses propriétés et de ses affaires privées.

Au total, c'est cinquante roupies que le Hongrois doit débourser chaque mois pour ses frais les plus incompressibles. Or, c'est précisément la somme que

[1] Jacquemont « *Voyage dans l'Inde* », vol.II, pages 238 à 263. Alexander Gerard « Narrative of a journey from Soobathoo to Shipke », *J.A.S.B.* N°125 (1842), pages 369 à 384.

le gouvernement de l'Inde lui verse depuis qu'il l'a pris sous sa protection en mars 1825. C'est assez dire que, en fin de compte, il ne lui reste rien. Certes, Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös pousse la modestie à ses extrêmes limites, mais sa situation n'en est pas moins misérable. Il ne peut acheter de livres ou de cahiers qu'en se saignant aux quatre veines. Il n'a pas le moyen de se procurer du tissu pour ses vêtements, du cuir pour ses chaussures, et il s'habille pour cette raison de bric et de broc, comme Jacquemont le constatera bientôt avec surprise et amusement. Il lui a fallu déployer des trésors d'économie pour arriver à se doter coûte que coûte d'une cheminée primitive, la seule du village, « au prix de douze roupies », nous précise Gerard, grâce à laquelle il subit moins les effets du gèl et surtout ceux de la fumée qui l'empêchait de travailler. Habitué au dénuement depuis l'enfance, ce fils de pauvre paysan sicule en souffre sans doute moins qu'un autre; mais, comme le fait remarquer Jacquemont, « avec quarante roupies de plus par mois il se trouverait très riche ». C'est certainement exagéré, mais cela lui permettrait peut-être de « faire venir de Lassa les plus habiles lamas pour lire avec eux les livres de leur pays ». Du coup, il cesserait d'être à la merci du lama Sangye Phuntsog, assurément très capable et d'un grand savoir, mais qui a montré dans le passé — lors du séjour de Csoma de Kőrös au monastère de Phuktal, de novembre 1825 à novembre 1826 — qu'il pouvait se lasser du métier de professeur qu'on lui impose. Il lui est arrivé d'abandonner son disciple, sans autre ressource pour celui-ci que de prendre son mal en patience et d'attendre son retour en se morfondant dans sa misérable cellule. Quelques roupies de plus seraient donc manifestement les bienvenues, dans la mesure même où elles donneraient au Hongrois une certaine liberté de mouvement vis-à-vis de son maître et la possibilité de ne plus dépendre aussi étroitement de ses caprices.

Le Calcul de Wilson

C'est justement sur ce registre que Wilson a décidé d'agir. Il est persuadé que le Hongrois a le plus grand besoin d'argent et qu'il accueillera comme la manne céleste toute allocation supplémentaire que la Société Asiatique du Bengale voudra bien lui accorder. Elle le sortira du marasme où il est condamné à végéter dans la plus grande médiocrité au fond de sa vallée himalayenne, à ne plus même pouvoir se permettre la moindre fantaisie culinaire ni vestimentaire.

Wilson est un savant, un homme de science, pas un homme d'argent, mais les nombreuses fonctions qu'il exerce ici et là (médecin, professeur, administrateur de sociétés, directeur de la Monnaie, etc . . .) ne sont pas bénévoles. Elles lui valent en fin de mois des émoluements considérables. Il imagine donc que, à l'annonce de l'accroissement de son chétif revenu, Csoma de Kőrös en

ressentira pour la Société Asiatique une grande reconnaissance et qu'il se montrera disposé à lui offrir en échange le fruit de ses patientes recherches. Wilson n'a aucun mal à obtenir des personnes présentes à la séance du 1er juillet la décision souhaitée. « On vote en sa faveur, nous confie Jacquemont, par acclamation, une allocation de cent roupies par mois ». Et sur le ton persifleur qui est si souvent le sien, il ajoute: « afin qu'il soit tout à fait riche ». En fait, c'est une erreur. On a voté un crédit de cent roupies pour deux mois. L'allocation mensuelle n'est donc que de cinquante roupies. Ce n'en est pas moins une aubaine pour le malheureux Sicule, réduit depuis si longtemps à la portion congrue. Voilà d'un coup son salaire doublé: cent roupies par mois au lieu de cinquante. Pour cet homme contraint à la parcimonie, c'est presque la richesse.

Deux semaines plus tard, Wilson rédige à l'intention de Csoma de Kőrös une lettre brève, de ce ton sec et officiel qui est toujours le sien, pour lui annoncer la nouvelle et lui faire savoir qu'il a expédié d'ores et déjà au titre des mois de juin et juillet, un mandat de cent roupies au capitaine Kennedy, représentant du Gouverneur général à Sabathou, avec ordre de les faire suivre au bénéficiaire, où qu'il se trouve. Qui plus est, il se propose de lui adresser, s'il en exprime le désir, tout livre dont il pourrait avoir besoin dans la poursuite de ses études, et pousse le cynisme — ou l'inconscience — jusqu'à lui assurer que ce sera pour lui un grand plaisir de lui rendre ce service.

Compte tenu de sa situation matérielle très difficile, Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös, qui est bien évidemment dans la gène et doit tout se refuser pour boucler ses fins de mois, devrait accueillir la lettre de Wilson comme une délivrance. Au terme de six années de souffrances et de privations inouïes, ces roupies qui lui tombent du ciel vont lui permettre de s'offrir de menus objets de première nécessité, de se procurer quelques xylographies tibétaines, et aussi de préparer dans de bonnes conditions le voyage qui d'ici un an doit l'emmener à Calcutta. En l'état actuel des choses, il ne l'aurait pas pu, car même en réduisant encore davantage ses dépenses, un déplacement de cette importance (2180 kilomètres) et de cette durée (au moins quatre-vingt-dix jours) est une entreprise au dessus de ses forces. Il n'en a pas le premier sou. Grâce à l'aide inattendue et inespérée de la Société Asiatique il va pouvoir envisager cette échéance sans terreur, acheter des malles ou des caisses, louer des animaux de bât, engager des porteurs, faire quelques emplettes.

Et pourtant . . .

La réaction de Csoma de Kőrös

Et pourtant les choses ne se passent pas du tout de cette manière. A peine reçue la lettre de Wilson, le 21 août, il y répond, sans même attendre une heure, contrairement à son habitude qui est de laisser les choses se décanter

To Mr. de Körös

Sir! I am directed by the Asiatic Society to inform you, that they feel much interest in the nature of your literary enquiries in Tibet, and anticipate highly valuable results from your zeal & perseverance, they wish to promote the success of your labours by contributing as far as their means will permit to your support.

With this view they have determined to grant you 50 Rs a month commencing from 1st June and I have accordingly addressed an order to the political Agent at Sabatu in your favour for 100 R with the request that he will forward the amount to your address.

I have been also instructed to procure for you such books as you may think serviceable to your enquiries and shall be happy to be favoured with the names of any you may particularly wish. In the meantime I shall endeavour to obtain any in Calcutta which may seem to be calculated to be of service.

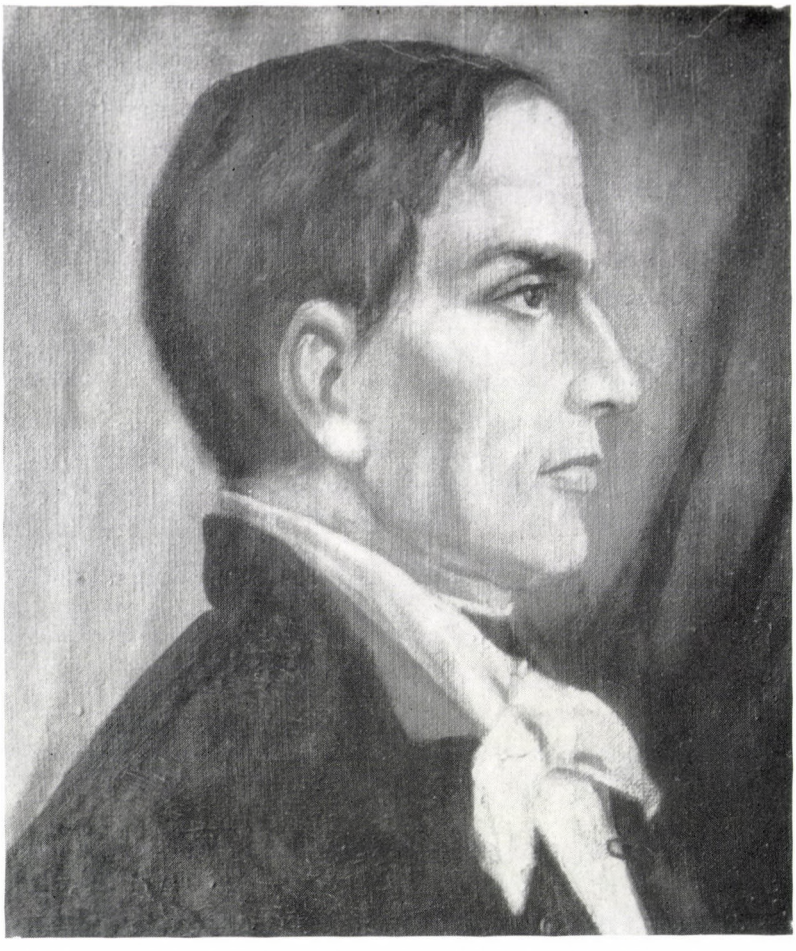
Adding the expression of my own esteem to that of the Asiatic Society I am etc

Signed. H. H. Wilson
Sey Asiatic Society

Calcutta
15. July 1829.

Texte de la lettre du 15 juillet 1829 adressée par Wilson à Csoma de Kőrös, recopié par Duka et conservé aux archives de l'académie hongroise des sciences, à Budapest

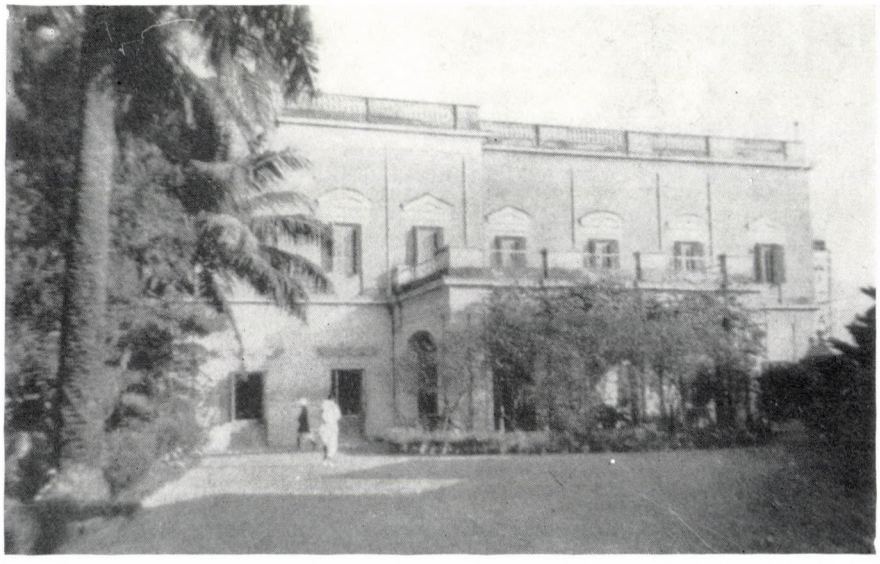
Le docteur Horace Hayman Wilson, Secrétaire de la Société Asiatique du Bengale de 1813 à 1832. Cliché: British Library



Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös. Huile de Géza Frigyesi. Propriété de la Société hongroise de géographie. (Cliché musée géographique d'Érd)

Statue de Victor Jacquemont érigée en 1882 sur la façade de l'hôtel de ville de Paris et due au ciseau du sculpteur Ernest Damé (1845–1920). Cliché de l'auteur

Maisons à Kanam. C'est dans une maison de ce genre que vécut Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös pendant son séjour en Kinawar, de 1827 à 1830. Cliché: József Sáfrány



L'immeuble de la Société Asiatique du Bengale, où Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös vécut de 1831 à 1842, avec une interruption de 1835 à 1837

sous l'effet du temps. Le message du secrétaire de la S.A.B. a sur lui l'effet du chiffon rouge sur le taureau dans l'arène. Loin de se réjouir de la chance qu'il lui offre, il y voit une manière de perfidie qu'il ne supporte pas. D'ordinaire si maître de soi, au point d'en passer pour indifférent, Csoma sent monter en lui une sourde colère. Quoi ! c'est quand il achève ses recherches après des années d'efforts surhumains, dans des conditions d'inconfort, d'isolement, et de misère qui défient l'imagination, qu'on se soucie soudain de lui ! Pendant soixante-seize mois interminables il a travaillé dans la solitude, sans pratiquement entendre parler de la Société Asiatique du Bengale qui l'a délibérément ignoré. Elle n'a pas daigné répondre à William Moorcroft ni s'inquiéter de ce qu'il advenait de son protégé. Elle n'a pas envoyé les livres, spécialement les dictionnaires et les grammaires, qu'il avait réclamés pour lui, et ceci malgré une autre démarche en date du 24 mars 1823 à l'adresse de George Swinton, secrétaire près le gouvernement général de l'Inde chargé du département des affaires politiques. On pourrait penser que ce dernier n'a peut-être pas fait suivre la requête, mais tel n'est pas le cas. Il a bel et bien informé Wilson des besoins de Csoma de Kőrös. Malheureusement, le secrétaire de la Société Asiatique a fait la sourde oreille, ce qui est d'autant moins pardonnable que parmi les ouvrages sollicités figurait notamment un dictionnaire sanscrit. Or, Wilson est sanscritiste et il a publié en 1819 un ouvrage de ce genre, d'une excellente qualité, qui a fait à juste titre sa réputation d'indianiste. Que ne le lui a-t-il envoyé aussitôt !

Il n'est pas possible de mettre cette omission sur le compte de la négligence. D'abord parce que Wilson est un homme diligent, attentif, méticuleux. Il a le plus grand souci des intérêts de la Société qu'il dirige. Ensuite parce que, au cours des années qui ont suivi, il a entendu parler du tibétologue, ainsi qu'il a déjà été dit, et qu'il lui a même écrit, le 10 août 1825, pour lui faire parvenir un exemplaire du Quarterly Oriental Magazine. Enfin, parce que lors de la parution à Serampour du « Dictionnaire bhotanta » de Frédéric Ch. G. Schroeter, édité par les missionnaires baptistes Carey et Marshman, il a écrit à Kennedy, le 14 novembre 1826, en le priant de solliciter l'avis de Csoma de Kőrös sur un échantillon de neuf mots tibétains.

Ce n'est pas négligence. Ce n'est pas non plus indifférence envers ses recherches, puisque Wilson a pris la peine de les faire connaître; c'est plutôt une certaine prudence politique qui l'a fait se tenir à l'écart d'une entreprise jugée non seulement hasardeuse mais très probablement vouée à l'échec. Wilson n'a pas voulu mêler le prestigieux établissement, dont il a la charge et la responsabilité, à une affaire dont il n'avait pas pris l'initiative et dont il ne connaissait ni les tenants ni les aboutissants. En fait, elle ne lui inspirait pas confiance. Le parrainage de Moorcroft, loin de le rassurer, ne pouvait que l'en éloigner un peu plus. Les activités quelque peu vibrionnaires du vétérinaire, son non-conformisme affiché, ne lui valaient pas que des sympathies dans les bureaux

de Calcutta. Au surplus, il s'est fait sévèrement réprimander à la fin de mars 1822 pour avoir tenté de s'immiscer dans le jeu diplomatique en extorquant au roi du Ladakh un traité d'alliance dont Lord Rawdon-Hastings ne voulait pas. Loin de lui être reconnaissantes de cette tentative assurément peu orthodoxe de conquête pacifique, les autorités anglaises de l'Inde lui avaient interdit de se prévaloir de quelque mission officieuse que ce fût et lui avaient supprimé son traitement. Du coup, non seulement Wilson, mais les dirigeants de la Société Asiatique, à commencer par le président John-Herbert Harington, qui en tant que président du Board of Trade comptait parmi les tout premiers personnages de la Compagnie des Indes orientales, ne s'étaient senti aucun devoir envers un inconnu, sujet de l'empereur d'Autriche, qui se disait « Siculo-Hongrois de Transylvanie », et que Moorcroft avait recruté on ne savait trop comment au cours de ses voyages. Certes, il leur assurait que son protégé était en mesure « d'acquérir une bonne connaissance de la langue et des trésors littéraires du Tibet et du Tangout ». Mais pouvait-on croire sur parole ce hâbleur dont on ne comptait plus les rodomontades? Pourquoi, en effet, ces hommes à l'esprit rassis, qui éprouvaient la plus vive méfiance envers les extravagances de Moorcroft, auraient-ils spécialement prêté foi à ses dires au sujet de ce Hongrois énigmatique? Ils pensaient très certainement que l'idée de doter le monde européen d'une nouvelle branche de l'orientalisme n'était qu'un projet chimérique, une billevesée, tout comme l'était l'intention de Moorcroft de rallier Bokhara par le Pamir et le Turkestan oriental.

Dans sa retraite himalayenne, Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös ignorait tout cela. Ce qu'il voyait seulement c'est qu'on l'avait abandonné pendant des années; c'est qu'on n'avait pas hésité à lui supprimer toute aide au lendemain de la parution du « dictionnaire de Serampour »; c'est aussi que, quand on s'était aperçu du peu de valeur de cet ouvrage, on l'avait renvoyé sans plus de moyens continuer des études qu'on avait un peu vite estimé superflues; c'est enfin qu'aujourd'hui, au mois d'août 1829, on mesurait soudain leur importance. Alors seulement l'on condescendait à ne plus le tenir pour quantité négligeable. Ainsi le calcul de Wilson se trouvait-il déjoué. Au lieu des remerciements qu'il attendait, Csoma de Kőrös, dans son indignation, ne lui adresse que des reproches. « En 1823, lui rappelle-t-il, alors que j'étais au Cachemire, . . . étant dépourvu de livres, Monsieur Moorcroft, en mon nom, vous a prié de m'envoyer certains ouvrages indispensables. Je n'en ai jamais reçu aucun. Pendant six ans on m'a complètement négligé ». Et il renvoie l'argent dont il aurait pourtant tellement besoin. « Je ne peux accepter la somme offerte. Je vous la retourne ci-joint avec mes excuses ». Après quoi il fait parvenir son factum au capitaine Kennedy pour transmission au destinataire.

Kennedy, qui apprécie les vertus et les compétences de Csoma de Kőrös, mais connaît bien aussi son caractère intransigeant pour s'y être heurté plusieurs fois, se rend compte qu'il ne peut faire suivre à Wilson la lettre du

tibétologue sans un mot de commentaire. C'est ce qu'il fait le jour même, le 3 septembre. Il lui explique que son ami « est un homme . . . aux talents éminents . . . mais de tempérament sanguin, emporté, aisément soupçonneux ». « Je suis prêt à parier, ajoute-t-il, que si vous le connaissiez comme je le connais, vous lui trouveriez un caractère des plus excentriques ». Ainsi le brave militaire qui porte au Hongrois une affection certaine tente-t-il d'arrondir les angles et de prévenir une rupture, en rendant au secrétaire de la Société Asiatique moins pénible sa déconvenue.

Y parvint-il? Assez peu, semble-t-il.

Wilson gardera par la suite une certaine méfiance, peut-être même de l'animosité, envers cet original assez familier de la pauvreté pour accepter d'être plus pauvre encore plutôt que de se reconnaître son obligé. Au reste, après l'arrivée de Csoma à Calcutta, il lui en voudra d'être allé porter le fruit de ses travaux à Swinton pour éviter d'avoir à le lui remettre. Certes, Wilson l'emploiera bientôt au service de la bibliothèque de la Société, à partir du 1er juillet 1831, mais ce sera sur ordre exprès de Lord Amherst, le gouverneur général, et non de son propre gré. Les relations entre les deux hommes resteront froides, distantes, et finalement le comportement du savant anglais justifiera le peu d'estime que Csoma de Kőrös lui portait: pendant deux ans Wilson laissera délibérément traîner l'impression de son dictionnaire et de sa grammaire du tibétain classique, alors qu'il sait pertinemment combien ces ouvrages sont attendus par les milieux orientalistes de l'Europe. Il ne prendra de mesure effective que quelques jours avant son départ pour l'Angleterre. C'est en fait son successeur, l'épigraphiste James Prinsep, qui mettra l'affaire en route, en liaison avec le secrétaire du gouvernement William Hay Macnaghten, et qui la mènera à son terme.

Nul doute qu'en agissant comme il le fit le 21 août 1829, Alexandre Csoma de Kőrös ne se soit porté à lui-même préjudice. Non seulement il se priva de la sorte de sommes d'argent indispensables à la réalisation de ses projets, mais il évita de se faire un ami d'un homme influent qui eût pu lui rendre de grands services. Mais Csoma était ainsi fait. Il y avait en lui une raideur qu'il tenait à la fois de sa fierté native et du puritanisme calviniste. Il était incapable de compromis. L'argent lui importait finalement si peu qu'il n'eût pu lui consentir la moindre faiblesse.

Son attitude toutefois ne laissait pas d'être contradictoire. Refusant les roupies aimablement — quoique tardivement — proposées par la Société Asiatique du Bengale, il se voyait contraint d'en demander au capitaine Kennedy un an plus tard pour organiser son déménagement. Mieux encore, parvenu dans la capitale, il acceptait d'entrer au service d'un établissement qu'il avait précédemment dédaigné, et d'en recevoir une allocation mensuelle de cinquante roupies, celle-là même que quelques mois plus tôt il avait repoussée !

Tout Csoma de Kőrös est dans ce côté éternellement énigmatique de son personnage.

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ON SOME PETRIFIED CASE FORMATIONS IN THE ALTAIC LANGUAGES

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1. Details of the Altaic case-suffixes, their forms and formations, as these must be postulated for the earliest stages of the original linguistic unity, are fairly well understood today, thanks to a number of earlier contributions to the literature, e.g., Ramstedt 1952, §§ 5–24, pp. 23–53, particularly in the light of the additions and corrections of Poppe 1952, Poppe 1955, and Poppe 1977. For overviews of the earlier case-suffix system in the light of later, specific segments of the Altaic domain, valuable contributions have also not been lacking; here we are well served by Menges 1968, pp. 109–111 for Turkic; Poppe 1955b, §§ 126–151, pp. 185–208, and §§ 107–109, pp. 166–170 for Mongolian, and Cincius 1949, pp. 256–257 and Benzing 1955, §§ 88–102, pp. 1026–37 for Tungus. The enormous number of later, changed languages with which we must necessarily deal in any historical consideration of Altaic linguistic issues, together with the substantial time-depth implicit in the attempt to recover the earliest stages of the original language underlying our attested data, naturally confront us with a sometimes bewilderingly diffuse repertory of forms and formations, in the case-suffixes as everywhere else in the history of these languages; this makes especially important and useful the remarkably succinct summary of this question suggested by Poppe 1955.576 (here slightly rearranged and modified in the light of Poppe 1977): (1) acc. *-*i* (pronominal), *-*g* (nominal); (2) loc. *-*dā* or *-*du*; (3) lative *-*rū*; (4) prosecutive *-*li*; (5) dat. *-*ā* and *-*gā*; (6) equative *-*č* or *-*ča*; (7) instr. *-*ti* or *-*di*; (8) gen. *-n_1 or *-*ń*; (9) instr. *-n_2 (on the distinction among these last three, cf. esp. Poppe 1977.57–61). But all these reconstructions, and in particular Poppe's proposed paradigm, focused upon materials from the "inner Altaic" languages, viz. Mongolian, Turkic, and Tungus, taking no cognizance of Japanese, and virtually none of Korean (the involvement of Korean in the formulations of Ramstedt's *Einführung* virtually amounts to an exception that proves the rule, as we shall see in somewhat more detail below, § 3).

As a consequence, Murayama 1957's demonstration of the surprisingly comprehensive degree to which the earlier, independent reconstructions of Ramstedt and Poppe also provided a historical-linguistic explanation for the

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bulk of the Old Japanese case-suffixes has significance for the field of Altaic linguistics over-and-above the interpretation of the linguistic materials with which it deals; its correlations of OJ with Altaic are totally free of any suspicion of the *petitio principi* fallacy to which such formulations are too frequently prone, since the OJ case-suffixes that Murayama was able to explain from the Ramstedt-Poppe reconstructions of the original Altaic case system themselves played no part in these earlier reconstructions of that system.

Inter alia, particularly convincing was Murayama's explanation (1957. 131) of a set of curious OJ formations involving an unproductive adnominal suffix *-tu* (e.g., OJ *ama-tu-kamï* 'der im Himmel befindliche Gott'; *sima-tu-töri* 'der auf der Insel befindliche Vogel') as "fossile form" survivals of Altaic loc. **-du.* Murayama compared Trk. *ata-da* 'bei dem Vater', *ulus-ta* 'bei dem Volk'; but even more to the point would appear to be Mo. *dumda-du oron* 'the middle country, i.e. China', *emüne-dü γobi* 'Southern Gobi', cited by Poppe (1955.577) in support of his statement that in Mongolian "we find numerous words derived with *-du* which are not locative forms at all . . . 'southern' means 'in the south', 'central' means 'in the center', etc.; but they cannot be regarded as locatives". This portion of Murayama 1957 was also significant for specifically directing attention toward the role of fossile lexical survivals resulting from petrified case-suffixes throughout the history of all the Altaic languages, "inner" and "outer" alike. Ramstedt, as we shall see, had earlier speculated upon an important role for petrified case-suffixes in the development of Korean. Subsequent contributions have also frequently mentioned it for Turkic (e.g., Menges 1968.115, 119, 137) and Mongolian (e.g., Poppe 1977.61, 72). A satisfactorily full exploration of the role of petrified case-suffixes in the history of the Altaic linguistic domain is still in the future; in the meantime, the present remarks with their emphasis upon Japanese and Korean are presented in the hope that they may eventually prove to be of service when that fuller account is finally undertaken.

In the present context, PETRIFIED essentially refers to syntactic-morphological non-productivity. In contrast to those many case-suffixes that, e.g., in OJ, are to be found in frequent employment throughout the entire range of our texts, a certain small number of these morphemes may be identified and isolated by virtue of the fact that they appear but rarely, and generally also in specific, resp. restricted semantic-syntactic environments. A frequent consequence of the survival of these petrified forms is that they come to function as FOSSILS. Being themselves all but immune to the processes of change and development that continue to make their impact constantly felt upon the other members of their class, these fossils may in turn frequently serve as valuable clues to or traces of earlier stages in the linguistic history of the entire system of case-marking for the larger linguistic unity involved, in the present instance, for Altaic. Along with petrification of the case-suffixes,

and the evidence of their survival as fossils, LEXICALIZATION of what were presumably earlier productive case-suffix formations that have survived solely as inactive, unproductive elements in small sets of specific vocabulary items is at one and the same time the most conspicuous outward sign, and the most significant historical-linguistic inner consequence of the entire process of this variety of linguistic petrification. Another widespread morphological phenomenon, that of case-suffix COMPOUNDING, is also an important factor in the history of (probably) all the Altaic languages, but particularly important for the historical-linguistic explication of case-marking in both Japanese and Korean. Unfortunately we lack a comprehensive study of this compounding over a sufficiently wide range of the Altaic domain; but v. Gabain 1970 has usefully focused attention upon its operation in Turkic, and her study, along with other desultory notices of this phenomenon (e.g., Poppe 1977.61, 63, 65; Benzing 1955, *loc. cit.*), makes it possible to take account of this factor also in any attempt at the historical-linguistic explication of case-marking in any specific Altaic language. As a result, and notwithstanding the obvious gaps in the available literature, by bringing to bear upon the problem what is now understood both of petrification and of compounding, it is possible even today to suggest a useful diachronic categorization of the case-marking system of OJ (§ 2), and also to suggest (though necessarily in less detail) something of the same for Korean (§ 3), in the process identifying the principal Altaic linguistic materials surviving on this morphological level within these two rather diverse languages from the easternmost extremity of the Altaic domain.

2. The Old Japanese case-suffixes may be categorized as follows, employing as classificatory demarcations the elements and processes elaborated upon in § 1:

2.1 OJ Case-Suffixes.

Simplex, onto simple (bare) stems:

i. Productive

(1) acc. *-wo* < **-ba*.

(2) topic *-Fa* < **-pa*.

ii. Petrified

(3) acc.-pseudo-nom. *-i* < **-yi*.

(4) dat. *-tu*, var. *-yo* < **-du*.

(5) gen.-adnominal a. semipetrified *.n-*.
b. productive *-nö*.
c. petrified *-na*.

(6) directives a. *-ra/-re*, b. *-ri*, c. *-ru*, d. *-si*, e. *-ti*, f. *-u*.

(7) loc. *-ka*

Complex, onto oblique (or other secondary stems) in *.n-* :

(8) gen.-possessive *-ga* < **.n-ka*

(9) directive 'in, into, to' *-ni* < **.n-li*
(10) directive 'to(ward)' *-gari* < **.n-ka-li*
(11) prosecutive 'from, along' *-yuri, -yŏri* < **.n-du-li*
(12) instr. *-nite*

2.2 Use of terms such as 'acc.', 'gen.' and the like of course does not imply total semantic, resp. syntactic identity between the Altaic case categories so denominated and the eponymous elements of the I.-E. case system. While care has been exercised in order to insure so far as possible that the terms employed here are not unnecessarily misleading, these designations are nevertheless best understood as indentification tags, selected mainly for the convenience of the reader familiar with their previous employment in the existing literature. Also to be noted is that in the brief comments upon each of the above twelve items that follow, many etymological details (though not the classificatory scheme) derive from Murayama 1957, which however is not specifically credited in the many individual cases where we agree with his analysis.

(1) Of all the OJ case-suffixes this is the one whose Altaic origins are most securely documented; Miller 1971.25–27 and Murayama, *Mon. Nipp.* 28 : 4, 1972, 464–65 serve to introduce the literature on this feature, too large to be cited in full here. In OJ texts this suffix is best described as an 'emphatic object marker', "not originally an acc. suff., but an exclamatory emphatic particle (so that it was later used as an acc. suff., adverb formation element for time and place)" (Murayama, *loc. cit.*). The OJ suffix goes directly with protoTg. **-ba/*-bä*; its *o*-vocalization (a neutralization of expected **ö*, since **wö* did not occur in OJ) is to be explained by labial attraction to the initial, cf. *CAJ* 29, 1985, 81–83. Less satisfactorily explained in the existing literature has been the etymological relationship between this Tg. acc. **-ba/*-bä* and the acc. **-g* reconstructed e.g. by Poppe (1955.576) for the larger Altaic nominal declension (cf. § 1 above). Indeed, Poppe himself has consistently held that, for the acc., "Das mandschurische Akkusativsuffix *-*ba* kann man mit nichts identifizieren. . . . Ich kann kein anderes, ähnliches Suffix in anderen Sprachen finden" (1952.6; similarly, 1955.575). But this is to overlook the fuller etymological implication of what has probably been one of Poppe's own most significant historical-linguistic discoveries, viz. the regular development of original Altaic **-b-* either as later *-b-* or as later *-g-* when conditioned by the 'strong' or 'weak' nature of the following vowel (Poppe 1960, 26, pp. 40–41 and *passim.*). In this context, 'strong' (*stark*) refers to occurrence before a short, or originally non-pitch vowel; 'weak' (*schwach*) to position before a long, or in many cases originally a high-pitch vowel; even within Mo. itself this same velar-labial alternation in suffixes, under the circumstances of the same conditioning factors, is well-known, cf. the Mo. instr. *-bar/-ber* (*kituγa-bar* 'with a knife') *vs.*

the velar variant of this same suffix in certain local, temporal, and modal adverbs (*qotalaγar* 'everywhere', *yosuγar* 'according to') (Poppe 1964, § 210, p. 58; §§ 293–94, p. 76). Limits of space preclude a more complete analysis here, except to point out that application of Poppe's 'strong-weak' formulation makes it possible to bring together both the Tg. as well as the larger Altaic acc. suffix forms. Just as "the Common Mongolian Instrumental suffix is *-*βar* ~ *-*γar*" (Poppe 1955b, § 143, p. 201), so also was the original Altaic acc. *-*b*(*V*), and its subsequent development in the later languages, whether it appears as a labial- or velar-initial suffix, may in any specific case be regularly predicted from this protoform. (2) Murayama has already pointed out that "the enigmatic particle [*sic*] Old Japanese *Fa* < **pa* is a variant of *wo* < **wə* and goes back to **ba*" (*Mon. Nipp.*, loc. cit.); this etymology is surely correct, and we may assume safely that both OJ *-wo* and OJ *-Fa* ultimately revert to variants of the same larger Altaic original *-*b*(*V*). The vowel offers no particular problem: OJ *ö* is in regular Ablaut alternation with OJ *a*. But the question of what the original conditioning factor may have been that, sometime early in the history of Altaic, led to the morphophonemic split later attested in the *w* of OJ *-wo* as against the *F* < **p* of OJ *-Fa* is not easy to answer at the moment. In Tungus, Udh. acc. *-fa/-fä/-fo* (Benzing 1955, § 91, p. 1029) and many other Tg. forms in *f* < **p* or actually in *p* that might be cited surely show that, at the very least, the problem is not specifically a Japanese one but instead reflects developments in earlier (and broader) stages of the Altaic domain. A possible temporizing solution would be to treat all the Tg. *b-* forms (and OJ *-wo*) as compound formations involving the gen. $-n_1$ or *-ń* (**-ń-p-* > *-b-*), but the Tg. *p-* and *f-* forms (and OJ *-Fa*) as simplex. For all these formulations, an important remaining question is that raised by Menges: "ist das gemein-tungusische Akkusativ-Suffix *-wa* etc. in der Possessiv-Deklination des Nānaj sekundär als kategorisches Obliquus-Suffix verallgemeinert — oder ist das gemein-tungusische Akkusativ-Suffix ursprünglich ein Obliquus-Suffix, das sich am Ende der vorhistorischen Entwicklung des Tungusischen als Akkusativ-Suffix festgesetzt hat?" (1968b. 187). Perhaps now Japanese and Korean materials may also play a part in the eventual solution of this far-reaching problem. (3) This suffix notably functions in the texts as an acc. marker for secondary (internal) subjects, especially in indirect discourse. A full study is available in Miller 1989; meanwhile, it is important to keep separate this form from another OJ suffix *-i* < **-i* found typically in the morphophonemic alternation of nouns such as *ma-*, *më* 'eye' (§ 2.4 below), and also separate from a possible (fairly late) borrowing of yet another OJ *-i* from Old Korean (on this, Murayama 1957.127 and his sources are to be corrected). (4) Examples as in § 1 above. Presently unresolved is the question of whether we have here to deal with allomorphy internal to pre-OJ to explain the *-t-* ~ *-y-* < **-d-* (as in the OJ Azuma dialect var. *mayŏ* 'eyebrow', cf. 2.4), or whether OJ *-t-* in these forms was always **-t-*,

and OJ *-y-* < **-d-* < **-n.t-*, i.e., from a compounding formation. (5) a. is easily traced in a large number of OJ compounds, e.g., *miyakŏdöri* 'plover, gull' <**miyakŏ.n-töri* 'bird (*töri*) of the capital (*miyakŏ*)', OJ *yamagaFa* 'mountain' 'stream' < **yama.n-kaFa* 'stream (*kaFa*) in the mountains (*yama*)'. Apparently the formation had just barely ceased to be productive by the time of our earliest texts. b. is the most frequently encountered case-suffix in the language, found well over five thousand times in the *Man'yōshū* anthology alone; historically it is the Altaic gen. **-ń* (Poppe's **-n_1*) fitted out with an analogically generalized echo-vowel OJ *-ö* necessitated by the C-V structure of the language; c. has the *a*-Ablaut pair instead, cf. *ma-na-*, § 2.4 below. Among other examples of this *-na* in Murayama 1957.128 his *u-na* 'des Meers' is to be deleted, OJ *una*(-) in this sense is a reflex of proto-southern Tg. **üni* 'small river' (Miller 1986, § 4.1.5, pp. 106–7). (6) For this set a number of remarks in Menges 1975 are especially informative. a, e.g. OJ *idura* 'to which, where', and *idure* 'to which (of two or more)', cf. Menges 72, 74, 77; b, OJ *tuFari* 'season of new birth', cf. Tg. **ǰuga* 'im Sommer', Ma. *juwari* 'summer', Benzing 1955, § 1117, p. 1043; Menges, p. 113; c and f, OJ *yŏ* 'evening', *yŏru* 'at night', cf. Tg. **dol.ba* 'bei Nacht', Ma. *dobo.ri* 'night', Benzing 1955, § 58d, p. 994, § 111, p. 1043; d, OJ Azuma dial. *idu-si* 'woher? wohin?', *Figa-si* 'east', Menges pp. 16–17, 77; e, OJ *idu-ti* 'woher? wohin?', Menges, p. 74. (7) Again, the relatively large number of attested forms (OJ *arika* 'place where one is', *sumika* 'place where one dwells', *okuka* 'inner depths', *yösuka* 'place, something upon which one relies' (with *yös-* < **-l_2*, tr. of *yör-* < **-l_1* 'depend upon') makes one suspect that these formations had only recently ceased to be productive; most are formed, as in the above examples, with deverbal nouns. (8) OJ *ga* and *nö* share many of their functions: both are gen., esp. 'possessives', and both can mark the secondary subject. The distinction is to be found in their socio-linguistic marking, *nö* being unmarked, but *ga* marked for intimacy or familiarity (and hence sometimes for disrespect) on the part of the speaker, resp. possessor. Cf. OJ *moröFitö.nö tamë* 'the sake of all men' with *titiFaFa.ga tamë* 'the sake of (speaker's) father and mother'. This distinction, largely ignored in modern studies, was already understood by João Rodrigues, S. J. in 1620, and reported by August Pfizmaier in 1853, cf. Miller 1990, 202–204. (9) *Pace* Murayama 1957.131 ("Dieses Suffix ist wohl aus **-n-i* entstanden, dabei gehört **-n* zum Stamm und **-i* ist eigentliches Suffix"): the model for the analysis here suggested is to be found in Lamut, where both the loc. *-lə̄/-la* and the prolative *-li* appear with *n-* initials after nouns in final *-n_2*, *-ṇ*, *-ŋ* and *-m* (Benzing 1955b, §§ 120, 122, pp. 59–60), thus Lam. *toŋə̄r.li* 'am See entlang', but *nam.ni* 'über das Meer' and *nam.na* 'auf dem Meere' (with this last cf. MJ *nada* 'open sea'?). (10) *Pace* Murayama, *loc. cit.*, we find instead in such forms as OJ *wa-gari* 'zu mir' a triplex compound suffix formation, loc.-dat.-dir. (11) Murayama 1957. 130's analysis of this suffix is one of his major discoveries; the occurrence of

both (petrified) OJ *-tu* and *-du* but only (productive) *-yuri*, *-yŏri* (i.e., the absence of **-turi*, **-duri*) finds ready explanation in terms of the rule for regressive dissimilation in voicing known as Lyman's Law (Miller 1985). (12) Cf. Miller 1971, 289–90, $<$* *.n-ta*, and Benzing 1955, § 99, p. 1035 Tg. *-(*.n*)-*ǰi* $<$*-(*.n*)-*ti*; but the **.n-* throughout the history of this suffix is not to be associated with the gen. **.n-*, rather with the (largely homophonous?) instr. mentioned by Poppe 1955b.279.

2.3 Interesting also is the possibility existing within OJ syntax for recovering additional evidence for an old Altaic topic- or subject-marking case-suffix, best known from its reflex as the 'fugitive' or 'fleeting' *.n* of Mongolian (G. Doerfer, *TMEN* 1, 1963, 83: "Das Mo. hat einen besonderen Nominativ . . . *.n*"; Poppe 1955b. 185–87; Street 1957.10–11). Japanese has a (today solely literary) copula syntactic structure, the following three versions of which are immediately relevant to the present question: (α) . . . *nari* (cop.); (β) . . . *ni ari* (var. cop.); (γ) . . . *ni arazu* (neg. cop.). Exs.: *kore.wa yama nari* 'this (*kore* + topic suffix *-wa* $<$ **-Fa*) is a mountain', *kore.wa yama ni ari* 'id.', *kore.wa yama ni arazu* 'this is not a mountain'. In each of these three structures, the final copular predicate (actually, a deverbal noun, in accordance with the general Altaic syntactic canon of nominal predication) embodies a fairly obvious OJ reflex of the inherited Altaic negation-verb (details now in *CAJ* 29, 1985, 35–84, esp. p. 65), thus (α) $<$ **.n är-i*, (β) $<$ **.n yi är-i*, (γ) $<$ **.n yi är-ä-n-äs-*. Because of the simultaneous occurrence in the texts of both sequence (α) and sequence (β), traditional Japanese scholarship has etymologized the copula *nari* throughout as a "contraction" of *-ni ari*, usually in the process understanding the *-ni* of this analysis as the dir. suffix (§ 2.1 (9)). This is of course totally impossible for both semantic and phonological reasons; the copula has nothing to do with either directive or locative sense, and OJ *-i a-* if contracted always yields *-ĕ-*. But once we recall that OJ *yama* 'mountain' is cognate with Mo. *dabaya.n* 'mountain pass' (MMo. *daba.an* 'id.', Street *loc. cit.*), we are able for the first time to resolve this long-standing conundrum of Japanese historical linguistics in the following terms: the initial *n-* of the OJ copula *nari* is the Altaic nom. **-n* surviving in the Japanese copular structures as a result of false sandhi division (cf. ME *ewte*, var. *newte*, NE *newt*, both $<$ OE *efeta* 'lizard'; ME *naddere*, *addere*, NE *adder*; OFr. *naperon*, NE *apron*, etc.). The *-i* of the . . . *ni* in (γ) is yet another strikingly archaic survival, representing the acc.-pseudo nom. *-i* (§ 2.1 (3)), in exact semantic and syntactic parallel to the employment of the topic suffix *-wa* in NJ negatives such as . . . *de wa nai*. Finally, the *-i* of the *ni* in . . . *ni ari* (β) is a non-etymological paragogic vowel necessitated by the canonical shape of OJ morphology, its choice determined by analogy with the *i* of (γ).

Along with OJ *yama*, Mo. *dabaya.n*, at least two other specific etymological examples involving the paradigmatic-syntactic fate of inherited Altaic

lexical items within OJ demonstrate how syntactic structures involving the copula permit the recovery of this 'nom.' suffix *.*n*: (1) OJ *mĭkë* 'food for the gods; Emperor's provisions' can hardly but be cognate with WMo. *miq-a.n* 'meat, flesh' (Poppe 1955b. 36, 37, 39, 101, 136; Street *loc. cit.*, MMo. *miga.n*). Within OJ the copular paradigm would have been, *mĭkë nari/mĭkë ni ari*, and *mĭkë ni arazu*, i.e. < **mikë.n ar-i*, etc. (2) OJ *sakĭ* 'auspicious, good fortune' is surely cognate with WMo. *sajin*, MMo. *sajin*, OTk. *saǧ* 'healthy,' etc. (Poppe 1960.29, 61, 137), supposing Altaic **sagĩn*. Again, within the OJ copular paradigm we would have had *sakĭ nari/sakĭ ni ari*, and *sakĭ ni arazu*, from which the same conclusions as above may be drawn.

