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Karl Hecker (1933–2017)

Von WALTER SOMMERFELD, Leipzig

KARL HECKER wurde als Sohn eines Maschinenschlossers in Hagen/Westfalen geboren. Für die Entwicklung seiner Interessen und die Motivation bei der Studienwahl war der Besuch des altsprachlichen Albrecht-Dürer-Gymnasiums prägend. Hier begann der Fremdsprachenunterricht in der 1. Klasse mit Latein, gefolgt von Griechisch in der 4. Klasse und später Hebräisch. Von der Qualität der Ausbildung und den begeisterungsfähigen Lehrern, die ihm die Welt der klassischen Antike erschlossen, hat er oft mit Enthusiasmus gesprochen. 1943 erfolgte die Einschulung; da jedoch kriegsbedingt die Lehranstalt zwischen 1944 und 1946 zwei Jahre lang geschlossen blieb, konnte er das Abitur erst 1953 ablegen.

Im gleichen Jahr nahm HECKER in Freiburg das Studium mit den Fächern Klassische Philologie und Orientalistik auf, erkannte aber bald, dass es unmöglich war, beide Disziplinen gleichzeitig mit der nötigen Intensität zu betreiben, und entschied sich für die orientalischen Sprachen. Sein wichtigster Lehrer wurde OLUF KRÜCKMANN (1904–1984), der in Freiburg den Lehrstuhl für Altorientalistik innehatte, aber gleichzeitig auch den Platz der Islamwissenschaft ausfüllte, bis 1963 eine Professur für Islamkunde und Geschichte der islamischen Völker neu eingerichtet wurde. KRÜCKMANN war selbst für die damalige Zeit, in der fachliche Breite zum selbstverständlichen Profil des Orientwissenschaftlers gehörte, außergewöhnlich vielseitig interessiert, und so wurde sein Student HECKER in eine Vielzahl von Sprachen, Themen und Methoden eingeführt. Person und Wirken seines Lehrers hat er in einem lebendigen Nachruf gewürdigt, der im *Archiv für Orientforschung* 32 (1985), S. 185f. erschien. Ergänzend nahm HECKER als Gasthörer an den Übungen des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Basel teil. Das frühzeitig angelegte breite Themenspektrum hat er dann auch in seinem späteren wissenschaftlichen Werk beibehalten. Dass diese Vielseitigkeit in der akademischen Lehre nicht immer aus freien Stücken erfolgt war, hat er in dem Nachruf durchblicken lassen:

... [Krückmann] entfaltete eine ebenso vielfältige wie umfangreiche Lehrtätigkeit, die bei seinen zahlreichen Hörern, bei seinen Assistenten und Kollegen unvergeßliche Eindrücke hinterließ; bei den Assistenten vor allem

wohl auch deshalb, weil von ihnen erwartet wurde, daß sie in der Lage wären, ihren „Chef“ bei überraschenden Abwesenheiten in Seminarübungen über so unterschiedliche Themen wie etwa „Altsumerische Königsinschriften“, „Einführung ins Syrische“ oder „Die *Risālat el-Ğufrān* des *Abū 'l-'Alā el-Ma'arrī*“ ausreichend zu vertreten.

Hier gibt HECKER indirekt seine eigene Erfahrung wieder, denn KRÜCKMANN, der Aufenthalte im Orient sehr schätzte, sandte ihm mitunter unvermittelt zu Semesterbeginn ein Telegramm mit der Mitteilung: „Komme einen Monat später. Fangen Sie schon einmal alle Seminare an.“

HECKER verdiente sich die Mittel für das Studium zunächst durch Werkarbeit in den Semesterferien, bis ihm seit 1955 das Stipendium der Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes ermöglichte, sich uneingeschränkt den Studien zu widmen. Eine wichtige Station wurde Kairo, wo er 1956/1957 zwei Semester mittels eines Stipendiums der ägyptischen Regierung studieren konnte, so dass er das Arabische fließend beherrschte und ab 1959 Kurse für die arabische und akkadische Sprache am Orientalischen Seminar in Freiburg durchführte.

KRÜCKMANN verfügte über die Kompetenzen, in mehreren Disziplinen ausbilden zu können; unter seinen Schülern befinden sich z. B. auch Judaisten und Islamwissenschaftler. HECKERS fachliche Ausrichtung auf die Altorientalistik geschah eher ungeplant auf Anregung seines Mentors, der ihm vorschlug, als Dissertationsprojekt die Sprache der Dokumente aus der altassyrischen Kaufmannskolonie Kültepe zu bearbeiten. KRÜCKMANN war kein Spezialist für diese Überlieferung, und so war der junge Doktorand im Wesentlichen auf sich selbst gestellt. Zu jener Zeit war lediglich eine Reihe von Keilschriftkopien verfügbar, es lagen aber kaum einschlägige Editionen vor, und die modernen akkadischen Wörterbücher standen gerade erst in den Anfängen. Die zu bewältigende Aufgabe stellt er im Vorwort der am 21. Dezember 1961 eingereichten Originalarbeit *Die Sprache der altassyrischen Texte aus Kappadokien* so dar:

Als ich die Aufgabe übernahm, die Sprache dieser Texte, das Altassyrische, ausführlich darzustellen, war ich mir des Ausmaßes der mir bevorstehenden Schwierigkeiten nicht bewußt. Mit Ausnahme der Bearbeitung der juristischen Urkunden durch Eisser und Lewy und einiger Einzeluntersuchungen lagen fast keine Vorarbeiten vor. Auch von Soden konnte in seiner Grammatik, die ja das Gesamtakkadische zum Thema hat, das Altassyrische nur sehr wenig eingehend behandeln. Wörterbücher und Bearbeitungen der für die Kenntnis der Grammatik und des Wortschatzes besonders wichtigen Briefe, die ja auch den bei weiten größten Teil der Texte ausmachen, fehlen.

Die 1968 mit dem Titel *Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte* im Druck erschienene Dissertation wurde ein Meisterwerk. Formal hat HECKER sie im Aufbau



W. Biedr

an den epochalen *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* WOLFRAM VON SODENS (1952) angeglichen, inhaltlich ist sie in fast jeder Hinsicht eine Pionierarbeit. Sie bildete eine Grundlage für alle Studien zum Altassyrischen, die in der Folgezeit stetig anwuchsen, und wurde erst in seinem Todesjahr durch die monumentale *A Grammar of Old Assyrian* von KOUWENBERG abgelöst.

Das Altassyrische bildete einen Kernbereich in HECKERS wissenschaftlichem Werk, dem er sich unermüdlich widmete, so dass er bis zu seinem Lebensende den Platz als einer der weltweit führenden Experten für das frühe Assyrische einnahm. Neben zahlreichen Einzeluntersuchungen zu verschiedenen Themen standen hierbei Texteditionen im Mittelpunkt seiner Produktivität. Er veröffentlichte die Kollektionen aus Gießen (*Die Keilschrifttexte der Universitätsbibliothek Gießen*, 1966) und Prag (*Kappa-dokische Keilschrifttafeln aus den Sammlungen der Karlsuniversität Prag*, zusammen mit GUIDO KRYSZAT und LUBOR MATOUŠ, 1998); er edierte ferner die Publikationen der türkischen Kollegen V. DONBAZ sowie E. BILGIÇ und C. GÜNBATTI in den Beiheften *Altassyrische Texte und Untersuchungen* zur Serie *Freiburger Altorientalische Studien*. Intensiv widmete er sich der Erschließung der großen Textbestände, die die türkischen Ausgrabungen in Kültepe zutage gefördert hatten. Er war Mitglied der Kommission zur Publikation der altassyrischen Texte von Kültepe in Ankara und bereitete auch einige Bände für die Publikation vor, die er aber selbst nicht mehr zum Abschluss führen konnte. Mustergültige digitalisierte Transliterationen tausender Texte, die den größten Teil des veröffentlichten altassyrischen Textbestandes erschließen, hat er der Nachwelt hinterlassen; sie sind auf der Website *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* abrufbar.

HECKERS zweites Hauptarbeitsgebiet wurde dann die akkadische Literatur. Mit den *Untersuchungen zur akkadischen Epik* habilitierte er sich 1970 in Freiburg. Er sah die Altorientalistik damals in einem „Stadium, wo ... neue, über das bloße Sammeln von sprachlichen Daten hinausgehende Fragestellungen notwendig werden“. Dieses Vorhaben war allerdings keineswegs leicht zu realisieren, denn es gab seinerzeit kaum brauchbare Texteditionen, „sodaß zunächst oft eine umständliche und zeitraubende Herstellung der einzelnen Epentexte notwendig war“ (Zitate aus dem Vorwort). Auch in diesem Bereich wirkte HECKER als Pionier, indem er methodische Leitlinien und Forschungskonzepte, die die modernen Literaturwissenschaften entwickelt hatten, zum ersten Mal systematisch auf die akkadischen Epen anwandte. Diese methodisch durchdachte, ideenreiche Arbeit wurde 1974 veröffentlicht und hat die weitere Forschung zur akkadischen Literatur vielfältig inspiriert.

Nachdem die Mitarbeiterstelle an der Universität Freiburg beendet und das Habilitandenstipendium der DFG ausgelaufen waren, folgte eine

mehrjährige Lebensphase mit teilweise schwierigen persönlichen Umständen, in der HECKER sich ohne feste Anstellung den Lebensunterhalt mit diversen Tätigkeiten erwerben musste. Hier kamen ihm seine breiten orientalistischen Kenntnisse und sein Organisationstalent zugute, denn er war als Reiseleiter sehr gefragt und übte diese Funktion häufig aus. Diese Erfahrungen wurden auch fachlich nützlich, da er hierbei nahezu die gesamte Region des Nahen und Mittleren Ostens von Nordafrika bis Afghanistan kennenlernte und sich umfassende Landeskenntnisse aneignen konnte, so dass er wie nur wenige Altorientalisten auch mit den gegenwärtigen Verhältnissen in diesen Ländern vertraut war und die meisten Schauplätze der Kulturen des Alten Orients aus eigenem Erleben gut kannte.

Diese unstete Lebensphase wurde 1974 mit der Ernennung zum Wissenschaftlichen Rat an der Universität Erlangen beendet. Im Jahr 1977 folgte dann der Ruf auf den wohl renommiertesten Lehrstuhl für Altorientalistik an der Universität Münster. Er wurde Nachfolger W. VON SODENS, des Großmeisters der Disziplin, der die Grundlagenwerke von Grammatik und Wörterbuch geschaffen, Ordnung in das Umschriftsystem gebracht und mit über 600 Aufsätzen nahezu alle Bereiche der Akkadistik geprägt hatte. HECKER hat das Potenzial dieser Professur zielstrebig genutzt, um in über 20-jähriger Tätigkeit das Fachgebiet fachlich und wissenschaftspolitisch voranzubringen, und ist dabei viele neue Wege gegangen. Ihm war sehr bewusst, dass sich die deutschen Universitäten und mit ihnen der Status der „kleinen Fächer“ an einem Wendepunkt befanden. Selbstverständliche Besitzstandswahrung gehörte der Vergangenheit an. Die Zeiten, als der Professor sich nahezu unbehelligt von zeitraubenden Aktivitäten in Verwaltung und Gremien uneingeschränkt der Forschung widmen konnte, gingen zu Ende. Der Ausbau der Universitäten wurde Ziel der Bildungsreformen und führte zu stark angestiegenen Studierendenzahlen. An die Stelle der Wissensvermittlung ohne Studienpläne an einen erlesenen Kreis von Schülern, die in der Regel die Direktpromotion anstrebten, traten gestufte Studiengänge mit vorgegebenem Curriculum, deren Auslastung und Absolventenzahlen zum Maßstab für Leistungsbewertung und Finanzierung wurden.

In dieser Umbruchphase von der „Ordinarien-“ zur „Gremienuniversität“, in der deutlich erweiterte Anforderungen an die Stelleninhaber gestellt wurden und Managerqualitäten zunehmend gefragt waren, hat HECKER sehr klar die Zeichen der Zeit erkannt und sich entsprechend engagiert. Er war 1978/1979 Dekan des Fachbereichs „Alte und Außereuropäische Sprachen und Kulturen“ und in den Jahren 1982 bis 1984 Prodekan der neuen Philosophischen Fakultät. Seine Bereitschaft, unter den Bedingungen einer sich ständig wandelnden Universitätswelt Leitungsaufgaben zu übernehmen und die akademische Selbstverwaltung im Rahmen der neuen Strukturen

mit zu gestalten, trug sichtbare Früchte, die sich in der fortgesetzt guten Ausstattung zeigten. Als ein Erfolg, der ihn besonders freute, blieb in bedrängten Zeiten die Professur für Vorderasiatische Archäologie erhalten.

HECKER zeigte denselben Gemeinsinn, mit dem er bereit war, für das Wissenschaftsmanagement ein beträchtliches Zeitbudget einzusetzen, auch in anderen Bereichen. Unter seiner Leitung fand 1985 in Münster der 32. Weltkongress für Altorientalistik (*Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*) zum Thema *Keilschriftliche Literaturen* statt. Bei der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) stand er 1986 bis 1992 mit großer Tatkraft dem Fachausschuss „Orientalistik“ vor, in dieser Funktion hat er Hunderte Drittmittelanträge gesichtet und Gutachten verfasst.

Ein weiteres Anliegen, dem sich HECKER weit öffnete, war die Aufgabe, die Wissensbestände der Altorientalistik für ein breiteres Umfeld zu erschließen. Der Marburger Alttestamentler OTTO KAISER hatte das Publikationsprojekt *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (TUAT) initiiert und die Fachleute aus dem gesamten Spektrum des Alten Orients, Ägyptens und benachbarter Gebiete angehalten, ihre wichtigsten Quellen in zuverlässigen Übersetzungen allgemein zugänglich zu machen. Es war für die Herausgeber nicht immer leicht, Autoren zu finden, denn gute Übersetzungen anzufertigen ist ein zeitraubendes, keineswegs einfach durchzuführendes Vorhaben; diese wissenschaftliche Dienstleistung hatte für viele Fachvertreter nicht die gleiche Attraktivität wie die Produktion von eigenen Forschungsergebnissen. Bislang sind von diesem Gemeinschaftswerk seit 1982 elf Bände (einschließlich der „Neuen Folge“ unter den Herausgebern B. JANOWSKI, G. WILHELM und D. SCHWEMER) erschienen. HECKER hat für dieses Sammelwerk lange Jahre als Fachherausgeber fungiert und selbst die meisten Beiträge für den Bereich der Altorientalistik beigesteuert, die so unterschiedliche Textsorten wie das Gilgamesch-Epos, Chroniken, Beschwörungen, Gebete, Briefe u. a. m. umfassen.

Auch der Anschluss an die Publikationsleistung seines Vorgängers kam nicht zu kurz. Als 1985 der erste Band des *Akkadischen Handwörterbuchs* VON SODENS nachgedruckt werden musste, hat HECKER als Randnotizen für die 2. Auflage die Verweise auf die zahlreichen Addenda und Korrigenda, die am Ende des dritten Bandes zusammengestellt waren, eingearbeitet. Für das *Rückläufige Wörterbuch des Akkadischen* (1990) erfasste er den gesamten im *Handwörterbuch* gesammelten morphologischen Bestand.

HECKER war breit interessiert und stets für Neuerungen aufgeschlossen. Er erkannte früh das Potenzial der sich gerade entwickelnden EDV. Aus Drittmitteln, die er im Bundesministerium für Forschung und Technologie (BMFT) eingeworben hatte, schaffte er 1982 am Altorientalistischen Seminar den ersten PC an, der an der Universität Münster überhaupt für

Forschungszwecke den Betrieb aufnahm, noch vor dem Hochschulrechenzentrum. Dieser PC galt damals als Großgerät, war mit einem Arbeitsspeicher von 128 KB und einer Festplatte von 5 Megabyte sehr leistungstark und lief unter dem Betriebssystem CP/M. Damit begründete HECKER die historische Paläoklimatologie, denn in einer Datenbank wurden die astronomischen Tagebücher des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. aus Babylon, die sogenannten *Astronomical Diaries*, erfasst und deren detaillierte astronomische und klimatologische Daten ausgewertet. Die globalen Klimaveränderungen waren damals gerade identifiziert und als potentielles Zukunftsproblem in das Bewusstsein gestiegen. Das BMFT wollte zur Ermittlung von Langzeitendenzen neben naturwissenschaftlichen Befunden auch die verfügbaren historischen Angaben über Klimaverhältnisse in den vergangenen Jahrtausenden sammeln, wozu die Altorientalistik die aussagefähigsten Daten beizusteuern hatte. Die Forschungsergebnisse wurden zwar nicht publiziert, aber dem Ministerium in einem Dossier übergeben.

HECKERS Eintritt in den Ruhestand 1998 ging keineswegs mit einer Zäsur in der Produktivität einher. Er setzte seine Tätigkeit als Herausgeber der von ihm begründeten Reihe *SANTAG – Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde* und als Autor, insbesondere mit Beiträgen für TUAT, bis zuletzt fort. Die zunehmende Verschlechterung der Sehfähigkeit setzte allerdings manchen Plänen deutliche Grenzen, und er konnte nicht mehr alle Vorhaben zum Abschluss bringen.

HECKER war eine höchst anregende Persönlichkeit, der aus den reichen Schätzen seiner Erfahrungen und seines Wissens ständig Stoff für Gespräche zu erzeugen und stets originelle Verbindungen herzustellen wusste, wobei die lebendigen Erzählungen mitunter Eigendynamik entwickelten. Über seine Auffassungen nahm er selten ein Blatt vor den Mund, diese erfrischende Direktheit verlief allerdings nicht immer konfliktfrei. Wenn ihm etwas missfiel, hielt er das nicht im Verborgenen, wenn er aber von der Qualität eines Vorhabens oder der Leistungsfähigkeit einer Person überzeugt war, konnte man sich seiner Loyalität, Unterstützung und Förderung sicher sein.

HECKER hat seine Überzeugung, dass Wissenschaft nicht nur Selbstzweck einer privilegierten geschlossenen Gruppe sein darf, sondern aus der Nische des Spezialistentums hinaustreten und auch einen allgemeinen Nutzen haben muss, konsequent umgesetzt. Geprägt von seinem biographischen Hintergrund und aufgrund der Erfahrungen seines akademischen Werdegangs, der keineswegs immer einfach und geradlinig verlief, sondern ihm viel Ausdauer und hohe Leistungsbereitschaft abverlangt hatte, verfügte er über einen kritischen Blick auf die akademische Selbstgefälligkeit. Sein unbestechliches Eintreten für Qualität ließ sich durch kaum ein Manöver täuschen.

Mit KARL HECKER hat uns ein vielseitiger, kreativer Altorientalist verlassen, der die Disziplin in der Forschung über Jahrzehnte vielfältig bereichert und nachhaltig geprägt hat. Mit seinem Engagement im Wissenschaftsmanagement hat er dazu beigetragen, die Bedeutung des Faches auch interdisziplinär sichtbar zu machen und diesem in der modernen Wissenskultur einen respektierten Status zu verschaffen. Er gehört zu jenen Menschen, die man wegen ihrer markanten Persönlichkeit, Lebendigkeit und Originalität stets in Erinnerung behalten wird.

Phonological and Lexical Variation in the Khwe Dialect Cluster

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Summary: The Kalahari Khoe language Khwe can be considered one of the best-documented Khoe-Kwadi languages with a considerable corpus of published materials, including a grammar, dictionary and extensive text collection. However, despite the recognized status of Khwe as a dialect cluster, the focus of scholarly research has mostly been on the !Xom variety spoken on both sides of the Okavango River in Namibia. To assess the degree of internal variation to be found within the wider Khwe-speaking area, this article follows a comparative approach and presents data from the !Xom, Buga and !Ani dialects, using both published and newly collected data from Namibia and Botswana. A comparison of phonological, tonological and lexical data shows that the !Ani variety from Botswana can be clearly distinguished by means of lexical and phonological isoglosses, confirming previous results as well as ethnographical observations and speakers' self assessment. The present data further suggests a close link between !Xom and Buga, with only little inter-dialectal variation that may be explained by areal, rather than by genealogical separation.

1 Introduction

Khwe is a dialect cluster of the Khoe-Kwadi language family's Western Kalahari branch (VOSSEN 1997). Historically, Khwe speakers dwelt in a vast area reaching from southeastern Angola and western Zambia across the Namibian Caprivi strip into Botswana's Okavango Delta (BODEN 2009, BRENZINGER 1998). Only recent historical events like the civil war in Angola and the Namibian war of independence (BRENNINGER 1998, 2010) led to the present-day situation in which the majority of the 7,000–8,000 remaining speakers (BRENNINGER 2013) reside in the Bwabwata National Park of Namibia and along the Okavango panhandle in northwestern Botswana.

Work-related migration, resettlement schemes and the establishment of National Parks during the second half of the 20th century further contributed to Khwe speakers abandoning their traditional settlements in favor of bigger

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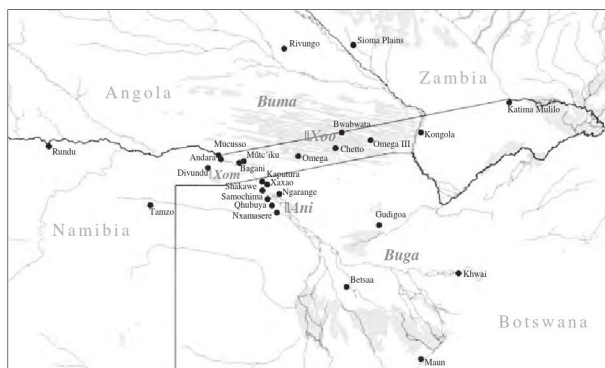


Fig. 1: Geographical distribution of Khwe speakers and regional designations, possibly corresponding to dialect areas

villages close to the roadside (BODEN 2009). This development, combined with the high mobility between different Khwe communities resulted in what BRENZINGER (1998, p. 324) calls a “surprisingly homogenous language situation”. Conversely, several dialects of Khwe are listed in the literature (see, e.g., KÖHLER 1971, WESTPHAL 1971, VOSSEN 1997, GÜLDEMANN 2014), although little is said about their boundaries and relationships with each other. Commonly, only a divide between the ||Ani dialect spoken by foragers along the Okavango panhandle in northwestern Botswana on the one side, and a less well-defined entity mostly referred to as “Khwe” or “Kxoe” on the other is acknowledged. The linguistic data covered by the term “Khwe” predominantly comes from the western part of the Khwe-speaking area and may be ascribed to the ||Xom (‘river’), and, albeit to a lesser extent, the Buma (‘north’, referring to Angola) dialects. Other terms like ||Xoo (‘dry land’, referring to the area between the Okavango and Kwando rivers) and Buga (Botswana) are sometimes thought to be geographical labels with little or no linguistic relevance (BRENZINGER 1998, p. 325), although VOSSEN (1997) presents clearly distinctive material from a variety he calls “Buga” and a related dialect (IGanda). In this article, I follow VOSSEN (1997) in treating Buga as a dialectal label on the same level as ||Xom (as documented by KÖHLER, e.g. 1981, 1989 and KILIAN-HATZ 2008) and ||Ani (VOSSEN 1986, 2000; HEINE

1999). More specifically, Buga here refers to a Khwe dialect spoken to the east of Botswana's Okavango Delta, in particular in the villages Khwai and Gudigoa, which, as a working hypothesis, is assumed to constitute a distinctive linguistic variety. For lack of comprehensive data, no reference is made to linguistic material recorded in the Buma and ||Xoo areas of Khwe; for a list of lexical differences between ||Xom and ||Xoo, the reader is referred to BRENZINGER (1998).

In Table 1 below, all existing documentation of Khwe varieties known to the author are listed, with sources used in the present work marked by *.

Apart from the sources listed, comparative material from other Kalahari Khoe languages is used when relevant, in particular from Khwe's closest neighbor Ts'ixa, which has alternately been classified as a dialect of Khwe (WESTPHAL 1971) or Shua (VOSSEN 1997), but might eventually constitute an independent language (FEHN 2016, forthcoming a).

This work will consider phonological (§2), tonological (§3) and lexical (§4) data to identify isoglosses and delimit dialectal boundaries between the three varieties under discussion. Results from the cross-dialectal survey will be discussed in §5.

2 Phonology

I assembled the phoneme inventories of individual speakers to detect general patterns as well as idiolectal variation. In addition to the data obtained during my own fieldwork, I consulted published (VOSSEN 1997, 2000, HEINE 1999) and unpublished (KÖHLER 2017, WESTPHAL recordings) sources to arrive at a maximally complete picture of phonemic diversity in Khwe. The results were then analyzed in the framework of diachronic phonology, i.e., I compared the dialectal reflexes of the Proto-Khwe sound inventory.

The proto-phonemes were established based on the reconstructions available in VOSSEN (1997)¹, with the notable addition of both voiced and voiceless uvular stops that may also appear as click accompaniments. VOSSEN (1992, 1997) convincingly argues that uvular stops are unlikely to have been part of the Proto-Khoe phoneme inventory. However, he reconstructs a voiceless uvular stop for the Proto-Kalahari Khoe stage, albeit not the corresponding click accompaniment (VOSSEN 1997, p. 299). A voiced uvular stop is commonly not considered to have been part of the proto-phoneme inventory

¹ Reconstructions provided in this paper have been adapted to correspond to recent findings about Khoe lexical root templates (GÜLDEMANN/NAKAGAWA forthcoming) and tone (ELDERKIN 2004, 2008).

Table 1: Sources for Khwe linguistic data (f. n. = field notes; ms=manuscript; * = used in this paper)

No.	Name in source	Place of research	Origin of speaker(s)	Researcher	Date	Data type	# of speakers	Lexical items	Gram-mar	Publication
llXom (West Caprivi, Namibia)										
01	Hukwe	"Hukwe-Feld" (West Caprivi)	Caprivi	J. H. WILHELM	1917	Survey	?	169	n/a	WILHELM 1955, see also VOSSEN 2016
02	Xū	Andara	Caprivi	E. O. J. WESTPHAL	1961	Survey	?	254	n/a	f. n.
03	Kxoe*	Andara, Mutsiku, Bagani, Dikundu	Caprivi	O. KÖHLER	<1992	Documentation	>10	1000+	yes	KÖHLER 1981, etc.), ms.
04	llXom	Mutsiku	Mutsiku	M. BRENZINGER	1996	Survey	various	< 20	n/a	BRENZINGER 1998
05	Khwe*	Mutsiku	Caprivi	C. KILLIAN-HATZ	<2005	Documentation	>10	1000+	yes	KILLIAN-HATZ 2003, 2008, etc.
06	Khwe*	Maun	Kaputura	A.-M. FEHN & W. B. MCGREGOR	2013	Survey	1	ca. 280	notes	f. n.
llXoo (East Caprivi, Namibia)										
07	llXoo	Caprivi (?Bwabwata)	East Caprivi	M. BRENZINGER	1996	Survey	various	< 20	n/a	BRENZINGER 1998
Buga (Ngamiland, Botswana)										
08	Buka*	Mababe	Khwai	E. O. J. WESTPHAL	1961	Survey	1	280	notes	f. n., recordings
09	Buka	Khwai, Shakawe	Khwai, Shakawe	A. TRAILL	<1982	Survey	?	173	n/a	TRAILL 1986, f. n.
10	Glanda*	Khwai	Khwai	R. VOSSEN	<1984	Survey	1	266	notes	VOSSEN 1997, VOSSEN 2013

No.	Name in source	Place of research	Origin of speaker(s)	Researcher	Date	Data type	# of speakers	Lexical items	Gram-mar	Publication
11	Buga*	Betsaa	Betsaa	R. VOSSEN	<1984	Survey	1	319	notes	VOSSEN 1997, VOSSEN 2013
12	Buga	?	?	M. BRENZINGER	1996	Survey	various	255	n/a	BREZZINGER 1998; f. n.
13	Buga*	Khwai	Khwai	A.-M. FEHN	2012	Survey	1	ca. 220	notes	f. n.
14	Buga*	Khwai	Khwai, Gudigoo	A.-M. FEHN & W.B. MCGREGOR	2013	Survey	2	ca. 280	notes	f. n.
Ani (Ngamiland, Botswana)										
15	Ani	Shakawe	?western Delta	A. TRAILL	<1982	Survey	?	402	n/a	TRAILL 1986, f. n.
16	Ani*	Qhubuya	Qhubuya	R. VOSSEN	<1984	Survey	4	350+	notes	VOSSEN 1986, VOSSEN 1997, VOSSEN 2013
17	Ani*	Divundu/Mutsiku	Ngarange	B. HEINE	1998	Description	1	ca. 450	yes	HEINE 1999
18	Ani*	Maun	Xaxao	A.-M. FEHN	<2013	Survey	1	ca. 350	notes	f. n.
19	Ani*	Samochima, Ncamasere	Xhaoga	A.-M. FEHN & W.B. MCGREGOR	2013	Survey	4	ca. 280	notes	f. n.
Other Khwe, possibly Buma (Angola)										
20	Mucusso	Mucusso	Mucusso	A. DE ALMEIDA	1950s	Survey	?	>100	n/a	f. n., possibly recordings
21	Chipute	Chipute	?	A. DE ALMEIDA	1950s	Survey	?	>100	n/a	f. n., possibly recordings

of any subgroup, although it appears in individual languages, such as Glui (NAKAGAWA 2006), Tsua (MATTHES 2015) and Ts'ixa (FEHN 2016). Based on my own recordings, I consider the phonemes previously noted as “voiced uvular fricatives” (<ɣ>, e.g., VOSSEN 1997, p. 98) to be surface realizations of voiced uvular stops. Accordingly, the “voiced uvular fricative” clicks (<g!x, gʔx, g!x, g!lx>), and “prenasalized voiced uvular fricative” clicks (<n!x, nʔx, n!x, n!lx>), noted for various Kalahari Khoe languages (VOSSEN 1997) are considered reflexes of clicks with a voiced uvular efflux. As voiced uvular stops and click accompaniments are found in my data from !Ani, with regular correspondences in the !Xom and Buga dialects, I consider both voiced and voiceless uvular stops as well as click accompaniments to be part of the Proto-Khwe phoneme inventory. Whether they constitute sounds inherited from an ancestral language or borrowings into Proto-Khwe cannot be discussed within the scope of this article.²

“Prenasalized voiced” or “postalized nasal” clicks have been reconstructed for Proto-Khoe (VOSSEN 1997). However, recent comparative work (ELDERKIN forthcoming) has shown them to be likely allophones of the nasal click before oral rhymes that became phonemic in a subset of Kalahari Khoe languages. As this click type is not found in !Ani, it is not considered part of the Proto-Khwe phoneme inventory, but a possible innovation in !Xom and Buga.

Lastly, it should be noted that I deviate from VOSSEN (1997) in reconstructing non-affricated ejectives *k' and ejective click clusters *[!k', ʔk', !k', !!k'], rather than [!qx', ʔqx', !qx', !!qx'] and kx', respectively. This choice follows observations made on Ts'ixa and the Shua dialect cluster (FEHN forthcoming a), as well as cross-linguistic tendencies (cf. also GÜLDEMANN 2006, p. 199 on Khoekhoe), which support a diachronic lenition process involving fricativization (k' > kx'), rather than the reverse scenario assumed by VOSSEN (1997).

2.1 Click inventories

The click inventories of all three Khwe dialects under investigation are remarkably homogenous, with !Xom and Buga displaying closer proximity to each other than either variety does to !Ani (Table 2).

² In this context, it is worth pointing out that voiced and voiceless uvular stops as well as click accompaniments are also found in Ts'ixa (FEHN 2016, forthcoming a), which has previously been considered a dialect of Shua. The presence of these sounds in Ts'ixa but not in Shua might either indicate borrowing from Khwe into Ts'ixa, or a closer genealogical link between Khwe and Ts'ixa than was previously assumed.

Table 2: The click inventory of ||Ani, ||Xom and Buga;
correspondences possibly diagnostic for internal classification
have been shaded; <?> indicates lack of comprehensive data

	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
plain	*!	!, k	k, kʲ	k, kʲ	*ɘ	ɘ	ɘ	ɘ
voiced	*gʲ	gʲ, g	g, gʲ	g, gʲ	*gɘ	gɘ	gɘ	gɘ
aspirated	*!ʰ	!ʰ, kʰ (kʰʲ)	kʰ, kʰʲ	kʰ, kʰʲ	*ɘʰ	ɘʰ	ɘʰ	ɘʰ
plain + q	*!q	!q	?	?	*ɘq	ɘq	ɘq	ɘq
plain + ɠ	*!G	!G	?	?	*ɘG	ɘG	ɘx	ɘx
plain + x	*!x	!x, x	x	x	*ɘx	ɘx	ɘx	ɘx
plain + kʷ	*!kʷ	!qxʷ, kxʷ	k(x)ʷ	k(x)ʷ	*ɘkʷ	ɘqxʷ, ɘkʷ	ɘqxʷ	ɘqxʷ, ɘkʷ
plain + ?	*!ʔ	!ʔ, ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	*ɘʔ	ɘʔ	ɘʔ	ɘʔ
nasal	*ŋ!	ŋ!, ŋ	ŋ, ɲ	ŋ, ɲ	*ŋɘ	ŋɘ	ŋɘ	ŋɘ
postalized	(*ŋgʲ)	ŋg	ŋg, ŋgy	ŋg, ŋgy	(*ŋgɘ)		ŋgɘ	ŋgɘ

	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
plain	*l	l	l	l	*ll	ll	ll	ll
voiced	*gʲ	gʲ	gʲ	gʲ	*gll	gll	gll	gll
aspirated	*!ʰ	!ʰ	!ʰ	!ʰ	*!ʰll	!ʰll	!ʰll	!ʰll
plain + q	*!q	!q	!q	!q	*!llq	llq	llq	llq
plain + ɠ	*!G	!G	!x	!x	*!llG	llG	!lx	!lx
plain + x	*!x	!x	!x	!x	*!llx	llx	!lx	!lx
plain + kʷ	*!kʷ	!qxʷ, !lkʷ	!qxʷ	!qxʷ, !lkʷ	*!llkʷ	!llqxʷ, !llkʷ	!llqxʷ	!llqxʷ, !llkʷ
plain + ?	*!ʔ	!ʔ	!ʔ	!ʔ	*!llʔ	!llʔ	!llʔ	!llʔ
nasal	*ŋl	ŋl	ŋl	ŋl	*ŋll	ŋll	ŋll	ŋll
postalized	(*ŋgʲ)		ŋgʲ	ŋgʲ	(*ŋgʲll)		ŋgʲll	ŋgʲll

Of the four influx types reconstructed for Proto-Khwe, dental, palatal and lateral influxes are retained throughout the cluster. The alveolar click has been lost—safe for few relic forms, which have not been considered in Table 2—in both ||Xom and Buga, but is partly retained in ||Ani. Click loss takes place on a lexical, rather than on an idiolectal level, i. e., some lexemes

regularly retain the [+ click] influx, while others have been lexicalized without it (cf. also FEHN forthcoming b):

(1)	Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
	'cut'	*!húm	! ^h óm~! ^h óm	k ^h óm	k ^h óm
	'face'	*!ʔáá	!ʔáá	ʔáá	ʔáá~!áá
	'far'	*ŋ!úú	ŋ!úú	ŋgúú	ŋgúú
	'fear'	*!ʔáo	!ʔáo	ʔáo	!ʔáo
	'hold'	*!xóó	!xóó	xóó	xóó
	'long'	*!áo	!áo	k'áo	!áo~káó
	'squeeze'	*!k'adí	!qx'arí	kx'érí ('mix')	kx'édí~k'édí
	'thick'	*g!údí	g!úrí	gùrí	gúdí

Palatalisation of voiceless, voiced, aspirated, nasal and postoralized click replacements is common in ||Xom and Buga (cf. VOSSEN 1997, p. 103), but has only been attested for the aspirated click replacement in ||Ani.

(2)	Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
	'aardvark'	*g!óó	góó	góó	góó
	'cold'	*n!ái	---	ŋg'éí	ŋg'éí
	'go'	*!áú	kúú	kúú	kúú
	'land'	*ŋ!úú	ŋúú	ŋúú	ŋúú~ŋúú
	'push'	*!h'adí	k ^h arí~k ^h ilí	k ^h érí	k ^h ídí
	'stab'	*!h'áé	!h'áé	k ^h áé	k ^h áé~k ^h áé
	'throw'	*g!ám	gám	g'ám	g'ám
	'tie'	*!áé	k'áé~k'éé	k'áé	k'áé

Of the minimally nine click accompaniments suggested for Proto-Khwe, eight are retained throughout, while the voiced uvular cluster has been merged with the velar affricated cluster in ||Xom and Buga.

(3)	Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
	'chameleon'	*#Gùrà	#G ^w arā	---	#x ^w arā~#x ^w arā
	'weaver bird'	*!Gúi	!Gúi~jà	---	!xúi~!lólà
	'worm'	*!Gái	!Gái	!lxèi	!lxèi

In my data, velar affrication of ejective clusters is subjected to idiolectal variation in Buga and ||Ani; non-affricated ejective clicks occur most frequently in Buga:

(4)	Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
	'chop'	*!lk'áo	!lkx'áo~!lk'áo	!lkx'áo	!lkx'áo~!lkx'áo
	'exit'	*!k'òá	!kx'òá~!k'òá	!kx'òá	!kx'òá~!k'òá
	'fall'	*!k'áé	!lkx'áé~!k'áé	!lkx'áé	!lkx'áé~!k'áé
	'smell'	*!lk'áú	!lkx'áú	!lkx'áú	!lkx'áú~!lk'áú
	'wash'	*!lk'áà	!lkx'áà	!lkx'áà	!lkx'áà~!lk'áà

Apart from the regular sound correspondences listed in Table 2 above, the data contains three irregular correspondence sets; in the examples below, a nasal click in ||Ani corresponds to a plain voiceless click in ||Xom and Buga:

(5)	Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
	'belly'	*C ₁ áǎ	ŋlǎǎ~ŋlǎǎ	lǎá	lǎǎ~lǎǎ
	'cloud'	*C ₁ ùǎ	ŋlǎǎ	lǎǎ	lǎǎ~lǎǎ
	'foot'	*C ₁ ádè	ŋ!ǎǎ~ŋ!ǎǎ	kǎǎǎ	kǎǎǎ~kǎǎǎ
	'sandal'	*C ₁ àbò	ŋlǎbò	lǎvòò	lǎbò~lǎbò

VOSSEN (1997) reconstructs the nasal influx as attested in ||Ani for the Proto-Kalahari Khoe forms of 'foot' and 'sandal'. In the case of 'sandal' (VOSSEN 1997, p. 411), he additionally notes the correspondence with a Proto-Khoekhoe aspirated click. ELDERKIN (2004), based on their correlation with tonal depression (cf. §3), hypothesizes that these particular correspondence sets go back to an unknown phonation type in V₁ which might have existed in Proto-Khoe (or the donor language). While it seems futile to speculate about the origin of these forms, it is interesting to note the irregular correspondences within the Khwe cluster, which further support a closer link between ||Xom and Buga than either language displays with ||Ani.

2.2 Non-click consonants

Like the click inventories, the non-click consonant inventories of all Khwe dialects are rather uniform (Table 3).

Palatalization of velar affricates is common in ||Ani and ||Xom, but rare in Buga. In ||Xom, the contrast between *ts^h and *s has been leveled, and both are reflected by a phoneme /ʃ/, which may be realized as a voiceless postalveolar or palatal fricative (cf. also KILIAN-HATZ 2008, p. 23).

(6)	Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
	'dig'	*ts ^h ǎó	ts ^h ǎó~tʰǎó	ʃǎó	ts ^h ǎó
	'hand'	*ts ^h ǎú	ts ^h ǎú~tʰǎú	ʃǎú	ts ^h ǎú
	'water'	*ts ^h ǎǎ	ts ^h ǎǎ~tʰǎǎ	ʃǎǎ	ts ^h ǎǎ

There is considerable idiolectal variation in the realization of *s, which in Buga even includes a glottal fricative [h]:

(7)	Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
	'lung'	*sùó	ʃòó	ʃòó	ʃòó
	'your mother'	*sàdì	sírì	sírì	sírì
	'lizard'	*súddò	sóróò~sóróò	ʃóróò	ʃóróò
	'take'	*sèè	séè~séè	ʃéè	séè~hèè

Table 3: The non-click consonants of ||Ani, ||Xom and Buga;
correspondences possibly diagnostic for internal classification
have been shaded; <?> indicates lack of comprehensive data

		Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
STOP					
Bilabial	vl	*p	p	p	p
	vd	*b	b (v)	b (v)	b
Alveolar	vl	*t	t	t	t
	vd	*d	d (r, l)	d (r)	d (r)
	asp	*t ^h	t ^h	t ^h	t ^h
	vel	*tx	tx	tx	tx
	ej	*t'	t'	t'	t'
	aff	*ts	ts, tʃ	tʃ	ts, tʃ
	aff vd	*dz	dz, dʒ	dʒ	dz
	aff asp	*ts ^h	ts ^h , tʃ ^h	ʃ	ts ^h
	aff vel	*tsx	?	tʃx	tsx
	aff ej	*ts'	ts', tʃ'	tʃ'	ts'
Velar	vl	*k	k	k	k
	vd	*g	g	g	g
	asp	*k ^h	k ^h	k ^h	k ^h
	ej	*k'	kx'	k'~kx'	k'~kx'
Uvular	vl	*q	q	q	q
	vd	*G	g	x	x
Glottal	vl	*ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
FRICATIVE					
Alveolar	vl	*s	s, ʃ	ʃ	s, ʃ, h
Velar	vl	*x	x	x	x
Glottal	vl	*h	h	h	h
NASAL					
Bilabial		*m	m	m	m
Alveolar		*n	n	n	n
GLIDE					
		*j	ʔ, j, h	j	j, h
		*w	w	w	w

aff=affricated, asp=aspirated, ej=ejective, vel=velar, vd=voiced, vl=voiceless,
(=)intervocally

While a lenition process $*s > [h]$ is otherwise not attested in Khwe lexical roots, it is rather common with grammatical morphemes. The pronoun for the 2nd person feminine singular $*sa$ has the reflexes *hā* or *ha* throughout the Khwe cluster. Similarly, the person-gender-number suffix for the 3rd person singular feminine $*-sa$ becomes *-hē* in ||Xom and ||Ani. The reflexive suffix $*-sani$ appears as *-fan* in ||Ani and ||Xom, but has the form *-hani* in Buga. A further lenition $*s > [j]$ was noted in the reflexes of the pronoun for the 1st person dual feminine $*sam$, for the 1st person plural feminine $*se$, and for the 2nd person dual feminine $*so$, which in Buga appear as *jam*, *je*, and *jo*, respectively.

Affrication of the velar ejective $*k'$ is subject to idiolectal variation in my own data from ||Xom and Buga (see also VOSSEN 1997, p. 103, FEHN forthcoming a); a contrast between affricated and non-affricated ejective stops as attested for Glui (cf. NAKAGAWA 2006) cannot be shown for Khwe. The examples below illustrate the variation as found in my own data:

(8)	Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
	'cry'	$*k'āē$	<i>kx'ēē</i>	<i>kx'ēē</i>	<i>kx'ēē~k'ēē</i>
	'drink'	$*k'āā$	<i>kx'āā</i>	<i>kx'āā</i>	<i>kx'āā~k'āā</i>
	'live'	$*k'ūī$	<i>kx'ūī</i>	<i>kx'ūī~k'ūī</i>	<i>kx'ūī~k'ūī</i>
	'liver'	$*k'āī$	<i>kx'āī</i>	<i>kx'āī~k'āī</i>	<i>kx'āī~k'āī</i>

Finally, the voiced uvular stop $*G$ has been retained in ||Ani, while both ||Xom and Buga display a reflex $[x]$ in corresponding cognate forms, e.g.

(9)	Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
	'hornbill'	$*Gābā$	<i>Gābā</i>	<i>xāvā</i>	<i>xābā</i>

Some phonemes have allophones that appear in intervocalic contexts only: $*b$ may be realized as $[v]$ when appearing as C_2 of CVCV roots. $[v]$ obligatorily appears in ||Xom, and occasionally in ||Ani:

(10)	Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
	'clothing'	$*ʔābā$	<i>ʔābā~ʔāvā</i>	<i>ʔāvā</i>	<i>ʔābā</i>
	'light'	$*subu$	<i>ʃūbū</i>	<i>ʃūvū</i>	<i>ʃūbū</i>
	'butterfly'	$*tābē$	<i>tēbē~tēbē</i>	<i>tē~tēvē</i>	<i>tē~tēbē</i>

In the same environment, $[r]$ may appear as free variant of $*d$ in all varieties; in ||Ani, some speakers additionally realized a liquid $[l]$.

(11)	Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
	'push'	$*ʔhādī$	<i>k^hārī~k^hīlī</i>	<i>k^hérí</i>	<i>k^hidí</i>
	'year'	$*kūdī$	<i>kūdī~kūrī~kūlī</i>	<i>kúrí</i>	<i>kúdí</i>

[r] is never phonemic in Khwe lexical roots, but occurs without variation in a morphological process (“juncture”) requiring *r*-insertion, as well as in the person-gender-number suffix for the 1st person singular *-ra*.

The status of the glides [j, w] is not entirely clear; both may appear as C₁ of lexical roots, but especially [j] displays idiolectal variation and may vary with a glottal stop [ʔ] or a glottal fricative [h] in ʘAni. The proto-sound underlying C₁ of the forms quoted in the example below has to be considered a question of future research.

(12)	Gloss	Proto	ʘAni	ʘXom	Buga
	‘come’	*(C ₁)áâ	ʔáâ~báâ~ʔáâ	jáá	jáâ~jáâ
	‘play’	*(C ₁)uo-kudi	ʔōō-kúrí, wōō-kúrí	wóó-kúrí	wóó-kúdĩ
	‘tree’	*(C ₁)ài	jũ~bũ	jũ	jĩ~jĩ

[j] further appears as C₂ of Khwe lexical roots, always following the front vowels /i/ and /e/:

(13)	Gloss	Proto	ʘAni	ʘXom	Buga
	‘many’	*tʰijà	tʰijà	tʰijà	tʰijà
	‘snake’	*ʔijò	ʔijò~ʔijũ	ʔijò	ʔijò
	‘zebra’	*bijé	bijé	bèjèé	bèjè~bèé

Apart from the sounds discussed above, VOSSEN (1986, 1997, 2000) and HEINE (1999) list the additional sounds /dx/ and /dzx/ for ʘAni. As my data does not contain any examples for either, it is impossible to say whether they constitute actual phonemes (possibly in loanwords from !Xun) or are merely surface realizations of /G/.

In addition to genuine Khoe phonemes, the Khwe cluster also has several sounds that appear in loanwords from Bantu, Afrikaans and English. /ph, mb, nd, ŋg, l/ occur in all dialects (VOSSEN 1997, 2013; HEINE 1999; KILIAN-HATZ 2008, p. 23).

2.3 Vowels

All dialects of Khwe have at least five phonemic oral vowel phonemes, and three phonemic nasal vowels (Fig. 2).

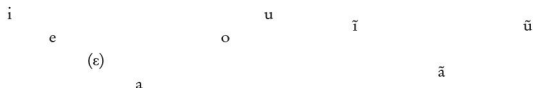


Fig. 2a: Oral vowel phonemes

Fig. 2b: Nasal vowel phonemes

An open-mid front vowel [ɛ] was noted by KÖHLER (1981, 1989) and KILIAN-HATZ (2003, 2008) for ||Xom, and by VOSSEN (1997, 2013) for Buga and ||Ani. While [ɛ] may indeed be phonemic in ||Xom, my own data from ||Ani and Buga displayed a considerable degree of idiolectal variation with regards to [ee]~[ɛɛ]~[ae] in CVV roots. A similar phenomenon was observed in Ts'ixa (FEHN forthcoming a), suggesting that the emergence of [ɛ] may be an areal feature possibly triggered by contact with neighboring Bantu languages (see, e.g., SOMMER 2003, p. 568 on the realization of vowels in Western Savannah Bantu languages). In this paper, [ɛ] is noted, but no definite statement can be made with regards to its phonemic status in Khwe or dialects thereof.

A nasalized vowel [õ] as noted for all Khwe dialects in previous publications (KÖHLER 1981, 1989; KILIAN-HATZ 2003, 2008; VOSSEN 1997, 2013) is merely a surface realization of /ũ/ and probably not distinctive in any Khoe language. It is therefore not considered phonemic in this paper.

3 Tone³

Lexical tone in Khwe is comparatively well documented. The tone patterns established by KÖHLER (1981, 1989) for the western varieties are still mostly accepted and have been reproduced with minor modifications in more recent publications (e.g., KILIAN-HATZ 2003, 2008). While more preliminary, tone in both Buga (VOSSEN 1997) and ||Ani (VOSSEN 1997, 2004; HEINE 1999) has also been documented and analyzed. However, an update and comparative assessment of tone in Khwe is interesting for two reasons: first, our knowledge of tone in Proto-Khoe has considerably increased, thanks to the work of ELDERKIN (2004, 2008, 2013) who reconstructed a two-tone system yielding four melodies *HH, *HL, *LH and *LL to be found with bimoraic lexical roots. Second, recent documentation efforts focusing on the phonological structure of Kalahari Khoe languages like Glui (NAKAGAWA 2006), Tsua (MATHES 2015) and #Haba (NAKAGAWA 2017) have broadened our understanding of tonal patterns and correspondences between individual Khoe languages.

One of the main findings of recent research in comparative Khoe tonology relates to the need for a mid tone to account for synchronic tonal contrasts in Kalahari Khoe (cf., e.g., HEINE 1999, VOSSEN 2004 for a discussion on ||Ani). A mid-tone was noted by KÖHLER and KILIAN-HATZ for ||Xom, but is otherwise not featured in VOSSEN's (1997) comparative dataset. However,

³ In this paper, tone is referred to using three abbreviations: H(igh), M(id) and L(ow).

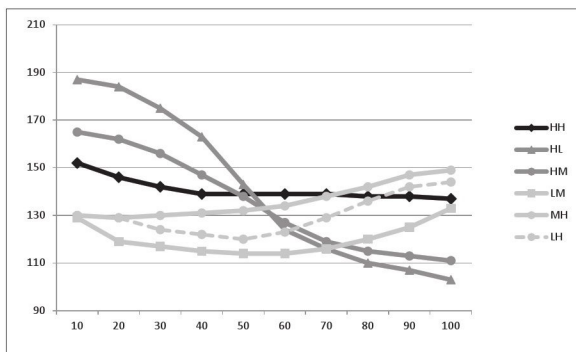


Fig. 3: Six tone melodies occurring after a voiceless onset in llXom as realized by a male speaker. The existence of two contrasting melodies LH and MH (as noted by KÖHLER and KILIAN-HATZ) in the present dataset is doubtful

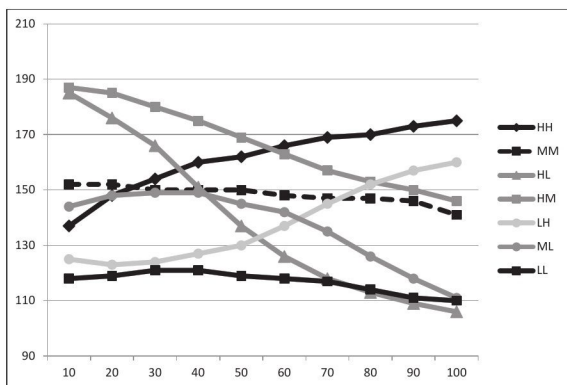


Fig. 4: Maximum set of seven tone melodies occurring after a voiceless onset in Buga as realized by a male speaker. MM (as a reflex of default *LH) is not contrastive with all speakers of this dialect

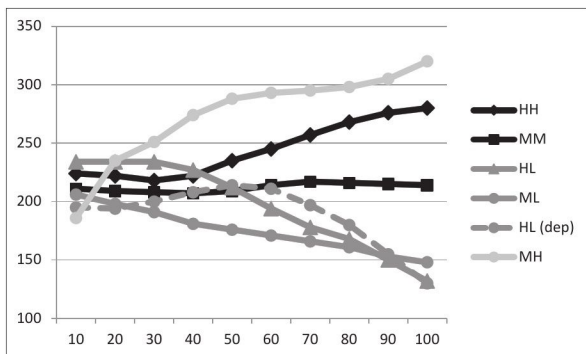


Fig. 5: Six tone melodies occurring after a voiceless onset in ||Ani as realized by a female speaker. The depressed HL melody (as a reflex of narrowed *HL) and the MH melody (as a reflex of aspirated *LH) are found with a subset of speakers only

it was noted more recently for Naro (VISSE 2001), Glui (NAKAGAWA 2006), Tsua (MATHES 2015) and Ts'ixa (FEHN 2016), suggesting that mid-tones are a universal feature of Kalahari Khoe. Following ELDERKIN's (2004, 2008) comparative series, their appearance is best explained by depressor effects caused by voiced and aspirated onsets, as well as by an unknown phonation on V_1 of some Proto-Khoe lexical roots (termed "narrowed" by ELDERKIN 2004).

While the comparative data on Khwe used in this paper did not produce minimal pairs to account for the existence of all tonal patterns quoted in Table 4 below, F0 measurements in the software Praat⁴, as well as comparisons with other Kalahari Khoe languages which have been subjected to a more rigid tonal analysis, strongly suggest the existence of a mid-tone in Buga and ||Ani. Assuming the existence of three tone levels H, M and L for all Khwe dialects, an analysis of the present data yielded a maximum of six contrastive melodies for ||Xom (Fig. 3), seven for Buga (Fig. 4), and six for ||Ani (Fig. 5). Both within Buga (3 speakers) and ||Ani (4 speakers),

⁴ Although tone was measured for all tokens in the dataset available on recording (~250 per language), roots with high vowels [i, u] as V_1 have been excluded from the analysis as they are known to increase F0 and may therefore disturb the realization of individual tone melodies (cf. MATHES 2015, p. 68).

the number of contrastive tone melodies found in the dataset was subject to idiolectal variation. Figs. 3–5 above therefore display the maximal number of distinctive melodies found within each dataset, with variation being outlined in the text.

3.1 Tone melodies in Khwe

Long-term research on the $\|Xom$ variety of Khwe supports the existence of six distinctive melodies appearing on bimoraic lexical roots. While KÖHLER (1981, 1989) and KILIAN-HATZ (2008) present convincing evidence, including data on morpho-tonological processes, F0 measurements of my own data provide only weak support for a contrast between MH and LH (Fig. 3). This divergence can possibly be explained by slight idiolectal variation between the $\|Xom$ variety recorded by KÖHLER and KILIAN-HATZ in Namibia, and my own data from Kaputura (Botswana). As a contrast between MH and LH is most likely non-existent in Buga (Fig. 4), areal convergence may be evoked to explain the mismatch between Namibian and Botswanan $\|Xom$.

VOSSEN (1997) notes two tones H and L, as well as four contrastive melodies HH, HL, LH and LL for mainstream “Buga” and the variety from Khwai (Botswana), which he calls “Glanda”. While it is difficult to compare his tone patterns to my own, a superficial analysis of rising vs. falling melodies suggests that “Glanda” is close to the data presented in this paper, while “Buga” mostly corresponds to the $\|Xom$ variety. F0 measurements for three male speakers of Buga from Khwai and Gudigoo in Botswana produced maximally seven melodies, with MM only being contrastive in one dataset from Khwai (Fig. 4).

As for Buga, VOSSEN (1997, 2004) assumes a two-tone system for $\|Ani$. While VOSSEN’s data appears to align with the idiolect recorded by HEINE (1999), it considerably differs from my data. Again, one may evoke idiolectal variation to explain this discrepancy, although it appears strange that the speaker who worked with VOSSEN comes from Qhubuya on the western bank of the Okavango River, close to where my own fieldwork was carried out. BRENZINGER (2013, p. 24) briefly discusses the possibility of dialectal variation within $\|Ani$, corresponding to a northwestern and a southeastern variety. If this is actually the case, it seems likely that the data presented in this paper belongs to one and the same part of the dialect spectrum, while the data from VOSSEN (1997, 2004) and HEINE (1999) belong to the other. All four speakers produced a minimum of four tonal melodies, consisting of two plain and two falling melodies. In addition, one speaker produced a depressed version of HL as a reflex of narrowed *HL, and a rising melody MH as a reflex of aspirated *LH (Fig. 5).

Examples for all tone melodies occurring in ||Ani, Buga, and ||Xom are provided in Table 4 below, sorted by onset and melody in proto-Khoe (*pace* ELDERKIN 2004, 2013). In Buga and ||Xom, onsets with a velar affricate accompaniment may also serve as depressor and have therefore been included as a separate tone class. ELDERKIN (2013), based on VOSSEN's (2004) data,

Table 4: Tonal melodies occurring ||Ani, Buga, and ||Xom, sorted by tone class and reconstructed Proto-Khoe tone (cf. ELDERKIN 2004, 2008, 2013)

Proto-Khoe	Ani	Xom	Buga	Gloss
Default				
*HH	ʔáé	ʔáé	ʔáé	'village'
*HL	ʔáā	ʔáā	ʔáā	'fight'
*LH	ʔāā	ʔāā	ʔāā, ʔāā	'flower'
*LL	ʔāū~ ʔēū	ʔēū	ʔāū~ ʔēū	'fish'
Voiced				
*HH	bóó	bóó	bóó	'axe'
*HL	dáò	dáó	dáò	'road'
*LH	dām	dām	dām	'tongue'
*LL	gʔòò	gʔòò	gʔòò	'springhare'
Aspirated				
*HH	ts ^h áá	fáá	ts ^h áá	'cultivate'
*HL	k ^h óbò	k ^h óvò	k ^h óbò	'warm'
*LH	! ^h óm, ! ^h óm	k ^h óm	k ^h óm	'cut'
*LL				
Affricated				
*HH	!xám	!xám	!xám	'urinate'
*HL	!xáà	xáà	xáà	'have diarrhea'
*LH	xām	xám	xám	'lion'
*LL	ʔxóà	ʔxóā	ʔxóā	'elephant'
Narrowed				
*HH	lláu	lléú	lláu	'show, point'
*HL	ŋlāā~ŋlāā	lāá	lāà, lāà	'belly'
*LH				
*LL	llāā	llāā	llāà, llāā	'fingernail'

additionally identifies ejectives and glottalised onsets as depressors in *ǁAni*; this could not be confirmed with the dataset at hand, but may reflect the situation in an idiolect not captured by the present author.

3.2 Comparative tonology

When tone patterns in *ǁAni*, Buga and *ǁXom* are compared with data from other Kalahari Khoe languages, it becomes apparent that the Khwe dialect cluster is not as homogenous as Glui-Gllana or Naro-*ǁHaba*. Instead, a geographical pattern emerges which places Khwe between the “Western” and the “Northeastern” tone clusters (Table 5, see §5 below for further discussion).

While in the default pattern, *ǁAni* displays a leaning towards Naro-*ǁHaba*, both *ǁXom* and Buga fall within the “Northeastern” cluster, which also includes Ts’ixa as well as some dialects of Shua (example: Danisi) and Northern Tshwa (example: Tjwao), and is characterized by full or partial leveling of the Proto-Khoe contrast between *HH and *LH.

The variation in roots with a voiced onset is even greater: while *ǁAni* merely replicates the default pattern, reflexes of *LH and *LL in Buga and *ǁXom* are different from both the default pattern and from each other. It is notable that Buga aligns with Ts’ixa, Shua and Northern Tshwa, possibly due to contact influence.

In roots with an aspirated onset, all varieties repeat their default patterns, except for *LH roots which synchronically appear as LH.

The most complex variation is found after roots that presumably featured a “narrowed” V₁ in Proto-Khoe or Proto-Kalahari Khoe. Apart from dialectal variation, a considerable degree of idiolectal variation could be observed: one Buga speaker from Gudigoo simply produced the default pattern, suggesting that in his case, “narrowing” did not cause tonal depression. Amongst speakers of *ǁAni*, the variation centered on reflexes of *HL: while some speakers produced a depressed variant of *HL starting with a mid-tone which rises and then falls again, others straightforwardly produced ML. Within the Khwe cluster, *ǁXom* is the biggest outlier in producing rising tones, MH and LM, as reflexes of *HL and *LL, respectively.

4 Lexicon

To establish patterns of lexical diversity within Khwe, I compared the idiolects of five speakers of *ǁAni* (own data), three speakers of Buga (own data), one speaker of *ǁXom* (own data), and a compiled set of *ǁXom* data taken from the dictionary of KILIAN-HATZ (2003). To test the coherence of Khwe as a dialect

Table 5: Khwe tone patterns in comparison with other Kalahari Khoe languages (Glui, Naro, Khwe: ELDERKIN [2004, 2013]; “Kua” [Gllana], Tsua: MATHES [2015]; Ts’ixa, Danisi: FEHN [f. n.]; Tj’wao: FEHN/PHIRI [f. n.]); deviations from the default pattern have been underlined

	South			West		Northeast					
Proto	Glui	“Kua” (Gllana)	Tsua	Naro	#Haba	Ani	Xom	Buga	Ts’ixa	Danisi (Shua)	Tj’wao (Tshwa)
Default											
*HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH
*HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL
*LH	HM	HM	HM	MM	MM	MM	HH	HH/MM	HH/MM	HH/MM	HH
*LL	MM	MM	MM	ML	ML	ML	HM	HM	HM	HM	HM
Voiced C ₁											
*HH	HH	HH	HH	LH	LH	HH	HH/MM	HH/MM	HH/MM	HH/MM	HH
*HL	HL	HL	HL	LL	ML	HL	HH/MM	HL	HL	HL	HL
*LH	HM	HM	HM	LM	MM	MM	LH	LH	HH/MM	HH/MM	HH/LH
*LL	LM	LH	MH	LM	LM	ML	LM	MM	MM	MM	HM/MM
Aspirated C ₁											
*HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH
*HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL
*LH	HM	HM	HM	LM	MM	MM/MM	LH	LH	MH	MH	LH
*LL	MM	MM	MM	ML	ML	ML	HM	HM	HM	?	?
Narrowed											
*HH	HH	HH	HH	HH/LH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH
*HL	LL	LL	ML	LL	LL	ML/HL (dep)	MH	ML (HL)	ML	ML	HL
*LH											
*LL	LM	LH	MH	LM	LM	MM	LM	LL (HM)	MM	MM	HM

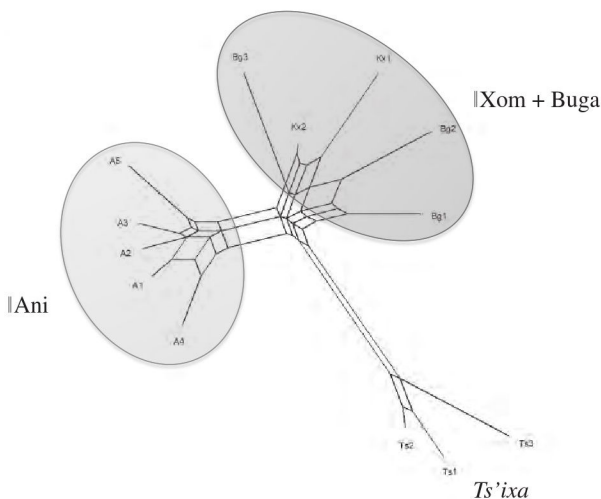


Fig. 6: Split-graph showing the result of a NeighborNet analysis of lexical samples from 10 individuals speaking dialects of Khwe, and from three individuals speaking the neighboring language Ts'ixa. The Khwe dialect cluster appears clearly differentiated from Ts'ixa (Ts1–Ts3) and shows an obvious split between ||Ani (A1–5) on the one side, and Buga (Bg1–3) and ||Xom (Kx1–2) on the other. The analysis was not able to separate Buga from ||Xom, indicating a low level of lexical differentiation between the two varieties.

cluster viz. closely related languages, I also included three speakers of the neighbouring language Ts'ixa into the comparative dataset. Mostly drawing from lexical material elicited during fieldwork in 2013, I generated a wordlist based on 243 meanings, which include core lexicon, body parts and local wildlife terminology. From these 243, I extracted 475 lexical roots and coded their presence or absence by <1> and <0>, respectively. From this binary-coded dataset (available upon request), I computed a distance matrix, which was then visualized in the software SplitsTree v4.14.2 (HUSON/BRYANT 2006), using the NeighborNet algorithm (BRYANT/MOULTON 2004). In the split-graph

displayed in Fig. 6, the box-like structures represent reticulation, i.e., an unresolved branching-pattern in the network, which indicates difficulties to place the different dialects into a clear hierarchical relationship with each other.

The split-graph computed from the clustering analysis (Fig. 6) shows a clear separation of the Khwe samples from the three Ts'ixa samples used as outgroup. While all ||Ani samples are unanimously identified as a distinct cluster, Buga and ||Xom do not appear as clearly separated entities, indicating a low level of lexical differentiation between the two varieties. The relatively long final branches found with most Buga and ||Xom idiolects further hint at a higher degree of idiolectal variation than within the more homogeneous ||Ani cluster. Historically, this pattern might be interpreted as pointing towards an originally more diverse language situation from which the Buga-||Xom cluster emerged through the convergence of different dialects, with parts of former variation being preserved on a regional level.

As the overall pattern of the lexical analysis appears to replicate results that emerged in the comparison of phoneme inventories, I performed a statistical test (Mantel test) and found that matrices of phonemic and lexical distances in the Khwe cluster are highly correlated ($p=0.003$).

4.1 Isoglosses

To assess whether ||Ani, ||Xom and Buga are characterized by distinct lexical isoglosses, I took into account all available data (cf. Table 1) and extracted a set of meanings that do not share the same root across the Khwe cluster. Out of a probably non-exhaustive list of 36 identified meanings from various semantic domains, 27 (75%) display a distinct root in ||Ani, which is not shared by the two other varieties. In ||Xom, I found 4 non-shared roots (11%), and 5 (14%) in Buga.

While the majority of non-shared roots in either Khwe dialect have cognates in other Kalahari Khoe languages, a small number of roots have no known cognates in any Khoe language outside the Khwe cluster; they have been underlined in Table 6 below.

While ||Ani is without doubt the most distinct variety within the examined dataset, three Buga isoglosses are notable for their exclusiveness within Khoe: *tsábá* 'heart', *k'áná* 'one', and *lléù* 'axe'. The meanings 'heart' and 'one' are usually stable and do not display any variation across Khoe or even Khoe-Kwadi. While borrowing from a Non-Khoe language into Buga cannot be excluded, no donor could be identified for either *tsábá* or *k'áná*. In contrast, *lléù* 'axe' resembles a form *lláò* 'axe' found in East !Xoon (TRAILL 1994, p. 203). As recent contact between Buga and a Taa language can probably be excluded, the appearance of this root in Buga also presents an interesting problem for future research.

Table 6: Lexical isoglosses within the Khwe dialect cluster, sorted by semantic domain; underlined forms have no known cognates in other Khoe languages

	Ani	Xom	Buga
Body parts			
‘jaw’	ŋānì	ng ^í érī	ɲánī
‘neck’	!qx’áo	xèrèé	xèré
‘penis’	ts’áà	k’ám	kám
‘navel’	lōm̃ (gōbō)	gòbó	gòvó
‘knee’	llóé	kúurù	llóé, kúrù
‘kidney’	ʒēū, ts’érú	ʒēū, ts’érú~ts’árú	tj’érù
‘heart’	ʒáo	ʒáo	<u>tsábá</u> , ʒáo
Numerals			
‘one’	lúí	lúí	k’áná, lúí
‘three’	ŋ!w’ānà	lqx’óā (‘few’)	llóbé
‘four’	ʔātsā~hātsā	n/a/	n/a/
Wildlife			
‘spotted hyena (<i>Crocuta crocuta</i>)’	<u>wùú-wùú,</u> <u>gúú-n+íí~gúí-n+íí</u>	<u>wúú</u>	gúà
‘mouse (<i>Mus sp</i>)’	ŋʒúní	jèú	jèú
‘caracal (<i>Caracal caracal</i>)’	ʒámí	ŋglóó	ŋglóó
‘duiker (<i>Cephalophini</i>)’	ŋlāū	kùnǀí	kùnǀì
‘chameleon (<i>Chamaeleo dilepis</i>)’	ʒG ^w ārā	ng ^í árò	ʒx ^w ārā~ʒx ^w ārā
‘gemsbok (<i>Oryx gazella</i>)’	lxóò	<u>nglúú</u>	lxóò
‘honeybadger (<i>Mellivora capensis</i>)’	l ^h ará, <u>kání</u>	<u>fándà</u> , k’ání	<u>fándà</u>
Kinship and social relations			
‘headman’	!xúū	llʔáxā	llʔáxā~llʔáé-xà
‘family’	llʔábà	kúrí	kúrí
‘mother’	ʔébu	ndéé	ndéé

	Ani	Xom	Buga
Other			
‘smoke’	llqúbì (ts’áni)	tʃ’áni	ts’áni
‘wind’	gllōè	ʔáá	ʔáá
‘wing’	llābō	gʔámā	gʔámā
‘axe’	bóó	bóó	lléù, bóó
‘cook’	tsāā(-xù)	ŋglóá	ŋglóá
‘remain, stay’	g!èù	ʔéí	ʔéí
‘run’ (gen.)	!xóé	k!āā (xōé ‘run away’)	k!āā
‘swim’	ŋlláé, bārā	bārāá	bārā
‘rain’	ʔúú	túú	túú
‘think’	ndábà	ŋʔáá	ŋʔáá
‘love’	káí	ŋlám	ŋlám
‘fear’	!xéé, !ʔáo	ʔáo	!xéé, !ʔáo
‘be tired’	tsxāā	lqóé	lqóé
‘be sick’	ʔī~ʔī, tsāā	tʃāā	tsāā~tsāā
‘build’	ŋllānì	ŋʔóm	ŋʔóm
‘hunt’ (gen.)	gūnì	ʔúú (gūnì ‘for several days’)	ʔúú (gúnì ‘for several days’)

In addition to explicit lexical isoglosses, I also identified five pronunciation isoglosses which all show variation in the surface realisation of a root with the underlying form *CVnì. Here, a CVN root in ||Xom regularly corresponds to CŨŨ in Buga. ||Ani mostly aligns with ||Xom, save for reflexes of *t’uni ‘be beautiful’ and *lk’uni ‘name’, which appear as CŨŨ (Table 7).

Table 7: CŨŨ~CVN variation in Khwe

Gloss	Proto	Ani	Xom	Buga
‘sew’	*xani	xāñ	xàní	xāí
‘stand up’	*tani	tāñ	tāñ	tāí~tāñ
‘name’	*lk’uni	lqx’ūñ~lqx’òñ	lqx’ón	lqx’ūí
‘be beautiful’	*t’uni	t’ūñ	t’ón	t’ūí
‘slide’	*suni	són	fón	sūí

5 Discussion

In this article, I analysed phonological, tonological and lexical data from three Khwe-speaking groups (||Ani, Buga, ||Xom) to assess their degree of diversity and differentiation from each other. While the present data only covers a restricted set of linguistic domains, some preliminary conclusions on dialectal variation in Khwe can be drawn.

When the results from the comparison of phoneme inventories are summarized (Table 8), four of the identified sound-shifts separate Buga/||Xom from ||Ani. However, one major sound shift, namely the merger of proto-Khwe *s and *ts^h, was only found in the ||Xom dataset and constitutes a good diagnostic feature for distinguishing speakers of this particular dialect from Buga and ||Ani.

Table 8: Diagnostic sound shifts within the Khwe cluster;
||Ani appears clearly separated from Buga and ||Xom

Sound shift	Ani	Buga	Xom
(completed) alveolar click loss			
(partial) palatalization of alveolar click replacements			
Rhyme-dependent allophony of nasal clicks (postoralized/[-nasal])			
Sound shift *G > x			
*s / *ts ^h merger			

While my tonal data from ||Ani, Buga and ||Xom displays overall different patterns, some diagnostic correspondences with proto-Khoe tones can be identified (Table 9).

Table 9: Diagnostic tonal correspondences between ||Ani, Buga and ||Xom; here, ||Xom appears clearly separated by having rising tones as reflexes of depressed *HL and *LL

Proto-Khoe tone pattern	Ani	Buga	Xom
default *LH	MM	MM HH	HH
default *LL	ML	HM	HM
voiced *HL	HL	HL	HH/MH
voiced *LL	ML	MM	LM
narrowed *HL	ML	HL/LL	MH
narrowed *LL	MM	LL	LM

As can be seen from the correspondences displayed in Table 5 above, tone in Kalahari Khoe appears to be an areal, rather than a genealogical feature. If only the default (non-depressed) patterns of individual languages are taken into account, three main tonal areas emerge: a “Central” cluster consisting of Glui-Gllana and at least one southern Tshwa variety (Tsua), a “Western” cluster mostly corresponding to Naro-#Haba, and a “Northeastern” cluster which includes ||Xom, Buga, Ts’ixa and probably also some Shua (Danisi) and Northern Tshwa (Tjwao) varieties. Unlike the ||Ani data collected by VOSSEN (1997, 2004) and HEINE (1999), which mostly seems to align with the “Northeastern” cluster, the ||Ani data presented in this paper clearly displays the default pattern of the “Western” cluster, together with Naro-#Haba. While some speakers of Buga also lean towards this pattern by having MM (rather than HH) as a reflex of default *LH, this may be ascribed to contact influence, as the reflex of *LL with all speakers is clearly “Northeastern” HM, rather than “Western” ML.

If the depressed correspondence sets for voiced and narrowed onsets are considered, ||Xom clearly holds a distinct position with regards to its reflexes of *HL and *LL, which are—unlike in ||Ani and Buga—rising melodies (Table 9).

Taken together with the lexicostatistical analysis and isoglosses presented in §4 of this paper, phoneme inventories, and, to a lesser degree, tone patterns, support a clearly distinct position of ||Ani within the Khwe cluster. This result is in line with previous studies (VOSSEN 1997) and also confirms statements by the ||Xom consultants of KÖHLER (1971, 1989) and BRENZINGER (1998), who perceived the Buga as close relatives, but considered the ||Ani to be a different group whose language they had trouble understanding (KÖHLER 1989, p. 196).

Nevertheless, Buga and ||Xom can be distinguished from each other by means of phonological, tonal and lexical features, indicating some degree of distinctiveness, which might reflect areal, rather than genealogical separation. This is in line with KÖHLER (1971, pp. 394–395), who comments on the lack of close relations between the Buga and the Khwe-speakers of the Okavango River and the Caprivi Strip, despite the Buga language being “Kxoe with small deviations”. Historically, there is some evidence to suggest that the settlements of the Buga in Botswana are the result of a south-bound migration that only reached its present-day extension by the 1950s. BOLAANE (2002) describes the Buga’s escape from the tsetse-infested Okavango Delta from the 1920s onward, which led them to settle in the Khwai area on the northeastern fringe of the Okavango Delta, close to speakers of Ts’ixa who are commonly agreed to be the older presence in the region. Further to the west, the Buga are said to have lived and intermarried with the

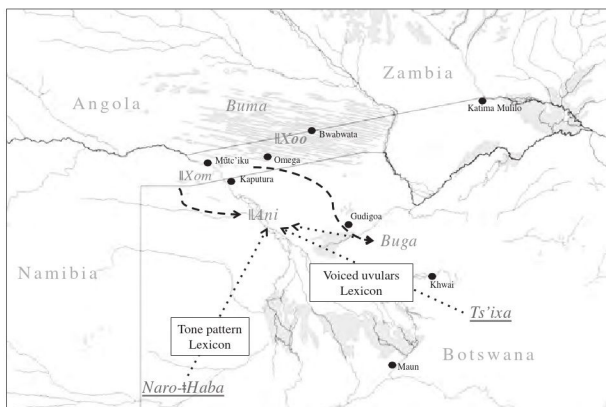


Fig. 7: Map outlining possible relationships between individual Khwe dialects, and between Khwe dialects and their neighbours; dashed arrows outline recent migrations (19th–20th century), while dotted arrows indicate possible links between ||Ani and neighbouring Kalahari Khoe languages, as well as between ||Ani and Buga

||Ani (KÖHLER 1989, pp. 184–185), suggesting that contact may account for some of the shared features between the two varieties. However, the question whether the Buga are ultimately a subset of the ||Xom, or merely share a common ancestor with them before either group clusters with the ||Ani cannot be answered with the data at hand, although it may be solved when more data from other varieties like ||Xoo and Buma becomes available.

Fig. 7 below tries to provide an overview of possible historical implications to be drawn from the findings outlined in this paper: While there is evidence for recent migrations of both present-day ||Ani (KÖHLER 1989, p. 330ff.) and Buga speakers (BOLAANE 2002) (indicated by dashed arrows), other lines of influence, possibly from outside the Khwe cluster (indicated by dotted arrows), can be detected. At least a subset of ||Ani speakers shares tonal and possible also lexical isoglosses with Naro-#Haba speakers residing to their southeast; furthermore, a voiced uvular stop, along with several lexical items suggests a genealogical or areal link to the east, in particular with speakers of Ts'ixa (cf. also FEHN 2016, pp. 332–333). Within Khwe, it seems

possible that some of the shared features between !Ani and Buga⁵ are not indicative of a close genealogical link, but were mediated by contact after the Buga's southward migration into !Ani territory.

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⁵ This might also include grammatical features not discussed in this paper, such as object agreement on the verb (VOSSEN 1985, 1997).

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Content Clauses in Northwest Semitic in the Second and First Millennium BC

By TAMAR ZEVI, Haifa

Summary: Content clauses are subordinate clauses substituting for nouns. The paper focuses on the types of content clauses which existed in four Northwest Semitic languages of the second and first millennia BC: the Akkadian language of the Amarna tablets, Ugaritic, Biblical Hebrew and Biblical and Egyptian Aramaic. It seeks to find out whether all the four types of content clauses existing, for example, in English and Modern Hebrew, viz. subject content clauses, predicate content clauses, attributive content clauses and object content clauses, also existed in these four Northwest Semitic languages of the second and first millennia BC, and if not, which types existed in them, and to what extent.

1 Introductory words¹

The term *content clause* was coined by OTTO JESPERSEN for a subordinate clause which substitutes for nouns in a sentence and provides their content.² These clauses are also known as noun clauses or substantival clauses. Content clauses in English, as well as in other European languages, and in Modern Hebrew regularly function in four syntactic roles: subject, predicate, attribute and object, and they can be syndetic or asyndetic, as demonstrated in the following examples:

1) Subject content clauses:

English

"No wonder (that) the shape of a bird's beak depends on the food it eats."

Hebrew

"שֶׁמֶקוֹר שֶׁל צִיּוֹר תְּלוּי בְּמִזֹּן שֶׁהִיא אוֹכֶלֶת." / "cin pele she-maqor shel tsipor taluy ba-mazon she-bi oxelet."³

¹ This paper is dedicated to the memory of the late Dr. MIKHAL OREN, my former outstanding doctoral student, who passed away in 2017. MIKHAL assisted me in collecting and analyzing the examples presented in this paper.

² JESPERSEN 1909–1949, V. III, pp. 23–24. Content clauses in several European languages are demonstrated in JESPERSEN 1937, pp. 62–63.

³ Modern Hebrew examples are translations of the English examples.

2) Predicate content clauses:

English

"The main idea is that the shape of a bird's beak depends on the food it eats."

Hebrew

"הרעיון העיקרי הוא שצורת המקור של ציפור תלויה במזון שהיא אוכלת." / *"ba-ra'ayon ba-iqari hu she-tsurat ba-maqor shel tsipor tluya ba-mazon she-bi oxelet."*

3) Attributive content clauses:

English

"The idea that the shape of a bird's beak depends on the food it eats is true."

Hebrew

"הרעיון שצורת המקור של ציפור תלויה במזון שהיא אוכלת נכון." / *"ba-ra'ayon she-tsurat ba-maqor shel tsipor tluya ba-mazon she-bi oxelet naxon."*

4) Object content clauses:

English

"She says that the shape of a bird's beak depends on the food it eats."

Hebrew

"היא אומרת שצורת המקור של ציפור תלויה במזון שהיא אוכלת." / *"he omeret she-tsurat ba-maqor shel tsipor tluya ba-mazon she-bi oxelet."*

2 Content clauses in Biblical Hebrew

Nevertheless, this was not the case in early levels of Hebrew, especially in Biblical Hebrew.⁴ In the latter, content clauses mostly assume the role of objects, less frequently of subjects and attributes, and never of predicates. Examples of content clauses as subjects, attributes and objects in Biblical Hebrew are the following.⁵

5) Subject content clause:

טוֹב אֲשֶׁר תִּאָּחַז בְּזֶה וְנָס מִזֶּה / *tōḇ 'āšer te'ēḥoz bā-zē wə-gam miz-zē* (Ecclesiastes 7:18) "It is best that you grasp the one without letting go of the other."

6) Attributive content clause:

עַל־דָּבָר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־קִדְמוּ אֲתֶכֶם בְּלֶחֶם וּבַמַּיִם בְּדֶרֶךְ בְּצִאתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם / *'al dāḇar 'āšer lō qid-dāmū 'etkēn bal-leḥem u-ḥam-mayim bad-derek bā-šēṭkēm mim-miṣrāyim*

⁴ On content clauses on all levels of Hebrew see ZEVI 2008.

⁵ For more examples of content clauses in Biblical Hebrew see in ZEVI 2009. Compare also BROCKELMANN 2013 II, pp. 522, 528–529, 605–606, 614.

(Deuteronomy 23:5) “Because (lit. of the fact that) they did not meet you with food and water on your journey after you left Egypt.”

7) Object content clause:

וַתֵּרָא הָאִשָּׁה כִּי טוֹב הָעֵץ לֶאֱכֹל / *wat-terē hā-ʾiššā kī tōb hā-ʿeš la-maʾāḱāl*
(Gen. 3:6) “When the woman saw that the tree was good for eating.”⁶

The aim of this paper is to examine content clauses found in other Northwest Semitic languages, antedating and contemporaneous with Biblical Hebrew, to see the roles that content clauses play in these languages and learn whether the use of content clauses in all the four syntactic roles presented above is an early Northwest Semitic syntactic feature of the second and first millennium BC or a later development. The Northwest Semitic languages or dialects chosen for this investigation are the Akkadian language of the Amarna letters from Canaan and vicinity, according to mid-14th century BC texts,⁷ Ugaritic, according to texts from the 14th to the beginning of the 12th century BC,⁸ and Aramaic, according to texts from the second half of the first millennium BC.⁹

3 Content clauses in the Akkadian language of the Amarna Letters

The Amarna Tablets mainly contain letters sent to the Egyptian Pharaohs Amenophis III and his son Akhenaten around the middle of the 14th century BC by various kings and vassals of the Egyptian empire in the Near East. According to MORAN, RAINEY, and IZRE’EL, who studied extensively the Canaanite linguistic features in the Amarna Tablets from Canaan and vicinity, the Akkadian language of these letters is a Northwest peripheral Middle Babylonian dialect which exhibits many Northwest Canaanite Semitic features, e.g., in verbal morphology and syntax, in use of prepositions and other particles, and more.¹⁰

⁶ English Bible translations are according to the JPS.

⁷ Based on IZRE’EL’s electronic version.

⁸ Based on KTU³.

⁹ Based on the Biblical Aramaic texts in Ezra (Chapters 4:8–6:18, 7:12–26) and Daniel (Chapters 2:4b–7:28), and the Egyptian Aramaic texts in TAD.

¹⁰ See MORAN 2003; pp. 1–130 is a reprint of MORAN’s doctoral thesis (1950) on the syntax of the dialect of Byblos as reflected in the Amarna Tablets; of these, pp. 64–66 are dedicated to substantival clauses, which are content clauses. RAINEY’s monumental four-volume work on Canaanite linguistic features was entitled *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets* (RAINEY 1996); syntactic patterns are mainly discussed only in v. III, pp. 251–280 of the latter, excluding content or substantival clauses. IZRE’EL 1998, of which pp. 47–73 are on syntax.

In his discussion of substantival clauses, which are equivalent to the type of clauses entitled here content clauses, in the Amarna letters from Byblos, MORAN demonstrates this type of clause in the role of a subject, an object and an attribute. He also shows that these clauses can be asyndetic or syndetic, connected by the coordinate and subordinate conjunction *u* “with, that” or more frequently with the subordinate conjunction *inūma* “that.”¹¹ MORAN found no examples of substantival clauses in the role of predicates.

In agreement with MORAN’s findings, only content clauses in the role of subjects, attributes and objects are found in the Amarna letters from Canaan and vicinity, and content clauses in the role of predicates do not exist in this corpus. Moreover, as in Biblical Hebrew, object clauses are the most common content clauses in this corpus. Examples of subject, attributive and object content clauses from these texts are as follows.¹²

8) Subject content clauses:¹³

- a) *[u da]-mi-iq [i-nu-m]a lum-da-ta* (EA 98:25–26, from Be’erot?) “It is good [tha]t you are informed.”
- b) *a-nu-um-ma iš-pu-ur a-na be-li-ia ù SIG₅ e-nu-ma i-de₄* (EA 147:70–71, from Tyre) “I herewith write to my lord, and it is good that he knows.”

9) Attributive content clauses:

- a) *ù la-a [y]i-qù-ul LUGAL EN-ia [iš]-tu ip-ši an-ni ša [yi]-pa-aš ^mbi-ri-da-aš-wa [i-n]u-ma yi-na-ma-aš KUR-[t]i [LUGAL] EN-ia ù URU. DIDLI.[H].A-šu* (EA 196:38–43, from Kumidi) “The king, my lord, must not negle[ct] this deed that Biridašwa [has] committed, that he has moved the land of [the king], my lord, and [his] cities to rebellion.”
- b) *iš-te-mé a-wa-te ša LUGAL EN-ia a-na LÚ.MAŠKÍM-šu i-nu-ma la-a yi-la-ú na-ša-ar KUR-te LUGAL EN-ia u a-nu-ma ša-ka-an LUGAL EN-ia ^mRE-a-na-pa LÚ MAŠKÍ[M] ša LUGAL EN-ia* (EA 326:13–17, from Ashkelon) “I have heard the word of the king, my lord, to his commissioner: since he was unable to guard the land of the king, my lord, the king, my lord, has now appointed Reanapa as [com]missioner of the king, my lord.”

¹¹ MORAN 2003, pp. 64–66.

¹² Examples are cited according to IZRE’EL’s electronic version with minor occasional changes. I thank Prof. ZIPORA COCHAVI-RAINEY for her assistance in checking the transcription in RAINEY’s new edition (RAINEY 2015). For an earlier edition see KNUDTZON 1915 (1964) I. English translations are according to MORAN 1992 with occasional minor modifications.

¹³ Content clauses generally serve as subjects with the verbs *damāqu* “be good, please, be agreeable” and *tarāšu* “please, be agreeable.”

10) Object content clauses:

- a) *ù la-a [yi-i]š-t[e₃]-ma LUGAL-ru [EN-ia] ù yi-né-pu-š[a mšu-t]a UGU-ia* (EA 234:30–33, from Acre) “And has the king, [my lord], not [heard that Šita is turned against me?”
- b) *ù i-de LUGAL EN-ia i-nu-ma da-na-at nu-kúr-tu₄ma-gal UGU-ia* (EA 144:22–23, for Sidon) “May the king, my lord, know that the war against me is very severe.”

Thus the language of these Amarna letters, which is basically a Middle Babylonian Akkadian dialect influenced by Canaanite syntax, like Biblical Hebrew, does not show any use of content clauses in the role of predicates.

4 Content clauses in Ugaritic

The Ugaritic language is attested in literary and other texts from the 14th to the beginning of 12th century BC. Various Ugaritic grammars usually refer to subordinate object clauses, which are equivalent to content object clauses. Like Biblical Hebrew and the Akkadian of the Amarna letters, this type of clauses is the most frequent in this language. The most common subordinate particle introducing content clauses in Ugaritic is *k-/ky*, which resembles the particle *כ*, introducing content clause in Classical Biblical Hebrew.¹⁴

As to other roles of content clauses in Ugaritic, SIVAN cites one subject clause, one predicate clause and many attributive clauses.¹⁵ However, a close inspection of his examples for these three types of clauses reveals that they are relative clauses, mostly introduced by the particle *d*.¹⁶ Similarly, TROPPEL's *Ugaritische Grammatik* displays under the title *Nebensätze*, namely subordinate clauses, many relative clauses in the role of attributes and a few relative clauses in the role of subjects and predicates.¹⁷ Two examples in this grammar, which show subordinate clauses introduced by *k-* and entitled *Subjektsätze*, may be interpreted as content clauses in the role of a subject.¹⁸ However, in one of them (example 11a below), the possible predicate is *mnd*^c, which may be interpreted as “it is possible that,” in which case the following

¹⁴ SEGERT 1984, p. 119, SIVAN 1997, pp. 223–224, TROPPEL 2000, pp. 901–903, 2002, p. 102, BORDREUIL/PARDEE 2009, p. 68, HUEHNERGARD 2012, p. 84.

¹⁵ SIVAN 1997, pp. 218–221.

¹⁶ Three of SIVAN's examples of attributive clauses are introduced by *k-/ky*, but they too are relative clauses and not content clauses (SIVAN 1997, pp. 219–220). According to SIVAN, the particle *d* itself may introduce relative and content clauses (SIVAN 1997, pp. 188–189), but his examples on pp. 219–220 are of relative clauses.

¹⁷ TROPPEL 2000, pp. 897–901, 903, TROPPEL 2002, pp. 101–103.

¹⁸ TROPPEL 2000, p. 903. Compare to TROPPEL 2002, pp. 102–103.

subordinate clause can indeed be interpreted as fulfilling the role of a subject, or as “who knows,” in which case the following subordinate clause should be interpreted as a content clause in the role of an object. The other subject content clause cited in TROPPEL’s *Ugaritische Grammatik* and another similar Ugaritic content clause are presented below (Examples 11b, c).

Examples of content clauses which can unquestionably be identified as attributive and predicate content clauses have not been found in Ugaritic at all. The two, possibly three, subject clauses attested in this language, and two examples out of the many Ugaritic object content clauses attested in the corpus, are as follows.

11) Subject content clauses:

- a) Uncertain: *w mnd^e k ank aḥš mgy mnd^e k igr* (KTU³ 2.34:10–12) “Perhaps/ It is possible that/Who knows if (?) I will haste to come along and perhaps/it is possible that/who knows if (?) I will stay.”¹⁹
- b) *mn yrḥ k m[rš] mn k dū kr[t]... tlt yrḥm k m[rš] arb^e k dū k[rt]* (KTU³ 1.16 II:19–20, 22–23) “How many months [is it] that he is ill, how many months [is it] that Keret is unwell? It is three months that he is ill, four that Keret is unwell.”
- c) *tlt ymm k inn akl xbt^k* (KTU³ 2.104:6–7) “It is three days that there is no food in your house.”²⁰

12) Object content clauses:

- a) *umy td^e ky ‘rbt l pn špš* (KTU³ 2.16:6–8) “My mother knows that I entered before the sun.”
- b) *ad^e d^e k šsu aš[ll]šū bn mrt d štt* (KTU³ 2.34:30–32) “Know that I will take out the wine which I drank.”

Thus, according to the corpus examined, Ugaritic, like Biblical Hebrew and the Akkadian of the Amarna tables, does not exhibit any content clauses in the role of predicates; the most common content clauses found in it are object clauses. As the Ugaritic corpus examined also shows a few examples of content clauses in the role of subjects and none in the role of attributes, the types of clauses which are infrequent in both Biblical Hebrew and the Akkadian of

¹⁹ English translations of the Ugaritic examples are mine.

²⁰ The predicates of the two latter Ugaritic examples are temporal phrases. Compare to Biblical Hebrew *בִּי-גֵחַ שְׁנֵתַיִם הָרַעַב בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ וְעוֹד חֶבֶשׁ שְׁנֵי אֲשֹׁר אֵין-חֵרִישׁ וְקִצִּיר* (Gen. 45:6) “It is now two years that there has been famine in the land, and there are still five years to come in which there shall be no yield from tilling.” This is possibly a Northwest Semitic nominal clause formula. Interestingly, the first Biblical Hebrew subject content clause is asyndetic and the second opens with the relative particle *אֲשֶׁר* and not the common content clause particle *כִּי*.

the Amarna letters, it can be concluded that all these languages regularly used only object content clauses. Predicate content clauses did not exist in these languages, and subject and attributive clauses were only sporadically beginning to appear in them. It remains to be seen what the situation was in the Aramaic texts, whose textual evidence is dated later than the Akkadian of the Amarna letters and Ugaritic and is partly contemporaneous with Late Biblical Hebrew, namely the Aramaic of the second half of the first millennium BC.

5 Content clauses in the Aramaic of the second half of the first millennium BC

The corpus examined for content clauses in Aramaic is the Aramaic language found in the Biblical books of Ezra (chapters 4:8–6:18, 7:12–26), probably from the 5th century BC, and Daniel (chapters 2:4b–7:28), probably from the 2nd century BC, and the Aramaic documents from Egypt from around the 5th century BC.²¹ These texts indeed show a certain development in the types of content clauses attested in them. While content clauses in the role of predicates still do not exist in these texts, content clauses in the role of subjects and attributes seem to be much more abundant than in the Akkadian language of Amarna letters, Ugaritic, and Biblical Hebrew. Nevertheless, object clauses remain the most common type of content clauses attested in these texts. The content clauses found in them are asyndetic or syndetic, while the introducing subordinate particles are regularly **דַּי** and its variants **וַי**, **כְּדַי**, **כִּי**. Examples of all three types of content clauses, viz. subject content clauses, attributive content clauses and object content clauses, in these Aramaic texts are as follows.²²

13) Subject content clauses:

- a) **מִן קִשְׁט דַּי אֱלֹהֵכוֹן הוּא אֱלֹהֵינוּ וּמָרָא מַלְכֵינוּ וְגַלְהָ רִזְיוֹן** / *min qasot dī ʿēlābākōn bū ʿēlāb ʿēlābīn u-mārē malākīn wa-gālē rāzīn* (Daniel 2:47) “It is true that your God is the God of gods and Lord of kings and the revealer of mysteries.”²³
- b) **וְהֵן אִתִּי דַּי־מִרְבוֹשׁ מַלְכָּא שִׁים שָׁעִם לְמִבְנָא בֵּית־אֱלֹהֵא דְּבִירוּשְׁלֵם** / *hen ʿitay dī min Kōreš malkā šīm šaʿem lə-mibnē bēt ʿēlābā deḳ bī-rūšlem* (Ezra 5:17) “Is it true (lit. existent) that an order had been issued by King Cyrus to rebuild this House of God in Jerusalem.”

²¹ According to TAD.

²² Compare also BROCKELMANN 2013 II, pp. 522–523, 529–530, 606, 614–615.

²³ English translations of the Biblical Aramaic examples are according to the JPS with some modifications. Translations of examples from Egypt are according to TAD with minor changes.

14) Attributive content clauses:

- a) מְנִי שִׁים טַעַם דִּי כְלִמְתַּנְדָּב בְּמַלְכוּתִי מִרְעָמָא יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָהֲנוּהִי וְלוֹיָא לְמִהָדָּ לִירוּשָׁלַם עֲמֻךְ יִהְיֶה / *minnī šīm tʿem dī kāl miṭnaddeḅ bə-malkūtī min ʿammā Yiśrāʾel wa-ḱāhānōbī wa-lewāyē li-mbāk li-rūšlem ʿimmāk yaḱāk* (Ezra 7:13) “I issue an order (lit. from me an order is issued) that anyone in my kingdom who is of the people of Israel and its priests and Levites who feels impelled to go to Jerusalem may go with you.”
- b) מִכָּן יִתְשֵׁם טַעַם כִּזִּי אִישׁ מִנְדַּעַם בְּאִישׁ לֹא יַעֲבֹד לְפָרִימָא זָךְ / *mnk ytšm tʿm kzy ʿyš mndʿm b-ʿyš laʿyʿbd l-Prymʿ zḱ* (TAD A6.7:8–9) “Let an order be issued by you that one does not do anything bad to that Paryama.”

In the two examples above the head of the attributive content clauses is similarly “טַעַם” “order.”

15) Object content clauses:

- a) וְאַנְדַּע דִּי פִשְׁרָה תִּהְיֶהוּנִי / *wa-ʿindaʿ dī fišreh təḱahāwunnani* (Daniel 2:9) “And I will know that you can tell its meaning.”
- b) וְיִמַּאת לֹה כִּזִּי זִילִי הִי / *w-ymʿt lh kzy zyly by* (TAD B2.3:24–25) “And I swore to him that it was mine.”

6 Conclusions

According to the corpus of four Northwest Semitic languages of the second and first millennia BC, the Akkadian language of the Amarna tablets, Ugaritic, Biblical Hebrew and Biblical and Egyptian Aramaic, predicate content clauses did not exist at all in these languages. Hence this type of content clause is most likely a later development in Northwest Semitic languages.²⁴ Content clauses in these languages were mostly object clauses, while subject and attributive content clauses were relatively rare in the Amarna letters and Ugaritic texts of the second millennium BC, and also in the Biblical Hebrew texts of the first millennium BC. So object clauses were probably the original type of content clause existing in Northwest Semitic of the second millennium BC, and the subject and attributive content clauses evolved from them. As subject and attributive content clauses came to be more abundant only in the Aramaic of the second half of the first millennium BC, they reflect a syntactic change in the Aramaic of this period.

²⁴ Compare to the absence of examples from Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic of the first millennium BC in BROCKELMANN 2013 II, pp. 523–524, 607. On pp. 523–524 BROCKELMANN cites only examples from Arabic and Ethiopic, and on p. 607 only examples from Arabic and Syriac, which are later.

These types of clauses, as well as a possible influence of other languages—not necessarily Semitic, probably paved the way for the development of predicate content clauses in later stages of Hebrew and perhaps also other Semitic languages.

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Die semitistischen Zwei-Stativ-Theorien auf „Ockhams Rasierklinge“*

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Summary: This article discusses the two split-stative theories made by R. VOIGT and J. TROPPER. It is shown that, relating to the concept of Occams Razor, the classical one-stative theory possesses a higher degree of probability than the split-stative theory of R. VOIGT. Otherwise this concept cannot be put forward for the theory of J. TROPPER, but TROPPER's approach turns out to be, on the synchronic level, too idealized and too simplified.

1 Einleitung

Dieser Artikel wird die semitistischen Zwei-Stativ-Theorien von J. TROPPER und R. VOIGT einer kritischen Prüfung unterziehen. Es wird das Konzept von „Ockhams Rasierklinge“ angewandt. Dieses Schlagwort wird dann verwendet, wenn es zu einem bestimmten empirischen Befund/Sachverhalt mehrere konkurrierende Theorien abzuwägen gilt. Es kann dann diejenige Theorie die größte Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich beanspruchen, die formal am einfachsten ist, in ihrem Funktionsspektrum möglichst viele Phänomene inkorporieren kann und keinen signifikanten Widerspruch zum Befund generiert. Eine solche „Wahrscheinlichkeitsprüfung“ wird in diesem Aufsatz für die semitistischen Zwei-Stativ-Theorien erfolgen. Es sollte hier noch bedacht werden, dass der Befund, der in diesem Artikel diskutiert wird, aus Sprachdaten von nicht mehr gesprochenen, nur in der schriftlichen Überlieferung belegten Sprachen besteht, somit tendenziell lückenhaft ist und darin ein tendenzieller Unsicherheitsfaktor existiert. Daher bleibt auch das Ergebnis dieser Untersuchung rein theoretischer Natur.

2 Definition

An erster Stelle hat eine Begriffsdefinition zu erfolgen: Zwei-Stativ-Theorien besagen, dass es in den afroasiatischen Sprachen des Altertums nicht eine,

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sondern zwei Typen der synthetischen Suffixkonjugation (SK) gab, die in den überlieferten verschrifteten Sprachen als eine einzige Form erscheinen bzw. zu einer Form zusammengefallen sind. Hiervon wurden einige in der Forschung der jüngeren Vergangenheit aufgestellt, und zwar:

- a) zwei semitistische Theorien von R. VOIGT und J. TROPPER;¹ dazu
- b) zwei ägyptologische Theorien von F. KAMMERZELL und W. SCHENKEL.²

3 Das klassische Ein-Stativ-Modell

3.1 Formation

Bevor die Zwei-Stativ-Theorien besprochen werden können, ist zunächst das klassische Ein-Stativ-Modell vorzustellen. Rein formal, so lautet die Theorie, liegt eine Formation vor, die in vorschriftlicher Zeit aus einem Nominalsatz paradigmatisiert worden ist. Basis der Formation ist die Absolutform des Adjektivs bzw. des korrespondierenden Verbaladjektivs, an dem vielleicht noch ein Vokal /a/ zur Markierung des Prädikativums im Nominalsatz hing.³ Daran wurde für die 1. und 2.Ps. ein basales Personalpronomen agglutiniert, welches sich noch in den Absolutpronomina in erweiterter Form erhalten hat, für die Formen der 3.Ps. genügten die Absolutformen an sich, wahlweise mit oder ohne Merkmal des Prädikativums.⁴ Alles ist in folgender Übersicht am Beispiel für zwei akkadische Verben zusammengefasst:⁵

¹ VOIGT 2002/2003; TROPPER 1995.

² KAMMERZELL 1990, 1991, 1991a; SCHENKEL 1994. Diese werden aus Platzgründen hier nicht behandelt. Die Theorien von KAMMERZELL und SCHENKEL werden aber unten in Kap. 4.2 noch einmal eine Rolle spielen.

³ Die exakte Natur dieses Elements /a/ ist aktuell in der Forschung umstritten, spielt aber hier keine Rolle; siehe u. a. die Diskussionen bei SASSE 1984; TROPPER 1999; SATZINGER 1999, S. 29–32; vgl. noch SATZINGER 2016, S. 690–694 in Zusammenhang mit der SK; und auch den Kommentar von VOIGT 2002/2003, S. 141–143.

⁴ Die Formation an sich wird auch von TROPPER 1995, S. 492–504 und VOIGT 2002/2003, S. 140–143 ihren Erläuterungen vorangestellt und als solche auch nicht in Frage gestellt. Siehe außerdem jetzt noch SATZINGER 2016. Bereits im Jahr 1910 konstatierte H. BAUER (1910, S. 12): „Dass das semitische Perfekt seiner Form nach aus der Verschmelzung eines Nomen agentis mit dem Personalpronomen erwachsen ist, wird allgemein anerkannt.“

⁵ Der Übersichtlichkeit halber wird hier und auch bei weiteren Tabellen immer nur das Formeninventar des Singulars gegeben. Für die Formen des Plurals gelten die Ausführungen analog.

Verbalbasis: Adjektiv / Verbaladjektiv (St. absolutus)	Prädikativmerkmal	Personenkennzeichen
– <i>paris(/parsat)</i> („scheiden“) – <i>kabit(/kabtat)</i> („schwer sein“)	-a-	– (ā?)<i>ku</i> (1.Sg.; vgl. <i>an-āku</i>) – <i>ta</i> (2.Sg.m.; vgl. <i>at-ta < an-ta</i>) – <i>ti</i> (2.Sg.f.; vgl. <i>at-ti < an-ti</i>) – [3.Ps. Absolutformen ausreichend]
→ <i>parsāku, parsāta, parsāti, paris</i> [vgl. aber Arab.: <i>qatala!</i>], <i>parsat</i> → <i>kabīāku, kabāta, kabāti, kabit</i> [vgl. aber Arab.: <i>kabida</i>], <i>kabtat</i>		

Eine besondere Auffälligkeit ist, dass das Prädikativmerkmal in der 3. Sg. m. bei den akkadischen Formen nicht auftritt, bei den Arabischen (bzw. überhaupt im westsemitischen Sprachzweig; siehe unten Kap. 3.4) dagegen schon. Nach VOIGT war es ursprünglich in allen Formen, sowohl Singular als Plural, bei allen Personen, vorhanden. Je nach Entwicklung wurde es dann ausgeschieden oder nicht.⁶

3.2 Grundfunktion

Die zu erschließende Grundfunktion ist: Ein Zustand wird einem Zustands-träger zugeordnet. Die Zustandswerdung ist nachrangig, kann aber noch mitschwingen. Das Verhältnis des Zustandsträgers zu genanntem Zustand ist bei transitiven Verben nicht festgelegt. Im Einzelnen ergibt dies für die in diesem Zusammenhang wichtigsten lexikalischen Wurzelklassen folgende Verteilung (am Beispiel von akkadischen Verben demonstriert):⁷

Klasse/Form	Grundbedeutung	Zustandswerdung („Perfekt“)	Zustand („Stativ“)
Transitiv: <i>paris-a-ku</i>	geschieden – ich	ich habe geschieden ich bin geschieden worden	ich bin geschieden
Intransitiv, Bewegung: <i>qerib-a-kū</i>	nahegekommen – ich	I have come next to	I am next to
Intransitiv, Zustandsänderung: <i>mīt-a-ku</i>	gestorben – ich	I have died	I am dead
Zustand: <i>kabit-a-ku</i>	schwer – ich	I have become heavy	I am heavy

⁶ VOIGT 2002/2003, S. 141. Dies ist hier aber nicht von Belang.

⁷ Dass zur Übersetzung der Formen auf zwei Übersetzungssprachen (Deutsch/Englisch) zurückgegriffen wird, hängt damit zusammen, dass im Deutschen wie im Englischen (und auch im Französischen) nicht alle Formen adäquat wiedergegeben werden können; vgl. unten das Zitat von W. WESTENDORF. Der Grund liegt darin, dass die modernen Sprachen ihre Hilfsverben jeweils anders gebrauchen! Für die entsprechenden Zeilen wurde daher die geeignetere Übersetzungssprache gewählt.

Alle Verben können sowohl für Aussagen von Zuständen („Stativ“) und Zustandswendungen („Perfekt“) gebraucht werden, wobei bei transitiven Verben im Feld Zustandswendung sowohl aktive wie passive Aussageleistung möglich ist. Die Bedeutung ist jeweils eine Frage des Kontextes. Man vgl. hier auch die Übersetzungen in die modernen europäischen Sprachen: Im Deutschen und Englischen muss man Hilfsverben einsetzen und ist dadurch meist gezwungen, sich für eine Aussageleistung festzulegen. In der afroasiatischen Suffixkonjugation war dies durch die Anlage der Form nicht der Fall, daher umfasste sie ein vielfältiges Funktionsspektrum. Hierzu sei noch ein Fazit zitiert, das der Ägyptologe W. WESTENDORF vor über 60 Jahren schon getätigt hat:

Es sind janusköpfige Formen, die auf der Schwelle zwischen Dynamik und Stativ liegen (gerade dort, wie die Tätigkeit ‚perfekt‘ wird) und rückwärts auf die Handlung und vorwärts auf den erreichten Zustand blicken. Je nach dem Satzzusammenhang lassen wir bei unseren Übersetzungen die eine oder andere Seite hervortreten, weil der ganze Bereich nur selten zu treffen ist.⁸

Diese Aussage wurde zwar für den ägyptischen Epigonen der afroasiatischen SK, das Pseudopartizip, getroffen, trifft meines Erachtens aber durchaus auch generell zu.

3.3 Formenbildung und Funktion des akkadischen Stativs

Der oben gemachte Befund ist durch Vergleiche der verschiedenen Sprachzweige des Afroasiatischen, und zwar insbesondere des Semitischen mit seinen zwei Subzweigen Ostsemitisch und Westsemitisch⁹ und des Ägyptischen extrahierbar. Am konservativsten erscheint hier das Akkadische, in dessen Formenbildung sich die ursprüngliche Formation klar erkennen lässt und ein umfassendes Funktionsspektrum (siehe unten) aufweist. Hier eine Übersicht:

Verb	1.Sg.	2.Sg.m.	2.Sg.f.	3.Sg.m.	3.Sg.f.
<i>parāsu</i> „scheiden“	<i>parsāku</i>	<i>parsāta</i>	<i>parsāti</i>	<i>paris</i>	<i>parsat</i>
<i>qerēbu</i> „nahekommen“	<i>qerbēku</i>	<i>qerbēta</i>	<i>qerbēti</i>	<i>qerib</i>	<i>qerbet</i>
<i>mātu/miʾātu</i> „sterben“	<i>mītāku</i>	<i>mītāta</i>	<i>mītāti</i>	<i>maʾit/mīt</i>	<i>mītat</i>
<i>kabātu</i> „schwer sein“	<i>kabtāku</i>	<i>kabtāta</i>	<i>kabtāti</i>	<i>kabit</i>	<i>kabtat</i>

Die formalen Merkmale sind zusammengefasst diese:

⁸ WESTENDORF 1953, S. 45.

⁹ „Westsemitisch“ steht hier als Sammelbezeichnung für die semitischen Sprachen Syrien-Palästinas, der Arabischen Halbinsel und Äthiopiens; siehe die Einschätzung bei STRECK 2018, S. 2. Eine ausführliche Diskussion zu diesem komplexen Thema würde hier den Rahmen sprengen.

- Die Silbenstruktur ist PaRS-, der Vokal vor dem letzten Radikal ist mit Ausnahme der 3. Sg. m. apokopiert.
- Der vorherrschende Themavokal ist /i/, mit Abweichungen v. a. bei den Zustandswurzeln (vgl. *rapaš* „er ist breit“, *maruš* „er ist krank“);¹⁰ er ist nur in der 3. Sg. m. sichtbar.
- Das Prädikativmerkmal /a/ ist als „Bindevokal“ in den Formen der 1. und 2. Ps. bewahrt worden.

Das Funktionsspektrum ist sehr umfangreich:¹¹ Weithin dominierend ist die Zustandsaussage, daher der Terminus „Stativ“ (älter: „Permansiv“) für die Form. Kon- und Kotext-bedingt kann sich auch das Perfekt einstellen. Bei transitiven Verben sind sowohl die Funktion Perfekt-Aktiv, Perfekt-Passiv und Stativ-Passiv vertreten, bei einigen lexikalischen Klassen auch Stativ-Präsens-Aktiv (s. unten). Einzig für fientische Verben mit durativem Inhalt ohne intendiertes Ziel (z. B. bestimmte Bewegungsverben) wird der Stativ praktisch gar nicht gebraucht, weil zum Abschluss gebrachte Vorgänge sich schlecht als Zustand darstellen lassen.¹² Hier die dazugehörige Übersicht für die wichtigsten lexikalischen Verbalklassen:

Klasse/Form	Grundbedeutung	Zustandswerdung („Perfekt“)	Zustand („Stativ“)
Transitiv: <i>parsāku</i>	geschieden – ich	ich habe geschieden ich bin geschieden worden	ich bin geschieden
Bewegung – telisch: <i>qerbēku</i>	nahegekommen – ich	I have come next to	I am next to
Bewegung – Durativ: <i>alkākū</i> (!)	gegangen – ich	[I have gone]	[I am gone → I know the way!]
Intransitiv – Zustandsänderung: <i>mītāku</i>	gestorben – ich	[I have died]	I am dead
Zustand: <i>kabtāku</i>	schwer – ich	[I have become heavy]	I am heavy

Zur Erläuterung: Fettdruck = dominanter Gebrauch; Nicht-Fett = üblicher, aber nicht dominanter Gebrauch; [x] = Selten gebraucht.

¹⁰ Im assyrischen Dialekt können nicht-stativische Verben ebenfalls einen anderen Themavokal als /i/ zeigen, z. B. *wašab* vs. *wašib* „er sitzt“, *puluḥ* vs. *paliḥ* „er ist in Furcht“; siehe HECKER 1968, S. 138 (§ 82d); KOUWENBERG 2010, S. 161–162 (§ 7.2) und 2017, S. 497–498 (§ 16.9.4).

¹¹ Siehe im Überblick KOUWENBERG 2010, S. 163–176 (§ 7.3) und 2017, S. 622–627 (§ 19.4); VON SODEN 1995, S. 124–126 (§ 77); dazu LOESOV 2012; ROWTON 1962; für theoretische Belange außerdem noch TROPPEL 1995, S. 492–504.

¹² Siehe KOUWENBERG 2010, S. 169 (§ 7.3.2); VON SODEN 1995, S. 126 (§ 77f).

Spezielle und darüberhinausgehende Gebrauchsweisen als Stativ-Präsens-Aktiv (Auswahl):¹³

- Verben der Besitzergreifung: z.B.: *šabtāku* „ich habe / ich besitze“ (daneben: „ich habe ergriffen“ und „ich bin ergriffen“ → „ich werde festgehalten“); *našī'āku* „ich habe/halte“ (< „ich habe hochgehoben“).
- Verben der Perzeption: *lamdāku* „ich habe kennengelernt“ → „ich kenne; ich weiß“; *amrāku* „ich habe gesehen“ → „ich habe Erfahrung (in)“.
- Verben des Wünschens und Wollens: z.B. *ḥašḥāku* „ich wünsche“.
- Verben der Kategorie „setzen/legen/stellen“: sog. „locational statives“, z.B.: *šaknāku* „ich bin gelegt worden“ → „ich liege“ [auch: „ich bin ausgestattet mit“]; *nadû* (3.Sg.m.) „es ist niedergelegt“ → „es gibt/existiert“.

Diese Funktionen lassen sich leicht aus der dominanten Funktion des Stativs ableiten, bei der die Zustände, die aus den Vorgängen resultierten, besonders hervorgehoben werden, also: *šabtāku* „ich habe ergriffen“ (Vorgang) → „ich besitze“ (Zustand); *šaknāku* „ich bin gelegt worden“ (Vorgang) → „ich liege“ (Zustand).¹⁴

Ein ähnliches Funktionsspektrum weist übrigens das Altägyptische auf, allerdings ohne die Beschränkung bei den fientischen Verben bzgl. Durativität/Telizität, und mit einem stärkeren Gewicht des Perfekts:¹⁵

Klasse/Form	Grundbedeutung	Zustandswerdung („Perfekt“)	Zustand („Stativ“)
Transitiv: <i>qrs.kj</i>	begraben – ich	ich habe begraben ich bin begraben worden	ich bin begraben (= liege im Grab)
Bewegung – telisch: <i>jj.kj</i>	gekommen – ich	I have come	[I am welcome]

¹³ Siehe ROWTON 1962, S. 238–260, 266–271; KOUWENBERG 2010, S. 173–174 (§ 7.3.2–3).

¹⁴ Wegen der Dominanz der Zustandsaussage werden alle aktiven Funktionen des Stativs bei transitiven Verben in der Akkadistik oft als sekundäre Entwicklung gedeutet; siehe u.a. HUEHNERGARD 1987, S. 228; TROPPE 1995, S. 501–504; KOUWENBERG 2000, S. 59, 63–67 und 2010, S. 176 (§ 7.4.1), und zwar infolge einer Analogie zu den Stativen einiger intransitiver Verben, vgl. *ušib* „er setzte sich“ vs. *wašib* „er sitzt“ → *imḥur* „er erlangte“ vs. *maḥir* „er hält“ (→ sekundär „er hat erlangt“). STRECK 1995, S. 184–185 widerspricht dieser Einschätzung; er sieht in dieser Funktion eine Nachahmung der Verhältnisse des Sumerischen, weil dort transitive Verbalwurzeln an sich diathesen-neutral verwendet werden. Meines Erachtens eine originale Funktion ist die des Perfekt Aktivs, wenn auch sprachintern eine regressive. Hierfür spricht auch der altägyptische Befund (siehe im Anschluss). Sekundär ist m. E. nur die Funktion Präsens-Aktiv-Stativ. Hierfür spricht wiederum, dass diese Funktion im Altägyptischen praktisch nicht vorkommt!

¹⁵ Siehe JENNI 2007, REINTGES 2011, S. 28–48 und 2015, S. 422–446. Im Ägyptischen ist die jeweilige Funktion allerdings stark abhängig von Epoche, Textkorpus und Syntax.

Klasse/Form	Grundbedeutung	Zustandswertung („Perfekt“)	Zustand („Stativ“)
Bewegung – du-rativ: <i>šm.tj</i>	gegangen – ich	I have gone	–
Intransitiv – Zustandsänderung: <i>m(w)t.kj</i>	gestorben – ich	I have died	I am dead
Zustand: <i>nfr.kj</i>	schön – ich	I have become beautiful	I am beautiful

Sonderfälle bei transitiven Verben sind:

- Verben *rb* „kennenlernen/kennen/wissen“ und *hm* „ignorieren / nicht kennen / nicht wissen“: *rb.kj* „ich kenne/kann/weiß“; *hm.kj* „ich kenne/kann/weiß nicht“ [üblicherweise hier keine Perfektfunktion!].¹⁶
- Verben der Kategorie „setzen/legen/stellen“: *w?b.kj* „ich bin gelegt“ → „ich liege“; *rd.tj* „ich bin gegeben“ → „ich liege“ [daneben alle weiteren Funktionen möglich].

Hinzu kommt: Der akkadische Stativ steht weitgehend außerhalb des „regulären“ Tempus-Aspekt-Systems der Vorgangskategorie, die allein von den Präfixkonjugationen geschultert wird:¹⁷

Vorgangskategorie	Zustandskategorie
„Präteritum“: <i>iprus</i>	Stativ: <i>paris</i>
„Präsens“: <i>iparras</i>	
„Perfekt“: <i>iptaras</i>	

Schließlich ist es ein Unikum des Akkadischen, dass dort auch von Nomina (ohne Einschränkung; auch Zahlbegriffe; selten Personalpronomina!) Stative gebildet werden können, aber einzig zur Schilderung von Qualitäten, z. B. *šarrāku* „ich bin König (d. h. habe die Qualität eines Königs!)“ (< *šarrum*), *ište⁹at* „sie ist einzig(artig)“.¹⁸

¹⁶ Hierzu noch speziell PEUST 2006, S. 221–222.

¹⁷ Dies ist in der Akkadistik *communis opinio*, und wird für gewöhnlich nicht eigens explizit erwähnt.

¹⁸ KOUWENBERG 2010, S. 165–168 (§ 7.3.1); VON SODEN 1995, S. 124–125 (§ 72a–c); HECKER 1968, S. 119 (§ 72b). Dies ist möglicherweise durch die Nähe zum Sumerischen, in der die Zustandsaussage von Nomina und Verbalwurzeln auf die gleiche Weise gebildet werden, motiviert worden; siehe EDZARD 2003, S. 176 (§ 17.6). Nach einigen Forschern, z. B. BUCELLATI 1968; HUEHNERGARD 1987; auch KIENAST 2001, S. 151–153 (§ 144) ist der Stativ daher auch keine finite Verbform an sich, sondern eine Art „Pseudo-Verb“-Formation

3.4 Formenbildung und Funktion des westsemitischen Perfekts

Zunächst seien zur Illustration die paradigmatischen Reihen des Klass.-Arabischen, Bibl.-Hebräischen und Altäthiopischen präsentiert:¹⁹

Person/ Zahl	Klass.-Arab.	Bibl.-Hebr.	Altäthiopisch
1. Sg.	<i>faʕaltu</i> („ich machte“)	<i>kātabtī</i> („ich schrieb“)	<i>nagarka</i> („ich sprach“) / <i>labaska</i> („ich bekleidete mich“)
2. Sg. m.	<i>faʕalta</i>	<i>kātabtā</i>	<i>nagarka/labaska</i>
2. Sg. f.	<i>faʕalti</i>	<i>kātabt</i> (< <i>kātabtī</i>)	<i>nagarki/labaski</i>
3. Sg. m.	<i>faʕala</i>	<i>kātab</i> (< <i>kataba</i>)	<i>nagara/labsa</i> (< <i>lab'sa</i>)
3. Sg. f.	<i>faʕalat</i>	<i>kāt'bā</i> (< <i>katabat</i>)	<i>nagarat/labsat</i> (< <i>lab'sat</i>)

Die formalen Merkmale des westsemitischen Perfekts sind:

- Die übliche Silbenstruktur des Verbalstammes ist KaTaB, mit erhaltenem [weil akzenttragenden (?)] Themavokal vor dem letzten Wurzelradikal.
- Es gibt eine tendenzielle Verteilung der Themavokale, und zwar: /a/ für transitive und allgemein fientische Verben (vgl. z. B. Bibl.-Hebr. *kātab* „schreiben“, *hālak* „gehen“) und /i/ (und als Entwicklungen /e/ bzw. Schwa ʾ / / Ø [vgl. oben das Altäthiopische]) sowie selten /u/ (→ /o/) für intransitive und stativische Verben (vgl. z. B. Bibl.-Hebr. *kābēd* „schwer sein“; *zāqēn* „alt sein“; *qāṭōn* „klein sein“ [für das Klass.-Arab. siehe noch die Tabelle in Kap. 5.2]).
- Der sog. „Bindevokal“ ist oberflächlich betrachtet nur in der 3. Sg. m. als reanalysierte Personalendung erhalten [siehe eine wichtige Ausnahme in Kap. 4.1].
- Die Konsonanten der Endungen der 1./2. Pss. sind in allen Einzelsprachen zu /k/ oder /t/ vereinheitlicht.²⁰

oder „Status praedicativus“ für Substantive und Adjektive. Tatsächlich zeigt er aber auch eindeutige Merkmale einer finiten Form: nur an solche können im Akkadischen Akkusativobjekte und die Partikeln des Ventivs (*-am*; *-nim*) und des Subordinativs (*-u*) antreten. Für eine finite Verbalform hat sich KOUWENBERG 2000, v. a. S. 22–56 ausgesprochen. KOUWENBERG 2010, S. 189 (§7.4.3) benutzt dagegen, um der Diskussion aus dem Weg zu gehen, den *cover term* „Stative conjugation“.

¹⁹ Für die einzelnen Sprachen die Formen nach FISCHER 2006, S. 102 (§207); JENNI 2009, S. 84–85 (§7.3.4), 87 (Anm. 7.4.3–6) und MEYER 1992, 223–225 (§64); TROPPER 2002, S. 88 (§44.122). Vgl. dazu die Aufstellungen in den vergleichenden semitischen Grammatiken von LIPINSKI 1997, S. 360–361 (§40.2) und KIENAST 2001, S. 202–204 (§182) mit Befunden aus weiteren Sprachen.

²⁰ Im Akkadischen ist dieses Phänomen auch im neuassyrischen Dialekt zu beobachten; siehe HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2000, S. 90–91 (§3.12.3).

Funktional ist das Perfekt dominant geworden. Die Zustandsaussage findet sich nur noch bei Verben der Zustandsänderung und des Zustands Verwendung, daneben ist prinzipiell auch die Funktion als Perfekt möglich.²¹ Vgl. folgende Übersicht für das Bibl.-Hebräische:

Klasse/Form	Grundbedeutung	Zustandswerdung („Perfekt“)	Zustand („Stativ“)
Transitiv: <i>kātabtī</i>	geschrieben – ich	ich habe geschrieben	
Intransitiv, Bewegung: <i>bālakī</i>	gegangen – ich	I have gone	
Intransitiv, Zustandsänderung: <i>māttī</i>	gestorben – ich	I have died	[I am dead]
Zustand: <i>kābadī</i>	schwer – ich	I have become heavy	I am heavy

Transitive Verben der geistigen und emotionalen Perzeption haben wiederum vor allem die Funktion Stativ-Präsens-Aktiv, vgl. Bibl.-Hebr. *yādaštī* „ich weiß“, *ʾāhabtī* „ich liebe“.

Hinzu kommt: Das westsemitische Perfekt ist in das Tempus-Aspekt-System der Vorgangskategorie voll integriert und wird komplementär zu den Formen der Präfixkonjugation mit entsprechender Aussageleistung („Präteritum“) verwendet, oder hat diese zum Teil auch verdrängt; die Stativfunktion ist, wie oben angedeutet, auf bestimmte lexikalische Verbklassen beschränkt worden;²² ergo [Bsp. Klass.-Arab.]:

Vorgangskategorie	Zustandskategorie
„Präteritum“/„Perfekt“: <i>faʿala</i> /[<i>yafʿulu</i>]	Stativ: <i>kabida</i>
„Präsens“: <i>yafʿulu</i>	

²¹ Eine brauchbare zusammenfassende Übersicht über die Funktionen des westsemitischen Perfekts, vor allem in Abhängigkeit von der lexikalischen Klasse des Verbs, fehlt meines Wissens. Für die oben genannten drei Einzelsprachen vgl. die Funktionszusammenfassungen in FISCHER 2006, S. 91–92 (§§ 181–183) [Klass.-Arabisch]; MEYER 1992, S. 391–394 (§ 101.1–5), JENNI 2009, S. 264–265 (§ 24.3.3.1–5) [Bibl.-Hebräisch]; TROPPEL 2002, S. 182–186 (§ 54.1) [Altäthiopisch], mit wenigen Ausführungen zu den lexikalischen Klassen.

²² Diese „Wanderung“ innerhalb des Verbalparadigmas ist besonders gut im Ugaritischen zu beobachten. In normhierarchisch höheren Texten (z. B. narrative Literatur) ist die Kurzform der Präfixkonjugation („Präteritum“) als Form der Erzählung noch unbeschränkt in Gebrauch, die SK hat vor allem die Aufgabe, isolierte und Hintergrundinformationen zu bezeichnen; in normhierarchisch niedrigeren Texten (z. B. Briefe) ist die SK für beide Funktionsfelder in Gebrauch; siehe TROPPEL 2012, S. 702–718 (§ 76.5); vgl. auch bereits TROPPEL 1995, S. 510–512 mit verallgemeinerndem Befund für die semitischen Sprachen Syrien-Palästinas des 2. Jt. v. Chr.

Daraus folgt die klassische Schlussfolgerung: Formen und Funktion des westsemitischen Perfekts gelten als typologisch jüngerer Phänomen einer sprachzweigintern Entwicklung gegenüber dem konservativer erscheinenden ostsemitischen Zweig.²³ Dies wird dadurch untermauert, dass der akkadische Stativ und sein altägyptisches Pendant mit sehr ähnlich gelagertem Funktionsspektrum eine Art „areale Klammer“ bilden, in der das westsemitische Perfekt eingeschlossen ist.

4 Die Zwei-Stativ-Theorie von R. Voigt

4.1 Argumentation

Die Zwei-Stativ-Theorie von R. VOIGT wurde vor ca. 15 Jahren in einem Artikel in der Zeitschrift für Althebraistik vorgetragen, eine englische Version erschien etwas später.²⁴ Das Ziel des Autors war der Nachweis, dass es im Proto-Afroasiatischen zwei paritätische Formationen „Suffixkonjugation“ gegeben habe, die später zusammenfielen. Seine Argumentation erfolgt in vier Schritten:

- a) Er versucht aufzuzeigen, dass es in einer einzigen Sprache zwei verschiedene Strukturtypen mit verschiedener Semantik gab.
- b) Dieser Befund wird verallgemeinert.
- c) Danach wird er mit der sog. Ergativ-Theorie des Proto-Afroasiatischen verknüpft.
- d) Dazu werden zur Bestätigung die beiden damals diskutierten Zwei-Stativ-Modelle der Ägyptologie herangezogen.

Im Einzelnen:

ad (a):²⁵ Die Sprache, die VOIGT für seine Argumentation zunächst heranzieht, ist das Bibl.-Hebräische. Dort sind, entgegen der allgemeinen Annahme, zwei Morphemstrukturen für das Perfekt erkennbar, nämlich:

- Typ 1: *kātab-tā*; ohne „Bindevokal“.
- Typ 2: *qallō-tā* (3. Sg. m. *qāl*), mit den Ton tragendem „Bindevokal“ (hier /ō/ < /a/), bei intransitiven und statischen Verben bestimmter infiger Wurzelklassen (med. gem., med. inf.).

²³ Zum Beispiel bei DIAKONOFF 1988, S. 94: „It is generally accepted nowadays that the perfective (sic) usage of the form *qatal(a)* in Central and Southern Semitic languages [= hier: Westsemitisch] is secondary.“ Vgl. noch KOUWENBERG 2010, S. 184 (§ 7.4.2); LIPÍŃSKI 2014, S. 495 mit identischer Meinung.

²⁴ VOIGT 2002/2003 und 2007. Im Folgenden wird nur die Erstversion berücksichtigt.

²⁵ VOIGT 2002/2003, S. 143–154.

Zum Typ 2 einige Beispiele:

- Verba ult. n: transitiv mit Assimilation an Endungskonsonant *t*, z.B.: *nātatti* (< *nātan-tī*) „ich gab“, intransitiv ohne Assimilation, z.B.: *zāqantī* (< **zāqan-a-tī*) „ich bin alt“, *yāšantī* (< **yāšan-a-tī*) „ich schlief ein“, der Grund: es liegt ein Reflex des ehemaligen Bindevokals zu Grunde, der die Assimilation verhindert.²⁶
- Verba med. gem.: transitive Verben zeigen die herkömmliche Struktur, z.B.: *bāzaz* „er raubte“, *sābab* „er umgab“, *šārar* „er schnürte ein“; intransitive Verben zeigen eine verkürzte intransitive Struktur, z.B. *tam* „er wurde vollständig“, *bat* „er ging zu Bruch“, *šar* „er ist eng“.
- Verba med. inf.: einige zeigen im Kausativstamm zwei Strukturen, eine transitive, eine intransitive, z.B.: *hēbētī* „ich brachte“ (mit unbelebtem/passiven Objekt) vs. *habōtī* „ich ließ kommen“ (mit belebtem/aktiven Objekt; Wurzel: *bwʔ* „kommen“); *hebišōtā* „du beschämtest/schändetest“ vs. *hōbaštā* „du tatest Schändliches“ (Wurzel: *bwš* „s. schämen“) [mit Bedeutungsumkehrung der Strukturen!].

Hinzu kommt, dass bei vielen Verba med. gem. und med. inf. die „intransitive“ Struktur sowohl im Grundstamm wie auch in den abgeleiteten Stämmen N und H zu belegen ist. Beispiele:

- Verba med. gem.: G: *hammōtī* „ich bin warm geworden“ (√*hmm* „warm sein“), *zammōtī* „ich habe mir vorgenommen“ (√*zmm* „sinnen; planen“); N: *nāmaqqū* „sie verfaulen; eiern“ (√*mqq* „zerfließen“) *nēqallōtī* „ich habe mich gering gemacht“ (√*qll* „gering sein“); H: *bagillōtī* „ich habe weggewälzt“ (√*gll* „rollen“); *haḥitōtā* „du hast zerbrochen“ (√*htt* „zu Bruch gehen“) (insgesamt dutzende Belege).
- Verba med. inf.: G: nur zwei Belege: *ribōtā* „du haderst“ (√*ryb* „streiten; hadern“), *binōtā* „du bist verständig“ (√*byn* „verständlich sein“); vgl. trans. *šāmtā* „du hast gelegt“ (√*šym* „setzen; legen; stellen“); N: *nēbunōtī* „ich bin klug“ (√*byn*); *nēšūgōtī* „ich bin nicht zurückgewichen“ (√*swg* „abweichen“); H: *hēbinōtēm* „ihr habt gelernt“ (√*byn*), *hērimōtī* „ich habe erhöht“ (√*rym* „hoch, erhaben sein“) (insgesamt dutzende Belege).

²⁶ Im Folgenden wird hierauf nicht weiter eingegangen. Dieses Argument ist ohnehin problematisch, weil VOIGT für die transitive Seite nur das Verb *ntn* „geben“ bietet. Dieses Verb assimiliert das zweite *n* aber anscheinend besonders leicht, vgl. den Infinitiv constructus *tēt* < **tint*; mit Suffix: *titt-ī* < **tint-ī* (siehe JENNI 2009, S. 234–235 (§21.3.1)), und ist mithin als Beispiel ungeeignet.

²⁷ VOIGT nennt hier nur die Wurzeln; die Formen der Beispielverben wurden GESENIUS 2013 entnommen.

Andererseits ist für die Verba med. gem. ein paradigmatischer Ausgleich zu beobachten, denn bei ihnen zeigt sich die intransitive Struktur auch bei transitiven Verben im G-Stamm, z.B.: *šallōtā* „du hast beraubt“ (*√šll* „berauben“); *šannōtī* „ich habe geschärft“ (*√šnn* „schärfen“); einmal ist dies vielleicht auch für ein Verb med. inf. zu beobachten: *wa-h^ašimōtī-bū* „und ich will ihn machen“ (*√šym*).²⁸

ad (b):²⁹ Dieser Befund wird nun für das Afroasiatische verallgemeinert: Demnach gab es für die gesamte Suffixkonjugation ursprünglich je eine transitive und eine intransitive Struktur mit den genannten Merkmalen und einer Bevorzugung durch die genannten Verbalklassen, und zwar:

- Transitive Struktur: *katab=tā (ohne Bindevokal; v.a. transitive Verben).
- Intransitive Struktur: *kabid=atā (mit Bindevokal; v.a. intransitive/Zustandsverben).

ad (c):³⁰ Zur Festigung seiner These greift VOIGT auf die sog. Ergativtheorie zurück. In den 1960er Jahren stelle I.M. DIAKONOFF die These auf, das Kasus-system und Teile des Verbsystems des Proto-Afroasiatischen seien ursprünglich ergativisch organisiert gewesen, wobei das in den historisch überlieferten Sprachen vorherrschende Akkusativ-System das alte Ergativ-System bis auf Überreste verdrängt habe.³¹ Diese Theorie wurde in den 1970er Jahren v.a. durch G. STEINER³² und in den 1980er und 1990er Jahren v.a. durch H.-P. MÜLLER³³ am Leben erhalten, und erst durch einen einschlägigen Artikel von M. WALTISBERG, der im Jahr 2002 erschien,³⁴ mehr oder weniger *ad acta* gelegt.

VOIGT übernimmt für seinen Ansatz das Pronomina-Modell von G. STEINER,³⁵ nach dem es an der Suffixkonjugation zwei Sets von Pronomina gab:

²⁸ VOIGT (2002/2003, S. 150) erwägt daher, an betreffender Stelle (Ez 14,8) in *wah^ašamtihū* zu emendieren (so nach der *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartiensia*); vgl. GESENIUS 2013, S. 1286–1287 s.v. *šym* Hi. Da es jedoch überhaupt nur diesen Beleg gibt, ist er für sich genommen ohnehin nicht aussagekräftig.

²⁹ VOIGT 2002/2003, S. 156–157.

³⁰ VOIGT 2002/2003, S. 157–158.

³¹ DIAKONOFF 1965, S. 15–18, 58–60, 86–87; und wiederholt 1988, S. 59–61, 99–102. Einen konzisen Überblick inkl. Forschungsliteratur zu Ergativtheorien in den afroasiatischen Sprachen bietet jetzt LIPIŃSKI 2014, S. 496–500.

³² STEINER 1976 und 1977.

³³ MÜLLER, z.B. 1985 und 1988 und 1995; zuletzt 2003, S. 436–438.

³⁴ WALTISBERG 2002; bereits EDZARD 1967, S. 142–145 und ZABORSKI 1999 beurteilten die These mit Skepsis.

³⁵ Zum Folgenden die Ausführungen in STEINER 1977. NB: STEINER setzte übrigens auch zwei Verbalbasen *katab* und *kabid* an, zog aber den letzten Schluss, dass zwei paritätische Verbalformen vorliegen, nicht.

eine „absolute“ k-Serie am intransitiven Stamm, eine „ergativische“ t-Serie am transitiven Stamm, also:

- Intransitiv – Absolutiv: *kabit=(a)ku, =(a)ka, =(a)ki.
- Transitiv – Ergativ: *katab=tu, =ta, =ti.

Hierzu vgl. man die Pronomina der historischen Sprachen für die 2. Sg., wo dies besonders auffällig in Erscheinung tritt: k-haltige Formen treten als Objektsuffixe und in den unabhängigen Pronomina der obliquen Kasus (v. a. Akkadisch) auf, t-haltige Formen als Basis der absoluten Pronomina, die immer das Agens bezeichnen; vgl. die folgende Übersicht für die Formen der 2. Sg. (analog 2. Pl.):

k-Reihe	Objektpronomina / oblique Kasus	t-Reihe	absolute Pronomina
*=ka	Akkad. =ka/kâta (Akk.) Hebr. =kâ	*=ta	Akkad./Hebr. atta < an=ta
*=ki	Akkad. =ki/kâti (Akk.) Hebr. =k(i)	*=ti	Akkad. atti < an=ti Hebr. att < an=t(i)

Die historische Sprachentwicklung verlief danach wie folgt:

- Ostsemitisch: es setzte sich die intransitive Verbalbasis durch, die Endungskonsonanten *k* und *t* wurden Diskriminante für die 1. (Sg.) und die 2. Pss., also *parsâku*, *parsâta* usw.
- Nordwestsemitisch (Syrien-Palästina/nörtl. Arabische Halbinsel): die transitive Basis setzte sich durch, *t* wurde als Endungskonsonant vereinheitlicht, die Diskriminante für die Pss. wurde der Vokal nach dem Endungskonsonanten, also *faʕaltu*, *faʕalta* usw.
- Südwestsemitisch (südl. Arabische Halbinsel/Äthiopien): wie Nordwestsemitisch, als Endungskonsonant wurde aber *k* vereinheitlicht, also *nagarku*, *nagarka* usw.

ad (d):³⁶ Schließlich werden zur Untermauerung noch die ägyptologischen Zwei-Stativ-Theorien von F. KAMMERZELL und W. SCHENKEL, die zum damaligen Zeitpunkt zur Diskussion standen, hinzugezogen.³⁷ Ohne hier in Einzelheiten gehen zu können, gehen beide unabhängig voneinander und auf Basis verschiedener Erhebungen von einer Zweiteilung „fientisches Perfekt“ vs. „resultatives Pseudopartizip (= Stativ)“ aus, die sich anhand

³⁶ VOIGT 2002/2003, S. 158–161.

³⁷ KAMMERZELL 1990, 1991 und 1991a, in drei Aufsätzen entworfen und weiterentwickelt; SCHENKEL 1994.

der divergierenden Verwendungsweisen verschiedener Textkorpora des Alt- und Mittelägyptischen (3.Jt. und 1. Hälfte 2.Jt. v. Chr.) extrahieren lassen.

4.2 Gegenargumentation

Auch die Gegenargumentation wird in vier Schritten erfolgen:

a) Die Existenz von zwei SK-Strukturen im Bibl.-Hebräischen:

Diese ist, wie oben demonstriert, praktisch nicht zu bezweifeln. Eine viel einfachere Lösung wäre jedoch, entsprechend dem klassischen Modell zu behaupten, dass sich die intransitive Struktur bei intransitiven Verben viel länger gehalten habe, weil sie keinem Normierungsdruck hinsichtlich des jüngeren und produktiveren transitiven Musters unterlagen. Und das Ausdifferenzieren zweier Strukturen wurde nur dann notwendig, wenn bei einer Wurzel infolge einer sprachinternen Ausdifferenzierung unbedingt zwischen transitiv und intransitiv (im engeren wie weiteren Sinne) unterschieden werden sollte. Hierzu vgl. man folgende Beispiele:

- Verba med. gem.: *šārar* „einschnüren“ vs. *šar* „eng sein“ (*šrr* „eng sein“);
- Verba med. inf.: *hēbētī* „ich brachte“ (mit unbelebtem/passiven Objekt) vs. *habôtī* „ich ließ kommen“ (mit belebtem/aktiven Objekt; *bw?* „kommen“) [s. oben].

Zum Teil stehen bei Verba med. gem. auch beide Formen gleichbedeutend nebeneinander, was m.E. nur anzeigt, dass eine scharfe Trennung nicht mehr existent war, z.B. *bāzaznu* vs. *bazzōnu* „wir raubten“ (*bzz*), *sabbū-ni* vs. *sāb'bū-ni* „sie (Pl.) umgaben mich“ (*sbb*).³⁸

Außerdem: Auch im Akkadischen macht die Wurzelklasse med. gem. formal einen Unterschied zwischen transitivem und intransitivem Verb, vgl. *dan* „ist stark“ (< *danānu* „stark sein“) vs. *harir* „ist gefürchtet“ (< *harāru* „jmdn. fürchten“),³⁹ es scheint also prinzipiell mehr eine Eigenart dieser

³⁸ Die Beispiele nach VOIGT 2002/2003, S. 146–147. Zumindest das erste ist eindeutig, beim zweiten, bei dem beide Formen im gleichen Satz vorkommen, vermag er noch einen Unterschied auszumachen, nämlich: *sabbū-ni* „sie waren um mich herum“ (ohne gezielte Aktion) vs. *sāb'bū-ni* „sie umringten mich“ (gezielte Aktion). Es bleibt aber fraglich, inwiefern im Bibl.-Hebräischen ein solcher Unterschied wahrgenommen worden sein mag, oder ob es dem Textkomponisten nur um eine Variante ging, um eine direkte Wortwiederholung auf engem Raum zu vermeiden.

³⁹ Hierzu VON SODEN 1995, S. 168–169 (§ 101d); KOUWENBERG 2010, 492 (§ 16.6.1).

Wurzelklasse zu sein, und kein Sachverhalt, der verallgemeinert werden sollte, wie VOIGT es getan hat.

Damit erscheint die zweite Deutung formal einfacher, auch wenn diejenige von VOIGT nicht prinzipiell ausgeschlossen werden kann.

(b) Das Ergativische Pronomina-Modell:

Dieses Modell hat eine entscheidende Schwachstelle, und zwar die Pronomina der 1. Ps. Im Plural liegt in den Sprachen jeweils nur eine Form $=na / =nu / =n$ usw.⁴⁰ vor, die auch als Markierung am unabhängigen Pronomen durchgängig vertreten ist, vgl. Akkad. *nī-nu*, Klass.-Arab. *naḥ-nu/nih-na*, Bibl.-Hebr. $^{\prime}(a)naḥ-nū$ und $^{\prime}a-nū$, Altäthiop. *naḥ-na*, und auch an der SK, vgl. Akkad. *parsā-nu/i*, Klass.-Arab. *faʿḍal-nu*, Bibl.-Hebr. *kātab-nu*, Altäth. *nagar-na*. Man vermisst schlichtweg die für die Theorie tragenden Konsonanten.⁴¹

Noch komplexer wird es bei der 1. Sg.: Hier besteht das Problem, dass ausgerechnet das absolute k-Element beim unabhängigen Pronomen überall auftritt, wo ein ergativisches t-Element zu erwarten wäre, vgl. Akkad. *anāku*, Bibl.-Hebr. $^{\prime}anōkī$ (Kurzform: $^{\prime}anī$) [nur Kurzformen im Klass.-Arab. $^{\prime}anā/ana$ bzw. Altäthiop. $^{\prime}ana$].⁴² Gerade die 1. Sg. hat in der Tat real sprachlich eine ausdifferenzierte Trennung ausgebildet, und zwar:

- „subjektiv“ $=i/=ya$: als Possessivsuffix am Nomen und als Aktant an Präpositionen, dazu noch als Agens am Infinitiv (!) und, außerdem könnte man es aus den Kurzformen der unabhängigen Pronomina extrahieren, also: Bibl.-Hebr. $^{\prime}an-ī$ (?); Klass.-Arab. $^{\ast}an-ā < ^{\ast}an-ya$ (?) usw.
- „objektiv“ $=ni$: als Objektsuffix am finiten Verb und am Infinitiv (!).⁴³

Was völlig fehlt ist ein Bezug zu Pronominalreihen, die als distinktive Elemente die Konsonanten *k/t* aufweisen.

Mein diesbezüglicher Alternativvorschlag lautet nun wie folgt: Es gab nie zwei Pronominalreihen mit distinktiven Konsonanten *k* („absolutiv“) und *t* („ergativ“), sondern *k* ist ursprüngliches Kennzeichen der 1. Sg. bei der SK

⁴⁰ Eine Übersicht bei LIPINŃSKI 1997, S. 306–307, § 36.17.

⁴¹ Die Formen des absoluten Pronomens nach LIPINŃSKI 1997, 298–299 (§ 36.2), die Endungen der SK 1. Pl. *ibid.*, S. 360–361 (§ 40.2). Zu den Formen sei auch generell auf die genannten Einzelgrammatiken aus Fn. 11 und 21 verwiesen.

⁴² Eine ausführlichere Übersicht bei LIPINŃSKI 1997, S. 298–299 (§ 36.2).

⁴³ Die Differenzierung beim Infinitiv ist z. B. im Bibl.-Hebr. die Regel, siehe JENNI 2009, S. 118 (§ 10.3.1.2); MEYER 1992, S. 287 (§ 84.2g).

und beim unabhängigen Pronomen sowie bei den Suffixpronomina der 2. Pss., und *t* ist Kennzeichen der 2. Pss. bei der SK und bei den unabhängigen Pronomina. Die Vereinheitlichung in der Endungsreihe der SK beruht schlicht auf paradigmatischem Ausgleich.⁴⁴ Hierzu noch einige Erläuterungen:

- (a) 1. Sg.: Das hier erscheinende Element *ku* mag ursprünglich ein Morphem mit deiktischem Charakter „Nähe“ gewesen sein [vgl. z. B. Bibl.-Hebr. *kō* ; Bibl.-Aram. *kā* „so, hier, jetzt“], dass als Verstärkung an das schwache *ī/ya* in spezifischen Situation angetreten sein mag, also z. B. **an-ya-ku* → *anāku* und ähnlich auch bei dem basalen Pronomen der SK **ya-ku* → *āku*⁴⁵ [daneben auch oft die unerweiterte „Kurzform“ des Pronomens **an-ī/ān-a* o. ä. in Gebrauch!].
- (b) 2. Pss.: Die Alternanz zwischen *k* und *t* mag auf einen einzigen prähistorischen Konsonanten, der in der Artikulation zwischen /k/ (stimmloser velarer Plosiv) und /t/ (stimmloser palataler Plosiv) schwankte, zurückgehen. Dieser blieb dann je nach Funktion bzw. Umgebung, an die er trat, /t/, oder wurde als /k/ oder auch /t/ ausdifferenziert. Eine solche Verteilung lässt sich bei den Personalpronomina des Altägyptischen (3. Jt. v. Chr.) unter Umständen noch erkennen: die Suffixpronomina zeigen eine Verteilung =*k* (Sg. m.), =*t* → =*t* (Sg. f.) und =*tn* → =*tn* (Pl.); die sog. enklitischen Pronomina die Formen *-kw/-tw* → *-tw* (Sg. m.), *-tm* (Sg. f.) [jünger *-tn* → *tn*] und *-tn* → *-tn* (Pl.), die älteren Formen der unabhängigen Pronomina wiederum *tw-t* (Sg. m.) und *tm-t* (Sg. f.) [Pl. nicht belegt]. /k/ und /t/ wurden hier zur Diskriminante mask. vs. fem. bei den Suffixpronomina [im Semitischen dagegen die Endvokale, vgl. =*ka* vs. =*ki*]. Dazu kommen die Endungen des ägyptischen Pseudopartizips, die allerdings durchgängig bereits *t* zeigen, nämlich *-tj* (Sg. m./f.) und *-twn* (Pl. m./f.) [vgl. Akkad. *-āta* (Sg. m.), *-āti* (Sg. f.), *-ātunu* (Pl. m.), *-ātina* (Pl. f.).⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Dies lässt sich zumindest einmal direkt beobachten: Im assyrischen Dialekt des Akkadischen gibt es im Altassyrischen bei den Endungen noch den „klassischen“ Befund mit *k* für 1. Sg. und *t* für die 2. Pss.; siehe HECKER 1968, S. 118–119 (§ 72a); KOUWENBERG 2017, S. 497–498 (§ 16.9.4); im Neuassyrischen hat eine Vereinheitlichung zu *k* stattgefunden (siehe HÄMEEN-ANTTILA 2000, S. 90–91 (§ 3.12.3)).

⁴⁵ Diese Idee eines deiktischen Elements der Nähe stammt von DRIVER 1936, S. 36–37. Das Kennzeichen der 2. Pss. (*t(a/i)*) dagegen war nach ihm ein deiktisches Element der Ferne. Für die unabhängigen Pronomina lag beispielsweise ursprünglich eine Kombination Hervorhebungsartikel **an(ā)* „lo!“ plus deiktisches Element vor, mit *ku* „here“ (Nähe), also **anāku* „lo! here!“, bzw. mit *ta/i*, also **an-ta/i* „lo! there!“ für die 2. Pss. ist dies zwar fragwürdig, weil *ta/i* ziemlich sicher Pronominalemente sind (s. den nächsten Absatz), für die 1. Sg. ist dies aber durchaus vorstellbar.

⁴⁶ Diese Idee hatte bereits SATZINGER (2004, S. 493), aber nicht in aller Ausführlichkeit dargelegt. Zu den Pronomina des Altägyptischen sowie den Endungen des Pseudo-

Zum enklitischen Pronomen des Altägyptischen ist noch ein kleiner Exkurs angebracht: STEINER deutete es als Pronomen mit absolutiver Valenz, einmal weil nach ihm das /k/ der Archi-Konsonant war⁴⁷ – daher gehört es formal zu den Absolutivpronomina, und weil es im Ägyptischen in seinen Funktionen ebenfalls Absolutiv-Charakter zeigt, als Objektspronomen der finiten Verbalformen sowie als Subjektspronomen in sog. „Adjektivalsätzen“ mit einem (intransitiven) Adjektiv als Prädikatsausdruck.⁴⁸ Die formale Seite ist bereits oben dargestellt. Zur funktionalen Seite ist zu sagen, dass der Absolutivcharakter aus dem Ägyptischen heraus nicht zu erweisen ist. Das enklitische Pronomen hat in Verbindung mit den regulären finiten Verbalformen tatsächlich immer Objektsfunktion (Schema: *sdm*_{VERB}=*j*_{SUBJ}-*sw*_{OBJ} „ich höre ihn“). In den Adjektivalsätzen ist es zwar immer Subjekt (Schema: *nfr*_{ADJ}-*sw*_{SUBJ} „schön ist er“), doch kann in diesen das Prädikativum auch von aktiven Partizipien der transitiven Verben gebildet werden (z. B. *šd sw t².wj* „Ein Erhellender ist er die Beiden Länder“ → „Er erhellt die Beiden Länder“ als explizites Qualitätsmerkmal),⁴⁹ somit liegt hier reine Subjektfunktion in einer spezifischen Satzstruktur vor. In beiden Fällen ist die Verwendung des enklitischen Pronomens aufgrund der Eigenheiten der ägyptischen Syntax obligatorisch:⁵⁰ als Objekt im *sdm*=*f*-Paradigma, weil im Ägyptischen Suffixpronomen nicht auf Suffixpronomen folgen kann, und unabhängiges Pronomen immer das Agens, nie das Patiens bezeichnet; im Adjektivalsatz, weil mit Suffixpronomen die Form unsinnig werden würde (vgl. *nfr sw* „schön ist er“, aber *nfr=f* „sein Schön(er/es) (!)“, ein unabhängiges Pronomen den Fokus des Satzes auf sich ziehen würde, der hier aber auf dem Adjektiv liegen soll (also **nfr jnk* „Schön bin ICH! (nicht du!)“, ⁵¹ statt *nfr wj* „SCHÖN bin ich! (und nicht hässlich)“).

partizips siehe noch EDEL 1955/1964, S. 70 (§159), 75 (§166), 271 (§572). Auch sonst können im Altägyptischen die Konsonanten /k/ und /t/ alternieren, z. B. *tbw* vs. *kbw* „Sandalen“, *sk* vs. *st* „[Partikel]“, *ddt* vs. *ddk* „selbst; auch“; siehe ibid., S. 49 (§111) [ein dialektales Phänomen (?)]. NB: In der 1. Sg. findet sich im Ägyptischen wiederum /k/ beim Pseudopartizip und beim unabhängigen Pronomen.

⁴⁷ STEINER 1977 sagt dies nicht explizit, in seiner Tabelle 6 nimmt er diesen Konsonanten aber auch für solche Pronomina an, bei denen er historisch nicht zu belegen ist.

⁴⁸ STEINER 1977, S. 754.

⁴⁹ Siehe GARDINER 1957, S. 289 (§374), mit diesem Beispiel; dazu EDEL 1955/1964, S. 480–481 (§946); vgl. noch PEUST 2006, S. 237–240. Belege mit transitiv-aktiven Partizipien sind allerdings selten!

⁵⁰ Die Regel lautet: Enklitisches Pronomen wird dann verwendet, wenn Suffixpronomen oder unabhängiges Pronomen, vornehmlich aus syntaktischen Gründen, nicht verwendet werden dürfen; siehe BROSE 2014, S. 61–64, §39.

⁵¹ Dieser Satztyp existiert im Ägyptischen nicht, dafür der Typ *jn k nfr* mit genau der hier gezeigten Aussageleistung; siehe GARDINER 1957, S. 108 (§136); EDEL 1955/1964, S. 478–479 (§943).

Das klassische Modell ist folglich einfacher als das mit den zwei Pronominalreihen. Daher ist es zumindest für diesen Sachverhalt wahrscheinlicher.

(c) Die transitive Verbalbasis:

Die Verbalbasis der transitiven Struktur wäre QaTaL. Ein solcher Nominalbildungstyp ist für transitive Verben aber nicht direkt zu belegen.⁵² Vermeintliche Belege finden sich möglicherweise im altsemitischen Onomastikon, doch lassen sich die „Verbalformen“ in den Namensbildungen wegen der Mehrdeutigkeit der Keilschrift immer auch auf eine andere Art deuten, z. B.:

- Eblaitisch: A-ga-al₆-ma-lik → ²*Akal-Malik* „M. isst / ist Esser.“ → Alternative: „Iss, M.!“ [Imperativ], oder „Essen des M.“ [Infinitiv, St. constructus, ¹*akāl*], oder Form ¹*akkāl-M.* „ein Dauer-Esser ist. M. [pluralischer Typ QaTTaL].⁵³
- Amurritisch: Ḫa-za-an-i-lu-um → *Ḫaṣan-²Ilum* „Der Gott beschützt / ist Schützer.“; Alternative: pluralischer Typ QaTTaL, also: *Ḫaṣṣān-²Ilum* [wie Eblaitisch].⁵⁴

Hier bestünde also eine strukturelle Lücke in der Zwei-Stativ-Theorie, was sie auf formaler Ebene als problematischer herausstellt als die Ein-Stativ-Theorie. Wiederum liegt der Vorteil bei der klassischen Theorie.

⁵² Er findet sich weder in den Übersichten zur Nominalbildung in den aktuellen vergleichenden semitistischen Grammatiken wie bei KIENAST 2001, S. 73 (§57), 81–82 (§69), 86–87 (§78), 92 (§87), 103 (§97) [LIPÍŃSKI 1997, S. 210–212 (§§29.4–8) ist nicht aussagekräftig], noch in älteren, wie dem Standardwerk von BROCKELMANN 1908, S. 335–336 (§116) (nur Konkreta und Adjektiva). FOX 2003, S. 157–164 nennt für den Typ QaTaL ebenfalls nur Primärsubstantive, Konkreta und Adjektive als originär verwendete Wurzeln (von anderen Wurzeln sind die Bildungen als sekundär einzuschätzen), erwähnt aber im gleichen Atemzug, dass dieser Typ auch als Basis zur Bildung der SK herangezogen worden ist. NB: Die Existenz eines solchen Typs wurde in der älteren Forschung im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jh. von J. BARTH 1877, S. 375–380 und nach ihm H. BAUER 1910, S. 12–23 und in BAUER/LEANDER 1922, S. 271 (§35k) angesetzt, allerdings weniger durch exakte Belege erwiesen, sondern aus erweiterten Typen wie QaTTaL oder QaTaL rückgeschlossen (!), mit der Zusatzbemerkung, dass der Typ QaTaL für stativische Verben ganz gewöhnlich sei, also auch für fientische Verben existiert haben müsse. In der „Nominalbildung des Semitischen“ von BARTH (1894, S. 11–12 (§4)) ist er daher auch mit (sehr wenigen chronologisch jüngeren) Beispielen für fientische Wurzeln vertreten. LOESOV 2012, S. 81 hat sich aber vor kurzem wieder für diese These ausgesprochen.

⁵³ Eine Liste solcher Namen inkl. den Deutungsmöglichkeiten bei PAGAN 1998, S. 12–14.

⁵⁴ Eine Liste solcher Namen unter dem Bildungstyp QaTaL bei GOLINETS 2010, S. 124–136 (§2.11). STRECK 2000, S. 325–326 ordnet diesem Typ aber nur Primärsubstantive und Adjektive für das Amurritische zu.

(d) Die ägyptischen Zwei-Stativ-Modelle:

Hierzu sind folgende Einwände vorzubringen:

1. Das Funktionsspektrum des ägyptischen Pseudopartizips ist recht umfangreich und entspricht ungefähr dem des akkadischen Stativs. Da im historischen Akkadisch nur eine Form alle Funktionen bedient, kann man die Behauptung aufstellen, dass im Ägyptischen ebenfalls eine Form ausreichte. Die Annahme von zwei Formen ist also weniger ökonomisch.
2. Die Theorien von KAMMERZELL und SCHENKEL⁵⁵ hätten von VOIGT nicht herangezogen werden dürfen. Hier ist nicht der Ort, in Details auszuschweifen.⁵⁶ Unabhängig von der Kritik, die beiden Theorien von ägyptologischer Seite entgegengebracht worden ist,⁵⁷ ist zu sagen, dass beide Autoren für die angenommenen zwei SK-Formen eine primäre Funktionsverteilung „fientisch“ („Perfekt“) und „statisch“ („Stativ“) ansetzen. Zumindest laut SCHENKEL können grundsätzlich alle Verben beide Formen bilden, wobei die lexikalische Klasse in der Regel eine Bevorzugung für eine Form fordert (transitiv/fientisch → Perfekt; statisch → Stativ).⁵⁸ Eine zusätzliche Grundlage für SCHENKELS Argumentation bildet das angebliche Vorhandensein zweier Phänotypen im Semitistischen, nämlich *faʕaltu* (fientisch) und *parsāku* (statisch) mit den gleichen Grundfunktionen (und gleichen Strukturen).⁵⁹ Wie VOIGT gezeigt hat, existierten wenigstens im Bibl.-Hebräischen beide Strukturen, doch ist die Funktionsverteilung hier eine andere, nämlich transitiv – intransitiv (statt fientisch – statisch). Es herrscht also keine konzeptionelle Deckungsgleichheit vor.

Fazit: Die Zwei-Stativ-Theorie von R. VOIGT weist gegenüber der klassischen Ein-Stativ-Theorie in strukturaler, formaler und ökonomischer Hinsicht diverse Defizite auf und ist daher als weniger wahrscheinlich zu bewerten.

⁵⁵ Vorgetragen in: KAMMERZELL 1990 und 1991 und 1991a; SCHENKEL 1994.

⁵⁶ Ein weiterer Artikel, der die ägyptologischen Zwei-Stativ-Theorien kritisch im Detail begutachtet, befindet sich durch Verf. in Vorbereitung und wird voraussichtlich in *Lingua Aegyptia* 26 (2018) erscheinen.

⁵⁷ Zu KAMMERZELL: JANSSEN-WINKELN 1991; SATZINGER 1998, S. 1024–1025; REINTGES 2006, S. 117–120 und 2011, S. 41–42; zu SCHENKEL: DEPUYDT 1995; BORGHOUTS 2001; REINTGES 2006, S. 129–132.

⁵⁸ SCHENKEL 1994, S. 158. KAMMERZELL trifft diesbezüglich keine explizite Aussage.

⁵⁹ SCHENKEL 1994, S. 167–168.

5 Die Zwei-Stativ-Theorie von J. Tropper

5.1 Argumentation

Die Zwei-Stativ-Theorie von TROPPER ist auf den westsemitischen Sprachzweig beschränkt, und wurde erstmals in einem Artikel in der Festschrift für W. VON SODEN (1995) in einem allgemeinen Artikel zur Evolution der Suffixkonjugation vorgetragen.⁶⁰

Ausgangspunkt ist die zu beobachtende „Diathesen-Separation“ der SK bei transitiven Verben im Westsemitischen, nach dem klassischen Modell. Bewirkt wurde sie durch eine Änderung des Themavokals. Während z. B. im Akkadischen *šabit* „er hat/wurde/ist ergriffen“ (aktiv und passiv) bedeuten konnte, wurde im Westsemitischen durch eine Änderung des Themavokals (TV) eine Trennung erzeugt, und zwar: *šabata* aktiv „er hat ergriffen“ (TV: /a/) vs. *šabita* passiv „er wurde ergriffen“ (TV: /i/). Letzterer Typ wurde Ausgangspunkt des Ablautpassivs der semitischen Sprachen Syrien-Palästinas und der Arabischen Halbinsel,⁶¹ gleichzeitig entsprach er aber auch dem gängigsten SK-Typ *qatila* für statische Verben. In einem weiteren Schritt wurde /a/ das generelle Merkmal für fientische Verben (prototypisch transitiv; aktive Aussageleistung), /i/ (dazu: /u/) blieb generelles Merkmal für statische Verben (prototypisch Verben des Zustands). Infolgedessen bildete sich ein neues internes Paradigma mit zwei SK-Subtypen und einer charakteristischen Ablautopposition (auch für die Präfixkonjugation) heraus, und zwar:

- Fientisch: Typ *qatala* (PK: *yaqtul/yaqtil*) für transitive und intransitive fientische Verben (z. B. der Bewegung);
- Statisch: Typ *qatila* (selten: *qatula*) (PK: *yiqtal*), für statische und statisch-intransitive Verben (z. B. Gemütszustände).

