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Michael Hahn (1941–2014)

Von Jürgen Hanneder, Marburg und Roland Steiner, Halle

Als Michael Hahn, Professor emeritus der Indologie in Marburg, am 12. Juli 2014 verstarb, waren viele Kollegen darauf vorbereitet, da er nicht nur die Schwere seiner Erkrankung vor Besuchern oder Anrufern nie verborgen hatte, sondern vielmehr aktiv und offensiv die Planung des wissenschaftlich noch Unerledigten vorantrieb. Daß er bis zuletzt über die ihn immer auszeichnenden geistigen Fähigkeiten verfügen konnte, hat manche über den tatsächlichen Verlauf seiner Krankheit hinweggetäuscht, ihm aber glücklicherweise auch ein längeres Siechtum erspart.

Michael Hahn wurde am 7. Mai 1941 im niedersächsischen Otterndorf geboren. 1960 machte er sein Abitur am Gymnasium für Jungen in Cuxhaven, wo insbesondere sein Interesse an mathematischen Formeln und Strukturen geweckt wurde. Im selben Jahr nahm er in Göttingen das Studium der Mathematik, Physik und Chemie auf, wählte aber nach einem Jahr Psychologie als neues Hauptfach. Nebenher betrieb er Musikwissenschaft – nach seinen eigenen Worten – „aktiv wie passiv als sehr ernsthaftes Hobbystudium". Außerdem hörte er bei Gustav Roth und Ernst Waldschmidt Sanskrit, auf das ihn sprachvergleichende Darstellungen in seinen Schulbüchern aufmerksam gemacht hatten.

1964 schloß er an der Marburger Universität sein Psychologiestudium mit dem Vordiplom ab. Gleichzeitig betrieb er dort als Zweitstudium Indologie (Wilhelm Rau) und Tibetologie (Claus Vogel). Am Altindischen zog ihn über die Brücke der Verwandtschaft mit den klassischen europäischen Sprachen nicht zuletzt die Aussicht an, grundlegende Werke der indischen Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte einer jahrhunderte-, z. T. sogar jahrtausendelangen Vergessenheit entreißen zu können. Dabei wandte er sich vor allem den Gebieten des Buddhismus und der schönen Literatur zu. Zum Studium des klassischen Tibetischen hatte ihn eine Erfahrung in einem Göttinger Lektüreseminar bewogen, in dem das *Buddhacarita* gelesen wurde. Diese alte literarische Buddhabiographie ist nur etwa zur Hälfte im Sanskritoriginal, dafür aber in vollständiger tibetischer Übersetzung erhalten, die einen Schlüssel zu ansonsten unlösbaren Problemen der Sanskritphilologie bietet. 1967 schloß Hahn dieses Studium mit einer Dissertation

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in Tibetologie ab. Von 1967–1968 studierte er außerdem Mongolistik bei WALTHER HEISSIG in Bonn.

1968 ging HAHN als Wissenschaftlicher Assistent an die Hamburger Universität, wo er sich 1972 für die Fächer Indologie und Tibetologie habilitierte. Im selben Jahr wechselte er als Wissenschaftlicher Assistent an die Universität Bonn. Nach Umhabilitation 1973 wurde er dort 1982 zum Professor ernannt. 1988 nahm HAHN einen Ruf an die Universität Marburg als Nachfolger von WILHELM RAU an. Diese Professur hatte er bis zu seiner Emeritierung im Jahre 2007 inne.

HAHNS wissenschaftliches Werk[1] zeichnet sich durch eine ungewöhnliche Verbindung von Sprachbeherrschung, Sachkenntnis, neugierigem Elan und Spürsinn aus. Eine wichtige Grundlage für HAHNS eigene Forschungen und die seiner Schüler bildeten seine vor allem zwischen den Jahren 1976 und 1988 auf der Suche nach buddhistischen Sanskrithandschriften unternommenen Reisen nach England, Frankreich und Nepal, seine Tätigkeit als örtlicher Leiter des „Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project" und des „Nepal Research Centre" in Kathmandu (1978–1979) sowie seine Forschungsaufenthalte an verschiedenen japanischen Universitäten (zwischen 1981 und 1985), die zu einem systematischen Ausbau der von FRANK-RICHARD HAMM begonnenen Sammlung von indischen und nepalesischen Handschriften in mikrofilmierter Form des Indologischen Seminars in Bonn führten.[2]

Im Zentrum von HAHNS Forschung steht zum einen die Bearbeitung von kaum oder gar nicht erschlossenen Werken in Form von zahlreichen Texteditionen und philologisch kommentierten Übersetzungen. Hier entfaltete sich seine eigentliche Stärke, auf der Basis einer stupenden Beherrschung des Sanskrits und Tibetischen, extensiver Lektüre von Primärquellen und eines ausgezeichneten Gedächtnisses eine Fülle von schwierigen Einzelproblemen zu lösen. So ist es sicher kein Zufall, daß ein Schwerpunkt seiner Arbeit auf der indischen Spruchliteratur lag, die aus in sich abgeschlossenen, pointiert formulierten Einzelstrophen besteht. Außerdem reizten ihn sprachlich herausfordernde, kunstvoll und mitunter auch artistisch ausgestaltete Sanskrittexte, was sein Interesse u.a. auf die äußerst schwierige indische Rätselliteratur, insbesondere aber auf eine der großen epischen Verserzählungen *(mahākāvya)* lenkte, nämlich Śivasvāmins *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*

[1] Ein Verzeichnis seiner bis 2007 erschienenen oder in Druck befindlichen Schriften findet sich in: *Indica et Tibetica. Festschrift für Michael Hahn. Zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden und Schülern überreicht.* Hrsg. von K. KLAUS und J.-U. HARTMANN. Wien 2007 (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 66), S. 13–24.

[2] Siehe dazu M. HAHN: „Indische und nepalesische Handschriften im Indologischen Seminar Bonn." In: *Indology and Indo-Tibetology. Thirty Years of Indian and Indo-Tibetan Studies in Bonn.* Hrsg. von H. EIMER. Bonn 1988 (Indica et Tibetica 13), S. 81–96.

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Michael Stolleis

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(9. Jh.). HAHN gelang es, das bisher wichtigste, teils in Nepal und teils in Japan aufbewahrte Manuskript dieses Textes aufzuspüren, was schließlich zu einer entscheidend verbesserten Neuedition führte.[3]

Zahlreiche Arbeiten HAHNS richten sich auf die Erschließung der poetischen und didaktischen Sanskritliteratur des indischen Buddhismus (Erzählungen, Briefe, Mahnreden, Hymnen), wobei er sich häufig auf Manuskripte und tibetische Übersetzungen stützte. Besonders intensiv widmete er sich immer wieder verschiedenen Werken des buddhistischen Dichters Candragomin (5. Jh.). Dessen Schauspiel *Lokānanda* liegt lediglich in einer beklagenswert schlechten tibetischen Fassung vor, die eigentlich unverständlich ist, gäbe es nicht HAHNS kritische Ausgabe und Übersetzung;[4] seine Vertrautheit mit der indischen Literatur ermöglichte es ihm in vielen Fällen, hinter der verballhornten, zugleich aber sehr wörtlichen tibetischen Wiedergabe das ursprünglich Gemeinte zu erkennen. Ein weiterer Bereich, in dem HAHN wichtige Editionen und Studien beisteuerte, ist die einheimische indische Metrik (Jñānaśrīmitras *Vṛttamālāstuti*, Ratnākaraśāntis *Chandoratnākara*).

Sein wohl wichtigster Beitrag auf dem Gebiet der schönen Sanskritliteratur ist die Wiederentdeckung des bedeutenden buddhistischen Dichters Haribhaṭṭa (5. Jh.), dessen *Jātakamālā* – eine Sammlung von Erzählungen über die früheren Existenzen des Buddha in einer Mischung aus kunstvoller Prosa und eleganten Strophen – im Sanskritoriginal als verschollen galt. Da HAHN die schwierige tibetische Übersetzung dieses Werkes aus eigener Lektüre kannte, war es ihm gelungen, in Handschriften verstreute Teile des Originaltextes zu finden, die in anonyme größere Sammelwerke eingebettet sind.[5]

Das Tibetische hat HAHN nicht nur als indologisches Hilfsmittel, sondern auch um seiner selbst willen betrieben. Ihm genügte es nicht, sich dieser Sprache nur intuitiv zu nähern, sondern er versuchte, die Strukturgesetze tibetischer Wörter und Sätze methodisch herauszuarbeiten. Dies führte nicht nur zu einer Reihe von Studien zur tibetischen Morphologie, sondern vor allem zu seinem *Lehrbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache*, das mittlerweile in

[3] M. HAHN: *Kapphiṇābhyudaya or King Kapphiṇa's Triumph. A Ninth Century Kashmiri Buddhist Poem*. Kyoto 2007 (Ryukoku University Studies in Buddhist Culture 18).

[4] *Candragomins Lokānandanāṭaka*. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben und übersetzt. Ein Beitrag zur klassischen indischen Schauspieldichtung von MICHAEL HAHN. Wiesbaden 1974 (Asiatische Forschungen 39).

[5] 2004 gelangte er dann in den Besitz von Fotokopien eines fragmentarisch erhaltenen Manuskripts, das etwa 70 % des gesamten Werkes enthält; vgl. *Poetical Vision of the Buddha's Former Lives. Seventeen Legends from Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā*. Hrsg. von M. HAHN. New Delhi 2011.

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der 7. Auflage vorliegt. Einen wesentlichen Bestandteil seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit bildet schließlich die von ihm initiierte, verlegte und herausgegebene Reihe *Indica et Tibetica* (55 Bände), in die Band für Band unzählige seiner Anregungen, Lösungsvorschläge und Korrekturen eingeflossen sind.

Ein nicht zu unterschätzender Aspekt von Hahns wissenschaftlichem Wirken war seine künstlerische Begabung, welche sich in seiner Neigung zur klassischen Musik, aber auch in seiner Wertschätzung von Dichtung manifestierte. Sie bildete den Hintergrund für die enorme Intensität, mit der er sein Lieblingsgebiet, die buddhistisch geprägte schöne Literatur, studierte. Jeder Student bemerkte, daß Hahn die Metren des Sanskrit beim ersten Lesen identifizieren und Parallelen häufig aus dem Gedächtnis ermitteln konnte. Oft beschäftigte ihn die Etymologie der von ihm studierten Sprachen, so daß man fast meinen konnte, er habe sich vor allem der indischen und tibetischen Sprachwissenschaft gewidmet. Doch die Art und Weise, wie er indische Autoren und ihre Werke betrachtete, war zutiefst literarisch. Die echte Wertschätzung der indischen Literatur brachte ihm denn auch die große Achtung vieler indischer Gelehrter ein.

Hahns Bedeutung für die Indologie erschließt sich aber nicht nur über das Publikationsverzeichnis, sondern auch über eine längere Liste an Doktorandinnen und Doktoranden, die zeigt, daß er trotz der für die Indologie typischen kleinen Studentenzahlen immer wieder in der Lage war, Begabungen gezielt aufzuspüren und zu fördern. Mit seinem Enthusiasmus für seine Lieblingsthemen vermochte er selbst diejenigen anzustecken, deren Interessengebiete am Ende anders lagen. Dabei beeindruckte die große Energie, die er in eine einmal gewählte Aufgabe setzen konnte. Schlaf und Erholungszeiten waren dann von untergeordneter Bedeutung, so daß Arbeitssitzungen mit Doktoranden nach vielen Stunden mitten in der Nacht mit einem inspirierten Doktorvater, aber einem völlig erschöpften Doktoranden enden konnten. An Absolventen stellte er zum Teil extrem hohe Anforderungen, war aber auch in der Lage, diese durch intensive Betreuung bei gleichzeitiger Gewährung eines großen Freiraums so zu fördern, daß sie ein Selbstvertrauen in ihre eigenen wissenschaftlichen Fähigkeiten entwickelten. Exemplarisch hierfür war sein Umgang mit Kritik. Nie war Kritik an seinen wissenschaftlichen Auffassungen unerwünscht oder gar in Gefahr, in Persönliches umzuschlagen. Ganz im Gegenteil: Hatte man gute Argumente, die ihn überzeugten, oder gar einen neuen „Fund", so benötigte er nicht einmal eine Schamfrist, um die neue Auffassung unter Nennung der Argumente sowie deren Urheber selbst zu vertreten, mit dem Effekt, daß der Kritiker blitzartig in die Reihe derjenigen gestellt wurde, die Wesentliches zum Thema beigetragen hatten. So gefördert fanden nicht wenige seiner Doktoranden ihren Weg in die Wissenschaft.

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Alle diese Tätigkeiten hat HAHN bis in seine letzten Tage, auch wenn er schwer von einer Krebserkrankung gezeichnet war, weitergeführt. Mit indischen Kollegen, die er förderte, besprach er noch wenige Wochen vor seinem Tod Projektideen, gab Ratschläge und Ermutigungen, so wie er bei allen seinen Schülern versuchte, ihr wissenschaftliches Selbstbewußtsein und den Mut zum eigenen Urteil durch eigenes Vorbild, aber auch durch eine große Bestärkung der zaghaften Anfänge zu kräftigen. Gerade in solchen Momenten erwies er sich als großartiger Lehrer.

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The Word for 'Honey' in Chinese, Tocharian and Sino-Vietnamese[1]

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Summary: According to a widely accepted etymology, Chinese *mì* 蜜 'honey' (MChin. *mjit*, OChin. **mit*) is a borrowing from the Tocharian etymon represented by Toch. B *mit* 'honey'. Recently, Jacques (2014) has argued on the basis of evidence from Sino-Vietnamese and Lakkja that the Chinese word should rather be reconstructed as MChin. *mit*, OChin. **mrit*. He suggests that this word was borrowed from another Indo-European word for 'honey' (related to Greek μέλι etc.) that is not so far attested in Tocharian, but might have had a form close to OChin. **mrit*. In our view, Jacques' arguments do not stand close scrutiny: the Old Chinese word cannot have been **mrit* and the traditional Tocharian etymology still provides by far the best explanation for the Chinese etymon.

1 Tocharian B *mit* 'honey' and Chinese *mì* 蜜 'honey'

The derivation of Chinese *mì* 蜜 'honey' from Tocharian B *mit* 'id.' is widely, though not universally, accepted today. In essence, it goes back to Polivanov (1916), who noted that the Chinese word reflects a preform with final *-t* and compared it with Proto-Indo-European **méd^{h}u* 'mead'. He did not make the specific connection with Tocharian, without doubt because he did not yet know the Tocharian word, which was made known only two years earlier (Lévi/Meillet 1914, p. 407).

The basic arguments for deriving Chinese *mì* 蜜 from Tocharian are accurately summarised by Behr (2001, p. 359):

> Chinese *mì* 'honey' (< Baxter's MC **mjit* < OC $^{+}$mĭt, GSR 405r) is one such item commonly acknowledged to be an early loanword from Tocharian B *mit* 'honey' (< Proto-Toch. **m^{j}ət* < PIE **méd^{h}u-*) since Polivanov […] (a) Chin. *mì* does not occur in texts before the Han period (early attestations are found in the *Chǔcí*, *Lǐjì*, Wáng Chōng's *Lùnhéng*[2]), (b) bee keeping is first described in

[1] We are grateful to Laurent Sagart (Paris) and William Baxter (Michigan) for valuable information on topics discussed in this paper, but we take full responsibility for the views expressed here. We thank Alexander Lubotsky (Leiden) for comments on an earlier draft.

[2] Cf. also Baxter (1992, p. 436), "found in *Chǔcí* 楚詞", and Ringe (1995, p. 442), "the first securely datable attestation of **mjit* is found in the prose of Wang Chong, who wrote in the first century of the common era (Victor Mair, p.c.)".

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the epitaph of Jiāng Qí (fl. 158–167) by Huángfǔ Mì (215–282), (c) apiculture is archaeologically attested in China only since the late Zhou period.

In a recent article (2014), JACQUES has argued that this traditional etymology needs to be abandoned in view of several serious problems, and proposed an alternative explanation of the Chinese word also based on Tocharian. In the following, we intend to show that some of JACQUES' objections cannot be upheld while others can be countered with revised explanations. Further, his alternative etymology has to cope with problems that make it necessary to return to the traditional etymology referred to above. We will first lay down JACQUES' counterarguments and then discuss these one by one.

2 Jacques' counterarguments

To the traditional etymology JACQUES raises three counterarguments (2014, p. 113). The first concerns the form of the Tocharian word at the supposed date of borrowing and the other two the exact shape of the Chinese word.

1) There is a chronological problem. Toch. B *mit* derives from Proto-Toch. **ḿətə*, while Chinese *mì* 蜜 goes back to MC *mjit* < OC **mit* (BAXTER/SAGART 2014; in the system of BAXTER 1992 the OC reconstruction is **mjit*[3]): the Chinese word thus resembles the Tocharian B word more than its Proto-Tocharian source. Since the Chinese word is attested as early as the third century BCE, it cannot be compared with Tocharian B for chronological reasons: the earliest attested form of Tocharian B is probably from the beginning of the fifth century of the Common Era. Consequently, the assumption that *mì* 蜜 is borrowed from Tocharian implies that the change of **ḿətə* to *mit* should have taken place already in the third century BCE, which in turn requires an improbably early date for Proto-Tocharian.
2) A loanword in the language Lakkja suggests a different reconstruction of the Old Chinese form of *mì* 蜜. In this language, the word for 'bee' has the shape *mlet*^{s}, which must go back to **mr-*. Following LÁN (2005), the word is borrowed from Old Chinese, for which therefore a preform **mrit* rather than **mit* is suggested.
3) The alternative Old Chinese reconstruction is confirmed by Sino-Vietnamese. In Sino-Vietnamese, the part of the Vietnamese lexicon that has been borrowed from Chinese, the word for 'honey' is *mật*. Middle Chinese *mj-* regularly corresponds to Sino-Vietnamese *d-*, while only MChin.

[3] In the following we will only use the reconstructions of BAXTER/SAGART (2014), unless explicitly noted otherwise.

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m- not followed by *-j-* is represented by *m-*. Sino-Vietnamese *mật* must therefore represent MChin. *mit* rather than *mjit*, and this *mit* must in turn go back to OChin. **mrit*, which confirms the evidence from Lakkja.

As an alternative to the traditional etymology, Jacques (2014, p. 114) then proposes that his OChin. **mrit* is in fact borrowed from Tocharian, but from a different etymon. While Toch. B *mit* derives from Proto-Indo-European **med^{h}u-* 'mead, honey drink', there was another word meaning 'honey': **melit-*, attested by e. g. Greek μέλι 'honey'. In Tocharian the etymon **melit-* is so far unattested, but Jacques points out that it would probably have had a form compatible with OChin. **mrit*. As a first option, he starts from a thematised **melito-* (i. e. **melit-* with an extra *o*) that would have yielded Proto-Toch. **mə́ləte*. As a second option, he reconstructs **mlit-* or **mlito-* and notes that "the fate of initial **ml-* is not firmly attested" but if the borrowing was early enough, it would still have been **ml-*.

In our view, Jacques' alternative etymology could perhaps work in theory. Jacques' second option is in our view problematic, since the cluster **ml-* is known to have become **pl-* (cf. Toch. B *pləw(a)-* 'complain' ~ Avestan *mrū-* 'speak' < Proto-Indo-European **mleuH-*; Adams 2013, pp. 406–407; Peyrot 2012). On the other hand, his first option would yield an acceptable result, even though we rather expect Proto-Toch. **mə́ĺəte* with a palatalised **ĺ*: that **i* palatalises is proved by the Toch. A 3 pl. pres. ending *-ñc* < **-nti* and for instance by Toch. B *lyam* 'lake' ~ Greek λίμνη 'pond'. Nevertheless, we need to point out that Proto-Toch. **mə́ĺəte* v. s. does not solve the problem of **mə́tə* noted under 1) above: the vocalism **ə* does not exactly match the **i* of Old Chinese.

The decisive argument against Jacques' alternative etymology does not come from Indo-European or Tocharian. As we intend to show below, his revised reconstruction of the Old Chinese word is mistaken so that also his alternative etymology loses its basis completely.

3 Lakkja *mlet^{8}*

The evidence from Lakkja is central in Jacques' argumentation. Lakkja (also Lakkia or Lajia, Chin. *Lājiāyǔ* 拉珈语) is a Tai-Kadai language spoken in Guǎngxī Province, China (see a. o. Haudricourt 1968). As mentioned above, the word for 'bee' in Lakkja is *mlet^{8}* (the superscript "^{8}" denotes a tone[4]), and

[4] Tones 7 and 8 only occur in syllables ending with a voiceless stop. Tone 8 is a low tone (11) on a full vowel, or a rising tone (24) on a short vowel (as here; Haudricourt

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this has been analysed as a borrowing from the Old Chinese precursor of *mì* 蜜 by LÁN (2005, p. 7). The relevance of the Lakkja word for JACQUES' argument is that it would have to derive from earlier **mret* and that it would so prove that the Old Chinese form of *mì* 蜜 would be **mrit* instead of the commonly accepted **mit* (BAXTER/SAGART 2014, p. 352). According to JACQUES, the Lakkja word must go back to a preform with **mr-* because

> The cluster *ml-* in Lakkia originates either from **mn-* or **mr-* (Ferlus 1996), but in the case of **mn-* nasality spreads from the onset to the vowel in Lakkia […], so that **mr-* is the only possible reconstruction for this word. (2014, p. 113)

The phenomenon that nasality may spread from a nasal consonant onto a following vowel that JACQUES refers to has been discussed by him in a typological perspective, taking into account also the data from Lakkja (MICHAUD/JACQUES/RANKIN 2012, especially p. 203). The principles of this development have been worked out by FERLUS (1996, pp. 253–258). An example is the word for 'dog', Lakkja $k^{h}w\tilde{o}^{1}$, which corresponds in the closely related Kam-Sui languages to Kam *ŋwa*$^{1'}$, Sui $^{h}ma^{1}$, Maonan ma^{1} and Mulao $^{h}ŋwa^{1}$. For this correspondence set, FERLUS reconstructs $*k^{h}m$-, a cluster that was resolved differently in all Kam-Sui languages; in Lakkja, the labial feature of the **-m-* is continued by the glide *-w-* while the nasal feature has spread onto the vowel. FERLUS posits a similar development for other clusters of obstruents followed by a nasal, e. g. **km-*, **kn-*, **tn-*, **kɲ-*, **kŋ-*, **sn-*.

However, for the cluster **mn-* no example of an analogous development is given. Nevertheless, FERLUS does reconstruct an initial cluster **mn-*: according to him, this results (as stated by JACQUES) in Lakkja *ml-*, but without the accompanying nasal vowel. The only example is the word for 'bird', Lakkja *mlok*^{7}, reconstructed for Proto-Kam-Sui as **mnok* by FERLUS (1996, p. 256), "Pour "oiseau" on peut sans peine postuler **mnok*, l'évolution *mn-* > *mr-* > *ml-* expliquant parfaitement le lajia." This reconstruction is possibly corroborated by evidence from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, for which **manuk* 'bird' can be reconstructed, and by Ketagalan (Formosan), where Basai *manuk(ə)* and Trobiawan *manukka* are found (HAUDRICOURT 1968, p. 174; SAGART 2004, pp. 425, 432; 2005, p. 179).[5]

1968, p. 170). JACQUES (2014, p. 113) cites the word with a hyphen, *"-mlet"*. Indeed, the citation form is *tu*^{2}*mlet*^{8} (MÁO/MÉNG/ZHÈNG 1982, p. 196), where *tu*^{2} is a classifier (op. cit. p. 138). For the sake of convenience, we will only cite the word as *mlet*^{8}.

[5] LIÚ (p. 1308) cites two further Lakkja words with initial *ml-*, for which we have not, however, found an etymology: *mla*^{5} 'pockmarks' and *mla*^{1} 'paste, stick' (a borrowing from Chin. *shú* 秫 < OChin. **m.lut* ~ **mə.lut* 'sticky' as reconstructed by BAXTER/SAGART 2014, p. 89 is not likely because of the difference in the coda).

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Also for **mr-*, the alleged other source of Lakkja *ml-*, Jacques refers to Ferlus. However, no such development is posited by Ferlus in that article. The cluster **mr-* is reconstructed, but does not result in Lakkja *ml-*. The evidence for Lakkja is especially meagre in this case. For the initial of Lakkja *bliŋ*^{2} 'leech', Ferlus (1996, p. 247) reconstructs **^{C}mr- > *mr-*, noting, however, that this reconstruction is uncertain because "Le lajia ne permet pas de se prononcer". A possible example of **ml- > bl-* is Lakkja *bla:k*^{8} 'slippery' (Liú 2007, p. 1308), which is probably to be compared with Proto-Thai **m.lu:l*^{B} 'id.' (Pittayaporn 2009, p. 173). The origin of the initial is uncertain for Lakkja *blau*^{1} in *wan*^{2}*blau*^{1} 'day after tomorrow' (Liú 2007, p. 1321; Haudricourt 1968, p. 180), which is probably related to Proto-Thai **Ç.ruu:*^{A} 'id.' (Pittayaporn 2009, p. 173; *Ç* is an unknown but voiced consonant).[6]

Better evidence to prove that Lakkja *mlet*^{8} may derive from a preform close to **mrit* is Lakkja *mlet*^{8} 'dense', which Lán (2005, p. 7) derives from Chinese *mì* 密 'dense; quiet' (MC *mit* < OC **mrit*). If Lán's etymology of the latter word is correct, this would seem to prove that *mlet*^{8} 'bee' could also go back to a preform with **mr-*. However, as becomes clear from the comparisons by Ferlus cited above, it is certainly not the only possible source, and in view of the evidence for a development **mr-*, **ml-* > Lakkja *bl-*, Lán's etymology can hardly be considered assured.

A further problem with Lán's derivation is the meaning. Although 'bee' and 'honey' are obviously contingent semantically, a direct change in meaning from the one to the other is not at all trivial. That is to say, compounds of the type *honey bee* and *bee honey* are frequent, as for instance Chin. *mìfēng* 蜜蜂 [honey-bee] 'bee' and *fēngmì* 蜂蜜 [bee-honey] 'honey' or Viet. *mật ong* [honey-bee] 'honey'. Also a derivation may be imagined, for instance 'bee' as 'related to honey', as found in for example Greek μέλισσα 'bee', derived from μέλι 'honey'. However, a direct shift from 'honey' to 'bee', even though such a development cannot be excluded, is not very probable (no instance is given by Buck 1949, pp. 192, 383–384).[7]

Finally, we may tentatively suggest an alternative Old Chinese source for the Lakkja word: Baxter and Sagart (2014, p. 179) reconstruct *lì* 蠣

[6] For her reconstruction of Proto-Lakkja on the basis of the Jīntián 金田, Liùlā 六拉 and Jīnxiù 金秀 dialects, L.-Thongkum (1992, p. 71) posits **ʔmlok*^{D} 'bird', **mlet*^{D} 'bee' and **mblau*^{A} 'night', but she does not reconstruct the initial clusters beyond Proto-Lakkja.

[7] We must admit, however, that there are cases where there is no difference between 'honey' and 'bee', as for instance in the Kiranti languages Limbu and Athpare of Nepal; cf. Limbu *sɔkwa* 'bee', but evidently 'honey' in *sɔkwa yɔkma* 'to extract honey from a hive' (Michailovsky 2002, p. 70) and Athpare *wesumaŋ* 'bee, honey' (Ebert 1997, p. 261).

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'stinging insect' < MChin. *ljejH* as OChin. **mə-rat-s*. If this reconstruction is correct, it offers a formal match with *mlet*[8] that is at least as good as that of the alleged **mrit*, but it fits much better semantically.[8]

4 Sino-Vietnamese *mật* 'honey'

A second important element in JACQUES' argumentation is the Vietnamese word *mật* 'honey', which is borrowed from Chin. *mì* 蜜. According to him, this Sino-Vietnamese term suggests a Middle Chinese form *mit*, which matches his alternative Old Chinese reconstruction **mrit*. On the other hand, the Middle Chinese form *mjit*, as it is recorded in the rhyme books, and which must be reconstructed as Old Chinese **mit*, would be expected to have been represented as ***dật* in Sino-Vietnamese.

The details of the distribution in Sino-Vietnamese that JACQUES refers to have been clarified by NAGEL (1941) and ARISAKA (1962):[9] while so-called "*chóngniǔ*" words with labial initials of division III of the rhyme book Qièyùn correspond to labial initials in Sino-Vietnamese, *chóngniǔ* words with labial initials of division IV correspond to dental initials. In the notation for Middle Chinese of BAXTER (1992), "the *chóngniǔ* words placed in division III are spelled with *-j-* or *-i-*, but not both, while those placed in division IV are spelled with both *-j-* and *-i-*" (p. 75). Although the exact phonetic nature of the difference between division III *chóngniǔ* words and division IV *chóngniǔ* words is not fully clear, the initials of the division IV words were probably palatalised, since the dental representations in Sino-Vietnamese can be analysed as the result of a palatalisation process (PULLEYBLANK 1984, p. 94). In the case of initial *mj-* this process is not difficult to understand, since the Vietnamese letter *d* is pronounced as [z] in the north and as [j] in the south: in the palatalisation process, the nasal element was evidently lost. Vietnamese is of special importance for the *chóngniǔ* words with labial initials, because it is the only source for the distinction between division III and division IV words apart from the rhyme books themselves.

The representation of the division IV *chóngniǔ* labials with dentals in Sino-Vietnamese is not without exceptions. In relation to MChin. *phji-* (*pʻji-* in his notation) PULLEYBLANK notes, "there are also cases in which SV fails

[8] Obviously, this etymology requires a development **mər- > ml-* in Lakkja, which contradicts the (weak) evidence given above for **mr- > bl-* (although, in theory, the difference could be caused by the intervening schwa **ə*).

[9] In the classical article by MASPERO, it is noted that Chinese labials may correspond to dentals in Sino-Vietnamese (1912, pp. 37, 58), but with the remark that "La raison de ce traitement spécial est inconnue" (p. 58).

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to show palatalization. This is true of pji-, pɦji-, mji- also" (1984, p. 94).[10] More detailed are the accounts of Arisaka (1962) and Mineya (1972). Arisaka (especially p. 64) notes that with only one exception Sino-Vietnamese has dentals corresponding to Chinese labials only in division IV *chóngniǔ* words. On the other hand, the pattern for Sino-Vietnamese labials is a little less clear. Although the majority of the division IV words show dentals, exceptions with Sino-Vietnamese labials instead are common.

Below, we list a selection of the exceptions with labial initials noted by Mineya (1972, pp. 70–72) where dental initials would be expected in Sino-Vietnamese:[11]

With intial *pj-*:
- *bì* 辟 EMC *pjiajk* 'ruler, ward off' (EMC *bjiajk* 'law, rule', MChin. *bjiek*) ~ Viet. *bích*;
- *bì* 璧 EMC *pjiajk* 'pierced flat circular piece of jade' (MChin. *pjiek*) ~ Viet. *bích*;
- *biǎn* 褊 EMC *pjian'* 'narrow' ~ Viet. *biên*;
- *biē* 鼈 EMC *pjiat* 'soft-shelled turtle' (MChin. *pjiet*) ~ Viet. *biết*, *biếc*;
- *biē* 鱉 = *biē* 鼈 ~ Viet. *miết*;
- *biē* 鷩 EMC *pjiat* 'golden pheasant' ~ Viet. *miết*;
- *bǐng* 餅 EMC *pjiajŋ'* 'round flat cake' (MChin. *pjiengX*) ~ Viet. *bính*;
- *bǐng* 屏 EMC *pjiajŋ'* 'reject, remove, abandon' ~ Viet. *bỉnh*.

With initial *pɦj-*:
- *biāo* 杓 EMC $p^{ɦ}jiaw$ (*pjiaw*) 'handle of the Big Dipper' ~ Viet. *phiêu*;
- *piàn* 騙 EMC $p^{ɦ}jian^{ɦ}$ 'jump on a horse' (MChin. *phjienH*) ~ Viet. *biển*;
- *piāo* 漂 EMC $p^{ɦ}jiaw$ 'float' (*piǎo* EMC $p^{ɦ}jiaw^{ɦ}$ 'bleach') ~ Viet. *phiêu* (*xiêu*);
- *piào* 剽 EMC $p^{ɦ}jiaw^{ɦ}$ 'stab, quick'~ Viet. *phiếu*.

With initial *bj-*:
- *biào* 摽 EMC *bjiaw'* 'fall down' (MChin. *bjiewX*) ~ Viet. *biệu*;
- *piáo* 瓢 EMC *bjiaw* 'gourd' (MChin. *bjiew*) ~ Viet. *biều*;
- *pián* 便 EMC *bjian* 'cheap; eloquent; specious' (MChin. *bjien*; *biàn* EMC $bjian^{ɦ}$ 'convenient; then; thereupon', MChin. *bjienH*) ~ Viet. *biền*.

[10] See also already Nagel, although we cannot agree with his statement "aber die strikte Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze wird ja heute nicht mehr so rigoros gefordert" (1941, p. 125).

[11] The "EMC" (Early Middle Chinese) forms and the meanings are cited from Pulleyblank (1991). The "MChin." forms are cited from Baxter/Sagart (2014) and the fuller lists of reconstructions according to the same system on the related website. The "Viet." (Sino-Vietnamese) forms are cited from Mineya (1972).

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With initial *mj-*:
- *mèi* 寐 EMC *mjiʰ* 'sleep' (MChin. *mjijH*) ~ Viet. *mị*;
- *mì* 謐 EMC *mjit* 'quiet' (MChin. *mjit*) ~ Viet. *mật* (*bật*);
- *mián* 綿 EMC *mjian* 'floss silk, etc.' ~ Viet. *miên*;
- *mián* 棉 EMC *mjian* 'cotton' ~ Viet. *miên*;
- *miǎn* 澠 EMC *mjin*', a river name ~ Viet. *miện*.

It is notable that the exceptions are essentially only one way: Sino-Vietnamese dental initials regularly correspond to Chinese division IV *chóngniǔ* labial initials, but in the case of Sino-Vietnamese labial initials the evidence is mixed. The explanation for this phenomenon is probably to be sought in chronological, and possibly also stylistic differences. Some Sino-Vietnamese items may have been borrowed at an early period when the difference between division III and division IV *chóngniǔ* words was not yet expressed as palatalisation in Chinese[12] or could not yet be represented as palatalisation in Vietnamese. Others may obviously have been borrowed at a later stage, when the distinction was lost altogether in Chinese itself. In any case, it is clear that Sino-Vietnamese is not a perfectly regular homogeneous body of loan words (see also recently PHAN 2010).

In the case of Vietnamese *mật* 'honey', which matches the dominant pattern of exceptions to the distribution of the *chóngniǔ* initials, we think that it cannot be used to mitigate the evidence of the rhyme books, which give MChin. *mjit* for *mì* 蜜.

5 The difference between Old Chinese **mit* and Proto-Tocharian **ḿətə*

In the remainder of this article we will focus on the chronological problem noted by JACQUES and the difference in form between the reconstructions of the Old Chinese and Proto-Tocharian words for 'honey'.

The Tocharian word for 'honey' is only attested in Tocharian B, where the form *mit* is found. According to well-established and commonly accepted sound laws, this form can be derived without any problem from Proto-Indo-European **méd^{h}u* (first proposed by SCHRADER and NEHRING 1917–1923, p. 139a), a word that meant 'mead, (honey) wine' on the evidence of Greek μέθυ [n.] 'intoxicating drink, wine', Old High German *metu* 'mead', Old

[12] See below on BAXTER and SAGART's reconstruction of the "non-palatalised" division III initials as pharyngealised in Old Chinese and of the "palatalised" division IV initials as plain.

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Irish *mid* 'id.', Avestan *maδu-* 'currant wine', Cuneiform Luvian *maddu-* 'wine', Hieroglyphic Luvian *matu-* 'id.'. However, also the meaning 'honey' is found in a couple of languages: Skt. *mádhu-* 'sweet, sweet drink, honey', Old Church Slavonic *medъ*, Lithuanian *medùs*.

The development from Proto-Indo-European **méd^{h}u* to Proto-Toch. **ḿətə* was as follows: **e* and **u* turned into shwa, the former palatalising the preceding **m* to **ḿ*, and **d^{h}* became **t*. All these developments must have taken place before the break-up of Proto-Tocharian into its daughter languages Tocharian A and Tocharian B, presumably between 500 BCE and the beginning of the Common Era. After the break-up of Proto-Tocharian, the only important change on the way to Tocharian B is the transfer of the palatal feature of the **ḿ* onto the following shwa: **ḿətə* > **mitə*. The final shwa is never written in this word, but was probably always there in the earliest stage of Tocharian B, after which it became optional in later stages (written *-ä* or *-o*), so that it became a useful device to vary the length of words in verse (Malzahn 2012; see in particular *ostä*, p. 73, for *ost* 'house' < **wostə* < **uoh$_2$stu*). The Tocharian A cognate is so far unattested, but according to the well established correspondences, it would have been ***mät*, inflected forms also ***mt-*.

Jacques is obviously right in pointing out that "Chinese 蜜 *mjit* resembles Tocharian B more than Common Tocharian" (2014, p. 113), and that this is potentially a chronological problem. Although Toch. B *mit* matches MChin. *mjit* as well as OChin. **mit* neatly, the Chinese word is attested at a period at which to all probability the shape of the Tocharian word was closer to that of Proto-Toch. **ḿətə*. The same difficulty is inherent in Behr's remark that "the Chin. word chosen to represent the Tocharian form clearly shows that the borrowing must have taken place after the PT breakup, since it would have been easy in a six-vowel system of OC to match the schwa vocalism of PT by a central, rather than a high front vowel" (2001, p. 359). This is precisely the problem: it is theoretically possible that the colouring of *ə* to *i* after palatalised labials in Pre-Tocharian B took place immediately after the break-up of Proto-Tocharian, but this does not seem very likely. And even if this change occurred very early, the chronological problem may still hold if the break-up of Proto-Tocharian was slightly later, or if the word for 'honey' was borrowed earlier into Chinese than the sources suggest at present.

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6 Which form would be expected in Old Chinese?

In order to solve the formal and chronological problems noted by JACQUES (and in a way also by BEHR), the expected form of a Chinese borrowing from **ḿətə* before the Tocharian B colouring of *ə* to *i* after **ḿ* should be established.

The expected initial is **m-*, as it is found in OChin. **mit*. In the reconstruction of BAXTER (1992), this initial would have been noted with a *-j-*, i. e. **mj-*, which matches the reconstructed Proto-Toch. **ḿ-* even better. In the revised reconstruction of BAXTER and SAGART (2014), the contrast of e. g. OChin. **m-* vs. **mj-* in BAXTER (1992) is rather analysed as a pharyngealised **mˁ-* vs. a non-pharyngealised **m-*. Although they note that the exact reconstruction of the phonetic difference between the two initials is difficult (e. g. 2014, pp. 69–70), they adduce evidence that the pharyngealised initials were more retracted and blocked palatalisation, and that pharyngealised velars became uvulars after Old Chinese and remained so until in the Middle Chinese period (p. 75). In our view, these features of the pharyngealised initials do not in any way exclude that their non-pharyngealised counterparts were fronted. A typological parallel may be found in Russian, where the contrast between palatalised and non-palatalised consonants is often analysed as a double contrast between palatalised and velarised consonants. In any case, the non-pharyngealised initials developed a *-j-* in Middle Chinese, so that they must have become fronted at a certain stage before that. There is thus no reason to think that any other consonant than Old Chinese **m-* was the best match of the Proto-Tocharian palatalised **ḿ-*, certainly in view of the fact that in the system of BAXTER and SAGART (2014) no medial glide *-j-* is reconstructed.

However, the main problem of the correspondence between Proto-Toch. **ḿətə* and OChin. **mit* noted by JACQUES was not the initial, but the vowel. With BEHR (l. c.), it seems that one would in the first place have expected a central vowel in the Old Chinese six-vowel system, that is **ə* in the notation of BAXTER and SAGART (2014; in the notation of BAXTER 1992 it would be **ɨ*):

i ə u
e o
a

Indeed, an Old Chinese word of the shape of **mət* was possible in the reconstruction of BAXTER and SAGART (2014). We think that the reason that Proto-Toch. **ḿətə* was not borrowed as OChin. **mət* is to be sought in the changes that this form would have undergone in its development to Middle Chinese. The key point is that in this position the vowel **ə* would ultimately

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have become **u*, and that the changes leading to this eventual outcome may have started early enough to make what could be reconstructed as **mət* unsuitable as a representation of the Proto-Tocharian word for 'honey'.

A development that does not directly apply to the theoretical **mət* reconstructed above, but nevertheless shows that the contrast between **ə* and the rounded vowels was neutralised in certain positions before the Middle Chinese period is "rounding assimilation" (Baxter 1992, pp. 273, 575; Baxter/Sagart 2014, p. 228). Rounding assimilation turned **ə* into **u* after non-pharyngealised labial or labialised onsets without prevocalic *-r-* and before velar or zero codas, for instance **pə > pjuw*, **mə > mjuw*, *k^{w}ə > k^{w}juw*. This development suggests that also before the sound law was completed, **ə* was in these contexts not at all close to *i*, but rather tending towards *u*. The development occurred in several stages (Baxter 1992, p. 469), after **K^{w}-* already by the Western Hàn period (206 BCE–23 CE), and after **P-* only around the Three Kingdoms period (220–280 CE). A minor development showing the weak contrast between **ə* and **u* is "rounding dissimilation", i. e. **K^{w}(r)u > *K^{w}(r)ə* (Baxter 1992, p. 570; Baxter and Sagart 2014, pp. 247–248).

In the case of the theoretical OChin. **mət*, the Middle Chinese outcome would probably have been *mjut* (Modern Chinese *wù*); cf. Baxter and Sagart (2014, p. 287), who posit **Pət* > MChin. *Pjut*, and give an example of the analogous development before *-n*: *fēn* 分 'divide' < MChin. *pjun* < **pə[n] (p. 288). This development is by Baxter (1992, p. 567) captured under the rule "**w*-neutralization", in which medial **-w-* was neutralised after labial initials. Together with "rounding diphthongization" (Baxter 1992, pp. 566–567; Baxter/Sagart 2014, pp. 251–252) of **u* to **wə* and of **o* to **wa* before **-t*, **-n*, **-r* and **-j*, *w*-neutralisation resulted in the merger of syllables of the type **Pət* and **Put*: through rounding diphthongisation **Put* became **Pwət*, and then this **Pwət* merged with **Pət* through *w*-neutralisation, so that both syllables ended up as MChin. *Pjut*. In the syllable type **Pət* that is relevant here, this change is effectively a kind of labial affection or "umlaut" of the **ə* by the preceding labial initial, possibly through an intermediate stage **Pwət* (Baxter/Sagart 2014, p. 251).

Rounding diphthongisation took place "somewhat later" than the *Shījīng* 詩經 and *Lǎozǐ* 老子, being found in the *Jiǔzhāng* 九章 of the *Chǔcí* 楚辭 (Baxter/Sagart 2014, p. 252), which also offers the earliest attestation of *mì* 蜜, the word for 'honey'. On the other hand, *w*-neutralisation is more difficult to date, because it "presumably did not affect rhyming" (Baxter 1992, p. 567). Obviously, when the theoretical OChin. **mət* had become **mut* or **mjut*, it could never have been taken to represent Proto-Toch. **ḿətə*. If *w*-neutralisation occurred after labial initials had developed a *w*-glide, as suggested by Baxter and Sagart, the intermediate form **mwət* would also

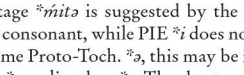
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have been an inappropriate match. Even though *w*-neutralisation cannot be dated precisely, this change and the developments leading to it seem to have occurred early enough to make a borrowing of Proto-Toch. **ḿətə* by OChin. **mit* rather than **mət* preferable.

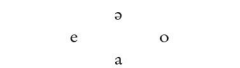
7 A possible predecessor **ḿitə* of Proto-Tocharian **ḿətə*

As argued above, the reason of the representation of Proto-Toch. **ḿətə* by OChin. **mit* may be found in developments of the otherwise expected Old Chinese form **mət*. In addition, there are details in the development of the Tocharian word that might explain the shape of the Chinese borrowing, especially if this turns out to be earlier than the 3rd century BCE: after all, it is impossible to prove from the fact that the word for 'honey' is not attested in certain older texts that it did not yet exist in the language. If it was borrowed earlier, this means that the explanation given in the preceding section might no longer work because the developments referred to may have occurred too late. It also means that another possible explanation that requires a larger time-depth could become relevant. In short, it is likely, as we intend to show, that the development of Proto-Indo-European **med^{h}u-* to Proto-Toch. **ḿətə* went through an intermediate stage **ḿitə*. If so, this intermediate stage must be dated well before Proto-Tocharian, but since it is impossible to date exactly, it might be relevant to the discussion.[13]

The intermediate stage **ḿitə* is suggested by the fact that PIE **e* always palatalises a preceding consonant, while PIE **i* does not. Although both PIE **i* and **e* eventually become Proto-Toch. **ə*, this may be interpreted to mean that PIE **i* was turned into **ə* earlier than **e*. The short-vowel triangle of the stage of Tocharian before the change of **i* to **ə* probably consisted of five vowels:



When **i*, and probably more or less at the same stage **u*, became **ə*, the short-vowel system must have become unstable:



[13] NAPOLSKICH (2000, pp. 131–132) suggests that Proto-Finno-Ugric **met(e)* 'honey' is also borrowed from Tocharian. If so, the shape of this borrowing does not allow any firm conclusions about the exact phonetic form of the Tocharian word at that time.

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As a consequence, original **e* probably moved up to become **i*:

i ə

o

a

In this process, original **o* may have become a more central vowel, possibly unrounded, which perfectly fits its ultimate outcome **e* in Proto-Tocharian. Then, **i* from earlier **e* also became **ə*, so that the original system of five short vowels was reduced to a system with only three vowels:

ə

o [ɜ]?

a

The changes in the long-vowel system that are connected with and result from these changes are not directly relevant for the development of the Tocharian word for 'honey' and will not be discussed here.

The exact conditions under which PIE **i* palatalised a preceding consonant in Tocharian are debated. However, for the developments of the short-vowel system sketched above it suffices that **i* palatalises less than **e*. We think that **i* in principle palatalised a preceding consonant, except **w* (= **u̯* as an allophone of **u*) and **kʷ* (and **gʷ*, **gʷʰ*); for this condition, see e.g. Jasanoff (1978, p. 31) and Ringe (1996, p. 66). Examples showing that **i* did not palatalise are **uiso-* 'poison' (Skt. *viṣám*) > Toch. B *wase*, and **kʷi-* 'who' (Lat. *quis*) > Toch. B k_u° in $k_u se$ 'who'. The same consonants are in fact palatalised by **e*, as shown by e.g. **ueǵʰno-* (cf. Skt. *vah-* 'carry, convey') > Proto-Toch. **wə́kne* > Toch. B *yakne* 'way', and **kʷetuores* '4' (Skt. *catvā́raḥ*) > Toch. B *śtwer*.

Admittedly, the above argument about the intermediate form **mitə* is complex, and this intermediate form may have existed only for a relatively short period of time, but it may be used to explain the Chinese word for 'honey' if that should turn out to have been borrowed earlier than is currently thought. In any case, it is conceivable that the phonetic realisation of Proto-Toch. **ə* tended more towards *i* after palatalised consonants, even though it was phonologically **ə*. It is not necessary that the Tocharian source form and its Chinese representation were phonetically identical; obviously, the word had to be adapted to the phonological constraints of Chinese. The only thing that is required is that the formal correspondence between the source and the target language can be understood in light of their respective phonological systems.

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8 Conclusion

The loose ends in the traditional derivation of Old Chinese **mit* 'honey' from Tocharian that have been observed by JACQUES (2014) all can, or need to, receive alternative explanations, so that the traditional etymology can be upheld.

Lakkja *mlet*^{B} 'bee' need not derive from earlier **mret* and does not prove that the Old Chinese word for 'honey' was **mrit* instead of **mit*. The word *mlet*^{B} may instead have been borrowed from Chin. *lì* 蜧 'stinging insect' < MChin. *ljejH* < OChin. **mə-rat-s*. According to well-established correspondence patterns, Sino-Vietnamese *mật* 'honey' would point to MChin. *mit* < OChin. **mrit* rather than MChin. *mjit* < OChin. **mit*, but there are many exceptions to this regular correspondence of the initials, so that there is no reason to doubt the evidence of the rhymebooks, which give MChin. *mjit*. Although 'honey' is attested in the form *mit* in Toch. B, this word probably had the shape **ḿətə* at the time of borrowing by Chinese. The reason that Chinese borrowed **ḿətə* as **mit* instead of **mət* may be that the latter syllable changed to **mwət* > MChin. *mjut*, so that it could not be used to represent the Tocharian word. A still earlier form of Proto-Toch. **ḿətə* was probably **ḿitə*, which may explain the form of the Chinese word if the borrowing took place much earlier than is currently assumed.

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Meroitic Graves with Roman Games: Elites Moving the Borders of Play*

By Alex de Voogt, New York, Vincent Francigny, Khartoum, and Pieter Baas, Leiden

Summary: In 1963 two sets of gaming materials were excavated from a Meroitic necropolis in Sedeinga, Sudan. Comparative analysis of the unpublished archaeological descriptions shows that these are likely examples of the Roman game of *Duodecim Scripta*. Carbon dating and epigraphic evidence dates these games to the first centuries CE while wood analysis shows the use of African blackwood or *Dalbergia melanoxylon* as the main material for the game board and pieces. The presence of Roman games in elite Meroitic graves points to an introduction of this game into the Meroitic world. In the history of Roman games this find is a rare example of *Duodecim Scripta* in which wooden board and playing pieces together with cubic dice are found preserved in a grave context.

Introduction

In 1963, an Italian archaeological team under the leadership of Michaela Schiff Giorgini excavated a group of elite graves on the site of Sedeinga in northern Sudan. Although in search of the necropolis of Egyptian nobles associated with the nearby temple of the queen Tiye dating to the New Kingdom (1550–1069 BCE), they instead uncovered burials dating from the Meroitic period (350 BCE–350 CE) and excavated a rich set of grave goods that are still on display in the National Museum of Khartoum and in the University Museum of Pisa.

Among the grave goods were gaming materials of which a set of three cubic dice and a few ivory and wooden game pieces were published in subsequent articles.[1] The complete documentation of the excavation, apart from

* We wish to thank Bertie-Joan van Heuven (Naturalis Leiden) for sectioning and photographing the recalcitrant wood fragment. We also wish to thank Edda Bresciani and Flora Silvano for accessing the archival materials at the University Museum in Pisa. We are particularly grateful to Jennifer Steffey for her artwork and to Irving Finkel and Michael Dee for their valuable advice in the preparation of this article.

[1] E.g., J. Leclant: "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1964–1965." In: *Orientalia* 35 (1966), pp. 161–165; J. Leclant: "Les verreries de la nécropole méroïtique de l'Ouest à Sedeinga (Nubie soudanaise)." In: K. Michalowski (ed.): *Nubia, récentes recherches*. Varsovie 1975, pp. 85–95.

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articles and chapters, remained unpublished and unknown. It was not until 2009 that excavations were resumed at Sedeinga[2] and in 2013 that permission was granted as part of a project funded by the White-Levy Program to enter the archives of this excavation in Pisa, Italy, and start publishing its material in full. It was then discovered that there had been two sets of gaming pieces, one in glass and one in ivory and wood, each attributed to a different grave. One came with a gaming board of which wooden fragments and a large set of ivory squares had also been preserved. Both games were accompanied by cubic dice, one with a set of two and one with a set of three.

The complete count of playing squares and gaming pieces points to the Roman game of *Ludus Duodecim Scriptorum*, also referred to as *Duodecim Scripta*. It is the furthest south that this game has ever been attested, one of few with complete sets of gaming pieces, the only known example with a set of associated pieces made of glass, one of few examples where a wooden inlaid board has been (partly) preserved as well as one of few found outside of the borders of the Roman Empire. Almost fifty years after its discovery, the two *Duodecim Scripta* games from the Meroitic Kingdom show an interplay of two empires and a transmission of board games not previously recognized in the literature.

The burial site at Sedeinga

Sedeinga is located on the left bank of the Nile in Sudanese Nubia, between the second and third cataracts. European travelers first described it in the early nineteenth century as the place where the ruins of a New Kingdom sanctuary built by Amenhotep III could be seen.[3] In 1963, the Franco-Italian mission working on the nearby site of Soleb came to Sedeinga to begin excavations on the necropolis situated to the west of the Tiye temple. The presence of a group of nine tombs (named the West Cemetery) on the top of a small hill dominating the site caught the attention of the archaeologists. Unfortunately, no Egyptian burial associated with the temple was found there, but only Kushite tombs. The structures, dedicated to the burial of the local elite, were indeed built a few centuries later, during the early Kushite phase, known as the Napatan period (ninth to fourth centuries BCE), and reused during the late Kushite phase, or Meroitic period (fourth century

[2] C. Rilly/V. Francigny: "Excavations at Sedeinga. A new start." In: *Sudan & Nubia* 14 (2010), pp. 62–68.

[3] F. Cailliaud: *Voyage à Méroé et au Fleuve Blanc au delà du Fâzoql et dans le midi du royaume de Sennar, à Syouah et dans cinq autres oasis, fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821 et 1822.* Paris 1826, p. 369.

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BCE up to the fourth century CE). Two graves, WT3 and WT8, contained gaming materials.

WT3 has the ruins of two pyramids built with mud bricks on top of a double-chambered tomb. The first pyramid is Napatan and corresponds to the primary use of the grave. When a restoration of the older monument seemed already impossible, Meroites added the second pyramid while the older burial chamber was still being reused at the time. This second pyramid was placed to the east of the older one, on top of the stairs that give access to the grave. It is of a much smaller size and corresponds to the last reuse of the substructure, as it sealed the access to the funerary chambers.[4] Archaeologists working on the site in the early 1960s partly misunderstood the material and the structures. This is why in the available literature[5] the West Cemetery is referred to as an exclusively Meroitic site.

Heavily plundered during late antiquity, WT3 still contained the remains of two inhumations placed in the antechamber during the Meroitic period. The oldest of the two was a woman buried in a wooden coffin, still wearing gold and silver seal rings with Meroitic iconography (i. e., a cow associated with a sun disc) and Hellenistic images of a bearded satyr or Silenus face; such material can be dated to the first to third centuries CE. According to the field records dating to December 1964, there were 32 fragmentary or complete ivory square pieces, 27 fragmentary or complete circular game pieces,[6] at least 3 in wood and 14 in ivory, as well as 3 ivory cubic dice. The entire set was associated with wood fragments together with ivory and wooden inlays that could possibly belong to a board or a game box.

WT8 was found with a single pyramidal monument, even though the grave was also reused during the Meroitic period. The pyramid was perhaps in a good enough condition at the time, and still used as a funerary marker. Similar to WT3, the substructure was a double-chambered tomb, but with remains of only one burial of a man in the second room. Despite the fact that the grave was also heavily plundered, there was a deposit of a game in the second room, along a wall made of mud bricks that separated the offerings from a bench carved into the bedrock on which the deceased was

[4] For a discussion of reused Meroitic graves, see A.J. DE VOOGT/V. FRANCIGNY: "Opening a grave in antiquity: Formation and interpretation in the Kingdom of Meroe." In: *Journal of African Archaeology* 10,1 (2012), pp. 59–70.

[5] E. g. M. SCHIFF GIORGINI: "Première campagne de fouilles à Sedeinga, 1963–1964." In: *Kush* 13 (1965), pp. 112–130; M. SCHIFF GIORGINI: "Sedeinga 1964–1965." In: *Kush* 14 (1966), pp. 244–261; J. LECLANT 1966; J. LECLANT: "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1969–1970." In: *Orientalia* 40 (1971), pp. 252–255, Fig. 49–64.

[6] Only 24 are mentioned in LECLANT 1966, p. 163 and in SCHIFF GIORGINI 1966, p. 251.

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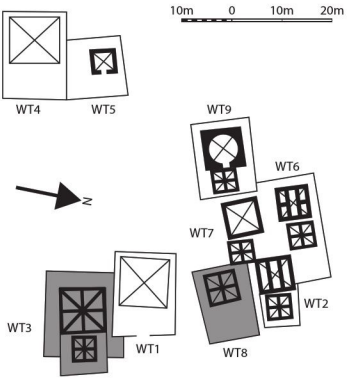


Fig. 1: Drawing of the Sedeinga burial site featuring WT3 and WT8

originally placed. Two ivory cubic dice and 28 circular game pieces made of glass were found (15 black and 13 white). Unfortunately, water had entered the chamber many times during the rainy seasons, and perishable material such as wood was not well-preserved. Instead, scattered throughout the two chambers, including the location of the game deposit, there were over three thousand glass fragments recovered, corresponding to an exceptional collection of thirty decorated containers of various shapes, typical of the Roman period. Finally, two glass flutes bearing a Greek inscription were found in the same deposit.

The material and dating of the game

The number of grave goods in the Sedeinga elite cemetery provides a rich archaeological context for dating its material. The Greek inscriptions on glass flutes were dated to the second half of the third century CE, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the game set.[7]

[7] M.-D. Nenna: "Le gobelet peint de Sedeinga." In M. Baud (ed.): *Méroé. Un empire sur le Nil*. Paris 2012, p. 128.

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Carbon dating

The game pieces and game board may have been of an earlier date and radiocarbon dates were obtained using wood fragments of the game board. The calibrated date and the probability density function is best summarized as follows: 150 BCE–49 CE (95% probability) or 87 BCE–5 CE (68 % probability), calibrated against IntCal13 using OxCal version 4.2.[8] This dates the board to the Roman period. The wood is dated to the period before the tree producing it was felled, while the board may have been made many years after. This board was made from black heartwood, the outer wood would have been white, which means that the tree itself was older than the part that was dated in this sample. The date is, therefore, to be regarded as a *terminus post quem* for the burial event.

The identity of the wood

A small wood fragment was available for microscopic identification. The wood sample was hard and of high density but desintegrated easily when softened in boiling water, prior to sectioning. Therefore, part of it was plastic-embedded for rotary microtome thin sectioning, while another part was sectioned, clamped between elder pith on a sliding microtome. Most potentially diagnostic features for hardwood identification could be observed (see Figs. 2 and 3), and coded for computer-assisted wood identification using the InsideWood database[9]: vessels diffuse, perforations simple, intervessel pits vestured, alternate and 7–8 microns in diameter, vessel-ray pits with distinct borders, average tangential vessel diameter 50–100 microns, gum deposits in vessels common; fibers with minute simple pits, non-septate and very thick-walled; axial parenchyma diffuse in aggregates, scanty paratracheal to vasicentric and aliform as well as in narow discontinuous bands, and in narrow seemingly marginal bands, rays 1–2(–3)-seriate, entirely composed of procumbent cells; prismatic crystals abundant in chambered axial parenchyma strands, more rarely also in ray cells; rays irregularly storied.

[8] Laboratory code: OxA-30026. See C. Bronk Ramsey: "Radiocarbon calibration and analysis of stratigraphy: The OxCal program." In: *Radiocarbon* 37,2 (1995), pp. 425–430; C. Bronk Ramsey/S. Lee: "Recent and Planned Developments of the Program OxCal." *Radiocarbon* 55,2–3 (2013), pp. 720–730; P.J. Reimer et al.: "IntCal13 and Marine13 radiocarbon age calibration curves 0–50,000 years cal BP." In: *Radiocarbon* 55,4 (2013), pp. 1869–1887.

[9] IAWA Committee: "IAWA List of Microscopic features for Hardwood Identification." In: *IAWA Bulletin n.s.* 10 (1989), pp. 219–332; InsideWood: 2004-onwards; E.A. Wheeler: "InsideWood—a web resource for hardwood anatomy." In: *IAWA Journal* 32 (2011), pp. 199–212.

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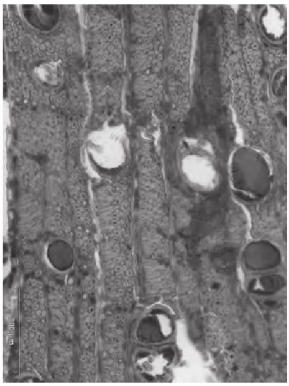


Fig. 2: Transverse wood section at x50 magnification diagnostic of African blackwood *(Dalbergia melanoxylon)*

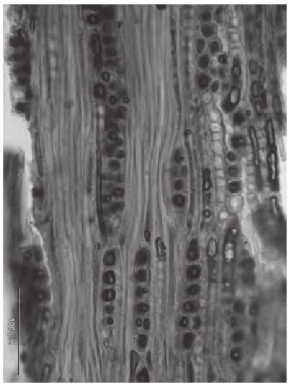


Fig. 3: Tangential longitudinal wood section at x50 magnification diagnostic of African blackwood *(Dalbergia melanoxylon)*

A search of this combination of features in Insidewood yields *Dalbergia melanoxylon* and allowing for minor anatomical mismatches a small number of other *Dalbergia* species from unlikely provenance (Madagascar or South America). In InsideWood and the PROTA Timber handbook[10] *Dalbergia melanoxylon* is also coded with a storied structure of rays, axial parenchyma and vessel elements, a feature at most present irregularly in our sample. However, in the illustrations of various samples posted on Insidewood and in a slide of the Oxford Reference collection, duplicated in the Naturalis slide collection in Leiden, a storied structure can be absent from or unclear in *Dalbergia melanoxylon*. Macroscopically the archaeological sample also seems a good match with African blackwood. Its dark color is caused by dark cell contents of virtually all cells/elements.

Dalbergia melanoxylon, African blackwood, African grenadillo, African ebony, ébénier du Sénégal or mpingo occurs throughout tropical Africa and its wood is favored for clarinet making and African wood carving for the

[10] D. Louppe/A.A. Oteng-Amoaka/M. Brink: *Plant Resources of Tropical Africa 7(1). Timbers 1.* Wageningen 2008, p. 203.

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tourist industry. It has been used since time immemorial as a luxury wood. Lemmens cites its use by ancient Egyptians for artefacts and furniture such as thrones and beds.[11] Its use for making gaming boards in the past is an addition to the long list of applications African blackwood still has today.[12]

The identification of the game

The games discovered in the necropolis of Sedeinga date to the late Meroitic period and this is further confirmed by the presence of cubic dice, which became common in the Roman period in Egypt and Sudan. The ivory squares as well as the ivory and wooden game pieces could relate to a number of different games, even games that have not been described in the archaeological literature. Most alternatives would be problematic in terms of chronology, such as the rare game of Thirty-three or the game of Twenty.[13] The count of playing pieces and cubic dice also make other games less likely if not highly improbable. The excavators of the 1960s photographed the squares after arranging them into a checkerboard configuration (see Fig. 4). Both chess and checkers post-date the Meroitic period by several centuries.[14] Although their inspiration was not based on games from antiquity, the identification of a particular game is only accomplished if either the game board is intact and/or if there are identifying decorations or game-specific playing pieces. Both the number of playing pieces and playing squares in the presence of sets of cubic dice point at the game of *Duodecim Scripta*, a Roman game that has been attested elsewhere in Egypt and Nubia.

Hundreds of *Duodecim Scripta* boards have been found in the archaeological record.[15] Most of these are found on stone or marble surfaces. They are

[11] Lemmens in Louppe et al. 2008, pp. 202–203.

[12] Louppe et al. 2008, p. 203.

[13] For an overview see W. Crist / A.-E. Dunn-Vaturi / A. J. de Voogt: *Ancient Egyptians at Play: Board games across borders.* London 2016.

[14] Chess was introduced in Egypt around the seventh century ce and checkers was introduced to Africa after the fifteenth century ce and probably as late as the nineteenth century, see A. J. de Voogt: *A question of excellence: a century of African masters.* Trenton 2005.

[15] E. g., H. Lamer: "Lusoria tabula." In: A. F. Pauly / G. Wissowa (eds.): *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.* Stuttgart 1927 (XIII,26), pp. 1900–2029; R. G. Austin: "Roman board games." I. In: *Greece & Rome* 4,10 (1934,) pp. 24–34; R. C. Bell / C. M. Rouechè: "Graeco-Roman pavement signs and game boards: a British Museum working typology." In: I. L. Finkel (ed.): *Ancient board games in perspective.* London 2007, pp. 106–109; U. Schädler: "XII Scripta, Alea, Tabula: new evidence for the Roman history of 'backgammon'." In A. J. de Voogt (ed.): *New Approaches to Board Games Research: Asian origins and future perspective.* Leiden 1995, pp. 73–98; N. Pur-

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often found without lines but with circles, squares, vertical bars, leaves, crosses and crescents.[16] The *Duodecim Scripta* game is most commonly attested as a series of six letters (36 total). These letters may form words and result in so-called hexagrams, poetry that often refers to the location or the occasion of play.

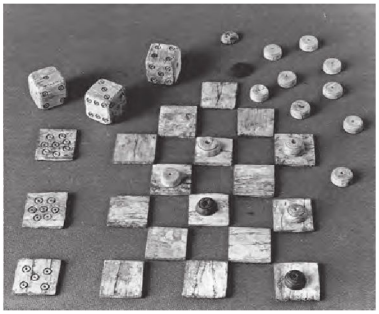


Fig. 4: Photograph from the 1963 archival records of gaming materials organized as a checkerboard with pieces

The games have been attested on pavements, theatre steps, public squares and inns.[17] Anita Rieche notes that a remarkable number was used to cover the graves in the catacombs of Rome.[18] The uniform size of the plaques as the possible Christian allusion of death with the end of a game is suggested as an explanation of this particular presence.

Wooden game boards are thought to have been common but few have survived. Some have games present on either side of the board, such as *Ludus Latruculorum* on one side and *Duodecim Scripta* on the other as the rare example from Vimose, Denmark, indicates.[19] Depictions of people at play suggest that players kept these boards on their knees between them. The images clearly show the ridge around the board, the pieces and dice.[20] A complete wooden *Duodecim Scripta* board from Qustul, Nubia, is possibly the best-preserved wooden game board and dates to the fourth century ce.[21] Its square playing fields are characteristic. This find was also associated with cubic

cell: "Inscribing imperial Roman gaming-boards." In I. L. Finkel (ed.): *Ancient board games in perspective*. London 2007, pp. 98–99.

[16] H. J. R. Murray: *A history of board games other than chess*. Oxford 1952, p. 30.

[17] Schädler 1995.

[18] A. Rieche: *Römische Kinder- und Gesellschaftsspiele*. Stuttgart 1984, pp. 18, 23.

[19] T. Krüger: *Das Brett- und Würfelspiel der Spätlatènezeit und römischen Kaiserzeit im freien Germanien*. Hildesheim 1982 (Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Niedersachsen 15).

[20] Schädler 1995; Rieche 1984, p. 19.

[21] W. B. Emery / L. P. Kirwan: *Mission Archéologique de Nubie 1929–1934. The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul*. Vols. I and II. Cairo 1938, p. 345.

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dice and game pieces but it was discovered next to a grave built under a tumulus dating from the so-called post-Meroitic period, much later in date compared to the examples from Sedeinga.



Fig. 5: Two ivory cubic dice from tomb WT3, Sedeinga

Playing pieces from bone, wood and glass are common in the Roman archaeological record, all of which have color or markings that distinguish each player's set.[22] In these records, twelve playing pieces for each player as well as two dice or fifteen playing pieces each with three dice, have been recorded, depending on the variant that was being played. The latter also referred to as *Alea*, which translates as 'dice'.[23]

The game of Sedeinga that was found in the funerary chamber of WT3 reveals a set of three dice together with 27 game pieces. Some of the pieces are African blackwood and others white ivory. The accompanying 32 square ivory board fragments make an immediate parallel with the wooden *Duodecim Scripta* game board from Qustul that also shows square playing fields in white as part of a wooden board (see Figs. 5 and 6.) The three decorated



Fig. 6: Drawing of the Qustul *Duodecim Scripta* board by Jennifer Steffey after a photograph from Emery/Kirwan (1938, pl. 87)

[22] Rieche 1984, pp. 20, 61, 73.
[23] Schädler 1995.

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pieces, as shown on the left of Figure 4, are likely placements in the center of the board where the Qustul example also features decorative squares.

The second game found in the funerary chamber of WT8 shows another set of game pieces, this time in glass and split in 15 black and 13 white. Two ivory cubic dice are associated with this set. Again the number of playing pieces may match the game of *Duodecim Scripta*. All dice found in Sedeinga have numbers on opposite sides that add up to seven as is common for Roman dice.[24]

The number of pieces, dice and playing squares, all point to the presence of a *Duodecim Scripta* game in both graves. The partial preservation of the wood in one funerary chamber confirms the presence of a wooden game board while the glass game pieces in the second grave make an almost perfect number for a *Duodecim Scripta* gaming set.

The provenance of the game

The grave goods in WT3 and WT8 consisted, at least partly, of imported goods. The blue glassware has Greek inscriptions that firmly places it in a Mediterranean context rather than in a local Meroitic production. The game board and pieces do not immediately indicate a Mediterranean import. The 'surrogate ebony' wood and the elephant ivory are sourced in sub-Saharan Africa and commonly traded through ancient Sudan. Also the glass pieces are not described as particular and glass production is believed to have taken place in the Meroitic Kingdom itself. The decoration of the game pieces is minimal and does not hint at a foreign style nor do the plain ivory inlays suggest a particular craftsmanship exclusively available outside of the Meroitic Kingdom.

The game itself is Roman. It is a common game found at the borders of the Roman empire as well as in its center with game boards on the Forum Romanum as well as in the far corners of the empire such as Ephesus[25] and places in Roman Britain, for instance. Few examples of Roman games occur across its borders. A discovery in Denmark suggests a *Duodecim Scripta* board well across the border from the Roman Empire in Germania, but this seems to be the only documented example so far. Thomas Krüger remarks that letters that make up the playing fields are understandably less common in this region as, in general, the players would not have understood Latin.[26]

[24] See also: A. J. de Voogt / J. W. Eerkens/R. Sherman-Presser: "Production bias in cultural evolution: An examination of cubic dice variation in experimental and archaeological contexts." In: *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 40 (2015), pp.151–159.

[25] Schädler 1995.

[26] Krüger 1982, p. 163.

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Elites moving the borders of play

The presence of two *Duodecim Scripta* games in elite graves inside the Meroitic Kingdom suggests that this game had become part of the Meroitic world, at least in the northern province of the kingdom. The objects were sufficiently significant to become part of an individual's meaningful affects.

In one of the graves there is an association with a female individual. In the Ars Armatoria, Ovid instructs a man wishing to play games with a young woman.[27] He mentions a series of dice and board games but not the game of *Duodecim Scripta*. The Sedeinga find suggests that, at least in the Meroitic Kingdom, women may have participated in such a game. Without representations of players in the visual arts of people playing *Duodecim Scripta* outside of the Roman Empire, this find is a rare example of a grave context that assists in identifying the possible players group.

Contrary to other prestige objects such as glass flutes and vessels, gaming materials suggest a playing practice and not just a physical import of objects, even though this latter possibility cannot be entirely ruled out.[28] The evidence at Sedeinga provides a first glimpse of playing activities in the Meroitic Kingdom where the elite was familiar with a board game traveling from and played by the Romans, alternately commercial partners and enemies.

The popularity of the game in Nubia remained as the fourth century CE find at Qustul clearly indicates. In the period in which the Roman Empire disintegrates several Roman games are no longer attested in the archaeological record. Unlike, for instance, *Latrunculi* and other Roman board games, *Duodecim Scripta* continued and is recognized as the predecessor of one of today's games—now referred to as *Backgammon* or *Trictrac*.

[27] Ars Armatoria II 198–208, see A. Rieche: "Römische Spiele in Schrift- und Sachquelle." In: *Der Altsprachliche Unterricht* 29,3 (1986), pp. 40–55.

[28] A.J. de Voogt / A.-E. Dunn-Vaturi / J.W. Eerkens: "Cultural transmission in the Ancient Near East: Twenty squares and fifty-eight holes." In: *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (2013), pp. 1715–1730.

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Ackerbau und Pflugszenen in safaitischen Inschriften und Zeichnungen*

Von Mohammad I. Ababneh, Halle (Saale)

Summary: This article presents and analyzes three unpublished evidence of agriculture in safaitic inscriptions and drawings. There are three plow scenes, one is accompanied with an inscription that contains the term *fdn* which is thus far unrecorded. This study aims to discuss the use of draft animals in the edited images, amongst others also Oryx-Antelope. It seems that a safaitic plow is close to a traditional Arab plow, this is shown through its parts which clearly drawn in some detail.

Neben den typischen nomadischen Aktivitäten, wie Weiden, Jagen, Tierzucht, insbesondere von Kamelen und auch von Kleinvieh, d. h. Schafen und Ziegen, enthalten die safaitischen Inschriften und Zeichnungen einige Belege zu Ackerbau: Pflugszenen und gelegentliche Belege des Verbs *zrʿ* „säen",[1] welches in manchen Inschriften zusammen mit *h-rḥbt* „dieser Bereich, diese Fläche"[2] vorkommt, als *wzrʿ h-rḥbt* in den Inschriften CIS V, Nr. 4985, und Rawan 2013, Nr. 323,[3] und in der Inschrift CIS V, Nr. 1383, als *wzrʿ h-qtbt*. Das Wort *h-qtbt* könnte eine Fehllesung von *h-rḥbt* sein, ebenso könnte der Ausdruck *wzyʿ b h-rḥbt* in den Inschriften CIS V, Nr. 2167 und 2168 auch eine Fehllesung von *wzrʿ b h-rḥbt* sein.[4]

Dieser Artikel behandelt drei unveröffentlichte Darstellungen mit Pflugszenen und Inschriften zu Ackerbau. Die bislang bekannten Belege zu diesem Thema, sind folgende:

– Zum ersten Mal wurde eine Pflugszene in safaitischen Zeichnungen von G. King veröffentlicht (King 1990, Pl. IVb, S. 78). Die Szene enthält zwei

* Ich bedanke mich herzlich bei Herrn Prof. Dr. R. Voigt für seine Ergänzungen und Anmerkungen.

[1] Dieses Verb kommt auch im Arabischen als *zaraʿa* mit der Bedeutung „säen" (Lisān, √*zrʿ*) vor, für die Parallelen in anderen semitischen Sprachen siehe Aro 1963, S. 475, 476.

[2] Für weitere Diskussionen und Auslegungen über diesen Begriff siehe Macdonald 1992, S. 23ff.

[3] Rawan (2013, S. 220) berichtet nicht zutreffend über das Vorkommen des Verbs *zrʿ* in anderen safaitischen Publikationen.

[4] Siehe die Kommentare dazu von Macdonald (1992, S. 32).

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schwer zu identifizierende Arbeitstiere[5] mit schmalen Köpfen unter dem Joch, einen Pflug mit einer Schar, und einen Pflüger, der einen Stecken hält. Daneben befindet sich die Zeichnung eines Skorpions. Die begleitende Inschrift bezieht sich nicht auf den Gegenstand der Zeichnung. Die Inschrift lautet: *l bḥṯn bn ṣʿd bn ʾnʿm wḥll hdr* „Von BḤṬN Sohn des ṢʿD Sohn des ʾNʿM, und er ließ sich an dieser Lagerstätte nieder".

– Der zweite Beleg ist eine schematische Zeichnung einer Pflugszene (ALOLOW 1996, Nr. 153), welche in dem *Wādī as-Sūʿ* in der südsyrischen Wüstensteppe entdeckt wurde. In der Szene scheinen zwei Esel unter dem Joch dargestellt zu sein, ein Pflug mit gespitzter Pflugschar, und ein Pflüger, der mit der rechten Hand den Handgriff und in der linken Hand einen relativ langen Stecken hält.
– 1997 hat F. AL-KHRAYSHEH einen Beitrag über die Belege zur Landwirtschaft veröffentlicht: „Evidence of Agriculture in the Safaititc Inscriptions and Drawings". Er behandelt drei interessante Pflugszenen, welche aus dem Ort *Ǧadīr al-Mallāḥ* stammen. Die erste Abbildung (AL-KHRAYSHEH 1997, Fig. 2) zeigt zwei zusammen eingespannte Ochsen (oder sonstige Rinder), einen Pflug und einen Pflüger (Ochsenführer), der mit der linken Hand den Handgriff des Pfluges und in der rechten Hand einen Stecken hält[6]. Die zweite Pflugszene (AL-KHRAYSHEH 1997, Fig. 3) zeigt zwei eingespannte Ochsen und einen Pflüger (Ochsenführer). Die begleitende Inschrift[7] enthält den Dual *ṯrn*[8] „zwei Ochsen"[9], welche dem Schreiber der Inschrift gehören. Die dritte interessante Darstellung der

[5] Es scheint sehr wahrscheinlich, dass diese Tiere unterschiedlicher Art sind. Es ist möglich, zwei verschiedene Tierarten vor den Pflug zusammenzuspannen, z. B. Ochse/Kuh mit Esel, Ochse/Kuh mit Kamel, Kamel mit Esel oder Maultier mit Esel.

[6] Die beigefügte Zeichnung in dem Artikel von AL-KHRAYSHEH ist nicht vollständig abgebildet, außerdem wurde auch invertiert. Die Zeichnung ist von einer kurzen Inschrift von fünf Zeichen begleitet, die wie folgt gelesen werden kann: *l wbšn* „Von WBŠN". Jedoch bestätigt die Aufnahme, welche ich gesehen habe, tatsächlich obige Bechreibung.

[7] Die Inschrift lautet: *l ngm bn ḫṣd ḥṯrn wṯrdh ḥḫr* „Dem NǦM Sohn des ḪṢD gehören diese zwei Ochsen, der vom Guten verfolgt worden ist (was bedeutet, dass er Glück oder eine gute Ernte hatte)" (AL-KHRAYSHEH 1997, S. 18, 19). Die Übersetzung des letzten Teils folgt AL-KHRAYSHEH.

[8] Die Singularform *ṯr*, wörtlich „Stier", kommt vorher in safaitischen Inschriften wie folgt vor: WH, Nr. 709, 3657b; ALOLOW 1996, Nr. 219; ABABNEH 2005, Nr. 125. Es ist anzumerken, dass die begleitenden Zeichnungen zu den Inschriften WH, Nr. 709 und ABABNEH 2005, Nr. 125 vielleicht eine Oryx-Antilope zeigen könnten. Siehe MACDONALD 1993, S. 318, Anm. 100; ABABNEH 2005, S. 67. Im Arabischen hat *ṯaur* verschiedene Bedeutungen, eine von denen ist „ein männliches Rind" (Lisān, √*ṯwr*).

[9] Ich übersetze in diesem Fall als Arbeitstier Ochse statt Stier oder Bulle da der Begriff Ochse kastrierte Bullen bezeichnet, welche als Nutz- bzw. Arbeitstier umgänglicher sind. Im arabischen Raum wird das männliche Rind, egal ob kastriert oder nicht, ausschließlich mit dem Begriff *ṯaur/ṯōr* bezeichnet.

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Pflugszene unter Verwendung eines Tieres (Al-Khraysheh 1997, Fig. 4) zeigt einen Ochsen, der einen Pflug mit spitzer Schar zieht, auch einen Pflüger (Ochsenführer), der den Handgriff hält, sowie vielleicht den Stecken, um das Zugtier damit anzutreiben oder den Strick um das Tier zu lenken.

Im Folgenden werden die neuen Belege präsentiert sowie die begleitenden Inschriften diskutiert.

1. (Foto 1, Abb. 1) Diese Darstellung stammt aus dem Gebiet *Wādī Ruʿrila*, welche durch meine Feldarbeit im Jahre 2000 aufgenommen wurde. Diese Darstellung ist von einer Inschrift begleitet, die sich auf den Gegenstand der Zeichnung bezieht. Die schraffierte Zeichnung einer Pflugszene zeigt ein Paar Pflugrinder (eine Kuh und ein Ochse) unter dem Joch und einen Pflüger, der den Handgriff des Pfluges hält, daneben ist die Zeichnung eines Kamels zu sehen. Deutlich sind die weiblichen Merkmale der Kuh in Form des Euters, der Neigung des Beckens und des Ansatzes des Schwanzes zu erkennen.

Die begleitende Inschrift ist in mitteldicker Schrift geschrieben, und alle ihre Zeichen sind deutlich zu lesen.

l ʾġsm bn šmt hfdn
„Dem ʾĠSM Sohn des ŠMT gehören diese zwei zusammengespannten Pflugrinder/zwei an einem Pflug eingespannten Pflugrinder."

Die Inschrift beginnt wie die anderen safaitischen Inschriften mit *l (lām auctoris)*[10], wobei seine Bedeutung vom Kontext abhängig ist. Da der Schreiber die Inschrift sowie die Zeichnungen vom Pflüger (vielleicht er selbst), dem Vieh (Kuh und Ochse), dem Pflug und einem Kamel zusammen eingraviert hat, in der Inschrift aber nur die Tiere *fdn* (s. u.) nennt, bedeutet das mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass er mit *l* sein Eigentumsverhältnis bezüglich *fdn* zum Ausdruck bringen wollte.

Die beiden Personennamen ʾĠSM und ŠMT sind aus safaitischen Inschriften bekannt.[11]

h-fdn: *h-* ist der bestimmte Artikel in safaitischen Inschriften, welcher auch die Bedeutung eines Demonstrativums hat. Der Begriff *fdn* ist zum ersten Mal in safaitischen Inschriften belegt. Im Arabischen finden sich zwei Formen, *fadān* und *faddān*, welche beide in der Bedeutung ähnlich sind, *fadān* „der Ochse, mit dem man pflügt", „zwei zusammengespannte

[10] Es finden sich in jedem Artikel und jeder Veröffentlichung von safaitischen Inschriften Diskussionen und verschiedene Übersetzungen über *lām auctoris*.

[11] Siehe z. B. für *ʾġsm* (Ababneh 2005, S. 218), und für *šmt* (Ababneh 2005, S. 166).

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Foto 1

Ochsen für das Pflügen, Pflug". *faddān* bedeutet „Ochse", „zwei zusammengespannte Ochsen", „Rinder zum Pflügen". Nach Abū Ḥātim ist *fadān* die richtige Form, aber das allgemeine Volk sagt *faddān* (Lisān, √*fdn*). *faddān* meint aber auch eine Flächeneinheit/Flächenmaß[12], welche in einigen Ländern gebräuchlich ist (OMAR 2008, S. 168). Es ist im Reichsaramäischen als *pd[n']* „Pflug" (DNWSI: 902), im Syrischen ܦܕܢܐ „Joch", „Pflug" (SMITH 1903, S. 434) belegt, im Hebräischen kommt פַּדָּן mit der Bezeichnung Obermesopotamien vor (DONNER 2007, S. 1039), im Akkadischen ist *padānu(m), paddānu* „Weg", „Pfad" belegt (VON SODEN 1965, S. 807). In Anbetracht der verschiedenen Bedeutungen des Begriffes im Semitischen ist unklar, was *fdn* im Safaitischen meint. Nach SCHUMACHER ist *feddān* in Galiläa als ein Paar Ochsen zu verstehen (SCHUMACHER 1889, S. 163). Unter den Bauern im Nordjordanien bedeutet *faddān* zwei an einen Pflug eingespannte Ochsen[13] oder Rinder im Allgemeinen; diese Entwicklung in der Bedeutung ist auf jeden Fall spät aufgetreten. In Abhängigkeit von der begleitenden Pflugszene kann man drei Bedeutungen vorschlagen: Pflug, Pflugvieh oder beides (Pflugvieh mit dem Pflug). Im Vergleich mit der Inschrift AL-KHRAYSHEH 1997, Fig. 3, welche ausdrücklich *ṯrn* „zwei Ochsen" nennt und von einer Pflugszene begleitet ist, ist mit *fdn* in der Inschrift wahrscheinlich das Vieh gemeint.

[12] Die Maßeinheit einer Landfläche oder eines Stück Landes, welches ein Ochsenpaar an einem Tag zu pflügen braucht. Dieses Maß unterscheidet sich von einem Gebiet zum anderen, je nach Topographie des gepflügten Gebietes. Diese Entwicklung in der Bedeutung tritt definitiv später ein.

[13] Vgl. auch TALAFHA 2014, S. 678.

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Abb. 1

Die folgenden Belege stammen aus der Sammlung des Co-Projektes zur Untersuchung der Epigraphie in der östlichen jordanischen *Bādiyah*, einer Kooperation zwischen der Freien Universität Berlin und der Antikenverwaltung Jordaniens unter der Leitung von Prof. Dr. Rainer Voigt und dem verstorbenen Prof. Dr. Fawwaz Al-Khraysheh und der Feldmannschaft Dr. Rafe Harahsheh und Dr. Mohammad I. Ababneh.[14]

2. (Foto 2, Abb. 2). Der folgende Beleg wurde in der Umgebung des Ortes *Tall ar-Rāhib* im Jahre 2007 aufgenommen. Auf dem Stein gibt es neben der Pflugszene und der begleitenden Inschrift auch eine Zeichnung eines Tieres und einige Zeichen, die als *l ʿgll bn* „Von ʿGLL Sohn des" gelesen werden könnten. Die begleitende Inschrift steht nicht in Zusammenhang mit dem Inhalt der Zeichnung, die Inschrift ist mit dünner Schrift eingraviert. Das untere Ende des zweiten Zeichens ist verzerrt, aber man kann es deutlich lesen:

l ġṭ bn qmr
„Von ĠṬ Sohn des QMR".

Die beiden Personennamen sind aus den bisher veröffentlichten safaitischen Inschriften bekannt.[15] Die Szene besteht aus schematischen Zeichnungen eines Pflügers und zwei eingespannten Zugtieren mit einem Pflug. Das Interessante an dieser Szene sind die Zugtiere. Während sonst Haustiere (Rinder,

[14] Zum Aufstellungsort und den vorläufigen Bericht siehe Harahsheh 2007, S. 51–53.
[15] Siehe z. B. für *ġṭ* (Ababneh 2005, S. 188), und für *qmr* (Ababneh 2005, S. 356).

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Foto 2



Abb. 2

Esel, Maultiere, Kamele) für diese Arbeit (Pflügen) bekannt sind, scheinen in dieser Szene wilde Tiere als Zugtiere zu fungieren. Hieraus ergeben sich viele Fragen. Was für Tiere sind in dieser Szene dargestellt, und wie funktioniert das bei Arbeiten, bei denen an sich ruhige Zugtiere benötigt werden.

Durch die Merkmale des Kopfes, des Rückens mit dem Höcker, Schwanz mit Quaste, die als zwei Striche gezeichnet wurden, und der allgemeinen Gestalt scheint es sich um Oryx-Antilopen zu handeln.Wahrscheinlich wurden diese Tiere als Jungtiere eingefangen, um sie mit den Haustieren (z. B. Ziegen usw.) aufwachsen zu lassen, wodurch diese Tiere domestiziert wurden. In diesem Zusammenhang ist eine Aufnahme von J. S. JABBUR (1988, S. 84) zu erwähnen, welche eine in der Nähe eines Zeltes grasende Gazelle und eine andere in der Nähe des Eingangs zeigt.

Außerdem sieht man in der Szene, dass der Pflüger mit seiner linken Hand den Handgriff des Pflugs drückt und mit der rechten Hand einen langen Stecken (Ochsenstecken *minsās*)[16] hält. Auf dem oberen Teil des Steckens gibt es etwas Ovales, eine Schippe aus Eisen, aus dem Arabischen als *ʿabwah*[17]

[16] Dieser Stock ist normalerweise aus Hartholz und mehr als 2 Meter lang mit spitzem Nagel. Siehe z. B. MAUNDRELL 1823, S. 93, 94; SCHUMACHER 1889, S. 160, 161; CANAAN 1916, S. 170.

[17] Siehe z. B. SCHUMACHER 1889, S. 161; CANAAN 1916, S. 170.

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bekannt, die zum Reinigen der Pflugschar gedacht ist. Die meisten Teile des Pflugs sind klar dargestellt; das Joch[18] und die Sterze sind mit zwei Linien gezeichnet, was bedeutet, dass beide relativ dick sind. Die Deichsel und der Pflugbaum sind einfach gezeichnet, die Pflugschar ist mit geschliffenem Kopf gezeichnet.

3. (Foto 3, Abb. 3) Auf diesem Stein, welcher am östlichen Hang des *Tall ar-Rāhib* durch die Feldarbeit im Jahre 2008 entdeckt wurde, ist eine schematische Zeichnung einer Pflugszene enthalten, die von einer Inschrift begleitet ist, welche mit feiner Schrift eingraviert ist. Der Kontext der Inschrift enthält keine Begriffe zum Gegenstand der Zeichnung (d. h. der Pflugszene). Auf der Oberseite des Steines finden sich einige Kratzer, die wie Zeichen einer Inschrift aussehen. Die begleitende Inschrift lautet:

l ḥd bn grm'l
„Von ḤD Sohn des GRM'L".

Die beiden Personennamen ḤD und GRM'L sind aus den veröffentlichten safaitischen Inschriften bekannt.[19]

Obwohl nicht mit dem Inhalt der Inschriften in Zusammenhang stehend, hat die Zeichnung einige wundervolle Details, indem die Teile des Pfluges und manche Merkmale der Zugtiere klar gezeichnet wurden, was dabei hilft, die Art des Zugtieres und den Mechanismus des Pfluges zu erkennen. Die zwei Zugtiere sind mit ovalen und schmalen Köpfen dargestellt, was bedeutet, dass die Tiere schwere Zugarbeit unter Streckung des Kopf-Hals-Bereiches leisten müssen; andererseits kann ein schmaler Kopf auch ein spezifisches Rassemerkmal darstellen. Ein Tier ist mit einem etwas größeren Kopf als das andere zu sehen, beide haben einen relativ langen Rücken mit Buckel, langem Schwanz mit Quaste, außerdem sehen die Tiere relativ mager aus. Es fällt auf, dass die Klauen mit den entsprechenden Paarhufer-Merkmalen (Klauenspalt) dargestellt wurden, es fehlen jedoch Zeichen, die das Geschlecht der Tiere repräsentieren. Die Zeichnungen sollen sehr wahrscheinlich Rinder (oder eine Büffelart in männlicher und weiblicher Ausführung) darstellen. Das Euter der Kuh ist nicht ganz fertig gezeichnet.

Der Pflüger (Ochsenführer) steht hinter dem Pflug, und hält mit seiner linken Hand den Handgriff des Pfluges und in der rechten Hand trägt er einen relativ langen Stecken (Ochsenstrecken *minsās*), um damit das Tier anzutreiben.

[18] Vgl. dieses Joch mit dem Joch der Darstellung in King 1990, Pl. IVb, S. 78, beide sind ähnlich dargestellt.

[19] Siehe z. B. für *ḥd* (Ababneh 2005, S. 110), und *grm'l* (Ababneh 2005, S. 178 f.).

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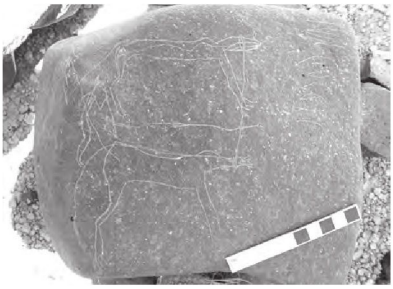


Foto 3

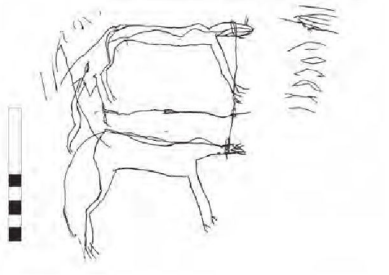


Abb. 3

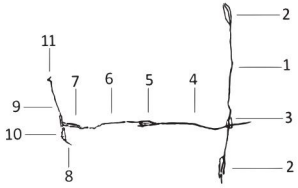


Abb. 4

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Das Pfluggestell ist mit vielen Details dargestellt, fast sämtliche Pflugteile sind in dieser Darstellung erkennbar und weisen Ähnlichkeiten zu einer Art arabischem Pflugtyp auf,[20] dessen Hauptteile außer der eisernen Schar aus Holz gemacht wurden, wie im Folgenden dargestellt[21] (Abb. 4):

1. Das Joch, welches aus leichtem Weidenholz sein muss: *nīr*.
2. Am Ende des Jochs sind zwei Stricke, womit das Joch auf dem Hals des Tieres festgebunden wird. Es entwickelt sich später im arabischen Pflug weiter und wird aus zwei Holzhaken gebaut (Jochhaken, *zaġālīl*).
3. Strick (bzw. Bastgeflecht), welcher das Joch mit dem Pfluggestell verbindet: *šarʿah*, der aus Tauen, Leder oder Haar[22] gemacht ist, meist aus Kamelleder oder Rindsleder hergestellt, um die Stabilität zu verbessern.
4. Die Deichsel (Zugholz), der Vorderteil des Pfluggestelles: *waṣlah*.
5. Kupplung, damit wurde der Pflugbaum mit der Deichsel gekoppelt: *al-sawāğir*.
6. Grindel/Pflugbaum: *burk*.
7. Spreizholz (Stößer), ist ein Winkelstück, dadurch werden die Sterze und der Pflugbaum fest zusammengehalten: *nāṭiḥ*.
8. Pflugschar, die normalerweise aus Eisen ist: *sikkah*.
9. Der Sterz, welcher auch als Lenkholz dient: *ḏakar*.
10. Scharholz, das ist das untere Ende des Sterzes, wo die eiserne Pflugschar sitzt.
11. Handgriff: *kābūseh*.

Es ist aus den Inschriften und Zeichnungen abzuleiten, dass die Safaiten ursprünglich Kamelzuchtnomaden waren, obwohl sie auch Kleinvieh (Schafe und Ziegen) hielten. Die oben bearbeiteten Belege zum Ackerbau (m. a. W. die ungewöhnliche Aktivität bei den Nomaden) sind äußerst wichtig innerhalb der Forschung über die Nomaden in Nordarabien und über Aussagen über ihre Beziehungen zu den sesshaften Nachbarn zu jener Zeit.[23] Die

[20] Tatsächlich gibt es einige kleine Unterschiede zwischen den arabischen Pflugteilen und ihrer Terminologie von einer Region zur anderen. Dieses wird klar durch verschiedene Abbildungen und Beschreibungen der Teile des Pflugs, z. B. Schumacher 1889, S. 157ff.; Bauer 1903, S. 137, 138; Canaan 1916, S. 168, 169; Sonnen 1927, S. 75. Eine detaillierte Analyse wurde hierzu von Dalman vorgelegt (Dalman 1932, S. 77ff., Abb. 21a, 22); über Pflugterminologie im Jemen siehe Behnstedt 2010, S. 99–121.

[21] Die arabischen Namen der Pflugteile hier sind wie bei den Bauern in Nordjordanien bekannt. Es gibt einige geringe Unterschiede und Synonyme in den Benennungen von einem Land zum anderen, sogar von einer Region zur anderen.

[22] Nach Wetzstein ist *šerʿa* in Syrien eine Schlinge aus dickem Haarstrick (Wetzstein 1873, S. 274).

[23] Über Ackerbauaktivitäten in dieser Region (semiaride/Wüstensteppe) in prähistorischer Zeit, siehe Müller-Neuhof 2013, S. 72ff., und in der römischen Zeit, in der

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meisten Belege wurden in der Nähe von Wasserquellen oder im Bereich eines Bassins entdeckt, das heißt, die Böden, die bewirtschaftet wurden, waren fruchtbar und verwendbar für die Landwirtschaft. Hier stellt sich die Frage: Was haben die Nomaden gesät?[24]

Einen Hinweis liefert die Erwähnung des Verbs *zrᶜ* in den Inschriften ohne explizites Objekt des Gesäten.[25] Nach AL-KHRAYSHEH wurden Weizen und Gerste angebaut . Im fraglichen Gebiet[26] handelt es sich um Regenfeldbau. In diesem Zusammenhang ist anzumerken, was J. WETZSTEIN über den Gersten- und Weizenanbau im *Ruḥba* Gebiet durch seine Reise bemerkt hat. Er berichtet über die Einwohner, dass diese keine Ackerwerkzeuge haben, und sie pflügen den Boden nicht. Nach den ersten Frühregen im Dezember säen/streuen sie den Samen aus und ziehen mit dornigen Pflanzen (wie *ṣirr* „einer Art Schlehdorn" oder *zaᶜrūr* „Hagedorn, Weißdorn") über die besäte Flur, um die Samen in die Erde einzubringen (WETZSTEIN 1860, S. 30, 31). Es gibt in den veröffentlichten Inschriften bisher keine Belege über andere Ackerbauaktivitäten wie Ernte, Dreschen usw.

Die Zugtiere, die in den Pflugszenen erscheinen, sind meistens Rinder (Kühe und Ochsen), was insofern diskussionswürdig unter vielen Forschern ist, weil die Haltung dieser Tierart mit Sesshaften oder Halbnomaden assoziiert wurde.[27] Es ist anzumerken, dass die Rinder *bqr* in einigen safaitischen Inschriften belegt sind.[28] Darüber hinaus beinhalten die verwendeten Zugtiere in den Zeichnungen verschiedene Tierrassen, welche unterschiedliche äußere Merkmale besitzen (Nackenausprägung, Form des Beckens u. v. m.).

Es scheint, dass sich der nomadische Pflug von einem einfachen über die Zeit zu einem hochentwickelten Gerät gewandelt hat. Diese Entwicklung ist vielleicht das Ergebnis der Kontakte zu den sesshaften Einwohnern, die am Rande der Wüstensteppe lebten und sich in der Landwirtschaft betätigten. In Anbetracht der wenigen Hinweise darüber bleiben alle Diskussionen und Fragen offen.

Dämme, Zisternen und Kanäle in der Umgebung der Steppe gebaut wurden, siehe NEWSON 2000, S. 86 ff.

[24] Siehe AL-KHRAYSHEH 1997, S. 17.

[25] Das Verb *zrᶜ* verlangt ein oder zwei Objekte, falls es in den Inschriften nur mit einem Objekt vorkommt, gibt es keine Vorstellung über das, was gesät wurde.

[26] Zum Beispiel Süd-Syrien *(Ḥaurān)* war in der Römerzeit eine der Hauptgetreideanbaugebiete des Imperiums, und liefert den feinsten Weizen, siehe MOMMSEN 1886, S. 144.

[27] Für weitere Diskussion darüber, siehe MACDONALD 1993, S. 311 ff.; ZEINADDIN 2000, S. 273; AL-THEEB 2003, S. 111 f.

[28] Zum Beispiel CIS V, Nr. 860, 892, 974, 3531, 3791. Der Begriff *bqrt* „Kuh" ist in einer Inschrift belegt (AL-THEEB 2003, Nr. 52). Im Arabischen ist *bqr* ein Kollektivum „Rinder", nach IBN SĪDAH wird *al-baqaratu* sowohl für wilde als auch domestizierte und für männliche und weibliche Rinder angewendet (Lisān, √*bqr*).

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Abkürzungen

CIS V	Ryckmans, G. 1950–51
DNWSI	Hoftijzer, J./K. Jongeling 1995
Lisān	Ibn Manẓūr, M. Ibn Mukarram 1955–1966
WH	Winnett, F.V./G.L. Harding 1978

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Quotative Frames in Samaritan Aramaic*

By Christian Stadel, Be'er Scheva

Summary: The article surveys the form and use of quotative frames in the Late Western Aramaic dialect of the Samaritans: the different *verba dicendi* and the default verb √ʾmr, the position of the frame in relation to the direct discourse, various means of integrating the frame into the narrative, double quotations, the marking of biblical quotations, and direct discourse introduced by a subordinating particle. This is the only comprehensive study of quotative frames for any Central Semitic language except Biblical Hebrew.

Quotative frames are linguistic entities that signal quoted direct discourse.[1] They serve an important function in marking direct speech, which is often not integrated (syntactically or otherwise) into the surrounding discourse, and whose deictic reference frame differs from that of the latter. Quotative frames take different forms in different languages. Parameters that determine the form of quotative frames include the lexemes used to signal direct speech (i. e., *verba dicendi* of various sorts), the (verbal) forms employed, the location of the frame in relation to the quoted discourse (introducing or following it, elliptical, etc.), and quotative particles (such as Biblical Hebrew לאמר) as overt markers of direct speech. While the use and formation of quotative frames in the languages of the world have received their fair share of scholarly attention,[2] the Semitic languages are poor cousins in this respect. This is probably because, in Semitic languages, quotative frames are usually rather monotonous and do not show much variation. Still, research done on some ancient Semitic languages—Biblical Hebrew in particular—proofs that the subject is worth studying.[3]

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[1] There is no universally accepted term for the concept. Designations such as 'speech margin', 'quote tag', and many more can be found. See Smith 2014, p. 7 for a list of commonly used terms.

[2] Smith 2014, pp. 8–188 offers a representative overview, but examples can easily be multiplied, e. g., de Vries 2006 on Dutch.

[3] Different aspects of quotative frames in Biblical Hebrew have been treated in specialized studies, e. g., by Miller 1996 (O'Connor 2002, pp. 29–37 presents a succinct and very readable summary of parts of Miller's argument), Meier 1992, Longacre 1989,

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Against the backdrop of the work done on Hebrew, we shall present a comprehensive description of the form and use of quotative frames in Samaritan Aramaic, a Late Western Aramaic dialect from Byzantine Palestine.[4] We shall cover the different *verba dicendi* attested in quotative frames—and the special role of the default verb √ʾmr—, the position of the frame in relation to the quoted direct discourse, as well as various means of integrating the frame into the narrative. Additional sections will discuss double quotations, i. e., direct discourse that is quoted in direct discourse, the marking of biblical quotations, and direct discourse introduced by a subordinating particle. The arguments and adjuncts that appear in Samaritan Aramaic quotative frames will be exemplified in passing in the examples adduced throughout this paper; Apart from the *verbum dicendi*, these may include a designation of the speaker and/or addressee, and adverbials of time, place, or manner. Where applicable, evidence from earlier and contemporaneous Aramaic dialects will be adduced for comparison. Our corpus comprises the main prose text written in classical Samaritan Aramaic, viz. the first and parts of the second book of the midrash collection Tibat Marqe.[5] Evidence from some fifty liturgical poems by Amram Dare, Marqe, and Ninna has also been included.[6] The corpus contains approximately 300 instances of quoted discourse.

pp. 158–184, LONGACRE 1994, pp. 140–141, HATAV 2000, to mention but the most pertinent ones. There are also (less comprehensive) studies on Rabbinic Hebrew (SHEMESH 2006), Aramaic (PAT-EL 2012, pp. 152–191), Ugaritic (WATSON 1983; 1990), and Akkadian (VOGELZANG 1990). The most common quotative frames are often mentioned in passing in standard reference grammars, but the information found there is hardly conclusive.

[4] For the historical background of the dialect and a succinct sketch of its grammar see TAL 2013.

[5] We shall quote Tibat Marqe according to the critical edition BEN-ḤAYYIM 1988 (additional fragments published thereafter do not deviate from the text of this edition with respect to quotative frames: BEN-ḤAYYIM 2005, p. 6; 2007, pp. 356–357; TAL 2009, p. 201). References give the *siglum* TM followed by the number of the book and line according to the edition. When referring to a manuscript other than the principal manuscript S of BEN-ḤAYYIM's edition, we shall indicate its *siglum* (cf. BEN-ḤAYYIM 1988, pp. 30–36), e. g., TM 1:342 K. The parts of the second book written in classical Samaritan Aramaic are TM 2:182–251.268–407.439–606 (BEN-ḤAYYIM 1988, p. 108).

[6] The texts have been published in BEN-ḤAYYIM 1967, pp. 41–121.133–274. Reference to the poems is by indication of the author (PA = Amram Dare, PM = Marqe, PN = Ninna) and number of the poem and line in BEN-ḤAYYIM 1967, e. g., PM 2:25.

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1 *verba dicendi* in quotative frames

In Biblical Hebrew, √ʾmr is the default root for marking direct discourse. Forms of √ʾmr appear in almost all quotative frames.[7] Aramaic shows similar usage, with later, post-Imperial Aramaic dialects apparently attesting to a modest increase of quotative frames lacking √ʾmr.[8] Samaritan Aramaic seems to continue this trend.

In our corpus, more than two thirds of all quotative frames (200+) contain a form of √ʾmr. In the vast majority of these (175+ cases), √ʾmr is the only verbal form used in the quotative frame. Most instances come from the prose sections of Tibat Marqe, but some are also found in poetry. Representative examples (frame set in bold) include:

(1) … קעם בשרירו רבה וחיולה **ואמר** בארשו מנך מרי 'he stood with great and mighty power **and said:** "With your permission, my lord, …" ' (TM 1:133–134)

(2) אעת קעימה מן שומיה לארעה **ואמר** עבדו לי משכן 'The Eternal descended from heaven to earth **and said**: "Make for me a tabernacle …" ' (PM 14:31–33)

(3) עזר נביה הבה משה לידֿ יתרו בזרוז מפשט לה שלמה מקדם דיזל **ואמר לה** לי אחין טבין במצרים 'the great prophet Moses returned to Jethro in haste to give his regards before he went **and he said to him:** "I have good kinsmen in Egypt" ' (TM 1:317–319)

(4) ואמר יהוה **אל משה** נביי לא מטרן **'and YHWH said to Moses:** "My prophet, no fear …" ' (TM 1:473–474)

(5) כד שמעו ממללה **אמרו** דן לדן הן הוא סימנה **'when they heard his word, they said to each other:** "Lo, it is the sign …" ' (TM 1:413–414)

(6) צריכין כל בית **ישראל** יהונו **אמרין** אתי בשלם יובילה קריבה **'the whole house of Israel needs to constantly say**: "Come in peace, oh approaching jubilee, …" ' (PA 17:9–11)

(7) אכהן תימר לבני **ישראל** אהיה שלחני **'Thus you shall say to the children of Israel:** "אהיה sent me …" ' (TM 1:158)

The lion's share of the examples comes from narrative sections, in which Perfects (rarely Participles) of √ʾmr abound,[9] but where required by the context (e. g., when the quotative frame is itself part of direct discourse), Imperfects

[7] Goldenberg 1991, p. 85; Miller 1996, pp. 303.307–308. Meier 1998, pp. 233–234 suggests that Miller's numbers are somewhat inaccurate, but this does not affect the overall picture she presents.

[8] Pat-El (2012, pp. 154–157) has an overview. There is no detailed study on the subject, but examples from Imperial Aramaic (Muraoka/Porten 2003, pp. 327–328) and Qumran Aramaic (Muraoka 2011, p. 258; see also Shemesh 2016) conform to the general development suggested by Pat-El.

[9] The use of Participles in quotative frames in past tense narratives is attested only in five examples: Stadel 2013, p. 140 (§167a).

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are found as well. Forms of √ʾmr are also widely used to introduce biblical quotations, irrespective of whether the quote takes the form of direct speech or not (see below section 5).[10]

There are some 20 quotative frames in which a form of √ʾmr follows another *verbum dicendi*. These could be employed when an explicit description of the nature of the utterance was deemed necessary. Similar constructions are known from Biblical Hebrew and earlier forms of Aramaic.[11] The construction is always syndetic and the two verbs appear in the same grammatical form (though in some cases the orthography is ambivalent). Examples include:

(8) קדם יהושע וסבלה **וכרז ואמר** ניחה רוחך 'Joshua approached and lifted him up **and called out and said:** "Your spirit shall rest …" ' (TM 1:1063–1064)

(9) הגיבו תריון כחדה **ואמרו** אה מלכה '**both of them answered together and said:** "Oh king, …" ' (TM 1:660 K)

(10) צבע קדם משה מלגו עקה רבה **ואמר** צלי אל יהוה '**out of deep misery he shouted in front of Moses and said:** "Pray to YHWH …" ' (TM 1:713–714)

(11) **ושרי** ביתה שעתה מבכי לה **ואמר** ניחה רוחך '**at that hour he started to mourn him and said:** "Your spirit shall rest …" ' (TM 1:1047–1048)

(12) **וישבח** לברואה **ויימר** ישתבח בראיה '**and he shall praise the creator and say:** "The creator be praised …" ' (PA 13:20–21)

The construction is attested with eight different verbal roots: √krz 'to call, proclaim' (TM 1:191, 1064 [#8], 728 K [S: √zʿq]; PA 7:5, 8:11, 22, 30), √ṣwḥ 'to shout, cry out' (TM 1:713 [#10], 945, 742 S [K lacks √ʾmr]), √zʿq 'to call, summon' (TM 1:728 S [K: √krz]),[12] √qry 'to call' (PM 9:27),[13] √gwb 'to answer' (TM 1:216 K [S lacks √gwb], 286 S [K lacks √ʾmr], 660 [#9], 2:470 [√ʾmr precedes]; PN 104), √ʿny 'to answer' (TM 1:543, 713 K [S lacks √ʿny]), √bky D 'to mourn (s. o.)' (TM 1:1048 [#11], 1049), √šbḥ 'to praise' (PA 13:20 [#12]; PM 8:45). The relatively high proportion of variants (in four instances either the main verb or √ʾmr lack in one of the manuscripts), the highly unusual word order in TM 2:470, where √ʾmr precedes, and the fact that the latter occurrence is the only one from the second book of Tibat Marqe all

[10] TAL 2007, pp. 241–242.

[11] These are MILLER's (1996, pp. 303.307–308) "multiple-verb frames"; For Aramaic cf. PAT-EL 2012, pp. 154–157. Note that many of the Samaritan Aramaic examples appear in non-prototypical dialogue (see MILLER 1996, pp. 314–316 for the concept), but there are not enough data to establish a significant correlation.

[12] In TM 1:742 S, √zʿq is apparently used in the sense 'to call for (s. o.)' and is not part of the quotative frame.

[13] In PM 24:9, √qry is used in the sense 'to read' and is not part of the quotative frame.

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support the assumption that this construction gradually fell out of use in the later, post-classical stages of Samaritan Aramaic.[14]

In some 70 quotative frames, a *verbum dicendi* other than √ʾmr is used. Examples include:

(13) ולית בי קעם קדמיו אגיבה מרה ידע אנה '"… and I cannot stand up to you." **His master answered him:** "I know…"' (TM 1:112–113)

(14) זעקו כל יום וכדו ישראל **'he shouts every day:** "And now, Israel!"' (PM 11:27–28)

(15) תלו קלה לבראיה דתהו ובהו אנן בעין מנך **'they raised the voice to the creator of Tohubohu:** "We request from you …"' (TM 1:614)

(16) עזר נביה רבה משה ממללה עם פרעה ומצראי מה דן מיתיה **'the great prophet Moses continued to talk to Pharao and the Egyptians:** "What brought it about …"' (TM 2:222)

(17) כד עמה פרעה הן לית מנון אסו צבע לקדם משה ואהרן צלו ליהוה **'when Pharao saw that there was no remedy from them, he cried out in front of Moses and Aharon:** "Pray to YHWH …"' (TM 1:634–635)

Quotative frames without √ʾmr are attested with eleven different verbal roots and two idiomatic phrases. Of these, five roots are also employed in conjunction with √ʾmr (see above), but they are more frequently used on their own: √krz 'to call, proclaim' (TM 1:610, 996–1009, 1068 [K: √mll]; PA 5:19, 7:16, 10:19; PM 9:15, 15:33; PN 87), √zʿq 'to call, summon' (TM 1:657, 881–885, 887; PA 23:25, 27:27; PM 11:27 [#14], 13:27, 18:12), √gwb 'to answer' (TM 1:106, 112 [#13], 209, 238, 555, 749, 2:210, 227, 291), √ṣwḥ 'to shout, cry out' (TM 1:634 [#17]; PA 5:10, 23; PM 1:38, 39, 70), √qry 'to call' (TM 1:44; PA 24:73, 75; PM 9:43). The other roots are exclusively used without √ʾmr: √mll 'to talk' (TM 1:1068 K [S: √krz], 2:209, 218, 222 [#16], 226, 289, 309; PM 16:82), √swd (< ʾ√šhd) 'to testify' (TM 1:766; PM 9:23, 10:43, 12:55, 13:7), √šmʿ *pael/aphel* 'to let it be heard' (TM 1:887, 955; PM 16:9), √šyr 'to sing' (TM 2:384; PA 6:24), √ydʿ *aphel* 'to announce' (PA 26:7), √pqd 'to command' (TM 1:902). In addition, two phrases that express the notion of speaking are found: תלו קלה 'they raised the voice' (TM 1:614 [#15]; in TM 1:1051 S with √ʾmr), and מימר יהוה אתה 'the saying of YHWH came' (TM 1:772).

It would seem that the construction of *verbum dicendi* followed by √ʾmr gradually fell out of use in later Samaritan Aramaic and quotative frames without √ʾmr were employed instead. This is suggested by the token frequency of

[14] Note, however, that in a linguistically late Samaritan Targum manuscript (Tal 1980–1983, ms A), the construction translates a Hebrew *verbum dicendi* followed by לאמר in four extraordinary examples: Gen 23:5, 26:7; Ex 11:8, 13:14. The forms of √ʾmr are either certain Participles, or can at least be parsed as such. For other, supposedly late syntactical peculiarities in the second book of Tibat Marqe, cp. Stadel 2013, pp. 202–203 (§255).

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the two constructions, and by the fact that only the latter construction is attested in the second book of Tibat Marqe. Since a number of verbal forms are attested in both constructions (but are more frequently used without √ʔmr), it is unlikely that this distribution was triggered by lexical factors. The frequent use of the quotative frame without √ʔmr in the early liturgical poems is probably due to the brevity of the poetic lines. Three *verba dicendi* have specific distribution patterns: √krz 'to call, proclaim' is typical of the liturgy (and poetic sections in Tibat Marqe, viz. TM 1:996–1009), as is √swd 'to testify', which normally introduces the formula "There is no god but one".[15] √mll 'to talk' is restricted to late texts from the second book of Tibat Marqe.[16]

2 Ellipsis and *inquit*

The quotative frame has a fixed position and almost always precedes the quoted direct discourse, as it does in Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew, in earlier stages of Aramaic, and in other Semitic languages.[17] This usage is demonstrated in passing in most of the examples adduced in this article. However, there are about thirty deviations from this standard pattern, in which the quotative frame is either missing altogether or inserted into the direct discourse. Final quotative frames, which follow the direct speech, are not attested.[18]

The stylistic device of ellipsis of the quotative frame is attested once in earlier Aramaic prose literature, viz. the Book of Tobit from Qumran (4Q197 4 iii 7)[19] and seldom in Biblical Hebrew.[20] In Samaritan Aramaic, the construction is restricted to Tibat Marqe. It is typically used in dialogues, i. e. exchanges of direct speech between at least two parties. In the following examples, I insert the sign ∅ in order to highlight the ellipsis (and the change of the speaker).

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[15] Cp. MACUCH 1978 for an overview of the Samaritan use of the formula (its relation to the similar Muslim formula remains unclear).

[16] In the otherwise slavishly literal translation of the Samaritan Targum (TAL 1980–1983), Aramaic √mll renders Hebrew √ʔmr at least twice, in linguistically late manuscripts: Num 3:40 ms B; Deut 2:2 ms V.

[17] MILLER 1996, p. 213; SHEMESH 2006, p. 45; There is no systematic study on the position of quotative frames in Aramaic, but all relevant instances of √ʔmr in Old and Imperial Aramaic (SCHWIDERSKI 2008, pp. 52–57 s. v.) conform to our assumption, as do the examples from Biblical Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic.

[18] But consider #52, with a biblical quotation. BEN-ḤAYYIM (1943–1944, p. 110) mentions another construction with a split quotative frame in the late *Book Asatir*. Apparently, it imitates Arabic usage.

[19] See STADEL 2016 for a discussion.

[20] MILLER 1996, pp. 220–226. WATSON 1990 has examples from Ugaritic. There are no comprehensive studies of the phenomenon in other Semitic languages.

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(18) כד עמה אדה הך מה דהות אמר רבה היא רבותך מרי … לית סוף לרבינך דכל פליאתך קשיטין ∅ סב נביי אלין תרי סימניה **'when he (Moses) saw his hand as it had been, he said:** "Great is your glory, my Lord, … there is no end to your greatness, for all your wonders are real." ∅ **(God)** "Take, my prophet, these two signs …" ' (TM 1:274–280)

(19) ענה ואמר אהן מלכה דאתיתון שלחין משמה … אנית בידכון סימן אי פלי מנה כי עביד קמיכון כותה מד לאוי לא שגרנן לידך אלא בסימן ∅ **'he (Pharao) answered and said:** "This king, in whose name you came as envoys, … if you have in your hand a sign or wonder from him, have it performed in your presence like it, as is fit." ∅ **(Moses and Aaron)** "He did not send us to you but with a sign …" ' (TM 1:543–545)

(20) אמרו מכשפיה יכלין אנן עבדין כותה … כדו נעבד כותה לעניך ואת ידע מנו נצעיה מנן ∅ אזו קרבי דאנה נציח קדם אהן תנינה **'the sorcerers said:** "We can do like this, … now we shall do like this in front of your eyes and you will know who of us is beaten." ∅ **(Pharao)** "My entrails are burnt, since I am beaten by this snake …" ' (TM 1:567–570)

As the change of the speaker is not overtly marked, the reader has to rely on the content of the quoted direct discourse in order to identify it. Usually, the first few quoted words are deliberately formulated to facilitate the identification of the shift of the speaker. This is achieved by explicitly naming the addressee (as in #18 and in TM 1:139, 517, 1020,[21] cf. also #32) or by employing pronouns (as in #20 and in TM 1:539, 644, 677 K, 1037 K)[22] or verbal forms which cannot be interpreted as part of the preceding direct discourse (as in #19 and in TM 1:572, 676), usually because of incongruity in grammatical number. The same techniques are also used in order to keep apart the different discourse levels in cases where direct speech is quoted in direct speech (e. g., #47) or in order to identify different addressees that a speaker addresses in turn, as in the following example:

(21) האנה מרשי לון ימללון כדו כל מה דאנון בעין ממללה עמי אמרו בעותכון אה תרי אחיה והן הוה נהי עלי עבדת ' "Behold, I allow them to say now everything they want to say to me. Say your request, oh two brothers, and if it is convenient for me, I will do it." ' (TM 1:539–540)

As the examples above demonstrate, the ellipsis of the quotative frame occurs in the middle of a dialogue section, not at its start. The same distribution pattern is also found in Biblical Hebrew.[23] However, there is one Samaritan Aramaic example in which a dialogue section opens with the ellipsis:

(22) … כד עמו יתון קעומי תרחה עלו למסב לון ארשו ∅ אה מלכה ארשי לן נימר לך כדו 'when the gate–keepers saw them, they entered to obtain for them permission: ∅ "Oh king, allow us now to talk to you …" ' (TM 1:516–517)

[21] In this last example, K inserts the standard quotative formula with √ʾmr.

[22] Note that in the latter two instances, S inserts the standard quotative formula with √ʾmr.

[23] Miller 1996, p. 226.

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Apart from the address, which makes the shift to direct speech obvious, another technique is used in this example in order to make up for the missing quotative frame. For the preceding narrative section describes a situation in which direct discourse is expectable: The gatekeepers have to speak to Pharao in order to obtain his permission. The particular way in which the plot is narrated thus prepares the reader for the shift to direct speech, and the formulaic quotative frame becomes dispensable. Indeed, the same technique is often found in non-dialogue sections with ellipsis as well:

(23) לא אסכמו תרי נבייה ממללה אלא וכרוזין נפקין במצרים ∅ כל ספר דלגו ביספרה פעלין לא יתיהב לון תבן
'the two prophets had only just finished to speak when heralds went out in Egypt: ∅ "Every teacher in whose schoolhouse they work, straw shall not be given to them"' (TM 1:442–444)

(24) ארמו אטריון והוו כהלון תנינים סחרתה אסתכל פרעה וכל יתיביה לתניניה דעבדו חרשיה עגלות זהו רבה מותר ∅ לא יתגלגון אחיה עלינן
'they threw down their rods and all of them turned to snakes around him. Pharao and his counsel looked at the snakes that the sorcerers had created—a sight of very great joy: ∅ "The brothers shall not pride themselves over us"' (TM 1:572–574)

(25) אגרתה תליתה פריסה קמיון יסון יתה ויקרונה קדם מלך מצרים רחטו בה בזרוז רב וקרותו קמיו דהו לא צבי ... ישמעה ∅ כדן אמר יהוה שלח עמה לידה כי ישמשה
'The third letter is spread out in front of them so that they take and read it before the king of Egypt. And they ran very fast and read it to him, who did not want to listen to it: ∅ "Thus spoke YHWH: Send my people out to him so that they may serve him ..."' (TM 1:620–622)

In example #23, the mentioning of the 'heralds' lets one expect their announcement, and in example #24, a reaction to the extraordinary situation is called for (though this need not necessarily have taken the form of direct speech). The *verbatim* quote in example #25 does not constitute direct speech, but is rather part of a letter, which had been mentioned in the preceding discourse. However, the literary technique used is the same as in the two former examples, as well as in TM 1:514 and PM 16:90–91, a unique attestation from the liturgy. Similar descriptions evoking direct discourse are also employed in conjunction with quotative frames, presumably in order to integrate the latter more smoothly into the narrative (see below section 3).

Unframed non-dialogic direct speech is also attested elsewhere, though not normally in narrative sections, e. g.:

(26) ויהי אדמה לוכון סימן על בתיה מלבר ואיקרה דאלה מלנו ∅ אלית אנה צריך לסימן ...
'and the blood shall be a sign to you—on the houses from the outside, and God's grace on the inside. ∅ "I do not need a sign ..."' (TM 1:863–865)

In this example, the direct speech follows a poetic section and is completely unintegrated. It is not clear why the ellipsis was employed here and in simi-

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lar instances (TM 1:185, 803 K, 825, 849, 2:307).[24] Perhaps the sudden shift to direct speech and back was part of the stylistic repertoire employed in non-narrative exegetical sections. In two additional cases, direct speech is resumed following a parenthetical remark (TM 1:1050 K) and an interlaced poetic section (TM 1:156), respectively. While these examples might superficially resemble elliptical constructions, they are not.[25]

In Samaritan Aramaic, ellipsis of the quotative frame is typically employed in dialogue (which, in turn, explains its lack in the liturgical poems), though not normally in the opening speech. This distribution is paralleled by Biblical Hebrew and the Greek of Chariton's *Callirhoe*[26] and could represent a general tendency. In non-dialogic settings, ellipsis occurs as well, and the preceding narrative often evokes a situation in which direct discourse is expectable. This technique renders the quotative frame partly dispensable. For this case, too, Chariton's *Callirhoe* provides Greek parallels.[27]

In seven unique instances, Samaritan Aramaic quotative frames are interlarded into the quoted direct speech, very much like the Latin *inquit*. Since this construction is very unusual in Semitic prose texts from Antiquity, we shall present all examples in full. Most of them occur in dialogue:

(27) תלו קלה לבראיה דתהו ובהו אנן בעין מנך תגבי פרית אחונן מן פרעה זלו בשלם אמר לון בכסי אנהו גאולה דאדמה גבי לה בעקבה **'they raised the voice to the creator of Tohu-bohu:** "We request from you that you avenge our brother on Pharao." "Go in peace," **he said to them secretly**, "I am indeed the redeemer of the blood, I will retaliate upon him in the end." ' (TM 1:614–615)

(28) עלו בזרו וקעמו קדמיו וסובה מימינון וסובה משמאלו בארשו מנך אה מלכה **אמר לה אהרן** ואנה ממלל קדמיך מלה חדה 'they entered quickly and stood in front of him, while the grace was to their right and to their left: "With your permission, oh king," **said Aaron to him**, "shall I speak a word in front of you …" ' (TM 1:425–428)

(29) כד עמו חרשיה קנומון נצעין **אמרו לפרעה** אצבע אלהים היא לית בחילן נגיח באלהין דנבייה חכם הן אלהון עבוד פליאתה יכלין אנן מסתר ומתקנה ואנן סתרין ולית בן מתקנה מה חנאה מנוכון **אמר לון פרעה** שרי לי מבטל גזרכון מן עלי ∅ לא תדאש נפשך יומה אמתן רשותך **'when the sorcerers saw themselves beaten, they said to Pharao:** "This is the finger of God (Ex 8:15). We cannot fight the god of the prophets. Know that their god performs miracles. They can conceal and create, and we can conceal but do not have the power

[24] The section TM 1:810–857, which is not preserved in K, could be a later addition. See section 5 below.

[25] However, in order to highlight the shift from the parenthesis back to direct speech, a standard quotative frame was inserted in TM 1:1050 S. Note that TM 2:215 could also be interpreted as ellipsis, but it would rather seem that it includes a quotative frame that lacks the *verbum dicendi*, probably due to a scribal error.

[26] Miller 1996, pp. 220, 226; For the Greek, compare the numbers given in Smith 2014, p. 339 with pp. 304, 322.

[27] Smith 2014, p. 304 n. 53.

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to create." "What are you worth?" **Pharao said to them**, "I can as well cancel your assignment to me." ∅ "May your soul not get weary today, calm your anger …" ' (TM 1:641–644)

(30) ומשה ואהרן עמין ודחלין וכל קהלה מבדלין מהו אהן רזה **אמר משה לאהרן** דחכים דבקהלה עביד סכלה נוקע לחכימיה **אמרו דן לדן** כיינן מרעירין על אהן שפטה אתו חכימיה ליד משה ואהרון ולבביון מלין צדו ∅ … טעילו בשלם חכימי כנשתה ושאלי בכל שבט מהו אף אהן רזה' and Moses and Aaron see and fear and the whole congregation is terrified. "What is this secret," **said Moses to Aaron**, "that a wise man in the congregation is turned to stupidity? Let us summon the elders." **They said to one another:** "We shall certainly investigate this ordeal." The elders came to Moses and Aaron, their hearts filled with fear: ∅ "Go in peace, elders of the assembly, and ask in every tribe what this secret might be …" ' (TM 1:1015–1021)

The *inquit* formula is employed in dialogue, both in the middle and at the beginning (##28, 30). In the middle of the dialogue, the shift of the speaker is often made explicit in the part preceding the *inquit*, like in the case of ellipsis. Examples #29 and #30 demonstrate how variation of the quotative frame (standard frame, *inquit*, ellipsis) in a single passage is used in order to present the exchange of direct speech in an animated and lively fashion.

The *inquit* formula is also attested twice in non-dialogic contexts. However, in #32 it follows quoted direct discourse which is not part of a conversation.

(31) נשקו דן לדן ובכיתה ביניין ורחמותה דכל אחד כמרי על אחוה אתי בשלם אחי **אמר לה אהרן** דלי שנים סגים מבתרך אעיש' they kissed each other, with tears in their eyes, while the love of each one longed for his brother: "Come in peace, my brother," **said Aaron to him**, "because I have for many years been desperate for you …" ' (TM 1:379–382)

(32) עגל לרבניו **ואמר בטמיר** עבדנן עובד ולא אכשרנן … **לא** אנשמת רוחי מצדות אתמל והן צדית יומה כי עקתי רבה שלם לך מלכה **אמרו נבייה** אתינן הכה לידך באגרה מן קשטה' he (Pharao) looked at his officials **and said secretly**: "We did a deed, but did not succeed … Yesterday my mind could not rest out of fear, and if I will be fearful today (too), my trouble is indeed great." "Peace to you, king," **said the prophets**, "we came here to you with a message from the Truth …" ' (TM 1:596–599)

A single example in a liturgical poem by Marqe was triggered by the constraints of the genre: In the acrostic poem, the line had to start with the letter <b>, and the quotative frame could therefore not precede the quotation (viz. parts of a biblical verse in translation; see below section 5):

(33) ' בעסרה לירחה **אמיר** תצימון ית נפשותיכון "On the tenth of the month," **it is said**, "you shall afflict your souls. (Lev 16:29)" ' (PM 17:6–7)

In Samaritan Aramaic, the *inquit* formula is typically employed in prose, more often in dialogic than in non-dialogic sections. The quotative frame is

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unmarked and comprises only few arguments: a form of the standard verb √ʾmr, sometimes phrases identifying the speaker and addressee, and once an adverbial phrase (#27). The *inquit* is inserted after the first two to four words of the quoted direct speech, always following a natural prosodic pause.[28]

The use of the *inquit* formula in Tibat Marqe has no precedents in Aramaic prose texts, and is unique even when considered against the background of Central Semitic in general.[29] In Biblical Hebrew, the *inquit* formula is very rare in prose, and only slightly more common in poetic sections.[30] Since there are no attestations from the Torah, Biblical Hebrew usage cannot have served as precedence for the Samaritans writing in Aramaic. In Old to Middle Aramaic texts, the construction is not documented, but it appears, seldom, in Late Aramaic texts that are roughly contemporaneous with the Samaritan Aramaic of Tibat Marqe. In Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, the *inquit* formula is used in an acrostic poem, where constraints of form disallow an initial quotative frame (just as in #33).[31] Some twenty examples are also found in Targum Neophyti (and seldom in other Palestinian Targum manuscripts) to Deuteronomy. The *inquit* formulae were inserted in cases where Moses reported in first person speech on his interaction with God, and were meant to disambiguate such verses for the meturgeman who recited the translation in the synagogue.[32] The *inquit* made it clear that the 'I' who spoke to God was not the meturgeman. The theological motivation for the frame also affected its position, which was determined mechanically: It always immediately follows the mention of God in conjunction with a first person pronoun.

Even though the neighboring Christian Palestinian Aramaic uses initial quotative frames almost universally, it preserves a single example of an *inquit* in Cyril of Jerusalem's catechism 14:4, which probably mimics the Greek *Vorlage*.[33] Interlarded quotative frames have also been mentioned in

[28] Similarly in Greek, Smith 2014, p. 360.

[29] There is no comprehensive treatment of the position of quotative frames for any of the relevant languages, and the following collectanea are eclectic.

[30] Miller 1996, pp. 213–215; O'Connor 1980, pp. 412–414; Brockelmann 1913, p. 671 (§463b); Kieckers 1912, pp. 183–184; Zewi 2007, pp. 40–43.

[31] Sokoloff/Yahalom 1999, pp. 230–235 (poem 37 ll. 8, 14, 18, etc.). The construction appears twice—also triggered by the acrostic form—in a Late Jewish Literary Aramaic poem of the same genre: Rand 2015, p. 155 ll. 21, 31.

[32] Shinan 1991, pp. 361–362.

[33] Müller-Kessler/Sokoloff 1999, p. 163 l. 8; The Greek is not preserved for this particular part of the sentence, but in the only other Christian Palestinian Aramaic example of a non-initial quotative frame I know of (which follows a quotation in Cyril's catechism 11:23, Müller-Kessler/Sokoloff 1999, p. 125 l. 12), the position of the frame mimics the Greek.

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passing in the grammatical literature on Syriac; It is not clear what triggered their use, but in this case, too, Greek might have played a role.[34]

Based upon this short overview (and upon the general consideration that other parentheses are attested in Samaritan Aramaic),[35] the *inquit* is best interpreted as being part of the syntactic repertoire of Samaritan Aramaic, and probably Hebrew and Aramaic in general. Presumably, its restricted distribution is due to the fact that there existed rather strict literary conventions on how to couch direct speech in Hebrew and Aramaic narrative prose, namely with the initial quotative frame containing a form of √ʾmr. The rare cases in which this standard was overridden typically occur in poetry, which displays laxer syntactic constraints.

If this is correct, it is not so much the construction itself that is unusual and in need of an explanation, but rather its attestation in Tibat Marqe. What caused the author of this work to ignore the literary conventions that generally guided the composition of Hebrew and Aramaic prose and employ the *inquit* formula in narrative sections? Interference from Greek literary conventions could be a plausible explanation, based on three observations. Firstly, the construction is common in Greek prose from the Roman period.[36] Secondly, the *inquit* formula in Christian Palestinian Aramaic prose texts imitates Greek usage, and similar influence on the Syriac attestations seems likely, too. Thirdly, foreign influence is certain in examples from the (more extensive) Hebrew prose corpus, which can be compared. A rare medieval Hebrew example of the construction in a manuscript of the Alexander romance apparently mimics an Old French *Vorlage*,[37] and the many instances in Modern Hebrew prose from the 19th century onward are clearly modeled on the literary conventions of Modern European languages like German and Russian (which, in turn, imitate the Latin *inquit*).[38]

[34] BROCKELMANN (1913, p. 671 [§463b]) and NÖLDEKE (1966, p. 303 [§380]) between them mention only two examples. The first one comes from the eighth sermon on Joseph by Balai of Qenneshrin (BEDJAN 1891, p. 218 l. 3; on the question of authorship cp. PHENIX 2008, p. 31); While it is unlikely that the meter affected the position of the quotative frame, Syriac poetry is characterized by a notably liberal approach to word order and syntax in general. The second attestation comes from a prose text (WENSINCK 1911, p. 58 l. 10) that might have been influenced by a possible Greek *Vorlage* (WENSINCK 1911, p. xix).

[35] See STADEL 2013, p. 29 (§18a) for an example.

[36] SMITH 2014, p. 360.

[37] YASSIF 2006, p. 404 (the *inquit* precedes the poetic section in the middle of the page). Another manuscript of the text also preserves an unusual, reiterated quotative frame in the middle of quoted direct discourse: KAZIS 1962, p. 95 (Hebrew pagination) l. 25. This version was presumably translated from Latin, KAZIS 1962, p. 40.

[38] Cp. examples from the first Modern Hebrew novel (MAPU 1853, p. 23 l. 17, p. 24 l. 2 *et passim*), which found their way into the work despite the author's explicit linguistic agenda, which called for Biblical Hebrew style. The construction is common in subse-

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However, in order to uphold the assumption of Greek influence, we have to address the problem of the different distribution pattern and function of the *inquit* in Greek and Samaritan Aramaic, respectively. For in the Greek prose of Chariton, the construction is ubiquitous and serves as the unmarked quotative frame, which is also reflected in the fact that it does not usually contain nominal adjuncts,[39] whereas in Tibat Marqe the *inquit* formula is very rare (but not necessarily marked) and does contain adjuncts. Apparently, it was used deliberately as a literary device, unlike its Greek equivalent in Chariton's *Callirhoe*. How can we account for the difference? A comparison with the frequency of the *inquit* in other, roughly contemporaneous Greek prose texts proves useful. In the Acts of the Apostles and in the *Life of Aesop*, the construction is also very rare,[40] and the distribution in Samaritan Aramaic thus resembles the use of the *inquit* in the lower Greek register of those texts.[41] In the Acts of the Apostles and in the *Life of Aesop*, the construction is a marked imitation of the language of the higher Greek register and fulfills literary functions.[42] A similar scenario can be invoked to explain the use in Tibat Marqe. Acquaintance with Greek literature raised the author's awareness of the prestigious construction, which he decided to incorporate occasionally in his prose in imitation of the elevated Greek style.[43]

Ellipsis of the quotative frame and the *inquit* are two ways to variegate the formulaic standard quotative frame. They are typical of the prose of Tibat Marqe, and in particular of the short section TM 1:423–679, the description of Moses and Aaron's visits to Pharao's palace, which is heavy on dialogue. Both literary devices are similar in that they allow for a mimetic representation of the dialogue, closer to the actual speech situation with its prompt reciprocal utterances. And both employ the same linguistic markers (address, pronouns, etc.) to facilitate the identification of a shift of speaker.

quent modern Hebrew prose compositions. The influence of European languages and literary conventions on early Modern Hebrew prose is well known, see, e.g., Dubnov 2005 on a different kind of parenthesis.

[39] Smith 2014, pp. 359–360.

[40] Smith 2014, pp. 523, 551.

[41] Smith (2014, pp. 215–222, 374–380) assesses the registers of *Callirhoe* and Acts, respectively.

[42] Smith 2014, pp. 523–524 on Acts in particular.

[43] On Greek language and learning among the Samaritans in general see van der Horst 2001.

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3 Integration of quotative frames into the narrative

This section will highlight some of the means by which connections were forged between the quotative frames and the surrounding narrative. For one thing, quotative frames that lack √ʔmr are less formulaic, and when they became more common in Samaritan Aramaic (see section 1), this facilitated their integration into the narrative (or other types of discourse). This tendency was flanked by other techniques.

As demonstrated in passing, quotative frames may contain adverbials that specify, e.g., time. Usually, such adverbials take the form of adverbial phrases, as in #9 and #11. When more complex adverbial clauses are used instead, the boundary between the surrounding narrative and the quotative frame gets blurred, as in #17 and in the following instances:

(34) כד אתלחץ פרעה מלכה זעק למשה ולאהרן ולבה מלי דחלה מה אתון בעין **'when Pharao, the king, was distressed, he cried out to Moses and Aharon, while his heart was full of fear:** "What do you want…"' (TM 1:656–658)

(35) מלאך יהוה לגוה קרי והוא שמע כות טלי מצית למלי ספרה נביאה רבה משה נהיר כל בית אדם **'the angel of YHWH calls him, while he was listening like a boy who obeys the words of his teacher:** "The great prophet Moses, the wisest among all men…"' (TM 1:43–46)

(36) עזר נביה רבה משה ממללה על פרעה מלכה מסיד בה עד יהי זכי מנה כדן אמר יהוה **'the great prophet Moses continued to talk to Pharao, the king, testifying to him so that he be guiltless before him:** "Thus said YHWH…"' (TM 1:765–767)

Circumstantial clauses as in #34 and #35 also belong here, if one dispenses with the coordination-subordination dichotomy and opts for a scalar approach to subordination (i.e. regards them as part of the quotative frame).[44] A unique example with a parenthetical remark can also be compared:

(37) ואמר יהוה לה שפיר לשמועה דשוה משמע מן מרה כל אלין שרר לבך נביי **'and YHWH said to him—**It befits the listener who is worthy to hear all these from his Lord**—:** "Strengthen your heart, my prophet, …"' (TM 1:214–216)

At times, the sentence with the *verbum dicendi* also contains a concise summary of content of the following direct speech, for example:

(38) ופקדון יסדרו קרבה ברגז אן עמיכון תמן חרב שנין קעמו אפיו **'and he commanded them to fight angrily:** "If you see there a sharp sword, stand up in front of it…"' (TM 1:902–903)

[44] WALTISBERG's (2009, pp. 55–81) methodological remarks on Arabic hold, *mutatis mutandis*, for Aramaic as well.

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(39) שבי נביה רבה משה אמר מיני תשבחן לחילה חיולה רב חילה דמתפך כל מה דחני **'instantly, the great prophet Moses said various praises to the great God:** "Great is God, who does everything he desires …" ' (TM 1:244–246)

(40) נשמע הך הו ממלל עם נביה רבה משה בדיל פרעה דצמת כל תועבאתה ליח בי מטמי לה **'let us hear how he talks to the great prophet Moses about Pharao, who clung to all abominations:** "I cannot be defiled because of him …" ' (TM 2:209–210)

Similar usage has been observed in elliptical constructions that lack a quotative frame proper, but evoke a situation that is typically associated with direct speech (see section 2 above). In the last example, the *verbum dicendi* appears in a subordinate clause, which also serves to integrate it in the wider context. This technique is typical of the liturgy:

(41) קראה דקרא לא יהי לך אלהין 'the herald **who announced**: "There be for you no gods" ' (PA 24:73–74)

(42) מרים דאשירת על ימה שמעי עמים… 'Miriam, **who sang on the sea**: "Listen, oh peoples…." ' (PA 6:24–25)

(43) אה אימה רבה לבשה ימה כד תלא משה אדה עליו ומללה ברבו השדך למי בך יגוזי 'behold, great fear; The sea donned it (the fear) **when Moses raised his hand above it and said with grandeur**: "Calm down for him who will pass through you…" ' (TM 2:226)

There are additional examples in PM 9:15 and PA 10:18–19. Usually, the *verbum dicendi* and direct discourse (sometimes parts of a biblical verse) form part of a defining relative clause, which is similar in function to the nominalized Participle in the following example:

(44) ובזעוק מי כמוך נאדרי בקדש 'and on **him who shouts**: "Who is like you, magnificent in holiness?" ' (PM 18:12)

4 Double quotations

Double quotations, i. e., direct discourse that is quoted in another speech, is fairly common in the first book of Tibat Marqe, with approximately thirty examples. The phenomenon as such is not extraordinary (there are numerous examples in Biblical Hebrew, some of which appear in translation in Tibat Marqe, e. g., TM 1:608, 628, 1095–1097), but various aspects merit a short comment. The following instance, with three levels of quotation, is one of only two cases in which a *verbum dicendi* other than √ʾmr is employed in the second-level quotative frame (the other being TM 1:190–191):

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(45) בארשו מנך אה מלכה **אמר לה אהרן** ואנה ממלל קדמיך מלה חדה **אכהן אמר יהוה אלהה דישראל** שגר ית עמי ‘ “With your permission, oh king,” **said Aaron to him**, “shall I speak a word in front of you: **Thus said YHWH, the God of Israel**: Let my people go … (Ex 9:1)” ’ (TM 1:426–429)

Here, as in approximately one third of the examples, the second-level quotation comprises parts of a biblical verse in translation. The reference to scripture may be made explicit, as in our case, or not (see below section 5).

While the onset of a second-level quotation is always marked by an initial quotative frame, Samaritan Aramaic has no formal means to mark the transition back to the direct speech of the first level. This fact does not pose a problem wherever the end of the first- and second-level direct discourse coincide:

(46) **ואמר לעבדיו** אנה בתר נפק מטעיאל בחדו עלוי נהרה והן אתה משה ואהרן בצפרה **אמרו לון** עזרו מלכה נפיק קרבה ‘**and he (Pharao) said to his servants:** “Tomorrow I will happily go for a stroll on the riverbank, and if Moses and Aaron come in the morning, **say to them**: Go back, the king has gone to war.” ’ (TM 1:587–588)

In other instances, however, the transition has to be marked, and the author often exploits the accompanying shift in the deictic frame of reference in order to make it obvious (as he does in the comparable case of elliptical quotative frames in dialogue, see above section 3), for example:

(47) (says God) ‘ **והוא אמר לך** שלח עמה בזרוז עד יקרבון לה תמן בנציהו ידע אנה נבי ליתו משלח לה “… **and he (Pharao) will say to you:** Send the people quickly so that they sacrifice to him (God) there with commitment. I know, oh my prophets, that he will not send it …” ’ (TM 1:199–201)

(48) (say Pharao’s gatekeepers) ‘ נימר לך כדו בגלל תרי תלימיה דאתו אליך מציבעד **ואמרו לך** תשלח ית ישראל עלו קמאי לידך “… we shall speak to you now about the two lads who came to you lately **and said to you**: Let Israel go! They entered the first time to you …” ’ (TM 1:517–520)

(49) (say Moses and Aaron to Pharao) ‘ **אתמל אמרת לנן** אקדמו בצפרה כיי מגבכון בקשטה אתינן לידך בפרי “… **yesterday you said to us:** Get up early in the morning and I shall surely reply to you honestly. We came to you speedily …” ’ (TM 1:599–600)

In these examples, the transition back to the first-level direct discourse is made explicit by overt use of markers which follow the end of the second-level quotation immediately: The address (#47) and the respective verbal forms in #48 and #49 all clearly employ the deictic frame of reference of the first-level discourse, and are therefore unequivocal.

In three interesting cases, a character reports in his speech a past or future dialogue. Example #47 forms part of such a reported dialogue (TM 1:197–204), and another short piece can be found in TM 1:370–371. The following

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instance is particularly interesting, since it formally distinguishes the speech of the two disputants: Self quotations are given as direct speech, while the opponents are quoted in indirect speech introduced by the subordinating particle ד- (see also below section 6):

(50) הגיבו תריון כחדו ואמרו אה מלכה לא נרשי למעבד דן מימרה אתון אמרין דלעלמה תרין אחד בשומיה ועורנה בארעה ואנן אמרין לית אלה אלא אחד קני שומיה וארעה לקלומה אתון אמרין דרוחיה מערבין בין שתיקיה ובין ממלליה ואנן אמרין בנפשה וברוחה נפשה לגוייה ורוחה לממלליה … אתון אמרין לית שרי מכל בסר ואנן בעין ננכס ונדבח מן בהמהן' **the two of them replied together and said:** "Oh king, we cannot do this deed. **You say** that the world has two (gods), one in heaven and the other one on earth, **and we say**: There is no god but one, the creator of heaven and earth by himself. **You say** that the souls/wits are common to the silent ones (viz. animals) and to those who speak (viz. humans), **and we say**: As for the *anima* and the soul/wit, the behaviour of men is determined by the *anima* and the soul/wit, … **You say:** It is not allowed to eat meat, and we want to slaughter and sacrifice from the livestock." ' (TM 1:660–670)

5 Biblical quotations

Since the first book of Tibat Marqe is an adaption of a biblical story, it contains many, more or less verbatim biblical quotations, most of which are short (hardly ever a complete verse) and appear in Aramaic translation. They are usually tacitly interwoven in the narrative and are not overtly marked as quotations.[45] Such quotations may also comprise (part of) a direct discourse section, as in #29 and #45. Sometimes even the quotative frame is taken over from the respective verse:

(51) ואמר יהוה אל משה אמר אל אהרן הנתח ית אדך באסרך על נהריה' **and YHWH said to Moses:** "**Say to Aaron:** Extend your hand with your staff over the streams" (Ex 8:1)' (TM 1:628)

Direct discourse sections that contain a covert biblical quotation are almost always preceded by a quotative frame with the *verbum dicendi* √ʾmr. Other verbal roots are rarely attested (as with direct speech that is not quoted from a biblical verse): √mll 'to talk' is used thrice (TM 1:427 [#45], 1:766; PM 16:82), √krz 'to call, proclaim' (PA 10:19; PM 9:15) and √zʿq 'to call, summon' (TM 1:728 [followed by √ʾmr]; PM 18:12) are each attested twice, √gwb 'to answer' (TM 1:209) and √qry 'to call' (PM 9:43) are employed once each. Apparently, the fact that a covert biblical quotation forms part of the direct discourse did not affect the form of the quotative frame.

[45] On the subject of biblical quotations in Tibat Marqe in general see Tal 2007.

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In contradistinction to this usage, biblical quotations are also sometimes adduced as scriptural proof for a proposition. Such proof texts necessitate the overt identification of the quotation, and this identification takes the form of a quotative frame that precedes a biblical text without syntactical connection to the surrounding discourse. However, due to the special character of the quoted text and to its function, these frames for overt biblical quotations have special forms.

In the most concise frame, a passive form of the √ʾmr indicates a biblical quotation, even though this need not be a proof text:

(52) ורוקנו למצראי **אתמר למשאילה** ' "and they spoiled the Egyptians" (Ex 12:36) **was said about the lender**' (TM 1:968)

(53) ידע אנה כי **אמיר לה במצרים** עבישין אנון בארעה צניק עליון קפרה 'I know that **it was said to him in Egypt:** "they are entangled in the land, the wilderness has closed in on them" (Ex 14:3)' (TM 1:1073–1074)

Additional examples of t-stem forms occur in TM 1:966 K, 2:398; the passive Participle is employed in TM 2:279; PM 16:125, 17:5 (#33). Passive verbal forms are only rarely found in quotative frames of non-biblical quotations (TM 1:900, 1040; PM 16:63). In Rabbinic literature, the similar Hebrew formula שנאמר 'as said' is pertinent.[46]

In Samaritan Aramaic, the three basic standard formulae for introducing biblical proof texts each comprise active forms of √ʾmr, usually combined with an adverb or preposition that expresses the notion of comparison. These are:

(54) וצפרה לעמה **מה דאמר** ויהי יומה הדן לוכון לדכרן 'And its morning for the people, **which he said:** "and this day shall be for you a memorial" (Ex 12:14)' (TM 1:841)

(55) עזרות מיה מלרע אל לעל **הך מה דאמר** וברוח אפך נערמו מים 'the turning of the water from below upwards, **like what he said:** "and with the blast of your nostril the water piled up" (Ex 15:8)' (TM 2:375–376)

(56) קוממותון שורין רמין על ימינה ועל סמאלה **וכן אמר** והמים להם חומה מימינם ומשמאלם 'their erecting high walls to the right and left, **and thus he said:** "and the water was a wall for them, on their right and on their left" (Ex 14:22)' (TM 2:374–375)

These formulae occur with varying frequency: מה דאמר is least common (TM 1:839, 841bis, 2:491), and might indeed be an elliptical version of הך מה דאמר, with the preposition 'like' (TM 1:837, 838 [has the contracted form כמא 'like what'], 850, 2:329, 376, 379, 381, 382, 383, 450, 452, 575, 580). The formula כן אמר is prevalent (TM 1:846, 850, 2:273, 294, 340, 356, 366, 373, 374, 463, 475, 476). Comparable Hebrew formulae are employed in Rabbinic literature

[46] METZGER 1951, p. 299.

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(though they are not the default) and rarely in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as well as in the Greek New Testament.[47]

The Samaritan Aramaic formula כן אמר is at times preceded by a preposition that combines with כן to form an adverb 'therefore'. This underscores the proof-text function of the quote, as in the following examples (and in TM 2:553):

(57) גויתה דאדם לא אתנסבת אלא מן אתר קדיש בדיל **כן אמר אלה בגללה** לעבד את האדמה דאתנסב מתמן 'the body of man was surely taken from a holy place. **Therefore God said on its account:** "to till/worship the ground from whence he was taken" (Gen 3:23)' (TM 2:503–506)

(58) קרבן דלא ריחו מה חנאה בה **מכן אמר נביה רבה משה** יהוה כוננו ידך 'A sacrifice without intent, what is it worth? **Therefore said the great prophet Moses:** "YHWH, prepare it (with) your hand" (Ex 15:17)' (TM 2:600–602; K has לכן for מכן)

The preceding examples also demonstrate that the standard formulae sometimes explicitly mention whose words are quoted. Typically, this is אלה 'God', author of the Torah (as in #57 and TM 2:273, 329, 463), who is also referred to by the designation קשטה 'the Truth' (TM 2:340, 475, 476), but words from a verse can be assigned to one of the characters as well, as in #58 and especially in the following example, which mentions both God as author and Balaam as speaking character:

(59) ומן האן למשה דן מחכומה אלולי דהיא נביותה לא אמרה אכה וכן קשטה **כתב מה דאמר בלעם בדיל ישראל** מחי סכואת מואב 'And where did Moses have this knowledge from, if not from a prophecy that he (God) did not say here? **And thus the Truth wrote what Balaam said on account of Israel:** "he smashed the summits of Moab" (Num 24:17)' (TM 2:476–477)

The source of the proof-text can be indicated by adding בכתבה 'in the Book' (TM 2:273, 340; PM 1:61 [#60]) or בכתבה קדישה 'in the Holy Book' (TM 2:294, 356, 366, 450) to the standard formulae, e. g.:

(60) משה רבון דנביה שלח **ואמר לן בכתבה** ותחזר לסעד יהוה 'Moses, master of the prophets, sent out **and said to us in his book:** "and you shall return to YHWH" (Deut 30:2)' (PM 1:60–62)

The quotative frames introducing biblical verses do not differ substantially from other quotative frames in their linguistic parameters, apart from the fact that frames preceding proof-texts show significantly less variation in the *verbum dicendi*. However, our survey yields two important non-linguistic results with possible implications for the literary history of Tibat Marqe. Firstly, there is a correlation between the use of a biblical quote as

[47] Metzger 1951, pp. 298–299; Fitzmyer 1971, pp. 10–12 with Bernstein's (1994) caveats.

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proof-text (introduced by the respective formulae) and the language of the quote: Proof-texts are much more likely to be cited in Hebrew, whereas other quotes usually come in Aramaic translation.[48] Secondly, proof-text frames are restricted to the second book of Tibat Marqe and to a short section of the first book, roughly TM 1:836–850. It stands to reason that this section is part of a later addition. Indeed, it forms part of a block of text (approximately TM 1:810–857) that is lacking in the Kahle manuscript.

6 *d-* introducing direct speech

As a rule, Aramaic direct speech is not syntactically integrated into the surrounding text. However, some Aramaic dialects attest to examples of direct speech preceded by the subordinating particle די/-ד 'that,' which functions as a hinge between the quotative frame and the following quoted discourse.[49] In Samaritan Aramaic, this is a marginal phenomenon; Among the more than 300 instances of direct discourse in our corpus, only four certainly attest to subordinated direct speech:[50]

(61) משה משה הך דאמר לה דאתה נביא דלא יקום כותך בעלמה משה משה הך **אמר לה** דאתה מתיעד בעלם חייה 'Moses, Moses—**as if he said to him:** "your are a prophet that one like you will not rise in eternity." Moses, Moses—**like he said to him:** "your are held in the world of the living." ' (TM 1:38–40)

(62) **אמר** ולבה מלי צדו דאהן תמח חיול ליח בי משום יתה '**while his heart was full of fear, he said:** "This is a great miracle; I cannot grasp it!" ' (TM 1:227–228)

(63) ומה שוה משמע מנה קדיש בני רחמיו דאנה מודזע ואעת בדיל ישמע עמה '**and how rewarding is it to hear from him, the holy one among those who love him:** "I move and descend, so that the people listen" ' (PM 16:90–93)

In light of the rarity of the construction, one can safely state that—in Samaritan Aramaic at least—direct and indirect speech were regularly differ-

[48] Cp. TAL 2007, p. 238 for the exact Hebrew/Aramaic ratio in each of the books of Tibat Marqe.

[49] For an overview with examples from different dialects see PAT-EL 2012, pp. 163–168 with STADEL 2014, p. 138. EPSTEIN (1922, pp. 305–307, 382) has a plethora of examples from the Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmud and Gaonic literature. GOLDENBERG (1991, p. 87) pointed to typological parallels in, e. g., Greek and Arabic.

[50] The construction has previously been mentioned by TAL 2000, p. 163b and STADEL 2013, p. 46 (§38). A fifth instance (#31) has been proposed by TAL (2000, p. 163b), following BEN-ḤAYYIM (1988, p. 62 n. 17a 6), but here the particle is rather to be interpreted as a conjunction 'because.' It has also been suggested (BEN-ḤAYYIM 1988, p. 70 n. 25a 1) that in TM 1:555 (and perhaps in PM 13:28, given that the reading is original) the conjunction ו- 'and' is used to introduce direct speech.

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entiated not only by the deictic frame of reference of the reported speech but also by the absence or presence of the particle -ד, respectively.[51] Indeed, our example #50 provides evidence for the deliberate employment of the two constructions for stylistic purposes.

7 Conclusion

Our survey of quotative frames is the first comprehensive description of the subject for Samaritan Aramaic (and indeed for any Aramaic dialect) and contributes to the understanding of the phenomenon in Semitic languages in general. It confirms a tendency which had been proposed on the basis of other corpora, viz. that the root √ʾmr was no longer mandatory in Late Aramaic and other *verba dicendi* became more prominent in the quotative frame.[52] In addition, we identified two cases in which the Samaritan Aramaic quotative frames are rather atypical (as far as one can tell, given the fact that studies on other dialects are lacking). Firstly, Samaritan Aramaic data do not corroborate the assumption that direct speech was increasingly syntactically subordinated by the particle -ד. And secondly, Samaritan Aramaic prose attest to rare examples of an *inquit*, i. e. a quotative frame interlarded in the direct speech, which is almost completely unparalleled in other Aramaic (and Hebrew) prose texts. We suggested that this usage might be due to stylistic influence from high register Greek prose.

In addition, the study produced bycatch: A block of text in Tibat Marqe (approximately TM 1:810–857) could be identified as stylistically set off from its context and is perhaps best interpreted as a later addition. And as for diachrony, the root √mll in quotative frames constitutes a feature of Late Samaritan Aramaic.

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[51] Pace Pat-El 2012, pp. 169–170; The general tendency outlined by Pat-El might all in all still be valid (allowing for Samaritan Aramaic as an exception), but it should be tested in comprehensive studies on the other dialects.

[52] Pat-El 2012, pp. 154–157.

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The Riddle of בבת עין

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Summary: We study the unique biblical Hebrew expression בבת עין and suggest that the word בבה and the expression בבת עין were borrowed from the Akkadian compound *pappāt īni(m)*.

Introduction

The expression בבת עין appears only once in biblical Hebrew, in Zech 2 12. Since it is a *hapax legomenon*, its exact semantic value is hard to determine. Likewise, the etymology and the morphological structure of the word בבה are unclear. Most scholars claim it is an original Hebrew word, and interpret it as the pupil of the eye. In this paper we re-examine the sources and suggest a somewhat different approach. We put forward the idea that the above expression might be a loanword from a rare Akkadian expression relating to the eyelash.

The discussion below touches on three principal linguistic aspects: the semantic value of the word בבה, the morphology of this word, and its possible etymology. The paper is divided into three sections:

1. In the first section we describe the common identification of בבה with אישון.
2. In the second section we examine the meaning of אישון, and the relationship between בת עין and בבת עין.
3. In the third section we discuss the morphology and the possible etymology of בבת עין.

1 בבה and אישון

The general meaning of the expression בבת עין is fairly clear. Despite the fact that we have but one instance of בבה (in the construct form בבת), the combination בבת עין leads to the understanding that this lemma refers to some

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part of the eye. The biblical verse (Zech 2 12) employs this expression in the following context:

כי הנגע בכם נגע בבבת עינו
"Whoever touches you touches the pupil of his own eye"[1]

However, it is almost impossible to ascertain from the verse, or its context, which part of the eye is meant by בבה. The *opinio communis,* with almost no exception, is that בבת עין is the *pupil* of the eye.[2] Let us try to see how far this meaning can be traced back, and where its origins lie.

The identification of בבה with the pupil of the eye is based on a twofold argument: (a) אישון was considered a synonym of בבה, and (b) the meaning of אישון was commonly defined as the pupil of the eye. There is, however, a time gap between the two parts of this argument, as we shall describe.

First, to the connection between בבה and אישון. This identification appears in various first and second century AD Aramaic translations, both of western and eastern origin.[3] The interpretation of אישון as the pupil of the eye, however, comes later; the earliest source where this interpretation can be found is the Vulgate (fourth century). The Latin word *puppilam* appears in the Vulgate as translating both אישון (in Deuteronomy) and בבת עין (in Zechariah).

Still later, the comparison of אישון with בבה appears in medieval Hebrew commentaries. Its first known documentation in medieval Hebrew sources is from the ninth century (see below), and it reappears in the commentary of Rashi on Deut 32 10 (France, eleventh century). The immense influence of Rashi's commentary consolidated this interpretation for later writers and made it the salient opinion on בבת עין, as can be seen in all occurrences of this phrase from medieval times until Modern Hebrew usage. Since we are about to suggest an alternative interpretation, we offer a detailed examination of the common argument below.

As stated already, the expression בבת עין appears only once in the Bible, and rarely appears in Mishnaic Hebrew. It is totally absent from the Tannaitic sources, and we count only seven occurrences of it in the late sources of Mishnaic Hebrew. Five of these are merely quotations of the biblical verse in Zechariah,[4] and the purpose of these quotations is to discuss the 3 pr. sg.

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[1] Hebrew biblical quotations are followed by the JPS translation.

[2] See conveniently HALOT, p. 107.

[3] The pertinent verse is Deut 32 10, in which we find the expression כאישון עינו. Onkelos translates כבבת עינהון, and the western Neofiti (source II) translates בבה דעיינה. A similar expression (בביתא דעינא) is attested in Syriac (SOKOLOFF 2009, p. 116). Likewise, in Arabic *bu'bu' al-ʿayn* means "apple of the eye" (HAVA 1982, p. 19). For a synoptic exposition of this item in Semitic languages see SED 2000, p. 29.

[4] *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*, *Shira* Chap. 6 (x2); *Sifre Bamidbar*, par. 84; *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Shimon* on Exodus 15: 7 (x2).

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poss. pron. in עינו,[5] skipping over the semantic meaning of בבת עין, which is taken for granted. The two additional late Amoraic instances,[6] though not simply direct quotations of the verse in Zechariah, are also strongly tied to the verse.[7] One may conclude, therefore, that the expression בבת עין is almost non-existent in post-biblical Hebrew sources, certainly not as a productive, freely used, idiom.

Beginning in the fifth century onwards, we find eight occurrences of the locution בבת עין in the liturgical poetry of Eretz Israel (the so-called *piyyut*).[8] An interesting feature that appears in this group of attestations is the usage of the Hebrew root נצר along with the word בבה. We recall that Hebrew is no longer a spoken language in this period and its usage in liturgical poetry is largely artificial.[9] One should therefore look into the cause of this invention, asking the reason why the poets connected בבה to the root נצר, given the fact that this connection is absent from the original verse in Zechariah. The answer is contained in the following verse (Deut 32 10):

יסבבנהו יבוננהו יצרנהו כאישון עינו
"He engirded him, watched over him, guarded him as the pupil of his eye"

The liturgical poets of the *piyyut* noted the similarity between the two biblical verses, where god promises to protect his nation as somebody protects his own eye (Zech 2 12 and Deut 32 10), and created a semantic association between the expression בבת עינו in Zechariah and the expression כאישון עינו in Deuteronomy. Since the root נצר appears in the verse of Deuteronomy with respect to אישון, and the poets knew already the common identification of אישון with בבה, they created the new expression לנצור כבבת.[10] The ancient Aramaic translations, especially the ubiquitous Onkelos which translates

[5] The point being that the biblical context requires עיני, "my eye". Yet, the prophet, trying to avoid anthropomorphism, changed the pronoun to the 3 pr. עינו.

[6] Later occurrences: *b. Gittin* 57a; *Y. Berakhot* Chap. 3 par. 5. Note that the occurrence in the *Yerushalmi* is not merely a direct quotation of the biblical verse.

[7] The free Amoraic use corroborates Breuer 2007.

[8] So, according to the database of the Historical Dictionary Project of the Academy of the Hebrew Language (see Ma'agarim 2014, s. v. בבה). Notice that the corpus of liturgical poetry from this period is relatively small (compared with the corpus of Mishnaic Hebrew).

[9] An illuminating example from our context is that the poets use the construct form בבת as if it is the absolute form. We find, e. g., the phrase אום נצורה כבבת, (*Kedusha* prayer, see Ma'agarim 2014, no. 10) instead of the expected אום נצורה כבבה. The poet thus takes the biblical word as it is, without changing it to the correct morphological form בבה.

[10] The psalmist employs another phrase, שמרות עיני (Ps 77 5). In other words, the biblical sources viewed the eyelid (or the eyelash) as something that protects the eye, and gave it a lexical voice in several phrases. We add that שמרות is probably the Hebrew counterpart of the Aramaic תמרא (see Drower/Macuch 1963, p. 486).

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כאישון עינו as כבבת עינהון, confirmed the lexical equation between בבה and אישון and forged the new expression לנצור כבבת.

The Aramaic translations of Onkelos and Neofiti are dated to the first and second centuries by most scholars,[11] but there might be an even earlier source which connects אישון with בבה, which instructed the Aramaic translators themselves. Ps 17 8, reads as follows:

שמרני כאישון בת עין
Guard me like the apple of your eye

The syntax of this biblical phrase is awkward, but the connection between אישון and בת עין is clearly established in this verse. Now, בת עין and בבת עין are not identical, but the superficial similarity between the two expressions is very suggestive. So much so that some researchers claim that they are in fact the same, and that one is merely a corrupted form of the other.[12] Others prefer to say that both by-forms are acceptable.[13] If בת עין stands in an apposition to אישון (as follows from the verse above), and if בת עין and בבת עין are by-forms, then the Bible itself alludes to the interpretation propagated by the Aramaic translations.

2 The meaning of אישון

The discussion so far leads us to the question of what is אישון? The word appears five times in the Bible, with three of these occurrences in phrases related to the eye.[14] However, two instances have nothing to do with the eye or any other part of the body. Here is one of them. Prov 7 9 reads:

בנשף בערב יום באישון לילה ואפלה
In the dusk of evening, in the dark hours of night

The meaning of אישון here is made clear from the parallelism and from the general context of the verse: אישון means "dark". The basic meaning of darkness for אישון was connected in the Geonic period (Mesopotamia, seventh to eleventh century) with the black component of the eye, namely the pupil.[15]

[11] See GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN 1978, and KUTSCHER 1958.

[12] See e. g. DCE, , 89, s. v. בבה.

[13] See O'CALLAGHAN 1954. While trying to isolate Canaanite features in the Psalms, he points out that the prep. ב in Ugar. is occasionally omitted before the word house (בת). Similarly, he suggests that בת עין is just בבת עין without the additional /ב/.

[14] See Deut 32 10, Ps 17 8, Prov 7 2, Prov 7 9 and Prov 20 20.

[15] See BRODY 1994, p. 615: 6. Rav Natronai Gaon (explicating the word תימרא) says: שחור קטן שבאמצע שחור שבלובן העין. We find this commentary on the Aramaic תימרא highly questionable. As BRODY says, the word תימרא is eyelid or eyelash, as witnessed in all the

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Adopted by Rashi, the meaning of אישון as the pupil became popularized and spread to later generations.[16] Only one exception is known to us, and that is the commentary of Shmuel Ben Meir, the Rashbam on Deut, 32 10 (France, twelfth century):

... הוא הבשר שנכפף על העין ... ולפי שמכסה את העין ומחשיך אותו נקרא אישון'
... It is the flesh that is bent on the eye ... and since it covers the eye and makes it dark it is called אישון

According to Rashbam, the general meaning of אישון is something that creates darkness, and as a part of the eye it refers to the eyelid, *not* to the pupil. This interesting suggestion is in some respects more compatible with the Biblical phrase שמרני כאישון בת עין, from Ps 17 8, as we shall see in the following section.

Let us conclude this section. The basic fact which follows from ancient sources is that בבת עין is a parallel (even a synonym) to אישון. The semantic value of אישון is basically "dark" or "darkness". When relating to a part of the eye, we have two main possibilities: (a) אישון is the pupil of the eye as maintained by most commentaries and translators, or (b) אישון is the eyelid as suggested by the Rashbam.

3 Morphology and etymology

Having discussed the semantic realm, we move to the morphological structure of the word בבה. If בבת עין is a variant of בת עין, then one has to claim that an additional /ב/ has been added to בת עין. This added /ב/ could emerge from an unintentional muttering, or from a process of consonant doubling which is rarely attested elsewhere.[17] The Hebrew radical of בבה, would probably be בוב.

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main eastern dialects of Aramaic. This includes Babylonian Jewish Aram., as follows from the context of *b. Shabbat* 77b, from Mand. *timria* (Drower/Macuch 1963, p. 486) and from Syr. תמרא (Sokoloff 2009, p. 1653). The question is beyond the scope of this paper, but we point out that the interpretation of אישון as pupil in this case might have emerged from a simple mistake.

[16] In modern Israeli Hebrew the morpheme -ון is used, *inter alia* as a diminutive suffix (see Bolozky 1994). Consequently, modern lexicographers (e.g. Ben-Yehuda vol. 1, pp. 200–201) took אישון to mean "a small man" (a diminutive of איש, "man"), designating the pupil, in which an image of a tiny person is supposedly reflected. This etymology, however, cannot be valid with respect to the biblical אישון, as ון is not a diminutive particle in the earlier phases of Hebrew.

[17] Discussing Ps 37 20, the medieval scholar Ibn-Ezra suggests another example of such doubling: ככר הירדן. The biblical Hebrew knows the word כר as a large tract of arable land, and according to Ibn-Ezra the word ככר results out of כר by doubling of the first consonant.

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There is, however, another possibility, namely that the word בבה and the genitival expression בבת עין are loanword from Akkadian. In this case one should not look for a Hebrew root, since Hebrew morphology is irrelevant. To make this suggestion clear we let the Akkadian expression *pappāt īni(m)* into the discussion.

Akkadian contains several phrases and terms for specific parts of the eye and its surrounding – most of them in lexical lists and in medical compendia.[18] Among them we find the rare term *pappāt īni(m)*. So far, this term appears only in bilingual lexical lists, the Sumerian counterpart of which is ma-da-lá or má-da-lá.[19] The basic meaning of ma-da-lá in Sumerian is "a bundle of reeds", and thus "eyelash", when related to a part of the eye, is highly plausible. Note that the verbal component in this construction means "to hang", namely it describes something which is on the exterior of the eye, not a part of the eye itself. Let us examine the lexical material.

In the lexical list Igi-tuḫ (1: 402–403) ma-da-lá is preceded by sig$_7$-igi, for which the Akkadian counterpart is *šūr īni(m)*. This lexeme is well attested. It appears both in lexical lists and in daily-life texts, meaning "eyebrows".[20] Being a lexical neighbor of *šūr īni(m)*, one may safely infer that *pappāt īni(m)* is also an *external* part of the eye, very probably "eyelash".[21] Further support to this comes from Ugu-mu, a lexical list which enumerates body parts. In a detailed section which specifies different parts of the eye, the entry ma-ad-igi-mu = *e-pi-pi-a-tu-ʾú-a*ˀ is found (Civil 2010, 155 iii 12). Civil translates this entry with "my eyelashes", a translation which is coherent with the biblical Heb. counterpart עפעפים, "eyelids/eyelashes".[22]

It should be indicated that the Akkadian reserves other specific terms for the pupil, i.e. *burmu(m)* and *kakkulti īni(m)*,[23] as well as the periphrastic

[18] See FINCKE 2000.

[19] See CAD P, 114 ("eyelashes") and AHw 824b ("Augenwimpern"). This item is not found in HOLMA 1911, nor in SED 2000. FINCKE 2000, pp. 17–18, makes brief mention of this term.

[20] See CAD Š/III 366, and AHw 1287a which defines it as "Haarbüschel, Augenbrauen".

[21] In Akkadian we also have the expression *kappi īni* which means eyelid (lit. "the wing of the eye"). Heb. עפעף is an exact semantic parallel and requires a separate discussion.

[22] In his *Etymological Dictionary of Akkadian. Supplement to the Akkadian Dictionaries*, STRECK makes the following comment reg. *epipiʾātu* in this lexical list: "See the disc. by Civil in ARES 4 (2008) 65: the Sum. equation seems to be related to ^{na4}ma-da-lá za-gìn = *pappāt īni* […] the latter understood as 'eyelashes' by both AHw. and CAD. The Akk. word is related to Eblaite sig$_7$-gi-zi = *íb-íb-ba-dum* VE 1204. Both words are related to Sem. *ʿapʿap* […]. Therefore, Civil ARES 4, 65 n. 13, interprets *pappāt īni* as 'eye pupils', but qualifies this statement (p. 65): 'There seems to be some semantic lability between eye pupils, irises, eyelashes, and even eyebrows in the languages involved'."

[23] See CAD B, 330, and CAD K, 59.

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expression *ekil īnēšu*, "the dark (part) of his eyes", found in a medical series.[24] All the above lends credence to the interpretation of *pappāt īni(m)* as eyelashes, not as the pupils.

A word about the Akkadian morphology of *pappātum* is in order. The lexical item *pappum* is attested in various places, meaning "curl". It has two attested plural forms: m. pl. *pappū* and f. pl. *pappātum*. From the sparse evidence that we have, it seems that these two plural forms contain two distinct semantic values. The m. pl. form refers to curls of hair in general, and the f. pl. form refers specifically to the eyelashes.[25]

Taking this discussion to its conclusion, we argue that behind the unique biblical locution בבת עין stands Akk. *pappāt īni(m)*. Although labials are mostly preserved in the transition between Akkadian and Hebrew,[26] some cases of phonological lability between the voiceless /p/ and the voiced /b/ are attested. Salient examples are Akk. *urpatum* vs. Heb. ערבות "clouds", Akk. *dišpum* vs. Heb. דבש "honey" (including a metathesis), Akk. *waṣābum*, "to add" vs. Heb. יסף,[27] Akk. *ṣubbûm* "to observe, inspect", vs. Heb. צפה. An important example in our context is Akk. *bitqum* "opening, (sluice) of a canal through which water is diverted…" (CAD B 277) and Mishnaic Heb. פתק, for it shows that the interchange of /b/ and /p/ may occur also in loanwords.[28]

The matching meaning of Akk. *pappāt īni(m)* and בבת עין—both referring to the external parts of the eye, the rare attestation and frozen usage of the Heb. locution in biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew (where it is based solely on the verse in Zechariah), and the morphological peculiarity of two identical consonants at the beginning of a word, both point to a foreign, non-Hebrew origin.[29]

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[24] Fincke 2009, p. 86:8'.

[25] This phenomenon is well-known from several languages, including Akkadian itself. A prime example is *šībum*, "old man", which has two pl. forms: the adjectival m. pl. *šībūtum*, "old men", and the nominal m. pl. *šībū*, meaning specifically "witnesses". In our case, it is plausible that pl. f. was the used, since body parts tend to come in du. forms, which in later Akkadian merged with f. pl.

[26] See Mankowski 2000, p. 154.

[27] GAG §27.

[28] This Heb. word is not connected to the Akk. *patāqum* "to shape, create", as suggested by Ben Yehuda s. v. פתק. Its limited usage in Mishnaic Heb. only, and its restricted semantic meaning as an opening for water and canals proves that it is an Akk. loanword, perhaps via Aramaic.

[29] Roots with the same first and second consonants are almost absent in biblical Hebrew, and rare in all Semitic languages, see Greenberg 1950. According to Greenberg, there is but one example in biblical Hebrew, and a bit more in Akkadian, where such roots may lean on Sumerian.

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Summing up, we suggest that the unique phrase בבת עין in the Bible is a loanword from Akkadian,[30] and that the meaning of בבת עין is *not* the pupil of the eye. In this vein we separate בבת עין from בת עין, and interpret the former as eyelash or eyelid.[31] For the word אישון which is presumably closely related to בבת עין, we adopt the Rashbam's suggestion, i. e. the eyelid.

The following table presents our suggestions alongside previous interpretations:

	The common interpretation	The new suggestion
The meaning of בת עין	The eye, the apple of the eye, the pupil	The eye, the apple of the eye, the pupil
אישון = בבת עין	The pupil of the eye	The eyelash or the eyelid
The morphology of בבת עין	Either consonant doubling, or the root בוב	A foreign Akk. loanword with no original Hebrew root
Etymology	Hebrew	Akkadian

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[30] Cf. MANKOWSKI 2000 and TAWIL 2009 which do not mention בבת עין at all. On the other hand, FINLEY 1988, already related בבת עין to Akkadian, but in a completely different way. According to his suggestion, Heb. בבת alludes to the word *bābâ*, "gate", as an ironic pun on *Bābili* (Babylon in Akkadian). Finley claims that this folk etymology hints at the arrogance of Babylon. Without committing ourselves to FINLEY's exegetical argument, it is clear that Hebrew did not borrow Akk. *pappāt īni(m)* because it lacked a word for eyelash or eyelid: lemmas for body parts rarely cross from one language to another as loanwords. Akk. *pappāt īni(m)* entered Heb. lexicon as part of Zechariah's rhetorical effort to amplify his prophecy.