2.4 Possible also in a few cases is the recovery solely from within Japanese lexical materials of what amounts in effect to a very old noun paradigm that displays obvious Altaic correspondences. This is possible because of the fortuitous preservation of a fair number of petrified case formations in an important if small set of common NJ words. The word for 'eye' offers such a possibility, with the additional historical-linguistic bonus of making it feasible to distinguish on purely formal grounds between genuinely old, inherited formations (i.e., those that are constructed to a greater or lesser degree upon the foundation(s) of old fossils) and relatively newer compounds (i.e. those that show no trace of the employment of petrified materials). NJ *me* 'eye' is the obvious survivor of earlier **ma.i* (but here the **.i* is *not* § 2.1 (3):), verified by OJ written records that indeed have *më* for the form. The **ma-* is again visible in such NJ forms as *manajiri* 'canthus' (< **ma-na-siri*, with petrified *-na*, § 2.1 (5)b, plus *siri* 'rear(end)', Altaic **sili*, Poppe 1960.30, 116), *manako* 'the eye', and *mabuta* 'eyelid' (<**ma-n.Futa*, with *Futa* 'lid, cover'); but NJ also has the fascinating forms *matsuge* 'eyelash' and *mayuge* 'eyebrow'. The former is attested in OJ as *matugë*, i.e. with petrified dat. *-tu* and OJ *kë* 'body hair', with a textual variant as OJ *matukï* 'id'. The latter must involve **ma.n-tu-kë*, the differently compounded suffixes somehow accounting for the semantic distinction, 'eyelash' against 'eyebrow'. Against the paradigmatic evidence of these forms we must set, as obviously representing newer formations, such forms as NJ *meyani* 'discharge from the eye', *mezawari* 'eyesore', *mezamashi* 'an eye-opener', etc., where the generalization throughout the paradigm of the *-e* allomorph shows their relative newness, additionally (and separately) confirmed by the relevant written records.

2.5 For OJ *aduma* 'east' traditional Japanese scholarship can offer only the risible folk-etymology <**a tuma* 'oh! my wife'; nor do modern western scholars who are content to repeat such lore do any better (e.g., Martin 1987. 388, who offers no etymology at all and misglosses the form in the bargain!). OJ *aduma* is easily explained as OJ *ma* 'space, interval' with the petrified dat. onto a reflex of Altaic **al(a)* 'lower front, WMo. *ala.n* 'groin, pubic region, genitals' (i.e., the lower front of the body), OTk. *al* 'Vorderseite', MKor., NKor.

alai 'beneath, below, Ev. *alas* 'thigh, hip, shin'; in this word the attested *-d-* shows the trace in OJ of the lost original **-l-* (more details in *UAl. Jhb.* 58, 1986, 53, note 14). The otherwise unexplained and apparently free variation between OJ *wo* 'hill' and OJ *woka* 'id.' finds ready explanation; *woka* is original *wo* with a petrified loc. *-ka*, also attested in several old placenames from the Nara region, e.g., *Asuka, Ikaruga*. With the same petrified loc., cf. OJ *Foka* 'the other, some other place', MKor. *pask* 'id.', Chag. etc. *baška* 'ein anderer, ausser' <*baš* 'Kopf' + dat., *VEWT* 65a. The original Japanese set of season-names (*natu* 'summer', *Faru* 'spring' *Fuyu* 'winter', *tuyu* 'monsoon') is unified with a petrified *-u* ~ *-yu* < **-du*; this renders more complex than had been thought the comparison of *natu* 'summer' with MKor. *nyŏlu-m* 'id.', but at the same time it enhances the larger comparison with Altaic **ńār*$_2$, since what is being compared is the root *nat-* of the petrified formation *nat-u*. Four decades ago Ramstedt intuitively guessed that OJ *midu* 'water' (NJ *mizu*) began as **mi-ntu* (*SKE*, 1949, 154). Everything that we have learned since now shows that he was almost surely correct in this daring but brilliant hypothesis, so that attempts directly to compare the *-l-* of MKor. *mul* 'water' with the *-d-* of OJ *midu* are feckless, along with proto-forms such as **myaldu* (*Lg.* 42, 1966, 246 # 257) based upon such misleading comparisons. Cf. further in Tungus the same petrified dat. as adnominal in Udh. *mude sin(g)e* 'water rat, vole'; and may not Nan. dial. *muke* along with Ma. *muke* 'water' both be understood as petrified locs., <**mū.kä*? Jur. *fûh-wān-tò* 'Zeit' (Grube 81) with its petrified loc. (Menges 1968b. 250) surely casts light upon the etymology of OJ *Fotŏ* 'definite period of time (in or during which something is done or happens)', in slightly later texts and thereafter throughout the history of the language *Fodŏ*, i.e., <**Fon.to*. Perception of this and other evidence for petrified case-suffix formations in the history of Japanese can substantially help to advance the etymological explanation of many forms with which traditional scholarship has thus far grappled in vain; it can also do much to forward the work on a serious etymological dictionary of Japanese (cf. *Lg.* 64,1988, 413–17), if or when such should ever be undertaken.

3. Korean, in the vicissitudes of its case-suffixes as in most other particulars of its history, confronts us with a constellation of many problems, mostly still unsolved. This is the obvious consequence of the radical reductions in phonological inventory that figure in the separation of Korean from Altaic (**p*, **b* > *p*; **k*, **g* > *k*, etc.), and is also to be accounted for by the striking reshaping of most inherited morphemes in Korean as a consequence of syncope and apocope, accent-shifting and stem-shortening, and kindred related phenomena. Even in the historical period we must reckon with such startling alterations as NKor. *kkul* <MKor. *pskul* 'honey' <**pŏ-sakχar* 'bee sweets', and NKor. **ttŭli*, MKor. *pstŭ·li* < *pustula* (*UAl.Jhb.* 60, 1988, 189–91); little wonder then that tracing more remote history in this language inevitably becomes

a formidable task (e.g., MKor. *nam.k-* 'tree, wood (obl. stem)', Altaic **nabagā* [Poppe 1960.37], WMo. *namaγa* 'foliage'). Nevertheless, something is now understood of the overall history of the Altaic case-suffixes on the peninsula; especially well documented are an OKor. acc. **-hel* (NKor. acc. *-lŭl* is probably the survivor of the final of this **-hel* with the addition of a plural suffix thereafter generalized throughout the paradigm), and an OKor. loc.-dat. **-ak* of obvious Altaic origin (details in Miller 1987, *passim.*, together with a survey of the present state of the literature on the overall history of the case-suffixes in Korean). Ramstedt earlier suggested a major role within the history of Korean for fossil-survivals of the Kor. topic suffix *-i* (1939, § 90, pp. 39–40); but on this occasion Ramstedt's intuition was unfortunately keener than his materials were reliable, and none of the specific lexical examples he cited in 1939 in this connection stand up under scrutiny. Nevertheless, building upon Ramstedt's intuition, modern Korean scholars have cited convincing examples of petrified forms with *-i* from Old Korean, including *api* 'father' $<$**ap-i*; *ŏmi* 'mother' $<$**ŏm-i*; *kasi* 'branch' $<$**kas-i*; and *koskoli* '(birdname)' $<$**koskol-i* (Yang Chu-dong 1974. 249–51). Three other (still mostly unexploited) bodies of materials are available from within Korean for the study of our problem. (1) MKor. has a small set of heteroclitic nouns (paradigms in Yi Sung-nyŏng 1974, § 193, p. 145; list of forms [complete?] in Nam Kwang-u 1973.548–49) with anomalous case-suffix paradigms. They appear in isolation (and in citations), as well as when followed by postposition such as *to* 'even, also', with a zero-suffix, but otherwise throughout all their case-forms proper with a secondary oblique stem in *.h-* or *.k-* (thus with the MKor. word for 'tree' cited above: citation-form *namo* (NKor. *namu*), and *namo to*, but always *nam.k-* throughout its paradigm, topic *nam.k-ăn*, nom. *nam.k-i*, acc. *nam.k-ŭl*, gen. *nam.k-ăi*, etc.). Sometimes (as in this word) the *.k-* $\sim$ *.h-* of this oblique stem proves to be a trace of an Altaic heritage; but in a suspiciously large number of the nouns belonging to this paradigm we note a common semantic element, a reference to place or location (thus, MKor. *ptŭl.h-* 'inner garden, court', *sta.h-* 'earth', *nala.h-* 'Reich', *kil.h-* 'road', *an.h-* 'inside', *um.h-* 'cave', *stăl.h-* 'source, spring', to cite only a few), leading one to suspect that in many cases we also have here paradigmatic survival of a Korean reflex of the Altaic loc.-dat. **-k(a)*, **-g(a)*. (2) A fair number of otherwise anomalous changes between MKor. and NKor., again mostly involving words with reference to place or location can best be explained by petrification of case-suffixes: MKor. *kut* 'a pit', but NKor. *kut-ŏng* 'id.' $<$**-Vn.g(a)?*; MKor. *kus* 'a corner', NKor. *kusŏk* 'id.'; MKor. *mat* 'a court', NKor. *mat-ang* 'id.', etc. (3) Yet another small set of common and important words, most of them fairly obvious cultural borrowings, appear to have entered OJ from some variety of Old Korean (most likely Old Paekche) with the Korean topic case-suffix *-i* intact and apparently already petrified on the peninsula: OJ *Fatakë* 'dry field' $<$**Fataka-i*, $<$OKor. **pataha-i*, cf. MKor.

path 'id.', similarly, OJ *Fötökë* 'the Buddha', *Fude* 'writing brush,' *takë* 'bamboo,' all from or *via* Old Korean, and <*-*a-i*. Unfortunately Ramstedt's intuition also did not serve him well concerning the history of this Korean topic suffix *-i*, and his misleading note (1952.24) was in turn taken over uncritically by Murayama (1957.127–28), further confusing the issue by involving with this suffix the OJ *-i* < *-*yi* that, as we have seen, is to be kept separate etymologically from the Korean form.

Much remains to be learned about the history of all the Korean case-suffixes; but even now it is evident that petrification and fossil survivals have both played roles here as in Japanese. Many Korean materials in particular remain virtually unexplored. NKor. *-kkŏi* 'to, at, for by (a person)' reverts to MKor. *-skŭi*; and this suffix in MKor. is specifically an 'honorative dat.', used when making reference to persons of rank or importance, e.g. 'to the Buddha', 'to Mencius' (cf. the citations of texts in Nam 1973.77b *s.v.*). Is it possible to divorce the history of this Korean form from that of the Tg. lative *-ski* and WMo. *-gsi* (Poppe 1955.575; Ramstedt 1952, § 16, pp. 48–49) ? The major problem in the study of this Altaic suffix has long been that of its non-attestation outside of Tungus and Mongolian; here as in so many other instances, we may hope that eventually new light will be thrown upon old questions by our now-available materials deriving from this, the easternmost extreme of the great Altaic linguistic domain.

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ПОЛИСТАДИАЛЬНЫЙ ОБРАЗ ДУХА-ХОЗЯИНА, ХРАНИТЕЛЯ И СОЗДАТЕЛЯ ОГНЯ В МОНГОЛЬСКОЙ МИФОЛОГИЧЕСКОЙ ТРАДИЦИИ

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Один из центральных персонажей религиозно-мифологической системы монгольских народов фигурирует в шаманской традиции под множеством различных имен: с одной стороны, это — Отхан Галайхан (Хан огня Отхан), Государь огня, Божество (Бог) огня, Огонь-тэнгри, Тэнгри огня, Государь тэнгриев огня, Огонь-тэнгри свирепый («докшин») Джуму, Агни-тэнгри (от санскр. *Агни*), Арши-тэнгри, т.е. Бог-отшельник (от санскр. *риши* «отшельник»), Хан огня Мираджа (Мирача, Миранджа, Миранча, Раджа, Ранджа), а, с другой стороны, Матушка-огонь, Матушка огня, Матушка Хан огня, Матушка Хан огня Эл, Матушка Хан огня Отхан, Матушка Тэнгри огня, Дева (*охин-тэнгри*) огня, Матушка очага, Матушка Ут и т.д.[1] Итак, речь идет о божестве огня и домашнего очага. Соотношение этих двух ипостасей явно синтетического, но в настоящее время нерасчленимого образа остается неясным. Божество огня выступает как тождественное самому обожествленному огню («между огнем и тэнгри огня нет разницы»), а также очажному пламени («матушка Галахан, живущая в очаге»); у ордосских монголов, например, для него устраивается специальное сидение в виде металлического кольца, прикрепляемого поочередно (через каждый месяц) к одной из четырех ножек стоящего над огнем тагана.[2] Оно выступает в мужском (Хан огня, Тэнгри огня, Государь тэнгри огня и т.д.) или женском (Матушка-огонь, Дева огня, Матушка очага и пр.) облике, соотношение которых также неясно.[3] Ряд признаков матриархальной хозяйки у духа огня (Матушка очага, Матушка Ут), как и особая роль женщин в культе огня, свидетельствует о несомненной архаичности женского божества, хотя при этом во многих прозвищах, которыми оно наделяется, исходной формой является мужское имя (например, Матушка Хан огня). В мифологии тюркских народов, с которой монгольский культ огня отчасти связан, огонь может представляться и в виде старичка-

[1] Poppe N. Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen — AM. T. 2. Fasc. 1, p. 132–133 (далее — Poppe).

[2] Mostaert A. A propos d'une prière au feu. — UAS. T. 13, p. 212–213 (далее — Mostaert).

[3] Poppe, p. 133.

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хозяина (*Ал Дархан-тойон* у якутов), и в виде «матери огня» (*От-эне* у алтайцев), и в виде супружеской пары (*Вут-ами* и *Вут-аси* — мать и отец огня у чувашей);[4] этот последний случай характерен и для бурятской мифологии, к чему я еще вернусь. На тюркский компонент в генезисе образа указывает этимология имени Отхан (от тюрк. *от* — огонь; та же основа отражена и в имени Матушка Ут), значащего просто «Хан огня», то же значение — и у второго компонента имени божества: Гала (Галай)-хан.[5] Следовательно, сочетание Отхан Галахан является дважды (сначала по-тюркски, затем по-монгольски) повторенным выражением «Хан огня», причем его вторая часть могла появиться при утрате в монгольской среде первичного смысла заимствованного термина; как известно, в современных монгольских языках это слово (монг. *отгон*, бур. *отхон*, калм. *отхн*) значит «младший в семье» (прежде всего сын или дочь), по древнему обычаю являющийся хранителем родового огня.[6]

В продолжительном процессе синктеризации рассматриваемого образа объединяются представления о различных духах родового и семейного очага, мужские и женские ипостаси, которых связаны, очевидно, с различными племенными традициями, а также представления о естественном, «небесном» возникновении огня (от удара молнией, который, с другой стороны, может интерпретироваться как зачатие при космическом браке неба и земли), увязываемого сверх того с палящим солнцем засушливого лета, и представления — более поздние — об его искусственном добывании. Все они отражаются как в многочисленных наименованиях божества огня, так и в тематике посвященных ему культово-мифологических текстов.

Нерукотворность огня обуславливает тему его древности. Время создания описывается сказочно-эпической формулой, изображающей эпоху первотворения: когда гора (Алтай, Хангай, Хухей, Бурхан-Халдун, Сумеру) была холмом, дерево (вяз, ива) — побегом, горный козел — козленком, ястреб и жаворонок — птенцами, царь-лев — щенком и т.д. По некоторым сюжетам, возникновение огня прямо сопутствует начальной фазе космогенеза: отделению неба от земли; участие этих основных космических начал в его порождении (архетип космического брака) многократно подчеркивается: появился по указанию Хана Тэнгри (99 вечных тэнгри, Хормусты-тэнгри) или же прямо создан им и земным божеством — матерью Этугэн (возник «от ее стопы») и т.д.; в качестве творцов упоминаются также гора, море, дерево (высечен горой Бурхан-Халдун, возник от горы Сумеру и моря Сум, сотворен из вяза, из тутового дерева с вершины Хангай-хана и Бурхату-хана; тутовые деревья

[4] Мифы народов мира. Энциклопедия. Т. 2. М., 1988, с. 540–538.

[5] Банзаров Д. Собрание сочинений. М., 1955, с. 72 (далее — Банзаров).

[6] Поппе Н. Н. Пережитки культа огня в монгольском языке. — Доклады Российской АН, 1925.

также называются в числе его предков, и т.д.).[7] За всеми этими образами, ламаизированными или автохтонными, проглядывают архетипы мировой горы, мирового дерева и мирового океана.

Параллельно по той же модели описывается процесс искусственного добывания огня, происходящего от отца-железа (стали) и матери-камня[8] (кремня, гальки; этот образ несомненно параллелен «матери-земле», а также горе), т.е. семантика порождения сохраняется (показательно также, что высекание искры и вспышка молнии передается у монголов одним словом).

Превращение духа очага в божество огня могло происходить при возведении в ранг государственного культа поклонения божеству огня правящего царского дома. В русле культа Чингисхана и членов его семьи их родовой огонь осмысливается как огонь вообще, к темам космического рождения и искусственного добывания огня добавляется тема его происхождения от чингисидов. Говорится, что первый огонь был высечен Чингисом (Эдзэн-богдо, т.е. Владыкой-августейшим) и раздут его женой Бортэ-Юджин (Эхэ-хатун, т.е. Матушкой-госпожой), высечен его отцом Есухэй-багатуром и раздут его матерью Оэлун, зажжен его внуком — великим ханом Хубилаем вместе с супругой Чамбуй и младшим сыном Чагадаем вместе с супругой Чанхулан; упоминаются также другие сыновья Чингиса (Джочи, Угэдэй, Толуй), его домочадцы и люди из его ближайшего окружения.[9]

Особенно интенсивной мифологизации подверглись Чагадай и Чанхулан. Как младший царевич он являлся хранителем и жрецом родового очага, а после смерти был отождествлен с его духом-хозяином, который в качестве божества семейного огня сакрализованной императорской фамилии осмысливался как глава всех духов данной категории и таким образом — как обобщенное божество огня. По мнению Б. Ринчена,[10] это Цагадай и Цанхулан (Цанхалан) у монголов, Сахядай (Заадай) и Санхалан (Сахала, Занхалан) у бурят (к этим двум последним персонажам я еще вернусь). При этом следует отметить сохранение той же модели мифологического порождения, выраженной в распределении функций между мужским («высекание») и женским («раздувание») началами, что, очевидно, косвенно отражает мотив зачатия.

Кроме того, в числе возжегших первый огонь упоминается некий человек (юноша) по имени Агуритай (Агуратай, Агуриту, Агарудай, Агураг-тай — «Гневный»? «Обладающий духом? дымом? жизненной силой?»; ср.

[7] Банзаров, с. 56, 75; Poppe, p. 138–139; Поппе Н. Н. Описание монгольских «шаманских» рукописей Института востоковедения. — Зап. Института востоковедения АН. Т. I, № IV, 3, 4, 12, 13, 19 (далее — Поппе); Mostaert, p. 194, 201–202.

[8] Поппе, IV, 3, 15.

[9] Поппе, IV, 12–15.

[10] Ринчен Б. Культ исторических персонажей в монгольском шаманстве. — Сибирь, Центральная и Восточная Азия в средние века. Новосибирск, 1974, с. 191 (далее — Ринчен).

семантику имени и эпитеты одного из первоначальных хранителей огня в монгольском фольклоре — Цогтай-хана; этот образ будет рассмотрен ниже). Называется также возжегший первый огонь (а в ордосской рукописи — высекший его) «отец Адам» (Агадум, Нагадум; Шакьямуни в хрустианской или мусульманской интерпретации?) и раздувшая его Матушка Уда (т.е. собственно «матушка-огонь»).[11]

Наконец, в более поздний период под прямым буддийским влиянием происхождение огня начинает увязываться с именами ламаистских божеств (бурханов): Бурхан-бакши (Учителя-Будды, т.е. Шакьямуни), докшита Бисман-тэнгри (т.е. Вайчраваны), одного из пяти дхъяни-будд Вайрочаны, Махешвары (Шивы) и др.[12] В качестве мистического источника огня называется буква Ра (Рам, Арам),[13] одна из семи «магических букв» тибетского алфавита, относимых к разряду «могущественных знаков» в ламаистской символической системе; в традиционных, восходящих к древнеиндийским, грамматических классификациях эта буква относится к элементу (или стихии) огня.[14] Весьма устойчиво его создание приписывается буддийскому святителю и реформатору Падмасамбхаве (УШ в.н.э.), что в свою очередь прямо указывает на влияние тибетской традиции, в которой именно он учреждает культ божества огня; кстати, монгольские наименования бога огня со значениями «Бог огня» и «Государь богов огня» семантически точно соответствуют некоторым прозвищам Падмасамбхавы в тибетской мифологии. Типологически более общие соответствия обнаруживаются в отождествлении огня с солнцем, роли козла в его культе, в очистительной функции пламени и т.д.

Специфика образа божества огня, неотделимого от духа домашнего очага, имеющего ипостаси мужскую и женскую (включая ипостась супружеской пары), сливающегося с фигурой хранителя родового огня и, наконец, обладающего своей родословной, которая возникает как реализация метафоры «создание (высекание) — порождение», — все это способствует появлению целого сонма обитающих в очаге духов, объединенных семейными связями и олицетворяющих — соответственно универсальной пространственной ориентации — центр и различные стороны очага. В культовы текстах фигурирует «очень старый» дед божества огня — Тала, отец — Победоносный огонь-господин, Всевышняя матушка Лус (т.е. относящаяся к разряду земных духов-хозяев; по модели космического порождения мать огня всегда связана с землей); сыновья или братья (например, числом 5), носящие имя Белое сердце огня; сестры, иногда называемые «врачевательницами» (*отачи*; ср., с одной стороны, очистительную функцию огня и, с другой,

[11] Poppe, p. 139; Поппе, IV, 4; Mostaert, p. 202–204, 219.

[12] Poppe, p. 138; Поппе, IV, 2.

[13] Poppe, p. 139; Поппе, IV, 2, 14, 21.

[14] Балданжапов П. Б. Jirüken-ü tolta-yin tayilburi. Монгольское грамматическое сочинение XVIII века. Улан-Удэ, 1962, с. 81.

омонимичность корня «от»: «огонь» и «лекарство»), это — «огненные девы» (охин-тэнгри), также олицетворяющие либо центр очага (Огненное центр-сердце), либо его стороны: сияюще белая, с белым огненным платком в руке фея востояного огня; красно-желтая, с красным платком фея южного огня; темно-красная, с красным огненным платком фея западного огня и черная, как острие копья, с платком из черного железа фея северного огня (это распределение цветов по странам света почти полностью соответствует буддийской космологической символике).[15]

Внешне божество огня описывается также как имеющее один глаз (или же 3 глаза), с ослепительно белым масляным и шелковым лицом, с густой белой бородой, медными бровями, с оскаленными раковинно-белыми зубами; наиболее частые эпитеты — красный, масляный, шелковый. Оно едет на кастрированном козле, имеет жемчужный топор, кувшин, четки, барабан, крюк и сеть. У него жемчужные подвески, хрустальный пояс на бедрах и пр. Следует отметить, что за небольшим исключением облик и атрибуты божества огня, как и его семейства, сложились под непосредственным влиянием буддийской иконографии.[16]

Огонь связан с космическим центром; на это указывают, центральное положение очага в юрте а также глухие отзвуки представлений, согласно которым очаг является дымовым отверстием земли (через него ведет путь в Нижний мир), хотя при этом очажное пламя, через которое передаются жертвы небесному божеству, столь же ощутимо связано и с небом. Таким образом, огонь является одним из образов мировой вертикали. Его блеск достигает неба, дым проникает сквозь 99 небесных слоев (или покрывает их); жар пронизывает насквозь землю, согревает ее 77 слоев. Единственный глаз божества всегда смотрит вверх, в небо.[17]

Столь же несомненна и связь с солнцем (огня земного и небесного).[18] Образ иссушающего летнего солнца, возможно, заключает в себе божество зноя и засухи в бурятской мифологии — Галта Улан-тэнгри («Огненно-красный тэнгри»); оно производит «огненную» грозу, которая поджигает все, во что ударит молния, и, по некоторым повериям, именно от него бозник на земле огонь, покровителем которого оно и является.[19] Очагу придавалась округлая форма — форма солнечного диска.[20] К новогоднему ритуалу у монго-

[15] Банзаров, с. 73–74; Poppe, p. 131, 134–135, 142, 144; Поппе, IV, 15, 18, 21; XII, I; Tucci G., Heissig W. Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei, Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln–Mainz, 1970, p. 376–377, 379–381 (далее – Heissig).

[16] Poppe, 135; Поппе, IV, 15, 20.

[17] Банзаров, с. 75; Poppe, p. 135; Heissig, p. 377.

[18] Poppe, p. 134, 140.

[19] Хангалов М. Н. Собрание сочинений. Т. 1–3. Улан-Удэ, 1958–1960 (далее – Хангалов).

[20] Эрдниев У. Э. Калмыки. Историко-этнографические очерки. Элиста, 1985, с. 282 (дале – Эрдниев).

лов приурочивались проводы божества огня (Галайхан) старого года и встреча Галайхан нового года, т.е. устанавливались отношения симметрии между духом огня и солнечным божеством. С этим же, очевидно, связан запрет чужеродцу выносить огонь из юрты именно в ночное время — после захода и до восхода солнца.[21] Показательно, что в монгольской генеалогической легенде о Бодончаре солнечное божество спускается к Алан-гоа ночью через дымовое отверстие юрты в виде луча, причем в одном из вариантов сюжета этот луч, прежде чем проникнуть в ее чрево, отражается от очага.[22] Не случайно, наконец, что «девы огня» оказываются прямым отражением небесных дев, а цвета их тел соответствуют цветам утреннего, полдневного, вечернего и ночного солнца.

Сближению духа очага с солярной тематикой, несомненно, способствует общая для образов «матери-огня» и «матери-солнца» идея производительности — и в плане имущественного изобилия, и в плане умножения потомства (как домашнего скота, так и людей). При новогоднем ритуале поклонения божеству огня у него испрашивают счастье, благую часть (*буян хэсэг*), жизненную силу (букв. «мощь-душу» — *сӱр сӱнсэн*). С символикой плодородия соотносится используемый в обряде репейник (*хилгана*), очевидно, связанный с магией плодородия, и, главным образом, белая (или белая с желтой головой) овца в качестве жертвенного животного, вообще являющаяся символом счастья и благополучия (этот образ имеет особенно большое значение в мифологии монгоров).[24] Специальная жертвенная овечья грудинка в культе огня именуется «оградой счастья» (букв. «доли»), что согласуется с имеющим тибетский источник названием для белой овцы счастья в монгорской традиции.[25] С идеей производительности связана и особая роль козла в монгольском культе огня, что также имеет обширные тибетские соответствия. Козел (обычно — кастрированный козел) выступает в качестве ездового животного божества огня, о диком горном козле идет речь при описании возникновения огня в эпоху первотворения. Козел же является универсальным символом плодородия и связан с обрядом инициации (призывание Синего и Желтого — земного и небесного — козла при наступлении возмужания у мальчиков).[26]

С испрашиванием у божества огня «жизненной силы» во время новогоднего ритуала соотносится то обстоятельство, что новогодние жертвы огню

[21] Poppe, p. 140; Поппе IV, 4; Mostaert, p. 211–213; Эрдниев, с. 228.

[22] Неклюдов С. Ю. Героический эпос монгольских народов. Устные и литературные традиции. М., 1984, с. 253.

[23] Poppe, p. 141; Mostaert, p. 209.

[24] Банзаров, с. 75; Poppe, p. 144.

[25] Schröder D. Aus der Volksdichtung der Monguor. I. Teil. Wiesbaden, 1959, p. 22, 26–27.

[26] Poppe, p. 135, 140–141; Ринчен, с. 190–191.

вообще исходят от женщин, которые просят в этот день детей; участие же в ритуале беременных женщин (у ордосцев, например) исключается.[27] Огонь вообще связан с потомством, запрет на вынесение из юрты родового огня у бурят актуализируется иногда в том случае, если в семье дети возрастом до года; уместно вспомнить хранителя огня Цогтай-хана (о котором речь пойдет ниже) с его специфическим направленным на младенцев каннибализмом, что связано с демоническим воплощением духа — хозяина потомства (впрочем, обычно имеющего женскую ипостась), с одной стороны, и с его производительными фаллическими атрибутами, с другой.

Может быть, идея производительности присутствует и в поклонении невесты родовому очагу жениха, хотя здесь прежде всего заключен смысл испрашивания себе покровительства духа того рода, в который она вступает.[28] Вообще божество огня функционирует как домашний и родовой дух. Оно оберегает дом, имущество и семью, борется со злыми духами; его функция — охранительная и очистительная (огнем очищали юрту, в которой лежал покойник, и вещи, там находящиеся; юрту, поблизости которой было убито громом животное или человек — еще одна деталь, свидетельствующая о связи огня и грозы; применялось окуривание дымом, пронесение или держание над костром, проведение между двумя кострами — так «очищали» невесту перед ее вступлением в род жениха, послов, прибывающих к хану, о чем сообщает еще Плано Карпини и т.д.).[29] Пожар, а также некоторые (прежде всего, кожные) болезни — следствие гнева божества огня, причиной которого часто является дурное обращение с очажным пламенем, непринесение ему положенных жертв (которые обязательно должны были соответствовать представлению о ритуальной чистоте, и обязательно усиливать огонь, способствовать его вечному поддерживанию: масло, водка и пр.), нарушение соответствующих запретов (перешагивать через очаг, подталкивать ногой топливо, помешивать угли острым предметом или замахиваться им, плевать, лить воду в огонь, бросать нечистоты, волосы, произносить перед очагом слово «волк» и т.д.). Существуют многочисленные предания (например, в Бурятии), в которых описывается гнев пострадавшего от дурного обращения духа очага (наличие у него единственного глаза в этом случае мотивируется тем, что он окривел, поскольку угли в очаге помешивали острым предметом). Родовой огонь приравнивается к родственнику, потушить его — все равно, что убить родственника. По бурятским повериям, огонь это такой же член рода, его также нельзя отдать в чужой род, как сына или сородича. При перекочевке на новое место переносились и непогашенные угли, сохраняющие родовой огонь, что было гарантией продолжения рода, в то время, как потушение очага было символом разрушения дома. В Южной Монголии (Ордос) под

[27] Poppe, p. 141; Mostaert, p. 213.
[28] Poppe, p. 142; Mostaert, p. 213.
[29] Mostaert, p. 214; Эрдниев, с. 229–230.

китайским влиянием возникло поверие, что дух очага следит за поступками домочадцев: именно через него верховному божеству становится известно об их прегрешениях.[30]

По сравнению с другими монгольскими традициями весьма специфический облик имеет Сахядай-нойон (Сахада, Сагада, Сагадай убгэн — «Старец Сагадай», Гали эжэн Сахяадай убгэн — «Владыка огня старец Сахядай»), в бурятской мифологии божество огня, покровительствующее семье, деторождению, домашнему очагу; предок всех многочисленных и безымянных духов огня, обитающих в каждом очаге. Как явствует из титула «нойон» («князь», «господин»), он относится к категории духов, занимающих иерархически более низкую ступень, чем небесные богу — тэнгри (ханы и нойоны — обычно их дети и внуки). Вместе со своей женой Санхалан-хатун (Сахала, Сахали, Санхурун, Занхалан) Сахядай-нойон является весьма почитаемым онгоном — иконическим «вместилищем» духа и одновременно его конкретной персонификацией; в его лице поклоняются духу родового огня, который представляется человеком красного цвета (иногда эта пара именуется Гал-Голыхан и Гули-хатун).[31]

Иногда Сахядай-нойон называется «старшим сыном земли», «средним сыном дневного неба» (тэнгри) и «младшим сыном ночного (звездного) неба» (окторгой), что соответствует монгольским шаманским представлениям о рождении огня при отделении неба от земли. По другим повериям, он считается либо сыном верховного небесного божества Эсэгэ Малан-тэнгри, либо его внуком — страшим или младшим сыном божества зимнего снежного неба Будургу Саган-тэнгри (Изморозь Белый тэнгри), братом тотемного первопредка Буха нойон бабая и божества планеты Венера Солбона (монг. Цолмон). Согласно преданию, Сахядай-нойон был ниспослан с неба на землю светлыми западными тэнгри, чтобы защитить людей от насылаемых темными восточными тэнгри зимних холодов, ночных хищников и кровососущих насекомых (отражение универсальной охранительной функции огня, который, например, по шорским повериям, создается Ульгенем специально, чтобы отгонять различных гадов, вызванных к жизни Эрликом в эпоху первотворения). Он женился на дочери духа земли (являющегося также охотничим божеством, хозяином тайги) Баян-Хангая (Богатый-Обширный), чья старшая дочь Эхэ Юрин — жена Эсэгэ Малан-тэнгри. Один из аларских мифов объединяет с этим сюжетом космического брака рассказ об исчезновении солнца и луны, взятых Баян-Хангаем в качестве выкупа за невесту и их хитроумном вызволении из плена хтонического божества. Другой аларский миф повествует о ссоре Сахядай-нойона с духом воды Гэрэл-нойоном, который

[30] Банзаров, с. 73–74; Poppe, p. 144; Mostaert, p. 212, 214; Хангалов, I. с. 298; Sandscheew G. Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten. – Anthropos. T. 23, Heft 4, p. 967 (далее – Sandscheew).

[31] Хангалов, I, с. 342.

просил свою дочь в жены своему сыну, чем вызвал гнев хозяина огня, расценившего подобный брак как противоестественный (нарушающий экзогамию — оба принадлежали к одному роду). С тех пор огонь не терпит воды. Всем этим сюжетам противоречит иной миф о добывании огня, переданного людям ласточкой, похитившей его у тэнгри.[32]

Как уже было сказано, по мнению Б. Ринчена, имена Сахядай-нойона и Санхалан-хатун восходят к именам сына Чингисхана Чагадая и его жены Чанхулан. В этом случае можно полагать, что на бурятской почве мифологический образ утратил черты своего исторического прототипа, слившись с местными духами-хозяевами очажного пламени; его отражение обнаруживается лишь в легенде, по которой Сахядай-нойон некогда был человеком — хранителем огня, а после смерти стал его духом-хозяином.[33] Д. Кара же считает, что его имя является производным от «сахиха» — «блеснуть» (о молнии), «высечь» (огонь с помощью кремня и огнива).[34] Однако возможна и вторичная этимологизация. В культовых текстах иногда встречается характерный для монгольской шаманской мифологии мотив раздувания Сахядай-нойоном и его женой огня (очевидно, первого), что вообще больше соответствует функции не божества огня, но его создателя.

В этом смысле Сахядай-нойону соответствует Цогтай-хан (или Цогтай-батюшка) в монгольских (ойратских) преданиях хранитель чудесных знаний, прежде всего, искусства добвывания огня. Как считает Б. Я. Владимирцов, этот персонаж есть отражение реального исторического лица — Цогту-тайджи, действительные обстоятельства жизни которого фантастически переосмыслены в фольклоре.[35] Согласно легенде кукунорских, ойратов (элетов), Цогтай-хан, страдавший запором вследствие того, что сел на шапку, подаренную Далай-ламой, лечился чаем, в котором по его приказу варили отбранных у матерей трехлетних детей. Батур-мусу, посланному Геген-ханом прекратить злодеяния, Цогтай-хан в качестве выкупа за свою жизнь предложил открыть магические секреты: застегивать землю, арканом спускать с неба солнце и луну, находить в пустыне воду, быстро преодолевать огромные расстояния, добывать огонь. Искусству добывания огня он научил Батур-муса, но все же был обезглавлен. С тех пор люди могут высекать огонь из камня.[36]

Прозвище Цогтай-хана «с большим фаллосом», очевидно, указывает на символику производительности, свойственную духам огня. Имя Цогтай —

[32] Хангалов, I, с. 295–296, 299, 407; II, 135–136; Sandscheew, p. 967, 969–970.

[33] Sandscheew, p. 968–969.

[34] Ср.: Галданова Г. Р. Доламаистские верования бурят. Новосибирск, 1987, с. 25.

[35] Владимирцов Б. Я. Надписи на скалах халхаского Цокту-Тайджи. — Известия АН СССР, 1927, с. 240.

[36] Потанин Г. Н. Тангутско-тибетская окраина Китая и Центральная Монголия. Т. I. СПб., 1893, с. 984.

«Обладающий жаром» (угольным, очажным), в перен. смысле — «жизненной силой», семантически сопоставимо с именем упоминаемого в монгольских шаманских призываниях Агуратая, высекшего первый огонь. С другой стороны, оно совпадает с именем Сокто-мерген в бурятской мифологии, сыном Солбона, о котором известно, что ему причинила болезнь дочь моря («далай» в титуле Далай-лама также значит «море»).[37]

Наконец, двойником Цогтай-хана является в монгольской мифологии Шидургу-хаган (Шитыр Тюльгун хан) — тангутский государь, волшебник и знаток природных тайн, играющий важную роль в цикле сюжетов о Чингисхане, антагонистом которого он выступает. Согласно поздней летописной традиции и устным преданиям, причиной конфликта является посягательство Чингисхана на жену Шидургу-хагана — Гурбельджин-гоа, к овладению которой его подстрекают приближенные. Шидургу-хагана трудно победить: у него есть чудесная собака, предсказывающая будущее и сообщающая о наступлении вражеских войск, а также охраняющая границу старуха-волшебница (ее убивает Хасар, брат Чингиса); он неуязвим и может быть убит единственным, известным лишь ему способом (при помощи пестрого шнура, находящегося у него в подошве). Он — неуловимый оборотень, принимающий в течение дня образ ядовитой желто-пестрой змеи, затем — рыже-пестрого тигра и затем — прекрасного светловолосого юноши (только в этом облике он и может быть схвачен). Чингисхан вступает с ним в шаманский поединок, превращаясь, соответственно, в птицу Гаруди, во льва и в могучего старца (или в Хормусту), и в конце концов побеждает. Подобно Цогтаю, Шидургу-хаган тщетно пытается откупиться своими знаниями о природных тайнах, которыми он владеет: он поднимает на небосводе звезду Цолмон, чтобы никогда не было холодно, созвездье Мечин, чтобы не было голода и бескормицы (или: предлагает изловить Мечин, чтобы не было холодно, и Цолмон, чтобы не было войны). Помимо этого, он умеет находить воду в безводной пустыне и добывать огонь; хотя это последнее знание сообщается им, его все же убивают. Перед смертью Шидургу-хаган сообщает, что оставить его в живых было бы скверно для потомства Чингиса, в то время как его гибель опасна для самого Чингисхана, а также предупреждает о необходимости следить за его женой. Действительно, доставшись победителю, Гурбельджин-гоа кончает с собой, бросившись в реку и написав на хвосте жаворонка письмо, чтобы тело ее искали вверх по течению реки (эпизод увязывается с названием реки Хатун-гол — «Госпожа-река»). Иногда перед самоубийством Гурбельджин-гоа оскопляет Чингисхана щипцами, что и оказывается причиной его смерти.[38]

[37] Хангалов, I, с. 318.

[38] Лубсан Данзан. Алтан тобчи. М., 1973, с. 234–238; Потанин Г. Н. Очерки Северо-Западной Монголии. Т. 4. СПб., 1883, с. 229; Беннигсен А. П. Легенды и сказки Центральной Азии. СПб., 1912, с. 111–113.

Исторический прототип Шидургу-хагана — последний тангутский государь, умерщвленный по распоряжению Чингисхана после разгрома тангутского царства (1227 г.), причем именем «Шидургу» («прямодушный, правдивый») его нарекают лишь перед смертью, чтобы, с одной стороны, избежать ответственности за убийство буддийского государя, и, с другой стороны, казнить его якобы за нарушение союзнических обязательств. В процессе мифологизации он сближается с тибетским государем (УП в.) Сронцзан Гамбо, канонизированным в центральноазиатском буддизме и называемым по-монгольски Шидургу Тӧлгэн Номун-хан (т.е. «Правдиво предугадывающий царь учения»),[39] именно под этим именем в его модифицированной форме (Шитыр Тӯльгӯн-хан) Шидургу-хаган, в основном, и известен в устных преданиях, причем его осмысление способствует всяческому подчеркиванию семантики волхований и волшебства. В некоторых повериях Шидургу-хаган из хранителя тайны добывания огня превращается просто в хранителя огня (например, в представлении о том, что именно у него взял огонь для солнца Очирвани, выступающий в качестве демиурга).[40]

Предложенный обзор различных функциональных и семантических признаков божества огня и духа-хозяина очага в традициях монгольских народов наглядно демонстрирует синтетический характер этих традиций, их очевидную культурно-историческую многослойность. Однако это на мешает созданию собственных концепций «вечных» религиозно-мифологических тем, даже напротив — описанный синтез скорее обогащает процесс подобного создания.

[39] Балданжапов П. Б. Altan tobči. Монгольская летопись XVIII века. Улан-Удэ, с. 124–126, 198.

[40] Потанин Г. Н. Очерки . . , с. 126.

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SUR LE SOI-DISANT RHOTACISME MONGOLIEN*

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I. Il est bien connu que les correspondants du turc commun *s(z)* dans le tchouvache sont, en toutes positions, sauf le commencement du mot, *s(z)* et *r*. Ce sont à peu près les mêmes correspondants qu'on trouve dans les langues mongoles et mandchou-toungousses. Il faut faire remarquer en passant que la quantité de parallèles lexicales avec le rhotacisme se réduit succesivement à partir des langues turques vers les langues mandchou-toungousses. Les parallèles lexicales tchouvaches-turques de cette espèce sont très nombreuses, tandis que celles qui relient les langues turques avec les langues mongoles font environ une trentaine. Et quant aux parallèles mongolo-mandchou-toungousses, leur quantité ne dépasse pas une dizaine. On notera de même que les mots mandchou-toungousses rentrant dans ces parallèles ont, d'habitude, l'aspect caractéristique des mongolismes. Ex. évenk. (toung.) *boro* « gris », *ikire* « jumeau », *ukur* « vache », *kurgan* « agneau », *tarayai* « chauve », *kūr* « instrument musical à cordes ». Cela s'explique par le fait que ce sont les mots empruntés au mongol. Cependant tous les mots correspondants mongols sont d'origine turque. Cf. ans. turc *boz, ikiz, öküz* (<i.-e.), *qozu, taz, qobuz.*

II. Quelle que soit la manière de voir l'origine des parallèles avec le rhotacisme-zétacisme, il faudrait, avant tout, chercher à expliquer la nature du phénomène. Cela signifie qu'on doit commencer par répondre à la question sur sa base. Étant donné actuellement que la base de l'alternance *z*/ /*r* est phonétique, par excellence, il reste à nommer d'une manière précise les conditions concrètes du passage de *r* à *s(z)* ou de *s(z)* à *r*.