Zur Illustration sei nun eine Tabelle mit den bestehenden Ablautverhältnissen des Klassisch-Arabischen präsentiert:⁶²

⁶⁰ TROPPER 1995, S. 504–506. TROPPER thematisiert diesen Sachverhalt auch in seiner *Ugaritischen Grammatik* (2012, S. 469–471 [§73.311]; auch in der 1. Aufl. von 1999 an gleicher Stelle), was bemerkenswert ist, weil das Ugaritische mit seiner Schrift, die Vokale nur rudimentär und Silbenstrukturen gar nicht berücksichtigt, nicht sehr geeignet scheint, um Sachverhalte zu demonstrieren, deren Basis die Vokalisation ist.

⁶¹ TROPPER 1995, S. 505. Die Details sind hier nicht von Belang.

⁶² Diese Tabelle extrahiert aus FISCHER 2006, S. 87 (§163), 105 (§216); TROPPER 1995 bietet kein solches Schaubild.

Typ	SK	PK	Klasse	Bsp.
1	<i>faʕala</i>	<i>yafʕulu</i>	allg. fientische Verben	<i>qatala/yaqtulu</i> „töten“; <i>ʕalaʕa/yaʕluʕu</i> „aufsteigen“
2	<i>faʕala</i>	<i>yafʕulu</i>	allg. fientische Verben	<i>daraba/yaḍribu</i> „schlagen“; <i>rağaʕa/yarğīʕu</i> „zurückkehren“
3	<i>faʕala</i>	<i>yafʕulu</i>	fientische Verben II./ III. Laryngalis	<i>ḡahaba/yaḡhubu</i> „weggehen“; <i>qaraʕa/yaqraʕu</i> „lesen“
4	<i>faʕala</i>	<i>yafʕulu</i>	intransitive und Zustandsverben	<i>ʕaliqa/yaʕliqu</i> „hängen“; <i>baliba/yaḡlabu</i> „einfältig sein“
5	<i>faʕala</i>	<i>yafʕulu</i>	Zustandsverben	<i>ḡasuna/yaḡsunu</i> „schön sein“; <i>ʕamuqa/yaʕmuqu</i> „tief sein“
6	<i>faʕila</i>	<i>yafʕilu</i>	ein Verb des Denkens	<i>ḡasiba/yaḡsibu</i> „halten für“

Die Schemata 1, 2, 4 und 5 entsprechen TROPPERS Klassifikation. Schema 6 fällt heraus, weil nur für ein Verb existent. Schema 3, das oberflächlich nicht der Theorie entspricht, beruht auf der Anwesenheit von Laryngalen in der Wurzel, die den Themavokal umlauten, ist also nur ein scheinbarer Widerspruch.

Unterstützung würde die Theorie außerdem durch weitere Einzelbefunde aus verschiedenen Sprachen erhalten [von TROPPER nicht thematisiert], u. a.:

- Im Bibl.-Aramäischen gibt es eine Verteilung transitiv – intransitiv, die in den Themavokalen (nur in der 3. Sg. m. und den Formen des Plurals) manifestiert ist, z. B. *kētabū* „sie schrieben“ (transitiv; /a/) vs. *qēribū* „sie traten ein“ (intransitiv; /i/ [auch /e/]).⁶³
- Im Altäthiopischen ist dies ebenfalls die Regel (nur in den Formen der 3. Sg. m. sichtbar), z. B. *nagara* „er sprach xxx“ (trans.) vs. *labša* (< *labša* < *labisa*) „er kleidete sich an“ (intrans.).⁶⁴

Analog bilden die Verba med. gem. im Bibl.-Hebr. (siehe oben Kap. 4.1(a)) nicht selten eine transitive und eine intransitive Struktur: transitive Verben zeigen eine Langstruktur, z. B.: *bāzaz* „er raubte“, *sābab* „er umgab“, *šārar* „er schnürte ein“; intransitive Verben zeigen eine verkürzte Struktur, z. B. *tām* „er wurde vollständig“, *ḡāt* „er ging zu Bruch“, *šar* „er ist eng“.

5.2 Gegenargumentation

Als erstes Gegenargument ist festzustellen, dass die veranschlagte Themavokalverteilung vor allem eine ideelle Rekonstruktion zu sein scheint. Für das Klass.-Arabische trifft sie, wie oben demonstriert, ziemlich exakt zu. Im

⁶³ Siehe BAUER/LEANDER 1927, S. 100–104 (§32); NEEF 2006, S. 62.

⁶⁴ TROPPER 2002, S. 87 (§44.121).

Bibl.-Hebräischen beispielsweise existieren neben den oben zu erwartenden Ablautschemata jedoch auch solche, die diesem Befund widersprechen; vgl. die folgende Übersicht:⁶⁵

Typ	SK	PK	Klasse	Bsp.
1	<i>kātab</i> (< <i>kataba</i>)	<i>yiktab</i>	(a) II./III. Laryngalis, ohne Einschränkung	<i>šāʔal/yiʔal</i> „fragen“; <i>šāmaḥ/yiʕmaḥ</i> „fröhlich sein“
			(b) Statische Verben	<i>ḥāzaq/yiḥzaq</i> „stark sein“
			(c) Transitive Verben	<i>lāmad/yilmad</i> „lernen“; <i>rākab/yirkab</i> „reiten“
2	<i>kātēb</i> (< <i>katiba</i>)	<i>yiktōb</i>	Transitive und stati- sche Verben	<i>ḥāpēš/yiḥpōš</i> „begehren“; <i>šāmēmā</i> (Pausa; 3. Sg. f.)/ <i>yīššōm</i> „entsetzt sein“

Bei Schema 1 wäre (a) regelkonform, bei (b) wäre die SK-Form nicht regelhaft, bei (c) die PK-Form. Schema 2 sollte gar nicht existent sein.

Überhaupt zeigen wiederum diverse Einzelbefunde, dass die Grenzen fließend sind; z. B.:

- Altäthiopisch: einige intransitive/Zustandsverben (vornehmlich Verba med. *r/l* bzw. med. gem.) können beide Strukturen ohne Bedeutungsunterschied zeigen, z. B.: *šalama* vs. *šalma* „schwarz sein“; *ḥašaša* vs. *ḥašša* „klein werden, abnehmen“; *nadada* vs. *nadda* „brennen“.⁶⁶
- Klass.-Arabisch: zwei SK-Formen (ohne Bedeutungsunterschied), eine PK-Form, z. B.: *šaḥaba* vs. *šaḥubu/yāḥubu* „bleich und kränklich aussehen“; oder auch: eine SK-Form, zwei PK-Formen (mit Bedeutungsunterschied), z. B.: *fašala/yafšilu* „trennen“ vs. *yafšulu* „sich trennen“.⁶⁷
- Analog im Bibl.-Hebräischen bei den Verba med. gem.: *bāzaznū* vs. *bazzōnū* „wir raubten“ (s. oben).

Diese Beispiele lassen die Schlussfolgerung zu, dass die veranschlagte grundsätzliche Aussageleistung der Themavokale auf synchroner Ebene vermutlich kein allzu großes Gewicht besaß.

Wie außerdem anhand der Beispiele gezeigt, ist TROPPEERS Terminologie etwas irreführend oder, besser gesagt, unvollständig geraten. Meines Erachtens ist sie wie folgt zu ändern, und zwar:

⁶⁵ Diese Übersicht nach WALTKE/O’CONNOR 1990, S. 367–371 (§22.3). Aus Platzgründen wurden hier nur die abweichenden Schemata aufgeführt.

⁶⁶ TROPPEER 2002, S. 88 (§44.122) [Zustandsverben und Verben med. *l/r*], 109 (§44.51) [Verba med. gem.].

⁶⁷ FISCHER 2006, S. 87 (§163), 105 (§216).

- TV: /a/ (*qatala*): Transitiv-fientisch, d.h. bei transitiven Verben und bei intransitiven Verben mit vornehmlich fientischem Charakter, z.B. Bewegungsverbren;
- TV: /i/ (*qatila*) [bzw. /u/ (*qatula*)]: Intransitiv-statisch; generell bei intransitiven Verben, und zwar v.a. solche mit statischem Charakter, z.B. Gemütsbewegungen, und allg. Zustände.

Schließlich ist hier noch die Frage zu erörtern, ob das Konzept von „Ockhams Rasierklinge“ hier angewendet werden kann. Dies ist mit einem klaren Nein! zu beantworten. Dass es nämlich eine Art Bedeutungsverteilung in Abhängigkeit der Themavokale gab, wenigstens ideell, ist schon lange *communis opinio* in der Forschung und wird nicht prinzipiell bestritten.⁶⁸ Eine andere These zu diesem Phänomen, die jener gegenübergestellt werden könnte, ist meines Wissens nicht in der Diskussion. TROPPERS Ansatz hat nur den Fehler, dass er eine komplexe Materie zu stark auf diese Idealverteilung herunterbricht. Auf synchroner Ebene spielte sie, wie gezeigt, wohl nur eine untergeordnete Rolle, zudem waren die Grenzen fließend.

Außerdem: So wie TROPPER es formuliert hat, sollte es von wesentlich mehr Verben auch beide Subtypen geben. Bei Zustandsverben sollte die /a/-Form dann jeweils fientische Bedeutung („xxx werden“) zeigen, die /i/ bzw. /u/-Form statische Bedeutung („xxx sein“). Dies ist aber meines Wissens nicht der Fall. Bei transitiven Verben wäre zu erwarten, dass durchgängig /i/-Formen (oder analoge Formen) für die intransitive Aussageleistung (vgl. Bibl.-Hebr. *šārar* „er schnürte ein“; vs. *šar* „er ist eng“) bildbar waren. Dies ist aber nur in seltenen Fällen tatsächlich so geschehen. Rein formal ist es nicht angebracht, von zwei sich ergänzenden Subtypen zu sprechen.

6 Zusammenfassung: Die semitistischen Zwei-Stativ-Theorien auf Ockhams Rasierklinge

Am Ende sollen beide hier besprochenen Zwei-Stativ-Theorien noch einmal kurz auf Ockhams Rasierklinge balancieren:

Die proto-afroasiatische Theorie von R. VOIGT weist gegenüber dem klassischen Ein-Stativ-Modell formale Anfechtbarkeit und strukturelle Lücken auf, ist semantisch auch weniger ökonomisch, und daher weniger gut zur Erklärung des überlieferten Befundes geeignet.

⁶⁸ Für die ältere Forschung sei exemplarisch auf DRIVER 1936, S. 42–73 verwiesen, wo er dies in einer langwierigen Beweisführung zu erweisen versuchte.

Beim Subtypen-Modell von J. TROPPER für das Westsemitische ist dieses Konzept nicht direkt anwendbar, weil es zum Einen keinen Gegenentwurf gibt, zum Zweiten der klassische Entwurf nur präzisiert wird. Es wird aber eine zu starke Idealisierung einer komplexen Materie vorgenommen, die den überlieferten realsprachlichen Gegebenheiten auf synchroner Ebene nicht immer entspricht.

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The Jewish Calendar and Calendation According to al-Maqrīzī in *al-Khiṭaṭ**

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Summary: AL-MAQRĪZĪ devotes several chapters toward the end of his *al-Khiṭaṭ* to Jewish history and religion, including one concerning the Jewish calendar. In this chapter he provides a detailed month-by-month overview of the Jewish year, specifying the length of each month, the festivals that fall during it, the names of the festivals and the months, and major practices and logic of the observances, Rabbinic adjustments of the positioning of several festivals during the week, various lunisolar reconciliations, and so on. His descriptions are instructive of his knowledge—accurate or otherwise—of Rabbanite and Karaite teachings and of his compilation technique. They also shed light on the traditions of the Jews in Egypt in the Mamluk period (1250–1517 CE). In the discussion that follows, I investigate his account of the Jewish calendar, determine whether it corresponds to the Rabbinic or the Karaite approach and to what extent, and suggest sources of information that may underlie it.

Introduction

At the end of his *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiz waʾl-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ waʾl-Āthār*, the Egyptian historian Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī AL-MAQRĪZĪ (1364–1442 CE)¹ devotes several chapters to Jewish history and Judaism. One of them, “The History of the Jews and Their Festivals” (*dhikr taʾrīkh al-Yahūd wa-aʾyādihim*), deals with the Jewish calendar.² The only scholar who has discussed AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s description of the Jewish calendar in some depth is ELIAHU ASHTOR, who surveys it very briefly and partially (up to the month of Ṭeḥet)³ and is mistaken in some of his suggestions about AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s possible sources, as I will show. In addition, he claims that AL-MAQRĪZĪ copied much of this chapter verbatim from *Kitāb al-Āthār al-Bāqiya ʿan al-Qurʿun al-Khālīya* by MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-BĪRŪNĪ (973–1048 CE)

* I would like to thank YEHOSHUA FRENKEL and SACHA STERN for their invaluable comments and assistance.

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¹ On his life and work, see ROSENTHAL 1991; RABBAT 2003; BAUDEN 2010; BAUDEN 2013; BAUDEN 2014.

² AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, pp. 942–948.

³ ASHTOR 1944, vol. 1, pp. 373–374.

without mentioning his name.⁴ ASHTOR's remark needs to be circumscribed; AL-MAQRĪZĪ copied from AL-BĪRŪNĪ only in the introduction and in his explanation of the leap year.⁵ MOSHE GIL notes that AL-MAQRĪZĪ "knew the Karaites in Egypt, but he also had before him the writings of his predecessors, hence his account is a mixture of personal knowledge and information copied from earlier sources." Then he suggests a summary of the essence of AL-MAQRĪZĪ's remarks about the Karaites, mainly regarding the Jewish calendar, and mentions AL-BĪRŪNĪ as a potential source,⁶ thus leaving the question of "earlier sources" open. In his critical edition of *al-Khiṭaṭ*, AYMAN FU'AD SAYYID refers in the chapter under discussion mainly to *al-Āthār al-Bāqīya* by AL-BĪRŪNĪ and to AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-QALQASHANDĪ (ca. 1355–1418 CE) in his *Subḥ al-A'shā fī Šinā'at al-Insā'*.⁷ The inference that AL-MAQRĪZĪ bases himself on AL-BĪRŪNĪ and AL-QALQASHANDĪ is groundless since, by putting the texts side-by-side, one clearly sees that AL-QALQASHANDĪ himself copied from JAMĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM B. YAḤYĀ AL-KUTUBĪ, known as AL-WAṬWĀṬ (1235–1318 CE).⁸ YEHUDA RATZABY refers to AL-MAQRĪZĪ as one of the prominent Muslim scholars who wrote overviews of the Jewish festivals; however, he says nothing more about the matter.⁹ Thus the chapter at issue deserves much additional attention.

AL-MAQRĪZĪ discusses related issues in two additional places. First, later in *al-Khiṭaṭ* he briefly describes five festivals and four fasts.¹⁰ CAMILLA ADANG correctly notes that this paragraph is quoted almost verbatim from *Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rikḥ* by MUṬAHHAR B. ṬĀHIR AL-MAQDISĪ (tenth century CE).¹¹ The other location is in *al-Khabar 'an al-Bashar fī Ansāb al-'Arab wa-Nasab Sayyid al-Bashar*, where AL-MAQRĪZĪ describes seven festivals.¹²

⁴ ASHTOR 1944, vol. 1, pp. 372 n.3. On AL-BĪRŪNĪ's life and work and his account of Jewish festivals, see BOILOTT 1960; SCHREINER 1886, pp. 263–266; RATZABY 1990; ADANG 1996b, pp. 92–93; DE BLOIS 2014, pp. 71–72.

⁵ The affinity between AL-MAQRĪZĪ's account of Jewish festivals and that of AL-BĪRŪNĪ deserves a separate and broader discussion for several reasons and I intend to devote an article to it in the future.

⁶ GIL 1983, vol. 1, p. 630; GIL 1992, p. 781.

⁷ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, pp. 942–948. For AL-QALQASHANDĪ's account of Jewish festivals, see AL-QALQASHANDĪ 1922, vol. 2, pp. 426–429.

⁸ On his life and work, see GHERSETTI 2013; GHERSETTI 2015. On AL-WAṬWĀṬ's account of Jewish festivals, see MAZUZ 2018. For AL-WAṬWĀṬ's account, see AL-KUTUBĪ 1990, vol. 1, pp. 216–218.

⁹ RATZABY 1990, p. 1.

¹⁰ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, pp. 961–962.

¹¹ ADANG 1996b, p. 257 n.1. See AL-MAQDISĪ 1907, vol. 4, pp. 37–38. On AL-MAQDISĪ's life and work and his account of Jewish festivals, see ADANG 1996a, pp. 66–67; ADANG 1996b, pp. 259–260.

¹² AL-MAQRĪZĪ, n.d. On his description of Purim in *al-Khabar*, see FRENKEL 2012.

FRÉDÉRIC BAUDEN notes that in *al-Khiṭaṭ* AL-MAQRĪZĪ undoubtedly relied on AḤMAD B. ‘ABD AL-WAHHĀB AL-NUWAYRĪ’s (1272–1332 CE) *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*,¹³ who probably based himself on *Mabāhij al-Fikar wa-Manābij al-‘Ibar* by AL-WAṬWĀṬĪ.¹⁴ Putting the texts side-by-side, it seems that BAUDEN’s note regarding AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s reliance on AL-NUWAYRĪ is better suited to AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s account in *al-Khabar* than in *al-Khiṭaṭ*. Many parts of AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s presentation of Jewish festivals in *al-Khabar* are almost copy-pasted from AL-NUWAYRĪ. As will be demonstrated, AL-MAQRĪZĪ also relies on AL-NUWAYRĪ in his description of the Jewish calendar under discussion here and inserts some of the latter’s words into it. Although there is some overlap among the three accounts, their dissimilarities outweigh their similarities, therefore entailing separate discussions.

AL-MAQRĪZĪ begins his description of the Jewish calendar by noting several characteristics of the Jewish year and continues by describing each month, starting with its length and then noting its festivals. Where differences between Karaites and Rabbanites exist in these regards, he mentions some, demonstrating much knowledge of Jewish practices, customs, and beliefs. In the discussion that follows, I investigate his account of the Jewish calendar, determine whether it corresponds to the Rabbinic or the Karaite approach and to what extent, and suggest sources of information that may underlie it. The dates and comments in brackets are mine.

The Jewish Year according to al-Maqrīzī

The Jews, AL-MAQRĪZĪ writes, have a twelve-month lunar year that is 354 days long. After stating this, he lists all the months (including Sīvan, which, as we will see, he omits in his detailed overview). After the Exodus, he explains, the Jews were ordered in the second book of the Torah (i. e., Exodus) to position the fifteenth of Nīsan in the spring (in a probable reference to Exod. 23:15 and 34:18). The Torah also instructs the Jews, he says, to observe this day forever on the fourteenth day of the first month (in a probable reference to Lev. 23:5–6 and Num. 28:16–17). Although the expression “the first month” refers not to Tishrei but to Nīsan, the Jews were ordered to substitute a different month that would abrogate Nīsan as their first month.¹⁵ AL-MAQRĪZĪ does not mention where the Jews were given this order but his statement echoes the following excerpt from Mishnah and BT *Ro’sh*

¹³ On his life and work, see CHAPOUTOT-REMADI 1995. For AL-NUWAYRĪ’s account, see AL-NUWAYRĪ 1923, vol. 1, pp. 195–197.

¹⁴ BAUDEN 2006, pp. 132–133.

¹⁵ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, pp. 942–943.

ha-Shanah, which shows that the new calendar year begins in Tishrei, not Nisan:

There are four first days of the year: On the first of Nisan is the New Year's Day of kings [i.e., reckoned according to the various reigns of the kings of Judah] and of festivals. On the first of Elul is the New Year's Day for the tithing of livestock. R. El'azar and R. Simon say: It is the first of Tishrei. On the first of Tishrei is the New Year's Day for reckoning of years and sabbatical years (*shemīṭim*. sg. *shemīṭah*) and Jubilee years (*yōblōt*. sg. *yōbel*) and for the sapling and for vegetables. On the first of Shebat is the New Year's Day for trees.¹⁶

This paragraph in AL-MAQRĪZĪ's writings, however, is quoted almost verbatim from *al-Āthār al-Bāqīya* by AL-BĪRŪNĪ.¹⁷

Tishrei (Tishrī): This month lasts thirty days. Its first day, AL-MAQRĪZĪ writes, never falls on Sunday or Wednesday.¹⁸ Indeed, according to the Rabbinic calendation, *Ro'sh ha-Shanah* never occurs on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday (AL-MAQRĪZĪ mentions only Sunday and Wednesday). The Sages engineered this to keep the Day of Atonement from falling on Friday or Sunday, because in such a case the Day of Atonement would be followed by two days on which preparing food and burying dead are forbidden. It also prevents *Hōsha'nā Rabbah*, observed on the twenty-first of Tishrei, from falling on Saturday, the Sabbath, lest the pounding of willow branches custom (*habīṭat ha-'arabōt*, a remembrance of a *Sukkōt* ritual in the Temple, in which worshippers pounded branches, placed them on the ground, and paraded around them) be prohibited for this reason.¹⁹ This rule is condensed in the Rabbinic literature into the expression *lo' adū Ro'sh*,²⁰ *adū* (ל'אדו) being an abbreviation of the first (א), fourth (ד), and sixth (ו) day of the week.

On the first of Tishrei, AL-MAQRĪZĪ writes, occurs *ra's al-sana*, a literal translation into Arabic of *Ro'sh ha-Shanah*, which lasts one day.²¹ This statement in itself suggests that AL-MAQRĪZĪ learned about the festival from a Karaite source. Rabbanites, after all, celebrate two days of *Ro'sh ha-Shanah*. This holy day, AL-MAQRĪZĪ continues, is the festival of news about the slaves' liberation (*'id al-bishāra bi-'itq al-ariqqā'*).²² ASHTOR hypothesizes that AL-MAQRĪZĪ derived this description from BT *Ro'sh ha-Shanah* 8b (mistakenly referenced by ASHTOR as 25b), which speaks of freeing slaves in the Jubilee

¹⁶ Mishnah *Ro'sh ha-Shanah* 1:1; BT *Ro'sh ha-Shanah* 2a.

¹⁷ AL-BĪRŪNĪ 1878, pp. 52–53.

¹⁸ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 945.

¹⁹ BT *Ro'sh ha-Shanah* 20a; JT *Sukkah* 18a (4:1). See further, BT *Sukkah* 54b.

²⁰ See MAIMONIDES 2008, p. 279 (7:1); ABUDRAHAM 1963, p. 305.

²¹ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 945.

²² AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 945.

year. He adds, however, that since AL-MAQRĪZĪ does not mention this day as the Day of Judgment (*yōm ha-dīn*) and the anniversary of the creation of the world, it seems more likely that he absorbed from Karaites the belief that the world was created in Nīsan and considers the first of Tishrei the day of the sounding of the (ram's) horn (*yōm terū'ah*).²³ In my judgment, however, this suggests that AL-MAQRĪZĪ absorbed, in a distorted manner, a passage in the *Ro'sh ha-Shanah Mūsaf* service (the extra Sabbath and festival service that commemorates the *Mūsaf* sacrifice in the Temple) that recurs three times in the context of releasing slaves as a metaphor:

Today the world has been conceived. Today [God] will place on trial all creatures of the worlds, be it as sons or as slaves. If it is as sons, have mercy on us as a father has mercy on his sons. If it is as slaves, our eyes are affixed on You until You pardon us and reveal our sentence, O Holy One.²⁴

In addition, AL-MAQRĪZĪ's account of the festival omits all mention of the sounding of the ram's horn (*shōfar*). Given the centrality of the ram's horn sounding in the Karaite observance of this festival, and given that the text is part of the Rabbinic prayer service, one may assume that AL-MAQRĪZĪ's source in this case was Rabbinic—challenging ASHTOR's hypothesis.

On the tenth of Tishrei falls *ṣawm al-kibbūr*, i.e., *yōm Kippūr*, the Day of Atonement. AL-MAQRĪZĪ elaborates: *kibbūr* means atonement (*istighfār*) and the Rabbanites never celebrate it on Sunday, Tuesday, or Friday.²⁵ AL-NUWAYRĪ mentions the days at issue but says nothing about the Rabbanites.²⁶ His statement corresponds to the Rabbinic rule *lo' adū Ro'sh*.

The Jews fast, AL-MAQRĪZĪ continues, from sunset (*ghurūb al-shams*) of the tenth to that of the eleventh—twenty-four hours—but the Rabbanites fast twenty-five hours “until the stars appear.”²⁷ This remark of AL-MAQRĪZĪ's appears to be based on a Karaite source, since he describes the length of the fast from Karaite point of view and then reports the Rabbinic method. Also noteworthy is the duration of the fast that AL-MAQRĪZĪ specifies: from sunset of the tenth to that of the eleventh, as opposed to fasting from the ninth to the tenth in the Rabbinic tradition. This, too, appears to lead toward a Karaite source of information for AL-MAQRĪZĪ. According to R. Obadiah b. Abraham of Bertinoro (ca. 1450–before 1516 CE), who lived around a generation after AL-MAQRĪZĪ and traveled in Egypt in 1488 CE: “Sometimes the

²³ ASHTOR 1944, vol. 1, pp. 373–374.

²⁴ היום חרת עולם. היום יעמיד במשפט כל יצורי עולם. אם כבנים אם כעבדים. אם כבנים, רחמנו כרחם "היום חרת עולם. היום יעמיד במשפט כל יצורי עולם. אם כבנים אם כעבדים. אם כבנים, רחמנו כרחם" See *Maḥzōr le-Ro'sh ha-Shanah* 1980, pp. 316, 320, 323.

²⁵ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 945.

²⁶ AL-NUWAYRĪ 1923, vol. 1, p. 195.

²⁷ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 945.

Karaites in Egypt celebrate *Ro'sh ha-Shanah* and *yōm ha-Kippūrīm* on a different day from those in Jerusalem, and they say there is nothing wrong with it.”²⁸

AL-MAQRĪZĪ adds that the Jews believe Allāh forgives all their sins excluding fornication with a married woman (*muḥṣanāt*), exploitation, and disbelief in Him.²⁹ This remark is taken from AL-NUWAYRĪ (who, in turn, copied it from AL-WATWĀTĪ)³⁰ and corresponds, at least regarding two transgressions (fornication and exploitation), to the following Mishnaic idea:

Transgressions between a person and the Omnipresent the Day of Atonement atones. Between a person and his friend the Day of Atonement does not atone until one appeases his friend.³¹

ASHTOR, unaware that AL-MAQRĪZĪ copied this part from AL-NUWAYRĪ, interprets AL-MAQRĪZĪ's mention of three sins as evidence that he had learned about the three sins that one should rather die than commit: murder, incest, and idol-worship (e.g., BT *Sanhedrīn* 74a).³² In my opinion, however, apart from AL-MAQRĪZĪ's having copied from AL-NUWAYRĪ, ASHTOR's claim is erroneous in view of AL-MAQRĪZĪ's random reference to three sins and his emphasis on atonement as being given by God.

Also in Tishrei, AL-MAQRĪZĪ reports, falls *ʿīd al-miẓalla*, a nearly literal translation of *ḥag ha-Sukkōt*, the Festival of Booths—which he calls a seven-day observance that begins on the fifteenth of the month and ends on the twenty-second (in fact, this is eight days, inclusive). During this time, “they” (he does not specify whether these are Rabbanites or Karaites) do not venture outside their houses and sit under *ẓilāl* (lit. shadows). AL-MAQRĪZĪ refers to thatching (*sekhakh*) made of green palm branches (*saʿaf al-nakhl*), olive branches, and the like, that do not scatter leaves on the ground. “They,” says AL-MAQRĪZĪ (again without mentioning whether they are Rabbanites or Karaites), tell that dwelling in a booth reminds them of the shadows that Allāh provided their ancestors in the desert in the form of clouds.³³ This part is also adopted from AL-NUWAYRĪ, with one exception: AL-NUWAYRĪ writes that the festival lasts eight days.³⁴

²⁸ “ופעמים שהקראים אשר במצרים יעשו ראש השנה ביום אחד מאשר יעשו הקראים בירר.” See EISENSTEIN 1926, p. 114; YĀʿARĪ 1971, p. 119; ARTOM/DAVID 1997, pp. 54–55.

²⁹ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 945.

³⁰ AL-NUWAYRĪ 1923, vol. 1, p. 195; AL-KUTUBĪ 1990, vol. 1, p. 217.

³¹ Mishnah *Yōmā* 8:9. On AL-MAQRĪZĪ's use of Midrashic contents, see MAZUZ 2017.

³² ASHTOR 1944, vol. 1, pp. 374.

³³ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 945.

³⁴ AL-NUWAYRĪ 1923, vol. 1, p. 195.

Continuing, AL-MAQRĪZĪ states that “they” (again without specifying Rabbanites or Karaites) call the eighth day of the festival (the twenty-third of Tishrei by AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s reckoning) *‘īd al-i-‘tikāf*.³⁵ The eighth day of *Sukḳōt* is the festival of *Shemīnī Aseret*. In the Land of Israel, Jews celebrate *Simḥat Tōrah* on this day—AL-MAQRĪZĪ says nothing about *Simḥat Tōrah*—but in the Diaspora these are two different days. In the Islamic context, *i-‘tikāf* means staying in a mosque while dedicating oneself to Allāh.³⁶ Here AL-MAQRĪZĪ may be referring to the “corrective custom” (*tīqqūn*) observed on the eve of *Hōsha’nā Rabbah*—the seventh day of *Sukḳōt*—when the Rabbanites spend the entire night at the synagogue learning Torah. If so, *īd al-i-‘tikāf* is *Hōsha’nā Rabbah*. The fact that AL-MAQRĪZĪ positions this observance at the twenty-third of Tishrei raises a challenge to this proposal. Still, he may have had the *tīqqūn* in mind but simply erred in determining its date. Here it is worth mentioning that AL-NUWAYRĪ, one of AL-MAQRĪZĪ’s sources on Jewish festivals, claims that the last day of the festival is called *‘arābā* (willow, congruent to the Hebrew *‘arabāh*),³⁷ in reference to the aforementioned pounding of willow branches custom. Although AL-MAQRĪZĪ relies on AL-NUWAYRĪ in his description of *Sukḳōt*, he chooses a different name for *Hōsha’nā Rabbah*.

Finally, AL-MAQRĪZĪ writes, on the twenty-fourth of this month the Karaites observe *ṣawm Kadalyā*, a transliteration of *ṣōm Gedaliah* (the Fast of Gedaliah), which the Rabbanites observe on the third of Tishrei.³⁸ Unlike his treatment of other observances in this account of the festivals, AL-MAQRĪZĪ does not explain the purpose of the fast: to lament the assassination of Gedaliah son of Aḥīqam, governor of Judah (d. 586 BCE), whose murder ended Jewish autonomy following the destruction of the First Temple. The date of Gedaliah’s murder is not mentioned in the Bible. A passage in BT *Ro’sh ha-Shanah* 18b identifies *ṣōm Gedaliah* as the seventh fast mentioned in Zech. 7:5, 8:19 and sets its date at the third of Tishrei. The Karaites also fast over the assassination of Gedaliah but on a different date, the twenty-fourth of Tishrei, basing themselves on Neh. 9:1—“Now in the twenty-fourth day of this month the Children of Israel were assembled with fasting, and with sackcloth, and earth upon them”³⁹—even though the verse does not refer to Gedaliah’s murder. That the month at issue is Tishrei is established in the immediately preceding verses.⁴⁰

³⁵ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 945.

³⁶ BOUSQUET 1978.

³⁷ AL-NUWAYRĪ 1923, vol. 1, p. 195.

³⁸ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 945.

³⁹ Translation taken from *The King James Version of the English Bible* 1941.

⁴⁰ See BASHYACHI 1966, p. 156.

Marḥeshvan (Marḥishwān): This month, AL-MAQRĪZĪ reports, sometimes lasts twenty-nine days and sometimes thirty and has no festival.⁴¹ AL-MAQRĪZĪ appears to have learned about different types of years in the Rabbinic calendar. Generally, Marḥeshvan has twenty-nine days and the following month, Kislev has thirty. When this is the case, the year is called “a year in order,” i.e., ordinary (*shanah ke-sidrah*). These months regulate the rest of the year and to avoid *Ro’sh ha-Shanah* falling on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday, a day may be subtracted from Marḥeshvan and another from Kislev. When both months are thirty days long, the year is full (*shanah shelemah*); when both are twenty-nine days long, the year is deficient (*shanah haserah*).⁴²

Kislev (Kislw): This month is either twenty-nine or thirty days long and has no festival. However, claims AL-MAQRĪZĪ, the Rabbanites light an oil lamp (*sirāj*) at the gates of their houses on the twenty-fifth night and call this period *al-hanukka*, Hanukkah. He adds that the Karaites do not acknowledge Hanukkah because they do not rely on any matter relating to the Second Temple.⁴³ Here too, his source seems to be Karaite because his assertion that there is no festival in Kislev corresponds to the Karaite belief. Then, however, he describes Hanukkah in a manner that resembles the Rabbinic version.

Hanukkah, he says, is celebrated because one of the *jabābira* (heroes/tyrants/mighty)⁴⁴ took over the Temple, killed those who were there, and invoked the *ius primae noctis* privilege. The sons of the priest attacked the offender and the youngest of them killed him. They then searched the Temple for oil but found only a small quantity.⁴⁵ The text thus far is taken from AL-NUWAYRĪ.⁴⁶ AL-MAQRĪZĪ further writes that the Jews made these days into a festival, and called them “the days of Hanukkah” (*ayyām al-hanukka*).⁴⁷ Here AL-MAQRĪZĪ may have absorbed some terminology from the *‘al ha-nissim* prayer, which Rabbanites recite on Hanukkah (and Purim) to thank God for His miracles where the Hebrew expression for “the days of Hanukkah” (*yemei ha-Hanukkah*) appears.⁴⁸ Although AL-MAQRĪZĪ begins to describe Kislev from a Karaite point of view, most of his description fits the Rabbinic approach.

⁴¹ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 945.

⁴² See MAIMONIDES 2008, p. 281 (8:6).

⁴³ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, pp. 945–946.

⁴⁴ LANE 1980, vol. 2, p. 374.

⁴⁵ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 946.

⁴⁶ AL-NUWAYRĪ 1923, vol. 1, p. 197.

⁴⁷ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 946.

⁴⁸ E.g., *Siddūr ‘Abōdat Ha-Shem* 2008, pp. 131–132; *Siddūr Yeḥeveh Da‘at* 1995, pp. 80–81.

Ṭebet (Ṭibath): This month lasts twenty-nine days. A fast is observed on its tenth day because it is the anniversary of the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's (Bukhtnaṣar) and Titus' (Ṭiṭush) sieges of Jerusalem.⁴⁹ Here AL-MAQRĪZĪ does not distinguish between Rabbanites and Karaites, apparently because both fast on this day based on Jer. 52:4: "And it came to pass in the ninth year of his reign, in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month, that Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon came, he and all his army, against Jerusalem, and pitched against it, and built forts against it round about".⁵⁰

Sheḥaṭ (Shift): AL-MAQRĪZĪ has little to say about this month. Sheḥaṭ always lasts thirty days and has no festival.⁵¹

Adar (Ādhār): AL-MAQRĪZĪ begins his description by claiming erroneously that the Rabbanites have this month twice a year. Then he contradicts himself, saying that in a leap year (*kabīsa*)—meaning that not every year is a leap year—it lasts thirty days, but if the year is ordinary (*basīta*), it has twenty-nine days. He adds that in case of a year in which Adar is doubled, no festival occurs in the first month.⁵² Indeed, in leap years the Rabbanites celebrate Purim in Second Adar.

At the beginning of his overview of the Jewish festivals, AL-MAQRĪZĪ explains the rationale behind the Jews' leap-year calendation: They were ordered to celebrate the fourteenth of Nīsan in the spring and must therefore add a month (to align the lunar year with the solar). They called this month Adar and the original month Second Adar. Elsewhere, AL-MAQRĪZĪ explains the meaning of the term "leap year" (*shanah me'uberet*) in Hebrew: the Jews call their leap year *'abūrā*, denoting a pregnant woman, because they liken the additional month to a pregnancy.⁵³ Indeed, the Hebrew word *me'uberet* denotes a pregnant woman. This paragraph in AL-MAQRĪZĪ's account is quoted almost verbatim from AL-BĪRŪNĪ.⁵⁴

In a separate chapter describing the events of the Exodus, AL-MAQRĪZĪ writes that Moses was born on the seventh of Adar.⁵⁵ By saying this, he demonstrates familiarity with a Midrashic idea. The date of Moses' birth (and death) is mentioned not in the Bible but in several post-Biblical Jewish

⁴⁹ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 946.

⁵⁰ See further, MAIMONIDES 2008, p. 301 (5:2); BASHYACHI 1966, p. 156.

⁵¹ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 946.

⁵² AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 946.

⁵³ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 943.

⁵⁴ AL-BĪRŪNĪ 1878, p. 53.

⁵⁵ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 923.

sources;⁵⁶ he learned about the matter from the mention of this day among the Rabbanites of Egypt. Support for this inference is found in *Dibrei Yōsef* by Yōsef Sambari (1640–1703 CE), who notes that at the time of the heads of the community (*Negīdīm*), epistles were sent all over Egypt after the twenty-fifth of Kislev, calling for prayers and fasting on the seventh of Adar in the Dammūh synagogue, which was called “Moses’ synagogue” (*kanīsat Mūsā*), and for a feast on the eighth—and that many people answered the call.⁵⁷ The tradition of observing this date may have preceded Sambari, albeit in a smaller format.

Second Adar (*Ādhār al-Thānī*): This month, *AL-MAQRĪZĪ* notes, always lasts twenty-nine days. On the thirteenth of the month, the Rabbanites observe the *ṣawm al-būrī* (the Fast of Esther, *Ta’anīt Ester*), and on the fourteenth and fifteenth they celebrate *al-fūr*, Purim. The Karaites do not have a second Adar, adds *AL-MAQRĪZĪ*, and they fast from the thirteenth to the fifteenth, this time calling it *ṣawm al-fūr* and not *ṣawm al-būrī*.⁵⁸ Notably, the Rabbanites base their calendation on Esth. 9:1–3: “Now in the twelfth month, that is, the month of Adar, on the thirteenth day [...] the Jews gathered themselves together in their cities [...]” The Karaites, in turn, base theirs on Esth. 4.16: “Go, gather together all the Jews that are present in Susa (Shūshan), and fast for me, and neither eat nor drink three days [...]”

AL-MAQRĪZĪ then explains the background for *al-fūr*, basing himself on *AL-NUWAYRĪ*:⁵⁹ Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the Temple, exiled the Israelites from Jerusalem to Iraq, and settled them in Iṣfahān. During the reign of Ardāshīr b. Bābīk king of Persia, whom the Jews call Aḥashverōsh (Aḥash-wārash), his vizier, Haman (Haymūn) envied Mordecai (Mardūkhāy), the Jewish sage (*ḥabr*), because the king had married Mordecai’s cousin (i. e., Esther according to the Biblical account). Therefore, Haman planned the execution of the Jews on Adar thirteenth. Mordecai discovered this and brought it to the attention of his cousin, who accordingly planned a stratagem (*ḥīla*) to save the Jews. She advised the king of the vizier’s jealousy of Mordecai and his plan. The king had the vizier and the members of his household executed and issued a writ of protection (*amān*) for the Jews. Ever since, he

⁵⁶ E.g., BT *Megillab* 13b; BT *Nazīr* 14a; NEUBAUER 1895, vol. 2, pp. 40–41; MIŁIKOWSKY 2013, vol. 2, p. 249.

⁵⁷ [...] ובזמן הנגידים אשר היו קודם לכן בצונו מצרים ובמצרים אלקארה"ה היו כותבים אורות בלשון צח ומצוחצח בלשון ערבי באר היטב, ושולחים שלוחים מכ"ה בכסלו במצרים ובכל עריה ברש"ד ואסכנדי"י"א ופרסכו"ל ודאמאי"ט ובכל מקומות מושבותיהם, שבוים ז' באדר יהיו שם מזומנים לצונם ולהתפלל בזאת בית הכנסת של עיר דמו"ה הנקראת כנס"ת מוסי ובוים ח' בו לעשות יום משתה ושמחה, והיו מתקבצים בו אנשים [...] See SHTOBER 1994, pp. 158–159.

⁵⁸ *AL-MAQRĪZĪ* 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 946.

⁵⁹ *AL-NUWAYRĪ* 1923, vol. 1, pp. 196–197.



continues, they fast in gratitude to Allāh and celebrate two days of rejoicing including the exchange of gifts. Some of them produce an effigy (*ṣūra*) of Haman, whom they call Hāmān, amuse themselves with it, and then burn it.⁶⁰

Although AL-MAQRĪZĪ relies on AL-NUWAYRĪ here, there is a noteworthy difference between the accounts. While AL-NUWAYRĪ erroneously claims that the fast falls three days before Purim (i.e., the eleventh of Adar) and that Moses was born and passed away on fifteenth of Adar, AL-MAQRĪZĪ writes that the fast falls on the thirteenth of Adar, and that Moses was born on the seventh of that month. If so, AL-MAQRĪZĪ did not copy blindly in this case; instead, he checked (we cannot know where and how) the accuracy of AL-NUWAYRĪ's account, refrained from copying a mistake, and found and inserted the correct information. Another possibility is that he learned the correct information from the event on the seventh of Adar in the Dammūh synagogue.

Nīsan (Nīsan): Always lasts thirty days. Its first day never occurs on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday.⁶¹ Here AL-MAQRĪZĪ probably infers that Passover must not fall on any of these days on the basis of the Rabbinic rule that is abbreviated in the Hebrew dictum *lo' badū Pesah*—meaning that the first day of Passover must not (*lo'*) fall on *badū* (בד"ו), an abbreviation for the second, (2) fourth (ד), and sixth (ו) days of the week.⁶² On the fifteenth of the month occurs *ʿid al-bāsiḥ* (*ḥag ha-Pesah* in Hebrew), which the Christians call *al-fiṣḥ*, Passover.⁶³ (Elsewhere he calls it *ʿid al-faṭīr*,⁶⁴ a literal translation of the Hebrew *ḥag ha-Maṣṣōt*, the Biblical term for *Pesah*. E.g., Exod. 23:15).

During this seven-day observance, AL-MAQRĪZĪ continues, the Jews eat *maṣṣah* (*faṭīr*) and clean their houses because Allāh saved them from Pharaoh. Referring to the aftermath of the Exodus, AL-MAQRĪZĪ notes that the Jews ate meat and *faṭīr*, celebrated their salvation; and were ordered to eat *faṭīr* during these days to remember that Allāh saved them from slavery (in a probable reference to Deut. 16:1–4).⁶⁵ This part is also adopted from AL-NUWAYRĪ.⁶⁶

At the end of the seven days, they have a “big day” (*yawm kabīr*).⁶⁷ Although he does not elaborate, AL-MAQRĪZĪ may be referring to celebrations

⁶⁰ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, pp. 946–947.

⁶¹ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 947.

⁶² See ABUDRAHAM 1963, p. 305.

⁶³ Elsewhere he uses the term *ʿid al-fiṣḥ* in a Jewish context. See AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 932.

⁶⁴ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 961.

⁶⁵ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 947.

⁶⁶ AL-NUWAYRĪ 1923, vol. 1, p. 196.

⁶⁷ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 947.

related to *ʿIsrū Ḥag*, the day following each of the three pilgrimage festivals, of which Passover is one. He may also be alluding to the *Mīmūna*, a non-canonical North African Jewish celebration that marks the end of Passover, which occurs on *ʿIsrū Ḥag*. The term *Mīmūna* is of unknown origin. One explanation proposes that the observance marks the anniversary of the death of R. Maimon b. Yōsef ha-Dayyan (ca. 1110–ca. 1166 CE), MOSES MAIMONIDES' (1138–1204 CE) father, on the last day of Passover.⁶⁸ This suggests that it was celebrated among Rabbanites only, since Maimon was a Rabbinic authority.⁶⁹

ʿIyar (Ayyār): AL-MAQRĪZĪ clearly confuses *ʿIyar* with *Sīvan* by placing the Pentecost (*Shabūʿōt*) festival in the heart of his description of *ʿIyar*. This month, AL-MAQRĪZĪ explains, lasts twenty-nine days and in it occurs *ʿid al-mawqif*, i. e., *ḥajj al-asābiʿ* (a literal translation of *ḥag ha-Shabūʿōt*), when the Israelites received the commandments (*farāʿid*)⁷⁰—most likely a reference to the Ten Commandments. The term *ḥajj* or *ʿid al-asābiʿ* for Pentecost was in use before AL-MAQRĪZĪ's time.⁷¹ *Mawqif* means, among other things, standing—probably used here in reference to the occasion (*maʿamad*, literally an act of standing) at Mount Sinai, the major event that the festival commemorates. As far as I can ascertain, AL-MAQRĪZĪ is the first Muslim scholar who used this name for Pentecost.

AL-MAQRĪZĪ then mentions two additional terms for the Pentecost festival that were in use among Jews and Muslims in and before his time,⁷² both appearing in AL-NUWAYRĪ's account:⁷³ *ʿid al-ʿanšara* and *ʿid al-khiṭāb*.⁷⁴ Both allude to the central event of this observance. *Al-ʿanšara* may be a corruption of the Hebrew term *ḥa-ʿAšeret*, given that another Hebrew name for Pentecost is *ḥag ha-ʿAšeret*, the festival of the assembly.⁷⁵ As for *khiṭāb* (speech), Deut. 4:12–13 reports that in the revelation the Lord spoke and declared his covenant unto the Israelites, what may explain this name.

⁶⁸ See GOLDSTEIN-SABBAH 2010.

⁶⁹ On his life and work, see TARGARONA 2010.

⁷⁰ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 948.

⁷¹ See e. g., AL-MAQDISĪ 1907, vol. 4, p. 37.

⁷² See e. g., *Siddūr Raḥ Saʿadya Gaon* 1963, pp. 155–156; GIL 1983, vol. 3, p. 104 [letter no. 460, TS 13 J 6, f. 22]; ALLONY 2006, p. 407 [list no. 108, TS K 3.42]; AL-BĪRŪNĪ 1878, p. 281; AL-KUTUBĪ 1990, vol. 1, pp. 217.

⁷³ AL-NUWAYRĪ 1923, vol. 1, p. 196.

⁷⁴ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 948. It is noteworthy that Pentecost has also many names in the Jewish tradition. See HALPERIN 1994, p. 51.

⁷⁵ Mishnah *Roʾš ha-Shanah* 1:2.

This festival, says AL-MAQRĪZĪ, falls on the sixth day of the month but never on Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday by the Rabbinic reckoning.⁷⁶ This rule is called *lo' gabaz Shabū'ot*—*Shabū'ot* does not (*lo'*) fall on the third (ג), fifth (ה), or seventh (ז) day of the week (ג'ד).⁷⁷ By alluding to this regulation, AL-MAQRĪZĪ indeed appears to follow the Rabbinic calendation because the Karaites do not always celebrate *Shabū'ot* on the sixth of Sivan. Lev. 23:15 reads: "And you shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath (*mi-moḥorat ha-Shabbat*), from the day that you brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven Sabbaths shall be complete." The Karaites explain the expression *mi-moḥorat ha-Shabbat* literally, i.e., the day after the Sabbath, and therefore always begin to count the interstice between Passover and Pentecost on a Sunday—thus celebrating the latter festival on a Sunday.⁷⁸ As R. Obadiah of Bertinoro reports, this was indeed the case among the Egyptian Karaites.⁷⁹

Sīvan (Sīwān): AL-MAQRĪZĪ omits Sīvan from his overview of the Jewish months; as mentioned above, he lists it at the beginning of his account of the calendar.⁸⁰ Elsewhere, he writes that on *'id al-khiṭāb*, which occurs in Sīwān, the Jews visit the Dammūh synagogue as an alternative for pilgrimage to Jerusalem (cf. Exod. 23:14–15; Deut. 16:16).⁸¹ If so, he was aware that *Shabū'ot* occurs in Sivan, not in 'Iyar; therefore, his mistake may be attributed to confusion and not to lack of knowledge.

Tammūz (Tammūz): AL-MAQRĪZĪ provides a short and precise description of the month. It lasts twenty-nine days and has no festival, although it does have two fast days. The Karaites fast on the ninth because this is the anniversary of the destruction of the walls of Jerusalem in Nebuchadnezzar's siege (586 BCE). The Rabbanites fast on the seventeenth, because it was on that day that Titus destroyed the walls of Jerusalem and the Second Temple (70 CE).⁸²

AL-MAQRĪZĪ's words match the Karaite and Rabbinic approaches. The Karaites based their commemoration on II Kgs. 25:3–4 and Jer. 39:2, 52:6–7, according to which on the ninth day of the fourth month (i.e., Tammūz) Jerusalem was breached by the Chaldeans (i.e., the Babylonians).⁸³ Mishnah

⁷⁶ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 948.

⁷⁷ See ABUDRAHAM 1963, p. 305.

⁷⁸ See further, HIRSCHFELD 1892, pp. 78–79; NEMOY 1968, pp. 110–111, 128–130; NEMOY 1972, pp. 119–121; ALLONY 1976, p. 85; ERDER 1995, pp. 40–44.

⁷⁹ EISENSTEIN 1926, p. 114; YĀ'ARĪ 1971, p. 120; ARTOM/DAVID 1997, p. 55.

⁸⁰ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 942.

⁸¹ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 923.

⁸² AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 948.

⁸³ See BASHYACHI 1966, p. 156.

Ta'anit 4:6 states that five things occurred on the seventeenth of Tammūz, of which the breaching of the city walls is one. The Mishnaic text does not specify whether this happened in the first or Second Temple period; BT *Ta'anit* 28b, however, states that the walls were breached on the ninth at the First Temple and on the seventeenth at the Second. JT *Ta'anit* 23a (4:5) states that the walls had been breached on the seventeenth and that Jeremiah had miscalculated the dates. In BT *Ro'sh ha-Shanah* 18b, one sage opined that the fast should be observed on the ninth. This view, however, was not accepted and fasting on this date became optional.

Ab (Āb): Lasts thirty days. The Karaites, says AL-MAQRĪZĪ, fast on the seventh and the tenth because these were the days on which Nebuchadnezzar destroyed the Temple and burnt the sanctuary and the city of Jerusalem. The Rabbanites fast on the ninth because it was then that Titus destroyed the Second Temple.⁸⁴ Here, too, R. Obadiah of Bertinoro's words support the authenticity of AL-MAQRĪZĪ's reportage: "They (i. e., the Karaites of Egypt) fast on the seventh and tenth of Ab."⁸⁵

If so, AL-MAQRĪZĪ's reportage again corresponds to the Karaite and Rabbinic methods. The Karaites base themselves on II Kgs. 25:8–9 and Jer. 52:12–13, according to which, on the fifth month (Ab) and the seventh or the tenth day of the month (as reported in each Biblical passage, respectively), Nebuzaradan, the Babylonian general, arrived in Jerusalem and burnt the Temple (as well as the palace, all the houses of Jerusalem, and the houses of the great men).⁸⁶ Mishnah *Ta'anit* 4:6 lists five things that occurred on the ninth of Ab, two of which being the destruction of the First and Second Temples.⁸⁷

Elul (Aylul): AL-MAQRĪZĪ concludes his account of the calendar as follows: "Always lasts twenty-nine days and no festival occurs in it. Allāh, may He be exalted, knows the best."⁸⁸ Indeed, there is no festival in Elul. The Eastern Jews (both Rabbanites and Karaites) do recite *seliḥot* (penitential liturgical services) from the beginning of this month to the Day of Atonement,⁸⁹ a practice that AL-MAQRĪZĪ does not mention.

⁸⁴ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 948.

⁸⁵ EISENSTEIN 1926, p. 114; YĀ'ARĪ 1971, p. 119; ARTOM/DAVID 1997, p. 55.

⁸⁶ See BASHYACHI 1966, p. 156.

⁸⁷ Cf. BT *Ta'anit* 26b.

⁸⁸ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 948.

⁸⁹ See e. g., AL-ḌĀHIRĪ 1965, p. 274.

Conclusion

Although it contains some inaccuracies and misunderstandings, AL-MAQRĪZĪ's account of the Jewish calendar corresponds rather closely to the Rabbinic and Karaite approaches. As for his Jewish sources (textual or oral) for this, no specific and unequivocal answer can be given. Many Halakhic and some Midrashic elements are intertwined in his words, suggesting Rabbinic texts or informants. Sometimes, however, he presents the calendar from a Karaite perspective. All of this leads to one conclusion: AL-MAQRĪZĪ was eclectic and his account conflates the data that he absorbed and compiled from his diverse sources. WASSERSTROM reaches a similar conclusion, finding AL-MAQRĪZĪ's heresiography of the Jews of Egypt "an erudite, but frustratingly eclectic collection of texts uncritically assembled."⁹⁰ Eclecticism and conflation of sources, then, is a pattern in AL-MAQRĪZĪ's writing about Jews. AL-MAQRĪZĪ's eclecticism may explain why he sometimes says "they" in reference to Jews without mentioning whether they are Rabbanites or Karaites, a practice that causes difficulties in determining the attribution of some of the religious attitudes that he describes.

This is not the only time AL-MAQRĪZĪ uses material from Jewish sources. His description of Jews and Judaism demonstrates that he was familiar with ideas taken from varied Midrashic sources⁹¹ and that he copied several paragraphs from *Kitāb al-Ta'riḫ* (a short chronicle in Judaeo-Arabic featuring Rabbinic characters that some attribute to R. Sa'adya Gaon [882–942 CE]⁹²) sometimes verbatim.⁹³ Furthermore, AL-MAQRĪZĪ himself specifically cites *Ta'riḫ Yūsuf b. Kuryūn*, probably referring to *Josippon* (much of which had been translated from its Hebrew version into Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic).⁹⁴ Elsewhere, he copies the story of Sanballat the Samaritan and the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim from the Arabic version of *Josippon*, but without citing this source by name.⁹⁵ Thus, it is within the bounds of reason that AL-MAQRĪZĪ derived inspiration from additional Jewish sources.

In addition to Jewish sources, AL-MAQRĪZĪ's account of the Jewish calendar relies on Islamic ones. What Islamic sources inspired AL-MAQRĪZĪ? It is difficult to answer. Sometimes he names his sources and sometimes he does not. As we have seen, in some cases he relies on AL-BĪRŪNĪ's *al-Āthār al-Bāqīya*. In addition, in several cases he draws on AL-NUWAYRĪ's

⁹⁰ WASSERSTROM 1999, p. 168.

⁹¹ MAZUZ 2017.

⁹² See MALTER 1921, pp. 172–173, 354; MARX 1909.

⁹³ An article of mine that demonstrates this is currently under review.

⁹⁴ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, pp. 953–954.

⁹⁵ See ASHTOR 1944, vol. 1, pp. 372; WASSERSTROM 1999, p. 169.

Nihāyat al-Arab but does so critically, showing that he understands the topic even though he adopts passages from others' writings (sometimes verbatim). One should remember that some information was known to the general community of Muslim scholars; therefore even when one copies from another, it does not necessarily mean that he does not understand what he is copying. This is the case with AL-MAQRĪZĪ's account on the Jewish calendar. It explains, among other things, the distinction that he sometimes makes between Rabbanites and Karaites (as AL-NUWAYRĪ and WAṬWĀṬ do not).⁹⁶

Given AL-MAQRĪZĪ's eclecticism, I find that his account is the result of inspiration from Jewish sources as well as previous descriptions of Jews and Judaism and familiarity with some aspects of Jewish life in Egypt of his time. When he speaks about the Jews' custom of sending each other portions of food on Purim, he notes that the Jews do this "to this very day" (*wa-hum 'alā dhālika ilā 'l-yawm*),⁹⁷ a wording that suggests authenticity. In addition, his heresiography of the Jews of Egypt is titled "An Account of the Groups of the Jews Today" (*dhikr firaq al-Yahūd alān*), in which he describes, *inter alia*, some Jewish streams that existed in his time.⁹⁸ Further evidence that his purpose is to offer an authentic account is the absence of a polemical tenor in his presentation. Thus AL-MAQRĪZĪ enriches our knowledge of the religious, and to some extent the spiritual, lives of the Jews of Cairo and Fuṣṭāṭ, Rabbanites and Karaites,⁹⁹ in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries CE.

⁹⁶ For Islamic sources and Muslim authors consulted by AL-MAQRĪZĪ in *al-Khiṭaṭ*, see GUEST 1902, pp. 108–123.

⁹⁷ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 937. See further, ASHTOR 1944, vol. 2, p. 380.

⁹⁸ AL-MAQRĪZĪ 2003, vol. 4/2, p. 953–955.

⁹⁹ His contribution important mainly for the study of the Karaites in Egypt, since the Geniza provides little information about them and the relationship between them and the Rabbanites. See BAREKET 1999, p. 10.

Appendix: Rabbinic and Karaite months of the year and festivals according to al-Maqrīzī

Month	Rabbinic	Karaite
Tishrī	1: <i>ra's al-sana</i> 3: <i>ṣawm Kadalyā</i> 10: <i>ṣawm al-kibbūr</i> 15–22: <i>ʿīd al-mizalla</i> 23: <i>ʿīd al-iʿtikāf</i>	1: <i>ra's al-sana</i> 11: <i>ṣawm al-kibbūr</i> 15–22: <i>ʿīd al-mizalla</i> 23: <i>ʿīd al-iʿtikāf</i> 24: <i>ṣawm Kadalyā</i>
Marḥishwān	–	–
Kislīw	25: <i>al-ḥanukka</i>	–
Ṭibath	10: Fast	10: Fast
Shift	–	–
Ādhār	13: <i>ṣawm al-būrī</i> (in non-leap years) 14–15: <i>al-fūr</i> (in non-leap years)	13–15: <i>ṣawm al-fūr</i>
Ādhār al-Thānī (in leap years)	13: <i>ṣawm al-būrī</i> 14–15: <i>al-fūr</i>	No such month exists
Nisan	15–21: <i>ʿīd al-bāsiḥ</i> 22: <i>yawm kabīr</i>	15–21: <i>ʿīd al-bāsiḥ</i> 22: <i>yawm kabīr</i>
Ayyār ¹⁰⁰	–	–
Sīwān	6: <i>ʿīd al-mawqif/ḥajj al-asābīʿ</i>	6: <i>ʿīd al-mawqif/ḥajj al-asābīʿ</i>
Tammūz	17: Fast	9: Fast
Āb	9: Fast	7: Fast 10: Fast
Aylūl	–	–

¹⁰⁰ As mentioned, AL-MAQRĪZĪ mistakenly confuses 'Iyar and Sīwān. Therefore, I listed *Shabūʿōt* under Sīwān.

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Silver Denarii of Bar Kokhba from Kherbit et-Tayba West of Hebron

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Summary: This paper deals with nine silver coins recovered from antiquity looters. They are dated to the Bar Kokhba's revolt (AD 132–135) against the Roman rule in Palestine and were struck over Roman silver denarii. The texts that occurred on the coins were written in old Hebrew letters, short and relatively homogenous in content. Obverses indicate the name of the authority of minting, while reverses repeatedly mention the phrase “for the freedom of Jerusalem / of [Isra]el”. Various ornamental elements including household vessels, musical instruments and domesticated plants were also applied on the obverses and reverses of the coins.

Introduction

The nine silver coins in question were found among other archaeological objects with antiquity dealers on 26 February 1998 in Hebron. They were later confiscated by the Hebron tourism police, brought to the Department of Palestinian Antiquities and Cultural Heritage¹ and given a serial national number (HB 4493–4501). According to the dealer's statement to the police department, with whom the objects have been caught, these objects were illegally dug up and looted from Kherbit et-Tayba, which is located 5 km southeast of Tarqumiya and about 11 km southwest of Hebron (coordinates E-153300 / N-107200, 775 m above sea level, not systematically excavated). Feb. 2015, this group was made accessible for study.

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State of preservation

The coins are relatively well preserved; they show uniformity in round shape, weight, with varying differences in re-striking and purity. Some of them show fractured surfaces, broken edges and small slits on the edges can be seen on (HB 4500). Other pieces (HB 4497, HB 4499) were found with partially decayed obverses or reverses. The decay, cracks and the slits could have happened during the process of decomposition, or as a result of re-striking due to the force of the employed hammers in the minting (MESHORER 1982, II, p. 152), or unprofessional cleaning carried out by robbers. One coin (HB 4497) has a spot of iron rust, and (HB 4501) appeared with copper patina on the reverse suggesting that they were laid in humid locus with other metal objects when they were found. Obverses of the two coins (HB 4493, HB 4497) however have been intentionally grooved out.² These coins are of the silver denarii type and were issued during the course of Bar Kokhba's revolt against the Roman rule (AD 132–135). For further (see MILDENBERG 1980, pp. 311–315). They were not struck on cast flans but usually struck over Roman silver denarii.³ As the coins are thin and fragile, they were lightly re-struck, thus traces of previous Roman coinage, designs and Latin letters are discernible on both sides of (HB 4495), and on the obverse of (HB 4497, HB 4498, HB 4500) (see HENDIN 1987, nos. 146, 164a).

Decorative patterns

The motifs or slogans on obverses or reverses display varied designs.⁴ Domesticated and eatable plants, household utensils and music instruments are the elements of decoration on these pieces, although there are some fractures, slits on the edges of some coins and the partial decomposition of some of these artefacts, the motifs are, nevertheless, clearly visible.

² This might indicate that a kind of violation has happened to the piece after being long used.

³ As a rule, the coins of this revolt were not independently minted but rather struck over previous Roman coins (KANAEL 1963, p. 60 and no. 45). The re-struck coins of the second revolt extended from the time of Nero to Hadrian (REIFENBERG 1969, p. 33), AD 74–132 (MILDENBERG 1984, p. 88). Silver coins were struck over Roman denarii from Rome, Cappadocia and Bostra (ZLOTNIK 2008, p. 139). MILDENBERG (1980, p. 328) justified and defended the re-striking of new patterns and the modification of the Roman coinage within this period (see also HENDIN 2012, p. 140). In MESHORER's opinion (1982, II, p. 135) the pagan nature of the Roman coins as well as religious, political and economic purposes were the reasons for the over striking. For the source and the way that these coins were obtained and re-struck see MILDENBERG 1984, p. 87f.

⁴ For a general overview of these designs see REIFENBERG 1969, p. 37f.

There are two kinds of obverses to be noticed on the flattened surface of the coins:

- Wreath of thin plants/leaves⁵ wrapped around eight almonds and tendrils at the bottom appear on the obverses of five coins (HB 4493, HB 4494, HB 4495, HB 4498, and HB 4501) usually encircling the personal name “Simon”.
- Cluster of grapes⁶ with tendrils at the top (see KINDLER 1978, p. 64) is depicted on the obverses of four coins (HB 4496, 4497, HB 4499, and HB 4500). The lower sides of the cluster are occupied by the letters that form the name “Simon”.

Reverses of the coins reveal the following decorative elements:

- Household vessels: one left handled juglet with narrow neck, fluted body⁷ thin foot and round base is commonly occurring on (HB 4493, HB 4494, HB 4495) as a main motif. A juglet of the same traits but with defaced body caused by usage is displayed on (HB 4496, HB 4498).
- Small palm/willow branch⁸ (MILDENBERG 1984, p. 46) in combination with the juglet appears on (HB 4494, HB 4495, HB 4496, HB 4498, HB 4499, HB 4501), one exception is (HB 4493) where the palm/willow branch went missing or was intentionally erased. The branch is depicted with a vertical tip on (HB 4494, HB 4496) or with tip inclines towards the left on (HB 4495, HB 4498, HB 4499, HB 4501).
- Musical instruments found their way to be motifs on coins: the three-stringed elongated lyre⁹ is presented on the reverses of two coins (HB 4497, HB 4500).

⁵ For its use and significance see ROMANOFF 1944b, p. 425. MILDENBERG (1984, p. 46) identifies it as an olive wreath composed of individual olives that appear in bead-like design (see also MESHORER 1982, II, p. 144).

⁶ For its indication see ROMANOFF 1944a, p. 290ff.; 1944b, p. 429; MESHORER 1982, II, p. 143; MILDENBERG 1984, p. 46. A motif used on coins from the Bar Kokhba's revolt against the Roman Empire (AD 132–135), and it was invented during the revolt (MILDENBERG 1984, p. 46; see also MESHORER 1982, II, pp. 143–144).

⁷ It appears on silver denarii coins of the second revolt and it represents the fertility and abundance (ROMANOFF 1942, p. 3 and note 12; 1943, pp. 162, 165). Based on Biblical parallels it is known as golden flagon (see ALDER 2007–2008, pp. 131, 133 and nos. 1–3; HENDIN 2012, p. 139). For its occurrence in Biblical traditions see MILDENBERG 1984, p. 46. It is either as a golden flagon, basin or oil jug (MESHORER 1982, II, p. 141ff).

⁸ For the symbolism of the palm branch see ROMANOFF 1942, p. 2 and note 5. It has been recently identified as willow branch (ADLER 2007–2008, p. 133; HENDIN 2012, p. 139).

⁹ ROMANOFF 1944b, pp. 425f., 429; MILDENBERG 1984, p. 46. For its attestation in Biblical and Talmudic literature see MESHORER 1982, II, p. 145ff.

Inscriptions

The coins bear short texts, relatively homogenous in content and repeatedly employed on obverses and reverses in different manners: they are written in old Hebrew. 16 letters¹⁰ have been found repeatedly appearing in these texts, these are: *aleph*, *bet*, *ba*, *waw*, *zain*, *bet*, *yod*, *kaf*, *lam*, *mem*, *nun*, *ain*, *resh*, *sin*, *shin*¹¹ and *taw*.

Obverses display the personal name *šmʿwn* “Simon”,¹² written horizontally within the wreath either complete or incomplete.¹³ Five letters divided in two lines of writing are on (HB 4494, HB 4495). The five letters of the same name are differently distributed around the cluster of grapes on the coins (HB 4496, HB 4497, HB 4499, and HB 4500). In three cases (HB 4493, HB 4498, HB 4501) only three letters *šmʿ* of the name were written and appear in two lines.

Reverses present remarkable data related to the date where the three years of the revolt are represented. In this regard, the texts on the coin’s reverses give three varieties:

- One coin (HB 4493) presents the text: *ʾlʿzr hkwbn* “Eleazer the priest” and is attributed to the year one (AD 132–133; MESHORER 1967, p. 94; 1982, II, p. 136).
- Two coins (HB 4497, HB 4498) are found with the text: *lhṛwt ysrʾl* “for the freedom of Israel” in addition to the date formula *š b* “the year two” which indicate the second year of the revolt (AD 133–134; MESHORER 1967, p. 94; 1982, II, p. 151; HENDIN 1987, p. 106).
- Six coins with undated texts that present the phrase *lhṛwt yrwšlm* “for the freedom of Jerusalem”,¹⁴ they belong to the year three-type which are traditionally attributed to the third year¹⁵ of the revolt (AD 134–135;

¹⁰ For the forms of the letters on the denarii coins of this revolt see KADMAN 1954, pp. 157–169; MADDEN 1976, p. 33f., and table p. 42; MILDENBERG 1984, pp. 351–356.

¹¹ The *shin* appears definitely in two shapes: 1. It has a triangular bottom on the obverses of (HB 4494, HB 4495, HB 4501), as well as (HB 4497, HB 4498, and on both sides of (HB 4497). 2. It shows a round bottom on the obverse of (HB 4493), on reverses of (HB 4494, 4495, 4499, HB 4501) and on both faces of (HB 4496, HB 4500).

¹² On this name which appears commonly on coins see MADDEN 1964, pp. 20–21; ZEITLIN 1952, pp. 77–82. When the side of the coin bears the name Simon or part of it, it is thus to be regarded as an obverse (KINDLER 1978, p. 60). The name Simon here indicates Bar Kokhba especially when this name appears without the title Nasi (MADDEN 1976, p. 193).

¹³ See MESHORER 1982, II, p. 151. For parallels see ADLER 2007–2008, p. 131 no. 1.

¹⁴ Such slogan was used by Bar Kokhba to enhance the hope to free Jerusalem and victory over Romans (MESHORER 1982, II, p. 153).

¹⁵ MESHORER (1982, II, p. 154) explains the omission of the number of the year, according to him this was decided by Bar Kokhba to avoid bad omen.

REIFENBERG 1969, p. 34; HENDIN 1987, p. 109ff.), these are the greatest in number of all of Bar Kokhba coins, and their scope of over striking was the 18 months, the longest span of Bar Kokhba's coinage (MESHORER 1982, II, p. 152).

Category

All coins were illegally dug up and looted, thus their exact archaeological context is nearly impossible to allocate. But this plays no role in dating and analysis, because some legends on coins mention a date formula. The nine pieces will be categorized into three groups according to the date they bear.

Coin dated to the year one (AD 132–133).

1. HB 4493 (Fig. 1):

- Object: denarius, Material: silver. Diameter: 18 mm. Weight: 3.29 gm.¹⁶
- State: Obverse: well preserved, light decay, black dirt is accumulated around the wreath; a complete circular dotted border remains discernible. Reverse: shallow groove was likely intentionally curved on the right side of the juglet, where the entire willow/palm branch and few letters have been erased; part of the circular dotted border remains on the upper and the left sides.
- Motif and legend: a wreath of thin branches wrapped around eight almonds¹⁷ with tendrils at the bottom; within it there are three letters šm^c “Simon”¹⁸ written in two lines in a triangular shape.
- Reverse: one left handled juglet with a narrow neck and a fluted body, light traces of palm/willow branch, which were intentionally removed, are still visible. The letters *ba*, *nun* and lower part of the *waw* on the right side of the juglet were erased, the whole text is written counter clockwise from the upper right and reads: *ʾlʾzr hkw[hn]* “Eleazer the priest”.¹⁹ See MESHORER 1967, no. 166 obverse.
- Find's spot: Kherbit et-Tayba, find's context: unknown.

¹⁶ The weight of the denarri was about 3 gm. of silver (KANAEL 1963, pp. 60–61).

¹⁷ Or a wreath contains bead-like tendrils entwined about eight olives (MILDENBERG 1984, p. 173).

¹⁸ Three letters in two lines have appeared, the parallels are REIFENBERG 1969 nos. 169, 173, 174 obverses; HENDIN 1987 nos. 147, 148, 151 obverses; 2012, p. 138 no. 23 obverse.

¹⁹ For the identification and the function of this figure see REIFENBERG 1969, p. 34, and nos. 169, 170, 189. See also MILDENBERG 1949, pp. 77–108; KANAEL 1963, p. 61; MADDEN

- Date: year one (AD 132–133).
- Parallels: MESHORER 1967, nos. 167, 183; REIFENBERG 1969, no. 169; HENDIN 1987, no. 134; ADLER 2007–2008, no. 1.



Fig. 1: HB 4493

Coins dated to the year two (AD 133–134)

2. HB 4497 (Fig. 2):

- Object: denarius, Material: silver. Diameter: 17 mm. Weight: 3.71 gm.
- State: Obverse: well preserved, light decay and iron rust appear on the surface, small slits on the upper edge. Reverse: well preserved, but small crack or groove was horizontally marked on the lower part of the face crossing the lower part of the lyre. Half of the circular dotted border was erased on the upper part as a result of usage.
- Motif and legend: Obverse: a triform cluster of grapes hanging down from a cut branch and connected with tendrils at the top. It is bordered on the right and the left by a text of five letters which is written horizontally in two lines and reads counter clockwise from the upper right: *šm'wn* “Simon”. Struck over a Latin inscription.
- Reverse: a text reads counter clockwise from the lower left: *š b lbr ys[r'l]* “year two of the freedom / of [Israel]” encircling an elongated three-stringed lyre. The left half of the *sin* in *ys[r'l]* is lightly erased; *resh*, *aleph* and *lamed* were removed.
- Find’s spot: Kherbit et-Tayba, find’s context: unknown.
- Date: year two (AD 133–134).
- Parallels: KANAEL 1963, p. 60 no. 53; MESHORER 1967, nos. 187, 188, and p. 163; REIFENBERG 1969, nos. 177, 178; MILDENBERG 1984, nos. 47, 51; HENDIN 1987, no. 152.

1976, p. 193. His identity is still unclear. For the discussion regarding this figure see MESHORER 1982, II, pp. 137f., 143; MILDENBERG 1984, p. 29f.



Fig. 2: HB 4497

3. HB 4498 (Fig. 3):

- Object: denarius, Material: silver. Diameter: 19 mm. Weight: 3.42 gm.
- State: Obverse: circular dotted border appears on the right side; light decomposition can be noticed on the left side. Reverse: iron rust is on the upper left side of the juglet covering its handle and neck. Upper part of the circular dotted border has been preserved. A large part of the *bet* on the right side of the juglet's base is erased. The upper parts of the *shin*, *bet* before *lhr* are removed, while the *yod* is totally covered by the spot of iron rust.
- Motif and legend: Obverse: a wreath of thin branches wrapped around eight almonds with tendrils at the bottom; within it there are three letters *šm* written in two lines in triangular form: *šm* "Simon". Struck over a Latin inscription.
- Reverse: one left handed juglet with a narrow neck, fluted body and a conical base, on the juglet right field there is a small palm/willow branch with a tip slanting towards the left. Both motifs are surrounded by a text which reads counter clockwise from the lower right: *š b lhr [ysr]l* "year two of the freedom of [Israel]".
- Date: year two (AD 133–134).
- Parallels: REIFENBERG 1969, no. 173; MADDEN 1976, p. 243 no. 32; MILDENBERG 1984, nos. 16, 21, 22, 28, 30–36; HENDIN 1987, no. 155 obverse.



Fig. 3: HB 4498

Undated coins, but attributed to the year three (AD 134–135).

4. HB 4494 (Fig. 4):

- Object: denarius, Material: silver. Diameter: 16 mm. Weight: 3.17 gm.
- State: Obverse: well preserved, half of the circular dotted border on the lower side of the coin is effaced. Reverse: light decay but a motif and a text can be distinguished, small part of the circular dotted border remained on the upper side. All letters are legible on both sides of the coin.
- Motif and legend: Obverse: a wreath of thin branches wrapped around eight almonds with tendrils at the bottom, five letters are written horizontally in two lines forming the personal name: *šm'wn* “Simon”.
- Reverse: one left handed juglet, with a fluted body, narrow neck and conical base, beside the juglet on right side there is a vertical willow/palm branch, both motifs are surrounded by the text which reads in counter clockwise from the lower right: *lbrwt yrwšlm* “for the freedom of Jerusalem”.
- Date: undated, attributed to the year three (AD 134–135).
- Parallels: MESHORER 1967, nos. 202, 202A; REIFENBERG 1969, no. 181; MADDEN 1976, p. 234 no. 3, 4; KINDLER 1978, nos. 110, 123, 124; MESHORER 1982, II nos. 66–66b, 67–67a; MILDENBERG 1984, nos. 72–89, 104–111; HENDIN 1987, nos. 164, 165; ADLER 2007–2008, no. 3; HARDWICK 2008, p. 255 no. 56.



Fig. 4: HB 4494

5. HB 4495 (Fig. 5):

- Object: denarius, Material: silver. Diameter: 19 mm. Weight: 3 gm.
- State: Obverse: part of the circular dotted border can be seen on the right side of the wreath. A slit is on the right edge. Reverse: traces of the circular dotted border are still preserved on the lower right side. Light decay on the right side. Remnants of Latin letters are visible on both sides. The re-struck letters are all distinguishable on both faces.

- Motif and legend: Obverse: a wreath of thin branches wrapped around eight almonds with tendrils at the bottom; it encircles a text of five letters written horizontally in two lines and forming the personal name: *šm'wn* “Simon”. Struck over a Latin inscription.
- Reverse: one left handled juglet with a fluted body, narrow neck and conical base, a nearly upright willow/palm branch appears on the right side of the juglet. The inscription that encircles the two motifs reads counter clockwise from the lower right: *lhrwt yrwšlm* “for the freedom of Jerusalem”.
- Date: undated, attributed to the year three (AD 134–135).
- Parallels: MESHORER 1967, nos. 202, 202A; REIFENBERG 1969, no. 181; MADDEN 1976, p. 234 no. 3, 4; MESHORER 1982, II nos. 66–66b, 67–67a; MILDENBERG 1984, nos. 72–89, 104–111, 113, 116, 121, 128, 133, 138; HENDIN 1987, nos. 164, 165; see HB 4493, HB 4494.



Fig. 5: HB 4495

6. HB 4496 (Fig. 6):

- Object: denarius, Material: silver. Diameter: 17 mm. Weight: 3.1 gm.
- State: Obverse: light decay, the circular dotted border is almost complete, the lower part of the cluster is effaced. Reverse: the circular dotted border is completely remained.
- Motif and legend: Obverse: a triform cluster of grapes hanging down from a cut branch and connected with tendrils at the top, the text contains five letters written on both lower sides of the cluster: it reads counter clockwise from the upper left: *šm'wn* “Simon”.
- Reverse: the text *lhrwt yrwšlm* “for the freedom of Jerusalem” reads counter clockwise from the lower right, is inscribed around one left handled juglet with a narrow neck and effaced body and conical base, vertical willow/palm branch is the right field beside the juglet. The *resh* in *yrwšlm* is effaced.
- Date: undated, attributed to the year three (AD 134–135).
- Parallels: REIFENBERG 1969, no. 185; MESHORER 1982, II nos. 68–69; MILDENBERG 1984, nos. 155–158, 163, 164, 188, 189, 191, 192, 194, 195, 197; HENDIN 2012, p. 139 no. 24.



Fig. 6: HB 4496

7. HB 4499 (Fig. 7):

- Object: denarius, Material: silver. Diameter: 19 mm. Weight: 3.13 gm.
- State: Obverse: well preserved, edge is decayed, about two thirds of the circular dotted border are preserved on the upper and right sides, lower part of the cluster has become effaced. Reverse: well preserved, complete circular dotted border is kept on face.
- Motif and legend: a triform cluster of grapes hanging down from a cut branch and connected with tendrils at the top, the text written on both sides of the cluster contains five letters: it reads counter clockwise from the upper right: *šmʿwn* “Simon”. Letters on both sides are legible.
- Reverse: one left handled juglet with a narrow neck, effaced body and conical base, and a willow/palm branch is designed on the right side of the juglet with a tip that inclines towards the left. The text that encircles both motifs reads counter clockwise from the lower right: *lḥrwʾt yrwšlm* “for the freedom of Jerusalem”.
- Date: undated, attributed to the year three (AD 134–135).
- Parallels: MESHORER 1967, no. 207; REIFENBERG 1969, no. 185; KINDLER 1978, nos. 128, 129; MESHORER 1982, II nos. 68–69; MILDENBERG 1984 nos. 155–158, 163, 164, 188, 189, 191, 192, 194, 195, 197; see HB 4493, HB 4494, HB 4496, HB 4495.

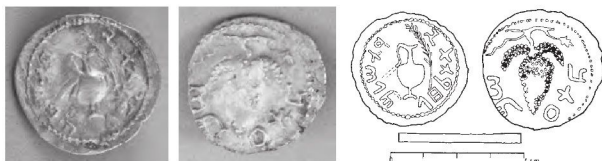


Fig. 7: HB 4499

8. HB 4500 (Fig. 8):

- Object: denarius, Material: silver. Diameter: 19 mm. Weight: 3.19 gm.
- State: Obverse: relatively well preserved, breakage can be seen on the upper edge, five letters are slightly decayed. Part of dotted border remains on the left side. Remains of Latin writing are still visible on the upper right edge above the cluster. Reverse: well preserved, breakage on the lower edge, complete circular dotted border is on the upper side, above which a small mass of silver resulted in coinage appears on the left side, all letters are distinguishable except the *taw* in *h̄rw̄t* which is partially covered by the mass of silver as a result of minting or coinage.
- Motif and legend: Obverse: a triform cluster of grapes hanging down from a cut branch and connected with tendrils at the top. The motif is surrounded by five letters divided into two lines that read counter clockwise from the upper right: *šm'wn* "Simon". Struck over a Latin inscription.
- Reverse: an elongated three-stringed lyre is designed as a single motif. It is surrounded by a text that reads counter clockwise from the lower left: *h̄rw̄t yrwšlm* "for the freedom of Jerusalem".
- Date: undated, attributed to the year three (AD 134–135).
- Parallels: MESHORER 1967, nos. 209, 209A, 209B, 209C; REIFENBERG 1969, no. 188; MADDEN 1976, p. 236 no. 8, 9, 10; MESHORER 1982, II nos. 57–57c; MILDENBERG 1984, nos. 139–144, 159, 160, 172–186, 196, 201–220, 233; HENDIN 1987, no. 172.



Fig. 8: HB 4500

9. HB 4501 (Fig. 9):

- Object: denarius, Material: silver. Diameter: 17 mm. Weight: 3.10 gm.
- State: Obverse: well preserved, part of the circular dotted border is preserved on the right edge, light decay is on the surface and slit on the upper edge. Reverse: copper patina can be seen on the left and on the body of the juglet. Light decay on the lower part of the face, the circular dotted

border has almost disappeared. Traces of human face from previous coinage can be discerned. The upper parts of the *shin* and the *lamed* in *yrwšlm* on the right of the juglet are partially erased.

- Motif and legend: Obverse: a wreath of thin branches wrapped around eight almonds with tendrils at the bottom. The wreath encircles a text of five letters written horizontally in two lines forming the name and reads *šm'wn* "Simon".
- Reverse: a text that reads counter clockwise from the lower left: *lhrwt yrwšlm* "for the freedom of Jerusalem". It is written around one left handled juglet with a narrow neck, fluted body and conical base, on the right of the juglet a willow/palm branch slanting toward left is depicted.
- Date: undated, attributed to the year three (AD 134–135).
- Parallels: MESHORER 1967, nos. 202, 202A; REIFENBERG 1969, no. 181; MADDEN 1976, p. 234 no. 3, 4; MESHORER 1982, II nos. 66–66b, 67–67a; MILDENBERG 1984, nos. 72–89, 104–111, 113, 116, 121, 128, 133, 138; HENDIN 1987, nos. 164, 165; see HB 4494, 4495.



Fig. 9: HB 4501

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Schleuder, Katapult, Armbrust und Kanonen

Zur weniger bekannten Militärtechnologie des
mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Indien

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Summary: Little is known about ranged weapons in pre-modern India such as sling-shots and catapults, the crossbow and early cannon. To a certain extent, the scarcity of pertinent sources will undeniably help to explain our lack of knowledge connected to the subject, but it is equally true that texts with unquestionable significance have largely been ignored by historical military research on India. Among those neglected sources the *Rājatarāṅginī* and the *Mokṣopāya* rank first. Not only do they testify to the existence of such weapons in medieval Kashmir, but the context of the fighting events detailed by their authors also allows to draw conclusions with sufficient certainty about the actual use in combat and the lethal impact of the arms under consideration, which are made the subject of the present paper.

Über Existenz und Einsatz von Distanzwaffen im Kulturraum Kaschmir – und grosso modo eben im vormodernen Indien –, wie etwa denen von Schleuder oder Katapult ist kaum etwas,¹ über die Armbrust gar nichts² und über Geschütze im 15. Jh. nur sehr wenig bekannt.³ Nun gibt es allerdings Quellen, die mit Hinblick auf solche Fragestellungen noch nicht ausgewertet wurden. Sie

¹ GODE (1960, S. 86–91) hat eine Anzahl von Begriffen zusammengetragen, die nach seinem Dafürhalten als Hinweis auf den Gebrauch von Schleudern in Indien gedeutet werden können. Weitere Vermutungen bei SINGH 1965, S. 90; 97; 116 und NEWID 1986, S. 53, über das Katapult bei SINGH 1965, S. 113; 134; DRESCHER 1982, S. 163–168; NEWID 1986, S. 52 („Steine werden mit einer Maschine [...] geschleudert“). LOSCH (1955) war gezwungen, sich bei „Schleuder und anderen mechanische[n] (Waffen): (*kṣepanī* und *yantra*)“ auf die bloße Wiedergabe purāṇischer Aktionsartenterminologie zu beschränken (S. 214), „[d]a wir keine näheren Erklärungen zu den vielen termini technici [...] zu geben vermögen, es sei denn die, die sich der Leser aus dem Namen selbst herausinterpretieren kann, [...]“ (S. 212). Die Handschleuder findet sich bei EGERTON (1880, S. 75f.; 146) für indische Volksstämme dokumentiert (Literaturhinweis von MARTIN STRAUBE). Zu indischen Katapulten in der Frühen Neuzeit, vgl. ELGOOD 2004, S. 51.

² „No evidence in India“ (SINGH 1965, S. 104). Allerdings beschreibt EGERTON (1880, S. 87) ein „cross-bow of bamboo, the arrows feathered with leaves, and the quiver covered with fox-skin“ als Waffe des östlich des Brahmaputra in Bengalen lebenden Stammes der Garo. Zu europäischen und muslimischen Zeugen für den kriegerischen Einsatz der Armbrust im 15. Jh., vgl. ELGOOD 2004, S. 51.

³ KHAN 2004; SLAJE 2004, S. 19ff.; 2005a, S. 41f.

belegen nicht nur das Vorhandensein solcher Waffen, sondern es lassen sich aus dem Kontext der Berichte vereinzelt auch konkrete Rückschlüsse auf Handhabung, Verwendung im Kampf und ihre letale Wirkung ziehen.

Ausgehend von einer wegweisenden Stelle im *Mokṣopāya* und unter Ausgriff auf das Zeugnis auch der *Rājataranṅinīs* sollen im folgenden Hinweise auf den Gebrauch von Handschleudern, Wurfmaschinen und Kanonen sowie zuletzt auf den der Armbrust als Waffe des vormodernen Präzisions-schützen geprüft werden.

Nicht selten können Stellen mit realienkundlichem Hintergrund den Interpreten des *Mokṣopāya* gehörig ins Grübeln bringen. Es bedarf oft weit ausholender Untersuchungen, die – mit Glück – eine Tür in die Welt der Realien des indischen Mittelalters aufstoßen helfen. Das liegt auch daran, daß der *Mokṣopāya* sein Repertoire an veranschaulichenden Bildern zur Klärung eines philosophischen Sachverhalts häufig aus der Erfahrungswelt seiner Zeit heranzieht, also mit Hinblick auf seine Erlösungsdidaktik ausgesprochen empirisch verfährt. Das mag dem Verständnis der Zeitgenossen zugute gekommen sein, da sie die Alltagsbeispiele ja aus eigener Anschauung kannten. Für uns aber stellt es eine zusätzliche Hürde dar, wenn wir das Bild aus der zeitgenössischen Lebenswelt des Autors, das eine komplexe Gegebenheit aufschließen soll, nicht deuten können, weil uns die materielle Kultur seiner Zeit nicht ausreichend bekannt ist. Verschließt sich der Vergleich, verschließt sich auch das Verglichene.

1. Handschleudern

Den Ausgangspunkt für das genannte Thema bildet eine solche, für sich genommen zunächst recht rätselhafte Stelle. Sie lautet:

[...] *tāv āvām utsrytau tārakopamau |
samam ekaṣṭoḍḍīnau vyoma yantropalāv iva* || MU VI.251.6 ||

Wie zwei *yantropalas* vom selben *puṭa* aus zusammen zum Himmel auffliegen, machten wir beide hier uns [ebenfalls] gemeinsam davon, [so daß] wir [dort oben] zwei Sternen ähnelten⁴.

⁴ Tatsächlich kann das *tertium comparationis* für den Sternenvergleich hier schwerlich in der Verbalhandlung eines „sich Davonmachens“ (*ut-√śṛ, pw*) liegen, sondern allenfalls in ihrem glänzenden Heraus- bzw. Hervortreten in unerreichbarer Höhe. Daß Sterne „auffliegen“ ist m. W. aus indischen Quellen nicht bekannt. Allerdings kennt die Literatur herabfliegende Sterne. Dabei handelt es sich um Sternschnuppen in Verbindung mit der Idee, daß Götter in Gestalt dieser Gestirne beobachtbar vom Himmel stürzen (*tārārūpinām devānām adbhāpātadarśanād* – Nīlakaṇṭha *ad* MBh 13.6.23, vgl. SLAJE 1998, S. 37), wenn ihr Verdienst aufgebraucht ist.

Daß *puṭa* hier ein Behältnis zum Ausdruck bringt, ergibt sich aus Bhāskara-kaṇṭha's Analyse dieses Kompositums als Ablativ-Tatpuruṣa: „Von einem gemeinsamen *puṭa* aus, das zu einem Stein-*yantra* gehört, aufgefliegen.“⁵

Das *pw* führt für *puṭa* Bedeutungen wie „Falte, Tasche, ausgebauchter Raum, Umhüllung“ an. Wir werden also von einem Behältnis ausgehen dürfen, das zu einem Mechanismus gehört⁶, und worin etwas Platz und Halt findet.

Noch unklarer ist der im Text erwähnte *yantra-upala*, wörtlich ein „Maschinen-Stein“. Die einzige Bedeutung, die die Wörterbücher für dieses Wort anführen, ist „Mühlstein“ oder „Mühle“. Doch nicht einmal in Indien dürften Mühlsteine oder Mühlen aus einer „Einbettung“ hoch in den Himmel aufgefliegen sein.

Das Hinausfliegen von Steinen aus ihren Einbettungen (*puṭa*) kommt auch an anderen Stellen vor⁷:

°puṭakodḍīnaḥ °pāṣāṇo na jāne kvāśu gacchati || MU VI.174.3 ||⁸

°puṭakodḍīnaḥ °yantrapāṣāṇo na jāne kvāśu gacchati || MU VI.174.4 ||⁹

„Ich begreife nicht, wohin ein Stein (*pāṣāṇa*)/ein Maschinen-Stein (*yantrapāṣāṇa*), der aus [seinem] Behältnis (*puṭaka*) hochgefliegen ist, sich [so] schnell hinbewegt.“

Halten wir vorerst also einmal fest, daß ein Maschinen-Stein (*yantra-upala*) aus einem *puṭa*, das gemäß Bhāskara-kaṇṭha zu einem Stein-Mechanismus (*pāṣāṇa-yantra*) gehört, hoch aufliegen konnte. Den Vergleich gebraucht der aufliegende Vasiṣṭha für sich selbst, indem er sich – nicht zum ersten Mal und Alfred Hitchcocks Cameo-Filmauftritten vergleichbar – selbst in eine seiner Erzählungen einbringt.

Schon anhand dieser wenigen Beispiele wird deutlich, daß es sich um irgendwie geschleuderte oder mechanisch katapultierte Steine gehandelt haben muß.

⁵ *ekapuṭāt [=] pāṣāṇayantraṣṭhitāt | ekasmāt puṭakāt uddīnau [=] ekapuṭodḍīnau | vyoma[=]ākāśam||Mṭ||* Zu einem verwandten Bild vgl. *yantrōkṣiptaivakṣipramuttasthau sarvato janah* (MBh 1.126.10cd, auch in DRESCHER 1982, S. 165).

⁶ Wie VTP präzisierend ergänzt: *ekayantrapuṭād uddīnau yantrapalāu iva* || VTP ad YV VII.94.5cd ||. Vgl. auch unten, Anm. 9.

⁷ Zitate unter Weglassung der terminologisch philosophischen Vorderglieder.

⁸ *svasattāpuṭakodḍīnaḥ parabodhabaleritaḥ | ahamityarthaḥpāṣāṇo na jāne kvāśu gacchati* ||

⁹ *abantāpuṭakodḍīno brahmavīrabaleritaḥ | śarīryantrapāṣāṇo na jāne kvāśu gacchati* || *vīra* = Soldat (Metapher für das *brahman*!). Vgl. dazu VTP ad YV VII.17.3: Spezifizierung von *puṭaka* als *yantra-puṭaka* (vgl. auch oben, Anm. 5) sowie Erklärung dieser mechanischen Vorrichtung als *agni-yantra*. Zur Zeit der Abfassung von VTP im 18. Jh. dürfte *agni-yantra* allerdings bereits ganz konkret als Feuerwaffe (dazu RAO et al. 1992, S. 136ff.) verstanden worden sein.

Setzen wir unseren waffentechnologisch auffallend versierten Vasiṣṭha fürs erste aber kurz beiseite und wenden wir uns zunächst einem anderen Stein zu, dessen Wesen sich aus seinem Namen etwas leichter erraten läßt, dem *kṣepaṇāśman*, wörtlich „Schleuderstein“.

Für *kṣepana* im Vorderglied und andere Ableitungen von *√kṣip* (*kṣepaṇī*, *kṣepinī*, *kṣepaṇīya*), ist die Bedeutung Schleuder gesichert,¹⁰ jedoch ohne daß sich daraus Näheres über ihre Funktion und ihren Gebrauch ableiten ließe. Signifikant ist das Fehlen der zusätzlichen Bestimmung *yantra* im Vorderglied. Ohne derlei qualifizierende Zusätze wird man bei *kṣepana* tatsächlich von einer Handschleuder als Fernwaffe ausgehen dürfen, wie die folgenden Beispiele es verdeutlichen werden. Bei indischen ebenso wie bei den besser bekannten antiken, biblischen und vorderorientalischen Handschleudern handelt es sich um solche Waffen, die ihrem Geschoss die kinetische Energie durch schnelle Drehbewegungen der Hand verleihen. Das Projektil befindet sich in einer Verbreiterung, der sogenannten Schleudertasche (Abb. 1).¹¹ Die Schleudertasche birgt den Stein während der Rotation des Schleuderriemens und öffnet sich erst beim Loslassen eines der beiden Riemenenden, wodurch der Stein dann fortgeschleudert wird. Keinesfalls aber darf eine solche Handschleuder anachronistisch mit der aus der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jh. stammenden Zwillie gleichgesetzt werden, die von Hand gespannt wird, und deren Schleuderkraft vom Elastizitätsfaktor des verwendeten Kautschuks abhängt.¹²

Das Werfen und Schleudern von Steinen ist nicht nur bei Assyern, Hethitern, Griechen und Persern, sondern erwartungsgemäß auch bereits im Rgveda belegt, denn, wie HEINRICH ZIMMER es bezeichnend formulierte,

¹⁰ So PW und APTE 1957 s.v.; vgl. auch NEWID 1986, S. 53. Bei der Suche nach einschlägigen Begriffen stößt man in den Wörterbüchern auf eine Anzahl spezieller Termini, die angeblich auch die Bedeutung „Schleuder“ tragen können. Dazu zählen Wörter wie *cakrāśman* (NEWID 1986, S. 53), *bhīṇḍipāla* (NEWID 1986, S. 25; „Speer“ bei LOSCH 1955, S. 214), *śṛṅgikā* (NEWID 1986, S. 55), *śaikya* und *avapothikā*.

¹¹ Vgl. dazu RIA 12, S. 222–228 (s.v. Schleuder); DOHRENWEND 2002, S. 29–33. Eine Abbildung einer indischen Handschleuder mit Schleudertasche (Miniatur aus Bijāpur, 1570) findet sich bei ELGOOD 2004, S. 216.

¹² Die Vulkanisation von Kautschuk war erst 1839 gelungen.



Abb. 1: Assyrische Schleuderer. Relief aus Ninive, 1. Jt. v. Chr. (RIA 12, S. 228. Abb. 3)

warf man dort „nach Art der homerischen Helden öfters auch mit Schleudersteinen auf den Gegner“:¹³

āré āśmā yām āsyatha || RV I.172.2c ||

Fern der Stein, den ihr werft!

Während es sich hier durchaus um einen mit der Hand ausgeführten Steinwurf handeln kann, weisen die beiden folgenden Beispiele demgegenüber deutlich auf eine Schleuderbewegung durch Drehen (*√vrt*) sowie auch auf die Existenz eines Schleuderriemens bzw. der Auflage für den Schleuderstein hin. Sehr wahrscheinlich bringt das vedische *gó* in der auch anderswo belegten Bedeutung des Riemens aus Rindsleder¹⁴ hier technisch die erwähnte Schleudertasche zum Ausdruck:

tvām āyasām prāti vartayo góṛ, divó āśmānam [...] || RV I.121.9ab ||

Her aus dem Lederriemen (*góṣ*) schleuderst du den ehernen Stein¹⁵ vom Himmel (*divás*) [...] ¹⁶

prā vartaya divó āśmānam indra || RV VII.104.19a ||

Los schleudere [Deinen] Stein (*āśman*) vom Himmel, Indra!

Da die Handschleuder bei praktisch allen vorderasiatischen und antiken Kulturen bekannt und in militärischem Gebrauch war, wäre die Erwähnung solcher Schleudern auch im Rgveda nichts, was uns überraschen müßte.

Ein eindeutiges Beispiel für den tödlichen Direktbeschuss mit einer Schleuder finden wir in der historiographischen Literatur des Mittelalters. So berichtet Kalhaṇa, wie König Jajja von einem Caṇḍāla gezielt mit einer

¹³ ZIMMER (1879, S. 301) verweist auf RV I.51.3 (*ádri*) und VI.6.5 (*asáni*) als Belege. „Daß Stein als Waffe im Kampf eingesetzt wurde, geht nicht nur aus [...] literarischen Quellen hervor, sondern auch aus Darstellungen auf Monumenten, wo Steine auf die Gegner geschleudert werden.“ (NEWID 1986, S. 53). Daß bei der Jagd gestelltes Wild auch mit Steinwürfen verletzt und erschlagen wurde, ist den folgenden Stellen zu entnehmen: (*mṛgab*) ... *drṣadāhananāṅkitāḥ* (MÜ VI.201.38d); **upalanirghātāiḥ* [...] *cūrṇitāḥ* (MÜ VI.201.39 cd). Vgl. auch RIA 12, 224f.

¹⁴ Zu *gó* = „rindslederner Riemen zum Schleudern“, vgl. WRV s.v.; = „Rindshaut, -leder, daraus geschnittene Riemen; Sehne“ (pw); weitere Stellen bei ZIMMER 1879, S. 228; 246; 296.

¹⁵ Zu *āśman* („Schleuderstein“) vgl. Rivelex 596; zu *prati* + *√vrt* (caus.) = „schleudern + Akk.“ (WRV); = „entgegen schleudern“ (pw).

¹⁶ „Aus dem schleuderriemen lieszest du herfliegen das eherne geschosz vom himel her“ (LUDWIG 1876 (2), S. 36 = Nr. 470); „out of the sling thou didst let hither fly the iron missile from heaven, the sling stone put in, [into the sling] with elasticity“ (LUDWIGS englische Übersetzung von 1886 [Ms], Transkript RAIK STRUNZ); „Du schleuderdest den eisernen, [...] Keil des Himmels aus dem Riemen“ (GRASSMANN 1876/1877 (2), S. 125); „Du schleuderst aus dem Riemen das eherne Geschoß“ (ZIMMER 1879, S. 228). Erst mit GELDNER erfährt die Deutung dieser Stelle ihre völlig realitätsfremde Wendung, der sich keiner der ihm nachfolgenden Übersetzer mehr entziehen wollte.

Handschleuder (*kṣepaṇīya*) getötet wurde¹⁷, indem er diesem einen Treffer im Gesicht beibrachte. Der Wurf (*√kṣip*) erfolgte mittels einer Drehbewegung (*√bhram*):

bhramayan kṣepaṇīyaṃ sa kṣiptvāśmānaṃ tadānane || RT 4.477ab ||

Indem er die Schleuder herumwirbelte, schleuderte der [Caṇḍāla] den Stein in das Gesicht des [Fürsten, ...].

Eine mittels Drehbewegung betätigte Steinschleuder (*kṣepaṇa*)¹⁸ findet sich auch im *Mokṣopāya* genannt:

bhramitaḥ kṣepaṇeneva || MU III.54.46c ||
kṣepaṇeneva (em.) *kṣepaṇeneva* Ś₁₄ *kṣepaṇenaiva* Ed.

Als wäre er mit einer Handschleuder umhergewirbelt worden.

Ein Hinweis auf den massiven Einsatz von taktischen Schleudern, wie er in der Alten Welt geläufig war,¹⁹ scheint mir in der folgenden Stelle vorzuliegen:

kṣepanakṣobhasaṅkṣīṇasainyakṣonyopalakṣitaḥ || MU III.33.34 ||

Ein bezeichnendes Merkmal [des Waffengangs der beiden Heere²⁰ war, daß] die Truppenkörper durch die von den Schleudern [ausgelöste] Erschütterung²¹ völlig aufgerieben worden waren.

¹⁷ „[...] there were two very different kinds of slingers. The first was the specialist slinger, trained to the weapon from childhood and capable of great accuracy and force (velocity). [...] The Balearic and Rhodian slingers were excellent examples of this type of specialist slinger brought up with their weapon, and they were used in the role of sharp shooters or snipers.“ (DOHRENWEND 2002, S. 44). Zum Letalitätsfaktor bei Treffern mit Schleudergeschossen (aus Stein, gebranntem Ton oder Blei [RIA 12, S. 226f.]), vgl. DOHRENWEND 2002, S. 43f. (mit Vergleichstabellen): „the sling was a very effective weapon when compared to the other weapons available to ancient or medieval warriors. The sling would appear to have been about two-thirds as effective as a hand bow, and these two weapons were far superior to anything else available in this regard up to the 19th century. In combination with the ballistic information, it justifies the conclusions that the sling was a formidable addition to the armory of any ancient / medieval army, [...]“.

¹⁸ *kṣepaṇena* [=] *śilāprakṣepayantrena* (VTP ad YV III. 54.46c). Doch kann es sich an dieser Stelle um keine Schleudermaschine (*yantra*) i. S. eines Katapults handeln, da dieses nicht herumgewirbelt wird. Entweder erklärt VTP hier die Handschleuder mittels *yantra* als von Hand zu betätigendes Gerät, oder die genaue Funktion war dem Erklärer selbst nicht völlig klar.

¹⁹ Vgl. RIA 12, 225. „Armed with the inexpensive sling, [...] low status soldiers were [...] used to produce mass fire at the beginnings of battles. Their hail of sling stones at extreme range produced an effect similar to that of the beaten zone of a modern machine gun, if of much lower lethality. The Romans also attempted to develop this skill as an additional arm for normal infantry [...]“ (DOHRENWEND 2002, S. 45).

²⁰ *senayoś śastrasampātāḥ* (MU III.33.5c).

²¹ *kṣobha* ist hier ersichtlich aus Gründen der Alliteration (*kṣe°/kṣo°/kṣī°/kṣo°/kṣī°*) gebraucht.

Die hohe Beschleunigung²² der Steine wird durch Loslassen (*ut-√muc*) eines Endes des umhergewirbelten Schleuderriemens erzielt:

[...] *yāti deśāntaram kṣaṇāt | kṣepaṇonmuktapāśāṇa²³ iva* [...] || MU VI.35.48 ||
Bewegt sich blitzartig an einen anderen Ort wie ein von einer Schleuder entsandter Stein.

In analytischer Formulierung:

kṣepaṇair iva pāśāṇaḥ preryate [...] || MU VI.82.23cd ||
Wird vorangetrieben wie von Schleudern ein Stein.

Handschleudern dürften gesellschaftlich weiter verbreitet gewesen sein, als man es zunächst erwarten würde. Das folgende Beispiel aus dem 15. Jh. aber zeigt, daß sie – wie in anderen Kulturkreisen²⁴ – eine auch in Kaschmir von Zivilisten gehandhabte Waffe waren:

mārgarodbhṛtāḥ sarvāḥ kṣepaṇīyāśmavarśibhiḥ |
[...] *sāhasam kṛtam* || ŚRT 4.653 ||

In ihrem Entschluß, [den Plünderern] den Weg zu versperren, wurden alle [Bewohner dieses Stadtviertels] mittels eines aus [ihren] Schleudern [stammenden] Steinhagels gewalttätig.

Der kollektive Gebrauch von Schleudern konnte also einen – wiederholt explizit als solchen bezeichneten – Steinhagel²⁵ auslösen und sich aufgrund seiner kaum abwehrbaren Fernwirkung als durchaus kampentscheidend erweisen.

²² „Die maximale Reichweite lag bei 200–300 m (bis zu 400 m bei Verwendung von Bleigeschossen)“ (RIA 12, S. 225). Zu Geschossgeschwindigkeit und Einschlagenergie vgl. DOHRENWEND 2002, S. 38f. (mit Graphiken): „[...] even lighter sling projectiles have momentum equivalent to modern revolver bullets, and the momentum of heavier sling projectiles exceed those of the two most common military rifle cartridges in use today. In terms of relative stopping power, they are a great deal more effective. [...] the heaviest projectile that a slinger could propel to a useful height was the best to use for plunging fire, and [...] the heaviest projectiles used could far exceed the terminal effect of modern military small arms.“

²³ *kṣepaṇonmuktapāśāṇa^o* wird auch in MU VI.267.36 verwendet.

²⁴ Vgl. DOHRENWEND 2002: „[...] the weapon is often called the ‘shepherd’s bow.’ This is especially true for East and Central Asia [...], the Indian mountains, the southern half of the Malaysian Peninsula, Guangdong Province in China, and Korea. It is also known in Indonesia and the Philippines. In Tibet, it was in regular military use up to the end of the last century [...]. In Europe, the sling was used in more modern times as a shepherd’s weapon.“ (S. 32). „[...] The sling has always been an extremely effective weapon. It is a long range, hard-hitting, accurate weapon with a variety of tactical and civilian uses. It is very light weight, unobtrusive, inexpensive, and its ammunition is easy to obtain and generally free. It is also silent and the ultimate concealable weapon.“ (S. 48).

²⁵ Auch in akkadischer Terminologie konnten, wie im Sanskrit, „Geschosse [...] herabregnen“ (AIL 12, S. 223). „Bei kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen kamen massenhaft [Schleudern] zum Einsatz, die mit einem Flächenbombardement die Schlacht eröffneten (AIL 12, S. 225).

So beschreibt Kalhaṇa, wie König Bhikṣācara (AD 1120) mit zwei Aristokraten nach zunächst erfolgreicher Gegenwehr mit den von ihnen beherrschten konventionellen Waffen des Adels, also mit Bogen und Schwert, schließlich einem Hagel von Schleudersteinen erlag, den ein wüster Haufen von Khaṣas auf sie niedergehen hatte lassen.

[...] *kṣiptāśmabhiḥ khaṣaiḥ* |
kṣatāṅgo bhagnacāpaś ca cireṇa vimukhikṛtāḥ || RT 8.1754 ||
tato harmyāt Khaṣair muktāḥ puṣṭāḥ pāṣāṇavṛṣṭayaḥ ||
dhāvatas tasya ghorāśmavṛṣṭikuṇṭhitavarṣmanāḥ |
nimamajja yakṛtpiṇḍaṃ bhañjan pārśve śilimukhaḥ || RT 8.1762c–1763 ||

Die von den Khaṣas geschleuderten Steine hatten seine Glieder verwundet und seinen Bogen zerbrochen. [So] zog er sich schließlich zurück. [...] [Da] die Khaṣas [mit Nahkampfwaffen nichts gegen die drei ausrichten konnten], ließen sie vom Gebäude einen dichten Steinregen [auf sie] niedergehen. Während [Bhikṣu], dessen Kopf vom furchtbaren Steinregen benommen war, noch rannte, drang ihm ein Pfeil in die Seite, wobei er seine Leber durchbohrte.

Man kann daran – wie schon oben bei der „Bürgerwehr“ aus Śrīnagar, die sich gegen Plünderer zur Wehr setzte – ersehen, welche Wirkungen mit Handschleudern gegen konventionell bewaffnete Kämpfer erzielt werden konnten. Das war besonders dann der Fall, wenn die Steine salvenartig auf sie niederprasselten und ihnen schwere, oft tödliche Verletzungen zufügten oder sie so benommen machten, daß sie die Orientierung verloren und sich nicht mehr wehren konnten.

Das wiederholt gebrauchte Bild von einem Steinregen ist trotz der sicher auch gewollten Metaphorik vermutlich dennoch wörtlich zu nehmen, wie auch verwandte Schlachtbeschreibungen es gelegentlich verdeutlichen:

ūhuḥ kṣepaṇapāṣāṇamattanadyo nabhastale || MU III.46.27 ||

Reißende Ströme von Schleudersteinen fluteten²⁶ den Himmel.

śilāsāṇaśilāvarṣair [...] |
Loharādrer avārohan [...] || JRT 474 ||

Begleitet von einem eisenharten Hagel aus Steinen stürmten sie von der Bergfestung Lohara herab.

viprakīrṇais sa pāṣāṇair Lolo Dāmaranāyakaḥ |
antarhitāḥ [...] *śatrukīrṇaśilāṇāśicchanṇo* [...] || JRT 475f ||

Lola, der General der Dāmaras [lag] von umhergeschleuderten Steinen zugeeckt [...], verborgen unter dem Steinhaufen, den [seine] Feinde [auf ihn] geschleudert hatten.

²⁶ Vgl. auch *prohyante yantravacchailāḥ* [...] || MU VI.238.69c || („Mit einem Mechanismus versehene Steine (= Katapultgeschosse?) brausen dahin [...])“).



svam khaṇḍīkṛtya śailena [...]

pratyeḥkaṃ śatrasva teṣu śīlāvarṣiṣv amamsata || Ps-JRT 49, B 554 ||

Unter derartigen Steinhageln wähnte sich jeder einzelne Feind selbst von einem Stein zermalmt.²⁷

Zum Nachweis der Existenz, des Gebrauchs und der Wirkungsweise der gewöhnlichen Handschleuder auch in Indien bedarf es wohl kaum weiterer Belege.

2. Katapulte

Das bringt uns zu den mechanischen Schleudergeräten. Ein Unterschied zwischen diesen und der Handschleuder geht aus solchen Stellen hervor, wo, wie in den folgenden Schlachtengemälden, sogenannte *yantrāśmans*, „Katapultsteine“, ausdrücklich von Schleudersteinen (*kṣepaṇāśman*) auseinandergehalten werden:

[dadarśa ...] yuddhoddhatārṇavam || MU VI.268.9 ||

valadvyūhavadvyasta-yantrāśma-kṣepaṇāśmakam || MU VI.268.17cd ||

In diesem aufgewühlten Ozean der Schlacht, [den er da besah ...], brandeten (*vahat*) Katapult- und Schleudersteine einzeln (*vyasta*) gegen die wogenden Truppen an.²⁸

Eine Erklärung der *Cāṇakyaṭīkā*²⁹ stützt die obige Dvandva-Analyse, da sie *yantragospaṇa* und *muṣṭipāśāna* mit jeweils angeschlossener Erklärung technisch ganz analog unterscheidet:

yantragospaṇo [=] *yantrakṣepyaḥ* *bhacchailagudakah*

Ein *yantra-gospaṇa* [ist] eine große Steinkugel, die von einem Gerät abzuschießen ist.

muṣṭipāśāṇo [=] *hastakṣepyaḥ*

Ein *muṣṭipāśāna* ist von Hand zu schleudern.

²⁷ Vgl. auch RAGHAVAN (1952, S. 8): „the text itself [= Bhagavatī Sūtra, W.S.] elaborates that such a heavy stone-shower has been in operation“. Jüngst veröffentlichte Auswertungen des archäologischen Befundes von der römischen Erstürmung der Bergfestung von Burnswark können geradezu als Parallele gelesen werden, die die soeben zitierten Passagen bestätigen: „[...] defenders on the hilltop were suppressed by a hail of sling bullets with an accurate range of 120m and the stopping power of a modern handgun, as well as ballista balls, ballista bolts, and arrows. This presumably covered an attacking force sweeping out of the three huge gateways and storming the hilltop. Such a combination of missile troops and conventional infantry is likely to have been brutally effective.“ (REID 2016).

²⁸ „[...] slingers often began a battle at extreme range, using indirect fire. [...] those projectiles could be a hazard that horses would not face. If properly sited slingers could eliminate the dangers of a cavalry charge across an ancient battlefield [...]“ (DOHRENWEND 2002, S. 44f.).

²⁹ CṬ 168, S. 3f. zu AŚ 2.18.15 (*yantragospāṇamuṣṭipāśāna*^o) zählt Waffen aus Stein (*āsmāyudha*) auf.

Im ersteren Fall wird es sich daher um Geschosse von Katapulten, im letzteren um solche von Handschleudern handeln.³⁰ Und es wird deutlich, daß zwischen diesen beiden Waffengattungen doch eine grundlegende Unterscheidung getroffen wurde.³¹

Weitere Beispiele aus dem *Mokṣopāya* erhellen zusätzliche Details:

yantraśma-kṣepaṇāśma-prasaranasaritām gbhūktaiḥ [...]
āsin [...] *kīrṇakarṇaṃ jagat tat* || MU VI.267.47 ||

Die Ohren der [ganzen] Welt waren durch das Dröhnen der Fluten (*sarit*) her-
 vorbrechender Katapult- und Schleudersteine [völlig] ertaubt.³²

Der steinerne Schusswechsel ging demnach sehr geräuschvoll vonstatten.³³ Das muß nicht unbedingt dichterischer Ausschmückung geschuldet sein, wenn man etwa die speziell gebohrten Bleigeschosse der römischen Handschleudern zum Vergleich heranzieht, die salvenweise unter aggressiven Pfeifgeräuschen auf den Gegner niedergingen³⁴ – zu schweigen von den begleitenden Einschlägen der schweren Katapultsteine. Zusammengenommen wird das einen ohrenbetäubenden Lärm erzeugt haben.

Yantra-aśman und Synonymen kommt die Bedeutung Katapultgeschoss in dem Sinne zu, daß die Steine sich von ihrem Katapult lösen, d. h., das verknappte Kompositum ist als Verbalellipse zu analysieren. Eine Anzahl von Textstellen bringt die im Kompositum ausgesparte Verbalhandlung mittels

³⁰ Als dritte Geschossart nennt Kauṭalya *rocanīdṛṣad* („Mühlstein“ bei SCHMIDT (Nachtr., s. v.), KANGLE 1969, S. 331, und OLIVELLE (2013, S. 142). Die *Tīkā* beschreibt ihn als einen großen flachen Stein (*śilāpaṭṭikā*), der, wird er geschleudert, auch Tiere wie Elefanten und Pferde zu töten vermag (loc. cit.).

³¹ Aber nicht immer ist klar, ob es sich um Geschosse von Hand- oder mechanischen Schleudern handeln soll: *tayor [...] abhūt | [...] mahāyuddham śarapāṣāṇadurḍḍinam* || ŚuRT App. C 296 (B 795) || („Es kam zu einem gewaltigen Kampf zwischen den beiden, der [wie] ein von Pfeilen und Steinen [anstatt von Wolken] bedeckter Regentag war“). *yuddham [...] abhūt | kāmīrakṣiptapāṣāṇasāratomavadārūṇam* || ŚuRT App. C 285 (B 784) || („Es kam zu einem schrecklichen Kampf, bei dem die Kaschmiris Steine, Pfeile und Lanzen schleuderten.“).

³² Lit.: „verstopft“ (vgl. *kīrṇa°*, pw). Vgl. auch RAGHAVAN 1952, S. 4.

³³ „The noise produced by the *yantras* in action is a subject of special notice.“ (SINGH 1965, S. 113). Allerdings war Singh nicht klar, um welche Art von Kriegsgeräten genau es sich hierbei handelte: „The *yantras* so often described were presumably arrow-and-stone scattering contrivances. While some of these *yantras* were furnished with bowstrings, other may have been catapults.“ (1965, S. 134).

³⁴ „Der Hagel der aufprallenden Geschosse erzeugte ein typisches Geräusch.“ (RIA 12, S. 223). „The small bullets with holes could be successfully slung in small groups of three or four to create a form of grapeshot. These lead shot whistled, or more accurately gave off a mechanical buzzing sound eerily reminiscent of an agitated wasp. It represents an early form of psychological warfare [by ...] the terror that hearing the incoming bullets would instil in the defenders.“ (REID 2016).

ut-√kṣip, *ut-√muc*, *ut-√sthā*, oder *√cyut* explizit als „Stein, der sich von einem Katapult gelöst hat“ zum Ausdruck³⁵:

prodḍīya [...] yantronmuktāśmavan nabhaḥ || MU V.89.4 ||

Flogen zum Himmel auf wie von einem Katapult gelöste Steine [...]³⁶

yantrotttha[...]dṛṣadā sadṛśam [...] || MU VI.297.55a ||

Gleich einem Stein [...], der] sich von einem Katapult (*yantra-uttha-dṛṣad*) erhoben hat [...]

atthotpannabhayo rājā na śaśāka nijasthitim |

vyavasthāpayituṃ yantracyutām kārūḥ śilām iva || RT 1.363 ||

Der nunmehr von Furcht befallene Fürst konnte seine Lage nicht mehr konsolidieren, wie der Katapultmeister (*kāru*)³⁷ den Stein, [sobald dieser] das Katapult verlassen hat.³⁸

Bemerkenswert ist, daß Katapulte offenbar auch in Feldschlachten zum Einsatz kamen.

So gibt es einen alten Hinweis zunächst im *Arthaśāstra* (AŚ 2.18.5–6),³⁹ wo ein grundlegender Unterschied getroffen wird zwischen ortsfesten

³⁵ Vgl. pw s.v. *yantrapala*: „*yantrakteṣiptopalāḥ* [...] sind mit einer Schleuder geworfene Steine“. Diese zutreffende Bedeutung wurde (zu Unrecht) fallengelassen in pw. DRESCHER (1982, S. 163) dokumentiert eine explizite Stelle auch aus dem Mahāvamsa (72.251): *pavatti yanta-muttānam [...] pāsāṇānam [...] vijambhaṇam*.

³⁶ „wie aus einem Gerät geschleuderte Steine“ (MU (Ü) V.89.4, S. 556).

³⁷ *Kāru* bezeichnet zunächst den „Handwerker“ in seinem allgemeinsten Sinne. Begrifflich dem *śilpin* verwandt, ergibt sich seine Spezialisierung aus dem jeweiligen Kontext. So verwendet Śrīvara *śilpin* für den Kanonenbauer bzw. Waffenschmied (vgl. ŚRT 1.1.72f., unten, Abschnitt 3 über Kanonen), *Kaḥaṇa kārū* für den Katapultmeister. Im *Saṅghabhedavastu* begegnet er unter der Bezeichnung *yantrakara-/yantrakalā-ācārya* (GNOLI 1978, S. 166, 12f.; 168, 3). In der Frühzeit der islamischen Wurfmaschinen-geschichte wurden Katapultmeister zur Bedienung solcher Vorrichtungen aus Khorasan und Sogdien rekrutiert (HILL 1973, S. 99f.).

³⁸ Diese Deutung wird m. E. auch durch eine von STEIN verzeichnete Glosse zu *yantra* gestützt: „A₂ gloss *yandravaṭ itī senāyām yuddhāḍau prasiddham*“, die nur bedeuten kann, daß dieser Begriff als *yandravaṭ* (möglicherweise verderbte Lesart) im Heer (*senā*) für Kampfhandlungen (*yuddha*) und dergleichen gebräuchlich sei. STEIN aber, dem DRESCHER kritiklos folgt (1982, S. 60), lehnte diese Interpretation des Glossators ab und deutet die Stelle in dem Sinne, daß hier von einem Steinblock für den Tempelbau die Rede sei, der von einer Hebemaschine gefallen sei (STEIN 1900 (1), S. 53). Doch ist das Bild im Grunde ganz dasselbe wie das wohlbekannte eines Pfeils, der, einmal abgeschossen und seiner eigenen Dynamik folgend, vom Schützen nicht mehr zu kontrollieren ist.

³⁹ Den Hinweis auf die Klassifizierung der Waffengattungen im *Arthaśāstra* in stationäre und bewegliche Kategorien verdanke ich JOSEPH MARINO (20. Jan. 2015): „In the second chapter of the *Arthaśāstra* (on ‘superintendents’), the superintendent of the army is said to care for, among other things, a number of stationary machines (*sthitayantrāṇi*) and moveable machines (*calayantrāṇi*) and also to the fact that AN VI.106 (*Nagaropama*

DONALD R. HILL war die Zugblide („traction trebuchet“) im China des Altertums und des Frühmittelalters in Verwendung. Über die zentralasiatischen Turkvölker erreichte sie bereits im 7. Jh. die westliche Welt des Islam.⁴⁶ Die Annahme, daß man diese Wurfmaschinen – wie etwa bei muslimischen Belagerungen in Sindh (AD 708) oder Khorasan (AD 710) – auch in anderen benachbarten Regionen wie Kaschmir gekannt haben mußte, liegt absolut nahe, und unsere kaschmirischen Quellen belegen diese Tatsache ja auch. HILLS Rekonstruktionszeichnungen der unterschiedlichen Katapultmodelle lassen ihre Einzelteile und Funktionsweisen sehr schön nachvollziehen.⁴⁷ Allerdings bleibt unklar, ob in Kaschmir Zugbliden, deren kurzer Hebelarm von einem Team von 50 oder sogar mehreren hundert Männern ruckartig angezogen wurde,⁴⁸ oder Bliden mit Gegengewicht verwendet wurden.

Während die Schleudergeräte °*yantra* im Hinterglied tragen (*pāṣāṇa*⁴⁹–*yantra* = „Stein[wurf]-Maschine“), haben die dazugehörigen Katapultgeschosse *yantra*° in der Regel stets als Vorderglied (*yantra-pāṣāṇa* = „Katapult-Stein“).

yantrapāṣāṇavarṣeṇa [...] asmān pariṣīṇcati |
senā [...] || MU III.34.19 ||

Das Heer überschüttet uns mit einem von Wurfmaschinen [abgeschossen] Steinregen.

Anders als die Handschleuder konnten Katapultgeschosse eine Art von Streuwirkung entfalten, wenn man mehrere Steine zugleich (aus demselben *puṭa*) abschöß:⁵⁰

DONALD R. HILL verdanke ich Prof. OSKAR VON HINÜBER.

⁴⁶ In Europa wurden Wurfmaschinen mit Gegengewicht erst ab der Zeit des 12.–13. Jh. genutzt, den Zugbliden kam weniger Bedeutung zu (HILL 1973, S. 102). An der Kathedrale Saint-Nazaire von Béziers (13. Jh.) findet sich eine anschauliche Darstellung der Verwendung einer Zugblide mit Schleuderseil (Abb. 2).

⁴⁷ HILL 1973, S. Fig. 1–3 (nach S. 114) sowie S. 102ff.

⁴⁸ HILL 1973, S. 108. Vgl. auch die auf eine Zugblide („traction trebuchet“) deutende Schilderung im *Saṅghabhedavastu*, wo von fünfhundert Männern die Rede ist, die ein solches Katapult betätigen (Anm. 50). Die Zahlenangabe als solche wäre im Vergleich mit arabischen und chinesischen Quellen keineswegs unrealistisch, denn „the sources give figures of 250, 500, and even 1,200 men for the size of the pulling crew“ (HILL 1973, S. 108).

⁴⁹ Bzw. Synonyme wie etwa *āsmāyantra* (aus dem Harivaṃṣa notiert bei DRESCHER 1982, S. 165).

⁵⁰ Es könnte sich bei der „Garbe“ (*cakra*) aber um eine Verwendung in Übereinstimmung mit dem leichtgängigen spätrömischen Onager handeln. Auch REID (2016) verweist auf „forms of grapeshot“. Eine Beinverwundung des Buddha durch einen von einem Katapultgeschoss stammenden Steinsplitter (*pāṣāṇaśarkarā*) wird im *Saṅghabhedavastu* (GNOLI 1978, S. 168, 24–27) erwähnt: *yantram āmredya [...] śilā kṣiptā [...] pāṣāṇaśarkarayā padāḥ kṣataḥ kṛtaḥ* (Stelle verzeichnet bei DRESCHER 1982, S. 163). Es deutet einiges auf die Idee einer Zugblide, da als Charakteristikum erwähnt wird, sie werde von fünfhundert Männern betätigt: *[...] yantram kartum yaḥ pañcabhiḥ puruṣaśataiḥ āmredyate [...] tatra*

yantrapāṣāṇacakraughadrutavidrutakhecarah || MU III.33.25ab ||

[Beim Waffengang der beiden Heere]⁵¹ waren die Vögel geschwind auseinandergefliegen wegen der von Wurfmaschinen (*yantra*) [hoch in den Himmel geschlagen] Steingarben (*pāṣāṇacakra*).⁵²

Die Trefferwirkung⁵³ der in Schlachten von Feldkatapulten auf den Gegner geschleuderten Steine wird als zermalmend ($\sqrt{pis}$, $\sqrt{cūrṇ}$) beschrieben:

yantrapāṣāṇasampātapiṣṭaketurathadrumah || MU III.33.33ab ||

[Beim Waffengang der beiden Heere] wurden Banner, Wagen, Bäume vom Einschlag der von Wurfmaschinen [abgeschossenen] Steine zermalm.

yantrapāṣāṇasaṅghaṭṭapiṣṭāmaragatāyudham || MU VI.267.40cd ||

Die Waffen, [die bei dieser Schlacht⁵⁴] am Himmel [zum Einsatz] kamen, wurden durch den Zusammenprall mit Katapultgeschossen zermalm.⁵⁵

pañca manuṣyaśatāni sthāpitāni, ye tad yantram āmredayanti [...] pañca puruṣaśatāni yantram āmredayitum ārabdhāni (GNOLI 1978, S. 166, 14–26; vgl. S. 167, 32f.; S. 168, 4f.). Als weiteres Indiz kommt ihre Bewegbarkeit im Feld hinzu: *katāreṇa sthānena yantram avatārayāmaḥ* (GNOLI 1978, S. 167, 4).

⁵¹ *senayoś śastrasampātah* (vgl. MU III.33.5c). Hier handelt es sich um eine offene Feldschlacht.

⁵² Die Analyse von VC (ad LYV 3.2.65cd, p. 160, 9 f) als Dvandva-Kompositum (*yantrapreritapāṣāṇaiś cakrāṇām oghaiś ca dūraṇi vidrutāḥ khecarā devādayo yasmin satatā*), wo offenbar an Diskusse gedacht ist, scheint hier unwahrscheinlich.

⁵³ Zu Berechnungen historischer Katapultgeschossgewichte und Reichweiten vgl. HILL 1973, S. 111ff. „The missile [...] could weigh from 2 to 130 pounds.“ (HILL 1973, S. 102).

⁵⁴ Bahuvrīhisch mit *raṇam* (MU VI.267.1cd) zu konstruieren: *etasmīn antare tatra pravṛttaṃ dāruṇam raṇam*.

⁵⁵ Die vollständige Strophe lautet: *kaṭe mṛtyor iva naradrākṣāpīḍanayantrake | yantrapāṣāṇasaṅghaṭṭapiṣṭāmaragatāyudham* || MU VI.267.40 ||. Konstruktion und Interpretation von Pāda ab müssen bis zur kritischen Herstellung dieser Strophe und ihrer Umgebung als ungesichert und daher als vorläufig angesehen werden, zumal MT und VTP eine syntaktisch abweichende Strophenstruktur sowie Varianten überliefern. Doch dürfte das aus der derzeit vorliegenden, oben zitierten Rohkollation hervortretende Bild zumindest einen kulturgeschichtlich interessanten Hinweis auf die Existenz von Traubenpressen (*drākṣāpīḍanayantra*) zur Rotweinherstellung beinhalten: Die Trauben würden in dieser Lesart als Metapher für die Krieger dieser Schlacht gebraucht, die beim Zerquetschtwerden durch die zermalmenden Katapultsteine ihr rotes Blut fließen lassen wie die Trauben ihren roten Saft. Da die metaphorische Presse mit einer „Bahre des Todes“ (*kaṭe mṛtyoh*), also einer Totenbahre für die Gefallenen, verglichen wird, ist davon auszugehen, daß die dem Autor bekannte Traubenpresse aus Holzbrettern bestanden haben wird, ähnlich solchen, auf denen man in Indien Leichname zur Verbrennungsstätte bzw. zur (islamischen) Erdbestattung transportiert. Für *kaṭa* verzeichnet pw die Bedeutung „Leichenwagen, Totenbahre“ zwar nur lexikographisch i. S. v. *śavaratha* – ohne explizite lexikographische Einschränkung so übrigens auch bei APTE als „hearse, bier“, aber mittlerweile läßt sich ein solches Gerät zum Leichentransport unter der Bezeichnung *karnīrathā* in kaschmirischen Texten belegen. Beispielsweise in ŚRT 1.7.231: *karnīrathād athokṣipya pithuḥ pārśve nareśvaram | kṛtvā pataikasamvītam bhūgarbbhābhyantare*

[...] *tyakto nabbhomārgaṃ yantropala iva plutah* || MU III.56.15 ||

Verließ den Himmelspfad⁵⁶ (d.h. stürzte herab) wie ein dahingeflogenes Katapultgeschoss.

[...] *°skandhe [...] | patito yantrapāṣāṇaḥ puruṣasyāśanir yathā* || MU III.43.43 ||

Ein Katapultgeschoss stürzte wie ein Blitz auf die [...] Schulter eines Mannes.

anekakṣiptapāṣāṇacūṛṇīkṛtamahīrubāḥ |

[...] *kāśmīrāḥ [...] || ŚuRT App. C 301 (B 800) ||*

Die Kaschmiris, die mit den [von ihnen] geschleuderten Steinen zahllose⁵⁷ Bäume zerschmettert hatten, [...].

Den Unterschied zur Wirkung von Pfeilsalven, die in den Baumstämmen steckenbleiben, sie aber nicht zerschmettern, macht die folgende Bemerkung deutlich:

yodbakṣiptaśaravṛtācchannaskandhā mahādrumāḥ || ŚuRT App. C 327 ab (B 826) ||

Die Stämme der mächtigen Bäume waren unter den Pfeilen verborgen,⁵⁸ die die Krieger abgeschossen hatten.

Katapulte kamen erwartungsgemäß aber auch bei Belagerungen,⁵⁹ und zwar bei Angriff und Verteidigung, zum Einsatz. Ein Beispiel für einen Angriff:

nyadhuh („Dann hoben sie den Sultān von der Transportbahre (*karnīratha*) und übergaben ihn, nachdem sie ihn in ein einziges Tuch gehüllt hatten, an der Seite seines Vaters [Sultān Sikandar] dem Mutterschoß der Erde.“).

⁵⁶ Vgl. auch Jātaka 382 (III 258, 23): *yantapāsāṇe viya devalokā otarivā* („she descended from the heaven as on a stone from a catapult“ – FRANCIS/NEIL 1895, S. 166). PETRA KIEFFER-PÜLZ verdanke ich den Hinweis auf weitere Pāli-Stellen, die im gegebenen Kontext vielleicht eine erneute Betrachtung verdienen (16.10.2017): „Zu *yantapāsāṇe* gäbe es noch Ja II 94,27 (*so ubhakalālāni c' eva yantapāsāṇe ca nānappakārāni ca pabaraṇāni visajjante disvā maraṇabhayabbhīto upasaṅkamitum asakkonto paṭikkami*). Nicht ganz genau Cowell 1895 II, S. 65: „But at sight of the defenders, who cast boiling mud, and stones from their catapults, and all kinds of missiles, the elephant was scared out of his wits and would not come near that place.“ *pāsāṇayanta* ist Ja I 143,20 verwendet, aufgefaßt als eine Art Steinfalle für Wild vom deutschen wie englischen Übersetzer. Im Zusammenhang mit der Definition von *nissagika* ist *usu-satti-yantapāsāṇa* (Khudda-s 13. Jh.), bei *nissajjana* als Beispiel für *kāyappaṭibaddha* ist *usu-yantapāsāṇa* angegeben. Für *mutṭhipāsāṇa* gibt es mehrere Belege (Sn-a I 295; etc.), wobei der *mutṭhipāsāṇa* z. B. verwendet wird, um Rinde vom Baum zu schneiden (Sv I 271).“

⁵⁷ Daß *aneka* auf *mahīruha* zu beziehen ist, ergibt sich aus dem annähernd parallelen Wortlaut von ŚuRT App. C 325ab (B 824): *kāśmīrakṣiptapāṣāṇakampitānantapallavāḥ*.

⁵⁸ Ein verwandtes Bild ist auch: „Er durchbrach das [Palast-Tor, das unter den schrecklichen Speissen der Feinde wie unter Schilfrohren verborgen lag, [...]“ (RT 7.1568).

⁵⁹ Eine ausführliche Darstellung einer bemerkenswerten Belagerungsstrategie, wo Festungen mit Hilfe von Katzen von innen angesteckt wurden, indem man deren Schwänze anzündete („incendiary cats“), findet sich in MARINO (2015, S. 96–99): „[...] spies [...]

yantrapalaśarāsāravividhāyudhavarṣiṇī |
durgasthitair nṛpacamūḥ pratyayodhy aśmavarṣibhiḥ || RT 8.1677 ||

Das Heer des Königs überschüttete [die Festung] mit Katapultgeschossen, Pfeilregen und manch anderen Waffen. Die Burgbewohner bekämpften [das Heer] mit einem Steinhagel.⁶⁰

Bei der Verteidigung mit Katapulten wurde die Steinmunition bewacht:

tataḥ śarair dṛṣadvarṣair bādhyās ceto virodhināḥ |
aṛṇaso rakṣaṇam ito rakṣyā yantrapalā itaḥ || RT 8.2530 ||

[Strategischer Befehl]: „Von hier aus ist der Gegner mit Pfeilen, [und] von dort mit einem Steinhagel zu bedrängen. Von der [Stelle] aus [erfolgt] die Sicherung des Flusses, [und] von dieser dort sind die Katapultsteine zu bewachen.“

Vor diesem Hintergrund wird deutlich, daß der Vergleich, den Vasiṣṭha für sein gemeinsames Auffliegen mit einem Siddha zog, auf zwei Katapultgeschosse abhebt, die – möglicherweise, aber nicht zwingend wie die oben zitierten Steingarben (*pāṣāṇacakra*)⁶¹ – gleichzeitig aus derselben Schleudertasche (*puta*) abgeschossen werden.

3. Kanonen in Kaschmir (AD 1464–1465)

Auch Kanonen⁶² gehörten zu jenen mechanischen Vorrichtungen, die Steinkugeln verschossen, wenngleich sie ihre kinetische Energie natürlich einem anderen Prinzip verdankten. Ihre Existenz in Kaschmir ist ab AD 1464 zu

select animals – including cats – whose homes are inside the fortified city, and then set them on fire to run among the flammable homes. Apparently, in their panic the animals were capable of burning down the city.“ (S. 97). Verwandte Taktiken sind auch über Maḥmūd von Ghazna überliefert, der bei einer Belagerung von Sīstān mit Hilfe von Katapulten säckeweise Schlangen in die Festung geschleudert haben soll, um die Verteidiger durcheinander zu bringen (BOSWORTH 1963, S. 178). Es gab noch weitere Verwendungsmöglichkeiten: „In 1422 Aḥmad Shāh I attacked Warangal, captured its prince and had him shot from a catapult on the walls into a flaming wood pile.“ (ELGOOD 2004, S. 51).

⁶⁰ Da bei *aśmavarṣiṇ* ein *yantra*^o im Vorderglied fehlt, wird es sich – anders als bei den Angreifern – um von den Verteidigern von Hand geschleuderte oder von den Zinnen herabgeworfene Steine handeln. In vorderasiatischen Kulturen ist die Magazinierung von Handschleudersteinen in enormer Stückzahl (mehr als 15 000 Projektile in einem Raum) textlich und archäologisch belegt (AIL 12, S. 224; 227).

⁶¹ MU III.33.25ab (*yantrapāṣāṇacakraughadrutavidrutakbecarāḥ*).

⁶² Vgl. KHAN 2004, S. 41 ff. (unter Berücksichtigung auch der detailreichen Vorgängerstudien von P. K. GODE. Die dort gemachten Jahresangaben reproduzieren allerdings die Umrechnungsfehler der persischen Quellen. Zu den korrekten Daten der sanskritischen Primärquellen vgl. SLAJE 2004, S. 19 ff.; 2005a, S. 41 f. sowie die nachfolgenden Übersetzungen). Kanonen, Kanonenkugeln, den Transport schwerer Waffen und die Wirksamkeit der Artillerie im übrigen Indien behandelt DELOCHE 2007, S. 235 ff.

belegen. In seiner *Zaynatarāṅgīnī*⁶³ berichtet Śrīvara über die neue Waffe, die er *yantra-bhāṇḍa* (lit. „mechanisches Topfgefäß“), das wohl der Idee von „Mörser, Kanonenrohr, Geschütz“ gleichkommt, nennt. Er hat dazu das untenstehende⁶⁴ Kanonen-Elogium (*praśasti*) verfaßt, das, wenn man auf die Aussage der Schlußstrophe (S. 81) sieht und die sonst vorwiegend Bitten und Segenswünschen vorbehaltenen Modi des Prekativs resp. Benediktivs und Imperativs betrachtet (*kriyāt* 75d; *stāt* 79d), wie ein öffentlich zelebrierter Kanonensegen anmutet, zu dessen Abschluß der neue Geschützpark des Sulṭāns offenbar einen Salut abfeuerte:

Śrīvaras *Zaynatarāṅgīnī* (ŚRT 1.1.72–81):

vajrabhāṇḍaprakāraṁś ca śilpinaḥ samadarśayan |
yebhyo 'śrāvi dhvanir dhīvalokahṛtkampakāraḥ || 72 ||

Und Kanonenbauer (*śilpin*) führten [ihm] Typen [ihrer] Geschosswerfer⁶⁵ vor. Hörte man den Laut, [der] von ihnen [ausging], brachte er die Herzen [sogar] der Beherztesten zum Erbeben.

tad yantrabhāṇḍabhedāṁś ca tattaddhātumayān navān |
ānītavān narapatih sambatān śilpinirmīṭān || 73 ||

Und Sulṭān [Zayn] importierte daraufhin moderne, kompakte (*sambata*) Geschützmodelle (*yantrabhāṇḍabhedā*), die von Kanonenbauern (*śilpin*) verfertigt waren [und] aus verschiedenen Metallen bestanden.

'praśastiḥ kriyatām yantrabhāṇḍeṣv' iti nṛpājñāyā |
mayaiva racitān ślokaṁ prasāṅgāt kathayāmy aham || 74 ||

Auf Befehl des Sulṭāns, eine Lobeshymne auf die Geschütze zu verfassen, habe ich selbst [einige] Strophen komponiert, die ich, da sich [jetzt] die Gelegenheit [dazu] bietet, [im folgenden] mitteile:

⁶³ Das sind die ersten beiden Bücher (I und II) des als „Śrīvaras *Rājatarāṅgīnī*“ (ŚRT) edierten Textes, die das Leben von Sulṭān Zayn al-Ābidīn (geb. AD 1401, r. April/Mai 1418–Oktober/November 1419 (Abdankung) sowie von 29. April/13. Mai 1420–2. Mai 1470) und seines Nachfolgers Ḥaydar Šāh (r. 2. Mai 1470–13. April 1472) behandeln (vgl. SLAJE 2005b; 2007).

⁶⁴ Neu ediert auf der Basis von KAUL 1966 unter Verwendung weiterer Handschriften. Zu deren Siglen vgl. JRT, S. 38ff.

⁶⁵ *vajrabāṇa* (lit. „Blitzstrahl-Pfeil“) waren mittels Schwarzpulver verschossene, in Metallgehäuse gefaßte Raketen bzw. Granaten, die an einem langen Stab befestigt wurden. Gezündet, konnten sie direkt auf ihr Ziel gerichtet werden. Unter dem Namen *ban* (*bāṇa*) blieben sie eine beliebte indische Kriegswaffe bis in das 18. Jahrhundert. Abū 'l-Faẓl berichtet, daß sie einen so gewaltigen Lärm verursachten, daß sogar die erfahrensten Kriegselefanten erschrecken (vgl. auch die Schilderung der Lichtblitze beim Abschuss sowie des furchteinflößenden Lärms bei Sāhibrām [Ś₁₁, 26']). Für Details und Abbildungen vgl. KHAN 2004, S. 23ff.; S. 36, n. 26.

Geschütz-Elogium

*yadanugrahena rājñām
samayo līlāvilāsamayāḥ |
samayaś ca yantratantraih
sthīrām pratiṣṭhām kriyāt sa Mayāḥ || 75 ||*

(Zayn, als zweiter) Maya⁶⁶ (in der Welt),
(Der kriegerischen Künste Meister),
Der möge eine feste Basis schaffen⁶⁷
Mit Hilfe des Kanonenparks⁶⁸!
Durch sein Willfahren treten (alle) Herrscher
(Vor ihm) zusammen,
Und (ihre) Einigungen
Gestalten sich zum Kinderspiel.

*rasavasusīkhaicandrāṅke
śāke nākeśaviśruto rājā |
śrījainulābbhadīnaḥ⁶⁹
Kāśmīrān pālayan vijayī || 76 ||*

[°]jainulābbhadīnaḥ (em.)] [°]jainollābbhadīnaḥ Σ [°]jainollābbdīnaḥ (em. KAUL)

Es war im Jahre Vierzehnhundertvierundsechzig⁷⁰,
Daß Sulṭān Zayn al-Ābidīn,
Weithin bekannt als Indra (hier auf Erden,
In einer Schlacht) obsiegte,
Und er dem Volk von Kaschmir
(Mit den Geschützten seinen) Schutz gewährte.

*varṣe śaśīvedāṅke
nirmīlavān yantrabhāṇḍam idam |
tat⁷¹ iti Mausulabbāsā-
khyātam loke tatkāṇḍam iti || 77 ||*

tad] top (em. KAUL); loke tatkāṇḍam] loke ca kāṇḍam (em. KAUL)⁷²

⁶⁶ Maya ist der in militärischen Wissenschaften geschulte Meister der Kriegskunst unter den Widergöttern (*asura*). Die Übertragung auf Zayn ist auch deshalb stimmig, weil er nicht nur Kanonen in Kaschmir einführte, sondern selbst ein Experte für Explosionsmittel und Feuerwerke war (vgl. ŚRT 1.4.27ff.). Zur Geschichte des Feuerwerks in Indien, vgl. GODE 1960, S. 31–56.

⁶⁷ Zum archaisierend gebrauchten Benediktiv vgl. die Anmerkung unten zu *stāt* (79d).

⁶⁸ *yantratantra*, lit.: „geordnete Reihe von Maschinen“, Geschützpark.

⁶⁹ Das einheitlich überlieferte [°]jainollābbhadīnaḥ ist hypermetrisch. Ohne die vorgeschlagene Emendation müßte man die Artikulation des gegebenen Wortlauts als [°]jainollābb^rdīnaḥ annehmen.

⁷⁰ Lit. „Im Śāka Jahr 1386“. Ś_{II} (27r, 1) gibt das Jahr in Zahlzeichen wieder: śākaḥ 1386.

⁷¹ *tad* ist zweimorig zu lesen (Upagīti), vgl. dazu auch Anm. 74.

⁷² KAULS Emendation (ca für tat-) reflektiert den Versuch einer metrischen Korrektur, da diese Silbe einmorig zu lesen wäre, worauf mich ROLAND STEINER freundlich hinwies.

Im Jahre Vierzehnhundertfünfundsechzig⁷³ ließ
 Er das Kanonenrohr (in Kaschmir) fabrizieren.
 Der Muslim spricht davon als Pulverschwaden⁷⁴,
 Rauchrohr⁷⁵, (wie) die Landesleute (sagen).

durgeṣu durgatiparaṃ
byṭṣphoṭakaraṃ turaṅgadattadaram |
dūronmuktāśmaśaraṃ
kaṭakabalātyadrṣṭacarasāmaṃ⁷⁶ || 78 ||
[°]*balātyadrṣṭacarasāmaṃ* (em.)] [°]*balānyadrṣṭacarasāmaṃ* Ś₇^{pc} [°]*balānyadrṣṭacarasāmaṃ*
 Ś₁₀ [°]*balānyadrṣṭacarasāmaṃ* Ś₇^{sc} (ed. KAUL)

Es brachte Not den Festungen,
 Ließ Herzen beben, Pferde auseinanderprengen,
 Indem es aus der Ferne Steingeschosse sandte.
 (Und) es besänftigte⁷⁷
 Mit seinem gänzlich unsichtbaren Flug
 Die Heereskräfte (seiner Feinde).

sāraṃ suritibaddhaṃ
ghanaghoṣaṃ śilpikalpitam ahāryam |

Der Hintergrund für den metrischen Defekt ist vermutlich im metrisch unflexiblen Neologismus dieses linguistischen Mischbegriffs zu suchen, vgl. dazu auch Anm. 74f.

⁷³ Lit. „Im [Laukika]-Jahr [45]41. Ś₁₁ (27r, 1f) gibt das Jahr in Zahlzeichen wieder: *varṣe 41 yantrādisāmagrīm samakalpayat*.

⁷⁴ Alle Handschriften überliefern *tad*, vermutungsweise als phonetische Wiedergabe *tōd* eines außerindischen Wortes für Kanone. Nach Bedeutung und Aussprache käme diesem als *tad* verschriftlichten Wort persisches *dūd* (mit der Bedeutung „Rauch/Pulverschwaden“) am nächsten, da die kaschmirische Aussprache zwischen stimmhaften und stimmlosen Konsonanten bekanntlich nicht oder nicht genau differenziert. Zur artikulatorischen Realisierung des hier angenommenen Vokals *ō* vgl. GRIERSON 1911, S. 18: „The vowel *ō* is pronounced like the *o* in ‘hot’, as in the word *dōd*, milk. Many Kāshmirīs seem to be unable to distinguish between the sound of this letter and that of *u*, so that the two are frequently confounded.“ *Dūd kardan* (pers.) bedeutet „to emit smoke“ (STEINGASS 1892, S. 541f., Hinweis HEIKE FRANKE), was gut zur Benennung eines Geschützes nach seinem Charakteristikum passen würde. Beim Abschießen bildet sich reichlich Pulverdampf. KAUL (1966) hatte seinen Text allerdings stillschweigend zu *top* (türk. „Kanone“) verbessert. Diese Emendation sowie – auf ihr beruhend – auch SLAJE (2004, S. 21; 2005a, S. 41) sind aufgrund des hier Angemerkten entsprechend zurückzunehmen.

⁷⁵ *tat-kāṇḍa* des edierten Textes dürfte die persisch-sanskritische Wiedergabe eines *dūd-kāṇḍa* sein, in Kaschmir vermutlich als *tōtkāṇḍa* ausgesprochen. Möglicherweise handelt es sich um einen umgangssprachlichen Neologismus für die neu importierte Technologie. Im gegebenen Kontext wäre bei *kāṇḍa* semantisch dann wohl von „Röhre“ auszugehen. Im Kompositum liefe es auf „Rauchrohr“ hinaus, und in etwa so könnten die Leute (*loka*) durchaus von einem Kanonenrohr oder Geschützlauf gesprochen haben.

⁷⁶ [°]*drṣṭi-* sollte metrisch kurz sein (Hinweis ROLAND STEINER), wird allerdings einheitlich als positionslang überliefert.

⁷⁷ *sāma(n)* i. S. des politischen Mittels (*upāya*, vgl. KANGLE 1965, S. 255) der Schlichtung, hier ironisch der erzwungenen Befriedung.

navam iva nagaram nṛpateḥ
kalpaṃ stād yantrabhāṇḍam idam || 79 ||
 °kalpitam ahāryam Ś_{7,10}] °kalpitamahārgham

In bestes Messing⁷⁸ eingefast (und) stark,
 Tief [wie] Gewitterwolken donnernd,
 Von Waffenschmieden angefertigt,
 (Und) niemand kann es wegbewegen:⁷⁹
 Es währe dies Geschütz ein Weltzeitalter lang!⁸⁰
 (Ein Weltzeitalter soll es währen),
 Wie eine neue Stadt des Herrschers,⁸¹
 (Die kostbar ist,
 Gefügt aus schönen Häuserreihen,
 Mit lautem Lärm,
 Von Kunsthandwerkern ausgestaltet,
 Und die nicht eingenommen werden kann!)

dhātuvibhaktisphārāt
padapravṛtṭyā prayojite śabde |
arthopalabdhīhetur
bhavatv idam vṛddhigunayuktyā || 80 ||
 °pravṛtṭyā Ś_{7,10}] °pravṛtṭyā; °hetur Ś_{7,10}] °hetor

(Und) hat der Fuß
 Mit Hilfe einer langen Schnur⁸² (erst) den Impuls
 Zur Detonation des Pulvers⁸³ (ausgelöst),
 Erfolgt daraus der Knall:
 (So) sei (dem Sultān) dies (Geschütz)
 Ein Grund für Zugewinn von Reichtum!
 (Und sei mir mein Elogium desgleichen Grund
 Für Zugewinn von Reichtum,
 Wenn seine Laute dadurch zur Erscheinung kommen,
 Daß plötzlich die Bedeutung aufblitzt⁸⁴
 Von Endungen und Wurzeln,

⁷⁸ Zu *rīti* (Messing), vgl. WIA 241 ff.

⁷⁹ Wegen des Gewichts und der Größe.

⁸⁰ Śrīvara bedient sich hier eines gewollt archaisierenden Stils, indem er die seltene Imperativendung °tāt (an die schwache Form der Wurzel *as* gefügt) in der Bedeutung eines Benediktivs (KIELHORN 1888, §245, S. 71) so verwendet, als segnete er nun die Kanonen. Vgl. auch oben 75d (formaler Benediktiv *kriyāt*).

⁸¹ Die Attribute sind in semantischer Doppeldeutigkeit an den Vergleich in b anzupassen.

⁸² Dies stimmt mit einem bei KHAN (2004, S. 26) zitierten Augenzeugenbericht über das Abfeuern der Geschosse (*baṇ*) überein: „On being lighted an additional impetus is given to them by the foot of the thrower.“ Zur Benutzung eines Stricks vgl. ŚRT 1.4.23.

⁸³ Lit.: „der Krach (*sphāra*) beim Auseinandergehen (*vi-bhakti*) der [Zünd-]Stoffe (*dhātu*).“

⁸⁴ Bezug auf die Idee des *sphoṭa* nach einheimischer Linguistik, wonach sich das Verständnis einer Wort- oder Satzbedeutung „mit einem Schlag“ einstellt, wörtlich: „krachend aufplatzt“.

Weil Wörter⁸⁵ in Gebrauch genommen
Mit gradueller Stärkung der Vokale!)

iti padyāṅkitā yantrabhāṇḍālī vyarucan navā |
yad āsmotthadhvaniś cakre meghagarjanatarjanām || 81||
āsmottha° Ś_{7,10}] uṣmaugha°

Als der neue, auf solche Weise [von mir] mit Versen gekennzeichnete⁸⁶ Geschützpark [hell] aufblitzte⁸⁷, [da] rief das von den Steingeschossen erzeugte Dröhnen⁸⁸ eine Bedrohung [wie] von Wolkendonner hervor.

4. Pfeilschussgerät (Armbrust)

Bogen nennt man (in den *Rājatarāṅgiṇīs*) gewöhnlich *dhanus* oder *dhanur-daṇḍa*, der sich, wird er betätigt, krümmt (*nāmita*).⁸⁹ Die Bogenschützen (*dhanurdhara*⁹⁰, *dhanuṣmant*) wiederum, heißt es, üben mit Pfeilen.⁹¹ Bei dieser Ausdrucksweise deutet nichts auf Mechanik hin. Derartige findet sich erwartungsgemäß erst im Zusammenhang mit dem Begriff *yantra*. So gibt die *Cāṇakyaṭīkā* (ad AŚ 2.18.5, wo ortsgebundene Schießvorrichtungen (*sthitayantra*) beschrieben werden), zwar eine Erklärung für ein mechanisches Pfeilschussgerät, doch ist an dieser Stelle schwer zu entscheiden, ob sie auf echter Sachkenntnis, verläßlicher Tradition, oder phantasiegesteuerter Stubengelehrsamkeit beruht. Der Beschreibung nach zu urteilen, könnte es auf die Existenz oder zumindest die Idee von Torsionsgeschützen (Ballista) hindeuten. Demnach wäre das indische *Sarvatobhadra* („nach allen Richtungen dienlich“) ein auf eine Drehscheibe montiertes Gerät gewesen, das, positionierte man es (*avasthāpita*) entsprechend der Zielabsicht (*yathaeṣṭam*), im Prinzip nach allen beliebigen Richtungen hin (*sarvataḥ*) Pfeile verschießen

⁸⁵ Lit.: „durch Ingangsetzung von Wörtern“ (*padapravṛtti*).

⁸⁶ Es handelt sich um morenzählende Metren: 75, 77 (Upagiti); 76, 78–80 (Āryā). Eine Doppeldeutigkeit liegt darin, daß *padya* auch „Fußtritt“ heißt und sich dann auf die in Strophe 80 näher bezeichnete Technik des Abfeuerns bezieht.

⁸⁷ Das läßt sich im Kontext nur als das gemeinsame Abfeuern der von Śrīvara mit seinen Strophen gesegneten (lit. „mit Versen als Merkmal gekennzeichneten“) Kanonen deuten. Über ein ähnliches Ereignis an Ranjit Singh's Hof berichtet ALEXANDER GARDNER: „I was ordered to get ready to fire three or four of the shells at different distances [...]. This occurred in the presence of the Maharaja and his entire Court, and all seemed pleased [...].“ (GARDNER 1898, S. 181f.).

⁸⁸ Die Lesart *uṣmaugha*° ergäbe als (doppelte) Bedeutung: 1) Lärm durch den Pulverdampf; 2) Sprachlaute der [drei] Sibilanten und des *b* (von Śrīvaras Elogium).

⁸⁹ Ps-JRT 69 B 658a.

⁹⁰ ŚuRT 1.189d; 2.18b.

⁹¹ *śarābhyāso dhanuṣmatām || ŚRT 3.520d ||*

konnte.⁹² Alternativ zur genannten Drehscheibenmontage wurde die Bedienung dieses *Sarvatobhadra* von anderen altindischen Experten auch als von Hand in Zielrichtung bewegbar erklärt. Demzufolge wären die Pfeile dadurch in verschiedene Richtungen verschossen worden, daß man die Griffmitte (*muṣṭideśa*) des Pfeilschussgerätes (*dhanur-yantra*)⁹³ nach oben, unten, oder seitwärts bewegte.⁹⁴ Eine solch leichtere, schon in der Antike gebräuchliche Form mechanischer Bogen ist als Handballista bekannt. Nach Bauart und Funktion nähert sie sich unserer verballhornten „Armbrust“ an, eine Bezeichnung, sich wohl von Arcuballista („Bogen-Schleudermaschine“) herleitet. Auch diese Waffenart reicht also weit in vorchristliche Zeit zurück und war sowohl in der antiken wie in der ostasiatischen Welt in Verwendung. Unseren Sanskrit-Wörterbüchern zufolge, die für Armbrust keine Einträge anführen, hätte es sie in Indien nie gegeben. Demgegenüber ist ihre Existenz für das indische Mittelalter und die frühe Neuzeit nach Sache und Begriff zu belegen.

Wie so häufig auf den Feldern der Realien, erlangen wir anhand verstreuter Erwähnungen in den *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*s Gewißheit. Bei Kalhaṇa findet sich eine metaphorische Beschreibung einer solchen Waffe:

*Mahāpadmasarabhaṅgād Vitastā yena yojitā |
javān niryāti kodanḍayantrād iṣur ivādhvanā || RT 5.104 ||*

Der vom [Baumeister Suyya] befestigte [Fluß] Vitastā schießt aus der Beckenrundung des Mahāpadma-Sees entlang seiner Bahn kraftvoll hervor, wie ein [aufgelegter] Bolzen [entlang seiner Führungsrinne mit Wucht] vom mechanischen Bogen (*kodanḍa-yantra*)⁹⁵ abgeht.

Hintergrund für dieses Bild ist ein durch herabgestürzte Felsblöcke ausgelöster Rückstau des Flusses Vitastā bei Bārāmuḷlā, der, vom Vular-See kommend, das gesamte Kaschmirtal entwässert und es wenige Kilometer dahinter verläßt. Zur Regierungszeit Avantivarmans (855–883) ließ dessen genialer Konstrukteur Suyya diese Felshindernisse beseitigen, das Flußbett auf der Strecke zwischen See und Talaustritt entschlammen und die

⁹² *sarvatobhadram* [=] *cakrayuktatvāt sarvato yatheṣṭaṃ avasthāpitam bāṇān muñcati* (CT 165, S. 16).

⁹³ Das Explicandum *dhanuryantrasya* in dieser Zeile wird von einem leider verderbt überlieferten und daher unverständlichen Explicans näher qualifiziert: „*jām(na?nu)mudasya*“.

⁹⁴ *sarvatobhadram* [=] *dhanuryantrasyordhvam adhas tiryag vā muṣṭideśasañcārāṇāḍ yac charān muñcati* (CT 165, S. 16f.). Ein anderes Modell (*aparab prakārah*) wird als ein Gerät beschrieben, das aus einem Stein bestanden haben soll: *śilāyantram dhanur yad evamvidham tat sarvatobhadram eva* (CT 165, S. 17f.).

⁹⁵ Vgl. auch das Kompositum *cāpayantra* (*Agnipurāṇa* 248.4a, zit. nach DRESCHER 1982, S. 167), das dieselbe Bedeutung zum Ausdruck bringen könnte. LOSCH (1955, S. 202) deutet demgegenüber den Bogen-Mechanismus als solchen als gewöhnlichen „Bogen“.

Flußufer beidseitig mit Steinen befestigen mit dem Ergebnis, daß die Strömungsgeschwindigkeit gewaltig erhöht wurde und die Vitastā sich entlang dieser Führungsrinne mit entsprechender Wucht westlich von Varāhamūla (Bārāmullā) aus dem Tal ergoß.⁹⁶ Die durch Rückstau hervorgerufene Versumpfung war damit beseitigt. Kaum 3 km unterhalb des begradigten Flußbettes stürzt die Vitastā dann in die sogenannte „Dämonenkluft“ (*Yakṣadara*),⁹⁷ wo ein Felsriff „the first serious rapids of the Vitastā“ bildet:⁹⁸ „The river [...] soon turns into a large torrent rushing down in falls and rapids.“⁹⁹ Nur diese Begradigung bei Varāhamūla, wo der Fluß das Tal verläßt, kann Kalhaṇa mit *javān niryāti* („schießt kraftvoll hervor“) gemeint haben. Dann entspricht die Bahn (*adhvan*) der Führungsrinne des Bolzens (*iṣu*, f.), der mit dem Fluß gleichgesetzt wird. Die Rundung des Sees (*kunḍa*) repräsentiert das Bild einer Armbrust, wenn ihre Sehne gespannt und die beiden Wurfarme nach hinten gekrümmt sind. Mit *yojitā* ist die von Suyya durchgeführte Flußbefestigung sowie der aufgelegte Bolzen gemeint, und *javāt* bezieht sich auf Strömungs- bzw. Geschwindigkeit.

Bezüglich ihrer Anwendung lassen sich den Texten noch folgende Details entnehmen. Der Pfeil einer solchen Schussvorrichtung heißt – in Analogie zu den *yantra-pāṣāṇas* der Katapulte – *yantra-iṣu*¹⁰⁰, „Pfeil eines mechanischen [Bogens]“, also „Armbrustbolzen“:

kāṣṭhāgatā lasatpakṣās tīkṣṇāś ca saphalikṛtāḥ |
yantrēṣavaś ca yodbhāś cāgḥaṭams teṣu dine dine || ŚuRT 4.203 ||

Alle Tage waren dort geschärfte (*tīkṣṇa*) Armbrustbolzen (*yantrēṣu*), [die] mit leuchtenden Federn (*lasatpakṣa*) und versehen mit Spitzen (*saphalikṛta*)¹⁰¹ ins Ziel trafen (*kāṣṭhāgata*), im Einsatz, [aber] auch mörderische (*tīkṣṇa*) Soldaten (*yodbha*), die, mit ihrer glänzenden Schar (*lasatpakṣa*) erfolgreich gemacht (*saphalikṛta*)¹⁰², an die Grenzen ihrer Möglichkeiten gingen (*kāṣṭhāgata*).

Da die Armbrust zu den weittragenden Präzisionswaffen zählt, die mittels Bolzenschüssen einzelne Personen gezielt ausschalten können, wird ihr Gebrauch in signifikanter Weise bei solchen Auseinandersetzungen geschildert,

⁹⁶ Vgl. RT 5.84–104.

⁹⁷ Modern Sheeri (74°18'44.34"E, 34°11'4.87"N).

⁹⁸ STEIN 1900 (2), S. 403. Vgl. auch S. 420: („[...] Kalhaṇa's account is so matter-of-fact and so accurate in topographical points [...]. The topographical indications here given by Kalhaṇa are so detailed and exact [...].“).

⁹⁹ STEIN 1900 (2), S. 425.

¹⁰⁰ Zu *yantrēṣu* („a missile shot off by machinery“) und Synonymen vgl. auch SCHOKKER 1966, S. 169.

¹⁰¹ Cvi-Bildung von *phala* i. S. v. „Pfeil“.