[31] The syntax of Ps 17 8 שמרני כאישון בת עין is better understood if we adopt the meaning of eyelash (or eyelid) for אישון. If אישון and בת עין are the same (i. e. the pupil of the eye), then we are confronted with semantic redundancy, or an apposition in which one expression explains the other. If, however, as we suggest, אישון is the eyelid or the eyelash, and בת עין is the eye itself, or the pupil (cf. Lm 2 18, from which it seems that בת עין is the eye itself), then the verse is understood more easily. The psalmist would be saying then: "guard me as the eyelid/eyelash (guards) the eye".

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Was it *sūrat al-baqárah*?

Evidence for Antepenultimate Stress in the Quranic Consonantal Text and its Relevance for صلوة Type Nouns*

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Summary: This article revisits the problem of the orthography of III-w nouns belonging to the CaCaCat pattern in the Qur'anic Consonantal Text. The third radical of these nouns is spelled with a *waw* in the unbound state, but with an *alif* when followed by a pronominal clitic. Scholars have offered a variety of solutions to account for this anomaly, ranging from the influence of Aramaic to Arabic-internal sound changes, but none has so far been entirely satisfactory. In this paper, we integrate the understanding of this spelling into the broader issue of the collapse of triphthongs in Arabic, concluding that the collapse of the triphthong *awa*, and the quality of the ensuing monophthong, was dependent upon the position of the accent.

1 Previous Views

It has long been recognized that the Arabic words *ṣalāh* 'prayer' and *zakāh* 'alms' were loans from Aramaic (e.g., Jeffery 1938; Kerr 2012), and it has even been suggested that their Aramaic pronunciation underlies the spellings of these words in the Qur'anic Consonantal Text (QCT: *ṣlwh* (passim), cf. Syriac *ṣlwt'*, and *zkwh* (passim), Syriac *zkwt'* (Spitaler 1960). But, as Rabin (1951, pp. 105–106) already pointed out, such spellings extend to a number of Arabic words as well, where the influence of Syriac cannot be invoked:[1]

* This article arose out of a series of conversations about the nature of the Qur'anic Consonantal Text (QCT) with my friend and colleague Dr. Marijn van Putten. He brought to my attention this problem during his work on the reflexes of the Proto-Semitic triphthongs in the QCT, and the following pages are a solution I offered to a small part of the broader dilemma of triphthongs. I thank him for his assistance in looking up variant spellings, critical remarks on a draft of this paper, and above all his friendship. I owe thanks as well to Dr. Sean Anthony, Dr. Charles Häberl, Dr. Julien Dufour, and Dr. Benjamin Suchard for their helpful remarks on an earlier draft of this paper through participating in an Academia.edu session. I also thank Dr. Alessia Prioletta for reading and directing my attention to some peculiarities in the South Arabian inscriptions. All mistakes are my own.

[1] Spitaler (1960), followed by Diem (1979), argues that the Aramaic spellings of the loanwords *ṣalāh* and *zakāh* influenced the practice of writing *ā(h)* with *w*, and this spread by 'graphische Analogie' to native Arabic words. This line of reasoning must be rejected in light of the pre-Islamic Arabic evidence which shows not only that the *w* here is rather early and

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QCT	Translit.	Classical Arabic pronunciation (pause)	Translation
حوه[2] passim	*ḥywh*	*ḥayāh*	'life'
نحوه Q 40:41/44	*ngwh*	*naǧāh*	'salvation'
غدوه Q 6:52; 18:28	*ġdwh*	*ġadāh*	'tomorrow'
منوه Q 53:20	*mnwh*	*manāh*	'Manāt', divine name
مسكوه[3] Q 24:35	*mškwh*	*miškāh*	'niche'

RABIN (1951, p. 107) instead argued that the *w* here reflects a sound change of **ā* to *ō*, cf. the Canaanite Shift.[4] The spellings of Nabataean words and names where **ā* is written with *w* suggested to him that the rounding of **ā* was a phenomenon localized in the Ḥigāz.[5] In further support of this hypothesis, he summons evidence from 'Thamudic' *mnwt* and Safaitic *slwm*, but neither of these can be used in support of such a change, as both writing systems are strictly consonantal.[6]

While RABIN concludes that *ṣlwḥ, zkwḥ,* and *ḥywh* are loanwords from Aramaic, he points out that it is remarkable that the Aramaic endings *ūtā* and *ōtā* were not represented by *ūt*, which is the normal way Arabic borrows them (*malakūt* < *malkūtā*), but by *āh*. Based on this, he concludes that these words were completely Arabicized, and suggests the existence of an unattested colo-

occurs in contexts where orthographic conventions and Aramaic influence cannot be argued, e.g. Safaitic *ngwt* 'rescue' (AL-JALLAD 2015, p. 331) = QCT *ngwh*. This spelling is especially significant because the word for prayer was loaned into Safaitic as *ṣlt*, without the *w*. This indicates that the direction of influence was the opposite of the one proposed by SPITALER!

[2] This word has previously been considered a loan from Aramaic because of its spelling, but I hope to demonstrate in this paper that such spellings cannot be used to argue for Aramaic extraction. Moreover, the word for 'life' is attested in Safaitic as *ḥywt* (ISB 14), where we cannot reasonably argue for an Aramaic origin.

[3] This word is of Ethiopic origin and is discussed in section 3.2.

[4] On this shift, see HUEHNERGARD 2013.

[5] On these spellings, see DIEM (1979, §18). HEALEY (1993, pp. 60–61) believes that such forms point towards the influence of the Arabic substrate, which may very well be the case. The fact that these all occur mainly in personal names makes it hard to identify a conditioning environment. In any case, it is clear that if these *w*-spellings of /ā/ were reflective of an Arabic colloquial, this language would not have been ancestral to that of the QCT as *faʿlān* nouns are never spelled with *w*, while they are often spelled as such in the Nabataean material, e.g. *ʿdnwn* /ʿadnōn/ < *ʿadnānu; *ptmwn* /paṭmōn/ < *paṭmānu, (cf. note 1).

[6] The form *slwm* does not in fact occur in Safaitic. Thamudic *mnwt* must reflect /manawat/, as the form *mnt* is given as the equivalent of the Nabataean *mnwtw* in JSNab 17. This means that whatever vowel was represented by *w* in Nabataean had no orthographic representation in Thamudic D. Also, in Dadanitic, a script that does not indicate internal vowels, the name is spelled *mnwt*, so JSLih 264 and 319 *hn'mnwt* /hāni'-manawat/.

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nial dialect of Aramaic in the Ḥigāz that preserved the *status absolutus* form, *ū*, which gave rise to forms such as *zakū* and *ṣalō* (1951, p. 109). These, on account of their resemblance to "native" Ḥigāzī pronunciations of words like *nagō(h)* (CAr *naǧāh*), were Arabicized according to this noun pattern.

Let us discuss some of the strengths and weaknesses of RABIN's proposal. First, I think RABIN is right in suggesting that *ṣlwh* and *zkwh* represent Arabicized forms of words that are ultimately Aramaic. Arguments based on orthographic analogy and metagrammatical thinking, however, are wholly unconvincing and do not take into account the pre-Islamic evidence, as discussed in note 1. These words were also loaned from Aramaic into Late Sabaic as *ṣlt* and *zkt*,[7] which better reflect the original Aramaic pronunciation with a long vowel in the (pen)ultimate syllable: *ṣlōtā* and *zkūta,* respectively. In Safaitic, Aramaic *ṣlōtā* is attested twice, both times written *ṣlt*.[8] In these cases, we can argue that the Aramaic form was taken over faithfully. If the QCT reflected the same type of unaltered borrowing, then we should expect the spelling *ṣlwt* and *zkwt* in all positions. The QCT spelling *wh*, on the other hand, suggests that these nouns were re-worked into the etymological pattern /CaCaWatu/, which yields spellings of this type in native words.[9] In contrast, this did not happen in Safaitic or Sabaic, as triphthongs do not generally monophthongize in either language.

Now for the weaknesses: RABIN does not argue for a triphthong in these positions, but rather for an /ā/ that shifted to /ō/, in line with the sound change posited for the Arabic substrate of the southern Nabataean inscriptions. He does not, however, explain what conditions this shift. As will be argued in §4, it is clear that the QCT does not experience this shift in the same categories of words as in Nabataean, suggesting that, if such a change operated in the QCT, it was unrelated to the Nabataean sound change. As RABIN articulates it, the *w* /ō/ realization of **ā* in the QCT is an ad-hoc

[7] See BEESTON (1994) on these words in Sabaic. Note that my colleague Dr. ALESSIA PRIOLETTA informs me that Note that *ṣlt* might be attested once as *ṣlwt* in RES 4699 (cited in BEESTON 1994 as a " Had[ramitic] graffito", but being in fact in Sabaic). This reading was given by J. RYCKMANS and maintained by PIRENNE and DASI. However it cannot be confirmed from the tracings and, in view of the consistent spelling *ṣlt*, PRIOLETTA states that it should probably be rejected.

[8] Both of these attestations are unpublished, the first from the collection of inscriptions to be edited in the Leiden Ph.D. thesis of CHIARA DELLA PUPPA and the second in a collection of inscriptions to be published by Prof. H. HAYAJNEH.

[9] One can of course suggest that both *zakūtā* and *ṣalōtā* were Arabicized by adding the native /at/ feminine ending, producing *zakuwat* and *ṣalowat*, but neither of these sequences would collapse in Classical Arabic to *zakātun* or *ṣalātun,* cf. *huwa* stays *huwa* and the subjunctive *yaḍʿuwa* obtains. Moreover, Sibawayh's statement that the people of the Ḥigāz pronounce these words with *alif tafḫīm* further indicates that they were monophthongs rather than /awa/, by his time at least.

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sound change that only affects **ā* when it is a reflex of an original *awa* triphthong, and not all the time (for example, **daʿawa* is spelled *dʿw* and not *dʿw*). Moreover, his explanation does not take into account the final *h* of these nouns. If the *w* spelling represents an original /ā/ rounded to /ō/, then we should expect something like **nagātu* > *nagōtu,* spelled *ngwt*. The sound change **at* > *ah* would not have had an opportunity to operate and so the final *t* should not have shifted to *h*.

RABIN discussed another detail that is significant to finding a solution for this problem, namely, that spellings with a *w* are not used with pronominal suffixes. Instead, in such cases, the vowel is represented by *alif*, so *'l-ślwh* (Q 2: 3) vs. *śl't-hm* (Q 6:92).[10] RABIN (1951, p. 106) explained this as the **ā* being pronounced less like /ō/ in these situations, but offers no explanation as to why this might have been the case.[11]

2 Excursus on III-w feminine nouns

Before moving on to a solution, it may be worth emphasizing that nouns of the صلوة type originally contained a triphthong. CH. ROBIN suggested that *y* and *w* were both used to write /ā/ in any position, basically in free variation (2001, p. 573). According to this reasoning, III-w/y verbs and nouns did not contain an actual consonant but rather a long vowel, e. g. Sabaic *'tw* 'he came' would signify /'atā/. If one only takes into account the pronunciation of Classical Arabic, this seems like a reasonable inference. But the comparative evidence indicates that verbs of this class in fact terminated in a triphthong that was only lost at a later point in the various languages.[12] Their presence in purely consonantal scripts like Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Safaitic leave little doubt that the triphthong obtained in the earliest attested stages

[10] I thank Dr. SEAN ANTHONY (p. c. through an Academia.edu session) for pointing out to me that *ślt-hm* appears sometimes in early manuscripts. This spelling is phonetically equivalent to *śl't-hm*, reflecting a difference in the choice to represent the long /ā/ or not. It remains significant that *ślwt* forms do not appear in such contexts.

[11] DIEM (1979, § 51) argues that this allography points towards the fact that the vowel behind this spelling was /ā/ in all cases, and that scribes simply spelled phonetically in forms with pronominal suffixes. This type of alternation is not witnessed elsewhere in the Qur'ān, for example, the *alif al-waṣl* is not absent based on the syntactic position of words bearing it. Such an explanation should therefore be a last resort, as it attributes the solution to an imagined scribal practice for which there is no independent evidence to corroborate.

[12] The reconstruction of III-w/y roots with a triphthong realization rather than a monophthong is clear (SUCHARD, forthcoming), *pace* WENINGER (2011, p. 154). Vocalic realizations can be explained through monopthongization where they occur (HUEHNERGARD/RUBIN 2011, p. 268).

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of many Semitic languages. In addition to evidence from the Safaitic inscriptions, the discovery of the Graeco-Arabic inscription A1 (Al-Jallad and al-Manaser 2015), where the verb *'tw* 'he came' is written αθαοα /'atawa/, confirms this to be the case for Old Arabic as well. With regard to nouns belonging to the CaCaWat pattern, we have a clear spelling of *mnwt* in an inscription dedicated to the deity by a Palmyrene in Latin transcription, written as manavat.[13] This removes any doubt that the original pronunciation of this word contained a triphthong. Thus, we have no reason to assume the existence of an *original* long vowel—either ā or ō—in CaCaCat patterns of III-w roots.

3 A solution: where does the stress fall?

The foregone discussion shows that III-w nouns terminating in *wh* have yet to be explained in a linguistically satisfying manner. Let us now clarify a few facts about the fate of the triphthong **awa* in the Qur'ān.[14] What is clear is that III-w verbs collapse to a monophthong represented by *alif*, so *dʿ*, most likely /daʿā/ from original **daʿawa*. This change cannot immediately explain the spellings of words like *ngwh,* if we assume it descends from an earlier **nagawatu*, as such a sequence would have collapsed to *nagātu*. We are then forced to posit, like Rabin, an ad-hoc sound change of ā > ō to produce the Qur'anic spelling, but even this leaves us with an unexplained shift of *t* to *h* following a long vowel. The collapse of the triphthong *awa* to *ā* would, however, explain the form with a pronominal suffix, *ṣl'tk*. The second issue is that the collapse of the triphthong in the nominal form has to take place *after* shift of *at* to *ah*, implying that it post-dates the loss of final short vowels. Thus, we must seek a rule to explain why the outcome of **awa* in the unbound noun is different from the bound noun and the verb, but without losing final short vowels in the verb while at the same time requiring them to be absent in the noun:

[13] This inscription is CIL III, 7954. Nöldeke (1887, p. 709 and n. 2) suggested the vocalization *manawatu* for the Nabataean realization of this name; the idea that Nabataean *mnwtw*, in *ʿbdmnwtw*, must reflect a plural *manawāt* has been suggested (Caskel 1926, p. 24), but this must be rejected as the same word occurs in the Thamudic D text (JSTham 1) accompanying JSNab 17, where it is spelled *mnt*. This indicates that the Nabataean *w* represented a vowel, likely ō, rather than a consonant, which would have been noted in Thamudic D orthography (Diem 1979, §19). The vocalization of the Nabataean is therefore /manōto/, the length of the final vowel however is undetermined. For an excellent discussion of this name and its various spellings, see Healey (2001, pp. 132–137).

[14] A full treatment of the triphthongs in the QCT will appear in van Putten (forthcoming).

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daʿawa	> *daʿā*	***dʿ***
nagawatuka	> *nagātuka*	***ngʾtk***
nagawatu	> *nagawah* > *nagōh* (?)	***ngwh***

3.1 Accent in the QCT

The position of the accent in the QCT is not known and the Classical Arabic grammarians did not discuss this issue. There is no reason to assume that the accent conventionally assigned to the pronunciation of Classical Arabic—on the first heavy non-word final syllable or on the first syllable of the word if no heavy syllable is present—held true for the QCT. A variety of accent patterns are employed in the modern Arabic dialects, and the antiquity of these has not yet been established.[15] In many of the modern dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, nouns of the CaCaCat type are stressed on the etymological antepenultimate syllable (the penultimate in synchronic terms). Thus we have the following examples and reconstruction of the stress, following JASTROW (FISCHER/JASTROW 1980, p. 109):

rguba	< *raqába*	< *raqábatu*	'neck'
šbika	< *šabáka*	< *šabákatu*	'web'

If we posit a similar antepenultimate stress in the QCT, we get the following distribution:

dáʿawa	> *daʿā*	***dʿ***
nagawátuka	> *nagātuka*	***ngʾtk***
nagáwatu	> *nagawah* > *nagōh* (?)	***ngwh***

Before making a generalization, it should be stressed that it is unclear how forms with pronominal suffixes were vocalized. If the stress situation of Akkadian and Classical Arabic was original, then it is possible that forms with pronominal suffixes preserved an older situation. Thus, *nagawatuka* would have been realized as *nágawatuka,* in contrast to unbound *nagáwatu*, and then *nagātuka*, with the expected collapse of unstressed *awa* to /ā/. On the other hand, if we invoke a consistent antepenultimate stress rule, then one would have to argue that both unstressed *awa* and *awá* collapse to /ā/, while stressed *áwa* goes to /ō/. The latter scenario is favored as it allows us to explain the spelling of the Ethiopic loanword *miškāh* (see § 3.2).

Rules explaining the collapse of awa triphthong:

- Stressed *w*-triphthong shifts to ō: *áwa* > *ō*
- Unstressed (or stressed on second mora) *w*-triphthong shifts to ā: *awa/awá* > *ā*

[15] For an excellent overview of stress in Arabic, see KAGER 2009.

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The collapse of *awa/awá* and *áwa* did not occur at the same time. Instead, in order to generate the sound change of *at* to *ah*, we must argue that *áwa* collapsed after the loss of final short vowels. But in order to generate *awa* to *ā* in *daʿawa*, a final short vowel must have been present. Thus, we can posit the following relative chronological order:[16]

1. *awa* and/or *awá* > *ā* : *dáʿawa* > *daʿā*; *nagawátuka* > *nagātuka*
2. loss of final short vowels : *nagáwatu* > *nagáwat*
3. shift of *at* to *ah* : *nagáwat* > *nagáwah*
4. *áwa* to *ō* : *nagawah* > *nagōh*

3.2 مسكوه and مرصاد

The penultimate stress rule allows us to explain the spelling of the Ethiopic loan *miškāh* 'niche' (Jeffrey 1938, p. 266), spelled in the QCT as *mškwh* مسكوه (Q 24:35). Like *ṣlwb* and *zkwh*, this word was reworked into an Arabic nominal pattern, producing *miškawatu*, which, if we posit the antepenultimate stress, would have been accented as *miškáwatu* rather than *míškawatu*. The former produces the expected *miškōh* through the rules described above. As for مرصاد *marḍāt*, which must derive from an earlier *marḍawatu*, it only occurs in construct. This point is significant as construct forms were proclitic and have no stress of their own, as is made clear in Hebrew, and also in Arabic and Aramaic as the *t* feminine ending is preserved in construct while lost in the unbound state. In this case, the phrase *marḍawatu-llāhi* would have produced an unstressed *awa*, resulting in ā, as explained by the rules above, which was naturally spelled with the *alif*.

4 Are Nabataean spellings of /ā/ with *w* related to the QCT?

The following Arabic words are spelled with *w* in the Nabataean inscriptions:

Nabataean spelling	Vocalization (?)	Classical Arabic equivalent
ʿdnwn	ʿadnōn	ʿadnān
ʿbdʿdnwn	ʿabd-ʿadnōn	ʿabd-ʿadnān
ʿrpwn	ʿerpōn	ʿirfān
ʿbwdw	ʿabbōdo	ʿabbād

[16] As simply a typological parallel, different historical stress patterns in Hebrew produce different vocalizations, so מְלֵאָה məlēʾâ (Isaiah 22:2 < *Proto-Northwest Semitic malíʾat-) vs. מָלְאָה mālʾâ (Gen. 6:13; < Proto-Northwest Semitic *maliʔát). I thank Dr. Charles Häberl for this example.

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Nabataean spelling	Vocalization (?)	Classical Arabic equivalent
snwn	senōn	sinān
mnwtw	manōto	manāt
ʾkwr	ʾakkōr	ʾakkār
pṯmwn	paṯmōn	faṯmān
rqwš	raqōš	raqāši
tmwn	ṯamōn	ṯamāni

The linguistic roots of these words are unclear, but suffice it to say that *none* of the Nabataean names in Greek transcription display such a shift (AL-JALLAD 2017). Moreover, in the ʿEn ʿAvdat inscription, /ā/ is consistently omitted or written with *alif* in final position, indicating that it had not experienced such a change.[17] As it would seem, the shift of /ā/ to /ō/ must have been localized to the southern periphery of the Nabataean realm. Now, is this shift related to the *w* spellings in the Qur'an? The spelling of *mnwtw* resembles Qur'anic *mnwh*, but, in fact, the two are not necessarily related. Unlike the QCT, *w* spellings in Nabataean are not restricted to III-w feminine nouns, but apply to what would appear to be stressed /ā/ in general. If an original *manawato* collapsed to *manā́to*, then this ā could have shifted to ō under the scope a more general sound rule, namely, ā́ > ō. This view is supported by the spelling of Manāt as *mntw* in the Nabataean graffito JS I, 246: no. 184, which suggests first the collapse of *awa* to *ā*, as this vowel is not represented orthographically in word-internal position.

In an Aramaic inscription from Taymāʾ, **manawatu* is spelled *mnwh*,[18] which matches the QCT and suggests the same order of rules, namely, **at* to *ah* before the collapse of the triphthong. Because all examples of Manāt terminate in a vowel in Nabataean proper, e.g. *mn(w)tw* and *mnwty* (gen.), this is example may be unrelated to the Nabataean situation. On the other hand, if this Aramaic form represents the original pronunciation of the divine name, which was then taken over by the Nabataeans, the pronunciation /manōh/ may stand behind spellings like *mnwtw* and *mnwty*, with the restoration of the *t* on account of the presence of a vocalic suffix. This solution, however, would not explain the spelling *mnt* mentioned above.

In conclusion, the *w* spellings of *ā in Nabataean do not seem related to حلوة type nouns in the Qur'an as their distributions are different. The single

[17] For the most recent discussion of this text, see MICHAEL MACDONALD's contribution to FIEMA et al. 2015.

[18] See HEALEY (2001, p. 134) for a discussion; for the edition of the text, see BEYER/LIVINGSTONE 1987.

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overlapping word is Nabataean *mnwtw/y* and QCT *mnwh*, but this similarity is likely a coincidental outcome of two different sets of sound changes.

5 Conclusions

The spellings of the loanwords *ṣlwh* and *zkwh* follow the native pattern of III-w nouns in the QCT. This suggests that they were re-worked into the noun pattern CaCaWatu. To explain this spelling and its allomorph with an *alif* before pronominal suffixes, I have argued that, like many modern dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, these nouns has antepenultimate stress, and the different realizations of the triphthong *awa* can be predicted from this starting point. While this explanation helps us explain the QCT spellings in a linguistically consistent way, it does suggest that the original pronunciation of the QCT is not reflected in any extant reading tradition, as none make a distinction between the realization of the reflex of the triphthong in *ṣlwh* compared to *ṣl'ṭ-k*.

Sigla

CIL III	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum, Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae* (ed. Th. Mommsen) 1873.
ISB	Safaitic inscriptions in Oxtoby 1968.
JSLih	Dadanitic inscriptions in Jaussen/Savignac: *Mission archéologique en Arabie.* Paris 1909–1922.
JSNab	Nabataean inscriptions in Jaussen/Savignac 1909–1922.
RES	Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique I–V (ed. J.-B. Chabot *et al.*), 1900–1919.

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The Traces of the Oral Culture in the Poetry Parts of a History Book from the XVIIth Century: *Shajara-i Tarākima* by Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur Khan

By Betül Özbay, Istanbul

Summary: In many Central Asian history books, it is common to find poetry, especially in Mongolo-Turkic culture. *Shajara-i Tarākima* is a history book written in the XVIIth century by Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur Khan in the Chagatai language. The book is about the origin and history of Turkish Tribes in Central Asia and it is divided into several chapters in accordance to the names of different Turkish Lords and people of importance as well as important historical events. Previously, this book was studied as a language material of this period in a philological and historical aspect, but without substantial concern towards the function of the poems. The book consists of approximately 1400 lines; 35 of which constituting as poetry. In total, five poems are attested in the book and serve two main functions: to explain an extraordinary or magnificient situation and to support the occurrence of historical events as historical evidence. In particular, we examined former readings and focused on supplementary details to the poems.

Introduction

Shajara-i Tarākima was written in 1659–1660 by Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur Khan, who is also the writer of *Shajara-i Turk*; another Turkmen history book. Although he was the ruler of Khiva and Chagatai, he was also interested in telling the Turkmen people's history. While he was writing these books, he took inspiration from Rashid-al-Din Hamadani's *Jāmeʿ al-Tawārik̲*,[1] which has one of the oldest *Oghuz-nāma*[2] written in the XIVth century. Despite the fact that the book was written as a prose text, poems and *beyts* (couplets, two lines verses in Arabo-Persian poetry) are attested in

[1] *Jāmeʿ al-Tawārik̲* "The Compendium of Chronicles", a historical work composed in 1300–1310 by K̲ʷāja Rašid-al-Din Faẓl-Allāh Ṭabib Hamadāni (ca. 1247–1318). The book contains compilation materials primarily on Islamic and Persian history, including also important information about Mongols and other people with whom they had contact: Turks, Franks, Jews, Chinese, Indians. The book is divided into two volumes; for further information, see: C. Melville: "Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh." In: EIr XIV, pp. 462–468.

[2] *Oghuz-nāma* "It is a term which designates the epic tradition of the Oghuz, Turkish tribes mentioned for the first time in the Orkhon [q.v.] inscriptions." I. Mélikoff: "Oghuz-nāma." In: EI^2, vol. VIII, pp. 163–164.

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some parts of the book. A total of seven copies of the book were preserved in three cities: Tashkent, St. Petersburg and Ashgabat. However, we were only able to view the Tashkent and St. Petersburg copies and used these two texts for a comparative reading (from KARGI ÖLMEZ 1996, pp. 489–530 and TDK, 1937).

For this article, we used the oldest copy of the book as a basis and instead of the other copies we used the previously transcribed text from the edition by KONONOV (1958) and KARGI ÖLMEZ[3] (1996) editions. Despite KONONOV having all copies of the book, they are only transcribed versions in the Arabic alphabet and because of this we could not always be sure about the original forms of the texts. The list of the other copies is as follows:

1. The copy of Tashkent (1071 H./1661=T)
2. The copy of Tashkent (1314 H./1897=T^1)
3. The copy of Tashkent (1214 H./1800=T^2)
4. The copy of Tashkent (1341 H./1923=T^3)
5. The copy of St. Petersburg (1237 H./1822=SPb)
6. The copy of Ashgabat (in the beginning of the XIXth Century)
7. The copy of Ashgabat (1347 H./1929)

The transcription method that we used in the text is based on *PhTF 1.* Our primary aim was finding the function and the importance of the poetry sections in the book and therefore, as previously stated, we mainly used the oldest manuscript, Tashkent (1661), and did not document all differences among the other manuscripts. Additionally, some quoted parts were transmitted with the same transcription marks in their original language without any changes from the reference study. We preferred this method so as to not interfere with the researchers' own interpretations.

A.G. TUMANSKIĬ (1861–1920) is the first researcher who worked on *Shajara-i Tarākima*. He made a translation into Russian, which was published in Ashgabat, 1897. In 1937, the Turkish Language Association published the photocopy of the St. Petersburg's copy which was sent by The Academy of Sciences of the USSR to Turkey. The other important study was published in 1958 by A.N. KONONOV (1906–1986). After those editions M. ERGİN (1925–1995) translated KONONOV's comparative text into Turkish.[4] In 1996, Z. KARGI ÖLMEZ published another book on *Shajara-i Tarākima*, which contains the transcription of the copies of the text and a translation into Modern Turkish.

[3] Before this edition, Z. KARGI ÖLMEZ published an article which deals with some problematic readings and meanings of the words in the poetry parts of this book: "Şecere-i Terākīme'deki Manzum Parçalar Üzerine." In: *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* (1991), pp. 80–97.

[4] Unfortunately, there is not a certain publication date of the book.

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Abu al-Ghazi Bahadur Khan and *Shajara-i Tarākima*

Abu al-Ghazi was a politician and a historian in Khanate of Khiva. He was a member of a noble family and his father, Arab Mohammad I., appointed him as the governor of the Khanate of Khiva in 1643. He went on to rule Khiva until his death in 1663.[5]

Even though he was a politician, he was always interested in Turkmen history and as previously mentioned, he also wrote *Shajara-i Turk*. In both of his books he mainly follows Rashid-al-Din Hamadani's *Jāmeʿal-Tawārik̲*, but he adds the Turkmen narratives and poems to his writing. The main source of this history book, *Jāmeʿal-Tawārik̲*, does not consist of any poems. For example, Abu al-Ghazi adds the first poem of the book while describing *the name feast* of Qara Khan's firstborn son after the general representation of the feast. In *Jāmeʿal-Tawārik̲* this part was expressed as follows:

> … When his father perceived these things in him, he said, "No child from our nation has ever been born with such a form and shape. This boy will stand out among his peers and will achive perfection." He then consulted his relatives concerning the child's name, but the one-year-old child spoke and said, "Name me Oghuz." Those who were present were astonished; and on account of the words he spoke, which indicated God's guidance, they named him Oghuz (Thackston 1998, p. 28).

However, Abu al-Ghazi describes the same part in *Shajara-i Tarākima* as follows:

> *Toy küni oylannï maʿrak*[6] *ičigä kältürüp Qara Xan beglärigä aytdï biziŋ bu oylïmïz bir yašïya yätdi. Emdi muŋa nä at qoyar siz tep beglär ǧevāb bermädin burun oylan aytdï meniŋ atïm Oyuz turur* (T 70b/7–10)

> "In the feast day Qara Khan presented the child in the arena in front of his Lords and said 'Our child became one-year-old, now what will you name him?' Before the Lords answered, 'My name is Oghuz' said the child" (… Poem number 1)

If we consider these two quoted parts, we can say the general description is nearly the same in both texts, but Abu al-Ghazi changed the main story by adding a poem. Apparently, the author wanted to add his own expressions and perspective to his book.

According to the author, the literary style and language of *Shajara-i Tarākima* are not very sophisticated, in contrast to the common literal approach of the era:

[5] B. Spuler: "Abu'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān." In: EI², vol. I (1960), pp. 120–121.

[6] *maʿrak* "معرك battle-field, place of combat, arena; combat, tumult, turmoil" (Steingass 1884, p. 1025). In this context, it is better to translate this word as "open space" instead of "battle-field" or "combat".

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Barča biliŋ kim bizdin burun Türkī tārīx aytqanlar ʿArabī luγatlarnï qošup tururlar vä Farsīni häm qošup tururlar vä Türkīni häm säğiᵗ qilïp tururlar özlärinïŋ hünärlärin vä üstādliqlarïnï maʿlūm qilmaq üčün biz munlarnïŋ hïč qaysïsïnï qilmaduk anïŋ üčün kim bu kitābnï oquyučï vä tïŋlayučï älbättä Türk bolγusïturur (T 66b/1–5)

"You all know that before us the Turkish historians added Arabic and Persian words and wrote their stories in unnecessary rhymes to show their skills to people. Because the readers of this book would be Turks, we did not do any of them."

However, as claimed by İNAN 1957, p. 33, though Abu al-Ghazi thought vice versa, his work has many loanwords from Arabic and Persian. Evidently, he had a different approach to the language, but at the end, he uses a similar language to the general tendency of his period. In the following examples it is clearly visible that the writer prefers to express himself in Persian or Arabic rather than Turkish, even in very clear phrases:

- *maṣlaḥat* "مصلحة T 95a/7, T 87b/2: Ar. salutary, advantage; business; welfare" STEINGASS 1884, p. 1013.
- *muraṣṣa* "مرصع T 78a/17: Ar. inlaid with gold, studded with jewels" STEINGASS 1884, p. 986.
- *ribāṭ* "رباط T 75a/1: Ar. tie, rope" STEINGASS 1884, p. 397.
- *taḥiyya-t* "تحية T 65a/10: Ar. welcome, salutation; congratulation" STEINGASS 1884, p. 166.
- *rawiš* "روش T 95a/6: Per. motion, going, coming" STEINGASS 1892, p. 595.
- *xūb* "خوب T 88b/16: Per. good, beautiful, pleasant" STEINGASS 1892, p. 481.
- *gadāy* "گدای T 65a/4: Per. poor, a mendicant" STEINGASS 1892, p. 1075.
- *gardiš* "گردش T 99a/7: Per. revolution, turning round, reversion" STEINGASS 1892, p. 1080.
- *γamgīn* "غمكين T 99a/7: Ar. (غم) + Per. (-گين) sorrowful, full of grief" STEINGASS 1892, p. 895.
- *dihqānlïq* "دهقانلق T96b/4: Per. (دهقان) chief man or magistrate of a village, prince or head of the farmers (among Persians)" STEINGASS 1892, p. 549 + Turk. (-ليق): farming, be engaged in farming.

In the beginning of the book, parallel to Islamic tradition of the time, the writer began his words with the *basmala*. After he briefly writes about himself, he tells that there are many inconsistent rumors about the Turkmen history, and that has caused confusion over the true stories. To solve this problem he wanted to write a clear history book about the Turkmen tribes and their origins. However, we understand from the interlinear comments

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that he felt guilty himself because of the many wars he took part in, and wanted release from his sins by writing this book.[7]

After the introduction, the writer starts his book by telling Adam's story, who is the first human of Abrahamic religions. Then, he tells how the earth and human beings were created and what the children of Adam did after his death. He depicts these myths by shortening long periods of time, almost to a chronological list (T 66b/13–70a/9). After reciting about Adam and his sons' lives, the writer connects the Turkmen people's history to Noah's son whose name is Turk. He goes on to describe Oghuz Kagan's birth and life, the descendants of the Turkmen Lords, the basic traditions in the Turkmen society and family relationships and other cultural characteristics of the Turkmen people (T 70a/10–105b/12). At the end of the book, he briefly mentioned some of the Turkmen ladies who ruled the Turkmen groups (T 105b/13–106a/14).

Analysis of the poems in *Shajara-i Tarākima*

In this book, five poems are attested in total; three of them were written in *beyts* (couplet: 2 lines) with *ʿarūḍ*: poems number 1, 2 and 3. *ʿArūḍ* is a quantitative metrical system of the Arabo-Persian literary style. In *ʿarūḍ*, there is an arithmetical principle which is arranged according to the number of consonants in the mnemonic words of the meters.[8] In this system, there are ca. eighteen common meters, and in the book all three poems were arranged with the same meter *Muteqārib*:

. __ __ / . __ __ / . __ __ / . __
feʿûlun feʿûlun feʿûlun feʿul

The prosody and the rhyme of the *beyts*:

	. __ __ / feʿûlun	. __ __ / feʿûlun	. __ __ / feʿûlun	. __ / feʿul
Poem Number 1	__*rāvān* __*ʿayān*	__*nām-vār* __*hünär*		
Poem Number 2	__*šähr-yār* __*ʿär*			
Poem Number 3	__*ğiryamiši* __*suyuryamiši*	__*märdānäliq* __*färzānäliq*	__*yarliq* __*barliq*	

[7] *hudā-yi taʿālādïn ümīdim bar ki munuŋ şävābı ägär ol qatl-i ʿämmda günāh bolyan bolsa anya yālib kälgäy tep*…T 66a/11–12: "I hope from God that if I had bad deeds in that massacre, this book's reward will be more powerful than my bad deeds …"

[8] For further details about *ʿarūḍ* see: Andrews 1976, pp. 19–23.

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Writing poetry with this Arabo-Persian system was quite new for the Turkish poets in these centuries. Moreover, the structure of this metrical system needs words with long vowels and consonantal unions which is really difficult to find in Turkish. For this reason, the poets added many Persian and Arabic loanwords to Turkish literature. However, as we expected, a high standard literary movement needed time to become a tradition. Therefore, in this period many Turkish poets preferred to write their poems with this quite easier metric *(Muteqārib)* than the other metrics for Turkish (found in many famous works such as *Qutadgu Bilig*, *Atabatu'l-Haqayiq*).

On the other hand, the last two poems of the book were composed according to the traditional Turkic method of versification *quatrains* (4 lines) with *syllabic meter (hedje wezni)*. The syllabic meter based on the number of syllables, and the range is normally 5 to 16 syllables per line; the most common lengths being 7, 8, and 11.[9] However in this text, both poems were written with 12 syllables which is not very common. In these quatrain verses, the rhyme *(uyak)* is generally constituted by suffixes, and frequently assonantal. The poem number 4 and 5 were written with this metrical system.

The first poem is a *beyt* and is a description of Oghuz Kagan's birth. According to the writer, a feast was given in honour of the firstborn son of Qara Khan. During the feast all Khans discussed what the baby's name should be. Before a name could be decided, the baby suddenly spoke on his own, and said that his name is "Oghuz". The author then passes to poetry to explain this extraordinary situation without any connecting sentence:[10]

(1.1)
Ošal[11] *bir yašar oγlan anda rävān*
Kälip tilgä[12] *tedi biliŋlär ʿayān*

"There, is the one-year-old boy walking
Started to talk, and he said know this clearly"

(1.2)
Atïm turur[13] *Oγuz xusräv-i*[14] *nām-vär*
biliŋlär yaqïn barča ähl-i hünär

[9] E. G. AMBROS: "Türkü." In: EI², vol. X, pp. 736–737.

[10] T 70b/10–12.

[11] *ošel* اوشل "jener, jener dort" (VÁMBÉRY 1867, p. 223); *oşal/oşol* (CLAUSON 1972, p. 254); *uşal* (ATALAY 1970, p. 103).

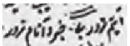
[12] *tilgä käl-*: to be able to speak (especially for children).

[13] This word is attested in the T copy as *turu* (T 70b/11); but in the SPb it is *turur* (SPb 8a/16). According to KONONOV this word is also attested as *-dur* in the A copy 1958, p. ١٤.

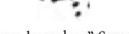
[14] KONONOV read this word as *xusräv* (خسرو "a great king" STEINGASS 1892, p. 460), and gave this note for the SPb copy: "یعی خبر و آنام تروور" 1958, p. ١٤. If we consider both copies of the book, we can see some problems in this line. In the SPb this line is attested as follows:

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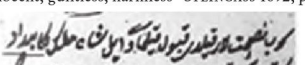
"My name is Oghuz the glorious ruler
Know this! You are all wise (skilled) men standig by me (next to me)!"



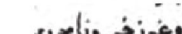
(SPb 8a/16), and we might think that the word *oyuz* was forgotten, but later it was added under the line; and after *turur* there is another word with a preposition which has most likely the letters "b" and "aleph", so we may read this word as *bā-* (-با prep. "with, possessed of, endowed with" Steingass 1892, p. 135), thus the word might be *bā-xabär* (باخبر "informed, intelligent, wary" Steingass 1892, p. 136) instead of *bī-xabär*. In the SPb copy the Persian prefix *bī-* (-بی "when prefixed to nouns, it is equivalent to *in, un, ir, less* &c." Steingass 1892, p. 213) was joined to the main word by the scribe, for example: *bī-günāh*



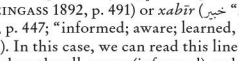
(SPb 17b/2): (بیگناه "innocent, guiltless, harmless" Steingass 1892, p. 224); and *bī-dadgär.*



(SPb 42b/1): (بیدادگر "a tyrant, an oppressor" Steingass 1892, p. 217). Furthermore, according to the context, we expect a word which has a positive meaning to describe the ancestors, but *bī-xabär* means "ignorant, uninformed, incautious, without giving notice" Steingass 1892, p. 217. Therefore, we might read this phrase as *bā-xabär vä atam turur* "my name is Oghuz, who is the informed (one) and my ancestor"; nonetheless, this expression is still unclear because it is not exactly related to the *beyt*, so we may assume the scribe made a writing mistake. On the other hand, this word is attested a little bit different in the T copy:



(T 70b/11). In the text, we can clearly see the word has dots (two or three) under the baseline of the word; for this reason it is possible, but difficult to read this word as *xusräv*. The transcription of the word might be *xayr* (خیر "being kind, favourable to; good; better, best; goods, riches" Steingass 1892, p. 491) or *xabīr* (خبیر "knowing, acquainted with, informed" Steingass 1892, p. 447; "informed; aware; learned, erudite; God the Omniscient" Redhouse 1884, p 831). In this case, we can read this line like *atïm turur oyuz xabīr ü näm-vär* "my name is Oghuz the all-aware (informed) and illustrious (one)", thus we can correct the prosody of the *beyt*, too. However, *xusräv-i näm-vär* is a common phrase to describe a ruler in this literature; for example in *Oghuz-näma-i Kazan,* we found this line (72/8):



atïmdur oyuz xusräv-i näm-vär (the third "و" of the line has an interesting beginning point, which looks like "م" after a gap; but it might be just a writing mistake ?). This

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Then all of the guests who attended the feast agreed that "Oghuz" should be the boy's name. In this *beyt*, a one-year-old baby says his name, and foretells that he will be a very famous king in the future. The first miracle connected to the Oghuz Kagan happens in front of the Turkmen Lords and people.

The next *beyt* again takes part in a feast. This time Oghuz was grown, and started to lead the Turkmen people and he had come back to his homeland after the campaign of Iran, Egypt and Damascus. The *yurt*, which he prepared for the feast, was decorated with rubies, emeralds, turquoises and pearls. The house of the Kagan was so luxurious that only the star-spangled sky could compete with its brilliance. However, a prose text was felt to not be enough to describe the magnificence of the *yurt*, and so the writer tells a poem. Here, he directly makes a comment before giving the poem:[15]

Bu beytni ol evniŋ vaṣfïnda[16] *aytïp tururlar* "(They) say this *beyt* to describe the features of that house"

(2)
Bir ev tikti altundïn ol šähr-yär
Kim ol ev fäläk evidin[17] *qïldï ʿār*[18]

"That Sultan erected such a house made in gold
that (even) vault of the heavens *(fäläk)* are ashamed of"[19]

Oghuz-nāma found in Kazan (Tatarstan), but the first and the last page of the manuscript were missing; because of this, we do not know the name of the scribe, and when the book was copied. Today, the manuscript is in the collection of Kazan Science Academy in Kazan (N. DEMİ and Ö. AYDOĞDU: *Oğuzname, Kazan Nüshası*. İstanbul 2015). In view of this explanation, we preferred to keep the phrase *xusrāv-i nām-vār* though it does not fit the prosody.

[15] T 78b/1–2.

[16] *waṣf* "وصف description, eulogy" STEINGASS 1884, p. 1216; for a positive description.

[17] The word was written as *evindin* in the T copy clearly:



(T 78b/1), but it is attested as *evidin* in the SPb copy:



(SPb 18b/15). To correct the prosody, we preferred *evidin* version.

[18] *ʿār* "عار reproach, shame, disgrace, infamy; blush, bashfulness, modesty" STEINGASS 1884, p. 660; therefore, we translated *ʿār qïl-* as "be ashamed of, to be embarrassed", like the previous researchers.

[19] In this sentence, the writer should have wanted to express hyperbolic imagination; however the literal meaning of the *beyt* is: *That Sultan planted such a house made in gold/ that house ashamed of fäläk (firmament)*; probably he changed the word order just for the prosody.

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After this *beyt*, the feast was described extensively. At the end of the feast Oghuz Kagan calls his six sons and introduces them to the other Turkmen Lords. After that the writer tells the third poem. Again, he makes a comment before giving the poem to explain how close the relationship between Oghuz Kagan and his six sons was:[20]

Bu beytlerni anïŋ vasfında aytïp tururlar "(They) say these *beyts* to describe his (Oghuz Kagan's) features"

(3.1)
Oγuz qïldï ol toyda ğiryamiši
Bu altï oγulnï suyuryamïši

"He rendered joy and pleasure in that feast
Lavished gifts on his six sons"

(3.2)
Bular körsätip erdi märdānälïq
Ata birlä[21] *köp türli färzānälïq*

"They showed nobleness
(And) merit with their father"

(3.3)
Ataγa bäsī[22] *qïldïlar yarlïq*
Uruš künindä[23] *barčasï barlïq*

"They showed much closeness to their father
In the days of war they all were present" (i.e. they never left their father alone)

[20] T 78b/6–8.

[21] Although KONONOV transcribed this word as *birlän* 1958, p. ٢٨; both in the T and SPb copy the word is attested as *birlä*:

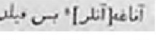
 (T 78b/7);  (SPb 19a/8);

and this version also suits the prosody.

[22] *basī* "بسی abudance, plenty; many, much, very; enough; often" STEINGASS 1892, p. 188. In the T copy the word was written as *bäsī*



(T 78b/8) ; but KONONOV transcribed this word as *bäs*, and added an extra word *anlar*:



to correct the prosody of the *beyt* 1958, p. ٢٨. However, if we read this word as *basī*, we do not need to add *anlar* anymore for correction.

[23] In this line KONONOV adds a plural suffix to the word *künda* (*künlärindä* "in the days of ..." 1958, p. ٢٨; but in the T copy the word was written as *künda*

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Hereafter, the writer narrates how Oghuz Khan divided his many possessions between his sons and the Lords. Then he tells of Oghuz Khan's eldest son Kün Khan's regnal years and his story.

The last two poems of the book were written with quatrains instead of *beyts*. It seems that the main reason of this change is due to the content. The first three poems *(beyts)* describe an unusual, different and important situation which are related to Oghuz Kagan. However, the last two poems describe two different historical persons: Salur Qazan[24] and Ögürjik Alp[25]. According to their respective contents, these two poems are epics, and the majority of this type of poetry falls into two main groups based on their rhyme patterns and the number of lines per strophe. Poem number 4 was written in the type of *koshma* (_aaab, _cccb, …) with the refrain line *(qawushtaq, baghlama)*:

4.1 _aaab	4.2 _aaab	4.3 _cccb	4.4 _dddb	4.5 _eeeb	4.6 _fffb	4.7 _gggb
_yuyarlat-tï	*_sal-dï*	*_yïlan*	*_bar-ïp*	*_raʿiyyät-lär*	*_ulï*	*_bil-gil*
_tut-dï	*_al-dï*	*_zamān*	*_qïr-ïp*	*_tärbiyät-lär*	*_sollï*	*_qïl-yïl*
_ket-di	*_üläštür-di*	*_amān*	*_yalbar-ïp*	*_furṣat-lar*	*_deŋli*	*_kir-gil*
_…kibi	*_…kibi*	*_…kibi*	*_…kibi*	*_…kibi*	*_…kibi*	_…kibi

Before Abu al-Ghazi conveys the fourth poem, he claims that the pedigree of the kinship between Turkmen Lords, Salur Qazan and Ögürjik Alp was wrong and that the true historical connection was obscured a hundred years

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(T 78b/8), and in the SPb copy it is *künindä*



(SPb 19a/9). However, the prosody is still incorrect in all reading possibilities; probably there is a forgotten word.

[24] Salur one of the Oghuz (Türkmen) tribes. They are first mentioned in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī's *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, which is written 464 H./1072, and translated by DANKOFF/KELLY (1982) as one of the 22 branches of the Oghuz. They may, in fact, have been the chief branch of that confederation. In the Turkish epic *Dede Qorqut* the earliest surviving version of which dates from 732/1332 but which appears to reflect certain events of the 4th–5th/10th–11th centuries, one Salur Qazan, who is the son-in-law and chief beg of Bayïndïr Khan, the king of the Oghuz, is the main protagonist. G. LEISER: "Salur." In: EI², vol. VIII (1995), p. 1005–1006.

[25] Ögürjik Alp is the son of Qara Ghāzī Beg, and according to the writer, also he has a kinship with Oghuz Kagan (T 98b/3–6).

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ago. In fact, Salur Qazan lived in the same time as Dede Qorqut,[26] and to strenghten this idea he adds a poem which was said by Dede Qorqut about Salur Qazan.[27] Within this poem we learn how Salur Qazan was stronger than It-Bečene[28] and that he was brave enough to fight all kind of creatures as well as being a very responsible and merciful leader for Muslims.

(4.1)
Qazyurt taydïn[29] *üŋür tašnï yuyarlattï*
Salur qazan utru barïp qarbap tutdï
İt Bäčänä körüp anï esi[30] *ketdi*
Alplar Begläri köräŋ bar mu Qazan kibi?

"Qazgurt rolled a boulder from the mountain
Salur Qazan, met the stone and grasped it
When It-Bečene saw him, he lost his mind
Brave men, lords has anyone met someone like Qazan?"

(4.2)
Bir qazaŋa qïrq bir aṭnïŋ etin saldï
Ol qazannï sol äligi birlä aldï
Say äligi birlä elgä üläštürdi
Alplar Begläri köräŋ bar mu Qazan kibi?

"He put meat of forty one horses into a boiler
He took that boiler with his left hand
He divided (the meat) to people with his right hand
Brave men, lords has anyone met someone like Qazan?"

(4.3)
Kök asmāndïŋ inip käldi tinīŋ yïlan
Här ādämni[31] *yutar erdi körgän zamān*

[26] *Dede Qorqut* (Grandpa Qorqut) is the Anatolian version of the name of a legendary figure known more commonly as Qorqud Ata (Father Qorqud), after whom the famous *Book of Dede Qorqut* (Kitāb-ı Dedem Qorqud) is titled. An Anatolian compilation of heroic stories of singular quality from the early 16th century, this work is the sole comprehensive medieval source for Turkic epic traditions. For further details see: H. E. Boeschoten: "Dede Korkut." In: EI³ IV (2014), pp. 69–72.

[27] In the forth poem, since the T copy has a quite problematic with its meaning and context; we preferred to use the SPb copy (T 99a/16–17 and 99b/1–15; SPb 48a/4–18). For the comparison of the different copies see Kononov 1958, pp. רו–יו and Kargi Ölmez 1996, pp. 209–210.

[28] According to the writer the Salur people and Bečene people (one of the Turkmen tribes) were enemies, because of this Salur people call them *It-Bečene* (which might be an insulting word) (T 85b/5–10).

[29] *qazyurt taydïn* (Kononov 1958, p. רז); *qazyurdın* T 99a/16; *yazyurtdın* SPb 48a/4.

[30] *es* "ایس intelligence, odeur, perception de l'odeur; rouille" (Courteille 1870, p. 109). According to the context the meaning of *esi ket-* is "to lose his mind with amazement".

[31] *här ādämni* (Kononov 1958, p. רז); *ādämni* T 99b/4; *ādämni* SPb 48a/9.

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Salur Qazan bašïn kästi bärmäy amān
Alplar Beglär körän bar mu Qazan kibi?

"A monster snake came down from the blue sky
It would swallow every human when it saw him
Salur Qazan cut off its head without mercy
Brave men, lords has anyone met someone like Qazan?"

(4.4)
Otuz qïrq miŋ läškär birlä Qazan barïp
İt Bäčänä ellärini käldi qïrïp
Bir nečäsi qutuldïlar köp yalbarïp
Alplar Beglär körän bar mu Qazan kibi?

"Qazan set off with 30.000–40.000 soldiers
He came destroying the lands of It-Bečene
Some of them were saved by crying a lot
Brave men, lords has anyone met someone like Qazan?"

(4.5)
Türk ve Türkmänʿ Arabʿ Ağäm raʿiyyätlär[32]
Qazan qïldï müslümānya tärbiyätlär
Käfirlärni qïrdï ošol köp furṣatlar[33]
Alplar Beglär körän bar mu Qazan kibi?

"Turk, Turkmen, Arab, Persian people
Qazan disciplined and educated all Muslims
He destroyed the infidels at so many occasions
Brave men, lords has anyone met someone like Qazan?"

(4.6)
Andïn hünär kötärdilär barča ulï
Baʿzïlarya orun bärdi sayllï sollï
Bizgä boldï qamuy eliŋ ornï deŋli
Alplar Beglär körän bar mu Qazan kibi?

"All seniors learned skills from him
To some of them he gave place at the left and at the right
To us the place of all people became well-balanced
Brave men, lords has anyone met someone like Qazan?"

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[32] *raʿiyyat* "رعية subject, subjects, parish" (STEINGASS 1884, p. 422; people belonging to a king).

[33] *farṣat* "فرصة wind in a tumour, especially on the back- *fïrṣat* a menstruous cloth; *furṣat* occasion, opportunity, convenience; leisure; relief; coincidence; advantage" (STEINGASS 1892, p. 919).

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(4.7)
Säyyāḫ Qorqut ölär bolduŋ emdi bilgil
Ol Qazanniŋ dävlätinä duʿā qilyil
Kärvān ketdi köp keč qaldïŋ yolγa kirgil
Alplar Beglär köräп bar mu Qazan kibi?

"Qorqut the traveler you are about to die now, know this!
Pray to the state of Qazan
The caravan has already left, you are too late, get on the way!
Brave men, lords has anyone met someone like Qazan?"

After this poem, Abu al-Ghazi began to tell the story of Ögürjik Khan. At that time, Ögürjik Khan did not want to accept the sovereignty of the Bayïndïr Khanate in Iraq, but he was also not able to fight them, so he fled. He lived around the Shamaki and Ural river, before he moved to Kök Tongli Khan's territory. However, a few years later, he had some problems with Kök Tongli Khan, as well. He then went to Abu al-Khan Mountains with his people. Meanwhile, according to the writer, Ögürjik Khan tells the following poem:[34]

(5.1)
Döndüm[35] *qačïp Qanqlï Xāndïn*[36] *qïblä sürdüm*
Qïrtildašïp kälgän är öyindin döndüm
Qačïrčiga[37] *yerčigä yol bašlatdum*
Qaylï qarlï iki qola yol yumšatdum[38]

"I turned fleeing back from Qanqlï Khan and rode to the South
I turned back from [the face of] the men who came making a lot of noise (?)
I asked way to the muleteer and guide
I split rainy, snowy road into two sides" (Perhaps: I opened the closed way ?)

[34] T 100a/13–18 and 100b/1–6. This poem is not very clear in any copy of the book. Moreover, according to Kononov the entire poem is omitted in T³ 1958, pp. אר–אט. In this part, Kononov tried to rewrite the text by using all copies, but Kargi Ölmez made an effort to present this poem more understandable 1991, pp. 80–97 and 1996, pp. 266–267; thus we usually gave both of them.

[35] *döndüm*: -T.

[36] *xāndïn* (Kononov 1958, p. אט); *xānïndïn* T 100a/13–14; *xānïndïn* SPb 48b/17.

[37] *qačïrγï* "قچرجی indicateur, guide" Courteille 1870, p. 417. Besides, Kargi Ölmez says the word must be related with the word *qatïr* "mule" and she translates *qačïrči* as "muleteer" 1991, pp. 89–90.

[38] *yol yumšatdum:* it is difficult to give a certain meaning to this phrase. In Clauson 1972, p. 939, the word can be found as follows: *yumşat-* Caus. of *yumşa-* "to soften (something Acc.), in a concrete or abstract sense Xakanī *ol teri: yumşattı:* "he tanned the hide"; and one says *ol katıg̈ ne:γni: yumşattı* "he softened the hard thing"; and *ol er sö:züg yumşattı* "that man spoke rapidly". However, none of those meanings match with the *yol yumşat-*; maybe there is a misread word in the line. According to the context, we translated this phrase as "to split the road".

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(5.2)
Arqït arqït qïrlarya törčüm saldum[39]
Art öŋümä bäzgä salïp küčüm tartdum
Qïr atïmda [tay][40] *yolïndïn ašïp bardum*
Qabaqlïdïn Altïğa yurt yurtlatdum[41]

"Repeatedly I rioted in the steppes
I showed my power by spreading out terror (intimidation) to back and forth
I reached by crossing mountain road on my gray horse
I ordered to erect camps from Qabaqlï to Altïğa"

(5.3)
Kürüldäšip artïmdïn yayï yätdi[sä][42]
Qayqï[43] *bašlï qatï yayya iš buyurdum*
Qanlï iriŋli qayiŋ oqya qan yürgütdüm
Čapsa kesär qurč[44] *pülādya*[45] *ţuy baylatdum*

"If the enemy came after me tumultuously
I ordered to the strong and taut bow
I shed blood to the bloody, purulent birch arrow
I let bind the field sign (of the enemy) to the steel sword which cuts with every hit"

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[39] KONONOV translated this strophe as so: *мехами, мехами устлал я … поля* "furs, furs I spread…on the field (?)" 1958, p. 72; on the other hand KARGI ÖLMEZ's translation is like the following: "again and again I caused chaos in the steppes" 1991, pp. 91–92 and 1996, p. 267; according to the context, we preferred KARGI ÖLMEZ's translation.

[40] *[tay] yolïndïn* KONONOV 1958, p. ٦٨.

[41] In this line the word



(T 100a/18) and



(SPb 49a/4) is disputable. KONONOV translates as *Aleta* or *Alta* 1958, p. 72, KARGI ÖLMEZ says "Based on the copy of Ashgabat, it must be *Alïnğa*, also there is a place (castle) around Azerbaijan, and its name is *Elinğe* in the local dialect; those places' names might be related to each other" 1991, p. 93. However considering to the T and SPb copy it is better to say *Altïğa*; but since the word is a place name, we cannot be sure how its right pronunciation should be.

[42] *yätdi[sä]* KONONOV 1958, p. ٦٨.

[43] This word was corrected by KARGI ÖLMEZ as *qayqï* and translated as "curved, bent" 1991, p. 94, but here we preferred to translate the word as "taut" because of the shape of the bow.

[44] *qurč* "*rough, hard* originally in the physical sense, but also metaphorically; particularly applied to metals; in some languages now means specifically *steel*" (CLAUSON 1972, p. 647).

[45] *pülād* "پولاد the finest Damascus steel, which, with that of Qum, is esteemed the best in the East; steel generally, a sword" (STEINGASS 1892, p. 260).

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(5.4)
Qiliğïm sïyrïp bel ägsämdä quyï qazdum
Ova qïšlap qïr[da][46] *yaylap balqan ašdum*
Kesä yatan[47] *qara tayγa uγrap keldüm*[48]
Qanqï[49] *gürüh ṭoy tutmadï anda boldum*

"Even if I drew out my sword and bent down, I dug a well
I passed the mountain range by spending winter in the plains, summer in the fields
I came over the Black Mountain which stands/lies blocking (ways)
I stayed with people who did not give feast (/who were not happy or hungry)" (?)

(5.5)
Altun közli tabušqannï kätürdi tep
Qaz ayayï üč ayrï ṭamγa berdüm[50]

"Since he brought the golden eyed rabbit
I gave three separate goose-foot stamps"

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[46] *qïr[da]* (Kononov 1958, p. ٦٨).

[47] Kononov transcribed this line as: "اکسه یاسین قرا تاغغا اوغراب کلدوم" 1958, p. ٦٨, and gives his translation with a question mark: "When he drew his bow, *I arrived at the Black Mountain*" *когда он натянул свой лук, я прибыл к черной горе (?)* p. 73. Kargi Ölmez translates the same line like the following: "I reached to anomalous lying Black Mountain" 1996, p. 267. However, in the T copy this word was written as so:



(T 100b/3); and in the SPb copy it is very similar to the T copy:



(SPb 49a/7). In our opinion, the possible transliteration of the word might be in T: کسه *käsä*; and in SPb: کسا *kesä* the verb *käs-/kes-* "to cut off, to block" + gerundium suffix *-ä*: "by cutting off, by blocking". In the verse, this reading makes sense with the word *mountain*. Especially, in St. Petersburg copy it was written with "ي"; generally the verb *käs-* is attested with an open */ä/* in Old Turkic, but Clauson 1972, p. 748, also gave a version of the verb *kes-* with a closed /e/ based on *Sanglax Dictionary,*. Apart from this, in previous quatrain the same verb also attested with closed /e/ in both manuscripts. On the other hand, the following word is not clear in the T copy, but in the SPb it is more legible: یاتان *yatan*; thus we kept Kargi Ölmez's transcription for the word *yatan*.

[48] In the SPb copy the following two lines of this line are repeated: *čapsa kesär qurč pūlādya ṭuy baylatdum/qiliğïm sïyrïp bel ägsämdä quyï qazdum* SPb 49a/8.

[49] *qanqï* (Kononov 1958, p. ٦٨); *qačqï* T 100b/5 and SPb 49a/9.

[50] The last couplet is also very difficult to understand; it seems a little bit different from the rest of the poem according to its form and content. Especially, "golden eye rabbit" and "goose-foot stamp" phrases are ambiguous for us; unfortunately we could not find a proper meaning or function for these phrases.

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In this last poetry part, many different readings are possible. These differences can be a result of adaptation from the scribes who wanted to make sense of the text. As we mentioned earlier, not every different reading possibility was described in detail for this article, but some parts that we thought were important are given in the footnotes. Because of these many different reading possibilities, there is some obscurity in the poem. For example, it is very difficult to make an interpretation on this line:

Qïlïğïm sïyrïp bel ägsämdä quyï qazdum

This sentence literally means "Though I bowed waist, I scraped my sword I dug well"; of course with our interpretation we can make a better translation: "(Even) though I bowed (my) waist (might be kneel down or defeated), I drew my sword (and) I dug a grave (for my enemies)".

Like its content, the prosody and rhyme of this poem is also problematic. As we mentioned, this poem was written in quatrains. However, it is very difficult to comment on the style of poetry due to the unclear words and ambiguous readings. It has four quatrains, all of which are connected to each other through their content, with the last part being two lines strophe and having a different content from the rest of the poem. In addition, the prosody and the rhyme scheme of the quatrains is as follows:

5.1 _aaaa	5.2 _aaaa	5.3 _baaa	5.4 _aaaa	5.5 _ca
_sür-düm	*_sal-dum*	*_yätdi*	*_qaz-dum*	
_dön-düm	*_tart-dum*	*_buyur-dum*	*_aš-dum*	*_tep*
_bašlat-dum	*_bar-dum*	*_yürgüt-düm*	*_kel-düm*	*_ber-düm*
_yumšat-dum	*_yurtlat-dum*	*_baylat-dum*	*_bol-dum*	

As we can see, the quatrain number 5.3 has a lack of sequence in its rhyme from the rest of the poem. However, if we consider there is a misread word at the end of the first line of 5.3, the scheme of the poem would be so:

_aaaa, _aaaa, _aaaa, _xa

Nevertheless, we cannot be sure about this scheme without considering the other manuscripts because we also find problems with the number of the syllables in nearly all quatrains according to *syllabic meter*:

– for example in 5.2:

dön	*düm*	*qa*	*čïp*	*qanq*	*lï*	*xän*	*dïn*	*qïb*	*lä*	*sür*	*düm*	= 12
qïr	*tïl*	*da*	*šïp*	*käl*	*gän*	*är*	*ö*	*ŋin*	*din*	*dön*	*düm*	= 12

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qa	*čir*	*či*	*ga*	*yer*	*či*	*gä*	*yol*	*baš*	*lat*	*dum*	= 11
qay	*lï*	*qar*	*lï*	*i*	*ki*	*qo*	*la*	*yol*	*yum*	*šat*	*dum*	= 12

– or in 5.4:

qï	*lï*	*ğïm*	*sïy*	*rïp*	*bel*	*äg*	*säm*	*dä*	*qu*	*yï*	*qaz*	*dum*	=13
o	*va*	*qïš*	*lap*	*qïr*	*yay*	*lap*	*bal*	*qan*	*aš*	*dum*			=11
ke	*sä*	*ya*	*tan*	*qa*	*ra*	*tay*	*ya*	*uy*	*rap*	*kel*	*düm*		=12
qan	*qï*	*gü*	*rūḥ*	*ṭoy*	*tut*	*ma*	*dï*	*an*	*da*	*bol*	*dum*		=12

Conclusion

The poems in this history book, which were written by Abu al-Ghazi Khan, show that it tells a more legendary text without real objectivity. Adding poems to the prose text is a kind of Mongolo-Turkic tradition in this area, and such texts can be found during the Chinggisid time. Furthermore, it indicates that this way of writing was also entertaining for people. Here, the writer preferred to tell the story as a prose text, but he added poems to underline the situation or person. The first three poems, which were written in *ʿarūḍ*, have a panegyrical function for Oghuz Kagan; but the last two poems serve a historical function for the pedigree of the Turkmen Lords.

Based on this mixed text, we might assume that the Oghuz historiographical tradition is still under the influence of the Oral culture. The essential reasoning for this situation would be that most of the Turkmen people had not settled yet as a result of long-lasting wars in that area. Moreover, we can consider the impact of the Mongol invasions and conquests all over Central Asia throughout the XIIIth century to have affected the Turkmens. Primarily we can say that in this book, the poetry sections were attested in two main functions:

1. To explain an extraordinary or magnificient situation which is related to Oghuz Kagan as a chosen one, and to underline the glory of him and his sons.

   Telling poem is a remarkable way to show the relationship between Kagan and his sons, and how lucky he was with his sons. Naturally, the whole text cannot remain in people's minds, but these small poems and *beyts* can be, and become a common legend. Poems number 1, 2 and 3 serve this function. Besides, all three poems were written with *ʿarūḍ*;

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therefore we can also say that the writer had a kind of artistic concern while writing these three poems.

2. To prove the historical events which are related to two other Turkmen Lords: the true time that Salur Qazan lived; and the difficulties and heroic deeds which Ögürjik Khan had during his escape.

   As the writer tells the historical connection of the Turkmen Lords, he gives two poems to support his words. Poems number 4 and 5 have this function. Poem number 4 was told to show the relation between Salur Qazan and Dede Qorqut, and poem number 5 is about Ögürjik Khan. In addition to their context, both of them were written with classical Turkish quatrains, and we may see them as an influence of the Oral Culture.

On the other hand, the language of the text is also interesting to analyse because even in the same quatrains some important different features of Turkic languages can be found; like in the quatrain number 4.3:

Här ädämni yutar erdi körgän zamän (Central Asian Turkic)
Alplar Beglär körän bar mu Qazan kibi (Oghuz Turkic)[51]

However, since our main aim was only to look at the function of the poems in the text, we did not deal with the language of the text.

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[51] For further details about the classification of Turkic languages see C. SCHÖNIG: "A new attempt to classify the Turkic languages. I–III." In: *Turkic Languages* 1 (1997), pp. 117–133, 262–277; *Turkic Languages* 2 (1998), pp. 130–151.

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The Message of the West Wall of the Dura Synagogue*

By Géza G. Xeravits, Komarno/Halle

Summary: The present paper investigates the west wall of the synagogue of Dura-Europos. Although it does not support the view that an overall, unified artistic and/or theological program can be identified on the murals of the synagogue, the important western wall provides, nevertheless, several smaller cycles, which communicate consistent program(s). The message of the west wall has both religious and political aspects, and is intended for the necessities of a Jewish Diaspora community, living in turbulent times.

1 Introduction

The city of Dura-Europos was founded by the Seleucids at the end of the fourth century BCE, on the right bank of the middle course of Euphrates.[1] The city had a multi-ethnic character, and its inhabitants belonged to various religious traditions, which is testified by the numerous cultic sites identified among its ruins. The numismatic remains suggest that Jews had already lived in Dura during the Hasmonaean period. They built their first known synagogue in the middle of second century CE, and it was enlarged and supplemented by an impressive new building about 245 CE. This could point to the fact that the community was developing in the century immediately before the fall of the city.[2]

The synagogue is located at the foot of the western city wall, in a block containing various buildings. From the outside, it was similar to the other houses of the surrounding area. Inside, however, it was richly and artistically decorated by figurative paintings. This seems to be a common custom in Ancient Dura—the excavations have unearthed the remains of sixteen sacred buildings, most painted on the inside.[3] Two of them were located

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1 On the history of Dura, see, e.g. Dirven 1999, pp. 1–17; or Kosmin 2011, pp. 95–109.

2 On the history of the Jews in Dura, see, e.g. Kraeling 1956, pp. 322–339. The consecutive phases of the synagogue is treated *ibid*., pp. 7–33.

3 See, e.g. Downey 1976; 1988, pp. 88–130; Wharton 1995, pp. 23–33; Baird 2014, pp. 174–183.

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in the vicinity of the synagogue: opposite the street there was the Temple of Adonis, while the house church of the Christians was situated at a small distance to the south. The Mithraeum—located not very far to the north—was also rebuilt and decorated in the same decade.[4] The decorating of these buildings took place at the dawn of the aggressive Sasanian expansion to the west.[5] It seems that such turbulent times provoked emphatic expressions of self-identity among the various groups living in the menaced city of Dura.

Immediately before the Sasanian siege of the city the building blocks along the west wall were filled with earth in order to strengthen the fortifications. Then, almost the entirety of the synagogue was covered by soil, which preserved its rich decorations—from long after 256 CE, when the Sasanian Shapur I occupied the city and the inhabitants abandoned it forever—until the early 1920s, when excavations have begun there.

2 The paintings of the west wall

Scholars have long been debating whether the paintings of the synagogue show a unified artistic and/or theological program or not.[6] In this paper, I intend to focus only on the west wall, which obviously was of pre-eminent importance: as the direction of Jerusalem, as the place of the Torah niche, and as the wall towards which the attendants of the synagogue liturgy were oriented.

After the erection of the final phase of the synagogue, it was decorated in two successive stages. The first stage comprised the painting of the Torah niche, and the first layer of the central panel above the niche. The artist(s) of the second stage painted the narrative panels around the walls of the assembly hall.[7]

The Torah shrine formed the centre of the first decorative stage. Around the arch that forms a cope over the niche there are three sets of illustrations. In the middle, the façade of the Temple of Jerusalem is depicted: between two pairs of columns holding an adorned entablature, an ornate door is shown. Its doorposts are richly ornamented columns, which hold an architrave with a semicircular shell motif above. On the left side, a huge and gilded menorah

[4] Cp. CUMONT 1975, pp. 163–194; DIRVEN 1999, pp. 260–272.

[5] On the Sasanian expansion, see, e.g., FRYE 1983, pp. 124–127; BUTCHER 2003, pp. 55–58; DIGNAS/WINTER 2007, pp. 77–84.

[6] A good summary is found in HACHLILI 1998, pp. 180–182; for further details, see, e.g. WISCHNITZER 1948; GUTMANN 1984, pp. 1313–1342; GOLDSTEIN 1990, pp. 78–99; WEITZMANN/KESSLER 1990, pp. 153–183.

[7] KRAELING 1956, p. 34.

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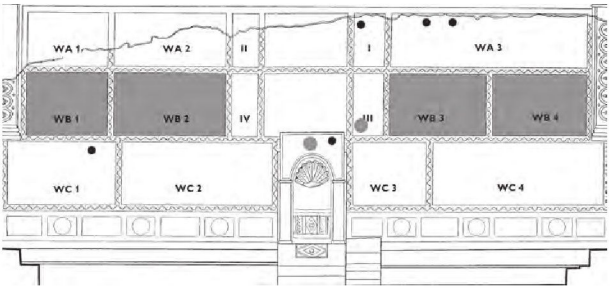


Fig. 1: Elements with cultic orientation (grey); and depictions of the Hand of God (black spots)

is painted, along with an *'ethrog* and a *lulav*—cultic objects used during the Feast of Tabernacles. On the right side of the Temple, a Biblical event is depicted: the *'Aqedah*, the offering of Abraham from Genesis 22.

Above the Torah shrine, the artist of the first stage has painted a complex composition, which is just partially preserved due to the fact that during the second stage of decoration, another composition was created over it. There is a disagreement among scholars regarding the content of this original composition.[8] It is certain, however, that at least a huge vine tree, and two—now repainted—objects: a throne and a kind of a table with lion-shaped legs were comprised.

The second stage of decoration has been implemented around 250 CE, just some half a decade before the abandonment of the synagogue. This stage left untouched the Torah shrine, but altered the central panel in two steps. First, a big lion is painted in the middle of the tree's branches, and a figure playing lyre at the left side of the lion.[9] Above the tree an enthroned figure is painted, accompanied by two standing males. Later on, the central panel was divided with an ornamental horizontal line to two distinct pictures. On the top, eleven figures have been added; while the lower part is supplemented by two scenes: both depict a male figure lying on a bed. The left one is surrounded by twelve figures standing behind the bed, while on the right an adult and two childish males appear in front of the bed. The central panel is framed by four wing panels—two from the left and two from the right—all

[8] See, e. g., Kraeling 1956, pp. 54–65; Hachlili 1998, pp. 98–103.
[9] On the identification of this figure see Flesher 1998, pp. 350–351.

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depict a male figure dressed in the same Greek costume. The identity of the first two is certain. Wing Panel I contains an Aramaic *dipinto*: *mšh br lwy* ("Moses, son of Levi"); while Wing Panel II could be interpreted as an iconographic combination of Exodus 3:5 and ch. 24 (or 31:18), the figure in question is Moses receiving the Law.[10]

On both sides of the *reredos*, the artist(s) painted a series of narrative pictures, arranged in three horizontal registers. The pictures are separated by the same ornamental line which secondarily divides the central panel. In what follows, I offer a brief look at the narrative panels, from left to right.

The bottom register contains four panels. The first (WC 1) represents Elijah when he restores to life the child of the widow of Zarephath. The next panel (WC 2) displays the triumph of Esther and Mordecai. The third panel (WC 3) depicts Samuel when anointing David to kingship; David is surrounded by his brothers. The long fourth panel (WC 4) narrates a complex scene of events, the main aspect of which is the daughter of Pharaoh finding Moses. The identification of the first three scenes is confirmed by successive Aramaic *dipinti* on the paintings: on WC 1 *hly'* ("Elijah"); on WC 2 *mwrdky* ("Mordecai"), *'styr* ("Esther") and *hšhwrš* ("Ahasuerus"); while on WC 3 *šmw[l] kd mšḥ [d]wyd* ("Samuel, when anointing David") can be read.

The middle register also contains four panels. The meaning of the first (WB 1) is disputed, nevertheless, it displays Moses and the representatives of the tribes in tents, it could thus narrate some event during the wandering in the wilderness. The second panel (WB 2) shows a temple with its personnel and some bulls—evidently, the latter are sacrificial animals. In front of the temple, a bigger figure is depicted in decorated garb. At his head a Greek *dipinto* can be read: ΑΡΩΝ ("Aaron"), which indicates that the Temple of Jerusalem is painted here. The next panel (WB 3) shows a similar edifice, in this case, however, without human figures. Along with many other scholars, I would interpret this panel as also representing the Temple of Jerusalem. Finally, the last panel of the middle register (WB 4) could, with all probability, depict 1 Samuel 5–6, when the might of the Ark which was captured by the Philistines has been displayed.

The top register contains three panels, two from the left and one from the right of the *reredos*. The left scenes are badly damaged; only guesswork is possible concerning the content of the first one (WA 1). The interpretation of the damaged next panel (WA 2) is helped by two Greek *dipinti*: ΣΛΗΜΩΝ ("Solomon") on the step of a dais under an enthroned person, and ΣΥΝΚΑΘΑΔΡΟ[Σ ("counsellor") under the chair of another figure.

[10] The group of the central panel and the wing panels as a whole is often labelled *reredos* in scholarly literature. The term was used first by GOODENOUGH 1953–1968, pp. IX, 78.

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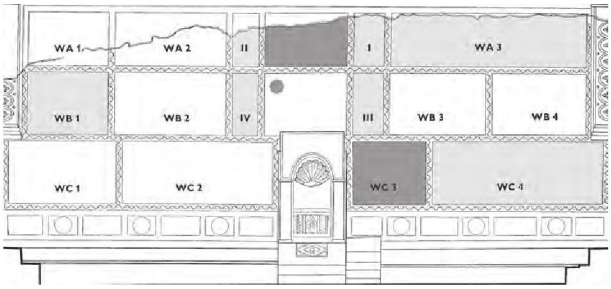


Figure 2.: Panels dealing with the figure of Moses (light grey); and occurrences of the figure of David (dark grey)

On their left, the remains of a group of three elegantly dressed females is visible. This panel represents Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. On the right side of the *reredos* a long and complex panel appears (WA 3), which is interpreted generally as the representation of the Exodus narrative. This panel displays a series of events (structured centrally and organised from right to left); Moses himself is depicted three times, which is confirmed by three Aramaic *dipinti*, each connected with one of the Moses figures: between the legs of the first one the following *titulus* is read: *mšh kd npq mn mn mṣrym wbzʿ l'm'* ("Moses, when he went out from Egypt and cleft the sea"), at the head of the second figure simply *mšh* ("Moses") is written, while at the head of the third one *mšh kd b[z]ʿ l'm'* ("Moses, when he cleft the sea") is found.

3 The "program" of the west wall

The starting point for interpreting the west wall in its entirety is the Torah shrine. The artist of the second stage has inherited this painted area, and left it unaltered. This means it was considered important enough not to rework it—unlike the central panel above.

At the middle of the arch above the niche, the façade of the Temple of Jerusalem is seen. Many interpreters have highlighted the fact that the building is similar to e. g. the Temple illustrated on some Bar Kokhba coins[11]—yet, even without this remote similarity, it is natural to assume, based on the im-

[11] Recently Berger 2011, p. 125.

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mediate context, that the Temple is intended. First, on its left, cultic objects are depicted: menorah, *lulav*, *ethrog*.[12] Second, there are visible typological similarities between this building and the other Temples of the west wall, such as the façade with columns and the double door appear on panels WB 2 and WB3, while the semicircular shell motif over the door appears on panel WB 2.[13] Third, it is clear that the entire Torah niche represents in some sense the Temple, see the Aramaic *dipinto* inscribed at the top of the aedicule: *byt ʾrwnh* ("House of the Ark").

The Torah shrine therefore, primarily, is a symbol of the Temple—the pre-eminent religious institution, of which the synagogue was in some sense understood as a continuation.[14] Secondly, it is not by chance that the *ʿAqedah* is depicted together with the temple imagery. The emphatic presence of God in the scene—as is symbolised by the Hand of God at the top—underlines on the one hand the special relationship between God and Israel due to the obedience of Abraham (and perhaps that of Isaac), and on the other hand, the belief in the presence of God's providence and the confirmation of the covenant.[15] These ideas—the uninterrupted continuation of communication between God and his people, and the presence of the covenant-based providence in Israel's life—form the central message of the west wall of the Dura synagogue.

These basic concepts are expounded in various ways on the different narrative panels. Originally, the continuation of the message of the Torah shrine in the central panel was developed by the motif of the vine tree. This image could be associated to several Biblical passages that use the vine imagery as a symbol of the restored Israel living under God's protection.[16]

The secondary modifications of the central panel give further insights. The first layer of amendments is purely metaphorical. The big lion at the middle of the vine tree—following Genesis 49:9—is a symbol of the people of Israel, as is the small figure of David the musician at the left.[17] If a metaphorical stance is understood from the artist of this layer, the enthroned

[12] GOODENOUGH 1953–68: IV, 172–194 and IX, 175–177 argues that the *ʿAqedah* on the right is the symbol of the *shofar*; this claim is, however, unsubstantiated.

[13] See HACHLILI 1998, pp. 155–157, and BERGER 2011, pp. 123–140.

[14] Cp., e. g., FINE 1996; COHEN 1999; and see the forthcoming paper of XERAVITS 2017b.

[15] Cp. SPEYART VAN WOERDEN 1961, pp. 214–255; HACHLILI 1998, pp. 239–246; VAN DEN BRINK 2002, pp. 140–151.

[16] See especially the positively formulated Isaiah 27:2–6 or Psalms 80:9–15; cp. HIBBARD 2006, pp. 168–209; WILLIS 2013, pp. 201–207; and PRINSLOO 1997, pp. 279–302; BAUKS 2013, pp. 157–179.

[17] See GOODENOUGH 1953–1968, pp. VII, 79–81 and IX, 89–104; HACHLILI 1998, pp. 247–249. I reject the presence of orphic allusions for the figure of David, see MURRAY 1977, pp. 19–27; FLESHER 1998, pp. 350–359.

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figure at the top of the composition must likely to be the ideal king of the future, the Messiah or David *redivivus*. This, however, poses slight interpretative problems, because the artistic program of the final stage of the synagogue lacks messianic overtones, and focuses on past events of Jewish history.[18] Nevertheless, one must keep in mind that the artist of the second layer of this decorative stage profoundly reworked the scene; thus, it might be possible that the first artist intend to represent a messianic theme, which was avoided in the later stage.

The second layer of the secondary modifications of the central panel—with all probability the artist(s) of this painted all the panels of the second stage—added two scenes on the lower side and modified the scene on the upper side of the panel. The three scenes are interconnected, and form a triangular composition. Based on the allusion to the Blessing of Jacob created by the presence of the large lion of the previous layer, the bottom register depicts twice the elderly Jacob lying on a bed. The right side scene with its three figures standing in front of the bed portrays Genesis chapter 48, the blessings over Ephraim and Manasseh; while the left side scene visualises Genesis chapter 49: the twelve figures behind Jacob's bed are the sons of the patriarch. On the upper side, the artist has added to the scene eleven more figures. In this way thirteen males surround the enthroned king. The conclusion cannot be avoided that the upper scene represents the accomplishment of Jacob's blessing: when the Land promised by God has been seized and divided among the tribes and David from the tribe of Judah has dominion over them.

The central axis of the west wall thus emphasises 1) the importance of the cult, which is an appropriate reaction to 2) the enduring stability of the relationship between God and his people, and 3) the fulfilment of God's promises—as the manifestation of His perpetual providence.

The wing panels that frame the central panel turn our attention to purely religious aspects. Two of the four figures portrayed here have indisputable identity: WP I depicts Moses at the burning bush, while WP II represents the scene when Moses receives the Law. The interpretation of the figures on the two lower panels is disputed. Candidates of the identity of WP III include Ezra, Nathan, Joshua, Jeremiah, or even the elder of the Durene Jewish community, Samuel; while that of WP IV Abraham, Joshua, Jacob or Isaiah.[19] A number of scholars argue, however—and in my views with good reasons—that the lower panels also depict Moses.[20] WP III might have been

[18] Contrary to the opinions of e. g. Wischnitzer 1948; or Goldstein 2001.

[19] A summary of the views is found, e. g. in Hachlili 1998, pp. 112–113.

[20] See e. g. Goodenough 1953–1968, pp. IX, 110–123; Goldstein 1990, pp. 87–89; Hachlili 1998, p. 113.

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inspired by Exodus 24:7, where Moses reads aloud the Book of Covenant for the people. Wing Panel IV, finally, could depict Moses at the end of his life—cp. his white hair, which is emphasised by the fact that the halo around his head is black in this case. Moses is portrayed consequently in four successive phases of his career. Seeing the sequence diachronically, the core of the cycle is formed by the two panels that depict scenes concerning the Law (WP II and WP III), enclosed by the commission and departure of Moses (WP I and WP IV), stories that equally emphasise the theme of the promise of the Land (cp. Exod 3:8; Deut 33:49 and 34:4). With this frame, the central composition highlights two important aspects of Judaism: on the one hand, a people living under the guidance of the God of providence, who masters human history; and, on the other hand, a people guided by the prescriptions of the Mosaic Law.[21] This is the background on which the three horizontal registers develop.

The rest of the paintings will be analysed beginning with the bottom register. In this register four panels are found, and they are organised apparently in a concentric manner. The *Leitmotiv* of the two external scenes is the miraculous rescue of a child. First, on the right (WC 4) a complex scenario is elaborated—four scenes moving from right to left towards the centre of the wall—that summarises basic elements from Exodus 1:15–2:10.[22] The second scene of the panel depicts a female bending on the bank of a river. Although the painting is slightly damaged here, it is certain that Moses' mother is represented here as putting the child upon the Nile. The next episode displays a completely nude young woman standing in the river—in a pose familiar from the imagery of the Iranian water deity, Anahita—and holding a child in her left arm, while an empty ark is floating away on the water. The striking and in some sense shameless nudity of the figure indicates that she is a pagan protagonist.[23] It is easy to identify this scene with Exodus 2:5–6, where the daughter of Pharaoh discovers the baby Moses, and rescues him from being drowned. Second, on the extreme left (WC 1) the miracle of Elijah in Zarephath is displayed (1 Kings 17:17–24), narrated in three successive episodes. In this case, the narration moves from left to right (again, towards the central axis). The first episode depicts the widow and her dead son; then Elijah reclining on a couch and holding the child in his hands is portrayed. Finally, the widow is seen again, this time with her revivified child. The Hand of God appears at the top of the central episode, as a symbol of the source of

[21] See the forthcoming paper of XERAVITS 2017a.

[22] On the identifications see recently HACHLILI 1998, pp. 121–122; XERAVITS 2017a.

[23] Cp. MOON 1992, pp. 595–597; on Anahita see GOODENOUGH 1953–1968, pp. IX, 200–203.

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life. What seems to me crucial in both of these scenes is that the location of the episodes they narrate is not the Land of Israel. WC 4 took place in Egypt, whereas WC 1 in the vicinity of Sidon, thus, in a Phoenician setting. For a Diaspora Jew, these stories could have an essential importance, because they emphasise the supra-territoriality of Divine activity.

The two panels encircled by those described above have a different *Leitmotiv*: royalty. WC 3—right from the Torah shrine—depicts the anointing of David (1 Sam 16:6–13). This painting is thematically closely connected to the upper scene of the central panel, where David is represented as a king over the tribes. In the present instance, panel WC 3 represents the installation of the royal office in Israel. Opposite to this image, a complex panel appears again (WC 2). On its first scene a slavish Haman—wearing just a short tunic, and undressed underneath—leads the horse of Mordecai, while on the second episode the enthroned Ahasuerus is depicted among his courtiers. At his right side, Esther is visible, sitting on an ornate chair—her crown and gesture is reminiscent of Hellenistic female deities, especially Tyche.[24] Panel WC 2 continues to evoke the Diaspora setting, and by alluding to the Esther novella—a court story with clear Persian setting—might communicate an emphatic message about contemporary politics. In a time when an Iranian invasion was at hand it highlights the eventual triumph of the Jews. It is worth noting that this triumph took place within a pagan political establishment: the Esther panel witnesses to an optimistic attitude towards the perspectives of contemporary politics (a life style for the Diaspora), instead of expressing abstract messianic expectations.

Panels WC 2 and WC 3, together with the upper part of the central panel, form a kind of triangular cycle. They all are interested in the idea of rule or political power. The cycle begins with WC 3, the birth of kingship in Israel. The upper part of the central panel, then, illustrates the formal, factual fulfilment of Samuel's previous act. Finally, the small triangular cycle is closed by the WC 2 panel, which represents the benevolent attitude of the Persian king towards the Jews, and at the same time the humiliation of their pagan foe. With this panel, the artist/designer has drawn close to their actual present, and seems to support the belief that under pagan rule the Jews might live according to their proper *Lebensordnung*.

The middle register of the narrative panels (WB) concern cultic aspects. The two panels inside show the Temple. In WB 2 the Temple is in full operation. Most scholars assert that the panel represents the consecration of the

[24] Cp. Goodenough 1953–1968, pp. IX, 179; and Hachlili 1998, p. 120.

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Tabernacle,[25] but I think this is an exaggerated claim. The sacrificial cult of the Temple is depicted here, presided by the Aaronite priesthood. Its parallel panel, the so-called Closed Temple (WB 3) caused many more interpretative problems. For some scholars, this panel depicts a pagan sanctuary;[26] but typological characteristics recommend rather interpreting it as the Temple of Jerusalem.[27] ERWIN GOODENOUGH argued at length that this edifice symbolises the mystical, other-worldly Temple.[28] He is certainly right in asserting that WB 3 represents some abstract reality. But one would have to bear in mind that the narrative panels of the synagogue do not show a tendency towards symbolical representation, and furthermore, given the entirety of the three Temples of the west wall, my impression is that the building on WB 3 represents the coming, future Temple of Jerusalem. The idea of the future restoration of the Temple had been present in Jewish thinking from Ezekiel up to the rabbinic literature.[29] In this understanding, the three Temples reflect a kind of continuous Temple theology, which departs from the functioning building of the past (WB 2) and reaches the coming Temple of the future (WB 3). The connection between them is established by the image on the frontispiece of the Torah niche: a kind of contemporary, symbolic representation of the Temple, that is, the synagogue itself.[30]

The external panels of this register continue to represent cultic themes. In this case, the right side painting (WB 4) provides less interpretative problems: it represents two episodes from 1 Samuel 5–6. On the right side, the destroyed pagan cultic objects are visible in front of the temple of Dagon (1 Samuel 5); while at the left side, the Ark is sent away on a cart drawn by two oxen (1 Samuel 6). The meaning of the left side panel (WB 1) is disputed. A large Moses in the middle is standing next to a fountain, from which streams of waters flow to twelve tents. Generally, scholars try to identify the large figure with Moses, and the scene with one of the occasions when Moses miraculously provided water for the people during the wandering in the wilderness. Others, however, call the attention, that the scene cannot be safely identified with one specific Biblical event, and it might in fact be an amalgamation of various incidents; the flowing waters in this case must be

[25] See already KRAELING 1956, pp. 125–131.

[26] WISCHNITZER 1971, following the suggestion of Robert du Mesnil du Buisson argued that the panel represents the temple of Beth Shemesh, while MOON 1992, p. 600 connects the painting with WB 4 and holds that it is the temple of the Philistine god Dagon.

[27] See e.g. the analyses of KRAELING 1956, pp. 105–113; HACHLILI 1998, pp. 155–157; 360–363; and BERGER 2011.

[28] GOODENOUGH 1953–1968, pp. X, 42–73.

[29] See, e.g., LEE 2001, pp. 209–215; KLAWANS 2006, pp. 199–201; SCHIFFMAN 2006, pp. 1061–1065; KRAEMER 2015, pp. 24–44.

[30] See XERAVITS 2017b.

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interpreted symbolically.[31] It must be noted, again, that the narrative panels of the horizontal registers of the Dura synagogue always represent specific Biblical stories, and do not tend to be symbolical. I agree with Kraeling that the panel depicts the miraculous well of Be'er (Num 21:16–18).[32] This is the only Biblical passage where the miraculous giving of water is not preceded by the rioting of the people. Therefore, the pericope of the well of Be'er–that culminates into the song of the people—fits quite well into the exclusively cultic orientation of the middle register.

With this understanding, the sequence of the panels of the middle register visualise the effective presence of God in the world through cultic aspects. WB 1 represents this presence within Israel, while, antithetically, WB 4 depicts the might of the Ark among hostile pagans. WB 2 shows the Temple cult, as a sign of communication between God and God's people, while WB 3 assures that this communication remains continuous even after the devastation of the Temple.

Finally, it is appropriate to turn to the damaged upper register. I leave out WA 1 because of its highly fragmentary preserved state, and the uncertainties of its interpretation. The two partially remaining other panels suggest that the artist—after the cultic features of the middle register—returned to "political" events again, as has been the pattern for a large part of the panels of the lower register. Chronologically, this register seems to build from right to left. (Nevertheless, if the fatally damaged panel WA 1 had originally displayed the anointing of Solomon, the panels of this register move from outside to the centre.[33])

The large and complex panel WA 3 deals with the Exodus from Egypt. The three figures of Moses suggest that three successive episodes are painted here. The first is the moving out of the Israelites from an Egyptian city;[34] the second is the loss of the Egyptians; while the third is the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites. The order of the events is consciously mixed: the middle of the panel relates the deceit of the pagan (naked) enemy, and this is

[31] Goodenough 1953–1968, pp. X, 10: 27–41 says: "the picture says that Israel through Moses truly receives the cosmic *hvareno*, that the values of Iranian cosmic orientation and worship are all found in Judaism, who has them supremely through Moses" (41). Similarly, Wischnitzer 1948, pp. 55–58 identifies the scene as Moses giving the Law. Recently, Goldstein 2001, pp. 127–131 interpreted the panel as the inspiration of Moses flows to Eldad and Medad (cp. Numbers 11:11–29).

[32] Kraeling 1956, pp. 124–125.

[33] Cp. Kraeling 1956, pp. 92–93.

[34] Goldstein 2001, pp. 136–139 sees this city as one alluding to contemporary Rome, and deduces a messianic interpretation from this alleged fact, but this interpretation is gratuitous.

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encircled by two representations of the victorious Israelites.[35] The opposite painting, at the left side of the *reredos* (WA 2), again, elevates Jews above pagans, when it depicts the story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. In this story (1 Kings 10:1–13), the foreign queen confesses Solomon's wisdom and wealth, and because of these, she blesses the God of the Israelites.

4 The message of the west wall

The murals of the west wall have carried a political message for some of their interested spectators. This is attested by the iconoclasm to which the walls were subjected shortly before the synagogue was abandoned. Scholars argue that in all probability this iconoclasm was carried out by Roman soldiers who were charged with making the defensive earthworks in the building before the Sasanian siege began. They may have understood the presence of the figures in Iranian dress in the wall paintings as a sign of a pro-Sasanian propaganda.[36] The concluding comments below re-inforce the observations that Jewish spectators of the west wall could equally perceive a coherent message.

The first artist of the west wall, whose approach was predominantly non-figurative, accentuated the enduring covenant of God and his people (the *ʿAqedah* scene and the vine tree), and the continuity of the cult (Temple and cultic motifs over the Torah niche).

The second artist picked up these overall *Leitmotivs*, and expanded them by adding the figurative paintings. The modifications on the central panel emphasise the idea that Israel is a people chosen by God, in whose history the promises and the blessings of their forefathers are being fulfilled. This is complemented by the wing panels, where Moses, the pre-eminent figure of the past is depicted. Chronologically, the centre of this small Mosaic cycle illustrates the giving and promulgating of the Law. This stresses the importance of the Divinely ordered life-style of Israel. It is noteworthy that on WP III, the Ark of Covenant appears, which strengthen the religious/cultic orientation of this Mosaic cycle. This aspect is further emphasised by the middle register of the narrative panels—and it is not by chance that this register is placed on the very same level where WP III is situated. Seeing the narrative panels, the middle register has a kind of central position—framed by the upper and lower registers—which assigns to it a basic or essential

[35] Cp. XERAVITS 2017a.

[36] Following the opinion of KRAELING 1956, p. 338, see the detailed analysis of KELLEY 1994.

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place within the composition. Therefore, the addressees are summoned here to meditate about their relationship with God.

After establishing the religious message of the west wall, the artist(s) turned to political issues. The paintings of the lower and upper registers—when recalling various events of Jewish history—affirm the pre-eminence of the Jewish people.[37] This is a brave affirmation for a minority group and in an especially turbulent period of local history. In this context, these panels create a message of consolation. It was essential to assert that liberation from actual distress is achieved not by the power of the Israelites *per se*, but by Divine help and providence. This is symbolised by the motif of the Hand of God, which recurs in panels WA 3, WC 1, WP I and the *ʿAqedah* of the west wall, and which is a clear symbol of Divine intervention.[38]

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[37] See esp. the essay of Elsner 2001.

[38] To the Hand of God iconography, cp. Hachlili 1998, pp. 144–146.

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An Early Persian Precursor to the Tales of Sindbād the Seafaring Merchant*

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Summary: Discussing a specific tale in context, the present essay is a contribution to the study of pre-modern Middle Eastern narrative culture. The tale under consideration is contained in the anonymous *Muğmal at-tavāriḫ va-'l-qeṣaṣ* (Compendium of History and Tales), a historical work compiled in Persian early in the twelfth century. In terms of narrative motifs, the tale of the king of Ḥimyar's adventures contained in the *Muğmal at-tavāriḫ* overlaps with the later tale of Sindbād the seafaring merchant's fourth adventure to such an extent as to consider the former a precursor to the latter.

When discussing the sources of the tales told by Sindbād the seafaring merchant, customarily called Sindbād the sailor, scholars in addition to ethnographic evidence have primarily studied Arabic sources.[1] This has led to the identification of a number of mostly geographical and historical works that in one way or another may be regarded as precursors to a collection of sailor's yarns. Probably as late as the seventeenth century—the period of the oldest preserved manuscripts[2]—this collection of sailor's yarns developed into the fully-fledged composition that, although originally an independent work, became subsequently known by way of its inclusion in the third volume of Antoine Galland's adapted version of the *Thousand and One Nights*, published in 1704.[3] This collection comprises a frame-tale and a total of seven embedded tales told by Sindbād the merchant to his namesake Sindbād the porter. The main exception to the dominant focus on Arabic sources is constituted by a number of studies discussing the story of a shipwrecked sailor in ancient Egyptian literature.[4] Indian literature, where the

* I am deeply indebted to Moḥammad Ğa'fari Qanavāti for mentioning to me the source studied in the following. In addition, I thank Aboubakr Chraïbi for his careful reading and valuable suggestions.

1 Marzolph/Van Leeuwen 2004, vol. 1, pp. 383–389, no. 179.

2 For a recent survey of manuscripts see Bellino 2015.

3 Galland's colleague and competitor François Pétis de la Croix had also prepared a translation of the Sindbād tales in 1701. This translation has now been edited from the translator's autograph version preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Cod. Gall. 799; see Chraïbi/Marzolph 2016.

4 Maspéro 2002, pp. 81–88; Brunon 1994.

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Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha, an abridgment of the lost *Bṛhatkathā* (The Great Story), contains the *Travels of Sānudāsa the Merchant*, a name that is tantalizingly similar to that of Sindbād, has so far not been taken into account.[5] Similarly, Persian literature has implicitly been regarded as irrelevant for the history of the Sindbād tales, probably due to the fact that many, if not most, of the tales documented in Persian literature of the Muslim period appear to be offshoots of earlier versions in either Indian or Arabic literature. Even so, it is well known that Persian authors of the early Muslim period often compiled their works in Arabic as the *lingua franca* of the day. In fact, the author of an important early source for the Sindbād tales, the Arabic *Kitāb 'Aǧā'ib al-Hind* (Book of the Wonders of India), compiled around the middle of the tenth century, is the Iranian captain Boẕorg ibn Šahriyār of Ramhormoz.[6]

In the present essay, I will discuss a precursor to the Sindbād tales, or, to be exact, to Sindbād's fourth adventure, that is contained in a historical work compiled in Persian early in the twelfth century. Without aiming to propagate a linguistic or national priority of Persian language sources, this essays supplements current knowledge by advocating an interdisciplinary cooperation as the only promising means to arrive at a holistic assessment of the body of Middle-Eastern narrative traditions—Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, the Jewish and Christian narrative traditions, and several others—all of which are historically related to each other and none of which may claim an exclusive position.

The Persian work containing the tale to be discussed here is the *Muǧmal at-tavāriḫ va-'l-qeṣaṣ* (Compendium of History and Tales). Although known for long, this book has only fairly recently been edited in a critical edition that is based on all four manuscripts preserved today.[7] The book's author does not disclose his name, but in one passage mentions the name of his grandfather as Mohallab b. Moḥammad b. Šādi.[8] Internal evidence permits the dating of the book's compilation to the year 1126/1127.[9] The oldest preserved manuscript dates from about 300 years after the book's compilation. In addition to constituting a rare specimen of early historical writing in Persian, the book is of prime importance for its quotations of material from a large number of earlier sources, several of which have not been preserved.[10]

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[5] BUITENEN 1959, pp. 218–258; MATEN 1973. I thank JEREMY SALTER for mentioning this source to me.

[6] Buzurg ibn Shahriyar 1981.

[7] NAJMABADI/WEBER 2000. An earlier Persian edition has been published by BAHĀR 1318/1939.

[8] NAJMABADI/WEBER, p. 269, line 9.

[9] Ibid., pp. 18–19 (introduction).

[10] Ibid., pp. 13–16 (introduction).

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The tale under consideration here is not known from any other earlier source and might thus be taken from a source that is no longer available today.

The book's twenty-third chapter deals with geography. After a discussion of important cities such as Mecca, Medina, Constantinople and Alexandria, the chapter contains a passage that the author himself regarded as a digression without which, however, as he says himself, the book would not be complete. The passage presents two tales that deal with the Golden City and the City of Brass, respectively.[11] The Golden City is a legendary city built in Africa by Tāwīl, the brother of the giant ʿŪǧ, both of whom were born from the incestuous relation between Cain and his sister ʿAnāq[a]. Having been deserted for more than a thousand years, the Golden City was later conquered by the Egyptians and became the source of their fabulous wealth.

Versions of the tale of the equally legendary City of Brass, a tale that is also included in the *Thousand and One Nights*, have been repeatedly studied, particularly in relation to their mystical message.[12] The tale's version in *Muǧmal at-tavāriḫ va-'l-qeṣaṣ* begins with the Umayyad ruler ʿAbdalmalik b. Marwān (r. 685–705) finding a book about the City of Brass in his treasury and sending his vizier to the ruler of Ḥimyar in Yemen as the only person who might know where the city is located—"they said that if anybody has knowledge *(āgāhi)* of that city, it would be nobody but the king of Ḥimyar."[13] When ʿAbdalmalik's vizier arrives in Ḥimyar and meets the king, he is surprised to see him in the company of several young men *(ġolāmān)* whose heads are shaped like the head of a horse. Inquiring about the horse-headed men, he learns that they are the king's sons. Next the vizier notices a large palm tree in the king's quarters *(sarāy)* to which a black man *(zengi)* of giant stature is tied with iron chains. When the king of Ḥimyar passes by, he descends from his horse and with his own hand gives the man fifty lashes with the whip. Finally, the king receives the vizier with cordial respect and inquires about the reason for his visit. The vizier tells him that originally he had come with a single concern; but now this state has passed, as his concerns have multiplied to three. First, he asks to be informed about the identity of the black man, why he is tied to the tree, and why he is given lashes, particularly by the king himself. Second, he asks the king to lift the mystery of his horse-headed sons. Only then the vizier inquires about his original concern, i. e. to be shown the way to the City of Brass. In the manner of "narrative men" (Todorov)[14], typical for the *Thousand and One Nights* and

[11] Ibid., pp. 384–395.

[12] See, e. g., Hamori 1974; Genequand 1992; Pinault 1992, pp. 148–239; Marzolph 1999a; Fudge 2006, and, most recently, Hajjar 2012.

[13] Najmabadi/Weber 2000, p. 387, lines 5–6.

[14] Todorov 2006.

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other middle Arabic narrative literature, the king tells an extensive tale in response to the vizier's three-fold request. It is this narrative that is of particular relevance for the early history of the Sindbād tales. Before discussing the narrative in some detail, I will first supply a complete translation. Introducing his response with the customary formal "Hearing is obeying" *(samʿan wa ṭāʿatan)*, the king continues:

> [p. 387] As for the tale of the black man—when I was young and my father was still alive, I yearned to do trade in order to see the ocean. With numerous goods and in the company of many merchants, I boarded a ship (*be-daryā nešastam*; literally: took place on the sea). For four months we sailed with an auspicious wind until finally a conflictive wind rose that blew us to the island of Zanzibar to a cannibal people known as Majkuy (Majkavi?). The captain was very much scared and after an intensive consideration said to us: "In order to save ourselves *(čāre ān ast)* we will paint our sail and the ship itself black. Only then will we approach that country so that we will hopefully be saved. If we don't do this, they will kill and devour all of us." So we painted the sail and the ship black and approached them. The black people liked it very much. We started to trade, and whatever we had bought for a single *derham* they bought for a hundred golden *dinār*s. And the king of Zanzibar developed a friendly atttitude towards me.
>
> In their country there was no salt. I sent a certain amount of salt to the king and instructed the cook how to use it. The king was very pleased and sent a large amount *(čendāni)* of goods, presents, gold and [388] jewels to me that it had no equal. When our business was finished, I went to the king, asked for permission [*dasturi*; i.e. to talk] and said: "If there is any service I can do, please mention." By way of his interpreters, the king of Zanzibar accorded me his favor saying: "You should come regularly and bring lots of salt with you, and you should also bring a beautiful slave girl." I accepted and returned to the place of my longing and desire, and the wind helped. When I arrived at my city, I had amassed wealth beyond imagination [*ke dar emkān nayāyad*; literally: that went beyond possibility].
>
> Again I had this yearning [to travel]. I joined the merchants, filled a ship with salt, bought a beautiful slave girl and went off in the direction of Zanzibar. When I arrived there, I sent the salt to the king of Zanzibar. The slave girl said to me: "O you impudent one *(nā ǧavān-mard)*! May the Lord give you your remuneration! I am a Shiʿi *(ʿalavi)* and ran away from [the Iraki town of] al-Ḥilla. They caught me and sold me [as a slave]." I responded: "You sould have mentioned this earlier on. At this time, what can I do?" When they took her away, a great sorrow and distress took hold of my heart. After the following prayer, the king of Zanzibar invited me to a meal, as he had usually invited me every day. But [this time] when everybody sat down at the table they brought a golden tray and placed it in front of the king, and they had placed the roasted hand of the slave girl on it. When I saw that, my soul seperated from my body and I began to shiver. But I kept my composure and prayed to the Lord saying

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[to myself] that should I escape from there safely, I would take revenge for that Shiʿi girl. From then on, I did not trust the black people. I told the event to the other merchants, and as they were also much scared, we strove to finish our affairs as soon as possible and to ask permission [to leave]. As usual, I went to the king and said: "Tell me whatever service I can do!" The king said: "You should bring several slave girls and lots of salt!" I responded: "I am a servant to whatever the ruler commands!" We steered our ship, and a good wind assisted us, until we returned to our country. My father had died, I conducted the mourning rites, and the merchants went their way (*parākande šodand*; literally: dispersed).

I stayed there and bought slaves, some two to three hundred, all of them around ten to eleven years of age. I gave orders to educate them in the religious rites *(farż)* and in traditional manners *(sonnat)*. Then I brought teachers of the martial arts to teach them the art of using weapons and manly combat *(mardi)* such as shooting arrows, throwing the javelin, using shield, sword and missiles, and swimming, and everything that a warrior needs to know. This went on for almost five years, and I educated all of the young men in such a manner that if I had ordered all of them to throw themselves into a blazing fire they would not have shied away. Then I gave orders to prepare the ship as usual and did not tell the other merchants anything [about my plans]. [389] Instead of wares, I had placed weapons on the ship. Passing the young men off as merchants, I entered the vessel and took off for Zanzibar.

When I arrived, I went to the king as usual. I had brought some salt that I took to the king. When he requested the slave girl, I responded by way of the interpreters: "I have brought the slave girl. She is on the boat. Now I ask the king to give me the great honor to be my guest on the ship." With a thousand tricks and ruses I brought the king onto the ship as my guest. There I staged a nice carousal with the good wine I had brought, red and yellow and white. When the night began to fall, the guests left, and I implored the king's entourage that the king should stay there for the night. The king accepted my invitation *(eǧābat kard)* and stayed on with ten of his close servants. When a certain time of the night had passed, I put a drug into the wine that would make them unconscious. All of them drank it and fell unconscious. For the king I had brought a strong iron chain with which I tied his arms and legs. To the sailors and slaves I said: "Sons! For a day like this I prepared you!" I ordered all of the slaves to take their weapons. The sailors hoisted the sails and we sailed away, and the wind assisted us. When the morning arrived, we had already sailed for fifty *farsang*. I had placed several slaves to guard the black man so that in case anything happened—God is our shelter!—they would kill him. In the meantime the black people had become aware of what had happened and attacked us on our way. We fought severly, but at last victory was ours and we escaped from them safely. After some time we arrived in our country. I chained the black man to this tree and took an oath that whenever my eyes would fall upon him I would beat him fifty times with my own hand. This is this story. And this person is that king who is tied to the tree.

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As for the tale of my sons—know and be aware that when the rule passed from my father to me, it took a while to put the affairs [of the state] in order, but then I yearned again to trade. I transferred the rule to the vizier, equipped the ships and notified the merchants. And when the right season came, I set sail, and for several months we sailed with good winds. Then suddenly a [strong] wind arose, the anchor broke and the sails were torn, and for three days and nights we did not know whether we were in the skies or on earth. When the wind settled down after three days, the captain *(piš)* looked at the ship's state and began to wail and lament, shouting: "O Muslims! Say your prayers (*šahādat biyāvarid*; literally: pronounce the profession of faith)! Our affair has come to an end! Nobody is going to escape from this place! [390] We asked: "But what happened?" And he responded: "Look [for yourselves] and you will see this green [over there]. In the middle of the sea there is a tree, and at the foot of the tree the water of the sea goes down into a hole. And since our ship is drifting in that direction, there is definitely no rescue!" Our ship began to rotate around itself and its speed accelerated. The tree appeared higher, and the hole got into sight. We said our prayers, and finally all of the ships went down into that hole while the crying and wailing *(nafir)* of the passengers arose. When it was the turn of our ship I grabbed a branch of that tree with my hand and pulled myself a little further onto it with a thousand efforts and strategems. And when I had finally achieved it, I fell unconscious [literally: there was no trace of life left in me]. When I regained consciousness, I climbed higher up and for a long time said to myself that I will surely die. But it was still daytime. When night fell, a white bird [big] like a camel came and settled on that tree. I was hiding under some branches. In the morning, the bird left, and I kept thinking all day long about my rescue. I did not see any other chance but to seize the bird's foot so that he would either rescue me or kill me. When the bird came the next day and wanted to fly away, I seized its foot, the bird flew away, and I closed my eyes. Around lunchtime *(čāštgāh)* I opened my eyes. My hands were weak, but the ground was close. I opened my hands and stepped down, and the bird attacked me. I saw a group of people who chased the bird away and fell unconscious. When I regained consciousness I saw those people whose heads were like those of horses. I was amazed and asked for directions. It took a while *(dar zamān be-didand)* but then they indicated [the way] with gestures. When I arrived in the city all of its people had the same features, and they looked at me in amazement. As I walked around for two, three days, I found a blacksmith who looked like me, with one eye. He developed a fondness for me, and I told him about my adventures. He said: "I also was a merchant and was shipwrecked. I also arrived at that place, climbed upon that tree, and that bird saved me. But he picked out one of my eyes."

[391] After some time, carnal desire troubled me, as I was young. So I asked their king for a bride. They had the custom that if the husband would die sooner [than the wife], the would bury the wife alive together with him; and when the wife died [sooner], they would bury the husband alive [together with her]. After a certain time, my wife fell ill. I was scared, went to the blacksmith

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and said: "What can I do to prevent this happen?" The blacksmith responded: "There is nothing you can do. Those people have a large burial chamber. It is a spacious cave with a narrow opening, and they close that opening with a millstone. When the wife dies, they supply the husband with bread for three days and a pitcher of water. And whatever they [i. e., the buried couple] possess in terms of clothes, they throw down." I said: "For God's sake, please put some bread, some oil for a lamp, a wick *(ḫorāqdān)*, a lamp and a knife inside my clothes so that, if my wife dies, they will throw it down after me into the cave."

When I returned home, my wife had died. They lifted her up, took me along, and brought us to that cave. With a rope they let me down and blocked the entrance of the cave. After they had lowered the [body of my dead] wife and the [bundle of] clothes and I had regained my senses, I got up and saw a tremendously large cave. I installed the wick and lit the lamp, chose a place by the side, cleaned it and made a bedstead. And when every two days they threw somebody down there alive, I killed that person with my knife and took the supplies of three days bread and water, until one day they deposited in that cave my former wife's sister alive, together with her dead husband. When she saw me, she recognized me and consented to marry me. I slept with her and had several children with her. Some time later I started to dig the ground in a corner of the cave with my knife until I had made a [large] hole to the side of the sea. Every day I would sit there, until I finally saw a ship. I attached a piece of cloth to a stick and waved it, until the ship came close and took me and my children aboard. They also asked me the same question [i. e. why my children had heads like horses], I told them my story, and they delivered me to my country. I had many more children with that woman. This is the story of my children and their ancestry.

Complementing the tale of the king of Ḥimyar with a short comment on Alexander's visit to that country, the author then goes on to narrate the tale of the City of Brass. His version of that tale corresponds more or less to the other known versions, except that numerous obstacles the travellers have to overcome before they reach their destination have been added.

Reading the tale of the king of Ḥimyar as an early version of a tale that later came to be known as one of Sindbād's tales, there is a remarkable overlap between the two versions in terms of narrative motifs and episodes.[15] First and foremost, although the traveller is originally the son of a king, he becomes a merchant in order to travel and see the world rather than explore the world on land, as a prince might be expected to do. The element of assuming a new professional identity as merchant links the tale of the king of Ḥimyar not only to the tales of Sindbād, but moreover to numerous tales in the *Thousand and One Nights* whose protagonists are merchants, notably often spendthrift sons of rich merchants who embark on their travels only after they

[15] In the following, all references to Sindbād are to Haddawy 1995.

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have wasted their fortune with false friends.[16] The beginning of the king of Ḥimyar's first adventure with the cannibal black people in Zanzibar bears a certain similarity to the adventures of the shipmaster Ismāʿīlawayh as retold in Bozorg ibn Shahriyār's *ʿAǧāʾib al-Hind*. In Ismāʿīlawayh's tale, a storm drives the ship to the African coast at Sofāla, today in Eastern Mozambique. Although the residents are black cannibals, they treat the foreigners with respect, and the merchants are able to make good profit by selling their goods. When, however, their gentle king visits their ship to bid farewell, the greedy merchants abduct him in order to sell him and his companions as slaves on the market in Oman.[17] The episode is also reminiscent of the first episode of Sindbād's fourth voyage, when Sindbād and his shipwrecked companions arrive at an island of cannibal magians who fatten and devour his companions. In the present version, however, the protagonist and his companions manage to save themselves through a series of clever strategems. First, they please the black people by literally adopting their complexion by painting their ship and its sails black. And second, Sindbād himself pleases the king by presenting to him salt to season his dishes. Unusual as these actions may appear in confrontation with a cannibal people, they pave the way for a different development that reaches its first climax when the protagonist during a festive meal sees the roasted hand of the beautiful slave girl he had brought being served to the king. Gruesome as this event is, it is further accentuated by the fact that the young woman the protagonist had bought as an alleged slave was actually a free woman who had been abducted and enslaved when for a short time she had been without male protection. Although the reason why the woman ran away is not specified, it is tempting to read her flight as an attempt to escape male dominance. Moreover, the young woman explicitly states that she is an adherent of the Shiʿi creed and thus (as probably the tale's author, narrator, and audience) not only a true believer but also, supposedly, a member of the same creed as the person who delivered her to the cannibal king. In terms of the moral obligations of contemporary society, the young woman's illegal abduction and gruesome killing might implicitly be read as a deserved punishment for her having challenged the rules of the male-dominated society she lived in. At the same time, her death also results from the protagonist's naïve action. After all, it was the prince of Ḥimyar who had delivered her as a human object to the cannibal ruler. Had he seriously thought about the cannibal king's wish, he could not possibly have believed that the king would use the slave girl as Muslim men would do, i. e. for entertainment of all kinds, including sexual intercourse. But whereas the

[16] MARZOLPH/VAN LEEUWEN 2004, vol. 2, p. 808, motif W 131.1.
[17] BUZURG IBN SHAHRIYAR 1981, pp. 31–36, no. 32.

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woman is punished for her transgression, the male protagonist's naïve action does not result in any negative consequences for him. At any rate, the young woman's cruel death calls for an equally strong retaliation, and the male protagonist fulfills his obligation by performing this retaliation. This is the reason why the cannibal king is not simply put to death—a retaliation that in view of his crime the audience would probably have deemed as too mild. Instead, he is abducted and cruelly tormented for the rest of his life. In this manner, the fact that the prince of Ḥimyar risks his own life by abducting the cannibal king might might have been read by the contemporary audience as an indemnification of his prior naiveté.

The king of Ḥimyar's second adventure shows an even closer similarity to Sindbād's fourth voyage. While during his first adventure, the protagonist had merely been delivered to an unintended and dangerous destination, he is now shipwrecked in a maelstrom, from which he is only able to save himself by his inventiveness, strong determination and physical strength. Although the tree to the side of the maelstrom in the middle of the sea is a somewhat surprising element, it derives its narrative justification from constituting the means by which the protagonist can save himself. As we learn later in the tale, other people have also been able to save themselves in the same manner as the king of Ḥimyar does. The tree and the large bird alighting on the tree thus reveal themselves to be supernatural elements of providence. Even in the context of a world-view that accepts humanity's fate as predestined, a person can influence the course of events by serious committment and personal effort as there is no single predestined future but a variety of options whose eventual practical course depends on the protagonist's active intervention. The huge bird to whose foot the protagonist clings, usually known as Ruḫḫ, appears in Sindbād's second voyage, when Sindbād is left behind on an island where the Ruḫḫ has laid its eggs. The very same strategem is already mentioned in Bozorg ibn Šahriyār's *ʿAǧāʾib al-Hind*,[18] and it is employed in various tales of the fifteenth-century Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd aş-şidde*.[19] The horse-headed people the king of Ḥimyar meets after having been saved are also related to Sindbād's fourth voyage, albeit loosely. After Sindbād has been saved from the cannibals, he comes to a country where horses are held in high esteem and where he manages to gain a fortune by making saddles and bridles that had previously been unknown. Whatever

[18] Burzug ibn Shahriyar 1981, pp. 8–9, no. VIII.

[19] Marzolph 2017, summaries of nos. 26, 31, and 42. I thank the late György Hazai and his collaborator Heidi Stein as well as the beneficiaries of the Tietze and Hazai estate for giving me access to Tietze's unpublished German translation and for permitting me to use it. For the work itself see Tietze 1957; Baldauf 1994; Anetshofer 2005, pp. 23–38; Hazai/Tietze 2006, vol. 1, pp. 11–27.

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the "original" link between the protagonist and horses might have been, and regardless of the question whether there ever was an "original" version, both versions analyzed here agree insofar as a kind of horse plays an important role in the tale's action.

The most obvious overlap between the king of Ḥimyar's adventures and Sindbād's fourth voyage is, however, the custom of a husband or wife being buried alive together with their deceased spouse.[20] The earliest documented occurrence of this motif in the literatures of the Muslim world is a lengthy text in al-Muḥassin at-Tanūḫī's (d. 384/994) Arabic *al-Faraǧ baʿd aš-šidda* (Relief after Hardship);[21] at-Tanūḫī's version of the motif probably constitutes a "reimagined version"[22] of the report by the tenth-century Iranian geographer (writing in Arabic) Ibn Rusta who mentioned that when the Rūs bury a leading man, they customarily bury his wife alive together with him.[23] In terms of chronology, the motif's occurrence in the early twelfth-century *Muǧmal at-tavāriḫ* discussed here is second in order. It is followed by a steadily increasing variety of treatments, including those in the thirteenth vizier's story in the Ottoman Turkish *40 Viziers*, an extended version of the Persian *Sindbād-nāme* whose earliest versions probably date to the fourteenth century;[24] in the fifteenth-century Ottoman Turkish *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*,[25] a collection of the compendium-of-tales (Persian *Ǧāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt*) kind[26] that was most likely translated from a Persian precursor; in the *-Maqāma -baṣriyya* of al-Sayyid ʿAbdarraḥīm al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 1556);[27] in versions of the Persian romance dealing with the adventures of the Prophet Muḥammad's paternal uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbdalmuṭṭalib, the *Romuz-e Ḥamze*, the earliest of which dates at least to the seventeenth century;[28] twice in different tales of the Mašhad manuscript of the Persian compilation *Ǧāmeʿ al-ḥekāyāt* that probably dates to the beginning of the seventeenth century;[29]

[20] THOMPSON s.a., vol. 5, p. 306, motif S 123.2; EL-SHAMY 1995, vol. 1, p. 336; EL-SHAMY 2006, p. 311.

[21] MARGOLIOUTH 1905; CANARD 1956, pp. 59–60. I owe these references to the kindness of MAURICE POMERANTZ; see POMERANTZ 2015. For the Arabic text, see at-Tanūḫī 1978, pp. 191–205. A German translation of the tale is available in at-Tanūkhī 1979, pp. 101–119.

[22] POMERANTZ 2015.

[23] Ibid., referring to MONTGOMERY 2001, p. 76; Ibn Rusta 1990, p. 146.

[24] GIBB 1886, pp. 151–163, no. 25, at 154–155; see CHAUVIN 1904, p. 130, no. 121.

[25] HAZAI/TIETZE 2006, vol. 1, pp. 637–641, no. 42. I thank HELGA ANETSHOFER for supplying this reference together with her German translation of that story at a point when I did not yet have access to TIETZE's complete German translation of *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*. For the tale's English summary see MARZOLPH 2017, no. 42.

[26] ṢAFĀ 1373/1994, pp. 1533–1538; ḤADIŠ/ĞAʿFARI 1390/2011, pp. 9–12.

[27] POMERANTZ 2015.

[28] ŠEʿĀR 1347/1968, pp. 246–248; *Romuz-e Ḥamze* 1273–1276/1857–1859, fol. 91b.

[29] HAAG-HIGUCHI 1984, pp. 105–106, no. 41; ḤADIŠ/ĞAʿFARI 1390/2011, pp. 610–612.

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in the tale of Cogia Muzaffer in Antoine Galland's Constantinople diary, recorded from oral tradition after ist version in *Ferec baʿd eş-şidde*;[30] in the *Tale of Āzādbaḫt* that is embedded in the Urdu romance *Bāġ o Bahār*,[31] an early nineteenth-century adaptation of a work whose Persian original is attributed to Amīr Khosraw of Dehli (died 725/1325); and in various modern folktales in Turkish and several European languages in which the motif of husband and wife being buried together is combined with the misogynous motif of the unfaithful wife.[32] The fact that the motif already in the tenth/eleventh century occurs in different forms and varied contexts indicates that it is probably considerably older and that already at this early period it was part and parcel of the narrrative stock talented storytellers would exploit to construct their tales. The strong Persian element in the motif's distribution, from the Iranian geographer Ibn Rusta via the Ottoman tale translated from Persian to the versions of the Persian romance of Ḥamze documents, if not its origin from Persian tradition, at the very least its wide dissemination in pre-modern and early modern Persian literature.

Concerning this motif, it is furthermore remarkable to see the extent to which the protagonist in this version prepares himself for the future situation. Although Sindbād and virtually all other protagonists of the tale's different versions have been warned what to expect, they more or less stumble into the situation unprepared. Although most of them kill other people in order to survive, their action is spontaneously motivated by the needs of the moment. To the contrary, the protagonist here has a pre-conceived agenda, as he consciously prepares himself for the challenge of surviving the unavoidable burial by taking careful precautions. In addition to bread and a lamp, he even prepares a knife, indicating that from the beginning he is determined to kill in order to survive. Moreover, he has his friend deliver the objects to him in a concealed fashion, wrapped up in a bundle of clothes so that nobody will notice them. These precautions characterize him as a man who is consciously shaping his destiny at all times, rather than those who give themselves up to a presumed fate and are only rescued by coincidence, chance or a sudden stroke of ingenuity.

Without intending to hypothesize a direct relationship, it is remarkable to note that the two tales told by the king of Ḥimyar have merged into one in the corpus of the Sindbād tales. At the same time, Sindbād's fourth adventure shows the same constitutive elements as the tales in the *Muğmal at-tavārīḫ*, albeit reworked in a different fashion—i. e. the cannibals, some

[30] Schefer 1881, vol. 2, pp. 45–46; see also Marzolph 2016.

[31] Forbes 1874, pp. 240–246.

[32] Eberhard/Boratav 1953, pp. 137–138, Typ 120 (8–9); Uther 2004, vol. 1, pp. 352–353, tale-type 612; Goldberg 2007.

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kind of horses, and the motif of husband and wife being buried together. Given the lack of additional evidence, we do not know whether the author of the Sindbād tales actually knew the *Muǧmal at-tavāriḫ* nor what exactly happened to the conglomerate of motifs encountered in the *Muǧmal at-tavāriḫ* after the twelfth century. At the very least, however, it appears justified to regard the king of Ḥimyar's tales in the *Muǧmal at-tavāriḫ* as an early Persian precursor to Sindbād's fourth adventure.

In addition to the motifs common to both the king of Ḥimyar's tale and the tales of Sindbād, there is a certain number of intertextual references to other texts of Middle Eastern narrative literature in Arabic, Persian, or Ottoman Turkish, such as the cannibal black men, the one-eyed person whose one eye had been picked out by a bird, and the character of the friendly person who advises and helps the protagonist in a strange and sometimes hostile land. Cannibal black men are stock characters of pre-modern Middle Eastern literature.[33] A group of three one-eyed mendicants figures prominently in the tale of *The Porter and the Three Ladies* in the *Thousand and One Nights*.[34] And the friendly helper appears, for instance, in the *Nights'* tale of Amǧad and As'ad.[35] Considered together, these intertextual references document the narrative to result from the conscious effort of an educated person who composed the tale as a diligent construction by taking recourse to and integrating various motifs of learned as well as popular tradition. It is not always possible to reconstruct what the author actually intended or alluded to by including specific motifs. For instance, in a well-known narrative from pre-modern Arabic and Persian tradition, a one-eyed character is taken as an ill omen[36], whereas here he figures as a friendly adviser and helper. But rather than taking texts such as the one studied here as the products of an anonymous popular or "folk" tradition that would indiscriminately lump together all kinds of material, and thus belittling the creative act of a single individual, we need to consider them as artful creations composed by a talented narrator. Only when acknowledging the author's command of "intertextual allusions to themes, motifs, and concepts familiar to the audience [as] a highly effective narrative technique for linking new and unknown tales to a web of tradition the audience shares"[37] can we arrive at an understanding of pre-modern Middle Eastern narrative literature that comes close to doing justice to the role it played in its original context.

[33] See the commentary in MARZOLPH 1999b, p. 658, no. 16.
[34] MARZOLPH/VAN LEEUWEN 2004, vol. 1, pp. 324–326, no. 14.
[35] Ibid., p. 343, in no. 61.
[36] MARZOLPH 1992, vol. 2, p. 63, no. 243.
[37] MARZOLPH 2014, p. 240.

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Etymology of Sanskrit *Kokiláḥ (Eudynamys scolopacea)*: A Bird's-Eye View

By Niels Hammer, Hörby

Summary: Some onomatopoetic terms for birds may be so distinct that the term expressing the call or the song is species-specific. A typical case is the Eurasian Cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus),* where the term 'cuckoo' naturally like Latin *cucūlus,* Greek *κόκκυξ*, Old Irish *cūach,* is derived from Proto-Indo-European **kukū*; but the Sanskrit term *Kokiláḥ* for the Indian Koel (*Eudynamys scolopacea*, Hindi *Koel, Kuyil)* is also assumed to have been derived from Proto-Indo-European **kukū*; though this would be a transference of the term to another and quite different species. This derivation disregards that the Cuckoo's call is characterised by the close back or high back rounded vowel /*u*/ and the Koel's by the close front rounded vowel /*y*/ or the near-close near-front rounded vowel /*Y*/, and that the Koel is much larger than the Cuckoo and coal black. *Kokiláḥ* is in all probability derived from an autochthonous Dravidian or Austroasiatic language such as Kannada *Kukil,* Tamil *Kuyil,* or Santali *koya, kuya* 'black, smirched,' and *kuila* 'black, dark-skinned, charcoal' from Proto-Munda **ko(y)ila.* This etymology is strengthened by behaviouristic and distributive considerations.

Introduction

This article forms part of an investigation into the relationship between historical linguistics and avian onomatopoetics in consideration of the actual phonetics of the calls, which probably have remained unchanged since the Late Glacial Maximum. Prior articles dealt with Eurasian Cranes[1] in Proto-Indo-European, Indo-European and Sanskrit.[2]

Onomatopoetics and species-specificity

Onomatopoetic terms for birds presuppose that birds and humans transmit and receive sounds within the same frequency range (Catchpole 1994, p. 360), but the song patterns of some birds, for example the Sedge Warbler *(Acrocephalus schoenobaenus)* is exceedingly complex (Cramp *et al.* 1992, pp. 140–142), so the notes the human ear can distinguish in its song are too

[1] A species-specific term is written with capital letters, Eurasian Cuckoo.
[2] Hammer 2015 and Hammer forthcoming.

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inadequate for formation of a diagnostic onomatopoetic term, but with some birds, whose calls or songs are more uniform and simple a more precise and reproducible impression may be obtained, even to such an extent that the term becomes 'identical' with the species it signifies. Though historical linguistics primarily focus on the development of a word once it is formed, without further regard to species-specificity, reference to the actual phonetics may influence this development (SAYERS 2010), for regarding onomatopoetic terms the sound *(signifiant)* must continue to be easily identifiable with its source *(signifié)* in order to remain valid (HAMMER 2015). So onomatopoetic terms primarily designate species with calls or songs that are clearly audible and easily expressible; and one of the most characteristic examples of an onomatopoetic term is that of the Eurasian Cuckoo *(Cuculus canorus canorus)*.

This species-specificity of its call may be pertinent for historical linguistics as it is generally assumed (MALLORY/ADAMS 1997, p. 142; 2006, p. 144), that the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) term **kukū* for the Eurasian Cuckoo was transferred to the Indian Cuckoo, *Kokiláḥ* or Koel *(Eudynamys scolopacea)*. This may primarily have happened because the calls of the Koel (*vasanta-dūtaḥ* 'spring-harbinger') in India were associated with spring and *sambhogaśṛṅgāraḥ* (love-in-enjoyment), as for example in the Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa Stanza 152, 156, 161 *etc.* (VIDYAKARA 1957) for WILSON wrote in his dictionary of 1832 'The *kokila* or *koïl*, the black or Indian cuckoo' and BÖHTLINGK/ROTH agreed by designating *Kokiláḥ* as *der indische Kuckuck* (1966, II, p. 441), and, concurrently, because the Cuckoo was associated with spring in England: 'Sumer is icumen in / lhude sing cuccu' or 'Take heed, ere summer comes, or Cuckoo-birds do sing'; but later, for example 1927/1959 in POKORNY's dictionary (POKORNY 1959, p. 627) the doubling in both words of the voiceless dorso-velar stop */k/* in front of vowels probably suggested that *Kokiláḥ* could be a derivative of PIE **kukū*. There is no doubling of the voiceless dorso-velar stop */k/* in the call of the Koel and the term *Kuyil* was not considered. So no account was taken of the morphology, the vocalisations and the distributive patterns of the two Cuculine species. The following overview of the phonetics of the calls of the two species, their distinctive features and habitats will indicate the nature of this conflation and instead argue for an autochthonous source of the term *Kokiláḥ* primarily based on morphology and phonetics.

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The Eurasian Cuckoo

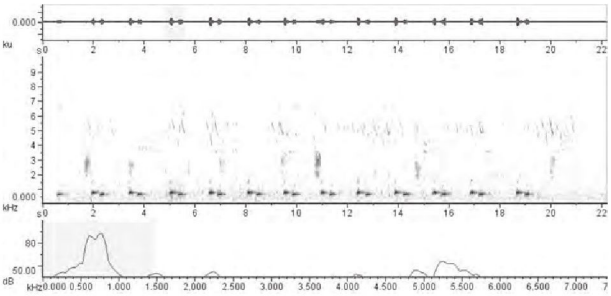
The call or song of the Eurasian Cuckoo is exclusively spondaic, consisting of two syllables, but the initial syllable is shorter than the following syllable and has a slightly higher pitch. The intervals between the two double notes vary from 1 to 1.5 second and each series of calls may consist of 10, 20 or even 300 such double notes. The call may span various pitch intervals from a second to a fifth, but most frequently a minor third (Cramp *et al.* 1985, p. 412). The main frequency range varies from 500 to 800 Hz (Avian Vocalization Center: # 4174 Lambert 2005; #17539 Rasmussen 2013) see Fig. 1; and this is reproduced by human vocalisation as the close back or high back rounded vowel /u/ (IPA) whose $Formant_1$ and $Formant_2$ frequency lies around 250 Hz and 595 Hz respectively (Catford 1988, p. 161; Ladefoged 2001, p. 40), but with emphasis on $Formant_2$ with 595 Hz. In the temperate region of the Proto-Indo-European homeland the Eurasian Cuckoo is still widespread (Cramp *et al.* 1985, p. 404), but on the Indian subcontinent the Eurasian Cuckoo is only heard calling in Swat, Gilgit, Himachal Pradesh, Kumaon and Nepal at altitudes from 600 to 4100 metres from the middle of March till the end of July. It winters at lower altitudes or in Central and South India, but many migrate north to Siberia in spring and return in August (Ali/Ripley 1983, nos. 577–579). In Sanskrit the Eurasian Cuckoo is not distinguished by a specific term, but is, like most parasitic cuckoos, called *pikaḥ* or *parapuṣṭaḥ* 'nourished by another;' but in Kashmiri it is called *kūkil,* probably under influence from Sanskrit or Hindi, but also *kūkū* (Ali/Ripley 1983, no. 578), which either is a spontaneous denomination[3] or indeed a term that is identical with PIE **kukū* as Kashmiri, a Dardic (Indo-Aryan) language, generally has retained an archaic structure and a vocabulary that reflect Vedic dialects. In Kumaoni, however, (a Pahari language like Garhwali) the Eurasian Cuckoo is called *Phūphū* (Ali/Ripley 1983, p. 578).

The Indian Koel

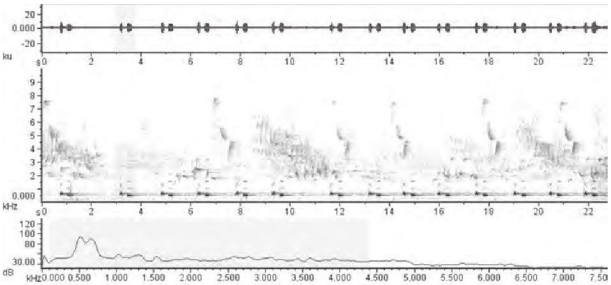
The Indian *Koel* is about 43 cm long; *i. e.* 10 cm longer than the Eurasian Cuckoo. The male, *kālakokilaḥ* (Dave 1985, p. 129) is glossy coal-black all over with a faint metallic greenish sheen; the female has roughly the same

[3] The term for the Khasi Hills Cuckoo *(Cuculus canorus bakeri)*, a subspecies of the European Cuckoo, is in Austroasiatic Khasi (Northern Mon-Khmer) '*kūkū*' (Ali/Ripley 1983, no. 579). As this is an onomatopoetic term formed independently of the PIE term **kukū* it indicates that human perceptions and reproductions of the call can be comparable irrespective of language family affiliation.

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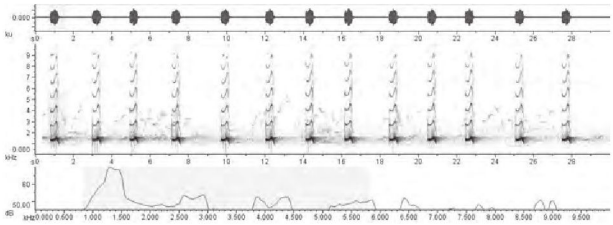
Avian Vocalization Center # 4174. Common Cuckoo. *Cuculus canorus bakeri.* Recorded by Frank R. Lambert the 14th of June, 2005. Elevation 3900 m. China, Qinghai, Nanqian Forest 32.32 N, 96.28 E.



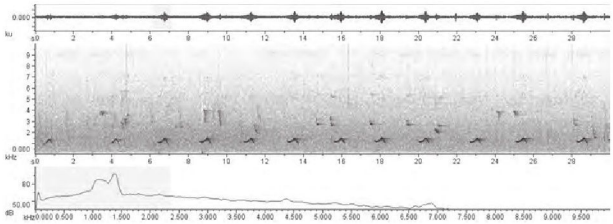
Avian Vocalization Center #17539. Common Cuckoo, *Cuculus canorus canorus.* Recorded by Pamela C. Rasmussen the 17th of May, 2013 at 5:06. Poland, Ossowiec, Twierdza. 53.4 N, 22.6 E.

Fig. 1: Sonograms of Eurasian Cuckoo *(Cuculus canorus)*

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Avian Vocalization Center # 6617. Asian Koel. *Eudynamys scolopacea.*
Recorded by Deepal Warakagoda, the 23rd of July, 2002. Sri
Lanka, Udahamulla, Colombo District. 6.86 N, 79.91 E.



Avian Vocalization Center # 9135. Asian Koel. *Eudynamys scolopacea.*
Recorded by Pamela C. Rasmussen, the 8th of May, 2009 at 5:15.
India, Assam, Potasali, Eco-Camp. 26.924 N, 92.828 E.

Fig. 2: Sonograms of Koel *(Eudynamys scolopacea)*

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accipitrine colouration as the Eurasian Cuckoo, but her voice is not a call and is only heard sporadically in connection with ovipositing. It can be rendered as 'kik-kik-kik-kik-kik'. The bill is apple-green, the irides crimson and the legs grey. The Koel is a resident or a nomadic and local migrant throughout the Indian Subcontinent with the exception of the drier parts of Pakistan and Gujarat (ALI/RIPLEY 1983, p. 590).

The call or the song of the Koel is characterised by series of seven or eight single notes, though sometimes only three or four, each lasting from 0.5 to 1.3 seconds, with intervals usually of one second. The main frequency range is from 900 to 2000 Hz (Avian Vocalization Center: # 6617 WARAKAGODA 2002; # 9135 RASMUSSEN 2009), see Fig. 2. This is reproduced by human vocalisation as the close front rounded vowel */y/* or the near-close near-front rounded vowel */Y/* (IPA) whose $Formant_1$ and $Formant_2$ frequency lies around 235 Hz and 2100 Hz respectively (CATFORD 1988, p. 161; LADEFOGED 2001, p. 40), but with emphasis on $Formant_2$ with 2100 Hz. This vocalic /y/ is expressed in French '*sur*' Greek '*ὗδωρ*,' and German '*grün*,' An initial consonant is rarely audible and the call, which consists of a polysyllabic loud and deep clear whistle, capable of being rendered as '^{w}**yu** ^{w}**yu** ^{w}**yu** ^{w}**yu** ^{w}**yu** ^{w}**yu**' or '**y-u** y-u- $^{(p)}$**i-u**^{w},' is repeated again and again with greater and greater urgency; and it is thus distinctly different from the spondaic call of the Eurasian Cuckoo. Another term in Sanskrit for the *Kokiláḥ* is *Kuhūkaṇṭhaḥ*, but this is not due to onomatopoetics, but to colour, as *kuhūḥ* refers to the New Moon when the night is dark, and it is therefore translatable as 'the dark-throated' or the 'night-throated (bird) or better as 'Night-throat.'

Similar Cuculine Species

On the Indian Subcontinent there are, however, a further fifteen parasitic Cuculine species; and seven of these species resemble closely the Eurasian Cuckoo morphologically as they have comparable plumage, but they all have clear and penetrating calls that differ markedly from the calls of the Eurasian Cuckoo. The calls of six of these Indian species, which are characterised by being tri- or tetra-syllabic or continuous with increasing intensity and clear emphasis on the high front rounded vowel /y/, resemble closely the calls of the Koel. The following is a brief overview of the distribution patterns and the phonetics of the calls of these seven species to indicate why PIE **kukū* or a derivative could not have been transferred to any one of them either.

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1) The Himalayan or Oriental Cuckoo, *(Cuculus saturatus)*, Sanskrit: *Dundubhiḥ* (Dave 1985, p. 129), which only occurs (*i.* e. sings) from Gilgit to Arunachal Pradesh at altitudes between 1500 and 3300 meters, has to a very great extent the same colour pattern as the Eurasian Cuckoo (Ali/Ripley 1983, no. 580), but its call, although characterised by the same (long) high back rounded vowel /u/ as the call of the Eurasian Cuckoo, is different, and may be rendered as '^{up}**du**du ^{up}**du**du ^{up}**du**du ^{up}**du**du' repeated evenly and without lengthening of the /u/ note, but with trochaic stress placed on the first '**du**' syllable.
2) The Indian Cuckoo, *(Cuculus micropterus)*, is also very similar to the Eurasian Cuckoo; it is distributed all over the eastern part of India (though also in the Western Ghats) as a resident or a nomadic or seasonal visitor (Ali/Ripley 1983, no. 576); but the call, which differs distinctly from the Eurasian Cuckoo's, consists of a clear loud tetrasyllabic whistle, characterised by the high front rounded vowel /y/, and with iambic stress placed on the second and the fourth syllable. It may be rendered as '^{w}**y**-^{u}**y**-^{w}**y**-^{u}**y**.'
3) The Common Hawk Cuckoo *(Hierococcyx varius)*, Sanskrit, *Dātyūhaḥ* (Dave 1985, p. 132), is wide-spread all over India (Ali/Ripley 1983, no. 573), and its call '**y y**^{w} **y y**^{w} **y y**^{w} **y y**^{w} **y y**^{w} **y y**^{w}' is repeated again and again with greater and greater urgency.
4) The Grey-Bellied Cuckoo *(Cacomantis passerinus)* is 10 cm smaller than the Eurasian Cuckoo and occurs all over India apart from the north-western parts (Ali/Ripley 1983, no. 584); and its call may be rendered as '^{w}**y**^{u} ^{w}**y**^{u} ^{w}**y**^{u} ^{w}**y**^{u} ^{w}**y**^{u}.'
5) The Lesser Cuckoo *(Cuculus poliocephalus)*,
6) the Large Hawk-Cuckoo *(Hierococcyx sparverioides)*, and
7) the Banded Bay Cuckoo *(Cacomantis sonneratii)*, also have calls based on the high front rounded vowel /y/, and resemble morphologically the Eurasian Cuckoo, but they are confined to Himalaya or the Deccan (Ali/Ripley 1983, nos. 581, 572, 582). The onomatopoetic PIE term **kukū* was not, in spite of the comparable morphology and plumage transferred to any of these seven species because of the difference in the phonetics of their calls, so it could not have been transferred to the Koel which does not look like the Eurasian Cuckoo.

Etymology of *Kokiláḥ*

As the Koel even to-day, despite the environmental degradation, is a spectacular species in the avifauna of the Indian Subcontinent, a local origin of the term *Kokiláḥ* would be likely. When tribes speaking a certain language

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enter an area where they encounter unknown species they either coin new terms based on what they already know, or modify the terms already in use by the autochthonic inhabitants of the area (HAMMER 2009; 2015; forthcoming). As there were no species in Afghanistan, the Bactria and Margiana Archaeological Complex (PARPOLA 1994, p. 148) or further north-west, with which to compare the Koel, a local denomination would be expectable. Sanskrit *kōkilaḥ* means 'lighted coal' or 'charcoal.' It is derived from Prakrit *kōila* and Santali *kuiḷa* 'black' which in Proto-Munda would be **ko(y)ila* (TURNER 1966, p. 181); and F. B. J. KUIPER (1948, p. 47) connects it with Santali *koya, kuyạ* 'black' and the root *ka-ya* 'black.' The Koel is in Nepali called *Koili* (TURNER 1931, p. 106), in Kannada *Kukil,* in Tamil *Kuyil* (BURROWS/EMENEAU 1984, p. 160), in Marathi *Kōīla* (MOLESWORTH 1992, p. 102), in Telugu *Kooyila* (GWYN 1991, p. 145) and in Hindi also *Koyal, Koil, Koīl* (TURNER 1966, p. 181). In Malayalam *Kuyil* also means 'Blackbird' (GUNDERT 1872, p. 267), and MAYRHOFER (1956, p. 269), who could not see a connection between *Kokiláḥ* and Greek *κόκκυξ* or Latin *cucūlus,* wrote "Letztlich dravidische Herkunft des schallnachahmenden Wortes (Kannada *kukil* …) ist nicht mehr als eine Möglichkeit." However, when seeing that *Kokiláḥ/Kuyil/Kukil* cannot be onomatopoetic in origin, and when connecting the coal-black glistening plumage of the bird with Santali *kuiḷa* 'black' and *koya/kuyạ* 'black' as well as with the wide-spread use of *Koili/Kuyil/Kōīla* it becomes clear that the term *Kokiláḥ/Kōīla* refers to the Koel's black plumage and not to its call. Like *kokilaḥ* 'coal/charcoal' was Sanskritised from *kōila, Kokiláḥ* 'Koel' was Sanskritised from *kōila.* But this morphologically determined reference to the black glossy shining plumage of the male chanced to match the phonetics of the call rather well and the terms *Kuyil, Koel* or better *Koïl,* which are more onomatopoetically appropriate than Sanskrit *Kokiláḥ*, came to denote the species *Eudynamys scolopacea*, which in India is as conspicuous as the Eurasian Cuckoo is inconspicuous. When the Indo-Aryan speaking tribes had settled in the Punjab or perhaps in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab the term was Sanskritised to *Kokiláḥ* at least some time prior to the composition of book two (the earliest part, probably 4th–3rd century BC [BROCKINGTON 1998, pp. 26–27]) of the Rāmāyaṇa: *asau sukṛṣṇo vihagaḥ kokilas tāta kūjati* 'Over there, brother! the all-black Koel bird calls' (2.46.4).

Autochthonous species-specificity

The species-specificity that made a transference of PIE **kukū* to a wide-spread Cuculine species in India impossible, and the absorption into Sanskrit of the autochthonous term *Kuyil* show the discriminative ability a hunter-

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gatherer and/or pastoral community has to have with its environment; but this strict adherence to species-specificity also suggests that the inherent arbitrariness assumed to exist between *signifiant* and *signifié* presupposes a disregard for the causal evolutionary processes of physiology, affection and cognition that over time in close correlation with selective environmental pressures would have formed the phonemes that designated the necessities of the tribe.[4]

Conclusion

Sanskrit *Kokiláḥ* cannot on account the of the phonetics, morphology and distributive patterns of the Eurasian Cuckoo and the Koel be a derivative of PIE **kukū;* instead it is a descriptive term, meaning 'black' as the *Kokiláḥ* or Koel is coal-black and called '*Kuyil*' in Hindi, a term related to Middle Indo-Aryan '*kōila*,' Kannada '*Kuyil*,' Santali '*koiḷa*' and Proto-Munda **ko(y)ila*, all denoting the colour black.

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[4] Beside obvious morphological and onomatopoetic determinants for the terms of flora and fauna there may also be a fundamental and innate, but only faintly perceptible, non-arbitrary sound symbolism present in regulating ethnobiological classification and nomenclature (Hays 1994; Berlin 2006), so the phonetics of words signifying natural sounds may contain hidden variables suggesting identification.

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Bhūtis *Svabodhasiddhi*

Von Jürgen Hanneder, Marburg

Summary: The *Svabodhasiddhi*, a small work known from a single manuscript that recently came to light, was identified by Alexis Sanderson as probably being from the pen of the the 10th century Kashmirian Śaiva master Bhūtirāja. It is edited here from the *codex unicus* and translated. Beyond the parallels to texts from the Śaivaite school of Krama, in which Bhūtirāja is considered as one of the crucial Gurus, we find parallels to the *Mokṣopāya*, which still remain to be explained.

Es gehört zu den reizvollen Seiten der Sanskritphilologie, daß man auch zwei Jahrhunderte nach Beginn der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung dieser Literatur noch immer wichtige Texte entdecken kann, die ungedruckt in Handschriftenbibliotheken liegen. Nicht immer sind ausgedehnte Feldstudien oder Manuskripttouren – auch wenn diese das Forscherherz höher schlagen lassen – nötig: die einzige bekannte Handschrift des hier edierten Werks lag lange Zeit in einer Sammlung in Kölner Privatbesitz und wurde dann von der Berliner Staatsbibliothek angekauft.[1] Über die Bedeutung der Sammlung für die Forschung kann sich der Beobachter angesichts der großen Zahl an bekannten Werken leicht hinwegtäuschen. Sie enthält einige literaturgeschichtlich wertvolle Unikate, zu denen auch das hier beschriebene Werkchen aus dem Bereich des kaschmirischen Śivaismus gezählt werden muß.

Zum Forschungsstand

Es gilt als relativ unbestritten, daß der kaschmirische Autor Abhinavagupta[2] den Höhepunkt der philosophischen Reflexion über die Religion des Śivaismus bildet, also einer heute dem sogenannten Hinduismus zugerechneten indischen Religionsform, die auf einem eigenen Kanon offenbarter Schriften (*tantra* oder *āgama*) beruht, den Veda weitgehend ablehnt

[1] Zur Sammlung siehe G. Ehlers: *Die Śāradā-Handschriften der Sammlung Janert der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*. Stuttgart 2006, S. 7.

[2] Circa 975–1025 n. Chr.

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und somit vielen als heterodox galt.[3] Abhinavagupta deutet im Gegensatz zu früheren dualistischen Theologen des sogenannten Śaiva-Siddhānta die śivaitische Religion mit ihren Initiationen, Ritualen und meditativen Praktiken als monistisch, d.h. es gibt nur ein Prinzip oder eine Realität, nämlich Śiva, nicht aber als dualistisch (die Welt existiert unabhängig oder getrennt von Śiva) oder illusionistisch im landläufigen Sinne (die Welt ist irreal bzw. ihr ontologischer Status unbestimmt). Im monistischen Śivaismus, dessen philosophische Reflexion sich mit der Schule der „Wiedererkennung" *(pratyabhijñā)* verbindet, ist die Welt mit Śiva identisch, sie ist „der Körper Śivas", und insofern wirklich.[4] Neben dieser philosophischen Reflexion in der Pratyabhijñā-Schule bestand die monistische Schule des Śivaismus aber aus einer Vielzahl an Kulten, die sich durch spezifische Ritualsysteme (Kula, Krama, Trika etc.) auszeichneten. Im Zentrum stehen meist Pantheons weiblicher Gottheiten, die in der offiziellen Philosophie nicht immer deutlich genannt werden und deren Details gelegentlich auch der Geheimhaltung zu unterliegen scheinen. Man konnte offenbar in verschiedene dieser Systeme, typischerweise von verschiedenen Lehrern, initiiert werden, doch in der Schule des Krama ist bemerkenswert, daß die Überlieferungslinie, für das konservative Indien zu keiner Zeit denkbar, auf weibliche Meister zurückging.[5] Dies nur als Hintergrund für das folgende.

Über Abhinavagupta wissen wir vergleichsweise viel, da er in seinem *magnum opus*, dem *Tantrāloka*, eine längere Passage seiner Vita widmet, und auch sonst durch gelegentliche Bemerkungen dem Leser eine Vorstellung von seinem Werdegang und seinen Lehrern gibt. Abhinavagupta betont an einer Stelle, daß er ungeachtet der engen und manchmal auch einzigartigen Beziehung zu einem religiösen Lehrer eine Vielzahl von Lehrern hatte: „Da die Reihe meiner Lehrer von Tapana bis Moṭaka reicht[6] und ich so ein Schüler von allen war, bin ich nicht arm an Unterweisungen."[7]

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[3] Über den Śivaismus als eigene Religion neben Viṣṇuismus, Buddhismus und Jainismus und sein Verhältnis zur Veda-orientierten Orthodoxie siehe A. SANDERSON: „Kashmir". In: K.A. JACOBSEN (Hrsg.): *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism*. Erster Band. Leiden 2009. S. 99–126.

[4] Die Details sind naturgemäß komplexer. Die Lehre des „Großen Monismus" *(mahādvaita)* umfaßt nämlich die Dualität und Nichtdualität und wäre ohne diese auch gar nicht denkbar.

[5] Siehe A. SANDERSON: "The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir." In: *Tantric Studies in Memory of Hélène Brunner*. Pondichéry 2007, S.352.

[6] Das Idiom ist nicht anderweitig bekannt, und es könnte dem Kontext folgend bedeuten, daß er bei „Hinz und Kunz" Schüler war.

[7] *Tantrāloka* 13.344. Siehe *The Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta* (ed. Madhusūdan Kaul Śāstrī). Bombay/Srinagar 1918–1938.

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Im Pratyabhijñā fußt Abhinavagupta auf dem Systemgründer Somānanda mit seinem Hauptwerk „Die Schau Śivas" *(Śivadṛṣṭi)*, aber vor allem auf dessen Schüler Utpaladeva, dessen Werke Abhinavagupta mehrfach kommentierte. Was man darüber beinahe vergessen könnte, ist, daß sein Lehrer aber Lakṣmanagupta war, ein Schüler Utpaladevas, von dem offenbar kein Werk überliefert ist. Ähnlich dürftig steht es mit anderen Lehrern Abhinavaguptas, unter denen die wichtigsten, namentlich an verschiedenen Stellen seiner Werke genannten, vermutlich Śambhunātha und Bhūtirāja waren.[8]

Sanderson hat durch extensive Quellenstudien versucht, Licht ins Dunkel zu bringen, und geht davon aus, daß Abhinavagupta zu Beginn seiner Karriere eher der Schule des Krama verpflichtet war und sein Lehrer hierin Bhūtirāja war. Dies beruht unter anderem auf Sandersons Datierung des *Bhagavadgītārthasaṃgraha* als Frühwerk, denn dort erwähnt Abhinavagupta Bhūtirāja in den Schlußstrophen 1–2:

> *viprāḥ śrībhūtirājas tadanu samabhavat tasya sūnur mahātmā yenāmī sarvalokās tamasi nipatitāḥ proddhṛtā bhānuneva / taccaraṇakamalamadhupo bhagavadgītāsaṃgrahaṃ vyadhāt / abhinavaḥ* […]

Sanderson übersetzt die Passage wie folgt: „After him came his son, the holy Bhūtirāja, who like the sun has rescued so many that were sunk in darkness […]"[9] Es wäre aber auch möglich, die Strophe in Einklang mit *Tantrāloka* 13.344 zu deuten, wo Abhinavagupta als Lehrer den „Sohn des Bhūtirāja" *(bhūtirājatanaya)* angibt: „Danach kam der Brahmane Bhūtirāja; *dessen* Sohn […]". Merkwürdig bleibt, daß der Sohn nie namentlich genannt wird. Zu dieser Deutung stimmt recht gut, daß Bhūtirāja der Lehrer von Abhinavaguptas Vater war.[10] Bisher hatte man auch *Tantrāloka* 1.9 als Angabe des Lehrers gedeutet, was aber nicht zwingend ist,[11] ebensowenig muß *Mālinīvārttika* 1.6 so gedeutet werden.[12] Lediglich *Tantrāloka* 30.63 legt einen direkten Kontakt nahe. Sanderson ignoriert *Tantrāloka* 13.344 und beruft sich auf ein Zitat im *Tantrālokaviveka*, demzufolge die Überlieferungslinie von Bhūtirāja zu Abhinavagupta geht. Dies wird vom Kommentator Jayaratha kontrovers diskutiert, was hier aber nicht von Bedeutung ist. Die

[8] Sanderson 2007, S. 328, zitiert eine Liste aus *Tantrāloka* 37.60–62 mit fünfzehn Namen von Lehrern.

[9] Sanderson 2007, S. 360.

[10] Dies beruht auf dem Schluß der *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛtivimarśinī*, siehe Sanderson 2007, S. 360.

[11] Auch nicht 8.410 oder 30.120.

[12] Dort spricht die Wendung *gurutara* eher für eine Schülerschaft des Vaters. Siehe J. Hanneder: *Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Revelation. An Edition and Annotated Translation of Mālinīślokavārttika I, 1–399*. Groningen 1998, S. 58.

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tatsächliche Konstellation wird nicht zweifelsfrei zu rekonstruieren sein, vielleicht war Abhinavagupta Schüler bei Bhūtirāja und seinem Sohn.

Wie dem auch sei, bisher war kein Werk von Bhūtirāja bekannt, zwar wird er als Quelle einiger Lehren genannt, aber nur einmal im *Mahārthamañjarīparimala* auch kurz zitiert (*bhaṭṭaśrībhūtirājenāpy uktam*[13]).

Eine neue Quelle

Vor diesem Hintergrund war die Entdeckung einiger Blätter in einer Sammelhandschrift[14] für Abhinavagupta-Forscher von größter Bedeutung, denn im Kolophon lesen wir, daß es sich dabei um ein Werk namens *Svabodhasiddhi* von Śrībhaṭṭabhūti handelt.[15] In dem bereits zitierten Artikel zum exegetischen Schrifttum des Śivaismus präsentierte SANDERSON eine kurze Analyse des Werks,[16] in der er darauf hinwies, daß es durchaus möglich, wenn nicht wahrscheinlich ist, daß sein Autor kein geringerer als Bhūtirāja selbst war. Die Reduktion eines Namens auf den ersten Bestandteil ist bei Sanskritautoren sehr üblich – Abhinavagupta bezeichnet sich selbst[17] als Abhinava – und es gibt sogar eine grammatische Maxime, welche diese Kürzung legitimiert. Der Zusatz *śrībhaṭṭa-* ist ebenfalls nicht ganz ungewöhnlich, im einzigen bisher bekannten Textzitat[18] erscheint der Name als Bhaṭṭaśrībhūti. Eine Zuschreibung dieses Werks an den Lehrer Abhinavaguptas wäre also gut möglich, entscheidend hierfür ist die Analyse des Inhalts: Bhūtirāja (bzw. sein Sohn) war Lehrer des Krama, das Werk sollte also am besten diese Erwartung erfüllen. SANDERSON präsentiert eine solche Analyse, auch um auszuschließen, daß es sich um das Werk eines gleichnamigen Autor des Śaiva-Siddhānta handelt:[19]

> Moreover, the content of the text is consistent with its being a product of the Krama. Claiming oral instruction *(gurumukham)* as its authority it teaches the attainment of self-realization through the dissolution of the activity of the mind and senses brought about by coming to rest in one's own nature through direct intuition of one's consciousness *(svabodhaḥ)* or own being *(svasattā)*, a state that cannot be taught, that cannot be attained except through one's own innate capacity, and that once attained liberates from all conceptual constructions, both experiential and theoretical. This is reminiscent of the Siddha-teachings

[13] SANDERSON 2007, S. 362.
[14] Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Hs or 11415, ff. 57v–60r.
[15] *iti śrībhaṭṭabhūtiviracitā svabodhasiddhis samāptā.*
[16] SANDERSON 2007, S. 364–367.
[17] Siehe oben.
[18] Siehe oben.
[19] Op. cit., S. 364f.

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of Hrasvanātha's *Svabodhodayamañjarī* and of the doctrine of sudden enlightenment taught in the *Chummāsaṃketaprakāśa*, Anantaśakti's commentary on the *Vātūlanāthasūtra*, and the anonymous *Mahānayaprakāśa*. It also contains phrasing and terminology found in these and other texts of the Krama, including the *Śrīpīṭhadvādaśikā* of Bhūtirāja's Guru Cakrabhānu and the Krama-based *Prajñākālīvidhi* of the second *Ṣaṭka* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*.

Um im folgenden Inhalt und Außenbezüge des Werks noch einmal diskutieren zu können, soll dieses hier zunächst aus dem *codex unicus* ediert und übersetzt werden. Die Handschrift weist einige Korrekturen (als p[ost] c[orrectionem] mitgeteilt) sowie gelegentliche schrifttypische Ungenauigkeiten auf, und an mehreren Stellen war der Text offensichtlich verderbt, so daß konjiziert werden mußte. Neun Strophen sind bereits bei SANDERSON ediert und übersetzt.[20]

Svabodhasiddhi – Text und Übersetzung

namaḥ sakalakalyāṇamayakaivalyadāyine
śivāya śamitāśeṣabhavādhvadhvāntabhānave (1)

Verehrung sei Śiva, der die Befreiung, voll von allen heilsbringenden Dingen, gewährt. Er ist die Sonne, die die Dunkelheit auf allen Wegen der Existenz vertreibt. (1)

aśeṣadarśanāveśaviśeṣādhivivarjitam
svasaṃvedanasaṃvedyaṃ svasthaṃ vande paraṃ śivam (2)

Ich preise den höchsten Śiva, der nicht an der besonderen Krankheit des Besessenseins von sämtlichen Theologien leidet, der im Wesenskern[21] wohnt und nur durch eigenes Empfinden zu empfinden ist. (2)

nirastakalpanājālavikalpaughavighātine
namo 'stu paramānandapadātītāya śambhave (3)

Verehrung sei Śambhu, der das Netz der Einbildungen abgeworfen hat, die Flut der Vorstellungen zurückdrängt und den höchsten Glückszustand übersteigt. (3)

[20] Genaugenommen sind dies Strophen 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10 sowie 22–24. Ich folge dieser Textversion, außer in 9b, wo *svabodha* vermutlich ein Druckfehler ist. Die Hs. liest das metrisch korrekte *svabodhe*, und damit kann auch SANDERSONS Korrektur in 14a entfallen. Eine andere stillschweigende Konjektur findet sich in 22a.

[21] *sva* ist hier i. S. v. *ātman* verstanden. In der Übersetzung des Wortes *ātman* folge ich dem Vorschlag WALTER SLAJES (*Upanishaden. Arkanum des Veda*. Frankfurt a. M. 2009, S. 409). Gemeint ist also, daß Śiva in jedem Menschen wohnt. Es wäre auch eine Deutung als „in sich ruhend" wie in 10d, dort allerdings auf den Menschen bezogen, möglich.

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jayanty apārasaṃsārasārāsāravibhāgadāḥ
kaivalyajñānasaṃbodhahetavaś śambhavāṅghrayaḥ (4)
4c *hetavaś* p. c.] *hetaveś* a. c.

Siegreich sind die Füße Śambhus:[22] sie lassen einen im uferlosen Weltkreislauf[23] das Wichtige vom Unwichtigen unterscheiden und bewirken ein Erwachen des Erlösungswissens. (4)

mano buddhir ahaṃ prāṇās tanmātrendriyajīvanam
yaṃ dṛṣṭvā vinivartante tam upāsyam upāsmahe (5)

Geist,[24] Intelligenz, das Ich, die Atemkräfte, Feinstoffe, Sinnesvermögen und das Leben – sie alle „kehren zurück“,[25] wenn sie den Verehrungswürdigen sehen, den wir verehren. (5)

mamāham iti hṛdgranthicchedanaikakṛpāṇikām
spandāspandakṛtagrāsāṃ naumy ahaṃ śuddhasaṃvidam (6)

Ich verneige mich vor dem reinen Bewußtsein, dem einzigen Messer, welches den Knoten im Herzen, der aus Ich und Mein besteht, zu durchschneiden vermag, und sowohl Aktivität als auch Inaktivität in sich aufgenommen hat. (6)

vyapadeśavihīnasya tattvasya kathanaṃ katham
svasaṃvedanasadyuktyā gamyate yadi kenacit (7)

Wie könnte man von einer Wirklichkeit sprechen, die nicht bezeichnet werden kann?[26] Wenn jemand sie versteht, dann durch die rechte Methode des eigenen Empfindens. (7)

jñānayogopadeśena yasya nāśvāsa āntaraḥ
samāśvāsavihīnatvāt kathaṃ naiḥśreyasaṃ phalam (8)
8a *yogo* coni.] *yāgo* ms. 8b *āntaraḥ* coni.] *antaraḥ* p. c. 8c *vihīnatvāt* coni.] *vihīnānāṃ* ms. 8d *śreyasaṃ* p. c.] *śreyayasaṃ* a. c.

Wer durch die Unterweisung im Yoga des Wissens kein inneres Vertrauen gewinnt,[27] wie könnte der, da er ohne Vertrauen ist, das Ziel der Erlösung erlangen. (8)

[22] Die Füße, die bei der Begrüßung von Höherstehenden berührt werden, stehen hier bildlich für den Akt der Verehrung.

[23] Der *saṃsāra* wird typischerweise als Ozean versinnbildlicht.

[24] Die Sanskritbegriffe *manas*, *cetas* usw. bezeichnen je nach Philosophie und Genre unterschiedliche Konzepte, im Śivaismus von einem *tattva* bis hin zu eher allgemeinen Vorstellungen von einer Denkfunktion. Im vorliegenden Text, fasse ich *manas* als Sitz bzw. Gesamtheit individueller Regungen des Denkens und Fühlens auf, also „Geist“ eher im Sinne von *mind* (nicht *spirit*).

[25] Möglicherweise Anspielung auf *Taittirīyopaniṣad* 2.4.1. (*yato vāco nivartante aprāpya manasā saha*).

[26] Wörtl.: „die ohne Bezeichnung ist“.

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upeyaprāptyupāyo 'yaṃ svabodhe jāgarūkatā
svabodhajāgarūkatvān nirvibhāgā sthitir muneḥ (9)
9a *upāyo* coni.] *apāyo* ms. 9b *svabodhe* ms.] *svabodha* Sanderson

Der Weg, dieses Ziel zu erlangen, ist die Aufmerksamkeit auf[28] das eigene Bewußtsein. Wegen seiner Aufmerksamkeit auf das eigene Bewußtsein ist der [geistige] Zustand eines Weisen ohne Zergliederung. (9)

upāyo nāparaḥ kaścit svasattānugamād ṛte
tām evānusaran yogī svastho yaḥ sa sukhī bhavet (10)
10b *ānugamād* p.c.] *ānugād* a.c. 10d *sukhī* Sanderson] *svakhī* ms.

Es gibt keine andere Methode als dem eigenen Sein zu folgen. Ein Meditierender, der nur diesem [Sein] folgt und in sich verweilt, ist glücklich. (10)

svasaṃkalpaparāmarśād viśuddhajñānasaṃśrayāt
paramāhlādalābhāc ca bodhaikaghanatā muneḥ (11)

Wird er sich seiner eigenen Vorstellungsgebilde bewußt, hält sich an das reine Erkennen, und erlangt er die höchste Freude, so entsteht im Weisen der Zustand, in dem das Erkennen eine einzige Masse bildet. (11)

nigṛhīte svasaṃkalpe śakteḥ śaktimati sthitiḥ
śaktiśaktimator aikyam ity upeyaṃ ca yoginām (12)

Sind die eigenen Vorstellungsgebilde bezwungen, so ruht die Kraft [des Bewußtseins] im Besitzer dieser Kraft. Diese Einheit von Kraft und Besitzer der Kraft sollen Meditierende anstreben. (12)

prāpte svarūpavijñāne santyakte tattvakañcuke
udyogakāraṇe kīrṇe muktaḥ sa kila kathyate (13)
13c *kīrṇe* coni.] *rṇ* unleserlich ms.

Ist die Erkenntnis des eigenen Wesens erlangt, die Umhüllung[29] der Wirklichkeit ganz abgelegt, die Ursache [jeglicher] Anstrengung zertreut, dann wird man als befreit bezeichnet. (13)

bodhamātre grahaḥ kāryaḥ suprabuddhena cetasā
tāvad yāvat svasāmarthyāt svaniṣṭhaḥ kevalo bhavet (14)
14a *mātre* ms.] *mātra* Sanderson

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[27] Die beiden Hälften der Strophe sind im überlieferten Text nicht konstruierbar, daher folge ich einem Konjekturvorschlag von Roland Steiner.

[28] Der Text bei Sanderson *(svabodhajāgarūkatā)* ist unmetrisch.

[29] *kañcuka*, auch „Hülle, Panzer", dürfte im śivaitischen Kontext als „Schlangenhaut" gedacht sein, siehe unten.

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Mit einem völlig wachen Geist soll man sich so lange nur an das Bewußtsein heften bis man von selbst[30] in sich gegründet als einziger[31] existiert. (14)

sarvadā suprabuddhas san paśyaty ātmānam ātmanā
draṣṭuḥ svarūpasaṃsthasya kim anyad avaśiṣyate (15)
15a *suprabuddhas san* p.c.] *suprabuddhatvas* a.c. 15c *saṃsthasya* p.c.] *saṃsthāsya* a.c.

Ist man immer völlig wach, sieht man sich selbst; was sonst bliebe für einen Sehenden,[32] der in seinem eigenen Wesen ruht,[33] übrig? (15)

sadaiva suprabuddhatvam etāvan manasaḥ kṣayaḥ
tatkṣayād yoginām samyaksākṣātkāro bhavaty alam (16)

Eine solche ständige völlige Wachheit ist [gleichbedeutend mit dem] Verschwinden des Geistes. Dessen Verschwinden ist in der Lage, die Meditierenden zur völligen Verwirklichung[34] zu führen. (16)

paryāvṛttaḥ svasaṃvittau vartate yas tv abhedataḥ
sa samrāḍ yogayuktānām ajñānadhvāntabhāskaraḥ (17)
17c *saṃrāḍ* coni.] *saṃrād* ms.

Wer sich ohne Dualität auf sein eigenes Bewußtsein zurückwendet, der ist der König unter den Meditation Übenden und die Sonne, welche die Dunkelheit des Nichtwissens vertreibt.[35] (17)

svarūpānubhavāhlādadaśātītendusaṃsthitiḥ
avāptavyaṃ kim astīha kṣīṇāntaḥkaraṇasya me (18)

Die Zusammensetzung des Mondes (i.e. der Nektar) wird übertroffen von der Freude der Wahrnehmung des eigenen Wesens.[36] Was soll ich in dieser Welt noch erlangen, da mein „innerer Sinn" geschwunden ist. (18)

svaparijñaptiviśrāntī sudṛḍhe yasya susphuṭe
tasya vṛttivimuktasya bhavet kevalatācirāt (19)
parijñapti coni.] *parijñāpti* ms.

Für wen das Erkennen[37] des Wesenskerns und das Zurruhekommen (darin) ganz fest und ganz deutlich sind, der ist von Vorstellungen befreit und bald erlöst. (19)

[30] Wörtlich: „durch eigenes Vermögen".
[31] Oder: „losgelöst, befreit" *(kevala).*
[32] Gemeint ist das Subjekt der Wahrnehmung.
[33] Der Leser wird hier einen Anklang an *Yogasūtra* 1.3 *(tadā draṣṭuḥ svarūpe 'vasthānam)* erkannt haben.
[34] Oder mit abgetrenntem *samyak*: „völlig zur Verwirklichung".
[35] Wörtl. „die Sonne für die Dunkelheit".
[36] Die Deutung verdanke ich ROLAND STEINER.
[37] Ich gehe von einer in der Śāradā leicht erklärbaren Verschreibung aus, denn die überlieferte Lesart *parijñā-āpti* ist sehr umständlich.

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grāhyagrahaṇasaṃskāratiraskāraikacetasām
yoginām svātmaniṣṭhānāṃ mokṣalakṣmīr na durlabhā (20)

Das Glück der Befreiung ist nicht schwer zu erreichen für Meditierende, die im eigenen Wesenskern gegründet sind und deren Geist ganz darauf gerichtet ist, die Ausbildung (od. Eindrücke) der Objektwahrnehmung zum Verschwinden zu bringen. (20)

labdhā svarūpaviśrāntir nirvṛttā kleśasantatiḥ
grāhyagrāhakatā bhagnā svarūpastho' smi saṃsthitaḥ (21)
21a *viśrāntir* coni.] *viśrāntiṃ* ms. 21b *nivṛttā* coni.] *nivṛtta* ms. 21c *bhagnā* coni.] *bhagnaḥ* ms.

Die Beruhigung im eigenen Wesen ist erreicht, die Reihe der Befleckungen verschwunden, die Trennung zwischen Wahrnehmendem und Wahrgenommenen[38] zerbrochen: ich bleibe in meinem Wesen gegründet. (21)

abhedabodhasaṃbodhasvarūpānubhavasthitim
vyutthitaḥ sanniruddho vā labhate yaḥ sa tattvavit (22)
22a *saṃbodha* ms.] *saṃbodhāt* Sanderson

Wer wach oder in Versenkung *(sanniruddha)* einen Zustand erlangt, in dem er sein Wesen als Erfahrung des nicht-dualen Bewußtseins wahrnimmt, der kennt die Wirklichkeit. (22)

yasya sarvāsv avasthāsu svasthitir naiva lupyate
tasya kiṃ nāma kurvanti śāstrabhramaṇavibhramāḥ (23)
svasthitir coni. Steiner] susthitir ms.

Wer diesen Zustand der Wahrnehmung des Eigenwesens[39] in keiner Verfassung verliert, dem können die Irrungen und Wirrungen der Religion[40] gar nichts anhaben. (23)

vigalitasadasadvikalpasadasadbhramajanitamohamuktātmā
jīvann api janamadhye vigatabhayaḥ sarvadā yogī (24)
24a *sadvikalpa* coni.] *sadvikalpaḥ* ms.

Sind die Vorstellungen von Sein und Nichtsein geschwunden, und ist er frei von der Verwirrung aus dem Irrtum über Sein und Nichtsein, so ist der Meditierende, obwohl er mitten unter den Menschen lebt, immer frei von Furcht. (24)

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[38] *grāhyagrāhakatā* würde man in einem rein philosophischen Kontext als Ursache-Wirkungs-Verhältnis verstehen. Im Bezug auf die Meditation dürfte aber eher das subjektive Empfinden oder die Gewißheit, daß die Subjekt-Objekt-Spaltung überwunden ist, gemeint sein.

[39] Hier ist *svasthiti* nach dem in 22ab gegebenen Kontext ausgedeutet.

[40] Ich verstehe *bhramaṇavibhrama* hier als Verstärkung und *śāstra* im Sinne von *śaiva-śāstra* etc.

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nirastakaraṇo yena samādhiḥ sevitaḥ sakṛt
paraḥ sākṣātkṛtas tena caritārthena yoginā (25)

Ein Meditierender, der einmal die Versenkung, aus der die Sinneskräfte verbannt sind, gepflegt hat, hat den höchsten [Śiva?] verwirklicht und sein Ziel erreicht. (25)

ahamātmany asambhinnaḥ saṃgṛhya svaprayatnataḥ
prabuddhaḥ syāt svaniṣṭhaḥ san yāvat sādāśivadyutiḥ (26)

Einer, der in Bezug auf das Wesen seines Ich nicht in Unruhe ist, der aufgrund eigener Anstrengung [den Geist?] kontrolliert,[41] wenn er in sich gegründet ist, ist er erwacht, bis das Licht Sadāśivas [erscheint]. (26)

nirastasarvārthaniraṃśavṛttiḥ
jñānī sakṛt svātmani labdhalābhaḥ
samyaṅnibodhaikaparaḥ svaniṣṭhaḥ
svakañcukaṃ hanta jahāti yogī (27)

Ein Wissender [ist einer,[42]] der die ungeteilte *(niraṃśa)* geistige Aktivität[43] gänzlich abgestreift hat und einmal[44] im eigenen Wesenskern seinen Gewinn gemacht hat. Der Meditierende, der in sich ruht und einzig auf das rechte Erkennen gerichtet ist, der läßt wahrlich seine alte Haut hinter sich. (27)

vāganubhavasadyuktir yasyāsti nirantaraṃ svasaṃvittau
tasyopadeśakaraṇaṃ yuktaṃ śiṣyeṣu bodhanaṃ samyak (28)

Wer in seinem Bewußtsein beständig die rechte Methode der Sprachempfindung (?)[45] besitzt, den soll man unterweisen – Schüler soll man in rechter Weise unterrichten. (28)

nairvāsanyāt svasaṃbodhāt tyāgād āśābhimānayoḥ
sadasatpadavicchedān na punar vigrahagrahaḥ (29)

Durch Freisein von Prägungen, durch Erwachen des Wesenskerns, durch Aufgeben von Hoffnung und Selbstgefühl, durch Vernichtung der Zustände von Sein und Nichtsein ergreift man keinen weiteren Körper. (29)

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[41] Die Syntax vor allem der ersten Zeile ist undurchsichtig.

[42] Man könnte auch von einer Person ausgehen: „als Wissender" (*jñānī*) […] „als Yogi".

[43] *vṛtti* hier im Sinne von *cittavṛtti*.

[44] Aus der Sicht des Zielsprache machen die verschiedenen Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten für *sakṛt* einen großen Unterschied: denkbar wäre nämlich auch „auf einmal" oder „ein für alle mal".

[45] Es ist nicht klar, was mit *vāganubhava* gemeint sein könnte. Falls es kein technischer oder philosophischer Ausdruck sein sollte, könnte die Implikation sein, daß Schüler, sobald sie in der Lage sind, die Unterweisung sprachlich zu verstehen, auch unterrichtet werden sollen.