Au point de vue phonétique, tous les deux changements sont admissibles, bien que le changement de *r* à *s(z)* soit peu répandu. Il se rencontre surtout dans le français du XVIe siècle. Cf. fr. *chaire* (<lat. *cathĕdra*) — *chaise*,[1] anc. fr. *béricle* (déformation de *béryl*, lat. *beryllus* < gr.) — *besicles*.[2] Celui-ci est fré-

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[1] Voir A. Dauzat et al., *Nouveau dictionnaire étymologique et historique* [*de la langue française*], Paris 1971, p. 150.

[2] Ibid, p. 84.

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quent dans la prononciation maniérée des courtisanes. Ex.: *mazy* « mari », *pèse* « père »,[3] *Pazis* « Paris », *pèze* « père », *mèze* « mère ».[4] Par contre, le changement dans le sens inverse est attesté dans beaucoup de langues. C'est Varron qui semble avoir été le premier à l'établir dans le latin.[5] En parlant du rhotacisme indo-européen, V. M. Žirmunskij constate la conservation de *z* dans la langue gothique et le changement de *z* en *r* dans les langues germaniques d'ouest et de nord: goth. *maiza*, anc. haut allem. *mêra*, allem. *mehr*, angl. *more* « plus »; goth. *batiza*, anc. haut allem. *bezzer*, allem. *besser*, angl. *better* « mieux ».[6] Voici quelques autres exemples: lat. *ausum* > *aurum* « or »; anc. fr. *courin* « cousin », *rairon* « raison »,[7] *fraire* « fraise »,[8] germ. **alisā*, anc. haut-allem. *elira* (avec métathèse: *erila*) « aune », allem. *elsbeere* (*els-beere*) « sorbe », fr. *alise* < **aliza* (< germ.).[9] Comme on le voit par les exemples, *s*(*z*) a passé à *r* dans l'intervocalique. Voilà ce qui peut avoir une haute importance, car c'est la position la plus convenante pour le passage en question dans les langues turques anc. turc *tatïγsïz* « sans gout » — *tatïγsïra-* « être sans goût », *tuvuz* « grand » — *tuvra-* (*tuvura-*) « grandir », *semiz* « gros » — *semri-* (touv. *semiri-*) « grossir »; turkm. *γuduz* « furieux, enragé » — *γudura-* « faire des bétises, se démener » etc.

Bien sûr, la position dans laquelle *s*(*z*) a pu changer en *r* n'a pas été seule. Un changement pareil est vérifié à la fin des n'importe quels mots polysyllabiques et à la fin des monosyllabes avec les voyelles longues étymologiques. En outre, on ne doit pas exclure la possibilité d'un tel changement devant certaines consonnes (*č*, *ǰ*, *š*), bien que pour le moment, à ce qu'il paraît, il n'y en ait pas d'arguments de poids. A propos, selon l'avis de N. Yüce, le changement *z* > *r* a eu lieu dans le turc *doqurǰun* (< *doquzǰun*) « marelle » et dans le caraïte *sörček* (< *sözček*) « bruits, cancans ».[10]

Donc, à en juger d'après l'analyse des mots différents rien n'empêche d'expliquer le rhotacisme comme résultant de la sonorisation successive de *s*(*z*) dans les conditions spéciales de l'affaiblissement des consonnes.

III. Tout ce qui précède sert à former une idée juste de la nature du phénomène appelé rhotacisme, en général, et constitue un point de départ pour résoudre le problème du soi-disant rhotacisme mongolien dont il s'agit dans un des travails de B.Ya. Vladimirtsov. Voilà une liste de mots du mongol écrit:

[3] F. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française dès origines à 1900*, II, Paris 1906, p. 274.

[4] E. Bourciez, *Précis historique de phonétique française*, Paris 1914, p. 209.

[5] Voir S. A. Šubik, *Jazykoznanie drevnego Rima: Istorija lingvističeskih učenij, Drevnij mir*, Leningrad 1980, p. 238.

[6] V. M. Žirmunskij, *Istorija nemeckogo jazyka*, Moskva 1965, p. 136.

[7] F. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française . . .*, II, p. 274.

[8] E. Bourciez, *Précis historique de phonétique française*, p. 209.

[9] Voir A. Dauzat et al., *Nouveau dictionnaire . . .*, p. 22.

[10] N. Yüce, Doqurcun, Ein türkisches Wort mit einem mongolischen Suffix. *MSFOu* 158 (1977), S. 258.

1. *sonur* « ouïe » — *sonus-* « entendre »; 2. *ikere* « jumeau » — *ikes* « placenta »; 3. *bayar* « joie » — *bayas-* « se réjouir »; 4. *qabirya* « côte » — *qabisun* « idem »; 5. *ünür* « odeur » — *ünüs-* « sentir »; 6. *öber* « lui-même » — *öbesü-ben* « lui-même, de soi-même »; 7. *mör* « voie » — *möski-* « suivre la trace »; 8. *kölür-* « suer » — *kölüsün* « sueur ».[11] M. Lewicki à son tour n'a pas manqué de mentionner l'alternance *r*/ /*s* dans les langues mongoles et a cité un exemple: mong. m. *xaxarxai*, mo., kalm. *xayarxai* « déchiré, cassé » — mong. m. *xaxas*, mo., kalm. *xayas* « moitié ».[12]

D'abord on doit enlever de cette liste la deuxième paire. Il ne fait pas de doute que le mot *ikere* a été emprunté au turc. L'ancien turc *ikiz* remonte à *iki* « deux » et n'a rien de commun avec mo. *ikes* « placenta ». La tentative de réunir *mör* « voie » avec *möski-* « suivre la trace » ne semble pas être bien fondée. C'est l'absence de la concordance entre les conditions phonétiques et le caractère des consonnes y presentées qui frappe après avoir pris connaissance de paires NN° 4, 6, 7. Or, *s* se trouve à l'intervocalique: *qabisun*, *öbesün*, *kölesün*. Ces paires n'offrent pas la correspondance en question, quelques-unes d'entre elles présentent la chute de *r* qui précède à *s*: *öbesün* « lui-même » <**öbersün* (mo. *öber* « lui-même », *öbersed* ~ *öbersüd* « eux-mêmes »), *kölüsün* ~ *kölesün* « sueur » <**kölürsün* ~ **kölersün* (mo. *kölesün*, mong. m. *köler*,[13] mgr. *konorse* « sueur », *konori-* ~ *koleri-*[14] « suer »). Le verb *qayarqa-* est un derivé de *qaya*, cf. mo. *qaya* — une particule désignant la séparation d'une chose de l'autre, mong. m. *qayal-*, *qayača-* « se rompre », « se fendre », « se diviser »,[15] Cf. aussi alt. dial. *qayla-* « fendre ».[16]

Il est difficile d'expliquer les trois autres paires. Probablement, les verbes *sonus-*, *bayas-*, *ünüs-* remontent aux archétypes **sonursu-* (duns. *sonosu-*, mg. *sunose-*), **bayarsu-*, **ünürsü-*, respectivement. Cf. mo., mong. m. *noyir*, mgr. *nõr* « sommeil », mo. *noyirsu-* ~ *noyirsa-* « dormir », évenk. (toung.) *ńaso-* (?<mong.) « dormir ». On peut admettre de même leur caractère dérivé: *sonu-s-* ~ *sono-s-*, *baya-s-*, *ünü-s-* ~ *üni-s-*.[17] Donc, le problème demeure, il attend sa solution.

[11] B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo jazïka i halhaskogo narečija*, Leningrad 1929, s. 360.

[12] M. Lewicki, Turcica et Mongolica, 4, Moyen-mongol *xaxarxai*, *xaxas*, turc *qaqaz*, *qayaz*. *RO XV* (1939–1949), pp. 251–255.

[13] Voir P. M. Melioranskij, *Arab filolog o mongol'skom jazyke*, Sankt-Petersburg 1903, s. 147.

[14] Voir A. de Smedt, A. Mostaert, *Le dialecte monguor parlé par les mongols du Kansou occidental. II. Grammaire*, The Hague 1964, p. 184.

[15] N. Poppe, *Mongol'skij slovar' Muqaddimat Al-adab*, Moskva–Leningrad 1938, ss. 286, 444.

[16] W. Radloff, *Opït slovarja tjurkskih narečij*, II. Sankt-Petersburg 1899, s. 77.

[17] Cf. S. Godziński, *Język średniomongolski. Słovotworstwo, Odmiana wyrazów, Składnia*, Warszawa 1985, ss. 62–63.

Pour en finir il ne serait pas inutile de se demander si la chute de *r* dans le groupe *rs* a-t-elle ou non un lien quelconque avec la chute de *l* dans un groupe identique? Cf. mo. *čayalsun* (*čālsun*) >*čayasun* « papier », *mölsün* > *mösün* « glace » (dag. *meise*, mgr. *molse*, duns. *mensun*, baoan. *menšu*, san-ču. *murši*),[18] *qimulsun* ~ *qumursun*[19] > *kimusun* « ongle », **aryalsun* > *aryasun* « fumier », **γutulsun* > *γutusun* « botte ».[20]

En ce qui concerne le rhotacisme dagur, il représente, à de rares exceptions près, un phénomène extraordinaire. Comme on sait, dans le dagur non seulement *s*, mais aussi *b*, *γ*, *g*, *d* passent en *r*.[21]

*

Après ce que l'on vient de dire, l'existence du rhotacisme altaïque n'a pas l'air d'une chose certaine. Selon toutes probabilités, nous avons affaire avec le rhotacisme turc proprement dit (principlement avec le rhotacisme tchouvache) et avec quelques mots d'origine turque dans les langues mongoles et mandchou-toungousses. Au surplus, il y a trois ou quatre cas qui pour le moment ne peuvent pas être expliqués d'une manière satisfaisante.

Abréviations

allem.	— allemand	duns.	— dunsian	lat.	— latin
alt.	— altaïque	évenk.	— évenque	mgr.	— monguor
anc.	— ancien	fr.	— français	mong. m.	— mongol moyen
angl.	— anglais	germ.	— germanique	mo.	— mongol écrit
baoan.	— baoanien	ghot.	— ghotique	san-ču.	— san-čuan
car.	— caraïte	gr.	— grec	touv.	— de Touva
dag.	— dagour	i.-e.	— indo-européen	tur.	— turc de Turquie
dial.	— dialectal	kalm.	— kalmouk	turkm.	— turkmène

[18] Voir B. H. Todajeva, *Mongorskij jazyk*, Moskva 1973, s. 345.

[19] Voir S. Godziński, *Język średniomongolski* . . ., ss. 36–37; P. M. Melioranskij, *Arab filolog o mongol'skom jazyke*, s. 144.

[20] Cf. A. Mostaert, Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire secrète des Mongols (1), *HJAS XIII*, 3–4 (1950), p. 292. D'après une note de A. Mostaert, on a cherché à considérer l'élément *l* dans les mots *kimul*, *aryal*, *γutul* comme un suffixe (ancien) de pluriel.

[21] Voir B. H. Todajeva, *Dagurskij jazyk*, Moskva 1986, s. 33–35.

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RELATIVSATZBAUTYPEN IN DEN SOGENANNTEN ALTAISCHEN SPRACHEN

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1. Vorbemerkungen

In vorliegender Arbeit wird versucht, einige allgemeine Beobachtungen zu Bautypen gewisser attributiver Partizipialkonstruktionen in den sogenannten altaischen Sprachen zusammenzufassen. Bei den theoretischen Grundlagen ihrer Behandlung wird bewußt der Anschluß an das von Johanson vorgeschlagene Modell gesucht.[1]

Solche Konstruktionen können als komplementiv zu einem Basissegment, dem Bezugswort, verwendete Aktorensätze, im folgenden kurz Relativsätze genannt, betrachtet werden. Dabei stellt die Partizipialform einen aspektotemporal markierten Konjunktor dar, der die gesamte Fügung mit dem der syntaktisch übergeordneten Einheit zugehörigen Bezugswort verbindet. Wie in Finitsätzen kann auch hier der verbale Prädikatskern neben anderen möglichen Komplementen Subjektskomplemente aufweisen.

Uns sollen nur die Fälle interessieren, in denen das Bezugswort referentiell nicht identisch mit dem Subjekt des Relativsatzes ist, was ich als *Subjektsverschiedenheit* bezeichne.[2] Hier kann sich bei geeignetem Aktantenmuster im Relativsatz (bzw. bei geeigneter Lesart des Aktantenmusters) ein Subjekt als Bestandteil der attribuierten Proposition an der Oberfläche realisieren.

2. Subjektische Typen

Die Realisation des Subjekts kann in Form eines Nomens oder Pronomens erfolgen, es kann auch — alleine oder zusätzlich zum vorher genannten Fall — durch einen possessivisch markierten Subjektsvertreter am Partizip oder am Bezugswort aufgenommen sein. Alle diese Typen fasse ich als *subjektische Typen* zusammen.

[1] Im besonderen wird hier Bezug genommen auf die als Typoskript vorliegende Arbeit von Johanson 1989.

[2] S. auch C. Schönig 1988.

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2.1. Possessivische Subjektsvertreter.

Im Türkmenischen, Usbekischen, Altaitürkischen, Ostkiptschakischen (Kasakisch, Kirgisisch), Jakutischen etc. und auch im Mongolischen (s. Fn. 12) erfolgt die Possessivmarkierung am Bezugswort: tkm. *Rus gošunïnïŋ yerlešen yerine Kulikovo meydanï diyilyer eken* 'der Ort, an dem sich die russischen Soldaten aufstellten, wurde Wachtelfeld genannt' (tkmIst 25);[3] alt. *J̌orγoy Medenovič Qïdïev senïŋ eŋ ǰaratqan bičikterinnïŋ avtorï* '*ǰMQ* ist der Autor der Bücher, die du am meisten liebst' (KD 2); kzk. *üyŭnö qaytïp-keldi, manaγï üš düs som aqšanï qarap-edĭ, tïqqan ǰerindä joq boldŭ* 'sie kehrten nach Hause zurück (und) sahen nach den besagten 300 Rubeln Geld, (aber) an dem Platz, wo sie es versteckt hatten, war es nicht' (Menges 1959, 484); jak. *ulaxan örüstäγär kuččugui kisi atïlla:n taxsar ürüyälärä ugut buolbut ba:llara* 'nicht nur große Flüsse, sondern auch kleine Bäche, die von einem Menschen überschritten werden können, waren aus ihren Ufern getreten' (BöGr 335).[4] Im Tuvischen kann sie auch am Partizip erscheinen (s. 2.4). Im Westoghusischen ist sie am *DIK*-Partizip obligatorisch und kann ansonsten fehlen (s. 3). Im Mandschu entfällt die Möglichkeit der Possessivmarkierung mangels Possessivsuffixen: *bi sin'de yan'duxa bayta be si tede xanduxebio?* 'hast du ihm von der Sache erzählt, welche ich dir anvertraut habe?' (Paškov 1963, 59); *duin niyalma tukiyehe amba kioo de tehebi* 'sie saß in einer großen von vier Mann getragenen Sänfte' (Haenisch 1961, 81). Im West-Nord-Kiptschakischen (Wolga-Ural-Kaukasus-Kiptschakisch, Tschuwaschisch, Chakassisch) unterbleibt sie. Das Tungusische — in das hier das Mandschu nicht eingeschlossen wird — weist neben hauptsächlicher Possessivmarkierung am Partizip auch doppelte Markierung an Partizip und Bezugswort auf; wie im Westoghusischen ist sie auch hier meist obligatorisch (s. 3.): lam. *min ga.di:.v kniga stolla: bisni* 'das Buch, das ich gekauft habe, liegt auf dem Tisch'; *čimay Genava ao.xa.ni bëunduë.ni siŋguxëmbeni baogoxači* 'am Morgen fanden sie den Gena erstarrt an der (<seiner) Stelle, wo er geschlafen hatte' (Benzing 1985a, 65 f.).

2.2. Markiertes und unmarkiertes Subjekt.

Anders als in den Mongolensprachen und in Mandschu ist in den Türksprachen Possessivmarkierung Voraussetzung dafür, daß ein nominales oder pronominales Subjekt auch im Genitiv erscheinen kann (S_{Gen}–$[PB]_{Pos}$; s. auch die Beispiele in 2.1.). Die formale Opposition zwischen Konstruktionen mit

[3] Zu Parallelen s. 2.2. (tuv.) und 2.3. (W-N-kpč.).

[4] Auch im Salarischen finden wir Beispiele für Subjektsmarkierung am Bezugswort: *čüseł ko^{u}lagan ǰiri* 'der Ort, wo sie das Examen ablegten'; *išken sanžym* 'die Tasse, aus welcher ich trank' (Tenišev 1976a, 176). Vergleiche dagegen die ebenfalls ostturkestanischen Türksprachen Neuuigurisch und Gelbuigurisch, s. Fn. 14.

genitivmarkierten und unmarkierten Subjekten scheint hauptsächlich mitteilungsperspektivisch genutzt. Im Westoghusischen realisiert sie sich nur unter bestimmten syntaktischen Bedingungen bei nominalem Subjekt mit *DIK*-Partizipien,[5] während die übrigen Partizipien auf genitivlosen Bautyp ohne Possessivmarkierung beschränkt sind (S_O–$[PB]_O$): azr. *Bayram ilan vurmuš adamlar kimi yerindän sičradï* 'B. sprang von seinem Platz wie jemand, den eine Schlange gebissen hat, auf' (SIG 144); Altosm. *Haqq yanduran čarayuŋ yana dursun* 'deine von Gott entzündete Fackel soll immerfort brennen' (*Dede Qorqut* nach Mansuroğlu 1959, 181);[6] *su olan yerde insan yašayïr* 'dort leben an Orten, wo es Wasser gibt, Menschen' (azrIst 4).[7]

Auch in anderen Türksprachen scheinen Oppositionen zwischen markierten und unmarkierten Bautypen zu bestehen. Im Ostkiptschakischen und Usbekischen — hier sogar bei Pronominalsubjekt (s. 2.4.) — kontrastieren genitivisch-possessivisch markierte Typen mit genitivlos-nichtpossessivischen, etwa: özb. *Sizning menga qilgan yaxšiligingiz učun noma''qul iš qilmayman* 'wegen der Wohltaten, die Sie mir erwiesen haben, werde ich die schlechte Tat nicht vergelten'; *lekin avval sen men qilgan islohga rozi bŭlišing kerak.* 'aber zuerst mußt du den Reformen, die ich durchgeführt habe, zustimmen' (özbGr 366 f.); kzk. *Ulžaynïŋ žay, salqïn aytqan sözï* 'das Wort, das U. mit ruhiger, kalter Stimme gesprochen hatte'; *Miliciya barar žolda* 'auf dem Weg, auf dem die Miliz marschiert' (SIG 118 u. 148). Im Tuvischen scheint diese Opposition wie im Westoghusischen auf Nomina beschränkt: *Orus šerignïŋ doqta:p alyan čerin Kulikovo šölü dep ada:r* 'der Ort, an dem sich die russischen Soldaten aufstellten, heißt Wachtelfeld'[8] (tuvIst 25); *čaŋyïz kiži eves, xa:n eves, a soŋyuldalïy kižiler ergelep baštap turar kürüneni respublika dep ada:r* 'einen Staat, den nicht nur eine Person, ein Monarch, sondern alle Leute gemeinsam regieren, nennt man Republik' (tuvIst 122)[9]. Auch Altuigurisch weist neben possessiv-

[5] S. Johanson 1977.

[6] Zum *-mIš*-Partizip siehe Banguoğlu 1938, 113: *ölmiš yer* (7,5) (leider aus dem Zusammenhang zitiert).

[7] Zum Vergleich hier andere inhaltsgleiche Belege aus anderen Türksprachen (sämtlich S_O — $[PB]_O$): *su bar yerde adam yašayar* (tkmIst 4); *suy ayïp čïdar čerlerde kižiler čurttap . . .* (tuvIst 4); (west-nord-kiptschakisch) *anda suw aya toryan ǰirlärdä kešelär yäši . . .* (tatIst 4); *suw baryan ǰerde adamla ǰašaydïla . . .* (krčIst 4); *anda, suy axčatxan čirde, čon čurtapca . . .* (xksIst 4); *šïv yuxsa vïrtakan vïransenče šïnsem purănaśśĕ* (čuvIst. 4); kmk. *suv aqayan yerlerde adamlar yašay, . . .* (SIG 130) 'dort leben an Orten, wo Wasser fließt (wo es Wasser gibt), Menschen'.

[8] Zu Parallelen s. 2.1. (tkm.) und 2.3. (W-N-kpč.).

[9] Ich verfüge über zu wenige karagassische Beispiele, um genaueres über die Verteilung der Bautypen in dieser Sprache aussagen zu können. Beim genitivlosen Nomen können zumindest possessivische mit nichtpossessivischen Konstruktionen wechseln: *kišiler . . . aŋnap ba:r hirési ol* 'das ist die Jahreszeit . . . in der man auf die Jagd geht' (TB 93); *kišiler kök qa''har, p''ïšqan tarïy ké''sér hiré bolïr* 'das ist die Jahreszeit, in der man Heu macht, in der man das reife Getreide erntet' (TB 93).

markierten Konstruktionen[10] ebenfalls den Typ S_0–$[PB]_0$ auf: *sïγun tartar qaŋlï* (Ht. 2120 nach Gabain 1942, 76) 'der von einem Maral gezogene Wagen'.

Im Jakutischen, das ja über keinen Genitiv verfügt, könnten einfach possessivisch markierte bzw. unmarkierte Relativsatzformen[11] zum Ausdruck einer solchen Opposition genutzt sein. Auch Tungusisch kann keinen Genitiv setzen, gleichzeitig aber die Possessivmarkierung nicht unterlassen. Ebenso wie Possessivmarkierungen mögen auch Genitive obligatorisch und damit unfähig sein,[12] als Markierer irgendwelcher Oppositionen aufzutreten.

2.3. Genitiv- und possessivlose Typen.

Das West-Nord-Kiptschakische ist beim subjektischen Typ ganz von S_0–$[PB]_0$-Konstruktionen dominiert: *Rus yaskärläre urnašqan urïn Kulikovo qïrï dip atala* (tatIst 24); *Orus asker toxdayan ǰerge K. tüz digendile* (krčIst 25); *Orïs voyskozï turγan orïn K. čazï tïp adalγan* (xksIst 22); *Vïrăs śarĕ vïranaśnă vïrăna K. xirĕ teně* (čuvIst 23) 'der Ort, an dem sich die russischen Soldaten aufstellten, heißt Wachtelfeld';[13] ebenso bei pronominalem Subjekt: *bez tuwγan häm yäši torγan il . . . SSSR dip atala* (tatIst 3); *biz tuwγan emda ǰašayan qralγa . . . deydile* (krčIst 3); *pĭs töre:n paza čurtapčatxan strana . . . tĭp adalča* (xksIst 3); *epir śuralnă śĕršïva . . . teśśĕ* (čuvIst 3) 'das Land, im dem wir (geboren sind und) leben, . . . wird SSSR genannt'. Auch Runentürkisch weist diesen Typ auf: *äčümiz apamïz tutmis yir sub idisiz bolmazun tiyin az bodunuγ itip yar ⟨atïp . . .⟩* 'in order that the land, which was ruled by our ancestors, would not be without ruler, we organized the Az people and put them in order (KT E 19).[14]

[10] S. 2.6. und Fn 18.

[11] Zu markierten Formen s. 2.1. Unmarkiert ist etwa: *sirin ayïlgïta maygïta mannïk: kĭarahas ikki xaya arda, tula ï:t munna bappat tüŋ oyur.* 'die Physiognomie und der Charakter des Landes sind dieser Art: eine zwischen zwei Bergen befindliche Enge, rund herum dichtes Gehölz, in dem die Schnauze eines Hundes nicht Raum findet' (BöTxt 8).

[12] So vielleicht im Mongolischen: *manu bagši-yin mandur kelegsen üge ünen aǰugu* 'the words spoken to us by our teacher turned out to be true'. (Poppe 1954, 177); *minu kebtegsen yaǰar* 'the place in which I was lying' (Poppe 1954, 167 f.). Modern etwa klm. *axinn' bič.sn bičg irǰ* 'der Brief, den sein Bruder geschrieben hat, ist angekommen' (Benzing 1985b, 144). Zusätzliches Possessivsuffix, vielleicht zur Besitzanzeige: klm. *mini magazinas av.sn degtr.m* 'das Buch, das ich im Kaufhaus gekauft habe' (Benzing 1985b 144).

Auch für Türkmenisch und Altaitürkisch verfüge ich über keine Beispiele für genitivloses nominales oder pronominales Subjekt.

[13] Zu Parallelen s. 2.1. (tkm.) und 2.2. (tuv.).

[14] Alle orchontürkischen Belege nach Tekin 1968. Dieser Typ erscheint auch im Neuuigurischen: *tünügün Änčängä kätkän äkämin körsäŋ, biznïŋ atainimizdin alγan bu ikki xätni uniŋγa bärginla* 'wenn du meinen älteren Bruder siehst, der gestern nach Äncan abgefahren ist, überreiche ihm bitte diese beiden von unseren Eltern erhaltenen Briefe, (Pritsak 1959, 554). Unterlassung der Possessivmarkierung finden wir auch im Gelbuigurischen: *zaŋ ǰizty alyy t'oqan tegte t'utuvalγanmetro* 'zu der Zeit, zu der er die Leinwand nehmen wollte, packte er ihn'; *ynysyn zalavatqan ǰerge hetyptro* 'er erreichte den Ort, wo sein Bruder zerhauen wurde' (Tenišev 1976b, 161).

Von den formalen Markierungsmöglichkeiten ähnelt das erwähnte kiptschakische Areal noch am ehesten dem Mandschu, bei dem die scheinbar seltene Verwendung des Genitivs auch andere als mitteilungsperspektivische Gründe haben könnte.[15] Fehlen entsprechender formaler Oppositionen bedeutet jedoch nicht zwangsläufig Fehlen der entsprechenden inhaltlichen Kategorien.

2.4. Pronominales Subjekt.

Gerade bei pronominalem Subjekt ist der Genitiv — anders als im gesamten Kiptschakischen, Usbekischen und Mandschu — in manchen Sprachen obligatorisch, so im modernen Westoghusisch beim *DIK*-Partizip,[16] vielleicht im Mongolischen[17] und auch im Tuvischen, wo sich die zugehörige Possessivmarkierung dann — zumindest bei den Aoristformen »präsensbildender« Hilfsverben — am Partizip statt am Bezugswort findet: *silerniŋ čurttap turarïŋar bo a:s-kežiktig üye* 'die glückliche Zeit, in der ihr lebt' (tuvIst 167).[18]

[15] Vielleicht dienen die Genitive in folgenden Beispielen der Besitzanzeige: *xan i ǰe.tere ǰaka* 'die Dinge, welche der Kaiser ißt' (Benzing 1985a, 67); *sikse suweni min'de sannaxa tere čay abdaxa i amtan' umesi sayn* 'das Aroma dieses Tee(blattes), welche(s) ihr mir abends gegeben habt, ist sehr gut' (Paškov 1963, 59). S. hierzu auch die Überlegungen zur Funktion des Possessivsuffixes in genitivmarkierten mongolischen Konstruktionen, Fn. 12.

[16] Im Gegensatz zum Altosmanischen: *sän išlädügüŋ iši* (Acc?) 'die von dir getane Sache'; *bular varduγï yerä* 'zum Platz, an den jene gelangten' (Banguoglu 1938, 115).

[17] S. Fn. 12.

[18] S. hierzu auch Karagassisch: *Delegattar s''ézdïŋa bistíŋ Töre:n Čér-Suvustuŋ tödü čérinden čïγlïp kélgénner* 'die Abgeordneten sind zu der (ihrer) Sitzung von allen Gegenden unserer Heimat (unseres Landes, in dem wir geboren sind) zusammengekommen' (TB 62); *mi:m töre:n čérim — mi:m Čér -Su:m* 'die Gegend (das Land), wo ich geboren bin, ist meine Heimat' (TB 91); dabei weist die Großschreibung von (*Töre:n*) *Čér-Suv* diesen Begriff als lexikalisiert aus. Weiterhin: *olarïŋnïŋ ča''sap qaγan čümélérín uči:ši maqta:n* 'der Lehrer hat die Sachen, die sie hergestellt haben, gelobt' (TB 87).

Unklar bleibt die Lage im Altuigurischen. In Belegen mit Korreferenz von pronominalem Haupt- und Relativsatzsubjekt (s. 2.6.) finden wir sowohl $S_O - P_O B_{Pos}$ als auch $S_{Gen} - P_O B_{Pos}$: (1363) *olar tutmïš* (*1364*) *nom burxan yerlïgï ermez tép* (*1365*) *muntag čulvu sözleyür erdi* 'das Gesetz, das sie halten, sei kein Befehl des Buddha, sagten sie. So sprachen sie spöttisch . . .' (Toalster 1977); (24) *ol bizing qïlmïš qaz-γanmïš tsui irinčü* (*25*) *ayaγ qïlïnčlarïmz sanï saqïšï idi yoq* 'unsrer begangenen und aufgehäuften Vergehen und Sünden Zählung und Zählen gibt es nicht' (TT IV, A, 6). Ein Parallelbeispiel zum letzteren weist bei Eigennamen an der Oberfläche die auch sonst bei diesem Fall von Korreferenz typische Form $S_O - P_O B_{Pos}$ auf: (15) *ančulayu ymä mn * il * tüz-miš-š* (*16*) *birlä qamaγ üč ödki burxanlar ödintä nom ärdni* (*17*) *ödintä bursong ärdni ödintä qïlmïš qaz-γanmïš tsui* (*18*) *ayaγ qïlïnčïmz-nï ökünü bošunu ača yada kšanti ötünür* (*19*) — *biz* — (15) 'so auch erbitten wir, ich IL und TÜZMIŠ, (16) im Angesichte der drei Buddhas aller Zeiten und im Angesichte des Gesetzes-Kleinods (17) und im Angesichte des Gemeinde-Kleinods, indem wir unsre begangenen und aufgehäuften Vergehen (18) und Sünden bereuen, beichten und offen darlegen, *kšanti*' (TT IV, A, 4). Möglicherweise sind hier das Possessivsuffix wie auch der Genitiv des Pronomens einfach zuordnend-besitzanzeigend zu interpretieren.

Im Falle obligatorischen Genitivs scheint als kontrastierender unmarkierter Typ gerade in den ersten beiden Personen der subjektlose, rein possessivisch markierende Typ O–$[PB]_{Pos}$ zu treten, z.B. tuv. *kelgen oru : vus* 'der Weg, den wir gekommen sind'. Zu diesem Typ im Mongolischen und Tungusischen siehe etwa: klm. *xan'cxar bä:x kü:k.m, negdvär bolxla, yir sän zaŋta, tadnd ta: :sgdxmn* 'das Mädchen, mit dem ich mich zu verbinden gedenke, ist, erstens von sehr gutem Charakter, sie wird Euch sicher gefallen' (BzgKlm 2/104), bur. *unadag morin'iin'* 'the horse he usually rides' (Poppe 1960, 68).

2.5. Ältere Bautypen.

Im ältesten Türkisch ist der genitiv- und possessivlose Typ weit verbreitet. Schon früh treten dann in verschiedenen Gebieten genitivische Subjekte und Possessivmarkierung am Partizip hinzu;[19] für die mitteltürkische Periode siehe etwa: RAB *täfäniŋ kälür yolïnda* 'am Wege, wo das Kamel vorbeizukommen pflegte' (Schinkewitsch 1927, 13); NF *olturγanïm yerdä mončuqlarïmnï buldum* 'ich fand meine Perlen auf dem Platz, wo ich gesessen hatte' (Eckmann 1959, 126).[20] Das *Babur-Name* zeigt dagegen dieselbe Markierungsarmut (S_O–P_OB_O) wie West-Nord-Kiptschakisch: (20a) *Xawatïn vä sararï: Awwali Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirza qoyγan Mihr Nigar Xanïm edi* 'seine Frauen und Konkubinen: Seine Favoritin war MNX, die Sultan Abu Said Mirza ihm verheiratet hatte.[21]

2.6. Korreferenz von Relativsatzsubjekt mit anderen Einheiten.

Der allen altaischen Gruppen gemeinsame subjektlose Typ mit und ohne Possessivmarkierung O–$[PB]_{(Pos)}$ erscheint weiterhin, wenn referentielle Identität des Relativsatzsubjekts mit benachbarten Nominalphrasen vorliegt und die kontextuellen Umstände günstig sind, so auch bei referentieller Identität von Relativsatzsubjekt und dem Subjekt der übergeordneten Fügung (in unseren Fällen ein Hauptsatz): čuv. *puxnă puyanlăxpa knyaśsem družinăsem tïtsa tănă* 'entsprechend ihrem aufgehäuften Reichtum hielten sich die Fürsten Gefolgschaften' (čuvIst 14).

[19] S. 2.1., 2.5., Fn. 18.

[20] Auffälligerweise herrscht hier wieder Korreferenz zwischen (pronominalem) Haupt- und Nebensatzsubjekt wie bei Rab. *taha:rat qïlγanïm γärgä bardïm* 'ich ging zu der Stelle, wo ich Abwaschungen gemacht hatte (vordem)' (Schinkewitsch 1927, 6).

[21] So auch einige Fälle in NF: *män aytmamïš hadi:s* 'ein Hadith, das nicht von mir stammt'; *Päγγa:mbar olturγan γärdä olturaγïn* 'ich will dort sitzen, wo der Prophet saß' (Eckmann 1959, 126 u. 128). Bei RAB finden wir hierfür: *äi sa:lih män saŋa qïlγan ädgülüknüŋ yanutï bu mu turur?* 'O Salih, ist das der Lohn für das Gute, welches ich dir erwiesen habe?' (Schinkewitsch 1927, 4).

Steht das korreferente — in diesem Fall natürlich nominativische — Subjekt voraus, entsteht auch in Sprachen, in denen ansonsten genitivisches Relativsatzsubjekt möglich oder notwendig ist, an der Oberfläche der genitivlose aber possessivisch markierte Typ $\langle S_O \rangle$–$[PB]_{Pos}$: tuv. *či:p alγan baylaqtarï-bilä knyaz'tar družinalarnï azïrap xandïrïp turγan* 'id.' (tuvIst 15); azr. *knyazlar topladïγlarï var-dövlät hesabïna družinalar saxlayïrdïlar* 'id.' (azrIst 15); tkm. *knyazlar toplan baylïqlarïna öz družinalarïnï saqlapdïrlar* 'id.' (tkmIst 15);[22] özb. *siz butun qilgan išingiz bilan halq oldida gunohqorsiz* 'mit all Ihren Taten sind Sie vor dem Volke schuldig' (özbGr 366); krg. *qïz matanïn alaqanday ayrïγïnan su:run alγan ǰipterdi birine-birin aulaγan soη, . . .* 'das Mädchen hatte Fäden, die es aus einem handflächengroßen Loch im Baumwollstoff herausgezogen hatte, mit den Enden aneinandergelegt, und nun . . .' (BzgKrg 2/4). Auch altuigurisch: *(125) tört burxan-lar čank⟨irmit⟩ (126) qïlïp qotmïš čakïr⟨lig⟩ (127) izleri yme bar* 'die vier Buddhas gingen spazieren und die mit Cakras versehenen Spuren, die sie machten, gibt es auch' (Toalster 1977).

Im West-Nord-Kiptschakischen realisiert sich wegen fehlender Possessivmarkierung $\langle S_O \rangle$–$P_O B_O$[23] an der Oberfläche: *Ätise Maratqa ata toryan mïltïq büläk itkän ide* 'sein Vater hatte Marat das Gewehr zum Geschenk gegeben, aus dem er geschossen hatte' (Tatar 147).[24]

Bei korreferentem Haupt- und Relativsatzsubjekt treten im Jakutischen, vor allem aber im Mongolischen und Ewenkischen Reflexivelemente auf:[25] klm. *Biy talan ö:rdǰ yovsn tan'.dgo*[26] *kü:kd-kü üzčkäd, ükr ki:tn nüdärn xäläčkäd, tolhahan saǰad avd* 'als die Kuh die ihr unbekannte Frauensperson auf sich

[22] Die entsprechenden west-nord-kiptschakischen Belege verwenden hier passive Verben: *ǰïγïlγan baylïqlar isäben knyäz'lär družinalar totqannar* (tatIst 15); *ǰïγïlγn baylïqla bla biyle keslerini družinalarïn asïrayandïla* (krčIst 15); *ol či:lγan iske družinalar tutčaηnar* (xksIst 14). Zur Passivverwendung s. auch Fn. 27.

[23] Auch Karagassisch begnügt sich bei bezeichnetem Subjekt im Affirmativsatz mit einer S_O—$[PB]_O$-Konstruktion: *o:llar tu''tqan balïqtï ögé halγaš, abasïna bérgénner* 'die Jungen tragen den Fisch, den sie gefangen haben, nach Hause und geben ihn dann ihrer Mutter' (TB 104). In einem korrespondierenden Fragesatz tritt eine dem tuvischen Beispiel in 2.6. vergleichbare, aber nicht possessivmarkierte Form O — $[PB]_O$ S_O auf: *tu''tqan balïqtï o:llar qumγa bérgénner* 'wem geben die Jungen den Fisch, den sie gefangen haben?' (TB 105).

[24] Dieses Beispiel zeigt deutlich die bedeutende Rolle der Satzbetonung: Nur sie verhindert hier die wohl ebenfalls mögliche Interpretation, daß »sein Vater« ein Gewehr verschenkt, mit dem auf Marat geschossen wurde.

[25] Im Jakutischen finden wir aber auch viele Beispiele ohne Reflexivelement. Mangels eines Genitivs gleicht der Bautyp in diesen Fällen völlig dem beliebiger Relativsätze bei Subjektsverschiedenheit (S_O—$P_O B_{Pos}$): *Toηus bulttu:r sirigär bïlas säriηä diriη i:ni xasar* 'der Tunguse gräbt an der Stelle, wo er den Fisch fängt, eine ungefähr einen Faden tiefe Grube' (BöTxt 9). Im nachgestellten ewenkischen Typ erscheint ein pronominales Subjekt im Hauptsatz als Reflexivpronomen: $\langle S_{ProRfl} \rangle$ — . . . — $B_O P_{Rfl}$.

[26] Zu *-dgo*, dem »participium praesentis usus negativum«, s. Benzing 1985b, 90.

zukommen sah, schaute sie mit ihren unfreundlichen Augen und schüttelte den Kopf' (BzgKlm 6/107); ewk. *beye uhillen ǰu:du:, xargi: ǰapkadu:n o:na:du: :vi:* 'er begann in dem Zelt zu leben, das er am Waldessaum aufgestellt hatte' (Kolesnikova 1960, 200). Die übrigen Tungusensprachen markieren die Partizipien mit Reflexivsuffixen (teilweise doppelt, s. 2.1.), Lamutisch weist aber auch hier einfache Possessivsuffixe auf: nan. *buë tul-tul xotonči pulsi.y.vëri kat'erba ulë:siypu* 'wir lieben das Motorboot, mit dem wir immer zur Stadt fahren'; orok. *tulëčil.le:.vi uniŋu.bi a:ptuxani* 'er erreichte den (<seinen) Fluß, wo er (refl.) (immer) anfängt, die Netze auszulegen'; lam. *mut ma:. ča:.l.ti buyuŋ.ël.ti* 'die (<unsere) wilden Rentiere, die wir erlegt haben' (Benzing 1985a, 64 u. 66 f.).

3. Unsubjektische Typen

Der unsubjektische Typ O–$[PB]_0$ ohne Nominal-, Pronominal- und Possessivelement existiert in fast allen altaischen Gruppen. Zum einen erscheint er in Fällen von kontextuell referiertem Subjekt vor allem in den nichtpossessivisch markierenden Arealen, etwa: atü. *ilgärü barïγma bardïγ, qurïγaru bardïγ. Barduq yirdä ädgüg ol ärinč* '(of you) those who meant to go to the east went away, and those who meant to go to the west went away. In the places you went your (only) benefit was the following' (KT E 24; BK E 20). Daneben dient er gemeinhin der Impersonalisierung des Ausdrucks durch Weglassung des Subjekts.[27] Die Ausdrücke, unter denen sich viele Charakterisierungen und Zweckbestimmungen (oft aoristisch und generell präsentisch) befinden, sind so allgemein, daß oft nur die Semantik Aufschluß über die angebrachte Lesart des Aktantenmusters gibt: jak. *tu:s busarar sir* 'der Ort, an dem man Salz kocht'; mon. *ungšigsan nom* 'ein Buch, das man liest'. Eine interessante Untergruppe mit vielen Sonderentwicklungen stellen Benennungsangaben wie altaitürkisch *qadïn ičï degen ǰer* 'ein Ort namens »In den Birken«' dar.[28]

[27] Wenn das Subjekt nicht bezeichnet ist, wird im Usbekischen auf passivisch-mediale Formen ausgewichen: *Oš tovuq güšti bilan piširilgan palov edi* 'das Essen bestand aus Pilav, der mit Hühnerfleisch gekocht war' ÖzbGr 366 f. Vergleichbare Verhältnisse erwähnt Benzing für das Nanai: Hier ist eine andere Möglichkeit der Konstruktion bei Subjektslosigkeit, daß »ein 'unpersönliches Partizip', das durch das Suffix *-o:-/vo:-, -bo:-* (altes Causativ/Passiv-Suffix **-bu-*) am Verbstamm gekennzeichnet ist« (1985a, 65), steht: *xola.o:.xan gisurën* 'eine Geschichte, die man gelesen hat.'

[28] Interessannt sind die jakutischen »namens; genannt«-Konstruktionen, die gerundiales *diän* (*a:tta:x*) in attributiver Position (!) enthalten: *Ad'igän a:tta:x guorad ba:ra* 'war eine Stadt mit Namen Shigansk' (BöTxt 5); *Üt diän sir ba:r* 'gibt es eine Gegend mit Namen Udskoi' (BöTxt 22); s. auch Fn. 30. Zu tuvischen Konstruktionen des Typs *Čečen dep šülüglel* 'das Gedicht (namens) »Čečen« 'siehe Oyun 1983; entsprechende Konstruktionen begegnen uns auch im Karagassischen: *Šarik dep attïγ enik* 'der Hund namens Šarik'. Im Altuigurischen ist bemerkenswert, daß das gewöhnlich bei Subjektsgleichheit

Im Tungusischen erscheint auch bei Impersonalisierung obligatorisch ein leerer Subjektsvertreter im rein possessivisch markierten Typ (udihe *oño.u.yi xauya* 'Papier, auf dem man schreibt'); Lamutisch weist auch den unsubjektischen Typ auf: *mut takra.ca.w olra.w ǰébbot.tép* 'wir essen (gewöhnlich) gesalzene Fische' (Benzing 1955, 96). Die impersonalen aber possessivmarkierten tungusischen Bildungen — wie auch die entsprechenden *DIK*-Konstruktionen im modernen Westoghusischen — sind als »*pseudosubjektischer*« *Typ* O–$[PB]_{Poso}$ ebenfalls dem unsubjektischen Typ zuzurechen.