¹⁰² Cvi-Bildung von *phala* i. S. v. „Lohn, Gewinn“, vgl. *saphalīkaraṇa* „das Erfolgreichmachen“ (SCHMIDT, Nachtr., s. v.).

die ohne engere Feindberührung aus der Distanz geführt wurden, beispielsweise von beiden Seiten eines Flusses aus:

*keṣubhyad Vaitastatīradvayajayaghaṭanārabdhayanreṣuyudhyat-
krudhyadvirekṣaṇāptapracurapurajanavāntasamkrāntasāuryam |*
[...]
cakruḥ krodhāt punas te Pravarapuravare yuddham atyuddhatam tat || ŚRT
4.204 ||
°krudhyad° (em.)] °kudhyad°

Voll Ingrimmschritten die [Feinde] abermals zu einer außerordentlich heftigen Attacke auf die Residenz Pravarapura. Tapferkeit drang ins Herz vieler Bürger, als sie die kampfwütigen Männer zu sehen bekommen hatten, welche Armbrustbolzen im Kampf benutzten, die abzuschießen (*ghaṭanā*) sie begonnen hatten, um beide Ufer der aufgewühlten Vitastā zu erobern [...].

Die Wirkung von gezielt abgegebenen Armbrustschüssen zeigt das folgende Beispiel. Hier soll dem Gegner der Weg zum Wasserholen am Fluß versperrt werden:¹⁰³

dhanuryantraśarair muktaih pratitīram puradvaye |
pañca sapta mṛtā yuddhe pratyaham kaṭakadvaye || ŚRT 4.112 ||

Bei [dieser] Auseinandersetzung gab es in beiden Heeren täglich fünf, [auch] sieben Tote durch Bolzen, [die] von mechanischen Bogen auf jedes der [beiden] Ufer dieser [durch den Fluß] zweigeteilten Stadt abgeschossen worden waren.

avatīrṇā jalārtham yāḥ pārāvārapurāṅganāḥ |
yantreṣubhir vidīrṇāṅgā babhvyas tatra vipedire || ŚRT 4.206 ||

Viele Städterinnen an beiden Ufern, die [zum Fluß] hinabgestiegen waren um Wasser [zu holen], starben dort mit von Armbrustbolzen zerfetzten Gliedern.

sa nāsīd divaso yatra dvitrā vīrāḥ patatribhiḥ |
viddhā mumūrṣavas tīrān na nītāḥ svagrhan prati || ŚRT 4.207 ||

Da war kein Tag, wo nicht zwei oder drei Männer von [solchen] Bolzen durchbohrt wurden, wo sie nicht sterbend vom Ufer nach Hause gebracht wurden.

Bemerkenswert erscheint, daß zuvor die Einstellung der Kampfhandlungen aufgrund des Anbruchs der Abendzeit für alle vernehmlich durch Paukenschläge zur Kenntnis gebracht worden war:¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Den Weg zur Wasserversorgung auf diese Weise abzuschneiden, war eine bei Belagerungen so gebräuchliche wie wirksame Methode: „[...] before long the besieged garrison was running short of water. Each time a party was sent out at night to fetch it from the nearby canal, the volunteers were shot dead on its banks [...]“ (DALRYMPLE 2013, S. 315 f über die belagerten Briten in Afghanistan, 1842).

¹⁰⁴ Vgl. auch *dīneṣena samam senā yayur mandapratāpatām || atha senādbhinābhīyām vicārya saha mantribhiḥ | dūtāḥ paraspāram dattā „yuddham sambhriyatām“ iti ||*

*yāmadundubhivādyānām dhvaniḥ sarvais tadā śrutah |
pūrvam rājagṛhe, paścāt SaidaKāśmīrasainyayoh || ŚRT 4.205 ||*

Der Klang der Paukeninstrumente [zum Anzeigen] der Abendzeit war da [allerdings bereits] von allen vernommen worden, zuerst im Palast, danach in den Heeren der Sayyids und der Kaschmiris.

Die Nichteinhaltung dieser in aller Regel offenbar beachteten Konvention über die abendliche Einstellung der Kampfhandlungen rückt die Tätigkeit der Heckenschützen in ein besonders verwerfliches Licht.

Militärtechnologisch aber, so viel scheint damit festzustehen, war Kaschmir hinter den zeitgenössischen Möglichkeiten der benachbarten zentralasiatischen Turkvölker und der nach Sindh vorgedrungenen Araber keineswegs zurückgeblieben.

Unserem Sanskritlexikon ließen sich demnach die folgenden militärischen Begriffe ergänzend bzw. präzisierend hinzufügen:¹⁰⁵

1) Handschleuder

Akt des Schleuderns	√ <i>kṣip</i> , √ <i>bhram</i> , √ <i>vrt</i> + <i>pra</i> (<i>ti</i>)
Handschleuder	<i>kṣepaṇa</i> , <i>kṣepaṇīya</i>
Schleuderriemen (Rindsleder)	<i>gō</i>
Schleuderstein	<i>aśman</i> , <i>kṣepaṇa-aśman</i> , <i>kṣepaṇa-pāṣāṇa</i>

2) Katapult

Akt des Abwurfs	√ <i>kṣip</i> + <i>ut</i> , √ <i>cyut</i> , √ <i>dī</i> + <i>ut</i> , √ <i>muc</i> + <i>ut</i> , √ <i>sthā</i> + <i>ut</i>
Katapult	<i>upala-yantra</i> , <i>pāṣāṇa-yantra</i> , <i>śilā-prakṣepa-yantra</i>
Auflage für das Geschoss	<i>puṭa</i>
Katapultgeschoss	<i>pāṣāṇa</i> , <i>yantra-pāṣāṇa</i>
Steingarbe	<i>pāṣāṇa-cakra</i>
Geschosßsplitter	<i>pāṣāṇa-śarkarā</i>

3) Kanonen

Geschütz, Kanone	<i>yantra</i> , <i>yantra-bhāṇḍa</i>
Geschosswerfergranate	<i>vajra-bāṇa</i>
Kanone, „Pulverschwaden“ (pers.)	<i>tad</i> (<i>dūd?</i> , pers.)
„Rauchrohr“ (altkaschmirisch)	<i>tatkāṇḍa</i>
Geschützpark	<i>yantra-tantra</i> , <i>yantra-bhāṇḍālī</i>
Kanonenkugel (Stein)	<i>aśma-śara</i>

(MU III.38.7cd–8). Der Tagesbeginn, d.h. wohl: Beginn des Tagewerks, wurde ebenfalls öffentlich durch Paukenschläge angezeigt, vgl. ŚKC 15.49 (S. 214f.).

¹⁰⁵ Ohne Berücksichtigung möglicher synonyme Wortbildungen.

Zündstoff, Pulver	<i>dhātu</i>
Zündung des Pulvers	<i>dhātu-vibhakti</i>
Zündung, Explosion	<i>vibhakti</i>
4) Armbrust	
Armbrust	<i>kodaṇḍa-yantra, dhanur-yantra</i>
Armbrustbolzen	<i>dhanur-yantra-śara, yantra-iṣu</i>

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When Mithra Came as Rain on the Tibetan Plateau

A New Interpretation of an Old Tibetan Topos*

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Summary: It has long been recognised that the pre-eleventh century narrative popularly called *Old Tibetan Chronicles* is a patchwork composed of originally independent quasi-historical stories interwoven with folk narratives. Moreover, scholars agree that foreign topoi likewise found their way into the final composition as it has been handed down to us. Previous research has demonstrated that motifs from classical Chinese literature were well-known to the composers of the *Old Tibetan Chronicles* and at least one of them was faithfully paraphrased there. In this paper I attempt to trace one more, heretofore not considered, source from which the composers might have drawn inspiration: Iranian religious traditions. I put forward the hypothesis that four passages from the *Old Tibetan Chronicles* were influenced by the Zoroastrian Mithraic tradition transferred most probably via Sogdian Buddhist literature. I argue that the misplaced occurrence of the passages in the discourse, the otherwise unfamiliar metaphors used therein, and the non-native Tibetan rhythm of the verses, all speak for their foreign provenance.

yul yab (52) *kyi rje myi bžugs na /*
pyi ybrog gdeñs pyol pyol gyi cha yo /
dog yab kyi char ma mchisna /
sa yon bu spur (53) *khog khog* (PT 1287)

When the ruler of the patriarchs of the country is not there,
[one] will be avoiding vast pastures on the marches [of the country].
When the rains [sent by] (lit. of) the protector of earth did not come,
seeds, blown away and flying, were shrivelling.

(59) *yul yab kyi rje ru gšegs so /*
yul pyi ybrog gdeñs myi pyol gyi cha yo /
dog yab kyi chab mchis (60) *kyis /*
sa yon bu spur myi khog gi cha yo / (PT 1287)

* The Tibetan script is transliterated according to the principles put forward in HAHN 1996, p. 1 with some minor exceptions that are particularised below. Tibetan proper names and toponyms are hyphenated in order to enhance their readability in the text flow. Only the first letter (even if not the root consonant) is capitalised. Following HILL's reconstruction of the OT phonetic value of the so-called *ya chun* letter as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] (2009), I transliterate the letter as *ɣ*. Passages quoted from Old Tibetan (OT) sources were transliterated by myself on the basis of scans made available on the internet sites of the International Dunhuang Project and Gallica. The passages from Tibetan texts were translated by myself. I would like to thank TONI HUBER for his valuable suggestions concerning the English translation of the Tibetan passages.



[He] came as ruler of the patriarchs of the country.
 [One] will not be avoiding vast pastures on the marches [of] the country.
 For the rains [sent by] (lit. of) the protector of earth came,
 seeds, blown away and flying, will not shrivel.

These two stanzas occur separately in the final part of the Dri-gum story as narrated in the pre-eleventh century *Old Tibetan Chronicles* (PT 1287). The story relates:

After Dri-gum's sons Ña-khyi and Śa-khyi have ransomed Dri-gum's corpse from the water spirit Yo-de-rin-mo, Ña-khyi proceeds to erect a burial mound for their father whereas Śa-khyi goes on a military campaign to avenge their father's death. One of the brothers (the story is ambiguous here) makes for the Pyin-ba castle—a historical location in the Yar-luñ valley with the family residence of the future *btsan pos*, i. e. the rulers of the Tibetan Empire.

Here in the story the first of the above stanzas occurs. It seems to convey a desolate condition of a country which has no ruler. The grammar of the passage strongly suggests that the stanza is sung by the very person who went to Pyin-ba.¹

Singing the first stanza the person crosses the pass of Men-pa-yphren-ba (lit. "Garland of Flowers"?) and the long valley (*ron rins*) Tin-srab (lit. "Metal Bridle"?). Then he goes to Ba-chos-guñ-dañ and when he has reached Myaṅ-ro-śam-po, the Lo-ñam clan², men like women, collectively commits suicide. The remaining people are made captives and their animals seized as booty. Thereafter he goes back to Ba-chos-guñ-dañ singing another victory song and finally returns to Pyin-ba-stag-rtse (= Pyin-ba).

Here the second stanza is sung. This stanza announces a ruler who ensures the safety and welfare of his country.

Having returned to Pyin-ba, he makes a ritual foundation of a hearth and is proclaimed a ruler in the ceremonial formula *rje ru gśegso* "[He] came as ruler."

To sum up, when the relevant brother leaves the residence of future Tibetan *btsan pos* in order to avenge on his sworn enemy he sings the 'desolation' song, but when he victoriously returns to Pyin-ba, he sings the 'confirmation' song. Destroying the Lo-ñam clan seems to be the condition for restoring law and order in the country.

In terms of their contents, the songs can be considered only roughly matching the contexts in which they are sung; the second one slightly better than the first one. From the plot it does not necessarily follow that the

¹ The stanza is followed by the quotational formula *ces gsuñs so* with the honorific verb *gsuñ*.

² A member of this clan, Lo-ñam-rta-rdzi, was responsible for the death of Dri-gum.

country did not have a ruler—the one of the brothers who made for Pyin-ba must have been conceived of as the successor to the throne after Dri-gum's death. However, what is more puzzling is the language and the metaphors used in these songs that depict Tibetan rulers in otherwise unknown terms. According to the songs, a ruler:

- reigns over the patriarchs of the country (*yul yab*);
- protects and looks after vast pastures on the marches of the country (*yul pyi ybrog gdeñs*);
- is life-giving like rain (*char*);
- ensures vegetation (*sa yon*).

A very similar image of a ruler is delivered in two other passages from the *Chronicles*:

khri yi bdun tshigs kyi sras / khri ñag khri btsan po y // (32) sa dog la yul yab kyi rje / dog yab kyi char du gsegs syo // (PT 1286)

The son of the fourth one from among the *khris*, Khri-ñag-khri-btsan-po, came [down] to (lit. on) earth as a ruler over (lit. of) the patriarchs of the country, as rain [sent by] (lit. of) the protector of earth.

khri yi bdun tshigs kyi sras // lde ñag khri btsan po / sa dog la yul yab kyi rje dog yab kyi char du gsegs nas // (PT 1286, l. 43)

The son of the fourth one from among the *khris*, Lde-ñag-khri-btsan-po, came [down] to (lit. on) earth as a ruler over (lit. of) the patriarchs of the country, as rain [sent by] (lit. of) the protector of earth.

These passages use the same topoi of a ruler who comes down on earth as:

- ruler over the patriarchs of the country (*yul yab*);
- rain (*char*) [sent by] (lit. of) the protector of earth (*dog yab*).

Not only are the similes identical, but also the songs apply exactly the same formulas. As a matter of fact, some of the expressions are not known from any other textual source, neither Old nor Classical Tibetan. These are: *yul yab*, (*yul*) *pyi ybrog gdeñs*, *dog yab*, and *bu spur*.³ Likewise, the simile of a ruler, who is life-giving like rain and protects vast pastures of the country, is absent from Tibetan folk literature and indeed imagery. The absence of the rain metaphor can be easily explained as determined by environmental conditions that prevail on the Tibetan Plateau. The Tibetan Plateau is notable for its low yearly precipitation and rather arid climate. The agriculture on the central Plateau, limited as it is to the catchment area and major tributaries of the Gtsaŋ-po river, mainly depends on the surface water from rivers

³ For their detailed analysis see BIALEK 2018.

seasonally supplied from melting snow and glacier ice. Irrigation systems are crucial for watering fields in the valleys. In the Old Tibetan literature rivers are depicted as sources of vegetation and referred to by manifold native metaphors, whereas constructing dams counts among significant foundational acts of the early Tibetan polity. On the other hand, the metre of the songs, although only imperfectly transmitted in what seems to have been its original rhythm of seven or eight syllables, differs considerably from the traditional metre of native Tibetan songs as preserved in other Old Tibetan texts. A line of those consists of five or six syllables with the important caesura marked by the syllable *ni* (absent from our stanzas). In conclusion, the misplaced occurrence of the stanzas in the discourse, the otherwise unfamiliar metaphors, and the non-native Tibetan rhythm of the verses, all suggest foreign provenance of the passages.

It has long been recognised that the *Old Tibetan Chronicles* are a patchwork composed of numerous stories of diverse contents, written in different speech registers and addressing distinct purposes.⁴ The composers of the *Chronicles* not only drew from Tibetan political and religious history and the pool of native folk narratives, but also did not hesitate to include foreign topoi. For instance, TAKEUCHI has identified a passage of PT 1287 (ll. 204–215) as a faithful paraphrase of a fragment from the Chinese *Shiji* (1985). In addition, DOTSON suggests that other Chinese literary works, adaptations of which exist among the Old Tibetan texts found at Dunhuang, might have likewise influenced the composers of the *Chronicles* (2013, p. 71ff.). He also convincingly shows the impact Khotanese Buddhist literature seems to have made on Tibetan Buddhist thought and in the same way on Buddhist representations of the Tibetan kingship ideals (ibid., p. 79ff.). In BIALEK 2017, I venture the hypothesis that the very term for *nirvāṇa* in Tibetan, *mya ṇan las ydas pa* (OT *mye ṇan las ydas pa*), was coined in Central Asian colonies of the Tibetan Empire and its primary connotations were shaped by foreign imageries of partly Turkic, partly Iranian provenance.⁵

Undoubtedly, this medley of concepts and imageries was made possible and, in fact, triggered by the very special conditions prevailing in the multi-cultural and multilingual social environment of the Central Asian oases, especially that of Dunhuang.⁶ With this humble contribution I would like

⁴ Cf., for instance, DOTSON 2013, esp. p. 76ff.; BECKWITH/WALTER 2015; BIALEK 2018.

⁵ In a forthcoming translation and grammatical analysis of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, I put forward the hypothesis that the Old Tibetan *bag ma* “bride” was a derivative of **bag*, itself a loanword from a Middle Iranian language in which the original term denoted “a gentleman” and was used in the context of marriage ceremonies. Cf. the Iranian honorific title *bag, bay, bay* “lord, prince” and Sogdian *βγ-* “god”.

⁶ Cf. TAKEUCHI 1995; TAKATA 2000; BIALEK 2017.

to suggest yet another source for the Tibetan narratives: Iranian religious traditions.

In *Mibr Yašt*, a Younger Avestan hymn to Mithra (dated approximately to the second half of the fifth century BC; GERSHEVITCH 1959, p. 3), the attribute most commonly applied to Mithra is *vouru.gaoyaoiti-*, lit. “having, or bestowing, wide cattle-pastures” (ibid., p. 43; *gaoyaoiti-* = “cattle-pasture”). This epithet is added each time Mithra’s name occurs in the text.

In the hymn Mithra is foremost the guardian of the contract (ibid., p. 27; Avestan *miθra-* = “contract”, ibid., p. 26), and, at the same time, as god the “personified divinisation of the concept ‘contract, treaty.’” (THIEME 1975, p. 27). From his function as the guardian of the contract there derives “Mithra’s care for the nation’s welfare and prosperity, which create conditions of internal stability” (GERSHEVITCH 1959, p. 32)⁷:

Grass-land magnate (= *vouru.gaoyaoiti-*—JB) Mithra⁸ we worship, since it is he who bestows peaceful and comfortable dwellings on the Iranian countries. (stanza 4)

I (i. e. Mithra—JB) am the beneficent protector of all creatures, I am the beneficent guardian of all creatures [...] (st. 54)

You (i. e. Mithra—JB) protect the countries in the same measure in which they strive to take care of grassland magnate Mithra [...] (st. 78)

You are the protector, the defender, of the abode of those who reject falsehood; you are the guardian of the community of those who reject falsehood [...] (st. 80)

[Grass-land magnate Mithra we worship,] the caretaker who without falling asleep, watchfully protects the creatures of Mazdāh, the caretaker who without falling asleep, watchfully observes the creatures of Mazdāh. (st. 103)

We worship Mithra, who in (lit. of) all countries is the head of the country. (st. 145)

In the *Rigveda*, Mitra and Varuṇa (addressed to in a compounded form as *mitrāvaruṇā*) “are the gods most frequently thought of and prayed to as bestowers of rain” (MACDONELL *A Vedic Reader*, apud GERSHEVITCH 1959, p. 5; THIEME 1975, p. 31).⁹ Similarly, the Avestan Mithra is referred to as “bestower of water”. According to GERSHEVITCH (ibid., p. 32), “[t]he ability

⁷ All passages from *Mibr Yašt* are quoted after GERSHEVITCH 1959.

⁸ THIEME: “Mithra of wide cattle-pastures” (1960, p. 274); BENVENISTE: “Mithra à la vaste *gavyūti*” (1960, p. 429).

⁹ As against previous interpretations that rendered Vedic *mitrá* with “friendship”, THIEME has reconstructed its meaning as “contract (of peace, of friendship, of non-aggression, of assistance, of offering obedience and humility (namas, of ending an hostility)” (1975, p. 38)—fully consistent with the Avestan *miθra*.

to make plants grow obviously results from Mithra's function of 'replenisher of waters' and 'rain-pourer':

Grass-land magnate Mithra we worship, [...] the replenisher of waters who listens to the call, thanks to whom water (= rain) falls and plants grow [...] (st. 61)

[Grass-land magnate Mithra we worship,] who dispenses fat and herds, who gives power and sons, who bestows life and comfortable existence [...] (st. 65)

[Grass-land magnate Mithra we worship,] on his right flies good Sraoša, the friend of Aši; on his left flies tall Rašnu the strong; all round him fly the waters and plants [...] (st. 100)

Mithra is presented as bestower of water, by which phrase his rain-sending function is meant but the word 'rain' is actually not mentioned. In our Tibetan sources, three out of four expressions speak of 'rain': *dog yab kyi char*. In the fourth expression, however, we are surprised reading *dog yab kyi chab* (PT 1287, 59), lit. "water (!) of the protector of earth". The latter phrase might have accidentally been preserved from the original translation before the topos was paraphrased and adapted to the Tibetan imagery.

GERSEVITCH has derived Mithra's function as provider of wide pastures from him being bestower of rain (1959, p. 43). However, as reasonably argued by THIEME (1960) and BENVENISTE (1960), it rather seems that pastures are made wide due to the country-protecting function of Mithra who in another passage delivers from 'narrowness' (st. 22–23 where the Avestan *qzab-* is translated by GERSEVITCH as "anxiety")¹⁰: "a treaty that makes for peace does deliver from 'narrowness, anxiety' and hence 'provides wide cattle-pastures'." (THIEME 1960, p. 274); "Mithra garantit souverainement, en retour de l'hommage, l'espace où hommes et troupeaux vivent à l'abri de sa protection." (BENVENISTE 1960, p. 426); "he is 'of broad/wide cattle pastures' (*vouru-gaoyaoti-*), that is, he bestows wide pastures where cattle may freely roam, even far from the protecting settlement, without fear of treacherous attacks and robbery." (THIEME 1978, p. 506); "Miθra's most frequent epithet

¹⁰ An allusion to 'narrowness' (cf. Avestan *qzab-* "narrowness; anxiety") could have been conveyed in the Tibetan compound *dog yab < *sa dog gi yab*, lit. "protector of narrow earth". Here the rain sent by the protector of earth (*dog yab*) releases life-giving forces concealed in seeds. In light of the double meaning of the Avestan root *qzab-* "narrowness, anxiety" it is justified to mention the morphologically comparable pair of Tibetan lexemes: *dog pa* "narrow, narrowness" and *dogs* "to fear, to be afraid of". One could postulate that *dogs* was derived from *dog* by means of the abstract suffix *-s*. The semantic relationship between "narrowness" and "anxiety" might have a more universal distribution; in Polish the idiomatic phrases *strach/lęk/trwoga ścisła serce/gardło/piersi* (lit. "fear/anxiety squeezes (or: presses tightly) one's heart/throat/breast") mean "to feel fear; to become anxious". Also the Classical Tibetan compound *bag tsha* "to be afraid" (JÄSCHKE 1881, p. 364a, s. v. *bag*) is apparently derived from *bag* "a narrow space".

‘characterized by wide cattle-pastures’ (*vouru.gaoyaoiti*) reflects his concern with peaceful conditions: cattle can only graze freely when there are no raids by neighbors with whom no treaty exists.” (quoted after the digital article on Mithra (i) published in *Encyclopædia Iranica*; accessed 02.02.2018). These descriptions are paralleled by the Tibetan stanzas from which we can gather that the ruler secures “the vast pastures of the marches of the country”; if there is no ruler, the pastures are avoided. The Tibetan compound (*yul*) *pyi ybrog gdeñs* contains the word *ybrog*—the head of the compound—which in OT connoted areas distinct from *zīn* “harvest fields” (cf. *zīn ybrog*) and, on the other hand, from *sog sa* “straw-lands” (cf. *ybrog sog*). The term obviously denoted summer pastures, i.e. areas used for seasonal grazing, relevant to the local economy and as such of political importance. Interestingly, only the Tibetan stanzas explicitly state that the pastures are located on the marches (*pyi*) of a country (*yul*). That is, their legal status and accessibility for the subjects depends on the political power of the ruler and his capability to secure these lands for grazing. Other Avestan texts that mention Rāman Xvāstra “Peace providing good pasture” right after Miθra Vouru.gaoyaoiti “Contract providing wide pasture” (quoted after the digital article on Mithra (i) published in *Encyclopædia Iranica*; accessed 02.02.2018) also imply the ‘political’ role of the protector. This role continued to be acknowledged also in much later times; the ninth century *Pahlavi Rivāyat* states that one of the five most beautiful things created by Ōhrmazd is “when Mihr (= Avestan Mithra—JB) of the wide pastures goes to a country and makes friendship (among its people).”¹¹

In accordance with the above descriptions, one can sketch the development of the functions ascribed to Mithra as follows:

guardian of the contract → protector of the country → provider of wide pastures

Mithra as bestower of rain is confirmed by the descriptions of Mitra and Varuṇa in the *Rigveda*, and so counts among the earliest attested functions of this figure, even though his foremost sphere of activity, also in the *Rigveda*, were contracts (THIEME 1978, p. 501). Discussing these two seemingly unrelated functions of Mithra THIEME sensibly asks: “what do rain and vegetation have to do with contracts and treaties?” (1975, p. 32). He points to “an archaic, widespread, possibly world-wide belief” (ibid.) in king’s responsibility for the welfare of his people. Thus, on the one hand, a king seeks to make contracts (or: seal treaties) with his country’s neighbours in order to secure the peace for his subjects and, on the other hand, by acting righteously (e.g., protecting his subjects) and in accordance with the cosmic

¹¹ *Apud* BOYCE 1969, p. 23.

order he ensures the fertile climate for his country. The protecting function is the foundation of and, at the same time, the condition for the life-giving function; only if the first is fulfilled may the second manifest itself. A parallel distinction between social (guardian of the contract) and environmental (bestower of rain) orders is made in the Tibetan stanzas; the first two verses address the protecting role of a ruler and the resulting availability of vast pastures to his subjects whereas the last two verses allude to his life-giving qualities by ascribing him a rain-bestowing function. The couplets make use of different expressions to underline the distinctness of the two spheres: *yul yab* “patriarch of the country” vs *dog yab* “protector of earth” in which *yul-* has the connotation of an inhabited area under some kind of political control in contrast to *dog-* (< **sa dog*) which evokes natural environment free from human activity.¹²

The Old Tibetan songs quoted at the beginning of the paper clearly address three functions characterising a ruler: protector of the country’s frontiers, overseer of wide pastures, caretaker of vegetation. Their similarity to Mithra’s attributes cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence; songs written in an unusual rhythm¹³, that praise a righteous ruler applying a wording not encountered anywhere else in the Tibetan literature, must have had their source of inspiration outside of the Tibetan cultural sphere. I would not go so far as to assert that the Avestan *Hymn to Mithra* was the direct source of the Tibetan verses, but if we look closer at the Avestan and Tibetan texts the recurrence of some lexical items is indeed astonishing:

tūm maēḥanahe pāta nipāta
abi adružqm, tūm varəzānahe
paiti niš.harəta abi adružqm,
θwā paiti zī haxədrəm daide vahištəm
vərəθraynəmča ahuraδātə (st. 80)

You are the **protector**, the **defender**, of the abode of those who reject falsehood;
 you are the guardian of the community of those who reject falsehood: with

¹² The respective clauses in PT 1286 should in all probability be treated as abbreviated and standardised formulas derived from a fuller version like that of the songs. A very different interpretation of the respective Old Tibetan passages has been provided by TUCCI (1955, p. 200) who derives the attributes of the Tibetan *bitsan pos* from their alleged sacred character; they are expressions of his *mñay thañ* “the majesty” (ibid.; as I argue in BIALEK 2018, the primary meanings of *mñay thañ* were “¹extent of power; ²authority”).

¹³ Above I mentioned the irregular and unusual rhythm of the Tibetan stanzas with six to nine syllables in a line, a rhythm that seems to go back to the original seven or eight syllables. Interestingly, as observed by JAFAREY (1975, p. 55, and fn.5), the majority of the lines of the *Mihir Yašt* consist of eight syllables. The exceptions concern foremost the eleven-syllable verses that address Mithra as *vouru.gaoyaoiti-*, which might be due to their emphatic function during recitation.

you as **master** it (= the community) obtains the most excellent succession and Ahura-created victoriousness [...]

(59) *yul yab kyi rje ru gsegs so /*
yul pyi ybrog gdeñs myi pyol gyi cha yo /
dog yab kyi chab (read: *char*) *mchis* (60) *kyis /*
sa yon bu spur myi khog gi cha yo / (PT 1287)

[He] came as ruler of the **patriarchs of the country**.

[One] will not be avoiding vast pastures on the marches [of] the country.

For the rains [sent by] (lit. of) the **protector of earth** came,
 seeds, blown away and flying, will not shrivel.

In the Avestan passage, derivatives of the verb *pā-* “hüten, schützen, schirmen” (BARTHOLOMAE 1904, p. 885a) occur twice: *pāta* “protector” and *nipāta* “defender”.¹⁴ In *Yasna* 42.2 and 57.2, a collection of the Avestan liturgical texts, Mithra is invoked as *pāyu-* “the protector” (GERSHEVITCH 1959, p. 54ff.). In the Tibetan stanza, compounds with the head constituent *yab* are found: *yul yab* and *dog yab*. *-yab* is here a deverbal derived from the verb *yab* “to lock, lock up, secure, cover over” (JÄSCHKE 1881, p. 507a). In Old and Classical Tibetan the noun *yab* is most commonly encountered as the honorific equivalent of *pha* “father”. Since the honorifics in Tibetan were originally formed from metaphorical or metonymic expressions¹⁵, we can propose the following reconstruction for the Old Tibetan *yab*: “to secure, protect” > “protector” > “patriarch”¹⁶ > “father”. Notice that in the fourth line the Avestan stanza also mentions *paiti* translated by GERSHEVITCH as “master” for which, however, BARTHOLOMAE provides the gloss “der bewacht, Bewacher” (1904, p. 827a).¹⁷ According to MAYRHOFER (2, p. 73), Avestan *paiti-* “Herr, Gatte” is cognate with *pati-* “Herr, Gebieter, Besitzer, Gatte, Ehemann” of the *Rigveda*.

¹⁴ *nipāta* occurs also in stanza 54 and is translated there by GERSHEVITCH as “protector” (1959, p. 101; for the translation of the stanza see above p. 145).

¹⁵ Compare, for instance: *chibs* “a horse dressed up with a saddlecloth” < * “a saddlecloth” (BIALEK 2018, s.v. *skyibs lug*), *sku* “the body” < * “the remaining one” (BIALEK 2016, p. 146, fn. 33), *spyān* “eye” < * “the inspecting one” (BIALEK 2018, s.v. *rño thog pa*), *zugs* “fire” < “charcoal” (BIALEK 2018, s.v. *zugs loñ*).

¹⁶ I understand *patriarch* here as “the male head of a community (family, clan, tribe etc.) who has political power over his community”. This rather broad definition also includes the hierarchical relations within a family like those affirmed for Mitra in the *Rigveda* (5.52.14; 10.27.12) where a bridegroom is called *mitrá* (quoted after the digital article on Mithra (i) published in *Encyclopædia Iranica*; accessed 09.02.2018). JAMISON/BRERETON hesitantly render the latter term with “ally [= spouse?]” (2014, pp. 729, 1416).

¹⁷ GERSHEVITCH has interpreted *paiti* of the third line as a preverb. In his opinion, the verb *bar-* here has two preverbs: *paiti-* and *ni-* (1959, p. 229). Scholars who translated the passage before GERSHEVITCH (for an overview see *ibid.*) took this *paiti* as identical with *paiti* of the fourth line.

The *Old Tibetan Chronicles* depict a ruler as presiding over the patriarchs of the country (*yul yab*). An analogous image is delivered in the *Mibr Yašt* with respect to Mithra:

Grass-land magnate Mithra we worship, [...] sometimes the head of the country who presides over the country, sometimes the head of the tribe who presides over the tribe, sometimes the head of the clan who presides over the clan, sometimes the head of the house who presides over the house [...]. (st. 83–84)

The passage alludes to a social hierarchy. In a similar way the Tibetan stanzas call the ruler “a ruler over (lit. of) the patriarchs of the country” (*yul yab keyi rje*) and equate him with the “protector of earth” (*dog yab*) who sends the rain. Thus, a Tibetan ruler is a functional equivalent of the Avestan Mithra: both are protectors of earth (which in Mithra’s case stems from his primary function as the guardian of the contract) and both, on a lower (social) level, preside over the country’s leaders.

We might never be able to provide definitive evidence for the provenance of the Tibetan topos discussed in this paper. In an ideal case such a proof would contain at least a partial rendering into Tibetan of the Zoroastrian original, preferably containing a paraphrase of some parts of the *Mibr Yašt*. To the best of my knowledge no Tibetan translation of a Zoroastrian work exists. However, it would be naive to expect the text to have been translated directly from the Avestan language. Another Iranian, most probably Middle Iranian, literary culture must have played the role of the conveyor. Vestiges of Zoroastrian phraseology have been uncovered in Manichean and Buddhist texts written in Sogdian (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976, p. 47f.; GERSHEVITCH in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976, p. 76). In the Sogdian version of the Buddhist *Vessantara Jātaka* discovered in Central Asia a reference to Mithra as god of contract is made (GERSHEVITCH 1959, p. 34). On the other hand, Chinese records document Zoroastrian communities of Sogdians in Turfan as early as in the 5th century (ZHANG 2000, p. 193).¹⁸ Thus, it seems that the most plausible route along which the topos could have reached the Tibetan narrative was:

Mibr Yašt → Sogdian Zoroastrian literature → Sogdian
Buddhist literature → Tibetan historiographical narrative¹⁹

¹⁸ See ZHANG 2000 in general for Sogdian influences on Buddhism in the Tarim Basin as evidenced in religious iconography from the region.

¹⁹ As a matter of fact, also Soma of the *Rigveda* is ascribed functions very similar to those of Avestan Mithra:

A great delight is the well-prepared somian honey, and wide is the pasture land of Aditi for him who goes to truth, who as a dawn-red bull, is master of the rain from here, who is the leader of the waters, ageless and worthy of verses. (*Soma Pavamāna* IX.74.3, *apud* JAMISON/BRERETON 2014.3, p. 1308)

Needless to say, at no stage can we speak of literary translations. What originally constituted a complex trait among the defining characteristics of Mithra in *Mihr Yašt* gained independence and, paraphrased as an ideal of a good ruler, entered the pool of literary topoi shared by and exchanged between various cultures and language communities on the Central Asian routes of the Silk Road. From this common pool Tibetan composers of the *Old Tibetan Chronicles* drew their inspirations for depicting Tibetan rulers in glamorous phrases that had originally been coined within distinct cultural and social settings (in a different epoch, at a different location) to glorify Mithra, god of the contract.

* * *

Actually, the first function of Mithra as guardian of the contract is also found among the characteristics of a Tibetan good ruler. In his literary analysis of the *Old Tibetan Chronicles*, DOTSON has called it a metaphor of horse and rider in which “the horse is the subject and the rider is the ruler. The saddle is the social contract that unites them.” (2013, p. 215). This function of a ruler finds its most straightforward expression in the following verses:

rje bden ni bkol / (150) du dgay /
sga bden gyis ni bstad du dgay (PT 1287)

[One] is happy to be subjected by a true lord.

[A horse] is happy to be saddled [with] a true saddle.

rje bden gyis ni bkol to / (187)
sga bden gyis ni bstad do // (PT 1287)

A true lord subjected [us].

[A horse] is saddled with a true saddle.

Providing broad pastures, creating (places) without danger, by purifying yourself procure the two united forms of plenty [= Heaven and Earth]. Striving to win the waters, also the dawns, the sun, and the cows, you have roared together great prizes for us. (*Soma Pavamāna* IX.90.4, *apud* JAMISON/BRERETON 2014.3: 1329)

Soma produces rain and provides ‘wide-pastures’. GERSHEVITCH (1959, p. 65, fn. †) has noticed that his epithet *urūgavyūti* is the etymological equivalent of the Avestan *vouru. gaoyaoiti*-. THIEME (1960, p. 274) and BENVENISTE (1960, p. 427) attribute the epithet *urūgavyūti* to Soma’s protecting role and his delivering from ‘narrowness’. The latter author defines Vedic *gavyūti* in the following words “La *gavyūti*- est, adjacent à la localité habitée, un territoire tribal, protégé par un dieu souverain, où les hommes et le bétail sont à l’abri des incursions et des calamités. Il n’y a pas *gavyūti* sans protection divine; c’est une sécurité qu’un dieu seul peut garantir.” (1960, p. 429). In the Avestan literature it is Mithra who secures safety for the community of those who pay homage to him.

Another passage, that appears to have been a proverb, describes a situation in which a ruler breaches the contract:

dre yu rgal (read: *sgal*) *te bsey sga bchag go* // (PT 1287, l. 134)

The little mule, being overloaded, broke the varnished leather saddle.

and can be juxtaposed with the following passage from the *Hymn to Mithra*:

Even the horses of those who are false to the contract are loath to be mounted
(lit. loaded) [...] (st. 20)

Thus, a good ruler, usually called ‘true lord’ (*rje bden*) in Old Tibetan, is likewise a guardian and, at the same time, a guarantor of the social contract between him and his subjects, but only if they follow him. In the same manner Mithra’s worshippers are protected as long as they continue to pay him homage.

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Spiritual Practice in the Arabic Hagiography of the Chinese Ġahrīya Sufi Order

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Summary: The hagiography of the Chinese branch of the Naqšbandīya order of Islamic mysticism called Ġahrīya has been recorded, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in some Arabic and Persian language texts. These include stories about the founder of the Sufi order, Ma Mingxin (d. 1781), and his successors in the first few generations and many of the literary units revolve around the contemplative discipline declared obligatory for the followers of the brotherhood. MA XUEZHI gives a description, in his *Kitāb al-Ġabri*, of the works which include practices believed to have been transmitted to Mingxin during his sojourn on the Arab peninsula. Besides offering a positivist approach description of the practices on the basis of the hagiographical writings, some codicological reflections will also be included in the presentation.

1 Introduction

The hagiography of the Chinese branch of the Naqšbandīya order of Islamic mysticism called Jeherenye (of Arabic Ġahrīya),¹ established mainly in the provinces of Gansu, Ningxia and Yunnan,² has been recorded in a small number of writings composed in the 19th and early 20th centuries in the Arabic, partly also in a hybrid Arabo-Persian language. The most important are the *Rašahāt* 熱什哈爾 of GUANLI YE 閻裏爺 MA XIANZHENG 馬先正 (d. 1862),³ *Kitāb al-Ġabrī* (*Daotong shi zhuan* 道統史傳) of MUḤAMMAD MAṢṢŪR MA XUEZHI 馬學智 (d. 1923) and *Manāqib* (*Mannageibu* 曼納格佈) of ‘ABD AL-AḤAD ZHAN YE 龔爺 (d. 1924).⁴ As the Arabo-Persian text of the *Rašahāt*, the oldest of these texts, is not generally accessible (however, a Chinese translation thereof has been published), I concentrate on the

¹ On the order see FLETCHER 1995a, pp. 1–46; AUBIN 1960–2004, pp. 491–572; LIP-MAN 1997, pp. 85–93; SOBIEŹ 2016, pp. 133–169, 136, fn. 19 for further references.

² Cf. SAGUCHI 1960–2004a, vol. 4, pp. 553–555 (“Kansu”), 1960–2004b, vol. 11, pp. 346–347 (“Yunnan”).

³ Cf. MA XIN 馬鑫, pp. 180–181; GUANLI YE 1993, p. 7 (introd.).

⁴ MA XIN 馬鑫, op. cit., p. 192.

hagiography as contained in the other two works (extant as facsimile manuscript editions and partly also in translation).⁵

The hagiography in the three above-mentioned works is made up mainly of stories about the founder of the Sufi order Ma Mingxin 馬明心 Wīqāyat-ullāh al-Guanchuanfūwī (d. 1781)⁶ and his successors in the first few generations. Many of the stories deal with the contemplative discipline declared obligatory for the followers of the brotherhood and they include mainly the following practices, all mentioned by MA XUEZHI in *K. al-Ġabrī*:

Recitation of Qurʾān and prayer formulas; *dīkr*, i. e. remembrance of God, silently and vocally; chanting of ‘canonical’ texts *Muḥammad* and *Madāʾih* in praise of the prophet Muḥammad.

The canonical texts used in the practice which are designated as *jīng* (經) in the Chinese translations of the hagiography are believed by the Ġahrīs to have been brought to them by their masters, from Arabia, i. e. Yemen. This provenance is confirmed by the stories in *K. al-Ġabrī* and *Manāqib* and it is implied in the *isnād* or list of authorities added to the *Madāʾih*. The mode of recitation of the *Muḥammad* on the other hand is said to have been taught to Mingxin by “Ibn Zain, aṣ-Ṣaiḥ al-kabīr al-Yamanī”,⁷ who initiated him into the Naqšbandīya Sufi order.⁸ In their perception, the masters of the Ġahrīya have stood in a line of initiatory transmission connecting them with the Arab representatives of Sufism, being united with them according to the formula *li qi* 裏七 *wai ba* 外八, ‘seven masters from inside’, i. e. Arabia, and ‘eight masters from outside’, i. e. China.⁹

1.1 Terminology

Spiritual practice, in the Arabic hagiographical texts, has been subsumed under the generic term ‘*amal* (work)’.¹⁰

⁵ Occasionally, the main body of the manuscript texts is interrupted by paratexts in the Chinese language transcribed in Arabic script, the so-called xiao(er)jīng (cf. SOBIEROJ: *Xiaoqing and Manuscripts in Sino-Arabic script* [forthcoming]).

⁶ Cf. FORBES 1960–2004, pp. 850–852; SOBIEROJ 2016, pp. 135–136.

⁷ To be identified with Muḥammad b. [al-]Zain, the brother of ‘Abd al-Ḥālīq b. Zain b. M. ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizgāgī of Zabīd (d. 1740), not with the latter himself (against MA TONG 2000b, p. 90; cf. SOBIEROJ 2014, p. 105, fn. 56; id. 2016, p. 145, fn. 68).

⁸ The Naqšbandīya had been introduced to Zabīd by the Indian Sufi Tāğ ad-Dīn Zakariyā’ al-‘Utmānī (d. 1640; FLETCHER 1995a, p. 7) whose supporter was Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Bāqī (REICHMUTH 2009, p. 21), father of az-Zain (d. 1725); the latter authorized vocal *dīkr* (FLETCHER 1995a, pp. 24–25).

⁹ Cf. YE FUDONG 冶福東 2009, p. 167; SOBIEROJ 2016, p. 139, fn. 39.

¹⁰ Cf. FENG ZENGLIE 馮增烈 2007, p. 142; YANG WANBAO 楊萬寶 in GUANLI YE 1993, p. 11, fn.

In *K. al-Ġahrī*, p. 37 the practices are also referred to as *‘ibāda* (service, worship) or more specifically as *qurbāt* (i. e. works that make the disciple draw closer to God) and in the Chinese trans. the expressions *gonggan* 功干, *gongxiu* 功修 and *gongke* 功課 have been used (MANŠÜR/MA 1997, pp. 23–24). The practitioners are called *sālik* (pl. *sālikūna*; MANŠÜR 1933, p. 8), a term which is translated as *xingong* 修功 *bandaode ren*. The term *‘amal* by extension also denotes the banquet (*majlis al-‘amal, walīma, yan* 宴) which includes a meal and thereafter the collective performance of the ritual practice, done in the Sufi convent (*gongbei*, of Persian *qubba*) or in the house of a sympathizer with the Sufi order.

The practices were a means in Sufism to walk along the mystical way, *ṭarīqa*, a term that is also used to denote the Sufi order (*menhuan* 門宦), e. g. *ṭarīqa naqšbandīya*, and *ṭarīqa* was the bridge connecting law (*šarī‘a*) and mystical reality (*haqīqa*) which were considered inseparable (*mutadāhila wa-mutamāziga*; MANŠÜR 1933, p. 8).

2 The practices

2.1 Connecting with the master in the heart

In order to be successful in his spiritual practice the novice must, as a precondition, join a master (*šaiḥ, shaihai* 師海; *maulā, maolia* 毛倆; *shifu* 師傅) in whose perfection he believes and with whom he becomes connected in the heart.¹¹ He surrenders to him unreservedly and the extent to which obedience is required from him, in *K. al-Ġahrī*, is illustrated by a simile that is commonplace in classical Sufi literature. As MA XUEZHI explains in an endnote to his introduction, the novice’s attitude to his master must correspond to that of a corpse under the hands of the corpse-washer.¹² MANŠÜR also stipulates that the novices must not make any alterations, without the *šaiḥ*’s permission (*idn; kouhuan* 口喚), to the practices which they have been initiated into (*al-‘ibāda al-mulaqqana*). While they believe that their masters are

¹¹ Arabic: *rābi‘a* („Herzensbindung“; cf. MEIER 1994, pp. 49, 53; „bonding the heart with the shaykh, cf. BUEHLER 1998, pp. 131–134). The *rābi‘a* is declared the last of three methods of *ḍikr* which the *šaiḥs* of the Naqšbandīya-Muğaddidiya have instituted in order to refine the *laṭā‘if ‘ālam al-amr* („subtle substances of the world of the [divine] command“; MAZHAR 1896, p. 190; cf. fn. 16, 103).

¹² MANŠÜR 1933, p. 14; also MAZHAR 1896, p. 219: „As long as the novice does not consider himself vis-à-vis his master as dust or a corpse under the hands of the washer he will not reap any fruit“. Originally (e. g. with Sahl at-Tustarī [d. 283/896]) the simile served to illustrate the Sufi ideal of trust in God (*tawakkul*), later—from the 6th/12th c. onward—the concept was transferred to the novice’s relationship of obedience to his *šaiḥ* (cf. GRAMLICH 1976, vol. 2, p. 243).

the most perfect of all *ṣaiḥs*—a reflection of the hubris of the Naqṣbandīya which sees itself as superior to the other Sufi orders¹³—they also hold that their masters' spiritual works (*qurubāt*) are the finest of all.¹⁴ As a result, the novices make efforts to imitate their qualities of character (*taḥalluq bi-aḥlā-qihim*) and observe the *ādāb* or "good manners" toward their masters as outlined in the manuals of wayfaring (*kutub as-sulūk*; cf. MAṢṢŪR 1933, p. 14); probably the best known of these texts in Chinese Sufism is the Persian language *Mirṣād al-'ibād* of Naḡm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 654/1256) of which manuscript copies of Chinese provenance could still be seen (until recently) in the Sufi convents in the region.¹⁵

The novice must also be aware that his master sees him everywhere and he must see him as well.¹⁶ This is shown in a story of the *Manāqib* in which the disciple, Qalandar, is praised by Mingxin for having cultivated this awareness of the presence of the *ṣaiḥ* controlling him. The anecdote is concluded with the address to the disciples by Mingxin to be assiduous in the performance of their spiritual practice (*iğṭabidū fī s-sulūkāt wa-r-riyāqāt*) and there follows a relevant quotation from the *Muḥammas* which either he himself recited to legitimate his advice to the disciples or it is quoted by the author with the same motivation¹⁷.

The story is that his favourite disciple, Qalandar of Honglefu 鴻樂府 convent (in Jinjibao 金積堡), was rejected by some students and to convince them

¹³ Bahā' ad-Dīn an-Naqṣbandī, the eponymous founder, declared that its point of departure was the end of all other paths (ALGAR 1976, p. 40, quoting MUḤAMMAD MURĀD [d. 1721]). ALGAR, loc. cit. relates this claim to the method of *ḍikr*, viz. silent, practised by the Naqṣbandīs. Elsewhere (p. 43) he mentions that the claim was also based on the disdain of the *karāmāt*, "miracles"; on this subject also see BUEHLER 1998, p. 121.

¹⁴ For instance: their retreats (*i'tikāf*). Qī Baba reports from the *Ṣaiḥ* of Pingliang that he went into seclusion for 100 days thereby modifying the traditional practice of solitary retreat for 40 days (*Arba'īniya*, described e.g. by SUHRAWARDĪ 2009, in 'Awārif, ch. 26–28) to do acts of devotion (ZHAN YE, p. 76). By doing so, the *ṣaiḥ* prayed to God—by dint of a mediatory function—to avert an impending catastrophe.

¹⁵ E.g. in the *Taizi Gongbei* of Linxia (Qādiriya); also in the *Banqiao daotong* of Wuzhong (Gahrīya).

¹⁶ An allusion to the exercise of visualizing the image of one's *ṣaiḥ*: „During remembering [God] he represents, opposite to his heart, the image of his master from whom he received the *ḍikr* [formula] through [observing] perfect manners with him“ (*wa-yuṣaḥḥiṣ qubālatā qalbībī šūrat aṣ-ṣaiḥ* etc.; MAZHAR 1996, p. 194 [for this work see fn. 23]). Through visualization of the image of his *ṣaiḥ* (*taṣḥiṣ šūratihī*) the practitioner obtains inspiration (*faid*) while believing that the master is his personal gate to the godhead (MAZHAR 1996, p. 190). Also in the performance of "the first method" of *ḍikr* [cf. fn. 11] which can be done either with the "Greatest Name" or with the formula of negation and affirmation, there is involved a visualization of the *ṣaiḥ* (MAZHAR 1996, p. 194); this imaging is called *taṣawwur-i ṣaiḥ* by Indian Naqṣbandīs (cf. BUEHLER 1998, pp. 134–138).

¹⁷ ZHAN YE [n.d.], p. 28; ZHAN YE/MA 2012, p. 14; *Muḥammas*, p. 18.

of his excellence, Mingxin asked everyone to slaughter two doves which he gave to the *murīds* at a place where he could not see them or where they could not see him. While they went to various corners of the monastery (*ṣaumi*; *daotang* 道堂) slaughtering the doves, Qalandar refrained and being asked by Mingxin why he did not follow the order, he explained that the master sees him at every place. Mingxin praised him for this: “Sublime is the portion (*naṣīb*; *pinji* 品級 [rank]) of him who looks at me whether I am absent or present and sublime is his spiritual practice” (*wa-mā aʿẓama sulūkahū*).

The verses of the *Muḥammas* include Sufi teachings relating to the treatment of the lower self which is compared with a suckling that should be weaned not too late in order for it to overcome attachment to its mother’s breast (verse of Būṣīrī’s original poem). The carnal soul must be controlled (*ḥifẓ an-nafs*) in every circumstance, especially with respect to things forbidden. It must be checked through performance of spiritual works, through observation (*murāqaba*) and asking it to account for what it did (Tabād-kānī’s poetic elaboration):

Iḥfaz li-nafsika fī kulli l-umūri wa-lā / tuḥawibā fī l-manābī tabtanī ‘amalā / ḥāsib wa-rāqibhā yauman ḥalā wa-malā / wa-n-nafsu ka-t-tifli / in tuḥmilbu ṣabba ‘alā / ḥubbi r-riḍā’i wa-in taftimbu yanfaṭimū

“Control your carnal soul in all affairs and do not let it fall into the forbidden matters, to perpetrate [bad] works / Ask it to give account and observe it when you are alone or amidst the people / The soul is like a small child, if you neglect it, it will grow up / loving to be caressed, but if you wean it, it will abstain”.

2.2 The five *qurubāt* practices

MA XUEZHI MAṢŪR gives a description, in the introduction to *K. al-Ġabrī* (pp. 1–15), of five spiritual practices which he calls *qurubāt mulaqqanāt*, i. e. works taught by the masters that make the disciple draw closer to God.

2.2.1 Recitation of the Qur’ān

The first practice consists in reciting the Qur’ān while respecting the “subtle conditions and beautiful customs” (*ma’a š-šarā’iṭ ad-daḡīqa wa-l-ādāb al-ḡamīla*) thereof—not specified in *K. al-Ġabrī*—and completing the recitation on Sunday night (*al-ḥatma lailat kull al-iṭnaini*) or the day [after] (*K. al-Ġabrī*, p. 9).¹⁸ In order to alleviate the exercise of reading the

¹⁸ Muḥammad b. Ḥafīf aš-Šīrāzī (d. 371/982), in a collection of prayers, recommends formulas to be said at that occasion (cf. *Šarḥ al-faḍā’il*, ch. 120) for, according to a ḥadīṭ quoted, God answers prayers when offered after completing a Qur’ān recitation and there will also be planted a tree for him in paradise.

Qurʾān within one week, the revealed text has been divided in seven parts (*aḥzāb*).¹⁹

2.2.2 Recitation of the *Suwar al-Ḥwāḡagān*

The second practice is the recitation, on Thursday night, of the “Sūras of the Ḥwāḡagān” related to the masters of the proto-history of the Naqšbandīya,²⁰ i. e. a specific series of Qurʾānic verses and passages.²¹ The *K. al-Ġabrī*, p. 27 includes a story which claims that this practice had been instituted by Ma Mingxin (“the pathfinder”; *dao zu* 道祖) in his Menhuan when he was proselytizing among the Turcophone ethnic group called Salar,²² in the Xunhua area of Eastern Qinghai/Northeastern Tibet:

Six Sālārī men went to his Highness, the honourable (*ḡanāb al-ḥaḍrat* [sic!]) Wiqāyatullāh—God santify his secret! His Highness said to them: “Every Thursday night you perform the ‘amal-practice (*innakum taʿmalūna*)”, i. e. they recite the *Suwar al-Ḥwāḡagān* [addition by MANṢŪR]. ‘The participation of [at least] seven persons is obligatory. You are six. Count me as one [extra] person.’

The story implies that Mingxin claimed that he participated in the ritual practice through a mystical presence, for which reason he declared it permitted to include him in the counting to reach the prescribed number of seven participants.

MANṢŪR, by contrast, explains how to recite the *Suwar al-Ḥwāḡagān* by referring to the *Manāqib Aḥmadīya wa-l-Maqāmāt as-Saʿdīya/Saʿīdīya* of the Naqšbandī ṣaiḥ [MUḤAMMAD] MAḌḤAR²³:

By kneeling down he [i. e. they] formed a circle (*dāʿira*), at the three prayer times of the morning prayer (*ṣubḥ*; *chen libai* 晨禮拜), midday prayer (*zuhr*, *shang* 晌) and evening prayer (*maḡrib*, *bun* 昏), and he recited in the congregation the words which the ṣaiḥs of the Naqšbandīya used to recite (*al-ḥatm al-mansūb ilā l-maṣāʾih al-kirām*).

¹⁹ In the core countries of the Islamic world, by contrast, the text has been divided into 30 portions (*aḡzāʾ*), which corresponds to the number of days in Ramaḍān (cf. WATT 1991, p. 57).

²⁰ The order had not yet crystallized into a form having a definite identity (ALGAR 1976, p. 41; also cf. SOBIEROJ 2016, pp. 141–142); for the Ḥwāḡagān cf. FLETCHER 1995a, pp. 4–5.

²¹ The *Ḥatm al-Ḥwāḡagān* has also been designated “the weekly congregational ḍikr” which took place Thursday or Friday night after the evening prayer (MEIER 1994, pp. 188–201).

²² Both Apaka Ḥwāḡa (cf. fn. 53) and his father had preached among the Salars and taught them Rūmī’s *Maṭnawī* (cf. FLETCHER 1995a, pp. 13–14).

²³ The above work treats the life of Aḥmad Saʿīd al-Fārūqī al-Ḥanafī an-Naqšbandī (d. 1276–1277/1860; MAḌḤAR 1896, p. 73), a descendant of the Imām Rabbānī (d. 1034/1624), and was written by MUḤAMMAD MAḌḤAR AL-AḤMADĪ AL-MADANĪ, the youngest of his sons (born in Dihlī in 1248/1832–1833; cf. MURĀD 1882–1883, p. 115; also SOBIEROJ 2016, p. 138, fn. 35).

The recitations end with prayers in which the merit of this practice is dedicated to the *šaiḥs* of the Naqšbandīya whose intercession is implored.²⁴

2.2.3 *Dīker*

Dīker, remembering God, as explained by MANŠŪR is performed in two ways, silently by the individual (*ḥafīyan*), and vocally in the assembly (*ḡahran*).²⁵ As a spiritual practice of Sufism *dīker* means becoming aware of God's presence in order to become annihilated in him through an act of grace. This can be achieved by reciting the *kalimat at-tauḥīd* or formula of the unity (*qīngzhen yan* 清真言),²⁶ by calling on any of God's names or by repeating a specific prayer formula.

2.2.3.1 *Dīker ḥafī*

As to *dīker ḥafī* (*an nian* 暗念), MANŠŪR's third practice (*K. al-Ġahrī*, pp. 10–11), silent remembrance is to be performed after night prayer and recitation of *Muḥammad* and before the morning prayer (*fī t-taraḡfain*). In the Ġahrīya, it consists of three formulas, namely, prayers on the Prophet (*ṣalawāt*),²⁷ asking God for forgiveness (*istīḡfār*) and the *tauḥīd*-formula, and they are to be recited—mentally—1200 times (in total). Some practitioners—MANŠŪR says—perform *dīker* by using the name of the divine essence (*ism ad-dāt*), i. e. Allāh ["the remembrance of the heart"; cf. BUEHLER 1998, p. 127], or by using the word of praise (*tasbīḥ*; *nian zansong ci*), i. e. *subḥāna llāh*, in this context. Šaiḥ Ḥaḡīqullāh (Ma Yide 馬以德 Siyueba Taiye; d. 1849), Mingxin's third successor, made changes to the traditional sequence (*tartīb*) of the *dīker* formulas by adding the word of praise to be said 100 times at the beginning and reducing the total number of repetitions to 1000 times only.²⁸

²⁴ MANŠŪR 1933, p. 10; MANŠŪR/MA 1997, intr., p. 6. The dedication of the reward of one's prayers to the dead may again be rewarded by God (cf. IBN ḤAFĪF, *Šarḥ*, fo. 109v).

²⁵ According to Sufi tradition, vocal *dīker* was taught by the prophet to his son-in-law 'Alī who passed it on to "the mass of sufi orders" while silent *dīker* is derived from Muḥammad by way of Abū Bakr, the latter's father-in-law; the Naqšbandī *silsila* passes through Abū Bakr (cf. ALGAR 1976, p. 41; BUEHLER 1998, p. 56).

²⁶ ZHAN YE/MA 2012, p. 7.

²⁷ The "prayer on the Prophet" (*ṣalāt 'alā n-nabī*; ZHAN YE, *Manāqib*, pp. 207–208) is translated as *zansheng* 讚聖 in ZHAN YE/MA 2012, p. 93; for text formulas and other aspects of this prayer cf. IBN ḤAFĪF, *Šarḥ*, ch. 57–61).

²⁸ As an aid in counting, prayer beads (*subḥa* [QUŠAIRĪ 1940, p. 21]) may have been used as did Ma Mingxin himself. The pathfinder, on the eve of the deportation of his spouse, the Šauyā'quwīya, and his daughters, from Gansu to Xinjiang, handed over his *tasbīḥ* to his wife, and she in turn passed it on to her daughter, the Sangu Taitai, when they were about to be separated (MA XIN, pp. 16, 22–23).

As to the remembrance of God using the *kalimat at-tauhīd*, it consists of two parts, negation of the non-divine (*lā ilāha*) and affirmation of God's existence (*illā llāh*).

Ma Mingxin, in *K. al-Ġabrī*, has given a description of the practice of *dīkr* using the *kalimat at-tauhīd* by appealing to the authority of Ibn Zain from whom he said he received the instruction. He uses the traditional imagery of a mysticism of love in which the Sufi aspires after union with God whom he adores as the object of his yearning. He distinguishes between two forms of remembrance using the formula which correspond to a process of internalization that leads from a vocal to a more inward, 'contracted', recitation. In justification of this teaching he quotes verses from the Qur'ān and sayings ascribed to Prophet Muḥammad.²⁹

Mingxin also underlined, by quoting his teacher, that *dīkr* must by no means be performed without the guidance of an authorized *ṣāḥib*: „Without the direction of the *mursīd* the person who performs the remembrance on his own initiative is accursed and rejected in both worlds“. In ZHAN YE, *Manāqib*, p. 10 (ZHAN YE/MA 2012, p. 7) the warning is ascribed to the founder of the Naqšbandīya order himself, Bahā' ad-Dīn: “The word *lā ilāha illā llāh Muḥammadun rasūlullāh* is the best formula of remembrance etc. [...] He who recites it without a *ṣāḥib*'s permission is a disbeliever etc.”

The account in *K. al-Ġabrī*, p. 58 ends with a saying ascribed to Mingxin explanatory of the physical movements which the Sufi performs during *dīkr*

²⁹ “When you return from the vocal recitation of the formula of declaring the unity (*al-kalima at-taiyiba al-ḡabrīya*) to the inaudible recitation (*dinīan* 信念; *al-kalima al-ḡabrīya al-abḡā*), you say: *lā'in* [لَايْن]. The *lā* of *lā ilāha* indicates the unification of lover and beloved after the separation (*ḡam'iftirāq al-'āsiq wa-l-ma'sūq*). The [syllable] *in* of *illā llāh* indicates the real union (*wiṣāl ḡaḡiqī*) between lover and beloved. At this place separation has been overcome (*dababa l-firāq*), and unification (*ḡā'a l-wiṣāl*) has occurred. The two have met in a mystical union (*baṣala ḡam' al-ḡam'*), the divinity and the created existence have become one (*ittahadat al-ilāhiya wa-l-kauniya*; *renzhu heyi* 人主合一 [MANŠÜR/MA 1997, p. 45]; *Manāqib*, p. 11, has the variant: *ittahadat al-'ubūdiyya wa-l-ulūbiyya*). It is as God says: 'Truth has appeared and falsehood has been dispelled' (Sūra 17/81). This is the subtlety (*latīfa*) of / the subtle substance referred to by [the ḡadīḡ] 'I have a moment with God'. The Sufis call this the station (*martaba*) '[distance] of two bows' lengths or nearer' (Sūra 53/9). This is the reality of 'There is no god but God'. Therefore the reciter must be attentive and must not ignore these secrets". For the recitation of the *kalima* as *lā in* see also the story in ZHAN YE, *Manāqib*, p. 201 (Chin. trans., p. 89): In the first year of the Xianfeng period (i.e. 1851), while commemorating the death of one of the masters, Ṭab'atullāh Shisan Taiye Ma Hualong (馬化龍, lived 1810–1871; MA XIN, pp. 95–102), the fourth successor, ordered that as part of the *aurād* the disciples should recite the *lā in*-formula as often as the *lā ilāha illā llāh*, namely 66 times each, adding that the last 33 recitations must be done with perfect concentration while severing all internal attachments (*wa-qta'ū ta'alluqāt kullahā*).



using the *kalima*. The quote also includes an implicit reference to a mystical physiology:

The movement of the head toward the right side during *dīker* recitation relates to the negation (i.e. there is no deity), the movement of the head toward the left side relates to the affirmation (i.e. only God exists), for the left side is the place at which the heart and the belief are situated (*maḥall al-qalb wa-l-īmān*).³⁰

A description of the required mode of performing the *dīker* is also given in ZHAN YE, *Manāqib*, p. 66: While initiating his successor, the Chuanchang 船廠 Taiye Ma Datian 馬達天 Quṭb al-ālam,³¹ into the secrets of the order, the Pingliang 平涼 Taiye Mu Xianzhang 穆憲章 Kullu risāla³² explained to him how to remember God. The instruction was given in answer to the successor's question which group of people would first enter hell-fire in the hereafter:

"Those who keep the eyes open during *dīker* and who are not concentrated in their heart will enter hell-fire the first, in the hereafter. When one recites the *kalima*, one has to close the door, extinguish the light and close one's eyes. Only then are you able to remember God perfectly and you can dispel from your heart the self-centred thoughts" (*waswasat al-ḥayāl*). There follows in the text of the *Manāqib* a quote, probably added by ZHAN YE, which he excerpted from *al-Baḥḡa as-sanīya*³³ to confirm the šaiḥ's words: "During *dīker* close the eyes! When the eyes are closed it is as though the five senses were closed. The closing of the five senses is the cause for the opening of the heart." There follows a quote from the Qur'ān: "Alike of you is he who conceals his saying (*man asarra l-qawl*), and he who proclaims it (*man ḡahara bihi*) etc." (Sūra 13/10).

The context of the description linked with the threat of exposure to hell-fire underlines the importance ascribed to observing the injunctions as transmitted in the Naqšbandīya.

³⁰ The theory referred to is indebted to the mysticism of the *laṭā'if*, "subtle substances", developed in the Indian Naqšbandīya-Muḡaddidiya: Man, according to the Imām Rab-bānī is composed of ten *laṭā'if*, five relating to the 'ālam al-amr ("world of the decree"), viz. *qalb*, *rūḥ* ("spirit"), *sirr* ("secret"), *al-ḥafī* ("the hidden"), *al-aḥfā* ("the most hidden"), as well as five relating to the 'ālam al-ḥalq ("world of the creation"), viz. the *nafs* and the four elements. The *laṭā'if* have their "root" (*aṣl*) above the throne, but these *uṣūl* are forgotten by man until the šaiḥ, designated *kāmil mukammil* ("perfect and perfection-bestowing"), enlivens them (*yatawaḡḡahu laḥā*). Then the roots are remembered and an inclination to them is brought forth through divine attraction (*bi-ḡadabāt ilāhiya*). The first five *laṭā'if* have a specific place in the body activated through *dīker* (MAZHAR 1896, p. 195). For the correspondences cf. BUEHLER 1998, p. 111; a model of Naqšbandī cosmology is op. cit., p. 107, figure 5.

³¹ Died in 1817 (cf. YANG 2010, p. 128).

³² Died in 1812 (cf. MA XIN, p. 71).

³³ Probably: *al-B. as-s. fi ādāb at-tarīqa al-'aliya al-Ḥālidiya an-Naqšbandīya*, of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥānī al-Ḥālīdī (d. 1279/1862; cf. DAENIQA 1987, p. 149).

In one of the stories of *K. al-Ġabrī* (including a polemic against Mingxin's rival, Ma Laichi 馬來遜 Abū l-Futūḥ; d. 1766) there is a connection between the *kalimat al-tauḥīd* and a reference to certain wild animals.

A disciple of Mingxin, the San Ahong (ʿālim *tālīf*) of Gongchangfu, had been haunted, when he followed Abū l-Futūḥ, by the vision of a crocodile and a leopard/panther which appeared before his inner eye during the recitation of the formula:

While performing the remembrance of God, I faced great danger. When I recited the word of the negation and that of the affirmation, I kept seeing a crocodile and a leopard.³⁴ Neither could I throw them off nor could I resist them (MANŠŪR 1933, pp. 24–25).

It may be worthy of note that the story involves a transfer of symbols which is further enriched through the Chinese translation.³⁵ In the imagery, the author of the Arabic text connected with a tradition in Persian literature where the non-divine has been symbolized as a crocodile, *nahang-i lā*, i. e. the crocodile of negation. The famous poet and member of the Naqšbandīya Nūr ad-Dīn Ġāmī (d. 898/1492) has written a tract³⁶ commenting on a verse of the Indian poet Amīr Ḥusrau (d. 725/1325) which includes this imagery. Possibly through Ġāmī whose works have been studied in Chinese Madrasa education (Jingtang jiaoyu), the Chinese Ġahrīya became aware of the imagery. As for the [black] leopard (*nimr*),³⁷ this animal has been employed in Arabic Sufi literature as a symbol for the carnal soul. ʿABD AL-QĀDIR AL-ĠILĀNĪ (d. 561/1166) whose Qādirīya Sufi order is still widespread in Islamate China,³⁸ in his *Sirr al-asrār*,³⁹ p. 55 includes the leopard in a series of beasts (*sibāʿat*), besides lion, wolf and pig, which the dreaming person sees under the influence of his blameworthy qualities (*al-aḥlāq ad-damīma*). The *Minhāğ al-ʿābidīn* of AL-ĠAZĀLĪ (d. 505/1111), fo. 20v, on the other hand, includes some sections about the discrimination between various types of inspiration, divine, angelic, psychic, diabolic etc., and in this context the carnal soul (*an-nafs*), as the origin of one type of inspiration is compared with the leopard (*nimr*).

³⁴ *Yaʿtī rağul qābir at-timsāḥ wa-bāṭiš an-nimr* ("here comes a man who defeats the crocodile and seizes the leopard"; MANŠŪR 1933, p. 24, quoting Mingxin).

³⁵ The Chinese translation renders the names of the beasts called crocodile and leopard in the Arabic text as dragon and tiger.

³⁶ *Risāla dar šarḥ-i bayt* etc. (cf. SOBIEROJ 2016, p. 161, fn. 156); for the wider reception of Ġāmī's works see now PAPAS 2018.

³⁷ MANŠŪR 1933, p. 77.

³⁸ Cf. MA TONG 2000c, pp. 547–576.

³⁹ MAZĪDĪ 2007 (ed.); a Chinese trans. is MA TINGYI 1998.

2.2.3.2 Vocal *dīkr*

The vocal *dīkr*, performed in the congregation, constitutes MANŠŪR's fourth spiritual practice.

MANŠŪR quotes various literary sources such as the Qur'ān commentary *Tafsīr Rūḥ al-bayān* [of Ismā'īl Haqqī al-Brūsawī (d. 1137/1724)]⁴⁰ and a collection of Ḥanafī Fatwas (*al-Fatāwā l-Ḥairīya*) [of Ḥair ad-Dīn al-Fārūqī (d. 1081/1671)] as well as the Prophetic tradition to justify the view that the vocal remembrance (*ad-dīkr bi-raf' aṣ-ṣaut*) is more effective in dispelling stray thoughts (*qam' al-ḥāṭir*) from the novice's heart than is silent remembrance.⁴¹

As to the contents of this practice, MANŠŪR equates the vocal *dīkr* with the recitation of the "noble prayer litanies" (*ḥalqat ad-dīkr 'alā l-ḡabr ya'nī l-Aurād aṣ-ṣarīfa*).

2.2.3.2.1 *al-Aurād aṣ-ṣarīfa*

Prayers designated as *Aurād* (pl. of Arabic *wird*),⁴² centred around a "word of praising [God]" and two series of divine names, were taught to Mingxin by Ibn Zain, before he sent him back to China as his missionary ("this word of praises must also be recited in our litanies", *aurādunā ṣ-ṣarīfa*). The text of the praises, beginning with *subḥāna l-abad al-abad*,⁴³ is included in *K. al-Ġabrī*, pp. 19–20 and it used to be recited after the morning prayers.⁴⁴

Mingxin, in his turn, taught the *Aurād aṣ-ṣarīfa*, translated as the "precious word of praise" (*zungui de zanci* 讚詞),⁴⁵ to his followers. Among them there was a young Ahong who had gained the pathfinder's favour⁴⁶ and who then asked Mingxin to allow him to place Sūra 7/23 in front of the *Aurād*-prayers: As Mingxin agreed, the Ahong inserted the Qur'ānic verse.⁴⁷ The story ends with the note that the šaiḥ eventually separated himself from

⁴⁰ Died in 1137/1724 (BROCKELMANN 1937–1949, vol. 2, p. 581). The commentary is also read by contemporary Indian Naqšbandīs (cf. BUEHLER 1998, p. 164, fn. 71).

⁴¹ On the polemical literature written against the practice of vocal *dīkr* by the Central Asian 'ulamā' see BABADJANOV 2004, p. 297.

⁴² CHIH 2016, pp. 520–544 describes the *Aurād* as litanies and prayers taught by the master to the disciple to be recited at specific moments of the day and the night in addition to the ritual prayers (cf. p. 538) and she gives an outline of the *Aurād* as practiced by the members of the Ḥalwatiya order in 18th c. Egypt (pp. 538–539).

⁴³ Chinese: *zansong yongheng de zhu qingjing* 讚頌永恒的主清淨 (MANŠŪR/MA 1997, pp. 3–7); also: *zanci*.

⁴⁴ Cf. YANG, in GUANLI YE 1993, p. 9, fn. 4.

⁴⁵ MANŠŪR 1933, p. 59; MANŠŪR/MA 1997, p. 47.

⁴⁶ MANŠŪR 1933, p. 59; for the reasons of Mingxin's temporary inclination to the Ahong cf. SOBIEHOJ 2016, p. 157.

⁴⁷ MANŠŪR 1933, p. 59; MANŠŪR/MA 1997, p. 47.

the Ahong because he had followed the whims of his carnal soul. This may be interpreted as meaning that he was wrong in asking for an alteration of the arrangement of the transmitted prayers which must be accepted as taught by the masters 'through license and initiation' (*fī l-iğāza wa-t-talqīn*).

That not only the addition of passages to the *Aurād aš-šarīfa* was strongly disapproved but also the change in the frequency of their recitation is evinced by other stories in *K. al-Ğabrī*.

The Wu Ahong (al-‘Ālim al-‘adīm), active in Qinzhou 秦州 (today: Tianshui, Gansu), who at the occasion of a visit of Mingxin, in order to arrive in his presence quicker, did not recite the prayers starting with *subhāna l-abad al-abad* according to the required frequency, was reprimanded for this. Because of his anxiety he had become inattentive and oblivious of the number of recitations already performed (*ğafaltu hīnan*).⁴⁸

The *Aurād* which the Pathfinder had himself assembled (*rakkabtuhā*), by dint of this origin, were believed to be of incalculable worth and they could only be recited with the šaiḥ's permission, without additions and omissions.⁴⁹

The subsequent story in *K. al-Ğabrī* contains further explanations given by Mingxin himself for the reader to understand why the arrangement of the *Aurād* must not be altered: He explains that his method, "my religion" (*dīnī*), is comparable to a prescription for the treatment of illnesses. In order for the therapist to treat a patient successfully the dose of the medicament must not be altered arbitrarily and the same applies to the spiritual instruction.⁵⁰

In this anecdote, a disciple who asked the pathfinder for initiation into the practice of [the silent] *dīkr* (*dīkran mulaqqanan min ladun al-ḥaḍra*) was rejected as he had reduced, without permission, the number of recitations of the *Aurād* of the morning prayer from twice to once.⁵¹ Thanks to his clairvoyance, Mingxin recognized that the disciple had been inattentive in his prayers ("Why did you recite, this morning, the words *subhāna l-abad al-abad* only once?").⁵²

⁴⁸ In the manuscripts of some Naqšbandī prayer texts there are explicit references to the number of recitations prescribed for the transmitted prayers (e.g. BSB Munich Cod. arab. 1791, fo. 44r [*Du‘ā’-i ḥatm-i Ḥwāğagān*]). In the Aoladi (*aurād*) of the Huasi Menhuan of Linxia the indications are included, in the printed edition, in Chinese.

⁴⁹ MANŠÜR 1933, p. 30; MANŠÜR/MA 1997, p. 17.

⁵⁰ MANŠÜR 1933, pp. 30–31; MANŠÜR/MA 1997, p. 17; GUANLI YE 1993, p. 102.

⁵¹ MANŠÜR 1933, p. 31; MANŠÜR/MA 1997, p. 17.

⁵² A prayer including the *ta’wīd*-formula said by Mingxin in the context whereby he invoked God's protection against omitting, adding, changing and altering [the order of the transmitted prayers (*na‘ūdū billāh min an-nuqṣān wa-z-ziyāda wa-t-tag’yīr wa-t-tabḍīl*)] underlines the severity of the breach of this injunction (*ta’wīd*-prayers recommended by Muḥammad against various afflictions, in IBN ḤAFĪF, *Šarḥ*, ch. 210).

Prayer formulas were taught to the disciples not only as part of their daily duty of *dīkr* but also as *therapeutic aid*. Besides underlining the psycho-therapeutic aspect of the prayers, some of the relevant stories also include a polemic against the rivals of the Ġahrīya order, firstly Abū l-Futūḥ Ma Lai-chi, and secondly against another branch of the Naqšbandīya active in the Gansu/Qinghai area, the Mufuti, i. e. Mufti order of Ma Shouzhēn 馬守貞.⁵³

Mingxin advised the Mullā aḍ-Ḍahabī (Chinese: Jin 金 Manlā) of a place called Didao 狄道 in Southern Gansu to recite the prayer *subḥāna llāh* ('praised be God') three times when he turned to the master seeking his help. In his imagination the mullā felt threatened by a large cat whenever he began the ritual prayer with the words "God is greater" (*takbīr al-iftitāḥ*).⁵⁴ The same formula had been recommended to the mullā by the founding ṣaiḥs of the Mufuti and Huasi 花寺 orders which he himself had belonged to earlier.

However, the prayer recommended by the two ṣaiḥs did not show any effect with the mullā. Only when the words "praised be God" were recommended to him by Mingxin, did the animal remove itself, at the first recitation. At the second it disappeared from his eyes and at the third recitation of the formula all the disquiet had come to an end (*tanazzaha 'an kulli tašwīš*).⁵⁵

Also Qi Baba [Ye] (七爸爸爺),⁵⁶ the saintly father of the Chuanchang Taiye, had been a follower⁵⁷ of Abū l-Futūḥ at first. He is said to have been very conscientious in the performance of the religious duties.⁵⁸ At night he refrained from sleeping but at some time he entered a mental crisis. During *dīkr* a red light flashed before his eyes, and from behind a white light appeared. He recited incessantly: *lā ḥaula wa-lā quwata illā billāh al-'alī al-'azīm* ("there is no strength nor power except through God, the high, the great"; ZHAN YE 2012, p. 18).⁵⁹

He went to Abū l-Futūḥ telling him that he was in danger. The latter told him that it is an illness, saying: "In Xiguan (*ribāt fanā' al-maḡrib*) [a district of Hezhou] there is a good physician. Go to him and have yourself be treated!" However, secretly Qi Baba said to himself: It is a psychic condition and no physical illness. He went back home disappointed. Soon after

⁵³ Both Sufis stood in the tradition of the Uyghur saint Apaka (Āfāq) Ḥwāḡa who was made governor by the Oirat Mongols in 1679 (MA TONG 2000b, p. 36; AUBIN 1960–2004, p. 338; cf. FLETCHER 1995a, pp. 10–11, 15–20 [on Abū l-Futūḥ's carrier]).

⁵⁴ For prayers to be said before and after the *takbīr al-iftitāḥ* cf. IBN ḤAFĪF, *Šarḥ*, ch. 19–21.

⁵⁵ MAṢŪR 1933, pp. 44–45; MAṢŪR/MA 1997, pp. 32–33. For the permissibility of changing one's spiritual mentor, with Indian Naqšbandīs, cf. BUEHLER 1998, p. 162.

⁵⁶ For his biography cf. MA XIN, p. 82 (he attributes to him the name Ma Wensheng 馬文生).

⁵⁷ *Jiaoxia* 教下, *jiaotu* 教徒 (ZHAN YE/MA 2012, p. 10).

⁵⁸ *Zai gangong fangmian* 在干功方面 (ZHAN YE/MA 2012, p. 10).

⁵⁹ For traditions on the merits (*fiḡadl*) of reciting this formula cf. IBN ḤAFĪF, *Šarḥ*, ch. 53.

he hurried to the pathfinder. He met him in his lodge in Xiguan and he renewed his intention (*nawā nīyatan ḡadīda*). He told the maulā what had happened to him in the performance of *ḡikr*. Mingxin said: "You are noble and intelligent. In front of you the light of prophecy has appeared and behind you the light of sanctity. The two lights have united in your pure back. If God wills, several generations of saints will emerge from your back."⁶⁰

The stories above emphasize that, in terms of charisma and empowerment, Mingxin was superior to his rivals. In the last anecdote, a vision of lights which appeared to Qi Baba is interpreted by Mingxin as an announcement of the birth of his second successor, the Chuanchang Taiye.

Besides the prayer of praise, *Zanci*, which Mingxin is said to have received from Ibn Zain, there is also a connection between a collection of *Aurād* as recited in the Huasi Menhuan of Abū l-Futūḥ, and their teacher 'Aqīla under whom they both studied in Mecca.⁶¹ At the end of the *Aurād* included in a booklet printed 2012 in the Lao Huasi mosque of Hezhou (Linxia),⁶² there is a prayer headed *Du'ā' al-aurād* in which forgiveness is implored for the Muslims in general and for certain saints in particular, viz. Abū l-Futūḥ aṣ-Ṣīnī whose name is preceded by that of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad 'Aqīla, Bahā' ad-Dīn an-Naqṣbandī and 'Abdalqādir al-Ġilānī.⁶³

Ma Laichi is also believed to have obtained from his teacher 'Aqīla the two-volume *Maulūd* on the birth of the Prophet which according to MA TONG⁶⁴ is recited during the 'amal-gatherings of the Huasi Sufi order in Hezhou.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ ZHAN YE [n. d.], pp. 16–19.

⁶¹ There is a report in MANṢŪR 1933, p. 44, in which Mingxin informs Abū l-Futūḥ about the death of 'Aqīla.

⁶² An endowment stamp on the back cover of my personal copy carrying the characters *Qingzhen laohuasi waigefu* 外格夫, i.e. *waqf*, is placed over the injunction that the text must not be removed from the prayer hall.

⁶³ On connections between the Qādiriya and Naqṣbandīya orders cf. ALGAR 1976, p. 45.

⁶⁴ MA TONG 2000b, p. 32; here, the name is transcribed as 'Agelai' (阿格莱). He is mentioned by FLETCHER 1995a, p. 16 but he fails to identify him.

⁶⁵ Besides, the *Minṣār* is another text Ma Laichi is believed to have brought with from Yemen [FLETCHER 1995a, pp. 16–17: as a gift from one Maulānā Maḥdūm to whom he was sent by 'Aqīla (!)]. The text, a collection of Qur'ānic verses, prayers, qaṣīdas and lists of authorities, partly written in Persian, is sold in Western Gansu (Guanghe) and the Xunhua area of Qinghai as a facsimilated manuscript as also in the form of a printed booklet (Lanzhou, Xiaoxihu). It mentions the names of both Muḥammad b. A. 'Aqīla and of M. Abū al-Futūḥ al-Ṣīnī. Both versions are entitled *Muṣār* (!) and *K. al-Muṣār*, resp. The (correct) Arabic work title *Minṣār* has been traditionally transcribed by Chinese Mingsha(le) 明沙 or 冥沙 or 冥沙勒 (cf. LIPMAN 1999, p. 556, fn. 12; MA TONG 2000a [1980], p. 163; idem 2007, p. 337; FLETCHER 1995a, p. 17 [who failed to identify the title]). It should be added that the Arabic word *minṣār* denotes "saw" which is an obvious reference to the

The scholar 'Aqīla whose memory is invoked both in the order of Ma Mingxin and that of Ma Laichi is to be identified with the author Muḥammad b. Aḥmad 'Aqīla al-Yamanī whose collection of Prophetic traditions entitled *al-Fawā'id al-ḡalīla* is still extant. In the collection there is included a chain of ḥadīṭ transmitters which includes the name of a Naqšbandī master called Taḡ ad-Dīn al-Hindī an-N. (cf. BSB Cod.arab. 2126, fo. 2r), confirming the link between 'Aqīla and the Sufis of Gansu.⁶⁶

2.2.4 Recitation of *Muḥammad* and *Madā'ih*

MANŠŪR explains in his introduction that the fifth spiritual exercise consists in the melodious recitation of the *Muḥammad* and the *Madā'ih*, in praise of the Prophet (*qir'at al-qasā'id an-nabawīya wa-l-madā'ih an-nabawīya bil-ḡinā'*), and he adds that the recitation has to be performed according to specific conditions that must not be divulged to the unworthy.⁶⁷

At the same time, the texts of *Muḥammad*, *Madā'ih* and *Aurād* were also meant to be recited publicly, by contrast to the other practices which were performed secretly (inaudibly). The *Manāqib* (ZHAN YE, p. 30) makes this distinction in a story about the meeting between an old divine of Tuochangbao 驼场堡, Lao Ahong (*al-'ālim al-mašīb*), and Mingxin. The scholar complains in front of him that, because of the hostilities of the numerous enemies of the Ġahrīya in the village only the secret, not the public practices could be performed:

The performance of the secret spiritual practices ('*amal al-'ibādāt al-ḥafīyāt; ancang de 暗藏的 gongke*) is easy to me, but not so the vocal ones ('*amal al-ḡahrīya; mingyang de 明扬的 gongke*). I grieve over the fact that it is not possible to recite the *Aurād*, *Madā'ih* and *Muḥammad* [aloud].⁶⁸

The recitation of *Muḥammad* and *Madā'ih* by chanting⁶⁹ provoked the protest of other Muslims (Sufis). To justify this mode of recitation, MANŠŪR,

dīkr-i arra (or *dīkr-i minšār*) or "remembrance of the saw" (designated as such because of the rasping sound it produces; ALGAR 1976, p. 42), that used to be practised, i. a., in the turkophone Sufism of Aḥmad-i Yasawī (cf. FLETCHER 1995b, p. 115; BABADJANOV 2004, pp. 297, 299), one of the šaiḥs included in the above lists (*Mušār*, p. 48).

⁶⁶ For 'Aqīla (d. 1150/1737) who had given licences for ḥadīṭ and Sufi transmissions to 'Abd al-Ḥālīq b. az-Zaīn al-Mizḡāḡī, cf. REICHMUTH 2009, p. 22.

⁶⁷ MANŠŪR/MA 1997: "by relying on secret transmission".

⁶⁸ Mingxin comforts the old man with the promise that his successor, the Pingliang Taiye, would cause the order to flourish again.

⁶⁹ Cf. MA TONG 2000b, p. 93: "In the execution of the praise of the Prophet and the 'amal [the texts] are to be recited aloud, in the Yamanī accent (*y. diao*), while placing an emphasis on the melody (*zhongshi yinyun*). It is encouraged that one recites expressively, „through a rhythmical recitation which varies according to the mood. In the recitation (*songnian*) one

just as he did with regard to vocal *dīkr* (*K. al-Ġabrī*, p. 13), appeals to various literary works, such as i. a. *Rūḥ al-bayān* (a tafsīr), *Durr al-awrād* (on prayer), *al-Fatāwā l-ḥairīya* (on law), *Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn* of AL-ĠAZĀLĪ:

Certain people may heed my advice: They try to forbid the recitation, with melody, of *Muḥammas* und *Madā'ih*, while believing that this mode of recitation is incorrect. These people may study the *Rūḥ al-bayān* and the other classics carefully etc.

MANŠŪR also, in this context (*K. al-Ġabrī*, pp. 12–13), contrasts the Chinese—it may be added: Muslim—scholars' concentration on the “study of grammar and morphology” (*'ilm an-naḥw wa-ṣ-ṣarf*) which he identifies as the cause of their error (*ḡawāya*) with the Sufis' focus on spiritual meanings. The latter, he says, transform the consonants and vowels of the canonical texts into subtle allusions and fine secrets (*baddalū l-ḥurūf wa-l-ḥarakāt li-l-iṣārāt*). To legitimate this neglect of phonetic considerations, the Iranian mystic Ḥabīb al-ʿAḡamī,⁷⁰ one of the legendary forefathers of Sufism is appealed to. Ḥabīb, a non-Arab is shown to be superior to the renunciant Ḥasan al-Baṣrī⁷¹ who by Sufi tradition is believed to have been in communication with ʿAlī, the Prophet's cousin.⁷² Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, in an anecdote narrated by MANŠŪR, doubts the legitimacy of Ḥabīb's ritual prayer because of his demonstrated inability to correctly pronounce the pharyngeal consonant *ḥā'* of *al-ḥamdu lillāh*. In a dream Allāh scolded him for his concentration on phonetics adding that only because of having stood behind Ḥabīb in the ritual⁷³ all his previous prayers have become accepted (literally: ‘sealed’).⁷⁴ Thus, with MANŠŪR, the

must express solemnity, joy, sorrow, sadness, happiness as well as a deep sentiment of grief. The recitation must not only transport a musical emotion, it must also possess a quality of agitation (*gudong xing*) and attraction.” For the public recitation of the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* in the Arab countries see DAUB 2016, pp. 32–39 (“Rezitation und Gesang”). Listening to Sufi music, ‘the most vocal of all activities of remembrance’, was generally declared forbidden by (legally-minded) Naqšbandīs (cf. BUEHLER 1998, p. 128, fn. 104).

⁷⁰ For Ḥabīb (d. 156/772) cf. GRAMLICH 1976, p. 172, fn. 921.

⁷¹ Died in 110/728; for his biography cf. RITTER 1933. In the vita of Ibn Ḥafīf there is included a story illustrating the superiority of Ḥabīb-i ʿAḡamī in relation to Ḥasan b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (sic!). In the story Ḥabīb dwelt on an island and Ḥasan was unable to walk over the water to meet him as the science (*'ilm*) which he had taught Ḥabīb did not provide him with the means necessary to accomplish this feat (DAILAMĪ 1955, pp. 118–119).

⁷² Cf. GRAMLICH 1976, p. 172.

⁷³ A variant version of the story about Ḥasan's unwillingness to pray behind Ḥabīb can already be found in QUṢAIRĪ 1940, p. 194 (= GRAMLICH 1989, p. 527).

⁷⁴ Also in ZHAN YE, *Manāqib*, p. 200 (ZHAN YE/MA 2012, p. 89), the concentration on Arabic grammar is contrasted with a focus on spiritual meanings. Here however not the exoteric scholars are criticized for their limited perspective on spirituality but the disciples of Shīsan Taiye Ṭabʿatullāh (cf. fn. 37). Two disciples, al-Aq Aḥūd al-Fuṣṣānī and al-Qāʿa Aḥūd al-Mālayī, were disputing over what is the correct pronunciation of

discourse on the Ġahrīya practices turns into an apology of the authenticity of Chinese Islam against its critics from the core countries.

2.2.4.1 *Muḥammad*

The *muḥammad* in question is an elaboration composed by the Iranian poet Muḥammad Tabādkānī al-Maulawī of Tūs (d. ca. 900/1494)⁷⁵ of five verses (*taḥmīs*; *wu ye muhanmaisi*) of al-Būṣīrī's (d. c. 694/1294) famous "Mantle poem", the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*. MANṢŪR underlines the importance of the text in the Ġahrīya by quoting verses from it (v. 125), without however identifying his source, to end Mingxin's vita in *K. al-Ġahrī* (p. 70).

MANṢŪR, in his section on the practices, ascribes to the recitation of the *Muḥammad* the function of remedying the deficiencies in the execution of the ritual prayers previously performed.⁷⁶ Besides, he claims that through the recitation of the poetical text Sufi path, mystical reality and religious law become united: "Thereby, for the wayfarers (*as-sālikūna*), *ṭarīqa* (path) and *ḥaqīqa* (reality) become integrated into the *ṣarī'a*" (*K. al-Ġahrī*, p. 8).⁷⁷

According to MANṢŪR, the *Muḥammad* was to be recited every evening after the night prayer.⁷⁸ In this, the poem was read in individual sections, i. e. every evening a specific passage of the canonical text was recited. As a result,

the expression *Allāhu akbar* in the litanies. Al-Fuḫri said that "he", probably the ṣaiḥ, recited *Allāhu akbar* while pronouncing the second of the two words with initial vowel *a* (*qara'a Allāhu akbar bi-fatḥ al-alif*); the scholar of Malay (*al-ʿālim al-Mālayī*), on the other hand, claimed that "he" recited initial *alif* while suppressing vowel *a* (*[bi-]sukūn al-alif*). When they went to the ṣaiḥ telling him about their dispute he rebuked them for only knowing the outside of the liturgical formula (*zāhir al-kalima*) without understanding the esoteric subtlety (*wa-lā tafqahū* [!] *l-laṭīf al-bāṭin*). He also pointed out to them that to pronounce *akbar* while suppressing initial vowel *a*, the letter *alif* merges (literally: enters) with the letter *hā'* of *Allāh*, and the "form" (*ṣūra*) of *Allāhu akbar* changes to *Allāhu kbar*. This however—he explained—signifies attainment of the level of two bows' lengths (*huwa l-bulūḡ ilā martabat qāba qausaini*), i. e. the state the Prophet reached during his ascension according to *Sūra* 53/9.

⁷⁵ Cf. HĀḌĒTĪ ḤALĪFA 1835–58, vol. 4, p. 527; SOBIEHOJ 2014, p. 107.

⁷⁶ The analogous view that the supererogatory prayers (*nawāfil*) are necessary in a compensatory sense is expressed in the ḥadīṡ, "they will overwhelm the imperfections of the corresponding *farā'id* [obligatory prayers] on Judgment day" (cf. CHODKIEWICZ 1993, p. 116).

⁷⁷ He tries to explain how this happens by referring to the simile of a chicken egg: "*Ṣarī'a*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa* can be compared with a chicken egg. If you bore a hole in its shell with a small needle it is intact outwardly and one can eat it. However the chick cannot emerge from it through the embrace and hatching of the hen. When there is the slightest defect in the (execution) of the *ṣarī'a*, the *ṭarīqa* cannot be performed with success, let alone the *ḥaqīqa*" (MANṢŪR 1933, p. 9, quoting the Ġahrī master Ḥaqīqullāh).

⁷⁸ *Xiao li* 宵礼; *ṣalāt al-ʿisā'* (cf. YANG ZONGSHAN 2007, p. 312b); also MA TONG 2000b, p. 33 writes that the Ġahrīs were obliged to recite (*songdu*) the poem after the *hufudan*, i. e. night prayer.

the headings of the sections even served the Ġahrīs as a device for dating, as appears for instance in a story in the *Manāqib* related by the Shagou maulā [Ma Yuanzhang] concerning the visit of some disciples to the šaiḥ of Pingliang.⁷⁹

Some disciples were more gifted as reciters than others and those credited with the greater talent were allowed by the šaiḥs to read the *Muḥammad* in the assemblies which generated envy among their ranks. Duanbozi (ʿālim *qaṣīr al-ʿunuq* [“short necked Ahong”]), according to *K. al-Ġahrī*, used to recite the poem in the presence of the Chuanchang Taiye until it occurred to the Pingliang Taiye that his successor may replace the short-necked by his son Ḥaḳīqullāh. The Ahong reacted with hate and he severed the connection with the Chuanchang Taiye.⁸⁰

In the Ġahrīya order, the text of the *Muḥammad*, unless re-activated from memory, nowadays is usually read from a manuscript copy written by the hand of Riyāḍ ad-Dīn Ṣaḍīqullāh Muḥammad Nūr Ma Yuanzhang 馬元章 (d. 1920),⁸¹ who was the seventh generation master, and it has been published in facsimile.⁸²

Ma Mingxin and, thereafter, his followers searched for clues in the text of the *Muḥammad* helping them to gain spiritual orientation and tackle the hardships they faced in their daily life which for many was characterized by war and persecution.⁸³

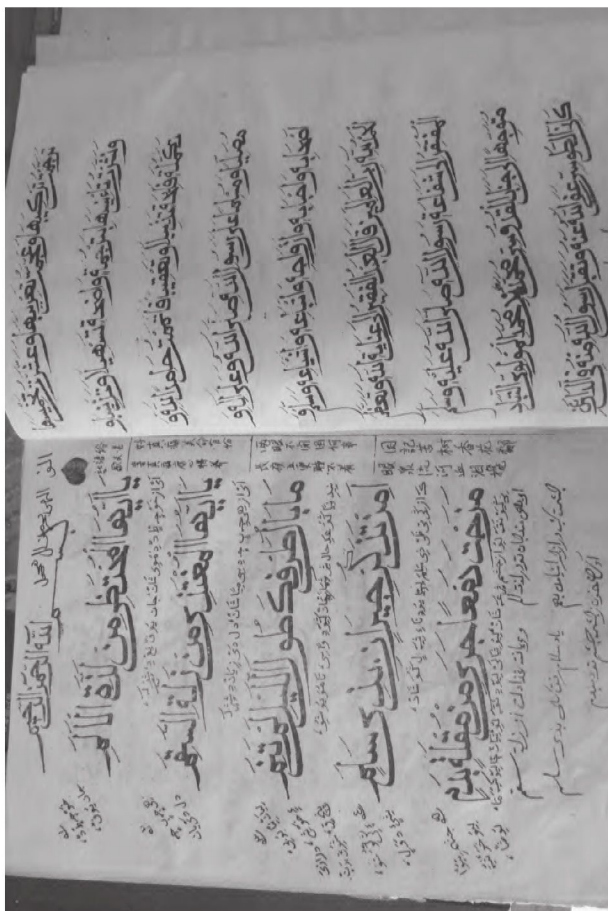
⁷⁹ “In the era of the Pingliang Taiye, Jalāl, Qalandar, Wotaidi and Niu Ahong [...] entered the šaiḥ’s house. He attended on them and allowed them to dwell with him. They stayed with him for some time, and at the evening of the *Hal ḥaqa’iq* [i. e. when the chapter of the *Muḥammad* starting with these words was recited] the maulā spoke to them about the secrets which the Pathfounder had received from the Grand šaiḥ in Yemen. He told them the whole history of the Ġahrīya order from its advent in China and the time of its blossoming until the uprisings etc.” (ZHAN YE, pp. 66–70; ZHAN YE/MA 2012, pp. 28–29).

⁸⁰ MANŠÜR 1933, p. 115; MANŠÜR/MA 1997, p. 103.

⁸¹ Cf. *Muḥammad* (Beijing: Chaohua chubanshe 2012), p. 332; MA TONG 2000b, p. 33; for the vita of the Shagou 沙沟 Taiye see MA XIN, pp. 34–41.

⁸² E.g. Beijing: Chaohua chubanshe 2012. A facsimile copy of this text written by another scribe has been seen in the possession of a Ġahrī imām in Xiji, Ningxia (see figure on facing page). The first verse of Būṣīrī’s poem is made up of the last two hemistichs on this page and it is preceded by three lines of the elaboration composed in the same metre and with the same rhyme. The style of writing is a bold ornamental *ḥaṭṭ-i šīnī*. There follow three lines of a Persian translation written in a smaller hand but again ending with letter *mīm*. The *rasm* of the Arabic poem of 163 verses is fully vocalized. Chinese translations of the verses have been added in the margins: The inner margin displays a *hanzi* translation which is repeated written in the Arabic script (*xiaojing*) on the outer margin. Between the lines a translation in a Chinese vernacular has been added, again written in Arabic letters.

⁸³ The disputes over the correct performance of *dīkr* and the revolt in 1784 led the Qing government to adopt an anti-Muslim policy (FLETCHER 1995b, p. 115).



Mingxin justified his line of action as a missionary for a renewal of the Chinese Naqšbandīya by referring to specific verses of the *Muḥammad*: For instance, whenever he became aware of the existence of individuals considered receptive for his message he would send out to them an invitation to join his school or he would go himself.

According to the *riwāya* in *K. al-Ġabrī*,⁸⁴ Mingxin supported this programme of practising *daʿwa* by quoting verse 116 of the *Muḥammad* including a verse from the amplification in which the Muslims are asked to “Hold on to the generous (i.e. the Prophet) when he sympathizes with us / Good tidings, people of Islam, for we have / From divine care, a pillar that does not collapse” (*fastamsikū bi-karīmīn in yaḥinna lanā / bušrā lanā mā šara l-islāmī inna lanā / min al-ʿināyati rukenan ġaira munhadimī*). The quotation evinces that Mingxin identified with the Prophet and that he considered selection by him to be a reason for joy.

His first successor, the Pingliang Taiye, was the preeminent target of such an election and the story how his allegiance was gained through the initiative of Mingxin’s missionary, Qalandar,⁸⁵ is the content of the subsequent *riwāya* in *K. al-Ġabrī*.⁸⁶

There is an interesting parallel to the story about Qalandar’s mission in *Rašahāt*.⁸⁷ The author of this work quotes verses of the *Muḥammad* (v. 152) to illustrate the psychological state, i.e. despair of Muḥammad Muḥyī ad-Dīn Qalandar who was at the verge of dying from hunger on the way to Pingliang, where he was ordered by Mingxin to rush, in only three days, to collect the young preacher of the Upper Mosque:

Qad ʿayya lī markabu s-sairi l-maḥūdu bibī / fa-fī l-fayāfī man-i l-malġa l-malūdu bibī

“The riding beast which I spur on in my way has become weak / Who can serve as the place of refuge in the deserts?”⁸⁸

Miraculously, soon after there appeared a jar of water and two loaves of bread on the way. Qalandar and his travel companion Watadī quickly realized that

⁸⁴ MANŠÜR 1933, pp. 63–64; MANŠÜR/MA 1997, pp. 50–51.

⁸⁵ In ZHAN YE, p. 31, Qalandar’s spiritual state is praised: “Q. reached the highest rank which a man can reach. He spoke about the mysteries and admonished his brethren every day to be conscientious in their performance of the practices ‘for there are many secrets on the way’. He also said: ‘In our order (*jiaomen* 教門) there are individuals from whose mouths flowers are ejected.’”

⁸⁶ MANŠÜR 1933, p. 64.

⁸⁷ GUANLI YE 1993, p. 74.

⁸⁸ The translator YANG WANBAO identifies the poem by mentioning its name but fails to give the verse number. IBN ḤAFĪF has devoted ch. 75 of *Šarḥ al-faḍāʾil* to prayers one should say while travelling on one’s riding-beast.

it was their šaiḥ's love (*qing* 情) that had brought the food to them to save their lives.

The Ġahrīs also found specific acts and character qualities of their masters reflected in the poetical verses which guided them in coming to terms with their šaiḥs' activities that, at times, bewildered them.

An example is the dissimulation of Ḥaḳīqullāh, son of the Chuanchang Taiye who, when his father was interrogated at the justice court of Lanzhou, pressured to confess his alleged crimes,⁸⁹ feigned ignorance: "My father did not teach me anything other than [the knowledge] of planting trees from which I take clubs⁹⁰ while I beg." The text continues:

When Wang Ye, a disciple, heard these words of Ḥaḳīqullāh, he was deeply moved and he said: "The ambition (*himma*) of this man is truly great! The school in Lugouzhā (i. e. Jinjibao)⁹¹ will prosper under his guidance. He has a very clear mind and only pretends to be confused (*jiazhuang butu* 假裝糊塗; *yataḡāhalu wa-yatanākarnu*). He hides his true personality and does not follow [the rulers] as did the Jewish and Christian divines in the Prophet's presence.⁹² As BŪṢĪRĪ, the author of the *Muḥammas* (!), says:

Do not be puzzled by the envious who negates it (i. e. the Qur'ānic revelation) / He pretends being ignorant while in truth he is skilful and understanding (*lā ta'ḡaban li-ḥasūdīn rāḥa yunkirubā / taḡāhulan wabwa 'ainu l-ḥāḏiqi l-fahimī*; v. 103).⁹³

2.2.4.2 *Madā'ih* (*maidayih* 邁達伊哈)⁹⁴

The Ġahrī Sufis were also required to recite the *Madā'ih* on a daily basis. They believed that Ma Mingxin brought the *Madā'ih* to China returning from Yemen where he had received the text from Ibn Zain.⁹⁴ They discovered references to the names of their masters, both Arab and Chinese, encoded, in particular verses of the *Madā'ih*.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ In the manuscript of *K. al-Ġahrī*, the "crimes" are transcribed in Xiaojing by four unintelligible words of which the last two are *gan, gou* (MANŠŪR 1933, p. 123).

⁹⁰ The Chin. trans. adds: "to drive away the dogs".

⁹¹ Cf. YANG XUELIN 2010, p. 127.

⁹² MANŠŪR/MA 1997, p. 110; MANŠŪR 1933, p. 124.

⁹³ In a facsimile reproduction of a manuscript published recently in Kunming (for a description cf. SOBIEROJ 2014, p. 104), the text is followed by a prayer in which the name of Bahā' ad-Dīn an-Naṣṣbandī is mentioned.

⁹⁴ Cf. MA TONG 2000b, p. 34.

⁹⁵ Cf. NUŠRATULLĀH 2009, pp. 6–9; for the names of their masters they discovered in the *Muḥammas* cf. SOBIEROJ 2016, p. 139, fn. 39.

Analogously to the *Muḥammas*, the *Madā'ih* were recited with a melody, while the reciter's voice rose and fell.⁹⁶ That this method of recitation has been approved by the Pathfinder becomes clear through a story included both in GUANLI YE 1993, p. 10 and MANŞŪR 1933, p. 20 which ends with the mention of one of Mingxin's ten favourite disciples called Sa'd ad-Dīn who knew how to recite the *Madā'ih* with melody.

The main part of the text, i.e. chapters 3–16, have been recited by the Ḡahriya as an antiphonal singing, namely with reciter and congregation chanting alternately. The chapters are divided in three parts each, *riwāya*, *ḡawāb* and *bait*, i.e. transmission, answer and poetic verse. The performance starts with the singer's *riwāya* relating to Muḥammad's vita and his recitation is answered by the assembly and concluded with a verse which is recited jointly by singer and assembly; in this arrangement a conducting *ṣaiḥ* is present who directs both.⁹⁷ In a facsimile manuscript written by the calligrapher Wang Yaocheng (王耀成, Hongkong, Tianma chuban she, 2011) special devices have been used involving red colour to mark the three constitutive sections.

The *Manāqib* of ZHAN YE includes an example of a *Madā'ih* performance. Ḥaḡīqullāh appears as the favourite reciter of the text in the presence of the Pingliang Taiye and in the story the *ṣaiḥ* and the disciple recited the poem antiphonally. They sat in a circle on their knees and when the *ṣaiḥ* recited, the disciple fell silent and when Ḥaḡīqullāh recited the *ṣaiḥ* moved his hand to the right and to the left (directing the congregation). The disciple was also allowed to choose the poetical verse as well as the Prophetic tradition which he wanted to recite as he had been taught the melody by Qalandar,⁹⁸ Mingxin's disciple.

MANŞŪR 1933, pp. 21–22 includes the description of an 'amal-ceremony in which Qur'ānic verses were recited as well as parts of the *Madā'ih*, and in particular the „Great praise“ (*daliao de ermaili*), and a poem introduced by the words *ṣaribnā* („we have drunk“). The prayers traditionally referred to as *Daliao* 大了⁹⁹ begin with the *Fātiḥa* and continue with selected verses of the second *Sūra* possibly also including the prayers with names of God (p. 229) as printed in the facsimile edition of the manuscript of the *Madā'ih* published in Hongkong. The identification of the *Daliao* as the said verses

⁹⁶ Cf. YANG, in GUANLI YE 1993, p. 10.

⁹⁷ Cf. MA XUEHUA 馬學華, imam at the Cangzhou Xisi-mosque 滄州西寺, in *Madā'ih*, Hongkong 2011, preface.

⁹⁸ Qalandar, according to GUANLI YE 1993, p. 46, witnessed how Mingxin handed over a copy of the *Muḥammas* to one Taizi Wang Ahong.

⁹⁹ The term is explained by NUŞRATULLĀH 2009, p. 12.

can be understood from the printed headings added to the manuscript text on p. 217. In the hagiographical story, the ceremony was occasioned by the containment—through Mingxin’s supernatural intervention—of the inundation of a river which had threatened the Muslims’ villages. The divines of the surrounding villages were invited and animals were slaughtered for the feasting.

2.2.4.3 Physiology of recitation

In one of the stories of *K. al-Ġabrī* a glimpse of the physiology of reciting the canonical texts can be caught. There also arises the impression that both *Muḥammad* and *Madā’ih* have been recited by the same method:

One of the disciples came to Mingxin with a complaint. He said: “Our maulā, when I enter the circle of remembrance and the assembly of [reciting] the *Madā’ih* and *Muḥammad*, I feel disquieted, I tremble and shout.” The master asked: “Have you felt [anything] (*a-ahsasta*)?” [...] He said: “You did not draw upward the middle breath” (*lam taḡḏab anta nafasak al-awsat; tiqi zhongqi* 提起中氣). He also said: “Draw upward the middle breath”, while pointing with his blessed finger to my umbilicus (*surra*). When he made the gesture with his finger I felt as if a thread (*al-ḥait*) was suspended (!, *yudallā*) from beneath the umbilicus to the top of my skull.¹⁰⁰ From then on did I feel settled, I became quiet and was not agitated anymore.¹⁰¹

While the Chinese expression *tiqi zhongqi* may be understood to refer to meditation practices involving the mysterious energy flow called Qi, the original Arabic text mentions the breath (*nafas*) which is central to *ḍikr* techniques of Central Asian Sufism (Yasawīya, Naqšbandīya)¹⁰² that can be explained without assuming a borrowing of concepts from the Chinese environment.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Literally: ‘brain’ (*fauq ad-dimāḡ*); cf. GRAMLICH 1976, p. 398 (“Naqšbandīyadīkr”); for the location of *laṭīfas* (the *naḡs* has been established by some Naqšbandīs in the *dimāḡ*) cf. BUEHLER 1998, p. 111.

¹⁰¹ MAṢṢŪR 1933, pp. 51–52; MAṢṢŪR/MA 1997, p. 39.

¹⁰² Both Sufi orders share the same ancestor, viz. Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 535/1140), the first of the Ḥwāḡagān (supra; fn. 20; ALGAR 1976, p. 42). With Yūsuf’s successor, Giḡḏuwānī, the exclusive practice of silent *ḍikr* becomes established and with Bahā’ ad-Dīn silent *ḍikr* finally became normative. However, one of Giḡḏuwānī’s successors, Maḥmūd Faḡnawī, again introduced vocal *ḍikr* into the *silsila* (ALGAR 1976, pp. 42–43). ALGAR mentions on p. 45 as instances of vocal *ḍikr* practiced by Naqšbandīs under Yasawī influence, i. a., certain “obscure Naqshbandī-Yasawī groups in Kansu, Shensi and Sinkiang”. Aḥmad Sirhindī al-Muḡaddidī, besides Ḥālīd al-Baḡdādī, according to ALGAR 1976, p. 46, had both “reaffirmed the excellence of silent *ḍikr*”.

¹⁰³ The second of the three methods of *ḍikr* of the Muḡaddidiya (cf. MAZHAR 1896, p. 197; supra, fn. 16), operating with the negation and affirmation formula, is said to

2.3 Divine grace and predestination versus human works

Notwithstanding the great importance ascribed to the scrupulous performance of the spiritual practices there are indications that it was understood that the goal of mysticism can only be reached as an act of grace by God. Grace is implicitly referred to in the use of the concept of *ḡadba*, attraction, exerted by God to the benefit of chosen individuals.

Ma Mingxin taught, while also explaining the *ḡadba* concept, that there are two types of mystics (*abl at-ṭarīqa*) which he calls *ḡabirī* and *ḡafī*, respectively: “*Ḡabirī* is he who experiences *ḡadba* (*dedao tisheng* 提升 [‘becomes uplifted’]); then he is guided to the *mirṣād* (‘check-point’) and thereafter he travels on the straight path. As to the *ḡafī*, he is *ḡafī* first and then experiences *ḡadba*.” The translator explains that the latter type of mystic first walks along the way of the practices and thereafter he becomes ‘uplifted’, i. e. becomes object of God’s ‘pulling’.¹⁰⁴

The author of the *Manāqib* invokes the ḥadīṭ to justify the concept of a divine attraction: “The Prophet said: ‘The uplifting by God (*ḡadabāt al-ḥaqq*) exceeds the spiritual works of both men and Jinn.’” Qi Baba (*al-Bābā as-sābiʿ*) is referred to by way of example (*sālik maḡdūb* [attracted wayfarer]; *zhijie tiba* 直接提拔): “With one step he ascended to heaven (*taraqqā bi-rigl wāḥid*) and he reached a level in which he stood between God and humankind.”¹⁰⁵

The efficacy of spiritual practices—and human works generally—is also infringed upon by God’s predestination which the Sunnī Muslims of the Ḡahriya order have believed in: One Li Ahong from Shandong complained to the Pathfounder that in spite of his assiduously performed devotions of *farāʾid* and *nawāfil*, i. e. obligatory and voluntary ritual prayers, he did not reach the experience of entering into God’s proximity. Mingxin explained that this was due to the divine predestination referred to in Sūra 21/101–3, “But as for those unto whom already the reward has gone forth before from Us, they shall be kept far from it” [i. e. from hell].¹⁰⁶

consist in enclosing the breath beneath the umbilicus (*an yaḥṣura n-naḥas taḥta s-surra wa-yaṣʿada minḥa bi-kalimat lā*) and in raising the word *lā*, “through the tongue of the imagination” (*al-ḥayāl*), until it reaches the brain. BUEHLER 1998, p. 110 refers, i. a. to Taoist equivalents (e. g. ‘elixir of fields’) and quotes ROUSSELLE 1960 as his source.

¹⁰⁴ MANṢŪR 1933, p. 58; MANṢŪR/MA 1997, p. 46; for *ḡadba*, with Indian Naqṣbandī, cf. BUEHLER 1998, pp. 121–123.

¹⁰⁵ ZHAN YE [n. d.], pp. 16–19; ZHAN YE/MA 2012, pp. 10–11.

¹⁰⁶ MANṢŪR 1933, p. 31.

Conclusion

The performance of the spiritual practices described in *K. al-Ġahrī*, and that of remembrance (*dīkr*) in particular, was designed to bring about, in the novice's consciousness, a state of proximity to God and even an experience of unification through a mystical realization of the *kalimat at-tauhīd*.

The *liqī waiba* formula testifies to the Ġahrīya's belief that their Sufism has been inherited by the Chinese masters from the Arab mystics through an uninterrupted chain of initiatory transmission. The canonical texts used in the practices, according to the Ġahrī tradition, were transmitted to Mingxin in Yemen by his *ṣaiḥ* Ibn Zain al-Mizḡāḡī. However, as to the *Aurād*, only through Mingxin's assembling and ordering of the textual units have they been deemed fit to be used in the practices. This, in turn, underlines the importance ascribed to emulating the spiritual master: Without the initiatory intervention of the *ṣaiḥ* the practices could not bear fruit. He guided the novice through the pitfalls encountered in the pursuit of the practices by interpreting the mystical states, activating the *laṭīfas* and occasionally also by modifying the *qurubāt*.

Although the Chinese Sufis did their best to assimilate the Arabic language texts and liturgy, i. a. by copying the manuscripts, they knew full well that their mastery of Arabic philology and maybe also their performance of the Islamic ritual was imperfect; wherefore, according to MAṢŪR, by way of compensation, they contrasted the exoteric scholars' concentration on Arabic grammar with their own focus on spiritual meanings: The prayers of the Mesopotamian renunciant Ḥasan al-Baṣrī were only accepted by God because in the ritual practice he stood behind Ḥabīb-i 'Aḡamī, a non-Arab Sufi saint.

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The Mountains in Daoist Religious Culture

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Summary: In Chinese cultural history mountainous areas and also single outstanding peaks were very special arenas for economic, social and religious life. The presentation explores how to assess the participation of religious Daoism in this historic setting in China.

In Chinese history the mountains and rivers always were important objects of intellectual and religious orientation. They were geographic elements that contributed to condition the formation of Chinese social, political and cultural life which included religious life. Daoist religious culture started to flourish in the 2nd century CE when Heavenly Masters Daoism 天師道 was established in Sichuan province. The foundation of Heavenly Masters Daoism was based on an alleged visionary encounter of the ex-official Zhang Daoling 張道陵 with the SUPERIOR LORD LAO 太上老君 who was the deified author of the scripture *Book of Dao and its Virtue* 道德經. Lord Lao was believed to have been an ex-official of the Zhou-dynasty who left his position as archivist when King You 周幽王 no longer accepted his advice. Legend has it that the famous *Book of Dao and its Virtue* was compiled at Mount Zhongnan shan 終南山 in Shensi province 陝西, about three hundred years before Heavenly Masters Daoism was founded on Mount Crying Crane, Heming shan 鶴鳴山 in Sichuan.¹

The process of establishing a Daoist religion first evolved on mountains which reveals the basic inclination of the Daoists to concentrate religious activities on mountains. It is noteworthy that the Daoist appreciation of mountains reflected aspects of the antique official state cult in China. We are not surprised then that the seminal importance of mountains is also reflected in Chinese lexicography:

The *Guoyu* 國語 explains: Mountains are conglomerations of soil. The *Erya* 爾雅 reports: Where soil is [piled up] and rocks are around, this is called: a mountain. The *Shiming* 釋名 says: [The term] mountain means: to breed; which means that [mountains] give birth to all creatures. The *Shuowen* 說文 says that [the term] mountain means: delivery. [Mountains] procure the vital energies *qi*

¹ F. C. REITER: *Religionen in China, Geschichte, Alltag, Kultur*. München 2002 (Becksche Reihe 1490), pp. 86–90. The same author: *Lao-Tzu zur Einführung*. Hamburg 1994, pp. 7–12.



氣 and bring to life all creatures. A mountain has rocks and rises high, which describes its shape. The *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳 writes: It is the mountains that all people look up to in awe. It is in the mountains where the material resources for daily use emerge, where precious objects are hidden and grow, where flying birds nest, animals on the ground hide, and all creatures are nourished without exhaustion. Mountains resemble the man of benevolence *renren* 人仁 and the determined gentleman *zhishi* 志士. It is benevolence that lets man find joy in mountains.²

These statements were collected in the book *A Primer for Learning* 初學記 that in the Tang-period XU JIAN 徐堅 (659–729) wrote to provide contents and literary documentation for the education at the imperial court. He researched the traditional literary sources and collected the marvelous terms, notions, and phrases that he thought to be representative such as “stone mirror” 石鏡 and “jade platform” 玉臺.³ Such names seem to reveal transcendent qualities of natural phenomena that upgrade mountains to resemble wonderlands with marvelous gates to transcendent spheres that common folks could not reach, for example the famous islands Penglai 蓬萊, Fangzhang 方丈, and Yingzhou 瀛州. The palaces of the immortals on those islands were allegedly made of gold and silver.⁴

King Zhao of Yan 燕昭王 in the Zhou-period dispatched an expedition to the islands, following the instigation of some eloquent masters of recipes 方士. The emissaries failed to find the islands which SIMA QIAN 司馬遷 in *The Records of the Grand Historian* 史記 reports.⁵

The ability to sense the presence of saints, immortals and other divine forces in formations of rocks and caves at the mountains was a characteristic gift of the Chinese mind and must not be defined or belittled as literary fantasy. Intellectuals, officials and clerics, Buddhists and Daoists all shared that ability which the fantastic combination of scenery and climatic phenomena on the mountains certainly activated. In fact, the word *mountain* mostly referred to large, vastly extended mountainous regions. For example, Mount Lushan 廬山 in Jiangxi 江西 province has an extension from Southwest to Northeast of more than 30 kilometers, and from Northwest to Southeast of more than 20 kilometers, with many valleys and ravines between the peaks, where we find, for example, the so-called stone-mirror which is a flat slab

² XU JIAN: *Chuxue ji, Extolling Matters of Fact Xushi* 敬事 5,2,91. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 1980.

³ XU JIAN 1980, 5,2,91.

⁴ This is the quotation from XU JIAN, see preceding note.

⁵ SIMA QIAN 司馬遷: *Shiji* 史記 28, 431a *fengshan shu* 封禪書. Taipei: Donghua shuju 東華書局, 1970. M. LOEWE/E. L. SHAUGHNESSY (eds.): *The Cambridge History of Ancient China, from the Origins of Civilisation to 221 B. C.* Cambridge 1999, pp. 644, 818, 827. Here, the translations “master of techniques”, or “recipe gentleman” are used.



that seems to mirror an onlooker in the morning, when the sunrays reach to that slab. There are many other suggestive locations on Mount Lushan such as the Buddha Hand Cave 佛手洞, where the rock formation around the cave resembles the palm of a hand with fingers. The cave is said to have accommodated one hundred monks, which explains the designation. The monk XING YIN 行因 lived in the cave for thirty years around the Nan-Tang period 南唐 (923–934) and composed the book *Huayan bielun* 華言別論.⁶ It was since long an established notion that mountains constitute wonderlands which the *Book of Mountains and Seas* 山海經 documents.⁷

The book is of uncertain origin but was annotated in the Jin-period 晉代 by GUO PU (276–324) 郭璞. It was well known much earlier which the official bibliographer LIU XIN (died 23 BC) 劉歆 shows. The bibliographer lists the book with thirteen chapters in his catalogue *Qilüe* 七略, in the paragraph *Form and Norm* 形法. The paragraph lists titles of books that refer to the physical potential of the nine provinces in China. The books also define the layout of city walls, list the population, and establish numerical measurements for assessing the quality of men and objects. They describe natural phenomena but do not refer to religious matters, to demons and divinities. The paragraph quotes the *Shanhai jing* with some unspecified crafts of prognostication.⁸

The first five chapters of the *Shanhai jing* refer to China proper, also reporting miraculous phenomena. The other chapters of the book feature a mythical geography beyond the confines of China, describing far outlying regions. We read, for example, in the chapter *Book of the Southern Mountains* 南山經 concerning Mount Niuyang 柎陽之山 that its Southern side (陽) has plenty of red metal 赤金 which means copper 銅, if we follow the commentary. The Northern Side (陰) has plenty of white metal which means silver 銀. There are extraordinary animals on the mountain: The body resembles a horse with a white head. The skin has a pattern like tiger fur, and the animals have a red tail. The sound of their voice resembles singing, and the name for these animals is: Lushu 鹿蜀. If one wears at the waist [skin and tail] of a Lushu animal one will get a large posterity.⁹

⁶ See F. C. REITER: *Der „Bericht über den Berg Lu“ (Lu-shan Chi) von Ch'en Shun-yü, ein historiographischer Beitrag aus der Sung Zeit zum Kulturraum des Lu Shan*. München 1977, pp. 57, 72, 172 (the Northern Side of the Mountain).

⁷ R. MATHIEU: *Étude sur la mythologie et l'ethnographie de la Chine ancienne*. 2 vols. Paris 1983. See DZ 1031 *Shanhai jing*. The book was incorporated in the Ming-Canon which does not mean that it was an original Daoist book.

⁸ BAN GU 班固: *Hanshu* 漢書, 30, *Yiwenzhi* 藝文志 10, pp. 1774–1775. Beijing, Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1975.

⁹ See commentary DZ 1031 *Shanhai jing* 1.2a/9.

Concerning the mountain Junyi 俊翼 we learn that many supernatural animals live there and many extraordinary fishes are also living in the waters nearby.¹⁰

The *Shanhai jing* presents many reports on extraordinary animals and precious minerals that live on the mountains, where also jade, minerals and other treasures can be found. They altogether were seen as magic elements. Especially minerals and herbs were collected to concoct drugs for medical purposes and also to elaborate what was thought to be the medicine of immortality. The attempt to attain the medicine of immortality was in fact a characteristic and strong ambition in China, even before Daoism emerged.

The search for medicines and the methods of attaining immortality became a major theme in early Daoism. Daoist representatives of the Daoism of Highest Clarity 上清道 in the 4th–6th centuries (CE) wrote a bulk of texts about the attainment of immortality and the required spiritual and practical conditions for a life on mountains. They described the magic essences that were believed to be hidden in mountains.¹¹ The later Daoists continued to elaborate the theme of the attainment of immortality and further developed their practical means and literary forms of expression. A very late example is the Daoism of Complete Integrity 全真道 of the Jin- 金 and Yuan- 元 periods (12th–14th ct.).¹²

The early Daoists, however, fostered the notion that the drugs of immortality can only be retrieved by the worthy. They also were convinced that advanced Daoists had found some caverns 洞 which offered a thoroughway to fantastic and transcendent spheres that immortals inhabited. They entered that world beyond the cavern and encountered those immortals. Having returned then to the world of the humans they found out that time had halted in that transcendent realm and that in fact ages had gone by. Now, they were still young and fresh since they had achieved Long Life. Afterwards they retired again to a secretive life on a mountain. The most renowned literary proof for this notion is the *Report on the Peach Bloom Fountain* 桃花源記 by the scholar TAO QIAN 陶潛 (365–427).¹³ This source is quite independent of

¹⁰ DZ 1031 *Shanhai jing* 1.2a. For this edition see K. SCHIPPER/F. VERELLEN (eds.): *The Taoist Canon. A Historical Companion to the Daozang*. Vol. 1: *Antiquity through the Middle Ages*. Chicago 2004, pp. 112–113. .

¹¹ M. STRICKMANN: *Le taoïsme du Mao Chan, chronique d'une révélation*. Paris 1981 (Mémoires de l'Institut des hautes études chinoises 17). I. ROBINET: *Méditation taoïste*. Paris 1979 (Collection mystiques et religions).

¹² F.C. REITER: *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. 42–105. S. ESKILDSEN: *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters*. New York 2004.

¹³ E. FEIFEL: *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur*. Hildesheim 1967, pp. 152–154.

religious Daoism, very much like the *Shanhai jing* that describes mountainous regions of the type that Daoist adepts loved to search for. The Chinese world commonly shared such ideas, notions and aspirations.

Mountains symbolized the two modes of being, namely movement (water) and tranquility (rocks/soil), which the *Primer for Learning* records.¹⁴ Movement and tranquility were crucially important for the Chinese theories of the cosmos and inevitably also for Daoist self-cultivation. The trigram 艮 stands for the element: *mountain*, and hexagram 52 (艮) in the *Book of Changes* 易經 means *obstruction*—and indeed, mountains obstruct and guide the course of the rivers, which a much later source, namely the *Commentary on the Book of the Rivers* 水經注 precisely describes.¹⁵ Considering all of this we are not surprised to find that the *Shanhai jing* was included in the *Daoist Canon* 道藏 (abr. DZ) of the Ming-period (15th/16th ct.) and helped to beef up the size of the *Canon* which was consciously undertaken after the great losses of texts that had occurred in the Yuan-period 元代.¹⁶

The Records of the Grand Historian report how in Chinese early history rulers and regional potentates patrolled their territories and paid homage to the dominating mountains that were treated as centers of spiritual and administrative might. The system of the Five Sacred Mountains 五嶽 evolved, representing the four compass points and the centre. The Mountain of the East, Mount Tai 泰山 in Shandong 山東 province came to be the location where the central ruler performed the secretive *Feng* and *Shan* 封禪 sacrifices to communicate the governmental merits to heaven.¹⁷ The system of sacrifices by the administration to rivers and mountains in the various regional units had already decayed when the Qin-dynasty 秦代 reunited the country after the demise of Zhou-rule. The sacrificial system was explicitly revived in order to honor heaven and earth, the great rivers, and the famous mountains 天地大川名山 with the inhabiting demons and divinities 鬼神. We notice that the heavenly disapproval of the First Emperor of the Qin 秦

¹⁴ XU JIAN 1980, 5,2,91, explaining the term: containing moisture *hanze* 含澤.

¹⁵ S. L. FIELD: *The Duke of Zhou Changes. A Study and Translation of the Zhouyi*. Wiesbaden 2015 (AKM 97), pp. 47, 55, 211–213. Concerning Mount Lushan and *The Commentary on the Book of the Rivers*, see WANG GUOWEI 王國維 (ed.), LI DAOYUAN 鄺道元: *Shuijing zhu jiao* 水經注校, *Lujiang shui* 廬江水. 39, pp. 1236–1241. Shanghai, Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 1984. Later, similar titles were published, see F. C. REITER: “The Description of Mountains in Li Yüan’s ‘Book of the Rivers in Shu’ (*Shu-shui ching*).” In: ZDMG 140 (1990), pp. 123–143.

¹⁶ J. THIEL SVD: “Der Streit der Buddhisten und Taoisten zur Mongolenzeit.” In: *Monumenta Serica* 20 (1961), pp. 1–81. REITER 1988, pp. 132–139.

¹⁷ E. CHAVANNES: *Le T'ai Chan. Essai de monographie d'une culte Chinois. Textes relatifs aux sacrifices fong et chan*. Chalon-sur Saône 1910 (repr. Taipei 1970, Chengwen chubanshe 成文出版社), pp. 158–353.



始皇 was understood when ghastly winds and rain prevented the emperor from effectively performing the *Feng-* and *Shan* sacrifices, thirteen years after he had burnt the books, eliminated scholars and kept the people in fear of his legalist system. *The Records* document the conviction that the rivers and mountains were seen as the spiritual and transcendent supporters of the rulers and the administration. We already know that this source also documents the belief that the elixir of immortality can be found on some magic mountains, especially on the three islands Penglai, Fangzhang and Yingzhou in the Bohai sea 渤海. The First Emperor of the Qin again dispatched flotillas to search for the islands and to retrieve the elixir of Long Life and immortality. However, they failed to find them.¹⁸

China was dotted with mysterious mountains which the *Shanhai jing* displayed. Perhaps one of the most remote, mysterious places was Mount Kunlun 崑崙山 with nine terraces that were located in the outlying Northwestern regions of China from where the Yellow River emerged and the divinity Royal Mother of the West 西王母 resided in paradise gardens, accompanied by a grand entourage of immortal staff and mystic animals roaming through groves of peach trees where she could collect the peaches of immortality.¹⁹ Mount Kunlun was seen as a holy center. Generally speaking, Chinese artists loved to imagine and depict the inaccessible paradise at Mount Kunlun. Representations of the paradise of the Royal Mother became a standard repertoire for the applied arts, see for example the imperial throne and screen of the Qing-period (1644–1911) at the Museum of Asiatic Arts in Berlin.²⁰

The *Daoist Canon* features the visionary encounter of emperor Han Wudi 漢武帝 and the Royal Mother of the West in his imperial palace. The intermediary who organized the magic encounter was a certain Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (154–93 BC) who was said to be either a master of recipes or a Daoist who eventually belonged to the entourage of the emperor. Dongfang Shuo had the religious title of Attendant at the Nine Heavens 九天侍郎 and reportedly was an immortal in heaven that had notoriously misbehaved and consequently was banned to live his life down on earth. Of course, there are various stories about him. For example, Taishang Laojun sent the Heavenly Attendant Dongfang Shuo to support the Daoist cause on earth, and when the Han-emperor saw a blue bird in his palace hall Dongfang Shuo did not miss the chance to inform the emperor that the bird was an emissary of the

¹⁸ SIMA QIAN: *Shiji fengshan shu* 史記封禪書 28, pp. 430a–431a.

¹⁹ See J. LAGERWEY: *Wu-shang pi-yao. Somme taoïste du VI^e siècle*. Paris 1981 (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 124), pp. 75–76.

²⁰ See P. FRICK: "Fritz Löw-Beer. Seine Sammlung chinesischer Lackkunst." In *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* N. S. 13 (2007), p. 33. Also see for example PH. RAWSON/L. LEGEZA (eds.): *The Chinese Philosophy of Time and Change, Tao*. London 1973, tables 117, 118.



Royal Mother of the West who was about to arrive at dawn. When the divinity then appeared vis-à-vis the emperor, he asked for medicine that would avert death. Unfortunately, the divinity replied: "That's not yet possible". She presented the emperor with five figures of Taishang Laojun that were all made of silver, and he also got five peaches of Long Life.²¹

Again, the search for the elixir of Long Life and even more for immortality, is the main matter of interest. DONGFANG SHUO whom we mentioned above, is said to be connected with the canonical title *Records of the Ten Provinces* 十州記.²² The book *Records of the Ten Provinces* explains that the provinces store the medicines of the immortals, and one would simply have to reach them to find those medicines.

The many futile attempts to find the elixir of immortality on the mountains in the world of man diverted the hope and ambition to the spheres of a mystic geography that actually was out of reach, and this situation may have been an incentive to develop some other methods which contributed to the emergence of a meditative alchemy. Meditative alchemy would use the energetic facilities within the human body which means the five intestines and the veins from where the own immortal body eventually could come to the fore as a spiritual reality.²³

The Daoists developed the vision of an inner cosmos within which the ascent to immortality was a meditative process that for example the 19th century rubbing of the *Chart of the Inner Web* 內經圖 in the Temple of the White Cloud in Peking depicts. ERWIN ROUSSELLE was the first to publish and explain that chart. *The Chart* shows the already mentioned paradise of the Royal Mother of the West on Mount Kunlun with Nine Peaks that are visualized and featured right inside the human skull beneath the crown of the head. The Nine Peaks or terraces would be reached through meditation and in this way, immortality was attained.²⁴ We understand that this type

²¹ F. C. REITER (trl./ed.): *Leben und Wirken Lao-Tzu's in Schrift und Bild. Lao-chün pa-shih-i-hua t'u-shuo*. Würzburg 1990, pp. 38, 184–185. The same author: *Die Verbindung von Menschlichkeit und Göttlichkeit. Taoistische Ansichten des Lebens*. Wiesbaden 2010 (AAS 34), pp. 54–55. This is a translation of DZ 299 *Yixian zhuan* 2.9a–10a. Also see LI FANG 李昉: *Taiping guangji*, 6.2a–4b. Kyoto, Chūbun shuppansha 中文出版社, 1972. DZ 294 *Liexian zhuan* 2.1b–2b. W. EICHORN: *Die Religionen Chinas*. Stuttgart 1973, pp. 121, 141. A. SEIDEL: *La divinisation des Lao Tseu dans le taoïsme des Han*, pp. 26, 29, 47, 70. Paris 1969. K. SCHIPPER, *L'empereur Wou des Han dans la légende taoïste. Han Wou-ti nei-tchouan*. Paris 1965 (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 58).

²² This is DZ 598, compare K. SCHIPPER in SCHIPPER/VERELLEN 2004, p. 115.

²³ See LI YUANGUO 李遠國: *Daojiao qigong yangsheng xue* 道教氣功養生學. Chengdu: Sichuan sheng shehui kexue yuan chubanshe 四川省社會科學院出版社, 1988.

²⁴ E. ROUSSELLE: "Nei Ging tu, 'Die Tafel des inneren Gewebes'. Ein taoistisches Meditationsbild mit Beschriftung." In: *Zur Seelischen Führung im Taoismus. Ausgewählte*

of immortality is quite different from what the First Emperor of the Qin centuries earlier had hoped to achieve.

Some mountains in China show rough and mysterious sceneries with mist and clouds around inaccessible peaks and hidden caves. It is not surprising that every sort of medicine was supposed to be stashed in such locations. The medical ingredients hidden in rocks and ravines were thought to be accessible only for the worthy person who could enlist the help and the protection from mountain gods and demons. Local divine forces would hide the desired herbs and minerals if they had not been properly addressed and venerated. We note that even today hikers alongside mountain paths love to put wooden sticks, preferably incense sticks, into rocky cavities to prop up the residence of the mountain divinity 山神, to enlist help and avert harm that the divinity may cause to restrain or punish unworthy intruders.

The Daoist scholar GE HONG 葛洪 (283–343/63 CE) who lived in the Eastern Jin-period 東晉 (317–420) described in the inner chapters of his book *The Master who Holds on to Wholeness* 抱朴子 various specimen of amulets that are used to enter mountains.²⁵ GE HONG writes for persons who either intend to search for medicine, for herbs and minerals, or who want to evade the chaos of the world with all its political turmoil and distress. Daoists may wish to live on mountains as hermits in hiding but they still have to be afraid of goblins and wild beasts. Those amulets then were thought to provide protection. GE HONG claims that small mountains have divine forces of small might, whereas big mountains have more influential and stronger divine forces. He uses the term *shenling* 神靈 that combines the responsive divinity 神 and an evasive divine potential or magic force 靈. The magic force *ling* 靈 is thought to inhabit absolutely every object, even every stone or tree and therefore *ling* constitutes the magic might of a mountain. The advanced Daoist adept prefers to dwell in such a sphere of the divine. We must note that mankind is said to be by nature magic or divine *ling* to the highest degree which the antique *Book of Documents* 尚書 already indicated.²⁶

We are not surprised that the founders of the already mentioned Daoism of Highest Clarity emphasized the importance of a life in seclusion on mountains. We refer to the lady adept Wei Huacun (252–334) 魏華存 who originally was a libationer 祭酒 of Heavenly Masters Daoism and appeared

Aufsätze. Darmstadt 1962 (repr.), pp. 20–29, here p. 28. Also see for the chart RAWSON/LEGEZA 1973, table 53.

²⁵ GE HONG: *Baopu zi* 抱朴子 17, *dengshe* 登涉 1a–7b, *rushan fu* 入山符 8a–13a, *rushan peidai fu* 入山佩帶符 13a–18b. Taibei: Sibubei yao, zibu 四部備要子部, Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1966.

²⁶ *Shangshu* 尚書, *Zhoushu taishi shang* 周書泰誓上, in HUANG KAN 黃侃 (ed.): *Baiwen shisan jing* 白文十三經, p. 29. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社, 1983.



in a vision to Yang Xi (330–386) 楊羲. Yang Xi had retreated to a mountain resort at Mount Maoshan 茅山 not far away from present day Nanjing 南京 in Jiangsu province 江蘇, where he intended to realize the own divine nature through a merger with cosmic, astral potentials and attain immortality. The Daoist scholar TAO HONGJING (456–536) 陶弘景 collected in his *Declarations of the Perfected* 真誥 the materials that had emerged from a group of persons: Xu Mi (303–373) 許謐 and Xu Hui (341–ca. 370) 許翽 who was Xu Mi's son, and also from Yang Xi. The aspired cosmic union was thought to result from Daoist self-cultivation that required an utmost ascetic diet, meditation and prayers to divinities that would show at dawn in the morning but could be seen only on mountain peaks. This is the background for the emergence of Maoshan Daoism, also named Daoism of Highest Clarity.²⁷

Mount Maoshan is today a Daoist centre which is in the firm grip of the monastic Daoism of Complete Integrity and the PRC administration of religion. The canonical *Gazetteer of Mount Maoshan* 茅山志 reveals the seminal importance of the mountainous sphere, with the many cliffs, caves and ravines. We find the information repeated in the *Biographies of the Immortals throughout History who Embodied Dao* 歷世真仙體道通鑒 referring to Daoist history up to the 13th century.²⁸

We know that the selection of mountains as the arena for specific Daoist activities was not an arbitrary endeavour. The Daoists honoured the historic religious geography that had been formed with the beginning of Heavenly Masters Daoism in the Han-period (3rd ct. CE) and described the world of the divine on earth. Almost every Daoist group was founded on a mountain. The foundation of Heavenly Masters Daoism on Mount Heming shan in Sichuan province was the beginning. Maoshan Daoism and much later the establishment of the exorcist branch Correct Method of the Heart of Heaven 天心正法 at Mount Huagai shan 華蓋山 in Jiangxi province 江西 by Tan Zixiao 譚紫霄 (fl. 936–976) and his disciple Rao Dongtian 饒洞天 (fl. 994) are good examples.²⁹ If we take the many descriptions of temples and lodges at these

²⁷ STRICKMANN 1981. Also see ROBINET 1979, pp. 9–16, p. 17 for a map and pp. 18–27 for a tabular survey of historic dates up to the death of TAO HONGJING 陶弘景 in 536. CHAVANNES 1910, p. 144, features Mount Maoshan as *Cave Heaven Dongtian* 洞天 nr. 8, and the same time as *Auspicious Site Fudi* 福地 nr. 1. Compare DZ 599 *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 4a which lists amongst the *Ten Great Cave Heavens* 十大洞天 a *Juqu dong* 句曲洞, pointing to Mount Maoshan. As to the *Seventy-Two Auspicious Sites*, see DZ 599: 8b, however without a number 1 Mount Maoshan. “Number 1” most certainly was a sort of seal of quality that locally also was used for other places. We saw the same label in the Louguan tai Temple 樓觀台 at Mount Zhongnan shan 終南山.

²⁸ See the titles DZ 304 and DZ 296, and also the following titles DZ 297, DZ 298.

²⁹ See F.C. REITER: *The Taoism of Clarified Tenuity* 清微道法. *Content and Intent*. Wiesbaden 2017 (AAS 48), p. 3; and REITER 1988, pp. 106–126, especially referring to

mountains, often established at the foot of the mountain range, we find that the sites must have been carefully chosen, and any study of the locations will easily detect that aspects of geomancy 風水 had been considered.

As to the ideal site for a construction, there should be slopes on the backside and some hilly elevations like arm rests to the left and right side, which provides protection against the detrimental drainage of positive energies that must concentrate in the cave 穴. The cave 穴 is the energetic centre of the location where we certainly find a pool or some water flowing parallel to the front side of the construction that always faces south.³⁰ We can see this situation as a pattern for the cave dwellings that were sought and inhabited by Daoist mountain hermits. We notice that the term Mountain Gate 山門 is the usual name for the main entrance to temple compounds that very often stretch uphill.³¹ Indeed, the idealized life in secretive cave dwellings was at the very center of the love for mountains that throughout China became Daoist strongholds.

The Daoist DU GUANGTING (850–933) formulated a fascinating and revealing survey in *Report on the Cave-Heavens, Fortuitous Sites, Holy Mountains, Marches and Famous Mountains* 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記.³² He shows that Cave-Heavens, Fortuitous Sites, Holy Mountains, Marches and Famous Mountains cover China with a network of holy spots.

The presentation starts out with transcendent heavenly mountains like Mount Heavenly Jade Capital 玄都玉京山 in the centre of Daluo [Heaven] 大羅[天] and above [Heaven] of Jade Clarity 玉清[天]. Mount Original

localities of importance and significance such as the Cave of Ma Gu 麻姑洞, see pp. 115–116. Concerning a *Cave of Mount Ma Gu* nr. 28, see DZ 1032 *Yunji qiqian* 27.7b–8a, where the name Heaven of Cinnabar Red Dawn 丹霞天 is attributed to the location that is said to be under the control of a certain Perfected Wang 王真人治之. DZ 1032: 27.10b lists a Cave of Cinnabar Red Dawn at Mount Ma Gu, where a certain Cai Jingzhen 蔡經真 attained *Dao* and now is in control of the location.

³⁰ See G. ANDERS: “Traditional Chinese Architecture and Feng Shui Based on the Example of the Traditional Chinese Village Cuandixia Cun 龔底下村.” In: F. C. REITER (ed.): *Theory and Reality of Feng Shui in Architecture and Landscape Art*. Wiesbaden 2013 (AAS 41), pp. 135–162, especially see p. 150, Figure I. Ideally, a temple would be located where the village is, between a White Tiger (West), an Azure Dragon (East), and a Black Turtle (North) that altogether collect the vital breath and provide protection, which basically means that the ideal location is at the mountain rather than on the mountain.

³¹ See for example F. C. REITER: *Der Tempelberg Ch'-ch'ü in der Provinz Szechwan im China der Gegenwart*. Würzburg 1993, pp. 14, 15. The book shows a Qing-dynasty map, featuring the arrangement of temples and halls all stretching uphill on Mount Qiqu shan. The original Gate to the precinct was called: Ward Divine Precinct Shengjing fang 聖境坊 but was destroyed during the Republican era in the course of constructing a modern road cutting through the scene, see REITER 1993, p. 15. Some locals attributed the destruction to the “Great Cultural Revolution”.

³² This is the canonical title DZ 599.

Capital 元京山 is located in front of [Mount] Jade Capital, and in front of [Mount] Jade Capital we [also] find a Mount Emei 峨眉山. We easily come to understand that the heavenly mountains have counterparts on earth such as Mount Emei in Sichuan province 四川. DU GUANGTING explains that the mountains in those heavenly spheres are

representations of the true breaths. There are palaces on the mountains, and the great saints roam through those mountains. Down here [on earth] they correspond with the thirteen palace-departments of the human body, for which the reader may refer to the *Scripture of the Great Cave* 大洞經.³³

Of course, Mount Jade Capital is a famous and well-known theme in Daoist medieval history and literature. Mount Jade Capital has the heavenly archives with the *Scriptures of the Numinous Jewel Lingbao* 靈寶 that belong to the nucleus of the Daoist canon that is called the Three Caves *Sandong* 三洞.³⁴

DU GUANGTING lists more mountains and locates them in heavenly spheres, always with a reference to Mount Jade Capital. Mount Guangsang of the Holy Mountain in the East 東嶽廣桑山 is located in the sea of the East, and that is the location where the Green God-emperor 青帝 has his realm. We know that the colour green indicates the direction East. The Green God-emperor became the famous God-emperor of the Eastern Flowery Palaces 東華帝君 who resides in the Fusang Palace 扶桑宮 of the East. He is the partner of the Royal Mother of the West.³⁵ Of course, there are also God-emperors who represent the other directions and colours together with the respective heavenly mountains. The central Sacred Mountain is said to be Mount Kunlun in the center of the Nine Seas. The first chapter in DU GUANGTING's *Report* has the title: *All Mountains of the Sacred Mounts and Marches* 嶽瀆眾山,³⁶ but the indications for the respective locations come from the already familiar *Records of the Ten Provinces Shizhou ji* 十州記 by DONGFANG SHUO. DU GUANGTING lists places that divine immortals inhabit and the five God-emperors [of the compass points] administer.

DU GUANGTING proceeds to feature the *Five Sacred Mountains of China* 中國五嶽.³⁷ We give a few examples: The Sacred Mountain of the East is Mount

³³ DZ 599: 1a–1b.

³⁴ DZ 1439 *Dongxuan lingbao yujing shan buxu jing*. For the text see SCHIPPER/VERELLEN 2004, p. 219. The term *sandong* 三洞 is also translated: Three Caverns.

³⁵ DZ 599: 1a, 2a. See F. C. REITER: "Der Name Tung-hua ti-chün und sein Umfeld in der taoistischen Tradition." In: G. NAUNDORF et al. (eds.): *Religion und Philosophie in Ostasien*. Würzburg 1985, pp. 87–101. An alternative name of the divinity was: Royal Father of the East 東王父.

³⁶ DZ 599: 1a–2b. DZ 1439 *Dongxuan lingbao yujing shan buxu jing*. For the latter text see SCHIPPER/VERELLEN 2004, p. 219.

³⁷ DZ 599: 3a–3b.

Taishan where the responsible divinity, the King Equal to Heaven 天齊王, leads on 90.000 immortal officials and jade ladies.³⁸ We find indications for the extension of the area of Mount Taishan and the precise location. The mountains Luofu 羅浮山 and Kuocang 括蒼山 are listed as the Assistant Executioners of Orders *zuoming* 佐命, and the mountains Mengshan 蒙山 and Dongshan 東山 are named as the Monitoring Assistants *zuoli* 佐理 serving Mount Taishan.

The Holy Mountain of the West, Mount Huashan 華山³⁹ has the divine ruler and responsible divinity, King of Golden Heaven 金天王 who leads on 70.000 immortal officials and jade ladies. Again, the same type of information is provided as for Mount Taishan. The mountains Lungs of Earth 地肺山 and Mount Table of the Ladies 女几山⁴⁰ are called Assistant Executioners of Orders. A far larger number of mountains is qualified as Monitoring Assistants, namely Mount Xicheng 西城山, Mount Qingcheng 青城山, Mount Emei 峨眉山, Mount Panzhongjie shan 幡冢戒山, and Mount Xixuanzhen shan 西玄真山.⁴¹

DU GUANGTING instructs the reader that the key sacred mountains are connected with assistant mountains that figure with official, administrative titles. These immortal officials organize the vast spheres of spiritual might. All the mountains in the system of religious geography are centers of Daoist cults and religious veneration that concentrate on the respective divinities.

The following paragraph lists the *Ten Great Cave Heavens* 十大洞天.⁴² We find familiar names: Nr. 7 is the Luofu Cave 羅浮洞 that is located at Mount Luofu and is called True Heaven of Song Mingyao 宋明曜真天. GE HONG who authored the book *The Master who Holds on to Wholeness* is said to administer the location. Nr.8 is the Cave Juqu 句曲洞, the Huayang Heaven of the Golden Altar 金壇華陽天. We know that the name Huayang refers to the scholar and Daoist TAO HONGJING of the Liang-era 梁代 who was the compiler of *Shangqing* sources and also was known as the recluse Huayang 華陽隱居. The Lords of Mount Maoshan 茅君 are said to administer the location.⁴³ Until today, the Huayang Cave at Mount Maoshan is a touristic attraction

³⁸ DZ 599: 3a.

³⁹ See W. EBERHARD: *Hua Shan, the Flowery Mountain. The Taoist sacred mountain in West China, its scenery, monasteries and monks*. Hong Kong 1973. Concerning Mount Taishan, see CHAVANNES 1910. A rich documentation offers XU JIAN 1980, pp. 94–96: *Tai-shan* 泰山, and pp. 98–101: *Huashan* 華山.

⁴⁰ Here, character 几 should be character nr. 837 in H. A. GILES: *A Chinese-English Dictionary*. London 1917 (repr. Taipei, Chengwen chubanshe 成文出版社, 1972). The designation Lungs of Earth is the name of a place in the Zhongnan Mountains 終南山 in Shanxi province 陝西.

⁴¹ DZ 599: 3a–3b.

⁴² DZ 599: 3b–4b.

⁴³ LAGERWEY 1981, p. 76 referring to a lost *Daoji jing* 道跡經.

which still spreads a rather fey flair.⁴⁴ We learn on page 4b of the canonical source in consideration that the Ten Great Cave Heavens and the Five Sacred Mountains are all controlled by highly elevated, superior immortals. These mountains and the divine inhabitants organize the world of the divine on earth. DU GUANGTING gives the information that the Elder of the Five Sacred Mountains 五嶽丈人, the Perfected Xiyi 希夷真君 [resides] at Mount Qingcheng 青城山. The Perfected Lord and Arbiter of Fate of the Nine Heavens 九天司命真君 resides at Mount Pillar of Heaven Tianzhu shan 天柱山 in Shuzhou 舒州, whereas the Perfected Lord and Emissary of the Nine Heavens 九天使者真君 resides at Mount Lushan 廬山 in Jiangzhou 江州.

The latter cult was very important for Tang emperor Xuanzong 唐玄宗 who in the year 732 supported the installation of the Temple of the Perfected Lord and Emissary of the Nine Heavens 九天使者真君廟 on the Northern side of the mountain. In the Song-period the temple received another name, Belvedere Great Peace 太平觀.⁴⁵ A later Daoist canonical source (13th ct.) calls the whole mountain: Cave Heaven where immortals recite the true [scriptures] 仙靈詠真洞天 and additionally also: Auspicious Site of the Tiger Creek 虎溪福地. The latter name alludes to the Buddhist monk Shi Huiyuan 釋慧遠 (334–417) and to his activities at Mount Lushan in the famous Monastery Eastern Grove 東林寺 where he distinctly contributed to the history of Buddhism in China.⁴⁶

This is a brilliant example: The early history of the important Buddhist cult of Buddha Amitâbha at Mount Lushan did by no means exclude the later emergence of Daoist cults and institutions under imperial promotion. It may have mattered that the fame and the history of Mount Lushan in Chinese cultural history was thought to reach back to the antique cultural hero Great Yu 大禹 who was believed to have channeled the Changjiang 長江 in the area of Jiujiang 九江 close to Mount Lushan. The Neo-Confucian scholar ZHU XI 朱熹 (1130–1200) identified the region Fuqianyuan 敷淺原 in the book *Tribute of Yü* 禹貢 with Mount Lushan.⁴⁷ ZHU XI retreated to

⁴⁴ DZ 599: 4a.

⁴⁵ REITER 1977, pp. 122–127; and the same author: "The Investigation Commissioner of the Nine Heavens and the Beginning of his Cult in Northern Chiang-Hsi in 731 A.D." In: *Oriens* 31 (1988), pp. 266–289.

⁴⁶ DZ 1286 *Lushan taiping xingguo gong caifang zhenjun shishi* 6.27a: the *Shoumo tang ji* 授墨堂記 names Zhongli Quan 鍾離全 and Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 as the famous immortals that stayed and convened on the mountain. REITER 1988, p. 267. E. ZÜRCHER: *The Buddhist Conquest of China*. Leiden 1959 (Sinica Leidensia), pp. 240–253.

⁴⁷ 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. 16 and note nr. 12. The same author: "Change and Continuity in Historical Geography: Chang Huang's (1527–1608) Reflections on the *Yü-kung*." In: AM 3,1, pp. 129–141. CHANG HUANG 章演 (Ming 明) challenged the criticism of Zhu Xi (Song 宋) concerning the extant version of the book *Yugong*.



the academy of White Deer Grotto 白鹿洞 at Mount Lushan from 1163–1178 CE where his lectures attracted many prominent scholars of the time.⁴⁸ Mount Lushan was a common intellectual and cultural property that Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism equally shared. The cult of the Emissary of the Nine Heavens at Mount Lushan must have attracted much attention throughout history and was not confined to Mount Lushan. The cult is only one example of local cults located on mountains that in the course of history emerged and later spread nationwide.

Another good example is the formation of the nationwide cult of the God of Flourishing Literature Wenchang dijun 文昌帝君. The cult was originally based on Mount Seven Bends Qiqu shan 七曲山 in Zitong district 梓潼縣, Sichuan province 四川. The predecessor divinity of the God of Literature was called God-emperor of Zitong 梓潼帝君 that had emerged from a much older Thunder cult that seems to have originated in the Zhou-period. In the Zhou-period the Thunder divinity on Mount Seven Bends allegedly had the shape of a gigantic snake. The snake was and is a symbol for the divine might of Thunders and lightning which continues to be very present in some Thunder amulets of Daoist exorcism as documented in canonical sources of the Song- and Yuan-eras.⁴⁹

However, more than one thousand years later since 1316 CE the God-emperor of Zitong was known as God-emperor of Flourishing Literature when emperor Renzong 仁宗 (1311–1320) in the Yuan-era 元代 established the state cult of Wenchang.⁵⁰ The huge temple compound at Mount Seven Bends is dedicated to the God of Literature (*wen* 文) and to Guanyu 關羽, the god of military culture (*wu* 武), both being the pillars of the Chinese state and society. And yet, the presence of Buddhist religious life and influence cannot be ignored. Today we find in the Great Temple 大廟 a Pavilion Guanyin at the Fountain 水觀音, named Guanying 觀音閣, and the entrance to the Great Temple named Tower of Loyalty and Piety 忠孝樓 still shows traces

⁴⁸ WING-TSIT CHAN: *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. New York 1972, p. 588.

⁴⁹ DZ 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 126.20a–20b *Amulet the Emperor of Heaven Controls the World Tianhuang yüchen fu* 天皇御應符, DZ 1220: 83.11b–12a *Amulet the Emperor of Heaven Despatches Thunders Xilei tianhuang fu* 檄雷天皇帝符, or DZ 1220: 162.34a–34b *Amulet Tianpeng Suffocates Evil Tianpeng xunxie fu* 天蓬熏邪符 that shows the snake together with the turtle, the latter being the symbol of water and the North, which is the direction the divine Marshal Tianpeng and the Emperor of the North Beidi 北帝 are associated with. A Daoist theoretical text is DZ 1220: 69.23b–25a: *Creation nr. 8 Zaohua zhang ba* 造化章八.

⁵⁰ T.F. KLEEMAN: *Wenchang and the Viper: the creation of a Chinese national god*. Michigan, Ann Arbor 1989. REITER 1993, pp. 20, 21. Concerning the origins of the cult also see CHANG QU 常璩, *Huayang guozhi jiaozhu* 華陽國志校注, *Hanzhong zhi* 漢中志, 2, pp. 144–147. Chendu: Ba Shu shushe chubai 巴蜀書社出版, 1984.



of the attempt of the Buddhist monk Haideng 海燈 to implant Buddhism in the temple. He had found shelter in the Great Temple in the first half of the 20th century and had the name of the Buddhist deity Guanshiyin 觀世音 engraved on the front wall of the main entrance to the Tower of Loyalty and Piety. We know that in the Southern-Song-era 南宋 (12th ct. CE) Buddhist stone sculptures were successfully carved on rock cliffs at the mountain, but only after the dominant Daoist divinity, the God-emperor of Zitong had magically signaled permission.⁵¹

We do not observe any exclusionism. On the contrary, it is a characteristic feature of Chinese religious culture that Daoism and Buddhism share the mountains as centers of their spiritual and religious life without hampering each other, and the mountains mirror that reality. The Buddhist success on mountains is possibly seen best on Mount Taishan in Shandong province 山東 which is the most famous and historically central location amongst the Five Sacred Mountains in China, an important site for a number of Daoist cults in extended temples and also for the antique State cult. The Buddhists managed to engrave in monumental inscriptions the *Diamond Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* on the frontal slopes of the sacred peak in the Sûtra Stone Valley 經石峪.⁵²

DU GUANGTING who authored *The Report on Cave-Heavens, Fortuitous Sites, Holy Mountains, Marches and Famous Mountains* covers the web of Daoist religious geography. He calls the three Mountains Qingcheng shan, Tianzhu shan, and Lu shan: Assistant Executioners of Orders. They are Superior Administrator Mountains that have the function and title of Monitoring the Assistant Mountains for the five Sacred Mountains that control the five compass directions. They are lodges for superior perfected and elevated immortals.⁵³

Another major group in the book is titled: *Thirty-Six Quiet Lodges* 三十六靖廬.⁵⁴ The author seemingly presents listings of locations where Daoist lodges existed, records the names of the locations and persons which refers to the facets of Daoist cultic history. The Lodge Guarding the Mystery 守玄廬 at Mount Zhongnan 終南山 is the House of Yinxi 尹喜. He was the astronomer and customs officer who asked LAOZI to write down the scripture *Daode jing*. The activity took place in the customs building at Mount Zhongnan and was called Platform Towered Belvedere Louguntai 樓觀臺 where today the Quanzhen order 全真教 operates a large cloister.

⁵¹ REITER 1993, pp. 14–15, 28–30. The same author: “The creation of Buddhist cliff sculpture on Mt. Ch’i-ch’ü in Szechwan.” In: NOAG 147, pp. 145–153.

⁵² WANG YONG-BO 王永波/LOTHAR LEDDEROSE 雷德侯 (eds.): *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China, Shandong Province*. Vol. 1. Wiesbaden/Hangzhou 2014, pp. 19–30.

⁵³ DZ 599: 4b.

⁵⁴ DZ 599: 5a–6b.

The canonical *Report on Magic Evidence in Daoism* 道教靈驗記 again compiled by DU GUANGTING tells us that the Towered Belvedere was the lodge of the Grand Astrologer Yin Xi, who served King Kang 康王 of the Zhou. The Towered Belvedere is located near the capital in the district Zhouzhi 盤陘, Shenjiu 神就 county, Wenxian village 聞仙里 in the North of Mount Zhongnan. We learn that the belvedere has temple halls and porches that King Mu 穆王 of the Zhou had installed, which later Qin Shihuangdi and Han Wudi repeated. We learn that mushrooms, medical herbs and woods of Lord Lao grow within the precinct of the belvedere. When the Great Tang dynasty was about to receive the mandate of heaven and the patriotic forces in the area of Hedong 河東 came to the fore, purple red rays emanating from heaven illuminated the temple for six, seven days.⁵⁵

It was this institution on a mountain that was significant for Daoist history since it signaled divine support for the upcoming Tang-dynasty. What a magical place! We also see that the required essences for esoteric drugs grow at Mount Zhongnan shan. It certainly was not the case that every lodge *lu* 廬 was connected with a mountain. For example, there is no mountain named in connection with the Lodge Magic Purity 靈淨廬 at the temple Palace of Great Clarity 太清宮 in Bozhou 亳州 where Laozi reputedly was born. Imperial administrations since the Tang-period 唐代 paid much attention to maintaining, supporting and enlarging the temple compounds, possibly expecting Taishang Laojun to show signs of divine acceptance for the ruling house.⁵⁶

Rather similar indications are contained in the long paragraphs *Thirty-Six Cave Heavens* 三十六洞天 and *Seventy-Two Auspicious Sites* 七十二福地.⁵⁷ The locations named in the listings are the sites of Daoist institutions nationwide. The most outstanding and authoritative site certainly was the lodge of the Heavenly Masters at Mount Longhu shan 龍虎山 in Xinzhou 信州, District Guixi 貴溪縣.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ DZ 590 *Daojiao lingyan ji* 3.9b. Red rays are pure *yang*, which are a sign set by Taishang Laojun as suggested in the Tang-source DZ 593: 5a. Here, *Daojiao lingyan ji* reports that an old withered cassia tree revived after Taishang Laojun made an apparition stating to be the ancestor of the ruling house of the Tang. The ruling house of the Tang and Laozi had the same surname: Li 李.

⁵⁶ DZ 599: 5b. F.C. REITER: "A Chinese Patriot's Concern with Taoism: The Case of Wang O (1190–1273)." In: OE 33 (1990), pp. 95–131; and the same author: "Some Observations Concerning Taoist Foundations in Traditional China." In: ZDMG 133 (1983), pp. 371–373 referring to the Taiqing gong. In the Tang-period emperor Gaozu 高祖 (618) changed the name of the temple to be Belvedere Celebrating the Tang 慶唐觀, see DZ 593: 5a.

⁵⁷ DZ 599: 6b–8b; 8b–11b.

⁵⁸ DZ 599: 9b.

The last part in DU GUANGTING's book with the title *Twenty-Four Magic Influences* 靈化二十四 is also very instructive.⁵⁹ It is all about the twenty-four basic administrative centers that were called Seat of Control *zhi* 治, a name that some interpreters think to mean a parish:⁶⁰

1. Yangping 陽平化⁶¹ corresponds with the element *metal* 金 in the set of the Five Elements, with the season Cold Dew hanlu 寒露.⁶² Above, it correlates to the constellation Jiaoxiu 角宿.⁶³ People who belong to the years: jiazi 甲子, jiayin 甲寅, jiaxu 甲戌 are attached to that parish which in the North covers forty miles of the territory of District Jiuxi xian 九隴縣 in Pengzhou 彭州, and in the South four miles of the territory in Xindu 新都. Zhang Heng 張衡, style 字 Lord of Magic Perfection Lingzhen jun 靈真君 who was a son of the first Heavenly Master, lived here in hiding to cultivate the crafts of the immortals. In the year 179 CE he ascended from the location to heaven in bright daylight.⁶⁴

The earlier source *Sandong zhunang* 三洞珠囊 informs us that it is Mount Yangpingzhi shan 陽平治山 where we find the *Seat of the Archivist* [Lord Lao] 主簿治, and the Seats of the successors to the Heavenly Master of the Han-era (2nd ct. CE) Zhang Daoling 張道陵.⁶⁵ The parishes or seats of control were situated in the wider mountainous surroundings of Chengdu city 成都 in Sichuan province. They were connected with mountains where Daoist adherents claimed an individual connection to the heavenly archives that would hold the registers of the own life.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ DZ 599: 11a–15b. A German translation of the complete text presents V. OLLES: *Der Berg des Laozi in der Provinz Sichuan und die 24 Diözesen der Daoistischen Religion*. Wiesbaden 2005 (AAS 24), pp. 251–257.