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āśvastāntaḥkaraṇaḥ kṣīṇavikalpaḥ svarūpalābharataḥ /
svānubhavāmṛtatṛptaḥ kaivalyaṃ yāti caritārthaḥ (30)

Wer sein Inneres beruhigt hat, wessen Vorstellungen geschwunden sind, wer sein Wesen erreichen will, wer mit dem Nektar der Selbstwahrnehmung zufrieden ist, der erreicht sein Ziel und wird befreit. (30)

ittham upeyaprāptau vigatamalā citprakāśikā satyā
kaivalyabhūtijananī svabodhasiddhir mayā gaditā (31)

Um in dieser Weise das Heilsziel zu erreichen, habe ich diese *Svabodhasiddhi* verfaßt. Sie ist fleckenlos, wahr, erhellt das Bewußtsein[46] und bewirkt das Wohl der Erlösung. (31)

yenopadeśena nalabdhalābho
bhavaty alaṃ saṃśayadoṣamuktaḥ
tenopadeśena nasaṃśayena
kiṃ nāma kuryād bahuśāstrapāṭhī //32//

Was könnte einer, der viele Śāstras studiert hat, zweifellos [nicht alles] mit dieser Unterweisung bewirken, durch die man, [auch] wenn man sein Ziel nicht erreicht hat, sicher vom Fehler des Zweifels befreit wird. (32)[47]

aśeṣakṛtamaṅgalaṃ vividhakarmadāvānalaṃ
svarūpapadadarśakaṃ sakalakalpanāvarjitam
samastasukhamandiraṃ vividhaduḥkhamūlacchide
namāmy asamasundaraṃ gurumukhopadiṣṭaṃ śivam (32)

Śiva ist restlos geheiligt, eine Feuersbrunst, welche die vielen Tatwirkungen *(karma)* verbrennt, derjenige, der den Ort der Wesenheit zeigt, der von allen Vorstellungen frei ist, der Tempel allen Glücks und von unvergleichlicher Schönheit. Ich verehre ihn, so wie mein Lehrer ihn mich lehrte,[48] um die Ursache aller Leiden zu zerstören. (33)

* * *

Bei einem Text, dessen Name bisher nicht bekannt war und bei dem die Autorenangabe, sieht man von den Ehrentiteln ab, lediglich im Namenskürzel „Bhūti" gesucht werden muß, ist man förmlich gezwungen, jedes Wort auf die Goldwaage zu legen.

[46] Die Doppeldeutigkeit – der Text erhellt das Bewußtsein des Lesers, aber auch das Konzept des Bewußtseins – ist hier wohl intendiert.

[47] Die Übersetzung beruht auf hilfreichen Vorschlägen von Roland Steiner. Das Problem bleibt die kontextuelle Deutung: Will der Autor die Gelehrsamkeit geißeln, oder will er andeuten, daß ein vielseitig Gelehrter von dieser Unterweisung besonders profitieren würde.

[48] Wörtl: „den aus dem Mund des Guru gelehrten Śiva".

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In seiner Analyse zitiert SANDERSON daher Parallelen aus einer ganzen Reihe von Texten aus dem Krama, zunächst bezüglich der Begriffe *vikalpaugha* und *kalpanājāla*. Für diese in der *Svabodhasiddhi* 3 gebrauchten Ausdrücke nennt SANDERSON Parallelen im *Chummāsaṅketaprakāśa* (je einmal *vikalpaugha* und *kalpanājāla*) und in der *Vātulanāthasūtravṛtti* (einmal *vikalpaugha*). Beide Ausdrücke sind aber in einem Text häufiger, der zwar nicht zum Śivaismus gehört, aber aus der Zeit Bhūtirājas und aus Kaschmir stammt, dem *Mokṣopāya*.[49] Man findet dort *vikalpaugha* siebenmal[50] sowie fünf Belege für *kalpanājāla*.[51] Nimmt man Varianten hinzu, so kommt man auf eine stattliche Zahl an Parallelen.[52] Aber nicht nur quantitativ ist dieser Bezug interessant: der gesamte Pāda 3a der *Svabodhasiddhi* kommt zweimal im *Mokṣopāya* vor,[53] ferner 2a in *Mokṣopāya* 6.259.30.

Ähnliches gilt für den Ausdruck *spandāspandakṛtagrāsāṃ* in 6c. SANDERSON kann eine wörtliche Parallele lediglich durch Konjektur gewinnen,[54] die übrigen Parallelen beziehen sich lediglich auf *spandāspanda*. Auch dieser Ausdruck tritt uns regelmäßig im *Mokṣopāya* entgegen.[55] Signifikant sind diejenigen Stellen, in denen explizit von der Natur des Bewußtseins die Rede ist: *spandāspandasvabhāvaṃ hi cinmātram iha vidyate* (3.67.6) und – zusammen mit dem Begriff *sattā*, der auch im vorliegenden Text wichtig ist: *spandāspandamayī yathā svasaṃvidātmikā sattā* (6.179.23bc).

Man könnte durchaus fortfahren: die Meditationsanweisung in 14a *(bodhamātre grahaḥ kāryaḥ)*, derzufolge man sich nur an das Erkennen oder Bewußtsein halten solle, findet sich ähnlich in *Mokṣopāya* 3.125.24: *budhyasvāntar bodhasambodhamātram*. Für den Ausdruck *svasattānugama* (10b), der nach SANDERSON eine Parallele im (ungedruckten) *Jayadrathayāmala* hat (*svasattāgrahaṇena*), finden wir ebenfalls eine Parallele im *Mokṣopāya*.[56]

Die Frage ist, was aus solchen Parallelen zu schließen ist. Zunächst einmal, daß die intertextuellen Bezüge der *Svabodhasiddhi* über das Gebiet der śivaitischen Literatur hinausreichen und im *Mokṣopāya* einen Text betreffen,

[49] Alle Belege der Bücher 1–5 beziehen sich auf die kritische Edition (*Anonymus Casmiriensis: Mokṣopāya. Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe.* Herausgegeben unter der Leitung von WALTER SLAJE). [Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Indologischen Kommission]. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2011ff.), die Belege im sechsten Buch stammen aus den noch nicht veröffentlichten Vorarbeiten des *Mokṣopāya*-Projekts, für die ich den Herausgebern danke.

[50] 2.10.3; 3.96.29; 5.11.6; 5.54.42; 5.84.17; 5.94.66; 6.356.28.

[51] 3.116.1; 3.136.21; 3.137.19; 6.39.22, 6.57.33.

[52] Zum Beispiel *vikalpajāla*: 1.25.43; 3.63.3; 3.96.26; 3.101.32; 3.116.8; 3.122.44; 4.35.50; 5.5.49; 5.51.21; 6.326.45.

[53] *nirastakalpanājāla*: 3.136.21 und 3.137.19.

[54] Aus *sadā spandakṛtagrāsā* in *Jayarathayāmala*.

[55] 2.10.11; 3.9.61, 62, 64; 3.67.6 usw.

[56] *ekātmā svasattānubhavī yathā* (VI.30.96).

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der in geographischer Nähe zu und in der Zeit des Bhūtirāja entstanden ist. Sie sind allesamt zu knapp, als daß man Rückschlüsse auf die theologischen oder philosophischen Positionen ziehen könnte. Wichtiger wäre in diesem Zusammenhang die Behandlung doktrinär kritischer Termini und Ideen. Hier bietet sich etwa der Begriff *kañcuka* an, der in der *Svabodhasiddhi* zweimal in ähnlicher Weise gebraucht ist, nämlich als etwas, das der Meditierende hinter sich läßt: *santyakte tattvakañcuke* (13b) und *svakañcukaṃ jahāti yogī* (27d). Für eine Deutung im Sinne der ausgebildeten śivatischen Theologie müßte man den Begriff als kollektiven auffassen, und darunter die fünf *kañcuka*s verstehen. Doch der Begriff wird selbst in einem śivaitischen Tantra in der gewöhnlichen, nichttechnischen Bedeutung gebraucht und so von Abhinavagupta zitiert: Im *Niśācāra* lesen wir, daß „der Erlösungssucher all dies wie eine Schlangenhaut abstreifen soll".[57] Im Falle des Ausdruckes *tattvakañcuka* (13b) gibt es sogar eine Parallele bei Abhinavagupta, doch während bei Bhūti die „Umhüllung der (einen) Wirklichkeit" gemeint sein dürfte, muß man in *Tantrāloka* 19.30 – durch das Pluralwort bedingt – davon ausgehen, daß die śivaitischen Fachtermini gemeint sind: „die Gruppe der *tattva*s und *kañcuka*s" *(tattvakañcukajāla)*. In anderen Worten: Der Autor gebraucht den Begriff *kañcuka* nicht im Sinne der fünf *kañcuka*s, was allerdings keine Rückschlüsse auf eine Schulzugehörigkeit ermöglicht.

Sanderson versucht in seiner Analyse einen Bezug der *Svabodhasiddhi* zum Krama über die Charakteristika dieser Schule herzustellen, so wie sie sich aus dem *Mahānayaprakāśa*[58] ergeben:

> We have seen that the unknown author of the Trivandrum *Mahānayaprakāśa* teaches that the attainment of the goal through the Krama's course of meditative worship *(pūjanam)* is the lowest of three means of enlightenment, that the highest is a non-conceptual transmission *(saṃkramaṇaṃ)*, a sudden and definitive revelation of the Primordial Ground *(purāṇādhiṣṭānakramaḥ, anupāyakramaḥ)* brought about by a non-conceptual *(nirvikalpaka-)* transmission from Guru to disciple, and that between that and Krama worship is a method of oral instruction *(kathanam)*, in which self-realization is initiated by the Guru through instruction in a corpus of aphorisms designed to project the recipient with a minimum of conceptualization into direct, non-conceptual enlightenment *(sāhasasamādhiḥ)* without recourse to the gradualist path of Krama worship.

Hier fällt nun auf, daß Bhūti in Strophe 7 den in der Krama-Schule gebrauchten Begriff des *kathana* verwendet, das Konzept aber ablehnt. Im Rahmen der Theologie dieser Schule läßt sich dies natürlich ebenfalls erklären, und

[57] Zitiert von Jayaratha in seinem *Tantrālokaviveka* zu 15.105: *mokṣārthī sarvam etat tu sarpakañcukavat tyajet*.

[58] Sanderson 2007, S. 332, siehe auch 296 und 311.

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SANDERSON zieht in seiner Besprechung dieser Strophe die entsprechende Stelle aus dem *Mahānayaprakāśa* heran, derzufolge auf der höchsten Stufe *(mahātīvratama)* der Herabkunft der Śakti diese Form der Übertragung durch „*kathana*" transzendiert werde.

Angesichts des sonst eher unspezifischen Bezugs zu theologischen Details stellt sich die Frage, ob die Ideen „Bhūtis" nicht eigentlich vor oder auch außerhalb einer theologischen Systematisierung zu lokalisieren sind. Die Zurückweisung der "oral instruction" *(kathana)* und die Aussage, die im Text beschriebene Methode sei ohne Alternative (10ab), macht nicht den Eindruck, als würde sie in einem theologisch festgelegten Rahmen einer „höchsten Stufe" geäußert. Der Text könnte mit gleicher Berechtigung als grundsätzliche Kritik an der Wirksamkeit solcher „geheimen Übertragungen" gemeint sein, und zu diesem Tenor würde passen, daß der Autor, um die von ihm präferierte Methode der Meditation, die Aufmerksamkeit auf das eigene Sein, zu beschreiben, auf eine überwiegend sektenunspezifische, eher allgemein-sivaitische und yogische Terminologie zurückgreift. Weitreichende Schlüsse lassen sich aus diesen Beobachtungen schwerlich ziehen. Die Parallelen zum *Mokṣopāya* sprechen eher für eine Einordnung in die zweite Häfte des 10. Jh.,[59] also die Lebenszeit Bhūtirājas, als gegen sie. Ob der Autor mit seiner Methode die höchste Stufe des Krama beschreibt, oder eine ganz individuelle Vorstellung entwickelt, oder seine Theorien später als höchste Stufe in das System integriert wurden, alle diese Fragen müssen neu gestellt werden, wenn die anderen Texte des Krama in verläßlichen Editionen vorliegen.

[59] Man könnte noch weitere Zitate beibringen, die dieses Bild bestätigen, wie etwa das Zitat eines nicht näher benannten „großen Yogī" in Kṣemarājas Kommentar zu *Stavacintāmaṇi* (118), wo wir im Ausdruck *nirastakaraṇaḥ paramaḥ samādhiḥ* eine deutliche Parallele zu *Svabodhasiddhi* 25 *nirastakaraṇo yena samādhiḥ sevitaḥ* finden.

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The Fear of Being Reborn in the Hells: Death and the Afterlife in Early Twentieth-Century Mongolia

By Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, Bern

Summary: The collection of Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs of Prof. Dr. Richard Ernst (Winterthur/Switzerland) that currently is catalogued at the Institute for Religious Studies of Bern University holds a couple of Mongolian picture-books (Mo. *jiruɣ-tu nom*). These books have been very popular in nineteenth century Mongolia. Often they showed in drastic images the different Buddhist hells and the suffering beings in them. In this way, they evoked the transitoriness of human existence and the omnipresence of death. Moreover, they threatened the lay populace with terrible punishments that awaited those who had not lived according to the ten virtuous precepts (Tib. *dge ba bcu*). The books in which image often prevailed over text were used by itinerant monks to illustrate and enforce their moral injunctions. This paper analyses one picture-book of the Ernst collection. "The picture-book of Molom toyin" (Mo. *Molom toyin-u jiruɣ-tu taɣuji orosibai*) reflects in its images the fears and anxieties about death and the afterlife that influenced the social life of the Mongolians in the early twentieth century. The study of this picture-book opens new ways to explore the every-day religious concepts that determined the Mongolian socio-religious practices in regard to death and the afterlife.

1 Introduction

In the summer of 2012, I was invited to attend a memorial ritual for the recently deceased father of a friend of mine in Darkhan, the second largest city in Mongolia.[1] The old man had died a couple of months before, and for forty-nine days after his death the monks of the nearby monastery had duly recited the death liturgies for his consciousness to ensure it a good rebirth. Now another two months had passed, and a further ritual was held, this time in a residential flat, again to ensure a good rebirth. The family of my friend reckoned that their deceased relative would be reborn in the family, and their hopes lay on a pregnant cousin. Usually, lama-astrologers are consulted to predict the next rebirth. In today's Mongolian Buddhist context, this will always be a human rebirth, preferably in the same family and also the same gender. A change of gender, even from female to male which is seen as a sign of good karma in the rest of the Buddhist world, is considered in-

[1] All names, places and dates are changed to protect the anonymity of my interlocutors.

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auspicious. Thus the Buddhist concept of rebirth has been thoroughly mongolised.[2] If judged by the number of prayers and rituals the bereaved family asks (against payment, of course) from the lamas, in today's Mongolia the matter of rebirth seems to cause considerable anxiety and uncertainty. Yet, it is noteworthy that nowadays the Buddhist monks rarely address the possibility to be reborn in one of the Buddhist hells. In the nineteenth, and even well into the twentieth century, matters had been different in this respect. Just a hundred years ago, books that describe a possible rebirth in the hells, were wide-spread in the Mongolian regions. Whereas today human rebirth takes center stage in the imagination of the people,[3] during those times rebirth in one of the numerous Buddhist hells held the attention of the Mongolians. At least this conclusion can be drawn from the many illustrated manuscripts and block-prints, the so called *jiruγ-tu nom*,[4] "picture-books", that are found in libraries around the world. Whereas the earliest of these picture-books have been produced in the seventeenth century, the genre had its hey-day in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The texts attest to a kind of "pictorial turn" in the literary production of the Mongols of the nineteenth century, demonstrating a shift in the representational practices of the cultural elites. The picture-books were produced in the monasteries, as is evident from the rare colophon some of them include, but they target the lay population. These texts have in common that they describe, in words, but even more so in colourful and lively images, the Buddhist hells and the sufferings of people that during their life did not stick to the Buddhist moral rules.[5] Drawing on a collective imaginaire which was equally fed by local

[2] "Mongolisation" is here used as an analytical term denoting the integration and adaptation of non-Mongolian concepts, ideas and structures into Mongolian knowledge cultures.

[3] Already CAROLINE HUMPHREY observed this in the eighties of the 20th century, see C. HUMPHREY: "Rituals of Death in Mongolia: Their Implications for Understanding the Mutual Constitution of Persons and Objects and Certain Concepts of Property." In: *Inner Asia* 1 (1999), No. 1, p. 67 [pp. 59–86]. However, during his fieldwork among Mongols in Ulaangom and Harhiraa, GRÉGORY DELAPLACE encountered the belief that the Buddhist hells are places where the souls stay temporarily, depending on their merits (Mo. *buyan*) accumulated during their lifetime, see his *L'invention des morts. Sépultures, fantômes et photographie en Mongolie contemporaine*. Paris 2008, p. 87.

[4] The transcription of the Uiguro-Mongolian follows I. DE RACHEWILTZ: *The Mongolian Tanjur Version of the Bodhicaryāvatāra, edited and transcribed with a word-index and a photo-reproduction of the original text (1748)*. Wiesbaden 1996, with the exception of the *j* which is transcribed without the haček. The Khalkh-Mongolian language is transliterated according to H.-P. VIETZE: *Lehrbuch der mongolischen Sprache*. Leipzig 1978. The Tibetan is transliterated according to WYLIE, the transliteration of the Sanskrit follows the internationally established rules.

[5] The Mongolian texts concerned with Buddhist hells may be roughly distinguished into three different groups: (1) canonical literature belonging to the *Abhidharmakośa*

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concepts and practices and by the standardised presentations of Buddhist canonical texts, the picture-books served as a didactic tool for the numerous itinerant beggar monks, the so called *badarči*, who travelled through the country and preached Buddhist morals to the people. The manuscripts that are usually painted with much love to detail, mostly contain both text and image, thus demanding from the reader a constant code switching between "verbal and visual literacy".[6] They may thus be characterised, in the words of the American theorist on visual representation, Thomas Mitchell, as "imagetexts",[7] synthetic works combining image and text. One text, however, has no text at all and consists entirely of images.[8]

Studying the numerous *jiruɣ-tu nom* that have come down to us, one cannot but attest the Mongolians a kind of obsession with hells. The illustrations

tradition in a wider sense. Here the illustrated, often bi-lingual, Tibetan-Mongolian, versions of the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna-sūtra* (Tib. *`Phags pa dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar bzhag pa*, Mo. *Qutuɣ-tu degedü-yin nom-i duradqui oyir-a aɣulqui*, Mongolian Kanjur, *eldeb*, Nos. 1044–1047) have been wide-spread in the Mongolian regions in a compilation prepared by the learned Tshe spel dbang phyug rdo rje (1836–1894), who lived in the Üijen güng-ün qosiɣun baraɣun süme of Sayin noyan qan aimaɣ. Nearly the entire text of the above mentioned Kanjur-text is incorporated in this illustrated hell-almanach, which also includes parts of the *Vinayavastu* and other Buddhist texts. For this text with the title *`Di ni las gang gis dmyal ba dang yi dvags gang du skye rgyu las ris mo dang bshad sbrags nas `jigs pas nyams su len te lam bzang la `jug rgyu'i man ngag bzhugs/ Ene anu yambar üile-ber tamu birid-tü töröküi učir-i ilɣan salɣaju tusbüri jiruɣ nom-i qamtu-da üiledügsen-eče ayun angqaraju abubasu sayin mör-tür oroqu-yin ubadis orosibai* ("Teaching that through the help of pictures shows the causes to be born in hell and among the pretas and by frightening people leads them on the right path"), see G. Bethlenfalvy/A. Sárközi: *A Tibeto-Mongolian Picture-Book of Hell*. Budapest 2010 (Treasures of Mongolian Culture and Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism 5); (2) the Tibetan *`das log*-narratives. Whereas in Tibet stories about so called *`das log,* ordinary people who after their death return back to life and give an eyewitness account of the afterlife, abound, only one such story has been translated into Mongolian, the narrative of the *`das log* Gling bza' Chos skyid. The story of *Choyidjid dagini*, as she is called in the Mongolian language, was very popular in Mongolia, as can be seen from the many manuscripts which survived through the centuries, compare A.G. Sazykin: *Istoriia Choiidzhid-dagini: Faksimile rukopisi, transliteratsiia teksta, perevod s mongol'skogo, issledovanie i kommentarii A. G. Sazykina*. Moskva 1990; (3) the Mongolian versions of the narrative of Maudgalyāyana, see the first section of this paper. Apart from these three groups, other texts, like the apocryphical collection of tales exploring the benefits of reciting the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, or the biography of the famous Tibetan saint Mi la ras pa, deal with the Buddhist hells, compare K. Kollmar-Paulenz: "Teaching the Dharma in Pictures: Illustrated Mongolian Books of the Ernst Collection in Switzerland." (Internet article 2013).

[6] W.J. Thomas Mitchell: *Picture Theory. Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago/London 1995, p. 89.

[7] Mitchell 1995, p. 89, note 9.

[8] A. Sárközi: "A Mongolian Picture-Book of Molon Toyin's Descent into Hell." In: AOH 30 (1976), pp. 273–308.

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in the texts allow us a small glimpse into the ordinary people's dealings with death and their concepts of an afterlife. In the following I will, on the basis of one illustrated manuscript, explore some[9] Mongolian concepts of death and afterlife in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thereby I will not so much concentrate on the prescriptive Buddhist conceptualisations of death and after-death states, but focus on the every-day religious concepts of the afterlife. The picture-books oscillate between the representation of fixed and authoritative Buddhist cosmological notions and the description of actual social practices. In them every-day religious life is negotiated, constantly shifting between these two poles.

2 The Mongolian versions of the narrative of Maudgalyāyana

I have selected the (in my opinion) most beautiful picture-book out of a collection of Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs that the Swiss nobel-price laureate of the year 1991, Professor RICHARD ERNST, has brought together over the last decades.[10] The manuscript consists of twenty-three folios with the size of 35 × 22 cm.[11] Unfortunately, it does not contain a colophon so that we do not know the names of the author, the scribe and the illustrator. However, it must have been written after 1920, because the paper used is of Soviet production, bearing a water seal of hammer and sickle. The upper part of each folio[12] contains illustrations that are executed in water-colours. The figures are all drawn in single-colour lines of black ink which are then filled out with water-colours. The painter used mostly red, blue (in different shades) and black. Architecture and landscape (mountains and trees) as well as some cultural features like the wooden coffin depicted in folio seven show Chinese influence, whereas the dress of the people, especially of the women, points to a Khalkha environment. In my opinion, this curious mixture of Chinese influenced cultural markers and Khalkha-Mongolian cultural features may be due to a specific mode of transmission: it was probably copied

[9] Concepts of death as well as burial practices vary considerably among different Mongolian groups and, moreover, have been prone to significant changes in socialist times. The practices and concepts I address in this paper should therefore not be taken as the one and only way Mongolians deal with death and the afterlife.

[10] For a description of the collection see K. KOLLMAR-PAULENZ: "Eine Schweizer Sammlung mongolischer Handschriften und Blockdrucke." In: *Zentralasiatische Studien* 38 (2009), pp. 211–226. I am deeply grateful to Professor RICHARD ERNST for his kind permission to publish the illustrations and for his constant support of Mongolian Studies in Switzerland.

[11] Collector's call number: ET 816.

[12] With the exception of folio twenty (r and v) which does not contain any illustrations.

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from a picture-book originating in an Inner Mongolian region near to China, and the copyist did not adjust every detail to the new environment.

The illustrations are carefully executed, with a love to detail. On most folios they fill out one third of the folio, but on some they occupy more than half of it. Underneath the illustrations the accompanying text is written. The manuscript bears the title *Molom*[13] *toyin-u jiruγ-tu tayuji orosibai*, "The picture-book of Molom toyin", being one of the many versions of the famous story of Molon[14] toyin that was immensily popular in the Mongolian regions. The text describes the tale of the monk Molom toyin and his journey through the Buddhist hells in order to rescue his deceased mother. The story goes back to the well-known tale of Maudgalyāyana's journeys to the hells which is already found in the *Mahāvastu*.[15] This tale travelled across Inner Asia to China and from there to Dunhuang and, during the Tang period, to Tibet.[16] Along its journey from India to China the narrative was elaborated and retold in two separate versions, the "Sūtra of the Yulan Vessel" (Ch. *Yulanpen jing*)[17] and the "Transformation text on Mulian saving his mother from hell" (Ch. *Damuqianlian mingjian jiumu bianwen*).[18] The narrative found its way into Tibet where it proved to be a complete success,[19] judging from the extensive textual tradition of stories about Me'u gal gyi bu, as the hero is often called in Tibetan manuscripts. As Matthew Kapstein

[13] The two manuscripts ET 816 and ET 820 use the variant *molom* instead of *molon*. Only on folio 20r of ET 816 we find twice the variant *molon*. The only text known to me other than the manuscript of the Ernst collection which also has the variant *molom* is the manuscript among the legacy of the Polish scholar Władisław Kotwicz, see E. Dziurzyńska: "Legacy of Władisław Kotwicz in the Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow." In: J. Tulisow / O. Inoue / A. Bareja-Starzyńska / E. Dziurzyńska (eds.): *In the Heart of Mongolia. 100th Anniversary of W. Kotwicz's Expedition to Mongolia in 1912.* Cracow 2012, pp. 271 and 272.

[14] *Molon* is the usual Mongolian form of the name.

[15] J.J. Jones (transl.): *The Mahāvastu.* London 1949, vol. 1, pp. 6–21. According to M. Kapstein: "Mulian in the Land of Snows and King Gesar in Hell: A Chinese Tale of Parental Death in Its Tibetan Transformations." In: B.J. Cuevas/J.I. Stone (eds.): *The Buddhist Dead. Practices, Discourses, Representations.* Honolulu 2007, p. 369, note 5, the Tibetans received their knowledge of Maudgalyāyana's hell journeys from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*.

[16] Kapstein 2007, pp. 345–377, deals extensively with the transmission history of the narrative.

[17] Whether this text is the translation from an Indian original, is still controversial.

[18] For both texts see S.F. Teiser: *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China.* Princeton 1988; compare also D. Berounský: *The Tibetan Version of the Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Quest for Chinese Influence on the Tibetan Perception of the Afterlife.* Prague 2012, pp. 78–85.

[19] Berounský provides a short overview of the Tibetan versions, see Berounský 2012, pp. 86–99.

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has shown, the Tibetan tales became assimiliated to the *`das log* genre.[20] The Mongolian versions go back on one hand to the Tibetan tale, on the other hand to the Chinese variants. The Chinese versions of the Maudgalyāyana-tales belong to the so called *bianwen* genre, the "transformation texts":[21] they were recited in public gatherings by itinerant story-tellers, who accompanied their narrative by colourful images they carried with them. Whereas the Chinese *Mulian*-tales were performed in a picture recitation, we do not possess evidence that this was also the case with the Tibetan Me'u gal gyi bu-stories. Although the text of the Molon toyin-tales was translated from the Tibetan, the Mongolian name of the hero, *Molon*, once again stresses the Chinese influence: *Molon* derives from the Chinese *Mulian*, not from the Tibetan *Me'u gal gyi bu*.

The first translations of the narrative from the Tibetan[22] into the Mongolian language date into the early seventeenth century. Two early independent translations have come down to us. One was prepared by Altan gerel ubasi, a contemporary of the Khalkha Tüšiyetü Qan Gombodorji (born 1594). This translation was preserved in manuscript form.[23] The translation undertaken by the famous translator Siregetü güsi čorji at the beginning of the seventeenth century is probably the most widespread one. It bears the title *Qutuɣ-tu molon toyin eke-dür-iyen ači qariɣuluɣsan kemekü sudur orsibai*, "How the holy Molon Toyin gave back the meritorious deeds to his mother", nearly verbatim translating the Tibetan title. These early translations most probably draw on even earlier translations from the fourteenth century, as the language pecularities of the translators reveal.[24] The great demand for

[20] KAPSTEIN 2007, pp. 355–358. For the *`das log* see F. POMMARET: "Returning from Hell." In: D.S. LOPEZ JR. (ed.): *Religions of Tibet in Practice.* Princeton/Oxford 2007, pp. 377–388; B.J. CUEVAS: "The Death and Return of Lady Wangzin: Visions of the Afterlife in Tibetan Buddhist Popular Literature." In: CUEVAS/STONE 2007, pp. 297–325, and BEROUNSKÝ 2012, pp. 44–75, who also compares them to the Chinese *zhiguai* stories. A full study of the *`das log* provides B.J. CUEVAS: *Travels in the Netherworld. Buddhist Popular Narratives of Death and the Afterlife in Tibet.* Oxford 2008. A Russian translation of the one *`das log* tale that was translated into Mongolian gives SAZYKIN 1990.

[21] For them see the important works by V. MAIR: *T'ang Transformation Texts: A Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China.* Cambridge, Mass. 1989, and his study *Tun-huang Popular Narratives.* Cambridge 1983.

[22] The Tibetan title being *`Phags `dus pa chen po byang chub sems dpa' me'u gal gyi bu'i ma la phan bdag pa'i mdo*; for an overview of the Tibetan versions see BEROUNSKÝ 2012, pp. 86–99.

[23] The text titled *Qutuytu yekede čiɣuluɣsan neretü bodi sedkil-tü modgalavani köbegün eke-degen tusa kürgegsen sudur* has been edited by L. LŐRINCZ: *Molon Toyin's Journey into the Hell. Altan Gerel's Translation. 1. Introduction and Transcription*. Budapest 1982.

[24] B.IA. VLADIMIRTSOV: "Mongol'skie rukopisi i ksilografy, potupivshie v Aziatskii muzei Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk ot prof. A.D. Rudneva." In: *Izvestiia Rossiiskoi Akademii nauk*. Petrograd 1918, pp. 1550–1551.

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the text led to a first print-edition of Siregetü güsi čorji's translation in Beijing 1686 and its subsequent reprint in 1708.[25] A later Oirat translation[26] and an adaptation of the narrative in 500 verses, originating in the Ordos region of Inner Mongolia, further attests to the narrative's wide dissemination in the Mongolian regions.

Already in the eighteenth century the popularity of the Molon toyin-tales led to the production of the first *jiruγ-tu nom*, the picture-books. They were mostly written and illustrated by anonymous authors. One of these books, however, contains a colophon and mentions as author one Sayin oyutu dalai (Tib. Blo bzang rgya mtsho). It is preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen (Ms. Mong. 417) and is now available in digitalized form.[27] Unfortunately, we know nothing about the author. On one hand his narration shows the influence of Siregetü güsi čorji's translation, on the other hand he also draws on the Chinese versions of the story. A couple of episodes that are not included in the printed Mongolian edition derive from the Chinese versions, like Molon toyin's life as a merchant, his journey, the splitting of the household property in three parts after his father's death, the lies of his mother, her punishment by sudden death, her rebirth in the deepest hell and the appearance of the Buddha in this hell. The episode of the mother dying during the absence of her son stresses the Chinese notion of filial piety which is a recurrent theme in the Chinese *Damuqianlian mingjian jiumu bianwen*. In the end, however, the tale is told in a way well adjusted to Mongolian social conditions and practices.

The illustrated Molon toyin-tales of the Ernst collection, of which one will be explored in more detail here, are all variations of the story as presented by Sayin oyutu dalai. A text comparison of the manuscript described here (ET 816) to the Copenhagen manuscript shows a couple of divergencies between both texts. The manuscript of the Ernst collection lacks the pseudo-canonical beginning which in the Copenhagen manuscript links

[25] The first edition survived in a single copy which is nowadays kept in the university library of Hohot (PRC), see *Bükü ulus-un Mongγol qayučin-un γarčaγ*. Kökeqota 1979, No. 0926 (1), quoted after A. G. Sazykin: *Videniia buddiiskogo ada: Predislovie, perevod, transliteratsiia, primechaniia i glossarii A. G. Sazykina*. St. Petersburg 2004, p. 9, note 11. We possess many copies of this reprint in different libraries around the world. In the nineteenth century, this edition was once again printed from newly carved wood blocks in the Aga monastery of Buryatia, see Sazykin 2004, p. 10, note 18.

[26] The Oirat version has been translated into Russian, see N. S. Iakhontova: *Oiratskaia "Istoriia o Molon-toine". Faksimile rukopisi, izdanie teksta, vvedenie, perevod s oiratskogo, transliteratsiia, kommentarii i prilozheniia N. S. Iakhontovoi*. St. Petersburg 1999.

[27] The small book has been translated into German by W. Heissig: *Mongolische Erzählungen. Helden-, Höllenfahrts- und Schelmengeschichten*. Zürich 1986, pp. 169–218.

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the story to the historical Buddha in India. In some respects ET 816 is more detailed, but generally follows the same script as the Copenhagen manuscript.

3 The tale as told in the illustrated manuscript of the Ernst collection

In the illustrated manuscript of the Ernst collection the tale of Maudgalyāyana, the disciple of the Buddha, who went in search of his mother to the Buddhist hells, has been transformed into a Mongolian tale. The setting is now a Mongolian one, the story is situated in a sedentary Sino-Mongolian milieu. The hero is Molom toyin, the son of a rich merchant and in the beginning of the story a merchant himself. His personal name is Labuɣ,[28] and only after his ordination he is called Molom toyin, "monk Molom".

The first folio of the picture-book sets the scene (Fig. 1). The dramatis personae are introduced: in the middle of the folio we see at the left Ili, who serves as servant in the household, followed by the father, the mother Molom qatun and at last the hero, Labuɣ. He is the only one of the group of four who looks at the reader or viewer. The other three face an altar with offerings to their left. A ceremonial scarf (Tib. *kha btags*) is jointly held by Labuɣ and his parents, thus singling them out as a family. Next to the altar, also on the left side of the folio, we see a house in Sino-Mongolian architectural style. In the middle of the house a Buddha image is prominently placed, the altar with offerings in front of him filling the entire space of the house. A monk and a lay devotee pray to the left and right side of the altar respectively. At the right side of the folio the wealth of the family is symbolized by the five Mongolian animals (Mo. *tabun mal*), sheep, goat, cattle, camel and horse. The horse, being the most precious animal, is depicted twice, to stress its importance. This first folio is very carefully composed, introducing the main protagonists and their living conditions, characterising them as rich but at the same time very devout Mongolian Buddhist lay people. The dress of the woman allows us a first guess at the region where the story unfolds: Her dress has puffed sleeves, which get tight around her wrists. Such clothes were common for married Khalkha women in the nineteenth century. Her hair is styled in the Khalkha "horn" fashion.[29] In other illustrations the men are depicted with the usual Khalkha style hat,[30] sometimes adorned with a

[28] This name clearly derives from the Tibetan *La phug skyes*, see for example the *Thabs mkhas pa chen po / pha ma drin lan bsab pa'i mdo*, Phug brag bka' `gyur, compare BEROUNSKÝ 2012, p. 121. In the Copenhagen manuscript Labuɣ is called *Mudgal*.

[29] See JADAMSUREN: *BNMA Ulsyn ardyn khuvcas.* Ulaanbaatar 1967, fig. 27 and 28.

[30] JADAMSUREN 1967, fig. 3.

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Fig. 1

peacock's feather, the usual distinguishing mark of official rank during the Qing period.

On the second folio a rectangular box can be seen at the left side, from which a small naked human being ascends in a cloud towards heaven. The box is a coffin, as it was used in China, and marks the death of Labuγ's father. The small naked person is a material presentation of the (Mo.) *sünesün* (Khalkh-Mo. *süns*), the soul that after death looks for a new rebirth. In this image the soul finds its way to the palace of the *Tngri*, the Heavenly Ones, a class of indigenous Mongolian deities that were included in the Buddhist pantheon and are often identified with the "thirty-three gods" of Indian Buddhist mythology.[31] We move in a Buddhist context, which is also stressed by the Buddhist altar with offerings, but in this illustration we also note the adaptation processes indigenous Mongolian concepts underwent in

[31] W. Heissig: "Die Religionen der Mongolei." In: G. Tucci/W. Heissig: *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*. Stuttgart 1970, pp. 352–364, especially p. 353. For the so called "Thirty-three gods" (Skt. *trāyastriṃśa*) of Indian Buddhism, who belong to the six realms of karmic existence, see G. Gröndold: "Die Mythologie des indischen Buddhismus." In: H.W. Haussig (ed.): *Wörterbuch der Mythologie, Erste Abteilung: Die alten Kulturvölker.* Bd. V: *Götter und Mythen des indischen Subkontinents*. Stuttgart 1984, p. 393.

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the buddhaisation of their worldviews: the soul is conceptualised in a material way, it needs a material frame. In a Buddhist context the Mongolian term *sünesün* translates the Tibetan *rnam par shes pa* respectively the Sanskrit term *vijñāna*, "consciousness".[32] The Buddhist term, however, is inadequately translated by the English term "consciousness", as it entails both the conscious, active, and the unconscious, inactive, physical and psychic functions of this fifth component in the constitution of a human being that consists of the five *skandhas*.[33] At the same time, the term *sünesün* denotes one of the three souls a human being possesses, the soul that resides in the bones (Mo. *yasun-u sünesün*).[34] This soul is transmitted by the father. It is often acknowledged as a double of the human being. The *sünesün* can temporarily leave the body, it can roam about and is able to transform itself. Separated from the body, the soul is in constant danger from attacks by evil spirits. If somebody dies, the soul will stay near the corpse, till the pelvis bone disintegrates. The *sünesün* is supposed to be jealous, it can provoke bad dreams and is generally said to dwell near people, trying to harm them. Nowadays, when people talk about the soul of the deceased, they invariably use the term *sünesün* which has become the general term for "soul". I frequently got the impression that the traditional notion of the three souls is no longer present in people's conceptions about death and the afterlife.

The above mentioned idea of the *sünesün* moving freely without being attached to the body, may have led to the identification with the Buddhist concept of *vijñāna*. On the other hand, we should keep in mind that similiar concepts existed (and exist) in Tibet, where we note a conflation between *rnam shes*, "consciousness" in a Buddhist sense and the notion of *bla*, "soul".[35] *rNam*

[32] In the context of the *pañcaskandha* (Tib. *phung po lnga*, Mo. *tabun čoγča*) the term is usually translated *teyin medekü*i, see the respective entry in the Mongolian *Mahāvyutpatti* (A. SÁRKÖZI: *A Buddhist Terminological Dictionary. The Mongolian Mahāvyutpatti*. Wiesbaden 1995, p. 151, no. 1836). Today the term *teyin medel* is used in a Buddhist context, see SUTUBILIG: *Chos lugs kyi tshig mdzod / Šasin-u toli*. Öbör mongγol-un suryan kümüjil-ün keblel-ün qoriy-a 1996, p. 314.

[33] Compare D. KEOWN: *A Dictionary of Buddhism*. Oxford 2004, pp. 328–329, s.v. *vijñāna*.

[34] ERIKA and MANFRED TAUBE: *Schamanen und Rhapsoden. Die geistige Kultur der alten Mongolei*. Wien 1983, p. 81; see also Á. BIRTALAN: *Die Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion*. In: E. SCHMALTZRIEDT / H. W. HAUSSIG (eds.): *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*. I. Abteilung, Bd. VII: *Götter und Mythen in Zentralasien und Nordeurasien*. Stuttgart 2001, pp. 1045–1046.

[35] For *bla* see K. KOLLMAR-PAULENZ: "Die Mythologie des tibetischen und mongolischen Buddhismus." In: E. SCHMALTZRIEDT / H. W. HAUSSIG (eds.): *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*. I. Abteilung, Bd. VII: *Götter und Mythen in Zentralasien und Nordeurasien*. Stuttgart 2001, pp. 1158–1159. CUEVAS 2008, p. 30, stresses that *bla* "is described in Tibetan medical sources as a vital physiological and intellectual support principle pervading the entire body and dependent on the respiratory breath *(dbugs)*." See also B. GERKE: "En-

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shes was frequently imagined as a material object and blurred with *bla*. Very similiar to the Mongolian illustration, *rnam shes* is visually depicted in the form of a small naked human being, as illustrations in Tibetan medicinal texts show.[36]

In the next folio Labuy, after the death of his father now the head of the family, follows in his footsteps and engages in trade. He tells his mother that he will conduct a longer trade journey and lets her promise him that during his absence from home she will continue to worship the Buddha, venerate the Buddhist monks by giving alms, honour the nobles and the elders and support the commoners. As reason for his admonition he tells her: "My mother, it is necessary to think of the sufferings in the three very low rebirths and to end them."[37] Thus, very early in the narrative the main didactic theme is set: the veneration of and obedience to the representatives of the Buddha's teaching, the monastic community, and the representatives of the worldly power. The respect of the prevailing social order providing a viable means to escape a horrible fate in the lower rebirths is put into text and image.

During Labuy's absence his mother Molom qatun shows her real character. She rejoices in leading a blasphemous life (Fig. 2):

> […] with gold and silver she bought many animals, fattened them, hung them from wooden hooks and hit the still living animals with wooden sticks so that the blood in their bodies stocked. Saying that they would taste good, she let them get killed, then mixed the meat and blood, flavoured it with garlic and sweet wine, ate and savoured it. Further, she threw living fish into a pot, roasted and ate them. Furthermore, she threw geese, chicken and many other birds alive in a hot pot, so that they plucked out their own feathers and died. She dipped the meat of these birds in salt and ate it. Again, she ripped out the hearts of living pigs, took it and offered it to the bad *ongγod*. To her great satisfaction she accomplished various kinds of evil deeds and rejoiced in them.[38]

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gaging the Subtle Body: Re-approaching *Bla* Rituals in the Himalayas." In: M. Schrempf (ed.): *Soundings in Tibetan Medicine. Anthropological and Historical Perspectives.* Leiden 2007 (Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS, 2003. Volume 10), pp. 191–212.

[36] See, for example, the illustration in the *Vaidūrya sngon po*, written by the Tibetan regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho in the seventeenth century, in: Y. Parfionovich / G. Dorje / F. Meyer: *Klassische Tibetische Medizin, Illustrationen zur Abhandlung Blauer Beryl von Sangye Gyamtso (1653–1705).* Bern 1996, table 5.

[37] *Molom toyin-u jiruγ-tu taγuji,* fol. 2v13–14: *Iji minu asuru γurban maγu jayaγan-u jobalang ni sanaju tasulaqu keregtei.*

[38] *Molom toyin-u jiruγ-tu taγuji,* fol. 3v3–22: *altan mönggö-iyer olan mal-yi qudaldun abču borduγad taryun bolγaju modun-ača elgüjü amidu ber mun-a-bar jangčiju čisu nöji-i beyengdür quriyan amta ni sayiqan kemeged alaγulun miq-a čisu-yi nayiraγulan sarimsuγ ba: darasu qoliju iden jirγabai: basa jiγasu-i amidu-bar quba toγun-iyar qabqaγlaju qaγurju idebei: basa γalaγu takiy-a terigüten olan šibaγu-ud-i amidu-bar qalaγun toγun-du qabqaγlan öberün qošiu [= qošiγu]-iyar üsü julγaγaju ükümüi: tedeger sibaγun-u miq-a-i dabusun- dur dürejü idemüi: basa γaqai-yi amidu-bar jirüke-i suγulaju*

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Fig. 2

The images in folio 3v illustrating Molom qatun's outrageous behaviour are outspoken with regard to the sufferings of the animals. They wriggle in cauldrons of hot water, and hang, dripping blood, from hooks of an imaginary wall. At the left side sits Molom qatun in her house, the inscription at her right side reads: "Molom qatun drinks *ariki* [39]and gets drunk."[40] Drinking is forbidden for Buddhist lay persons who follow the five moral precepts (skt. *pañcaśīla*). The next folio shows Molom qatun, wielding a wooden stick in her hands, chasing the monks out of her house.

This gruesome tale of Molom qatun's behaviour does not only stress the offence against the most basic Buddhist precepts, but the refusal to acknowledge the moral authority of the Buddhist *sangha* which culminates in the veneration of the strongest opponents of the Buddhist monks, the shamans, insinuated by the mention of the sacrifice to their helper-spirits, the *ongɣod*.[41] Molom qatun turns against the well established socio-religious order.

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abuɣad maɣu ongɣod-i takin eldeb jüil jüil-ün olan maɣu kilingče nigül-i ali dur-a-bar üüledčü jirɣan saɣubai :

[39] A strong alcoholic beverage made from fermented milk of mares, cows or sometimes female camels.

[40] *Molom qatun ariki aɣuju soɣtun amui.*

[41] *Ongɣod* are also the ancestor spirits that protect the household. When the immortal female soul, the "flesh-soul", which is generally friendly disposed towards the household, after the death of a person looses its home, the physical body (this is supposed to happen

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Fig. 3

4 Mongolian notions of death and the corpse

When Molom qatun's son, upon his return, comes to know of her outrageous behaviour, she denies her actions and swears by her life that she has not done anything like that at all. Immediately she falls ill and dies within a week. The image shows her soul carried off into the lowest hot hell by the *erlig*, the messengers from the hells (Fig. 3). The next folio shows on the left side the monks sitting in Labuɣ's house and performing services for the soul of the deceased, on the right side Labuɣ sits in an improvised *ger*.[42] To his right a wooden coffin-like box is placed on the side of a mountain under a stream. Labuɣ, the text beneath the image tells us (Fig. 4),

> after her death put the bones of his mother into a wooden box and placed it on the place of honour in the *ger*. […] After forty-nine days he removed the bones of his mother and interred them on a mountain. He erected a *ger* from feather grass and kept guard for a hundred days.[43]

after three years, when the corpse is finally decomposed), people make small figures from felt or other material to give the female soul a new home. The ancestor spirits are venerated and fed daily. Even nowadays these small felt figures can be seen in yurts in the countryside.

[42] The Mongolian term for the yurt.

[43] *Molom toyin-u jiruɣ-tu taɣuji,* fol. 7r6–15: *labuɣ inu eke-yuuɣan yasun ni abdarlan ger-ün qoyimara-ban talbiju […] döčin yisün qonoɣ-tu eke-yuuɣan yasu-i ɣaryaju aɣulan-dur talbiju ebesün-iyer ger bosqaju jaɣun edür-e sakiɣ-a kemebe.*

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Fig. 4

Although the ritual handling of the corpse takes place in a Buddhist setting, the visual representation of the burial rite not only points to distinctly Mongolian ideas of death, but also illustrates the different cultural influences the Mongolians in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were exposed to. When Molom toyin put the bones of his mother in a wooden box, this "coffin" does not contain the intact corpse. The idea that flesh and bones are buried together in the earth generally gives Mongolians an uncomfortable feeling, they say that this is *evgüi*, implying a feeling of indecency, inappropriateness and uneasiness.[44] Before the introduction of cemeteries in socialist times,[45] it was not customary to bury the dead in the earth.[46] Even today, the corpse is strongly associated with impurity.[47] Mongolians distinguish

[44] DELAPLACE 2008, p. 127.

[45] For an account of the introduction of cemeteries in socialist Mongolia, see DELAPLACE 2008, pp. 52–59.

[46] This observation does not pertain to the burial of qans and nobles. They were buried at secret places, often on the southern side of a mountain, and the territory declared to be *qoruq*, a forbidden enclosure. Once again I have to stress that generalisations do not do justice to the multiple burial practices in Mongolian regions. It is also important to note that burial customs were socially stratified in Mongolian societies.

[47] In recent times people in Ulaanbaatar tell many stories about *čötgör*, undead spirits which have multiplied in the imagination of the people. The soul of a deceased can easily turn into a *čötgör*. Interlocutors mention as one reason for this increase of *čötgör* the

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between *bey-e*, the body that is animated with *aman*, the "life-force" (*aman* is also "breath") and *süns/sünesün*, the "soul" as discussed above, and *kegür*, the lifeless, soulless carcass. To die in the first place implies that life-force and soul leave the body which turns into a lifeless carcass. This carcass is considered impure in the extreme, and therefore a family has to undergo purifying rituals after the death of a family member.[48] People are afraid of corpses, and thus the notion of a death vigil is alien to Mongolians. Therefore the remark in our text that Molom toyin placed the wooden box with the bones of his mother into the place of honour in the *ger* reveals Chinese influence or should even evoke the Chinese motive of filial piety that is central for the Chinese version of the Maudgalyāyana-tale. The same probably pertains to the wooden box which in the illustration bears marked resemblance to a Chinese coffin. Burial in wooden caskets has been known in the Mongolian regions, as archaeological excavations brought to light.[49] Usually, however, Mongolians did not bury their dead in coffins, but put them in the open, they "openly dispersed" (Mo. *il quila-*) them. The corpse, however, pollutes the earth, and therefore a place to lie down the corpse in a ritually correct way has to be requested from the "master spirits of the earth" (Mo. *ɣajar-un ejen*). The ritual of "asking for a place" (Khalkh-Mo. *gazar guyu-*) is still practised at today's cemeteries in the city of Ulaanbaatar, although it is limited to the place within the cemetery's confinement.[50] Traditionally, the corpse was brought to the place which had been granted by the master spirits of the earth. Caroline Humphrey reports that in the eighties of last century, in the countryside, people still tried to conform to the traditional

"wrong" burial in cemeteries (personal communication of Alia Solov'eva, January 2014). Compare also her paper: "Rasskazy o prodelkakh nechistoi sily v mongol'skom fol'klore." In: *Mongolica* X, Sankt-Petersburg 2013, pp. 33–40.

[48] Such purifying rites have already been attested in the times of the Mongolian empire. Johannes de Plano Carpini, the papal emissary to the Qan's court, gives an extensive account of burial customs and ritual purification in his report, see Johannes von Plano Carpini: *Kunde von den Mongolen 1245–1247.* Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert von F. Schmieder. Sigmaringen 1997, pp. 52–55. Compare also the remarks of William of Rubruck, who travelled to the Mongols at the instigation of King Louis IX, in his travel report: *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck. His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255.* Translated by P. Jackson. Introduction, notes and appendices by P. Jackson with D. Morgan. Indianopolis/Cambridge 2009, pp. 94–96.

[49] In many of the burial places high up in the mountains, where graves were found in rock crevices, the corpses were had been put in wooden coffins, see J. Bemmann/G. Nomguunsüren: "Bestattungen in Felsspalten und Hohlräumen mongolischer Hochgebirge." In: *Steppenkrieger. Reiternomaden des 7.–14. Jahrhunderts aus der Mongolei.* Darmstadt 2012, pp. 199–217. It is still open to discussion whether only high-ranking persons were interred in this way, as written sources maintain.

[50] Humphrey 1999, pp. 66–75 gives a detailed account of the different aspects of the death ritual as it was practiced in the eighties of the twentieth century.

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customs by excavating a very shallow pit (about forty to fifty centimetres deep), covering the corpse with thin wooden planks and only little earth.[51] Ideally, the corpse should vanish quickly, leaving no trace. If animals devour it, this is an auspicious sign for the next rebirth. Therefore places where wild animals live are considered auspicious places for lying out a corpse. This last notion is distinctly Buddhist, and demonstrates how traditional and Buddhist notions of death and the afterlife become entangled in social life. This entanglement is also represented in the image: In the center of the coffin a flag-staff is erected with strips (Mo. *dartsag*),[52] from which streamers with prayer-flags (Mo. *ker mori,* Tib. *rlung rta*) suspend. The lifeless carcass should dissolve quickly into nature (Mo. *baiγal*). The place, however, where a corpse was layed out also marks the entry into the other world, the world of the dead that is potentially dangerous for the living. Therefore in former times the corpse was often "lost" in the steppe. A relative bound it to the horse, galloped into the steppe, then cut off the strings and rode off, without once turning back.[53]

Although the passage quoted above recalls traditional Mongolian concepts of death and the afterlife, it also stresses a distinctly Buddhist understanding. Molom toyin invites Buddhist monks to read religious texts for forty-nine days to support his mother's *sünesün* during her sojourn in the *Bar do* realm, and only after this time period he removes his mother's bones to inter them on a mountain. The forty-nine days build the usual period of time for reciting the ritual texts to guide the consciousness through the intermediate (Tib. *bar do*) states.[54] Whereas the mention of the mountain once again points to the traditional Mongolian practice of burying noble or socially influential people on the southern slope of a mountain, Molom qatun receives a proper Buddhist burial, with all the necessary burial rites to insure an auspicious rebirth.

[51] HUMPHREY 1999, p. 74.

[52] From Tib. *dar lcog.*

[53] This custom is shown in the famous film *Urga* by the Russian film director NIKITA MICHALKOV 1991 (available on DVD, trigon-film 2007, Switzerland).

[54] Forty-nine days are the ideal, but in reality the number of days depends on the financial means of the family of the deceased. The ritual is quite costly: the monks have to be fed during the entire period, and the offerings have to be paid. Therefore, the actual duration of the ritual is often much shorter. For an evaluation of the time-length of the *bar do* state in the broader Indian religious context see M. GOUIN: *Tibetan Rituals of Death. Buddhist funerary practices*. London / New York 2010, pp. 97–99.

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5 Buddhist hells and Mongolian netherworld

Turning back to the manuscript at hand, the story proceeds as follows: After her death Molom qatun is immediately dragged off to the deepest of all hot hells, the *Avīcī* hell. This, however, her son does not know. For three years he continues to conduct rituals for her immediate liberation from the cycle of rebirths. He then distributes his belongings to Buddhist monks, becomes himself a monk and receives the ordination name Molom toyin. Through the power of his meditation he realises his father's rebirth among the *Trāyatriṃśa* gods.[55] Upon his request to the Buddha to let him know where his mother has been reborn, the Buddha tells him that due to her evil deeds she has been reborn in one of the three lower realms. Motivated by filial piety, the son sets out on a journey to find his mother. It leads him through the eight hot and the eight cold hells that are not only described in the text, but, much more important for an illiterate audience, vividly illustrated in the accompanying images.

The bulk of the story consists of the illustrated descriptions of the different hells and the sufferings of its inhabitants. The illustrations on one hand reflect the normative concepts of Buddhist hells, on the other hand, being steeped in Mongolian material culture, they reflect and comment upon the Mongolian social environment. In this way, the Buddhist concepts which originated in a very different historical and social setting, receive social meaning in a culturally alien environment. The Mongolian depictions of hell represent the Mahāyāna Buddhist concept of hells and the Tibetan Buddhist conceptions, conflating them with Mongolian ideas about the afterlife. In Indian Buddhist literature[56] there are eight hot hells and eight cold hells, complemented by numerous smaller[57] hells. On the one hand, these places are understood as one of the six transient realms constituting *samsāra*, stressing the aspect of time. On the other hand, the hells are also located in space, they have distinct spatial features, although their exact location remains vague. The temporal, transitory nature of the Buddhist hells is intimately connected with the notion of *karma* which determines the nature of the next rebirth. In this sense, the netherworld turns into a place of punishment for morally wrong behaviour and deeds. When the karmic defilements

[55] Compare note 31.

[56] See Louis La Vallée Poussin (transl. Leo M. Pruden): *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*. Berkeley 1988–1990, pp. 456–458. Berounský 2012, pp. 33–41, provides a translation of a Tibetan commentary to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam* which describes the spatial dimensions of the hells.

[57] In Tibetan literally "provincial" *(nye tshe ba)* hells.

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are cleansed, the beings' stay in the hells is terminated and they move on to a next existence.

In the Mongolian hell conceptions the Buddhist hells and the Mongolian netherworld (Mo. *tamu*) have merged. Mongolians visualize the world as three-layered, divided into an upper, middle and lower world. The three spheres have spatial dimensions, as for example in the entry to the lower world which opens at exactly the place where the corpse is placed. Still, the different layers are permeable: beings not only switch from one layer to the other, but also do not strictly belong to just one sphere. Spirits that harm humans are not bound to the lower world which is usually identified with the Buddhist hells, but they also inhabit the middle world. Therefore the *čidkür* (Khalkh-Mo. *čötgör*) spirits that in recent years, due to burial rituals considered "improper" by Mongols, have experienced a remarkable increase in numbers in the urban environment of Ulaanbaatar, are also imagined as messengers of *Erlig qaγan*, the lord of the netherworld. In the person of *Erlig qaγan* the conflation of non-Buddhist and Buddhist notions of the netherworld is tangible: *Erlig*, deriving from the old Turkic term *erklig*, "powerful",[58] in Mongolian myths appears as the lord of the evil Heavenly Ones *(tngri)* of the eastern direction. His messengers who steal the souls *(sünesün)* of human beings are also called *erlig,* as well as his servants who torture the souls. Furthermore, *Erlig qaγan* is identified with the Buddhist lord of the lower realms, *Yama* (Tib. *gShin rje*),[59] and makes his appearance as *nom-un qan*, "ruler of the [Buddhist] law", equipped with the "book of karmic deeds" and a mirror which reveals the evil deeds of the dead.

Before Molom toyin in our story enters the first of the hot hells, he passes the "place of the narrow passage of the intermediate state" (Mo. *jaγuradaγin qabčaγai-yin oron*) through which those people who have died a premature and sudden death (including suicide) have to pass. After a stay of seven days during which they have to endure various tortures they come before *Erlig qaγan,* the lord of the netherworld. The period of seven days is in agreement to the (Tib.) *bdun tshogs cho ga*, the "seven day juncture rites", which are performed weekly for the period of the forty-nine days of intermediate existence (Tib. *bar do*).

In due course then Molom toyin visits the eight hot and the eight cold hells. The text, however, does not follow the usual order of hells as given in the Kanjur.[60] Moreover, the illustrations show more hells than are mentioned

[58] BIRTALAN 2001, p. 981.

[59] See KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2002, pp. 1237–1238. For a short survey of the historical development of this mythical figure see BEROUNSKÝ 2012, pp. 20–23.

[60] See the *Ārya-saddharmānusmṛtyupasthāna*, Tib. *'Phags pa dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar bzhag pa*, Mo. *Qutuγ-tu degedü-yin nom-i duradqui oyir-a ayulqui*, Mongolian

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in the accompanying text. Thus, the first hot hell Molom toyin visits, the hell called "Again reviving" (Mo. *dakin edegerekü*)[61], is surrounded by the sub-hell "Fiery pile" (Mo. *ɣal-tu norum*) and the sub-hell "Having poles" (Mo. *šurug modutu tamu*) in the illustrations. The text alludes to both sub-hells, but it is the task of the illustrations to elaborate on the specific punishments the dead suffer in these hells. Visual literacy takes first place over verbal literacy. The name of the second hot hell, "Concentrated crushing" (Mo. *quriyan ničulaqu*) is neither found in the Kanjur nor in the popular bi-lingual illustrated xylograph that was highly influential in shaping the Mongolian hell imaginery in the nineteenth century.[62] The third hot hell "Black lines" (Mo. *qara šiɣum-tu*) in our picture-book is the second hot hell of the Kanjur text, the fourth hot hell "Great weeping and screaming" (Mo. *yeke ukilan daɣudaqu*) is usually the fifth hell, and the fifth hot hell "Weeping and screaming" (Mo. *ukilan daɣudaqu*) of our text is the fourth hot hell in the Kanjur. Interestingly, most of the names of the sub-hells could not be verified against the Kanjur text.[63]

Molom toyin, when seeing the sufferings of the inhabitants of the various hells, never fails to ask the guardians which bad deeds have caused the individual tortures. The answers shed some light on the perception of the environment and social life in Mongolia in the first decades of the twentieth century. In an environment that is experienced as animated by a variety of forces either benign or malevolent, behavioural rules ensure physical survival and well-being which is not only dependent on material circumstances but also intricately interwoven with the animated environment (Mo. *baiɣal*). It is important to note that this worldview was (and still to a large amount is) shared by all strata of society, be they Buddhist monks or lay people, educated or illiterate. This is the reason why common Mongolian suppositions have been effortlessly conflated with the standardized depictions of Buddhist hells. Thus, in the sub-hell "Blood hell" (Mo. *čisün tamu*) women are tortured because they have committed the un-meritorious act to wash their bloody underwear in the running water of rivers. Such acts offend the kings of the *luus,* the water spirits (fol. 12r7–14). Although the term *luus* derives from the Tibetan *klu*, the notion that rivers and lakes are inhabited by the

xylograph Kanjur, *eldeb,* Nos. 1044–1047 (L. Ligeti: *Catalogue du Mongol Kanjur Imprimé.* Budapest 1942). The work is also known under the short title *Dran pa nye bar bzhag pa'i mdo*. Compare also note 5 of this paper.

[61] Also called *dakin edegeregči.*

[62] See the table in Bethlenfalvy/Sárkösi 2010, pp. 32–33. It may be a variant of the third hot hell, "Concentrated oppression" *(quriyan daruyči).*

[63] It would be worthwhile to follow up on the names, in order to identify the sources the unknown author of the picture-book used, but this task is outside the aims of this communication.

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Fig. 5

usun qad, the "kings of waters", beings that cannot be neatly differentiated from the *γajar-un ejen*, the "master spirits of the earth", has already been attested in the thirteenth century. To wash, either oneself or one's clothes, in the running water of rivers pollutes the water and was therefore strictly forbidden. The importance of this taboo even in the first decades of the twentieth century is demonstrated in the harsh punishment the text deals out for breaking this taboo.

Generally, social norms (engulfing the world in its visible and invisible dimensions) are enforced through the threat of draconic punishment in the afterlife. People sitting in the "Pot-round" fire hell have caused steppe fires in which their immediate neighbors have lost their belongings and their livelihood. Others who have constantly cursed, gossiped and spread evil rumours, end up in the hell "Great weeping and screaming", where their tongues are extracted from their mouths, cut to pieces with sharp knives, led out on the ground and then sown with grain. The grain is then picked up by birds (Fig. 5).[64] In the "Boundless water hell" (Mo. *usu kijiγalasi ügei*

[64] One of the earliest Buddhist texts translated in the late sixteenth century into Mongolian is the *Qara kelen neretü sudur*, the "Sūtra of evil speech", a text to render harmless curses and evil speech. See W. HEISSIG: *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache. Materialien zur mongolischen Literaturgeschichte*. Wiesbaden 1954, p. 38. The work was translated first by the famous Mongolian translator Ayusi Güüsi, on

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Fig. 6

tamu) human souls suffer because they "did not honour the in-laws, their own father and mother, husband and monastic community, but instead insulted them".[65] As punishment for these evil deeds worms with iron beaks eat their flesh and drink their marrow-bone (Fig. 6). Their feet are weighted with a heavy stone and they are beaten with an iron club. The gendered view on society is very evident as the text does not demand honouring one's wife. To put into question the traditional patrilinear social order has dire consequences in the afterlife.

Although the tale of Molom toyin has a tendency to affirm the existing social order, it is not without a moral stance that critically evaluates the conduct of the social elites, both monastic and secular. In one hell moneylenders and nobles that enriched themselves by taking the goods of other

whom see K. Kollmar-Paulenz: "A Note on the Mongolian Translator Ayusi güsi." In: K. Kollmar-Paulenz / C. Peter (eds.): *Tractata Tibetica et Mongolica. Festschrift für Klaus Sagaster zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 19. März 1998*. Wiesbaden 2002, pp. 177–187.

In another picture-book of the hells this punishment is spared for people who spread false teachings. It takes place in the fourth sub-hell of the eighth great hell "Not calming down" (Mo. *Amulasi ügei*, Tib. *mnar med*), compare A. Sárközi: "A picture book of Tibetan hell." In: B. Kelényi (ed.): *Demons and Protectors. Folk Religion in Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism*. Budapest 2003, p. 104.

[65] *Molom toyin-u jiruɣ-tu taɣuji*, fol. 13v17–19: *edeger inu qadam ba öber-ün ečige eke kiged er-e ba: quvaraɣ-du-i ülü kündülen dorumčilaɣsan-iyar.*

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Fig. 7

people are sawed to pieces, "so that their blood gushed out in great thrusts". In the cold hell "Blisters breaking open" (Mo. *usun ečeberegüü nebčerekü*)[66] Molom toyin encounters monks "who suffered great pain, as their bodies were taken and formed as pillars and walls of a monastery that they thus held and supported."[67] Upon his question what these monks had done during their lifetime that they were now punished in this way, the hell guide answered: "These monks suffer like this because they have smeared their snot and spittle onto pillars and cushions!" (Fol. 15v12–15) (Fig. 7).[68] As I know from own experience living in a Tibetan monastery, this habit is still popular nowadays. Just next to that hell, people that during their life crushed small animals like lice, ants or worms, suffer by being crushed between two huge rocks. Only the illustration tells us that the hell is called "Hell that crushes with stones" (Mo. *čilayu-bar ničulayči tamu*) (Fig. 7).

[66] This is probably a variant name of *usun čöbürgün delbelegči*, "Exploding blisters".

[67] *Molom toyin-u jiruγ-tu taγuji,* fol. 15v6–8: *basa süm-e-yin baγan-a ba: tooγ-a metü kilburi-tu bey-e-i abču töröged ergükü tolaqui-yin jobalang ni edelmüi.*

[68] *Molom toyin-u jiruγ-tu taγuji,* fol. 15v12–15: *ede quvaraγ-un süm-e bayising-ü baγan-a-i tüsigsen tebseger-tür nisü šilusu tügürgegsen-ü tula ene metü jobčaγamui.* In the illustration the hell is named after the punishment: *ene baγan-a metü tamu.*

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6 Conclusion

In text and image the illustrated Molom toyin tale described here merges the standardised normative narratives of the Buddhist hells and the notions of afterlife that were prevalent among the Mongolians in the first half of the twentieth century. Drawing on the Buddhist concept of karmic retribution, the text focuses on the representation of offences against established social norms, thereby providing insights into social grievances in the Mongolian regions at the eve of the socialist revolution. A closer look at the images of this illustrated manuscript reveals a strongly mongolised Buddhist worldview, in which the world evoked is a world animated by visible and invisible forces with which man has to engage. The different layers of the animated world are permeable in time and space, so that the dead can reach out to the living and pose a constant threat against which people have to take precautions. This understanding of death and the afterlife is as present in the picture-book as is the Buddhist concept of rebirth in the lower realms according to one's deeds in this life. The social grievances addressed in the picture-book evoke a society that at that period was under immense political and social pressure.[69] The nineteenth century had seen a dramatic deterioration of the living conditions in the Mongolian regions, caused by the Chinese land purchases in Inner Mongolia and the increasing indebtedness of the Mongolian nobility to Chinese merchant companies. Moreover, the big monasteries that owned land and people, were often extremely corrupt and exploited their subjects. Such desolate living conditions had led to the establishment of the first social revolutionary movements that were often led by impoverished nobles and frequently joined by itinerant monks who often called for moral redemption and openly criticized monastic corruption. In this context, the *jiruγ-tu nom* had a twofold function: on one hand they were used to discipline the people and thus served as a means to stabilise and legitimise the existing social order. On the other hand, however, they served as a means to openly address social grievances with the goal to change existing conditions. Since 1912 a Buddhist reform movement had been established in Buryatia under the leadership of Agvan Dorzhiev that in the following years exerted its influence also to the social revolutionaries in Mongolia.[70]

[69] An overview of the social and economic situation in the nineteenth century gives Ch. R. Bawden: *The Modern History of Mongolia*. London / New York 1989, pp. 135–186.

[70] See Agvan Dorzhiev's autobiography *Delekei-yin ergiju bitügsen domoγ soniγqal-un bičig tediі kemekü orošiba*. In: A. G. Sazykin / A. D. Tsendina: *Agvan Dorzhiev. Zanimatel'nye zametki. Opisanie puteshestviia vokrug sveta (Avtobiografiia)*. Faksimile rukopisi, perevod s mongol'skogo A. D. Tsendinoi, transliteratsiia, predislovie, kommentarii, glossarii i ukazateli A. G. Sazykina i A. D. Tsendinoi. Moskva 2003, pp. 97–124.

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This movement[71] was equally influential among the monastic and the lay population. Among the reformers were some who actively sought to reconcile Buddhism and communism.[72] This was the period of the composition of the illustrated manuscript of the Ernst collection that critically portrays the Buddhist sangha but at the same time demands to pay respect to the monastic establishment, employing blunt threats in regard to one's spiritual welfare. In the mirror of the after-death experience of the soul the Buddhist Sangha tried to regain its agency in a time of political and social change, to demand both reform and continuity.

Yet, apart from the historicity of this picture-book, it also contains statements about man and his death that are curiously timeless. Thus, it seems proper to end this short contribution with one such statement:

> In general, man is not permanent. To explain this: like the grass, the woods, the groves, the mountain and the steppe, they all, if the time comes, pass away, also man is not of permanence. Although in the world men have had wives, sons and family, in the hour of their death they are without companion and suffer utterly alone.[73]

[71] On the interface of Mongolian and Russian national visions in this movement see V. TOLZ: "Imperial Scholars and Minority Nationalisms in Late Imperial and Early Soviet Russia." In: *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 10, 2 (Spring 2009), pp. 261–290.

[72] K.S. GERASIMOVA: *Obnovlencheskoe dvizhenie buriatskogo lamaistskogo dukhovenstva*. Ulan-Ude 1964.

[73] *Molom toyin-u jiruɣ-tu taɣuji*, fol. 18r6–13: *yerü amitan möngke [busu] buyu üligerlebesü ebesü modu oi šiɣui aɣula tal-a kiged bügüde čaɣ-taɣan kürübesü ebderkü bügetel-e amitan-u möngke busu-i yaɣun öggülkü dayin atal-a cambudib-tur ene amitan em-e köbegüd uruɣ sadun tegüs bui bügesü ükükü čaɣ-tur nökör ügei ɣaɣčaɣar jobun odqui-ača […].*

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The Mazu Inscription of Chiwan (1464) and the Early Ming Voyages

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Summary: There are several inscriptions in the famous Chiwan Temple near Shekou in Shenzhen. One item dates from 1464. This text is important for a number of reasons: It is an early document for the Mazu cult in Central Guangdong; it refers to several Ming envoys and thereby indirectly to the voyages of Zheng He; and it also tells us something about China's maritime connections after the end of these expeditions, in the Guangdong context. The present article provides an annotated translation of the text and discusses these and other issues, mainly by relating them to historical sources and religious works.

Introduction

The Chiwan Tianhou gong 赤灣天后宮 is one of many Chinese temples restored during the last decades. The temple is dedicated to Tianhou 天后 (Cantonese: Tinhau), i.e. Tianfei 天妃 or Mazu 媽祖, the Chinese Goddess of Sailors, and located on a hill facing the so-called Lingding yang 伶仃洋, a stretch of water on the eastern side of the Pearl River estuary, around the island of Nei Lingding 內伶仃, not far from Shekou 蛇口 in the western section of Shenzhen 深圳.[1] In recent years land reclamation in that area has considerably changed the shape of the coast line, but some maps published in the 1980s or earlier still show two clearly discernible bays below the temple, one with the name Mawan 媽灣. There are also two further landmarks: Mawan shangjiao 媽灣上角 and Mawan xiajiao 媽灣下角. Clearly, these names derive from Mazu.[2]

[1] For Chiwan, the Lingding yang, Mawan bay, Mawan shang/xiajiao etc., see, for example, Guangdong sheng diming weiyuanhui bangongshi 廣東省地名委員會辦公室 (ed.): *Guangdong sheng haiyu diming zhi* 廣東省海域地名志. Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng ditu chubanshe 1989, pp. 23–25, 134, map on pp. 470–471, and Guangdong sheng jingu diming cidian bianzuan weiyuanhui 廣東省今古地名詞典編纂委員會 (ed.): *Guangdong sheng jingu diming cidian* 廣東省今古地名詞典. Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe 1991, p. 62.

[2] The Hong Kong Maritime Museum has a fine collection of historical maps showing the Pearl River estuary and Hong Kong. For a selection of such works, especially from earlier periods: Tan Guanglian (K. L. Tam, etc.) 譚廣濂: *Cong yuanfang dao jingwei: Xianggang yu Hua'nan lishi ditu cangzhen* 從圓方到經緯: 香港與華南歷史地圖藏珍. Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju 2010.

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In historical times the area of Chiwan belonged to the region of Bao'an 寶安 (later Xin'an 新安) and / or Dongguan 東莞. Under the early Ming—the period we are dealing with in the present article—Dongguan was a county subordinated to Guangzhou prefecture 廣州府. At that time many place names differed from their current forms; one example is the Lingding yang, which then usually appears in written works as 零丁洋. About four kilometers to the north of Chiwan lay Nantou 南頭, a coastal settlement with distinct maritime traditions. In the sixteenth century this location briefly emerged in the context of early Sino-Portuguese relations, but that is of no concern to us.[3]

During much of the Ming and Qing periods the Chiwan temple constituted an important religious site regularly visited by sailors and merchants who left the Pearl River estuary for the open ocean. Its functions were similar to the famous Nanhai shen miao 南海神廟 in Guangzhou or the Mage miao 媽閣廟 (Templo da Barra) in Macau, to mention just two examples. Here fishermen and maritime traders regularly attended ceremonies, praying for protection against the dangers of the sea. Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630–1696), in his famous *Guangdong xinyu* 廣東新語 (preface 1700), summarizes the role of the Chiwan temple in the following way:[4]

> Her (=Tianhou's) shrine is in Chiwan of Xin'an [prefecture], with the Nanshan [mountain] to [its] back and the ocean to [its] face. The peaks of Da and Xiao Lingding tower like a [giant] table [on the front side], and it provides a

[3] For Bao'an (Xin'an), Dongguan and Nantou in history: *Guangdong sheng jingu diming cidian*, pp. 61–63, 367–368, 857.—Important sources with essential data on the early Ming administration in Guangdong: Chen Xun 陳循 et al. (comp.): *Huanyu tongzhi* 寰宇通志, 10 vols. Taibei: Guangwen shuju 1968 (originally 1456), IX, especially j. 102, 1b–2a, 5a; Li Xian 李賢 et al. (comp.): *Da Ming yitong zhi* 大明一統志, 10 vols. Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe 1965 (originally 1461), IX, especially j. 79, 2a–b (pp. 4851–4852), 8b (p. 4864).—For the Lingding yang and related toponyms in early Ming times, see, for example, ZHOU YUNZHONG 周運中: *Zheng He xia Xiyang xin kao* 鄭和下西洋新考. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe 2013, especially pp. 121 et seq.

[4] There are many studies on the Nanhai shen miao, for example, HUANG MIAOZHANG 黃淼章: *Nanhai shen miao* 南海神廟. Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe 2005; WANG YUANLIN 王元林: *Guojia jisi yu haishang silu yiji—Guangzhou Nanhai shen miao yanjiu* 國家祭祀與海上絲路遺跡—廣州南海神廟研究. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 2006; several articles in *Haijiaoshi yanjiu* 海交史研究, issues for 2006 et seq.—The Mage miao has been described in countless works as well. Here are only some references to publications in European languages: M. TEIXEIRA: *The Story of Ma-kok-miu*. Macau 1979; M. TEIXEIRA: *Pagodes de Macau*. Macau 1982; C.M.-B. CHENG: *Macau. A Cultural Janus*. Hong Kong 1999, especially pp. 100–116; G. ABELSHAUSER: "Mazu-Tempel in Macau." In: C. MÜLLER / R. PTAK (eds.): *Mazu: Chinesische Göttin der Seefahrt. Dargestellt an der Holzschnittfolge „Die feierliche Begrüßung der Mazu" von Lin Chih-hsin*. Munich 2009, pp. 37–41.—For the quotation, see Qu Dajun: *Guangdong xinyu*. Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju 1975, j. 6, p. 205.

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> panoramic view of the sea.[5] Those [wishing] to cross [the waves], must pray [there], calling this "to leave the sand" *(cisha)*, because the shrine stands on sandy [ground]. 其祠在新安赤灣，背南山，面大洋，大小零丁數峰，壁立為案，海上一大觀也。凡濟者必禱，謂之辭沙，以祠在沙上故云。

Modern media, especially the internet, provide dozens of short articles on the Chiwan temple. These notes tell us that the old buildings were demolished after the Communist takeover and that various inscriptions and sacred objects disappeared. However, from the 1990s onwards authorities undertook efforts to reconstruct the old site. The *cisha* ceremony was symbolically revived (although certainly not in its original form) and upgraded to a cultural heritage item. Today there is also a museum. Traditional material related to the temple's history was collected as well.[6]

Among the documents found and restored is an inscription called (1) *Xinjian Chiwan Tianfei miao houdian ji* 新建赤灣天妃廟後殿記 (now abbreviated as HDJ). Further texts of a similar nature are (2) *Chongxiu Chiwan Tianfei miao ji* 重修赤灣天妃廟記 (CXCWTFM), (3) *Chiwan Tianfei miao ji* 赤灣天妃廟記 (CWTFMJ), (4) *Chongxiu Chiwan Tianhou miao yin* 重修赤灣天后廟引, and (5) *Chongxiu Chiwan Tianhou miao ji* 重修赤灣天后廟記. All these texts appear in printed works and can be accessed without difficulties, but one has to be careful with their titles, especially of the later pieces, because they are all similar and some authors have quoted them under slightly different names.[7]

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[5] There are high elevations on Nei Lingding, especially in the southeastern part of the island, then also called Lingding shan 零丁山. Possibly Qu Dajun refers to these hills. Alternatively, he may have meant, in a general way, several islands near Chiwan.—Or, are the names related to Da Xishan 大奚山/Xiao Xishan 小奚山? For a recent discussion of the latter: Zhou Yunzhong 2013, pp. 121–127.—For a Qing source listing Lingding shan in the Chiwan hai 赤灣海: JQ-XAXZ (for this text see note 7, below), j. 4, p. 254 and p. 262 n. 18.

[6] One of the more comprehensive works on the Chiwan temple is a general book by Long Hui 龍輝: *Chiwan Mazu wenhua gailan* 赤灣媽祖文化概覽. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 2007. This account, written for a broader audience, provides some details of the temple's recent fate.

[7] For all items, i. e., inscriptions (1) to (5), see: *Mazu wenxian shiliao huibian* 媽祖文獻史料彙編 (now MZWX), *Beiji juan* 碑記卷, p. 6 (images of the first two items), pp. 52, 69–70, 94–95, 255–256 (texts). MZWX, a printed collection of texts related to the Goddess of Sailors, consists of several series by different publishers (and editors not listed here): ser. I, 4 vols. Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe 2007; ser. II, 5 vols. Beijing: Zhongguo dang'an chubanshe 2009); ser. III, 7 vols. Fuzhou: Haifeng chubanshe 2011. *Beiji juan* belongs to the first series. According to the editors of this volume, texts (1), (2), (4) and (5) all follow the original inscriptions; (3) follows the *Kangxi Xin'an xianzhi* 康熙新安縣志. For an excellent modern edition of this chronicle, see Zhang Yibing 張一兵: *Kangxi Xin'an xianzhi*. Beijing: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe 2006 (originally 1668), especially j. 12, pp. 448–452, 494–496 (text 3 and again text 2). For (1), (2), (4) and (5) also Zhang

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The HDJ inscription, originally put up on the 9th day of the 9th lunar month in the eighth year of Tianshun (1464), is by Huang Jian 黃諫 (1412–1471), a Hanlin 翰林 scholar. Huang hailed from Shaanxi province. He obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1442, held various posts, travelled to Annam and eventually came to Guangdong as a *tongpan* 通判 (assistant prefect). He produced several works, which have remained fairly unknown and understudied.[8] Regarding the double nine in the date of the text, this refers to the day when Mazu, called Lin 林 in her earthly career, ascended to Heaven, an event usually associated with the year 987.

The CXCWTFM, by Wu Guoguang 吳國光 of whom one cannot tell very much, was installed in 1584, evidently to celebrate Mazu's birthday, which falls on the 23rd day of the 3rd lunar month. The CWTFMJ inscription, reported lost by the editors of MZWX, is attributed to Wang Yinghua 王應華 (*jinshi* 1628), a Dongguan scholar. This inscription was made in 1661, during the late Shunzhi period (1644–1661). Texts (4) and (5) are not important for us; according to MZWX they were both carved in 1814.

Yibing: *Jiaqing Xin'an xianzhi* 嘉慶新安縣志 (now JQ-XAXZ). Beijing: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe 2006 (originally 1819), j. 23 (yiwen zhi), pp. 825–827, 854–858, 909–914.—There are other traditional *fangzhi* 方志 and various modern works, which contain some of these texts. Two examples: Guo Wenbing 郭文炳 et al.: *Kangxi Dongguan xianzhi* 康熙東莞縣志. Dongguan: Dongguan shi renmin zhengfu 1994 (originally 1689), j. 9, p. 273 (text 3; not seen); LONG HUI 2007, pp. 34–40.—Furthermore, several catalogues and collections preceding MZWX list the titles of the inscriptions. One such item is Zhonghua Mazu wenhua jiaoliu xiehui … 中華媽祖文化交流協會… (eds.): *Mazu yanjiu ziliao* 媽祖研究資料, 2 vols. Fuzhou: Haifeng chubanshe 2005, I, pp. 28 (no. 270), 30 (no. 289), 32 (no. 313).—Guangdong local chronicles are available in several collections, for example, in Guangdong lidai fangzhi jicheng 廣東歷代方志集成. Brief descriptions of individual *fangzhi* are found in many catalogues. One early and still very useful work is LI MO 李默: *Guangdong fangzhi yaolu* 廣東方志要錄. Guangzhou: Guangdong sheng difangzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui bangongshi c. 1987. Additional listings are in late *fangzhi* works. One item: YE JUEWAN 葉覺萬 (author), CHEN BOTAO 陳伯陶 (comp.): *Xuantong Dongguan xianzhi* 宣統東莞縣志, 5 vols., Taibei: Chengwen chubanshe 1967 (Zhongguo fangzhi congshu 52; originally 1911), V, j. 85, 5b–13b (pp. 3242–3258).

[8] There are several biographies of Huang Jian. See, for example, Huang Zuo 黃佐: *(Jiajing) Guangdong tongzhi* (嘉靖) 廣東通志 (now JJ-GDTZ), 4 vols. Hong Kong: Dadong tushu gongsi 1977 (originally 1561), III, j. 53, 61b–62a (p. 1421); Jiao Hong 焦竑: *Guochao xianzheng lu* 國朝獻徵錄, 8 vols. Taibei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju 1984 (Zhongguo shixue congshu 6), II, j. 20, 33a–b (p. 807); JQ-XAXZ, j. 23, pp. 825–826 n. 1. A modern biography is in CHANG BIDE 昌彼得 et al.: *Mingren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 明人傳記資料索引. Taibei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan 1978, p. 663.—At one point during his career Huang was charged with allowing cheating during an examination. See L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH / CHAOYING FANG (eds.): *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 2 vols. New York / London 1976, I, p. 970; B. A. ELMAN: *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley 2000, p. 206.

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It is Huang Jian's HDJ which forms the principal object of the present study. There are several reasons why this work deserves our attention. First, it is an important document in the context of Guangdong's religious history; second, it is related to the early Ming voyages and thereby (indirectly) to Zheng He 鄭和; third, it tells us something about China's maritime activities in the larger region of Guangzhou and the old districts of Xiangshan 香山 and Dongguan, i. e., around the Pearl River estuary, not only during the first three decades of the fifteenth century, but also in the years after the end of Zheng He's expeditions. These points will be addressed below. However, the first part of this article will present the text as such, in English translation and in Chinese.

The Chiwan inscription of 1464: translation and Chinese text

As was said, several sources quote the HDJ in full or in part. The following translation is based on the version printed in MZWX, with only minimal modifications that follow the JQ-XAXZ text. This mainly concerns punctuation marks and one or two readings.

> Provisional temples[9] [dedicated to] Tianfei are found all along the coast, and there are two [such sites] in Dongguan. One is below the Nanshan in Chiwan, at a distance of more than one hundred *li* to the west of the county [seat].[10] All envoys going abroad prepare offerings[11] [and] sacrifice [here], on the sandy [beach] of the coast, hence they call [this] "to leave the sand" *(cisha)*. As to the offerings, they remove the meat [from the animals], leaving the skin [behind]; this they fill with grass[12] and, after the sacrifice, plunge it into the water. At the beginning of Yongle (1403–1424), the *zhongqui* (grand eunuch) Zhang Yuan, when sent to Xianluo (Siam) in an official mission, first offered sacrifice to Tianfei, obtaining an auspicious omen, and then conducted the *cisha* [ceremony]. Earlier, Tianfei had a temple there; [Zhang Yuan] constructed a [new] hall to the southeast of the old building; [this new edifice] has proudly survived up until now. Last year in winter, the *Bing ke jishizhong* (supervising secretary in the Office of Scrutiny for War) Wang Rulin and the *xingren* (messenger) Liu Tai, when sent to Champa, dropped anchor below the temple, praying to the

[9] For *xingci*: JQ-XAXZ, j. 23, p. 826 n. 2.

[10] Some editions read "more than four hundred *li*" (四百餘里) and not "one hundred *li* to the west…". JQ-XAXZ, j. 23, p. 827 n. 1, prefers "east" in lieu of "west". Geographically, all these versions are misleading.

[11] *Tailao*: this refers to the principal offerings, or *san sheng* 三牲, namely beef, lamb and pork.

[12] "Fill with grass": This follows JQ-XAXZ. MZWX has *geshi* 革實.

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deity for a safe journey in both directions.[13] They entrusted [a sum of] twenty thousand *min* (strings) to the county magistrate, [Mr.] Wu, [asking him] to set up a main hall [with] four columns to the back [of the old building] and to turn the previous place into the sacrificial hall; [they also] gave instructions that the *xunjian* (police chief) Ma Shan[14] should survey the work. When the *Xing ke jishizhong* (supervising secretary in the Office of Scrutiny for Justice) Chen Jiayou and the *xingren* Peng Shengda returned from Melaka, they forwarded [an additional sum] of ten thousand *min* to serve in this matter, which was [then] accomplished in less than a month. [Finally,] the honorable Wu asked for an [appropriate] text to record [all this] in stone. Excellent![15] Only deities have the spiritual [means] to bestow luck upon humans, and humans can only use sincerity to respond to deities; the miracle of responding to affections quickly manifests itself in efficient replies. [This is] respectfully inscribed in stone to let the ones leaving the present location know that flattery is [of no avail] in searching luck. 天妃行祠，海濱地皆有，而東莞則有二。一在縣西百餘里，赤灣南山下。凡使外國者，具太牢，祭于海岸沙上，故謂辭沙。太牢，去肉留皮，以草實之，祭畢，沉于海。永樂年初，中貴張公源使暹羅國，先祀天妃，得吉兆，然後辭沙。天妃舊有廟，公復建殿宇于舊廟東南，歲久鞾然尚存。去年冬，兵科給事中王公汝霖、行人劉公泰，有佔城之行，泊舟廟下，于神是禱，往返無虞。出錢二萬緡，托東莞吳知縣，于後建正殿四楹，易前殿為享堂，令巡檢馬善督工。刑科給事中陳公嘉猷、行人彭公盛大自滿剌加國還，復捐錢萬緡以相其事，不越月而成。吳君請言記之石。善夫！惟神有靈福人，惟人以誠答神，感應之妙，捷於影嚮。肅書於石，俾使而辭此者，知非諂事求福也。

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[13] *Bing ke* and, farther below, *Xing ke*: two of the so-called *Liu ke* 六科, or Six Offices of Scrutiny, which monitored the Six Ministries. The *xingren* belonged to the *Xingren si* 行人司, or Messenger Office, an agency attached to the Ministry of Rites. See C. O. HUCKER: *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford 1985, nos. 587, 2574–2576, 4676.

[14] County magistrate: According to LIU ZHIWEI 劉志偉: "'Guanfang' miaoyu de yiyi zhuanbian—Chiwan Tianhou miao beiming jiexi" "官方" 廟宇的意義轉變—赤灣天后廟碑銘解析. In: ZHENG ZHENMAN 鄭振滿 (ed.): *Beiming yanjiu* 碑銘研究, *di er ji* 第二輯. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 2014, p. 337 and n. 4 there, this is Wu Zhong 吳中, who appears in several Guangdong chronicles. See, for example, JJ-GDTZ, III, j. 49, 71a–72a (p. 1314); Guo Pei 郭裴 (second character also Fei 棐; author), HUANG GUOSHENG 黃國聲 and DENG GUIZHONG 鄧貴忠 (eds.): *粵大記 Yue da ji*, 2 vols. Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe 1998 (originally completed 1595), j. 12 (not seen). Wu Zhong was also involved in preparing a Dongguan gazetteer; see, for example, LI MO c. 1987, p. 44.— Ma Shan: See, for example, JQ-XAXZ, j. 23, p. 827 n. 12.

[15] Here we follow the text in JQ-XAXZ. MZWX has "… 石善。大惟 …", which makes little sense.

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The setting: Mazu and Guangdong during the Hongwu reign

In the following chapters we shall proceed from general to special. The first two sections are concerned with the Guangdong setting and the belief in Mazu under the Hongwu reign, as well as with the maritime expeditions of the early fifteenth century. Thereafter we shall look at the details reported in the text of the HDJ inscription.

The worship of the Chinese Goddess of Sailors began in the Song period. Conventionally its origins are associated with the small island of Meizhou 湄洲, which belongs to Fujian province. From there the Mazu cult spread along the coast towards the north and south.[16] We cannot tell when exactly the cult first entered Guangdong province, but there is evidence that this occurred very early, under the Song. Legend also has it that there was a Mazu temple in Chiwan in these days, however, so far no clear reference to such a structure has been found in written sources. The phrase "Earlier, Tianfei had a temple there", in the translation above, is vague and leaves room for divergent interpretations.[17]

After the conquest of Guangdong by the Ming, the worship of Mazu became more popular in the provincial capital, Guangzhou. Liao Yongzhong 廖永忠 (1323–1375) and Zhu Liangzu 朱亮祖 (d. 1380) had taken the southern metropolis in April of 1368; apparently this victory was attributed to Mazu's silent help, which also transpires from the CXCWTFMJ. It is possible that the Chiwan temple already existed prior to these events, but one may as well argue that it was only constructed then, or a little later, when the

[16] There are many modern surveys of the Mazu cult. Here we only cite some works: Li Xianzhang 李獻璋: *Mazu xinyang yanjiu* 媽祖信仰研究 [*O culto da deusa A-Ma*]. Macau: Aomen haishi bowuguan 1995 (translated from Japanese), pp. 167–176 (based on Li's *Maso shinkô no kenkyû* 媽祖信仰の研究 [*Studies on Belief of Ma-tsu*]. Tokyo: Taisan bunbutsusha 1979); Qiu Fuhai 邱福海: *Mazu xinyang tanyuan* 媽祖信仰探源. Taibei: Shuxin chubanshe 1998; Cai Xianghui 蔡相輝: *Mazu xinyang yanjiu* 媽祖信仰研究. Taibei: Xuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi 2006; Xu Xiaowang 徐曉望: *Mazu xinyang shi yanjiu* 媽祖信仰史研究. Fuzhou: Haifeng chubanshe 2007; R. Ptak: *O culto de Mazu: Uma visão histórica (Da dinastia Song ao início da dinastia Qing) / Der Mazu-Kult: Ein historischer Überblick (Song bis Anfang Qing)*. Lisbon 2012.

[17] See, for example, Long Hui 2007, pp. 18–22; Liu Zhiwei 2014, pp. 335–348, here p. 335; Li Qingxin 李慶新 / Luo Yiying 羅燚英: "Guangdong Mazu xinyang ji qi liubian chutan" 廣東媽祖信仰及其流變初探. In: Shanghai Haishi daxue, Zhongguo haiyang xuehui 上海海事大學, 中國海洋學會 (Shi Ping 時平 et al.) (eds.): *Zhongguo minjian haiyang xinyang yanjiu* 中國民間海洋信仰研究. Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe 2013, pp. 42–55, here p. 48.—Many earlier articles, some in electronic form, also focus on the Chiwan temple, but very often they only provide some details. One example: Xu Shangli 徐尚黎: "Shenzhen Nanshan Chiwan Tianhougong qianshuo" 深圳南山赤灣天后宮淺說. In: *Xungen* 尋根 (1/1996), pp. 22–23.

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Ming court became interested in reviving other activities, including tribute trade.[18]

Local chronicles refer to many Mazu temples scattered across Guangdong in Ming times. This mostly pertains to the mid and late Ming periods and one must make a clear distinction between different kinds of temples. Presumably the initiative to set up a religious building often came from private individuals and, apparently, migrants from Fujian played an important role in spreading the cult. Clearly, there was some support from the government as well, but we cannot tell how much that support mattered in the local distribution of the Mazu belief.

Be that as it may, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, the first emperor, sought to increase government control over the coastal regions, especially in Zhejiang and Fujian, where several influential merchants had openly collaborated with the Mongols prior to the victory of the Ming. In this context Mazu became instrumental for the imperial administration. By making use of the cult, the government symbolically implemented its authority over distant regions. This policy was continued during the early fifteenth century. It was only much later, in the course of the sixteenth century, that certain shifts and changes led to new constellations, which also impacted on the belief in Mazu, but that is a different story.[19]

Regarding Guangdong, information on the Mazu cult in that province is easily available through a number of modern studies based on the examination of local chronicles and other material.[20] According to these investiga-

[18] For Liao Yongzhong, his campaign and Mazu: LIU ZHIWEI 2014, p. 335; XU XIAOWANG 2007, pp. 146–147; JQ-XAXZ, j. 23, pp. 854–856 and n. 7 there.—There are several biographies of Liao and Zhu. See, for example, JJ-GDTZ, especially I, j. 7, 1a–3b (pp. 150–160), and III, j. 49, 1a–2a (p. 1279; biography); ZHANG TINGYU 张廷玉 et al.: *Ming shi* 明史, 28 vols. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 1974, j. 129, pp. 3804–3806; j. 132, pp. 3859–3860.—Also see E. DREYER: *Early Ming China: A Political History, 1355–1435.* Stanford 1982, p. 62; almost identical in DREYER's contribution to F.W. MOTE / D. TWITCHETT (eds.): *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 7: *The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644*. Part 1. Cambridge, etc. 1988, p. 97. More elaborate: FANG ZHIQIN 方志欽 / JIANG ZUYUAN 蔣祖緣 (eds.): *Guangdong tongshi: gudai xiace* 廣東通史：古代下冊. Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe 2007, pp. 38, 40–41.

[19] For one such case, the anti-Mazu polemic of Zhu Zhe 朱潮 (1536), see HU BAOZHU 胡寶柱 / R. PTAK: "A Mid-Ming Pamphlet against Tianfei: Notes on Zhu Zhe's *Tianfei bian*." In: MS 61 (2013), pp. 51–72.

[20] See, for example, JIANG SHAN 江山 / SHEN SI 沈思: "Shi lun Mazu shenhua zai Gang Ao Shen diqu de yingxiang 試論媽祖神話在港澳深地區的影響. In: Zhu Tianshun 朱天順 (ed.): *Mazu yanjiu lunwenji* 媽祖研究論文集. Xiamen: Lujiang chubanshe 1989, pp. 109–127; CHEN ZHONGLIE 陳忠烈: "Ming Qing yilai Guangdong minjian 'Tianhou' nüshen chongbai yu shehui jingji de fazhan" 明清以來廣東民間 "天后" 女神崇拜與社會經濟的發展. In: *Guangdong shehui kexue* 廣東社會科學 (5/1994), pp. 113–119; CHEN YANDE 陳衍德: "Minnan Yuedong Mazu xinyang yu jingji wenhua de hudong: lishi he xianzhuang de

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tions the belief in Mazu came to displace, in part at least, earlier "maritime" cults. This concerns, for example, the Nanhai shen and the two Fubo shen 伏波神 (or … jiangjun 將軍). Generally however, while Mazu attracted new followers in eastern and central Guangdong, many locations on Hainan and the Leizhou 雷州 peninsula, opposite of that island, as well as in the nearby counties of Lianzhou 廉州 and Qinzhou 欽州, remained loyal to their old traditions.[21] Qu Dajun, already quoted above, confirms that this was still so under the early Qing:

> Those crossing the sea from Panyu (directly south of Guangzhou), sacrifice to Zhu Rong and Tianfei. The ones [starting their journey] from Xuwen (on the Leizhou peninsula) sacrifice to the two Fubo. Zhu Rong—[this] is the Lord of the Nanhai (or Nanhai shen). 凡渡海自番禺者, 率祀祝融, 天妃. 自徐聞者, 祀二伏波. 祝融者, 南海之君也.[22]

Government support of popular cults became manifest in several forms. Granting honorary titles was one way of expressing respect and admiration for a deity. An important step occurred under the Hongwu reign (1368–1398), in 1372, when the imperial court decided to give a new official title to Mazu in recognition of her past assistance—and of course also in expectation of her continued services. This was accompanied by sacrificial ceremonies held in her honour.

Earlier the Mongols had elevated Mazu to the status of "Tianfei", literally "Heavenly Consort"; now her title ended with the two characters "Shengfei" 聖妃, "Holy Consort". Xu Xiaowang believes this combination was deliberately chosen to show that Zhu Yuanzhang and his cabinet wished to

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kaocha" 閩南粵東媽祖信仰與經濟文化的互動：歷史和現狀的考察. In: *Zhongguo shehui jingji shi yanjiu* 中國社會經濟史研究 (2/1996), pp. 76–83; Li Qingxin / Luo Yiying 2013; several articles in *Putian xueyuan xuebao* 莆田學院學報.—See further Li Xianzhang 1995, pp. 167–176, and studies listed in *Mazu yanjiu ziliao*, II, pp. 353–355.

[21] For cults in the Leizhou region and for Fubo: see, for example, Xian Jianmin 冼劍民 / Tao Daoqiang 陶道強: "Shilun Ming Qing shiqi Leizhou minjian shen miao wenhua" 試論明清時期雷州民間神廟文化. In: *Guangdong shizhi* 廣東史志 (1/2002), pp. 43–52; Wang Feng 王鋒: "Fubo wenhua de quyu tese ji chuancheng" 伏波文化的區域特色及傳承. In: Shanghai Haishi daxue 上海海事大學 (Shi Ping and Chen Yajun 陳雅君) (eds.): *Zhongguo minjian haiyang xinyang yu jihai wenhua yanjiu* 中國民間海洋信仰與祭海文化研究. Beijing: Haiyang chubanshe 2011, pp. 48–58.—For Mazu and Hainan: Wang Yuanlin / Deng Minrui 鄧敏銳: "Ming Qing shiqi Hainan dao de Mazu xinyang" 明清時期海南島的媽祖信仰. In: *Zhongguo lishi dili yanjiu* 中國歷史地理研究 (3/2005), pp. 41–55.

[22] *Guangdong xinyu*, j. 6, p. 204.—The physical geography of the area to the south of Guangzhou has changed: In Qu Dajun's days, Panyu still had a long coastline of its own. Today Panyu is a district of Guangzhou.

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disconnect the cult from Yuan traditions by bringing back to mind older conventions.[23]

The Ming administration associated Mazu not only with military assistance during the Yuan-Ming transition period, as in the taking over of Guangzhou, but also with other "duties"—for example, with protecting grain shipments and food supplies. Indeed, under the Hongwu emperor transportation of southern products to locations in eastern China and along the northern frontier was vital for reconstructing the economy which had badly suffered from natural disasters and the long war against the Mongols; evidently Mazu had a helping hand in the effort to restore the infrastructural sector.[24]

As was already mentioned, in the course of time she also became instrumental in other arenas. One famous work, compiled under the Qing, but with roots in the Ming period, the *Tianfei xiansheng lu* 天妃顯聖錄, says she supported imperial patrols in China's coastal waters. This occurred under the Hongwu emperor.[25] Later she was also connected to official envoys sailing to the Ryukyu Islands and Southeast Asia. Such voyages started in different locations, for example in the ports of Fujian.

However, Zhu Yuanzhang and his cabinet were cautious with the maritime world and remained reluctant to fully open their empire towards the ocean, mainly for fear of foreign intervention, but certainly also for other reasons. This led to official restrictions of private exchange across the sea; at the same time tribute relations were kept at low levels.[26] Furthermore, in the context of Chinese diplomatic missions sailing towards southern destina-

[23] XU XIAOWANG 2007, p. 148.—European language works on Mazu's titles: B. WIETHOFF: "Der staatliche Ma-tsu Kult." In: ZDMG 116,2 (1966), pp. 311–357; G. WÄDOW: *T'ien-fei hsien-sheng lu. „Die Aufzeichnungen von der manifestierten Heiligkeit der Himmelsprinzessin." Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar.* Sankt Augustin/Nettetal 1992, especially pp. 92–94 (Ming period generally), pp. 118, 137–139, 283, 288–289 (title of 1372); G. WÄDOW: "O significado dos títulos da 'Princesa celestial' no sistema do culto do Estado chinês." In: *Revista de Cultura* 29 (1996), pp. 191–205.

[24] There are many studies on internal shipments and the canal system. One early "classic" is WU JIHUA 吳緝華: *Mingdai haiyun ji yunhe de yanjiu* 明代海運及運河的研究. Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Yuyan lishi yanjiusuo 1961. An early "Western" study: H. MAY: *Der Tributgetreide-Transport auf dem Kaiser-Kanal zur Zeit der Ming-Dynastie (1368–1644).* Hamburg 1963 (Dr. phil. dissertation).—Also see, for example, LI XIANZHANG 1995, pp. 113–116, and XU XIAOWANG 2007, pp. 150–153.

[25] See WÄDOW 1992, pp. 217–219, 316–317. WÄDOW's book also contains the Chinese text of the *Tianfei xiansheng lu*, which appears in different collections. One collection: MZWX, II, *Zhulu juan* 著錄卷 *(shang)*.—For comprehensive notes on the history of the text and its importance, see, for example, LI XIANZHANG 1995, pp. 39 et seq.

[26] For maritime relations under Hongwu: CAO YONGHE 曹永和: "Shi lun Ming taizu de haiyang jiaotong zhengce" 試論明太祖的海洋交通政策. In his *Zhongguo haiyangshi lunji* 中國海洋史論集. Taibei: Lianjing chuban gongsi 2000, pp. 149–190. Shorter: LI

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tions, Guangzhou was not very important yet. The same is true for Hainan and its eastern shores.[27] On the local level, so it seems, Mazu received some attention, but not as much as in later years, under the Yongle emperor, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, as we shall see in the next chapter.

The early fifteenth century: general notes on Zheng He and Mazu

The HDJ refers to several Ming envoys going to Chiwan, where they prayed for good fortune and donated money. The foreign countries mentioned in that context—Siam, Champa and Melaka—regularly offered tribute to the imperial court, from the Hongwu period onwards through to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Much has been written on such tribute relations; however, few scholars dealing with Ming China's maritime contacts have considered the HDJ and the other Chiwan inscriptions as sources of information.[28]

Qingxin: *Mingdai haiwai maoyi zhidu* 明代海外貿易制度. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 2004, pp. 54–58.

[27] On Hainan, see, for example, R. Ptak: "Hainan and Its International Trade: Ports, Merchants, Commodities." In: Tang Xiyong 湯熙勇 (ed.): *Zhongguo haiyang fazhan-shi lunwenji (di shi ji)* 中國海洋發展史論文集（第十輯）. Taibei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Renwen shehui kexue zhongxin… 2008, pp. 25–63, here pp. 53–54.

[28] Some studies on China-Siam relations: Promboon Suebsaeng: *Sino-Siamese Tributary Relations, 1282–1853*. Univ. of Wisconsin 1971 (Ph.D. dissertation), ch. II; Lü Shiping: "Sino-Siamese Relations during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644)." In: *Chinese Culture* 19.1 (1978), pp. 19–32; Jin Ronghua 金榮華: *Zhong Xian jiaotong shishi luncong* 中暹交通史事論叢. Taibei: Shimen tushu gongsi 1978; G. Wade: "The *Ming shi-lu* as a Source for Thai History, Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries." In: *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 31.2 (2000), pp. 249–294.—Representative work on Champa includes G. Maspero: "Le royaume de Champa." In: *TP*, especially 14 (1913), pp. 153–201; Chen Wen 陳文: "Mingchao chushi Zhancheng yanjiu" 明朝出使占城研究. In: *Dongnanya* 東南亞 (2/2004), pp. 46–52; Liang Zhiming 梁志明: "Lüe lun Zhancheng zai Zheng He xia Xiyang zhong de lishi diwei yu zuoyong—wei Zheng He xia Xiyang liubai zhounian jinian er zuo" 略論占城在鄭和下西洋中的歷史地位與作用—爲鄭和下西洋六百周年紀念而作. In: Wang Tianyou 王天有 et al. (eds.): *Zheng He yuanhang yu shijie wenming—jinian Zheng He xia Xiyang liubai zhounian lunwenji* 鄭和遠航與世界文明—紀念鄭和下西洋六百周年論文集. Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe 2005, pp. 408–421 (also in *Nanyang wenti yanjiu* 南洋問題研究 [4/2004], pp. 1–10, 96); Xiao Xianzhu 蕭軒竹: "Zhancheng zai Mingdai duiwai guanxi zhong de diwei" 占城在明代對外關係中的地位. In: *Zheng da shicui* 政大史粹 (5/2006), pp. 1–27.—There are many studies on Melaka. See, for example, G. Wade: "Melaka in Ming Dynasty Texts." In: *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 70.1 (1997), pp. 31–69; Chen Dasheng 陳達生 (Tan Ta Sen): *Zheng He yu Maliujia* 鄭和與馬六甲. Singapore: Guoji Zheng He xuehui 2005; same: "Zheng He yu Manlajia" 鄭和與滿剌加. In: *Zheng He yanjiu* 鄭和研究 (3/2008; now ZHYJ), pp. 22–28; Chen

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During the Yongle and Xuande (1425–1436) reigns the general background for both Chinese embassies and foreign tribute missions was the maritime framework of Zheng He's expeditions. Besides Zheng He, other court ambassadors also travelled to Southeast Asia and various locations around the Indian Ocean. The size of the fleets directed by these officials varied greatly: Zheng He commanded dozens of ships with several thousand men; less important envoys with limited duties had to rely on small squadrons, or perhaps just a single vessel. Supposedly many of the recruits and crew members on these ships hailed from China's coastal provinces. Among the protective deities they worshipped, Mazu certainly played a significant role. Clearly, then, the Yongle government had good reasons to support her cult. Consequently, it granted a new title to that goddess and ordered official ceremonies to be held in her honour.[29]

HONGYU 陳鴻瑜: "Mingchao yu Maliujia wangchao zhi guanxi: zhanlüe qianyan de jianli yu sangshi" 明朝與馬六甲王朝之關係：戰略前沿的建立和喪失. In: *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 28.4 (2010), pp. 139–169.—Generally, for diplomatic and commercial relations between Southeast Asia and Ming-China the *Ming shilu* 明實錄 (now MSL) is most essential. Useful tools are: HIROSHI WATANABE: "An Index of Embassies and Tribute Missions from Islamic Countries to Ming China (1368–1644) as Recorded in the *Ming Shih-Lu*, Classified According to Geographic Area." In: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 33 (1975), pp. 285–347; LI GUOXIANG 李國祥 et al. (eds.): *Ming shilu leizuan: Shewai shiliao juan* 明實錄類纂：涉外史料卷. Wuhan: Wuhan chubanshe 1991; G. P. WADE: *The Ming Shi-lu (Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty) as a Source for Southeast Asian History: Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries*, 8 vols. Univ. of Hong Kong 1994 (Ph.D. dissertation; large parts of this published electronically).

[29] There are many studies on Mazu and Zheng He. Some are listed in *Mazu yanjiu ziliao*, II, especially pp. 302–307; ZHU JIANQIU 朱鑒秋 (ed.): *Bai nian Zheng He yanjiu ziliao suoyin (1904–2003)* 百年鄭和研究資料索引 *(1904–2003)*. Shanghai: Shiji chuban jituan Shanghai shudian chubanshe 2005, especially pp. 185–186, 204–207; YING LIU [柳瀛] et al. (eds.): *Zheng He's Maritime Voyages (1405–1433) and China's Relations with the Indian Ocean World. A Multilingual Bibliography. Leiden and Boston* 2014, entries under "Matsu" and "Heavenly Queen". An early collection of relevant materials is in ZHENG HESHENG 鄭鶴聲 / Zheng Yijun 鄭一鈞 (eds.): *Zheng He xia Xiyang ziliao huibian* 鄭和下西洋資料彙編. Vol. 1. Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe 1980, pp. 39–48.—Also see, for example, LI XIANZHANG 1995, pp. 116–127; SHI PING: "Zheng He hanghai Tianfei xinyang shiliao de buyi ji kaoshi" 鄭和航海天妃信仰史料的補遺及考釋. In: WANG TIANYOU et al. 2005, pp. 114–123; Jiangsu sheng Jinian Zheng He xia Xiyang 600 zhounian huodong choubei lingdao xiaozu 江蘇省紀念鄭和下西洋 600 周年活動籌備領導小組 (ed.): *Chuancheng wenming, zou xiang shijie, heping fazhan: jinian Zheng He xia Xiyang 600 zhounian guoji xueshu luntan lunwenji* 傳承文明，走向世界，和平發展：紀念鄭和下西洋 600 周年國際學術論壇論文集. Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 2005 (now JSS-LWJ), articles on pp. 646–671; XU XIAOWANG 2007, pp. 157–165.—The title granted by Yongle is mentioned in many of these and other works. Again, one source is the *Tianfei xiansheng lu*. See WÄDOW 1992, pp. 118–119, 283.

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We cannot tell to what extent Zheng He himself and other political and military leaders going abroad really believed in divine assistance,[30] but there are many texts and documents which show a close and highly formalized institutional affinity between the Mazu cult and the early Ming diplomats, including Zheng He. Two important inscriptions from which it became possible to reconstruct the sequence of Zheng He's seven major expeditions are explicitly dedicated to Mazu; they are available in modern translations and are often cited. Another item is a bell evidently donated by Zheng He. We also know that Zheng He ordered the repair of Mazu temples and there are further objects and all kinds of legends which associate Zheng He with that deity.[31]

Additional "evidence" comes from the *Tianfei xiansheng lu* and its textual "derivatives", some with beautiful illustrations. However, not infrequently the dates, names and locations recorded in such texts are not fully compatible with the details listed in historical sources. One also has to be careful with references to additional voyages and events for which there are no equivalent entries in "standard" accounts.[32]

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[30] As is well known, Zheng He is regularly associated with Buddhism, Islam and Daoism/Mazu. Occasionally modern authors have claimed that he probably felt more close to one of these three than to the other two forms of belief/religions. Here we shall just mention one example which ostensibly favours the Mazu link: Xu Keming 徐克明: "Mazu—Zheng He xia Xiyang de jingshen zhizhu" 媽祖—鄭和下西洋的精神支柱. In: ZHYJ (2/2008), pp. 64–66.

[31] See, for example, J.J.L. Duyvendak: "The True Dates of the Chinese Maritime Expeditions in the Early Fifteenth Century." In: TP 34,5 (1939), pp. 341–412, here pp. 343–355; R. Ptak: *Cheng Hos Abenteuer im Drama und Roman der Ming-Zeit. Hsia Hsi-yang: Eine Übersetzung und Untersuchung. Hsi-yang chi: Ein Deutungsversuch.* Stuttgart 1986, pp. 104–111, especially pp. 109–110 (plus sources listed in the notes); Wädow 1992, pp. 119, 261–265, 283, 335–336.—Various texts, sites, inscriptions, temples, the bell, etc.—all associated with Zheng He and, simultaneously, with Mazu—described in: Jinian weida hanghaijia Zheng He… 紀念偉大航海家鄭和… (eds.): *Zheng He shiji wenwu xuan* 鄭和史跡文物選. Beijing: Renmin jiaotong chubanshe 1985, pp. 11–12, 22–23, 31, 42, 47, 52–55, 58, 63, 67–69. Later works add fresh data to the material presented in this book. We shall refer to some of these studies below.

[32] Wädow 1992, pp. 220 et seq., 317 et seq. (nos. 41 et sq.). Later texts, with (partly) identical stories, are the following works: *Tianhou xiansheng lu* 天后顯聖錄, *Tianhou zhaoying lu* 天后昭應錄 and *Chifeng Tianhou zhi* 敕封天后志. For these works one may consult MZWX, II, *Zhulu juan* (*shang*), which provides the last text (originally 1778) in full. For this book also see: Lin Qingchang 林慶昌: *Mazu zhenji—jian zhushi guji Chifeng Tianhou zhi* 媽祖眞跡—兼注釋古籍勅封天后志. Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe 2003. Another beautitul "source" is Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 中國歷史博物館 (ed.): *"Tianhou shengmu shiji tuzhi" / "Tianjin Tianhou gong xinghui tu" heji* 《天后聖母事跡圖誌》/《天津天后宮行會圖》合輯. Hong Kong: Heping tushu youxian gongsi 1992, pp. 72, 74.

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Finally, the strong bond between Mazu and the official Ming ambassadors of the early fifteenth century is mainly associated with Nanjing, Liujiagang 瀏家港/Taicang 太倉 and Changle 長樂. The second site is in modern Jiangsu; Changle is on the Fujian coast. It seems that Zheng He's fleets regularly called there when leaving China for the "Western Ocean" (Xiyang 西洋) and also when coming back to the imperial capital, then located in Nanjing. By contrast Guangzhou, Hainan and other southern sites continued to remain of secondary rank within the overall framework of government diplomacy, although they were not at all disconnected from the official expeditions.

Mazu, the voyage of 1403 and Guangdong

Here we can look at the first story which links the early Ming expeditions to Guangdong and Tianfei/Mazu. According to one legend, recorded in *Tianfei xiansheng lu*, Zheng He was once saved by this deity: During a voyage to Siam his ships ran into a storm near Guangzhou, in the Daxing yang 大星洋, and the Goddess of Sailors came for help. This occurred in 1403. Historical sources do not confirm that date; they only tell us that Zheng He went to Siam in later years.[33]

But we know from the MSL (and later works) that a certain Li Xing 李興 went on a mission to Siam in 1403. His name also appears on one of the two famous Tianfei inscriptions dated 1431. There he is listed *in primo loco* within a sequence of several eunuchs, all with the status of deputy envoy (*fushi taijian* 副使太監), which suggests that he enjoyed an usually high reputation or was considered more important than the others. One should also note that this text, in spite of its date, has a kind of summary function: It praises Mazu for her repeated help during several voyages. In sum, then, perhaps the entry in the *Tianfei xiansheng lu* refers to Li Xing and his mission, or, alternatively, to a different voyage led by Zheng He; if indeed so, the names and dates were somehow confused by the editors of that source.[34]

There also is a problem with the name Daxing yang. The so-called "Zheng He map" of the Ming period shows a location called Daxing jian 大

[33] See PTAK 1986, p. 109, and references given there; WÄDOW, *T'ien-fei hsien-sheng lu*, pp. 220–221, 317 (no. 41).—For a later source, similar to *Tianfei xiansheng lu*, see *Chifeng Tianhou zhi*, for example in MZWX, II, *Zhulu juan (shang)*, p. 269.

[34] For Li Xing: MSL (Taizong), j. 23, 5b (X, p. 0436); WADE 1994, II, p. 208. Also see *Ming shi*, j. 324, p. 8398. Furthermore, he is mentioned in connection with the year 1404, as for example in Zhang Xie 張燮 (author), XIE FANG 謝方 (ed.): *Dongxiyang kao* 東西洋考. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 1981 (originally 1618), j. 2, p. 32.—For the inscription: works cited in note 31, above.

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星尖—a rock in the South China Sea, to the east of Hong Kong (at roughly 22°19'N/115°07'E). Many scholars equated the Daxing yang with the sea in that area. Perhaps, then, "Guangzhou" in the *Tianfei xiansheng lu* should be substituted by "Guangdong". But others have equated the Daxing yang with the waters around Chiwan.[35] If this version would be correct, Zheng He, or the envoy in question, first entered the Pearl River estuary, possibly coming from afar, before continuing his voyage to Siam. Alternatively, it may mean that the entire mission started in Guangzhou or a nearby site. Still, the very first choice—the reading "Guangdong"—could be the better option, because Zheng He's voyages had little to do with Guangzhou.

But that is not all. In recent research on Hong Bao 洪保, one of the less well-known ambassadors, attention was drawn to yet another source, the *Chen Zhushan xiansheng wenji* 陳竹山先生文集; it records that a storm brought disaster to an embassy sailing back home; again, this occurred near Guangdong, and it happened in 1403. Wang Zhigao 王志高 is among the ones who believe this episode and the one described in *Tianfei xiansheng lu* (and repeated, for example, in *Chi feng Tianhou zhi*, with certain modifications) should relate to the same event. Furthermore, it was suggested that, contrary to conventional views, one may indeed link the year 1403 with Zheng He. Wang gives two reasons for such an assumption: First, several ambassadors had left China prior to the official proclamation of the new reign; hence the return date—1403, the first year of Yongle—poses no problems. Second, a famous epitaph sketching Hong Bao's activities refers to such an early voyage in which this man acted as vice commander; the name of the principal commander is missing in that text; therefore, Zheng He should be a suitable candidate, according to Wang. If so, then the entries in *Tianfei xiansheng lu* / *Chi feng Tianhou zhi* would be historically correct. Besides that, Wang also proposed a connection between the famous Longjiang 龍江 temple in Nanjing, dedicated to Tianfei, and the voyage of 1403.[36]

[35] For Daxing jian: Haijun haiyang cehui yanjiusuo… 海軍海洋測繪研究所… (ed.): *Xinbian Zheng He hanghai tuji* 新編鄭和航海圖集. Beijing: Renmin jiaotong chubanshe 1988, pp. 41–42.—There are various editions of that map and many new works which discuss it. Recent and very refreshing comments in Zhou Yunzhong 2013 and Zhang Jian 張箭: *Zheng He xia Xiyang yanjiu lungao* 鄭和下西洋研究論稿, 2 vols. Xinbei shi: Hua Mulan wenhua chubanshe 2013.—For a different identification: Wädow 1992, p. 220 n. 489; further information in *Guangdong sheng haiyu diming zhi*, p. 120.

[36] Wang Zhigao: "Hong Bao shou zang ming zongkao" 洪保壽藏銘綜考. In: ZHYJ (3/2010), pp. 10–23, especially p. 14; same: "Hong Bao shengping shiji ji fensi chukao" 洪保生平事跡及墳寺初考. In: *Kaogu* 考古 5 (2012), pp. 74–84 (458–468), here pp. 77–78 (partly identical wording). The *Chen Zhushan xiansheng wenji*, by Chen Cheng 陳誠, is in Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, ji bu, vol. 26; see. p. 356 there. More on Hong Bao in ZHYJ (3/2010) and subsequent issues of that journal. This includes work on the religious dimensions associated with this man.

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Some of these ideas, one may add in conclusion, are not entirely new and were refuted by others, partly with good arguments. ZHOU YUNZHONG in particular has voiced strong doubts. One point in this debate concerns the fact that the *Tianfei xiansheng lu* narrates another incidence of a similar kind: In 1409, during his second voyage, on the way back to China, Zheng He ran into bad weather and was saved by Tianfei. Although this episode does not mention Guangdong, several scholars have argued that both stories, the one associated with the year 1403 and the one linked to 1409, would describe the same scenario, and that 1409 would be the correct reading.[37] Be that as it may, the events in question are not directly associated with the Chiwan temple and perhaps it is safer to simply assign the entire "background" to the collective memory of later narrators. In that sense, there existed a vague link between Zheng He (or Li Xing?) and the central part of Guangdong during these early years.[38]

Another reference to Zheng He and Guangdong takes us to to Nan'ao 南澳, an island near Chaozhou 潮州, close to the provincial border with Fujian. Although the legend we are looking at in this context dates from later periods, it evokes the idea that Zheng He's fleets, or perhaps the vessels of other ambassadors under his command, passed through the area, with occasional stopovers in the waters near Nan'ao.[39] It was also argued that local chronicles pertaining to Guangdong would suggest that Guangzhou served as a

[37] ZHOU YUNZHONG 2013, pp. 344–354. ZHOU also mentions some earlier studies on Hong Bao.—An interesting article to consider in that context: LIU KONGFU 劉孔伏/ZHOU YU 周昫: "Zheng He Yongle yuannian fengshi Xianluo guo shi kaobian" 鄭和永樂元年奉使暹羅國事考辨, ZHYJ (4/2006), pp. 45–48.—For the 1409 episode in *Tianfei xiansheng lu*: WÄDOW 1992, pp. 139, 289. For a suggestion to amend the date from 1403 to 1409, see JIANG WEIYAN 蔣維錟: "Ming Yongle zhi Xuande jian de taijian waijiao yu Tianfei chongbai" 明永樂至宣德間的太監外交與天妃崇拜. In: JSS-LWJ, pp. 653–664, here pp. 655–656.

[38] And yet, LONG HUI 2007, p. 29, came to the remarkable conclusion that Zheng He had visited the Chiwan temple during *all* his voyages; one argument is that this was the last location on the mainland, before his fleets proceeded to the open ocean.

[39] CHEN YANHANG 陳延杭: "Guangdong Nan'ao dao shang de Sanbao gong miao" 廣東南澳島上的三保公廟. In: ZHYJ (1/1995), p. 35; LI QINGXIN: "Zai Guangdong faxian 'Zheng He'—yi difang wenxian yu minjian xinyang wei zhongxin" 在廣東發現《鄭和》－以地方文獻與民間信仰為中心. In same: *Pin hai zhi di: Nanhai maoyi yu Zhongwai guanxishi yanjiu* 瀕海之地：南海貿易與中外關係史研究. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 2010, pp. 174–175 (also published elsewere).—See further R. PTAK: "Some Notes on Nan'ao in Portuguese Sources of the Sixteenth Century." In: JIAO TIANLONG et al. (eds.): *Mapping Ming China's Maritime World*. 2 vols. Hong Kong 2015, I, pp. 264–288. A recent general study on Nan'ao: HU BAOZHU et al.: "Ming Yongle zhi Longqing Nan'ao de haishang huodong—fu: zaoqi Puwen ziliao zhong de Nan'ao dao" 明永樂至隆慶南澳的海上活動—附：早期葡文資料中的南澳島. In: *Haijiaoshi yanjiu* (1/2014), pp. 73–94.

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starting point for Zheng He's voyage of 1421, and perhaps for other voyages as well, but this was refuted, for example, by Shi Cunlong 施存龍.[40]

While grave doubts remain in regard to Zheng He's personal involvement on the Guangdong stage, minor envoys certainly came through this area, especially in the early fifteenth century. Finally—but this is a different theme—foreign delegates from various locations in Southeast Asia and around the Indian Ocean often entered China by way of Guangzhou, as was already mentioned; consequently, the Ming government maintained a bureau of maritime affairs in that city. The last point is sufficiently well-known and requires no further comments.

The voyage of Zhang Yuan and the Chiwan inscription

Here we can look at the first envoy referred to in the HDJ inscription. This was the eunuch Zhang Yuan 張源, dispatched to Siam "at the beginning" of the Yongle era. The MSL records an embassy to that country in an entry dated 6 September 1408, but the ambassador is called Zhang Yuan 張原. The purpose of the voyage was to confer on the king of Siam gifts and to escort a Siamese messenger back home. The same Zhang Yuan appears in a second entry, this time for 31 December 1410, again in connection with Siam. The *Ming shi* repeats the first date and also writes 原.[41] The second Chiwan inscription, the CXCWTFM, gives the date as 1408, but the name is again written 張源.

Taking together these details, it seems that there are no contradictions between the four sources in question; the only open issue is the second character in Zhang's name. But the matter is not as simple as one may think. The name 張原 also occurs, for example, in the so-called *Wuzhi xuanbu* 武職

[40] Li Qingxin: "Zai yi Zheng He xia Xiyang—yi liang ci cong Guangdong qihang wei zhongxin" 再議鄭和下西洋—以兩次從廣東啟航為中心. In: *Guangdong shehui kexue* 廣東社會科學 (2/2003), pp. 113–119; Li Qingxin 2010; Fang Zhiqin / Jiang Zuyuan 2007, p. 158; Shi Cunlong: "Zheng He di er, liu ci xia Xiyang chufadi kaobian" 鄭和第二、六次下西洋出發地考辨. In: JSS-LWJ, pp. 426–434.—Generally, the data provided by local chronicles in that context are surprising and certainly need fresh investigation. JJ-GDTZ, I, j. 7, 13b, states, for example, that in the 9th month (autumn) of 1407 Zheng He received orders to proceed to the Xiyang. There then follows an addendum in smaller characters: "He first went from Guangdong to Champa." The same information appears in Guo Fei (Guo Pei): *(Wanli) Guangdong tongzhi* （萬曆）廣東通志 (1602; rare edition), j. 6, 11b. The role of Guangdong during this voyage is not clear. But this should be a point for a separate study.

[41] MSL (Taizong), j. 82, 6a–b (XI, pp. 1103–1104); j. 111, 1b (XII, p. 1416); Wade 1994, III, pp. 461, 538; *Ming shi*, j. 324, p. 8399.—Many authors have discussed the relevant entries in these sources or only some of them. One example: Long Hui 2007, pp. 23–25.

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選簿. We are told that this man became a *xiaoqi* 小旗 (squad commander) in 1407; in 1409 he was raised to *zongqi* 總旗 (platoon commander), and in 1411 he died during combat in Sri Lanka.[42] The events in Sri Lanka are well-known and usually associated with Zheng He's voyage of 1409–1411. Considering the different ranks, doubts arise, because the envoy mentioned in MSL and *Ming shi* was in a much higher position. Hence, could it be that we are looking at two different individuals with the same name?

The issue is further complicated by the fact that one finds an additional reference to a man called 張源 (as in HDJ) in *Tianfei xiansheng lu*. This Zhang Yuan led a mission to Bengal in 1421 (and not to Siam), receiving Mazu's help during a storm. The story ends by drawing attention to the temple in Meizhou. From the MSL we know that Bengal was in frequent contact with China, but there is no reference to a Bengal-voyage under Zhang Yuan's command.[43] Therefore, one may ask whether the *Tianfei xiansheng lu* is reliable in regard to the name and the date. Finally, one of the Dongguan chronicles mentions a certain 張元, who is connected to another local site. Several scholars suggested that all three names (張源, 張原, 張元) should refer to one and the same person.[44] If so, then the man mentioned in the *Wuzhi xuanbu* should be a different individual. But the matter is not clear at all and needs further research.

Be that as it may, the HDJ provides one essential detail not mentioned in historical accounts: this is the fact that Zhang Yuan came through Chiwan, or, put differently, that he started his journey in central Guangdong. Here we may look at another source that few scholars have studied: Huang Zhong's 黃衷 *Hai yu* 海語 (1536), a book with chapters on Siam and Melaka,

[42] Quoted after MATSUURA AKIRA 松浦章 (author), WANG HAIYAN 王海燕 and SHI PING (tr.): "Guanyu Zheng He xia Xiyang suixing renyuan shiji" 關於鄭和下西洋隨行人員事跡. In: ZHYJ (1/2002), pp. 52–61, here p. 56. Also see FAN JINMING 範金民: "'Weisuo wuzhi xuanbu' suo fanying de Zheng He xia Xiyang shi" 《衛所武職選簿》所反映的鄭和下西洋事. In: *Mingdai yanjiu* 明代研究 13 (2009), pp. 33–80, here especially p. 52; SHAO LEI 邵磊/ZHU WEI 朱巍, "Qianxi Zheng He xia Xiyang youguan de liang zhong wuguan muzhi" 淺析鄭和下西洋有關的兩種武官墓志. In: *Nanjing Xiaozhuang xueyuan xuebao* 南京曉莊學院學報 (2/2014), pp. 109–113, here p. 109.—For the ranks: HUCKER 1985, nos. 2383 and 7089.

[43] WÄDOW 1992, pp. 227–228, 319 (no. 45); also *Chi feng Tianhou zhi*. In: MZWX, II, *Zhulu juan (shang)*, p. 275. For a survey of the relations between Ming-China and Bengal: H. RAY: *Trade and Diplomacy in India-China Relations. A Study of Bengal during the Fifteenth Century*. Delhi 1993.

[44] For example, JIANG WEIYAN 2005, pp. 657–658; LONG HUI 2007, p. 26; LIU ZHIWEI 2014, p. 336 and n. 4 and 5 there. LIU quotes one edition of the *Dongguan xianzhi*; other editions also contain similar references. See, for example, *Xuantong Dongguan xianzhi*, I, j. 18, 7b (p. 528).

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and also with short segments on animals, plants and various *mirabilia*. The Siam part opens with the following statement:

> The country of Xianluo is in the Nanhai. From Nantingmen in Dongguan [ships] proceed to the [open] ocean, [when going] south they reach Wuzhu, Duzhu and Qizhou. 暹羅國在南海中，自東莞之南亭門放洋，南至烏豬、獨豬、七洲。[45]

These observations are in line with the general impression that some early Ming missions to Southeast Asia started in the Pearl River estuary. Elsewhere in his text Huang Zhong also refers to Guangdong, but he says very little about individual voyages. Instead of listing their dates, he provides nautical details and ethnographical facts. While this is of no concern to us, one should note that all the geographical names in the quotation above also appear on the Zheng He map, with only minor variations:[46] Nantingmen seems to be the same as Nantingshan 南停山 and stands for Dawanshan 大萬山, an island to the southwest of Hong Kong; under the Ming this remote location was administered by Dongguan (note: 莞 and 莞 are variations). Wuzhu (second character 豬 or 猪) is near Shangchuan 上川 (later in Portuguese sources: São João). Going from Wuzhu towards the southwest, one first reaches the so-called "Seven Islands", or Qizhou (the sea around these islands had the name Qizhou yang 七洲洋). Only thereafter Duzhu (second character again 豬 or 猪) came in sight, i. e., Dazhou Island 大洲島, off the Hainan coast.

A final point concerns the Chiwan temple itself. The HDJ reports that "[Zhang Yuan] constructed a [new] hall to the southeast of the old building" (公復建殿宇于舊廟東南). From the CXCWTFM we learn the following: "In the eighth year of Yongle (1410), the *zhonggui* (grand eunuch) Zhang Yuan was sent to Xianluo [and] the temple was first built" (永樂八年，差中貴張

[45] Huang Zhong: *Hai yu* (Baibu congshu ed., Lingnan yishu, box 3), j. shang, 1a. Liu Zhiwei 2014, p. 335 n. 1, cites the same passage, but the wording is different (this includes the character *guan* in the name Dongguan).—Near-to-complete translations of Huang's chapters on Melaka and Siam are in D. Guida: *Nei mari del sud. Il viaggio nel Sud-Est Asiatico tra realtà e immaginazione: storiografia e letteratura nella Cina Ming e Qing*. Rome 2007, pp. 134–138, 171–173. Also see Guida's earlier study "Ming Images of Nanyang: Some Stories from Haiyu (Words on the Sea) [1536]." In: *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale* 54.3 (1994), pp. 389–399.

[46] For the names see, for example, *Xinbian Zheng He hanghai tuji*, pp. 40–43. *Guangdong sheng haiyu diming zhi*, pp. 479; P.-Y. Manguin: *Les Portugais sur les côtes du Viêt-Nam et du Campā. Étude sur les routes maritimes et les relations commerciales, d'après les sources portugaises (XVI^e, XVII^e, XVIII^e siècles)*. Paris 1972, especially p. 60 and n. 7; and of course various well-known studies by Han Zhenhua 韓振華, not listed here.

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源使暹羅國，始立廟).[47] This second quotation suggests that Zhang (or others) had a temple constructed prior to departure. If we add the date of the order/entry given in MSL, then perhaps the following picture may be valid: 張源/張原 received orders in September 1408, but he only left in 1410. Alternatively, he undertook two voyages, one in 1408 and one in 1410. Or, one of these two dates is wrong. Furthermore, he initiated the foundation of a new building, either at his own expense or following official instructions, evidently to express his gratitude for earlier favors granted by Tianfei and to obtain Tianfei's help for the upcoming voyage. Prior to departure he performed the *cisha* ceremony (mentioned in HDJ), but we cannot tell when exactly this happened. Construction of the new building certainly took several weeks, which could mean that he only left when the work was nearing its final phase, for example in January of 1409. Moreover, one can reconcile the expression "first built" (in CXCWTFM) with the words chosen in HDJ. The assumption that some earlier building had existed in Chiwan, remains acceptable, if one relates "first built" to "a [new] hall to the southeast of the old building", and only to this formulation. But it is also possible that one of the inscriptions records these details wrongly.—Admittedly, the above conclusions are speculative and may not be correct in all parts.

Later voyages, Dongguan and the Chiwan inscription

The next set of data takes us to the period after the end of Zheng He's expeditions. When the Ming court decided to stop the maritime program, tribute trade from distant ports gradually ebbed off. But embassies from nearby Southeast Asian polities with which the Yongle and Xuande courts had maintained close relations still came to China—at a reduced frequency—and minor Chinese envoys were still dispatched to these places, just as before. At least one such envoy leaving China during that period is connected to Dongguan. The relevant information comes from the *Shu yu zhouzi lu* 殊域周咨錄 (1574): On the 23rd day of the 12th month in the sixth year of Zhengtong (3 February 1442) the *jishizhong* (supervising secretary) Shu 舒 and the *xingren* (messenger) Wu Hui 吳惠 started their journey in Dongguan. Their destination was Champa and the purpose of the trip was to enfeoff the new local ruler. The return voyage started on the 6th day of the 5th month in the seventh year of Zhengtong (13 June 1442). The entire mission proved difficult, the ship was destroyed, Shu was desperate, but Wu prepared a sacrificial text,

[47] The CWTFMJ remains vague. It says, "under the Yongle reign" Zhang Yuan first sacrificed there; later others enlarged the temple. The text then jumps to the early Qing period.

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dedicated to Zhu Rong (Nanhai shen) and Tianfei, and in the end both men reached Dongguan.[48]

The MSL provides additional details. This includes the day on which the order for the mission was issued, 29 July 1441, the text of a proclamation, and Shu's full name: Shu Tong 舒暹. The *Ming shi* also refers to that voyage, but the name appears as Guan Tong 棺暹, which is wrong. Furthermore, both these works do not mention Dongguan and the sacrifice.[49] The HDJ in turn does not list the voyage by Shu and Wu. One wonders why this is so. Perhaps the answer is that Huang Jian had no information about the two envoys in question, or perhaps they failed to make an appropriate donation and were thus excluded from the inscription.

However, the HDJ refers to another mission: the one headed by Wang Rulin and Liu Tai. The starting point of that voyage remains unclear, unless the text implies that this was Chiwan. All we learn is that Wang and Liu sailed to Champa and prayed for Mazu's help in the Chiwan temple, evidently during the winter of "last year". If we base ourselves on the date of the inscription—ninth lunar month in the 8th year of Tianshun (late 1464)—then "last year in winter" should mean late 1463 or early 1464. Historical sources give different details. There is an entry in MSL, for 27 September 1460, which tells us that the court sent Wang Rulin and Liu Shu 劉恕 (not Liu Tai) to Champa, mainly with the purpose of enfeoffing the local ruler. Their return from this mission is recorded under the date of 5 September 1462. The *Ming shi* also gives an earlier date, not 1463/64, and the second man is again called Liu Shu.[50]

Most likely the version Liu Shu is correct and departure took place in 1460, hence we should probably alter these details in HDJ. The CXCWTFM and CWTFMJ are of no help in that regard. The last text only contains a general statement: Envoys from Champa, Java, Cambodia, Melaka and Srivijaya would enter China "by way of Guang(dong)". But there is a second point which deserves attention: From HDJ we know that Wang Rulin and Liu Tai / Shu donated money to improve or enlarge the temple; apparently this occurred prior to departure. The CXCWTFM reports that returning envoys gave money to buy fields for the temple, but it does not name the

[48] Yan Congjian 嚴從簡 (author), Yu Sili 余思黎 (ed.): *Shuyu zhouzi lu*. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 2000 (originally 1574), j. 7, S. 253–254.

[49] MSL (Yingzong), j. 81, 5b–6a (XXV, pp. 1618–1619); Wade 1994, V, pp. 1294–1295; *Ming shi*, j. 324, p. 8387 and p. 8409 n. 2.

[50] See, for example, MSL (Yingzong), j. 319, 4b (XXXVII, p. 6648), and j. 343, 1b–2a (XXXVIII, pp. 6946–6947); Wade 1994, V, pp. 1595–1597, 1609; *Ming shi*, j. 324, pp. 8387–8388 (there Huang Rulin 黃汝霖 for Wang Rulin); Maspero 1913, pp. 176–178 (background); Liu Zhiwei 2014, p. 337.

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donators.[51] The CWTFMJ first mentions Zhang Yuan and his voyage; then it vaguely alludes to a donation by one (or several?) messenger(s); these funds were used to enlarge the "sacrificial fields" (*sitian* 祀田; the proceeds drawn from this land were needed for religious services). Finally the last text also says, further donations came from others, including Wang *bing ke* 王兵科 and Chen *xing ke* 陳刑科, but there are no precise dates and no sums. The first name should refer to Wang Rulin, because this man is identified as a *Bing ke jishizhong* 兵科給事中 in HDJ. The second name seems to stand for another envoy, i. e., Chen Jiayou, who also appears in HDJ, but separately, and not jointly with Wang Rulin and Liu Shu/Tai.

Concerning Chen Jiayou—and his colleague Peng Shengda—the HDJ tells us they returned from Melaka and also donated money, but there is no precise date. The other two inscriptions are even more vague in that regard. Again, for additional details we have to consult the MSL:[52] According to an entry dated 13 September 1459, the *jishizhong* (supervising secretary) Chen Jiayou was sent as chief envoy to Melaka, accompanied by Peng Sheng 彭晟 (not Peng Shengda), as deputy envoy; the same entry also provides the text of an imperial order. Another section—date: 27 April 1461—tells us that a ship was built in Guangdong and they set sail; but they met a typhoon, the vessel was damaged, they drifted for six days and then reached Hainan. A third entry—of 30 Oct 1467—adds that, after repairing the ship, they continued their journey, proceeded to the original destination and completed their duties; later Chen Jiayou, who hailed from Zhejiang, was promoted; however, he died at the age of forty-seven. Since the HDJ bears the year 1464, one may conclude that Chen and Peng had returned from Melaka to China by the latest in that same year, or earlier, since a round trip to the Malayan peninsula normally did not last very long. Therefore the sacrifice reported in HDJ and the donation can safely be dated to 1462 or 1463.

There are no further references to Chinese envoys in HDJ. Nor do the other Chiwan inscriptions provide additional names or dates related to the early Ming voyages. Nevertheless, the few details we can collect from the five texts mentioned above clearly show that these activities and the belief in Mazu's protective powers were tightly linked to Chiwan. Moreover, the later texts in particular confirm in a general sense that foreign tribute missions frequently entered China by way of Guangdong. Finally, they also contain information in regard to the temple as such, its structure, functions, various social dimensions, and other aspects.

[51] These funds went through the hands of a certain "Wu Songshan 吳松山 and others". LIU ZHIWEI 2014, p. 340, believes that the local Wu family (to which Wu Guoguang belonged) was quite influential at that time (late sixteenth century).

[52] For this and the following: MSL (Yingzong), j. 306, 5a–b, and j. 326, 4a–b (XXXVII, pp. 6451–6452, 6729–6230); (Xianzong), j. 47, 1a–b (XLI, pp. 0969–0970); WADE 1994, V, pp. 1584–1585, 1599–1600, and VI, p. 1628; LIU ZHIWEI 2014, p. 337.

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Final remarks: the Chiwan temple's changing role

The last points in particular would make an interesting topic for a separate study of a very different kind, beyond the factual observations and comments presented above. Liu Zhiwei has already drawn attention to some of the more relevant dimensions surrounding the Chiwan temple and its history.[53] We know, for example, that from the Hongwu period through to 1464 (the date of the HDJ text) this site was not ranked among the country's principal religious institutions, in spite of its growing popularity.[54] Although several government officials supported local activities by donating funds for buildings, ceremonies and other purposes, privately or probably because they followed official instructions, it was only much later that the Chiwan temple began to enjoy an elevated status. When Qu Dajun was working on his famous *Guangdong xinyu*, quoted in the introductory section, it had already assumed a much more important role.

There could be several reasons for these developments. Some scholars have argued that, originally, the Xiangshan and Dongguan regions were structurally weak and lagging behind other areas. When the early Ming government decided to strengthen the economy in central Guangdong and, especially later on, coastal defenses, it probably also considered the role of local cults, possibly thinking that it might be advantageous to gradually tie these institutions more closely to the administrative sector. Keeping an eye on temples and shrines would increase the cohesive forces of local society and serve provincial needs. If indeed so, then the records we have from the early fifteenth century, especially the HDJ, would fall into something like a "building-up period". More specifically, repeated donations and perhaps also cooperation between individual envoys and members of the Wu family active in the Dongguan region would be symptomatic for this state of affairs.[55] By and large that seems to apply to two stages in history: to the thirty years in which Zheng He's fleets were out at sea, as well as to the decades immediately following thereafter.

In later years, the Pearl River estuary became exposed to a very different situation. Private maritime trade was still forbidden, but smugglers and ships from Ryukyu and other places occasionally made stopovers in the area. The offshore islands to the south of what is now Hong Kong and Macau were ideal locations to conduct illegal trade. In the early sixteenth century,

[53] Liu Zhiwei 2014. Partly similar ideas in Long Hui 2007, especially pp. 46 et seq.

[54] *(Wanli) Guangdong tongzhi*, j. 18, 20a, to mention just one Guangdong chronicle, only refers to this temple very briefly.

[55] Does this include Wu Hui? Did he play a crucial role in the development of the temple?

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when the Portuguese arrived on the scene, the situation was essentially the same, although there were now more smugglers than before. Towards the middle of that century, with the rise of coastal violence conducted by different Wokou 倭寇 groups, unrest spread along the Chinese coast, from north to south, a topic most familiar to historians. These developments required repeated government intervention and a series of precautionary measures. Under the early and mid-Qing, it became evident that foreign influence on this area, as well as on other coastal sectors, would increase. Further strengthening the worship of Mazu, originally restricted to Fujian, was one possibility of expressing government support and sympathy for the coastal population. This might explain why the Chiwan temple received more official attention now and why, concomitantly, it was considered one of the leading institutions of its kind in Guangdong.

However, most of these ideas are still hypothetical and may not necessarily echo the historical "reality". Future micro-studies on local temples, their functions and duties, may shed more light on such questions. There could be significant variations from one region to the next, within Guangdong itself, or between provinces. But this is an entirely different topic.

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Tung Oil and *tong* 桐 Trees

By Stephen G. Haw, Tarragona

Summary: Tung oil has been used in China as a varnish and for caulking ships for a very long time, but its history is little known. Considerable confusion surrounds *tong* trees, as the name has been applied to several very different plants. This article discusses the identity of the various kinds of *tong*, concentrating upon the trees which produce tung oil. It describes the roles which tung oil has played in history. It was, for example, declared a strategic product by the US government during the Second World War, and played a part in US support for the Republic of China against Japan. It is suggested that tung oil may also have been essential to China's rise as a maritime power during the Song dynasty and later.

1 Tung oil, its production and uses

> [Chinese ships] are not pitched with pitch, because they have none of it in those regions; but they oil them in such a way as I shall tell you, because they have another thing which seems to them to be better than pitch. For I tell you that they take lime and hemp chopped small and they pound it all together mixed with an oil from a tree. And after they have pounded them well, these three things, together I tell you that it becomes sticky and holds like birdlime. And with this thing they smear their ships, and this is worth quite as much as pitch.[1]

This description by Marco Polo of the Chinese method of rendering ships watertight must undoubtedly refer to tung oil, the only "oil from a tree" that has ever been used in China for such a purpose, as far as I am aware.[2] It is therefore almost certainly the earliest record in any European language of tung oil. Indeed, this oil remained an obscure Chinese product, as far as Westerners were concerned, until about 1900. During much of the second half of the nineteenth century, tung oil scarcely figured at all among exports from China.[3] By 1900, however, it had begun to appear as an item of trade of rapidly increasing importance. From 1900 to 1910, exports more

[1] Moule/Pelliot 1938, vol. 1, p. 355; vol. 2, p. lvii. The Latin text has "calcem", from calx = lime; this was probably slaked lime (calcium hydroxide), but might perhaps have been ground limestone or chalk (calcium carbonate).

[2] Joseph Needham certainly thought that Marco Polo was referring to tung oil; Needham 1971, p. 468.

[3] Morse 1918, pp. 406–407; Crawfurd 1858, pp. 9–10.

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than doubled in both quantity and value, and the oil was described as "[o]ne of the most important of all Chinese products".[4] Its importance continued to increase rapidly during the next two decades. By the 1930s, it was one of China's biggest exports, and was said to have replaced tea as a leading export commodity. In 1937, it accounted for almost 11 per cent by value of the total exports of China.[5] Most production of the oil is concentrated in the three provinces of Sichuan, Hunan and Hubei, with limited production in neighbouring provinces, as far north as southern Henan and Shaanxi.[6] Tung trees are mainly grown in hilly and mountainous areas, on poor, leached soils, where other crops would not flourish.[7]

The oil is pressed from the seeds of trees of the genus *Vernicia* Lour., a small genus of three recognised species, formerly often included in the genus *Aleurites* J.R. Forst. & G. Forst.[8] Two species occur in China and one in Japan.[9] Both the Chinese species, *Vernicia fordii* (Hemsl.) Airy Shaw, and *V. montana* Lour., produce tung oil or wood oil. The Japanese species, *V. cordata* (Thunb.) Airy Shaw, produces oil of inferior quality. The oil from *V. fordii* is usually referred to as tung oil and that from *V. montana* as wood oil, but the oils are essentially identical. "Wood oil" is the conventional translation of Chinese *mu you* 木油, which might also (perhaps better) be translated "tree oil". It seems likely that when Marco Polo referred to "an oil from a tree" ("un oleo d'arbres" in the manuscript usually designated F;[10] "oleo arboris" in the Zelada manuscript)[11], he was in fact translating *mu you*. *V. fordii* is the more important of the Chinese species, growing from southern Shaanxi south to Yunnan, Guizhou and Guangxi, and from Sichuan eastwards to Zhejiang. It is deciduous and will tolerate light to moderate frosts. *V. montana* is less widespread, not occurring in Sichuan, nor so far north as *V. fordii*. It is less frost-hardy.[12] During the early twentieth century, tung oil was "the chief paint oil throughout the Chinese Empire, being used for all outside woodwork". Mixed with lime and bamboo shavings, it was used

[4] WILSON 1913, vol. 2, pp. 64, 66.
[5] YEN 1943, p. 419.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 420–421.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 424–425.
[8] For those unfamiliar with botanical nomenclature, a useful introduction is GLEDHILL 2008.
[9] WILSON 1913, vol.2, p. 64; STUPPY et al. 1999, pp. 74–76.
[10] Société de Géographie 1824, p. 181.
[11] MOULE/PELLIOT 1938, vol. 2, p. lvii.
[12] Flora of China Editorial Committee 2008, pp. 266–267; VAN DER VOSSEN/MKAMILO 2007, p. 177.

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for caulking boats, exactly as described by Marco Polo.[13] Tung oil has also been identified as the varnish on a coffin in a grave in Fujian province, dating from about 1200, during the Song dynasty. It was coloured using iron oxides. Ground porcelain and lime were added to foundation coats of the varnish, while the top coat consisted of tung oil coloured red with ferric oxide, without other additions.[14] During the Song dynasty, tung oil was also used in the manufacture of Chinese ink. A work on the history of Chinese ink, written during the Yuan period, records that an ink-maker of the Song period burnt the oil to produce lampblack.[15]

Tung oil is a drying oil, better as a drier than linseed oil.[16] It is an important ingredient in many paints and varnishes, and is also still used today in the manufacture of ink.[17] After 1900, attempts were made to develop a tung oil industry in various parts of the world other than China. One of the most successful of these was in the USA. The US Department of Agriculture encouraged the planting of *Vernicia fordii* in the southern United States, even distributing a number of trees free of charge.[18] During the 1920s, the cultivation of tung trees began to spread through the southeastern states, from Florida and Georgia westwards to Texas. Subsequently, the US tung industry expanded until, in 1938, some 200,000 acres were planted with tung trees.[19] During the Second World War, tung oil was declared a strategic item, and all tung oil in the USA was used for war material only. Products containing tung oil were used for coating ammunition, and for painting ships.[20]

This was by no means the only contribution of tung oil to the war effort. Even before the entry of the USA into the war, tung oil played a part in US support for the Republic of China in its struggle against Japanese aggression. The Japanese invasion of China following the "Marco Polo Bridge Incident" on 7 July 1937 confronted the USA with the necessity to make choices.[21] The government in Washington, D.C., had to consider whether to remain strictly neutral, or to exert influence in favour of China.[22] While there was a significant amount of isolationist feeling in the USA, embodied in the Neutrality Acts passed by Congress from 1935, America had economic interests

[13] Wilson 1913, vol.2, pp. 65–66; van der Vossen/Mkamilo 2007, p. 175; Hanelt and Institute of Plant Genetics and Crop Research 2001, pp. 1216–1218.
[14] Wang 1948, pp. 111–114.
[15] Lu You 1999, *juan xia* 卷下, p. 688.
[16] Wilson 1913, vol. 2, p. 66; Fairchild 1913, p. 3.
[17] van der Vossen/Mkamilo 2007, p. 175.
[18] Fairchild 1913, pp. 6–7; Robb/Travis 2013, p. 17; Kilby 1970, pp. 29–30.
[19] Kilby 1970, pp. 30–31; Brown/Keeler 2005, p. 4.
[20] Brown/Keeler 2005, p. 5.
[21] Lu 1961, pp. 16–19.
[22] Adams 1971, p. 74.

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in China.[23] At first, the US government limited itself largely to statements expressing verbal disapproval of the Japanese assault on China. Nevertheless, the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., was able to obtain presidential approval for continued purchase of Chinese silver by the USA. The Republic of China was also allowed to borrow foreign exchange against gold held on deposit in the United States. These measures helped to support the Chinese currency during a difficult period.[24] In 1938, however, China began to run short of silver. At the same time, the US administration became increasingly concerned about Japan's actions. Later in the year, opinion in favour of greater support for China strengthened. In October, US treasury officials formulated a plan to provide money to China in return for sales of tung oil to the USA. This money could be spent on US products essential to China's war effort. The Export-Import Bank of Washington, a government agency, would provide an immediate loan of half the value of the tung oil that was eventually to be delivered. This plan was not immediately accepted. When Morgenthau first proposed it to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the President hesitated. Events in China had taken a turn for the worse, and he feared that the Chinese government, headed by Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石), might collapse. This possibility soon receded, but Roosevelt also wanted to obtain the assent of the Secretary of State, Cordell Hull. Hull opposed the deal, considering that it was overtly political and would probably provoke Japanese retaliation. Thus, the proposed tung oil deal became a much-debated bone of contention within the US administration. In early December 1938, however, despite continued opposition from Hull, President Roosevelt gave it his approval. On 13 December, the Export-Import Bank agreed to extend credit of US$ 25 million to the Chinese government, to be repaid over five years from the proceeds of sales of tung oil. Although this amount was comparatively small, it was highly significant because it demonstrated US support for the Republic of China, which was able to obtain further credits elsewhere as a result.[25] More than half of Chinese purchases from the USA with the money provided by the Export-Import Bank were of automotive equipment and petroleum products. In return, during 1939, some 39,000 tons of tung oil were shipped to the USA, mainly via the railway from Kunming to Haiphong in French Indo-China.[26] Later, the Yunnan-Burma Road became the chief route for bringing the oil out of China. By 1942, the loan had been repaid, with the export to the USA of 75,000 tons (150 million

[23] ADAMS 1971, p. 77; BECKER/MCCLENAHAN 2003, pp. 38–39; DALLEK 1995, pp. 104–109.
[24] ADAMS 1971, pp. 75–76.
[25] ADAMS 1971, pp. 83–90; BECKER/MCCLENAHAN 2003, p. 39.
[26] BARNETT 1940, p. 69.

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pounds) of tung oil.[27] Thus it was that tung oil played its part in Chinese and US efforts to resist Japan.

Despite the demand for tung oil, and the promising start which it had made, after the 1930s the commercial cultivation of tung trees in the USA began to face difficulties. It declined sharply after the 1950s. There were several reasons for this, probably the most significant being damage to crops due to late frosts, and damage to trees during hurricanes. From 1934 to 1940, there were four years when the tung crop was almost completely destroyed by late frosts.[28] Another four damaging freezes occurred from 1965 to 1970.[29] Compounding this was severe damage caused by hurricanes Betsy in 1965 and Camille in 1969. Camille in particular caused widespread devastation, completely destroying many tung tree plantations in Mississippi, and to a lesser degree in Louisiana. Only plantations in Florida escaped without significant damage.[30] This was a setback from which tung oil production in the USA has never recovered. Nevertheless, attempts to revive it continue to be made. In 1996, the US Department of Agriculture noted that: "Tung oil … is scheduled to be produced again in the United States beginning in December 1996", for the first time since March 1973.[31] Currently, tung trees are being planted in the vicinity of Tallahassee, Florida. It is hoped that a late-flowering cultivar which is now available will suffer less from late frosts and will improve the viability of the industry.[32]

Outside China, the cultivation of tung trees, both *Vernica fordii* and *V. montana*, has generally failed to meet with sustained success. Only a few South American countries, principally Argentina and Paraguay, have become significant producers of tung oil. At one time, some countries in Africa, particularly Malawi and Madagascar, produced the oil commercially, but their production was never very great and has recently collapsed. China has always remained the most important producer of tung oil. During the 1990s and early 2000s, Chinese production amounted to more than 80 per cent of the world total.[33] Tung oil remains an essentially Chinese product.

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[27] Robb/Travis 2013, p. 19.
[28] Fry 1973, p. 131.
[29] Robb/Travis 2013, p. 20.
[30] Fry 1973, pp. 131–133; Robb/Travis 2013, p.20.
[31] Glaser (ed.) 1996, p. 19.
[32] Aleman 2014, pp. 1, 3.
[33] Glaser (ed.) 1996, pp. 19–20; Hanelt and Institute of Plant Genetics and Crop Research 2001, p. 1217; van der Vossen / Mkamilo 2007, p. 175.

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2 The early history of *tong* trees and tung oil

The character *tong* 桐 is ancient, and was already in use several centuries BCE, during the Zhou 周 dynasty. It occurs three times in the *Shi jing* 詩經, including once in the combination *wutong* 梧桐.[34] The most informative of these occurrences indicates that timber of *tong* trees could be used for making musical instruments. It is not easy to identify exactly what the tree was, however. A modern annotated edition of the *Shi jing* says only that *tong* was a kind of tree.[35] In the index to his translation of the *Shi jing*, JAMES LEGGE defines *tong* as: "A tree, the wood of which is good for making lutes. … It appears in the Japanese plates as the *bignonia*." He also defines *wutong* as: "the *dryandra cordifolia* of Thunberg, probably the same as the *eloeococcus oleifera* (*sic*)."[36] BERNHARD KARLGREN seems to have copied this (with a variant of its erroneous spelling), but defines *tong* as: "Eloeococca and kindred trees",[37] thus apparently equating *tong* and *wutong*. The *Ci hai* 辭海 defines *tong* as *Paulownia tomentosa*.[38] Clearly, there is considerable confusion regarding the identity of the *tong* tree.

The first thing that must be said is that it is very unlikely that *tong* in the *Shi jing* could refer to any of the trees that produce tung oil. This is because they are south Chinese trees, which do not occur in northern China, where they are not hardy. Since the Chinese culture area during the period of the Zhou dynasty was centred in north China, tung oil trees would not have been familiar to those who composed the poems in the *Shi jing*. It is easy to dispose of some of the names put forward by LEGGE and KARLGREN. *Dryandra cordata* Thunb. (presumably the origin of LEGGE's erroneous "*dryandra cordifolia*", a name which has no botanical status) is a synonym of *Vernicia cordata*. It is not native to China, however, but only to Japan. CARL PETER THUNBERG (1743–1828), from Sweden, who was a pupil of Linnaeus, was in Japan with a Dutch embassy from August 1775 until November 1776.[39] He subsequently published a flora of Japan, describing a number of new species, including *Dryandra cordata*.[40] LEGGE was somewhat confused here (he was not a botanist). His "*eloeococcus oleifera*" is also an error (the noun does not

[34] ZHOU ZHENFU 2002, pp. 71, 258, 442; LEGGE 1960, pp. 81, 276, 494.

[35] ZHOU ZHENFU 2002, p. 71, note 5.

[36] LEGGE 1960, p. 727.

[37] KARLGREN 1964b, p. 303 [character no. 1176e–f]. KARLGREN makes no comment on *tong* in his glosses on the *Shi jing*; KARLGREN 1964a, pp. 136–138.

[38] SHU XINCHENG et al. (eds.) 1947, p. 695.

[39] VAN STEENIS (ed.) 1950, p. 527.

[40] THUNBERG, 1784, p. 267, t. 27; STUPPY et al. 1999, p. 90. The abbreviation "Thunb." refers to C. P. THUNBERG and is placed after plant names to indicate that they were originally published by him.

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even agree in grammatical gender with the following adjective). The name of the genus is correctly *Elaeococca* Comm. ex A.Juss., but it is a superfluous name for *Vernicia*, published later than the accepted name.[41] The combination *Elaeococca oleifera* appears never to have been validly published. *Dryandra oleifera* Lam. is a superfluous name for *Vernicia cordata*.[42] However, as already suggested, it is highly unlikely that the *wutong* could have been any species of *Vernicia*. KARLGREN was also in error in equating *tong* with "Eloeococca". As LEGGE says, Japanese scholars often considered *tong* to be "*bignonia*". It is unfortunate that he does not specify which "*bignonia*". This genus is still valid, but now includes no tree which might be identified with *tong*. However, *Paulownia tomentosa* Steud. was at one time placed in the genus, as *Bignonia tomentosa* Thunb.[43] LEGGE's definition of *tong* as "*bignonia*" can therefore be reconciled with the *Ci hai* definition. It is indeed the case that the wood of *Paulownia* trees has often been used for making musical instruments in China.[44] *Tong* in the *Shi jing* almost certainly means *Paulownia*, most likely *Paulownia tomentosa*, which is common both as a wild and a cultivated tree across northern China. There are, however, six or seven species of *Paulownia* that are native to China,[45] and it is possible that another of these might be the one intended, or that *tong* was used in a broad sense to include most or all of them. The genus *Paulownia* was named for the Russian princess Anna Pavlovna (or Paulowna), who became queen of the Netherlands in 1840 (at the time the genus was named in 1835 she was not yet queen, but was wife of the Crown Prince of the Netherlands).[46]

The *Shi jing* gives no information about *wutong* which enables any firm identification to be made. It can only be assumed that the name was used in the same sense as it was at later periods. What seems to be the earliest text which gives any very useful information about *wutong*, as far as its identification is concerned, is the sixth-century agricultural treatise *Qi min yao shu*

[41] STUPPY et al. 1999, p. 88. The genus name *Elaeococca* must have been in frequent use for some time, as BRETSCHNEIDER, commenting on the passage from Marco Polo quoted at the beginning of this article, says that wood oil is "the poisonous oil obtained from the nuts of *Elaeococca verrucosa*"; BRETSCHNEIDER 1898, vol. 1, p. 4. This is incorrect, however, as *Elaeococca verrucosa* A. Juss. is a synonym of the Japanese *Vernicia cordata*; STUPPY et al. 1999, p. 90.

[42] STUPPY et al. 1999, p. 90.

[43] Flora of China Editorial Committee 1998, pp. 8–9.

[44] Chinese Academy of Forestry Staff 1986, p. 61.

[45] Flora of China Editorial Committee 1998, p. 8. There is doubt about the exact number of true species, as *Paulownia* x *taiwaniana* T. W. Hu & H. J. Chang is thought to be of hybrid origin.

[46] SIEBOLD/ZUCCARINI 1835, p. 28.

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齊民要術. Significantly, this work makes no mention of the production of oil from any kind of *tong* tree.

> In the ninth month, gather the seeds of the green *tong* (*qing tong* 青桐). … They are delicious fried.
>
> The white *tong* (*bai tong* 白桐) has no seeds. … It is used for making musical instruments. If it grows on stony mountains, the instruments will have a rich sound.[47]

The green *tong* is so called because the bark, particularly of young trees, is smooth and green. This is the tree often called *wutong*. It is *Firmiana simplex* (L.) W. Wight.[48] Its seeds are indeed edible, though they have been said not to be especially good to eat: "They are far from being of good flavor, however, and as a food will never become of any importance to western races".[49] Nevertheless, the Chinese had at least one important use for them: to feed soldiers on campaign. When cooked, they would keep for a long time: "*Wutong* seeds boiled well can be eaten for fifty days."[50] The white *tong* is clearly *Paulownia*. The undersides of the leaves of *Paulownia tomentosa* are covered with whitish hairs. It is not true that this tree has no seeds, but individual seeds are small and inedible, and were therefore no doubt regarded as insignificant. It is interesting that the Chinese, at this early period, had noted that growing conditions made a noticeable difference to the properties of wood.

The earliest reference that I have been able to trace to oil derived from the seeds of any kind of *tong* tree occurs in the pharmacopeia *Ri Hua Zi bencao* 日華子本草, which dates from the Five Dynasties period (907–960): "*Tong* oil is cold and slightly poisonous".[51] This record only refers to medicinal use of the oil, however. There is no indication that it was used in any other way. It is nevertheless likely that the *tong* tree intended here is one of the Chinese species of *Vernicia*. The oil from their seeds is indeed poisonous, and induces vomiting. Acute moderate poisoning[52] may result from consumption

[47] Jia Sixie 2006, p. 350.

[48] Flora of China Editorial Committee 2007, p. 310. The striking green bark of young trees has also been confirmed by personal observation. There are a few other species of *Firmiana* which occur in China, but only *F. simplex* is common and widespread. The genus is named after an Austrian nobleman, Karl von Firmian; MARSILI 1786, p. 115.

[49] MEYER 1911, p. 56.

[50] Zeng Gongliang/Ding Du et al. 1988, vol. 3, *qianji* 前集, *juan* 5, p. 200.

[51] Ri Hua Zi 2005, p. 143; this work was lost long ago as an independent text, but was preserved by copying into later pharmacopeias, including Tang Shenwei 1957, p. 349.

[52] That is, poisoning of abrupt onset, with symptoms of moderate severity.

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of the oil, which resembles other vegetable oils in appearance, so that it is easily consumed accidentally.[53]

During the following century, records of tung oil become much more common. Along with gunpowder, tung oil was an ingredient of various kinds of incendiary bombs described in the military classic *Wujing zongyao* 武經總要, compiled during the early 1040s. Two and a half *liang* 兩 (Chinese ounces) of the oil were included in "poisonous smoke balls" weighing five *jin* 斤 (Chinese pounds), possibly fulfilling more than one purpose, as it was poisonous as well as being a flammable drying oil.[54] It was used in smaller proportions in other incendiary bombs, half a *liang* only being mixed with as much as two and a half *jin* of saltpeter in one recipe for gunpowder.[55] It must have helped to "keep the powder dry", however. It again figures in the incendiary mixture used in "spiky fireballs" (*jili huoqiu* 蒺藜火毬).[56]

3 Chen Zhu's *Tong pu*

A major landmark in the history of *tong* trees in China is the *Tong pu* (*Monograph on* Tong *Trees*), written by Chen Zhu 陳翥 in 1049.[57] This is not only the earliest known monograph on *tong* trees, but is one of the earliest extant Chinese monographs on a single group of plants. Only a few works about bamboo (of which only one now survives) predate it.[58] Chen's *Tong pu* is not a lengthy work, but it adds considerably to the brief and scattered information about *tong* trees found in earlier texts. It includes information not only about trees that can be identified as species of *Paulownia*, *Firmiana* and *Vernicia*, but also about several other kinds of *tong*. For the first time in Chinese literature, as far as I am aware, it clearly mentions the cultivation of *tong* trees for the commercial production of tung oil.[59]

Chen's monograph is divided into nine sections. The first gives many quotations from early Chinese literature which include mention of *tong* trees. Unfortunately, in most cases, it is not at all clear what particular kind of tree was intended. The second section is perhaps the most important, as it discusses the various different kinds of *tong*: "There is not just one kind

[53] Guojia Zhongyiyao Guanliju "Zhonghua Bencao" Bianweihui 1999, vol. 4, p. 863.
[54] Zeng Gongliang / Ding Du et al. 1988, vol. 3, *qianji*, *juan* 11, p. 521.
[55] *Ibid*., vol. 3, *qianji*, *juan* 12, pp. 622–623.
[56] *Ibid*., vol. 3, *qianji*, *juan* 12, pp. 633, 635.
[57] Chen Zhu 1981, pp. 1–4; Needham 1996, p. 546; Wang Yuhu 2006, pp. 69–70.
[58] Needham 1996, p. 546; Wang Yuhu 2006, pp. 24–25, 56, 69.
[59] Chen Zhu 1981, p. 20; Needham 1996, p. 595. It must be noted that the discussion of Chen Zhu's *Tong pu* in *Science and Civilisation* is only partly correct, and contains errors.

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of *tong*. I shall now describe those that are recognised."[60] Chen begins with a description of the "white-flowered *tong*", *bai hua tong* 白花桐, which is certainly *Paulownia fortunei* (Seem.) Hemsl. A second, similar, tree is the "purple-flowered *tong*", *zi hua tong* 紫花桐, undoubtedly *Paulownia tomentosa* (but possibly also referring to the very similar, but much less common, species *Paulownia elongata* S.Y. Hu and *P. catalpifolia* T. Gong ex D.Y. Hong).[61] It should be noted that the "white-flowered *tong*" *(Paulownia fortunei)* is not identical with the "white *tong*" *(Paulownia tomentosa)* of the *Qi min yao shu*. The "white" of the latter refers not to the colour of the flowers, but to that of the undersurfaces of the leaves.[62] Chen Zhu lived, and cultivated trees, near Tongling 銅陵 in what is today Anhui province.[63] He seems to have been familiar with trees from both north and south China.

The next kind of *tong* tree, for which Chen gives no distinct name, is described as similar to the white-flowered *tong*, but to have large, round fruits which each contain two or four seeds, from which a useful oil can be extracted. Families living in hilly or mountainous regions, Chen reports, cultivate plantations of them for their marketable seeds.[64] This is clearly *Vernicia*, and is most likely *Vernicia fordii*. *V. montana* differs considerably from any species of *Paulownia* in being evergreen. Its flowers appear with the leaves, whereas *V. fordii* is deciduous, and flowers precociously (before the leaves expand), like species of *Paulownia*. Moreover, *V. fordii* is the better species to cultivate, not only because it is hardier, but because it produces male and female flowers on the same tree, whereas individual trees of *V. montana* are either male or female.[65] Male trees, of course, do not produce fruit, but some must be planted near female trees, to pollinate the female flowers and allow fruit to develop.

Chen next describes another kind of *tong*, which is called the *citong* 刺桐, or "prickly *tong*". He compares it with the *dang* 檔 tree, but it is unfor-

[60] Chen Zhu 1981, p. 17; I do not consider that it is correct to say that: "The word *thung* [*tong*] refers properly only to species of paulownia ..." (NEEDHAM 1996, p. 593), for *tong* was certainly used to refer to other kinds of tree at an early date. There is rarely much certainty that *tong*, used alone, means *Paulownia*, as is here suggested.

[61] Chen Zhu 1981, pp. 17–18; NEEDHAM 1996, p. 595; Flora of China Editorial Committee 1998, pp. 8–9.

[62] NEEDHAM 1996, p. 595, is erroneous in this respect. A comparable usage is *bai yang* 白楊 (*Populus alba* L., *P. tomentosa* Carrière and related species of the genus *Populus* Section *Populus*), a name which refers to the whitish bark and white hairiness of the shoots of the trees (the flowers are catkins and are not very showy); Flora of China Editorial Committee 1999, pp. 139–147.

[63] Chen Zhu 1981, pp. 1, 94; NEEDHAM 1996, p. 597.

[64] Chen Zhu 1981, p. 20; NEEDHAM 1996, p. 595.

[65] Flora of China Editorial Committee 2008, pp. 266–267.

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tunately not at all clear what kind of tree this was.[66] The leaves of the *citong*, he says, are like those of maple trees. Its flowers are said to be red (*dan* 丹, the colour of cinnabar). This tree is *Erythrina variegata* L.[67] Its leaves are trifoliolate (completely divided into three leaflets). If one thinks of the sugar maple (the leaf on the flag of Canada), or similar species, then Chen's comparison is inexact, but there are maples with trifoliolate leaves.[68] It was this tree which gave the name "Zaiton", a corruption of *citong*, to the port of Quanzhou on the coast of Fujian province. This has been discussed at length by Pelliot.[69] Something apparently not known to Pelliot is that a work of the Yuan period states that the prefecture (*jun* 郡)[70] of Quanzhou "is called *Tongcheng* 桐城 ('City of *Tong* trees') because there are many *citong* trees in the area."[71] It must be emphasised that these *citong* trees of the Quanzhou area were *Erythrina* and not *Vernicia*. They did not produce tung oil, as has recently been erroneously stated.[72] Strangely, it has also been wrongly stated recently that they were *Paulownia* trees.[73] According to Chen, neither the timber of the *citong* nor of *Vernicia* was highly regarded.[74]

Chen continues by describing two kinds of *tong* "which have no practical uses", but are principally ornamental. The first is the *wutong*, commonly planted near buildings and producing edible seeds. The second kind bears attractive red flowers when about three or four feet (*chi* 尺) tall. It was evidently essentially ornamental, and was planted near pavilions and similar buildings to provide colour in summer and autumn. Its name was *zhen tong* 貞桐. A similar plant with flowers of a different shade of red was called *cheng tong* 赬桐.[75] These are probably different varieties of *Clerodendrum japonicum* (Thunb.) Sweet, which has flowers that vary in colour from red and white to entirely red. There are, however, more than thirty species of *Clerodendrum* L. in China,[76] so that it is possible that one or more other species might also be included under these Chinese names.

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[66] Several dictionaries say that it was the same as the *zhuyu* 茱萸, but this name has been applied to at least three distinct groups of trees.

[67] Flora of China Editorial Committee 2010, pp. 237–238.

[68] Examples include *Acer henryi* Pax, a species with a wide distribution in China, including Anhui province; Flora of China Editorial Committee 2008, p. 552.

[69] Pelliot 1959, pp. 583–597.

[70] On the Yuan-period *jun*, see Farquhar 1990, p. 419.

[71] Liu Yingli 2003, vol. 2, p. 543.

[72] Schottenhammer 2015, p. 453.

[73] Steinhardt 2015, p. 35.

[74] Chen Zhu 1981, p. 21.

[75] *Ibid*., p. 22.

[76] Flora of China Editorial Committee 1994, pp. 34–43; Needham 1996, p. 596. *Clerodenrum kaempferi* (Jacq.) Siebold, the name given in Needham, is a synonym of

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A pharmacopeia written slightly later than Chen's *Tong pu*, Su Song's 蘇頌 *Bencao tu jing* 本草圖經, completed in 1061, contains another record of tung oil: "Some say that it is the *gang tong* 崗桐 which southerners now use to make oil. This *tong* also has seeds, which are rather larger than those of the *wu* 梧 [i. e. *wutong*, *Firmiana simplex*]".[77] This brief record confirms that tung oil was a southern Chinese product which was probably in widespread use by the eleventh century. The name *gang tong*, written slightly differently, will be met with again below.

4 Later Chinese sources on *tong* trees

Rather more than a century after Chen wrote his monograph on *tong* trees, Zhou Qufei 周去非, in his account of southern China and the countries of Southeast Asia and beyond, briefly refers to tung oil:

> In the remote coastal prefectures of Guangdong, it is difficult to obtain iron nails and tung oil, so when ships are built they are all constructed by making holes in the planks and binding them together with rattan.[78]

This short note indicates that, at the time when Zhou wrote this (about 1178), Chinese ships were usually constructed using iron nails and tung oil, but that ships were still sometimes built in comparatively remote southern regions using the older sewn-plank technique, which continued to be common in Southeast and South Asia at this period and even later.[79] A few decades after this, in a work presented to the Song throne in 1205,[80] it is recorded that tung oil was used in the manufacture of arrows.[81] This is an extraordinary early parallel to the much later use of tung oil for coating ammunition during the Second World War.

There may have been a second Song-period *Tong pu*, written by Ding Fu 丁黼, who was killed fighting the Mongols at Chengdu in Sichuan in 1239.[82]

C. japonicum. It should also be noted that the *Nanfang caomu zhuang*, mentioned here, is suspected of being a Song-period forgery; MA TAI-LOI 1978, pp. 218–252.

[77] Su Song 1994, pp. 3, 411. There is a biography of Su Song in the *Song shi* 宋史; Tuotuo et al. 1977, vol. 31, *juan* 340, pp. 10859–10868. He came from near Quanzhou in Fujian province.

[78] Zhou Qufei 1999, *juan* 6, p. 218.

[79] On sewn-plank boats, particularly in Southeast Asia, see MANGUIN 1993, pp. 256–263. It should be noted, however, that MANGUIN's reference to "A Chinese book on South-East Asian flora, written in 304 A.D." (p. 261) must be treated with caution, as the book in question is the *Nanfang caomu zhuang*, which may well be a Song-period forgery; see MA TAI-LOI 1978.

[80] Tuotuo et al. 1977, vol. 3, *juan* 38, p. 737.

[81] Hua Yue 1992, *juan* 8, pp. 687–688.

[82] WANG YUHU 2006, p. 98; Tuotuo et al. (eds.) 1977, vol. 38, *juan* 454, p. 3345.

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Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about this work, which is no longer extant. Thereafter, *tong* trees were given only brief mention in the official Yuan agricultural treatise, *Nong sang ji yao* 農桑輯要. This work adds very little to the information in the *Qi min yao shu*, describing only *Paulownia* and *Firmiana*.[83] The early fourteenth-century agricultural treatise by Wang Zhen 王禎 does not mention *tong* trees at all, despite the fact that Wang describes a number of south Chinese trees, including lychee, longan, and the bitter orange, noting that they do not grow in the north.[84] Nonetheless, it is clear that tung oil continued to be used for various purposes during the period of the Yuan dynasty. Not only is there Marco Polo's record of its use for caulking ships, but there is also a reference to the wood of ships being coated with tung oil in a short literary composition by Ma Zuchang (1279–1338).[85] In the late-Yuan *Nan cun chuo geng lu* 南村輟耕錄, completed in 1366, the eclectic Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 gives recipes for various kinds of paint or lacquer, in one of which tung oil figures as an ingredient.[86]

It is not until after 1600, however, that any substantial new information about *tong* trees appears. The *Qun fang pu* 群芳譜 (also known as *Er ru ting qun fang pu* 二如亭群芳譜) has an afterword by the author dated 1621, and was probably completed in that year.[87] It is a general work about plants, including those grown purely as ornamentals. In the section on trees, it has an entry headed "*Wutong* 梧桐", which begins with information about *Firmiana simplex*, but then appends material relating to other kinds of *tong*. Of these, the first is *bai tong* 白桐, which is said also to be called *hua tong* 華桐 ("flowering *tong*") and *pao tong* 泡桐. These names clearly refer to species of *Paulownia*, which have showy flowers: *pao tong* is the accepted Chinese name for the genus *Paulownia* today.[88] Then it says:

> The *gang tong* 岡桐 is also called *you tong* 油桐 [oil *tong*], *ren tong* 荏桐, *yingzi tong* 罌子桐, or *huzi tong* 虎子桐. The trees are small and slow-growing. In early spring they precociously bear pale red flowers. The fruits are large and round. In each fruit there are two or four seeds, as big as Chaulmoogra seeds. The flesh is white and tastes sweet. Eating them makes people vomit. People often plant them and collect the seeds to make tung oil for varnish, and for making oiled products and caulking ships.[89]

[83] Da Sinong Si 2008, p. 303.
[84] Wang Zhen 2008, pp. 272–273, 275–276, 290.
[85] Ma Zuchang 2004, p. 435.
[86] Tao Zongyi 1959, *juan* 30, p. 375.
[87] Wang Yuhu 2006, pp. 179–180.
[88] Flora of China Editorial Committee 1998, p. 8.
[89] Wang Xiangjin 2001, *juan* 1, p. 641.