4. Türkisch *-DOK und *-mAdOK

Das westoghusische *DIK*-Partizip, für dessen Verwendung Subjektsverschiedenheit Voraussetzung ist, ist obligatorisch possessivmarkiert, aber auch bei RAB und im (Donau- und Wolga-)Bolgarischen erscheint es mit Possessivmarkierung: *qïlduqum išlärniŋ tä'vi:li bu turur* 'die Erklärung der von mir begangenen Dinge ist dies' (Schinkewitsch 1927, 16); *buyla žoapan tesi düätö^{y}i but aul žoapan taγro^{y}i ičï^{y}i täsi* 'it is Buyla Žoapan who carries the bowl. Drinking bowl, made by But aul Žoapan' (nach Erdal); *dunya:ran safar kindüvi ta:rïx ǰiäti ǰür säkir ǰal ramada:n ayïxi vanïm küän-äti* 'das Datum, an dem er aus der Welt abreiste, war der 10. Tag des Monats Ramadan des Jahres 708' (Benzing 1959, 692).[29] In der türkmenischen Schriftsprache dagegen hat sich dieses selten verwandte Partizip in das Schema der am Bezugswort possessivmarkierten Konstruktionen eingepaßt: *öz etdik išleri* 'works, done by himself' (Hanser 1977, 108). Das Orchontürkische weist — wie schon erwähnt — noch unsubjektische *DIK*-Konstruktionen mit kontextueller Subjektssuppletion auf.[30] Dies gilt auch für die Fälle mit negiertem *-mAdOK*, das in meinem Material überhaupt eine starke Neigung zum unsubjektischen oder zumindest nichtpossessivischen Typ aufweist.[31] Solche Konstruktionen haben bis heute im

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erscheinende Partizip/Nomen actoris *-GmA* hier subjektsverschieden konstruiert wird: (113) *bišinč qao-čao tigmä saqïnč tngri* (*114*) *tngri ulatï yäk ičkäk-lärig oqïmaq törü-sin söz-läyü* (*115*) *birälim* '(113) Fünftens wollen wir die *qao-čao* genannte Meditation, (d.h.) die Zeremonie zum (114) Herbeirufen (Zitieren) der Götter und Dämonen mitteilen' (TT V, 10).

[29] Dieser Satz könnte aber auch als »sein Abreisen aus der Welt war am . . .« gedeutet werden, s. dazu Erdal.

[30] Im Jakutischen wird das *-TAx*-Partizip nur noch in einer Konstruktion attributiv verwendet: *dietex kihi* 'takoj už (ja, ty, on) čelovek, *dietex d'on* 'takie už (my, vy, oni) ljudi (JakGr 237); s. auch Fn. 28.

[31] Häufig treten *-*mAdOK*- Formen der Verben **kör*- 'sehen' und **ešit*- 'hören' auf, etwa atü. *közün körmädük qulaqïn äšitmädük bodunumïn išgärü kün to⟨γsïqïŋa⟩* '(I settled) my people in such numbers as have not been seen by eye and have not been heard by ear before' (BK N 11); Auig *öŋgrä kisrä išitmädük at kü* 'der in Vergangenheit und Zukunft

Türkeitürkischen überlebt. Meine Beispiele zeigen es sämtlich in Zusammenhängen, in denen Korreferenz zwischen Haupt- und Relativsatzsubjekt herrscht: *aramadık bir yer komadım* 'ich habe keine Stelle undurchsucht gelassen'.

5. »Altaische« Gemeinsamkeiten

Wir sehen auf dem Gebiet der sogenannten altaischen Sprachen sich bei allen Unterschieden zwischen den genetischen Gruppen allgemeinstrukturelle und areale Gemeinsamkeiten. So finden wir in einem zentral-östlichen türkischen Areal die Possessivmarkierung am Bezugswort wie im benachbarten Mongolischen. Türkische Randsprachen wie Westogusisch und Tuvisch markieren auch am Partizip, eine gewiß zufällige Parallele zum Tungusischen. Mongolisch-tungusische Gemeinsamkeiten zeigen sich beim Auftreten von Reflexiva bei Korreferenz von Haupt- und Relativsatzsubjekt. An dieses Areal hat vielleicht auch das Jakutische Anschluß gefunden. Der möglicherweise unter tungusischem Einfluß erfolgte Verlust des Genitivs braucht jedoch keinen Einfluß auf die Oppostion markierter und unmarkierter Bautypen mit nominalem Subjekt gehabt zu haben, da diese ohnehin ältere, genitivlose Muster weiterführen könnten. Interessant ist auch, daß die moderneren Randareale formal geringer markierte Konstruktionen aufweisen, so die West-Nord-Kiptschakischen unter den Türksprachen sowie das Lamutische, aber auch das Mandschu, unter den Tungusensprachen.

Weitergehende historisch-vergleichende Arbeiten auf diesem Gebiet können nur dann mit einiger Aussicht auf Erfolg angegangen werden, wenn sie von den jeweiligen synchronen Markierungssystemen der Einzelsprachen und -sprachstufen ausgehen. Gleichzeitig sollten auch entsprechende Systeme in nicht-»altaischen« Sprachen des jeweiligen Areals berücksichtigt werden. Da entsprechende Arbeiten zum großen Teil noch ausstehen, fehlen zunächst die Möglichkeiten, viele der hier geäußerten Arbeitshypothesen genauer zu überprüfen.

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unerhörte Ruhm' (Maitr. 27 nach Gabain 1942, 116); Rab *bardïm ärsä körmädük yärlärni kördüm* 'als ich wegging (flog), sah ich die von mir nicht gesehenen Stellen (Länder)' (Schinkewitsch 1927, 16); *körbötöx istibätäx aräyi gïtta tustubutum* 'ich kämpfte mit ungesehenen und unerhörten Mühen' (BöGr 352).

Türkmenisch weist possessivisch markierte und unmarkierte Formen auf: *adamzadnïŋ arzuv edip asïrlar etmedik išini etdi Papanin* 'P. vollbrachte eine Tat, die die Menschheit seit Jahrhunderten anstrebte aber nicht vollbrachte'; *čaγïrïlmadïq yere barma* 'geh nicht an Orte, an die man dich nicht gerufen hat' (Poceluevskij 1975, 241).

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PRINCIPLES OF THE EASTERN CLASSIFICATION OF THE VOWELS IN CHAĠATAY DICTIONARIES

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During my research into medieval Chaġatay dictionaries it turned out that they offer an impeccable classification of the Eastern Turkish vowel system. This classification seems to be more complete than those found in later works. More specifically, its peculiarity lies in the more accurate definition of the vocalic phonemes in terms of two pairs of distinctive features: long or short, and wide or narrow. The medieval authors of dictionaries of the Chaġatay gave an individual definition to each grapheme of each entry. Thus, an *alif* rendering *a* is classified in terms of length. This classification is based on the principles of the Arabic writing system.

Badā'i al luġat[1] of the 15th century is the first known Chaġatay dictionary. In order to characterize the quality of the vowels marked by the Arabic letter *alif* Ṭāli' Īmānī, the author of this dictionary, combined the terms *fatḥa* "open" and *mamdūda* "long" or *maqsur* "short". From this dictionary it is evident that *alif* with *fatḥa* marks the vowel *a* of normal length:

اربغ (5a)[2] *ba fatḥ-i alif wa sukūn-i rā'i muhmala wa ġayn-i mu'jama afsūn-i mārrā gūyand*

arbaġ — the alif is open, there is *sukūn* over the *r*, the letter *ġ* has the dot, meaning "snake's charm".

Ṭāli' Īmānī defines long *ā* with the term *alif-i mamdūda*:

آچون (8b) *ba alif-i mamdūda wa jim-i fārsi jahānrā nāmad*

āchun — *alif* is long, *jim* is Persian (i.e. *ch*), meaning "world".

In his *Badā'i al luġat* the expression *alif-i maqṣūra* "short alif" marks a reduced *a*:

ارا (5a) *ba alif-i maqṣūra ba ma'nī dar miyān*

ara — *alif* is short, meaning "between; in the middle"

[1] See A. K. Borovkov, *Badā'i al luġat*. Moskva 1962.

[2] The numbers in brackets indicate the leaves of the manuscript.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

From among the aforementioned three vowels, the normal *a* written by *alif* with *fatḥa* represents a phoneme opposed to the two allophones, the long and the reduced variants of the "marked" phoneme, as shown in the following scheme:

	+ *fatḥa* "open" = *a*
ا-(*alif*)	+*mamdūda* "long" =*ā*
	+*maqsūr* "short" =*a*

An analogous system can be seen in Mahdixan's 18th century Sanglax,[3] where the vowel *a* with normal length (i.e., short, prosodically "unmarked") is defined by the term *fatḥa*:

تیرلاماک (192r) *ba sukūn-i rā wa fatḥ-i lām ʿaraq kardan*

terlamak — there is *sukūn* over the *r*, the *lām* is with *fatḥa*, meaning "to sweat". Mahdixan marks long *ā* in two ways. He puts a *madda* over the *alif* for the initial, while in the middle of a word he uses the term *kashīda* "prolonged, held on":

آبوسون (109r) *ba madd-i alif wa ẓamm-i bāʾi abjad wa sīn-i muhmala du hamshīrarā gūyand*

ābusun — *alif* with *madda*, *b* with *ẓamma*, *s* without diacritics, meaning "two sisters"

تاراماق (152v) *ba fatḥ-i rā ba alif-i kashīda shāna kardan*

tarāmaq — *r* with *fatḥa*, alif held on, meaning "to comb".
The reduced short *a* is represented in Sanglax by the letter *hāʾ i hauwaz*. In most cases it occurrs in the final position after the consonants *ġ* (غ), q (ق), *ch* (چ), *j* (ج), *n* (ن), *r* (ر), *m* (م), *l* (ل), *s* (س):

جیغه (218v) *ba fatḥ-i ġayn ba hā zada ba maʿnī par bāshad*

jiġa — *ġ* with *a*, meaning "feather".

The following table is to formulate the rule:

	+*madda* or *kashīda* ="long" *a*, held on
ا-(*alif*)	+*fatḥa* ="open" =*a*
	haʾi hauwaz (ه) marks reduced *a*

[3] See Sir Gerard Clauson, *Sanglax. A Persian Guide to the Turkish Language by Muhammad Mahdi Xan.* London 1960.

In the dictionary Abushqa, compiled by Mustafā bin Sadiq (its oldest copy, the Vienna manuscript was completed in 1552 A.D.), two kinds of *a* are distinguished: long *ā*, and *a* with normal length. Initial long *ā* is marked by *madda* over *alif*; it occurs in the following three entries: آت-*āt* "name", or "horse", or "throw", آتاغلیغ-*ātagliq* "respected; noted"

The vowel *a* with normal length is defined by Mustafā bin Sadiq as *maftūḥa*. This vowel is found in words اقسوم-*aqsum* "pity", ابوشقه-*abushqa* "old man", listed in chapter *harf-i alif-i maftūḥa* "Words beginning with *alif*". Thus, according to the rule in Abushqa:

	+*madda* = "long" *ā*
ا (*alif*)	+*maftūḥa* = *a*

In the *Luġat-i turkī*[4] compiled in 1779 in India by Fazlullah Khan there are also two kinds of *a*: the long *ā*, and normal *a*. The long *ā* is marked by the term *madda*:

آولاماق (6b) *ba madd-i alif wa sukūn-i wāw wa fatḥ-i lām sikār kardan*

āwlamaq — at first long *ā*, and over *wāw sukūn* and *lām* with *fatḥa*, meaning "to do hunting". Normal *a* is marked by *fatḥa*:

بارماک (8b) *ba fatḥ-i bā wa sukūn-i rā'i muhmala raftan*

barmak — *b* with *fatḥa*, and *r* with *sukūn*, meaning "to walk".

Thus

	+*madda* = *ā*
ا (*alif*)	+*fatḥa* = *a*

'Ali bin Shamlu's *Luġat-i Nāvā'i*[5] completed in 1599, has the same two kinds of vowel in question. The long *ā* is rendered by *alif* with *madda* as in آتلیق -*ātliq* "horseman" and آلماق-*ālmaq* "to take", while the *a* with normal length has the *alif* with no mark, as in اتابیک-atabek "atabek" and ارلات-*arlat* "name of a Chaġatay tribe".

So the rule here is

	+*madda* = *ā*
ا (*alif*)	+with no mark = *a*

In the *Kitāb-i luġat-i atrākīya*[6] compiled in 1860 long *ā* appears marked in two ways. First, the words with an initial long *ā* are collected in the chapter

[4] MS of the British Library. I am grateful to Professor Devin DeWeese for the opportunity of using his copy of this manuscript.

[5] MS of the University of Teheran.

[6] MS of the University of St. Petersburg.

of this initial *bāb-i alif-i mamdūda*. Second, *madda* is put over the *alif*. This vowel occurs:

آندا ق (14a) *ba sukūn-i nūn ba ma'ni misl*

āndaq — *sukūn* over the *nūn*, meaning "similar"

آسراسون (14b) *ba sukūn-i sīn-i be nuqta wa ẓamm-i sīn-i digar 'amp az nigāh dāshtan āsrasun* — *sukūn* without a dot over the *s*, the other *s* with *ẓamma* (is) the imperative form *nigāh dāshtan* meaning "to protect, guard".

The mark for the normal length is the *fatḥa*:

الاو (36b) *ba fatḥ-i awwal shul'ai ātashrā gūyand*

alav — at the beginning *a* with *fatḥa* meaning "flame"

انجه (37a) *ba fatḥ-i awwal wa sukūn-i nūn ya'nī anqadar*

anja — initial *a*, *sukūn* over the *nūn*, that is "that much".

The rule is as follows:

	$+mamdūda = \bar{a}$
ا (*alif*)	$+fatḥa = a$

Thus, according to the dictionaries of the 15th and 16th centuries Chaġatay had three kinds of vowel *a*, viz. long *ā* normal *a* (i. e., with normal length), and short reduced *a*. Only the normal *a* is a phoneme (performing the function of semantical distinction), the two other sounds being allophones.

The sounds *i*, *e*, *u* and *o* denoted by the graphemes *yā* and *wāw*, respectively, are classified in the monuments as wide vs. narrow. In Chaġatay texts *wāw* can mark both the narrow round vowel *u* and the half-narrow *o*. In order to distinguish between these two sounds the lexicographers used the combinations of *wāw* with *ẓamma* and *fatḥa*. In Ṭāli Imānī' s *Badā'i al luġat* the combination of *wāw* with *ẓamma* stands for the narrow round *u*:

کومور (75a) *ba ẓamm-i kāf-i'arabī zuġal*

kumur — *arabic k* with *ẓamma*, meaning "coal"
while *wāw* with *fatḥa* marks the half-narrow *o*:

شوشه (63a) *bil fatḥ . . . yax-i . . . shāx-i daraxt*

shosha — with *fatḥa*, meaning "ice on the twigs of trees".
This can be formulated as

	$+fatḥa = o$
و (*wāw*)	$+ẓamma = u$

The same contrast of wide vs. narrow may be observed in Mustafā bin Sadiq's description where the graphemes اوز with no mark represent the word meaning *kand* "self" (oz), but the same sequence of graphems marked *imāla* "narrow" corresponds to the word meaning "hundred" (*uz*).

This suggests that the graphemes او with no mark denote the wide round vowel, while the same symbols with the mark stay for the narrow round vowel. Similarly اوی with the mark *imāla* is to be read *uy* "cow", but it is *oy* "house; room" if inmarked.

These data show that in Abushka the graphems و ا in *anlaut* with no mark =*o*; او in *anlaut*, with the mark *imāla* =*u*.

In Mahdīxān's *Sanglax* the term *ishbāʿ* "narrow" is used for the *wāw* rendering the narrow round vowel *u*:

کول (308v) *ba ishbāʿ-i ẓamma xākistarrā gūyand . . .*

kul — marked as narrow, meaning "ash" . . .
The term *bilā ishbāʿ* "not narrow" shows that the vowel is the half-narrow *o*:

کول (308v) . . . *bilā ishbāʿ makān-i bāshad, ki āb . . .*

kol- . . . with *o*, meaning "lake" . . .

قولاووز (289v) . . . *bilā ishbāʿ dū ma'nī dārad, awwal dalīlu balad wa rahnamārā gūyand*

qolavuz — with no narrow, has two meanings: the first (is) "a guide", the second (is) "a road-guide".

That is:

	+*bal ishbāʿ* =*u*
و (*wāw*)	+*bilā ishbāʿ* =*o*

In Fath 'Alixan's *Kitāb-i luġat-i atrākīya* these sounds are disingushed by the aid of the symbols (and terms) *ẓamma* and *fatḥa*. The first with *wāw* marks the narrow sound:

بورون (109a) *ba ẓamm-i bā-i abjad wa rā-i qarashat ya'nī awwal wa muqadam*

burun — *b* with *ẓamma* and *r*, meanings "at the beginning" and "earlier".

A skilled lexicographer Fath 'Alixan accurately marks the half-narrow round *o* by the combination of *wāw* and *fatḥa*:

بوغماق (109b) *ba fatḥ-i bā-i abjad wa sukūn-i ġayn-i nuqtadar ya'nī xaufi kardan*

boġmaq — *b* with *fatḥa* (i.e., with *o*) *sukūn* and a dot over the *ġ*, meaning 'to strangulate".

In his dictionary he also distinguishes these round vowels according to their length. The long, half-narrow *o*: has the mark *wāw-i ma' lūm*:

توقسان (158a) *ba fatḥ-i tā-i qarashat wa wāw-i ma'lum wa sukūn-i qāf ʿadād-i navadrā gūyand*

to : qsan — *t* with long *o*: and *sukūn* over *q*, meaning "ninety"
For the short vowel *u* he uses the term *wāw-i majhūl*:

تون (156b) *ba ẓamm-i tā-i qarashat wa wāw-i majhūl ba ma'nī shab*
tun — *t* with *ẓamma* and *wāw-i majhūl*, meaning "night".

These facts can be summarized in the following scheme:

	+*fatḥa* =*o*
	+*fatḥ-i wāw-i ma'lūm* =long *o*:
و (*wāw*)	+*ẓamma* =*u*
	+*wāw-i majhūl* =short *u*

The grapheme (ی) *yā* rendered both the unrounded narrow *i* and the half-narrow *e* of Chaġatay texts. To show the distinction between these sounds in the words they occurred, the lexicographers combined the name of this grapheme with those of the bound graphemes *kasra* and *fatḥa* in the descriptive part of the given entry.

In the Badā'i al luġat the narrow unrounded vowel is described by the term *bil kasr*:

بیلاک (42b) *ba kasr-i al ba wa ba fatḥ-i lām band i sā'idrā gūyand*

bilak — *b* with *kasra*, *lām* with *fatḥa*, meaning "wrist".

In the same work the grapheme *yā* with *fatḥa* describes the half-narrow *e*:

کییک (73b) *ba fatḥ-i kāf wa kasr-i yā az āhu ki dar kūh bāshad . . .*

keyik — *k* with *fatḥa* (=half-narrow *e*), *yā* with *kasra*, meaning "gazelle living in the mountains".
These facts can be formulated as follows:

	+*bil kasr* =*i*
ی (*yā*)	+*fatḥa* =*e*

To distinguish between these sounds Mahdīxān combines *yā* with the term *ishbā'* "denoting thus the vowel *i*:

بیل (149v) . . . *ba ishbā'i kasra 'amrist az dānistan*

bil — with *ishbāʿ* (it is) the imperative form of the (verb) "to know" Combining *yā* with the term *bilā ishbāʿ* he describes the half-narrow *e*:

این (117v) . . . *bilā ishbāʿ ba maʾnī ʿarẓ wa pahna buvad* . . .

en — without narrowing (the word) meaning "width" and "wideness", "breadth".

Thus in his system

	+*bal ishbāʿ* =*i*
ی (*yā*)	+*bilā ishbāʿ* =*e*

A particular system appears in Fath ʿAlixan's *Kitāb-i luġat-i atrākīya*. Here *yā* marked with the term *kasra* denotes *i*:

بیلیک (117b) *ba kasr-i bā-i abjad wa lām dānānda wa fahmrā gūyand*

bilik — *b* with *kasra*, and *lām*, meaning "knowledge" and "intellect".

The combination of *yā* with *fatḥa* stays for the half-narrow vowel *e*:

بیرکیت (119a) *ba fatḥ-i bā-i abjad wa kasr-i kāfi tāz-i ʿamir az mahkam kardan*

berkit — *b* with *fatḥa*, Arabick *k* with *kasra* (is) the imperative form (of the verb meaning) "to hold firmly" (mahkam kardan). Thus

	+*bil kasr* =*i*
ی (*yā*)	+*fatḥa* =*e*

Old Uzbek vowels are described by ʿMir Alisher Nāvāʾi in an analogous way. In his *Muḥākamat al-Luġatain* he destinguishes two kinds of the vowel *a*, wherein one with the normal length is rendered by *alif* (ا), while a short one, *a* is marked by *hāʾi hauwaz* (ه). However there is also a long *ā* that appears in the script as *alif* with *madda* (آ). Thus it may be said there were three kinds of vowel *a* in Old Uzbek, the one denoted by *alif*, and only this played a real phonological role, the other two, the long *ā* and the short *a*, were allophones thereof.

As for the round vowels, the poet classifies them as long and short: تور-*tor* (with normal *o*) "snare, trap", تور-*tor* (with short vowel) "a stand on which birds roost", تور-*tor* (with shorter vowel) "the place of honour in the house", and تور-*tor* (with the shortest vowel) "roll up (imperative of *tormak*) the curtain or cloth of a tent entrance".[7]

[7] See *Mir ʿAlisher Nāvāi's Works in Ten Volumes*, vol. 10 (Tashkent 1970), p. 116 (translation by A. N. Malekhova) and *Muḥākamat al Lugatain* by Mir ʿAli Shir, Introduction, Translation and Notes by Robert Devereux, Leiden 1966, p. 16. I accepted Devereux's interpretation of the passage in question.

These data give evidence of the four kinds of Chaġatay *o* distinguished by length.

Likewise the poet classifies the kinds of *i* according to their length.

"However, even for the *yā*, there are no more than three kinds of vocalic reading: بیز — is what is called by the Sarts قدود *qadud* "gland"; بیز — Persian — ما *mā*, Arabic ن — *i-nahn* "we"; and finally: بیز — meaning the object called by the Sarts درفش *darafsh* "awl"[8].

These data suggest that there existed three kinds of *i* differentiated according to length. The first is i^e (bi^ez "gland", now in the Uzbek language — *bez*), the second is *i* with normal length (*biz* "we") and the third long *i*: (*bi : z* "awl", now in Uzbek dialects — *biyiz*, in the standard language *bigiz*).

This how the authors of Chaġatay dictionaries classified the vowels: according to length and according to width. An advantage of this classification is the accurate distinction between the actual allophones of the phonemes that existed in Chaġatay.[9]

[8] Tashkent edition, p. 118.

[9] I would like to thank G. Kara for translating this article from Russian and David Tyson for editing the English text.

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THE VOLGA BULGHARS BETWEEN WIND AND WATER (1220–1236)[1]

ISTVÁN ZIMONYI

During its last years the Volga Bulghar Empire was threatened by the eastern Russian principalities from the West and by the Mongols from the East. It is my intention in this paper to analyze the Volga Bulghar policy in this dangerous predicament uptill the point when it was conquered by the Mongol army in 1236.

First, the Russian–Volga Bulghar relations must be looked at as it has a long history beginning from the 10th century. As their connection was based on commercial interests a short summary of the Eastern European trade routes and the role of the Volga Bulghars played in it is needed. The Empire of the Volga Bulghars was a transit centre from the 10th century. It was the last station of the Muslim merchants who come from Central Asia and Iran via Khorezm to Eastern Europe. The Volga Bulghars kept a firm hand on the northern commercial route to Beloozero and they had good nexus with the Baltic trade through the Volga and Kiev, through to the Oka, Ugra and Desna rivers. In the 12th century the growth of the principality of Rostov-Suzdal in East Russia created a new situation as it began to control the upper Volga trade and by doing so cut off the Volga Bulghar merchant from the North and this led to frequent hostilities. Since the upper Volga was closed to the Volga Bulghars, a new route had to be established to the North which was along the Unzha river. As the mouth of the Unzha river was the most important strategic point on this route, the Russians tried to invade it and in the second half of the 12th century they built a fortress called Gorodets between the mouths of the Unzha and Oka rivers in order to control the trade (Martin 1980, 85–94; Noonan 1983, 243–254). The struggle entered its decisive period at the beginning of the 13th century. In 1205 the Russian fleet was sent to fight against the Bulghars (PSRL 10, 50). In 1219 the Volga Bulghars attacked the Ustiug and

[1] It was read at the XXIXth PIAC in Tashkent in 1986. From that time two important books including several articles appeared in Kazan'. The first entitled "Volga Bulgaria and Rus" published in 1986, the second, "Volga Bulgaria and the Mongol invasion" printed in 1988. There are numerous valuable articles in these 'Sborniks', but they have not affected the idea of this paper.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Unzha to regain possession of the northern commercial route.[2] However, in 1220 Juri II the grand duke of Vladimir recovered Ustiug and sent an army against the Volga Bulghars which besieged Oshel, the most important Bulghar town west of the Volga river.[3] The consequence was as Janet Martin remarked: "Suzdal, having gained control over Bulgar's access to its route to the North, as well as possession of trading area in the North, had effectively established its control over Bulgar's means of acquiring northern fur" (Martin 1980, 95).

In spite of this victory, a new and larger campaign was planned by the Russians as it is stated in the Nikon chronicle: "In this year (i.e. 1220) the grand duke, Juri Vsevolodich himself began to prepare for war against the Bulghars. The Bulghars sent envoys with entreaties and proposals, but he did not show mercy on them and dismissed them. He began to gather warriors and sent an envoy to his brother, the Rostov prince, Vasilko Konstantinovich and ordered him to go to Gorodets. The grand duke Juri himself went to Omut with his army. While in Omut another Bulghar mission arrived with another entreaty. He did not pay any attention to this either and dismissed them without negotiating a peace treaty. Konstantinovich arrived at Gorodets to Vasilko. The Bulghars were apprehensive and sent other envoys with many gifts and a request their entreaty be listened to. The grand duke took the gifts and accepted to follow an earlier peace treaty has been signed under the rule of his father Vsevolod and his grandfather Georgi Volodimerich. He sent his men with them to govern the company of their prince and their territory according to their law and he himself returned to Vladimir." (PSRL 10, 85–86.)[4]

As to the chronology of events, Oshel was conquered in June and Juri started his preparation in the winter of the same year (Fahrutdinov 1984, 91). It is surprising that the Volga Bulghars wanted peace even with their vassalage if the statement is not an exaggeration of the Russian author, as the Volga Bulghars had enough time to gather the army. Perhaps they must have had other considerations.

Allsen in his work concerning the Mongol and Eastern Qipchaq wars stated that the Ülbari tribe, the most significant power among the Eastern Qipchaqs, living in the region of the Ural river, was first invaded by the Mongols in 1219, and Sübedei defeated them according to the Yülan-Shih (Allsen 1983, 9–10). The preparation of the Mongol invasion of the Khorezmian Empire was in the background of this campaign. First, Transoxania was

[2] PSRL 10, 81. It is recorded under the year 6726 (1218 A. D.). PSRL 25, 116. It includes the record word by word, but a year later (1219 A. D.). The conquest of the Ustiug is written in the PSRL 1, under 1218.

[3] PSRL 10, 83–86. It is dated to the winter of 1219–1220 but its parallel in PSRL 7, 126–128 is under 1220; the other chronicles give shorter records and all are under 1220 cf. PSRL 1, 444–445; PSRL 15, 330–331; PSRL 25, 116–117.

[4] Cf. PSRL 15, 332; PSRL 25, 117.

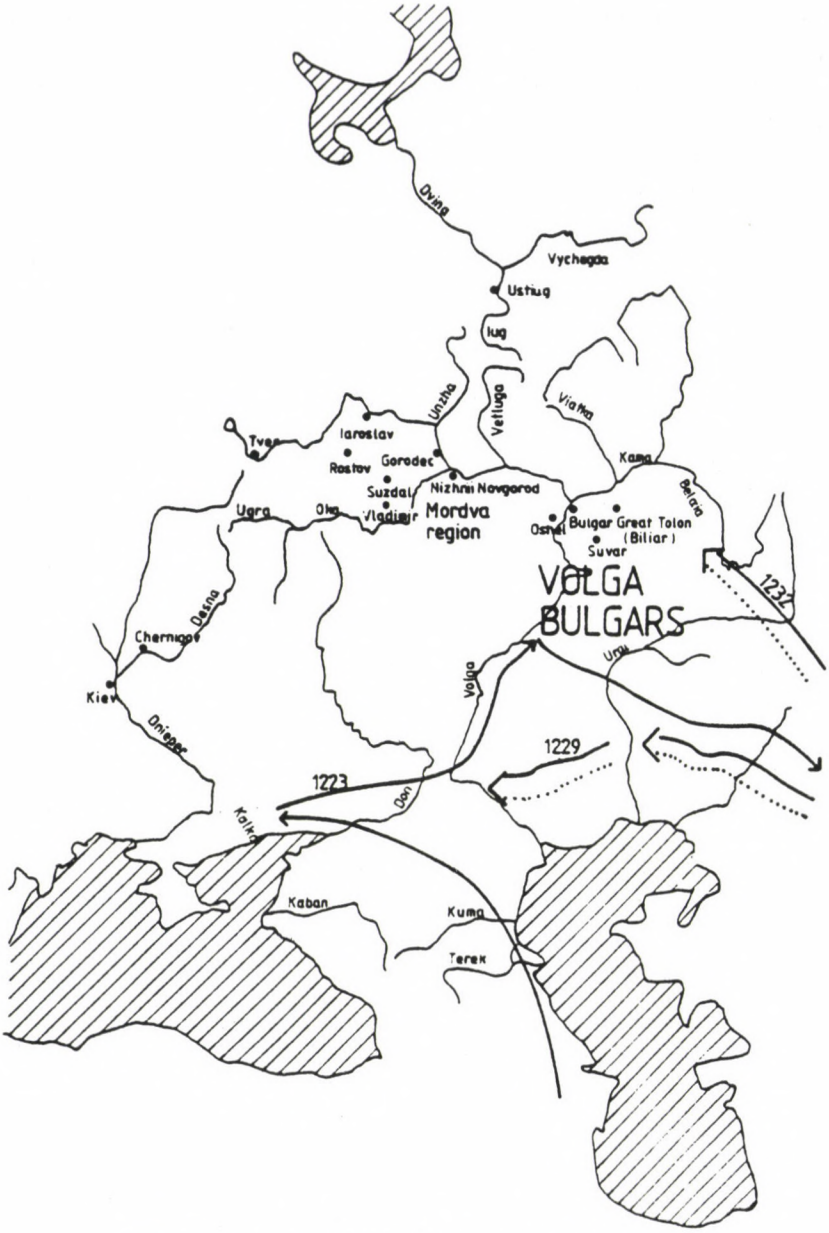

Fig. 1. Eastern Europe in the early 13th century

conquered, and in the spring of 1220 Chingiz-Khan pacified this territory "and had already taken measures from the restoration of peaceful life" (Barthold 1977, 427). As the Volga Bulghars had commercial relation with Khorezm and the Ülbari tribe was their neighbour, they must have known about the events

of the Mongol campaign in Transoxania and they were aware of the danger. Since the Volga Bulghars wanted to avoid being attacked from the East and the West at the same time, they had to make peace with the Russians. The peace treaty was a conclusive one as no direct conflict is mentioned between the two powers in the Russian annals from this time on.

But their clash of interest — as Kučkin stated — appeared in the struggle for the Mordva territories which lay between the Russians and the Volga Bulghars. From 1226 the Russians attacked the Mordvas several times. Kučkin remarked that one point of the peace treaty contracted in 1220 concerned the power over the Mordva region which was under the control of the Volga Bulghars, as their area of influence is shown by archaeological data (Kučkin 1975, 44–45; Halikov 1965, 160–162). The western part of the Mordva territories was given to the Russians including the point where the Volga and Oka rivers meet and here Nizhnii Novgorod was established at that locality in 1221 (Kučkin 1975, 44). According to the Russian chronicles there were two principalities in the Mordva region: Pureš and Purgas. In 1228 the annals mentioned that Pureš was a vassal state of the grand duke which the Bulghar prince wanted to attack. While at the same time Purgas was plundered many times by the Russians which prove that it was under the rule of the Volga Bulghars (Smirnov 1951, 47–49). Geographically it means that Pureš was near the Oka and Purgas was east or south-east of Nizhnii Novgorod (Kučkin 1975, 44–45).

This is corroborated by friar Julianus who crossed the Mordva territories in 1235, the two princes of the Mordvas are also mentioned by him.[5]

There is no data of hostilities in the region from 1220 to 1223. In 1222–33 the famous Mongol generals Jebe and Sübedei raided Eastern Europe. The Russian army was defeated at Kalka but the Volga Bulghars resisted the Mongols.[6] In spite of the fact that the political situation changed in favour of the

[5] Ceterum et Wedin et Merowiam Poydowiam Mordanorum regnum expugnabant, cuius duo principes fuerunt. Dörrie 1956, 173.

[6] The most detailed description of the events is in the work of the Ibn al-Athīr: "The report of the returning of the Tatars to their king from the country of the Russians and the Qipchaqs. Having done to the Russians what we have mentioned and having plundered their country, they turned back from it and headed for Bulghar at the end of the year 620 (A. H.). When the Bulghar heard of their approach, they put up ambushes for them in several places and marched against them. They clashed with them and drew them after themselves so that they went beyond the ambush positions. Then they attacked them from behind, they (Tatars) stayed in the middle and sword took them from every direction. Most of them were killed, none but only a few escaped. It was said they were about 4000 men. They went to Saqsin returning to their king, Chingiz-Khan. The territory of Qipchaq became empty of them and whoever survived of them returned to this country. The road was cut: the Tatars had entered it and nothing arrived from them from fox, ermine, sable, etc. of what is carried from these countries. When they left it (road), they returned to their country and the roads was uninterrupted and carried the goods as before" Ibn al-Athīr 12, 388–389. On the other sources cf. Zimonyi 1984, 197–204.

Volga Bulghars, it can be supposed from the vague records that they clung to the peace treaty contracted in 1220 and renewed it. The existence of a peace treaty around 1223/4 can be proved from the record of the Russian annals: the Volga Bulghars sent envoys to Juri II to renew the 6-year-old peace treaty in 1229 (PSRL 10, 98). This cautious policy of the Volga Bulghars was justified because despite the fact that the Volga Bulghars defeated the Mongols in 1223, the Mongols had become their neighbour to the south-west as it was recorded by Juwainī: "Chingiz-Khan gave his elder son Tushi the land from the borders of Qayaligh and Khorezm to the border of Saqsin and Bulgar . . ." (Qazwīnī 1912, I, 31; Boyle 1958, I, 42). This account refers to the time prior to 1227, as both Tushi and Chingiz-Khan died in that year. The Mongol presence in the area was dangerous. Later, in 1229 and 1232 the Mongols lead minor campaigns against the Volga Bulghars and in both cases the Volga Bulghars lost territories.

The Russians began to be active in the Mordva region from 1226, Juri sent his brothers against the Mordvas and some villages were destroyed during the raid (PSRL 1, 448–449; PSRL 10, 94). In September 1228 Juri dispatched the Rostov prince and one of his generals against the Mordvas but they could not go beyond Nizhnii Novgorod and had to retreat because of the heavy autumn rains (PSRL 1, 450–451). The biggest campaign against the Mordvas was led by Juri II with other princes in the winter 1228/29, when they sacked Purgas. At the same time, the Bulghar prince arrived to attack Pureš, the vassal principality of Juri, but when he had heard about the Russian disaster, he retreated (PSRL, 1, 451; PSRL 10, 94–95; PSRL 15, 352; PSRL 25, 123).

The Russian aggression in the Mordva region compelled the Bulghars to react. Since the Volga Bulghars did not want open hostilities, they avoided the direct clashes between the two armies, they would rather withdraw, but they used other means to prevent the advance of the Russians. In 1229 the Volga Bulghars must have taken prominent role in instigating the raid by the Purgas against Nizhnii Novgorod which was unsuccessful (PSRL 1, 451; PSRL 10, 97; PSRL 25, 123). Then in the same year the Volga Bulghars tried to convert to Islam a non-Russian christian but he would not yield. The Volga Bulghars executed him in their Great Town in April and confiscated his properties. The Russian christians living there buried him in the Christian cemetery (PSRL 1, 452–453; PSRL 7, 135; PSRL 10, 97–98; PSRL 15, 353; PSRL 25, 123–124). The message of this action could be interpreted in the following way: if the Russians continue their hostility tactics in the Mordva region, the Volga Bulghars will close the Russian colonies and blockade the Russian goods in the Volga trade.

During this crisis a fresh Mongol campaign was begun: "In 1229 the inhabitants of Saqsin and the Polovec escaped from the Tatars to the Bulgars from the south and the Bulgar advanced guard also retreated as they were defeated by the Tatars near the Yayik (Ural) river" (PSRL 1, 453). The con-

sequences were the closing of the trade route between the Volga Bulghars and the East and the loss of influence in the territory between the Ural and Lower Volga rivers. In 1235 friar Julianus could not acquire any companions to cross the desert with him between Alania, a country north to the Caucasus and Magna Bulgaria, the country of the Volga Bulghars because of the nearness of the Tatars in this area.[7] This Mongol raid compelled the Volga Bulghars to normalize their relation with the Russians. It is reported in the Russian chronicles that the Volga Bulghars sent envoys to the grand duke Juri II in 1229 to renew the six-year-old peace treaty. They ratified the peace treaty according to their own beliefs. There were prisoners of war on both sides who were set free: the grand duke freed the Muslims and the Volga Bulghars the Christians (PSRL 10, 98). As for the Mordva region, it must have been divided between them as the Russians later attacked it in 1232–1233 when conditions were favourable towards them. The Volga Bulghars prolonged the peace because they needed their forces the protect the frontiers against the Mongols. Another sign of their goodwill of the Volga Bulghars was the act of transferring the earlier executed Christian's corpse to Vladimir in the spring of 1230 (PSRL 1, 453; PSRL 7, 136; PSRL 10, 98–99; PSRL 15, 353; PSRL 25, 124). It seems to corroborate the assumption that his execution was a political measure of the Volga Bulghars against the Russians.

The Volga Bulghar peace policy was a realistic because in 1232 a new Mongol campaign began. It is recorded in the Russian chronicles: "This year the Tatars came and wintered there, not reaching the Great Town (Biljar) of the Bulghars" (PSRL 1, 459; PSRL 7, 138; PSRL 10, 103; PSRL 15, 359; PSRL 25, 125). This proves that the eastern territories of the Volga Bulghars were subjugated but they had enough strength to defend their central region and the capital. This is corroborated by friar Julianus who met the Tatar envoy in 1235 among the Hungarians who lived somewhere north-east in the empire of the Volga Bulghars. According to the envoy the Mongol army was five days' journey from there.[8] The Mongols had carefully planned the conquest of the Volga Bulghars, by their southern region was invaded in 1229 and the eastern territories in 1232.

The grand duke Juri II took advantage of the Mongol raid against the eastern part of the Volga Bulghars and in the winter of 1232–1233 sent his son and other princes to the Mordva region who burnt and pillaged Mordvan

[7] De loco illo fratres societatem habere non poterant procedendi propter timorem Tartarorum, qui dicebantur esse vicini. Dörrie 1956, 154.

[8] In hoc Ungarorum terra dictus frater invenit Thartaros et nuntium ducis Thartarorum, qui sciebat Ungaricum Ruthenicum Cumanicum Theotonicum Sarracenicum et Thartaricum. Qui dixit quod exercitus Thartarorum, qui tunc ibidem ad quinque dietas vicinus erat, contra Alemaniam vellet ire; set alium exercitum, quem ad destructionem Persarum miserant, expectabant. Dörrie 1956, 158.

villages and killed much of the population (PSRL 1, 459; PSRL 7, 138; PSRL 10, 103, PSRL 15, 359; PSRL 25, 125). It was the last Russian raid against the Mordvas before the great western campaign of the Mongols which began in 1236. The Russians annexed the whole Mordva territory and the Volga Bulghars did not attempt to reconquest it as the Mongol campaign against Persia beginning in 1231–1232 reminded them of the danger of a Mongol raid against Eastern-Europe as had taken place in 1222–1223 led by Jebe and Sübetei. In spite of the extension of the Russian power in the Mordva region, it can be supposed from the vague record of friar Julianus that one of the Mordva principalities remained nominally under the Volga Bulghar authority. As a consequence of the Mongol raid against the Volga Bulghars and the Mordvas in 1236, one of the Mordva princes joined the Tatars, the other went to fortified places to resist the Tatars.[9] The prince who had been the vassal of the Volga Bulghars surrendered to the Mongols after the fall of the Volga Bulghars, the other prince, trusting the Russian grand duke, tried to resist the Mongols presumably from Russian soil.

The Russians seem to have been victorious in the East Russian Volga Bulghar struggle for the northern commercial routes by the first half of the 13th century. The further fate of this conflict was settled by the Mongols who crushed the Volga Bulghars in 1236, after which they conquered the Russian principalities. The Mongol empire of Eastern Europe, called Golden Horde comprised both of the Volga Bulghars and Russians.

In conclusions, the Volga Bulghar tactics before 1220 was characterized by the protection of their northern trade routes against the Eastern Russian grand duke, who tried to dominate the Baltic and the Upper and Middle Volga trade. In 1220 a new enemy appeared on the horizon of Eastern Europe. The Volga Bulghars evaluated the threat of this foe and concluded that the Mongols were more dangerous than the Russians. So they made peace with the Russians and opposed the Mongols. They kept the peace with the Russians at the expense of having to give up the western part of the Mordva region to the grand duke; the Volga Bulghars chose to take this course despite the fact that they defeated the Mongols in 1223 while the Russians were defeated by the Mongols at Kalka. From 1226 to 1229 the Russians raided the Mordvas three times. The Volga Bulghars avoided conflict with the Russians but threatened them with indirect means. The Mongols conquered Saqsin and the southern territories of the Volga Bulghars which forced the Volga Bulghars to renew the peace treaty with the grand duke which included the division of the Mordva lands. In 1232 the Mongols occupied the eastern region of the Volga

[9] Et unus princeps cum tot populo et familia Tartarorum domino se subiecerat, alter vero munitissima loca ad tuendum se petiit cum paucis populis si valeret. Dörrie 1956, 173.