⁶⁰ See for example T.F. KLEEMAN: *Celestial Masters, History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities*. Cambridge, Massachusetts/London 2016, pp. 33, 124–128, 205. See DZ 1139 *Sandong zhunang* 7.1a–15a.

⁶¹ Whereas DZ 1139 *Sandong zhunang* 7.7a writes Yangping zhi 陽平治 and continues to use the designation *zhi* 治 throughout the text, DZ 599 always writes *hua* 化. *Hua* means to change by influence, to convert et al., which we freely translate: correspond with, in the sense of conveying influences as described.

⁶² Starting about the 8th of October, see GILES 1917, nr. 3825.

⁶³ Compare BAN GU, *Hanshu* 26, *tianwen zhi* 天文志 6, 1288, which identifies the corresponding area with Yenzhou 兗州—one of the Nine Divisions of the empire established by the antique hero Great Yu 大禹.

⁶⁴ DZ 599: 11a. For the addenda compare TT 1139 *Sandong zhunang* 7.7b. Also see F. C. REITER: *Der Perlenbeutel aus den Drei Höhlen (San-tung chu-nang)*. *Arbeitsmaterialien zum Daoismus der frühen T'ang Zeit*. Wiesbaden 1990 (Asiatische Forschungen 112), p. 109.

⁶⁵ DZ 1139: 7.7b. The title Heavenly Master without further specification always refers to Zhang Daoling 張道陵.

⁶⁶ OLLES 2005, 29, pp. 43–53.

2. Lutang 鹿堂 corresponds with element *wood* 木 and the season Cold Descends 霜降.⁶⁷ Above, it corresponds with the constellation *Kangxiu* 亢宿,⁶⁸ and people who belong to the years: *wuwu* 戊午, *yimao* 乙卯, and *wushen* 戊申 are attached to that parish which geographically covers twenty miles in the Northwest of Mianzhu 綿竹 in Hanzhou 漢州. Here in the year 156 CE [Taishang] Laojun and the Heavenly Master contracted the oath [to lead on] all divine forces. This is said to be the place where the divinity Heavenly Perfected August One 天真皇人 resides.⁶⁹
3. Heming 鶴鳴 corresponds with the element *metal* 金 and the season Establish Winter lidong 立冬. Above, it corresponds with the constellations *di* 氐, *fang* 房, and *xin* 心,⁷⁰ and people who belong to the years: *gengchen* 庚辰 and *renchen* 壬辰 are attached to that parish which covers District Dayi 大邑 in Angzhou 仰州 and more than thirty miles of territory to the Northwest of the district. This is the place where Laojun gave the Daoist registers *lu* 籙 to the Heavenly Master.⁷¹ Xu Xiaodao 徐孝道,⁷² He Danyang 何丹陽,⁷³ and Ma Chengzi 馬成子⁷⁴ ascended from there to heaven.

The three examples are typical. They represent the twenty four seats of control or parishes that usually are intimately connected with mountainous

⁶⁷ See GILES 1917, nr. 10120; the season begins around the 23rd of October.

⁶⁸ Concerning the constellation, see BAN GU, *Hanshu* 26, *tianwen zhi* 天文志 6, 1288.

⁶⁹ DZ 599: 11a–11b.

⁷⁰ See BAN GU, *Hanshu* 26, *tianwen zhi* 6, 1288, combining the areas Yanzhou 兗州 and Yuzhou 豫州.

⁷¹ DZ 599:11b. The term *register* refers to the crucial documents that a Daoist priest receives in ordination ceremonies. Registers contain the names of divinities and the formulae to invoke them for liturgical purposes.

⁷² This most likely is Xu Jidao 徐季道, see DZ 296 *Lishi zhenxian tidaotongjian* 7.14b–15a who is said to have successfully studied and attained *Dao* on the basis of a method of the secret *Dao* of the Five Divinities of Great Plainness 太素五神道之秘事 that was transmitted to him by an unnamed perfected person. It all happened at Mount Heming.

⁷³ He Danyang is said to have served in the Han-period as Secretarial Court Gentleman, see CH. O. HUCKER: *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford 1985, nr. 5047. After retirement He Danyang lived in hiding on the famous mountains in Sichuan, using a diet of flowers from the Pine trees which made his body light and his eyes brightly shining. The Superior Perfected Great Peace 太平上真 descended then and transmitted to him the *Dao* of climbing the *Kui*-star and riding a dragon 攀魁乘龍之道. Later He Danyang ascended to heaven, see DZ 1248 *Sandong qunxian lu* 1.16a.

⁷⁴ Ma Chengzi is said to have lived in the period Qin/Han who liked to be on his own and finally stayed at Mount Heming where he lived in a stone room to practice self-cultivation for more than twenty years. Later he encountered an extraordinary person who gave him a divine elixir and said: The breaths make the inner elixir, herbs make the outer elixir. Now you got them, do apply them and you should properly rank as an immortal. Ma Chengzi honored these crafts and practiced them, and later then he ascended to heaven in bright daylight, see DZ 1465 *Xiaoyaoxu jing* 1.16b–17a.

regions. These regions were seen as postal stations for prayers and petitions that were designed and ritually dispatched to mend the fate of those who through birth were linked to the respective location and the corresponding astral constellation where the heavenly archives were stored.

The calendar indicators for the year of birth established the identity of the relevant location or parish that was responsible for the individual person. This assumption must have been very conducive for Daoist religious activities since the local Daoist priests provided the required services for the faithful. The locations identified the transcendent qualities of the Five Elements 五行 that materialized in the mountainous regions of the seats of control of Heavenly Masters Daoism.⁷⁵

Mountains were seen as pillars between heaven and earth but they also provided access to the realm of the immortals. The Daoist temples or belvederes 道觀 that were established at such locations functioned as a lookout towards heaven, and on the other side they were lookouts for the immortals and divinities to see the world of man, which the meaning of the name Belvedere implies.⁷⁶ Such institutions were often established in locations where famous Daoist priests, scholars and hermits had lived, possibly successfully concocted the drugs of Long Life and then having attained *Dao* ascended to heaven.

Mountains were used as safe and secretive places where Daoists approaching the end of life tended to store chests with Daoist scriptures and manuals for which they had failed to find disciples worthy enough to receive the transmission. It was thought that with the progress of time the scriptures and manuals will eventually get revealed to the worthy Daoist who in a dream vision received the advice to pick them up.

For example, the first Heavenly Master Zhang Daoling 張道陵 is said to have deposited at Mount Demon Valley 鬼谷 in the rock room Cave Thinking-Perfection 思真洞 a sealed stone chest with the documents that were required to perform his exorcist methods. Later he revealed the location in a dream vision to a worthy gentleman with the result that again his methods to annihilate wicked demoniac forces, procure rainfall and demolish unorthodox temples came to flourish. The leading Thunder divinity of his exorcist methods was Marshal Zhao Gongming 趙元帥公明.⁷⁷ Another fine example is the retired commander in Jiangnan 江南 LI QUAN 李筌 who

⁷⁵ Concerning the importance of the notion of the Five Elements, see M. LOEWE/E. L. SHAUGHNESSY (eds.): *The Cambridge History of Ancient China, from the Origins of Civilization to 221 B. C.* Cambridge 1999, pp. 808–812. The translation here has “Five Phases” (Powers).

⁷⁶ DZ 1125 *Dongxuan lingbao sandong fengdao kejie yingshi* 1.13a. See F. C. REITER, *The Aspirations and Standards of Taoist Priests in the Early T'ang Period*. Wiesbaden 1998 (AAS 1), pp. 76–84. The quotation is: DZ 1125 *Fengdao kejie yingshi* 1.12b–19b.

⁷⁷ DZ 1220 *Daofa huiyuan* 236.1a–2a.



lived in the 8th century. He is said to have found in a cave at Mount Song 嵩高山 the *Scripture of the Hidden Contracts of Huangdi* 皇帝陰符經 that the Daoist priest and Heavenly Master KOU QIANZHI 寇謙之 (–448 CE) allegedly had deposited on the Holy Mountain of the Center.⁷⁸

Examples of the sort could be listed *en masse*. We can say that Daoist religious culture crystallized on the mountains in China. They bundled a fantastic range of concepts and notions. Many of them implied generally accepted intellectual assets, like the correspondences of the energetic influences of the Five Elements, not to speak about the many connections with the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches 天干地支 that were used for calculating the data of human life and the calendar. They represented the concept of time which obviously could be best administered at the mountains that were dotted with Auspicious Sites and Cave Heavens. It was the Daoist priest of Heavenly Masters Daoism who knew how to handle such issues. We observe that Daoist rituals often use altars with three tiers that intend to resemble a mountain. The priest would ascend to the altar as if it were a mountain. Mountains were symbols of steadfastness and were perfect models for the aspired personal perfection and quality that the Daoist adept hoped to attain.⁷⁹

We understand that Daoist religious geography is embedded in the secular, administrative geography of China, which the examples from the *Report on Cave-Heavens, Fortuitous Sites, Holy Mountains, Marches and Famous Mountains* by DU GUANGTING showed. A very specific Chinese phenomenon is the reference to astral constellations which implies the notion of a star-based administration that the Daoist priest faces in meditation and addresses in ritual.

The idea that terrestrial spaces and also individual locations have astral correspondences is antique. The book *Records of the Grand Historian* reports that in the time of the Western Zhou-dynasty 西周 when King Hui of Chu 楚惠王 (488–432 BC) [eventually] eliminated the state of Chen 陳, the star Mars 熒惑[星] was stationed within the Heart-constellation 心, [but] the Heart constellation was assigned *fenye* 分野 to the terrestrial sphere of the state of Song 宋, and Lord Jing 景公 [of Song] (516–477 B.C.) became very anxious about it.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Concerning the mountains, see DZ 599 *Dongtian fudi yuedu mingshan ji* 3a, the paragraph: *The Five Holy Mountains of China*. As to the *Huangdi yinfu jing*, see F. C. REITER: “The ‘Scripture of the Hidden Contracts’ (*Yin-fu ching*), a short survey on facts and findings.” In: NOAG 136 (1984), pp. 75–83, esp. p. 78.

⁷⁹ See for example the charts in J. M. BOLTZ: *A Survey of Taoist Literature, Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries*. Berkley 1987, pp. 31, 52.

⁸⁰ SIMA QIAN: *Shiji* 38: *Song Weizi shibjia di ba* 宋微子世家第八: 508b./19. The dates were taken from LOEWE/SHAUGHNESSY 1999, pp. 26–27, Table I., c: *Spring and Autumn*. Concerning the constellation *Heart* that belongs to the twenty-eight lunar mansions, see GILES 1917, p. 26, Table B, nr. 5. The name in astronomy is: Antares.



The antique term *fenye* literally means *distribute the regions*, which in fact says that any region in China has an astral equivalent in one of the twenty-eight lunar mansions. It was thought that any astral correspondence can pre-shadow or mirror frightening events, for example an imminent war. Of course, there is a positive side to the *fenye* system as it assures the rulers and the inhabitants of the respective location that a heavenly stellar guard can be looked up to. The astral correspondences refer to every settlement in the respective region which may be a mountainous area with temples and shrines that are used as lookouts vis-à-vis heaven and also are spiritual postal stations where Daoist liturgies can be staged.

We observe that local gazetteers 地方志 that were compiled up to the end of the Qing-era 清代 in the 20th century usually feature on the very first pages the astral constellation that mirrors the respective locality in heaven before giving an encyclopedic presentation of regional qualities and facts. The book *The Rites of the Zhou* 周禮 records that the office of the Royal Astrologer 保章氏⁸¹ was in control of the heavenly stars to determine the movements of the stars and constellations, of sun and moon and to use the information for analyzing fortunate or baleful matters, and also to define the territories of the nine provinces of China that were made fiefs.⁸²

Again, this testifies to the existence of a system that was called *fenye* and was part of the administrative culture in early Chinese history. It also was intimately connected with the crafts of prognostication and religious aspirations to administer the world. For example, the *Monograph on Astronomy in the History of the Han-dynasty* 漢書 reports that the first star *kui* 魁 of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper 北斗 is assigned to the sphere Northeast of the sea and of [Mount] Tai.⁸³ A commentary in the *History of the Han-dynasty* explains that the star *Kui* dominates the region of Qi 齊 which is one of the Nine Divisions of China. Since the star *Kui* is called the head of the Dipper and the head is *yang* 陽, its function is consequently called “glaring illumination 明”. *Yang* and glaring illumination mean the virtuous force 德 that is present in the East, and therefore the star *Kui* dominates the Northeastern region.⁸⁴ Mount Taishan is the Sacred Mountain of the East.

This is an example for the web of relationships that was assumed to exist between the astral spheres and individual locations on earth. The Daoist culture flourished within that web, adopting and continuing the ritual importance that the mountains had in secular history.

⁸¹ Concerning the Royal Astrologer, see HUCKER 1985, nr. 4453.

⁸² Compare HUANG KAN 黄侃, *Baiwen shihsan jing* 白文十三經, *Zhouli* 周禮, 71, 4–5: *Chunguan zongbo* 春官宗伯. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社, 1983.

⁸³ Mount Tai is Mount Tai shan 泰山 in Shandong province. See *Hanshu* 26, *tianwen zhi* 6, 1274.

⁸⁴ *Hanshu* 26, *tianwen zhi* 6, 1275.



Mount Taishan in the East of China certainly excels due to the history of emperors who travelled in person to the mountain to perform those *Feng* and *Shan* sacrifices at the mountain as the most important intermediary between heaven and earth. The mountain also represented the notion of the so-called *famous mountains* 名山 in China where transcendent administrative forces were thought to dominate the scene and demanded adequate ritual treatment.

Daoists assumed that the *hun*-souls 魂 of the deceased would return to mount Taishan where the netherworld was close, being right beneath the mountain.⁸⁵ However, the prominent divinity at the mountain was named Jade Lady of Mount Tai-shan 泰山玉女 who eventually was also named: Original Lady of Jade-Dawn 碧霞元君, wearing a hat adorned with phoenixes. The temple of the Lady of Jade-Dawn was installed rather high up on the mountain and was called: Holy Department of the Original Lady of Jade-Dawn 碧霞元君聖府.⁸⁶ She was ritually venerated by people who addressed her with prayers for a desired posterity. Therefore, an alternative religious name of the popular divinity was: Lady who delivers babies 送子娘娘. We know that the respective cult reached far beyond the confines of Mount Taishan and usually was administered by Daoist priests.⁸⁷

Mountains in Daoist religious culture were centers of the intellectual, spiritual and practical life. They were the locations where the ingredients for magic drugs of immortality could be searched for and throughways to the world of saints and immortals in abysses and caves could be found, and peaks and cliffs brought the adepts closer to the glaring rays of the morning dawn and the cosmic life energies that they could absorb in meditation.

Mountains also were static monuments that symbolized an existential condition that the Daoist aspired to. Daoist religious culture developed in mountainous spheres and spread out from there addressing and involving Chinese society as a whole. Mountains were indisputably the essential starting point and first focus for Daoist religious and cultural life in China.

Abbreviations

DZ *Zhengtong daoze* 正統道藏 (*Daoist Canon*). 61 vols. 1977. Taipei: Yiwen yinshu guan 藝文印書館.

⁸⁵ CHAVANNES 1910, p. 399.

⁸⁶ See CHAVANNES 1910, Fig. I, *Plan du T'ai chan* that shows right beneath the peak the Bixia gong 碧霞宮.

⁸⁷ CHAVANNES 1910, pp. 137–138. MA SHUTIAN 馬書田: *A Complete Picture of Three Hundred Chinese Divinities* 全像中國三百神, pp. 39–41. Nanchang shi 南昌市, Jiangxi meishu chubanshe 江西美術出版社, 1995.



Managing Floods and Droughts by Invoking the Water Spirits: Analyzing Prayers for Rain (*daoyu* 禱雨) and Prayers for a Clear Sky (*qiqing* 祈晴)

With Some Examples from Local Source Material
of the Song 宋 Dynasty (960–1279)

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Summary: The praying for rain or the stoppage of rain as part of the Song administrative procedure may be understood as a reaction to climatic variations. The Song dynasty was a period during which, due to volcanic and solar activity, heavy rains and severe droughts occurred. This also becomes evident from local source material in Hangzhou (capital city since 1127, renamed Lin'an). With the spread of Buddhism, Buddha and *bodhisattvas* had taken over the command of the dragon deities who were considered responsible for rain-fall. They were invoked for rain, as shown in the analysis of prayers written by the prefect of Hangzhou, Su Shi. Among the dragon temples and monasteries that were honored by the government for their responsiveness to rain prayers, the Upper India Monastery of *bodhisattva* Guanyin became most prominent and was frequented even by the emperors.

Introduction

This study focuses on one aspect of Song 宋 environmental history from a microhistoric point of view: the praying for rainfall or the stoppage of rainfall and the thanksgiving for positive responses to prayers, as they formed an essential element of the administrative procedure. That is why source material on rain praying can be found in local gazetteers (*difang zhi* 地方志) and chronicles of local monasteries as well as in collected works (*jiwen* 集文) of authors who held office as local administrators during their careers. Because of the abundance of local source material available, Hangzhou 杭州 was selected for this study, as this former local administrative unit was chosen as the capital city, Lin'an fu 臨安府, in 1127, when northern China had been invaded by the Jin 金 army.¹

¹ The Lin'an Gazetteer of the Qiandao (1165–1173) era (*Qiandao Lin'an zhi* 乾道臨安志), dated 1169, has been preserved only as a fragment in *juan* 1–3 of originally 15 *juan*. Authorship of this gazetteer was attributed to ZHOU CONG 周淙 (c. 1115–1175) who held office in Lin'an as Vice Prefect in 1155 and as Prefect in 1167–1170. The Lin'an Gazetteer

As has been argued by U. LUEBKEN, environmental history has to make convergent use of different disciplines and methods.² Meteorological methods and data as explored mainly by W. ATWELL are another important component in this study on rain praying.³

Prayers for rain from their ancient roots to their evolution in Tang 唐 dynasty Buddhism and Song dynasty Daoism have been investigated by J. CAPITANIO in a comprehensive and summarizing overview.⁴ Special expertise on Daoist Thunder Magic during the Tang and Song dynasties is found in the many studies by F.C. REITER.⁵ The process of the bureaucratization of rainmaking in late imperial China was analyzed by J. SNYDER-REINKE.⁶

of the Chunyou (1241–1252) era (*Chunyou Lin'an zhi* 淳祐臨安志), dated 1250, also is a fragment, containing only *juan* 5–10 of the original version. The missing *juan* have been reconstructed. Its main author, ZHAO YUCHOU 趙與籌 (c. 1179–1260), a descendant of the first Song Emperor Taizu 太祖, served as Prefect of Lin'an in 1241–1252 and again as a second term in c. 1264. The Lin'an Gazetteer of the Xianchun (1265–1274) era (*Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志), dated 1273 was authored by QIAN YUEYOU 潛說友 (c. 1200–1280) who achieved the *jinsbi* degree in 1244 and served as Prefect of Lin'an in the years 1268–1271. In his career he seems to have been in some way dependent on Jia Sidao 賈似道 (1213–1275), Chancellor of the years 1259–1275. All three Song gazetteers were reproduced 1980 in Taipei in the series *Song Yuan difang zhi congshu* 宋元地方志叢書 by Gaihui 該會). Of the Ming Dynasty's gazetteers the Hangzhou Prefectural Gazetteer of the Wanli (1573–1620) era (*Wanli Hangzhou fuzhi* 萬曆杭州府志), dated 1579, was consulted in this study for supplementary information. It was reproduced 1965 in Taipei in the series *Mingdai fangzhi xuan* 明代方志選 by Taiwan xuesheng shuji 臺灣學生書局. The Chronicle of the Upper India Teaching Monastery of Hangzhou (*Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu jiangsi zhi* 杭州上天竺講寺志) was compiled during the Ming 明 dynasty by the Buddhist Monk [SHI] GUANGBIN 釋廣賓. Its 1897 edition was reprinted in 1980 at Taipei by Minwen shuju 民文書局. Rain prayers were collected in the works of SU SHI 蘇軾 (1037–1101), one of Hangzhou's most outstanding administrators. The *Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集 were edited by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 at Beijing in 1992. As for canonical Buddhist texts, they are referred to by number of text in J. TAKAKUSU 高楠順次郎 / K. WATANABE 渡邊海旭 (eds.): *Taishō shinsbū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. Tokyo 1924–1932.

² U. LUEBKEN: "Undiszipliniert: Ein Forschungsbericht zur Umweltgeschichte." In: *H-Soz-Kult* 14.07.2010. This article is available on the internet (© 2017 by H-NET, Clio-online and H-Soz-Kult, and the author, all rights reserved; please refer to the editorial staff of H-Soz-Kult Geschichte, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin).

³ W. ATWELL: "Volcanism and Short-Term Climatic Change in East Asian and World History, c. 1200–1699." In: *Journal of World History* 12,1 (2001), pp. 29–98.

⁴ J. CAPITANIO: *Dragon Kings and Thunder Gods: Rainmaking, Magic, and Ritual in Medieval Chinese Religion*. Ann Arbor, Pennsylvania 2008 (Diss.).

⁵ For example F.C. REITER: *Basic Conditions of Taoist Thunder Magic*. 道教雷法. Wiesbaden 2007 (AKM 61) and F.C. REITER: "The Management of Nature: Convictions and Means of Daoist Thunder Magic (Daojia leifa)." In: F.C. REITER (ed.): *Purposes, Means and Convictions in Daoism. A Berlin Symposium*. Wiesbaden 2007a (AAS 29), pp. 183–200.

⁶ J. SNYDER-REINKE: *Dry Spells: State Rainmaking and Local Governance in Late Imperial China*. Cambridge (Massachusetts). London 2009.



1. Climatic variations

Extreme variations in precipitation depended on climatic changes during certain periods of time due to global volcanic activity and varying solar radiation. Changes in global climate can be determined by analyzing tree rings proving frost damage from drops of temperature during the summer growing season.⁷ Historical volcanic activity can be measured by the fall-out in ice layers.⁸ As far as variations in solar activity are concerned, they have an impact on a phenomenon known as “El Niño–Southern Oscillation” (ENSO), which leads to an increase of 4 degrees Celsius on the surface of the eastern Pacific every few years.⁹ Although the ENSO phenomenon does not influence the climate of East Asia as a whole, it could be shown that in parts of southeastern China rainfalls then deviate from the average.¹⁰

Incidentally, it is the ENSO phenomenon of the Indo-Pacific Basin that also affects the monsoon cycles: When the summer monsoon moves only slowly to the north, southern China will be inundated by excessive rainfall and, vice versa, when the summer monsoon moves to the north fast, southern China will suffer from droughts.¹¹

When these two factors, a volcanic dust veil and the ENSO effect, coincide, catastrophes are likely to ensue.¹² Tree-ring and ice core data indicate that a cooling of summer temperatures occurred during the late 1250s and early 1260s, probably due to volcanic activity.¹³ This was concurrent with a strong warm ENSO event in the Indo-Pacific Basin in 1230, causing heavy rainfall and ensuing droughts in southeastern China.¹⁴

2. Disastrous situations in Hangzhou 杭州

Observations of anomalies on a local and regional level were also recorded in historical textual sources. Local and provincial gazetteers as well as the chapters on the Five Elements (*wuxing* 五行) in the dynastic histories list excessive rainfall (*dayu* 大雨) and severe flooding or inundation (*dashui* 大水) and specify extraordinary climatic phenomena, such as severe droughts

⁷ ATWELL 2001, pp. 37–39 with Appendix D.

⁸ ATWELL 2001, p. 36.

⁹ ATWELL 2001, pp. 39–40.

¹⁰ ATWELL 2001, p. 40.

¹¹ Y. DING: *Monsoons over China*. Dordrecht/Boston/London 1994, p. 298.

¹² ATWELL 2001, pp. 40–41.

¹³ ATWELL 2001, p. 48.

¹⁴ ATWELL 2001, pp. 42–43.

(*dahan* 大旱), frost, snow, or hail. Reports on locusts, poor harvests, famines, even cannibalism, epidemics, and last but not least invocations for rain or sunshine may also be interpreted as indicators of climatic anomalies.¹⁵

It was thanks to these and other indicators that in 1972 the pioneer K. ZHU (ZHU KEZHEN/CHU COCHING 竺可楨, 1890–1974) reconstructed variations in the historical climate of China.¹⁶ His other indicators were based on observations as documented in poems and other literary material talking about the flowering of trees and shrubs.¹⁷ ZHU's research results show that in the Tang 唐 and early Yuan 元 periods, the climate had become warmer, whereas average temperatures sharply dropped in the twelfth century.¹⁸

Textual evidence for Hangzhou shows that in 998, Hangzhou was struck by a drought.¹⁹ In 1035, inundations ensued after heavy rainfall.²⁰ In 1064, flooding was reported.²¹ In 1072, a severe drought occurred,²² followed by flooding in 1091 and 1095.²³ In 1132, heavy rainfall with hail was reported.²⁴ Again in 1160, 1162, 1167, 1176, and 1194, inundations followed after disastrous monsoon rains.²⁵ In 1210, inundations caused the West Lake (Xihu 西湖) to overflow.²⁶ There were again reports on flooding in 1213, 1216, 1218–

¹⁵ For the History of the Song (*Song shi* 宋史), compiled by the Mongolian TOGHTO (Tuo Tuo 脫脫) and staff in 1345, the edition of the Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 in Beijing of 1977 was used.

¹⁶ R. B. MARKS: *China: Its Environment and History*. Lanham etc. 2012, pp. 20–21.

¹⁷ K. ZHU: "Zhongguo jin wuqian lai qihou bianqian de chubu yanjiu 中國近五千年來氣候變遷的初步研究 [A Preliminary Study on the Climatic Fluctuations during the Last 5,000 Years in China]." In: *Kaogu xuebao* 1972, 1, pp. 15–38, here pp. 23–24.

¹⁸ ZHU 1972, pp. 22–26; M. DOMRÖS/G. PENG: *The Climate of China*. Berlin etc. 1988, pp. 132–133.

¹⁹ "Shang Tianzhu Linggan Guanyin si 上天竺靈感觀音寺." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳臨安志 (1273), j. 80, p. 14b, l. 5. There was a remission of tax because of drought in 999 ("Zhaoling 詔令." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 40, p. 4b, l. 10, 10a–b).

²⁰ "Shui 水", *shang* 上, "Wuxing 五行", j. 1, *shang* 上. In: *Song shi* 宋史, j. 61, p. 1326, l. 7.

²¹ "Shui", *shang* 上, "Wuxing", j. 1, *shang* 上. In: *Song shi*, j. 61, p. 1327, l. 6.

²² LU YUE 盧鉞: "Xianchun zhongxiu jing ji 咸淳重修井記." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 33, p. 8b, l. 1a; "Liujiing 六井." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 33, p. 3a, l. 4; SU SHI 蘇軾: "Liujiing ji 六井記." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 33, p. 7b, l. 1b.

²³ "Junshi ji 郡事記", *xia* 下. In: *Wanli Hangzhou fuzhi* 萬曆杭州府志, j. 4 p. 11b, l. 6, refers to *Xu Gangmu* 續綱目 (for 1091); CHEN XUAN 陳軒: "Shang Linggan Guanyin yuan zou 上天竺靈感觀音院奏." In: [SHI] GUANGBIN 釋廣賓 (comp., Ming 明): *Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu jiangsi zhi* 杭州上天竺講寺志 (ed. 1897, repr. Taiwan: Minwen shuju, 1980), j. 2, p. 1a, l. 7a–b (for 1095).

²⁴ "Shui", *xia* 下, "Wuxing", j. 1, *xia* 下. In: *Song shi*, j. 62, p. 1347, l. 9.

²⁵ "Shui", *shang* 上, "Wuxing", j. 1, *shang* 上. In: *Song shi*, j. 61, p. 1330, l. 7–8 (for 1160), l. 10 (for 1162), p. 1331, l. 1 (for 1167), p. 1331, l. 13–15 (for 1176), p. 1335, l. 5–6 (for 1194).

²⁶ "Shui", *shang* 上, "Wuxing", j. 1, *shang* 上. In: *Song shi*, j. 61, p. 1336, l. 8–10.

1219, and 1223.²⁷ In 1240, Hangzhou was struck by a severe drought and a plague of locusts.²⁸ In 1247, there was a drought so severe that even the West Lake dried up.²⁹ Inundations occurred again in 1274.³⁰ In comparison to the Northern Song period, there seems to be an increase in the number of reported incidents for the Southern Song period. This could also be due to the sharper focus of the administration on Lin'an fu as the empire's capital.

3. Dragons as creatures considered responsible for rain and droughts

According to common belief, it was the dragons that were thought to be responsible for droughts and flooding. Dragons not only roamed the subterranean waters, flowing or stagnant, but were also in control over the rain.³¹ Consequently, the water from a well or pool corresponded to the water from rain clouds. When the dragon of a well was invoked, rain would come from the clouds and not from the well in the first place.³² Dragon-pools in grotto-caves or in the mountains were the preferred sites to generate rainfall.³³

Since the arrival of Buddhism in China, the Indian concept of male and female "snake demons" or "cobra demons" (Skt. *nāga*, resp. *nāgī/nāgīnī*) with the "king of snake demons" (Skt. *nāgarāja*) as their ruler had come to be adopted.³⁵ Only by the 8th century had a specific cult of dragon deities (*long* 龍) and dragon kings (*longwang* 龍王) developed and taken precedence from the Tang dynasty onward. The dragon kings were understood to be disciples of Buddha and had pledged allegiance to him, responding to prayers and

²⁷ "Shui", *shang*, "Wuxing", j. 1, *shang*. In: *Song shi*, j. 61, p. 1336, l. 12–15 (for 1213, 1216), p. 1337, l. 7 (for 1223), "Mu 木", "Wuxing", j. 3. In: *Song shi*, j. 65, p. 1426 (1219), l. 6–9 (for 1216, 1218, 1219, 1223).

²⁸ "Lizong ji 理宗紀", j. 2. In: *Song shi*, j. 42, p. 820, l. 7.

²⁹ "Xihu 西湖." In: *Chunyou Lin'an zhi* 淳祐臨安志 (1250), j. 10, p. 13b, l. 5; "Xihu 西湖." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 32, p. 6a, l. 10.

³⁰ "Shui", *shang*, "Wuxing", j. 1, *shang*. In: *Song shi*, j. 61, p. 1338, l. 6.

³¹ M. SOYMIÉ: *Sources et sourciers en Chine*. Paris 1961 (Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise, N.S. 7,1), pp. 3–4.

³² R. DES ROTOURS: "Le Culte de Cinq Dragons sous la Dynastie des T'ang (618–907)." In: *Melanges de Sinologie offerts à Monsieur Paul Demeiéville*. 2 vols. Paris 1966 (Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises 20), vol. 1, pp. 261–280, here p. 263; SOYMIÉ 1961, p. 39.

³³ "Shangqing yufu wulei dafa yushu lingwen 上清玉府五雷大法玉樞靈文." In: *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 (*Da Ming Daozang jing* 大明道藏經/*Zhengtong daoza* 正統道藏, comp. 1444–1445, ed. Taibei 1977, no 1220), j. 56, p. 21a–b, translated by REITER 2007, p. 93.

³⁴ Abridged for "Sanskṛt".

³⁵ DES ROTOURS 1966, p. 263; CAPITANIO 2008, pp. 181–182.

producing rain so as to create karmic merit.³⁶ This notion had been an integral constituent of the influential “Great Cloud *sūtra*” (*Mahāmeghasūtra*) ever since it was first translated into Chinese at the end of the 6th century to be used in rainmaking ceremonies by Buddhist monks long thereafter.³⁷ Other scriptures such as, for example, the “Collection of *dhāraṇī sūtras* Spoken by the Buddha” (*Fo shuo tuoluoni ji jing* 佛說陀羅尼集經), which was translated and compiled around the year 654, dictate to go to a pool or spring where dragons reside and to perform a rainmaking ritual.³⁸

The fact that the belief in dragons was wide-spread during the Song dynasty becomes evident in the “Report on the Dragon’s Well”. That report was written in 1079 by QIN GUAN 秦觀 (1049–1100), who was a favorite disciple and travel companion of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101)³⁹. The Dragon’s Well (Longjing 龍井) was located close to the Upper India Monastery (Shang Tianzhu si 上天竺寺)⁴⁰ in the mountains west of Hangzhou’s West Lake:

By its old name the Dragon’s Well (Longjing 龍井) was called ‘Dragon’s Pool’ (Longhong 龍泓). [...] It is located on the Windy Bamboo Range (Fenghuang ling 鳳凰嶺)⁴¹ west of West Lake (Xihu 西湖) and north of Zhe River (Zhejiang 浙江). [...] Whenever rain is prayed for (*daoyu* 禱雨) during a year’s drought (*ban* 旱) in other temples (*ci* 祠) without success, [rain] is prayed for (*dao* 禱) here, as [it is here that] prayers (*dao*) [for rain] will be answered (*ying* 應) immediately. According to the tradition of the Elders, it is thought that a dragon (*long* 龍) resides here (i. e. in the Dragon’s Well). [...] That the virtue (*de* 德)

³⁶ CAPITANIO 2008, p. 149. Still during the Tang 唐 dynasty, the Buddhist concept of dragon kings (*longwang* 龍王) came to be incorporated into the Daoist rainmaking tradition leading to what might be termed a hybridization of ritual texts (CAPITANIO 2008, p. 233).

³⁷ The “Great Cloud *sūtra*” was translated by JÑĀNAGUPTA 闍那崛多 in 557–581 and again in 589–618. In 585 it was also translated by NARENDRAŚĀS 那連提那舍 as “Great Cloud Wheel *sūtra* for asking rain” (*Dayun lun qingyu jing* 大雲輪請雨經, T. no 991), and in the 8th century by AMOGHAVAJRA (BUKONG JINGANG 不空金剛, 705–774) with the same title (T. no 989) (M. W. DE VISSER: *The Dragon in China and Japan*. Amsterdam 1913, p. 25; J. J. M. DE GROOT: *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine: Son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque*. Amsterdam 1893 (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde 1,2), repr. Wiesbaden 1967, pp. 148–159; CAPITANIO 2008, p. 121). For more detail see DE VISSER 1913, pp. 26–39. It is interesting to note that during the Tang 唐 dynasty various adaptations from Buddhist rainmaking texts, especially the Great Cloud *sūtra* were adopted in Daoist rainmaking scriptures (CAPITANIO 2008, pp. 189–192).

³⁸ T. no 901, translated by CAPITANIO 2008, pp. 102–104.

³⁹ For further details of Qin Guan’s travel with Su Shi see R. E. STRASSBERG (trans.): *Inscribed Landscapes: Travel Writing from Imperial China*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford 1994, pp. 199–201.

⁴⁰ The more exact rendering would be “Upper Monastery on the India Mountain”. On this mountain there were a Middle and a Lower Monastery, too.

⁴¹ Situated west of Hangzhou’s West Lake (also compare “Fenghuang ling 鳳凰嶺.” In: *Chunyu Lin’an zhi* 淳祐臨安志 (1250), j. 9, p. 8a, l. 1–2; *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, j. 28, p. 7b).

of the Dragon's Well (Longjing 龍井) is extraordinary as regards the *dao* 道⁴², is because it is dwelt in by a spirit-being (*shenwu* 神物). How can one have doubts about it!⁴³

Wells or springs could be activated by a Buddhist monk or Daoist priest. The invocation for a spring to rise spontaneously was effected by butting the soil or rock with a long object or piercing the ground just where the spring was supposed to arise. This sort of magic instrument could be a military "sword" (*jian* 劍), a Daoist priest's gnarled stick, called the "magic staff" (*shenzhang* 神杖), or a Buddhist monk's staff called a "pewter staff" (*xizhang* 錫丈), which was derived from the Indian mendicant's staff (*kehakkhara*), with metal rings to make noise in order to draw attention or chase away animals, or else to repel evil spirits.⁴⁴ Such a wooden or bamboo staff tipped with pewter seems to have functioned as a dowsing rod while "inspecting the ground" (*xiangdi* 相地).⁴⁵ Where "the [staff with the] pewter was planted [in the ground]" (*zhuoxi* 卓錫) or where "the [staff with the] pewter rested" (*zhuxi* 駐錫), it designated a well to provide a future hermitage or monastery with water, as monasteries were built where water from a spring, probably from ground water, or the course of a stream, also subterranean, was available.⁴⁶ According to legend, a well for the water supply of a hermitage or monastery to be built was likely to be discovered when its dragon was invoked. It was Buddhist monks and Daoist priests, specialists in hydrography, who not only with their staffs but also with their invocations, *sūtra* recitation, fasting, or magical practices were able to find a well and make its water gush or to induce the well's dragon to rise and bring rainfall.⁴⁷

In this context, the local gazetteer of Hangzhou relates that on the site of the Dragon's Well (Longjing 龍井), located only about 450 meters from the Upper India Monastery, a dragon's hall (*longci* 龍祠) was erected, called Temple of Showing Grace (Huiji miao 惠濟廟):

Whenever one butts its rock, [the dragon] forms a cloud. Prayers (*dao*) [for rain] will be answered (*ying*) immediately. Therefore a dragon's hall (*longci*)

⁴² QIN GUAN 秦觀, *Huaihaji* 淮海集. Edited by Guji chubanshe 古籍出版社, Shanghai 2000, j. 38, p. 1222, l. 7 has "shi 是" instead of "dao 道".

⁴³ QIN GUAN: "Longjing ji 龍井記." In: *Chunyou Lin'an zhi*, j. 9, p. 9a, l. 10a–b; compare QIN GUAN, *Huaihaji*, j. 38, p. 1221, l. 13–15, p. 1222, l. 6–7; also compare the differing translation by STRASSBERG 1994, p. 201, 202.

⁴⁴ SOYMIÉ 1961, pp. 17, 21–22, 25–26, 37–38; J. KIESCHNICK: *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*. Princeton/Oxford 2003, p. 113 with fig. 7 on p. 114.

⁴⁵ SOYMIÉ 1961, p. 37, pp. 1–2 (mentions the question of ground inspection, but does not go into it).

⁴⁶ SOYMIÉ 1961, pp. 28–29.

⁴⁷ SOYMIÉ 1961, pp. 31, 38.

was built [at the well]. It was called “Temple of Showing Grace” (Huiji miao 惠濟廟).⁴⁸

QIN GUAN 秦觀 (1049–1100) gave a description of the Dragon’s Well (Longjing 龍井) while on a visit to the retired abbot of the Upper India Monastery (Shang Tianzhu si 上天竺寺)⁴⁹. Abbot Yuanjing Biancai 元靜辯才 (1011–1091)⁵⁰, who was a close friend of Su Shi’s 蘇軾 (1037–1101)⁵¹, took Qin Guan round and showed him to the nearby Dragon’s Well (Longjing 龍井) with his bamboo staff:

[...] I payed visit to the Dharma Master (*fashi* 法師) [Yuanjing 元靜 (1011–1091)] in the mountains. The Dharma Master (*fashi*) accompanied me with his bamboo staff (*cezhang* 策杖) up to Windy Bamboo Range (Fenghuang ling) and pointing towards the Dragon’s Well (Longjing) said: “The virtue (*de* 德) of the spring is extraordinary! [...]”.⁵²

At the Dragon’s Well (Longjing), Abbot Yuanjing 元靜 (1011–1091) had a pavilion (*ting* 亭) built and, according to the teachings of the Buddha, went the round about it with his followers, reciting *mantras* that probably belonged to a rainmaking ritual:

⁴⁸ “Longjing 龍井.” In: *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, j. 37, p. 7a, l. 3–4.

⁴⁹ Also known by its original name of Hermitage for Reading Scriptures on the India [Mountain] (Tianzhu kanjing yuan 天竺看經院), situated in the mountains west of Hangzhou’s West Lake.

⁵⁰ Yuanjing 元靜 (1011–1091) who had been granted the title (*hao* 號) “Talented Debater” (Biancai 辯才) together with the Purple Robe (*ziyi* 紫衣) was one of the outstanding Tiantai 天台 monks in Hangzhou at his time. He was installed as abbot of the Upper Monastery on India Monastery (Shang Tianzhu si 上天竺寺) by Prefect Shen Gou 沈遼 (1028–1067, Prefect 1062–1064) in 1062. With his installation the monastery was turned over from the Chan teaching (*Chan jiao* 禪教) to the Tiantai teaching (*Tiantai jiao* 天台教) as Yuanjing 元靜 “asked (*qing* 請) the Court to change the teaching to Chan 禪. On this occasion the hermitage was bestowed (*ci* 賜) the name of ‘Hermitage of the Divinely Responding Guanyin’ (Linggan Guanyin yuan 靈感觀音院).” (*Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, j. 70, p. 12a, l. 9, j. 80, p. 15a, l. 2–3; D.B. STEVENSON: “Protocols of Power: Tz’u-yün Tsun-shi (964–1032) and T’ien-t’ai Lay Buddhist Ritual in the Sung.” In: P.N. GREGORY/D.A. GETZ, Jr (eds): *Buddhism in the Sung*. Honolulu 1999, pp. 340–408, here p. 306; C. HUANG, “Elite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hang-chou: A Convergence of Interest.” In: GREGORY/GETZ 1999, pp. 295–339, here pp. 306–307.

⁵¹ Abbot Yuanjing 元靜 (1011–1091) was often visited by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) during his term in Hangzhou 杭州 by boat and exchanged poems with him. Because of slander he had to give up his post as abbot after nearly seventeen years in 1079 only to be reinstalled later on (for further detail see B. GRANT: *Mount Lu Revisited: Buddhism in Life and Writing of Su Shi*. Honolulu 1994, pp. 69–72).

⁵² QIN GUAN 秦觀: “Longjing ji 龍井記.” In: *Chunyou Lin’an zhi*, j. 9, p. 9a, l. 10a–b; compare QIN GUAN, *Huawai ji*, j. 38, p. 1222, l. 12–13; also compare the differing translation by TRASSBERG 1994, p. 202.

In the second year of the Yuanfeng 元豐 [era] (1079) the Dharma Master (*fashi* 法師) Yuanjing 元靜 (1011–1091) [with the title] “Talented Debater” (Biancai 辯才) withdrew from preaching at the [Upper Monastery] on the India [Mountain] (Tianzhu 天竺) and retired at the Hermitage for the Saints of Long Life (Shousheng yuan 壽聖院)⁵³ on this mountain. The distance from the hermitage (*yuan* 院) to the Dragon’s Well (Longjing) was one *li* 里 (c. 450 meters).

Whenever people in the mountains have business in Qiantang 錢塘, they together with those of the travellers who want to visit the [Hermitage] of the Saints of Long Life (Shousheng 壽聖) take this way [passing] by the side of the [Dragon’s] Well (Jing 井).

Thereupon the Dharma Master (*fashi*) built a pavilion (*ting* 亭) on exactly this site. Furthermore he leads his disciples to go the round (*huan* 環, Skt. *pradakṣina*) according to the teachings (*fa* 法, Skt. *dharma*) of the Buddha (Futu 浮屠) and recites *mantras* (*zhou* 咒) for it (i.e. the dragon) so that the so-called dragon is quieted.⁵⁴

4. Prayers to Dragons and Other Spirits by Local Administrators

Dragons, however, were subject to the will of Heaven. Heaven, with a dragon as its agent, accorded water sources only to exceptional personalities with beneficiary motives for communities in emergency situations. Exceptional personalities, such as military commissioners and local prefects or even the emperor, had the power to compel the dragon spirits and the Earth Gods and make them respond to their invocations.⁵⁵ In 1269, for example, Qian Yueyou 潛說友 (c. 1200–1280), Military Commissioner and Prefect of Hangzhou during the years 1268–1271, was successful in his rain prayers. He performed them at a swamp, obviously a dragon’s abode:

In the seventh month of the fifth year of the Xianchun 咸淳 [era] (1269) the Military Commissioner (Anfu [shi] 安撫使⁵⁶) [Qian Yueyou 潛說友] prayed (*dao*) [for rain] at Deep Waters [like a Monk’s Begging Bowl] ([Bomeng] tan

⁵³ Its former name “Hermitage for Reciting *sūtras* as Retribution for the State (Baoguo kanjing yuan 報國看經院) was changed into “Hermitage for the Saints of Long Life” (Shousheng yuan 壽聖院) during the Xining 熙寧 era (1068–1078), shortly before Abbot Yuanjing 元靜 (1011–1091) moved there in 1079 for retirement (“Longjing yan’en yangqing yuan 龍井延恩衍慶院.” In: *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, j. 80, p. 18a, l. 1, 3).

⁵⁴ QIN GUAN 秦觀: “Longjing ji 龍井記.” In: *Chunyou Lin’an zhi*, j. 9, p. 9a, l. 10b–p. 9b, l. 2b; compare QIN GUAN, *Huaihai ji*, j. 38, p. 1222, l. 8–10; also compare the differing translation by STRASSBERG 1994, p. 202.

⁵⁵ SOYMIÉ 1961, pp. 46–47, 48–49; for the Earth God see S. EBNER VON ESCHENBACH: “Trees of Life and Trees of Death in China: The Magical Quality of Trees in a Deforested Country.” In: ZDMG 152 (2002), pp. 371–394.

⁵⁶ C. O. HUCKER: *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford, California 1985, no 17.



鉢盂⁵⁷) because of long lasting fair weather (*qing* 晴). As soon as he felt thin rain soaking his clothes, the sweet running [water] turned into heavy pouring [rain] in an instant.⁵⁸

M. SOYMIÉ has an explanation why exceptional personalities were competent to invoke the dragon for rain:

[Les chefs militaires, empereurs, généraux, préfets, etc.] ne sont pas non plus des magiciens et on ne peut les suspecter d'aucun pouvoir spécial et occulte sur les eaux souterraines ou les dragons et les dieux du sol. Ils ne possèdent pas de recette magique. Ils ont pourtant un pouvoir qui semblerait provenir de leur situation sociale, de la force de leur caractère et de l'urgence et de l'intérêt de leur besoin. Ce sont des hommes ayant du crédit auprès du Ciel et qui peuvent l'obliger quand ils le veulent avec assez de force, à leur accorder le pouvoir de faire paraître de l'eau pour sauver ou faciliter leur entreprise d'intérêt supérieur.⁵⁹

Prayers for rain or a clear sky as performed by officials did not make use of any magical techniques and therefore may have differed considerably from rainmaking prayers as were offered by Buddhist monks or Daoist priests.

In the Song dynasty, Daoist priests (*daoshi* 道士) like Lin Lingsu 林靈素 (1076–1120) and Wang Wenqing 王文卿 (1093–1153), who were operating at the court of Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1126), were specialized in so-called Thunder Magic (*leifa* 雷法 or *wulei fa* 五雷法), which comprises a wide range of exorcist rituals for fight against excessive rain and droughts as well as other calamities.⁶⁰ While implementing Thunder Magic rituals, Daoist priests concentrated on the inner potential of their bodies, as they were thought to be connected to the stellar constellations in order to evoke or ban the rain deities, as revealed by F. C. REITER.⁶¹ Generally, the rituals of Thunder Magic were not meant to be collectively performed with the local people participating therein but as personal ritual and in secrecy.⁶²

By contrast, Buddhist rainmaking contained Indian, even Vedic practices, such as creating a *maṇḍala*, offering a fire sacrifice (*homa*), burning incense, offering honey, yoghurt, and the like, using *mantras*, chanting *dhāraṇīs*, and reciting *sūtras*. As was unveiled by J. CAPITANIO, Buddhist rainmaking ceremonies were likely to be addressed to *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara, who was

⁵⁷ “Nan Gaofeng Longwang ci 南高峰龍王祠.” In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 71, p. 14b, l. 3; *bomeng* 鉢盂 is derived from Skt. *pātra*, the monk's begging bowl.

⁵⁸ “Nan Gaofeng Longwang ci.” In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 71, p. 14b, l. 4–5.

⁵⁹ SOYMIÉ 1961, p. 49.

⁶⁰ REITER 2007a, p. 184; for the development of Thunder Magic (*leifa* 雷法 or *wulei fa* 五雷法) see REITER 2007, pp. 2–4.

⁶¹ REITER 2007a, pp. 183–200.

⁶² REITER 2007, p. 4.

supposed to summon the dragon kings (*longwang* 龍王).⁶³ Although foreign rituals for rainmaking were thought to be most efficacious, Buddhists tended to adopt native Chinese methods such as observing fasting, constructing an altar, fashioning dragon images, and chanting invocations.⁶⁴ Indian rainmaking rituals were performed at the courts of the Tang emperors Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756), Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762), and Daozong 代宗 (r. 763–779) by the renowned foreign monk Amoghavajra (Bukong jingang 不空金剛, 705–774), who also preached Buddhism as the protector religion of the state at the same time.⁶⁵

As D. SUTTON disclosed, the Song 宋 manual *Prayers for Rain and Snow* instructing officials how to perform rituals for the dragon spirits does not exist anymore.⁶⁶ There are, however, some hints to rituals in the Wanli 萬曆 edition of the local gazetteer of Hangzhou of 1579 that might in some way be associated to Song traditions. The Wanli gazetteer advises that the City God (Chenghuang 城隍) shall first and foremost be addressed by the prefect and that in urgent cases other spirits shall be included in the prayers. And what is more, the prefect was instructed to engage the services of Buddhist monks, Daoist priests, or even magicians, if necessary.⁶⁷ Therefore it cannot

⁶³ For the canonical Buddhist texts, esp. the ritual text “*sūtra of the mantra of the Supernatural Transformations of the Unerring Lasso [of Avalokiteśvara]*” (*Bukong luosuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羅索神變真言經, T. no 1092), translated by BODHIRUCI (+ 727) containing instructions for rainmaking rituals addressed to *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara, the “Ritual Manual of the Practice of Yogic Method of the Superlative [*Dhāraṇī*] of the Buddha’s Crown” (*Zunsheng fo dingxiu yujia fa guiyi* 尊勝佛頂脩瑜伽法軌儀, T. no 973), translated by ŚUBHĀKARASIMHA (SHANWUWEI 善無畏, 637–735), and the “Altar Methods for Praying for Rain of the Great Cloud *sūtra* (*Dayun jing qiyu tanfa* 大雲經祈雨壇法, T. no 990, p. 492c, l. 22–p. 493a, l. 29) translated by AMOGHAVAJRA (BUKONG JINGANG 不空金剛, 705–774) see CAPITANIO 2008, pp. 101–123.

⁶⁴ CAPITANIO 2008, pp. 147–148.

⁶⁵ CAPITANIO 2008, pp. 132, 146–147.

⁶⁶ D. SUTTON: “Prefect Feng and the Yangzhou Drought of 1490: A Ming Social Crisis and the Rewards of Sincerity.” In: *Minsu quyī* 民俗曲藝 (*Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore*) 143.3 (March 2004), pp. 19–48, here note 2 on p. 15.

⁶⁷ “The Rituals (*li* 禮) for Requesting (*qi* 祈) and Praying (*dao* 禱): Generally, during droughts (*ban* 旱) or heavy rains (*lao* 潦) the Prefect (Zhifu 知府) should leads his staff (*liaoshu* 僚屬) to attend (*cong* 從) the boundaries (*fannie* 藩臬) [of the prefectural city] [in order] to pray (*dao*) to the City God (Chenghuang 城隍). [...] If [prayers] shall be more intense, it is everywhere to the multitude of spirits (*qunshen* 群神) that he should pray (*dao*). In order to pray (*dao*) [with the aid of] rituals (*li* 禮) with sacrificial animals (*sheng* 牲) or to reciprocate thanks (*baoxie* 報謝), he may also engage among the winged [Daoist priests] (*yuliu* 羽流), black-robed [Buddhist monks] or magicians (*wuxi* 巫覡) those who erect an altar (*tan* 壇) and pray (*dao*) to them (i. e. the spirits). That [prayers] are answered (*yan* 驗) or not, constantly happens by halves, but does not [correspond] to what [priests or monks] are instructed [by the Prefect].” (*Wanli Hangzhou fuzhi*, j. 52, p. 13b, l. 2–5). As in the Ming 明 dynasty there were no detailed guidelines for officials as to when and how

be ruled out that in the Song dynasty local officials involved Buddhist monks or Daoist priests in the performance of rituals in order to support them in their rain prayers. This might have happened when local administrators had failed in their endeavors and came to the conclusion that Buddhist or Daoist practices might be more effective, as J. CAPITANIO stated when he referred to a similar situation in the Tang dynasty:

In fact [...] government officials often took a very practical approach to rain-making, exhausting all of the possible methods available, regardless of religious affiliation until rain was obtained.⁶⁸

Analyzing some invocations composed by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101)

When he held office as Prefect of Hangzhou in the years 1089–1091⁶⁹, SU SHI 蘇軾 (1037–1101) was responsible for prayers for rain and requests for a clear sky. During his term in Hangzhou, SU SHI wrote about twenty-five invocations (*zhuwen* 祝文) in the poetic form of *ci* 詞, containing prayers and thanksgiving for rainfall or sunshine.⁷⁰ A sample of his invocations will be examined below.

In the first example, the invocation takes place at a dragon's hall (*longci* 龍祠). This was probably the dragon's hall (*longci*) built next to the Upper India Monastery at the site of the Dragon's Well (Longjing 龍井).⁷¹ From that it seems quite clear that the "spirits" had to be identified as the "dragon spirits". SU SHI reminds them to perform their duties in the same way as he himself fulfills his duties as an officer. After this more general first part of the invocation follows a second part with the specific request and a concluding standard formula:

perform the rituals, local administrators tended to mobilize Daoist, Buddhist, or shaman practitioners for rain prayers to the City God (SUTTON 2004, p. 15). Nor were there any detailed liturgies for the prescribed annual rainmaking for Qing 清 local officials either (SNYDER-REINKE 2009, pp. 67–68, 152).

⁶⁸ CAPITANIO 2008, p. 148.

⁶⁹ Before he became Prefect of Hangzhou, Su Shi had already been Vice Prefect of Hangzhou in 1071–1073.

⁷⁰ For SU SHI's *ci* poetry compare H. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER: *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur: Die 3000jährige Entwicklung der poetischen, erzählenden und philosophisch-religiösen Literatur Chinas von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Bern/München/Wien 1990, pp. 364–366. The poetic form of a *ci* 詞 was also used by Daoists when they in their function of spiritual officials "exposed a prayer" (*tonci* 投詞) to memorialize to their spiritual emperor ("Shangqing yufu wulei dafa yushu lingwen 上清玉府五雷大法玉樞靈文." In: *Daofa huiyuan* (Da Ming Daozang jing, no 1220), j. 56, p. 27a–b, translated by REITER 2007, p. 100).

⁷¹ Compare "Longjing 龍井." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 37, p. 7a, l. 4.

Invocation (*zhuwen* 祝文) to request for rain (*qiyu* 祈雨) at the dragon's hall (*longci* 龍祠):

The spirits (*shen* 神) are fed by the people [in the way as] I as an officer am fed by the ruler. All think when I care of them, while being fed I must not be put to shame (*kui* 愧). As an officer I take care of agriculture and sericulture, [whereas] the spirits (*shen*) take care of rain and sunshine (*yang* 陽). When there is no agriculture, then there is no [labor] force, but when there is rain, there will be harvest in time.

I call upon you for wind and thunder to assemble them at my office. But if [the rain] were only one spoonful of water, it would be [like] a handbreadth [as compared to] a thousand *li* 里.

May you deign to accept my offerings (*shangxiang* 尚饗)!⁷²

Another example is an invocation addressed to the Spirit of the Earth Altar (Sheshen 社神), i. e. the Earth God, to ask him for rain. The first part has a general statement about this spirit and the baleful influences of the *yin* 陰 energy. In the second part, SU SHI describes the actual situation, warning against the impending failure of the harvest and the ensuing sufferings. The third part contains the request for rainwater in the form of rain or snow, again concluded by a standard formula.

Invocation (*zhuwen*) to pray to the Spirit of the Earth Altar (Sheshen 社神) for rain (*daoyu* 禱雨)

Alas, my Marquis of the Earth Altar (Houshe 侯社), you are relied upon by my people! When I offer sacrifices (*ji* 祭) [to you] at the northern city wall, you will answer (*da* 答) as to the purport of the *yin* 陰 [energy]. [Although] [the *yin* 陰 energy] is opposed (*kang* 亢) by the *yang* 陽 [energy] it does not withdraw from spring to autumn.

When it does not rain until winter there will be worry about the next harvest. Oh dear, as an officer for the people I [have to] watch out reports of sufferings (*binggao* 病告)!

If you granted (*xi* 錫) rain or snow, the people would not dare to report [sufferings] (*bao* 報).

May you deign to accept my offerings (*shangxiang*)!⁷³

Similarly, SU SHI asks for snow in another invocation. In the first part he describes his duty as an officer to look after the water supply. In the second part he complains about the scanty amount of water in spite of his copious offerings. In the third part he urges the spirits to respond to his reinforced offerings:

⁷² SU SHI: "Qiyu longci zhuwen 祈雨龍祠祝文." In: *Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集. Beijing 1992, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1914, l. 8–10.

⁷³ SU SHI: "Daoyu Sheshen zhuwen 禱雨社神祝文." In: *Su Shi wenji*, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1916, l. 3–5.

Invocation (*zhuwen*) to request for snow (*qixue* 祈雪):

When floods (*shui*) and droughts (*han*) occur, I have to beseech (*qiu* 求) [the spirits] immediately, as for an officer this would [otherwise] be a shame (*xiu* 羞). I must not weary to beseech (*qiu*) the spirits (*shen*) for their blessings (*xiu* 休).

In the [year] *yimao* 乙卯 (1075) the snow was only a handbreadth of a *cun* 寸 (c. 2,5 centimeters). When I burnt sacrificial meat (*fan* 燔) with a cartload of firing I was delivered [only] a spoonful of water.

I [will offer] premium meat and excellent wine already as a thanksgiving for [a positive answer to] my request (*qi* 祈). I wish to bring this bestowment (*ci* 賜) to a good end (*zhong* 終) [and get snowfall] of more than a *chi* 尺 (c. 25 centimeters) [sufficient] for a whole year.⁷⁴

In a further invocation, again the first part has a general description of the problems of rain and droughts. In the second part SU SHI emphasizes the urgency of the actual situation, as without rain he would be put to shame because of drought reports. In the third part he beseeches the spirits to grant a good harvest and concludes with a standard formula:

Invocation (*zhuwen*) to pray for rain (*qiyu*) at Wu Mountain (Wushan 吳山)⁷⁵:

Since Hang 杭 has become a country (*bang* 邦) it has been halved by mountains and swamps. Rainfall that lasts ten days, causes sufferings because of flooding (*shui*), [but] when it does not rain for a whole month, this causes sufferings because of drought (*han*). Therefore my entreaties (*qing* 請) regarding flooding (*shui*) and drought (*han*) put the spirits (*shen*) to great inconvenience (*du* 黷).

Today, if I detained my prayers (*dao*) for rain I could not wait longer than a month because of drought reports (*hangao* 旱告)! As an officer I must not be put to shame (*kui* 愧) as the spirits (*shen*) will not weary because of their virtue (*de* 德).

I wish you would bring this bestowment (*ci*) to a good end (*zhong*) [and produce rainfall] so that [the farmers] will be able to reap a [good] harvest.

May you deign to accept my offerings (*shangxiang*)!⁷⁶

In an invocation to the Rain Master (Yushi 雨師), SU SHI again states that the spirits being commissioned by Heaven have to fulfill their duties in the same way officers have to perform their duties, as they were appointed by the ruler. They all have to reach their aim of an abundant harvest and of peace, as otherwise resentment would arise among the people. In the second part SU SHI complains that the year's grain is already used up, so that the farmers themselves have assembled for sacrifices, yet without response. In

⁷⁴ SU SHI: "Qixue zhuwen 祈雪祝文." In: *Su Shi wenji*, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1932, l. 1–3.

⁷⁵ A mountain (or hill) situated within the Hangzhou city wall.

⁷⁶ SU SHI: "Qiyu Wushan zhuwen 祈雨吳山祝文." In: *Su Shi wenji*, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1914, l. 13–p. 1915, l. 1.

the third part SU SHI beseeches Heaven to remind the spirits of their duties. The invocation is concluded by a standard formula:

Invocation (*zhuwen*) to request the Rain Master (Yushi 雨師)⁷⁷ for a clear sky (*qiqing* 祈晴):

Heaven has committed wind and rain, cold and heat to the spirits (*shen*) in the same way as the ruler of men has installed officials and nominated officers so that they may administer the penal system and the government. As the ruler of men by no means does not desire peace among his people, how cannot Heaven also desire the abundance of harvests? When the penal system and the government miss the target, the people will harbor resentment against the officers. When rain and sunshine (*yang*) are untimely, the people, too, cannot act otherwise but offer sacrifices (*wang* 望) to the spirits (*shen*).

Today, excessive rainfall has continued for several months so that the farmers report that [all the grain] is used up (*gaoqiong* 告窮). Whether there is abundance or failure of the harvest is as decisive as morning or evening. Although [the farmers] have marched together and flocked to offer sacrifices (*wang*) [to the spirits], none [of the spirits] was willing to care for an answer (*da* 答).

The reason why Heaven has committed [rain and drought] to the spirits (*shen*) is exactly because the spirits are fed by the people. May you deign to (*shang* 尚) to lead them (i. e. the spirits) to their duties (*zhi* 職) so that [the farmers] will be able to reap a [good] harvest.

May you deign to accept my offerings (*shangxiang*)!⁷⁸

These prayers show that SU SHI, as a local official, had to remind the spirits to attend to their duties parallel to an official, who has to fulfill his duties towards his people. It was the spirits' duty to produce rainfall or counter droughts that he claimed in his function as local administrator. The spirits were commissioned by Heaven and it was the intent of Heaven to grant blessings to the people. SU SHI did not use any magical techniques to coerce or chastise the spirits but appealed to them in his supplications and expounded the actual emergency situation. And what is more, he did not take any steps until the farming people themselves had assembled and offered sacrifices to the spirits.

As a local administrator, SU SHI was always afraid of emergency situations when farmers reported droughts or famine. These reports could put him to shame, because farmers expected him to take action and bring about a positive result in his prayers. If he did not succeed to get a positive response to his prayers, this would be a shame for him as an officer and people would

⁷⁷ For the Rain Master (Yushi 雨師), an anthropomorphized weather spirit see DE VISSER 1913, pp. 109, 111; also compare CAPITANIO 2008, pp. 57–60, 204, 234.

⁷⁸ SU SHI: "Qiqing Yushi zhuwen 祈晴雨師祝文." In: *Su Shi wenji*, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1915, l. 5–9.

criticize him. Distressing reports were likely to be brought before the superior authorities, and superior authorities would blame him for emergency situations he was not able to cope with, especially when his prayers had failed.⁷⁹

To avoid failure, SU SHI did not only address the dragon spirits (*longshen* 龍神) but also other spirits (*shen*), not only the Ruler of the Millet (Houji 后稷)⁸⁰, the Spirit of Earth Altar (Sheshen 社神)⁸¹, or the Rain Master (Yushi 雨師),⁸² but also the Wind Earl (Fengbo 風伯),⁸³ the Ruler of the Earth (Houtu 后土),⁸⁴ and the Spirit of the Millet (Jishen 稷神)⁸⁵. He chose the northern city wall or the Wu Mountain (Wushan 吳山) as the site for his invocations, a hill inside the city walls of Hangzhou where a number of Daoist temples were located, and there he burned sacrificial meat.⁸⁶ This might be evidence that he possibly had some Daoist ideas in mind, all the more as he argues that the hardship arose due to the *yin* 陰 energy overtaking the *yang* 陽 energy.⁸⁷ In order to support his prayers, he might have engaged Daoist priests as well.

5. Dragon spirits and Buddhism—Guanyin 觀音 as a rain deity

Yet when droughts or excessive rainfall struck Hangzhou, prefects also sought the assistance of Buddhist monks to support them in their invocations for rain or the stoppage of rain. As mentioned above, *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara was in command of the dragon kings (*longwang* 龍王) and therefore was often addressed in Buddhist rainmaking ceremonies. At the Hermitage for Reading Scriptures on the India [Mountain] (Tianzhu kanji

⁷⁹ This also holds true for the Qing 清 dynasty as was revealed by SNYDER-REINKE (2009, pp. 151, 155, 159–160).

⁸⁰ SU SHI: “Daoyu Houji zhuwen 禱雨后稷祝文.” In: *Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1916, l. 12–14.

⁸¹ SU SHI: “Daoyu Sheshen zhuwen 禱雨社神祝文.” In: *Su Shi wenji*, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1916, l. 3–5.

⁸² SU SHI: “Qiqing Yushi zhuwen 祈晴雨師祝文.” In: *Su Shi wenji*, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1915, l. 5–9.

⁸³ SU SHI: “Qiqing Fengbo zhuwen 祈晴風伯祝文.” In: *Su Shi wenji*, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1915, l. 2–4.

⁸⁴ SU SHI: “Daoyu Houtu zhuwen 禱雨后土祝文.” In: *Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1916, l. 6–8.

⁸⁵ SU SHI: “Daoyu Jishen zhuwen 禱雨稷神祝文.” In: *Su Shi wenji* 蘇軾文集, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1916, l. 9–11.

⁸⁶ For the Daoist temples situated on Wu Mountain (Wushan 吳山) see *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* (*Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j.22, p. 4b, l. 8–9, p. 5a, l. 1–2, j.75, pp. 7b–8b).

⁸⁷ For the balancing of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 energies in Daoist rainmaking compare e.g. CAPITANIO 2008, p. 240.

yuan 天竺看經院), the cult of *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin 觀音)⁸⁸ became prominent. It is important to note that at this hermitage Guanyin had been established as the patron deity of the Kingdom of Wu Yue 吳越 (907–978).⁸⁹ Since about 998, the then-renamed Hermitage of the Divinely Responding Guanyin (Linggan Guanyin yuan 靈感觀音院) had been noted for Guanyin's responsiveness to invocations for rain. She was addressed especially for rain by local officials and even the emperor.⁹⁰

It was during a drought in the same year of 998 that lasted five months when Zhang Quhua 張去華 (938–1006)⁹¹, Prefect of the years 997–999, sought help from the Upper India Monastery. From there he attended a procession of the image of Guanyin to the Brahma Heaven Monastery (Fantian si 梵天寺) in the southern part of Hangzhou to beseech Guanyin for rain. As the invocations to Guanyin for rain were responded to, it was from then on that this ritual became institutionalized by the government to be practiced as a government ritual when floods or droughts occurred.⁹²

In the first year of the Xianping 咸平 [era] (998) [Zhang Quhua] became Super-vising Secretary (Jishizhong 給事中⁹³) and Prefect (Shou 守) of Hang 杭. As from the first till the fifth month it did not rain,⁹⁴ he personally welcomed the

⁸⁸ The original name of this *bodhisattva* probably was Guangshiyin 光世音, translated from Skt. Abhalokaśvara, "Sound-Illuminator of the World" (C. Yü: *Kuan-yin: The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara*. New York 2001, p. 37, cites *Zheng fabua jing* 正法華經 [T. no 263, p. 129a], translated by Dharmarakṣa in 286).

⁸⁹ From the 10th century onward Guanyin 觀音 was feminized as a white-robed woman. This feminization took place in texts, *sutras*, legends and miracle tales that were outside the canonical tradition as well as in visual representations in Hangzhou (Yü 2001, pp. 182–184). Legend has that Qian Liu 錢鏐 (851–932) dreamt of Guanyin as the patron deity of his future Kingdom of Wu Yue 吳越 (907–978) (Yü 2001, p. 182, refers to *Hangzhou ShangTianzhu jiangsi zhi*, p. 31).

⁹⁰ B. TER HAAR: "Buddhist-inspired Options: Aspects of Lay Religious Life in the Lower Yangzi from 1100 until 1340." In: TP 87 (2001), pp. 92–152, here p. 108, cites *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 80, pp. 13a–22a and ZHIPAN 志磐, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀. In: T. no 2035, pp. 424b, 425b, 427b, 432c.

⁹¹ He was member of the Pure Conduct Society (Jingxing she 淨行社), founded by the Buddhist monk Shengchang 省常 (959–1020) at Zhaoqing Monastery (Zhaoqing si 昭慶寺) on West Lake (HUANG 1999, p. 300).

⁹² HUANG 1999, p. 305; Yü 2001, pp. 361–362, refers to *Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 3, p. 40 (unfortunately the page number of this reference seems to be not correct); for the Brahma Heaven Monastery (Fantian si) see "Fantian si 梵天寺." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 76, p. 9b, l. 10–p. 10a, l. 2.

⁹³ HUCKER 1985, no 587,2.

⁹⁴ The textual parallel in *Hangzhou ShangTianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 1, p. 5a, l. 10b has the supplementary phrase "[...] he prayed (*dao* 禱) and offered sacrifices (*wang* 望) everywhere. When the drought (*han* 旱) had lasted for a long time [...]"

Great Being (*dashi* 大士, Skt. *mahāsattva*, i.e. Guanyin 觀音) in a procession (*ying* 迎) to the Brahma Heaven Monastery (Fantian si 梵天寺)⁹⁵ to pray (*dao*) to her [for rain]. As sweet rain poured down subsequently⁹⁶ he therefore made it (i.e. the procession) a [regular] service of blessings (*fushi* 福事).⁹⁷

Because of a drought (*han*) at the beginning of the Xianping 咸平 [era] (998) Prefect (Junshou 郡守⁹⁸) Zhang Quhua 張去華 (938–1006) welcomed the Great Being (*dashi*, Skt. *mahāsattva*) in a procession (*ying*) to the Brahma Heaven Monastery (Fantian si 梵天寺) to offer (*zhi* 致) prayers (*dao*). On this day there was rain. From then on, when water was drying up (*han*), they always visited [the monastery].⁹⁹

When a severe drought struck Hangzhou in 1072, people recited Buddhist scriptures:

Only at that time [during the severe drought of 1072] those who [wanted to] draw (*ji* 汲) [water], all recited [*sūtra*] to the Buddha (*song* 誦 Fo 誦佛) and invoked (*zhu* 祝) the Lord (*gong* 公).¹⁰⁰

In a petition to the Court in 1095, CHEN XUAN 陳軒¹⁰¹, Prefect of Hangzhou of the years 1094–1096, reported that his and his staff's invocations at the image of Guanyin stopped heavy rainfall:

When I took my office last year (1094), people were just suffering from repeated famines (*jianji* 薦饑).

This year (1095), it has been raining from spring to summer for several months without stopping. After [the people] of Wuxing 吳興¹⁰² had been suffering (*ku* 苦) from drought (*han* 旱)¹⁰³ for years, inundation calamities (*shuizai* 水災) occurred. The Elders said: “We are in worry day and night.”

⁹⁵ The textual parallel in *Hangzhou ShangTianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 1, p. 5b, l. 1a has the supplementary phrase “[...] and led his fellow officials [...]”.

⁹⁶ The textual parallel in *Hangzhou ShangTianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 1, p. 5a, l. 10b has the supplementary phrase “[...] and within the boundaries [of the prefecture] rain poured down sufficiently.”

⁹⁷ “Xinshi 信施,” “Song Zhang Quhua 宋張去華.” In: *Hangzhou ShangTianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 12, p. 4a, l. 1a–2b; also compare the textual parallel in *Hangzhou ShangTianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 1, p. 5a, l. 10a–p. 5b, l. 1b.

⁹⁸ HUCKER 1985, no 1785, 2.

⁹⁹ “Shang Tianzhu Linggan Guanyin si 上天竺靈感觀音寺.” In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 80, p. 14b, l. 5–6.

¹⁰⁰ SU SHI 蘇軾: “Liujing ji 六井記.” In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 33, p. 7b, l. 3a.

¹⁰¹ *jinshi* 進士 1063; he served as Prefect of Hangzhou a second term in the years 1101–1102.

¹⁰² Historicizing name for Lin'an 臨安 prefecture.

¹⁰³ The textual parallel “Bao Qinzhi (sic!) dai Chen Xuan zhuan Linggan Guanyin bei 鮑欽止代陳軒撰靈感觀音碑.” In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 80, p. 16b, l. 9a–p. 17a, l. 1a has “bei 卑” instead of “han 旱” (p. 16b, l. 9b).

Thus I led my staff to personally pray (*dao*) at the foot of the image [of Guanyin]. [At that time], rain poured down the mountain [so that] our clothes and caps were soaked. The drains burst and destroyed the paths. The attendants had to wade [through flooded streets to return to government offices].

As soon as I had returned [to my office], the sky had cleared up, not even small clouds had arisen, the sun stood right above [me] and the gentle breeze was agreeable.¹⁰⁴

In 1126, a Prefect of Hangzhou whose name is not given led a procession to request Guanyin for rain as the chronicle of the Upper India Monastery relates:

In the beginning of the Jingkan 靖康 [era] (1126) the Prefect (Jun[shou] 郡守)¹⁰⁵ welcomed the Great Being (*dashi*, Skt. *mahāsattva*) in a procession (*ying*) to pray [to her] for rain (*daoyu*) at the Monastery of the Grace of the Dharma (Fahui si 法惠寺)^{106 107}

According to an entry in the monastic chronicle, Guanyin efficiently responded to further invocations for rain in the years 1000 and 1135 and to invocations against flooding in the years 972 and 1065.¹⁰⁸

Analyzing invocations by Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) addressed to Guanyin 觀音

When he held office as Prefect of Hangzhou in the years 1089–1091, SU SHI 蘇軾 (1037–1101) also composed an invocation to Guanyin 觀音. It seems he wrote an exclusive invocation in which he beseeched her for a clear sky, probably written after the disastrous inundations of 1091. In the first part of this invocation, he gives a description of the general situation and his duties as an administrator. In the second part he refers to the actual problem of excessive rainfall causing people to leave their homes. The third part contains the request beseeching Guanyin for help:

¹⁰⁴ CHEN XUAN 陳軒: “Shang Linggan Guanyin yuan zou 上靈感觀音院奏.” In: *Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 2, p. 1a, l. 6b–8b; textual parallels are to be found in “Bao Qinzhi (sic!) dai Chen Xuan zhuan Linggan Guanyin bei 鮑欽止代陳軒撰靈感觀音碑.” In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 80, p. 16b, l. 9a–p. 17a, l. 1a and in “Song Bao Qinzhen dai Junshou Chen Xuan zhuan Linggan Guanyin bei 宋鮑欽正代郡守陳軒撰靈感觀音碑.” In: *Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 2, p. 3a, l. 1a–3a; compare the slightly differing translation by HUANG 1999, pp. 309–310.

¹⁰⁵ In the year 1126 there was more than one prefect who held office.

¹⁰⁶ Location unknown.

¹⁰⁷ “Shang Tianzhu Linggan Guanyin si 上天竺靈感觀音寺.” In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 80, p. 15b, l. 4–5.

¹⁰⁸ *Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 1, p. 5a, l. 4–p. 6a, l. 2b.

Invocation (*zhuwen*) to pray (*dao*) to Guanyin 觀音 requesting for a clear sky (*qiqing* 祈晴)¹⁰⁹:

In the three Wus 吳 (San Wu 三吳)¹¹⁰ calamities (*zai* 災) have been lasting for years without that [people] could reap a harvest. Regarding my petition (*chen* 陳) [of 1090] that the granaries may be [filled] for the most part, I am still relying on the kindness of the Court. That is that I [had to] take care of the exhausted and emaciated, but I could hardly avoid that they [left their homes and] wandered about (*liu* 流) or died of hunger (*piao* 殍).

Today (i. e. 1091), there has been excessive rainfall for several months and what was harvested in autumn left [the granaries] half empty. For ever will I carry on the worry about the harvest and will be in fear that people might wander about and leave [their homes] (*liuli* 流離).

My great *bodhisattva* (*pusa* 菩薩) (i.e. Guanyin 觀音), may you show compassion [to all] in equal degree: Look at this people as if they were your own children! Turn this rainfall back into sunshine (*yang*) immediately and change into abundance what is deficient in an instant! Although I and others have not gained merit (*de* 德, Skt. *punya*) I call upon you because of these calamities (*zai* 災): Remember that these people have no guilt and are to be¹¹¹ pitied! I wish you would show your compassion to all of them¹¹² [in order] to save them all together and cherish their lives.¹¹³

It is interesting to note that there were no famine relief efforts by the government, so that the crisis might have accumulated with people leaving their homes and roaming the land because of famine.¹¹⁴ In 1090, SU SHI had petitioned to issue ordination certificates (*dudie* 度牒) to be sold to local merchants or families with privately owned stores for rice.¹¹⁵ It was only on the occasion of severe flooding (*dashui* 大水) in 1091 when 500,000 people had died, probably also of starvation, that Emperor Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1086–1100) ordered rice and money to be distributed among the hungry people.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁹ This invocation is also found in the monastic chronicle under the differing title “Song Junshou Su Xueshi Shi dao Tianzhu Dashi qiqing wen 宋郡守蘇學士執禱天竺大士祈晴文.” In: *Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 2, p. 1b, l. 7–10.

¹¹⁰ Historicizing name for three parts of Lin’an 臨安 prefecture.

¹¹¹ Here the monastic chronicle has the variant “*shou* 受” instead of “*ke* 可” (*Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 2, p. 1b, l. 10b).

¹¹² The monastic chronicle has the variant “*ce* 惻” (“pity”) instead of “*shuai* 率” (*Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 2, p. 1b, l. 10b).

¹¹³ SU SHI: “Dao Guanyin qiqing zhuwen 禱觀音祈晴祝文.” In: *Su Shi wenji*, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1930, l. 9–12.

¹¹⁴ Still in the Qing 清 dynasty, displacement of people and ensuing loss of tax revenue were the consequences impending after drought and famine (SNYDER-REINKE 2009, p. 151).

¹¹⁵ R. C. EGAN: *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi*. Cambridge (Massachusetts)/London 1994 (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 39), pp. 112, 114.

¹¹⁶ “Junshi ji, xia.” In: *Wanli Hangzhou fuzhi* 萬曆杭州府志, j. 4 p. 11b, l. 6, refers to *Xu Gangmu* 續綱目.



Obviously Guanyin responded to SU SHI's prayer, because he wrote a second invocation to show his gratitude to Guanyin for stopping the rain and producing fair weather and to praise the karmic merit resulting from that:

Invocation (*zhuwen*) to thank Guanyin for a clear sky (*qing* 晴)¹¹⁷:

People have no steady heart—what do they know about the power of their Emperor [Zhezong 哲宗 (r. 1086–1100)]? When Heaven had produced excessive rainfall I was moved by the Buddha's compassion.

May the light of your wisdom (*huiguang* 慧光) spread [so that] the foul air of the *yin* 陰 [energy] will be dispersed (*xiaofu* 消復). May you save the farmers' work regarding the [irrigation] ditches [leading from West Lake to their fields] and be generous towards my duties (*ze* 責) as an officer regarding my memorandum tablet (*jianshu* 簡書) [of 1090].

I and others jointly felt your grace that we cannot reciprocate (*bao* 報) and wish to praise your merit (*de* 德, Skt. *puṇya*) that is difficult [for us] to attain as a reputation (*nanming* 難名). May our respect quickly reach your Brahma-Hall (*fanyu* 梵宇). May you accept our (*shao* 少) offerings (*jian* 薦) of sincere [sacrifices] (*cheng* 誠).¹¹⁸

6. Upgrade and control of temples

When Guanyin, who held control over Heaven and the dragon spirits, or the dragon spirits themselves responded to prayers with frequency, it meant that their temples were to be bestowed an official rank (*feng* 封) or upgraded in their ranking (*leifeng* 累封), and that dilapidated temples were to be rebuilt. The plaque (*e* 額) with the official title conferred upon them was probably meant to integrate the temple into the state administration, exempting it from tax liability and—in the case of dragon temples—to ban the dragons. A sample from the local gazetteer will give evidence for upgrades:

The Temple of Good Kindness (Jiaze miao 嘉澤廟):

Since old [times] [the temple] is situated two *li* 里 (c. 900 meters) on the outside of the Qiantang City Gate (Qiantang men 錢塘門)¹¹⁹. Its name is derived from the Lord of Dragons (Longjun 龍君) of the Qiantang Lake (Qiantang hu 錢塘湖)¹²⁰. The Qian 錢 family memorialized [to the Emperor] (*biao* 表) asking to

¹¹⁷ This invocation text is also found in the monastic chronicle under the differing title "You xieqing wen 又謝晴文." In: *Hangzhou Shang Tianzhu jiangsi zhi*, j. 2, p. 2a. l. 1–2.

¹¹⁸ SU SHI: "Xie Guanyin qing zhuwen 謝觀音晴祝文." In: *Su Shi wenji*, j. 62, *Qingci*, p. 1930, l. 13–p. 1931, l. 1.

¹¹⁹ Hangzhou's northwestern city gate.

¹²⁰ Another name for the West Lake (Xihu 西湖).

appoint (*feng* 封) him as “Dragon King of Widespread Benefit” (Guangrun Longwang 廣潤龍王).

In our dynasty [the temple] was upgraded (*leifeng* 累封) as “Temple of the Marquis of the Universal Grace of Profound Divinity” (Yuanling puji Hou miao 淵靈濟侯廟), dating from the Datong 大同 [era] (535–546) of the Liang 梁 [dynasty].

When in the fifth year of the Qiandao 乾道 [era] (1169) Military Commissioner (Anfu [shi] 安撫使¹²¹) Zhou Cong’s 周宗 (c. 1115–1175)¹²² prayers for rain (*daoyu*) were answered (*ying*), [the temple] was rebuilt.¹²³

The Temple of the Assembled Divinities” (Huiling miao 會靈廟):

[The temple] is situated on the outside of the Golden Flood City Gate (Yongjin men 湧金門)¹²⁴. This is the [so-called] Temple of the Five Dragon Kings (Wu longwang miao 五龍王廟) on Willow Island (Liuzhou 柳洲)¹²⁵. Its central hall (*zhongdian* 中殿¹²⁶) was temporarily housed at the Monastery of Grace and Brightness (Huimingsi 惠明寺)¹²⁷. When in the sixth year of the Qingyuan 慶元 [era] (1200) prayers for rain (*daoyu*) were answered (*ying*), [the temple] was bestowed (*ci* 賜) a temple plaque (*miao’e* 廟額) calling it “[Temple of] Assembled Divinities” (Huiling 會靈).¹²⁸

The Temple of the Black Dragon King (Heilongwang miao 黑龍王廟):

[The temple] is situated on Chao Mountain (Chaoshan 超山). When during the Jiading 嘉定 [era] (1208–1224) Mr Zhao Zhonghuai 趙忠憲¹²⁹ was Prefect (Zaiyi 宰邑), he prayed for rain (*daoyu*). As [his prayers] were answered (*yan* 驗) frequently he asked (*qing*) the Court to bestow (*ci*) [the temple] with a plaque (*e* 額) as “Pervading Divinity” (Tongling 通靈) and upgrade (*leifeng*) [the temple] as “[Temple of] the Marquis Showing Luminous Grace through Answering by the Grace of Pervading Divinity” (Tongling huiying xuanji zhaozhui Hou 通靈惠應宣濟昭惠侯).¹³⁰

¹²¹ HUCKER 1985, no 17.2.

¹²² In 1167–1169 Zhou Cong 周宗 (c. 1115–1175) concurrently served as Prefect.

¹²³ “Jiaze miao 嘉澤廟.” In: *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, j. 71, p. 10b, l. 2–6.

¹²⁴ Ancient name for Hangzhou’s western Fengyu City Gate (Fengyu men 葭豫門) (cf. *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, j. 18, p. 4b).

¹²⁵ An island in West Lake (“Huiling miao 會靈廟.” In: *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, j. 71, p. 13b, l. 3b–4a).

¹²⁶ This character is not printed clearly.

¹²⁷ Variant writing of “Huiming si 惠明寺” (“Huiling miao 會靈廟.” In: *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, j. 71, p. 13b, l. 5a).

¹²⁸ “Huiling miao 會靈廟.” In: *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, j. 71, p. 13a, l. 2–4.

¹²⁹ Dates unknown.

¹³⁰ “Heilongwang miao 黑龍王廟.” In: *Xianchun Lin’an zhi*, j. 73, p. 7a, l. 6–8.

The Temple of Showing Grace at the Dragon's Well (Longjing Huiji miao 龍井惠濟廟):

[The temple] is situated on Windy Bamboo Range (Fenghuang ling 風篁嶺). In the eighteenth year of the Shaoxing 紹興 [era] (1148) [the temple] was bestowed (*ci*) a temple plaque (*miao'e*) and upgraded (*leifeng*) as '[Temple of] the [Dragon] King of Promulgating Confidence and Grace through Good Response' (Jiaying guangji fuhui wang 嘉應廣濟孚惠王).¹³¹

Although the dragon's hall (*longci* 龍祠) that had been erected on the site of the Dragon's Well (Longjing 龍井) as the "Temple of Showing Grace" (Huiji miao 惠濟廟) was located only about 450 meters from the Upper India Monastery, it was not this temple but the temple of Guanyin of the Upper India Monastery that became even more renowned for the Goddess's responsiveness to rain prayers. In 1062, Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1023–1064) granted the Guanyin temple the name "Hermitage of the Divinely Responding Guanyin" (Linggan Guanyin yuan 靈感觀音院).¹³² During the Xining 熙寧 [era] (1068–1077) of Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1068–1085), high officials sent representatives to attend the monastery for prayers and donate costly gifts:

The Upper India Monastery of the Divinely Responding Guanyin (Shang Tianzhu Linggan Guanyin si 上天竺靈感觀音寺):

[...] During the Xining 熙寧 [era] (1068–1077) [...] Every time the Court sent an Imperial Commissioner (Zhongshi 中使¹³³) as visitor to offer (*zhi* 致) incense and silk.

Every year [the Court] provided (*ji* 給) the Minster of Agriculture (Danong 大農¹³⁴) with money to perform prayers for the worship of the Buddha (Fo *shi* 佛事) and the Dukes (Gong 公) and Chief Ministers (Qing 卿¹³⁵) and [other] men of high rank sent [a representative] to offer (*zhi*) silk.

Those who prayed (*qidao* 祈禱) came from different directions.

In the second year of the Shaosheng 紹聖 [era] (1095) Prefect (Junshou 郡守¹³⁶) Chen Xuan 陳軒 asked (*qing*) the Court to order (*zhao* 詔) that the [Buddha] relics (*shili* 施利, Skt. *śarīra*) in the halls (*ci* 祠) and temples (*miao* 廟) of

¹³¹ "Longwang Huijimiao 龍王惠濟廟." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 71, p. 14a, l. 8–10.

¹³² "Shang Tianzhu Linggan Guanyin si 上天竺靈感觀音寺." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 80, p. 15a, l. 2–4. This happened with the installation of Yuanjing Biancai 元靜辯才 (1011–1091) as abbot in 1062.

¹³³ HUCKER 1985, no 1600.

¹³⁴ HUCKER 1985, no 6001.

¹³⁵ HUCKER 1985, no 1255.

¹³⁶ HUCKER 1985, no 1785,2.

the whole province shall be put for repair into the Pure Abode (*jingshe* 精舍, i. e. the Upper India Monastery).¹³⁷

After Hangzhou had become the capital of the Southern Song empire, the Upper India Monastery was frequented by the emperors even more often—by delegation or in person—imploping Guanyin for rain. They reinforced their requests with valuable gifts to the goddess. As an acknowledgement of his gratitude for Guanyin's responsiveness, Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1163–1189) sent presents and composed a hymn as well as odes for her:

In the fifth year of the Shaoxing 紹興 [era] (1135) Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162) came in person to show his favors (*xing* 幸).

When Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1163–1189) had come to the throne, he sent incense and commissioned [a representative] to offer (*zhi* 致) prayers (*dao*) because of long lasting rain. Immediately the sun regularly ascended. He was very pleased and bestowed (*ci*) three pieces of precious jade from the palace storehouses (Neifu 內府)¹³⁸.

In the following year (1164) he composed a hymn in praise (*zan* 贊) of the Great Being (*dashi*, Skt. *mahāsattva*). [...]

[When on circuit] with his banner of ornamented kingfisher's feathers (*cuihua* 翠華) in the third year of the Qiandao 乾道 [era] (1167)¹³⁹ and the second year of the Chunxi [era] (1175) he came a second time to show his favors (*xing*). All tablets (*pian* 扁) at the halls (*dian* 殿) and doors were bestowed (*xi* 錫) with his literary (*kui* 奎)¹⁴⁰ odes (*zhang* 章).¹⁴¹

The hymn Emperor XIAOZONG 孝宗 (r. 1163–1189) composed in 1164 in honor of Guanyin has been preserved in the local gazetteer:

Hymn in praise (*zan* 贊) of the Great Being (*dashi* 大士, Skt. *mahāsattva*) of the Upper India [Monastery]:

As a spirit (*shen*) you communicate in a most subtle way! Whether you are concealed or manifest, no one [can] fathom. Your merit (*gongde* 功德, Skt. *punya*) has no limits! How can your responses (*yinggan* 應感) [to prayers] be so quick that they match the abundance of harvests in time! You protected my people so that [the Jin 金] army was stopped [in 1126] and judged by their mistakes! May you give peace to this kingdom!¹⁴²

¹³⁷ "Shang Tianzhu Linggan Guanyin si 上天竺靈感觀音寺." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 80, p. 15a, l. 10–p. 15b, l. 3.

¹³⁸ HUCKER 1985, no 4175,4.

¹³⁹ In 1167, heavy monsoon rains with inundations had occurred.

¹⁴⁰ From Kuixing 奎星, the God of Literature.

¹⁴¹ "Shang Tianzhu Linggan Guanyin si 上天竺靈感觀音寺." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 80, p. 15b, l. 7–p. 16a, l. 2.

¹⁴² Emperor XIAOZONG 孝宗: "Shang Tianzhu Dashi zan 上天竺達士贊." In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 42, j. 13b, l. 9–14a, l. 1.

In his hymn he praises the karmic merit Guanyin generated through her quick response and her protection of his empire against the Jin 金 army advancing on Hangzhou in 1126. In this emergency situation, a monk had hidden Guanyin's image in a well (*jing* 井), not to be rediscovered until after the enemy had retreated.¹⁴³

In addition, Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1163–1189) elevated the official status of the monastery from “hermitage” (*yuan* 院) to “monastery” (*si* 寺). Furthermore, he sent gold and silk and erected sixteen meditation halls to house the canonical scriptures. On this occasion, he upgraded the monastery by bestowing upon it the honorific title of “Monastery for Propagating the Teaching of the Divinely Responding Guanyin” (Guangda Linggan Guanyin jiao si 廣大靈感觀音教寺):

He changed the hermitage (*yuan* 院) into a monastery (*si* 寺). Furthermore, he bestowed (*ci*) it with gold and silk and built sixteen meditation halls (*guantang* 觀堂) for the precious scriptures (*/San/zang* 三藏, i.e. *Tripitaka*) of the Wheel of Buddhist Teaching (*falun* 法輪, Skt. *dharmacakra*). As before, he ordered the Heir Apparent to write calligraphy in big characters on two tablets (*pian* 扁).¹⁴⁴

7. Conclusion

In emergency situations it was the prefects' duty to pray to the spirits for rain or a clear sky. By Song 宋 times, syncretic developments had taken place in rain praying when *bodhisattva* Guanyin 觀音 was in command of the dragon spirits.

After the Song court moved to the new capital of Lin'an 臨安, rain prayers were reinforced. There is evidence of the upgrading of temples and monasteries in honor of their spirits' responsiveness to rain prayers. At that time, Guanyin became ever more prominent as a rain deity and was supposed to protect the empire against the Jin 金 invaders at the same time.

All these activities may be interpreted as indicators of climatic variations. They occurred at a period when, due to volcanic dust veils, the average temperature was cooling down and, due to solar activity, the ENSO effect produced excessive rainfall and droughts at increasing intervals.

¹⁴³ “Shang Tianzhu Linggan Guanyin si 上天竺靈感觀音寺.” In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 80, p. 15b, l. 5–7.

¹⁴⁴ “Shang Tianzhu Linggan Guanyin si.” In: *Xianchun Lin'an zhi*, j. 80, p. 16a, l. 2–4.

Heinrich Zimmern: evangelischer oder jüdischer Herkunft?

Von JOACHIM OELSNER, Leipzig

HEINRICH ZIMMERN (1862–1931), als Nachfolger seines Lehrers FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH von 1894–1899 Extraordinarius und dann von 1900–1929 Ordinarius an der Universität Leipzig, war einer der bedeutendsten Alt-orientalisten in den ersten Dekaden des 20. Jh. Sein Leben und Wirken sind bereits mehrfach gewürdigt worden,¹ was hier nicht wiederholt zu werden braucht.

An einer Stelle differieren die Ansichten über HEINRICH ZIMMERN jedoch. Im Lebenslauf, der dem Dissertationsdruck² beigelegt ist, ist zu lesen: „Ich, Friedrich David Heinrich Zimmern, Sohn des Dekans Heinrich Zimmern, bin am 14. Juli 1862 in Graben bei Karlsruhe in Baden geboren“. Dekan – das ist die Amtsbezeichnung des Verantwortlichen für einen Kirchenbezirk, also eines protestantischen Geistlichen! Und sein Schüler BENNO LANDSBERGER schreibt im Nachruf auf seinen Lehrer: „Er entstammte einem streng gläubigen evangelischen Pfarrhaus“.³

Der im Internet zugängliche Professorenkatalog der Universität Leipzig vermerkt dagegen: „Aus einer jüdischen Familie“, was wahrscheinlich auf einen Eintrag im „Jüdischen Lexikon“ zurückgeht.⁴ Da der Verfasser, FELIX GOLDMANN, Rabbiner in Leipzig war, kann vermutet werden, dass er ZIMMERN persönlich kannte. Aufgeführt wird ZIMMERN unter jüdischen

¹ J. OELSNER: „Heinrich Zimmern (1862–1931)“. In: M. STEINMETZ (Hrsg.): *Bedeutende Gelehrte in Leipzig*. Bd. 1. Leipzig 1965, S. 117–123; M. MÜLLER: „Die Keilschriftwissenschaften an der Leipziger Universität bis zur Vertreibung Landsbergers im Jahre 1935.“ In: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* 28/1 (1979), S. 67–86, hier S. 71–74; M. P. STRECK: „Altorientalistik“. In: U. VON HEHL/U. JOHN/M. RUDERSDORF (Hrsg.): *Geschichte der Universität Leipzig 1409–2009*. Bd. 4: *Fakultäten, Institute, Zentrale Einrichtungen*. Leipzig 2009, S. 345–366, hier S. 345–349; M. P. STRECK: „Zimmern, Heinrich.“ In: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 15 (2017), S. 293f.

² Entspricht S. 1–17 der folgenden Arbeit: H. ZIMMERN: *Babylonische Bußpsalmen umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt*. Leipzig 1885 (Assyriologische Bibliothek 6).

³ ZA 40 (1931), S. 134; übernommen von OELSNER 1965, S. 117.

⁴ „Heinrich Zimmern.“ In: G. HERLITZ/B. KIRSCHNER (Hrsg.): *Jüdisches Lexikon. Ein Enzyklopädisches Handbuch des jüdischen Wissens in vier Bänden*. Bd. 4/2. Berlin 1927 (Nachdruck 1982), Sp. 1571.

Wissenschaftlern (ohne nähere Erläuterung) auch an einer anderen Stelle.⁵ Letztere Angabe hat eine Diskussion über die Herkunft ZIMMERNS ausgelöst. JOHANNES RENGGER erwähnt sie beiläufig im Zusammenhang mit Landsberger und stellt fest: „Keiner der befragten Altorientalist, die sich an ihn erinnern können, bestätigt die Behauptung von Zimmerns jüdischer Herkunft“.⁶

Dagegen wird in einer „Responsion“ zu RENGERS Beitrag gesagt:

Heinrich Zimmern, bis 1929 Professor in Leipzig, wuchs – wie Landsberger – in einer jüdischen Familie auf. Er hat sich, vermutlich um an der Universität arbeiten zu können, taufen lassen. 1885 legte er das theologische Staatsexamen ab und bekleidete 1885–1887 sogar eine Stelle als Pfarrvikar.⁷

Woher der Respondent dieses Wissen bezogen hat, bleibt im Dunkeln. Ein Blick in den genannten Lebenslauf oder die zitierte Literatur hätte die Zweifelhaftigkeit dieser Aussage erkennen lassen. Denn wenn ZIMMERN nach eigener Aussage Sohn eines evangelischen Geistlichen war, dann kann er nicht in einer jüdischen Familie aufgewachsen sein.

Gegen eine jüdische Herkunft ZIMMERNS sprechen sich auch die heutigen jüdischen Gemeinden aus. In einem Internet-Beitrag zur Synagoge in Graben wird unter der Überschrift „Über den nichtjüdischen Professor Heinrich Zimmern (1862–1931)“ vermerkt, dass seit dem *Jüdischen Lexikon*⁸ häufig zu lesen ist, dass der Gelehrte „einer jüdischen Familie Grabens entstammt, später zum Christentum konvertiert ist usw.“. Dies wird zu Recht mit Verweis auf ZIMMERNS Vater abgelehnt: „Heinrich Konrad Johann Zimmern (geb. 7. August 1825, getauft 17. September 1825, gest. 21. Dezember 1896) war von 1850 bis zu seinem Tod 1896 evangelischer Pfarrer in Graben“.⁹

Lassen sich die widersprüchlichen Aussagen – einerseits evangelisches Pfarrhaus, andererseits jüdische Familie – erklären? Ich finde ja.

⁵ LEONORE GOLDSCHMIDT: „Philologie.“ In: S. KAZNELSON (Hrsg.): *Juden im deutschen Kulturbereich. Ein Sammelwerk*. Berlin 1959 (Neuausgabe 1962), S. 323–348, hier S. 328.

⁶ J. RENGGER: „Altorientalistik und jüdische Gelehrte in Deutschland – Deutsche und österreichische Altorientalist im Exil.“ In: W. BARNER/CH. KÖNIG (Hrsg.): *Jüdische Intellektuelle und die Philologien in Deutschland 1871–1933*. Göttingen 2001 (Marbacher Wissenschaftsgeschichte 3), S. 253 Anm. 19.

⁷ D. NIEFANGER: „Jüdische Intellektuelle und die Forschung zu Alten Orient vor 1933. Responsion zu Johannes Renger.“ In: BARNER/KÖNIG 2001, S. 265. – Zur kirchlichen Tätigkeit ZIMMERNS s. H. NEU: *Pfarrerbuch der evangelischen Kirche Badens von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart*. Teil II: *Das alphabetische Verzeichnis der Geistlichen mit biographischen Angaben*. Lahr 1939, S. 693.

⁸ Siehe oben Anm. 4.

⁹ In Graben (heute Gemeinde Graben-Neudorf, Landkreis Karlsruhe) bestand bis 1938 eine jüdische Gemeinde mit einer Synagoge. Zu korrigieren ist die im Internet-Beitrag genannte Jahreszahl 1850 für den Amtsantritt des Vaters des Altorientalist als Pfarrer in Graben; dieser erfolgte erst 1859, vorher war er in verschiedenen anderen Pfarrgemeinden tätig, seit 1881 war er zugleich Dekan des Kirchenbezirks Karlsruhe-Land, s. NEU 1939.

Das Problem besteht darin, dass man sich bisher offenbar nicht die Mühe gemacht hat, den Vorfahren ZIMMERNS nachzuspüren. Einen ersten Hinweis liefert das *Pfarrerbuch der evangelischen Kirche Badens*.¹⁰ Dort findet sich unter „Zimmern, Konrad Johann“¹¹ ein Vermerk zu dessen Vater, also dem Großvater des Altorientalisten: „Prof. der Rechtswissenschaft“. Nach diesem muss man nicht lange suchen. Es handelt sich um WILHELM SI(EG)MUND ZIMMERN (4.3.1796–9.6.1830), einem zu seiner Zeit bekannten und geschätzten Juristen.¹² Und damit kommt man zu den jüdischen Wurzeln der Familie. Geboren als ältestes Kind eines jüdischen Kaufmanns (Tuchhändlers) und Bankiers in Heidelberg, hatte letzterer sich 1818 an der Universität seines Geburtsortes habilitiert und war 1821 zum evangelisch-lutherischen Glauben übergetreten. Im gleichen Jahre wurde er dort zum ordentlichen Professor (Nominal-Professur ohne Besoldung) ernannt. Seit Wintersemester 1825/1826 ist er in Jena bezeugt, wo er auf die 6. Ordentliche juristische Professur berufen wurde.¹³ Nach dem Ausscheiden eines Kollegen rückte er 1827 auf die fünfte Professur auf und wurde gleichzeitig zum „Ober-Appellations-Gerichts(-)Rath“ ernannt.¹⁴ Wegen einer

¹⁰ Angaben nach NEU 1939, S. 693. Wegen der kurzzeitigen kirchlichen Tätigkeit zu Beginn seiner Laufbahn ist dort auch ein Eintrag zu HEINRICH ZIMMERN zu finden (s. o. Anm. 7).

¹¹ Für die Vornamen des Pfarrer ZIMMERN sind verschiedene Angaben bezeugt: KONRAD JOHANN, HEINRICH KONRAD JOHANN oder nur HEINRICH.

¹² Auswahl aus der Literatur zur Person: HERLITZ/KIRSCHNER 1927, Sp.1572 sub „Zimmern, 2. Siegmund Wilhelm“; F. VON WEECH: *Badische Biographien*. Alte Folge 2. Heidelberg 1875, S. 541f.; A. RITTER VON EISENHART: „Zimmern, Sigmund.“ In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 45 (1900), S. 302. Vgl. auch M. PINN: „Rechtswissenschaft.“ In: KAZNELSON 1959, S. 602; ausführlicher J. BRAUN: „Sigmund Zimmern (1796–1830) – ein deutsch-jüdisches Gelehrtschicksal.“ In: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung* 108 (1991), S. 210–236, dort S. 234ff. zur Tätigkeit in Jena, die durch weitere Dokumente des Universitätsarchivs Jena (= UAJ) ergänzt werden kann.

¹³ Vgl. BRAUN 1991, S. 234 mit Anm. 99; bei der dort zitierten Akte des Universitätsarchivs Jena (= UAJ), G I Nr. 015, handelt es sich um Verzeichnis der in diesen Semester eingenommenen Kolleg-Gelder („Rechnungs-Manual“). Die Umstände der Berufung nach Jena sind nicht vollständig durchsichtig (UAJ Bestand A 521); sein Name findet sich nicht unter den Berufungsvorschlägen für die Wiederbesetzung durch Tod freigewordener Stellen. Dekan WALCH schreibt am 16. Okt. 1825 an den Prorektor, ZIMMERN solle in 8–9 Tagen in Jena eintreffen, der Fakultät sei aber noch nichts über eine Anstellung bekannt geworden (Bl. 13); am 20. Okt. teilt der Kurator dem Rector magnificus mit, dass ZIMMERN zum Ordentlichen Honorarprofessor ernannt worden sei unter Umständen, unter denen der Senat nicht vorher befragt werden konnte (Bl. 15). Zum Jahreswechsel erfolgte die Besetzung der Sechsten Ordentlichen Professur der Juristischen Fakultät mit ZIMMERN (Bl. 19–20). Der Vorgang löste in der Fakultät Diskussionen aus (Bl. 16–17, vgl. auch Bestand K 412 [Protokoll-Buch der Juristischen Fakultät 29f.); danach hat ZIMMERN am 21.1.1826 seine Antrittsrede gehalten; im Sommersemester 1828 war er Dekan der Juristischen Fakultät. – Die Angabe für den Amtsantritt „Herbst 1826“ (VON WEECH 1875, S. 541) ist entsprechend zu korrigieren.

¹⁴ Dass ein 1827 abgelegter Ruf nach Breslau die Beförderung ausgelöst habe, geht aus den Dokumenten des Universitäts-Archivs Jena nicht hervor; Bestand A 525 besagt, dass

Erkrankung stellte er 1829 die Lehrtätigkeit ein. Er verstarb 1830 in Heidelberg. 1823 hatte er geheiratet,¹⁵ aus der Ehe gingen eine Tochter und ein Sohn hervor – bei letzterem handelt es sich um den Vater des Altorientalisten.¹⁶

Dass es sich beim Altorientalisten HEINRICH ZIMMERN um einen Enkel des Juristen SIEGMUND ZIMMERN handelt, lässt sich noch von einer anderen Seite her zeigen. Im Zusammenhang mit dem Eintritt von „Pfarrer Heinrich Zimmern aus Graben“ in den Beirat (Komitee) des von REGINE¹⁷ JOLBERG geb. Zimmern (30.6.1800–5.3.1870) gegründeten „Mutterhauses für Kinderpflege in Nonnenweiher“ im Jahre 1863 wird er als „Neffe“ der Gründerin bezeichnet.¹⁸ Die Bezeichnung ist völlig richtig, denn bei dieser Frau handelt es sich eine jüngere Schwester SIEGMUND ZIMMERNs, die 1824 zum Christentum konvertiert war.¹⁹ Sie engagierte sich später in der evangelischen Diakonie, genauer der Arbeit mit Kindern, und machte sich durch die genannte, bis heute bestehende Einrichtung einen Namen, der bis zur Gegenwart in Erinnerung geblieben ist.²⁰

Blickt man auf die Vorfahren des Altorientalisten HEINRICH ZIMMERN, so lässt sich der Widerspruch „jüdische Familie – evangelisches Pfarrhaus“ auflösen: es handelt sich um den Enkel eines zum Christentum konvertierten Juden, dessen Sohn evangelischer Geistlicher geworden war!

nach dem Abgang eines Fakultätsmitglieds damals drei Professoren in ihrer Stellung aufrückten: ZIMMERN auf die fünfte, die beiden anderen auf die vierte bzw. dritte Professur (in Jena galt damals das Prinzip der Anciennität). Zur Ablehnung des Rufes s. BRAUN 1991, S. 234f. mit Anm. 101–103. Dokumente zum Tod UAJ, Bestand A 526.

¹⁵ Aus einem irrtümlich konstruierten Zusammenhang zwischen Konversion und Eheschließung (abgelehnt in VON WEECH 1875, S. 541) darf wohl gefolgert werden, dass seine Frau mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit keine Jüdin, sondern Christin war.

¹⁶ Für dessen Mutter wird angegeben: „Tochter des Liederdichters Knapp“; gemeint ist ALBERT KNAPP (1798–1864).

¹⁷ Vorname auch JULIE nach dem Namen, den sie bei ihrer Taufe angenommen hatte.

¹⁸ A. VON HAUFF: „Regine Jolberg geb. Zimmern (1800–1870).“ In: G. SCHWINGE (Hrsg.): *Lebensbilder aus der evangelischen Kirche Badens*. Bd. 4. Heidelberg 2015, S. 164–183, hier S. 176.

¹⁹ Auch weitere Brüder wurden getauft, s. BRAUN 1991, S. 227 Anm. 68.

²⁰ Über REGINE JOLBERG gibt es eine umfangreiche Literatur. Aus dieser seien hier nur genannt: VON HAUFF 2015; M. BERGER: „Jolberg, Regine.“ In: F. W. BAUTZ/T. BAUTZ: *Bibliographisch-biographisches Kirchenlexikon*. Bd. 21 (Ergänzungen Bd. 8). Nordhausen 2003, Sp. 718–727 (mit Auswahlbibliographie); M. GMELIN: „Regine (Julie) Jolberg, geb. Zimmern.“ In: VON WEECH 1875, S. 423–425; H. J. RIEKENBERG: „Jolberg, Regine.“ In: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (1975), S. 585f. Vgl. ferner die Erwähnung durch H. OTTENHEIMER bei KAZNELSON 1959, S. 313. Durch die Angaben bei RIEKENBERG lassen sich die Vorfahren HEINRICH ZIMMERNs bis weit ins 18. Jh. hinein zurückverfolgen; nach VON HAUFF 2015, S. 166, ist die Familie in Mannheim seit dem 17. Jh. nachweisbar, die Verfasserin gibt noch einige weitere Informationen zur Familie.

Mīrlivā of Malāṭya: A Correction of Sharaf Khān's Statement Concerning his Father

By MUSTAFA DEHQAN, Tehran, and VURAL GENÇ, Istanbul

We have previously managed to show on what difficult terrain we stand when asking the question about the historical authenticity of *Sharaf-nāma* chronicle, penned in the sixteenth century by the Kurdish emir of Bidlīs, Sharaf Khān II.¹ What can be confirmed is that in choosing a historical episode, Sharaf Khān II was on the one hand dealing with something historical, and on the other hand, hoping to gain legitimacy and support (and justification) for his claim and his family's claim to power by declaring his personal opinion in this historical episode. Whether he associated himself or his family with the historical episodes reflected in the *Sharaf-nāma* merely for political and opportunistic reasons, or whether he also felt truthfulness close all events described by him is a question that can hardly be answered. However, unlike his contemporary Kurdish subjects and followers for whom 'truth' and 'falsehood' were Sharaf Khān II's points of reference according to which they tried to organize their tribal and political lives, the reader of *Sharaf-nāma* may consider anything as falsehood that goes against his own understanding and detailed historical knowledge, hence any form of censorship or distortion.

We are dealing here with an example of Sharaf Khān II's style of transmission of history. We shall consult him with a quotation from his *Sharaf-nāma*, where a story about his father's rejection of Malāṭya governorship is given. This is how it sounds in Sharaf Khān II's own words:

Due to stimulations of Ulama, the Great Viziers summoned Shams al-Dīn Bayg to the court of Süleyman the Magnificent, and told him, "Sultan asks Bidlīs from you, but gives to you Malāṭya and Mar'ash in its stead". Shams al-Dīn Bayg replied: "our lives, properties, and estates all belong to Sultan" ... Whereas at the time Shams al-Dīn Bayg's word received to Sultan, a royal robe of honour, a horse, a golden saddle, rein, chain, and club, and the rule of Malāṭya came out, and the rule of Bidlīs was granted to Ulama. Shams al-Dīn Bayg left the castles of Bidlīs and gave them to the royal officials ... In order to go to Malāṭya, Shams al-Dīn Bayg and his family went to the region by way of Şāşun. At the time, Şāşun's ruler was Sulaymān Bayg 'Azzānī who forbade

¹ See, for example, DEHQAN/GENÇ 2015a; 2015b.

Shams al-Dīn Bayg to go to Malāṭya. Therefore, he felt worry and fear and became hesitant about going to Malāṭya. By chance, Shah Ṭahmāsp was at Arjīsh at the time. He refused to go Malāṭya. He, by way of homage, moved to Safavids and headed for Tabrīz with his family and tribe.²

The account thus proves that after the great battle between Ulama, the Safavid governor of Ādharbāyjān³, and Sharaf Khān I⁴, as hereditary emir of Bidlīs, and the agreement with Sultan, Shams al-Dīn Bayg, though able to rule over Malāṭya, had not accepted it. Until the victory of Ulama over Sharaf Khān I, Bidlīs in Lake Vān region, which was of great strategic and economic importance due to its routes to Safavid Persia, had remained autonomous under Sharaf Khān II's family (as a *yurtluk-ocaklık* Kurdish emirate). The author of *Sharaf-nāma* here says that his father Shams al-Dīn Bayg as hereditary emir of Bidlīs refused to accept anything else. On the basis of Ottoman archives, however, it can be established that Shams al-Dīn Bayg had accepted Malāṭya at least for a while. Details of the earlier life of Shams al-Dīn Bayg have proved most helpful in clearing away traditional misunderstandings, especially concerning Shams al-Dīn Bayg as a Kurdish emir with a strong political tolerance.

According to *Sharaf-nāma*, during the battles of Sharaf Khān I and Emir Ibṛāhīm, a local official of Bidlīs, Shams al-Dīn Bayg resided at the castle of Kūfūdūr (south-west of Bidlīs) at his second year of life. He, therefore, should be born in c. 913/1507, which is conjectural from the available evidence of the text. When his father moved to the east, Shams al-Dīn Bayg resided at the island of Ākhtāmār, between Lake Vān and Arjīsh (c. 933/1527). Following the Ottoman attack against Bidlīs and killing of Sharaf Khān I (940/1534), Bidlīs tribal officials appointed Shams al-Dīn Bayg as new emir of Bidlīs. From *Kan-uni Sultan Süleymān Döneminde Ait İnamat Defteri*, KK 1764, 111, it is clear that Süleyman I had confirmed his appointment as Ottoman emir of Bidlīs. On 9 Shawwāl 940/2 May 1534 Shams al-Dīn Bayg received the bonus of Sultan.⁵

Shortly after the 'Two Iraks' campaign, however, Shams al-Dīn Bayg came back to Bidlīs, but Ulama persuaded Süleyman I to dethrone him from Bidlīs principality (941/1535). Another principality, Malāṭya, was offered to Shams al-Dīn Bayg, but during his travel to the new position his maternal relatives at Şāşun advised him of an Ottoman trick. Eventually, since

² See SCHEREF 1860, i, pp. 440–441.

³ For details on Ulama, see, for example, TSMA E. 4080; BOA A.MKT, 1/10; KK 1764, 126; BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT 1991, p. 140ff.

⁴ For more information on Sharaf Khān I, the grandfather of Sharaf Khān II the Chronicler, see, for example, EBŪ-L-FAZL B. İDRİS, fols. 20r.–20v., fol. 27r., fols. 30r.–30v.; TSMA E. 5818; E. 8308; E. 8333/1; E. 9647; TSMA D. 9772; E. 10739; BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT/ADLE 1986, passim.

⁵ See also KK 1764, 223, where Shams al-Dīn Bayg is still in Bidlīs office (Rabī' I 941/October 1534).

Ṭahmâsp I was in Arjîsh at the same time, he moved to the Safavid campaign and became a Safavid Kurdish emir.⁶

Before any meaningful historical conclusions can be drawn, it is necessary to say that in comparison to his father Sharaf Khân I, Shams al-Dîn Bayg enjoyed a more peaceful coexistence with both Ottoman and Safavid Empires. One note of value for the present characteristic is the archival series, indicating his great respect for Ottoman Sultan and his perpetual demands for Bidlîs as his 'hereditary territory'. Interestingly, Shams al-Dîn Bayg acknowledged both his own obedience to the Ottomans and the 'offense of father' in accepting Safavid authority (20 Rabî' I 942/27 September 1535).⁷

A much more important witness is, however, a document from Ottoman archives in which Shams al-Dîn Bayg is mentioned as Mîrlivâ of Malâtîya.⁸ According to the present document, unlike Sharaf Khân II the Chronicler, Shams al-Dîn Bayg was fully satisfied with the *sancak* of Malâtîya. The reason why he is mentioned as *Şemseddîn Beg veled-î Şeref mirlivâ-ı Malatîya* (and not 'emir' of Malâtîya) was the administrative situation of Malâtîya as a non-hereditary *sancak* whose ruler was called *mirlivâ* or *sancakbeyî* in the Ottoman chancellery. It is certainly true that Sharaf Khân II intentionally gave no attention to the rule of Shams al-Dîn Bayg in Malâtîya as a person who reduced the hereditary right of rule over Bidlîs emirate to the *sancakbeyî* of Malâtîya. In fact, Sharaf Khân II's statement of 18 months for the rule of Shams al-Dîn Bayg in Bidlîs,⁹ i. e. around 941/1535, is a very good approximation of the chronology of Shams al-Dîn Bayg's rule in Bidlîs. According to dated documents of Ottoman archives, the line of Bidlîs emirate under Shams al-Dîn began in 940/1534 and lasted precisely to Rabî' II 942/October 1535 when Ulama Pasha is mentioned as *mirmiran-ı vilayet-ı Bitlis*.¹⁰ When this happened, Shams al-Dîn Bayg immediately joined the service of the Ottomans as mîrlivâ of Malâtîya—i. e. on 28 Rabî' II 942/4 November 1535.¹¹

It is hardly possible to find out to what extent Shams al-Dîn Bayg was loyal to Ottomans during his rule over Malâtîya. As far as we know, the influence of the Ottoman Empire on Shams al-Dîn Bayg was not always of equal impact, nor did it constantly grow. While nothing points to an extensive role of Ottoman Empire and while it was apparently kept within limits due to Safavid plans in Kurdish areas, the rule of Shams al-Dîn Bayg was a phase in which the Ottoman Empire

⁶ In addition to *Sharaf-nâma*, see RÜMLÜ 2005, iii, p. 1349; QUMÎ 1980, i, pp. 353–354; CELÂLZÂDE MUSTAFÂ 1981, ii, fols. 242b.–244a.; FERÎDÛN BEG 1858, i, p. 596.

⁷ See, for example, TSMA E. 5696.

⁸ See KK 1764, 128.

⁹ See SCHEREF 1860, i, p. 438.

¹⁰ See KK 1764, 248.

¹¹ See KK 1764, 252. This dated document reads as follow: *adet-i hazinedari ve çavuşı be nam-ı Şemseddîn bey veled-ı Mir Şeref mirlivâ-yı Malatîya*.

was more powerful. Shams al-Dīn Bayg, however, had tried-evidently without success-to regain the hereditary emirate of Bidlīs, and must also have been under pressure by regional Kurdish officials. Having lost all his hopes to Ottomans, Shams al-Dīn Bayg pursued the same policy aims as his father Sharaf Khān I, but instead of having to deal with the Safavids as supporters of his rule over Bidlīs, now he immigrated to Safavid Persia. Ṭahmāsp I treated him with great generosity and appointed him as governor of Sarāb, Marāgha, Damāwand, Dār al-Marz, Karahrūd (Qum), Jāhrūd, and Farāhān, almost respectively. The old age, embitterment, and especially opium addiction, led Shams al-Dīn Bayg to leave all his political positions in the last ten years of his life. According to *Sharaf-nāma*, he should be died under Ismāʿīl II (984/1576–85/77) in Qazwīn, which is almost in accordance with 67 (lunar) years given by the author as his total age.¹²

Abbreviations

A.MKT	Bāb-ı Âlî Sadâret Evrâkî, Mektûbî Kalemî
BOA	Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi
KK	Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi
T SMA	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi

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¹² See SCHEREF 1860, i, p. 446.

Bücherbesprechungen

GÜNTHER HÖBL: *Aegyptiaca aus Al Mina und Tarsos im Verlande des nordsyrisch-südostanatolischen Raumes*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2017. 214 S. einschließlich 7 Farbtafeln und 31 s/w-Tafeln. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften 498. Archäologische Forschungen 28.) ISBN 978-3-7001-8045-6. € 120,-.

Es ist an sich schon lange bekannt, daß ägyptische Amulette gerade des früheren 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. über das Nilland hinaus weit im Mittelmeerbereich zirkuliert sind; teilweise als direkte Exporte, teilweise als lokale Nachahmungen. Um in diesen Fragen weiterzukommen, ist aber eine sorgfältige Materialvorlage aller Fundkomplexe nötig. Genau hierzu trägt der vorliegende Band wertvoll bei, der von einem der ausgewiesenen Kenner des Materials verfaßt wurde. Speziell behandelt ist in ihm die Region des Golfs von Iskanderum, d. h. konkret die beiden Fundorte Al Mina (Nordsyrien) und Tarsos (Kilikien). Die Objekte aus Al Mina stammen aus den Grabungen von LEONARD WOOLLEY 1936–1937 und befinden sich heute in den Museen von Antakiya, Oxford (Ashmolean Museum) und London (British Museum). Die Objekte aus Tarsos wurden bei den Grabungen von GOLDMAN 1934–1938 gefunden und befinden sich im Museum von Adana. Hinzu kommen einige Streufunde von Skarabäen, die sich heute in den Museen von Adana und Gaziantep befinden und im vorliegenden Buch ebenfalls veröffentlicht werden, sowie zwei Stücke aus den Museen von Deir ez-Zor und Kopenhagen mit einer Herkunftsangabe „Syrien“. Besonders bemerkenswert unter ihnen ist ein mutmaßlich zeitgenössischer Skarabäus Sesostri's III. (S. 124 Nr. 149).

Eine wesentliche Ausgangsfrage der Arbeit war, ob Nordsyrien, d. h. die hier konkret untersuchten Orte, eine wesentliche Zwischenstation für Aegyptiaca auf dem Weg nach Kampanien gewesen sei. Für die Skarabäen, welche bei weitem die häufigste Objektgruppe in dem hier publizierten Material darstellen, wird in der Einleitung eine spezielle Erklärung der Bestandteile und wesentlicher sonstiger Fragen vorangestellt (S. 10f.).

In einleitenden Kapiteln (S. 13–36) ordnet der Autor den Befund der beiden Fundorte in seine Kontexte ein, sowohl hinsichtlich der Region insgesamt als auch hinsichtlich potentieller weiterer Kontakte z. B. nach Zypern, Euböa und Kampanien. Aus profunder Kenntnis des Materials erwähnt er dabei zahlreiche, oft unpublizierte Vergleichsstücke.

Aus al Mina stammen einige Amulette mit Typen, wie sie in Ägypten insbesondere für die 22.–25. Dynastie (vereinzelt auch 26. Dynastie) typisch sind, z. B. Nefertem-Figurinen, Bes-Figurinen, Pataken, Falkenfiguren, zudem Udjat-Augen. Dominierend im vorgelegten Material sind Skarabäen. Ohne daß dem Rezensenten der Bezug zum Thema der Aegyptiaca klar wäre, wird auch eine „Arsos-Statuette“ publiziert (S. 106f. Nr. 119). Auch aus Tarsos werden vorrangig Skarabäen und ähnliche Siegelamulette vorgelegt, daneben Fragmente eines Fayencegefäßes, ein liegender Löwe sowie Udjat-Augen. Manche der Objekte sind ersichtlich nicht im Nilland selbst hergestellt worden.

Bei den Beschreibungen liegt der Fokus deutlich auf einer detaillierten Angabe der Eigenschaften des Objekts selbst sowie der Nennung von Parallelen insbesondere für die

in Typologie oder Material ungewöhnlichen Stücke. Aus derartigen Beobachtungen resultiert dann auch die Klassifizierung, ob es sich um in Ägypten selbst hergestellte Artefakte oder um Produkte aus z. B. Phönizien oder Nordsyrien handelt. Die meisten Objekte werden in Schwarz-Weiß-Photographien vorgelegt (meist im Maßstab 2:1), ausgewählte in Farbphotos (abgesehen von einigen Nummern, für die es keinerlei bildliche Dokumentation gibt und die teilweise heutzutage nicht mehr auffindbar sind). Bei den Skarabäen werden meist drei Ansichten (von oben, unten und der Seite) geboten, meist auch noch die Photographie eines Abdrucks. In günstigen Fällen (z. B. S. 84 zu Nr. 74) gelingt es dem Autor, mehrere Stücke aus unterschiedlichen Fundorten derselben Werkstatt zuzuweisen.

Insgesamt weiß die vorliegende Publikation als sorgfältige und kenntnisreiche Vorlage des Materials vollauf zu überzeugen und legt Material sehr gut nutzbar vor, das für Fragen von Kulturkontakten, Nachahmungen und Handelsbeziehungen ausgesprochen relevant ist. Der Rezensent hat nur einige wenige Nachfragen und alternative Vorschläge:

- S. 25: Ein Konstruktion *ḥꜥ nb* für „der alles gemacht hat“ ist in der ägyptischen Sprache ausgeschlossen, da das Adjektiv-Äquivalent *nb* nie substantiviert wird; wäre „der als Herr gehandelt hat“ denkbar?
- S. 42f. Nr. 9: Bei dem Patäken AN1937.785 dürften die Hieroglyphen der Basisinschrift noch etwas präziser analysierbar sei. Der Rezensent erkennt (mit aller Komplexitätsreduktion, welche eine Umsetzung in Drucktypen in solchen Fällen mit sich bringt):  Das kombiniert ein vollständiges Trigramm (Udjat-Auge, Fisch und Katze), das so auf einigen Patäken und daneben noch Tb 167 (Pleyte), 42a erscheint, das Lotusblatt als Teil eines weiteren Trigramms (Serpent-Moui-Sro) und den Mann mit erhobenen Händen als Teil einer noch weiteren wirkmächtigen Gruppe ¹
- S. 57f. Nr. 36: Der Rezensent würde erwägen, die seitlichen Elemente der Dekoration nicht nur als ornamentale Füllungen zu betrachten, sondern als Darstellungen von Barken mit einer Gottheit darin (in einer Kabine?).
- S. 71f. Nr. 56: Sofern die „Feder“ tatsächlich ein unsauber gearbeitetes Messer darstellt, könnte es sich um das Zeichen  für *ṣꜥ* „heilig“ handeln.
- S. 78f. Nr. 66: Die Umschrift *ḥꜥj.nsf* und die Übersetzung „der gelobt hat“ (die ein Partizip erfordern würde) passen nicht zusammen. In jedem Fall bezweifelt der Rezensent, daß es wirklich eine Zweideutigkeit der Aussagen gegeben hat, da das *ḥꜥj*-Gefüge so sehr mit sozialer Ungleichheit verbunden ist, daß es nur von oben nach unten funktioniert; d. h. ein Gott kann einen Menschen begünstigen, aber nicht umgekehrt.
- S. 91 Nr. 89: Der Falke vor der Papyruspflanze könnte auch als Horus von Chemmis verstanden werden. Dieselbe Frage muß sich auch für S. 136f. Nr. 165 stellen.
- S. 95 Nr. 97: Statt eines Falkens kann man hier ebenso wie bei Nr. 98 an einen Greif denken.

JOACHIM FRIEDRICH QUACK, Heidelberg

¹ Vgl. dazu M.-L. RYHNER: „À propos de trigrammes panthéistes.“ In: RdE 29 (1977), S. 125–137; Y. KOENIG: „Les patèques inscrits du Louvre.“ In: RdE 43 (1992), S. 123–132; A. AMENTA: „A proposito dell'iconografia dell' 'Unione dei due tori' su un pateco da una collezione privata.“ In: N. BONACASA/A. M. DONADONI ROVERI/P. MINÀ (Hrsg.): *Faraoni come dei – Tolemei come faraoni: atti del V Congresso internazionale Italo-Egiziano, Torino, Archivio di Stato, 8–12 dicembre 2001, Palermo. Torino 2003*, S. 3–12, bes. 7–8, und für das letzte Symbol pSalt 825, 9, 5.

FIKRE GEBREKIDAN REDA: *Tigrinya-English/Amharic codeswitching*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag 2015. xiv, 235 S. (Topics in Interdisciplinary African Studies 37.) ISBN 978-3-89645-997-8. € 39,80.

Zur Frage des Codeswitchings gibt es zwar umfangreiche Literatur, jedoch kenne ich, was den äthiopischen-erythräischen Raum und darüberhinaus betrifft, keine Arbeit, in denen Texte dokumentiert sind, in denen von einer Sprache in die andere gewechselt wird. Eine solche liegt nun in der Doktorarbeit von FIKRE GÄBRÄ-KIDAN RÄDDA vor, die in Oslo 2013 bei E. LANZA und KJ.M. YRI angefertigt wurde. In ihr wird der Sprachwechsel anhand des Tigrinischen, der Nationalsprache des Bundeslandes Tigrai, untersucht. Dabei geht es nicht um das Codeswitching einer minoritären Gruppe, wie dem Irob oder Kunama, hin zum mit über 95 % majoritären Tigrinischen, sondern vom Tigrinischen zu dem früher dominanten, jetzt immer noch weithin verwendeten Amharischen, der Arbeitssprache des föderalen Bundesstaats Äthiopien, sowie zum Englischen, das im Schul- und Universitätssystem eine große Rolle spielt und als Sprache der Globalisierung gesehen wird, an der sich Äthiopien – mit welchen Erfolgsaussichten auch immer – beteiligen will.

Daß das Englische in Äthiopien mit der Eroberung durch englische Truppen 1941 an Bedeutung gewann, kann zwar nicht ganz mit der kolonialen Besitzergreifung in anderen Teilen Afrikas gleichgesetzt werden. Diesen Einfluß aber auf den „support that Ethiopia enjoyed from England“ (S. 65) zurückzuführen, läßt die koloniale Sicht außer acht, mit der England das 1941 eroberte Land betrachtet hat. Der Kaiser agierte erfolgreich dagegen, und erst in den frühen 60ern ist das Englische „in primary schools“ durch das Amharische ersetzt worden. Die Ersetzung des Englischen an der Universität durch das Amharische bzw. die entwickelten Regionalsprachen Amharisch, Tigrinisch und Oromo steht noch aus.

Die einleitenden und methodischen Kapitel sind recht umfangreich (bis S. 68). Dabei wird, wie gerne in Doktorarbeiten, die meist weniger relevante Frage der Gliederung des Äthiosemitischen und dessen Einordnung ins Semito-hamitische (hier Afroasiatische) ausführlich erörtert. Mit Gewinn liest man die Kapitel zur Codeswitching-Literatur, den verschiedenen Arten (extra-sentential, intersentential, intrasentential), verschiedenen Ansätzen, wie dem MLF (Matrix Language-Frame)-Modell von C. MYERS-SCOTTON und dem Modell von S. POPLACK, jeweils mit reicher Literatur.

Für die Äthiopistik ist diese Arbeit von großer Bedeutung, weil hier zum ersten Mal die Frage von situativen ad hoc-Entlehnungen anhand von neuem Sprachmaterial behandelt wird. Grundlage der Studie sind Radiointerviews, Gespräche/Interviews mit Gewährsleuten und Erhebungen anhand eines Fragebogens. Der Bildungsgrad der Informanten und die Umstände sind vermerkt. Die erhobenen tigrinischen Texte (S. 173–231) werden in Umschrift, Interlinearanalyse (z. B. zur Kopula *ḥyy-u* „be-3ms“; in *zə-malkät* „REL-relate“ (209) fehlt die Angabe Imperfekt und 3.m.sg.) und Übersetzung wiedergegeben.

Die englischen und amharischen Wörter werden dabei durch Fett- bzw. Kursivdruck markiert. Demgegenüber werden hier nur die englischen Wörter, insofern sie nicht tigrinisiert sind, durch Nicht-Kursiv-Druck hervorgehoben, während die amharischen und amharisierten neben den tigrinischen Wörtern kursiv erscheinen.

Im Unterschied zu allgemeineren Arbeiten über den Sprachgebrauch in vielsprachigen Gesellschaften liegt hier ein reicher Fundus an Beispielsätzen vor, an denen man den unterschiedlichen Grad der Integrierung von englischen und amharischen Wörtern und Phrasen in einen tigrinischen Satz und die möglichen Veränderungen in der Satzstruktur studieren kann. Die dabei verwendete Umschrift ist leider ungenügend. Oftmals wird die Länge nicht markiert (wie zweimal in „*amäṣägənaloh*“, ‚ich danke‘), überhaupt oft im Imperfekt, wo es gerade auf die Konsonantenlänge ankommt, sowie der Schwä‘vokal an unpassender Stelle

gesetzt, z. B. *həzəbi* für *həzbi*, oft nach laryngal geschlossener Silbe, z. B. (schon korrigiert) *kəʾlāt*, *lāʾli*, *māʾbālā*, *bə-dəbri-ʾu* (S. 216, nicht mit Junktur vor -u), und beim Gerundium/ Perfekt, wie bei *ṭālifəka* für *ṭālifka*, *ʾənawāsāda-kka* für *ʾənna-wāsādeka*. Auf einer willkürlich ausgewählten Seite (S. 210) finden sich so 17 Fehler, wobei solche Fälle wie *məʾəṭaw* (für *məʾəṭaw*), *ʾallāwom* (für *ʾallāwom* bzw. *ʾallāw=wom*) und nicht sinnvolle Segmentierungen (s. u.) nicht berücksichtigt sind. Für einen mit der Sprache nicht so Vertrauten wird es schwierig sein, das tigrinische Material sinnvoll zu verwenden. Konsonantenlänge und Schwäsetzung stellen übrigens gerade die beiden sog. Defizite der Ge'ezschrift dar, die auch Äthiopiern bei der Umschrift Schwierigkeiten bereiten.

Die Segmentierung von prä- und suffigierten Elementen ist sinnvoll, s. „zā-ttāwāhab-o“ was ihm gegeben wurde“, „bā-nāgār-aččən“, „by the way“ (208), wird aber ganz inkonsequent durchgeführt. So werden die Personalelemente des Perfekts und Imperfekts nur gelegentlich segmentiert: „*kāyd-ä*“, „ich ging“, „*yə-gābbər*“, „er macht“, in vielen anderen Fällen nicht. Oftmals fehlt die wichtigste Junktur zur Segmentierung von *ʾənna-* (nicht *ʾəna-*), *zāy-* (bzw. *z-äy-*), *nə-* (nota accusativi), *bə-* (Präposition), *k(ä)-* (amharische Konjunktion „*kal-ä*“, wenn (*k(ä)-*) er sagt“). In „*məʾarāmk-u*“ ist mehreres durcheinandergeraten, lies: *mə-ʾarām-ku* „ich hätte korrigiert“, wenn das perfektische Personalsuffix segmentiert werden soll. Eigenartigerweise wird das Objektssuffix gerne nicht richtig segmentiert, s. „zā-llāk-a“, „was du (m.) hast“ (lies: *z-ällä-kka*, wenn man nur eine Junktur postuliert), „*sələ-zä-y-nābārān-a* „weil wir hatten“ (lies: *sələ-z-äy-nābārā=nnā*), „zā-llānn-a“, „was wir haben“ (für *z-ällä=nnā*). Noch gravierender ist die Umschrift „zā-kərəb-u-ln“ „die uns versorgen“, die nicht die Kausativstammbildung (Perf. *ʾəkrābā*, Impf. *yākrərrəb*) erkennen läßt, lies: *z-əkrəbu=lna*.

Ein Relativum *zä-* gibt es übrigens nur in aus dem Ge'ez übernommenen Ausdrücken, s. weiter unten *zä-betawi* „häuslich“. Die Form „*mäsʾix-a*“ wäre richtig, wenn es ein Verb „*mäsākä*“ gäbe, richtig: *mäsi-xa* (dialektal für *mäsiʾka*) „du kamst“. Auch bei der grammatischen Bestimmung gäbe es einiges zu bemäkeln, wie die Bestimmung von *kə-* mit Imperfekt „um zu“ als „INF“, weil im Tigrinischen zur Wiedergabe von „um zu“ auch infinitivische Bildungen häufig sind. Bei „*kä-məsʾə*“ INF-bring.3ms“ (S. 200) ist zwar der Sinn richtig wiedergegeben, aber es fehlt der Hinweis auf das Imperfekt, den A-Stamm und die Konjunktion *k(ə)-*: *k-äməssəʾ*. Der Charaktervokal -ä- gehört nämlich zur Vokalisierung des A-Stammes, genauso „zä-wsʾəʾo REL-take.out“ (S. 222), wo weder der A-Stamm und das Perfekt bzw. das gleich lautende Imperfekt noch das Objektssuffix markiert ist, lies: *z-əwsəʾəʾo* „was er ausführt(e)“. In meiner Umschrift wird für Possessiv- und Objektssuffixe die Junktur = verwendet.

Die Menge der Umschrift- und Segmentierungsfehler mindert den Wert der Arbeit insofern, als nicht des Tigrinischen Kundige die wertvollen Beispiele nur mit Vorbehalt verwenden sollten.

Nützlich, aber vielleicht Gegenstand einer eigenen Arbeit wäre es gewesen, die englischen Wörter in ihrer aktuellen Aussprache wiederzugeben. Dadurch hätte man auch den Grad ihrer Anpassung an tigrinische Lautgewohnheiten und Wortstrukturen besser ermitteln können.

Der Titel der Arbeit scheint etwas irreführend zu sein, weil ein Codeswitching im vollen Wortsinn nicht behandelt wird. Der Verf. kennt diese Problematik und geht darauf ausführlich in dem Kapitel „The codeswitching vs. borrowing controversy“ ein (S. 14–19). Doch gibt es immer wieder Phrasen und ganz Sätze, wie „under the banner of law and constitution“ (S. 181), „what is important is simple communication“ (S. 183), „therefore the government is giving attention to it“ (S. 182) – hier liegt tatsächlich eine Art Sprachumschaltung statt.

Zu den einleitenden Kapiteln über die Methode, die codeswitching-Literatur, die Informanten, die Vorgehensweise und den beteiligten Sprachen werden die verschiedenen Arten der Einbettung englischer und amharischer Wörter in den tigrinischen Satz

dokumentiert und erläutert. Es wird dabei zwischen Substantiv, Verb, Adjektiv, Adverb, Phrase und Satz unterscheiden, die jeweils unterschiedlich integriert sind. Von den Übernahmen sind aus dem Englischen und Amharischen 76 % Einzelausdrücke, 19 % Phrasen und 5 % Sätze in das Tigrinische des Korpus gedrungen.

Bei der Besprechung der einzelnen Wörter und Ausdrücke und deren Adaption an das Tigrinische werden jeweils anhand von Beispielsätzen die morphologischen und syntaktischen Unterschiede der drei beteiligten Sprachen behandelt. Damit bietet die Arbeit in manchen Kapiteln eine kontrastive Darstellung Tigrinisch–Amharisch–Englisch.¹

Bei der Behandlung wird auch der quantitative Aspekt berücksichtigt, indem Über-sichten über „codeswitched word categories“, wie Nomen, Verb, Adjektiv, Adverb der beiden Sprachen (S. 81), Anteil der „inflected forms“ der Adjektive (d. i. mit Possessivum oder Pluralaffix, S. 82), Verteilung der englischen und amharischen Adjektive (S. 88), Verteilung der attributiven und prädikativen Adjektive (S. 92), Anteil der mit einer relativierten Kopula (d. i. *zə-konā*) eingebetteten Adjektive (S. 96), Verteilung der Präpositionalphrasen (S. 118), Anteil der „singly-occurring“ englischen und amharischen Verben (S. 125), Überblick über die Doppelausdrücke (fast nur Englisch–Tigrinisch und Tigrinisch–Englisch), welche mit *wāy* (*kā'a*, *damma*) miteinander verbunden werden (S. 147), jeweils mit Prozentangaben geboten werden.

Schließlich sei darauf verwiesen, daß sich in den präsentierten tigrinischen Texten einige wenige dialektale Formen finden, was deren Authentizität erhöht. Einige Male kommen Formen von *'ənnihə*, *'ənnihā*, es gibt² vor, mit Suffixen:

- *'əntay advantage 'ənnihā=wəwə* ‚Welchen Vorteil hat es?‘,
- ... *'əyyu 'ənnəhā=wəwə* ‚sie haben ...‘,
- positive discrimination implication *'ənnəhā=wəwə* ‚die positive Diskriminierung hat Auswirkungen‘.

Für *'ənnihə=wə* (ohne Längung des *w*) gibt KANE² die Bedeutung ‚he has, here is his‘. Auch die Angabe in TÄKKƏ'Ä TÄSFAY³ *'ənnəhə=wə* muß zu *=wəwə* korrigiert werden. Die Form *'ənnihə=kka* zeigt die postjunkturale Längung. TÄKKƏ'Ä TÄSFAY gibt als Bedeutung *'allo=wəwə* ‚er hat‘, die im Südtigrinischen präsenter als im Norden ist. Neben der Konstruktion *'əntay advantage 'ənnihā=llu* ‚Welchen Vorteil hat es?‘ (S. 177), gibt es bei KANE die Form *'ənnəhə=llu* ‚Here it is!‘ Eine wichtige dialektale Variante dazu begegnet in der Form *'əntälli'u* vor: *səmintə* distribution *'əntälli'u* ‚wenn es Zementverteilung gibt‘, *gudlat 'əntälli'u* ‚wenn es einen Mangel gibt‘, wobei die Segmentierung noch nicht klar ist. Geht die Bildung auf das Gerundium **'alliyu* (*ʃh'lw*) zurück?

Südtigrinisch ist auch *'ənt-* anstelle von *'ənk-* ‚indem‘ (*'ənt-əbəllu 'ənk-əllo* ‚wenn es gibt‘), *tā-* anstelle von *'əntā-* ‚wenn‘, *dəhəna* für *dəhan* ‚gut‘, *'əndəbər* anstelle von *'əndəbri* ‚nachdem‘, *-ma* anstelle von *-mmo* (Fokuspartikel), *həzi* anstelle von *həzgi* ‚jetzt‘. Wenn *kāmāy'u* ‚Wie ist es?‘ keinen Druckfehler darstellt, entspricht es südtigr. *hamā-ya'u*. Eine neue Bildung liegt in der Konstruktion *bə'u məsərrāt* ‚auf seiner, dieser Grundlage‘ (S. 227), *bə=ay məday* ‚meinerseits‘ (S. 197) vor. Der *possessor* steht voran, was auf amharische Bildungen der Art *bā-... məsərrāt* ‚auf der Grundlage von‘ verweist.

¹ Vgl. auch SHIMELIS MAZENIA: *Nominalization via verbal derivation—Amharic, Tigrinya and Oromo*. Wiesbaden 2015 (s. dazu O LZ 112 [2017], S. 276–279) und die im Erscheinen begriffene Arbeit von MARLENE GUSS-KOSICKA: *Das Verbsystem des Amharischen und Tigrinischen*.

² *Tigrinya-English dictionary*. Springfield 2000, S. 1475.

³ TÄKKƏ'Ä TÄSFAY: *Zämänewi mägäbä-kalet Təgrāñña*. Asmara 1999, S. 592.



Man muß dem Verfasser dankbar sein, daß er uns ein aussagekräftiges Korpus von mündlichen Äußerungen tigrinophoner Akademiker zu wirtschaftlichen, pädagogischen und universitären Probleme vorgelegt hat. Auch wenn dieser laborierte Sprechstil für andere Kreise nicht repräsentativ ist, so besteht eine große Ähnlichkeit mit dem Zeitungsstil und wissenschaftlichen Stil, in dem das moderne Tigrinisch seinen wesentlichen Ausdruck findet, s. dazu in diesem Band der ZDMG den Artikel „Englische und amharische Entlehnungen und Interferenzen im Tigrinischen“.

RAINER VOIGT, Berlin

CHRISTOPH GÜNTHER: *Ein zweiter Staat im Zweistromland? Genese und Ideologie des „Islamischen Staates Irak“*. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag 2014. 354 S., 1 DVD. (Kultur, Recht und Politik in muslimischen Gesellschaften 28.) ISBN 978-3-95650-036-7. € 58,-.

CHRISTOPH GÜNTHERS Monographie „Ein zweiter Staat im Zweistromland? Genese und Ideologie des „Islamischen Staates Irak““ erlangte für eine islamwissenschaftliche Dissertation ungewöhnliche Popularität über die Fachgrenzen hinaus und wurde in Tageszeitungen breit rezipiert. Dies liegt zum einen sicherlich an der Aktualität des hier behandelten Themas, zum anderen jedoch auch an der Qualität von GÜNTHERS Untersuchung, die mit einer fundierten Quellenarbeit neue Erkenntnisse für die Islamwissenschaft hervorbringt und gleichzeitig für weitere Fachbereiche zahlreiche Anschlussmöglichkeiten bietet. Zum Zeitpunkt der Veröffentlichung des Buches wurde in der breiten Öffentlichkeit von dem Phänomen wenig Notiz genommen. Dies änderte sich mit der Ausrufung eines „Islamischen Staates“ (IS) mit imperialem Anspruch im Juni 2014 durch den selbsternannten Kalifen Abū Bakr al-Bağdādī und der Eroberung Mossul.

In der 2013 an der Universität Leipzig als Dissertation angenommenen und 2014 im Ergon-Verlag publizierten Schrift untersucht GÜNTHER die Entstehungsprozesse und die medialen Kommunikations- und Legitimationsstrategien der ġihādistischen irakischen Gruppierung *at-Tawhīd wa-l-Ġihād* und den ihr nachfolgenden Organisationen *al-Qā'idat al-ġihād f-bilād arrāfidayn*, *Mağlis šūrā al-muğābidin fi-l-'Irāq* und *Dawlat al-'Irāq al-islāmīya* („Islamischer Staat Irak“, ISI) im Zeitraum zwischen 2003 und 2010. Der Schwerpunkt liegt hierbei im Gegensatz zu anderen Publikation zum Themenbereich „Islamischer Staat“ nicht auf den politischen Entwicklungen, den militärischen Strategien oder Formen des Gewalteinsatzes, sondern vielmehr darauf, inwieweit die ausgewählten Gruppen ihr Wirken und Handeln als Alternative zu der sich wandelnden Gesellschaftsordnung im Irak nach 2003 verstehen und dies medial kommunizieren. GÜNTHER verfolgt mit seiner Arbeit das Ziel, herauszufinden, „mit welchen Argumenten, Anspielungen, Rückbezügen, semantischen Konstruktionen und Bildern [...] sich diese Akteure als ernsthafte Alternative zu einem Leben im Rahmen existenter, säkularer Gesellschaftsmodelle präsentieren“ (S. 13). Er fragt nach dem „Potential für die Entstehung, Ansiedlung und Persistenz ġihādistischer Gruppierungen, die auf einem bestimmten Territorium das Gewaltmonopol staatlicher Institutionen oder ihrer Repräsentanten herausfordern“ (S. 22). Der Autor versteht das Handeln der von ihm als soziale Bewegungen verstandenen Gruppen nicht auf die Anwendung von Gewalt reduziert, sondern betrachtet Gewalt als lediglich eine von mehreren Strategien. Dies führt ihn zu der Beschäftigung mit bisher weniger beachteten Formen, Mechanismen und Inhalten ġihādistischer Kommunikation.

In einer chronologisch strukturierten Analyse zeigt der Autor, wie sich die Inhalte, Strategien und Diskurse der Gruppierungen im Zeitraum zwischen 2003 und 2010 verändert haben. Der erste Teil widmet sich der historischen Betrachtung des Iraks unter Šaddām

Husayn und den politischen, gesellschaftlichen und religiösen Rahmenbedingungen, aus denen sich nach dem Ende des Baʿi-Regimes gewaltbereite islamistische Gruppierungen entwickeln konnten (S. 29–57). Hierzu zählt GÜNTHER insbesondere den weitverbreiteten Klientelismus nach konfessionellen oder ethnischen Kriterien und die Marginalisierung weiter Bevölkerungsgruppen. Infolge der Sanktionspolitik der internationalen Gemeinschaft nach dem Zweiten Golfkrieg und den dadurch beschränkten Handlungsspielräumen kam es zur Transformation der Machterhaltungsmechanismen des Regimes. Die Patronagenetzwerke wurden im Zuge einer Re-Aktualisierung tribaler Strukturen als Machtbasis erweitert und die Sicherheitsapparate ausgebaut. Staatliche Funktionen wurden zunehmend an Stammesverbände abgegeben und eine islamische Rhetorik und Symbolik entgegen der offiziellen reformatorischen und säkularen Doktrin verstärkt genutzt.

Im zweiten Kapitel (S. 59–182) folgt einer biographischen Darstellung Abū Muṣʿab az-Zarqāwī als einem der wichtigsten Vertreter des sunnitischen Widerstandes im Irak die chronologische Analyse der Entwicklung und Wirkung der von ihm begründeten Gruppierung *at-Tawḥīd wa-l-Ġihād* von 2003 bis 2006 sowie den daraus hervorgehenden Organisationen *al-Qāʿidat al-ġihād f-bilād ar-rāfidayn* und *Maġlis šūrā al-muġābihīn fi-l-ʿIrāq*. In diesem Abschnitt legt GÜNTHER auch seine auf kommunikationswissenschaftlichen Theorien und Modelle gestützte Methodik dar, anhand derer er die ausgewählten Quellen untersucht und die daraus gewonnen Erkenntnisse einordnet (S. 98–125). Dieser theoretisch-methodische Abschnitt erreicht den Leser etwas unvermittelt und hätte sicher in einem eigenen Kapitel zu Beginn der Arbeit einen besseren Platz gefunden. Schlüssig wird erläutert, wie *at-Tawḥīd wa-l-Ġihād* das Machtvakuum und die prekäre Sicherheitslage nach dem Zusammenbruch der staatlichen Strukturen und der Neuordnung des Staates durch die US-geführte Zivilverwaltung nutzen und von der zunehmenden konfessionellen Polarisierung der Gesellschaft profitieren konnte. Über rein militärische Aktionen hinaus wurde die öffentliche Präsenz über die verschiedenen neuen Medien als Teil einer Gegenöffentlichkeit zur Verbreitung der eigenen Normen, Werte und Ziele notwendig. Sowohl nach innen als ideologische Rahmung für den Zusammenhalt der Gruppe wie auch nach außen mit einem klar systematisierten Feindschema wurden Loyalität und Lössagung (*al-walāʾ wa-l-barāʾ*) propagiert. GÜNTHER identifiziert hierbei ein dichotom strukturiertes Weltbild mit einer religiös-politischen Agenda und sozialrevolutionärem Impetus, für das *at-Tawḥīd wa-l-Ġihād* auf in der arabischen Öffentlichkeit bekannte Theoreme und Narrative zurückgreift. Das dritte Kapitel (S. 183–294) ist der Entwicklung des „Islamischen Staates Irak“ im Zeitraum von 2006 bis 2010 im Kontext gesellschaftlicher Umbrüche gewidmet. Es beinhaltet eine Analyse der Selbstdarstellung und der Legitimationsversuche von ISI. GÜNTHER verortet das von ISI propagierte Modell eines islamischen Staates im Kontext klassischer sunnitischer Vorstellungen und Konzepte islamischer Herrschaftsvorstellungen (S. 195–229). Der Autor berücksichtigt dabei sowohl gruppeninterne wie kontextuelle Faktoren, um die Veränderungen der Argumentations- und Aktionsweisen abhängig von Format und Zweck zu deuten.

Im Untersuchungszeitraum von 2003 bis 2010 ist nach GÜNTHER eine Veränderung der Kommunikationsformen zu konstatieren. Die Komplexität audio-visueller Formate und die Qualität der Veröffentlichungen nahmen durch eine professionalisierte Medienarbeit zu, inhaltlich veränderten sich die Veröffentlichungen abhängig von der Situation der Gruppen und ihrer Umgebung. So nutzte der spätere „Islamische Staat Irak“ audio-visuelle Formate in deutlich höherem Maße als *at-Tawḥīd wa-l-Ġihād*, der vor allem Audioformate verwendete. Ideologisch auf einem dualen Weltbild fußend, wird auf die historischen und zeitgenössischen Erfahrungshorizonte und das kollektive Gedächtnis der Bevölkerung zurückgegriffen, um den heroischen Kampf für die Wiederherstellung eines verlorenen Heilszustandes zu legitimieren. Waren die Versuche von *at-Tawḥīd*

wa-l-Ġibād laut GÜNTHER eher abstrakt, ging ISI durch einen selektiven Rückgriff auf Vorstellungen von islamischer Staatlichkeit mit den Plänen zur Errichtung eines Staatswesens im Irak weit darüber hinaus und generierte Legitimität aus dem Anspruch, als Repräsentant einer gottgewollten Ordnung aufzutreten. Neben einer umfassenden Rezeption der einschlägigen Forschungsliteratur wertete GÜNTHER für seine Dissertationsschrift zahlreiche Video-, Ton- und Schriftquellen im Zeitraum zwischen 2003 und 2010 aus, die von den untersuchten Gruppen publiziert wurden und im Internet zugänglich waren bzw. sind. Durch den Umfang des untersuchten Quellenmaterials und dessen gründliche Auswertung hebt sich GÜNTHERS Schrift positiv von anderen Publikationen zum Themenfeld „Islamischer Staat“ ab. So zeigt sich in Umfang und Auswertung der Quellen ein Alleinstellungsmerkmal der Arbeit. Das Quellenkorpus umfasst rund 1000 Textseiten, 27 Stunden Ton- sowie 12,5 Stunden Videomaterial und ist nach Jahr und Medienformat geordnet dem Buch auf DVD beigelegt, was aufgrund der oftmals flüchtigen Präsenz von Internetquellen als sinnvoll erscheint und für eine eigenständige Auseinandersetzung des Lesers mit dem Material hilfreich ist.

Insgesamt überzeugt GÜNTHERS Studie durch ihre ausführlichen quellengestützten Erkenntnisse zur Entwicklung der ausgewählten Gruppierungen, die der Autor in einer sprachlichen Klarheit und Differenziertheit zu vermitteln versteht. Einzig wäre wünschenswert gewesen, für eine breitere theoretische Verortung Studien aus dem Bereich der Friedens- und Konfliktforschung heranzuziehen, etwa um Legitimationsprozesse bewaffneter Gruppen besser kontextualisieren und eine breitere Vergleichbarkeit herstellen zu können. Oftmalige Wiederholungen und Zusammenfassungen im Verlauf der Arbeit ermöglichen dem Leser zwar die unabhängige Lektüre einzelner Kapitel, trüben jedoch die Gesamtdarstellung. Auch wäre im Schlussteil eine Reflexion der aus kommunikationswissenschaftlichen Theoremen gewonnenen Überlegungen sinnvoll gewesen. So hätte herausgestellt werden können, dass die methodischen Grundlagen der Arbeit geeignet sind, in daran anschließenden Studien den Prozess nach dem Ende des Untersuchungszeitraumes 2010 und die aktuelle Situation im Irak zu untersuchen. Eine Diskussion der Generalisierbarkeit und Übertragbarkeit der gewonnenen Erkenntnisse auf andere Gewaltakteure an dieser Stelle hätte die Arbeit bereichernd ergänzt.

Mit der gut begründet gewählten und konzise untersuchten Problematik der Kommunikations- und Legitimationsstrategien militanter islamistischer Akteure im Irak leistet dieses Buch nicht nur einen Beitrag zur Erforschung ġihādistischer Gruppen oder der jüngsten Geschichte des Irak. Es bereichert außerdem die Diskussion um das oftmals zugunsten von politischen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungen vernachlässigte Konstrukt des symbolischen Kapitals, das sich aus dem Kampf um das als richtig erachtete Weltbild und die daraus abgeleitete Gesellschaftsordnung speist. Die Bedeutung von religiöser Ideologie für das Wirken, den Erfolg und das Überleben militanter Gruppen konnte GÜNTHER in dieser Arbeit umfassend belegen. Aus seiner Analyse wird deutlich, dass die behandelten Gruppen rational handelnde Akteure sind, die im Zusammenspiel mit spezifischen Gewaltstrategien unterschiedliche neue Medienformate und religiöse Inhalte gezielt für ihre Zwecke instrumentalisieren, um sich als ‚ġihādistische Avantgarde‘ begreifend als die Fortsetzung einer Konstante der islamischen Geschichte darzustellen. Seit dem Zeitpunkt des Erscheinens der Monographie 2014 konnte der „Islamische Staat“ ab Juni weite Teile Syriens und des Iraks unter seine Kontrolle bringen und trug durch Terroranschläge die Gewalt bis nach Westeuropa. Ģihādistische Gruppierungen in Nigeria, Tunesien, Jemen und Libyen unterstellten sich dem IS, der Ende 2015 den Höhepunkt seiner territorialen Ausbreitung erreicht hatte. Ab dem Jahr 2016 geriet der „Islamische Staat“ zunehmend in die Defensive und ist zwei Jahre später beinahe vollständig aus Syrien und dem Irak verschwunden. Auch

wenn sich die Strukturen der Organisation aufgelöst haben, so werden die kollektiven und ideologischen Folgen weiterhin spürbar sein. Es wäre sicher gewinnbringend, den Prozess des Niedergangs des „Islamischen Staats“ mit GÜNTHERS Ansatz zu untersuchen.

PETER BLANK, Jena

MALCOLM C. LYONS: *The Man of Wiles in Popular Arabic Literature. A Study of a Medieval Arabic Hero*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2012. 254 S. ISBN 978-0-7486-4502-2. £ 75.–.

MALCOLM LYONS hat sich in jüngerer Zeit vor allem einen Namen gemacht als Verfasser eines Grundlagenwerks zu den arabischen Epen¹ und Übersetzer der *Erzählungen aus Tausend-undeiner Nacht*² sowie jüngst auch der inhaltlich eng verwandten *-Ḥikāyāt -ʿajība*³. Bereits in dem einleitenden Band seines Werks zu den arabischen Epen hat er ein eigenwilliges Verständnis wissenschaftlicher Darstellung praktiziert, besitzt seine zugegebenermaßen autoritative Darstellung doch auf ihren 140 Seiten keine einzige Anmerkung mit Quellennachweisen oder weiterführenden Hinweisen auf die reiche Sekundärliteratur. Werden Anmerkungen gelegentlich als überflüssig oder gar störend empfunden, so begründen sie letztlich doch Wissenschaftlichkeit in dem Sinn, daß sie die jeweilige Darstellung im Forschungsdiskurs verankern sowie ihre grundsätzliche Nachvollziehbarkeit und damit auch die Überprüfung der Forschungsergebnisse ermöglichen. So banal diese Feststellung ist, so souverän setzt sich LYONS mit dem vorliegenden Band einmal mehr darüber hinweg, denn außer den gequält wirkenden spärlichen Anmerkungen zur Einleitung sowie zum letzten Kapitel kommt auch dieser Band fast völlig ohne Nachweise oder weiterführende Hinweise aus.

Der „man of wiles“, den LYONS hier eingehend behandelt, war bereits Thema eines zehnsseitigen Abschnitts im ersten Band von *The Arabian Epic* (S. 118–127). Es handelt sich, kurz gesagt, um den unerlässlichen Helfer des oder der eigentlichen ‚heroischen‘ Helden der Epen, einen Anti-Helden und Trickster, der dadurch zur Dynamik der Handlung beiträgt, daß er all die Taten vollbringt, die den offen und ehrlich streitenden Helden versagt sind: Der „man of wiles“ lügt und betrügt, er stiehlt und mordet, er überlistet die Gegner mit unterschiedlichen Verkleidungen und vorgespielten Behauptungen. Im vorliegenden Werk breitet der Autor seine überwiegend Inhalte nacherzählende Darstellung auf fünf Kapitel aus, in denen er – wiederum *The Arabian Epic* folgend und unter Hinweis auf die dortigen inhaltlichen Abrisse – die Figur des „man of wiles“ in zehn der wichtigsten arabischen Epen behandelt: (1) *ʿAlī az-Zaybaq, Sirat ʿAntara*; (2) *Qiṣṣat az-Zir Ṣālim, Sirat Banī Hilāl*; (3) *Ḥamza al-balawān, Qiṣṣat Firūz Ṣāb, Sayf b. Dī Yazan*; (4) *Dāt al-Himma*; (5) *Sirat Baybars, Ṣiḥa*. Das abschließende sechste Kapitel bietet „Analysis and Conclusions“ mit zahlreichen weiterführenden Gedanken, wobei vor allem auch auf ähnliche Gestalten in der europäischen epischen Überlieferung eingegangen wird. Außer überaus knappen ein- bzw. ausleitenden Passagen zu den jeweiligen Kapiteln fehlt jeglicher übergreifende Kontext. So fällt auch nur am Rande der zentrale Terminus *ʿayyār*, der das Phänomen des „man of wiles“ sowohl in den Primärtexten als auch in der wissenschaftlichen Fachliteratur bezeichnet, und ebenso fehlt der historische Kontext, der die Figur im Umfeld der unter den Begriffen *futuwwa* (arab.) bzw. *ḡavānmardi* (pers.) bekannten historischen Männerbünde verorten würde. Die zu diesem Themenfeld vorliegende Sekundärliteratur

¹ *The Arabian Epic. Heroic and Oral Story-telling*. Bd. 1–3. Cambridge 1995.

² *The Arabian Nights*. Bd. 1–3. London 2008.

³ *Tales of the Marvellous and News of the Strange*. London 2014.



ist seit den grundlegenden Veröffentlichungen FRANZ TAESCHNERS exponentiell angewachsen, wobei hier exemplarisch nur auf MOHSEN ZAKERIS nach wie vor grundlegende Dissertation¹ sowie den speziell auf die arabischen Epen bezogenen Aufsatz² des kürzlich verstorbenen PETER HEATH hingewiesen werden soll.

Das Buch von LYONS kann auf mehrerlei Weise gelesen werden, etwa als detaillierter und eng an den Inhalten orientierter Überblick zu einem speziellen Phänomen der arabischen Epen oder als eine an ein allgemeininteressiertes (und wenig um Wissenschaftlichkeit besorgtes) Publikum gerichtete autoritative, im übrigen durchaus ansprechend geschriebene Darstellung. Für Leser, die sich kritisch und historisch vergleichend mit dem geschilderten Phänomen auseinandersetzen wollen, ist das Lesebuch allerdings eine ausgesprochene Enttäuschung.

ULRICH MARZOLPH, Göttingen

PETER BEHNSTEDT/MANFRED WOIDICH: *Wortatlas der arabischen Dialekte*. Band I: *Mensch, Natur, Fauna, Flora*. Leiden/Boston: Brill 2011. XXVIII, 665 S., 184 farbige Karten. (HdO I,100,1.) ISBN 978-90-04-18664-4. € 229,99.