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The *Nong zheng quanshu* 農政全書, a substantial agricultural treatise first printed in 1639, contains very similar, but less detailed, information.[90]

The *Qun fang pu* continues with information about other kinds of *tong*, including ones not encountered before. The *hai tong* 海桐 ("sea tong") is said to grow in the "southern sea" (*nan hai* 南海, which might refer to Guangzhou) and maritime prefectures of Leizhou 雷州 (in Guangdong). This name is now applied to *Pittosporum tobira* (Thunb.) W.T. Aiton, a shrub or small tree which is not native to the Chinese mainland. It occurs naturally in northern Taiwan, as well as southern Korea and Japan.[91] However, the description given in the *Qun fang pu*, which says that the leaves are "as big as a hand" and that the flowers smell unpleasant, does not fit *Pittosporum tobira* well. Possibly a species of *Clerodendrum* is intended, perhaps *Clerodendrum trichotomum* Thunb. (see below).

Wang Xiangjin then also describes the *citong* and the *cheng tong*, as in Chen Zhu's *Tong pu*, and concludes his list of kinds of *tong* with a somewhat anomalous entry for *mi gu* 迷穀. The only reason to include this tree with *tong* trees seems to be that it is said to be "like the *wu*[*tong*]".[92] It appears to be a purely mythical tree, which is mentioned in such works as the *Shan hai jing* 山海經.[93]

During the Qing dynasty, the *Qun fang pu* was enlarged with additional material, and was then called the *Guang qun fang pu* 廣群芳譜. The work of revision was undertaken by Imperial command, during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor, and was finished in 1708.[94] A complete chapter of the expanded work is devoted to *tong* trees.[95] Most of the chapter deals with *tong* in general, with collected quotations from earlier works. It is clear that much of this relates to *Paulownia* species or to *Firmiana simplex*. Towards the end of the chapter, material relating to other kinds of *tong* is appended, beginning with *citong*. The material about *citong* from the *Qun fang pu* is quoted, with additional information from other works, all of which seems to relate to *Erythrina variegata*. Next comes *gang tong (Vernicia)*, but only the material from the *Qun fang pu* is quoted, without any addition. A little extra information is given about *cheng tong*. Then the material which the *Qun fang pu* relates to *hai tong* is quoted, but under the heading *chou tong* 臭桐. This name has sometimes been used for *Clerodendrum trichotomum*, which may be the plant intended here. The chapter ends with brief information

[90] Xu Guangqi 1979, vol. 2, p. 1051.
[91] Flora of China Editorial Committee 2003, p. 4.
[92] Wang Xiangjin 2001, *juan* 1, p. 641.
[93] YUAN KE 1980, *juan* 1, p. 1.
[94] WANG YUHU 2006, p. 214; Wang Hao et al. n.d., preface.
[95] Wang Hao et al. n.d., *juan* 73, pp. 1–41.

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about *hu tong* 胡桐, which is said to grow in Shanshan 鄯善 (in modern Xinjiang). This is probably *Populus euphratica* Olivier.[96] Finally, there is very brief information about *hai tong* and *zhe tong* 折桐. The former may here be *Pittosporum tobira*, but there is not enough detail in the description to be sure. Nor is it possible to identify the *zhe tong*. It may well be no more than a variant name for a *Paulownia*. Overall, the *Guang qun fang pu* does not add much very useful information to that contained in earlier works. It is particularly disappointing with regard to tung oil, supplying no new information at all.

To summarise, the kind of *tong* which produced useful timber, often used for making musical instruments, was *Paulownia*. The *tong* with edible seeds was *Firmiana*, usually called *wutong*. *Tong* trees with prickles, *citong*, were *Erythrina*. Tung oil was pressed from the seeds of *Vernicia*. Other kinds of *tong*, including *Clerodendrum* and *Pittosporum tobira*, were much less commonly mentioned and were principally ornamental plants.

Thus far, information from pharmacopeias has been referred to only occasionally. Various parts of several kinds of *tong* were, and are, used in Chinese medicine, but *Vernicia* does not appear to have been very much used until recently. *Tong* leaves (*tong ye* 桐葉) are listed in the earliest extant pharmacopeias. According to Li Shizhen 李時珍, the great late-Ming pharmacologist, these were leaves of *bai tong*, that is, *Paulownia tomentosa*. He describes the tree as bearing tubular flowers, which open before the leaves grow in spring, which is correct for *Paulownia*. He notes that there is a certain amount of confusion regarding the names of various kinds of *tong*. Some authors say that *qing tong* is different from *wutong*, because *qing tong* does not have seeds.[97] This can be readily explained, however. *Firmiana simplex* bears unisexual flowers: individual flowers are either male or female. It is entirely possible that some individual trees (especially young trees) might bear only male flowers, and therefore produce no seeds. It is also often the case that trees planted outside their normal range of distribution might grow perfectly well but fail to flower, or might flower but not set seed. *Firmiana simplex* has long been cultivated in many regions of China.

Li Shizhen resolves most of the problems regarding the nomenclature of *tong* trees. He has separate headings for *tong*, *wutong*, *yingzi tong* and *hai tong*. It is clear that the first three are respectively *Paulownia*, *Firmiana* and *Vernicia*. He gives *citong* as a synonym of *hai tong*, however. Nonetheless, it appears from his description of the tree that it must be *Erythrina*. Clearly, the name *hai tong* was used ambiguously. The only part of the *yingzi tong*

[96] Flora of China Editorial Committee 1999, p. 162.
[97] Li Shizhen 1982, vol. 2, p. 1997.

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(Vernicia) for which Li Shizhen gives any medicinal use is the oil from the seeds. He notes that it is poisonous and causes vomiting.[98]

The modern pharmacopeia, *Zhonghua bencao* 中華本草, records the use of a wider range of parts of *Vernicia fordii*. These include not only the oil from the seeds, but also the seeds themselves, the unripe fruits, the flowers, the leaves, and the roots. Many of the sources cited for the use of unripe fruits, flowers, leaves and roots are regional pharmacopeias, which suggests that it is only the use of the seeds and the oil which is at all widespread.[99]

I do not propose to discuss the occasional, and apparently erroneous, application of the name *tong* to what seem to have been trees producing a fibre similar to, or identical with, cotton. It seems to me that *tong* 桐 in this usage is simply an error for *tong* 橦. PELLIOT has discussed this at length, without really resolving the problem.[100] It is entirely out of the question that any of the kinds of *tong* discussed here could have been used to make cloth. The early history of cotton in China is extremely complex. Although it has been discussed by several great scholars, including PELLIOT, SCHAFER, and KUHN,[101] no entirely accurate account of it has yet been produced. Even Li Shizhen, who was an extraordinarily good botanist for his time, became confused about cotton.[102]

Overall, then, although *tong* trees are mentioned in Chinese literature at a very early date, there is no record of tung oil, and of the trees from which it is obtained, until comparatively late. The earliest certain mention of tung oil dates from the tenth century. In fact, information about tung oil is sparse until recent times. Marco Polo's description of the use of "oil from a tree" for caulking ships is the most detailed pre-modern account of tung oil used in this way. It is, in fact, further evidence of Marco's veracity. Even Chinese texts do not describe the mixing of tung oil with lime and fibre, as Marco does. This is very unlikely to be anything other than an eye-witness account.

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[98] *Ibid*., vol. 2, pp. 1998–2001.

[99] Guojia Zhongyiyao Guanliju "Zhonghua Bencao" Bianweihui 1999, vol. 4, pp. 861–864.

[100] PELLIOT 1959, pp. 473–476.

[101] PELLIOT 1959, pp. 425–531; SCHAFER 1963, pp. 204–207; KUHN in NEEDHAM 1988, pp. 57–59.

[102] Li Shizhen 1982, vol. 2, p. 2134; Li fails to distinguish properly between *Gossypium arboreum* L. and *Bombax ceiba* L. He was not alone in this. Both SCHAFER and BRAY state that fibres obtained from *Bombax* cannot be spun or woven; see SCHAFER 1963, p. 204; and NEEDHAM 1984, p. 537d. This is not entirely true. The fibres cannot be spun easily, but it is possible to spin them into thread, especially if they are spun by hand, or are mixed with other fibres; ROYLE 1855, p. 265; YAN/XU/WANG 2013, p. 675. *Bombax* fibres make a very smooth cloth which feels like silk, which is why it is sometimes called "silk-cotton". A full history of cotton in China requires a separate article, however.

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5 The importance of tung oil in shipbuilding

It is noticeable that Chinese records of tung oil are comparatively frequent after the tenth century, with at least four dating from the eleventh to early thirteenth centuries. Although the fact that something is not mentioned does not necessarily mean that it did not exist (or was not used), the rather sudden appearance of a number of records suggests that tung oil may well not have come into use before the tenth century. At least, at any earlier period, it may only have been used locally or in small quantities. This raises the question of how important the use of tung oil for waterproofing ships may have been. It has been noted that there was a significant expansion of Chinese naval activity during the period of the Song dynasty.[103] Clearly, there were other developments that are likely to have been crucial, such as the use of the magnetic compass for navigation,[104] but it was also essential for ships engaged in long distance trade to be watertight. The fact that the two essentials for shipbuilding mentioned by Zhou Qufei as being scarce in remote parts of Guangdong were iron nails and tung oil is perhaps some indication of how important tung oil may have been. After all, several centuries later, during the Second World War, it was designated a strategic product in the USA. One of its principal uses then was for painting ships of the US Navy. There is no doubt that tung oil was, and is, among the best drying oils available. It is greatly superior to fish oils, often used on ships in the Indian Ocean region and Southeast Asia.[105] Fish oil is not a drying oil and does not last as well as tung oil. The use of tung oil was a significant advantage for ships making ocean voyages which lasted for several weeks, or even months. This would have helped to make Chinese ships technologically superior to those of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean region.

Perhaps this is overstated, but not necessarily so. What may seem to be an item of little significance may sometimes prove to be indispensable. I am reminded of a story told in the book of Zhuangzi:

> In Song there was a man who was skilled at making a salve to prevent chapped hands, and generation after generation his family made a living by bleaching silk in water. A traveler heard about the salve and offered to buy the prescription for a hundred measures of gold. The man called everyone to a family council. 'For generations we've been bleaching silk, and we've never made more than a few measures of gold,' he said. 'Now, if we sell our secret, we can make a hundred measures in one morning. Let's let him have it!' The traveler

[103] See, for example, Schottenhammer 2015, pp. 437–439.

[104] Needham 1962, pp. 279–286.

[105] McGrail 2001, p. 72; Agius 2008, pp. 113, 123, 126, 139, 150, 151; Manguin 2012, pp. 602, 606.

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> got the salve and introduced it to the king of Wu, who was having trouble with the state of Yue. The king put the man in charge of his troops, and that winter they fought a naval battle with the men of Yue and gave them a bad beating. A portion of the conquered territory was awarded to the man as a fief. The salve had the power to prevent chapped hands in either case; but one man used it to get a fief, while the other one never got beyond silk bleaching—because they used it in different ways.[106]

This salve was used for generations by one family before it gained wider application in protecting the hands of the sailors of the state of Wu, enabling them to win a great victory against the forces of the state of Yue. It is not impossible that tung oil was a similar case.

Again, the case of barbed wire may be instructive. This rather simple product was not invented (or at least not patented) until the second half of the nineteenth century. Although at first it was used principally for fencing against livestock, by about 1900, it was already being used in war. It was first extensively utilised (by the British) during the Boer War, and then during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. It became an essential part of the almost static warfare on the Western Front during the First World War. Now, in most people's minds, it is trenches which are permanently associated with the First World War, but many thousands of miles of barbed wire protected the trenches against attack.[107] Without barbed wire, the trenches would have been much less defensible. The wire was as important as the machine-gun. When the British created tanks as part of their attempt to break the stalemate, these tracked armoured vehicles were designed not only to be capable of crossing the cratered earth of no-man's-land and straddling German trenches, but also to force a passage through barbed wire entanglements.[108]

It is not unrealistic to believe that the rise of China as a maritime power was associated with technological innovations, among which were the development of the magnetic compass for navigation at sea and improvements in shipbuilding techniques. One of the latter may well have been the use of tung oil. In his description of Chinese ships, Marco Polo thought it worthwhile to mention the "oil from a tree" used to render them watertight. As a Venetian, he no doubt knew a little about ships. He appreciated the importance of a product which prevented ships leaking. Tung oil is generally little-known and rarely attracts very much attention. Nevertheless, it played a significant role in the Second World War, and it may have been significant in earlier times, too.

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[106] I quote here the translation by WATSON 1968, 1. Free and Easy Wandering, pp. 34–35; the original text may be consulted in CHEN GUYING 2007, vol. 1, p. 34.

[107] KRELL 2002, pp. 13–19, 49–62.

[108] WHITE 1970, p. 4.

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Bücherbesprechungen

Markham J. Geller: *Melothesia in Babylonia—Medicine, Magic, and Astrology in the Ancient Near East*. Boston/Berlin/Munich: Walter De Gruyter 2014. XII, 100 S. (Science, Technology, and Medicine in Ancient Cultures 2.) ISBN 978-1-61451-775-7. € 74,95.

Mit der hier anzuzeigenden Veröffentlichung liegt der zweite Band der neu ins Leben gerufenen Serie *Science, Technology, and Medicine in Ancient Cultures* (STMAC) vor, die unter der Obhut von M. Asper, P. van der Eijk, H. von Staden, L. Taub und M.J. Geller steht. Letztgenannter ist gleichzeitig Autor des vorzustellenden Werkes. Noch vor dem ersten Öffnen des Einbandes fällt das für eine wissenschaftliche Publikation eher ungewöhnliche Format (240×165 mm) ins Auge. Das mit Sorgfalt produzierte Buch ist insgesamt in acht Hauptkapitel und fünf weitere Abschnitte gegliedert.

Die „Acknowledgements" (S. vii) klären den Leser über das günstige Arbeitsklima auf, welches zum erfolgreichen Abschluss der Studie beigetragen hat. So profitierte Geller von der Förderung durch die Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, die ihm ein langjähriges Forschen am Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte ermöglichte. Im Zuge dieses Aufenthalts entstand eine erste Version des Buches, die über das Internet frei zugänglich ist und in den folgenden Jahren grundlegend überarbeitet wurde.[1]

Mit „Contents", „Abbreviations" und „Bibliography" (S. ix–xii) folgen drei Punkte, deren Inhalt selbstredend ist. Als besonders löblich empfindet der Rez. Gellers Versuch, auch noch aktuellste Neuerscheinungen (einschließlich 2013) in seine Arbeit zu integrieren.

Im letzten Abschnitt der einleitenden Sektion „Introduction: Globalisation of Knowledge" (S. 1) wird das primäre Ziel der Studie formuliert. Die Texte SBTU I 43 und BRM 4 20, die beide das Ergebnis spätmesopotamischer Gelehrsamkeit sind, repräsentieren auf den ersten Blick zwei unterschiedliche Disziplinen. Während ersterer sich medizinischen Fragen widmet, konzentriert sich letzterer auf astral-magische Praktiken. Durch eine kulturhistorische Einbettung der Quellen möchte der Autor nachweisen, dass zwischen ihnen mehr Gemeinsamkeiten bestehen, als üblicherweise angenommen wird. Die kritische Reflektion der Ergebnisse berücksichtigt auch den regen Gedankenaustausch, der zwischen Mesopotamien und Griechenland im 1. Jh. v. Chr. bestand.

Das erste Kapitel im Hauptteil „The Uruk 'taxonomy' (SBTU I 43)" (S. 3–25) beginnt mit der Bearbeitung eben dieses Textes.[2] Neben einer Übersetzung, dem philologischen

[1] M.J. Geller: *Look to the stars: Babylonian medicine, magic, astrology and melothesia*. Berlin 2010 (Preprint Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte 401). Die Veränderungen betreffen insbesondere die Unterkapitel „Galen on four crucial organs", „STT 300" und „Two Commentaries on Marduk's Address to the Demons". Die Nachträge, Erweiterungen und Modifikationen sind alles in allem so umfassend, dass der Preprint nicht mehr uneingeschränkt zitierfähig ist.

[2] In der CDLI-Datenbank (Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative) trägt der Text die Nummer P348464. Siehe nun auch die Anmerkungen bei J. Scurlock: *Sourcebook for*

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Kommentar und Textkopien werden außerdem drei Schwarz-Weiß-Fotografien überdurchschnittlicher Qualität geboten.[1] Die Ausnahmestellung von SBTU I 43 innerhalb der mesopotamischen Diagnostik hat erstmals KÖCHER[2] überzeugend dargelegt. Der gegenüber älteren Keilschrifttexten völlig neue Ansatz äußert sich in einem System, welches Krankheiten den vier Organen des Körpers (Herz, Magen, Lungen und Nieren) zuordnet, in denen sie mutmaßlich entstehen. Um den einzigartigen Charakter von SBTU I 43 zu unterstreichen, wird als nächstes mit BAM 212[3] ein traditionellerer Textvertreter der mesopotamischen Medizin vorgestellt. Es folgen ein kürzerer Exkurs über nicht-hippokratische Methoden in der griechisch-römischen Medizin sowie darauf aufbauend zum Kapitelabschluss ein Vergleich zwischen den Theorien der Methodisten und der babylonischen Medizin. Bereits aus älteren Arbeiten ist bekannt, dass der Autor hier zum Teil sehr enge Parallelen sieht, die er nicht als zufällig einstufen möchte.[4] Da es bisher nicht gelungen ist, die hinter SBTU I 43 stehende Theorie überzeugend darzulegen, dehnt der Autor in den folgenden Kapiteln seinen Suchradius auf andere Textgattungen aus. Zunächst greift er mehrere Texte auf, die unlängst Gegenstand eines umfassenden Artikels waren.[5]

Das zweite Kapitel „Uruk Astral Magic (BRM 4 20 and BRM 4 19)" (S. 27–46) konzentriert sich ausschließlich auf diese Tafeln, die einst von CLAY kopiert und von UNGNAD ediert wurden.[6] Der Autor weist gekonnt auf Parallelen und Varianten in anderen Texten hin, übersetzt BRM 4 20 und kommentiert von den insgesamt 68 Zeilen 16 ausführlicher.[7] Der Erkenntnisgewinn liegt in diesem Abschnitt eher im Detail. Das nicht wortgetreue

Ancient Mesopotamian Medicine. Atlanta 2014 (Writings from the ancient world 36), S. 273f.

[1] Leider ist das Foto der Vorderseite ein wenig unscharf, wodurch sich die Überprüfung der Lesungen als schwierig gestaltet. Das ist umso bedauerlicher, als der Autor gerade auf der Vorderseite mehr zu erkennen glaubt als die letzten Bearbeiter des Textes.

[2] Siehe F. KÖCHER: „Spätbabylonische medizinische Texte aus Uruk." In: C. HABRICH u. a. (Hrsg.): *Medizinische Diagnostik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift für Heinz Goerke*. München 1978, S. 17–39 (dort S. 22–25). Merkwürdigerweise hat der Autor an dieser Stelle darauf verzichtet, seine eigenen Vorarbeiten zu nennen. Siehe M. J. GELLER: „West Meets East: Early Greek and Babylonian Diagnosis." In: AfO 48/49 (2001/2002), S. 50–75 (dort S. 61f.) und DERS.: „West Meets East: Early Greek and Babylonian Diagnosis." In: H. J. HORSTMANSHOFF/M. STOL (Hrsg.): *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine*. Leiden 2004 (Studies in Ancient Medicine 27), S. 11–61 (dort S. 34–38).

[3] CDLI no.: P285301.

[4] Die Interaktion zwischen griechischer und mesopotamischer Medizin im 1. Jh. v. Chr. wird von anderen Kollegen durchaus differenziert beurteilt. Siehe M. ASPER: „Medical Acculturation?: Early Greek Texts and the Question of Near Eastern Influence." In: B. HOLMES/K.-D. FISCHER (Hrsg.): *The Frontiers of Ancient Science—Essays in Honor of Heinrich von Staden*. Boston/Berlin/Munich 2015 (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 338), S. 19–46.

[5] Siehe J. SCURLOCK: „Sorcery in the Stars: STT 300, BRM 4.19–20 and the Mandaic Book of the Zodiac." In: AfO 51 (2005/2006), S. 125–146.

[6] CDLI no.: P296512 und P363411.

[7] Zum Begriff *zikurudû* (BRM 4 20, Vs. 9) siehe nun auch U. STEINERT: *Aspekte des Menschseins im Alten Mesopotamien. Eine Studie zu Person und Identität im 2. und 1. Jt. v. Chr.* Leiden/Boston 2012 (Cuneiform Monographs 44), S. 277–282 und 419, Fn. 57.

Manche Entscheidungen des Autors sind für den Rez. nicht recht nachvollziehbar. In BRM 4 20, Vs. 32 wird als Tierkreiszeichen kommentarlos Libra ergänzt, obwohl UN-

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Duplikat BRM 4 19 wird in knapperer Form abgehandelt. Zum Zweck der Texte konstatiert Geller: „In Uruk astral magic (BRM 4 20), the individual entries associated with zodiac signs represent aggressive magic which can alter reality, rather than being defensive or protective spells and rituals which react to the reality of disease or misfortune which has already occurred. Presumably these spells are deemed effective if they are to be used when a planet or the moon traverses a certain zodiac sign." (S. 27).

Die Überschrift zum nächsten Kapitel „The Neo-Assyrian Precursor: Before the Zodiac" (S. 47–68) ist irreführend, da nicht nur auf neuassyrisches Quellenmaterial zurückgegriffen wird. Den Beginn macht aber der aus dem neuassyrischen Ḫuzīrīna kommende Text STT 300, mit dem sich zuvor Casaburi und Glassner auseinandergesetzt haben.[1] STT 300 mutet in der Tat wie ein früher Vorläufer zu BRM 4 19 und 20 an, dessen Einträge aber mit dem 360 Tage währenden Idealjahr korreliert werden mussten, weil der Tierkreis zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch nicht eingeführt worden war. Der Text steht noch deutlich in der Tradition klassisch-mesopotamischer Hemerologien. Die Transliteration und Übersetzung, die der Autor zu STT 300 vorlegt, profitieren von den Textkollationen, um die sich S. Panayotov verdient gemacht hat. Ein Ersatz für die editio princeps ist die neuerliche Bearbeitung jedoch nicht, da auf einen erklärenden Kommentar fast komplett verzichtet wird.[2] In der zweiten Hälfte des dritten Kapitels werden vier weitere Quellen behandelt, wobei der Kommentar wiederum auf ein Minimum beschränkt ist. Den Anfang machen die teilzerstörten Texte LBAT 1626[3] und SBTU V 243[4], die schon vorher mit BRM 4 19 und 20 in Verbindung gebracht wurden.[5] Darauf folgen zwei Kommentare zu *Marduk's Address to the Demons*, die aus dem Nachlass von W.G. Lambert stammen und hier erstmals der Öffentlichkeit präsentiert werden.[6] Auf Seite 68 zieht der Autor ein Zwischenfazit, welches der Rez. beinahe ungekürzt wiedergeben möchte, damit der Leser die Richtung, welche Geller auf den verbleibenden Seiten seines Buches einschlägt, besser nachvollziehen kann. „Nevertheless, what is important for the current study is the difference in approach, which we saw earlier with STT 300, a record of magical practices organised like a traditional hemerology, identifying favourable days of the month in which these can be employed, while its later Babylonian counterpart provides similar data organised according to zodiacal signs. The prevalence of the zodiac in a Late Babylonian

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gnad und scurlock Aquarius bevorzugten und ihre Wahl auch begründeten. In der Übersetzung wird diese Stelle dann einfach ausgelassen.

[1] Siehe M.C. Casaburi: „Early Evidences of Astrological Aspects in a Neo-Assyrian Medical Hemerology." In: SAAB 14 (2002–2005), S. 63–88 und J.J. Glassner: „Exorcisme et chronomancie selon STT 2, 300." In: X. Faivre/B. Lion/C. Michel (Hrsg.): *Et il y eut un esprit dans l'Homme – Jean Bottéro et la Mésopotamie*. Paris 2009 (Travaux de la Maison René-Ginouvès 6), S. 75–81. Wenn der Autor auf S. 47 bemerkt, dass diese Editionen BRM 4 19 und 20 nicht ausreichend in die Überlegungen miteinbeziehen, stellt er die von Casaburi geleistete Arbeit in einem falschen Licht dar. In ihrem sehr ausführlichen Kommentar werden diese Texte wiederholt zur Erklärung herangezogen.

[2] Zum Ausdruck UD.DA.KAM$_2$ siehe auch die Anmerkung in Casaburi 2002–2005, S. 75.

[3] CDLI no.: P364370.

[4] CDLI no.: P348830.

[5] Siehe z.B. Scurlock 2005/2006 und D. Schwemer: *Abwehrzauber und Behexung. Studien zum Schadenzauberglauben im alten Mesopotamien*. Wiesbaden 2007, S. 160.

[6] BM 47529+47685 (ca. 5. Jh. v. Chr.) und Assur Ass. Photo 4130 : Ass. 13955/gt, cf. A 195 (um 700 v. Chr.).

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commentary indicates how fundamental it had become as a tool for hermeneutics and virtually any genre of text could be interpreted as reflecting zodiac influences. It is the awareness of the importance of the zodiac in Babylonian scholarship which leads us to our next supposition, namely that SBTU I 43 may also have some connection with the zodiac which is not clearly indicated in the text."

Kapitel IV „Ancient Aramaic and Greek Parallels" (S. 69–71) nutzt der Autor u. a. dazu, um auf methodische Schwächen in SCURLOCK 2005/2006 aufmerksam zu machen. Als mögliche Parallele zu den Uruk-Tafeln führt GELLER den Tetrabiblos des Ptolemaios ins Feld. Seiner Meinung nach könnte der Gelehrte durch aramäische Übersetzungen an das spätmesopotamische Wissen gelangt sein.[1]

Im fünften Kapitel „Astrological Interpretation of SBTU I 43" (S. 73–75) zieht GELLER als weiteres Vergleichsbeispiel den Text LBAT 1598[2] heran, der transliteriert und übersetzt wird. Inhaltich bleiben zwar weiterhin viele Fragen offen, aber F. ROCHBERG und C. JOHNSON konnten dem Autor einige wertvolle Beobachtungen zum Text mitteilen, welche das in ihm verarbeitete astrologische System (Stichwort: Trigonalaspekt) näher beleuchten.

Kapitel VI „Melothesia" (S. 77–89) kommt nun auf das titelgebende Thema des Buches zu sprechen. Zuerst wird die astrologische Theorie der *melothesia* erläutert, die in der hellenistischen Epoche entstand und im Laufe der Zeit immer komplexere Züge annahm. Im Prinzip geht es bei der Lehre um den Einfluss, den die Tierkreiszeichen oder die Planeten auf die Anatomie des Menschen ausüben. Zwar ist bisher kein Keilschriftdokument bekannt, welches explizit mit der Theorie der *melothesia* operiert, aber entsprechende Ansätze finden sich in einem neubabylonischen Kommentar, der die Körperteile des Menschen den Planeten zuweist.[3] GELLER stellt nun eine Reihe von zusätzlichen Keilschrifttafeln vor, die seiner Meinung nach spezifische Elemente der *melothesia* aufweisen. Zu den Texten zählen LBAT 1597[4], YBC 9833, BM 56605[5] (mit einigen neuen Lesungsvorschlägen), BM 47755 und LBAT 1596[6], von denen die meisten zuletzt von HEESSEL im Zuge seiner Untersuchungen zur medizinischen Astrologie in Mesopotamien thematisiert und teilweise auch ediert wurden.

Mit Kapitel VII „Concluding Hypothesis" (S. 91–93) geht der Autor zum Anfang zurück und legt für SBTU I 43 eine neue Interpretation vor, die da lautet: „Nevertheless, the important detail is that any worthy Uruk astrologer reading SBTU I 43 could have immediately associated the proper zodiac signs with each part of the body, following the rules of melothesia, and SBTU I 43 then simply records which diseases were associated with melothesia, i. e. the parts of the body affected by zodiac signs. Such astrological information could have been given orally, without the necessity of composing a separate tablet to

[1] Hierbei darf nicht vergessen werden, dass auch die Tempelbibliotheken und Archive im spätpharaonischen und griechisch-römischen Ägypten über zahlreiche Quellen zu mesopotamischen Wissenskonzepten verfügten.

[2] CDLI no.: P364343.

[3] Siehe E. REINER: „Two Babylonian precursors of astrology." In: NABU 1993, no. 26 und H. HUNGER: „Stern, Sternkunde." In: M. P. STRECK (Hrsg.): *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie.* Bd. XIII. Berlin 2011–2013, S. 152 (§ 3.2.2.).

[4] CDLI no.: P364342.

[5] Zu BM 56605 siehe nun auch SCURLOCK 2014, S. 216–223.

[6] CDLI no.: P364341. Siehe jetzt H. HUNGER: „A Late Babylonian Astrological Tablet." In: Z. CSABAI (Hrsg.): *Studies in Economic and Social History of the Ancient Near East in Memory of Péter Vargyas.* Budapest 2014 (Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Studies 2), S. 657–669.

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explain the obvious. This would also explain why our records are incomplete; each single tablet only records one aspect of the complex system of astral magic and medicine" (S. 91f.). Dies wiederum kulminiert in seiner finalen Hypothese: „If the four regions of the body, the 'heart', 'throat', 'lungs' and 'kidneys' in SBTU I 43 represent parts of the body influenced by zodiac signs, then it is also possible to conjecture that the diseases associated with these bodily regions are likewise influenced by zodiac signs or individual planets" (S. 92f.).

Abgerundet wird das Werk vom achten Kapitel „Appendix: Modern Reflections" (Seite 95f.) und den „Indices" (S. 97–100), welche die Benutzung des Buches erheblich erleichtern.

Fazit: Das vorgestellte Werk hinterlässt beim Rez. gemischte Gefühle. Der Käufer erwirbt ein schmales Büchlein mit fraglos interessantem Inhalt,[1] bei dem das Preis-Leistungsverhältnis jedoch nicht vollkommen zu überzeugen vermag. Der Rez. kann sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass es keiner kostspieligen Monografie bedurft hätte, um die wenigen neuen Quellen und die durch SBTU I 43 ausgelösten Gedankengänge überzeugend zu präsentieren. Der elementaren Beobachtung, dass sich das Tierkreiskonzept zu einer alles durchdringenden Strömung innerhalb der spätmesopotamischen Wissenschaften entwickelte, darf man grundsätzlich zustimmen. Der Rez. würde es einstweilen trotzdem vermeiden wollen, von „Melothesia in Babylonia" zu sprechen. Die keilschriftlichen Dokumente belegen bisher ausschließlich ein Konzept, welches in Grundzügen der Theorie der *melothesia* ähnelt.

Marco Stockhusen, Leipzig

Vitaly Naumkin (Corpus Editor), Leonid Kogan (Volume Editor), Dmitry Cherkashin/Maria Bulakh/Ekaterina Vizirova/Isa al-Daarhi/Ahmed al-Daarhi: *Corpus of Soqotri Oral Literature*. Vol. 1. Leiden/Boston: Brill 2015. xviii, 750 S. (Studies in Semitic languages and Linguistics 76.) ISBN 978-90-04-27841-7. € 195,–.

The publication of the first volume of the *Corpus of Soqotri Oral Literature* (CSOL) is a major event not only within the framework of Soqotri and Modern South Arabian studies but for Semitic studies as a whole. The latter point deserves special attention, since the incorporation of high quality data from Modern South Arabian and Ethiosemitic languages into comparative Semitic studies during the last decades has considerably changed the whole panorama of Semitic reconstruction and internal genealogical classification. In the history of Semitic studies, Modern South Arabian languages were first treated by some scholars as marginal southern dialects of Arabic and later as a modern continuation of Epigraphic South Arabian, thus making a Southern-Peripheral branch of Semitic languages. According to the present classification, Soqotri and other Modern South Arabian languages constitute one of the three separate groups within the Central Semitic branch on a par with Ethiosemitic languages and the Northern Central group, which includes Canaanite and Aramaic subgroups.

The volume comprises a rich collection of texts registered, deciphered, analyzed and commented on by Vitaly Naumkin over a period of more than 40 years. Later he was joined by a team of younger scholars under his direction: Leonid Kogan, Dmitry Cherkashin and Maria Bulakh. A crucial creative contribution to the team's progress was then made by Soqotri informants Isa al-Daarhi and Ahmed al-Daarhi. The texts are published in standard Roman transcription and accompanied by English translations, transcriptions of all Soqotri texts in Arabic-based script with necessary modifications made by the members of the team, as well as translations into Arabic. The volume is

[1] Siehe die Buchbesprechung von G. Zisa in: *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2015.04.57.

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accompanied by online sound files recorded from native speakers and containing one or several oral versions of the texts published in the volume. This online appendix also comprises photographs prepared by Ekaterina Vizirova. This visual information is indispensable for an adequate understanding of traditional Soqotri culture and everyday life as presented in the texts, annotations and commentaries. A somewhat shorter version of these plates is included with the book. Online audiovisual materials are accessible at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004278400.

A comprehensive introduction to the volume begins with the annotated catalogue of the texts. The catalogue includes brief summaries of all texts, information about earlier publications of these texts, and possible parallels in other Modern South Arabian languages, as well as the names of the original narrator and the reader(s) of the texts, presented in online sound files.

The second part of the introduction begins with a table of Soqotri consonants, both in Roman and Arabic script, with their correspondences in the proto-Semitic consonantal system and parallels in Arabic, Geez and Hebrew. Several difficult problems of Soqotri phonetics and phonology are discussed in this section.

First of all, it must be emphasized that an opposition between two types of *'l'*—dark or velarized (represented in the book as a dotted *'l̇'*) and simple (represented as *l'*) is postulated. The main realization of *'l'* in Soqotri, it is argued, is not plain but velarized. It may be noted that the usage of diacritic marks for both types of *l* is redundant. The question of the status of this phoneme within Semitic deserves further special attention. The Soqotran dark *'l̇'* is parallel to the classical pronunciation of *'l'* in the Arabic word for *God* 'Allah'. Incidentally in Russian there is a phonological opposition of palatalized and non-palatalized *'l'* and the non-palatalized *l* is characterized by a velarized pronunciation.

The profound analysis of the distribution *š~yh* must be commended. On the other hand, it may be regretted that the much discussed problem of the pronunciation of emphatic consonants in Soqotri did not attract the attention of the authors.

A very short paragraph on English translations of Soqotri texts deserves special attention. In the theory of translation two main strategies are defined as *'sense for sense'* versus *'word for word'*, or according to somewhat different formula by Eugene Nida as *'dynamic equivalence'* versus *'formal equivalence'*.[1] In this paragraph a rather rare case is discussed, where both the sense and the form are equally important, since these translations must reproduce as exactly as possible formal morphological and syntactic characteristics of the original text for linguistic analysis and at the same time make semantic and pragmatic aspects of the source text accessible in the language of translation. In such a situation violations of standard norms in the language of translation are inevitable, hence it is necessary to find an acceptable level for such deviations. A valuable remark is made in this paragraph (p. 20), viz. it is practically impossible for the non-native speakers of the language of translation to ensure this result, since only native speakers will feel the difference between acceptable deviations and those beyond these limits. A special case in the typology of translation strategies should be singled out here. Usually glossed translations are used in such situations, but they are acceptable only to trained linguists. Since this volume is addressed to non-linguists as well, glossed translations would not have sufficed. Thus, it was necessary either to include all the three variants: the glossed text, 'normal' English translation and Arabic translation, or to use only a 'special' variant of English and Arabic translations. For different reasons, the authors of the book preferred the latter variant but included glossed translations of three texts in the appendix.

[1] E. Nida: *Toward a Science of Translating*. Leiden 1964.

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Another interesting issue concerning translation theory is encountered in the translations of Soqotri texts into Arabic. As noted in the introduction to the volume, the translation strategy applied by the Soqotran informants consists in "maximal literal rendering of each and every element of the Soqotri original to the detriment of the Arabic" (p. 30). The situation is commented on as follows: "This translation vaguely recalls for us the LXX Greek of the OT. Why such a literal translation strategy was chosen is still a question for us considering the informants' advanced knowledge of literary Arabic" (p. 30, fn. 39). It may be surmised that the Greek translation from Hebrew in LXX presents a sound parallel to the Arabic translation of Soqotri texts in this volume. It has been demonstrated recently that the Greek of the Hellenistic Biblical literature (LXX and the New Testament) is not a corrupted language used by native speakers of Aramaic or Hebrew with bad knowledge of Greek, as postulated by the traditional interpretation, but a special written variant. The purpose was to make the '*Greek of the Bible*' which must be different from classical Greek.[1] In this case, native Soqotri speakers prepared the Soqotri texts in Arabic script (in addition to Roman transcriptions). As to the translation of Soqotri texts into Arabic, it seems quite natural that their intention was to make the language of the translation different from standard Arabic, reproducing certain features of Soqotri to convey something of the style of Soqotri in the Arabic. These Arabic translations were later corrected and edited by Russian members of the team to conform closer to the norms of modern standard Arabic. In my opinion, psycholinguistic aspects of the translation strategy applied by Soqotri informants deserve special attention and analysis.

Transcriptions of Soqotri texts into Arabic script are not new to scholarship. As mentioned in the introduction, transcriptions in Arabic script were already used in Müller's publication of archaic poetic fragments (cf. p. 22). The use of Arabic script for non-written languages is a current event in Islamic world, i. e. in Tropical Africa where such written traditions are labeled as *'ajami'*. It must be emphasized that the authors of the CSOL were successful in creating Soqotri orthography. The writing system was checked with native Soqotri speakers who had no previous experience reading Soqotri. Yet they had no difficulty understanding the texts presented. The major achievement of the CSOL in this respect has been the creation of an important corpus of Soqotri texts in Arabic script, which may present a solid base for eventual alphabetization programs in Soqotri. Translations of Soqotri texts into Arabic will also contribute to such programs.

A separate paragraph in the introduction discusses the content and the importance of Soqotri materials collected and published in the beginning of the 20th century within the framework of the Austrian expedition to South Arabia.[2] These materials remained rather neglected within the framework of Semitic studies, the most notable exception being W. Leslau's Soqotri dictionary based on Austrian collections.[3] The quality, richness and scientific value of these materials received high appraisal in CSOL and it is possible to assume that they were put into a new academic circulation, since they are extensively cited and examined in the philological annotations to the texts. Incidentally it is noted in the comments to Müller's corpus that the Arabic translations are "in a peculiar,

[1] Cf. A. Vdovichenko: *The Law by Moses Rules the Laws of Language. Linguistic approach versus cultural and historical approach to the interpretation problem of the Septuagint text. // Hierarchy and Power in the History of Civilizations. Abstracts.* St.-Petersburg 2002.

[2] A. Jahn: *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien: Texte und Wörterbuch.* Wien 1902; D. H. Müller: *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache.* II. *Soqotri-Texte.* Wien 1905.

[3] W. Leslau: *Lexique soqotri (Sudarabique moderne).* Paris 1938.

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semi-colloquial form of Arabic" (p. 22). It might be interesting to compare the language of translations into Arabic in Müller's corpus and Arabic translations by Soqotri informants in CSOL in order to check whether the translation strategy in both cases was similar.

Each of the 30 Soqotri texts is presented as follows: the text in Roman and Arabic transcriptions, translations into English and Arabic, and philological notes to the text. These notes form a most essential part of the whole volume. They comprise deep analysis on different linguistic levels as well as comprehensive philological commentaries. The heuristic validity of these notes is augmented by a system of cross-references with the Glossary that includes all the lexemes attested in the texts. The lexemes in the Glossary are supplied with references to texts and lines where these lexemes are attested. Thus, it is possible to identify philological notes with the entries in the Glossary. This makes the abundant content of the commentaries, scattered in the notes to different texts, easily accessible to readers.

In summation, it should be emphasized that the structure of the volume as a whole and all technical details are minutely elaborated. The publication of the first volume of CSOL should be considered as the third most important contribution to Soqotri studies after Müller's publications and Leslau's dictionary and a major event not only for Modern South Arabian studies, but also for Semitic philology in general during the last decades. The publication of all forthcoming volumes of CSOL will be a milestone in contemporary Semitic studies and supply the necessary base for a fundamental scientific grammar and new etymological dictionary of Soqotri.

The analytical section and comments in the first volume of CSOL are primarily focused on different aspects of lexicology. But it is necessary to take into account that the collection of texts representing rich Soqotran oral traditions provides an excellent springboard for research into various arts, folkore studies, cultural and social anthropology, traditional cults, etc. Some of these texts were registered over intervals of several decades or even a century. Thus, it is possible to perform diachronic analyses of Soqotran oral traditions.

Victor Porkhomovsky, Moscow

Remke Kruk: *The Warrior Women of Islam: Female Empowerment in Arabic Popular Literature*. London/New York: I. B. Tauris 2014. 272 S. ISBN 978-1-84885-927-2. € 15,99.

Die Leidener Arabistin Remke Kruk (geb. 1942) hat sich in den vergangenen zwei Jahrzehnten mehrfach mit den kämpferischen Frauenfiguren („warrior women") in arabischen Epen beschäftigt. Die Bibliographie in dem Sammelband mit den Vorträgen des 2007 zu ihren Ehren am Kairoer Nederlands-Vlaams Instituut veranstalteten Symposiums listet seit 1993 insgesamt 19 Beiträge hierzu auf.[1] Jetzt hat Kruk mit dem vorliegenden Band gewissermaßen eine Summe ihrer bislang vereinzelt vorliegenden Beiträge verfaßt.

Eingeleitet durch einen Vorspann (S. ix–xxv), der u. a. ein kurzes Vorwort sowie Bemerkungen zu den dem Buch beigegebenen Illustrationen (nach S. 134, 16 Seiten mit insgesamt 23 Farbtafeln) enthält, beginnt die Autorin mit einleitenden Ausführungen allgemein zu den arabischen Epen (S. 1–13) sowie zu kriegerischen Frauengestalten in der arabischen Überlieferung (S. 15–35). Die folgenden elf Kapitel behandeln ausführlich einzelne Gestalten bzw. durch sie repräsentierte Frauentypen in fünf Werken: *Sīrat Ḏāt al-Himma* (S. 37–109), *Sīrat ʿAntara* (S. 111–146), *Sīrat Ḥamza al-bahlawān* (S. 147–162), *Sīrat Bay-*

[1] S. Dorpmueller (Hrsg.): *Fictionalizing the Past: Historical Characters in Arabic Popular Epic*. Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2012, S. XI–XIII.

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bars (S. 163–186), sowie dem Abenteuerroman *al-Malik Sayf b. Ḏī Yazan* (S. 187–222). Den einzelnen Kapiteln vorgestellt ist jeweils eine Liste der in der nachfolgenden Diskussion auftauchenden Handlungsträger, die für mit den Texten weniger vertraute Lesende eine nützliche Orientierungshilfe bieten. Nach einer kurzen abschließenden Betrachtung (S. 223–226) folgen die Anmerkungen (S. 227–252), praktischerweise mit Nennung der betreffenden Seiten in der Kopfzeile, eine Bibliographie mit Beschränkung auf tatsächlich in den Anmerkungen zitierte Werke (S. 253–264) und ein Register (S. 265–272), das primär Personen- und Werknamen sowie einige arabische Fachtermini erschließt.

Kruk wendet sich mit ihrem Werk nicht nur an Fachleute, sondern auch an ein allgemeininteressiertes Publikum. Dabei ist es ihr ein ausdrückliches Anliegen dazu beizutragen, daß die arabische narrative Überlieferung mehr zu bieten hat als die *Erzählungen aus Tausendundeiner Nacht*, die in der allgemeinen wie auch fachspezifischen Wahrnehmung nach wie vor dominieren. Tatsächlich bieten die arabischen Epen faszinierendes Material, das zusätzlich zur Lesefreude auch tiefe Einblicke in kulturelle Aspekte ermöglicht. Angesichts der begrenzten Handlungsspielräume von Frauen in der arabisch-islamischen Welt mag das breite Spektrum kriegerischer Frauengestalten in arabischen Epen erstaunen, das von tapferen Kämpferinnen bis zu hinterlistigen Intrigantinnen reicht. Dabei darf allerdings nicht vergessen werden, daß die Texte von Männern und für Männer verfaßt wurden, daß sie mithin männliche Sichtweisen – Wunschvorstellungen ebenso wie Befürchtungen – reflektieren (35). Grundsätzliche und häufig wiederkehrende Züge der Heldinnenbiographie, die die Autorin identifiziert, umfassen etwa die frühe Erziehung der Frauen in der Kampfkunst; den Schwur, nur einen Mann zu ehelichen, der sie im Kampf besiegt; die bewußte Irritierung des männlichen Gegners durch Aufdeckung weiblicher Reize; Heirat und Mutterschaft; sowie die Fortführung der kämpferischen Tätigkeit auch nach der Heirat (S. 223). Wenngleich die derart charakterisierten Gestalten Produkte männlicher Phantasie sind, betont die Autorin, daß die Verfasser auch weibliche Befindlichkeiten berücksichtigten, zu denen sie exemplarisch Mutterschaft, Stolz und Neid zählt (S. 226). Bei der in den klar strukturierten einzelnen Kapiteln dargelegten Spannungsweite der Handlungsmöglichkeiten kriegerischer Frauengestalten ist Kruk bewußt, daß die Darstellung jenseits der zahlreichen detailliert behandelten Fragen auch Problemfelder anspricht, die weiterer Klärung bedürfen. Hierzu zählt aus Sicht des Rezensenten etwa die Frage, inwieweit sich das Rollenverhalten der Frauengestalten der *Sīrat Ḥamza al-bahlawān*, bei der es sich ja eindeutig um eine arabische bzw. arabisierte Fassung eines persischsprachigen Werks handelt, von demjenigen der Vorlage unterscheidet.

Kruk legt mit ihrem Buch eine überaus lesenswerte und instruktive Abhandlung vor, die mit der Beleuchtung eines häufig vernachlässigten Aspekts der arabischen Epen wesentlich zu deren Verständnis beiträgt. Wenngleich gelegentliche drastische Moralisierungen der Darstellung irritieren (etwa wenn die Autorin S. 30 von einer „nasty insinuation of incestuous lesbianism" spricht oder wenn sie S. 91 Maymūna als „monster of opportunism and depravity" bezeichnet), ist dem Urteil des kürzlich verstorbenen Peter Heath zuzustimmen, daß das Buch einen bedeutenden Beitrag zum Verständnis der arabischen Epen und damit der arabischen narrativen Überlieferung überhaupt darstellt. Darüber hinaus verdient es auch, über die Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft hinaus wahrgenommen zu werden, so von der Genderforschung und speziell im Rahmen der Amazonenforschung, wie dies der jüngst publizierte Artikel der deutschen Historikerin Bea Lundt in der *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (Bd. 14, 2014, Sp. 1505–1508) dokumentiert.

Ulrich Marzolph, Göttingen

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Mohamed Lemine Hamady: *La Mauritanie au XIX^e siècle 1785–1908. Edition critique du Manḥ al-Rabb al-Ghafūr fī dhikri mā ahmalahu Ṣāḥib Fatḥ al-Shakūr de Abū Bakr b. Ahmad al-Muṣṭafā (mort en 1335/1917).* Lyon: ENS Editions 2011. 347 S.; Indexband 30 S. (Valorisation et édition critique des manuscrits arabes subsahariens.) ISBN 978-2-84788-314-5.

Die internationalen Bemühungen zur Rettung der (überwiegend) arabischen Handschriftenbestände der Bibliotheken in und um Timbuktu herum zeigen zögerliche Erfolge. Das Projekt VECMAS (Valorisation et édition critique des manuscrits arabes subsahariens), getragen von der Universtität Sankoré in Timbuktu, der Ecole Normale Supérieure de Lyon, sowie dem Institut National des Sciences Appliquées de Lyon, und seit 2009 mit erheblichen Mitteln zur Herausgabe von Manuskripteditionen ausgestattet, hat sich speziell der Finanzierung und Drucklegung von Manuskripten aus Timbuktu angenommen, hier der Edition – die wievielte Edition des Projektes ist dem Buch nicht zu entnehmen – des *Manḥ ar-rabb al-ġafūr fī ḏikri mā ahmalahu ṣāḥib Fatḥ aš-šakūr* von aṭ-Ṭālib Abū Bakr (Būbakr) b. Aḥmad al-Muṣṭafā al-Walātī (1840–1917). Mit dem Buchtitel wird der Leser somit in die Irre geführt: Der Herausgeber, Dr. Mohamed Lemine Hamady (alias Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Ḥammādī), der der Edition eine Einleitung (ca. 35 S.) zum Autor, zu dessen Text und zur Beschreibung der zur Edition benutzten Quellen vorausstellt, wählt einen in mehreren Hinsichten unberechtigten und unzutreffenden Titel. Der edierte Text stammt ja von aṭ-Ṭālib Abū Bakr (Būbakr) und möchte – nach eigenen Worten – nur die Lücke schließen, die der Bezugstext, nämlich das *Fatḥ aš-šakūr* von aṭ-Ṭālib Muḥammd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Walātī[1] hinterlassen hat: nämlich die Hinzufügung der jüngeren, also zwischen 1201/1785 und 1908/1325 wirkenden und der aus den östlichen (Tagānt) und süd-östlichen (Ḥauḍ) Regionen des heutigen Mauretanien (mit angrenzenden malischen Gebieten) stammenden Gelehrten und Persönlichkeiten und der dort stattgefundenen kriegerischen Konflikte *(waqāʾiʿ)*. Das *Fatḥ aš-šakūr* umfasst dagegen ca. 200 Biographien vorwiegend westlicher (aus Trārza und Brākna) Persönlichkeiten aus dem Zeitraum 1646–1800/1056–1215.

Der Inhalt des *Manḥ ar-rabb* ist somit rasch beschrieben: aṭ-Ṭālib Būbakr listet nach klassischer *taʾrīḫ*-Manier den Stoff in 125 Jahre-Kapiteln *(bāb)*, in denen er, je nach Quellenlage, jahrweise die nach dem Todesdatum geordneten Bigraphien der Persönlichkeiten (185), ihre Werke (345), die bewaffneten Konflikt (238), Hungersnöte und Trockenheiten (17) aufzählt. Hin und wieder sind Verse vom Autor oder über den Autor (oft *riṯāʾ*-Fragmente) eingeflochten. Seine historischen Quellen nennt er neben dem *Fatḥ aš-šakūr* nur höchst selten (etwa die *Ḥaulīyāt Tīšīt*, dazu *MLG* Nr. 721, oder *"waqāʾiq"* und *"nuṣūṣ"*) und dann ohne nähere Angaben – was dem Herausgeber wohl dankbarer Hinweis dafür war, sich selbst um deren Aufspürung auch nicht weiter kümmern zu müssen: Er identifiziert keine einzige Primärquelle des *Manḥ ar-rabb* und selbst die seltenen *Fatḥ aš-šakūr*-Hinweise entbehren oft einer Seitenreferenz. Der Autor, selbst Walāter, verfaßt hier im Grunde eine Heimatchronik, die er mit etwas Lokalkolorit und viel Patriotismus ausschmückt. Entsprechend eulogistisch gefärbt sind seine 185 biobibliographischen Kurzeinträge, in denen die Taten und Werke der behandelten Person aufgezählt werden. Distanz oder gar Kritik läßt sich dabei selten unter den Lobmodulen ausmachen, bestenfalls im Falle ihres Fehlens oder ihrer Kürze. Dennoch: Zusammen mit dem *Fatḥ aš-šakūr*[2] erschließt sich mit der Zugänglichkeit des *Manḥ ar-rabb* nun eine erheblich umfangreichere

1 Zu ihm und seinem biographischen Hauptwerk, dem *Fatḥ aš-šakūr,* siehe *MLG* = U. Rebstock: *Maurische Literaturgeschichte.* I–III. Würzburg 2001, hier Nr. 588 = I, S. 181–183.

2 Ed. M.al-Kattānī, Beirut 1981.

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und lückenlosere Kenntnis der Gelehrtengeschichte und der sozialpolitischen Geschichte des vorkolonialen Mauretanien (im vorletzten Jahr 1323/1905, S. 320–321, kommt der Autor noch auf die französische Eroberung des Tagānt und die Tötung von Xavier Coppolani zu sprechen), insbesondere seiner östlichen Regionen.

Die editorischen Bemühungen des Herausgebers sind in der Einleitung (S. 7–21, 33–44) beschrieben. Er benutzt zur Kontrolle und Ergänzung der Angaben im *Manḥ ar-rabb*, so angegeben in der dreiteiligen Bibliographie S. 329–338, sechs weitere historische maurische Manuskripte (ohne Nachweis), ein gutes Dutzend edierter arabischer Quellen und knapp 50 nicht-arabische Quellen, sowie acht maurische Gelehrtenpersönlichkeiten als „mündliche Quellen". Im gesamten Buch (Einleitung und Edition) werden jedoch nur drei nicht-arabische Quellen zitiert (eine davon fehlerhaft S. 15) und bleiben 95 % aller Fußnoten ohne Quellennachweis, dann aber meist ohne Seitenreferenz. Die kommentierenden Zusätze zum *Manḥ*-Text sind somit überwiegend unbrauchbar und ohnehin oft redundant. Ausnehmen könnte man eine in die Einleitung (S. 21–33) aufgenommene Edition (S. 30/7 scheint eine Editionslücke angezeigt zu sein) einer unbekannten Autobiographie, in der der Autor in der Ich-Form einen übersichtlich strukturierten Enblick in sein Leben und Schaffen gibt. Doch auch hier fehlt wiederum jeglicher editorischer Hinweis.

Weder eine literaturgeschichtliche Einordnung des edierten Textes noch ein Versuch, die Inhalte mit vorhandenen Erkenntnissen zu vergleichen und zu verknüpfen, finden statt. Es ist noch nachvollziehbar, wie der Herausgeber die *Maurische Literaturgeschichte* ignorieren konnte. Da ist die sprachliche, aber auch die kulturelle Hürde zu nehmen. Daß er aber auch die von seinem Landsmann und Pariser Ko-Dissertant Yaḥyā wuld al-Barāʾ 2009 publizierte und weithin im Lande bekannte *al-Maǧmūʿa al-kubrā* (Nouakchott: al-Maktaba al-Waṭanīya), eine 12 Bände mit 6.800 Fatāwā und an die 900 Juristen- und Gelehrtenbiographien umfassende Enzyklopädie des mauritanischen praktischen Rechts vom 16. bis ins 21. Jahrhundert, ignorierte, kann man allenfalls mit *ʿaṣabīya*-Motiven plausibel machen.

Die früheste mir bekannte Beschreibung des Timbuktu Manuskripts (Katalog Nr. 669, 346 S., 17 × 11 cm) stammt von Aḥmad b. M. Yaḥyā[1], der im November 1988 das Manuskript im *Centre Ahmadu Baba* in Timbuktu einsah. Er nennt den Autor dort „aṭ-Ṭālib Būbakr b. Aḥmad al-Muṣṭafā al-Maḥǧūbī al-Walātī" (dazu und weiteren Angaben zu Autor und Text *MLG* Nr. 1449). Der Herausgeber, der selbst in der Zeitschrift *al-Wasīṭ* veröffentlichte (s. Bibliographie S. 329), kennt (oder nennt) den Beitrag nicht. Vielmehr reist er 16 Jahre später, nachdem er seine „Studie" (S. 8/5) des *Manḥ ar-rabb* als Dissertation (die in der Bibliographie fehlt und erstmals – und einzig – S. 75 seitengenau zitiert wird) an der Universität Sorbonne (Paris I; oder doch Nouakchott?) verteidigt hatte, nach Timbuktu, um das Manuskript einzusehen und festzustellen – so der Herausgeber (S. 10/4) –, daß alle zirkulierenden Kopien von diesem Unikat stammten. Es wird ihm zumindest auch mit seiner eigenen Edition nicht gelingen, Klarheit in diese Frage bringen: Der Herausgeber verzichtet auf eine genaue Manuskriptbeschreibung wie auch auf jegliche Folio-Referenzierung und begrenzt seine editorischen Eingriffe – er begründet das mit der „große Geduld, erschöpfende Mühe und anhaltende und detaillierte Arbeit verlangenden" Aufgabe und dem großen Textumfang (S. 13/2f.) – auf die Beigebung der christlichen Jahreszählung, der Umklammerung von Randbemerkungen des Autors, der Identifizierung von Koranversen und Ḥadīṯen sowie dem Eigenkommentar im Zweifelsfalle „[kaḏā]". Einzig Schreibfehler korrigiert er, zeigt dies aber nur beim ersten Auftreten an[?].

1 *„Taqrīr ʿan maḫṭūṭ mūrītānī qadīm: M-n-ḥ ar-rabb al-ǧafūr."* In: *al-Wasīṭ* 3/1989/124–126.

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Daß dennoch hie und da Fehler stehen geblieben sind (z. B. S. 63/3), ist hinnehmbar. Anders sieht das etwa mit Varianten von Eigennamen im Text („Idaumīnī" S. 317/11, „Idaumīni" S. 319/-2) und im Personen-Index (Bd. II, S. 23 wieder „Idaumīnī"; ähnlich im „*Qabā'il*"-Index, S. 23–26, „*aulād Aġraiyir*" 317, es fehlt aber „*abnā' Aġraiyir*" S. 319/-2) aus. Insbesondere der Index ist voller Ungereimtheiten: Da stehen die „Anmād", die Nemadi-Jäger des östlichen Ḥauḍ, unter dem Buchstaben „*nūn*", als Referenz folgen „302, 306", es fehlt jedoch die Referenz auf S. 318/15. Dies sind nur Stichproben. Sie sind aber geeignet, das Vertrauen in die Verläßlichkeit der Indizierung zu erschüttern. Dazu trägt auch der Umstand bei, daß der beigesellte Indexband, der Indices zu Personen *(a'lām)*, Buchtiteln *(kutub)*, Stämmen *(qabā'il)*, Kämpfen *(ma'ārik)* und Naturereignissen *(ẓawāhir)* enthält, offenbar (auf kritische Nachfrage?) als Ergänzung sekundär erstellt wurde. Der Textband enthält ja bereits einen unvollständigen(!) Personenindex: Er ist aber nur halb so umfangreich wie der nachgebesserte. Ärgerlich ist, daß bei sämtlichen Indices nur an wenigen Einträgen die oft für eine Identifizierung unerläßliche Vokalisierung (bei den *ma'ārik* hat man es fast durchweg mit berberischem Namensgut zu tun) vorgenommen wird, und wenn, dann selten vollständig.

Die vorliegende Edition liefert – soweit das überhaupt beurteilt werden kann – eine hinreichend korrekte Transkription der arabischen Handschrift (von der leider auch keine faksimilierte Seite beigefügt ist). Ihr Inhalt ist – gemessen am literarischen Standard des maurischen Schriftguts – kompetent und informativ. Insofern komplettiert sie eine inhaltliche Lücke in der jüngeren soziokulturellen Geschichte Mauretaniens. Die Qualität der Edition ist indiskutabel. Die Methode der Behandlung des Stoffes durch den Herausgeber läßt sich nur mit dem hermetischen Wissensverständnis der gegenwärtigen traditionellen islamisch-arabischen Wissenschaft erklären. Das Gestern ist hier „schon" Moderne. Insofern ist es ein Unglück, daß diese „durch Gottes äußere und innere Gnade" (S. 8/8) zustande gekommene Arbeit einem möglichen Ansporn für eine seriöse Edition und Kommentierung im Wege stehen wird.

Ulrich Rebstock, Freiburg i. Br.

Mahmoud Haddad/Arnim Heinemann/John L. Meloy/Souad Slim (eds.): *Towards a Cultural History of the Mamluk Era*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag 2010. XII, 164 S. + alif–kāf, 152 S. (Arabic section), 32 pl. (Beiruter Texte und Studien 118.) ISBN 978-3-89913-734-7. € 68,–.

Over the past twenty years or so, academic interest and publications on the Mamluk period (1250–1517) have witnessed a boom to such an extent that it is now one of the most studied periods of Islam, both in the West and the Arab world. Various initiatives like the Mamluk Bibliography, managed and continually updated by the Middle East Documentation Center of the University of Chicago under the direction of Marlis Saleh, the *Mamlūk Studies Review* published by the same center, and the School of Mamlūk Studies established in 2014, just to mention a few, are evidence that the period has now become a field in itself and is attracting more and more students. The book under review is part of this movement, as it contains the proceedings of a conference held at the University of Balamand from May 4–7, 2005, under the auspices of the Said University and the Orient-Institut Beirut. As the editors state in the introduction, the organizers put special emphasis on the cultural history of the Bilād al-Shām during the Mamluk era. In particular, the focus was on engaging with such dichotomized concepts as prosperity and decline or tolerance and preservation. The conference aimed to consider "the cultural history,

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broadly conceived, of the era of the Mamluk Sultanate" and, especially, to investigate "the relations of the state to the various social groups within Bilād al-Shām" (p. ix).

The focus of the conference organizers on the Bilād al-Shām is fully justified by the fact that this region of the Mamluk sultanate is often neglected in studies devoted to this period. Naturally, the capital of the sultanate, Cairo, played a centripetal role that has drawn the attention of historians. Moreover, the sources (documentary or narrative) on Egypt are more numerous than those for the other regions and it is not surprising that, thus far, modern researchers have been more attracted by what was considered the center of Mamluk power. Nonetheless, historians living in the Bilād al-Shām during the Mamluk era produced a wide gamut of works that can be exploited by modern scholars. The organizers' wish to initiate a centrifugal research trajectory was thus, more than ever, comprehensible and reasonable. However, as they confess, the results met their expectations only in part. A large number of contributions to the conference and, consequently, of the articles published in this volume of proceedings did not take into consideration the focus on the Bilād al-Shām and in fact the majority of the papers deal with Egypt exclusively or consider Egypt and the Bilād al-Shām together. This explains why "Bilād al-Shām" does not feature in the title of the book. Fortunately, the organizers were more successful with regard to the second point of focus: various social groups of the region were taken into consideration. Understood in religious terms (minorities like Christians, Shiites or Druzes) or in social terms (lower classes, those living on the border of society or the marginalized), these groups feature in two-thirds of the articles.

The volume gathers eighteen papers written in English and Arabic, with the exception of one article that is in French. The editors organized the papers in five parts according to the main themes covered by the authors. Unfortunately, they opted to separate the articles in Arabic from those in Latin characters. Moreover, each section functions independently, with its own introduction and its own index. This choice, undoubtedly made for practical reasons, is infelicitous because it interrupts the dialogue between the articles of each section. The separate indices are also inappropriate; each covers only the section to which it is attached and this means that the reader must consult both in order to locate an entry. The five parts are as follows: religious communities and their interaction; fields of cultural production—arts, literature, science; cultural contexts of political practice and social relations.

The first part gathers six papers, among which three are in Arabic. The part opens with an article by Jørgen Nielsen (pp. 3–13) on the participation of members of religious minorities (Christians and Jews) in the Ayyubid and Mamluk states from a historiographical point of view. In fact, Nielsen gave a keynote at the conference in order to stimulate the reflections of the other contributors. Nielsen puts forward various arguments on the question of the *dhimmī*s and their role in Muslim society, and delineates future topics of research. David Thomas, in "Christian-Muslim Misunderstanding in the Fourteenth Century: The Correspondence between Christians in Cyprus and Muslims in Damascus" (pp. 13–30) revisits the aim, meaning, and impact of an apologetic letter sent by a Christian author settled in Cyprus to Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī. Thomas notices that the answer provided by the two Muslim authors, though separated by some years, is identical (negative), but that the reasons behind the responses are different in nature. In the meantime, Thomas has published, together with R. Ebied, a book on the issue: *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades: The Letter from the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's Response* (Leiden 2005). Ray Mouawwad's "Christian Martyrs in Tripoli in the Mamluk Era" (pp. 31–41) explores sources rarely considered by historians of the Mamluk period. These were written either in Karshūnī (Arabic in

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Syriac characters) or in Syriac and deal with events concerning the Christian communities their authors represent: Melkites, Maronites, and Greek Orthodox. The examples analyzed demonstrate that the usual Mamluk sources are advantageously weighed against texts stemming from other milieus. Ilyās al-Qaṭṭār addresses the dialectics of oppression and tolerance with regard to the religious minorities of Mount Lebanon (Maronites, Jacobites, Shiites, and Druzes) in his "al-Mawārina wa-l-Yaʿāqiba wa-l-Shīʿa wa-l-Durūz fī l-jabal al-lubnānī fī l-ʿahd al-mamlūkī: jadaliyyat al-iḍṭihād wa-l-tasāmuḥ" (pp. 3–27), while Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ examines the place and role of another religious minority, this time in Egypt, through the lens of a case study on the Copt Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nashw ("al-Aqbāṭ wa-l-idāra al-mamlūkiyya fī ʿahd al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn: Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nashw namūdhajan", pp. 29–40). The latter study has now been superseded in terms of deep analysis by Amalia Levanoni's article entitled "The al-Nashw Episode: A Case Study of 'Moral Economy'" (*Mamlūk Studies Review* 9 [2005], pp. 207–220). The last article in this part is by Andrīh Naṣṣār; it is a study of the place of Christians in Damascus and Aleppo: "Awḍāʿ al-masīḥiyyīn fī Dimašq wa-Ḥalab fī l-ʿaṣr al-mamlūkī" (pp. 41–75). Naṣṣār evaluates the various positions occupied by Christians in the administration and their living conditions in the cities considered. He concludes that their roles in city governance secured their rights as *dhimmīs*.

The next three parts all deal with cultural production, in arts, literature, and science respectively. Arts are treated in four articles. Mat Immerzeel and Adeline Jeudy concentrate on "Christian Art in the Mamluk Period" (pp. 45–66), taking as the starting point of their research the question of the continuity of this kind of art after the accession of power by the Mamluks. The authors take into consideration various items like wall painting, icons, liturgical objects, and wooden church furniture, both in Egypt and the Bilād al-Shām. They reach the conclusion that "due to the lack of evidence, the Mamluks must be cleared of the charge of iconoclasm" (p. 52) and that the situation in the regions differed: in the Bilād al-Shām, they note a discontinuity in the production of Christian art; on the other hand, in Egypt, Coptic art flourished until the end of the Mamluk rule, when it slowly began to decline. Doris Behrens-Abouseif's article, entitled "Craftsmen and Upstarts in the Late Mamluk Period" (pp. 67–75), was later published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (73,3 [2011], pp. 375–395) under a slightly different title ("Craftsmen, Upstarts, and Sufis in the Late Mamluk Period"), and is here printed "without the authorisation of the author and copyright owner," as stated on a slip of paper inserted in the book by the editors. It appears that the text published here is closer to the version of the paper she read at the conference, a paper that she later expanded for publication in a peer-reviewed journal. In the paper here, she devotes herself to the careers of craftsmen in the administration and their establishment during the Circassian period. Her analysis demonstrates that in previous periods, such careers had been much more difficult, and that under the Mamluks the lower social groups had "unprecedented opportunities … to fill gaps which the Mamluk establishment could not" (p. 75). Howayda al-Harithy's study ("Writings on the Wall: Mamluk Monuments of Tripoli", pp. 77–84) is a slightly revised version of a text already published in 1999 and does not add anything new to the subject. The same holds true for Ilyās al-Zayyāt's "al-Fann al-masīḥī fī Bilād al-Shām wa-l-ḥiqba al-mamlūkiyya" (pp. 79–89).

Literature is the subject of two articles which in fact concern two historians: al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Iyās. In "The Chronicle of Ibn Iyās as a Source for Social and Cultural History from Below" (pp. 87–98), Axel Havemann investigates the representation of individuals or groups who do not belong to the Mamluk caste, their criminal acts and small scandals as well as stories about beggars. In his approach, Havemann sees the possibility of writ-

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ing a history of society and he is indeed right: since the time of the conference, two major books dealing with the Mamluk criminal underworld have been published (one by Carl Petry and the other by Bernadette Martel-Thoumian) and both are based in part on the material provided by Ibn Iyās. Anṭwān Ḍūmiṭ's article, "al-Tajdīd fī manhaj Taqī l-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1442)" (pp. 93–111), is supposed to establish the way in which al-Maqrīzī renewed the writing of history; unfortunately it turns out to be disappointing: rather than a thorough analysis of al-Maqrīzī's capacity to innovate in ways that superseded his predecessors and contemporaries, it is merely a catalog of the themes he developed. It fails to demonstrate what the author proposed to put forward.

Science is at the core of three articles. The first one, by George Saliba ("'Gathering the Stars': Scientific Activities during Mamluk Times", pp. 101–125), is an excellent presentation of the progress made by scientists under the Mamluks in the field of astronomy. Usually considered a period of decline in the sciences, Saliba stresses that scientists of that period improved the theories of their predecessors to such an extent that they reached a level comparable to the one achieved in Europe during the Renaissance. At the same time, medicine underwent a major development with the canonization of the medical tradition attributed to the Prophet. Floréal Sanagustin ("La Codification du savoir médical dans la tradition dite « prophétique » à l'époque mamelouke", pp. 127–137) sees the Mamluk period as a key moment for the codification of popular practices and, at the same time, the re-appropriation of sciences inherited from the Greeks, Persians, and Indians. Anīs Sha'yā's study is devoted to the question of the fortifications on the Lebanese coast, as seen through the example of the city of Tripoli ("Taṭawwur al-taḥṣīnāt al-'askariyya bayn al-fatratayn al-ṣalībiyya wa-l-mamlūkiyya 'alā l-sāḥil al-lubnānī: al-Taṭawwur al-mudunī fī Ṭarābulus 'ibra dirāsat taḥṣīnāt al-madīna", pp. 115–123).

Finally, the last part of this volume, dedicated to political practice and social relations, consists of three articles. Albrecht Fuess, in "Legends against Arbitrary Abuse: The Relationships between the Mamluk Military Elite and their Arab Subjects" (pp. 141–151), takes as his starting point a story concerning a Mamluk governor of Tripoli "who cared about the rights of the common people." As he tentatively demonstrates, this case was quite exceptional given that Mamluks were usually above the law, even in the case of criminal affairs involving non-Mamluks, and generally when authorities reacted, it was out of fear that the hegemony of the state would be put at risk or that the integrity of the leading representatives would be tarnished. The second article, by Aliya Saidi ("Marriage and Mental Illness in the Mamluk Period", pp. 153–157), addresses the issue of the effects of polygamy on other wives. The author bases her article on the biographies dedicated to women in al-Sakhāwī's *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*: she noticed that this historian mentions marital status in the case of 590 women and that nearly 30 percent of these were married multiple times. She then gives a few examples of women who became insane when they knew that their husband already had a wife. It is, however, difficult to accept her argument when she declares that "the fact that Sakhāwī clearly linked mental illness with polygamy shows that polygamy was considered scandalous". The evidence is too narrow to allow such general conclusions. Yossef Rapoport's monograph, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge 2005) is now the standard reference on this issue, though, as he himself recognizes, "polygamy and concubinage … deserve a monograph of their own" (p. 11). The *ḥisba* is the subject of the last article in this part; penned by Aḥmad 'Abd al-Salām, it is entitled "al-Ḥisba fī l-'aṣr al-mamlūkī bayn al-tawẓīf al-dīnī wa-l-siyāsī wa-l-idāra l-madaniyya" (pp. 127–143). The author considers three stages, each corresponding to a significant evolution in the position of the market inspector. This has been known for many years now and the question has been reconsidered recently by Kirsten

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Stilt in her *Islamic Law in Action: Authority, Discretion, and Everyday Experiences in Mamluk Egypt* (Oxford 2011).

All in all, this book leaves its reader with a mixed impression. While some articles are significant and excellent contributions to the study of cultural history in the Mamluk period, others are mere sketches (and, in some cases, not even that) of issues which have been examined elsewhere in articles and books since the conference was organized. It is a pity that the authors were not invited to reconsider their views in light of these recent publications. It is difficult to believe that the articles were peer-reviewed. The imbalance in the overall quality of the various contributions is further exacerbated by the editors' decision to allow authors "some latitude with regard to citation style" (p. xii). As they acknowledge, "these decisions may not conform to the usual standard of scholarly practice". The reader is left with the impression that they simply preferred not to devote time to practices that are indeed very helpful to the reader: coherence should be found not in a single article but in the whole volume. The rules, if given to the contributors, should have been applied to all the articles. For instance, one notices that the bibliography is given in the footnotes by most authors, but in two articles it appears at the end.

To conclude, this volume contributes, in a certain imbalanced way, to a better understanding of cultural aspects of Mamluk society, and particularly of some categories of people usually neglected or little studied.

Frédéric Bauden, Liège

April D. DeConick / Gregory Shaw / John D. Turner (Hrsg.): *Practicing Gnosis. Ritual, Magic, Theurgy and Liturgy in Nag Hammadi, Manichaean and Other Ancient Literature. Essays in Honor of Birger A. Pearson.* Leiden/Boston: Brill 2013. IX, 571 S. (Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 85.) ISBN 978-90-04-25629-3. € 184,–.

Das größte Verdienst dieser Anthologie besteht darin, daß sich die Herausgeber der Festschrift für den Religionswissenschaftler Birger A. Pearson endlich eines Themas angenommen haben, das in unterschiedlichen Fachbereichen (Christlicher Orient, Liturgiewissenschaft, Alte Kirchengeschichte, spätantike Philologie und anderen) seit einiger Zeit schon in der Luft lag: das Verhältnis der Gnostiker zum Ritual. Nachdem in den letzten Jahrzehnten die vermeintliche Ritualfeindlichkeit der Gnosis zunehmend fragwürdig geworden war, stand schon längst eine Studie an der Tagesordnung, die diesem Perspektivenwechsel gerecht wird und die eminente Bedeutung der gnostischen Quellen für die Geschichte der christlichen Liturgie, aber auch für das Verstehen spätantiker Religiosität überhaupt herausstellt. Dieses dringenden Desiderats, das sicherlich noch etliche Überraschungen in sich birgt und die bisherige Geschichtsschreibung grundlegend reformieren könnte, nehmen sich die US-amerikanischen Verantwortlichen an. Allein schon für diese zeitsensible Entscheidung gebührt ihnen seitens der Kollegenschaft Dank.

Bemerkenswert ist die breite Perspektive, welche die Herausgeber gewählt haben: Sie nehmen sich nicht nur im engeren Sinne liturgische Fragen vor, sondern sammeln Beiträge aus einem weiteren Feld ritueller Praxis und ihrer Deutungen, die in einem wenigstens indirekten Zusammenhang zur Gnosis stehen. Vorab systematisiert erscheinen diese Untersuchungen in fünf Sektionen des Buches: Den ersten inhaltlichen Teil markieren Studien über die Initiationsliturgien der Gnostiker und zeitgenössischer anderer Kulte; dieser einmaligen Gottesdienstform sind in *Section 2* Beispiele wiederkehrender ritueller Lebensbewältigung zugeordnet (beispielsweise die hiesigen zwei Beiträge über Bußakte). Der dritte Abschnitt wird *Therapeutic Practices* überschrieben und umfaßt Probleme an-

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tiker Medizin und Magie – zwei Praxisfelder, die in jener Zeit noch genuin miteinander verwandt sind. Der Ekstase widmet sich die vierte Sektion, bevor abschließend die Theurgie und überhaupt der Gebrauch des Rituals in spätantiker Philosophie, vornehmlich dem Neoplatonismus, Gegenstand der Beiträge sind. Ein Einheitsindex beschließt das Sammelwerk, während es ausführlich mit Einleitung und Würdigung des Jubilars beginnt. Die Kontextualisierung des gnostischen Rituals bietet sich nicht allein wegen des synkretistischen Charakters dieser christlichen Strömung an, welche massiv von der religiösen und philosophischen Umwelt beeinflußt ist, sondern ist besonders sinnvoll, wenn es darum geht, die religiöse Vielfalt und das mannigfaltige Angebot in der Spätantike als konstitutiv für eine historisch plausible Rekonstruktion der Faktizität anzuerkennen. Der religiöse Diskursrahmen in der ausgehenden Antike war pluriform und jedes Sinnangebot mußte sich direkt oder indirekt mit der Konkurrenz auseinandersetzen; andererseits bestehen auch Austauschbeziehungen, derer man erst gewahr wird, wenn man die ganze religiöse Wirklichkeit ins Auge faßt. In der Entscheidung, sich nicht zu beschränken auf die Gnosis allein oder gar auf eine Schule darin, ist den Herausgebern Recht zu geben. Sie bieten hier einen Einblick nicht nur in gnostische Texte, sondern auch in die Hermetik, die Magica oder die jüdische Thronwagenmystik.

Diese Vielfalt und ihre inhärenten Verzweigungen, Parallelen und Analogien treten bei der Lektüre der Aufsätze allerdings in der Regel nicht besonders hervor, da eine Systematisierung der Ergebnisse nirgendwo erfolgt. Das liegt wohl an der Gattung der Festschrift, die auch bei einem übergeordneten Thema nur eine asyndetische Sequenz von verwandten, aber unverbunden bleibenden Einzelstudien anbietet. Die Beiträge im Band sind unterschiedlicher Qualität, sie reichen von im aktuellen Diskurs weiterführenden Ansätzen über Kurzfassungen schon publizierter Werke bis zu eher problematischen Zugängen. Es soll – und kann – hier keine Evaluation im Detail erfolgen, doch mögen einige Bemerkungen einen Eindruck vom Inhalt vermitteln: Eine hervorragende Interpretation von Celsus' Diagramm aus Origenes' 6. Buch der Schrift gegen ihn bietet die Herausgeberin, der es gelingt, die dort dargestellte Initiation zu entschlüsseln und im Sinne eines kosmischen Aufstiegs religionsgeschichtlich plausibel mit zeitgenössischen Vorstellungen vor allem in den Mysterienkulten zusammenzusehen (S. 37–74). Passend folgt darauf eine Auseinandersetzung mit der Raumsymbolik des Mithräums durch Roger Beck (S. 75–89). Erin Evans plädiert nicht zu Unrecht für einen liturgischen Sitz im Leben der Taufen in *2 Jeû* (S. 137–159). Daß der Gottesdienst der Valentinianer nicht von der liturgiehistorischen Entwicklung des gesamten Christentums im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert abgesondert werden darf, macht Einar Thomassen deutlich, und man kann nur hoffen, daß seine Überlegungen in Zukunft heuristisch mitbedacht werden (S. 183–197). Beeindruckend und überzeugend ist Naomi Janowitz' Auseinandersetzung mit antiker Medizin und Magie und ihren gemeinsamen Bezügen im damaligen Denken und Tun (S. 315–331). Eine erfrischende Beobachtung im Bereich der aramäischen Zauberschalen macht Rebecca Lesses, die an ikonographischen Darstellungsformen beweisen kann, daß die dortigen Dämonenabbildungen nicht illustrativ, sondern performativ zu verstehen sind und damit eine Interferenz zwischen Text und Bild besteht (S. 377–408). Weniger positiv fiel auf, daß die Herausgeberin in ihrer Einleitung offenbar noch von jüdischen Ursprüngen der Gnosis aufgeht (S. 1–4). Einen weiteren Anachronismus liefert Elliot Wolfson, wenn er das Philippus-Evangelium mit der Kabbala in Beziehung setzt, was passendere Wege zur Deutung versperrt (S. 113–135). Der ansonsten sehr überzeugenden Interpretation des manichäischen Gebets aus Kellis durch Fernando Bermejo-Rubio hätte zum Feinschliff gut angestanden, die refrainartigen Verehrungsformeln der Litanei mit analogen Texten im Avesta zu vergleichen

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und daraus gewinnbringende Schlüsse für den iranischen Einfluß auf Manis Religion zu ziehen (S. 249–270). Die ostentative Wiederholung von JORUNN J. BUCKLEYS Annahme, daß die Kolophone mandäischer Handschriften der Schlüssel zur Datierung ihrer Schriften sein sollen, macht die These nicht richtiger (S. 301–312); eine grundlegende Kritik daran ist in der mandäistischen Forschung bereits durch den Rezensenten erfolgt. Im konkreten Fall des besprochenenen Manuskripts *Drower Collection* 34 wäre zu bemerken, daß die hier vertretene Frühdatierung (3. Jahrhundert) nur aufgrund eines externen und wenig zuverlässigen Arguments (d. h. der Abschreiberliste) erfolgt und wir bei den Mandäern historisch aus dieser Zeit ansonsten höchstens einige Zauberschalen kennen; auch ist es fragwürdig, ob Liturgieallegorese, wie sie diese priesterliche Schrift betreibt, wirklich so alt sein kann wie die Rituale selbst; dies widerspricht der üblichen Entwicklung bei Liturgica. Nach meinem Dafürhalten ist die ritualistische Kommentarliteratur ein Spätphänomen im Mandäismus und dementsprechend weit jünger; sie setzt die gelebte Gottesdienstpraxis schon längst voraus und soll sekundär einen esoterischen Tiefensinn extrahieren. Ebenfalls schwer begründbar ist die Rekonstruktion der sethianischen Initiationsliturgie durch JOHN D. TURNER, da eine Ableitung von ritueller Praxis aus theoretischen Texten nicht ohne weiteres gelingen kann und das Problem, ob es sich in den Traktaten um Metaphern oder die tatsächliche Feiergestalt handelt, nur durch weitere positive Belege oder wenigstens Indizien für die Praxis angegangen werden könnte (S. 411–431).

Der Festschrift kommt das Verdienst zu, die Notwendigkeit des Themas herausgestellt und zahlreiche Einsichten in Einzelfragen eröffnet zu haben. Eine umfassende systematische Auswertung des historischen Materials steht jedoch weiterhin noch aus. Einerseits ist die komparatistische Betrachtung wegen des damit einhergehenden erweiterten Horizonts zu begrüßen, doch wurde dabei in Kauf genommen, daß etwa die Liturgie bei den Gnostikern nicht tiefschürfend genug aufbereitet wurde und sogar wichtige Primärquellen keine Auswertung erfahren haben.

PREDRAG BUKOVEC, Wien

EDITH FRANKE: *Einheit in der Vielfalt. Strukturen, Bedingungen und Alltag religiöser Pluralität in Indonesien*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2012. xi, 256 S. (Studies in Oriental Religions 62.) ISBN 978-3-447-06533-7. € 48,–.

Das vorliegende Buch ist eine überarbeitete Fassung der Habilitationsschrift von EDITH FRANKE, die im Jahre 2006 an der Leibniz-Universität Hannover angenommen wurde. Der Titel spielt auf die Devise des indonesischen Staatswappens, *Bhinneka tunggal ika* oder „Einheit in der Vielfalt", an. Diese Maxime bildet zusammen mit der Staatsphilosophie *Pancasila* (fünf Prinzipien) die programmatische Grundlage für die Politik des indonesischen Staates seit der Unabhängigkeit im Jahre 1945 bis heute. Obwohl die überwiegende Mehrheit der Bevölkerung sich zum Islam bekennt, konnten sich die islamischen Parteien in der Politik nie durchsetzen. Auf Drängen der islamischen Fraktion wurde jedoch bei der Ausformulierung der Staatsphilosophie im Jahre 1945 die Rolle der Religion wesentlich gestärkt, indem das Prinzip des Glaubens an die All-Eine Göttlichkeit an die erste Stelle der *Pancasila* gerückt wurde. Wie FRANKE es ausdrückt, wählte Indonesien somit „einen eigenen, dritten Weg zwischen säkularer und islamischer Verfassung" (S. 30). Nicht-religiös zu sein wird nicht toleriert: Jeder Indonesier muss einer der fünf (später sechs) offiziell anerkannten Weltreligionen *(agama)* angehören: Islam, Protestantismus *(Kristen)*, Katholizismus *(Katolik)*, Hinduismus, Buddhismus oder (erst seit 2006) Kon-

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fuzianismus. Die Religionszugehörigkeit wird als „Bekundung von Loyalität gegenüber der indonesischen Nation" (S. 37) gewertet.

Diejenigen, die lokalen religiösen Traditionen folgen, ohne sich einer der staatlich legitimierten Religionen zuzuordnen, gelten als Menschen, die noch ohne *agama* oder Religion im offiziellen Sinne sind. Sie werden als potentielle Bedrohung für die nationale Einheit gesehen und sollten sich zu einer der Weltreligionen konvertieren. Franke gibt einige Beispiele, wie Christentum, Hinduismus und Buddhismus dabei als „Schutzschirm" indigener Religionen fungiert haben. Allerdings muss das indonesische Wort *buda* nicht unbedingt und ausschließlich auf Buddhismus verweisen, wie Franke zu meinen scheint. Es kann nämlich auch einfach die vorislamische Religion andeuten. Missverständnisse waren vorprogrammiert, als die Bentek Boda in Lombok die Aufforderung des Religionsministeriums erhielten, sich dem Islam oder Hinduismus zuzuordnen. Da sie sich selbst als *orang buda* identifizierten, wurden staatliche Maßnahmen ergriffen, sie im Sinne der offiziellen buddhistischen Lehre zu schulen. Die Akzeptanz des Buddhismus würde jedoch die Übernahme einer völlig anderen Religion bedeutet haben. Schließlich blieben die Boda offiziell auf dem Papier Buddhisten, praktizierten weiterhin aber ihre eigenen Traditionen.

Das Beispiel der Boda auf Lombok zeigt auch, dass stark unterschieden werden muss „zwischen der öffentlichen Dimension von Religion, die in Indonesien in hohem Maße staatlichen Eingriffen, Regelungen und Kontrollen unterliegt, und der privaten, inoffiziellen Dimension von Religion" (S. 196). Hier eröffnet sich in der Praxis ein gewisser Freiraum für nicht anerkannte religiöse Gruppierungen, nur aber unter der Bedingung, dass es nicht zu „Störungen der nachbarschaftlichen Harmonie" kommt. Wie Franke schreibt, kann es aber sehr leicht zu „gefühlten" Störungen kommen (S. 195). So ist die *Ahmadiyya*-Bewegung bereits seit den 1920ern in Indonesien problemlos aktiv, wurde aber in den vergangenen Jahren plötzlich zur Zielscheibe von militanten selbsternannten Wächtern der islamischen „Rechtgläubigkeit". Franke zählt die *Ahmadiyya* zu den „marginalisierten Religionen", die mit keinerlei staatlichem Schutz rechnen können (S. 135–139). Der damalige Religionsminister forderte im Jahre 2006 die *Ahmadiyya*-Gemeinschaft sogar auf, „eine neue Religion zu gründen oder ihren Glauben zu widerrufen" (S. 210). Auch im Falle einer neuen religiösen Bewegung um die charismatische Seherin Lia Eden in Jakarta, die Anfang 2006 und erneut 2009 der Blasphemie angeklagt und inhaftiert wurde, wird nicht so sehr deutlich, dass „es in Indonesien insbesondere dann zu repressiven Maßnahmen gegenüber religiösen Minderheiten kommt, wenn sie in Konflikt zu orthodoxen islamischen Vorstellungen stehen" (S. 139), sondern vor allem erst dann, wenn der Staat die hochbeschworene öffentliche „Harmonie" gefährdet sieht. Die Probleme um Lia Eden entstanden erst, als ihre Gemeinschaft zu viel Aufmerksamkeit in der Öffentlichkeit auf sich gezogen hatte.

Alle bisherigen Religionsminister sind Muslime gewesen und das Religionsministerium gilt als islamisches Bollwerk. Die Kriterien vom Religionsministerium zur Bestimmung von Religion *(agama)* sind denn auch „aus einem islamisch und monotheistisch geprägten Religionsverständnis heraus formuliert" worden (S. 35): Eine Religion muss „eine heilige Schrift besitzen, Propheten aufweisen, dem Prinzip vom Glauben an eine einzige große Gottheit folgen sowie eine einheitliche Lehre vorweisen" (S. 35). Islam, Protestantismus und Katholizismus erhielten somit sofort die staatliche Anerkennung und waren mit eigenen Abteilungen im Religionsministerium vertreten. Die staatliche Akzeptanz von Hinduismus und Buddhismus erfolgte sehr viel später, als es deren Anhängern schließlich gelungen war, ihre Traditionen an das islamisch geprägte Religionsverständnis anzupassen. Franke macht deutlich, dass Hindus und Buddhisten sich vor die schwierige Aufgabe

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gestellt sahen, eine höchste Gottheit im monotheistischen Sinne zu konzipieren und sich auch im Hinblick auf weitere staatliche Vorgaben zu verändern. Anhänger des Konfuzianismus hatten einen noch schwereren Stand, weil diese Lehre eher als Glaubensform der unbeliebten chinesischen Minderheit stigmatisiert war und ist. Um als „konfuzianistische Religion" *(agama Khonghucu)* anerkannt zu werden, gilt unter anderem Konfuzius als deren Prophet *(nabi)*.

Franke hat ein gelungenes Buch vorgelegt, das sehr gut die indonesische Religionspolitik und ihre Auswirkungen in der Periode von der Unabhängigkeit bis zum Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts beschreibt. Sie unterscheidet drei Phasen: (1) Die Regierungszeit des ersten Präsidenten Sukarno (1945–1965), in der die *Pancasila* eingeführt wurde und die fünf *Pancasila*-Religionen anerkannt wurden. Andere Religionen genossen zwar keine staatliche Protektion, deren Anhänger dürften jedoch ihren Glauben noch frei ausüben; (2) die Phase der Neuen Ordnung unter Suharto (1965–1998), die dahingegen „über weite Strecken von einer restriktiven Politik der strukturellen Angleichung" gekennzeichnet war; (3) die bis heute andauernde Ära der sog. *Reformasi*, die für eine anhaltende Demokratisierung steht, gleichzeitig von einer Islamisierung der Öffentlichkeit geprägt ist. Durchgängig hat in all den vergangenen Dekaden „die primäre Aufgabe des Staates" darin bestanden, „die Stabilität und Einheit der Nation zu bewahren" (S. 217). Franke meint, dass „trotz der staatlich angestrebten „Einheit in der Vielfalt" religiöse Diversität erhalten bleibt, [die] deshalb eher als „Vielfalt trotz Vereinheitlichung" charakterisiert werden" muss (S. 217).

Edwin Wieringa, Tokio

Lothar Ledderose 雷德侯 / Sun Hua 孫華 (ed.): *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China, Sichuan Province.* Vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag / Hangzhou: China Academy of Art Press 2014. 441 S. ISBN 978-3-447-06932-8. € 148,–.

The bilingual volume is the result of joint efforts of the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, the Chengdu Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archeology, and the Institute of Archeology and Museology in Peking, comprising the collaboration of about fifty scientists and technical experts as listed on p. VI. Lothar Ledderose and Sun Hua head the Supervisory Board.

Volume 1 of the series deals with Buddhist stone inscriptions in the vicinity of the Grove of the Reclining Buddha in Anyue District 安岳縣, Sichuan Province (China). The inside of the front cover of the book has a detailed photo of the aerial view of the Southwest Section of the terrain called the Grove of the Reclining Buddha, and at the end of the book the Northeast Section is shown. The location of the Reclining Buddha of 21.75 meters in length and sculptured more than a thousand years ago, is indicated as *Section G* in the Southwest Section.

The Reclining Buddha (T'ang period) is one of the most valuable relics of China's antique Buddhist culture. The most impressive beauty of the site survived the senseless destructions of the Great Cultural Revolution and remained throughout history a focus of local pious devotion and an astonishing miracle for modern scientific researchers. The colossal figure shows the Buddha with his best disciples at the moment he ends his life in this world and leaves his teachings behind. The grove with its sutra caves reflects the situation of the Buddha and "functions like a tomb, but one which can still be accessed" (L. Ledderose p. 37).

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The book offers a meaningful interpretation of the complete ensemble of the grand Buddha statue and the surrounding caves and pagodas situated in the countryside of Sichuan province, not really close to Chengdu or other major cities. However, the book does not focus on sculpture but on the two sutra caves 1 and 2 to the Western side of the Buddha, not far away from the feet of the statue. The two caves are certainly outstanding as to location and contents amongst the 138 caves in the area that partly show figures and miniature pagodas. Although some Buddhist texts in those sutra caves were recorded, "none of the stone sutras have been comprehensively and systematically documented, analysed and published" (Sun Hua, pp. XII–XIV) and now, it is the very purpose of the ongoing German-Chinese project to tackle exactly that task.

The book has two prefaces by Sun Hua and Lothar Ledderose (pp. XIII–XVIII) that elucidate the history of the German-Chinese joint project and its ambition to research thoroughly the history of the archeological sites and the scriptural contents of Buddhist Stone sutras in China which is a most demanding project, especially since the sites are all scattered in the countryside and had suffered a lot from the impact of natural and historic causes (pp. IX–XVII, both prefaces as all texts are written in Chinese and English). The "Introduction" (pp. 17–37, 50–67)[1] contains two fascinating essays: Lothar Ledderose, "The Grove of the Reclining Buddha" and Stephen F. Teiser, "The *Lotus Sutra*". The text by L. Ledderose presents and refers to a very detailed map of the site and a large number of colour illustrations with grids and numbers for columns. Exact technical drawings (Lukas Ledderose) and tabular surveys support the presentation. The text is a meticulous formal description of the site, also discussing the details of the larger frame of the location and its associations in terms of historical, administrative geography ("The Site", pp. 17–21). In the background there are always some considerations of historical aspects. The text also gives the GPS coordinates of the Buddha figure and is consciously thoroughly technical, like a forensic documentation without omitting any visible detail. The answer to the question why that location was chosen at all is not really given although the Taiwanese collaborator Ts'ai Suey-ling 蔡穗玲 had suggested brilliant solutions in an earlier publication, elucidating aspects of Chinese Geomancy (Feng Shui) that qualify the site.[2]

The geomorphic details of the site and the archeological findings are featured in the paragraphs (pp. 21–37): "Repertoire of remains", "Spatial groupings of caves (maps, front and back endpapers)", "Types and sizes of sutra caves", "Fields of Script", "People involved", "Time/Chronology", "Research history", "Archeological evidence", and "Prototypes" which is an especially important paragraph since in other parts of China Buddhist cultic caves and sutra caves had been created well before the T'ang period. The author points out that the design of Buddhist caves in Northern China is very different and was not copied in Sichuan, in Anyue District. We learn that "The rather simple … rectangular openings at the Grove, with or without a double reveal, with plain walls and a flat ceiling are not found in the principal Buddhist architectural repertoires" (L. Ledderose p.35).

Stephen F. Teiser explains in his essay in the "Introduction" the history of the *Lotus Sutra*. He speaks first about the Indian origins and then continues with an in depth analysis of: "The Key Doctrines", "The Chinese Versions", "Buddhism, the Tiantai School, and

[1] We indicate for the general reader the page numbers of the texts in English.

[2] Tsai Suey-ling: "Feng Shui of the Reclining Buddha." In: F. C. Reiter (ed.): *Theory and Reality of Feng Shui in Architecture and Landscape Art, International Conference in Berlin*. Wiesbaden 2013 (AAS 41), pp. 79–103.

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Eighth-Century Sichuan", "The Sutra on Paper and Stone in Eighth-Century China", and finally "The Significance of the Sutra at Anyue", displaying his conclusive and thorough understanding of the importance of having the *Lotus Sutra* engraved in the two caves 1 and 2 closest to the Buddha. This informative, very valuable essay is most rewarding to read as it transports the religious meaning and weight of the creation of the Grove of the Reclining Buddha (pp. 50–67).

The major part of the book is then devoted to *Section G*, specializing on Caves 1 and 2 that together contain a single complete text, namely the *Lotus Sutra of the Wonderful Law* in the translation by Kumârajîva (334–413), with 28 chapters in seven scrolls.

First a detailed "Description (Overview Caves 1 and 2)" is given, containing the paragraphs: "Location", "Shape", "Measurements", and "State of preservation" with any possible technical detail, partly listed in tabular surveys that are all absolutely helpful and detailing: "Field of Script", "Columns", "Characters"—all with samples. The notices: "Layout", "State of preservation", and "Text markers" let the reader perceive the reality of the inscriptions in situ. All of this is done for Wall d, e, and f (pp. 84–88). Coloured illustrations follow (pp. 90–215) that often match older rubbings, which eventually proves the ongoing decay and erudition of stone walls and the texts that they originally held. The numbers of the columns in Cave 1 (Wall d, e, f) refer to the respective numbering of sentences/columns in the paragraph "Transcription" [of the *Lotus Sutra*] (pp. 218–241). The paragraph "Transcription" presents the text of the *Lotus Sutra of the Wonderful Law* in Cave 1. This is a scholarly master piece for which Ts'ai Suey-ling signs: She copies the extant remnants of the text in the Cave and fills in the gaps, thus reconstituting the Sutra on the basis of the canonical version of Kumârajîva's translation. Different colours of the characters mark their origin and textual function.

As to Cave 2 there are the same technical data listed as above, see pp. 248–253. The title "Discussion of caves 1 and 2" is not exact as it reports only the findings of earlier Chinese researchers, which in fact must have been very helpful for the success of the study in consideration. After the bulky illustrations concerning Cave 2 another paragraph "Transcription" (pp. 382–404) follows, providing those parts of the *Lotus Sutra* that were carved in Cave 2. Again, Ts'ai Suey-ling of the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften signs this essential part of the book.

Very interesting and ample listings: "Variant Characters" (pp. 405–426) conclude the presentation of the *Sutra* in Caves 1 and 2. Here we would have expected to find indications of the sources of those variant characters in traditional lexicography, for example the *K'ang-hsi Dictionary of Characters* 康熙字典 or modern reference works like Ch'in Kung-yün 秦公韻: *New Compilation of Variant Characters in Inscriptions* 碑別字新編. Peking 1985.

A short presentation of "Caves without Sutras", the numbers 123 and 125, concludes the scientific presentation. Again, very fine photos document the two caves (pp. 428–432).

An extended "Bibliography" (pp. 434–441) concludes the impressive book which is a most valuable contribution to the study of China's history and pious religious culture that was shared by Chinese society as a whole.

Florian C. Reiter, Berlin

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Tsai Suey-Ling 蔡穗玲/Sun Hua 孫華 (ed.): *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China, Sichuan Province*. Vol. 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag / Hangzhou: China Academy of Art Press 2014. 448 S. ISBN 978-3-447-10267-4. € 148,–.

The book is the second volume in a bilingual series in Chinese and English that is dedicated to the research, the documentation and presentation of stone sutras in China, all of which is based on a German-Chinese joint project. Lothar Ledderose 雷德候 acts as Senior Editor on behalf of the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften of the series of scientific publications with the general title: *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China*. The project is carried out in China. The work on vol. 2 was again supported by the Chengdu Municipal Institute of Cultural Relics and Archeology, the Institute of Archeology and Museology in Peking, and the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. The practical work of publishing the volumes is a very admirable cooperative effort by Harrassowitz Verlag (Wiesbaden) and the China Academy of Art Press (Hangzhou). Both parties did a perfect job publishing this great and uniquely beautiful book. Of course, this condition also pertains to vol. 1 of the series *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China* see the review of vol. 1 in the same issue of ZDMG.

The book *Sichuan Province* vol. 2 has the same layout and structure as vol. 1. There is a large board of contributing scholars and scientists that are listed on p. VI. Again, there is a "Supervisory Board", an "Advisory Board", "Chinese participants" are separately listed, and other scholars are in charge of the "Project Coordination", of the "Recording in the Field" and "Photography". There are "Contributors", "Translations" are made again by other persons, different from the authors of "Sutra Translations". "Technical Realization" and "Layout design" are all shared responsibilities of small teams. We realize that a huge amount of financial support and practical means are required to operate a project of that range and fantastic aspiration. The sponsors on the German side are basically the Federal Ministry of Education and Research and the Baden-Württemberg Ministry of Science, Research and the Arts.

The book volume 2 has the same aerial overviews that we found on the insides of the cover of vol. 1. Volume 2 takes up the study of other parts of the Grove of the Reclining Buddha 臥佛院 in Anyue District 安岳縣 in Sichuan Province, namely Sections A and B.

The detailed and thorough analysis in the book refers to the caves 29 and 33 (Section A), and furthermore to the caves 39, 40, 41, and 42 (Section B) which the reader can easily spot on the aerial overview, inside the front cover of the book.

Lothar Ledderose gives fine descriptions in: "Sections A and B at the Grove of the Reclining Buddha" (pp. 8–15)[1] as part of the very extended "Introduction" (altogether pp. 2–78, incl. Chinese versions/texts, drawings and pictures) which contains the detailed analysis of eight Buddhist sutras: six in cave 33, and one inside cave 29, one on its outside.

L. Ledderose displays the "Spatial Grouping" with the unique five-fold symmetrical arrangement of other caves and Buddha sculptures, all opposite the Reclining Buddha which indicates the religious vision of those who designed the plan of the Grove.

The paragraph "Caves with Sutras" (pp. 9–12) explains that the text inside cave 29 has four of the twelve chapters of the *Sutra on the Names of the Buddhas* that in Anyue covers three walls, whereas the *Heart Sutra* is on the outside (wall i) and may not have been part of the original scheme as it obviously is a later addition. Consequently, there is no description or analysis of the *Heart Sutra* in this volume.

[1] Page numbers refer to the English texts only if not otherwise stated, for the sake of convenience of the general reader.

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The six texts in cave 33 start on wall d/wall e with the scrolls 12 and 11 of the *Consecration Sutra*, both beginning with the phrase "I have heard thus …" as if they were independent sutras. Four complete sutras follow: *Dhâranî Sutra of the Six Gates*, and the *Deathbed Injunctions Sutra* on wall e. Wall f has the *Sutra on Renouncing the Householder's Live* and the *Diamond Sutra*. The author points out that all the texts in section A have a "performative character and liturgical use" (p. 10).

The *Sutra on the Names of the Buddhas* in cave 29 does not contain the usual repentance passages between the names of the Buddhas but "was obviously also used in rituals of confession" (p. 10). The main topic of the *Consecration Sutra* is protection from calamities. Scroll 12 of the *Consecration Sutra* has rituals for healing and helps to guard against untimely death. Scroll 11 then informs the devotee about the possible attainment of merits when facing the own death, and the text also features the required preparations for rebirth in the Pure Land.

The *Dhâranî Sutra of the Six Gates* has to be recited six times during day and night to attain spiritual advancement. The *Deathbed Injunctions Sutra* allegedly being the last sermon of Buddha when he was approaching his transition into nirvana addresses the monastic community, and the *Sutra on Renouncing the Householder's Live* praises the merits of celibate, monastic life, also proclaiming punishments for those who hinder people to join Buddhist monastic life.

There is a religious and spiritual program: from repentance rituals to matters of health and prosperity of the laity and then secondly, monks and their communities are being addressed and those who wish to become monks. It is the "ordained [who] can enter into a direct dialogue with the Buddha himself, alongside his disciple Subhûti, who figures as the Buddha's interlocutor in the *Diamond Sutra*" (pp. 11, 62 Claudia Wenzel). The reader realizes the completeness of the total arrangement of caves and sutras vis-à-vis the Reclining Buddha who is about to enter nirvana.

The paragraph "Caves without Sutras" on pp. 14–15 describes four caves in section B that were never finished and so there are no stone sutras on the walls. Photos and descriptions show the work progress in each cave and make the reader realize that the whole Grove of the Reclining Buddha was a religious endeavor spanning centuries and involving countless numbers of devotees, craftsmen, monks and necessarily also administrative support. China was a thoroughly religious country. The superb value and strength of volume 2 is the expert, scholarly essays on the eight Buddhist sutras listed above. They were done by individual scholars who obviously were free to select the subtitles and aspects of research. All Chinese/English texts fully consider any relevant earlier reference works and yet, they also show new and convincing results that take into account the location and placing of the Buddhist sutras in the Grove of the Reclining Buddha.

The "Sutra Spoken by the Buddha on the Names of the Buddhas" is presented by Chen Frederick Shih-Chung who closely looks at the text on the walls d, e, and f of cave 29 and discusses the arrangement of the sutra, its history and popularity in the Far East, reflecting on its great importance well beyond the confines of the Grove of the Reclining Buddha in Sichuan. This information represents similar statements for other sutras at the Grove that show how the Buddhist culture of the location is embedded in the overall Chinese Buddhist tradition at the time and the history of translation and transmission of the respective sutras.

The paragraph "Origin of the Sutra" with the Buddha names explains, for example, that the names were spoken in chanting services after rituals of purification (pp. 19–23). It all refers actually to the practice of "Guiding through Chanting" which Shih Hui-chiao (497–559) traces back to the eminent monk Shih Hui-yüan (334–416) which locates the cultic and historic application of the method in the early phase of Chinese Buddhism.

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The paragraphs "Structure and Content" and "Three Twelve Scroll Versions" offer short but illuminating insights into the history and the very nature of the sutra that became "a complete repentance sutra used exclusively for ritual" (p. 23, Magara Kazuto).

Ryan Richard Overbey analyses in "Scrolls 12 and 11 of the Consecration Sutra" the anthology of twelve distinct sutras compiled in the 5th century (pp. 28–34). The sutras all focus on rituals for protection, healing and the attainment of merit for the living and the dead. Two of these sutras are carved on the walls of cave 33. The paragraphs "Date and Authorship" and "Outline of the Consecration Sutra" are utmost revealing. The author analyses in short, concise texts the twelve scrolls. Scroll 11 is the *Consecration Sutra Spoken by the Buddha Concerning Rebirth in the Pure Lands of the Ten Directions According to One's Wish* that the Buddha extolled on the eve of his parinirvâna. The Buddha describes the required devotional rituals that guarantee rebirth in one of the Pure Lands. Scroll 12 has the *Consecration Sutra Spoken by the Buddha that Rescues from Sin and Enables Salvation from Birth and Death*, which is the earliest version of the scripture of the *Medicine Master Berillyne Radiance Bodhisattva*, the "Healing Buddha", whose cult flourished in Central and East Asia.

The anthology contains a wealth of information and documentation about Buddhist ritual life in early medieval China, which is taken up in the short entry "Circulation and Reception" (p. 31). The reader gets fascinating insights from the extended tracts: "The Text at the Grove of the Reclining Buddha", "Outline of Scroll 12" and "Outline of Scroll 11", and finally "The Role of the Consecration Sutra at the Grove of the Reclining Buddha". We learn that in scroll 12 "Manjusri asks the Buddha questions beneath the Tree of Music in Vaisali,… in scroll 11, the Buddha reposes under the twin sâla trees on the occasion of his parinirvana" (p. 33). The author feels that the layout of the Grove fits perfectly to the arrangement of the sutras right vis-à-vis the head of the Reclining Buddha. There are no donor inscriptions in cave 33. However, the text on the walls addressed vital concerns of the Buddhist lay person: sickness and death, and the anxieties concerning karma and rebirth.

Manuel Sassmann and Claudia Wenzel present admirably "The Dhâranî Sutra of the Six Gates Spoken by the Buddha" (pp. 38–41), featuring the "Outline of the Sutra", "Origin and Transmission", "Translations and Commentaries", and finally "The Sutra in Cave 33", where the text was carved in four columns on wall e. It "addresses in particular lay followers of the bodhisattva path, teaching them a recitation practice for every-day life to enable them speedily to attain their religious goal" (p. 41). Pages 42–44 contain "The Dhâranî Sutra of the Six Gates: Translation" which shows both: the Chinese original version and the first English translation of the text which is indeed a marvelous contribution.

Chen Frederick Shih-Chung succinctly illuminates the presentation of "The Deathbed Injunction Sutra" selecting the subtitles: "The Origin of the Sutra", "The Content of the Sutra", "Mahayana Sutras on the Mahâparinirvâna at the Grove" (pp. 48–52). Three sutras are devoted to the mahâparinirvâna of the Buddha: the *Deathbed Sutra* in cave 33, the *Northern Edition of the Mahayana Great Parinirvâna Sutra* in caves 59,66,83,51, and 46, and also the apocryphal *Sutra of Liberation and Breaking the Attributes of the Mind through the Wisdom from the Ocean Womb of the Buddha Nature* in cave 46. These texts reflect the theme of the Reclining Buddha and are present in caves 59 and 66, and on the rear walls of caves 46 and 33.

Tsai Suey-Ling and Claudia Wenzel offer an impressing analysis and complete translation (Chinese/English, pp. 63–67) of "The Sutra on Renouncing the Householder's Life" in cave 33 (pp.57–67). Referring to a welter of reference works the authors still gain new insights in the paragraphs: "The Anthology, The Sirî-vaddhi Chapter, and The Text Carved in Cave 33.

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Alexander L. Mayer offers his insights into the history and the historic and religious importance of the generally known "Diamond Sutra" (pp. 72–78). His study covers the history of the sutra in the paragraph "Translations", and then he continues with the paragraphs: "The Sutra's Place in Life", "The Sutra's Philosophical Position", and "Interpretative Formulas". The sutra is "probably the scripture most widely commented upon in China" (p. 77). We are sure that anybody who intends to study the *Diamond Sutra* will have to consider A. L. Mayer's revealing expositions in this volume. This is the final part of the "Introduction".

Volume 2 continues to present the technical details of Section A, starting out with cave 29, featuring its "Location", "Shape", "Measurements", "Changes", and the individual location: "Wall d", its "Layout" ("Field of Script", "Columns", "Characters", "Sample"), "State of preservation", "Text markers" (L. Ledderose, Ren Jing, Tsai Suey-Ling, pp. 87–94). The same system is then applied to wall e, wall f, and wall i. A "Discussion" concludes the text, spanning the period from 1986 (Hu Wenhe / Li Guanzhi) until 2009 (Sonya S. Lee) with the results of earlier researchers that were taken into account.

"Illustrations" of Cave 29 with the various walls and inscriptions (pp. 96–267) follow, showing the same absolutely precise and fascinating technical arrangements and details that we know from the respective sections in volume 1, again providing old rubbings for the sake of comparison and a great number of most fantastic photos that will certainly persuade the reader to visit these places.

The paragraph "Transcription" first presents the completely reconstituted Chinese text of the *Sutra Spoken by the Buddha on the Names of the Buddhas* which is done on the basis of the remnants of the sutra in cave 29 and with reference to the canonical edition, all organized according to the various walls of the cave. The text is lavishly annotated and altogether most valuable for understanding the reality in situ (pp. 270–295). The finally responsible researcher is the Taiwanese scholar Tsai Suey-Ling who is the head of a team or researchers for comparing and reconstituting the sutra texts.

The same approach is used by the same trio as above to display the contents of cave 33. L. Ledderose, Ren Jing, and Tsai Suey-Ling introduce the same descriptive rubrics or subtitles that they applied to cave 29 (pp. 303–308). "Illustrations" (pp. 310–385) follow. In the paragraph "Transcription" (pp. 388–409) the same team as above performs most laudable efforts presenting in completeness the texts of the six sutras in cave 33, technically following the same system as applied for the sutra-text in cave 29.

A "Table of Selected Variant Characters from the Two Caves" (pp. 410–428) concludes this section of volume 2, locating the characters in the caves (29 and 33), always indicating the respective wall and column. There are no lexicographic references beyond the Grove and it remains undisclosed how the "Selected Variants" were chosen. There is no indication of the compilers.

Section B of the Grove of the Reclining Buddha is featured on pp. 430–442, with the caves 39, 40, 41, and 42. In each case we find short descriptions: "Location", "Shape", "Measurements", and "State of preservation". These caves were left unfinished without any inscriptions at all. However, they attest to some extent the stages of the work progress which is worthwhile being noted.

A "Bibliography" (pp. 443–448) concludes this volume which is a most intriguing opus, fascinating and promising as to forthcoming new volumes in the series *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China*. These volumes are indispensable for the study of religious Buddhist life and culture in early medieval China.

Florian C. Reiter, Berlin

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Kunstwerke über das Heilige Land in Südafrika

Provenienzrecherche in umgekehrter Richtung?

Von Ulrich van der Heyden und Willem Boshoff, Pretoria

Summary: Berlin Mission Director, Hermann Theodor Wangemann recorded his travels in diary inscriptions and with sketches that he made of places that he visited. He travelled before photography became the standard means of recording images. A collection of 106 drawings made by Wangemann was acquired from a German art dealer by a South African museum in 1954. The drawings were made during two visits to the mission fields in Southern Africa during 1866–1867 and 1884–1885. The themes vary from South African landscapes to six drawings of places in the Middle East. Time spent in the Middle East as part of an impromptu pilgrimage to the Holy Land at the end of his first trip, resulted in the drawings of places in the Egypt and Israel/Palestine. The drawings have significant cultural-historical values as they are accompanied by extensive written travelogues. The Wangemann collection is currently curated by the Ditsong National Museum of Cultural History in Pretoria. The question is whether the drawings have come illegally to South Africa. A provenance research would be possible.

Bevor seit Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts die Fotografie auch für die europäischen Reisenden und Entdecker in der außereuropäischen Welt eine immer größere Bedeutung für die visuelle Vermittlung des Fremden und somit zum Verstehen der Welt gewann, waren die Berichterstatter auf ihren Reisen auf handgefertigte Zeichnungen verschiedenster Couleur angewiesen. Entweder besaßen die europäischen Reisenden selbst die Fähigkeit und Fertigkeit, das in der Ferne Gesehene sogleich unmittelbar vor Ort auf Papier zu bringen oder sie ließen, wenn sie ihre Berichte mit visuellen Highlights publizieren wollten, die Illustrationen zumeist durch von Verlegern vermittelte professionelle Zeichner nach ihrer Rückkehr anfertigen. Dies geschah in der Regel nach genauen Anweisungen des von der Exkursion heimgekehrten Augenzeugen. Es ist verständlich, dass die Authentizität der Abbildungen, die durch den Reisenden selbst angefertigt wurden, ungleich größer ist.

Es ist nicht davon auszugehen, dass sämtliche Illustrationen, die für ein Reisewerk bis Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts angefertigt wurden, auch in den gedruckten Werken Verwendung fanden. Vielmehr dürften von den mehr oder minder authentischen Zeichnungen von europäischen Forschungsreisenden der verschiedensten Genres noch so manche in den Kellern traditionsreicher Verlage, in Museen und in Archiven schlummern.

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Ab und an gelangen solche – zum Teil nie verwendeten – potenziellen Buchillustrationen zumeist durch Zufall an die interessierte Öffentlichkeit.

Die akademische Beschäftigung mit visuellen historischen Zeugnissen von für die daheimgebliebenen Europäer meistens vollkommen Fremdem, stammen sie nun von wissenschaftlich interessierten Reisenden, Händlern, Forschern, Künstlern, Seeleuten, Missionaren, in Übersee Dienst tuenden Militärs, Angestellten der Kolonialverwaltungen, steht erst – zumindest was die deutschsprachige Literatur anbelangt – am Anfang.[1]

Die Wangemann Collection

Einige in vielerlei Hinsicht interessante Abbildungen von Motiven in außereuropäischen Regionen sind vor einiger Zeit im Rahmen einer wissenschaftlichen Recherche in Südafrika von den beiden Verfassern dieses Aufsatzes entdeckt und deren Bedeutung für die historische Forschung erkannt worden.[2] Allerdings können sie als vor der Öffentlichkeit bislang nicht vollkommen verborgen geblieben angesehen werden, denn einige ausgewählte Bilder sind zumindest einmal, nämlich im Jahre 1992, in einem Katalog des National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria[3] veröffentlicht worden. Es kann auch nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass auf ihre Existenz in anderen wissenschaftlichen Publikationen – dann vermutlich im Zusammenhang mit speziellen südafrikanischen museologischen Schriften – aufmerksam gemacht worden ist. Das hatte jedoch keinesfalls inspirierende Wirkungen für weiterführende Forschungen hinterlassen, weder für die Missionsgeschichte noch für die Kunstgeschichte Südafrikas.

Einige der im Juli 2014 in dem Magazin eines der größten Museen in der südafrikanischen Hauptstadt Pretoria für die Wissenschaft entdeckten Zeichnungen, die im Folgenden näher vorgestellt werden sollen, zeigen Motive aus der Region des heutigen Israel bzw. Palästina. Auf diese konzentrieren sich die folgenden Ausführungen.

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[1] Vgl. beispielsweise erste Forschungsergebnisse bei Bernhardt 2006; Geary 1988; Jenkins 1993, S. 89–118; *Der ferne Nächste. Bilder der Mission – Mission der Bilder 1860–1920. Katalog der Ausstellung im Landeskirchlichen Museum Ludwigsburg*. Ludwigsburg 1996. Zu den bisher vorliegenden Forschungen zur Rolle der Fotografie in der außereuropäischen christlichen Missionsgeschichte in den ehemaligen deutschen Kolonien vgl. die Bibliographie von van der Heyden 2010, insbesondere Fußnote 236 (S. 67f.).

[2] Vgl. die ersten Darlegungen zu dieser Thematik bei van der Heyden/Boshoff 2015, S. 155–170.

[3] Vgl. Wangemann 1992.

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Die meisten anderen der dort entdeckten Kunstwerke desselben Künstlers haben als Motive südafrikanische Landschaften, Kirchen sowie Unterkünfte der Missionare im Süden Afrikas.

Auf nur sehr wenigen dieser zum Teil recht großen Zeichnungen sind Lebewesen wie Menschen und Tiere abgebildet. Diese gerieten dem Zeichner zudem sehr steif. Sie erscheinen ungelenk, ja aufgesetzt. Sie erzeugen den Eindruck von kindlichem malerischem Experimentieren. Sind fast ausschließlich alle Landschaftszeichnungen von kaum zu übertreffender Authentizität geprägt, so scheinen die lebendigen Motive in keinem richtigen Maßstab zur ebenfalls abgebildeten Umwelt zu stehen.

Alle diese Zeichnungen stammen von dem Direktor der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft Hermann Theodor Wangemann (1818–1894). Sie sind Ergebnis zweier sogenannter Visitationsreisen zu den Missionsstationen in Südafrika, wobei die Orientbilder ausschließlich von seiner ersten Visitationsreise in den Jahren 1866 und 1867 stammen. Denn auf der Rückreise von der ersten Afrikareise entlang der ostafrikanischen Küste hatte Wangemann auch einige Orte im Nahen Osten besucht.

Wenngleich davon ausgegangen werden kann, dass die von Wangemann hergestellten Zeichnungen von Landschaften und Bauwerken des Orients, ebenso wie die aus dem Süden Afrikas, in stilisierter Form zur Illustration von diversen Publikationen aus dem Bereich der Missionsliteratur vorgesehen waren und auch in den darauffolgenden Jahren tatsächlich verschiedentlich verwendet worden sind, so dürfte allein schon aufgrund der recht übersichtlichen Anzahl der aus dem Heiligen Land stammenden Bilder der Beitrag des Berliner Missionsdirektors an dem damals gerade in Europa in Blüte stehenden Orientalismus in der Malerei[4] eher als gering angesehen werden.

Allerdings schien Hermann Theodor Wangemann bei der Motivsuche für seine Bilder nicht nur der touristische Blick auf die biblischen Wirkungsstätten animiert zu haben, sondern auch sein nicht zuletzt durch die Funktion als Direktor der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft geschärftes Interesse an dem Islam, der zumindest in jener Region ein scharfer Konkurrent des Christentums war. Vermutlich gehörte er zu denjenigen Orientreisenden, die zu jener Zeit, wie es Bertram Turner ausdrückt, „von der Vorstellung des grausamen Bedrohers der christlichen Kultur hin zur Auffassung von einer malerisch-anziehenden, exotischen Welt“[5] motiviert und beeindruckt waren. Es ist nicht abwegig anzunehmen, dass er sich zumindest in gewissem Maße von der „Orientfaszination“, die im 19. Jahrhundert zu einer

[4] Vgl. beispielsweise hierzu Lemaire 2005; Gérard 1963.
[5] Turner 1989, S. 205.

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zunehmenden Reisetätigkeit des europäischen Bürgertums nach Nordafrika führte,[6] hatte anstecken lassen. Denn dienstliche Obliegenheiten im Auftrag der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft lagen für diese „Bildungsreise" in das Heilige Land nicht vor. Und vor seiner Abreise nach Afrika geplant und mit anderen abgesprochen, scheint sie auch nicht gewesen zu sein.

Aus Anlass des dreihundertjährigen Jubiläums der deutschen Einwanderung in Südafrika sind zu Beginn der 1990er Jahre, wie anfangs erwähnt, zwei Publikationen erschienen, die einige der sich im Cultural History Museum in Pretoria befindlichen handgezeichneten Bilder von Wangemann – allerdings stark verkleinert – zum ersten Mal einer mehr oder minder interessierten Öffentlichkeit vorstellten, glich die damalige Veranstaltung eher einer hagiographischen Rückschau auf die positiven Leistungen der deutschen Einwanderer. Davon zeigen sechs der Abbildungen historische Motive aus dem Heiligen Land. Damit sind es im Verhältnis gesehen recht viele Abbildungen aus der nordafrikanischen Region, die in diesem Katalog Aufnahme gefunden haben, wenn man bedenkt, dass die Bilder von der Orientreise, die Wangemann selbst Pilgerreise nannte, nur als „Nebenprodukt" angefertigt worden sind. Eigentlich standen in der Publikation aus gegebenem Anlass die Bilder mit südafrikanischen Motiven im Vordergrund.

Die von Missionsdirektor Wangemann angefertigten Zeichnungen aus dem Heiligen Land, welche in dem genannten Museumskatalog vorgestellt werden, zeigen den Mount Sinai, die Ruines of the Johanniter Inn, den Ort Sichem, den Mount Tabor sowie Landschaften vom Ufer des Jordan und von Jerusalem.[7]

Bei der zweiten Publikation handelt es sich um einen ebenfalls vom Cultural History Museum in Pretoria im selben Jahr herausgegebenen Sammelband. Ein Beitrag hat die kurze Vorstellung der Sammlung der Wangemannschen Zeichnungen zum Inhalt.[8] Zur Illustration dieses Aufsatzes sind 14 Zeichnungen von Wangemann abgebildet worden, jedoch befindet sich darunter keine mit Motiven von außerhalb Südafrikas.

Da beide Publikationen wegen der relativ geringen Auflage keine weite Verbreitung gefunden zu haben scheinen, können die Bilder von Hermann Theodor Wangemann weithin als kaum bekannt gelten.[9]

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[6] Vgl. Singer 1974, S. 217–242.

[7] Vgl. Wangemann 1992, S. 37–39.

[8] Vgl. van Zyl 1992, S. 158–172.

[9] Selbst in der „Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa", in der sich im Band 11 ein Stichwort zu Hermann Theodor Wangemann und seiner Reise nach Südafrika findet, S. 316, wird nichts über die in Südafrika vorhandenen Kunstwerke mitgeteilt.

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Der Künstler

Der Zeichner, der die hier im Mittelpunkt stehenden Bilder anfertigte, übte seine künstlerische Tätigkeit nur nebenbei aus. Es ist nicht überliefert, dass er als Direktor der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft auch ansonsten gezeichnet oder damit seine recht zahlreichen Veröffentlichungen selbst illustriert hätte.

Hermann Theodor Wangemann wurde am 27. März 1818 in Wilsnack geboren und verstarb am 18. Juni 1894 in Berlin. Nach dem Studium der Theologie übte er seit 1865 das Amt des Direktors der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft aus, nachdem er zuvor in verschiedenen Schulämtern, so seit 1849 als Seminardirektor in Cammin in Pommern (heute Polen), gearbeitet und einige wichtige theologische Bücher zur deutschen Kirchengeschichte publiziert hatte. Die Erweckungsbewegung, die auch Pommern ergriffen hatte, prägte seine Jugend. Das lutherische Bekenntnis vertrat er mit Entschiedenheit. Unter seiner Leitung kam es mit der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft zu einer Erweiterung des Arbeitsfeldes in Südafrika; die Arbeitsgebiete der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft wurden auf seinen Vorschlag hin und unter seiner Verantwortung sogar im Jahre 1882 nach China und 1891 nach Tansania ausgeweitet. Durch eine straffe Leitung der Gesellschaft, unter anderem durch die Erarbeitung einer Missionsordnung zum Auf- und Ausbau der Heimatorganisation, der Erstellung von Regularien zur Missionstätigkeit in den Arbeitsgebieten, vor allem zur Förderung der Publikationstätigkeit der Missionare effektivierte er die Breitenwirkung der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft in Deutschland wie auf den Missionsfeldern.[10]

Er selbst war nicht nur administrativer Leiter des Missionshauses, sondern er erteilte auch Unterricht im Missionsseminar und war publizistisch von Anfang an sehr aktiv. Er veröffentlichte nicht nur die Berichte über seine zwei Reisen nach Südafrika[11] sowie eine weitere Reisebeschreibung, die am intensivsten Auskunft über seine Erlebnisse im Heiligen Land bietet,[12] sondern er trug durch eine Vielzahl von populären Schriften, die nicht nur ausgesprochenen missionswissenschaftlichen Charakter trugen, zur Kenntnis über Afrika im damaligen deutschsprachigen Europa bei. Außerdem publizierte er theologische und missionswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen. Er unterstützte in seinen letzten Lebensjahren die Emanzipation des afrikanischen Christentums und trat deshalb für die Ordination indigener Christen in Südafrika ein. Hier liegt vor allem die religionswissenschaftliche Bedeutung seines Wirkens.

[10] Vgl. den kurzen Überblick seines Lebenswerkes bei van der Heyden 2005b, Sp. 1303.
[11] Vgl. Wangemann 1868a; ders. 1886.
[12] Vgl. ders. 1869.

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In einem Beitrag von Petra van Zyl in dem Katalog zur Wangemann Collection des südafrikanischen National Cultural History Museums heißt es zutreffend:

> He was no artist in the true sense of the word—his drawings served to illustrate his experiences so that he could share them with his family, friends and colleagues.[13]

Aber die Bedeutung seiner Bilder geht weit über den von der Autorin zu eng beschriebenen Personenkreis hinaus. Denn die Zeichnungen sind historische Zeugnisse von der Situation im Süden Afrikas in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts und – im quantitativ abgestuften Maße – ebenso für das Heilige Land. Sie gewähren authentische Einblicke in die damalige geographische und damit ebenso politische Realität und verdienen nicht zuletzt aus kunst- und kulturgeschichtlicher Perspektive Beachtung.

Für Wangemann war die Anfertigung von Bildern auf seinen beiden Reisen eine wichtige Ergänzung seiner schriftlich festgehaltenen Schilderungen in seinen Tagebüchern. Er widmete seinen Aufzeichnungen, seinen Skizzen und wohl auch schon auf seiner zweiten Reise gegen Mitte der 1880er Jahre einem Fotoapparat, vor allem beim Transport, größte Aufmerksamkeit.[14] In seinen Reisenotizen nimmt er zuweilen Bezug auf seine künstlerischen Tätigkeiten an der Staffelei. Demnach nutzte er die Zeiten des Zeichnens als gute Gelegenheit zur Entspannung und Erholung. Gern hat er sich wohl auch zum Zeichnen überreden lassen oder versucht, mit seiner Malkunst die Einheimischen in Übersee zu beeindrucken.[15]

Wie er in seinen Reisebüchern vermerkte, hat er die Bilder nicht immer vor Ort fertiggestellt, sondern diese noch des Öfteren bei späteren Rasten vervollständigt. Umso mehr ist sein fotografisches Gedächtnis über die gesehenen Landschaften zu bewundern.

Eine gewisse natürliche künstlerische-malerische Begabung ist Wangemann nicht abzusprechen. Seine Landschaftsbilder sind – dies kann man nicht oft genug hervorheben – sehr realistisch.

Er hat vor seinem ersten Reiseantritt in den Süden Afrikas Zeichenunterricht bei einem Maler in Berlin genommen. Es liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass der Missionsdirektor vor seiner Einschiffung vor allem im Gebrauch einer Camera obscura unterrichtet worden ist. Da vor der Erfindung der Fotografie der Gebrauch einer Camera obscura als Zeichenhilfe weit verbreitet

[13] Ders. 1992, S. 9.

[14] Vgl. beispielsweise ders. 1869, S. 40, S. 113 und S. 203.

[15] So berichtete er, dass eine Gruppe von Muslimen ihn „zum Zeichnen verlockte", wobei „alle neugierig umher" standen und „staunend das Bild entstehen" sahen. Ebenda, S. 124.

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war, ist davon auszugehen, dass auch WANGEMANN diese für seine Zeichnungen benutzte. So konnte er Landschaften auf Papier abmalen und dadurch alle Proportionen genau wiedergeben. Dies wird besonders deutlich, wenn man die – vermutlich nachträglich in die Zeichnungen eingefügten – Menschen und Tiere oder Gerätschaften mit den Landschaften vergleicht. Möglich ist auch, dass der Berliner Missionsdirektor statt einer Camera obscura eine Camera lucida benutzt hat, eine zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts immer beliebter werdende Zeichenhilfe, die die Camera obscura in der Häufigkeit der Benutzung verdrängte.

Die Camera lucida erfüllte einen ähnlichen Zweck wie ihre Vorgängerin und wurde ebenfalls vornehmlich zum Abzeichnen von Landschaften verwendet. Mit der Camera lucida wurde das Anfertigen von relativ naturgetreuen Bildern weiter vereinfacht, die WANGEMANN selbst als „unersetzlichen Schatz" bezeichnet hat.[16]

Genauere Hinweise auf die Verwendung dieser künstlerischen Hilfsmittel sucht man indes in seinen veröffentlichten Tagebüchern vergebens.

Es ist jedoch fest davon auszugehen, dass WANGEMANN entweder die eine oder die andere Camera auf seiner ersten Reise mit sich führte. Trotz aller Hilfsmittel, die WANGEMANN benutzt hat, kann man ihm ein gewisses natürliches Talent fürs Zeichnen nicht absprechen. In einer Biographie des Berliner Missionsdirektors, geschrieben von HERMANN PETRICK, heißt es, dass er „diese Kunst in den letzten Jahren noch erlernt" hätte.[17] In dem Exemplar dieses Buches, welchen dem Sohn des Missionsdirektors, HANS, gehörte, der später auch selbst noch eine Biographie seines Vaters verfasste, gibt es eine Unterstreichung dieser Aussage sowie eine dazugehörige handschriftliche Marginalie, in der der Sohn der Aussage des Biographen widerspricht. Es heißt dort: „Hat er von Jugend an betrieben."[18]

Die erste Visitationsreise

Von 1866 bis 1867 unternahm HERMANN THEODOR WANGEMANN seine erste Visitationsreise in das wichtigste und größte Arbeitsgebiet der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, nach Südafrika. Erschienen ist dieser „Reisebericht" im Verlag des Missionshauses in Berlin schon im darauffolgenden Jahr seiner Rückkehr nach Deutschland. Auch sein zweiter Reisebericht ist im missionseigenen Verlag erschienen. Sind diese Bücher, nimmt man eine Analyse der Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Geographie vor, insbesondere in Bezug auf

[16] Ebenda, S. 176.
[17] PETRICK 1895, S. 38.
[18] Ebenda (Exemplar von HANS WANGEMANN im Besitz von ULRICH VAN DER HEYDEN).

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die fachwissenschaftliche Erforschung der historischen Reiseliteratur über Südafrika so gut wie unberücksichtigt geblieben, so taucht das Buch über die Orientreise aus der Feder von Hermann Theodor Wangemann aus dem Jahre 1869 in den entsprechenden wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten und Bibliographien noch seltener auf. Das mag daran liegen, dass die Auflagen nicht sehr hoch gewesen sind. Seine Bücher sind anscheinend nicht als klassische „Reiseliteratur" wahrgenommen worden. Allerdings fand die erste Südafrikareise Wangemanns, wenn auch bescheidene, Aufmerksamkeit in der damals bedeutendsten deutschen geographischen und Entdeckungs-Zeitschrift „Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen".[19]

Wenn die Wangemannschen Südafrika-Reiseberichte auch nicht in der „Entdeckungsliteratur" entsprechend ihrer Bedeutung gewürdigt wurden, so ist doch sein erster Reisebericht aus Südafrika Gegenstand von neueren literaturgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen geworden.[20] Die dabei von ihm auf der Reise angefertigten Bilder finden hierin nur am Rande Erwähnung.

Bei dem zuletzt genannten, dritten Reisetagebuch handelt es sich um diejenigen Ausschnitte seiner Notizen, die nicht direkt seine Erlebnisse und Überlegungen in bzw. zu Südafrika betreffen, sondern es enthält vielmehr diejenigen Passagen seines fast täglich geschriebenen Tagebuches, die ausschließlich seine Hin- und Rückreise dokumentieren. Dies wird schon in dem langen Titel des Buches „Reise durch das gelobte Land. Ein ausführliches Tagebuch über eine in den Jahren 1866 und 1867 unternommene Reise von England nach St. Helena und dem Cap der guten Hoffnung und die Rückreise von Natal über Mauritius, Aegypten und Palästina"[21] deutlich. Auch dieses ist ebenso wie die beiden anderen Bücher im Selbstverlag der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft erschienen.

Die Texte seiner drei Reisebücher sind mit sonst kaum in anderen missionarischen Publikationen zu findenden Vignetten als Illustrationsmaterial sowie mit einigen seiner größeren Zeichnungen in verkleinertem Format ausgestattet.

Erwähnenswert ist die Tatsache, dass auf der in den Jahren 1884/1885 erfolgten zweiten Visitationsreise Wangemann ebenfalls Grafiken vornehmlich mit Landschaftsmotiven aus fast allen Regionen Südafrikas anfertigte. Auch diese Bilder zählen zur Wangemann Collection, die sich in Pretoria befindet.

Allerdings scheint der Berliner Missionsdirektor sich auf seiner zweiten Reise nicht mehr so explizit künstlerisch betätigt zu haben; jedenfalls sind

[19] Jeppe 1868 (Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie, Ergänzungsheft 24), hier S. 15–24.

[20] Vgl. Hemme 2000; dies 1998/99, S. 135–149.

[21] Wangemann 1869.

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von ihm dort weniger Illustrationen in der Wangemann Collection im National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria als von seiner ersten Reise überliefert.

Ob an anderen Stellen weitere Bilder von Wangemann außerhalb des Archivs der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft[22] aufbewahrt werden, ist nicht bekannt. Dies erscheint eher unwahrscheinlich.[23]

Auf dem Weg in den Orient

Nachdem Hermann Theodor Wangemann seine erste Visitationsreise in Südafrika beendet hatte, schiffte er sich am 26. September 1867 in Durban ein, um die Heimreise nach Deutschland anzutreten. Das von ihm ausgesuchte Dampfschiff brachte ihn zunächst auf die Insel Mauritius. Er hoffte von hieraus eine direkte Passage nach Aden zu erhalten.

Starke Stürme hatten ihn jedoch daran gehindert, rechtzeitig in der Hauptstadt von Mauritius, Port Louis, zu sein, um von hier aus weiter in Richtung Norden reisen zu können. Er verpasste sein Schiff und hatte dadurch genügend Muße, sich mit der Landschaft von Mauritius ein wenig vertraut zu machen und einige Zeichnungen von der faszinierenden Natur und dem Hafen anzufertigen. Damit ist er einer der wenigen deutschen Reisenden, die im 19. Jahrhundert in textlicher und visueller Form von dieser Insel im Indischen Ozean nach Deutschland berichteten.[24]

Insgesamt hatte Wangemann auf Mauritius vierzehn Tage Zeit, die er zur Erholung von seiner strapaziösen Tour durch den Süden Afrikas nutzte. Der nunmehr „Reisemüde“[25] bestieg das nächstmögliche Schiff, welches von Port Louis nach Aden auslief, um von dort weiter via Suez in seine Heimatstadt Berlin zu gelangen.

Den Leuchtturm von Suez im Blick, teilte er mithilfe der damals bereits bekannten Telegrafie seiner Missionsgesellschaft in Berlin sowie seiner Familie mit, dass er die vorher nicht geplante Absicht hege, „nach einem kurzen

[22] Vgl. „Nachlass Wangemann.“ In: Kirchliches Archivzentrum Berlin/Evangelisches Landeskirchliches Archiv, A.I. 1901; hier vor allem das Skizzenbuch von Wangemann mit 43 handgezeichneten Skizzen mit den Abbildungen von verschiedenen Missionsstationen und Landschaften in Südafrika. Dabei handelt es sich um 41 Bleistiftzeichnungen sowie zwei Federzeichnungen auf 42 Blättern. Sie stammen alle von seiner zweiten Visitationsreise.

[23] In dem Aufsatz von P.A. van Zyl wird, ohne Belege anzuführen, gemutmaßt, dass es vor dem Mauerfall in Berlin im Jahre 1989 noch weitere Wangemannsche Bilder im damaligen Westberlin gegeben habe. Vgl. van Zyl 1992, S. 159.

[24] Vgl. van der Heyden/Beyer 2015.

[25] Wangemann 1899, S. 296.

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Aufenthalte in Aegypten zu einem Besuche des gelobten Landes abzureisen".[26] Nach diesem für seine Freunde und seine Familie in der Heimat nicht vorhersehbaren Abstecher von seiner direkten Reiseroute wollte er einen südeuropäischen Hafen anlaufen, um dann von dort mit der Eisenbahn weiter nach Berlin zu fahren. Er hoffte bis zum Weihnachtsfest zu Hause zu sein.

Er selbst begründete in einem später im Berliner Missionshaus eingetroffenen Brief seinen touristischen Abstecher, der im Berichtsorgan der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft wie folgt vorgestellt wurde:

> Den Leuchtthurm von Suez in Sicht, schloß Dr. Wangemann seinen Brief, der uns mitteilte, daß er nach einem kurzen Verweilen in Aegypten zu einem Besuche des gelobten Landes und von da nach einem südeuropäischen Hafen zu reisen gedenke. Den angedeuteten Plan hat er ausgeführt.[27]

In der bereits erwähnten Biographie Hermann Theodor Wangemanns von Hermann Petrick[28], den der Wangemann-Sohn als „Schwätzer" bezeichnete, heißt es, dass Wangemann mit dem Schiff „durch den Kanal von Suez" gefahren sei. Dies kann nicht möglich gewesen sein, da diese Schifffahrtsverbindung erst später eröffnet worden ist.

Diesen Fauxpas kreidete Hans Wangemann in dem ihm gehörenden Exemplar an und bemerkte in einer Marginalie, dass sein Vater nicht „durch die Baggerarbeiten" gefahren sei. Er habe die Eisenbahn benutzt.

Allem Anschein nach hat den heimkehrenden Berliner Missionsdirekter der Direktor der Leipziger Missionsgesellschaft, Dr. Julius Hardeland (1828–1903), der auf dem Wege nach Indien war und mit dem er in Suez zufällig zusammentraf, in seiner Absicht bestärkt, nicht direkt nach Europa zurückzukehren, sondern die Gelegenheit zu nutzen, um einen Abstecher nach Palästina zur Besichtigung der dortigen kulturgeschichtlichen Denkmäler zu unternehmen.

Zunächst reiste Wangemann von Suez aus mit der Eisenbahn nach Kairo, von wo aus er dann die Pyramiden besichtigte.[29] Von Kairo fuhr er nach Alexandria weiter, wo er auf einem Dampfschiff, welches unter russischer Flagge unterwegs war, nach Port Said gelangte. Von hieraus reiste er nach Jaffa. Dieser Ort war dann für den Berliner Missionsdirektor der Ausgangspunkt für seine etwa dreiwöchige Besuchsreise durch Palästina. Er bewegte sich von dort vornehmlich zu Pferde fort.[30]

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[26] *Berliner Missionsberichte* (1867), S. 326.
[27] Ebenda, S. 389.
[28] Vgl. Petrick 1895, S. 40.
[29] Vgl. ausführlich seine Reiseschilderung in Wangemann 1869, S. 75 ff.
[30] Vgl. ebenda, S. 85 ff.

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Auf diese Weise bereiste und besichtigte er die Orte Jerusalem, Bethlehem, das Ufer des Toten Meeres sowie die Ufer des Jordan, den Berg Thabor, Galiläa und weitere historische Stätten, die ihm aus der Bibel bekannt waren. Sein Sohn konstatierte hierzu später in der Biographie seines Vaters: „Kein Besucher der heiligen Stätten hat sie wohl mit größerer innerer Ergriffenheit und Erhebung betreten, als Wangemann!“[31] Auf dieser Reise entstanden die „Orientbilder“.

Seine „Bildungsreise“ beendete er in Beirut. Am 8. Dezember 1867 bestieg er in der heutigen Hauptstadt von Libanon ein Schiff und fuhr – über Smyrna und in Sichtweite einiger ionischer Inseln – nach Triest, welches er am 20. Dezember 1867 erreichte.

Auf der Rückfahrt nach Deutschland und während der Schiffsreise fertigte er keine weiteren Zeichnungen an. Jedenfalls sind keine überliefert worden und in seinen Briefen und in seinem später veröffentlichten Tagebuch – welches von den berühmten deutschen Missionswissenschaftler Gustav Warneck in einer Rezension lobend „als eine Art Kehrsicht über das gesamte Berliner Missionsgebiet angesehen werden muss“, bezeichnet worden ist und außerdem „eine der werthvollsten missions-literarischen Gaben Dr. Wangemanns“ darstellen würde[32] – hat er dazu keine Ausführungen gemacht.

In Berlin angekommen, bereitete er nicht nur seine zwei Reiseberichte zur Veröffentlichung vor, sondern illustrierte sie auch mit einem Teil seiner größeren Zeichnungen. Den Text lockerte er mit kleineren, hierfür anscheinend extra in Deutschland angefertigten Abbildungen auf.

Einigen Exemplaren seiner im missionseigenen Verlag herausgegebenen Reiseberichte wurden großformatige, ausklappbare Zeichnungen beigegeben. Entsprechend der damaligen technischen Möglichkeiten wurden einige der Bilder zuvor als Holzschnitte kopiert und separat zum Verkauf angeboten. Damit wollte Direktor Wangemann, so seine Erklärung, seinen Lesern „eine möglichst genaue Anschauung unserer Missionsstationen und ihrer Umgebungen“ vermitteln. Solche Bemühungen, das auf seinen Reisen Erlebte auch visuell für die heimische Missionsarbeit einzusetzen, wurden auch von seinen Mitstreitern und, wenn man es so bezeichnen will, seinem Vorgesetzten, dem Präsidenten der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, Staatssekretär Dr. von Jacobi, anerkannt. Jener lobte Wangemann einmal: „Vieles, was er geschaut, hat er nicht nur in Worten, sondern auch im Bilde zu fixieren vermocht.“[33] Ob auch dem Buch über seine Reise in den Orient solche großformatigen Abbildungen beigegeben wurden, lässt sich nicht mehr feststellen.

[31] Wangemann 1899, S. 300.
[32] Warneck 1875, S. 420.
[33] Zitiert bei Kr 1894, S. 398.

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Außerhalb seines publizierten Reiseberichts, davon kann ausgegangen werden, sind Wangemanns „Reisebilder" nicht separat veröffentlicht worden.

Somit fanden lediglich die angefertigten Bilder aus Südafrika weiterführende Verwendung. Nicht nur in den erwähnten Separatdrucken, sondern zuweilen auch zur Illustration des monatlich herausgegebenen Berichtsorgans der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, den *Berliner Missionsberichten*,[34] oder in anderen selbstständigen Publikationen der Gesellschaft. Zur weiteren Nutzung der Abbildungen von seiner Südafrikareise erklärte der Missionsdirektor in den *Berliner Missionsberichten*, dass er „dieselben von den ohnehin schon vorhandenen Holzblöcken auf ordinaires Papier abdrucken" lassen wolle. „Dieselben umfassen acht Bogen, die sehr füglich auch als Bilderbogen zum Coloriren für Kinder benutzt werden können."[35] Auch eine Auswahl von hochwertigen Bildern mit Erläuterungen wurde in dieser Mitteilung angekündigt. Ob sie tatsächlich gedruckt worden sind und vom Missionshaus verkauft werden konnten, lässt sich nicht mehr mit Sicherheit feststellen.

Auch wenn Wangemann keine neuen geographischen Entdeckungstaten vollbracht hat, sondern lediglich in Europa erst seit relativ kurzer Zeit bekannten Gegenden im Süden Afrika sowie im Heiligen Land bereiste, so hat er doch die „unbekannte Ferne" durch Wort und Bild dem europäischen interessierten Bürgertum nahe gebracht, vor allem den missionsinteressierten Deutschen. Deshalb ist das Fazit von dem bedeutenden geographischen Enzyklopädisten Dietmar Henze übertrieben, der meint feststellen zu müssen, dass Wangemann „nichts Großes … an der Erdkunde" getan hätte.[36]

Im Nachlass von Wangemann, der sich heute im Aktenbestand des Berliner Missionswerks im Landeskirchenarchiv in der deutschen Hauptstadt befindet, existiert noch ein Skizzenbuch von Wangemann, allerdings von seiner zweiten Visitationsreise und mit einer Ausnahme mit Motiven aus Südafrika. Im Vergleich zu den im National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria aufbewahrten Bildern ist auffällig, dass hier mehr Menschen und kulturelle Gegenstände von Wangemann gezeichnet worden sind, wie etwa Kinder auf der Missionsstation Emaus, ein Boot am Ufer eines Flusses bei Botshabelo, einige Gebäude sowie sieben Männer (vermutlich zu einer Versammlung sich treffende Missionare) in einem Haus auf der Missionsstation Stendal. Was zudem auffällt, ist die Skizze von „Buschmannzeichnungen am Felsen" aus dem Norden Transvaals.[37] Es ist zu vermuten, dass diese Skizzen für die Illustrationen von Publikationen nicht verwendet worden sind.

[34] Vgl. ebenda, S. 395.
[35] Wangemann 1868b, S. 375.
[36] Henze 2011, S. 458.
[37] Kirchliches Archivzentrum Berlin, 4.1.: Archiv des Berliner Missionswerkes: bmw 1/12189: „Skizzenbuch Wangemann".

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Wangemanns Eindrücke vom Heiligen Land

Auch wenn der Besuch des Heiligen Landes nicht auf WANGEMANNS ursprünglichem Reiseplan gestanden hatte, so berichtete er doch recht ausführlich und auf anschauliche Weise über seine Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse „in Arabien“[38] und über den von ihm bereisten Küstenstrich des Sinai entlang des Roten Meeres.[39]

Seine Beschreibungen zeugen von einer ausgeprägten Einbildungskraft, z. B. in Schilderungen von der Küste der Sinai-Halbinsel, als er dort entlangsegelte. Auch schrieb er von seinem Unterfangen, den vermeintlichen wahren Gottesberg Horeb aufzuspüren.

WANGEMANN bewies Mut, denn eine Reise ins Heilige Land zu Pferd war nicht ungefährlich. Er wurde nur von einem Führer und Wächter, der ihm von einem Freund in Jaffa empfohlen worden war, begleitet.

Seine Reise führte ihn durch die Saron-Ebene und das ehemalige Land der Philister, dann durch das Ela-Tal nach Jerusalem. Das waren Gegenden, die so gefährlich waren, dass, so WANGEMANN, er und seine Begleiter sich genötigt sahen, nachts nur mit einem Auge zu schlafen.

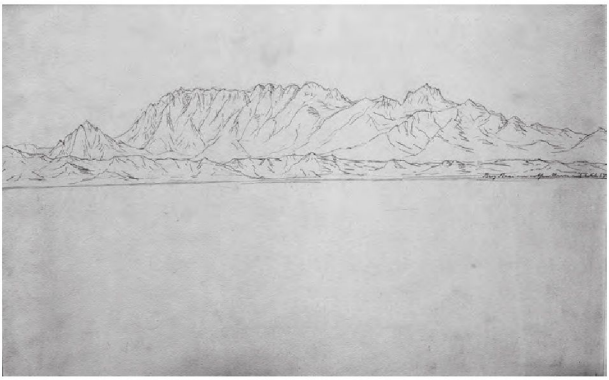


Abb. 1: „Berg Sinai vom rothen Meer aus gesehen“

[38] WANGEMANN 1869, S. 66.
[39] Vgl. ebenda, S. 71.

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Er verbrachte einige Zeit in Jerusalem, bevor er die Reise durch die Wüste Juda weiter nach Jericho fortsetzte.

Mit seiner Beschreibung Jerusalems vermittelt Wangemann einen lebendigen Eindruck dieser Stadt im Jahre 1867. In Jerusalem beeindruckten ihn vor allem die Ruinen des Johanniterhospizes, das ursprünglich eine deutsche Institution gewesen war. Großflächige Ausgrabungen waren in der Umgebung der Ruinen vorgenommen worden, über die er die Bemerkungen fallen ließ, dass die Fundamente von Häusern im ausgegrabenen Gelände um das Hospiz herum sichtbar seien.[40] Erwähnenswert ist auch seine Bemerkung, dass es keinen Zweifel daran gäbe, dass das Tyropöon-Tal im Laufe der Jahre völlig zugeschüttet worden sei. Es sollten noch etwa zwanzig Jahre vergehen, bevor archäologische Ausgrabungen durch Sir W.M. Flinders Petri bei Tel es-Hesi im Jahre 1890 begannen, wobei die überlagerten Schichten kulturgeschichtlich wertvolles Material enthielten.[41]

Die Reise durch die Wüste Juda erinnerte den Berliner Missionsdirektor an das Gleichnis der barmherzigen Samariter; laut seinem Bericht konnte er die Gefahren, die die Wüste in sich birgt, nachempfinden.[42] Jericho wird von ihm als kaum mehr als eine Wasserquelle und ein Turm beschrieben[43] – er war sich nicht bewusst, dass der Hügel, auf dem erstand, um über das Gebiet zu schauen, derjenige Teil war, unter dem die jahrtausendealten Ruinen Jerichos verschüttet lagen.

In seinen Beschreibungen bringt er seine beständige Angst vor den „räuberischen Beduinen" zum Ausdruck. Einmal, gegen Ende seiner Reise durch das Heilige Land, macht Wangemann die Bemerkung, dass diese dreiwöchige Reise viel anstrengender gewesen sei als fast zwei Jahre zu Pferd in Afrika.[44]

Von Jericho ging es weiter an den Jordan, das Tote Meer und zum Mar Saba Kloster in der Wüste Juda. Dann folgten Bethlehem, Hebron, Jerusalem (u. a. die Omar und el-Aqsa Moscheen), die Grabstätten östlich der Stadt, als auch der Skopusberg, der weit außerhalb der Stadt liegt.[45] Er musste sich beeilen, um wieder rechtzeitig in der Stadt zurück zu sein, bevor die Tore geschlossen wurden, da ansonsten sein Leben außerhalb der Stadtmauern in Gefahr gewesen wäre. Während eines zweiten Aufenthaltes in Jerusalem fertigte er weitere Zeichnungen vom Johanniterhospiz an, als auch von Gehenna (Hinnomtal), was bei ihm Vorstellungen von der Hölle hervorrief.

[40] Vgl. ebenda, S. 98.
[41] Vgl. auch Mazar 1992, S. 11.
[42] Vgl. Wangemann 1869, S. 108–114.
[43] Vgl. ebenda, S. 115.
[44] Vgl. ebenda, S. 172.
[45] Vgl. ebenda, S. 125–137.

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Abb. 2: „Blick vom Gipfel des Tabor“



Abb. 3: „Jerusalem“

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Abb. 4: „Jordan“



Abb. 5: „Ruine des Johanniterhospiz“

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Abb. 6: „Sichem"

Wangemann verließ sodann Jerusalem und reiste gen Norden nach Sichem, besichtigte die Berge Ebal und Gerisim und besuchte die dortige kleine Gemeinschaft der Samariter. Die Flora der Gegend erinnerte ihn an die alttestamentliche Beschreibung von Jotham.[46]

Auf dem zentralen Hochland besuchten er und sein Begleiter auch Samaria, bevor die Reise weiter zum See Genezareth über den Berg Tabor ging. Unterwegs machte er einen Abstecher nach Jesreel und konnte Meggido in der Ferne erspähen. Sodann ritt der reiselustige Missionsdirektor weiter nach Sunem, zum Berg Gilboa, nach Nain und Endor.

Alle die von ihm besuchten und beschriebenen Orte erinnerten ihn an biblische Geschichten des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Darauf verweist er in seinem Reisebericht immer wieder. Schließlich erreichte er den Berg Tabor.[47] Alle diese biblischen Orte beflügelten sein Gemüt und seine Fantasie, woran er immer wieder seine Leser teilhaben lässt.[48]

Als er den Berg Tabor bestiegen hatte, beschreibt Wangemann etwas, das bei ihm ein immer wiederkehrendes Thema werden sollte, nämlich die Fähigkeit von hier aus das ganze Land überblicken zu können. Diese

[46] Vgl. ebenda, S. 138–147.
[47] Vgl. ebenda, S. 147–154.
[48] Vgl. ebenda, S. 154–164.

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Erfahrung kann dadurch erklärt werden, weil er hier im November weilte, als zumeist klare Sicht herrschte.

Am See Genezareth meinte er die Präsenz Jesus fast real zu empfinden, da sich dort so wenig über die Jahrhunderte verändert hätte. Der Besuch von Nazareth war ein ebenso bewegendes Erlebnis für ihn. Dann führte ihn seine Reise an die Küste und ins Karmelgebirge. In dem kleinen Dörflein Haifa war er erstaunt und auch etwas zurückhaltend gegenüber der Gastfreundlichkeit der Mönche des Karmeliterklosters – es war ihm alles zu üppig und zu komfortabel.[49]

Schließlich reiste er noch nach Akko und bestaunte die römischen Aquädukte. Dann ging es weiter zu den phönikischen Städten Tyrus, Sidon und schließlich Beirut, das den Schlusspunkt seiner Reise im Nahen Osten darstellte.[50]

Die Wangemann Collection heute

Die Bilder von Hermann Theodor Wangemann, in der Regel schwarz/weiß-Zeichnungen auf Karton in der Größe von etwa 320–330 × 490–500 cm Ausmaß, befinden sich heute, wie bereits erwähnt, im National Museum of Cultural History in Pretoria. Es gehört zu den „Ditsong Museums of South Africa". Das Museum stellt sich in seinen Werbeflyern und im Internet wie folgt vor:

> Ditsong Museums of South Africa is an amalgamation of eight national museums, seven in Tshwane and one in Johannesburg. These museums have diverse collections covering the fields of fauna and flora, palaeontology, military history, cultural history, geology, anthropology and archaeology. The target audience of these museums are children, youth, adults, students, tourists (foreign and local), researchers and the public in general.
>
> The mandate of 'Ditsong' in terms of the Cultural Institutions Act is as follows:
> - Collection, conservation and safe management of national heritage collections on behalf of the South African nation.
> - Carry out research and publish such information for the cultural, social and economic use locally and internationally.
> - Design, implement and manage exhibitions and public programmes with a view to supporting the national educational curriculum, economic development and other socio-economic objectives of the Government.
> - Render heritage-based service to other museums (national, provincial, local and private) as well as to individuals and tertiary institutions.

[49] Vgl. ebenda, S. 165–167.
[50] Vgl. ebenda, S. 171.

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Wie ebenfalls bereits angemerkt, sind die Wangemannschen Zeichnungen aus dem 19. Jahrhundert weder in Südafrika noch in der Missionsliteratur bekannt und sie werden so gut wie nicht mehr seit etwa 150 Jahren zur Illustration von missionshistorischer Literatur genutzt. In einer Ausstellung wurden sie wohl nie gezeigt. Nur in den beiden zuvor genannten Publikationen aus dem Jahre 1992, die in Südafrika anlässlich eines Jubiläums zur deutschen Einwanderung erschienen sind, wurden die wertvollen visuellen Quellen vornehmlich zur Geschichte Südafrikas im 19. Jahrhundert, die jedoch für die Geschichte einiger anderer Regionen der Welt ebenso Bedeutung besitzen, einem größeren Publikum vorgestellt.

Wohl gerade deshalb stellt sich die Frage: Wie waren die Bilder, die bis nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges im Berliner Missionshaus im Ostberliner Stadtbezirk Friedrichshain aufbewahrt worden waren, nach Südafrika gelangt?

Die Publikationen des National Cultural History Museums geben dazu nur knappe Auskunft. Im Jahre 1954 kaufte demnach das damalige Transvaalmuseum in Pretoria eine Bildersammlung von 106 Zeichnungen für 130 Rand[51] von dem Berliner Kunsthändler Wilhelm August Luz[52] (1891–1959) aus dem Westteil Berlins, der vormals im Dritten Reich als Kunstsachverständiger für die Reichskulturkammer tätig gewesen war und Geschäftsbeziehungen zu Adolf Hitler und Hermann Göring unterhalten hatte.

Die Sammlung besteht heute aus 48 Aquarellen und sechs großen Aquarell-Studien in Sepia, aus einem kleineren ganzfarbigen Aquarell sowie aus 48 Graphikskizzen und drei gewöhnlichen Bleistiftskizzen.

Die damalige Direktorin des „Nationale Kulturhistoriese en Opelugmuseum" in Pretoria hatte den Ankauf der Bilder zu Beginn der 1950er Jahre veranlasst. Anscheinend ließ sie nicht prüfen, ob die der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft gehörenden Kunstwerke in den Besitz des in der Nachkriegszeit zu den führenden deutschen Kunsthändlern für die Malerei des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts zählenden Dr. W. A. Luz auf legalem Wege gelangt waren. Zur damaligen Zeit nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges war es nämlich keine Seltenheit, dass Kunstwerke aus dem Osten Deutschlands, der von der Roten Armee besetzt war, nach Westdeutschland oder Westberlin, die von den westlichen Alliierten besetzt waren, außer Landes geschmuggelt wurden. Dies könnte auch mit den Bildern von Wangemann geschehen sein, zumal die Galerie Dr. W. A. Luz sich für einige Zeit unmittelbar nach Kriegsender im ehemaligen Warenhaus Rudolph Hertzog in der Brüderstraße in Berlins Mitte befand, also unweit des Missionshauses in der Georgenkirchstraße. In

[51] Realistischer scheint die Summe von 130 englischen Pfund zu sein. Vgl. van Zyl 1992, S. 158.

[52] Vgl. Ehringhaus 2011, S. 67–72.

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jener Zeit interessierte sich Luz auch für „außereuropäische Kunst", wozu zumindest von den Motiven her auch die Bilder von Wangemann gelten könnten. Von Westberlin oder von Westdeutschland aus könnte die Wangemann Collection nach Südafrika verkauft worden sein.

In dem Vorwort des Katalogs des National Cultural History Museums in Pretoria heißt es dazu ziemlich unbedarft,[53] dass Versuche von südafrikanischer Seite, weitere Zeichnungen von Wangemann in Ostberlin zu erwerben, um „sie 1978 nach Südafrika zu bringen", gescheitert seien. Ein solcher illegaler Ver- bzw. Ankauf von Kunstwerken wäre in jedem Staat der Welt strafbar gewesen. Außerdem gab es aufgrund der Apartheid weder politische noch wirtschaftliche Kontakte zwischen der DDR und Südafrika.[54]

Gerade zu jener Zeit, als die Wangemannschen Kunstwerke, die nunmehr im Magazin des National Cultural History Museums lagern, nach Südafrika gelangten, gab es unter den Deutschen in Südafrika und in Kreisen der Nachfahren deutscher Missionare jedoch recht eigenartige Diskussionen. Denn sie forderten die nach Beendigung des Zweiten Weltkrieges von den Sowjets konfiszierten deutschen Kunstgegenstände zurück und zwar so unverfroren, als wenn nicht die Deutsche Wehrmacht zuvor in Osteuropa hunderttausende von Kunstwerken zerstört und geraubt hätte.[55] Diese Atmosphäre mag dazu beigetragen haben, dass die kunstgeschichtlich wertvollen Zeichnungen von Wangemann nach Südafrika gelangt sind.

Bei Recherchen zu dieser Problematik stießen die Verfasser auf einen Schriftwechsel, der im Archiv der Bibliothek der University of South Africa aufbewahrt wird.[56] Demnach hat es noch 1982 und 1983 eine Korrespondenz über die Zeichnungen von Wangemann zwischen der in Ostberlin beheimateten Berliner Missionsgesellschaft und dem Direktor des Nasionale Kultuurhistoriese en Opelugmuseum in Pretoria gegeben. Ende 1982 fragte die südafrikanische Seite den Direktor der Berliner Mission, Heinz Blauert, an, ob es nicht zu einem Austausch von Kopien von der Wangemann Collection gegen Kopien der noch im Archiv in Berlin lagernden Zeichnungen kommen könne. Dabei schlugen die Südafrikaner einen pauschalen Austausch von Kopien der beiden Bestände vor, was letztlich einem Verhältnis von 2:5 gleich gekommen wäre,[57] nachdem auch andere Pläne für eine Äquivalenz diskutiert worden waren und eine Lösung auf diese Weise

[53] Wangemann 1992, S. 2.

[54] Vgl. van der Heyden 2005a; ders. 2004; ders. 2012, S. 351–377.

[55] Vgl. Schatten 1955, S. 94 f.

[56] „Correspondence with Berlin Mission, Germany, 1982–1983." In: Unisa Library, Archives, Hesse Collection: Berlin Mission, Acc. 71.

[57] Brief von P.J. de Jager, Senior Deputy Director of Library Services an Dr. H. Blauert, Berliner Missionsgesellschaft, 16.02.1983. In: ebenda.

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für zu kompliziert eingeschätzt worden ist.[58] Darüber dachte man im Ostberliner Missionshaus durchaus ernsthaft nach. Da jedoch zu diesem vorgeschlagenen Tauschhandel der Austausch von Kopien von Akten vorgesehen war, lehnte die Berliner Missionsgesellschaft einen „umfangreichen Kopienaustausch" schließlich ab, unter anderem mit der Begründung, dass mit der Anfertigung von Kopien eine Westberliner Firma beauftragt werden sollte, die ja im Osten Berlins nicht arbeiten dürfte.[59]

Letztlich blieb der Versuch von südafrikanischer Seite, die in Berlin verbliebenen Bilder Wangemanns in Kopien zu erhalten, trotz wiederholter Interventionen beim Afrikareferenten des Berliner Missionswerks in Westberlin,[60] erfolglos.

Vermutlich angeregt durch die Korrespondenz zwischen dem National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria und der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft in Ostberlin gelangten Kopien der im Museum vorhandenen Zeichnungen ins Archiv der University of South Africa in Pretoria.[61]

Die letztlich erfolglos gebliebenen Austauschversuche von Dokumenten und Illustrationen waren übrigens eine der wenigen Kommunikationen, die zwischen einer – kirchlichen – Institution der DDR und einer staatlichen Institution der Republik Südafrika, die das National Cultural History Museum und die Unisa ja darstellten, existierten.

Heute sollte es indes möglich sein zu eruieren, unter welchen Umständen in den 1950er Jahren die Bilder nach Südafrika kamen. Denn der Verdacht erscheint nicht ganz unbegründet, dass die Wangemann Collection auf ungesetzliche Weise in den Süden Afrikas gelangte. Dann könnte über eine Restitution nachgedacht werden.

[58] Brief von P.J. de Jager an Dr. R. Oelsner, Berliner Missionsgesellschaft vom 13.12.1982. In: ebenda.

[59] Brief vom Direktor der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft Dr. H. Blauert an P.J. de Jager, Unisa, 22.12.1983. In: ebenda.

[60] Vgl. Brief von P.J. de Jager an H. Meissner, Afrikareferent im Berliner Missionswerk, 31.10.1983. In: ebenda.

[61] „Wangemann Sketches." In: Unisa Library, Archives, Hesse Collection, Acc. 29.

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Überlegungen zu den Ausgrabungen von Babylon

Von Joachim Oelsner, Leipzig

Summary: The "Tower of Babel" and the history of the city was the topic of an inspiring colloquium held at Paris in 2008. The following article omments on three points: 1. the passage of Herodot mentioning the supposed river dividing the inner city in Achaemenid times; 2. the building phases of the "Palace of Nebukadrezzar"; 3. ideas on the *ziqqurrat*, the "Tower of Babel".

Ein Colloquium, das 2008 im Zusammenhang mit der Babylon-Ausstellung des Louvre in Paris durchgeführt worden war, war Problemen der Archäologie und Geschichte der Stadt Babylon gewidmet. Angeregt durch die Veröffentlichung der dort vorgelegten interessanten Beiträge[1] seien im Folgenden einige Überlegungen mitgeteilt.

1. Herodot und die angebliche Verlegung des Euphrat-Laufs in achämenidischer Zeit

Bei der Interpretation des Ausgrabungsbefundes haben sich die Ausgräber nach eigener Aussage häufig von Herodot leiten lassen und viele sind ihnen darin gefolgt. Gäbe es nicht seinen „Babylonischen Logos",[2] so wäre wahrscheinlich niemand auf die Idee gekommen, in den Spuren eines Wasserlaufs zwischen dem Palastbezirk (Qaṣr) und dem Hauptheiligtum Esangila einen Euphrat-Lauf der achämenidischen Zeit zu sehen. Solange man davon ausging, dass zu den Strafmaßnahmen als Reaktion auf die babylonischen

[1] Béatrice André-Salvini (Hrsg.): *La Tour de Babylone. Études et recherches sur les monuments de Babylone (Actes du Colloque du 19 avril 2008 au Musée du Louvre, Paris).* Rom: CNR, Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltá dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente / Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Orientales 2013. 206 S. (Documenta Asiana 10). Verfassernamen und Seitenzahlen dieses Beitrags beziehen sich auf diesen Band. Vgl. auch meine Besprechung im kommenden Band der ZDMG.

[2] Auch wenn nicht alle Forscher überzeugt werden konnten, ist grundlegend für das Verständnis desselben heute R. Rollinger: *Herodots Babylonischer Logos. Eine kritische Untersuchung der Glaubwürdigkeitsdiskussion.* Innsbruck 1993 (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 84).

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Aufstände gegen Xerxes im Jahre 484 v. Chr.[3] die Zerstörung des Hauptheiligtums gehörte, war auch eine bewusste Umleitung des Flusses im Bereich des Denkbaren. Inzwischen ist aber eine Anzahl von Keilschrifttexten bekannt, die zeigen, dass die Eingriffe nicht so gravierend waren.[4] Die Veränderungen erfolgten vielmehr im Bereich des Gesellschaftsgefüges, einst mächtige Familien verloren ihren Einfluss.[5] Das heute verfügbare Material bezeugt zweifelsfrei, dass die kultischen Aktivitäten in Babylon auch nach den Aufständen die gesamte Achämenidenzeit hindurch bis in die hellenistisch-parthische Periode durchgeführt wurden. Wenn dem aber so ist, dann muss für die Prozession am Neujahrsfest die Prozessionsstraße zwischen Esangila und dem Ištar-Tor zugänglich sein. Nimmt man einen Flusslauf in diesem Bereich an, womit in den Beiträgen von G. BERGAMINI (S. 43–63) und C. LIPPOLIS/P. BAGGIO/B. MONOPOLI (S. 147–163; S. 156, 157, 159/161) gerechnet wird, so wird diese unterbrochen und eine korrekte Ausübung des Kults wäre unmöglich. Wie die Kritik an ROLLINGER zeigt (ebd. S. 156 Anm. 15f. mit weiterer Lit.), wird dieser Sachverhalt von den eben genannten Autoren ignoriert. Eine vergleichbare Position vertritt auch BERGAMINI (S. 54 mit Anm. 25), obwohl sich ein anderes Bild ergibt, wenn man in seinem Beitrag die S. 53 Abb. 6 eingezeichneten Prozessionswege („deux voies principales") und den vermeintlichen „achämenidischen" Flussverlauf (ebd. S. 53 Abb. 7)[6] nebeneinander betrachtet. Daraus ergibt sich eindeutig, dass eine kultische Nutzung der Prozessionsstraße zwischen Esangila und Ištar-Tor und ein Wasserlauf zwischen Esangila und Qaṣr sich

[3] C. WAERZEGGERS: „The Babylonian Revolts Against Xerxes and the 'End of Archives'." In: AfO 50 (2003/2004), S. 150–173, hat nachgewiesen, dass beide Ereignisse in das gleiche Jahr zu datieren sind. Vgl. auch J. OELSNER: „Das zweite Regierungsjahr des Xerxes (484/3) in Babylonien." In: WZKM 97 (2007; Fs. H. HUNGER), S. 289–303.

[4] Vgl. A. KUHRT/S. SHERWIN-WHITE: „Xerxes' Destruction of Babylonian Temples." In: *The Greek sources: proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop.* Leiden 1987 (Achaemenid History 2), S. 69–78; R. ROLLINGER: „Überlegungen zu Herodot, Xerxes und dessen angeblicher Zerstörung Babylons." In: AoF 25 (1998), S. 339–379. Das Material wird ergänzt durch weitere Texte bei J. HACKL: *Materialien zur Urkundenlehre und Archivkunde der spätzeitlichen Texte aus Nordbabylonien.* Wien 2013 (phil. Dissertation; Druck in Vorbereitung); DERS.: „The Esangila Temple during the Late Achaemenid Period and the Impact of Xerxes' Reprisals on the Northern Babylonian Temple Households." In: C. WAERZEGGERS (Hrsg.): *Xerxes and Babylon: The Babylonian Evidence* (Orientalia Louvanensia Analecta; im Druck).

[5] Vgl. die vorige Anm., ferner H. BAKER: „Babylon in 484 BC: the Excavated Archival Tablets as a Source for Urban History." In: ZA 98 (2008), S. 100–116; K. KESSLER: „Urukäische Familien versus babylonische Familien." In: AoF 31 (2004), S. 237–262.

[6] S. 62 räumt BERGAMINI jedoch selbst ein, dass es schwierig ist zu erkennen, ob die beobachteten Spuren eines veränderten Flusslaufes tatsächlich Herodots Angaben zuzuordnen sind.

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ausschließen. Dazu kommt eine weitere Überlegung. Ein Flusslauf im genannten Bereich birgt in Südmesopotamien immer die Gefahr von Überschwemmungen in sich, und das würde in einem Gebiet mit städtischer Siedlungsstruktur das Alltagsleben erheblich belasten, vor allem bei einer Breite von 70–80 m (so die Maßangabe S. 156, 157, 159/161). Darüber hinaus wäre größere Bautätigkeit in einem ringsum von Wasser umschlossenen Qaṣr-Bezirk – folgt man Lippolis/Baggio/Monopoli, S. 157 Abb. 4, 159 Abb. 5, – äußerst schwierig zu realisieren. In der fraglichen Zeit entstand aber z. B. der sogenannte „Perserbau" (in der Regel Artaxerxes II., 405–359 v. Chr., zugewiesen, s. Gasche, S. 116 mit Anm. 4, 117 Abb. 1), der zwar im Vergleich zu den übrigen Bauwerken der Südburg relativ bescheidene Abmessungen aufweist, aber doch einen nicht geringen Arbeitsaufwand erforderte. Dies alles schließt nicht aus, dass aus strategisch-taktischen Erwägungen zeitweilig der Fluss umgeleitet wurde, um das innere Stadtgebiet zu überfluten und die Verteidigungsanlagen zu schwächen, wie die sogenannte Diadochenchronik für das Jahr 311 v. Chr. im Konflikt zwischen Seleukos I. und Antigonos bezeugt (Bergamini, S. 59/61). Bergamini (S. 61) vermutet auch, dass dann in hellenistischer Zeit mit dem Schutt von Etemenanki/Esangila der Hügel Homera im Norden der Stadt aufgeschüttet wurde, um als Deich gegen die Hochwassergefahr zu dienen – eine Arbeit, die Antiochos I. wahrscheinlich mit Hilfe der Elefanten, die einst Seleukos I. erhalten hatte, ausführen lassen konnte.

Aus historischen Gründen ist es also in höchstem Maße unwahrscheinlich, dass seit dem 5. Jh. v. Chr. der Euphrat mitten durch besiedeltes Gebiet zwischen Qaṣr und Esangila verlief und die Kritik an Rollinger ist unbegründet. Rez. hält es auch für wenig wahrscheinlich, dass die gewünschten künftigen Untersuchungen am Boden (S. 154 Mitte) im Ergebnis die Anlagen in die fragliche Periode datieren. Es erscheint ihm näherliegend, dass die „von oben" erkennbaren einstigen Flussläufe im Bereich nördlich und nordöstlich des Qasr, die von Lippolis, Baggio und Monopoli diskutiert werden, aus Perioden stammen, in denen das Stadtgebiet nicht oder nur dünn besiedelt war. Bekanntlich wurde es nach der Partherzeit zunehmend verlassen – und seitdem sind rund 1800 Jahre vergangen, in denen viel geschehen konnte.

Eine Anwesenheit Herodots in Babylon lässt sich nicht beweisen. Die Argumente, die dagegen sprechen, wiegen schwerer. Es gibt keinen Nachweis dafür, dass er das, was er beschreibt, tatsächlich gesehen hat. Es wäre zu wünschen, dass bei der Interpretation des archäologischen Befundes den Quellen aus dem Alten Orient der Vorrang eingeräumt würde und Herodots Schilderungen mindestens kritischer gesehen werden, wenn man schon nicht ganz darauf verzichten möchte.

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2. Nebukadnezar II. und sein Palast

Die Ausgräber wünschten die Stadt Nebukadnezars II. zu finden und zu ihrer Wiederauferstehung beizutragen. Das ist verständlich, denn dieser Herrscher war für seine umfangreiche Bautätigkeit bekannt, Ziegel sowie sonstige Inschriften von ihm wurden an vielen Stellen des Stadtgebiets in beträchtlicher Zahl gefunden. Und so wurde in den Ausgrabungsberichten ein grandioses Bild des Palastes dieses Herrschers entworfen, der vermeintlich auf dem Qaṣr in der „Südburg" entdeckt worden war. Der kritische Blick in den Beiträgen von J.-C. MARGUERON (S. 77–114) und H. GASCHE (S. 115–1126) korrigiert diese Vorstellungen. Beide Forscher sind sich darin einig, dass es sich nicht um einen einheitlichen Gebäudekomplex handeln kann, sondern die Errichtung über einen längeren Zeitraum erfolgte. Ihre Ergebnisse decken sich jedoch nicht, da sie verschieden an die Problematik herangehen.