Bulghars. This gave opportunity to the grand duke to annex the whole Mordva region. The Volga Bulghars did not attempt to regain it as they did not want to be attacked from both directions. Their policy to resist the Mongols was successful on three times: in 1223, 1229, 1232, when minor Mongol armies stormed them, however, they could not resist against the main body of the Mongol imperial army who attacked in 1236.

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Chronology

1205 Vsevolod III, the grand duke of Vladimir sent a fleet on the Volga against the Volga Bulghars.

1219 — The Volga Bulghars conquered Ustiug.

— The Mongols attacked the Eastern Qipchaqs.

1220 spring – Chingiz-Khan conquered Transoxania
summer – Juri II, the grand duke of Vladimir sent his brother Iaroslav against the Volga Bulghars and he besieged Oshel.
winter – Juri II himself prepared to march against the Volga Bulghars, but they sent envoys to ask peace three times. Finally he accepted the peace.

1221 Juri II found Nizhnii Novgorod on the Volga.

1223 The Mongols defeated the Russians at Kalka, the Volga Bulghars ambushed the raiding Mongols.

1226 Juri II sent his brothers against the Mordvas and they sacked some villages.

1228 september – Juri II sent the prince of Rostov and his general against the Mordva land. When they passed through Nizhnii Novgorod Juri II ordered them to retreat because of the heavy rains in autumn.

1228/29 winter – Juri II sacked Purgas in the Mordva region, while a Bulghar prince came to attack Pureš, the vassal principality of Juri II. When the Bulghar prince had learnt the Russian campaign, he retreated.

1229 – The unsuccessful attack of the Mordvas against Nizhnii Novgorod.
spring – The Volga Bulghars executed a non-Russian Christian merchant and confiscated his properties.
– The Mongols conquered the territory between the Ural and Lower Volga rivers.
– The Volga Bulghars sent envoys to Juri II to renew the six-year-old peace and to change the war-prisoners.

1230 The corpse of the executed Christian merchant was carried to Vladimir.

1232 The Mongols attacked the Volga Bulghars from the east, but they did not reach their Great Town.

1232/33 winter – Juri II sent his son and other princes against the Mordva region.
– The Russians set fire the villages and killed many of them.

1236 The Mongols crushed the Volga Bulghars.

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MISCELLANEA

Helga Schwenk. *Das Sprachvermögen zweisprachiger türkischer Schüler.* (Gießener Beiträge zur Fremdsprachendidaktik) Tübingen: Narr 1988, S. 392

I. EINLEITUNG

Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Schwenks Werk erscheint mir als gerechtfertigt, weil Schwenk versucht, türkischen Kindern in der Migration bei ihren Schulproblemen zu helfen. In diesem Sinne verstehe ich meine Ausführungen als einen kleinen Beitrag zur Lösung der Probleme der türkischen Migrantenkinder.

Die »Ausländerproblematik« ist ein sehr beliebtes Thema für viele wissenschaftliche Disziplinen. Besonders Pädagogen und Germanisten interessieren sich für dieses Thema. Die Germanisten untersuchen meistens »Gastarbeiterdeutsch« und »Zweitspracherwerb« ausländischer Kinder. Die Arbeit von H. Schwenk unterscheidet sich von den oben erwähnten Studien dadurch, daß die Autorin die Erst- und Zweitsprache türkischer Schüler behandelt. Im deutschsprachigen Raum wurden Studien auch über die Muttersprache türkischer Schüler sehr wenig und verspätet veröffentlicht. Soweit mir bekannt ist, stellt die Arbeit von Rehbein (1982) den ersten Versuch in diesem Bereich dar. Das Problem ist in großer Breite von Rehbein (1982, 1986, 1987) und von Pfaff (1988, 1989, 1990) untersucht worden. Inzwischen haben sich mehrere Autoren (Aytemiz 1990, Gökce 1990, Johanson 1991 u.a.) dieser Problematik gewidmet. Schwenk veröffentlichte ihre dreijährigen intensiven Studien über das Sprachvermögen von zweisprachigen türkischen Schülern im Jahre 1988. (Vgl. Schwenk 1988, S. VII) Schwenk versteht ihre Arbeit »als eine explorative informelle Studie, die mit konkretem Material arbeitet und der didaktischen Zielsetzung verpflichtet ist«. (Schwenk 1988, S. 2) Die Autorin möchte mit dieser Arbeit einen Beitrag zur Beschreibung des Sprachvermögens Heranwachsender und zur Zweisprachigkeitsforschung leisten, wobei ihre Arbeit »eine Annäherung an die beschriebene Aufgabe darstellen« soll. (Schwenk 1988, S. 4)

II. NACHERZÄHLUNG UND SPRACHKOMPETENZ

Die Untersuchung basiert auf der Analyse einer schriftlichen Nacherzählung in zwei Sprachen. Die Probanden sind 1. Rückkehrerkinder im Alter von 12 bis 14 Jahren, 2. ältere und jüngere monolinguale türkische Schüler, 3. ältere und jüngere monolinguale deutsche Schüler, 4. türkische Schüler, die in der Türkei bilingual erzogen werden, 5. türkische Schüler, die in der Türkei Deutsch als Fremdsprache erlernen, und 6. deutsche

Sonderschüler. (Vgl. dazu Schwenk, S. 2 und S. 3) Die 53 Probanden (Rückkehrerkinder) haben als Aufgabe, eine Nacherzählung in beiden Sprachen anzufertigen. Da in dieser Publikation primär das Sprachvermögen der Rückkehrerkinder untersucht wird, steht in meiner Kritik die Analyse der Texte dieser Kinder im Vordergrund. Bei den restlichen handelt es sich lediglich um Kontrollgruppen.

Mit der Beschränkung auf schriftliche Schüleräußerungen wurde, wie Schwenk selbst einräumt, »ein großer Teil des Sprachvermögens der Schüler ausgegrenzt, nämlich ihre Fähigkeiten im mündlichen Sprachgebrauch, in der primären kommunikativen Situation«. Andererseits aber kann nach Meinung der Autorin »einer Untersuchung gerade der schriftlichen Ausdrucksfähigkeiten im Hinblick auf die Anforderungen in der Schule hohe Priorität eingeräumt werden«. (Schwenk 1988 S. 6) Die geschriebene Sprache gewinnt laut Schwenk in der Schule eine große Bedeutung besonders bei den ausländischen Schülern. (Vgl. dazu Schwenk 1988 S. 367.) Vergleicht man die Zitate von Schwenk, fällt auf, daß sie einerseits der geschriebenen Sprache große Bedeutung beimißt und daß andererseits aber die gesprochene Sprache einen großen Teil der Sprachkompetenz ausmacht, so daß ihr Versuch, die Analyse der schriftlichen Texte zu rechtfertigen, widersprüchlich bleibt. Mit der Analyse von Schreibdaten kann nicht das ganze Sprachvermögen gemessen werden. Die Untersuchungsergebnisse von Schwenk können sich nur für das Schreibverhalten interpretieren lassen. Besonders bei den Migrantenkindern ist die Bedeutung der gesprochenen Sprache sehr groß, weil sie das Türkische nur als gesprochene Sprache kennen oder als geschriebene Sprache erst seit einer kurzen Zeit. Kurzum: Die türkischen Kinder haben Deutsch von Anfang an als Alphabetisierungssprache. Aus diesem Grund ist es sehr problematisch, die Sprachkompetenz türkischer Schüler durch die Analyse ihrer schriftlichen Texte zu messen.

Schwenk beschreibt die Nacherzählung als eine Darstellung produktiver sprachlicher Leistung, »die rezeptives Sprachverhalten voraussetzt. Das heißt also, ehe eine Geschichte nacherzählt werden kann, muß sie erstmal aufgenommen und verstanden worden sein. Es geht deshalb bei der gestellten Aufgabe in gleichem Maße um Textverstehen wie um sprachliche Formulierungskompetenz.« (Schwenk 1988 S. 56) Schwenk begründet die Aufgabenstellung so: »Es sollte soviel inhaltliche und sprachliche Bindung vorgegeben werden, daß eine Vergleichbarkeit der Schülertexte grundsätzlich gewährleistet war. (. . .) Die Form der Nacherzählung wurde gewählt, weil sie als schulische Aufgabe in beiden Ländern bekannt ist und sowohl Vorgaben hat als auch gewisse Freiheiten in der sprachlichen Wiedergabe zuläßt.« (Schwenk 1988. S. 8)

Trotz der Beschränkung auf nur eine Nacherzählung waren laut Schwenk »die Ansatzpunkte der Untersuchung zu zahlreich, um in einem überschaubaren Zeitraum erschöpfend bearbeitet und dargestellt werden zu können.« (Schwenk 1988. S. 4) Die Nacherzählung (allein) bildet einen schlechten Zugang zum Sprachvermögen der Schüler. Einerseits muß man bei so einer Forschung immer damit rechnen, daß Unlust, Müdigkeit, Unkonzentriertheit der Schüler und schlechte Kommunikation zwischen den Schülern und dem Lehrer auch zur Entstehung von Fehlern beitragen können. Solche Faktoren tauchen am häufigsten bei der Nacherzählung auf. Andererseits verursacht auch die Textwiedergabe eine gewisse Fehlerhäufigkeit. Die Wiedergabe des Textinhaltes ist nicht frei, sondern gesteuert. So werden die Schüler etwa dazu gezwungen, bei der Wiedergabe bestimmte Strukturen und bestimmte Wörter zu benutzen. Da die Schüler infolgedessen nicht frei formulieren können, geraten sie in eine Situation, in der sie mehr Fehler machen. Zu fragen bleibt, inwieweit das von Schwenk den Versuchspersonen vorgelegte Thema für das Schreibverhalten repräsentativ ist. Und der Befund muß nicht an einem zufälligen Probanden, sondern an mehreren Probanden festgestellt werden. Alle Faktoren, die das Schreibverhalten beeinflussen können, sollten kontrolliert werden.

Die Niederschriften türkischer Schüler wurden in der Türkei ohne Anwesenheit der Autorin erstellt. »Der einzige Zugang zu den Schülern erfolgte über die Lehrkräfte der Fächer Deutsch und Türkisch.« (Schwenk 1988. S. 8) Schwenk räumt selbst ein, daß »die Bedingungen der Erstellung der Texte sich nicht so kontrolliert halten ließen, wie es bei einer sozialwissenschaftlichen Untersuchung wünschenswert gewesen wäre.« (Schwenk 1988. S. 7)

Die Autorin gibt, einschränkend, selbst zu, daß sie bewußt auf viele Prinzipien der empirischen Sozialforschung verzichtet hat: »So mußte auf die Erörterung grundlegender theoretischer Theorien (!?) ebenso verzichtet werden wie auf die Erhebung von Sozialdaten bei den Schülern und die Verwendung differenzierter statistischer Methoden.« (Schwenk 1988. S. 2) Die Teilnahme der Autorin an der Untersuchung ist eines der wichtigsten Prinzipien der empirischen Sozialforschung. Passive teilnehmende Beobachtung ist jedoch ebenso erforderlich, weil auf diese Weise neben den Sozialdaten der Schüler auch verschiedene Störfaktoren feststellbar sind.

Da die Präzision der Aussagen über die Analyse der Schülertexte von der Beschreibungsstärke des Beschreibungsinstruments abhängig ist, gewinnt letzteres hierbei eine große Bedeutung. Um zur Zweisprachigkeitsforschung einen Beitrag leisten zu können, sollte man doch »die grundlegenden theoretischen Theorien« erörtern (was auch immer das sein mag). Die Verfasserin sollte sowohl ihre Theorien als auch diese (mir unverständlichen) Begriffe erklären.

Neben anderen Bedingungen der empirischen Sozialforschung sind die Sozialdaten der Schüler von wesentlicher Bedeutung, da sie bei der Spracherhaltung der Kinder eine große Rolle spielen. Als Beispiel nenne ich solche Bedingungen wie Dialekt und Bildungsstand der Eltern, die darüber hinaus bei der Sprachstandsmessung eine große Rolle spielen.

III. SPRACHERHALTUNG TÜRKISCHER SCHÜLER IN DER BUNDESREPUBLIK

Bevor ich mit der Textanalyse beginne, möchte ich kurz die Bedingungen darstellen, worunter türkische Kinder Sprache erwerben. Es ist bekannt, daß besonders Arbeiterkinder die Standardsprache nicht beherrschen. Die Dialektismen, die in den schriftlichen und mündlichen Äußerungen türkischer Schüler sehr oft auftauchen, werden negativ bewertet, ohne jegliche Berücksichtigung der Tatsache, daß die Schüler unter Umständen leben, in denen sie kaum die Möglichkeit gehabt haben, die sog. türkische Standardsprache zu lernen. Die Hochsprache in der Türkei, der »Istanbuler Dialekt«, wird in den anderen Städten der Türkei erst in der Schule gelernt. Das bedeutet, daß es den türkischen Gastarbeitern nicht einmal möglich war, den Istanbuler Dialekt zu lernen, weil sie in der Türkei überhaupt keine Schule besucht haben. Aus diesem Grund machen türkische Gastarbeiter sehr oft vom Dialekt Gebrauch (siehe dazu Johanson 1991). Schließlich hat Dialekt genauso kommunikative Leistungsfähigkeit wie die Hochsprache. Und Sprachkompetenz bedeutet ja nicht die Beherrschung der Standardsprache. Bloß ist der Anwendungsbereich des Dialekts begrenzter als der der Hochsprache. Da der Dialekt eine Abweichung von den Normen darstellt und von den Schülern in der Schule normgerechtes Handeln verlangt wird, wurde der Dialekt eine lange Zeit als minderwertige Sprachvariante betrachtet. Heute hat der Dialekt in Deutschland auch in der Schule Anerkennung gefunden.

Außer den oben genannten Faktoren, die den Spracherwerb türkischer Schüler in erheblichem Maße beeinträchtigen, spielt auch die Sprachpolitik der Türkei eine große

Rolle. In der Türkei wurde 1932 von Atatürk die »Türkische Sprachgesellschaft« gegründet, die die türkische Sprache so erneuert hat, daß man heute von einer Sprachreform spricht. »Der Wortschatz der Sprache befindet sich seit Jahrzehnten im Prozeß einer riesigen Umwandlung, die bis heute keinen Ruhepunkt erreicht hat.« (Hazai 1978, S. 100)

Im Zuge dieser Reform in der Türkei werden seit 1932 neue Wörter in die Sprache eingeführt. Die neuen Wörter werden diskutiert, von manchen werden sie abgelehnt, und manche finden in der Öffentlichkeit Akzeptanz. Die sprachliche Situation in der Türkei war und ist unübersichtlich. Unter diesen Umständen verlassen die Bauern und Arbeiter ihre Heimat in Anatolien und kommen als Gastarbeiter in die BRD. Die türkischen Gastarbeiter haben während des langjährigen Aufenthaltes dort keine Möglichkeit, die Neuerungen, die in der Türkei entstanden sind, zu verfolgen und zu verarbeiten. Das bedeutet, daß die wegen des schlechten Bildungsniveaus in geringem Maße entwickelte Sprachkompetenz durch den Sprachwandel in der Heimat, an dem man hier nicht teilnehmen konnte, noch verringert wird. Die Nichtberücksichtigung dieser Faktoren beeinflußt das Gesamtergebnis von Schwenks Untersuchung.

IV. DIE METHODIK DER TEXTANALYSE

Bei der Auswertung der Schülerarbeiten geht die Autorin wie folgt vor:

»1. Erfassen der Makrostruktur, die Erstellung eines Textes;

2. Umgang mit der Bedeutung sprachlicher Einheiten im Text und als lexikalische Elemente;

3. Anwendung systemlinguistischer Elemente, also die Beherrschung der grammatischen Regeln.

Auf allen drei Ebenen war sowohl das Vorhandene zu registrieren als auch Fehlendes und Fehlerhaftes aufzuzeigen.« (Schwenk 1988 S. 4)

Im ersten Teil wurden folgende Aspekte bearbeitet:

»1. Quantität: Länge der Niederschriften (Anzahl der Wörter in bezug auf den Originaltext)

2. Die Länge der Satzgebilde, gemessen nach der Zahl ihrer Wörter, hat eine gewisse Aussagekraft, wenn man annimmt, daß die Verwendung längerer Sätze im allgemeinen auf eine höhere Sprachkompetenz schließen läßt.« (Schwenk 1988, S.81)

Nach meiner Ansicht wird die Länge der Ausdrücke in der türkischen Stilistik als etwas Negatives bewertet. Aus diesem Grund kann eigentlich »Länge der Niederschriften« in diesem Rahmen keine Rolle spielen.

Außerdem sollte dabei die Semantik in Betracht gezogen werden.

»3. Inhalt: Vollständigkeit der Wiedergaben (Abschluß/Exkurs/Einleitung)

4. Wortschatz: verwendete Inhaltswörter (Niveaustufen) »Unbestritten (. . .) hängt die Qualität eines Textes in starkem Maße von der Wortwahl ab.« (Schwenk 1988, S.66) Die Autorin sollte bei der Wortwahl auch den starken Sprachpurismus mit berücksichtigen. Die Bedeutung der Neologismen für die türkischen Migranten habe ich schon erklärt.

»5. Syntax: Satzlänge und Komplexität

6. Fehler: Häufigkeit und Art der Normverstöße (Grammatik/Ausdruck/Rechtschreibung).« (Schwenk 1988, S.51)

Schwenk arbeitet mit drei Fehlergruppen, »wobei die Typisierung nicht streng den linguistischen Ebenen verpflichtet war, sondern ebenso psychologische Gesichtspunkte und das Kriterium der Handhabbarkeit berücksichtigt hat. Es sind dies Ausdrucksfehler im weitesten Sinne (A), hierunter fallen Fehler bei der Satzbildung (Konstruktionsmängel, Wortstellungsfehler), der Wortwahl und Wortform.

Grammatikfehler (Gr.), dies betraf vorwiegend die morphologische Kennzeichnung (Deklination und Konjugation) und Tempusfehler.

Rechtschreibungsfehler (R), ohne Zeichensetzung.« (Schwenk 1988, S.89)

Der Begriff »Fehler« wird nicht definiert. Welche Kriterien bei der Festlegung der Fehler benutzt wurden, bleibt unklar.

Nach der Feststellung eines Fehlers soll dieser genauer betrachtet, beschrieben und klassifiziert werden. Außerdem sollen sowohl der Fehler als auch dessen Ursachen formuliert werden. Die Feststellung der Fehlerursachen gewinnt ihre Bedeutung gerade bei solchen Untersuchungen, die eine sprachdidaktische Zielsetzung haben. Der Fehler muß ganz genau definiert werden, wobei Definition der Fehler von Migrantenkindern und türkeitürkischen Kindern nicht ein und dieselbe sein darf. Die unterschiedliche Spracherhaltung türkischer Kinder in Deutschland und in der Türkei muß genau dargestellt und bei der Definition des Fehlers mit berücksichtigt werden. Als Beispiel für die Faktoren, die bei der Spracherhaltung eine große Rolle spielen, kann die Familie angegeben werden. Es ist unbestritten, daß türkische Eltern in Deutschland nicht dasselbe Türkisch wie ihre Altersgenossen in der Türkei sprechen.

Neben der Klassifizierung der Fehler sollten grammatische Kriterien für die Fehleranalyse eingesetzt sowie unterschiedliche Grammatik- und Sprachauffassungen mit berücksichtigt werden. Die Verfasserin verwendet solche Begriffe wie Ausdruck, Grammatik und Rechtschreibung nebeneinander, ohne sie zu definieren. Darüber hinaus ist es ratsam, die Graphem-Phonem-Beziehung mit zu berücksichtigen.

V. ANALYSE DER TEXTE

Wie ich am Ende kurz andeute, setzt so eine Untersuchung grundlegende Kenntnisse im Bereich der Türkologie voraus. Solche Kenntnisse sind hier anscheinend nicht gegeben. Dazu zwei Beispiele:

Auf S.75 wird »Hütte« mit »Klübü« übersetzt. Klübü bedeutet im Türkischen »sein Club«, ist also ein Fremdwort mit dem Suffix -ü. Die richtige Entsprechung von »Hütte« ist im Türkischen Kulübe.

Ein anderer Fehler findet sich auf S.296. »Zuweilen geht es um den Bedeutungsumfang bei Synonymen, z.B. »Yangın« und »Alev« (= Feuer), (. . .).« Aber »yangın« bedeutet im Deutschen »Feuer«, »Brand« und ist kein Synonym mit »alev«, was auf Deutsch »Flamme« bedeutet.

Das folgende ist ein Beispiel aus den Einzeluntersuchungen. »Außerdem ist zu beobachten, daß dieser Schüler statt Bilgic D. die Form Bilginc verwendet. Diese Abweichung finden wir auch bei vielen anderen türkeitürkischen Schülern — sie ist auf Unsicherheiten in der Morphologie der Wortbildung der türkischen Sprache zurückzuführen. Die Kinder verstehen das Wort unmittelbar, aber produzieren es in Analogie zu dem bekannten Wort ilginc (= interessant), das sich mit dem n in der Bildungssilbe eingebürgert hat.« (Schwenk 1988, S.142)

Im Türkischen gibt es das Wort bilgin neben dem Wort bilgic mit derselben Bedeutung. Die Schüler haben die beiden Wörter vermischt. Das Wort bilgic hat eher negative Bedeutung und ist einer der Neologismen der türkischen Sprachgesellschaft. Bilgin wird öfter als bilgic verwendet. Die Schüler hören unerwartet die Form bilgic. Dann konstruieren sie die Form bilginc. Es ist hier keine Rede von einer Analogie, weil beide Wörter zu verschiedenen Wortklassen gehören. »İlginc« ist ein Adjektiv und »Bilginc« ist ein Substantiv. Zu den sprachlichen Analysen weitere Beispiele:

»O zamanlarda soba, kalorüfer yoktu. ocaklarda ısınırlardı. (. . .)

Als Fehler sind hier zu notieren:

7. kalorifer

8. ocaklarda, großer Anfangsbuchstabe nach dem Punkt (. . .).« (Schwenk 1988, S.166) Die Autorin hat den Satz nicht vollständig analysiert: Der Satz wäre auch dann wohlgeformt, wenn nach »yoktu« ein Komma gesetzt worden wäre. Hier kann es sich um einen Zeichensetzungsfehler handeln.

»Zuweilen finden sich auch Anzeichen von restringierter Sprache, die auf Schwierigkeiten von Dialektsprechern zurückzuführen sind (z.B. verwenden Schüler öfters türk. kisi = Person), statt spezifischer Ausdrücke.« (Schwenk 1988, S.192)

Aus gutem Grund haben die türkischen Schüler in der Moral der Geschichte öfter das Wort »kişi« verwendet, weil man im Türkischunterricht ähnliche Aussagen sehr oft hört. Bei der Erklärung der Moral einer Geschichte wird die Form »kişi« häufig benutzt. Daher ist kişi keine dialektale Erscheinung, oder Anzeichen von restringierter Sprache, sondern es ist für den Türkischunterricht ein ganz gewöhnliches Wort. Die Bezeichnung restringierter Kode im Sinne von B. Bernstein paßt zu diesem Kontext nicht. Das Wort »kişi« ist zwar ein unpersönliches Pronomen, aber im Türkischen gehört es nicht wie im Deutschen zum r.K. Die Autorin hat einen Interferenzfehler gemacht.

»Allerdings vergißt der Schüler dabei das Verb im ersten Teilsatz: »oturur« (1). Weiterhin wurde Dede mit kleinem Anfangsbuchstaben geschrieben (2). Hier der Ausschnitt: Bilgic dede, yazın evinin önündeki ağaçların altında 1) kışın ise evinde okurdu. En çok kitaplerını severdi. Köylülerin sorunlarını Bilgiç dede 2) çözerdi.« (Schwenk 1988, S.167) Hier hat der Schüler das Verb nicht vergessen. Dieser Satz ist gemäß der Struktur des Türkischen gebildet worden. Der Schüler schreibt, wo der B.D. las, nicht wo er saß.

An dieser Stelle möchte ich die von der Autorin als repräsentative Erscheinungen für Germanismen angegebenen Abschnitte analysieren. Aus räumlichen Gründen beziehe ich nur wenige Texte in die Analyse mit ein.

»Bilgiç Dede söyledi 3). Kızım sen ne istiyorsun bu soğukda? Küçük kız söyledi: Annem birazcık kömür üstünde ateş istiyor. Küçük kız ne bir şey getirmiş. Kürek kova getirmemiş. O zamanlarda ne karanfilı), soba yokdu. Bilgiç Dede sordu: 4) »Sen kömürü neyle götüreceksin?« Küçük kızda aycunu 2) açıp ve söyledi: 3) »Kömürü elime koy ve ateşi üstüne koy.« Sonra küçük kız gitdi. Bilgiç Dede arkasından bakdı ve yine kitaplarına daldı. Das Türkisch von Defne, unserem zweiten Beispiel, ist vom Satzbau her noch stärker nach deutschen Prinzipien konstruiert, indem die als Objekt fungierenden Aussagen bei der indirekten Rede jeweils nach dem einleitenden Verb folgen (hier: sordu (1), dedi (2) cevap verdi (3)).« (Schwenk 1988, S.275) Hier kann man nicht so leicht behaupten, daß es sich um Germanismen handelt, denn die Schülerin bildet auch gleichzeitig syntaktisch korrekte Sätze. Diese Form wird auch in der Volkspoesie verwendet. Da sie an Schriftsprache nicht gewöhnt ist, macht sie solche Fehler. Außerdem handelt es sich bei diesem Beispiel nicht um direkte Rede. Also sind Fehler des Mädchens nicht auf Germanismen zurückzuführen.

»Ali G. ist mit der türkischen Grammatik recht gut vertraut; er gebraucht jedoch einen falschen Schlüsselbegriff, wenn er »alev« (= Flamme) statt »ates« (= Feuer) schreibt.« (Schwenk 1988, S.279) Dabei verwechselt die Autorin selbst diese Wörter an einer anderen Stelle (s. Schwenk 1988, S.296.).

»Levent strukturiert auch deutlich, und schmückt die Geschichte dazu noch erzählerisch aus. Dabei unterlaufen ihm jedoch einige Sprachverstöße, die hauptsächlich den Kasusgebrauch betreffen und auch die Objektstellung (1). Im dritten Satz muß es z.B. dem türkischen Sprachgefühl entsprechend lauten: »das Nicht-Durchdringen der Wärme durch die Asche kam in B Ds Bewußtsein«. (. . .)

Bilgiç dede Mangalın yanında duran masayı alıpbir köz çıkarmış ve sormuş: »neyin içinde taşiyacaksın?« Kız iki elini birleştrip avucunu göstererek demiş ki: »Bunun içine biraz kül koy ve üstüne de közü koy demiş küçük. Bu meyanda Bilgiç Dedenin aklına gelmiş külün isi geçirmediğini. 1) Kızın söylevdigi gibi yapmış. Kız gittikten sonra uzun uzun arkasına bakmış ve kendi kendine de: »Bir insan ne kadar kitap okursa okusun yinede bilmedigi bir çok şey vardır« demiş. Ve kitapini okumaya devam etmiş.« (Schwenk 1988, S.282) Levent macht hier keinen Kasusfehler. Er gebraucht die Kasus sehr gut, zum Beispiel: arkasın + a, (morphologisch korrekt, phraseologisch nicht sehr korrekt; arkasın + dan sollte es heißen), köz + ü, avucun + u. Er macht nur bei einem Satz einen Fehler, wie Schwenk auch bemerkt hat, bei diesem Satz geht es um das Prädikat, das am Ende des Satzes stehen sollte. Außerdem macht er auch nicht so oft Schreibfehler.

»Doch schreibt er, daß man am Abend Kohle (1) auf das Feuer wirft und diese am Morgen herunternimmt und das Feuer wieder anzündet.

Eskiden evlerde ocak ve mangal kullanılıyordu, kalorifer veya soba yoktu. Aksam olunca ateşin üzerine kor 1) atılırdı. Böylece sobalı ateş kordan alınarak yeniden canlandırılırdı.« (Schwenk 1988, S.294) Kor ist von der Autorin nicht richtig übersetzt. Es bedeutet nicht Kohle, sondern »Glut«.

»Im weiteren Verlauf der Einleitung geht der Tempusgebrauch sehr durcheinander, dazu finden sich Fehler der Schreibung, die die Wortkörper (1) und zuweilen zugleich auch die grammatische Struktur betreffen (2).«

»Bir kaş yıl önce Bilginç Dede ögretmenlik yapmış. Ögret-Ögretmenliginden sonra emeklige ayrılmış. Ögretmenligini büyük bir şehirde yapmış. Emekliginden 2) sonra küçük bir köye taşınmış, insanlar bu ögretmene Bilginç Dede adını; vermişler. Bilginç Dedenin çocukları başka şehirlere gösmüsler 1), karasida 1) ölmüş. Bilginç Dede bu köyde sadece kitaplarinla 2) yaşıyormuş. Sovuk günlerde onu ortalıkta kimse göremiyordu, siscik 1) günlerde Bilginç Dede yaşlı kemiklerini ısıtmak icin ortaya çıkıyormuş. Köyde en son bilginç dedenin evin elektrikleri sönüyormuş.« (Schwenk 1988, S.301) Der Tempusgebrauch ist fast ganz korrekt. »Kitaplarınla« ist kein grammatischer Fehler, sondern eine dialektale Erscheinung. Sovuk sollte mit g geschrieben sein. Statt »Evin« müßte es evinin heißen, dieser Fehler wurde übersehen. Der Text beinhaltet mehr Fehler, als die Autorin analysiert hat.

»Man bemerkt alte neben neuen Wörtern (1) der türkischen Sprache. Außer der Großschreibung von Substantiven und der Verwechslung »yanlız« statt »yalnız« finden wir bei ihr keine Fehler der sprachlichen Form. Hier ihr Ausschnitt: Bilgincdede karısının ölümünden ve çocuklarının göçmesinden sonra, yanlız başına bahçeli evinde oturuyordu. O Tek 1) Kitapları için yaşıyordu sanki. Yaz, kış okumakla meşguldu. »Bilginç dede« o adı ona köylüler vermişti, çünkü o her sorunları düşünürdü.« (Schwenk 1988, S.303) Die Autorin hat »Tek« falsch interpretiert. Hier handelt es sich nicht um ein altes Wort, sondern um eine Verwechslung von »sadece« mit »tek«.

Warum auch türkische Kinder »yalnız« mit »yanlız« verwechseln, ist eine für die Linguistik und besonders für die Sprachdidaktik sehr interessante Frage. Eine Untersuchung mit einem sprachdidaktischen Aspekt sollte an solchen Fragen nicht vorbeigehen. Im Alttürkischen finden wir »yalanguz« für »yalnız«. Es ist durchaus möglich, daß die Schüler wegen der Sprechbequemlichkeit »yanlız« statt »yalnız« sagen. Es ist eine phonetisch bedingte Metathese. (Für die ausführliche Erklärung der Metathese im Türkischen siehe T. Banguoglu 1974)

Bei Pervin (einer weiteren Probandin) sind alle Sätze gemäß der türkischen Syntax gebildet, abgesehen von zwei Sätzen auf S.285 und S.315. Es ist möglich, daß sie diese Sätze: »Bilgiç Dede kızı sordu, neyin içinde taşıyacağını« und »Bilgiç Dede kızı sordu, ne istedigini« nach dem Muster der deutschen Syntax gebildet hat. Vielleicht hat sie die

Konstruktion der deutschen indirekten Rede ins Türkische übertragen. Vielleicht aber hat sie auch einfach das, was sie hinter dem Komma geschrieben hat, später gedacht (Inversion).

Auch bei diesen Sätzen sind also die Germanismen nicht eindeutig festzustellen. Die Schülerin macht aber öfter Fehler, welche die Autorin nicht beschrieben und erklärt hat. In beiden Sätzen finden wir eine Verwechslung von Akkusativ und Dativ.

Als weiteres Beispiel gebe ich einen Satz von S.304 »Onun icin köylüler onu Bilgiç Dede adı verdiler.« Diese Erscheinung ist ein typisches Merkmal für den Dialekt aus der Umgebung von Denizli, Kütahya usw., aus dem weiteren Umkreis von İzmir, wo die Untersuchungstexte geschrieben wurden. Die Verwechslung von Akkusativ und Dativ ist also eine normale dialektale Erscheinung. Man kann die beiden Sätze als Übertragung der deutschen indirekten Rede (Germanismen) auffassen. Aber diesen Fehler finden wir nur zweimal. Dagegen bildet Pervin die meisten Sätze nach den Regeln der türkischen Syntax, wenn auch dialektal beeinflußt (s. für die umfangreiche Erklärung der Verwechslung von Akkusativ mit Dativ Gülensoy, S.85). Bei Pervin spürt man den Einfluß des Dialekts, der besonders für Rückkehrerkinder völlig selbstverständlich ist. Nach dem Vergleich dieser Sätze ist es — auch wenn man annimmt, daß die beiden Sätze, die oben wiedergegeben worden sind, Germanismen beinhalten — nicht so einfach zu behaupten, daß bei ihr Germanismen sehr oft auftauchen, weil bei ihr die Sätze größtenteils nach der türkischen Syntax gebildet worden sind.

In diesem kurzen Rahmen war es nicht möglich, alle Texte vorzuführen und zu analysieren, die von der Autorin analysiert worden sind. Sie hat anstelle einer systematischen Fehleranalyse allgemeine Aussagen über einzelne Texte gemacht und manche Texte sehr unsystematisch untersucht. Manche Fehler sind z.B. gar nicht als Fehler bewertet worden oder bei manchen Texten als Fehler und bei anderen Texten nicht als Fehler bewertet worden. Daher ist es schwer nachvollziehbar, wie die Autorin zu den genannten Schlußfolgerungen gelangen konnte.

VI. SCHLUSSFOLGERUNGEN

Nach der Auswertung ihrer Untersuchungsergebnisse hat die Autorin die Schüler in unterschiedliche Gruppen eingestuft. Als Kriterien lagen dabei lediglich die Anzahl und die Art und Weise der Fehler zugrunde. Es wurde folgende Einteilung vorgenommen:

1. Dominanz im Türkischen
2. Dominanz im Deutschen
3. Gute Leistungen in beiden Sprachen
4. Mittlere Leistungen in beiden Sprachen
5. Schwache Leistungen in beiden Sprachen

Meiner Meinung nach hätte eine solche Gruppeneinteilung auch ohne vorherige empirische Untersuchungen erfolgen können (vgl. dazu Stölting, W., S.221).

Als wesentliches Ergebnis ihrer Untersuchung hält die Verfasserin fest, »daß eine Didaktik entwickelt werden muß, die zur Förderung und Stabilisierung der Zweisprachigkeit geeignet ist.« (Schwenk 1988, S. 373) Die Autorin entwickelt in ihrem Buch keine Didaktik und gibt dazu auch keine Ansätze, sondern macht nur allgemeine Aussagen. (Vgl. dazu auch Schwenk 1988, S.371 und 372) Man erwartet mit Recht von einer Untersuchung mit didaktischem Aspekt nicht nur allgemeine Aussagen und allgemeine Vorschläge, sondern wenigstens auch Ansätze zur Entwicklung einer Didaktik. Die Auto-

rin behauptet, daß ihre Untersuchung didaktische Aspekte hat. Das Instrumentarium, welches von Schwenk für die Textanalyse entwickelt wurde, sollte gemäß der Struktur der türkischen Sprache festgelegt werden. Die von Schwenk getroffenen didaktischen Aussagen verbleiben im Bereich des Allgemeinen und sind wenig nutzbringend für die Lösung des konkreten Problems. Diese Aussagen haben eher bildungspolitischen Charakter. Das Instrumentarium sollte alle Ebenen der Sprache umfassen und auch Sozialdaten der Schüler, Spracherhaltungsbedingungen, Prinzipien der Soziolinguistik und Didaktik berücksichtigen. Mit wenigen Zielsetzungen könnte man sicherlich sehr viel bessere und sauberere Ergebnisse bekommen. Da didaktische Arbeiten eine gewisse Verallgemeinerung voraussetzen oder beinhalten, gewinnt hierbei die Erhebung von Sozialdaten der Schüler sowie die Verwendung differenzierter statistischer Methoden an Bedeutung.

Die Autorin beschreibt in ihrem Buch (S.15) das unterschiedliche Interesse der Linguisten, Sprachlehrer, Kommunikationspartner, Psychologen und Philosophen an der Sprache. Ich möchte in diesem Rahmen nur kurz meine Meinung äußern. Erstens sind die Soziologen in diesem Zusammenhang nicht erwähnt worden, obwohl sie ebenfalls an Untersuchungen dieser Art interessiert sind.

Zweitens sind die Aussagen der Autorin über die Linguisten nicht gerechtfertigt.

Es ist offensichtlich, daß die Untersuchung der Sprachkompetenz bilingualer türkischer Schüler für verschiedene Disziplinen von Interesse ist. Dabei sollten aber besonders die Türkischkenntnisse türkischer Schüler von der Turkologie (vgl. Johanson 1991) und gerade nicht von der Germanistik untersucht werden. Die Germanisten können die Deutschkenntnisse türkischer Schüler sehr gut untersuchen, aber nicht auch die Türkischkenntnisse. Zudem ist die Beherrschung der türkischen Sprache bei einer solchen Untersuchung für den Germanisten von großem Vorteil. Schließlich können die Fehler, die die türkischen Kinder beim Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache machen, zum Teil nur aus der Erstsprache erklärt werden. Außerdem ist es zwingend notwendig, die außerlinguistischen Faktoren mit zu berücksichtigen. Um die Türkischkenntnisse türkischer Schüler beurteilen zu können, sollte der Forscher auch den Bereich der Turkologie sowie die türkischen Dialekte und die nichtlinguistischen Bereiche der Turkologie gut kennen. Wünschenswert wäre es, wenn das Sprachvermögen zweisprachiger türkischer Schüler in Zusammenarbeit zwischen Linguisten, Turkologen und Germanisten untersucht würde.

Um zur Zweisprachigkeitsforschung einen Beitrag zu leisten, sollte man sich nicht auf die Nacherzählung und gar nur eine einzige Nacherzählung beschränken. Schwenk weist einerseits öfter darauf hin, daß sie die Untersuchung nach dem Prinzip des »Machbaren« gemacht hat, andererseits aber möchte sie einen Beitrag zur Zweisprachigkeitsforschung leisten, der außerdem einen sprachdidaktischen Aspekt beinhaltet.

Die Autorin hat die Ursachen der schulischen Mißerfolge bei den türkischen Kindern in Deutschland sehr früh erkannt und sich damit beschäftigt. Somit hat sie zur Lösung der Schulprobleme der Ausländerkinder einen wichtigen Beitrag geleistet. All diese Bemühungen der Autorin sind anerkennenswert. Aber wissenschaftliche Tätigkeit setzt nicht auf die Prinzipien des »Machbaren«, sondern auf die Prinzipien der Wissenschaft. Und zu den Prinzipien der Wissenschaft gehört auch Kritik.

VII. LITERATUR

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IN MEMORIAM

ZYGMUNT ABRAHAMOWICZ

(1923–1990)

Am 13. Dezember 1990 ist der polnische Osmanist Zygmunt Abrahamowicz in seinem 67. Lebensjahr in Krakau verstorben. Mit ihm ist eine Persönlichkeit von uns gegangen, die für den Beruf eines Orientalisten sozusagen von der Tradition des Elternhauses vorherbestimmt wurde. Er ist nämlich am 20. Februar 1923 in Halicz, in einer alten, patrialchalischen, karaimischen Familie geboren. Seine karaimische Muttersprache hat er in seinem ganzen Leben gepflegt, oft hat er den Kollegen seine Aufsätze und Bücher in karaimischer Sprache gewidmet.

Bereits im Alter von elf Jahren mußte er den Tod seines Vaters hinnehmen. Trotzdem ermöglichte ihm die Opferbereitschaft der Familie, das Gymnasium in Stanisławow zu besuchen. Der zweite Weltkrieg hat die Laufbahn des jungen, talentierten Gymnasiasten unterbrochen. Kurz vor dem Ende des Krieges wurde er — mit vielen seinen karaimischen Landsleuten zusammen — zur Zwangsarbeit nach Deutschland verschleppt. Nach dem Krieg arbeitete er in Niederschlesien und begann gleichzeitig mit dem Studium der Turkologie am Orientalischen Institut der Warschauer Universität. Nach kurzer Zeit siedelte er nach Krakau über, wo er die Jagiellonische Universität besuchte. Dort schloß er im Jahre 1951 seine Studien mit dem Magisterdiplom für Turkologie ab.

Nach der Ausbildung trat er in Warschau in den Archivdienst, aber schon im nächsten Jahr verpflichtete er sich für das Woiwodschaftsarchiv in Krakau (Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe), wo er fast 25 Jahre, bis 1976 tätig war. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz gehörte zu der Generation von Archivaren, die neben ihrer täglichen archivischen Erschließungsarbeit hochwertige wissenschaftliche Leistungen erbracht haben. Die Edition der historischen Quellen hat ihn immer viel mehr fasziniert als die Darstellungen in Geschichtsbüchern. Sein Forschungsgebiet umfaßte die Beziehungen Polens mit dem Osmanischen Reich und dem Chanat der Krim. Er hat es sich zum Ziel gesetzt, die

 Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

türksprachigen Akten und Chroniken durch seine hervorragenden türkischen und paläographischen Kenntnisse für die polnische Geschichtsschreibung zugänglich zu machen.

Sein archivarisches Grundwerk, der Katalog der türkischen Dokumente und orientalischen Handschriften, ist im Jahre 1959 erschienen (*Katalog dokumentów tureckich. Dokumenty do dziejow Polski i krajów ościennych w latach 1455–1672.* Opracował Zygmunt Abrahamowicz pod redakcją Ananiasza Zajączkowskiego. Katalog rękopisów orientalnych ze zborów polskich, Tom I, częśc 1. Warszawa 1959). Später wendete er sich der Ausgabe türkischer narrativer Quellen zu. Er hat einen großen geographischen Raum vor Auge gehalten und die Quellen bevorzugt, welche im engen Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte Polens standen. So hat er aus dem Reisebuch von Evliya Çelebi die Teile über Polen, die Ukraine und das Chanat der Krim ausgewählt und zusammen mit seinen Kollegen ins Polnische übersetzt (*Księga podróży Ewliji Czelebiego.* Wybór. Tłumaczyli z języka tureckiego Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, Aleksander Dubiński, Stanisława Płaskowicka-Rymkiewicz. Warszawa, 1969). Schon bei dieser Arbeit (er hat nämlich den krimtatarischen Teil übersetzt) zeigte sich sein besonderes Interesse für die Geschichte des Chanats der Krim. Im Jahre 1971 hat er die quellenkritische Ausgabe der Geschichte des Chans Islam Giray III. vorgelegt, welche den ersten Schritt zur Wiederentdeckung des historischen Wertes der krimtatarischen narrativen Quellen darstellt (Hadży Mehmed Senai z Krymu, *Historia chana Islam Gereja III.* Tekst turecki vydał, przełożył i opracował Zygmunt Abrahamowicz. Warszawa 1971). Zwei Jahre später überraschte er seine Kollegen mit der polnischen Übersetzung einer Auswahl aus sechs osmanischen (darunter einem krimtatarischen) Chronikenteile über den Verlauf der Belagerung Wiens (*Kara Mustafa pod Wiedniem. Źródla muzulmańskie do dziejów wyprawy wiedeńskiej 1683 roku.* Z tureckiego przeł ożył i orpracował Zygmunt Abrahamowicz. Kraków 1973). So hat er schon zehn Jahre vor dem Jubileumsjahr der Belagerung und Entsetzung Wiens wichtige Quellen für die Vorbereitungsarbeiten geliefert. Aus Anlaß des »Türkenjahres 1983« hat der Franz Deuticke Verlag in Wien eine annotierte Bibliographie der Türkenkriege in den Ländern Ostmitteleuropas herausgegeben. Die polnische Bibliographie hat Zygmunt Abrahamowicz besprochen. Die gewissenhafte Zusammenstellung und klare Beurteilung der einzelnen Arbeiten macht diesen Aufsatz unentbehrlich. (*Neuere und neueste polnische Literatur über den Krieg und Frieden Polens mit den Türken und Tataren vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*: Z. Abrachamowicz/V. Kopčan/M. Kunt/E. Marosi/N. Moačanin/C. Serban/K. Teply, *Die Türkenkriege in der historischen Forschung.* Wien 1983, 53–77).