Bereits der erste Band des inzwischen auf vier Bände angelegten Werks zeigt, dass hier eine Publikation vorliegt, deren „Halbwertszeit“ bestimmt viele Jahrzehnte betragen wird. PETER BEHNSTEDT und MANFRED WOIDICH haben mit diesem den gesamten arabischen Sprachraum umfassenden Atlas ein Unterfangen gewagt, das jedem, der das Fachgebiet kennt, nur Bewunderung entlocken kann. Denn erstens sind die in diesen Atlas eingeflossenen Daten auf hunderte Publikationen verstreut, welche erst einmal durchgearbeitet werden mussten. Und zweitens erfordert ein monumentales Werk wie dieses natürlich Mut zur Lücke, wie dies die beiden Autoren im Vorwort (S. X) auch eingestehen. Nicht wenige Regionen der arabischen Welt sind noch ungenügend erforscht, zu manchen gibt es nur veraltete Quellen, zu manchen sehr unvollständige Daten, zu wieder anderen lediglich Internetquellen, deren Seriosität nicht immer nachgeprüft werden kann. Man wird hier an die Vorrede bzw. das Vorwort von CARL BROCKELMANN in den beiden Bänden des *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin 1908–1913) erinnert. Auch der große alte Meister wusste um die vielen Lücken in der damaligen Forschung, machte sich aber trotzdem an die Arbeit und behielt insofern recht, als die beiden Bände mehr als hundert Jahre nach ihrem Erscheinen weiterhin für die vergleichende Semistik von Wert sind. Und wer sollte heute im Bereich der komparativen arabischen Lexikographie ein solches Werk in Angriff nehmen, wenn nicht BEHNSTEDT und WOIDICH, das „Dream-Team“ der arabischen Areallinguistik. Die beiden Autoren haben mehr Sprachatlanten verfasst als alle anderen Dialektologinnen und Dialektologen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart zusammen. Sie besitzen die nötige Erfahrung und können als etablierte Forscher „auf ihre alten Tage“ (S. IX) auch eher Kritik in Kauf nehmen.

Damit zum Eigentlichen: Ein Werk wie das hier zu besprechende wäre natürlich leicht zu kritisieren. Niemand kann alles im inzwischen riesigen Fach der arabischen Dialektologie überblicken, man könnte bei vielen Karten monieren, warum nun gerade dieser

¹ *Sāsānid Soldiers in Early Muslim Society. The Origins of ‘Ayyārān and Futuwwa*. Wiesbaden 1995.

² “‘Ayyār. The Companion, Spy, Scoundrel in Premodern Arabic Popular Narratives.” In: B. GRUENDLER/M. COOPERSON (Hrsg.): *Classical Arabic Humanities in Their Own Terms. Festschrift Wolfhart Heinrichs*. Leiden 2008, S. 20–39.

Begriff aufgenommen wurde und ein anderer nicht. Vor allem, und das wissen auch die beiden Autoren, sind die aus verschiedensten Publikationen zusammengetragenen Wörter in den originalen Quellen oft nicht klar glossiert. Um bei diesem Band zu bleiben: Eine „Ziege“ wird wohl eine „Ziege“ sein, aber ob immer exakt zwischen „Fuß“ und „Bein“ oder zwischen „Hals“ und „Kehle“, zwischen „hinkend“ und „lahm“ usw. unterschieden wurde, muss dahingestellt bleiben. Manchmal fehlt im Arabischen auch ein exaktes Äquivalent zu einem in den europäischen Sprachen vorhandenen Oberbegriff (wie z. B. bei der „Eidechse“ oder der „Herde“, wo nicht wenige Dialekte für verschiedene Nutztiere unterschiedliche Wörter gebrauchen), was aber den Autoren der benutzten Werke oft entgangen ist. Mit einem Wort: Wer einen der weniger gut beschriebenen Lokaldialekte – und das ist die Mehrheit – gründlich kennt, wird sicher das eine oder andere vermissen oder korrigieren können. Und dass sich in ein Werk, für das 70 000 Lexeme ausgewertet wurden, auch der eine oder andere Flüchtigkeitsfehler einschleicht, ist ebenso nicht zu vermeiden. Aber solange man das Ganze im Auge behält, kann man den Autoren nichts vorwerfen, insbesondere auch deshalb, weil sie problematische Fälle und zwangsläufige Schwächen bei der Datenerhebung in der Einleitung auch offen ansprechen.

Die Daten zu diesem Atlas wurden aus mehreren Quellen gewonnen: (1) Durch extensive Auswertung publizierter Studien, (2) aus Fragebögen zu fünfzig Orten, welche größtenteils von den auf der Titelseite genannten Fachkolleginnen und -kollegen beigesteuert wurden, (3) aus unveröffentlichtem Material der beiden Autoren selbst und (4) aus dem Internet, wo immer mehr „Lokalpatrioten“ in der arabischen Welt dialektale Ausdrücke ihrer Region darbieten. Neben der schon erwähnten Einleitung, von der auch eine englische Fassung vorliegt (S. XVII–XXI), enthält der Band ein Abkürzungsverzeichnis, ein alphabetisches Kartenverzeichnis sowie Karten mit den Untersuchungspunkten zu jenen Regionen, wo es noch keine Atlanten gibt (man sucht also Syrien, Jemen und Ägypten hier vergeblich). Dann folgen – beginnend mit „Mann“ – 174 weitere Karten zu den im Titel genannten semantischen Feldern. Die immer auf einer ganzen Seite platzierten Karten sind onomasiologisch ausgerichtet. Die Glossen werden praktischerweise auf Deutsch, Englisch, Französisch, Spanisch und Italienisch gegeben, die im Allgemeinen sehr ausführlichen Kommentare sind jedoch nur in deutscher Sprache. Die Kommentare bieten nicht nur Ergänzungen zu dem, was auf der Karte zu sehen ist. Vielmehr enthalten sie häufig sehr erhellende Abhandlungen und geben tiefe Einblicke in sprachgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge. Nicht selten lassen sie auch interessante kulturhistorische Rückschlüsse zu, so etwa bei vielen Nutzpflanzen, wo aufgrund der Bezeichnungen auch die Verbreitungswege nachvollzogen werden können.

Den Karten folgt ein über hundert Seiten (545–649) umfassender Index, welcher sämtliche dialektale Formen auflistet und damit eine willkommene Quelle auch für zukünftige Forschungen ist. Dazu regten wäre hier, diesen Index nach Abschluss aller Bände *online* zugänglich zu machen, da dies die Benutzbarkeit extrem erleichtern würde. Zu guter Letzt gibt es auch noch einen Index aller aus anderen Sprachen zitierten Wörter, welcher vor allem für weitere etymologische Studien von Interesse sein wird.

An einen Atlas wie diesen können selbstverständlich sehr viele Fragestellungen herangetragen werden. Die folgenden Zeilen sind daher rein exemplarische Beobachtungen von Phänomenen, welche mir bei der Lektüre dieses Werks aufgefallen sind. Hält man einen Gesamtatlas der arabischen Welt in den Händen, kommt einem natürlich gleich in den Sinn, Beispiele für die bekannte Dichotomie Maghreb – Mashreq auf den Kartenbildern zu suchen. Es überrascht hier ein wenig, dass die betreffenden Karten meist gar nicht so eindeutig sind, vor allem, weil im Osten (im Folgenden „O“) nicht selten mehrere Formen einer typischen maghrebinischen Form im Westen (im Folgenden „W“) gegenüberstehen. Weit weniger oft ist dies umgekehrt der Fall, eines der seltenen Beispiele ist hier die „Karotte“ (Kt.159).

Typische Karten, welche die Teilung in östliche und westliche Dialekte reflektieren, sind Kt.20 „Witwe“ (O *armala*, W *baġġāla*, Malta und al-Andalus zeigen, dass der Unterschied zumindest nicht sehr alt ist), Kt.33 „Arzt“ (O *duktōr*, W *ṭbīb*), Kt.63 „Ferse“ (O *kaʿb*, W *gadam*), Kt.68 „dünn“ (O *ḍaʿīf*, W *rgīg*), Kt.115 „Fisch“ (mit dem bekannten Paar O *samak*, W *ḥūt*), Kt.122 „Storch“ (O *laqlaq*, W *ḥallārōḥ*), Kt.134 „Schwein“ (O *xinzīr*, W *ḥallūf*), Kt.143 „Fluss“ (O *nabr*, W *wād*), Kt.155 „Blumen“ (O *ward/zuhūr*, W *ward/nuwwār*), Kt.169 „Feigen“ (O *tin*, W *kaymūs*). Manchmal scheiden Maghreb und Mashreq auch nur typische morphologische Charakteristika einzelner Formen wie z.B. in Kt.135 „Igel“ und Kt.175 „Aprikosen“. Hier und da verläuft die entsprechende Isoglosse auch entlang des Roten Meeres, d.h. Ägypten geht in diesen Fällen mit dem Maghreb zusammen, wie z.B. Kt.10 „Mann“ (O Formen mit Geminaten wie *raġġāl* gegenüber W Formen mit langem Vokal in der ersten Silbe: *rāġīl* usw.) und Kt.40 „Ohr“ (im W anlautendes *w-*). Relativ oft ist Mauretanien anders als der Rest des Maghreb, dabei jedoch manchmal konform mit dem Osten, so etwa bei den Bezeichnungen für „Witwe“ (Kt.20), „Friseur“ (Kt.32), „Stute“ (Kt.102) und „Schwein“ (Kt.134). Dies könnte als ein Indiz gesehen werden, dass die beduinischen Dialekte Mauretaniens aufgrund ihrer Abgeschiedenheit weniger stark „maghrebinisiert“ wurden.

Eher selten ist berberisches Substrat für die Sonderstellung des Maghreb verantwortlich, in diesem Band betrifft dies hauptsächlich die Rubrik „Frei lebende Tiere“: Kt.127 „Schnecke“ (*babbūš/a*), Kt.128 „Schildkröte“ (*fakrūn/a*) und Kt. 129 „Frosch“ (*ḏrāna*).

Bei der geographischen Verteilung sticht immer wieder ins Auge, dass sich ein oder zwei Gebiete völlig verschieden vom Rest verhalten. Dabei halten sich die meisten Regionen die Waage, lediglich der Jemen und Mauretanien sind signifikant öfter „anders“ als der Rest des arabischen Sprachraums. Eine Auflistung der verschiedenen Lexeme würde hier zu weit führen, exemplarisch seien genannt: Mauretanien „Wolken“ (Kt.138 *mzūn*), Marokko „Enten“ (Kt.108 *byak*), Tunesien „Löwe“ (Kt.80 *ṣēd*), Libyen „Hitze“ (Kt.145 *naww*), Ägypten „dick“ und „dünn“ (Kt.67/68 *txīn* und *rufayya*), Syrien und Palästina „Pfirsiche“ (Kt.174 *durraq/in*), Irak „Reis“ (Kt.162 *timman*) und Jemen „Maus“ (Kt.130 *ʿakbarī*).

Ein relativ hoher Grad an Konformität fällt bei vielen prominenten Körperteilen auf, wo die Unterschiede häufig nur phonologischer oder morphologischer Natur sind bzw. wo neben den dominanten Lexemen regional noch weitere andere existieren. Zu nennen wären hier Kt.36 „Kopf“, Kt.38 „Gesicht“, Kt.45 „Hals“ (jedoch mit abweichenden Formen im Jemen und in Marokko), Kt.51 „Hand“, Kt.54 „Finger“, Kt.57 „Rücken“, Kt.58 „Bauch“, Kt.61 „Knie“ und Kt.66 „Haut“ (*ġild*, nur Südarabien hat hier *ḍim*). Im Gegensatz dazu fällt extreme Vielfältigkeit beim Tabuwort „Hintern“ (Kt.64) und bei den Bezeichnungen für „Stirn“ (Kt.37), „Kinn“ (Kt.44) und „Lippe“ (Kt.49) auf. Recht einheitliche Lexeme für die „Augenbraue“ (Kt.39) oder – mit Abstrichen – den „Schnurrbart“ (Kt.50) lassen nicht den Schluss zu, dass vor allem die Teile des Gesichts sehr unterschiedlich benannt werden.

Wenig überraschend ist die Einheitlichkeit bei den beiden Hauptgestirnen Sonne und Mond (Kt.136, *šams*, und 137, *qamar*; in Südwestarabien ist das sonst für „Monat“ übliche Wort *šabar* belegt), bei den Himmelsrichtungen fällt auf, dass „Osten“ und „Westen“ weniger differenziert sind als „Norden“ und „Süden“. In Rubrik 6 „Haus- und Nutztiere“ sind die allgemeinen Bezeichnungen für die sehr wichtigen Tiere „Hu“ (Kt.94 *baqara*), „Pferde“ (Kt.100 *xayl*) und „Kamel“ (Kt.104 *ġamal*) weitgehend einheitlich, dazu kommen noch die „Gänse“ (Kt.109 *wazz*) und der „Hase“ (Kt.110 *ʿarnab*). Dem gegenüber steht eine auffällige Variation von Lexemen, wenn es um differenzierte Ausdrücke für Haustiere geht, so zum Beispiel für „männliches und weibliches Lamm“ (Kt.86–87), das „Zicklein“ (Kt.93) und die „Katze“ (Kt.112). Eine mögliche Erklärung hierfür ist, dass Bezeichnungen für Haustiere nach Alter und Geschlecht meist nur von jenen gebraucht werden, die mit diesen Tieren zu tun haben, d.h. weniger lexikalisches Allgemeingut und

damit auch anfälliger für Sonderentwicklungen sind. Was die „Katze“ betrifft, so sind hier scheinbar auch onomatopoeische Bildungen für die Diversität verantwortlich.

Von den in Abschnitt 7 berücksichtigten „Frei lebenden Tieren“ sind lediglich allgegenwärtige „hausnahe“ Tiere sehr einheitlich benannt, vor allem Kt.117 „Bienen“ (*nabl*), Kt.120 „Fliegen“ (*dubbān*) und Kt.130 „Maus“ (*fār*). Hingegen gehören die „Kakerlake“ (Kt.119) und der „Frosch“ (Kt.129) zu den buntesten Kartenbildern im ganzen Atlas. Ebenfalls stark differenziert sind die in Rubrik 10 angeführten „Pflanzen“; wo nur der „Baum“ (Kt.152, *šağara* mit extrem unterschiedlicher phonologischer Entwicklung), die „Kichererbsen“ (Kt.168, *hummus*) und die „Bananen“ (Kt.179, *mawz*) durch hohe Konformität auffallen.

Über den gesamten Sprachraum hinweg gleichmäßig verteilte hohe Diversität ist nicht so häufig wie man vielleicht angenommen hätte. Oft handelt es sich dann um Lexeme, die zumindest im Klassischen Arabisch als Synonyme geführt werden, wobei sich dann eine Form regional durchgesetzt hat (sprachgeschichtlich kann aber davon ausgegangen werden, dass hier einfach unterschiedliche altarabische Dialektformen weitergeführt wurden). Gut illustrieren lässt sich dies anhand der Karten für „Nase“ (Kt.42), „Wange“ (Kt.43), „Mund“ (Kt.47), „Schatten“ (Kt.141), „Weizen“ (Kt.161) und „Palmbblätter“ (Kt.182).

Auffallende Unterschiedlichkeit begegnet bei Wörtern, die in irgendeiner Weise pejorativ sind. Darunter fallen etwa die in Rubrik 5 angeführten menschlichen Eigenschaften, die großteils negativ sind oder Defekte bezeichnen. Solche Lexeme „ziehen, Synonyme“ geradezu an“ (S. 221) und neigen dazu von Euphemismen verdrängt zu werden, wodurch es zu vielen regionalen Sonderentwicklungen kommt. Dies gilt etwa für „taub“ (Kt.73), „stumm“ (Kt.74), „linkshändig“ (Kt.78) oder „geizig“ (Kt.80). Ebenfalls euphemistische Ausdrücke dürften den sehr verschiedenen Bezeichnungen für den „Aff“ (Kt.132) zugrunde liegen. Auch Begriffe, die mit Emotionen im weitesten Sinne zu tun haben, zeigen oft hohe Diversität, meist handelt es sich hierbei wohl um ursprüngliche Hypokoristika wie bei der „Großmutter“ (Kt.14), der aber ein extrem einheitlicher „Großvater“ (Kt.15) gegenüber steht.

Ein paar Kleinigkeiten, die mir aufgefallen sind: S. 108 in der dritten Spalte dürfte mehrmals aus einem *ʿ* ein *ʿ* geworden sein (*ʿarnabe* usw.), S. 385 ist die Kopfzeile falsch, S. 502 muss es „Flora“ statt „Fauna“ heißen, denn es geht um die Pflaume. Auf Kt.24 ist Mali falsch eingefärbt, auf Kt.171 Malta.

Die obigen Beobachtungen sind nur ein winziger Ausschnitt dessen, was man aus diesem Atlas an Information gewinnen kann. Dazu kommen noch unzählige nützliche etymologische Angaben, Hinweise auf kulturelle Vermittlungswege (etwa bei den „Orangen“ Kt.170) oder interessante volksetymologische Umdeutungen von Wörtern (z. B. bei den „Auberginen“ Kt.157 und „Artischocken“ Kt.160). Auf jeden Fall kann man auf die nächsten Bände schon sehr gespannt sein.

STEPHAN PROCHÁZKA, Wien

TERRY F. KLEEMAN: *Celestial Masters. History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center 2016. xiii, 425 pp. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 102.) ISBN 978-0-674-73716-7. \$ 49,95.

In present-day China Daoism at times receives the official honour of being called China's national religion, which is a historical novelty. Daoism has been held in particularly low esteem since the end of the nineteenth century when the concepts of nation and religion entered the Chinese discourse, and Daoist practices and beliefs were not seen as matching what these concepts entailed. The official respect that it attracts at present is an acknowledgement of two contrasting facts. On the one hand, Daoism is a living religion that has survived despite decades,



if not well over a century, of official neglect, condemnation and even persecution; on the other hand, it is an organisation and a set of creeds and ceremonies that reach back to the time when Chinese civilisation took shape. Recent celebrations of Daoism as the national religion have encouraged an increasing academic interest in its history and development which has, in turn, heightened Daoism's status as an icon of Chinese culture that people will approach out of historical as well as ideological interest. Therefore, the field of Daoist studies is large and is engaged in by an increasing number of participants, in China as well as in the West.

Daoism's origins have become a major topic of investigation, as can be seen for instance in the intensity with which people continue to discuss the wording of excavated manuscripts of the *Laozi* and the question of the *Laozi*'s supposed anti-Confucianism.¹ While some of the weight that is attributed to the *Laozi* stems from its sinological and philosophical importance, the text also owes its prominence to the early deification of the figure of Laozi and its position in the early religion.² The text of the *Laozi* certainly belongs to the range of elements that in late antiquity became the sources for Daoist movements.³ However, it was not the only such source. Other elements consist of popular expurgatory, purificatory and other practices that were meant to heal illness and retain social order.⁴ These practices border on what has been summarized as a *fangshi* "master or recipes" tradition with ideas and practices that relate to the maintenance of *qi* and the search for immortality.⁵ One could argue that thoughts on meditation and the visualisation of spirits as they are expressed in the *Taiping jing* whose materials reach in part back to the Han dynasty, were also grounds from which the religion emerged, and so may have been the social policies that were envisaged in the same materials.⁶ The aims and strategies that were promoted by protest movements of the outgoing Han dynasty belong here as well. Their leaders acted as if empowered by supernatural assistance and almost prophetic insight.⁷ It does not seem possible to put those elements into any chronological sequence or geographic map or to outline any distinct impacts or relations among the individuals and groups by whom they were represented. When viewed together they make Daoism appear as an experiment in alternative lifestyle or a meeting place of popular interests and widely practised habits and customs. The book at hand is designed in contrast to this historically unsatisfactory image of the early religion. The author can rely on his decades-long research into the Celestial Master movement and its historical background.⁸ This is here

¹ See S. COOK: *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian. A Study and Complete Translation*. 2 vols. Ithaca 2012, pp. 211–212.

² See A. SEIDEL: *La divinisation de Lao Tseu dans le taoïsme des Han*. Paris 1969 (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 71).

³ See for instance G. RAZ: *The Emergence of Daoism. Creation of Tradition*. London 2012; LÜ PENGZHI: "Daoist rituals." In: J. LAGERWEY / LÜ PENGZHI (eds): *Early Chinese Religion*. 2 vols. Leiden 2010, 2, pp. 1245–1351; B. HENDRISCHKE: *Daoist Perspectives on Knowing the Future. Selections from the Scripture on Great Peace*. Wiesbaden 2017; A. SEIDEL: "The Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Daoist Messianism." In: *History of Religions* 9 (1969–1970), pp. 216–247.

⁴ See for instance RAZ 2012.

⁵ See LÜ PENGZHI 2010.

⁶ See HENDRISCHKE 2017.

⁷ See SEIDEL 1969–1970.

⁸ See for instance T. KLEEMAN: "Community and Daily Life in the Early Daoist Church." In: J. LAGERWEY / LÜ PENGZHI (eds): *Early Chinese Religion*. 2 vols. Leiden 2010, 2, pp. 395–436.

brought together in the coherent and comprehensive account of a religious movement that those active in today's Daoist groups see as their ancestor and that for this reason can indeed be called the foundation of China's national religion.

The Celestial Master movement is more accessible than are other aspects of Han dynasty religious life because its communities were not private gatherings but formed a small independent state that existed for about thirty years at the periphery of the Han dynasty empire while this empire itself was in a state of breakdown. The author speaks of a theocracy. The existence of this state attracted the attention of contemporary historians who otherwise took little interest in matters of lifestyle and thought. The formation of Celestial Master communities—the author uses the word „church“—can therefore largely be constructed by materials that do not come from within the Daoist tradition. From these materials the author derives an image that in general agrees with how Daoist sources view the early Celestial Master communities.

The first half of the book is arranged chronologically. Its topic is the story of early Daoism rather than an account of the difficulties of telling this story.¹ The author does, however, discuss at some length how, contradictory as some are, sources can be and are read differently. He concludes this discussion by designing a picture of events that foregrounds Zhang Lu's political astuteness and religious leadership and reduces the role that his competitor Zhang Xiu may have played in the Celestial Master movement. Overall, Zhang Lu is depicted as the capable inheritor of his grandfather Zhang Ling's position. Thus the author has no problem in amalgamating the information that is contained in hagiographical materials. This is true in particular for the information found in a text that has been transmitted in the collection *Zhengyi faxian tianshi jiao jieke jing* and dated by KLEEMAN as between 220 and 231 CE that, in 142 CE, the divinized Laozi or some other deity appeared to Zhang Ling, who as a result became intent on "allowing all worthy people capable of transcendence to ascend to salvation". Whether such a project of salvation was the intention of Zhang Ling and his successors is a moot point. The statement can certainly be seen as documenting the program of the Daoist church once it had established itself.

In this book's decidedly diachronic first half, different stages are set up as if they were related to each other by growth in doctrinal clarity and fullness and also by some points of contrast. The picture here created looks possible, but there are too many open ends to make it necessary. One could argue that the sources are too isolated to sketch the doctrinal development of ideas like the arrival of great peace (*tai ping*) or selection and salvation of seed citizens (*zhong min*). The scarcity of sources is such that, in discussing the religion's origins, one cannot avoid turning to material that was consolidated hundreds of years later at a point in time when the religion had visibly come to play a China-wide social and even political role and means were found to archive reports of its beginnings. Given that the early congregation dispersed to different parts of the north of China and in the fourth century also to the south, space as well as time may have been the cause of differences.

The author sees the church's first historical stage as situated before Cao Cao's assault ended the Celestial Master's presence in Sichuan in 215 CE. He here refers to the Zhang Pu Stele of 173 CE and the *Xiang'er* commentary to the *Laozi*, which he agrees is generally seen as going back to Zhang Lu. The commentary's focus is moral issues, and KLEEMAN argues that it sees proper conduct not as resulting from independent processes of self-cultivation

¹ Compare the author's remarks on this topic in T. KLEEMAN: "Reconstructing China's Religious Past: Textual Criticism and Intellectual History." In: *Journal of Chinese Religions* 32 (2004), pp. 29–45.



but from a “divinely revealed code of conduct”.¹ This is problematic, for two reasons. One is the format of the *Xiang'er* and even what became distilled from it as the *Xiang'er's* twenty-seven precepts. Their propositions hardly amount to a code. Most of them—for instance, “do not delight in deviance” or “do not be obstinate”—suggest attitudes rather than actions, such as “do not eat bloody animals”. The *Xiang'er's* social philosophy does not consist of a set of rules but promotes a specific world-view, as does the *Laozi*, whose persuasive power must not be underestimated. Most of the precepts distilled from the text of the *Xiang'er* are based on suggestions or arguments presented in the *Laozi*, a text whose concentrated recital was a major Celestial Master ritual. We must assume that it was expected to induce processes of re-thinking, or the practice of self-cultivation. In the *Taiping jing*, for instance, the intensive study and recital of materials are fully identified with thinking and behaving in the way that these materials suggest.² With good reason, the author refutes PUETT's highly cosmological reading of the *Xiang'er* and the resulting rather complex claim that people need to cultivate themselves for cosmic reasons.³ However, the *Laozi*—as well as the *Xiang'er*—is firm in suggesting that people should change their conduct and with it their personality in reference to values that come under the label of *dao*. This demand is closer to Warring States' moral philosophy than is a systematic list of do-s and don't-s.

To document “Daoism in the Third Century” the author introduces the exhortatory tract *Yangping Parish*—here for the first time fully translated—portions of *Commands and Precepts for the Great Family of the Dao*—in a new translation—and passages from chapters 3 and 1 from *Demon Statutes of Lady Blue*. He discusses a range of organisational issues and introduces a list of prohibitions and taboos that were meant to accompany social and spiritual conduct within the Daoist community. He pays particular attention to rituals for subjugating demons by bureaucratic control and to the ritual of “merging the pneumas” that combines ritualised sexual practice with the promise of personal salvation and must, it may be argued, be seen in the context of a familistic concern for fertility.⁴ Both practices were central and contributed decisively to the early Daoists' popular success. KLEEMAN's analysis results in the plausible conclusion that Celestial Master Daoism was able to “accommodate existing religious authority within a new framework.”⁵

This historical account of the early religion closes with a chapter on the Northern and Southern Dynasties from the fourth to the sixth centuries in which the author documents the existence of prominent Daoist believers and revisions of the original Celestial Master organisation. He argues that Kou Qianzhi, in the service of Emperor Taiwu (r. 424–452) of the Northern Wei, intended to reform Celestial Master Daoism into a church that could be managed by the central state and doubts that these reforms had any decisive impact on how local communities were organised, since Daoist stelae from North China reflect a traditional community structure. In the South, Celestial Master Daoism developed in all social environments and became the basis for influential new Daoist groups which, however, as KLEEMAN points out, never “replaced Celestial Master Daoism on the local level”. NICKERSON agrees:

¹ See KLEEMAN 2016, p. 95.

² See HENDRISCHKE 2017, p. 109.

³ See M. PUETT: “Forming Spirits for the Way: The Cosmology of the *Xiang'er* Commentary to the *Laozi*.” In: *Journal of Chinese Religions* 32 (2004), pp. 1–27.

⁴ See C. MOLLIER: “Conceiving the Embryo of Immortality: ‘Seed-People’ and Sexual Rites in Early Taoism.” In: A. ANDREEVA/D. STEAVU (eds.): *Transforming the Void. Embryological Discourse and Reproductive Imagery in East Asian Religion*. Leiden 2016 (Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series 16), p. 95 and compare LÜ 2010, pp. 1319–1322.

⁵ See KLEEMAN 2016, p. 178.

In a "mostly historiographically invisible way, less august Celestial Master and related Daoist practitioners continued their ancient tradition of a priesthood among the people."¹

When trying to summarize the book's first, historiographical, part it can be said that Celestial Master Daoism came into existence in a region in present-day Sichuan in the outgoing second century CE and, retaining its identity, spread after that to all parts of China. Its presence was manifest in individual believers and also in the maintenance of congregations. Thereby, Celestial Master Daoism retained organisational coherence during a historical period when people of all backgrounds were interested in religious activities. Many shades of Buddhism and Daoism made an appearance. KLEEMAN's account of the origin and early history of Celestial Master Daoism tempts one to conclude that its attractiveness and success lay in the intriguing wisdom of the *Laozi* and the basic simplicity and also malleability of Celestial Master beliefs that was in some contrast to the comparative rigidity and complexity of its ritual requirements and arrangements. This impression is enhanced by the contents and the style of the sources that are the basis of KLEEMAN's work and must necessarily be the starting point for all that can be said on early Celestial Master Daoism. On this topic URSULA-ANGELIKA CEDZICH's magnificent dissertation contains several important observations. She argues that written documents were of little relevance in the early Celestial Master community. What was written was not meant to codify beliefs but to be of practical use and serve organisational and ritual purposes. This also holds true for the sermon-type texts like *Commands and Precepts for the Great Family of the Dao* that pretend to give moral advice to a specific audience. At its foundation Celestial Master Daoism did without the creation of scriptures or treatises.²

The second part of the book introduces the major rituals that accompanied the private and communal life of "Daoist citizens" (*dao min*). At this point the author relinquishes the attempt to reconstruct different historical stages, and Celestial Master communal life is presented in its "mature" form. Sources reach from the fifth century to Tang dynasty times. To thoroughly identify Celestial Master traditions in a world where both Kou Qianzhi's reforms and Buddhist-initiated Lingbao innovations were gaining attention is not easy. KLEEMAN's focus are rituals that pertain to the wider community as opposed to CEDZICH's translation of Tao Hongjing's (456–536) *Dengzhen yinjue* that contains more information on an individual practitioner's state of mind. This is partly due to the fact that Tao's extensive annotation is also translated in full.³ Such translations of liturgical texts allow to draw a comprehensive picture of Celestial Master beliefs and activities. The importance of this picture far exceeds its contribution to the history of early Daoism or its rituals. It casts light on how religious rituals were situated in people's daily lives and thereby touches on people's habits and also their hopes, fears, expectations and strategies. This is particularly so in the preparation and conduct of communal banquets, here termed "the kitchens", that were a popular pre-Buddhist form of petitioning the celestial bureaucracy. These kitchens were strictly vegetarian but in other respects followed old traditions, in that alcoholic beverages and correct seating order played a crucial role. Social hierarchy remained in place but was somewhat modified by the superior rank of initiated priests. Outsiders were, under

¹ See P. NICKERSON: "The Southern Celestial Masters." In: L. KOHN (ed.): *Daoism Handbook*. Leiden 2000, p. 260.

² See U.-A. CEDZICH: "Das Ritual der Himmelsmeister im Spiegel früher Quellen. Übersetzung und Untersuchung des liturgischen Materials im dritten *chüan* des *Tengchen yin-chüe*." Ph.D. dissertation University of Würzburg 1987, pp. 9–11.

³ See CEDZICH 1987, pp. 107–158. This translation, excellent as it is, is in German and difficult to access.



some conditions, integrated. The building, maintenance and ritual use of the small oratory attached to each Daoist family home is another example. One family member was expected to daily approach in a rather formal audience the spirits who resided in the family's oratory. This person would pray for longevity, for freedom from all evil-doing and also from all accidents. Petitions or prayers would include that ailments should heal of themselves or that government officers would stay away. Much can also be learned from the complex rituals that regulated the initiation and promotion of the Daoist clergy. The author proposes that a "sizeable proportion of Daoist community members took a further step toward greater participation in the church by becoming novices." Their advancement to the position of libationer is described as being closely linked to their good conduct. KLEEMAN provides intriguing examples of the pastoral tasks of libationers, which included their role in pacifying the spirits of the dead so that the living would not suffer harm. These rituals are here taken as a given and impressively reconstructed for the modern reader. They are introduced with a brief but competent and illustrative scholarly apparatus that outlines their development, scope and discursive environment. On this point CEDZICH adds the important observation that comprehensive liturgical guidelines were only written when with the cultural and social expansion of Daoism treatises as such gained more religious relevance.¹

In conclusion, the volume is filled with information that is here for the first time made readily accessible to a Western audience, or perhaps any audience, since the materials that are dealt with are hard for anyone to decipher. This information is crucial for understanding the formation of the Daoist religion, which is shown to have come about as an organisation of people in search of a better life for all and to have relied on durable organisational and ritual structures, basic lifestyle guidance and a minimum of doctrinal features. The results of this volume are of decisive importance for the wider history of religion in China and, it can be argued, that of society. What this study leaves to be desired is the next step that would take the discussion to another level of analysis, comparative or whatever else that could clarify the full relevance of what is here documented and proposed. Such an analysis could include attention to perimeters of Celestial Master Daoism. This movement was never isolated. The religious and social orientation that is documented in their manifest borrowings of ideas and their silent acceptances or decided refutations of other religious practices may add to the movement's historical image. As it stands, KLEEMAN's pioneering study is a reliable, extensive, very well written—difficult Chinese texts appear in remarkably readable translations—and highly interesting contribution to our understanding of the foundations of Chinese culture.

BARBARA HENDRISCHKE, Sydney

BARBARA HOSTER / DIRK KUHLMANN / ZBIGNIEW WESOŁOWSKI (Hrsg.): *Rooted in Hope: China—Religion—Christianity / In der Hoffnung verwurzelt: China – Religion – Christentum. Festschrift in Honor of Roman Malek S. V.D. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday / Festschrift für Roman Malek S. V.D. zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*. 2 Bde. (geb.). Abingdon: Routledge 2017. CVIII, 430 S. (Bd. 1); XVI, 486 S. (Bd. 2). (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 68.) ISBN 978-1-138-71808-1. £ 176,-.

Eigentlich steht es dem Rezensenten nicht zu, die vorliegende Festschrift zu besprechen, da er einen Beitrag für selbige geschrieben hat; doch angesichts der großen inhaltlichen Breite dieses zweibändigen, üppig ausgestatteten und mit Umsicht edierten Werkes, in dem die eigenen Zeilen zwischen insgesamt vierzig mitunter recht langen Aufsätzen nur eine unbedeutende

¹ CEDZICH 1987, pp. 11–17.



Randexistenz führen können, möge der *faux pas* verziehen sein. Gewiss, der Einwand, es fehle an kritischer Distanz, ist wohl hinzunehmen; allerdings fiel es mit Blick auf die Menge und Dichte des Gebotenen ohnehin schwer – andere dürften es ähnlich sehen –, eine ausgeglichene, allen Aspekten angemessene Stellungnahme zu formulieren. Kurz, die folgenden Ausführungen können nur, den Umständen angepasst, einige willkürlich ausgewählte Beobachtungen kommentieren. Das wird auch der Jubilar sicher verstehen, der als Wissenschaftler in unserem Fach, der Sinologie, weltweit bekannt ist, nicht allein durch zahlreiche Bücher, Aufsätze und Vorträge, sondern ebenso aufgrund seiner editorischen Tätigkeit. Dass er Großes geleistet hat, wie BARBARA HOSTER, stellvertretend für die Herausgeber, in ihrem elegant formulierten Vorwort berichtet (das zugleich in einer englischen Fassung von DAVID STREIT abgedruckt wurde), muss nicht eigens hervorgehoben werden; bereits die lange Liste MALEK'scher Werke belegt dies in eindrucksvoller Weise. Ihm eine gewichtige Sammlung zu widmen, war deshalb selbstverständlich. Freilich, neben Fleiß und einem umfassenden Fachverständnis, in dessen Mitte geistesgeschichtliche Themen stehen, besonders das Christentum in China, will noch eine andere Dimension bedacht sein, an die der Titel der Festgabe erinnert: selbst auferlegte Bescheidenheit und Bestimmtheit auf dem Weg durch die Zeit.

Nun aber zum Ensemble der wissenschaftlichen Beiträge, von denen einige in englischer, andere in deutscher oder chinesischer Sprache (zwei Arbeiten) abgefasst wurden. Das Gesamtwerk ist in mehrere thematische Abteilungen (mit deutschen und englischen Überschriften) gegliedert: (1) Chinesische Geistesgeschichte, (2) Geschichte des Christentums in China, (3) Christentum im heutigen China, (4) Andere Religionen in China, (5) Chinesische Sprache und Literatur, (6) Begegnung der Kulturen. Die Segmente (1) und (2), welche den ersten Band vollständig füllen, und Segment (6) im zweiten Band bilden die umfangreichsten Teile. Wer das Ganze zu lesen bereit ist, wird somit – die Titel deuten es an – von eher allgemeinen bzw. grundsätzlichen Fragen zum Speziellen geführt, um dann am Ende, oft mit Blick auf die Gegenwart, wieder zu übergreifenden Überlegungen geleitet zu werden. Beiden Bänden sind zudem Anhänge beigelegt, unter anderem mit farbigen Abbildungen. Hier werde ich vor allem auf den ersten Band eingehen.

Der einleitende Beitrag von NICOLAS STANDAERT legt in gewisser Weise den Rahmen für das Kommende fest. Es geht um die wichtige, meist nur selten berücksichtigte Überlegung, was wir heute unter Religion verstehen, inwieweit unsere Konzepte auf die frühe Neuzeit und die China-Mission übertragbar sind. STANDAERT sieht einen fundamentalen Unterschied zwischen der Begrifflichkeit, die aus alten Quellen zu ermitteln ist, und den uns vertrauten Konventionen. Das betrifft die Abgrenzung zwischen weltlicher und religiöser Sphäre sowie, damit einhergehend, Termini wie *religio*, *lex*, *secta* und deren Derivate. Und natürlich geht es auch um die frühe Rezeption der *ru*-Lehre (儒), besonders ihrer ethisch-moralischen Komponenten. Fast wichtiger jedoch: Die Berichte der China-Missionare haben zurückgewirkt auf die Entwicklung der Begriffe in Europa selbst, die fortschreitende Trennung von Religion und „Nicht-Religion“ ist durch die Jesuiten sogar beschleunigt worden. Unerlässlich für die Erhellung solcher Prozesse sei die Berücksichtigung der intrakulturellen Ebene, so der Autor, d. h. der in einem Sprach- und Kultursystem sich wandelnden Semantik hinter den jeweils sichtbaren Termini; damit ist natürlich die diachronische Achse gemeint.

Spielt bei STANDAERT das *ru*-Element eine zentrale Rolle, so wird der Leser in den nächsten Beiträgen, von PAUL RULE und JIANG RYH-SHIN 江日新, eher ins daoistische Fluidum getaucht. RULES Aufsatz beleuchtet die Verknüpfung der Umwelt (*environment*) mit Konzepten des *dao* 道 in frühen Texten, deshalb der gewählte Titel *The Dao of Ecology*. JIANG fasst sich mit der Philosophie des Laozi 老子 – wie etwa bestimmte Elemente derselben bei Zhuangzi 莊子 durchscheinen, wie sie argumentativ umgesetzt

wurden, wie philosophisch dessen Gedanken überhaupt waren. Dass es hierzu viele Interpretationen gibt, versteht sich von selbst.

CHRISTIAN SCHWERMANN versucht zu ermitteln, welche Bezüge zwischen bestimmten Faktoren, die heute als ökonomisch relevant gelten, in alter Zeit hergestellt wurden. Das betrifft die Verteilung von materiellen, für das Überleben notwendigen Gütern, demographisches Wachstum, die Kategorien Nutzen und Profit sowie das Thema Gerechtigkeit. Einige Textstellen, so SCHWERMANN, rücken die Eliten in den Mittelpunkt, gesellschaftliche Stabilität diene dem Herrscher. Andere Passagen, etwa im Buch *Xunzi* 荀子, deuten an, dass eine ausgewogene Streuung der Mittel für Gerechtigkeit Sorge und damit für geordnete Verhältnisse, zum Wohle aller. Auch im Beitrag von TIZIANA LIPPIELLO geht es letztlich um weltliche Belange – in erster Linie um den Titel bzw. Ausdruck *Zhongyong* 中庸, dessen semantischer Gehalt unterschiedlich verstanden wurde. Das belegt die Autorin anhand vieler Beispiele und früher Übersetzungen. Besonders feinsinnig sind ihre Bemerkungen zur Frage impliziter Kontinuität/Diskontinuität, die mit diesem Begriff (bzw. jenen Elementen, aus denen er sich zusammensetzt) verbunden wurde.

Eingeengte Sichtweisen, verursacht durch die Unfähigkeit, eigene Denkmuster zu durchbrechen, bestimmen das Thema, welches WOLFGANG KUBIN behandelt. Zu fragen wäre, ob und wie nachhaltig die mit einer Sprache oder Gemeinschaft verbundenen Begriffe solche Durchbrüche erschweren oder gar blockieren könnten. Sind vielleicht die Nutzer des Englischen und Chinesischen in dieser Hinsicht mehr benachteiligt als andere? Gleichwohl, die Bemerkungen zum amerikanischen Kulturimperialismus – ja, das „sitzt“. Auch die Hinweise zu dem, was einen intellektuellen ausmachen sollte, zur *communis opinio* und der Notwendigkeit, Schlafende durch sanftes Klopfen an der Außentür zu wecken, sind verständlich – sicher nicht zuletzt vor dem Hintergrund persönlicher Erfahrungen. Hingegen lasse ich die vielschichtigen Ausführungen zu Menzius, YU YINGSHI 余英時 und anderen sowie den fast schon symbolischen Abschluss über *you* 憂 und *chou* 愁 unkommentiert. Ebenso überspringe ich PAUL UNSCHULDS Aufsatz zu den Anfängen der chinesischen Medizin; er beruht auf früheren Studien des gleichen Autors, der in den Fußnoten vor allem die eigenen Werke nennt.

Zwischen den Aufsätzen von KUBIN und UNSCHULD findet sich ein langer Beitrag von ZBIGNIEW WESOŁOWSKI. In ihm geht es um den Begriff der Transzendenz und Transzendenzerfahrungen in China. Bemerkenswert und im Sinne der Festgabe: Der Verfasser erinnert an verschiedene Gedanken des Jubilars, der gezeigt hat, dass Chinas Religionspolitik häufig alten Vorgaben folgt, weshalb von einer „frappierenden Ähnlichkeit“ zwischen damals und heute gesprochen werden kann. WESOŁOWSKI beginnt mit dem Begriffspaar Transzendenz/Immanenz und der „Immanentisierung der Transzendenz“. Es folgt ein historischer Rückblick auf Chinas Religiosität, die in ihren Grundzügen von eben dieser Immanentisierung geprägt sei. Ganz oben steht die Ahnenverehrung, die in unserer Zeit, anders formatiert, weiterzuleben scheint. Bedeutsam auch: Religiosität selbst ist mehr auf Orthopraxie denn auf Orthodoxie gegründet. Und schließlich: Religion, so der Verfasser, lasse sich als „Bejahung einer oder mehrerer Arten von Transzendenz“ verstehen. Letztlich schlägt er noch den Bogen zum Problem der sogenannten *xiejiao* 邪教 oder schädlichen Lehren – wieder mit Verweis auf unsere Zeit.

Die zweite Abteilung des ersten Bandes enthält mehrere, teils sehr gründliche Studien zur frühen China-Mission und zu bekannten Persönlichkeiten, die mit ihr verbunden waren. Die Anordnung folgt einem groben chronologischen Raster. Am Anfang steht eine Arbeit über Xu Guangqi 徐光啟, dessen Wirken seit MONIKA ÜBELHÖRS Ausführungen zum Thema mehrfach untersucht worden ist; im vorliegenden Beitrag, von MATTEO NICOLINI-ZANI, geht es in erster Linie um das *Jingjiaotang beiji* 景教堂碑記 (ca. 1632).

MONIKA MIAZEK-MĘCZYŃSKA befasst sich mit dem polnischen Jesuiten Michael Boym; zu ihm wurden letzters in *Monumenta Serica* (2011) wichtige Aufsätze veröffentlicht. CHIARA PICCININI schreibt über das Vorwort zum *Xiaojing yanyi* 考經衍義 sowie eine frühe französische Übersetzung dieses Textes; ergänzend dazu könnte man noch eine längere Arbeit von PAN FENG-CHUAN 潘鳳娟 zitieren.

GIANNI CRIVELLERS Beitrag führt in das schier unerschöpfliche Thema des Ritenstreites ein. Passend dazu: CLAUDIA VON COLLANI analysiert die *Succinta Chronologica Relatio* von KILIAN STUMPF. STUMPF skizziert die Geschichte der China-Mission, nach Dekaden geordnet. Dabei wird deutlich: Streit gab es nicht nur an der theologischen Front, auch nationale Interessen spielten eine Rolle, wie z. B. ANTÓNIO MARTINS DO VALE in einer umfangreichen Monographie aufgezeigt hat, an die ich erinnere, weil STUMPF die bewährte *Padroado*-Struktur unterstützte und von der *Propaganda Fide* nicht viel hielt. Wie LEIBNIZ unterschiedliche Rückmeldungen aus China zu verarbeiten suchte, erläutert RITA WIDMAIER, und zwar mit Blick auf seine *Dyadik* und Missionstheorie. Fu Xi 伏羲, das *Yi jing* 易經, Gedanken zum binären Zahlensystem, schließlich die Idee einer „Natürlichen Theologie“ sowie LEIBNIZ' Kontakte zu GRIMALDI, BOUVET und anderen – all das kommt zur Sprache. EUGENIO MENEGON beleuchtet die Haltung des Yongzheng-Kaisers zur Religion. Letzterer hoffte, die „drei Lehren“ (Konfuzianismus, Buddhismus, Daoismus) vereinen zu können. Diese Konstellation und andere Faktoren mögen seine schwer zu deutende Haltung gegenüber der katholischen Mission erklären.

Die vier letzten Aufsätze im ersten Band sind der Zeit vom späten 19. Jahrhundert bis in die 1970/1980er Jahre gewidmet. PAN FENG-CHUAN betrachtet ELIJAH C. BRIDGEMAN und sein *Heaven King* (*Xiaojing*). Auch der Beitrag von KARL JOSEF RIVINIUS kreist um das Thema Erziehung, wobei wir Interessantes über die Erwartungen und Rolle der Deutschen hören, denen es immer wieder gelang, sich wandelnden Umständen anzupassen. ROLF GERHARD TIEDEMANN bündelt die Schwierigkeiten der neueren China-Mission. Vor allem galt es, einen Ausgleich zwischen nationalen Wünschen und institutionellen Belangen zu finden, wobei die Überlegung, inwieweit Chinesen zu kirchlichen Diensten herangezogen werden sollten, ebenso wichtig war. Ähnliches ist übrigens schon im 16. Jahrhundert zu beobachten, wie uns ISABEL MURTA PINA in einem üppigen Buch gezeigt hat. Der abschließende Aufsatz, von WINFRIED GLÜER, seziert CHAO TSU-CHENS (ZHAO ZICHEN 趙紫宸) Haltung gegenüber der marxistischen Ideologie, wobei GLÜER auf Erfahrungen aus persönlichen Begegnungen mit CHAO zurückgreifen kann.

Der zweite Band beginnt mit drei Aufsätzen, die allerlei Fragen rund um das Christentum seit Beginn der Öffnung Chinas erörtern (ab etwa 1978/1979). Diese Beiträge wurden von ANGELO S. LAZZAROTTO, JEROOM HEYNDRIX und EVELYN WARODE geschrieben. Besonders in den ersten Essay sind wiederum viele eigene Erfahrungen geflossen. In der nächsten Sektion – über andere Religionen – geht es zunächst um den Kriegsgott Guandi 關帝, ihm gewidmete kanonische Texte und seinen Kult im allgemeinen. Am Rande erwähnt diese Arbeit, von VINCENT GOSSAERT, auch GUNTER DIESINGERS frühe deutsche Monographie (1984) hierzu. FRANÇOISE AUBIN skizziert Berührungspunkte zwischen „neokonfuzianischen“ Konzepten und solchen in islamischen Texten aus China. Offenbar haben sich *Han kitāb*-Gelehrte sogar von den Aktivitäten der Jesuiten inspirieren lassen. Sehr informativ ist die Studie von KATHARINA WENZEL-TEUBER. Fördert die Verstärkung Chinas, die zum Zuzug islamischer Gruppen in große Urballgebiete geführt hat, Säkularisierungstendenzen? Welche Mechanismen arbeiten gegen Identitätsverluste? Passende Antworten zieht die Verfasserin aus einer großen Zahl moderner chinesischer Studien, die gerne soziologische Dimensionen in den Fokus rücken, mitunter aber auch auf besondere Einzelfälle eingehen, etwa den Ort Yiwu 義烏 in Zhejiang. Der kurze



Aufsatz von PIER FRANCESCO FUMAGALLI – über Juden und jüdische Studien in China – liegt bereits in italienischer Fassung vor; ein Kommentar erübrigt sich.

Am Anfang der Sektion „Chinesische Sprache und Literatur“ steht IRENE EBERS „Translating King David“. Es folgt eine lebendige Darstellung von MONIKA MOTSCH, eingeleitet durch eine ebenso erfrischende Notiz zu Ehren Pater MALEKS, die mich an den fröhlichen Charakter der inoffiziellen Festgabe zu seinem fünfzigsten Geburtstag erinnert hat. Doch das ist irrelevant; wichtiger für uns – MOTSCH untersucht ein kaum bekanntes Genre, nämlich populäre Darstellungen biblischer Stoffe in Texten aus Shandong, vor allem in sogenannten *guci* 鼓詞 oder „Trommelliedern“. Auch MARIÁN GÁLIK betrachtet die literarische Umsetzung eines biblischen Themas, und zwar im Werke XIANG PEILIANGS 向培良. BARBARA HOSTER äußert sich zu Su Xuelin 蘇雪林, die u. a. von der Annahme ausging, es habe einen frühen chinesischen Monotheismus gegeben (Tianzhu gujiao 天主古教 genannt); zugleich hat sie ihre Hinwendung zum Katholizismus literarisch verarbeitet. Sehr breit angelegt ist der Beitrag von THOMAS ZIMMER zur Rolle von Religionen in der chinesischen Gegenwartsliteratur. LEOPOLD LEEB spekuliert über die Zukunft des Chinesischen – teils aus einer recht eigenen Perspektive, mit Blick auf Kombinationen von Buchstaben und Zeichenelementen.

Das letzte Segment, über kulturelle Begegnungen, betrachtet folgende Themen: URSULA TOYKA untersucht buddhistische Malerei, NOËL GOLVERS Kommunikationsrouten und Wissenstransfer im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert; ZHANG XIPING 張西平 und REN DAYUAN 任大援 kommentieren die Bedeutung alter chinesischer Bücher über europäische Wissenschaften; HARTMUT WALRAVENS liefert – wie immer akribisch genau im Duktus – eine bibliographische Studie, dieses Mal zur Sammlung von JÓSEF SZCZEPAN KOWALEWSKI; HELWIG SCHMIDT-GLINTZER würdigt vor allem die Rolle der *Monumenta Serica*-Zeitschrift. Die abschließenden Beiträge von PIOTR ADAMEK und FRANZ GÜNTHER GESSINGER blicken weit über China hinaus: ADAMEK beleuchtet die dort lebenden Afrikaner und ihre Religiosität, GESSINGER geht es um die Rolle eines vielfältigen Christentums in der globalisierten Welt.

Das abschließende Urteil zu dieser zweibändigen Festschrift kann nur positiv sein. Vor allem zur Geschichte der katholischen Mission in China sowie – in zweiter Linie – zu Themen, die andere Religionen berühren, enthält das vorliegende Werk viel Interessantes. Das gilt für methodische Interpretationsansätze wie ebenso die rein „faktische“ Ebene. Zudem gilt: Die gelegentliche Symbiose von wissenschaftlichen und essayistischen Elementen lockert die Lektüre in angenehmer Weise auf. *In der Hoffnung verwurzelt* – hierüber besteht kein Zweifel – ist eine wichtige und zugleich würdige Sammlung, die vor allem in sinologischen Bibliotheken nicht fehlen sollte.

RODERICH PTAK, München

THILO DIEFENBACH (Hrsg.): *Kriegsrecht* 戒嚴. *Neue Literatur aus Taiwan* 台灣文學選集. München: Iudicium 2017. 452 S. ISBN 978-3-86205-491-6. € 36,-.

The German book presents a selection of modern and some more recent pieces of Taiwanese literature in translation. The Chinese subtitles of the book may lead the reader to expect a German-Chinese bilingual presentation which is not the case, and the bulk of texts presented in this volume would have demanded the edition of a second book in Chinese that the general reader most certainly would not want to buy.

The translations are written in a readable and lively diction, and we do not have the slightest doubt that the translations of the fairly difficult texts are generally reliable.

Eighteen out of thirty translations of the short stories appear for the first time in a Western language. Nineteen translations were done by the editor of the volume, the others by the authors: WOLF BAUS, HANS PETER HOFFMANN, and KATHARINA MARKGRAF. LUTZ BIEG had the leading hand in compiling the "Bibliography" (pp. 435–449) which supplements and adds to an earlier bibliography edited by CHRISTIANE HAMMER.¹

After each translation we find the name of the translator and biographical information about the Taiwanese author, his name in Chinese, the circumstances of his life and other information that can back up the impression which the story conveys and supports the impact of the story on the reader. We learn about the original first publication of the respective title and whether other, earlier translations are available and also where they were published. The presentation is scientific, sound and yet tremendously entertaining. The translations let the reader live through and sense the emotions, the pain and joy which the central figures of the stories experienced. Many of them were written to reflect the private agony that the martial law had caused which Kuomintang dictatorship had imposed on Taiwan and the indigenous population, of course including the aborigines.

The editor refers in his "Introduction" (pp. 9–31) to two earlier publications in German also presenting Taiwanese literature, namely *Blick übers Meer. Chinesische Erzählungen aus Taiwan*, and secondly *Der ewige Fluß. Chinesische Erzählungen aus Taiwan* 1986.² The editor observes that the title of the two earlier anthologies speaks about "Chinese novels" which indicates the basic problem of assessing literature from Taiwan as product of an all embracing, dominating Chinese culture. The editor feels rightly that this perception of Taiwanese literature does not do justice to the very nature and especially to the history of Taiwanese literature which is not a side stream or appendix to Chinese literature and culture.

The main purpose of the "Introduction" are the analysis and description of the independent nature of literature in Taiwan which would not allow us to simplify and speak about "Chinese novels", even if the modern authors mostly used the standard Chinese language. We understand that Taiwanese literature should be perceived as a natural product of Taiwanese social and political developments and history which for about seventy years developed independently and free of the potentially crippling grip of Chinese administrations on the mainland.

The editor makes a considerable effort in his "Introduction" to discuss the political history of modern Taiwan up to the present time. In many respects the history of Taiwan shows a few protracted catastrophic phases. After fifty years of Japanese colonization which in many respects served Taiwan well as to the civil administration, education and the health system, the Chinese troops of the Nationalists that had lost the war on the mainland against the Communists fled to Taiwan as a shabby bunch of disillusioned armed forces that exploited then and suppressed the Taiwanese in order to subject the population to the dictatorship of the political party Kuomintang (KMT). An uprising in 1947 led to the 2-2-8 massacre killing thousands of Taiwanese and sending thousands of them into long term imprisonment. The KMT initiated a tough enforcement of martial law which including the following martial regulations of various kinds was abolished as late as the 1st of May 1991, concluding nearly 45 years of political suppression. It must not be

¹ CHR. HAMMER: *Reif für die Insel. Ein Streifzug durch die taiwanesischen Literatur in deutscher Übersetzung*. Bochum 1999, 2001.

² HELMUT MARTIN/WOLF BAUS/CHARLOTTE DUNSING (eds.): *Blick übers Meer. Chinesische Erzählungen aus Taiwan*. Frankfurt a.M. 1982. Kuo HENG-YÜ (ed.): *Der ewige Fluß. Chinesische Erzählungen aus Taiwan*. München 1986.

forgotten that in the time from 1959 until 1987 about four thousand persons were executed for political reasons. Of course, the abolishment of the martial law, the preceding step by step softening of the grip that secret surveillance, and police tactics had exerted also gave more liberties to Taiwanese authors who ventured to formulate their life experience and elaborated what we now know as Taiwanese literature.

The editor arranges his selection of literary pieces in four parts:

- 1) "The early stage of the martial law [in Taiwan]", pp. 35–43, presenting stories from 1949 and 1963.
- 2) "The later stage of the martial law", pp. 47–177, presenting stories from 1976, 1980, 1982, 1984 two texts, 1986, 1987.
- 3) "After the lifting of the martial law", pp. 181–298, presenting stories from 1988 five texts, 1990 two texts, 1991 two texts, 1996, 1999.
- 4) "A new century", pp. 301–434, presenting stories from 2008, 2009, 2010 three texts, 2011, 2012, 2013 two texts, and 2016.

The list of the year of publication shows the focus of the book that clearly puts the most recent era into the foreground. The editor, however, does not pretend to give the reader a representative overview, which would have been impossible taking into account the almost unbelievable mass of literature. In the year 2012 about four thousand short novels are said to have been published.

The editor picked stories that pointedly dealt with the era of martial law or later then, exposed sensitive themes that would not have been possible to write about earlier under martial law until 1987. Furthermore, the literary quality and the style mattered greatly for the selection made by the editor who confesses that his individual predilection was important, simply the question whether he liked the text or not. The editor airs very openly his attitude and his pleasure to sojourn in Taiwan which gives the book a rather personal flair. The introductory parts set the tone as the editor takes the reader on a tour through the book stores in the area around the Taiwan National University (Taida/Taibei), where we find a shop specializing in books from China, and other shops that exclusively specialize in Taiwanese literature.

In the front part of the book we also find samples of texts written in Taiwanese dialect, using Roman letters which at first sight resemble Vietnamese texts, using some forms of diacritical symbols. As already indicated, a "Bibliography", "Homage" and a short introduction to each of the six translators conclude the book. It is funny that the Chinese names of the German translators are given, but in the "Bibliography" where we would have badly needed Chinese characters for Chinese names and titles, they just do not shine up.

The notices after the translations provide further clarification and are indeed very useful. However, it would have been nice to have the original title and the name of author in Chinese at the very beginning of each translation and not only as a footnote. This is one of the very few and minimal formal shortcomings. The book is a fantastic contribution to lead Taiwan and Taiwanese literature out of the shadow that China thinks to spread over Taiwan. We may be tempted to consider that the book is a political statement of the German editor, but here we certainly must emphasize that the book is the undoubtedly scientific result of laudable philological efforts and historical study. We conclude expressing the wish and hope that a publisher in the Anglo-Saxon world would take an interest in the book and publish an English translation.

FLORIAN C. REITER, Berlin

Zur Erinnerung: Die ZDMG von 1863

I n h a l t

des siebenzehnten Bandes der Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgen-
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Das hamitosemitische (afroasiatische) Erbe der zentralsudanischen Tschadsprachen*

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Summary: There are some hundred and fifty languages in the central Sudan (northern Nigeria, northern Cameroon and central Chad) whose linguistic outfit betrays them as genetically belonging to the large stock of Hamitosemitic/Afroasiatic languages. After some eighty years of research (documentation and interpretation) into these languages, the article tries to give an overview over the essential lexical and morphological features which Chadic languages share as a common heritage with the other members of the stock.

Einführung

Im Jahr 1978 nahm ich eine Wortliste der Mawa-Sprache im Osten der Republik Tschad auf (vgl. JUNGRAITHMAYR 1981). Darin war das Lexem *paɾasê* „spalten, überqueren“ enthalten. Ich dachte mir damals, das könne nicht sein, das wäre zu schön, um wahr zu sein! Ein klassischer Bestandteil des altsemitischen Akkadischen! Um ganz sicher zu gehen, hab ich 2001, als mich mein Weg noch einmal durch das Dorf führte, einem alten Mann die Frage nach dem Verb „fendre, briser“ gestellt; wieder kam das *paɾasê*! Als aber einige junge Männer, die in der Nähe standen, es mithörten, winkten sie mit der schroffen Bemerkung ab, dass es dieses Wort in ihrer Sprache nicht gäbe! Offenbar hatte nur noch die ältere Generation Kenntnis von diesem uralten Etymon, und ich war in der glücklichen Lage, es noch im letzten Augenblick kennenzulernen. Wie es aber über 4000 Jahre im Zentralsudan, tausende Kilometer vom Euphrat und Tigris entfernt – lautlich und semantisch unversehrt! – überleben konnte, wird wohl für immer ein Rätsel bleiben. In der Zwischenzeit haben sich noch zwei weitere Minderheitensprachen im östlichen Tschad gefunden, in denen sich diese Verbalwurzel erhalten hat. So lautet z. B. im Saba das Verbalnomen von „spalten“ *pīrsó*!

Lange Zeit, bis vor wenigen Jahrzehnten, hat die Wissenschaft gezögert, die nach dem Tschadsee benannten ca. hundertfünfzig Sprachen, die zwischen dem

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10. und 13. Grad n. Br. im zentralen Sudan gesprochen werden, genetisch dem hamitosemitischen/afroasiatischen Sprachstamm zuzurechnen. Ihr phonologisch-morphologisches Erscheinungsbild erschien dem der „klassischen“ Vertreter des Phylums, vor allem dem der semitischen und berberischen Sprachen, allzu fern zu stehen. Noch in dem enzyklopädischen Werk *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne* (PERROT 1981) werden die „Langues tchadiques“ in einem besonderen Abschnitt außerhalb der „Langues chamito-sémitiques“ behandelt! In den letzten Jahrzehnten, etwa seit 1960, vor allem durch die Arbeiten von P. NEWMAN, R. SCHUH, O. STOLBOVA und G. TAKÁCS sowie im Zuge der Arbeiten am Tschadischen Wortkatalog (Marburg; ab 1985: Frankfurt a. M.), die zur Publikation der *Chadic Lexical Roots* (CLR = JUNGRAITHMAYR/IBRISZIMOW 1994) führten, nahm die Zahl der „entdeckten“ lexikalischen HS/TS-Isoglossen immer mehr zu. So konnten die Kenntnisse, die schon MARCEL COHEN, JOSEPH GREENBERG, WERNER VYČIHL u. a. m. besaßen, wesentlich erweitert werden. Vielfache Förderung erfahren diese Bestrebungen stets durch den Semitisten und Hamitosemitisten R. VOIGT (vgl. z. B. VOIGT 2008).

Tschadisch-hamitosemitische Isoglossen

Die folgenden Ausführungen sind als Resümee unseres aktuellen Forschungs- und Kenntnisstandes bezüglich der hamitosemitisch-tschadischen Gemeinsamkeiten gedacht. Alle meine Einzelsprachdokumentationen (zum westtschadischen Tangale, Mwaghavul/Sura, Ngas [Angas], Mushere wie zu den osttschadischen Sprachen Mokilko, Migama, Mubi und Zime) wie auch die komparativen Arbeiten hatten und haben immer das Ziel, Quellen und Grundlagen zu schaffen für den Nachweis eines hamitosemitischen/afroasiatischen Ursprungs der tschadischen Sprachen.

Wesentliche Sprachgüter, die das Tschadische mit den übrigen hamitosemitischen Sprachen teilt, kann man auf folgende Weise zusammenfassen.

1 Lexikalische Isoglossen

Es kann hier nur um Zitate gehen, deren ausführliche Darstellung sich meistens detailliert in dem monumentalen *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian* (TAKÁCS 1999–2008) findet. Für die meisten gibt es auch schon Belege beim *Hamitosemitic Etymological Dictionary* (OREL/STOLBOVA 1995). Viele wertvolle Querverweise finden sich auch im *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (VYČIHL 1983). Im Folgenden beziehe ich mich vor allem auf die CLR, wo in Band I auch Hinweise auf eine weitere hamitosemitische Verbreitung der tschadischen Wurzeln gegeben werden. Dabei versteht es sich von

selbst, dass nicht jede HS-Wurzel des TS in allen vier kern-hamitosemitischen Familien (Sem., Berb., Kusch., AÄ) angetroffen werden kann.

1.1 *MWT* „sterben; Tod“

Dies ist die eindeutigste und sozusagen universal-hamitosemitische Isoglosse. Innerhalb des Tschadischen ist dieses Etymon die einzige Wurzel, die in allen 77 Testsprachen unserer CLR vorkommt, wenn auch die einzelsprachlichen Verformungen etc. z.T. beträchtlich sind. Die Belege reichen von besterhaltenen Reflexen wie z.B. Mwaghavul/Sura *múut* und Mubi *màadé* über Sibine *mar* bis zu Tumak *ma*, ja sogar bis zu Gudu *ru* (d.i. verkürzt aus *tu und dies aus *m(u)tu). Die konservativen Reflexe repräsentieren den zweiten schwachen Radikal entsprechend z.B. den arabischen Formen entweder durch langes *aa* oder langes *uu*. Starke Veränderungen zeigen sich auch in folgenden Reflexen: Mokilko *indá* (< *mida), Mburku *miy-*, Jimbi *mul-*, Kera *mé*.

1.2 *SM* „Name“

Ähnlich wie *MWT* (1.1) ist auch *SM* in fast allen tschadischen – so wie in allen semitischen – Sprachen vertreten. Hier seien nur einige Belege aus dem Tschadischen zitiert: Ron-Daffo *súm*, Kera *sám*, Tumak *him*, Mubi *sàmè*, Kirfi *shímí*, Muktele *tlúm*. Eine Isoglosse, eine Wurzel also, deren konsonantisches Grundgerüst wenig Verwerfungen erfahren hat.

1.3 *LSN* „Zunge“

Zwei Drittel der in den CLR eingesetzten Testsprachen besitzen dieses Etymon. Anders als *SM* „Name“ ist es einzelsprachlich starken Veränderungen unterworfen worden. Abgesehen von den Stammvokalen, die alle Qualitäten umfassen, erfährt die dreiradikalige Wurzel eine Verkürzung von 3 auf 2 Radikale, Morphemaffigierung, Metathese usw. Man vergleiche z.B. Ron-Fyer *lés*, Mubi *liísí*, Zime von Batna *silé*, Kera *kəsəl*, Migama *liüt*, Mokilko *ilzé*, Sibine *dilèsé*. Ein besonderer Fall ist Hausa *harshee* (Kano)/*halshee* (Sokoto), das sich aus einem Präfix *ba-* und der Wurzel *rs/ls* zusammensetzt; im auslautenden langen *-ee* ist der alte Nasal (N) „ertrunken“. Hausa hat also, wenn auch sehr versteckt und verdeckt, die ursprüngliche Wurzel gut bewahrt.

1.4 *hRW* „Wurzel“

Diese Wurzel kommt sowohl im Westen als auch im Osten in allen Testsprachen vor, wenn auch die phonetischen Veränderungen in den

Einzelsprachen beträchtlich sind; so stark, dass die Identifizierung der Wurzel manchmal nicht leicht fällt. Am besten spiegeln osttschadische Reflexe die angesetzte Wurzelstruktur wider: Sibine *sárba*, Ndam *sírwé*. Auch Hausa *saywaa* ist noch nahe daran. Stark reduzierte Formen sind NB Tsagu *tlár*, Ron-Daffo *sírê*. Was das Vorkommen der Wurzel in anderen hamitosemitischen Sprachen betrifft, vgl. CLR I, S. 140.

1.5 -Pd „vier“

In allen 77 Testsprachen ist dies das einzige Etymon für die Zahl „vier“. In den einzelnen Reflexe treten aber in stark veränderten Formen auf, so z. B. Tumak *wari*, Sibine *wadä*; ob Boghom *mòpsi* (über Gisiga *mufad*?) überhaupt dazu zu rechnen ist, bleibt fraglich. Ältere Formen finden sich im Mubi *fada*, Hausa *fúdí*, Muktele *ífád*, Laamang *ífádó*. – Die Wurzel findet sich im altägyptischen *ifd.t* wieder.

1.6 kS „Knochen“

Auch diese Isoglosse teilt sich das Tschadische mit dem Altägyptischen. VYICHL (1983, S. 88) nimmt als älteste altägypt. Form *kisi* an. Die überwältigende Mehrheit der TS besitzt einen Reflex dieses Etymons. Vgl. Hausa *kàshii*, Ron-Daffo *kyas*, Birgid *ásó*, Ndam *gusé*, Miya *kúsi*, Dera *wéen* (cf. NEWMAN 1972), Tangale *wos*. In vielen Fällen sind die ursprünglichen Radikale des Etymons bis zur Unkenntlichkeit verändert, wie z. B. im Glavda *tlatla*, Tera *gəł* (*ł* ist ein Lateralfrikativ!), Karekare *osu* etc.

1.7 SN „Bruder“

Eine weitere tschadisch-ägyptische Isoglosse. Im TS ist sie vor allem im Osten gut belegt; vgl. z. B. Mubi *sín*, Migama *sín*, Tumak *hənà*, Tsagu (NB) *shôn*, Kwang *séní*. Im AÄ. kommt die Wurzel bereits in den Pyramidentexten vor: *sn* „Bruder“ und *sn.t* „Schwester“.

1.8 PRS „spalten; brechen“

Mit dieser außergewöhnlichen Isoglosse haben wir unsere Betrachtungen begonnen. *PRS* hat sich aber bis heute erst in drei der osttschadischen Sprachen gefunden. Ob das für das westtschadische Boghom belegte *puray* „brechen“ auch auf *PRS* zurückgeht, ist fraglich.

1.9 Weitere tschadisch-hamitosemitische Isoglossen

Insgesamt dürften es mehr als 20 Isoglossen sein, die bis heute als gemeinsames TS-/HS-Wortgut identifiziert worden sind. Es zählen dazu noch

z. B. *BR* „Blut“, *TWY* „essen“, *SW*- „trinken“, *YDN* „Auge“, *Kd^YR* „Fett“, *S-N* „wissen“, *YMN* „Wasser“, eventuell auch *SKR* „Bein“, *T-R* „Mond“, *NTN* „Nase“, *NWK* „reifen“, *SN* „Zahn“; vgl. auch *BN* „wissen“; z. B. *So-koro ibiné*, *Kofa ibin*.

2. Morphologische Isoglossen

Merkmale, Strukturzüge, die die tschadischen Sprachen, vor allem die entwicklungsgeschichtlich älteren unter ihnen, mit anderen hamitosemitischen Sprachen in morphologisch-grammatischer Hinsicht gemeinsam haben, sind

1. Personale Pronominalmorpheme,
2. Verbale Suffixvokale, die für den Bau von Tempus-/Aspektparadigmen konstitutiv sind,
3. die Bildung des Imperfektivstammes durch Ablaut,
4. der gebrochene Plural und
5. das grammatische Geschlecht.

2.1 Personalpronominalmorpheme

Es ist ein *proprium* aller hamitosemitischen Sprachen, dass sie im Singular nicht nur in der 3., sondern auch in der 2. Person geschlechtsdifferenzierte Pronomina besitzen. So unterscheidet das Arabische sowohl zwischen *-hu* „sein“ und *-ha* „ihr“ als auch zwischen *-ka* und *-ki* „du“ (m. und f.). Dem entspricht im Hausa *-sa/-ta* und *-ka/-ki*. In den folgenden west- (WC) und osttschadischen Sprachen (EC) finden sich die entsprechenden Pronominalpaare:

		3m./f.	2m./f.
WC	Tangale	<i>-ni/-to</i>	<i>-ko/-si</i>
	Ron-Daffo ¹	<i>-is/-it</i>	<i>-ah/-ish</i>
	Ngas	<i>-di/-da</i> ²	<i>-gha/-yi</i>
EC	Mokilko	<i>-yi/-tù</i>	<i>-yà/-yì</i>
	Migama	<i>-tì/-tí</i>	<i>-ùm/-té</i>
	Mubi	<i>-át/'-jí</i>	<i>-dát/'-yí</i>

¹ Die übrigen vier Ron-Sprachen – Fyer, Bokkos, Sha und Kulere – weisen fast identische Pronominalmorpheme wie das Daffo auf.

² Dies sind die logophorischen Pronomina. Im nicht-logophorischen Bereich ist die m./f.-Differenzierung aufgegeben.

Es fällt auf, dass in der 2. Person vor allem ein Vokalkontrast herrscht: maskulin tiefer Vokal (*a* oder *o*), feminin hoher Vokal (*i* oder *e*); mit Ausnahme des Migama. Das entspricht auch der Opposition in anderen hamitosemitischen Sprachen: A versus I.

Die meisten zentraltschadischen Sprachen (CC) kennen die Genusdifferenzierung in den beiden Personen nicht (mehr).

2.2 Die Verbalsuffixe *-e/i*, *-u* und *-a* als grammatische Morpheme

Auf einer bestimmten Stufe der Entwicklung der tschadischen Sprachen – man könnte die Stufe vielleicht „spätes Mitteltschadisch“ nennen – bilden sich einzelsprachlich Verbalsysteme heraus, deren Charakter vor allem durch die Valenz und Funktion von Suffixvokalen bestimmt wird. Das Alttschadische (z.B. Mubi) – wie aber auch erstaunlicherweise die jüngsten Ausformungen des Jungtschadischen, z.B. das Ngas (Angas) – verzichten gänzlich auf solche externen Formantien und legen das Schwergewicht auf stamminterne Flexionsprozesse – Ablaut oder Abton. In Sprachen wie denen der südlichen Bole-Tangale-Gruppe Nordostnigerias, z.B. im Kupto und im Tangale, kommen zwei oder alle drei Eckvokale, das sind *-u*, *-i/e* und *-a*, bei der verbalen Formenbildung zum Einsatz. Während das *-u* vor allem den aoristischen und/oder subjunktivischen Bereich markiert, das *-i/e* vor allem im Bereich des Perfektivs bedeutungsvoll ist, ist das *-a* der charakteristische Suffixvokal des imperfektivischen Aspekts.

Diese Konstellation findet sich z.B. im Tangale auf folgende Weise verwirklicht:

	<i>-e/i</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-a</i>
	Aorist	Subjunktiv	Imperfektiv/ Verbalnomen
kochen	<i>dib-e</i>	<i>dib-u</i>	<i>dip-a</i>
(sich) zeigen	<i>bal-i</i>	<i>bal-u</i>	<i>bal-a</i>

N.B. *dipa* zeigt zusätzlich zu dem Suffixvokal *-a* einen entstimmlichten C2, ein Merkmal, das z.B. auch im Mokilko vorkommt; man vergleiche *gime* (Aorist) versus *kama* (Imperfektiv) „verändern“. Im osttschadischen Migama, das dem jüngeren Alttschadisch zuzuordnen ist, findet sich das Triplett fast spiegelgleich repräsentiert:

	Aorist	Subjunktiv	Imperfektiv/ Verbalnomen
klettern	<i>kalp-e</i>	<i>kalp-u</i>	<i>kalapp-a</i>

Was den imperfektivischen Stamm betrifft, zeichnet sich das Migama – als einzige mir bekannte tschadische Sprache – neben dem suffigierten *-a* durch ein weiteres infigiertes *-a-* sowie durch eine Geminierung des dritten Radikals aus. Siehe ein weiteres Beispiel:

	Aorist	Subjunktiv	Imperfektiv/ Verbalnomen
waschen	<i>apila</i>	<i>apilu</i>	<i>apalla</i>

So wie der Aoristvokal *-e* sich auch als *-i* darstellen kann – siehe oben im Tangale als Varianten aufgrund unterschiedlicher Verbalklassen –, kann der Subjunktiv neben durch *-u* auch durch *-o* markiert werden. Siehe z.B. das Triplet im Mokilko (Osttschad), das wie das Migama zum jüngeren Alttschadisch zu rechnen ist. Es ist aber sozusagen ein „enfant terrible“, das die „klassische“ (?) Ordnung tüchtig durcheinander gebracht hat, was an den folgenden Beispielen zu sehen ist:

	Aorist	Subjunktiv	(„Hortativ“)	Imperfektiv
bringen	<i>zik-í</i>	<i>sik-í</i>	<i>(-sòk-ó)</i>	<i>sòkiy-ó</i>
sterben	<i>ìnd-á</i>	<i>(t)ìnd-á</i>	<i>(-ònd-ú)</i>	<i>ùnt-ó</i>
essen	<i>îm-í</i>	<i>óòm-í</i>	<i>(-óòm-ó)</i>	<i>ômḃ-ó</i>
verändern	<i>gím-è</i>	<i>kím-è</i>	<i>(-kám-à)</i>	<i>kám-à</i>

Mokilko ist wahrscheinlich die ablautstärkste tschadische Sprache. Es gibt darin sehr viele Verbalklassen, die sich vor allem durch verschiedene Ablautstrukturen bzw. -muster unterscheiden. Es mag sein, dass darunter die ursprüngliche strukturelle Ordnung gelitten hat bzw. die ursprüngliche Valenz eines (vokalischen) Grundmorphems „umgepolt“ wurde. In den zitierten vier Verben finden sich dafür mehrere Belege. So z.B. das *-a* in *ìndá*, dem Aorist für „sterben“; die Absenz des *-u* im Subjunktiv, ein *-u/o* nur im sog. Hortativ. Relativ linientreu verhält sich der Imperfektivstamm mit *-o/a* und „Verhärtungsmassnahmen“ am inneren Radikal (*d > t*, *m > mḃ*). Anstelle des *-u* im Subjunktiv wird meist der aoristische Suffixvokal *-i/e* gebraucht.

Außerhalb des Tschadischen findet sich das Triplet *e/u(o)/a* mit gleicher Valenz- und Funktionsverteilung vor allem im kuschitischen Saho (nach VERGARI/VERGARI 2003); vgl. folgende Formen:

	Aorist	Subjunktiv	Imperfektiv/ Verbalnomen
öffnen	<i>faak-e</i>	<i>faak-o</i>	<i>faak-a</i>

Der Subjunktiv auf *-o/-u* findet sich auch noch in anderen kuschitischen Sprachen, so z. B. im Somali *há kèen-ò* „dass du tragen mögest“; im Oromo lautet der Kohortativ auf *-u* aus; zum Yemsa sagt LAMBERTI (1993, S. 202): „Die Jussivformen der 3. Personen sind ... durch eine *o*-haltige Endung charakterisiert.“

Was den semitischen Hintergrund des *-u*-Suffixes betrifft, möge man LI-PINSKI 1997 konsultieren; im Übrigen siehe man JUNGRAITHMAYR 2005.

2.3 Die Bildung des Imperfektivstammes durch Ablaut

Ein wesentlicher Unterschied zwischen dem Alttschadischen (AT) und dem Jungtschadischen (JT) besteht darin, dass im AT der Perfv./Impfv.-Wechsel durch den Ablaut, im JT durch den Abton bewerkstelligt wird. In beiden Fällen handelt es sich um einen verbstamminternen Vorgang; im Gegensatz zum Mittelschadischen (MT), wo verbstamm-externe Formantien und Vorgänge entscheidend sind (s. 2.2).

Ein typischer, fast „reiner“ Vertreter des AT ist das osttschadische Mubi. Die folgenden Beispiele zeigen die Methode, wie hier der Imperfektivstamm gebildet wird:

	Verbalnomen	Perfektiv	Imperfektiv
knüpfen	<i>hàràdé</i> A A	<i>bérít</i> E I	<i>bíráat</i> I AA
lachen	<i>gàmásé</i> A A	<i>gèmís</i> E I	<i>gùmáas</i> U AA
kratzen	<i>kòròdé</i> O O	<i>kúrút</i> U U	<i>kúróot</i> U OO
sterben	<i>màadé</i> AA	<i>măt</i> A	<i>mùwáat</i> U AA
gebückt arbeiten	<i>bèdény</i> E E	<i>bìdîny</i> I I	<i>bídèny</i> I EE
gebückt arbeiten (PL)	<i>bàdány</i> A A	<i>bèdîny</i> E I	<i>bídáany</i> I AA
gebückt arbeiten (INT)	<i>bòdóny</i> O O	<i>bùdûny</i> U U	<i>búdóony</i> U OO

Wir beobachten dabei folgende Schritte:

- Während der Perfektivstamm ausschließlich hohe Vokale (i, e, u) aufweist, zeichnet sich der Imperfektivstamm – bei diesen dreiradikaligen Verben – durch ein Hoch-Tief-Kontrastmuster (I gegen A, U gegen A, U gegen O, I gegen E) aus.

- b. Während der Perfektivstamm aus zwei kurzen Silben besteht, steht im Imperfektivstamm einer ersten kurzen eine zweite lange Silbe gegenüber.
- c. Im tiefen Vokal des Imperfektivstammes spiegelt sich der entsprechende Vokal des Verbalnomens wider.

2.4 Der gebrochene Plural

Vergleichbar der Imperfektivstambildung (s. 2.3), zeichnet sich auch die nominale Pluralbildung, zumindest in den AT-Sprachen, durch einen Reichtum an Ablautstrukturmustern aus. Der Typ des „gebrochenen“ Plurals ist aber bekanntlich innerhalb des Hamitosemitischen, vor allem für das Semitische, konstitutiv. Für das Arabische heißt es bei HARDER (1938, S. 30):

Als unregelmäßige (gebrochene) Plurale bezeichnet man gewisse Nominalformen, die auf Grund eines inneren Lautwandels zustande kommen (...) Man zählt im ganzen über 30 solche Formen.

Von den daselbst zitierten Beispielen seien hier nur wenige wiedergegeben:

	Singular	Plural
Pferd	<i>faras</i>	<i>'afraas</i>
Hund	<i>kalb</i>	<i>kilaab</i>
Buch	<i>kitaab</i>	<i>kutub</i>
Reiter	<i>faaris</i>	<i>fursaan</i>
Sohn	<i>'ibn</i>	<i>'abnaa'</i>
Zeit	<i>waqt</i>	<i>'auqaat</i>

Es ist leicht erkennbar, dass es ein – meist langer – Vokal A ist, der im Arabischen in das „gebrochene“ Wurzelskelett eindringt. Dazu vergleiche man die im Prinzip sehr ähnlichen Pluralformen des Mubi (s. JUNGRAITHMAYR 2013, S. 34f.), wo es ebenfalls vor allem um den tiefen Vokal A geht, der in die aufgebrochene Singularform eindringt und an die Stelle des Singularvokals tritt. Man vergleiche die folgenden Beispiele:

	Singular	Plural
Sache	<i>li</i>	<i>lā</i>
Hund	<i>fúgá</i>	<i>fāgè</i>
Zunge	<i>lúsi</i>	<i>lāásàs</i>
Hode	<i>gúrli</i>	<i>gòrlāl</i>
Onkel	<i>mègír</i>	<i>màkkār</i>

	Singular	Plural
Töpfchen	<i>kiléyyil</i>	<i>káláayil</i>

Neben dem A werden auch E und O – Vokalqualitäten, die das klassische Arabisch nicht kennt – als wurzelinterne Pluralisierungsmorpheme eingesetzt; z. B.:

	Singular	Plural
Körper	<i>jic</i>	<i>jèc</i>
Vagina	<i>ngúrmò</i>	<i>ngírrém</i>
Frau	<i>lùk</i>	<i>lòk</i>
Dorn	<i>ijjím</i>	<i>òccúm</i>
Elephant	<i>gáywàŋ</i>	<i>gùyòoŋú</i>

Wenn für das Arabische etwa 30 gebrochene Pluralformen angesetzt werden, so müssen wir für das Mubi auch mit einer ähnlich hohen Zahl rechnen; vorläufig etwa mit ca. 20. Um den verwandten Sprachgeist zu beschwören, sei das Beispiel „Zunge“, bei dem es sich ja noch dazu um eine semitisch-tscharische Isoglosse handelt, vorgeführt:

	Singular	Plural
Arabisch	<i>lisaan</i>	<i>'alsun</i>
Mubi	<i>líísí</i>	<i>làásàs</i>

Hier handelt es sich unzweideutig um morphologische Variation eines genetisch gemeinsam ererbten Grundschemas.

In den dem Mubi westlich benachbarten Sprachen Migama und Mokilko herrscht ebenfalls das Prinzip des gebrochenen Plurals, wenn hier auch, vor allem im Mokilko, jüngere Bildungsweisen zunehmend Platz greifen. Dazu vergleiche man folgende Beispiele, in denen sich neben internem Vokalwechsel und Konsonantengemination vor allem auch eine starke Tendenz zu suffigalen Pluralbildungsweisen zeigt; im Mokilko kommt es zu einer beherrschenden Rolle des Typus Suffixplural, der aufgrund einer Verbindung mit einem relativ schwachen stamminternen Vokalwechsel ziemlich komplizierte Formen annimmt.

Migama:

	Singular	Plural
Dorn	<i>ijimá</i>	<i>èjjèmmì</i>
Esel	<i>dúrkilá</i>	<i>dòrkòllì</i>

	Singular	Plural
Mühle	<i>itirá</i>	<i>ètterri</i>
Kopf	<i>kàya</i>	<i>kàyyée</i>
Vogel	<i>dridá</i>	<i>dridí</i>

Mokilko:

	Singular	Plural
Felsen	<i>zùmbùlú</i>	<i>zòmbàlì</i>
Ei	<i>kùmlsò</i>	<i>kùmàlì</i>
Clitoris	<i>kúùkùlú</i>	<i>kùngàlì</i>
Hof	<i>kùpìlì</i>	<i>kùmbildì</i>
Pferd	<i>pùzú</i>	<i>pùyyìgì</i>
Feld	<i>dòmé</i>	<i>dòmbí</i>

Gebrochene Plurale werden vom „fernöstlichen“ Tschadischen nach dem Westen hin immer spärlicher; im Schari-Logone-Zweistromland, z. B. im Sibine (Sumray), herrschen ausschließlich schon die Suffix-Plurale vor, die dann, weiter gegen Westen hin, in den mitteltchadischen Sprachen – im westlichen Tschad und nordöstlichen Nigeria – die Regel sind.³ Erst im äußersten Westen, auf dem Plateau Zentralnigerias, tauchen nochmals die gebrochenen Plurale auf, und zwar in den AT-Ron-Sprachen (Daffo, Bokkos, Scha, Kulere und Fyer); man vergleiche folgende Beispiele:

Ron-Kulere:

	Singular	Plural
Hase	<i>sùmór</i>	<i>sù máàr</i>
Stern	<i>sísíri</i>	<i>sísíyáàr</i>
Hügel	<i>gòt</i>	<i>gùgwàt</i>
Krokodil	<i>hàràṅ</i>	<i>hàràaṅ</i>
weibl. Brust	<i>fúf</i>	<i>f wèef</i>
Mutter	<i>naná</i>	<i>níní</i>

³ Es nimmt aber im Mittel- und Jungtschadischen auch die Tatsache zu, dass der Numerusunterschied überhaupt nicht (mehr) markiert wird. So z. B. im Tangale, das nur noch ganz wenige nominale Plurale, dafür aber ein differenziertes Instrumentarium an verbalen Pluralformen besitzt.

Ron-Daffo:

	Singular	Plural
Bein	<i>sakúr</i>	<i>sakwáár</i>
Kopf	<i>báy</i>	<i>háay</i>
Auge	<i>diir</i>	<i>diyar</i>
Baum	<i>méèr</i>	<i>miyar</i>
Sklave	<i>moór</i>	<i>mwàar</i>
Ohr	<i>hwám</i>	<i>hwàam</i>

Neben differenziert ausgeprägten Suffixpluralbildungsweisen hat sich, wie die Beispiele zeigen, der einfachste Typus des gebrochenen Plurals erhalten, der darin besteht, dass vor den letzten Radikal eines Wortstamms ein A(A) eingefügt wird.

2.5 Das grammatische Geschlecht

Dieses Grammem zählt – neben dem der Pronominalmorpheme (s. o.) – zu den Argumenten, mit denen die Zugehörigkeit der tschadischen Sprachen zum hamitosemitischen Sprachstamm schon früh begründet wurde. Es wurde aber dagegen eingewandt, dass es sich dabei um ein typologisches Merkmal handele, das man nicht für den Nachweis einer genetischen Verwandtschaft einsetzen dürfe. Diese Kritik wird inzwischen dadurch außer Kraft gesetzt, dass dieses Merkmal heute nur noch eines von mehreren ist, die den hamitosemitischen Ursprung der tschadischen Sprachen beweisen können.

Auch in diesem Punkt, beim grammatischen Geschlecht, verhalten sich die Sprachen so wie bei der Bildung des Imperfektivstammes (s. o., 2.3). D. h., es sind fast nur die AT-Sprachen, die beim Nomen zwischen maskulinem und femininem Geschlecht unterscheiden. Zum Beispiel:

Mubi:

	Maskulin	Feminin	
Wurzel	<i>càáró</i>	<i>cóbbi</i>	Lanze
Köttl	<i>bélèny</i>	<i>ndùurí</i>	Schatten
Ferse	<i>dóodó</i>	<i>féerí</i>	Finger
Ei	<i>díssó</i>	<i>írínì</i>	Auge
Knie	<i>gip</i>	<i>ijjím</i>	Dorn
Holzkohle	<i>kílím</i>	<i>cúlúm</i>	Vogel

Migama: Das Geschlecht wird durch den Suffixvokal markiert: die meisten Nomina auf *-u* und *-i* sind maskulin, viele auf *-e* und *-o* feminin. Beispiele:

	Maskulin	Feminin	
Baum	<i>éttú</i>	<i>ídè</i>	Auge
Ferse	<i>dúddú</i>	<i>tépicè</i>	Achselhöhle
Hand	<i>píssí</i>	<i>gólilè</i>	Hoden
Knie	<i>gíppí</i>	<i>díyyè</i>	Ohr
Körper	<i>zú</i>	<i>púrdè</i>	Rinde

Mokilko: Alle fünf Basisvokale werden bei der suffigalen Markierung des natürlichen sowie grammatischen Geschlechts eingesetzt. Dabei herrschen beim Maskulinum *-u* und *-e* vor, beim Femininum *-o* und *-a*. Dazu die folgenden Beispiele:

	Maskulin	Feminin	
Baum	<i>úndumú</i>	<i>ársá</i>	Auge
Stein	<i>mókekúlsú</i>	<i>sintá</i>	Zahn
Jahr	<i>òzziné</i>	<i>údísó</i>	Brust

Ron-Daffo: Im äußersten Westen, in den Ron-Sprachen, wird das grammatische Geschlecht ebenfalls unterschieden. Die folgenden Beispiele mögen das für das Daffo belegen:

	Maskulin	Feminin	
Bein	<i>sakúr</i>	<i>góŋ</i>	Farm
Geld	<i>cíf</i>	<i>mwan</i>	Feuer
Platz	<i>keíl</i>	<i>tàmbà</i>	Sohle
Zunge	<i>lís</i>	<i>fúur</i>	Schenkel
Name	<i>súm</i>	<i>báf</i>	Kreide

Im Jungtschadischen ist das Bewusstsein bzw. Bedürfnis, Nomina nach grammatischem Geschlecht einzuteilen, erloschen. Für das Tangale habe ich auf Ältestenratsversammlungen erlebt, wie man sich nicht auf das grammatische Geschlecht von „Sonne“ und „Mond“ einigen konnte. Mithilfe der entsprechenden Konkordanzpronomina, die ja das Geschlecht in der 3. Person (noch!) unterscheiden, lässt sich aber hinter das Geheimnis des grammatischen Geschlechts eines Nomens kommen. Dabei macht man die überraschende Feststellung, dass das feminine Geschlecht das maskuline fast ganz verdrängt hat.

Schlussbetrachtung

Man nehme die obigen Ausführungen als einen Versuch, den derzeitigen Stand unserer Kenntnisse von denjenigen Sprachgütern zu resümieren, die die zentralsudanischen Tschadsprachen heute noch aus ihrem ursprünglichen hamitosemitischen Erbe bewahrt haben. Es handelt sich also um einen Beitrag zur Sprachgeschichte Zentralafrikas. Es sind Ergebnisse, die sich Forschungen etwa der letzten 80 Jahre verdanken. Vielleicht kann man JOHANNES LUKAS' Artikel in der ZDMG aus dem Jahre 1936, „Hamitisches Sprachgut im Sudan“, als Beginn für das, was wir heute Tschadistik nennen, interpretieren. LUKAS hat den Hauptteil seiner wissenschaftlichen Lebensarbeit der Dokumentation und dem Studium der von ihm z.T. „tschadhamitisch“ genannten Sprachen Nordnigerias, Nordkameruns und der Republik Tschad gewidmet. Seine Schüler bzw. Nachfolger, vor allem CARL HOFFMANN, HERRMANN JUNGRAITHMAYR und später EKKEHARD WOLFF, ZYGMUNT FRAJZYNGIER, DIMYTR IBRISZIMOW und RUDOLF LEGER, haben die Arbeit fortgesetzt, unterstützt vor allem von PAUL NEWMAN und RUSSELL SCHUH sowie von OLGA STOLBOVA. Für die „Suchaktion“, d.h. die Suche nach dem verlorenen hamitosemitischen Sprachgut im Tschadischen, hatte vor allem die Einrichtung des „Chadic Word Catalogue“ (Marburg und Frankfurt) und das daraus hervorgegangene zweibändige Werk *Chadic Lexical Roots* (CLR) grundlegende Bedeutung.

Viele Daten, die in diesem Beitrag präsentiert und die auch bereits in mehreren Monographien und zahlreichen Zeitschriftbeiträgen zwischen 1957 und 2016 publiziert wurden, konnte ich mit dankenswerter Unterstützung durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft während zahlreicher Forschungsaufenthalte vor Ort aufnehmen und dokumentieren. Da ich mich dabei sowohl mit altschadischen (AT) als auch mit mittel- (MT) und jungtschadischen (JT) Sprachen befasst habe,⁴ haben sich mir Wege aufgetan, die mir einen, wenn auch nur vorsichtig gewagten, Einblick in die vermutliche Entwicklungsgeschichte dieser am weitesten in den Südwesten abgewanderten hamitosemitischen Sprachen ermöglicht. In der AT-Sprache Mubi scheint sich entwicklungsgeschichtlich eine sprachliche Tradition erhalten zu haben, die bis zum Altsemitischen zurückreicht. Wir gehen von der Tatsache aus, dass jede Sprache ihre eigenen Gesetze und damit auch ihre eigene Entwicklungsgeschwindigkeit besitzt, sei es durch ein je eigenes

⁴ Bei der von mir vorgeschlagenen Klassifizierung der tschadischen Sprachen in AT, MT und JT folge ich der für das Semitische üblichen (und notwendigen) Unterscheidung zwischen Altsemitisch (Akkadisch etc.) und Jungsemitisch (Arabisch etc.). Dabei ist festzuhalten, dass der Unterschied zwischen einer AT- und einer JT-Sprache um ein Vielfaches größer ist als zwischen z. B. dem Akkadischen und dem Arabischen.

Gesetz oder durch äußere Einflüsse bedingt und bestimmt. Wie könnte man sonst den alt-indoeuropäischen Charakter des Litauischen verstehen? So ist offenbar die EG (= Entwicklungsgeschwindigkeit) des Mubi eine sehr langsame, die z.B. des zentralnigerianischen Ngas (JT), das keinerlei Ablaut, weder bei der Imperfektivstamm- noch bei der Pluralbildung mehr besitzt, dagegen eine sehr schnelle. Die Autochthonisierung der seit etwa 5000 Jahren in den Zentralsudan eingedrungenen hamitosemitischen Sprachen hat in Nordnigeria und vor allem in Nordkamerun einschließlich dem unmittelbar angrenzenden zentralwestlichen Tschad mit tief greifender Wirkung stattgefunden. Dabei spielt die „Tonalisierung“ der tschadischen Sprachen eine wesentliche Rolle. So sind Lexikon und Grammatik z.B. des zentralnigerianischen Ngas ohne die „dritte Dimension“, den etymologischen Ton, undenkbar.

An den Schluss setze ich ein Bild, das mir die Arbeit des historisch-tschadistischen Sprachforschers gut zu veranschaulichen scheint. Er/Sie ist am Südrand des Sahara-Sandmeeres, im Sahel, d.i. an der Küste, auf der Suche nach Bernstein, nach Relikten aus der Vorzeit. Die mühsame Suche, die weitergehen muss, hat aber schon manche Kostbarkeit zu Tage geschafft. Die schönsten Stücke – das hat die bisherige Sucharbeit erwiesen – liegen nicht an der Oberfläche, sie müssen ergraben werden.

Abkürzungen

AA	Afroasiatisch	JS	Jungsemitisch
AÄ	Altägyptisch	JT	Jungtschadisch
AO	Aorist	LI	lexikalische Isoglossen
Ar.	Arabisch	m.	maskulin
AS	Altsemitisch	MPI	morphologische Isoglossen
AT	Alttschadisch	MT	Mitteltschadisch
Berb.	Berberisch	Mu.	Mubi
C	Consonant	NB	Nordbauchi
CC	Central Chadic	PFV	Perfektiv
CLR	<i>Chadic Lexical roots</i> (JUNG- RAITHMAYR/IBRISZIMOW 1994)	PL	Plural
EC	East Chadic	PPM	Personalpronominalmorphem
f.	feminin	SBJV	Subjunktiv
GG	grammatisches Geschlecht	Sem.	Semitisch
GP	gebrochener Plural	TS	Tschadisch, tschadische Sprachen
HS	Hamitosemitisch	VN	Verbalnomen
INT	Intensiv	VS	Verbalsuffix
IPFV	Imperfektiv	WC	West Chadic

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Language and Administration in a Recently Published Collection of Sargonic Documents*

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Summary: A new volume of the CUSAS series, published by L. MILANO and A. WESTENHOLZ, provides the readers with an unprecedented wealth of highly informative Late Sargonic documents. The present article is an in-depth analysis of this remarkable theme, focusing on a variety of philological and linguistic issues. It also contains a complete glossary of Akkadian words and forms occurring in CUSAS 27.

The publication of CUSAS 27 provides access to a valuable collection of Sargonic tablets from Umm-al-Hafriyat, probably called Maškan-ili-Akkade¹ in antiquity. A few sample texts have been published previously in CUSAS 13 and 20, TCABI and TCVP,² but the majority of tablets are new. Most of them have no recorded origin: they were purchased on the antiquities market in the 1990s and ended up in Rosen collection, whereas a few tablets found their way into the Schøyen and the Banca d'Italia collections. All the tablets found in CUSAS 27 are datable to the later phase of Šarkališarri's reign.³ The editors are to be congratulated for a remarkably quick and careful edition of these texts, which will undoubtedly enrich the already complex economic, social and linguistic landscape of the late third millennium Mesopotamia.

Of the total 253 tablets published in the volume 217 belong to the so-called “Šu-ilīšu archive” (named after the individual who played an important role in the life of the ancient settlement). In addition to numerous economic texts the archive contains a substantial body of letters (21) and legal documents (18), a fine addition to the Sargonic epistolary and judicial corpora. Other 36 tablets (dubbed “The non-Šu-ilīšu texts”) do not form a coherent group and may represent scattered remains of archives similar to the one attributed to

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¹ The ancient name of the settlement is discussed on p. 15 of the Introduction.

² See p. 12 for the list of previously published material.

³ See p. 16.

Šu-ilišú⁴ (most of the texts in this group are of economic nature, with only three letters and five school tablets).

The texts are written almost exclusively in Akk., which makes them an important source for the study of the Sargonic dialect. Regrettably, linguistic features are rarely commented upon in the commentary to the texts for the reasons stated in the Foreword (p. xi). A brief note on the language, writing and grammar of the texts can be found in the Introduction (p. 16), supplemented by occasional remarks scattered through the introductory sections of the book. In what follows we will attempt at providing an outline of the major features of Sargonic Akk. as found in Umm-al-Hafriyat tablets. Notes to the individual texts are followed by an exhaustive glossary of the Akk. forms attested in the corpus. These will serve as the basis for a discussion of writing and grammar of the texts.

1 Notes to individual texts

1.1 The Šu-ilišú archive

17⁵. See notes to 182 below.

32. The term *sākīrum* ‘canal worker’ (*sà-ki-ru*, obv. ii 12) is also attested in MAD 5, 9 iv 9 as *sà-ki-ru*⁶.

39. Interestingly, the summary notion GURUŠ in rev. vi 18 seems to refer to both male and female recipients of bread (cf. the apparently female names in v 18–22).

48. The forms *ši-a-tum* here (rev. viii 7) and *ši-a-tim* in 126 (obv. ii 17) represent a plural of *šitum*, an Akk. rendering (previously unattested in Sargonic) of the well-known Sumerian formulaic expression *zi-ga* ‘expenditure’⁷. In both cases the plural must be due to the fact that multiple issues of grain are referred to.

58. This well-preserved and clearly written letter contains a number of ambiguous forms that make the interpretation of the text rather difficult. As far as the first part of the body of the letter is concerned, an elegant solution has been suggested to us by I. ARKHIPOV, who proposes a plausible emendation

⁴ See details on p. 270.

⁵ Here and elsewhere below, the boldfaced number refers to the text number in the edition.

⁶ Note the spelling with GI as opposed to KI in the present example, undoubtedly due to the sporadic shift *i* > *e* in the vicinity of *r* in an open syllable (KOGAN 2011b, p. 52).

⁷ CAD S 219–221.

of LI-*IK-DAM* in rev. 1 to *li-ik-<šu>-dam* ‘may it reach’, which would yield the following interpretation for obv. 5 – rev. 1: *a-ra-še* GANA₂ EREŠ.DINGIR ù ZA AB TI *a-wa-sú-nu li-ik-<šu>-dam* ‘The cultivators of the High Priestess’ field and the ZA AB TI(-people)⁸ – may the matter concerning them reach me’.⁹ The concluding part of the letter (*ù mí-ma a-ra-še* ŠU UT TI *it-ba-lu li-ša-ti-in*, rev. 2–5) is a harder nut to crack, but the following tentative rendering can still be ventured: ‘And he must get back everything belonging to the cultivators that the ŠU UT TI(-people)¹⁰ have taken away’. This reading presupposes a genitive relationship between *mí-ma* and *a-ra-še*¹¹ and an asyndetic relative clause after the latter word.

59. The closing lines of the letter are problematic. The sign IG is discernible at the end of rev. 6¹², which, together with LI in the beginning of the same line, should probably yield *li-[li]-ik* ‘may he go’ (as in Gir 1 rev. 4’, also in the final line of the letter), and makes it clear that *a-d[i]* in rev. 4 is not the familiar conjunction *adi* ‘until’, obviously incompatible with a precative form. An additional sign should probably be restored after *d[i]*. Shall one reconstruct *ù-la a-d[i-in]* ‘I did not permit (this)’?

61. The use of RI for /tal/ in *li-tal-kam* is also attested in letters from Ešnuna (*a-na Ta-ba-al^{ki} a-la-kam ak-bí-ši-im e-ni e tal-lik* ‘I ordered her to go to Tabal, but now may she not go’, Eš 3 rev. 3–5) and Girsu (*ni-is-ku-šu a-[n] a UNU^{ki} lu it-tal-ku* ‘His *nisqu*-people have indeed gone to Uruk’, Gir 37 rev. 2’–3’). Apart from these occurrences, this value is only attested in a handful of personal names¹³ and toponyms¹⁴.

63. The only other attestation of *tabāḫum* in Sargonic comes from MDP 14, 90 (Susa) that deals with slaughtering a sheep for ritual purposes: 1 U₈

⁸ See below in the Glossary.

⁹ The oblique case of *a-ra-še* is to be explained in the framework of the “accusative pendens” construction analyzed in KOGAN 2008 and L. KOGAN / M. WORTHINGTON: “Accusative casus pendens: Some Further Examples.” In: *Babel und Bibel* 6 (2011), pp. 487–492.

¹⁰ See below in the Glossary.

¹¹ For which see most recently N.J.C. KOUWENBERG: *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*. Leiden 2017, p. 351. As pointedly observed by KOUWENBERG, at least in some of such examples the noun *mimma’um* “belongings” may be involved, and this is quite possible in our case, too.

¹² Missing from the transliteration. The same is true of LA at the end of l. 5, adduced in square brackets, but clear on the photo. It stands to reason that the transliteration of the letter had been prepared before the fragment containing these signs was joined.

¹³ *Eb-rí-a-tal* (Urkeš, seal, G. BUCCELLATI / M. KELLY-BUCCELLATI: “Tar’am-Agade, Daughter of Naram-Sin, at Urkesh.” In: *On Pots and Plans. Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria Presented to David Oates in Honour of His 75th Birthday*. London 2002, p. 21. *Tal-pu-za-ti-li* (Nagar, seal, ETB 2, no. 3).

¹⁴ *Tal-mu-uš^{ki}* (RIME 2.1.4.1: 57’), *Tal-ḫa-dim^{ki}* (RIME 2.1.4.25: 20).

GI₆ *la pá-ti-tum ... in* ^{GI₁₅}KIRI₆ *i-ta-ba-ab-si* ‘one black virgin sheep ... – he should slaughter it in the garden’ (ll. 1 and 7–8). The expression *paššūram dummukum* is not attested elsewhere, but note *paššūram nuwwurum* and *paššūram tuḫḫudum* (CAD P 263–264).

64. The earliest syllabic spellings of *šibšum* ‘an agricultural payment’¹⁵ stem from the Sargonic period. As the available attestations (all from Ešnunna) show, it is normally spelled with *si*, cf. *ši-ib-šu-um* (MAD 1, 35: 2–3), *ši-ib-šum* (MAD 4, 3: 6 and 9: 4). The only exception is found in MAD 1, 2 (likewise from Ešnunna), where the scribe opted for *ši*: 143;2.0 ŠE GUR *šu ši-ib-ši-im* (vii 6–7). The plural form *ši-ib-ši-šu* (rev. 1) is peculiar insofar as the term is commonly used in the singular in both Sargonic and later corpora.

66. The interpretation of obv. 6 as *ana imri* ‘for fodder’ goes back to I. SCHRAKAMP: BiOr 69 (2012), p. 287. Additional Sargonic attestations of *imrūm* ‘fodder’ and *marūm* ‘to fatten livestock’ are discussed in MARKINA 2016, pp. 249–250.

The first sign in rev. 4 is damaged so it is hard to tell whether it is MES or DUB.¹⁶ The presence of *iš-mā* ‘he heard’ (obv. 5) in the immediate vicinity of a DUB-like sign suggests that a well-known idiom *tupḫam šemūm* ‘to read a tablet’ might be the underlying expression. In this sense, the suggestion (expressed in the commentary) that MA in rev. 6 could represent the particle *mā*¹⁷ looks attractive. The sequence BA UR in rev. 4 may be a part of a personal name based on *palākum* ‘to slaughter’ (*pá-lik*),¹⁸ although its relationship to the following DA is unclear.

For *u-ši-ù* as a unique Sargonic example of *wašūm* in the basic stem see MARKINA 2016, p. 250.

70. The translation suggested for rev. 2–7 (‘the matter concerning them, to which you pay attention, you should report to me in writing’) is problematic as *ša* (masc. sing. accus. of *šu*) is not in agreement with its antecedent (‘à-wa-ti-*šū-nu*’, fem. obl. pl.). The problem can be mitigated if rev. 3–7 is taken as a full sentence (‘write what you are noticing in your letter and send it to me’). In this case ‘à-wa-ti-[x-x]) may belong to the preceding text segment, which is lost.

¹⁵ For the concept of *šibšum* in Old Bab. and earlier periods see M. DEJONG ELLIS: *Agriculture and the State in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Philadelphia 1976, pp. 87–147.

¹⁶ The editors seem certain that the sign is MES though, as they speak of “emending” MES into DUB in the commentary to the text.

¹⁷ As an exclamation particle, *mā* is attested in a Sargonic letter from Kiš: *ma a-na 10 ŠE GUR ù-la tá-ki-pá-an-ni* ‘How (is it) that you do not trust me with regard to 10 kor of barley?’ (Ki 1: 6).

¹⁸ See CAD P 51–52; GELB 1957, p. 215; M. HILGERT: *Akkadisch in der Ur-III Zeit*. Münster 2002, p. 207, fn. 148.

71. To our knowledge, there is only one Sargonic example of *laššu* outside CUSAS 27, viz. *šum-ma *š[u] la-šu₄* ‘if (the one) that is not available’ (in broken context, HSS 10, 9 rev. 1’)¹⁹. The spelling with *šu₄* is noteworthy as elsewhere in Sargonic the sign is attested with this value in Sumerian environments only.²⁰ The personal name *I-šu₄-DINGIR* (CUSAS 27, 134 obv. 10) is all the more important in such a context, as it shows that the same sign could be used for the etymologically related non-negative *išūm* ‘to have’.²¹

72. ^d*Da-gan-[im₍₆₎]-tá-li-[ik]* might be considered as a restoration possibility for the sender’s name (obv. 2). The last sign in rev. 5 is reminiscent of a half-broken A[G].

73. Obv. 8 must contain a full sentence, most probably a nominal one. If the sequence ENI at the end of the line is taken for *ēnī* ‘my eye’, then AN’NA could be interpreted as denoting a part thereof, so the general meaning would be ‘the field is (as important to me as) ... of my eye’. Lexical sources attest to the existence of AN.NA IGI (Akk. *elīt īni*) ‘outer part of the eye’ (Nabnitu L 178ff.)²², although, admittedly, in a context like this a word for the pupil of the eye or the iris would be preferable²³. Alternatively, this line could be understood as the field’s name, which would yield the translation of obv. 8–9 as ‘(Field name): the field is not irrigated’.

The interpretation of rev. 3–6 is problematic. To avoid the difficulties with *maššūm* ‘basket’ outlined in the editors’ commentary, an alternative analysis of the passage may be suggested, viz. *ù-la ki-ma šī še ar-sú-àm ana Ir-ra-ra tu-kál-li-mu i-ḫa-dú-kum*. Similar wording is attested in an Old Bab. letter: *kīma ša 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR abī iddinam aḫaddu* ‘I shall be as glad as if my father had given me one mina of silver’ (CT 29, 20: 25).²⁴ In view of this parallel, the passage in question should probably be translated as ‘Will he (Irrara) not be as glad about you as if you had shown procured

¹⁹ Not yet recognized in MARKINA 2011.

²⁰ As BORGER (MesZL p. 176 ad no. 661) suggests, U and *šu₄* were originally distinct (round vs. pointed). The fact that both round and pointed signs are interchangeably used for numbers (“ten” and “ten”-based) in the Sargonic sources indicates that they must have merged by then.

²¹ As is well known, the normal orthography of *išūm* in Sargonic is with SU (v. examples in HASSELBACH 2005, p. 272 and, for CUSAS 27, in the glossary below), which does not fit the otherwise plausible reconstruction with **š* (v. extensively KOGAN/MARKINA 2006, pp. 575–576; KOUWENBERG 2010, p. 467; KOGAN: ZA 102 (2012), p. 310). One wonders whether the peculiar spelling with *šu₄* can have any bearing on this issue.

²² See CADE 99, ad mng. 7c.

²³ Cf. KOGAN 2015b, pp. 100–101 for comparable expressions in the Old Testament.

²⁴ For more examples of *kīma ša* ‘as if’ see CAD K 365c. On *kīma ša* introducing irrealis sentences in Old Bab. letters see WASSERMAN 2012, pp. 139–141.

grain to Irrara?²⁵ One can surmise that Irrara, also mentioned in 194 obv. 3 (or a namesake?), could be somehow involved in the cultivation of the field in question and interested in its being watered. Alternatively, a more complex line of thought can be ventured: '(I would be as glad if you did what I ask of you) as Irrara would if you showed him the prepared grain'. If this direction of interpretation is correct, the passage would yield an additional example of *kīma* in Sargonic,²⁶ as well as a hitherto unknown Sargonic forerunner of *ersū* 'ready'²⁷ (expectedly without *e*-coloring).

75. The Šu-ilīšu archive adds *imrûm* 'fattening' (66 obv. 6, s. above) and *iptirû* 'ransom' (rev. 3) to the list of the *ipris*-formations attested in the Sargonic corpus (HASSELBACH 2005, p. 188). Unlike *imrûm*, *iptirû* expectedly behaves as *pluralis tantum*.

76. See notes in MARKINA 2016, p. 249 ad no. 169.

78. As observed by the editors, *irnittum* is attested with *mâtum* in an Old Assyrian letter, perhaps with the meaning 'fight, scuffle' which seems fitting the present context: *ik-lu-ú-šu-ma i-na ir-ni-tim uš-mi-tù-šu* '(that) he has retained him and caused his death in the scuffle' (see WHITING 1987, p. 42).

105. *zābīlum* 'bearer' (*za-bi-lu*, rev. 2 and 12) is attested as *za-bī-lu* in OAIC 43: 20. The background of the spelling with BI (/be/) is uncertain.

106. The Sumerian expression *taḥ-ḫe-dam* 'to be added' is the formal equivalent of the popular Sargonic construction consisting of an infinitive with a terminative ending (-iś). For an exhaustive list of verbs attested within this construction in CUSAS 27 see p. 16 of the introduction.

107. The sequence U LU MU DU in obv. 7 can be analyzed as 10 UDU MU.KU_x '10 sheep, the delivery'. This remark may have been inserted by the scribe between a person's name and his filiation, perhaps in order to keep the information pertaining to this particular person in one section of the tablet.²⁸ In this case the number of sheep would be the same as the number of *kor* of barley owed by this person.²⁹

²⁵ Cf. 100 obv. 7 where Zu-zu is attested as a person who measures out grain at a storehouse (GANUN).

²⁶ Sargonic *kīma* is known from an Umma letter (Um 3:21) and a Nippur copy of an inscription of Narām-Su'en (RIME 2.1.4.2 i 17).

²⁷ For the attestations of *ersūm* with ŠE see CAD E 308. Admittedly, in later periods the adjective is used predicatively in most cases.

²⁸ Cf. an insertion to a line that was originally intended to be blank in 108 obv. 4, and additions in smaller script in 126 obv. ii 16 and 17.

²⁹ One may speculate whether the sheep were brought in to pay the debt (cf. 196 obv. 1–8 where a person repays his silver loan with some silver and a sheep).

The term *mu-ša-kum*³⁰ (**muššakum*?) is obscure. The context suggests the meaning ‘an issue of grain for a specific purpose’. It is tempting to compare *mu-ša-kum* to *MUN.ŠA(G)*, a term for sustenance that has so far been attested only at Sargonic Gasur (HSS 10, 81 obv. 1'; 82, rev. 5; 83, rev. 3; 51 ii 1'–4' and 155 ii 6). In two latter instances, *MUN.ŠA* is applied to grain, while in the other cases the term refers to semolina (*DABIN*). Moreover, in HSS 10, 83 the grain labeled *ana MUN.ŠA* is listed alongside the grain intended as sheep fodder (*ana GU, UDU*), which makes the interpretation of *MUN.ŠA(G)* as a term for a grain product unlikely. It is noteworthy that in 117, obv. 2 *mu-ša-kum* is attested side by side with cattle fodder (3;0.0 ŠE *GUR a-na G[U₄,U]DU*), which is a striking parallel between the use of *mu-ša-kum* at Umm-al-Hafriyat and *MUN.ŠA(G)* at Gasur. If this interpretation is correct, **muššakum* (< *MUN.ŠA(G)*) would be a fine example of a syllabically spelled early borrowing of a Sumerian term into Akk.³¹

109. The infinitive of *ḥašālum* ‘to grind’ is also attested in Gasur, where it is spelled with *ša*: *a-na ḥa-ša-lim* (HSS 10, 132 obv. 2, rev. 4')³². In addition, a participle of *ḥašālum* (fem. pl.) might be attested in HSS 10, 194 rev. 3': (x *GĒME*) [*ḥa*]-*ši-la-tum* ‘(x female servants), the grinders’³³. If the restoration is correct, it backs up the spelling attested in rev. 3 (*ḥa-ša-li-iš*).

119. The occurrences of *taklimum* ‘order, instruction’ here and in 125 obv. 3, rev. 3³⁴ confirm the reading in *ták¹-lim-ti* ⁴*EN.LÍL*³⁵ ‘by the order of Enlil’ in a recently published royal inscription of *Šar-kali-šarrē* (CUSAS 18, 11 v 1–2). In the *Šu-ilīšu* corpus the word is always employed in a similar construction *taklimum šu PN* ‘(by) the order of PN’. Elsewhere, the word is best known from 1st millennium sources (CAD T 80–81).

129. See the discussion of *hubbutātum* and its occurrences in the corpus in the Introduction, p. 42.

130. The expression *a-na ḥa-bu-lim* in obv. 6 is not readily explainable, unless it is a mistake for *a-na ḥu-bu-lim* ‘as an interest-bearing loan’.

148. Both *ḥa-bi-tu-tum* (rev. 1) and *ḥa-ba-tu* (rev. 14) are unattested elsewhere in the Sargonic corpus. The former is used as a summary term that

³⁰ Also attested in 117 obv. 2 and 123 obv. 6.

³¹ See detailed discussion of the term in MARKINA 2019.

³² See MARKINA 2011, p. 204, fn. 18 and KOGAN 2011a, p. 172 with remarks on the etymology of the verb.

³³ Not recognized in MARKINA 2011, p. 208.

³⁴ In fact, 119 rev. 2 is restored on the basis of 125 rev. 3. The editors' reference to No. 131 as the source of restorations is unclear to us and may be mistaken.

³⁵ See WESTENHOLZ 2000, p. 545 (as against STEINKELLER's remarks in the edition).

applies to the servants receiving garments. Some of these servants seem to belong to the households of high officials (such as Naḥšum-šanat and Il-šu-dān of Tuṭṭanābšum), which probably rules out the connection of the term to *ḫabātum* ‘to rob, to plunder’. Since some of the Šu-ilīšu documents attest to the “royal progress” (see notes to 152 and 155 below), one may speculate whether this term is to be connected with the homophonic verb of movement (in reference to the servants accompanying their masters belonging to the royal retinue). The latter term is used in combination with GURUŠ, which suggests that they must have been people of lower status. Again, a connection of the term to *ḫabātum* ‘to rob, to plunder’ seems unlikely.

152 and 155. The remarks *in wa-ra-dim* (152 obv. 1') and *in e-la-im* (155 obv. 5) have been plausibly interpreted by the editors as allusions to the “royal progress” (see the commentary to the texts).³⁶ In addition to BIN 8, 134:8–9 quoted in the commentary, *in warādīm* (lit. ‘in descending’) is reminiscent of Šarkališarri's date formula *mu Šar-kà-lí-LUGAL-rí KI.EN:GI^{ki}-šē 'im¹-ta-e₁₁-da x sag-gá mu-ús-bi* ‘The year after Šar-kali-šarrē went down to Sumer ...’.³⁷

158. The corpus yields two more Sargonic attestations of *kinātum* ‘equal, colleague’ previously known from a single occurrence in a letter from Umma (Um 3 rev. 7). In the present text the word is found within the sequence PN *ki-na-at* PN₂ ‘PN, a colleague of PN₂’, which contrasts with PN *šu* PN₂ ‘PN, a subordinate of PN₂’ commonly attested in Sargonic economic documents.

161. In view of the multiple entries of the type x UDU *šu* PN ‘x sheep: the subordinate of PN’ (cf. obv. 1–7) attested in this text, the sequence 1 UDU *šu* KA NU RU (rev. 9) may be interpreted as 1 UDU *šu* PN (cf. the use of *nu-ru* as an onomastic element in *lugal-nu-ru*).³⁸

170. The expression *ḫu-bu-lu šu-lu-im* is perhaps to be analyzed as a genitive phrase, with *ḫu-bu-lu* as pl. cstr. of *ḫubullum* ‘debt’ and *šu-lu-im* as Š infinitive of *elūm*. The exact meaning of *šulūm* in the present context is uncertain, but ‘to raise, to exact’ readily suggests itself in view of such parallels as French *lever* (> English *to raise*, let alone Hebrew *bā'ālā mas* ‘to raise a levy’ (BROWN et al. 1906, p. 749). Within Akk., note the Neo-Bab. use of *elū/šulū* in connection with raising the *telītu*-tax (CAD

³⁶ Note, however, that in the Introduction (p. 40), the terms are interpreted as referring “to the displacement of animals along the plain”.

³⁷ D. R. FRAYNE: *The Early Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Sargonic and Gutian Periods*. Toronto 1993 (RIME 2), pp. 182 and 184.

³⁸ A. ALBERTI/F. POMPONIO: *Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Texts from Ur Edited in UET 2, Supplement*. Roma 1986, p. 79, no. 30 obv. 2.

E 120, 129) and the more general Middle Bab. usage of *šūlu* with the meaning 'to deduct, to subtract' (ibid. 133).

177. The reading [1 Š]AGAN.KASKAL NUNUZ GA.NU.AM₆ '1 flask (made of) an ostrich egg' (lit. "it is an ostrich egg") might be considered for obv. 1', with GA.NU as a syllabic spelling for **ga-nu**₁₁ 'ostrich' (note the same spelling once attested in Mari: MUŠEN GA.NU, ARM 31, 239: 22). The terms for ostrich egg-vessels are discussed in W. SALLABERGER: *Der babylonische Töpfer und seine Gefäße nach Urkunden altsumerischer bis altbabylonischer Zeit sowie lexikalischen und literarischen Zeugnissen*. Ghent 1996, p. 107 and, M. STOL: *RLA* 13 (2011–2013), pp. 211–212. For the archeological finds of ostrich eggs and their uses in antiquity see M. HERLES: *RLA* 13 (2011–2013), p. 213.

180. Note the use of both round and pointed numbers in the same line (obv. 2–4).

181. The text is probably to be understood as a list of items intended for ŠU.KU₆ 'hunter, fisherman'. If this is correct, the summary section must have contained the total number of "hunters" (obv. 10) and the items issued (rev. 1). The type of item issued must have been specified in this line as well.

The interpretation of SA BAR as a personal name (see The Index of Personal Names, p. 313) is strengthened by the occurrence of SA.BAR.MAḤ NAGAR GAL in 201 rev. 8.

182. This text has been plausibly interpreted as an inventory of personal property of a scribe (see the Introduction, p. 43). Four more texts of similar nature are known from the Sargonic period. One of them belongs to the same collection and is a list of personal items stolen from an individual (No. 192). In addition to that, there is an inventory of movable and immovable property of the *ensi* of Gudamišum stemming from the Gasur archive (HSS 10, 213) and two accounts of property (again both movable and immovable) of a trading agent from Nippur (OSP 2, 66 and 67).

As noted in the Introduction (pp. 43–44), the expression used in the colophon ([...] PN *[in k]à-mi-e NIM u-ru-ù*) is similar to that attested in No. 143 (*[i]-nu A-ḫu-šu-nu ŠU.I [in kà]-mi-e [u]-ru-ù*, obv. 6–7). It is likely that both refer to an event that helped the scribe to identify the moment of a transaction or administrative action. Such references are frequently attested in the corpus, cf. *i-nu a-na ùR u-ru-a-nim* 'when they_{du.} brought (it) to the 'roof' (i.e. storage)' (17 obv. 6 – rev. 1)³⁹, *i-nu Šu-i-lí-šu <a-na> Ba-a-z^{ki} i-lí-ku* 'when Šu-ilíšu went to Baz' (114 rev. 7), *i-nu še ša-a-ni-iš i-lí-kam* 'when he came for loading the grain' (115 obv. 2–3), *i-nu Tá-m-ḫi-rí* 'when Tamḫiri' (133 rev. 7), *i-nu* (erasure) DABIN GUR *Na-ni im₆-dú-dú* 'when Nani

³⁹ For É.ÜR(RA) as a storage facility in Sargonic texts see MARKINA 2016, p. 250 ad no. 176.

measured out semolina' (138 rev. 2–3), *i-nu* Lugal-KA *i-bu-zu* (144 obv. 2)⁴⁰, *i-nu a-na* LUGAL *i-li-ku* 'when he went to the king' (144 rev. 3), *i-nu a-na* Ba-az^{ki} *i-li-ku* 'when he went to Baz' (145 rev. 2).

The exact meaning of [*in k/à-mi-e* NIM *u-ru-ù*] remains to be established. The sequence [*k/à-mi-e*] can scarcely be separated from *kà-mi-e* attested several times in Sargonic royal inscriptions where it designates fetters for prisoners (CAD K 128; B. KIENAST: *Glossar zu den altakkadischen Königsinschriften*. Stuttgart 1994, p. 225). This is well compatible with *warû* 'to lead', but NIM remains disturbing, particularly since it is absent from the parallel example in No. 143.⁴¹

184. The collations made since the publication of the text in CUSAS 13 (no. 168) support the interpretation of obv. 5 tentatively suggested in MARKINA 2016, pp. 249. The sequence GIŠ ERÉN can stand for 'yoke' (^{GIS}ERÉN) or 'scales' (GIŠ.RÍN). If the latter are meant, a lexical passage Á GIŠ.RÍN.NA = *aḫu ša zibāniti* (Nabnitu E 67f.) might be of relevance for the meaning of DU Á-zu-nu in the beginning of the line.

For rev. 7 (*ḫalkūtum*) and l. edge (*al-NI il-ká*) see MARKINA 2016, p. 249.⁴²

185. See notes in MARKINA 2016, pp. 248–249 ad no. 165.

188. Note the use of the 1st person verbal form in obv. 4. (*ak-šu-ur* 'I compensated'). The passage finds a nearly exact parallel in a Sargonic letter from Gasur: *a-na-ku₈ a-kà-ša-ar* 'I will replace it (the grain) myself' (Ga 3: 15). The same idea is behind the witnessed oath in 195 rev. 14 – l. edge: ÁBBA-*bu in* KI.SU₇ *kà-ša-ri-iš* Al-la *it-má-ù* 'witnesses (to the fact that) Alla swore to compensate (for the grain) at the threshing floor'.

193. The tablet is concerned with a case of robbery that involves Naḫšum-šanat and Šu-ilīšu (cf. the tentative reconstruction of the events behind the document in the Introduction, p. 47 and in the commentary to the text).

The text opens with a section that lists names and affiliations of people summed up as *ḫa-ba-tu* in obv. ii 5. Note that the name Ba-zi-mu-zatum in obv. i 6 would be unique to the Sargonic corpus, whereas Ba-zi is a

⁴⁰ This ambiguous phrase could be translated either as 'When Lugal-KA took' or 'When they took Lugal-KA'.

⁴¹ One could venture to read NIM as ELAM, but this is difficult in the absence of KI, otherwise ubiquitous for this designation in Sargonic (RGTC 1: 42–46). A misplaced ventive ending is another, also rather difficult, possibility. At any right, it seems quite probable that both texts refer to taking the pertinent individuals as prisoners (or, less likely, their return from captivity).

⁴² Taking AL for *al* 'on, upon' (= *eli*) is not unlikely, in which case NI could stand for *-ni* 'us' or *-i* 'me'.

well-attested one (cf. ASJ 6, p. 130, no. 4 obv. 7; BM 026607 obv. 4⁴³, CST 4 obv. 8 etc.). In view of this, it is likely that this line contains not only the name, but also a profession (*mu*-ZA-TUM), cf. obv. 8 below where the personal name is also accompanied by a profession/title (SE₁₁-DA-UM).

The next section (obv. ii 6–10), which is organized as a *casus pendens* clause, accounts for the actions of these six persons: “Naḥšum-šanat – in Egal-eden they robbed him” (*iḥ-bu-tu-šú*). In this text Naḥšum-šanat is called ¹⁶ÚŠ.UDU (lit. ‘a sheep-killer’) and has an overseer (NU.BÀNDA), just like another person of the same status mentioned among the witnesses (cf. iv 4–5). This puts in doubt the equation of Naḥšum-šanat attested in the document under study with the namesake high-ranking Sargonic official (cf. p. 47 of the Introduction). Most of the attestations of the term ¹⁶ÚŠ.UDU stem from Sargonic Kish (cf. MAD 5, 5 obv. 6; 18 obv. 7; 28 obv. 4; 29 obv. 5). Judging from this evidence, this official was probably involved in personnel management.

The interpretation of *a-na Na-aḥ-šum-ša-na-at ‘i-dī-in’* (ii 13) as ‘he brought his case before Naḥšum-šanat’ (see the commentary to the text) is unlikely. Although such a spelling for the preterite of *diānum* does not contradict Sargonic writing conventions,⁴⁴ its use with *a-na* would be unique.⁴⁵ It seems more likely that the form is to be restored as *i-dī-i(n-šú-nu)* (with *šú-nu* written either on the right edge of the tablet or below IN)⁴⁶. This would yield a regular Preterite of *nadānum* ‘to give’ with the direct object (= the robbers) expressed by a suffix and a recipient expectedly introduced with *ana*. In this case, the translation would be ‘He handed them over to Naḥšum-šanat’.

The verbal form in iii 2 is broken and could be as well restored as *it-[má-ù]* ‘they swore’ and interpreted as a reference to the robbers’ oath (note that MÁ is placed in the middle of the line).

Finally, iii 4–5 do not necessarily belong to the text of the oath and may be merely a statement that the robbers should be brought to Nippur (for further investigation or trial?).

⁴³ Unpublished, CDLI no. P247761.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Ki-šum di-nam i-dī-in* ‘Qišum judged their case’ (STEINKELLER/POSTGATE 1992 no. 73: 24); *i-nu* ^{EN.LÍL} DI.KU₅-*šu i-dī-nu* ‘When Enlil judged his case’ (RIME 2:1.1.6: 10–13; RIME 2.1.4.26 ii 29–iii 1). Note also the contrasting spelling with DĒ in BIN 8, 121: 3, where a reflexive Gt seems to be used: *Ī-lī-iš-tá-kál ù Tá-ni-a i-dē-na-ma* ‘Iliš-takal and Tāniā sued each other’ (see D. O. EDZARD: “Qišum, Ensi von Kazallu.” In: *Zikir Šumim. Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*. Leiden 1982, pp. 29–30).

⁴⁵ The passage referred to in the commentary in support of the *diānum*-hypothesis (*a-na* ⁴UTU ò-TI-AN, RIME 2.1.4.6 i 19–20) is very opaque and can scarcely be used as a basis for interpreting the form under scrutiny.

⁴⁶ Cf. iv 16.

With these considerations in mind, the following translation may be suggested:

(Six persons), (are) the robbers: Naḥšum-šanat, the “sheep-killer”, (his) overseer (is) Dudu, – in Egal-eden they robbed him. Šu-ilīšu handed [them] over to Naḥšum-šanat. He swore by the life of the king: “(They are) to be brought to Nippur for ...” (or “They swore by the life of the king. (They are) to be brought to Nippur for ...”). (Witnesses).

194. This document probably represents a witnessed oath in a dispute over ownership rights (cf. the interpretation of the text in the edition, pp. 47 and 249).

The occurrence of *i-pu-lam* (obv. 5) in the immediate vicinity of *en-ma* (obv. 6) suggests that the meaning of *apālum* here is rather ‘to respond’ than ‘to pay’ (see CAD A/2, 162–163). If this is correct, in his “response” he only quotes Namzi’s oath (obv. 7–12) introduced by *en-ma* Nam-zi ‘Namzi (said) as follows’ (obv. 6).

Namzi’s speech opens with *ù-má* (obv. 7)⁴⁷, which is followed by a number of 1 sg. verbal forms, including *lu-šám* (obv. 8), *la a-ḫu-zu* (obv. 11) and *la ni-da-ù* (obv. 12). The latter two have a subjunctive marker attached to them, which unambiguously marks them as belonging to an oath. The first one (*lu-šám*) is construed with the assertive particle *lū* and **aš’am* ‘I bought’ rendered logographically (*šám* = *sa₁₀* ‘to buy’). The logographic writing – admittedly unexpected for a verbal form in a Sargonic document⁴⁸ – is probably to be explained by the lack of space at the end of the line (perhaps the most densely written one on this tablet).

The form *ni-da-ù* (obv. 12) interpreted as a 1 pl. c. form in the edition (*ni-da-ù* ‘we don’t know’) seems out of place in the present context, as it is expected to be parallel to *la a-ḫu-zu* in the preceding line. A likely solution is to analyze *ni-da-ù* as *i-da-ù*, which would yield a 1 sg. of *idūm* (*’ida* ‘I know’), plausible both graphically⁴⁹ and semantically.

It is tempting to interpret rev. 17 as ‘The *maškim* (on the case was) An-eden’, as this would explain why he is the person who provides the details of the case, although the word order is admittedly unusual (the regular sequence is PN MAŠKIM).

⁴⁷ The parsing of *ù-má* is not free of difficulties. In Ad 3: 9 and Gir 19: 29 this sequence is used to render the 1 sg. of the present (‘I swear’), which would fit the present passage as well (thus against the editors’ ‘Namzi declared under oath’). This form would be opposed to *ù-má* ‘he swore’ in RIME 2.1.3.1: 50, but in Gir 37: 5 *ù-má* is likely used for the first rather than third person. See further the discussion in KOGAN/MARKINA 2014, p. 224.

⁴⁸ To *tá-ša-am-ma* in Si 1: 10’ W. SOMMERFELD (personal communication) adds *iš-am* (BIN 8, 238: 2), *[t]á-ša-am* (OAIC 9: 18), *ša-a-mi-iš* (OAIC 16: 9). At any rate, the editors’ *lu-šám* ‘I will pay up’ is very unlikely because *šám* is not used as a syllabogram in Sargonic Akk.

⁴⁹ Cf. the well-attested 3 sg. m. form *i-da* = *yīda* (HASSELBACH 2005, p. 268).

In view of these considerations, the following translation may be suggested for the text.

Obv. 1–4⁵⁰Two donkeys of Irrara: (they are) with Namzi. ⁵An-eden responded (as follows on account of them): ⁶“Here is what Namzi said: ⁷‘I swear by the life of the king (that) I indeed bought the donkey(s) for nine shekels of silver. I swear, I did not take (them) from Irrara or his wife, and I swear, I do not know the trader⁵¹. PN₁ and PN₂ are his witnesses.” Obv. 16–Rev. 11 (List of witnesses). ¹²Total: 11 witnesses that he swore before them to Belakkurub, the cupbearer, (who is) the messenger of Ilum-dan, the *šu-kallā’u*. The *maškim* (on the case was) An-eden (?).

Within this approach, we probably deal with a dispute over ownership rights: Namzi claims that he legally purchased the donkeys previously associated with Irrara. Namzi was not able to provide any information on the seller, so, although he managed to produce two witnesses of the purchase, he had to swear before other witnesses that he was not a thief.

195. See notes to 188 above.

196. The document is unusual not only due to the use of the first person, but also because the name of the debtor is not mentioned (especially since this information is essential for a loan document).

In view of *ab-bu-ut* ‘I borrowed’ (obv. 4), it is probably better to read *ì-šu* (lit. ‘I have (on me)’, i. e. ‘I owe’) in obv. 6 and 8 instead of *nì-šu* (lit. ‘We have (on him)’, i. e. ‘he owes us’). This would change the translation as follows:

Obv. 1–4⁵⁰I borrowed [x] silver from Ubarum, the queen’s man and Enlila, the *muškênum*.

^{5–6}Per *mana* I owe [x] shekels of silver as interest, ^{7–8}(hence) I owe two shekels of silver and a sheep. Obv. 12–Rev. ¹Ubarum, the queen’s man, Enlila, the *muškênum*, Ur-Utu, a subordinate of Ursag-[x] and Ilum-muda, the queen’s man received (the payment) ²and ate [...]⁵². ^{3–4}They swore by the life of the

⁵⁰ Note the dual *ša-a* referring to the donkeys in obv. 1–2.

⁵¹ Within this interpretation the regular meaning of *tamkârum* ‘trader’ (as the owner of merchandise) fits plausibly.

⁵² No plausible restoration suggests itself for this line. The meaning ‘to take for oneself, to pocket (silver, goods)’ (CAD A/1, 251) is of course conceivable, cf. *a-ki-il-tá is-ki-n[e]* ‘the consumers of the additional payment’ in Or 51, no. 1 ii 6–7 and especially BAD-lu AŠA, GU, KÙ.BABBAR ‘the owners of the field, (those) consuming the silver’ (ELTS No. 40 [Maništušu Obelisk], A₁ iv 5–6, A₂ viii 2–3, B viii 9–10, C₁ vii 16–17, C₂ xii 4–5 and D iv 7–8; see WILCKE 2007, p. 105). Alternatively, a ritual procedure accompanying the oath may be referred to, cf. M. 10556: 22, J.-M. DURAND: *MARI* 1 (1982), p. 81, “*šakkanakku*” Mari.

king: ⁵⁻⁶‘I will never raise a claim against him⁵³ and [...]’ (List of witnesses). Total: 5 witnesses.

200. See notes in MARKINA 2016, pp. 251 ad No. 194.

201. This is the earliest attestation of *muḫippum* ‘guarantor’. Its source (*kiāpum* D) is several times attested in the Sargonic corpus: *u-ḫi-ip* ‘he guaranteed’ (MVN 3, 102:8), [*u*]-*ḫi-ip-šú* ‘he guaranteed for him’ (JCS 35, 148 No. 1:10).⁵⁴

For rev. 12 cf. perhaps ZÀ.ŠU₄ *wa-ra-iš* ‘to be brought for branding’ (157 rev. 7).

207. The form *kiš-ša-at* in rev. 1 is problematic in two respects: the use of *status absolutus* is not readily explainable; the only other attestation of the lexeme in Sargonic (*kiš-ša-tim*, MVN 3, 102: 26) exhibits SA rather than ŠA.⁵⁵

210. For obv. 2 the restoration *a-na i-[si]-ik-tim* may be considered, see CAD I/J 190–192 under *isiḫtum*, mng. 1 b ‘assigned working material (for a craftsman to do a specific piece of work)’⁵⁶.

1.2 Non-Šu-ilīšu texts

227. See the discussion of the name in obv. 2 in MARKINA 2016, p. 251 ad no. 197.

245. For *ib-rī* ‘he inspected’ and other Sargonic documents concerning inspection practices see B. FOSTER: “Archives and Empire in Sargonic Mesopotamia.” In: *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*. Leiden 1986 (CRRAI 30), pp. 49–50; W. SOMMERFELD: *Die Texte der Akkade-Zeit. I. Das Dijala-Gebiet: Tutub*. Münster 1999, p. 129.

⁵³ For *tuārum* ‘to raise a claim’ see CAD T 258. The person against whom a claim is raised is often referred to by a dative pronominal suffix in Old Assyrian.

⁵⁴ This form, initially reconstructed as [*mu*]-*ḫi-ip-šú* ‘his guarantor’ was reinterpreted by STEINKELLER, who observed that the lacuna is “too small to accommodate MU” (STEINKELLER 1989, p. 83, fn. 244).

⁵⁵ It is hard to say which of the two spellings is etymological as long as the origin of *kišṣatu* is uncertain. Comparison with Arb. *ḫīṭ* ‘to be thick’ (M. ULLMANN: *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, vol. K, p. 55) would speak in favor of ŠA.

⁵⁶ For *isiḫtum* ‘protocole, quote-part fixé, devis’ in Old Bab. Mari v. the references in J.-M. DURAND: *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*. III. Paris 2000, p. 558.

2 The glossary

ay vetitive particle

a 59 rev. 2.3, 60 rev. 5, 67 l. edge 1, 78 rev. 3

abum 'father'

with 1 sg. suff. *a-bi* 73 obv. 3, rev. 8, 76 obv. 7, rev. 4, 78 obv. 6.10, rev. 4

**adi* 'together with'⁵⁷

a-di 190 obv. 3, 206 rev. 3 (rather uncertain)

adi 'until (preposition)'⁵⁸

a-di 196 rev. 5

**ae* 'alas!'⁵⁹

a-e a-e 73 rev. 7, 76 rev. 2

ahāzum 'to take'

pret. 3 sg. m. *i-ḥu-uz*, 162 obv. 3, rev. 5.9, 164 rev. 2, 165 rev. 3, 166 rev. 2',

i-ḥu-uz, 161 edge 1

pret. 3 sg. m. subj. *i-ḥu-zu* 144 obv. 3, 247 edge 1, *i-ḥu-[zu]* 163 l. edge 1

pret. 3 pl. m. *i-ḥu-zu* 159 rev. 8, 160 rev. 8'

pret. 1 sg. subj. *a-ḥu-zu* 194 obv. 11

aḥum 'brother'

with 1 sg. suff. *a-ḥi* 60 rev. 6, 73 obv. 3, rev. 8, 74 obv. 3, rev. 4

du. with 3 sg. m. suff. *a-ḥa-šu* 78 rev. 4

akālum 'to eat'

pret. 3 pl. m. *i-ku-lu* 196 rev. 2

inf. st. constr. gen. *a-kà-lí* 133 rev. 9

inf. with term. *a-kà-li-iš* 71 rev. 6⁶⁰

**akāšum* 'to go'

pret. 3 sg. m. *i-ku-uš* 59 rev. 2

alākum 'to go'⁶¹

pret. 3 sg. m. subj. *i-li-ku* 144 rev. 3, 145 rev. 2, *i-li-k[u]* 114 rev. 7, *i¹-li-[ku]* 146 rev. 7

pret. 3 sg. m. vent. *i-li-kam* 115 obv. 3

pret. 3 pl. m. *è-li-ku* 212 rev. 6⁶²

⁵⁷ With this meaning hardly ever attested elsewhere in Sargonic. The closest approximation comes from RIME 2.1.2.4: 63–69 (Rīmuš): ŠU+NÍGIN ŠÁR 4×6000 + 2'×600 + 10 + 6 GURUŠ.GURUŠ *a-di mi-ki-i-tim a-di LÚ×ÉŠ a-di GURUŠ.GURUŠ šu-ut a-na GA-ra-si-im iš-kun-n[u]* 'Altogether 85.216 men, including the killed, including the captive, including those to be exiled'.

⁵⁸ For *a-d[i]* in 59 rev. 4, almost certainly not belonging to any of the *adi* lexemes, v. above in the commentary to this letter.

⁵⁹ Lexemes not adduced in the Glossary of HASSELBACH 2005, so far the most comprehensive recent source of Sargonic lexicography, are marked with *.

⁶⁰ The use of LI /le/ is unexpected and difficult to explain.

⁶¹ While the spelling with LI for finite forms conforms to the regular pattern, it is not the same about the participles, where LI would be expected. See HASSELBACH 2005, p. 176, KOGAN 2011a, pp. 176–177.

⁶² Cf. *è-la-kam* in Ga 1: 6 (HASSELBACH 2005, p. 264).

prec. 3 sg. m. *li-[li]-ik* 59 rev. 6⁶³, 3 sg. m. vent. *li-li-kam-ma* 227 rev. 2

inf. with 1 sg. suff. *a-la-ki* 60 rev. 3

part. act. pl. m. ³*à-li-ku-ʿtum* 31 obv. 8, ³*à-li-ku-tum* 31 rev. 9

*Gt

Prec. 3 sg. m. vent. *li-tal-kam* 61 rev. 2

ālum ‘city’

URU^{K1}-*lim* 78 rev. 5

ana ‘to, towards’

a-na 2 obv. 8 and passim

anāku ‘I’

*a-na-ku*₈ 60 rev. 2, 78 r. edge 1, 188 obv. 4, ¹*a-na-ku*₈ 75 rev. 7, *a-n[a-ku]*₈ 78 rev. 11

**apālum* ‘to answer; to satisfy’

pret. 3 sg. m. vent. *i-pu-lam* 194 obv. 5

arḫiṣ ‘quickly’

a[r]-ḫi-iṣ 76 rev. 6

**aššatum* ‘wife’

a-ša-ti-sú 194 obv. 10⁶⁴

DAM-ti-sú 236 rev. 5’

**aššurum* ‘Assyrian’

a-šur^{K1}-*ri-um* 199 obv. 4’, *a-š[ù]r*^{K1}-*ri-um* 199 obv. 6’

atta ‘you’

at-tá 73 rev. 1

awātum ‘word’⁶⁵

á-ʿwaʿ-tám 72 rev. 6

[*a-wa*]-*at-sú* 78 rev. 3

a-wa-sú-nu 58 obv. 7

³*à-wa-ti-[su-nu]* 70 rev. 2

**bakûm* ‘to weep’

prec. 3 pl. m. with dat. suff. 1 sg. *l[i]-ib-ki-ù-nim* 77 obv. 4

barûm ‘to inspect’⁶⁶

pret. 3 sg. m. *ib-ri* 245 rev. 2

bašûm ‘to be’

pres. 3 sg. m. *i-ba-šê* 183 rev. 2, 249 rev. 1.5

pres. 3 pl. m. *i-ba-šê-ù* 70 rev. 4

damāḫum ‘to be good’

*D

⁶³ On this reconstruction see above in the notes to No. 59.

⁶⁴ This is the first fully syllabic attestation of this word in Sargonic (supplementing what has been written in KOGAN 2014, p. 100); the use of šA fits the etymological expectations.

⁶⁵ Note three different spellings of this word. In HASSELBACH 2005, p. 265 only spellings with ³à are attested, but note á in MAD 1, 186 rev. 7 (s. the copy in A. WESTENHOLZ: AfO 25 (1977), p. 99; reference courtesy W. SOMMERFELD).

⁶⁶ KOGAN/MARKINA: *Babel und Bibel* 6 (2012), p. 481.

- prec. 3 sg. m. *li-da-mi-ik-ma* 63 obv. 7
 **dār* 'eternity'
da-ar 196 rev. 5
 **dīmtu* 'tower; fortified area; district'⁶⁷
 st. constr. *dī-'im-ti* 152 obv. 5⁶⁸
 **dīnum* 'lawsuit; verdict'
 DI.KU₅-*in* 199 rev. 5
 **dumḫum* 'goodness'⁶⁹
dum-ḫú-uk 73 rev. 10
 **dūrum* 'wall'
 BÀD-*am* 78 rev. 7
 **eklum* 'field'
 GÁNA-*lam* 78 rev. 10
eli 'on, upon; against'
 with 1 sg. or pl. suffix *al-NI* 184 l. edge 1⁷⁰
elûm 'to go up'
 inf. gen. *e-l[a-i]m* 155 obv. 5⁷¹
 *Š
 inf. gen. *šu-lu-im* 170 rev. 2
enna 'thus'
en-ma 58 obv. 1, 60 obv. 1, 62 obv. 1, 63 obv. 1, 64 obv. 1, 65 obv. 1, 66 obv. 1, 68
 obv. 1, 71 obv. 1, 72 obv. 1, 73 obv. 1, 74 obv. 1, 76 obv. 4, 194 obv. 6, 200
 rev. 1, 227 obv. 1, 228 obv. 1, *en-[ma]* 59 obv. 1, 61 obv. 1, *'en¹-ma* 75 obv. 1,
e[n-ma] 78 obv. 1, *[e]n-ma* 67 obv. 1
epēšum 'to make, to do'
 pret. 3 sg. m. *i-pu-uš-ma* 78 rev. 9
erēbum 'to enter'
 Š
 pret. 3 sg. m. *u-ša-rí-ib* 188 obv. 3

⁶⁷ For a possible Semitic etymology supporting a long *ī* in this lexeme (and, thus, justifying the construct state *dīmti*) v. NAUMKIN et al.: "Soqotri Lexical Archive: the 2012 Fieldwork Season." In: ZDMG 166 (2016), p. 65.

⁶⁸ The noun is also attested in a text from Pugdan: (grain) in *dī-im-ti Kal-bum* '(grain) from the district of Kalbum' (MAD 5, 87 obv. 2).

⁶⁹ Note the abbreviated form of the possessive suffix, for which cf. *mu-DUG* /*mūtuk*/ *lu ti-da* 'you will certainly learn your death' in Gir 19:41 (oral suggestion by W. SOMMERFELD). For *damḫam* possibly meaning "please" in an Old Bab. letter from Tell Harmal v. E. MARKINA. *Philological Analysis of Fifty Old Babylonian Letters from Harmal*. Unpublished MA thesis, Russian State University for the Humanities 2003, pp. 168–171: *kišādām ša muttatim ša mādiš malū dam-ka-am tušellam¹-ma* 'Please send me a richly decorated necklace of the *ša muttatim* type' (TH 47: 8–10) – one cannot rule out, of course, that *damḫam* is merely an attribute of *kišādām*, but the distance between the two seems too big for such a reading.

⁷⁰ See the remarks on this text above.

⁷¹ Note the unexpected loss of the guttural with *e*-coloring.

pret. 3 sg. m. vent. *u-śá-rí-ba-am* 195 obv. 77²
erēšum 'to cultivate'

pret. 3 sg. m. *i-ru-uš* 78 rev. 11

pret. 1 sg. *a-ru-[uš]* 78 obv. 13

pres. 1 sg. *a-ra-áš* 78 r. edge 1

**errēšum* 'cultivator'

pl. obl. *a-ra-še* 58 obv. 5, rev. 37³

**ersum* 'ready'

ar-sú-àm 73 rev. 4

**etēkum* 'to pass'

š

stat. 3 sg. m. subj. *šú¹-tu-[kú]* 201 rev. 117⁴

**guti¹um* 'Gutean'

pl. m. obl. *[g]u-ti-e* 212 rev. 4'

**habbātum* 'robber'

pl. predicative *ha-ba-tu* 193 obv. ii 5

**habātum* 'to loan'

pret. 3 sg. m. *iḥ-bu-ut* 203 rev. 10

pret. 1 sg. *aḥ-bu-ut* 196 obv. 4

**habātum* 'to rob'

pret. 3 pl. m. with suff. 3 sg. m. *iḥ-bu-tu-šú* 193 obv. ii 10

**habbātum* 'a social designation'⁷⁵

ha-ba-t[um] 194 obv. 14

pl. m. predicative³ *ha¹-ba-tu* 148 rev. 14

**hābitum* 'a member of royal retinue'⁷⁶

pl. m. *ha-bi-tu-tum* 148 rev. 1

ḥadūm 'to rejoice'

pres. 3 sg. m. with dat. suff. 2 sg. m. *i-ḥa-dú-kum* 73 rev. 6

**ḥalkum* 'lost'

pl. m. *ha-al-kú-tum* 184 rev. 7

ḥasāsum 'to remember'

*D

inf. with term. *ḥu-sú-sí-iš* 17 rev. 4, 117 rev. 10, 253 rev. 3

⁷² Note the variation between *sa* and *sá* for /sa¹/, also attested elsewhere in Sargonic (W. SOMMERFELD: "Bemerkungen zur Dialektgliederung Altakkadisch, Assyrisch und Babylonisch." In: *Festschrift für Burkhard Kienast*. Münster 2003, pp. 569–586; KOGAN/MARKINA 2006, p. 566).

⁷³ The spelling with *ḥ* rather than *é* is unexpected.

⁷⁴ For the expression *bukānam šūtukum* (and its Sumerian equivalent *giš-gana -bala*) in Sargonic, as well as for its legal symbolism, see STEINKELLER 1989, pp. 38–41.

⁷⁵ On this and the following entry see the notes to No. 148 above.

**ḥašālum* ‘to grind’

inf. with term. *ḥa-ša-li-iš* 109 rev. 3⁷⁶

ḥubullum ‘debt’

ḥu-bu-lim 107 rev. 2, 118 obv. 8, 167 rev. 17, 168 obv. 5, 171 rev. 1, [*ḥu-bu-l[im]*

119 obv. 10, [*ḥu-bu-lim* 187 l. edge 1, *ḥu-bu-lim* 169 obv. 2, *ḥa-bu-[lim]*

130 obv. 6⁷⁷, pl. constr. *ḥu-bu-lu* 170 rev. 1

ḥubuttum ‘interest-free loan’

sg. nom. *ḥu-bu-tum* 119 rev. 4

pl. obl. *ḥu-bu-tá-tim* 172 rev. 7, [*ḥu-bu]-tá-t[im]* 129 obv. 2

idûm ‘to know’

pret. 1 sg. *i-da-û* 194 obv. 12⁷⁸

part. du. obl. constr. *mu-da-e* 74 rev. 1⁷⁹

*D

prec. 3 sg. m. with suff. 3 sg. m. *li-wa-di-iš* 227 rev. 3

**imri’um* ‘fodder’

im-ri-im 66 obv. 6

in ‘in’

in 8 rev. 5 and passim

inu ‘when’

i-nu 17 obv. 6, 114 rev. 7, 138 rev. 2, 143 obv. 3, 144 rev. 3, 145 rev. 2, *i-nu* 115

obv. 2, *i-nu* 133 rev. 7, 144 obv. 2, [*i-nu* 143 obv. 6, 146 rev. 6

**iptirum* ‘ransom’

ip-ti-ri-ša 75 rev. 3

**irnittum* ‘fight; victory’

constr. gen. *ir-ni-ti* 78 rev. 5

iškinû ‘supplementary payment’

iš-ki-ni-[šu-nu] 190 obv. 3⁸⁰

ište ‘with’

*iš-te*₄ 52 obv. 2, 55 obv. 2, 56 obv. 7, 71 obv. 5, 79 obv. 4, 113 obv. 2, 126 rev. iv

12, 143 rev. 4, 162 obv. 5, 165 obv. 6, 185 rev. 5, 191 rev. 13, 194 obv. 4, 196

obv. 2, *iš-t[e₄]* 183 obv. 5, 249 obv. 5, rev. 3

ištum ‘from’

iš-tum 73 obv. 4, *iš-[t]um* 151 obv. 4

išûm ‘to have’

3 sg. m. *i-šu* 195 obv. 4

⁷⁶ Note the divergent spelling with *sa*.

⁷⁷ The *a*-vowel in the first syllable is hard to explain.

⁷⁸ One more explicit confirmation for the actuation of Barth’s Law in proto-Akk. (KOGAN/MARKINA 2006, pp. 575–576, KOUWENBERG 2010, p. 467, KOGAN 2015a, pp. 149–150).

⁷⁹ This is the earliest non-onomastic attestation of **mawda* ‘one who knows’ (for which see KOUWENBERG 2010, p. 466). *Contra* HASSELBACH 2005, p. 223, ME DA A in Di 10: 12 can scarcely have anything to do with *idû*.

⁸⁰ Contrast the spelling with *gi* in MAD 5, 3: 2.

1 sg. *ì-šu* 196 obv. 6, *ʿìʿ-šu* 196 obv. 8⁸¹

**kalûm* ‘to withhold’

pret. 3 sg. m. *ik-la* 60 rev. 5

kamû ‘feters’

pl. obl. *[k]â-mi-e* 143 rev. 1, *[k]â-mi-e* 182 rev. 10

kanākum ‘to seal’

*D

pret. 3 sg. m. *u-kà-ni-ʿikʿ* 78 obv. 6

**kannum* ‘potstand; a container’

kà-ʿanʿ-ńum 177 obv. 10⁸²

karābum ‘to bless’

*D

prec. 3 pl. m. with dat. suff. 1 sg. *li-kà-ri-bu-nim* 77 obv. 5

kašādum ‘to reach’

prec. 3 sg. m. with vent. *li-ik-ʿšū-damʿ* 68 obv. 5, *li-ik-<šū>-dam* 58 rev. 1⁸³

prec. 3 pl. m. with vent. *li-ʿikʿ-šū-dū-nim* 72 rev. 4

kašārum ‘to compensate’⁸⁴

pret. 1 sg. *ak-šū-ur* 188 obv. 4

inf. with term. *kà-ša-ri-iš* 195 rev. 16

kī ‘as, like’

kī 73 rev. 8, 74 rev. 4, 76 rev. 4, 229 rev. 3

kīma ‘as, like’

ki-ma 73 rev. 3⁸⁵

kinātum ‘employee’

st. constr. *ki-na-at* 158 rev. 1, with 1 sg. suffix *ki-na-ti* 75 obv. 6

**kiššātum* ‘debt slavery’

st. abs. *kiš-ša-at* 207 rev. 1

kišzappum ‘footstool’⁸⁶

kiš-tab-um 236 rev. 3’

**kizūtum* ‘group of herdsmen’

ki-zu-tim 235 rev. 1, 246 rev. 3

kullumum ‘to show; to assign’

pret. 1 sg. subj. *ù-kál-li-mu* 62 obv. 7⁸⁷

pret. 2 sg. m. subj. *tu-kál-li-mu* 73 rev. 5

⁸¹ For this parsing v. above in connection with No. 196.

⁸² For this spelling in Ur III v. CAD K 156.

⁸³ Emendation courtesy I. ARKHIPOV.

⁸⁴ To be added to the already attested spellings with sv, apparently non-etymological (KOGAN 2011a, p.170).

⁸⁵ For this reading v. above in connection with No. 73.

⁸⁶ Given the fact that the same lexeme – but with a different meaning ‘threshing board’ – is attested as *ki-iš-za-pí* in Sargonic (HASSELBACH 2005, p. 274), one may wonder whether *KIŠ-TAB-um* is indeed to be analyzed as a true syllabic spelling.

⁸⁷ Unexpected LI instead of LF in both examples.

- stat. 3 sg. m. *ku¹-lum* 62 obv. 9
ḫabūm 'to say'
 pret. 3 sg. m. *ik-bi-m[a]* 78 obv. 5
 pret. 3 sg. m. subj. *ik-bi-ū-ni* 200 rev. 6⁸⁸
 pret. 3 pl. m. with 1 sg. dative suffix *[i]k-bi-ū-nim* 70 rev. 10
 impv. sg. m. *ḫi-bi-ma* 74 obv. 4, 75 obv. 4, 76 rev. 1, 78 rev. 2, 227 obv. 4, 229
 obv. 4, *ḫi-bi-m[a]* 77 obv. 2
ḫātum 'hand'
 du. constr. obl. *ḫā-ti* 194 obv. 9
ḫiāpum 'to trust'
 pret. 3 sg. m. *i-ḫi-ip* 78 rev. 3⁸⁹
ḫerbum 'midst'
ḫir-bi-šu 245 rev. 3

la 'not'
la 31 rev. 9, 194 obv. 11.12, 196 rev. 6
⁹⁰*lapātum* 'to touch'
 pret. 3 pl. m. *il-pu-tu* 59 rev. 3⁹⁰
⁹¹*laššu* 'there is not'
la-i-šu 71 rev. 6
la-šu 72 rev. 7, 78 obv. 7, *[la]-šu* 78 rev. 1
la-šu₄-a¹ 184 obv. 5⁹¹
lekūm 'to take'
 pret. 3 sg. m. *il-ḫā* 84 obv. 4, 184 l. edge 1⁹²
lū precative/asseverative particle
lu 73 rev. 10, 194 obv. 8

madādum 'to measure'⁹³
 pret. 3 sg. m. *im₆-dū-ud* 100 obv. 7, rev. 7, 111 rev. 4
 pret. 3 sg. m. subj. *im₆-dū-dū* 138 rev. 3
 part. act. pl. m. *[m]a-di-dū* 105 rev. 1.11
maḥar 'in front of'
ma-ḫa-ar 78 obv. 12, *ma-ḫa-ar¹* 63 obv. 8

⁸⁸ For the pleonastic use of *-ni* in this and similar forms v. HASSELBACH 2005, pp. 206–209 and, critically, KOGAN/MARKINA 2006, p. 578. The present example, with a clear-cut singular subject, further undermines HASSELBACH's conclusions on distribution of *-u* and *-u-ni* in Sargonic.

⁸⁹ The use of GI is unexpected here as there is no diachronic motivation for the *e*-vowel in ⁹⁰*yikyip*. Contrast *tā-ki-pā-an-ni* in Ki 1: 7.

⁹⁰ To be added to the previously known *il-pu-t[u]* in CT 50, 74 left edge (SOMMERFELD 2012, p. 236).

⁹¹ The final *-a* in this form is difficult to explain insofar as the preceding nominal form to which it must refer ends in *-zu-NU* which presupposes a singular ending in a dental, not a plural or dual. Perhaps *la-šu₄-a¹ [at]* can be ventured.

⁹² For this spelling v. HASSELBACH 2005, p. 64; SOMMERFELD 2012, p. 236.

⁹³ For the spellings with IM₆ v. HASSELBACH 2005, p. 66; SOMMERFELD 2012, p. 236.

- with 3 pl. m. suff. *ma-ḥa-ar-šu-nu* 194 rev. 12
maḥārum 'to receive'
 pret. 3 sg. m. *im-ḥur* 13 obv. 5, rev. 3, 14 rev. 3, 15 obv. 3, 25 rev. 6, 45 rev. 19, 52
 obv. 3, 88 obv. 3, rev. 3, 91 obv. 5, 96 obv. 2, 105 obv. 4, rev. 6, 107 rev. 6, 110
 rev. 2, 111 rev. 2, 113 rev. 3, 114 rev. 1, 115 rev. 3, 117 rev. 9, 118 rev. 3.5, 125
 rev. 7, 127 rev. 11, 131 obv. 6, 151 obv. 7, 169 rev. 1, 179 obv. 3, 180 rev. 2, 181
 rev. 4, 185 rev. 8, 186 obv. 2, rev. 1, 191 obv. 11, 195 obv. 3.9, 203 rev. 9, 231
 obv. 3, 248 rev. 1, 251 obv. 4, *[i]m-ḥur* 106 rev. 4, 108 rev. 7, *im-ḥu[r]* 115 rev.
 5, *[im]-ḥur* 129 obv. 5, *im-[ḥur]* 130 obv. 2.4
 pret. 3 sg. m. subj. *im-ḥu-ru* 143 rev. 6
 pret. 3 sg. m. with obj. suff. 1 sg. *im-ḥu-ra-ni* 71 rev. 2
 pret. 3 sg. f. *tām-ḥur* 109 obv. 3, 128 obv. 3
 pret. 3 pl. m. *im-ḥu-ru* 45 edge 1, 46 obv. i 18, 82 rev. 1, 87 rev. 6, 116 rev. iv 11,
 167 rev. 17, 172 rev. 8, 175 rev. 4, 187 l. edge 1, *im-ḥu-[ru]* 126 rev. iv 6, *[im]-*
ḥu-ru 126 rev. iv 9, *im-[ḥu-ru]* 196 rev. 1
 pret. 3 du. m. *im-ḥu-ra* 87 obv. 5, 168 rev. 1, 173 rev. 1, 202 obv. 4, 203 obv. 5, 209
 rev. 2, *im-ḥur-ra* 234 rev. 1⁹⁴
 part. act. du. *ma-ḥi-ra* 201 obv. 7
 part. act. pl. *ma-ḥi-ru* 39 obv. vi 18, 132 rev. 13
malûm 'to be full'
 prec. 3 sg. m. *li-im-lá* 73 obv. 7⁹⁵
 pres. 3 sg. m. *i-ma-lá-ma* 73 rev. 2
 stat. 3 sg. m. *ma-li* 73 obv. 9⁹⁶
 Š
 impv. sg. m. *šum-li-ma* 73 rev. 9⁹⁷
^{*manna-ma} 'whoever'⁹⁸
ma-na-ma 59 rev. 1
^{*mannum} 'who'⁹⁹
ma-núm 60 rev. 6, *ma-an-núm* 73 rev. 7, 74 rev. 4, *ma-nu-um* 76 rev. 3, 229 rev. 3,
ma-<nim> 78 r. edge 1
^{*mārum} 'son'¹⁰⁰
 with 1 sg. suff. *mar-i* 229 rev. 3

⁹⁴ For this morphophonemic spelling v. HASSELBACH 2005, p. 37.