Die Anlage besteht aus fünf Baukörpern, die jeweils um einen Hof gruppiert sind. Bei genauerem Hinsehen ist zu erkennen, dass die einzelnen Teile nicht nahtlos ineinander übergehen (S. 90 Abb. 7; S. 113 Abb. 24), ja sogar Niveauunterschiede dazwischen bestehen. Besonders interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang das Profil der Anlage (S. 98 Abb. 12; vgl. auch S. 93f. die Übersicht über die Höhenlage der Bereiche). Danach liegt der Boden der beiden westlichen Anbauten (Sol phase II) beträchtlich tiefer sowohl als der der drei östlichen Komplexe (Sol phase III), aber auch des schon genannten Perserbaus (Sol phase III mit Fragezeichen). Aus dem untersuchten Befund schließt MARGUERON, daß die drei östlichen Bauteile erst in achämenidischer Zeit, wenn nicht sogar unter Alexander d. Gr. errichtet sein können (S. 111). Dass in der kurzen Regierungszeit des letzteren größere Bauvorhaben abgeschlossen werden konnten, möchte ich bezweifeln, halte es aber für denkbar, dass die „Südburg" auch unter den Seleukiden das Interesse der Herrscher erregte und sie sich bei der Ausgestaltung engagierten, auch wenn es dafür keine anderen Zeugnisse gibt.[7] Die den einzelnen Teilen des Komplexes versuchsweise zugewiesenen Funktionen (S. 83 Abb. 3, s. a. S. 89 Abb. 6) wären in vollem Umfang aber erst nach Abschluss des Gesamtkomplexes wirksam geworden.

Wenn die entsprechenden Teile der Südburg nicht von Nebukadnezar stammen, dann kann es sich beim sogenannten „Thronsaal" auch nicht um eine Einrichtung dieses Herrschers handeln, die einen solchen Namen ver-

[7] Noch in parthischer Zeit begegnet in „astronomischen Tagebüchern" ein Königspalast in Babylon, so im Jahr 125 v. Chr., s. A. J. SACHS/H. HUNGER: *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*. Vol. 3. Wien 1996, S. 268f. No. -124A Rs. 4', 278f. No. -124B Rs. 15' (an der zweiten Stelle ausdrückliche Erwähnung der Stadt Babylon).

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dient. Ohne dass es ausdrücklich gesagt wird, steht dieser Gedanke sicher im Hintergrund bei den Überlegungen, die MARGUERON im zweiten Teil seines Beitrags (S. 99–107) zu Architektur und Funktion des Raumes anstellt mit dem Ergebnis, dass die architektonische Gestaltung von anderswo bekannten Thronräumen abweicht (S. 102ff.), jedoch eher Parallelen zu neubabylonischen Tempeln aufweist (S. 104 unten), ohne dass daraus Folgerungen gezogen werden. Als Überdachung wird ein Tonnengewölbe und für die dahinter liegenden Räume, aber auch für andere Stellen eine zweite Etage in Erwägung gezogen (S. 108–114).

Beide Beiträge enthalten interessante Ansätze, die der weiteren Diskussion bedürfen. Der Vorschlag, nicht mehr vom „Palast Nebukadnezars" zu sprechen, sondern nur noch vom „Großen Palast von Babylon" (MARGUERON, S. 99), verdient Beachtung und sollte für die weitere Forschung im Auge behalten werden. Einen wichtigen methodischen Hinweis, der bei Datierungen auch in anderen Zusammenhängen zu beachten ist, gibt GASCHE (S. 124 o.). Er macht darauf aufmerksam, dass in Fußböden verlegte Ziegel mit Herrscherinschriften sekundäre Verwendung bezeugen, denn „Il serait étrange qu'à Babylone le sujets du souverain en fonction pouvais fouler les inscriptions à son nom".[8]

3. Die Ziqqurrat – der „Babylonische Turm"

Die Beachtung der verschiedenen Niveaus, auf denen sich die archäologisch fassbaren Überreste der einstigen Weltstadt befinden, erfordert nach BERGAMINI (S. 46) eine Neubewertung der Schichten. Ein Ergebnis ist die Beobachtung, dass der Temenos von Etemenanki und die Reste der Ziqqurrat nicht gleichzeitig sein können, denn der Höhenunterschied beträgt 7,50 m. Die Spuren der letzteren müssen also älter als Nebukadnezar sein, woraus gefolgert wird, dass von dessen Bauwerk nichts erhalten ist. BERGAMINI (S. 49f.) legt sich zeitlich nicht fest, J.J. MONTERO FENELLÓS (S. 130), der ähnlich argumentiert, zieht den Bau Asarhaddons in Erwägung.

Besonderes Augenmerk legt Letzterer in seinem der Ziqqurrat gewidmetem Beitrag (S. 127–146) auf die Höhe des Bauwerks. Bestimmt wurden in

[8] An der angeführten Stelle auf einen Tempel in Sippar bezogen, aber das gilt allgemein und kann entsprechend auch auf Babylon übertragen werden, wo die Ausgräber die in einem Abschnitt von Esangila freigelegten Böden nach den dort verlegten Nebukadnezar-Ziegeln datierten, s. u.a. R. KOLDEWEY: *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*.Berlin ^{5}1990, S. 204f. Dieser wurde von den Ausgräbern als Ea-Zella (KOLDEWEY a.a.O. 201u.), von A.R. GEORGE als Ninurta-Kapelle bestimmt (S. 32 mit Abb. 5 des o. Anm. 1 genannten Bandes auf Grund von DERS.: *Babylonian Topographical Texts*. Louvain 1992 [Orientalia Louvanensia Analecta 40], Nr. 6).

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der Forschungsgeschichte die Vorstellungen in der Regel von den Angaben der sogenannten Esangila-Tafel,[9] die die gleiche Höhe wie die Kantenlängen an der Basis voraussetzt. Während sich erstere am Befund der Ruine nachprüfen lassen (Grundfläche 91 × 91 m), ist man für letztere auf Vermutungen angewiesen, wenn man nicht die Angaben der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung akzeptiert.[10] Aus Überlegungen zu Statik und Gewicht eines solchen Bauwerks ist das Ergebnis der Studie, dass man zu jener Zeit nicht in der Lage war, ein Bauwerk bis zu einer Höhe von etwa 90 m zu errichten, wie es der Text voraussetzt. Was möglich erscheint, wird im Vergleich mit anderen Bauten tabellarisch erfasst (S. 132). Die Folgerungen aus den Überlegungen, bei denen auch die Höhe der Stufen neu berechnet wird (S. 129, 141 Abb. 6) führen zu einer Höhe von etwa 60 m für den Bau in Babylon, vergleichbar der Höhe der Ziqqurrat von Dūr-Kurigalzu/ʿAqarqūf (S. 140f. mit Abb. 6).[11] So wichtig die Berücksichtigung der technischen Möglichkeiten auch ist, es erhebt sich die Frage, ob die Grundfläche von Bedeutung ist, denn bei dem zum Vergleich herangezogenen Bauwerk beträgt diese nur 69 × 67,6 m,[12] was bedeutet, dass sich in diesem Fall Seitenkanten und Höhe ungefähr entsprechen.

Ein weiteres Problem, das MONTERO FENELLÓS anspricht, ist das Aussehen des Tempels auf der obersten Etage der Ziqqurrat. Mit Hilfe der seit einiger Zeit bekannten, beschädigten Stele Nebukadnezars II., die eine Zeichnung von Grund- und Aufriss des Bauwerkes enthält (Foto des Oberteils S. 133 Abb. 1, s. auch die Zeichnung S. 41 Abb. 9),[13] erscheint jetzt eine Rekonstruktion dieses Kultbaues möglich. Die vorgelegte Lösung könnte der Realität mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit nahe kommen (S. 136–139 mit Abb. 3–5). Bei der Frage, ob sich die Aufgänge zu den oberen Etagen nur auf einer Seite befanden oder spiralförmig um das Bauwerk herumführten, ist ihm darin zuzustimmen, dass diese nicht zu entscheiden ist (S. 142f. Abb. 7f.).

[9] Bearbeitung: GEORGE (wie vorige Anm.), Nr. 13.

[10] Es ist heute allgemein anerkannt, dass auf der genannten Tafel eine Sammlung mathematischer Probleme vorliegt, keine exakte Beschreibung des Bauwerks.

[11] So schon M. FENELLÓS: „Etemenanki. Nuova ipotesi di riconstruzione dello ziggurat di Nabucodonosor II nella cittá di Babilonia." In: *Isimu* 8 (2005), S. 201–216.

[12] T. BAQIR, Iraq Supplement 1944, 6.

[13] Publikation: A. R. GEORGE: *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*. Bethesda, MD 1992 (Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 17), Nr. 76.

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The Girl and Seven Calves

Observations on the Language of a North-Yemenite Fairytale

By Ori Shachmon, Jerusalem

Summary: This essay analyzes a fairytale which was told orally by a Jewish narrator from North Yemen. The dramatic scenes of the story involve an adorable young girl, a heartless stepmother, a ghoul, and seven lost brothers who go through various transformations and magic manifestations. These, as well as many other elements of the plot, match universal motifs familiar from folk tales throughout the world. At the same time, the story echoes the realia of life in the villages of North Yemen and stands out as a local Yemenite ecotype. Beside the full annotated text, the article offers a synopsis and elaborates on the specific Yemenite frame of reference.

The language of the narrative demonstrates the native, daily speech of the province of Ṣaʿdah. The article elaborates on several linguistic features which occur in the text, discusses them within the context of the annotated text, and also demonstrates them by comparable examples from a large corpus of other Yemenite recordings.

The fairytale published here was told by a Jewish immigrant from Yemen to Israel. The dramatic scenes contain elements which are familiar from folk tales throughout the world, yet at the same time, they echo the realia of life in the villages of North Yemen, so that the story stands out as a local Yemenite ecotype. In the sections below I present a synopsis of the story and elaborate on the specific Yemenite frame of reference.

The language of the narrative demonstrates very well the native, daily speech of the province of Ṣaʿdah in the North of Yemen, with no specific traits which may imply the Jewish identity of its teller. Further in this article I discuss the language of the text and elaborate on a few linguistic features which occur in it, namely, pausal alternation of final weak verbs, gender-neutral forms, and processes of grammaticalization. These peculiarities are illustrated in their natural context, viz. within the full annotated text, and then also by comparable examples from my corpus of North Yemenite recordings. Another prominent feature which comes to light in this text is the agglutinated verbal form in the perfect paradigm, e. g. *rētant* "you m.sg. saw" (paragraph 19 of the text below). This unique feature has been discussed separately in Shachmon 2015.

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The recording and the informant

I recorded this text in 1998 in the small town of Bnei ʿAyish in central Israel. The speaker is a Yemenite Jew who immigrated to Israel in the early 1960's. She was born around 1930 in Wādi Amlaḥ, in the North-eastern area of the Province of Ṣaʿdah. The recording took place in the informant's living room, where I arrived somewhat coincidentally, while wandering through the streets of the neighborhood, which at the time was inhabited by recent and old immigrants from Yemen. I asked her whether she knew someone who could tell me stories about life in Yemen, and she immediately invited me in, gathered a few of her grandchildren, and told the story as if she was just awaiting this opportunity. As in comparable cases (GAMLIELI 1978, p. 21; ALEXANDER 1993, p. 126), the informant vehemently argued that her story was fully and literally true. She spoke fluently for about half an hour, interrupted only by occasional exclamations of approval from her appreciative audience. The story was told with great skill, the informant being completely fluent in the dialect which she was still using extensively, indeed nearly exclusively, among friends and family.

Synopsis

The following synopsis may serve for a better orientation with the citations adduced in the linguistic analysis below. As any good story, this narrative consists of an exposition, followed by the complication and climax, and finally—the resolution. These may be summarized as follows:

Exposition:

- The seven brothers (§§ 1–10): A widower with seven sons brings a stepmother for his orphans. The new wife demands that the father choose between her and his children, and after much hesitation he decides in her favour and sends the boys away.
- The daughter (§§ 11–21): The wife gives birth to a girl, who later on comes to learn of her lost brothers and sets out in search of them. She discovers a cave in which they were staying, enters it when they are away and prepares their meal, one day after the other. Then, striving to discover their mysterious benefactor, the boys hide and watch all night long, but it is only the youngest brother who manages to stay awake and see their sister.
- The ghoul (§§ 22–30): After this reunion the girl remains to live with her brothers, taking care of all their needs. However, one day her fire runs

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out and so she sets out to fetch some. She meets a ghoul, who is willing to give her some fire in a donkey's ear. Some time afterwards the ghoul comes to her demanding the ear back. Having thrown the rotten ear away she is forced to agree to let him suck blood from her fingertip in return. Gradually, she becomes feeble and ill, whereupon the brothers set up an ambush and kill the ghoul.

Complication and climax:
- The ghoul's wife (§§31–34): A woman, who turns out to be the dead ghoul's wife, comes to the girl and befriends her. The two agree to share equally whatever food they find. Then, when the girl inadvertently eats a whole lentil grain by herself, the raging woman turns the seven brothers into calves, while she herself is transformed into a kite and flies away.
- The judge (§§35–40): The maiden takes the seven calves and goes to meet the local judge. The latter, who is instantly captivated by her beauty, marries her. Yet on the wedding night the ghoul's wife arrives, turns the girl into a kite while she herself appears as the bride. The false bride pretends to be very ill, claiming that the only way to cure her is to bring her the youngest calf's liver.

Resolution:
- The sign (§§41–45): Willing to do anything for his beloved bride, the judge decides to slaughter the youngest calf. Yet, as he raises the knife, the maiden, in the form of a kite, grabs his neck and makes him drop the knife. The judge realizes the truth and forces the ghoul's wife to return everything to its previous state. He then puts a glass of water at the window, and the water spills as an ultimate sign of the ghoul's surrender.

The narrative as a Yemenite ecotype

The text under discussion echoes many universal motifs and ideas. In fact, already while listening to the story I was left wondering, how these elements could have possibly reached the ears of an illiterate woman, who until her immigration to Israel had never left her remote native village in North Yemen. What we have here is a fairytale dealing with a young girl looking for her lost seven brothers. Surrounding her are various figures, many of whom go through transformations, incarnating themselves and others as animals. In addition, we hear of a cruel stepmother, and of an influential and powerful man who falls in love with the adorable protagonist and offers to marry her. Finally, just before protagonist's execution, a magic manifestation proves her innocence. Clearly, many of these elements are known from

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folk tales throughout the world, and match the universal motifs of AARNE-THOMPSON type 451, viz. "the Maiden who Seeks her Brothers".[1]

Despite the typical conventional themes and universal features, the content of the narrative has obviously been altered—through its length and breadth—to fit the Yemenite locale (DUNDES 1965, p. 220). The narrative echoes the realia of life in the villages of North Yemen and takes place in that cultural environment: the protagonist walks the mountain roads, meets local ghouls, marries a local judge, cooks local dishes and suffers from the severe poverty, distress and hunger which are characteristic of that poor rural area. The background settings, viz. the places, personal names, elements of nature, costumes, official positions and other realia, are all in all rural Yemenite. Accordingly, this narrative may be regarded as the North Yemenite ecotype (SYDOW 1948) of universal tales of the type AT-451. Here it should also be mentioned that several Jewish versions of this tale were brought to Israel with immigrants from a wide range of homelands, and have been documented by "The Israel Folktale Archives" (available on the web). Despite the processes of immigration and the differences in the lifestyle of the various narrators, the basic international classification still applies to all of these Jewish versions (BEN-CNAAN/SHENHAR 1992, p. 313). Just like the story discussed here, other versions also demonstrate the process of ecotypification and the efforts to "localize" the narrative.

Needless to say, the localization and acculturation of the tale is further accomplished by using the local dialect, the most evident imprint of an ethnic group, which shapes the story in its context (ALEXANDER 1993, p. 143).

Linguistic features in the text

The following linguistic analysis is based upon intensive field-work which I conducted in 1996–2006 in three absorption centres in Israel, which at the time were inhabited by groups of recent Yemenite immigrants. I also made dozens of interviews with immigrants from the same villages, who had arrived in Israel in the 1950's and 1960's, most of them having settled in the neighbourhoods around the absorption centres or in communal *moshavim* in the close vicinity. The study involved recordings of speech samples from

[1] A most striking parallel to the story discussed here is a Palestinian folktale entitled حكاية الأولاد السبعة الذين سحروا إلى عجول—"the story of seven boys who were bewitched into calves", published in the anthology كان يا ما كان—"Once upon a Time" (BARGHUTHI 1997, pp. 53–59). JASTROW 1995 gives the story of "Das Mädchen mit den sieben Brüdern", as recorded from a speaker from the Diyarbakir Province in Turkey. This version also shares many elements with the one published here.

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immigrants originating in some twenty different localities in the Province of Ṣaʿdah, between Barāṭ alʿinān and Wādi Amlaḥ in the east, Jabal Rāziḥ in the west, as well as villages in the area of Najrān, on the Saudi side of the border (see maps 1 and 2 in Behnstedt 1987). Since all of my informants are Jews now living in Israel, it should be stated that—as a general statement—Yemenite Jews used Arabic dialects which are typologically similar to the local Muslim vernaculars. Linguistic differences between Jews and Muslims of the same area existed, but they were less evident in the villages and rural districts than in the cities. Life in the villages was characterized by relatively more integration and co-operation between the Jews and their neighbours, and the language reflected this close coexistence.

Among the three types of Arabic which are spoken in the Northern Province (Behnstedt 1987), the dialects of the Jews belong to that of the city, or the Ṣaʿdah-type. This applies to the language of the text below as well. Significantly, and in marked contra-distinction to other texts which I recorded from Jewish immigrants (cf., e. g., Shachmon 2014), this specific text bears no formal marks which may imply the Jewish identity of its teller. As far as I can tell, a Muslim speaker from the same village would have probably told this story using the same language. The Arabic dialect of this narrator may therefore be taken to demonstrate the local daily speech of Wādi Amlaḥ. There are a few Hebrew elements which occur in this text, but these were with all certainty borrowed from modern Israeli Hebrew (hereafter IHb) after the immigration to Israel, and do not belong to the genuine dialect which was spoken back in Yemen.

In the following I wish to highlight several linguistic features which stand out well in this text, and which illuminate aspects of verb morphology in the dialects discussed. Examples are provided from the full text below, and then also from other recordings in my corpus. In a few cases I use examples from texts prepared by Rabbi Dr. Aharon Ben-David—himself a native of Wādi Amlaḥ—who uses his own genuine transcription method in vocalized Hebrew script.[2]

[2] This is another opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to Rabbi Ben-David, who allowed me to access his rare collection of audio and video tapes, which helped in verifying unclear issues in my materials. In Shachmon 2017 I provide a detailed survey of some of Ben-David's recent works, which have contributed greatly to the documentation of the Jewish varieties of North-Yemenite Arabic.

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1. Pausal alternation of final weak verbs

As the governor falls in love with the girl he offers to marry her, saying: *wuddiš tijē maratī?*—"would you f. like to become my wife?" A few sentences further an alternative offer is mentioned, yet this time the informant hesitates and pauses after the verb, which now appears as *wuddiš tijay…?*—"Would you like to become …?" The text also demonstrates the alternation of *taʿālē~taʿālay#* "come on! (f.sg.)" (§ 14 and 31). Similarly, in paragraph 20 the narrator uses the form *ḍawaw*—"they returned", while in other contexts *ḍawō* is used. The replacement of *tijē* by *tijay* and of *ḍawō* by *ḍawaw* demonstrates well the systematic alternation between context and pausal forms in the dialect discussed, viz. *ē~ay#* and *ō~aw#*.

Yemenite dialects exhibit a series of formal markers of pause, many of which are discussed in the research literature (ROSSI 1939, p. 295; DIEM 1973, p. 24; JASTROW 1984, p. 294; WATSON 1993, p. 10; WATSON 2007, p. 177ff.). Devoicing of *b, j, d* and *g*; elision of final *h*; glottalisation of final *ā* ; and stress shifts (for the latter see NAÏM-SANBAR 1994; SHACHMON 2007, pp. 77–91) are only a few of the varied pausal phenomena which characterize Yemeni Arabic in general and the dialects of the Northern Province specifically. Also characteristic of this area are final palatalization and labialization in pre-pause position, with examples like *ismī~ismiy#* ("my name") or *ismaʿū~ismaʿuw#* ("listen!"). Note, however, that the alternation of *ē~ay#* and *ō~aw#* discussed here cannot be described as mere palatalization or labialization, which would yield *ey* or *ow* respectively, as indeed documented in Ṣanʿāni Arabic (ROSSI 1939, p. 35; WATSON 1996, p. 55) and as I hear from Jews originating in other areas of Yemen. The pausal alternants under discussion, namely *ay* and *aw*, are actually identical to the Old Arabic diphthongs *ay* and *aw,* and their occurrence in final position may be seen either as a direct preservation of their old counterparts, under specific circumstances, or—as their restoration.[3] Following are two other examples from my corpus, which contain comparable context and pausal forms (the first taken from a conversation between two speakers of the same village):

> *A: yōm giribt minhim w-him lagōnī yištaw … B: yištō ʾēš? A: yištō yigitlūnī!* "A: When I approached them, they saw me and wanted to … B: What did they want? A: They wanted to kill me!".

> *gāl: jīrānak fi lḥabs. gāl: ēš sawwaw? gāl: mā sawwō šī. gāl: him gid sawwō šī willā šī willā šīʔ gāl: lā.* "He said [to our Muslim protector]: Your protégés are

[3] A comparable alternation was documented in Eastern North-Yemen (BEHNSTEDT 2001, p. 29), as well as in the dialect of the Duwāsīr, who hail from the area of Najrān (JOHNSTONE 1961, p. 260).

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in prison. He said: What have they done? The other one said: They have not done anything. He said: Have they done anything or this or that? He said: No."

The occurrence of such diphthongs is highly noticeable in the speech of the immigrants from the North, since, different from many other dialects in Yemen, in the Northern province the old diphthongs are regularly subject to monophthongization. Thus, the equivalents of Ṣanʿāni *bayt* ("house"), *yawm* ("day"), *sawwayt* ("I did") and *sawwaw* ("they did") yield *bēt*, *yōm*, *sawwēt* and *sawwō* respectively, in all of their context occurrences in Northern speech. It is only in pre-pause that diphthongs occur in the North, exhibiting a realization which is identical to the regular context forms in, e.g., Ṣanʿānī Arabic.

2. Gender-neutral forms

Longing to discover the truth about her brothers, the maiden seeks the help of an old woman, who turns out to be very helpful, declaring: *mʿiš axwah … ilā wuddš ʿaráwwīš iyyāhum*, *anā dārī wēnhim*—"you *do* have brothers … if you want me to show them to you, I know where they are" (§12). Later in the text, the form *dārī* recurs when the storyteller herself says: *mānā dārī wēš sáwwā*—"I don't know what he did" (§21). In both cases, the speaker is a woman, but still uses the masculine participle *dārī* instead of the feminine *dāriyah*.[4] In other cases masculine and feminine forms seem to alternate freely:

saʾalnī imᴵᴴᵇ anā ʿārif Yaʿbiṣ w-ʿārfah mōri Dāwid "He asked whether I knew Yaʿbiṣ and [viz. the female storyteller] knew mōri Dāwid".

The gender-neutralized form is very often a *participle* of the pattern *fāʿil*. Note, that while the epicene *fāʿil* is common in third weak roots (as *dry* in the example above), where the bisyllabic *fāʿi(l)* pattern is retained, the feminine form is generally retained with geminate verbs, where *fāʿil* yields *fāll*, and therefor: *anā ḥāllah fi Sā́gēn* "I (f.) live in Sā́gēn" (and not: *anā ḥāll*).

The use of masculine participles when referring to feminine subjects is more frequent in the simple verbal stem, but occurs in the derived stems as well. Other masculine adjectives may also be used with regard to women. Consider the following examples, recorded from speakers from Ḥaydān, Sā́gēn and Ġarīr:

[4] To be sure, forms of third weak roots like *jāy* ("coming m.sg.", example from Levantine Arabic) for *jāye*/*jāyi* (f.sg.) are known in other Arabic dialects and may be explained as a phonetic effect. However, since the final *-h* of the feminine ending is audible in the dialects discussed, and since *dāriyah* is frequently used in other contexts, it is clear that *dārī* is a masculine form and not a phonetic variant of the feminine one.

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albint sagaṭat min almizbā w-hī mxaṭṭī "The girl fell from the baby-carrier while she [viz. her mother] was walking".

wēn-mā sār liḥgat baʿdih, kān tigūl innhā mrayyiʿlih titzawwaj bih "Wherever he went she followed him, saying that she was waiting for him in order to marry him".

hī mfattiš ʿala abūhā "She is looking for her father".

wāḥid kān mʿih ṯalāṯ nisā ō arbaʿ … innhim—ḥasbān—fī ʿAgīr "There was a man who had three wives, maybe four. I [viz., the female speaker] believe that they are now in Qiryat ʿEqron".

Masculine forms relating to women are more regular in the speech of women describing their own deeds. A comparable use of feminine instead of masculine forms is also typical of certain—mainly rural—Palestinian dialects, where it is used by feminine speakers when referring to themselves[5]. However, in North Yemen the gender-neutral forms are used by women and men alike, and—as indicated by *mantī sāyir* "you don't go" or *w-lā hī jāzim* "nor does she dare"—they may refer to feminine subjects in the 2nd and 3rd person as well.

The motivation for using masculine forms is more easy to follow in adjectives applicable to women exclusively, as *ḥāmil* ("pregnant"), *hāʾiḍ* ("menstruating") and *ṭālig* ("divorced"), which are used in the masculine in classical and modern literary Arabic as well. To these we may add *fātiš* ("unveiled") which was documented in the same area (BEHNSTEDT 1987, p. 61). But the wide variety of forms, which are morphologically masculine but relate to feminine subjects, are in all probability part of a more general trend.

Morphologically, the reduction of gender distinction in participles may be related to the fact that no gender distinction exists in the 1st person in the perfect and in the imperfect, where one pattern, viz. *faʿalt* or *afʿal* respectively, denote both the m.sg and the f.sg. By analogy, this lack of distinction in the verbal paradigm may have been generalized to the participles as well, and hence: *anā faʿalt, anā afʿal* and *anā fāʿil*—all refer to the 1st person m.+f. Then, as far as one can tell, the neutralization of gender distinction in the 1st person, viz. *anā fāʿilah* > *anā fāʿil* has paved the way for similar neutralization in the 2nd and 3rd person, with *antī/hī fāʿilah* > *antī/hī fāʿil*, although the perfect and imperfect paradigms maintain clear distinction be-

[5] This trait has been described in DBAYYAT/ROSENHOUSE 2006 (pp. 169ff.) as a "gender switch" which is part of "recent patterns of urbanization". Yet, the occurrence of similar patterns in remote areas in South Arabia cannot be related to the influence of modernization and implies that such shift are probably triggered by inner-dialectal effects.

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tween the feminine and the masculine, with *faʿaltī/faʿalat ≠ faʿal* and *tifʿalī/tifʿal ≠ yifʿal*.[6]

Similar processes have been documented in other Yemenite dialects (Landberg 1909, p. 723; Behnstedt 1985, p. 27), as well as in the Dōsiri dialect (Johnstone 1964, p. 99). Behnstedt (1987, pp. 61–62) reconstructs a gradual process of gender reduction, the stages of which may still be attested in various Yemenite areas today: while some dialects exhibit neutralization in the pattern *fāʿil* only, in others all participles have one neutral form for the masculine and feminine alike. In some dialects in this area the merger of gender in favour of the masculine was generalized to all adjectives as well.

My documentation with Jews originating in the northern province shows that while gender-neutral participles and adjectives occur in speech, they have by no means replaced the old feminine forms. Intriguingly, whenever I returned to an informant to inquire specifically about a gender-neutralized form which he or she had intuitively used in spontaneous speech, the informant tended to reject the use of the masculine and to "correct" me with a feminine form. This may be taken to show that the gender distinction is not actually lost in the speakers' minds, but merely thinned out in daily use.

3. Grammaticalization of the verb "to come"

The story opens with *jāw buh wāḥid atzawwaj*— "It so happened that there was someone who got married". The idiom *jāw* contains the verb *jā*, which is fully fossilized in this construction and may no longer be inflected for gender and number, followed by the conjunction *w-*. Each of these two elements functions separately in the dialect and bears its own meaning, yet in this construction each of them loses its lexical source meaning (Rubin 2005, pp. 2, 4). Evidently, native speakers of this dialect conceive the two elements as one: when Aharon Ben-David transcribes his native dialect with Hebrew letters, he consistently writes גאו for *jāw*, i. e. as one word (Shachmon 2017, pp. 129–130). The two elements now function as one unit denoting "it so happened that…" or "it turned out that…", referring to a continuous state in the past. Comparably, the form *jō* was documented in the area of Jabal Rāziḥ, further west in the same province, where it denotes "permanent existence or habitude" (Watson et al. 2006, pp. 50ff.).

In the dialect discussed *jāw* is frequently used as a literary connecting device, often opening a story or an anecdote, bringing a sense of coincidence or chance into the narrative. Consider the following examples, recorded from different immigrants from Sāgēn, Ḥaydān, Āl-Šalīl, Amlaḥ and Baraṭ:

[6] Note, however, that the dialects under discussion have long ago lost the distinction in the 2.pl. and 3.pl. verbal and pronominal forms.

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jāw bih wāḥid jā ʿindanā, w-hū yiḥibb yiġannī "It so happened that someone came to us, and he liked to sing".

jāw-anā al'āxir fi almutōr "It so happened that I was on the back of the motorcycle (i.e. I rode pillion)".

ṭaraḥūnā fī ṣrīf^{IHb} *… w-lā jāw bih makān wēn nurgud* "They put us in a shack … and it turned out that there was no place where we could lie down".

aṭlaʿ miṭlḥīn jāw-anáʾ ʾibnih willā šḳal "I was going up [to the judge's chambers] as if I happened to be his son, or [even] better".

wirjaʿ ibnih, jāw yištɬ́ yijzaʿ alxaṭṭ "And then his son, it turned out that he wanted to cross the road".

wirjaʿ ratih maratih w-jihālih, jāw maratih tibzī alwald alxāmis, lā—ḥiblā b-alwald alxāmis "And then his wife and children saw him. It so happened that his wife was nursing the fifth child, no—she was pregnant with the fifth child".

The cliticization of *jā+w* allows irregular functioning of the grammaticalized elements (RUBIN 2005, p. 4), so that the construction may now take various pronominal suffixes, as exemplified in the forms *jāwih* and *jāwhā* in the following examples:

Saʿīd jāwih ʿind axwālih … jāwih mitxassī ʿindhim "Saʿīd, he happened to be at his uncles' [house] … he happened to be hiding at their [house]".

hū yisūg w-mā jāwih dārī yisūg "He was driving [the motorcycle], and it turned out that he did not know how to drive".

uxtī alkabīrah jāwhā fī addēmah "My older sister, she happened to be in the [outdoor] kitchen".

úxtī jāw-aḥnā mzawwijīnhā b-Saʿīd "My sister, it so happened that we had married her to Saʿīd".

jāwhim bēn yinaggō ḥabb (§32) "They happened to be picking the grains".

In the 1.pl. *jāw* does not take the suffixed pronoun but the independent one, viz. *jāw-aḥnā*. Interestingly, the same happens in this dialect with other grammaticalized verbs as *ʿād* ("to re-do") and *kān* ("to be"), as well as with the particle *inn* ("that"), as demonstrated in the table below. It may be seen that in the case of the 1.sg., *jāw* and *ʿād* take the independent pronoun, while *kān* and *inn* take the suffixed one:[7]

[7] Since the 3.m.pl. suffixed and independent pronouns are indistinguishable, i.e. both *him*, it cannot be decided which of them is attached to the grammaticalized forms.

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	jāw	*ʿād*	*kān*	*inn*
+ 1.sg.	*jāw-anā*	*ʿād-anā*	*kānī*	*innī*
+ 3.m.sg.	*jāwih*	*ʿādih*	*kānih*	*innih*
+ 3.f.sg.	*jāwhā*	*ʿādhā*	*kānhā*	*innhā*
+ 3.pl.	*jāwhim*	*ʿādhim*	*kānhim*	*innhim*
+ 1.pl.	*jāw-aḥnā*	*ʿād-aḥnā*	*kān-aḥnā*	*inn-aḥnā*

The imperfect *yijī* may also be followed by the conjunction *w-*, resulting in another fossilized construction, viz. *yijīw*. This is actually the only occurrence of the sequence *īw* in the dialect discussed. Here as well, Ben-David transcribes the composite *yijīw* as one unit, namely יְגִיו (for examples see Ben-David 1999, p. 60). Thus, when the stepmother in our fairytale uses her womanly charms on her husband, it is said that *yijīw-hī malkat hayyōfi*^{IHb}—"it turne out that she was [as beautiful as] a beauty queen" (§ 5), using the independent 3.f.sg. pronoun. Following are a few more examples for *yijīw*. Note, that following a vocalic Auslaut the first vowel of *yijīw* is often dropped:

> *iṭlaʿ yā wald, lā yjīw-hū ysawwí b-uxtak šī* "Go up, son [and check on her], so the it will not turn out that he does something to your sister".
>
> *axūy bā-yjīw-hū ibin ṭalāt snīn w-nuṣṣ* "My brother happened to be [at the age of] three and a half years".
>
> *gāl: lā txāf. ibnak gāl gid šallih alḥākim w-bā-yjīw-hū bā-yraggidih ʿindih* "He said: Don't be afraid. Your son, he said, the governor has taken him [under his wing] and the situation is such that he lets him sleep at his place".

The combination of *bā+yijī* yields *bā-yjī~bājī*, which is often used in the context of counting in the sense of "approximately, about", e.g. *gid-hū bājī hū ibn xámistaʿáš síttaʿáš* "he was about fifteen or sixteen years old"; *gaʿatt bājī arbaʿ ašhur* "I remained for about four months". Similar usages were documented in other Yemeni dialects (Landberg 1920–1942, p. 328; Piamenta 1990, p. 80), as well as outside the Arabian Peninsula (Bauer 1957, p. 319; Berggren 1844, p. 363)[8].

[8] For a similar meaning of יגי in mediaeval Judeo-Arabic see Blau 1995, pp. 187–188.

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The text: The Girl and Seven Calves[9]

1. *jāw bih wāḥid atzawwaj, gaʿadū gaʿdah w-wulíd lhím jahāl. wulíd lhím áwwal wald w-ṯāni wald w-ṯāliṯ wald w-rābiʿ wald w-xāmis wald w-sādis wald w-sābiʿ wald. w-abūhim w-ummhim ykabbrūhum: yiddōlhim yišrabū w-yīklūhim, ilā-mā kubrū aljahāl. gidhim … jahāl arbaʿtaʿaš, jahāl xamistaʿaš, aṣṣġáyyirī minhim, axīʰʰ[10] ṣġayyirī wlē[10] ibn xams sitt snīn.*
   It so happened that there was someone who got married, some time passed and they had children. A first child was born, then a second child, then a third child, and a fifth and sixth and a seventh. Their father and mother raise them: give them to drink, feed them, until the children grew up. They were—one was fourteen years old, one was fifteen, the youngest, the youngest among them was perhaps five or six years old.

2. *ummhim mātat. ummhim mātat w-abūhum gaʿad. yisīr yiṭḥan ʿalēhim w-yiddī ḥaṭab w-yiddí mā w-yixbiz w-yisawwi alkull fi lbēt. w-yisábbin lihím[11], ysawwī lhim dī him fi ḥājatih. yišgā ʿalēhim. kubrū aljahāl. gāl wāḥid min aljahāl: yā-bā, aští tiḍawwīlī, titzawwaj. gāl: yā waladī. ilā ḍawwēt marah -alxālah fālah[12]. gālū: lấ ṭhinn minnanā itzawwaj lajilhā tínfaʿak w-tínfaʿnā.*
   Their mother died. Their mother died and their father remained. He used to go grinding for them, to bring wood and bring water and bake bread and do everything in the house. He would do their laundry and do for them whatever they needed. He worked to support them. The children grew up. One of the children said: Father, I want you to get me [a mother], [I want] that you get married. He said: My child, if I bring a wife—[as the saying goes] "a stepmother is a misfortune". They said: If you care about us, get married so that she will benefit you and benefit us.

[9] I thank Mrs. JUDITH LOEBENSTEIN WITZTUM for her assistance in preparing the English translation of the text.

[10] The form *wlē* is a presentative which has plausibly developed from *w+iḍā/ilā*. It is often followed by the particle *inn* (as exemplified in §§24, 26, 31 of this text), and is used to denote a sudden change or a surprising twist in the plot. Comparable usages were documented in the Dōsiri dialect (JOHNSTONE 1961, pp. 279–280; JOHNSTONE 1964, p. 102). However, in the speech of the Jewish immigrants to Israel *wlē* is also used to denote "maybe", parallel to Hebrew אולי *ulay*, as demonstrated here and in §8 below. It has been used by several informants from different villages, as in this example from Sāgēn: *wlē innak tisīr tiḍbaḥ ʿind abūhā w-yriddahā*—"maybe you can go and slaughter [a lamb] at her father's [house], so that he sends her back.

[11] The particle *l-* and its suffixes often result in monosyllabic forms, as *lī, lak, liš, lih,* which are attached to the preceding verb. In other cases, the insertion on an anaptyctic vowel yields bi-syllabic forms, as *lahā, lanā, lakum, lihim,* which appear as independent stress units.

[12] *fālah* is used in Yemeni Arabic to denote "O, alas!" (PIAMENTA 1991, p. 364). In the present context, it is used as an echo-word of *xālah*, and creates a sarcastic echo-complex (TALMON 2001, p. 219) meaning "a stepmother is a misfotune".

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3. *gaʿad gaʿdah zādū ʿalēh jahālih yisīr yitzawwaj. gām … sār dawwar marah w-šāf marah: tḥīfah, yōfi[1Hb], naḍīfah. gāmat … ḍawwāhā w-alkull mistarīḥīn. awwal šahr w-him ḥalā kull wāḥid maʿ aṯṯānī. w-tāni šahr gid hī tšill rāshā ʿala ljahāl w-ʿala abūhum.*
He remained for a while, then his children persisted for him to get married. He got up … went and looked for a wife, and he saw a woman: good-looking, beautiful, clean. Then she … he brought her and everyone was happy. During the first month, they got along well with one another. Yet in the second month she was already looking down on the children and on their father.

4. *yōm wāḥid gālat: ismaʿ yā rajjāl, ō tixtāranī ō tixtār jahālak. ēn-imma wuddak. gāl: antū tšūfū yā jahālī, gult lakum inn alxālah fālah? gālu: lā tuṭliʿ fi galbak. kol yom[1Hb] w-hī tsawwīlhim … luġbat gālat fi ṭṭaḥīn, luġbat fi ssábūl, luġbat fi lxabīz, luġbat fi alkull.*
One day she said: Look mister, you have to choose—me or your children. Whatever you like. He said: You see, my children, haven't I told you that "a stepmother is a misfortune"? They said: Do not bother yourself about it. Every day she prepares for them … she said she was fed up with milling, fed up with grinding, fed up with baking, fed up with everything.

5. *gālat: ismaʿ, ō tšillani ō tšill jahālak. ō tixrij jahālak min albēt w-agʿud anā wiyyāk ō anā bā-asīr ṣalā ahlī w-ant tugʿud ant w-jahālak. gāl: sīrī. anā bāgʿud anā w-jahālī. sārat, aštarat ilhā́ adāh jadīdah, w-aštarat ilhá … kaxa[1Hb] yijī-w-hī malkat ha-yōfi[1Hb]. wuṣlat la-ʿindih. gālat: ismaʿ, wuddak bī ō b-jahālak? gāl: wuddi b-jahāli.*
She said: Listen, you either take me or take your children. Either you get your children out of the house and I stay with you, or I shall go to my family and you stay with your children. He said: Go, I shall stay with my children. She went, bought herself new clothes, she bought herself … like that, it turned out that she was [as beautiful as] a beauty queen. She came to him and said: Listen, do you want me or your children? He said: I want my children.

6. *sārat riʿat la-ʿind ahlhā, gaʿadat gaʿdah w-jat. aštárat ilhā́ adāh w-aštárat ilhá kull ʿūnah hī bēn-tijī ṣalāh tilbas libs ṭānī, gālat: ēš wuddak? wuddak bī ō b-jahālak? gāl: wuddī b-jahālī. ilā yōm wāḥid zādat ʿalēh. atlabbasat w-atʿaṭṭarat w-atsabbarat. gālat: ismaʿ, ixtār w-rabbī xayyarak, ō ṭallignī ō tiḥayyiz jahālak, lā ʿād ašūfhum. gāl: ibširī, anā bā šill jahālī w-antī gʿudī fi lbēt.*
She went back to her family, remained for a while and then came. She bought herself new clothes and bought herself … each time she came to him wearing a different outfit. She said: What do you want? Do you want

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me or your children? He said: I want my children. Until one day she managed to subdue him. She got dressed up, put on perfume, got all fancy, and said: Listen, choose and may God guide you in your choice, either divorce me, or send your children away so that I will never see them again. He said: Trust me, I will take my children and you stay at home.

7. *sawwālhim rašād fi lmásabb, kull wāḥid mʿih másabb w-arrašād ḥaggih fīh. gāl: yalḷa yā jahālī, bā-nisraḥ nidawwir lanā rizg. gālū: ṣalēn yā-bah? gāl: anā bā-asīr anā wiyyākum. sārū, wuṣilū fi makān, gāl: ʿādakum tšūfū min albilād ḥaggatnā šī yā jahālī? gālū: ʿād aḥnā nšūf alʿēṣ[1Hb] alkabīr ḍāk, midri wēš ismih. gāl: bsēder[1Hb], tov[1Hb]. gāl: nāhī.*
He put provisions for them in a leather bag, each had a leather bag with his provisions in it. He said: Come on my children, let us go out and look for a living. They said: Where to, father? He said: I am coming with you. They went and came to a place, he said: Can you still see anything of our land, my children? They said: We can still see that big tree, I don't know what it is called. He said: Fine, ok. He said: Ok.

8. *gamas hū wiyyāhim ʿod[1Hb], zall b-him wlē ʿod[1Hb] ṯalāṯ rahāwā. gāl: ʿādakum tšūfū min bilādanā šī? gālū: lā. gāl: hā nāhī, antū irwaʿū w-anā bā-asīr. gālu: nāhī, aḥnā irwaʿū. hā alwald asṣġayyirī hū ḥāḍig. gamasū miṯil min hinā ila taww bēt Sábtān[13] w-him yitšawwaḥū warāhim, yitšawwaḥū yitšawwaḥū. gālat addinyā lā šuft walā naḍart. ābah! ābah! ābah! mā ʿāb bih[14] ḥad.*
He remained with them, went with them another—perhaps—three hills. He said: Can you still see anything from our land? They said: No. He said: Ok, you pay attention and I will go. They said: Ok, we will pay attention. Now, the youngest child was smart. They sat [in a distance] just like from here to the house of Sabtān, looking back, looking, looking, as if the earth had swallowed him up.[15] [They called:] Father! Father! Father! No one was there anymore.

9. *gāl al-wald aṣ-ṣġayyirī: hā smaʿū, abūy jā yiḍabbīʿ-banā. yinḍáḥ b-him lil-ḍibāʿ tākulhim. ḥīn hīm dārīn. wirjaʿ sār wuṣil ʿind maratih, gaʿad hū wiyyāhā w-yistarīḥū. w-aljahāl sārū, wúṣilu ila jabál, jabal kabīr w-fīh jarf.*
The young child said: Listen, my father meant to leave us for the hyenas. To throw them to be eaten by the hyenas. They knew already. And he went and came to his wife, remained with her and they were happy. The children went, got to a mountain, a big mountain with a cave in it.

[13] Sabtān in one of the informant's neighbours, who lives just a few houses away from where we sat.

[14] Assimilation of *ʿād+bih* to *ʿāb bih*.

[15] Literally: the world said 'I have neither seen nor noticed'.

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10. *gāl alwald alkabīr, gāl: há_sma^{ʿ}ū yá_xwatī, aḥnā bā-nḥill fí-ḍā ljarf. bā-nkūn nsīr ndawwír laná ṣēd w-nākul w-ndawwír lanā mā. bā-nitgasssam: wāḥid yisīr yiddī mā w-wāḥid yisīr yiddī ḥaṭab w-wāḥid yisīr yiddī … ilā jā-lanā šī min almadīnah, w-wāḥid yisīr yitṣayyad. gālū: bsēder^{IHb}. sār immā huwwā kull wāḥid sār ^{ʿ}alā šaġlih. bada^{ʿ}u[16]— kull yōm yiddō ḥājāthim: alḥaṭab w-almā w-aṣṣēd w-ḍī fi ḥājatih. yākulū w-yíšrabū w-yúrgudū fi ljarf.*
Said the oldest child, he said: Listen my brothers, we will live in this cave. We will go and look for something for us to hunt and will eat, and we will look for water for us. We will split up: one will go and get water, one will go and fetch wood, one will go to get … if we [need to] get anything from the city, one will go and hunt. They said: Ok. He went whenever he went, each went to his work. They began—every day they bring their things: the wood and the water and the game and whatever they need. They ate and drank and slept in the cave.

11. *ga^{ʿ}adū ga^{ʿ}dah, maratih ḥiblat, jālhā bint, ḥiblat w-wuldat bint. w-al-bint kubrat w-bēn tinšid: mā ma^{ʿ}hā axwah? bēn yugūlu: lā, mā m^{ʿ}iš ḥad axwah, mā billā_ntī. w-bēn tinšid ^{ʿ}ind al…jīrān ḥagghā w-alguṭarā: m^{ʿ}i ḥad axwah? bēn yugūlu: ma_ḫnā dārīn m^{ʿ}iš ḥad ō mā m^{ʿ}iš ḥad. kubrat albint gid hī bint ṭamanta^{ʿ}aš.*
They remained for a while, his wife got pregnant, she had a daughter, she got pregnant and bore a girl. And the daughter grew up and began inquiring: doesn't she have brothers? They would say to her: No, you have no brothers, there is no one but you. And she would inquire from her neighbors and from acquaintances: Do I have any brothers? They would say: We don't know if you have any one or if you don't. And the girl grew up, she was already eighteen years old.

12. *sārat ṣalā wāḥdah ^{ʿ}ajūz. gālat: yummā ^{ʿ}ajūz. gālat: hā. gālat: gulīli m^{ʿ}ī ḥad axwah? gālat: m^{ʿ}iš axwah. gālat: wēnhim? gālat: ilā wuddš_arawwīš[17] iyyāhum—anā dārī wēnhim. gālat: wēš asawwī ḍalḥīn? gālat: isma^{ʿ}ī, falā kūn ṭaḥantī xallē min kull wajhah galīl. w-kūn hātēhā ^{ʿ}indī w-anā bā_laflifliš ilā-mā yjīliš ḍī yjī l-axwatiš l-šahr zamān xubz. gālat: nāhī.*
She went to an old woman. She said: Old mother. She said: Yes. She said: Tell me, do I have any brothers? She said: You *do* have brothers. She said: Where are they? She said: If you want me to show them to you—I know

[16] A shift of *>^{ʿ}* is more typical of the Yemenite Tihāma or coastal plain. In the dialect studied it was only detected in a few words, one of them is *OA bada'a > bada^{ʿ}* ("begin"), known also in other areas of Yemen (Piamenta 1990, p. 22). A comparable and frequent example is OA *al'ān > al^{ʿ}ān* ("now").

[17] Pre-vocalic syncope: *wuddiš > wuddš_arawwīš.*

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where they are. She said: What should I do now? She said: Listen, whenever you grind, leave a little aside from each portion, and then bring it to me and I will accumulate it for you until you have enough [to make] bread for a month for your brothers. She said: Ok.

13. *in ṭaḥanat xallat galīl ṭaḥīn w-šallatih ila ʿind alʿajūz twallīlhā, laʿind alʿajūz, laʿind alʿajūz ila-mā wallat ilhá ḏī bā-yūgir jamal. w-ṣāfi w-ḥawār w-gíšir w-ḏī hī fi ḥājatih, w-sukkar w-milḥ, w-kull ḏī hī fi ḥājatih l-albēt, l-alxubz w-algahwah.*
Whenever she ground she would leave a bit of flour aside and take it to the old woman to collect it for her, [took some flour] to the old woman, [took some flour] to the old woman, until she had gathered for her enough to load onto a camel. Also coffee, *ḥawār* and coffee husks, and whatever she would need, sugar and salt and everything she would need for the house, for the bread and coffee.

14. *gālat: yˌumma ʿajūz. gālat: hā. gālat: ismaʿī, gid-anā́ … ḏālḥīna la wuddiš nsīr bā́-nsīr. gālat: twakkalī ʿalayy yā bintī, taʿālay*[18]*, w-bā́-nsīr fi ḷlēl. avāl*[HIb] *anāaštī́ arjaʿ lā ḥad yidrī innī xarajt min bētī willā šī fi ḷlēl. yalḷā, ḥammalū aljamal w-al…kull ḏī maʿhā w-sārū fi ḷlēl ilā-mā wuṣilū tiḥt aljabal.*
She said: Old mother. She said: What? She said: Listen, I am now [ready], if you want to go we shall go. She said: Trust me, my daughter. Come, and we shall leave at night. But I want to come back without anyone knowing that I had left my house or that something had happened during the night. Come on, they loaded up their camel and everything they had and went in the night until they came to the foot of the mountain.

15. *gālat: há ṣmaʿī, axwatiš fí-ḏāk aljarf. anā xāṭriš anā gid bā ḏwi albēt lā ḥad yišūfanī, w-antī alḷāh mʿiš. iṭlaʿī́ ṣálā xwátiš. ṭilʿat wuṣilat la-ʿind axwathā, rugūd. sabbarat alʾōxel*[HBI] *sawwát lhím kull wāḥid dūḥ w-ṣabbatlih finjāl gahwah w-sabbarat lhím ḏī him fi ḥājatih w-ḥaṭṭatih ʿal-ašulḥan*[IHb]*, w-bēn tidxul bēn aljlūd ḥagg al…ṣēd. daxalat, gaʿadat hināk.*
She said: Listen, your brothers are in that cave. Good bye to you[19], I should go back home so that no one will see me, and you—may God be with you. Go up to your brothers. She went up and came to her brothers, they were sleeping. She prepared the food, made each one of them a bowl, poured him a cup of coffee and prepared them everything they needed and put it on the table, and went in among the [animal] skins, from the hunting. Went in and sat there.

[18] Pausal alternant of *taʿālē!*—come on! (f.sg.), compare §31 below.
[19] For *xāṭir* in the meaning of "good-bye to …" see PIAMENTA 1990, p. 132.

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16. *axwathā gāmū ṣṣubḥ yitšawwaḥū: mīn ḏī sabbár lanā ṣabūḥ? mīn ḏī sawwā́ lanā ōxel*^{IHb}*? gāl alwald aṣṣġayyirī, gāl: ismaʿū yā́ xwatī, taʿālaw*[20]*, bā-nākul w-nitwakkal ʿala ǰǰāh. akalū w-širbū w-atḥammadū l-aǰǰāh w-saraḥū, kull wāḥid saraḥ fi šaġlih.*
Her brothers woke up in the morning and looked around: Who is it who prepared us breakfast? Who is it who made food for us? The youngest child said: Listen, my brothers, come, let us eat and put our trust in Allah. They ate, drank and praised Allah, and then they went, each of them went to his work.

17. *w-hī mā billā xállathim yisraḥū gāmat wárrabati lhím ġadā́ xabazat w-sawwátilhim alkull, w-ḍawā́ kull wāḥid mʿih gurṣ w-finjāl, sabʿah adwāḥ w-sabʿah fanājil gahwah wárrabathālhím ila-mā wuṣilū. mā billā wuṣilū: mīn yísabbir lanā ōxel*^{IHb}*, yā́ xwah? mīn hū ḏī yisawwī́ lanā ōxēl*^{IHb}*? gāl alwald aṣṣġayyirī: bā-nākul w-nitwakkal ʿala ǰǰah.*
And she just let them leave and immediately got up, fixed lunch for them, baked bread and did everything for them. Each one of them came back and there was a loaf [of bread] for him and a cup. Seven loaves and seven cups of coffee, she fixed it for them by the time they came back. They came: Who makes food for us, brothers? Who is it who prepares food for us? The young child said: Let us eat and put our trust in Allah.

18. *ila-mā jā yōm wāḥid gāl alwald alkabīr, gāl: ismaʿū, yā́ xwatī, mā hū sābir nugʿud ʿala ḍā šša*ġ*il, maḥnā dārīn mīn yisawwī́ lanā́ ōxel*^{IHb}*, mīn yisabbír lanā́ lugmah, mīn yixbiz. gāl: anā bā gʿud alyōm áš*ū*f mīn hū ḏī bā-yijī. gaʿád gaʿád gaʿád gaʿád ilā-mā lġuḥ, hággad w-ragád. w-hī xarajat ġārah ġārah w-sawwát lhím kull wāḥid gurṣ w-gahwah w-ḥáṭṭathā w-rijʿat makānhā.*
Until one day came and the oldest child said: Listen, my brothers, it makes no sense for us to carry on like this without knowing who's preparing a meal for us, who's making bread, who's baking. He said: I will sit today to see who it is who comes. He sat and sat and sat and sat until he was fed up, became drowsy and fell asleep. And she came out, hurriedly, hurriedly, made each of them a loaf [of bread] and coffee, set it out and went back to her place.

19. *gām, gid alkull ḥāṣil. jō axwatih: rētant ḥad willā šuftant ḥad*[21]*? gāl: walā rēt ḥad. mā gumt illā šuft al'ōxel*^{IHb} *ʿal-(h)ašulḥan*^{IHb} *gid hū ḥāṣil.*

[20] Pausal alternant of *taʿālō!*—come on! (pl.).

[21] The forms *rētant* and *šuftant*, rather than standard Yemenite *rēt* and *šuft*, demonstrate a unique pattern of agglutination in the perfect paradigm, which is highly characteristic of the dialects under discussion. For a detailed description see Shachmon 2015.

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kull šī ḥāṣil. gāl: ismaʿ. alwald ḍi min tiḥtih, gāl: anā bāg̱ʿud alyōm, anā bā… agʿud áḥrus. gāl: ugʿud uḥrus, w-aḥnā bā-nisraḥ kull wāḥid yisīr ʿala šag̱ḷih.

He got up and everything was ready. His brothers came: Did you see anybody or notice anybody? He said: I saw no one. I just got up and already I saw the food ready on the table. Everything was ready. He said: Listen. The child who was below him [i. e. born after him] said: I will sit today, I will keep guard. He said: Keep guard and we will go out, each of us will go to his work.

20. *saraḥū, hū gaʿad gaʿad gaʿad ila-mā lg̱ub ragad. gāmat w-sawwat ṣabūḥ w-g̱adā w-gaḥwah w-alkull, w-him mā bih ḥad. w-hū rāgid, ḍawaw*[22]*. gālū axwatih: šuftant ḥad? gāl: mā rēt ḥad. ḍih ʿindakum alg̱adā ḥāṣil, gām yišūf. gāl alwald aṣṣg̱ayyirī: kullakum israḥú, xallō(ni) … anā bāḥrus alyōm. gālū: nāhī, gaʿad gaʿdah, sār w-atxassā warā ḥajar kabīr. gaʿad warāhā w-bēn-yitšawwaḥ.*

They went, and he sat and sat and sat until he was fed up and fell asleep. She got up and made breakfast, lunch, coffee and everything and they—there was no one there. While he was asleep they came back. His brothers said: Did you see anybody? He said: I saw no one. Here you have it, the meal is ready, he got up and saw. The young child said: You all go and leave [me here]—I will keep watch today. They said: Ok. He remained for a while, and went and hid behind a big rock. He sat behind watching.

21. *bēn-titšawwaḥ, kaḍā w-kaḍā mā šāfat ḥad. xarajat, yōm badaʿat tištī tʿjin w-tsabbir w-hū gibiḍhā gaf̣áz ʿalēhā min warāhā. gāl: ismaʿī, anā wuddī tugulīlī, antī jinniyyah ō ansiyyah? asāliš b-alḷāh, gāl, antī jinniyyah ō ansiyyah? gālat: ilā sayaltanī b-alḷāh innī uxtak min abūk. wirjaʿ yḥabbibhā w-yitnaḥḍāhā*[23] *w-mānā dārī wēš sawwā.*

She would watch, looking here and there and saw no one. She came out, and as she was about to begin kneading and preparing he caught her, jumped on her from behind. He said: Listen, I want you to tell me: are you a demon or a human being? I ask you in the name of Allah: are you a demon or a human being? She said: If you are asking me in the name of Allah, I am your sister from your father's side. And then he kissed her, humbled himself to her and I don't know what he did.

[22] Pausal alternant of *ḍawō* "they came back".

[23] The verb *yitnaḥḍā* most probably derives from the idiom *anā ḥiḍāk* or *anā ḥiḍātak*—"I am your [worn] sandal", or: "I humble myself to you", "I am nothing compared to you".

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22. *gaʿadū, gāmat sabbarat ġadā w-sawwát alkull w-axwathā wuṣilū w-kull wāḥid yḥibb aṯṯānī, kullhim sārū maġāšī. ništū, akalū w-širbū w-astaraḥū, gālu: mā ḏālḥīna—yā jánnata! gid aḥnā rāknīn gid maʿna man yisábbir lanā́ lugmah w-nisraḥ w-nuḏwī w-uxtánā bi-lbēt. rag mā[IHb], lā tudxilī ḥad ʿal-bēt ġēriš. lā trawwī ḥad inn bih ḥad fi ljarf. gālat: nāhī.*
They remained [so for a while]. She got up and prepared a meal and did everything and her brothers arrived, and everyone kissed each other and all of them were faint. They came back to their senses, ate and drank and rested. They said: As for now—what a paradise! We can rest assured, there is someone who will make bread for us, we can go and come back and our sister is at home. Only that—do not let anyone in the house except yourself, and don't let anyone see that there is anyone in the cave. She said: Ok.

23. *kull yōm hī tsawwīlhim ōxel[IHb] w-gahwah w-alkull, ilā yōm wāḥid aggiṭaʿat ʿalēhā annār. aggiṭaʿat ʿalēhā annār. wēš asawwī? minnēn asīr adawwir nār, asawwī l-axwati ṣabūḥ? šallat nafshā, w-aṭṭarīg! ēnimma wuṣlat mā šāfat ḥad. šāfat fi rās jabal nār tirmuz. gālat w-hī bātiṭlaʿ ilā ḏāk aljabal: mā wudd rabbī yisabbír-bhā yisabbir.*
Every day she makes them food and coffee and everything, but then one day the fire went out on her. The fire went out on her. What shall I do? From where shall I go to get fire to make breakfast for my brothers? She took herself, and off she goes! Wherever she arrived she saw no one. At the top of a mountain, she saw a fire glittering. She said while going up this mountain: Whatever God wishes to do with it [i. e. the fire], he shall do.

24. *sārat ila-mā wuṣilat rās aljábal wlē inn bih kāfir yiśwí ḥmār. gālat: salām yā bah šēbah[24]. gāl: lōmā salāmiš salāmiš inn fartiš sbig damiš[25]. wēš tištē yā binti? gālat: anā jīt adawwir nār, bā-ygūmū axwati mā maʿhim ṣabūḥ. gāl: ismaʿī, hā-liš annār fi ḏin alḥimār, wa-lā tḏayyʿī iḏin alḥimār, anā bā yjaʿ ajī aṭlubhā, lā tḏayyʿīhā. gālat: nāhī.*
She walked until she got to the top of the mountain. And there was a sorcerer grilling a donkey. She said: Hallo, old father. He said: If you had not greeted me, I would have disemboweled you. What do you want, my daughter? She said: I have come looking for fire, my brothers will get up and there is no breakfast for them. He said: Listen, here is some fire for you in the donkey's ear, do not lose the donkey's ear, I will return and ask for it, do not lose it. She said: Alright.

[24] A common formula in addressing a demonic figure (Gamlieli 1978, p. 386)

[25] Lit. "if you had not said 'hello' to me, your bowels would have [come] out before your blood". This is another formula which appears in the context of a meeting with demonic figures, and has many parallels. For examples compare Gamlieli 1978, p. 25 and p. 386; also in a Palestinian text in Muhawi/Kanaana 2001, pp. 88–89.

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25. *šallat annār fi ḏin alḥimār w-sārat. wuṣilat ʿarḍ aṭṭarīg. iḏin alḥimār gaṭṭamat rīḥḥā mā hī ḥalā. wuṣlat ʿarḍ aṭṭarīg, annār aḥragat iḏin alḥimār w-rīḥḥā mā-hū ḥalā. gāmat naḍaḥat b-iḏin alḥimār w-šállat ilḥā́ kubā́ ḥagg ṭōr, bēn yijīw kull wāḥdah kāxa*[IHb]*. lákaḥat*[IHb] *ilhā kubā́ w-ḥaṭṭat annār fīhā w-ḍawat. wuṣilat w-sabbarat l-axwathā ṣabūḥ w-alkull. gāmū aṣṭabaḥū w-kull wāḥid saraḥ šaglih.*
She took the fire in the donkey's ear and went. She made it halfway and the donkey's ear fell to pieces and smelled bad. She came halfway, the fire burned the donkey's ear and it smelled bad. She got up and threw the donkey's ear away, and took some bull's droppings, each one happened to be as [big as] this. She took some droppings, put the fire inside and went back. She arrived and made breakfast for her brothers and everything. They got up and had breakfast, and each went to his work.

26. *gaʿadat gaʿdah wlē ̮nn*[26] *ḏā alʿifrīt jā ṣalāhā: hātē nārī w-iḏin ḥimārī, hātē nārī w-iḏin ḥimārī, hātē nārī w-iḏin ḥimārī. gālat: ismaʿ, annār hī tih, avālʲᴴᴮ iḏin alḥimār gaṭṭamat w-naḍáḥṭ-bhā. gāl: ō iḏin alḥimār ō ̮ṣubʿiš aṣṣǧayyir, amuṣṣhā. gālat: ismaʿ, tih uṣubʿī w-iḏin alḥimār mā ʿāb-bih šī. addátlih uṣbuʿhā maṣṣhā ilā-mā maṣṣ kull addam ḏī fīhā. w-sār. kull yōm kaḍḗ. kull yōm hū ̮yjī.*
She stayed for a while and along came that ghoul to her: Give me my fire and my donkey's ear. Give me my fire and my donkey's ear. Give me my fire and my donkey's ear. She said: Listen, this is the fire but the donkey's ear fell into pieces and I threw it away. He said: Either the donkey's ear or your little finger, I will suck it. She said: Listen, this is my finger, and the donkey's ear—there is nothing left [of it]. She gave him her finger, he sucked it until he sucked all the blood in it. And he went. It was like this every day. Every day he came.

27. *ilā-mā yōm wāḥid gālū axwathā: wēš gōmiš uxtī gid antī ḍaʿīfah? wēš gōmiš gid antī mṣaffrah? wēš gōmiš gid antī kaḍā? gālat: mā gōmi šī. gālū: gūlí lanā́ wēš hū šī yixallʿiš willā ḥad yiḍā́jiriš willā ḥad yūjʿiš. gālat: lā, wa-lā ḥad yūjiʿni wa-lā ḥad yiḍā́jirnī.*
Until one day her brothers said: What is wrong with you, my sister, that you are weak? What is wrong with you that are you pale, that you are like this? She said: Nothing is wrong with me. They said: Tell us what is it that troubles you or if someone is bothering you or someone is hurting you. She said: No one is hurting me and no one is bothering me.

[26] For *wlē+inn* > *wlē ̮nn* see note 9 above.

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28. *bada^{ʿ}ū bā-ysabbrū, yiḥursū. bada^{ʿ} hū alkabīr ḥarás ḥarás ḥarás ragad w-al^{ʿ}ifrīt wuṣíl maṣṣ yadḥā ilā-mā maṣṣ kull addam ḥaggḥā w-sār. kull yōm hū yjī ṣalāha: iddē nārī w-iḍin ḥimārī willā ddē uṣub^{ʿ}iš aṣṣġayyirah amuṣṣhā. wirja^{ʿ} gāl axūhā ṯṯāni: anā bā ḥrus w-antū israḥū. ga^{ʿ}ád ga^{ʿ}ád ga^{ʿ}ád ga^{ʿ}ád lġub hággad w-ragád. jā alkāfir maṣṣ uṣbu^{ʿ}hā w-sār.*
They started doing … guarding [her]. The older one started, he guarded and guarded and guarded, fell asleep, the ghoul came and sucked her hand until it had sucked all the blood in it, and went. Every day he comes to her: Give me my fire and my donkey's ear, or give me your little finger to suck. And then her second brother said: I will keep guard and you go. He sat and sat and sat, was fed up, became drowsy and fell asleep. The sorcerer came, sucked her finger and left.

29. *gāl alwald aṣṣġayyirī: anā bā$_{ʿ}$g^{ʿ}ud. ga^{ʿ}ád sār warā lḥajár, warā lḥájar yitxassā. w-alkāfir gid hū muġbil: hātē nārī w-iḍin ḥimārī, hātē nārī w-iḍin ḥimārī willā addē úṣub^{ʿ}iš aṣṣġayyirah amuṣṣhā. mā billā šāfih bada^{ʿ} hū jā min warāh, gid m^{ʿ}ih sēf, alwald, gid m^{ʿ}ih sēf. mā billā dannag yišti yimuṣṣ uṣbu^{ʿ} uxtih w-hū gaṭa^{ʿ} rāsih.*
The young child said: I will sit. He sat, went behind the rock, behind the rock to hide. And the sorcerer already comes: Give me my fire and my donkey's ear, give me my fire and my donkey's ear, or give me your little finger to suck. The minute he saw he had started, he came up behind him. He had a sword, the boy, he had a sword. The minute he bent down wanting to suck his sister's finger, he cut off his head.

30. *gāl: urkuḍnī! gāl: rijlī msammarah. gāl: idfilnī gāl rīgī yābis. gāl: šawwiḥ a^{ʿ}lā! gāl: naḍarī asfal. gaṭa^{ʿ} rāsih w-ḥaṭṭih fi lmasabb ḥaggih w-rabaṭ ^{ʿ}alēh w-naḍáḥ bih la-tthōm^{1Hb}. wirja^{ʿ} gām, firḥat uxthim, mā ^{ʿ}ād yijī ṣalāhā. ga^{ʿ}adat ga^{ʿ}dah.*
He [the young brother] said: Kick me! He said: My leg is hooked. He said: Spit on me! He said: My spit is dry. He said: Look up! He said: I'm looking down. He cut off his head and put it in his pack and tied it up and threw it in an abyss. And then he got up, and their sister was happy that he would not come back to her anymore, she stayed for a while.

31. *wlē inn bih yōm aghalat ṣalāhā márah. gālat: salām yā$_{ʿ}$xtī, gālat: ^{ʿ}alēš assalām. gālat: isma^{ʿ}ī, anā šuft mā billā$_{ʿ}$nti waḥdiš, mā ḥad ^{ʿ}indiš lā yiḥádṯiš walā yiḥákīš, ta^{ʿ}ālē njī axawāt w-nit^{ʿ}āhad anā w-antī, mā t^{ʿ}ībī fīni walā a^{ʿ}īb fīš. gālat: ta^{ʿ}ālē avāl^{1Hb} lā yiḥmasū axwatī, gālat: wa-lā yḥimmiš min axwatiš.*
And then, there was a day in which a woman came to her. She said: Hallo my sister. She said: Peace be upon you. She said: Listen, I see that you are

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all alone, there is no one with you to talk to you or to address you, let us become sisters and make an allegiance, you and me: you will not betray me and I will not betray you. She said: Come, as long as my brothers don't get angry. She said: Do not worry about your brothers.

32. *atʿāhadat hī wiyyāhā inn yiǰō aṣḥāb, w-lō mā billā yišūfū ḥabbah ḍiráh willā ēze*[lHb] *ḥabbah inn yigismūhā nuṣṣēn, kull wāḥdah tiddī nuṣṣ la-ṭṭānyah. gaʿadū gaʿdah, jāwhim bēn-yinaggō ḥabb, albint šafat ḥabbah bílsin w-akaláthā. gālat: antī gulti ǰnniš bā-tiddēli nuṣṣ w-antī nuṣṣ, wēn alʿahd ḥaggī? gālat: ismaʿī yā uxtī, gid akalthā gid mġiṭṭhā.*
She made an allegiance with her that they would become friends and that if they just even saw a grain of sorghum or any grain, they would cut it into two halves, each would give half to the other. They stayed for a while, it so happened that they were sifting grain.[27] The girl saw a lentil and ate it. She said: You said you would give me half, and half for you, where is my [part in the] deal? She said: Listen, my sister, I have already eaten it, I have already swallowed it.

33. *gālat: iddēlī nuṣṣhā lō hī ēn-immā hī, atʿāhadnā́ tiddēlī naṣfah w-antī naṣfah. gālat: gid akalthā. mā ḥaṣaltī kulīh w-mā ḍī rēt bā-addīš iyyāh w-kulīh. lā tiddēlī nuṣṣ. gālat: addwā ʿindī, gālat: anā bā_dāwīš. gālat: sawwē ḍī wuddiš.*
She said: Give me half of it, wherever it may be. We made an agreement that you would give me half and you would have half. She said: I have already eaten it. Whatever you get—eat, and whatever I see I will give it to you to without giving me half. She said: I have the cure. She said: I will cure you. She said: Do whatever you want.

34. *mā billā xallathā axwathā wuṣilū min aššaġil w-gaʿadū, gid him ʿala lʿašā yitʿaššō w-alkull. dafalat fi yadhā w-jazzaʿat ʿalēhim w-raddathim sabʿah ʿijālah. gallabathim sabʿah ʿijālah. w-ṭārat ḥidyah—hay marat alkāfir ḍī gatalih alwald aṣṣġayyir. ṭārat ḥidyah fi lhāwā.*
She had only just left her when her brothers came back from work and sat down, had supper, ate and all that. She spat on her hand and passed it over them and turned them into seven calves. She turned them into seven calves. And she flew as a kite—this was the wife of the sorcerer that the youngest boy had killed. She flew as a kite in the air.

35. *gālat: wēš bā-asawwī́ ḍalḥīnā? gāmat šallat ḍī́-maʿhā min ḥalǎ́ ḥalǎ́ min alʾadāh, mā ḍī jāw bih ḥálā šallatih w-ḥámmalatih ʿala axwathā, gid him ʿijālah, w-sārat fí-arḍ aḷḷāh. wuṣilat ilā blād gālū li-lgāḍī: yā gāḍī,*

[27] For the motif of sorting and separating cf. ALEXANDER 1993, p. 136.

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tēk[28] *bih šōfah maʿhā sabʿah bagar. gāl hū gulūlhā ṯtī. gāllhā algāḏī ṯtī.*
She said: What shall I do now? She got up and took the clothes she had, those which were really beautiful, whatever happened to be beautiful she took and loaded on her brothers, they were calves, and went wherever God might lead her. She came to a city and [someone] said to the judge: There is a woman here and she has seven head of cattle. He said: Tell her to come to me. The judge told her to come.

36. *wuṣilat albēt ʿindhim, gālū: hā idxulū alʿijālah fí-lḥarr*[29] *w-hī tiṭlaʿ. gālat hī: ēn-imma gaʿadū alʿijālah anā bāg̱ʿud. gālu: kēf? bā-tmállī addinyā, innhā bagar bā-tmállī addinya w-mā hū sābir titilʿīhā ʿindiš ēn-imma gaʿattī, gālat: ēn-immā gaʿadū alʿijālah bāg̱ʿud.*
She came to their house, they said: Put the calves in the basement and she should come up. She said: I stay wherever the calves stay. They said: How? They will take up all the space, these are cattle and they will take up all the space. It makes no sense for you to take them up to wherever you are. She said: Wherever the calves are—I shall stay.

37. *aṭlaʿūhā min alḥarr ilá alxalwah … assagf alawwal. gālat hī ēn-immā gaʿadū anā bāg̱ʿud. w-atlaʿūhā la-sságf aṯṯāni w-lá-ssagf aṯṯāliṯ ila-mā ḏxalūhā fi lmanḏarah ḥagg algāḏī, gālat mā hī gāʿdah illā hēṯ bā-yigʿudū alʿijālah ḥaggha. hā albint miṯil—ʿala gōlithim—sibḥān alḷāh aššams w-álgamar*[30]*. w-algāḏī ḏā-ʿindiš*[31] *šāfhā w-ḏāʿ ḥissih.*
They took her up from the basement [on the ground floor] to the guest-room on the first floor. She said: Wherever they stay I stay. They took her up to the second floor and the third floor until they took her into the judge's chamber. She said, she would stay only where her calves were. And the girl was—as they say—praise to Allah, [as beautiful as] the sun and the moon. And the judge—just imagine—saw her and lost her head.

38. *gāl: ismaʿī, yā bint al-ʿōn, anā gid bā ḏdī-liš ṯalāṯ xṣāl w-ixtārī wāḥdah minhā. gālat: wēš wuddak yā gāḏī? gāl: ismaʿī, anā bā-agulliš, ilá wuddiš tijēlī uxt fa-antī uxtī w-anā bā ḥiss ʿalēš miṯil-mā ḥiss ʿala ʿēnī, wuddiš*

[28] The demonstrative *tēk*, indicating a distant f.sg. object, was documented in Amlaḥ and in Rāziḥ, as opposed to *ḏīk* and *haḏīk* in other localities in the area studied. This form, as well as the simple demonstrative *tih*, preserves the archaic Semitic element *t*. Similar forms were recorded in southern Yemen (Landberg 1909, p. 81) as well as in the dialect of Āl Murrah (Ingham 1997, p. 99).

[29] The *ḥarr* is a non-paved room on the ground floor which is used for storing animals.

[30] Cf. the beauty descriptions in Gamlieli 1978, p. 25, 404 and Alexander 1993, p. 131.

[31] The construction of *ḏā/ḏih/tih+ʿind+pron.* is a device of lively style (Talmon 2001, pp. 223ff.), addressed personally to the listener in order to attract his/her attention (the f.sg. pronoun here refers to the present writer). The meaning may be rendered into English as "as if in front of you", "here you have it", or "just imagine!".

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tijay[32]*… ummī anā bā́ ḥiss ʿalēš miṯil má ḥiss ʿalā ʿēnī, wuddiš tijē maratī ʿalā sinnat aḷḷāh w-sinnat rasūlih.*
He said: Listen, fair girl, I am going to give you three things, and you may choose one of them. She said: What do you want, judge? He said: Listen, I tell you, if you want to become my sister, you can be my sister and I will take care of you as I take care of my own eye. If you want to become … my mother, I will take care of you as I take care of my own eye. If you want to become my wife, then [let it be] in accordance with the way of Allah way and the way of his Prophet.

39. *gālat: há ṣmaʿ, in gult uxt kaḍabt, w-in gult umm kaḍabt w-in gult maráh ʿala sinnat aḷḷāh w-sinnat arrasūl. gāl: hā. saddū, tammū yitzawwaj bhā. w-bēn yiddōlhim ōxel*[!Hb]*. bēn tugūl: ismaʿū, aštī́ li-kull ʿijil gurṣ w-hī hā gurṣ hā tākulū, w-zabīb, yiddōlhā zabīb, w-bēn tiddīlhim ilā axšāmhim, alʿijālah, axwāthā.*
She said: Listen, if I say sister I would be lying, and if I say mother I would be lying, and if I say wife then (let it be) in accordance with the way of Allah and of his Prophet. He said: Yes. They agreed and concluded that he would marry her. And while they were giving them food she said: Listen, I want a loaf of bread for each calf. And here is a loaf, eat. And [she asked for] raisins, they gave her raisins and she would give them to them, put them in their mouths, [the mouths of] the calves, her brothers.

40. *gaʿadū gaʿdah. atzawwaj bhā w-alkull w-sabbarū ḥaflah w-yiġannō w-yirguṣū. jā allēl, mā gid ragád ʿindhā. w-alḥidyah ḍih ʿindiš aghalat, gallabat alḥarīwah alḥidyah w-hī jat bádal alḥarīwah. alḥidyah ḍih ʿindiš. badaʿat marīḍah marīḍah, kabdī kabdī kabdī*[33] *bā ̱amūt. mā nāfʿinnī*[34] *llā min kabd alʿijil aṣṣġayyirī.*
They stayed a while. He married her and everything, and they had a party, and sang and danced. Night came and he still did not sleep at her place. And the kite, just imagine, came and turned the bride into a kite and she took the bride's place. The kite—just imagine. She began [to pre-

[32] Pausal alternant of *tijē*—"you f.s. become".
[33] Dramatic repetitions, cf. ALEXANDER 1993, p. 128.
[34] The *nāfiʿ* participle takes the object suffix *-nī*, which is not attached directly to it, but rather via a connecting *nn*-element, viz. *nāfiʿ+nn+nī>nāfʿinnī*. The participial infix *nn/inn/n* was documented in a widely dispersed set of Arabic dialects (RETSÖ 1988, HOLES 2011), including the southern and eastern peripheral areas of the Arabian Peninsula: Bahrain, the UAE and Oman, Dhofār and western Ḥadramawt. My corpus offer a few more examples of the same pattern, all from the eastern-most parts of the province of Ṣaʿdah, viz. Wādi Amlaḥ and Baraṭ.

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tend to be] sick, sick, [crying:] My liver, my liver, my liver, I am dying[35]. The only thing that will help me is some of the young calf's liver.

41. *w-hī alʿifrītah! daxalat šallat alḥarīwah fi lhawā́ ḥidyah w-jat makānhā. hā aṣṣġayyirī ḏī gatal zōj alʿifrītah. azHb mā tištī́ illā min kabd alʿijil aṣṣġayyirī, šuwāyah. gālū: yalḷāh. gāl la-lxáddām ḥaggih: sīrū, igbaḍū alʿijil aṣṣġayyirī w-iḏbaḥūh.*
And she is the she-ghoul! She entered and took the bride into the air [in the shape of a] kite and took her place. And the young one is the one who killed the ghoul's husband. So all she wanted was the young calf's liver. Roast. They said: Let's go, he said to his servant: Go, catch the young calf and slaughter it.

42. *gibḍū alʿijil aṣṣġayyirī w-falā maddadūh yištō yimiddū assakkīn jat alḥidyah w-altafatat ʿala ragabih. w-ḏih uxtih. kull mā jat alḥidyah, kull mā yištō ymiddū assikkīn ʿala ragab alʿijil gid sārat alḥidyah w-lafatat ʿalēh. gālu: yā gāḍī, bih ḥidyah mā xallátnā niḍbaḥ alʿijil. w-ḏih gid bā-tmūt ṭālīʿ gid hī titlawwā alḥarīwah.*
They caught the young calf, and immediately as they lay him down wanting to hold out the knife, the kite came and directed itself at its neck. And this was his sister. Every time the kite came, every time they wanted to put the knife against the calf's throat, the kite came and directed itself at it. They said: Judge, there is a kite which did not let us slaughter the calf, and she [i. e. the bride] is nearly dying upstairs, she is already writhing, the bride.

43. *lā ġsirliš walā agill. xaraj gāl: uxrij yā gāḍi ant uxrij idbaḥ. xaraj hū w-madd bi-ssikkīn. w-hī lafatat ʿala ragabat alʿijil. gāl: ḍalḥīn darēt! ṭilʿ gibiḍ al-ḥarīwah b-ġurzhā lawa ġurzhā ʿala yadih. gāl: ismaʿī, lō-mā truddī kull ḥājah ilā makānhā la-agaṭṭʿiš li-lḥidī w-alġirbān.*
I will not make [the story] shorter for you or abbreviate. [Someone] came out and said: Judge, you go out and slaughter. He went out and held out the knife and it [i. e. the kite] directed itself at the calf's neck. He said: Now I understand! He went out, grabbed the bride by her braid, wrapped her braid around his hand. He said: Listen, if you do not put everything back in its place, I will cut you up for the kites and the ravens.

[35] In Arabic Poetry and folk tales, the liver is the traditional seat of love, passion and emotions (Clouston 1887, vol. 2, p. 378; Radwan 2012, p. 99). The liver is commonly mentioned in the context of love, sadness and depression. For specific usages of the idea of liver (and of other body organs) in Yemenite tribal poetry, cf. Caton 1990, p. 37. The insistence on eating the liver of an adversary can also be interpreted as an expression of hatred and vengeance, see Gamlieli 1978, p. 406.

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44. *gālat: ismaʿ, ʿāhidnī b-aḷḷāh mā tūjiʿnī w-anā arudd kull šī ʿādatih. gibiḍhā gāmat dafalat ʿala ssabʿah alaxwah w-ráddathim sabʿah aġmār, w-ʿala lmarah raddathā uxt assabʿah, alḥarīwah. gālat: ismaʿ, ʿāhidnī mā tūjiʿnī wa-lā timissanī b-šōkah, w-ḥuṭṭ finjāl mā fi llahj, w-anā-ant bā-tšūf, walā ʿād aʿūd walā asawwī ḥājah ġēr mā gid sawwēt.*
She said: Listen, swear to me in the name of Allah that you will not hurt me and I will put everything back in its normal state. He grabbed her, she got up and spat on the seven brothers and turned them back into seven boys and [spat] on the woman and turned her back into the sister of the seven, the bride. She said: Listen, swear to me that you will not hurt me and not touch me [not even] with a thorn. And put a glass of water in the window and I—you will see, and I will not come back ever again and not do anything more than I have already done.

45. *ʿāhadhā innih mā yūjiʿhā afīlu[IHb] b-šōkah w-hī ʿāhadatih inn mā ʿād tirjaʿ wa-lā tsawwī … fi makān … tūjiʿ had. gālat: hā ḥuṭṭ alfinjāl imlī alfinjāl mā w-ḥuṭṭih fi llahj[36]. mā billā ḥaṭṭ almā fi llahj w-alfinjāl antafá w-hī sārat kaḍāk. w-ḥayyānā ḷḷāh w-lā ḥayyāhim.*
He swore to her that he would not hurt her, not even with a thorn, and she promised that she would not come back again and not hurt anyone anywhere. She said: Put the glass, fill it up with water and put it in the window. But he put the water in the window and the glass [the water] spilt and she went, like that! And may Allah preserve our lives and not theirs.

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[36] A glass of water in the window is mentioned in many demon stories as a method to assure the demon's departure. Cf. BEN-DAVID 2005, pp. 103–105.

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Who has more Names than me?

Lion Designations in Arabic

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Summary: This article discusses samples of the alleged more-than-five-hundred lion designations in Arabic from a contextual and comparative etymological viewpoint. An analysis of the sources in which these designations occur (early Arabic poetry and onomastics) suggests that while a few of them could be of Ancient Arabian and Ethiosemitic origin, the majority are originally epithets that refer to physical attributes. Some of these epithets could have emerged as 'taboo names' due to either a fear from mentioning the true name(s) of the lion or a religious attitude, as the animal was associated with divinity in the Arabic tradition.

Introduction

Arabic exhibits a high number of lion designations (treated as *'asmā'* 'names'), reportedly exceeding five hundred references and variations for the animal. Many of these designations are duplicated forms of four/five radical words that are particularly derived from poetry and onomastics. Only four of them have an established Semitic background: *'as(a)d* (Central Semitic),[1] *labu'* (Common Semitic),[2] *layṯ* (Central Semitic),[3] and *nahhās, nahūs* (with an Akkadian cognate, *nēšu*).[4] The aim of this paper is to examine these designations from an etymological and cultural viewpoint in order to understand whether they are originally epithets or loans from other Semitic or non-Semitic languages.

In addressing this objective, I will divide the topic into three sections. The first two sections are linguistically-based according to a chronological order, while the third section is concerned with the cultural aspect.

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[1] See the discussion of this term in Dirbas 2016, p. 124ff.

[2] Cf. **labV'-* (Militarev/Kogan 2005, No. 144). In Arabic, whereas the masculine from *labu'* became archaic (Lisān 1, p. 150), the feminine form *labu'a(t)/labwa(t)* is still in use.

[3] Cf. **layṯ-* (Militarev/Kogan 2005, No. 147).

[4] *Nahhās* and *nahūs* were also used for the dog and the wolf (Lane 2859). On the etymological connection with the Akkadian form *nēšu*, see the discussion sub **nVhVš-/*nVhVs-* in Militarev/Kogan 2005, No. 159.

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Section one deals with lion designations in the early evidence: (1) pre-/early Islamic poetry, and (2) onomastics. Since some of the classical onomastics have cognates in the Ancient Arabian inscriptions (e.g., cf. the list by HARDING 1971), I will include material from these herein. Section two surveys lion designations in later works, i.e., booklets and collections that are specifically dedicated to the lion. The etymological approach applied in these two sections uses two methods: (1) to parse the word and see if it could derive from a three-radical root, and (2) to draw upon the Semitic lexicon. Prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, which are largely observed in these designations, will be analyzed in view of Classical and colloquial Arabic as well as Ancient South/North Arabian languages (Sabaic, Hadrami, Dadanitic, Safaitic, etc.) in order to see if they point out to any loan sources. Section three, the cultural background of lion designations, discusses lion imagery as well as anthropological theories regarding taboo 'names'.

1 Lion designations in early works: poetry and onomastics

1.1 The poetic evidence

The earliest collection of lion designations is found in *kitāb al-wuḥūš* 'The Book of the Wild Beasts' by AL-AṢMAʿĪ [d. 216 AH] (1989, pp. 194–196), where they are mentioned alongside terms for all sorts of wild beasts (equids, bovines, gazelles, ibex, ostrich, lion, wolf, hyena, fox, and hare). The designations cited in this work, ca. 25, are mainly derived from poetry (pre- and early Islamic); thus our knowledge regarding them is restricted to the poetic context which provides no information on the actual usage in speech. Interestingly, AL-AṢMAʿĪ (1989, p. 194) mentions that the lion was called *sirḥān* in the dialect of Huḏayl tribe, that is, the same by-form as the wolf in the other Arabic dialects (LANE 1345c).[5] Similarly, in his comment on a poem by Ḥuḏayfah b. Anas (cf. poetry No. 3 below), AL-SUKKARĪ (n.d.: 561) mentions that *sīd* means "lion" in the dialect of Huḏayl tribe and "wolf" in the other dialects.[6] These two examples, as well as *naḥhās/nahūs* (see the introduction), give us an idea about the evolution of three epithets into by-forms of predatory animals.

[5] The word derives from √*srḥ* "to pasture (cattle); move in the morning; flow (i.e. the torrent), etc." (LANE 1344). Late Jewish Aramaic *srḥnw, srḥnwt' (sirḥānū, sirḥānūṯā)* "sinfulness" (JASTROW 1903, p. 969) seems unrelated.

[6] *Sīd* derives from √*swd/syd* "to become a chief, lord; to exercise power; to be black, etc." (LANE 1460ff.). Apparently, the epithet was applied to the wolf as well as the lion as an expression of their status among the other animals or, probably, as a special term for the leader of the group.

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In order to conduct a contextual linguistic analysis of lion designations cited by Al-Aṣma'ī (1989, pp. 194–196), I will first give a translation of the poetry in which they occur and then discuss their etymology and linguistic affiliation. These designations are in bold letters in the transliteration as well as the translation below.

(1) Mālik b. Ḫālid al-Ḫunā'ī [pre-Islamic] (cited in Al-Sukkarī n. d., p. 442, line 13)

layṯun hiẓabrun mudillun 'inda ḫīsatihi bir-raqmatayni lahu 'aǧrun wa'a'rāsu

A presumptuous **bulky lion** in its brush
In the Raqmatān [area][7] where it has cubs and lionesses

Etymology
- *layṯ*: a Central Semitic form (see the introduction).
- *hiẓabr*: there are two opinions concerning this word. Some say that the /h/ is a radical letter, while others argue that it is augmentative *(zā'idah)* and that the word is from √*zabr* "the act of repelling with strength" (Lane 2893). The latter opinion seems more probable in view of two other words related to the lion from √*zbr*: (1) *zubr* "the part between the two shoulder blades, or the part where the neck is joined to the back-bone", and (2) *zubrah* "the mane of a lion", which also applies to two stars at the *kāḥil* (withers) of Leo (Lane 1211). Hence *hiẓabr* could be *haf'al* form and thus a loanword from Sabaic or another Ancient Arabian language that had an h-causative. This causative is observed in other Arabic words, like *hilqim/ hilqām* "a camel with big sub-maxilla", which is treated as four-radical from √*hlqm* "to devour, swallow; to be long" (Lisān 12, p. 619), while it clearly derives from √*lqm* "eat fast, to swallow" (Lisān 12, p. 546).

(2) Ğamīl b. Ma'mar, known as Ğamīl Buṯaynah [d. 82 ah] (cited in Al-Suyūṭī 1986 1, p. 128)

layṯu 'arīnin dayġamiyyun ġaḍanfaru mudāḫalun fī ḫalqihi muḍabbaru

The den lion,[8] **chomping** and **thick**,
Fit, compact, and firm in form.

Etymology
- *dayġam*: derives from √*dġm* "to bite strongly, chomp, crunch", a root which differs from √*nhš* "to snap". In reference to the lion, it is thought to denote the one with wide chinks of mouth (Lisān 12, p. 357).

[7] There is more than one place with the name al-Raqmatān, but the one mentioned here could be in the land of Asad tribe (Yāqūt 1977 3, p. 58).

[8] *Layṯu 'arīn* appears to be a frequent poetic expression.

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– *ġaḍanfar*: considered to be from the four-radical √*ġḍfr* "to be big, thick", plus the augmentative *-n-*.[9] As an epithet, it is also used for people and the ear (LANE 2268).

(3) Huḍayfah b. Anas *[muḥaḍram]*[10] (cited in AL-SUKKARĪ n. d., p. 561, lines 11–12)

banū l-ḥarbi 'urḍi'nā bihā muqmaṭirah
faman yulqa minnā yulqa ***sīdun*** *mudarrabu*
furāfiratun *'azfāruhu miṯla nābihi*
fa-'in yušwi nābu l-layṯi lā yušwi miḫlabu

The people of war are we, who experienced[11] its intense evil,
If challenged in a battle, any of us is like a trained **lion**,
A mutilator, whose claws are as sharp as its canines,
Even if the lion's canine does not kill, its claw does.

Etymology
– *sīd*: a by-form (see the introduction of section 1.1)
– *furāfir, furāfirah,* and *farfār*: duplicated forms from √*frr* "to break, mangle, mutilate" (LANE 2357).

(4) al-Burayq al-Ḫunā'ī *[muḥaḍram]* (cited in AL-SUKKARĪ n. d.: 744, line 14)

famā 'in ***šābikun*** *min 'usdi tarğin* *'abū šiblayni qad mana'a l-ḫidāra*
bi-'aġra'a ğur'atan minhu wa 'adhā *'iḏā mā kāribu l-mawti istadāra*

Even a lion of Tarğ[12] **having interlocking canine teeth**, the father of the cubs,[13] the defender of the den, is neither braver nor slyer than him if he is challenged in a deadly battle.[14]

Etymology
– *šābik*: a *ṣifah mušabbahah* (participle-like adjective) from *šbk* "interlace; twist together" which is also applied to a camel (LANE 1497ff).

(5) al-'Ağğāğ al-Tamīmī *[muḥaḍram]* (cited in AL-AṢMA'Ī 1989, p. 194)

ḍirġāmatun *tu'ziruhu ḍarāġimu* *lil-'asdi ḥawla ġīlihi zamāzimu*

[9] If this assumption is correct, the *-n-* could have been infixed in order to avoid the gemination in *ġaḍaffar*.
[10] The term applies to poets who witnessed paganism and Islam.
[11] Lit., we suckled from it.
[12] Tarğ is a mountain in the Hijaz, which was famous for its lions (YĀQŪT 1977 2: 21b).
[13] *'Abū Šiblayn* is apparently a variation of another *kunya* of the lion: *Abū al-'Ašbāl* "Father of the cubs".
[14] *'iḏā mā kāribu l-mawti istadāra*, lit. "If the declaration of death surrounds".

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A lion which is supported by [other] lions,
A lion, whose den is surrounded by prides [of lions].

Etymology
– *ḍirġām(ah)*: there is a consensus that this form is four-radical and that it was used as a synonym for *'asad* as well as Leo (Lane 1788; Lisān 12, p. 357). The suffix *-ah* functions as a hypocoristicon, like in *'usāmah* and *sā'idah* (section 1.2). Alternatively, we can derive it from √*ḍġm* "to bite strongly, chomp" assuming that the */r/*is infixed to avoid the gemination in the intensive active participle *ḍiġġām* (cf. *ḍayġam* in poetry No. 3). If this assumption is correct, we can call this form '*fi/ar'al* form'[15] (cf. also *hirmās* in poetry No. 7 below).

(6) Ru'bah b. al-'Aǧǧāǧ al-Tamīmī [d. ca. 145 AH] (Ru'bah 1903, p. 67, lines 44–45, 51)

wa t-turǧumānu bnu hurayma harrāsu
ka'annahu layṯu 'arīnin ***firnāsu***
bil-'aṯarrayni ***dayġamiyyun wahhāsu***
'ādatuhu ḥabṯun wa ***'aḍḍun hammāsu***
ya'dū bi-'ašbālin 'abūha ***l-hirmāsu***

Destructive is al-Turǧumān son of Huraym,
Like a **rapacious** lion of the den,
A **chomping** and **crunching** [lion] in 'Aṯarrayn.[16]
Crushing and biting is its manner, the **overwhelming** [lion],
The **crushing** father which runs with its cubs.

Etymology
– *wahhās*: an intensive active participle from √*whs* "to press, squeeze, break something; to devour" (Lisān 6, p. 258).
– *dayġam*: see above (poetry, No. 2).
– *hammās* (also *hamūs*): an intensive active participle from √*hms* "to chew with the mouth closed; to overwhelm" (Lane 2901); cf. also Sabaic *HMS*[1] "to crush, overwhelm" (Beeston *et al.* 1982, p. 56).
– *firnās*: this term is thought to be *fi'nāl* form from √*frs* "to prey, break, size, crush" (i. e. with the infix *-n-*) (Al-Aṣma'ī 1989, p. 195). The *-n-* could have been infixed to avoid the gemination in the intensive active participle *fi/arrās*.

[15] *Far'al* form is attested in Classical and colloquial Arabic, e. g., *ḫarmaš* "to spoil" in Classical Arabic (Lisān 6, p. 295) and "to scratch" in Levantine Arabic ('Abd al-Raḥīm 2012 1, p. 843; Seeger 2016, p. 194), which is apparently from √*ḫmš* "to scratch" plus the infix *-r-* (Lisān 6, p. 299). Another example is Levantine *ḫarbaṣ* "to overlap" ('Abd al-Raḥīm 2012 1, p. 831), which seems to derive from √*ḫbṣ* "to turn over, mingle" (Lane 697).

[16] This place could be the same as 'Aṯṯar in Yemen, which was famous for its lions (Yāqūt 1977 4, p. 85a).

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– *hirmās*: according to AL-AṢMA'Ī (1989, p. 195), it derives from √*hrs* "to crush, destroy" plus the infix *-m-*. In later sources, the word denotes "little leopard" and *hirmīs* "rhinoceros" (LISĀN 6, p. 248). As for Semitic, the word is puzzling in relation to Ge'ez *harmās/ḥarmās* "elephant" (LESLAU 1987, p. 219), unless we assume a semantic association based on largeness. Syriac *hermās/hermāsā* "beam" (BROCKELMANN 1928, p. 184) seems unrelated. Alternatively, thus, one can suggest four hypotheses: (1) *haf'al* form from √*rms* "to bury" (an h-causative like in *hizabr*, cf. poetry, no. 1), (2) '*far'al* form' from √*hms* "to chew; to overwhelm", that is, with the infix *-r-* to avoid the gemination in the intensive active participle *hVmmās*, (3) it consists of *hirm* "old" plus the suffix *-ās* (in application to an old lion?),[17] or (4) it is based on *hirr* "cat", but the function of the second element *-mās* remains unexplainable, though.

(7) Ru'bah b. al-'Aǧǧāǧ al-Tamīmī (RU'BAH 1903, p. 82, lines 17–21):

kam ǧāwazta min ḥayyatin naḍnāḍi
*wa 'asadin fī ǧīlihi **qaḍqāḍi***
layṭin 'alā 'aqrānihi rabbāḍi

Indeed, you have surpassed a hissing [maneuvering] serpent,
And a **destructive** lion in its brush,
A lion lying upon its adversaries.

Etymology
– *qaḍqāḍ*: the duplicated form from √*qḍḍ* "to break a thing in pieces" (LANE 2536).

To sum up, all these examples from early Arabic poetry show that the so-called lion names are merely epithets that are mentioned beside the two concrete terms *'asad* and *layṭ* in a context related to war. This is understandable in view of the fact that it is in the nature of that poetry to refer obliquely and epithetically to animals and objects which appear to have the strongest symbolic valency (STETKEVYCH 1986, p. 100).

1.2 The Onomastic evidence

Some of the lion designations occur only in onomastics, and the earliest collection of them is found in IBN QUTAYBAH (1988, p. 59ff); others are mentioned by IBN DURAYD (1991). Later, these names were incorporated in dictionaries and other types of lexical studies. The list below contains samples of these names with their counterparts in the Ancient Arabian onomasticon (when available):

[17] On the suffix *-as*, see the discussion sub the name *'Arandas* in section 1.2.

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1. *al-'Ašras* (Caskel 1966, p. 201): *af'al* form (elative) from √*šrs* "to be hard, fierce". The form also occurs in the Ancient Arabian onomasticon: *'s²rs¹* in Hismaic, Thamudic, and Sabaic (King 1990, p. 359; Shatnawi 2002, p. 648; Harding 1971, p. 48).[18]
2. *'Arandas*: unlike Ibn Durayd (1991, p. 379) who treats it as five-radical, Ibn Fāris (1979 4, p. 373) links it to √*'rd* "to be strong" with the augmentative *-n-* (lit. *al-nūn zā'idah*). He, however, does not explain the function of the suffix *-as*, and his argument seems to be influenced by Sībawayh's (1988 4, p. 322ff.), who sees the infix *-n-* in *'urnud* as augmentative, too, since: "They (i. e. Arabs) say *'uruddu*, and there is no four-radical word with the same form". This analysis seems probable in view of the semantic field of √*'rd*, one of its derivations being Common Semitic **'ar(ā)d* "wild ass" (Militarev/Kogan 2005, No. 37), an animal which evokes strength. As for the suffix *-as/ās*, about which no explanation is available, it appears frequently in other nouns, like *hirmās* "lion" (see poetry No. 6 in section 1.1), *dalahmas* "lion" (see No. 7 below), *'ifrās* and *'afarnas* "thick-necked lion, dog, or (wild) ass" (Lisān 6, p. 144),[19] and *'amallas* "sly wolf or dog" (Lisān 6, p. 148). This suffix could have an infinitive or adjectival function, particularly in masculine forms, like the suffix *-ān*,[20] but its origin is unclear. It might belong to an Ancient Arabian language.
3. *'Anbas(ah)* and its plural form *al-'Anābis*, the nickname of Banū 'Umayya (Ibn Qutaybah 1988, p. 59; Al-Aṣma'ī 1994, p. 87). Some grammarians considered it an Ethiopian loan (Lane 2522), which is very probable in view of Ge'ez *'anbasā* "lion"; alternatively, it could be linked to another epithet of the lion in Arabic: *'abbās*, lit. "frowning" (Leslau 1987, p. 64 with the bibliography therein).
4. *'Urwah* (Ibn Durayd 94; Lane 2029): the form consists of *'urw* and the hypocoristic suffix *-a(h)*. It could be linked to Semitic **'Vrw/y-* "kind of wild cat" (Militarev/Kogan 2005, No. 41).[21]

[18] These Ancient Arabian names could simply have no reference to the lion, since this epithet is general and is not listed in the earlier works on lion designations.

[19] These two terms apparently derive from √*'fr* (see other examples from the same root in section 2 below).

[20] On *-ān* as an adjectival and infinitive suffix, see Fischer 2002, §65 and Wright 1896 1, p. 133ff.

[21] Interestingly, there is a famous *ṣu'lūk*-poet known as 'Urwah b. al-Ward, whose patronym is also considered one of the lion designations, interpreted as "With red colour admixed with blackness" (Al-Aṣma'ī 1989, p. 194). This interpretation, however, seems incorrect, for the term *ward* is Persian and the Arabic from mostly derives from √*wrd* "to come close", like another name of the lion, *ḥaydar(ah)* from √*ḥdr* "to come down". Both terms are clearly related to the lion's movement.

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5. *al-Dalahmas* (IBN QUTAYBAH 1988, p. 60). According to LISĀN (6, p. 87108), *'asadun dalahmas* is "brave and adventurous", and *laylun dalahmas* is "very dark", etc. This sense is similar to what we find in al-'Ayn dictionary, where the word is considered five-radical (AL-ḪALĪL 1980–1985 4, p. 129). Yet none of the classical grammarians noticed the connection with the four-radical *dlhm* "dark, black" (LISĀN 12, p. 206), which seems to derive from √*dlm* "very dark of men, mountains, etc.", one of its variations being *al-dalām* "black" and *al-'adlam* "black snake" (LISĀN 12, p. 204) and also "lion" (IBN SĪDAH 1898 8, p. 64). It is probable thus that the original form of *dalahmas* is *dalām*, plus the suffix *-as* (on this suffix, see *'Arandas*, No. 2 above). The infix *-h-* could be explained through the Hadrami shift *ahā*<**øā* as in the feminine name *Smhn* "Quail"<*sV(m)mān* (SHOLAN 1999, p. 40, 147). If this hypothesis is correct, the name *Dalahmas* should be of South Arabian origin and the suffix *-as* could have an adjectival function.
6. *Ḍamḍam, Ḍumāḍim* (IBN DURAYD 1991, p. 228): these are the duplicated forms of √*ḍmm* "to put together, collect", with a particular reference to "a lion which grasps everything; an angry lion" (LANE 1801).
7. *Ḍayġam* (IBN QUTAYBAH 1988, p. 60): derives from √*ḍġm* "to chomp" (cf. poetry No. 2 in section 1.1). The name also occurs in Safaitic as *Ḍġm* (HARDING 1971, p. 382).
8. *Harṯamah* (IBN QUTAYBAH 1988, p. 60; IBN DURAYD 1991, p. 199): this form consists of *harṯam* and the hypocoristic suffix *-ah*. It is also reflected by the Thamudic name *Hrṯm* (HARDING 1971, p. 613). The term is treated as four-radical (AL-ḪALĪL 1980–1985 4, p. 127; LISĀN 12, p. 608), but we can also derive it from √*hṯm* "to bruise" plus the infix *-r-* (i. e., *far'al* form; see *hirmās* sub poetry No. 6 in section 1.1), a root which semantically corresponds to √*hšm* "to break, smash".
9. *Hayṣam* (IBN QUTAYBAH 1988, p. 60): derives from √*hṣm* "to break", which gives another designation of the lion: *haṣamṣam* (a duplicated form) (LISĀN 12, p. 613).
10. *Sā'idah*: considered a proper name (*'ism 'alam*), like *'Usāmah* (No. 11 below) (LISĀN 3, p. 217), a hypothesis which is doubted by IBN DURAYD (1991, p. 57): *wa za'amū 'anna sā'idah min 'asmā' al-'asad* "they claimed that *sā'idah* is one of the lion's names". The form seems to be based on *sā'id* "chief" (a secondary meaning of "arm"), as reflected by the expressions: *laysa li-banī fulānin sā'idun* "The people/tribe of so-and-so have no chief (to relay on)" and *sā'idu l-qawmi ra'īsuhum* "The *sā'id* of the people is their chief/leader" (LISĀN 3, p. 217). In relation to the lion, this term could have been particularly used for the leader of the pride.

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11. *ʾUsāmah* (Ibn Qutaybah 1988, p. 60; Ibn Durayd 1991, p. 460), which also occurs in Sabaic: *ʾsmt* (Harding 1971, p. 45). According to the classical explanation, the word is *fuʿālah* form (hypocoristic-diminutive) from the unexplainable root √*ʾsm* and is considered a proper name like *Sāʿidah* (No. 10 above) (Lane 59). Presumably, this root became archaic in Arabic but survived only in personal names. Mandaic *ʔsmh*, *ʾsmtʔ* "laying on of hands" (Drower/Macuch 1963, p. 28a) seems unrelated.

2 Later works: collections

The most notable work on lion designations in classical Arabic scholarship is *ʾAsmāʾ al-ʾasad* by Ibn Ḫālawayh [d. 370 ah] (1989), which counts around five hundred names, including all the above-mentioned ones in sections 1.1 and 1.2 as well as the lion's *kunyas* and the designations for the lioness and cub. In his introduction, Ibn Ḫālawayh mentions that he collected all the *ʾasmāʾ* "names" and *ṣifāt* "epithets" known to Arabic dialects and books of language. Yet unlike Al-Aṣmaʿī (1989), he does not refer to their tribal origin or the poetry in which they occur. The fact that all the above-discussed designations (sections 1.1, 1.2) are mentioned in this booklet suggests that some of the others, if not most of them, were basically derived from poetry.

Given the high number of these designations, I will focus on samples that reflect the major groups to which they belong (page numbers are mentioned between parentheses).

(1) Variations on the same root (the majority), like:
- *al-haṣūr, al-muhāṣir, al-muḥṣir, al-hāṣirah, al-huṣrah* (8) [√*ḥṣr* "to break, incline"],
- *al-hamhām*, *al-humūm*, *al-humhūm*, *al-muhamham* (13) [√*hmm* "to growl"],
- *al-quṣquṣ, quṣqāṣ, al-quṣāqiṣ, al-quṣāqiṣah, al-qaṣūṣ* (9) [√*qṣṣ* "to cut off; to mangle"],
- *al-ḫalabs*, *al-ḫulābis*, *al-ḫulbus* "brave" (10) [four-radical],
- *al-ʾašdaḥ*, *al-šadīḥ*, *al-šandaḥ, al-šaddāḥ al-šādiḥiy* (12, 14) [√*šdḥ* "to break, crush"],
- *al-ʿifirrī*, *al-ʿafrī*, *al-ʿifriyah*, *al-ʿifrīt*, *al-ʾaʿfar* (9, 14) [√ʿ*fr* "to be dusty" and the secondary meaning "to be strong"],
- *al-qaswar*, *al-qaswarah* (8),[22]

[22] This term occurs in the Quran (74: 50–51). According to Ibn Kaṯīr (1999 8, p. 274), it is an Ethiopian loan. Yet it has no reflex in Geʿez (Leslau 1987). Others derive it from Arabic √*qṣr* "overcome, overpower, subdue" (see the discussion in Lane 2522).

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– *al-ġašūm*, *al-ġašamšam* (8) [√*ġšm* "to be unjust"],
– *al-bahūr*, *al-bahwar* (9) [√*bhr* "to overcome, subdue"],
– *al-harīt*, *al-harit* "wide-mouthed" (14),
– *al-mihza'*, *al-mihzā'* (14) [√*hz'* "to break, crush , etc."].

(2) Terms of *'af'al* form (elative) with reference to attributes:

al-'aḥyab "fearful" (14), *al-'ašğa'* "brave", *al-'aḥmar* "red", *al-'aswad* "black; chief", *al-'ašhab* "gray", *al-'awraq* "duskish", *al-'aṣhar* "dust-colored with redness", *al-'aqhab* "dusky white", (12), *al-'aġlab* "victor" (8), *al-'ankab* "oppressive; unjust; wide-shouldered" (10), *al-'ašdaq* (also *al-šudāqim*) "with wide submaxilla" (10), *al-'aḥwal* "cross-eyed" (10), *al-'arqab* "thick-necked" (11), *al-'aġbas* "ash-colored" (11), etc.

(3) Terms with metathesis:

al-za''āf and *al-'azzāf* (13) [√*z'f* "to kill quickly"], *al-muqarfiṣ*, *al-muqranfiṣ*, *al-muqranṣif* "that which binds it arms to its legs" (9–10) [√*qrfṣ*], *al-furāsin* and *al-furānis* (12) (see also *firnās* sub poetry No. 6 in section 1.1).

(4) Terms that refer to the voice:

al-za'r, *al-'az'ar*, *al-za'rah*, all meaning "roaring" (14–15), *al-muḥašriğ* "rattling" (13), *al-murtağiz* "thundering" (13), *al-muzamzim* "that which murmurs" (13).

(5) Terms that denote other animals:

al-fahd "cheetah" (10), *al-kalb* "dog" (12),[23] *al-qalūb*, *al-qalīb* "wolf" (10) [by-form], *al-sabandī*, *al-sabantī* "leopard" (11) [by-form], *al-'awf* "bird" (12).[24] In addition to these, there are some terms that are particularly shared with the (she-)camel (as expressions of largeness), like: *al-dubbaḥs* (8), *al-'aṭamṭam* (10), *al-dilhāṭ* (10), and *al-'antarīs* (15).

As one can see, most of these designations are general epithets. A consultation of the earliest dictionaries and notable books on etymology *('ištiqāq)* shows that some of them even have no particular association with the lion in the pre-Islamic time. They were roughly linked to it as a result of the rise of lexicology in the 2nd century AH. Here I will give three examples:

1. *ḥaṭ'am* (11): a name of a Yemenite tribe; it has no association with the lion in any of the earlier lexicographical works. The name is thought to give two

[23] See the phrase *kalbu Allah* in section 3 below.
[24] Cf. Semitic *'awp-* "bird" (a collective term) in MILITAREV/KOGAN 2005, No. 48.

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unrelated meanings: (1) "to daub with blood", for the people of the tribe (or the confederation) slaughtered a camel and daubed their palms with its blood, and (2) the same meaning as *'aftal* "with wildness between the thorax and sides" in reference to the (she-)camel (Ibn Durayd 1991, p. 520).

2. *ḫamzah* (9): derives from √*ḫmz* "sour" in reference to food or drink and "strong; hardy" for people (Lane 642). The latter meaning is apparently secondary and might be late, for, according to Lisān (5, p. 339), somebody was given the *kunya* (or nickname) *Abū Ḥamzah* by the Prophet after a kind of sour herb he used to gather. On the other hand, Ḥamzah b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was nicknamed *'Asad Allah* "Lion of God" by the Prophet. Presumably, Ibn Ḫālawayh, or the sources he drawn upon, confused the nickname *('Asad)* with the given name *(Ḥamzah)* considering the latter one of the lion designations.
3. *šaranbaṯ* (8): treated as a five-radical word in al-'Ayn, which does not link it to the lion (Al-Ḫalīl 1980–85 6, p. 304) and as four-radical from √*šrbṯ* "ugly; rough-handed/footed", plus the 'augmentative' *-n-* by Sībawayh in view of *šurābiṯ* (Sībawayh 1988 4, p. 322f; cf. also Lisān 2, p. 160).[25] Its association with the lion seems to be based on a line of poetry attributed to the early Islamic poet al-Aḫṭal [d. 710] (cited in Al-Suyūṭī 1986 1, p. 129):

šaranbaṯu l-kaffayni ḫāmī 'ašbuli 'iḏā laqāhu baṭalun lam yankali

Rough-pawed, the protector of the cubs,
If a hero challenges it, it does not cower.

It is clear from this line that *šaranbaṯ* is merely a general epithet which is used here to describe the lion's paw in particular. Apparently, Ibn Ḫālawayh or his source extracted it from outside this context considering it one of the lion designations. The same would hold for many other epithets mentioned in poetry.

A later notable scholar and lexicographer, Ibn Sīdah [d. 458 AH] also dedicated a complete section to lion designations in his *al-Muḫaṣṣaṣ* dictionary, which contains ca. 110 (Ibn Sīdah 1898 8, pp. 59–64). Unlike Ibn Ḫālawayh, he refers to his source (al-'Ayn by Al-Ḫalīl, al-Ǧamhara by Ibn Durayd, etc.) with evidence from poetry. However, although he cited designations which are mentioned in Ibn Ḫālawayh's booklet, he does not refer to it, indicating that he either ignored it or was unaware of it.

Thus, since Al-Aṣma'ī, or maybe earlier, the collection and classification of quasi-synonyms and epithets mentioned in poetry as 'names' has become a common method in Arabic scholarship. Some works which did

[25] The four-radical *šrbṯ* could derive from √*šrṯ* "to have a rough palm or foot with cracks" (Lisān 2, p. 159), which fits exactly with the meaning. If this is the case, the *-b-* can be explained as an infix which corresponds to the infix *-r-* in *fa'al* form, meaning it resulted from an avoidance of the gemination: *šarbaṭa* < *šarraṭa*.

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not survive are reported to cite six hundred designations of the lion or more (cf. AL-BĀBĪDĪ 1997, p. 66, fn. 3), and contemporary Arab scholars have followed this method (e. g., AL-ŠAMMARĪ 1989). An interesting philological debate between two classical scholars, Ibn Ḫālawayh and Abū ʿAlī al-Farisī [d. 377/987] gives us an idea about the question of concrete names, synonyms, and epithets and the confusion about them in Arabic scholarship (a report attributed to Abū ʿAlī al-Farisī himself):

> I was in the presence of Sayf al-Dawlah in Aleppo, and there was a group of philologists, among them being Ibn Ḫālawayh, who said: 'I know fifty names of the sword *(al-sayf)*'. Abū ʿAlī smiled and said: 'I know only one name, *al-sayf*'. Ibn Ḫālawayh: 'So what about *al-muhannad*, *al-ṣārim*, and so on?'. Abū ʿAlī: 'These are epithets; I am afraid that our *sheikh* (i. e. teacher) does not differentiate between the name and the epithet!' (cited in AL-SUYŪṬĪ 1986 1, p. 405).

Although Abū ʿAlī al-Farisī's argument sounds a bit radical as it ignores the fact that some names/synonyms could reflect colloquial variations, he is still right when it comes to a high number such as the lion's, sword's, and so on.

Nevertheless, neither etymology nor lexicology would be sufficient enough for understanding the 'original' motivation behind the multiplication of lion designations, which exceed the other animals'. In order to address this issue, I will consider lion imagery in its Semitic background and draw upon anthropological theories related to taboo 'names'.

3 Lion designations and lion imagery: a comparative contextual approach

The lion was associated with divinity and kingship in ancient Near Eastern traditions. The motif of a female deity accompanied with lions can be traced back in the Neolithic age (KEEL 1994, p. 158). Depending on the context, some features of the animal are highlighted and others are pushed into the background in the Mesopotamian art. Sumerian and Akkadian monarchs speak of themselves either as lions or fight them face-to-face. In the Neo-Assyrian royal narration and iconography the king hunts for the animal. Presentations of deities riding lions as mounts are frequently used in iconography. Still, it is the warlike goddess Ishtar (and her Northwest Semitic parallels Asherah, Astarte, and Anat) whose association with the lion remains of a special significance (WATANABE 2002).[26]

[26] For a comprehensive study on the leonine metaphor in ancient Near Eastern traditions, see STRAWN 2005.

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This ancient Near Eastern image of the lion as a divinity-associated animal has survived more visibly in Islamic traditions and folk epics than in early Arabic poetry we have examined (section 1.1). This survival is reflected by what the prophet Muḥammad said to his cousin 'Utbah b. Abī Lahab: *'akalaka kalbu Allah* "May you be eaten by the God's dog" in reference to the lion (Al-Ǧāḥiẓ 1965 2, p. 181). The expression *kalbu Allah* has its parallel in the Akkadian phrase: "The lion, **Ištar's dog**, roared" (Caplice 1965 1, p. 6). The other Islamic piece of evidence is the lion-Imam association in Shiite literature, where the supernatural powers of the animal are subordinated to the Imam's will so that he unites his own wisdom with the lion's strength and courage (Sindawi 2008). This subordination is even more exaggerated in the folk epic known as *sīrat al-Zīr Sālim*, where the hero Sālim (Abū Laylā al-Muhalhil) takes revenge against the lion for devouring his donkey by saddling it and making it carry the same water-skins the donkey was carrying and then *sāqahu miṯla al-kalb* "He drove it like a dog" (Qiṣṣat al-Zīr Sālim n. d., p. 33ff.). Going back to the poetic context (section 1.1), although the lion is metaphorically used to express bravery (in self-praise or encomium), it remains untouchable beyond subordination. It never interacts with humans. It is somehow 'exalted'.

All these references seem to suggest that the lion-divinity association had its root in the pre-Islamic tradition. This, however, did not necessarily involve lion worship, for the onomastic evidence does not advocate such a practice (Dirbas 2016). In order to further illustrate the relationship between the lion imagery and the high number of designations, I will draw upon anthropological theories regarding taboo 'names'.

Three main theories have been suggested on taboo and animal names:

1. Frazer (1911, p. 396ff.) believes in 'hunting taboo': when the animal is hunted, the utterance of its name is forbidden because, understanding human speech, it would either escape or become dangerous to the hunter. In some areas of Europe, farmers used to disuse the names of some animals, particularly between Christmas and Twelfth Night.
2. A close argument is that the taboo is due to the belief in the magical power of words: the mention of the name will invoke the appearance of the animal named and thus bring harm to the speaker (Smal-Stocki 1950, p. 490).
3. For Emeneau (1948, pp. 61–63), in some cases the 'taboo' name is due to a religious attitude rather than a fear of hunting or such.

Tabooing on animal names in Arabic, particularly the fearful and harmful ones, can be supported by the use of animals' *kunyas*. Several animals are known as *Abū-X*, exactly like people's *kunyas*.[27] According to the classical

[27] The richest source on animals' *kunyas* in Arabic is Ibn Al-Aṯīr 1991.

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explanation, the intention of the *kunya* is to honour someone by calling him or her after the first-born son, and compared to the *laqab* "by-name", it has been considered a more respectful way of addressing people (IBN AL-AṮĪR 1991, pp. 35–36). A more convincing hypothesis is that the *kunya* is a metonymic designation that corresponds to a general tendency among 'primitive' peoples, where an individual's name is surrounded by a taboo and is not to be pronounced unless exceptionally. But in historical times, the original intention here was forgotten (WENSINCK 1986, pp. 395–396). This explanation seems to be applicable to animals' *kunyas*, as one would not expect them to have been used as merely expressions of honour, especially when it comes to insects.

Given this analysis, we reach the following hypothesis: in an ancient time, and due to a taboo system, the concrete terms *'asad*, *layṯ*, and *labu'*, were perhaps replaced by epithets (denoting strength and physical attributes). This tabooing can be explained through a fear of mentioning the true name of the animal (the second theory) or a religious attitude (the third theory), without the necessity of lion worship. Some of these taboo designations particularly survived in onomastics and the poetic language, which, due to their conservative aspects, tend to preserve archaic forms. By the rise of Arabic lexicography, many other terms were roughly added to these designations (e. g., *ḥamzah, šaranbaṯ, ḥaṮ'am, kalb*, and so on).

4 Conclusion

In this article, we have dealt with lion designations in Arabic according to a contextual linguistic and cultural analysis that considered their occurrence in: (1) poetry, (2) onomastics, and (3) later sources (works/sections devoted to the lion). The poetic evidence shows that the majority of these designations are originally epithets or quasi-synonyms which are mentioned beside the concrete terms *'asad* and *layṯ*. The other source, onomastics, points to originally-epithet designations as well as a few loanwords from other Semitic languages, particularly Ancient Arabian. As for later sources, an examination of the most comprehensive collection of these designations, IBN ḤĀLAWAYH's booklet, upon which the classical major dictionaries (LISĀN, Tāǧ al-'Arūs, etc.) seem to have drawn, suggests that several of these designations were roughly connected to the lion due to confusion between epithets and synonyms (they were probably taken from poetry or other pieces of literature). Generally, this finding agrees with the short but brilliant discussion by AL-ĞĀḤIẒ (1965 5, p. 336ff.) that except for *'asad* and *layṯ*, the only primary or concrete names for the lion, the other designations are

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time-bound and inapplicable to all periods. In the last section of this article, we have tried to understand the motivation behind such a high number of designations from a comparative literary and anthropological angle. Given lion imagery in its Semitic background as well as anthropological theories on taboo and animals names, we have reached the assumption that some of these designations originated as taboo names, due to either a fear from the mention of the animal or a religious attitude, without the involvement of worship.

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Die Problematik von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* in Abū al-Ḥusain al-Baṣrīs *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad*

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Summary: The concepts of *ḥaqīqa* ("proper" or "literal meaning") and *maǧāz* ("figurative meaning") play a central role in many classical works of the genre of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (Islamic legal theory), since they are basic concepts in the hermeneutics of the texts from which Islamic law is derived. Using the example of the understanding of *ḥaqīqa* and *maǧāz* as expounded in Abū al-Ḥusain al-Baṣrī's *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad*, this paper will examine the way in which these two concepts relate to each other and their relevance to al-Baṣrī's theory of language. To this end, the chapters in the *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad* dealing with the concepts of *ḥaqīqa* and *maǧāz* are analysed in detail. As all meaningful linguistic expressions, according to al-Baṣrī, fall into one of the two categories of *ḥaqīqa* or *maǧāz*, it is possible to draw conclusions about his understanding of language as an instrument of communication in general, from his treatment of these two concepts. While the *ḥaqīqa*-meanings of expressions are understood as having been permanently fixed by a single coinage (*waḍʿ*), the concept of *maǧāz* allows for a much higher degree of flexibility in the usage of expressions. The importance of the theories of language propounded within *uṣūl al-fiqh* for the philosophy of language has been pointed out by Western scholars in recent decades. This article presents a detailed analysis of one of the central source texts for this topic.

1 Einleitung

Die Begriffe *ḥaqīqa* („eigentliche" oder „wörtliche Bedeutung") und *maǧāz* („übertragene Bedeutung"), die in dieser Studie untersucht werden sollen, sind Thema einer Reihe von Kapiteln am Anfang von al-Baṣrīs *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad*. In dieser Abhandlung soll al-Baṣrīs Behandlung dieser beiden Konzepte analysiert werden und gezeigt werden, dass der Umgang mit ihnen viel über al-Baṣrīs Konzeption von Sprache überhaupt verrät.

Der *Encyclopedia of Islam* zufolge ist *maǧāz*

> a term in rhetoric, means „trope" and, more generally, the use of a word deviating from its original meaning and use, its opposite being *ḥaḳīḳa* („veritative expression").[1]

Ḥaqīqa und *maǧāz* bezeichnen also die „ursprüngliche", „wörtliche", oder „eigentliche" Bedeutung eines Ausdrucks einerseits und seine „übertragene"

[1] Reinert / de Bruijn / Robinson (EI²), S. 1025–1028.

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oder „figurative" Bedeutung andererseits.[2] Die etymologische Herleitung des Wortes *maǧāz* ist hier relevant: *maǧāz* kommt von der Wurzel *ǧ-w-z*, was sowohl die Bedeutung „passieren", „überschreiten" hat als auch „erlaubt" oder „möglich sein".[3] *Maǧāz* ist also im wörtlichen Sinne das, was die ursprüngliche Wortbedeutung überschreitet, trägt aber zugleich die Konnotation von „Zulässigkeit" oder „Erlaubtheit".[4]

Abū al-Ḥusain al-Baṣrī (gest. 436/1044), ein muʿtazilitischer Theologe und ḥanafitischer Jurist aus Baṣra, der in Baghdad lebte und lehrte (mehr zu seinem historischen Umfeld in Abschnitt 2), ist der Autor zweier wichtiger Werke über *uṣūl al-fiqh*, von denen nur das *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad* vollständig erhalten ist.[5] HAMIDULLAHS Einleitung zufolge ist das *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad* das einzige vollständig verfügbare muʿtazilitische Werk über *uṣūl al-fiqh*, allerdings hat sich dies in den letzen Jahrzehnten geändert und es liegen nun auch einige andere Werke über *uṣūl* von muʿtazilitischen Autoren in vollständigen oder teilweisen Editionen vor.[6] Dennoch bleibt das *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad* eine wichtige Quelle, was die muʿtazilitische Lehre über *uṣūl al-fiqh* betrifft, da darin einige frühere Autoren zusammengefasst und diskutiert werden.[7] Das *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad* hatte einen weitreichenden Einfluss auf spätere Denker, auch außerhalb der muʿtazilitischen Schule, und wurde von Ibn Ḫaldūn als eines der vier wichtigsten Werke der Disziplin *uṣūl al-fiqh* beschrieben.[8]

Zu al-Baṣrīs Behandlung der Begriffe *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* liegt bislang noch wenig Literatur vor. VISHANOFFS Buch über die hermeneutischen bzw. sprachtheoretischen Aspekte von *uṣūl al-fiqh* enthält ein Kapitel über die baṣrische Muʿtazila mit Fokus auf al-Baṣrīs Lehrer ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār.[9] Zu ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār liegt überhaupt einiges an Literatur vor, während zu al-Baṣrī noch relativ wenig zu finden ist.[10]

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[2] Zu möglichen Übersetzungen der beiden Begriffe siehe GLEAVE 2012, S. 59f.

[3] LANE 1865, S. 484–486.

[4] Vgl. SIMON 2008, der S. 116 auf den Gebrauch der Grammatiker des Wortes *iǧāza*, „Erlaubnis", für dichterische Freiheit aufmerksam macht. An einer anderen Stelle spricht er von *maǧāz* als einer „zulässigen Übertretung" („licensed transgression"). VISHANOFF 2011 übersetzt *maǧāz* üblicherweise als „transgressive usage", um diesen Aspekt auszudrücken (S. 20f.).

[5] Vgl. ANSARI/SCHMIDTKE 2013, S. 96; MADELUNG (EI²), S. 25–26.

[6] Vgl. HAMIDULLAH 1964, S. 10f.; ANSARI/SCHMIDTKE 2013, S. 93–95.

[7] Vgl. HAMIDULLAH 1964, S. 11.

[8] Ibn Ḫaldūn (gest. 808/1406), *Muqaddima*, zitiert nach: HAMIDULLAH 1964, S. 22: „Ces quatre livres [al-Ǧuwainīs *al-Burhān*, al-Ġazālīs *al-Mustaṣfā*, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbārs *al-ʿUmad* und al-Basrīs *al-Muʿtamad*] sont les fondements et les piliers de cette science." Vgl. auch ANSARI/SCHMIDTKE 2013, S. 96f., MADELUNG, „Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī". Auch in der *Mawsūʿa* über die Terminologie der *uṣūl al- fiqh* (AL-ʿAǦAM 1998) wird das *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad* relativ oft zitiert (z. B. im Eintrag über *ḥaqīqa* siebenmal, S. 580, und im Eintrag zu *maǧāz* sechsmal, S. 1337).

[9] VISHANOFF 2011, S. 109–151.

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Zur Sprachtheorie der *uṣūl al-fiqh* gibt es zwei neue Studien, die das Thema aus einer modernen sprachphilosophischen Perspektive untersuchen, Yunis Alis *Medieval Islamic Pragmatics* (2000) und Gleaves *Islam and Literalism* (2012). Beide setzen einen Schwerpunkt auf die Anwendung der Theorien der *uṣūliyyūn* auf heutige sprachphilosophische Fragestellungen und konzentrieren sich auf die epochenübergreifende Ausarbeitung von Konzepten anstatt auf die textnahe Interpretation einzelner Autoren.

Eine eingehende Anaylse der Besprechung der Begriffe *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* in al-Baṣrīs *Kitāb al-muʿtamad* verspricht also neue Einsichten in die Rolle beider Begriffe und ihr Verhältnis zueinander. Da al-Baṣrī wie viele andere islamische Denker seiner Zeit davon ausgeht, dass Worte ihre Bedeutungen in einem ursprünglich willkürlichen, dann aber dauerhaft gültigen Akt der Prägung *(waḍʿ)* erlangt haben, erscheint die Sprache zunächst einmal als ein strikt fixiertes System.[11] Die Möglichkeit des Gebrauchs von Ausdrücken in übertragener Bedeutung *(maǧāz)* sowie der späteren Entwicklung neuer Wortbedeutungen im allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch *(ʿurf)* erlauben jedoch sowohl dauerhafte Veränderungen als auch einzelne Abweichungen von diesem fixen System von Wort-Bedeutungs-Paaren (siehe Abschnitt 3.2). In diesem Zusammenhang wird al-Baṣrīs Zugehörigkeit zur muʿtazilitischen Schule in der Analyse eine Rolle spielen, insofern die Möglichkeit von *maǧāz* und speziell sein Vorkommen im Koran für die muʿtazilitische Lehre essentielle Voraussetzungen sind (siehe Abschnitt 3.3).

Allerdings sind diesen Abweichungen von der ursprünglichen Bedeutung, wie gezeigt werden soll, gerade durch die beschriebene Konzeptualisierung auch gewisse Grenzen gesetzt: Sprache bleibt in erster Linie statisch konzipiert, und die durch die eben geschilderten Konzepte eingeführte Flexibilität wird als die Abweichung von der Regel verstanden.[12] Besonderer Wert wird darauf gelegt, dass der Gebrauch von *maǧāz* nur zulässig ist, wenn dies durch kontextuelle Hinweise *(dalīl/dalāla/qarīna)* angezeigt wird, damit die Deutlichkeit der Kommunikation gewahrt bleibt. Auch in dieser Hinsicht sind Abweichungen von der ursprünglichen Bedeutung Regeln unterworfen, können also nicht willkürlich gehandhabt werden. Eine klare, scharfe Unterscheidung zwischen *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* erweist sich allerdings

[10] Zu ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār siehe z.B. Schöck 2006, v.a. S. 382–386; Vishanoff 2011, S. 109–151; sowie Peters 1976. Betreffend Literatur zu al-Baṣrī siehe Ansari/Schmidtke 2013, S. 96–98, bes. Anm. 24 und 31.

[11] Zur Verbreitung dieser Annahme im islamischen Denken vgl. z.B. Weiss 2010, S. 119f. Näheres dazu im Abschnitt 3.2.2.

[12] Vgl. dazu auch Vishanoff 2011, S. 125f., wo ein ähnliches Zusammenspiel von Rigidität und Flexibilität im Werk von ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār beschrieben wird.

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als problematisch. Al-Baṣrī nennt einige Kriterien, die aber allesamt Ausnahmen zulassen (siehe Abschnitt 3.4).

Arabische Zitate werden nach den Transkriptionsregeln der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft zitiert. Bei arabischen Ausdrücken in Zitaten von anderen Autoren wird die jeweils in den Quellen verwendete Schreibweise beibehalten. Übersetzungen arabischer Zitate sind, soweit nicht anders vermerkt, von mir. Koranzitate sind mit Suren- und Versnummer angegeben und in der Übersetzung von PARET zitiert.

2 Al-Baṣrī in seinem intellektuellen Umfeld

Abū al-Ḥusain al-Baṣrī (gestorben 436/1044) gehörte der baṣrischen Schule der Muʿtazila an, war aber in seinen Methoden auch von der (auf die griechische Tradition zurückgehenden) Philosophie beeinflusst, was ihm innerhalb der baṣrischen Muʿtazila zum Teil Kritik einbrachte.[13] Das *Kitāb al-muʿtamad* ist, wie bereits in der Einleitung erwähnt, al-Baṣrīs einflussreiches Hauptwerk zu *uṣūl al-fiqh*.

Uṣūl al-fiqh beschäftigt sich mit der Herleitung von Rechtsbestimmungen aus offenbarten Texten. VISHANOFF identifiziert das zentrale Problem der islamischen Rechtstheorie als die Vermittlung zwischen offenbarten Texten und daraus abgeleiteten Rechtsgrundsätzen, die von der Mehrheit der *uṣūliyyūn* mithilfe der Analyse von sprachlicher Mehrdeutigkeit – in welcher Form auch immer – unternommen wurde.[14] Da das islamische Recht sich in hohem Maße auf Texte stützt, spielen sprachtheoretische Fragen wie die Behandlung von ursprünglicher und übertragener Bedeutung bei der Ausarbeitung einer Rechtstheorie eine große Rolle.[15] Darüber hinaus führt das besondere pragmatische Interesse (das Abzielen auf die theoretische Untermauerung und Herleitung des offenbarten Rechts) in den *uṣūl* zu einer anderen Schwerpunktsetzung als dies in Disziplinen wie Grammatik und Lexikographie der Fall war. Während letztere die Sprache eher um ihrer selbst willen betrachten, muss die Rechtstheorie, die die Interpretation von Texten (welche als Gottes Kommunikation mit der Menschheit verstanden wurden) im Blick hatte, problematische Aspekte tatsächlicher Kommunikation berücksichtigen.[16]

[13] Vgl. MADELUNG (EI²). Für Näheres zu al-Baṣrīs intellektuellem Umfeld siehe ANSARI/SCHMIDTKE 2013, S. 91–95, VISHANOFF 2011, S. 109–122. Zur Unterscheidung zwischen der baṣrischen und der Baġdader Schule der Muʿtazila siehe GIMARET (EI²).

[14] Vgl. VISHANOFF 2011, S. xvi.

[15] Vgl. HALLAQ 1997, S. 42, WEISS 2010, S. 113.

[16] Vgl. SCHWARB 2007, S. 143, YUNIS ALI 2000, S. 6f.

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In diesem Zusammenhang ist al-Baṣrīs Zugehörigkeit zur Muʿtazila relevant. Eines der zentralen Prinzipien der muʿtazilitischen Theologie ist die absolute Einheit und Transzendenz Gottes, was die wörtliche Deutung aller anthropomorphischen Beschreibungen Gottes im Koran unmöglich macht: Vorstellungen wie die, dass Gott im wörtlichen Sinne auf einem Thron sitzt, widersprechen diesem Prinzip.[17] Die Muʿtaziliten hatten daher ein Interesse daran, die Möglichkeit und positive Qualität von *maǧāz* und sein Vorkommen im Koran zu verteidigen (siehe 3.3).

David Vishanoff zufolge hatte speziell die baṣrische Muʿtazila eine ganz eigene rechtshermeneutische Denktradition, die sich vor allem durch zwei Prinzipien auszeichnete: Zum Einen, dass Gott zu jeder offenbarten Äußerung dem Hörer Hinweise zugänglich macht, die die intendierte Bedeutung der Äußerung vollkommen klar machen; zum Anderen, dass die Bedeutung einer Äußerung neben der eigentlichen Wortbedeutung von der Intention des Sprechers abhängig ist.[18] Diese Punkte sollten bei der Untersuchung von al-Baṣrīs Besprechung von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* bedacht werden.

3 *Maǧāz* und *ḥaqīqa* im *Kitāb al-muʿtamad*

3.1 Struktur und Einordnung des Textes

Das *Kitāb al-muʿtamad* beginnt mit einer längeren Einleitung über das Ziel und die Bestandteile der Disziplin der *uṣūl al-fiqh* sowie einige sprachtheoretische Grundlagen: Auf die einleitenden Kapitel über das Ziel des vorliegenden Werkes und den Aufbau der *uṣūl al-fiqh* folgt ein Kapitel zur wahren Definition der Sprache (wörtlich: Rede) an sich (*ḥaqīqatu ʾl-kalām*, S. 14–16), deren Ausdrücke al-Baṣrī zufolge in *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* zerfallen.[19] Entsprechend machen die Kapitel über *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* auch den größten Teil der Einleitung aus (S. 16–38), da al-Baṣrī sie für das Verständnis der eigentlichen Themen der *uṣūl al-fiqh* für notwendig hält:

[17] Vgl. Gimaret (EI²); Gleave 2012, S. 32.

[18] Vgl. Vishanoff 2011, S. 111–120. Siehe besonders S. 120: „These two tenets—the principle of clarity and the dependence of meaning on intent—formed the backbone of a distinctive Baṣra Muʿtazilī tradition of legal hermeneutics."

[19] Vgl. Abū al-Ḥusain al-Baṣrī: *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. Hrsg. v. Muhammad Hamidullah. Damaskus 1964 (im Folgenden zitiert als KM, Seitenzahl, Zeilennummer), S. 34, Z. 20: *wa-min aḥkāmi ʾl-ḥaqīqati wa-ʾl-maǧāzi ʾan lā yaḥlu minhumā kalāmun waḍaʿahu ahlu ʾl-luġati li-šaiʾin*, „Zu den Regeln für *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* gehört, dass kein Sprachausdruck *(kalām)*, den die Sprachgemeinschaft *(ahl al-luġa)* für etwas geprägt hat, ihrer entbehrt."

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> Da […] die Gebote und Verbote sowie die Allgemeinheit [von Begriffen] zu den Methoden des Rechts gehören [die Teil der Disziplin der *uṣūl al-fiqh* sind], und da die Unterscheidung zwischen ursprünglicher und übertragener Bedeutung notwendig ist für unsere Erkenntnis darüber, dass das Gebot, das Verbot und das Allgemeine dasjenige sind, was in der ursprünglichen und in der übertragenen Bedeutung verwendet wird, müssen die Bestandteile der Sprache vorangestellt werden. Und dazu gehört die Besprechung von ursprünglicher und übertragener Bedeutung, und die Regeln, die für diese gelten, und was bei den Geboten und Verboten zwischen ihnen unterscheidet.[20]

Die Behandlung des Themas *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* im *Kitāb al-muʿtamad* lässt sich grob in drei Teile gliedern:

1. Die Definition von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* und ihre Unterarten (S. 16–28)
2. Die Argumentation für das Vorkommen von *maǧāz* in der Sprache und besonders im Koran (S. 29–31)
3. Die Verwendung und Interpretation von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* (S. 32–38).

Die folgende Analyse wird nacheinander diese drei Themenblöcke behandeln.

3.2 Die Definition von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz*

3.2.1 Die Definition

Zu Beginn der Kapitel über *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* definiert al-Baṣrī *ḥaqīqa* als einen Ausdruck, „mit dem das bezeichnet wird, wofür [dieser Ausdruck] im Ursprung der Konvention *(iṣṭilāḥ)*, innerhalb derer die Kommunikation stattfindet, geprägt worden ist".[21] *Maǧāz* wird dazu korrespondierend definiert als ein Ausdruck, der eine von der ursprünglich geprägten abweichende Bedeutung hat:

> *Maǧāz* ist [ein Ausdruck], mit dem eine konventionelle Bedeutung bezeichnet wird, die von dem abweicht, worauf für ihn im Ursprung der Übereinkunft *(muwāḍaʿa)*, innerhalb derer die Kommunikation stattfindet, übereingekommen wurde.[22]

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[20] Ebd., 13, 4–7: *lammā […] wa-kāna ʾl-amru wa-ʾn-nahyu wa-ʾl-ʿumūmu min ṭuruqi ʾl-fiqhi, wa-kāna ʾl-faṣlu baina ʾl-ḥaqīqati wa-ʾl-maǧāzi tuftaqaru ilaihi maʿrifatunā bianna ʾl-amra wa-ʾn-nahya wa-ʾl-ʿumūma mā ʾl-laḏī yufīdu ʿalā ʾl-ḥaqīqati wa-ʿalā ʾl-maǧāzi, waǧaba taqdīmu aqsāmi ʾl-kalāmi, wa-ḏikru ʾl-ḥaqīqati minhu waʾl-maǧāzi, wa-aḥkāmihā, wa-mā yunfaṣilu bihi bainahumā ʿalā ʾl-awāmiri wa-ʾn-nawāhī.*

[21] Ebd., 16, 17f.: *mā ufīda bihā mā wuḍiʿat lahu fī aṣli ʾl-iṣṭilāḥi ʾl-laḏī waqaʿa ʾt-taḫāṭubu bihi.*

[22] Ebd., 16, 19f.: *waʾl-maǧāzu huwa mā urīda bihi maʿnan muṣṭalaḥan ʿalaihi, ġairu mā ʾṣṭuliḥa ʿalaihi fī aṣli tilka ʾl-muwāḍaʿati ʾl-latī waqaʿa ʾt-taḫāṭubu fīhā.*

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Die Definition von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* als der Gebrauch eines Ausdrucks in der ursprünglichen bzw. einer davon abweichenden Bedeutung ist in der arabischen Tradition durchaus gängig.[23]

Zum Verständnis dieser Definition ist die Erläuterung einiger Konzepte notwendig, die deshalb in den folgenden Abschnitten eingehender untersucht werden. Zunächst einmal ist der Begriff der Prägung *(waḍʿ)* von Ausdrücken für ihre Bedeutungen von zentraler Bedeutung. Er wird in den Abschnitten 3.2.2 und 3.2.3 thematisiert werden.

Ein weiterer wichtiger, aber ebenfalls problematischer Begriff ist *iṣṭilāḥ* („Konvention"), der einerseits eng mit dem Begriff *waḍʿ* verknüpft ist, andererseits auch für die Zulässigkeit von davon abweichenden *maǧāz*-Bedeutungen ausschlaggebend zu sein scheint (Abschnitt 3.2.4).

Ein letzter auffälliger Punkt an dieser Definition ist, dass die Definition von *maǧāz* genau komplementär zu der von *ḥaqīqa* ist, indem *maǧāz* jede Abweichung vom *ḥaqīqa*-Gebrauch eines Ausdrucks bezeichnet. Daraus folgt zum Einen, dass *maǧāz* immer von *ḥaqīqa* abhängig ist, wie al-Baṣrī auch ausdrücklich betont,[24] zum Anderen, dass es keine sinnvollen Ausdrücke gibt, die nicht entweder *ḥaqīqa* oder *maǧāz* sind.[25] Die Implikationen hiervon sind Thema des Abschnitts 3.2.5, bevor dann in 3.2.6 betrachtet wird, worin „Abweichungen von der ursprünglichen Bedeutung" nach al-Baṣrī konkret bestehen.

3.2.2 *Waḍʿ*: Begriffsprägung

Das Konzept der Prägung *(waḍʿ)* von Begriffen ist zentral für die oben zitierte Definition. Die überwiegende Mehrheit der islamischen Rechtstheoretiker ging davon aus, dass Ausdrücke im Ursprung der Sprache auf irgendeine Weise für ihre Bedeutungen festgelegt wurden. Wer der Urheber dieser Prägung war, war dabei umstritten, aber es war im Allgemeinen Konsens, dass die Prägung willkürlich stattfand, auch wenn danach die geprägten Bedeutungen dauerhaft feststanden.[26]

Die oben zitierten Definitionen stützen sich auf diese Auffassung von Begriffsprägung: Jedes Wort hat eine ihm durch *waḍʿ* zugeordnete Bedeutung

[23] Vgl. Gleave 2012, S. 98, Yunis Ali 2000, S. 106. Siehe hierzu auch: Weiss 2010, S. 130, Vishanoff 2011, S. 125.

[24] Vgl. KM, z. B. S. 35.

[25] Vgl. ebd., S. 34.

[26] Vgl. Gleave 2012, S. 30: „In the classical works of uṣūl, meanings are attached to words by an act of 'placing' (waḍʿ) or 'coining', whereby the sound-meaning relationship is established. There is, however, no 'natural' relationship between the sound […] and the meaning. In this sense, the relationship is arbitrary". Siehe auch Yunis Ali 2000, S. 16–18, Weiss 2010, S. 117, 119, Vishanoff 2011, S. 117, 125.

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und kann entweder in dieser Bedeutung *(ḥaqīqa)* oder in einer davon abweichenden *(maǧāz)* verwendet werden. Wie die eben beschriebene Konzeption von *waḍʿ* selbst, war auch die Erklärung von *maǧāz* und *ḥaqīqa* anhand des *waḍʿ* allgemein etabliert.[27]

In diesem Zusammenhang muss klar zwischen zwei Arten von „Bedeutung" unterschieden werden: der ursprünglich geprägten Bedeutung und der intendierten Bedeutung. Letztere kann mit ersterer identisch sein, muss aber nicht, wie die Möglichkeit von *maǧāz* klar zeigt. Von beidem verschieden ist der Wortgebrauch *(istiʿmāl)*: Für eine bestimmte intendierte Bedeutung ließen sich auch andere sprachliche Ausdrücke finden, die *ḥaqīqatan* oder *maǧāzan* für diese Bedeutung stünden. *Istiʿmāl* bezeichnet also den kontextuell gebundenen Gebrauch eines Ausdrucks in einer bestimmten Bedeutung, nicht die Bedeutung selbst.[28]

3.2.3 Sprachliche, traditionelle und juristische Prägung

Al-Baṣrī betont direkt im Anschluss an seine Definition von *ḥaqīqa*, dass diese Definition drei Arten von *ḥaqāʾiq* mit einschließt: „sprachliche" *ḥaqīqa*, „gebräuchliche" bzw. „traditionelle" *ḥaqīqa* sowie „rechtliche" bzw. „juristische" *ḥaqīqa*.[29] *Maǧāz* gibt es ebenfalls in diesen drei Varianten: „*Wa-ʾl-maǧāz aiḍan [qad] yakūnu maǧāzan fī ʾl-luġati, ʾau fī ʾl-ʿurfi, ʾau fī ʾš-šarʿi.*"[30] Es gibt also drei verschiedene Bereiche der Sprache, *luġa* (ursprüngliche Sprache), *ʿurf* (Tradition) und *šarʿ* (Recht). Al-Baṣrī nennt diese Bereiche *muwāḍaʿāt*,[31] ein Begriff, der von *waḍʿ* hergeleitet ist, was nahelegt, dass es sich um drei separate Bereiche handelt, die jeweils in einer eigenen *waḍʿ*-Übereinkunft ihren Ursprung haben. Daher kann es in jeder der *muwāḍaʿāt ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* geben.

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[27] Vgl. YUNIS ALI 2000, S. 16–18, GLEAVE 2012, S. 63.

[28] Zum Beispiel wird der Begriff *istaʿmala* in KM 17, 11–14 so verwendet. Vgl. hierzu auch YUNIS ALI 2000, v.a. S. 7. YUNIS ALI merkt auch an, dass dies an die Unterscheidung zwischen Semantik und Pragmatik in der heutigen Sprachphilosophie erinnert (vgl. ebd., S. 9).

[29] KM 16, 18f.: *wa-qad daḫala fī hāḏā ʾl-ḥaddi ʾl-ḥaqīqatu ʾl-luġawiyya, wa-ʾl-ʿurfiyya, wa-ʾš-šarʿiyya.*

[30] Vgl. ebd., 19, 13f.

[31] Zum Beispiel ebd., 19, 11–13: *li-anna ʾl-lafẓa iḏā afāda ʾl-maʿnā ʿalā sabīli ʾl-ḥaqīqati, fa-immā ʾan yufīdahu bi-muwāḍaʿatin šarʿiyyatin ʾau ġairi šarʿiyyatin bal luġawiyyatin. wa-ʾl-luġawiyyatu ḍarbāni: immā ʾaṣliyyatun au ṭāriʾatun wa-hiya ʾl-ʿurfiyyatu.* PETERS 1976, S. 304f. spricht über den Begriff der *muwāḍaʿa* (was er als „convention" übersetzt) bei ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār. Dort scheint *muwāḍaʿa* für den Prozess des *waḍʿ* oder die daraus resultierende Konvention im Allgemeinen zu stehen. Al-Baṣrīs eben zitierter Gebrauch des Begriffes legt allerdings nahe, dass er verschiedene Arten von *muwāḍaʿa* unterscheidet.

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Sowohl die *šarʿī*- als auch die *ʿurfī*-Bedeutungen sind Modifizierungen der ursprünglichen *luġawī*-Bedeutungen.[32] Der Unterschied ist, dass „rechtliche Begriffe diejenigen sind, deren Prägung für die Bedeutung vom [offenbarten] Gesetz stammt"[33], während *ʿurfī*-Bedeutungen sich mit der Zeit aus den *luġawī*-Bedeutungen entwickeln. Al-Baṣrī behandelt *šarʿī*-Bedeutungen denn auch als separate Kategorie, entstanden durch eine zweite ursprüngliche Prägung, während *ʿurfī*-Ausdrücke eigentlich ein Sonderfall der *luġawī*-Ausdrücke sind.[34] Für die Analyse von al-Baṣrīs Theorie von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* ist die *ʿurfī*-Prägung interessant, da damit die Entwicklung neuer „ursprünglicher" Bedeutungen in der natürlichen Sprache erklärt wird. Dies führt zu einer differenzierteren Sicht auf das Verhältnis von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz*, die mit Bezug auf die geprägten Wortbedeutungen definiert sind.

ʿUrfī-Bedeutungen kommen, so al-Basrī, zustande, indem eine Gruppe von Menschen beginnt, ein Wort hauptsächlich in einer anderen Bedeutung zu verwenden.[35] Mit der Zeit weitet sich der Gebrauch auf alle Sprecher aus *(„yašīʿu fī ʾl-kulli ʿalā ṭūli ʾz-zamān")* und die ursprüngliche Bedeutung gerät in Vergessenheit.[36] Die neue Bedeutung ist dann zwar in Bezug auf die ursprüngliche Sprache *maǧāz*, in Bezug auf das Gebräuchliche aber *ḥaqīqa*.[37] Mit der Theorie des *ʿurf* wird also der natürliche Wandel der Sprache im Laufe der Zeit beschrieben.

Bei den entstehenden *ʿurfī*-Bedeutungen unterscheidet al-Baṣrī drei verschiedene Fälle: Entweder ist die *ʿurfī*-Bedeutung gar nicht völlig von der ursprünglichen *luġawī*-Bedeutung verschieden, sondern „man verwendet [den Namen *(ism)*] für einen Teil dessen, was er in der [ursprünglichen] Sprache bezeichnete".[38] Oder aber die *ʿurfī*-Bedeutung ist von der ursprünglichen Bedeutung ganz verschieden; dann kann die Bedeutungsverschiebung zwei Ergebnisse haben:

> Eines ist, dass der Name zum *maǧāz*[-Ausdruck] für das wird, wofür er in der [ursprünglichen] Sprache *ḥaqīqa* war, und das Andere, dass er *ḥaqīqa* dafür

[32] Vishanoff 2011 beschreibt das gleiche Phänomen bei ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār (S. 125).

[33] KM 24, 2–3: *al-ismu ʾš-šarʿī huwa mā ʾstufīda bi-ʾš-šarʿi waḍʿuhu li-ʾl-maʿnā.*

[34] Ebd, 19, 12–13: *immā an yufīdahu bi-muwāḍaʿatin šarʿiyyatin au ġairi šarʿiyyatin bal luġawiyyatin. wa-ʾl-luġawiyyatu ḍarbāni: immā ʾaṣliyyatun au ṭāriʾatun wa-hiya ʾl-ʿurfiyyatu.*

[35] Ebd., 28, 7f.: *wa-ammā kaifiyyatu ʾntiqāli ʾl-ismi biʾl-ʿurf, fa-huwa annahu yataʿaḍḍaru, maʿa kaṯrati ahli ʾl-luġati, an yatawāṭaʾa ʿala ḍalika. wa-lākinnahu lā yumtaniʿu an yanqula ʾl-isma ṯāʾifatun mina ʾṭ-ṭawāʾifi.*

[36] Ebd., 28, 9f.: *ṯumma yanšiʾu ʾl-qarnu ʾṭ-ṭānī fa-lā yaʿrifūna min iṭlāqi ḍālika ʾl-ismi illā ḍālika ʾl-maʿnā ʾl-laḏī nuqila ilaihi.*

[37] Vgl. ebd., 17, 6f.

[38] Ebd., 17, 16: *an yastaʿmilahu fī baʿḍin ma kāna yufīduhu fī ʾl-luġati.*

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bleibt, sodass er ein Homonym *(muštarak)* für die sprachliche und die traditionelle Bedeutung wird.[39]

Dies zeigt, wie wichtig es ist, dass in der Definition spezifiziert wird, dass *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* sich auf die Prägung in ihrer eigenen *muwāḍaʿa* (*luġa*, *ʿurf* oder *šarʿ*) beziehen:[40] Obwohl sich die *ʿurfī*-Bedeutungen aus den *luġawī*-Bedeutungen entwickeln, sind die *muwāḍaʿāt* in Bezug auf die *ḥaqīqa*/*maǧāz*-Unterscheidung voneinander unabhängig, insofern die an sich ursprünglichere *ḥaqīqa luġawiyya*-Bedeutung innerhalb des *ʿurf* auch *maǧāz* sein kann. Das Ineinandergreifen der beiden Unterscheidungen fügt der *waḍʿ*-Konzeption von Bedeutung eine weitere Schicht an Komplexität hinzu.

Luġa, *ʿurf* und *šarʿ* sind also drei unabhängige Bereiche der Sprache, in denen es jeweils *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* gibt und die jeweils ihre eigene Begriffsprägung haben. Die Besonderheit der *ʿurfī*-Bedeutungen liegt dabei darin, dass sie sich aus den *luġawī*-Bedeutungen entwickeln und somit Ergebnis einer gewissen Flexibilität des zunächst sehr rigide scheinenden *waḍʿ*-Systems von Bedeutungen sind.[41] Die dadurch zugelassene Komplexität ist notwendig, um zu erklären, wie Sprache als effektives Kommunikationswerkzeug dienen kann.

3.2.4 *Iṣṭilāḥ*: Wie frei ist *maǧaz*?

Ein weiterer Begriff, der in al-Baṣrīs Definition von *ḥaqīqa* eine Rolle spielt, ist *iṣṭilāḥ* („Übereinkunft", „Konvention"): Ein Ausdruck ist *ḥaqīqa*, wenn er in der Bedeutung verwendet wird, „für die er im Ursprung jener Konvention (*iṣṭilāḥ*), innerhalb derer die Kommunikation stattfindet, geprägt wurde".[42] Mit dem Ursprung des *iṣṭilāḥ* scheint hier der *waḍʿ* gemeint zu sein: es handelt sich um die Übereinkunft, durch die den Worten ursprünglich ihre Bedeutung gegeben wurde. An der Parallelstelle bei der Definition von *maǧāz* wird der Begriff *muwāḍaʿa* offenbar in derselben Bedeutung gebraucht wie *iṣṭilāḥ* an der eben zitierten Stelle.[43] Im Bezug auf die *ḥaqīqa*-

[39] Ebd., 17, 17–19: *ʾaḥaduhumā ʾan yakūna ʾl-ismu qad ṣāra maǧāzan fī-mā kāna ḥaqīqatan fīhi fī ʾl-luġati. wa-ʾl-ʾaḥaru ʾan tabqā ḥaqīqatuhu fīhi ḥattā yakūna muštarakan baina ʾl-maʿnā ʾl-luġawī wa-ʾl-ʿurfī.* Der Gebrauch des Wortes *„muštarak"* ist hier ein anderer als es, YUNIS ALI zufolge, in der *uṣūl*-Literatur sonst der Fall ist. Ihm zufolge bezeichnete *muštarak* in der Regel einen Ausdruck, dem im ursprünglichen *(luġawī) waḍʿ* gleichermaßen zwei Bedeutungen zugeordnet wurden, während Worte, die durch *ʿurf* neue Bedeutungen erlangt haben, als *manqūl* bezeichnet wurden (YUNIS ALI 2000, S. 116).

[40] Vgl. KM 16, 20: *fī aṣli tilka ʾl-muwāḍaʿati ʾl-latī waqaʿa ʾt-taḫāṭubu fīhā.*

[41] Zu dieser Flexibilität der Sprache in der muʿtazilitischen Sprachtheorie siehe VISHANOFF 2011, S. 125 und SCHWARB 2007, S. 128.

[42] KM 16, 17f.

[43] Ebd., 16, 20. Zur Bedeutung des Begriffs *muwāḍaʿa* siehe Abschnitt 3.2.3. SCHWARB 2007 nennt sowohl *muwāḍaʿa* als auch *iṣṭilāḥ* als Begriffe für die gemeinsame konventi-

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Bedeutungen ist also mit *iṣṭilāḥ* das aus dem *waḍʿ* resultierende konventionelle Bedeutungssystem gemeint.

Auffällig ist jedoch, dass auch die von den in dieser Konvention festgelegten Bedeutungen abweichenden *maǧāz*-Bedeutungen als „*muṣṭalaḥan*" beschrieben werden:

> *Maǧāz* ist [ein Ausdruck], mit dem eine konventionelle Bedeutung bezeichnet wird, die von dem abweicht, worauf für ihn im Ursprung der Übereinkunft *(muwāḍaʿa)*, in der die Kommunikation stattfindet, übereingekommen wurde.[44]

Es gibt also zwei Arten von *iṣṭilāḥāt*: Durch die erste sind die *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen festgelegt. Aber auch die *maǧāz*-Bedeutungen sind wiederum durch *iṣṭilāḥ* bestimmt. Es handelt sich also nicht um willkürliche Abweichungen von der ursprünglichen Bedeutung, sondern auch hier muss eine Übereinkunft zwischen den Sprechern vorliegen, damit der betreffende Ausdruck in dieser Art und Weise verwendet werden kann.

Im Anschluss an seine eigene Definition von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* zitiert al-Baṣrī eine Definition von Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Baṣrī,[45] die im Kern ebenso lautet wie al-Baṣrīs eigene Definition, nur dass der Begriff der *iṣṭilāḥ* fehlt.[46] Mit dieser Definition wäre der Gebrauch jedes Ausdrucks in jeder beliebigen Bedeutung gerechtfertigt und als „*maǧāz*" zu bezeichnen, auch wenn die intendierte Bedeutung nichts mit der ursprünglichen Bedeutung des Ausdrucks zu tun hat (al-Baṣrī bringt das Beispiel des Gebrauchs des Wortes „Himmel", wenn die Erde gemeint ist). Dagegen werden mehrere mögliche Einwände vorgebracht, die alle das Verständnis des Hörers thematisieren: Wenn so weit von der ursprünglichen Bedeutung entfernte Bedeutungen intendiert sind, so scheint die allgemeine Stoßrichtung der Einwände zu sein, kann der Hörer nicht mehr verstehen, was gemeint ist. Al-Baṣrī verteidigt Abū ʿAbdallāhs Definition, indem er betont, dass jeder *maǧāz*-Gebrauch eines Ausdruck, ob weit hergeholt oder nicht, einen zusätzlichen Hinweis *(dalīl)* braucht, um verstanden zu werden.[47] Es scheint ihm also gerade nicht darauf anzukommen, ob es eine konventionelle Verknüpfung zwischen der ursprünglichen und der intendierten Bedeutung gibt, sondern es ist der Kontext, der einen *dalīl* zu der *maǧāz*-Bedeutung beinhaltet und dadurch die Übereinkunft *(iṣṭilāḥ)* zwischen Sprecher und Hörer zustande bringt.

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onelle Grundlage („conventional basis"), die die Sprecher teilen müssen, damit Sprache kommunikativ sein kann (S. 123).

[44] KM, 16, 19–20: *Waʾl-maǧāzu huwa mā urīda bihi maʿnan muṣṭalaḥan ʿalaihi, ġairu mā ʾṣṭuliḥa ʿalaihi fī aṣli tilka ʾl-muwāḍaʿati ʾl-latī waqaʿa ʾt-taḫāṭubu fīhā.*

[45] Ebenfalls ein Anhänger der baṣrischen Schule der Muʿtazila und Lehrer von ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār. Siehe zu ihm Schwarb (EI³).

[46] KM 17, 9f: *ḥadda […] „al-ḥaqīqata" bi-annahā mā ufīda bihā mā wuḍiʿat lahu. wa ḥadda „ʾl-maǧāza" bi-annahu mā ufīda bihi ġairu mā wuḍiʿat lahu.*

[47] Vgl. ebd., S. 17–18.

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Andererseits scheint al-Baṣrī an anderen Stellen durchaus davon auszugehen, dass es irgendeine Art von konzeptueller Verknüpfung zwischen der *ḥaqīqa-* und der *maǧāz*-Bedeutung desselben Wortes gibt. Er zeigt nämlich auf, dass die Worte in ihrer *maǧāz*-Bedeutung aufgrund einer Ähnlichkeit oder anderen konzeptuellen Verknüpfung zu ihrer *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung verwendet werden.[48] Es kann sich nur nicht um eine notwendige Bedingung für die Zulässigkeit eines bestimmten Wortgebrauchs handeln, da Fälle denkbar sind, wo der Kontext die Verständigung auf eine *maǧāz*-Bedeutung auch ohne eine solche Verbindung herstellt.[49] Der *maǧāz*-Gebrauch von Ausdrücken hat also einen großen Spielraum, der aber durch einen die Verständigung ermöglichenden Kontext geschaffen werden muss.

3.2.5 Der Primat von *ḥaqīqa*

Es ist bereits deutlich geworden, dass alle mit dem *waḍʿ* geprägten Ausdrücke, die nicht *ḥaqīqa* sind, *maǧāz* sind,[50] mit Ausnahme von Eigennamen *(alqāb)*, weil diese keine ursprünglich geprägte Bedeutung haben, von der der Gebrauch abweichen könnte.[51] Eine weitere Ausnahme ist der Moment der Wortprägung selbst:

> Wenn der Präger [der Sprache] sagt: […] Ich habe dies „Mauer" genannt", kann das Wort „Mauer" in diesem Fall nicht *ḥaqīqatan* für die Mauer stehen! […] Denn diesem gehen keine […] Vorkommen [des Wortes] voraus, sodass mit dem Wort „Mauer" gemeint sein könnte, was jene Konvention erfordern würde. Es ist aber auch nicht *maǧāz*, denn es geht ihm keine geprägte Bedeutung voraus, die sich unterscheidet von dem, was [der Ausdruck] jetzt bedeutet, sodass er *maǧāz* wäre.[52]

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[48] Al-Baṣrī bringt das Beispiel des Wortes „Esel", wenn damit ein dummer Mensch bezeichnet wird, was seiner Ansicht nach aufgrund einer Ähnlichkeit mit dem Tier geschieht. Vgl. ebd., S. 29, Z. 7–9. Statt einer Ähnlichkeitsbeziehung können z. B. auch Ursache-Wirkung-Beziehungen oder andere konzeptuelle Verbindungen zwischen beiden Bedeutungen vorliegen (siehe ebd. S. 33, Z. 23f.).

[49] Für Näheres zur Bedeutsamkeit des Kontextes in diesem Zusammenhang siehe Abschnitt 3.4.4.

[50] Vgl. KM, 34, 20. „Zu den Regeln für *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* gehört, dass kein Sprachausdruck *(kalām)*, den die *ahl al-luġa* für etwas geprägt hat, ihrer entbehrt." *(Wa-min aḥkāmi ʾl-ḥaqīqati wa-ʾl-maǧāzi an lā yaḫlū minhumā kalāmun waḍaʿahu ahlu ʾl-luġati li-šaiʾin.)*

[51] Vgl. ebd., Z. 12–19.

[52] Ebd., 16, 21 – 17, 4: *fa-yaǧibu, iḏā qāla ʾl-wāḍiʿu: […] qad sammaitu hāḏā „ḥāʾiṭan", ʾan lā yakūna qauluhu „ḥāʾiṭun" fī tilka ʾl-ḥāli ḥaqīqatan li-ʾl-ḥaʾiṭi! […]li-annahu lam yataqaddam ḏālika mawāḍiʿuhu, fa-yakūna qad afāda bi-qaulihi „ḥāʾiṭun" mā ʾqtaḍathu tilka ʾl-muwāḍaʿatu. wa-lā yakūnu aiḍan maǧāzan, li-annahu lam yataqaddamhu muwāḍaʿuhu bi-ḥilāfi mā afāda bihi ʾl-āna, fa-yakūna maǧāzan.*

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Auch in diesem Fall hat der Ausschluss von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* seine Ursache darin, dass diese eine dem Wortgebrauch vorhergehende Begriffsprägung voraussetzen würden.

Unter den beiden komplementären Kategorien hat *ḥaqīqa* den Vorrang. Das sieht man daran, dass der *maǧāz*-Gebrauch eines Ausdrucks von der *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung dieses Ausdrucks abhängig ist: Ausdrücke existieren nur in Verbindung mit ihrer *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung, auch wenn sie *maǧāzan* gebraucht werden. Das folgt aus der Definition von *maǧāz* als Gegenstück zu *ḥaqīqa*.[53]

Damit sinnvollerweise gesagt werden kann, die Bedeutung eines Ausdrucks weiche von der ursprünglich geprägten ab, muss es beim *maǧāz*-Gebrauch eines Ausdrucks auch immer eine ursprünglich geprägte *(ḥaqīqa-)* Bedeutung für diesen Ausdruck geben. Diese Abhängigkeit ist aber nicht gegenseitig: Wird ein Wort in seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung verwendet, bedeutet das nicht, dass es auch eine davon abweichende Bedeutung geben muss.[54] Jedes Wort hat also eine *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung, ganz gleich, in welcher Bedeutung es gerade verwendet wird, aber nicht jedes Wort muss auch eine *maǧāz*-Bedeutung besitzen.[55]

3.2.6 Wie sieht eine Abweichung von der *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung aus? – *ziyāda – nuqṣān - naql*

Al-Baṣrī zitiert auch eine frühere Definition des bereits erwähnten Abū ʿAbdallāh, die *ḥaqīqa* als einen solchen Wortgebrauch bestimmt, bei dem der Ausdruck *(lafẓ)* auf die Bedeutung ohne Hinzufügungen, Auslassungen oder (Bedeutungs-) Übertragung hinweist. *Maǧāz* wird dann entsprechend als ein Wortgebrauch definiert, bei dem eines dieser drei Phänomene die Bedeutung mitbestimmt.[56]

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[53] Vgl. ebd., 35, 1–4: *lā yaǧūzu an yakūna ʾl-lafẓu maǧāzan fī šaiʾin wa-lā yakūna ḥaqīqatan fī ġairihi. […] li-anna ʾl-maǧāza huwa mā ufida bihi maʿnā fī ʾl-muwāḍaʿati ġairu mā wuḍiʿa fī aṣlihā.*

[54] Vgl. ebd., Z. 6f.: „Dass ein Ausdruck für eine Sache geprägt ist, macht es nicht notwendig, dass es in der Folge [auch] für etwas anderes gebraucht wird." *(laisa yūǧibu kaunuhā maudūʿatan li-šaiʾin an takūna mustaʿmalatan fī ġairihi ʿalā ṭarīqi ʾt-tabʿi.)*

[55] Diese enge Verknüpfung eines Ausdrucks mit seiner *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung ist keine Eigenheit von al-Baṣrī, sondern fügt sich in einen allgemeinen Trend in der islamischen Rechtstheorie. Gleave 2012 spricht davon, dass für die Mehrzahl der islamischen Rechtstheoretiker die Beziehungen zwischen Ausdrücken und ihren Bedeutungen als fest mit den Ausdrücken verknüpft angesehen wurden: „Unlike other imagined meanings, these relationships remain present within an utterance in an almost ontological fashion. Even when discarded as the speaker's intended meaning, the 'literal' meaning has an indissoluble link to the utterance or text" (S. 98).

[56] Vgl. KM, 18, 6f., *wa-qad ḥadda ʾš-šaiḫu Abū ʿAbdiʾllāhi […] ʾawwalan „al-ḥaqīqa" bi-annahu mā ʾntaẓama lafẓuhā maʿnāhu min ġairi ziyādatin wa-lā nuqṣānin wa-lā naqlin.*

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Dem Beispiel nach zu schließen, das al-Baṣrī für *naql* nennt – der Gebrauch des Wortes „Löwe" für einen tapferen Mann – handelt es sich dabei um eine Bedeutungsübertragung auf der Wortebene, ähnlich dem, was wir im Deutschen als „Metapher" oder „figurative Bedeutung" bezeichnen würden. *Ziyāda* und *nuqṣān* hingegen sind etwas schwerer zu fassen. *Ziyāda* ist die Hinzufügung von Wörtern oder Ausdrücken im Text, die sich der Hörer „wegdenken" muss, um zu der eigentlich intendierten Bedeutung zu gelangen. *Nuqṣān* ist dementsprechend die Auslassung von Ausdrücken, die beim Hören mitgedacht werden müssen.[57] Es werden hier also Fälle eingeschlossen, in denen eben keine Bedeutungsübertragung auf der Ebene einzelner Konzepte (Löwe – tapferer Mensch) stattfindet, sondern der Satz als Ganzes anders verstanden werden muss, als es die strikte wörtliche Bedeutung der einzelnen Worte verlangen würde. Al-Baṣrī führt als Beispiel ein Koranzitat an, *„laisa ka-miṯlihi šai'un"* („es gibt nichts, was ihm gleichkommen würde"),[58] wobei das *ka-* („wie") als überschüssige Hinzufügung *(ziyāda)* betrachtet wird. Während hier keine Ausdrücke in einer anderen als der ursprünglichen Bedeutung verwendet werden, ist die intendierte Bedeutung des Satzes („nichts ist ihm gleich") doch verschieden von der strikten wörtlichen Bedeutung („nichts ist wie das, was ihm gleich ist"). Das hier zugrundeliegende Konzept von *maǧāz* schließt also jede Abweichung von der ursprünglichen Bedeutung ein, die zustande kommt, wenn jedes einzelne Wort strikt nach seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung interpretiert wird und nicht etwa nur Metaphern oder allgemein figurative Rede auf der Wortebene.

Gegen diese von Abū ʿAbdallāh angeführte Definition wird dann eingewandt, dass *ziyāda* und *nuqṣān* Sonderfälle von *naql* seien, sodass die von Abū ʿAbdallāh eingeführte Dreiteilung keinen Sinn ergibt:

> *Maǧāz*, das durch Hinzufügung oder Auslassung zustande kommt, wird [dadurch] schon von seinem [eigentlichen Ort?] zu einem anderen übertragen, sodass es keinen Sinn ergibt, sie als zwei andere Arten [von *maǧāz*] zu bestimmen.[59]

Die Auffassung von Bedeutungsübertragung, die diesem Einwand zugrunde liegt, umfasst also auch Abweichungen von der wörtlichen Bedeutung auf der grammatikalischen Ebene, nicht nur die Übertragung einzelner Wörter auf ganz andere Bedeutungen. Die hieraus erkenntliche Ausweitung des Begriffes *maǧāz* auf diese nicht-metaphorischen Abweichungen von der ur-

[57] Vgl. KM, 18, 8–13: *fa-'l-laḍī lā yantaẓimu lafẓuhu maʿnāhu li-'aǧli ziyādatin, huwa 'l-laḍī yantaẓimu 'l-maʿnā 'iḏā 'usqiṭati 'z-ziyādatu […]. wa-'ammā 'l-laḍī lā yantaẓimu 'l-maʿnā li-'aǧli 'n-nuqṣāni, fa-huwa 'l-laḍī yantaẓimuhu 'iḏā zadnā fī 'l-kalāmi mā nuqiṣa minhu.*

[58] Koran, 42:11.

[59] KM, S. 18, Z. 15–19: *'inna 'l-maǧāza, li-'aǧli 'z-ziyādati wa-'n-nuqṣāni, qad nuqila ʿan mawḍiʿihi 'ilā mawḍiʿin 'āḫara, fa-lā maʿnā li-ǧaʿlihi qismaini 'āḫaraini.*

sprünglichen Bedeutung bleibt gültig, ganz gleich, ob *ziyāda* und *nuqṣān* als Unterarten von *naql* oder eigenständige Kategorien gesehen werden.

Al-Baṣrī zitiert daraufhin zustimmend seinen Lehrer ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, der die ältere Definition dahingehend korrigierte, dass es sich nicht um eine Definition im eigentlichen Sinne, sondern um eine Beschreibung *(ṣifa)* von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* handle.[60] Definiert werden die Begriffe durch Konformität mit oder Abweichung von der *waḍʿ*-Bedeutung,[61] und die Erklärung, dass die intendierte Bedeutung im Fall von *maǧāz* durch *ziyāda*, *nuqṣān* oder *naql* zustande kommt und bei *ḥaqīqa* durch den Ausdruck selbst, ist lediglich eine Erläuterung, was diese Definition konkret bedeutet.[62]

Die Definition anhand von *ziyāda*, *nuqṣān* und *naql* ist wesentlich konkreter, deskriptiver und beispielhafter als die abstrakte Definition anhand von Übereinstimmung mit oder Abweichung von der *waḍʿ*-Bedeutung. Zumindest soweit al-Baṣrī die Debatte nachzeichnet, scheint es also eine Entwicklung von der konkreten früheren Definition Abū ʿAbdallāhs über seine spätere abstrakte Definition (3.2.4) zu der ausgefeilteren Version von al-Baṣrī zu geben.[63]

3.3 Die Bewertung von *maǧāz*

Im Anschluss an die Ausführungen zu Definition und Unterarten von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* stellt sich für al-Baṣrī die Frage, ob und warum *maǧāz* in der Sprache, und speziell in offenbarten Texten, überhaupt auftritt. Dass al-Baṣrī so viel Wert darauf legt, zu zeigen, dass es im Koran *maǧāz* gibt, lässt sich, wie in Abschnitt 2 erwähnt, auf die mu'tazilitische Betonung der absoluten Einheit und Transzendenz Gottes zurückführen. Als Nachweis dafür, dass im Koran übertragene Bedeutungen vorkommen, zitiert al-Baṣrī drei Verse aus dem Koran: „*ǧidāran yurīdu an yanqaḍḍa*" („eine Mauer, die einzufallen drohte (w. einfallen wollte)"), „*wa-ǧāʾa rabbuka*" („dein Herr kommt"),

[60] Vgl. ebd., 18, 21f. *wa-yaqūlu: inna mā ḏakarahu awwalan huwa ṣifati ʾl-ḥaqīqati wa-ʾl-maǧāzi, wa-laisa bi-ḥaddin.*

[61] Vgl. ebd., Z. 23. Wie in 3.2.4 erwähnt wurde, trifft dies nicht nur für al-Baṣrīs eigene Definition von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* zu, sondern auch eine ebenfalls von al-Baṣrī zitierte spätere Definition von Abū ʿAbdallāh, der seine Ansicht dazu also weiterentwickelt zu haben scheint.

[62] Vgl. ebd., 18, 31 – 19, 2.

[63] Eine ähnliche Bewegung von Konkreten zum Abstrakten beschreibt Gleave 2012, S. 124f.: Frühe Konzeptionen von *ḥaqīqa* in der islamischen Rechtstheorie wurden in den klassischen *uṣūl al-fiqh*, wie sie sich ab dem 11. Jahrhundert herausbildeten, zu bloßen Zeichen für den *ḥaqīqa*-Gebrauch von Ausdrücken: „The conceptions of meaning analysed in this chapter [der ursprüngliche Wortgebrauch der Araber *(luġat al-ʿarab)*, die grammatikalisch determinierte Bedeutung und üblicher Sprachgebrauch] were, in the developed theory, transformed into 'signs of literal usage'." Auch darin liegt eine Entwicklung von einer konkreten zur abstrakteren Beschreibung.