Von 1976 bis zu seiner Penisionierung im Jahre 1988 arbeitete er am Institut für Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften Polens. Endlich hatte er Zeit, in Italien, Österreich und in der Türkei längere Forschungsreisen

zu unternehmen. Aus dieser Periode stammen viele wichtige Aufsätze und ein großes Vorhaben: in einer Serie polnischer Staatsverträge mit dem Ausland auch diejenigen mit der Türkei und der Krim zu veröffentlichen. Zygmunt Abrahamowicz hat den ersten Faszikel der in Türkisch und Tatarisch verfaßten Urkunden (1489–1568) zur Originalausgabe in arabischer Schrift druckfertig vorbereitet, aber die Veröffentlichung läßt noch immer auf sich warten. Wir können nur hoffen, daß das wissenschaftliche Erbe von Zygmunt Abrahamowicz in guten Händen ist und die gewissenhafte, auf primären Quellen liegende Arbeitsmethode, die seine Werke gekennzeichnete, unter den jüngeren Generationen der polnischen Orientalisten Widerklang finden wird.

M. Ivanics

FERENC MÁRTONFI

(1945–1991)

The untimely death of Ferenc Mártonfi, an outsanding personality was a loss to both Hungarian oriental and linguistic studies. As a winner of the annual inter-school competition, he entered the Loránd Eötvös University in 1963. He studied Chinese and Russian philology. In 1965 he changed Russian for Applied and Mathematical Linguistics, a newly established branch of linguistic studies at the faculty. During his university years, he also studied Japanese. As study in China was not possible in those years for Hungarians, after graduation he obtained a scholarship in Pyongyang, where between the autumn of 1968 and the spring of 1970 he studied Korean language and linguistics. After a couple of years spent as a postgraduate student attached first to the Chair of General and Applied Linguistics of the Attila József University in Szeged, then to the Research Institute of Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, he returned to his Alma Mater, the Chinese and East-Asian Department of the Loránd Eötvös University's philological faculty as first assistant, the post he held until his death, where he taught modern Chinese grammar and classical Chinese language.

His scholarly interest covered a wide range of topics. Starting with Chinese phonology, he was engaged later in the problems concerning Korean linguistics, structural grammar of Chinese and Hungarian, and a variety of themes of linguistic interest. In his own words (taken from a professional autobiography):

"I never considered myself a theoretical linguist, or a mathematical linguist, a specialist in applied linguistics or socio-linguistics, or an orientalist, sinologist, koreanist, japanologist, or phonologist, and a researcher engaged in graphemics, etc., or a theoretician or practitioner for that matter. I regarded myself to be just a linguist."

His papers covered a variety of themes. They were all noteworthy for

their originality in approach and their clarity. Those published in English included:

Sino-Korean Finals. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXV (1–3), pp. 83–99, 1972.

Some Problems of a Generative Phonology of Middle Sino-Korean. *ibid.* XXVI (2–3), pp. 299–307, 1973.

Yi-ching's Buddhist Sanskrit-Chinese Glossary: A Source for T'ang Phonology. *ibid.* XXVIII (3), pp. 359–392; XXIX (1), pp. 15–53; XXIX (2), pp. 225–246, 1974–1975.

Conceptions of 'Parts of Speech' in Chinese and Generative Grammar (Parts of Speech to be Buried). *ibid.* XXXI (3), pp. 279–310, 1977.

His writings in Hungarian included papers on courtesy forms of the Korean verb, the notion and role of person in Korean, Korean writing, problems of phonology, classical Korean poetry, poetic language, and graphemics. Efforts are being made to make some of them accessible in English.

In addition to linguistics, he always had a keen interest in literature. Between 1970 and 1981, he worked with the editorial board of the Encyclopaedia of World Literature, published by the Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy supervising Japanese and Korean literatures. He also elaborated a transcription system of Korean for the use in Hungarian press.

Ferenc Mártonfi played an important role among the small number of Hungarian linguists and orientalists. His soft-spoken, modest, but determined and demanding personality, and his deep insight into the core of the most intricate theoretical problems will be greatly missed both by colleagues and students.

Barnabás Csongor

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CHRONICA

CONFERENCE ON UIGHUR STUDIES IN KAZAKHSTAN

The Conference was held on 3–5 June, 1991 in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan, USSR. It was organized by the Institute of Uighur Studies which was founded in 1986 within the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences. There were about 80 participants from the scientific centres of Alma-Ata, Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Bishkek etc. and several foreign guests as well (FR of Germany, USA, PR of China). It was the second such conference on Uighur studies, the first was organized 12 years ago in 1979.

On the Plenary Session the following lectures were given:
G. M. Sadvakasov: "Uighur studies in the system of social sciences of Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences: modern state, problems, perspectives";
A.T. Kaidarov: "Main tendencies in the development of modern Uighur literary language";
S. Mollaudov: "Literary and art criticism today";
G. M. Iskhakov: "Main problems in the study of history and ethnography of the Uighurs";
K. Sh. Abdullaeva: "Modern problems of social economic life of the Uighurs".

Correspondingly, the subsequent meetings of the Conference were held in four sections: 1) Linguistics, 2) History of Literature and Art, 3) History and Ethnography, 4) Modern Economical, Social and Cultural Situation. A list of some of the speakers and their subjects is as follows:

SECTION OF LINGUISTICS (20 lectures)

Leningrad–St. Petersbourg. A. M. Shcherbak (Leningrad): "Problems of Uighur language genesis";
T. T. Talipov (Alma-Ata): "Genesis of accusative case in the Turkic languages";
D. M. Nasilov (Leningrad): "Dynamics of grammatical categories in the history of the Uighur language";
R. U. Arziev (Alma-Ata): "The words designating colours in KUTADGU BILIG";
G. Rakhmatullaeva (Alma-Ata): "G. Jarring as an uighurist";
Other papers presented at this section were devoted to problems as pronounciation, lexicology and syntax of Uighur language.

HISTORY OF LITERATURE AND ART SECTION (23 lectures)

Different problems of the contemporary Soviet, Xinjiang and classic Uighur literatures, folklore, history of architecture and fine arts were discussed in this section. There were three talks on musicology:

T. M. Alibakieva (Alma-Ata): "A formative role of rhythmic of the Uighur MUKAM";
S. Kibirova (Alma-Ata): "DAP of Uighurs as an attribute of shaman ritual";
A. Khashimov (Tashkent): "MUKAMS of Ili region".

SECTION OF HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY (19 lectures)

S. G. Klyashtorny (Leningrad): "The ancient period of the Uighurs' ethnogenesis";
V. S. Kuznetsov (Moscow): "Islam in the social and political life of Xinjiang";
D. V. Dubrovskaya (Moscow): "Contemporary Chinese historiography on the role of Zuo Zong-tang in the history of Uighurs";
N. Tursun (Urumchi, PR of China): "On the origin and etymology of KHITAI according to Turkic sources";
A. K. Kamalov (Alma-Ata): "On interpretation of the ancient Uighur Terkhin inscription about BAYARKU tribe";
R. F. Tarasenko (Moscow): "Reading and translation of the inscription on Issyk's small cup";
M. I. Yerzin (Alma-Ata): "Tong-wen-zhi" as a source on historical geography of Eastern Turkestan";
B. P. Gurevich (Moscow): "Soviet Union on the borderlines of Central Asia: questions of history and perspectives";
A. Khodzhaev (Tashkent): "Status of Eastern Turkestan in the traditional idea of Qing's emperors (1st half of the 18th c.)";
D. A. Isiev (Alma-Ata): "Magic in the notion of ancient Uighur tribes";
I. Tukhtiev (Tashkent): "Coins of Dzhungar khanate";
K. SH. Khafizova (Alma-Ata): "The Silk Road and Eastern Turkestan in the 15–16th cc.";
A. P. Kolganov (Tashkent): "Chinese information on historical geography of Eastern Turkestan in the beginning of 15th c.";
A. M. Reshetov (Leningrad): "Basic direction of evaluation of Uighur ethnos in the 20th c.";
A. Dzhalilov (Tashkent): "About the supplement to Tarikh-i Rashidi manuscript";
A. Aitbaev (Tashkent): "Tavarikh Khamsa-i Sharki on the social economic history of Eastern Turkestan in the 19th c.";
S. Abdukhamitova (Alma-Ata): "Uighur family at the 2nd half of 19th c.".

Besides, Wolfgang Scharlipp (Freiburg Universität, Germany) spoke of the Turks' national memory and Kahar Barat (Harvard University, USA) had informed the participants on researches being conducted in Harvard on Uighur studies and kindred disciplines. On the Final Setting the Resolution of the Conference was adopted.

A volume containing materials of this Conference is expected to be published in the near future (in Russian and Uighur). For additional concerning data contact: Andrei P. Kolganov, Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, Maxim Gorky avenue – 81, Tashkent 700170, Uzbekistan, USSR.

A. P. Kolganov

ARCHAEOASTRONOMY CONFERENCE, SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR, HUNGARY 1991

Recently, there is special interest in the heavenly signs for the help they might be in deciphering ancient documents and the drawn, painted or carved relics on which astronomical configurations are found. The archaeological evidence points to an ongoing and global interest in these heavenly signs dating back to the beginnings of the history of mankind. Man seems always to have looked for a correlation between the history of the

earth and of the sky, if the testimony of archaeology is anything to go by. Fragments containing astronomical elements have been discovered on frescoes, on rocks, in ancient temples, and so on. From ancient China, mythological stories have come down to us about the ancient "emperor" Fu-hsi, who had seen to the harmony of heavenly and earthly drawings, i.e. to the heavenly signs used in divination carrying the same message as the written characters devised on earth, and had, thus provided the conditions of his people's prosperity. The growing interest in the heavenly signs to be found in ancient documents and on archaeological relics have led to more and more scholarly meetings for the purpose of exchanging ideas on the optimal methods of studying this type of material. I myself, being a Sinologist, have found evidence of the relative chronology of some ancient Chinese documents in some ancient astronomical references, and have submitted several papers to scholarly periodicals and conferences on the topic. In cooperation with an astronomer, Katalin Barlai of the Konkoly Thege Observatory, in Budapest, Hungary, I am planning to edit a reference material on the chronology of the ancient Chinese sky, as an aid to the interpretation of ancient Chinese documents. It was, thus, with particular pleasure that I attended the above conference on archaeoastronomy.

The first World Conference of Archaeoastronomy was held in Oxford, Great Britain, in 1981; the second one in Merida, Yucatan, Mexico, in 1986; the third one in Scotland, at St. Andrews, in 1990. Every five years, thus, an account was given to the results and problems of new disciplines. With interest in the discipline growing, however, the next World Conference has been planned for 1993, in Bulgaria. Several local issues needed to be dealt with before then, however, specifically the matter of the orientation of the cemeteries of the nomadic peoples who buried their dead ancestors in the territory that was later to become Hungary. It was partly for this reason that a conference on "The Current Problems and Future of Archaeoastronomy" was jointly organized by the Department of Astronomy of the Loránd Eötvös University of Budapest, and the King Stephan Museum in Székesfehérvár hosted the conference; the principal organizer was Emilia Pásztor, of the Intercisa Museum in Dunaújváros, with Viktor Tóth and Róbert Erdélyi (Department of Astronomy, ELTE Budapest). The conference was held from October 15 to 18, 1991. Sessions were held both in the mornings and in the afternoons, with plenty of time left for excursions to neighbouring places of interest and opportunities for informal discussions.

The chairman the first morning was C. Ruggles (UK) who spoke about "The role of excavation in archaeoastronomy". Then S. Iwaniszewski (Poland) spoke about the period "From Mesolithic to Neolithic times: the archaeoastronomy of the funnel beaker culture". He continued his presentation in the afternoon, with "Long barrows from the Kujawy district in Central Poland: first results of an archaeoastronomical investigation". I. Kuczian and K. Barlai (Hungary) spoke about the orientation of the late Avar — early Hungarian cemeteries. They have found the placing of the bodies to point to what is northeast in the summer, i.e. toward the first appearance of the morning sun from spring to autumn.

T. Oproiu and M. Blajan (Roumania) gave a lecture on "The orientation of graves in prehistoric and ancient Romanian cemeteries. A. Stoev and P. Maglova (Bulgaria) reported on "The geophysical investigation and biolocation of geoanomalies in Thracian archaeoastronomical objects"; the participants also heard the lecture by P. Maglova, H. A. Stoev, A. Trofimov and J. Marchenko on "The geometrical macro- and microrelief peculiarities of Thracian rock sanctuaries used in primitive astrometry and in cults to the sky".

The next day, E. Proverbio (Italy), as chairman, held a lecture "New observations on the orientations of the 'Tombe di Giganti' in Sardinia", while C. Roslund (Sweden)

gave a report about "The orientation and geometry of Scandinavian ship-setting". Fl. C., Stanescu (Roumania) gave a paper on "The astronomical significance of sacred precinct at Sarmizegetusaregia — Roumania". W. Schlosser (Germany) spoke about "The Bohum archaeoastronomical project: results and future plans", while Gábor Széchenyi–Nagy (Hungary) read his paper "Let's built a mixed (text and graphics) data base to help archaeoastronomical research — a proposal". In the afternoon, the chairman, A. Lebeuf (France), introduced the topics to be discussed. Then, the author of these lines, together with K. Barlai (Hungary) gave a report on "Mediterranean and Far-Eastern interpretations of heavenly phenomena within one and the same sky (declination) belt" in which they pointed out the contemporary appearance of myths — in the Mediterranean and in ancient China — accounting for the appearance of the sky as seen from those areas. After the coffee-break, K. Cséfalvy (Hungary) spoke about "Vedic astronomy", T. Szalay (Hungary) about "The Mythras-cult". At the end of the day, videofilms on archaeoastronomy were shown to the public.

The third day was a day of excursions: to the Roman settlement and *castrum* of Tác (Gorsium); to Tihany, a small town on Lake Balaton; to Baláca, a well-known villa from the Roman period; and finally to Veszprém, a medieval town in the northern shore of the Balaton.

On Friday, S. Iwanisevzky (Poland) read a paper "A possible depiction of the 1054 supernova from EL ZAPE, Durango, Mexico". I. Gyarmati (Hungary) read a report on the Turkish names of the Milky Way (in Russian). G. Pap (Hungary) spoke on "The space-time coordinates of a Gothic church", and Z. Ministr (Czechoslovakia) on "Primeval roundels, Celtic square enclosures and Christian rotundas in Bohemia and Moravia as places with calendric significance".

The evening of the last day of the conference was reserved for Papers on Posters, L. Krivsky (Czechoslovakia) giving a presentation on "The tombs of the pharaohs in the Valley of Kings, with the pyramid as symbol of the sun god, Re"; J. Tompa (Czechoslovakia) on "A few remarks on the article by Zdenek Weder 'Astronomical orientation of the Roundel from Tesetice-Kyjovice, distr. Znojmo' " (the commented article itself first appeared in the *Studia Minora Facultatis Philosophica Universitatis Brunensis*); and R. Erdélyi and E. Pásztor (Hungary), reporting on their current research project.

Ildikó Ecsedy

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XLVI (2-3), 377-412 (1992/93)

CRITICA

A. G. MALYAVKIN, *Bor'ba Tibeta s Tanskim gosudarstvom za Kashgariyu.* Novosibirsk, „Nauka", Sibirskoe Otdelenie, 1992, 287 pp.

A. G. Malyavkin, an experienced expert of the T'ang period of the Chinese Empire, on this occasion reviewed the war between China of the T'ang dynasty (618–907), a time of conquest and peaceful occupation of the neighbourhood of the Chinese Empire, with the Tibetan Kingdom, beginning its historical spread and development with the help of the Chinese Empire, but later on becoming the greatest rival of the Chinese officials and emperors. The editor of this volume, Yu. M. Bumin (responsible editor, a doctor of historical knowledge) guarantees the excellent quality of the volume — as noted by the author on the title page — but the first class geographical knowledge of the author alone assures the reader of the value of the volume, analyzing the Chinese historiographical knowledge of the Chinese about Tibet and the Tibetan–Chinese relations of the period. Not only the details, known only to the author, are important, but the evaluation of the events is also due to his expertise. He presents thorough knowledge of the Chinese chapters of the T'ang dynasty, historiographical works on Tibet and the connection between the two great empires, and of the smaller writings about the same period, and their place within the history of the two countries and in Eastern Asia, where the history of different countries depended on the development of the friendship or hostility of the two great empires. In the short summary of the book following the title page, the author declares 150 years to be in the centre of his interest: the end of the 7th century until the beginning of the period after the An Lu-shan rebellion. This time was important for the Chinese emperors in their rule of Eastern Turkestan, when the so-called "Four Garrisons" either came under the rule of the Chinese emperors or they became independent rulers over the agricultural population of the fortifications and the long distance trade route in oases around them, at a time when the rivalry between the steppe and empire of the Chinese officials sometimes became as important as the connection between two neighbouring empires, waring for the same territory and for the same reasons as the two big empires like China and Tibet, respectively. The author clearly sees that the position of Tibet was better in this respect, and the rule of the Tibetan side in this territory was only logical, especially when the Chinese armies were not strong enough to fight against their Tibetan neighbours, and his pointing this out detail by detail is instructive for the reader, interested in the later history of this territory as well. One can only regret that the Chinese characters are lacking (from the indexes as well) and thus they convince the reader when orientating in the Chinese sources, but the exact citations convince everybody that the author carefully pondered over this

before presenting the volume to the historians.

In the author's interpretation, Eastern Turkestan means the Western part of the Chinese Empire: the Shenhsi and Ninghsia-Hui, and the Kansu and Ch'inghai provinces, or at least part of them, with part of the Sech'uan province. The tactics of the armies opposing each other are analyzed in this volume, and the behaviour of the territories concerning the war-like or peaceful initiative are shown in a convincing form.

The connected history of the two empires, after the short introduction of the author, is given in six chapters. I. After the first connections and collisions, respectively, of the Chinese Empire with the newly born Tibetan Kingdom, the real background of the wars is reviewed. The efforts for the territory concerned, the fortress with the tradesmen and their settlements belonging to the territory of Shule and their neighbourhood, that in the historical Kashgharia, are included. II. A well-based treatise shows the reasons for the war between the Tibetan Kingdom, also including tribes of different economies, with the steppe and its nomadic tribes, especially in the last decades of the 7th century. First the neighbouring T'ang Empire was hurt only by the political hand of the Tibetans being stronger there than the Chinese rule, without taking into consideration the peaceful intentions of the Tibetans, which seemed less dangerous for the population of Kashghar than the appearance of the conquest of the T'ang Empire in the 7th century, leaving the fate of Kucha (Ch'ü-tz'u), Karashahr (Yen-ch'i) and Khotan (Yü-t'ien) to the territory of independent Kashghar and its principality, considered by China only as a tributary. III. Chinese officials and Tibetan counsellors also appeared in the new territory, and there was opposition between the two friends. IV. The position on the fronts was more and more complex, especially because it was connected with the ruling position of different Tibetan families, tribes and rulers. A long war then began between the T'ang Empire and the Tibetan Kingdom. V. The Chinese Empire attempted a peaceful solution between Tibet and China as long as the western territories in the Tibetan sphere, westward of Tibet and northward of India, did not show an advantage for Tibet. VI. Finally, the Tibetans' show of strength, understandable also by the Chinese officials, after the big Chinese rebellion led by An Lu-san, the conquest of the Chinese won capital Ch'angan by the Uygurs, and the Tibetans, respectively, showed that China was unable to defend the imperial seats alone. At the end of the book further details are given of the Tibetan influence in West-China, in Kashgharia as well, especially in the last decades of the 8th century, based on the Tibetan language diplomacy of this territory even in the later centuries.

The book ends with the historical conclusion of the author (pp. 229–237), commentaries, the literature used, followed by different types of indexes (appointing the language of the sources), an index of names, denominations and terms, etc.

Ildikó Ecsedy

PETER SCHWIEGER, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrücke, Teil 10 — Die mTshur-pu Ausgabe der Sammlung Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo*, Vols 1–14, Franz Steiner Verlag; Stuttgart 1990. 327 pp.

The rNying-ma-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism acknowledges three different ways in which the teachings that they practice can be transmitted. The first is through an unbroken chain of teacher–disciple relationships, which is called the direct transmission of the Word (*bKa'-ma*). The second is through "treasure-texts" (*gter-ma*), that were once hidden to be rediscovered, in most cases centuries later. And finally, the transmission can take place through a dream, or "pure vision" (*dag-snang*), in which case the teacher is a

'buddha', or a celestial being (*mkha'-'gro-ma*), etc.

The last two forms of transmission are, though not exclusively, characteristic of the rNying-ma-pa school. They have had a long tradition of discovering "hidden texts", as a way to legitimize their teachings and to maintain them as valid in the face of other, newer schools of Tibetan Buddhism (*gsar-ma-pa*), who all trace their teachings back to Indian origin. These "discovered" texts were supposedly written by Padmasambhava, the half-legendary founder of the "Old School" and his immediate disciples, who had recorded his words, and hidden them, until the time when they could be put into practice. The discoverers of the hidden texts, for the most part, turned out to be incarnations of Padmasambhava's disciples, who, as soon as they discovered the texts, remembered that they had already got the oral permission (*lung*) and the initiation (*dbang-bskur*) to the teachings in question. Thus, a great number of "hidden texts" came into existence over centuries.

These texts were collected by the 19th century bKa'-rgyud-pa scholar Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas (1813–1899) and arranged into the Rin-chen gter-mdzod. It is proof of the strong connections that always existed between the rNying-ma-pas and the bKa'-rgyud-pas, that the collection was made by one of the leading lamas of the bKa'-rgyud order, and, moreover, that it included a number of bKa'-rgyud texts, which had been taken over from the rNying-ma-pas. The first edition was issued in dPal-spungs, in Eastern Tibet. Then, in the 20th century, the head of the bKa'-rgyud-pa order, the 15th Karmapa Mkha'-khyab rdo-rje (1871–1922) — who was a disciple of Kong-sprul — ordered a new edition of the collection Rin-chen gter-mdzod, this time in mTshur-pu, in Central Tibet. The mTshur-pu edition, comprising as many as 63 volumes, appeared in 1912.

It was a copy of the mTshur-pu edition, found in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, that Peter Schwieger used to compile his catalogue. It includes volumes 1–14, i.e. barely one quarter of the whole collection: parts *ka-pha*, with 510 different titles. There is a good description of each title, in a few lines or pages, depending on the length and the significance of the work in question. In the title, not only the topic (e.g. Nr. 65: *rTsa-gsum lha-tshogs*), but the genre (*gsol-debs*) is also given. Then comes a transcription and a translation of the title-page, which is followed by a transcript of the first lines of the work, and then of the colophon. The colophons are mostly translated, which is the most interesting thing about the catalogue, for it is here that the details about the discovery of the text (time, person, whereabouts, etc.) can be found. These texts usually have two colophons; one by Padmasambhava (or the "genuine" author of the text), and one by the discoverer of the treasure. Thus, these colophons are invaluable documents for the exegesis of this kind of tantric literature.

In the Tin-chen gter-mdzod, the texts are arranged not according to tantric cycles, but according to subject matter. In the first two volumes, one finds two biographies of Padmasambhava; short biographies and prophecies concerning the discoverers, a number of prayers to the teachers, the discoverers, and Kong-sprul lama (the maker of the collection), and a teaching about an initiation into the whole collection. Volumes 3–59 are divided according to the three main classes of Tantra cultivated by the rNying-ma-pa school: Mahayoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga. By far the most extensive part is that concerned with Mahayoga (vols 3–54). It is divided into a tantra-section (vols 3–4) and a sadhana-section (4–54). The tantra-section contains texts related to the 18 fundamental Mahayoga-tantras, especially centered around the cult of rDo-rje sems-dpa' and different peaceful and frightening deities. The sadhana-section contains texts which are specific instructions concerning the practice of meditation; the first half of the section comprises

fundamental sādhanas of the so-called "three roots" (*rtsa gsum*), namely the "spiritual master" (*bla-ma*), "the deity" (*yi-dam*), and the "celestial maiden" (*mkha'-'gro-ma*). These are further divided into outer, inner, and secret sadhanas. The present catalogue gets as far as the last text of the group of guru-sādhanas — the ones concerned with the spiritual master. In the preface Peter Schwieger writes that he intends to publish four further volumes to the catalogue, which would comprise the whole Rin-chen gter-mdzod collection, together with a postscript on the history of the "treasure-literature", indices, and a systematic overview of the whole catalogue.

The present work, Teil 10 of "*Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*" is an excellent piece of German scholarship, and a very practical one to use. It is a major contribution to the study of this kind of literature, which we Westerners find so hard to comprehend.

Tamás Agócs

FLORIAN C. REITER, *Der Perlenbeutel aus den drei Höhlen (San-tung chu-nang). Arbeitsmaterialen zum Taoismus der frühen T'ang Zeit.* Asiatische Forschungen, Band 112, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1990, X. 200 pp.

Tao was a mysterious term even at the time of its birth in the pre-imperial days of China, the time when Confucianism, too, developed. In later centuries, the social élite of imperial China rejected those adepts of Taoism who took seriously the instruction of the Taoist masters to have no part in Confucian bureaucracy. Eventually, Taoism developed into a tradition including all the achievements of Chinese culture in a way not radically different from other religious approaches by men to nature. Popular Taoism and the peaceful disciplines of Buddhism made for a similar outlook and similar manners and way of life, and was really different only from official Confucianism. By the beginning of the second half the Chinese imperial era, the Taoist way of life as included in Chinese religious traditions became so much a matter to be studied by all the educated that a collection of authentic writings was compiled. It was this that would form the basis of the great Taoist Canon edited much later. This book analyzes one of the basic early Taoist writings, in a way that dispenses with the philological difficulties and details, and presents, rather, a picture of the Taoism of the early T'ang period (618–907). Focusing on the first part of the 7th century, it discusses the "Pearl-bag of the Three Heights" (San-tung chu-nang) the popular Taoism informing the life of the Taoist monks, who found it necessary to differentiate themselves from the Buddhist monks already at this time.

Reiter summarizes in a paraphrastic form the entire work from beginning to end, analyzing the source, serving as the basis of his text, summarizing the history of the work, and giving an index in Chinese characters of the whole text. As we read Reiter, we come to know the main requirements that make for a good Taoist monk, get an idea of his food and dress, and of his beliefs and daily duties in the capital or in his isolated closter. We read of his disciplines of meditation and concentration, of his earthly and heavenly obligations in the unfolding of time, of the many officials of heaven, of reflection of the Confucian world which the Taoist found themselves liberated from.

The book is enhanced with quotations from the later Taoist Canon, with a bibliography and an index in Chinese characters. The entire volume, however, leaves the reader with more questions, than it answers, so that he can only second the authors' hope, expressed in the Introduction, that it will indeed prove an incentive to further research.

Ildikó Ecsedy

Johann Adam Schall von Bell S. J., Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe von Peking, 1592–1666. Ein Lebens- und Zeitbild von ALFONS VÄTH S. J. Unter Mitwirkung von LOUIS VAN HEE S. J. Neue Auflage mit einem Nachtrag und Index, eine gemeinsame Veröffentlichung des China-Zentrums und des Instituts Monumenta Serica Sant Augustin. *Monumenta Serica Monograph Series* XXV. Steyler Verlag, Nettetal 1991. XX, 421 pp., 22 Abbildungen.

This minutely written biography of the Jesuit missionary, J. A. Schall von Bell, can be recommended to everyone interested in the history of the cultural contact of European and Chinese science, especially astronomy, as well as the cultural and everyday life of imperial China at the end of the so-called Ming national dynasty and the beginning of the Chinese Ch'ing dynasty of Manchu origin. In the period prior to the violent steps of the European powers in the territory of the Heavenly Empire, the Europeans did not seem so dangerous in China that the Chinese were hostile at their entrance to the imperial capital, and the mutual respect of a European priest towards the traditional culture of the Chinese scholars, and the Chinese evaluation of European scholarship and natural science represented in astronomy resulted in an official diplomatic welcome represented by decorations bestowed by the Chinese Emperor or his court, and personal contacts between the guests and the Chinese nobility. This explains why there was no visible break in the visit of the missionary at the turn of two, essentially different, Chinese dynasties, but similar in life, the second inheriting the institutional framework, offices, and capital, etc. of earlier centuries; thus a foreigner could not only be an astronomer of two subsequent Chinese dynasties, but a counsellor of several emperors, imperial relatives and many high-ranking Chinese officials of the contemporary Chinese capital and country as well, and help them — if possible — to avoid the conflicts of the time and at the same time serve the instructions of European history in the development of the Chinese courts. The ways in which Chinese astronomy of the period was enriched by the achievements of European science is of interest. Those interested in the life of both dynasties can read the letters of the Jesuit father to his colleagues and leaders. This is the main source of the original and creditable description of this biography, even if it over-estimates the clerical aspect of this character. The written Chinese biographies in the Chinese historical works, also published here in part, are the completion and justification of this interesting material. European astronomy can also be characterized by Father Schall's advice and the instruments that helped the progress of Chinese astronomy, naturally characterizing the European knowledge concerned, even if the fate of these intstruments — scholarly toys of the Chinese imperial courts — are characteristic of the fate of science in China in this and in the later period of imperial times. This biography, published by the scholarly work of two authors, with the financial help of two institutions, was ready six decades ago, in 1933, but later on the stormy years and decades of the Second World War, and the decades in between interfered. Afterwards it seemed important enough for the church and sinology of the West as well as for the People's Republic of China, rather in the time of the Chinese civil war, when China felt hurt by the European invasion — with good reasons — this book became a rarity in the European libraries or was forgotten, and a new addition was necessary in order to disseminate this manysided instruction of the foreign guest in China in the 17th century.

This publication follows the edition of 1933, with an appendix by Dr. Claudia von Collani added including the new literature and sources, a part of the Father's family genealogy, and a quite new index provided with Chinese characters.

The book presented in this new form

gives the life-story of the Jesuit Father's family, followed by the description of his youth in his birthplace Norimberg, then in a German college of Rome, where China's fame attracted him to travel to the Far East. First he arrived in Macao. He stayed in Hsinganfu and only later he attached his life and career to the last emperor of the Ming Dynasty of the "Country of Middle", in whose court he became familiar with Chinese life. In his letters he gave a report both about astronomy and Christian life in China, until his return. Later on a short picture is given of his life, reviewed after his death. The appendix contains the letters on mathematics and astronomy, with the religious writings of J. A. Schall, in European languages, later the Chinese writings, including his biography of the Annals, and finally the Chinese text of Ch'ing-shih kao, chapter 59 is published about his life. Readers will be grateful for this new publication of the book.

Ildikó Ecsedy

ERHARD, ROSNER, *Die Heilkunst des Pien Lu. Arzt und Krankheit in Bildhaften Ausdrücken der chinesischen Sprache. Münchener Ostasiatische Studien.* Band 55. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1991. 216 pp.

An analyzing summary of Chinese health-care and medical methods, quoting the related classical texts, concentrating on the main problems, interesting both in China and in West, symbolized by a Chou-time figure in the Chinese tradition, Pien ch'io, traditionally considered a philosopher and physician from Lu state, the birthplace and workplace of the founder of Confucian scholarship, Confucius (K'ung-tzu) himself. Naturally European readers of old Chinese texts are rarely aware of the differences between China and the European world in the past times of history, and differences of cultural history, expressed in the texts involved, thus the language, where the related expressions or statements are given, plays a significant role. Sinologist readers often comment on the Chinese expressions in question, without due respect to the topic of the textual difficulties. This is one of the reasons why this interesting book deals with texts concerning ancient Chinese medical topics, in the hope the explanations compiled with the help of the famous philosopher and doctor will help the readers know more about the old person and the new or at least more recent methods of treating Chinese health and disease, generally feeling them from the aspect of the Chinese language and culture. The reviewer, however, has to warn readers that the book uses the name of Lu's son only as a symbol, without searching for further details of the biography, and it is no less eclectic in this respect regarding the Chinese history of philosophy, and medical writings, etc. which utilize ancient Chinese expressions or texts and modern data in the People's Republic of China, sometimes without insisting on a chronological order of sequence, and just pay attention to the appointed topic. The title promises much, and readers may hope — with good reason — for a related analysis of the Chinese language as well, especially when the contents of a chapter speak about the linguistic limitations involved. Further on, there is less linguistic data than expected. Instead, there is a lack of definitions and thinking about the analogies, resulting in mistakes in diagnoses, and therapy methods in medical cures, with more success in poetic references, especially when different phases of the disease and cure, respectively, are expressed in a scholarly Chinese way, not utilizable, however, apart from non-traumatic diseases, frequently not known outside China. The author is wise not to use a system, where ancient China failed to do so for linguistic or other reasons, and the comments follow the texts, citing methods of ancient Chinese philology only, without indicating the relationship of ancient methods to modern methods of scholarship, and medical methods, etc.

After the introductory part, containing a short preface, followed by the summary of the modern knowledge about Pien Ch'io and Chinese health-care, a description is given with limitations, related to the frontiers of the research areas. Chapter I describes the diseases and therapy methods reflected in the Chinese language. Chapter II characterizes the Chinese diagnostic, medical, everyday methods, symptoms and essence of the disease — sometimes unseparated. Chapter III deals with the bases of the therapy: prevention methods, indirect and direct methods of treatment. Chapter IV summarizes the knowledge of knife and nail: the limited sphere of chirurgy, with the acupuncture and moxibustion concerned. Chapter V outlines the cure itself: medical methods and prescriptions, while Chapter VI refers to doctors and their knowledge, and our knowledge about their famous or common patients. Finally we are informed by Chapter VII of what is known of Pien Ch'io and the limited inheritance of ancient Chinese health-care. A general summary concludes the book, followed by a list of the sources and literature, a glossary provided with Chinese characters, and Indexes to the names, reflecting the care of the author of this useful book.

Ildikó Ecsedy

MARGARETA GRIESZLER, *Das letzte Dynastische Begängnis*. Chinesisches Trauerzeremoniell zum Tod der Kaiserinwitwe Cixi. Eine Studie. *Münchener Ostasiatische Studien*. Band 57. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 1991, 171 pp.

A thorough study of the funeral ceremony and preparation for burial of the widow of Emperor Hsien-feng, *Cixi*, a member of the strong feminine line of the Manchu imperial house and its clan relationship. Respected and hated by many persons during her long life and rule in the court, she was a governing regent during the young years of her son T'ung-chih and her nephew Kuang-hsü. Thus her political influence was considerable enough to be documented — from the time of her entrance to the forbidden city, 1851, till the death of her husband in 1862, the imperial hopes of her relatives (1862–1875, 1875–1908) before and during her funeral ceremony — followed here with care, presented by the young sinologist and based upon document material born on-the-spot or following the imperial time of China, seen either in China or in historiographical and expert literature. Following the terms, ranks, names, etc., in the best reference books of China and sinology, she is aware of the significance of every moment of her life and death: the ceremonies after the death of the high-ranking personality of the dynasty are presented with special attention.

After a short preface, describing the author's interest and methods, and explaining the significance of the related writings in question, the author gives a report of the death and subsequent court events, among the relatives who lived in fear of her appreciated or too ambitious measures, while she was mourned only by a few persons, favoured beyond their merits by the dead Empress. Then comes the description of the ceremonies related to the death of an imperial person of the court of the Ch'ing Dynasty.

The proper burial of Empress *Cixi* is reported in detail in the next chapter, when the funeral ceremonies are separated — preparatory ceremonies, prescriptions and offerings (obligations day by day, together with other duties, towards the dead soul and her other relatives), the posthumous titles, and the ceremonies concerning the period after the burial (tables containing the offerings, etc. and names of ancestors). Finally the events in the family of the dead person, the diplomacy reaction, the funeral diplomacy visits and condolences in written form within the Chinese spheres and in foreign embassies are reported. The participation of foreign embassies indicates the honour of/or precaution

taken by foreigners during the life of the Empress and after her death.

This useful book concludes with a translation of the documents following the death of the Empress, including the complaints of the Peking inhabitants giving the costs of the ostentatious funeral (of the "living Buddha"), and those of foreigners, willing to participate in the ceremonies, who were still considered aliens, not belonging to the family and thus informed sometimes too late, etc. The book ends with black-and-white photographs (13), a glossary provided with Chinese characters (names, ranks, and terms, etc.), and the literature quoted on the Empress, whose picture is on the cover page of the book.

Ildikó Ecsedy

G. Durmuşoğlu, K. İmer, A. Kocaman, S. Özsoy (eds.) *Dilbilim Araştırmaları* 1990, Hitit Yayınları, IV + 296 pp.

The present publication, which is the first inter-university journal in Turkey devoted exclusively to linguistics, boasts an editorial board of scholars associated with four major universities.

This first issue has already been reviewed by Nurettin Demir in Tulip 4 (1991), 15–16. Since Demir has given a brief outline of all twenty contributions to the volume, I refer the reader interested in a comprehensive summary to this review article. For my part, I shall concentrate on two contributions of a referential character that make up half of the volume.

The first article is Ahmet Kocaman's "Dictionary of Linguistic Terms", pp. 156–190. It includes a glossary of English headwords with Turkish equivalents. In a brief preface (p. 158), Kocaman says that his approximately 2,500 word glossary contains some new proposals, along with the accepted entries.

Note that terminological work started in Turkey in the early 1930s as part of Atatürk's language policy. It was at that time that the Turkish Linguistic Association, Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti, later the Türk Dil Kurumu, began intensive work on the Turkicization of Arabic and Persian linguistic terms. The first publication with this aim was the "Gramer Ist lahlar", Türk Dili 7 (1934), 8–12. It was followed by "Gramer (Kurambilim) Terimleri", *Türk Dili*, *Türkçe Fransizca Belleten* 1–2 (1940), 63–72; "Gramer Terimleri", *ibidem*, 11–12 (1941), 129–156; then *Felsefe ve Gramer Terimleri*, İstanbul: TDK, 1942; and *Dilbilim Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Ankara: TDK, 1942 (compiled on the basis of J. Marouzeau's *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique*).

The first genuine dictionary of linguistic terms that provided explanations of headwords, examples, equivalents in other languages (mostly French, English, Ottoman Turkish and German) with annexed indexes was published in 1969 by Vecihe Hatiboğlu (*Dilbilgisi Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Ankara: TDK). The next important step was the publication by Berke Vardar et al. in 1980 (*Dilbilim ve Dilbilgisi Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Ankara: TDK). The most recent publication is by Ahmet Topaloğlu in 1989 (*Dil Bilgisi Terimleri Sözlüğü*, İstanbul: Ötüken).

Kocaman's glossary includes many new terms used in modern American and English linguistics, and will, therefore, be of great help to Turkish scholars and even to foreign linguists wishing to write in Turkish.

According to a good Turkish tradition, the entries are not mechanically, but explanatorily translated, e.g. *adjunction-daughter*; ~ *-sister* "yak ın bitiştirme", *intrinsic or;ering* "doğal sıralanma". Some of the entries are given a number of Turkish equivalents. The author supplies synonymous terms, e.g. "yozlaşma; kötüleşme" for '*deterioration*'; and gives all the equivalents in current use, e.g. "belirlenen" and "tamamlanan" for '*determinatum*'. It is a reasonable solution to present both or all existing equivalents where no consensus has emerged, e.g.

"belirteç" and "zarf" for '*adverb*', but not "ilgeç" (see below).

Unfortunately, Kocaman does not draw any clear distinction between synonyms and homonyms, as in the case of the head word '*tense*' where "zaman" and "gergin" two homonyms, look just like '*synchronic*' "eşsüremli" and "eş zamanlı" which are synonymous equivalents.

Unlike the earlier dictionaries, this one proposes two new words for '*adjective*': "önad" and the widely used "s fat" (Ar.). I do not think the innovation will be a success any more than the formerly rejected katmaç and '*ulak*'. The same problem is seen in the case of the term "agglutinative" where Kocaman, in my opinion, unnecessarily tries to introduce a new word "bağlantılı" in place of the widespread "birişken, bitişimli".

Occasionally, the same Turkish words are related to quite different grammatical entities, e.g. "ilgeç" stands both for '*adverb*' along with "belirteç" and "zarf" (and for '*particle*' along with "parçaçık").

Moreover, even '*preposition*' and '*postposition*' are translated as "ilgeç", which reflects the former Arabic term "edat" used for all these classes of words. As a solution, the retention of "ilgeç" for particle might be proposed, whereas "takı" (the word used by both Banguoğlu and Topaloğlu), might be assigned for postposition ("öntakı" for proposition, if required). The difficulty of attaining uniformity in the use of linguistic terms in Turkey is well illustrated by the fact that the term '*pragmatics*' has been translated into Turkish in two different ways by two different contributors to the volume under review: both as "kullanimbilim" and as "edimbilim" (see the table of contents).

As for the number of entries, Kocaman's glossary is the most extensive ever to be published in Turkey. According to Hamza Zulfikar, who compared Hatiboğlu's, Vardar's and Topaloğlu's dictionaries in a 1990 review (see *Türk Dili* 459 (1990), pp. 81–93), the three dictionaries contain 698, 1,304 and 473 entries, respectively.

Compared with a standard English dictionary by Crystal, which covers about 2,000 head words in the first edition, further 225 in the second, and 300 more new terms in the last, 3rd edition (1991), this 1990 glossary could well be developed into a full-fledged linguistic dictionary. Many new headwords could be derived from the existing ones, e.g. "fortis" "fortion", as in the case of "lenis" and "lenition". On the other hand, though some headwords are derived, for instance "olumluluk" (*affirmation*), the stem has not been provided (e.g. "olumlu", i.e. '*affirmative*', in the case).