⁹⁵ This and the following are clear-cut examples of *LÁ* = /la'/ (SOMMERFELD 2012, pp. 235–236, *contra* HASSELBACH 2005, p. 63).

⁹⁶ *LI* = /le/, thus /male(°)/ (KOGAN 2011b, pp. 42, 52–53).

⁹⁷ *LI* = /le/, thus /sumle(°)/ (KOGAN 2011b, pp. 42, 52–53).

⁹⁸ So far only in the royal inscriptions. The shape *ma-na-ma* /manna-ma/ corresponds, predictably, to that of *Narām-Su'en* and differs from *Sargon's* *ma-ma-na* /mammanna/ (HASSELBACH 2005, p. 165, KOGAN 2008, pp. 24–25).

⁹⁹ This abundant documentation contrasts sharply with the nearly total lack of *mannum* outside onomastics in the Sargonic corpus by the time HASSELBACH's grammar was published (2005, p. 164). The orthographic diversity is noteworthy.

¹⁰⁰ This is the first fully syllabic attestation of "son" in Akk., which nicely fits the desideratum expressed in KOGAN 2014, p. 90. The vocalism agrees with Bab. ^{*mar}²-, not Ass. *mer*²-.



mâtum 'to die'

pret. 3 pl. m. *i-mu-tu* 78 rev. 6

minma 'whatever'

mī-ma 58 rev. 2, 59 rev. 3, 71 rev. 6, 75 rev. 2, 78 rev. 10, [*mī*]-*ma* 72 rev. 6

mīnum 'what'

mī-nim 62 obv. 10

**mišlum* 'half'

sg. acc. *mi¹-iś-lam* 65 obv. 5, *mī-iś-lam* 65 obv. 7

**mû* 'water'

pl. obl. *ma-e* 73 obv. 6, rev. 1.9

**mukippum* 'guarantor'

predicative *mu-ki-ip* 201 obv. 9

**muš(š)ākum* 'a type of ration'

mu-ša-ki-im 107 rev. 4, 117 obv. 2, *mu-ša-KUM* 123 obv. 6

nadānum 'to give'

pret. 3 sg. m. *i-dī-in* 111 obv. 5, *i-dī-in¹* 193 obv. ii 13¹⁰¹

pret. 3 sg. m. subj. with 3 sg. m. dat. suff. *i-dī-nu-š[um]* 67 obv. 6

pret. 1 sg. m. *a-dī-in* 240 obv. 12, *a-d[i-in]* 59 rev. 4¹⁰²

pret. 1 sg. subj. *a-dī-nu* 64 obv. 6

pres. 2 sg. m. *tā-na-da-an-ma* 73 rev. 1

prec. 3 sg. m. *li-dī-in* 60 rev. 1, 63 rev. 5, 73 obv. 6, 74 rev. 3, 75 rev. 6, 228 rev. 2,

229 rev. 2, *li-dī-in-ma* 61 rev. 1

prec. 3 sg. m. with 3 sg. m. dat. suff. *li-dī-š[um]* 62 rev. 6'

prec. 3 pl. m. *li-dī-nu* 69 obv. 18

prec. 3 sg. m. with 1 sg. dat. suff. *li-dī-nam* 71 rev. 5

prec. 3 sg. m. vent. with 3 sg. f. obj. suff. *li-dī-na-aš* 75 rev. 1

prec. 1 sg. with 3 sg. dat. suff. *lu-dī-šum* 60 rev. 4

inf. with term. *na-da-ni-iś* 253 rev. 2

*Gtn

prec. 3 sg. m. *li-tā-da-an* 61 rev. 6

š

prec. 3 sg. m. *li-ša-dī-in* 58 rev. 5

prec. 3 sg. m. with 1 sg. dat. suff. *li-ša-dī-nam¹* 76 rev. 7

**nakkamtum* 'storage room'

na-¹kam¹-tim 92 obv. 4, *na-kam-tim* 157 obv. 3

nasāḫum 'to remove'

pres. 3 sg. m. vent. with 1 sg. obj. suff. *i-na-sà-ḫa-ni* 78 rev. 9

našūm 'to carry'

pret. 3 sg. m. vent. *i-śé-àm-ma* 78 obv. 14¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ For this derivation (rather than from *dīānum* 'to engage in lawsuit', as suggested by the editors) v. above in the commentary to No. 193.

¹⁰² For this reconstruction v. above in the commentary to No. 59.

¹⁰³ The use of *š₁₁* and *ām* fits the expected picture: *i-śé-àm-ma* = /yisse'am-ma/, with *i* > *e* before the glottal stop (HASSELBACH 2005, p. 65; KOGAN 2011b, pp. 46, 52–53).

naṭûm ‘to be suitable’

stat. 3 pl. m. [*na-tu-ù*] 69 rev. 7¹⁰⁴

nīšum ‘life’

na-³à-as 194 obv. 7, 196 rev. 3, *na-³à-[as]* 193 rev. iii 1

**nûm* ‘ours’

ni-a-im 73 obv. 5

paṭārum ‘to release’

impv. sg. m. *pu-ṭu-ur* 200 rev. 5

**rabiānum* ‘mayor’

pl. constr. [*ra-bi-a-nu*] 212 rev. 3’

ramānum ‘self’

r[a-ma-ni] 78 rev. 12

**rēdûm* ‘follower’

pl. nom. with 1 sg. suff. *ra-di-ù-a* 72 obv. 5

pl. obl. with 3 sg. m. suff. *ra-di-e-šu* 63 rev. 4

**sākirum* ‘canal-worker’

predicative pl. *sā-ki-ru* 32 ii 12

**supālum* ‘juniper’¹⁰⁵

sú-pá-l[um] 184 rev. 11

šabātum ‘to seize’

stat. 3 sg. m. or part. act. sg. m. *ša-bi-it* 247 rev. 11, 252 obv. 4¹⁰⁶

**šēnum* ‘to load’

inf. with term. *ša-a-n[i-iš]* 115 obv. 2, [*ša*]-*a-ni-iš* 92 rev. 7

**šītum* ‘expenditure’

pl. nom. *ši-a-tum* 48 rev. viii 7¹⁰⁷

pl. obl. *ši-a-tim* 126 obv. ii 17

šakānum ‘to place’

stat. 3 pl. m. *ša¹-ak-nu* 8 rev. 6

šapākum ‘to pour’

*N

pret. 3 sg. m. *i-ša-pí-ik* 13 obv. 6, *i-ša¹-pí-ik* 13 rev. 4, [*i-ša*]-*pí-ik* 109 obv. 5¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ The plural reading does not derive from the context (barely impossible to reconstruct), but rather from comparison with the singular form *na-tu* in Ga 3: 23.

¹⁰⁵ The context does not allow us to establish with certainty whether this is a true Akk. form or an Akkadism in Sumerian. See further CAD S 390, GELB 1957, p. 240.

¹⁰⁶ The spelling with BI /be/ is unexpected and hard to explain.

¹⁰⁷ As long as ZÉ is taken to primarily render /ze/ and /še/, its use here can be motivated by the following glottal stop: *ši-a-tum* = /še^hātum/.

¹⁰⁸ Consistent use of BI /be/ is hard to explain.

šapārūm 'to send'

pret. 1 sg. vent. with 2 sg. dat. suff. *aš-pù-ra-ku-ma* 72 obv. 4¹⁰⁹

**šarāḫum* 'to steal'

pret. 3 sg. m. *[i]š-ri-iḫ* 227 rev. 1

pret. 3 du. m. *iš-rí-ka* 192 rev. 5

**šarrūtum* 'kingship'

šar-ru₁₄-tám 247 edge 1¹¹⁰

šaṭārūm 'to write'

impv. 2 sg. vent. *šu-uṭ-ra-am-[ma]* 70 rev. 6

**šedā'um* 'a profession or title'¹¹¹

šé-da-um 139 obv. 6, 140 obv. 6, 193 obv. i 8, 197 rev. 5', 198 rev. 3, *šé-da-[um]*
116 obv. ii 1

šemūm 'to hear'

pret. 3 sg. m. *iš-má* 66 rev. 5

possessive pronominal suffixes 3 sg. and pl.¹¹²

-*šu* 3 rev. 5 and passim

-*šu-nu* 190 obv. 2

-*ša* 110 rev. 4

šibšum 'a tax'

pl. obl. with 3 sg. m. suffix *ši-ib-ši-šu* 64 rev. 1

šibum 'witness'

pl. nom. *ÁBBA-bu-tum* 202 rev. 10, *[ÁB]BA-bu-tum* 196 rev. 13

du. nom. with 3 sg. m. suff. *ÁBBA-ba-šu* 194 obv. 15

pl. nom. constr. *ÁBBA-ʾut* 200 obv. 7, *[ÁB]BA-ʾut* 207 rev. 14

pl. predicative *ÁBBA-bu* 195 rev. 14, 198 rev. 5, 201 rev. 10, 203 rev. 5¹¹³

**šikdum* 'almond tree, timber'

ši-iḫ-dum 180 obv. 5¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Note the use of *bù*, an important addition to HASSELBACH 2005, p. 62.

¹¹⁰ The spelling with *URU* × *A* agrees with the evidence of the royal inscriptions (KOGAN 2011a, pp. 175–176).

¹¹¹ For a discussion of the term and its use in the Sargonic corpus see STEINKELLER/POSTGATE 1992, p. 92 (the Akk. etymology suggested there does not seem likely). A variety of spellings of the term are found in the Sargonic sources: in addition to *šé-da-um*, *ši-da-um* (DCS 83: 5, STTI 82 i 5'), *šu-da-um* (BIN 8, 164 rev. 7'; PPAC 1, 336, No. A 825: 4'), and even *šu-dè-um* (CUSAS 13, 7 rev. 2) are attested.

¹¹² Pronominal suffixes of other persons are not listed in the Glossary, cf. the pertinent nominal and verbal forms.

¹¹³ Noteworthy is the predicative plural of *šibum* (*šib-ū*), previously unattested in Sargonic.

¹¹⁴ The context does not allow us to establish with certainty whether this is a true Akk. form or an Akkadism in Sumerian. The spelling with *ši* instead of the (etymologically correct) *šī* is noteworthy. See further CAD Š/3, 95 and GELB 1957, pp. 282–283. The term is several times attested in the expression *ī ši-iḫ-dum* 'almond oil' in Sargonic documents from Umma and Girsu (BIN 8, 296 obv. 1, *ibid.* 318 obv. 3, *ibid.* 339 obv. 3; RTC 109 rev. 4; STTI 30 rev. 1' and 2'). As these tablets are written in Sumerian and the term is used in the nominative (instead of the expected genitive), it must be an Akkadism. The initial sign is

šu relative pronoun

sg. m. nom. *šu* 3 rev. 6 and passim

sg. m. gen. *ši* 8 rev. 5, 73 rev. 3¹¹⁵, 78 obv. 3, 111 rev. 3, 118 obv. 4, 126 rev. iv 15, 138 rev. 7, 139 rev. 6, 148 obv. 17, 186 obv. 12, *ʾši* 117 rev. 8

sg. m. acc. *ša* 62 obv. 6, 64 obv. 5, 66 obv. 5, 67 obv. 5, *[š]a* 70 rev. 3, 71 obv. 5

du. m. nom. *ša-a* 168 obv. 4, 194 obv. 3, 206 rev. 9

pl. m. *šu-ut* 29 rev. 7, 81 obv. 5, 112 obv. 2, 132 obv. 12, rev. 12, 135 obv. 5, 143 rev. 3, 148 obv. 25, 152 rev. 4, 157 obv. 3, 160 obv. 2.4, 162 obv. 2, 163 l. edge 1, 173 obv. 5, 178 obv. 7, 194 rev. 12, 205 rev. 8, 243 rev. 3

**šūm* 'his'

šu-a-im 73 obv. 5

**šumma* 'if'

[šum]-m[a] 69 rev. 7

**tabālum* 'to carry off'¹¹⁶

pret. 3 sg. m. *it-ba-al* 78 obv. 9

pret. 3 pl. m. *it-ba-lu* 58 rev. 4

**taklīmtum* 'instruction'

ták-lim-tum 119 rev. 2, 125 rev. 3, *ták-lim-[tu]m* 125 obv. 3¹¹⁷

**tamkārūm* 'creditor'

pl. obl. DAM.GĀR-ri 78 obv. 9

tamūm 'to swear'¹¹⁸

pret. 3 sg. m. *it-[má]* 193 rev. iii 2

pret. 3 sg. m. subj. *it-má-ū* 194 rev. 13, 195 r. edge 1

pret. 3 pl. m. *it-má-ū* 196 rev. 4

**tārum* 'to return'

pres. 1 sg. subj. with 3 m. dat. suff. *a-tū-ru-šum* 196 rev. 6¹¹⁹

*D

pret. 3 pl./3 sg. subj. *u-ti-ru* 160 rev. 4'

ṭabāḥum 'to slaughter'

prec. 3 sg. m. *li-it-ṭbu¹-úḥ-ma* 63 obv. 5

**ṭarādum* 'to send'

prec. 3 sg. m. vent. *li-it-ṭru¹-dam* 68 rev. 2

spelled with *š* up to the Ur III times, when it is replaced with *s* (cf. *si-iq-dum* in UET 3, 585 obv. 2 and *si-iq-da* in Babyloniaca 8, pl. 9, pupil 36 rev. 5). In this sense, the present example seems to be unique.

¹¹⁵ For this reading see the notes to No. 73.

¹¹⁶ As convincingly argued in I. ARKHIPOV/S. LOESOV: "The *t*-Form of the Sargonic Verb." Forthcoming in a Festschrift (2019), all forms of this type in Sargonic Akk. are to be treated as preterites of *tabālum* and not as perfects of *wabālum* (contra HASSELBACH 2005, p. 289).

¹¹⁷ Cf. CUSAS 17, 11 v 1–2 and KOGAN/MARKINA 2014, p. 237.

¹¹⁸ In HASSELBACH 2005, p. 290, forms of *tamūm* are listed together with those of *wamūm*, which is scarcely justified.

¹¹⁹ Note the use of DU.

tuppum ‘tablet’

pl. obl. [t]up-pí-šu 78 obv. 14

u ‘and’

ù ‘and’ 56 obv. 2 and passim

ul ‘not’

ù-la 59 rev. 4 and passim

ullum ‘later, then’¹²⁰

ù-lí 78 rev. 10

**ušum* ‘diorite; a tree’

ì-ši-um 180 obv. 4¹²¹

**uznu* ‘ear’

du. nom. uz-na-kà 70 rev. 3

wabālum ‘to bring’¹²²

pret. 3 sg. m. *u-bil* 242 obv. 8

pret. 3 sg. m. vent. *u-bi-lam* 24 rev. 4, *u-bi-[lam]* 169 rev. 5

pret. 3 sg. m. vent. *‘u’-ub-lam* 151 obv. 5

pret. 3 pl. m. *u-ub-lu* 25 rev. 4

pret. 3 pl. m. vent. *u-ub-lu-nim* 16 obv. 10

§¹²³

pret. 3 sg. m. vent. *u-šu-bi-lam* 66 rev. 1

pres. 1 sg. vent. with 3 sg. m. dat. suffix *ù-‘šé’-ba-la-šum* 75 rev. 7

prec. 3 pl. m. vent. [l]i-šé-bi-lu-nim-ma 69 rev. 2

impv. sg. m. vent. *šu-‘bi’-lam* 66 rev. 3, [š]u-bi-[lam] 70 rev. 7, *‘šu’-bi-lam* 72 rev. 7

wamūm ‘to swear’

pres. 1 sg. *ù-má* 194 obv. 7

warādum ‘to go down’

inf. *wa-ra-dim* 155 rev. 6, *‘wa’-ra-d[im]* 152 obv. 1’

**wardum* ‘servant’

with 3 sg. m. suff. IR₁₁-sú 195 obv. 12, 227 obv. 5

**warki* ‘afterwards’

wa-ar-ki 61 rev. 3¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Following the editors’ plausible translation ‘at that time’. Note that the presumably related *u-lum* in RIME 2.1.2.4: 44 is spelled with *u* in the OB copy, whereas the corresponding Ebla forms dealt with in A. ARCHI, NABU 2003/31 use *ù* as in the present text.

¹²¹ Here as a tree/timber designation. Interestingly, the syllabic spelling of ‘diorite’ in RIME 2.1.4.13 ii 9 is different (*e-ši-um*).

¹²² The spelling variation of the preterite of this verb is in agreement with the picture registered in HASSELBACH 2005, p. 289.

¹²³ With respect to the evidence collected in HASSELBACH 2005, p. 289, the preterite *u-šu-bi-lam* and the present *ù-‘šé’-ba-la-šum* are new. For their general setting within the Sargonic paradigm of the causative stem of *lw* v. HASSELBACH 2005, pp. 224–226, with SOMMERFELD’s penetrating critical analysis (2012, pp. 260–262).

¹²⁴ The use of GI = /kc/ suggests /wark-ē/ < **wark-ay*.

warûm 'to lead'

pret. 3 pl. m. *u-ru-ù* 182 rev. 11, [*u*]-*ru-ù* 143 rev. 2

pret. 3 pl. m. with ventive *u-ru-ù-nim* 156 obv. 12

pret. 3 du. with ventive *u-ru-a-nim* 17 obv. 7

prec. 3 pl. m. *li-ru-nim* 55 rev. 3, [*li-ru-nim*? 56 rev. 4, *li-ru-ù-nim* 57 rev. 2

inf. with term. *wa-ra-iš* 157 rev. 7, 193 rev. iii 5

§¹²⁵

pret. 3 sg. m. vent. [*u*]-*šu-rí-am* 69 rev. 4

prec. 3 sg. m. vent. *li-šé¹-rí-am* 72 rev. 2

**wašûm* 'to go out'

pret. 3 pl. m. *u-ši-ù* 66 edge 7

§

pret. 3 sg. m. *u-šu-ši* 171 rev. 2¹²⁶

wašābum 'to sit'

pres. 3 sg. m. *u-ša-ab* 55 rev. 2

pres. 3 pl. m. *u-ša-bu* 56 rev. 3

pres. 3 sg. f. *tu-ša-ab* 57 rev. 1

zabālum 'to carry'

part. act. pl. m. *za-bi-lu* 105 rev. 2.12, 195 rev. 4

3 Probable Akkadian forms/sign sequences with no certain interpretation

A-ŠA-MA 69 rev. 11¹²⁷

AD-BA-ÁŠ-LA-MA-I 206 rev. 9¹²⁸

DU-Á-ZU-NU 184 obv. 5¹²⁹

ID-BA 45 rev. 17, ID-BA-MA 45 rev. 18¹³⁰

I-SA-BI-E 107 obv. 4¹³¹

IG-GA-ÁŠ-KAM-A-MA 143 obv. 3¹³²

¹²⁵ With respect to the evidence collected in HASSELBACH 2005, p. 291, the preterite [*u*]-*šu-rí-am* is new. Otherwise, both [*u*]-*šu-rí-am* and *li-šé¹-rí-am* are compatible with the attested evidence for this verbal class (HASSELBACH 2005, pp. 224–226, SOMMERFELD 2012, pp. 260–262).

¹²⁶ For this form v. HASSELBACH 2005, p. 291; SOMMERFELD 2012, pp. 260–261.

¹²⁷ Text too broken for a meaningful discussion.

¹²⁸ The context suggests a proper name and/or a title.

¹²⁹ Cf. above in connection with No. 184.

¹³⁰ As one learns from obv. 21, the total amount of barley is 70 *kor*, so that the repetition 30 GUR ID-BA 30 GUR ID-BA-MA LUGAL-KA *im-bur* is meaningful. A comparison with *ṭepûm* 'to add, to attach, to append' (CAD T 100) is, therefore, rather appealing: 'he added (*ṭepûm*) 30 *kor*; he added 30 *kor* (more), and Lugal-KA received (it)'.

¹³¹ Must be a verbal predicate referring to the grain mentioned in obv. 1. Given the fact that the final *plene* BI-E would be most unusual in Sargonic (let alone that no suitable verb

Ì-TUM 253 obv. 1¹³³
 KU-UB-RI 236 obv. 4, rev. 4¹³⁴
 MA-LI-BU 66 rev. 6
 MU-ZU-GA-Û 160 rev. 4¹³⁵
 NI-ZI-AM 78 rev. 8¹³⁶
 SI-NA-IM 173 rev. 3¹³⁷
 ŠU-UT-TI 58 rev. 3¹³⁸
 U-RA-/BI-X'67 l. edge 1
 U-ZA-BI-I[K] 78 obv. 11¹³⁹
 U-ZA-RÍ 78 obv. 10¹⁴⁰
 ZA-AB-TI 58 obv. 6, 193 rev. iii 10¹⁴¹

is at hand), one cannot fail to observe the use of *i-ša-pí-ik* in parallel passages elsewhere in the corpus (v. above under *šapākum* N).

¹³² The context suggests a proper name and/or a title.

¹³³ The interpretation suggested for Ì.TUM in the edition ('sign, reminder') is attractive, cf. the Old Bab. expression *lū ittum* 'let it be a reminder (that)' (WASSERMAN 2012, p. 82, with references to previous studies).

¹³⁴ The absence of mimation in obv. 4 suggests that it is a masculine oblique plural. Since in this line the word refers to a garment (among other things listed in obv. 1–3), the lines in question could perhaps be compared to a passage from an early Old Bab. letter: *Ma-ra-El wa-ra-ad-kà a-na TUG^{lit.} ku-bu-ri-im ... iš-pu-úr¹-šu* 'Mara-El, your servant, sent him to ...' (WHITING 1987, p. 51, no. 12: 20–23).

¹³⁵ The form is almost inevitably the subject of the following *u-ti-ru* '(they) returned' and should, therefore, to designate a certain category of people rather than an object or an action. In view of this, its identification with the otherwise widespread *purussā'u* pattern becomes problematic. Neither of the two *musukkū* lexemes listed in CAD M₂ 240 appears to be fitting. The background of the translation (?) 'to be accounted back on the past year' for *šu* IM.MA MU-ZU-GA-Û *u-ti-ru* on p. 30 of the Introduction is unclear to us.

¹³⁶ The editors' tentative comparison with *asītu*, *isītu* 'tower of a city wall' carries little conviction (note, furthermore, that there is hardly any justification for 'a wall and its towers' in the translation). Shall one rather compare *issū* 'clay pit' (CAD I 204)?

¹³⁷ The form is superficially similar to *šú-a-im* 'his' and *ní-a-im* 'ours' in 73 obv. 5, but its meaning is unclear (the background of the translation 'of them both' in the Introduction, p. 42, is unclear to us). Note the disagreement between *šu-ut* (plural) and *im-ḫu-ra* (dual) in obv. 5 – rev. 1.

¹³⁸ See fn. 140.

¹³⁹ In view of the very common expression *bītam suppuḫum* 'to squander an estate' (CAD S 155, often with *abum* 'father' as the *rectum*), one is tempted to understand in such a way the sequence *é a-bí u-sà-pí-i[k]* in 78 obv. 10–11, especially in the context of the preceding lines as described in fn. 140. Needless to say, the final [k] is pretty hard to explain.

¹⁴⁰ The sequence 120 ŠE GUR A.GA.DÈ^{RI} *it-ba-al a-na DAM.GÀR-ri u-za-rí* (78 obv. 8–10) is likely to be understood as 'he took away 120 Akk. *kors* of barley and scattered it among the creditors'. While it is true that Akk. *zarū* is not attested in the D stem and is not normally used in transferred meanings, none of the two is a crucial objection, particularly in view of the well-attested Hebrew parallel *zry* (pi.) 'to scatter, to disperse' (BROWN et al. 1906, p. 280).

¹⁴¹ The general context of No. 58 makes it probable that ZA-AB-TI and ŠU-UT-TI designate the same type of personnel, which allows us to equate ZA-AB and ŠU-UT. Since the

4 Orthography and phonology

4.1 The sibilants

The use of *sa* in *ḥa-ša-li-iš* (109 rev. 3) ‘to grind’ does not match *ša* in *ḥa-ša-lim* (HSS 10, 132 obv. 2, rev. 4’), but agrees with *si₁₁* in *[ḥa]-ši-la-tum* (HSS 10, 194 rev. 3’), cf. MARKINA 2011, pp. 204, KOGAN 2011a, p. 172.

Numerous examples of *uz₇* in the forms of *aḥāzum* ‘to take’ are noteworthy (cf. HASSELBACH 2005, pp. 72–73). Interestingly, the term for ‘ear’, where the same etymological sequence **ud* is found, is spelled with the normal *uz*.

4.2 The gutturals

There are several examples where simple vocalic signs are unexpectedly used instead of the “guttural” ones:

- *’ā-li-ku-tum* (31 obv. 8, rev. 9)¹⁴² vs. *a-la-ki* (60 rev. 3)¹⁴³
- *’ā-wa-ti-[šū-nu]* (70 rev. 2), *á-wa¹-tám* (72 rev. 6) vs. *a-wa-sú-nu* (58 obv. 7)
- *u-ša-rí-ba-am* (195 obv. 7) vs. *u-ša-rí-ib* (188 obv. 3)¹⁴⁴
- *a-ra-šē* (58 obv. 5, rev. 2)¹⁴⁵

Quite unexpected is the *e*-coloring (presumably suggesting the loss of the word-initial **’*) in *e-l[a-i]m* (155 obv. 5).

4.3 The *e*-signs

Examples of apparently non-motivated use of *e*-signs (HASSELBACH 2005, pp. 41–47, SOMMERFELD 2012, pp. 218–221) are rather numerous in the corpus.

- LI: *a-kà-li-iš* (71 rev. 6), *’ā-li-ku-tum* (31 obv. 8, rev. 9), *ḥa-ša-li-iš* (109 rev. 3), *ù-kál-li-mu* (62 obv. 7), *tu-kál-li-mu* (73 rev. 5)
- GI: *i-ḫi-ip* (78 rev. 3)

latter is almost certainly to be read as *šu-ut* ‘those of’, one wonders whether *šābum* ‘troops, workers’ (previously attested in Sargonic Gasur, MARKINA 2011, pp. 206) may be behind ZA-AB. In No. 194 the sequence ZA-AB-TI Nibru^{ki} is attested as a professional designation. Although *šābum* is primarily used as a collective term, it refers to a single person in at least two cases (1 ÉREN, Grant Smith College 269:11.12, see M. ROTH: JAOS 122 (2002), pp. 42–43 for the discussion of the text), which allows for a possible connection to *šābum* in this case as well.

¹⁴² The royal inscriptions prefer *á* in this form (KOGAN 2011a, p. 176).

¹⁴³ Same feature in Eš 3: 13, 18.

¹⁴⁴ This orthographic variation has been attested before (HASSELBACH 2005, p. 127).

¹⁴⁵ Contrast *’ā-ra-šē* (Di 10: 14’).

- BI: *i-ša-pí-ik* (13 obv. 6), *i-^fša-pí-ik¹* (13 rev. 4), [*i-ša*]-*pí-ik* (109 obv. 5); *ša-bi-it* (247 rev. 11, 252 obv. 4); *za-bi-lu* (105 rev. 12, 195 rev. 4)

No uniform orthographic rendering of the sequence /mi/ is at hand, as both MI and ME can be used in such cases with no clear distributional factors: *mi-^fnim¹* 62 obv. 10, [*k*]*ā-mi-e* 143 rev. 1, [*k*]*ā-mi-e* 182 rev. 10 vs. *li-da-mi-ik-ma* 63 obv. 7, *mi¹-is-lam* 65 obv. 5, *mi-is-lam* 65 obv. 7. Note further the use of Mf in the spelling of *mimma* (58 rev. 2, 59 rev. 3, 71 rev. 6, 75 rev. 2, 78 rev. 10, 72 rev. 6), where it is probably to be interpreted as *mim*.

The evidence for the use of *ši* is limited, but all the extant examples favor an *e*-value: *ši-a-tum* 48 rev. viii 7, *ši-a-tim* 126 obv. ii 17, *u-ši-ù* 66 edge 7, *u-šu-ši* 171 rev. 2.

4.4 Other orthographic phenomena

The use of RI is a common feature in this corpus: *im-ri-im* (66 obv. 6), *ip-ti-ri-ša* (75 rev. 3), *li-kā-ri-bu-nim* (77 obv. 5), *kā-ša-ri-is* (195 rev. 16), [*i*]*š-ri-ik* (227 rev. 1), DAM.GAR-*ri* (78 obv. 9), *ku-ub-ri* (236 obv. 4, rev. 4').

RI displays nearly the same frequency: *iš-rí-kā* (192 rev. 5), *ib-rí* (245 rev. 2), *u-ša-rí-ib* (188 obv. 3), *u-ša-rí-ba-am* (195 obv. 7), [*u*]-*šu-rí²-am* (69 rev. 4), *li-^fšé¹-rī-am* (72 rev. 2) *a-šū^{x1}-rī-um* (199 obv. 4'), *a-š[ū]^{x1}-rī-um* (199 obv. 6').

The distribution between the two signs seems to go along the lines suggested in HASSELBACH 2005, p. 50: while there is a certain deal of free variation, only RI appears to be used when *e*-vocalism is diachronically unambiguous (notably, in the masculine plural oblique and before the etymological *).

Abbreviations

Abbreviations follow those defined in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*.

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Notizen zu aramäischen Texten aus Hatra und Umgebung¹

Von MARCO MORIGGI, Catania

Summary: The contribution features a study regarding a group of Hatran Aramaic inscriptions. This selection of texts includes both published (but later neglected) and unpublished inscriptions. By means of new pictures and a thorough analysis of previous literature, some innovative proposals about transliterations and translations could be provided. The texts were furthermore included in the numeration of Hatran Aramaic texts according to the latest outcomes of the scholarly discussion.

Vorbemerkungen

Während der Vorbereitung des Buches *Aramaic Graffiti from Hatra* hatte ich die Möglichkeit, die meisten veröffentlichten Hatra-aramäischen Inschriften in Originalausgaben zu überprüfen.² Diese Arbeit war hauptsächlich darauf ausgerichtet, die Konkordanzen von Nummern der Hatra-aram. Inschriften zusammenzustellen. Gleichzeitig konnte ich verschiedene Lesungen überprüfen und den *status quaestionis* der veröffentlichten Hatra-aram. Texte aktualisieren. Dabei traten auch einige bislang unbemerkte Texte auf.

Für die Nummerierung der in diesem Beitrag vorgestellten Texte muss auf die Kriterien und Tabellen von MORIGGI/BUCCI (2019) hingewiesen

¹ Für die Diskussion verschiedener Probleme dieses Beitrags ist der Autor Prof. FABRIZIO A. PENNACCHIETTI (Turin) dankbar. Neue Bilder und Zeichnungen der Inschriften wurden freundlicherweise von Prof. ROBERTA VENCO RICCIARDI (Turin, Archiv der Missione Archeologica Italiana a Hatra) zur Verfügung gestellt. Die Informationen über die Inschriften und ihre gegenwärtige Lage wurden von Dr. ENRICO FOIETTA (Turin) freundlicherweise gegeben. ILARIA BUCCI (Birkbeck, London) hat bei der Vorbereitung dieser Studie grundlegende Unterstützung geleistet und auch bei der Bibliographie geholfen. Dank gebührt auch Prof. Dr. LUCINDA DIRVEN (Amsterdam), Prof. Dr. MASSIMO BONIFAZIO (Turin), Dr. ENRICO MARCATO (Venedig) und Frau LUCIA CAPPELLETTI (Pagliare del Tronto). Fehler liegen in der Verantwortung des Autors. *Legenda:* [.] = ein Buchstabe fehlt; [..] = zwei Buchstaben fehlen; [...] = drei oder mehr Buchstaben fehlen; [x] = rekonstruierte Lesung; (x) = unsichere Lesung; 'x' = teilweise erhaltener Buchstabe; ^x = Buchstabe über die Linie geschrieben; {x} = überflüssiger Buchstabe/Dittographie; <x> = Auslassung im Originaltext; x/y = alternative Lesung oder Übersetzung; (...) = bedeutungslose Sequenz; /x/ = phonematische Lesung.

² MORIGGI/BUCCI im Druck.

werden. Die Nummerierung folgt der von BEYER (1998) eingeführten und in MORIGGI (2010a, 2010b) und BEYER (2013) fortgesetzten Serie.

Aufgrund der Unsicherheit ihrer möglichen Vokalisierung werden Eigennamen von Personen nicht vokalisiert. Die Vokalisierung der Namen von Göttern und Göttinnen entspricht den in BEYER (1998) vorgeschlagenen Standards (mit einigen geringfügigen Variationen), wobei die Unterscheidung zwischen spirantisierter und nicht spirantisierter Aussprache von *b g d k f t* unberücksichtigt bleibt.³

Der Ausdruck „Mittel-Aramäisch“ umfasst die aramäischen Varietäten (hauptsächlich epigraphisch), die ungefähr zwischen dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. bezeugt sind. Die allgemeine Klassifikation der aramäischen Sprache, die in diesem Beitrag verwendet wird, ist diejenige von FITZMYER mit Modifikation von MORIGGI (2012).

I.

1989 waren die beiden Inschriften, die 2016 von CHRISTA MÜLLER-KESSLER veröffentlicht wurden, in dem Assur Site Museum aufbewahrt; im selben Jahr hat KARL-HEINZ KESSLER einige Bilder von ihnen gemacht. Diese Bilder wurden bei schlechten Lichtverhältnissen geschossen.⁴ Beide Inschriften (Nr. A 36 und A 37 in der Nummerierung der Hatra-aram. Texte aus Assur) werden jetzt im Iraq Museum (Baghdad) aufbewahrt (Nr. A 36 = IM 119664; Nr. A 37 = IM 229641), wo sie 2004 von ROBERTA VENCO RICCIARDI (Direktorin der Missione Archeologica Italiana a Hatra) wieder gefunden wurden. Es gibt immer noch keine Beweise, dass sie ursprünglich in Hatra gefunden worden sind.⁵ Neue Bilder der beiden Inschriften stellte mir VENCO RICCIARDI freundlicherweise zur Verfügung. Diese erlaubten mir eine bessere Entschlüsselung einiger Buchstaben in Nr. A 36, und eine vollständiges Verständnis des in Nr. A 37 gezeigten Namens.

A 36 (IM 119664 = Nr. 3 in MÜLLER-KESSLER 2016, S. 473–475)
Räucheraltar in Kalkstein. Sieben Zeilen Text. Auf der linken Seite beschädigt und unten abgebrochen.

Transliteration und Übersetzung:

1. *[m]kn³ d[b]l*

Der Räucheraltar des (Gottes) Bēl,

³ Siehe SIMA 2000, S. 163–164 und MARCATO 2018, S. 14.

⁴ MÜLLER-KESSLER 2016, S. 473–475 und 478.

⁵ Siehe MORIGGI/BUCCI 2019, S. 4–5.



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Abb. 1 und 2: Inschrift Nr. A 36 (Iraq Museum, Baghdad, 2004)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 2. <i>dbbyt'</i> [...] | der in dem Haus (Tempel?) (ist) [...] |
| 3. <i>dg^d^y lhn(y)</i> [...] | von <i>gdy</i> , zu <i>hny</i> [...] |
| 4. <i>dy 'bšlm[']</i> | von <i>'bšlm'</i> |
| 5. <i>'g' gylw</i> | <i>'g' gylw</i> |
| 6. <i>whbryby</i> | und seiner Genossen |
| 7. <i>[(y)'] [l]t[b]</i> | (...) zu Gutem! |

Kommentar:

Z. 1: Das Substantiv *mkn'* wird mindestens in zwei weiteren Inschriften auf Räucheraltären aus Hatra verwendet (Nr. H 202e, r, u; H 232a, d). Dies ist der erste Text im Hatra-aram. *corpus*, wo ein Altar als „des (Gottes) Bēl“ bezeichnet wird.⁶

Z. 2: Die neuen Bildungen ermöglichen eine verbesserte Lesung dieser Zeile. Die Sequenz *dbbyt'* erinnert an analoge Sätze in anderen Inschriften von Altären aus Hatra, z. B. Nr. H 232c: 4 (*bbt' dmrn*).⁷

⁶ BEYER 1998, S. 68 und 74.

⁷ BEYER 1998, S. 74.

Z. 3: Trotz der neuen Bilder erweist sich diese Zeile immer noch als schwierig. Die neue Lesung ist als vorläufig zu betrachten. Über die Eigennamen *gdy* und *hny* s. MARCATO 2018, S. 46 und 64–65.

Z. 4: Der Eigenname *ʿbšlm* (*ʿbdšlm*) kommt in den Hatra-aram. Inschriften üblicherweise ohne *d* vor. Er ist auch in anderen mittelaram. Varietäten (z. B. Palmyra-Aram. und Altsyrisch) belegt (MARCATO 2018, S. 97).

Z. 5: Zu den Eigennamen *gʿ* und *gylw* in Hatra-aram. Inschriften s. MARCATO 2018, S. 101–102.



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Abb. 3 und 4: Inschrift Nr. A 37
(Iraq Museum, Baghdad, 2004)



A 37 (IM 229641 = Nr. 6 in MÜLLER-KESSLER 2016, S. 478)
Gnomon in Kalkstein. Zwei Zeilen Text.

Transliteration und Übersetzung

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 1. <i>gdy</i> ^{ʿs} | <i>gdy</i> ^{ʿs} |
| 2. <i>[ʾ]rdkl</i> ^ʿ <i>ʿbd</i> | der Baumeister (ließ) machen |

Kommentar

Z. 1: Der Eigenname *gdy*^{ʿs} ist im Hatra-Aram. nicht dokumentiert. Dagegen sind die Namen *gdy* und *ʿšy* in Hatra-aram. Inschriften belegt.⁸

⁸ MARCATO 2018, S. 46 und 112.

Z. 2: Das Substantiv *ʾrdklʾ* wird üblicherweise mit dem Verb *bnʾ* verwendet, wie z. B. in der Inschrift Nr. H 232c: 2–3.⁹ Hier wird das Substantiv mit dem Verb *ʿbd* gebraucht, was auch als „widmen“ oder „stiften“ übersetzt werden kann.¹⁰

II.



© Lucinda Dirven

Abb. 5 und 6: Inschrift Nr. H 1126 (Archaeological Museum, Istanbul)

Im Jahr 2013 veröffentlichte LUCINDA DIRVEN eine Studie über eine Statue aus Hatra, die seit 1908 in dem archäologischen Museum Istanbul aufbewahrt ist. DIRVEN liefert nur wenige Angaben über den gegenwärtigen Status der Statue, obwohl sie sie in Istanbul sehen konnte. DIRVEN hält die Statue für eine Göttin mit Hunden.¹¹ Die Katalognummer (Nr. 3831) ist in INGHOLT (1954, S. 33) und in HOMÈS-FREDERICQ (1963, S. 52) angegeben.

Obwohl in der ersten wie auch in den folgenden Veröffentlichungen der Statue keine Hinweise auf die kurze Inschrift, die direkt vor den Füßen der Statue lesbar ist, zu finden sind, erklärte DIRVEN:

the enthroned figure is placed on a narrow base with the remnants of a Hatrene inscription. Only the first four letters on the right-hand side remain. They read *glpʾ* [sic!] “sculpted by ...”.¹²

Tatsächlich bilden die vier Buchstaben dieser Zeile, die auf der vorderen Fläche der Basis eingraviert sind, nicht die ganze Inschrift; auf der Oberfläche der

⁹ BEYER 1998, S. 74. Siehe auch HEALEY 2009, S. 289–290. Zur Nummerierung der Zeilen in Inschrift Nr. H 232 s. MORIGGI/BUCCI 2019, S. 199 (Concordances of lines).

¹⁰ Siehe z. B. BEYER 1998, S. 40 (Nr. H 40: 1).

¹¹ DIRVEN 2013, S. 147.

¹² DIRVEN 2013, S. 147. Vgl. MARCATO 2018, S. 136 Fn. 211.

Basis, direkt vor den Füßen der Statue, enthält diese nämlich auch eine weitere Zeile. Durch die in DIRVEN veröffentlichten Bilder und drei neue Bilder, die mir freundlicherweise von DIRVEN zur Verfügung gestellt wurden, kann ich die folgende Entschlüsselung vorlegen. Wie bereits oben erwähnt, wurde diese Inschrift von früheren Gelehrten nicht gelesen und wurde wegen ihres unvollständigen Status unbemerkt oder als nicht relevant angesehen. Dies führte dazu, dass sie in der Reihe der Hatra-aram. Inschriften keine Nummer hat. Aus diesem Grund schlage ich vor, sie als Nr. H 1126 zu bezeichnen.¹³

H 1126

Transliteration und Übersetzung

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>dkyr</i> 'b'[...] k[...] | Gedacht werde des 'b' [...] |
| 2. <i>glp</i> 'b[.]'r'c'[...] | 'b[.]'r'c' hat eingemeißelt |

Kommentar

Z. 1: Obwohl die Zeile schwer zu lesen ist, erscheint es plausibel, ein passives Partizip *pe'al* im maskulin Singular (*dkyr*) zu lesen, gefolgt von einem Namen ('b'), der bereits in Hatra-aram. Texten bezeugt ist.¹⁴

Z. 2: Zu dieser Zeile teile ich die Ansicht von MARCATO, der zwei Buchstaben eines unvollständigen Eigennamens nach dem Verb *glp* las. Nur als Hypothese füge ich einen unvollständigen Buchstabe 'ayn im folgenden Teil der Inschrift hinzu.¹⁵

III.

In einem 1997–1998 erschienenen Beitrag hat AL-ASWAD die Funde aus den Ausgrabungen in zwei Häusern südlich des großen Hatras *temenos* beschrieben. Unter diesen Funden befinden sich zwei Inschriften, die bis heute unbemerkt geblieben sind. Beide wurden in dem von AL-ASWAD als „Erstes Haus“ bezeichneten Haus gefunden. Eine wurde am Türsturz der Tür des Raumes Nr. 13 von Iwan Nr. 8 gemeißelt. Die andere wurde auf einem fragmentarischen Block von *marmor* eingemeißelt, der in Raum Nr. 13 selbst gefunden wurde. Für beide Inschriften lieferte AL-ASWAD weder Transliteration noch Transkription, sondern nur eine arabische Übersetzung.¹⁶

¹³ MARCATO 2018, S. 7 hat diese Nummerierung bereits übernommen. Siehe auch MORIGGI/BUCCI 2019, S. 5, 193 (Concordances of texts).

¹⁴ MARCATO 2018, S. 21.

¹⁵ MARCATO 2018, S. 136.



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Abb. 7: Inschrift Nr. H 1125

Durch ein neues Bild aus dem Archiv der Missione Archeologica Italiana a Hatra (Turin) ist es nun möglich, eine Transliteration und Übersetzung des auf dem Türsturz eingemeißelten Text zu geben.

Die Inschrift ist mit einer gewissen Sorgfalt eingemeißelt und kann daher nicht als „Graffito“ bezeichnet werden. Sie besteht aus vier Zeilen, von denen aber nur die ersten beiden noch gut lesbar sind. Die Deutung der dritten Zeile ist zweifelhaft und die Buchstaben in der vierten Zeile werden hier nur als Vermutung vorgeschlagen. Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass diese Inschrift von Epigraphikern unbemerkt blieb, trug sie in der Reihe der Hatra-aram. Inschriften keine Nummer und bekam vom Autor in seiner Konkordanz von veröffentlichten Hatra-aram. Texten die Nr. H 1125.¹⁷

H 1125

Transliteration und Übersetzung

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>dkyr dd' br nbwbrk</i> | Gedacht werde des <i>dd'</i> , des Sohnes von <i>nbwbrk</i> , |
| 2. <i>wš' br qbw rhmh</i> | und seines Freundes <i>š'</i> , des Sohnes von <i>qbaw</i> |
| 3. [...] <i>'lt nd[r]</i> [...] | [...] <i>'lt ndr</i> [...] |
| 4. [...] <i>(mn r')</i> [...] | [...] (...) [...] |

¹⁶ AL-ASWAD 1997–1998, S. 231, 233, 237, 242.

¹⁷ MORIGGI/BUCCI im Druck (Concordances of texts).

Kommentar

Z. 1: Der Name *dd'* ist in einer anderen Hatra-aram. Inschrift (Nr. H 389: 1) bezeugt.¹⁸ Dagegen ist der Name *nbwbrk* („der Gott *Nbū* segnete“) im Hatra-aram. Onomastikon nicht belegt. Ähnliche Hatra-aram. Namen sind *ʿsrybrk*, *blbrk*, *šmšbryk* und *šmšbrk*. AL-ASWADS Übersetzung der ersten Zeile („des Haus von *nbwbrk*“) ist gemäß dem zur Verfügung stehenden Bild daher unhaltbar. Nur der Name *nbwbrk* ist auf dem Bild deutlich lesbar.¹⁹

Z. 2–3: Für die Namen *ʿsʿ*, *qbw*, *ʿlt* und *ndr* s. MARCATO (2018, S. 32–33, 84, 107, 109–110). AL-ASWADS Lesung der zweiten Zeile der Inschrift kann mit Hilfe des neuen Bildes bestätigt werden.²⁰

Für die Inschrift in Raum Nr. 13 haben wir leider nur AL-ASWADS Veröffentlichung mit einem auf dem Kopf stehenden Bild. In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass die Nummer H 1126 bereits einer anderen Inschrift zugewiesen wurde, wird hier vorgeschlagen, diesem Text die Nummer H 1127 zu geben.²¹ Trotz der Qualität des Bildes scheint es möglich zu sein, die Lesung von AL-ASWAD zu bestätigen, d. h.

H 1127

1. [...] *klmn špš qrš*

Wenn sich diese Lesung bestätigt, ist dies nach Nr. H 14 die zweite Inschrift aus Hatra mit einem Alphabet.²²

IV.

Die Inschrift Nr. H 343 wurde ursprünglich von IBRAHIM in Jahr 1982 veröffentlicht. Sie wurde bis heute mehrmals untersucht.²³ Es handelt sich um einen Gesetzestext, der sich mit der Todesstrafe für Diebstahl innerhalb der Maueranlage der Stadt Hatra beschäftigt.²⁴ Der Text in der Inschrift Nr. H 343 ist an der Basis eines Relief geschnitzt, das einen Adler zeigt. Es wurde im östlichen Tor der Stadtmauer von Hatra entdeckt. Ein fast

¹⁸ MARCATO 2018, S. 49; BEYER 1998, S. 100.

¹⁹ AL-ASWAD 1997–1998, S. 233 Fn. 6, berichtete, dass die Lesung und Übersetzung von IBRAHIM stammen.

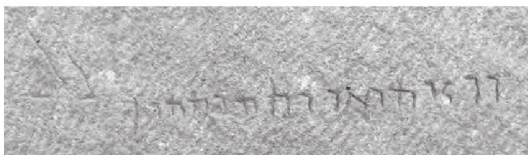
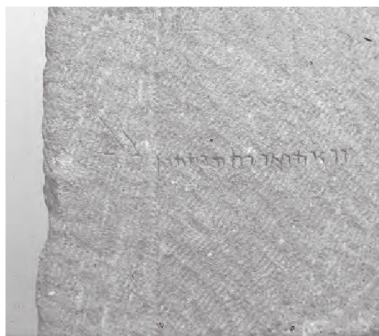
²⁰ AL-ASWAD 1997–1998, S. 231, 233.

²¹ MORIGGI/BUCCI 2019, S. 5, 193 (Concordances of texts).

²² AL-ASWAD 1997–1998, S. 233 Fn. 9.

²³ IBRAHIM 1982, S. 122–123. Für die anderen fünf vollständigen Ausgaben des Textes s. MORIGGI/BUCCI 2019, S. 172–173 (Concordances of texts).

²⁴ Weitere Mitteilungen finden sich in HEALEY 2009, S. 307–309.



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Abb. 8 und 9: Inschrift Nr. H 343a (Iraq Museum, Baghdad)

identischer Gesetzestext wurde auch im nördlichen Tor entdeckt (Inschrift Nr. H 336). In der Inschrift Nr. H 336 findet man eine isolierte Zeile vor dem Text, wo der Name des Steinmetzes eingraviert ist (*ybbšy br brnny*).²⁵ Diese isolierte Zeile wurde von BEYER mit Nr. H 336a bezeichnet.²⁶ Wie schon von BEYER vermutet, gab es auch in Inschrift Nr. H 343 eine Angabe des Namens des Steinmetzes, der das Relief und möglicherweise die Inschrift eingraviert hatte.²⁷ Durch ein im Iraq Museum neu angefertigtes Foto, das mir VENCO RICCIARDI freundlicherweise zur Verfügung stellte, ist es jetzt möglich, die Vermutung von BEYER zu bestätigen. Tatsächlich ist in diesem Foto eine isolierte Zeile im linken oberen Teil der Steinplatte deutlich lesbar:

1. *dkyr m(r)hrdt qdm mrrn* Gedacht werde des *mhrdt* vor Unserem Herrn!

²⁵ Zu diesen Namen s. MARCATO 2018, S. 42, 70.

²⁶ BEYER 1998, S. 90; MORIGGI/BUCCI 2019, S. 172 (Concordances of texts).

²⁷ BEYER 1998, S. 90.

Die Nummerierung des Textes Nr. H 343 könnte also zwei Abschnitte umfassen:

- H 343a = die neu entdeckte Zeile;
- H 343b = der Text der bereits bekannten Gesetzesinschrift.²⁸

V.

In einem 1996 erschienenen Beitrag präsentierten FULLER und BIVAR ein Fragment eines Schulterblattes (Skapula) mit einigen rätselhaften Buchstaben in dunkler Tinte.²⁹ Der Knochen wurde 1874 während der Ausgrabungen von George Smith in „South-West Palace“ des archäologischen Gebiets von Kunjik (Nineveh) gefunden. BIVAR wurde 1983 von READE bezüglich der Inschrift informiert und legte in einem privaten Brief (18. Mai 1983) eine vorläufige Lesung von Zeile 2 der flachen Seite vor.³⁰ Das beschriftete Schulterblatt wird im British Museum aufbewahrt und trägt die Nr. 127401. Bevor er seine Lesung vorschlug, bemerkte BIVAR:

... epigraphists are understandably reluctant to publish inscriptions that they cannot read. Yet since the quickest way to a reading of a difficult inscription is to show it to as many specialists as possible, it is obvious that this attitude is obscurantist. Even if it has not been read, this specimen needs to be made known.³¹



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Abb. 10: Schulterblatt (British Museum Nr. 127401, London)

²⁸ MARCATO 2018, S. 18, 75 hat diese Nummerierung bereits übernommen. Siehe auch MORIGGI/BUCCI 2019, S. 172–173 Fn. 21 (Concordances of texts).

²⁹ FULLER/BIVAR 1996, S. 30–31 (Appendix: A Parthian Document on Bone from Nineveh).

³⁰ READE 1998, S. 76–77; FULLER/BIVAR 1996, S. 30.

³¹ FULLER/BIVAR 1996, S. 30.

Diese Aussage soll auch auf die vorliegende Studie angewendet werden. BIVAR schlug die folgende Entschlüsselung der flachen Seite vor. Er dachte, dass der Text in parthischer Sprache ist:³²

1. [...] *n²[.]pw zttzzdzq³*
2. [...] *[L-Y]D PHT³*
3. [...] *t[...]*?

BIVAR übersetzte in Zeile 2 nur das, was er als „the illusion of a reading“ hatte. Nach der Analogie der Ostraca aus Nisa sollte die Reihe von Buchstaben „into the hand of the governor“ zu lesen sein. Dieselbe Lesung wurde im Brief von BIVAR an READE vorgeschlagen (s. o.). MARCIAC (2017, S. 297) gibt die Lesung von BIVAR ohne weiteren Anmerkungen wieder. Für dieses beschriftete Objekt schlugen BIVAR und READE eine chronologische Stellung zwischen dem 1. Jh. v. Chr. und dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. vor.³³

Meiner Meinung nach können die in Tinte auf diesem Knochen gemalten Zeichen auch als Buchstaben und Zahlen der Hatra-aram. Schrift entziffert werden.

Transliteration und Übersetzung

(Flache Seite)

1. [...] *n²(š)+1+1 st 1+1 dnrn (100²) [...]*
2. [...] *(²l) qrn³*
- 2bis. [...] *ks [...]*
3. [...] *1+1+1+1 [...] (1+1) [...]*

1. [...] *As 7, Stater 2, Golddenar (...) [...]*
2. [...] *(...) (Hohl)maß (= 12 sextarii)*
- 2bis. [...] *(.) [...]*
3. [...] *4 [...] 2 [...]*

(Schmale Seite)

4. [...] *n [.]s 2x100+1+1+1+1 [...]*
4. [...] *(...) 204 [...]*

Kommentar

Z.1: ² = ³s: „as, assis, Kupfermünzen“. Die Gewichts- und Währungseinheit ³s /²as/ ist in anderen Hatra-aram. Texten sowohl in der langen als auch in der verkürzten Fassung bezeugt. Zu diesem lateinischen Lehnwort, das

³² FULLER/BIVAR 1996, S. 31.

³³ READE 1998, S. 77.

möglicherweise über griechisches ἀσάριον ins Hatra-Aram. einging, s. CONTINI/PAGANO (2015, S. 146–147).³⁴

Z. 1: *st* = ³*stryn*/³*str*: „*Stater* (Münze)“. Die Lesung hier ist eine reine Hypothese, aber in Anbetracht des Kontexts ist es plausibel, in *st* eine abgekürzte Form (mit Abfall des Anfangs-³) des Wortes ³*stryn*/³*str* zu sehen. Das Wort ist in einer Inschrift aus Hatra (Nr. H 242: 3) und in anderen aram. Varietäten einschließlich Syrisch belegt.³⁵

Z. 1: *dnrn* = *dnryn*: „*denarius*, Golddenar“. Auch wenn der letzte Teil der Buchstabenfolge nicht klar lesbar ist, könnte dort eine weitere Münzeinheit stehen. Der Golddenar wird in anderen Hatra-aram. Texten zitiert (Nr. D 4: 4; H 1113: 1).³⁶ Für das lateinische Lehnwort *denarius*, das über griechisches δηνάριον ins Hatra-Aram. einging, kann man sich auf CONTINI/PAGANO (2015, S. 133 und 146) beziehen.

Z. 2: *qrm*: „(Hohl)maß = 12 *sextarii*“. SOKOLOFF (2009, S. 1413).

Z. 2bis: Es ist nicht überraschend, dass die Zeilen nicht gut geordnet sind. Dies kommt bei Texten vor, die nicht systematisch angeordnet werden sollen. Die Zeilen können auch zu verschiedenen Zeitpunkten hinzugekommen sein.³⁷

Z. 4: Das Zeichen für 100 ist hier gut erkennbar. Es ist mit 2 zu multiplizieren, weil zwei Striche am Anfang markiert sind.³⁸

Wie bereits von BIVAR erwähnt: “a good many of the characters appear to be numerals” und “one must bear in mind that it is very likely [for this text] to contain abbreviations, and numerical formulae [...]”.³⁹ Ich vermute, dass dieser Knochen als Notiz für die Registrierung von Transaktionen oder Zahlungen verwendet wurde. Neben den Nisa-Ostraca sind Beispiele für eine ähnliche Verwendung die Hatra-aram. Graffiti wie Nr. H 1102, 1105, 1111, 1113.⁴⁰ Die Ungewissheit der Entzifferung dieser kurzen Texte veranlasst mich, ihnen keine Nummer in der Reihe der Hatra-aram. Texte zuzuordnen. Eine Herkunft des Textes aus Niniveh ist kein Problem. Mehr als 250 Hatra-aram. Texte kommen aus dem Norden des mesopotamischen Gebietes und Niniveh wäre eine willkommene Ergänzung zur Liste der Fundorte, die bereits beinhaltet (in BEYERS Nummerierung): A = Assur; D

³⁴ BEYER 1998, S. 65, 76, 169.

³⁵ BEYER 1998, S. 76 und 169; CONTINI/PAGANO 2015, S. 130–131.

³⁶ BEYER 1998, S. 26, 174; MORIGGI/BUCCI 2019, S. 126–127 (Nr. H 1113).

³⁷ Siehe z. B. Nr. H 1105 in MORIGGI/BUCCI 2019, S. 118.

³⁸ Für weitere Diskussion zur Form dieses Zeichens und seine Verwendung in der Hatra-aram. Schrift s. MORIGGI im Druck; BEYER 2013, S. 62; IFRAH 1984, S. 379; LIDZBARSKI 1902.

³⁹ FULLER/BIVAR 1996, S. 30, 31.

⁴⁰ MORIGGI/BUCCI 2019, S. 114, 118, 124, 126.

= Dura Europos; F = Kifrin; G = Ġaddāla; K = Takrīt; Q = Qabr Abū Nāʿif;
R = ʿAbrat al-Ṣaġīra; S = Saʿadīya; Š = Šayḥ Ḥamad; T = Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (Sari,
Ḥassankef, Tilli).

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The Interrogative Element *ʾayy- in Semitic*

By ERAN COHEN, Jerusalem

Summary: The Semitic interrogative pro-word system includes the element ʾayy-. This element is compatible with different entity types, its functional range across the languages greatly varies, as an interrogative with nominal and/or several adverbial meanings, and it also occurs as a bare form. The pertinent linguistic literature identifies it as an interrogative formative which conveys an interrogative force to adverbs and pronouns. For this idea to be adopted, a principle is devised which accounts for this formal and functional variety of the element ʾayy-, based on comparative Semitic data. The component ʾayy- turns out to be a general constituent-question marker that is applied to diverse semantic domains (CHOICE/TYPE/QUALITY [-which], TIME, MANNER, LOCATIVE, ABLATIVE and ALLATIVE) to form the corresponding interrogative pro-words.

1 Introduction of the problem and the objectives

The common Semitic interrogative pro-words are divided into three groups. One is the *mann-/mī* animate interrogative pronoun 'who', the second is the *mīn-/mā* inanimate pronoun 'what'. The third is the inflecting ʾayy- (all presented as pronouns in MOSCATI 1980, pp. 114–115 and LIPÍŃSKI 1997, pp. 328–329). BROCKELMANN (1908, pp. 326–328) divides the various Semitic interrogatives into three different groups: substantival (the *m*- pronouns), adjectival (ʾayy-based pronouns) and adverbial (some of which are ʾayy-based as well). Whereas the *m*- interrogative pronouns are relatively uncomplicated, the Semitic interrogative component *ʾayy is more difficult to explain: It is found both independent and in combination with other constituents, in both nominal and adverbial functions. In its latter capacity it is associated with several different meanings – local, directional, temporal and manner. More than a hundred years ago, JAKOB BARTH proposed the following:

Das Fragepräfix ʾaj trat ursemitisch wie vor viele Adverbien, so auch vor kurze Demonstrative, um entsprechende Fragepronomina zu bilden (The

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interrogative prefix *ʔay* preceded many adverbs as well as short demonstratives, in order to form the corresponding interrogative pronouns, BARTH 1913, p. 144)

However, this idea was not thoroughly investigated or implemented: first, **ʔayy* is not necessarily a prefix; second, it occurs in addition with various morphological endings (rather than just pronouns or adverbs); and third, the resulting forms are not just pronouns. BARTH (1913, pp. 144–149) naturally reviews only pronouns. The adverbials are mentioned in a footnote and sporadically in his other works.¹ However, the idea as such, namely, that **ʔayy* interacts with different elements to form interrogatives, still stands. It is found independently expressed with regard to Hebrew and Gəʿəz (see §2). The objective of this paper is to devise a principle which accounts for this functional variety in which **ʔayy* is involved. The component **ʔayy* is shown to be an abstract general constituent-question marker which is applied to diverse semantic domains – choice/type/quality (which), time, manner, place, direction from and direction toward.

The following section provides a survey of various **ʔayy* related interrogatives in Semitic. The third section discusses the structure of interrogative words in the linguistic literature. In the fourth, the rationale for a general constituent-question marker is explained.

2 The constituent **ʔayy* in Semitic

The following is a survey of the different functions of the interrogative constituent **ʔayy*.² It occurs occasionally on its own, but mostly it is a constituent of a complex interrogative pro-word.

– Hebrew:

**ʔayy* is an independent interrogative in the form *ʔayye* ‘where’ which is followed by a noun or an independent pronoun (*ʔayye hem* ‘where are they?’ Zech. 1:5) and the allo-form *ʔayy-* with suffix pronouns (*ʔayyekkā* ‘where are you?’ Gen. 3:9, *ʔayyō* ‘where is he?’ Ex. 2:20, *ʔayyām* ‘where are they?’ Na. 3:17).³ It is also an independent interrogative in the form *ʔe*

¹ E.g., BARTH 1907, pp. 16–18.

² **ʔayy* is deemed related to the negative particle **ʔayy* in FABER 1991, p. 414. The doubling of *y* in the negative particle seems however to be conjectural (Heb. and Gəʿəz *ʔi* rather than *ē*).

³ Note that despite the fact that the suffix pronouns are formally either genitive or accusative pronouns, the function of the complex is that of a clause, namely, the suffix stands for the *subject*, the equivalent of *ʔayye hem* ‘where are they’ above.

‘where’ preceding a substantive (rare). In all these occurrences the element constitutes the interrogative and takes the slot of the predicate on its own.

As a constituent of an interrogative complex it is attested in ʔē-*kō* ‘where?’ (once only); ʔē-*pō* ‘where?’; ʔē-*ze* ‘where?, which?’; ʔē-*miz-ze* ‘whence?’; ʔē-*k(ā)* ‘in what manner?’; and once, ʔē *lāzōt* ‘upon what ground?’. According to the BDB (1907, p. 32), when prefixed to other adverbs or pronouns, ʔē imparts an interrogative force. Similarly, KÖNIG (1910, p. 14a) writes that as a general interrogative adverb [ʔē] is used to convert demonstrative expressions into interrogatives. Both probably follow EWALD (1870, pp. 267–268) who expresses similar ideas.

– Akkadian:

Here *ʔayy does not occur on its own, but only as a part of interrogative words. First, it is joined with adjectival endings (*ayy-um/itum/ūtum/ātum*) and functions as an interrogative adjective ‘which...?’ (GAG §47c, AHW 25b–26a). Second, it is combined with various adverbial endings to form interrogative adverbials (GAG §118a): *ayyānum* ‘where~whence?’ (AHw 24b) *ayyikīam* ‘where?’; *ayyiš~êš* ‘where(to)?’; *ayyišam~êšam* ‘whereto?’ (AHw 25b). These interrogative adverbials are said to be derived from the adjective *ayyum* (GAG §118a). Further, this element gave rise to a preposition/conjunction *ēma* ‘wherever’ (GAG §114i). Note that whereas normally *ʔay > ī (in Old Babylonian Akkadian), *ʔayy > ayy~ê.

– Aramaic:

In Syriac, *ʔayy is found with pronominal stems, ʔay-*nā*, ʔay-*dā*, ʔay-*lēn* ‘who/which’ MSG, FSG and PL respectively (compare *hānā* ‘this_{MSG}’ *hādā* ‘this_{FSG}’ *hālēn* ‘these_{PL}’), used adjectivally or independently. In addition, *ʔayy serves as the first constituent in several adverbial interrogatives: *ay-kan(nā)* ‘how?’; *ay-kā* ‘where?’; *ay-kāw* ‘why?’; *ay-lkā* ‘where(to)?’ (besides *l-aykā*); *ay-mekekā* ‘whence?’ (NÖLDEKE 1904, p. 47, 100; SO-KOLOFF 2009, pp. 33–36).

– Ethiopic:

In Gǝʕəz, ʔay (acc. ʔaya, pl. ʔayāt) is a nominal interrogative (‘which? what? what kind?’). It is compatible with the polar-question particle (ʔay-*nu*), occasionally preceded by prepositions, and may be followed by the genitive suffix pronouns ʔayāt-*omu* ‘which of them?’ (LESIAU 1987, p. 49; DILLMANN 1907, pp. 119, 335–336). DILLMANN (p. 379) mentions, in addition, the interrogative adverbial ʔayte ‘where(to)?’. According to DILLMANN (ibid.), it is “formed from the interrogative ʔay, which converts demonstratives into interrogatives”.

– Arabic:

*ʔayy inflects like an adjective, mostly occurring with a following genitive (ʔayyu *rajulin* ‘which man’, ʔayyunā ‘which (one) of us’ (FISCHER

1987 §286); it occasionally occurs on its own (*kaʿayyin* = *kam* < *kamā* ‘how much’). It shows case inflection, occasionally gender too, when followed by the genitive. When on its own, it inflects fully (WRIGHT 1898, I, pp. 275–276).⁴ In the adverbial domain, Arabic is like Gəʿəz, and the only candidate is *ʾayyāna* ‘when’ (FISCHER 1987 §288). Possibly *ʾayyāna* < **ʾayy ʾāna* ‘which time’. Note that unlike Hebrew, in Arabic and in Gəʿəz, *ʾayy* together with the appended genitive suffixes is never a predication.

– Ugaritic:

ʾy ʾēyV/ and *ʾ ʾē/* < **ʾay* ‘where?’; *ʾk ʾēka/* ‘how (come), why?’ (TROPPER 2000, pp. 752–753), no adjectival use attested.

– Sabaic:

The element is used as an interrogative adjective *ʾy(t)* ‘which?’ (STEIN 2013, p. 75).

– Mehri:

The form *hē/hēsən* ‘what, why’ is viewed as a borrowing or calque from Arabic *ʾay šayʾin~ʾayšin*. The element *hē* is linked with the Semitic **ʾayy*, but it is not found in any other interrogative (RUBIN 2008, pp. 80–81). In addition, the comparative view of the Modern South Arabian languages of the word ‘how’ (RUBIN 2015, p. 318) reveals a first element *hī~hē~hā*, which is the reflex of **ʾayy* and an element *bō* (≅ Heb. *pō*, but not a cognate, RUBIN 2008, pp. 83–85).

– Tigrinya:

This northern contemporary Ethiopian language has a few features related to the element **ʾayy* which are very important to our thesis, see §4. The forms *ʾayyän* and *ʾayyänay* ‘which’ have animate referents, distinguish gender and number, and occur either alone or with a following noun or pronominal suffixes (as in Gəʿəz). Yet, their link to **ʾayy* can only be conjectured (LESLAU 1941, pp. 64–65). However, another interrogative element *-äy* (KANE 2000, p. 1519) is suffixed to several prepositions so as to form the corresponding interrogatives. The preposition *kām* ‘as’ with *-äy* gives *kām-äy* ‘how?’. *ʾab* ‘in(to)’ gives *ʾab-äy* ‘where’, and *nab* ‘towards’ gives *nabäy* ‘whereto’ (LESLAU 1941, pp. 132–140).

– Harari:

Based upon LESLAU 1963 and WAGNER 1997 (pp. 504–505), similar material is found in Harari, a southern Ethiopian language:

⁴ The syntactic behavior of *ʾayyun* is studied in PENNACCHIETTI 1966.

alone	+ postposition	
	-de 'to(ward)'	-kut 'as'
āy 'which'	āyde 'where?'	āy-kut 'how?'
yī 'this'	idde (<yī+de) 'here'	LESIAU 1963, pp. 18, 163
ya 'that'	yādde (<ya+de) 'there'	
'azzo 'that'	'azzo-de 'there'	'azzo-kut 'thus'
		V-kut = comparative clause

The interrogative element *āy* 'which', is also found with postpositions: *-de* 'to' and *-kut* 'as', forming the interrogatives 'where' and 'how' respectively. It occurs in the same place where demonstrative elements occur with these postpositions.

One place in which the existence of *ʾayy seems very doubtful is in the interrogative for 'when' in Aramaic and in Arabic. It is suggested in BARTH (1907, p. 16) that Syr. *'emmaṭ* 'when' has the interrogative prefix *ʾayy. BROCKELMANN refutes this conjecture by tying Syr. *'emmaṭ* with Akk. *ina matī* > *immatī* (BROCKELMANN 1908, p. 496). However, similar claims (e.g., *ʾayy *matā* > *'ēmta*, *'aymta* 'when') are persistent with regard to the modern Arabic dialects (VERSTEEGH 2004, pp. 243, 246 and JASTROW 2006, p. 91). Unlike many other cases of *'ayy*, however, in this case it does not add much to what had always been an interrogative particle **matay*.

From a pan-Semitic view, it is difficult to get a unified functional view of *ʾayy from works on comparative Semitic. The Semitic interrogatives are occasionally conceived as related to negative markers (JENSEN 1888, BROCKELMANN 1908, pp. 499–500, FABER 1991, KIENAST 2001, p. 399). That is, the interrogative element *ʾayy is also related to a certain degree to the similar negative particle *ʾay (as do other interrogatives – e.g., Heb. *'ayin* 'there is no(t)-where'). One thing is clear, however: *ʾayy is basically part of an *interrogative pro-word*, namely, interrogatives that are specialized for constituent-questions, rather than for polar (i.e., yes-no) questions. The latter is expressed by several exponents – Hebrew and Bib. Aram. *hā-*, Arabic *'a-* and *hal*, Gǝʿəz *-nu/-bu*, etc.

Reviewing the functions of *ʾayy in each of the languages raises several issues. First, the interrogative constituent *ʾayy is compatible with many different word classes – bound pronouns, demonstrative pronouns (or stems), various adverbials (including prepositional phrases), adjectival and adverbial endings – which make it very versatile, hardly a fixed word class or an affix, but not quite a clitic either, since it is also found with dependent morphemes (e.g., Akk. *ayy+iš*). In these cases it may be regarded as a stem in itself.

Second, the complex interrogatives in which *ʾayy figures may be classified as either adverbial or adjectival interrogatives. There is some inconsistency

with regard to the range of functions of the forms with ^{*}ʾyy- across the different languages: in Arabic, Sabaic and Gəʿəz, it is mostly found with interrogative adjectives. In Akkadian, Hebrew and Aramaic, both groups are amply attested with it. In Ugaritic, no adjectival entities are attested.

Third, ^{*}ʾyy as a bare form occurs only in Hebrew as an adverbial (^{ʾē}/^{ʾyye}). What appears to be the bare form in Gəʿəz (^{ʾay}) is the adjectival interrogative, which is not really bare (but rather followed by the zero ending denoting NOM/GEN.SG). It is not clear whether this bare form in Hebrew has any importance in determining the original function of ^{*}ʾyy. The adverbial functions of ^{*}ʾyy are viewed as secondary and derived from the adjective *ayyum* (GAG § 118A and KIENAST 2001, p. 391, neither provides any reason). In his Semitic root dictionary, COHEN (1970, pp. 16–17), the basic meaning in the entry (√YYY) is the interrogative adjective. The interrogative adverbial is exemplified but otherwise not mentioned.

These questions call for an investigation of the element ^{*}ʾyy in Semitic.

3 General view of the structure of interrogative words

Information about the makeup of interrogative pro-words is to be found in grammars of languages where these words are relatively transparent. There are few typological studies about the structure of interrogatives. CYSOUW 2004 is merely a handout, but it sums up typological work about interrogative words based upon data from around seventy languages which are genetically and areally diverse.⁵ Regular form elements in interrogatives, like the English WH are quite rare, and interrogatives mostly come from different sources. CYSOUW refers to the interrogative categories by abstract categories: person, thing, place, time, selection (which), manner, reason (and below – direction from, direction to, etc.). These categories are very important for the analysis of the constituents. CYSOUW finds out that PERSON – THING – SELECTION – PLACE are the most basic interrogative categories in the languages of the world, whereas QUANTITY – MANNER – TIME are secondary (ibid., p. 13). As regards the origin of the interrogatives, according to CYSOUW's sample (which is not representative, but is nevertheless diverse genetically and areally), from the point of view of grammaticalization, selection can be the source for place interrogatives as well as the other way around (ibid., p. 14). In other words, *which* and *where* could develop from one another.

⁵ Despite many misgivings expressed by CYSOUW himself, this is still the most informative account of the makeup of interrogative words from a cross-linguistic perspective. Another work, MACKENZIE 2009, is concerned with finding correlation between cognitive complexity and complexity of signal, item and system, and is hence less informative.

DIESSEL 2003 studies the relations between demonstratives and interrogatives. He finds many examples of both categories sharing the same base, taking either demonstrative morphs or interrogative morphs (Korean, German, Lezgian, Japanese, even English to some extent – and we can add Akkadian, see below, §4). Such systems allow high resolutions of analysis vis à vis the different interrogative constituents.

Another important work which studies the structure of interrogatives is MUYSKEN/SMITH 1990, focusing on the structures of interrogative words in mixed languages (pidgins and creoles). They compare opaque (synthetic) and transparent (analytic, *ibid.*, pp. 885–889) interrogative words, where they find different forms of the structure [QUESTION PARTICLE (Q)+ QUESTIONED SEMANTIC UNIT (QSU)]. The second part corresponds to abstract semantic categories (e. g., PLACE, TIME, MANNER, REASON, etc.). A scheme of such transparent interrogative word system is the following (adapted from MUYSKEN/SMITH 1990, p. 895):

- who = Q-man/person
- what = Q-thing
- which = Q-O/Q-kind/appearance/sort
- which = Q-one/this
- when = Q-time/day/hour
- where = Q-part/place/side
- why = Q-head/make/body/bottom/reason
- how = Q-fashion/way/manner/method

The different semantic entities represent the abstract domains of the interrogative.

With these ideas, and with the function of *ʔayy as viewed by several Hebraists, by DILLMANN and by BARTH as background, we can move on to the next section.

4 The function of *ʔayy as a constituent interrogative marker in Semitic

DIESSEL 2003 describes the relationship between demonstratives and interrogatives (both pronominal and adverbial) obtaining in some languages. In those languages, these two groups share a set of derivational morphemes. Such relationship, according to him, is especially salient when it is shared only by these two groups. English sometimes serves as an example due to a partial similarity between demonstratives and interrogatives (adapted from DIESSEL 2003, p. 640):

Table 1

	demonstratives	interrogatives
thing	that	what
place	there	where
direction to	thither	whither
direction from	thence	whence
time	then	when

The difficulty is that the English endings have no function outside these two groups.⁶ A more convenient situation obtains in Akkadian. Deixis in Akkadian is skillfully and thoroughly investigated in KOUWENBERG 2012. The basic idea underlying the system is that the three deictic terms (proximal, medial and distal) correlate each, rather consistently, with the three personal spheres – first, second and third persons respectively. KOUWENBERG examines this correlation across several functions of these deictic bases – as demonstratives, presentatives and locative adverbials. The various endings which signal these different functions are found elsewhere as well. In Table 2 I adduce only two of the three deictic terms described by KOUWENBERG, the near and far deixis (which are far better attested) vis à vis the interrogatives:

Table 2: Akkadian

	ending	function	proximal	distal	interrogative
1	-um/tum etc.	pronominal	<i>annûm</i> this	<i>ullûm</i> that	<i>ayyûm</i> which
2	-ānum	locative/ ablative	<i>annānum</i> (from) here	<i>ullānum</i> there, thence	<i>ayyānum</i> where, whence
3	-(i)kīam	locative	<i>annikīam</i> here	<i>ullikīam</i> there	<i>ayyikīam</i> where
4	-iš	allative/ locative	<i>annīš</i> hither, here	<i>ullīš</i> thither, there	<i>ayyiš</i> whither
5	-išam	allative	<i>annīšam</i> hither	<i>ullīšam</i> thither	<i>ayyišam</i> whither

⁶ In Old English this correspondence seems to be fuller (comparing masc. and neut. across the four cases, but it is still unique to this specific pair (and not, e.g., to other demonstratives), see HOGG/FULK 2011, pp. 193, 201. In Gothic, an eastern-Germanic language (4th century CE), there is a better correspondence across all three genders, and the endings also match those of the strong adjectival declension (MOSSÉ 1942, pp. 95, 96, 99).

The labels used in the table are transparent and are adopted from KOUWENBERG 2012, and so are the meanings of the deictic elements. The rows provide different endings, whose basic function is consistent (pronominal, allative, etc.). The forms themselves are combinations consisting of (a) these functions, provided by the ending, and of (b) the base – in each of the first two columns there is a different deictic base, proximal (*anni-*) and distal (*ulli-*). The third column has various interrogative words. We now need to isolate the two constituents of each of the forms on the third column: On the one hand, the different derivational endings, each in its own row, which are common to all the sets in the table (and which are found elsewhere as well);⁷ on the other – and this is the main point of this paper – the common quality of the members in the third column. Just as the first and second columns are characterized by two different deictic bases (rather than any specific type of word class), so the feature common to the third column (namely *ayy-*) is an abstract interrogative marker. So *ayy-* in Old Babylonian Akkadian is a morpheme marking various types of constituent-questions.

The explanatory model, developed based on the Akkadian data, works, so it seems, for Semitic as well. In Table 3, which is organized by language, only interrogative entities that are analyzable into coherent, existing morphemes are taken into consideration. For this reason, interrogative words such as Eth. *ʾayte* ‘where’ do not constitute very good candidates, since *-te* has no existence outside this form, and is hence not quite a morpheme. The elements in the second column are morphemes showing different degrees of boundedness, which constitute the questioned unit, namely, the semantic domain of the interrogative.

Table 3⁸

	(* <i>ʾayy</i> +) questioned unit	resulting interrogative	
Heb.	<i>kā~kō</i> ‘thus’ (MANNER)	<i>ʿē-kā > ʿēk</i>	‘how’
	<i>ze</i> ‘this’ (PRON)	<i>ʿē-ze</i>	‘which’
	* <i>ze</i> ‘here’ (<i>miz-ze</i> =from here)	<i>ʿē-ze</i>	‘where’
	<i>pō</i> ‘here’ (LOC)	<i>ʿē-pō</i>	‘where’
	<i>kō</i> ‘here’ (LOC)	<i>ʿē-kō</i>	‘where’
	<i>miz-ze</i> ‘from here’ (ABL)	<i>ʿē-miz-ze</i>	‘whence’
	<i>lāzōt</i> ‘therefore’ (CAUSE)	<i>ʿē lāzōt</i>	‘wherefore’

⁷ Compare *elēnum* ‘above, over, upwards’; *eliš* ‘up above’; *elūm* ‘high, tall, upper’.

⁸ Legend: ALL = allative, LOC = locative, TEMP=temporal, ABL=ablative, PRON=pronominal morphology.

	(* ^ʔ ayy+) questioned unit	resulting interrogative	
Aram.	<i>kā</i> 'here' (OA) (LOC)	^ʔ <i>aykā</i>	'where, whither'
	<i>hā-mek-kā</i> 'hence' (ABL)	^ʔ <i>ay-mek-kā</i>	'whence'
	<i>kā</i> 'thus' (Of. Ar.) (MANNER)	^ʔ <i>ayk(ā)</i>	'how'
	^ʔ <i>kā</i> (<i>h</i>) <i>w</i> 'it is thus' (CAUSE/MANNER)	^ʔ <i>aykāw</i>	'wherefore', 'how'
	<i>lḳā</i> 'hither' (OS) (ALL)	^ʔ <i>aylḳā</i>	'where'
	<i>hā-nā</i> 'this (M)' (PRON)	^ʔ <i>aynā</i>	'who, what (M)'
	<i>hā-ḡā</i> 'this (F)' (PRON)	^ʔ <i>ayḡā</i>	'who, what (F)'
	<i>hā-lēn</i> 'this (PL)' (PRON)	^ʔ <i>aylēn</i>	'who, what (PL)'
Akk.	-iṣ (term. adv.) (LOC/ALL)	^ʔ <i>ayyiṣ-ēš</i>	'where(to)'
	-iṣam (term. adv.) (ALL)	^ʔ <i>ayyiṣam-ēšam</i>	'whereto'
	-ikīam (LOC)	^ʔ <i>ayyikīam</i>	'where'
	-ānum (loc. adv.) (LOC/ABL)	^ʔ <i>ayyānum</i>	'where(from)'
	-um, -ūtum, -ūtum, -ātum (PRON)	^ʔ <i>ayyum</i>	'which'
Eth.	ø (SG), -a (ACC), -āt (PL) (PRON)	^ʔ <i>ay</i> , ^ʔ <i>aya</i> , ^ʔ <i>ayāt</i>	'which'
		^ʔ <i>ay-āt-omu</i>	'which of them?'
Arab.	adj. endings (case, gender) (PRON)	^ʔ <i>ayy-un</i>	'which _{NOM.MSG} '
	^ʔ <i>āna</i> 'time' (TEMP)	^ʔ <i>ayy-āna</i>	'when'
Tna.	^ʔ <i>ab</i> 'in' (LOC)	^ʔ <i>abāy</i>	'where'
	<i>nab</i> 'towards' (ALL)	<i>nabāy</i>	'whither'
	<i>kām</i> 'as' (MANNER)	<i>kāmāy</i>	'how'
Har.	-de 'to(ward)' (LOC)	<i>āyde</i>	'where'
	-kut 'as' (MANNER)	<i>āykeut</i>	'how'

The common Semitic element ^ʔ*ayy*-, as postulated for Akkadian and as suggested for Hebrew and Gəʿəz (§2), is an abstract constituent-interrogative exponent. This exponent, together with a variety of morphemes, forms actual interrogatives. For instance, with an entity that has to do with place (e.g., Heb. *pō*, Aram. *kā*), the result is a locative interrogative, namely 'where'. When with an entity that signals ablative (e.g., Heb. *miz-ze*; Syr. *mek-kā*) the resulting interrogative is 'whence'. When occurring with a form that is related to time (Arab. *āna*), it forms a temporal interrogative 'when'. In other words, ^ʔ*ayy*- converts, so to speak, different semantic units into the corresponding interrogative.

What is special is that in each language the actual makeup of these semantic units is different – adverbs, prepositional phrases, adverbial and adjectival endings, pronouns, and even a clause (Syr. *aykāw* < ʾay-kā-(h)w).⁹ Nevertheless, the final result is basically the same.

The adjectival endings (in Akkadian, Arabic and Gəʿəz) perhaps call for further explanation. The adjective in ancient Semitic, unlike the substantive, is a complex form, consisting of a quality and pronoun-like entities that refer to the modified substantive. Note that when an adjective reflects feminine plural (e.g., Heb. *tōb-ōt* [good-FPL]), this grammatical information (namely, what is signaled by the ending -ōt) does not refer to the quality (goodness) but rather to the feminine entities to which it is attributed.¹⁰ The adjectival interrogatives (e.g., Akk. *ayyūm*, -*itum*, -*ūtum*, -*ātum*) are not very different from other adjectives, in displaying a quality (in this case, interrogative) and the reference to a nominal referent. Other than that, these adjectival interrogatives do not exhibit a different mechanism than the rest of the ʾayy-based interrogative words: ʾayy- is combined with pronoun-like entities to form interrogative pronouns or adjectives. A similar idea is to be found in Aramaic, where ʾayy is paired with pronominal stems, and in Hebrew, where it is joined with a full pronoun.

A somewhat different situation is found in Tigrinya, a modern Ethiopian language spoken in Eritrea. As shown in §2, in Tigrinya there is a suffix -*ay* that functions as an interrogative marker (KANE 2000, vol. ii, p. 1519). It is found appended at the end of some prepositions, converting them into interrogatives. The difference between the interrogative marker, or converter, and the interrogative itself (e.g., Gəʿəz ʾay) is illustrated in the following diagram:

	form	gloss	meaning	analysis	
Tna.	ʾabäy	in-ʾay	‘where?’	Q. (in = LOCATIVE)	ʾay = constituent-interr. marker
Gəʿəz	baʾay	in-ʾay	‘in which?’	in Q. (Ø=PRON)	ʾay = interrogative NOM/ GEN.SG

The disparity in nature between the two externally identical phrases in Tigrinya and in Gəʿəz accounts for the semantic differences. In Tigrinya, where ʾay is a kind of interrogative converter (whereas the interrogative pronoun/adjective has another form, ʾayyānay), transforming prepositions

⁹ In Syriac, the letter H is marked as omitted in pronunciation in the enclitic pronoun (NÖLDEKE 1904 §§221 and 312). The result is [bū > Vw ~ Cū].

¹⁰ For this conception of the adjective, see GOLDENBERG 1995, pp. 6–11 as well as GOLDENBERG 2002, pp. 195–196, citing and explaining the traditional Arabic Grammar on this point.

into interrogatives, the resulting phrase is a *locative interrogative* ‘where’. In Gəʕəz, on the other hand, since ʔay is an interrogative *pronoun*, standing for the questioned entity, the phrase is prepositional. The next diagram further illustrates this analysis:

	interr. word	analysis	final meaning
Akk.	<i>ayy-um</i>	Q·(NOM.MSG = PRONOMINAL)	which _{NOM.MSG}
OSyr.	<i>ʔay-lkā</i>	Q·(‘hither’ = PROX. ALLATIVE)	whither
Cl. Ar.	<i>ʔayy-āna</i>	Q·(‘time’ = TEMP)	when
Heb.	<i>ʔē-pō</i>	Q·(‘here’ = LOCATIVE)	where
Tna.	<i>kām-äy</i>	Q·(‘as’ = MANNER)	how

An undecided place is taken by Harari, in which the element *äy* is both the interrogative pronoun/adjective ‘which’ and the element which, when combined with several postpositions, different interrogatives are formed – *äy-de* (WH-to) ‘where’; *äy-kut* (WH-as) ‘how’. Note the difference in order between Tigrinya and Harari – whereas the former has prepositions and sometimes circumpositions, the latter has many postpositions.

5 Conclusions

This paper is a follow up on the idea that the interrogative element *ʔayy in Semitic has a function in the formation of interrogatives (§§ 1 and 2). The objective was to suggest a principle explaining the functional diversity of the entities with which *ʔayy combined. The component *ʔayy is presented as an abstract general constituent-question marker, which applied to diverse semantic domains – choice/type/quality (which), time, manner, cause, place, ablative and allative.

In this capacity, *ʔayy- resembles polar-question markers (such as Hebrew and Aramaic *hā-*, Arabic *ʔa-* and *hal*, and the Gəʕəz *-nu/-hu*). The reason is that either type of question markers is very different from interrogative pro-words. Those are used in constituent-questions to represent specific constituents which are expected to turn up in the answer (‘where?’ takes in the question the place of the locative adverbial; ‘whom?’ stands for the object or the indirect object, etc.). The manner in which polar-question markers ‘convert’ the clause in their scope into a question is analogous to the way in which *ʔayy- ‘converts’ various semantic domains into the corresponding interrogative word.

The element *ʔayy itself, after the formation of the interrogatives kept evolving. It had become independent in some places (as in Heb. *ʔayye* and



ʔē 'where'). Its independence is demonstrable in its ability to function as the predicate.¹¹ In other cases it is occasionally used as an indefinite, as in Mod. Heb. (mostly 20th century on) *ey šam* 'somewhere' (lit. 'ey-there'). Interrogatives were converted into indefinites (FABER 1988), in Akkadian by adding the enclitic particle *-ma* (*ayyīšam* 'whither?' vs. *ayyīšam-ma* 'wherever'); in Arabic with the particle *mā* (*ayyūn* 'which (one)' vs. *ayyū-mā* 'whichever', etc., FISCHER 1987 §290); in Ethiopic with the addition of an additive focus particle (*ʔay* 'which (one)' vs. *ʔay-ni* 'whichever').

In other cases, it had evolved into conjunctions, for instance Akkadian *ēma* 'where(ever)...', which seems to be the construct state of *ʔayy-, namely, it had been put in its construct state with the addition of the particle *-ma* (which makes it an indefinite as well – 'wherever...'). A similar case is *ēmi* 'who' (Neo-Aramaic, SABAR 2002, p. 94) that is occasionally marked as construct state *ēmit* 'whoever...'.¹²

All these developments as well as the acquisition of new functions of the element *ʔayy do not mask the original function, that which is shared by all the ancient languages and basically goes all the way back to Proto-Semitic: converting various entities, which represent a given semantic domain (place, time, direction, manner, reason, etc.) into the corresponding interrogatives.

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¹¹ E.g., *ʔē beḳel ʔāḫikā* 'Where is Abel your brother?' (Gen. 4:9).

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The Lebanese in Israel – Language, Religion and Identity*

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Summary: This essay describes recent language transitions in the community of former soldiers of the “South Lebanon Army” (henceforth: SLA), now living in Israel. While native speakers of Arabic, the SLA’s children attend Hebrew-speaking schools and are not taught to read and write in Arabic. As an additional factor, while the majority of the SLAs are Maronite Christians, their children gain only limited knowledge of their religion. Looking at the nexus between language, religion and communal identity, this essay follows the measures taken by the SLA community to educate their children and preserve their religious and cultural identities. We describe two seemingly contradictory strategies, namely, writing liturgical Arabic texts in Hebrew letters, and systematic instruction of Standard Arabic. We show that for the adherents of both strategies, the Arabic language remains a key to strengthen the sense of affiliation and to maintain, or indeed re-define, communal identity.

1 Background: The community of former SLA soldiers in Israel

On the night of the 23rd of May 2000 Israel unilaterally withdrew from Lebanon. Before that, for nearly eighteen years since the First Lebanese War (1982), Israel had been occupying South Lebanon. During this time the Israel’s Defence Force (IDF) established partnerships with local militias, defectors from the Lebanese army. The South Lebanese Army (SLA) was first established by Major Sa’d Ḥaddād (1936–1984), then from 1984 led by

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General ANTOINE LAḤAD (1927–2015), yet remained fully dependent on Israel. On the night of Israel's withdrawal about 6,700 SLA soldiers arrived at the border with their families (LAḤAD 2004, p. 172), seeking refuge in Israel. Many of them returned to Lebanon within a few years, and by 2008 those remaining in Israel numbered about 2000 (GAZIT 2011, p. 78). A decade later the families of those who remained, now full Israeli citizens, have grown and are currently bringing up children who have never been to Lebanon. In what follows, we use the term SLA/SLAs to refer to this Lebanese community in Israel.

The SLA's integration in Israel has not been easy. Despite their history of collaboration with the IDF, many Israeli Jews rejected them, referring to them – derogatively – as “Arabs”.¹ At the same time, the SLAs were rejected by the local Arab population. Despite the fact that most of them are Christians, members of the Maronite Church,² the relationship between them and the Arab Christian communities in Israel, including the Maronite community, has been tense ever since they crossed the border. Despite their shared history, faith, family ties and language, the Maronites in Israel were in most cases unwilling to embrace the former SLAs. Rather, they viewed the SLAs, at least initially, as traitors (Ar. *xāwan*) who collaborated with the Israeli army against the Palestinians (GAZIT 2011, p. 77; SCHNEIDLER 2017, p. 8). Thus, although members of the SLA community occasionally attend church services in Jish, a Galilean village populated mainly by Maronites, they tend to have their prayers separately from the local Maronites (TSIMHONI 2016, vol. 2, pp. 414–416; SCHNEIDLER 2017, pp. 14–15).³ In Acre, a church was consecrated exclusively for SLA use in isolation from the other Christians in the city (GAZIT 2011, p. 78; SCHNEIDLER 2017, p. 14). In Tiberias the SLA community was given permission to conduct their prayers in an under-used Catholic church.⁴

Members of the SLA community are equally suspicious of the local Arab population in Israel. We photographed the following note at the community's club in Kiryat Shmona in September 2015. It explains the history of the SLA, stressing the suffering from the Palestinians, the sacrifices they have made, and what they term “the blood covenant” between the SLA and the

¹ This, as further explained below, stands in contradistinction to the fact that the SLAs do not view themselves as Arabs, and do not refer to the language they speak as “Arabic”, but rather as “Lebanese”.

² While the great majority of SLAs in Israel are Maronite Christians, there are also Muslims, Druze and Christians of other denominations among them (GAZIT 2011, p. 78).

³ This was also confirmed to us by the Maronite priest in Jish (September 2015).

⁴ Interview with ANGELA NAHRA of Tiberias (July 2018). It should be noted that unlike the situation in Acre and Jish, in Haifa the local Maronites and the SLAs are in good relationship, and they regularly pray together (GAZIT 2011, p. 78).

state of Israel. Exhibiting the two national flags of Israel and Lebanon together symbolizes the fact that, for them, these identities are not in conflict:⁵



“The citizens of South Lebanon suffered from Palestinians who abducted and killed hundreds of the inhabitants, burnt and demolished entire villages and stole from them ...

1500 SLA soldiers fell in battle and many were wounded and (remain) handicapped, proving that the covenant between the SLA and the IDF is written in blood not in ink.”

In Israel, the SLAs are scattered in different cities, mainly in the northern part of the country. Around 250 families are centered in Nahariya, the northernmost coastal city in Israel, located less than ten kilometers south of Israel's border with Lebanon. Nahariya is considered the main social and cultural center of the SLA community in Israel (GAZIT 2011, p. 78). About 100 families live in Kiryat Shmona and 80 more families are in Tiberias. A few dozen families live in the small towns of Ma'alot, Shlomi and Metula, and there are also families in Rosh-Pina and Jaffa. Moreover, since the SLAs (and their relatives, friends and supporters) remain outcasts in Lebanon, it is risky for them to openly keep in touch with their relatives in Lebanon.⁶

The SLA disintegration in Israel is also a result of internal social gaps. Israel compensated its former allies according to their military ranks: Senior officers were given accommodation in private houses and lifetime military pension, and they were granted free Hebrew lessons. The rest of the SLA community did not enjoy this privilege, and many of the parents still struggle with Hebrew, especially at the job market (GAZIT 2011, pp. 144–148).

⁵ The complex duality is well demonstrated in a series of films (available online) entitled “Ten years in exile”, filmed during the event of *dikrā al-ʿinsihāb*, the Memorial Day marking ten years since the withdrawal from Lebanon, held in Nahariya in May 2010. During the ceremony, members of the community sang the Lebanese anthem, while the Lebanese flag was screened. Immediately afterwards they sang the Israeli anthem. In a staged scene two youngsters acted as an Israeli soldier and a Lebanese soldier, who both yearn for the end of war, while naturally conversing in Hebrew and Arabic.

⁶ Even on Facebook the families in the two countries remain silent, passive observers of each other's lives from a distance, avoiding open interaction and not risking comments on each other's ‘wall’. A few who can afford it meet their relatives abroad.

Our fieldwork was carried out between June 2015 and June 2018 in Nahariya, Kiryat Shmona, Safed, Rosh-Pina, Tiberias and Haifa. We visited the SLA community clubs and churches, as well as homes of individuals, and conducted a series of meetings and interviews both with members of the community who arrived in Israel as adults, and with the younger generation, who was raised in Israel. We met with the clergymen and nuns and were also in touch with them via email and textual messages. Always with their full consent, we took notes of our observations of the liturgical ceremonies, the language classes and the session of religious instruction. We also collected and photocopied written texts prepared by members of the community, as described in detail below.

2 The language challenge of the SLAs in Israel

All former SLA soldiers speak Lebanese Arabic as their mother tongue. Having arrived in Israel in their twenties, thirties or forties, they are graduates of the Lebanese school system, whether public or missionary. They have full command of written Arabic, and many know French as well. In Israel, however, their majority lives, studies and works almost exclusively in Hebrew-speaking environments, and barely comes into contact with the local Arab population. Thus, interaction between the Lebanese and Palestinian dialects is minimal, and the exposure of SLAs to local Arabic is limited, though not altogether nonexistent.⁷

Like many Lebanese in Lebanon, the SLAs in Israel spice up their spoken Lebanese dialect with French words, such as *bonžūr* (French “bonjour”) and its Arabicized “dual” response *bonžurayn*; *kadoyēt* is used for “gifts” (the Arabic plural of French *cadeau*), and so on. Moreover, the Lebanese dialect enjoys great prestige in their view, and some react negatively when addressed in Palestinian Arabic.⁸

⁷ While our general impression was that the spoken dialect of the SLAs exhibits no traces of contact with Palestinian Arabic, in Haifa we observed certain levelling processes. For example, we noticed the retreat of medial *imāla* in the Arabic of the Lebanese in Haifa, while it is very much evident the Lebanese dialect spoken by their fellow SLAs in Nahariya and Kiryat Shmona. Similarly, there seem to a tendency to monophthongization in the Lebanese dialect we heard in Haifa, as opposed to the preservation of diphthongs in the speech of other Lebanese in Israel. These observations, however, have yet to be tested and verified.

⁸ In fact, one of the interviewees expressed surprise as to why we chose to learn a Palestinian dialect, and not “a more elegant one”. SCHNEIDERLDER (2017, p. 16) recorded SLAs claiming that the Palestinian dialect is “ugly”. From a different perspective, another interviewee, a man aged 26, admitted that he avoids speaking Arabic with local Palestinians for fear of being identified as a “Lebanese traitor”. Having immersed himself in

SLAs of both first and second generations – namely those raised from early childhood in Israel – now speak Hebrew well, often speak it with no trace of a foreign accent. The language used at their homes is characterized by frequent transitions between Arabic and Hebrew, with an apparent preference for Hebrew. Even the parents, who arrived in Israel as adults, often use Hebrew when addressing their children, and the children often speak Hebrew among themselves. Texting is mainly done in Hebrew, or, less frequently, in Hebrew transliteration of the Arabic dialect.⁹

This harmonious coexistence of Hebrew and Arabic is rather exceptional in Israel. It stands in contradiction to voices heard among Israeli Arabs, who view the usage of Hebrew as strongly associated with the Jewish-Israeli dominant culture. The use of Hebrew often induces negative feelings and even language purism, and there are voices calling Arabs to avoid borrowing Hebrew elements.¹⁰ Yet in none of the meetings we held with members of the SLA community, whether from the first or second generation, have we encountered such voices, nor any statement rejecting the use of Hebrew for national, political or social reasons.

The increased competence in Hebrew is in tune with an evident regression in proficiency in Arabic, which may be discerned among all SLAs we met. Even when we talked to them in Arabic we noticed, that all of them interwove Hebrew words, phrases and sentences into their Arabic speech. The younger generation lacks proficiency in Arabic. In fact, none of them exhibits full command of the Arabic language, namely comprehending the spoken word, speaking, reading and writing. Most of the children, of course, understand spoken Lebanese Arabic, and may also use it actively, yet it is noteworthy that in Haifa and Safed we met families whose children no longer speak Arabic at all, or use it poorly and hesitantly. Clearly, the great majority of the second generation, even if they understand and speak Arabic, are unable to read and write it, unless they learnt Arabic at school or in some other formal framework.

Thereby, Lebanese Arabic in Israel has many of the constituent elements of a minority language. Using OWENS' (2000, p. 3) binary parameters, the dialect spoken by the SLA community is spoken natively by only a very small number of speakers, is not seen as a language of general prestige, and is

Hebrew he now speaks Hebrew as well as any Israeli Jew, and prefers to use it and not his native spoken Arabic, even among other native Arabic speakers.

⁹ Some of the youngsters explain, that they are more comfortable writing in Hebrew than in Arabic written in Hebrew characters, since Hebrew offers clear writing norms and also automatic spelling correction.

¹⁰ See HENKIN-ROITFARB 2011, p. 79, and the reference given there. Also consider the statements recorded in this regard in SHACHMON/MACK 2016.

only partially transmitted from one generation to another. It is therefore intriguing to track the community's growing awareness of the linguistic situation, and the various attempts to halt the decline in the knowledge of Arabic.

3 The confessional challenge of the SLAs in Israel

The Maronite Church, to which most of the SLAs in Israel belong, is an ancient Christian denomination that originated in the Lebanese mountains in the Middle Ages.¹¹ Maronite priests are appointed and sent from Lebanon, and take the lead in all aspects of the community's Christian life. Maronite liturgy consists of a combination of Arabic and Aramaic (Syriac). Living in Israel, the priests conduct the liturgical ceremonies in Arabic, but the diminution of the Arabic skills of the children gradually affects the children's ability – as well as their motivation – to take an active part in church activities.

The fact that the children attend Jewish schools also influences their religious education: these children gain only scant knowledge of their religion. When asking the priests about their motivation for working with the younger generation, they express their concern regarding the children's involvement in church activities, but they also refer to a risk that the children might turn their back on Christianity as a whole.¹²

Since the children do *speak* Arabic, it is their inability to *read* the liturgical texts which forms the barrier between them and their full involvement in church activities. In §4 below we describe the efforts put by the community in order to give the children the means to read Arabic. This, as will be shown, is done concurrently in two essentially different ways.

¹¹ Being the only supporters of the Chalcedonian teaching in the Middle East (a schism in the church that dates back to 451 CE), the Maronites remained a minority even among Christians for many centuries, and particularly in the aftermath of the Third Council of Constantinople in 681 when they broke away with the Byzantine Church (WEHBE 2004, pp. 431–451; KILDANI 2010, pp. 633–635). In recent history, with the support of the French Mandate authorities (1923–1946), they became a ruling elite in Lebanon. Their privileged status was then anchored in the so-called National Pact (1943), and remains so until today.

¹² Based on meetings we carried out in Nahariya and Tiberias, as well as follow-up phone interviews with ABOUNA CHARBEL, ABOUNA HĀBĪB and Mrs. NAWĀL ABU 'AR-RĀZ, who assists the priests and families in Nahariya.

SCHNEIDERDER (2017, p. 15) asserts, that when romantic relations between SLA and Jewish youth result in marriage, it is more likely that the SLA member will convert to Judaism, than that the other party will convert to Christianity. Such cases, however, are rather rare according to the priests we interviewed. Note, that in the absence of civil marriage in Israel it is not possible for a couple of different religions to marry unless one of the sides converts.

4 The two strategies for reading Arabic

Led by Lebanese clergymen, two strategies are employed in an attempt to deal with both the language and the confessional challenges. On the one hand, the children are offered religious instruction, or *ta'lim dīni* (§4.1), aiming mainly to prepare the younger ones for their First Holy Communion, and to enable the older ones to take an active part in the weekly Mass. This religious instruction encourages the transliteration of the confessional Arabic (and Syriac) texts, using the Hebrew alphabet. At the same time, the children are offered Arabic classes (§4.2), where they learn to read and write in modern standard Arabic. By the latter strategy, the community strives to provide the children with direct access to the traditional prayers as they appear in the prayer books, i.e. in Arabic script.

4.1 Religious instruction and the use of Hebrew transliteration

The Maronite priests, supported by a few Lebanese nuns, travel between the dispersed SLA communities and conduct the weekly Mass. They also offer Catechism lessons, in which they introduce the children, who grow up in non-Christian surroundings, to the main points of their religion. These instruction sessions are held in the community club, or – wherever possible – in church.¹³

The methods employed in the instruction vary. With very young children (age 3 to 6) the nuns use basic activities, such as showing them pictures, drawing and coloring. The nuns speak to these toddlers in a mixture of Hebrew and Arabic, with preference for the former. Yet the older children are expected to be able to recite the prayers with the rest of the congregation, in Arabic, and a need arises to help them memorize these texts. This, in turn, motivates writing, and since Arabic can no longer serve for this purpose, Hebrew emerges as an acceptable solution.¹⁴

Within this framework, and in close cooperation with the Lebanese priests, a young member of the SLA community, who recently joined the religious charismatic association known as “Koinonia John the Baptist” in Tiberias, has produced several catechism textbooks in Hebrew letters. One such textbook is aimed for preparing the Maronite children (age 7 to 9) for

¹³ It may be added, that these sessions are held in an informal and welcoming atmosphere, and thus contribute to the emergence of agreeable public spaces, and enhance a sense of communal affiliation. The parents – mostly mothers as we noticed – wait in a nearby room, but every now and then they choose to join the classes and themselves enjoy the activities and stories, which they recall from their childhood in Lebanon.

¹⁴ The case of the very small SLA community in Safed is somewhat different, since their children barely *speak* Arabic, and thus their preparation is done – orally – with the help of family members.

their First Communion, a main rite of passage in the Catholic Church. The title on the cover appears in Arabic in Hebrew letters, viz. קורבאנתי אלאולה, followed by the Arabic *قرباني الأولى* "My first Holy communion". From that point onwards everything in the notebook is in Hebrew letters, including chapter names, captions to the images, and the words of the prayers which the children should memorize and recite. Major themes and religious concepts are noted in their Arabic names, in Hebrew letters, e.g. אלאנאג'יל "the Gospels", תלאמיז ישוע "Miracles of Jesus", קודאס "Mass", אעאניב ישוע "Jesus's disciples", among others. The explanations, however, are entirely in Hebrew:



The following illustration from the textbook is a diagram of אלמארוני "the Maronite Mass", presenting in clockwise order its ten main components. All terms are given in Arabic, in Hebrew letters:



A second booklet, entitled *ملحق لكتاب القداس* “Appendix to the Mass Book”, was prepared by the same sister from Tiberias. This one is aimed at older children and youths, and is to be used in church during the ceremonies. Here, the language impediment is mentioned explicitly, and is given at the opening of the booklet as the rationale for the use of the Hebrew letters:

נספח זה מיועד לילדי הקהילה הלבנונית הגרים בישראל שאין ביכולתם לקרוא את השפה הערבית. לכן הנספח של המיסה המרונית מנוסח בשפה הערבית באותיות עבריות, בתקווה שהדבר יאפשר לילדים שלנו להשתתף במיסה ולהרגיש חלק בלתי נפרד מקהילתנו.

This appendix is intended for the children of the Lebanese community living in Israel who cannot read the Arabic language. The appendix to the Maronite Mass is therefore written in the Arabic language in Hebrew letters, in the hope that this will allow our children to participate in Mass and to feel themselves to be an inseparable part of our community.

Each section of this booklet includes the parallel page number in the prayer book used at church, to help the children follow the various parts of the ceremony. In addition, the formulas that the children recite are accompanied by drawings of the appropriate actions, guiding the young congregants as to when they should stand, sit, sing, make the sign of the cross, prostrate themselves, and so on:

לעמוד =  = לשבת =  = לשיר = 

In Kiryat Shmona, a small city bordering Lebanon and now hosting the second largest community of SLAs, there are several prominent figures in the community who manage the community club and the various activities in it. They motivate the younger generation to engage in community activities, and indeed a few teenage girls have been assigned – or rather: have enthusiastically volunteered – to assist the Lebanese nuns. On Saturday mornings, while the nun teaches the older children, these teenagers take care of the younger ones. Using games, songs and seasonal plays they introduce young children to Christianity. Moreover, the teenagers, who are fully proficient in Hebrew, are also involved in preparing liturgical texts in Hebrew transliteration, to be used during the instruction sessions.

The outcome of this collaboration is the production of some of the main liturgical texts in vocalized Hebrew script. The texts prepared in transcription are used by the nuns and the girls who assist them to prepare the children for their first Holy Communion. The examples below open with “The Lord’s Prayer”, or *אֵלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ* “Our Father Who Art in

Heaven", one of the most widely recited Christian prayers. Then follows *li-tkafan*, which is the Arabic version of "Hail Mary", and a few short prayers which are sometimes added to the Rosary, among which are *Act of Faith*, *Act of Hope*, and *Act of Charity*:

אָבנא אַלִי פֿ (א)סמנות

ליִתְכַפֵּן אִסְמָנָה, לִי יֵאָמֵר מִלְקִיטָה
 לִי תְּקַו מְשִׁיחָה קְדִישָׁה פֿ (א) סְמָנָה קְדִישָׁה עֲלֵה אֶלְעֹד,
 אֶעֱשִׂינָה חֲבֻנָה קְפָאָה יְאוּמָנָה, וְהַעֲפֹר לָמָּה זִנְבָנָה וְחַטָּאתֵינוּ, קְדִישָׁה
 נַעֲפֹר לִי מִן אֲחֵינוּ וְאִסְמָנָה אֵלֵינוּ וְלֹא תִתְחַלְתֵּנוּ פֿי (א) מַבְרֵיב, לָקוּ נְגִי'נוּ
 מִן (א) שְׂרִיר, אָמֵן

(א) סְלִמֹה עֲלֵינוּ יְהִי מִרְיָם

(א) סְלִמֹה עֲלֵינוּ יְהִי מִרְיָם
 יְהִי מִמְחִילָאָה נְעֻמָּתוֹ, (א) רְבוּ - קְדִישָׁה
 מִבְּרָכָה אֲנִי פֿי (א) נְטָא וְנִיבְרָכָה סְמָנָה בְּתֵב קְדִישָׁה יְסוּעָה אֶלְמָסִיח
 יְהִי קְדִישָׁה מִרְיָם, יְהִי וְתִלִּידָת אֵלֵינוּ
 סְלִי לִי אֵלֵינוּ נְחֵנוּ אֶלְמָסִיחָה
 אֵל אֵין וְנִי קְדִישָׁה מְוֹתָנָה. אָמֵן

פֿעַל אֶלְמָסִיח

אֵלֵינוּ קְדִישָׁה, אֲנִי אֶלְמָסִיח, בְּקִישָׁה נִוְאָמִין אֵימְנָה בְּנִיחָה, פְּדוּתָה אֵימְנוּ וְנִי מְנָה
 נִסְמָע קְדִישָׁה, קְדִישָׁה עֲלֵה חֲפִינָה, יְהִי אֶבְנָה. אָמֵן

פֿעַל אֶלְכִּינָא

אֵלֵינוּ קְדִישָׁה, אֲנִי (א) כְּחִמָּה, עֲלֵינוּ תוֹשֵׁלָא, וְנִי עֲלֵנוּ כְּחִינָא פֿי אֶלְמָסִיח
 (א) דִּינָא, וְנִי וְנִיחָה בִּנְשָׁה פֿי אֶלְחִינָה, פֿעַל תוֹחִיבִיב כְּחִינָה, יְהִי אֶבְנָה.
 אָמֵן

פֿעַל אֶלְמָסִיחָה

אֵלֵינוּ קְדִישָׁה, אֲנִי אֶלְמָסִיחָה, אֵינָה נִוְחָה לִי קְדִישָׁה, וְנִי נִוְחָה אֶלְמָסִיח לִי
 וְנִי וְנִיחָה, קְדִישָׁה פֿינָה חֲפִינָה, וְנִי חֲפִינָה, יְהִי אֶבְנָה. אָמֵן

In addition to the prayers above, several hymns and chants were also transliterated. Yet, different from the prayers, which are composed in Classical Arabic, these semi-liturgical texts are sung in church in colloquial Lebanese Arabic. Following are two such hymns, entitled *Bread and Wine* and *O Jesus, O Jesus*:

<u>יא יסוע יא יסוע</u>	<u>חִיבָּד וְחִמְר וּ מְאִי אִימָאנִי</u>
יא יסוע יא יסוע אחלה וואתיאב אירבאני	חִיבָּד וְחִמְר וּ מְאִי אִימָאנִי
יא יסוע יא יסוע ניעמי מה אילהא טאני	איבן אללה לחיי ארבאני
אווואל מרה בחיאטי עאם ביתאווואל האל ניעמי	מְחִיבָּ עָאם בִּידוּב עָאם יִירוּו ל אלוּב
בירפאע אלב וודאיתני ראבי דאוואאני אל טאעמה	מִין סִרָּ לַמְחַבֵּב, חִמְרֵי רֵאָוֵנֵאנִי
עתני אל ארבאני	1. יא סמגיל וו סהול ותיבאמיליאני
2. יא מה נתרנו האל יאום מין זמאן	יא ביאדר וו חאול תבאי חיליאני
וועמרי נדרתו סיר אל אירבאן	יא מטאחין לבתדור בתטעמי למעמור
יא רב חביתק ביל אלב חבייתק	חִיבָּד וְחִמְר וּ מְר, אִיטִיאֵב אִירבָּאנִי
וועאטול לבייתק בי עאהד אל אמנה	2. יא ענאיד לנור ב קרום לדיני
3. מין אינדילאק אלבי דאוואיטו	יא מוואסים וו דהור פיק בתעתני
וומין אינג'לאק חובי ראוואיתו	יא מעסארת לדאר יא סיר אל אסראר
יא רב סלמי לאינג'ל, עלמני	חִמְר וּ מְר וְחִמְר קֵאסִית אִירבָּאנִי
וועאטול קלמני וואוי אימאני	3. יא נעמה ללקל, יא ג'יסם וודימא
4. אימי וובאי עאל דיני תאלאית	עא לארד בתדל עורבון אל סמא
איחתני וחאי מין אלב סאלאית	יא רב יסוע סאוותק דרבי תלוע
יא ראב חלינה ביל חוב מלינה	עָאם בַּעֲתֵשׁ וּ בְג'וֹעַ אַעֲתִינִי לִאִירבָּאנִי
ווילדארב דאלנה סווב לאירבאני	

We were told that these hymns had been produced for the sake of the younger members of the community, who wish to rehearse and memorize the words before they are sung at church. That said, we observed that women who sing in the Church Choir also use the transliterated texts. They explain, that although they are able to read Arabic, they nevertheless use the transliterations, since they are now more used to reading Hebrew than Arabic.

The choice to use the Hebrew alphabet for writing Arabic prayers implies that the letters are accounted for a technical apparatus, merely informing people of the way to pronounce the words. This, in turn, allows much flexibility in the use of the Hebrew letters, as further discussed below.

4.2 Language instruction: modern Standard Arabic

Side by side with the religious instruction and the set of transliterated texts resulting from it, the clergymen also offer language instruction, in which they teach the children to read and write in literary Arabic.¹⁵ In Nahariya, members of the community meet every Tuesday afternoon at the community club. The venue is a small structure consisting of a central space and two or three adjacent rooms, all minimally equipped. There, among other social activities, the Lebanese priests deliver weekly Arabic classes at various levels, starting from the study of the Arabic alphabet, and advancing towards reading short literary texts and discussing grammatical issues.



Arabic lessons with ABOUNA ḤABĪB (on the left) and
ABOUNA CHARBEL. Nahariya, June 2016¹⁶

In Kiryat Shmona the children meet on Saturday mornings. There again, the venue is a simple hall which serves as the community club, and also as an improvised church, decorated with a flag of Lebanon rising over a makeshift altar, and an icon of Mary. A Lebanese nun teaches the children of the local community to read and write in Arabic, bringing them to an adequate level of competence in Standard Arabic. This, as we were told, sometimes entitles them exemption from Arabic classes at the Hebrew-speaking schools, where low-level Arabic studies are mandatory.

¹⁵ This language instruction is in tune with the mission ideology: one of the priests explained, that as a Christian mission they are committed to three principles that make up their faith, namely family, identity and language, the third being a tool for achieving the two others.

¹⁶ We wholeheartedly thank the priests and the families of the children, for approving the publication of these photos.

Thus, Lebanese priests move between the different localities during the week, conducting the weekly Mass on regular days and using the occasion to give Arabic classes. In Tiberias the activities take place in one of the local churches, while in Nahariya and Kiryat Shmona, where no churches exist, the community clubs serve for this purpose. In places where no communal facilities exist, like Safed and Rosh Pina, the gatherings – both lessons and prayers – take place in the homes of members of the community.

5 The orthography of the transliterated texts

In this section, we briefly demonstrate some features of inconsistency and hybridity that characterize the transliterated texts. The features discussed relate to the rendering of Arabic consonants (§ 5.1), the Arabic vowels (§ 5.2), and the old Arabic case endings (§ 5.3). It will become clear that the spelling of these texts is generally free – or nearly free – of clear writing conventions or accepted norms. The inconsistency which characterizes the texts may be taken to indicate, that the Hebrew alphabet is perceived instrumentally, as a set of technical signs not necessarily associated with the Hebrew languages.¹⁷

5.1 Representation of Arabic consonants

In choosing a Hebrew letter to represent a specific Arabic sound, the SLAs are not altogether systematic. Hebrew ת and ט stand for Arabic ط and ط respectively, and seem to alternate freely. This may be exemplified by תתאִינָה *ḥatāyānā* (Arabic حطايانا) vs. מוֹתִינָה *mawtinā* (Arabic موتينا), and אֵתִינָה *a'tinā* (Arabic أعطينا). This distribution is probably due to the fact that ט and ת are homophonic in Modern Hebrew.¹⁸

Hebrew ק stands for both Arabic ق and ك, as may be exemplified by לִי-יָתֵקֶדֶס *li-yataqaddas* (Arabic لِيَتَقَدَّسَ) “hallowed be [Thy name]” and אֵתְּ אֱלֹהִים *‘attā ‘alōhīm* for Arabic أَنْتَ الْحَقُّ “you are the Truth” (Act of Faith),¹⁹ side by side with לֵקֶן

¹⁷ In this, the use of the Hebrew letter among the SLAs differs from that of other Arab communities in Israel, who often oppose the use of Hebrew – including the Hebrew alphabet – due to its association with Judaism, Zionism or with processes of Israelization (TALMON 2000; SMOOHA 2010, and see note 10 above).

¹⁸ Compare SHACHMON/MACK 2016, pp. 230–231. The mirror image of this phenomenon may be seen when Hebrew words with ט”ת are spelled by Arabs in Israel with the letter ת (HENKIN-ROITFARB 2013, pp. 158–159).

¹⁹ The Hebrew *gameš* under the ק of אֱלֹהִים misrepresents the actual pronunciation of the form in the prayer, which exhibits no consonantal element in this position.

lakin (Arabic لکن) ‘but’, *li-takun* (Arabic لِيَتَكُنْ) “let [your will] be”;²⁰ or *mubāraka* (Arabic مُبَارَكَة) “blessed” f.sg. The main exception to this is the word *church* “your church” (Arabic كَنِيسَتِكَ), the spelling of which is probably influenced by the Hebrew כנסייה “church”. The overlapping of Arabic ق and ك is again due to the merger of the two sounds in Modern Hebrew, where they both surface as [k].²¹ Yet, while the pronunciation of Arabic ك is indeed /k/, the accepted classical pronunciation of ق is [q], and this is apparently what is meant by the use of Hebrew ק in this case.

Different from the transliterated prayers, the hymns mentioned above are sung in colloquial Lebanese. Arabic ق is not written as ק but as *q*, which is in tune with its realization as [ʔ] in the dialect: Arabic قُرْبَانَة *qurbāna* ‘offering’, pronounced *ʔarbēni*, is thus spelled אִירְבַּנִּי. Other cases are יִבְאָה for Arabic يَبْقَى “remain”, pronounced *yabʔa*; חֶאֻל for Arabic حَقول “fields”, pronounced *ḥaʔul*; لֶחָא for Arabic الْحَق “the Truth”, pronounced *lḥa*; and אַלְב for Arabic قَلْب “heart”, pronounced *ʔalb*.

Except from the confessional realm, writing in the SLA community is mainly done in Hebrew, and the need to write in Arabic hardly arises. Brief electronic communication among them is regularly done in Hebrew, yet on occasion Arabic terms or short formulas are interwoven into such texting, always in Hebrew letters, often to convey informality, affection or humor. In the following WhatsApp message the technical Arabic term قُدَّاس *quddās* “Mass” is used. In such informal context of texting, the word is spelled with Hebrew אַלִּיָּה, viz. אַדַּס, as it is pronounced *ʔaddēs*:



- (Name) Are you coming today?
- I don't know, there's Mass
- Before Mass
- Maybe, not sure, but for the time being – yes
- Great

Other spelling features may also be traced to the influence of the Lebanese dialect. In words containing the Arabic interdental ẓ one finds Hebrew ז, which is in tune with its realization as z, e.g. קַדְלִיק for OA كَدَالِيك *kaḏālīka*

²⁰ Note the representation of the Arabic particle ل by a separate word, viz. לִי *lī*, which is probably influenced by the Hebrew form לִי “to me”.

²¹ HENKIN-ROITFARB (2013, pp. 158–159) documented the opposite practice among Israeli Arabs, who spell Hebrew words with קִיָּה using the Arabic ك. This again results from the attempt to render the phonetic pronunciation of the Hebrew sound, which in Modern Hebrew is realized as [k].

“thus”.²² In a similar manner, חֲפִיזָה stands for OA حَفِظَهَا *hifdihā* “preserving it”, and אֶרֶץ stands for Arabic الأرض *al’ard* “the earth”, in correspondence with the colloquial pronunciation of both ظ and ض as z. Note, however, that the Hebrew letter does not render the emphatic realization, although it is evident in speech.

The nominal feminine ending is rendered in the hymns – as well as in some cases in the “Appendix to the Mass Book” – with Hebrew יוֹד. This evidently reflects the *imāla* of the old *a* to *i*, typical of many Lebanese dialects. Thus, in the “Bread and Wine” hymn we observe בִּלְעָתָמִי for بالعتمة “in the darkness”, pronounced *bi-l’atmi*, rhyming with אִמָּאִנִי (Arabic إِمَانِي “of faith”), pronounced *’amēni*. Interestingly, the term تعليم ديني, denoting the weekly instruction sessions, was spelled by the assisting teenagers in Kiryat Shmona תְּעִלִּים דִּינָה, viz. with a final הָ, not יוֹד. This spelling implies the realization of final *i* as [e:] in pre-pausal position, a trait that was documented in several Lebanese dialects (SHACHMON/FAUST 2017).

5.2 Representation of Arabic vowels

In the vocalized texts of the prayers, the interference of colloquial pronunciation is also evident in what concerns the vowels. A prominent feature of many sedentary Levantine Arabic is the lowering of the high vowels /i,u/ to [e,o] in final unstressed CvC syllables. In the transliterated texts, we observe forms like לִי תִקֶּן which stands for Arabic لِيَتَكُنْ *li-takun* “let [your will] be”, but is vocalized with Hebrew *holem*, which is in tune with its realization as [litakon]. Another characteristic feature of North Levantine Arabic, including many Lebanese dialects, is the merger of OA *i* and *u* in many positions into the central, reduced vowel ə.²³ In the transliterated texts under discussion, several Hebrew marks are used to deliver the Arabic vowels, yet Arabic forms which are pronounced with ə appear with no vowel under the respective Hebrew letter (i. e. that which represents the consonant preceding the ə): חֻבְזָנָא stands for Classical خُبْزَنَا *xubzanā* “our bread”, yet since the first vowel is reduced to [ə] it is represented by no vowel under the Hebrew ח.²⁴

²² This realization is frequent in the relevant Lebanese dialect, as in many urban dialects in the Levant, where the reflexes of OA *t*, *ḏ* and *ḏ* yield either stops or sibilants, viz. *t/s*, *d/z* and *ḏ/z* respectively. The sibilant alternant is often perceived as more prestigious, and is clearly preferred in formal, educated or other elevated speech contexts.

²³ Traditional Hebrew offers a series of reduced, or “very short vowels” (Hebrew: חֲטָף *ḥatáf*). However, many Hebrew speakers today, even educated ones, are not proficient in using them in writing, and they are altogether absent from the transliterated texts of the SLAs.

²⁴ In comparison, the same Arabic word was transliterated as חֻבְזָנָא *xubzana* by a Melkite priest in Jaffa, where the OA short vowels are by and large preserved in closed syllables (SHACHMON/MACK 2016, p. 227).

The matres lectionis ו and י are used to indicate various Arabic vowels, both long and short.²⁵ Thus, ו with Hebrew *holem*, which is read [o] in Modern Hebrew, may stand in the transliteration for Arabic *u* or *ū*, e.g. מוֹמְתַלִּיָּא for Arabic مُمْتَلِئَة *mumtali'a* “full FSG”. *holem* also appears instead of *u* in בְּנִיָּךְ for בَطْنُكَ *batnuki* “thy womb”. Hebrew א may stand for short *a*, e.g. תַּסְבִּיחַן *tasbihan* for تَسْبِيحًا “in praise”. Clearly, the use of long vowels should not be taken to indicate stress, as is evident in cases like קוֹלִיק for كَذَلِكَ *kadālika* “thus”.

5.3 Representation of Old Arabic case endings

The prayers are written in Classical Arabic, and thus consist of instances of Classical *tanwin*. While, in the Arabic script nunation is generally marked by the addition of a vowel mark, i.e. not by a letter, in the transcribed texts we observe the insertion of Hebrew נון, rendering its *n*-element: פִּזְדָּנָה אִימָנָן is given for Arabic فَزَدْنَا إِيمَانًا “Increase our faith” (Luke, 17:5). In a similar manner, the accusative case ending, which is marked in Arabic script by *fatha* only, was rendered into Hebrew with an additional ה, viz. אִימָנָה בְּנִיסְתָּךְ for Arabic إِيمَانٌ كَيْسَتِكَ “faith of your church”. The addition of ה is probably influenced by the writing conventions of Modern Hebrew, where final *a* is usually represented by the writing convention of silent א”ה.²⁶

In several cases the deviations from the Classical case system are not only a matter of orthography, but implies a difference in the actual reading. In the case of יא מוֹמְתַלִּיָּא נַעֲמַתָּן “Hail [Mary] full of Grace”, the spelling and vocalization of נַעֲמַתָּן, read *ni'maton*, is opposed to the standard form, which is read נִעְמָה *ni'matin*. In וְלֹא תוֹדִיחֵנָה “and lead us not [into temptation]”, the negated verb appears with an *a* vowel, namely *tudxilanā*, although the Classical reading yields the jussive تُدْخِلُنَا *tudxilnā*. Such divergences from the Classical reading may be related to the fact that the texts which the nuns prepare for the children are the most central prayers, which people tend to know by heart. When editing them for the children, the nuns probably did not have to transliterate from the written text of the Divine Liturgy, but could do so from memory.

This brief sketch of the orthography demonstrates, that in transliterating Arabic into Hebrew letters the SLAs do not attempt to produce a homogenous

²⁵ Such inconsistencies are well known in Judeo-Arabic (HARY 1996, p. 731)

²⁶ Referring to different Judeo-Arabic spelling norms, HARY (1996, pp. 730–732) uses the terms “Arabicized orthography” to denote orthography that is based on imitation of the spelling of Classical Arabic, as opposed to “Hebraized orthography”, which exhibits Hebrew/Aramaic influence on spelling.

text, and that their writing habits in this context are rather loose.²⁷ The transliterated texts are apparently believed to be an interim solution, not intended and not edited for official publication. That said, the texts are used by members of the community in several locations, a fact which suggests that this type of solution is generally accepted.

6 A note on the history of hybrid writing in Maronite liturgy

Maronite liturgy, it should be mentioned, was in fact multi-layered long before the SLAs arrived in Israel. Maronite confessional texts have historically combined at least two languages, namely Syriac and Arabic. Since knowledge of Syriac is no longer widespread, the prayer books often present the Syriac texts written in Arabic letters, printed side by side with an Arabic translation, as demonstrated below:

إِنْتَ لَوْتَ مَذْبَحِهِ دَلُّوْهَا أَجِيءْ إِلَى مَذْبَحِ اللَّهِ
وَلَوْتَ أَلَوْهَا دَمَحَدِ طَلِيوْتَ وَإِلَى اللَّهِ الَّذِي يُهَيِّجُ شَبَابِي.
وَنَا بَسُوغَا دَطِيوْتُوخْ إِعْوَلْ لَبِيْشُخْ بِكَثْرَةِ نِعَمِكَ أَدْخُلْ بَيْتَكَ
وَسُغُوْدْ بَهَيْكَلْ دَقُوْدُشُخْ. وَأَسْجُدْ فِي هَيْكَلِ قُدْسِكَ.

Fascinating hybrid forms may still be found in some prayer books, in the form of Syriac phrases written in Arabic characters, but accompanied by the Syriac vocalization marks:

بَرِيْخْ دَاتَا مَهِيْمِيْنِيْنْ وَمُوْدِيْنِيْنْ وَعَلْ كُلَّنْ رَحْمُوْ

Greek may also be traced in Maronite liturgy in the triple invocation of Kyrie Eleison, or “Lord have mercy”, transliterated in the prayer book into Arabic,

²⁷ Writing Arabic in Hebrew letters, mainly in electronic forms, is known among Arabs in Israel, side by side with the use of Latin characters, and recent works (ABU EL-HIJA 2012; GAASH 2017) have tried to follow the emergence of certain orthographic norms in such writing. In the case of the SLAs, however, it seems early to speak of any norm in this sense.

viz. كيراليسون. The fact that the phrase is spelled as a single word suggests that the congregants are no longer aware of the literal meaning of the words.²⁸

Thus, despite its essentially conservative nature, the confessional-religious realm allows, or even fosters, the introduction of a new writing system. In fact, it is the need to adhere to the exact wording of the liturgical text that legitimizes innovation in what concerns writing methods.²⁹ The use of transliteration, rather than translation, allows the preservation of the text without changing it.³⁰ The fact that Maronite liturgy already uses several languages and alphabets seems to have paved the way for adding another one. While the traditional Maronite prayer books provide Arabic transliteration of Syriac phrases and Greek formulas, the texts produced by the SLAs transliterate both Arabic and Syriac into Hebrew letters. In addition, the Greek invocation mentioned above also appears in Hebrew alphabet, viz. כיריאלאייסון:

Syriac in Hebrew letters

איתי לות מאדבחי דלוהו ולות אלוהו דמחאדי טאליות
ונו בסוגו דטיבותון אעול לביתון וסגוד בהאייכאל דקותשור

Greek in Arabic and in Hebrew letters

الشعب: كيراليسون. كيراليسون. كيراليسون.

אלשעב: כיריאלאייסון, כיריאלאייסון, כיריאלאייסון.

²⁸ In this context, we may also mention a polyglot edition of the Divine Liturgy, which provides a transliteration of the Syriac text in Latin characters, side by side with an English translation. This edition, entitled *Book of Offering According to the Rite of Antiochene Syriac Maronite Church*, was published in Lebanon in 2012, and is aimed at the English-speaking congregation of Australia, Canada and the USA.

²⁹ Compare the attempts to produce Arabic Christian prayers in Hebrew letters in mixed Jewish-Arab cities in central Israel, described in SHACHMON/MACK 2016. Despite the substantive differences in terms of circumstance and setting, there are several similarities, and the result in both cases is Christian liturgical texts in Arabic, written in Hebrew letters.

³⁰ A Hebrew edition of the Divine Liturgy, entitled *Seder Se'udat Ha'adon* (Beit Jala, 2011), has recently been re-published by FATHER RAFIC NAHRA (and others) for Hebrew-speaking Catholics in Israel. This edition, which is aimed at migrant workers and messianic Jews, now includes an appendix for the Maronite community, and specifically for the SLA children. The Hebrew edition offers an alternative solution for the language gap: instead of praying in Arabic (with or without transliteration), it offers to pray in Hebrew. This alternative is promoted by the Hebrew speaking vicar of the Latin Patriarch in Jerusalem, but is rejected by the Maronite priests working with the SLAs, as well as by members of the community itself.

7 Language, communal boundaries and identity

Compared to other Arabic speakers in Israel (SHACHMON/MACK 2016; GAASH 2017), the practice of writing Arabic in Hebrew letters is not very common among the SLAs. This is explained by the high competence of SLA youngsters in Hebrew, which makes it unnecessary to write Arabic in the first place. In fact, even the official website of the community, entitled *اللبنانيون في إسرائيل* “Lebanese in Israel” offers parallel pages in Arabic and Hebrew. When a need to write Arabic arises, as may be the case in written communication with relatives abroad, the gaps are bridged by either employing Latin transcription, or – more often – the act of writing in itself is evaded by using video chats, etc.

Linguistic choices made by minority communities, including the preferred writing system, are often considered to be indicative of the cultural, religious and political world view of the community. It is well known that Jews in the Arab world have since the Middle Ages used Hebrew script to write Arabic. In the latter case, the practice of writing Arabic in Hebrew letters has been accounted for an act of detachment from the local environment (BLAU 1981, p. 38; HARY 1996, p. 728). Similarly, RÍO SÁNCHEZ (2013, p. 7) shows that the Maronite inhabitants of Aleppo chose the Syriac alphabet for writing their spoken Arabic dialect as a conscious attempt to assert their distinct identity vis-à-vis Muslims on the one hand, and vis-à-vis other Christian sects on the other. Yet, in the case under discussion, the use of Hebrew script is a practical measure, that is intended to emphasize the separation of the SLAs from their surroundings. SLA children resemble Jewish Israeli ones in their command of Hebrew, and this – to a certain extent – blurs the communal boundaries. It does not, however, mean that boundaries are erased, or that the community itself wishes them to be erased. The various frameworks for language and religious instruction, organized by members of the SLA community, serve to cope with the lack of required knowledge, but at the same time they meet the need of the SLAs to define their group identity, or, at least, the components of their identity (GILES/COUPLAND/COUPLAND 1991, p. 10). The weekly gatherings provide an opportunity for social gathering, and enhances the younger generation’s sense of belonging.

In the case of the Maronites, the quest for identity by no means began with their relocation to Israel. It already existed in Lebanon, where, to this day, some communities distinguish themselves from their Arab surrounding by referring to themselves as descendants of the ancient Phoenicians (KAUFMAN 2001; KRAIDY 2005, pp. 119–120). The roots of this claim originated in the 19th century, when certain communities in the Ottoman Empire sought their origins and self-definition. But over the years, and after nearly two

centuries of wars between the different religious communities in Lebanon, the Phoenician identity has become a Christian symbol – especially for the Maronites – that separates them from the Arab others. For similar reasons, they refer to their language as “Lebanese” (Ar. *lubnānī*, or colloquial *lāb-nēni*) and not “Arabic” (KAUFMAN 2014, p. 133).³¹ In this context it is important to note, that some of the Israeli Maronites are also uncomfortable with their supposed Arabness, and prefer to dissociate themselves from the local Muslim population by defining themselves as Aramaics and Israelis.³² Yet, unlike many other Maronites in Israel, the SLAs have not adopted an Aramaic identity, and seem to adhere more to the Phoenician one, which they conceive as “pan-Lebanese”, i.e. not only Christian Lebanese.

The Lebanese component of their identity is evident when speaking to those actually born in Lebanon. They often speak of their lost family contacts, describe personal childhood memories, and express a desire to reconnect to their birthplaces. Lebanese music and Lebanese television are popular among the SLAs, who watch many different Lebanese channels, the most popular of which is probably *Télé Lumière*.³³ Many watch the daily news from Lebanon and foreign films transmitted on Lebanese television. Curiously, some children expressed a wish to learn Arabic just in order to watch films with Arabic subtitles. For many parents, the mere act of speaking Lebanese Arabic with their children is seen as means of connecting them to their roots. When asked about their language habits, they refer to the use of the dialect in terms like “our origins” and “our identity”.³⁴

A YouTube clip posted in 2013 (“Lebanese In Israel – The Second Generation & his words”) shows an SLA teenager standing on a stage with the Lebanese flag hanging beside her, addressing the Lebanese on the other side of the border, in fluent Lebanese Arabic, and calling them to understand the complex circumstances in which she and her fellow young SLAs live. She explains:

³¹ Some Lebanese intellectuals, such as SAÏD AKL (1912–2014), have advocated a change of the alphabet from Arabic to Latin to emphasize the uniqueness of the ‘Lebanese’ language.

³² This fairly recent movement, founded by Shadi Khalloul, is centred in the village of Jish in Galilee. It is called “Israeli Christian Aramaic Association”, and its website offers the options of four languages: Hebrew, Arabic English and Syriac. The movement’s spiritual leader is the Orthodox priest Gabriel Naddaf.

³³ *Télé Lumière* is the first Christian television station in Lebanon, founded 1991.

³⁴ CLAUDE IBRAHIM, a prominent active member of the community in Kiryat Shmona and an ex-SLA officer, talks of “a sense of emergency”, and of a “language which is about to vanish”, and tells proudly that for this reason his personal children were not allowed to speak Hebrew at home. We heard similar statements from parents in Nahariya, Tiberias and Rosh Pina.

We were pushed into a situation in which we are Lebanese people living in an Israeli state, a state that has adopted us, welcomed us and gave us rights. But do we not have obligations as well? Where is our country? Where are those who put themselves in a position to judge our families? Is it not time for each of them to examine his own history? [Examine] who you are and what you did for your country, Lebanon. We have no interest in settling accounts with anyone. We just want everybody to understand our position. We want our people, those of our age, to understand the injustice done to us. We have committed no crime. We are not to blame. We are victims, just like our families. Victims of others' wars, which took place on our land, Lebanon. We only want to live in peace. This is our dream, this is our goal. This is Lebanon!



The words of this SLA teenager, read fluently in Lebanese Arabic, reveal her passion to reconcile her identity as Lebanese. However, what is also evident is the need to define the exact components of this identity, and the obligations inherent in being a citizen of the state of Israel. This need is especially evident among the young members of the community, those born already in Israel. Eighteen years after their parents left Lebanon, they now begin to reach adolescence and face some difficult decisions, e.g., whether to date non-members of their community, and – importantly – whether to enlist in the Israeli army.

The wish to affiliate, along with the need to define the group's identity, are driving the parents' desire to get the children closer to the Lebanese identity, and also their wish to instill the children with love for – and knowledge of – the Arabic language.

8 Concluding remarks

This article describes two strategies employed by the SLA community in Israel in their attempts to pass on their religion to their children, and to make it possible for them to be involved in church activities: one strategy is to provide the children with knowledge of Standard Arabic; the second – to adopt Hebrew letters for writing Arabic liturgy. It may seem that the one solution makes the other unnecessary, yet, essentially, they complement one

another in adhering to the Arabic language. By transliterating the Arabic texts into Hebrew letters the community manages to keep the exact wording of the prayer *in Arabic*, without having to translate them; concurrently, by teaching the children to read Arabic the community makes the original *Arabic* text accessible to them.

The SLAs in Israel function as a linguistic community faithful to its language tradition, namely Arabic. At the same time, they are subject to forces which work in the service of wider communications, in this case – the Hebrew-speaking surrounding. Against this background the community exhibits mixed “accommodative tactics” (GILES/COUPLAND/COUPLAND 1991, pp. 10–11), with a shift toward the prestigious language, i.e. Hebrew, on the one hand, side by side with a great effort to maintain the group’s language, on the other.

The second generation of the SLA community in Israel is still bilingual as regards speaking abilities, but nearly monolingual, i.e. Hebrew monolingual, in what concerns reading and writing. In many cases described in the literature, such circumstances have led to the gradual loss of the minority language (PROCHAZKA 1999). Yet in the case of the Lebanese in Israel, various factors resist the decline in the vitality of the Arabic language. Among these factors are the geographic proximity to Lebanon and the daily exposure to Lebanese websites and television. In addition, certain marriage ties are taking place between young SLAs and Lebanese nationals, a linkage which is crucial in what concerns language change (GARBELE 1958, p. 306; GILL 1999, p. 130). And, as shown in this article, the insistence on reading and writing Arabic – in whatever orthographic system – also contributes to maintaining its vitality. The confessional component, as demonstrated above, plays a major role in this regard.

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On the Caucasian Persian (Tat) Lexical Substratum in the Baku Dialect of Azerbaijani

Preliminary Notes*

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Summary: Caucasian Persian, also known as the Tat or Caucasian Tat language, was dominant in various parts of historical Shirvan, in particular in the Absheron Peninsula, up to the middle of the 19th century. According to BEREZIN, who travelled along the east coast of the Caspian Sea during 1842–1849, there were only 6 villages in Baku Province, where people were speaking “Turkish”, i. e., the Azerbaijani language. Later on, the process of Turkicization resulted in the progressive spread of the Azerbaijani language and the nearly complete assimilation of Caucasian Persian in Absheron Peninsula, but some lexical traces of this Iranian language have been preserved in most of the dialects of Azerbaijani. This article is devoted to the examination of the Caucasian Persian lexical substratum in the Baku dialect of Azerbaijani. Some Caucasian Persian lexical units attested in the aforementioned dialect are investigated in this paper as a preliminary study.

In spite of the fact that the Turkicization of Eastern Transcaucasia began in the 11–14 centuries AD during the invasion of the Seljuk Turks to Shirvan and Arran,¹ some Iranian languages, including Caucasian Persian², have been preserved and are still spoken in the south and northeastern parts of Eastern Transcaucasia. Moreover, the Caucasian Persian was still the dominant language of the Absheron peninsula, as well as of the entire Baku province,

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¹ The history of Turco-Transcaucasian relations can be divided into three broad periods: the Hunno-Khazar, Seljuq, and Mongol (GOLDEN 1983).

² The Caucasian Persian language, also known as the Tat or Caucasian Tat language, at present lacks a literary tradition and belongs to the south-western subgroup of Iranian languages. Historically, it was widespread in the area, which approximately coincided with the lands of the medieval Shirvanshah kingdom or the territories of Baku, Shirvan and Quba khanates in the 19th century. Nowadays the Caucasian Persian is the native language of the ethnic group of Iranian descent that is settled in the Absheron, Baku, Sumgayit, Khizi, Siazan, Shabran, Quba, Khachmaz, Ismaili and Shamakhi districts of the Republic of Azerbaijan. In various parts of the above-mentioned regions the Iranian-speaking population has different endonymonyms, such as Pars, Lohij, Dağlı, and Tat (MILLER 1929).

up to the middle of the 19th century.³ The process of Turkicization resulted in the progressive spread of the Azerbaijani language, which became the so-called “titular” language and therefore gradually increased its role in the two main Turkic-Iranian language contact zones of the aforementioned region.⁴ Talyshi-Azerbaijani bilingualism is prominent in the Talysh-settled southern areas of Azerbaijan Republic, while its northeastern part is a zone of contact between Azerbaijani and Caucasian Persian. Unlike some parts of the latter bilingual zone, such as the Quba and Shabran districts, where Caucasian Persian dialects are still spoken alongside Azerbaijani, the Absheron area can be characterized by the nearly complete assimilation of Caucasian Persian by Azerbaijani.⁵

The interferences between Caucasian Persian and Azerbaijani are always presented by Soviet scholars only in light of the influence of Azerbaijani on Caucasian Persian, emphasizing not only lexical (GRJUNBERG 1963, pp. 112–114; SOKOLOVA 1953, p. 135), but also phonological (SOKOLOVA 1953, p. 131) and grammatical aspects (GRJUNBERG 1961b, pp. 11–23; 1963, pp. 50, 104). Some Western scholars (SCHMITT 1994, p. 16, WINDFUHR 2006, p. 261) have also studied the influence of Azerbaijani on the Caucasian Persian. Much less scholarships were devoted to the influence of Caucasian Persian on Azerbaijani: a short word list of Caucasian Persian borrowings in the Baku dialect of Azerbaijani (HACIYEV 1971, pp. 100–102),⁶ and an analysis of one grammatical calque from Caucasian Persian in Azerbaijani (AUTHIER 2012, pp. 225–252). The influence of Caucasian Persian on Azerbaijani has been in the focus of two, recently published articles on the Non-Persian Iranian substratum of Azerbaijani (STILO 2014, pp. 271–291; 2016, pp. 185–234).⁷

³ I. BEREZIN, who was travelling along the east coast of the Caspian Sea during 1842–1849, mentioned that Baku province was inhabited chiefly by Shia Muslims, many of whom were “Persians” speaking a different language, i. e. Tat, which is widespread in many parts of Dagestan as well. According to BEREZIN, there were only 6 villages in Baku Province, where people were speaking “Turkish”, i. e., the Azerbaijani language (BEREZIN 1849, vol. V, p. 39).

⁴ In the first half of the 19th century, more precisely after the Russo-Iranian Wars of 1804–1813 and 1826–1828, Russia encouraged the spread of Azerbaijani in Eastern Transcaucasia to counter the Iranian identity of the Shia majority (KARPAT 2001, p. 295).

⁵ Presently, Caucasian Persian is spoken only in the villages of Suraxani, Balaxani, Novxani, Mashtaghi, Zira, Türkan, Shuvalan, Amirjan and Mardakan in Absheron. (TONOYAN 2015, p. 201).

⁶ It was copied from ŞIRƏLİYEV’s work (1949) without a thorough examination and was repeated with some changes in HACIYEV’s later work (1995, pp. 64–66; in 2nd ed. 2009, pp. 71–73).

⁷ Some additional comparisons between Iranian and non-Iranian languages, spoken in Northern Iran and Transcaucasia (including Caucasian Persian and Azerbaijani) are provided in earlier studies (see STILO 1981, pp. 137–187; 1994, pp. 75–94).

However, despite the profound and detailed examination of Non-Persian Iranian, including Caucasian Persian influence on Azerbaijani, no examples of lexical borrowings from the Caucasian Persian in Azerbaijani were provided.⁸

Some lexical loans from Caucasian Persian (such as *zəmi* “cornfield, dale”, *ləvbər* “anchor”, etc.) can be found even in the lit. Azerbaijani language,⁹ but lexical analysis of Azerbaijani dialects that are now located in the areas of Caucasian Persian linguistic domination, and especially the Baku dialect, may provide more tangible results.¹⁰

The present article is focused on some words borrowed from Caucasian Persian into the Baku dialect of Azerbaijani as a preliminary analysis of the lexical traces of this Iranian language in the Baku dialect.¹¹

ažgahān

In the Baku dialect of Azerbaijani, in particular in the subdialect of Gyuzdek (Az. Güzdek), the term *əjgahān*¹² is used to mean “jobless”, “idler” (ŞIRƏLİEV 1949, p. 175). In spite of the abundant attestations of its various forms in New Persian dictionaries, e.g. *ažgahān*, *ažgahan*, *ažkahān*, *ažkahan*, *ažhān*, *ažban*, *ažgān*, *ažkān* (DEHXODĀ 1951, vol. 10, p. 2006), *ažgān* (DEHXODĀ 1950, vol. 9, p. 1984), also *ažgīn* (STEINGASS 1970, p. 46) “indolent, lazy”, it has fallen out of use in Modern Persian, but is still attested as *a(e)žgahān* in

⁸ In the section of lexical borrowings, 19 words of Iranian origin are given, borrowed by Azerbaijani (*tum*, *šum-lomaq*, *jūt*, *xizək*, *həvəng*, *jəbrə*, *dəbrə*, *jīyə*, *xoruz*, *dərzi*, *oruj*, *kürt*, *fəre*, *gəvəzə*, *hay-küy*, *jir-maq*, *xov*, *gödək*), which STILO compared mainly with the NWI languages, particularly with the Talyshi and New Azari dialects (STILO 2016, pp. 216–218).

⁹ Some CP lexical borrowings in lit. Azerbaijani, including *ovdan* “rainwater reservoir” and *ovduq* “buttermilk” have been presented and discussed by VOSKANIAN 2016, pp. 34–36.

¹⁰ In researching modern standard languages, among them Azerbaijani, it is important to bear in mind the factor of purism – especially its influence on lexicon. The vocabulary of a standard language does not show the depth of all contacts between standardized and other languages and dialects (BRUNSTAD 2003, pp. 52–70).

¹¹ Azerbaijani is divided into four basic groups of dialects. The Baku dialect is included in the eastern group (ŞIRƏLİEV 2008, p. 19). Modern lit. Azerbaijani has been constructed based on the eastern group, but this does not mean that it is identical to the dialect of Baku (see DOERFER 1989, p. 246).

¹² The short *-a-* in words of Iranian origin is presented through the sign *-a-* by ŞIRƏLİEV 1949. SOKOLOVA explains the several cases of *-a > e* vowel change in the Abš. dialect of Caucasian Persian (as *kek* “flea” instead of expected *kak* [cf. NP *kak* “flea”]), using the example of the strong phonetic influence of Azerbaijani on the Abš. dialects of Caucasian Persian (SOKOLOVA 1953, p. 126).

Caucasian Persian (GRJUNBERG 1963, p. 137, SOLTANOV 2013, p. 29). The Absheron dialect of Caucasian Persian (further Abš.) presumably preserved NP *ažgahān* in its original meaning, whereas the central and northern dialects of Caucasian Persian show a semantic shift “wide, broad” (SOLTANOV 2013, p. 29), as well as “comfortable” (GRJUNBERG 1963, p. 137). Its etymology is unclear,¹³ although the presence of the voiced postalveolar fricative *ž* and its comparison with MP *ašgahān* (MACKENZIE 1986, p. 7)¹⁴ make it possible to conclude that *ažgahān* is a NWI loanword in Persian.¹⁵ There is no mention of *ažgahān* in the existing corpus of the Abš. dialect of CP. However, the use of *ažgahān* in the Baku dialect of Azerbaijani can only be explained as a substratum word from Abš., taking into consideration the fact that *ažgahān* is no longer used in New Persian, and its absence in the lit. Azerbaijani language.

bürüşda

Bürüşda, in Baku dialect, means “fried bread” (ŞIRƏLIYEV 1949, p. 169). It is a typical CP lexeme, phonetically developed from NP *birišta*, the past participle of *biriştan* “to roast, fry, bake” (< MP *briştan*/brēz < OIr. *bra(i)j – “to roast, bake” [CHEUNG 2007, p. 23]). In the same form it is also attested in Abš. CP (HÜSEYNOVA 2013, p. 40).¹⁶ The shift of the early NP high central unrounded vowel *i*- to the high central rounded *ü*- in all positions is a very common phenomenon for most dialects of CP, including the Abš. dialect (TONOYAN 2015, p. 205).¹⁷

¹³ In one of the early works trying to find an etymology for *ašē-kahān* (cf. *ažgahān*), NYBERG reconstructed OIr. **ušē-kahāna*- (1931, p. 24), though afterwards did not insist on this reconstruction (1974, p. 34).

¹⁴ Cf. Paz. *aš(a)gahān* (NYBERG 1974, p. 34).

¹⁵ If ORSATTI's suggestion to compare Judeo-Persian *ažkān* (< *ašgahān* [?]) with Persian *žakīdan* “to mutter to oneself in a rage, to murmur” (2003, p. 165) is true, the NWI origin of *ažgahān* seems quite plausible (cf. NP *zakiđan* and *žakiđan*, the former perhaps SWI and the latter, NWI).

¹⁶ Cf. Lah. *biriştan* “to roast, to bake” (HÜSEYNOVA 2002, p. 167), Qub., Šbr. *bürüşdan*/bürz “to be baked, to be cooked”, *büržündan* “to bake, to cook” (GRJUNBERG 1963, p. 57), ‘Ar.-Dağ. *bürüşta* “baked” (SOLTANOV 2013, p. 44).

¹⁷ Cf., CP *dül* “heart” (< early NP *dil* < MP *dil* (MACKENZIE 1986, p. 26)), CP *güftan* “to receive, to catch”, which through the syncope (TONOYAN 2015, p. 47) and further roundedness is derivative of the reconstructed early CP **giftan*, developed from the early NP *giriftan* (< MP *griftan* [MACKENZIE 1986, p. 37]), CP *čül* “forty” (< early NP *čihil* < MP *čehel* [MACKENZIE 1986, p. 22]), *čü* “what, which” (< early NP *či* < MP *čē* [MACKENZIE 1986, p. 22]). *i* > *ü* vowel change (e.g. *bibi* > *bübü* “paternal aunt”, *šakil* > *šəkül* “picture,

peyyāmbārī

A plant name *peyyāmbārī* “corn, (lit. *that of prophet*)” (ŞİRƏLİE 1949, p. 189) is attested in the Baku dialect of Azerbaijani, nevertheless it is absent in the same form in lit. Azerbaijani¹⁸ and most of its dialects.¹⁹ Only some forms related to the semantics “prophet”, e.g. “*peyyāmbār*”²⁰ “corn” are attested in few Azerbaijani dialects, spoken now in the traditionally Iranophone areas. At the same time, *peyyāmbārī* is used in all Caucasian Persian dialects (HÜSEYNOVA 2002, p. 179; 2013, p. 135; GRJUNBERG 1963, pp. 19, 49, 119; SOLTANOV 2013, p. 121), which proves that it has been borrowed into the Baku dialect from Caucasian Persian. Indeed, *peyyāmbārī* in this meaning is used not only in Caucasian Persian dialects, but also in Juhuri (DADAŞEV 2006, p. 96). Even though the word *peyyāmbār*, “prophet”, is of Iranian origin,²¹ from a semantic point of view it seems related to the Islamic world, particularly with Mecca, and presumably means “a plant from the place of the Prophet”. Therefore, it can hardly be a coincidence that the same semantic structure exists in lit. Azerbaijani and most of its local vernaculars, as well as in some Iranian dialects²² and other languages of the region.²³

form”, *siz* > *süz* “you”, *sifət* > *süfət* “face” etc.) is one of the phonological features of the eastern dialect group of Azerbaijani. The easternmost border of this vowel change is Türkən in the Absheron peninsula, westernmost is Birinci Ərəbcəbirli in Göyçay district, southernmost is Xol Qarabucaq in Neftçala, and northernmost is Xudat in Xaçmaz district (see İSLAMOV 1990, map 11), that coincide almost exactly with the borders of the area where CP was spoken. Consequently, it could be regarded as a result of CP phonological influence on the Baku dialect of Azerbaijani.

¹⁸ In lit. Azerbaijani, the most common word denoting “corn”, is *qarğıdalı*.

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. Qaz. *məkə*, Lank. *məkəboğda*, Mas. *məkəbuğda* (AXUNDONOV 2007, p. 350), Darb., Ar.-Dağ. *hacibuğda* (AXUNDONOV 2007, p. 192), Ord. *məkə buğdası*, *kəbə*, Şak. *şor-macabuğda*, Zaq. *qarqundey* (ŞİRƏLİEV 2008, p. 341).

²⁰ Cf. Qub. *peygəmbər*, Şir. *peygəmbərbuğda*, Bil. *peygəmbərbuğda*, Sal. *peygəmbərbuğda*, Şbr. *peygəmbəri* (AXUNDONOV 2007, p. 396).

²¹ *Peyyāmbār* consists of *peyyām* (< OIr. *pati-gāma- (HASANDUST 2014, p. 781) and -bar (< OIr. *bara- (HASANDUST 2014, p. 438) pres. stem of *burdan*.

²² Cf. Ebr. *makka*, Glk. *makā-bij*, Krng. *makā*, Sgzb. *makka*, Tal. *məkə*, Vltr. *gandom makē* “corn” (see HASANDUST 2011, p. 155).

²³ We would have considerable difficulty explaining the historical development of the meaning of this word without the semantic analogy of this same structure in other regional languages, in which designations of “corn” are related to Egypt (cf. Arm. *egip't'ac'or'en* and *msr'ac'or'en* (lit. “wheat of Egypt”), Turk. *mısır* (lit. “Egypt”). This means that in the case of this word the main markers of semantic development have been the apparent non-endemism of corn in the region and its attribution to various distant countries (cf. also Arm. *hndk'ac'or'en* “buckwheat” (lit. “Indian wheat”) and *hndk'ajawar* “buckwheat” (lit. “Indian bulgur wheat”).

juāl

In Baku dialect, *juāl* (together with *kisə*, *torba* and *çuval*) is used to denote “sack, bag” (ŞIRƏLİEV 1949, p. 208). Apparently, *juāl* is a word of Iranian origin, derived from OIr. **yava-barθra-* (HASANDUST 2014, vol. 2, p. 969) as a compound of OIr. **yava-* “barley”²⁴ and **barθra-* (< **√bar-*) “to carry, to bear”²⁵. *juāl*, in contrast to lit. Az. *çuval* “big sack”, which is cognate with Persian *juvāl*²⁶, can be related to CP *jual* (< early NP *juvāl*) from the phonological point of view, taking into account that the *-v-* reduction in intervocalic positions is quite common for Caucasian Persian.²⁷

juānazan, juānak

juhūn in modern CP developed from early NP *juvān* (< MP *juwān* [MACKENZIE 1986, p. 141]) < OIr. **yuvānam* (pl. acc.) “young” (HASANDUST 2014, vol. 2, p. 969). Both words are only attested in the Baku dialect, and are extremely important for the explanation of the historical phonetic changes (*juhūn* < *juvān*): *juānazan* “young woman” (ŞIRƏLİEV 1949, p. 200) and *juānak* “hare kitten, leveret” (AXUNDOV 2007, p. 81). As the result of an erroneous comparison between *juānazan* and Persian *javān zanan* (!),²⁸ *juānazan* is presented by ŞIRƏLİEV as a Persian loanword (ŞIRƏLİEV 1949, p. 200). However, in all likelihood both words are CP loanwords in the Baku dialect. Moreover, the existence of the component *jūan* “young” in both words, and its comparison with CP *juhūn* makes it possible to assume that

²⁴ From the historical point of view, one of the phonological features of SWI languages, including New Persian and Caucasian Persian, is the change of Old Iranian word initial **y-* to *j-* (cf. MP *jav* [< OIr. **yava-*], NP *jow*, CP *jū*, Bšk. *jöv*, Kmz. *jah*, Taš. *jan*), whereas in NWI languages it is generally preserved (cf. Tal. *ya(v)*, Vfs. *yav*, Hrzn. *yav*, Ešt. *yöv* [HASANDUST 2011, pp. 139–140]).

²⁵ It is interesting, that in the Kryz language, spoken in the Shahdag region, the word *ç’uval* means “sheep” (AUTHIER G., personal communication).

²⁶ Cf. also Tal. *çuval* (PIREJKO 1976, p. 252).

²⁷ One of the unique features of the CP phonetic system is the further *-h-* epenthesis after the reduction of *-v-* in intervocalic position, e.g. *zubbūn* (< **zubbān* < **zuān* < **zuvān* < Early NP *zubbān* “language”, cf. NP *zabān*), *juhūn* (< **juhān* < *juān* < Early NP *juvān* “young”, cf. NP *javān*), *duārdan* < *duvardan* “take out” (GRJUNBERG 1963, p. 56) *süab* < *şavāb* (Arab.) “benevolent” (SOLTANOV 2013, p. 136), *kour* (SOLTANOV 2013, p. 96) < **ko-vur* (early CP), “blue” (cf. early NP *kabūd* “blue” [< MP *kabōd* < OIr. **kapanta*]) etc.

²⁸ In this case, one would expect *zan-e javān* in New Persian.

the change of early NP *juvān* to modern CP *juhūn* has occurred through the early NP *juvān* > *juān* > **juhān* > Modern CP *juhūn*²⁹ stages:

In comparison with *juānak*³⁰, where *juān* is a noun, used with the well-known Iranian diminutive *-ak*³¹, in *juānazan*, *juān* is an adjective, connected to the noun *zan* “woman” by the *adjective + a + noun* attributive construction, existing in New Persian, but typical for the Caucasian Persian, e.g. *xūba xūna* “a good home”, *durāza rā* “a long way”, *qašānga kila* “a nice girl”, *juhuna zan* “a young woman”.³²

tou, ouga, goudan

In the Baku dialect, instead of the common Turkic *oĵak*³³, *töü* is used to denote “fireside, hearth” (ŠIRƏLIYEV 1949, p. 194). It is also used in Caucasian Persian, e.g. Abš. *tou* (HÜSEYNOVA 2013, p. 222), Šbr., Qub. *tou* (GRJUNBERG 1963, p. 119), ‘Ar.-Dağ. *to* (SOLTANOV 2013, p. 227), as well as in Juhuri in the form of *tov* (DADAŠEV 2006, p. 144). In all likelihood, Bak. *töü* is borrowed from CP *tou*, the etymology of which is related to early NP *tab*, *tāb* “heat” and *tāv* “sunbeam, brightness”, derived from MP *tab* (MACKENZIE 1986, p. 81).³⁴ It should be emphasized that the same phonological change of early NP *tab/tāb* has been observed also in Abš. *tousdum* “summer”, derived from early NP *tābestān*.³⁵ The historical development of the diphthong *ou//öü* in Caucasian Persian can be traced back in two ways:

- 1) CP *-ou-* < early NP *-āv-/-āb-* < OIr. **āpa-*, **-āva-*, e.g. Šbr., Qub. *ou*³⁶ “water” (< early NP *āb* < MP *āp* < OIr. **āpa-*), Šbr., Qub. *xou*³⁷ “sleep,

²⁹ These two borrowings from Caucasian Persian show that early New Persian *ā-* merged with *ū-* before nasals quite late, maybe after the middle of the 19th century, taking into account the first language contacts between the above-mentioned languages after this time.

³⁰ Cf. also NP *javānak* “boy, youngling, youth”.

³¹ Cf. MP *-ak*, Pth. *-ag* < OIr. **-aka* (SCHMITT 1987, p. 456).

³² The attributive construction *adjective + a + noun* is considered to be a grammatical isogloss between Caucasian Persian and NWI languages, based on its widespread use in the latter (GRJUNBERG 1961a, p. 114; 1962, pp. 8–9).

³³ Cf. lit. Az. *ocaq*, Turk. *ocak*, Uzb. *o'choq*, Kaz. *ouaḡ*.