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sowie „*ʾilā rabbihā nāẓiratun*“ („die auf ihren Herrn schauen“).[64] Was in den Zitaten gemeint ist, steht dabei für ihn gar nicht zur Debatte; ihre (nicht anthropomorphische) Bedeutung ist für ihn offensichtlich. Vielmehr wendet er sich gegen die Ansicht, dass die Worte in diesen Versen *ḥaqīqatan* für das stehen, was an diesen Stellen damit gemeint ist, indem er darauf hinweist, dass die gemeinten Bedeutungen den Rechtskundigen nicht als *ḥaqāʾiq šarʿiyya* zuerst in den Sinn kommen, wenn sie die Ausdrücke hören.[65] Mit der Ansicht, dass es sich bei den Beispielen um Fälle von *maǧāz* handelt, sieht al-Baṣrī sich auf der Seite der Mehrheit *(al-ǧumhūr)*, während die Einwände, gegen die er argumentiert, nur von „einem Teil der ẓāhiritischen Schule“ stammen.[66]

Dabei liegt eine besondere Betonung auf der Frage, ob es für gut zu erachten ist, wenn in einem Text *maǧāz* auftritt.[67] Das lässt sich dadurch erklären, dass im Falle des Korans die Frage nach der Bewertung von *maǧāz* die Frage nach seinem Auftreten beantworten hilft: Wenn es eine Schwäche bedeutet, das, was man sagen will, durch *maǧāz* auszudrücken, ist dessen Auftreten in Gottes Wort ausgeschlossen.[68]

Wenn gezeigt werden soll, dass Gott in seiner offenbarten Rede *maǧāz* und Metapher *(istiʿāra)*[69] benutzt, muss also argumentiert werden, dass das etwas Positives ist. Al-Baṣrī insistiert denn auch, dass der Gebrauch von *maǧāz* eine höhere rhetorische Ausdruckskraft, Effizienz und Klarheit besitzt als der ausschließliche Gebrauch von *ḥaqīqa*-Ausdrücken:

> *Maǧāz* besitzt einen Überschuss *(mubālaġa)* und eine Verminderung *(ḥaḏf)* [an Bedeutung], die sich bei *ḥaqīqa* nicht findet. Daher ist es, wenn wir einen Dummen als „Esel“ beschreiben, deutlicher in der Erklärung seiner Dummheit als wenn wir sagen „dumm“.[70]

Maǧāz führe zu größerer Kürze *(iḫtiṣār)*, Leichtigkeit *(taḫfīf)*, Wortgewandtheit *(faṣāḥa)*, und Ausdrucksstärke (*mubālaġa*, eigentlich „Übertreibung“).[71] So entkräftet er den Einwand, *maǧāz* zu verwenden zeige eine Unfähigkeit,

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[64] Koran 18:77, 89:22 und 75:23.

[65] Vgl. KM, 31, 1–6.

[66] Vgl. ebd., 30, 12f.: *ḏahaba ʾl-ǧumhūru ilā anna ʾllāha subḥānahu qad ḫāṭabanā fī ʾl-qurʾāni bi-ʾl-maǧāzi, wa-nafā baʿḍu ahli ʾẓ-ẓāhiri ḏālika.*

[67] Vgl. ebd., S. 30f.

[68] Vgl. ebd., 31, 9–10.

[69] *Istiʿāra* wird in den in diesem Beitrag besprochenen Kapiteln nur in diesem Zusammenhang benutzt und fast nur in der Kombination *al-maǧāz wa-ʾl-istiʿāra* (z. B. S. 30, Z. 16). *Istiʿāra* als eigenständiger Begriff scheint in al-Baṣrīs Untersuchung von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* im *Muʿtamad* keine große Rolle zu spielen.

[70] Ebd., S. 29, Z. 12–15: *fī ʾl-maǧāzi mina ʾl-mubālaġati wa-ʾl-ḥaḏfi mā laisa fī ʾl-ḥaqīqati. wa-li-hāḏā iḏā waṣafnā ʾl-balīda bi-ʾannahu „ḥimārun“, kāna ablaġa fī ʾl-ibānati ʿan balādatihi min qaulinā „balīdun“.*

[71] Vgl. ebd., S. 31, Z. 9–15.

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den gewünschten Inhalt in *ḥaqīqa*-Ausdrücke zu fassen und eine solche Schwäche könne Gott nicht zugesprochen werden, und verteidigt die Möglichkeit, im Koran vorkommende Ausdrücke als *maǧāz* zu verstehen.

3.4 Gebrauch und Interpretation von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz*

Gegen Ende seiner Behandlung von *maǧāz* und *ḥaqīqa* spricht al-Baṣrī darüber, wie zwischen beiden unterschieden wird. Mit dem „Unterscheiden zwischen *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz*" können zwei Dinge gemeint sein. Einerseits kann es um Regeln gehen, anhand derer erkannt wird, in welcher Bedeutung ein Wort in einem bestimmten Fall gebraucht wird, andererseits darum, zu unterscheiden, ob ein Wort in einer gegebenen Bedeutung *ḥaqīqa* oder *maǧāz* ist, was voraussetzt, dass die jeweilige Bedeutung bekannt ist. In al-Baṣrīs Ausführungen im *Kitāb al-muʿtamad* geht es vor allem um letzteres. Nur, wenn er über die Rolle kontextueller Hinweise *(qarīna, dalāla, dalīl)* spricht (siehe 3.4.4), geht es um die Interpretation von einzelnen Äußerungen danach, welche Bedeutung bei dem jeweiligen Gebrauch der Ausdrücke gemeint ist.

3.4.1 Vorrang der *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung im Verständnis des Hörers

Ein Kriterium, das al-Baṣrī als kennzeichnend für den *ḥaqīqa*-Gebrauch eines Ausdrucks nennt, ist, dass die betreffende Bedeutung anderen möglichen Bedeutungen „im Verständnis der [Sprecher der Sprache *(ahl al-luġa)*] vorausgeht, wenn sie den Ausdruck ohne einen Kontext *(qarīna)* hören."[72] Beim Hören des Wortes „Esel" ohne einen bestimmten Kontext fällt dem Hörer zuerst der Vierbeiner ein und nicht der Dumme, und „wenn [das Wort] für beide [Bedeutungen] gleichermaßen geprägt wäre, würde nicht eines davon dem anderen im Verständnis vorausgehen".[73] Dieser Vorrang im Verständnis des Hörers taucht auch bei anderen Autoren öfter als Kriterium oder sogar als Definition für *ḥaqīqa* auf.[74]

Auf den ersten Blick ist dies ein problematisches Kriterium, denn was der Hörer zuerst versteht, lässt sich nicht zuverlässig voraussehen und ist womöglich auch individuell verschieden. Aber unter der Annahme, dass Sprache ein so fest fixiertes System ist, wie die Theorie des *waḍʿ* es darstellt (siehe 3.2.2), ergibt es durchaus Sinn, anzunehmen, dass ein kompetenter Sprecher des Arabischen in Abwesenheit von widersprechenden kontextuellen Hinweisen zunächst auf die durch den *waḍʿ* festgelegte Bedeutung kommen würde.

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[72] Ebd., 32, 10f.: *[…] an yasbiqa [ʾl-maʿnā] ilā afhāmi ahli ʾl-luġati ʿinda samāʿi ʾl-lafẓati min dūna qarīnatin.*

[73] Ebd., 29, 11f.: *wa-lau kāna mauḍūʿan lahumā ʿalā siwāʾin, lam yasbiq ilā ʾl-afhāmi aḥaduhumā.*

[74] Vgl. Gleave 2012, S. 115, 124f., Yunis Ali 2000, S. 69–71.

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Dennoch erscheint es nicht sehr überzeugend, dass die erste Interpretation des Hörers zuverlässig zur ursprünglich geprägten Bedeutung jedes Ausdrucks führt. Es ist schließlich denkbar, dass die ursprünglich geprägte Bedeutung durch allmählichen Wandel im Sprachgebrauch vielen Sprechern gar nicht mehr bekannt ist. Dieses Problem lässt sich jedoch durch al-Baṣrīs Unterscheidung zwischen sprachlichen *(luġawī)* und traditionellen *(ʿurfī)* Bedeutungen lösen. Dass eine Bedeutungsverschiebung stattgefunden hat, so al-Baṣrī, erkennt man nämlich gerade daran, dass „sich dem Verständnis des Hörers eine andere Bedeutung [zuerst darbietet] *(yasbiqu)* als die, die ursprünglich für [das Wort] geprägt wurde."[75]

Dass also der Vorrang im Verständnis des Hörers nicht zuverlässig die ursprüngliche *(luġawī)* Bedeutung zutage fördert, zeigt in al-Basrīs Konzeption von Bedeutung noch nicht, dass er kein zuverlässiges Kriterium für *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen ist. Vielmehr zeigt al-Baṣrī zufolge die Tatsache, dass die erste Bedeutung, die dem Hörer in den Sinn kommt, nicht die im Ursprung der Sprache für das Wort geprägte Bedeutung ist, dass es sich um eine *ḥaqīqa ʿurfiyya*-Bedeutung handelt. Dabei bleibt die Definition, dass die *ḥaqīqa* ein Ausdruck ist, „mit dem das bezeichnet wird, wofür er im Ursprung der Konvention, innerhalb derer die Kommunikation stattfindet, geprägt worden ist"[76], gewahrt, weil unter der hier genannten Konvention im Falle der *ʿurfī*-Bedeutungen die Tradition *(ʿurf)* zu verstehen ist.[77]

Dieses Kriterium erfasst aber nicht ausnahmslos alle *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen, da es im Falle von Homonymen mit zwei *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen nur eine davon erfasst.[78] Wenn dem Hörer also eine Bedeutung beim Hören des Ausdrucks zuerst in den Sinn kommt, ist das zwar ein hinreichender Hinweis, dass diese Bedeutung *ḥaqīqa* ist, aber das Fehlen dieses Merkmals ist kein Beweis, dass es sich um eine *maǧāz*-Bedeutung handelt.

3.4.2 Grammatik und etymologische Herleitung

Ein weiteres Kriterium, dass al-Baṣrī zur Unterscheidung nennt, ist, dass *ḥaqīqa*-Ausdrücke sich grammatikalisch regelmäßig verhalten: „Es wird zwischen den beiden dadurch unterschieden, dass bei dem Ausdruck, wenn er das Ding nach der ursprünglichen Bedeutung bezeichnet, Plural und Dual, Herleitung und grammatikalische Abhängigkeit angewendet wird."[79]

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[75] KM, 28, 11f.: *fa-ammā amāratu ʾntiqāli ʾl-ismi fa-huwa an yasbiqu ilā ʾl-afhāmi ʿinda ʾs-samāʿihi maʿnā ġairu mā wuḍiʿa lahu fī ʾl-aṣli.*

[76] Ebd., 16, 18.: *mā ufīda bihā mā wuḍiʿat lahu fī aṣli ʾl-iṣṭilāḥi ʾl-laḍī waqaʿa ʾt-taḫāṭubu bihi.*

[77] Siehe auch ebd. S. 31 oben für eine ähnliche Argumentation mit *šarʿī*-Bedeutungen.

[78] Vgl. ebd., 37, 14–16.

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Gerade die Herleitung *(ištiqāq)* des Wortes von den Wurzelkonsonanten spielt für al-Baṣrī eine Rolle beim Erkennen der ursprünglichen Bedeutung: Im Kapitel über die *ʿurfī*-Bedeutungen stellt er *ištiqāq* als Hinweis auf die ursprüngliche *(luġawī-)* Bedeutung dar.[80] *Ištiqāq* kann allerdings nur auf die ursprünglichen *ḥaqāʾiq luġawī* hinweisen, nicht auf *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen im Allgemeinen, da sich spätere *ʿurfī*-Bedeutungen von den durch *ištiqāq* entwickelten Bedeutungen wegentwickelt haben können, sodass die Verbindung zu den Wurzelkonsonanten nicht mehr offenkundig ist.

Al-Baṣrī gesteht ein, dass diese Merkmale nur annäherungsweise als Unterscheidungskriterien zu verwenden sind. Als Gegenbeispiele führt er an, dass das Wort *ḥimār* (Esel) in der *maǧāz*-Verwendung für einen dummen Menschen weiterhin den Plural und Dual annimmt, und dass das Wort „*rāʾiḥa*" („Duft") in dieser Bedeutung *ḥaqīqa* ist, obgleich von ihm keine anderen Wörter hergeleitet werden.[81] Auch dies ist also eher eine Tendenz und kein sicheres Merkmal zur Unterscheidung von *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz*.

3.4.3 *Iṭṭirād*

Ein weiteres Merkmal für *ḥaqīqa* ist nach al-Baṣrī die Regelmäßigkeit *(iṭṭirād)* der Bedeutung, d. h., dass ein Wort in seiner Bedeutung auf alles angewendet werden kann, was die mit diesem Wort beschriebene Eigenschaft hat. Das Wort „lang" *(ṭawīl)* kann zum Beispiel für alle langen Dinge gebraucht werden.[82] Wenn hingegen ein hochgewachsener Mann im übertragenen Sinn als *naḫla* („Palme") bezeichnet wird, gilt dieser Wortgebrauch nur im Falle großer Männer, und nicht für alle großen oder langen *(ṭawīl)* Dinge.[83]

Maǧāz-Bedeutungen sind also nicht unbedingt regelmäßig, allerdings können sie laut al-Baṣrī zumindest eine teilweise Regelmäßigkeit besitzen.[84] Kontinuität der Bedeutung ist also ein notwendiges Kriterium für *ḥaqīqa*, sodass ihr Fehlen ein hinreichendes Kriterium für *maǧāz* ist, aber nicht umgekehrt.

[79] Ebd., 33, 10f.: *wa-qad furiqa bainahumā bi-anna ʾl-lafẓata iḏā afādati ʾš-šaiʾa ʿalā ʾl-ḥaqīqati, yuṣrafu fīhā bi-ǧamʿin wa-taṯniyyatin wa-ʾštiqāqin wa-taʿalluqin bi-ʾl-ǧairi.*

[80] Vgl. ebd., 27, 6–14.

[81] Vgl. ebd., 33, 10–12: *wa-hāḏā taqrībun. li-ʾanna ʾsma „ʾl-ḥimāri" ʾiḏā waqaʿa ʿalā „ʾl-balīdi" ṯunniya wa-ǧumiʿa, fa-qīla fī ǧamāʿati ʾl-buludi „ḥamīrun". wa-qaulunā „rāʾiḥatun" taqaʿa ʿalā ʾr-rāʾiḥatu ḥaqīqatan; wa-lā yuštaqqu minhu.*

[82] Vgl. ebd., 35, 18–21: *qaulunā „ṭawīlun" yufīdu mā ʾḫtaṣṣa bi-ʾṭ-ṭūli. […] fa-sammainā kulla ǧismin fīhi ṭūlun bi-ʾannahu „ṭawīlun".*

[83] Ebd., 23, 1f.: *anna waṣfanā li-ʾr-raǧuli ʾṭ-ṭawīli bi-annahu „naḫlatun", lamā kāna maǧāzan, lam yuṭṭarid fī kullin ṭawīlin.*

[84] KM, 23, 4f.: *li-anna ʾl-maǧāza, wa-in lam yaǧib iṭṭirāduhu, fa-lā māniʿun yamnaʿu min iṭṭirādi baʿḍihi.* („Denn während Regelmäßigkeit bei *maǧāz* nicht erforderlich ist, verhindert doch nichts, dass es eine teilweise Regelmäßigkeit dabei geben kann.")

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Dies wirft die Frage auf, was der Unterschied ist zwischen *maǧāz*-Bedeutungen und denjenigen *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen, die al-Baṣrī als „bedingt" *(mašrūṭ)* bezeichnet. Als Beispiel für diese nennt al-Baṣrī das Wort *ablaq*, was „scheckig" bedeutet, aber im Arabischen nur für Pferde verwendet werden kann und nicht für alle Dinge mit diesem Farbmuster, im Unterschied zu Worten wie *ṭawīl* („lang"), was alle langen Gegenstände bezeichnen kann. Es sind also Worte gemeint, die ihre Bedeutung nur unter der Bedingung besitzen, dass sie auf etwas Bestimmtes angewendet werden.[85] Auf den ersten Blick scheinen sich solche Ausdrücke ähnlich zu verhalten wie *naḫla*, was al-Baṣrī als Beispiel für einen *maǧāz*-Ausdruck angeführt hat. Dennoch sind auch bedingte *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen regelmäßig, wie al-Baṣrī ausdrücklich betont: „Es gehört zu den Regeln über *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz*, dass sie in ihrer Bedeutung regelmäßig sind, insofern sie sie bezeichnen, ob bedingt oder unbedingt."[86] Inwiefern sind also die bedingten *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen regelmäßig und die *maǧāz*-Bedeutungen nicht?

Obwohl bedingte *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen nur auf bestimmte Gegenstände angewandt werden können, können sie für diese begrenzte Gruppe an Gegenständen unter allen Umständen gebraucht werden; es gibt also eine feste Verknüpfung zwischen dem Ausdruck und seiner Bedeutung. Für *maǧāz*-Bedeutungen gibt es diese feste Verbindung nicht; die Ausdrücke können nicht in jedem Zusammenhang in diesen Bedeutungen verwendet werden. Al-Baṣrī löst das Problem, indem er eine weitere Bedingung für den *maǧāz*-Gebrauch von Ausdrücken einführt: *maǧāz*-Ausdrücke werden nur angewandt, wenn der Sprecher damit eine besondere Absicht *(ġaraḍ)* oder ein bestimmtes Interesse *(ihtimām)* verfolgt,

> wie wenn jemand an jener Sache ein Interesse hat und sie wegen der Stärke seines Interesses [durch *maǧāz*] benennt, sodass er in ihrer Beschreibung übertreibt, oder sie mit etwas anderem vergleicht, wie zum Beispiel wenn man einen großen Mann als „Palme" beschreibt: diese Absicht muss nicht unbedingt bei anderen Leuten vorhanden sein, aber es verhält sich so bei jedem Mann, für den dieses Interesse besteht.[87]

Maǧāz-Ausdrücke werden also dann verwendet, wenn der Sprecher den durch den *maǧāz*-Ausdruck beschriebenen Aspekt besonders hervorheben will, während *ḥaqīqa*-Ausdrücke in ihren Bedeutungen in jedem Zusam-

[85] Ebd., 19, 15–19.

[86] Ebd., 35, 17f.: *wa-mina 'l-ḥukmi 'l-ḥaqīqati wa-'l-maǧāzi 'an tuṭṭaridu fīfā'idatihā ʿalā 'l-ḥaddi 'l-laḏī yufīduhā 'immā mašrūṭatan 'au muṭlaqatan.*

[87] Ebd., 37, 17–21: *naḥwa an yakūna qadi 'htamma bi-ḏālika ?š-šai'i fa-daʿāhu bi-šiddati 'htimāmihi bihi ilā an yubāliġa fī wasfihi, fa-yušabbihahu bi-ġairihi, naḥwa tasmiyyatihimi 'r-raǧuli 't-ṭawīli bi-annahu „naḫlatun", wa-lā yaǧibu ḥuṣūlu hāḏā 'l-ġaraḍi fī ġairi 'n-nāsu, wa-lākinnahu qahimun fī kullin raǧulin waqa'a 'l-ihtimāmu bihi.*

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menhang gelten. Eine gewisse Regelmäßigkeit liegt demnach auch bei *maǧāz* vor, weil *maǧāz*-Ausdrücke immer dann angewendet werden können, wenn dieses *ihtimām* besteht, z.B. nennen wir einen dummen Menschen in bestimmten Situationen einen Esel, nämlich dann, wenn wir seine Dummheit hervorheben wollen, ganz gleich, welche Eigenschaften er sonst hat. Diese zusätzliche Bedingung der Absicht oder des Interesses macht den Unterschied zu den bedingten *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen aus.[88]

Im Verlauf seiner Darstellung stellt al-Baṣrī *iṭṭirād* als den einzigen wirklichen Unterschied zwischen *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* dar: „Wenn *maǧāz* genauso regelmäßig wäre wie *ḥaqīqa* regelmäßig ist, gäbe es keinen Unterschied zwischen ihnen beiden."[89] Zwar nennt er andere Unterscheidungsmerkmale, aber wie wir gesehen haben, erweisen sie sich alle als nicht vollständig zuverlässig. Es lässt sich allerdings die Frage stellen, ob *iṭṭirād* ein uneingeschränkt zuverlässiges Kriterium ist. Wie oben gezeigt wurde, ist schließlich nicht jegliche Regelmäßigkeit vollständig von *maǧāz*-Ausdrücken ausgeschlossen.

Alle bislang besprochenen Unterscheidungsmerkmale sind also eher Annäherungen – Tendenzen, die Ausdrücke als *ḥaqīqa* oder *maǧāz* einordnen helfen, aber keine zuverlässig gültigen Kriterien. Diese Schwierigkeit, zuverlässige Unterscheidungsmerkmale zwischen *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* zu finden, war in den *uṣūl al-fiqh* generell ein Problem.[90] Al-Baṣrī hat in seiner Abhandlung über *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* einige mögliche Kriterien untersucht und als nur bedingt zuverlässig befunden. Dennoch insistiert er, dass *maǧāz* in der arabischen Sprache zulässig ist und die [Rede] dadurch nichts an Deutlichkeit einbüßt.[91] Es muss also etwas geben, das die Unterscheidung zwischen *ḥaqīqa*- und *maǧāz*-Gebrauch im jeweiligen konkreten Fall möglich macht. Wie in 3.2.4 und 3.4.1 schon angedeutet, ist dieser ausschlaggebende Aspekt, der die Eindeutigkeit der Kommunikation wahrt, der Kontext der Äußerung.

3.4.4 Kontext

Eine wichtige Regel zum Verständnis von Äußerungen ist laut al-Baṣrī, dass jeder Ausdruck zunächst „in seiner *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung interpretiert wird, wenn er isoliert ist, und nur aufgrund eines kontextuellen Hinweises *(dalāla)*

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[88] Vgl. ebd., S. 37–38.

[89] Ebd., S. 37, Z. 9: *lau ʾṭṭarada ʾl-maǧāzu ka-ʾṭṭarada ʾl-ḥaqīqatu, lamā kāna bainahumā faṣlun.*

[90] Yunis Ali 2000, S. 75: „[T]he issue is not as simple as it seems to be, owing to difficulty of providing a water-tight distinction between literal and non-literal use. In [*uṣūl*], criteria are provided for making the distinction clear between the two types of use, but, some of the legal theorists doubt these criteria."

[91] Vgl. KM, S. 29–31. Siehe auch Abschnitt 3.3.

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in seiner *maǧāz*-Bedeutung interpretiert wird."[92] Diese interpretative Regel war auch insgesamt in den *uṣūl al-fiqh* verbreitet.[93] Diese Regel, zeigt die Wichtigkeit des Kontexts als denjenigen Aspekt, der den *maǧāz*-Gebrauch von Ausdrücken überhaupt erst für die Kommunikation brauchbar macht.

Al-Baṣrī nennt als möglichen Einwand gegen das Vorkommen von *maǧāz* im Koran, dass der Gebrauch übertragener Bedeutungen zu Unklarheiten in der Kommunikation führe. Dagegen führt er an, dass „es keine Unklarheit gibt, wenn ein Kontext *(qarīna)* da ist, der auf die intendierte Bedeutung hinweist".[94] Wenn ein Wort also in einer anderen als der ursprünglichen, bekannten Bedeutung verwendet wird, muss dies gekennzeichnet werden, damit die Sprache zweckmäßig bleibt.[95]

Es genügt dabei nicht, dass der Kontext eine *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung ausschließt, sondern wenn das geschieht, muss auch aus dem Kontext hervorgehen, welche andere Bedeutung gemeint ist. Denn erstens sind *maǧāz*-Bedeutungen nicht von vornherein streng festgelegt (siehe 3.2.4). Zweitens weist al-Baṣrī darauf hin, dass

> die Rede, wenn der Sprecher nicht eine der Bedeutungen mit seiner Rede intendiert, sondern eine andere, nicht notwendigerweise für dieses Andere eine übertragene Bedeutung ist. Siehst du nicht, dass wenn ein Wort homonym für zwei eigentliche Bedeutungen *(ḥaqīqataini)* steht und wir wissen, dass der Weise eine davon unmöglich gemeint haben kann, und er die andere meint, das Wort für diese [intendierte Bedeutung] keine übertragene Bedeutung ist?[96]

Auch ein kontextueller Auschluss einer *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung ist demnach kein hinreichender Beweis für das Vorliegen einer *maǧāz*-Bedeutung, da auch Homonymie *(ištirāk)*, bei der zwei gleichwertige *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen vorliegen, kontextuelle Hinweise erfordert, um die intendierte Bedeutung zu verstehen.

Somit ist auch der Kontext kein Kriterium, um zu unterscheiden, ob eine bestimmte Bedeutung für einen bestimmten Ausdruck *ḥaqīqa* oder *maǧāz* ist. Allerdings schafft er die Möglichkeit zu erkennen, welche Bedeutung bei einer bestimmten Äußerung intendiert ist. Der Kontext zeigt dem Hörer, ob

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[92] Vgl. ebd., 35, 8f.: *wa-min ḥukmi ʾl-lafẓi an yuḥmala ʿalā ḥaqīqatihi iḏā taǧarrada, wa-lā yuḥmala ʿalā maǧāzihi illā bi-dalālatin.*

[93] Vgl. hierzu GLEAVE 2012, S. 2, WEISS 2010, S. 133, YUNIS ALI 2000, S. 18, 35.

[94] KM, 31, 8: *[…] annahu lā ilbāsun maʿa ʾl-qarīnati ʾd-dāllati ʿalā ʾl-murādi.*

[95] Vgl. dazu auch VISHANOFF 2011, S. 111–113. Zu der in der Interpretation angenommen Zweckmäßigkeit der Sprache als Werkzeug zur Kommunikation siehe auch YUNIS ALI 2000, S. 63–80.

[96] KM, 34, 6–9: *lā yaǧibu, iḏā lam yuradi ʾl-mutakallimu maʿnā mina ʾl-maʿānī bikalāmihi wa-arāda ǧairahu, an yakūna ʾl-kalāmu maǧāzan fī ḏālika ʾl-ǧairi. a-lā tarā anna ʾl-kalimata lau kānat muštarakatan baina ḥaqīqataini, wa-ʿalimnā ʾstiḥalata ʾirādati ʾl-ḥakīmi li-ʾaḥadihumā wa-annahu qad arāda ʾl-uḫrā; lam takuni ʾl-kalimatu maǧāzan fīhi?*

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z. B. mit dem Wort „Löwe" ein Tier oder ein tapferer Mensch gemeint ist, aber nicht, ob das Wort „Löwe" in der Bedeutung „tapferer Mensch" *ḥaqīqa* oder *maǧāz* ist. Um sagen zu können, ob ein Wort in einer Äußerung in der ursprünglichen oder der übertragenen Bedeutung verwendet wird, müssen wir sowohl wissen, welche Bedeutung für dieses Wort die ursprüngliche ist und welche Bedeutungen *maǧāz* sind, als auch, in welcher Bedeutung der Ausdruck in diesem Zusammenhang verwendet wird.

4 Schluss

Da al-Baṣrī sämtliche bedeutungstragenden sprachlichen Ausdrücke in *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* einteilt, lässt sich anhand seiner Behandlung dieser beiden Begriffe viel über sein Konzept von Sprache im Allgemeinen sagen. Dass die Konzepte *ḥaqīqa* und *maǧāz* mit Bezug auf die Prägung *(waḍʿ)* definiert sind, ist Ausdruck von einer Vorstellung von Sprache, in der die Prägung der zentrale Referenzpunkt im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ist. Dadurch gibt es eine stabile Verknüpfung zwischen den Ausdrücken und ihren *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutungen, von denen *maǧāz*-Bedeutungen durch Abweichung (meist entlang gewisser konzeptueller Verknüpfungen) abhängig sind.

Das durch die ursprüngliche Prägung entstehende System von fixen Bedeutungen erscheint zunächst zu begrenzt und zu unflexibel, um der Komplexität der Sprache Rechnung zu tragen. Die Möglichkeit von übertragenem Wortgebrauch sowie die Entwicklung neuer Bedeutungen durch eine zweite *(šarʿī-)* Prägung und die allmähliche Verbreitung von Ausdrücken in neuen Bedeutungen im allgemeinen Sprachgebrauch *(ʿurf)* geben diesem System allerdings eine viel größere Differenziertheit und Flexibilität. In dieser Hinsicht ist auch al-Baṣrīs muʿtazilitischer Hintergrund relevant, da der durch *maǧāz* geschaffene Spielraum die für die Verteidigung der muʿtazilitischen Theologie notwendige metaphorische Auslegung vieler Koranpassagen überhaupt erst ermöglicht.

Bei aller Flexibilität des Wortgebrauchs bleibt die Bedeutung eng an die durch den *waḍʿ* festgelgte *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung geknüpft, die beim Gebrauch eines Ausdrucks auch dann präsent ist, wenn die intendierte Bedeutung von ihr abweicht. Zudem ist der Gebrauch von Ausdrücken in *maǧāz*-Bedeutungen nicht beliebig, sondern folgt meist einer konzeptuellen Verknüpfung mit der *ḥaqīqa*-Bedeutung, wie zum Beispiel einer Ähnlichkeitsbeziehung oder einer kausalen Verbindung. Zumindest muss beim *maǧāz*-Gebrauch eines Ausdrucks ein kontextueller Hinweis gegeben sein, der den *maǧāz*-Gebrauch kennzeichnet und die Verständigung aufrechterhält. Die Stabilität des durch den *waḍʿ* festgelegten Sprachsystems einerseits

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und die Flexibilität des Wortgebrauchs andererseits ergänzen sich zu einer Konzeption, in der Sprache als effektives Instrument zur Kommunikation dargestellt werden kann.

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Maḥmūd Zamaḫšarī bei den Südslaven?

Eine Spurensuche in der *Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte**

Von Nicolina Trunte, Bonn

Summary: In 1989, Werner Lehfeldt edited a 15th century manuscript from İstanbul Ayasofya Kütüphanesi, called by him *Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte* ("A Sublime Porte textbook"). In fact, it is rather a conversation guide, which contains an original Arabic text, translated into Persian, Greek, and Serbian, all rendered in Arabic script. However, the fact that in one dialogue the students mention the Khoresmian language, focus our attention to Maḥmūd Zamaḫšarī's "Muqaddimatu'l-adab", a trace, which is pursued in the essay. In its second part, our attention is drawn to the Serbian language version, for which the informant due to linguistic characteristics rather seems to be a native from Macedonia. This would also explain the substitution of the Arabic "Iblīs" by a Bogomilian "Satanail".

1989 veröffentlichte Werner Lehfeldt die von ihm als *Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte* bezeichnete Handschrift Nr. 4750 des İstanbuler Ayasofya Kütüphanesi, auf die schon der Turkologe Ahmet Caferoğlu (1936, S. 185) als „une des œuvres fondamentales au point de vue de l'histoire des langues serbe et turque" aufmerksam gemacht hatte, ohne dass diese Aussage damals Slavisten zu näherer Beschäftigung mit ihr angeregt hätte (Lehfeldt 1989, S. 1). Die 63 Blätter umfassende Handschrift wird im Titel als Wörterbuch (لغت) bezeichnet (لغت عربی ولغت فرسی ولغت رومی ولغت سرفی), doch handelt es sich eher um ein Sprachlehrbuch, das einen fortlaufenden Text in den genannten vier Sprachen darbietet, wobei der arabische durch Schriftgröße hervorgehoben ist (vgl. Fotos von fol. 1a–9a der Handschrift am Ende des Buches), darunter jeweils die Übersetzungen ins Persische, Griechische und das im Titel

* Die Verfasserin der vorliegenden Studie sieht sich zu einer *captatio benevolentiae* genötigt. Obwohl sie vor Jahrzehnten (1973–1980) im Nebenfach durchaus Islamwissenschaft mit den Sprachen Arabisch, Persisch und Osmanisch studiert hat, stammen ihre eigenen Arbeiten doch alle aus dem Bereich der vorwiegend älteren Slavistik, auch wenn sie gelegentlich orientalische edierte Quellen in ihre Arbeit einbezogen hat. Die hier vorgelegte Arbeit freilich erforderte eigentlich gründlichere Kenntnisse und vor allem mehr Leseerfahrung in orientalischen Sprachen. Da jedoch kaum zu erwarten ist, dass Islamwissenschaftler sich einem Text zuwenden werden, für den – neben dem Griechischen – auch das Slavische von zentraler Bedeutung ist, wage ich es, unter Hintanstellung aller Bedenken meine bescheidenen Erwägungen darzulegen, bitte aber um Nachsicht für eventuelle Fehleinschätzungen und möchte dazu anregen, an das Vorgestellte anknüpfend das Thema von orientalistischer Seite weiterzuverfolgen.

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als Serbisch bezeichnete Štokavisch-Ekavische. Eine Parallelhandschrift unter der Nr. 4749 mit leicht abweichendem Umfang von 52 Blättern übersetzt denselben arabischen Ausgangstext ins Štokavisch-Ijekavische (LEHFELDT 1989, S. 2).[1]

AHMET CAFEROĞLU (1899–1975) hatte die Handschrift mit Sultan Meḥmed II. (1451–1481) in Zusammenhang bringen wollen, der nicht nur Konstantinopel, sondern große Teile der slavisch besiedelten Balkanhalbinsel erobert hatte. Gedacht werden könnte für die slavische Version bereits sogar an die Zeit Murāds II. (1421–1451), der die serbische Fürstentochter Mara zur Frau hatte. Auch ist bekannt, dass es noch zur Zeit Süleymān-i Qānūnīs (1520–1566) serbische Kanzleien in Konstantinopel gegeben hat (LEHFELDT 1989, S. 15; 2000, S. 4–5).[2] LEHFELDT (1989, S. 16) kommt allerdings zu dem Schluss, dass – beide – Handschriften vor 1512 entstanden seien, wahrscheinlich schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, denn im Laufe des 16. Jahrhunderts habe nicht nur die Bedeutung des Serbischen, sondern sogar auch die des Griechischen im Osmanischen Reich rasch abgenommen.

Der arabische Text bildet jedenfalls die Grundlage des Lehrbuchs, während die Versionen auf Persisch, Griechisch und Serbisch von LEHFELDT (1989, S. 3) als „rücksichtslose Interlinearübersetzungen des Ausgangstextes" bezeichnet werden.[3] Das zeigt sich darin, dass oftmals der serbische Text so sklavisch der arabischen Syntax folgt, dass er ohne den Ausgangstext nicht verstanden werden kann.[4]

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[1] Ein Vergleich der Versionen erweist den Übersetzer der Handschrift 4749 als oftmals geschickter und weniger abhängig von der arabischen Syntax, während der Übersetzer der Handschrift 4750 nicht nur eine „große Anzahl von Übersetzungslücken" gelassen, sondern auch „relativ oft die Bedeutung seiner Vorlage nicht oder wenigstens nicht vollständig erfaßt hat" (LEHFELDT 1990, S. 338).

[2] ĐORĐIĆ (1971, S. 449–459) gibt Beispiele für serbische Urkunden der osmanischen Sultane Murād II., Meḥmed II., Bāyezīd II., Selīm I. und Süleymān II. zwischen 1430 und 1525, während er für Urkunden lokaler osmanischer Machthaber Beispiele in sogenannter *begovska kurziva* noch bis 1857 beibringt.

[3] Allerdings entspricht auch der arabische Text nicht immer klassischem Sprachgebrauch. So erklärt CHRISTOPH CORRELL beispielsweise fehlerhafte Vokalisationen durch Einfluss des kairinischen Dialekts (LEHFELDT 1989, S. 221) und findet auch hyperkorrekte Vokalisationen, wie sie allgemein typisch für Stadtdialekte (Hyperurbanismen) seien (LEHFELDT 1989, S. 221–222, 227, 233). Auch im Falle des Persischen gibt es möglicherweise umgangssprachliche Wendungen, auch wenn die Herausgeber darauf nicht eigens aufmerksam machen, denn persisches برکه als Wiedergabe von arabischem فإنّ ist Wörterbüchern und Grammatiken, soweit ich sehe, unbekannt.

[4] LEHFELDT 1990, S. 333 erwähnt u.a. die im Serbischen gänzlich unverständliche Fügung نیسم دا لاژو *nesəm da lažu* für arabisches لست اكذب ‚ich lüge doch nicht', wo der Übersetzer der Handschrift 4749 deutlich besser einfach نَ لاژم *ne lažem* gesagt habe. Dabei ist anzumerken, dass auch لست اكذب gegen klassisch arabischen Sprachgebrauch verstößt (FISCHER 1972, S. 153, §323b).

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> Der Umstand, daß die drei Übersetzungen v.a. auf der syntaktischen Ebene stark durch die Struktur der arabischen Vorlage geprägt sind, läßt es als wahrscheinlich erscheinen, daß das Arabische die Zielsprache gewesen ist, um deren Erlernung es bei der Benutzung des Lehrbuches ging. Ausgehend von einem der syntaktisch deformierten Übersetzungstexte, konnte der Lehrer seinen Schülern arabische Konstruktionen erläutern und mit ihnen üben. […] Da keine von ihnen Muttersprache eines Sultans oder der ottomanischen Prinzen gewesen ist, […] vielmehr das Türkische fehlt, dürften die Adressaten des Lehrbuchs eher im Umkreis hochrangiger serbischer und/oder griechischer „Renegaten" zu suchen sein. (Lehfeldt 1989, S. 3)

Die Deutung klingt überzeugend, allerdings gibt es in der Sprachlehre selbst auf fol. 10b–11a (Lehfeldt 1989, S. 93–94) einen Übungssatz, der dazu geeignet ist, diese Einschätzung etwas zu modifizieren.[5]

دُواڤْ دَا كُواوُوارِيمُوا اَرَابِسْقِى يَرَ اُوچِتَلْ اِسْتِنَا اُوابِسْتَاوِلْ نَاسْ اُوادْ كُلْاكُوالْتِىَ خُوارَزْمِسْقِى تَرَ اِسْتِنَا زَابُوارَوْلْسِمْ آرَابِسْقِى اِيَانْرِسِسْقِى اِيُواسْتَقْمُوا تَفْرْسْقِى اِنَا تُرسْقِى

Doði da govorimo arapski, jere učitel istina obəstavil nas od glagolenja horezməski, tere istina zaboravil səm arapski i parsiski i ostahmo na kurdski i na turski.[6]

[5] Lehfeldt bietet die Texte für den slavistischen Leser in einer typographisch schwer wiederzugebenden Transliteration mit zahlreichen Diakritika, die es allerdings gestatten, die arabische Gestalt des Originals wiederherzustellen. Das tun wir hier und setzen dazu eine eigene štokavische Transkription in Lateinschrift ohne zusätzliche Diakritika. Lediglich für einen etymologisch nicht berechtigten Sprossvokal (zu interpretieren als sekundäres Jer), der in arabischer Schrift stets ohne Pleneschreibung nur mit *kasra* geschrieben wird, verwenden wir über das Zeicheninventar der serbischen Latinica hinaus das Zeichen *ə*. Die hier einmal vorkommende Zeichenverbindung *nj* steht, wie an der arabischen Schreibweise ablesbar, nicht für neuštokavisches *ń*, sondern für die Verbindung von *n* mit *j*. Den arabischen und den persischen Text geben wir, da über die Lesung keine Zweifel bestehen und er damit leichter lesbar wird, unvokalisiert, den griechischen nur in wiederhergestellter griechischer Schrift nach der Ausgabe Lehfeldts.

[6] Für Slavisten unverständlich ist der Gebrauch von *istina* ‚Wahrheit, in Wahrheit', das hier zur Wiedergabe der arabischen Partikel قد zur Markierung einer abgeschlossenen Handlung dient (dazu Lehfeldt 1989, S. 325, vgl. Fischer 1972, S. 94, § 189), wobei Wahrmund (1898, S. ii,462) für قد die Übersetzung ‚fürwahr' ebenfalls verzeichnet. Auffällig ist ferner das kirchenslavische *glagolenje,* das hier neben volkssprachlichem *govoriti* gebraucht wird. Lehfeldt (1989, S. 329–330) erwähnt das nur dreimal belegte Wort *glagolenje* nicht eigens unter den Kirchenslavismen, allerdings fällt auf, dass es an einer späteren Stelle (fol. 57b) zur Wiedergabe des arabischen المنطق (vgl. persisch سخنگفتن, griechisch λογική) ‚Redekunst' dient (vgl. Lehfeldt 1989, S. 295), also für einen der Alltagssprache enthobenen Begriff steht. Volkssprachlich sind hingegen auch die Formen *jere* ‚denn, weil' und *tere* ‚und' (vgl. im Čakavischen *ter, tre* oder *tr*) mit Rhotazismus für *ježe* bzw. *teže*.

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تعال فنتكلّم بالعربية فإنّ المؤدّب قد نهانا عن التكلّم بالخورزمية فقد نسيت العربية والفارسية واقتصرنا بالكردية والتركية

بیا تا سخن گویم بعربی برکه ادیب ما بدرستی نهی کرد مارا از تکلّمه بخوارزمی فراموش کردم عربیرا وفارسیرا وبس کردیم ما بزبان کردی وترکی

Δεῦτε καὶ λαλήσωμεν ἀραβιστί, ὁ γὰρ παιδευτὴς κεκώληκέν μας τοῦ λαλεῖν χορεμιστί, ἐλησμόνησα γοῦν τὴν ἀραβιστὴν καὶ τὴν περσιστὴν καὶ ἐσυνετομίσαμεν τὴν γουρδιστὴν καὶ τὴν τουρκιστήν.

Aus diesem kurzen Dialog erfährt man einerseits, dass nicht nur die arabische Kultsprache, sondern offenbar auch das Persische, das ja im Osmanischen Reich einen hohen Rang als Literatursprache innehatte,[7] von den Schülern geübt werden sollte – sonst wäre es für den Schüler kaum nötig gewesen, darauf hinzuweisen, dass er außer dem Arabischen auch das Persische vergessen habe –, andererseits, dass die Schüler bei Abwesenheit des Lehrers dazu neigten, nicht etwa das verbotene Choresmische, sondern Kurdisch oder Türkisch zu sprechen. Hier hat nun also das von LEHFELDT vermisste Türkische seinen Platz. Griechisch und Serbisch, um die es dem Titel zufolge doch eigentlich gehen sollte, werden nicht nur hier nicht genannt, sondern auch an keiner anderen Stelle im Buch. Ebensowenig werden die hier genannten Sprachen Choresmisch, Kurdisch und Türkisch außer an dieser Stelle irgendwo sonst im Gesprächsbuch nochmals erwähnt.

Choresmisch ist eine mitteliranische Sprache, die im heutigen Uzbekistan und Turkmenistan mindestens bis zum Mongolensturm im 13. Jahrhundert gesprochen und danach durch das Neupersische bzw. Turkdialekte verdrängt worden ist (MACKENZIE 1991, S. 2476). Das Altchoresmische muss dem Altpersischen nahegestanden haben, denn *Uvārazmīy-*, der Name

[7] Zur sprachlichen Situation bei den Türken in der Frühzeit vgl. PŁASKOWICKA-RYMKIEWICZ (1971, S. 25): „Język Arabski rozpowszechniał się w państwie Seldżuków anatolijskich jako język religii i nauki. Był językiem wykładowym w medresach, korespondencji sułtańskiej, zapisów, nadań i dzieł naukowych. Do języka perskiego jako do języka literatury piękniej oraz dworu przywykli Seldżukowie jeszcze w Chorasanie i Persji, wyprowadzili więc go w Anatolii, gdzie stał językiem literatury piękniej i warstw oświeconych." Im 13. Jahrhundert war das Türkische fast ausschließlich die Sprache der Volksliteratur, und auch noch im 14. Jahrhundert blieb Persisch die Sprache des Hofes und Arabisch die der Gebildeten. Türkisch galt als barbarisch, und Türken wurden von Städtern mit Verwendung des Volksnamens geringschätzig als اتراک بی ادراک ‚ungebildetes Volk' bezeichnet. Dennoch gewinnt das Türkische seit dem 14. Jahrhundert allmählich an Gewicht, oft auch gefördert von türkischen Fürstenhöfen, an denen ausreichende Kenntnisse des Persischen und des Arabischen nicht vorhanden waren. Diese Situation schildert noch Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. Mit 1453 lässt man allerdings für gewöhnlich die hochosmanische Literatur beginnen, in der zunehmend das Türkische eine Rolle spielt, auch wenn die Literatur formal vom Persischen abhängig bleibt, vgl. TATARLI (1973, S. 9).

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dieser Provinz des persischen Großreiches, hat eine ganz persische Lautgestalt.[8] Die Sprache ist nur aus wenigen Inschriften des 3. bis 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts bekannt, die überwiegend nicht ediert sind. Bekannter ist das Spätchoresmische, jene Sprachform, die kurz vor der arabischen Eroberung im 8. Jahrhundert in Gebrauch war. Dazu überliefert Abū'r-Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī (973–1048) Tages- und Monatsnamen, die mit denen des Frühneupersischen ganz übereinstimmen (Brandenstein/Mayrhofer 1964, S. 4).

> "[…] knowledge of it, apart from a few hundred short sentences quoted in Arabic law books, comes mainly from the numerous Khwarezmian interlinear glosses in a manuscript of the famous Arabic dictionary *Muqaddimat al-adab* (ca. 1135 A.D.) by al-Zamakhsharī […]" (MacKenzie 1991, S. 2476).[9]

Neben der hier genannten Kopie der *Muqaddimatu'l-adab* mit choresmischen Glossen gibt es offenbar eine weitere, die ihren Weg bis nach Konstantinopel gefunden hat, wo Jan Rypka sie leider ohne nähere Angaben erwähnt: „Choresmische Glossen wurden auch in einer Konstantinopler Handschrift von **Zamaḫšarīs** Wörterbuch entdeckt" (Rypka 1959, S. 64).

Abū'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar az-Zamaḫšarī (pers. Maḥmūd Zamaḫšarī, 1075–1144) ist benannt nach seinem Geburtsort Zamaḫšar – einem Dorf zwischen Nūzwār und Gurganǧ (arab. Ǧurǧaniyya), der Hauptstadt der Provinz Ḫwārazm – der seine Bekanntheit allein diesem seinen berühmten Sohn und Universalgelehrten verdankt (Bosworth 2004). Caferoğlu (1974, S. 122, Fn. 51) nennt diesen, der sich außer als nach aṭ-Ṭabarī bedeutendster Qur'ān-Exeget und Theologe (Sabuni 1981, S. 38) einen Namen als Grammatiker und Lexikograph gemacht hat, einen der größten Gelehrten seiner Zeit („Asrının en büyük bir âlimi"). Gerade in seiner Funktion als

[8] Vgl. Brandenstein/Mayrhofer (1964, S. 4): „Persische Stämme sind auch in *Uvārazmīy-* ansässig gewesen (der Landesname hat bezeichnenderweise eine echt persische Lautung), während griech. Χωρασμίη eine andere Dialektform fortsetzt; vgl. etwa awest. $x^{v}\bar{a}^{i}rizam$-). Der Beweis liegt in folgendem: der arabische Schriftsteller Al-Bīrūnī (um 1000 n. Chr.) spricht ausdrücklich davon, daß die Ḫwārezmier dem Stamm der Perser (im Gegensatz zu den benachbarten Soghdern) angehörten. Da er selbst ein Ḫwārezmier war, ist ihm das nötige Wissen zuzutrauen."

[9] Die von mir nicht eingesehene Facsimile-Ausgabe der Handschrift (Ahmet Zeki Velidi, *Horezm kültürü vesikları. 1. Horezmce tercümeli muqaddimat al-adab.* İstanbul 1951) ist laut MacKenzie (1991, S. 2476) wegen fehlender Vokalisationen oft schwer lesbar, die ebenfalls von mir nicht eingesehene vollständige Edition (Johannes Benzing: *Das chwaresmische Sprachmaterial einer Handschrift der „Muqaddimat al-Adab" von Zamaḫšarī.* Wiesbaden 1968) laut MacKenzie fehlerträchtig und der nachgeschobene Wortindex (J. Benzing: *Chwaresmischer Wortindex.* Hrsg. von Z. Taraf. Wiesbaden 1983) unbefriedigend. MacKenzie kündigt eine eigene Edition an, die in Vorbereitung sei, bislang aber offenbar nicht erschienen ist.

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Grammatiker und Lexikograph interessiert uns Maḥmūd Zamaḫšarī hier. Obwohl der Herkunft nach Iraner (Choresmier), war er ein Gegner der *šu'ūbiyya,* jener Gruppierung im frühen Islam, die die privilegierte Stellung der Araber und des Arabischen in Frage stellte (ENDERWITZ 2004). Vielmehr galt für ihn, dass

> "Arabic is the language that has been selected by God for the relevation […]. Arabic grammar is the source for all the sciences, whose issues ultimately depend on the comprehension of the Arabic language and grammar" (VERSTEEGH 2004, S. 433a).

Seine Grammatik *Kitābu'l-mufaṣṣal fī'l-naḥw,* die noch europäische Grammatiken des Arabischen im 19. Jahrhundert beeinflussen sollte, und sein bescheiden *Asāsu'l-balāġa* ‚Grundlage der Rhetorik' genannter Thesaurus des Arabischen sind seine Hauptwerke (VERSTEEGH 2004, S. 433a–b). Wissenschaftlich vielleicht weniger bedeutend und in der Sekundärliteratur oft kaum einer Erwähnung gewürdigt, dafür bis in die Gegenwart populär,[10] blieb seine *Muqaddimatu'l-adab,* eben jenes arabisch–persische Wörterbuch, das in einer Abschrift die erwähnten zahlreichen choresmischen Glossen enthielt (MACKENZIE 2004, S. 525b).[11]

[10] Eine europäische Ausgabe (trotz des Titels, der anderes vermuten lässt, keine kritische Ausgabe, sondern erkennbar lediglich Abklatsch einer gut lesbaren Handschrift) besorgte JOHANNES GOTTFRIED WETZSTEIN (1815–1905). Entgegen anderslautenden Angaben in Bibliographien ergibt die Autopsie, dass der 1850 in Leipzig erschienene Band trotz seines Umfangs lediglich das 4. Fasciculum (ohne den Index nur 269 Seiten) eines größeren Werkes darstellt, wobei es mir nicht gelungen ist, die älteren Faszikel bibliographisch nachzuweisen. Der arabische Nebentitel trägt als Erscheinungsjahr 1843. Eine kurze anonyme Vorbemerkung erklärt das Fehlen einer Einleitung wie auch des offenbar in einem früher erschienenen Faszikel angekündigten persischen Wortindex durch offensichtlichen Mangel des Herausgebers an Muße („Clarissimus enim Godofredus Wetzstenius jam ante biennium in Syriam profectus, gravioribus muneris sui negotiis occupatus, ut videtur, otio ad hoc suum opus conficiendum necessario caret"). Da man vermeinte, das Publikum nicht länger warten lassen zu dürfen, erschien der Band ohne Einleitung und persischen Wortindex. Als weitere Ausgabe zu nennen ist die AH 1313 (1895/1896) in İstanbul gedruckte osmanische Übersetzung unter dem Titel *Aqṣā'l-arab fī tarğamat Muqaddimati'l-adab* in zwei Teilbänden, zusammen 1268 Seiten. In Tehrān wurde das Werk (ebenfalls in zwei Bänden, Band i in zwei Teilbänden) 1963 bis 1965 von IMĀM MOḤAMMAD KĀẒEM, unter dem Titel *Moqaddemat al-adab yā pīšraw-e adab* herausgegeben. Letztere Ausgabe habe ich nicht einsehen können.

[11] CAFEROĞLU (1974, S. 122) macht auf eine erst kürzlich aufgefundene handschriftliche Kopie des Werks in Buḫārā aufmerksam, derzufolge Zamaḫšarī das Werk „auf Befehl" des Ḫwārezmšāh Atsız (1097–1156) („**Zemahşeri'nin Harezm** şahlar'dan **Atsız'**dan aldığı bir emir üzerine") angefertigt habe, wie sich aus einer eigenhändigen demütigen Zueignung ergebe („Bundan dolayıdır ki, Zemahşeri'nin bizzat kendi elile yazıp" الامر الاجل الاسفها لاربها الدين علا الدولة ابو المظفر اتسوز خوارزمشاه).

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Mehrsprachige Wörterbücher hatte es bis dahin überhaupt kaum gegeben.[12] Vor Zamaḫšarī sind nur der 1093 verstorbene Ḥusayn Zawzanī mit den Wörterbüchern *Kitābu'l-maṣādir* und *Tarǧumānu'l-Qur'ān,* der 1127 verstorbene Ḥusayn Naṭanzī mit *Dastūru'l-luġati'l-'arabiyya* und *Kitābu'l-mirqat* sowie Abū'l-Faḍl Maydānīs *As-sāmī fī'l-asāmī* von 1104 zu nennen (MacKenzie 2004, S. 525b). Vorrangiges Motiv ist in jedem Fall, wie es ja schon für die Grammatikschule Kūfas im 7. Jahrhundert gegolten hat (Sabuni 1981, S. 182–187), ein Hilfsmittel für das Studium des Qur'ān zur Verfügung zu stellen.[13] Dabei ist die Bezeichnung Wörterbuch für die *Muqaddimatu'l-adab* nicht unbedingt passend. Caferoğlu erwähnt das Werk unter Grammatiken, sagt dann aber, es sei keine vollständige Grammatik, sondern ein praktisches Sprachlehrbuch, das – da Interesse weckend – zum Studium der Sprache gut geeignet gewesen sei.[14]

Zamaḫšarīs Werk bot sich also als eine Einführung in die Sprache nicht nur des Qur'āns[15] für Nicht-Araber an. Der praktischen Verwendbarkeit

[12] Haywood (2004, IV, S. 525a): „Bi-lingual dictionaries were rare in the Arab world until the present century."

[13] Sabuni (1981, S. 18): „Der Umstand, daß auf der einen Seite der Koran nach islamischem Glauben unübersetzbar war, auf der anderen Seite die Zahl der im Zuge der ausgedehnten Eroberungen zum Islam bekehrten fremdsprachigen Völker zunahm, mag die Araber zur systematischen Erforschung ihrer eigenen Sprache veranlaßt haben. Aber auch der bestehende Gegensatz zwischen der Sprachebene der Dichtung und des Koran einerseits und der der Dialekte andererseits begünstigte wohl das Nachdenken über die arabische Sprache und die Entstehung ihrer Grammatik (naḥw = Richtung). Ausgehend von den genannten Gründen war also die Aufstellung von Regeln eine Notwendigkeit, um das Erlernen des Arabischen zu erleichtern, eine möglichst einheitliche Interpretation des Korantextes und der Überlieferung zu gewährleisten und vor allem Mißverständnisse darin zu vermeiden bzw. solchen vorzubeugen. Eben dies erklärt die Tatsache, daß die ersten sprachwissenschaftlichen Studien rein praktischer Natur waren und daß sich die Koranleser zugleich mit der Grammatik befaßten." Ferner Sabuni (1981, S. 43): „Die neue Religion war der einzige Beweggrund und die Antriebskraft für das intensive Studium und die Kodifizierung des Arabischen in Übereinstimmung mit der Koransprache, die es rein und unverändert zu bewahren galt."

[14] Caferoğlu (1974, S. 192): „[…] tam bir gramer sayılamaz, fakat pratik dil öğretimini de göz önünde bulundurduğundan; bu saha ile ilgili olarak, pekalâ mütalea edilebilir." Ausführlicher, leider ohne Nennung von Sekundärliteratur, wird in der aserbaidschanischen Wikipedia das Werk geradezu als Lehrbuch nach der Teach-Yourself-Methode für Mindergebildete gepriesen („Azacıq təhsil görmüş, ərəb dilini bilməyən türk və farslar müəllim yanına getmədən, mədrəsə təhsili görmədən də bu kitab vasitəsilə ərəb dilini öyrənə bilərdi").

[15] Zamaḫšarī akzeptierte auch die Sprache zeitgenössischer arabischer Versdichtung als Zeugnis für Arabisch, vgl. Versteegh 2004, S. 433b. Die osmanische Übersetzung, die von einem Anonymus, der sich im Kolophon (Zamaḫšarī 1895/1896, ii,739) nur مترجم الكتاب nennt, am 10. März 1689 in Bursa (في اوائل اولى الجمادين من شهور سنة هجرية هى سبعة وعشر بعد مائة والف في محروسة بروسا) beendet wurde, behandelt in einem eigenen Abschnitt (Zamaḫšarī 1895/1896, I,16–17) im Qur'ān nicht bezeugte Wörter der mündlichen Überlieferung

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dienten nicht nur die choresmischen Glossen, die noch auf Zamaḫšarī selbst zurückgehen und Choresmiern den Erwerb des Arabischen erleichtern sollten, sondern auch weitere Glossierungen. Hierher gehört eine von CAFEROĞLU (1974, S. 188) mit Verweis auf VASILIJ VLADIMIROVIČ BARTOĽD (1869–1930) erwähnte Handschrift von 1305 mit „alttürkischen" Glossen. Gemeint ist die zentralasiatische türkische Gemeinsprache („Müşterek Orta-Asya Türkçesi"). Da er von Arabisch, Persisch, Türkisch und Mongolisch spricht, ist vermutlich dieselbe Handschrift gemeint, die 2008 von SAITŌ YOSHIO im Facsimile herausgegeben und grammatisch untersucht worden ist.[16] Nicht viel jünger ist eine Handschrift mit osmanischer Übersetzung, die, auf den 31. Oktober 1468 datiert, sich in der Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters in Mostar erhalten hat (NIKIĆ 1981, S. 14; BOŠKOV 1988, S. 77–78 [br. 147]).[17] Sie ergänzt zum arabischen und persischen Text interlinear osmanische Glossen.

Der Vergleich einiger Fotos der hercegovinischen Handschrift mit dem Druck der osmanischen Version von 1895/1896 bestätigt den Verdacht, dass hier tatsächlich eine Fassung der *Muqaddimatu'l-adab* Verwendung gefunden hat; die Handschrift ist allerdings nur ein knapper Auszug daraus. Das ergibt sich schon aus dem Umfang von nur 179 Blättern. Während das Wörterbuch der hercegovinischen Handschrift nur 12 Kapitel (باب) mit Nomina in semantischen Gruppen zählt, sind es bei dem osmanischen Anonymus 24, in beiden Fällen wie auch in der Ausgabe WETZSTEINS von 1850 mit weiterer Untergliederung in Abschnitte (فصل). Der arabische und der persische Text folgen jeweils in derselben Zeile nacheinander, die einzelnen Eintragungen werden durch Kommata in roter Farbe voneinander getrennt. Bei dem osmanischen Anonymus steht auch die türkische Übersetzung im fortlaufenden Text, während er in der hercegovinischen Handschrift inter-

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vorislamischer arabischer Dichter (فصل در بیان الفاظی که در قرآن مذکور نشد با آنکه از زمان عرب تا باین هنگام متواتر وزبان زده است).

[16] *The Muqaddimat al-Adab. A Facsimile Reproduction of the Quadrilingual Manuscript (Arabic, Persian, Chagatay and Mongol).* Tōkyō 2008, dazu die Studie SAITŌ YOSHIO (ed.): *A Lexical and Grammatical Study of Mongolian and Chagatay in the Muqaddimat al-Adab.* Tōkyō 2008. Auch diese Ausgabe, deren Berücksichtigung den Rahmen hier gesprengt hätte, habe ich nicht eingesehen.

[17] Für den Hinweis auf die Handschrift und die Überlassung einiger Fotos in elektronischer Form danke ich meinem lieben Kollegen ZVONKO PANDŽIĆ (Würzburg). Es handelt sich dabei um die älteste Handschrift unter den Acta Turcarum in der Franziskanerbibliothek von Mostar. Vergleichbares gibt es laut NIKIĆ sonst erst aus dem 17. Jahrhundert. Am Anfang der Handschrift fehlen einige Blätter. BOŠKOV zufolge gehört die Handschrift zu den ältesten Wörterbüchern des Osmanischen („Po srijedi je izgleda jedan od najstarijih rječnika osmansko-turskog jezika. […] Osim dijela Firišteoglua, drugi osmanski rječnici do ovog vremena za sad nisu poznati. Nije isključeno da se radi o turskom glosaru na Zamahšerijev arapsko-perzijski rječnik."

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linear und marginal nachgetragen ist.[18] Man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass genau das vom Schreiber der Grundhandschrift beabsichtigt war, denn die Seite trägt jeweils nur fünf Textzeilen mit sehr großem Abstand, der den Schüler geradezu einlädt, zwischen den Zeilen (immer nur zum persischen, nie zum arabischen Text) osmanische Glossierungen anzubringen.[19] Hingegen ist der Text des osmanischen Anonymus ebenso wie der der Ausgabe WETZSTEINS von 1850 großformatig und eng beschrieben.

Nach dem Gesagten möchte man meinen, dass das *Sprachlehrbuch von der Hohen Pforte* und die *Muqaddimatu'l-adab* nichts miteinander gemein haben. Der Hinweis auf didaktische Verwendbarkeit bei CAFEROĞLU

[18] In der Ausgabe WETZSTEINS von 1850 steht in semantischen Gruppen stets ein arabisches Wort voran, gefolgt von einer persischen Entsprechung, dann weitere Wörter desselben Wortfeldes in beiden Sprachen, wobei die persischen Wörter stets unvokalisiert dargeboten werden, die arabischen durchgängig vokalisiert und mit grammatischen Angaben versehen, z. B.

باب طَرِيقٌ راه طُرُقٌ ج مَذْهَبٌ م مَذَاهِبُ ج صِرَاطٌ (WETZSTEIN 1850, S. 11) oder

باب اَدَبٌ فرهنك هُنَرٌ آدَابٌ لُغَةٌ زبان (WETZSTEIN 1850, S. 49).

Die gewählte Darstellungsweise eignet sich als Nachschlagewerk, jedoch kaum als Sprachlehrbuch.

[19] Allerdings spricht die hervorragende Qualität der osmanischen Glossierungen eher gegen die Annahme, dass diese auf einen Schüler zurückgehen könnten. Auffällig ist auch die Schreibweise, die teils genauer ist als jene, die bis in das 20. Jahrhundert für das Osmanische in Gebrauch war. Im Osmanischen diente das Zeichen ک in der Regel ununterschieden (vgl. aber KREUTEL [1965, S. XIX]: „Nach persischer Art kann *Kef* in arabischer Schrift als *g* mit گ […] und *ñ* mit ڭ […] geschrieben werden") zur Wiedergabe von 1. *k* in arabischen und persischen Wörtern, 2. *k̀* in türkischen Wörtern, 3. *g* in persischen Wörtern, 4. *ǵ* in türkischen Wörtern und 5. *ñ* (ŋ) in türkischen Wörtern. Das persische Zeichen گ für *g* wurde „in Handschriften kaum und selbst in gedruckten Texten nur hin und wieder" verwendet (BUĞDAY 1999, S. 1); KISSLING (1960, S. 5) in seiner Grammatik und ERGIN (1975) in seinem Lehrbuch des Osmanischen erwähnen es nicht einmal. In der hercegovinischen Handschrift aber wird nicht nur in persischen Wörtern für *g* und in türkischen für *ǵ* konsequent ڭ verwendet, sondern auch fast ausnahmslos ڭ für türkisches *ñ*. Während ڭ im Persischen auch sonst begegnet (JENSEN 1931, S. 11, auch eine von ERGIN [1975, S. ٢٢٦] reproduzierte westtürkische Handschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts weist es mehrfach auf, allerdings stets für *ñ*), ist ڴ eher eine Rarität. Nach dem Stand von 2015 wird ڴ vom Unicode-Konsortium berücksichtigt, es soll in „early Persian" (dann ja wohl für *g*) vorkommen. Die sorgfältige Unterscheidung zwischen ڴ und ڭ erklärt sich vielleicht durch die didaktische Absicht, passt aber auch in den historischen Kontext, als auch für andere neu in den Gesichtskreis tretende Sprachen üblicherweise durch drei diakritische Punkte neue Zeichen für bislang nicht darstellbare Phoneme geschaffen wurden. So findet sich in der *Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte* neben ڭ für *g* und ڒ (đ) ein ڸ für *l'* (freilich kein ڼ für *ń*, das allerdings im Malaiischen dafür gebraucht wurde), während zur Unterscheidung des Phonems *c* von *č* ein Punkt weggelassen wurde (چ *č*, aber ج *c*). Je drei untergesetzte Punkte dienten auch den litauischen Tataren daẓu, ڃ *ć*, *ć* von ڞ zu unterscheiden und ڍ *ʒ́*, *ʒ́* von ڈ *d́*, laut AKINER (2009, S. 81) "invented by the Tatars themselves".

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und die Anlage der hercegovinischen Handschrift jedoch weisen in eine andere Richtung. Man wird sich vorstellen dürfen, dass immer wieder auf der Grundlage der *Muqaddimatu'l-adab* Maḥmūd Zamaḫšarīs brauchbare Sprachlehrbücher zusammengestellt wurden, vielleicht auch, wie im Falle jenes von der Hohen Pforte, in Dialogform. Das stehengebliebene Verbot des Lehrers, Choresmisch zu sprechen, ebenso wie das Eingeständnis der Schüler, dass sie angesichts mangelnder Kenntnisse im Arabischen und Persischen gerne in das Kurdische oder das Türkische auswichen, darf vielleicht doch als Hinweis auf ein arabisch-persisch-choresmisches und ein arabisch-persisch-kurdisch-türkisches Sprachlehrbuch gewertet werden, die im 15. Jahrhundert dann Vorbild für das arabisch-persisch-griechisch-serbische waren. Durchaus möglich, dass sich in dem weiten von Osmanen beherrschten Raum in Bibliotheken oder Archiven die vermuteten Vorbilder noch werden auffinden lassen. Die Chancen sind freilich nicht sonderlich gut, weil es sich natürlich um Gebrauchsliteratur[20] handelt, die schnell verschleißt und nur unter glücklichen Umständen einmal erhaltengeblieben ist.

Wenn Zamaḫšarī sein Wörterbuch als *muqaddima,* eigtl. ‚Vorwort, Einleitung' nennt, so greift er damit zu einer literarischen Form, die seit dem 9. Jahrhundert beliebt war (FREIMARK 2004). Unter *adab* wurde ursprünglich religiöse Bildung verstanden, dann umfassender auch höfische Kultur.

> *Adab* came to imply the sum of knowledge which makes a man courteous and 'urbane', profane culture (as distinct from *'ilm,* learning, or rather, religious learning, Kur'ān, *ḥadīṯ* and *fikh*) based in the first place on poetry, the art of oratory, the historical and tribal traditions of the ancient Arabs, and also on the corresponding sciences: rhetoric, grammar, lexicografy, metrics (GABRIELI 2004).

Zur literarischen Gattung der *muqaddima* gehörte, dass das Buch mit der Basmala (بسم الله الحمان الرحيم) und evtl. auch der Ḥamdala (الحمد لله ربّ العالمسن والصلاة على رسوله محمد وعاله الطاهرسك اجمعين) zu beginnen hatte, worauf, oft eingeleitet mit امّا بغد, die Begründung für die Abfassung des Werkes zu folgen pflegte (FREIMARK 2004, S. 495b). Dass auch der Text der *Sprachlehre von der Hohen Pforte* diesen formalen Anforderungen entspricht, ist vielleicht ein zusätzlicher Hinweis auf die Herkunft des Textes. Der auf Basmala und Ḥamdala (fol. 1b) folgende Text (fol. 2a) ist allerdings im Arabischen und – infolge der engen Abhängigkeit der Versionen vom arabischen Text – auch in den übersetzten Texten ungrammatisch oder einfach verderbt. Für das nach

[20] LEHFELDT (1989, S. 14) spricht zwar von einer „prächtigen Ausgestaltung" der Handschrift, doch bezieht sich die wohl nur auf die didaktisch sinnvolle Ausführung in vier Farben: Arabisch in kräftigem Schwarz, Persisch in Rot, Griechisch in Grün und Serbisch in Hellrot (LEHFELDT 1989, S. 9). Nach den beigegebenen Fotos entsteht eher der Eindruck einer lediglich ordentlich ausgeführten *nasḫ*-Gebrauchshandschrift.

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der arabischen Grammatik unmögliche قَالَ مُصَنِّفُ هَاذَا الْكِتَابِ الْمَنْطِقِ des Sprachlehrbuchs (Lehfeldt 1989, S. 76) ist mit Christoph Correll (Lehfeldt 1989, S. 221), der überzeugend von einer Haplographie ausgeht, قَالَ الْمُصَنِّفُ هَاذَا الْكِتَابِ الْمَنْطِقِ ‚Es sagte der Verfasser dieses Buches: Dies ist das Buch der Redekunst …' zu konjizieren. Der weitere Text macht deutlich, dass es sich um ein Lehrbuch für Anfänger handelt. Nicht nur der arabische Text ist hier verderbt, sondern auch die von ihm abhängigen Versionen sind es. Am verständlichsten ist noch die griechische Version, obwohl auch hier der Fehler des Arabischen nachgewirkt hat.[21] Wir geben nur die rekonstruierte Fassung in deutscher Übersetzung:

> [Dies ist das Buch] der angewandten Rede[kunst], durch welche gelöst werden die Zungen der Anfänger – so versteh es denn und arbeite damit und lern es auswendig, dann wirst du durch es redegewandt werden, so Gott will, der hochgepriesen sei (Lehfeldt 1989, S. 199).

Lehfeldt (1989, S. 2) bestimmt die Sprache des slavischen Textes, der in der Handschrift als „Serbisch" (سرفى) bezeichnet wird,[22] aus gutem Grund als Štokavisch-Ekavisch. Damit ist eine Herkunft des slavischen Informanten aus dem später muslimisch geprägten Bosnien auszuschließen, denn das Šćakavische Bosniens wird in der durch den Türkenvorstoß ausgelösten metanastischen Periode zwar štokavisiert, ist aber ijekavisch (Popović 1960, S. 401–454). Der Informant für den slavischen Texte der Handschrift 4749 hingegen könnte durchaus aus Bosnien stammen. Lehfeldt (1990, S. 331, 339) denkt an eine Art Übersetzungswettbewerb zwischen den beiden Informanten, in dem er den Siegeslorbeer dem Übersetzer der Handschrift 4749 zusprechen möchte. Die genauere Herkunft des Informanten der Handschrift 4750 bestimmt Lehfeldt (1989, S. 308–320) nach dialektalen Merkmalen. Der konsequente Ekavismus, aber auch Archaismen und das Vorkommen von Balkanismen gestatten eine Eingrenzung auf das Gebiet der Kosovo-Resava-Mundarten. Die wenigen Züge, die an bulgarisches

[21] Wir lesen fol. 2a (Lehfeldt 1989, S. 76): „Εἶπεν ὁ ποιητὴς ταύτης τῆς βίβλου τῆς λογικῆς τῆς γεγυμνασμένης, δι' ἧς εὐλαλοῦσιν αἱ γλῶσσαι τῶν ἀρχομένων. Σύνεσον οὖν αὐτὸ καὶ πράξον κατ' αὐτὸ καὶ φύλαξον αὐτό, εὐφραδήσεις κατ' αὐτό· ἐὰν θέλῃ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ὕψιστος." Der arabische Text lautet hier: قَالَ مُصَنِّفُ هَاذَا الْكِتَابِ الْمَنْطِقِ الْمُسْتَعْمَلِ الَّذِي يَنْطَلِقُ بِهِ أَلْسِنَةُ الْمُبْتَدِعِينَ فَافْهَمْهُ وَاعْمَلْ بِهِ وَاحْفَظْهُ تَنْفَصِحْ بِهِ إِن شَاءَ الله تَعَالا

[22] Dabei darf die Bezeichnung nicht dazu verleiten, an Serbisch im modernen Sinne zu denken. Die Belege für den Gebrauch des Adjektivs срьбьскыи im sprachlichen Sinne bei Daničić (1864, III, S. 151–153) beziehen sich auf Bosnien (1333, 1454), ebenso weitere Belege des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts, und im 16. Jahrhundert stellt der aus Hvar stammende, Čakavisch schreibende Petar Hektorović (1487–1572) *srpski način* der *bugaršćina* gegenüber. Das Adjektiv срьбьскыи bezeichnet also offensichtlich ohne Einschränkung auf einen bestimmten Dialekt die lokale Volkssprache im Gegensatz zur kirchenslavischen Hochsprache, vgl. Trunte (1994, S. 488–489).

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Sprachgebiet denken ließen, können teilweise als Einfluss des Kirchenslavischen gedeutet werden, auch wenn LEHFELDT (1989, S. 311) sagt, dass „ein bulgarischer Einfluß zumindest nicht völlig ausgeschlossen werden kann".

In der Tat gibt es einen sprachlichen und auch einen inhaltlichen Hinweis, die jeweils in Richtung Makedonien, also ursprünglich bulgarisches Sprachgebiet, deuten. Zunächst der sprachliche. Im Gesprächsbuch gibt es insgesamt 20 Belege für eine Präposition قُوان *kon,* die im Serbischen nicht existiert. Sie entspricht in 16 Fällen der arabischen Präposition عند ‚bei', nur je einmal من دانِ ‚neben, nahe' (9b4), بين يدي ‚vor [wörtl. zwischen den Händen]' (10a1), الى جنب ‚zu Seite' (41b3) und مع ‚mit [verwendet wie russ. *y*]' (47a1). Im Persischen steht achtmal نزديک ‚nahe', siebenmal پيش ‚vor, bei' und viermal نزد ‚nahe, bei', nur einmal (41b3) entspricht قُوان *kon* persischem پهلوی ‚neben, an der Seite', wo auch das Arabische abweichend الى جنب gesagt hat. Eine Präposition *кон* ist aber in (fast) all diesen Verwendungsweisen möglich im Makedonischen, dürfte hier also trotz des sonst serbischen Sprachcharakters einen Regionalismus aus Makedonien darstellen. Das unter Zar Stefan Dušan serbische Makedonien (Dušan ließ sich ja noch 1348 in Skopje zum Kaiser der Serben und Griechen krönen)[23] war bereits 1371 nach dem Fall der Festung Niš türkisch geworden, während das eigentliche Serbien erst mit der Eroberung Smederevos 1459 endgültig türkisch wurde. Alte Belege für die Präposition *kon* sind mir freilich nicht bekannt und scheinen auch zu fehlen (BER 1979, S. 580).

Mit Makedonien zu verbinden ist ferner ein kulturhistorisches Argument. Auf fol. 12a (S. 96) findet sich folgende Verfluchung, in der für den muslimischen Teufel *Iblīs* ein bogomilischer *Satanail* eingetreten ist:

اِزْلَزِی اُوادْ مَنَه اَپْرُوافْلَتَه اَنَايْهُوكْ سِزْدَانِیَ بُواژْیَه اَزْلَیْشِی اُوادْ سَاتَانَايْلاَ اُواتِیدِی اُغْنِیَا اِلْمُوقُو یَرَ تِی نَسِی اُوادْ پْرِلِجْنَه مُوایَی

Izlezi od mene, a proklete a najhuđe səzdanije božje, a zlejši od satanaila, otidi u ogńa i u muku, jere ti nesi od prilične moje.

[23] Auch KONESKI (1965, S. 13) konstatiert seit dem 14. Jahrhundert das Vordringen der serbischen Redaktion (des Kirchenslavischen) in Makedonien: „Во 14 в. се шири употребата на српската рецензија, која во македонската писменост имала доминантно место до 18 в.", das mit dem Aufstieg Serbiens im Zusammenhang stehe: „Се чини дека ширењето на српската држава во средниот век кон југ и вклучувањето на македонските краишта во неа […], установувањето на српскиот двор во Скопје, како и на повеќе вазални дворови во други македонски центри во тоа време, било онаа историска подлога врз која и извесни особености на српскиот изговор се здобиле со престиж […]" (KONESKI 1965, S. 73).

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اخرج مني يا ملعون يا اخبث خلق الله يا اشرّ من ابليس اذهب الى النار والسقر فأنت لست من امثالي

بیرون شو از من ای لعنت کرده ای بدترین آفریدهٔ خدای ای بدتر از ابلیس برو سوی اتش و دوزخ پس تو نیستی از مانندگان من

Ἔξελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ὦ καταραμένε, ὦ κάκιστε τῶν κτισμάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὦ χείριστε διαβόλου. Ὕπαγε εἰς τὸ πῦρ καὶ εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον, σὺ γὰρ οὐκ εἶ ὅμοιός μου.

Der Islam kennt zwei Namen für den Teufel: شيطان, den wir aus *Satan* kennen, und ابليس, dessen Name am wahrscheinlichsten auf griechisches διάβολος zurückgeht. Es handelt sich in beiden Fällen ursprünglich um dieselbe Gestalt, denn das griechische διάβολος ist lediglich die Übersetzung des hebräischen שָׂטָן.[24] Miteinander identifiziert werden sie deutlich in Apc 12,9 (καὶ ἐβλήθη ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας, ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, ὁ καλούμενος Διάβολος καὶ ὁ Σατανᾶς, ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην, ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβλήθησαν, ähnlich Apc 20,2). Der Name Σαταναήλ hingegen ist nicht biblisch. Er findet sich offenbar zuerst in dem spätestens um 400 entstandenen gnostischen Bartholomäus-Evangelium 4,25 mit der natürlich nicht gerechtfertigten Etymologie „Πρῶτον ἐλεγόμην [Σα]ταναήλ, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται ἄγγελος [Θεοῦ]· ὅτε δὲ ἀγνοῶν ἀντίτυπον τοῦ Θεοῦ, [ἐ]κλήθη τὸ ὄνομά μου Σατανᾶς ὅ ἐστιν [ἀγ]γελος ταρταροῦχος".[25] Vielleicht darf man dieses Evangelium mit der in Syrien im 4. Jahrhundert verbreiteten Sekte der Masalianer oder

[24] Der Name שָׂטָן mit der Bedeutung ‚Widersacher' findet sich zuerst im Alten Testament im Buche Job 1,6: וַיְהִי הַיּוֹם וַיָּבֹאוּ בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים לְהִתְיַצֵּב עַל־יְהוָה וַיָּבוֹא גַּם־הַשָּׂטָן בְּתוֹכָם, ebenso als ܣܛܢܐ in der syrischen Pəšiṭṭā (ܘܐܬܘ ܒܢܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܬܪܘܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܐܦ ܣܛܢܐ ܒܝܬ ܟܢܫܬܗ), während die LXX ihn als διάβολος übersetzt (καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦλθον οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ παραστῆναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ὁ διάβολος ἦλθεν μετ' αὐτῶν). Das NT gebraucht nebeneinander διάβολος (Mt 4,1par: πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου) und σατανᾶς (Mt 4,10par: ὕπαγε, σατανᾶ), wobei die Überführung in die maskulinen *ā*-Stämme auf Entlehnung aus dem Aramäischen (סטנא) deutet. Das Syrische weist für διάβολος die Übersetzung ܣܟܠܢܐ (Kompositum aus ܣܟܠ ‚sich ernähren' und ܣܢܐ ‚Verleumdung') auf (ܣܟܠܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܥܪܟܐ), während es σατανᾶς als ܣܛܢܐ (ܟܘ ܣܛܢܐ) beibehält. Dieselbe Dopplung findet sich im Arabischen, wobei شيطان das ܫܛܢ entsprechende Lehnwort sein muss, da es eine entsprechende Wurzel im Arabischen nicht gibt. Für das διάβολος entsprechende ابليس ist zwar von arabischen Philologen eine Verbindung zur Wurzel بلس (أَبْلَسَ ‚verzweifeln', weil der Teufel keine Hoffnung auf Rettung habe) hergestellt worden (Wensinck/Gardet 2004, III, S. 668b), was aber eher an Volksetymologie denken lässt, wahrscheinlicher steckt in ابليس ein syrisch vermitteltes griechisches διάβολος, wobei der Anlaut mit der syrischen Possessivpartikel ـ̈ identifiziert und daher fälschlich dekomponiert worden ist.

[25] Zitiert nach der Edition de Santos Otero (1979, S. 559), vgl. Lampe (1982, S. 1226) und Schneemelcher (1987, S. 433). Das Bartholomäus-Evangelium ist zwar auch slavisch bekannt, bricht aber mit 4,12 ab, so dass diese Stelle bei Tichonravov (1863, II, S. 18–23) fehlt.

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Messalianer[26] verbinden, denn in einer freilich späten Quelle des 11. Jahrhunderts werden ihnen Glaubensaussagen zu Satanael zugeschrieben, wie sie sonst von Bogomilen bekannt sind (IVANOV 1925, S. 14.). Masalianismus wie armenischer Paulikianismus gelten u. a. als Quelle für die bogomilische Theologie.

Die Benennung Satans als Satanael steht natürlich in Analogie zu anderen Erzengelnamen (Michael, Gabriel, Uriel usw.), wobei die Schlusssilbe aus dem hebräischen Wort אֵל ‚Gott' gebildet ist (vgl. מִיכָאֵל ‚wer ist wie Gott', גַּבְרִיאֵל ‚Mann Gottes' usw.). Im Falle von Satanael ergibt sich dabei freilich kein guter Sinn. Nach bogomilischer Vorstellung entriss Christus, als er bei seiner Höllenfahrt Satan in Ketten legte, diesem das englische Element *-el.*

> На третия ден той възкръснал, заловил Сатанаил, вързал го с вериги и го хвърлил в огнената геена. При това махнал от името му ангелската частица "ил" и по такъв начин Сатанаил станал Сатана.[27]

Dass Satan einstmals eine hohe Stellung im Himmel innehatte und erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt vom Himmel gestürzt wurde, ist ja auch der Großkirche bekannt, vgl. neben Apc 12,9 auch Luk 10,18 (ἐθεώρουν τὸν σατανᾶν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα), wobei sich das Motiv schon im Alten Testament bei dem Propheten Isaias (Jesaja) findet.[28] Die apokryphe *Vita Adae et Evae,* die griechisch, lateinisch und kirchenslavisch erhalten ist, kennt eine Variante, derzufolge Satan Adam gegenüber klagt, er sei verstoßen worden, weil er sich geweigert habe, dem Geheiß Gottes, sich vor Adam anbetend zu verneigen, Folge zu leisten (KAUTZSCH 1900, S. 513–514.). Dieses ursprünglich jüdische Apokryphon gilt auch als Quelle für einen analogen Bericht des Qur'ān in Sūra 38, 71–77 , wo ausdrücklich von *Iblīs* die Rede ist (فَسَجَدَ الْمَلٰٓئِكَةُ كُلُّهُمْ اَجْمَعُوْنَ اِلَّآ اِبْلِيْسَ اسْتَكْبَرَ وَكَانَ مِنَ الْكٰفِرِيْنَ) (WENSINCK/GARDET 2004, III, S. 668b; BELTZ 1979, S. 212–215).

Diese Ähnlichkeit der Glaubensvorstellungen der Bogomilen zu Satanael und der Muslime zu Iblīs mag die Identifizierung im Gesprächsbuch erleich-

[26] Die Benennung beruht auf syrisch ܣܛܢܐ ‚Beter', daher die gleichbedeutende griechische Bezeichnung εὐχῖται.

[27] ANGELOV (1980, S. 158) bezieht sich hier auf die *Πανοπλία δογματική* des Mönchs Euthymios (in der Welt Ioannes Zigadenos, 12. Jahrhundert): „[…] καὶ παχεῖ καὶ βαρεῖ κλοιῷ καταδῆναι, καὶ ἐγκλεῖσαι τῷ ταρτάτρῳ, περιελόντα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τὸ, ἤλ, ὡς ἀγγελικόν" (PG 130, col. 1301–1304).

[28] Vgl. Is 14,12–15: אֵיךְ נָפַלְתָּ מִשָּׁמַיִם הֵילֵל בֶּן־שָׁחַר נִגְדַּעְתָּ לָאָרֶץ חוֹלֵשׁ עַל־גּוֹיִם: וְאַתָּה אָמַרְתָּ בִלְבָבְךָ הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶעֱלֶה מִמַּעַל לְכוֹכְבֵי־אֵל אָרִים כִּסְאִי וְאֵשֵׁב בְּהַר־מוֹעֵד בְּיַרְכְתֵי צָפוֹן: אֶעֱלֶה עַל־בָּמֳתֵי עָב אֶדַּמֶּה לְעֶלְיוֹן: אַךְ אֶל־שְׁאוֹל תּוּרַד אֶל־יַרְכְתֵי־בוֹר: πῶς ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἑωσφόρος ὁ πρωὶ ἀνατέλλων; συντετρίφη εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ ἀποστέλλων πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. σὺ δὲ εἶπας ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ σου Εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβήσομαι, ἐπάνω τῶν ἄστρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου, καθιῶ ἐν ὄρει ὑψηλῷ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλὰ τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν, ἀναβήσομαι ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν, ἔσομαι ὅμοιος τῷ ὑψίστῳ.

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tert haben. Die Zentren des Bogomilismus aber lagen Dimităr Angelov zufolge vor allem in Makedonien, wo im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert Heidentum noch verbreitet war, so dass anachronistisch sogar der 910 entschlafene hl. Naum auf einer Ikone der Ohrider Kirche der hl. Gottesgebärerin als von Bogomilen bedrängt (διώκεται ὑπὸ τῶν βογομήλον [sic]) dargestellt werden konnte (Angelov 1980, S. 128). Einer Legende zufolge soll Pop Bogomil im Dorfe Bogomila geboren und dort auch bestattet worden sein, und auch weitere Toponyme in Makedonien stehen im Zusammenhang mit dem Bogomilismus, so *Torbači, Kutugerci, Bogoslov, Bogoslovec, Eremija* und *Bogomilsko pole,* die an weitere Benennungen für Bogomilen erinnern.[29]

Durch die Expansion des Samuilsreiches bis vor die Tore Zadars und die anschließende Verfolgung der Bogomilen unter den Komnenen (Mošin 1962, S. 66–71) gelangten Häretiker weit nach Norden und Westen. Im 12. Jahrhundert sah sich der serbische Župan Stefan Nemanja genötigt, eine Synode gegen sie einzuberufen, auf der sie anathematisiert und strengen Strafen unterworfen wurden, und 1221 erschien auf Betreiben des serbischen Erzbischofs Sava ein Synodikon, in dem die häretischen Aussagen anathematisiert wurden (Angelov 1980, S. 358; Papasov 1983, S. 126–143). Bemerkenswert ist, dass die Häretiker hier als *babuni* bezeichnet werden, d. h. mit jenem Namen, den sie in Makedonien trugen.[30] Auch der *Zakonik* Stefan Dušans sieht in § 85 seines Gesetzbuches strenge Strafen für *babuni* vor (Papasov 1983, S. 141–142). Während die Häretiker in Bosnien unter dem Namen *patareni* (Angelov 1980, S. 358) bekannt sind, verbindet sich der Name *babuni* mit Makedonien, so dass im 14. Jahrhundert mit einem Überleben der Sekte gerade in Makedonien zu rechnen ist.

Nimmt man den sprachlichen und den theologischen Hinweis zusammen, so bietet sich als denkbare Alternative zur Lokalisierung des Gesprächsbuch im Bereich der Kosovo-Resava-Mundart Makedonien als jener Raum an, aus dem der Informant für den slavischen Text des Sprachlehrbuchs gekommen sein könnte. Dass die Sprachform dann dennoch eine serbische und keine makedobulgarische ist, kann nicht überraschen, hatte doch Makedonien noch unter Stefan Dušan zum serbischen Staat gehört und war kirchlich vom Patriarchat Peć abhängig, das noch bis 1463 bestand, als der letzte Patriarch Arsenije II. vom serbischen Despoten Đurađ Branković (1427–1456)

[29] Dabei gilt manchmal Jeremija als Schüler Bogomils oder wird sogar mit diesem identifiziert (Angelov 1980, S. 299). Die übrigen Namen verweisen auf auf weitere Bezeichnungen der Bogomilen, z. B. *torbeši* und *kudugeri* (vgl. Obolensky 1948, S. 164–165; Angelov 1980, S. 130; Ivanov 1925, S. 36).

[30] Angelov 1980, S. 49: „Новото е само името ‘бабуни’, с което се назовават богомилите в сръбския Номоканон и което се е появило в Сърбия вероятно след събора на Стефан Неман срещу тях. Името ‘бабуни’ е във връзка с планината Бабуна в Македония и свидетелствува, че по това време богомилската ерес е била особено разпространена в македонските земи.“ Vgl. Papasov (1983, S. 129).

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in dessen Hauptstadt Smederevo geholt wurde. Entlang der Verkehrsachse des Vardar-Flusses haben sich serbische Sprachzüge bis in das Hinterland Thessalonikes ausgebreitet, wie dies KONESKI (1965, S. 43, 69–75) mit einer Reihe von Dialektzügen belegt, und damit auch jene Räume (etwa in Zentralmakedonien) erreicht, in denen die Bogomilen ihre Hochburgen hatte.

Wir möchten daher die Ergebnisse Werner LEHFELDTS dahingehend ergänzen, dass der slavische Informant für die serbischen Version im Gesprächsbuch vielleicht eher weiter südlich in Makedonien beheimatet gewesen sein könnte und vermutlich der Sekte der Bogomilen nahestand. Außerdem war das Gesprächbuch selbst wahrscheinlich die Adaptation eines entsprechenden Werkes für Kurden und Türken auf der Grundlage der *Muqaddimatu'l-adab* Maḥmūd Zamaḫšarīs, der selbst noch daran interessiert gewesen war, seinen choresmischen Landsleuten den Zugang zum Arabischen zu erleichtern.

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Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa II.1.2.3; a Coincidence or a Challenge?

By Prabhakar Gondhalekar*

Summary: The astronomical observations in *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* II.1.2.3 and associated passages in this *Brāhmaṇa* have been re-examined to determine what the composers of these passages would have seen in the sky. It is shown that the observation of Kṛttikās described in ŚB II.1.2.3 must have been made before 2250 BCE. Examination of other *nakṣatras* close to the celestial equator at 3000 BCE shows that the Vedic observers did not mention these *nakṣatras* because these *nakṣatras* were far from east and in some cases below the horizon when Kṛttikās were visible at dawn in the east.

1 Introduction

Interpretation of Vedic texts is notoriously difficult. Often these texts appear obscure, ambiguous, and sometimes meaningless. The vast depth of ignorance of a society and a culture that composed these texts makes the texts, the rituals described in the texts, the justification of these rituals, the symbolism in the rituals etc., incomprehensible to a modern mind. However, this should not be an excuse for dismissing these texts as mere "traditional priestly lore". In this article one passage from one of these texts is analysed to demonstrate that there are aspects of these texts that challenge the accepted (or traditional) understanding. The passage considered is *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* (ŚB) II.1.2.3. It was first identified by Dikshit (1895, 1969) and has been a topic of much discussion over the last hundred years. The most recent discussion (to author's knowledge) has been by Narahari Achar (1999, 2000a) and Witzel (1999). The passage is re-examined because the analysists of the past hundred years have failed to address two pertinent questions. Before considering these two questions, it might be worth reproducing the passage. ŚB II.1.2.1 recommends that a householder should set

* The solar ephemeris in this analysis was obtained from JPL's Horizons Web-Interface. I would like to thank Patrick Wallace (of Tpoint Software) for the Positional Astronomy software SLALIB, used in this analysis. The figures were produced with software GRAPH, freely provided by Ivan Johansen. I would like to thank Christopher Minkowski for his critical comments.

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up his two principal sacrificial fires (*Gārhapatya* and *Āhavanīya*)[1] under the *nakṣatra* Kṛttikās. In the following two passages this requirement is justified and the justification in ŚB II.1.2.3[2] is:

> *etā ha vai prācyai diśo na cyavante / sarvāṇi ha vā anyāni nakṣatrāṇi prācyai diśáś cyavante tat prācyām evāsyaitad diśy āhitau bhavatas tasmāt kṛttikāsv ādadhīta //* (TITUS)
>
> "And again, they do not move away from the eastern quarter, while the other asterisms do move from the eastern quarter. Thus his (two fires) are established in the eastern quarter: for this reason he may set up his fires under the Kṛttikās." (EGGELING 1882)

DIKSHIT concluded:

> The Passage speaks of the rising of the Kṛttikaḥ due east, as occurring at the time, and not as thing past. And, in my opinion, the statement conclusively proves that the passage was composed not later than 3000 BC. (DIKSHIT 1895)

DIKSHIT (1895, 1969) and all subsequent discussions have interpreted this passage to mean that the Kṛttikās were on the celestial equator or at declination zero (or close to zero) when this passage was composed. This leads to a date of around 3000 BCE by precessing the celestial coordinates of Kṛttikās in the modern star catalogue (i. e. J2000 catalogue) to an epoch when the declination of these stars was 0°. However, during the Vedic era (and for considerable period afterwards) astronomy was "naked eye" observations of the sky. That is, the sky-watchers recorded (or remembered) what they saw in the sky. Thus the first question not addressed by the past analysists is; when would the Vedic sky-watchers have *seen* Kṛttikās in the east? Discussions of passages from Vedic texts in terms of abstract concepts like right ascension and declination (or equatorial coordinate system) are not particularly enlightening as these discussions tell us nothing about what and when the composers of these passages might have seen in the sky. In order to interpret and understand passages like ŚB II.1.2.3 it is necessary to look at the sky "with the eyes" of the Vedic observers. The only coordinate system that can be identified in the Vedic texts (in *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā*), and was thus known to the Vedic observers, is the horizon coordinate system (GONDHALEKAR 2013). In this coordinate system the position of an astronomical object is specified by its height above the horizon and its distance along the horizon that is, its altitude and azimuth in modern terminology.

[1] In the Śrauta ceremonies these two fires are sited on an east-west axis, Āhavanīya to the east of Gārhapatya.

[2] *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa*. Ed. by ALBRECHT WEBER. Leipzig 1924, p. 137.

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The second unaddressed (or not satisfactorily addressed) question is; what did the composers of this passage mean by the "eastern quarter"? Witzel (1999) has argued that the only directions mentioned in the early Vedic texts are the four cardinal directions and the four intermediate directions in the later Vedic texts. No other directions are mentioned. He concludes from this "argument of absence" that the Vaidikas had no concept or understanding of directions. He opines that the "eastern quarter" of ŚB could be anywhere between southeast and northeast, an arc of 90°. The Vedic texts are religious, theological and sacerdotal texts. The texts describe and justify religious rituals and ceremonies and they necessarily mention only that which is relevant and pertinent to the rituals. In evaluating these texts it should be realized that the absence of evidence is not always evidence of absence. Narahari Achar (2000b) has shown that Witzel's reasoning leads to the conclusion that the Vedic people believed that the sun was in the 'exact' east throughout the year. The apparent north-south motion of the sun (discussed later) that the Vedic people were aware of would challenge this conclusion.

An accurate method to determine the east-west line (*prācī*), and therefore the eastern direction is given in Śulbasūtras of Kātyāyana and Manu (Sarasvati Amma 1979). The passage KŚ I.2 describes how the east-west line can be determined from the equal-length shadows cast by a gnomon. The Śulbasūtras are considered to be texts of the late Vedic period and may have been composed, in their present form, towards the early part of the first millennium BCE. However, it is entirely possible that these texts are a collection of knowledge of geometry that had been accumulated over many centuries; not unlike Euclid's *Elements*. The Śulbasūtra method of determining the east will not be considered in this analysis. Only an astronomical method to establish the eastern direction will be considered here.

The astronomical marker of the eastern direction known to the Vedic people was the sun; the sun rises in the east every morning. However, the sun appears to move north *(uttarāyana)* in summer (in the northern hemisphere) and south *(dakṣiṇāyana)* in winter (also in the northern hemisphere) and then the motion reverses. This apparent annual motion of the sun was noted by the Vedic people[3] and specific rituals were performed to emulate it[4]. The apparent north-south motion of the sun was called *ayana*. The apparent motion of the sun at summer and winter solstice (when the sun "stands still" or *solstice*) has also been described in the Vedic texts[5] On its north-south transit the sun crosses the celestial equator on equinox. Only on this day

[3] TS VI.5.3 (Keith 1920); PB IV.6.17 (Caland 1931); ŚB II.1.3.3,4 (Eggeling 1882); ŚB VII.4.11 (Eggeling 1894).

[4] ŚB VI.7.3.9 (Eggeling 1894).

[5] KB.xix.3 (Keith 1920).

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the sun rises in the 'true' east (at sunrise the azimuth of the sun is 90°) and the day and night are of equal length. There is no reference to the equinox in the Vedic texts; no Vedic text refers to a day in the year when the day and night are of equal length. The first reference to equinox is in Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa where it is assumed to be the midpoint of the *ayana* or half way between the winter and summer solstices. In Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa this day is called *viṣuva* but in other Vedic texts *viṣuvat* is the summer solstice. Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa is considered to be a late Vedic, even post-Vedic text. However, this text (like perhaps many if not most Vedic texts) has been reworked several times and some verses in this text refer to astronomical events, which would have been observable only in the last half of second millennium BCE (GONDHALEKAR 2011 and 2013). It is perhaps reasonable to assume that the ŚB II.1.2.3 observers would have considered the midpoint between winter and summer solstice to be the day when the sun rises in the east and this would have been a day in spring and autumn. Other cultures have made similar approximations for equinox (AVENI 2001). For the sake of brevity this day will be called a 'false-equinox'. The spring false-equinox will be north of vernal equinox (i. e., the azimuth of the sun, at sunrise, will be less than 90° on this day) and between 92 and 93 days (for the epochs considered here) after winter solstice. However, the Vedic ritualists believed that the sun moved from winter solstice to summer solstice in 180 days (six months each of thirty days, KB.xix.3) and they would have considered the spring false-equinox to be 90 days after winter solstice. Thus, the Vedic ritualists would have considered the sun to be at the 'true' east on the day very close to the equinox. Although the ability of the Vedic people to differentiate directions has been questioned (WITZEL 1999), their ability to count days is not in any doubt. The two-to-three day difference between the false-equinox of the Vedic ritualists (i. e. ninety days after winter solstice) and the actual false-equinox will not affect the conclusions of this analysis.

In the analysis presented here, the azimuth and altitude of the sun and the stars are expressed in degrees as this will be familiar to contemporary readers. A Vedic sky-watcher, however, would have noted the position of these objects as 'near', 'far', 'there', 'here', 'high', 'low' etc. This should be kept in mind in the following discussion.

2 Kṛttikās in the East

The Vedic texts specify *nakṣatras* as chronological markers for rituals and ceremonies or 'under' which the performances of these ceremonies should take place. Apart from a few exceptions, it is impossible to identify the Vedic

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Table 1: The apparent right ascension, declination, azimuth and altitude of Kṛttikās (η Tau) at sunrise, on false-equinox; from 3000 BCE to 500 BCE. For comparison the data at 2000 CE are also given.

Epoch		Apparent coordinates			
Year (BCE)	Month/Day	α	δ	Az	Alt
3000	Apr-17	23:21:01	–00:24:43	95.42	9.08
2750	Apr-16	23:33:29	+00:59:17	92.83	7.35
2500	Apr-13	23:45:57	+02:23:44	89.78	4.79
2250	Apr-12	23:58:28	+03:48:35	87.22	3.11
2000	Apr-9	00:10:57	+05:13:05	84.19	0.72
1750	Apr-8	00:23:34	+06:37:40	81.63	–0.67
1500	Apr-6	00:36:11	+08:01:16	79.06	–1.78
1250	Apr-4	00:48:56	+09:24:29	75.98	–3.31
1000	Apr-2	01:01:44	+10:46:15	73.38	–4.35
750	Mar-31	01:14:40	+12:06:57	70.22	–6.83
500	Mar-29	01:27 45	+13:25:55	67.55	–8.47
2000 (CE)	Mar-21	03:47:28	+24:06:13	33.72	–25.75

α: Right ascension—hours:minutes:seconds
δ: Declination—degrees:minutes:seconds
Az: Azimuth—degrees; north to east; north=0°, east=90°.
Alt: Altitude—degrees; horizon (0°) to zenith (90°)
Month/Day: The date of the false equinox; Julian for BCE epochs and Gregorian for the CE epoch

nakṣatras in modern catalogues of stars. The Vedic texts are very economical with information on *nakṣatras*; they note that some *nakṣatras* are single stars and some may be a pair and some are groups of small numbers of stars (no more than six or seven). There is, however, no information on the relative pattern or brightness of the stars in a *nakṣatra*. One of the few exceptions to this problem of identification of *nakṣatras* is the Kṛttikās; the description of this star group, its position in the list of Vedic *nakṣatras*, its association with seasons and comparison with the star lore of other ancient cultures suggests that this star group is the Pleiades. This identification is considered to be secure. There is a spread of about 67 arc minutes in right ascension and about 27 arc min. in declination of the seven bright stars of Kṛttikās but this will not affect the conclusions reached here.

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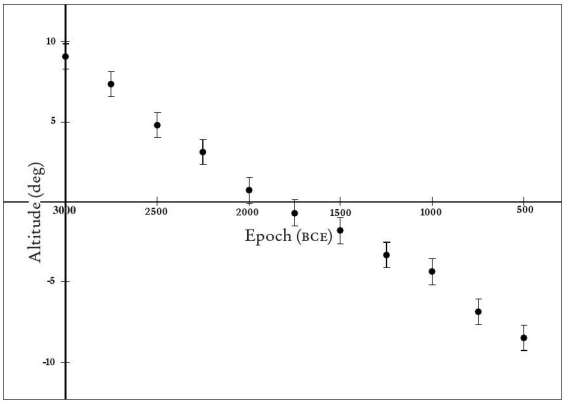


Fig. 1a: The altitude of Kṛttikās from 3000 BCE to 500 BCE. The data are for dawn when the sun is 1° below the horizon. The location is assumed to be Delhi (77° 12′E; 28°35′N). The error bars are for ±1 day error in the day of the false-equinox

In this analysis, all *nakṣatras* are represented by their principle star, the *yogatārā*. The identification of the *nakṣatras* and their *yogatārās* with stars in modern star catalogues is from Indian astronomy texts of the fifth century CE and later. GONDHALEKAR (2011 and 2013) has shown that much of the star-list of the twenty-seven *nakṣatras* may have been formulated by last half of the second millennium BCE and the list maintained its fidelity to early first millennium CE. This, however, may not be true at the earlier Vedic periods considered here. Future research may shed light on *nakṣatras* of these earlier Vedic periods. The *yogatārās* in this analysis are from the identification of PINGREE and MORRISSEY (1989). The *yogatārā* of the Kṛttikās is a 2.87 magnitude[6] star (η Tau or Alcyone). This is a bright star; some *yogatārās* are not so bright.

PINGREE (1989) dismissed the interpretation of ŚB II.1.2.3 by DIKSHIT (1895) that "never swerve from the East" means they (Kṛttikās) rise helia-

[6] The magnitude of a star is a measure of its brightness; a star of low magnitude is brighter than a star of higher magnitude.

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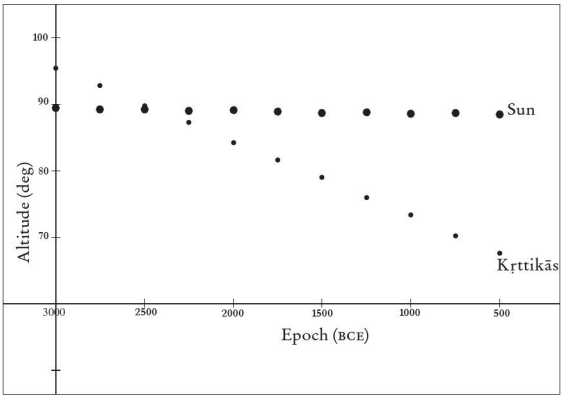


Fig. 1b: The azimuth of Kṛttikās (η Tau) and the sun at dawn when the altitude of the sun is about –1° i. e. the sun is about 1° below the horizon. The data are from 3000 BCE to 500 BCE and for Delhi (77° 12′E; 28°35′N)

cally. Unfortunately, PINGREE does not give his interpretation of the ŚB passage and only notes that other *nakṣatras* were also on the celestial equator in 3000 BCE. This will be examined in the next section. It is not entirely clear why PINGREE asserted that the ŚB passage does not mean that the Kṛttikās rise heliacally. The only astronomical marker of the eastern direction for a Vedic sky-watcher was the sun and the only way a ŚB sky-watcher would have been able to confirm that the Kṛttikās "rise in the east" is if he was able to see the Kṛttikās close to the position of the sun at sunrise. This is only possible if the Kṛttikās were seen in the sky just before sunrise.

To understand ŚB II.1.2.3 this analysis attempts to replicate, computationally, what the ŚB sky-watchers would have seen in the sky on the morning of a day in spring when they thought that the sun rose in the east, that is, on the day of the false-equinox. The location of the sky-watcher is assumed to be Madhyadeśa (Delhi, 77°12′E; 28°35′N). There would be no significant change in the conclusions of this analysis if the location was assumed to be to the west and north (say Islamabad, 73°02′E; 33°43′N), the earlier location of Vedic people and in the land of the Indus Valley Civilization.

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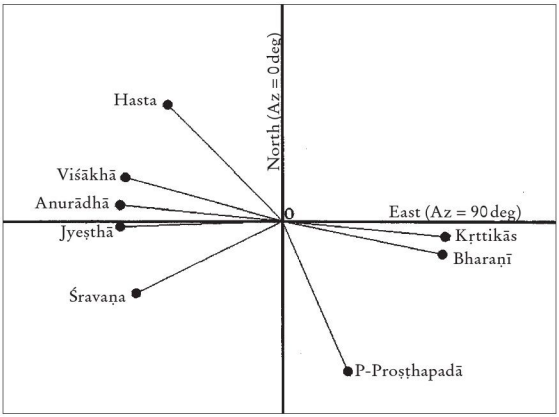


Fig. 2: Distribution of the azimuth of the *nakṣatras* (actually their *yogatārā*) that are within ±5° of the celestial equator and the *nakṣatras* suggested by PINGREE 1989. The plotted azimuths are for 3000 BCE and for Delhi (77° 12′E; 28°35′N). The false-equinox is not shown because at the resolution of this figure it would coincide with East axis i. e. azimuth 90°

The computational steps are as follows, for a given epoch:

- Determine the day of winter solstice, that is, the day in the year when the declination and the altitude of the sun are at a minimum at mid-day.
- Determine the day of summer solstice (that is, the day in the year when the declination and the altitude of the sun are at amaximum at mid-day) for the same year or for the year following the winter solstice.
- For these winter and summer solstices obtain the day of false-equinox (there is likely to be computational error of one day), determine the time of sunrise for this day i. e. the time when the altitude of the sun is –1.0° or the sun is 1.0° below the horizon.
- Precess the J2000 coordinates of Kṛttikās (star η Tau) to the epoch of the false-equinox and determine the altitude and azimuth of Kṛttikās at sunrise.
- Repeat for other epochs

The altitude and azimuth of Kṛttikās (η Tau) were calculated from 3000 BCE, about when the Kṛttikās were on the celestial equator, to 500 BCE, the epoch

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Table 2: The *nakṣatras* (actually their *yogatārā*) that are within ±5° of the celestial equator at 3000 BCE and the *nakṣatras* suggested by PINGREE 1989. The J(2000) right ascension and declination and the apparent right ascension and declination and the azimuth and altitude of the *nakṣatras* are given

nakśatra	*yogatārā*	Mean Coordinates J(2000)		Apparent Coordinates Epoch 3000 BCE			
		α	δ	α	δ	Az	Alt
Kṛttikās	η Tau (2.87)	03:47:29	+24:06:18	23:21:01	–00:24:43	95.42	9.08
Anurādhā	δ Sco (2.32)	16:00:20	–22:37:17	11:34:57	+02:36:14	275.65	–3.48
Jyeṣṭhā	α Sco (0.96)	16:29:24	–26:25:53	11:57:00	–03:04:32	268.00	–1.54
P-Proṣṭhapadā	α Peg (2.49)	23:04:45	+15:12:19	18:55:38	–03:43:05	156.45	55.28
Bharaṇī	35 Ari (4.66)	02:43:27	+27:42:26	22:22:16	+01:17:27	101.47	22.61
Hasta*	δ Crv (2.95)	12:29:52	–16:30:56	08:13:54	+08:58:17	315.02	–37.79
Viśākhā*	ι Lib (4.54)	15:12:13	–19:47:30	10:52:31	+07:35:22	285.35	–8.43
Śravaṇa*	α Aqu (0.77)	19:50:47	+08:52:06	15:53:40	+09:11:20	243.82	54.00

* *Nakṣatras* suggested by PINGREE (1989).
The brightness of the *yogatārās*, in magnitudes, is shown in brackets.

of *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* and the putative epoch of the end of the Vedic era. The data were computed in steps of 250 years and are given in Table 1; for comparison the data for year 2000 CE are also given in Table 1. The altitude of η Tau from 3000 BCE to 500 BCE is shown in Fig. 1a. The azimuth of the sun and of η Tau at sunrise on false-equinox is shown Fig. 1b. The Kṛttikās are at azimuth of 95° (5° south of east) at 3000 BCE and cross the celestial equator sometime around 2500 BCE. The *nakṣatra* is visible above the horizon (at sunrise) from 3000 BCE to 2250 BCE; after this date the stars of the *nakṣatra* are either lost in the glare of the morning twilight or are below the horizon at sunrise. A sky-watcher looking east a day or two around the false-equinox would have seen the Kṛttikās in the eastern sky close to the position of the rising sun, but he would have seen this only before 2250 BCE.

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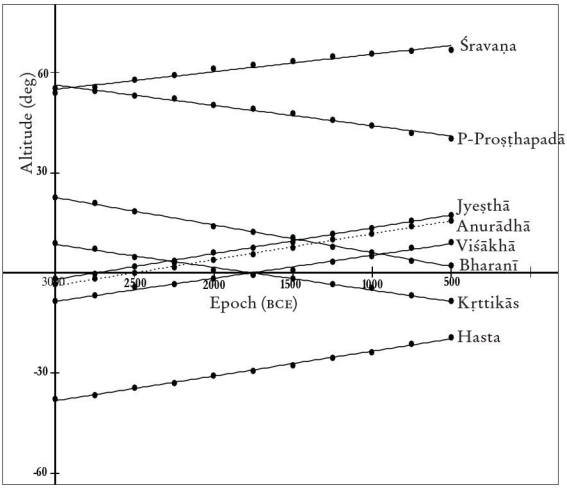


Fig. 3a: The altitude from 3000 BCE to 500 BCE of the *nakṣatras* (actually their *yogatārā*) that are within ±5° of the celestial equator at 3000 BCE. The *nakṣatras* suggested by PINGREE (1989) are also shown. The altitude of the Kṛttikās is shown for comparison

WITZEL (1999) has noted that the Kṛttikās are close to the celestial equator long after 3000 BCE. The present computations confirm this as can be seen from Table 1 and Fig. 1b; the Kṛttikās are within 10° (in declination) of the celestial equator up to 1000 BCE. This, however, would have been of no interest to a Vedic sky-watcher and is of no relevance in the interpretation of ŚB II.1.2.3 because after 2250 BCE this *nakṣatra* would not have been visible in the eastern sky on the equinoctial morning.

The autumn (false-) equinox is not considered in this analysis because in autumn, at the epochs considered here, the Kṛttikās rise in the east around sunset and set in the west after sunrise. Since the ŚB II.1.2.3 sky-watcher is specific about the Kṛttikās in the east, he could only have seen this *nakṣatra* close to the position of the rising sun around spring equinox.

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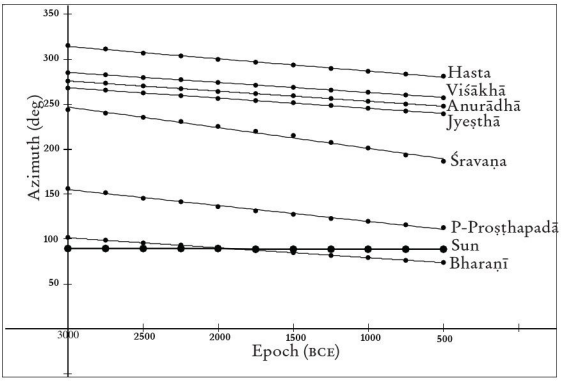


Fig. 3b: The azimuth of the *nakṣatras* (actually their *yogatārā*) that are within ±5° of the celestial equator at 3000 BCE. The azimuth of the *nakṣatras* suggested by PINGREE (1989) is also shown. The azimuth of the sun at dawn when it is 1° below the horizon is close to 90° as shown

3 *Nakṣatras* on the celestial equator

As noted above, PINGREE (1989) observed that not much importance should be attributed to DIKSHIT's interpretation of ŚB II.1.2.3 as other *nakṣatras* are also on the celestial equator at about 3000 BCE. In Table 2 are collated all *nakṣatras* with declination within ±5° of the celestial equator at 3000 BCE, on the morning of the false-equinox. The three *nakṣatras* proposed by PINGREE (1989), as alternatives to Kṛttikās, are also included in this table although their declination is outside the ±5° limit. The azimuth and altitude of the *yogatārās* of these *nakṣatras*, at dawn on false-equinox, are given in Table 2 and shown in the polar diagram of Fig. 2. At 3000 BCE the only *nakṣatras* above the horizon close to the direction of sunrise (i. e. azimuth close to 90°), on the morning of false-equinox are Kṛttikās and Bharaṇī. The *nakṣatra* Bharaṇī is about 10° south of east and about 22° above the horizon. All other *nakṣatras*, close to the celestial equator at 3000 BCE, are either below the horizon at sunrise or far above the horizon. In addition, these *nakṣatras* are in the west, opposite Kṛttikās. This is to be expected as these *nakṣatras*

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(apart from Pūrva Proṣṭhapadā) are separated from Kṛttikās by about nine *nakṣatras*, that is, they are on the opposite side of the ecliptic and will always be about 180° from the Kṛttikās. To investigate if these *nakṣatras* would ever be in the eastern direction in the period 3000 BCE to 500 BCE, the altitude and azimuth of these *nakṣatras* were computed and are plotted in Figs. 3a and 3b respectively. Of these seven *nakṣatras* only Anurādhā, Jyeṣṭhā and Viśākhā are just above the horizon at sunrise around equinox, and this happens at various epochs from 3000 BCE to 500 BCE (Fig. 3a). However, these *nakṣatras* set in the west as the sun rises in the east. Three *nakṣatras* (Hasta, Pūrve Proṣṭhapadā and Śravaṇa) are either way above the horizon or below the horizon, at equinoctial sunrise, during this period and are well separated from the direction of the rising sun and again could not be considered to be "in the eastern quarter". The exception is Bharaṇī; this *nakṣatra* is within 5° of the true east from 2500 BCE (azimuth 95°) to 1500 BCE (azimuth 85°), similar to the azimuth of Kṛttikās at earlier epochs. During this period this *nakṣatra* is more than 10° above the horizon at sunrise. After 1000 BCE this *nakṣatra* is less than 5° above the horizon at sunrise but by then it has moved more than 10° to the north of the direction of the rising sun. Why is Bharaṇī in the "eastern quarter" not mentioned in the Vedic texts? It could be that Bharaṇī was not in the set of *nakṣatras* when the observations of Kṛttikās were noted. Moreover, the *yogatārā* of Bharaṇī is 5 times fainter than the *yogatārā* of Kṛttikās. It is possible that the Vedic sky-watchers did not see the *yogatārā* of Bharaṇī in the glare of the morning twilight.

4 A possible corroboration

Independent corroboration of possible astronomical observations in Vedic texts is impossible as observations or information independent of Vedic texts do not exist. Corroboration with other Vedic texts is problematic as the independence of these texts is difficult to assess. In the case of ŚB II.1.2.3 the only possible supporting evidence is in ŚB II.1.2.4. The portion of ŚB II.1.2.4 of relevance is:

> *[…] uttarā hi saptarṣayaḥ udyanti pura etā […]*
>
> "[…] the seven *Ri*shis, rise in the north, and they (K*ri*ttikâs) in the east […]" (EGGELING 1882)

Both WITZEL (1999) and NARAHARI ACHAR (2000b) have considered this passage with respect to ŚB II.1.2.3. WITZEL has shown that a mid-first millennium BCE text can harbour copper/bronze age concepts or names. NARA-

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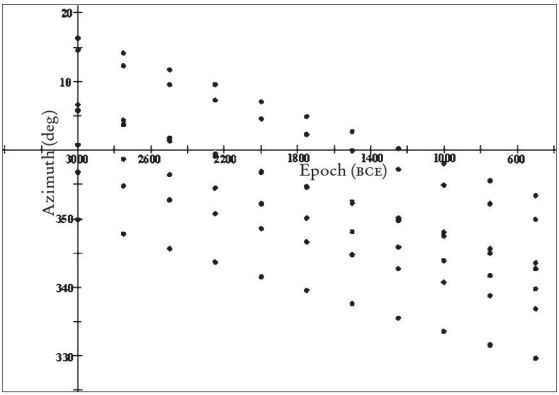


Fig. 4: The azimuth of the seven principle stars of Sapta Ṛṣis (Great Dipper) at dawn (altitude of the sun –1°) on false-equinox that is, on a day mid-way between winter and summer solstices. The location is Delhi (77° 12'E, 28° 35'N)

HARI ACHAR has given a rather elaborate but an opaque (to this author) explanation of the above passage. The aim here is rather modest; it is to examine the above section of ŚB II.1.2.4 from the perspective of a sky-watcher. This passage is interpreted to mean "when Kṛttikās rise in the east, the Sapta Ṛṣi are seen to rise in the north". The azimuth of the seven principle stars of the constellation of Sapta Ṛṣi (the Great Dipper/Ursa Major) is shown in Fig. 4. The data from 3000 BCE to 500 BCE are for dawn (i. e. when the sun is 1° below the horizon) on spring false-equinox. From Figs. 1a, b and 4 it can be seen that on false-equinox (when the sun will be almost at the 'true' east and thus the east direction is unambiguously defined) a sky-watcher will see Kṛttikās rise in the east just before dawn and to his left *(uttara)* that is, azimuth (nearly) 0° or north he will see four to five of the seven stars of Sapta Ṛṣi. All stars of Sapta Ṛṣi will be above the horizon. A few hours before sunrise the sky-watcher will not see any star of Sapta Ṛṣi to the left (they will be towards the west) and as dawn approaches the stars will 'emerge' or 'rise' to the north. However, he will only see the Sapta Ṛṣi rise in the north (at the same time as Kṛttikās rise in the east) at dawn on equinox on epochs

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before about 2500 BCE. At epochs after this, the Sapta Ṛṣi will increasingly fade towards the west (the azimuth of the stars will 350° and less) and the Kṛttikās will not rise above the horizon.

Although this analysis does not corroborate the observation in ŚB II.1.2.3, it does demonstrates that these two ŚB passages are consistent. Thus these passages are not random expressions of priestly thought or uninformed imports. It also suggests that the Vedic people may have noted (memorised) events in the sky long before they have been credited to have done so.

5 Conclusions and discussion

Computer simulation of the morning sky on days close to vernal equinox indicates that the *nakṣatra* Kṛttikās was visible in the eastern sky, close to the position of the rising sun, only before 2250 BCE. For "naked eye" observations, this *nakṣatra* is more likely to have been visible at epochs earlier than 2250 BCE as the *nakṣatra* will be at higher altitudes and the contrast between the stars of the *nakṣatra* and the morning twilight will be greater. The Kṛttikās stay close (within 10°) to the celestial equator for next thousand years. However, the Vedic sky-watchers would not have seen this *nakṣatra* at dawn after 2250 BCE because the *nakṣatra* would have been below the horizon. It can, therefore, be concluded that the passage ŚB II.1.2.3 could only have been composed before 2250 BCE. This, of course, tells us nothing about the age of the current edition of *Śatapatha Brāhamaṇa* as the passage could be a 'fossil' passage (a 'memory' of an ancient observation) in this *Brāhmaṇa* (WITZEL 1999). A number of other *nakṣatras* are close to the celestial equator at the epoch when the Kṛttikās rise close to the direction of sunrise but at dawn these *nakṣatras* are almost on the opposite side of the sky (i. e., west) from the rising sun (and from the Kṛttikās). These *nakṣatras* are not "in the eastern quarter" and, therefore, the Vedic sky-watchers did not mention them. The only exception is the *nakṣatra* Bharaṇī; this *nakṣatra* does rise close to the direction of sunrise at about the same time as the Kṛttikās. It may have escaped the notice of the Vedic sky-watchers because the *yogatārā* of this *nakṣatra* is five times fainter than the *yogatārā* of the Kṛttikās and may not stand out of the morning twilight.

ŚB II.1.2.3 recommends that the two principle sacrificial fires be lit under Kṛttikās because this *nakṣatra* is in the east. Other passages in ŚB suggest that these fires do not necessarily have to be lit 'under' *nakṣatras* in the east. ŚB II.1.2.6–12 recommend that the fires could also be lit 'under' *nakṣatras* Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśiras, Phalgunī (in this ŚB passages, the Phalgunī are not divided between Pūrva and Uttara as in the final list of *nakṣatras*), Hasta and

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Citrā. For the period considered, these *nakṣatras* are below the horizon at dawn on or around equinox and would not have been seen by a Vedic sky-watcher. These *nakṣatras* are visible only after sunset. Thus, it would seem that for the sacrificial fires the appropriate *nakṣatras* should be visible sometime and not necessarily just before dawn. It would thus appear that in ŚB II.1.2.3 the Vedic sky-watchers have made a deliberate attempt to draw attention to the heliacal rising of Kṛttikās around equinox.

The conclusion reached here, that the observation described in ŚB II.1.2.3 is only possible before 2250 BCE, will not be acceptable to most Indologists as this date does not fit in with the 'known' history of Vedic texts. These texts are believed to be later than about 1400 BCE, the epoch of the Mitanni treaty (THIEME 1960, BURROW 1955). There are two well-trodden routes from such situations. The first route is to dismiss passages like the ŚB passage as 'just another priestly lore' and of no analytical merit. The second route is to attribute the astronomical observations like ŚB II.1.2.3 to Mesopotamian sources[7] and this is indeed what PINGREE (1989) has done. PINGREE identifies MUL.APIN (II i 68–70) as the source of ŚB II.1.2.3. This MUL.APIN passage assigns four winds to four (cardinal) directions and identifies the four directions by four star groups, e. g. Ursa Major the direction of the north wind. The statement of relevance to ŚB II.1.2.3 is, "… and MUL.MUL (our Pleiades) stand where the East wind rises." With judicious creative imagination the Vedic ritualists could have persuaded themselves that this statement means that "*they* (Kṛttikās) *do not move away from the eastern quarter*". If the Mesopotamians had determined the association between MUL.MUL (Pleiades) and the east by an astronomical observation, then they could only have done so before 2250 BCE (about 5° difference in the latitude of a location in Madhyadeśa and a location in Mesopotamia would not significantly affect this date) and recorded it at that time (and therefore, in the present tense). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is believed to be a text of about 500 BCE. At 500 BCE the Kṛttikās would not be visible in the east at dawn on

[7] It is claimed that *nakṣatras* and calendric and astronomical references generally in the Vedic texts have all been 'borrowed' from Mesopotamian sources (PINGREE 1973; PINGREE 1970–1980, PINGREE 1996). For example, Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, a late or a post Vedic calendric text is claimed to have been 'borrowed' (in, at present, unidentified manner) during the Acheamenid occupation of north western parts of South Asia between 513 BCE and 326 BCE. It is, therefore, rather surprising that some calendric tools (e. g., the Metonic cycle) available in Mesopotamian texts are missing from Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa. More importantly, not a single Mesopotamian technical term has been identified in Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa or in any Vedic text. Those of "borrowed from Mesopotamia" persuasion have ignored these issues.

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spring equinox; they would be visible for few hours in the west after sunset (the heliacal setting would have left no doubt that the Kṛttikās were in the west). The mechanism(s) for 'importing' Mesopotamia astronomical texts (or observations) into South Asia has not been identified. However, why would the Vaidikas include (verbatim, that is why ŚB II.1.2.3 is also in the present tense) a 2000 year old astronomical observation into their religious text? An observation that is irrelevant to their rituals. We will never know!

The (invariant) laws of astronomy dictate that the observation described in ŚB II.1.2.3 is only possible before 2250 BCE. If ŚB II.1.2.3 is 'just another priestly lore' then either the astronomical validity of this observation is a fantastic coincidence or it is necessary to reassess the history of the Vedic texts.

Abbreviations

KB	Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa
KŚ	Kātyāyana Śulbasūtra
PB	Pañcaviṃśa Brāhamana
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
TS	Taittirīya Saṃhitā
TITUS	Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien

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Ernst Steinkellner zum 80. Geburtstag

Zum Stiftungswesen im mittelalterlichen Kaschmir

Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Buddhismus, Hinduismus und Islam*

Von Walter Slaje, Halle (Saale)

Summary: The present article deals with the endowment culture and patterns of desecration of sanctuaries as they prevailed in Kashmir under Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim rule with particular attention to competing circumstances in terms of religious orientations. The gist of the evidence collected from the *Rājataraṅgiṇīs* of Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja, Śrīvara, and Śuka will be presented here in a comprehensive manner.

Es dürfte für epigraphisch arbeitende Historiker unserer Zeit interessant sein festzustellen, daß sie Vorgänger im mittelalterlichen Kaschmir haben, die dieselbe Quellengattung für ihre besondere Form lokaler Geschichtsschreibung herangezogen hatten. Die Vergleichbarkeit betrifft natürlich nur die Tatsache der Konsultation, nicht die historische Methode im Umgang mit solchen Quellen. So hält Kalhaṇa, der Begründer eines speziellen historiographischen Sanskrit-Genres im 12. Jh., im Rahmen seiner einleitenden Quellenkritik unter anderem Folgendes fest:

> Und das ganze Durcheinanderlaufen [der Chronologie in den älteren Annalen aber] kam [erst] dadurch zur Ruhe, [daß ich] Edikte *(praśastipaṭṭa)* mit Dekreten *(śāsana)* früherer Herrscher, die Gründungen *(pratiṣṭhā)*[1] zum

* Druckfassung eines im Rahmen des Panels „Mittelalterliche Stiftungen – eine Glaubensfrage?“ am 51. Deutschen Historikertag in Hamburg (21.–23. September 2016) gehaltenen Vortrags. Ich danke Annette Schmiedchen, der Organisatorin dieses Panels, für ihre kritische, den vorliegenden Beitrag um vertiefende Ergänzungen bereichernde Durchsicht.

[1] *pratiṣṭhā* ist bei Kalhaṇa vorwiegend im Sinne der Konsekration bzw. zeremoniellen Installation eines Götterbildes *(pratimā, bimba)* in einem Tempel gebraucht. Die eigentliche *pratiṣṭhā* der Statue als solcher im Sinne ihres Belebens *(prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā)* läßt sich aber nicht immer eindeutig von der Gründung auch des baulichen Gesamtkomplexes auseinanderhalten, was analog auch für den Gebrauch von *pratiṣṭhāpita* in Stiftungsurkunden und -inschriften gilt. Zu Beispielen für *pratiṣṭhā*s von Götterbildern vgl. RT 1.124 *(Jyeṣṭharudrasya Śrīnagaryām)*; 341 *(Jyeṣṭheśa)*; 347 *(Bhūteśvarapratiṣṭhānām akṣayinyāś ca)*; 2.128 *(Śivaliṅgasahasrasya)*; 3.99 *(puṇyāḥ Purāṇādhiṣṭhāne pratiṣṭhā vividhā[ḥ])*; 450ff; 4.6 *(Śrīnagaryāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya Durlabhasvāminaṃ Harim)*; 181f.; 207; 275; 368; 693; 699; 5.28 *(Mahodayasvāmino pratiṣṭhām)*; 31; 38; 6.169; 7.185 *(Triśūlabāṇaliṅgādipratiṣṭhāś)*; 532; 699; 8.1150 *(kāladaurātmyaluṭhitā pratiṣṭhā)*; 2441; 3348; Ps-JRT 4 [B 112]; JRT 120.

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Gegenstand *(vastu)* haben,[2] sowie [auch] gelehrte Traktate in Augenschein genommen habe.

dṛṣṭaiś ca pūrvabhūbhartṛpratiṣṭhāvastuśāsanaiḥ |
praśastipaṭṭaiḥ śāstraiś ca śānto 'śeṣabhramakramaḥ || RT 1.15 ||[3]

Bei der großen Bedeutung von Tempelstiftungen und der Installation von Götterbildern *(pratiṣṭhā)* in Kaschmir, die sehr häufig auch die Namen ihrer Stifter trugen[4], liegt nahe, daß Kalhaṇa mit Hilfe von (vermutlich datierten) Stiftungsdekreten die Chronologie rekonstruierte und so das herrschende „Durcheinander" berichtigen konnte, wie er selbst sagt. *Pratiṣṭhās* sind im Zusammenhang mit Tempelgründungen bei Kalhaṇa daher ganz zentral. Demgegenüber spielen Urkunden über Landschenkungen bei ihm keine erkennbar größere Rolle[5], was eben auch damit zusammenhängen mag, daß sich die Dynamik konkurrierender Herrschaftsbeziehungen auf der Basis

[2] Die Stellung des *ca* (in Pāda *c*) spricht dafür, das Kompositum (in *ab*) in einer Enjambement-Konstruktion als Bahuvrīhi zum Bezugswort *praśastipaṭṭa* zu interpretieren. Wenn *praśasti-paṭṭa* wörtlich zwar „Lob-Tafel", konventionell aber „schriftliches Edikt" bedeutet, dann würde °*śāsana* eben die konkret dekretierten Inhalte dieses Edikts beschreiben. Vgl. auch *rājyaṃ vidadbhiḥ saṃprāptaṃ tāṃs tāñ śāsanapaṭṭakān | drutam arthayamānaiś ca vilambaṃ kārito nijaiḥ* (RT 8.1391), wo *śāsana*° im Vorderglied das Hinterglied °*paṭṭaka* näher zu qualifizieren, und hier doch deutlich eine Aussage über die Natur des *paṭṭaka* als „Erlaß" (*śāsana*) gemacht zu werden scheint. Zu *praśasti* i.S.v. „Edikt" (pw) vgl. Bilhaṇa (VC) *vijayapraśasti* (1.65); *vijayastambhapraśasti* (8.2; 17); vgl. auch *lauhitīkataṭair bhāti svapraśastipaṭair iva* (ŚKC 4.24); *kāmapraśastyakṣara*° = *kāmasya yaśaḥpraśastis tatrākṣarāṇi* (J ad ŚKC 6.20a). Auch in der Interpretation von *vastu* weicht die vorliegende von (eigenen und fremden) Vorgängerübersetzungen ab. Tatsächlich gibt es keine Belege in Literatur und epigraphischen Texten für *vastuśāsana* in der seit STEIN (1900, 1, S. 3, Anm. 15) akzeptierten Bedeutung einer Landschenkungsurkunde („grant"). Demgegenüber ist °*vastu* als Hinterglied durchaus auch im Sinne des Gegenstandes belegt, den sein Vorderglied ausdrückt. Der Vollständigkeit halber sei hier noch angemerkt, daß SANDERSON (2009, S. 60, Anm. 60) eine keineswegs zwingende Emendation °*vāstu* („edifices") vornimmt und auf dieser Grundlage „ [temples and other] edifices founded and consecrated *(-pratiṣṭhāvāstu-)* by the kings of the past […]" übersetzt. Abgesehen davon, daß die Übersetzung „founded and consecrated" ein nicht vorhandenes *°*pratiṣṭhāpita-* voraussetzen würde, haben weder HULTZSCH (1915), SALOMON (1987) oder STEIN (2013) die Notwendigkeit eines solchen Eingriffs in das einheitlich überlieferte °*vastu*° gesehen. Das Problem läßt sich ohne weiteres auch philologisch mit Hilfe der oben vorgeschlagenen Konstruktion lösen.

[3] Text mit SLAJE 2008b, S. 326.

[4] Was ebenso bei Vihāras der Fall war, vgl. SLAJE (forthc.), Anm. 58, sowie unten S. 402.

[5] Zu diesem Befund dürfte auch das völlige Fehlen von auf Kupfertafeln beurkundeten Landschenkungen in Kaschmir stimmen (DEAMBI 1982, S. 95). Die von ihm zusammengetragenen Inschriften (qualitativ bessere Abbildungen in DEAMBI 2008, S. 138ff.) bezeugen keine Landschenkungen, sondern Weihen und Stiftungen (vgl. 1982, S. 97f.; 101; 105; 107; 111; 114; 120; 137; 145; 150). Über eine kaschmirische Landschenkungsurkunde auf Birkenrinde *(bhūrja)* berichtet Jonarāja (JRT 801–808; dazu SLAJE 2005, S. 30–37).

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dokumentierter Tempelgründungen – aber auch Schleifungen – verläßlicher nachzeichnen ließ.

Kalhaṇa verlieh seiner neuen literarischen Schöpfung die Bezeichnung „Strom der Könige" *(Rājataraṅgiṇī)* und verband sie mit einer soteriologischen Wirkungsintention. Um den damit in Verbindung stehenden Erlösungsweg der Ernüchterung und des inneren Abstands von der Welt vorzubereiten, hatte aus seiner Sicht die historische Authentizität des Geschehens *(yathābhūtam)* verbürgt und glaubwürdig zu sein.

Ähnlich quellenbezogen mußten auch Kalhaṇas kaschmirische Nachfolger Jonarāja, Śrīvara und Śuka (an der Wende vom Spätmittelalter zur Neuzeit) gearbeitet haben – anders wäre ihre Faktizität schwer zu erklären –, so daß wir hier alles in allem über eine Geschichtsschreibung verfügen, deren Methode, literarische Form und Zweck von ihren Autoren auf hohem Niveau reflektiert wurden.[6] Ihre Berichte verdichten sich und der Detailreichtum nimmt zu, je näher die Ereignisse an die eigene Lebenszeit der Verfasser heranrücken, bis sie schließlich die Form gegenwartsbezogener Schilderungen zeitgenössischer, häufig selbst beobachteter Ereignisse annehmen, wodurch auch die bis dahin historisch akzentuierten Herrscherviten sich immer mehr zu Biographien der Fürsten und ihrer Umgebung mit scharf und lebendig gezeichneten Charakterbildern wandeln. Ihre Berichtszeiträume, die wenigstens über 1000 Jahre hinweg absolut datierbar sind, halten bei einem Umfang von knapp 25000 Verszeilen[7] für die Forschung einen unvergleichlichen Fundus von kulturgeschichtlich verwertbaren Materialien bereit.

Das gilt uneingeschränkt genauso für das Stiftungswesen und die vielfältigen Wechselbeziehungen der drei großen Religionsbewegungen des Hinduismus, Buddhismus und Islam in ihren konkreten gesellschaftlichen und politischen Auswirkungen. Diese Religionen haben auf dem vergleichsweise engen Raum des Kaschmirtals mit unterschiedlichen Mitteln um Dominanz und Patronage gerungen, aber eben auch immer wieder in Frieden und unter gegenseitiger Anerkennung zusammengelebt.

Die Fülle und Informationsdichte dieses historiographischen Materials lassen eine umfassende Darstellung im gegebenen Rahmen nicht einmal ansatzweise zu. Im Folgenden kann daher nur der Versuch eines Überblicks auf der Grundlage einer textlichen Befunderhebung der *Rājataraṅgiṇī*s bis zur Mogulzeit in Kaschmir (1589) unternommen werden.

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[6] Vgl. Slaje 2008a; 2008b. Zu den Reflexionen der Autoren über ihren Stil, die spätere Rezeption ihrer Werke und die Glaubwürdigkeit des Geschilderten, vgl. die jeweiligen Einleitungen in die *Rājataraṅgiṇī*s sowie z. B. RT 7.868–873;1137–1138; JRT 360; ŚRT 3.6.

[7] Etwa 16000 (RT), 2700 (JRT u. Ps-JRT), 4500 (ŚRT), 2000 (ŚuRT).

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I. Vorislamische Epoche

Was zunächst die vorislamische Epoche Kaschmirs angeht, so strotzen die Quellen förmlich von Angaben über Stiftungen. Darunter fallen auch die der religiös eher unauffälligen Art, wenn etwa Hindu- oder Buddhismus-affine Herrscher Einrichtungen zugunsten der je eigenen Religion gründeten.[8]

Allerdings ist bemerkenswert, und das führt uns zum Aspekt des Umgangs mit anderen Religionen im Lande, daß der stiftende Adel im Grunde keine einseitige Bevorzugung buddhistischer oder brahmanisch-hinduistischer Einrichtungen erkennen läßt. Dieselben Personen, die beispielsweise Tempel für hinduistische Religionsausübungen gründeten, taten das in vielen Fällen genauso auch für buddhistische Religionsgemeinschaften, und umgekehrt.[9] Die Namen der Stifter und Stifterinnen sowie die ihrer jeweiligen Gründungen sind in beeindruckend großer Zahl überliefert.[10] Der Buddhismus scheint überproportional von Zuwendungen durch Frauen der Aristokratie profitiert zu haben. Weibliche Personen stifteten aber ebenso eifrig auch für hinduistische und später für islamische Einrichtungen. Bemerkenswert erscheint, daß es neben der Stiftung religiöser Bauwerke sogar zu Landschenkungen *(agrahāra)* durch Frauen des Königs kommen konnte.[11]

[8] RT 1.87f.; 90; 96; 98 [Vihāra und Agrahāra]; 100; 121; 175; 311; 340–343; 347 *[akṣayiṇī]*; 2.55; 132; 347f.; 3.376; 481; 4.9; 187; 681; 5.21–31 [Agrahāras und verschiedene Viṣṇu-Tempel durch Avantivarmans Familie]; 403; 442; 6.89; 336; 7.182ff. [Sūryamatī]; 526f; 608; 952 [Vernachlässigung der eigenen Maṭhas durch Harṣa]; 8.243–249 [Uccala und Frau Jayamatī (1101–1111), Maṭhas und Vihāras]; 2395; 2401–2449 [Tempel, Vihāras, Maṭhas, etc. unter Jayasiṃha, seinen Frauen und Ministern (1128–1149)]; 3351–3360.

[9] Beispiele: Hindu-Tempelstiftung durch einen buddhistischen Herrscher (RT 1.148, vgl. RT 1.107, n.); Agrahāras und Maṭhas durch König Meghavāna (aus Gandhāra mit buddh. Ausrichtung) (RT 3.8); Raṇāditya († 623), ein Śaiva, stiftet zusammen mit seiner Frau Statuen und Tempel für Śiva (Raṇeśvara), Viṣṇu (Raṇasvāmin und andere Götter (RT 3.439–463): als Māheśvara weiht er von zweien (Śiva und Viṣṇu) die Śiva-Statue zuerst (*māheśvaratayā nṛpaḥ | Raṇeśvarapratiṣṭhāyāṃ pūrvaṃ yāvat samudyataḥ* || RT 3.453 ||). Gestiftet wurden auch ein Maṭha für Pāśupatas (3.460), eine Buddhastatue für einen bereits existierenden Vihāra durch eine seiner Frauen (3.464) sowie ein Krankenhaus, das auf Sanskrit allerdings „Gesundheitshaus" *(ārogyaśālā)* heißt (3.461; vgl. auch DEAMBI 1982, S. 117). Eine ganze Serie von Stiftungen (Tempel, Statuen, Vihāras, etc.) erfolgte durch Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (724–760) und seine Frauen sowie durch seine Minister und deren Frauen für Viṣṇu, Śiva, Mārtāṇḍa, Buddha (Jina) und andere (RT 4.188–217; 261). – „In Kalhaṇa's own time we note that every contemporary royal personage or minister who is praised for his Buddhist endowments, showed the same pious liberality also in regard to Brahminical temples and establishments." Vgl. dazu auch RT 8.579f.; 2402; 2409ff.; 2415–2418; 2430–41; 3318; 3343; 3352f.; 3364ff. (STEIN 1900, 1, S. 9, Anm. 26).

[10] SLAJE (forthc.), Anm. 57–59. Den großen Anteil von Stifterinnen bei der Gründung und dem Unterhalt buddhistischer Bauten belegen auch viele Inschriften außerhalb Kaschmirs seit der Sātavāhana-/Kuṣāṇa-Zeit.

[11] Vasantalekhā, eine von Harṣas mehreren hundert Frauen (RT 7.963), stiftete Maṭhas und Agrahāras in Tripureśvara (RT 7.956). Das Restaurierungs- und Stiftungswesen der

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Denn das weiblich gedachte Land galt nach traditioneller Metaphorik als Gattin eines männlichen Herrschers und damit als Inbegriff des Besitzes, über den er mit Vollgewalt verfügen konnte.

Stifter sorgten in aller Regel auch für den ununterbrochenen Unterhalt *(vyavasthiti)*[12] ihrer Einrichtungen. Hatten sie es zu Lebzeiten verabsäumt, ihre Stiftungen nachhaltig einzurichten, konnte es zu existentiellen Problemen kommen, so daß wir gelegentlich davon hören, daß ein Nachfolger in die Verpflichtung eintreten mußte.[13] Die dauerhafte Sicherstellung ging einher mit der Verleihung von Dörfern oder Ackerland in dem Sinne, daß die wirtschaftlichen Erträge dem Nutznießer zuflossen (*agrahāra*, pers. *jāgīr*).[14]

Begünstigte[15] konnten in oft ganz erheblichem Ausmaß[16] Privatpersonen, Korporationen wie etwa Tempelpriesterschaften *(parṣad)*[17], Hindu-Religionskollegien *(maṭha)* oder buddhistische Klöster *(vihāra)* sein.

Raḍḍādevī soll sogar das der Regentin Diddā (RT 6.300ff.) übertroffen haben (RT 8.3388). Dieses Phänomen ist allerdings nicht auf Kaschmir beschränkt. Beispiele von Dorf- und Landverleihungen durch Königinnen sind uns aus epigraphischen Quellen auch anderswo bekannt. Als Beispiel sei auf Königin Śīlamahādevī aus Zentralindien verwiesen (786 n. Chr.), die Dotationen noch zu Lebzeiten ihres Mannes eigenständig vornahm. Vgl. dazu Schmiedchen 2014, S. 462ff.; 470ff.

[12] RT 7.526; 952; 8.249.

[13] RT 8.3316f; 3343f.

[14] „*Agrahāra* is the regular term used by K. for designating a 'Jāgīr' village or piece of land, the revenue of which is assigned to an individual, corporation or religious institution. […] The custom of bestowing 'Jāgīrs' has continued in Kaśmīr through the times of the Muhammadan and Sikh rules to the present day, the condition of tenure being manifold." (Stein 1900, 1, S. 16, Anm. ad RT 1.87). Dazu schreibt mir Annette Schmiedchen (28. 9. 2016): „Es mag sein, daß der Begriff *agrahāra* irgendwann verschwindet und de facto durch *jāgīr* ‚ersetzt' wird. Ich habe jedoch den Eindruck, daß sich hinter *jāgīr* ein anderes Konzept verbirgt. Nach dem mir bekannten inschriftlichen Befund meine ich sagen zu können, daß der Terminus *agrahāra* fast ausschließlich religiöse Stiftungen bezeichnet, und zwar ganz überwiegend zugunsten vedischer Brahmanen. Der Terminus *jāgīr* steht hingegen m. E. eher für so etwas wie ein weltliches Lehen." – Zuweilen wird auch die Höhe der Stiftungsgelder mitgeteilt. Zur Diskussion ihres Wertes vgl. Stein 1900, 2, S. 313, n. 20. Die tatsächliche Dauerhaftigkeit des während der Berichtszeiten der *Rājataraṅginī*s gewährten Nießbrauchs läßt sich möglicherweise noch heute an dem Namensbestandteil °*bug* in modernen kaschmirischen Dorfnamen ablesen. Dieser soll, gelehrter einheimischer Deutung zufolge, von Sanskrit *bhoga* hergeleitet sein, was in der Tat genau diesen Nießbrauch, im konkreten Fall etwa der Erträge eines Dorfes, zum Ausdruck bringen würde, vgl. Stein 1900, 2, S. 475, n. 50.

[15] Nicht ohne Reiz sind hierbei die von Kalhaṇa geäußerten Vorbehalte hinsichtlich der – nach ritueller Reinheit bzw. moralischer Verkommenheit bemessenen – Würdigkeit von Gebern und Empfängern von Landgeschenken, vgl. RT 1.307 (unten Anm. 16); 5.397 (zum Verunreinigungspotential von Ḍomba-Frauen vgl. RT 7.964); RT 5.403; 442.

[16] Vgl. Stein 1900, 1, S. 67; 2: 464 sowie Anm. ad RT 2.182; 5.168ff.

[17] Stein 1900, 1, S. 19f. – „Such corporations exist to this day at all the greater Kaśmīrian pilgrimage places […], wherever there are several families of resident Purohitas. The latter (called *thānapati* in Ks., from Skr. *sthānapati ;* comp. K.'s *sthānapālās,* viii.811)

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Nicht selten ist in Kaschmir die Praxis belegt, Einrichtungen speziell für die Unterbringung von aus dem Ausland zugewanderten buddhistischen Mönchen und studierenden Kastenhindus zu stiften.[18] Sie besagt einiges über das Identitätsbewußtsein der Kaschmirer und die geographisch-kulturelle Abgrenzung ihres Landes von anderen Regionen. Als Ausland galt zweierlei: Dort, wo die Normen der hinduistischen Kastengesellschaft *(cāturvarnya)* Gültigkeit hatten sowie jene Regionen, worauf dieses Merkmal nicht zutraf. Ersteres war das erweiterte „Gebiet von Āryas" *(āryadeśa)*, also der drei freien Geburtsstände, für die eine Initiation in den Veda vorgesehen war und ist. Damit verbanden sich die Ebenen des Subkontinents im Süden[19] und das Kaschmir im Westen vorgelagerte Gandhāra[20]. Wer aus solchen Regionen zuwanderte, konnte auf Landschenkungen[21] oder eine Aufnahme in die religiösen Kollegien Kaschmirs hoffen. Buddhistische Gläubige werden vorwiegend als aus Gandhāra oder Ladakh *(bhauṭṭa)* stammend beschrieben.[22]

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place the fees and *dakṣiṇā*s received from the pilgrims in a common fund from which after meeting the expenses on temple buildings, etc., each family receives its proper share according to a fixed rate of participation. Some of these corporations receive now from the state benefices in kind (rice) which are subject to the same rule of partnership. This system evidently applied also to the land-grants which these corporations enjoyed in old times." (RT 2.132, n.). Kritisch dazu A. SCHMIEDCHEN (briefl.): "Auch wenn ich durchaus die von Stein geschilderte Kontinuität bei den Tempelpriesterschaften erkennen kann, frage ich mich, ob zwischen den Landstiftungen des Mittelalters und den neuzeitlichen Fonds ‚common funds' nicht doch strukturelle Unterschiede bestehen. Bei einem *agrahāra* wurden Empfänger/Begünstigte(r) und Stiftungszweck in der Regel explizit bestimmt, und es durften nur die Erträge aus dem Dorf bzw. Land verbraucht werden. Die Tempelfonds hingegen haben für mich etwas von Kollekte und speisen sich doch anscheinend eher aus ganz ‚normalen' Gaben und Geschenken."

[18] „A Maṭha for students from India proper and various other endowments attested his [= Yaśaskaradeva's] piety." (STEIN 1900, 1, S. 103; vgl. RT 6.87ff.).

[19] Zu Studenten aus Āryadeśa vgl. RT 6.87. Explizit werden auch Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa und Sau-/Śau-/Gauḍoḍra (= Bengalen und Orissa *(uḍra)*? – vgl. HULTZSCH 1915, S. 282 = STEIN 2013, S. 248) genannt (RT 6.300). Erwähnt werden auch Vihāras sowie Maṭhas für Kaschmirer und „ausländische" Brahmanen (*daiśika*, 6.303f.).

[20] Mihirakula, ein hunnischer Herrscher über Nordwestindien und Kaschmir († 544/550), Verfolger des Buddhismus mit einer Neigung zum Śivaismus, vergab Land in der Gegend von Vijayeśvara an aus Gandhāra zugewanderte Brāhmanen. Diese sollen nach – aus brahmanischer Sicht Kalhaṇas – Unsitten und Wesensart *(śīla)* dem Hunnenherrscher geglichen haben. Für Kalhaṇa zählten sie daher zur untersten Klasse seines eigenen Standes. Besonders mißfiel ihm die Tatsache, daß sie Landschenkungen von Mihirakula angenommen hatten (*agrahārāñ jagṛhire gāndhārā brāhmaṇās tataḥ | samānaśīlās tasyaiva dhruvaṃ te 'pi dvijādhamāḥ* || RT 1.307 ||).

[21] Gopāditya (ca. 6. Jh.) vergab Land an Brāhmanen aus Āryadeśa, die am Gopādri (Takht-i-Suleiman) angesiedelt wurden (RT 1.341). Vgl. auch RT 6.303f.; 307.

[22] Eine der Frauen von König Meghavāna (aus Gandhāra mit buddh. Ausrichtung) stiftete Vihāras für Bhikṣus aus dem Ausland (RT 3.9). Vgl. auch oben, Anm. 9.

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Die übrigen Fremden fielen unter den Begriff des Barbaren *(mleccha)*. Zu diesen wurden ab islamischer Zeit vor allem Muslime aus den Westregionen *(yavana)* und Zentralasien *(turuṣka)* gerechnet.[23] Von Stiftungen oder mildtätigen Einrichtungen für barbarische Ausländer von seiten der Hindu-Herrscher ist in den Quellen nicht die Rede. Es wird einmal eine Schenkung *(dāna)* an die Nobilität islamischen Glaubens als „Lebensunterhalt" *(vṛtti)* erwähnt,[24] mit allerdings fatalen Konsequenzen, da damit eine Basis für die bald danach betriebene Islamisierung des Landes etabliert worden war.

Die Stiftungsakte selbst konnten öffentlich inszeniert werden und anlaßbedingt von umfangreichen Geld-, Sach- und Landgeschenken begleitet sein.[25] Häufig finden sich Namensbestandteile des Stifters mit dem Namen der Tempelgottheit in einem Kompositum verschmolzen.[26] Etwa *-svāmin* im Hinterglied für Viṣṇu- und *-īśvara* für Śiva-Stiftungen. Von König Raṇāditya gestiftete Heiligtümer hießen entsprechend Raṇasvāmin, falls die Gottheit Viṣṇu repräsentiert wurde, oder Raṇeśvara, falls es sich um ein Śiva-Standbild handelte.[27] Religionsgeschichtlicher Hintergrund wird der verbreitete Glaube gewesen sein, daß ein König einen Teil *(aṃśa)* der betreffenden Gottheit in sich trage und insofern als mit ihr identisch angesehen

[23] Vgl. Slaje (forthc.), Anm. 71; 76–77.

[24] Dem aus Pañcagahvara (westlich des Pīr Pantsāl) stammenden, im Jahre 1313 zugewanderten Šāh Mīr, der später durch Usurpation die erste muslimische Dynastie Kaschmirs begründen sollte, bot König Sūhadeva eine „Lebensgrundlage" *(vṛttidāna)*, wobei es sich mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit um ein Lehen gehandelt haben wird (JRT 132–141), vgl. auch unten, Anm. 33.

[25] Vgl. RT 8.244.

[26] Gemäß von Hinüber (2004, S. 133) sei es „seit der Gupta-Zeit (?) durchaus üblich, daß der König seiner Titulatur einen Hinweis auf die von ihm bevorzugte Glaubensrichtung beigibt." Als Beispiele nennt er *Paramabhāgavata*, *Paramavaiṣṇava*, *Paramamāheśvara*, *Paramasaugata*, etc., vgl. auch Schmiedchen 2010/2011, S. 155ff.; 162f. Die Praxis der kaschmirischen Könige, auf die oben Bezug genommen wird, ist insofern aber etwas anders gelagert, als sie ihre Eigennamen direkt mit dem ihrer Wahlgottheit *(iṣṭadevatā)* verschmelzen, ihre religiöse Zugehörigkeit in solchen Fällen also nicht durch Epitheta zum Ausdruck bringen. Als älteste Belege finden sich bei Kalhaṇa zwei Śaiva-Tempelgründungen durch Aśoka genannt, die bezeichnenderweise Aśokeśvara geheißen haben sollen (*prāsādāv Aśokeśvarasaṃjñitau*, RT 1.106).

[27] RT 3.453f. Es gibt eine Anzahl weiterer Beispiele: König Durlabhavardhana: Errichtung einer Statue des Viṣṇu „Durlabhasvāmin" (RT 4.6: *Śrīnagaryāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya Durlabhasvāminaṃ Harim*). Zu anderen Vaiṣṇava-Königen aus Kaschmir, die dieser Praxis folgten, vgl. Sanderson 2009, S. 60f.; 73 (zu Belegen aus Nepal und Südostasien vgl. S. 75f.; 85; 118). König Kalaśas Statue für Śiva trug den Namen Kalaśeśvara (RT 7.527; 1077. – Zu einem Verzeichnis von Stifternamen und -titeln aus den kaschmirischen Nachbarregionen Gilgit und Chilas vgl. von Hinüber 2004, S. 205–211 (Nachträge in von Hinüber 2007; 2009).

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wurde.[28] Doch verbindet sich damit sicher auch der Aspekt einer Art von Memorialkultur. Dieser wird besonders an dem Fall deutlich, wo Königin Diddā, die sich als Alleinherrscherin (980–1003) selbst ein solches Denkmal als Viṣṇu „Diddā-Svāmin" setzte – die Kombination aus weiblichem Vorderglied (Diddā) und männlichem Hinterglied (Svāmin) ist bemerkenswert[29] –, eine Statue zur Mehrung des religiösen Verdienstes ihres verstorbenen Sohnes Abhimanyu errichten und diese als Viṣṇu „Abhimanyu-Svāmin" benennen ließ.[30]

Die Stifter statteten ihren Einrichtungen Besuche ab und suchten diese in der Not gegebenenfalls auch als Zufluchts- oder als Sterbeort auf.[31]

Von den Kategorien Landschenkung *(agrahāra)*, Errichtung von Hindu-Kollegien *(maṭha)*, buddhistischen Klöstern *(vihāra)* und Tempelanlagen *(suraveśman)* ist die Kategorie der Landschenkungen vielleicht nicht zwangsläufig ausschließlich religiös konnotiert. Die Landstiftung an vedische Brahmanen, die deren säkularem Lebensunterhalt diente, war fest etablierte Praxis, die gewiß mit der Vorstellung religiösen Verdiensterwerbs einherging,[32] aber eben nicht primär kultischen, bzw. Zwecken unmittelbarer Religionsausübung diente, wie es bei Klöstern, Religionskollegien oder Tempeln der Fall war. Die Verwendung des Begriffs *agrahāra* für weltliche Lehen des (muslimischen) Adels ist erst ab der frühen Neuzeit zu belegen.[33]

Allerdings gab es auch den umgekehrten Fall der Aufhebung, Zerstörung oder Umwidmung religiöser Stiftungen. Der quasi-sakrale Charakter von Religionskollegien und Klöstern wurde dann nicht respektiert.[34]

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[28] RT 1.72; vgl. Anm. 152 ad JRT 134 (S. 263). Nach SANDERSONS Vermutung wäre es erst durch eine solche konkrete Benennung möglich geworden, einem Gott Güter zu übertragen (2003/2004, S. 415 f., Anm. 250).

[29] RT 6.300; 302. VON HINÜBER (2004, S. 122f.) weist auf die gelegentliche Praxis hin, daß für regierende Königinnen maskuline Herrschertitel verwendet worden waren (z. B. *deva*, *rājan*). So auch im Falle der kaschmirischen Regentin Diddā auf einer im Jahre 989 gestifteten Bronze (*Diddādeva* – dazu VON HINÜBER 2004, S. 122, Anm. 133) sowie auf einer Steininschrift aus dem Jahre 992 (*Diddānāmani rājñi* – vgl. VON HINÜBER loc. cit., Anm. 132).

[30] RT 6.299.

[31] STEIN 1900, 1, S. 193. Vgl. auch SLAJE (forthc.) Anm. 68; 110. Auch Caṇpaka, der Vater des Autors der ersten *Rājataraṅginī*, der als Minister unter König Harṣa († 1101) diente, hatte sich zu seiner Zeit als frommer Stifter eines Śiva-Heiligtums hervorgetan und seine eigene Stiftungsanlage zu gewissen feierlichen Anlässen regelmäßig aufgesucht (STEIN 1900, 1, S. 194).

[32] Obwohl nirgendwo explizit festgehalten, ist doch anzunehmen, daß vom Adel als Gegenleistung Loyalität sowie militärische Unterstützung und andere Dienstleistungen erwartet worden waren, vgl. STEIN 1900, 2, S. 307. Begünstigungen einzelner buddhistischer Persönlichkeiten sind ebenfalls bezeugt, vgl. SLAJE (forthc.), Anm. 51–53; 109.

[33] *Yavanebhyo 'grahārān sa savihārān svayaṃ dadau* (JRT 880cd, Zayns Sultanat, um 1440); vgl. auch oben, Anm. 24.

[34] Vgl. RT 1.200 (SLAJE [forthc.], Anm. 50); 4.693–699.

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Für den Akt der Konsekration bzw. gegebenenfalls eben auch der Entweihung gestifteter Heiligtümer ist die indische Auffassung von der Natur eines Götterbildes relevant. Es ist kein Bild nach unserem Verständnis der bloßen Repräsentanz eines transzendenten Gottes, sondern gilt als der tatsächliche Aufenthaltsort der lebendigen Gottheit. Diese muß anhand spezieller Riten belebt und durch einen Weiheakt in den zuvor leblosen Stein gebannt werden *(pratiṣṭhāpana)*,[35] von wo aus sie fortan mit den Gläubigen durch wechselseitigen Austausch von Blicken und materiellen Gaben in unmittelbar physischen Kontakt tritt. Das hat Konsequenzen für die indische Wahrnehmung im Falle der Zerstörung eines solchen – und nur für die monotheistischen Fremdreligionen steinernen – Götterbildes.

Das Vordringen des Islam nach Indien wird historisch sicher zu Recht mit schweren ikonoklastischen Begleiterscheinungen zum Nachteil der ansässigen Religionen in Verbindung gebracht. Es gilt allerdings zu beachten, daß die Muslime den Ikonoklasmus weder erfunden, noch ihn als Novum in Indien eingeführt haben. Sie hatten im Zuge der Eroberung des Subkontinents den indischen Gläubigen vor Augen geführt, daß der einzige Gott, den sie selbst verehrten, über mehr Macht als die falschen Götzen *(but)* der Inder verfüge. Doch ist bereits in vorislamischer Zeit ein innerindisch geführter und von Glaubenseifer befeuerter Ikonoklasmus belegbar.[36] Daneben, bzw. auch im Verein mit diesem, gibt es einen sehr speziellen Aspekt für das Zerstörungswerk geweihter Heiligtümer. Dieser lag im materiellen Wert der kostbaren Statuen begründet. Dazu kam die Tatsache, daß Tempel Votivgaben von Generationen spendenfreudiger Herrscher und anderen Gläubigen horteten und daher im wörtlichen Sinne steinreich – d. h. reich an Edelsteinen – waren, ganz zu schweigen von dem ihnen zugestifteten Grundbesitz. Ein Tempel samt Gottheit konnte somit eine erhebliche Anziehungskraft auf in Finanznot geratene Herrscher ausüben.

Wie stellte ein Hindu-Fürst es also an, den Gottheiten ihr wertvolles Material abzunehmen, das – wie auch Schatz und Dorfbesitz eines Tempels – ja ausdrücklich als „Eigentum der Götter" *(surārtha)*[37] galt, ohne sich dabei schuldig zu machen?

In den ersten Jahrzehnten nach dem im Jahre 1339 erzwungenen Machttransfer von der letzten Hindukönigin Koṭā Devī auf den muslimischen Usurpator Šāh Mīr ist von einer tiefergehenden Islamisierung, die sich etwa auch auf Sitten, Gebräuche, oder die Kleidung erstreckt hätte, noch nichts zu erkennen. Šāh Mīr selbst war ethnischer Inder und zugewanderter

[35] Zu den Einzelheiten des komplexen Rituals einer Installation vgl. Hikita 2005.

[36] Eaton 2004.

[37] RT 7.1087–1090. Zu Dörfern, die sich zu ihrem eigenen Unterhalt Gottheiten durch Installation selbst verleihen, vgl. RT 3.455.

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Konvertit in der Linie einer alten Hindu-Nobilität von außerhalb des Kaschmirtales. Daher wurde der hinduistische Glaubens- und Wertekanon unter seinen Nachfolgern einige Generationen lang als tradierte Sitte wie selbstverständlich respektiert. So hatte sich etwa sein Enkel Sulṭān Šihāb ad-Dīn (1355–1372) noch gescheut,[38] eine monumentale Buddha-Statue aus Gold der Münzprägung zuzuführen. Den Buddha zu zerstören hatte ihm allerdings ein Hindu-Minister nahegelegt, um dadurch den Abriß einer Hindu-Statue zu verhindern. Šihāb ad-Dīn beruft sich bei seiner Entscheidung schließlich auf die vergangenen Generationen, die diese Statuen des religiösen Verdienstes wegen errichtet, unterhalten und verehrt hätten, so daß sie heute in hohem Ansehen stünden. Er wolle nicht als derjenige in die Geschichte eingehen, der zur Ursache ihrer Zerschlagung wurde.[39] Das war zwischen 1360 und 1370. Etwa 30 bis 40 Jahre später setzt eine jahrzehntelange Welle systematischer Destruktionen indischer Sakralbauten und Kultobjekte unter seinem Neffen Sulṭān Sikandar (1389–1413) ein, der von den muslimischen Geschichtsschreibern entsprechend als „Götzenzerstörer" *(butšikān)* gepriesen wird. In solchen Zusammenhängen wird dann deutlich ausgesprochen, wie Hindus es sich zurechtlegten, daß ihre lebendigen und allmächtigen Götter sich so einfach und ohne jede Gegenwehr zerstören ließen: Angesichts der muslimischen Vorboten des im letzten Weltzeitalter mit unabwendbarer Notwendigkeit einsetzenden Kataklysmus wären sie aus ihren Statuen aus eigenem Antrieb rechtzeitig ausgefahren.[40] Im Rahmen einer recht ausführlich gehaltenen Argumentation über den indischen „Irrglauben" von einer Präsenz der Götter in ihren Statuen wird auch über die Anstiftung des Sulṭān Sikandar zu ihrer Zerstörung durch Bhaṭṭa Sūha, einen zum Islam konvertierten ehemaligen Hindu berichtet.[41] Dort wird auch festgehalten, daß es unter Sikandars jahrzehntelang betriebenem Ikonoklasmus anders als zuvor zu keinem Widerstand gegen die Zerstörungen mehr gekommen sei.[42] Unter Zerstörung muß man sich aber nicht notwendig immer nur eine physische Vernichtung der Götterbilder und der Tempelarchitektur vorstellen, sondern es wurde gezielt auch zu Methoden der Entweihung von Hindu-Heiligtümern gegriffen, um diese kultisch für alle Zeit unbrauchbar zu machen. Ein solcher Fall liegt beispielsweise beim Tempelareal des Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin, einer damals zentralen Hochgottheit in Śrīnagar vor, deren

[38] Obwohl er (anikonische) Śivaliṅgas in Kedāra hatte zerstören lassen, vgl. Ps-JRT 32 (B 444). Zur Installation und Konsekration von Śivaliṅgas nach Angaben in Śaiva Āgamas, vgl. TAKASHIMA 2005.

[39] JRT 430–438. Vgl. SLAJE (forthc.), Anm. 115–116.

[40] JRT 591ff; Ps-JRT 89 (B 747).

[41] Ps-JRT 90 (B 751–760).

[42] *na vighno bhañjakānāṃ ca prāgvad dṛṣṭaḥ kadācana* (Ps-JRT 90 [B 760cd]).

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Kult dadurch erfolgreich unterbunden und nachhaltig beseitigt worden war, daß man Leichen von Muslimen in der Tempelerde vergrub und den Bezirk in einen islamischen Friedhof verwandelte. Das machte das Tempelareal für sakrale Handlungen von Hindus, die ihre Toten bekanntlich verbrennen, vollkommen unbenutzbar.[43] Daß solche und andere Methoden keine regionalen Besonderheiten darstellten, sondern auch anderswo in Indien angewandt worden waren, schildert Jayānaka unter anderem am Beispiel des dem Brahmā geweihten Sees Puṣkara in Rajasthan, der in der Folge der von Šihāb ud-Dīn Ghorī gegen Indien geführten Feldzüge entweiht worden war (vor 1191).[44] Diese Vorgänge veranlaßten Jonarāja zu der Feststellung, daß, „wenn der Herrscher die Muslime *(turuṣka)* nämlich nicht töten würde, diese Muslime die Gotteshäuser [der Hindus] zerstören würden."[45]

Die Idee von einer lebendigen Präsenz der Götter in den Statuen und der Möglichkeit, sie auch wieder verlassen zu können, ist allerdings genuin indisch. Den Muslimen war es nicht um eine Austreibung realer Götter gegangen, denn für sie existierten diese Götter ja gar nicht. Die Statuen galten ihnen als lebloser Stein.[46] Es waren Hinduherrscher, die sich die Idee einer lebendigen, temporären Präsenz der Götter für Zwecke der Profanisierung ihrer Statuen zunutze gemacht haben, indem ihr Sakralcharakter durch folgerichtig durchgeführte Desakralisierungsmaßnahmen erkennbar wieder rückgebaut wurde. Denn waren die Götter einmal ausgetrieben, blieben nur ihre kostbaren Hüllen zurück und das Material konnte sodann gefahrlos pekuniären Zwecken zugeführt werden. Ein anschauliches Beispiel hierfür liefert König Harṣa von Kaschmir (1089–1101):

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[43] Slaje 2015, Einl., S. 24f.

[44] Übersetzung gemäß Jonarājas Kommentar: „Dort, [d.h. am See], beseitigt jetzt das Heer der fremden Barbaren [seine] Ermattung, die durch die Zerstörung der Gotteshäuser und des [den Brāhmanen] geschenkten Landbesitzes [herbeigeführt wurde]. […] Heute aber geraten unabwendbar sogar die Speisereste [aus dem Mund dieser barbarischen] Caṇḍālas, die sich nahebei aufhalten, immer und immer wieder [in den See] hinein. […] Es tauchen dort [heute] die menstruierenden Frauen [dieser] untersten [der Turk-Barbaren] ein. [… Dort] an der heiligen Sandbank [des Puṣkara, wo] früher die Sieben Weisen gekochte Reisgerichte mit der Milch der Wunschkuh zubereiteten, braten die Barbaren heute Fische, [die sie vorher aus dem See] gefischt haben, während sie noch lebten." (*tatrādhunā devagṛhāgrahārahiṃsāklamaṃ mlecchacamūś chinatti* PRV 1.50cd || *veviśyate 'vaśyam upāntabhājām ucchiṣṭam apy adya janaṅgamānām* 1.51cd || … *majjanti tatrādhamapuṣpavatyaḥ* 1.53d || *saptarṣayaḥ kāmadughāpayobhiḥ prārebhire prāk paramānnapākam ḥṛtvādhunā jīvata eva matsyān pacanti puṇye puline pulindāḥ* || 1.55 ||).

[45] *yadi hi sa rājā turuṣkān na vihanyāt te turuṣkā devagṛhadhvaṃsaṃ kuryur iti bhāvaḥ* || (Jonarāja ad PRV 6.28)

[46] *pratimānāṃ śilābhāvo* (JRT 593c); *pāṣāṇān devasānnidhyabhrameṇaiṣa jano naman* (Ps-JRT 90 [B 751a]); *vidhvastāḥ pratimās sarvā gīrvāṇāṃ śilā iva* (Ps-JRT 90 [B 760a]).

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Dieser hatte aufgrund eines Zerwürfnisses mit einer einflußreichen Tempelpriesterschaft[47] zunächst die von seinem Vater an einen speziellen Tempel verliehenen Privilegien des Dorfbesitzes aufgehoben und die Schatzkammer geplündert[48]. Harṣa hatte allerdings Vorgänger[49] – und auch Nachfolger[50] – bei der Beschlagnahme und Umwidmung von Stiftungen. Ihn zwangen seine exorbitanten Militärausgaben zur Konfiskation (*haraṇa*) des von früheren Königen auch an andere Tempel gespendeten Vermögens. Im nächsten Schritt wurde die Beschlagnahme der Götterstandbilder (*pratimā*) vorbereitet und zu diesem Zweck ein für das „Herausbrechen der Götter" verantwortlicher Behördenleiter *(devotpāṭananāyaka)* ernannt[51]. Die von diesem Leiter ergriffenen Maßnahmen lassen die systematisch durchgeführte Entweihung nachvollziehen, mit deren Hilfe die Götter ohne schuldhafte Verstrickung des Königs aus ihren Statuen ausgetrieben und das kostbare Material verwertet werden konnte.

Der eigentliche Akt der Desekration wurde nackten Häretikern *(nagnāṭa)*,[52] die keiner der Hindu-Religionen angehörten, übertragen. Als Häretiker

[47] „Die ansässigen Mitglieder der Tempelpriesterschaft hatten König [Harṣa] mit einem Erzwingungsfasten daraufhin genötigt, sich [von der drohenden Schuld an ihrem Tod] um [den Preis ihrer] Befreiung vom [erzwungenen] Tragen aufgeladener Lasten freizukaufen." (*kṛtaprāyaiḥ sa tatratyaiḥ pārisadyais tato nrpaḥ | niṣkrayaṃ rūḍhabhāroḍhivāraṇena pradāpitaḥ* || RT 7.1088 ||).

[48] RT 7.1077ab;1085a;1086ab.

[49] Vajrāditya entzog Parihāsapura die Stiftungsmittel, die sein Vater Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa der Stadt verliehen hatte (RT 4.395). Konfiskationen verliehener Agrahāras durch Jayāpīḍa wurden mittels brahmanischer Selbsttötungen gestoppt (RT 4.639). Śaṅkaravarman zog Dörfer aus dem Besitz von Tempeln ein und stellte sie unter staatliche Nutzung (RT 5.165–181). Die Tempel erhielten sodann eine viel geringere Kompensation als die früheren Erträge (STEIN 1900, 1, S. 100). Konfiskationen von Dörfern, die das Stiftungsvermögen für den Avantisvāmin-Tempel bildeten (RT 7.570, vgl. Anm. zu RT 5.45), durch Kalaśa (1063–1089). Erst danach Ausplünderung der väterlichen Stiftungen durch Harṣa (RT 7.961).

[50] STEIN 1900, 1, S. 208f. Vgl. auch RT 8.898ff.; 908.

[51] RT 7.1091.

[52] Die religiöse Zugehörigkeit dieser *nagnāṭas* („nackt Umherziehende"), von denen nur feststeht, daß sie keine Anhänger von Hindu-Religionen waren, ist nicht sicher geklärt. BASHAM hielt sie für Ājīvikas (1948, S. 691). Die wenigen Sanskrit-Quellen, die sich dazu äußern, weisen aber doch eher in die Richtung von Jaina-Sekten. Yādavaprakāśas *Vaijayantī* führt den Begriff '*nagna*' für Kṣapaṇakas und Śramaṇas an, '*nagnāṭa*' aber speziell für Digambaras: *kṣapaṇakaśramaṇau nagno, nagnāṭaś ca digambaraḥ | ājīvo jīvako jaino nirgrantho malavāry api* || (zit nach BASHAM, S. 690). Yaśomitra glossiert *nirgranthāḥ* aus Vasubandhus Bhāṣya zu ADhK 4.73ab mit *nagnāṭāḥ*. Aufgrund der dort dargestellten Einstellung über die schuldhaften Folgen auch unbeabsichtigten Tötens müßte es sich hierbei um Jainas handeln: *nirgranthā* [=] *nagnāṭakāḥ | teṣām* [=] *nirgranthānām evaṃvādināṃ | abuddhipūrve 'pi parastrīdarśanasaṃsparśana eṣa prasaṅgaḥ | pāpaprasaṅga ity arthaḥ* (ADhK 686,16f.).

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konnten sie sich nicht schuldig machen, weil das Hindu-Pantheon nicht Teil ihres Glaubens war. Und auch den König traf keine Schuld, weil er sich weder persönlich daran beteiligt, noch den direkten Auftrag dazu erteilt hatte:

> Um die Gestalten der Gottheiten [vor ihrer Wiederverwertung] zu verderben,[53] ließ der [Behördenleiter sodann] nackte, [lepröse] Häretiker, die abgefaulte Nasen, Hände und Füße hatten, auf die Gesichter der [Gottheiten] koten, urinieren und noch weiteres [Abstoßendes tun]. Die aus Gold, Silber und anderen [Edelmetallen] gefertigten Götterstatuen rollten, obwohl sie [noch] voller Fäkalien waren, wie Feuerholzscheite auf den Straßen umher. Die nackten Häretiker und andere besudelten [sodann] die zerbrochenen, an […] Stricken herbeigezerrten Götterbilder mit […] unter Spucklauten [ausgespieenem, vom Betelkauen] blütenrotem Speichel."[54] „Da war [dann]" wie es weiter heißt, „kein Tempel in einem Dorf, einer Stadt oder in Śrīnagara [mehr], den Harṣa, [dieser] Türke von einem König, nicht um seine Statuen erleichtert hätte.[55]

Es ist vielleicht nicht unerheblich, daß Harṣa sich an zwei als besonders mächtig angesehene *(prabhāvin)* Hindu-Götter, nämlich an Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin in Śrīnagar und an den Sonnengott im Tempelareal von Mārtāṇḍa ausdrücklich nicht heranwagte[56]. Und zwei goldene Riesenstandbilder des Buddha wurden von ihm nur deshalb verschont, weil angesehene Männer, einer davon Harṣas Gesangslehrer, der andere ein buddhistischer Mönch, anläßlich einer königlichen Schenkung um ihre Erhaltung gebeten hatten.[57]

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[53] *nāśa* hier i. S.v. „zu verderben", d. h. sie zu entweihen.

[54] *vadaneṣu sa nagnāṭaiḥ śīrṇaghrāṇāṅghripāṇibhiḥ | mūrtināśāya devānāṃ śakṛnmūtrādy apātayat* || RT 7.1092 || *svarṇarūpyādighaṭitā gīrvāṇākṛtayo 'luṭhan | adhvasv indhanaganḍālya iva sāvaskareṣv api* || RT 7.1093 || *vibudhapratimāś cakrur ākṛṣṭā gulphadāmabhiḥ | thūtkārakusumacchannā rugnā nagnāṭakādayaḥ* || RT 7.1094 ||. Zum Kontext der Rotfärbung, die bei dem öffentlichen Auftreten von Nagnāṭas offenbar nicht nur ihren Speichel charakterisierte, vgl. auch: „[…] naked ascetics [*nagnāṭaka*] – terrible dancers daubed red with vermillion – were singing and dancing in the main streets!" (*Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* 18.423, in Mallinson 2005, S. 93). Eine bemerkenswerte Entweihungsparallele findet sich in einem frühen buddhistischen Text (*Kathāvatthu* 472.22) genannt: *diṭṭhisampanno puggalo buddhathūpe ohadeyya omutteyya niṭṭhubheyya* […] ? – „Would one endowed with view defecate, urinate, or spit on a stūpa of the Buddha, […]?" (Skilling 2016, S. 72f.).

[55] *grāme pure 'tha Nagare prāsādo na sa kaścana | Harṣarājaturuṣkeṇa na yo nispratimīkṛtaḥ* || RT 7.1095 ||

[56] RT 7.1096. Der Letztere wurde etwa 300 Jahre später von Sulṭān Sikandar geschleift (JRT 601). Zur Desakralisierung von Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin vgl. oben.