It is important that Kocaman's dictionary explains many of the terms used by modern linguistic schools. There are only a few terms lacking, which should be included in subsequent editions: '*gap/-ping*', '*bracketing*', '*autosegmental*', '*tier*', etc., as well as abbrevations, which are very much in use by adherents of generative linguistics. Some minor misprints, e.g. "konşucu" instead of "konuşucu" "*for speaker*"; "polysnythetic" instead of '*polysynthetic*', the wrong alphabetical order on p. 157 (see "accretion" and "adnominal") will certainly be discovered by users, and then corrected.

The second contribution I shall review is Ömer Demircan and Aybars Erözden's attempt at a Turkish linguistic bibliography ("Dil Üzerine Yay ınlar ve İncemeler", pp. 191–295). Although not explicitly stated this is, for the most part, a bibliography of Turcological works published in Turkey and abroad by Turkish authors, as well as of general linguistics translated into Turkish.

The bibliography is subdivided into five major parts, of which three are included in this issue:

A. Dilbilim (linguistics)
B. Göstergebilim (semiology), and
Ç. Dil Öğretimi (language teaching), on p. 264, given mistakenly as "C".

In connection with this subdivision, we might note that contrastive studies (*karşıtsal dlbiliim*) — in fact comparative studies

(*karşı laşt rmalı*) are also included — should not be separated from other branches and placed alongside psycholinguistics (*ruhdilbilim*), ı sociolinguistics (*toplumdilbilim*) and text-linguistics (*metindilbilim*) which are quite different subfields. Similarly, *dil planlanaması* (language planning) is unnecessarily separated from sociolinguistics.

The compilers claim to have reviewed almost all periodicals and many bibliographical reference books. I am, thus, surprised to find that *Linguistic Bibliography*, *Analecta Linguistica* and *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* have been disregarded.

The main problem with this bibliography is that the authors have failed to satisfactorily define the range of the particular linguistic subfields. As a result, some of important contributions have been disregarded, whereas other, far less important works have been included. Some works are listed in different sections, so that it is difficult to locate them. In general, the emphasis in put on works published within the country, and many foreign papers and studies are not listed at all. For instance, why are the following in the "General linguistics" section?;

Aksan, Doğan 1974 "XVII. Altayistik Kurultay ve Türkçe"
— — — — — 1975 "Anadili"
— — — — — 1976 "Eski Türk dilinin yaşıyla ilgili yeni araştırmalar"
Aksoy, Ömer Asım 1933 *Gaziantep Dilinin Tetkiki*.

These items are included among the Turkish translations of genuine works on general linguistics, such as Bloomfield's Hielmslev's, Jakobson's and Lyons's major books, and the reader finds himself at a loss to understand what the compilers mean by "general linguistics". Another puzzle is why they have put in this section Lazzerini's otherwise excellent sociolinguistic paper on the Crimean Tatar language.

In the phonetics and phonology section, I have failed to find many of the papers quoted extensively in the professional literature, e.g.:

Baldwin, J. R. 1966 The Glottal Stop in Turkish, *Le Maître Phonétique* 126, pp. 30–32.

Barker, C. 1989 Extrametricality, the Cycle and Turkish Word Stress, *Phonology at Santa Cruz* 1 (also other contributions to this volume).

Eren, H. 1953 Türk dillerinde metathese, TDAYB, pp. 161–180.

Hřebíček, L. 1967 The Phonological Structure of Turkish Words, *Asian and African Studies* 3, pp. 50–59.

Kaisse, E. 1985 Some Theoretical Consequences of Stress Rules in Turkish, *Chicago Linguistic Society* 21, pp. 199–209.

Sevortjan, È. V. 1955 *Fonetika tureckogo literaturnogo jazyka*. Moskva.

Soviet works have, for the most part, been listed only if translated into Turkish and published in Turkey. As for the following section, morphology, we can dispense with listing the items missing, and note only that this brief three-page section leaves out more than it includes.

It is well known that the study of Turkic historical grammar is well developed. However, given that the compilers opted to skip this subfield altogether, they should have done so consistently. As it is, their inclusion of Gabain's and Tekin's grammars cries out for a whole range of other essential books. The same holds true of Clauson's dictionary, listed on p. 238.

The next point concerns the inconsistent classification of the bibliographical items in the various sections already mentioned. For example, Kumbaracı's paper on morphophonemics is referred to in both the phonology and morphology sections (pp. 213 and 220), but Gălăbov's grammar, which includes phonetics, morphology and syntax is listed only in the phonology section (p. 212).

In the case of some review articles, the compilers have given the name of the reviewer only. For instance, we can only guess that Tezcan's review of "Introduction

to Altaic Linguistics" (1965) is a survey of Poppe's classic book.

The authors often abbreviate the titles of periodicals. I would not object all were to be found in the list of abbreviations. I could not find the following: AÜEBFD (p. 289), AÜDTCFD (p. 202), BÜBBD (p. 289), İÜYDYO (p. 243), İZD (p. 212). There is a TDK on the list, but no TTK (p. 206).

Lastly, references made to non-professional periodicals, and to newspapers such as *Cumhuriyet* detract from the scholarly value of the bibliography.

Henryk Jankowski

E. B. SALZYNMA, *Russko-tuvinskij razgovornik/Orus tyva čugaa nomu*. 1991. Kyzyl: Tuvinskoe Kniznoe Izdatel'stvo, 114 pp.

The third, updated issue of the Russian–Tuvan phrase book provides a brief sketch of Tuvan grammar (pp. 7–19), dialogues (pp. 20–99), and a page-long list of idioms.

The dialogues are thematically arranged and provide much information on life, culture, entertainment, travel, transportation, services, shopping, etc. Many of them are followed by a short alphabetical word list on the specific topic. Separate word lists (pp. 99–109) include numerals, adjectives, colours and plants. Apart from such traditional topics of conversation as friendship, peace, youth and party typical of any Soviet publication of this kind, there is a new one called perestroika (pp. 112–113).

In the preface, the reader is informed that in the multinational Tuvan ASSR (outdated; the present official name of the new political formation is Republic of Tuva) there is a growing interest on the part of the non-Tuvan population in learning the Tuvan language (p. 5). While not too long ago Tuvan was an endangered language, today, the study of Tuvan is well advanced. One can quote a number of valuable papers and studies in Tuvan phonetics and phonology, e.g. by Bičeldej, Seglenmej and Kunaa; and in Tuvan morphology and syntax by Sat, Čeremisina, Samina, Bergel'son and Kibrik. In the mid-1980s, a monograph on Tuvan was published by Čeremisina, Samina and Borgojakova. Outside the Soviet Union, there have been some Tuvan publications issued in Mongolia, and a Tuvan Manual was published by John R. Krueger in the USA.

However, in a sociolinguistic situation where the proscriptive and the practical aspects are mutually exclusive, it is difficult to write a good phrase book, unless as part of a strategy of linguistic revival. All in all, Salzynma has done well. He has avoided violating the Tuvan syntax by imposing the Russian structures, and so the language really works. For example, the Russian *Razrešite vojti?* "May I come in?" is translated *Kirip bolur be?* "Is it possible to come in?", p. 22; Russian *Priglašaem vas na čašku čaja* "We invite you for a cup of tea" is translated *Šaydan iškeš barïŋar* "Have some tea, i.e. would you like a cup of tea?", p. 22; Russian "*U vas est' sem"ja?* by "Are you with children?" and not by "Do you have children?", p. 31; Russian *Čem vy zanimaetes'?* "What do you deal with, i.e. what is your occupation?" by the usual *Siler čünü qïlïp turar siler?* "what do you do;", p. 72; Russian *Skol'ko stoit . . .?* by . . . *örte: qažïl?* "What is the price for . . .?", p. 65; Russian *Večerom projasnilos'* "In the evening the weather has brightened" by *Keže: ayazï bergen.* The translation of the Russian *groza* "storm" is *diŋmire:škin-qïzaŋna:štig ča's* lit. "thundering-ligthening rain", while *burja* "wind-storm; gale" is rendered as (<Mong) *šu:rǧan.*

Russian borrowings appear only when necessary, unlike in many other Soviet publications. This is achieved either by preserving the Mongolian loan-words, or by using morphological and semantic word formation procedures.

Below is the list of Mongolian loan-words in the phrase book:

p. 22: *čalalǧa* "invitation", *duŋmam* "my brother"; p. 11, 32 ff.: *bažïn* "house";

p. 90: *ažïlda-* "to work", *uran čü:l* "arts"; p. 34: *qudumču* "street"; p. 35: *kiče:l* "class"; p. 45: *čoġa:l* "literature"; p. 81: *xanuq* "24 hours", *üye* "time"; p. 107: *noġa:n* "green", the suffix *-duġar* ~ *-düger* forming ordinal numerals and the homonymous word for "number" (*duġar*).

Here are some genuine Tuvan derivations:

p. 50: *körgüzüg* "(theatre) act"; p. 60: *kežer emči* "surgeon"; p. 64: *sadïġ* "shop, store", see also the word *šaq* for "hour"; p. 35: as opposed to *šaġ* "time".

Lastly, some Russian words should also be quoted:

p. 27: *adres* "address"; p. 29: *slovar'* "dictionary"; p. 39: *auditorija* "auditory"; p. 41: *eksamen* "examination"; p. 48: *kino* "cinema"; p. 49: *teatr* "theatre"; p. 90: *nomer* "hotel room".

When I once asked my Tuvan friend from China what they call the months, he replied: there are four seasons in a year, each season consists of three months, so we say the first month of spring, the middle month of spring, the last month of spring, then the first month of summer, etc. This is very characteristic of Mongolian and, more generally, Central Asian thinking. Now, in a time of reconstruction, the question is whether the traditions will be continued, or replaced by Russian and European imports.

Henryk Jankowski

MIXAIL FIRKOVIČ, *Men' karajče ürjanjam.* Vilnius 1991, 143 pp. [handwritten, copied, bound and distributed by the author].

This is the first Karaim textbook ever written and the last attempt to save the Karaim language from extinction. The Karaims have never been a great population and their language has lived in a limited usage, although the number of religious and literary works in Karaim is considerable. Also the study of Karaim is well advanced, and this is due in part to the native scholars, such as Seraja Sapšal, Ananiasz Zajączkowski, Włodzimierz Zajączkowski, Aleksander Dubiński and others. From the three historical Karaim dialects, nowadays only the Troki dialect is alive. The language is still spoken in three small communities in Lithuania: in Troki, Vilnius (Wilno) and Panevėžys. The whole number of Lithuanian Karaims is 183. However, language knowledge and competence of representatives of the youngest generation is rather poor. Outside Lithuania, only few aged individuals are able to speak Karaim in Poland and Ukraine, but in practice the language is dead over there. According to the personal communication, kindly supplied to me by the Crimean Karaims in November 1991, only one 102-year old woman was still able to speak the language in the Crimea, but she does not have any collocutor to talk to.

The dramatic situation sketched above arose after the World War II, when many Karaims from the region of Vilnius repatriated to Poland and the last blow arrived when the communist regime closed churches, banned meetings and started keeping the private life under surveillance. Nobody dared to meet in a greater company between 1949 and 1969. Consequently, the social basis of the language ceased to exist. As Firkovič observes in the preface, "*Karay tili ad'et'l'arimiz' bïla altï yuz' yïl t'ekli bunda Letuva Biyligin'd'a biz'ni tuttu, k'o n'd'ardi, bavlaštïrdï. Öbg'al'arimiz' anï bizg'a qaldïrdïlar, sondrayïsï yïllarïnda azardïx, azašxanlar s'ob'uld'k' da ulanlarïmïznï qaray tilin'a ür'at'al' madïq*", p. 3.

Now, things are not what they used to be. Since the perestroika started in 1985, there has been a remarkable revival of the Karaim language in Lithuania. This is due to several activists. One of them is Mixal (Mixail) Firkovič, an architect who takes the duty of a priest in the single acting *kenesa* in Troki and teaches the Karaim language to children.

As regards the linguistic position of the Western Karaim, it behaves as a typical

isolated language within a group of genetically affiliated languages, that is, as a language which does not have direct contacts with the others. The isolation must be understood as areal (a great distance from the territories inhabited by the other Turkic peoples) and cultural (Karaite religion; impact of Polish, i.e. a non-orthodox Polish culture). The isolation of Karaim began at the end of 14th century. Therefore, Western Karaim has developed a great amount of innovations and simultaneously preserved many archaisms from the period of Middle Turkic. These features involve all the linguistic levels, grammar and lexis.

I think this short introduction was necessary to understand properly the circumstances of appearance of the present textbook.

Firkovič is fully aware of the drawbacks of his book. As he remarks in the preface, it cannot be used in any public school as a full-fledged language manual, it does not contain exercises and other practical devices. The author stresses that his only aim was to provide the young Karaim children with a textbook and to document the real, spoken language while it still lives.

The textbook contains a preface in Karaim, p. 3 and Russian, pp. 4–7, a list of references, p. 8, a brief description of Karaim vowels and consonants in Lithuanian which converts the Latin letters to Cyrillic writing used in the book, pp. 9–10, a chart displaying the place of Karaim within the Turkic, then Altaic language family (on the basis of Baskakov's classification), p. 11, a presentation of Karaim alphabet, p. 12, examples of suffixation including the notes on stress, p. 13.

From p. 14 on, the book introduces unnumbered units arranged as in a traditional descriptive grammar or a teach-your-self book. Presentation of grammar is traditional, although at some points the author breaks with the Russian turcological clichés, when he takes the morpheme expressing question for case suffix, and not particle, p. 36.

The language of presentation is Russian. At the beginning of each unit, there are Karaim pattern phrases and sentences with parallel Russian translation, then words occurring in the samples, grammatical explanations and notes on usage, etc. In fact, all the key points of grammar have been discussed, in addition, the book shows many charts with paradigms and syntagmatic relations. In more advanced units, starting with p. 47, Firkovič exemplifies extensively the grammatical material by quotations of oral and written literature. Each time the provenance of a sample is indicated, and in the case of oral literature, details on the recordings come up. At this point it is to note that the author has selected the language material very carefully. His samples include dialogues, real colloquial situations, parts of old literature, poetry, riddles, proverbs, sayings, catchphrases, anecdotes, folk tales, so the work has undoubtedly an additional, documentary value. Firkovič says he ignored all the rich translation literature, since it had been influenced by the foreign languages from which it was translated. For example, he says, in spoken language in response to the question *Ulanlar qayda?* 'Where are children?' nobody said *Azbarïna k'en'esanïn qačtïlar* but *K'en'esanïn azbarïna qačtïlar* 'They have run to the church yard', p. 6.

On the other hand, Firkovič continues, because some of the foreign constructions have been already adapted to Karaim as a standard, they cannot be avoided any more.

The author then remembers that the language should and may only be used in real sociolinguistic situations, where it is still living, that is at home, in church and Karaim school. The reader must remember that *Biylik išl'arin'd'a utrulašïp, qarayče bir kišib'a-de s'ozl'aš'al'ma's'*. 'It is impossible to talk to anybody in Karaim about the state, official matters'.

All the same, the author accompanies the reader during her/his walk in the city, introduces some modern words like tramway, garage, etc. Parallelly, there are texts on history, e.g. p. 55 and even samples of dialects other that Troki, pp.

127–128. Since Firkovič's manual is the first available documentation of the modern, spoken Karaim, I outline its contents in details.

1. *Vocabulary*

1.1. *Archaic Turkic words, some of them labelled by meaning shift*

abax 'idol', 46 (the number refers to the page); *anïxla-* 'to prepare', 22; *astran-* 'to hide', 138; *ašlïx* 'rye', 40; cf. CC. Grønbech (1942: 44) 'Korn; Getreide'; *az-* 'to be a prostitute', 46; *bijan'* 'to be happy', 19; *činïq-* 'to be accustomed-to sth', 63, cf. CC, Grønbech (1942: 78) 'erprobt werden'; *iy-* 'to send', 50; 88; *yalγa al-* 'to employ', 56; *yančïl-* 'to break; to be broken', 97, cf. CC, Grønbech (1942: 113) *janč-* 'zerdrücken'; *in'd'al'* – 'to call', 64; *k'ebit'* 'shop; store', 40, cf. CC, Grønbech (1942: 135); *keyre?* 'where?', 17; *k'un'ul'a-* 'to envy', 46; *k'us'an'* – 'to miss sb', 36; *otrač* 'island', 111; *qoltxa* 'request', 22; *sïzγïč* 'pen', 26; *s'os'k'en'* – 'to fear', 50; *tabu et'* – 'to thank', 88; *tiril'* – 'to live', 32; *tïnč al* – 'to take a rest', 46; *t'oz'* – 'to wait', 51; *tutun* – 'to pledge', 51; *učur* 'event; case', 87; *utrulaš* – 'to meet' (<*utru* 'against'), 51; *t'ug'an'* – and *t'uk'at'* – 'to finish; to complete', 63; *yïrčï* poet', 26.

Western Karaim developed many original derivatives, e.g.

g'or'uld'a – 'to talk', 65 (only in Troki dialect); *salačï* 'countryman; peasant', 88 (<*sala* 'village'); *tašča* 'young woman; lady', 16, concerning the etymology, see Zajączkowski (1932: 36); *tašlïx* 'highway', 88 (<*taš* 'stone'); *toylan* – 'to marry', 51; *tuwdux* 'sister', 16 (*tuw* – 'to be born'); *yer čibanï* 'potato', 40; *yer išl'awč'u* 'farmer', 29; 32; *yavanlïx* 'army', 141 (KRPS provides only the stem *yavan* which means 'soldier' in TD, in HD 'orthodox; Greek; Russian'; the more usual word for 'army' was *čeriw*.)

As already said, the author did not create his own words, as some Karaim writers, e.g. Mardkowicz, used to do. Hence *kitab* stands for the 'book' and *bitik* for the 'letter', though on p. 88 *bitiklik* was assigned for 'library'.

1.2. *Loan-words*

There are only few Hebrew (including those borrowed from Aramaic) words in the textbook, e.g.

k'en'esa 'Karaim church', 6, cf. Kowalski (1929: 216); *koduj* 'you' used in polite speech by addressing, cf. Kowalski ibid. 220); *mazzal* 'goodluck', 59; *šabbat* 'Saturday', 46.

In contrast, the number of Persian words is rather big, e.g.

yanuz '(not) yet', 27; *yar* 'each', 22; *šoγar* 'town', 27; *xïyar* 'cucumber', 32.

Some of them are rarely encountered in the contemporary Turkic languages, e.g. *gešur* 'carrot', 39, cf. Tatar *kišer*; *tamaša* appears in the meaning 'wonderful; marvellous', 29, cf. Noghai ~ 'interesting; amazing', NRS 331.

The number of Arabic words seems to be much smaller, among them there is an old term for 'room'' *xuǧura* (along with *ičkiri*), 40; *ǧïmat* 'community', 56; *yadir'l'a-* 'to prepare' (along with *anïxla-*).

There are only a few of Greek, e.g. *aver* 'air', 62; Polish *puγač* 'owl', 62 and other loan-words, the etymology of which is not quite clear, e.g. 'times' (multiplication), 19.

It is worthy of noting that Karaim uses Turkic words whilst other Kipchak languages prefer Mongolian or Turco-Mongolian lexical units, e.g. *bax-* 'to look', 36, versus *qara-*; *tur-* 'to stop', versus *toqta-*, but *t'or'a* – 'to give birth', 85, instead of *tuwur* –.

As a result of internal development, some common Turkic words are used in other meanings, e.g. *ulan(lar)* 'child(ren)' (along with *bala*), 33, and not 'boys', cf. KRPS 576; *yoldaš* 'wife', 87, and not 'companion'; *tuwγan* 'child', 87, and not 'native; cousin'; *γumaš* originally 'textile' in TD means also 'ware', 106, cf. KRPS 346; *čomun* – 'to swim', 90 <*čom* – 'to dive';

bird'an' 'together', 62, and not 'suddenly'. One can quote many others like *gaga* 'goose', 49; *čïpčïx* 'bird', 20' *qona* 'bench', 54; *t'uz'* 'field', 55 etc.

2. *Phonetics and phonology*

Interesting phonetic feature well characteristic of the languages of Bulgarian type and, as a substratum, traceable in Tatar and Bachkir, is the *s*>*š* shift before *i* and even *ï*, see *šïčan* 'mouse', 30.

Labialisation of *a*, especially in the initial and the first syllable, a phenomenon typical of Volga Kipchak languages, is evidenced in the word *bolta* 'axe', 29.

Velar vowel *a* is palatalised [æ], spelled as ⟨*e*, *é*⟩, before the palatal *y* and *č*, e.g. *atey* 'your father'. However, this rule also works progressively, palatalizing *ï*, cf. *atejiz* 'your father Polite, Plural', 28. Once the harmony was stopped by *y*, further suffixes take palatal vowels, cf. *qayikni* 'boatAcc', 43. On the other hand, there is no evidence for a regressive palatalization affecting this vowel, see *atïy* 'your horse', 28.

There are no constraints on palatal harmony in the second suffix, e.g. *k'oz'um'uz'* 'our eye', neither in the first suffix suffixed to a polysyllabic stem, e.g. *qonšusu* 'her(his) its neighbour', ibid., *üvr'at'uwč'un'u* 'teacherACC', 30.

Strong consonants occur in suffixes (-DA, -GA) only when following the final strong ones in the stem, otherwise the weak variants occur, except for the 3SING verb marker *-t*. The strong *x* alternates with the weak *γ* as a result of the lenition precess, e.g. *tuwdux* > *tuwduγuj* 'your sister', 29.

Concerning the spelling, the author followed basically the orthography proposed by Baskakov et al. in their dictionary, which really suits the phonetic structure of Western Karaim. Nevertheless, he sometimes preferred the Russian я rather than *ŭa*-in the initial of a syllable. Perhaps the notation of the 3SING person marker *-t* as opposed to the plural *-dlEr* could be presented on the overmorphonemic level, 19.

The stress is shown if different than usually, e.g. *sana'ma* 'to think': *sa'nama* 'do not think', 60.

3. *Morphology*

The language material in the textbook reveals some interesting word-formation suffixes, e.g.

-čE, denotes female persons, discussed in details by Zajączkowski (1932: 35–6) together with *-ka* as a suffix for feminine gender, attested in many occurrences, e.g. *s'uw'arč'am* 'my darling', 90;

-IčE, an adverbial suffix, when suffixed to a noun, conveys an equative, comparative meaning, *k'ozl'arič'a anar* 'lit. to him to his eyes, i.e. as he saw', 141; *t'ug'alič'a* 'thoroughly', ibid.

-ley, this suffix, except for adverbial derivatives like *bulay*, *šulaj*, *alay*, is not very frequent in Turkic languages; in Karaim, it is said to be productive, cf. Zajączkowski (1932: 44), in the textbook evidenced in *otley* 'like fire', 122, according to Firkovič, the suffix is stressed;

-lIK, a peculiarity of this suffix is that appearing on tree terms denotes the tree itself and not a grove, orchard, e.g. *almalïx* 'apple-tree'; *g'ert'm'alik* 'pear-tree', 32;

-sIz, when suffixed to nouns denoting objects, entities occurring in pairs, it is usually preceded by the plural suffix, e.g. *ayaqlarsïz* 'legless'; *qanatlarsïz* 'wingless', *qollarsïz* 'handless', 68;

-XEx, *bučxax* 'corner; angle; nook', 87, cf. Tur. *bucak*; *-tozyax* 'dust', ibid., both derivatives supplied by Zajączkowski (1932: 83) who calls this suffix rare;

-XIna, a diminutive and caritative suffix, forming also nominal derivations, *qartxïna* 'oldman', 84, whereas in other Kipchak languages limited to adverbs, for example *azγïna* 'well little';

-wuč, a variant of *-γuč* after vocalic stems, *ül'uw'uč*, 'razor', ibid;

4. *Syntax*

4.1. *Word order*

As already remarked, the word order does not follow that characteristic of literary texts in which, for example, the order Head, Genitive was usual, whereas the traditional Turkic-type word order Genitive, Head was marked. At this point it is to say that recent works admit existence of free word order in many varieties of Turkic languages, for Turkish see Boeschoten, Verhoeven (eds) (1991: 2). Many valuable remarks on Karaim word order are to be found in probably the single paper on Karaim syntax by Baskakov (1965).

4.1.1. *Possessive syntagms*

The Genitive, Head word order is dominant, for example on p. 33 each pattern sentence reveals this order. The alternative word order appears whenever the text is of religious topic, e.g. *yanïmda m'enim* 'beside me', 62. Apart from this, the following marked syntagms have been discovered in the textbook: *yarïmï onnun* 'half past nine'; *čerigi yedinin'* 'quoter to seven', 82; *k'es'egi kibik ol narnïn* 'like half a pomegranate', 90.

4.1.2. *Sentences with intransitive predicate*

The basic word order, including existential sentences, is SV, it prevails, however, mostly in pattern sentences. For instance, all 12 sentences on p. 32 and 38 are SV, similarly on p. 39 and 40. Elsewhere the marked VS order may appear, e.g. *ulγaysïn, bolsun ullu* 'may he grow, let him be big'; *barča t'uz' bolsun yolu* 'may his all way be lucky', 72, when in addition the attribute *barča* is separated from its head *yolu*.

4.1.3. *Sentences with transitive predicate*

Broadly speaking, the rule above applies. It is interesting that unlike the well-known typological statement, but in accordance with the acceptable technique in Turkic languages, the ellipsis of predicate in SOV sentences may work postpositionally (gapping on the right), e.g. *otnï suwba s'un'd'ur'*, *yamanlïxnï dostluxba* (prov.) 'put off fire with water, malice with friendship', 37.

If a main verb co-occurs with an auxiliary, as in modal clauses and clauses of purpose, the auxiliary usually precedes the main verb. Moreover, they may be separated by another syntacteme, as in *ol k'orm'a meni kl'amit* 's/he does not desire to see me', 45.

4.1.4. *Verb and noun valency*

The dative case suffix on postpositions is frequently deleted, *aγač usnu čïpčïx olturat* 'a bird is perching on the tree', 138.

k'erekli 'needed; necessary' requires dative case suffix from the subject, *yïrčïnïn yazïšïna k'uč t'uwul'*, *us k'erekli* 'not strength but wisdom is necessary for a poet to write', 29.

4.1.5. *The place of adverbs and particles*

Adverbs are often displaced from verbs, even if they are correlated with them, *atam yaxšï qaray tilini bilet'* 'my father knows well the Karaim language', 111.

Unlike the majority of Turkic languages, the particles *-dE*, *-mE* do not stand after the word they are related to, *ol-de yolčax* 'this road too', 91; *öz'g'a-de biylikl'-arnin' üvr'atk'anl'ari* 'also the scientists from other countries ',3; *išijni-me s'uwejs'*? 'do you like your job?, 25.

4.1.6. *Slavic syntactic calques*

The comparative syntagms are formed after a Slavic pattern, *yaxšïrax n'ečik ol* 'better than he', 62. Sometimes they are quite odd, like *t'okt'u otnu kibik ačuwun* 'he sparkled his anger like fire', 90.

5. *Semantics*

There is a lot of semantic loan translations from Slavic languages in Karaim,

e.g. *öz'* (*u*) in the sense of 'same', ~ *orunya* 'to the same place', 91; *ekinči* in the sense of 'other', *ekinči yan* 'the other, lit. second, side', 78; *ekinčileri suwda urunadlar* 'others, lit. seconds, are paddling in the water', 39. Supposedly the use of possessive pronouns instead of possessive adjectives has also arisen under the Slavic impact, *m'enimki baxčamnï* 'my gardenACC', 90.

Barïba 'entirely; thoroughly', 25, is probably an Eastern Slavic calque, cf. Russian "sovsem".

At the same time, many genuine Turkic semantic patterns are still alive, e.g. *t'ut'un'tart-* 'to smoke, lit to draw tobacco', 37.

5.1. *Peculiar Karaim constructions*

For telling one's age, an interesting construction with *yašar*, accounted for by Zajączkowski (1932: 99) as originating from the aorist form, is used, e.g. *üč yašar bart* '. . . is three years old', 27. In another place, a Slavic calque appears, *n'ečin'či yïlï tuwduxuynun?* 'How old is your sister, lit. which yearPS is your sisterGEN?', 93.

Clauses of purpose are formed by means of the postposition *üčun'* 'for; to', causative clauses by means of *sartïn* 'because', 115.

The postposition *bašxa* was used once in the sense 'without', *erin'd'an'* ~ 'without the husband', 112.

Summing up, Firkovič's textbook is a very important contribution to the Karaim language documentation and teaching. May the Karaim children have a good use of it! This reviewer is convinced that future work will correct some errors and misinterpretations which were unavoidable in the circumstances the textbook came to life. After a long time of killing silence the first step is done.

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Henryk Jankowski

[1] In this review article, the abbreviations follow the standard accepted in Turkic studies. These include: CC — *Codex Cumanicus*, KRPS — *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'*, NRS — *Nogajsko-russkij slovar'*. The others are HD — Halicz Dialect and TD — Troki Dialect.

GALENUS, *Anatomicarum Administrationum Libri qui supersunt novem, Earundem interpretatio arabica Hunaino Isaaci filio ascripta*. Edidit Ivan Garofalo, Tomus prior libros I–IV continens. Neapoli (Istituto Universitario Orientale) MCMLXXXVI. Prostat apud E. J. Brill Lugduni Batavorum.

The present volume contains the Greek original and the Arabic translation of Books I–IV of Galen's Anatomical Procedures. The publication of Volume II, containing Books V–VIII and the beginning of Book IX, will conclude the edition of the extant Greek original of Galen's main work on anatomy, one of his most important works. (As is well known, Books IX–XV have survived only in Arabic translation.)

The above publication may be regarded as a major event in many respects. It is the first time that the Arabic translation of this part of the work will appear, and it is the first time that the Greek original will be accessible in a modern critical edition, with a great number of important emendations having been made on the basis of careful comparison with the Arabic version. The Greek text has been edited on the basis of MS Parisinus gr. 1849 from the 14th century, the oldest and still the best Greek manuscript available. In view of the numerous obvious corruptions and lacunae in the Greek manuscript tradition, there can be no doubt as to the expediency of collating it with the Arabic translation, which is based on Greek manuscripts from the 9th or possibly the 8th century, and is considered to be a highly professional work. (The actual Arabic manuscripts extant are of much later provenance.) A careful collation of the Greek original with the Arabic translation has enabled the editor to confirm numerous ingenious emendations of previous editors of the Greek text introduced on the basis of intuition. In other cases, where the text had been corrupted beyond recognition or else distorted by lacunae, the present editor simply emended it with the help of the Arabic translation.[1]

Of the seven extant manuscripts containing either the whole work or large portions of it in Arabic translation, three were available to the editor. Two of these are dated from the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, while the third, offering the best readings, is undated. Of the four manuscripts not consulted for the present edition, two date from the 11th century of the Hegira; one (ostensibly in Damascus) seems to have been lost or misplaced,[2] while the one in Teheran was later made available to the editor on microfilm. Having checked it against the present edition in a number of places, he concluded that it was not essential for the constitution of the text, though a thorough collation may hold minor surprises.[3]

As far as the constitution of the Arabic text is concerned, in the field of orthography, phonetics and morphology, the editor has chosen to emend dialect forms and restore the forms required by the literary language. This method is acceptable, although the argumentation of the editor is not wholly convincing.

The Introduction (pp. V–XXVII) contains important information on the Greek manuscript tradition, on previous editions of the Greek text, and on the methods used to edit the Greek text. It also gives a stemma of the Arabic manuscripts, the main characteristics of the language of the

[1] See Ivan Garofalo, Le Anatomico Encheireseis di Galeno e la traduzione araba della scuola di Hunain ibn Ishaq *in* Studi Classici e Orientali (Pisa) 31 (1981) 257–277.

[2] Albert Z. Iskandar, Bibliographical Studies in Medical Arabic Works *in* Oriens 25–26 (1976) 135.

[3] Ivan Garofalo, Addendum all'edizione delle "Anatomicae Administrationes" di Galeno: il codice arabo 4914 della Danishgāh di Teheran *in* Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale (Napoli) 49 (1989) 149–151.

Arabic text, and details about the constitution of the Arabic text of the present edition.

The editor is to be congratulated on this excellent publication; one can only look forward with keen anticipation to the appearance of the concluding volume.

István Ormos

FRIDOLF KUDLIEN and RICHARD J. DURLING (eds), *Galen's Method of Healing: Proceedings of the 1982 Galen Symposium. Studies in Ancient Medicine.* Ed. John Scarborough. Volume 1. E. J. Brill, Leiden–New York–København–Köln 1991. viii + 205 pp.

The volume contains the contributions presented at the 1982 Galen Symposium in Kiel. The articles deal with various aspects of Galen's main work on therapy, the *Method of Healing* (*De methodo medendi*). It is owing to Galen's influence on Islamic medicine in general, and of the *Method of Healing* on the relevant works of Islamic medicine in particular (the subject of two of the papers reviewed below) that this publication is of such interest.

In view of the fact that the first part (Books 1–6) of the *Method of Healing* was written at least twenty years earlier than the second part (Books 7–14), in his detailed account ("Style and context in the *Method of Healing*", pp. 1–25) Vivian Nutton has collected and scrutinized with great acumen all the data of use in fixing the exact date of origin of the two parts. He also compares the two, throwing light on certain insistencies between them, paying special attention to shifts in the pattern of the work as well as in Galen's style. Finally, on the *Method of Healing*, Nutton shows the changes in Galen's position and standing in Rome, i.e., how he managed to establish himself as a leading light in his profession in the Imperial City.

Nikolaus Mani's contribution ('Die wissenschaftlichen Grundlagen der Chirurgie bei Galen (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der MM)', pp. 26–49), in which he attempts to reconstruct in a systematic way the scientific and theoretical foundations of Galen's surgical methods selecting Galen's therapies of haemorrhage and abdominal lesions, as well as his discussion of the surgery of the thorax, is most illuminating, especially in view of the fact that interested as Galen was in chirurgy he left behind no comprehensive treatment of this subject, in contradistinction to most other major fields of medicine.

Considering the key position that logic occupies in Galen's system of thinking, the extensive contribution by Jonathan Barnes ("Galen on logic and therapy", pp. 50–102) in which he gives an overall picture of Galen's application of logic to medicine, with emphasis on the demonstrative method is of special importance. Historians of medicine will no doubt be grateful for this exhaustive and lucid treatment of the subject, since they are rarely trained logicians themselves; yet, no genuine appreciation of Galen's achievements in the field of medicine is possible without taking this aspect of his activities into consideration.

Three papers deal with various aspects of an important technical term in Galenian medicine: *endeixis* (*indicatio*). Fridolf Kudlien analyses Galen's use of the word in his medical as well as logical works (" 'Endeixis' as a scientific term: A) Galen's usage of the word (in medicine and logic)", pp. 103–111). Elaborating on the same subject in a brief article, Richard J. Durling comes to the conclusion that "the term had clearly won acceptance before Galen but its widespread use seems to have originated with him" (" 'Endeixis' as a scientific term; B) 'Endeixis' in authors other than Galen and its medieval Latin equivalents", pp. 112–113). Ian Cassels has collected illuminative passages to show how the Arab translators rendered this term in the Arabic translation of some of Galen's works ("A brief note on Arabic equivalents to Galen's *éndeixis*", pp. 114–116).

Pearl Kibre's "A list of Latin Manu-

scripts containing medieval versions of the *Methodus Medendi*" (pp. 117–122) will no doubt be an indispensable tool for researchers in the field of the history of the medieval transmission of this text.

As a first step towards the exact assessment of the impact of Galen's *Method of Healing* on Arab–Islamic medicine, which at first sight seems to have been overwhelming, Ursula Weisser undertook a preliminary analysis of quotations from MM in the printed Arabic text of ar-Ràzī's Continens ("Zur Rezeption der *Methodus medendi* im *Continens* des Rhazes", pp. 123–146). Her analysis focuses on Rhazes's method of quoting, the subject matters that figure most in the quotations, and Rhazes's own comments to the quotations. Weisser mentions that contrary to what is widely assumed Rhazes does not criticize Galen.

In her contribution "The *Method of Healing* in Middle English" (pp. 147–156), Faye Marie Getz adduces an important witness to the flourishing of Galenic medicine in fifteenth-century England.

In an extensive and intriguing paper entitled "Teaching *Methodus Medendi* in the Renaissance" (pp. 157–189) Jerome J. Bylebyl investigates the delicate problem of the influence of the *Method of Healing* on medical education in sixteenth-century Europe. In Giovanni Battista da Ponte of Padua he has found one of the rare Renaissance protagonists of Galen's complex therapeutical method as set out in *Methodus Medendi*.

In "Johann Agricola Ammonius' Kommentar zu Galens *Methodus medendi*" (pp. 190–198), Peter Dilg supplies valuable information concerning an important and voluminous sixteenth-century commentary to *Methodus Medendi*.

This carefully edited volume represents an important step in the research of Galen's scientific and literary activity, and will prove an indispensable reference book to every researcher in the fields of ancient, Arab–Islamic, medieval European and Renaissance medicine.

István Ormos

F. B. J. Kuiper, *Aryans in the Rigveda. Leiden Studies in Indo-European* 1. Editions Rodopi B. V., Amsterdam–Atlanta 1991. IV, 116 pp.

This fascinating volume resulted from a lecture delivered at the Vedic Conference at Harvard in 1989. In the introductory chapter, the respected author puts forward a series of puzzling questions.

He reasserts his statement from 1955; the chief aim of the notes is *not* the etymological explanation of the foreign words (which no one who is aware of the present state of these studies will expect), but rather a critical discussion of the morphological or phonetic problems connected with these words.

Accordingly the book presents: "some criteria for distinguishing non-Aryan words and about their frequency in the Rigveda" (p. 5). I think his very careful approach is in order concerning the present state of etymological research, however, the title disturbs me a little, since it could cover a form of complex research, however, it does not do so, rather it furnishes us with a good basis to find out more precisely what is non-Aryan or at least non-Aryan in origin. Of course, this remark does not touch upon the validity of Kuiper's linguistic approach, which I can only subscribe to. I also experienced many pitfalls in the etymology field of the agricultural vocabulary and in the last twenty years witnessed several reinterpretations by those who had earlier been strong defenders of the opposite views. The standard of Dravidian studies and especially of the Austro-Asiatic does not allow us to lay a firm foundation in historical linguistics, therefore, Kuiper is perfectly correct when he does not label this non-Aryan stock in the Rigveda.

Kuiper does not spare his criticism of certain views shared by many scholars. He rejects Deshpande's opinion about the possibility of an entirely homogeneous Aryan society or Thieme's thesis that "the bearers of the sacred language kept their speech pure and unadultered" or even

Renou's remark that social intercourse between Aryans and non-Aryans was at a minimum (pp. 3–4). Instead he formulates his own idea thus: "Rigvedic society consisted of several different ethnic components, who all participated in the same cultural life (p. 8). This is, however, only the sociological definition of the term, which he himself regards as ambiguous (p. 96), admitting that according to Southworth, we cannot put an equation of IA speakers with "Aryan" (i.e. the original intruders and their direct descendants) (p. 8) or Gurov's statement that Rigveda was no longer purely Aryan (p. 96).

Chapter II contains the treatment of linguistic and cultural evidence of non-Aryan elements. In contrast to to Deshpande, he thinks that retroflexes came into Indo-Aryan in the pre-Vedic period. In morphology he takes the example of the gerunds (absolutiva) as foreign elements, however, he does not opt for their Dravidian origin. He is similarly careful concerning the non-Aryan background of Rudra and the role of non-Aryan beliefs and practices in the Rigveda. Instead of pure speculation, not supported by historical evidence, he simply assumes that the amalgamation of Rudra with a native god and the non-Aryan beliefs are a marginal phenomenon (pp. 15–16). As to the bearers of non-Aryan names, he makes refinements, saying that Southworth overestimated the position of these persons in Rigvedic society (p. 24). Chapter III with the title: *Traces of foreign linguistic systems*, is no more than "scratching the surface" and gives a "sketchy programme for future research".

Chapter IV is aimed at giving some criteria for determining foreign words. It is full of very valuable remarks and suggestions, and I would, for instance, point to the prompt treatment of geminates (pp. 51–69).

Chapter V comprises a preliminary list of foreign elements in the Rigvedic vocabulary. Scholars strongly differ in the estimation of the percentage of such items and Kuiper also speaks of them with certain restrictions and takes words that "have little or no chance of being of Indo-European origin". (p. 88). At the same time, he draws attention to a "grey zone" between Indo-Aryan and non-Aryan words too (p. 89). He lists a total of 383 vocables.

In the concluding chapter, he briefly summarizes his ideas, which he declares to be compatible with the results of archaeologists "free from prejudices." (p. 95). He thinks of the British scholar F. R. Allchin. The study leaves little doubt about Kuiper's mature ideas of historical linguistics. Certainly he took steps, which even his opponents will respect, while rethinking phonetical and morphological problems or even sociological terms.

Where I have a feeling of need is the question of certain terms of agriculture, such as *kūta-* and *śīra-*, since Kuiper does not propound the grounds for putting them in the non-Aryan category. On the other hand, there are strong supporters of possible IE etymologies of them (Burrow, Thieme). I would be grateful to the author for his opinion about Zide's paper *Proto-Munda cultural vocabulary: Evidence for early agriculture* (*Proceedings of the First International Austroasiatic Conference*, Honululu 1973), but this is missing both in the study and the detailed bibliography.

One must be thankful to Professor Kuiper for this thought provoking book, which compells us to rethink old values and gives us very good methodology.

Gy. Wojtilla

LESLIE GREY, *A Concordance of Buddhist Birth Stories*. Oxford, The Pali Text Society, 1990. XLIII, 268 pp.

The book in question is a volume of secondary literature, a special bibliography on Jātakas, Avadānas and other non-canonical birth stories. The author grouped the stories into two main headings: Jātakas and Avadānas, the second group containing

the Avadānas proper and the extra-canonical birth stories. The stories are mostly given in the Pāli or Sanskrit original — or in a few cases in English — and are arranged in alphabetical order. The title is followed by references on translated textual sources. (In the case of the Jātakas, V. Fausböll's Jātaka. 1897, E. B. Cowell's The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births. London 1895, 1957, and G. P. Malalasekera's Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names. New Delhi 1937, 1983, are indicated, while in the case of the Avadānas, G. Tucci's Tibetan Painted Scrolls. Rome 1949, is mostly quoted.) The abbreviated story is followed by a short moral, expressed in the work. The references and cross-references at the end of every item are related to approximately 200 books and articles containing textual or visual representations of the stories published during the last two centuries in widely known Western languages. The great merit of this small and neatly arranged book lies in the references which sometimes even include hints on European literary connections.

In spite of the rich material computerised by the author, the complete lack of East-European publications seems striking. As the author mentioned at the end of the Introduction he considers his work "a beginning", "the basis of an ongoing project" and invited "many devoted scholars in the field" to enlarge this work, I feel encouraged to add some data to the author's abundant material concerning Russian publications.