³⁴ The OIr. reconstructed form of the aforementioned words is **tapa(h)-* (see HASAN-DUST 2014, p. 828).

³⁵ Instead of *tousdum* “summer”, all other CP dialects retain phonological varieties of MP *hāmīn*, which is absent in NP. Consequently, it can be regarded as a MP archaism in CP dialects (TONOYAN 2015, p. 64).

³⁶ Cf. Lah. *öü* (HÜSEYNOVA 2002, p. 179), Ar.-Dağ. *o* (SOLTANOV 2013, p. 118).

³⁷ Cf. Lah. *xo* (HÜSEYNOVA 2002, p. 173), Ar.-Dağ. *xo* (SOLTANOV 2013, p. 87).

- dream" (< MP *x^vāb* < OIr. **hvāpa-*), Šbr., Qub. *gou*³⁸ "bull" (< MP *gāv* "cow" < OIr. **gāvam* [sing. Acc.]).
- 2) CP *-ou-* (/öü) < early NP *-av-/-ab-* < OIr. **ap(a)-*, as *souz* "green" (< MP *sabz* < OIr. **sapači*), *kour* "blue" (< MP *kabōd* < OIr. **kapanta-*).

Therefore it can be expected that some words of Iranian origin, keeping the *-ou-* (/öü-/ *-ov-*) sound combination, are part of the CP lexical substratum of the Baku dialect, which additionally can be proved by the existence of two other examples: *ouga* and *goudan*.

Ouga "puddle" (ŠIRƏLIYEV 1949, p. 189) is a compound noun, the first component of which, i.e. *ou* "water", occurs in Caucasian Persian exactly in the same form. The NP equivalent of *ouga* is *ābgah/ābgāh*, "reservoir"³⁹, attested also in lit. Azerbaijani.⁴⁰ Therefore, it is apparent that the source of the borrowing for lit. Azerbaijani was New Persian, and for its Baku dialect – Caucasian Persian. In the same way, Az. *abdan* (TAĞIYEV 2006, vol. 1, p. 20) and Bak. *ovdan* "reservoir" (TAĞIYEV 2006, vol. 3, p. 618)⁴¹ as well as Az. *abduq*⁴² (TAĞIYEV 2006, vol. 1, p. 20) and Bak. *ovduq* "buttermilk" (TAĞIYEV 2006, vol. 3, p. 618)⁴³ can be examined as borrowings from two different Iranian sources, i.e. from New Persian and Caucasian Persian (see Fig. 1).

The vowel combination *ou/öü*, typical of Caucasian Persian, is also present in Bak. *göüdan*, "barn"⁴⁴ [ŠIRƏLIYEV 1949, p. 182]. Old Iranian **gava-* "cow", through the phonetic shift **ava > ou*, produces *gou* "bull" in Caucasian Persian, on which the suffix *-dān*⁴⁵ has been added.⁴⁶

The words examined above show that in the research of linguistic contacts between Caucasian Persian and Azerbaijani, it can be a more effective way to use their local units in the framework of areal linguistics, as some dialects contain richer data showing the depth of CP influence on Azerbaijani.

³⁸ Cf. Lah. *maragö* "cow" (HÜSEYNOVA 2002, p. 177), Ar.-Dağ. *marago* (SOLTANOV 2013, p. 113).

³⁹ See Az. *abgab* (TAĞIYEV 2006, vol. 1, p. 21).

⁴⁰ In lit. Azerbaijani, *ov-* is attested instead of *ou* ("water") in two compound nouns: *ovdan* "rainwater reservoir" (cf. NP *ābdān*, CP *odun*) and *ovduq* "buttermilk" (cf. NP *ābdūy*, CCP *oduy*).

⁴¹ Cf. CP *odun* (SOLTANOV 2013, p. 118). The development would be as follows: Early NP *ābdān* > **o(u/v)dān* > **odān* > CP *odūn*.

⁴² Cf. NP *ābdūy*.

⁴³ Cf. CP *oduy* (SOLTANOV 2013, p. 118).

⁴⁴ Cf. Lah. *göydan* (HÜSEYNOVA 2002, p. 172).

⁴⁵ In CP dialects the suffix *-dān* is presented in three forms: *-dān*, *-dun*, *-dūn* (GRJUNBERG 1963, p. 19). In some cases, one can see the use of two variants in the same word, e.g. Ar.-Dağ. *zindān* and *zindun* (SOLTANOV 2013, p. 158).

⁴⁶ This is typical not only for Caucasian Persian, but also for New Persian and many other Iranian languages.

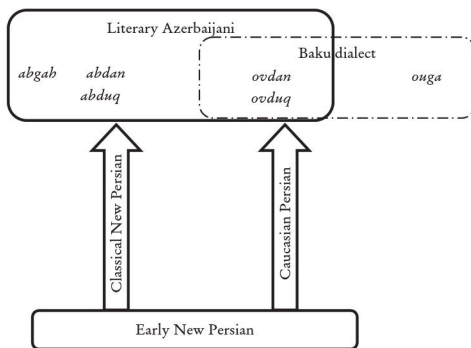


Figure 1: System of NP and CP borrowings in Azerbaijani

Abbreviations

Abš	Abšeron dialect (Caucasian Persian)	Kmz	Kumzārī
Arab	Arabic	Krng	Karīngānī
Arm	Armenian	Lah	Lahīj dialect (Caucasian Persian)
Ar.-Dağ	Arüsküş-Dağ quščī dialect (Caucasian Persian)	Lank	Lankorān subdialect (Turkic, Eastern group of Azerbaijani)
Az	Azerbaijani (official language of the Republic of Azerbaijan)	Mas	Masalī subdialect (Turkic, Eastern group of Azerbaijani)
Bak	Baku dialect (Turkic, Eastern group of Azerbaijani)	MP	Middle Persian
Bil	Bilasuvār subdialect (Turkic, Eastern group of Azerbaijani)	NP	New Persian
Bšk	Baškardī (Iranian)	NWI	Northwest Iranian
CP	Caucasian Persian	OIr	Old Iranian
Darb	Darband subdialect (Turkic, Northern group of Azerbaijani)	Ord	Ordubad dialect (Turkic, Southern group of Azerbaijani)
Ebr	Ebrāhīmābādī (Iranian)	Paz	Pazend
Ešt	Eštehārdī (Iranian)	Pth	Parthian
Glk	Gīlakī (Iranian)	Qaz	Qazax dialect (Turkic, Western group of Azerbaijani)
Hrzn	Harzan(dī) (Iranian)	Qub	Quba dialect (Caucasian Persian)
Kaz	Kazakh language (Turkic)		

Šak	Šakī dialect (Turkic, Northern group of Azerbaijani)	SWI Taĵ	Southwest Iranian Tāĵikī (Iranian)
Sal	Salyān subdialect (Turkic, Eastern group of Azerbaijani)	Tal Turk	Tālešī (Iranian) Turkish language (Turkic)
Šbr	Šabran dialect (Caucasian Persian)	Uzb Vfs	Uzbek language (Turkic) Vafsi (Iranian)
Sgz	Sagzābādī (Iranian)	Vltr	Velātruī (Iranian)
Šmk	Šamāḵa dialect of Caucasian Persian	Zaq	Zaqatala subdialect (Turkic, Western group of Azerbaijani)

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Mesopotamian Physiognomic Omens in India*

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Summary: In this paper we explore important evidence for connections between Mesopotamian and Indian physiognomy. The study examines a section of omens that predict a man's future based on the curling of the hairs of the head found both in Akkadian and Prakrit followed by Sanskrit texts.

This paper expands on my recently published study of Indian physiognomy by exploring the relationship between Mesopotamian and Indian omen texts that deal with the marks on the body of a human being, commonly called by its Greek-derived name, physiognomy.¹ After a brief resume of the points made in my previous study, I wish to focus on new sources of Mesopotamian physiognomic omens in Indian literature. In this way, evidence for the relationship between Indian and Mesopotamian physiognomy is increased.

Resume of previous study

In the 2016 study of Indian physiognomy, I made a preliminary comparison of the two traditions of physiognomy from Akkadian and from Sanskrit and some Prakrit texts. The results led to the following observations that point in the direction of a common source.²

1. Structure: There is agreement in the separation of genders, yielding sections devoted respectively to men and to women. The Indian sources make the further division into auspicious and inauspicious marks.
2. Methodology: There is no agreement. The Mesopotamian tradition enumerates the marks from the head to the feet, which also predominated

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¹ ZYSK 2016.

² A detailed examination of this material is found in my article on Indian and Mesopotamian physiognomy to appear in a collections of papers on *Physiognomy and Ekphrasis: The Mesopotamian Tradition and its Transformation in Graeco-Roman and Semitic Literatures*, edited by CALE JOHNSON and ALESSANDRO STAVRU and to be published by De Gruyter.

in Europe from late antiquity. In India, on the other hand, the preferred method of listing the marks was always from toe to head, which points to an indigenous development.

3. Syntax: The simple protasis-apodosis construction of the Akkadian omens undergoes a change when it is brought into Prakrit and Sanskrit. This point will be elaborated below.
4. Apodoses: There is some overlapping in terms of the major goals or outcomes of the omens, expressed in either auspicious or inauspicious terms. Both the Mesopotamian and the Indian omens aim at a man's future life in society and his longevity and at a woman's fertility and role as wife or companion. In the early Sanskrit versions, men and women came from the same social order of society, the warriors and nobility, and later involved priests and farmers; while the focus groups of the Akkadian predictions were men and women of the aristocracy.
5. Protases: The common protases included voice, gait or deportment, and appearance and size, which are listed among the basic marks in the Indian tradition. They also receive special attention in the Akkadian version. Skin blemishes are found in both systems of physiognomy, where some of the specialised terminology in the Akkadian text for the different types of flawed skin or blemishes could even look to an Indo-European origin.
6. Palmistry: The examination of the lines on different parts of the body finds the same division into male and female in both the Indian and Mesopotamian omens.

In these six general ways, one finds both similarities and differences between the Mesopotamian and Indian traditions of physiognomy. The first and parts of the fourth and fifth categories are unique only to these two systems, hinting at an early point of contact between them. The differences between them point to indigenous developments based on local customs, beliefs and practices. The category of syntax or omen formulation bears special attention, especially in the case of the distinctive set of protases that deal with the curling of the hairs of the head.

Curling of the hairs of the head

A distinctive set of textual sources has come to my attention, which provides a unique entry into possible connections between Mesopotamian omen literature and its transmission first into Prakrit, or vernacular languages, and then into Sanskrit in ancient India. The passages concern a protasis unique

to both traditions and the use of a right-left dichotomy. The closeness in their formulations is rare and, therefore, makes these omens especially good for comparison.

The Akkadian sources

Two Akkadian examples come from the Neo-Assyrian period (c. 900–600 BCE), when value and authority were given to the cuneiform scholarly culture of the time, which included the exorcist's lore (*āšipūtu*) in which is found the physiognomic *Alamdimmū* omen series, which in the catalogue of Esagil-kīn-apli from the 11th century BCE is mentioned together with the diagnostic-prognostic *Sakikkū* (*SA.GIG*) series; and both series are arranged by an anatomical orientation beginning with the head and ending with the toes.³ The name of the exorcist, along with his professional lore, was mentioned in texts to the end of cuneiform scholarly culture in the late second century Uruk.⁴

Our specific interest lies in the *Alamdimmū* series, where at the beginning there is a short section of omens dealing with the curling of the hairs of the head (*tī-rā-nu*). Two versions of this brief section occur in two exemplars, both of which take the form of manuscripts. The first comes from the famous library complex of Ashurbanipal, located in Nineveh and dating from middle of the seventh century BCE.⁵ The second comes Aššur, dating from the same time and recently studied by HEESSEL (2010). The first and second tablets of this manuscript contain what appears to be a version of the beginning of the *Alamdimmū* series that is slightly older than that from Nineveh.

The Indian sources

The Indian exemplars occur in two forms: Prakrit and Sanskrit, neither of which is attached to the traditional systems of knowledge or Śāstras, but are insertions into Jain literary compositions. The Prakrit version is part of the adventure story by Uddyotana, *Kuvalayamālā*, from eight century CE and the Sanskrit version is an allegory by Siddharṣi, *Upamitibhavaprapaṇcā kathā*, from 905 CE. Both texts were composed by Jain authors and derive

³ The most up-to-date study of the Exorcist Manual and related catalogues is FRAHM 2018. See also SCHMIDTCHEN 2018a and 2018b.

⁴ STEINERT (ed.) 2018; SCHMIDTCHEN 2018a, p. 145; GELLER 2018; HEESSEL 2010, p. 140; JEAN 2006, p. 62, and ROBSON 2011, p. 2.

⁵ Edited and translated by BÖCK 2000, pp. 72–73.

from western India. The Prakrit story, being the older of the two, provides the basis for episodes in the Sanskrit version.

The transmission from the vernacular language of Prakrit to Sanskrit exemplifies what I would like to call a reverse transmission in ancient India, where literature in common languages was translated into the literary language of Sanskrit, which in the case of Siddharṣi allowed basic doctrines of Jainism to be brought to a larger audience.⁶ Prakrit was the ordinary tongue of the kings and princes, while Sanskrit was the preferred idiom of scholars and priests. It is a further indication that Indian physiognomy was most probably originally transmitted in written Prakrit at the courts of kings and princes, from where it was taken and rendered into Sanskrit verse by the priests and scholars and stored in Brahmanic corpora of knowledge, first in Jyotiḥśāstra then in Sāmudrikaśāstra.⁷ It received its own Śāstra because of its important role as knowledge useful to priests in the course of their duties of arranging and carrying out marriages.

In the first instance, we shall look more closely at the actual texts passages in both the Akkadian and the Indian versions.

The Akkadian versions

There are two different Akkadian versions for the omens that deal with the curling of the hairs of the head. The first is in the form of two damaged cuneiform tablets, called A and C, i. e., K 227 and K 3804, that come originally from the libraries of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, and are now housed in London's British Museum.⁸ The second occurs on the second tablet, corresponding to tablets VAT 10493 + VAT 10543 from Aššur and now housed in Berlin's Staatliche Museen.⁹ An explanation on the first tablet is not entirely clear, but seems to indicate that the version or perhaps only its first tablet is an earlier version of the physiognomic *Alamdimmû* series. In this way, it suggests that the Aššur version is slightly older than the Nineveh tablets. This is also supported by the occurrence of a commentary found only on the tablets from Aššur. The second tablet, although fragmented, begins the short section on *tī-rā-nu*, or the curls of the hair of the head, belonging to the *Alamdimmû* series.

⁶ PETERSON, ed. 1899, preface, p. xix; and ZYSK, et al. 2017, pp. 156–163 on reverse transmission in early Jyotiḥśāstra literature.

⁷ ZYSK 2016.1, pp. 21–25; see also MANGLANI 2012, pp. 33–36.

⁸ Information on these two tablets can be found on the website of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI) at the University of California, Los Angeles, with corresponding numbers respectively, P 393799 and P 395241.

⁹ HEESEL 2010, especially pp. 141–142 and SCHMIDTCHEN 2018a and 2018b.

The Nineveh tablet

The relevant entries from Nineveh occur on tablet 2, lines 1–4:

1. If the curls (of the hair) on the head of a man turn to the right: his days will be short.
2. If the curls (of the hair) on the head of a man turn to the left: his days will be long.
3. If the curls (of the hair) on the head of a man are situated on the left side: ...
4. If the curls (of the hair) on the head of a man turn both right and left: his circumstances will be reduced.¹⁰

Although the remaining six omens (lines 5–10) are fragmented, some important information can be gleaned from them. Lines 5–8 have the same style of protasis: “If the curls (of the hair) on the head of a man;” except for line 8, which shifts to the back of the head; 9 has “If...on the right, that man will be poor;”¹¹ and 10 is very fragmented. It is clear that lines 1–10 use the same, standardised formulation to describe the effects of right and left turning curls on the right and left sides of the man’s head.

The Aššur tablet

The version from Aššur is considerably shorter, covering tablet 2 reverse col III, lines 8–23. Although much of the tablet is damaged, it reveals a standard formulation, but in a brief three omens. Here are the first four lines, translated by NILS HEESSEL:

8. Wenn die Haarwirbel auf dem Kopf eines Mannes nach rechts gedreht sind:
Seine Tage werden lang sein, er wird Kummer haben.
9. (Das ist) einer, dessen oberes rechtes Haar sehr dunkel ist.

¹⁰ *Alamdimmû* II, lines 1–4 (after Böck 2000, p. 72; translation of J. CALE JOHNSON in JOHNSON/STAVRU 2016, pp. 25–27):

A 1. DIŠ *ti-ra-nu ina* SAG.DU LÚ ZAG *sab-ru* U₄.MEŠ-š_u₂ LÚGUD.DA.MEŠ [x]

C 1. DIŠ *ti-ra-nu ina* SAG.DU LÚ Z[AG ...]

A 2. DIŠ GÜB *sab-ru* U₄.MEŠ-š_u₂ GÍD.DA.MEŠ [(x)]

C 2. DIŠ *ti-ra-nu ina* SAG.DU LÚ G[ÜB ...]

A 3. DIŠ *ina* GÜB ŠUB.MEŠ [...]

C 3. DIŠ *ti-ra-nu ina* SAG.DU LÚ i[na ...]

A 4. DIŠ ZAG u GÜB *sab-ru im-tu-ú* [GAR-nu-šú]

C 4. DIŠ *ti-ra-nu ina* SAG.DU LÚ Z[AG ...]

¹¹ *Alamdimmû* II, line 9:

A 5. DIŠ *he-pí* NA.BI [...]

C 9. DIŠ i[na ZA]G NA.BI ÚKU-i[n]

10. Wenn die Haarwirbel auf dem Kopf eines Mannes nach links gedreht sind: Seine Tage werden lang sein, es wird ihm gut gehen. (Das ist) einer, dessen oberes li[nkes] Haar [... ist].
11. Wenn die Haarwirbel auf dem Kopf eines Mannes nach rechts und links gedreht sind: Verluste stehen ihm bevor. (Das ist) einer, dessen ob[eres]].¹²

The Nineveh and Aššur versions

In relation to the Nineveh version, we notice that the Aššur version is shorter, contains commentarial explanations in order to clarify the meaning of the omen, and lacks, perhaps due to damage, the introductory omens about the image of a deity found in Nineveh's first tablet.¹³ These observations suggest that the Aššur and Nineveh tablets perhaps derived from different sources at different times. The commentary on the first omen in the Aššur version introduces another protasis, i. e., colour, which did not make it into the Nineveh version. The fragmentary nature of the commentary does not permit us to say more about it, but would suggest that it was an earlier version of the series.

The second omen is the same in both versions. Finally, the third omen corresponds to the fourth omen from Nineveh, which continues with omens wanting in the Aššur series. The Aššur version has instead omens dealing with other aspects of the hairs of the head, e. g. when they are stuck together and when they are matted. The two Mesopotamian versions indicate that different versions of the same series existed in the Neo-Assyrian period.

The Indian version shows remarkable similarity to the Mesopotamian series, especially in the formulation of the protases.

The Indian versions

The first Indian version occurs in the *Kuvalayamālā*, "Kuvalaya's necklace" written in Prakrit. It tells the story of the adventures and encounters of Kuvalayacandra, a prince from Vinītā (= Ayodhyā) in Madhyadeśa ("The Middle Country"). As an ideal prince, he spent many years being trained in the various arts and sources of knowledge (*kalā* and *vijñāna*) by a scribe

¹² HEESSEL 2010, pp. 147 and 150:

8. DIŠ ti-ra-nu ina SAG.DU NA 15 saḫ-ru U₄.MEŠ-šú GÍD.DA ina-ziq

9. šá e-le-nu SÍK 15-šú tur-ru-kát

10. DIŠ ti-ra-[n]u ina SAG.DU NA 150 saḫ-r[u] U₄.MEŠ-šú GÍD.DA ŠÁ.BI
'DÜG'.GA šá 'UGU'-nu SÍK 1[50-šú]

11. DIŠ ti-ra-nu ina SAG.DU NA 15 150 saḫ-'ru' im-ṭú-u GAR-šú šá U[GU-nu]

¹³ See Böck 2000, p. 71.

(*lekḥācārya*, “teacher of the lines”). His studies included, among others, physiognomy (*lakḥaṇa*, Skt *lakṣaṇa*, “the marks on the human body”).

His travels took him to a Jain hermitage (*āśrama*) across the Narmadā river in the modern Indian state of Madhya Pradesh. One day a couple claiming to be from the mountains (*śabara*) arrived at the hermitage. The prince, employing his knowledge of physiognomy, recognised the husband to be a great man, not someone from a wild mountain tribe. He used this occasion to give instruction on the human marks by reciting an omen series from toe-to-head (!), which included the curling of the hairs of the head:¹⁴

He, whose left-curling hair appears on the left side of the head, is devoid of family, wealth, and property.¹⁵

He, who has a left-curling hair on the right side, has a share in Lakṣmī (prosperity) in the form of wealth, property, and well-being.¹⁶

If there is a left-curling hair on the right side or a right-curling hair on the left side, without doubt, he later has a share in well-being.¹⁷

If there are two left-curling hairs, he becomes one who is devoted to the earth. A left-curling hair is auspicious; but on the left side, it is inauspicious.¹⁸

The second Indian version is in Sanskrit and occurs in the allegory by the Jain Siddharṣi, whose *Upamitibhavaḥprapañcā kathā* explains basic Jain doctrine in simple Sanskrit prose and verse, so those with some knowledge of Sanskrit could receive the teachings. The allegory tells the story of the soul (*jīva*), called Saṃsārijīva, “Jīva on its journey through the world of rebirths,” from its lowest state of rebirth to its emancipation.¹⁹ At the beginning of the

¹⁴ UPADHYE (ed.) 1959/1970, pp. 25, 42, 111–112. See also CHOJNACKI, trans. 2008. For information about this work and its relevant content, see ZYSK 2016.1, pp. 23–24.

¹⁵ vāma-disāe vāmā āvatto jassa mathae dittho/ kula-dhaṇa-dhaṇiyā-rahio himḍau vī-satthao bhikkham// 131.2. The last pāda is obscure. CHOJNACKI 2008.2, p. 391 translates: “qu’il erre avec confiance à la recherche d’une aumône!” Cf. the Sanskrit version below, which could be what is being expressed here.

¹⁶ dāhiṇa-disāe savvo āvatto hai kaha vi purisassa/ tassa dhaṇa-dhaṇa-sokkhā lacchīe bhāyaṇam hoi// 131.3.

¹⁷ vāmāvatto jai dāhiṇammi aha dāhiṇo vva vāmammi/ to hoi sokkha-bhāḡi pacchā puriso ṇa saṃdeho// 131.4.

¹⁸ jai hoṃti doṇṇi savvā āvattā to bhava puhai-bhattā/ savvāvatto suhao vāmo uṇa dūhavo hoi// 131.5. It is unclear what is meant by inauspiciousness of two left-curling hairs, since in pāda c, one left-curling hair on either side is auspicious.

¹⁹ The same Jain teaching of the soul’s journey is played out in the Jain version of the popular early modern Indian board game of *Jñān Caupar* or *Jñān Bājī*, the precursor of the European game of “Snakes and Ladders” (known as “Chutes and Ladders” in the USA). An excellent study of this game in India is being completed as a PhD thesis at the University of Copenhagen by JACOB SCHMIDT-MADSEN, under the title “The Game of Knowledge: Playing at Spiritual Liberation in 18th- and 19th-Century Western India”.

fifth chapter, Saṃsārijīva is reborn as a rich merchant's son, Vāmadeva, who befriended a prince named Vimala, "The pure one". Like Kuvalayacandra in the *Kuvalayamālā*, Vimala encounters a couple with what he noticed to be auspicious signs. This also was the occasion for the teaching of the princely lore of the physiognomic omens, which he enumerated from toe-to-head for both men and women. Among the series are found the omens pertaining to the curls of the hair on the head of a man.²⁰

He, whose left-curling hair should be on the left side of the head, being devoid of auspicious marks, emaciated by hunger, will eat morsels of coarse alms food.²¹

But, to him, whose right-curling hair is on the right side of the head, would always have prosperity that rests in his hands (i.e., by his own hands?).²²

If there should be a left-curling hair on the right side and a right-curling hair on the left side, then, without doubt, eventually he has pleasures.²³

Like the version from Aššur, the Sanskrit formulation consists of three omens. Moreover, the last Sanskrit omen, corresponding to the third omen in Prakrit, combines the right and left, like one of the omens from Aššur. One cannot help but ask at this point, if the Prakrit and Sanskrit formulation might not have been derived ultimately from a form of the Aššur version.

Similarity in structure

The first thing to notice is the similarity in the overall structural formulation, especially the protases, of the two sets of omens. The apodoses show variation in the two Akkadian versions and between the Akkadian and Indic transmissions. The central issue is a consistent understanding of a sinister-dexter dichotomy, where the former is inauspicious and the latter auspicious. The topic has already been addressed by ANN GUINAN (1996), who found similar contradictions in the standard sinister-dexter paradigm in other types of Mesopotamian omen literature. The same kind of illogic occurs in the Indian examples, which at times also seem to be contradictory. Having examined the formulations in the series from Mesopotamia and India, I can only guess that some of the difficulty may have to do with perspective, where meaning is rendered by understanding the omen from either the

²⁰ PETERSON (ed.) 1899, preface and summary pp. 32–33 (lxviii–lxix).

²¹ vāmavarto bhaved yasya vāmāyām diśi mastake/ nirlakṣaṇaḥ kṣudhākṣāmo bhikṣām adyāt sa rūkṣikām// 739.10–11

²² dakṣiṇo dakṣiṇe bhāge yasyāvartas tu mastake/ tasya nityaṃ prajāyate kamalā karavartinī// 739.12–13

²³ yadi syād dakṣiṇe vāmo dakṣiṇo vāmaprāśvake/ paścātkāle tatas tasya bhogā nāsty atra saṃśayaḥ// 739.14–15

point of view of the diviner facing his client or from the client's perspective, both of which at times appear to occur in the same series. The coincidence that two identical protasis-formulations for the very same mark (curls of hairs on a man's head) occurs in both Akkadian and Prakrit/Sanskrit is, however, too obvious to ignore.

If we look more closely only at the protases of each set, we can perhaps get an idea of how the Indians could have assimilated an original Akkadian set of omens into Prakrit and then into Sanskrit.

Akkadian

Both Akkadian versions are nearly identical:

DIŠ *ti-ra-nu ina* SAG.DU LÚ ZAG *saḥ-ru*;²⁴

"If the curls (of the hair) on the head of a man turn to the right...."

Indian

The Indian versions are identical in both Prakrit and Sanskrit, but involve two types of formulation.

The first formulation:

Kuvalayamālā 131.4a:
vāmāvatto jai dābīnammi...

"If there is a left-curling hair on the right side,..."

Upamitibhavaprapaṇcā kathā 739.14:
yadi syād dakṣiṇe vāmo ...

"If there should be a left-curling hair on the right side,..."

The second formulation:

Kuvalayamālā 131.2ab:
vāma-disāe vāmā āvatto jassa mathae dittho/

"on whose head is seen a left-curling hair on the left side, he..."

Upamitibhavaprapaṇcākathā 739.10:
vāmāvarto bhaved yasya vāmāyāṃ diśi mastake/

"He, whose left-curling hair should be on the left side of the head,..."

Since the language of the two versions is different, a detailed analysis of the individual words is beyond the scope of this paper. However, at least one word could point to a process of translation. This short section bears

²⁴ Nineveh 2.1. Aššur 8 has: DIŠ *ti-ra-nu ina* SAG.DU NA 15 *saḥ-ru*.

the same name in each of the versions. In Akkadian it is *tī-rā-nu*, which is expressed as *āvatta* in Prakrit and *āvarta* in Sanskrit, meaning a “turning” or a “twisting”, which in this context refers to “the curls” of the hairs on the head. In the Sanskrit transmissions of the physiognomy, beginning with the *Gārgīyajyotiṣa*, the section of omens dealing with “twists” applies to other parts of the body, including the navel in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*.²⁵ In this instance, it would seem reasonable to assume that the Prakrit and Indian words convey accurately the meaning of the Akkadian word.

Focusing on the syntax and ignoring for the time being the content, we can see clearly how the Akkadian original could have been transmitted into Prakrit and then into Sanskrit. Both versions contain examples of a conditional construction (“if ... then”: **bold** in the examples above). It is the only syntactical structure found in the Akkadian omen literature; and in this example, it is expressed in the protasis as “DIŠ (or *šumma*) ...”. The Prakrit and Sanskrit versions also use a conditional construction, expressed by *jai* (Prakrit) and *yadi* (Sanskrit), built on the relative stems *ja* and *ya* and meaning “if”, as the Akkadian *šumma*. However, they have also introduced another relative-correlative construction, as an alternative to the conditional sentence. It is expressed by the relative pronouns *jassa* (Prakrit) and *yasya* (Sanskrit), “whose”, followed by the correlative “he” in the apodosis. This relative-correlative construction is common in most of the Sanskrit physiognomic omens I have examined, where the conditional clauses are rendered into relative and correlative clauses. It was, therefore, one of the grammatical constructions that eventually replaced the simpler conditional formulation of the Akkadian texts. It is significant in this case that the Prakrit and Sanskrit versions preserve the structure of the original but also introduce a new relative-correlative construction that is more appropriate for the metrical versions from India. They may well represent an early transmission of the Akkadian first made into Prakrit, then into Sanskrit.

As the next step, we should like to know the historical context for the occurrence of what seems likely to be a transmission of knowledge from Mesopotamia to Indian, i.e., for the translation of Semitic Akkadian into Indo-European Prakrit and Sanskrit. The evidence is still very sketchy, but I propose to provide possible scenarios that could be explored in future studies.

²⁵ ZYSK 2016.1, p. 32 n. 103–104, and *passim*.

Historical discussion

So far in our investigation the data tell us the following information:

1. In Mesopotamia, diagnostics [*sakikkû* (SA.GIG)] and physiognomics (*alamdimmû*) were related systems of knowledge in the discipline of the exorcist (*āšipūtu*) from at least the Neo-Assyrian (c. 900–600 BCE) to Parthian (227 BCE–224 CE) period. The anatomical principle of organisation was from head-to-toe for both series of omens.
2. The exorcist's physiognomic educational and professional literature included the *Alamdimmû* omen series, which
 - a. according to the both the Nineveh and Aššur versions begins with the short section on the curls of the hairs of the head (*tī-rā-nu*); and
 - b. according to the Exorcist's Handbook (KAR 44.6) and Esagil-kīn-apli's catalogue, it is the first physiognomic series after *Sakikkû*.
3. Another version of the curling of the hairs (Prakrit *āvatta*/Sanskrit *āvarta*) on the head of men comes from India. It occurs first in the Prakrit and then in Sanskrit language of western Indian and forms part of an eighth century CE adventure story of a prince and a tenth century Jain allegory that teaches the doctrine of the soul's journey in this world.

The question to be approached in this discussion is how and when was an Akkadian version of a physiognomic omen series transmitted into an Indian vernacular language. At this point in our investigation, we lack a clear "paper-trail" stretching over nearly a millennium, so that we can but begin to assemble the pieces of information and posit possible scenarios. The work is still very early, so that any conclusions must remain tentative.

The first possible scenario could involve the transmission of Mesopotamian physiognomic omens along with traders to the ancient culture of the Indus Valley in western Indian, since the Mesopotamian records indicate that both land and sea trade existed between the two lands. Archaeological evidence reveals that settlements in Harappa along the Ravi River in present-day Pakistan began around 3300 BCE. During the early Indus or early Harappan period (3200–2600 BCE), there was trade with Mesopotamia via the Iranian plateau by means of the old Khorasan Road and Baluchistan. It ceased for a period during which sea trade predominated with southern Mesopotamia and the Gulf region, but resumed after 1700 BCE in the late Harappan period, when the power base in Mesopotamia shifted from Susa in the south to Akkad up river. Active sea trade with the Persian Gulf and southern Mesopotamia developed during the mature Harappan period (2600–1900/1800 BCE). Even though the trade with Gujarat in southern India continued into the Late Harappan Period (19/1800–1300 BCE), by 1000 BCE

sea trade between India and Mesopotamia had all but dried up.²⁶ No decipherable written records of any kind exist from the period of trade between Mesopotamian and the Indus Valley, making it impossible to pin point any written transmission of physiognomic omens via the early trading contacts between the two cultures.

Another intriguing possibility is by means of the Indo-European speaking Hittites. The literary evidence shows that Babylonian omens and oracles reached the Hittite libraries in the capital Ḫattuša (modern Boghazköy) in ancient Anatolia during the Middle Kingdom (c. 1500–c. 1300 BCE) and Empire Period (c. 1380–c. 1191 BCE). Among the Babylonian texts from the Middle Kingdom were omens with Middle Hittite translations, one series consisted of the *tī-rā-nu* oracles (CTH 551).²⁷ The occurrence of Babylonian omen literature in the libraries of the Indo-European speaking Hittites indicates that such knowledge was not confined to Mesopotamia; but, in fact, it travelled out to other cultures and peoples from an early period. The Hittites may well have made some of the first translations into an Indo-European language of *tī-rā-nu*, which here appears to be omens pertaining to the “twisting” or “coils” of the colon, rather than the “curling” of the hairs of the head. The physiognomic literature from other Sanskrit sources reveals the Sanskrit (*āvarta*) applied mainly to the hairs but also to other parts of the body.²⁸ It is, therefore, the Hittite version that represents the first step in the transmission of Akkadian omens into Indo-European languages, of which Prakrit and Sanskrit form a part. A closer look at the Hittite material could reveal perhaps a starting point for the transmission process.

A third possible scenario suggests a much later transmission by way of the Parthians. ELEANOR ROBSON, points out that the profession of exorcist (*āšipu* or *mašmaššu*) occurred throughout the history of cuneiform documents as late as second century Uruk. She goes on to explain that at the time the title of *āšipu/mašmaššu* applied to him who was proficient in the astrological *Enūma Anu Enlil* omen series. Moreover, *āšipu*’s houses from late Achaemenid and Early Seleucid Uruk reveal that tablets included, among others, the terrestrial and astrological series (*Šumma ālu*, and *Enūma Anu Enlil*), and the diagnostic-prognostic series (*Sakikkū*).²⁹ In this way, we might well presume that the content of the exorcist’s professional base of knowledge (*āšipūtu*) was already rather extensive in the Neo-Assyrian period and

²⁶ MCINTOSH 2008, pp. 65–97. See also MAEKAWA/MORI 2011, pp. 249–78, and WRIGHT 2010, p. 222.

²⁷ BECKMAN 1983, pp. 101, 102; see also FINCKE 2003/2004, p. 137 and STEINERT 2018, p. 162.

²⁸ ZYSK, 2016.1, pp. 32, 165, 199–200, 249, 253, 257, and 269; 2, pp. 477, 620, 783, 819, and 826.

²⁹ ROBSON 2011, p. 16. Cf. also SCHWEMER 2011.

increased over time. Versions of these, including the physiognomic and diagnostic-prognostic omens and other omen series, might well have survived through the Achaemenid Empire (538–331 BCE) and Parthian Empire (150 BCE–270 CE), both of which reached as far east as the Indus river and other parts of western India including Taxila in the Northwest. This historical scenario was originally proposed by DAVID PINGREE.³⁰

Even though HARRY FALK has shown PINGREE's claim of India's indebtedness to Mesopotamian science concerning the water clock and gnomon to be untenable,³¹ PINGREE has pointed to other similarities between Mesopotamian and Indian science. He has indicated that among the "forbidden" arts mentioned in the Prakrit Pāli text of the Buddhist's *Brahmajāla Sutta* from perhaps the fifth century BCE, there were practices build upon omen series resembling those occurring in *Šumma ālu* and the *Enūma Anu Enlil*. He also noticed resemblances between the Mesopotamian omens and the omens to Venus in the *Gārgīyajyotiṣa*, an early treatise on Astral Science (Jyotiḥśāstra), which probably reached its completed compilation in western India around the first century BCE.³² Despite FALK's reservations concerning the water clock and gnomon, the facts indicate that the two omen texts mentioned by PINGREE occur in catalogues and libraries alongside the exorcist's lore (*āśipūtu*). Although the lack of specific documentation of such intellectual exchange prevents us from being more specific about the when and the how of the transmission, PINGREE's instincts about the connection between Mesopotamian and Indian systems of omens, however, appear to be on the right track. Since PINGREE's references are brief and rather general, a more detailed and deeper study of his preliminary findings is a desideratum.

We might be able to bring the two versions of omens a little closer together by considering their occurrence in two types of compilations of knowledge, one from Mesopotamia and the other from India. The compilation in the form of catalogues of cuneiform tablets seems to suggest versions of the exorcist's lore (*āśipūtu*) in Mesopotamia evolved over time to include more and more series of omens, until it incorporated nearly all of the prognostic arts. In all cases, the exorcist's lore was restricted to the royal palace and in later times also to the temples.

In India, compilations of princely knowledge took the form of lists of the arts (*kalā*) or sources of knowledge (*vijñāna* or *vidyā*). These lists in both Prakrit from about the third century BCE and Sanskrit from the first century BCE vary in number from forty-seven to eighty-seven, with the most common number being sixty-four, mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* (1.3.16). The

³⁰ PINGREE 1992, pp. 374, 376.

³¹ FALK 2000, pp.107–32

³² PINGREE 1992; see also PINGREE 1998.

catalogues of the arts varied slightly in different sources; but in all cases they included a wide range of knowledge forms beginning with writing and computation, and embraced physiognomy, dream interpretation, medicine, house-building, and in one case the knowledge of good and bad omens.³³ No list is a direct match to the catalogues of the exorcist's lore, but a more detailed examination of the two types of catalogues might provide some additional information pointing to commonalities.

As in Mesopotamia, the catalogues or lists in India were attached to the royal palace, where, from the story of the *Kuvalayamālā*, princes learned the arts from a teacher of the lines or the scribe (*lekḥācārya*). It was, therefore, through the written medium rather than orally among the priests (Brahmans) that these forms of knowledge were originally transmitted in ancient India. Both in Mesopotamia and in India, these arts were written down, and their common environment was the royal palace. Although we do not yet possess direct translations from the cuneiform tablets to birch-bark or palm-leaf manuscripts, the evidence seems to be pointing to a physical transfer of information at some point probably in the early centuries BCE. Moreover, if such documents were to have existed, they might long ago have perished in the monsoon climate of western India.

The similarities between the Prakrit/Sanskrit and Akkadian versions of the omens pertaining to the curling of the hairs of the head suggest a process of literary transmission between the two cultures in antiquity. Since the precise time and means by which this transfer of information was accomplished remain unknown, we must content ourselves with the fact that Mesopotamian omens reached India and were transmitted in literature composed by Jain scholars in central and western India. This is but a point of departure in a discussion of intellectual exchanges between Mesopotamia and India in antiquity. We can hope that further research will confirm or deny my proposed scenarios, or lead to new ones, and begin to paint a more complete picture of ancient Indian intellectual history.

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³³ VENKATASUBBIAH 1911.

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The Evolution of a Species-Specific Term: Old Indic *Krauñcaḥ* (*Grus grus*)

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Summary: The emergence in a language of a species-specific term is determined by the morphology and ethology of the species. In Old Indic the onomatopoeitic term *krauñcaḥ* originally designated the Eurasian Crane (*Grus grus*) like the term *kraneeche* did in Middle German, *garan* in Welsh and *trani* in Old Norse, whereas PIE **ger-* and its derivatives in Baltic and Russian designated the Demoiselle Crane. When the Indo-Aryan speaking tribes entered the Pañjāb area they used the familiar term *krauñcaḥ* as a reference to denominate new comparable species; but the IA-speaking tribes' knowledge of the ethology of Eurasian Cranes is not easily discernible in Old Indic; however, assuming a common PIE background five different traits can be seen in early Greek sources, and these traits reappeared later in the well-known veneration for Sārus Cranes (*Grus antigone*) in India. The term *krauñcaḥ* was in Old Indic connected with the sound of the call and not with any other trait so it came naturally also to designate the Sārus Crane, whose call closely resembles that of the Eurasian Crane; but familiarity with the morphological and ethological differences between them caused *krauñcaḥ* to revert to its original meaning, the Eurasian Crane and the indigenous Sārus Crane to be called *sārasaḥ*. The term *krauñcaḥ* thus displays a development from monosemy to polysemy and then back to monosemy, determined by the knowledge the IA-speaking tribes gradually gathered about the morphology and ethology of Eurasian Cranes and related or comparable species in Pañjāb area.

The emergence of species-specificity

The sophistication of a culture can often be gauged by the precision with which it distinguishes plant and animal species and by the criteria of categorisation into which the species are ordered. Though such an ordering is an artificial concept it has the pragmatic advantage of facilitating understanding of evolutionary patterns and relationships between species. However, prior to such a bird's eye view of nature there is a long and tentative approach to differentiate one species from another; and such a process is illustrated by the shifting meanings of the term *krauñcaḥ* (Eurasian Crane) in old Indic from about 1500 BC to about 200 AD. The eventual designation of a signifier to a species depends on its behaviour, form, colour, calls and positive or

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negative impact on human imagination and on human prospects of survival, so in order to appreciate the impact of such features a brief description of the Eurasian Crane becomes necessary.

The Eurasian Crane, *Grus grus*.¹ The height of the Eurasian Crane is about 110–120 cm, and the wingspan 220–245 cm. The sexes are alike, but the male is slightly larger than the female. The Eurasian Crane is an imposing bird with long neck, long legs and long pointed bill.² The colour of the plumage is pale bluish grey and a cloak of loose grey or blackish feathers sweeps out over the tail. The chin, the throat and the neck are black. A broad white stripe curves down on the neck from beneath the eyes to fuse on the back; and just above and behind the eyes on the nape there is a naked patch of skin with a dull red colour. The flight pattern is slow with regular and powerful wing-beats.³

Cranes form monogamous and usually life-long pair-bonds, but while their reproductive life span may vary from thirty to sixty years⁴ they often raise no more than one chick annually. The renowned dance, which is most conspicuous in spring, expresses excitement and consists of various more or less ritualized movements in the form of parade-march postures, circlings, straight lines or zigzag patterns with lifted wings, but it also includes various kinds of bows, pirouettes, high leaps up into the air, jabs with the bill and kicks with the legs.⁵

Throughout the year a pair may give unison-calls as they stand a meter or so apart with the heads bent back and the bills in a vertical position, with wing-plumes erect and ruffled breast feathers; this seems, like the dance, to strengthen pair-bonding. The actual courtship procedures are each year in spring repeated daily for several hours over a period of weeks. Males and females can be distinguished auditorily. The vocal repertoire of Eurasian Cranes is complex and this is further complicated by the inability of the human ear to register the full pattern of pitch, intonation and timbre. A pair of Cranes can thus identify each other by the voice as well as a large number of conspecifics. The clarion-call, which is a loud clear but non-guttural bugling expresses excitement; it consists of a flute-like double hooting and is used throughout the year, especially as a greeting and on migration. In spring the male attracts the female by uttering this call repeatedly. It is also uttered in duet (unison-call). Recordings of a pair's antiphonal dawn duet indicate that the sounds consist of musical calls and steady tones with individual

¹ CRAMP 1980, II, pp. 618–626; ALI/RIPLEY 1983, II, pp. 136–138.

² Cf. 'The crane, the geant with his trompes soun'; The Parliament of Fowls, line 344.

³ CRAMP 1980, II, p. 618.

⁴ GEE/RUSSMAN 1996, p. 124.

⁵ CRAMP 1980, II, p. 622; ELLIS 1998, pp. 128–130.

variations. The leading bird's note is a minor third ('kee') higher than that of the answering bird ('coo').⁶

The behavioural conduct or sociogram of Eurasian Cranes also includes vocalizations such as nesting-call, contact-call, pre-flight-call, flight-call, alarm-call, guard-call, unison-call, location-call, stress-call, distress-call, moan, pre-copulatory and copulatory call. Agonistic displays include ruffle-bow and ventral-preen; and pair related behaviour consists of at least fifteen different traits. This expressive diversity, which encompasses more than sixty social traits (ethons), places Eurasian Cranes at the apex of social complexity amongst animals⁷ even though an upper limit of fifty different displays has been proposed for non-human animals.⁸

But the two most characteristic ethons are the clarion call⁹ and the monogamous pair-bonding. The clarion call, which may vary from 88 to 104 decibels,¹⁰ is audible over a distance of two to three kilometres.¹¹ The conjugal fidelity, however, is characteristic of all species of cranes, but also of several Anseriformes, such as the Brahminy Duck, *cakravākaḥ*, which was celebrated in Sanskrit literature for the trait of monogamy, but in cranes this trait is more pronounced than in any other group of species; however, ethological characteristics are only vaguely discernible in early Indic literature and the term *krauñcaḥ* is primarily found in non-literary sources. It is first with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and especially in *kāvya* that such observations become apparent. Though the early sources in Old Indic fail to reflect the ethology of Eurasian Cranes apart from emphasising the clarion calls, early Greek sources indicate at least five different traits or ethons, and assuming that they represent common Indo-European (IE) notions, it becomes possible to see why gruiform empathy and monogamy later became so important in the classical literature.

The notions of Eurasian cranes in Greek literature and folklore

Cranes figure prominently in mythology and folklore in many parts of the world. There are paintings of cranes in Egyptian tombs, and crane dances were performed in China 500 BC where cranes, as in Japan, symbolise marital

⁶ CRAMP 1980, II, pp. 624–625; ELLIS 1998, pp. 132–134.

⁷ ELLIS 1998.

⁸ HAILMAN 1977, pp. 33–34, 262–264.

⁹ In *Cranes of the World* PAUL JOHNSGARD states (1983, p. 25) that the calls of a flock of cranes are among the most captivating of all avian vocalizations.

¹⁰ CRAMP 1980, II, p. 635.

¹¹ WALKINSHAW 1973, p. 37.

fidelity and long life. Hopi and Zuñi Indians had Crane Clans, and in Australia the Brolga (*Grus rubicundus*) was a totem bird;¹² and HYGINUS¹³ says in the *Fabulae* (CCLXXXVII) that Hermēs invented the Greek letters Α Β Η Τ Ι Υ after watching skeins of Eurasian Cranes. ARISTOTELĒS¹⁴ wrote in *The History of Animals* VIII.X that Eurasian Cranes display intelligence on account of the way they migrate and adjust their behaviour to the prevailing weather conditions as well as because of their ability to keep sentinels; and AILIANOS¹⁵ stated in *On the Characteristics of Animals* (III.13) that Cranes which had experience of migration led the way¹⁶ and that they flew in skeins to lessen air resistance. These observations indicate fortitude and sagacity (Α).

The farmer was advised by HĒSIODOS¹⁷ in *Works and Days* (448–451) to begin ploughing when the Cranes flew south in the last half of October:

Φράζεσθαι δ' εὐτ' ἂν γεράνου φωνὴν ἐπακούσεις
 ὑψόθεν ἐκ νεφέων ἐνιαύσια κεκληγυῖης,
 ἥ τ' ἀρότοιό τε σῆμα φέροι καὶ χεῖματος ὥρην
 δεικνύει ὁμβρηροῦ· κραδίην δ' ἔδακ' ἀνδρὸς ἀβούτεω·

‘When you hear the Crane calls of clamour from the clouds on high each year – take heed – for she gives the signal for ploughing and points to the season of winter rain, albeit she stabs at the heart of the man lacking oxen.’

This shows that Eurasian Cranes were birds of augury (Β); and that they were a significant part of the order (or *rtam*) of nature with which the farmer should stay attuned throughout the year.

In the *Iliad*¹⁸ III:2–5 Eurasian Cranes acquire a martial aspect fused with a notion of sadness and irretrievable loss.

Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν, ὄρνιθες ὥς,
 ἢ τε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό,
 αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,
 κλαγγῇ ται γέ πέτονται ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων,

‘The Troians approached with clamour and war-cries like birds – like the clamour of Cranes spreading out across the Sky when they flee from winter and ineffable rain, and distinctly with clamouring fly away over the Ocean streams.’

¹² JOHNSGARD 1983.

¹³ HYGINUS 1960, p. 178.

¹⁴ ARISTOTLE 1991, p. 266.

¹⁵ AELIAN 1971, pp. 168–171.

¹⁶ AILIANOS knew that the migration was an acquired experience that had to be transmitted from generation to generation (cf. MUELLER 2013).

¹⁷ HESIOD 2006, p. 122.

¹⁸ HOMER 1999, p. 128.

It was the destiny of Eurasian Cranes to vanish over the sea towards the unknown just as it was the destiny of the Troians to lose the war, i.e. a shared fate, empathy (C).¹⁹

PLOUTARKHOS²⁰ writes in *Thēseus* XXI:

Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ἀποπλέων εἰς Δῆλον κατέσχε· καὶ τῷ θεῷ θύσας καὶ ἀναθείς τὸ ἀφροδίσιον ὁ παρὰ τῆς Ἀριάδνης ἔλαβεν, ἐχόρευσε μετὰ τῶν ἡθίων χορείαν ἣν ἐτι νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν Δηλίουσι λέγουσι, μίμημα τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων, ἐν τινι ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι γιγνομένην. καλεῖται δὲ τὸ γένος τοῦτο τῆς χορείας ὑπὸ Δηλίων γέρανος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαρχος.

‘Sailing back from Krētē he [Thēseus] stopped at Dēlos, and having sacrificed to the God and dedicated the statue of Aphroditē he had received from Ariadnē, he danced, accompanied by the unmarried youths, a dance, which – consisting of certain rhythmic evolutions and alternating movements – in imitation of the round-goings and the passing-throughs of the labyrinth – still is said to be performed by the Dēlians. This kind of dance is, as Dikaiarkhos relates, called ‘The Crane’ by the Dēlians.’

On migration Eurasian Cranes pass Crete on their way between North Russia/Scandinavia and Ethiopia/Sudan.²¹ The movements of the dance appear to indicate fertility rites (D), especially since they dance after the dedication of the statue of Aphroditē; but as the dance is associated with the labyrinth there is possibly also an aspect connected with death and/or initiation.

PORPHYRIOS (1979) writes in *de Abstinētia* III.5.5:

Ἀλλ’ οἱ θεοὶ σιγῶντες μηνύουσι, καὶ συνιάσιν αὐτῶν ὀρνίθες θάττον ἢ ἀνθρώποι καὶ συνέντες ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ὥς δύνανται καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰσι κήρυκες ἄλλοι ἄλλων θεῶν. Διὸς μὲν ἄετός, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἰέραξ καὶ κόραξ, Ἡρας δὲ πελαργός, Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ αὐ κρέξ τε καὶ γλαυξ, καὶ Δήμητρος γέρανος ὡς ἄλλων ἄλλοι.

‘Though keeping silent, the Gods reveal intentions, and the birds²² become aware of them quicker than Humans, and – understanding – bring tidings about what they mean, and become, for Humans, the heralds of the various Gods; the Golden Eagle of Zeus, the falcon and the Raven of Apollōn, the White Stork of Hērā, the Water Rail/Corncrake (?) and the Little Owl of Athēna, and the Eurasian Crane of Dēmētēr – but other birds of other Gods.’

¹⁹ The repetition of *κλαγγή* makes it clear that it is the call that is impressive as a war cry; likewise the farmer should heed the the calls as omens and warnings.

²⁰ PLUTARCH 1982, p. 44.

²¹ CRAMP 1980, II, p. 620. A Minoan seal on the cover of ROBERT GRAVES’ *The White Goddess* depicts three female figures who, standing beneath a skin of three flying Eurasian Cranes, are handing an object in the form of a large eye, to a male figure in front of them – in a gesture that presumably suggests the transference of the faculty of self-insight and/or wisdom.

²² In the *Hymn to Dēmētēr*, line 46, birds are described as messengers of truth.

Eurasian cranes and *utsābah*, *śokah*, *ratih*, *vismayah* and *snebah*

As Goddess of green growth (Χλόη) and of the Eleusian mysteries Dēmētēr²³ was associated with fertility, nurturance, initiation and procreation; but Dēmētēr also represented the laws of nature (*rtam*) as well as empathy, compassion (C), awe and wonder (E). So the associations connected with Eurasian Cranes in Greece regarding fortitude and sagacity (A), prognostication (B), sadness, shared destiny, grief and empathy (C), fertility rites, procreation (D), and awe (E) seem to reflect common Indo-European notions which the IA speaking groups shared, and which later were revealed in the empathy Vālmīki felt when responding to the grief of the female Sārasa Crane as her mate was killed by the hunter; for the empathy the female Crane felt was transmitted to VĀLMĪKI so that it inspired him to write the *Rāmāyaṇa*.²⁴ Thus Cranes can be seen to illustrate *utsābah* (A), *śokah* and *snebah* (C), *ratih* (D) and *vismayah* (E), four of the eight, nine or ten *sthāyibhāvas*, affective states, which form the basis of Indian aesthetics; but the notion of prognostication or arcane knowledge (B) appears also in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the fate of the pair of Sārus Cranes foretells the fate of Sītā and Rāma.²⁵

Krauñcaḥ as a reference term

The IA speaking tribes who came into India from the Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex (BMAC) around 1900–1500²⁶ through the Khyber or the Bolan Pass were thoroughly familiar with Eurasian Cranes²⁷ either using the term *krauñcaḥ* or an etymon of it as Old Indic *krauñcaḥ* has the same onomatopoeitic similarity to the clarion call as the various other Indo-European designations for Eurasian Cranes, apart from Baltic and Slavic, which reflect the original PIE term **ger-* as a designation for the Demoiselle Crane (*Anthropoides virgo*).²⁸ As the term *krauñcaḥ* was used in several

²³ Dēmētēr's connection with Crete is strengthened by line 123–124 γύν αὐτε Κρήτηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης ἤλυθον 'Just now I have come over the broad back of the sea from Crete,' (*Homeric Hymns*), as well as by associations of Linear B *E-re-u-ti-ja* and *a-mi-ni-so* with Ἐλευθία and the epithet Ἀμνιάς.

²⁴ HAMMER 2009.

²⁵ In the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is the male *krauñcaḥ*/Sārus Crane who is killed, but the roles are reversed with Sītā and Rāma, for Sītā is swallowed up by the Earth and Rāma is left to grieve.

²⁶ PARPOLA 1994, pp. 25, 148–152; KUZ'MINA 2007, pp. 318–326.

²⁷ HAMMER 2015.

²⁸ DAVE (1985, p. 312) points out that the Demoiselle Crane came to be denominated *kurarāḥ*, and ALI/RIPLEY (1983, II, p. 146) have in Hindi *karkarā*. Both terms are more onomatopoeitically appropriate than *kūmj* 'Demoiselle Crane' (MCGREGOR 1993), or

designations, such as in *nīlakrauñcaḥ* ‘Purple Heron’²⁹, *darvikrauñcaḥ* ‘Spoonbill’³⁰ and *naktakrauñcaḥ* ‘Night Heron’³¹ it shows that *krauñcaḥ* was such a well-integrated and familiar term that it served as a basic reference when new species had to be denominated. All three species are indigenous to India and appear in the Indus Valley and further eastwards.³² This substantiates that the IA speaking tribes brought the term *krauñcaḥ* with them when they came down from the mountains and entered the Pañjāb area, the fauna of which was markedly different from that of Afghānistān, Margiana, Eastern Irān and the Kara-Kumy plains.

Krauñcaḥ: evolution and associations

The early textual evidence in Old Indic shows that it primarily was the call of the Eurasian Cranes that continued to capture the imagination, and the general approach has been to connect the term *krauñcaḥ* with standard onomatopoeitic roots or with roots signifying different postures. *Krauñcaḥ* seems first to be attested in the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* (1870) 11.10.18 and 19 around 1000–800 BC,³³ and in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (1998:196) 2.22.1 around 600 BC;³⁴ but the cognates *kruñ* and *kruñcaḥ* are attested earlier in the *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā* (1972) 19.73, 24.22 and 25.6, probably sometime before 1000 BC.³⁵ The voiceless dorso-velar stop /k/ appears to have been present as far back as it is possible to trace it, though there has been several attempts to connect *krauñcaḥ* with various apparently associable roots. TURNER³⁶ sees a possibility of connecting *krauñcaḥ* with the ‘crooked’ flight of a Snipe, *√kruñc*, i.e. ‘curve, make crooked’; and DAVE³⁷ assumes that *√kuc kocati* ‘calls/curves’ and *√kruś krośati* ‘shrieks/sings’ both influenced *√kruñc/-ati* ‘curves/shrinks’, however, MAYRHOFER now³⁸ assumes a purely onomatopoeitic origin of *kruñc*. SÁLIM ALI and DILLON RIPLEY³⁹

Lahndā *kūjā* (f.) ‘Demoiselle Crane’ (TURNER 1966, pp. 186–187); however, the onomatopoeitic precision is present in Persian *qarqara* (THIEME 1975, p. 10) as well as in Russian *красавка*.

²⁹ DAVE 1985, p. 402, quoting the *Kalpadrūkośa*.

³⁰ DAVE 1985, p. 380 quoting the *Vaijayantikośa*.

³¹ DAVE 1985, p. 405, quoting the *Hastyāyurveda* 2.20.

³² CRAMP 1977, I, pp. 314, 352, 263.

³³ GHATAGE 1976, p. LXXIII.

³⁴ GHATAGE 1976, p. LXXIII.

³⁵ GHATAGE 1976, p. LXXIII.

³⁶ TURNER 1966, pp. 186–187.

³⁷ DAVE 1985, p. 312.

³⁸ MAYRHOFER 1992, p. 413.

³⁹ ALI/RIPLEY 1983, II, p. 136.s

have Hindī *kūrūnch*, *kūrch*, which are possible cognates of *krauñcaḥ*, for the Eurasian Crane. *Kruñ*⁴⁰ or *krauñcaḥ* are obviously onomatopoeitic forms, and the most conspicuous characteristic of the Eurasian Crane is definitely the sonorous and repeated trumpeting calls which often are heard before the birds become visible over the horizon. The importance of the sound of the call is evident in the associations it evokes.

The *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (1998, p. 196) 2.22.1 has: *krauñcam bṛhaspateḥ* [singing] ‘the *krauñcaḥ* [chant] of Bṛhaspatiḥ.’ The vocal gist is enhanced by Bṛhaspatiḥ’s association with spells, prayers and invocations as his epithet *Giriśaḥ* also suggests.

This aspect is repeated in the *Hiranyakeśīśrautasūtra* (1929, p. 702) 21.44:

uccaiḥ krauñcam iva vaṣaṭ kuryāt svargakāmasya

‘With yearning for heaven he should make a *vaṣaṭ* [cry] like the crane from on high.’

The cry of *vaṣaṭ* indicates the emphasis on the tonal quality; and this is also the case in the *Āpastambaḥ Yajñaparibhāṣāsūtram* XI (1892, p. 319) where the *sāmidhenī* hymns, which are sung while kindling the sacrificial fire, according to the commentary, are supposed to be recited between a ‘soft’ *upāmsu-*, and a ‘high,’ *krushta-*, tone, i. e. a tone which also is defined as *tāra-* ‘loud/

⁴⁰ However, *kruñ* may designate both the Greater and the Lesser Flamingo (DAVE 1985, pp. 408–421); and it could be argued that this might have been influenced by associations to *kruñc/-ati* ‘curves,’ for the way flamingoes keep their necks when resting in the form of an ‘S’ would be diagnostic. The *Vājasaneyisambhitā* (1972) 19.73 has: *adbhyāḥ kṣīrām vy āpibat krūññ āṅgirasō dhiyā* // ‘By wisdom/disposition the *Āṅgirasah*-flamingo did drink milk apart from water.’ Here *kruñ* is either the Greater or the Lesser Flamingo as flamingoes suck in water with the tongue and then push it out through the lamellae at the edges of the bill which retain the minute Chironomus larvae, crustaceans, annelids, protozoa and molluscs on which they feed (ALI/RIPLEY 1983, I, pp. 118–122; CRAMP 1977, I, p. 362). This observation could be one of the sources of the *kṣīranīram* legend that the *hamsaḥ* (swan rather than geese as the bills of swans, a little like flamingoes,’ are better adapted to aquatic feeding than the bills of geese [CRAMP 1977, I, pp. 358, 370, 375]) could separate milk from water. Though Greater and Lesser Flamingoes occur along the Indus and the Ganges they mainly affect coastal areas and the term *kruñ* would probably have been more or less restricted to the dialects of the tribes who lived in some propinquity to the sea. As the term *kruñ* had an onomatopoeitic origin it did not last as a designation for flamingoes whose calls can be rendered as “*ka-ha/a-ha*” somewhat resembling the honking of Grey-Lag Geese (CRAMP 1977, I, p. 364) so they became known in Hindī as *Rāj Hans* (*Phoenicopterus roseus*), i. e. ‘King Goose’ and as *Choṭā Rājans* (*Phoenicopterus minor*), i. e. ‘Small King Goose’ (ALI/RIPLEY 1983, I, pp. 118, 121). The reason the term *kruñ* came to be applied to flamingoes in the first place was that the silhouette of cranes and flamingoes are comparable (apart from the bill) as they fly, in large flocks, with neck and legs stretched out (ARCHIBALD/MEINE 1996, p. 63) whereas storks are solitary and silent. Herons are likewise silent and solitary, and they fly with necks bent like an ‘S’.

shrill/clear/(starry)’ or as *krauñca-*. Likewise in the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* (1870) 11.10.19 it is the tonal quality that is significant:

vāg vai krauñcam vāg dvādaśāho vācy eva tad vācā stuvate yajñasya prabhūtyai //

‘Truly the voice [sings] the crane [*sāma*] – the twelve-day [rite] voice – so then they chant with the voice in the [crane’s] voice to the implementation of the sacrifice.’⁴¹

The *sāma* is thus associated with the trumpeting of Eurasian Cranes; and likewise in the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* 2.5.11.1:

asmínn evā loké prāti tiṣṭhati yāt krauñcām anvābhāsuraṁ tát /

‘Verily in this world he stands firm – uttering the divine-tuned *krauñcaḥ* (note),’

The emphasis is distinctly placed on the call of the Eurasian Crane and not on associations with ‘curves’ or ‘bends,’ *kuñc/kuc-ati*;⁴² or with an onomatopoeitic resemblance to **kruc* or **kroc*,⁴³ so only an onomatopoeitic origin in the common Indo-European etymon that resulted in, e.g. Middle German *kraneche* and Armenian *krunk* would make sense. Thus the terms *krūñcaḥ* and *krauñcaḥ* were not coined in the Pañjāb on the basis of an already existing onomatopoeitic root as it has been assumed,⁴⁴ but came already fully fledged into India with the IA speaking tribes.

Krauñcaḥ: the change from polysemy to monosemy

K.N. DAVE⁴⁵ translates *krauñcaḥ* with “Common Crane” (i.e. *Grus grus*), and concludes by remarking that the resident Indian Sārus Crane also seems to have been included in the term *krauñcaḥ*; likewise LESLIE (1998) comes to the conclusion that the *krauñcaḥ* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* must be a Sārus Crane, *Grus antigone*.⁴⁶ The morphological and ethological characteristics common to these two species of cranes necessitates such a conclusion;⁴⁷ especially as

⁴¹ Cf. CALAND 1931, p. 268.

⁴² DAVE 1985, p. 312.

⁴³ MAYRHOFER 1992, p. 413.

⁴⁴ THIEME 1975, pp. 3–36.

⁴⁵ DAVE 1985, pp. 309–324.

⁴⁶ ARCHIBALD/MEINE 1996, p. 87; ALI/RIPLEY 1983, II, pp. 141–143. The Eurasian Crane and the Demoiselle Crane are both winter visitors to India, and the Black-necked Crane (*Grus nigricollis*) (ALI/RIPLEY 1983, II, p. 139; ARCHIBALD/MEINE 1996, p. 89) occurs only in Ladakh and Arūṇācal Pradeś, and would thus have been beyond the horizon of the Pañjāb and Gaṅgā-Yamunā doāb. The only crane that breeds in India is the Sārus Crane.

⁴⁷ ELLIS 1998.

their unison calls are comparable (WALKINSHAW 1973, p. 37), but also as the description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* states that the male was shot while the pair was copulating; and this rules out the Eurasian Crane which does not breed in India. And since the Sārus Crane is the crane that is venerated *par excellence* the term *krauñcaḥ* must – especially in view of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the veneration which the species still enjoys in rural areas – have designated the Sārus Crane during a considerable period after the IA dialects had spread in the Pañjāb and the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doāb, *i. e.* before the more specific term *sārasaḥ* (which could mean ‘the Marshy (Crane)’;⁴⁸ but which probably is a Sankritisation of a Drāviḍian or a Munda etymon⁴⁹ became current. But at least from around 200 BC to AD 100 there was (occasional) distinction between them. *Mahābhārata* (1942) *Āraṇyakaparvan* 3.39.17b–18:

nadīs ca bahulāvartā nīlavaiḍūryasaṃnibhāḥ //
haṃsakāraṇḍavadogītāḥ sārasābhirutās tathā //
pumṣkokilarutās caiva krauñcabarhiṇānāditāḥ //

‘[He saw] streams abounding in whirlpools like blue cat’s eyes, full of cacklings of geese and Mallards, trumpeting of Sārus Cranes, songs of male Koels and calls of Eurasian Cranes and Peacocks.’

In 3.179.10 the notion of the Eurasian Crane as a winter visitor is apparent:

krauñcahaṃsaganākīrṇā śarat praṇihitābhavat //

‘Autumn appeared teeming with flocks of Eurasian Cranes and geese.’

Besides being subjected to the usual phonetic changes onomatopoeitic terms are also dependent on attempts to maintain an echoing verisimilitude, for a close relationship with an ever present objective reference frame (and a correlative) has to be preserved. Instead of displaying a purely derivative relationship *kruñcaḥ* and *krauñcaḥ* might have been generic terms in different IA and/or Vedic dialects,⁵⁰ whereas *kruñ* presumably might have been a cognate used to designate the flamingoes in the Rann of Kutch until it became evident that the term did not fit the bird.

⁴⁸ Cf. TURNER 1966, p. 771.

⁴⁹ MAYRHOFFER (2001, p. 510) derives *sārasaḥ* from *sāras*, but to call a bird ‘the Watery/Marshy one’ is about as useful for a hunter-gatherer community as to call it ‘the flying one’ as a vast number of avian species live in wet-lands and lakes. It would hardly have made sense to the autochthonous people who depended on an intimate knowledge of nature for their sustenance.

⁵⁰ Cf. DESHPANDE 1979, pp. 239–246.

Conclusion

Originally PIE **ger-* and its derivatives in Baltic and Slavic, *gerwe* (Old Prussian) and *žeravli* (Russian) designated the Demoiselle Crane (*Anthropoides virgo*) which was numerous on the Pontic Caspian Steppe, but absent from North, West and South Europe. However, Old Indic *krauñcaḥ*, like Greek γέρανος, Welsh *garan*, Old High German *chranuh* or *granich*, Middle English *craunes*, and Old Norse *trani* all only designated the Eurasian Crane as the terms onomatopoeitically reflect the clarion call. Encountering a new avifauna in the Pañjāb the IA speaking tribes used the term *krauñcaḥ* as reference for various other species, thus illustrating a development from monosemy to polysemy, while *krūñ*, a cognate of *krauñcaḥ*, came to denominate the two species of flamingoes. So the term *krauñcaḥ* also came to denominate the indigenous species of crane in India, the Sārus Crane, at the time of the composition of the beginning of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁵¹ but as the morphological and ethological difference between these two species of cranes became evident, the term *krauñcaḥ* reverted to its original meaning, the Eurasian Crane, thus illustrating a development from polysemy to monosemy, while the term *sārasaḥ* became specific for the Sārus Crane. The early PIE speaking tribes were familiar with Eurasian Cranes and the IA speaking tribes with both Eurasian and Sārus Cranes; and this ability of recognizing emotion in other species was a presupposition for a proper appreciation of the grief (*śokaḥ*) Vālmīki felt, for, as ĀNANDAVARDHANA insisted, “The *rasaḥ* of *karuṇaḥ* is carried all through the *Rāmāyaṇa* by the arch-poet himself as he says ‘The grief became verse.’”⁵²

So at the times of the IA migrations and at the compositions of the epics the hunter-gatherer and/or pastoral tribes or communities had an intimate and detailed knowledge, acquired inevitably from day to day, of the species of their habitats, whereas we, to gain a somewhat comparable knowledge must be prepared to make great efforts and have inexhaustible patience.

⁵¹ This fits the old Indian hypothesis that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed at an earlier date than the *Mahābhārata*; and it would be reasonable to assume that the beginning of the epic, the initiating episode, belonged to the earliest part.

⁵² *Rāmāyaṇe hi karuṇo rasaḥ svayam ādikavīnā sūtritaḥ ‘śokaḥ ślokatvam āgataḥ’ ity evaṃ vādinā* (ĀNANDAVARDHANA/ĀBHINAVAGUPTA 1940, p. 529, 4.5, line 8–9).

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Śrīvijaya, Java, and the Sunda Strait During the Fifth to Tenth Centuries

By STEPHEN G. HAW, Tarragona

Summary: It is generally assumed that the Strait of Melaka has been the principal route between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea throughout at least the past two millennia. This assumption is questioned here. It is shown that there is little to no evidence of the use of the Strait of Melaka during the fifth to tenth centuries. The importance of Java during much of this period suggests that the normal route was through the Sunda Strait. There is also archaeological evidence, including inscriptions and shipwrecks, which tends to support this conclusion. In the light of this reinterpretation, the locations of a number of toponyms in Southeast Asia are re-evaluated, including *Luoyue*, *Geluo*, Kalāh, and *Geguluo*. It is suggested that the Chinese *Shilifoshi* and *Sanfoqi* are not transcriptions of (Sanskrit) Śrīvijaya, but most likely derive from colloquial versions of the original name.

1 Śrīvijaya, *Heling*, and the Sunda Strait¹

A serious misconception has been perpetuated by almost all scholars who have devoted attention to the question of early navigation in Southeast Asia. This is the false assumption that, from an early date, the Strait of Melaka was always the principal waterway linking the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea (the Nanhai 南海). This has led scholars to seek to locate toponyms on the Peninsula, although, in reality, it was of very little importance in early trade networks in the Nanhai region. It is mentioned in Chinese sources mainly because it formed a barrier to seaborne communication.² It had little to offer in the way of export items,³ and therefore did not have sufficient wealth to pay for imports. It is not accidental that the three most important polities of the Nanhai region at an early period were (1) *Funan* 扶南, approximately situated in modern Cambodia, and probably extending eastwards into what is now southern Vietnam and westwards into Thailand; (2) *Heling* 訶陵 in Java; and (3) Śrīvijaya (*Shilifoshi* 室利佛逝, 尸利佛誓, and other variants) in southern Sumatra. No polity of comparable importance was located on the Peninsula until a time long after that considered

¹ N. B.: throughout this article the Thai-Malay Peninsula is referred to as "the Peninsula".

² HAW 2017, pp. 56, 58.

³ WHEATLEY 1961, p. xxxiii.

here, which will not extend beyond the end of the Five Dynasties period (mid-tenth century). It must be constantly borne in mind that reasoning about where toponyms should be located has often been more or less circular. Starting from the false assumption that the Strait of Melaka was always the principal route used by ships sailing between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, toponyms have been located on or near the Strait, or on the Peninsula on possible routes to and from the Strait. Subsequently, it has been argued that because a route described in some source or other includes some of these places, the route must have passed through the Strait of Melaka. The fallacy is obvious. In fact, the idea that the Sunda Strait was not used in early times apparently derives from an undoubtedly false belief that it only came into existence as recently as 416 CE. This belief was based on “an important statement of the *Pristaka Raja*, i.e. the ‘Book of Kings’ of the Javanese, which work containing the chronicles of the island, and kept secret during centuries in the Royal Archives, was only recently made public”. It describes a great eruption (of Krakatau) which caused “the separation of Sumatra and Java”.⁴ However, the work in question, correctly the *Pustaka Raja*, is not ancient, but was composed during the nineteenth century, and is more a literary work than a chronicle.⁵

It has already been suggested that the itinerary from south China to the Indian Ocean recorded by JIA DAN 賈耽 in about 800 CE is most satisfactorily interpreted as passing through the Sunda Strait.⁶ This has usually been rejected, with JIA DAN’s inclusion of *Heling* considered to be a digression from his main itinerary. There is no evidence at all that this is so. Indeed, when JIA DAN does make a digression from the main itinerary, mentioning *Geluo* 箇羅 and *Geguluo* 哥谷羅,⁷ he makes clear that he is going back and continuing his route from the island of *Gegesengzhi* 葛葛僧祇 by saying: “Again travelling for four or five days from *Gegesengzhi*, one reaches *Shengdeng* 勝鄧 Island”.⁸ Moreover, there is further evidence which supports the likelihood of the passage of this route through the Sunda Strait. Firstly, there are several inscriptions bearing oaths of loyalty to the ruler of Śrīvijaya, all dating from the 680s and found in southern Sumatra: it is worth noting that no similar inscribed stones have been found in northern Sumatra, Java or the Peninsula. These inscriptions originate from the vicinity of the

⁴ TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE 1894, p. 113.

⁵ DREWES 1974, pp. 205–206. On a similar allegation, that an eruption of Krakatau opened the Sunda Strait in 535, see HAW 2017, p. 70.

⁶ HAW 2017, pp. 70–73.

⁷ See below for more discussion of these places.

⁸ OUYANG XIU / SONG QI 1975, vol. 4, *juan* 43 *xia*, p. 1153. For a translation of more of this itinerary, see HAW 2017, pp. 70–71.



Map of Sumatra and adjacent regions showing locations of inscriptions and shipwrecks and probable locations of historical toponyms.

Śrīvijayan oath inscriptions: 1 Sabokingking, 2 Karang Brahi, 3 Kota Kapur, 4 Desa Jabung, 5 Palas Pasemah

Shipwrecks: A Intan wreck, B Belitunt wreck

JIA DAN's itinerary as marked is approximate only: note that it would have gone to a port somewhere in Java, but exactly where is unclear.

Batang Hari, from the Palembang area, from Bangka Island, and from the far south of Sumatra close to the Sunda Strait (see Map).⁹ The inscription from Kota Kapur on the west coast of Bangka Island, near the shore of the Bangka Strait, mentions an expedition by the army of Śrīvijaya against Java, which had not yet submitted.¹⁰ The Palas Pasemah inscription was discovered close to the Way Pisang, a river which “rises on the eastern slopes of Gunung Rajabasa, a peak which commands the Selat Sunda” (that is, the Sunda Strait).¹¹ Another inscription was found at nearby Desa Jabung (Bungkuk), also close to the shore of the Sunda Strait.¹² Clearly, the ruler of Śrīvijaya had a strong interest in controlling Bangka Island and the Bangka Strait, as well as the extreme south of Sumatra bordering the Sunda Strait. It seems that he was also prepared to mount a military expedition against Java. There is no evidence that Śrīvijaya ever exercised power in any part of Java, but perhaps this expedition aimed to thwart a Javanese attempt to establish control over the western side of the Sunda Strait (or even to drive an established Javanese presence out of southern Sumatra). Certainly control of the Sunda Strait might have been a possible cause of contention between Śrīvijaya and a Javanese polity. There is no evidence for any such Śrīvijayan interest at this date in the area close to the Strait of Melaka.

The evidence of early shipwrecks is very limited and cannot be taken to be of any great significance. Nonetheless, such evidence as there is fits very well with the thesis that it was the Sunda Strait which was the main route from the South China Sea to the Indian Ocean during the period under review. No early wrecks have so far been found anywhere in or near the Strait of Melaka, but two significant wrecks have been discovered between Palembang and the Sunda Strait. The earlier is the famous and controversial Belitung shipwreck, dating from the early 800s, which was located close to Belitung Island.¹³ The other, most likely dating from about the middle of the tenth century, is the Intan wreck, which was located immediately to the northeast of the Sunda Strait.¹⁴ Both these ships might have been on their way from Palembang to somewhere in Java, but it is at least as likely that they were sailing towards the Sunda Strait to make the passage to the Indian Ocean.¹⁵ Indeed, the cargo carried by the Intan wreck included bronze

⁹ MIKSIĆ/GOH 2017, pp. 291–295; KULKE 1993, pp. 160–164; MCKINNON 1985, pp. 1–10.

¹⁰ COEDÈS 1930, p. 49; GRIFFITHS 2013, pp. 60–61.

¹¹ MCKINNON 1985, p. 6.

¹² For more on these two inscriptions, and the archaeology of the surrounding areas, see SAPTONO 2013, pp. 128–136.

¹³ FLECKER 2001, p. 336, Fig. 1.

¹⁴ TWITCHETT/STARGARDT 2002, p. 26, Maps 1 and 2.

¹⁵ It should be noted, however, that the claim that the Belitung ship was Arabian and was on its way back across the Indian Ocean to the Middle East is almost certainly

artefacts which may have come from Java.¹⁶ If so, then the ship had probably already visited a Javanese port and was most probably on its way into the Sunda Strait when it foundered.

There is a limited amount of textual evidence which suggests that the Sunda Strait was in frequent use during the second half of the seventh century. The Chinese Buddhist monk YIJING, who himself travelled to India to visit Buddhist sacred sites, collect sacred texts and learn about the practices of the religion in its homeland, wrote a short text recording the activities of other Buddhists who travelled between China and India (or who attempted to do so). In all, he recorded the journeys of 60 monks. Of these, about a third travelled by land across Central Asia or via Tibet and Nepal to reach South Asia. In a few cases, there is no indication of whether they travelled by land or by sea. Some 37 voyaged by sea.¹⁷ In the case of six of these, no details of the route are given. Several never reached South Asia, but stopped short somewhere in Southeast Asia (one is reported to have travelled only as far as Guangzhou, where he fell ill and was forced to abandon his journey).¹⁸ Five died somewhere along their route. Eight travelled only as far as Śrīvijaya (*Shilifoshi* 室利佛逝).¹⁹ Of the remaining 17, no less than 11 travelled via *Heling* in Java²⁰ (one went only as far as *Heling*),²¹ and another was apparently on his way to *Heling* but died before arriving there.²² This clearly suggests that *Heling* was on the normal maritime route from China to South Asia. There is therefore no justification for regarding JIA DAN's inclusion of *Heling* in his itinerary as a digression from the main route.²³ This is strong evidence that the interpretation of JIA DAN's itinerary as passing through the Sunda Strait is correct.

erroneous. See HAW forthcoming. Nonetheless, the likelihood that it was heading for the Sunda Strait is high and has already been noted: HSIEH 2010, p. 143.

¹⁶ TWITCHETT/STARGARDT 2002, p. 26, Map 2; 28, 30.

¹⁷ JACQ-HERGOUALC'H 2002, p. 53, agrees with this number.

¹⁸ YIJING 1988, *juan* 2, p. 145; YIJING 1894, p. 111.

¹⁹ On this toponym, of which there are several variants, see below.

²⁰ On *Heling* and its location in Java, see DAMAIS 1964, pp. 94–126; WOLTERS 1967, pp. 214–218; MIKSIC 2007, pp. 141–142; JORDAAN/COLLESS 2009: pp. 258–259.

²¹ This was Falang 法郎, one of the four monks who accompanied YIJING on his second voyage to Śrīvijaya; YIJING 1988, *juan* 2, pp. 242–244; YIJING 1894, pp. 188–190.

²² YIJING 1988, *juan* 1, p. 97; YIJING 1894, pp. 77–78.

²³ For further discussion of this question, see HAW 2017, pp. 53–56, 70–73. JIA DAN's itinerary is included in the *New History of the Tang dynasty*; OUYANG XIU/SONG QI 1975, vol. 4, *juan* 43 *xia*, p. 1153.

2 Yijing on Barus and Kedah

It should also be noted that YIJING reports that two of the monks who set out to travel by sea from China to India sailed via Barus²⁴ (*Polushi* 婆魯師, Middle Chinese *bwā-luo-ši*),²⁵ where they died of illness.²⁶ Since archaeology has now confirmed that Barus was probably at or very near its present location from an early period (at least since the middle of the ninth century, not very long after JIA DAN's time),²⁷ it is reasonable to conclude that Barus was also reached by passage through the Sunda Strait and was situated on the west coast of Sumatra, as it is today. WOLTERS' entirely speculative relocation of Barus to somewhere on the north coast of Sumatra (a relocation forced by the false assumption that JIA DAN's itinerary passed through the Strait of Melaka)²⁸ must certainly be rejected. In fact, although the evidence in favour of the use of the Sunda Strait is by no means conclusive, it is far stronger than the evidence for the use of the Strait of Melaka. As far as I am aware, there is absolutely no evidence, either historical or archaeological, which suggests that the Strait of Melaka was in regular use much before about 1100. The evidence for this adduced by JACQ-HERGOUALC'H is tenuous at best, and is all open to alternative explanations. He is able to cite only the voyage of Faxian and a couple of voyages described by YIJING.²⁹ However, there is no evidence at all that Faxian passed through the Strait of Melaka: indeed, his account of the voyage clearly suggests that he did not.³⁰ JACQ-HERGOUALC'H apparently believed that Faxian's *Yepoti* 耶婆提 was somewhere in Borneo,³¹ but this is highly unlikely. He took this identification from WHEATLEY,³² who in turn followed the opinion of SIR ROLAND BRADDELL. However, BRADDELL's arguments for the location of *Yepoti* in Borneo are a masterpiece of distorted logic. He accepts Ptolemy's data relating to Southeast Asia as reliable and accurate, while criticising Chinese sources: "One must, of course, not take the Chinese notices as completely accurate accounts or as written

²⁴ On Barus in Chinese records, see PTAK 1998, pp. 120–126.

²⁵ SCHUESSLER 2009, pp. 57, 217, 283.

²⁶ YIJING 1988, *juan* 1, p. 45; YIJING 1894, pp. 36–37.

²⁷ GUILLOT et al. 2003, p. 31.

²⁸ WOLTERS 1967, pp. 187–194. WOLTERS' reasoning here is tortuous and certainly distorts the true meaning of the sources he cites.

²⁹ JACQ-HERGOUALC'H 2002, pp. 50–54.

³⁰ For a detailed discussion of Faxian's route, with a translation of his account, see HAW 2017, pp. 63–67.

³¹ JACQ-HERGOUALC'H 2002, p. 51. PELLIOU, whose lengthy discussion of *Yepoti* is still worth reading, considered that it was certainly Java; PELLIOU 1904, pp. 265–271. For more discussion of this issue, see HAW 2017, pp. 63 n. 73, 65–66.

³² WHEATLEY 1961, p. 39.

by persons with first-hand knowledge.”³³ Since BRADDELL apparently had no knowledge of Chinese language and was clearly familiar with Chinese sources only through translations, he was scarcely in a position to make such a judgment. It seems to me to be reasonable to assume that the Chinese, who were comparatively close to Southeast Asia and had quite frequent contacts with Southeast Asians, were in a much better position to know about the region than Ptolemy, whose knowledge came from a great distance and can rarely have been better than third-hand.³⁴

Nor is there any detailed information in YIJING’s accounts of his travels about his route from Kedah to Śrīvijaya.³⁵ It could have passed through the Sunda Strait. The antiquity of Kedah does not offer much support to those who espouse the Strait of Melaka theory, for Kedah is not actually inside the Strait. Indeed, according to YIJING, the voyage of the monk Fazhen 法振 took him via the seas north of *Heling* and then past various islands to Kedah (*Jiecha* 羯茶 or *Jietu* 羯荼).³⁶ Thus, it would seem that even Kedah may have been reached via Java and the Sunda Strait. In fact, YIJING mentions Kedah as a point on the route of only himself, Wuxing, and three other monks:³⁷ it appears in his accounts far less frequently than *Heling* in Java. One route to Kedah may have been via an overland crossing of the Peninsula. It is likely that Kedah lay at the western end of a transpeninsular route to Langkasuka on the east coast (near modern Pattani).³⁸ Again, YIJING records that several monks travelled to Langkasuka on their way to South Asia. However, at least one of these then went on to *Heling*, implying no use of any overland crossing. Another, one of a group of three, got no further, dying at Langkasuka. The two survivors travelled onward to Sri Lanka (*Shizi zhou*

³³ BRADDELL 1941, p. 46.

³⁴ For more discussion of Ptolemy on Southeast Asia, see HAW 2017, pp. 60–62.

³⁵ Again, JACQ-HERGOUALC’H follows WHEATLEY in assuming that YIJING’s *Moluoyu* 末羅瑜 was Jambi, but this is little better than pure speculation; JACQ-HERGOUALC’H 2002, p. 54; WHEATLEY 1961, p. 43. See also HAW 2017, pp. 74–75.

³⁶ YIJING 1988, *juan* 2, p. 206; YIJING 1894, p. 158.

³⁷ YIJING 1988, *juan* 2, pp. 134, 152, 154, 182, 206; YIJING 1894, pp. 105, 119, 125, 144, 158.

³⁸ On this route, see JACQ-HERGOUALC’H 2002, pp. 47–48 (though JACQ-HERGOUALC’H is sceptical whether routes across the Peninsula were much used; p. 50. He may well be right for the period in question here, as there is no clear indication that any of the monks of YIJING’s account crossed the Peninsula overland). WHEATLEY reports that Malay literature places Langkasuka on the *west* coast of the Peninsula; WHEATLEY 1961, pp. 260–262. Perhaps this is a reflection of an overland link between Langkasuka and Kedah. That such a route existed at a later time is shown by the flight of the king of Kedah “overland to Patani” in 1547; WINSTEDT 1935, p. 78. The location near modern Pattani and the probable overland route are supported by MIKSIC/GOH 2017, p. 184. LINEHAN 1948 (“Langkasuka, the island of Asoka”) is a fine example of the kind of entirely baseless speculation that has so frequently beset studies of the history of Southeast Asian history.

師子洲),³⁹ but there is no mention of any point on the way, so it is not clear whether their route was entirely by sea or partly overland.⁴⁰

Langkasuka appears in Chinese records, under several variant transcriptions of its name, over a period of several hundred years.⁴¹ An important point which has not been sufficiently stressed is that it, or rather mountains in its vicinity (and quite possibly within its borders), was a very significant landmark on the maritime route from southern China towards Sumatra and Java. There is little dispute about its location, which was very probably at Yarang, east of Pattani.⁴² It is noted in Chinese sources that ships sailing from further north passed within sight of its mountains.⁴³ In fact, ships running before the northeast monsoon across the Gulf of Thailand from the vicinity of the Mekong Delta or the Côn Đảo archipelago (Poulo Condore) would have made landfall on the east coast of the Peninsula somewhere not very far from modern Pattani. This probably explains why Langkasuka maintained at least some degree of importance for so long: after crossing the Gulf, ships could have put in to Langkasuka to take on fresh water or other supplies, to make any necessary repairs, or, at times, to offload their cargoes for transportation across the Peninsula to Kedah.

Again, despite what JACQ-HERGOUALC'H assumed,⁴⁴ the journey of Wu-xing 無行 is also not evidence of use of the Strait of Melaka, for it is by no means certain that *Moluoyu* was located at or near Jambi at this date. It may in fact have been on the west coast of Sumatra.⁴⁵ It must be emphasized that there is no archaeological evidence that any significant port existed anywhere within the Strait of Melaka much before about 1100: the remains at Kota Cina are probably the earliest.⁴⁶ Melaka itself is not known to have existed until well after the period under consideration here. Much the same is true of Singapore and of Johor. Indeed, what is now the Malaysian portion of the Peninsula, apart from the Kedah region, is virtually a desert as far as

³⁹ *Shizi*, "lion", is now usually written 獅子, but the use of 師子 is common during the Tang period. *Shizi zhou* is the "Lion Island", that is, Simhala, Sri Lanka.

⁴⁰ YIJING 1988, *juan* 1, pp. 72–73; YIJING 1894, pp. 57–59.

⁴¹ WHEATLEY 1961, pp. 252–258. However, WHEATLEY's claim that the name of Langkasuka "runs threadlike through the pages of Malayan history from the second to the early sixteenth century" must be treated with caution as far as the second century is concerned, for this date depends entirely on a tradition recorded in the *Liang shu* 梁書 that "the inhabitants of the country say that their state was founded more than four hundred years ago"; WHEATLEY 1961, p. 254; YAO SILIAN 1973, vol. 3, *juan* 54, p. 795.

⁴² WHEATLEY 1961, pp. 35, 265; WOLTERS 1967, p. 163; JORDAAN/COLLESS 2009, pp. 228–229; JACQ-HERGOUALC'H 2002, p. 161; MIKSIC/GOH 2017, pp. 285–286.

⁴³ WEI ZHENG, vol. 6, *juan* 82, p. 1834; WHEATLEY 1961, p. 254.

⁴⁴ JACQ-HERGOUALC'H 2002, p. 54.

⁴⁵ HAW 2017, pp. 74–75.

⁴⁶ MCKINNON 1977, pp. 23–24; MIKSIC/GOH 2017, p. 357;

major archaeological sites of the period between about 400 and 1100 is concerned. WHEATLEY's guess that the country referred to by the Chinese as *Chitu* 赤土 was possibly located somewhere along the Kelantan River⁴⁷ has still not been confirmed by archaeology, nor has any site anywhere else on the Peninsula suggested itself as a candidate for *Chitu*.⁴⁸ The impression is that the southern Peninsula was essentially of little to no importance until comparatively late, certainly until after 1100.⁴⁹ ANDAYA has estimated that: "Sailing the eight hundred kilometers through the Straits of Melaka took about a month, and fickle wind conditions often caused delays". He also considers that the dangers of piratical attacks were a greater deterrent than the length of time needed for the passage.⁵⁰ It would almost certainly have been safer, and quite possibly quicker, to sail through the Sunda Strait.

3 *Luoyue* and Bangka Island

Apart from the still unlocated *Chitu*, which in reality may have been on Sumatra,⁵¹ the place called *Luoyue* 羅越 in Chinese records has been claimed to have been situated somewhere in the southern part of the Peninsula, usually near its southern tip.⁵² The evidence for this is slight, however. It depends principally on the identification of a strait mentioned in JIA DAN's itinerary.⁵³ The first point which must be made is that the assumption that this strait *must* be the Strait of Melaka is entirely unsupported by sound evidence. It must also be pointed out that the suggestion that the Chinese transcription of the foreign (that is, non-Chinese) word for the strait, *zhi* 質, might be derived from Malay *selat* is very much less than convincing.⁵⁴ The Middle Chinese pronunciation of *zhi* was *tšjet* or *tši*.⁵⁵ The phonetic resemblance is

⁴⁷ WHEATLEY 1961, pp. 36, 291.

⁴⁸ JACQ-HERGOUALC'H 2002, pp. 115, 230–231.

⁴⁹ WHEATLEY says of the period 800–1300: "Southwards of this point the Peninsula was still the home of the aborigine", "this point" being the Kinta valley (where there is no evidence of any major settlement); WHEATLEY 1961, p. 296. On archaeology in Singapore, see MIKSIC 2013, pp. 217–263. It appears that there are no very significant remains from Singapore dating from much earlier than 1300.

⁵⁰ ANDAYA 2008, p. 32. However, he does not indicate clearly how he arrived at this estimate.

⁵¹ JACQ-HERGOUALC'H 2002, p. 239, says that: "no archaeological discoveries have emerged" to confirm the location of *Chitu*.

⁵² WHEATLEY 1961, p. 58; JORDAAN/COLLESS 2009, pp. 184, 223.

⁵³ For a discussion of this, see HAW 2017, pp. 70–72.

⁵⁴ PELLIOT 1904, pp. 231–232, n. 4.

⁵⁵ SCHUESSLER 2009, p. 307.

not close. As for *Luoyue*, the Middle Chinese pronunciation was *lâ-jwət*.⁵⁶ It has been suggested that *Luoyue* might have been on Bangka Island, the strait then being the Bangka Strait.⁵⁷ In the north of Bangka Island there is today a town called Sungai Liat. The first part of the name of course simply means “river”. The resemblance between Liat and *lâ-jwət* is sufficiently close to suggest that *Luoyue* can be identified with this toponym, so that it was indeed situated on Bangka Island. This also fits well with JIA DAN’s statement that travelling south by land across *Zhenla* 真臘 (Cambodia), one reached a small sea, to the south of which was *Luoyue*. Then again travelling south, one came to a large sea.⁵⁸ This would scarcely be correct if *Luoyue* had been somewhere near modern Singapore or Johor, for passage to the Indian Ocean (the “large sea”) through the Strait of Melaka would have involved travelling northwestwards, whereas if *Luoyue* was on Bangka Island then the Sunda Strait and the Indian Ocean were almost directly south. The *Song shi* records that there were fifteen stages by sea from *Danmeiliu* 丹眉流 to *Luoyue*.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the location of *Danmeiliu* is unclear, but it is likely that it was somewhere in the north of the Peninsula, which would fit with it being fifteen stages by sea to Bangka Island.⁶⁰

Being on the north of the island, *Luoyue* would have been in a position to control maritime traffic which avoided passage through the Bangka Strait and sailed past the northern shore of the island. No doubt it was brought under the control of Śrīvijaya at an early date,⁶¹ which explains why it appears so few times in Chinese records. It might be suggested that, if *Luoyue* had really been somewhere near the southern tip of the Peninsula, and the Strait of Melaka had really been in regular use at this period, then *Luoyue* would have featured much more prominently in the sources. In reality, however, it appears only a very few times. Apart from its inclusion in JIA DAN’s itineraries, it is also briefly mentioned in the section of the *New History of the Tang Dynasty* which describes the “southern barbarians (*nan man* 南蠻)” of Southeast Asia. An interesting comment here is that “its customs are

⁵⁶ SCHUESSLER 2009, pp. 215, 241; PULLEYBLANK gives *la-wuat* (Early Middle Chinese) and *la-yat* (Late Middle Chinese); PULLEYBLANK 1991, pp. 203, 388.

⁵⁷ HAW 2017, p. 72.

⁵⁸ OUYANG XIU/SONG QI 1975, vol. 4, *juan* 43 *xia*, p. 1153.

⁵⁹ TUOTUO et al. 1977, vol. 40, *juan* 489, p. 14099.

⁶⁰ On *Danmeiliu*, see WHEATLEY 1961, pp. 65–67. YIJING reports that he sailed from Guangzhou to Śrīvijaya (Palembang) in not more than 20 days; YIJING 1988, *juan* 2, p. 152; YIJING 1894, pp. 117–119.

⁶¹ The importance of Bangka Island to Śrīvijaya has been noted by MIKSIĆ 2013, pp. 113–114.

the same as those of *Duoluobodi* 墮羅鉢底 (*Dvāravatī*),⁶² which presumably means that its people were Mons, or at least of Austroasiatic affinity. It must be pointed out here that part of this passage relating to *Luoyue* has been badly misunderstood. The same work says: “*Luoyuezhe bei ju hai wu qian li* 羅越者北距海五千里.” This has been taken to mean that *Luoyue* was 5,000 *li* distant from the sea, which is clearly ridiculous in the context of South-east Asia.⁶³ This is a simple misunderstanding of a single character, *ju* 距, which was taken to mean “[is] distant from”. An examination of the usage of this character in the same section of the *New History of the Tang Dynasty* quickly shows that, in fact, *ju* is not used there with this sense, but means “extends to, is adjacent to, adjoins”.⁶⁴ The correct interpretation of this record is that, in the north, *Luoyue* was adjacent to an expanse of sea which extended to a distance of 5,000 *li*, and, indeed, there is a wide expanse of sea north of Bangka Island. There is no error in the Chinese record: the error was PELLIOT’s,⁶⁵ which was simply repeated subsequently. It may also be noted here that JIA DAN’s statement that: “the country of *Heling* is the greatest among the islands of the south (*Heling guo nan zhong zhou zhi zui da zhe* 訶陵國中洲之最大者)”⁶⁶ is not necessarily inaccurate.⁶⁷ The character *da* 大 does not specifically mean large in size, but may also mean “great”, as

⁶² OUYANG XIU/SONG QI 1975, vol. 20, *juan* 222 *xia*, p. 6306; WHEATLEY 1961, p. 58. WHEATLEY also notes that Chinese sources compare the culture and customs of *Chitu* with those of Cambodia (*Zhenla*) and with those of *Dvāravatī*; WHEATLEY 1961, p. 31. Cambodia was certainly Austroasiatic (Khmer).

⁶³ This error apparently originated with PELLIOT 1904, p. 232: PELLIOT suggested that *qian* 千, “thousand” must be an error for *shi* 十 “ten”. It says little for the command of Chinese of later scholars that none of them corrected PELLIOT’s error. WHEATLEY 1961, p. 58, simply repeats what PELLIOT had written. WOLTERS cites WHEATLEY: “Professor Wheatley believes that *Luo-yüeh* [Luoyue] was a southerly part of the Malay Peninsula”; WOLTERS 1967, p. 188. JORDAAN/COLLESS 2009, p. 223, state that: “the *New T’ang history* ... places Luo-yüeh 5000 *li* northwards from the sea”.

⁶⁴ For example, it is recorded that “*Heling ... dong ju Poli, xi Duopodeng, nan bin hai, bei Zhenla* 東距婆利西墮婆登南濱海北真臘”; OUYANG XIU/SONG QI 1975, vol. 20, *juan* 222 *xia*, p. 6302. This clearly means that, to the east, *Heling* was adjacent to Bali, with *Duopodeng* to the west, sea to the south, and Cambodia to the north (this is absolutely clear because the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 says the same but uses different characters: “*dong yu Poli ... jie* 東與婆利...接” (“to the east, it borders on Bali”); LIU XU et al. 1975, vol. 16, *juan* 197, p. 5273). There are several other similar uses of the character *ju* in this same *juan*.

⁶⁵ This is surprising to me, as PELLIOT’s command of Chinese was undoubtedly very good. In fact, this error is readily comprehensible as the normal meaning of *ju* in *modern* Chinese is “to be distant from”.

⁶⁶ OUYANG XIU/SONG QI 1975, vol. 4, *juan* 43 *xia*, p. 1153.

⁶⁷ “Ho-ling is inaccurately characterized by Chia Tan as the largest island in the south”; JORDAAN/COLLESS 2007, p. 259.

I have translated.⁶⁸ Moreover, it was often difficult to be sure what was an island, or an archipelago, and what was part of a mainland. It may be noted that the existence of the Bass Strait separating Tasmania from Australia was not confirmed until Matthew Flinders successfully made a passage through the Strait in 1798.⁶⁹ Indeed, for a long time it was not clear that Australia was a single large island. It was thought that there might be a strait from the Gulf of Carpentaria southwards which divided it into two. Again, it was Flinders who proved this not to be the case.⁷⁰

There are what I think may be references to *Luoyue* in Ibn Khurdādhbih's account of Southeast Asia: "The distance between Jāba and ... Mā'it is small", and "leaving Mā'it one finds, to the left, the island of Ti'yūma"⁷¹ (usually identified as Pulau Tioman). Both these statements would be correct if Jāba is Java⁷² and Mā'it is *Luoyue*. Phonetically, Mā'it and *Lâ-jwrt* are close, especially if the initial M- of the Arabic version of the toponym is simply an error for L-. TIBBETTS gives Māyit and Māyaṭ as variants of Mā'it.⁷³ Māyaṭ is especially close to the Middle Chinese version of the name.⁷⁴ Lack of any very definite information regarding the position of Mā'it makes it impossible to say that this is anything more than a tentative suggestion, however, but it would make good sense.

4 *Geluo*, Kalāh, *Geguluo*, and the gold mines of western Sumatra

Kalāh is very prominent in Arabic sources relating to Southeast Asia, being mentioned more often than any place other than Zābaj.⁷⁵ It is also one of the very few places east of India and Sri Lanka mentioned in documents from the Cairo Geniza.⁷⁶ It has frequently been identified with Kedah, but also with Klang or Kra, and sometimes with a number of other places from the Malabar coast of India eastwards.⁷⁷ At present, there is still no clear consen-

⁶⁸ PELLIOU translated this "la plus grande de celles [les îles] des mers du sud"; PELLIOU 1904, p. 279. Of course, French "grande", like Chinese da, may mean "great" as well as "large [in size]".

⁶⁹ ESTENSEN 2002, pp. 71–80.

⁷⁰ ESTENSEN 2002, pp. 94, 277–278.

⁷¹ TIBBETTS 1979, p. 29.

⁷² For discussion of various names possibly relating to Java, see JORDAAN/COLLESS 2009, pp. 245–248. There are, however, a number of misconceptions in this discussion, some of which are addressed in this article. See also GRIFFITHS 2013, *passim*.

⁷³ TIBBETTS 1979, p. 147.

⁷⁴ Note also PULLEYBLANK's Late Middle Chinese la-yat; PULLEYBLANK 1991, pp. 203, 388.

⁷⁵ TIBBETTS 1979, p. 118.

⁷⁶ GOITEIN 1973, pp. 227–228.

⁷⁷ FATIMI 1960, pp. 62–64.

sus about exactly where it may have been. The identification with Kedah, or with “the west coast of south Thailand and Kedah”, is considered to be no more than probable.⁷⁸ At the risk of creating further doubt and controversy, this article will attempt to locate Kalāh with greater certainty. The first assertion that will be made here is that Kalāh was not Kedah. The identification of Kalāh with Kedah owes a great deal to the association between Kalāh and tin, which is strongly asserted in Arabic texts.⁷⁹ The Arabic word for tin is *qal’i* (or *kal’i* or *kala’i*).⁸⁰ The resemblance to Kalāh seems to have been too great for writers in Arabic to resist, so they made Kalāh a source of tin. This is very likely nothing more than pure invention, however, for documents from the Cairo Geniza show that tin was imported to India from the West, not from Southeast Asia. In reality, Arabic *qal’i* was almost certainly derived from Qal’a in Spain.⁸¹ In any case, the association with tin does not necessarily place Kalāh on the Peninsula. The relationship between tin and the Peninsula is not as exclusive as sometimes seems to be believed. TIBBETTS claimed that: “Tin in large quantities is only found in the Malay Peninsula and its continuation, the Lingga and Riau Archipelagoes, and in the islands of Bangka and Billiton, but not in Sumatra”.⁸² However, tin was at one time produced in quantity from the vicinity of the Siak River in Sumatra.⁸³ It is entirely possible that there were other sources of tin in Sumatra which were exploited in the past. Moreover, the Arabic texts may simply have exaggerated somewhat in stating that tin was *mined* in Kalāh. It was common for products from various parts of the region to be carried to an entrepôt and then distributed to other markets. Tin may have been carried to Kalāh from elsewhere (perhaps Bangka or Belitung Islands) and then exported across the Indian Ocean. It has also been argued that the Arabic term translated “tin”, *al-raṣāṣ al-qal’i*, really means white lead or cerussite.⁸⁴ Cerussite (lead carbonate) certainly occurs in China, and was used there from early times in cosmetics and medicines.⁸⁵ It might well have been exported to Kalāh and then sold to merchants from the Indian Ocean region.

If the association between Kalāh and tin, and therefore with the Peninsula, is much less certain than has usually been claimed, a re-examination of the Arabic information relating to Kalāh is in order. The first book of the *Accounts of China and India* says that Kalāh Bār is a month distant from

⁷⁸ MIKSIC/GOH 2017, p. 302; MIKSIC 2007, p. 181.

⁷⁹ FATIMI 1960, p. 63; TIBBETTS 1979, p. 121.

⁸⁰ STRECK 1997, p. 502; YULE/BURNELL 1903, p. 145.

⁸¹ GOITEIN/FRIEDMAN 2008, p. 558 n. 27.

⁸² TIBBETTS 1979, p. 121.

⁸³ SCHNITGER 1939, pp. 56–57.

⁸⁴ ABŪ ZAYD AL-ŠIRĀFĪ 2014, p. 143 n. 122.

⁸⁵ NEEDHAM 1999, pp. 106–109; NEEDHAM 1976, pp. 16–17.

Kollam on the Malabar coast of India, and ten days from Tiyyūmah (probably Pulau Tioman). It is said to be southward from India.⁸⁶ Kedah is not in any sense south of India. "If one sails due west from the mountain known as Kedah Peak, one just misses the north tip of Sumatra and eventually reaches Sri Lanka".⁸⁷ Kedah is east of India, not south. Sailing due south from India would not take a ship to Southeast Asia, but sailing roughly southeast would bring it to the west coast of Sumatra. Early Arabic texts show knowledge of the island of Nias and possibly of Krakatau.⁸⁸ This certainly suggests that the west coast of Sumatra (and, indeed, the Sunda Strait) may have lain on or near a regularly-used shipping route. I cannot see why TIBBETTS should have believed that: "all the Arab evidence points to the use of the Malacca Strait with a slow penetration to the South and East during the succeeding centuries".⁸⁹ Neither the *Accounts of China and India* nor IBN KHURDĀDHBĪH's *al-Masālik w'al-Mamālik*, the two most informative and reliable of early Arabic texts relating to Southeast Asia,⁹⁰ contain any clear evidence of use of the Strait of Melaka. The former, describing the route from Sīrāf to Khānfū (Guangzhou), jumps from Kalāh to Tiyyūmah with no information at all about the route between the two.⁹¹ IBN KHURDĀDHBĪH's route to China goes via Jāba, Salāhit and Harang.⁹² Jāba ought to be Java, but might refer to Sumatra, Salāhit is likely to be a version of Malay *selat*, "strait", and Harang is possibly the equivalent of Chinese *Heling*, which was almost certainly on Java.⁹³ Whether this identification is correct or not, there was apparently a place in Java called Halang,⁹⁴ which seems very likely to correspond to Harang. Even if these equivalences are uncertain, they at least leave open the possibility that the strait in question here was the Sunda Strait. Despite the opinion of TIBBETTS, it is by no means obvious that it must have been the Strait of Melaka. He uses the fact that Salāhit "follows Kalāh-bār" as confirmation that "the Sea of Salāhit must be the Strait of Malacca",⁹⁵ although he admits that the position of Kalāh-bār is uncertain: "the Arabic classical

⁸⁶ ABŪ ZAYD AL-SĪRĀFĪ 2014, p. 33; TIBBETTS 1979, pp. 26, 118. ABŪ ZAYD explains "bār" as meaning "kingdom" or "coast".

⁸⁷ MIKSIC/GOH 2017, p. 210.

⁸⁸ ABŪ ZAYD AL-SĪRĀFĪ 2014, pp. 27, 37; TIBBETTS 1979, pp. 25, 27, 140, 143–144; LAF-FAN 2009, p. 25.

⁸⁹ TIBBETTS 1979, p. 126.

⁹⁰ This is TIBBETTS' estimation; TIBBETTS 1979, pp. 5–7.

⁹¹ ABŪ ZAYD AL-SĪRĀFĪ 2014, p. 33.

⁹² TIBBETTS 1979, p. 28.

⁹³ DAMAIS 1964, pp. 140–141; OUYANG XIU / SONG QI 1975, vol. 20, *juan* 222 *xia*, p. 6302. TIBBETTS recognised the possibility that Harang might be *Heling*; TIBBETTS 1979, p. 109.

⁹⁴ SARKAR 1971–1972, vol. 1, pp. 252, 256; vol. 2, pp. 222, 338.

⁹⁵ TIBBETTS 1979, p. 145.

texts as they stand cannot be used to pinpoint Kalāh exactly”.⁹⁶ Moreover, he notes that some Arabic texts appear to suggest that Kalāh could be on Sumatra. IBN SA’ĪD indicates that it was in southwest Sumatra, but TIBBETTS discounts this evidence.⁹⁷ Early Arabic texts therefore contain no definite indication of whether sailing routes between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea passed through the Strait of Melaka or the Sunda Strait.

TIBBETTS suggests the necessity of leaving the identification of Kalāh “until we can find another Arab or non-Arab source which is more precise ... or until we find suitable archaeological evidence”.⁹⁸ Both these things can be done. Chinese sources mention a place called *Geluo*, which must almost certainly be identified with Kalāh.⁹⁹ *Geluo* is written in several different ways,¹⁰⁰ but the principal variants (箇羅, 哥羅) were both pronounced *kālā* in Middle Chinese.¹⁰¹ This is too similar to Kalāh for the identity of the two to be seriously doubted. When interpreted correctly, Chinese sources strongly suggest that *Geluo* was on the west coast of Sumatra.¹⁰² It was western Sumatra that was the principal source of the gold for which the “Golden Khersonese” was famous.¹⁰³ Much of this gold was carried to ports on the west coast. Yet the importance of Sumatra’s gold exports has frequently been overlooked or even denied.¹⁰⁴ The commercial interest of the west coast was still high even after Europeans began sailing to the East Indies. The Dutch originally established their principal factory at Padang, and the English for some time maintained a presence at “Bencoolen” (Bengkulu).¹⁰⁵ The first voyage of ships of the English East India Company in 1600–1603 visited “Priaman” (Pariaman) just north of Padang, where the English were able to obtain more pepper at a lower price than they had been able to acquire in Aceh.¹⁰⁶ TOMÉ PIRES says that there were three major ports on the west coast of Sumatra, Priaman (Pariaman), Tico (Tiku) and Baros (Barus):

⁹⁶ TIBBETTS 1979, p. 128.

⁹⁷ TIBBETTS 1979, pp. 59, 126. IBN SA’ĪD’s account of Southeast Asia is very confused and appears to include a mixture of both good and bad information, so it is understandable that TIBBETTS doubted his evidence.

⁹⁸ TIBBETTS 1979, p. 128.

⁹⁹ GROENEVELD seems to have been the first to suggest this identification; GROENEVELD 1877, p. 122. Later it was taken up by others, including WOLTERS 1958, pp. 590–591, 602.

¹⁰⁰ CHEN JIARONG/XIE FANG/LU JUNLING 1986, pp. 153–154, 632.

¹⁰¹ SCHUESSLER 2009, pp. 46, 211, 215. See also PULLEYBLANK 1991, pp. 105, 106, 203.

¹⁰² HAW 2017, pp. 71, 73.

¹⁰³ MARSDEN 1811, pp. 165–170; PIRES 1944, vol. 1, pp. 136, 164–165.

¹⁰⁴ HARRISON/O’CONNOR 1970, pp. 70–71; but see also MANNING/McKINNON/TRELOAR 1980, pp. 107–110.

¹⁰⁵ MARSDEN 1811, pp. 165, 450–453 note; RICKLEFS 1993, pp. 89, 143; FEENER 2015, pp. 187–189.

¹⁰⁶ MARKHAM (ed.) 1877, pp. 98–99.

All these are rich, and the Gujaratees come here every year with one ship, or two or three, with merchandise. ... This land of Priaman has plenty of gold ... The kingdom of Tico ... does a great trade with the Gujaratees ... [T]he very rich kingdom of Baros ... is at the head of the trade in these things in all the island of Sumatra, because this is the port of call through which the gold goes, and the silk, benzoin, camphor in quantities, apothecary's linaloes, wax, honey, and other things in which this kingdom is more plentiful than any of the others described up to now.¹⁰⁷

Thus, even after 1500 when the Strait of Melaka had undoubtedly been in use for a considerable period of time, the west coast of Sumatra remained important for trade in several major products, especially gold, camphor and benzoin. The west coast of Sumatra has been wrongly neglected by historians fixated on the idea that the Strait of Melaka was always the normal route between the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean. Indeed, there are only two places on the island of Sumatra where any significant quantities of indigenous coinage have ever been discovered: Barus and Bengkulu,¹⁰⁸ both ports on the west coast. It has even been suggested that there may have been a mint at Bengkulu.¹⁰⁹ If this was so, then it must have been a place of some importance. Unfortunately, it has been neglected by archaeologists: the find of coins there in 1904 was apparently more or less accidental and no details of the coins have ever been published.¹¹⁰

It is reasonable to assume that a place as important as Bengkulu apparently was (more or less comparable in importance to Barus) would be mentioned in historical records. There is perhaps a clue in the fact that what seem to be the only places in Southeast Asia clearly mentioned in the documents from the Cairo Geniza are Barus (Fanşūr) and Kalāh.¹¹¹ It is safe to accept that Barus was always on the west coast of Sumatra. Phonetically, Bengkulu and Kalāh show some resemblance: it is reasonable to take *Beng-* as a prefix and compare *-kulu* with Kalāh. The identification of Kalāh with Kedah is certainly not justifiable on phonetic grounds. Perhaps Arabic Kalāh might have been derived from Kedah,¹¹² but Chinese *Kālā* cannot have been. YI-JING's Chinese transcription of Kedah, as already seen above, was *Jiecha* 羯茶, Middle Chinese *kjät-da*.¹¹³ Clearly, this is an extremely close match;

¹⁰⁷ PIRES 1944, vol. 1, pp. 160–161.

¹⁰⁸ WICKS 1992, pp. 233–234; MIKSIC/GOH 2017, pp. 358, 408.

¹⁰⁹ MIKSIC/GOH 2017, p. 358.

¹¹⁰ WICKS 1986, p. 51 note 27.

¹¹¹ GOITEIN 1973, pp. 227–229; GOITEIN/FRIEDMAN 2008, p. 125. On the identity of Barus and Fanşūr, see PIRES 1944, vol. 1, p. 161.

¹¹² WHEATLEY 1961, p. 222.

¹¹³ SCHUESSLER 2009, pp. 54, 231; cf. PULLEYBLANK 1991, pp. 46, 154. I reject the variant *Jietu* 羯茶, Middle Chinese *kjät-duo*, as being a worse match phonetically.

there is no good reason why the Chinese would have used *kâ-lâ* instead as the phonetic resemblance is much worse. It is also sometimes suggested that a small country known to the Chinese as *Jiazha* 迦乍 was Kedah. This place is recorded as one of four small countries which sent envoys to present tribute to the Tang court in 638.¹¹⁴ Phonetically, this equivalence is unlikely: the Middle Chinese pronunciation was *ka-dza* or *kja-dza*.¹¹⁵ It is clearly stated that one of the other countries was north-west of *Shui Zhenla* 水真臘,¹¹⁶ which would place it on the mainland of Southeast Asia, far from the Peninsula. Since all these four small countries are reported to have been absorbed by *Zhenla* later,¹¹⁷ it is likely that they were all close together somewhere in the vicinity of modern Cambodia. There is in fact no record that Kedah ever sent envoys to China. IBN KHURDĀDHBĪH says that “Bālūs” (presumably Barus, as it “produces excellent camphor”) was to “the left” of Kilah (Kalāh), which is correct if Kalāh was on the west coast of Sumatra in the vicinity of Bengkulu. He also places “Kilah” only two parasangs from “the islands of ... Jāba, ... Salāhit, and ... Harang”.¹¹⁸ If Harang was on Java, then this again suggests that the location of Kalāh at or near Bengkulu may be correct. In view of all the above and the strong probability that *Heling* in JIA DAN’s itinerary is on the main route, not a digression, it is reasonable to conclude that Chinese *Geluo* and Arabic Kalāh were the same place and were at or near modern Bengkulu.¹¹⁹

The next question, then, is the identification of Jia Dan’s *Geguluo* 哥谷羅, “west of *Geluo*”.¹²⁰ There is scarcely sufficient information to locate *Geguluo* very precisely. Like *Luoyue*, it is mentioned only a few times in Chinese sources. Apart from being west of *Geluo*, it is also said to have been south-west of *Luoyue*.¹²¹ If it had been on the west coast of Sumatra, to arrive there by sea from Bangka Island it would indeed have been necessary to sail first south (through the Sunda Strait), then west. If *Luoyue* had been somewhere near modern Singapore, it is more or less impossible to make any sense of this statement. If *Geluo* was somewhere near modern Bengkulu, as JIA DAN indicates, then *Geguluo* would have been somewhere further west (or north-west) along the west coast of Sumatra. There is insufficient evidence to locate it precisely, but the name can be explained. It is reported that the Malay word

¹¹⁴ OUYANG XIU/SONG QI 1975, vol. 20, *juan* 222 *xia*, p. 6299; WANG QINRUO 2006, vol. 11, *juan* 970, p. 11229; BIELENSTEIN 2005, p. 55.

¹¹⁵ SCHUESSLER 2009, pp. 71, 212.

¹¹⁶ On *Shui Zhenla*, “Water Cambodia” or “Wet Chen-la”, see BIELENSTEIN 2005, p. 52.

¹¹⁷ OUYANG XIU/SONG QI 1975, vol. 20, *juan* 222 *xia*, p. 6299.

¹¹⁸ TIBBETTS 1979, p. 28.

¹¹⁹ As suggested in HAW 2017, pp. 72–73.

¹²⁰ OUYANG XIU/SONG QI 1975, vol. 4, *juan* 43 *xia*, p. 1153.

¹²¹ OUYANG XIU/SONG QI 1975, vol. 20, *juan* 222 *xia*, p. 6306.

for mine-workings is *kolong-kolong*, “colloquially *kēkolong*”.¹²² This is immediately reminiscent of *Geguluo* (Middle Chinese *kâ-kuk-lâ*).¹²³ MARSDEN says that the people who worked in the gold-mines of Sumatra, inland from Padang, were called *orang gulla*.¹²⁴ *Gulla* here must mean “mine” (*orang* is of course “people”).¹²⁵ In the Malay of western Sumatra, then, the equivalent of *kēkolong* would have been *gēgulla* or *kēkulla*, or something very similar. The phonetic similarity with Chinese *Geguluo* is obvious, and such an origin of the toponym would fit with the possibility that this was the principal port for the gold-mines of western Sumatra, situated somewhere northwest of modern Bengkulu and probably south of Padang: it is known that there were gold workings in this vicinity.¹²⁶

5 Śrīvijaya and Java

The first point about Śrīvijaya that I would like to make is that none of the Chinese transcriptions of the name of this country are transcriptions of “Śrīvijaya”. The earliest mentions in any Chinese source occur in YIJING’s account of the travels of Buddhist monks between China and South Asia, in the form *Shilifoshi* 室利佛逝,¹²⁷ 尸利佛逝¹²⁸ (also abbreviated to *Foshi* 佛逝). CHAVANNES always transcribed this *Çribhōja*,¹²⁹ which was normal at this time.¹³⁰ The Middle Chinese pronunciation was *śjet-li-bjwət-žjāi*.¹³¹ This clearly does not suggest an original “Śrīvijaya”. In fact, a Chinese transcription of “Śrīvijaya” exists, and is much more similar to the Sanskrit original

¹²² LINEHAN 1951, p. 91.

¹²³ SCHUESSLER 2009, pp. 158, 211, 215. Late Middle Chinese *ka-kəwk-la*; PULLEYBLANK 1991, pp. 105, 111, 203. The final *-k* of the middle syllable reduces the phonetic similarity, but it may be that this was the nearest Chinese equivalent available at the period: the vowel of most characters now pronounced *gu* or *ku* was either *-ā* or a diphthong in Middle Chinese; see SCHUESSLER 2007, pp. 258–263, 341. Possibly *kuk* provided a short vowel that was otherwise unavailable.

¹²⁴ MARSDEN 1811, p. 166. Cf. MARSDEN 1812, p. 286; “*Orang gullā* a term for miners.”

¹²⁵ Cf. Cham *kalēi* = creuser (un trou); miné, creusé, fouillé; AYMONIER/CABATON 1906, p. 67.

¹²⁶ MIKSIC 1980, pp. 46, 47 map 2.

¹²⁷ YIJING 1988, *juan* 1, pp. 45, 96, *juan* 2, pp. 167, 175, 182.

¹²⁸ YIJING 1988, *juan* 2, p. 207.

¹²⁹ YIJING 1894, pp. 64, 77, 126, 136, 144. He also transcribed *Foshi* as “Bhōja”. On transcriptions of this type, see WOLTERS 1979, p. 52.

¹³⁰ See the discussion in COEDÈS 1918, pp. 23–24.

¹³¹ SCHUESSLER 2009, pp. 234, 280, 299, 308. This is the pronunciation of 室利佛逝; *shi* 尸 was pronounced *śi*; SCHUESSLER 2009, p. 280. The final *-t* of *śjet* 室 may have been represented *-r*; see MARTIN 1997, pp. 265–268. Note that this is only likely to have been the case in a northern variant of Chinese. This would give a pronunciation *śjer-li-bjwət-žjāi*.

than *Shilifoshi*. The encyclopaedia *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 records that, in 434, the king of *Heluodan guo* 呵羅單國 presented a silver basin and other objects to the (Liu 劉) Song 宋 Chinese court.¹³² The king's name (or title) was *Shilipizheye* 尸梨毗遮耶, Middle Chinese *śi-li-bi-tśja-jia*.¹³³ As there is no syllable *vi* in Chinese, this is more or less as close as possible to "Śrīvijaya".¹³⁴ (As a name, title or epithet, it might be better to write this "Śrī Vijaya".)

A fundamental question here is that of language. Most of the inscriptions associated with Śrīvijaya are in Old Malay, but there is also an as yet unidentified language represented in a few of them.¹³⁵ Whatever this language may be (and it has usually been assumed to be an Austronesian language), it has defied all attempts at convincing translation. The Old Malay of the inscriptions contains many Sanskrit words and was probably a literary language differing from the colloquial language(s) generally spoken in southern Sumatra.¹³⁶ It is likely that there was at least a certain amount of diversity among the languages of Śrīvijaya: possibly not all languages spoken in southern Sumatra and neighbouring islands during the seventh century were Austronesian.¹³⁷ It is entirely possible, and even likely, that the name "Śrīvijaya" (which is Sanskrit) was used only in inscriptions and other formal writings, while a colloquial version of the name, something like "Śrībhoḍja (Śrībhoḍja)", was used in everyday speech. It was then this version of the name which the Chinese heard when they made their transcriptions. It was also a colloquial version of the name which became known to writers in Arabic, giving rise to such forms as "Sribuza" or "Sarbuzzah".¹³⁸ It is a fact that, in most cases, the language from which Chinese transcriptions of foreign words were made is unknown. This certainly complicates the problem of deciding how Chinese transcriptions of foreign words should be interpreted. Modern Chinese pronunciations are often misleading: as far as possible, when reconstructing the foreign words represented by Chinese transcriptions, it is essential to use pronunciations from approximately the period when

¹³² LI FANG et al. 1960, vol. 4, *juan* 787, p. 3487. *Heluodan* was in Java (see below).

¹³³ SCHUESSLER 2009, pp. 56, 69, 280, 284.

¹³⁴ It is also possible that Sanskrit *v-* tended to be pronounced more or less as *b-* by many people in Śrīvijaya.

¹³⁵ DAMAIS 1968, pp. 523–524.

¹³⁶ SNEDDON 2003, p. 37.

¹³⁷ There is still debate about whether Austroasiatic languages may have been spoken at least in parts of island Southeast Asia before they were displaced by Austronesian languages; BLENCH 2010, pp. 133–135.

¹³⁸ TIBBETTS 1979, p. 33; ABŪ ZAYD AL-SĪRĀFĪ 2014, pp. 88–89; JORDAAN/COLLESS 2009, pp. 254–255.

the transcriptions were made.¹³⁹ It has become an unfortunate habit among some scholars to use Cantonese or Hokkien pronunciations when trying to decipher Chinese transcriptions of foreign words.¹⁴⁰ These, however, are *modern* pronunciations.¹⁴¹ It must be understood that the written transcriptions of foreign words preserved in Chinese historical sources were made by literate scholars who would have known and used a standard version of Chinese, not dialect pronunciations. In fact, it was frequently the case that transcriptions were made at the Chinese court by officials whose duty it was to receive foreign envoys. Even if they were made locally (perhaps in port cities of the southeast Chinese coast), they were usually made by officials who did not come from the area¹⁴² and probably had little knowledge of local dialects. Modern Chinese dialect pronunciations may be preferable to modern standard Chinese pronunciations, but they cannot claim precedence over pronunciations of earlier periods.

It is also the case that the later Chinese transcription, *Sanfoqi* 三佛齊,¹⁴³ cannot have been derived from “Śrīvijaya”. This transcription first occurs near the end of the Tang dynasty, in 904.¹⁴⁴ The Late Middle Chinese pronunciation was *sam-fhut-tshiaj*.¹⁴⁵ This cannot possibly have been derived from “Śrīvijaya” and most probably reflects a later colloquial pronunciation of “Śrībhōja”, something like “Sarbhudjia (Sarbhujia)”.¹⁴⁶ Whether Śrīvijaya/Śrībhōja can be taken to be identical with *Sanfoqi*, in the sense that the latter was a direct, later, successor of the former seems to me to be at least questionable. Certainly Chinese historical sources never identify the one with

¹³⁹ A great deal of work has been done on the reconstruction of the pronunciation of Chinese at various periods during the past several decades, and there are now several dictionaries and lexicons available which provide easy access to historical pronunciations. Some are cited in this article.

¹⁴⁰ On this practice, see, for example, BRADDELL 1950, pp. 2–3.

¹⁴¹ On a comparatively recent development in the pronunciation of Cantonese, see BOLTZ 1978, pp. 99–100. Modern Cantonese is certainly different from any variant of Chinese spoken more than five hundred years ago.

¹⁴² It was normal practice in China never to assign officials to posts in their own home area; HUCKER 1985, p. 5.

¹⁴³ For variant versions of this name, see CHEN JIARONG / XIE FANG / LU JUNLING 1986, p. 129.

¹⁴⁴ LIU XU et al. 1975, vol. 3, *juan 20 shang*, p. 781.

¹⁴⁵ PULLEYBLANK 1991, pp. 96, 246, 271. For *fo*, PULLEYBLANK also gives a reading *fhjyt*. SCHUESSLER gives Middle Chinese readings *sâm-bjwət-dziei*; SCHUESSLER 2009, pp. 281, 308, 368.

¹⁴⁶ Personally, I see no good reason to accept the speculative hypothesis that *Sanfoqi* should be taken to mean “Three Vijayas”. On this, see WOLTERS 1979, p. 23. I fully agree with WOLTERS’ assertion here that “careful Chinese officials would never have used [*Sanfoqi*] to transcribe ‘Śrīvijaya’”. See also VOVIN 2007, pp. 191, 193–201, on the process of Chinese transcription of non-Chinese words.

the other.¹⁴⁷ It is clearly likely that the *names* are related, but there is no reason to believe that an earlier name which had prestigious associations should not simply have been adopted later by a ruler (or chief) who merely *claimed* to be in some sense a successor to the earlier rulers of Śrīvijaya. Similarly, I doubt whether there ever really was a Śailendra “dynasty”.¹⁴⁸ “Śailendra” cannot be taken to be a family name, which probably did not exist in South-east Asia before comparatively recent times. It is an epithet or title meaning “king of the mountain” and might have been assumed by any leader wishing to claim a prestigious title, and perhaps also illustrious ancestry (a link to earlier “Śailendras”). The invention of spurious genealogies has been a common activity virtually throughout the world at all periods. These questions cannot be adequately discussed here, however. It is worth also mentioning the Ligor inscription, dating from 775,¹⁴⁹ which has been taken to indicate an extension of Śrīvijayan power to the Peninsula (which of course would make the Strait of Melaka central to the Śrīvijayan “empire”).¹⁵⁰ As has been pointed out already, there is no reason why patronage of temples should imply political control: it may simply have been a question of pilgrimage to a holy site or something similar.¹⁵¹ In fact, in 775, the power of Śrīvijaya seems to have been in decline.

There is a noticeable correlation between the dates of recorded embassies to Chinese courts from countries in Sumatra and in Java: at periods when embassies arrived regularly from Sumatra, there were very few or none from Java, and vice versa. This clearly suggests that there was competition between countries in the two islands, and that when a polity on one was in the ascendancy, polities on the other were either subjugated or relegated to positions of lesser importance. Such a situation would, of course, be entirely natural if the Sunda Strait had been the principal route from the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea: the polity which controlled the Strait was in a position to dominate the maritime commerce between the Indian Ocean region and China. During the fifth century, from 430 until 452, at least eight embassies from countries on Java arrived in China, with none from anywhere that is likely to have been centred in Sumatra.¹⁵² Then from 455 until 520 there were

¹⁴⁷ WOLTERS 1979, p. 23.

¹⁴⁸ On the supposed Śailendra “dynasty”, see, for example, JORDAAN/COLLESS 2009, pp. 26–124; DEGROOT 2009, pp. 9–13; IGUCHI 2015, pp. 210–215.

¹⁴⁹ COEDÈS 1959, pp. 42–48; JACQ-HERGOUALC’H 2002, pp. 242–247.

¹⁵⁰ For discussion of whether Śrīvijaya was ever in any sense an “empire”, see KULKE 1993.

¹⁵¹ JORDAAN/COLLESS 2009, pp. 232–233.

¹⁵² SHEN YUE 1974, vol. 1, *juan* 5, pp. 82, 83, 97–98, 100; vol. 8, *juan* 97, pp. 2381–2383; WANG 1958, p. 120. The Javan countries were *Heluodan* 訶羅單 and *Poda* 婆達, both of

four embassies from *Gantuoli* 干陀利, 干拖利 (and other variants),¹⁵³ which may well have been on Sumatra and was possibly a predecessor of Śrīvijaya.¹⁵⁴ From 455 until 522 no embassies from anywhere in Java are recorded, but there were three from *Poli* 婆利, probably Bali.¹⁵⁵ From 530 until 616 there were at least seven embassies from *Dandan* 丹丹, 單單,¹⁵⁶ which may have been on Java.¹⁵⁷ During this period one embassy arrived from *Gantuoli*, in 563,¹⁵⁸ and two from *Poli*, in 592 and 616.¹⁵⁹ In 608, 609 and 610 there were three embassies from the mysterious *Chitu*,¹⁶⁰ possibly located somewhere on Sumatra. In 630 a final embassy from *Poli* reached China.¹⁶¹ From this time until the end of the century several embassies arrived from Java, mainly from *Heling*,¹⁶² with one from *Dandan* in 669.¹⁶³ During this period of some 70 years there was just a single embassy from *Moluoyu* (certainly somewhere on Sumatra), in 644.¹⁶⁴ For the next seven decades or so until 742 there were no embassies from Java but several from Śrīvijaya.¹⁶⁵ During the following 25 years (which included the period of upheavals in China caused by the rebellions of An Lushan 安祿山 and others) there are no recorded embassies from either Sumatra or Java. Śrīvijaya then disappears for more than a century, but at least nine embassies from *Heling* and subsequently from *Shepo* 闍婆 arrived at the Tang court between 767 and about 870.¹⁶⁶ It is then the

which are specifically said to have been on *Shepo* 闍婆 (Java). *Heluodan* may be Hladan, a place mentioned in an inscription from Java; SARKAR 1971–1972, vol 2, pp. 192–194.

¹⁵³ WANG 1958, pp. 120–121.

¹⁵⁴ CHEN JIARONG / XIE FANG / LU JUNLING 1986, p. 122.

¹⁵⁵ WANG 1958, pp. 120–121; BIELENSTEIN 2005, p. 58.

¹⁵⁶ WANG 1958, pp. 121–122; BIELENSTEIN 2005, p. 69.

¹⁵⁷ It is said to have been situated between *Chitu* and *Poli*; WEI ZHENG 1973, vol. 6, *juan* 82, p. 1838.

¹⁵⁸ WANG 1958, p. 121.

¹⁵⁹ BIELENSTEIN 2005, p. 58.

¹⁶⁰ WANG 1958, p. 122.

¹⁶¹ WANG 1958, p. 122; BIELENSTEIN 2005, p. 58.

¹⁶² WANG 1958, p. 122.

¹⁶³ BIELENSTEIN 2005, p. 69.

¹⁶⁴ WANG 1958, p. 122.

¹⁶⁵ WANG 1958, p. 123; BIELENSTEIN 2005, pp. 58–59.

¹⁶⁶ WANG 1958, p. 123; BIELENSTEIN 2005, pp. 64–65. There were two embassies from *Zhanbei guo* 占卑国 in 853 (not 852, as WANG says) and 871; WANG 1958, p. 123; WANG PU 1955, vol. 3, *juan* 100, p. 1795. The first may not have been an official embassy as the record says that: “six people from *Zhanbei guo* came to court”. *Zhanbei*, Middle Chinese *tš-jām-pjie*; SCHUESSLER 2009, pp. 127, 350, is probably Jambi on Sumatra. MCKINNON suggests a connection between “a country referred to as *Kompe* which sent a mission to China in 662 AD” and “Kompeh on the lower Batang Hari, which may have been the port of Melayu”; MCKINNON 1985, p. 6. He provides more detail in MCKINNON/LUCKMAN SINAR 1981, p. 53 (where, however, identification with Pulau Kompei in northeastern Sumatra is suggested). There is a great deal of confusion here. The ultimate source of MCKINNON’s

turn of the Javan polities to disappear, while *Sanfoqi* sent embassies in 904 and 960.¹⁶⁷ Thus there were few or no embassies from Java during periods when embassies from Śrīvijaya arrived in China, and vice versa. This clearly suggests that there was direct competition between Śrīvijaya and polities on Java for control of the maritime trade. This would have been unlikely if the normal maritime route from the Indian Ocean to China had passed through the Strait of Melaka, but entirely natural if the route was via the Sunda Strait.

Those who have tried to understand the available information about maritime routes in this region have frequently complained that it is difficult to make sense of them. PELLLOT found JIA DAN's itinerary after Śrīvijaya to be "disconcertingly obscure".¹⁶⁸ TIBBETTS grumbled that Ibn Khurdādhbih's "route from Kalāh onwards is very vague and does not make sense".¹⁶⁹ If the false assumption that the route *must* have passed through the Strait of Melaka is discarded, however, it becomes very much easier to make good sense of the information provided by the sources. All the available evidence supports the use of the Sunda Strait rather than the Strait of Melaka, at least before about 1100. There is, in fact, no good evidence for the use of the Strait of Melaka at any very early period. Anyone wishing to maintain the claim that it was regularly used at an early period needs to provide sound evidence to support such a claim.

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information is OUYANG XIU/SONG QI 1975, vol. 20, *juan* 222 *xia*, pp. 6304–6305 (the page numbers in MCKINNON/LUCKMAN SINAR 1981, p. 53 note 20, are wrong). However, no date is given for this mission from *Ganbi* 甘比: I do not know why it is dated to 662. Moreover, it is clearly stated that, on the east, it adjoined *Huanwang* 環王, that is Champa in what is now Vietnam, so it can have nothing to do with Sumatra. The Middle Chinese pronunciation of *Ganbi* was *kām-pjiet*; SCHUESSLER 2009, pp. 304, 346. MCKINNON's "*Kompe*" is presumably an anachronistic modern dialect pronunciation of some kind.

¹⁶⁷ WANG 1958, p. 123; BIELENSTEIN 2005, p. 59.

¹⁶⁸ PELLLOT 1904, p. 349. See also HAW 2017, pp. 70–71.

¹⁶⁹ TIBBETTS 1979, p. 69.

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Die Halle der Drei Reinen und der Pavillon der Acht Trigramme

Teil IV einer Reihe kommentierter Übersetzungen
von fünf Inschriften aus der Liumen-Tradition in der
daoistischen Anthologie *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*

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Summary: This contribution is the fourth in a series of articles presenting the texts and annotated translations of five stele inscriptions, which were included in the collection *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 (Reedited Essentials of the Daoist Canon), a Daoist anthology published in 1906 at the monastery Erxian An 二仙庵 (Hermitage of the Two Immortals) in Chengdu (Sichuan). The inscriptions in question were, with one exception, composed to commemorate the renovation or rebuilding of temple halls and other structures belonging to either the Erxian An or the adjacent Qingyang Gong 青羊宮 (Palace of the Grey Goat), and were included in the relevant sections of the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*. All texts share a common derivation from the Liumen 劉門 (Liu School) tradition. The term Liumen refers to the teachings of the Confucian scholar LIU YUAN 劉沅 (1768–1856) as well as a quasi-religious movement, which was based on LIU's thought and flourished in late imperial and Republican times. LIU YUAN and the following Liumen patriarchs were patrons of the Qingyang Gong and the Erxian An, and the two Daoist sanctuaries, among other temples in Chengdu and its environs, were supported by the Liumen community. The present article contains a full translation of the *Qingyang Gong chongxiu Sanqing Dian Bagua Ting beiji* 青羊宮重修三清殿八卦亭碑記 (Stele Inscription on Rebuilding the Three Clarities Hall and the Eight Trigrams Pavilion at Qingyang Gong). Among the five inscriptions preserved in the *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*, this text is the only one which was not composed by LIU YUAN, but by his son LIU GUIWEN 劉桂文 (1837–1897). From the early 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, the Qingyang Gong received substantial support from the Liu family and Liumen adherents, and it is obvious that the Liumen community was significantly involved in the management of this ancient sanctuary. LIU GUIWEN's inscription contains a lively description of the Qingyang Gong's rebuilding in the late 19th century, during which the Daoist temple received its present appearance.

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Vorbemerkung

Der Tempel Qingyang Gong 青羊宮 (Palast der Grauen Ziege) in Chengdu 成都, der Provinzhauptstadt von Sichuan 四川, zählt seit der Tang-Dynastie (618–907) zu den wichtigsten daoistischen Heiligtümern Südwest-Chinas. Nach einer wechselvollen Geschichte wurde der Qingyang Gong in der Ära Qianlong 乾隆 (1736–1795) der Qing-Dynastie schließlich zu einer monastischen Institution der Drachentor-Schule (Longmen pai 龍門派) des Quanzhen 全真-Daoismus. Diesen Status besitzt er auch heute wieder, nachdem seine religiösen Aktivitäten nach Gründung der Volksrepublik China (1949) zeitweilig unterbrochen worden waren und er 1983 als religiöse Stätte wiedereröffnet wurde.

Vom frühen 19. Jahrhundert bis in die Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts wurden der Qingyang Gong und viele weitere Heiligtümer in der Region maßgeblich vom Patronat des konfuzianischen Gelehrten LIU YUAN 劉沅 (1768–1856), seiner Nachfahren und Schüler geprägt. Die auf LIU zurückgehende Tradition namens Liumen 劉門 (Liu-Schule) bildete die Grundlage einer einflussreichen Gemeinschaft, die als zivilgesellschaftliche Kraft in weiten Teilen von Sichuan das kulturelle und religiöse Leben mitbestimmte und die Verwaltung zahlreicher Tempel übernahm. LIU YUANS Lehren, auch bekannt unter dem Namen Huaixuan xue 槐軒學 (Lehren des Herrn vom Schnurbaumstudio), wurden indessen weit über die Grenzen Sichuans hinaus bekannt. Von diesem weitgehend unbekannten Kapitel der Geschichte des Qingyang Gong und des benachbarten Klosters Erxian An 二仙菴 (Klaue der Zwei Unsterblichen) legen fünf Inschriften Zeugnis ab, die im frühen 20. Jahrhundert in die daoistische Anthologie *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 (Neuedition der Essenz des daoistischen Kanons) aufgenommen wurden. Ziel dieser Übersetzungsreihe, deren vierter Teil hier vorliegt, ist die detaillierte Dokumentation der Inschriften und ergänzender Quellen, um einen Zugang zu diesem bisher kaum beachteten Aspekt der Geschichte des Daoismus in Sichuan zu ermöglichen.¹ Da Gemeinschaften wie Liumen nach Gründung der Volksrepublik China oft als „reaktionäre Geheimsekten“ stigmatisiert wurden, wurde diese Thematik in der chinesischen Religionsforschung und -politik bisher marginalisiert und gilt immer noch als heikel.

Die Steleninschrift zur Wiedererrichtung der Halle der Drei Reinen (Sanqing Dian 三清殿) und des Pavillons der Acht Trigramme (Bagua Ting 八卦

¹ Grundlegende Informationen zur Liumen-Tradition und den Inschriften enthält der erste Teil (OLLES 2013b) der Übersetzungsreihe. Eine Darstellung der Geschichte des Qingyang Gong findet sich im zweiten Teil (OLLES 2016).

亭) im Qingyang Gong ist das vierte der Liumen-Tradition entstammende Dokument in der Anthologie *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*. Sie findet sich im Kapitel *Qingyang Gong beiji* 青羊宮碑記 (Stelenaufzeichnungen des Qingyang Gong), das als Supplement (*xu* 續) dem ersten Teil der 27. Sektion (*yiji* 翼集) von *Chongkan Daozang jiyao* hinzugefügt wurde.² Bei der Sanqing Dian handelt es sich um die Haupthalle des Qingyang Gong, in der die drei höchsten Gottheiten des daoistischen Pantheons verehrt werden. Eine Halle der Drei Reinen ist daher zentraler Bestandteil der meisten daoistischen Tempel in ganz China. Der Bagua Ting verkörpert das gesamte Weltbild der chinesischen Tradition und enthält eine Statue von Laozi 老子. Die Inschrift wurde anlässlich einer umfassenden Renovierung des Qingyang Gong im späten 19. Jahrhundert verfasst, lange nach LIU YUANS Ableben. Sie ist daher die einzige unter den fünf Liumen-Inschriften, deren Autor nicht LIU YUAN selbst, sondern einer seiner Söhne war. Die Original-Stele ist nicht erhalten. Allerdings zielt der Text inzwischen eine neue Stele, die im Jahr 2000 links vor der Halle Sanqing Dian aufgestellt worden ist.

Liu Guiwen

LIU GUIWEN 劉桂文 (1837–1897; Großjährigkeitsnamen: Yun’ao 雲坳, Yue-sheng 月生), Verfasser der vorliegenden Inschrift, war LIU YUANS vierter Sohn. Als erfolgreicher Gelehrter und Amtsträger lebte er lange Zeit fern der Heimat und fungierte daher nicht als Patriarch der Liumen-Gemeinschaft. LIU GUIWEN hatte 1877 den höchsten Grad (*jinsbi* 進士) in den Staatsprüfungen errungen und diente der Qing-Administration in den Ämtern eines Junior-Kompilators (*bianxiu* 編修), eines Zensors (*yushi* 御史) und schließlich als Präfekt (*zhifu* 知府) von Wuzhou 梧州 in der Provinz Guangxi 廣西.³

Nach den vorliegenden Quellen hat LIU GUIWEN über 20 Jahre in der Hauptstadt Beijing 北京 verbracht. Es heißt, der konservative Gelehrte und Politiker Xu Tong 徐桐 (1820–1900) sei sehr beeindruckt von ihm gewesen und habe sich nach der Gelehrsamkeit von LIUS Familie erkundigt.⁴ Offen-

² Für ausführliche bibliographische Angaben s. den Übersetzungsteil weiter unten.

³ Diese Eckdaten entstammen der offiziellen Biographie von LIU YUAN (*Guoshi guan benzuan* 國史館本傳: 6b), in der auch die Titel und Ämter seiner Söhne aufgelistet sind; s. *Huaxuan quanshu*, Bd. 1, S. 7b. Die ursprüngliche Paginierung (*juan* 卷-Kapitel und Seite) traditioneller Werke wird, so vorhanden, in Klammern angegeben.

⁴ Siehe die Biographie von LIU YUAN in der Lokalbeschreibung des Kreises Shuangliu (1937): (Minguo 民國) *Shuangliu xianzhi* 雙流縣志 (3.7b) in *Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng*, Bd. 3, S. 713b. Diese Quelle bestätigt auch die Ämter von LIU GUIWEN und seine Prüfungsgrade: 1864 *juwen* 舉人 (Provinzgraduierter), 1877 *jinsbi*.

sichtlich hegte LIU GUIWEN auch in der Hauptstadt ein reges Interesse an lokalen religiösen Traditionen, was von einer frühen epigraphischen Quelle dokumentiert wird. Der heilige Berg Miaofeng Shan 妙峰山 nahe der Hauptstadt ist ein wichtiges Pilgerziel für den Kult um die Göttin Bixia yuanjun 碧霞元君. Mehrere Pilgerwege führen aus dem Stadtgebiet in die Region des Miaofeng Shan. Neben zahlreichen Tempeln und Schreinen fand man an all diesen Wegen auch Raststätten, wo karitative Gemeinschaften während der Pilgersaison im Frühling Speisen, Tee und sogar Medikamente verteilten. Eine weit verbreitete Art dieser Raststätten waren sogenannte „Tee-Hütten“ (*chapeng* 茶棚), bei denen es sich allerdings – entgegen der rustikalen Bezeichnung – um feste Gebäude gehandelt haben muss.⁵

An einem der Pilgerwege, an dem das buddhistische Kloster Dajue Si 大覺寺 liegt, ist bis heute eine Stele erhalten, die an die „Renovierung der Tee-Hütte von Zhaieryu“ (*Chongxiu Zhaieryu chapeng* 重修寨爾峪茶棚) erinnert. Die vollständig lesbare Inschrift auf der gut erhaltenen Stele wurde 1867 von LIU GUIWEN verfasst.⁶ Wir erfahren, dass die große Anlage, die auch mehrere Tempel umfasste, bereits 1864 renoviert und ausgebaut worden war und schließlich nach erneuter Spendensammlung mit dem Neubau der Außenmauern vollendet wurde. LIUS Engagement für die „Tee-Hütte“ von Zhaieryu, eine wichtige Raststätte auf dem Pilgerweg zum Miaofeng Shan, zeigt nicht nur sein Interesse an der lokalen religiösen Tradition, sondern ist auch ein Beleg für seine frühe Integration in die Gelehrtenkreise der Hauptstadt.

1880 wurde LIU GUIWEN aufgrund seiner literarischen Begabung als Nachwuchs-Gelehrter (*shuji shi* 庶吉士) in die kaiserliche Hanlin-Akademie 翰林院 aufgenommen.⁷ Drei Jahre später (1883), nach weiterem Prüfungserfolg, erhielt LIU dann das Amt des Junior-Kompilators (*bianxiu*).⁸ Das Amt des Zensors (*yushi*), zuständig für die Region Shandong 山東道, trat er 1891 an.⁹ Als Zensor war er mit der Kontrolle von staatlichen Getreidetransporten über Wasserwege (*caoyun* 漕運) betraut und soll sich dabei massiven Bestechungsversuchen erfolgreich widersetzt haben.

⁵ Zum Miaofeng Shan allgemein und zum Beispiel einer „Tee-Hütte“ s. GOOSSAERT 2007, S. 46, 52f., 221.

⁶ Diese Inschrift wurde meines Wissens bisher nicht publiziert. Mir liegen aktuelle Fotografien der Original-Stele vor.

⁷ *Dezong Jing Huangdi shilu* 德宗景皇帝實錄 2 (113: Guangxu 光緒 6/5); s. *Qing shilu*, Bd. 53, S. 657b.

⁸ *Dezong Jing Huangdi shilu* 3 (162: Guangxu 9/4); s. *Qing shilu*, Bd. 54, S. 285a.

⁹ *Guochao yushi timing* 國朝御史題名 (11b: Guangxu 17); s. *Qingchao yushi timing lu*, S. 530.

1894 erging ein kaiserlicher Erlass an die Mitglieder des Staatsrates (*junji dachen* 軍機大臣), einer Eingabe von LIU GUIWEN Folge zu leisten und endlich gegen das in Sichuan grassierende Räuberwesen vorzugehen. Nach LIUS Eingabe agierten brutale Räuberbanden damals sogar in der Provinzhauptstadt Chengdu ungeniert in der Öffentlichkeit und wurden selten zur Rechenschaft gezogen, da Liu Bingzhang 劉秉璋 (1826–1905), der damalige Provinzgouverneur, das Problem ignoriert und Fälle von Räuberei meist verschwiegen habe.¹⁰ Dieses Dokument zeigt deutlich, wie LIU GUIWEN auch als Zensor weiterhin am Geschick seiner Heimat Anteil nahm und als Fürsprecher Sichuans auftrat.

1897 wurde LIU GUIWEN als Präfekt (*zhifu*) von Wuzhou (Guangxi) eingesetzt, wo er auch einen guten Ruf genossen haben soll. Allerdings starb er ein halbes Jahr nach Amtsantritt.¹¹ In diesem Zusammenhang sind zwei Freunde LIUS in der Hauptstadt zu erwähnen, die ihrer Trauer um LIU GUIWEN in literarischer Form Ausdruck verliehen. LIU GUANGDI 劉光第 (1861–1898), ein aus Sichuan stammender progressiver Minister der Qing-Regierung, verfasste 1898 ein Trauergedicht auf ihn.¹² Ebenso aus Sichuan stammte YANG RUI 楊銳 (1855–1898), ein weiterer reformorientierter Amtsträger, der sich in einem wehmütigen Gedicht anlässlich des Tempelfestes im daoistischen Kloster der Weißen Wolken (Baiyun Guan 白雲觀) an LIU GUIWEN erinnerte, der vor seinem Tod auch den Feierlichkeiten beigewohnt hatte.¹³ Es überrascht nicht, dass LIU GUIWEN enge Kontakte zu anderen Gelehrten und Amtskollegen aus seiner Heimat pflegte. Bemerkenswert ist allerdings, dass sowohl LIU GUANGDI als auch YANG RUI zu den sechs Märtyrern der gescheiterten „Hundert-Tage-Reform“ der späten Kaiserzeit zählten, die im Herbst des Jahres 1898 nach einem Staatsstreich hingerichtet wurden.¹⁴ LIU GUIWEN war im Vorjahr dieser einschneidenden Ereignisse gestorben. Sein Leichnam wurde in die Heimat überführt und in der östlichen Vorstadt von Chengdu beigesetzt.

¹⁰ *Dezong Jing Huangdi shilu* 5 (345: Guangxu 20/7); s. *Qing shilu*, Bd. 56, S. 420b–421a.

¹¹ Die Angaben folgen LIU YUANS Biographie in der Lokalbeschreibung von Shuangliu; s. Anm. 4. Vgl. WANG ZEFANG 1984, S. 26–28. Gestützt auf eine andere Quelle, gibt WANG an, LIU GUIWEN habe den *jinsbi*-Grad erst 1889 errungen, was in Anbetracht der von mehreren Quellen belegten Karriere LIUS nur ein Irrtum sein kann.

¹² *Wan Liu Yun'ao taishou* 挽劉雲塲太守; s. *Zhongshengzhai shiwenji* 衷聖齋詩文集 (*shiji* 詩集, B.31a–b) in *Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, Bd. 787, S. 385a.

¹³ *Zhengyue shijiu ri zhi Baiyun Guan* 正月十九日至白雲觀; s. *Yang Shuqiao xiansheng shiwenji* 楊叔喲先生詩文集 (*shiji*, B.27b) in *Qingdai shiwenji huibian*, Bd. 783, S. 65a. Bei dem Tempelfest (*yanjiu jie* 燕九節) handelt es sich um den Geburtstag des Quanzhen-Patriarchen Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (1148–1227); s. GOOSSAERT 2007, S. 161–163, 256–258.

¹⁴ Eine konzise Darstellung der „Hundert-Tage-Reform“ enthält FRANKE/TRAUZETTEL 1990, S. 330–333.

Das Leben von LIU GUIWEN war das eines erfolgreichen Gelehrten und Beamten. Obwohl er nicht in Chengdu als Patriarch der Liumen-Gemeinschaft fungierte, repräsentierte er doch die Familientradition, und zumindest das „offizielle“ Bild, das die Quellen von ihm zeichnen, steht durchaus im Einklang mit den Werten der Liumen-Lehre. Wie alle direkten männlichen Nachkommen von LIU YUAN und deren Ehefrauen wurden auch LIU GUIWEN und seine Gattin kanonisiert, d. h., sie erhielten posthum einen sakralen Titel (*shenbao* 神號) und einen Invokations-Text (*gaowen* 誥文).

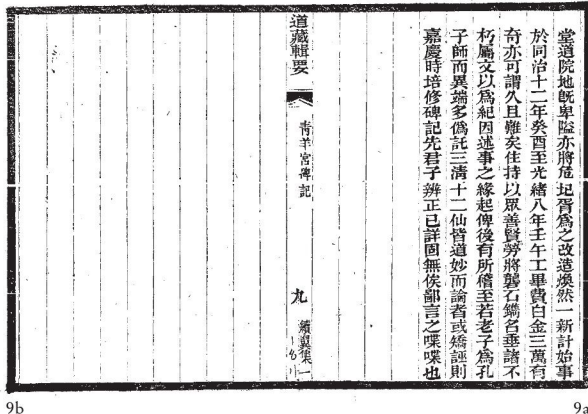
Der daoistische Einfluss auf die Liumen-Tradition ist hier nicht zu übersehen. Invokationen – auch als *baogao* 寶誥 bezeichnet – sind eine typisch daoistische Textgattung. Diese kurzen Anrufungen von Gottheiten oder Heiligen sind standardisierte Bestandteile zahlreicher daoistischer Schriften. Sie preisen die Eigenschaften und spirituelle Macht der angerufenen Gottheiten und führen deren vollständige (in vielen Fällen vom Kaiserhaus verliehene) Titel auf.¹⁵ Die sakralen Titel und Invokationen der Familie LIU entstammen der Praxis des *fuji* 扶乩, einer Form der schriftliche Kommunikation mit Gottheiten durch ein Medium, das – scheinbar unbewusst – die offenbarten Texte in ein mit Sand gefülltes Becken oder auf Papier niederschreibt.

LIU GUIWEN wurde kanonisiert als Ningwei xiandao tianzun 凝威顯道天尊 (Himmelsehrwürdiger der vollendeten Hoheit und Offenbarung des Dao). Seine Frau Li Xiangxian 黎象賢 (1836–?) erhielt den Titel Fuhua duren xianmu 輔化度人仙母 (Unsterbliche Mutter der unterstützenden Wandlung und Errettung der Menschheit). Unter diesen Titeln fungieren LIU GUIWEN und seine Frau, wie alle Liumen-Patriarchen und andere direkte Nachfahren LIU YUANS, als „Ahnenmeister“ (*zushi* 祖師) der Fayan tan 法言壇-Tradition, einer bis heute aktiven daoistischen Ritualschule, die einst von LIU YUAN und seinen Schülern ins Leben gerufen wurde.¹⁶

1882, nach Abschluss einer umfassenden Renovierung des Qingyang Gong, verfasste LIU GUIWEN die folgende Gedenkinschrift für dieses bedeutende daoistische Heiligtum in Chengdu. Die Inschrift zählt zu den wichtigsten historischen Dokumenten, die zur Geschichte des Qingyang Gong im 19. Jahrhundert vorliegen.

¹⁵ Eine Sammlung von Invokationen im daoistischen Kanon ist das Werk DZ 309 (*Zhu shizhen gao* 諸師真誥) in Bd. 5, S. 758b–763c.

¹⁶ Siehe OLLES 2013a, S. 197–205. Die Titel von LIU GUIWEN und seiner Frau finden sich ebd. auf S. 201.

Abb. 1: Der Originaltext aus *Chongkan Daozang jiyao*

Übersetzung:

Steleninschrift zur Wiedererrichtung der Halle der Drei Reinen
und des Pavillons der Acht Trigramme im Palast der Grauen Ziege
(*Qingyang Gong chongxiu Sanqing Dian Bagua Ting bei*
青羊宮重修三清殿八卦亭碑記)¹⁷

Verfasst von LIU GUIWEN aus Shuangliu¹⁸

Der Himmel gebiert das Volk, doch kann er es nicht lenken.¹⁹ Entsprechend seiner Geburt vollendet ein jeder seine Wesensnatur. Darum sind für die Angelegenheiten der Fürsorge und Erziehung Herrscher und Lehrmeister verantwortlich. Doch die Bildung durch Riten und Musik wird nur schwer in jeden entlegenen Winkel vordringen. Allumfassende Menschlichkeit wird nicht achtlos [auch nur] ein einziges Wesen vernachlässigen. Wenn von den Buddhisten und Daoisten die Besten auf der Grundlage reiner Selbstkultivierung die Natur des Herzens erhellen und die Geringeren [unter ihnen] auch mit ihrer [zölibatären] Einsamkeit zufrieden sind und die Widerspenstigen belehren, so ist dies gewiss im Sinne des großen Erzeugens und Vollendens [durch den Himmel].

Die Zivilisation unseres Staats dehnt sich über China bis ins Ausland aus. Die Drei Lehren (Konfuzianismus, Buddhismus und Daoismus) werden zusammen praktiziert. Der Wahre Mensch vom Drachen- und Tiger-[Berg] (Longhu Zhenren 龍虎真人)²⁰ empfängt – ebenso wie [Konfuzius aus dem] östlichen Lu²¹ und [der Buddha aus dem] Westen – seit Generationen die Ehrungen des Kaiserhauses. Was Laozi 老子 betrifft, so ist er der Ahne, der

¹⁷ *Chongkan Daozang jiyao, xu yiji* 1, S. 8a–9a; vgl. LONG/HUANG 1997, S. 511f. Der Originaltext ist in Abb. 1 reproduziert.

¹⁸ LIU GUIWEN wurde in Chengdu geboren. Der chinesischen Tradition entsprechend wird hier aber der Kreis Shuangliu als Abstammungsort (zuji 祖籍) seiner Familie angegeben.

¹⁹ Der Beginn der Inschrift wurde offensichtlich von einer Passage im *Buch der Dokumente* (*Shujing* 書經) inspiriert: 惟天生民有欲，無主乃亂 (Kap. 11: *Zhonghui zhi gao* 仲虺之誥); s. *Shujing bengjie* 書經恆解 (3.6b) in *Huaixuan quanshu*, Bd. 3, S. 931a. JAMES LEGGE (1865, S. 178) übersetzte: „Heaven gives birth to the people with such desires, that without a ruler they must fall into all disorders“ (Kursiv im Original).

²⁰ LIU nennt die erbliche Linie der Himmelsmeister (*tianshi* 天師) mit Sitz auf dem Berg Longhu Shan 龍虎山 als Repräsentanten des Daoismus. Die Himmelsmeister galten als Hüter der daoistischen Orthodoxie und wurden als solche auch vom Kaiserhaus anerkannt. Allerdings wurde der amtierende Himmelsmeister seit der Ära Daoguang 道光 (1821–1850) nicht mehr zur Audienz geladen, was einen Bruch zwischen der Himmelsmeister-Tradition und dem Hof anzeigte. Siehe dazu GOOSSAERT 2007, S. 30–32 sowie PREGADIO 2008, Bd. 2, S. 1260 (Eintrag von CHEN YAOTING zu „Zhengyi“ 正一).

²¹ Der antike Staat Lu 魯 in der heutigen Provinz Shandong 山東 war Konfuzius' Heimat.

vom Dao 道 sprach, und der Markt der Grauen Ziege (Qingyang Si 青羊肆, historisierender Name für den Qingyang Gong) in Shu 蜀 (Sichuan) ist wiederum der Ort, an dem [Laozi] dem Himmelsmeister [Zhang Daoling 張道陵] in der Han-Zeit heilige Schriften überlieferte. Seit der Han-Dynastie erlebte [der Tempel] eine beständige Blüte. Da in diesem Tempel dem Ahnen des Tang-Kaiserhauses, dem Erhabenen Herrscher vom Mystischen Ursprung (Xuanyuan Huangdi 玄元皇帝, d. i. Laozi), geopfert wurde, kamen die Dimensionen [des Heiligtums] einem Palast gleich, so außergewöhnlich erhaben und geräumig. Die ausgezeichnete topographische Lage [des Tempels] ist majestätisch und vornehm, beseelt und wunderbar. Sein Fundament ist finster und tief, kraftvoll und großzügig. Mögen auch ein paar tausend Jahre vergehen, so wird dies immer noch sichtbar sein. In den Wirren am Ende der Ming-Dynastie wurde der Tempel im Feuer des Krieges zerstört.²²

In der jetzigen Dynastie, im achten Jahr der Ära Kangxi 康熙 (1669), initiierte der edle Herr Zhang Dedi 張德地, Provinzialgouverneur (*xunfu* 巡撫) von Sichuan, die Sammlung [von Spenden] und ließ [das Heiligtum] wieder aufbauen. Während der Epochen Qianlong 乾隆 (1736–1796) und Jiaqing 嘉慶 (1796–1821) fanden weitere Renovierungen statt, doch beim Hinzufügen oder Austauschen von Dachsparren und Kapitellen, bei Auswahl oder Zuschchnitt von Balken und Latten konnte unter den gegebenen Umständen nicht völlig die Leistung früherer [Baumeister] verworfen werden. So war es nicht zu vermeiden, dass in manchen Fällen immer noch die alten Relikte [stehen blieben]. Das Neue war gerade erst gediehen, und das Alte bald schon wieder verfallen. Nachdem wieder einige Jahrzehnte vergangen waren, waren die Halle der Drei Reinen und der Pavillon der Acht Trigramme noch morscher und von Holzwürmern zerfressen. Da aber das Bauvorhaben gewaltig war und tatsächlich kaum in einem kürzeren Zeitraum vollendet werden konnte, war man außerdem gewillt, die konkrete Ausführung weiterer Unternehmungen erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt in Angriff zu nehmen.

Im Frühling des Jahres *guiyou* 癸酉 (1873), als die Daoisten gerade die Halle betreten hatten und heilige Schriften rezitierten, brach vor dem Schrein der Drei Reinen plötzlich ein Balken [aus der Decke] und stürzte [mit solcher Wucht] herab, dass er sich in den Boden grub und eine Vertiefung hinterließ. Doch obwohl der Abstand zwischen dem Schrein und dem Tisch mit den heiligen Büchern kaum mehr als zwei Fuß betrug, waren beide nicht im

²² Zur Überlieferung von Laozi an Zhang Daoling, den ersten Himmelsmeister, und zur Verehrung Laozis als Ahnen des Tang-Kaiserhauses s. OLLES 2016, S. 457f. Der Titel „Xuanyuan Huangdi“ war Laozi im Jahre 666 verliehen worden. Da die Inschrift in der Qing-Zeit entstand, als der Name des Kangxi-Kaisers, Xuanye 玄烨, mit einem Tabu belegt war, steht Yuanyuan 元元 statt Xuanyuan im Text. Die historische Entwicklung des Qingyang Gong wird ausführlich dargestellt in OLLES 2016, S. 446–454.