[57] RT 7.1097f (vgl. Slaje [forthc.], Anm. 109). Zur Zerstörung des goldenen Buddha in Śrīnagar durch Sulṭān Sikandar vgl. JRT 432; Ps-JRTB 765f.

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II. Islamische Zeit

Bei aller Verschiedenheit der Doktrinen und Gesellschaftsideale hatte es sich bei Buddhismus und Hinduismus immerhin um indisch-stämmige Religionen gehandelt, die sich nicht nur die Ideen des Daseinswandels *(saṃsāra)*, der Wiedergeburt *(punarjanman)* und Vergeltungskausalität *(karman)* als gemeinsame Glaubensgrundlage teilten, sondern auch die Überzeugung von einer lebendigen Präsenz der Götter und Buddhas in ihren Statuen. Ihrem Status nach juristische Personen, verfügten sie auch über Privatbesitz aus Spenden sowie über Stiftungsgüter.[58] Diese grundlegende Gemeinsamkeit könnte Anlaß für eine wechselseitig erhöhte Akzeptanzbereitschaft dieser beiden Religionen nicht nur im Rahmen des Stiftungswesens gewesen sein. Zugleich markiert sie aber eine einschneidende Abgrenzung von der abrahamitischen Fremdreligion des Islam aus dem Westen, der vor allem die Karma-Idee und das dazugehörige Götter- und Weltbild nicht teilt,[59] und der besonders unter Sulṭān Sikandar im 14. Jh. ikonoklastisch massive Übergriffe auf die nicht-islamischen Heiligtümer Kaschmirs zu verantworten hat. Unter Sulṭān Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn und seinem Enkel Ḥasan Šāh kam es im 15. Jh. zu einigen Jahrzehnten der friedlichen Koexistenz und der Förderung aller drei Religionen durch Herrscherhaus und Aristokratie.

In den *Rājataraṅgiṇī*s, die die islamische Epoche behandeln, bezeichnen die aus vorislamischer Zeit übernommenen, von Kalhaṇa für Landschenkungen und Gründungen gebrauchten Sanskrit-Begriffe zunächst einmal dasselbe. So wird nicht nur *agrahāra* im alten Sinne der Landschenkung

[58] Vgl. dazu die soliden Ausführungen bei SCHOPEN 1997, S. 114–147 [„Burial Ad Sanctos and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism"] sowie 258–289 [„The Buddha as an Owner of Property and Permanent Resident in Medieval Indian Monasteries"]. Ich danke PETRA KIEFFER-PÜLZ für den wichtigen Literaturhinweis. Zur Beobachtung der auffälligen Verwandtschaft des buddhistischen mit dem Bilder- und Tempelkult im Hinduismus, vgl. SCHOPEN 1997, S. S. 277 sowie 289 (Anm. 100 mit Literatur).

[59] So ist die indische Idee von der unabhängigen Wirkkraft des Karma, mit der die einer individuellen Eigenverantwortlichkeit für jede gegenwärtige und zukünftige Lebenssituation einhergeht, mit der islamischen Prädestinationslehre ebenso unvereinbar wie das demselben Kausalnexus und dem ungeschaffenen Weltgesetz des Dharma unterworfene und damit sterbliche indische Götterpantheon. Da sich indische Götter und Göttinnen ihre biologischen Funktionen unter Einschluß des Reproduktionsverhaltens sowie ihre soziomorphe Organisation mit denen der Menschenwelt teilen, sind sie mit der Allmacht und Souveränität des einzigen Allah, der kein Geschlecht, keine Partner, keine Kinder hat und der in einem materiellen und zeitlichen Sinne völlig unabhängig von seiner Schöpfung und ihren Gesetzen existiert, aus der Perspektive des allgemein verbreiteten *Smārta*-Hinduismus nicht kompatibel. Daß einzelne Philosophen theistisch-monistischer Strömungen Allmacht und überzeitliche Existenz ihres jeweiligen Hochgottes erheblich differenzierter herausarbeiteten, tut dieser generellen Tatsache keinen Abbruch.

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verwendet,[60] sondern auch *maṭha, dharmaśālā*[61] und *vihāra* scheinen – mit gelegentlichen Unsicherheiten, die die genaue Funktion von '*vihāra*s' in islamischer Zeit betreffen[62] – ihre klassische Bedeutung beibehalten zu haben. Denn die Tatsache, daß etwa der amtlich bestallte Ankleider des Sulṭāns *(rājavastraśobhādhikārabhāj)*[63] zwischen zwanzig und dreißig Gebäude gestiftet haben soll – darunter explizit differenziert: Vihāras, Maṭhas, Ḫānqāhs und Moscheen[64] – spricht doch sehr dafür, daß ihre jeweilige Funktion der Nutzung durch die verschiedenen religiösen Gruppierungen entsprach. Nur *pratiṣṭhā* steht nicht mehr für die Konsekration von Götterstatuen, sondern für die Errichtung von Sakralbauten,[65] wenn nicht – wie das Vorkommen von *agrahāra* es in solchen Aufzählungen nahelegt[66] – für Stiftungen im weitesten Sinn. Zugleich dringen neue Wörter arabischer und persischer Provenienz in die Sanskrit-Lexik ein, wie etwa *madrasā*[67], *khānagāha*[68] oder *masjyedā*[69].

Sulṭān Zayn stiftete im 15. Jh. Religionskollegien *(maṭha)* für Hindus und vergab Land sowohl an Brahmanen als auch an Muslime *(yavana)*.[70] Als Lohn für Loyalität und geleistete Kriegsdienste bekamen herausragende Vertreter des muslimischen Militäradels von Zayn steuerbefreites *(deyanirmukta)* Ackerland, Dörfer und Ländereien.[71] Da die zu diesen Ländereien gehörigen buddhistischen Klostereinrichtungen ebenfalls an die neuen islamischen Besitzer fielen,[72] muß man die Beibehaltung ihrer ursprünglichen

[60] Vgl. aber oben, Anm. 33. Der sinnverwandte Begriff *brahmadeya* kommt nur einmal, und hier ironisch für Steuereintreibung vor (ŚRT 4.373).

[61] *Maṭha*s und *dharmaśālā*s werden begrifflich auseinandergehalten, vgl. JRT 889.

[62] Vgl. Slaje (forthc.), Anm. 64.

[63] ŚRT 3.193.

[64] *navaḥ pitṛvihārānte nijajanmabhuvo 'ntare | yena lokārtihṛc cakre vihāraḥ sugṛhojjvalaḥ || maṭhāgrahāramasjyedāvihāragṛhapaṃktibhiḥ | triṃśadviṃśāḥ pratiṣṭhās tā maṇḍale yena kāritāḥ ||* ŚRT 3.194f ||. Zur Unterscheidung vgl. auch *vihārair agrahāraiś ca maṭhaiḥ sukṛtakarmaṭhaiḥ | āśramair aśramai rājavāsaiḥ svargopamāṃ vyadhāt ||* ŚRT 1.5.41 ||

[65] Aus ŚRT 3.183 ergibt sich, daß unter *pratiṣṭhā*s Bauten, wohl verkürzt für *veśmapratiṣṭhā* (ŚRT 3.206), zu verstehen sind (*pratiṣṭhā vihitā rājñā navā yā nijamaṇḍale | anyās tā varṇitā nātra granthagauravato mayā*). So auch ganz deutlich in ŚRT 3.195c; 201c.

[66] *maṭhāgrahāramasjyedāvihāragṛhapaṃktibhiḥ* (ŚRT 3.195ab).

[67] Śrīvara berichtet über die Gründung einer Dharmaśālā durch die Mutter des Sulṭāns Ḥasan Šāh (1472–1484) unter dem arabischen Namen „Madrasā", also analog zu *dharmaśālā* ein „Ort der religiösen Studien" *(viśālāṃ dharmaśālāṃ sāpy akaron madrasākhyayā |* ŚRT 3.175cd).

[68] Pers. *khāna-gāh,* skt. *khānagāha. Ḫānqāh* als Ort der „Religion" *(dharma)*: *khānagāheti vikhyātaṃ dharmavāsaṃ vinirmame* (ŚRT 3.184ef).

[69] Vgl. Anm. 64; 66.

[70] JRT 864; 869; 879; ŚRT 3.37.

[71] Ps-JRT 122 (B 1325–1334).

[72] JRT 880ab.

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Funktion in Frage stellen. Manches deutet auf Einrichtungen für Bedürftige *(arthin)*[73], vielleicht wie der von Armenküchen hin. Das würde solche Vihāras in die Nähe von *Annasattra*-Stiftungen rücken, möglicherweise eine Umfunktionierung ehemaliger, oder eine Funktionserweiterung noch in Gebrauch stehender buddhistischer Klöster. Solch mildtätige Stiftungen zur Ausspeisung werden von Kalhaṇa schon für die vorislamische Epoche beschrieben.[74] Zayn als muslimischer Herrscher mußte diese auch aus der islamischen Welt bekannte Praxis daher nicht importieren.[75] Über die unter seiner Regentschaft über das ganze Land verteilten Speisehäuser sind die Nachrichten recht ausführlich.[76] In diesem Zusammenhang fallen auch jene Begriffe, die für dauerhafte Stiftungen charakteristisch sind.[77]

[73] *arthisaṅghopakārārthaṃ paurāṇāṃ sukṛtī nṛpaḥ | vihāraṃ bahuvistāraṃ tatsaṅgamataṭe vyadhāt* || ŚRT 1.5.62 ||.

[74] Vgl. STEIN 1900, 1, S. 193, sowie Glosse *(akṣayinī)* zu RT 1.347; 2.58 *(sattra)*; 8.571 *(avicchinnasattra)*. Der dafür verwendete Begriff *sattra* – vielleicht verkürzt für *annasattra* („Speise-Sitzung"?) – scheint ab dem Mittelalter einen Bedeutungswandel erfahren und seine ursprüngliche vedische Ritualbedeutung eingebüßt oder eine entsprechende Erweiterung erfahren zu haben. Abgesehen von seiner eindeutigen Verwendung in den *Rājataraṅginīs* deutet sich ein vergleichbarer Sinn des Wortes in Inschriften ab dem 6./7. Jh. an (vgl. *yajña-satra-vivāhādiṣu*, SIRCAR 1953, S. 179, line 9 [LUBIN 2015, S. 234, trifft hier mit „longterm Vedic performance" kaum das Richtige] sowie SANDERSON 2009, S. 269ff., wo inschriftliches *sattrāṇi* überzeugend mit „charitable feeding-houses" wiedergegeben ist). Ganz explizit hält SCHMIEDCHEN (2014, S. 186, Anm. 666 [mit Lit.]) dazu fest: „[…] In indischen Inschriften bezeichnet *sattra/satra* selten das große brahmanische Śrauta-Ritual, sondern in der Regel eine regelmäßige Speisung bzw. eine Einrichtung für eine solche Bewirtung […]. Während man in RāUr 68 / Śaka 851 noch annehmen kann, es habe sich bei der Speisung *(bhojana)* von 1.000 Brahmanen tatsächlich um deren Beköstigung aus Anlaß von Opfersitzungen *(sattra)* gehandelt […], wird in RāUr 54 / Śaka 789 und in RāUr 69 / Śaka 852 dieser allgemeinere Charakter von *sa[t]tra* deutlich. Der Terminus *sa[t]tra* ist darüber hinaus auch regulärer Bestandteil von Zweckbestimmungsformeln in Stiftungen an Tempel […]." – Einrichtungen vergleichbarer Art scheint es allerdings in allen drei Religionen gegeben zu haben. Zum Buddhismus teilt mir MARTIN STRAUBE am 7.7.2016 mit: „*Dānaśālā*s werden in buddh. Sanskrit- (v. a. Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavastu, Āryaśūra-JM) und Pāli-Texten öfter erwähnt; […]. Interessant, da alt, ist eine Stelle bei Aśoka, wo ein *dānagaha* genannt wird (Hultzsch, New. Ed. 1925, p.159, Z. 3; Bloch p.159). Bloch schreibt, daß Mönche und Reisende dort gespeist wurden (ebd., Anm. 2: ‚Maison d'accueil et de libéralité aux moines et aux voyageurs, en pali *dānasālā*.')." SILK (2007, S. 311) zufolge habe es im vormodernen Indien „clearly […] pauper's hostels, and possibly more specialized institutions we might call homes for unwed mothers" gegeben (diesen Hinweis verdanke ich OSKAR VON HINÜBER). Zu islamischen Armenküchen vgl. die folgenden Anmerkungen.

[75] STEIN weist im übrigen auch auf das noch zu seiner Zeit existierende Institut von Dharmaśālās (pers. Sadābarat) hin, die zur Beherbergung und Ausspeisung von Reisenden und Mittellosen dienten (Anm. ad RT 1.347).

[76] ŚRT 1.5.14–22.

[77] *a(vi)chinna* vgl. JRT 881; ŚRT 1.5.21f.

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In der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jh. hören wir vom Abriß einer zur Hälfte fertiggestellten Anlage *(pratiṣṭhā)*, die unter Zayns Enkelsohn Ḥasan Šāh als unschicklich *(anucita)* angesehen und durch ein Sufi-Zentrum ersetzt wurde.[78] Welche Funktion sie vorher gehabt haben mochte, wird nicht mitgeteilt. Die Rede ist von weiteren Ḫānqāhs[79] sowie von einer ganzen Reihe religiöser Gründungen für Hindus (*Maṭha*s bzw. *Dharmamaṭha*s), die von Angehörigen der muslimischen Nobilität,[80] darunter nicht selten auch von deren Haupt- und Nebenfrauen,[81] gestiftet wurden. Ein zweifellos als buddhistisch zu definierender Vihāra wird in Vijayeśvara noch in der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jh. gestiftet.[82] Die Brüder des Stifters, allesamt Kaufleute, errichteten – wie allerdings auch berichtet wird: sehr zum Verdruß der Muslime[83] – eine steinerne Statue für den Hindugott Gaṇeśa.[84] Nicht ohne Witz erscheint vor diesem Hintergrund, daß der damalige Sulṭān Ḥasan Šāh an den Vorsprüngen seines Palastes von Kunsthandwerkern angefertigte Holzfiguren des in der Hindumythologie respektablen Vogels Garuḍa, der Gott Viṣṇu trägt, anbringen hatte lassen, damit sie ihm dort als Vogelscheuchen dienten.[85] Während seiner Regentschaft herrschte eine von den wohlhabenderen Gesellschaftsschichten geübte, rege Sakralbau- und Stiftungstätigkeit vor, die allen drei Religionen zugute kam[86].

Wurde als Motiv für Landschenkungen durch Quṭb ad-Dīn (1373–1389) noch der Wunsch nach einem männlichen Thronfolger genannt,[87] so führt Śrīvara die Motivation der Stifter[88] zu seiner Zeit, also etwa 100 Jahre später, in poetischen Worten so aus:

> Dem tugendhaften (Stifter) geht
> Der folgende Gedanke auf:
> „(So großer) Wohlstand herrscht in diesem Land.
> Wie viele warens nicht, die (da) ihr Leben

[78] ŚRT 3.177.

[79] ŚRT 3.193; 197 (mit *sattra*). Zu Ḫānqāhs mit Armenküchen-Funktion vgl. *Bahāristān* S. 47.

[80] ŚRT 3.187–192;202.

[81] Muslimische Frauen als Stifterinnen: ŚRT 3.187; 198 [Wiederaufbau eines abgebrannten *Maṭha*]; 199; 200 [*Ḫānqāh*]; 201.

[82] ŚRT 3.203.

[83] ŚRT 3.205.

[84] ŚRT 3.204.

[85] *yat kāruklptakoṇasthadārugāruḍamūrtibhiḥ | trastāś caranto nāyānti pakṣiṇas tan nabho'dhvanā* || ŚRT 3.174 ||

[86] Ḥasan hatte Śrīvara zum Erzieher (ŚRT 2.157).

[87] Ps-JRT 65 [B 640cd].

[88] Die Beweggründe zu stiften waren insofern nie uneigennützig, als man sich stets eine – meist nachtodliche – Kompensation erwartete.

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Der (bloßen) Raffgier hingegeben haben!
Auch nicht eine allerkleinste Münze (konnten)
Die Toten von hier mit sich führen.
Wenn also ich, zu hohem Rang gekommen,
Mit Baulichkeiten und dergleichen (frommen Werken)
Die Glaubenspflichten nicht vollführe,
(Dann) werde ich sehr bald
Bar (aller guten Werke)
Hinüber (in das Jenseits) gehn!"

deśe 'smin vibhavo bhavan kati na te yaiḥ sañcayārthe vayaḥ
saṃnītaṃ na tato mṛtair upahṛtāpy ekākinī kākinī |
so 'haṃ labdhapadaḥ karomi yadi no dharmaṃ pratiṣṭhādibhī
rikto yāmy amuto 'cirād iti matiḥ punyātmano jāyate || ŚRT 3.207 ||

Ob und wie weit eine ähnlich religionsübergreifende Stiftungsbereitschaft auch für die nachfolgenden muslimischen Dynastien in Kaschmir bestimmend war, muß einer Untersuchung des dafür in Frage kommenden Quellenmaterials vorbehalten bleiben.

Postskriptum: Die Untersuchung von DEJENNE 2015 konnte nicht mehr ausgewertet werden, da sie erst zu einem Zeitpunkt (Ende 2016) erschienen ist, als die vorliegende Arbeit bereits zum Druck gegeben worden war. Auf die dort enthaltenen nützlichen Tabellen aller von Kalhaṇa dokumentierten Stiftungsfälle sei jedoch ausdrücklich hingewiesen.

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Beobachtungen zur Verwendung der tibetischen Partikel *dang**

Von Johannes Schneider, München

Summary: The Tibetan particle *dang* is used as (1) conjunction, (2) sociative case and (3) imperative marker. The study is based on lexicographical materials collected by the *Tibetan Dictionary Project*, *Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities* (Munich). These materials clarify features that were neglected in standard grammars or have been described insufficiently or controversially. The most important findings are as follows: (1) As a conjunction *dang* is normally not used after the last item of an enumeration. It may be dropped after the second and further items. With a following numeral it marks the sum of a previous enumeration. Between repeated words its function is distributive or intensifying. With nominalized clauses it often (but not always) indicates switch-reference. (2) As a case particle *dang* depends on a limited number of verbs denoting an associative or dissociative relationship. As an accompaniment role marker *dang* is often used with postpositions such as *lhan cig (tu)*, but rarely without them. Terminative may replace *dang* not only metri causa but also in order to distinguish it from the conjunction *dang*. (3) In Old Tibetan documents and in texts translated from Sanskrit *dang* often is used after the particle *shig*; then speech continues, but with a different subject and without another imperative verb. In post-canonical literature however, *dang* may be used instead of *shig*, with other verb stems than imperative and at the end of the speech.

Tibetische Grammatiken befassen sich zu einem großen Teil mit der Verwendungsweise der Partikeln. Dabei bleibt meist unklar, ob die zur Erläuterung herangezogenen Beispiele aus einer systematischen Durchsicht von Texten gewonnen oder eher zufällig zusammengetragen wurden. Vielfach wird die Herkunft der Belege nicht nachgewiesen, und manchmal scheint es, als würden dieselben Beispiele ohne weitere Überprüfung von Lehrbuch zu Lehrbuch weitergereicht. Hahn 1996 stützt sich vor allem auf Literatur, die aus dem Sanskrit ins Tibetische übersetzt wurde, gibt aber keine genauen Anga-

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ben zur Herkunft der Zitate. Erst SCHWIEGER 2006 entnimmt seine Beispiele konsequent autochthonen Texten und weist jeweils die Quellen nach.

Im Idealfall sollte die Linguistik fest umrissene Textcorpora systematisch auswerten und so die Funktionalität der sprachlichen Gestaltungselemente aus dem Quellenmaterial selbst interpretieren. Für das autochthone Tibetische fehlen zwar noch weitgehend die hierfür erforderlichen Grundlagen – nicht zuletzt besteht empfindlicher Mangel an kritischen Ausgaben. Gleichwohl gibt es bereits wichtige Arbeiten in dieser Richtung, wie etwa HILLS Beobachtungen zum Gebrauch verschiedener Partikeln. Derartige Spezialuntersuchungen können die Sichtweise der Grammatiken, die in ihrer Darstellung oft Beschränkungen unterliegen, sinnvoll ergänzen.

In diesem Beitrag möchte ich die Partikel *dang* anhand der Textbelege untersuchen, die seit 1954 an der *Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* in München gesammelt wurden. Diese Exzerpte bilden die Grundlage für das *Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache* (fortan: WtS), dessen erste Lieferung 2005 im Auftrag der *Kommission für zentral- und ostasiatische Studien* von HERBERT FRANKE herausgegeben wurde; gegenwärtig sind vier Bände in 30 Lieferungen abgeschlossen, sowie Teile des fünften Bandes in weiteren Lieferungen publiziert.

Wie bereits zu Beginn der Veröffentlichung des WtS festgestellt und kürzlich in der 24. Lieferung nochmals betont wurde, berücksichtigt das Projekt Sprachzeugnisse von den ältesten tibetischen Inschriften bis zu solchen vom Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, in denen der Einfluß der klassischen Schriftsprache noch greifbar ist. Neben buddhistischen Quellen wurden auch Werke der Bon-po ausgewertet, literarische, historische und wissenschaftliche Texte sind ebenfalls vertreten.

Die Texte wurden für das WtS selektiv exzerpiert, wobei die Funktionsweise der Partikeln nicht im Vordergrund stand. Dennoch ist es lohnenswert, diese Sammlung auch für grammatische Fragestellungen heranzuziehen. In Anbetracht der Fülle des zusammengetragenen Materials ist davon auszugehen, daß es die wesentlichen Funktionen häufig gebrauchter Wörter zuverlässig widerspiegeln kann. Dies gilt in besonderem Maße für die Partikeln, die in den Belegen allgegenwärtig sind. Da alle Zitate mit ausführlichen Kommentierungen und Übersetzungen erschlossen wurden, ist eine Auswertung wesentlich leichter möglich als bei digitalen Repositorien, die nur transliterierte Texte enthalten.[1]

Die Partikel *dang* kommt in über fünftausend Belegen des WtS-Projekts vor, oft erscheint sie in demselben Zitat mehrfach. Anhand dieser Belege

[1] Wichtige Beispiele hierfür sind die elektronischen Texte der *Old Tibetan Documents Online*, des *Asian Classics Input Project* und des *Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center*.

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wurde untersucht, ob *dang* sich mit Hilfe der herkömmlichen Sichtweisen angemessen beschreiben läßt. Dabei traten auch Einzelheiten zutage, die in den bisherigen grammatischen Darstellungen nur unzureichend beschrieben wurden. Besonders diese Befunde sollen ausführlich mit möglichst vielen verfügbaren Belegen hervorgehoben werden. Die eher geläufigen Funktionen von *dang* werden keineswegs übergangen, doch erlaube ich mir hier eine stärkere Zurückhaltung bei der Anführung von Beispielen.

Dieser Beitrag ist im Zusammenhang mit dem einschlägigen Artikel in Band V (Lieferung 31, S. 20–25) des WtS entstanden. Für das Wörterbuch mußte das Material freilich stärker gekürzt werden. Dieser Beitrag ergänzt daher den WtS-Artikel, ist aber auch ohne diesen in sich abgeschlossen.

In der traditionellen tibetischen Grammatik wird die Partikel *dang* in fünf Funktionen gelehrt. Im *Sum-cu-pa* heißt es:[2]

> *ming gang rung ba'i bar mtshams su*
> *gsum pa la ni gnyis pa sbyar*
> *de ni sdud dang 'byed pa dang*
> *rgyu mtshan tshe skabs gdams ngag lnga'o*
>
> Wenn man zwischen beliebige Wörter *(ming)*
> den zu dem dritten (gefügten) zweiten[3] setzt *(sbyar)*,
> dann ist das *sdud*, *'byed pa*,
> *rgyu mtshan*, *tshe skabs* und *gdams ngag*, die fünf.

Róna-Tas greift in seiner Übersetzung dieser Begriffe die Terminologie von Schubert 1928–29, Bd. 2, S. 39, wieder auf; zum Vergleich dazu seien auch die französischen Benennungen bei Kesang Gyurme 1994, S. 96, angeführt:

Tib.	Róna-Tas	Schubert	Kesang Gyurme
sdud pa	kopulativ	koordinierend-kopulativ („und")	assembleur
'byed pa	disjunktiv	koordinierend-disjunktiv („oder")	séparateur
rgyu mtshan	kausal	kausal	particule causale
tshe skabs	temporal	temporal	particule temporelle
gdams ngag	imperativ	imperativ	particule optatif

Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717–1786) und Dbyangs-can-grub-pa'i-rdo-rje (1809–1887) machen in ihren Kommentaren diese Funktionen mit Beispielen anschaulich.

[2] Quelle: Róna-Tas 1985, S. 270f., Nr. 19; die Umschrift wurde angepaßt.
[3] Umschreibung der Silbe *dang*.

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Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje[4] charakterisiert den Unterschied zwischen den beiden ersten Funktionen folgendermaßen: *sdud pa* liegt dann vor, wenn die aufgezählten Begriffe eine abgeschlossene Gruppe bilden, wie etwa die fünf *skandhas*. *'byed pa* hingegen bezeichnet beliebig erweiterbare Aneinanderreihungen, als Beispiel werden Dämonen, Geister, Götter usw. angeführt. Die Wiedergabe mit unseren Begriffen „kopulativ" und „disjunktiv", vor allem auch SCHUBERTS erläuternde Charakterisierung mit „und" bzw. „oder" ist vor diesem Hintergrund irreführend. In westlicher Terminologie wäre das Gemeinte besser als „kollektiv" (für *sdud pa*) bzw. „additiv/kumulativ" (für *'byed pa*) zu bezeichnen.

Dbyangs-can-grub-pa'i-rdo-rje[5] unterscheidet *sdud pa* und *'byed pa* anders. Als Beispiel für *sdud pa* führt er an: *dpon g.yog 'khor dang bcas pa* „der Herr zusammen mit Diener und Gefolge"; *'byed pa* illustriert er mit einer Aufzählung der sechs Existenzbereiche – *lha dang / lha ma yin dang / mi dang / dud 'gro dang / yi dwags dang / dmyal ba rnams* „Götter, Asuras, Menschen, Tiere, Pretas und Höllenbewohner". In westlicher Terminologie entsprächen diese Funktionen einem „Komitativ/Soziativ" (für *sdud pa*) bzw. einer „koordinierenden Konjunktion" (für *'byed pa*).

Bei den nächsten beiden Funktionen sind sich die Kommentatoren weitgehend einig. Bei *rgyu mtshan* geht es darum, daß ein mit *dang* endender Satz als Begründung vorangestellt wird, *tshe skabs* bezeichnet den Fall, daß er vorzeitig ist. Bei Dbyangs-can-grub-pa'i-rdo-rje steht in beiden Beispielen wie zu erwarten *pa dang*. Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje hingegen setzt bei der Illustration des kausalen Verhältnisses *dang* an den bloßen Verbalstamm *(slob dang)*. Dies ist, wie sich noch zeigen wird, im Tibetischen für gewöhnlich nicht zulässig; ich vermute daher, daß der Text verderbt und *pa* nach *-b* ausgefallen ist.

Die letzte Funktion *(gdams ngag)* beziehen beide Kommentatoren auf Befehle, die mit *shig* abgeschlossen und mit Hilfe eines daran angefügten *dang* mit einem nachfolgenden Satz verbunden werden; als Beispiel führt Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje an: *yid la zungs shig dang ngas bshad do* „lerne es auswendig, und ich erkläre es dir!"

In westlichen Grammatiken gibt es unterschiedliche Benennungen und Charakterisierungen der Funktionen von *dang*. Weitverbreitet ist der Begriff „Soziativpartikel" (HAHN 1996, S. 72–74). Manche Autoren wählen für die verschiedenen Funktionen von *dang* jeweils eigene Termini:

[4] Bearbeitung: SCHUBERT 1937, S. 32f. und 49f., § XIX.
[5] Bearbeitung: SCHUBERT 1928–1929, Bd. 1, S. 36f., Z. 152ff.; S. 46; Bd. 2, S. 39 s. v. *dang*.

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1. Konjunktion: „nominal phrase conjunction bzw. coordinative conjunction particle“ (Beyer 1992, S. 241), „connecteur adjonctif“ (Kesang Gyurme 1994, S. 97), „coordinating conjunction (or connective)“ (Tournadre / Sangda dorje 2003, S. 154).
2. Soziativ: „accompaniment role particle“ (Beyer 1992, S. 270f.), „preposition verbale“ (Kesang Gyurme 1994, S. 99–100), „associative“ (Tournadre / Sangda dorje 2003, S. 154).
3. Imperativ: „Anschlußpartikel beim Imperativ“ (Hahn 1996, S. 74), „informal command performative“ (Beyer 1992, S. 369f.), „marquer jussif“ (Kesang Gyurme 1994, S. 100–101).

Von diesen drei Hauptfunktionen ist nur die zweite die eines Kasus im engeren Sinn. Gleichwohl wird *dang* meist als Kasuspartikel betrachtet (Hill 2010a, S. 254), nach Hahn ist „ihre Verwendung als Konjunktion … sekundär“ (S. 72). Der Kürze halber spreche ich von der „Konjunktion *dang*“; strenggenommen ist damit der „Gebrauch der Kasuspartikel *dang* als Konjunktion“ gemeint. Ohne hier auf etymologische Fragen eingehen zu wollen, sei doch darauf hingewiesen, daß eine Erklärung dieses Doppelcharakters in diachroner Betrachtung möglich erscheint. Białek 2015, S. 241, Anm. 2, lehnt die alte Deutung von Simon 1942 ab, der in *dang* eine Kontraktion von *dag* und *na* erblickte. Stattdessen bringt sie *dang* mit dem alttibetischen Verb *stangs* „begleiten“ in Zusammenhang;[6] *dang* geht demnach auf **dangste* „in Begleitung von“ zurück und ist mit Wörtern wie *sdong* „vereinen“, *dang po* „erster“ usw. verwandt. Derartige Fragen sollen hier jedoch nicht vertieft werden. Vielmehr versuche ich das Textmaterial pragmatisch anhand der oben gegebenen syntaktischen Klassifikation einzuteilen und dann funktional und semantisch weiter zu differenzieren und zu beschreiben.

Ich greife bevorzugt Belegstellen aus der autochthonen Literatur heraus, und von diesen nach Möglichkeit nur die Prosa. Wenn aber doch kanonische Stellen oder Verse herangezogen werden mußten, sind Zitate aus der Übersetzungsliteratur mit [Ü] bezeichnet; metrische Belege sind mit [M] kenntlich gemacht. Ich verwende die Textsigla des WtS, sie sind unten aufgeschlüsselt. Für ein vollständiges Verzeichnis der Sigla und Abkürzungen verweise ich auf Band IV (Lieferung 24) des WtS. Quellentexte werden entweder mit Kapitel- und Vers- bzw. Abschnittsnummer oder mit Seiten- und Zeilenzahl zitiert; im letzteren Fall ist nur die Zeile vermerkt, in der das besprochene *dang* steht.

[6] Beispiel: *'bod 'bod dga' dang stangste* “having accompanied *'bod 'bod dga'* … ” (PT1039 5), zit. nach Białek 2015, S. 251. Vgl. WtS 4.158 s. v. *²stongs* „helfen, unterstützen“.

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1 Konjunktion

1.1 Formale Gesichtspunkte

1.1.1 Form und Stellung

Die Partikel *dang* liegt in der späteren Zeit ohne nennenswerte Ausnahmen in dieser Schreibung vor. In alttibetischen Texten findet sich aber auch die Graphie *tang*:

(1) *gung skyems tang / nyam pag ma* (PT1042 74)
der Mittagstrank und die Teigspeise für die Verstorbenen

dang steht zwischen koordinierten Wörtern. In aller Regel sind es Nomina. Diese können mit weiteren Spezifikationen (Adjektiv, Zahlwort u. ä.) ausgestattet sein. Kasusmarkierungen stehen nur nach dem letzten Glied der Aufzählung.

(2) *bka' phrin snyan pa dang / dkor nor / bzang pos* (In12 E44)
mit höflichen Botschaften und wertvollen Schätzen

(3) *rgya dang 'a zhas dpya' gcal lo* (PT1287 306)
Die Chinesen und 'A-zha entrichteten *dpya'*-Tribut.

(4) *dbus pa mi drug dang ha shang gnyis te brgyad po* (Nel 16b2)
Die sechs Männer aus Dbus und die zwei Ha-shang, das sind acht.

(5) *g.ya' dang gangs kyi chu* (gZi 1: 598,6)
Wasser aus dem Fels und dem Gletscher

(6) *na gus rta gcig dang ja sig gcig phul* (Lśdz-K 294,9)
Na-gu gab [ihm] ein Pferd und eine Stange Ziegeltee.

Am Ende der Aufzählungen kann der Plural markiert sein:

(7) *lha'i bu dang bu mo rnams kyis sprin gyi gseb nas lus phyed thon tsam byas nas* (Glr 65,16)
Die Göttersöhne und Göttertöchter ragten mit etwa dem halben Körper aus den Wolken hervor.

(8) *mkhar dpon dang yul srungs pa rnams la* (Debm 39a6)
den Festungskommandanten und Landesaufsehern

(9) *bsngo rten dang phyag rten rnams kyi khongs su* (Dol4 48,5)
als Teil der Weihegaben und Geschenke

Anstelle der Pluralmarkierung steht oft das passende Zahlwort:

(10) *blon ce cung bzang dang / 'bal ldong tsab dang lang myes zigs gsum gyis* (S8212 8)

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der Großminister Cung-bzang, der Minister 'Bal Ldong-tsab und Lang Myes-zigs, die drei

(11) *a khu dang a ne gnyis na re* (Mil 32,1)
Onkel und Tante, die beiden, sprachen

(12) *ya manta ka dang / mahā ka la dang / ka la ru pa gsum* ('Dzam 28,17f.)
Yamāntaka, Mahākāla und Kālarūpa, die drei

Einige Unklarheit herrscht darüber, ob *dang* nach der Aufzählung steht. Hahn 1996, S. 72, schreibt: „*dang* steht gewöhnlich nach jedem Glied einer Aufzählung, kann aber nach dem letzten wegbleiben". Sein Beispiel lautet *pha dang / ma dang / bu pho dang / bu mo dang /*. Demnach wäre dies der Regelfall, während *pha dang / ma dang / bu pho dang / bu mo* (ohne abschließendes *dang*) als erlaubte Abweichung von der Norm zu gelten hätte. Die Belege des WtS zeigen jedoch das genaue Gegenteil: Grundsätzlich steht *dang* immer *vor*, nicht *nach* dem letzten Glied der Aufzählung. Wo dies nicht der Fall ist, verknüpft es als Konjunktion die Aufzählung mit einer Summenangabe (vgl. unten Abschnitt 1.2.6), oder ist als Soziativpartikel durch ein nachfolgendes Verb oder eine Postposition bedingt (vgl. Abschnitt 2).

Sieht man von solchen Fällen ab, bleiben nur wenige Belege übrig, bei denen *dang* eine Aufzählung abzuschließen scheint. Bei der folgenden Stelle – sie stammt aus der Übersetzungsliteratur – liegt offenbar ein Sanskritismus vor (finales *ca*):

(13) [Ü] *zho dang / mar dang / bu ram dang / ma brtags pa‹s› za zhing 'thung ba* (K95 122b4)
Joghurt, Butter und Melasse ungeprüft essen und trinken

Die folgende, ebenfalls kanonische Stelle ist metrisch, hier ist mit irregulären Füllwörtern zu rechnen:

(14) [ÜM] *rnam par shes pa kun gyi tshul / skyes bu sngon rabs dbang phyug dang / bdag dang gso ba sems can dang / dus dang gang zag nyid dang ni / dngos po kun gyi rang bzhin ' di / sgyu ma'i gzugs kyi yang dag gnas* (Hev 1.10.12)
Bewußtsein ist die Art von allem:[7] der „alte Mann",[8] Īśvara, das Selbst, das Lebensprinzip, das Wesen, die Zeit und die Person: dies ist die Natur aller Dinge, bestehend in illusorischen Formen.

Bei der nächsten Stelle steht *dang sogs*, regelgemäß wäre *sogs dang* oder *la sogs* zu erwarten:

(15) *yi ge 'bri mchod sbyin pa dang sogs spyod bcu* (BhuKkh 136,14)
die zehn religiösen Praktiken wie Schreiben und Opfer darbringen usw.

[7] Tib *rnam par shes pa kun gyi tshul* steht für skt. *sarvaṃ vijñānarūpam*.
[8] Tib. *skyes bu sngon rabs* steht für skt. *puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ*, einen Beinamen Viṣṇus.

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Tragfähige autochthone, nicht-metrische Belege für ein *dang*, das Aufzählungen abschließt, ließen sich aus der Sammlung des WtS jedoch nicht erbringen. Dies kann daher keineswegs als „gewöhnliche" (HAHN) Verwendungsweise gewertet werden. In dieser Hinsicht ist tib. *dang* nicht mit skt. *ca* oder lat. *-que* zu vergleichen: nach den einzelnen Gliedern der Aufzählung stehen diese fakultativ, nach dem letzten aber sind sie obligatorisch.

1.1.2 Auslassung von *dang*

Um Dinge aufzuzählen, ist es nicht zwingend nötig, sie mit einer Konjunktion zu verknüpfen. Vor allem in metrischen Texten oder wenn der Autor auf besondere Kürze bedacht ist (Telegrammstil), können Nomina unmittelbar aneinandergereiht werden:

(16) *dkar skyong dgra lha wer ma zo dor mgul lha bstan ma rnams* (Gesar 195,6)
Dkar-skyong, Dgra-lha, Wer-ma, Zo-dor, Mgul-lha und Bstan-ma

Nicht selten verdeutlicht dann ein nachgestelltes Zahlwort, wie viele Begriffe miteinander verknüpft sind:

(17) *ka cog zhang gsum … btang* (Nel 11a1)
Er sandte Ka[-ba Dpal-brtsegs], Cog[-ro Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan] und Zhang [Ye-shes-sde], die drei.

(18) *chi ba / bla sha / sbal ti gsum skor gcig* ('Dzam 3,23)
Khotan, Brusha und Balti, die drei, [sind] eine Gruppe.

Bei Aufzählungen, die drei oder mehr Glieder umfassen, steht *dang* zuweilen nur nach einem Glied und fehlt beim anderen. Die Aussagen der Grammatiken sind hierzu jedoch widersprüchlich. BEYER 1992, S. 241, schreibt: „what is retained is generally the first rather than the last conjunction"; auch SCHWIEGER 2006, S. 275, äußert sich in diesem Sinn: „Das Suffix *dang* kann nach dem zweiten Glied einer Aufzählung wegfallen". Im Gegensatz dazu behauptet SOMMERSCHUH 2008, S. 90: „*dang* kann nach jedem Element der Aufzählung … oder nur einmal (meist vor dem letzten Element der Aufzählung) vorkommen".

Die Belege des WtS zeigen jedoch, daß *dang* häufiger zwischen den hinteren Gliedern mehrteiliger Aufzählungen fehlt:

(19) *kwa dang lha rong gi gnas bshad* (Nel 16a7)
Sie nannten [ihm] den Aufenthaltsort von Kwa, Lha und Rong.

(20) *bla brtol dang sad ser mu ge gtong bar byed do* (mDzodG 64,14)
Sie senden schlechte Träume, Frost, Hagel und Hungersnöte.

(21) *bkyag dang bkur sti che ston* (r. *bstod*) *gsum* (Gesar 231,46)
das Preisen, Ehren und Verherrlichen, die drei

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Seltener sind Fälle wie der folgende. Hier steht *dang* nur vor dem letzten Glied der Aufzählung:

(22) *dbus gtsang mnga' ris mdo khams dang hor sog gi yul sogs nas* ('Dzam 25,5)
aus Gegenden wie Dbus-gtsang, Mnga'-ris, Mdo-khams und Hor-sog

1.1.3 Ausnahmen

Äußerst selten wird ein Kasussuffix vor *dang* beibehalten. Im folgenden Beleg, einem kanonischen Vers, macht die Beibehaltung der Genitivmarkierung *gyi* den Bezug von *grong khyer* zu *mthar* deutlich; sie dient zugleich als metrisches Füllwort:

(23) [ÜM] *'thung gcod grong khyer gyi dang yang / 'thung gcod grong gi mthar gnas pa* (Hev 1.7.17a)
Pīlava [liegen] bei Städten, und *pīlava* liegen am Rand von Dörfern.

An einer weiteren Stelle aus demselben Text wirken Sanskritismen nach; in *lta ba dag gis dang* steht *dang* für skt. *tu*, daher bleibt der Instrumental erhalten:

(24) [ÜM] *dgod dang lta ba dag gis dang / 'khyud dang de bzhin gnyis gnyis kyi / rgyud kyang rnam pa bzhi rnams kyis / dgongs pa'i skad ni ma bsgrags pa* (Hev 2.3.54a)
Lachen, Betrachten, Umarmen und ebenso Geschlechtsverkehr: für diese vier Arten verkünden sogar die Tantras keine intentionale Sprache.[9]

In der autochthonen Literatur findet sich Vergleichbares kaum. Bei der folgenden Stelle behält Bu-ston die Genitive bei und hebt so die zweimalige Konjunktion *dang* deutlich gegen die Soziativmarkierung in *dang ldan pa* hervor:

(25) *don med pa'i dang don log pa'i dang don dang ldan pa'i bstan bcos te* (Bu 664,4)
sinnlose, sinnwidrige und sinnvolle Śāstras

Bei der nächsten Stelle werden zwei Aufzählungen (*yab dang yum* und *pho dang mo*) einander gleichgesetzt. Um die Ebenen nicht durcheinanderzubringen, tritt *yang* anstelle von *dang* zwischen die beiden koordinierten Paare:

(26) *yab dang yum yang pho dang mo ru srid* (mDzodG 54,6f.)
Sie wurden auch als Vater und Mutter, als Mann und Frau geboren.

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[9] *hasitaṃ cekṣānābhyāṃ tu āliṅgaṃ dvandakais tathā / tantreṇāpi caturṇāṃ ca saṃdhyābhāṣaṃ na śabditam.*

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Mit *dang* als metrischem Füllwort ist auch in autochthonen Texten zu rechnen:

(27) [M] *bris pa'i yi ge nag chung / chu dang thig pas 'jig song* (Glu 13b)
Die schwarzen, kleinen Buchstaben, die man geschrieben hatte, sind durch Wassertropfen zerstört.

(28) [M] *bdud bu gshen tsha spun gnyis dang / ma la 'jus nas za glags gcod* (gZer 609,6)
Die beiden Kinder des Dämonen, die Neffen des Gshen, griffen nach der Mutter und suchten nach einer Gelegenheit, sie zu essen.

Es gibt also übersetzungstechnisch bedingte oder stilistisch begründete Ausnahmen von den oben genannten Regeln.

1.1.4 Verknüpfung von Sätzen

Häufig werden nominalisierte Sätze mit *dang* verknüpft. In der Regel wechselt hierbei das Subjekt:

(29) *pho nyas … shes / rgyal po la gsold pa dang / rgyal po yang 'phags par dga' ches ste* (Liy2 68)
So sprachen die Boten zum König, der König aber wurde hocherfreut.

(30) [Ü] *de gnyis … dong ba dang / de nyin par sems can gcig kyang phyi bzhin phyi bzhin rjes su mi 'brang ngo* (Prav 81,2)
Als die beiden gingen, folgte ihnen an jenem Tag kein einziges Wesen mehr hinterher.

(31) *sa'i bcud nub pa dang rim gyis dman te* (Debm 2a2)
Die Erdessenz ging zu Ende und [alles] verschlechterte sich immer mehr.

(32) *rgya'i dmag bod du byung nas 'joms pa dang / bod kyis kyang … rgya rnams 'pham par byas* (Glr 187,13)
Die chinesische Armee kam nach Tibet und siegte; Tibet aber unterwarf die Chinesen.

(33) *nyi ma dmar thag chod pa dang yul du phyin* (Mil 111,2)
Als die rote Sonne untergegangen war, ging ich in den Ort.

(34) *nam zla sos ka ru song ba dang / yul 'di skams sa che drag nas* (KunK 64,3)
nachdem es Sommer geworden und der Boden sehr trocken geworden ist

(35) *sa rub pa dang rang sgar du 'byor nas* (Sumpa 92b4)
Die Dunkelheit brach herein und sie gelangten zu ihren jeweiligen Lagern.

HALLER 2009 sieht den Unterschied zwischen *nas* und *pa dang* im Subjektswechsel („switch-reference"); hierzu vgl. auch ANDERSEN 1987. Die Belege des WtS stimmen zwar mehrheitlich mit diesem Befund überein, aber

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keineswegs ausnahmslos. Bei den folgenden Stellen ist kein Subjektswechsel ersichtlich:

(36) [Ü] *des … byul bar brtsams pa dang / mi'i rjes mthong nas* (Udr 45,33)
Er hatte sich darangemacht umherzugehen, da sah er die Spur eines Menschen.

(37) [Ü] *snang ba zhig mthong nas bsnyags pa dang / da ltar 'gum tir gyi mchod rten chen po bzhugs pa slebs nas* (Liy1 178a1)
Er sah ein Leuchten, folgte ihm und kam dorthin, wo heute der große Stūpa von 'Gum-tir steht.

(38) *gling la byon pa dang / 'jag ma re re'i steng na / sangs rgyas re bzhugs par gzigs nas* (Glr 68,26)
Als er auf die Insel kam, sah er, daß auf jedem Grashalm jeweils ein Buddha saß.

(39) *khyed kyis kyang bdag cag bu slob rnams spro ba bskyed pa dang / ma 'ongs pa'i skal ldan gdul byar gyur pa rnams rjes su gzung źing … gsol* (Mil 26,12)
Bereite auch du uns Schülern Freude und nimm dich der künftigen Schüler des Dharma an!

(40) *chos la bkod pa dang / mul to ba stong tsam la'ang de ltar mdzad pa dang* (Tār 129,1)
Er bekehrte sie zum Buddhismus und tat desgleichen bei etwa tausend Bettlern.

Derartige Konstruktionen werden in Grammatiken gesondert betrachtet. Nach Hahn 1996, S. 73f., markiert *dang* den Abschluß eines untergeordneten Satzes, wobei nach dem Perfektstamm ein vorzeitiges, nach dem Präsensstamm ein gleichzeitiges Verhältnis ausgedrückt sei. Auch Schwieger 2006, S. 275, schreibt, *dang* bezeichne nach einem Verbalnomen eine begleitende Handlung. Kesang Gyurme 1994 spricht von einem „connecteur adjonctif coordonnant deux (ou plusieurs) actions" (S. 97–99) bzw. einem „connecteur temporel" (S. 101), wobei die Trennlinie zwischen beidem nicht ganz einsichtig ist.

Eine solche Betrachtungsweise führt die eingangs (S. 2) erwähnte Sicht der einheimischen traditionellen Grammatik fort. Diese unterscheidet eine kausale *(rgyu mtshan)* und eine temporale *(tshe skabs)* Funktion. Die eben gegebenen Beispiele zeigen jedoch, daß derartige Unterscheidungen weit mehr mit der Semantik der beteiligten Sätze als mit spezifischen Funktionen von *dang* zu tun haben. Auch in der Frage, ob die mit *dang* verbundenen Sätze gleich- oder untergeordnet sind, spiegeln sich eher die Anforderungen der Übersetzung als linguistische Sachverhalte des Tibetischen wieder. Das oben gegebene Beispiel (33) könnte ohne weiteres auch folgendermaßen übersetzt werden: „Die rote Sonne war untergegangen, und ich ging in den Ort." Vom Tibetischen aus betrachtet reiht *dang* nominalisierte Sätze genauso aneinander, wie es sonst Nomina miteinander verknüpft.

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1.2 Semantische Funktionen

Bei der Konjunktion *dang* lassen sich folgende semantische Funktionen unterscheiden:

1. Aufzählung
2. Distribution
3. Intensivierung
4. Addition
5. Multiplikation
6. Summenangabe

Die Funktionen 4 bis 6 können auch als Sonderfälle der ersten Funktion betrachtet werden, da es sich um Aneinanderreihungen mit Zahlwörtern handelt. Aus Gründen der Übersichtlichkeit werden sie hier jedoch auf einer Ebene mit den anderen Funktionen behandelt. Besonders der letzte Punkt, Funktion 6, wurde bisher in Grammatiken nicht oder nur ungenügend beschrieben und verdient es, eingehend betrachtet zu werden.

1.2.1 Aufzählung

Die Grundfunktion von *dang* liegt darin, Wörter in Aufzählungen aneinanderzureihen:

(41) *'bal dang / lang glo ba rings / bden par gyurd te* (In1 S18)
Es bewahrheitete sich, daß 'Bal und Lang untreu waren.

(42) *dka' thub dang zhe bcad drag pos* (Mil 26,26)
mit mühevoller Anstrengung und fester Entschlossenheit

Dies ließe sich beliebig anhand zahlreicher oben bereits angeführter Beispiele fortsetzen, es braucht daher nicht weiter ausgeführt zu werden.

1.2.2 Distribution

Nicht selten verknüpft *dang* dieselben Wörter, in der Regel wiederholte Nominalstämme. HAHN 1996, S. 74, und SOMMERSCHUH 2008, S. 91, charakterisieren solche Phrasen als „distributiv". Diese Verwendung ist in der Übersetzungsliteratur nicht ungewöhnlich:

(43) [ÜM] *bram ze'i khye'u rnams kyis / khyim dang khyim du slong ba na* (Anav 2: 51,25)
als die Brahmanenschüler in einem Haus nach dem anderen um Almosen baten

(44) [Ü] *lhas kyang dus dang dus su char gyi rgyun legs par 'bebs pas* (Udr 1,13)
da auch die Gottheit von Zeit zu Zeit Regengüsse in rechter Weise niedergehen läßt

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(45) [Ü] *phyogs dang phyogs su skar mda' ltung ba … gtong* (K12 226b3)
[Die Māras] lassen in allen Himmelsrichtungen Meteorschauer niedergehen.

Dies ist aber auch in autochthonen Texten belegt:

(46) *des yul dang yul du mi ngas chen po dag kyang gtong bar byed* (Tār 37,16)
Sie sandte in jedes Land schwere Epidemien.

Die Wiederholung anderer Wortarten mit *dang* wird in den genannten Grammatiken nicht erwähnt. Die folgenden Beispiele zeigen aber, daß das auch mit Pronominalstämmen üblich ist:

(47) *mnga' thang chen po 'i rkyen du / ji dang jir ldan te* (PT1287 447)
Als Grundlage großer Macht waren sie mit allem versehen.

(48) [Ü] *chos de dang de dag gi spong ba nyid kyi bsngags pa* (Prav 104,10)
das Lob auf das Aufgeben dieser und jener Gegebenheiten

(49) *phyogs gang dang gang na* (ThK 2: 528,3)
in jede beliebige Richtung

In formaler Hinsicht ist hier zu beachten, daß mehrgliedrige pronominale Ausdrücke wie *'di skad* oder *'di lta bu* bei der Verdoppelung abgekürzt werden:

(50) [Ü] *des khros te nga la 'di dang 'di skad ces spring ngo* (Prav 10,22)
Er hat mir im Zorn diese und jene Nachricht geschickt.

(51) [Ü] *rmi lam 'di dang 'di lta bu zhig rmis na* (Prav 34,3)
wenn sie dies und das im Schlaf geträumt hat

Hiermit sind auch Fälle zu vergleichen, bei denen nicht genau derselbe Pronominalstamm wiederholt wird:

(52) [ÜM] *sgra ni gang dang ci yis kyang … mtshungs par nyams myong ba* (Kāvyād 1.52a)
Wegen beliebiger Laute wird eine Ähnlichkeit empfunden.

(53) [M] *sa … ne tso ma gtogs / su dang gang gis mi shes* (Glu 50d)
Niemand außer dem Papagei kennt den Ort.

Bei den Adverbien ist nur die Zusammensetzung *yang dang yang du* „wieder und wieder", „immer wieder" in Texten der Übersetzungsliteratur gut belegt:

(54) [ÜM] *bdag gis yang dang yang du gsol bar 'tshal* (KanL 82b)
Ich will dich wieder und wieder bitten.

(55) [ÜM] *nor la ni / yang dang yang du nyug par byed* (Pd-K 108b)
Die Reichtümer hätschelt er immer wieder.

(56) [ÜM] *yang dang yang du mi shes pa'i / rab rib 'joms pas* (Ppu 74a)
Immer wieder vertreibt [deine Rede] die Finsternis der Unwissenheit.

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(57) [ÜM] *'jigs pa brtag pa'i phyir / yang dang yang du phyogs bzhir blta … bar bya* (Bca 5.37b)
Um die Gefahr zu erkennen, blicke er immer wieder in die vier Himmelsrichtungen.

1.2.3 Intensivierung

Die Verknüpfung gleicher Wörter mit *dang* hat jedoch nicht nur distributive Funktion. Es gibt auch Beispiele für Intensivierung. Im folgenden Beleg aus der Übersetzungsliteratur tritt *dang* zwischen wiederholte Adjektive:

(58) [Ü] *chos mngar ba dang mngar ba ston par byed de* (Udr 11,27)
Er lehrt den überaus süßen Dharma.

Damit kann folgende Stelle aus einem autochthonen Text verglichen werden. Hier ist *na ba* metri causa zu *na* verkürzt:

(59) [M] *na dang na ste shi la thug la* (Padm 307b5)
Ich werde immer kränker und nähere mich fast dem Tod.

1.2.4 Addition

Ein Sonderfall der Anreihung (vgl. Funktion 1) ist es, wenn Zahlen mit *dang* verknüpft werden. Der größere Wert geht dabei dem kleineren voran. Mathematisch betrachtet handelt es sich um eine Addition:

(60) [M] *lo grangs brgya dang lnga bcu thal* (Nel 5b4)
150 Jahre sind vergangen.

(61) *ston pa 'das nas lo brgya dang bcu na* (Debm 4b6)
110 Jahre nach dem Tod des Lehrers

(62) *dngul ṭaṃ srang brgya dang dgu bcu tham pa rtsis pa'i bzang ja* (Wadd135h 6)
Tee im Gesamtwert von 190 *dngul ṭaṃ srang*

Folgt jedoch eine höhere Zahl auf das letzte *dang*, so drückt dies keine Addition aus, sondern markiert die Summe, vgl. unten Abschnitt 1.2.6.

1.2.5 Multiplikation

Nur vereinzelt ist bei Zahlen eine multiplikative Funktion belegt. Der Beleg gehört der Übersetzungsliteratur an und ist daher keinesfalls repräsentativ für die ganze Sprache:

(63) [Ü] *chen po ni khru gsum dang lnga'o* (K3 cha 63a5)
Die große [Mönchsrobe mißt] drei mal fünf Ellen.

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1.2.6 Summenangabe

Nicht selten steht *dang* am Ende von Aufzählungen vor einem Zahlwort, das die Gesamtsumme der beteiligten Elemente angibt. Diese Verwendung wurde bisher kaum behandelt: Die beiden Textbeispiele bei Beyer 1992, S. 241, reichen zur Erläuterung des Sachverhaltes keineswegs aus.[10] Daher soll diese Funktion nun anhand einer größeren Anzahl signifikanter Zitate aus der Sammlung des WtS differenzierter betrachtet werden.

Im folgenden Beispiel verbindet dreimaliges *dang* die drei Glieder der Aufzählung mit dem zusammenfassenden Zahlwort *gsum*:

(64) *lha dang gar dang rten dang gsum* (mDzodG 53,14)
Götter, Tänzer und Geschenke, die drei

Häufiger steht aber *dang* nur vor dem abschließenden Zahlwort:

(65) *lha khang rme ru / gzhang rgyang lha khang / rgun 'brum gyi lha khang dang gsum bzhengs* (Nel 13a1)
Er erbaute den Rme-ru-Tempel, den Gzhang-rgyang-Tempel und den Rgun-'brum-Tempel, die drei.

(66) *'jad kyi gyel mi gtsang rab gsal / bo dong pa g.yo dge 'byung / stod lung pa dmar shākya mu ni dang gsum … bsgom zhing yod pa na* (Bu-Sz 55,8)
als 'Jad-kyi-gyel-mi Gtsang-rab-gsal, Bo-dong-pa G.yo-dge-'byung und Stod-lung-pa Dmar Śākya-mu-ni, die drei, meditierten

(67) *lha'i rin po che rnam pa lnga ni / indra ni la / indra go ba / mthon ka / mthon ka chen po / bkod mdzes dang lnga'o* (Glr 12,10)
Die fünf Edelsteinarten der Götter [sind] *indranīla*, *indragopa*, *mthon ka*, *mthon ka chen po* und *bkod mdzes*, das sind die fünf.

(68) *dpal chu bo ri'i sgom grwa na bzhugs pa dmar ban shākya mu ni / g.yo dge 'byung / gtsang rab gsal dang gsum* (ThK 2: 524,5)
die in dem Meditationskloster Dpal Chu-bo-ri Lebenden, Dmar-ban Śākya-mu-ni, G.yo Dge-'byung und Gtsang Rab-gsal, die drei

Das so angeschlossene Zahlwort ist also eine Summenangabe. In der deutschen Übersetzung steht für *dang* „zusammen mit … [sind es]", i. S. v. „insgesamt [sind es]": Die Konjunktion *dang* zeigt hier an, daß das folgende Numerale kein weiterer Summand ist; vielmehr ist das Zahlwort am Ende die quantitativ exakte Summe aus dem Vorangehenden.

[10] Vielleicht hat auch Sommerschuh 2008, S. 90, dies im Sinn: „*dang* kann nach jedem Element der Aufzählung (oft mit zusammenfassendem Begriff dabei) … vorkommen". Ohne Textbeispiele bleibt aber unklar, ob der „zusammenfassende Begriff" die Summenmarkierung ist.

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Was aber ist der Unterschied zu den oben gezeigten Beipielen (10) bis (12), wo ebenfalls Zahlwörter am Ende von Aufzählungen stehen, jedoch ohne *dang*?

Der Unterschied wird anhand der folgenden Belege deutlich. Schon alttibetische Texte verwenden ein solches *dang* keineswegs nur in herkömmlichen Aufzählungen. Vielmehr werden so bereits vorhandene Quantitäten durch ein weiteres hinzukommendes Element vervollständigt:

(69) *lo sum snying dang bzhi lon na* (PT1068 20)
nachdem drei Jahre, zusammen mit *snying* vier, vergangen waren

(70) *rgyal pran bcu gnyis na / se re khri dang bcu gsum / blon po nyi shu rtsa bzhi na / skyang re gnag dang nyi shu rtsa lnga / mkhar bcu gnyis na / dbu lde ngam pa dang bcu gsum / yul bcu gnyis na / byang ka snam brgyad dang bcu gsum* (PT1286 22–25)
Wenn es 12 kleinere Könige gibt, sind es mit Se-re-khri zusammen 13. Wenn es 24 Minister gibt, sind es mit Skyang-re-gnag zusammen 25. Wenn es 12 Festungen gibt, sind es mit Dbu-lde ngam-pa zusammen 13. Wenn es 12 Regionen gibt, sind es mit Byang-ka snam-brgyad zusammen 13

(71) *sras / gcen gsum gcung gsum na / khri 'i bdun tshigs dang bdun* (PT1286 31)
[Seine] Söhne [waren]: drei ältere und drei jüngere Brüder, mit Khri'i-bdun-tshigs[11] zusammen sieben.

In der späteren Literatur ist diese Funktion von *dang* ebenfalls geläufig:

(72) *spel zhabs stong bu chung dang bcu gsum mo* (Nel 2a4)
Mit Spel-zhabs als kleiner Tausendschaft sind es 13.

(73) *brkus pa la brgyad 'jal dngos dang dgu* (Glr 62,11)
Gestohlenes ist achtfach zurückzuerstatten, mit dem eigentlichen [Diebesgut] neunfach.

(74) *gzhon ban chos mchog dang bdun gyis … mkhan po zhus* (Glr 196,33)
Mit Gzhon-ban Chos-mchog sieben erbaten sie ihn als *mkhan po*.

(75) [M] *mkhar zur bzhi logs brgyad rtse dang dgu* (Mil 115,9)
meine Festung, die aus vier Ecken, [mit den vier] Seiten aus acht und mit der Spitze aus neun [Teilen besteht]

(76) [M] *sha rkyang ri dwags 'phyo dang gsum* (Vḍk-M 142,33)
Mit den umherstreifenden Wildtieren wie Hirsch und Kiang sind es drei.

(77) *rta mdo ba'i rig‹s› la rnam bzhi yod / mdo ba be to mu khengs gsum / gyi ling 'di dang rnam bzhi yin* (Gesar 304,47)
Bei den *mdo-ba*-Pferden gibt es vier Arten: *mdo ba*, *be to*, *mu khengs*, die drei, mit *gyi ling* sind es vier Arten.

[11] Wörtl.: „der mittlere der sieben Khri".

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(78) [M] *dgun la nas khral de dang gnyis / grog ma'i gser khral de dang gsum* (Sumpa 177a6)
Im Winter Gerste als Tribut, das sind zwei; mit dem Tribut des Goldes von der Schlucht sind es drei.

Obwohl es sich dabei stets um Kardinalzahlen handelt, ist es manchmal angebracht, für eine besser lesbare Übersetzung Formulierungen mit Ordinalzahlen zu verwenden:

(79) *ri bong dang gcig*[12] *wa dang gnyis / rgod kyi klad pa dang gsum / mi'i sha chen dang bzhi / pho rog gi klad pa / 'ug pa'i mig / a ru ra / gser mdog gsum ga bur rnams* {*b*}*zhib mor byas la* (Hipp 163,17ff.)
Man pulverisiert diese erstens mit Hasen[hirn], zweitens Fuchs[hirn] und drittens Geierhirn, viertens mit menschlichem Fleisch, mit Krähenhirn, Eulenaugen, goldfarbener Myrobalan und Kampfer.

Auch im buddhistischen Kanon gibt es Vergleichbares:

(80) [Ü] *gsol ba dang bzhi'i las kyis* (Prav 126,1)
durch die vier Aktivitäten einschließlich der Bitte

(81) [Ü] *ro ni khri dang lnga'i mi dag gis khyer te* (Prav 61,13)
Die Leiche wurde von [vier] Männern mit etwas fünftem, der Bahre, getragen.

(82) [ÜM] *de bzlog pa dang nyi shu yin* (Ahs 1.1.18d)
Zusammen mit ihren Gegensätzen sind es zwanzig.

Dieser Charakter von *dang* zeigt sich ferner bei nominalen Ableitungen vom Zahlwort, wie z.B. in der Konstruktion von Wörtern wie *lnga po*, *gnyis po* und *gcig pa*:

(83) [Ü] *grong gi bkrabs pa bzhi dang / mchog tu bkrabs pa dang lnga po de dag gis de mthong ba dang* (K5 67b3)
Die vier Stadtdiener und der Oberst, die fünf, sahen das.

(84) [Ü] *khyod ni … legs ldan grong 'jig dang gnyis po bdag gis mchod par bgyi'o* (Lokn 140,20)
Ich will dich zusammen mit[13] dem edlen Städtezerstörer [Indra] verehren.

(85) *rnal 'byor ma dang gcig par rlom pas* (Tār 210,17)
weil er sich rühmte, mit der Yoginī eins zu sein

Schließlich gehört auch die Formulierung *phyed dang* „halb … " (vgl. Hahn 1996, S. 198f.) hierher, denn auch auf *phyed dang* folgt eine Summe. Diese wird hier jedoch nicht wirklich gebildet, sondern bleibt hypothetisch: „mit einer [zusätzlichen] Hälfte zusammen [wäre es] soundsoviel". Faktisch

[12] In der Handschrift als Ziffer geschrieben.
[13] Wörtl.: „mit … als zweitem".

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bezeichnet die Formulierung *phyed dang* die Reduktion der folgenden Zahlangabe um eine halbe Einheit, markiert also eine Subtraktion. Beispiele dafür sind:

(86) [Ü] *dpag tshad phyed dang gsum tshun chad du* (Udr 6,34)
zweieinhalb Meilen weit

(87) [Ü] *dgra bcom pa brgya phrag phyed dang bcu gsum* (T3903 83b7)
1250 Arhats[14]

(88) *shin tu skyid pa'i gdung rabs phyed dang bzhi ni* (Nel 3b2)
was die dreieinhalb sehr glücklichen Generationen angeht

(89) *rgyal po des spyir tshe ni lo phyed dang nyis brgya thub* (Tār 53,2)
Der König erlangte eine Lebenszeit von 150 Jahren.

(90) *kā li sum cu po de rnams … phyed dang brgyad kyi sde tshan du bgos pa* (ŃCh 5: 229,2)
Die dreißig Buchstaben des Alphabets sind in siebeneinhalb Klassen eingeteilt.

2 Soziativ

Nun soll *dang* in seiner Funktion als Kasuspartikel besprochen werden. Der Soziativ oder Komitativ bezeichnet die Begleitung einer Person oder Sache. Die Belege lassen sich formal in zwei große Gruppen einteilen, je nachdem ob *dang* von einem Verb (2.1) oder von einer Postposition abhängig ist (2.2).

2.1 Bei Verben

Semantisch ist eine assoziative („mit, bei") von einer dissoziativen Rolle („ohne, fern von") zu unterscheiden, je nach dem Wort, von dem *dang* abhängt. KESANG GYURME 1994, S. 99f., nennt *dang* in dieser Funktion „preposition verbale". Diese Bezeichnung ist jedoch ungünstig: Mehrere der unten gegebenen Beispiele zeigen sehr deutlich, daß zwischen *dang* und das Verb nähere Spezifikationen zum Verb treten können.[15]

In den folgenden Listen sind alle Verben zusammengestellt, für die im WtS die Konstruktion mit *dang* belegt ist. Ich habe mich darauf beschränkt, jeweils nur ein Beispiel zu geben. Die Belegstellen sind nicht wie sonst in diesem Beitrag chronologisch, sondern alphabetisch nach den Verben oder Verbphrasen angeordnet.

[14] Wörtl.: Hunderter, davon wären es mit einer [zusätzlichen] Hälfte dreizehn; d.h. zwölfeinhalb Hunderter.

[15] Beispiele sind: (95) (101) (102) (112) (122) (124) (132) und (133).

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2.1.1 Assoziativ

dang steht bei einer großen Zahl von Verben, die eine Verbindung, Übereinstimmung, Ähnlichkeit oder Nähe ausdrücken; die Bedeutungen sind oft vielschichtig („begleiten", „treffen", „befreundet sein", „übereinstimmen", „zu etw. passen", „ähnlich sein", „befestigen", „verbinden", „versehen sein" usw.):

kha dum byed „sich einigen"

(91) [M] *yugs sa mo dang kha dum byed* (Vḍk-M 126,19)
Er wird mit einer Witwe einig.

'khril „umschlingen"

(92) [M] *yum dang 'khril nas bzhugs* (Padm 122b2)
Er saß da, indem er seine Partnerin umschlang.

'grig „zusammenfallen"

(93) *dmar phyogs kyi tshes bcu dang 'grig pas* (KTh 1: 275,4)
da es mit dem 25. Tag zusammenfiel

'grogs „begleitet sein"

(94) *ngas tshong pa 'di rnams dang 'grogs te / dbus gtsang du phyin la* (Bu-Sz 61,9)
Ich gehe in Begleitung dieser Kaufleute nach Zentraltibet.

sgrun ldom „zu vergleichen sein"

(95) [ÜM] *de dang ni / khyod bsgrun ldom kho nar bas* (Ppu 40d)
Du bist nur mit ihm zu vergleichen (skt. *sāmya*).

bcas „versehen sein"[16]

(96) *rgyal po 'khor dang bcas pas bsnyags pa dang* (Liy2 7)
Der König folgte ihm mitsamt seinem Gefolge.

chad bgo „ein Abkommen schließen"

(97) [M] *rkong dang chad bgos nas* (gZer 655,3)
Wir haben mit Rkong das Abkommen geschlossen.

mjal „treffen"

(98) *mtha bzhi rgyal po kun dang yang mjald ciṅ 'dum bar mdzad na* (In12 E37)
Er traf alle Könige der vier Randregionen und einigte sich mit ihnen.

[16] Bei diesem Verb verwischt sich zuweilen der Unterschied zwischen der Kasusmarkierung und der Konjunktion *dang*. In der folgenden Stelle steht es wie eine Konjunktion, die Kasusmarkierung fehlt: *rgyal sras rin po che dang rgyal mo bcas der bskyod grub 'dug* „Der ehrwürdige Königssohn und die Königin sind dorthin gegangen" (KTh 1: 294,6).

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nye „nahe sein“

(99) *gdan sa dang nye bar 'ga' zhig* (Debṅ 517,2)
einige in der Nähe der Residenz

gnyis kyis gnyis sbyor „Geschlechtsverkehr haben“

(100) [Ü] *de bud med dang gnyis kyis gnyis mi sbyor yang* (ViśṬ 110,12)
auch wenn er mit Frauen keinen Geschlechtsverkehr hat

gnyen sgrigs „eine Ehevereinbarung treffen“

(101) *mdzes se dang chung gnyen bsgrigs yod pas* (Mil 31,21)
weil es mit Mdzes-se seit der Kindheit eine Ehevereinbarung gibt

mnyam „gleich sein“

(102) *gser dang ljid mnyam dgos* (Glr 198,18)
Wir benötigen [die Auslösung] gleich seinem Gewicht in Gold.

snyoms „ähnlich sein“

(103) *khyod kyi tshe nyi ma thal ba dang snyoms pa'i rting du* (Lśdz-K 261,3)
nachdem dein Leben vergangen ist, ähnlich wie die Sonne untergeht

stun „in Übereinstimmung bringen“

(104) *gang ci'i bgyid sgo rigs la 'gro phyogs dang bstun pas* (MTH3/3/22 8)
weil jegliche Art von Aktivitäten mit den Gepflogenheiten übereinstimmen sollte

thug „treffen“

(105) *a ne'i sbra dang thug ste* (Mil 117,14)
Ich traf auf das Zelt der Tante.

mthun, 'thun „übereinstimmen“

(106) *gnam sa'i chos dang ni 'thun par mdzad* (In4 8)
Er hat in Übereinstimmung mit den Gesetzen des Himmels und der Erde gehandelt.

(107) *bla ma 'phags pa dang thugs ma mthun pas* (Debm 24a3)
wegen Unstimmigkeiten mit dem Lehrer 'Phags-pa

'dom „zusammenkommen“

(108) [M] *gshed bzhi gang rung zhig gi lo / lo zla gshed bzhi gcig dang 'dom* (Nagdel 82,9)
[wenn] jemand, der in einem *gshed-bzhi*-Jahr [geboren ist], mit einem [laufenden] *gshed-bzhi*-Jahr oder -Monat zusammenkommt

'dra „ähnlich sein“

(109) *dpe de dang 'dra ba gcig* (In11 45)
eine Kopie, die jener ähnlich ist

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'dre „verbunden sein"

(110) *chos dang 'dres pa'i rdzun gyis mi mang po'i mgo bskor te* (Nel 24a7)
Durch Lügen in Verbindung mit dem Dharma wurden viele Leute betrogen.

ldan „versehen sein"

(111) *dkar thog bcud dang ldan par 'gyur ro* (Glr 138,1)
Die Milchprodukte werden mit Nährstoffen versehen sein.

sdur „vergleichen"

(112) *de dang dgongs pa bsdur la* (VaiNth 200,6)
Vergleiche damit diese Meinung!

sdebs „verbinden"

(113) [M] *stag rong bu dang sdebs nyan yod* (Gesar 278,34)
Es kann sein, daß sie sich mit den Söhnen von Stag-rong verbindet.

sdo „riskieren"

(114) [Ü] *bslab pa'i gźi rnams srog daṅ bsdo źiṅ yoṅs su sruṅ bar byed pa'o* (T4113 241a4)
die ethischen Vorschriften unter Einsatz des Lebens bewahren

sdong „sich verbünden"

(115) [Ü] *blon po skyon chags pa dag dang bsdongs te* (Udr 26,8)
Er verbündet sich mit den kriminellen Ministern

nor „verwechseln"

(116) *seng thang 'khyams khyi dang nor bas* (Gesar 233,13)
Man verwechselt den Löwen, der in der Ebene herumläuft, mit einem Hund.

phrad „treffen"

(117) *des 'chi khar mkhan po drang srong mdog nag dang phrad nas dris pa la* (Debm 3a4)
Als dieser im Sterben lag, traf er den gelehrten Seher Asita und fragte [ihn].

'brel „verbunden sein"

(118) *de phyin chad bod dang 'brel 'chad* (Debm 11b9)
Von da an war die Verbindung mit Tibet abgeschnitten.

sbyor „verbinden"

(119) *khreg‹s› gcod kyi lta ba dang sbyar nas … bshad pa gnang dus* (Dol2 19,2)
als er Erläuterungen gemäß (wörtl.: in Verbindung mit) der Sichtweise des *khregs gcod* gab

sbrag „verbinden"

(120) *gto 'don gzhan dang sbrags la lam po cher bskyal* (MigTo 211,16)

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In Verbindung mit einer anderen *gto*-Rezitation ist er zu einer großen Straße wegzubringen.

sbrel „binden"

(121) *skud pa sngo dmar gyis nad pa'i srin lag dang sbrel te bzhag* (MigTo 214,16)
[Die Figur] wird niedergelegt, indem sie mit blau-roten Schnüren an den Ringfinger des Kranken gebunden wird.

'tsham byed „angenehm machen"

(122) [ÜM] *bsil khang lus dang 'tsham byas pa* (Ahs 1.3.34d)
ein dem Körper angenehm gemachter Pavillon

lus 'brel „intim werden"

(123) *mgar gyis gnas mo de dang lus 'brel shing mthun par byas* (Glr 88,2)
Mgar wurde mit der Wirtin intim und kam mit ihr überein.

bshes „befreundet sein"

(124) [ÜM] *'chi bdag su dang mi bshes pa* (KanL 58a)
der Herr des Todes, der niemandes Freund ist

lhan „zusammensein"

(125) *dga' ldan khang gsar du sa dbang mchog dang lhan* (KTh 1: 204,1)
In Dga'-ldan khang-gsar war er mit dem großen Sa-dbang zusammen.

2.1.2 Dissoziativ

Umgekehrt steht *dang* auch, wenn das Gegenteilige ausgedrückt wird („trennen", „von etwas frei sein", „uneins sein", „sich über etwas hinwegsetzen", „sich widersprechen", „wetteifern" und „streiten" usw.):

khyad par mchis „sich unterscheiden"

(126) *ston pa dngos kyi sku dang khyad par ma mchis pa'i rten 'di* (Glr 12,25)
die Statue, die sich nicht vom Körper des wirklichen Buddha unterscheidet

mkhon „verfeindet sein"

(127) [M] *sa bdag gtod kyi tshogs dang mkhon* (gZi-Sn 88,10)
Verfeindung mit der Schar der *sa bdag* und *gtod*

'khrug „streiten"

(128) *lo mang por bod dang 'khrug pa ma byung* (Debm 11a5)
Viele Jahre lang kam es zu keinem Streit mit Tibet.

'gal „widersprechen"

(129) [M] *bu mo'i thugs dang 'gal 'gro* (Glu 24d)
Es widerspricht dem Herzenswunsch des Mädchens.

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'gran „sich messen mit"

(130) *grub thob rnams dang rdzu 'phrul 'gran te* (Debm 34a6)
Er maß sich mit den Siddhas in den Wundertaten.

'gras „sich anfeinden"

(131) *ban bon dang 'gras pa* (MigTo 97,4)
Zwietracht zwischen buddhistischen Mönchen und Bon-pos

bral „sich trennen"

(132) *btsun mo dang bral nas gcig chod du thon pa* (Akhr1 8,17)
Nachdem [der König] sich von seiner Königin getrennt hatte, brach er sofort auf.

dbrol „wegnehmen"

(133) [Ü] *bdag gis … khyim dang dbral bar bya'o* (T4038 zhi 136a7)
Ich will [ihnen ihre] Häuser wegnehmen.

dmar 'khren byed „bis aufs Blut kämpfen"

(134) *khyis … bdag po dang la'ang dmar 'khren byed cing 'ong* (dPe 229,15)
Ein Hund wird sogar mit seinem Herrn bis aufs Blut kämpfen.

ring „fern sein"

(135) *de dag dang cher mi ring bar … dgon sde mang tsam yod* ('Dzam 31,22)
Nicht sehr weit entfernt davon sind viele klösterliche Gemeinschaften.

Tournadre/Sangda dorje 2003, S. 416, haben außerdem *dmag brgyab* „to make war (on/against)"; in der Sammlung des WtS ist diese Phrase zur Zeit nicht belegt.

2.2 Bei Postpositionen

Der soziativische Charakter von *dang* zeigt sich auch in Abhängigkeit von der Postposition *lhan cig* (*tu*) „zusammen mit". Die meisten Belege stammen aus der Übersetzungsliteratur:

(136) [Ü] *de rnams dang lhan cig g.yul sprad par mi nus so* (K1 ga 275a3)
Ich kann nicht mit ihnen kämpfen.

(137) [Ü] *skyes pa gzhan dag dang lhan cig dga' mgur spyad pa* (Udr 34,25)
Ich habe mit anderen Männern Geschlechtsverkehr gehabt.

(138) [ÜM] *grogs dang lhan cig btung bar bya* (Ahs 1.3.22b)
Man trinke mit Freunden.

(139) *rgyal po ba lang lta bu dang lhan cig tu gnas pa* (Tār 58,22)
mit einem ochsengleichen König zusammenleben

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Bei Verben, die mit *dang* konstruiert werden, wie z.B. *'grogs* (vgl. Beispiel 94) oder *mjal* (98), kann diese Postposition verstärkend oder pleonastisch hinzutreten:

(140) [ÜM] *gang zhig rang dang lhan cig 'grogs / las te des na dge ba spyad* (Pd-K 127c)
Weil es die Taten sind, die dich begleiten, darum mußt du Heilvolles tun.

(141) [Ü] *gal te bdag dang lhan cig mjal bzhed na* (Udr 15,31)
wenn du mit mir zusammenkommen möchtest

Neben *lhan cig (tu)* ist *thabs cig tu* in ähnlicher Verwendungsweise belegt:

(142) [Ü] *nyan thos chen po bcu drug dang thabs cig tu* (Liy1 177a6)
zusammen mit den sechzehn großen Śrāvakas

2.3 Frei verwendeter Soziativ

Es hat sich gezeigt, daß die Soziativmarkierung *dang* eng mit bestimmten Verben und Postpositionen verbunden ist. In anderen Zusammenhängen ist sie selten. In der Übersetzungsliteratur ist sie mit dem Verb *gshegs* „gehen" belegt:

(143) [Ü] *bcom ldan 'das nyid kyang 'khor rnam bzhi 'bum phrag du ma dang nam mkha' la ldings nas li yul du gshegs te* (Liy1 173b2)
Der Erhabene selbst aber begab sich mit seinem vierfachen Gefolge, nämlich vielen Hunderttausend, in den Lüften schwebend nach Li-yul.

(144) [Ü] *sangs rgyas 'od srung yang nye gnas rnams dang 'dir gshegs te* (Dzl 321,2)
Auch der Buddha Kāśyapa kam mit seinem Gefolge hierher.

Auch im folgenden Zitat wird *dang* komitativ verwendet, spiegelt hier aber einen entsprechenden Instrumental der Sanskritvorlage wieder *(phrug pa 'di dang ni, naitena śāvakena)*:

(145) [Ü] *bdag gis kyang de nas 'chi bar rigs te mngal na gnas pa'i phrug pa 'di dang ni ma yin* (HMrg 53,23)
Es ist recht, daß ich dann sterbe, aber nicht mit diesem Jungen, das sich in meinem Leib befindet.

Es bleibt festzuhalten, daß die Soziativpartikel nicht so frei eingesetzt wird wie z.B. die Lokativ- oder Ablativpartikeln: Der Gebrauch von *dang* wird grundsätzlich von der Valenz bestimmter Verben bestimmt. Der komitative Charakter wird vor allem in Verbindung mit der Postposition *lhan cig (tu)* deutlich.

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2.4 Terminativ ersetzt den Soziativ

Daß *dang* nicht nur eine Konjunktion, sondern auch eine Kasusmarkierung ist, zeigt sich auch in dem Umstand, daß in bestimmten Fällen der Terminativ anstelle von *dang* stehen kann (vgl. HAHN 1996, S. 127f., Nr. q). Dies ist vor allem dann zu beobachten, wenn eine Silbe eingespart werden soll, z. B. in Versen:

(146) [ÜM] *kha zas ni … skam zhing sbrang rtsir ldan la yang* (Ahs 1.3.47a)
Speise, mit Honig versehen und leicht

Aber auch in der Prosa ist dies belegt. In den folgenden Beispielen hebt sich der mit Terminativ ausgedrückte Soziativ von einer vorangehenden Konjunktion *dang* ab:

(147) *bram ze mo … lo brgya dang nyi shur nye ba zhig* (Tār 14,6)
eine Brahmanin, die fast 120 Jahre alt war

(148) *ma he las dang skal bar ldan pa cig gis / nyin mo'i rigs kyis nags khrod der phyin nas* (Glr 69,21)
Ein Wasserbüffel, der ein [gutes] Karma hatte und glücklich war, ging täglich mitten in den Wald.

Diese Stellen ließen sich beliebig erweitern. Es bleibt festzuhalten, daß *dang* als Kasuspartikel durch den Terminativ vertreten werden kann. Die Konjunktion *dang* kann jedoch nicht durch den Terminativ ersetzt werden.

3 Imperativ

Die dritte Hauptfunktion von *dang* ist die Markierung des Imperativs. Während *dang* als Konjunktion und Kasuspartikel fast ausschließlich nach Nomina steht, ist dieses *dang* mit Verben verbunden. Diese Funktion wird in den Grammatiken zwar angeführt, aber nur schlecht belegt. Auch ist zu differenzieren zwischen *dang* zusätzlich zur Imperativpartikel und *dang* anstelle der Imperativpartikel. Die Beleglage des WtS zeigt nun, daß Ersteres zur älteren Sprache und zur Übersetzungsliteratur gehört, während letzteres erst später in autochthonen Texten gebräuchlich ist.

3.1 Imperativ mit *shig dang*

dang steht nach der Imperativpartikel *shig* (bzw. *cig*, *zhig*), um den Befehlssatz mit einem folgenden Aussagesatz zu verbinden. Letzterer steht oft im Futur, dabei ist der Subjektswechsel die Regel; dies ist offenbar der Unter-

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schied zur Partikel *la*, die Befehle ohne Subjektswechsel miteinander verknüpft. Bei der Konstruktion mit *shig dang*, aber auch bei der mit *la*, sind beide Sätze Bestandteil der Rede. In der Belegstellensammlung des WtS ist dieser Gebrauch von *shig dang* vor allem für die Übersetzungsliteratur charakteristisch:

(149) [Ü] *'bras bu dag bsdus te deng shig dang / de ltar na 'brog 'di rtol bar 'gyur ro* (K1 kha 258b7)
Sammelt Früchte und geht, so werdet ihr die Einöde überstehen!

(150) [Ü] *chas sta gon gyis shig dang / nga nyid 'o nir 'ong ngo* (Prav 10,16)
Bereite die nötigen Mittel vor, und ich selbst will kommen!

(151) [Ü] *bka' stsol cig dang / yongs su bsgrub par bgyi'o* (Prav 14,10)
Befehlt, und ich will es vollbringen!

(152) [Ü] *gnas brtan gtur bu gzigs shig dang / ngal sor gzhug go* (K3 nya 214b4)
Sthavira, schau deinen Beutel an! Wir wollen eine Ruhepause einlegen!

(153) [Ü] *sdig pa sna tshogs las shogs shig dang / de ltar na / las … yongs su mthar thug par 'gyur ro* (Udr 30,5)
Bekenne in Reue deine verschiedenen Sünden! Dann wird das Karma zu Ende gehen.

(154) [Ü] *sras / je mi 'jigs pa stsol cig dang / gang mad pa de bka' mchid bgyi'o* (Udr 34,23)
Sohn! Gewähre mir erst Furchtlosigkeit! Was wahr ist, will ich dir erzählen.

(155) [Ü] *nyon la yid la zung shig dang bstan par bya'o* (Dzl 70,12)
Höre gut zu und behalte es im Gedächtnis! Ich werde es dir erkären!

(156) [Ü] *dngos po slongs shig dang / de ngas … sbyin par bya'o* (ViśṬ 104,17)
Erbitte Dinge, und ich werde sie dir geben!

Diese Verwendung ist aber auch in der älteren autochthonen Literatur belegt:

(157) *sngags 'di smros la skyabs su gsol cig dang / gnas ngan pa de las thar par 'gyur ro* (PT239 b7,3)
Sprich diesen Mantra aus und bitte um Zuflucht, und du wirst von dem schlechten Zustand befreit werden!

(158) *lha la phyag 'tshol cig dang lhas thugs dgongs / mdzade dgra dang g.yag la song na yang dgra thub g.yag sod* (ITJ740 159)
Verehre die Gottheit, und bringe die Gottheit dazu, daß sie an dich denkt; auch wenn du dich gegen einen Feind oder gegen einen Yak auf den Weg gemacht hast, bezwinge den Feind, töte den Yak!

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3.2 Imperativ ohne *shig*, aber mit *dang*

In autochthonen Texten aus späterer Zeit folgt in der Regel *dang* unmittelbar auf das Verb, ohne daß *shig* dazwischen steht:

(159) *so so gyis dang / da yang khyod … rnams khams bzang por bsdod cig* (KunK 25,28)
Jeder sollte danach handeln! Mögt ihr nun bei guter Gesundheit bleiben!

(160) [M] *bu mo 'di ru ma bzhag 'brug smyon kun legs kyi‹s› khrid dang / tshe gcig lus gcig la sangs chung rgyas ging* (r. *gyis*) (KunK 43,22)
Laß das Mädchen nicht hier! Kun-legs, der verrückte 'Brug-pa, möge es mitnehmen! Mach es in einem Leben, in einem Körper ein wenig zu einem Buddha!

(161) [M] *nga la gshog rtsal g‹›yar dang / thag ring rgyang la mi 'gro* (Glu 57b)
Leih mir die Kraft deiner Flügel! Ich gehe nicht in weite Ferne.

In der narrativen Literatur wechselt unmittelbar nach *dang* oft die Erzählebene. In den folgenden Beispielen wird der Abschluß der Rede durch Verben wie *zer*, *gsungs* u. dgl. signalisiert:

(162) *nga'i ma … de yug pa zhig ston dang zer zhing* (dPe 107,22)
„Zeige mir einen Moment lang meine Mutter!" sagte er.

(163) *btsun pa de 'dir bos dang zer nas* (sBa 83,11)
„Ruf den Mönch hierher!", sagte er.

(164) *a ma la ltos dang zer* (Mil 36,24)
„Sieh doch die Mutter an!" sagte sie.

(165) *glu cig len dang zhus pas / ngas … 'di then no* (KunK 16,13)
„Sing ein Lied!" Da er so bat, sang ich [das Lied].

(166) *skyag skyag ma byed par longs dang gsungs pas* (KunK 21,4)
„Mach keinen Quatsch, sondern steh auf!" sprach er.

Die angeführten Stellen zeigen, daß vor *dang* auch andere Stämme als der Imperativstamm des Verbs möglich sind; in den Beispielen (162) und (165) ist es der Präsensstamm.[17]

Abschließend ist anzumerken, daß *dang* (ohne *shig*!) als wirkliche Imperativmarkierung, wie sie Kesang Gyurme 1994 im Blick hat, für die ältere Zeit anhand der im WtS gesammelten Belege nicht nachweisbar ist; hier ist vielmehr der Imperativ mit *shig dang* geläufig. Es scheint, daß *dang* in Zusammenhang mit einem Imperativ zunächst eine Konjunktion war, die ent-

[17] Kesang Gyurme 1994, S. 100f., verzeichnet auch ein Beispiel mit Perfektstamm: *lha mo drang por smras dang / kho bo shin tu dga'o* „Göttin! Sprich geradeheraus! Ich freue mich sehr [darüber]!". Er erwähnt darüber hinaus den Prohibitiv, der vom negierten Präsensstamm mit *dang* gebildet wird: *ma lta dang* „Sieh nicht hin!"

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weder die Rede fortsetzt oder zum Erzählrahmen überleitete, sich dann aber zu einer Imperativmarkierung weiterentwickelt hat, vor der *shig* entbehrlich wurde. Im modernen Tibetischen erscheinen sowohl *dang* als auch *shig* als Kennzeichnungen des Imperativs.[18]

Zusammenfassung

Die Konjunktion *dang* steht zwischen den Gliedern einer Aufzählung. Sie kann nach dem zweiten und den folgenden Gliedern ausfallen. Sie steht nicht am Ende von Aufzählungen. Zwischen gleichen Wortstämmen hat sie distributive oder intensivierende Funktion. Vor einem abschließenden Zahlwort drückt sie die Summe einer vorangegangenen Aufzählung aus. Wenn Sätze mit *pa dang* verknüpft werden, wechselt das Subjekt häufig, aber nicht in allen Fällen.

Die Soziativpartikel *dang* ist von einer begrenzten Zahl von Verben abhängig, die ein assoziatives oder dissoziatives Verhältnis ausdrücken. Die freie Verwendung des Soziativs im Satz ist selten, der komitative Charakter zeigt sich vor allem in Verbindung mit der Postposition *lhan cig (tu)*. In bestimmten Kontexten kann Terminativ anstelle von *dang* stehen.

Die Imperativpartikel *dang* schließt in älterer Zeit und in der Übersetzungsliteratur an den Imperativ mit *shig* an; danach geht die Rede weiter, jedoch mit anderem Subjekt und ohne weiteren Imperativ. In Belegen aus späterer Zeit wird *dang* ohne *shig*, auch mit anderen Verbstämmen und am Ende der Rede verwendet.

Sigla

Ahs	Vāgbhaṭa: *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*. Ed. C. VOGEL: *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*. Wiesbaden 1965 (AKM 37,2).
Akhr1	*Rtogs ldan nyams brgyud kyi rnam thar rin chen phring ba*. Ed. *A-tri thun-tsham cho-na dan cha-lak che shuk-so*. Delhi: Tibetan Bonpo Foundation 1967, S. 5–67.
Anav	*Anavataptagāthā*. Ed. M. HOFINGER: *Le congrès du lac Anavatapta*. Louvain-la-Neuve 1982–1990 (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 28; 38).
Bca	Śāntideva: *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. Ed. F. WELLER: *Über den Quellenbezug eines mongolischen Tanjurtextes*. Berlin 1950 (Abh. d. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. 45, Heft 2).

[18] KESANG GYURME 1994, S. 100, zufolge ist *dang* weniger stark („moins forte") als *shig*, doch sei dieser Unterschied nicht immer spürbar. TOURNADRE/SANGDA DORJE 2003, S. 244, sehen keinen wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen beiden Partikeln.

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BhuKkh Bstan 'dzin chos rgyal: *Dpal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen ngag gi dbang po'i bka' khrims phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba'i gtam*. Ed. M. Aris: *Sources for the history of Bhutan*. Wien 1986 (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 14), S. 121–168.

Bu Bu ston Rin chen grub: *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*. Ed. Lokesh Chandra: *The collected works of Bu-ston*. New Delhi 1971, Bd. 24, Textabb. 633–917.

Bu-Sz Dass. Ed. J. Szerb: *Bu ston's history of Buddhism in Tibet*. Wien 1990 (Sitzungsber. d. phil.-hist. Kl. 569, Beiträge zur Kultur- u. Geistesgeschichte Asiens 5).

Debm 'Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje: *Hu lan deb ther*. Ed. *Deb ther dmar po*. Gangtok 1961.

Debṅ 'Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal: *Deb ther sngon po*. Ed. Lokesh Chandra: *The Blue Annals*. New Delhi 1976 (Śata-Piṭaka-Series 212).

Dol2 Biographie des Chos skyabs dpal bzang. Ed. D.L. Snellgrove: *Four Lamas of Dolpo*. Oxford 1967, Bd. 2, S. 75–172.

Dol4 Biographie des Bsod nams dbang phyug. Ebd. S. 239–290.

dPe Lce sgom Shes rab rdo rje: *Dpe chos rin chen spungs pa*. Ed. Mgon po dar rgyas: *Dpe chos dang dpe chos rin chen spungs pa*. [Pe cin] 1991 (Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo 'byed lde mig 17).

'Dzam 'Jam dpal chos kyi bstan 'dzin 'phrin las: *'Dzam gling chen po'i rgyas bshad snod bcud kun gsal me long*. Ed. T.V. Wylie: *The geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam gling-rgyas-bshad*. Roma 1962 (Serie Orientale Roma 25).

Dzl *'Dzangs blun zhes bya ba'i mdo*. Ed. I.J. Schmidt: *'Dzaṅs blun oder Der Weise und der Thor*. St. Petersburg/Leipzig 1845.

Gesar *Gling ge sar rgyal po'i sgrung*. Ed. R.A. Stein: *L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling*. Paris 1956 (Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études 61).

Glr Sa skya pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan: *Bod kyi chos rgyal rim par byon pa blon po'i tshogs dang bcas pa rnams kyis thabs du ma'i sgo nas bstan pa dar zhing rgyas par mdzad pa'i rnam thar chos 'byung gsal ba'i me long*. Ed. B.I. Kuznetsov: *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*. Leiden 1966 (Scripta Tibetana 1).

Glu Blo bzang rin chen Tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho, 6. Dalai Lama: *mGul glu*. Ed. P.K. Sørensen: *Divinity secularized*. Wien 1990 (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 25).

gZer *'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud gzer mig*. Ed. Tenzin namdak: *'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud gzer mig bzhugs so*. Delhi 1965.

gZi *'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud dri ma med pa gzi brjid rab tu 'bar ba'i mdo*. [Dolanji] 1967 .

gZi-Sn Dass. Ed. D.L. Snellgrove: *The nine ways of Bon*. London 1967 (London Oriental Series 18).

Hev *Hevajratantrarāja*. Ed. D.L. Snellgrove: *The Hevajra Tantra*. London 1959 (London Oriental Series 6).

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Hipp	Texte zur Pferdeheilkunde. Ed. P.H. MAURER: *Handschriften zur tibetischen Hippiatrie und Hippologie*. Bonn 2001 (Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 8, Results of the Nepal German Project on High Mountain Archaeology 5).
HMṛg	Haribhaṭṭa: *Jātakamālā*. Darin Nr. 11. Ed. M. HAHN/K. KLAUS: *Das Mṛgajātaka (Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā XI)*. Bonn 1983 (Indica et Tibetica 3).
In1	Alttib. Inschrift, Lha sa Zhol rdo rings. Ed. F.K. LI/W.S. COBLIN: *A study of the Old Tibetan inscriptions*. Taipei 1987 (Academia Sinica, Special Publications 91), S. 138–185.
In4	Alttib. Inschrift, Rdo rings an der Brücke von 'Phyong rgyas. Ebd. S. 227–236.
In11	Alttib. Inschrift, Mtshur phu rdo rings. Ebd. S. 300–315.
In12	Alttib. Vertragsinschrift von 821/822. Ebd. S. 34–137.
ITJ740	Ms. aus der Sammlung Stein. Ed. Y. IMAEDA et al.: *Tibetan documents from Dunhuang*. Tokyo 2007 (Old Tibetan Documents Online Monograph Series 1).
K1	*Vinayavastu*. Ed. *The Sde-dge mtshal-par bka'-'gyur*. Delhi 1976–1979. Abt. *'Dul ba*, Bde. *ka–ña*.
K3	*Vinayavibhaṅga*. Ebd. *'Dul ba*, *ca* 21a1–292a7, *cha–ña*.
K5	*Bhikṣunīvinayavibhaṅga*. Ebd. *'Dul ba*, *ta* 25b1–328a6.
K12	*Āryāṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*. Ebd. *Brgyad stong*, *ka* 1b1–286a6.
K95	*Āryalalitavistaranāmamahāyānasūtra*. Ebd. *Mdo sde*, *kha* 1b1–216b7.
KanL	Māṭṛceṭa: *Mahārājakaniṣkalekha*. Ed. M. HAHN: *Invitation to enlightenment*. Berkeley 1999, S. 5–49.
Kāvyād	Daṇḍin: *Kāvyādarśa*. Ed. D. DIMITROV: *Mārgavibhāga*. Marburg 2002 (Indica et Tibetica 40).
KTh	Kaḥ thog rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu: *Gsung 'bum*. Ed. *The collected works (gsuṅ 'bum) of Kaḥ-thog rig-'dzin chen-po tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu*. Dalhousie 1976–1977.
KunK	*Chos rje 'brug pa kun legs kyi rnam par thar pa rgyas pa lho'i bskor*. Ed. A. KRETSCHMAR: *'Brug pa kun legs*. Sankt Augustin 1981 (Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 5).
Liy1	*Li yul luṅ bstan pa*. Ed. R.E. EMMERICK: *Tibetan texts concerning Khotan*. London [u.a.] 1967 (London Oriental Series 19), S. 2–77.
Liy2	*Li yul chos kyi lo rgyus*. Ebd. S. 78–91.
Lokn	Candragomin: *Lokānandanāṭaka*. Ed. M. HAHN: *Candragomins Lokānandanāṭaka*. Wiesbaden 1974 (Asiatische Forschungen 39).
Lśdz-K	Shar rdza bkra shis rgyal mtshan: *Legs bshad rin po che'i mdzod dpyod ldan dga' ba'i char*. Ed. S. KARMAY: *The treasury of good sayings*. London [u. a.] 1972 (London Oriental Series 26).
mDzodG	Dran pa nam mkha': *Bden pa bon gyi mdzod sgo sgra 'grel 'phrul gyi lde mig*. Ed. TENZIN NAMDAK: *mDzod phug*. Delhi 1965.
MigTo	'Ju Mi pham rnam rgyal: *Gto sgrom 'bum tig gi dgongs don lag len khyer bder bkod pa'i gto yi cho ga bkra shis 'dod 'jo*. Ed. S. LIN: *Mi*

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ŃCh Dngul chu Dharmabhadra. Ed. Champa oser: *Collected works (gsuṅ 'bum) of Dṅul-chu Dharma-bhadra*. New Delhi 1973–1981.

Nel Nel pa paṇḍita Grags pa smon lam blo gros: *Sngon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba*. Ed. H. Uebach: *Nel-pa Paṇḍitas Chronik Me-tog phreṅ-ba*. München 1987 (Studia Tibetica 1).

Padm O rgyan gling pa (Gter ston): *Gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam par thar pa*. Blockdruck mit Randtitel *bka' thang*, vgl. H. Hoffmann: *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion*. Wiesbaden 1950 (Abh. d. Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Literatur (Mainz), Abh. d. geistes- u. sozialwiss. Kl., Jg. 1950, 4), S. 253f.

Pd-K Nāgārjuna: *Prajñādaṇḍa*. Ed. M. Hahn: „The Tibetan Shes rab sdong bu and its Indian sources I–III." In: *Minami Ajia Kotengaku / South Asian Classical Studies* 4 (2009), S. 1–78; 5 (2010), S. 1–50; 6 (2011), S. 305–378.

Ppu Mātṛceṭa: *Prasādapratibhodbhava*. Ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey: *The Śatapañcāśatka of Mātṛceṭa*. Cambridge 1951.

Prav *Pravrajyāvastu*. Ed. H. Eimer: *Rab tu 'byuṅ ba'i gźi*. Wiesbaden 1983 (Asiatische Forschungen 82).

Pś Nāgārjuna: *Prajñāśatakanāmaprakaraṇa*. Ed. M. Hahn: *Hundert Strophen von der Lebensklugheit*. Bonn 1990 (Indica et Tibetica 18).

PT239 Ms. aus Fonds Pelliot Tibétain. Ed. Y. Imaeda et al.: *Tibetan documents from Dunhuang*. Tokyo 2007 (Old Tibetan Documents Online Monograph Series 1), S. 25–31.

PT1042 Ms. aus Fonds Pelliot Tibétain. Ebd. S. 39–44.

PT1068 Ms. aus Fonds Pelliot Tibétain. Ed. A. Spanien / Y. Imaeda: *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris 1979, tome 2, pl. 373–377.

PT1286 Ms. aus Fonds Pelliot Tibétain. Ebd. pl. 554–556.

PT1287 Ms. aus Fonds Pelliot Tibétain. Ebd. pl. 557–577.

S8212 Ms. aus der Sammlung Stein. Ebd. pl. 592–595.

sBa *Sba bzhed*. Ed. R. A. Stein: *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa-bžed*. Paris 1961 (Publ. de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Textes et Documents 1).

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Sumpa	Ein Abschnitt aus dem Gesar-Epos. Ed. R. KASCHEWSKY / P. TSERING: *Die Eroberung der Burg von Sum-pa.* Wiesbaden 1987 (Asiatische Forschungen 94).
T4113	Kalyāṇamitra: *Vinayavastuṭīkā.* Ed. *Sde dge bstan 'gyur series.* Delhi 1982–1985, Abt. *'Dul ba*, *tsu* 177a5–326a7.
T3903	Abhayākaragupta: *Munimatālaṃkāra.* Ed. *Sde dge bstan 'gyur series.* Delhi 1982–1985, Abt. *Dbu ma*, *a* 73b1–293a7.
T4038	*Yogācārabhūmiviniścayasaṃgrahaṇī.* Ebd. *Sems tsam*, *zhi* u. *zi* 1b1–127a4.
Tār	Tāranātha: *Dpal gyi 'byung gnas dam pa'i chos rin po che 'phags pa'i yul du ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar ston pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung.* Ed. A. SCHIEFNER: *Târanâthae de doctrinae Buddhicae in India propagatione narratio.* Tōkyō 1965 (Suzuki Research Foundation, Reprint Series 2) [Nachdr. d. Ausg. Petropolis 1868].
ThK	Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, Dharma badzra: *Gsung 'bum.* Ed. NGAWANG GELEK DEMO: *Collected works of Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma.* New Delhi 1969–1971 (Gedan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series 1–10).
Udr	Ein Abschnitt aus dem Vinayavibhaṅga. Ed. J. NOBEL: *Udrāyaṇa, König von Roruka.* Wiesbaden 1955.
VaiNth	*Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bāi ro tsa na'i rnam thar 'dra 'bag chen mo.* Ed. KHOCHHEN TULKU: *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bāi ro tsa na'i rnam thar 'dra 'bag chen mo.* Dehra Dun 1977.
Vḍk-M	Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho: *Phug lugs rtsis kyi legs bshad baiḍūr dkar po.* Ed. P. MAURER: *Die Grundlagen der tibetischen Geomantie.* Halle 2009 (Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 21).
ViśṬ	Prajñāvarman: *Viśeṣastavaṭīkā.* Ed. J. SCHNEIDER: *Der Lobpreis der Vorzüglichkeit des Buddha.* Bonn 1993 (Indica et Tibetica 23).
Wadd135h	Erlaß aus der Sammlung Waddell. Ed. D. SCHUH: *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke, Teil 8.* Wiesbaden 1981 (VOHD 11,8), S. 65–69.
WtS	*Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache.* Ed. H. FRANKE et al. 2005–.

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Aus der Gründungszeit der DMG: Acht Briefe (1838–1847) von August Friedrich Pott an Conon von der Gabelentz

Von Hartmut Walravens, Berlin

Summary: The following 8 letters by the Halle linguist A.F. Pott to his colleague the Altenburg landowner and statesman, also a well-known linguist, Conon von der Gabelentz, cover the years 1838–1847. They touch on scholarly matters of shared interest, like Pott's studies on the gypsy language and Gabelentz' edition of Ulfila's Gothic Bible translation but also provide information on issues of forming an association of German Orientalists, establishing a journal of Oriental studies and supporting journals with a liberal tendency like the *Halle yearbooks* and the *Halle Literary Gazette*. Thus they contribute to our knowledge of this formative period of German Oriental Studies and two of their celebrated representatives.

Einleitung

Die hier vorgelegten Briefe des bedeutenden Hallenser Sprachwissenschaftlers A.F. Pott an seinen Altenburger Fachkollegen H.C. von der Gabelentz (1807–1874) berühren in erster Linie fachliche gemeinsame Interessen; so erfährt der Leser Näheres über Potts Zigeuner-Studien und wünscht Informationen über Gabelentz' bedeutendes Projekt, nämlich eine kritische Ausgabe der gotischen Bibelübersetzung von Ulfilas, die 1836 in einem Altenburger Verlag zu erscheinen begann, aber erst Fortschritte machte, als Brockhaus in Leipzig die Publikation übernahm. Auch persönliche Neuigkeiten werden mitgeteilt, Potts Verehelichung, später die Geburt des ersten Sohnes. Viel Raum wird indessen der Wissenschaftspolitik gewidmet, wie man heute sagen würde.

Das Jahr 1837 war ein festliches Ereignis für die Universität Göttingen – im September des Jahres fand die Säkularfeier statt, ein sorgfältig vorbereitetes Fest, an dem die deutsche wissenschaftliche Welt großen Anteil nahm – Alexander von Humboldt, Göttinger Alumnus, war Ehrengast. Am Tag nach der Feier, am 20. September, trafen sich Vertreter der Philologie und Pädagogik unter dem Vorsitz von Humboldt und beschlossen die Gründung des Vereins deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner; Pott

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und GABELENTZ waren dabei,[1] auch der Göttinger Orientalist HEINRICH EWALD und drei weitere der „Göttinger Sieben" – EWALD übernahm die Redaktion einer deutschen orientalistischen Zeitschrift, der *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, mit namhaften Kollegen als Mitherausgeber, so GABELENTZ. Überschattet wurde die Festfreude vom Verfassungsbruch des neuen Königs von Hannover, Ernst August, der seinem im Juni verstorbenen Bruder Wilhelm IV. nachfolgte. Bekanntlich protestierten sieben namhafte Göttinger Professoren, darunter EWALD, die Brüder GRIMM und der Historiker DAHLMANN, die sog. „Göttinger Sieben", dagegen und wurden umgehend entlassen, drei von ihnen sogar des Landes verwiesen. Das alles subsummiert POTT am Anfang seines Briefes, wenn er von „tragischem Geschick" und „Jammer und Elend" spricht. Auch weiterhin ist von den Entlassenen die Rede.[2] EWALD nahm eine Professur in Tübingen an, konnte aber die Zeitschrift nicht mitnehmen; der Mitherausgeber, der Bonner Indologe CHRISTAN LASSEN holte sie nach Bonn, konnte ihr aber nicht so viel Aufmerksamkeit widmen, wie es wünschenswert gewesen wäre, und so erklären sich die Klagen über das unregelmäßige Erscheinen.

Im Jahr 1843 kam POTT auf einen Vorschlag GABELENTZ' zu einem Treffen in Leipzig zurück, wozu weitere Orientalisten, die Professoren FLEISCHER, BROCKHAUS, RÖDIGER und SEYFFARTH geladen wurden, so daß sich ein kleiner „Orientalistencongress" ergab. Dazu hatte POTT eine „Espèce improvisiert"; im Brief vom 23.5. sprach er „unsere Versammlungssache" an und berichtete, BROCKHAUS sähe es als schwierig an, für eine kleine, verstreut lebende Anzahl von Orientalisten eine Tagung zu organisieren und schlüge vor, versuchsweise eine Sektion Orientalistik innerhalb des Vereins deutscher Philologen zu begründen. Diese Anregung stieß auf Zustimmung, auch bei GABELENTZ, und so wurde bei der Philologenversammlung in Darmstadt 1845 die Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft begründet und zunächst als Sektion innerhalb der Philologenversammlung etabliert; bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg tagten die Philologen und Orientalisten jährlich gemeinsam.

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[1] Vgl. P. AUFGEBAUER: „Jubel – Protest – Philologie: die Gründung des ‚Vereins deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner' 1837 in Göttingen." In: *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 82 (2010), S. 95–110; in einer aus späteren Jahren stammenden Liste der Erstunterzeichner der Gründungsurkunde wird dort POTT, nicht aber GABELENTZ genannt.

[2] Die Gegenbriefe sind veröffentlicht in H. WALRAVENS: *Hans Conon von der Gabelentz (1807–1874) und sein Umkreis. Linguistische Briefwechsel von oder mit Hermann Brockhaus, Heinrich Ewald, Karl Friedrich Neumann, August Friedrich Pott, Wilhelm Radloff und Karl Andree.* Wiesbaden 2015 (AAS 42.)

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Über die Wissenschaftsorganisation hinaus engagierte sich Pott auch bei Publikationsorganen, so den *Halleschen Jahrbüchern*, die seit 1838 in Leipzig erschienen, bis sie von der preußischen Regierung verboten wurden; Pott charakterisierte sie als ein „junges, etwas Nobles beabsichtigendes Blatt". In ähnlicher Weise engagierte er sich für das bekannte Referateorgan, die *Hallesche Allgemeine Literaturzeitung*, deren Beiträger von den Konservativen als „ärgste und niederträchtigste Radicale" angesehen würden. Was Pott befürchtete, geschah – der Verlust der Zensurfreiheit des Blattes führte zu seiner Einstellung (1849): eine Änderung der liberalen Tendenz der Zeitschrift stand außer Diskussion.

So zeigen sich die vorliegenden Briefe als bedeutsame Dokumente zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte. Sie belegen, daß schon vor über hundertfünzig Jahren Orientalisten nicht im Elfenbeinturm lebten …

Zum besseren Verständnis der Briefe seien die Korrespondenten in aller Kürze vorgestellt.

Die Korrespondenten

August Friedrich Pott[3] wurde am 14. Nov. 1802 in Nettelrede bei Bad Münder als Sohn des dortigen Pfarrers geboren. Seit 1821 studierte er an der Universität Göttingen Theologie, Philologie, Pädagogik und auch Naturwissenschaften. Nach Abschluß des Studiums 1825 war er als Lehrer am Gymnasium in Celle tätig. 1827 promovierte er in Göttingen mit der Arbeit *De relationibus, quae praepositionibus in linguis denotantur* zum Dr. phil. In Berlin, wo er bei Franz Bopp hörte, habilitierte er sich 1830 für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft und veröffentlichte 1833 Teil 1 seiner *Etymologischen Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen, mit besonderem Bezug auf die Lautumwandlung im Sanskrit, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litauischen und Gothischen*, dem 3 Jahre später der zweite folgte. 1833 wurde er als Extraordinarius nach Halle berufen, wo er 1838 ein Ordinariat erhielt. Seine Hauptarbeitsgebiete waren die Indogermanistik: sein Hauptwerk *Wurzelwörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Detmold 1859–1876. 8 Bde.), die Zigeunersprache (*Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*. Halle 1844–1845) und die Namenkunde (*Die Personennamen, insbesondere die Familiennamen und ihre Entstehungsarten, auch unter Berücksichtigung der Ortsnamen*. Leipzig 1853); daneben widmete er sich den Bantusprachen, dem Javanischen und sogar dem Japanischen. Er starb am 5. 7. 1887 in Halle.

[3] Vgl. J. Leopold: *The letter liveth. The life, work and library of August Friedrich Pott (1802–1887)*. Amsterdam 1983; R. Schmitt: „Pott, August Friedrich." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 20 (2001), S. 659–660.

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GEORG VON DER GABELENTZ hat den vielseitigen Gelehrten in einer Biographie nicht nur als Wissenschaftler, sondern auch als Mensch vorgestellt:

> Denen, die ihn persönlich gekannt, ist das Bild eines ideal schönen Greises geblieben, mit gewaltiger, prächtig durchgearbeiteter Denkerstirn, edelem Profile, hellen, leuchtenden Augen unter buschigen weißen Brauen. Das war ein immer sprechendes Gesicht, manchmal mit dem bezaubernden Ausdrucke kindlicher Schalkhaftigkeit. Rasche Bewegungen, schnelle, lebhaft betonte Rede, geistsprudelnd und springend ganz wie der Pott'sche Stil, ein augenblickliches unverhohlenes Entzücken über das Neue: Alles deutete auf einen Geist von erstaunlicher Beweglichkeit im Empfangen sowol wie im Reagiren und Erzeugen. Von der gemüthlichen Wärme und Frische des seltenen Mannes aber wissen Alle zu reden, die das Glück hatten, ihm freundschaftlich näher zu treten.[4]

HANS CONON VON DER GABELENTZ (1807–1874) war Gutsbesitzer und Staatsmann – seine linguistischen Neigungen, die ihn zu Lebzeiten berühmt machten, pflegte er als Privatgelehrter, unterstützt von einer außergewöhnlichen Büchersammlung, die sich möglicherweise in Rußland erhalten hat, wohin sie 1946 abtransportiert wurde.

GABELENTZ studierte Jura und Kameralistik in Leipzig und Göttingen, trat dann in den altenburgischen Staatsdienst und wurde 1831 zum Kammer- und Regierungsrat ernannt. 1847 wurde er Landmarschall im Großherzogtum Weimar (sein Gut Lemnitz lag im Weimarischen), nahm 1848 am Vorparlament in Frankfurt und am Bundestag teil und war 1848/1849 für eine kurze Zeit altenburgischer Staatsminister. Auch wurde er Mitglied des Altenburger Landtags, zu dessen Präsidenten er 1851 gewählt wurde, eine Funktion, die er fast durchgehend bis 1870 innehatte. Er ging seinen staatsmännischen Pflichten mit großer Sorgfalt nach, wie er sich auch intensiv um seine Güter kümmerte, doch sein wirkliches Interesse war die Sprachwissenschaft. Dabei reizten ihn wenig bekannte Sprachen am meisten, da er dort Neuland betrat: Mit nur geringen Hilfsmitteln versuchte er durch Lektüre zu einem Verständnis der Sprache zu gelangen und dabei Wortschatz und Grammatik zu extrahieren. Beispielhaft geschah dies beim Mandschurischen: Bereits mit 26 Jahren veröffentlichte er die *Élémens de la grammaire mandchoue* (Altenbourg 1833), die als erste wissenschaftliche Behandlung des Themas gelten dürfen, und 1864 das erste solide und brauchbare Wörterbuch *(Mandschu-deutsches Wörterbuch)*. Zwar hatte LOUIS-MATHIEU LANGLÈS bereits 1789/1790 die Paraphrase des Mandschuwörterbuchs *Qing wen huishu* von JEAN-JOSEPH AMIOT S.J. veröffentlicht,

[4] G. VON DER GABELENTZ: „Pott, August Friedrich." In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 26 (1888), S. 478–485, hier S. 485.

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doch war diese nach dem Mandschusyllabar in einer besonderen Umschrift angeordnet und überdies wenig exakt. GABELENTZ plante eine ausführliche Mandschugrammatik zu verfassen und stellte zu diesem Zwecke umfangreiche Sprachsammlungen zusammen, die auszuwerten er am Ende seines Lebens nicht mehr die Kraft fand. Auch die beachtliche Übersetzung der vollständigen Mandschufassung des chinesischen Romans *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅 (Gin ping mei bithe), die er um 1864 erstellte, war weniger mit Veröffentlichungsabsicht als zum Zwecke einer intensiveren Sprachkenntnis angefertigt worden. Posthum erschien seine Übersetzung des *Liaoshi* 遼史 (Annalen der Liao-Dynastie) nach der Mandschufassung.[5] In ähnlicher Weise übersetzte GABELENTZ ein mongolisches Manuskript der Sammlung Castrén, die Geschichte von Kasna Chan[6], vollständig; schon BERTHOLD LAUFER erkannte den Wert dieser Arbeit, fand jedoch keine Publikationsmöglichkeit, so daß das Werk erst hundert Jahre später veröffentlicht wurde.

Darüber hinaus untersuchte er eine altmongolische Inschrift und wies auf die mongolische Poesie hin. GABELENTZ beschäftigte sich gern mit den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen – so verdanken wir ihm eine mordwinische und eine syrjänische Grammatik sowie Beiträge zum Wotjakischen, Tscheremissischen und Samojedischen. Aber auch das Suaheli, das Tscherokesische, Dakota, Kassia und Formosanische regten ihn zu eigenen Studien an.

Ein besonderer Interessenschwerpunkt war das Gotische, und zusammen mit seinem Freund JULIUS LÖBE gab er die Ulfilas-Bibel mit Wörterbuch und Grammatik heraus, eine Arbeit, die schnell nachgeahmt und plagiiert wurde.

In späteren Jahren beschäftigte sich GABELENTZ intensiv mit den melanesischen Sprachen, eine Arbeit, die von seinem Sohn GEORG abgeschlossen wurde. Als größere übergreifende Arbeit ist *Das Passivum*[7], in dem Material aus etwa 200 Sprachen genutzt wird, hervorzuheben.

[5] *Geschichte der großen Liao aus dem Mandschu* übersetzt von H. CONON VON DER GABELENTZ. Herausgegeben von H. A. VON DER GABELENTZ. St. Petersburg.

[6] *Die Geschichte von Kasna Chan. Ein mongolischer Erzählungszyklus.* Nach einer nun verschollenen Handschrift übersetzt von HANS CONON VON DER GABELENTZ. Aus dem Manuskript herausgegeben von H. WALRAVENS. Wiesbaden 2004 (Sinologica Coloniensia 22).

[7] H. C. VON DER GABELENTZ: „Über das Passivum. Eine sprachvergleichende Abhandlung." In: *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 3 (1861), S. 449–546.

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Die Briefe

1

7.3.38
Verehrtester Freund!
Meinen herzlichsten Gruß und Handschlag zuvor. Bald ist mir's, als hätten wir uns erst gestern in Göttingen gesprochen (ein zweites Zusammentreffen in Hannover ward leider durch meinen längeren Aufenthalt bei Verwandten verhindert), bald scheint mir – so vieles hat sich seitdem geändert – ein ganzes Jahrhundert zwischen Damals und Jetzt mitten inne zu liegen. Wen hätte nicht mächtig das tragische Geschick der Göttinger Universität und so vieler ihrer ausgezeichneten Männer ergriffen?[8] Wen nicht doppelt, der Zeuge des Jubels war, an den zu nahe der Jammer und das Elend gerückt wurden? Wie verschiedenen Ansichten sich die Politiker hingeben mögen, das Unglück liegt offen am Tage und ihm kann niemand die Theilnahme entziehen.

Ich hatte gefürchtet, auch die orientalische Zeitschrift[9] habe wegen der ungünstigen Zeitumstände eine Unterbrechung erleiden müssen; das dritte Heft aber, welches mir kürzlich zukam, hat mich auf eine angenehme Weise von dem Gegentheil überzeugt, und außer vielen anderen trefflichen Arbeiten habe ich auch mit Vergnügen Ihre Übersetzung der Mandschu-Mongolischen Grammatik[10] darin bemerkt, für die ich Ihnen gern meinen Dank zolle, freilich bis jetzt nur als ein Uneingeweihter, der sich indeß auch über die tatarischen Sprachen aufklären zu lassen bereit ist. Es ist mir sehr unangenehm, daß sich die vereinten Bemerkungen von Rödiger[11] und mir über

[8] Die Göttinger Sieben – Kurzbezeichnung für die sieben Göttinger Professoren, die 1837 gegen die Aufhebung der hannoverschen Verfassung durch Ernst August I. schriftlich protestierten und daraufhin entlassen wurden: WILHELM EDUARD ALBRECHT (Staatsrechtler), FRIEDRICH CHRISTOPH DAHLMANN (Historiker), HEINRICH EWALD (Orientalist), GEORG GOTTFRIED GERVINUS (Literarhistoriker), JACOB und WILHELM GRIMM (Juristen und Germanisten), WILHELM EDUARD WEBER (Physiker). Drei von ihnen: DAHLMANN, GERVINUS und J. GRIMM wurden überdies des Landes verwiesen.

[9] Die *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* erschien in sieben Bänden 1837–1850, zunächst 1837–1840 bei Dieterich in Göttingen, dann bei H.B. König in Bonn (herausgegeben von H. EWALD, C. V. D. GABELENTZ, J. G. L. KOSEGARTEN, CH. LASSEN, C.F. NEUMANN, E. RÖDIGER und F. RÜCKERT. Bd 1–7. Göttingen: Dieterich 1837–1846/1850.) Sie wurde gewissermaßen abgelöst durch die *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, die seit 1847 bei Brockhaus in Leipzig erschien.

[10] H.C. V. D. GABELENTZ: „Mandschu-mongolische Grammatik aus dem Sân-hopián-làn." In: *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1 (1837), S. 255–286.

[11] EMIL RÖDIGER, Sangerhausen 13. Okt. 1801–15. Juni 1874 Berlin, Arabist, 1835 Professor in Halle, 1860 Professor in Berlin. Vgl. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 29 (1889), S. 26–30 (C. SIEGFRIED).

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das Kurdische[12] zu lange hinausgeschoben haben, um noch in dieses Heft zu kommen, doch wollen wir uns nun endlich einmal wieder daran machen, um mindestens einen Theil zum Abschluß zu bringen.

Mich haben länger als ich dachte 2 Recensionen, 1, über Bopp's Vergl. Gramm.[13], 2, über Benary's Römische Lautlehre[14] in Anspruch genommen, davon die erste eben in den neuen Hallischen Jahrbüchern[15] zu drucken angefangen ist. Die Redaktoren derselben sind meine Freunde und, wie natürlich, sind die Dränger in der Nähe gewaltiger als die abwesenden. Nicht genug aber, daß diese schon Rödiger, der für sie eine Anzeige von dem III. Bde der Niebuhrschen Reise[16] geliefert hat, und mich verführt [?] haben, die Erfüllung unseres Versprechens eine Weile zu verschieben, haben sie auch im Sinne, wo möglich Sie ebenfalls in ihr verderblich Netz zu verstricken, und ich, wollen sie, soll Ihnen dieses vorhalten. Doch, Scherz bei Seite! Ihre freundliche Mithülfe würde dem jungen, wenigstens etwas Nobles beabsichtigenden Blatte äußerst erwünscht sein, und deshalb habe ich gern den Auftrag übernommen, Sie, verehrtester Freund, von dem Wunsche der Redaktoren zu benachrichtigen, dem ich auch den meinigen hinzufüge, für dasselbe als Mitarbeiter thätig sein zu wollen. Möglich daß Ihnen etwa noch keine Probe zu Händen kam; deßhalb liegen einige Nummern nebst dem Ankündigungs-Programm und einem Verzeichnisse der bis jetzt beigetretenen Mitglieder bei, wovon Sie sich wenigstens eine ungefähre Ansicht von dem Princip und der Sendung der Hall. Jhb. werden bilden können. Philosophie und Belletristik wiegen in den ersten Nummern vor, allein daran dürfen Sie sich nicht stoßen; Wissenschaft u. Kunst sollen nicht etwa bloß zur Unterhaltung besprochen, sondern es soll ganz eigentlich damit Ernst gemacht werden.

Sind Sie anders geneigt, dem Unternehmen Ihren Beistand leihen zu wollen, wie wir es zuversichtlich hoffen, so kann natürlich nicht die Rede davon sein, Ihnen irgend eine, Ihrer Neigung nicht zusagende Arbeit aufzudrängen, aber vorläufig möchten wir Ihnen eine Charakteristik Julius

[12] „Kurdische Studien." In: *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 3 (1840), S. 1–63; 4 (1842), S. 1–42, 259–280; 5 (1844), S. 57–83; 7 (1850), S. 91–167.

[13] *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Litthauischen, Altslawischen, Gothischen und Deutschen*. Theil 3. Berlin 1837, S. 489–732.

[14] Albert Agathon Benary: *Die römische Lautlehre, sprachvergleichend dargestellt*. Berlin 1837.

[15] *Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst*, erschienen 1838–1841 in Leipzig; fortgesetzt durch *Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst*. Leipzig 1841–1843.

[16] C. Niebuhr: *Reisen durch Syrien und Palästina, nach Cypern, und durch Kleinasien und die Türkey nach Deutschland und Dännemark. Mit Niebuhr's astronomischen Beobachtungen und einigen kleineren Abhandlungen*. Bd. 3. Hamburg/Leipzig 1837.

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Klaproth's[17] nach seiner weitschichtigen Wirksamkeit als Reisender und Gelehrter in Vorschlag bringen. Das große Publikum, und in der That gehören zu diesem Viele, z.B. ich selber, weiß im Grunde wenig von dem Manne, und doch verdient er es wohl, allgemein gekannt zu sein; niemand aber möchte, vermöge der zu einer solchen Aufgabe erforderlichen Richtung der Studien, im Stande sein, sie zu lösen, wenn Sie sich nicht diesem, jedenfalls äußerst verdienstlichen und vielleicht auch für Sie selbst erziehenden Geschäfte, das ohnehin Ihnen nicht allzuviel Mühe machen kann, unterziehen wollten. Übrigens würde natürlich auch jede andere Arbeit, die der Tendenz der Jhb. entspricht und sich nicht zu sehr in ein ganz vereinzeltes Interesse verliert, von den Redaktoren mit dem lebhaftesten Danke aufgenommen werden. Möchten Sie überhaupt etwas und zwar dieses bald liefern wollen; dies ist ein Corollarium zu der ersten Bitte, welches eine junge Zeitschrift, schon aus Rücksicht auf Vielseitigkeit, nicht umgehen kann.

Es wird mir angenehm sein, wenn Sie mir selbst antworten wollen; da ich aber in Kurzem einige Zeit nach Berlin gehe, adressiren Sie wohl gefälligst, um keinen Aufenthalt zu geben, an den Dr. Ruge[18]. Der zweite Redakteur, Dr. Echtermeier[19,] hat sich vor einigen Wochen den linken Arm abnehmen

[17] JULIUS KLAPROTH, 1783–1835, in Paris tätiger Orientalist, zusammen mit J.P. ABEL RÉMUSAT Begründer der modernen Sinologie. Vgl. H. WALRAVENS: *Julius Klaproth (1783–1835). Leben und Werk*. Wiesbaden 1999 (Orientalistik Bibliographien und Dokumentationen 3). – JULIUS KLAPROTH (1783–1835): *Briefe und Dokumente*. Wiesbaden 1999 (Orientalistik Bibliographien und Dokumentationen 4). – KLAPROTH war ein scharfer und gefürchteter Kritiker und machte sich daher wenig Freunde. Überdies wurde er in Petersburg der „Privatisierung" von Akademiebüchern beschuldigt, während er in Frankeich für einen preußischen Spion gehalten wurde. Daher erschien POTT eine Evaluation von KLAPROTHS Leben und Werk wünschenswert. GABELENTZ ist indes auf diesen Vorschlag nicht eingegangen, da er sich nur für den Bereich Linguistik als kompetent genug betrachtete.

[18] ARNOLD RUGE, Bergen/Rügen 13. Sept. 1802–31. Dez. 1880 Brighton, Schriftsteller. Er wurde 1824 als Mitglied des geheimen Jünglingsbundes verhaftet und verurteilt und saß bis 1830 (Begnadigung) auf der Festung Kolberg ein. 1831 habilitierte er sich in Halle, und 1838 gründete er zusammen mit ECHTERMEYER die erfolgreichen *Halleschen Jahrbücher*. Nach dem Verbot durch die preußische Regierung gründete er die Zeitschrift erneut unter anderem Namen in Dresden, aber auch dort wurde sie verboten, und so wich er in die Schweiz aus. Vgl. HELMUT REINALTER: „Ruge, Arnold." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 22 (2005), S. 236–238.

[19] ERNST THEODOR ECHTERMEYER, Liebenwerda 12. Aug. 1805–6. Mai 1844 Dresden, Philosoph und Schriftsteller. Bis heute ist er für seine Mustersammlung deutscher Gedichte für höhere Schulen bekannt (ursprünglich Halle 1836: *Mustersammlung deutscher Gedichte für gelehrte Schulen*). Vgl. K. LORENZEN: „Echtermeyer, Ernst Theodor." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 4 (1959), S. 272–273.

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lassen müssen, der vom Markschwamm[20] angegriffen war; wir hoffen auf Genesung, da er jetzt schon wieder zuweilen das Bett verlassen kann, natürlich kann er aber fast nicht arbeiten. Beide, so wie Rödiger und Wilda[21], beauftragen mich mit vielen Grüßen an Sie; haben Sie doch die Güte, Wilda u. mich an Hrn. Dr. Loebe[22] zu empfehlen. Was macht der Ulfilas?

Ewald[23], lese ich heute in der Leipz. Brockhausischen Zeitung[24], hat den Ruf nach Tübingen nicht bloß erhalten, sondern auch angenommen. Dahlmann[25] erhält die Leipziger Professur nicht. Wie mag es dem armen Grimm[26]

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[20] Markschwamm – *Carcinoma medullare* – nach der weichen, markähnlichen Beschaffenheit so bezeichnet, bösartige, raschwachsende Geschwulst, Rundzellensarkom. (Freundliche Information von Agnes Weiske, München.)

[21] Wilhelm Eduard Wilda, Altona 17. Aug. 1800–9. Aug. 1856 Kiel, Jurist. 1832 ao. Prof. in Halle, Mitbegründer der *Zeitschrift für deutsches Recht und deutsche Rechtswissenschaft*; 1842 Ordinarius in Breslau, 1854 in Kiel. Vgl. Johann August Ritter von Eisenhart: „Wilda, Wilhelm Eduard." In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 42 (1897), S. 491–493.

[22] Julius Löbe, 1805–1900; Landpfarrer in Sachsen-Altenburg, Sprachwissenschaftler und Herausgeber von Pierers Universal-Lexikon. Vgl. R. Löbe: „Zum Gedächtnis an D. th. et phil. August Julius Löbe, Geheimer Kirchenrath und Pfarrer em. in Rasephas, geb. den 8. Jan. 1805, gest. den 27. März 1900." In: *Kirchliches Jahrbuch für das Herzogthum Sachsen-Altenburg* 6 (1900), Separatum. – A. Brauer: „Julius Löbe, Lexikograph und Sprachforscher (1805–1900)." In: *Aus dem Antiquariat* 1986, S. 137–142.

[23] Heinrich Ewald, Göttingen 16. Nov. 1803–4. Mai 1875 Göttingen, Orientalist. 1827 wurde er als Nachfolger seines Lehrers Johann Eichhorn Ordinarius an der Universität Göttingen. 1837 als einer der Göttinger Sieben entlassen, nahm er 1838 eine Berufung nach Tübingen an. 1848 kehrte er nach Göttingen zurück, wo er alttestamentliche Theologie und Orientalistik lehrte. 1867 lehnte er den geforderten Eid auf den preußischen König ab, wie er auch die preußische Vorherrschaft ablehnte. Er wurde aus der Fakultät ausgeschlossen und verlor 1868 auch die Lehrerlaubnis. Vgl. W. Kirfel: „Ewald, Georg Heinrich August von." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 4 (1959), S. 696–697.

[24] Hier dürfte die *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung* (Leipzig 1837–1843) gemeint sein.

[25] Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann, Wismar 13. Mai 1785–5. Dez. 1860 Bonn, Historiker, 1813 ao. Professor in Kiel, 1829 Ordinarius in Göttingen; 1837 wegen seines Protests gegen den königlichen Verfassungsbruch entlassen, ging er nach Leipzig, dann nach Jena und schließlich 1842 nach Bonn. 1848 wurde er in den Frankfurter Bundestag entsandt und war auch Referent des Verfassungsausschusses der Nationalversammlung. Vgl. E. Angermann: „Dahlmann, Friedrich Christoph." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 3 (1957), S. 478–480.

[26] Jacob Grimm, Hanau 4. Jan. 1785–20. Sept. 1863 Berlin, nach juristischen und philologischen Studien war er als Bibliothekar in Kassel tätig; 1830 wurde er Professor an der Universität Göttingen; 1837 als einer der Göttinger Sieben des Landes verwiesen, wurde er 1841 zum Mitglied der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften berufen. Mit seinem Bruder Wilhelm gilt er als Begründer der Germanistik. Seine bedeutendste Leistung ist wohl das umfangreiche *Deutsche Wörterbuch*, das er bis zum Lemma „Frucht" betreuen konnte. Vgl. F. Neumann: „Grimm, Jacob." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 7 (1966), S. 76–79.

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ergehen? – Werden wir uns vielleicht in Nürnberg[27] wiedersehen? Ich höre noch nichts davon.

Es empfiehlt sich Ihnen freundschaftlichst

Ihr treu ergebenster A. F. Pott
März 1838

2

Sr. Hochwohlgeboren
Herrn Regierungs-Rath
H. C. von der Gabelentz
in Altenburg

Halle, den 26t. Jän. 1841

Sehr verehrter Freund!
Gewiß habe ich mich durch mein langes Schweigen bei Ihnen in ein sehr übles Licht gesetzt, und zwar in doppelter Weise, so daß ich Sie jetzt um doppelte Nachsicht bitten muß. Fürs Erste bin ich Ihnen immer noch meinen Dank schuldig für das mir so werthe Geschenk, das Sie mir mit Ihrer so höchst verdienstlichen Syrjänischen Grammatik[28] gemacht haben, und zum anderen müssen Sie glauben, ich hätte mich um den mir gewordenen Auftrag nicht gekümmert. – Zu Ihrer Beruhigung inzwischen will ich sogleich bemerken, daß ich wegen des Sskrit Mstes sogleich Nachfrage hielt, dasselbe aber immer noch nicht zur Ansicht erhalten konnte, weil die Bohlenschen[29] Bücher in Kisten verpackt liegen und die Auction Anfangs auf März – neuerer Bestimmung nach aber auf Febr. d. J. – verschoben war. Noch heute ist der Termin für den Anfang der Auction nicht bestimmt und auch das Msc. nicht zugänglich, was mir um so unangenehmer, als ich auch sonst nicht von früher her dasselbe kannte. Von großem Werthe (abgesehen davon, den es für den Liebhaber hat) ist es kaum, und daher auch die Angabe eines Preißes schwierig. Wäre die Handschrift von wichtigerem Belange gewesen, so hätte ich wohl einmal durch Bohlen etwas Näheres gesprächsweise darüber

[27] In Nürnberg fand 1838 die *erste Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* statt.

[28] H. C. v. d. GABELENTZ *Grundzüge der syrjänischen Grammatik*. Altenburg 1841.

[29] PETER VON BOHLEN, Wüppels 9. März 1796–6. Febr. 1840 Halle, studierte in Halle und Bonn Arabisch und Sanskrit, seit 1826 Prof. (1828: Ordinarius) für Orientalistik an der Universität Königsberg. In breiteren Kreisen wurde er durch sein Werk *Das alte Indien* (Königsberg 1830) bekannt. Vgl. A. LESKIEN: „Bohlen, Peter von." In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 3 (1876), S. 61.

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erfahren, was nicht der Fall war. Unter diesen Umständen weiß ich wirklich nicht, was für eine Preisbestimmung ich Ihnen vorschlagen soll, – ich selber reflectire gar nicht darauf, wünschte aber, wo möglich, von Ihnen irgend eine feste Grenze bestimmt, die ich beim Bieten nicht ohne Noth zu überschreiten hätte.

Was den ersten Punkt, Ihr so freundliches Geschenk, anbetrifft, so habe ich nur mit dem größten Vergnügen den neuen trefflichen Zuwachs betrachten können, den Sie der finnischen Sprachclasse haben angedeihen lassen, und weiß ich vollkommen die Schwierigkeiten zu würdigen, die zu überwinden, um aus einem Texte ohne weitere Vorarbeit erst eine Grammatik abzuziehen. Möchte es Ihnen nur bald möglich sein, uns auch mit etwas Allgemeinerem über den Finnenstamm zu beschenken, dessen wir so dringend bedürftig sind. Wie wäre es, wenn Sie uns, etwa in der Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, wenn auch vielleicht nur eine kürzere ethno- und glossographische Übersicht über gedachten Stamm geben wollten? Bei Ausarbeitung eines Artikels Indo-germ. Sprachstamm, den ich vorig. Jahr in die große Hall. Encycl.[30] geliefert habe, stieß ich zum Öfteren auf den jedenfalls überaus wichtigen Finnenstamm und hätte mich gern deshalb bei Ihnen Rath erholt, wenn ich überhaupt auf den Gegenstand näher einzugehen Zeit genug gehabt hätte. Namentlich würde mich sehr interessiren zu wissen, welche Völker im Mittelalter oder gar in alter Zeit in den Kreis gedachten Stammes gehörten, was meines Bedünkens von großem Belang wäre.

Was macht denn der Ulfilas[31]? Sie werden schon gelesen haben, wie sich J. Grimm in dem 1ten Theile neue Aufl. seiner Grammatik darüber – wie mir scheint nobel und verständig – äußert.[32] In Bezug auf die indogerm. Sprachstudien bedünkt mich Grimm manchmal etwas zu steif bei seinem Gange geblieben zu sein, weil er das Germanische in seiner engeren Individualität faßt, was in jedem Betracht sein Gutes hat, wird er zuweilen einseitig und faßt vieles in einer Weise, die – von allgemeineren Gesichtspunkten aus – schwerlich Billigung finden können [!]. Lassen Sie und Dr. Loewe [!] doch nun nicht mehr zu lange auf den Abschluß Ihrer Arbeit warten! –

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[30] „Indogermanischer Sprachstamm." In: *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*. Section 2. Theil 18 (1840), S. 1–112.

[31] Ulfilas: *Veteris et Novi testamenti versionis gothicae fragmenta quae supersunt ad fidem Codd. castigata Latinitate donata adnotatione critica instructa cum glossario et grammatica linguae Gothicae* coniunctis curis ediderunt H.C. de Gabelentz et Dr. J. Loebe. Lipsiae 1843–1846. 2 Bde (1. Teil Altenburg 1836).

[32] Wohl: Jacob Grimm: *Deutsche Grammatik*. 1. Göttingen 1840. Vgl. auch Grimms Besprechung der Ulfilas-Ausgabe von Gabelentz und Löbe in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1836, Nr. 180, S. 1786–1793 (auch abgedruckt in J. Grimm: *Kleinere Schriften*. Band 5. Berlin 1871, S. 248–252).

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Mich selbst beschäftigt jetzt außer dem Kurdischen dem ich mich von Zeit zu Zeit wieder zuwende, das Idiom der Zigeuner, worüber ich mancherlei Material, auch Ungedrucktes vom Prediger Zippel[33] in Lithauen, bei einander habe. Haben Sie vielleicht etwas dahin Einschlägiges. Namentlich fehlen mir Grammatiken und Wörterbücher von den Nordindischen Dialekten. Dürfte ich wohl, im Fall Sie etwas besäßen, es mir von ihnen erbitten? Fast wage ich diese Bitte nicht, da wir Rödiger, der herzlich grüßt, und ich noch immer den Garzoni[34] und die Puschtu-Bibel[35] haben, freilich unter der kühnen Voraussetzung, daß Sie dieselbe jetzt nicht vermissen möchten. Sollten Sie uns dieselbe noch länger lassen können, so wären wir Ihnen dafür sehr dankbar. –

Ans Arbeiten ist meinerseits jetzt freilich nicht viel zu denken, denn ich lebe seit Septbr. vorig. Jahres noch mit meiner Frau[36], einer gebornen Hannoveranerin aus Oldendorf, einem Dorfe unweit Elze, in der Flitter, was zum Theil auch mit Schuld ist an dem langen Schweigen. –

Meine schönsten und herzlichsten Grüße an Sie und Dr. Loewe mit der Bitte um die Fortdauer Ihrer mir so werthen Freundschaft

Ihr A. F. Pott

3

27.1.42

Verehrtester Freund!

Unter mancherlei Abhaltungen, durch die, Ihnen für das, wie ich Ihnen nicht erst besonders zu sagen brauche, für mich höchst werthvolle Geschenk – Ihre Syrj. Gramm. – in gebührender Weise meinen herzlichsten Dank darzubringen, ich bisher mich verhindert sah, stehen obenan theils seitens meiner Frau die Geburt eines Jungens, theils meinerseits die eines Programms, welches Sie anbei erhalten. Nicht als ob die eine oder andere eine schwere Geburt gewesen, allein sie haben doch in der letzten Zeit vielfach störend mich berührt, so daß ich zu nichts Anderem kam. Entschuldigen Sie deßhalb freundlichst mein zu langes Schweigen.

[33] CHRISTIAN GOTTFRIED ZIPPEL, 1767–1815, Prediger zu Niebudzen (Kirchenkreis Gumbinnen). Vgl. G. BENSE: „Christian Gottfried Zippel – sein Beitrag zu multilingualen Studien in der Zeit um 1800." In: *Annaberger Annalen* 2004, S. 107–122.

[34] MAURIZIO GARZONI: *Grammatica e vocabulario della lingua kurda*. Roma 1787.

[35] *The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments.* Translated from the originals into the Pushto language. Serampore: The Mission Press 1818. 782 S.

[36] Pott hatte 1840 seine Cousine ELISE EBELING, †1885, geheiratet.

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In meiner Schrift büchse ich zuweilen in Ihr Gebiet – die Fennica – hinein; inzwischen, wie Sie leicht wahrnehmen, haben Sie von einer Nebenbuhlerschaft meinerseits nichts zu besorgen, da meine bisherige Gelehrsamkeit kaum über das Estnische hinausreicht. Möchte es Ihnen doch gefallen, recht eigentlich einmal die finnischen Elemente im Lettisch-Slawischen Sprachstamme aufs Korn zu nehmen, oder, wenn dies bereits geschah, die von Ihnen gewonnenen Resultate ans Licht zu stellen. Wie oft habe ich bei der Arbeit an Sie gedacht, und gewünscht, es möchte mir Ihre Finnische Gelehrsamkeit zu Hülfe kommen, damit ich in der Lettischen Sprache den eig. finnischen Antheil genau ausgeschieden erhielte. [37]

Mit Vergnügen sehe ich Sie von den Eckspitzen – Mordwinisch, Tscheremissisch, Syrjänisch dgl. – immer mehr sich allmälig dem Centrum nähern, worauf, hoffe ich, von Ihnen dann unverzüglich in comparativer Bearbeitung des finnischen Stammes wird Hand angelegt werden. Ist inzwischen Schott[38] mit dem türkischen Stamme auch weiter vorgeschritten, so liegt ein artiges Stück von Ihnen Beiden urbar gemachtes Revier vor uns.

A propos, hörten Sie vielleicht etwas Näheres von der in Oxford zu stiftenden Gesellschaft für comparative Gramm. Mir ist nur eine sehr oberflächliche briefliche Notiz darüber zugekommen. England könnte allerdings gutes Material liefern; aber von den dortigen Arbeiten zur Bearbeitung des selben ist mir eben noch keine besondere Kunde zugekommen.

Ich weiß nicht, ob Ihnen bekannt, daß ich mich jetzt sehr angelegentlich mit dem Zigeunerischen beschäftige. Haben Sie etwa die neueren Schriften von Borrow[39]? Schon über 1/4 Jahr erwarte ich nun vergeblich dieselben und bin so zu einem unwillkührlichen Stillstand verdammt. Ihren Garzoni sowie die Puschtubibel haben wir hier noch immer. Sollten Sie dieselben vermissen, so bitte ich einen Wink. Durch Rödigers Langsamkeit bin ich

[37] Auch diesem Wunsch ist Gabelentz nicht nachgekommen, indem er sich mit seiner mangelnden Kenntnis des Lettischen entschuldigte.

[38] Siehe unten.

[39] George Henry Borrow (East Dereham, Norfolk 5. Juli 1803–26. Juli 1881 Lowestoft, Suffolk), Schriftsteller, Reisender, Forscher, Linguist, zeitweise Agent der British and Foreign Bible Society. Vgl. W. I. Knapp: *Life, writings and correspondence of George Borrow*. London 1899. 2 Bde. – Borrow hatte sich bereits in *The Zincali, or, an account of the Gypsies of Spain; with an original collection of their songs and poetry, and a copious dictionary of their language*. (London 1841. 2 Bde.) mit den Zigeunern befaßt; sein eigenständiges Wörterbuch scheint jedoch erst 1874 erschienen zu sein: *Romano lavo-lil: word-book of the Romany or, English Gypsy language: with specimens of Gypsy poetry, and an account of certain gypsyries or places inhabited by them, and of various things related to Gypsy life in England*. London 1874. – Hier dürfte also *The Zincali* gemeint sein.

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immer noch nicht völlig zum Abschluß des Curdischen gelangt, was mir sehr unangenehm ist.

Wie steht es denn jetzt mit dem Ulfilas? Hoffentlich [?] seit dem Verlagwechsel[40] so daß wir nicht allzulange mehr auf den Rest zu warten haben.

Ich bitte um viele Grüße an den Dr. Loewe und um die gütige Fortdauer Ihrer Freundschaft

Ihr ergebenster A. F. Pott
Halle, d. 27t. Jan. 1842

4

17. 5. 43
Verehrtester Freund!
Freilich seit 2½ J. beweibt (meine Frau ist aus dem Hannöverischen, wie die Ihrige) und seit 1½ besohnt bin ich nicht mehr so frei, wie ehemals, in den Ferien auszuflattern. Gleichwohl ließe sich doch wohl ein Rendezvous in Leipzig herstellen, wo es ja auch Genossen, wie Brockhaus[41], Fleischer[42] und Tuch[43] giebt. Doch wie fahre ich so [breit?] mitten ins G[eleg?] hinein? Es war eine Erinnerung aus Ihrem mir gütigst zuletzt zugekommenen Schreiben, worin Sie den Wunsch, wir möchten uns bald einmal wieder irgendwo treffen, aussprachen; ein Wunsch der natürlich auch ganz der meinige ist und dem ich gern Realität zu geben meinerseits mich bemühen würde. – H. Brockhaus hat, wie Sie vielleicht nicht wissen, neulich aus Indien, und zwar gratis, eine beträchtliche Sendung von Büchern (aus Decan) erhalten, über die derselbe nächstens in Gersdorf's Repert[orium][44] berichten wird.

[40] Das Werk erschien mit seinem Anfangsteil 1836 in der Schnuphaseschen Buchhandlung in Altenburg, wurde 1843 jedoch von Brockhaus übernommen und zuende geführt.

[41] HERMANN BROCKHAUS, Amsterdam 28. Jan. 1806–5. Januar 1877 Leipzig, 1841 außerordentlicher Professor (1847 Ordinarius) für Indologie an der Universität Leipzig. Vgl. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 47 (1903), S. 263–272 (C. H. KELLNER).

[42] HEINRICH LEBERECHT FLEISCHER, Schandau 21. Febr. 1801–10. Febr. 1888 Leipzig; 1836 Prof. für Morgenländische Sprachen in Leipzig. Er trat insbesondere als Arabist hervor. Vgl. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 48 (1904), S. 584–594 (IGNAZ GOLDZIHER).

[43] JOHANN CHRISTIAN FRIEDRICH TUCH, Quedlinburg 17. Dez. 1806–12. April 1867 Leipzig, Orientalist und Theologe, wurde 1847 Professor der Theologie in Leipzig. Vgl. C. G. A. SIEGFRIED: „Tuch, Friedrich." In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 38 (1894), S. 754–756.

[44] Gersdorfs *Repertorium der gesamten deutschen Literatur* (1 [1834]–34 [1842]); Fortsetzung: *Leipziger Repertorium der deutschen und ausländischen Literatur* (1 [1843]–72 [1860]). Der Herausgeber ERNST GOTTHELF GERSDORF, Tautendorf 2. Nov. 1804–5. Jan. 1874 Leipzig, war Historiker und Bibliothekar, seit 1833 Leiter der Univer-

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Ich selbst habe sie neulich – mein Aufenthalt dort war zu rapide – im allerschnellsten Fluge in Leipzig angesehen. Gramm. u. Lex. zum Tamulischen, Kurnatik usw., aber auch Texte usw. befinden sich darunter.

À propos! Wie mag es denn mit unserer guten Bonner Sonne [?][45] stehen? Seit wenigstens 1 Jahr erfahre ich nichts von ihr noch von Lassen[46], und bin in riesiger Sorge deßhalb. Ein vielleicht schon vor 1½ J. von mir abgeschicktes MS (über Pflanzen), das ich ungern verloren sähe, rührt und zippelt sich nicht, und in der That weiß ich nicht, ob es nach Bonn gekommen sei oder nicht, Brockhaus hegte auch Besorgniß, ob die Zeitschr. ferner Bestand haben dürfte, wußte aber auch nichts Bestimmtes.

Doch lassen Sie mich jetzt auf das kommen, was zu diesen Zeilen den nächsten Anstoß gegeben. Unsere hiesige Allg. Lit. Z. hatte es sehr nöthig, sich neu zu recrutiren, sowohl abseiten der Redaction, als auch, wie mich dünkt, rücksichtlich der Recc. In jene mit eingetreten, konnte ich nun nur mit Bedauern bemerken, daß auf der bisherigen Recc.-Liste noch Ihr Name fehle, und erlaube ich mir daher, von der Red. dazu beauftragt, die angelegentlichste Bitte, es möge Ihnen gefallen, daß wir auch Sie auf die Liste setzen dürfen, und noch mehr daß Sie uns recht oft einige Ihrer Mußestunden zu Anzeigen von Büchern gönnen möchten. Da Sie Gersdorf öfters bedacht haben, so scheinen Sie wenigstens im Allgemeinen keine Abscheu vor Recc. zu haben, und, bei uns – wäre der Raum doch wenigstens nicht so knapp zugemessen, als dort, wenn mir freilich in Linguisticis eine Grenze gesetzt ist, die ich selbst gern viel weiter gesteckt sähe. Sollten Sie nun meinem und der Red. dringenden Wunsche willfahren, so bitte ich doch um Nachricht; und Sie könnten mich nicht mehr erfreuen als wenn Sie sogleich mir Bücher nennten, deren Anzeige zu übernehmen Ihnen gefiele.

In der Voraussetzung, daß Sie häufig den Hrn. Dr. Loebe sehen und im Drange vieler sich jetzt häufenden Arbeiten gern Alles möglichst kurz abmachend, möchte ich Sie ersuchen, an den Hrn. Dr. in der Red. und meinem Namen ganz den gleichen Antrag zu stellen. Hoffentlich wird derselbe es entschuldigen – und bitte ich außerdem nachdrücklich darum – wenn ich ihm nicht eigens in der Angelegenheit schreibe.

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sitätsbibliothek Leipzig. Vgl. H. Lülfing: „Gersdorf, Ernst Gotthelf." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 6 (1964), S. 317–318.

[45] Gemeint ist wohl die *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*; vielleicht ist Morgenland – *Ex Oriente Lux* das Bindeglied.

[46] Christian Lassen, Bergen 22. Okt. 1800–8. Mai 1876 Bonn, bedeutender Indologe; er promovierte 1827 bei A.W. v. Schlegel in Bonn, wurde 1830 ao. Professor und 1840 Ordinarius. Er war zunächst Mitherausgeber, dann Hauptherausgeber der *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.* Sein Hauptwerk war die vierbändige *Indische Altertumskunde.* Bonn 1847–1861. Vgl. F. Wilhelm: „Lassen, Christian." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 13 (1982), S. 673.

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Mit meinen Zigeunern ist endlich der Druck begonnen, worüber ich um so froher bin, als mir das Pack schon seit lange widerwärtig (?) geworden. Den Catalogen nach zu schließen, soll nun ja auch Ihr Ulfilas endlich zu meiner großen Freude gänzlich? abgeschlossen worden.

Roediger, der auch Mitredacteur geworden, läßt sich Ihnen und Hrn Dr. Loebe, gleich mir, bestens empfehlen und vereinigt seine Bitten mit den meinigen.

Adieu und baldiges Wiedersehen!

Halle den 17. Maj. 1843
Ihr treu ergebenster Freund
A. F. Pott

5

Sr. Hochwohlgeboren
Herrn Geh. RegierungsRath
v. d. Gabelentz
in Altenburg
frei

Halle den 3t Sept. 1843

Verehrtester Freund!

Es ist von mir zu arg gemacht worden, so daß ohne ein unerschöpfliches Maaß an Großmuth Ihrerseits an eine Verzeihung für meine ungeheure Unterlassungssünde nicht zu denken ist. Erlauben Sie mir aber wenigstens eine Erklärung, die ein eig. Vertheidigung zu sein jedoch sich nicht anmaßte. Zu der viel älteren Schuld, die wegen der mir gütigst geliehenen Bücher auf mir lastet, hatten Sie durch Übersendung Ihres Ulfilas ein neues Credit (für mich debet) hinzugefügt, das meinerseits in etwas zu vergelten mir außerordentlich schwer gemacht worden, obschon das für eine unerläßliche Pflicht zu halten ich nicht aufhören werde. Vielleicht, dachte ich, kannst du den Altenburger Freunden dich durch Zurichtung eines Artikels über die Curdische Sprache, welchen der Hr. Dr. Loebe begehrt, freilich nun nicht mehr als ein Infinitesimaltheilchen derselben beweisen. Deßhalb, die Ferien abwartend, und des Glaubens, es möchte den Redaktoren der dasigen Encyclopädie eben so ergehen wie den hiesigen, welche – selbst ohne Grund – arge Dränger sind um einen Artikel, den sie oft ein halbes Jahr u. länger voraus verlangen, zögerte ich noch immer mit der Antwort, zumal mich die Drucker mit meinen Zigeunern, die jetzt zu ungefähr einem Drittel ihres Umfangs, welcher letztere gegen 30 Bogen betragen wird, vorgeschritten sind, in beständigem Athem erhielten und noch fortwährend es thun. Einer Erholung

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sehr bedürftig wünsche ich in 3–4 Wochen meiner nach Hannover voraus geeilten Frau dorthin nachzufolgen. Allerhand dringende Arbeiten halten mich bis dahin zurück und zu diesen hatte ich auch den Artikel, dessen oben Erwähnung geschehen, gerechnet, obschon, ich will es nur gestehen, es mir jetzt eine eigene Beruhigung gewährt, daß Sie ihn mir abnehmen wollen. So erfolgt nun endlich Ihr Garzoni mit tausend Dank zurück; und möchten Sie mir nicht darüber zürnen, daß ich ihn solang behielt (den Afgh. Pentateuch behalte ich noch immer mit Ihrer gütigen Erlaubniß zurück), und namentlich Ihnen durch mein Zögern noch ein zweites Mal die Mühe der Einforderung machte, mitten unter dem Gewicht einer Fastenordnung [?].

Ihr Ulfilas hat, wie natürlich, mich hoch erfreut theils um seiner selbst, theils um des Beweises willen, den er mir aufs neue liefert, von Ihrer Freundschaft, die ich mir stets zu hohem Gewinn gerechnet habe. Gern brächte ich ihn in der A. L. Z. zu baldiger Anzeige, bin aber in dem Theil mit einem tauglichen Recensenten in Verlegenheit, und müßte Ihnen deßhalb durch Nachweis eines solchen, der Ihnen und Ihrem Mitarbeiter recht und genehm wäre, überaus dankbar sein. Mir selbst gebricht es zu sehr an gründlicher Kenntniß des Gegenstandes, als daß ich ein solches Unterfangen mir herausnehmen dürfte. – Ihre Syrjänische Gramm. habe ich, wie sie wohl gefunden haben werden, im Juliehefte besprochen, wenn auch nur referirend.

Soeben erhalte ich von Adolph Schmidt[47] in Berlin den Antrag bei einer von ihm unter Mitwirkung v. Boeckh[48], Ranke[49], Pertz[50] u. Grimm herauszugebenden «Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft» eine Art Mitredaction

[47] Wilhelm Adolf Schmidt, Berlin 26. Sept. 1812–10. April 1887 Berlin, Althistoriker, Schüler von August Boeckh und L. von Ranke, mit denen sowie Pertz er 1844–1848 die *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* herausgab. Er habilitierte sich 1840 in Berlin und wurde 1845 ao. Professor. 1851 ging er als Ordinarius nach Zürich, 1860 nach Jena. Vgl. S. Löwenfeld: „Schmidt, Adolf." In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 31 (1890), S. 703–713.

[48] August Boeckh, Karlsruhe 24. November 1785–3. Aug. 1867 Berlin, Altphilologe und Altertumsforscher. 1807 habilitierte er sich in Heidelberg, 1809 wurde er dort Ordinarius. 1811 wechselte er an die Universität Berlin und wurde zum Mitglied der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften berufen. Vgl. W. Vetter: „Boeckh, August." In *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 2 (1955), S. 366f.

[49] Leopold von Ranke, Wiehe 21. Dez. 1795–23. Mai 1886 Berlin, Historiker; 1824 wurde er ao. Professor an der Universität Berlin, 1834 Ordinarius, überdies 1832 Mitglied der Preuß. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Ranke gilt als einer Väter der modernen Geschichtswissenschaft. Vgl. U. Muhlack: „Ranke, Franz Leopold von." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 21 (2003), S. 140–142.

[50] Georg Heinrich Pertz, Hannover 28. März 1795–7. Okt. 1876 München, 1827–1842 Leiter der Kgl. Bibliothek Hannover, dann Oberbibliothekar der Kgl. Bibliothek Berlin. Vgl. M. Wesche: „Georg Heinrich Pertz." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 20 (2001), S. 205–207.

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in Betreff der Linguistik und Sprachwissenschaft zu übernehmen. Dem Prospect nach scheint er nicht bloß besondere Rec. sondern von Zeit zu Zeit allgemeine Übersichten aufnehmen zu wollen, bin aber sonst noch nicht zur Genüge davon unterrichtet, wie viel oder wenig etwa in meine Befugniß fallen würde. Ich weiß nun nicht in wiefern auch Ihnen von dorther ein Antrag gestellt sein möchte, erlaube mir aber, für den Fall daß dies nicht geschähe, auf eigne Hand die Werbung um Hilfe, welche, hoffe ich, Sie dem Blatte nicht ganz versagen werden. Wollten Sie da nicht sogleich mit einer ethnogr.-linguist. Übersucht der Fennica herausrücken? Es käme ja noch zur Zeit gar nicht auf strenge Erschöpfung des Gegenstandes an; ein Prodromus wäre schon immer äußerst angenehm. –

Sie dürfen aber auch die 3 Buchst. A. L. Z. nicht vergessen, wenn Sie mir dafür einen Bericht überließen in Betreff Ihrer aus Amerika erhaltenen linguistischen Sendung.

Die oriental. Zeitschr., welche ich fast für todt hielt, ist wirklich noch am Leben, wie ich jetzt durch einen Brief von Lassen erfahre, und es wird am V. Band gedruckt.

Eine Zusammenkunft mit Ihnen in diesem Jahre wünschte ich noch sehr zu ermöglichen, allein ich fürchte, es wird mir dazu fürs Erste noch die Zeit fehlen, denn, abgereist, werde ich kaum vor Anfang Nov. zurück sein. Sollte ich aber noch länger auf den Genuß einer Besprechung mit Ihnen, theurer Freund, verzichten müssen, so lassen Sie mir doch wenigstens durch baldige literarische Mittheilungen für obige Blätter eine Entschädigung für das Entbehrenmüssen persönlichen Gedankenaustausches zu fließen. Unter vielen herzlichen Grüßen an den Dr. Loebe und Sie selbst

Ihr [kleiner Textverlust] A. F. Pott

(vertes quaeso)
Im Begriff, meinen Brief zuzusiegeln, ward ich heute Nachmittags von Roediger mit Olshausen[51] aus Ciel überrascht und, letzteren zum Bahnhofe zu begleiten, aufgefordert. Unterwegs haben wir den Plan zu einer Espèce [?] am Orientalisten-Congress in Leipzig[52] für nächsten Freitag improvisirt, und ich erbot mich sogleich, die Aufforderung theilzunehmen an Sie noch

[51] JUSTUS OLSHAUSEN, Hohenfelde 9. Mai 1800–28. Dez. 1882, Orientalist, wurde 1830 Ordinarius an der Universität Kiel. 1853 ging er als Oberbibliothekar und Lehrer der orientalischen Sprachen nach Königsberg. 1858–1874 war er Universitätsreferent im preußischen Kultusministerium. Vgl. C. E. CARSTENS: „Olshausen, Justus." In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 24 (1887), S. 328–330.

[52] Hier handelt es sich um ein Treffen zur Vorbereitung der DMG. Die Versammlung der Philologen und Schulmänner fand in dem Jahre in Kassel statt.

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schließlich durch diese Zeilen ergehen zu lassen. Olshausen, der lebhaft wünscht, Ihre Bekanntschaft zu machen, logirt in Leipzig Hôtel de Bavière, wo wir ja schon einmal zusammen waren, und, wenn es Ihnen nur irgend möglich, so kommen Sie am besagten Tage dorthin, wo Sie außer den Leipzigern, auch gewiß – unvorhergesehene Fälle ausgenommen – Rödiger und mich treffen werden. Der sicheren Hoffnung lebend, Sie werden unserer Bitte, wofern es [–] thunlich, nachkommen, und auf ein baldiges Wiedersehen sich höchlich freuend sagt Ihnen noch einmal seine Grüße

Der Obige

6

[23.5.44]
Verehrtester Freund!
Lassen Sie mich Ihnen nur in einigen flüchtigen Zeilen die Übersendung des Rödigern dargeliehenen Report der Bible Society, den, so fürchte ich, er Ihnen längst hätte zurückstellen sollen, mit seinem aufrichtigsten Danke, sowie den endlich fertig gewordenen I. Band meiner Zigeuner melden; und, was noch wichtiger ist, von einer Besprechung Notiz geben, welche Fleischer, H. Brockhaus, Seyffarth[53], Roediger und ich kürzlich hier in unserer Versammlungs-Sache gepflogen. Brockhaus meinte, vielleicht nicht mit Unrecht, wie es schwer sein würde, Erwartungen, die von uns aus ausdrücklich eingeladene Freunde etwa mitbrächten, auch selbst in Leipzig in genügender Weise zu entsprechen, da natürlich der Kreis von Gelehrten, wie wir eben sind, auf eifrige Theilnahme des Publikums zu rechnen schwerlich vermöge. Deßhalb, meinte er, ob es nicht rathsamer sei, wenn wir uns als besondere Section, und etwa erst versuchsweise für das kommende Jahr, dem Philologen-Verein in Dresden[54] anschließen und es scheint uns der Vorschlag nicht unpassend, selbst schon auf den Grund hin, da ja mehrere, z. B. Sie und ich,

[53] Gustav Seyffarth, Übigau bei Torgau 13.7.1796–17.11.1885 New York, Ägyptologe und Theologe. Er erhielt 1825 eine ao. Professur für Philosophie und 1830 eine Nominalprofessur für Archäologie; er bearbeitete den Nachlaß des verstorbenen Friedrich August Wilhelm Sohn (1792–1824) und stellte sich wie dieser gegen J. F. Champollion; durch seine Polemik und die inzwischen erfolgten wissenschaftlichen Fortschritte geriet er ins Abseits, so daß er 1856 in die USA auswanderte, wo er als Lehrer und Prediger tätig war; vgl. A. Grimm: „Seyffarth, Gustav." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 24 (2010), S. 296–297.

[54] Die Versammlung der Philologen und Schulmänner fand vom 1.–4. Okt. 1844 in Dresden statt. Bei dieser Gelegenheit wurde die Gründung der DMG für 1845 avisiert. Gabelentz stimmte einem versuchsweisen Anschluß an den Verein deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner zu.

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bei Gründung des Philologen-Vereins in Göttingen[55] gegenwärtig waren und uns anschlossen. Fleischer übernahm es, wegen des Anschlusses mit Hermann[56] in Leipzig in Unterhandlung zu treten, jedoch immer vorbehaltlich, daß wir uns nicht einer gewissen Selbständigkeit zu begeben gedächten. – Sie und Olshausen als Mitbegründer unseres Vereins haben natürlich noch Ihr Fiat zu dem Brockhausischen Vorschlag zu geben, und dies von Ihnen mir zu erbitten ist eines der Motive gegenwärtiger Zeilen; natürlich jedoch wünschen wir Ihre Zustimmung nur unter Voraussetzung, daß die Sache nicht wider Ihre Überzeugung anläuft, und überhaupt werden Sie uns nicht Ihre aufstoßende Bedenken vorenthalten, deren Mittheilung vielmehr wir uns angelegentlichst erbitten.

In Ungewißheit darüber, ob Sie schon wieder nach Altenburg zurück sind oder nicht, habe ich es vorgezogen, dorthin die Sendung zu dirigiren. Übrigens erinnere ich Sie noch bei dieser Gelegenheit dringend an die mir versprochene Mittheilung über die Americana. – Ihren, mir so höchst angenehmen Besuch werde ich zu gegebener Zeit zu erwidern nicht ermangeln, und bitte bis dahin um ihr freundliches Andenken. Ihr treu ergebenster

A. F. Pott

Viele Grüße, ich bitte drum, an Hrn Dr. Loewe. Dr. Wellmann[57] in Stettin hat mir die Anzeige des Ulfilas versprochen allein bis jetzt noch nicht Wort gehalten. Wissen Sie von den Arbeiten der Philol. Soc. etwas ausführliches? Garnet[t][58] hat mir einige Nummern Celtica von ihm daraus zugeschickt, allein ich weiß nicht, ob schon ein ganzer Band heraus ist?

Halle den 23. May 1844

[55] Am 20. September 1837, unter dem Vorsitz von ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

[56] Möglicherweise KARL FRIEDRICH HERMANN, Frankfurt a. M. 4. Aug. 1804–31. Dez. 1855 Göttingen, seit 1842 Professor der Philologie und Archäologie in Göttingen und Direktor des philologischen und pädagogischen Seminars. Vgl. G. BAADER: „Hermann, Carl Friedrich." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 8 (1969), S. 661–662.

[57] ALBERT WELLMANN, Lehrer am Gymnasium zu Stettin, veröffentlichte: *Das gothische Adjectivum.* Stettin 1835.

[58] Rev. RICHARD GARNETT: „On the languages and dialects of the British Isles." In: *Proceedings of the Philological Society* 1 (1842/1844), S. 91ff., 144ff., 169ff., 243ff.; DERS.: „On the probable relations of the Picts and Gael with the other tribes in Great Britain." In: *ibid.*, S. 119ff.

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7

[1.6.45]
Verehrtester Freund!
Jetzt im Begriffe, zunächst mit den Meinigen ins Hannöversche und von da ab zu Anfang Sept., Deo et tempestate volente, allein in die Schweiz abzuziehen, um zu rechter Zeit auf der Rückreise in Darmstadt[59] einzutreffen, wo Sie doch hoffentlich auch nicht fehlen werden; so erlauben Sie mir, eiligst noch meinen Dank Ihnen zuzurufen für die gütige Mittheilung aus dem Adelung'schen Cataloge[60], den selbst zu erhalten ich bis jetzt mich vergebens bemühte, weßhalb ich wohl gelegentlich von Ihnen erfahre, auf welchem Wege Sie zu ihm gelangten. Zu meinem Vergnügen ist ja so eben das erste Heft der Höferschen Zeitschrift[61] erschienen, und es gewährt mir große Freude, auch Ihnen dort wieder zu begegnen. Ich selbst habe noch nichts beisteuern können, werde aber später dafür, denke ich, die Reduplikation als mächtiges gramm. Bildungsmittel ausführlich behandeln. Im Augenblick habe ich bloß eine Notiz betr. die Sprache Syrischer Zigeuner, die ich von Consul Schultz[62] in Jerusalem, vor kurzem wo er hier durchkam, erhielt, eingeschickt. Die Zig. sind endlich, wie Sie sehen, fertig.[63] Möchten Sie finden, daß von den über 4 Jahren, welche ich dem Lumpengesindel dargebracht habe, wenigstens die Hälfte unverloren sei. Ich habe sie jetzt herzlich satt, diese herrlichen Leute, und könnte beinahe dem gram werden, der mir noch mit Neuem in diesem Genre auf den Hals kommt. Ich weiß nicht, habe ich Ihnen für die Anzeige meines 1sten Bandes[64] gedankt; so nicht, oder auch falls schon, drücke ich Ihnen dafür die Hand.

Die Leipziger haben versprochen, noch einmal zu einer näheren Besprechung der Asiat. Gesellsch. zu uns zu kommen. Da ich indessen am 15ten dieses abreise, weiß ich nicht, ob ich Sie nicht vorstelle; – sollte man ja meiner

[59] Die Versammlung der Philologen und Schulmänner fand vom 1.–4. Okt. 1845 in Darmstadt statt; dort wurde die DMG am 2. Okt. gegründet (mit Sitz in Leipzig).

[60] Gabelentz hatte ein Verzeichnis aus St. Petersburg erhalten.– Friedrich Adelung, 1768–1843, Jurist, Linguist, Historiker, 1824 Direktor des Orientalischen Instituts (Asiatisches Departement?) zu St. Petersburg. Vgl. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 1 (1875), S. 80 (August Leskien)

[61] H.C. v. d. Gabelentz: „Die wotjakische Declination." In: *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* 1 (1846), S. 112–116.

[62] Der preußische Konsul E.G. Schultz, der es 1842 von dem amerikanischen Missionar Eli Smith erhalten hatte. Vgl. A.F. Pott: „Über die Sprache der Zigeuner in Syrien." In: *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* 1 (1846), S. 175–186.

[63] A.F. Pott: *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien. Ethnographisch-linguistische Untersuchung, vornehmlich ihrer Herkunft und Sprache nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen.* Halle 1844–1845. 2 Bde.

[64] *Leipziger Repertorium der in- u. ausländischen Literatur* 1844, S. 398–399.

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noch in irgend einer Weise bedürfen, so wäre Oldendorf, Am Lauenstein, unweit Elze im Königr. Hannover bis Anf. Sept. meine Addresse.

Versprechungen haben wir zweierlei vom Minister Eichhorn[65], eine extrahirt von Roediger, die andere von W. Schott[66] in Berlin, allein keine enthält schon etwas Bestimmtes. Wann darf ich einmal etwas von Ihnen für die A. Lit. Zeit. hoffen? Sie müssen freilich laut Leo[67] in den Berl. Jbb. im jüngsten Monate fürchten, mit uns zu den ärgsten und niederträchtigsten Radicalen gezählt zu werden!! – wenn Sie sich dazu verstehen, und durch Ihre Feder einmal etwas zufließen lassen.

Ich bitte um viele Grüße an den Dr. Loewe. Wellmann läßt mich noch einmal rücksichtlich des Ulfilas im Stich, und wüßten Sie mir einen anderen brauchbaren Rez. dafür zu nennen, so würde ich augenblicklich zusehen, ob ich nicht den statt Wellmann werben könnte. Die Sache ist mir höchst fatal.

Auf baldiges und vergnügtes Wiedersehen
Ihr treu ergebener A. F. Pott
Halle, den 11. Aug. 1845

8

[3.10.47]
Verehrtester Freund!
Entschuldigen Sie meine Zögerung, indem ich die beiden anbei erfolgenden Abzüge Ihrer mir so lieben Rec. nicht sogleich erhalten konnte. Ich habe mir darin die Einschiebung von ein paar Citaten aus den Reports des American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions erlaubt, deren einen Theil wir samt dem Missionary Herald für unsere orient. Bibl. erhalten haben: – viel Papier und wenig Inhalt. Eine wahre Danaiden-Arbeit, aus diesem Sandmeer die wenigen Goldkörnchen auszulesen! Ich habe Roediger veranlaßt, ein Exemplar Ihrer Rec. nach New-York zu schicken, und unter

[65] JOHANN ALBRECHT FRIEDRICH EICHHORN, Wertheim/Main 2.3.1779–16.1.1856 Berlin, Preußischer Politiker, dessen Verdienste besonders in der Förderung und Durchsetzung des Zollvereins liegen. Er wurde 1840 Kultusminister, mußte jedoch 1849 zurücktreten. Vgl. ST. SKALWEIT: „Eichhorn, Friedrich." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 4 (1959), S. 376–377

[66] WILHELM SCHOTT, Mainz 3. Sept. 1802–21. Jan. 1889 Berlin, seit 1838 ao. Prof. für ostasiatische Sprachen in Berlin. Vgl. H. WALRAVENS: *Wilhelm Schott (1802–1889). Leben und Wirken des Orientalisten.* Wiesbaden 2001 (Orientalistik Bibliographien und Dokumentationen 13).

[67] HEINRICH LEO, s. u.

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dickem Röthel-Hinweis auf die Stelle, wo Sie die lächerliche Engstirnigkeit jener Gesellschaft hervorheben, wo möglich um von jenen Dickköpfen Exemplare der durch sie zum Druck beförderten Schriften von Werth für die Bibl. orient. zu erwerben. Schicken sie uns ihre albernen Tractate und Predigten; – was wir damit nur machen sollen? In Afrikanischen Sprachen findet sich von ihnen etwas gedruckt in der Mpongwe- (oder Gaboon-) und in der Sherbro-Sprache; meistens nur einzelne Bogen: für uns, Sie und mich, aber wahre Schätze.

Sie wünschen von Basel Näheres zu wissen. Obgleich Roediger dort war, so habe ich ihn doch nur erst sehr flüchtig gesprochen und die Protocolle noch nicht eingesehen. Das wichtigste für uns dürfte sein ein Entschluß, von der Baseler Missionsges. durch den bei ihr angestellten Hofmann[68] mehrere durch die Missionare eingegangene Sachen linguistischen Inhalts aus Africa in Empfang zu nehmen, und einer Commission, worin wir beide figuriren würden, zu Durchsichtung und allenfallsigen Bearbeitung zu übergeben. Möchte das nur bald geschehen, denn Africa liegt mir im Augenblick ziemlich am Herzen.

Ihre Freundlichkeit, von meinen Zählmethoden eine Anzeige gemacht zu haben,[69] weiß ich nicht dankbar genug anzuerkennen, da ich aus eigener Erfahrung weiß, wie das Recensiren in späteren Jahren meistens eine große Überwindung der Unlust erfordert. Natürlich werden mir auch Nachträge und Berichtigungen aus Ihren reichen Schätzen nur äußerst erwünscht sein, und wie ich selbst schon nach dem Buche viel in der Branche zugelernt habe, mag Ihnen eine Selbstanzeige sagen, die ich Ihnen mitschicke.

Besuchen Sie mich doch ja, wie Sie verheißen; es wird mündlich noch viel zu conferiren übrig bleiben. Neulich besuchte mich Rosen[70] aus Constantinopel, der wieder auf der Rückreise dahin begriffen war und erzählte uns mancherlei hübsche Sachen.

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[68] Ludwig Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann, Leonberg 30. Okt. 1806–28. Aug. 1873 Berlin, Theologe 1839–1850 Inspektor der Basler Mission, dann Prof. an der Universität Tübingen. 1852 wurde er als Dom- und Hofprediger nach Berlin berufen. Vgl. H. Fausel: „Hoffmann, Wilhelm." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 9 (1972), S. 394.

[69] Rez. zu A. F. Pott: *Die quinäre und vigesimale Zählmethode bei Völkern aller Welttheile.* In: *Neue Jenaische Allg. Literaturzeitung* 56 (1848), S. 221–224.