The first scholar to publish translations of Pāli Jātakas was I. P. Minaev (1840–1890). His publications are scattered in the special litarature of the last century. About 30 Jātakas were translated from Pāli by V. V. Vertogradova (Povesti, skazki, pritči Drevnej Indii. "Short Stories, Tales and Fabulae of Ancient India". Moscow 1964, and Poezija i proza Drevnego Vostoka. "Poetry and Prose of the Ancient Orient". Moscow 1973). Āryaśūra's "Garland of Jātakas" was translated from Sanskrit by A. P. Barannikov and O. F. Volkova (Ar'ja Šura, Girljanda džatak, ili Skazanija o podvigah Bodhisattvy. "Garland of Jātakas, or Stories about the Victories of the Bodhisattva". Moscow 1962). The last publication available to me in this field were B. Zaharin's translations of ca. 70 Jātakas from Pāli (Džataki. Iz pervoj knigi "Džatak". Perevod s pali B. Zahar'ina. "Jātakas. From the First Book of the Jātakas". Translated by B. Zahar'in. Moscow 1979).

This small book — at present even as "a beginning" in this form is very useful for students and scholars of Oriental languages, buddhologues, archeologists and art historians of Asian countries, but in its future amended — it is proposed to publish the stories and morals of even those items where references could not be found; to combine the Bibliography and Codes sections; and omit Alphabetical Index — and enlarged form it will be an indispensable handbook for specialists in this field.

Judit Vinkovics

ḤASAN 'ÂBEDINI, *Ṣad sâl Dâstân-nevisi dar Irân.* (One hundred years of storywriting in Iran) Tehrân 1369 H. (1991) Entešârât-e Pegâh, 760 pp.

1.1. Whenever we talk about Persian literature in Europe or Iran, first of all we think of the great poets and their works, such as Ferdowsi, Sa'adi, Omar Khayyâm or the tales from a *Thousand and one nights.*

We have hardly ever seen references to Persian prose writings. This can easily be accounted for, since Persian prose has never been appreciated as much as poetry has been, though its importance considerably increased in the last century.

1.2. The development of modern Persian literature bore the marks of the political events of the century and its origins can be traced back to the political movements in the Qâjâr period. During that era, known as the period of Constitutional movement, which eventually led to the establishment of the Majles (Iranian Parliament), intel-

lectuals tried to express their own ideas on politics and society in a literary form to introduce them to other people.

The writers endeavoured to adopt European literary patterns and this process gave birth to many translations. The most popular literary genre was *safarnâme* (travelogue) that gave the writers an opportunity to criticize the country for its backwardness in a direct way and at the same time to praise the West. The language they used had to be simple enough so that everyone could understand it. Therefore, the literary style was very close to the vernacular. This was how colloquial language elements crept into literature.

1.3. There are a considerable number of books written on Persian literature, but only a few of them cover or at least include modern prose (the most important ones *<Alavi, Kubčikova, Machalski, Rypka* and *Kamshad*). Most of them date from the sixties, mainly dealing with poetry and drama and devoting only some chapters to prose.

A valuable contribution was made to the history of prose in 1966 by *Ḥ. Kamshad.* Later on *Kadkani, Yarshater, Avory* and other authorities on Persian literature also included some sections on prose in their works.

2.0. The contents of the book under review are arranged in chronological order: (1) 1874–1941, (2) 1941–1953, (3) 1953–1963, (4) 1963–1978, (5) after 1978 (the first three chapters had already appeared in print in a separate volume in 1987 and in each chapter the literary trends are treated according to genres, making valuable comments on the significant foreign influences, which dominated that period). Step by step the author follows the development of the historic and social novel, short story and satire in particular. The periodization of the 20th century given by him seems to be the same as Kamshad's.

2.1. The author denotes subchapters in the first chapter, each connected to a specific event: the ratification of the constitution (1907), Reza Shah's coming to power (1921), and the downfall of Reza Shah (1941). The author considers the year 1921 to be a milestone in the history of modern Persian literature, since that was the year when A. Jamâlzde's well-known short story *Yeki bud yeki nabud* (Once upon a time) was published, a novel by M. Kâzemi *Tehrân-e Makhuf* (Frightening Tehran), an important poem entitled *Afsâne* (Tale) by Nimâ Yusij and a play *Jaʿfar az farang bargašte* (Jaʿfar has returned from abroad) by Ḥ. Moqaddam. All of them were considered to be a novelty in their genre.

2.2. That period, as the author points out, was dominated by the influence of French literature. He follows the formation of the historic and social novel as well as that of the short story, devoting a rich subchapter to Šâdeq Hedâyat.

3.0. The second chapter covers the downfall of Reza Shah and the first decade of Mohammad Reza Shah's reign to the suppressing the revolt of 1953. This was an eventful period: the nation was dissatisfied, political gatherings, political tension, arrests, executions and military dictatorship were the characteristics of the time.

3.1. We know this period from other sources as well, though the author deals with it more thoroughly. He examines the influence of the so-called progressive ideas and that of Soviet social realistic literature on the period. He considers those times to be the golden age of a short story. In addition to the genres mentioned earlier, he speaks about the emergence of a new style, surrealism marked by Hedâyat's *Buf-e Kur* (The Blind Owl, 1936), which was considered to be the first to follow this style.

3.2. The author is convinced that the Writer's Congress held in 1946 with the help of the Soviet–Iranian Friendship Society, which was the first time that writers from Iran and abroad came together, provided the background for speedy progress to the realistic short story and he describes the period as the renaissance of realism.

4.0. This chapter is divided into two parts: (1) the 6–7 years of vengeance that

followed the suppression of the revolt, and (2) the period of consolidation. Some references to the literary history of this period can be found in the works of Kadkani, Kasmâ'i, and Mir Ṣâdeqi.

4.1. The author considers the influence of American literature to be the most important factor in the literature of the period. It was the golden age of novel-cycles and writers drew inspiration for their novels from films.

A new hero-type *jâhel* (ruffian) was created. The work in which this hero-type first appeared was *Esmâl dar New York* (Esmâl in New York) by Ḥ. Madani. Literature in this period was greatly affected by the fact that some outstanding writers of the previous era had either passed away, such as Hedâyat or had left the country like <Alavi or stopped writing, such as E. Golestân, who became a film director. The author rates Bahrâm Ṣâdeqi as the most eminent writer of the fifties.

The development of Persian literature was held back by the above-mentioned circumstances and also by the large amount of translations. As Simin Dânešvar remarked: "The Persian writers are the victims of translation, since they have no original theme". Twice as many translations were published in this period as original works. Moreover, the language used by the translators was often corrupt.

The dominating trends in Persian literature were cynism, failure, tales with social contents, allegorical and mythical stories and the quest for joy (negative romance).

4.2. 1957–58 seemed to be the period of consolidation. Reality started to play a more important role in literature. Writers had to face economical difficulties and if they wanted their works to be published they had to finance them from their own pocket. The effects of Hedâyat's *Buf-e Kur* vanished and the *child* and *family* became the keywords. Writers tried to show the bad sides of reality through the eyes of innocent children and at the same time they mourned the precious time wasted.

4.3. This era was labelled: the time of "precipitated" realism, because the writers' attitude to the word was not yet clear. ʿAli Moḥammad Afqâni opened up the way for the social novel of the next era. His novel *Šohar-e Âhu Khânom* (Mrs. Ahu's husband) became the book of the year in 1961, signalling the emergence of a new type of fiction, the family-novel. This genre was to be of major importance in the following era.

5.0. The next chapter (the period between 1963–78) is the most valuable section of the entire book. The author gives a detailed account of the literary history of the period on more than 300 pages, which is important, because only some of the leading literary characters of the period were introduced by one or another literary historian, but no comprehensive review has been given so far. Thus I would like to introduce this chapter in more detail.

5.1. According to the author, the sixties and seventies brought changes both in quantity and quality, and the renewed flourishing of the novel.

The dislike for foreigners contributed to the emergence of a new literary style: the description of life in the villages (rural literature).

Because of the restricted possibilities in political and social life, public attention turned towards the arts. The government tried to win the support of writers by offering them high posts in the administration. These efforts seemed to be successful at first. But writers thought it shameful to collaborate. Moreover, in 1968 the government refused to acknowledge the writer's association. Secret meetings were held at writer's home. In 1971, on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of the country, official propaganda books were published. They more or less managed to achieve the aim they were intended for, i.e. spreading fear throughout the country.

By 1973, however, a kind of social naturalism emerged. 1971–76 was the period of constant protests against censorship. In 1977, a meeting called *A night with*

writers and poets turned into a demonstration of several thousand people.

1978, the year of the Islamic Revolution can be divided into three phases. (1) March–August, the reign of Âmuzegâr, when censorship still existed. (2) August–February, 1979 during Emâmi illicit books were published under pseudonyms. (3) From February on, books came out with the original names. 1980 was a crisis year for publishing. Thousands of publishers went bankrupt. Books were sold everywhere, laid on the ground in the streets.

5.2. Going back to the sixties the dominating literary trends were the following:

(1) Remembering the beautiful moments of the past. The nostalgic recalling of childhood was intended not for entertainment, but as a precondition for a later developed genre.

(2) Writers in exile tried to compare the culture of their homeland with that of the place they were living in at that moment. One of their main subjects was the attitude of the West towards the East. These works can usually be characterised as pessimistic and melancholic.

(3) Writers tended to show the Iran of their time through the eyes of children.

(4) Quite often the prevailing social conditions were characterized by the story of an individual.

(5) The TV and movie took the place of novel-cycles.

(6) Novels were usually the story of one single generation. Middle-class writers who were in government service chose the disappointment of their generation as their main theme. This was the age of satire. Writers were convinced that humour could be a kind of resistance against deterioration. With the help of their heroes they tried to depict the worthlessness of life.

A kind of social documentary style started to come into being. In the sixties, writers tried to protest against fairy tales with the help of naturalist rendering; then in the seventies they called for resistance.

5.3. This period was marked by sociographical works, which was not a completely new style. The first one to use this theme was Nimâ Yušij in his short story *Morqed Âqâ*. <Alavi, Beh Âzin also attempted to write on this topic.

Due to the growth of the middle-class in the sixties, the population in the provinces rapidly increased. As censorship was strongest in the capital, there remained no hope for a literary reform. Therefore, a reform movement started in the provinces. A series of periodicals termed *Jong* began to be printed. The first one *Jong-e Esfahân* came out in June, 1965, in Rašt with short intervals this periodical continued to be published till 1979. These magazines gave an excellent opportunity for young artists to make their first appearance and express their own ideas.

Within the framework of a movement called *Sepâh-e Dâneš*, instead of doing their military service in the army, young people went to teach in the provinces and used this opportunity to write books on the places where they were staying. In fact this style started with the works of J. Âl Aḥmad and Q. Sâ'edi, followed later by others. The works of Âl Aḥmad and M. Dowlatâbâdi were the most outstanding representatives of this style.

Writers using this style condemned life in big cities and encouraged people to move to the provinces. "Back to the soil" was their motto. They soon found followers in their compassion for the poor.

Based on the geographical criteria, this style can be divided into two groups: northern and southern.

The works of the writers in the south (the industrial area) were centred on the keywords: backwardness, hotness, drought, anxiety and aggression.

The northern style (the North is dominated by agriculture) was marked by the words: rain, depression, poverty and fog.

5.4. The novelty of the book under review lies in the section on the development of the avant-garde in Iran. The followers of this movement were mainly under the influence of French literature and tried

to imitate its surrealistic trends, which had already appeared in *Buf-e Kur*. These writers were convinced that the traditional literary forms and subjects were worthless, and should be abandoned. They were no longer interested in the interaction of the individual and society, and turned towards the system of relations between individuals and gave a psychological analysis of what they had seen. The author classifies these writers according to the attitudes and characteristics mentioned below:

(1) Love: everyone is in love, love is usually hopeless, they go for free love.

(2) Anxiety, ending in madness.

(3) Childhood. They have an imaginary solution to their problems.

(4) Withdrawal, loneliness, exile and death.

(5) Mysticism. The writer is unable to give an adequate answer to the question, and is overwhelmed by philosophical speculations.

6.0. Unfortunately the writer fails to fulfil his promise to give a detailed account of literary life after the Islamic Revolution. He gives no references to the existence of two major literary trends termed *revolutionary* and *war-literature*.

Ignoring this fact, the book gives a good general outlook. Each chapter begins with a comprehensive survey of the historical events, followed by a description of their effect on society. This is followed by a detailed study of the changes in the prevailing literary trends in the light of the historical background. The smaller sections within each chapter deal with the genres separately. Some of the outstanding literary characters are studied in detail, others are treated briefly or only their names are mentioned.

Though there are some critically weak points in this work and some parts are not detailed to the required extent, readers interested in 20th century Persian prose can definitely gain a full survey of this fascinating and rarely studied topic.

Ágnes Németh

GYÖRGY, HAZAI, (ed.) *Handbuch der türkischen Sprachwissenschaft. Teil* I. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz. 1990. 493 pp.

0. The present book differs considerably from the editor's former brief introduction to the study of the Turkish language, Hazai (1978). Whereas his first book was a one-author written introduction to the Turkish language as reflected by the existing studies, this one contains a range of papers by various contributors on particular subjects in which emphasis has been placed on the language structure and history. Thirteen articles by eleven scholars exhibit remarkable differences with regard to the scope, topic and methods, which can be exemplified in the following.

The first contribution by Doerfer traces the history of the Turkish language to the Pre-Turkish stage, when the Oghuz languages had not yet been separated, then after the process of separation had been completed, Turkish is compared with the other daughter languages. The paper, therefore, pertains to the field of historical linguistics and operates with comparative and, to a lesser degree, diachronical methods. The next study by Guzev and Johanson's first contribution are diachronical, but not comparative. Tietze's first article belongs to the domain of lexicology. The methods applied follow those traditionally adapted to loanword research, while his second article demonstrates the impact of Turkish on the neighbouring languages. This is, therefore, the peripheral sphere of Turkish studies, though not irrelevant by any means. As is well known, another peripheral field of linguistics investigates languages in contact. However, sociolinguistics has its own methodology and it is Brendemoen's study on language reform and policy that approaches sociolinguistics in this volume. There are two dialectology papers, one outlining studies on Anatolian (Korkmaz) and the other on Balkan dialects (Tryjarski). Three articles are exclusively devoted to synchronic research into the structure of language. These are Johanson's

study on Turkish grammar, Krámský's overview of phonetics and phonology, and Hřebíček's paper summarizing the issues in quantitative research. Stein's synopsis of Turkish lexicography also concentrates on the present-day state of the study. The paper by Hazai, editor of the volume, will be useful for both historical grammar, phonology, and the history of writing systems.

The particular sections of the book are not alike concerning the typographical and stylistic conventions, either. For instance, Tietze's second article is an annotated bibliography, though difficult to use, as the author follows the alphabetical order of items solely within paragraphs, which are signalled by a bold dot. A similar procedure was applied by Doerfer, whose paper is nevertheless easier to look up as it is subdivided into sections. In addition, the latter, as usually provided by this scholar, is a profound study, much more than a simple bibliography, even if one does not agree with the author's unconventional approach.

The average length of the chapters is 20–30 pages. The shortest contribution was delivered by the editor, 10 pages including bibliography. By far the longest is Johanson's contribution to Turkish grammar, which thereby contrasts sharply with the rest. This paper of 155 pages (including the supplementary bibliography by Éva Á. Csató) is presented as being merely a genuine monograph.

Regarding references and bibliographies, it appears that most of the contributors prefer the international standard used in overall-linguistics, but with small differences. Only Doerfer and Tietze do not accept this standard at all. Guzev prefers endnotes to bibliographical references.

One important trait dominates the whole book: outlining and the referential character. This means that the contributors, seemingly following the editorial concept, did their best to present the real state of the study after 1940–1945, rather than reflect their own stands, unless these had already been formulated in publications. Hence, the present handbook offers a relatively objective picture. After these general remarks, I shall proceed to give detailed account of the particular chapters.

1. A brief preface by Hazai (pp. 7–8) is followed by a summary list of bibliographical abbreviations, which makes the use of the handbook considerably easier. The author of this review has to admit that he could find any abbreviation he looked for.

2. Doerfer's study 'Position of Turkish within the group of Oghuzic languages and its prehistory' (pp. 13–34), starts with 744 when the Oghuzic Empire, as he calls it, broke up. Undoubtedly, Doerfer has in mind the federation of 'nine-Oghuz', which emerged after the fall of Turkic Kaganate. As is well known, the Oghuz were closely correlated with the Uighurs. The early Uighur tribal federation (744–840), similarly to that of the Oghuz, was composed of nine tribes, whereby two tribes shared the same name. That was *Yaylaqar* and *Qasar*, cf. Ligeti (1986: 336–7); Mackerras (1968: 45; 120–2). Moreover, according to the tradition passed on by Oghuzname, Oghuz, the ancestor of the Oghuz tribe was an Uighur khan. For these and other reasons, some of the classificatory works existing in Turcology relate the Oghuz and Uighurs genetically to each other, cf. Baskakov (1960: 184); Menges (1968: 60).

Doerfer is no doubt one of the most prominent specialists working on so-called Late Old Oghuz (from 744 on). He has remarkably contributed to the study of the Khorasani language. Whereas earlier works accepted generally six Oghuzic languages, cf. Menges, *ibid.*, Kakuk (1976: 20), more recent classifications, following Doerfer, classify Khorasani as the seventh language within the group. Linguistic evidence of this language (more dialects) shed light on several controversial and so far unknown phenomena. Doerfer considers Khorasani a transitory language between the Oghuzic, the Chaghatai and the Kipchak group. Thus Khorasani as an important tool for him to account for some phonetic and morphological alternations. Due to this, Doerfer discusses a number of hybrid forms and makes

some corrections in historical reconstructions (pp. 23–26).

I will comment on several subjects in this article. First, the term 'reduced γ' seems to be strange, as it is usually reserved for vowels. I think a more appropriate term is the weakened γ that is a consonant affected by lenition, p. 33. Second, it is not clear to me on what grounds Doerfer assumed the existence of a reduced *ă* in *atlăγ*, *ibid.* Third, as it was already concluded by Balım (1991: 317), bibliographic references dispersed throughout the paper make the reading and the use of this reference article difficult.

3. The next chapter contains Guzev's 'Study on the Turkish language in the Middle East spoken between the 13th and the 16th cc.' (pp. 35–62). The aim of this overview was to outline and assess the most important contributions to the topic. Guzev correctly observes that the systematic study of Old Ottoman began at the end of 19th c. with works by Radloff, Vámbéry and Melioranski, and was continued by Foy, Brockelmann, Zajączkowski, and Mansuroğlu. Guzev's paper belongs to those, which do not reveal the author's own opinions, but contrast the surveyed studies with each other. For instance, Kononov's statement that in the history of Old Anatolian, the non-Oghuz, i.e. Kipchak and Karluk elements played a substantial role, is contrasted with Doerfer's and Korkmaz's approach. It is true that Turkic tribes and clans merged permanently even after they started a sedentary life because of numerous resettlements. In spite of this, the role of foreign elements in the examined period and language is not very important. On the whole, Guzev's study is helpful and instructive, although many signalled problems could not be settled. Since Doerfer's summary of the development of Oghuzic languages was previously offered by the author himself, the repetition of this seems to be unnecessary. Moreover, one and the same thought is differently reported, e.g. 'In 10th c. Sälčük fled to J̌and (. . .) his son Isrā'il converted to Islam' (Doerfer, p. 34) versus 'In 10th c. Seldshuk, died 985, converts to Islam' (Guzev, p. 57). As Stachowski remarked in his review article (Stachowski 1990), such shortcomings should have been corrected by the editor.

4. The subsequent article 'Language Documents of Ottoman Turkish written in other than Arabic script' (pp. 63–73), was delivered by the editor. He correctly objects to the term 'transcription texts', though he is unable to avoid it completely (see p. 64). Hazai is mainly concerned with the documentation recorded in the Latin script and outlines Németh's and Kissling's contrasting views on this issue.

5. The next contribution by Johanson, under the heading 'Historical Grammar' (pp. 74–103), seeks a presentation of the state of the historical study to date. Similarly to the author's next contribution, there is a bibliographical supplement by Csató.

The historical grammar of Turkish has not been written yet. Moreover, Johanson insists that much work should be done before that. First, there is a dearth of good, critical text editions. Then, it behoves us to take the trouble to study many detailed questions. It is fairly interesting that this is so in otherwise historically orientated Turcology. I would even dare to assert that in the '80s more synchronic than diachronic studies appeared, and that many of them are quite good studies. It is enough to look at Boeschoten, Verhoeven (1991) or volumes containing proceedings of international Turcological conferences, 1982 annual, cf. Slobin, Zimmer 1986; 1984 annual, cf. Aksu Koç, Erguvanlı Taylan 1986; 1986 annual, cf. Boeschoten, Verhoeven 1987 and the last one from 1988, edited by Koç the same year.

Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that many papers have been published since then. Some of them were pointed out by Csató in her supplement, e.g. Adamović's book (1985) on the history of verb inflection. In the course of time, a three-volumed historical comparative grammar

(phonology, morphology and syntax) edited by Tenišev, although it includes all the Turkic languages, may also be useful for the study of Turkish (however, it should be remarked that this grammar is more comparative than historical). Assessing the situation in the field, Johanson criticizes methodological shortcomings of the earlier studies. At the same time, he acknowledges systematic, innovatory contributions by Grunina and Hazai (pp. 77–79). Thereafter he discusses morphological, syntactic and lastly phonological contributions.

6–7. Tietze made two contributions to lexicology. One concerns the foreign lexical layer in Ottoman Turkish (pp. 104–118), the other the Turkish impact on the neighbouring languages, (pp. 119–145). To the latter, a very extensive bibliography of works after 1950 is annexed, so it would be unfair to point to those disregarded, all the more so as he recalls that the list includes only the most essential and recent items, (pp. 128; 134). It should also be stressed that Tietze cites very extensively from less known languages, such as Albanian, Greek, Hungarian and many Slavic languages as well. Thus we can forgive him instances of somewhat oversimplified transcriptions, as in the title of a Hebrew article by Levy and numerous small mistakes in quotation from Polish (however, it must be said that there are articles in the volume, e.g. the one by Hazai, fairly accurate in this respect). Probably a single remark: on p. 131 Tietze refers to a paper by Zbigniew Gołąb by the author's forename, in addition incorrectly: Zbigniev G.

As already pointed out, Tietze's bibliographies are arranged thematically. Within a subject, items appear in chronological order, but it is unclear how the compiler grouped the items published at the same time, since no alphabetical order is followed, see p. 113 in his first paper. Despite the seemingly considerable efforts the author made by subdividing and arranging the contents, this contribution will hardly meet the reader's expectations. The lack of cross-references to the items scattered to and fro, as shown by Marek Stachowski in his review article, p. 245, devalues this work.

Tietze's first paper looks more like a study. One can find remarks on the history of loan-word research, its milestones and main results. There is a paragraph on etymology studies and lexicological research in Turkey. At the end, there is a bibliography, arranged language by language, which is rather short. Despite this fact, it can be said that research is well advanced and it is high time a good team started work on an etymological dictionary. Because in this paper, Tietze seeks a comprehensive bibliography, there is a need to point to some issues neglected, e.g. Blau 1868 *Bosnisch-türkische Sprachdenkmäler*; Memova–Sulejmanova 1981 'Leksikalni zaemki v turskija ezik ot bulgarskija i ot drugite slavjanski ezici', *Sapastavitelno Ezikoznanie* 6, 105–35. Further supplementary notes are to be found in Stachowski 1990: 244.

8. Johanson's second contribution 'Studies in Turkish grammar' (pp. 255–301) makes up the volume's most detailed and largest article, which is in fact a full-fledged monograph. The article was apparently completed by 1981, so Csató's supplementary bibliography (pp. 273–301), supplies many additional items from the very productive 1981–1989 years in this field.

Johanson starts with a shocking assertion by stating that many problems investigated so far turned out to be linguistically irrelevant, whereas a number of new aspects completely neglected, became at present the centre of attention, p. 146. Johanson's statement about irrelevant aspects that were traditionally treated with great interest is exemplified by the question of the word boundary, since morphology and syntax often overlap (pp. 164–165). Another indication of a linguistically irrelevant problem is a large discussion on stem reduplication, cf. *yemyeşil* and the like, that seems unlikely to be ever solved by linguistics (pp. 169–170). In contrast to this, in his survey that purposely neglected phonology (remember that phonology and phonetics are treated in another paper in

this volume), Johanson paid attention to vowel harmony, which is clearly a set of non-phonological, but morphotactic rules.

In the subsequent lines, he reviews in detail almost the whole linguistic Turcological production to date. It must be emphasized that Johanson did this task with great accuracy. In particular, he not only overviewed nearly all relevant studies in grammar, but also contrasted them with each other, pointed to the reviews, the favourable and dismissing reception by scholars, and traced scientific debates. On pp. 150–153, he comments on the contents of well-known fundamental grammars. In section 0.4, Johanson exhibits and dismisses myths recurring in the general linguistics about Turkish, simultaneously emphasizing that the beliefs about Turkish would have been much more exact if Turcologists had shown more interest in general linguistics. Moreover, a Turcologist, when looking at a paper by an outsider, usually finds what is wrong with it and not what is right (pp. 153–155). That was the case with Swift's grammar, which, although rightly criticized because of its ahistorical, radical structuralism, shed much light on many undiscovered questions (unlike Meskill's transformational syntax, which was justifiably criticized). Formulating his view of the future, Johanson seems to be rather pessimistic. Nevertheless, recently the situation has slightly changed.

In the section dealing with syntax, Johanson presents some possible ways to rank syntactic relationships. This section also includes auxiliary verbs. The author then proceeds to discuss some of the semantic and pragmatic categories.

There is little to comment on concerning Johanson's study. A less experienced linguist has an excellent opportunity to learn from it. Two remarks only. Firstly, Johanson, instead of giving space to Majzel's curriculum vitae, might have taken into account some earlier relevant studies, e.g. Kowalski's 1936 book on the semantics of plural suffix *-lAr*. Secondly, similarly to the other contributions, this survey completely neglects Japanese Turcology, of which we have some bibliographies, e.g. that in *Turcica* 9 (1978), 220–235.

9. Krámský's contribution, which surveys and evaluates the present-day phonetics and phonology study, is less profound and detailed. It seems that the contributor completed his work after 1985, since there is a reference to Özen's 1985 work there. In that case, one might expect that Krámský would know more about the studies published between 1981 and 1985. It is particularly striking when comparing his paper with that by van der Hulst and van de Weijer (1991), which was published about a year later and is principally based on recent works after 1980. Of course, the preference is a matter of selection. However, Krámský gives much space not to strictly phonetic and phonological studies, but to such traditional grammars as Németh (1916), Weil (1917), Gordlevskij (1928), Kononov (1941), Peters (1947), Gălăbov (1949) and Deny (1955), which in my view did not contribute very much to the field. Thus at this point, Krámský's paper is a report on many who said very little. The report might have been started with Nielsen (1906), Pröhle (1911), Bergsträsser (1918) and Raquette (1927). Yet it is also true that some explicitly phonetic and phonological works are also of less importance. In this respect, Krámský's criticism of Sevortjan's phonetics book is entirely justified (p. 307). In contrast, Lees' phonology (1961), which Krámský otherwise highly appreciates, could probably have been reviewed with more detail.

Concerning the latter, the contributor stresses that Lees did not prove the phonemic status of (*ǧ q γ'*), (p. 308). However, it is to be noted that Lees set up a 'trinary rather than the customary binary' system in which (*k*) and (*q*) are variants of an unspecified archiphoneme. Since the archiphonemes appear on the lexical level, it is not necessary to assign them distinctive features (p. 15). As one can see, Lees' concept of the phoneme differs from that formulated by the Prague school. Speci-

fically, Lees contrasts phonological rules with structural and transformational rules, whereas phonological and phonetic rules are placed indistinctly on a more surface level. In my opinion, it is this indefiniteness that is vague in Lees' system, so Krámský could have commented on it with an appropriate criticism.

The contributor correctly demonstrated that Lees dealt with phonology in the section of morphophonemics and with phonetics in the phonology section. Furthermore, he is correct in observing that instead of (*q k*) the representation with the symbols (*k k'*) is more plausible.

Regretfully, Krámský neglects Selen's book (1979), which probably for the first time in Turkish Turcology makes use of experimental measurements and provides a complex analysis of the whole phonetic inventory. One cannot find such works as Clements, Sezer (1982) and numerous contributions by Demirezen alike.

My next remark concerns Krámský's approach to vowel harmony, which unlike my own and Johanson's understanding, is interpreted traditionally as phonetic change. In reality, it is easy to prove that vowel harmony has nothing to do with phonetic change, as nothing changes. Vowel harmony is a rule that imposes constraints on the quality of vowels in morphemes suffixed to the stem, so it exceeds not only syllabic, but also morphemic boundaries. In addition, knowledge of the volume edited by Vago (1980) would be desirable.

Concerning stress and intonation, Krámský's discussion is fairly satisfactory. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that remarkable progress was made in this field after the completion of the reviewed paper, see Sebüktekin (1986), Underhill (1988). Of the earlier studies, perhaps those by Konrot (1981) and Sezer (1983) could be added.

10. The subsequent lines cover the lexicography study by Stein (pp. 335–370). The paper deals with works published after 1928. This is a very helpful survey of what was done in the last period of the history of Turkish lexicography. Unlike Tietze, Stein arranged his paper in a simple and quite practical way. He first evaluates the large dictionary production, then lists all the items in a bibliography to which references are clearly made.

The arrangement of the study is as follows: first there is a brief introduction with references to the most important dictionaries in Arabic script, then monolingual, i.e. explanatory, synonym, spelling, terminological (these are largely quoted by Brendemoen below), and historical and dialect dictionaries (pp. 336–345). Next there are bilingual dictionaries, (pp. 345–360), which take up most space in the outline. On the top of the bibliography, there is a short list of secondary literature on the lexicography. Like most of the other papers, Stein ignores the Japanese literature, in this case the dictionary by Ozawa 1966.

Some critical notes concerning the subgrouping of dictionaries by Stein are to be found in Stachowski's review article. (Stachowski 1990: 248–9.)

11. Hřebíček's paper, 'Quantitative studies' (pp. 371–387), along with those by Doerfer, Johanson, Stein, Tryjarski and Brendemoen, is one of the best contributions to the volume. The contributor delivers a good survey of the history of subject. He stresses that quantitative analyses were started by general and typological linguists interested in Turkish, and not Turcologists (p. 377). However, Turcologists soon demonstrated an interest in quantitative analysis and description. Among them, Kramský, Kumbaracı, Čikaidze and Doerfer are mentioned. Hřebíček's ingenious observations and his critical remarks on his own first fruits (p. 381), are very instructive and vivid. In the following, there are some examples of application of quantitative studies: 1. counting frequency of lexical units; 2. receiving data on grammatical elements and their correlation (p. 380); 3. analysis of syntactic relations (p. 382); 4. looking up the exploitation of phonemes, allophones and the relationship between

them (p. 377); 5. on the bases of typological indices, defining the type of a language analyzed in comparison to the other languages contrasted; 6. machine-translation (the first attempts at an English–Turkish automatic translation were made as early as the '60s), (p. 383).

Moreover, pointing to Pierce's, Hazai's and Doerfer's endeavour, Hřebíček writes that quantitative methods are also applied in historical research (we must add Gilson's book here, 1987).

Analyzing the data and summarizing the results of various studies, the author demonstrated many interesting facts. Attention is drawn to only a few of them. For instance, Turkish alveolar phonemes are at the top of the list of exploitation; in written language, the number of derivational suffixes is much greater than in spoken language, whereas there is no essential difference between the number of grammatical suffixes in both language varieties (p. 373) (I suspect that so-called valency morphemes, e.g. passive and causative, were treated as derivational. Consequently, spoken language, which rarely uses passive constructions, showed up a lower number of them). Furthermore, an interesting theoretical question arises: shall we treat *ben* and *-yIm* as the same category or not?

I have two remarks on this study. Firstly, Hřebíček regretfully was not acquainted with the paper by Kondrat'ev in Kasevič and Jahontov (1982). Notably, Kondrat'ev tested the same Greenbergian indices as Pierce did earlier, being otherwise familiar with the latter study. It would have been very interesting to compare the results. The next is a technical remark. If the author transcribes the Russian ⟨*x*⟩ with *ch*, e.g. in the name of Chusainov, he must not do the same with ⟨*ч*⟩, as in the name of Mel'chuk or in the word *chastota* 'frequency' (p. 385, respectively p. 386).

12. The survey of studies on 'Anatolian dialects' was made by Korkmaz (pp. 388–413). The paper is composed of a brief introduction, a section on collecting material and editing dictionaries, then a section called General Studies and another one called Comparative Studies. The situation as presented by Korkmaz is not very good. It can be summarized in the following:

1. The number of dialect studies, papers and whatsoever is substantial, but only some (!) of them are of good quality, p. 408; in addition, we have some bibliographies; the most recent is probably that by Gülensoy 1981, on p. 407 referred to mistakenly as 1984.

2. Despite the large number of studies, many particular questions remain unresolved, dialects are insufficiently investigated, p. 407; for this reason:

3. There is hardly a good, general book.

4. There is no dialect atlas.

5. The existing classifications (the single one Korkmaz refers to is that by Caferoğlu) are still the object of discussion.

6. Although there are dialect dictionaries, even the best of them *Derleme Sözlüğü* can largely be criticized, since the material was not recorded by specialists.

Korkmaz's contribution is critical and proposes some thoughts worth rethinking. At last a Turkish researcher emphasizes the need for making a distinction between the non-Turkish dialects spoken in Anatolia (Azeri, Turkman, and Crimean Tatar, etc.) and the genuine territorial varieties of Turkish. She stresses that dialects other than Turkish and other than Oghuz also moved into Anatolia. At this point, note that Korkmaz contrasts Kipchak with Turkman and Oghuz, 'Oghuz, Turkman, and Kıpçak' (p. 406).

I cannot agree with some of Korkmaz's statements. To start, I feel that she treats non-Turkish researchers with contempt: 'The fact that dialect studies of Anatolia were carried out largely by foreign linguists has resulted in an incomplete technique of registering the data concerning the peculiarities of a certain dialect.' (p. 388). Except for Tietze, (but he is acting in another field of Turcology) and Hungarian scholars to whom she apparently pays great attention.

Concerning a classical, renowned book by Räsänen *Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der türkischen Sprachen*, she remarks that it is 'a work of lesser importance' (p. 403). I would have added: 'with regard to Anatolian dialect studies' or something like that. In addition, Korkmaz highly evaluates Räsänen's overall contribution to the field, so her criticism is rather an inaccurate formulation. Korkmaz, who divides the study of Anatolian dialects into an early, foreign period and a later stage dominated by native linguists by a marking date 1940, ascribes Räsänen to the transitory period. Nevertheless, I think Kowalski's merits deserve more space than just a short mention. At least until a Turkish dialectologist undertakes the task of elaborating, summarizing and verifying the huge amount of material collected hitherto, which Kowalski once did, certainly with limits imposed by the state of research. Of course, this is a tedious and time-consuming job entailing knowledge and commitment. Surprisingly, we learnt from a paper by Boschoeten (1991: 150–165) that a young Dutch student has already done a lot of it.

Another point to be criticized in Korkmaz's article is her style. *Beşer şaşar*, the Turkish say, and the author of these lines did so many times in his immature products. Therefore, it is not my intention to go into misprints and mistakes. One funny error alone: instead of the term 'dialectal', we find 'dialectical', p. 398, twice. On the next page, in contrast, there is 'dialectological'. Furthermore, it turns out that some of the author's data are inexact. For instance, the reference to the bibliography by Aksan 1970 should be 1973–1974, see also the remark on Gülensoy 1984. In Gülensoy 1988 we read that quotations are taken from 56 villages in 7 townships (p. XVI); according to Korkmaz, 'from the six townships and 57 villages' (p. 397). In addition, I cannot understand why Korkmaz provides some of Turkish book titles in English translation, and some in the original version. This may mislead the reader.

13. Balkan dialects are described by Tryjarski (pp. 414–453). This is a very good, profound contribution. At the beginning, the author reveals the aim, scope and lastly the limits of the survey. The starting point is 1945. However, in contrast to the preceding paper, Tryjarski goes back as far as the beginning of the 19th century. The earlier dialect studies are therefore more extensively traced (pp. 416–426). However, the survey is well proportional, since current research received twice as much space (pp. 423–443).

Tryjarski starts the section devoted to the history of research with Németh, although remarking that 'the observations made by this most competent expert demand at present to be supplemented' (pp. 416–417). Then the particular countries involved come up sifted one after the other. It is striking how unevenly the research was carried out. Very little work has been done on dialects spoken in Yugoslavia, Greece and Albania. Thus, research is most advanced on Bulgarian and Romanian Turkish dialects. Unfortunately, due to well-known political reasons, research in Bulgaria was stopped and there is little hope of progress. This was also the case in Romania, but there the situation has since improved. At present, Romanian–Turkish relations are quite good, because the Romanian authorities have a more substantial minority to consider. Another advantage of a relatively small Turkish minority in Romania is the fact that they live compactly.

Whereas the study of Bulgarian dialects was first undertaken by Hungarian scholars, the most important contribution to the study of Romanian dialects has been done by Drimba. He and other linguists (Tryjarski himself, and Mundy) earlier collected a large mass of material, unfortunately mostly unpublished. However, the situation regarding Romanian dialect research is different to that in Turkey. Notably, when Turkish colleagues focused mainly on collecting and publishing the material, dialect researchers working in Romania mainly endeavoured to elaborate upon it

and publish results. To support this claim, one can point to the excellent paper by Drimba in 1970, though Tryjarski, assessing Drimba's transcription system, remarks with his characteristic sense of humour: 'Drimba is gifted with a rare ability of distinguishing a broad scale of the sounds of human speech' (p. 437), demonstrating a single letter *i* with ten diacritics as used there.

Tryjarski verifies the outlined works with much criticism, evaluates Kowalski's, Mollova's and Németh's works, but in contrast to Korkmaz and similarly to Johanson and Guzev, he rather gives an account of opinions formulated during discussions, including naturally his own. My remarks are the following: firstly, I do not believe that 'the rapid and far-reaching changes in general linguistics' after the Second World War would have so dramatically influenced the Turkish dialect study, as he claims on p. 414. The radical changes appeared first in America, European linguistics evolved slowly in this period, not to speak about Turcology. Secondly, in Turkish linguistic terminology not *ağız* but *lehçe* is the greater unit, but it seems to be a misprint (p. 415).

Lastly, a common remark to both Korkmaz and Tryjarski. Maps are indispensable for a dialectal survey.

14. The last chapter written by Brendemoen is devoted to the Turkish language reform and language policy (pp. 454–493). As is well known, this is a very popular topic in Turkey, though not always earnestly approached. Foreign researchers also paid much attention to it. Hence, there is a good deal of writing of all kinds and the author faced a difficult task. On one hand, he had to summarize the process of the language reform and the language policy itself, and on the other hand, the existing literature. Brendemoen concentrates on more recent works, but also gives information on those relating to earlier studies. The language reform process is discussed in chronological order. The author emphasizes the importance of the transition to the Latin script. There is general agreement that the adoption of a new alphabet resulted in a sudden breakup of the Arabo-Persian literary tradition. However, I do not agree with the Steuerwaldian thought accepted by Brendemoen that the alphabet reform would have brought the vowel length to an end (p. 481). In my opinion, the maintenance or drop of long vowels in Arabic and Persian loan-words is stylistically motivated. In formal language, in the speech of high society the long vowels are still preserved. However, the exemplification of the phenomenon is inexact, since in *dakika -i* is reduced not only in Turkish, but also in some modern Arabic dialects, sometimes it is left out completely > [*dakka*]. In addition, vocalic length is much better preserved in open [*a*:] than in closed [*i*: *u*:].

Brendemoen correctly observes that in the first stage of the language reform, even the bare fact that the Turks became interested in their language, moreover, they became proud of it, was very important. Once the language became a national issue, this still continues. The language policy is a relevant element of political life in Turkey. Brendemoen gives an account of the changing stand of the Turkish authorities towards the language, tracing this process from the beginning of the language reform up to the mid '80s. As it is a long period and as already said, the literature is abundant, he had to select what was most characteristic and essential. With this contribution, readers are given a wide range of examples of changes, linguistic procedures and manipulations in vocabulary, stylistics, semantics and grammar. Everyone willing to learn Turkish must remember that the language issue is both social and individual, it can express one's political and religious identity. My remarks are the following:

1. There are no prefixes in words like *içoğlan, başçavuş* (p. 470). These are compound words, since both *iç* and *baş* are free morphemes.

2. The same is true of *anayurt* and *eşgüdüm* (p. 471).

3. Loan-words not always entered Tur-

kish in a natural way, as Steuerwald maintained, so this view should be verified.

4. Brendemoen is one of few contributors who is fairly acquainted with Japanese Turcology.

In general, this last paper, far-reaching and vividly written, is undoubtedly one of the best in the volume.

In conclusion, I will express some general thoughts about the handbook. Obviously, some diversity in strategies, methods and preferences among the authors is natural and inevitable. The contributors are all renowned representatives of an elder scholarly generation. The best chapters are clearly marked by a predilection to structuralism. What is wrong with the rest is the lack of a good method. Unfortunately, the edition and printing of the book lasted too long a time. Notably, some of them were completed between '80–'81, others somewhat later, '85–'86. This must be stressed, because since then a new generation of young Turcologists has emerged with a quite different, but remarkable publication, see Boeschoten, Verhoeven (1991).

One more remark. When reading particular chapters in the volume, there is a feeling that the contributors knew little about each other. No doubt it would be desirable that the editor should have made the authors acquainted with draft versions of each other's papers. In this way, some repetitions and contradictions could have been avoided. This was also pointed out by Stachowski in his review (1990).

Lastly, since the handbook appeared as volume I, probably further volumes are planned. If so, I would like to suggest some topics for the future volumes:

1. A fundamental phonetic study with a demonstration of experimental measurements, including the most advanced computational technique.

2. A paper on linguistic typology.

3. Presentation of an analysis of Turkish spoken outside Turkey by non-territorial minorities in Europe (or perhaps also in America and Australia).

It is likely that future research will more remarkably demonstrate what is relevant and what is irrelevant in Turkish studies, in other words, it will probably force us to rethink the basic question signalled by Johanson. But will relevancy be reflected by competence and preferences? Sometimes it appears that Turcology is a very traditional field.

Henryk Jankowski

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Correction to vol. XLIII/2–3

As requested by Ms. Anne-Marie Blondeau here we announce that the only authorized version of her paper "Identification de la tradition appelée *bsGrags-pa gbon-lugs*" was published in T. Skorupski (ed.) Indo-Tibetan Studies, Buddhica Britannica Series continua II, Tring, U.K., The Institute of Buddhist Studies, 1990, pp 37–54. We regret for the inconvenience caused to the author and the editor.

The editors

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