[70] Georg Rosen, Detmold 21. Sept. 1820–29. Okt. 1891 Detmold, Diplomat und Orientalist; er war seit 1844 Dolmetscher bei der preußischen Gesandtschaft in Konstantinopel, dann 1853 Konsul in Jerusalem und 1867–1875 Generalkonsul in Belgrad. Vgl. G. Pelger: „Rosen, Georg Friedrich Wilhelm." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 22 (2005), S. 51–52.

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Unsere A.L.Z. soll abseiten des Ministeriums ihre Censurfreiheit verlieren, was den Herrn Pernice[71], Leo[72] u. Cons. schon längst ein Dorn im Auge war: wir werden sie aber wahrscheinlich ganz aufgeben,[73] theils um der Schererei mit nichtswürdigen Censoren und der Schande überhoben zu sein, allmälig durch Mangel an Abonnenten hinzusiechen, der unfehlbar eintreten würde, dürften wir keine Zeitfragen mehr in freisinniger Weise in unseren Kreis ziehen. Man muß gestehen, die Unvernunft der Herren da oben wird vom Tage zu Tage toller: Sie mögen sehen, wie sie den Carren wieder den Carren wieder [!] aus dem Dreck bringen wollen.

Halle den 3. Oct. 1847
In steter Freundschaft
Ihr treuergebener A.F. Pott

NB. Ihre Fehde mit Diefenbach ist mir sehr unangenehm. Mir ist nur Loebe's Rec. hier und nicht die Ihrige zu Gesicht gekommen. Loebe ist jedenfalls etwas derbe und – um es ehrlich zu sagen – auch nicht ganz sine ira verfahren. Diefenbach's[74] sog. Lückenbüßer habe ich noch einmal überlesen; wie gesagt, das corpus delicti, Ihre Rec.[75], kenne ich nicht, sonst würde ich diesen Lückenbüßer nicht so anstandverletzend finden, wie Sie thun. Ich dächte, Sie ließen den Streit ruhen; es kann kaum etwas Erquickliches dabei herauskommen.

[71] LUDWIG PERNICE, Halle 11. Juni 1799–16. Juli 1861 Halle; er habilitierte sich 1821 in der Juristischen Fakultät und wurde 1825 Ordinarius der Rechtswissenschaften in Halle. 1838–1848 war er Kurator der Universität Halle, anschließend wieder Ordinarius sowie Mitglied des Preußischen Parlaments und (1854) Kronsyndikus. Vgl. „Pernice, Ludwig." In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 25 (1887), S. 387–388.

[72] Der Historiker HEINRICH LEO, Rudolstadt 19. März 1799–24. April 1878 Halle, promovierte 1822 in Erlangen, habilitierte sich 1824 in Berlin und wurde 1830 Ordinarius in Halle. In seinen publizistischen Beiträgen neigte er zur Polemik insbesondere gegen die Zeitströmungen. Vgl. C. FREIHERR VON MALTZAHN: „Leo, Heinrich." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 14 (1985), S. 243–245.

[73] Die *ALZ* stellte 1849 ihr Erscheinen ein.

[74] LORENZ DIEFENBACH, Sprachforscher und Dichter, Ostheim/Hessen 29. 7. 1809–28. 3. 1883 Darmstadt, studierte Theologie in Gießen und wirkte als Lehrer, Stadtpfarrer und Bibliothekar in Frankfurt. Sein Hauptinteresse galt der Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und er veröffentlichte mehrere Lexika. Vgl. E. SCHWARZ: „Diefenbach, Georg Lorenz Anton." In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 3 (1957), S. 640–641.

[75] Rez. zu: LORENZ DIEFFENBACH: *Gothische Sprachkunde: Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gothischen Sprache.* Erster Band. Frankfurt a.M. 1846. In: *Neue Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* 1847, S. 117–118, 466–47.0 – Der 2. Artikel ist die Replik.

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The Amulet in Thunder Magic Rituals as Prism of Taoist Exorcist Power

The Amulet of Comprehensive Support due to the Commands of Thunders and Thunderclaps 雷霆號令總攝符

By Florian C. Reiter, Berlin

Summary: The presentation focuses on the chapters 122–124 in the Taoist canonical collection *A Corpus of Taoist Rituals* 道法會元 that contain two different exorcist traditions. The study analyses one major amulet in its dispersed form and establishes the connection between the two variant traditions that presumably are related to the activities of the Taoists and exorcists Wu Meng 吳猛, Hsü Sun 許遜 (3rd ct.), and Wang Wen-ch'ing 王文卿 (12th ct.) and emerged in the regions of Kiangsi and Hunan in the 12th and 13th centuries. The study embeds the ritual production of amulets in the context of religious Taoism. Amulets are the crucial ritual device in Taoist exorcism.

The canonical collection *A Corpus of Taoist Rituals* 道法會元 is one of the few windows that the *Taoist Canon* (TT) of the Ming period opens up for us to get an idea about the oscillating world of Taoist exorcism.[1] We know that exorcism in China was the long concealed and in Western oriental studies widely ignored or belittled side of professional Taoism. The compilation of the *Canon* was a matter with which the Chinese state since the T'ang period greatly interfered, starting with emperor Hsüan-tsung 唐玄宗 in the 8th century. He engaged scholars and Taoists in a great common effort to revise and compile what was believed to be the heavenly scriptures of Taoism. They were thought to be different from Confucian scriptures and Buddhist *sûtras* since they had allegedly emerged as crystallizations of cosmic rays of light and energies and therefore shared with the cosmos the same unlimited and unfathomable existence.[2]

Since the 11th century and the activities of outstanding Taoist priests and scholars like Wang Wen-ch'ing 王文卿 (1093–1153) and Sa Shou-chien 薩守

[1] P. van der Loon: "A Taoist Collection of the Fourteenth Century." In: W. Bauer (ed.): *Studia Sino-Mongolica*. Wiesbaden 1979 (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 25), pp. 401–405; also see K. Schipper/F. Verellen (eds.): *The Taoist Canon, A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Chicago 2004, pp. 1105–1113.

[2] See F.C. Reiter: *The Beginning of the Subtle School of Taoism, An Official Perception of Taoism in the Early T'ang Period*. Wiesbaden 2014 (AKM 94), pp. 1–12 (Introduction).

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堅 (fl.12th ct.) the expression Thunder Magic rituals 五雷法 was often used to summarize the welter of Taoist exorcism. Thunder Magic rituals and the later methods of the Taoism of Clarified Tenuity 清微道法 refer to quite a number of other historical Taoist branches, which in the Ming period the 43rd Heavenly Master CHANG YÜ-CH'U 張宇初 summarized in his *Ten Rules for the Taoists* 道門十規. He submitted the *Ten Rules* to the Ming-Court having been commissioned to prepare a new edition of the *Taoist Canon*. CHANG YÜ-CH'U displayed the facet of Taoist history and the helpful workings of the Taoist masters throughout history and in Chinese society. He also explained why and how he various branches of Taoist exorcism were integral parts of religious Taoism and certainly, he did not fail to indicate the distance from shamanism 巫術.[3]

We know that in early history Taoist amulets were already part of the practical approach to daily life, for example travelling in mountains amulets were thought to provide protection.[4] In the Yüan- and Ming-periods (14th–16th centuries) when *A Corpus of Taoist Rituals* was compiled and incorporated in the *Canon* the Taoist amulets already have had a history of far more than one thousand years and they had passed through many formative phases.

They were thought to be contracts which the character *amulet fu* 符 means but in religious Taoism the contract is made with the world of the divine. We learn from the sources of Thunder Magic rituals that amulets are the most important and potent ritual tools that a priest would use, performing an exorcism in order to heal, to destroy or ban wicked sprites or to call in rain and winds. We also learn that amulets are not an expression of calligraphy although they may look pretty artistic.[5] In fact, they are the result of a rather demanding spiritual or meditative action of the priest who has to attain the personal standing of a divinity as to be able to communicate with the divine vis-á-vis and to work out a magically effective amulet. He is supposed to adopt first an *alter-ego*, which means the transformation into a divinity 變神 but that divinity would be some specific Thunder divinity. We have variously described these procedures in earlier publications referring for example to WANG WEN-CH'ING.[6]

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[3] See F.C. REITER: *The Taoism of Clarified Tenuity,* 清微道法 *Content and Intention*. Wiesbaden 2017 (AAS 48), "Foreword"; and see the same author: *Grundelemente und Tendenzen des religiösen Taoismus, das Spannungsverhältnis von Integration und Individualität in seiner Geschichte zur Chin-, Yüan- und frühen Ming-Zeit*. Stuttgart 1988 (Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 48), pp. 22–35.

[4] *Pao-p'u tzu* 17, *teng-she* 登涉 1a–7b, *ju-shan fu* 入山符 8a–13a, *ju-shan p'ei-tai fu* 入山佩帶符 13a–18b. Chong-hua Comp., ed: *Ssu-pu pei-yao*. Taipei 1966.

[5] See REITER 2017, pp. 92–94.

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It is important to realize that the priests always shared an individual professional tradition which the respective teacher-masters had transmitted. Taoists travelled a lot which the canonical biographies tell us. And yet, it was certainly not the case that they had all those materials at their avail that we today can easily refer to, perusing the modern editions of the *Taoist Canon* of the Ming-period. The priests may have had limited liturgical resources to solve all the demands that society and individual clients may have brought forth hoping to find religious help. Small wonder, there was a pressing demand for omnipotent, all round effective ritual devices, and the amulets met that demand.

Once the priest has attained the personal condition to set out writing his amulets he will have to do it in a specific way which does justice to the internal and transcendent potential that the amulets are supposed to crystallize. The Sung-period saw the documentation of *Thunder amulets* 雷符 in the form of graphic representations of fierce divinities that seem to fly or jump, holding some weaponry and having a bird-like apparition with the peak of a phoenix and wings.

The documents of Sung Thunder rituals contain many amulets of this type, and it is difficult to believe that they were done with one fast stroke of the brush as often claimed. May be that printed and well prepared amulets were at hand and the priest ritually consecrated them, completing and finalizing them with one stroke of the brush. The priest had to recollect and recite in a preceding session of meditation the transcendent meaning of each part of the graphic representation. Therefore we find these bird-men amulets presented in dispersed form 散形. Each single element of the graphic presentation is accompanied with short phrases that convey the magic meaning of the respective part that the priest invokes as he actually writes or completes the amulet. In the end it is a compound amulet 聚形 that carries the magic might to enforce the desired effects.

We have variously described how this works but have so far not paid much attention to the fact that an amulet in the form of true writs 真文 can also be presented in dispersed form. So called true writs often look like seal characters, and amulets in this form can be huge combinations of real or imagined seal characters to form one amulet, but the reading of the amulet remains usually undisclosed for the not initiated members of the public.

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[6] F.C. Reiter: „Daoist Thunder Magic (Wulei fa 五雷法), Some Aspects of its Schemes, Historical Positions and Development." In: idem (ed.): *Foundations of Daoist Ritual, A Berlin Symposium*. Wiesbaden 2009 (AAS 33), pp. 31, 32; in this case it is all about the self-identification with the Heavenly Mother Marici. Also see for example TT 1220 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 57.14a–14b; 60.1a.

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As indicated, the local Taoist would have to operate with those traditions that he was able to reach and learn. It was important to have ritual and exorcist devices at hand that presumably comprise as many divine forces as possible and therefore may serve any purpose. *The Amulet of Comprehensive Support due to the Commands of Thunders and Thunderclaps* 雷霆號令總攝符 is such an example, and we find it in its dispersed form that reveals the inner components and their exorcist might.

The exorcist tradition in *A Corpus of Taoist Rituals* in chapter 124: *Great Rituals of the Five-Thunders Fire Carriages of Thunders and Thunderclaps in the Heaven of Highest Purity* 上清雷霆火車五雷大法 contain *The Amulet of Comprehensive Support due to the Commands of Thunders and Thunderclaps*.[7] The amulet and chapter 124 are preceded by another important exorcist Thunder tradition that we include in our considerations to gain some historic perspectives.

The whole set of the *Great Rituals of the Five-Thunders Fire Carriages of the Most Superior Three-and–Five Iron Face of Shao-yang* 太上三五邵陽鐵面火車五雷大法 in chapters 122–123 are under the sway of Hsü Sun 許遜 and his teacher-master Wu Meng 吳孟. Both persons reputedly lived in the 3rd century and were prolific Taoist priests and exorcists from Kiangsi province but the reference to Shao-yang 邵陽 points to the regional context of Hu-nan province.[8] The fame and influence of the two Taoists extended well beyond their time up to the era of Emperor Sung Hui-tsung 宋徽宗 (r. 1100–1126) whose reverence for the two Taoists and also his appreciation of the exorcist activities of Wang Wen-ch'ing at his court attested the genuine union of Taoist exorcism and Heavenly Masters Taoism.[9]

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[7] TT 1220 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 124.10a–11b.

[8] TT 1220: 122.8a–9a features Wu Meng as the Thunder divinity Divine Emissary of the True Amulet at *hai*-time on the [Star-] Platform *K'uei* 魁臺亥時真符神吏吳猛. Concerning Wu Meng and Hsü Sun see TT 296 *Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien* 27.1a–2a; and 26.1a–20a. Emperor SUNG HUI-TSUNG 宋徽宗 granted in 1122 to Wu Meng the religious title: Adept Divine Ferocity 神烈真人 TT 296: 27. 2a, and Hsü Sun was titled: Perfected Lord of Subtle Help and Divine Efforts 神功妙濟真君 TT 296. 26: 19b–20a. Hsü Sun's biography informs us about the exorcist skills that he had a command of which are defined as: "rituals of Orthodoxy and Unity to execute evil sprites" 正一斬邪之法. This embeds the exorcist crafts within Heavenly Masters Taoism, and further on we read about the "skills of the soaring steps of Three-and-Five" 三五飛步之術 which points to the very title of the *Great Rituals* of chapters 122–123 in *A Corpus of Taoist Rituals*, compare TT 296: 26.4a. Wu Meng and Hsü Sun are the legendary, almost notorious spiritual teacher-masters of Taoist exorcists, see for example the biography of Yeh Ch'ien-shao 葉千韶 (9th ct,) from Kiangsi, see TT 295 *Hsü-hsien-chuan* 2.16b–18b, for a translations see F.C. REITER 2007a: *Basic Conditions of Taoist Thunder Magic*. Wiesbaden 2007 (AKM 61), pp. 5–10.

[9] See below.

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The title *Great Rituals of the Five-Thunders Fire Carriages of the Most Superior Three-and–Five Iron Face of Shao-yang* heads the chapters 122–123 in *A Corpus of Taoist Rituals* but only the very first part of chapter 122 presents the usual entry *Ritual Patrons* 主法 which lists three spiritual patrons: a Great God-emperor, a perfected one and a true lord, all without any proper names.[10] The next paragraph: *Masters and Perfected of the Transmission* 傳派師真 starts out with the divinity: God-emperor and Lord, Master of the *Liu-po* Heaven who Transmitted the Rituals and Rules over the Teachings 傳法主教六波天主帝君, Master of the Teachings of Thunders and Thunderclaps, God-emperor of the Green Divine Force in the Jade Pivot, [named] Hsin Chung-i 雷霆教主玉樞青靈帝君辛忠義 which is the first personal name in the following listings that also show some other titles connected with personal names. Some titles eventually repeat the geographical name Shao-yang 邵陽, which again points to the geographical setting: Hunan province.[11]

Some of the titles contain the formula *Three and Five* 三五 which the *Preface* by Ch'en Nan 陳楠 (died 1213), the Taoist Mud-Pill 泥丸道人 explains: "Three *yang* and *Five* Thunders".[12] We learn that the Thunder Lord Shao Yang 邵陽雷公 at the Holy Mountain of the South, Mount Heng-shan 衡山 on Peak Chu-jong 祝融 met with the divinity God-emperor and Lord, Master of the *Liu-po* Heaven 六波天主帝君. The name Chu-jong refers to the mythological prehistory of China when T'ai-hao 太昊 established the clan lineage that was at the very beginning of things Chinese and, of course, of Thunder Magic exorcism, which Po Yü-ch'an 白玉蟾 (1134–1229) who was the reputed teacher-master of Ch'en Nan featured in his tracts *Lineage* and *Historic Realities* 世系事實.[13]

Thunder Lord Shao-yang received at the occasion of that divine encounter the *Tao* of Three *yang* and Five Thunders which enabled him to control winds and Thunders and to perform the well-known range of exorcist Thunder Magic rituals. He also had obtained the required ritual tools like magic seals which are exemplary listed in chapter 123.[14]

The *Preface* by Ch'en Nan displays the reputed emergence of the *Great Rituals of the Five-Thunders Fire Carriages of the Most Superior Three-and–Five Iron Face of Shao-yang* and emphasizes the connection of this branch

[10] TT 1220: 122.2b.

[11] TT 1220: 122.2b, 3a, 3b.

[12] TT 1220: 122.1a. The term Three-and-Five is ambiguous and prone to individual, divergent interpretations. Wang Wen-ch'ing explained that Three-and-Five means "the mysterious operation of the [Northern] dipper", see TT 1220: 67.23b, see F.C. Reiter: "*The Discourse on the Thunders* 雷說, by the Taoist Wang Wen-ch'ing 王文卿 (1093–1153)." In: JRAS 14,3 (2004), p. 219.

[13] TT 1220: 82.23a–29b. Also see Reiter 2009, p. 42.

[14] TT 1220: 123.15b–19a 雷霆都司符璽.

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of exorcism with the region of Hu-nan. The *Preface* also refers to various spiritual transmission and revelations. Recipients of the tradition in consideration were Wu Meng and his disciple Hsü Sun. The latter is said to have been Magistrate of Ching-yang 旌陽縣令 who had lived in hiding on the western mountains of Yü-chang 豫章.[15] After many years he completed his elixir and obtained the crafts of the *divine sword of the Nine Heavens* 九天靈劍之術. Later on he practiced exorcist crafts to fight off scaly dragons that finally went into hiding in the area of T'an-chou 潭州.[16]

When the Superior God-emperors knew the facts they had Hsü Hsün equipped with *this book*—which should refer to these *Great Rituals*. He was made Arbiter of Thunders and Rain at the Department of the Dipper 斗府雷雨判官. The Superior God-emperors appointed the five spirit marshals of Shao-yang to be his generals, and established the office of Marshal of the Five Thunders at Shao-yang which Hsü Sun, the Arbiter of Thunders and Rain at the Department of the Dipper had in control. The five spirit marshals of Shao-yang were to assist him. Hsü Sun now had the might of handling wind and Thunders, and those infesting scaly dragons ceased to be around.

We learn that the two gentlemen Hsü Sun and Wu Meng received the transmission that was handed down to the present time although many alterations occurred. Now, anybody who "would get *this book* today" must attain it secretly and embody the determination of Hsü Sun and Wu Meng. As to the assembled forces of the five spirit marshals of Shao-yang, in past times they were shrouded in total secrecy with the result that no transmission occurred, and only the two gentlemen Wu Meng and Ting I 丁義 were appointed to be at the origin of the line of transmission.[17] We learn that after the ascent of Hsü Sun all of this had not been carried on in private and therefore, those who nowadays get the transmission of *this book* should especially honour it.[18]

Wu Meng and Hsü Sun both hailed from Kiangsi but the Thunder tradition that is attributed to them as the antique founding patriarchs evolved in Hun-nan province around Thunder Lord Shao-yang, which had the geo-

[15] This is a literary name for Kiangsi province. Wu Meng is famous for his activities on Mount Lu shan 廬山, see F.C. REITER, "Die Ausführungen Li Tao-yüans zur Geschichte und Geographie des Berges Lu (Chiang-hsi) im ‚Kommentar zum Wasserklassiker', und ihre Bedeutung für die regionale Geschichtsschreibung." In: OE 28,1 (1981), p. 20.

[16] This is an old name for Ch'ang-sha in Hu-nan, see H.A. GILES: *A Chinese-English Dictionary*. Taipei 1972 (repr.), nr. 10676.

[17] Ting I was a perfected gentleman whom Wu Meng met when he was 40 years old. He received from Ting I divine recipes 神方 and after some other encounters he received secret methods, and finally around the year 229 he received in the region of Wu the *Amulet of the White Clouds* 白雲符 and then he greatly displayed his exorcist crafts, see TT 296 *Li-shih chen-hsien t'i-tao t'ung-chien* 27.1a.

[18] TT 1220: 122.1b–2b, *Preface*.

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graphic name Shao-yang transformed to be a divine and personal name. Wu Meng and Hsü Sun were greatly exonerated by Emperor Sung Hui-tsung, many centuries after they lived in this world.[19]

Wang Wen-ch'ing who operated as court Taoist and performed exorcism and Taoist liturgies of offering 醮 at the imperial court must have been aware of the traditions that were associated with those two Taoists and their exorcist crafts in the 3rd century that most likely were not identical as to name and title with what we see in chapters 122 and 123 of *A Corpus of Taoist Rituals*.[20] The two names, Wu Meng and Hsü Sun may have been borrowed to give the newly emerged tradition an uplift as to reputation. On the other hand, Wang Wen-ch'inG in the Sung period had developed theories of meditation, internal alchemy and practices that in many respects were precursors for the *Great Rituals of the Most Superior Three-and-Five Iron Face of Shao-yang* in the 13th century. We also may adduce the evidence of the common ritual orientation towards the Northern Dipper, compare the *Discourse on the Thunders* 雷說 by Wang Wen-ch'ing and on the other side the *Heart Method of Shao-yang* 邵陽心法.[21]

The resemblance, however, fades a little if we consider the different approach in the *Preface* by Ch'en Nan heading chapter 122 in comparison with the *Preface* by Wang Wen-ch'ing in chapter 124.[22] Wang Wen-ch'ing does not make mention of Wu Meng and Hsü Sun and does not to speak about a Thunder Lord Shao-yang.

The key aspect obviously are the differing divine names and references. The *Amulet of Comprehensive Support due to the Commands of Thunders and Thunderclaps* has in the leading position at the top of the pantheon of Thunder divinities the three names Teng Po-wen 鄧伯溫, Hsin Han-ch'en 辛漢臣 and Chang Yüan-po 張元伯 that characterize the tradition of Wang Wen-ch'ing. It is only the name of Hsin Han-ch'en that appears in the tradition of Thunder Lord Shao-yang.[23] We understand that the notion and phrase: *Great Rituals of the Five-Thunders Fire Carriages* 火車五雷大法 is not only the formal basis of the three titles of chapters 122–124, but it is also the indicator of the common ritual purport.

The Thunder tradition of Wang Wen-ch'ing was older and naturally underwent changes in Hu-nan, adopting divine names and charges that were familiar in the region. Judging from the time of Ch'en Nan who was active

[19] See above note 7.

[20] F.C. Reiter: "A Preliminary Study of the Taoist Wang Wen-ch'ing (1093–1153) and His Thunder Magic *(lei-fa)*." In: ZDMG 152 (2002), pp. 162–167.

[21] TT 1220: 67.21a–25a; and 123.10b–11b.

[22] TT 1220: 122.1a–2b; 124.1a–1b, this text is translated in Reiter 2002, p. 171.

[23] TT 1220: 123.22a.

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in the 13th century we can assume that the tradition of Thunder Lord Shao-yang evolved in Hu-nan long after the time when Wang Wen-ch'ing was active at the court of Emperor Sung Hui-tsung (r. 1100–1126).

The essential idea and comprehensive approach of Taoist exorcism can be seen in the amulet that is designed in the style of true writs: *Comprehensive Support due to the Commands of Thunders and Thunderclaps* which suits the Chinese preference for the antique style. The interspersed texts have the diction of orders:[24]

(10a)

/a/ Superior God-emperor of Jade Clarity and Great God-emperor of Supreme Clarity 玉清上帝 上清大帝,
Great God-emperor of Greatest Clarity, Great God-emperor of the Green Flowery [Palace] 太清大帝 青華大帝

/b/ Decree and summon the Thunder divinities, call forth and dispatch generals and troops:

(10b)

/c/ Fast commander of fire-bells and blazing fire, great divinity Teng Po-wen 鄧伯溫,

/d/ Fierce messenger Hsin Han-ch'en 辛漢臣,

/e/ Fire Wheel Sung Wu-chi 宋無忌, Terribly Fast Chang Yüan-po 張元伯,

/f/ General of the Fire Carriages of Heavenly Thunders, Liu Chung 劉忠 do speedily descend!

/g/ General of the Fire Carriages of Earth, Li Yung-chih 李用之 do speedily descend!

/h/ General of the Fire Carriages of the Central Thunders, Chou Wen-ch'ing 周文慶 do speedily descend!

/i/ General of the Fire Carriages of the Thunders of Water, Sung Yung-ning 宋永寧 do speedily descend!

/j/ General of the Fire Carriages of the Thunders of Man, Chu Yung-an 朱永安 do speedily descend!

/k/ The golden amulet with its jade declarations may be made widely public—in heaven and on earth.

/l/ Write and seal with the fire of the Five Thunders to kill and annihilate wicked monstrosities and commonly annihilate cruel disaster.

/m/ The One breath of Thunder fires (11a) [four characters were lost].

/n/ Bright lightning and dense thunderclaps with the majestic radiance of fire, decree that all divinities proceed to kill, and they must do so urgently as decreed and supported by the fast orders of the *Commands of Thunders and Thunderclaps*.

[24] TT 1220: 124.10a-11a. For the sake of comparison see also for example TT 1220: 161.13a-17b.

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The spaces that the signs /a-n/ indicate, show the respective constituent graphic elements of the amulet which in this case are easy to decipher. They together form the large Jade Character which is the compound seal character that constitutes the amulet.[25]

Element /a/ is character *big* 大 bracketing the character *God-emperor* 帝. Element /b/ is easy to recognize as the character *decree* 敕. Elements /c,d,e/ surely stand for the word *sun* 日. Elements /f,g,h,i,j/ are each combinations of the characters *thunder* 雷 and *fire* 火 from head to foot, brilliantly embodying the assumed equal and magic might of the addressed Thunder generals who additionally have proper names. Element /k/ certainly presents the character *metal* or *gold* 金. Elements /l,m/ are less certain to be identified, possibly they are parts of the words *urgent* and *command*. Rather interesting is the last element /n/ on p. 11a that resembles the character *field* 田 which we often find at the foot of amulets.

The sign has nothing to do with the actual character *field* to be written with five strokes of the writing brush. Six strokes are required to draw the design that represents the notorious exorcist formula *Six Instructions* 六訣:

> Open the Gate of Heaven; Close the Window of Earth; Keep open the Gate of Man, Obstruct the way of the demons; Pierce the heart of the demons; Crush the belly of the demons.

Even today we find the design and implicitly that formula at the foot of amulets. In short, the amulet combines the notion of commanding God-emperors, of the sun, the Thunders, and fire which altogether extend the message of the *Six Instructions*.[26]

We learn that the priest having done the writing of the amulet, presumably having read or recited all these words and commands, releases the breath of the *mûdra* Thunder Office 雷局氣訣 [from his left hand] to let the breath enter the golden character of the amulet.

This notice is revealing: The gold character 金字 is of course the compound amulet character that we see to the left hand side of the column that we just read. The character *gold* consists of the character great 大 in an extended form to bracket all the graphic elements that we have seen interspersed in the text above and described as elements nr. /a-n/. The design is rather fine and intricate and we may wonder how this was done with a writing brush. We do not get relevant instructions in chapter 124 but observe that the absolutely similar amulets in chapter 122, standing for an akin and yet different

[25] Concerning the amulet see the *Appendix*.

[26] For the Chinese text see TT 1220: 124.5a: The Six Instructions are part of the *Amulet of the Fire Chariots that Unite the Thunders* 火車總雷符, see below. A complete translation of this amulet presents Reiter 2017, pp. 77–78.

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tradition were printed with an especially mixed ink after cutting them in wood or casting one amulet in bronze.[27]

The priest "releases" then the *mûdra* Thunder Office which means that he opens the gesture of a fist that his left hand had formed to put the energy of the breath onto the amulet that he had inhaled while reciting mentally the invocation. There is a final action to consecrate the amulet and endorse its function.[28] We are instructed that the spell of consecration that goes with the action of releasing the *mûdra* was already listed earlier in the chapter to be applied with some other amulet.[29]

The spell of consecration (11a) is titled: *Spell of the Fiercely Blazing and Soaring Radiance of Lightning* 電光飛猛焰咒. Actually on p. 6a the text of a *Spell Charging the Amulet* 敕符咒 says:

> (6a) Radiance of lightning, soaring and fiercely blazing, fire of Thunders, eminent in heavenly halls, the commands be transferred to the three realms, for executing and crusading employ the six-*ting* [divinities].[30] The Five Thunders together with lightning sweep clean and must not hide, desist and pause. Absolutely urgently, receive this amulet-order of the supreme God-emperors: proceed and support speedily.

As soon as the spell was spoken the left hand transfers [the breath of] the *mûdra* Thunder Office, and the right hand holds up the amulet. The priest then recites yet another spell:

> Great Thunder Lord who supports heaven, the thunderclaps may be all around in the cosmic void with three hundred thousand dagger soldiers, with killing breaths (6b) dominating heaven and earth, lifting up rocks and making sands fly off, letting them like lightning that speedily crush all cruel forces. Iron Face 鐵面, arrest wicked monsters, Wolf-Teeth 狼雅 chew off epidemics, with killing force break down mountain ranges. Heavenly Might, bite with black winds, Black Heavens shatter and shake Thunder drums, all demons are cut off and no traces are left at all. These commands transmit the decree of heaven, blazingly scatter them in Purple Caves 紫洞. As to those who are not obedient and do not submit to the ritual orders, do not allow them to move upwards to the *K'uei-kang* star 魁罡. They only can get down to the Nine Fountains 九泉.[31] Thunder Fires assisting heaven, do help eternally that purity and clear winds prevail, urgently, urgently as the Great God-emperors decree.

[27] TT 1220: 122.9a–11b, p. 10b for the amulet in bronze.

[28] F. C. REITER 2007b: "The Management of Nature: Convictions and Means in Daoist Thunder Magic." In: IDEM (ed.): *Purposes, Means and Convictions in Daoism, A Berlin Symposium*. Wiesbaden 2007 (AAS 29), p. 189.

[29] TT 1220: 124.6a.

[30] Compare TT 1220: 58.1b, also see below concerning the spell *Pu-kang chou* 步罡咒.

[31] This means the netherworld.

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Two lines containing an invocation and a spell in pseudo-Sanskrit follow, accompanied with instructions in small print concerning some more *mûdras*. Spells and instructions in small print in chapter 124 tell us still more details about practical aspects of performing Thunder Magic rituals, but the most interesting aspect certainly is how all these essential cosmic components like heaven and earth, fire, water, man, and the centre, see /b–j/, were identified with Thunder divinities that hold proper names, with the exception of the two presiding God-emperors.

We can only speculate about the origin of all the personal names that may have emerged from a local background and from regional history. They possibly are pious fiction. However, the names of the leading divine trio Teng Po-wen, Hsin Han-ch'en, and Chang Yüan-po were important enough for the Taoist scholar Po Yü-ch'an 白玉蟾 (1134–1229) to trace the origin of the three leading Thunder divinities back to pre-history and to the very roots of Chinese culture and society.[32]

The importance of these divine names can also be seen from the preceding amulet in chapter 124: *The Amulet of the Fire Chariots that Unite the Thunders* 火車總雷符. The divine trio has the first position in the amulet and is not subordinated to any God-emperor. The three names emerge in canonical documents as already observed, that refer to Thunder rituals and the founding activities of Wang Wen-ch'ing.

Teng Po-wen was the Great Divinity of Blazing Fire 燄火大神 that Wang Wen-ch'ing suggested as divine *alter-ego* for the exorcist, in fact meaning himself when performing Thunder rituals.[33] We know the legendary history of Teng Po-wen that reports his transformation from a general fighting Chinas first rebel Ch'ih Yu 蚩尤 to the divine status of a Thunder divinity.[34]

This example shows how divine names emerged from legendary or real history. It is well known that a distinction was made between divinities of *Anterior Heaven* 先天[35] and *Posterior Heaven* 後天, the latter representing persons who made posthumously a divine career due to wondrous effects that they were credited with. This may be the background for most of the names of spirit generals that we find in the *Amulet of Comprehensive Support due to the Commands of Thunders and Thunderclaps*.

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[32] Reiter 2009, pp. 42, 43.

[33] The essential text *Assembling the Divine Force* 鍊神 in TT 1220: 124.1b–2a is translated in Reiter 2002, p. 172, and note 53.

[34] *Shih-chi* 史記 1.1b (*Wu-ti pen-chi* 五帝本紀). Ed. Tung-hua Comp., Taipei 1970. See TT 1220: 56.5a 祭律令大神, for a translation see Reiter 2007a, pp. 85, 86.

[35] Concerning *Anterior Heaven* as basis of Thunder Magic rituals, following the perception of Wang Wen-ch'ing, see Reiter 2007b, p. 185.

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We observe that the various spirit generals in this amulet are the same as in the preceding *Amulet of the Fire Chariots that Unite the Thunders*.[36] The two amulets simply belong to a tradition that evolved on the basis of a pantheon, on the forms, norms, and the internal Taoist self-cultivation that Wang Wen-ch'ing had firmly established. It is amazing to find as already observed that only the name of Hsin Han-ch'en reappears in Hu-nan, in the tradition of Thunder Lord Shao-yang, where Wang Wen-ch'ing more than a century earlier had never lived.[37]

Of course, the three names Teng Po-wen, Hsin Han-ch'en, and Chang Yüan-po in the *Amulet of the Fire Chariots that Unite the Thunders* would come second in position only, if we would assume that the three check marks above the names stand for the Three Pure Ones 三清, the highest divinities of the Taoist pantheon.[38] We have to consider, however, that the amulets in chapter 124 always place the constituent graphic design in front of the verbal specification, and this general habit should exclude an interpretation which introduces the Three Pure Ones.[39]

The production of a Thunder amulet involves a ritual preparation and sessions of meditation to enliven the graphic design with divine energies that the priest procures out of him. The amulet itself as well as the priest with his *spells* addresses the whole world with all constituent elements. The amulet is finally put into effect with further ritual performances, again involving the recitation of spells. All of this is well described in the tract *On Writing Amulets* 書符.[40] Here we read:

> It is necessary that the location is near to altars and temples. Pure rooms and pavilions are also fine. The Northern Dipper must be present.[41] The writing table must be placed in a way that the view reaches far out into the void. Writing paper, a writing brush, the ink stone, cinnabar powder, and purified water must be at hand, in short, everything that is needed. You use fierce fire to light

[36] TT 1220: 124.5a-6a.

[37] TT 1220: 123.22a.

[38] They are the Heavenly Worthy of Prime Beginning (Yüan-shih t'ien-tsun 元始天尊), the Heavenly Worthy of the Numinous Jewel Ling-pao t'ien-tsun 靈寶天尊, and the Heavenly Worthy of Tao and its Virtue (Tao-te t'ien-tsun 道德天尊), the latter name stands for Lao-tzu or T'ai-shang Lao-chün. The divinities represent Anterior Heaven.

[39] In fact, modern amulets in Taiwan, for example, usually show these three check marks at the top of an amulet to indicate the Three Pure Ones.

[40] TT 1220: 58.1a.This is an example taken from the tradition of Wang Wen-ch'ing. There are many titles of this theme throughout *A Corpus of Taoist Rituals* with similar and also with some variant instructions.

[41] For the paramount importance of the Northern Dipper in the tradition of Thunder Lord Shao-yang, see TT 1220: 123.10b-12b 邵陽心法.

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> incense and let fragrant smoke be all around. You display the flags, set up the ritual sword and take out the seals. In accordance with the meditative method you transform yourself to be the divinity that from the position of the Gate of Heaven moves onto the central star. You press firmly the *mûdras* and recite the spells. The thumb of the left hand squeezes the one position above the *chou* 丑 position inside on the middle finger. You name all demons and turn the face upwards to see the sky. You turn yourself towards the direction that is indicated by *branch* and *stem* and inhale the [respective] breath.[42] Concentrate your vision on the Three Platform stars 三台 above the crown of your head, and then concentrate on the seven stars of the Northern Dipper in front of your eyes. Now you pause and set out to write the amulet.[43]

One of the accompanying spells: *Pu-kang chou* 步罡咒 says:[44]

> First step, the heavenly stars return. Second step, what is demoniac and evil succumbs. Third step, the waters flow in the reverse direction.[45] Fourth step, anything cruel and weird is destroyed. Fifth step, the Thunder Lord gives notice. Sixth step, the six *ting*-divinities 丁神 join in. Seventh step, the Green Dragon 青龍 joins in. *T'ai-i* 太乙 releases and raises the thunders. Fire issues forth for a distance of ten thousand miles.

This of course is only the beginning of the procedures concerning the writing and completion of an amulet. We understand that amulets attest to most secretive religious procedures that Taoism cultivated. Spells are often interwoven with words of pseudo-Sanskrit which guarantees secrecy as the spelling of those ritual characters 法字 and their meaning are only entrusted to the selected disciple.

The mandatory secrecy of preparing and performing Thunder rituals which rely on almighty amulets is a theme that modern Western science often ignores. The writing of amulets and other ritual actions are by no means public spectacles—if they are properly done in a religious sense which our sources in the *Canon* en passant reveal. We find it an important task to continue analyzing Taoist amulets as they show the many sides of religious culture, especially the zeal of the Taoist exorcist religion.

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[42] *Branch* and *stem* are calendar indicators. Here they refer to the time of the ritual, implying a certain astronomical direction.

[43] Quoted (abbreviated) from Reiter 2007b, pp. 190, 191.

[44] TT 1220: 58.1b.

[45] This can refer to an internal meditative vision see E. Rousselle: *Zur seelischen Führung im Taoismus*. Darmstadt 1962, p. 27, referring to the chart of the inner scenery within the human body *Nei-jing t'u* 內經圖. However, Wang Wen-ch'ing's *Discourse on the Thunders* describes a cosmic union following the reverse flow of the waters of the "Huang-ho", see Reiter 2004, pp. 212–221.

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Appendix



The Amulet of Comprehensive Support due to the Commands of Thunders and Thunderclaps 雷霆號令總攝符, in TT 1220 *Tao-fa hui-yüan* 124.10a–11b.

Ye Gongchuos Inschrift zur Restaurierung des Śarīra-Stūpa aus der Sui-Zeit auf dem Qixia-Berg

Von Hartmut Walravens, Berlin

Der Reliquien (Śarīra)-Stūpa des Qixia-Tempels auf dem Sheshan (heute Qixia-shan 棲霞山) im Einzugsbereich von Nanjing gehört zu den beeindruckendsten Baudenkmälern der Region. Die Gestaltung ist ausgewogen, ja geradezu elegant zu nennen; er ist das früheste Beispiel dieses Stūpa-Typs im südlichen China, denn er dürfte auf das Jahr 601 oder kurz danach zurückgehen und dürfte bei dem Neubau um 970 nicht wesentlich verändert worden sein, wie Forschungen von Ernst Boerschmann (1873–1949) festgestellt haben. In seiner ausführlichen Darstellung[1] in seinem Buch Pagoden II, das erst kürzlich wieder aufgefunden und publiziert worden ist, nennt Boerschmann das Bauwerk „einzigartig". Sehr beachtlich sind die Reliefs der vier Wächterfiguren vom Sanktuarium und die acht Darstellungen der Hauptereignisse aus dem Leben Buddhas, die den Sockel verzieren. Auf letztere haben sowohl Osvald Sirén[2] wie auch Tokiwa und Sekino[3] hingewiesen.

Der Stūpa wurde 1931–1932 dank der Munifizenz von Sir Robert Hotung restauriert und dieses Ereignis auf einer Gedenktafel am Bauwerk dokumentiert. Die Inschrift[4] ist aus mehreren Gründen bemerkenswert: Sie gibt Information über

- die beteiligten Persönlichkeiten, die in den gängigen Nachschlagewerken nicht in diesem Zusammenhang genannt werden
- die bereits damals in China angewandten vorbildlichen Restaurierungsmethoden, die heute als Standard gelten. Leider sind sie in der Folgezeit in China weitgehend vernachlässigt worden, und erst in neuester Zeit finden sie wieder Anwendung (z. B. beim Pekinger Palast).

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1 S. 248–266. – E. Boerschmann: *Pagoden in China. Das unveröffentlichte Werk „Pagoden II"*. Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben und mit historischen Fotos illustriert von H. Walravens. Wiesbaden 2016. (AKM 102).

2 *La sculpture chinoise du V^e au VI^e siècle.* T. 4. Bruxelles 1926.

3 Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定/Sekino Tadashi 關野貞: *Buddhist monuments in China.* Tōkyō: Bukkyō-Shiseki Kenkyūkai 4.1937, S. 9 ff.

4 Vgl. Boerschmann 2016, S. 263, Abb.

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Koordinator der Restaurierungsunternehmung war der besonders als Eisenbahnexperte renommierte YE GONGCHUO 葉恭綽.[5] YE wurde 1880 in Panyu (Guangdong) geboren und studierte an der Pekinger Universität. Auf Grund seiner Erfahrungen im Eisenbahnbereich wurde er am 3. Juli 1913 Vize-Minister für Verkehr. Er trat 1915 zurück, war Sekretär unter dem Vizepräsidenten Feng Guozhang 馮國璋 (1859–1919), dann 1917–1918 wieder Vize-Minister. 1924 wurde er (bis 1925) Verkehrsminister der provisorische Regierung unter General Duan Qirui 段祺瑞 (1865–1936). 1932 war er kurzzeitig Eisenbahnminister, 1932–1933 Mitglied des Nationalen Wirtschaftsrates. Danach lebte er weitgehend zurückgezogen und widmete sich der Kalligraphie, Dichtung und Archäologie. 1921 gründete er die Jiaotong 交通 (technische) Universität. Nach der Gründung der Volksrepublik war er mit literarischen und künstlerischen Aufgaben befaßt; auch war er zeitweise Vorsitzender der Buddhistischen Gesellschaft der VR China. Er starb 1968. Seine Kalligraphien tauchen verschiedentlich auf Auktionen auf.



Abb.: Aufriß des Reliquienstūpa beim Qixia si, von Lu Shusen, mit Beischrift von YE GONGCHUO

Im von BOERSCHMANN hinterlassenen Pagoden II-Konvolut hat sich noch eine übersehene Übersetzung der in Frage stehenden Inschrift gefunden, die hier mitgeteilt sei. Sie ist vermutlich von BOERSCHMANNS chinesischen Kontakten hergestellt – sie wirkt etwas holprig, trifft aber den Sinn und gibt zusätzliche Einzelheiten über das Restaurierungsunternehmen:

[5] Vgl. H. L. BOORMAN: *Biographical dictionary of Republican China* 4.1971, S. 31–33.

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Aufzeichnungen über die Neuinstandsetzung der steinernen Pagode der Sui (Dynastie) mit buddhistischen Reliquien 舍利 (śarīra) auf dem Berge She 攝山

Verfaßt und geschrieben von Ye Gongchuo 葉恭綽 aus Hongkong

Die vor 1300 Jahren (d. i. im Jahre 601) während der Periode Renshou 仁壽 (601–605) der Sui-Dynastie erbaute steinerne Pagode des Berges She nutzt wegen Beschädigungen, durch klimatische Einwirkungen und Übergriffe der Menschen das Gestein ab, und jeden Augenblick droht sie einzustürzen. Diejenigen, die es sehen, leiden darunter.

Der im weltlichen Stand lebende Buddhist Herr He Xiaosheng[6] 何曉生 aus Hongkong und seine Gattin, Frau Zhang Lianjue[7] 張蓮覺, seitdem sie die große Halle des buddhistischen Tempels von Qixia 棲霞 wiederhergestellt hatten, sehnten sich danach um so mehr, mit riesigem Kostenaufwand diese Pagode instand zu setzen. Die Verwaltung dieses Unternehmens wurde mir aufgetragen. Anfangs wagte ich es nicht anzunehmen. Denn ich weiß nur zu gut, daß die künstlerische Vollendung der steinernen Arbeiten dieser Pagode das ganze Land turmhoch überragt, und nicht etwas ist, woran die späteren Generationen die Hände anlegen könnten. Um so mehr als heutzutage, um die Altertümer zu erhalten, man dagegen ist, an ihnen blindlings herumzuarbeiten, da es zum Verlust des Originals führen würde. Unter diesen Umständen die buddhistischen Bilder würdevoller zu gestalten, dabei aber Altertümer zu erhalten, ist wirklich allzu schwer zu vereinbaren. Daraufhin beriet ich mich mit den Herren Lu Shusen 盧樹森[8] und Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨[9], welche mir sagten: „Das Gerüst einer Pagode ist wie das Skelett eines Menschen, dessen Schmuck die Haut und das Fleisch sind. Haut und Fleisch können unter keinen Umständen vermehrt oder verringert werden, so daß das Original verloren ginge. Nochmehr aber muß das Skelett

[6] Hong Kong 22. 12. 1862–26. 4. 1956, Industrieller und Mäzen, heute bekannter unter dem Namen Sir Robert Hotung 何東. Er wuchs zweisprachig auf – sein Vater war holländischer Geschäftsmann –, und war für den Guangdong Maritime Customs tätig, dann für Jardine, Matheson & Co., die Hongkong and Canton Fire Insurance Co.; mit 34 Jahren war er bereits ein bedeutender Anteilseigner der Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. Schon damals galt er als einer der reichsten Männer Hong Kongs. 1915 wurde er von König George V geadelt. Vgl. *Who's who in modern China*. 1954, S. 71; *Who's who in China* 5.1936, S. 82–83 (mit Bild).

[7] Clara Cheung Lin-kok, 1875–1938.

[8] Francis Loo Shu-Shung, 1900–1955, Architekt aus Zhejiang, studierte in den USA, ab 1923–1925 an der University of Pennsylvania.

[9] Liu Tun-tseng, 1896–1968. Vgl. N. Steinhardt: "Liu Dun-zhen: Chinese architectural history in the 21st century." In: *Journal of the Society of architectural history* 73 (2014), S. 38–60.

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intakt bleiben, um sich lange erhalten zu können. Nun stellen wir fest, daß die steinerne Bekleidung der Pagode schon allmählich in Verfall gekommen ist und die Zapfen und Zapfenlöcher 卯 *[mao]* in der Mehrzahl locker geworden sind. Man müßte in folgenden Etappen an die Arbeit herangehen: mit dicken Stricken müßten die vier Seiten (der Pagode) fest zusammengehalten werden; oben und unten müßte man (die Pagode) behutsam reinigen; Geröll und Pflanzenwuchs, die sich in den Steinspalten festgesetzt haben, müßten entfernt werden. Danach müßte man, mit menschlichen Kräften, jedem der Steine seine ursprüngliche Lage zurückgeben, so daß die Ecken wie ursprünglich ineinandergreifen. Danach mit bestem Eisen umwinden, gleichzeitig zwischendurch aber 撐柱 *(chengzhu)*[10] aufstellen, damit sie sich nicht hervorschieben könnten. Danach Chemikalien eingießen. Es ist dasjenige (Verfahren), welches im Westen stets angewandt wird, um das Alter der Altertümer zu verlängern. Dies bewirkt, daß die Gesteinsäderungen durchtränkt werden und, sich verwandelnd, sich zusammenziehen. Außerdem werden die Risse verstopft, damit dort keine Pflanzen wachsen. Auf diese Weise verfällt es auch nach tausend oder hundert Jahren noch nicht. Was die Schnitzereien der äußeren Umfassung sowie all die hervorstechenden Dachsparren, Latten, Dachvorsprünge und Geländer anbetrifft, so soll alles, insoweit es nicht im Interesse der Stabilitätserhaltung unbedingt erforderlich ist, durchweg nicht verziert (d. i. restauriert) werden. Durch die Wirkung der Chemikalien wird die Färbung des Gesteins bestimmt eine Erhöhung des Glanzes zeigen, die eine farbige Bemalung noch übertreffen wird." Ich stimmte zu. Und so berichtete ich es dem Ehepaar He 何, dem Unterrichtsminister Herrn Jiang[11] 蔣 sowie allen Fachleuten. Sie alle hießen diese Theorie gut. Daraufhin wurde im Oktober 1930 mit der Arbeit begonnen. Herr Lu 盧 führte die Oberaufsicht über die Arbeiten. Nach ganzen zehn Monaten war die Arbeit beendet. In allem wurde nach den im Anfang gefaßten Plänen verfahren. Nur war an der Spitze das *[xianglun]*[12] 相輪 schon längst verloren gegangen, und das Regenwasser drang mühelos in das Innere der Pagode ein. Deswegen wurde eine steinerne Spitze in drei Schichten aufge-

[10] Stützpfeiler, Versteifung.

[11] Jiang Menglin („Monlin"), geboren 1884 in der Provinz Zhejiang. nach dem Besuch des Provincial College, Hangzhou, des Nanyang College und der Shanghai und Peking Nationaluniversitäten studierte er 1908–1912 an der University of California (LL. B.) und erhielt 1917 ein Doktorat von der Columbia University. 1919 wurde er Professor für Philosophie an der Pekinger Universität und war 1928–1930 Erziehungsminister, dann 1930–1945 Kanzler der Pekinger Universität. 1948 wurde er Vorsitzender des Institute for Pacific Relations und war anschließend in Taiwan tätig. *Who's who in China.* 1936, S. 46 (mit Bild); *Who's who in modern China.* 1954, S. 42–43.

[12] Spira, Gipfelstange.

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setzt. Was deren Form anbetrifft, so wurde das überlieferte Verfahren des [Yunzhong] 雲中 Tempels[13] der nördlichen Wei zum Vorbild genommen.

Und es gibt noch etwas, das wert ist, aufgezeichnet zu werden:
Als ungefähr etwas über vier Fuß der angehäuften Erde entfernt worden waren, stellte es sich erst heraus, daß die Pagode ursprünglich einen steinernen offenen Platz besaß; im Grundriß von derselben Form wie die Pagode, aber ungefähr anderthalb mal so breit, und im allgemeinen in gutem Zustand erhalten. Nachdem noch tiefer gegraben worden war, fand man außerdem noch einen steinernen Schutzwall. Alles Antiquitäten der Sui-Dynastie, die aber von den geographischen Werken und den Aufzeichnungen nicht erwähnt werden. Seit vielen Hunderten von Jahren begraben: die wie üblich reißenden jäh entstehenden Gebirgswasser, Lehm und Sand, die sich anhäuften – das hatte es bewirkt. Die Treppe aber ist südwärts gerichtet; dies ist mit dem vom Thronfolger 文惠 der Liang-Dynastie und anderen errichteten Buddhabildnis vollkommen identisch. Vor der Treppe gibt es einen Stein für das Begrüßen der Estrade. Links von dem Stein gibt es Stufen. Sie führen hinauf zum Felsen der Tausend Buddhas. Dies ist etwas, was im Altertum unbekannt war. Sogar als Qianlong den Sommerpalast [*xinggong* = Reisepalast] erbaute, ist er nicht entdeckt worden. Das Original der von [Jiao Ruohou[14] 焦弱侯 = Jiao Hong 焦竑, 1541–1620] verfaßten Gedenktafel, die schon verloren gegangen und späterhin neu graviert worden war, ist auch aus den Erdmassen herausgegraben worden. Das ist kein Zufall! Deswegen wurden die angehäuften Lagerungen nivelliert, um den Platz auszubreiten. Der Unterbau des Altars wurde instand gesetzt. Die steinerne Umfassungsmauer ausgebessert. In allem wurde der Stil der Sui befolgt. Von außen wurde ein eisernes Gitter aufgestellt, um es würdevoller und reiner zu gestalten. Rechts und hinter der Pagode wurden zahlreiche steinerne Dämme gebaut, um das Wasser abfließen zu lassen und so zugleich die Fundamente der Halle zu beschützen. Alle Arbeiten wurden so ausgeführt, daß man sich über nichts Vorwürfe zu machen brauchte. Ohne die Energie des Herrn Lu wäre es nicht geschafft worden.

Ich weiß, daß der Ruhm des She-Berges tausend Generationen überstrahlt hat, daß in den Zeiten der Dynastien Liang, Chen und Sui die Kaiser auf ihren Reisen dort nach dem wahren Weg gefragt haben, daß Buddha-Jünger dort von der Welt abgeschieden gelebt haben, daß die *[sanlun]*[15] 三論 ihn

[13] In Datong 大同?
[14] H. A. Giles: *Chinese biographical dictionary.* Shanghai 1898, 348, *jinshi* Ming Wanli 17.
[15] Die Mādhyamika- oder Mittlere Schule, die sich auf drei von Kumārajīva übersetzte śastras stützt. Sie wurde in Indien von Nagarjuna begründet, in China von Jiaxiang 嘉祥 in der Ost-Jin-Zeit.

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als Ahnen verehren, daß die Tausend Buddhas dort zahllose Spuren hinterlassen haben, und daß seit den Tang und Song die Blüte allmählich verfiel. – (Ich weiß), daß die Weitervererbung der antiken Tugend sich ununterbrochen fortgesetzt hat, daß die von den Dichtern gewidmeten Gedichte, daß die Spuren der Wohlgerüche der Gedichte noch an den Inschriften haften, bis zu Qianlong der Qing-Dynastie, als die Prachtgegenstände des Sommerpalastes noch mehr den Höhepunkt der Pracht einer Epoche darstellten – und daß wiederholt die Verwüstungen des Krieges darüber hinweggebraust sind und die Ruinen von Unkraut überwuchert wurden. Wo aber transzendentes Raffinement sich angesammelt hat, kommt es, einmal kondensiert, zwangsweise zum Durchbruch. Sollte jetzt diese Zeit gekommen sein? Jetzt, dank den Anstrengungen des Ehepaars He, erstrahlt die alte Pagode in neuem Glanze. Die berühmten Plätze in den Gebirgen sind in der Mehrzahl ein Opfer des Gestrüpps geworden. Noch habe ich nicht gehört, daß es auswärts keine Buddhisten mehr gibt. Was ich erhoffe, ist, daß die Buddhisten und Laien Chinas alle in dem großen Wunsche entbrennen, daß dieser berühmte Ort, diese sakrosankte Stelle ihr altes Aussehen wiedergewinnt und daß diese hehre Behausung und dieser Unterweisungsraum ihren Ruhm ausbreiten und nicht untergehen. Sollte sich der berühmte Tempel des Ostens nicht hier befinden? Es handelt sich bestimmt nicht darum, nur die Landschaft zu zieren, zum Vergnügen der Reisenden. Errichtet im Oktober des 20. Jahres der Chinesischen Republik [1931].

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Bücherbesprechungen

Petr Zima (ed.), Radovan Sibrt / Vladimir Tax (assist. eds.): *Oracy and Literacy. Their Autonomy and Complementation in Language Communication*. München: LINCOM Europa 2010. 312 S. (LINCOM Studies in Communication 7.) ISBN 978-3-86288-026-3. € 91,60.

In dem vorliegenden Band sind zehn Beiträge zur ethnolinguistischen Thematik der Oralität – „Oracy" ist offenbar eine Neubildung, die dem etablierten Begriff der „Literacy" nachempfunden ist – versammelt. Zwei Autoren – Jitka Slezáková und Petr Komers – setzen sich mit dem Phänomen der tschechischen Minoritätensprache Vietnamesisch auseinander, vier – Thomas Bearth, Norbert Cyffer, Anne Storch und Petr Zima – behandeln Fragen der Oralität und „Literacy", d. h. die Fähigkeit zu lesen und zu schreiben, in Westafrika.

Nach einer breit angelegten Einführung durch den Herausgeber – „Continuity and Discontinuity of Contacts in Communication – General Remarks" –, bei der es dem Autor vor allem um die Typologie von Sprachkontakten und um Kommunikation und deren Kontinuität geht (S. 3–28), stellen Jitka Slezáková und Petr Komers ein Projekt vor (S. 29–46), in dem es um Vietnamesisch im Kontext des Tschechischen geht. Nach dem Vietnamkrieg haben vor allem die DDR, Frankreich und die Tschechoslowakei Tausende von Vietnamesen in ihren Ländern aufgenommen. 2008 lebten so rund 60000 Vietnamesen in der Tschechischen Republik. In zwei Beiträgen – „Vietnamese Czech …" von J. Slezáková (S. 47–96) und „Czech Vietnamese …" von P. Komers (S. 96–165), wird das soziolinguistisch hoch interessante Projekt von beiden Seiten her untersucht. Wie beeinflusst das Vietnamesische das Tschechisch der Immigranten bzw. welchen Einfluss übt das Tschechische auf ihre Muttersprache aus? In „Continuity and Discontinuity of Oracy and Literacy in West Africa" (S. 136–177) legt Petr Zima, unterstützt von Thomas Bearth, seine seit an die fünfzig Jahre vertretene Sicht auf die Mündlichkeit/Schriftlichkeit-Thematik in Westafrika dar. Dem folgt eine vergleichbare Darstellung von Thomas Bearth, „Orality, Literacy and Digital Competence …" (S. 178–208), worin der Autor die moderne digitale Technologie als Chance für die afrikanische Wirklichkeit hervorhebt. In „Orality and Literacy in the Kanuri Society" (S. 209–228) behandelt Norbert Cyffer das Thema für das Volk der Kanuri in Borno, Nordostnigeria; in „Failing Literacy? On the Meaning of Writing" (S. 265–283) Anne Storch für die unterschiedlichen Jukun-Gemeinschaften Nordnigerias nördlich des Benue. À propos: Die Autorin spricht von „Jukun languages". Offenbar gibt es wohl eine Jukun-„Nation", aber ihrer Sprachen sind mehrere. Vielleicht vergleichbar mit der Beurteilung des Berberischen: Sind es Dialekte einer Sprache oder stellen diese jeweils selbständige (Berber) Sprachen dar? A. Storchs – wie immer treffend-trefflicher – Beitragstitel „Failing Literacy? …" macht auf die besondere Frage aufmerksam, ob und warum die Schrift von einer Sprachgemeinschaft (nicht) angenommen wird. Wir wissen ja auch z. B. von den keltischen Druiden, dass sie die Schrift zum Schutz ihres (geheimen) Wissens nicht annehmen wollten. P. Komers leistet mit seinem Beitrag „Oracy in Literacy …" (S. 229–264) einen beachtlichen Beitrag zur Frage, welche Bedeutung der Mündlichkeit bzw. deren Merkmale in der frankophonen

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Literatur Westafrikas zukommt. P. Zima beschließt mit „Hausa between Oracy and Digraphia of Literacy" (S. 284–312) den Band, dessen reichhaltiger Inhalt die aktuelle Diskussion um den mündlich/schriftlichen Kultur- und Sprachwandel stimulieren kann.

Ein Lektorat hätte manchem Beitrag gut getan; vgl. z. B. S. 27, 4. Z. v. u.; S. 224, 7. Z. v. u.; S. 270, Fn. 1. Zeile, etc.

Herrmann Jungraithmayr, Frankfurt am Main

Annik Wüthrich/Simone Stöhr: *Ba-Bringer und Schattenabschneider, Untersuchungen zum so genannten Totenbuchkapitel 191 auf Totenbuchpapyri*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2013. X, 92 S. (Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 18.) ISBN 978-3-447-06865-9. € 38,–.

In der altägyptischen Kultur sind dem Verstorbenen ab dem Neuen Reich Texte des sog. „Totenbuches" mit ins Grab gegeben worden, durch die er vor den Gefahren im Jenseits geschützt und auf dem Weg zum ewigen Leben begleitet werden sollte.

In der hier vorgelegten Rezension richtet sich die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Bearbeitung des sog. „*ini bꜣ*"-Spruches durch die beiden Autorinnen, der nach herkömmlicher Zählung als Totenbuchkapitel 191 klassifiziert wird. Das Buch reiht sich unter die in letzter Zeit stärker forcierten Untersuchungen von Einzelsprüchen dieses Literaturtyps ein. Die Gliederung des Werkes kann auf folgende Weise zusammengefasst werden:

In der Einleitung werden einige allgemeine Bemerkungen vorausgeschickt (S. 1–5). Die Handschriften stehen den in der Dritten Zwischenzeit eingeführten sog. „abrégés" nahe, bei denen es sich um kleinformatige Papyri mit begrenzter Textauswahl handelt (S. 2).

In Kap. 2 erfolgt die Vorstellung der Quellen auf Papyrus, deren wesentliche Charakteristika (Maße, Besitzer, Inhalt) mitgeteilt werden (S. 6–16). Der „*ini bꜣ*"-Spruch tritt z. T. gemeinsam mit Texten aus anderen Korpora (Nutbuch, Pyramidentexten) auf (S. 16).

In Kap. 3 schließt sich die Präsentation des Vergleichsmaterials an. Der Spruch ist erstens auf den Grabwänden einer ptolemäerzeitlichen Familienbestattung aus Atfih angebracht (S. 19–20). Der Spruch taucht des Weiteren auf vier Stelen (Stele Assuan 1037; Stele Moskau I.1b.267; Stele Budapest 51.2152; Stele Oriental Museum University Durham N 1974) vom Ende Ptolemäerzeit/Anfang Römerzeit auf, deren Herkunftsgebiete von der unternubischen Insel el-Hese bis nach Achmim reichen (S. 20–23). Die häufigste Belegdichte lässt sich für den Spruch auf meist anthropoiden Sarkophagen dokumentieren, deren Datierungshorizont zwischen der Spätzeit und Römerzeit einzuordnen ist (S. 23). Die älteste Version gehört der 30. Dynastie an (S. 24). Die Mehrheit der Sarkophage stammt offenbar aus Memphis, wo der Spruch bevorzugt mit Text oder Vignette von Totenbuchkapitel 89 kombiniert wird (S. 24). Der Spruch hat schließlich Eingang in Spruch 14 der Verklärung *śꜣḫw* I gefunden, wo er in fünf von acht Textzeugen zu belegen ist (S. 26–28).

In Kap. 4 finden Übersetzung und Kommentar des Textes statt, als dessen Grundlage pLondon BM EA 9963 dient (S. 29–35).

In Kap. 5 ist ein allgemeiner Kommentar präpariert worden, in dem zu bestimmten Themen Stellung genommen wird (S. 36–51). Die numinosen Wesen hinter den Ausdrücken „*ini bꜣ*" „Ba-Bringer" und „*bśḳ šw.t*" „Schattenabschneider" werden als zwei getrennte Einheiten aufgefasst (S. 37–43). Die Entscheidung lässt sich aus Sicht des Rezensenten durchaus rechtfertigen. Die gleichen Wesen sind im „Buch vom Ba" und auf der Familiengruppe des Pascherientaisui (JE 36576) zu beobachten (S. 48). Der Spruch soll bei der Vereinigung des Ba mit dem Leichnam und dessen daraus resultierender Neubelebung geholfen haben (S. 49). Das dahinter stehende religiöse Konzept spiegelt ägyptologisches

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Allgemeinwissen wieder. Die Autorinnen gehen von der wohl begründeten Annahme aus, dass die nachtodliche Existenz und Wiedergeburt des Verstorbenen eine Analogie zum Sonnenlauf bildet (S. 50).

In Kap. 6 wird eine Textsynopse angefertigt, die allerdings nur Papyri einbezieht (S. 52–67). Die ausschließliche Konzentration auf die Papyrusfassungen stellt einen leichten Kritikpunkt dar.

Die Indizes (S. 68–70) und das Literaturverzeichnis (S. 71–79) am Ende des Buches tragen ebenfalls zu dessen Gesamteindruck bei.

Die letzten Seiten werden durch einen Tafelteil (Tafel I–XIII) mit Photographien von ausgewählten Papyri abgedeckt.

Die folgenden Anmerkungen mögen als ergänzende Hinweise verstanden werden:

- S. 21: Der Sinn der Übersetzung von „*śḏm ḥr ḥ3.t*“ mit „auf Leichnam hören (?)“ bleibt auch mit Fragezeichen höchst dubios. Die Interpretation von „*śḏm*“ als Schreibung für „*śnḏm*“ „sich niederlassen“ bietet sich als Alternative an, zur umgekehrten Schreibung „*śnḏm*“ für „*śḏm*“ „hören“; vgl. Y. Barbash: *The Mortuary Papyrus of Padikakem, Walters Art Museum 551*. New Haven 2011 (YES 8), S. 149; zur nicht ganz unproblematischen Rekonstruktion des Zeilenanfangs vgl. bereits G. Vittmann: Rezension zu: A. Wüthrich/S. Stöhr: *Ba-Bringer und Schattenabschneider. Untersuchungen zum so genannten Totenbuchkapitel 191 auf Totenbuchpapyri*. Wiesbaden 2013 (Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch 18). In: WZKM 104 (2014), S. 264.
- S. 26: zur Formel „*ḥtp ḥr ḥ3.t*“ „auf Leichnam niederlassen“ in Bezug auf den Ba vgl. z. B. A. Kucharek: *Altägyptische Totenliturgien Band 4, Die Klagelieder von Isis und Nephthys in Texten der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit*. Heidelberg 2010 (Supplemente zu den Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse Band 22), S. 316; D. A. Wernig: *Das Höhlenbuch, Textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik, Teil II: Textkritische Edition und Übersetzung*. Wiesbaden 2011 (GOF IV. Reihe: Ägypten 48), S. 23/199/329/333.
- S. 29: Die Wiedergabe der Verbindung „*śḫn bȝ=f n ḏ.t=f*“ mit „möge sein Ba auf seinen Leib herabschweben“ dürfte die Voraussetzungen wesentlich besser erfüllen, vgl. hierzu J. Assmann: *Tod und Jenseits im Alten Ägypten*. München 2001, S. 117; J. Assmann: *Altägyptische Totenliturgien III, Osirisliturgien in Papyri der Spätzeit*. Heidelberg 2008 (Supplemente zu den Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 20), S. 213.
- Die Übersetzung von „*ḥtm bȝ=f n ḏ.t=f*“ mit „möge sein Ba mit seinem Leib versehen werden“ dürfte sachlich besser auf die Stelle passen. In diesem Fall würde die spätestens ab dem Neuägyptischen bekannte Schreibung der Präposition „m“ durch „n“ vorliegen, zu diesem Phänomen vgl. z. B. J. Černy/S. I. Groll: *A Late Egyptian Grammar*. Roma [4]1993 (Studia Pohl, Series Maior 4), S. 92; zum Austausch der Präpositionen „m“ und „n“ vgl. auch B. Kroeber: *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit, Studien zur Entwicklung der ägyptischen Sprache vom Mittleren zum Neuen Reich*. Tübingen 1970, S. 45.
- S. 30: zur Schreibung „*śḫ*“ für „*śʿḫ*“ (mit unterschiedlicher Bedeutung!) vgl. H. de Meulenaere: „Une statue de prêtre héliopolitain.“ In: BIFAO 61 (1962), S. 36; M. Smith: *The liturgy of opening the mouth for breathing*. Oxford 1993, S. 60c; K. Jansen-Winkeln: *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit*. Wiesbaden 1996 (ÄAT 34), S. 34 §50; zum Ausfall des „ʿ“ generell vgl. St. Bojowald: „Zum Ausfall von Ajin im Ägyptischen.“ In: *Kervan/Rivista Internazionale di Studii afro-asiatici* 16 (2012), S. 19–23.

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– S. 36: zur Verbindung aus „*niś*“ „rufen“ und Ba vgl. D. A. Werning: *Das Höhlenbuch, Textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik, Teil II: Textkritische Edition und Übersetzung*. Wiesbaden 2011 (GOF IV. Reihe: Ägypten 48), S. 167.
– S. 41: Das Verhältnis von „*hśḳ*“ „abschneiden“ zu „*hḏḳ*“ „abschneiden“ beruht wohl auf dem Lautwandel zwischen „ś“ und „d“, vgl. zu diesem Lautwandel K. Sethe: *Das aegyptische Verbum im Altaegyptischen, Neuaegyptischen und Koptischen, Erster Band, Laut- und Stammeslehre*. Leipzig 1899, S. 164 (§ 274); zur Nähe zwischen beiden Verben vgl. W. Westendorf: *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*. Berlin 1962 (Grundlagen der Medizin der alten Ägypter VIII), S. 41 (eher zurückhaltend !); W. Schenkel: „Zu den Verschluss- und Reibelauten im Ägyptischen und (Hamito)Semitischen, Ein Versuch zur Synthese der Lehrmeinungen.“ In: *LingAeg* 3 (1993), S. 146; zu „*hśḳ*“ „schneiden“ vgl. Fr. Calice: *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung, Eine kritische Diskussion des bisherigen Vergleichsmaterials*. Wien 1936 (Beihefte zur WZKM 1. Heft), S. 180.
– 48: Die Ergänzung von „*ḥḳ*“ zu „*ḥ<ś>ḳ*“ trifft wohl sicher zu, der Ausfall des „*ś*“ nach „*ḥ*“ ist mühelos mit der leicht zu verwechselnden Gestalt der beiden gleich hohen Zeichen im Hieratischen zu erklären. Das Prinzip kommt auch in anderen Fällen vor, vgl. A. H. Gardiner: *Late-Egyptian Stories*. Bruxelles 1932 (BibAeg I), S. 18a („*ḥḥ*“ für „*ḥḫś*“ „jagen“), W. Westendorf: *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*. Berlin 1962 (Grundlagen der Medizin der alten Ägypter VIII), S. 40 („*gḥ*“ für „*gḥś*“ „Gazelle“).

Stefan Bojowald, Bonn

Claus Wilcke: *The Sumerian Poem Enmerkar and En-suḫkeš-ana: Epic, Play, Or? Stage Craft at the Turn from the Third to the Second Millennium B. C. with a Score-edition and a Translation of the Text*. New Haven: American Oriental Society 2012. IX, 117 S. (American Oriental Series Essay 12.) ISBN: 978-0-940490-89-5. $ 58,–.

Wir verdanken dem Autor eine neue Bearbeitung zu *Enmerkara und Ensukukešdana*. Der Textedition sind sechs kurze, einführende Kapitel (S. 1–36) vorangestellt. In den ersten beiden Kapiteln diskutiert der Autor Fragen zum Genre („narrative or dispute“) und zum Entstehungs- und Erstaufführungsdatum der Erzählung (Anfang der Regierungszeit des Amar-Suen) und bespricht anschließend wie in einer Einleitung zu einem Drama die einzelnen Figuren (insbesondere ihre Namen) und die verschiedenen Schauplätze. In den Kapiteln 3 und 4 beschreibt er den Verlauf der Geschichte von der ersten Zeile über die Einführung der Protagonisten bis hin zur Entwicklung der Handlung. Er weist auch darauf hin, dass dem Erzähler eine besondere Rolle zukommt, er sieht ihn „as the actor establishing contact with the audience in the first place, and one could perhaps, in a way, compare his role with that of a puppeteer“ (S. 21).

Am Interessantesten ist sicher Kapitel 5, insbesondere das erste Unterkapitel („5.1 Demonstratives and Other Grammatical Elements Indicating Performance“). Hier bespricht der Autor die Häufung von Demonstrativpronomen im Kampf zwischen dem Zauberer und der weisen Frau Saĝburu. Er stellt fest, dass der Erzähler die Demonstrativpronomen nutzt, um auf die jeweiligen Tiere, die die Kontrahenten aus dem Wasser ziehen, hinzudeuten. Wilcke schließt daraus „they are present and the audience sees them“ (S. 30). Einen weiteren Hinweis auf die szenische Darstellung des Textes erkennt der Autor in der Verwendung der 3. Person Singular persönlich für die Tiere; auch hier folgert er „these predators are clearly marked as persons and are therefore actors“ (S. 30f.).

In Kapitel 6 folgen Gedanken zu humoristischen Elementen im Text und deren Wirkung auf das Publikum einerseits und die Schüler, die den Text niederschrieben, andererseits.

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Die Textbearbeitung umfasst einen Quellenkatalog, eine Partitur und Übersetzung. Einzelne Kollationen zu den Manuskripten finden sich am Ende des Buches auf S. 117.

Korrekturen und Kommentare zu „7. (…) Sources, Score, and Translation"

„7.1 Sources"

- bei L korrigiere zu Ni 4126**a**, Kopie auch in ISET 2, 40
- bei L′ korrigiere zu Ni **4126b**, Kopie auch in ISET 2, 40. Das Fragment hatte ursprünglich die Nummer Ni 4582 und sollte in ISET 3 erscheinen.
- bei P ergänze **3NT 308** = UM 55–21–303
- bei Q korrigiere zu UM 29–**13**^{1}–392
- bei S+Z+ ergänze S+Z+T+. Korrigiere die Museumsnummern zu UM 29–16–424 + 29–16–450 ~~+ N 3610~~ **+ N 3494 + N 6977**
- N 3610 gehört nicht zu S+; die Tafel ist zu flach und passt damit nicht zur Wölbung von S+.
- korrigiere die Zeilenangaben zu: i = **149b-152, 154–158**; **ii = 183–191** (Kol. iii und iv korrekt)
- bei X: N 1772A ist an N 1772 gejoint (Stand 2013)
- bei EE ergänze Vs. 203$^{?}$ (so auch A. Berlin) + zwei weitere, stark abgeriebene Zeilen
- bei FF korrigiere zu CBS 15084$^{!}$
- bei MM: Foto publiziert bei H. Behrens, AfO 29/30 (1983/84) S. 100.
- Neues Duplikat: MS 3432 mit den Z. 197–209 und 250–282.

„7.2 Transliteration (…) und 7.3 (…) Translation"

Die Rezensentin hat bei einem Forschungsaufenthalt im Rahmen ihrer Habilitation die Tafeln im University Museum kollationiert. Der Fokus dieser Rezension wird deshalb auf der Korrektur der Textpartitur liegen. Daneben kann aus Platzgründen nur im Einzelfall auf die Übersetzung eingegangen werden. Eine nur im Internet verfügbare Übersetzung von P. Attinger enthält verschiedentlich wichtige Ergänzungen (insbesondere zu den Z. 1, 47, 137, 149, 181, 202, 208 und 269), kann aber nach den Richtlinien der ZDMG hier nicht zitiert werden. Dasselbe gilt für die Übersetzung von ETCSL.

- Z. 1: Zur Lesung s. Wilcke S. 15; so schon J. Cooper, NABU 1997/18.
- Z. 8 lies iti$_{6}$ (nicht iti$_{4}$)
- Z. 13 lies in D ba-**e**-dul
- Z. 14 lies in F lugal-**la**
- Z. 21 lies in F pa **e**$_{3}$-**ne**
- Z. 30 lies in F […]-**mu-de**$_{3}$-nu$_{2}$-en
- Z. 38 lies in KK […]-ᵍun-ĝar-re-eš-A.**A[N]** / […]-ᵍ**u**$_{3}$$^{?}$**-n[e**$^{?}$**]**
- Z. 39 lies in G […]-er-**kara**$_{2}$^{ra}-ra
- Z. 41 lies in D, K und L u$_{2}$-**si**$_{4}$-…
- Z. 42f. lies in C, D und E bir$_{5}$ (nicht buru$_{6}$) „Heuschrecke"
- Z. 42 lies in L gaba-ki **za**$_{3}$ im-ša$_{4}$ wörtl. „er kommt der Erdoberfläche gleich wie ein Heuschreckenschwarm bei Tagesanbruch". Für za$_{3}$ -- ša$_{4}$ mit Äquativ vgl. Iddin-Dagan D 27 nin me maḫ an gal-gen$_{7}$ za$_{3}$ ša$_{4}$ „Herrin der erhabenen Me, die dem großen An gleich kommt".
- Z. 45 lies in D i$_{3}$-dag-**ge**$_{4}$; lies in K [ḫur]-ᵍsaĝ-**e**$^{?}$
- Z. 47: Wilckes Lesung du-ru-uš DAR$^{?}$ passt nicht zu den in D erhaltenen Spuren; lies eher KAŠ$_{4}$-e$^{?}$ GUNU$_{3}$.GUNU$_{3}$.
- Z. 50 lies in DD … **m]u-ᵍun**$^{?}$**-ĝ[en**

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- Z. 51 lies in D ki gal-gal-b[i] ⌜**mu-un-ĝen**⌝-na-a
- Z. 52 ergänze in F am Zeilenanfang ⌜en-e ki⌝ ku_3⌝-ku_3-…
- Z. 53 lies in F ⌜**lugal**⌝-**ĝu**$_{10}$ ⌜**mu**⌝-…
- Z. 54a lies in F daḫ-⌜**a**⌝
- Z. 54c und d ergänze in B am Zeilenende jeweils -am_3
- Z. 56 lies in D ḫ[a-**m]a**-ĝa_2-ĝa_2
- Z. 57 lies in D am Zeilenende ⌜**u**$_3$⌝ ĝe$_{26}$-e
- Z. 59 in D ist die Ergänzung -[en] am Zeilenende nicht korrekt
- Z. 65 lies in D ba-ra-bi$_2$-**i[b$_2$-**…]
- Z. 69 lies in D …-ĝar-re-eš-**am$_3$** und am Zeilenende von den Platzverhältnissen her eher mu-da-**[g]u$_7$**-ne
- Z. 74 lies in D am Anfang **šeg$_{12}$ [e$_2$]-⌜gal⌝** arata^{ki}-ka (so auch schon A. Berlin, *Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešdanna. A Sumerian narrative poem* [= OPBF 2] Philadelphia 1979) und übersetze wörtlich „vom Ziegel des Palastes von Arata, er ist sein erhabener *Zerschlager*“.
- Z. 75: igi i-ni-in-ĝal$_2$ ist nicht die zweite Hälfte von Z. 75, sondern eine neue Zeile. In D stehen die Zeichen oberhalb der Kol. iii und nicht unter der Kol. ii, außerdem finden sich Spuren eines weiteren Zeichens vor IGI (lies in D […] x igi i-ni-in-[x]). In M ist die Zeile mit ĝal$_2$ am Ende von der vorangehenden Zeile mit einer Linie abgetrennt, was ebenfalls für die Aufteilung auf zwei Zeilen spricht. Übersetze „kurz bevor in Arata große … herangetragen wurden, blickte er auf …“; für die Nebensatzkonstruktion s. P. Attinger: *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne* (= OBO S) (Fribourg 1993) S. 309. Von Wilckes Übersetzung ist grundsätzlich wegen der falschen Rekonstruktion der Zeile abzusehen, außerdem berücksichtigt er weder den Prohibitiv in der Verbalform, noch den Lokativ nach Arata.
- Z. 77 lies in M […ara^{k}]^{i}-ka.
- Z. 95 lies eher **eš$_3$**-gal-še$_3$; s. dazu die Diskussion bei C. Mittermayer, OBO 239 (2009), S. 227f. Für die Option eri$_{12}$-gal s. Wilcke S. 24f. mit Anm. 70; er möchte in den Zeilen Ensukukešdanas „ritual visit to the Netherworld“ erkennen und „Inana's anxious concern“.
- Z. 96 lies zumindest in C anzu_2 (nicht anzu).
- Z. 98: In C Lesung -u[n?-…] vor dem Bruch aufgrund der erhaltenen Spuren ausgeschlossen. In D lies **-d]a**-⌜an⌝-g[e$_4$]
- Z. 102 lies in D ⌜kur me sikil-la⌝-**še$_3$**
- Z. 106 lies in D ⌜mu-**da**⌝-[…]
- Z. 112 lies in P am Zeilenende mu-e-da-gu$_7$-**e**
- Z. 116 lies in D gu$_3$ ba-an-⌜de$_2$⌝ (ohne -a)
- Z. 121, 123 und 125 lies mit Berlin 1979 usu (A$_2$.KALAG) (nicht a$_2$ kala)
- Z. 124: in P sind unter dem Zeichenkopf von „ĜIR$_3$“ Spuren in Form von ḪI sichtbar, wodurch das Zeichen eher wie ḪUŠ aussieht (lies ⌜ḪUŠ x ba⌝-…). Der Platz ist nicht ausreichend für Wilckes Lesung ĜIR$_3$.X-ra?.
- Z. 129 lies in P en-me-er-kara$_2$-**ra**
- Z. 131 lies in Q nam-tum$_3$(üb. X) (nicht nam-tum$_3$-tum$_3$); am Ende der Doppelzeile lies eher […] ⌜ba-zu⌝-zu-[u]n.
- Z. 133 lies in Q […]-na-an-ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$-**an**
- Z. 137 lies in P am Zeilenanfang ĝessu e$_2$; das Zeichen stimmt mit E$_2$ in Z. 105 überein (senkrechter Keil über die gesamte Höhe in der Mitte des Zeichens; die Innenzeichnung ist hier in Z. 137 schwer zu erkennen). Wilckes Lesung ĝessu ĝeš ist im Bereich des zweiten Zeichens schwierig. Übersetze vielleicht „im Schatten des Hauses (= *casus pendens*?): er lebte in seiner Nähe für die Zauberei“.

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– Z. 138 lies in P ba-an-de$_2$-**e**
– Z. 143: für Wilcke Ergänzung engur am Zeilenanfang s. den Kommentar zu Z. 156.
– Z. 144: die Lesung kur šubur ist sehr fraglich. Sie ist für R in Z. 144 nicht unmöglich, in der parallelen Zeile 157 ist sie jedoch sowohl für R (s. die Kollation von Wilcke S. 117) als auch für U auszuschließen. Sowohl in 144 Q als auch in 157 U (und soweit erkennbar auch in R) passen die Zeichenspuren besser zur alten Lesung KA×X (wohl tu$_6$ „Beschwörung“) von Berlin 1979.
– Z. 146 lies in Q ga-m]u-**un**-na-ab-ĝar
– Z. 148 lies in Q arata^{ki}-**ke$_4$**
– Z. 149 lies in K am Zeilenende […]-˹x˺-**be$_2$-e**. Für die Zuordnung der Manuskripte K und JJ vgl. auch G. Zólyomi, NABU 2003/61.
– Z. 149b streiche Text C (= Z. 150); bei Wilcke ist die Zeile doppelt zugeordnet.
– Z. 151 lies in S+ …-gi$_4^?$-gi$_4$-**i[n]**
– Z. 152 lies in S+ […] x [… **-ga]l ˹iri-ke$_4$˺**-[ne]
– Z. 154 lies in R eher e$_2$-gal-la-**ke$_4$** (s. auch die Kollation von Wilcke S. 117)
– Z. 156 lies nicht engur (*„underground water“*); das Zeichen ist in R eindeutig ĜA$_2$×AN (so auch Wilcke). Sowohl die Lesung ama als auch daĝal ergeben im vorliegenden Kontext jedoch keinen Sinn. Deshalb ist zu erwägen, ob das eingeschriebene Zeichen möglicherweise fehlerhaft ist. Möglicherweise sollte das Zeichen zu ĜA$_2$×NUN (ĝanun „Lagerhaus“) oder ĜA$_2$×MI (itima „Schlafgemach“; so A. Berlin) korrigiert werden.
– Z. 156 lies in R am Zeilenende gu$_2$ ga-mu-˹**ni**˺-[ib]-˹ĝar˺
– Z. 157: s. den Kommentar zu Z. 144
– Z. 163 lies in R 5 ma-na (so auch schon Berlin 1979). Die Zahl 5 steht direkt am linken Tafelrand, davor ist eine winzige Stelle weggeplatzt.
– Z. 168 lies in U […].A-še$_3$. In R lesen Wilcke und Berlin 1979 LA; vergleicht man das Zeichen jedoch mit den anderen LA auf der Tafel, zeigen sich deutliche Unterschiede in der Form. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass in R -še$_3$(über X) zu lesen ist. Übersetze „dein Leben wird als Geschenk in deinen Händen liegen“. Vermutlich war der Zauberer nach der Zerstörung von Ḫamazu als Gefangener/Sklave nach Arata gebracht worden (bala in Z. 136). Wenn er nun tatsächlich Enmerkara „erbeuten“ sollte (Z. 167), wird er freigelassen.
– Z. 169 lies eher wie Berlin 1979 **engar** numun saĝ-ĝa$_2$-ke$_4$. absin$_3$ ist die Standardschreibung in der frühdynastischen Zeit, ab der Ur III-Zeit wird das Lexem mehrheitlich ab-sin$_2$ geschrieben (s. die Belege in PSD A/2, S. 147ff.).
– Z. 173 lies in U […]-ta$_3$ lu$_2$-lu$_7^{lu}$-˹gen$_7$ enim **mu-x x x**˺ […]. In der ersten Zeilenhälfte ergänze vielleicht nach S+ in Z. 186 [ab$_2$-e eme bi$_2$-in]-ta$_3$ wörtlich „er ließ die Kuh die Sprache berühren“. Übersetze auch in R mit einem Kausativ „er ließ die Kühe Wörter sprechen“ (so schon G. Zólyomi, NABU 1995/73).
– Z. 179 lies in R **unu$_2$**
– Z. 180 lies in V tur$_3$ ku$_3$-˹**ta en**˺-[…]
– Z. 181 lies in R […] ^{d}**nisaba dumu**-saĝ. Die Lesung šita$_4$-a (R) // šita$_5$-a (V) ist unsicher. Beide Zeichen entsprechen nicht den typischen Formen für ŠITA$_4$ (zu schmal geschrieben; vgl. die Kollation von Wilcke S. 117) bzw. ŠID (schräger Keil in der Zeichenmitte; fehlt in Wilckes Kollation). Dazu kommt, dass das Zeichen A in beiden Fällen mit dem vorangehenden Zeichen in Ligatur geschrieben ist. Ausserdem ist šita$_4$ in der Bedeutung „ritual preparation“ sonst nicht belegt (Mitteilung P. Attinger).
– Z. 183–191 ergänze S+ Kol. ii:

183 [ba]-˹ab˺-[x] / [ ] ˹x DU$^?$ x˺ [x]
184 [amaš ku$_3$ ama]š ^{d}nisaba-še$_3$ b[a-te]

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185 [ud$_5$-de$_3$ am]aš ⌜ku$_3$⌝-ga saĝ mu-u[n-]
186 [ud$_5$-d]e$_3$ʾ eme bi$_2$-in-t[a$_3$ʾ lu$_2$-l]u$_7$-gen$_7$ ⌜enim⌝ mu-un-⌜da⌝-a[b-x (x)]
187 ⌜ud$_5$⌝ i$_3$-zu a-ba-a i$_3$-g[u$_7$-x] / ga-zu a-ba-a i$_3$-[ ]
188 i$_3$-ĝu$_{10}$ i$_3$-gu$_7$-e ⌜ŋá⌝[nisaba-x]
189 ga-ĝu$_{10}$ i$_3$-na$_8$-[ ]
190 ga-ara$_3$-ĝu$_{10}$ [ ]
191 unu$_2$ gal [ ]

– Z. 191 lies in R 2× unu$_7$ (nicht unu$_6$)
– Z. 193 lies in R en-na(-)ga-mu-un-DU-⌜**a-aš**⌝
– Z. 194: Zu šita$_4$-a s. den Kommentar zu Z. 181
– Z. 201 lies in R zi-bi **mi**-ni-**i[n**ʾ]-⌜x⌝
– Z. 202: die Lesung ba-ni-d[e$_2$ für R passt nicht zu den auf dem Cast erhaltenen Spuren. Der Ausdruck gu$_3$ ge$_{17}$ -- de$_2$ wäre ausserdem ein Hapax (Mitteilung P. Attinger).
– Z. 203 lies in R am Ende] **teĝ$_3$**-ĝe$_{26}$; ergänze für die Zeile EE […] ⌜BI/GA x x⌝ […] teĝ$_3$-ĝe$_{26}$ (s. schon H. Behrens, AfO 29/30 [1983/84] S. 103).
– Z. 204 lies in R si-si-ig-**ga**
– Z. 208 lies in R **amaš tur$_3$-še$_3$** (so auch schon Berlin 1979). Das letzte Zeichen auf der Zeile sieht auf dem Cast genau so aus wie in Heimpels Kopie (JAOS 101 [1981] 406); lies evtl. la-ba-⌜DUʾ⌝ und übersetze „der Hirtenjunge ging nicht mehr zu Hürde und Pferch (…)“.
– Z. 209 lies in R ga-IL$_2$ ^{dug}ad ⌜gal-še$_3$⌝ nu-mu-e-⌜DUʾ⌝ und übersetze „der Milchträger ging nicht mehr zu den grossen AD-Gefäßen“. Wilckes Kollationen zu der Zeile (S. 117) sind irreführend (insbesondere für die beiden Zeichen nach AD und für das letzte Zeichen).
– Z. 211 lies in X [x d]u$_2$-**ud**-da
– Z. 217 lies in Y eher lu$_2$ arata^{ki}-**ke$_4$**
– Z. 218 lies in X […] **ga** ba-e-ni-kal. Die Verbalbasis am Zeilenende ist de$_5$-de$_5$(-g) zu lesen.
– Z. 219 lies in X i$_3$ **ga** ba-e-ni-⌜kal⌝
– Z. 220 lies in X […] **ad$_6$**(LU$_2$×BAD)-bi. Die erste Zeilenhälfte ist entsprechend mit „die Leichen von Hürde und Pferch sind hingeworfen (šub)“ zu übersetzen.
– Z. 221 lies in Y am Anfang [(x) **AB$_2$].KU P[A.UDU** …] und übersetze wörtlich „vom Groß- und Kleinviehhirten – ihr Wort näherte sich ihm“.
– Z. 223: Die Lesung ⌜iri ^{d}nisabaʾ in R ist aus Platzgründen (Platz für zwei Zeichen) und aufgrund der wenigen vor ereš^{ki} erhaltenen Spuren ausgeschlossen. Der Zeilenanfang ist, wie auf Heimpels Kopie zu erkennen, nicht erhalten. In X lies nach der Bruchstelle nicht]-la; das Zeichen gehört am Ehesten zur Gruppe URUDU/DUB. Davor sind Spuren eines weiteren Zeichens erhalten, die zu KI gehören könnten.
– Z. 224 lies in X […].NUN^{na}
– Z. 225 lies in X ⌜iri^{ki}⌝[^{i} … ^{d}]⌜en-lil$_2$-la$_2$-bi^{2}-še$_3$ʾ ĝiri$_3$⌝ bi$_2$-in-gu[b]
– Z. 228 lies in X maš-maš **su[ḫur** gal^{k}]^{u6}**-e**
– Z. 230: Für den Zeilenanfang s. J. Peterson: *A study of Sumerian faunal conception with a focus on the terms pertaining to the order testudines* (Ph. D. University of Pennsylvania 2007), S. 127 Anm. 614 (ĝeš-nu-ur$_2$-in^{mušen}); seine Lesung ist im Bereich von -ur$_2$- epigraphisch unsicher. Wilckes Lesung nu$_x$(ĜIŠ.NU$_{11}$) ḫu-ri-in^{mušen} ist ausgeschlossen (analog ist auch Z. 229 für Text R zu korrigieren). In Text X beginnt die Zeile mit ḫu-r[i$_2$-…]
– Z. 233 (236, 237 usw.) lies in R eindeutig **e$_3$** (nicht e$_{11}$). Heimpels Kopie stimmt mit den Zeichen auf dem Cast überein.

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– Z. 242 lies in allen Duplikaten nemur$_2$. In X lies am Ende wohl …-**D]U**.
– Z. 246 lies in S+ in der zweiten Hälfte **a-t[a** im]-˹ta˺-**a[n**-…]. In AA+ lies am Ende -**e**$_3$.
– Z. 246–248 ergänze für S+ ur-GUG$_4$ amar MA[Š.DU$_3$ …] / te[r-…] // ma[š-maš …] // u[m-ma …]
– Z. 247 lies in X ˹ba-**kukku**$_2$˺
– Z. 253 lies in X ˹**im-da**˺-ĝen-ne-e[n]
– Z. 254 lies in AA+ mu-**un**-na-ni-ib-g[e$_4$-x]
– Z. 258 lies in AA+ am Ende **b]a-**˹**am**$_3$-u$_8$˺
– Z. 259 lies in V iri^{ki}-ĝu$_{10}$-še$_3$
– Z. 260 lies in R und X als Verbalbasis eher ˹**tum**$_3$˺; in V lies kur me sikil-la(-Ras.)-š**[e**$_3$]
– Z. 262 lies in X als Verbalbasis **tum**$_3$
– Z. 264 lies in R […] ˹**bi$_2$-AK**˺ **i**[$_3$ …]
– Z. 266 lies in R unu$_7$ und in V unu$_2$
– Z. 267 lies in X **ki-b[a** n]u-…; auch in R lies wohl … i$_3$ ˹**gara$_2$ x ki-ba**˺ nu-…; übersetze „deine Sünde: du hast Ghee und Sahne … nicht an ihren Ort gebracht".
– Z. 267 in V om.; lies dafür in 268 bei V ˹d˺nanna lugal˺ t[ur$_3$ …]
– Z. 268: In X ist vor der Verbalform noch ein GA zu lesen, wobei das folgende Zeichen BA über das Ende von GA geschrieben ist.
– Z. 269: Eine Alternativübersetzung wäre „die Strafe ist festgelegt, ich (= Nisaba) werde dir das Leben nicht schenken".
– Z. 270: In X lies […] **RA**-ni enim-ma-ni mu-ni-in-**sag**$_3$; auch in R ist auf dem Cast eher RA-ni (nicht unken-na) zu sehen. Die Deutung von RA-ni ist schwierig; handelt es sich vielleicht um eine Pronominalkonjugation (ra-a-ni > ra-ni)? Das in beiden Duplikaten fehlende -a- ist jedoch störend. Die Zeile muss die Tötung des Zauberers beschreiben, da in der folgenden Zeile von seiner Leiche die Rede ist. Übersetze im Sinne von „die Weise Frau Saĝburu schlug ihr Wort gegen den Zauberer, *nachdem sie ihn geschlagen hatte*".
– Z. 271 lies in R und X die Verbalbasis **šub** (nicht taka$_4$); Heimpels Kopie des Zeichens in R ist korrekt.
– Z. 272 lies in R iri^{ki}-ni-še$_3$
– Z. 274 lies in X […-kara$_2$]^{ra}-ra
– Z. 276 lies in S+ ur$_2$ ku$_3$-ga-ni-**eš**
– Z. 277 lies in X us$_2$-**sa^2-bi**-en
– Z. 279 lies in X nu-mu-**e**-da-sa$_2$(-sa$_2^2$ rad.)-e

Catherine Mittermayer, Genf

Manfred Ullmann: *Beiträge zur arabischen Grammatik.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2013. 361 S. ISBN 978-3-447-06942-7. € 112,–.

Den größten Teil dieser Beiträge nimmt eine Studie über das Morphem *fāʿilatun* ein. An 157 Lexemen von *ʾbd* bis *whn* und an 1057 Belegen zeigt der Verfasser, dass ein Partizip Aktiv des I. Verbalstamms im femininen Genus auch die Funktion eines *nomen actionis (maṣdar)* übernehmen kann – so wie bekanntlich ein Partizip Passiv des III. Stamms im femininen Genus, *mufāʿalatun*, als *nomen actionis* fungieren kann (neben dem Morphem *fiʿāl*). Ein Beispiel: Das Verb *qaraʿa (a)* bedeutet „an etwas schlagen (c. acc. r.), stoßen, klopfen, pochen". Das *nomen actionis qāriʿatun* bedeutet also „Schlag, Stoß, Klopfen, Pochen". „Da oft von einem Eingriff des Schicksals die Rede ist, kann das Wort die Konnotation ‚Schicksalsschlag, Unglück, Katastrophe' haben." (S. 207) Diese Form hat der

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Sure 101 ihren Namen gegeben, und viele Übersetzer haben das Wort als eine Art Personifikation aufgefasst: R. Blachère (1947): „Celle qui fracasse !" A. J. Arberry (1955): „The Clatterer!" R. Paret (1966): „Die Polternde!" H. Bobzin (2010): „Die Pochende". A. Neuwirth: „Die Klopfende." Dabei, so die Evidenz des Lexems nach Ullmann, ist die Übersetzung „Der Schlag! Was ist der Schlag? Woher weißt du, was der Schlag ist?" (Vers 1–3) die richtige, und es besteht kein Anlass zu der Behauptung, es handele sich hier um „ein Kunstwort, die Partizip-Singular-Femininum-Form *(fāʿila)* eines Verbs mit semantisch einschlägiger […] Bedeutung statt der expliziten Benennung der Katastrophe mit einem lexikalisch etablierten Appellativum"[1].

Wie all die lexikalischen, phraseologischen und syntaktischen Untersuchungen, die M. Ullmann vorgelegt hat, zeichnet sich auch diese Studie durch eine stupende Fülle der Belege aus, durch scharfe Analyse, welche Postulate und Erfindungen normativ denkender arabischer Lexikographen und Grammatiker ebenso aufspießt wie ungenaue oder falsche Analysen der neueren westlichen Arabistik, und durch eine Meisterschaft der Gliederung und Kategorisierung, die ihresgleichen sucht.

Dieser Studie schließen sich vier Miszellen an: (2) über *awlā* als Elativ („passender, angemessener") mit *bi-* p., *bi-* r., einem *an*-Satz, absolut u.a.m. einerseits und als Exklamativpartikel, *awlā laka* „wehe dir!" (wie *waylun laka*) und andere Konstruktionen andererseits; (3) über *nāhīka* „wie trefflich, wie wunderbar" in elf verschiedenen Konstruktionen (wobei der Autor die Zuordnung des Elements *nāhī* zu der Wurzel *nhy*, die arabische Lexikographen vornehmen, widerlegt und das Suffix *-ka* als ein Demonstrativum, wie in *ḏālika* usw. interpretiert); (4) ein Nachtrag zu der Typologie der Satzfügung der „Conclusio a minori ad maius",[2] der den dort analysierten neun Quantifikatoren i.S.v. „umso mehr" bzw. in negierten Sätzen „umso weniger" weitere vier anfügt: *balha*, *daʿ ʿay ʾan* („ganz zu schweigen von", „let alone"), *awlā*, und *nāhīka* (mit zwei Belegen aus dem Neuhocharabischen). Wie James Joyce's *Ulysses* endet auch dieser Band auf einer affirmativen Note, nämlich (5) mit einer Analyse der verschiedenen Verwendungsweisen von *naʿam* (nebst einem instruktiven Seitenblick auf die verschiedenen Verwendungsweisen des deutschen „ja", S. 349f.).

Mittlerweile hat M. Ullmann dieser wertvollen Sammlung von Studien zwei weitere folgen lassen: *Paralipomena. Studien zur arabischen Grammatik, Textkritik und Motivgeschichte* (Wiesbaden 2015) und *Theorie und Praxis der arabischen Lexikographie* (Wiesbaden 2016); vgl. zu diesen Studien meine Notiz in *Die Welt des Islams* (im Druck). Vivant sequentes!

Hans Hinrich Biesterfeldt, Bochum

Michaela Hoffmann-Ruf / Abdulrahman al-Salimi (eds.): *Oman and Overseas*. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Georg Olms Verlag 2013. 506 S. (Studies on Ibadism and Oman 2.) ISBN 978-3-487-14799-4. € 98,–.

Oman occupies the far south-eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula. Its geographical location played a central role in the complex web of internal and regional interests and relationships between Oman and the rest of the Arabian Peninsula, in particular because of its strategic costal setting. The long Omani association with the sea is an outstanding

[1] A. Neuwirth: *Der Koran*. Band 1: *Frühmekkanische Suren […]*. Berlin 2011, S. 179.

[2] Vgl. M. Ullmann: *Die Conclusio a minori ad maius im Arabischen*. München 2010 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl., SB 2010,1).

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feature in the history of this country. Omani sailors achieved widespread fame for their sea-going skills since earliest historical periods. As early as in pre-Islamic times, Oman was incorporated into a Sassanid mercantile organization that extended from the South Arabian coast along the shores of the Persian Gulf and out eastwards along the Makran Coast to Sind. The sea route connecting China and India to Europe was extensively used by Omanis and by utilizing it as a means to carry Chinese silk to the West, they were instrumental in the creation of a direct East-West link. Long before the Portuguese, Dutch, English, French and German explorations of the Indian Ocean, Omani sailors discovered and explored Asian and African coasts. Cultural and scientific exchanges took place between Oman, the Indian and the East African coastal areas.

The crucial role Oman played in the exchanges between East and West is well-known; nonetheless very few studies focus on the Omani impact on the region around the Indian Ocean and the outside view on Oman, its civilization and the faith of its inhabitants. This book is intended to fill this gap. It contains the papers presented at the Second Conference on Ibāḍī Studies "The Ibadism of Oman. Its Overseas Development and its Perceptions Overseas", held at Tübingen University from 16th–19th May 2011. The editors, Michaela Hoffmann-Ruf and Abdulrahman al-Salimi, deserve considerable credit for this important book. They commissioned an impressive selection of contributors to cover a diverse but coherent range of material. The contributors, in turn, have responded to create a stimulating volume that deserves a widespread readership among advanced students and scholars interested in the history of Oman and Ibāḍism.

The subject matter is divided into four broad categories: Oman and the outside world until the early 17th century, Oman and East Africa, the Omani maritime "empire", and the outside view on Oman and Ibāḍism.

The *first section* of the book begins with a contribution by Paul Yule dealing with archaeological material from Samad al-Shan and data concerning the late pre-Islamic history of Oman. He is followed by John Wilkinson with a short but very challenging article titled "Origins of Omani identity" claiming that the blend of Ibāḍī religious ideology and the mores of the tribal system, combined with the natural defendability and the isolation of the interior of Oman, led to a certain social homogeneity which in turn was capable of reinforcing a sense of national cohesiveness and a strong sense of independence.

In the papers on Omani seafaring in the Indian Ocean, Dionisius A. Agius gives a useful summary of Omani seafaring before the early 1600s, while Ralf Kauz draws attention to the role of the Chinese in Indian Ocean seafaring and information on Oman and Omani ports contained in Chinese written sources from the 10th to the 17th century. Finally, Tom Vosmer provides us with broad insight into the technical as well as material aspects of boat-building in the entire Indian Ocean world and particularly in Oman.

An article by Abdul Sheriff on "The Swahili Coast: Africa's Window on the Indian Ocean" opens the *second section* of the volume. It deals with the crucial historiographical debate in East African History challenging the "traditional" view according to which the Swahili Coast civilization was fundamentally outward looking and Arab in its origins. Recently, historians, archaeologists, linguists, and ethnographers have made important contributions that have helped to alter this perspective. Our author considers the Swahili Coast as an interface between the African continent and the maritime world of the Indian Ocean. He is followed by the brilliant work of Mark Horton on the archaeological and historical evidence of the Ibāḍī presence in East Africa, and by an overview of the linguistic and literary diversity of East Africa by Mohamed Bakari. An outline of a crucial turning point in the East Africa history, i. e., the Portuguese rule and the Omani reconquest, provided by Malyn Newitt, closes the section.

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The Omani maritime "empire" is the focus of *part three*. Here Valeria Piacentini sheds light on the multi-ethnic and multi-religious maritime society of the Gulf and the Omani coast before the arrival of the Portuguese. Eric Staples discusses the establishment and growth of Oman's maritime power from the early 17th until the middle of the 19th century, while Pius Malekandathil focuses on the development of the Omani-Portuguese relations in the 17th and 18th century when the balance of power in the Arabian Sea changed and the Omanis gradually challenged the Portuguese power both in India and East Africa.

By far the largest number of contributions concerns the view from outside on Ibāḍism and Oman, which is the focus of *part four*. The seventeen essays vary a great deal in subject matter as well in methodological approach. Anne Bang gives an overview of Danish and Norwegian travel accounts of Oman; Indian views on Oman are the main focus of Gulshan Dietl's contribution based on diverse Indian sources written at various times and for different readerships. Moez Dridi provides an excellent state of the art synopsis of works on Oman and Ibāḍism written by French historians, travelers and archaeologists. Amal Ghazal gives a detailed survey of the ways Oman and Ibāḍism have been perceived by non-Omani Ibāḍīs as well as non-Ibāḍī Arabs. Mohammed Gol presents information on manuscript collections concerning Oman and Ibadism kept in Ottoman archives. Michaela Hoffmann-Ruf's paper, based on the works of scholars from the Seminar for Oriental Languages (Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen) in Berlin, sheds lights on the German contributions to the scholarly documentation and analysis of the language, the legal practice and history of Oman as well as the Omani-Swahili cultural and linguistic situation in the 19th century. Chapurukha Kusimba demonstrates the influence of Ibāḍism in North and East Africa. Douglas Leonard traces the history of American-Omani relations between 1790 and the present, focusing on the experience of the American Mission Hospital in Mutrah. James Worrall (Leeds, Great Britain), Efim Rezvan (St. Petersburg, Russia), João Teles e Cunha (Lisbon, Portugal) and Angeliki Ziaka (Thessaloniki, Greece) summarize the views on Ibāḍism and Oman in the studies and research activities of their respective home countries. Stefan Schreiner ("Oman through the Jewish Travellers' Eyes") underlines that in Jewish history and memory, Oman is perceived as a country of religious tolerance and remarkable religious freedom.

Leila Pacheco offers glimpses into a rather unknown chapter of Omani history, i. e., the relations between Oman as well as the Swahili Coast under Omani rule on the one hand and South America on the other. Finally, Uri Rabib focuses on contemporary Oman under the leadership of Sultan Qaboos.

The entire collection is attractively bound and printed on high quality paper, while the essays are well illustrated through the generous use of maps, tables and photographs.

Besides the volume under review, the series "Studies on Ibadism and Oman" includes five other volumes: volume 1 bears the title *The Ibadis in the Region of the Indian Ocean. Section One: East Africa* and is authored by Heinz Gaube. Volume 3 is entitled *On Ibadism* and edited by Angeliki Ziaka. It was published in 2013. The fourth volume, edited by myself, is devoted to *Ibāḍī Theology. Rereading Sources and Scholarly Works* and was published in 2014. The fifth volume is a reprint of the famous study *Tribal Water Settlement in South-East Arabia. A Study of the* aflaj *of Oman* by John C. Wilkinson, first published in Oxford in 1977. The sixth volume on *Ibāḍī Jurisprudence* has been published in 2015 and a further volume on *Today's Perspective on Ibāḍī History and Historical Sources* has just been published a few months ago (2017).

Ersilia Francesca, Naples

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Hartmut Walravens / Agnes Stache-Weiske: *Anton Schiefner (1817–1879) und seine Indologischen Freunde.* Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2015. 453 S. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse 868. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens 89.) ISBN 978-3-7001-7799-9. € 39,–.

Die vorliegende Edition enthält ein sehr umfangreiches Konvolut von Briefen des in St. Petersburg unter anderem als Tibetologe wirkenden Anton Schiefner an verschiedene indologische Korrespondenzpartner. Der größte Teil ist an den Berliner Indologen Albrecht Weber gerichtet, und für diesen Teil der Edition zeichnen beide Herausgeber verantwortlich. Ferner haben sich Briefe an Rudolf Roth, William Dwight Whitney und Adalbert Kuhn erhalten, die, ediert von Agnes Stache-Weiske, im Anschluß präsentiert werden. Als Zugabe findet sich im Anhang eine Edition (Sanskrit/Deutsch) von Kuhns „Theelied" durch Stache-Weiske, Walravens hat „Einige wenig bekannte kleinere Arbeiten Anton Schiefners" und ein Namensregister beigegeben. Ferner haben die Herausgeber Bilder der Briefpartner in den Archiven aufgespürt, die ebenso wie Kurzbiographien den Sektionen voranstehen. Die Fußnoten sind reichhaltig und bieten vor allem biographische Rahmendaten zu den in den Briefen genannten Personen.

In einem Vorwort widmet sich Walravens Schiefners wissenschaftlichem Werdegang. In Reval 1817 geboren, studierte Schiefner zunächst Jura in St. Petersburg, dann aber Sprachen, unter anderem Sanskrit bei Bopp in Berlin, und aus dieser Zeit datieren wohl auch einige seiner Freundschaften mit verschiedenen Indologen. Schiefner hatte ab 1843 zahlreiche Stellen und Ämter in St. Petersburg in Verwaltung, Unterricht und Publikationstätigkeit inne, dennoch muß er unermüdlich wissenschaftlich tätig gewesen sein, denn sein Œuvre zählt 185 Nummern und umfaßt neben dem Tibetischen die Bereiche der Finno-Ugristik, das Estnische und die kaukasischen Sprachen.

Naturgemäß enthält eine solche Edition eine Vielzahl persönlicher und fachlicher Mitteilungen, die nicht alle Leser gleichermaßen, manche aber ganz gezielt interessieren dürften. Man erfährt Privates über wohlbekannte Indologen, aber auch unerwartete Einblicke in das Studentenleben. Eine Strophe des Liedes, welches „Studenten sangen, als Benfey heirathete" (S. 112.) ist so zotig, daß es Schiefner in einer Devanāgarī-Umschrift des deutschen Originals mitteilt.

Für einen weiteren Kreis von Lesern wie auch für Wissenschaftsgeschichtler interessant dürften die vielen Belege für weitgespannte Auslandskontakte sein sowie die wissenschaftliche Mobilität, die allenfalls als Konzept, nicht aber realiter eine Erfindung des ausgehenden 20. Jh. war. Man besuchte Kollegen in der ganzen Welt, und die St. Petersburger scheinen wegen der langen Sommerferien besonders reiselustig gewesen zu sein, wodurch ein weites Netz an Kontakten über die Kontinente entstand, von dem die Briefliteratur einen Teil abbildet. Es gab auch eine berühmte Ausnahme, die aber als Anomalie die Regel bestätigt.[1]

Am Ende findet sich als Beigabe für Sanskritisten das unterhaltsame „Theelied" verfaßt in Sanskrit[2] und Deutsch von ādalbartaḥ kūn (i. e. Adalbert Kuhn), welches das Berliner Indologische Teekränzchen besingt. Die Teilnehmer bekommen darin natürlich Sanskrit-Namen: Curtius wird zu *hrasva*, Weber zu *vivara*. Der Zwieback zum Tee wird zu *dvipakva*, aber das Getränk wird – es muß sich auf „Juchhe" reimen – als *the* transkribiert. Große Vertrautheit mit der indischen Poesie darf man nicht erwarten, denn

[1] „Es gehört nun einmal zu den Absonderlichkeiten Böhtlingks, daß er sich kaum von der Stelle rührt." (S. 303).

[2] Die Sprache ist ein eigenartiges, vedisierendes Sanskrit.

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wenn KUHN schreibt, daß die Dreiheit *pañcatvam āgatā* ist, so sollte man nicht folgern die Teilnehmer seien verstorben, sondern es traten zu den Dreien zwei weitere hinzu, nämlich *hiranyasīvyat* (GOLDSTÜCKER) und *ūrdhvaga* (AUFRECHT). Vieles wird nur durch einiges Überlegen (und STACHE-WEISKES Anmerkungen) verständlich. Wenn die beiden letzteren nach *aṅgirasāṃ mahīṃ* gehen, so hätte man aus dem Sanskrit allein Schwierigkeiten, darunter deren Stellenantritt „in Engelland" zu verstehen.

Über die editorische Leistung, die dem vorliegenden Band zugrundeliegt, kann man nur staunen. Neben der Identifikation der genannten Personen lag eine Schwierigkeit in der Vielzahl der Sprachen, über die die Gelehrten zu korrespondieren pflegten. Jeder, der das Vergnügen hatte, Handschriften des 19. Jh. entziffern zu müssen, wird ermessen, was es bedeutet, in hastiger Kurrent hingeworfene Briefe mit Textzitaten in alten Sprachen zu lesen. In gewisser Hinsicht ist dies eine altmodische Arbeit: es gibt keinen digitalen Anteil, wie sie die Forschungsförderung in anderen Fächern vermutlich eingefordert hätte. Und man vermißt ihn gar nicht, dafür ist dieser Einblick in die internationalen Forschungskontakte der Indologie im 19. Jh, von St. Peterburg bis New Haven, viel zu spannend.

JÜRGEN HANNEDER, Marburg

Im Schatten von Angkor. Archäologie und Geschichte Südostasiens. Hrsg. von MAI LIN TJOA-BONATZ und ANDREAS REINECKE. Darmstadt: Verlag Philipp von Zabern 2015. 144 S., 153 Farb- und 3 Schwarzweißabbildungen. (Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Sonderbände der Antiken Welt.) ISBN 978-3-8053-4922-2. € 39,95.

Dieser großformatige und schön gedruckte Band hat folgende Ziele: Er soll auf verständliche Weise über den Stand der archäologisch-historischen Forschung zu einer klar definierten Region informieren; er möchte ein breites Publikum hierfür interessieren; und zugleich erinnert er daran, daß es nicht nur Neues zu entdecken gibt, sondern das bereits Gesichtete erhalten werden muß. Vereinfacht gesagt: Südostasien steckt voller Schätze, doch die Weltgemeinschaft tut zu wenig, um sie zu erschließen und adäquat zu konservieren. So betonen die Autoren des Bandes auch gleich an mehreren Stellen, daß wertvolle Kulturgüter durch Unachtsamkeit und Raub unwiederbringlich verloren und einige der uns meist nur aus der Literatur bekannten Monumente (etwa in Angkor oder auf Java) durch die zerstörerischen Kräfte der Natur massiv bedroht sind. Der Aufruf, hiergegen anzugehen, ist unüberhörbar; vermutlich werden es andere Leser ähnlich sehen.

Dazu passend ist die gewählte Form der Darstellung (wie bei weiteren Bänden der Zabern-Bildbandreihe). Es wird kein in sich kohärentes, gar systematisch konstruiertes Bild der Vor- und Frühgeschichte Südostasiens entworfen, das gewissermaßen aus einem Guß wäre – dies könnte die Archäologie beim jetzigen Stand des Wissens auch kaum leisten –, nein, der Band enthält vielmehr dreizehn ausgesuchte Beiträge (inklusive des einleitenden Kapitels) zu unterschiedlichen Themen, Regionen und Zeitphasen sowie mehrere kleine, handbuchähnliche Kommentare, sogenannte „Themenkästen", die im Anhang zu den Aufsätzen bestimmte Fragen aus der Vogelperspektive vorstellen. In regionaler Hinsicht wird der gesamte südostasiatische Raum berücksichtigt, wobei – wohl der Einfachheit wegen – die modernen Staaten (mit Ausnahme von Laos, Brunei und Osttimor) nebst Bali zur groben Orientierung dienen. Zeitlich reicht die Darstellung von den frühesten Phasen menschlicher Präsenz in diesen Regionen bis zu jenen Epochen, die wir im europäischen Kontext gemeinhin als Mittelalter oder Neuzeit kennen. In nahezu allen Fällen haben die Autoren ihre jeweiligen Themen so zusammengefaßt, daß der Leser recht schnell begreifen kann, wo Wissenslücken zu füllen sind, welche Schwierigkeiten

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die weitere Analyse des Materials bereitet und wie es um die betreffenden Fundorte bestellt ist. Fast könnte man von einem illustrierten Kompendium miteinander verknüpfter, doch ebenso separat lesbarer Zwischenberichte sprechen, die den momentanen „work in progress"-Zustand in einzelnen Wissenszweigen skizzieren. Selbstverständlich sind, wo angebracht, methodische Erfahrungen und „naturwissenschaftlich-technische" Überlegungen in die Präsentation mit eingeflossen – etwa wenn es um die Bestimmung von Farbpigmenten geht, die chemische Auswertung verschiedener Materialien oder um populationsgenetische Untersuchungen, die bei der Deutung von Migrationen und Besiedlungen hilfreich sein können. Zudem wird immer wieder auf klimatisch-geographische Änderungen hingewiesen, z.B. auf Schwankungen des Meeresspiegels über lange Zeiträume; das betrifft vor allem die frühen Zeitphasen, während der Südostasien bekanntlich völlig andere Konturen hatte als heute (dazu etwa der Beitrag von Johannes Moser über Höhlen als frühe Aufenthalts- und Kulturorte).

Südostasien als Raum ist ein recht junges Konzept. Manche Wissenschaftler, die über diese Region arbeiten, neigen dazu, die mutmaßlich oder tatsächlich eigenständigen Entwicklungen derselben eigens hervorzuheben und fremde Einflüsse aus Indien und China herunterzuspielen. Hier und da ist sogar der Ausdruck „Greater Southeast Asia" zu finden – gleichsam in Analogie zu dem Schlagwort „Greater China" –, und zwar vor allem in den Reihen jener, die Teile Südchinas und die Insel Taiwan gerne mit in ihr Arbeitsfeld einbeziehen. Glücklicherweise üben die Autoren des vorliegenden Bandes Zurückhaltung, obschon sie mit gutem Grund dann und wann Blicke nach Norden und Westen werfen. Man denke etwa an Bronzegegenstände der Dong Son-Kultur oder an Baumsarggräber, die auch in Teilen Chinas gefunden wurden. Folglich erinnert Reinecke, der sie beschreibt, an die sogenannten Yue-Gruppen und ihre recht diversen lokalen Traditionen. Ein zweites Beispiel – im Myanmar-Beitrag von Tilman Frasch – zeigt Verbindungen zwischen Bagan und Südasien (vor allem Sri Lanka). Bei der Gewölbetechnik, für die Bagan-Architektur prägend, könnte es sich, so der Autor, gar um eine lokale Entwicklung handeln, die nach außen weitergegeben wurde. Eher nur am Rande zur Sprache kommen die frühen Kontakte zwischen Taiwan und der philippinischen Welt, welche die Fertigkeit voraussetzten, größere Distanzen über das offene Meer zurückzulegen (mehr im Essay von Alfred Pawlik). Chinesisch- und japanischsprachige Arbeiten dazu – wie übrigens auch zu vielen Themen, die Kontinental-Südostasien oder das heutige Indonesien betreffen – würden sicher weitere Denkanstöße liefern, doch beschränkt sich die Literaturauswahl am Ende des Bandes natürlich auf europäischsprachige Veröffentlichungen. Das ist verständlich und nicht untypisch für die „westliche" Südostasienforschung, die sich bis heute schwer damit tut, in asiatischen Sprachen vorgelegte Forschungsergebnisse angemessen zu berücksichtigen.

Dort, wo wir alte Schriftquellen haben, erhält die Archäologie Unterstützung durch die „reine" Geschichtswissenschaft. Einige Beiträge des Zabern-Bandes berichten von wenig bekannten Handschriften, die man eher zufällig fand (z.B. Uli Kozok über ein Werk aus dem 14. Jh.), und auch das umfangreiche chinesische Material, ohne das wir deutlich weniger über Südostasiens Staaten, Städte und Ereignisse vor der Kolonialzeit wüßten, bleibt nicht außen vor. Derlei ist z.B. wichtig für Funan und das spätere Zhenla, also die Kambodscha-Region mit Angkor (aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven vorgestellt in den Beiträgen von Wibke Lobo sowie Esther von Plehwe-Leisen und Hans Leisen). Daneben spielen Singapur und Majapahit wichtige Rollen. Darauf gehen Brigitte Borell und Lydia Kieven ein. Hier freilich ist Fingerspitzengefühl erforderlich. John N. Miksic, auf den sich viele berufen, hat die Rolle der „Löwenstadt" (sofern der Name „Singapur" wirklich dafür stehen sollte: man vergleiche Peter Borschbergs kritischen

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Beitrag in *Journal of Asian History* 46.2 [2012]) ein wenig überzeichnet (im Interesse seiner lokalen Leser); durchaus vorsichtiger, so scheint es, wird im vorliegenden Band mit diesem Orte umgegangen. Das gilt auch für Ostjava, dessen Bedeutung bisweilen ebenso hochgespielt worden ist.

Wie unsicher wir uns beim Umgang mit vielen Fragen, die gar nicht einmal so neu sind, noch immer zeigen, läßt auch der Beitrag über den Isthmus von Kra erahnen (von Borell). Unendlich viel ist über mögliche Wege quer durch diese „Landenge" geschrieben worden, über Handelswaren und Netzwerke, die mit ihr in irgendeinem Zusammenhang standen (oder gestanden haben sollen); wie die Wirklichkeit aussah – bis heute gehen die Meinungen dazu weit auseinander. Weniger wurde hingegen über Siedlungsspuren im Hochland von Sumatra gearbeitet (dazu Tjoa-Bonatz), und noch mehr am Rande des Betrachteten blieb die recht späte Megalithkultur auf Nias (wieder Tjoa-Bonatz und Johannes Hämmerle). Die beiden letzten Themen berühren die Westseite Sumatras, die Inselwelt davor und zugleich den Weg durch die Sunda-Straße. Und wiederum: Wie wichtig diese Route in alten Zeiten war, bleibt umstritten. An dieser Stelle könnte man hinüberwechseln zu neueren Werken über den Indischen Ozean und seiner langen Geschichte – etwa zu der monumentalen französischen Monographie von Philippe Beaujard: *Les Mondes de l'Océan Indien*, 2 Bde. (Paris 2012), die Braudels Mittelmeer-Ansatz fortführt –, doch das wäre für den deutschen Leser sicher weit hergeholt.

Wie eingangs erwähnt, *Im Schatten von Angkor* liefert kein fertiges Bild, sondern wohldosierte Gedankensplitter mit hoffentlich belebender Wirkung. Der letzte Beitrag (von Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin) ist besonders bemerkenswert. Es geht um Tempelplünderungen auf Bali und den Handel mit Diebesgut. Auch wenn Gestohlenes am Ende nicht immer verschollen bleibt, der geschilderte Vorfall stimmt bedenklich, und genau das ist intendiert – als Warnung und Weckruf. Damit bleibt der Band im eigenen Fahrwasser. In summa: Er kommentiert den gegenwärtigen Stand des „Geschäfts", vor allem die Bemühungen deutscher Archäologen und Historiker, die über Südostasien arbeiten, und er zeigt in plastischer Weise auf, welche Wege die Forschung beschreiten könnte oder sollte. In diesem Sinne ist ihm eine durchaus weiträumige Verbreitung zu wünschen und den Autoren für ihr Engagement zu danken.

Roderich Ptak, München

Karl-Heinz Everding: *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*. Teil 18: *Prachthandschriften, alte Blockdrucke und eine Dhāraṇī-Sammlung, Bestand der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2015. xxxvi S., 11 Farbtafeln, 531 S., 23 Schwarzweiß-Abb. im Text. (VOHD XI, 18). ISBN 978-3-515-11023-5. € 90,–.

Der vorliegende Katalog erfasst die tibetischen Bücher mit Signaturen zwischen Hs. or. 2 und Hs. or. 1648 sowie Hs or. 2290 der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Es sind – wie es in der Einleitung (S. xxxiv) heißt – „450 Werke in Form alter Handschriften und Blockdrucke," wobei der Begriff „Werk" hier offensichtlich im Sinne von „Text" verwendet wird. Neben umfangreichen Büchern erscheinen im Katalog auch ganz kurze Stücke als eigene Eintragungen. Die *Dhāraṇī*-Sammlung (tibetisch *Gzungs 'dus*) wird in 226 Einzeltexte aufgegliedert (Hs. or. 2290).

K.-H. Everding richtet sich bei der Beschreibung der Texte nach dem Vorgehen, das Dieter Schuh eingeführt hat, „um auch den Gelehrten der angrenzenden Gebiete wie Indologen, Mongolisten und Sinologen wie auch Wissenschaftlern nicht rein philologischer Fächer

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die Benutzung des Katalogs … zu erleichtern." Deshalb wird „ein das Werk charakterisierender deutscher Titel gegeben, auf den die eigentliche Textbeschreibung folgt."[1] Diese durch Fettdruck hervorgehobene „Hauptzeile" (so Einleitung S. xxxii) ist oft eine freie Wiedergabe (von Teilen) des „Titelvermerks", manchmal auch der tibetische Titel oder Kurztitel, bei kanonischen Texten kann auch der Sanskrittitel erscheinen. Um den Zielen der Katalogisierung möglichst nahezukommen, sollte also die „Hauptzeile" den Inhalt eines Textes erkennen lassen, sie muss für verschiedene Ausgaben eines Werkes stets gleich lauten.

Nach den (z. T. auszugsweise) ausgeschriebenen und übersetzten Kolophonen stehen am Ende des jeweiligen Eintrags vor allem bei kanonischen Texten umfangreiche Verweise auf parallele Stücke und wissenschaftliche Bearbeitungen. Das Inhaltsverzeichnis (S. v–xxii) führt jeden einzelnen Text – nach dem Inhalt bestimmten (mit römischen Zahlen bezeichneten) Kategorien zugeordnet – mit der ihn charakterisierenden Überschrift auf. Die Kategorie „Gesamtbeschreibung von Werksammlungen"[2] enthält deren physische Beschreibung und ermöglicht einen Überblick über den Bestand an Einzeltexten.

In einer Übersicht über die besonders wertvollen tibetischen Handschriften und Blockdrucke findet sich die irreführende Ankündigung: „Erwähnt seien unter diesen Drucken [!] hier zehn Erwerbungen …" (Einleitung S. xxvii), die anschließende Liste nennt jedoch sieben Handschriften; bei der Aufzählung der Blockdrucke („Nr. 17, 18 und 19 sowie 191") ist ein Fehler unterlaufen, die „*zwei Kopien von Lo-chen Dharma-shri's Kommentar zum gSang-ba'i snying-po*" sind nicht unter „Nr. 18 und Nr. 19", sondern als Nr. 31 und Nr. 32 beschrieben, wobei die letztere Eintragung eine unvollständige Dublette von Nr. 31 erfasst.

Neben den Prachthandschriften bilden unter den besonders wertvollen Handschriften und Blockdrucken fünf aus Mang yul Gung thang stammende Drucke eine eigene Gruppe: Ihre sehr ausführlichen Kolophone[3] berichten über den materiellen Hintergrund für das Drucken mit Holztafeln seit dem 15. Jh. und führen dabei die beteiligten Spender und Handwerker namentlich an, diese Kolophone werden vollständig mitgeteilt und in Übersetzung gegeben, so umfassen allein die betreffenden Eintragungen etwa 100 Seiten des Katalogs.[4] Es sind wichtige Quellen für die Geschichte dieses südwesttibetischen Königreiches, zu dem K.-H. Everding die grundlegende Studie *Das Königreich Mang yul Gung thang* vorgelegt hat.[5] Die besondere Qualität der Drucke aus dem 16. Jh. ist aus den in den Text eingestreuten Abbildungen[6] und der Farbtafel 10 zu erkennen, die drei Seiten aus dem 1533 entstandenen *Theg mchog mdzod* des Klong chen pa abbildet (Nr. 22).

Zu den Drucken aus Mang yul Gung thang zählt auch eine frühe, bisher nicht bekannte Ausgabe der von Gtsang smyon Heruka verfassten Lebensbeschreibung des Mi la ras pa (Nr. 5, S. 14–29), sie wird mit „Biographie (rnam-thar) des Mi-la ras-pa, Ron-mda' 'Od-gsal phug-Druck von 1538" eingeführt. Die Einleitung (S. xxvi) datiert den Druck

[1] *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke sowie Tonbandaufnahmen tibetischer Erzählungen*. Teil 5. 1973 (VOHD XI, 5, S. xxxvii–xxxviii).

[2] Diese Kategorie gilt auch für Bücher, die nur zwei Texte umfassen.

[3] Die Beschreibung von Nr. 5 (S. 14) nennt „Zwischenkolophone (zur Drucklegung)", gemeint sind jedoch Schnitzerkolophone, wie man aus *brkos*, „wurden … geschnitzt," ersieht.

[4] Bei Nr. 5 S. 14–29; Nr. 7 S. 31–46; Nr. 8 S. 47–56; Nr. 22 S. 78–100 und Nr. 211 S. 250–285.

[5] Bonn 2000 (Monumenta Tibetica Historica; Abt. I, Band 6).

[6] In dem Verzeichnis S. xxxvi ist die zweite Eintragung „Abb. 20" zu „Abb. 22" zu berichtigen.

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auf 1528[!]. S. 26 heißt es: „Den Druckort bildete die … Meditationshöhle … *'Od-gsal phug*, … 1940 [!] wurde dort ebenfalls unter Leitung des *rtogs-ldan Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho* auch der Druck der *Mi la ras pa'i mgur 'bum* abgeschlossen."

Eine weitere Ausgabe wird mit „Biographie (rnam-thar) des großen Yogeśvara Mi-la ras-pa" überschrieben (Nr. 6, Hs. or. 1610a). Dass dies der im 19. Jh. entstandene Blockdruck aus Bstan rgyas gling ist, ergibt sich aus dem Kolophon, der in der Edition von J. W. de Jong mitgeteilt wird.[1] Die dazu gehörige Sammlung der Lieder des Mi la ras pa (*Mgur 'bum*) ist unter Nr. 15 beschrieben (Hs. or. 1610b, S. 62–65). Für den Verweis auf „F. R. Hamm a. a. O.: S. 29–79" (S. 65) findet man keine Erklärung, gemeint ist „Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Mi la'i mgur 'bum." In: *Zentralasiatische Studien* 4 (1970).

Ebenfalls zu diesen Blockdrucken gehört die als Nr. 7 beschriebene, 1559 in Skyid grong gedruckte Biographie des Ras chung Rdo rje grags pa. Der Titelvermerk wird mit: „Biographie des Ehrwürdigen *ras-chung rDo-rje grags-pa*, Erscheinung der Weisheit in dem Spiegel, der den Weg der Freiwerdung völligen Wissens offenbart," wiedergegeben. Besser wäre nach P. A. Roberts, *The Biographies of Rechungpa*: „The Radiance of Wisdom: a mirror that clearly reveals the path to liberation and omniscience; a biography of Lord Ras-chung-pa."[2] Im Kolophon heißt es *gdul bya gling bzhi'i dbus na lhan mer gsal* (S. 33), dies wird übersetzt als „ … offenbarte er sich inmitten der auf den vier Kontinenten (heimischen), zu pazifizierenden (Lebewesen)" (S. 38). *Gdul bya* ist die übliche tibetische Entsprechung von Sanskrit *vineya*, „jemand, der zu erziehen oder zu bekehren ist".

Die unter Nr. 208 verzeichnete *dbu med*-Handschrift der unbekannten „Werksammlung einer am heiligen Berge La-phyi gepflegten Lehrtradition des Khyung-po rnal-'byor" enthält Texte aus einer den Shangs-pa Bka'-brgyud pa nahestehenden Überlieferung. Die erhaltenen 55 Teile wurden „in einer konfusen Ordnung der Faszikel vorgefunden" (S. 243). Um die ursprüngliche Abfolge der Texte zu erschließen, muss man sich die Kennbuchstaben aus der physischen Beschreibung der einzelnen Texte zusammensuchen,[3] da sie in der Übersicht über die Sammlung, die den Bibliothekssignaturen folgt, nicht angegeben sind (S. 244–247). In der eingehenden Beschreibung der Handschrift (S. 243) liest man „dass … [das Kloster] *Zhong-zhong rDo-rje gdan*[4] nach dem Tode *Khyung-po rnal-'byor*'s schon bald keine virtuelle [!] Bedeutung … mehr besaß …", gemeint ist „faktisch, tatsächlich" (engl. *virtual*).

Unter „Zwei Kommentare aus der Zha-lu-ba-Tradition …" (Nr. 209) ist als Werksammlung eine sorgfältig ausgeführte Kursivhandschrift verzeichnet, deren erster Text mit der Hauptzeile „Bu-ston Rin-chen grub's Vyākhyāna (rnam-bshad) zum Abhidharmasaṃgraha" überschrieben ist (Nr. 36). Dieser Kommentar des Bu ston zum *Abhidharmasamuccaya* dürfte für die Untersuchung der Tradition des Textes von Bedeutung sein, zumal die Wiedergabe zweier Seiten auf Farbtafel 11 zeigt, dass es eine wahrscheinlich frühe Handschrift ist: Die Miniaturen auf fol. 1 *verso* bilden „*Shen rab Mi bo*" und einen „*Bon po* in Form eines *Siddha*" ab (so Nr. 209), was ja auch zu der Aufschrift „*bon chos*" auf fol. 1 *recto* passt. Dieses Werk des Bu ston (1290–1364) wird S. 125, Anm. *, auf das Jahr 1257[!] datiert. Die von D. S. Ruegg bearbeitete Biographie erwähnt den Text

[1] *Mi la ras pa'i rnam thar. Texte Tibétain de la vie de Milarépa.* 's-Gravenhage 1959. (Indo-Iranian Monographs IV), S. 210.

[2] *The evolution of a Tibetan hagiography.* London / New York 2007, S. 40. Das "Literaturverzeichnis" (S. 443) gibt als Untertitel „The evolution of a Tibetan biography"!

[3] Der letzte erhaltene Faszikel trägt den Zahlbuchstaben *si* (58).

[4] Sechs Zeilen zuvor wird der Name des Klosters mit „*Zhang-zhang rDo-rje gdan*" angegeben.

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mehrfach, ohne jedoch ein Datum für die Entstehung zu nennen, als *terminus ante quem* lässt sich aus ihr das Jahr 1332 ableiten.[1]

Der gebräuchliche tibetische Kurztitel *Gzungs 'dus* bezeichnet seit früher Zeit auch in Privathaushalten für Rituale verwendete Sammlungen, die kürzere esoterische Texte, wie etwa *dhāraṇīs*, aber auch Texte der Gattung *sūtra* enthalten. Die katalogisierte *Dhāraṇī*-Sammlung geht auf Tāranātha (1575–1637) zurück, sie wurde beim Abschreiben immer wieder erweitert; dies geschah auch bei den mannigfachen Neudrucken, die vorliegende Ausgabe von 1917 wurde beim Druck noch um eine kurze Textsammlung (Nr. 217) ergänzt. Der wahrscheinlich frühe Blockdruck in der Sven-Hedin-Stiftung, Stockholm (Inv.-Nr. H.3680[2]) lässt auf den ursprünglichen Bestand an Texten schließen.

Zu den Handschriften und Drucken des *Gzungs 'dus* aus dieser Überlieferung (aufgezählt S. xxix, Anm. 9) kommen noch die Ausgaben, die A. V. Zorin, „Lines of Development of the Tibetan Editions of Gzungs bsdus Collection First Printed in the Rtag brtan Monastery Founded by Tāranātha," anführt.[3] Das hier erfasste Exemplar (Nr. 216 und 217) hat bereits R. O. Meisezahl in „Über zwei mDo-maṅ Redaktionen und ihre Editionen in Tibet und China" kurz vorgestellt und dabei in 178 Texte aufgegliedert.[4]

Als Beispiel eines ganz kurzen Textes (ohne Titel und Kolophon), der in einem eigenen Katalogeintrag beschrieben wird, sei hier die im Buddhismus so zentrale *ye dharmā hetuprabhavā*-Sanskritstrophe angeführt. Obwohl sie in Drucken und Handschriften sehr häufig am Ende von Kolophonen – in dieser Stellung als abschließender Segenswunsch[5] – erscheint, wird sie im Katalog dreimal als selbständiger Text erfasst: Nr. 312 beginnt die Hauptzeile „Hṛdaya (snying po) … (Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya)," bei Nr. 313[6] und 314 hingegen „Dhāraṇī (gzungs) …" . Unter dem Titel *rTen 'brel snying po* bzw. *Pratītyamutpādahṛdaya* steht im Derge-Kanjur (Nr. 521 und 981) ein vollständiger Text, der vor der Sanskritstrophe die tibetische Übersetzung enthält und als Abschluss die heilvolle Wirkung schildert, die aus dem Rezitieren entsteht.

Die Überschrift des Abschnittes XXI. „Aufopferung der Verdienste (bsngo ba)" (S. 238) lässt die Bedeutung der beiden angeführten kurzen Ritualtexte aus dem *Gzungs 'dus* nicht erkennen: Der Gläubige widmet das durch seine Lebensführung erworbene religiöse Verdienst (*bsod nams*/Sanskrit *puṇya*) bestimmten Personen, wie z. B. seinen (verstorbenen) Eltern oder gar allen Lebewesen. Da dies eine sehr verdienstvolle Tat ist, gewinnt er damit neues Verdienst. Der Begriff *bsngo ba* bzw. *yongs su bsngo ba* (Sanskrit *pariṇamanā*) ist mit „Widmung" oder „Verdienstübertragung" zu übersetzen.

Am Ende der meisten Katalogeintragungen finden sich Hinweise auf parallele Texte und Bearbeitungen, sie beruhen auf einer Vielzahl von Veröffentlichungen: Bei Texten des buddhistischen Kanons wird auf die in der Wiener Datenbank „Resources for Kanjur and Tanjur Studies (RKTS)" erfassten parallelen Stücke verwiesen.[7] So konnte hier auch der bislang unbekannte Handschriftenbestand in Klöstern wie Shey oder Stagrimo (beide in Ladakh) einbezogen werden. Die Kataloge von örtlichen Sammlungen

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[1] *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che.* With the Tibetan Text of the Bu ston rNam thar. Roma 1966 (Serie Orientale Roma xxxiv), S. 110 und 112, bzw. fol. 19b7 und 20b1.

[2] Es ist keine Handschrift, wie S. xxix, Anm. 8 und 9, gesagt wird.

[3] *Вестник РУДН, серия Философия* 2014, No. 1, S. 40–52.

[4] *Zentralasiatische Studien* 2 (1968), S. 67–150 (mit Konkordanz für mehrere Ausgaben).

[5] So z. B. auch im Kolophon des unter Nr. 192 beschriebenen Textes (S. 227 Mitte).

[6] Es ist der 169. Text, in der physischen Beschreibung fälschlich „171. Werk".

[7] Bei Kanjur-Texten mit „RKTS-K", bei Tanjur-Texten mit „RKTS-T".

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kanonischer Handschriften ("local Kanjurs") erscheinen in der Bibliographie nicht separat, z. B. H. Tauscher: *Catalogue of the Gondhla Proto-Kanjur*, und H. Eimer: *A Catalogue of the Kanjur Fragment from Bathang Kept in The Newark Museum*.[1]

Die „Bibliographie" (S. 433–444) ist unterteilt in: a) Sigla und Abkürzungen, b) tibetische Quellen und c) Literaturverzeichnis. Neben den wenigen allgemein bekannten Sigla – wie „Ali" (für *Accessions List India*) – stehen als Abkürzungen in Kapitälchen gesetzte Orts- oder Autorennamen, z. B. „Early Mustang"[2] oder „Schmidt-Boehtlingk."[3]

Das Exemplar des Beijing-Kanjur in der Otani Library, Kyoto, ist von zwei gleichlaufenden Katalogen erschlossen: abgekürzt Otani I[4] bzw. Tripitaka[5], auf sie wird mehrfach nebeneinander Bezug genommen. Auf die ebenfalls aus Beijing stammende „Handschrift Beckh" in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin wird verwiesen mit der Abkürzung „Berlin" (mit der Zählung der Datenbank RKTS) und außerdem an einigen Stellen zusätzlich mit der Abkürzung „Beckh" (mit abweichender Zählung nach dem Katalog von H. Beckh[6]).

Im Literaturverzeichnis erscheinen S. 442 direkt anschließend an „Harrison, Paul (1996): „Preliminary Notes on a gZungs 'dus Manuscript from Tabo …" – ohne dass der Verfassername angeführt ist – zwei Arbeiten von W. Heissig: „—(1961): *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten …*" und „— (1976): Zwei mutmaßlich mongolische Yüan-Übersetzungen …"(S. 442). In Nr. 225 liest man am Ende der Beschreibung von Text 1: „*PC VI gSung-'bum*, Bd. 8 …," „*PC*" steht wohl für „Paṇ chen Lama".

Während die aus dem Tibetischen transliterierten Stücke weitgehend fehlerfrei sind und sich auch bei der Umschrift des Sanskrit – abgesehen von der Verwendung eines falschen Genus – nur wenige Mängel finden, sind Flüchtigkeitsfehler im Deutschen häufig, mit einem Rechtschreibprogramm hätten wohl viele vermieden werden können, z. B. „ikonographische Illustionen" statt „… Illustrationen."[7]

Helmut Eimer, Bonn

Angelika Landmann: *Uighurisch – Kurzgrammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2012. 143 S. ISBN 978-3-447-06680-8. € 18,80.

The subject of this review belongs to an ever growing series of concise grammars of Turkic languages by the same author. At present, Angelika Landmann has published small volumes on Turkish, Azeri (Azerbaijani), Turkmen, Kazakh (Kazak, Qazaq), Kirgiz (Kyrgyz, Qyrghyz), Uighur[8] and Uzbek (Özbek), covering the most important Turkic languages as

[1] Wien 2008 bzw. 2012 (Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 72 bzw. 75).

[2] S. 434 verweist auf „Eimer", für die gleiche Publikation steht kurz danach „Eimer II".

[3] Der anschließende Verweis beginnt (S. 437) mit „Schmidt, I. J. & O. Boethlingk[!]".

[4] *A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur … kept in the Library of the Otani Daigaku Kyoto*. Kyoto 1930–1932.

[5] *The Tibetan Tripitaka*. Peking Edition. Catalogue & Index. Ed. by D. Suzuki. … Tokyo/Kyoto 1955–1962. Dieser Katalog beschreibt auch den Peking-Tanjur.

[6] *Verzeichnis der tibetischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*. I: *Kanjur*. Berlin 1914.

[7] S. 17, 21 und 26, in der Legende zu den Abbildungen 2, 3 und 4.

[8] The name Uighur suffers from varying spellings (including Uigur, Uygur, and Uyghur) and is often prefixed with the adjective 'New' or 'Modern' in order to distinguish it from the extinct (Old) Uighur language. The spelling with *-gh-* is unusual in German.

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far as number of speakers is concerned, including all of the Turkic languages that are the national language of an independent country. Not content with these, Ms Landmann has expanded her working area to include politically less important Turkic languages, such as Tatar, Bashkir, Chuvash and Yakut (all spoken in 'republics' inside the Russian federation).

Most speakers of Uighur are found in Xinjiang (formerly East Turkestan), governed by China, with smaller groups in adjacent regions. There are also sizeable Uighur-speaking diaspora.

These 'Landmann grammars' are attractive and affordable little books which, much like the *Kauderwelsch* language guides, can be collected even by people that do not have a pressing need to actually learn the language. For readers specifically interested in Turkic languages (among which people who speak Turkish may be more numerous than those academically involved with it) the books provide an opportunity to compare these closely related languages. Surely, many a colleague will have scratched his head upon the appearance of these grammars, for not having the excellent idea to write such a thing.

I was in a position to test (parts of) the book in the context of an introduction to modern Uighur grammar for university students. It turns out to work quite well as a concise reference grammar, as an additional aid when studying from the available course books, a selection of which is mentioned by the author on p. 143. We can add the textbook by Nazarova/Niyaz (2013)[1], which came on the heels of Ms Landmann's book. For German students, Friedrich (2002)[2] may remain the most practical option, with the added benefit that it gives the pronunciation (rather than a transliteration) of all examples throughout the book. Other useful textbooks are Engesæth/Yakup/Dwyer (2009)[3], Hahn (1991)[4], and De Jong (2007)[5].

Ms Landmann's books are all similarly structured, and thus the Uighur volume contains the sections Preface, Phonology, Noun, Adjective, Adverb, Pronouns, Numerals, Postpositions, The auxiliary 'to be', Tenses and Moods of the finite verb, Verbal nouns, Converbs, Conjunctions, Particles, Word formation, Word order, Appendix.

The appendix contains a list of Uighur suffixes, examples for two typically Uighur vowel developments: the so-called Uighur umlaut (*a/ä* > *e* in initial syllables followed by an *i* that is original, i. e. not the result of vowel raising) and vowel-raising (*a/ä* > *i* in medial syllables unless a double consonant follows), followed by a word list, a thematic index, and a one-page survey of extant literature.

In spite of the comparable structure and the similarity between the languages, the various volumes cannot all be considered equally difficult. This is mainly caused by the difference scripts used by Turkic languages. As the Turkish alphabet is a modified version of the Latin alphabet, it is relatively easy to learn to read the examples in the Turkish booklet without the assistance of other books, recordings or people. The Kirgiz booklet is slightly more difficult for German readers, as Kirgiz is written in an extended version

This letter combination (as in Afghanistan) denotes a voiced fricative that occurs neither in standard English nor in standard German, and is in these languages pronounced as if it were -g-. The spelling 'Ujgur' would reflect the current German pronunciation, but this is not generally used.

[1] G. Nazarova/K. Niyaz: *Uyghur. An Elementary Textbook*. Washington 2013.

[2] M. Friedrich (in Zusammenarbeit mit A. Yakup): *Uyghurisch. Lehrbuch*. Wiesbaden 2002.

[3] T. Engesæth/M. Yakup/A. Dwyer: *Teklimakandin Salam / Greetings from the Teklimakan*. Vol. 1. Lawrence, Kansas 2009.

[4] R. Hahn (in collaboration with A. Ibrahim): *Spoken Uyghur*. Seattle/London 1991.

[5] F. de Jong: *A Grammar of Modern Uyghur*. Utrecht 2007.

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of the Cyrillic alphabet. Uighur is not more difficult than Turkish either, but the script will be more daunting. The Uighur book uses the modified Arabic alphabet, which is the official script in Xinjiang, and is thus used by the majority of Uighur speakers. It is based on the Arabic alphabet with the addition of some letters used in Persian, and a full set of vowel signs, doing away with the usual ambiguities that Turkic languages written in Arabic suffer from. Otherwise Uighur and Kirgiz are not harder to learn than Turkish for a speaker of German, apart from the fact that Turkish is the second-largest language in Germany, while it requires some effort to locate speakers of Uighur or Kirgiz.

From the names of some of the subsections ("Regressive Vokalassimilation", "Postpositionen mit dem Ablativ") it is immediately apparent that this book wishes to be perceived as an academic work and not just as a cute birthday present for the linguistically uninitiated.

The alphabet is presented and transliterated on pages 1–2, and from page 3 onwards all Uighur forms are given in Arabic script only. This makes it a bigger challenge to learn basic Uighur from this book alone, at least for readers with average levels of motivation. It is therefore best used in combination with a course book, or in a formal language course setting.

The description of those few speech sounds that are absent from German is quite terse, and will not enable the reader to generate them. *gh* (IPA [ʁ]) is described as "hinteres g", *i* as "helles i wie in Licht oder auch dumpfes i". On the other hand, the description of the latter by Hahn (1991, pp. 34–37) is of a dazzling complexity, mentioning 14 allophonic pronunciations, creating even more problems for students. Eventually the learner will have to make use of the available sound recordings or consult native speakers.

Although the author stresses in her preface that the book can be used without previous knowledge about Turkic languages, some of the peculiarities of these languages are not easy to understand and assimilate from a couple of pages of explanation.

The author does explain concepts that cannot be assumed to be known by all of her intended audience, within the book, as in the case of 'converb' (p. 91). As a consequence the book can indeed be used without having a pile of other Turkology or linguistics books on hand.

However, there are a couple of examples that may have some readers breaking out in a sweat, such as the following (from p. 87, glosses added by me):

silär	*atisini*	*tamaqqa*	*täklip*	*qilghan*	*qoshna*	*kim?*
you-PL	father-POS3-ACC	meal-DAT	invitation	do-PERF	neighbour	who?

Wer ist der Nachbar, dessen Vater ihr zum Essen eingeladen habt?
('Who's the neighbour, whose father you have invited for the meal?')

For Turkology students with knowledge of Turkish, this example sentence and the explanation preceding it may be possible to digest.

The useful suffix inventory lists the unrounded alternant for high vowel suffixes (including 'buffer vowel'), and the front vocalic form (with *ä*) for low vowel suffixes.

At this time it is unclear to what degree the author or the publisher is interested in the Turkic languages with fewer speakers and lacking a state or 'autonomous' region. As Chuvash and Yakut volumes can now be ordered, it is hoped that her list of concise grammars will continue to grow. Selling them should not be a problem. An encouraging parallel can be found in the *Parlons* series from French publisher L'Harmattan, which has not shied away from publishing textbooks on 'stateless' Turkic languages (apart from the Uighur volume by Yiltiz[1] also including Kumyk, Karachay-Balkar, Gagauz, Khakas, Shor, and Yakut).

Hans Nugteren, Göttingen

[1] P.S. Yiltiz: *Parlons Ouïgour. Chine*. Paris 2014.

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Wang Yong-bo 王永波/Lothar Ledderose 雷德候 (eds.): *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China*, *Shandong Province*. Vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2014 / Hangzhou: China Academy of Art Press 2014. 508 S. ISBN 978-3-447-06931-1. € 158,–.

The bilingual volume was published under administrative and financial conditions comparable with the preceding volumes *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China*, referring to Sichuan province. The location of the project demanded the cooperation of the Shandong Stone Carving Art Museum and the Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.

The inside of the cover shows a modern geographic map of the western part of Shandong province bordering in the South on Kiangsu province. Monasteries, mountains, and cities that matter for the theme and presentation in this volume are marked on the map that indicates the sites of inscriptions 刻經址, steles 碑, and image steles 造像碑, beside recording inhabitants and geographic features. The presentation is the result of a large number of scientists and technical specialists, mainly from Germany, China, Japan, Taiwan, UK, and USA.

"Preface II" by Lothar Ledderose (pp. XVI–XVII) explains the unique value of the work done to make antique Buddhist treasures in the form of stones sutras, steles and inscriptions known to the international scholarly community. Shandong province has the largest number of stone inscriptions "on the bare rock under open sky", some of them having immense dimensions like the inscription of the *Diamond Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* on Mount Tai 泰山 that has more than two thousand characters covering about one thousand eight hundred square meters. Chinese scholars had from 1990 onwards discovered and researched these stone inscriptions, notably on Mount Hongding 洪頂山 (HDS) and Mount Gang 崗山 where introductory passages of the *Sutra of Arrival in Lanka* were carved in consecutive sections that were spread over the entire mountain, across more than thirty boulders and cliffs.

L. Ledderose points out that inspecting these sites and studying the respective Chinese publications were major incentives to take up this project which involved lots of people, also giving younger scholars the chance to get into the field. The purpose was that every sutra or text at a specific site was studied with reference to other inscriptions in the area as to analyze the understanding and appreciation the sutra received in history. Considering the smashing amount of material the whole effort is absolutely admirable. The result is a thorough documentation of the existent inscriptions, doing textual research and undertaking precise philological examination which scientific English translations top. Again, in all these steps many persons were involved which the presentation acknowledges. The Prefaces by Wang Yong-bo and L. Ledderose do not make reference to any losses that may have occurred during the revolution and the Great Cultural Revolution when in the countryside inscriptions, temples and statues were misused or smashed en masse which everybody knows who travelled in the Chinese hinterland. The reader will find it rather amazing to read the very first statement by Wang Yong-bo who claims: "the long tradition of Chinese civilization is the sole ancient culture that has been passed down continuously and unbroken" ("Preface I", p. XII) as if the Great Cultural Revolution had never happened.

L. Ledderose presents in the Introduction the essay "Buddhist Stone Sutras in Shandong", offering utmost detailed descriptions starting out with "The Setting". He first introduces three main clusters of sites which are presented in detail in the three volumes *Shandong*. Volume 1 focuses on a site at the northwestern edge of the highlands around Lake Dongping 東平湖 with HDS on the eastern shore, which in the 1980s was discovered. HDS is only one site of eight in the area. Buddhist activities are recorded for the time of

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the Northern Qi dynasty (550–577) when important monasteries flourished there like Chongfan Monsatery 崇梵寺 which in 601–604 Emperor Wen of Sui 隋文帝 (r. 581–604) granted the reception of Buddha's relics. The relic casket was excavated in 1982.

The paragraph "The Setting" (pp. 19–30) displays an overwhelming welter of historical details, illustrating how Buddhism conquered the Confucian homeland, plastering the region with lasting stone inscriptions of sutras. The author describes the geographical sites, including the other focal areas which the following volumes will cover in detail.

The Buddhist success in Shandong is possibly seen best on Mount Tai-shan, the most famous and historically central location amongst the Five Holy Mountains in China, an important site for the State cult. The Buddhists managed to place the *Diamond Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* on the frontal slopes of the sacred peak, in the Sutra Stone Valley 經石峪. The chapter presents a tense concentration of geographical data, historical details and insights concerning Chinese Buddhism that altogether form a tight net of scientific information. The author states that beside fixed stone sutras on rocks the research also comprises inscriptions on movable stones which for example are pillars and lanterns in temples or steles in various shapes that were made for monasteries.

The sub-sections "Dates" and "History" grandly indulge in the study of historical records of the Northern Qi and Northern Zhou 北周 (557–581) dynasties, closely sticking to the theme: the fate of Buddhism in the Northern parts of China. The paragraph "The Cultural Fabric" (pp. 30–47) introduces the sub-section "Buddhism" which is a concise introduction to Buddhist history and religious practices, explaining the seminal importance of both, sculpture and scripture *(sutra)* for the self-perception and practice of Buddhism. L. Ledderose observes the striking weight and number of the stone *inscriptions* that outnumber sculptural presentations. In a very detailed way the author focuses on the austere flair and the meaning of having almost colourless stone inscriptions of sutras that demanded great human efforts and artistic skill. All of this is rooted in the Chinese calligraphic tradition which the following sub-section "Calligraphy" (pp. 37–43) explores in depth.

In North China the Buddhist practitioner was set to realize the bodhisattva ideal in *Ten Stages* which refers to the *Treatise of the Sutra in Ten Stages* and the *Flower Garland Sutra*. Ultimately the practitioner would attempt to realize the emptiness of the forms and attributes of the Buddha which was best achieved through what is known as "wall contemplation". There is much consideration about what this actually means and possibly, the practice of the patriarch Bodhidharma meditating in front of a blank wall was decisive for developing sites for meditation, in front of walls with inscriptions of Buddha names and texts, and some of the texts even center on meditation. The author emphasizes in this context the paramount importance of the term *serenity* 安 (pp. 36, 244, 245/HDS 15). He lists impressive examples of passages from the *Sutra on the Great Perfection of Wisdom spoken by Manjusri* and from the *Lotus Sutra* that attest the focus on practicing meditation facing suggestive stone inscriptions (pp. 34–36), especially in the area of HDS.

The most impressive example may be the group of twenty Buddha names at the Eastern Gallery of HDS. The name Buddha King of Great Emptiness 大空王佛 is engraved in colossal size. The name appears six times on HDS (e.g. HDS 8, HDS 19) and eight times at other Shandong sites (e.g. Yuncui shan 雲翠山 1, p.369) which is quite telling. The author feels that the name Buddha King of Great Emptiness stands for a complete sutra in itself and for the very concept of emptiness (p. 36, for example pp. 335, 336). The author proves that the Buddhist life and practice in Shandong developed along the line of convictions that later surface in Japanese Zen-Buddhism. He clearly documents the religious notions around meditative practices, documents life and deeds of relevant Buddhist monks and

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scholars and also reveals the impressive religious meaning of all these stone sutras, far beyond any considerations in terms of history of art. It is all about a meditative religion which the historic documentation amply certifies. The author does not fail to point to Taoist precedents and practices as evidenced in the terms stone chamber 石室 and cliff chamber 岩室 (p. 34).

Concerning calligraphy, it is novel to carve scriptures on cliffs on such a fantastic scale. Of course, there were stone inscriptions in China well before Buddhism entered the country but their nature and meaning was different. It is interesting to notice that the Buddhists adopted the established word *scripture* 經 for their *sutras* 經, imitating the Confucian classics that were carved on stone 石經. Of course, Taoist inscriptions, the earliest date from 511 to 513 were the forerunners of the Buddhist cliff inscriptions that in Shandong appeared since the 6th century, which is amply discussed (pp. 38, 39). The earliest Buddhist sutras that were cut in stone in China stem from the early 5th ct. of the Northern Liang dynasty (397–439). The author shows that in the early 6th century three smaller formats were explored, namely steles, polished cliffs, and walls in cave chapels, and then later again another format appeared, the stone slab. The author shows how scripts gradually were freed from the iconic, sculptural context and "became ever more autonomous" (p.39). The paragraph meticulously analyses the motives and possibilities of the practical realization that the Buddhists in the 6th ct. in Shandong developed, deciding on the adequate calligraphic types and styles. The formal script that time was the clerical script *lishu* 隸書 that developed to what is called regular script *kaishu* 楷書, and this process was still ongoing in Shandong during the time in consideration as the author explains.

The sub-section "Landscape" (pp. 43–47) lavishly displays how the Buddhists created landscape art, incorporating inscriptions "into the construction of their universe" (p. 43). Again, the approach is systematic, first exploring the place of landscape in Chinese civilization since mountain cults were established already in early phases of Chinese statehood. Mountains were the home of immortals like the Royal Mother of the West 西王母, and they constituted important centres of the state cult like Mount Tai where emperors desired to stage the *feng* and *shan* 封禪 sacrifices. The author shows how the Buddhists in Shandong made use of that tradition and placed almost all their inscriptions on mountain cliffs.

The central idea of mountain cults in Buddhism can be seen in the names of two Buddhas on HDS (10/12), namely Buddha Lofty Mountain 高山佛 (pp. 222, 223) and Buddha Great Mountain Cliff 大山巖佛 (pp. 230, 231), the latter name being absolutely unique (p. 44). A 3D model shows the stone seat for meditation vis-à-vis a stone sutra (HDS 16), next to that Buddha name (p. 75). The tradition of geomancy 風水 was also well accounted for in Shandong since geomancy always played a significant role in choosing sites for monasteries and so for cliffs that were deemed suitable to carry inscriptions. The author presents fascinating excursions in the history of landscape art which in Shandong religious zeal and ambition thoroughly permeate.

The next section presents the "Sites" (pp. 50–450), from "West of Lake Hongding": HDS pp. 50–309, to "Mount Tianchi" 天池山 pp. 309–329, to "East Mount Shuyuan" 書院東山 pp. 330–339, "Mount Ergu" 二鼓山 pp. 339–358, "Mount Yuncui" pp. 359–376, and finally to "Mount Dazhai" 大寨山 pp. 377–386. The paragraph "East of Lake Hongding" follows: "Mount Sili" 司里山 pp. 387–432, "Mount Yin" 銀山 pp. 433–450 conclude the paragraph "Sites". The whole section "Sites" presents a stunning number of sites that each are painstakingly documented with analyses, maps and colour pictures. First, the reader always gets a most thorough introduction to the geographic details, place names, related monasteries, dating, research history, inscriptions et al. (pp. 69–95) that all give expert introductions that were written by teams of researchers who examined e. g. the importance

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and meaning of the introduction of the various Buddha names and traced their scriptural origins (pp. 82–87).

The part "Sutra Passages" (pp. 87–91) assembles titles of sutras that were at least partially engraved, like the *Sutra on the Great Perfection of Wisdom Spoken by Manjusri*, *Perfection of Wisdom in 700 Lines*, *Vast and Universal Great Collection Sutra*, *Mahayana Sutra*, *Sutra Spoken by the Buddha on the Perfection of Wisdom for Human Kings*, to list the most important titles. The individual authors are indicated for the many sub-sections of all the lavishly annotated descriptive and analytical paragraphs, introducing the various mountains and single sites but the reader has to refer back to these parts of the book to find out who may have been responsible for the actual technical presentation of this or that site.

The basic layout has: One or more photos of the site, "Layout Text", a "Transcription" of the inscription shown on the photo on the opposite page, an "English Translation". A technical chart with the physical description of the inscription follows. The entry "References" then contains the prime source of origin, the *Buddhist Canon (Taishô)*, and then the tracts "Illustrations" and "Discussions" follow.

The paragraph "Steles" (pp. 451–489) presents inscriptions on stone from the Districts Pingyin xian 平陰縣 and Dongping 東平縣, all with photos, rubbings, "Layout" of the original text, "Transcription", and "English Translation", partly unsigned. Technical details like in the preceding descriptions of sites help the reader to understand the physical setting of the respective stele, which altogether is displayed absolutely clear and superbly informative. Again, each part is introduced with an analysis of "Space" which means "Location", "Topography" and "Spatial Grouping", "Place Name", "Time" and "Inscriptions". The entries "Research History" and "Historical Inscriptions" follow—all very complete. The longest expert translation in this section is: *Sutra on the Perceiver of the World's Sounds* (front side of the stele at Haitan Monastery 海檀寺, 觀世音經 (東平縣 pp. 471–475). The last text on stone in this volume is a Ming inscription dated 1476, also related to the Haitan Monastery (pp. 487–489).

An extended "Bibliography" (pp. 490–508) combining reference works in Western and Asiatic languages concludes this book. It documents the fascinating Chinese Buddhist culture and especially gives evidence for the religious culture in Shandong province that uniquely adapted in a specific way an originally foreign religion. The pictures and descriptions illustrate what landscape art means in China, it is the melting of the physical, geomorphic nature and the spiritual, intellectual capacity to find and understand an inherent transcendent meaning, using Buddhism as the form of expression. The practical realization was based on a fantastic albeit anonymous craftsmanship that transported art. The volume is absolutely indispensable for the study of religion, of state history and regional culture in China.

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Wang Yong-bo 王永波 / Claudia Wenzel 溫狄婭 (eds.): *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China*, *Shandong Province.* Vol. 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2015 / Hangzhou: China Academy of Art Press 2015. 473 S. ISBN 978-3-447-10329-9. € 154,–.

The book Shandong volume 2 in the series *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China* is a continuation of the methods, perspectives and studies that Shandong volume 1 presented. It is based on almost the same personal resources, financial and technical arrangements. The reader finds a meticulous analysis of inscriptions that six mountains carry, all located to

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the South, North and East of the city of Zoucheng 鄒城 situated only 22 km south of the home town of Confucius Qufu city 曲阜. Zoucheng was the home town of Mencius. The two patriarchs of Confucianism hailed from the area where Buddhist inscriptions centuries later were carved in polished cliffs and heralded the world of Buddhism.

L. Ledderose in his introductory essay "Epigraphers in Zoucheng" (pp. 12–30) presents the basic data. In the part "Dongping and Zoucheng" (pp. 12–13) we learn that the inscriptions date from 564 to 580, those displayed on Mount Yi 嶧山 from 564 and before 572; on Mount Jian 尖山 and on Mount Tie 鐵山 from 579; on Mount Ge 葛山 from 580; on Mount Gang 崗山 from 580; and on Mount Yang 陽山 (no date).

The area was a centre of antique culture where in 219 BCE the First Emperor of the Qin set up a stele on Mount Yi to commemorate the unification of the country. The Buddhist inscriptions centuries later around Zoucheng present larger coherent sections of sutras and are "much more ambitious", the longest one on Mount Tie having 946 characters. The historical names in the Zoucheng colophons are numerous and more prominent than those listed in colophons at the Dongping sites (see volume 1), where almost exclusively monk donors are mentioned. In Zoucheng lay donors from very different social background appear as donors, some are even connected with the imperial house.

The monk calligrapher Sengan Daoyi 僧安道壹 (fl. 562–579) was active in both areas, Dongping and Zoucheng. The author considers the frame for the inscriptions treated in volume 2, and the reason why Buddhists entrusted the sutras to these mountains. The idea was to give them an eternal stage that would endure even apocalyptic destructions as to be ready for consultation in the new world to come. The paragraphs "The Eighteenth Century" (pp. 13–26) and "The Twentieth Century" (pp. 26–30) study the emergence of epigraphy as a scholarly discipline 金石學 (17th ct.), which was the beginning of evidence-based studies 考據學 that in the end led to the creation of Chinese Sinology 漢學 in the 18th century when inscriptions were seen as the crucial and reliable sources.

The author displays how and why inscriptions motivated philologists, historians and calligraphers. Epigraphers could document calligraphy that stemmed from various periods and represented as primary sources the true style. For example a colophon, the "Stone Hymn of 579" for the *Great Collections Sutra* 大集經 on Mount Tie (Tie 1 and 2) says explicitly that the calligraphy of this sutra surpasses the refinement of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361) which shows the artistic perception in China and the long and unbroken fascination with calligraphy. The two paragraphs illustrate this theme and are the platform for L. Ledderose to air his expertise in the history of Chinese calligraphy for which evidence is found in Shandong province, especially in the Zoucheng area.

One of the contributors to the history of the practice of calligraphy was Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) with two publications in 1823: *Treatise on the Calligraphy Schools in the South and in the North* 南北書派論 and *Treatise on Stelae in the North and Letters in the South* 北碑南帖論. Ruan Yuan started the study of epigraphy in Shandong and was the possibly strongest proponent of the evidence-based studies of the Qing and the text-based scholarly movement that was called Han learning 漢學, nowadays the name for Sinology. He produced a new edition of the *Thirteen Confucian Classics* that still today is the standard edition. "The Eighteenth Century" largely focuses on Ruan Yuan's works and his path breaking contributions (pp. 14–17).

Another topic is the tradition of illustrating bronzes and collecting their inscriptions in catalogues beginning with Lü Dalin 呂大臨 (1044–1093) and his book *Examinations of Antiquities Illustrated* 考古圖. All these efforts, also those of Ruan Yuan were closely connected with the cultural interest of art collectors like Qing emperor Qianlong 清乾隆. An influential co-operator of Ruan Yuan was the antiquarian Huang Yi 黃易

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(1744–1802) who assembled twenty four sketches of the Shandong sites in his album: *Illustrations of Enquiries into Stelae around Mount Dai* 岱麓訪碑圖, and two of them: *Sketch of Mount Tie* and *Sketch of Mount Gang* are reproduced and discussed (pp.18–19). Another important name was Duan Songling 段松苓 (1745–1800) who also had a *List of Stelae in Shandong* 山左碑目. He checked his materials in gazetteers and also made rubbings for Ruan Yuan. L. Ledderose lists further scholars of the Qing period who made significant contributions to report and preserve these Buddhist inscriptions, not without eventually making mistakes that the researchers of the project detected and corrected (e.g. p. 21).

The author works his way through the output of an astonishing number of traditional Chinese scholars who worked on these Shandong sites and inscriptions, and finally for the 20th century the author lists in detail Japanese and Korean contributions in this field of study. All these studies are supported by modern comprehensive editions of epigraphic texts published in Taiwan since 1977, titled: *New Edition of Historical Materials Carved on Stone* 石刻史料新編. Some new compilations of gazetteers focusing on Zou County appeared and in 2001 the rock inscriptions on the mountains Yi, Tie, Ge, and Gang were declared National Cultural Conservation Sites by the State Council of the PrCh.

The essay by L. Ledderose embeds the studies of the present project group in the tradition of traditional Chinese Han Learning that since the Qing-period aimed at preserving, verifying, understanding and transmitting the cultural heritage of China, which in history was a strong concern of the imperial house and the intellectual elite. The importance of having these Buddhist inscriptions presented in this new and modern study, supported with any technical finesse, need not be explained.

The following short tract "The Stone Hymn and Art Criticism" (pp. 35–40) by Bi Fei 畢斐 explains the details of the *Stone Hymn* (Tie 2, p. 84) and the *Piercing of the Bodhi Chapter of the Great Collections Sutra* (Tie 1, p. 118), dated 580 that already attracted much attention in the Qianlong and Jiaqing eras (1736–1820) of the Qing period and since then were object of various studies.

L. Ledderose declares the *Stone Hymn* to be an early example of the colophon genre (p. 35), a text that explains why a Kuang clan 匡氏家族 initiated the carving of the passage from the *Great Collections Sutra*. The author explains and evaluates in the subsection "Classic Models" (pp. 35–36) the otherwise unidentified calligrapher who is named Great Renunciation Dharma Master An 大沙門安法師. The reader learns about the standards for evaluating calligraphy since the author indulges in fantastic details like the critical terminology that was coined to speak about art. The terms *jing* "refinement" and *miao* "marvels" are subject of a rather sophisticated analysis starting with the 3rd century. The findings are finally summarized in the paragraph "Grading Works of Art" (pp. 38–40). We find quotations like "its refinement surpasses Xi [Wang Xizhi] and Dan [Wei Dan 韋誕, 179–253], its marvels exceed Ying 英 [Zhang Zhi 張芝, d. ca. 190] and You [Zhang You 張緜, 151–230]" (p.36). This quotation testifies to the length of the intellectual tradition shaping and characterizing the appreciation of calligraphy which is the very focus of this chapter. It refers to a great number of scholars and artists. The following section "The Terms *jing* 精 and *miao* 妙" adds further clarification, referring to scholars like Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 with his *On Painting* 論畫 and Wei Heng 衛恒 with his *The Force of Calligraphy in the Four Types* 四體書勢 (3rd ct.). They provided fascinating perspectives that crystallized in the terms "refined" and "marvelous" that by the time of Wang Xizhi (303–361) were common terms in art criticism concerning calligraphy (p. 38).

This course in art history is concluded in "Epilogue: the Tang Dynasty" (p. 40). The two terms "refined" and "marvelous" were promoted in the Tang era for example by

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Zhang Yanyuan 張彦遠 who proposed for the realm of painting five grades: spontaneous 自然, divine 神, marvelous 妙, refined 精, and meticulous 謹細. The author concludes in the end that the Buddhist inscriptions of the northern dynasties "employed the same specific language that was primarily used by the southern elite. This issue is also important for the understanding of art history in China".

The following paragraphs are devoted to the individual "Sites" (pp. 41–458), starting with Mount Yi, "Space", the Chinese text (pp. 43–50) presenting maps and pictorial surveys that are different from the photos of the site in the English text (pp. 51–54, "Location", "Topography and Spatial Grouping", "Dating", and "Place Name"). Then, "Time" (pp. 54–59) has the sections: "Related Monasteries", "Related Persons", "Dating", and "Research History". The titles left alone are already informative enough as to contents and depth of research. The paragraph "Inscriptions" (pp. 59–84, loaded with colour pictures) has the subsections: "Inventory", "Sutra Passages", "Historical Inscriptions", "Carving Techniques" (pp. 59–61).

"Mount Yi-shan" nr. 1 (pp. 63–68) starts with the *Passage of 98 Characters from the Sutra on the Great Perfection of Wisdom Spoken by Manjusri*, with pictures and rubbings. "Layout Text" and "Transcription" follow with coloured characters to indicate where characters were patched up. The unsigned "English Translation" presents the contents. The tabular "Physical Description" has any feasible detail and "References" ("Rubbings", "Taishō", "Transcriptions", "Illustrations", and "Discussion") follow concluding this paragraph. All other paragraphs in this book are organized in the same way which lets the individual site become almost physically tangible.

"Mount Yi-shan" nr. 2 (pp. 69–74) presents Yi 2: "Colophon to Yi 1 with a Date and Two Character Fragment", presenting seven rubbings for consultation. "Mount Yi-shan" nr. 3 has: *Passage of 98 Characters from the Sutra on the Great Perfection of Wisdom Spoken by Manjusri* with a Colophon (pp. 75–83).

The next site is "Mount Tie" (pp. 84–190), starting with a picture of an amazingly extended inscription in the shape of a stele on the southern slope of Mount Tie. The photo was taken from a hot-air balloon (pp. 84, 88). The presentation follows the preceding example. The "English Translation" (pp. 130–138), including the part "Parallel Text" again is, as always in this book, unsigned which we find very regrettable, translation always being the crown of the art. The reader will note the "References" (pp. 139–147) that document the great attention that the scholarly community has since long paid to the site.

Mount Ge-shan looks from afar like a heap of rubble (p. 190) but is in fact a fascinating location, showing two sites with inscriptions, *Ge* 1 and *Ge* 2 (pp. 198–202): Ge 1 has a passage taken from the 12th chapter of Kumarajiva's translation: *Sutra spoken by Vimalakirti* (*Weimojie suo shuo jing*): namely *Vision of Aksobhya Budda*. Ge 2 shows traces of characters below the sutra text that possibly were names of donors. Quite interesting is the note "Carving techniques": the carving was done "in the V-shaped kind; some isolated characters rather were done in double outline carving" (p. 202). "Layout Text" and "Rubbings" of Ge 1 are extended (pp. 204–209), the "English Translation" with "Parallel Text" occupy pp. 210–214, with a concluding analysis as established in this series. The inscription Ge 2 are a few remnant characters only that nevertheless are carefully presented pp. 221–224.

"Mount Gang-shan" (pp. 228–461) occupies much of the rest of the book. There are five groups of inscriptions: 1) the opening passage from the translation of the *Sutra of Arrival in Lanka* by Bodhiruci *(Ru Lengqie jing)*; 2) another longer version of the text; 3) the opening passage of the *Sutra spoken by the Buddha on the Contemplation of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life*; 4) Some Buddha names; a colophon (p. 238). There are amazing rock

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formations that carry inscriptions like the Chicken Beak Rock (p. 240, see the frontispiece of the book).

The *Sutra of Arrival in Lanka* was engraved twice and spread across a number of rocks. Text 2) see above, in large characters covers 31 cliff walls and boulders, whereas text 1) in small characters is found on five separate rock faces. The pilgrim could read alongside the path parts of the texts and make his way reflecting on the message of the sutra which provided a spiritual consolation for the faithful. This situation is described in a very fine way as if the reader were invited to follow this religious journey. There are stones with single characters (e.g. p. 243) that pilgrims may have brought along to let their religious zeal last on the mountain. Small wonder, that the section "Research History" (pp. 247–250) presents quite a few Qing-scholars who already had listed and studied the inscriptions. "Inscriptions" and "Sutra Passages" present valuable information. The "Buddha Names" contain: Buddha Sakyamuni, Buddha Honoured Maitreya, and Buddha Amitabha.

The latter name on the north side of the Chicken Beak Rock complements the passage from the *Sutra on the Contemplation of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life* on the east and south sides of the rock. Buddha instructs on how to visualize the Pure Land of Buddha Amitabha in the West (p. 250). This may suffice to show how the sutras transported religious messages that were embedded in the scenery, which the authors of this book superbly understood and present.

All these texts and scriptures are analyzed as to origin and regional differences in content or presentation. The reader finds meaningful discussions on why this or that sutra was engraved in the respective site. For example Michihata Ryôshû finds an explanation in politics of the Northern Zhou when Buddhism was threatened with persecution (p. 254). "Mount Gang-shan" (GS) "Segment" A1 is on pp. 267–272, followed by GS A2 (pp. 273–276), then GS A3 (pp. 277–280), GS A4 (pp. 281–284), and GS A5 (pp. 285–288).

A new chapter is GS B, showing the sutra nr. 2 (see above), providing the "English Translation" and "Parallel Text" (pp. 289–291) with "References" (pp. 291–300). GS B 1 is pp. 301–304, GS B2–31 occupies pp. 305–418, partly showing just one character, for example p.345, GS B13: 百 "and hundreds". GS B has the opening passage from the *Sutra on the Contemplation of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life*, again with "English Translation" and "Parallel Text" (pp. 419–420).

Small texts are preserved in GS C1 (pp. 425–428) and GS C2 (pp. 429–432).

GS D1 presents: "Group of Three Buddha Names" (pp. 437–441). GS D2 has the words "Buddha King of Great Emptiness"[1] 大空王佛 (pp. 443–446), GS D3 has "Buddha Amitabha" (pp. 447–450), GS D4 shows the words "Great" and "All Buddhas" (pp. 451–454, the picture on p. 453 shows the stones D2/3/4 that carry Buddha names).

GS E has the "Colophon on Chicken Beak Rock" (pp. 455–461), with "Layout Text", "Transcription" and "English Translation", the text dated July 29, 580 with the names of donors, clerics and lay persons.

This intellectually very valuable and documentary volume is very special, due to the nature of the locations where today the religious veneration of the local population still enlivens the scene, which the auspicious red ribbons on top of Mount Yi show (p. 55).

Florian C. Reiter, Berlin

[1] Compare the preceding review of *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China*, *Shandong Province* vol 1.

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Zur Erinnerung: Die ZDMG von 1861

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