Geringsten beschädigt worden. Die erhabene Macht der Gottheiten hat sich bei diesem Vorfall deutlich offenbart.

Der Vorsteher (*zhuchi* 住持) Chen Jiaozhong 陳教忠 (17. Generation der Longmen-Linie) war darüber bekümmert und zutiefst besorgt, und er fürchtete, die Kosten [der Renovierung] wären allzu hoch. Mit den Anhängern (*tongren* 同人) [der Liumen-Gemeinschaft] vereinbarte er, überall um Spenden dafür zu werben. Die Wohltäter gaben gern, und gemeinsam liefen sie [auf ihren Bittgängen] geschäftig hin und her. Daraufhin wurden Handwerker angeworben und Baumaterial vorbereitet. Beim Holz [wählte man] nur das härteste, beim Stein nur den solidesten. Sowohl die Halle der Drei Reinen als auch der Pavillon der Acht Trigramme wurden vollständig neu errichtet. Ferner wurde übrig gebliebenes Material dazu benutzt, die Purpur-Gold-Terrasse (Standort der Halle Tangwang Dian 唐王殿) sowie die Terrassen der Herabkunft und der Predigt [von Laozi] instand zu setzen, wobei alle über den früheren Umfang hinaus erweitert wurden.²³ Was das Wolkenfluss-Refektorium, die Ahnenhalle und die Klostergebäude²⁴ aus alter Zeit betrifft, so war das Areal ohnehin beklemmend eng und [die Häuser] vom Einsturz bedroht. Alles wurde umgebaut und vollständig erneuert. Mit all diesen Arbeiten wurde im zwölften Jahr, *guiyou*, der Ära Tongzhi 同治 (1873) begonnen; im achten Jahr, *renwu* 壬午, der Epoche Guangxu 光緒 (1882) war der Bau abgeschlossen. Die Kosten beliefen sich auf über 30 000 Silberstücke. [Dieses Projekt] kann als langwierig und mühsam bezeichnet werden.

Der Vorsteher wollte nun die Namen aller Wohltäter und Verdienstvollen auf eine Stele meißeln lassen, damit sie nicht vergehen, und beauftragte mich mit der Abfassung einer Inschrift. Also habe ich Ursprung und Hintergründe dieser Unternehmungen dargelegt, so dass unsere Nachfahren etwas zum Überprüfen haben. Was Laozi anbetrifft, der der Lehrer von Konfuzius war, aber oft fälschlich von Irrlehren beansprucht wurde, oder die Drei Reinen und die Zwölf [Gold-]Unsterblichen, die alle wunderbare [Manifestationen] des Dao sind, aber in manchen Abhandlungen willkürlich falsch dargestellt wurden, so hat bereits mein verstorbener Vater in seiner Steleninschrift zur Renovierung [des Qingyang Gong] in der Ära Jiaqing all dies ausführlich richtiggestellt.²⁵ Gewiss wartet niemand auf geschwätzige Ausführungen meiner Wenigkeit dazu.

²³ Zu den einzelnen Gebäuden des Qingyang Gong s. LI/DING 2006, S. 30–39; vgl. OLLES 2016, S. 450–452.

²⁴ Der hier benutzte Begriff *daoyuan* 道院 steht allgemein für klösterliche Einrichtungen des Daoismus, die der intensiven spirituellen Praxis dienen. Im frühen 20. Jahrhundert bezeichnete *daoyuan* ferner eine volksreligiöse Bewegung; s. den entsprechenden Eintrag von VINCENT GOSSAERT in PREGADIO 2008, Bd. 1, S. 337f.

²⁵ Es handelt sich um den Text *Chongxiu Qingyang Gong beiji* 重修青羊宮碑記, dessen Übersetzung in Teil II (OLLES 2016) dieser Reihe vorliegt.

Zur Förderung des Laozi-Kults durch die Liumen-Gemeinschaft

In seiner Inschrift hat LIU GUIWEN ein außergewöhnlich lebendiges Bild der damaligen Umstände des Qingyang Gong gezeichnet. Dank dieses Dokuments können wir auch heute noch nachvollziehen, wie und warum das daoistische Heiligtum in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts umfassend erneuert wurde und dabei sein heutiges Erscheinungsbild erhielt. Die neun Jahre dauernde Renovierung des Qingyang Gong entspricht der zweiten Phase intensiver Förderung des Tempels durch die Liumen-Gemeinschaft. Wir wissen, dass der Qingyang Gong seit der Ära Jiaqing von LIU YUAN, seiner Familie und der Liumen-Gemeinschaft massiv unterstützt wurde und – trotz seiner fortdauernden Zugehörigkeit zur Longmen-Linie des Quanzhen-Daoismus – auch zum „Management-Bereich“ der Liumen-Tradition gehörte. Die erste Phase dieses Patronats entspricht der Renovierung von 1808 bis 1817, die zweite Phase dem oben geschilderten Neuaufbau von 1873 bis 1882. Während der dritten Phase, der Republikzeit (1912–1949), war die Bindung des Qingyang Gong an die Liumen-Tradition besonders



Foto: VOLKER OLLES

Abb. 2: Der Pavillon der Acht Trigramme

eng, was sich u. a. darin äußerte, dass die Vorsteher des Tempels in der Regel Liumen-Anhänger waren.²⁶

Was das Gebäudeensemble des Qingyang Gong betrifft, so scheint bei den wiederholten Wiederaufbauten und Renovierungen eine gewisse Konstanz geherrscht zu haben. Von einer Halle der Drei Reinen und einem Pavillon bzw. einer Terrasse (*tai* 台) der Acht Trigramme ist bereits in einer Inschrift von 1671 die Rede. Da der Wiederaufbau im 17. Jahrhundert – nach der Zerstörung des Tempels durch die Truppen des Rebellenführers Zhang Xianzhong 張獻忠 (1606–1647) – auf Grundlage der früheren Gestalt des Qingyang Gong erfolgte, ist davon auszugehen, dass diese Gebäude auch vorher schon existiert hatten. Auch eine Inschrift von 1759, verfasst zum Gedenken an eine Renovierung während der Ära Qianlong, erwähnt die beiden Gebäude.²⁷

Die Haupthalle Sanqing Dian ist Standardbestandteil größerer daoistischer Institutionen. Sie dient dem Kult der Drei Reinen (Sanqing 三清): Der Himmelshehrwürdige des Uranfangs (Yuanshi Tianzun 元始天尊), der Himmelshehrwürdige des numinosen Juwels (Lingbao Tianzun 靈寶天尊) und der Himmelshehrwürdige des Dao und seiner Wirkkraft (Daode Tianzun 道德天尊) stellen in der daoistischen Religion eine Trinität dar, die verschiedene Aspekte des Dao repräsentiert. Die Drei Reinen residieren in drei himmlischen Sphären. Die Entstehung dieser Trinität wurde wahrscheinlich auch von der buddhistischen Vorstellung vom „dreifachen Leib“ (*sanshen* 三身, Sanskrit: *trikāya*) Buddhas beeinflusst. Nach der daoistischen Tradition haben diese Gottheiten ferner alle wichtigen Schriften offenbart, die den als „drei Höhlen“ (*sandong* 三洞) bekannten drei Hauptsektionen des daoistischen Kanons zugeordnet wurden.²⁸ Die dritte Gottheit, Daode Tianzun, wird mit Laozi identifiziert, doch existiert zugleich die Vorstellung, die Drei Reinen seien alle Emanationen von Laozi, was insofern schlüssig ist, als Laozi in der daoistischen Religion als Verkörperung des Dao verstanden wird.

Eine Besonderheit der Sanqing Dian im Qingyang Gong und in weiteren daoistischen Tempeln Sichuans ist die Ergänzung des Pantheons um die Zwölf Gold-Unsterblichen (Shi'er Jinxian 十二金仙), die in Schreinen an beiden Seitenwänden der Halle verehrt werden. Diese Gruppe von daoistischen und buddhistischen Heilsgestalten ist nicht in der kanonischen Tradition verankert, sondern entstammt dem Roman *Die Investitur der Gottheiten* (*Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義), dessen Autor wahrscheinlich der Daoist LU XIXING 陸西星 (1520–1606) war.²⁹

²⁶ Siehe OLLES 2016, S. 461–464.

²⁷ OLLES 2016, S. 450–452.

²⁸ Siehe den entsprechenden Eintrag von LIVIA KOHN in PREGADIO 2008, Bd. 2, S. 840–844.

²⁹ Eine ausführliche Erläuterung dieser Gruppe bietet OLLES 2005, S. 207–213.

Wie LIU GUIWEN am Schluss seiner Inschrift andeutete, stand LIU YUAN sowohl den Drei Reinen als auch den Zwölf Gold-Unsterblichen durchaus kritisch gegenüber. In der fraglichen Inschrift äußerte sich LIU YUAN folgendermaßen:

Doch welchen Ursprung haben eigentlich die Drei Reinen? [Im *Daode jing* 道德經 steht]: „Das Dao gebar das Eine, das Eine gebar die Zweizahl, die Zweizahl gebar die Dreizahl,“ und in der Dreizahl wurden dann die Menschen und anderen Wesen geboren.³⁰ Das Eine ist das Höchste Äußerste (*taiji* 太極). In der Bewegung erzeugt es *yang* 陽 (die helle, männliche Kraft); in der Stille gebiert es *yin* 陰 (die dunkle, weibliche Kraft). Vereint man diese [grundlegenden Kräfte], so sind es drei (*taiji*, *yin* und *yang*). Diese drei sind der Ursprung der Verwandlung des *qi* 氣 (Pneuma, Odem, Lebensenergie) [in die unzähligen Wesen und Dinge]. Deshalb sind sie das Allerhöchste (*taishang* 太上; das Dao, das von Laozi repräsentiert wird), und es gibt [eigentlich] keine Namen, die man dem Allerhöchsten noch hinzufügen könnte. [Was nun die Namen der Drei Reinen betrifft], so bedeutet Yuanshi (Uranfang) die erste Teilung des Allerhöchsten [in *yin* und *yang*], Lingbao (Numinoses Juwel) steht für sein Hegen und Pflegen [aller Lebewesen], und Daode (Dao und Wirkkraft) bedeutet die Verbreitung der Verwandlung [durch das Dao] (die Belehrung der Menschheit durch Laozi). Wie aber sollte es denn wirklich diese [Drei Reinen als] Menschen geben? Wie sollten sie denn als Herrscher über Himmel und Erde fungieren?

Was nun die Zwölf Gold-Unsterblichen betrifft, so handelt es sich um die Zwölf Paläste (*shi'er gong* 十二宮) der Jahreszeiten (die zwölf Abschnitte bzw. Tierkreiszeichen der Ekliptik),³¹ von denen jeder das Höchste Äußerste (*taiji*) in sich trägt. In diesem Fall haben die Gelehrten, die das Dao besitzen, [konkrete] Formen geborgt, um das Dao zu erklären, und [sie hätten] nicht erlaubt, Abbilder aus Lehm zu formen, um sie anzubeten.³²

LIU YUAN betonte also den abstrakten Charakter der Drei Reinen und lehnte die dem Roman *Fengshen yanyi* entstammende populäre Tradition der Zwölf Gold-Unsterblichen strikt ab. Trotz dieser eindeutigen Haltung des wichtigsten Patrons, dessen Inschrift freilich auf dem Areal des Qingyang Gong auf einer Stele publik gemacht wurde, wurden diese populären Gottheiten dennoch figürlich dargestellt. Die intellektuelle „Richtigstellung“ dieser volkstümlichen Tradition durch die konfuzianischen Gönner des Qingyang Gong schloss – ganz im Gegensatz zu späteren Kampagnen gegen

³⁰ *Daode jing*, Kap. 42. Siehe z. B. SCHWARZ 1985, S. 92, 176–179.

³¹ Das im Westen bekannte System erscheint, kombiniert mit den zwölf Erdzweigen (*dizhi* 地支), in der von einem Ming-Prinzen verfassten Enzyklopädie *Tianhuang zhidao taiping yuce* 天皇至道太清玉冊; s. DZ 1483 (8.27b–28a), Bd. 36, S. 443a–b.

³² OLLES 2016, S. 458f.

den „Aberglauben“ – nicht die Aufstellung der entsprechenden Statuen und die Pflege ihres Kults in dem alten daoistischen Heiligtum aus.

Allerdings war LIU YUAN und seinen Nachfahren sehr daran gelegen, den Kult von Laozi zu fördern – und zwar unabhängig von den Drei Reinen. LIU bemerkte in seiner Inschrift von 1817, „dass die Drei Reinen und Laozi als Einheit verbunden seien, ist lediglich eine Behauptung der Daoisten.“³³ Die Gestaltung des Pavillons der Acht Trigramme, der vor der Halle der Drei Reinen steht, zeigt deutlich diese Absicht. Er enthält eine Statue von Laozi auf seinem Reittier, dem grauen Ochsen (*qingniu* 青牛), auf dem er einst China in Richtung Westen verlassen haben soll.³⁴ Einen Pavillon der Acht Trigramme gab es zwar schon vor dem Patronat der Liumen-Gemeinschaft, aber es ist nicht bekannt, welche Statue/n die Vorgängerbauten enthielten. Es ist durchaus möglich, dass unter dem Einfluss der Liumen-Tradition der der Haupthalle vorgelagerte Bagua Ting den Kult von Laozi außerhalb der Trinität der Sanqing unterstreichen sollte.

Der Bagua Ting ist ein elegantes und prächtig verziertes Gebäude, das den kosmischen Mittelpunkt bzw. die *axis mundi* des Qingyang Gong darstellt.³⁵ Es handelt sich um ein Oktogon mit Doppelwalmdach (zweifacher Regentraufe), dessen beide Traufen von jeweils acht im Kreis angeordneten Säulen getragen werden. Um die äußeren Steinsäulen winden sich insgesamt 80 Drachenfiguren, die kunstvoll aus dem Stein gemeißelt wurden. Zusammen mit einer im Pavillon hängenden eisernen Drachenfigur stehen sie für die 81 Inkarnationen Laozis.³⁶

Auf den acht Seiten der Außenwand des zweiten Stockwerks, also zwischen den beiden Dachtraufen, findet man die Darstellung der Acht Trigramme (*bagua* 八卦) aus dem *Buch der Wandlungen* (*Yijing* 易经) in der vorweltlichen (*xiantian* 先天) Anordnung, die auf den Urherrscher Fu Xi 伏羲 zurückgehen soll und die absolute Ordnung der Urkräfte vor der Entstehung des Universums widerspiegelt. Die Umfriedung und der Sockel des Pavillons, die aus rötlichem Stein gefertigt sind, stellen das gesamte traditionelle Weltbild Chinas dar. Die Umfriedung bildet ein Quadrat. In ihrer Mitte trägt ein achteckiger Sockel die Säulen, die die untere Dachtraufe stützen, und auf diesem Sockel befindet sich wiederum die kreisrunde Basis der Holzkonstruktion, die den Kern des Gebäudes bildet. Das Quadrat steht für die Erde, während der Kreis den Himmel repräsentiert. Dazwischen symbolisiert das Achteck die Sphäre der Menschen, die durch die in den Acht Trigrammen offenbarten Gesetze des Kosmos geordnet ist. Da die

³³ OLLES 2016, S. 459.

³⁴ Siehe LI/DING 2006, S. 49.

³⁵ Siehe Abb. 2.

³⁶ Zu den 81 Inkarnationen Laozis s. REITER 1990.

Menschen aber zur Sphäre der Phänomene mit ihrer innerweltlichen (*houtian* 後天) Gesetzmäßigkeit der zyklischen Erneuerung gehören, sind auf den Seiten des achteckigen Sockels die Trigramme in der *houtian*-Anordnung, die König Wen (Wen Wang 文王) zugeschrieben wird, eingemeißelt.³⁷ Himmel, Erde und der Mensch bilden zusammen die grundlegenden Drei Mächte (*sancai* 三才) des traditionellen Weltbildes.

Im Zentrum des Pavillons, zwischen den Sphären von *houtian* und *xiantian*, befindet sich die Statue von Laozi. In dieser dreidimensionalen Darstellung der chinesischen Weltanschauung kommt dem zentralen Kultbild eine herausragende Bedeutung zu – sowohl in der daoistischen Religion als auch in der Liumen-Tradition. Laozi verkörpert hier nicht weniger als das höchste Ziel menschlicher Selbstkultivierung: die „Rückkehr in den vorweltlichen Zustand“ (*fanhuan xiantian* 返還先天) bzw. die „Wiedererlangung der ursprünglichen Natur“ (*fuxing* 復性). Die konkrete Methode der Selbstkultivierung hatte – nach der Liumen-Tradition – einst Laozi an Konfuzius überliefert – und ein als Inkarnation Laozis geltender daoistischer Einsiedler später an LIU YUAN.³⁸ Da Laozi eine so wichtige Rolle in der Liumen-Lehre spielt, ist es nur natürlich, dass der Kult Laozis in allen Tempeln gefördert wurde, die unter dem Patronat der Liumen-Gemeinschaft standen. Die Gestaltung des Bagua Ting ist hierfür ein typisches Beispiel. Mit diesem Pavillon wurde aber nicht nur eine speziell Laozi gewidmete Kultstätte geschaffen. Der Bagua Ting ist ein Miniatur-Kosmos, der dem eingeweihten Betrachter gewiss auch als Inspiration und Anleitung in der Praxis der meditativen Selbstkultivierung dienen kann.

Da der Qingyang Gong an sich als Erscheinungsort Laozis gilt, ist das Interesse der Liumen-Gemeinschaft an diesem daoistischen Heiligtum leicht nachvollziehbar. Das Gleiche gilt für den „Berg des Laozi“ (Laojun Shan 老君山) im Kreis Xinjin 新津, dessen Tempel in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts vollständig von lokalen Liumen-Anhängern wiederaufgebaut und verwaltet wurde. Der Laojun Shan gehört zu einem frühen System religiöser Geographie des Daoismus. Seine spirituelle Legitimation und sein heutiger Name gehen allerdings auf eine örtliche Legende zurück, nach der Laozi sich einst auf diesen Berg zurückgezogen haben soll. Aus diesem Grund wurde der Tempel auf dem Laojun Shan bereits von LIU YUAN und seinen Nachfahren gefördert und renoviert. In der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde das Heiligtum nach einem verheerenden Brand von der lokalen Liumen-Gemeinschaft wiederaufgebaut, wobei das gesamte Gebäudeensemble

³⁷ Zu den Acht Trigrammen und ihrer Bedeutung im Daoismus s. den entsprechenden Eintrag von KIM DAHYEOL in PREGADIO 2008, Bd. 1, S. 201–203.

³⁸ Zur Praxis der Selbstkultivierung in der Liumen-Tradition s. OLLES 2013a, S. 21–26.

nach dem Vorbild des Qingyang Gong gestaltet wurde – mit Bagua Ting und Sanqing Dian als zentralen Bauten.³⁹

Sowohl der Qingyang Gong als auch der Tempel auf dem Laojun Shan dienen vor allem dem Kult Laozis, der von LIU YUAN sowie seinen Nachfahren und Schülern intensiv gefördert wurde. Zwar lehnten die Liumen-Patrone allzu wundertätige Aspekte in der theologischen Interpretation Laozis durch die Daoisten ab, doch unterstützten sie daoistische Kultstätten und – im Falle des Qingyang Gong – auch Gemeinschaften daoistischer Kleriker. So zeigt der Aufbau der Heiligtümer in Chengdu und Xinjin deutlich eine Fokussierung auf Laozi außerhalb der Trinität der Drei Reinen. Die Drei Reinen und die Zwölf Gold-Unsterblichen gehören zwar weiterhin zum Pantheon der daoistischen Heiligtümer, wurden aber eher widerwillig von LIU YUAN und seinen Anhängern akzeptiert. Daher bemühte sich LIU in seinen Inschriften auch stets, eine möglichst rationale Interpretation daoistischer Gottheiten zu verbreiten.

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³⁹ Zum Laojun Shan s. OLLES 2005; zum Neubau des Tempels durch die Liumen-Gemeinschaft s. OLLES 2012.

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Deconstructing Banzu and Longyamen: The *Daoyi zhilüe* (1349) in the New Early History of Singapore

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Summary: At the core of the present article is a critical survey of the interpretations of the *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略 (Brief account of island barbarians, 1349) that have helped establish Banzu 班卒 as a precursor of Singapore since the 1990s. Among the conclusions drawn from the original text by modern researchers are the identifications of Danmaxi 單馬錫 as Temasik on Singapore Island; Longyamen 龍牙門 (Dragon Teeth Strait) as Keppel Harbour or Keppel Strait; and the existence of a sojourning community of merchants from southern Fujian there. These assumptions are scrutinized through a close reading of the original text and the relevant secondary literature. I suggest that the new early history of Singapore is the result of partial interpretations of the original text published previously.¹

1 Introduction

In 2009 the *Straits Times* published an introduction by DEREK HENG to a book entitled *Singapore: A 700-year History-From Early Emporium to World City*:

Singapore: A 700-year History puts forth the central argument that the Singapore of today is very much the same as it had been throughout its documentable history: a port-city par excellence. ... The triumphalist narrative of Singapore's 20th century success against the odds due to the visionary foresight of great leaders past and present has to be viewed against the historical backdrop of Singapore's past successes.²

The new history's main objective consisted in giving Singapore a long-missed past. The acquisition of the much-publicized Belitung shipwreck by the Asian Civilisations Museum in Singapore emphasized the historical success story in material form. The wreck of which not much remains and allegedly of Arab origin³, in the eyes of the curators extended the history of

¹ The most recent critique of the new early Singapore history is CHEN HONGYU 2017, pp. 4–10.

² HENG 2009a.

³ FLECKER 2000, pp. 199–217. In the catalogue to an exhibition entitled 'Shipwrecked: Tang Treasures and Monsoon Winds' that opened at the ArtScience Museum in Singapore

Singapore as a trading hub to the ninth century.⁴ This despite the fact that the vessel had been found in Indonesian waters more than 600 km distant from Singapore.

The “triumphalist narrative” connected modern Singapore through newly uncovered evidence to a Singapore in the distant past. The new extended history had the added benefit that Singapore could claim its place among the oldest documented polities in Southeast Asia.

The idea of history as immediately applicable to contemporary identity politics was also palpable in an interview that DEREK HENG gave to the *New York Times* in 2014: “There’s a need to develop a collective social memory. It’s become a political issue”. HENG stressed the need to “construct an identity” especially in the face of continued immigration. In the same article JOHN N. MIKSIC opined that a “short history puts a nation on shaky ground”.⁵ Scholars subjected the historical record of early Singapore to development and construction in order to compete with other Southeast Asian nations that could look back on long and well-documented histories.

Temasik, the alleged precursor of Singapore, consequently emerged as an early trade center in the early fourteenth century mainly on the basis of three texts as well as archaeological evidence recovered since the mid-1980s.⁶ I am not doubting the artefacts recovered through archaeological findings, but find their connection to the textual sources problematic. I will focus on the *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略 (1349)⁷, the earliest of the three texts which also include the *Negarakertagama* by Prabanca of 1365 and the *Sejarah Melayu* of 1612, to highlight problems that occur in interpreting pre-modern Chinese sources. The textual evidence rests on two entries in the work, and these have been read almost exclusively through two translations into English published in 1915 and 1961. I shall in the following trace the new early Singapore history through translations and interpretations of the original text. In addition, I will critically evaluate a selection of the more important studies that provided the framework for the research undertaken by MIKSIC and HENG.

in 2011, FLECKER had firmly decided on an Arab origin of the boat. See FLECKER 2010, pp. 100–119. STEPHEN HAW disputes the Arab provenance of the vessel. See HAW 2017, pp. 77–81.

⁴ Asian Civilisations Museum 2015.

⁵ PETERSEN 2014.

⁶ On the problems facing archaeologists in Singapore, see MIKSIC 2011, pp. 217–234. For a recent summary of archaeological endeavours, see LIM 2017, pp. 9–10.

⁷ As the book is sometimes referred to as *Daoyi zhi* 島夷志 some scholars suspect this to be a different work. This problem has been highlighted most recently in PTAK 2016, pp. 54–56.

2 The *Daoyi zhilüe*⁸

WANG DAYUAN 汪大淵 (fl. 1st half 14th cent.) was a merchant who compiled information on trade in primarily Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean. The resulting text, the *Daoyi zhilüe*, was first attached to a local gazetteer dealing with Quanzhou. The gazetteer comprised twelve volumes, had the original title *Quanzhou lu Qingyuan zhi* 泉州路清源志, and was compiled by WU JIAN 吳堅 under the supervision of XIE YULI 偁五立 (fl. 1st half 14th cent.). XIE also invited WANG DAYUAN to submit his text as a supplement to the gazetteer. The *Qingyuan xuzhi* 清源續志, as the work since has come to be referred to, was only recorded in one catalogue of the Ming imperial library,⁹ but not in any other private or official catalogue. The only copy held by the imperial library probably was lost at the end of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The *Daoyi zhilüe* survived because WANG DAYUAN, who had given WU JIAN the right to copy his work, returned to his native Nanchang (in modern Jiangxi) with his own original copy. According to SU JIQING the earliest datable copy after the Yuan was one held by YUAN BIAO 袁表 (fl. 1st half 16th cent.), a native of Fujian, who in 1548 composed a note and attached it to the text. Another copy, without the note by YUAN, was held by the Tianyige 天一閣 -Library in Ningbo. According to the *Siku quanshu* catalogue this version of the text was error strewn.¹⁰

LONG FENGBIAO 龍鳳鏞 (1867–1909) included the *Daoyi zhilüe* in his *Zhifuzhai congshu* 知服齋叢書. SU JIQING suspected that the text followed closely the copy in PENG YUANRUI's 彭元瑞 (1731–1803) *Zhisheng daoizhai* 知聖道齋. PENG was involved in the compilation of the *Siku quanshu* and probably had access to the copy included there. According to SU, PENG's copy differed from the Tianyige copy that entered the *Siku quanshu*. It is obvious that the presently available text has gone through various stages of editing since its original compilation.

3 Western translations and studies

3.1 The Rockhill translation of the *Daoyi zhilüe* (1915)

The entries in the book that are of primary interest are those dealing with Banzu 班卒 and Longyamen 龍牙門.

⁸ I am following below mostly the detailed remarks on the work by SU JIQING 蘇繼庠 (1894–1973). See WANG DAYUAN 2000, pp. 1–15.

⁹ *Wenyuange shumu*, juan 19.242.

¹⁰ *Siku quanshu zongmu*, juan 71.631–632.

WILLIAM WOODVILLE ROCKHILL provided the first English translation of the entry on Banzu (the characters for which he rendered as 班率 [Banshuai]).¹¹ The translation of the entry on Longyamen¹² preceded that of Banzu, but ROCKHILL marked the entries in the sequence they had come under in the original text, namely number 44 for Banzu and number 49 for Longyamen. ROCKHILL had done this to generally differentiate between “eastern countries and western ones” (in the Eastern and Western Oceans, respectively), but he did not explicitly establish a direct connection between Longyamen and Banzu.¹³ ROCKHILL adopted the view held by SHEN ZENGZHI 沈曾植 (1850–1922), for whom Longyamen described the Singapore Straits.¹⁴

The entry on Longyamen in the original text follows after the entry on Banzu and one may assume that Longyamen is not necessarily a definite designation of a specific place, but possibly a generic term for a strait or straits.¹⁵ The Longyamen of the Banzu entry then may have referred to a strait and it may have been different from the area inhabited by the Danmaxi barbarians (Danmaxi fan 單馬錫番)¹⁶, said to be the inhabitants of the Longyamen.¹⁷ The Danmaxi barbarians are not mentioned in the Banzu entry.

The *Dong xi yang kao* 東西洋考 (On the eastern and western oceans, 1617) that SU JIQING thought referred to Danmaxi 淡馬錫,¹⁸ does so only by quoting from the *Xingcha shenglan* 星槎勝覽 (1436) entry on Longyamen.¹⁹

¹¹ ROCKHILL 1915, p. 133.

¹² ROCKHILL 1915, pp. 129–132.

¹³ ROCKHILL 1915, p. 64. ROCKHILL also mentioned an entry for a place called Guliban 古里班 in the *Mingshi* 明史 (official history of the Ming), but did not otherwise assert a relation between the Banzu in the *Daoyi zhilue* and that place. PAUL PELLIOU found it impossible to identify Guliban and another place called Banzuer 班卒兒, also recorded in the *Mingshi*. See PELLIOU 1959–1973, p. 663. For Guliban and Banzuer see *Mingshi, juan* 326.8546 and 324.8403, respectively.

¹⁴ SHEN ZENGZHI's *Daoyi zhilue guangzheng* 島夷志略廣證, that ROCKHILL consulted, was published in Shanghai in 1912–1913. For more on this work see WANG DAYUAN 2000, p. 13.

¹⁵ For a short discussion of attempts to identify Longyamen and Danmaxi see MILLS 1996, p. 85 notes 20 and 21.

¹⁶ Danmaxi only once occurs in the *Daoyi zhilue* in this form. A possible variant is Niudanxi 牛單錫 found in the entry on Nanwuli 喃巫哩. The original character *wu* has the radical *kou* 口 on its left side; I could not represent that character here. The Nanwuli people are characterized in their piratical activities like those of “the Niudanxi”. ROCKHILL suggested Lambri (northern Sumatra) for Nanwuli, and Danmaxi for Niudanxi. See ROCKHILL 1915, pp. 143–144. FUJITA believed *niu* to be an error for *ma*. See WANG DAYUAN 2000, p. 217 note 2. This variant reading does not explain the reverse order of the first two characters.

¹⁷ PELLIOU opted tentatively for Singapore Island as Temasik. See PELLIOU 1904, p. 345 note 4. GERINI, in contrast, suggested Bukit Timah as the location for Danmaxi on account of the *Sejarah Melayu* narrative. See GERINI 1905, pp. 500–501.

¹⁸ WANG DAYUAN 2000, p. 217 note 2.

¹⁹ See ZHANG XIE 2000, p. 177.

3.2 Rouffaer on Banzu (1921)

GERRIT PIETER ROUFFAER identified Bintan Island as a possible location for Banzu and shifted the focus farther away from Singapore by denoting Longyamen ('Draken-tand kanaal') as the Singapore Strait.²⁰ The geographical feature that swayed ROUFFAER to accept Bintan Island as the location of the "hollow topped summit" was the "de zgn. Zadelberg of Piek van Bintan". That saddle mountain is Gunung Bintan Besar that features two peaks and reaches a height of 360m. In 1858 GILLES VAN OVERBEEK DE MEIJER reported on the "Zadelberg":

De helling derzelve is zeer verschillend: nu eens steil aflopend, dan weder zacht glooiend, somtijds ook wel door plateaux afgewisseld, en meestal zwaar begroeid met wilde heesters and boomen.

"Its slope varies: Sometimes steeply slanting, sometimes gently inclined, now and then broken by uplands, it is heavily overgrown with shrubs and trees."²¹

Prior to the introduction of the "Zadelberg" VAN OVERBEEK DE MEIJER had observed the mountain tops in the region:

... zijn gewoonlijk afgerond, meermalen zelfs plano-concaaf, zoo als bijv de op het eiland Bentan gelegene zadelberg

"They are usually rounded, but some of them are even plano-concave such as the saddle mountain located on Bintan island."

This phrase describes the top of the mountain in exactly the same way as the *Daoyi zhibùe* did with the character 凹, concave (see below). The shape of the mountain, its height and its location, made Bintan Island a viable option for the location of Banzu.

3.3 The Wheatley translation (1961)

For PAUL WHEATLEY Keppel Harbour fit the description of Longyamen.²² In order to explain the term Longyamen, WHEATLEY picked up a remark by WARREN D. BARNES:

The words Leng-ge-muy (Amoy dialect) translated by Groeneveldt 'the straits of Lingga' mean dragon-teeth; and in the Amoy dialect 'dragon-teeth' is the name given to the two upright pegs in the bows of a ship through which the cable runs.²³

²⁰ ROUFFAER 1921, p. 156 note 44.

²¹ DE MEIJER 1859, p. 328.

²² WHEATLEY 1961, p. 82.

²³ BARNES 1911, p. 25.

The text BARNES referred to was the *Xingcha shenglan*. The introductory part locating Longyamen – perhaps from the *Daoyi zhilüe* – is either an addition by FEI XIN 費信 (1385/1388–ca. 1436), author of the *Xingcha shenglan*, or by a later editor. WHEATLEY ignored GROENEVELDT's translation that described a geographical setup almost identical to the “dragon-teeth” he was working on. GROENEVELDT's translation of the Longyamen 龍牙門 entry in the *Xingcha shenglan* reads:

The Strait of Lingga is situated to the north-west of Palembang (San-bo-tsai); high mountains face each other as the teeth of a dragon and between these the ships pass.²⁴

Like WHEATLEY MILLS disagreed with GROENEVELDT's Strait of Lingga, and replaced it in his translation with the Singapore Strait.²⁵ The topographical nature of the Lingga Islands with Mt. Daik reaching a height of 1165m above sea level on the main island of Lingga may have been one reason why GROENEVELDT opted for this area as Longyamen. He may also have assumed a close phonetic relationship of the terms Lingga and Longyamen.

The entry on Longya xijiao 龍牙犀角 in the *Xingcha shenglan* resembles the *Daoyi zhilüe* entry on Banzu quite closely in some respects, such as the geographical description, and especially the final paragraph. MILLS translates it as follows: “This land is level within and mountainous without”.²⁶

The generic description of the indigenous population of Banzu in the *Daoyi zhilüe* is reflected in the entry on Langkawi (Longyashanti 龍牙善提) that includes a dragon-teeth formation as well: “Round about here are hills, and rows of rocks are piled up to form gates”.²⁷

WHEATLEY embellished BARNES' explanation in order to firmly locate Longyamen at Keppel Harbour in Singapore:

‘Dragon-teeth’ (龍牙) was the name for the two vertical pegs at the bow of a junk through which was carried the anchor cable, and hence was a term applied by Chinese sailors to natural features such as twin peaks or, in the present instance, to prominent rocks weathered out from strong, jointed granite which formerly overlooked the western entrance to Keppel Harbour (...). One of these, known as Batu Berlayar, was demolished in 1848 during the widening of the strait.²⁸

WHEATLEY did not give a source for the application of the naval pegs as markers of geographical features, nor did he explain when and why one rock

²⁴ GROENEVELDT 1880, p. 79.

²⁵ MILLS 1996, pp. 85–86.

²⁶ MILLS 1996, p. 59.

²⁷ MILLS 1996, 86.

²⁸ WHEATLEY 1961, pp. 82–83.

was given the term “dragon-teeth”. The correct term for one single stone should have been “dragon-tooth” and not the plural form. WHEATLEY in a footnote pointed out a potential counterpart of the Batu Berlayar (Sailing Rock) in a text from 1703:

On the South-side of the Straits is a Bluff-Rock and smooth aloft, with Trees, and Grass, and on the North-side is a scragged Rock, shewing like a ruined Wall.²⁹

This information came from JOHN THORNTON (1641–1708) who had revised “The *English Pilot* for Oriental Navigation”, a work that originally had been published in 1675.³⁰ Supposing that Batu Berlayar referred to the “scragged Rock”, its counterpart would have to be the western part of Sentosa Island that is occupied by Fort Siloso on Serapong Mountain.³¹ In this geographical setting, WANG DAYUAN would have described an arrival from the west into the harbor.

WHEATLEY with the unreferenced explanation of *longya* and its application to landmarks was able to place Longyamen in or at Keppel Harbour. The *Daoyi zhilüe* makes clear that Longyamen referred to two mountains or islands, and not to one single rock. The description of Longya xijiao in the *Xingcha shenglan* less than one hundred years later still included two hills with rock formations. In light of the original Chinese text and BARNES’ nautical explanation, WHEATLEY’s casual textual enrichment underlined his main argument for which he otherwise lacked evidence. BARNES had not had access to the *Daoyi zhilüe* and its description of Longyamen; his earliest Chinese source was the *Xingcha shenglan*. Therefore, he had brought up the nautical explanation, but did not mention the granite rock at all. The reference to the pegs on the junk as an explanation for the designation Dragon Tooth Straits only made sense in the context of the absence of the *Daoyi zhilüe* topographical explanation for Longyamen.

WHEATLEY explained that Fort Canning Hill was the only hill overlooking Keppel Harbour, and therefore it had to be the original site of Banzu. He also cited a report from 1822 that mentioned terraces that he thought were described in the original text.³² This is the most likely reason why his translation for the original phrase (*ruo chan ruo duan qi ao feng er panjie gu min huan ju yan* 若纏若斷起凹峯而盤結故民環居焉) reads: “It resembles a truncated coil. It rises to a hollow summit, [surrounded by] interconnected

²⁹ WHEATLEY 1961, 83 note 1.

³⁰ THORNTON’s description of the passage through Keppel Harbour starting from the west is found in GIBSON-HILL 1954, p. 190.

³¹ MILLS 1974, p. 28.

³² WHEATLEY 1961, pp. 83–84.

terraces, so that the people dwellings encircle it.” He probably mistook *pan-jie* for ‘interconnected terraces’ when that term simply means ‘to link’ or ‘to connect’. I would suggest the following translation: “Sometimes sloping, sometimes breaking off, it rises to a summit with two peaks that are linked. That is the reason why the people dwell around it.” The character 𡵓 graphically describes two peaks at the summit and it is these two that are connected. The Banzu people did not live on terraces, but at the foot of the mountain.

WHEATLEY may either have missed or ignored the report by Mr. BUTLER, the engineer responsible for the construction work for a water reservoir at Fort Canning Hill. BUTLER’s report indicates that Fort Canning Hill did not have two peaks:

The Hill was originally a cone-shaped eminence, but when Fort Canning was built the summit was taken off and with excavated earth a plateau of approximately 10 acres was formed, surrounded by ramparts and a moat.³³

A cone-shaped hill does not fit WANG DAYUAN’s Banzu mountain with two peaks. WHEATLEY’s disregard for the topographical features described in the original text influenced later scholars to insist on Fort Canning Hill as part of an early Singapore settlement. WHEATLEY’s translations were not radically different from those of ROCKHILL, but WHEATLEY’s accompanying interpretations made a profound impression.

In the original Chinese text four more places (Puben 蒲奔, Jialimada 假里馬打, Wenlaogu 文老古, Gulidimen 古里地悶)³⁴ are recorded by WANG DAYUAN, after the entry on Banzu and before Longyamen appears. WHEATLEY assumed that the Longyamen mentioned in the Banzu entry and the Longyamen in the separate entry were one and the same. The relative distance between the two, indicated by the four other places inserted in between them, would have been considerable.

WHEATLEY’s reading of the two pertinent entries in sequence established a proximity between Longyamen and Banzu that did not exist in the original text. WHEATLEY presupposed Longyamen and Banzu to be on the Malay Peninsula and dispensed with the four places that were not.³⁵

³³ WINSTEDT 1928, p. 1.

³⁴ For the possible locations of these places see WANG DAYUAN 2000, pp. 199–200, 203–204, 205–207, and 210–211.

³⁵ WHEATLEY 1961, p. 77. MILLS accepted the existence of a Chinese settlement in Singapore in 1350, a view probably based on the *Daoyi zhilüe*. See MILLS 1970, p. 326.

4 The new historical account of Singapore since the 1990s

BRIAN E. COLLESS pre-empted much of what in the late 1990s came to be addressed as the new early history of Singapore in 1969.³⁶ Taking his lead from WHEATLEY, he accepted the latter's identification of Banzu with Fort Canning Hill, at the same rejecting ROUFFAER's identification of Banzu with Bintan. Also, in 1969, the *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* dedicated its first issue of that year to the celebration of the 150-year-anniversary of Singapore. The introduction, written by EUNICE THIO summarized the history of Singapore up to that point:

If practically nothing is known about Singapore in the first millennium of our era, some definite information is available in the 14th century. The island was then identified as *Temasik* (or Tumasik) in the *Negarakertagama* [sic] composed in 1365 by Prapanca and as *Tan-ma-hsi* in Wang Ta Yuan's geographical handbook, *Tao-i-chi-lioh* compiled in 1349. The latter describes the trade that went on there and the nucleus of the ancient settlement sited on terraces cut in the slopes of Fort Canning Hill behind *Lung-ya-men* (Dragon Teeth Strait) which is now accepted as the Chinese mariners' name for the Keppel Harbour passage between the south coast of Singapore and Blakang Mati. ... One explanation of how the settlement came to be called Singapura instead of Temasek appears in the extract from the *Sejarah Melayu* or Malay Annals.³⁷

The sources THIO mentioned here are the same that Singapore scholars employed since the 1990s to recreate an ancient history for Singapore (*Negarakertagama*, *Daoyi zhilüe*, *Sejarah Melayu*). With this in mind we may subject the new ancient history to closer scrutiny to see if it really differed radically from the history of old Singapore pieced together until the late sixties.

With the discovery of archaeological evidence in Singapore since the mid-1980s,³⁸ new interpretations of the translations by ROCKHILL and WHEATLEY were a main step in confirming the existence of an important pre-modern trading post there.³⁹

JOHN N. MIKSIC in 1994 set the tone for all following studies by referring to a number of sources. Among these were a Vietnamese historical record, and the *Yuanshi* 元史 (Official History of the Yuan, completed in 1370), which he employed to underline the assumption that Temasik and Long-yamen, respectively, were known in Vietnam and China in the first half of the fourteenth century. He distinguished between two groups settling in

³⁶ COLLESS 1969, pp. 1–11.

³⁷ THIO 1969, pp. 1–2.

³⁸ MIKSIC 1985.

³⁹ For a survey of texts and archaeological discoveries in pre-colonial Singapore until the late 1990s see BORELL 2001.

adjacent places and employed the *Daoyi zhilüe* to place one group in “Dragons’ Tooth Strait” (*Longyamen*). He referred to Longyamen as a waterway which he found between Sentosa Island and Labrador Point with the Batu Berlayar, namely Keppel Strait. MIKSIC found it hard to accept that Chinese mingled with the people at Longyamen who were pirates, and that no Chinese settlers were recorded for Banzu with its “sedentary, peaceful population”. He addressed Banzu, where he had the second group reside, as Pancur (‘spring’ in Malay). He explained that Pancur had had a moat that had been attested to by the *Sejarah Melayu*,⁴⁰ and a wall which a British officer had seen and reported on in the early nineteenth century.⁴¹ The wall or earthen rampart was furthermore shown in a map of 1825 that referred to it as the “Old lines of Singapore”, after which time it disappeared.⁴² He found confirmation for the existence of fortifications and thus the identification of Danmaxi 單馬錫 with Temasik as precursor of Singapore in another entry from the *Daoyi zhilüe* that described an attack of the Xian 暹 against Danmaxi.⁴³ In the following we shall focus on MIKSIC’s main statements on Longyamen as Keppel Strait and on Banzu as a Chinese settlement.

4.1 Longyamen (Dragon’s Teeth Strait) and the “Dragon’s Tooth Strait”⁴⁴

The Longyamen entry in the *Daoyi zhilüe* does not record a specific country of Longyamen. WANG DAYUAN referred to a geological formation in the shape of two teeth in a dragon’s mouth like $\wedge\wedge$ with the space in between forming a natural channel: “The straits are formed by the two mountains/islands, inhabited by the Danmaxi barbarians, who face each other like dragons’ teeth (*longya zhuang* 龍牙狀).” The original term used in the various editions of the text was Longyamen 龍牙門, but since the *Xingcha shenglan* used *longya zhuang*, the modern edition adopted this form.⁴⁵ The relevant

⁴⁰ BROWN 1952, p. 51. Cf. also the translation of the same passage in LEYDEN 1821, p. 87.

⁴¹ CRAWFURD 1830, p. 69.

⁴² Lt. Philip Jackson in 1828 produced “A Plan of the Town of Singapore” that does not feature the ‘lines’, but that could be due to his drawing up a plan for further development of the settlement. His plan is found in FROST/BALASINGAMCHOW 2012, p. 65. Jackson is the likely author of an early sketch of Singapore that is described in detail in PEARSON 1953, pp. 43–55.

⁴³ MIKSIC 1994, pp. 229–250.

⁴⁴ LIN WOLING 林義鈴 in 1999 discussed variant opinions on the location of the Longyamen. See his *Longyamen xinkao: Zhongguo gudai Nanhai liang zhuayao hangdao yaochong de lishi dili yanjiu* 龍牙門新考：中國古代南海兩主要行道要衝的歷史地理研究 (Singapore, 1999). At the time of writing I have had no access to this work.

⁴⁵ See the entry quoted in ZHANG XIE 2000, p. 177, and the annotation by SU JIQING in WANG DAYUAN 2000, p. 214.

entry in the *Xingcha shenglan* merely states the location of Longyamen to the north of Sanfoqi 三佛齊 (Srivijaya) in Sumatra. ROCKHILL simply translated the entry, but did not venture to pinpoint Longyamen in more detail.⁴⁶

IR. J. L. MOENS followed WANG DAYUAN's description of the mountains and hence had marked 'Str. Tan-ma-si' between Singapore Island and Pulau Batam.⁴⁷ Hence "Danmaxi" covered the area of the two islands, and Longyamen was the waterway passing through them.

ROLAND BRADDELL thought that "Pan-tsu ... must have been in the State of Johore and possibly Gunong Pulau".⁴⁸ BRADDELL had taken issue with a statement by HAN WAI TOON that Longyamen in Song and Yuan times referred to Kuala Johore and hence not to Keppel Harbour.⁴⁹ HAN had also proposed to understand Danmaxi as an attribute to the barbarians (Danmaxi fan 單馬錫番) who resided in the area of Longyamen, and thus addressed Danmaxi as an ethnonym. For him Danmaxi identified a group called "Orang Tambus".⁵⁰

BRADDELL adopted Hsü YÜN-TS'IAO's rejection⁵¹ of HAN's view in favor of Keppel Harbour and insisted on Danmaxi as a geographic term denoting Temasik. For him Longyamen was an area related to Singapore. This idea necessitated the transformation of the Danmaxi barbarians from an ethnic group into a specific region that is Singapore Island.⁵² BRADDELL's article comprised most of the texts and secondary scholarly literature that also feature prominently in the new ancient Singapore history, such as the *Negerakertagama*⁵³, the *Sejarah Melayu*, the ROCKHILL translation of the *Daoyi zhilüe*, and JOHN CRAWFURD's report of 1822. Its main purpose though was to renounce the rather damning judgement by H. D. COLLINGS

⁴⁶ ROCKHILL 1915, p. 132.

⁴⁷ MOENS 1940, map 4.

⁴⁸ BRADDELL 1950, pp. 43–44.

⁴⁹ BRADDELL read HAN WAI TOON 1948a, pp. 17–35 (original HAN WAI TOON 1948b, pp. 5–25).

⁵⁰ HAN WAI TOON 1948b, pp. 26–27. The *orang tambus* are a sub-group of the *orang laut* and were described by J. R. LOGAN as residents of the Johore Archipelago. See LOGAN 1847, p. 336. WILKINSON identified them as "a tribe of the *orang laut* of the Riau Archipelago". See WILKINSON 1901, p. 181. HAN made the point that Danmaxi could not have been the name for the area of old Singapore since neither the *Xingcha shenglan* nor the *Yingya shenglan* 瀛涯勝覽 (1st half 15th cent.) by MA HUAN 馬歡 made any mention of it, though the treasure fleet would have passed by in its vicinity.

⁵¹ Hsü YÜN-TS'IAO 1948a, pp. 1–16 (original Hsü YÜN-TS'IAO 1948b, pp. 26–37).

⁵² For BRADDELL Danmaxi represented a toponym that he declared to be a transliteration of Temasik. He found confirmation of this view in PELLIOU 1904, p. 345, and COEDÈS 1968, pp. 204 and 352.

⁵³ The evidence consists of a mere enumeration of places subject to Majapahit. See PIGEAUD 1960–1963, p. 17.

who relegated the existence of Singapura and Temasik to “the fancies of Malay folk tales and the religious and political yearnings of the then ruling house”.⁵⁴

RODERICH PTAK identified Longyamen with the Singapore Strait, but explained that he understood Longyamen to specifically describe “one part in the central section of this strait”.⁵⁵

MIKSIC’ designation “Dragon’s Tooth Strait” is conceivable only as a designation for the single standing rock Batu Berlayar that WHEATLEY had remarked upon as well.

MIKSIC’s mistaken understanding of the Chinese term can be traced throughout his writings.⁵⁶ MIKSIC repeated the BARNES/WHEATLEY nautical explanation of *longya* and used the thus identified rock as “incontrovertible” evidence for Longyamen to mark the passage between Labrador Point and Sentosa, but he failed to identify the second dragon tooth.⁵⁷ He ignored J.V.G. MILLS’ critical view that “there is no merit in the suggestion that ‘Dragon teeth’ referred to vertical rocks at the western entrance of Keppel Harbour”.⁵⁸ MILLS had based his detailed rejection of Longyamen as the Keppel Strait on practical nautical concerns such as water depths.⁵⁹

PTAK suggested that the mountains of the Longyamen themselves may have looked like dragon’s teeth.⁶⁰ MUNOZ without further explanation placed the two mountains on Bintan Island, namely Gunung Bintan Kecil and Gunung Bintan Besar.⁶¹

WOLTERS claimed that the Longyamen of the *Daoyi zhibi* – for which he accepted WHEATLEY’s Keppel Harbour – was identical with a Longyamen recorded in the *Yuanshi*.⁶² The *Yuanshi* has two entries on Longyamen, namely one that records a mission from the Yuan court to that place

⁵⁴ COLLINGS 1948, p. 35.

⁵⁵ MILLS 1996, p. 85 note 20.

⁵⁶ MIKSIC 1994b, p. 257; 2004, p. 46; 2005, p. 41; 2010, p. 108.

⁵⁷ MIKSIC 2011b, p. 26. See also MIKSIC 2013, p. 156.

⁵⁸ MILLS 1974, pp. 26–32 and p. 71 note 217.

⁵⁹ MILLS 1970, pp. 311–328. MILLS’ major sources were the Mao Kun Map, the *Shun-feng xiangsong* 順風相送, the *Zhinan zhengfa* 指南正法 and the *Dong Xi yang kao*. MILLS repeated the sailing course through the Singapore main strait in MILLS 1979, p. 76. He had as early as 1937 addressed Longyamen as Singapore Strait. See MILLS 1937, 21. MILLS had taken issue with an article by C.A. GIBSON-HILL that had referred to the BARNES explanation for Longyamen without acknowledging BARNES as its author. See GIBSON-HILL 1956, p. 37. This article was merely a revised and extended version of GIBSON-HILL 1954 that makes no reference to the Dragon Tooth.

⁶⁰ PTAK 1995, p. 61.

⁶¹ MUNOZ 2006, pp. 188–189.

⁶² WOLTERS 1970, p. 78.

to purchase tamed elephants in 1320, while the other reported on a tribute mission from Longyamen to China in 1325. HSÜ YÜN-TS'IAO similarly employed one of the *Yuanshi* entries to underline the validity of BRADDELL's and WHEATLEY's views.⁶³

The original entry in the *Yuanshi* reads for the *jiazhen* day of the ninth month of the seventh year of the reign era Yanyou (autumn 1320): "The barbarian Mazha 馬扎 (or Mazhaman 馬扎蠻) and others were sent to Zhancheng, Zhanla, and Longyamen, to search for domesticated elephants".⁶⁴ Since Zhancheng is Champa and Zhanla a country bordering Champa,⁶⁵ this specific country of Longyamen neighbored the two and therefore was more likely situated somewhere on the Indochinese Peninsula rather than at the tip of the Malay Peninsula.

The second occurrence of Longyamen in the *Yuanshi* simply says:

On the *guichou* day (of the fifth month of the second year of the Taiding reign), the Longyamen barbarians (Longyamen man 龍牙門蠻) sent envoys who submitted a memorial together with local products as tribute.⁶⁶

The relevant date in the Western calendar refers to mid-June of the year 1325. The term Longyamen in this instance is used as an attribute to describe the southern barbarians. Elephants as DEREK HENG noted were not necessarily endemic to Singapore, so he explained them as imports from the "Johore hinterland" to Longyamen from where they then shipped abroad.⁶⁷ The *Yuanshi* entries via HSÜ's article from 1972 form another often referenced piece in the accepted line of argument of early direct relations between Longyamen/Singapore and the Yuan dynasty.⁶⁸

How do we know that the *Yuanshi* Longyamen is the same that WANG DAYUAN recorded in passing? The *Yuanshi* Longyamen barbarians are not linked to Danmaxi. The *Yuanshi* talks of the Longyamen barbarians, WANG talks of the Danmaxi barbarians. The Longyamen barbarians and Danmaxi barbarians most likely were different ethnic groups residing in different geographical areas.

⁶³ HSÜ YÜN-TS'IAO 1972, pp. 3–4.

⁶⁴ *Yuanshi*, juan 27.606.

⁶⁵ *Yuanshi* 209.4641.

⁶⁶ *Yuanshi* 29.656.

⁶⁷ HENG THIAM SOON 1999, p. 118.

⁶⁸ See MIKSIC 1994a, p. 230; 1994b, pp. 257–258; HENG 1999, pp. 118–119; MIKSIC 2004, p. 43; KWA C.G./D. HENG/TAN TAI YONG 2009, p. 31; MIKSIC 2010a, p. 112; FROST/BALASINGAMCHOW 2012, p. 15; MIKSIC 2013, p. 169.

4.2 Banzu as a Chinese settlement

The identification of Banzu posed problems similar to that of Longyamen. PELLIOU traced the origin of the word *pancur* from a root in “the Malay chronicle *Sejarah Melayu*” and finally to an “original Arabic source which gave *Fanšūri*”.⁶⁹ ROCKHILL found himself unable to determine the exact location of Banzu and suggested “Panchor?” that either denoted places “on the coast of Malacca, or “Batam or Bintan island” or “Pulo Panjang” (close to Java).⁷⁰ ROUFFAER referred to a story in the *Hikayat Abdullah*, a text compiled by Munshi Abdullah and first published in 1849 that gave a hint for the identification of “Pancur”.⁷¹ This was recounted by a local informant:

There is a story dating from the kings of ancient times, that it was on this hill that their palace was built. So it was forbidden for any man to ascend the hill except at the ruler's command or summons. Behind it is a stream known as the Forbidden Stream, for it was the place where the consorts and the wife of the king used to bathe, and no one was allowed to approach.”⁷²

The “Forbidden Stream” or *pancur larangan* from this legend served to locate Banzu on Fort Canning Hill. ROUFFAER assumed that the “Pantjoer Larangan” would have had to be on the western side of the hill. It is possible that WHEATLEY adopted his view of Pancur from ROUFFAER whose work he listed in his bibliography, but whom as mentioned above, he had not consulted for the original shape of Fort Canning Hill.

WOLTERS suggested that Banzu designated a village named Pansur in the vicinity of Barus in northwest Sumatra.⁷³

MIKSIC alleged that it was ROCKHILL who identified Banzu with a fresh water spring.⁷⁴ That is not the case nor does the *Daoyi zhilüe* report on such a spring. Yet HENG claimed that ROCKHILL had placed Banzu on Fort Canning Hill and that “The name Pan-Tzu [sic] is currently accepted as a transliteration of the Malay term ‘pancur’ or spring, which may have been a well-known feature of the settlement”.⁷⁵ Later HENG turned to the “forbidden bath” as the origin of the fresh water spring thus taking the undated legend at face value as did MIKSIC.⁷⁶

⁶⁹ PELLIOU 1959–1963, p. 663.

⁷⁰ ROCKHILL 1915, p. 133.

⁷¹ ROUFFAER 1921, p. 378 note 1.

⁷² HILL 1955, p. 127.

⁷³ WOLTERS 1967, p. 180.

⁷⁴ MIKSIC 1994a, p. 233 note 1.

⁷⁵ HENG 1999, p. 115.

⁷⁶ HENG 2002, pp. 78 and 76; MIKSIC 2010b, p. 109; MIKSIC 2013, p. 216. Note that HENG referred incorrectly to WHEATLEY 1961, pp. 82–83 as the source of identification

Fort Canning Hill as a location for Banzu only works with the acceptance of the local legend as a factual record. The *Daoyi zhibiue* account does not provide definite evidence to support this view. Yet, MIKSIC and HENG managed to establish a Chinese settlement in Banzu/Singapore. Note that PURCELL had referred to a “fairly large settlement of Chinese” for “Tumasik”.⁷⁷ He inferred that settlement from the two entries on the Xian attack and on Longyamen⁷⁸ and thus he anticipated much of what HENG and MIKSIC would lay out in more detail later.

For MIKSIC ROCKHILL’s translation confirmed the “physical characteristics” of Fort Canning Hill. He therefore formulated the idea of an “organized system of government (rather than an unstable pirate lair) and a sedentary, peaceful population”.⁷⁹ He could not accept that Chinese lived with the Danmaxi pirates, and that the *Daoyi zhibiue* did not report on Chinese residents in Banzu. Hence, he declared that WANG DAYUAN might have mixed up his information, and that the Chinese actually were residents of Banzu and not living among and with the pirates.⁸⁰ He repeated this assumption in his book on early Singapore history.⁸¹ HENG declared the original Chinese text to be corrupt as well and based his statement on MIKSIC’s work, using almost identical terminology.⁸²

MIKSIC from 1994 onwards always referred to a resident Chinese community in Banzu – “Wang Dayuan records the presence of Chinese residents in a trading port (Pancur)”⁸³ – and spoke of “the organized trading settlement of Banzu”.⁸⁴

The Banzu chief in his view managed the people who were “more sophisticated than the people of Longyamen” because they produced salt from seawater and alcohol from fermented rice.⁸⁵ Salt and alcohol production are not features confined and exclusive to Banzu, but they occur more than three

of Banzu with Pancur on p. 86, as did MIKSIC 2004, p. 44. The pages in WHEATLEY 1961 merely contain the translation of the Banzu entry and WHEATLEY’s commentary.

⁷⁷ PURCELL 1965, p. 16.

⁷⁸ PURCELL 1965, p. 235.

⁷⁹ MIKSIC 1994a, p. 233.

⁸⁰ MIKSIC 2010a, p. 112. MIKSIC probably was influenced by WHEATLEY who had “religious and trading communities” of some size planted on Fort Canning Hill, and “Straits pirates” whom he identified as “sea gypsies” in Keppel Harbour. See WHEATLEY 1961, pp. 84–85. Previously HAN had questioned the idea that Chinese merchants would have passed through Keppel Harbour “that was extensively infested by brigands”. HAN WAI TOON 1948a, p. 24.

⁸¹ MIKSIC 2013, p. 174.

⁸² HENG 2002, p. 73.

⁸³ MIKSIC 2000, p. 199.

⁸⁴ MIKSIC 2010a, p. 112.

⁸⁵ MIKSIC 2010a, p. 115.

dozen times throughout the *Daoyi zhilüe*.⁸⁶ The most common reference is: "The people make salt by boiling sea water, and they make alcohol from millet. They have a chieftain" (*min zhu hai wei yan, niang xiao mi wei jiu. You qiu zhang* 民煮海為鹽 釀小米為酒 有酋長),⁸⁷ and the like, depending from which grain or fruit the alcohol is derived.

The *Daoyi zhilüe* describes the land in Banzu as barren, yet MIKSIC had the Banzu people among other "economic activities" pursue agriculture.⁸⁸ MIKSIC consequently described old Singapore as a place where "planning and technological skills combined to create businesses dependent on long-term planning and investment".⁸⁹ HENG, in contrast, explained that Temasik "did not have any significant agrarian base".⁹⁰

HENG like MIKSIC opined that the *Daoyi zhilüe* reported on two settlements on Singapore Island, namely "Long Ya Men (present-day Keppel Straits) and another known as Pan-Tzu [sic], which was located on Fort Canining Hill".⁹¹ In his ambition to identify Longyamen as a place that exported a special kind of lakawood, HENG declared that

Only the lakawood available at Pan-Tzu [sic] was accorded the suffix *mu*, denoting it as construction timber. This type of lakawood appears to have been available only at Pan-Tzu [sic] and nowhere else on the Malay Peninsula.⁹²

His reference is the Chinese text reproduced in WHEATLEY:

上等鶴頂中等降真木棉花

The WHEATLEY translation reads: ... very fine hornbill casques, lakawood of moderate quality and cotton ...⁹³

The modern punctuated edition of the Chinese text reads:

上等鶴頂, 中等降真, 木棉花

Both WHEATLEY and SU JIQING understood *mu* 木 as a prefix to *mianhua* 棉花 (lit. cotton tree flowers) that refers to the cotton tree (*bombax ceiba*).⁹⁴ HENG's translation does not do the original justice and so *jiangzhen* falls short of construction wood.

⁸⁶ WANG DAYUAN 2000, pp. 13, 17, 23, 33, 38, 50, 56, 60, 69, 79, 86, 89, 93, 96, 97, 109, 114, 120, 141, 148, 173, 175, 178, 181, 187, 190, 227, 250, 270, 277, 297, 305, 308, 339, 342, 349, 358, 369.

⁸⁷ WANG DAYUAN 2000, p. 79.

⁸⁸ MIKSIC 2010a, p. 119.

⁸⁹ MIKSIC 2013, 266.

⁹⁰ HENG 2010, p. 61.

⁹¹ HENG 1999, p. 115.

⁹² HENG 1999, p. 117.

⁹³ WHEATLEY 1961, p. 83.

⁹⁴ For more references on *jiangzhen xiang* 降真香 (incense) see MILLS 1970, p. 81 note 2.

The alleged “Chinese residents” of Banzu underwent a number of modifications in the course of the elaboration of Banzu as a place of trade. The *Daoyi zhilüe* reports that “males and females live with the Chinese” (*nan nü jian zhongguoren ju zhi* 男女兼中國人居之) in the Longyamen entry.⁹⁵ MIKSIC forced the migration of Chinese from the Longyamen entry to the Banzu entry which allowed him to state about Pancur: “Therefore Singapore is the oldest site of overseas Chinese settlers, attested both historically and archaeologically”.⁹⁶ HENG in support of this view declared that “Longyamen [Keppel Straits] had “Chinese residents who were from Quanzhou” and again misrepresented WANG’s text as the source of this information. A few lines on he suggested that “Banzi [sic] (north bank of the Singapore River) ... had a resident Chinese population as well”.⁹⁷

The assumed presence of Quanzhou people allows a glimpse into how MIKSIC and HENG approached the text. Where HENG tentatively had talked only of Quanzhou people in Longyamen, MIKSIC claimed that WANG DAYUAN had reported on “products of Quanzhou traders’ being available there”.⁹⁸ HENG may have been influenced by a remark from WHEATLEY:

The tantalizingly incomplete reference to a Chinese community is the first record of these people being resident in Malaya.⁹⁹ Presumably [my emphasis] they were a group of the Ch’üan-chou traders mentioned a few lines later.¹⁰⁰

This is an indication that WHEATLEY relied heavily on the ROCKHILL translation because it was ROCKHILL who had introduced the “Ch’üan-chou traders”. It is important to note that WHEATLEY altogether skipped the information of how the commodities were obtained.

The original text does not relate the resident Chinese (*zhongguoren*) to the Quanzhou trade. The term employed in the DING edition is *huoyi* 貿易 (exchange of goods) for which SU JIQING decided. The PENG and LONG editions have *maoyi* 貿易 (trade). Since ROCKHILL and WHEATLEY used the LONG edition, they translated *maoyi* as ‘traders’.

The reason why SU followed the DING version is that *wu* 物 (products) specifies *huoyi*. Consequently, PTAK paraphrased the relevant text

Sometimes sailors [...] are attacked by the locals who kill them and take their belongings. All merchandise that is sent from there to Quanzhou [...] is obtained in this way”.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ WANG DAYUAN 2000, p. 213.

⁹⁶ MIKSIC 2005, p. 42.

⁹⁷ HENG THIAM SOON 2006, p. 198.

⁹⁸ MIKSIC 2010b, 79.

⁹⁹ Cf. COLLESS who suggested that this “seems to be the first record of a Chinese community in Malaya”. See COLLESS 1969, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ WHEATLEY 1961, p. 83.

¹⁰¹ PTAK 1995, 61.

In line with PTAK's interpretation of how the Quanzhou products were gathered is the translation of the phrase *jie piaovie zhi wu ye* 皆剽竊之物也 by GEOFF WADE and GOH GEOK YIAN: "Trading goods are obtained by piracy/Quanzhou's products are all pirated goods".¹⁰² MIKSIC should have been alerted by the preceding translation to the non-existence of any traders, yet he found it incredible that "Chinese merchants would live among pirates who butchered the crews of Chinese ships."

The coexistence of the natives and Chinese in Longyamen was of specific interest to MIKSIC and so he cited WADE's translation of the relevant entry: "The Prime Minister [*xiangfu*] instructs both men and women to live in harmony with the Chinese people".¹⁰³ SU JIQING interpreted the relevant passage differently and understood *xiangchuan* 相傳, and not *xiangfu* (which is incorrect and for which no characters are given by MIKSIC), to be part of the preceding sentence. His punctuation separated *jin yi di xiang chuan shou* 今亦遞相傳授 from the next sentence *nan nü jian zhongguoren ju zhi* ("Males and females live with the Chinese").¹⁰⁴ *Xiangchuan* cannot be verified as a title; in any case a prime minister would be a title too grandiose for someone who may have been a mere advisor to a chieftain. The phrase *di xiang chuan shou* 遞相傳授 describes the ceremony in the preceding sentence. Therefore, the WHEATLEY translation with "Nowadays this custom is still continued"¹⁰⁵ is more accurate than ROCKHILL's: "At the present time, however, they exchange presents among themselves (as we do in China)."¹⁰⁶

Previously HENG had explained that the *Daoyi zhilue* had recorded "Fujian sojourners in Temasik, and not any other Chinese groups," and declared this to be "consistent with the material culture recovered from the Temasik sites (Su 1981:213)".¹⁰⁷ HENG later cited WANG DAYUAN incorrectly again in support of "a sojourning Chinese community from South Fujian that was resident at Longyamen".¹⁰⁸

To sum up, the *Daoyi zhilue* does not report on merchants from Quanzhou living in Banzu nor in Longyamen, nor a community of Hokkien people. Information on the organization of Banzu and Longyamen is very limited in the original text, and generally refers to settlement groups with simple hierarchies. Both MIKSIC and HENG's assumptions concerning the original text, however, helped to contribute to a history of a well-organized Chinese settlement in Longyamen – whether this really was an early Singapore or not is a different question.

¹⁰² MIKSIC 2013, 175. WADE's translation is referred to again in MIKSIC 2013, p. 174.

¹⁰³ MIKSIC 2010a, p. 112.

¹⁰⁴ WANG DAYUAN 2000, p. 213.

¹⁰⁵ WHEATLEY 1961, p. 82.

¹⁰⁶ ROCKHILL 1915, p. 131.

¹⁰⁷ HENG 2011, p. 47.

¹⁰⁸ HENG 2013, p. 132.

4.3 Banzu, Temasik and a walled city

As an important piece of evidence for the existence of a community called Danmaxi 單馬錫 and for this to mark Temasik on Singapore Island, MIKSIC and HENG took recourse to WANG DAYUAN's remark about an attack by the Xian people. HENG suggested that WANG DAYUAN witnessed this attack on Temasik/Singapore.¹⁰⁹ The *Daoyi zhilüe* does not support that view because it remains vague as to the exact time of the attack. ROCKHILL for instance thought the Xian attack on Lohu 羅斛 occurred in 1349 at the time when WANG DAYUAN finished writing, whereas SU JIQING thought the date 1349 to be incorrect, and suggested the alternative reading 1339, which would date the Xian attack to the late 1320s.¹¹⁰

HENG inserted an "approach of a Majapahit fleet en route to China" as the reason for the end of the Xian attack on Danmaxi.¹¹¹ His reference for this was ROCKHILL's translation, but ROCKHILL had an "imperial envoy", presumably from China, appear. The original text reads: "An envoy from Java happened to pass through, and when the Xian learnt about him, they withdrew" (*yu Zhuawa shichen jingguo Xianren wen zhi nai dun* 遇爪哇使臣經過暹人聞之乃遁).¹¹² The "imperial envoy" was not an imperial emissary, but an envoy from Java. The fictional nature of this "imperial envoy" notwithstanding, MIKSIC referred to him at least twice, and at least once re-coined the envoy as a "Chinese mission".¹¹³ PURCELL previously had committed the same mistake when he claimed that a "Chinese fleet effected the relief of the city".¹¹⁴

5 Concluding remarks

The identification of Banzu as Pancur, Longyamen as Keppel Strait, and Danmaxi as Temasik and predecessor of modern Singapore in the "new" early history of Singapore rests on mainly one text. The reading of that text is heavily influenced by scholarly efforts to extend Singapore's history. It is easily understandable that in a situation where textual and/or archaeological

¹⁰⁹ HENG 2002, p. 81.

¹¹⁰ See ROCKHILL 1915, p. 100, and *Daoyi zhilüe jiaoshi* p. 159 note 5.

¹¹¹ HENG 2002, p. 81.

¹¹² WANG DAYUAN 2000, p. 155. The characters for Java in the original text had dropped out of ROCKHILL's translation.

¹¹³ MIKSIC 2010a, p. 117, and MIKSIC 2013, p. 178, for the envoy; see MIKSIC 2011b, p. 27, for the mission.

¹¹⁴ PURCELL 1965, p. 235. For PURCELL Tumasik was old Singapore and his evidence for this was the *Daoyi zhilüe*.

evidence for human activities are extremely scarce, the creation of a stringent narrative is prone to misconceptions.

The new early history of Singapore essentially had been available at least since the late 1960s. The archaeological discoveries since the mid-1980s potentially allowed for educated guesses about the nature of the settlement on Singapore Island.

Since the *Daoyi zhilüe* is the major source that informs writings on early Singapore history, one would have expected a more detailed discussion of its provenance. One would also have wished for a more careful philological treatment of the text.

Neither MIKSIC nor HENG worked directly with the text, and they parsimoniously consulted scholarly work that dealt with the *Daoyi zhilüe*.¹¹⁵ Their main source of information was an unpublished honors thesis from NUS by KWEE HUI KIAN entitled “*Dao Yi Zhi Lue* as a Maritime Traders’ Guidebook: A Contribution to the Study of Private Enterprise in Maritime Trade during the Yuan Period, 1279–1360” (1997).¹¹⁶ The lack of familiarity with the original text is obvious in MIKSIC’s statement that the book originated “from poems that Wang wrote, which have not survived”.¹¹⁷

The “new” early Singapore story has a very local character for the bulk of relevant studies so far has been published within Singapore only. A cursory search for Banzu in the CNKI database of Chinese academic journals at CNKI in April 2018 has not yielded any hits which means that Chinese scholars have not yet picked up on the ideas formulated by MIKSIC, HENG and others engaged in early Singapore history.¹¹⁸

Both MIKSIC and HENG shared the view that WANG DAYUAN had been confused about the location of Chinese people. They based this assumption on a number of Chinese artefacts that had been unearthed at Fort Canning Hill and appeared to corroborate ideas of Chinese settlement. In contrast, no such archaeological evidence has surfaced around the assumed Longyamen settlement at Keppel Harbour to date.

Chinese residents were conceivable under the condition that Banzu belonged to the area inhabited by the Danmaxi people. Reading the Banzu entry and the Longyamen entry in conjunction enabled MIKSIC and HENG to place Chinese sojourners there. That they were supposedly from Quanzhou and hence Hokkien-speaking could be a coincidence. In regard to Singapore,

¹¹⁵ Such as PTAK 1995; 1996, pp. 126–142; 1998, pp. 119–147.

¹¹⁶ HENG THIAM SOON 2001, p. 134; HENG 2009, p. 271; MIKSIC 2013, p. 271.

¹¹⁷ MIKSIC 2007, p. 408; 2010a, p. 108; 2013, p. 171.

¹¹⁸ In the *Gudai nanhai diming buishi* 古代南海地名汇释 a number of alternative locations for Banzu are listed, none of which refer to Singapore. See CHEN JIARONG/XIE FANG/LU JUNLING 1986, p. 1012.

the Hokkien have a special significance since Hokkien speakers until today are the largest dialect group among resident Singapore Chinese.¹¹⁹ The early presence of Hokkien in Singapore by implication justifies the hold of Hokkien in present-day Singapore.

The geographical setup presented in the new history is questionable as well. It is difficult to accept that a pirates' nest such as Longyamen would leave the "peaceful settlement" at Banzu alone. If we accept Longyamen for the Keppel Straits and Fort Canning Hill for Banzu, the distance of roughly five km as the crow flies between the two does not seem to warrant much safety for the latter from the former. Given the shape of the original Fort Canning Hill, it appears that previous identifications of Banzu with the twin peaks on Bintan Island in terms of the topography of the area are more convincing for they are consistent with the original text. The identification of the "Dragon teeth" with the one "Dragon tooth" via the BARNES nautical explanation is rather questionable. The ambiguity of the original text does not allow for the location of the Longyamen in the Keppel Strait nor for the location of Banzu on Singapore Island.

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¹¹⁹ Singapore Department of Statistics 2010, p. 43 table 4.

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Bücherbesprechungen

MERON ZELEKE ERESSO: *Faith at the Crossroads: Religious Syncretism [sic] and dispute settlement in Northern Ethiopia. A study of Sufi Shrine [sic] in North Eastern Ethiopia.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2015. XII, 201 S. (Äthiopistische Forschungen 82.) ISBN 978-3-447-10353-4. € 68,-.

Die zu besprechende Publikation ist aus einer Dissertation hervorgegangen, welche die Autorin an der *International Graduate School of African Studies* der Universität Bayreuth erarbeitet hat. Über die Thematik der Arbeit geben ihre beiden Untertitel recht präzise Auskunft: Auf der Grundlage achtmonatiger Feldforschung in den Jahren 2009 und 2010 schildert und reflektiert ERESSO die Genese, Geschichte und aktuelle Praxis des „sufischen“ spirituellen Zentrums von Təru Sina („Der gute Berg Sinai“), gelegen in der *Oromo Nationality Zone* innerhalb des *Amhara National Regional State* Äthiopiens. „Sufisch“ ist im gegebenen Zusammenhang vorwiegend als innerislamischer Gegenpol zu „salafistisch“ zu verstehen: einer Vokabel, die zusammenfassend das ganze Spektrum skripturalistisch-rigoristischer (und mitunter gewalttätiger) Reformbewegungen bezeichnet, wie sie in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten nahezu überall in der islamischen Ökumene, und eben auch in Äthiopien, auf den Plan getreten sind. Demgegenüber meint „sufisch“ in unserem Kontext einen lokal gewachsenen und verankerten Islam, der demgemäß gegenüber seiner nicht-islamischen Mitwelt eine eher akkomodierend-tolerante Haltung pflegt. Eine elaborierte bruderschaftliche Organisation im Sinne der Sufi-„Orden“ ist nicht impliziert.

Zum Ort des Geschehens ist zu ergänzen, dass die überschaubare, ländliche *Oromo Nationality Zone* (ONZ, kleiner als 4000 km²) als Teil der Amhara-Provinz sorgfältig vom *Oromiya National Regional State* Äthiopiens zu unterscheiden ist, dem größten und bevölkerungsreichsten Bundesstaat des Landes in seinem Süden, Zentrum und Westen. Demgegenüber liegt die ONZ mit ihrer selbst in Äthiopien wenig bekannten Hauptstadt Kāmise ca. 300 km nord-nord-östlich von Addis Abeba am Rand des äthiopischen Plateaus, mithin in einer Region, in die seit jeher aus dem östlich angrenzenden Tiefland islamische Einflüsse einströmten.

Dieser Region entstammte der charismatische muslimische Gelehrte Sərağ Muḥammad (1885–1972; die gemischt amharisch-arabische Transkription seines Namens folgt der der Autorin), ein Oromo, und in ihr gründete er 1949 die *zāwīya* (islamische Gebets- und Lehrstätte; ins Amharische entlehnte arabisch-islamische termini technici werden in der Rez. arabisch transkribiert, sofern sie nicht morphologisch amharisiert oder in amharische Syntagmata eingebettet sind) von Təru Sina. Dazu befähigt war *ṣayḥ* Sərağ zunächst durch die umfangreiche islamische Bildung, die er in den ersten vier Jahrzehnten seines Lebens an den wichtigsten islamischen Zentren Äthiopiens erworben hatte. Zu ihr gehörte neben dem Erwerb theoretisch-theologischer Kenntnisse auch die Initiierung in die Bruderschaft der *Qādiriyya*, in der *ṣayḥ* Sərağ circa 1920 seine eigene Lehrerlaubnis (*iğāza*) erhielt. Derart vorbereitet, wirkte er bis zur Gründung von Təru Sina bereits etwa dreißig Jahre an anderen Orten seiner Heimatregion als geistlicher Lehrer und Menschenführer. In dieser Zeit erwarb er sich einen Ruf als charismatische Persönlichkeit, die von

Gott erwählt und mit besonderer geistlicher Wirkkraft (*baraka*) gesegnet sei. Bewährt hatte sich *šayb Səraḡs baraka* seit den 1930er Jahren, ergänzend zu den im engeren Sinn geistlichen Aktivitäten wie Dämonenaustreibungen, Predigten, Gebetsversammlungen etc., auch bei der Schaffung und Wahrung eines weitgehend friedlichen Miteinanders der Oromo und Amhara der Region; zuvor hatten diese beiden Ethnien dort regelmäßig in Konflikt miteinander gelegen. Durch seine pazifizierende Tätigkeit erlangte *šayb Səraḡ* zudem das Wohlwollen Kaiser Haylä Səllases, welches sich nicht zuletzt in substantiellen Landschenkungen an ihn ausdrückte. Die wechselseitige Wertschätzung überdauerte auch die italienische Kolonialepisode, während der sich *šayb Səraḡ*, im Unterschied zu vielen anderen islamischen Würdenträgern Äthiopiens, als kaisertreuer Loyalist zeigte. So konnte Təru Sina – im Übrigen tatsächlich auf einem über 3000m hohen Gipfel gelegen – ab 1949 zu dem Ort werden, an dem *šayb Səraḡs* Wirksamkeit und Ruhm ihren Höhepunkt erreichten. Auch heute, über vierzig Jahre nach dem Tod des *šayb*, wird sein Erbe dort unter der Leitung seiner Tochter Toḃiba, seines einzigen Kindes, sowie unter Mitwirkung etlicher weiterer Nachkommen und Schüler gepflegt und ist lebendig.

Ein herausgehobener Aspekt dieses Erbes, der zudem nach dem Tod *šayb Səraḡs* eher noch an Bedeutung gewann und dem die Autorin daher besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet, ist das religiöse Ältestengericht (*yä-šäyhočč ʿəlot*) von Təru Sina; während des Untersuchungszeitraums tagte es dort jeden Montag. Es verkörpert damit einen Teil jenes eingeschränkten Rechtspluralismus – Strafsachen etwa sind *de iure*, wenn auch nicht immer *de facto*, der staatlichen Gerichtsbarkeit vorbehalten –, den die aktuelle äthiopische Verfassung von 1995 ausdrücklich anerkennt (Art. 34, Abs. 5). Überraschenderweise überwiegen, so einer der erstaunlicheren Befunde der Autorin, unter denjenigen, die sich mit ihren Rechtsanliegen an die muslimischen *šäyhočč* von Təru Sina wenden, orthodoxe Christen: Im Untersuchungszeitraum stellten sie mehr als sechzig Prozent aller Petenten. Weiterhin wenden sich, neben natürlich Moslems, auch Anhänger der traditionellen Oromo-Religion sowie, ohnehin mit allen Bekenntnissen der Region verwoben, *zar*-Gläubige und -Besessene in erheblicher Zahl an Təru Sina. Doch noch einmal zu den orthodoxen Klienten des Zentrums: Typischerweise, so berichtet uns ERESSO, legitimieren diese Christen ihre Konsultation einer islamischen Institution mit einer Unterscheidung zwischen *əmnāt* und *haymanot*. Ersteres bezeichnet in dieser Terminologie den Glauben an die Kraft von *šayb Səraḡs baraka*, welche auch nach seinem Tod weiterwirkt, konfessionelle Grenzen transzendiert und analog zu der Wirkmacht der eigenen (doch zeitlich viel weiter entrückten) orthodoxen Heiligen aufgefasst wird. Demgegenüber drückt *haymanot* das Bekenntnis zur christlichen Religion als solcher aus, welches gemäß der Auffassung der Christen, die Təru Sina aufsuchen, von der Konsultation des *yä-šäyhočč ʿəlot* nicht berührt wird. Für das Verständnis der Mentalität und Weltansicht der Menschen der Region, ungeachtet religiöser Affiliation, ist ferner instruktiv, dass unter den in Təru Sina verhandelten Fällen diejenigen, die mit Zauberei in Zusammenhang stehen, die deutlich größte Gruppe bilden.

ERESSO hat in ihrer Fallstudie eine Vielzahl aufschlussreicher Fakten und Einzelbeobachtungen zusammengetragen und diese, vornehmlich unter den Aspekten von Synkretismus und Rechtsanthropologie, schlüssig organisiert zur Darstellung gebracht. Ihre Arbeit wirft instruktive Schlaglichter auf zahlreiche Aspekte der gelebten Religiosität des ländlichen Äthiopiens; und wiewohl die Befunde an einem regionalen Einzelfall erhoben wurden, sind sie sicherlich zugleich in gewissem Umfang repräsentativ. Das dabei entstehende Bild der ruralen religiösen Praxis ist deutlich facettenreicher und synkretistischer, als es der normativ orientierte öffentliche Diskurs der christlichen und islamischen Autoritäten Äthiopiens vermuten lassen würde. Dabei stellt dieser Synkretismus die religiösen Funktionsträger durchaus vor Herausforderungen. Im Fall von Təru Sina etwa

sehen sich dessen aktuelle Führungsfiguren, mehr als eine Generation nach dem Tod des charismatischen Gründers, mit einem Wiedererstarken traditioneller religiöser Praktiken konfrontiert, das den islamischen konzeptuellen Rahmen, innerhalb dessen diese Praktiken zu Lebzeiten von *ṣayḥ Səraḡ* „gezähmt“ fortlebten, allmählich zu sprengen droht. Zugleich sind die Führer von *Təru Sina* vom anderen Ende des religiösen Spektrums her in den letzten Jahren zunehmend Kritik aus den Reihen der eingangs angesprochenen „Sala-fisten“ ausgesetzt, die den traditionell akkomodierenden Umgang der „sufisch“ geprägten Institution mit den nichtislamischen Elementen der lokalen religiösen Lebenswelt als von vornherein verfehlt anprangern.

Während ERESSO in der Sache einen willkommenen Beitrag zur Kenntnis der aktuellen religiösen Situation Äthiopiens vorlegt, ist dagegen die sprachliche Form, in der dies geschieht, in mehrfacher Hinsicht problematisch.

Der nicht selten allzu beflissen sozialwissenschaftliche Jargon und Duktus der Darstellung ist dabei eher nur zu konstatieren als zu kritisieren. Bei einer Erstlingsarbeit, die zudem aus einer Dissertation hervorging, ist dergleichen vielleicht zu erwarten, jedenfalls nicht ganz ungewöhnlich. In ihrer weiteren Laufbahn wird sich die Autorin sicherlich freischreiben.

Beklagenswerter ist demgegenüber, dass die Autorin bei der Transkription arabischer und amharischer Termini, welche das Buch auf nahezu jeder Seite bietet, nicht immer präzise gearbeitet hat. Zudem ist grundsätzlich zu bemängeln, dass ERESSO sich nirgendwo explizit zu den von ihr befolgten Transkriptionskonventionen äußert, geschweige denn Transkriptionstabellen vorlegt. Dies könnte darauf hindeuten, dass sie Probleme der Transkription insgesamt nicht hinreichend bedacht hat. Wie dem auch sei, in jedem Fall begegnen dem Leser neben den zahlreichen nicht zu beanstandenden Formen auch etliche inkonsistente oder anderweitig problematische Umschriften. Dazu einige wenige Beispiele, zunächst für das Arabische: Auf S. 36f. erscheinen die frühen Gefährten *Muḥammads* in mehrfachem Wechsel sowohl als *ṣaḥābah* (dreimal) wie auch als *ṣaḥāba* (zweimal); S. 38 bietet uns zunächst *Qādiriyya*, mit korrekt bezeichneter Vokallänge, lässt diese Dimension jedoch bei den gleich anschließend genannten Sufi-Bruderschaften der **Tiḡaniyya* (statt richtig *Tiḡāniyya*), **Ṣadbiliyya* (statt *Ṣādiliyya*) und **Mirḡbaniyya* (statt *Mirḡbaniyya*) außer Acht; auf S. 94 bleibt bei **ḥaram* und **ḥalal* (statt richtig *ḥarām* und *ḥalāl*) nicht nur die Vokalquantität unberücksichtigt, sondern die beiden identischen Anfangskonsonanten sind in nächster Nähe zueinander unterschiedlich transkribiert; auf S. 35 schließlich hinterlässt ein **madnat al-awlyā* (statt *madīnat al-awliyā*?) zur Charakterisierung *Harārs* als „Stadt der [islamischen] Heiligen“ nur erstauntes Kopfschütteln.

In amharischen Transkriptionen sind gelegentliche Verschreibungen von [ä] als [a] und umgekehrt angesichts der Häufigkeit sowie der akustischen und orthographischen Nähe der beiden Vokale zueinander immer einmal möglich und entschuldbar. Wenn jedoch auf S. 160 kurz nacheinander *māsmammāt* und *masmammat* mit derselben intendierten Bedeutung erscheinen („ein Einverständnis herbeiführen“), dann ist das ärgerlich, erst recht, weil kontextuell unpassendes *māsmammāt* („sich im Einverständnis befinden“) ja ebenfalls existiert. Ebenso irritiert, wenn *dañña* („Richter“) wiederholte Male als **dañña* erscheint (S. 106, mehrfach; S. 148), oder einmal *wādaḡ* („Freund“) als **wadaḡ* (S. 76). Bei dem Transkriptionspaar **kir* vs. **kər* (S. 95, in zwei aufeinander folgenden Zeilen) für *hc* („Faden“) sind andere Vokale betroffen, doch die Problematik ist vergleichbar. Zudem berücksichtigt ERESSO hier nicht die Längung des Schlusskonsonanten: die korrekte Transkription wäre *kərr* gewesen (gemäss der von ERESSO anderweitig befolgten Konvention, den Vokal der 6. Ordnung in Schwa umzusetzen). Auch sonst wird Konsonantenlänge, wiewohl potentiell semantisch relevant, in ERESSOs amharischen Transkription

wiederholt nicht adäquat reflektiert (z.B. S. 73: **māsālām* statt *māssālām*, „den Schrein ehrerbietig grüßen;“ S. 88: **mālāmamaña* statt *māllāmamaña* [auch mit falschem vorletzten Vokal], „Appell, Bitte [insbesondere an einen zar-Geist];“ S. 133: **mawarād* statt *mawarād*, „Demütigung;“ S. 174: **qədsanna* statt *qəddəsanna*, „Heiligkeit“).

Das gravierendste sprachliche Problem der Studie liegt jedoch in ihrem Englisch. Gewiss, es ist immer eine Herausforderung, ein Buch in einer anderen als der eigenen Muttersprache zu verfassen, und dies umso mehr, je größer der grammatische und lexikalische Abstand zwischen Muttersprache und Schreibsprache ist. Insofern stand ERESSO vor einer nicht einfachen Aufgabe, der sie sich mutig gestellt hat. Leider entspricht der Erfolg jedoch nicht ihren zweifellos erheblichen Bemühungen. Wohlgemerkt, es geht hier nicht um vereinzelte Fehler oder unglückliche Wendungen, wie sie jedem englisch schreibenden Nicht-Muttersprachler nahezu unvermeidlich unterlaufen. Vielmehr treten die englischen Unzulänglichkeiten im Text so gehäuft auf, dass sie seine Lektüre bis an die Grenze des Zumutbaren belasten.

Immer wieder werden etwa bestimmter und unbestimmter Artikel nicht korrekt verwendet. Exemplarisch sei hierfür nur auf den Anfang des zweiten Untertitels der Arbeit verwiesen: *A study of Sufi Shrine* ist inadäquat, es müsste es *A study of a Sufi shrine* heißen. Des Weiteren sind zahlreiche Fälle von unangemessener Getrennschreibung einheitlicher, jedoch plausibel segmentierbarer englischer Lexeme zu beobachten – wodurch allerdings oft neue, abweichende Bedeutungen entstehen (z.B. S. 52: *grand children* [für intendiertes *grandchildren*]; S. 78: *where by* [so noch wiederholte Male]; S. 107: *blood shed and up on* [letzteres ebf. noch wiederholte Male]; S. 133: *bride wealth*; S. 146: *where as*; S. 165: *wrong doer*). Ferner ist immer wieder der Numerus ein Problem, es erscheint ein Plural, wo ein Singular stehen müsste, und umgekehrt (z.B. S. 140: *producing evidences*; S. 168: *the sick is healed*). Auf Probleme bei der Kommasetzung in einer Fremdsprache wird jeder, der die Probleme vieler Deutscher mit der Kommasetzung in ihrer Muttersprache kennt, mit Nachsicht blicken. Weniger entschuldbar ist es jedoch, wenn bei ERESSO immer wieder Semikola auftauchen, wo entweder ein Komma oder ein Doppelpunkt angezeigt gewesen wäre (z.B. S. 70, 133, 135, 140, 148). *Last but not least* seien einige sinnverändernde vokaläre Fehlgriffe angezeigt. So bietet etwa S. 129 *carrier* für intendiertes *career* sowie *shade light on* für *shed light on*; S. 115 hat geradezu antonymisches *decedents* für intendiertes *descendants*, und auf S. 142 ist die Rede vom *euphonizing effect* von *čat*, wo doch dessen *euphorizing effect* gemeint ist. Damit genug, Idiomatik und Syntax seien, da der Befund insgesamt wohl nicht mehr zweifelhaft ist, ausgespart.

Erstaunlich bleibt, dass weder das Lektorat beim Verlag noch jemand unter den nicht wenigen wissenschaftlichen Begleitern von ERESSOs Arbeit, denen sie im *Acknowledgement* ihren Dank sagt, die Autorin auf die Probleme ihres englischen Textes aufmerksam machten und ihr zu einer gründlichen Überarbeitung vor der Drucklegung rieten. So liegt uns im Ergebnis eine Studie vor, deren inhaltlicher Verdienst von ihren sprachlichen Defiziten in so unschöner wie unnötiger Weise überschattet wird.

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JULIA KRUL: *The Revival of the Anu Cult and the Nocturnal Fire Ceremony at Late Babylonian Uruk*. Leiden/Boston: Brill 2018. 310 pp. (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 95). ISBN 978-90-04-36493-6. € 105,-.

KRUL's volume is based on a detailed analysis of the ritual text TU 41, which describes a night vigil (*bayātu*) in Uruk. This text is well-known: it was first edited by THUREAU-DANGIN¹, the latest of many editions is by LINSSEN².

The city of Uruk, where the text was found, was the home of Ištar and Anu, the sky god, in early times. Although the god Anu only had a minor position for many centuries until the Neo-Babylonian period, during the fifth century, the pantheon underwent a transformation, and Anu gained the leading position.

The first chapter of the book under review (69 pages) is a long overview of the historical context in which the text is situated. It starts from the religious history of the city of Uruk and proceeds toward the so-called revival of the cult of the latter, which at first becomes visible through the theophoric elements in Uruk's family names after 484 BC. The author continues with a historical-archaeological digression about the building phases of the *Bīt Rēš*, the monumental temple of Anu and Antu in Uruk. She explains the concept of the revival of the cult of Anu as an act of independence from the previous Neo-Babylonian tradition and an exaltation of the cultural heritage of the city of Uruk, connected to the rising innovations in the field of celestial divination. KRUL, of course, resumes the theories of previous scholars in this respect, especially of BEAULIEU³ (2004). Urukian families distanced themselves from the priesthood of Ištar before 484 BC and adopted Anu in charge of the pantheon of Uruk, searching cultic areas and ceremonial names for such locations, already previously been in use at Uruk, and selecting the rest of the pantheon from the canonical god list *An=Anum*.

The second chapter (27 pages) explores the theological and ideological aspects of the Anu cult. Echoing BEAULIEU, she assumes that Anu's cult was legitimized in Late Babylonian times. The scholars of Uruk copied the texts available from the previous tradition with exegetic interest, resulting in what BEAULIEU named "antiquarian theology".⁴

In chapters 3 and 4 (28 pages) the author picks up part of FURLANI's extensive analysis⁵ of the tablet TU 41, which describes a nocturnal ceremony taking place in a winter month, possibly *Tebētu*,⁶ between the 16th and 17th day. After the transliteration and the translation of the text, the author analyses the calendrical setting of the ritual, speculating on a possible connection of 16th of *Tebētu* and the winter solstice. She suggests the use of the

¹ F. THUREAU-DANGIN: *Rituels accadiens*. Paris 1921.

² M. J. H. LINSSEN: *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon. The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practices*. Leiden/Boston 2004 (Cuneiform Monographs 25).

³ P.-A. BEAULIEU: "New into Old: Religious Reforms Under Nabonidus and in Late Babylonian Uruk." In: M. DIETRICH et al. (eds.): *Mythen der Anderen – Mythopoetik und Interkulturalität*. Münster 2004, pp. 305–319.

⁴ P.-A. BEAULIEU: "Antiquarian Theology in Seleucid Uruk." In: *Acta Sumerologica* 14 (1992), pp. 47–75.

⁵ G. FURLANI: *Riti babilonesi e assiri*. Udine 1940.

⁶ According to the author, this is very likely because the text TU 38 (rev. 32–34), recording offerings to planets to be performed on top of the *Bīt Rēš*, mentions offerings to Anu and Antu during the 16th of *Tebētu*. This was at first suggested by PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, while LINSSEN (2004, p. 175) excluded this option, since the ritual is performed by a priest addressed in the second person, differently from the series of yearly rituals.

astronomical compendium *Mul.Apin*¹ as a reference for the Late Babylonian cultic calendar, even though there is no evidence for that as the author herself underlines.

The central part of the book under review (99 pages) is finally dedicated to a detailed analysis of the whole text of the ritual tablet TU 41. Through a comparison between this text and other Mesopotamian and West Semitic sources, KRUL analyses the nocturnal ceremony as a sequence of cultic events in six stages. The offerings and hymns, the lighting of a torch with the cleansing ritual fire, the procession and the lighting of bonfires in the city are evaluated by the author in connection with the places where these activities were performed, which she attempts to locate through archaeological evidence.

Chapter 5 (22 pages) is a comprehensive interpretation of the text followed by a summary. The ritual is analysed as part of an *eššēšu*-ceremony, well attested in prebendary texts from Uruk. For the author, the fact that the fire ceremony was performed during the night of the 16th of *Tebētu*, is connected to the winter solstice and to the ideal full moon's longest visibility. Furthermore, during the first stage of the ritual, many offerings to astral gods were performed, first of all to the "Great Anu and Antu of Heaven" themselves, for whose astral appearance in the sky the ritual torch was lit. The use of the fire during the night, first in the temple of Anu and then in the rest of the city, is an act of exorcism (purification from evil forces) and renewal at the same time, bound to the moment when the ritual was performed and to the lengthening of daylight. Since the author assumes that the cult of Anu is the product of an exegetic reworking of the previous tradition, it is quite likely that the ritual itself is the result of a similar process.

The layout of the book is effective and subdivides the topic coherently. The author, although she mainly bases her dissertation on an in-depth analysis of the ritual text TU 41, sometimes devotes too many general considerations to topics already well-known to Assyriologists and which perhaps would not require a thorough analysis (e.g., the ritual performance such as the one discussed in the chapters 5.3 and 5.4). The interpretation and the comprehensive analysis of the ritual text provide a great deal of food for thought from the ideological and anthropological point of view. Yet the various speculations (and "guessing", as stated by the author), although effectively argued most of the time, make the reading confusing.

One remark has to be made about the question of the existence of a "dualistic theology" as assumed by KRUL in chapter 2.2. She distances herself from OELSNER's argument² that the high percentage of Anu-names in the Hellenistic Urukean onomasticon may point to a henotheistic tendency, considering also similar examples from cities like Larsa or Kiš.³ The author rather sees this predominance only as a sign of breaking away from the earlier "Babylonian" tradition, also in a political dimension. KRUL points to the cult practice in a dualistic theology of Anu/Antu and Ištar in Uruk, according to her supported by the juxtaposition, in the same period, of the Ešarra, the Anu ziqqurat (the sky) and the Irigal of Ištar (the netherworld). As assumed in the following chapter 2.3.1, the adoption of such

¹ The winter solstice is traditionally reported in *Mul.Apin* (I iii 7–9) for the 15th of *Tebētu*.

² J. OELSNER: "Henotheistische Tendenzen in der spätbabylonischen Religion?" In: H. PREISLER/H. SEIWER et al. (eds.): *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag*. Marburg 1994, pp. 489–494.

³ In this respect, henotheism is considered as the primacy of a city's tutelary god in the personal worship of the inhabitants. OELSNER specifies that at the current level of knowledge, it is hardly possible to answer the question whether this is an intra-Babylonian development or an external one.

ceremonial names from the previous tradition for the cultic places of Late Babylonian Uruk, is intended as a strategy to transfer a specific status to them. Anu's supremacy was anyway "far from unchallenged" by other important deities at that time, and not only by Ištar and Nanaya. Even though an implicit dualism between heaven and earth is noted everywhere in Mesopotamian religion, especially during the Achaemenid period, still other deities were important and known from sources. Furthermore, the many copied ritual texts from the Late period, may not accurately reflect the actual pantheon. At the current level of knowledge, the existence of a so-called "dualistic theology" seems to be a notion which requires further investigation.

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RICHARD JASNOW / GHISLAINE WIDMER (Hrsg.): *Illuminating Osiris. Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*. Atlanta: Lockwood Press 2017. xxxvii, 426 Seiten, 32 Tafeln. (Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 2.) ISBN 978-1-937040-74-1. \$ 110,-.

In dieser Rezension dient die Festschrift für MARK SMITH als Thema, deren 27 Beiträge auf Religion und Literatur des griechisch-römischen Ägypten Bezug nehmen. Der Inhalt weist das folgende Erscheinungsbild auf:

B.M. BRYAN denkt über die Rolle des künstlerischen Schaffens in Texten nach. Das Quellenmaterial wird von der Stele des Irtisen aus der 11. Dynastie, Nachschriften zu Totenbuchkapiteln und dem demotischen P. Vienna D 10100 aus dem 1./2. Jh. n. Chr. gebildet. Die Autobiographie des Irtisen hebt u. a. dessen Fähigkeiten als Künstler und Ritualist hervor (S. 8). Die Nachschriften beschreiben Bilder und Zeichnungen und klären über die dort verwendeten Substanzen auf (S. 12). Der P. Vienna ist u. a. mit Informationen zu Bild- und Textschmuck eines Sobekschreines bedeckt (S. 16). Der Architekturtyp selbst ist wegen fehlender Maßangaben nicht genauer zu bestimmen (S. 17). Die prominente Erwähnung von Elektron im Text wird als möglicher Hinweis auf einen Miniaturschrein für Kultstatuen gedeutet (S. 17). Die Phrase „šmi.t twt“ wird als terminus technicus für „Wandregister/Szenen“ interpretiert (S. 17).

M. CANNATA legt die Publikation des demotischen Bodl. MS. Egypt. D. 19 (P) vor. Das Dokument stellt einen wohl unter Ptolemäus VIII. Euergetes II zu datierenden Ehevertrag dar (S. 23). Der Vergleich mit anderen Schriftstücken aus der Zeit dieses Königs engt die Phase noch konkreter zwischen 137 und 118 v. Chr. ein (S. 26). Das Epitheton „mnḥ“ „vortrefflich o. ä.“ zeigt gewisse orthographische Eigentümlichkeiten, die aus der Wiedergabe des ersten Zeichens nach Art des Relativkonverters „nt“ bestehen. Das Spezifikum tritt so nur auf Urkunden aus Gebelein auf, als deren Verfasser mehrere Generationen der gleichen Schreiberfamilie angenommen werden (S. 30).

S. 29: zu „kndw“ „Gefäß“ vgl. U. KAPLONY-HECKEL: *Land und Leute am Nil nach demotischen Inschriften, Papyri und Ostraka, Gesammelte Schriften*. Teil 1. Wiesbaden 2009 (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 71), S. 690–696; W.J. TAIT: „A Demotic Word-list from Tebtunis: P. Carlsberg 41A.“ In: JEA 68 (1982), S. 217–218.

M. CHAUVEAU bietet eine neue Edition der literarischen Komposition des „Lammes des Bokchoris“ dar. Die syntaktischen Besonderheiten des Textes werden zur Sprache gebracht, zu denen der Gebrauch des circumstantialen Perfekts statt zu erwartendem Futur und die Auslassung von „r“ als Präposition oder Marker für Circumstantialis und Futur III gehören (S. 39). Die vier Kolonnen des Textes werden in Transliteration, Übersetzung und Kommentar verfügbar gemacht (S. 40). Der menschliche Protagonist besitzt den anachronistischen Titel „šnty“, der ansonsten nicht vor dem Ende der 26. Dynastie vorkommt

(S. 58). Der Ort der Geburt des Lammes und Prophezeiung wird in Herakleopolis lokalisiert (S. 58). Der historische Rahmen des Massakers wird ins Jahr 343 während der Invasion unter Artaxerxes Ochos datiert (S. 59).

M. DEPAUW schlägt ein neues Datum für den sog. „Amarna“-Tempelplan in el-Scheich Said vor. Die griechischen Steinbruchinschriften werden als Hinweis auf ein römerzeitliches Datum und Bauwerk gewertet (S. 74).

D. DEVAUCHELLE/G. WIDMER tragen Gedanken zu O.dém.DelM 2-1 vor. Das Objekt wird vom Alter her ans Ende der Ptolemäerzeit datiert. Die 14 Zeilen enthalten u.a. den „Spruch zur Darbringung des Bieres“ und „Spruch zur Darbringung des Weines“ aus dem Opferritual (S. 77).

FR. GAUDARD wägt Argumente für und wider die Unsterblichkeit des Seth ab. Das positive Hauptzeugnis wird im demotischen Pap. Berlin P. 8278b x+7-x+8 gesehen, wo ein Drama während des Khoiakfestes im Fayyum unter Ptolemäus VI. erwähnt wird (S. 97).

FR. R. HERBIN macht auf die Stele Cairo JE 72300 aufmerksam. Der Text der Stele wird als Prototyp einer Liturgie aufgefasst, deren Titel „r3 n w3h hwt.“ sonst nur auf den Töpfen Harageh U.C. 16128-16129, P. BM EA 10819 v°, 19, TT 159 und P. BM EA 10209, I 29 begegnet. Die Liturgie selbst ist in zwei Fassungen erhalten, deren ältere an den Beginn der 18. Dynastie und deren jüngere ins 4. Jh. v. Chr. datiert (S. 101). Der Text wird mit den jeweiligen Parallelen benutzerfreundlich bereitgestellt.

FR. HOFFMANN hält Beobachtungen zum hieroglyphischen Inschriftenbruchstück über Tages- und Nachtstunden aus Tanis fest. Die Bruchzahlen wurden meist mit früh-demotischen Bruchzahlzeichen geschrieben (S. 140). Die Gemeinsamkeiten zum Kairener Tagewählkalender aus dem Neuen Reich werden kundgetan, welche das lineare Modell zur approximativen Beschreibung der jahreszeitlichen Schwankungen der Tageslänge, 24 Tag- und Nachtstunden für jeden Tag und die Interpretation der Tageslängen als Funktion des Datums betreffen (S. 141). Die Verwendung des Zeichens „grg“ statt „g“ in „grh“ „Nacht“ wird mit der demotisch beeinflussten Verwechslung von „g“ und „gr“ erklärt (S. 145). Das Verhältnis 3:2 für die Dauer des längsten zum kürzesten Tag und das Nebeneinander von Fünftel- und Sechstelstunden deuten auf den Einschlag der mesopotamischen Astronomie hin (S. 149). Die Abfassung des Tanistextes wird zwischen 650 und 540 v. Chr. oder 485 und 420 v. Chr. wahrscheinlich gemacht (S. 153).

R. JASNOW/K.-Th. ZAUZICH führen das demotische O. Sommerhausen 1 in den wissenschaftlichen Diskurs ein. Der Inhalt des Textes ist im Mutkult situiert, wobei Essen und Trinken, weniger geschlechtliche Aspekte im Vordergrund stehen (S. 155-156). Das Zentrum nimmt u.a. die Göttin Ait ein (S. 156). Die Grammatik lässt z.T. archaisierende Züge wie z.B. bei der Verwendung der Präposition „m“ erkennen (S. 156). Die eher ungewöhnliche Nutzung von Zahlen für ganze Wörter wie „100“ für „š“ „bis“ wird notiert (S. 156). Das Objekt wird in spätptolemäische bis frühromische Zeit datiert, dessen wohl metrisch aufgebauter Text in drei Strophen unterteilt wird (S. 156). Die Möglichkeit eines Zusammenhangs zwischen der Entstehung der Göttin Ait vor der Erschaffung Ägyptens und der biblischen Weisheitsvorstellung wird nicht generell ausgeschlossen (S. 156).

J.H. JOHNSON wendet den Blick zusammengesetzten Nominalausdrücken im Demotischen zu. Die Nomina können im Verhältnis von direkten/indirekten Genetivverbindungen zueinander stehen (S. 163). Die wörtliche Bedeutung der Bestandteile bleibt z.T. gewahrt, kann aber auch semantisch verschoben werden (S. 164). Die Kompositausdrücke zu Tod und Sterben liefern z.T. wichtiges Material für die Kulturgeschichte, z.B. „wy (n) rmt“ „Haus eines Mannes“ = „Grab“ (S. 166). Die besondere Funktion der zusammengesetzten Nominalausdrücke zur Bildung von Abstrakta wird betont (S. 166). Das spezielle Vorkommen von „abstract prefixes“ in Berufsbezeichnungen wird erläutert (S. 167-168).

M. KEMBOLY widmet dem Bösen in Ägypten eine Betrachtung. Die lexikalischen Ausdrücke für Böses werden einzeln aufgelistet (S. 173). Die literarischen Quellen werden benannt, zu denen Autobiographien, Weisheitstexte und das „Buch von der Himmelskuh“ gehören (S. 174).

H. KOCKELMANN nähert sich der Bedeutung des Sonnenlichtes für den Verstorbenen an. Die Vignette zu Totenbuchspruch 154 mit der auf einer Bahre liegenden und von Sonnenstrahlen beschienenen Mumie des Verstorbenen ist nur in der Spät- und Ptolemäerzeit bekannt, während der Begleittext auf die 18. Dynastie zurückgeht (S. 184). Die ikonographischen Parallelen zu Szenen auf Mythologischen Papyri der 3. Zwischenzeit werden herausgestrichen. Der enge Zusammenhang zwischen Verstorbenem auf der einen Seite und Licht auf der anderen Seite wird als Nachklang der Amarnazeit verstanden (S. 189). Die Ausstattung der Mumie in griechisch-römischer Zeit mit Goldfolie wird als Akt der Vereinigung des Verstorbenen mit der Sonne erklärt (S. 193). Das Tempelritual „hnm itn“ wird mit dem Ritus der Vignette von TB 154 in Verbindung gebracht (S. 195).

S. 192: zur „Salbung“ durch das Sonnenlicht vgl. J. FR. QUACK: „Ein neuer Versuch zum Moskauer literarischen Brief.“ In: ZÄS 128 (2001), S. 174; K. JANSEN-WINKELN: *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo. Teil 1: Übersetzungen und Kommentare*. Wiesbaden 2001 (Ägypten und Altes Testament 45), S. 121.

A. KUCHARÉK offeriert eine Neubearbeitung der hieratischen Holztafel aus dem thebanischen Grab TT 196, deren Paläographie auf ein frühdemotisches Entstehungsdatum hindeutet (S. 199–200). Der Text wird u. a. von Glorifizierung A und B gebildet, während Song C mit osirianischen Themen in dieser Form nur hier zu beobachten ist (S. 206–210). Die anonyme Gruppe wird mit der Einwohnerschaft von Theben gleichgesetzt (S. 211).

S. 205: zur Schreibung „šbi“ für „šbt“ „lachen“ vgl. R. A. CAMINOS: *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. London 1954 (Brown Egyptological Studies 1), S. 325; A. ERMAN: *Akademie-schriften (1880–1928)*. Teil 2: 1911–1928, mit 8 Tafeln. Leipzig 1986, S. 524.

N. LAZARIDIS setzt sich mit dem Phänomen der Übertreibung in der demotischen Weisheitsliteratur auseinander. Die Erscheinung bei numerischen Angaben wird als erstes Beispiel diskutiert (S. 218). Die hyperbolischen Vergleiche werden als zweites Beispiel herangezogen (S. 219). Die Übertreibungen bei Zeitausdrücken werden als drittes Beispiel betrachtet (S. 219). Die häufigste Übertreibung wird im Bereich der „inclusivity“ gesehen (S. 220).

CHR. LEITZ präsentiert eine neue Übersetzung des Menu-Liedes, die auf der Fassung aus einer östlichen Seitenkapelle des Tempels von Athribis beruht. Der Text bildet die erste (östliche) Szene des 2. Registers der Südwand in Raum E1. Der an die Ortsgöttin Repit adressierte Hymnus wird auf acht Abschnitte verteilt, welche die einzelnen Schritte der Bierbrauerei nachvollziehen.

S. 226: zu „nḏw“ „Morgenröte“ vgl. ANONYMUS: *Kölner Papyri (p Köln) Band 11*. Paderborn/München/Wien/Zürich 2007 (Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften – Sonderreihe VII/11), S. 275.

S. 234: zu „hrw.t“ „Schaum“ und dessen möglicher Ableitung von „hri“ „an der Oberfläche befindlich“ vgl. W. WESTENDORF: *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*. 1. Band. Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999 (HdO, Erste Abteilung, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, 36. Band), S. 502.

S. 235: zu „id3“ „Gefäße glatt streichen“ vgl. O. RÖSSLER: „Das Ägyptische als semitische Sprache.“ In: FR. ALTHEIM/R. STIEHL: *Christentum am Roten Meer*. 1. Band. Berlin/New York 1971, S. 289, 297, 310, 316; P. KAPLONY: *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*. Wiesbaden 1966 (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 15), S. 117.

S. 236: zu „smi/‘m“ „mit Lehm beschmieren“ vgl. J. OSING: *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, Anmerkungen und Indices*. Mainz 1976 (Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo 3B), S. 597.

A. VON LIEVEN arbeitet demotische dokumentarische Texte nach Spuren von religiösen Praktiken durch. In den thebanischen Choachytenakten werden die Namen von 70 männlichen und 16 weiblichen „Heiligen“ genannt (S. 240). Die ägyptischen Kulte mit dem Ziel der Vergöttlichung von Privatpersonen standen auch Griechen oder Trägern von griechischen Namen offen (S. 242). Der ausschließliche Zusammenhang zwischen „hšī“ „Gepriesener“ und dem Tod durch Ertrinken wird eher skeptisch beurteilt (S. 242–243).

C. J. MARTIN unterrichtet über den demotischen P. BM EA 10858, auf dem ein Pachtvertrag zu finden ist. Die Provenienz lässt sich nicht genau angeben. Das Dokument stellt den bislang ersten demotischen Pachtvertrag aus dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. dar (S. 255).

M. MINAS-NERPEL geht auf das Opfer des „iit“-Messers an Haroeris im Isistempel von Schanhür ein, das in der siebten Szene des 1. Registers der unter Claudius dekorierten Ostwand zu finden ist (S. 259). Die Parallelen im Tempel des Sobek/Haroeris in Kom Ombo, Tempel des Haroeris von Qus und Westkolonnade von Philae werden mitgeteilt (S. 262–263).

L. PRADA spürt Sprachmustern in demotischen divinatorischen Handbüchern nach. Die Grammatik greift u. a. häufiger auf Protasis-Apodosis-Gefüge zu (S. 278). Die Traumbücher nehmen bei der Bildung der Protasis durch die Wahl von Umstandssätzen eine Sonderrolle ein (S. 281). Das Genre der Oneromantik reicht als eine der am längsten bezugten wissenschaftlichen Textgattungen Ägyptens bis in die Ramessidenzeit zurück (S. 284). Die Zugehörigkeit von P. Cairo CG 50140 und CG 50138–9 zum gleichen Manuskript wird infrage gestellt (S. 287). Das Fragment P. Cairo CG 50141 wird wegen des Konverters für das 2. Tempus in der Protasis zu den terrestrischen Omina gerechnet (S. 287). Das Fragment P. Cairo CG 50140 wird wegen der typischen Protasis als Traumdeutung bestimmt (S. 288). Die Fragmente P. Cairo CG 50138–39 werden als terrestrische Omenbücher analysiert (S. 289). Das Wort „šft“ in P. Carlsberg 14 verso wird als Schreibung für „hft“ „Feind“ genommen, das zudem euphemistisch gebraucht wird (S. 291–293).

J. FR. QUACK stellt den Pap. Amherst Eg. XLIII.1 rt vor, dessen Herkunft aufgrund mehrerer Kriterien aus dem memphitischen Raum erschlossen wird (S. 304). Das Zeichen „f“ weist mit dessen steilem Winkel eine paläographische Eigentümlichkeit auf (S. 304). Die Paläographie deutet auf eine Datierung in die frühe Ptolemäerzeit hin (S. 304). Der Text besteht aus kurzen, durch „dd=f“ eingeleiteten weisheitlichen Aussagen, was in genau dieser Art bisher singular ist (S. 309). Die Tradition loser Sprüche als solcher kann indessen bis ins Mittlere Reich zurückverfolgt werden (S. 310). Die Form der Einleitung wird mit den Eratopokriseis, gnostischen Dialogen und manichäischen Kephalaia in Verbindung gebracht (S. 310). Im Anhang werden die Abrechnungen von pAmherst XLIII.1 verso sowie Pap Amherst XLIII.2 ediert, die in den Kontext von Kultgenossenschaften gerückt werden (S. 317).

R. K. RITNER entwickelt Überlegungen zu pantheistischen Gestalten. Das Götterepitheton „königlicher Ka“ wird mit der mythologischer Stellung der numinösen Wesen gegenüber Re erklärt und nicht etwa auf den regierenden König bezogen (S. 323).

K. RYHOLT gibt den P. Mich. inv. 5641a zur Kenntnis, der 1929 in Gebäude 132 in Karanis gefunden wurde. Der Papyrus stammt wohl aus dem 2. Jh. n. Chr. und tradiert eine Erzählung über Priester, die aufgrund lokaler Bezüge im östlichen Delta spielen könnte (S. 331).

R. S. SIMPSON exploriert die retrograde Schrifterrichtung in ägyptischen Inschriften, wobei der Text „König als Sonnenpriester“ als Bezugspunkt firmiert. Das retrograde Format ist in dessen Fassung im Totentempel der Hatschepsut in Deir el-Bahari, Luxortempel und den Nuri-Pyramiden 6 und 8 belegt. Die Ursache für die Wahl dieser Methode wird in eher pragmatischen Gründen erkannt, die sich aus dem räumlichen Verhältnis des Königs zur Darstellung des Sonnengottes ergeben (S. 343).

M.A. STADLER übermittelt Papyrus Wien D 6318. Die Füllpunkte unter horizontalen Zeichen werden eines gesonderten Hinweises gewürdigt (S. 348). Die Provenienz des ins späte 1. Jh. v. Chr. datierten Dokumentes wird in Dime gesehen. Die Funktion des Skarabäus als Symbol der Schöpfung wird abschließend sondiert.

G. VITTMANN ediert den Text des Ostrakon Mut 21/4, der einen Auftrag zur Getreidelieferung enthält. Das Ostrakon bezeugt die herausgehobene Position, die Seth in der Westwüste inne hatte (S. 373).

S. 365: zur Schreibung „stḥ“ „Seth“ vgl. C. PEUST: *Egyptian Phonology, An Introduction to the Phonology of a dead Language*. Göttingen 1999 (Monographien zur ägyptischen Sprache 2), S. 184

S.P. VLEEMING bringt den P.CtYBR inv. 4628 zum Bewusstsein, der sich als priesterliches Empfehlungsschreiben aus Oxyrhyncha im Fayum offenbart.

A. WARDA handelt über die Statuenbasis des Strategen Tryphon von Dendera (SEG LVIII 1823), dessen Amtszeit von 1–5 n. Chr. gedauert hat. Die rechteckige Vorderseite wird durch eine zweizeilige griechische Widmungsinschrift geziert. Die Basis der heute verlorenen Statue war im Eingangsbereich des römischen Mammisi von Dendera platziert. In Dendera sind noch vier ähnlich geartete Basen erhalten, deren Alter vom späten 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis 2./3. Jh. n. Chr. reicht (S. 380). Der Name des Strategen taucht auch in anderen griechischen und demotischen Quellen aus Dendera auf (S. 382). Das Formular der Inschrift lehnt sich an den hellenistischen Usus an und stellt das erste Beispiel aus Dendera dar (S. 384).

Der Schluss soll für ein kurzes Fazit genutzt werden. Der Gesamteindruck der Beiträge ist als gut zu bezeichnen. Die Interpretationen werden plausibel begründet. Die Lektüre hat sich für den Rez. in mehrfacher Hinsicht auszahlt.

STEFAN BOJOWALD, Bonn

LUTZ EDZARD (ed.): *The Morpho-Syntactic and Lexical Encoding of Tense and Aspect in Semitic: Proceedings of the Erlangen Workshop on April 26, 2014*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016. 242 pp. (AKM 104.) ISBN 978-3-447-10622-1. € 58,-.

The proceedings of the workshop “The Morpho-Syntactic Encoding of Tense and Aspect in Semitic” held at the Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg on April 26, 2014 contain six contributions dealing with expression of temporal and aspectual meanings in Akkadian, Biblical Hebrew (in comparison with Slavic languages), Modern Hebrew, modern Arabic vernaculars, and Ethio-Semitic. Four papers are in English, two papers (by MELANIE HANITSCH and SALAH FAKHRY) are in German.

Most of the papers deal, predictably, with verbal morphosyntax. The only exception is the contribution by MICHAEL P. STRECK (“Temporal adverbs in Akkadian”), who gives a survey of temporal adverbs in Akkadian, allotting also some space to combination of temporal adverbs with verbal tense or aspect. A special section of this paper is dedicated to the debate on time perception in Akkadian. The author criticizes the theory, according to which the semantic shift “before” > “earlier” and “behind” > “later”, attested in a number of Akkadian adverbs, demonstrates the specificity of time perception in Mesopotamia (past is supposed to be seen as placed in front of the speaker, and future behind him). This theory, obviously outdated in its general approach and lack of attention to cross-linguistic data, proved nevertheless to be persistent and continues to be advocated in some recent publications¹. Its

¹ S. MAUL: “Die altorientalische Hauptstadt – Abbild und Nabel der Welt.” In: G. WILHELM (ed.): *Die orientalische Stadt: Kontinuität, Wandel, Bruch*. Saarbrücken 1997,

refutation is based on classical typological, and semantic studies by MARTIN HASPELMATH¹ and ELIZABETH TRAUOGOTT². Firstly, these studies show that the metaphor under scrutiny is not restricted to Akkadian (or to ancient languages in general), but, on the contrary, is very widespread in the languages of the world. It is not connected with the perception of the speaker, but rather with the perception of the time as moving forwards ("time-moving metaphor"). Secondly, the time-moving metaphor very often co-exists with the semantic shifts "in front of" > "in the future" and "behind" > "in the past" ("ego-moving metaphor"), and STRECK provides a number of examples for this metaphor attested in Akkadian.

The paper co-authored by SILJE SUSANNE ALVESTAD and LUTZ EDZARD ("Aspect in the Biblical Hebrew imperative from a modern Slavic perspective") is a slightly revised reprint of ALVESTAD/EDZARD 2015³. The contribution focuses on some problematic cases of employment of jussive instead of the expected indicative and vice versa in prohibitive constructions in Biblical Hebrew and, *inter alia*, attempts at explaining them through aspectual analysis. This analysis is confronted with the evidence for aspectually marked imperatives in Slavic languages, and five sections of the paper, authored by ALVESTAD, give a detailed survey of Slavic imperatives morphologically marked for imperfective.

The prohibitive constructions in Biblical Hebrew are described in terms of aspectual opposition: "?al + jussive" expresses perfective prohibition (denoting actions to be performed immediately), whereas "lō(?) + indicative" expresses imperfective prohibition, "of a universal and permanent nature" (p. 28). The non-standard prohibition involves either jussive employed with lō(?), or indicative employed with ?al. The authors strongly object to the practice of reinterpretation of the attested forms (that is, of assuming that the non-standard indicative and jussive forms result from the Masoretes' erroneous vocalization of the originally correct forms). They offer instead two alternative solutions. One is to treat the non-standard forms as evidence for "a dissolution of the principled opposition between ?al + jussive (perfective) and lō(?) + indicative (imperfective)" (p. 35). The second approach regards the non-standard prohibitive constructions as marked for perfective (jussive) vs. imperfective (indicative), while the use of non-standard negators (lō(?) with jussive and ?al with indicative) is seen as "emphatic", "underlin[ing] the strong prohibitive character" (p. 35). The interpretation of some of the cases of "?al + indicative" as marked for imperfective encounters difficulties in terms of semantics. It is to remove these difficulties that the notion of "fake" imperfective imperatives is used – a notion which is taken over from ALVESTAD's analysis of some imperative constructions in Slavic languages and which is elaborated in the second part of the paper.

pp. 109–124; S. MAUL: "Walking Backwards into the Future. The Conception of Time in the Ancient Near East." In: T. MILLER (ed.): *Given World and Time. Temporalities in Context*. Budapest/New York 2008, pp. 15–24; S. MAUL: "Im Rückwärtsgang in die Zukunft." In: *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* (August 2010), pp. 72–77.

¹ M. HASPELMATH: *From Space to Time. Temporal Adverbials in the World's Languages*. Munich/New Castle 1997 (Lincom Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 3).

² E. TRAUOGOTT: "Spatial Expressions of Tense and Temporal Sequencing: A Contribution to the Study of Semantic Fields." In: *Semiotica* 15 (1975), pp. 207–230; E. TRAUOGOTT: "Spatial." In: J. GREENBERG (ed.): *Universals of Human Languages*. Vol. 3: *Word Structure*. Stanford 1978, pp. 369–400.

³ S.S. ALVESTAD/L. EDZARD: "Aspect in the Slavic and the Biblical Hebrew imperative." In: L. EDZARD (ed.): *Arabic and Semitic Linguistics Contextualized. A Festschrift for Jan Retsö*. Wiesbaden 2015, pp. 361–390.

The paper by NORA BONEH ("Some thoughts on grammatical aspect in Modern Hebrew") presents the analysis of Modern Hebrew verbal system, focusing on the question whether the suffixed verbal form (*qatal*) and the participial form (*qotel*) are primarily expressions of tense (past vs. non-past) or aspect (perfective vs. imperfective). This contribution is a response to NURIT DECKEL's (2010)¹ analysis of the Modern Hebrew verbal system. While DECKEL analyzes the verbal forms *qatal* and *qotel* as opposed for aspect, BONEH advocates their interpretation as tense exponents. She pays due attention to the interaction between the lexical class and the verbal morphology. It turns out that while for the achievements (or, in BREU and SASSE's classification², for the totally terminative verbs) the *qatal* forms do indeed consistently receive perfective interpretation, this is not the case for other lexical aspectual classes. Notably, most state predicates marked for *qatal* are interpreted as imperfective in neutral contexts, while the perfective (inceptive) reading is possible in specific contexts.

The author argues that the choice between perfective and imperfective reading of *qatal* depends on a number of factors, which include the aspectual lexical class of the verb, on the context, and is sometimes lexically determined: the perfective reading of the static verb is not possible if it is opposed to an inceptive verb in another stem [*binyan*] derived from the same root.

The author concludes with the definition of *qatal* as "primarily dedicated to the expression of the past tense", and *qotel* as "giv[ing] rise to a present tense interpretation in non-embedded contexts" (p. 77). These cautious formulae demonstrate once more that even for a well-studied living language with a well-developed national school of linguistics, one can encounter considerable difficulties in making choice between aspect or tense interpretation of a grammatical category.

The contribution by MELANIE HANITSCH ("Auf dem Pfad durch das Lexikon: Überlegungen zur Diachronie der Interaktion zwischen grammatischem und Lexikalischem Aspekt im Neuarabischen") presents the preliminary results of the author's Ph.D. thesis³. This highly interesting investigation focuses on the innovative grammatical aspectual markers occurring with prefix conjugation in eight modern Arabic vernaculars: the Šawi dialect of al-Moḥasan, a town on the Euphrates, Syria (a nomadic dialectal type); the dialect of Dēr iz-Zōr, Syria (a sedentary dialectal type; *qaltu* type); the Šanʿa dialect, central Yemen (a sedentary dialect with nomadic adstratum), Christian and Moslem Mašlāwi (two dialects of Mosul, Iraq, both belonging to *qaltu* type), the Damascus dialect, the Cairo dialect, and the *koine* of north Moroccan towns. All these dialects possess one or more innovative aspectual morphemes (labeled by the author as VM [verbal modifiers]), of various origin, compatible with the prefix conjugation. In most of these dialects (with the exception of the Morocco *koine* and, apparently, of the Damascus dialect [p. 90]), the combination of the innovative morpheme and the prefix conjugation (VM-imperfect) co-exists with the bare prefix conjugation (bare imperfect), differing from it in function

¹ N. DECKEL: *A matter of time: tense, mood and aspect in spontaneous spoken Israeli Hebrew*. PhD dissertation 2010 (University of Amsterdam).

² W. BREU: "Resultativität, Perfekt und die Gliederung der Aspektdimension." In: J. RAECKE (ed.): *Slavistische Linguistik 1987: Referate des XIII. Konstanzer Slavistischen Arbeitstreffens, Tübingen 22.–25. 9. 1987*. Vol. 13. Munich 1988, pp. 42–74; W. BREU: "Interactions between lexical, temporal and aspectual meanings." In: *Studies in Language* 18 (1994), pp. 23–44; H.-J. SASSE: "Aspekttheorie." In: H.-J. SASSE (ed.): *Aspektsysteme*. Cologne 1991, pp. 1–35.

³ *Verbalmodifikatoren in den Arabischen Dialekten. Untersuchungen zur Evolution von Aspektsystemen*. Cologne University, under supervision of Prof. WERNER DIEM.

and distribution. The author investigates the compatibility of verbs belonging to various lexical aspect classes with VM-imperfect and with bare imperfect. The collected material allows the author to establish the following hierarchy, from the lowest degree of compatibility with VMs to the highest degree of compatibility (for the reader's convenience, the terminology of the author is accompanied with the correspondings designations in BREU 1994/SASSE 1991 in the brackets):

lowest degree		>			highest degree
punctual verbs	inceptive	purely phasal	Delimitative	telic	
(totally terminative/ TTER)	(inceptively static/ISTA)	(totally static/ TSTA)	(activities/ ACTI)	(gradually terminative/ GTER)	

Finally, the author investigates the compatibility of specific verbal meanings with the innovative aspectual markers. A sample of verbal lexemes expressing 47 verbal meanings in each of the eight Arabic vernaculars under scrutiny has been collected and tested for the compatibility with the VMs of the corresponding vernacular.

The contribution by SALAH FAKHRY "Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Bagdad-Arabischen" investigates the TAM system of the Baghdad dialect. The author gives an overview of the combinations of the three basic forms – Perfect, Imperfect, and Participle – with various verbal modifiers, and provides analysis for each attested analytical construction as well as for the employment of the isolated verbal forms (without verbal modifiers). Each statement is illustrated by textual examples, drawn either from author's own data (his conversations with the members of his family) or from a TV-series in Baghdad dialect.

The work by RONNY MEYER "Aspect and tense in Ethiosemitic languages" is an overview of aspect and tense categories in Ethiosemitic. As the author argues, modern Ethiosemitic languages are primarily aspect-based, with a secondary tense system superimposed upon the aspect system. The article begins with a general survey of Ethiosemitic languages providing information on their genealogical classification and sociolinguistic factors. The author also allots a special subsection to the discussion of the contemporary theoretical approach to aspect and tense categories, paying due attention to the established criteria of distinction between the two.

The main part of the article presents the data on the morphological means of expressing aspect and tense in the following way. At first, the subject indexes in Ethiosemitic are discussed as an obligatory part of verb inflection. Then, the bases (templates) of the perfective (in the traditional terminology, perfect), imperfective (in the traditional terminology, imperfect), and jussive are surveyed for the basic stem. Distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs (types *nagara* vs. *gabra* in Gəʿəz, finding parallels in some Gunnän-Gurage languages) receives due attention. Furthermore, an overview of various means to form converbs in Ethiosemitic languages is offered to the reader, with penetrating remarks on their origins and formal and functional similarities and differences. Finally, the author describes tense marking in nominal sentences in Ethiosemitic. In this section the reader will find a classification of types of copula (including zero copulas) in Ethiosemitic from the point of view of their function and morphology. Of special interest are tenseless copulas found in Gəʿəz and Tigre.

The next section provides arguments for the primacy of viewpoint aspect in Ethiosemitic (including compatibility of aspectual morphemes with temporal adverbials and their interaction with the verbal semantics). Finally, the author provides an overview of

morphological means (copulas and auxiliaries) for expressing tense in verbal clauses, as well as of constructions for expressing the continuous aspect and the perfect.

The article presents a coherent and convincing picture of aspect and tense systems throughout Ethiosemitic, in agreement with modern theory of aspect and tense. The employment of aspect and tense morphemes is illustrated by examples from the extant grammars as well as from the author's own field data (all examples are provided with glossing). Some minor points may arouse doubts, which is almost inevitable in a survey work of this kind (for instance, the instances of "perfectum propheticum" in Gə'əz [p. 208] are hardly relevant for the discussion since, according to WENINGER¹, they mostly are mechanical translations from the *Vorlage*). In some other cases, as the author himself admits, additional fieldwork is needed (as in case of morphological marking of performatives in Ethiosemitic languages, p. 208 with fn. 66). Nevertheless, it is not to be denied that this contribution advances our understanding of Ethiosemitic verbal system considerably and, at the same time, brings Ethiosemitic linguistics into the broader context of cross-linguistic typology, providing a thorough linguistic analysis for the phenomena of Ethiosemitic languages which, although belonging to the core concepts of verbal morphology, have been seldom in focus of a special investigation until now.

The volume, although relatively small, contains several important contributions, all of which combine solid theoretical approach with attention to the language data. It is thus a substantial contribution to the ongoing research on tense and aspect in the languages of the world.

MARIA BULAKH, Moscow

CHRISTIAN GAUBERT/JEAN-MICHEL MOUTON: *Hommes et villages du Fayyoun dans la documentation papyrologique arabe (X^e-XI^e siècles)*. Avec une introduction archéologique de WŁODZIMIERZ GODLEWSKI. Genève: Librairie Droz 2014. LXVII, 361 S. (Hautes Études Orientales – Moyen et Proche-Orient 52/6.) ISBN 978-2-600-01378-9. SFr 79,95.

In diesem Band publizieren GAUBERT und MOUTON ein umfangreiches „Dossier“ aus dem Fayyum, das hauptsächlich aus Kaufverträgen für Immobilien besteht. Ergänzt wird die Edition durch eine Studie von MOUTON zu Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in kleineren Dörfern des Fayyum im 9.–10. Jh. n. Chr. Beim Korpus handelt es sich um 27 Kaufverträge über Immobilien, fünf Steuerquittungen und neun Briefe. In den Kaufverträgen treten fast durchwegs Ġirğa ibn Bifām und seine Brüder auf, bei den Quittungen und Briefen ist Ġirğa der Empfänger, weswegen das Korpus als „die Archive der Banū Bifām“ (ABB) betitelt wird. Die Dokumente stammen aus dem frühen 11. Jh. n. Chr., im Wesentlichen aus den 20er Jahren (S. 15). Die Einleitung gibt einen Überblick über verwendete Materialien und Formate, wobei festgestellt wird, dass für Verträge ausschließlich neues Pergament verwendet wird (bis auf zwei nicht unterzeichnete Texte), während die Steuerverwaltung ihre Quittungen teilweise auch auf Makulaturpapier ausstellt (S. 16–20). Die juristischen Dokumente sind nicht nur durch die Vertragsparteien (die drei Brüder als Käufer) verbunden, sondern auch durch die Person des „Notars“. Ausstellungsort der meisten Verträge scheint nicht Damūyah zu sein (wo sich sämtliche Immobilien befinden), sondern die Freitagsmoschee im benachbarten al-Lahūn.

¹ S. WENINGER: *Das Verbsystem des Altäthiopischen: Eine Untersuchung seiner Verwendung und Funktion unter Berücksichtigung des Interferenzproblems*. Wiesbaden 2001, pp. 97–98.

MOUTONs Besprechungsteil stellt die Dokumente in einen grösseren Fayyumer Kontext. Nachdem mit P. Marchands¹ schon eine Arbeit zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Madīnat al-Fayyūm vorliegt, konzentriert sich der Autor auf Verträge aus kleineren Ortschaften. Hier sind vor allem drei Dörfer vertreten, nämlich Buḡṣūq, ʿUtūn und Uqlūl, wobei MOUTON vier „Familienarchive“ ausmacht, die allerdings kleiner sind als das von Gīrga ibn Bifām und ausserdem über mehrere Editionen (und Sammlungen?) verstreut (S. 167–168). Hinzuzufügen wäre möglicherweise P. FahmīTaaqud 8 aus dem Umfeld von Tūṣāqah ibnāt Bisanti aus Buḡṣūq.² Das Archiv der Banū Bifām wurde 1997 bei Bauarbeiten am Kloster Naqlun entdeckt, wo seit 1986 Grabungen der Universität Warschau stattfinden.³ Man könnte nun auf Hinweise hoffen, wie solche „Archive“ zustande kommen. Leider besteht, im Gegensatz zum Tūṣāqah-Archiv, kein inhaltlicher Bezug zum Kloster. Die Amphore mit den Dokumenten lag in einem Raum mit unklarer Funktion, und vergleichbare Sammlungen wurden in Naqlūn nicht gefunden. Das Gebäude mit der Amphore wurde wohl in einer Krise im 12. Jh. n. Chr. aufgegeben, zu diesem Zeitpunkt waren möglicherweise auch die Dokumente nicht mehr relevant (S. 5).

Hinter der Studie scheint eine grosse Prosopographie Fayyumer Verträge zu stehen. Viele Überlegungen beruhen auf Personennamen, also geographischen Nisben, Berufsbezeichnungen und der Sprache der Vornamen, wobei koptische Namen mit Christen gleichgesetzt werden (S. 239, aber auch S. 262 zu Kopten mit arabischen Namen). Bei den geographischen Nisben wird dieses Vorgehen damit begründet, dass ja auch die Notare darauf achteten, eindeutige Namen zu verwenden (S. 247). Für den Abschnitt über regionale Migration wurden auch die Namen der Zeugen ausgewertet (S. 250). In den Index aufgenommen sind aber nur Personen aus den ABB. MOUTON schlägt auch eine Brücke zur Kairoer Genizah und zur Archäologie, zum Beispiel erwähnt der Abschnitt über Textilproduktion den Textilhändler in Fuṣṭāṭ⁴ und die Leichentücher, die auf dem Friedhof von Naqlūn gefunden wurden (allerdings handelt es sich dabei möglicherweise um Importware, s. 224).

Zu den Editionen im Einzelnen hat schon LIEBRENZ einige Verbesserungen vorgeschlagen.⁵ Hier sei ergänzt:

- Dok. 2.4 *fa-kamala Iqlīḡu bnu Kaylīn / ḥāḏā l-bayta*, „Iqlīḡ b. Kayl a acheté complètement cette maison“: auf der Tafel ist eher *fa-kamala li-Qlīḡa bni Kaylīn* zu erkennen, ebenso in Zeile 10 *fa-kamala al-bayta kāmil Iqlīḡ*, l. *fa-kamala al-baytu kāmil li-Qlīḡ*.

¹ P. Marchands = Y. RĀḠIB: *Marchands d'étoffes du Fayyūm au III^e/IX^e siècle d'après leurs archives (actes et lettres)*. Kairo 1982ff. (Kürzel nach der ISAP-Checklist).

² P. FahmīTaaqud = 'A. FAHMĪ MUḤAMMAD: „Waṭā'iq li-t-tā'qud min faḡr al-islam fi Miṣr.“ In: *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 54 (1972/1973), S. 1–58. Zur Lesung des Namens vgl. M. THUNG: *Arabische juristische Urkunden aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. München/Leipzig 2006 (Corpus Papyrorum Raineri XXVI). In P. FahmīTaaqud ist *Tūṣāqā* zu *Tūnīnā* verlesen. Voraussetzung ist auch die Korrektur von *al-kanīṣatayn Mikā'il wa-Maqrīl* zu *al-kanīṣatayn Mikā'il wa-Gubrayl*. MOUTON erklärt nicht im Detail, welche Dokumente wie zu welchem Archiv gehören.

³ Dazu W. GODLEWSKI: „Deir el Naqlun (Neklōni), 1986–1987: First Preliminary Report.“ In: *Nubica* 1–2 (1987–8), S. 171–207; oder E. WIPSZYCKA: *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte*. Warschau 2009; erster Bericht über das ABB: J.-M. MOUTON: „Un village copte du Fayyūm au XI^e siècle. D'après la découverte d'un lot d'archives.“ In: *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes-rendus des séances* 2 (2002), S. 447–458.

⁴ S. 212. Zitiert wird N. A. STILLMAN: „The Eleventh Century Merchant House of Ibn 'Awkal (a Geniza Study).“ In: *JESHO* 16 (1973), S. 15–87.

⁵ In: *Archiv für Papyrussforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 62 (2016), S. 225–230.

Ausfälle von *alif* am Wortanfang sind dokumentiert,¹ und eine ähnliche Konstruktion findet sich in P.Richards Karaite 6 B ii.25.²

- In Dok. 11 ergänzen die Herausgeber *aṣḥadānī Sulaymān ‘alā ṣahādātibi wa-kutiba ‘an Ḥusayn al-mu‘aḍḍin*, Sulaymān hat mich aufgefordert, sein Zeugnis zu bezeugen. Geschrieben im Namen von Ḥusayn al-mu‘aḍḍin zu *aṣḥadānī Sulaymān <ibn> ‘Alī ṣahādatabu (?) wa-kataba ‘an Ḥusayn al-mu‘aḍḍin*, Sulaymān <b.> ‘Alī a témoigné auprès de moi du contenu de cet acte et il a écrit pour Ḥusayn, le muezzin.‘ Ein schreibkundiger Sulaymān b. ‘Alī kommt aber in keinem anderen Text vor. Der Vermerk ist (auch nach Angabe der Herausgeber) von derselben Hand wie der Text geschrieben. Gemeint ist möglicherweise, dass der Muezzin von Damūyah, der sonst fast immer als Zeuge auftritt, den Vertragsabschluss verpasst hat und stattdessen nur die Aussage des ersten Zeugen Sulaymān ibn Abī s-Sarī bestätigt. In diesem Fall erübrigt sich die Ergänzung. Allerdings lässt sich für ein solches Vorgehen kein anderes Beispiel finden.³
- Dok. 15, Zeile 5: statt *dār al-bīr al-ma‘rūf* l. *dār al-bīr al-ma‘rūfa*
- In Dok. 20 tritt die Schwester der drei Brüder als Verkäuferin auf, dazu die Erklärung in der Einleitung (S. 102): „Les trois frères rachètent un bien que la venderesse avait dû hériter de son père“, allerdings sind am Verkauf auch die Kinder und die Schwiegermutter von Iṣṭūrhuwa beteiligt, es muss sich daher um die Hinterlassenschaft des verstorbenen Schwagers Halistūs handeln. Ausserdem Zeile 1–2: statt *i‘tarafū [...] al-bā’i‘ina [...] bi-l-bay‘ wa-qabḍ aṭ-ṭaman min al-muṣṭarīna*, „Les vendeurs [...] on reconnu [...] la vente, ils en ont perçu le montant des acheteurs“ l. *i‘tarafū [...] al-bā’i‘ina [...] wa-l-muṣṭarīna*, „die Verkäufer und die Käufer haben anerkannt“, so wie es in parallelen Stellen ediert und übersetzt wurde, z. B. Dok. 21.1–2.

Das Korpus gibt aber nicht nur Auskunft über die Familie der Banū Bifām und ihr Dorf, sondern auch über die Freitagsmoschee von al-Lahūn, wo zumindest die Verträge 5–26 aus gefertigt wurden. Der Prediger von al-Lahūn tritt in ABB 3 und 4 als erster Zeuge auf, die folgenden Dokumente tragen in der linken oberen Ecke einen Vermerk, der ihn als Schreiber ausweist.⁴ In ABB 23 bezeichnet er sich als *al-mustaḥlaf ‘alā l-ḥukm*, als stellvertretender Richter eingesetzt (nach der Emendation von LIEBRENTZ). Auch als Zeugen treten immer wieder dieselben Personen auf, dies könnte allerdings dadurch begründet sein, dass die Gebrüder Bifām jeweils eigene Zeugen mitbringen.⁵ Inzwischen liegt mit MÜLLER 2013⁶ eine ausführliche Studie zur Entstehung juristischer Dokumente vor, wenn auch zum mamlukischen Jerusalem. Im vorliegenden Korpus gleicht das Schriftbild des Vermerks meist so sehr dem Text, dass ein Beglaubigungsverfahren sofort nach der Niederschrift des Vertrags naheliegt. Worauf die Herausgeber nicht weiter eingehen, ist, dass es drei verschiedene Beglaubigungsverfahren zu geben scheint, denn die Vermerke beginnen mit *ṣabḥa*, es ist richtig, *i‘tarafa al-bā’i*, der Verkäufer hat anerkannt... oder *ṭabata [...] bi-ṣahādātī ṣahīdayni qabiltu ṣahādatabumā*, es steht fest durch das Zeugnis von zwei Zeugen, deren Aussage ich

¹ S. HOPKINS: *Studies in the grammar of early Arabic. Based upon papyri datable to before 300 A. H./912 A. D.* Oxford 1984 (London Oriental Series 37), S. 30–32.

² D. S. RICHARDS: „Arabic Documents from the Karaite Community in Cairo.“ In: JESHO 15 (1972), S. 105–162.

³ Zumindest nicht im digitalen Korpus der APD, Stand Dezember 2016. Zur Anhörung der Zeugen in mamlukischen Gerichtsverfahren vgl. MÜLLER 2013, S. 350.

⁴ „Formules initiales“ S. 28.

⁵ „Souscriptions des témoins“ S. 32.

⁶ C. MÜLLER: *Der Kadi und seine Zeugen: Studie der mamlukischen Ḥaram-Dokumente aus Jerusalem.* Wiesbaden 2013 (AKM 85).

akzeptiert habe', wobei die Zahl der Unterschriften meist zwischen drei und fünf schwankt. Nun notiert der Notar ab 414 (ABB 14) sogar, welches die beiden Zeugen sind, die er anerkannt hat, durch ein kleines *šahida bi-dālika 'indī* unter der jeweiligen Unterschrift. Diese Vermerke beschränken sich auf vier Personen, darunter der allgegenwärtige Muezzin.¹ Die Dokumente 7 und 8 wurden ebenfalls durch zwei Zeugen bestätigt, wobei die Notiz unter den Unterschriften fehlt, es sind aber jeweils drei anerkannte Zeugen vorhanden. Dagegen scheint bei ABB 16 das Beglaubigungsverfahren abgebrochen worden zu sein. Das Zeugnis des Muezzins wurde anerkannt, das des zweiten erwähnten Zeugen, der sonst immer anerkannt wird, nicht. Entsprechend fehlt auch der Vermerk links oben.² Warum jeweils ein bestimmtes Verfahren bevorzugt wurde, ist unklar. Frauen als Verkäuferinnen schliessen einen *i'tirāf* keineswegs aus, genauso wenig wie die Anwesenheit potentiell glaubwürdiger Zeugen. Minderjährige Verkäufer treten in ABB 8 auf, dieser Verkauf wird durch Zeugen bestätigt. Bei ABB 20 sind möglicherweise ebenfalls Minderjährige beteiligt, dort wird der Verkauf aber durch die Vertragsparteien bestätigt.

Überhaupt sind manche Verträge familienrechtlich interessant. Zum Beispiel treten in ABB 8 eine Mutter und ihre vier Kinder als Verkäufer auf. Von den drei Töchtern steht die jüngste unter Vormundschaft der Mutter, während zum Alter des Sohnes keine Angabe gemacht wird. Allerdings wird er immer als letztes Kind genannt, und in Z. 14 gibt die Mutter eine Garantie für die jüngste Tochter und den Sohn. Im selben Dokument wird erst gegen Ende erwähnt, dass eine zweite Immobilie mitverkauft wird. Im Dokument 20 (ebenfalls eine Erbengemeinschaft) werden abwechselnd Verbformen im Feminin und Plural gebraucht, so dass unklar ist, wer den Kaufpreis entgegennimmt und wer für wen haftet.

Ergänzt wird der Band durch Bilder des Fundorts und der Dokumente vor der Restaurierung. Unter <http://naqlun-archivesbanubifam.uw.edu.pl> sind die edierten Dokumente in Farbe zu lesen, zusammen mit der versuchten Rekonstruktion eines Ortsplans, die in Schwarz und Weiss schwer zu interpretieren ist (S. 360–361).

Insgesamt leistet der Band einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Fayyum. Obwohl die Texte sich kaum mit dem archäologischen Kontext verbinden lassen, gibt es sonst kaum eine ähnliche Sammlung zusammenhängender arabischer Papyri aus dem Niltal. Zudem hat MOUTONS Studie das große Verdienst, viele verstreute Informationen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte zusammenzufassen.

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RAINER BRUNNER (Hrsg.): *Islam. Einheit und Vielfalt einer Weltreligion*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer 2016. 666 S. ISBN 978-3-17-021822-2. € 50,-.

Seit vielen Jahren engagiert sich RAINER BRUNNER, Privatdozent und Directeur de recherche am Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) in Paris, für eine Wahrnehmung „des Islams“ nicht als monolithischen Block, sondern als historisch gewachsene Erscheinung mit all ihren Facetten und Auslegungen. Auf der anderen Seite kann sich die Islamwissenschaft seit der Revolution in Iran 1979, spätestens aber seit dem 11. September 2011 nicht mehr als ausschließlich mediävistische Disziplin begreifen, sondern muss sich mit Fragen nach den Hintergründen der jüngsten Entwicklungen in der islamischen Welt, die in den Medienberichten überwiegend als Reihe von Schreckensereignissen

¹ Auf die prominente Rolle des Muezzins weist auch GAUBERT hin, *ibid*.

² Vgl. MÜLLER 2013 S. 349.

vermittelt werden, auseinandersetzen. Ein dritter Aspekt, unter dem die Entstehung des zu besprechenden Bandes betrachtet werden kann, betrifft die konkrete Lebenssituation in Deutschland. Hier ist an die Geschichte der Arbeitsmigration aus muslimischen Ländern seit den 1960er Jahren ebenso zu denken wie an die aktuelle Flüchtlingsslage; verschiedene integrationspolitische Ansätze gehören in diesen Kontext wie auch Überlegungen zu einem Islamgesetz. Die Etablierung islamisch-theologischer Studiengänge an einigen deutschen Universitäten sowie die Forderung nach der Einführung islamischen Religionsunterrichts an öffentlichen Schulen sieht BRUNNER dabei als „augenfälligste(n) Ausdruck“ für die Tendenz, „religiös begründete Befindlichkeiten ins Zentrum zu rücken und der Beschäftigung mit Religion im Allgemeinen und dem Islam im Besonderen eine Schlüsselrolle bei der Lösung sozialer Konflikte zuzuweisen“ (S. 9). Er verweist dagegen auf den Islamwissenschaftler C. H. BECKER, der schon 1910 die Meinung vertrat, „wem endlich zur Erklärung der gegenwärtigen Tatsache des Islam der Qorān und das Leben Muhammad's genügen, dem ist überhaupt nicht zu helfen“ (S. 10).

Auf diesem Hintergrund behandeln die Autoren des vorliegenden Bandes die islamwissenschaftlichen Themenfelder in ihrem jeweiligen historischen Kontext. Eingeführt werden die Beiträge mit ANTON ESCHERS Darlegung der „Geographie des islamischen Raumes“ (S. 11–43). ESCHER behandelt Fragen der Definition, der sozioökonomischen Dimensionen sowie der soziopolitischen Dynamik im islamischen Raum. – In dem Beitrag „Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Islamwissenschaft“ (S. 44–56) von SABINE MANGOLD-WILL steht die Entwicklung des Erkenntnisinteresses der Orientalisten über rein philologische Ansätze hinaus seit der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert im Mittelpunkt, wobei auch politische und soziologische Kontexte angesprochen werden. – LUTZ BERGER liefert eine komprimierte „Geschichte des Vorderen Orients im Überblick“ (S. 57–85) vom Tod des Propheten und der Zeit der ersten Bürgerkriege bis hin zu Entwicklungen der Moderne im 21. Jahrhundert.

In den folgenden Abschnitten werden Aspekte islamischer Geistesgeschichte im engeren Sinn behandelt. Zunächst widmet sich ANDREAS GÖRKE der Person Muhammads (S. 86–109). Er unterscheidet zwischen dem heilsgeschichtlichen Muhammad in der Darstellung islamischer Prophetenbiographien und im Koran, frühen außerislamischen Quellen zum Leben des Propheten und dem historischen Muhammad, sofern sich dessen Biographie in groben Zügen rekonstruieren lässt. – Eng darauf bezogen ist der Beitrag von JENS SCHEINER, der sich im Kapitel „Der Hadith“ (S. 110–131) mit Form und Entstehung dieser frühen Literaturgattung befasst und Fragen der Überlieferung, Kanonisierung und Authentizität der Sammlungen anspricht. – Mit der historischen Betrachtungsweise lässt sich wohl erklären, dass die Heilige Schrift des Islams erst nach den Sammlungen der Prophetentraditionen behandelt wird (S. 132–166). Hier ist es NICOLAI SINAI, der den Lesern Informationen zu Entstehung und Inhalt des Korans sowie klassischen und modernen Koranauslegungen liefert. – Nach diesen Erläuterungen zu Inhalt und Entstehung der autoritativen Textquellen des Islams folgt mit dem Kapitel über „Rationale Theologie“ (S. 167–190) eine Zusammenfassung der Entwicklung der verschiedenen rationalistischen Schulrichtungen. Hier legt SABINE SCHMIDTKE die Konsolidierung muʿtazilitischer Richtungen sowie die Entstehung und Etablierung von Ašʿariya und Māturīdiya dar und weist auf die Öffnung der theologischen Spekulation für philosophische und mystische Einflüsse ab dem 11. Jahrhundert hin.

Mit dem Beitrag von HEIDRUN EICHNER über islamische Philosophie (S. 191–209) erfolgt der Übergang zu nicht-theologischen Themen der islamischen Geistesgeschichte. Die Autorin stellt die enge Verwandtschaft mit der europäischen, in erster Linie griechischen Überlieferung heraus und gibt einen Überblick über die Geschichte islamischer Philosophie von den frühen Übersetzungsbewegungen über al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, die Schia

und das Osmanische Reich bis zu modernen Ansätzen. – Im vorliegenden Band werden auch Themen behandelt, die weniger im Zentrum der allgemeinen Aufmerksamkeit stehen, etwa in SEBASTIAN GÜNTHERS Beitrag zu „Bildung und Ethik im Islam“ (S. 210–236). GÜNTHER schlägt hier den Bogen vom Frühstadium des Islams als Überwindung der altarabischen *Gābilya* bis hin zu Kennzeichen der islamischen Bildung und Erziehung in Deutschland als Thema von Migration und Integration, wobei er abschließend die Hoffnung äußert, dass „der 1.400-jährigen, gleichermaßen reichen wie vielschichtigen Tradition der islamischen Bildung und Ethik wichtige neue Impulse verliehen werden und diese im Kontext der zunehmend multikulturellen modernen Gesellschaften Europas einen Beitrag zum friedlichen Miteinander und gesellschaftlichen Fortschritt leisten“ (S. 231). – Im Anschluss wird der Bereich des islamischen Rechts behandelt. CHRISTIAN MÜLLER präsentiert das vormoderne Recht bis ins 19. Jahrhundert (S. 237–257). – Danach zielt MATHIAS ROHE in seinem Artikel zum Recht in der Moderne (S. 258–277) auch auf eine interessierte Leserschaft außerhalb des fachakademischen Umfelds, wie etwa die von ihm gewählten Beispiele aus dem Familienrecht zeigen.

Den Übergang zum sogenannten „Volksislam“ markiert der Beitrag von NORBERT OBERAUER über „Frömmigkeitsvorstellungen im Islam“ (S. 278–293). Der Autor konzentriert sich auf die historische Entwicklung islamischer Frömmigkeitsvorstellungen, wobei er auch sufische Konzepte von Frömmigkeit sowie die Rolle der Rechtsschulen und der Theologie bei der Entwicklung des Frömmigkeitsbegriffs anspricht. – „Sufismus und Volksreligion“ ist dann der Artikel von RÜDIGER SEESEMANNS gewidmet (S. 294–309). Auch hier geht es zunächst um Begriffsbestimmungen, wenn der Autor etwa die Gleichsetzung von Sufismus mit Islamischer Mystik zurückweist (S. 294), verschiedene Ansätze zur Definition von „Volksreligion“ diskutiert oder den Sufismus sehr allgemein als „Form der Spiritualität“ beschreibt, „deren Anliegen es ist, den Gläubigen näher zu Gott zu bringen“ (S. 295). Dem vorgegebenen Rahmen ist es offenbar geschuldet, dass sich der Beitrag dann auf kurze Abrisse zu „Orden und Meistern“, „Glaubensvorstellungen und Praktiken“ sowie „Sufismus und Volksfrömmigkeit in der Moderne“ beschränkt.

Geschichte und dogmatische Inhalte der Schia stellt RAINER BRUNNER in seinem Beitrag vor (S. 310–337). Der Autor zeichnet den Entwicklungsprozess des schiitischen Islams nach, „der sie von der anfänglichen Revolte über eine Phase des esoterisch angehauchten Quietismus hin zu einer rationalistisch auftretenden Staatsreligion und schließlich, im 20. Jahrhundert und unter völlig veränderten Umständen, zurück zu einer revolutionären Bewegung trug“ (S. 312). – Geschichte und Eigenheiten der islamischen Historiographie werden von KONRAD HIRSCHLER von ihren Anfängen im 7. Jahrhundert bis ins 20. Jahrhundert in aller Kürze nachgezeichnet (S. 338–348). – Auch der arabischen Literatur ist ein Kapitel gewidmet (S. 349–378). BEATRICE GRÜNDLER, VERENA KLEMM und BARBARA WINCKLER stellen Prosa, Poesie und Prosimetrum von ihren Anfängen in vorislamischer Zeit bis heute vor. Sie zeigen Kontinuität, Bruch und Neuanfang als Phänomene arabischen Literaturschaffens auf und orientieren sich dabei an den Themen „Medialität und Medienwandel“, „Sprache und Sprachen“, „gesellschaftliche Funktionen“, „ästhetische Dimensionen“ sowie „Tradition und Innovation“.

Der Bereich der Kunst in islamisch geprägten Gesellschaften (S. 379–395) stellt ein weiteres Themenfeld dar, das in der Islamwissenschaft eher am Rande behandelt wird. SILVIA NAEF stellt, um dem „historischen Bruch in der Entwicklung der Kunst im islamischen Raum Rechnung zu tragen“ (S. 379), den Gegenstand in zwei Kapiteln vor, nämlich als „Islamische Kunst“ (wobei sie diesen Ausdruck als „Schöpfung des Orientalismus“ entlarvt, der zudem einen religiösen Ursprung unterstellt [S. 379–380]) und „Moderne Kunst“ als seit dem beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert einsetzende Auseinandersetzung mit

europäischem Kunstschaffen. – Der Beitrag von LORENZ KORN über „Architektur im islamischen Orient“ schließt sich an (S. 396–412). Auch hier wird eine ausschließlich religiöse Konnotation zurückgewiesen. Wie der Autor zeigt, lassen sich weniger einzelne architektonische Elemente als bestimmte Bautypen trotz der großen formalen und technischen Vielfalt als spezifisch „islamisch“ ausmachen. Die Kolonisation ab dem 18. Jahrhundert wird hier ebenfalls als Einschnitt betrachtet.

Der Beitrag von ULRICH REBSTOCK befasst sich mit den Naturwissenschaften im Islam (S. 413–428). Die Bewohner der arabischen Halbinsel wurden durch Kontakte mit ihren byzantinischen, sassanidischen und indischen Nachbarn mit den naturwissenschaftlichen Traditionen der Antike bekannt. Die schriftliche Fixierung der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisse erfolgte dabei primär in Enzyklopädien. – In zeitgenössische Diskurse einordnen lässt sich der Artikel von SABINE DAMIR-GEILSDORF zu Politik, Demokratie und Menschenrechten (S. 429–451). Die Autorin setzt bei den Ereignissen des „arabischen Frühlings“ an und legt dar, wie einerseits bereits die Herrschaftsform des Kalifats nicht unbedingt religiös – oft als Gegensatz zu „demokratisch“ verstanden – legitimiert war, andererseits auch heutige Vertreter eines politischen Islams, die einen Nationalstaat mit Durchsetzung der Scharia fordern, Probleme mit der Konkretisierung dieser Pläne haben. – Gleiches gilt für den Bereich „Wirtschaft und Islam“, den HEIKO SCHUSS behandelt (S. 452–462). Außer dem Zinsverbot und der Pflicht zur Almosensteuer enthalten die religiösen Quellen kaum Material zur Ökonomik, so dass entsprechende Entwicklungen auch im Kontext der traditionellen Handelstätigkeit zu sehen sind. Der Einfluss moderner islamischer Lebensstile auf die Wirtschaft, etwa bei Kleidung, Kosmetika oder Tourismus, beschließt diesen Artikel. – BETTINA DENNERLEIN setzt sich mit Geschlechterverhältnissen in muslimischen Gesellschaften auseinander (S. 463–480), Nach einem Überblick über die Forschungsgeschichte nennt die Autorin einige Details aus dem islamischen Ehe- und Familienrecht und geht dann auf feministische Bewegungen in islamisch geprägten Ländern ein.

Das Verhältnis des Islams zu Nichtmuslimen wird von JOHANNA PINK behandelt (S. 481–500). Die Autorin versucht, die Entwicklung dieser Einstellung von der Entstehungszeit des Islams bis in die Gegenwart nachzuzeichnen und zeigt, dass die Auseinandersetzung nicht allein theologisch erklärt werden kann, sondern im Kontext von historischen und politischen Entwicklungen sowie nationalstaatlicher Ideen zu sehen ist. – Eng auf diese Ausführungen bezogen ist der folgende Artikel, in dem GUIDO STEINBERG die Phänomene „Reformismus, Islamismus und Salafismus in der arabischen Welt“ umreißt (S. 501–526). Das Auftreten von Reformbemühungen sieht der Autor im Zusammenhang „mit einem wachsenden Bewusstsein für den machtpolitischen und wirtschaftlichen Abstieg der islamischen Welt in der Auseinandersetzung mit westlichem Imperialismus und Kolonialismus“ (S. 501), aber auch in einem „Einfluss von politischen Krisen und Naturkatastrophen“ (ebd.). An den Beispielen von Wahhābiya, Modernisten, Muslimbruderschaft, Salafisten und Dschihadisten sowie einigen prominenten Vertretern wird die Vielfältigkeit islamischer Reformbestrebungen aufgezeigt, deren augenfälligste Gemeinsamkeit heute in einer extrem kritischen Einstellung gegenüber schiitischen Gruppen gesehen werden kann.

Der Artikel von FELIX KÖRNER hat „Islam und abendländische Kultur“ zum Thema (S. 527–549). Obwohl es problematisch sei, „geistesgeschichtlich verantwortlich überhaupt von Einfluss oder Herkunft (zu) reden“ (S. 527), zeigt der Autor an arabischen, persischen, griechischen, türkischen und deutschen Textbeispielen aus dem 7. bis 21. Jahrhundert auf, wie Rezeptionsprozesse entstehen und bewertet werden können. – ALBRECHT FUESS beschreibt in seinem Beitrag „Islam in Europa und Amerika“ (S. 550–573) die Bedingungen,

unter denen sich Strukturen muslimischen Lebens im Westen herausgebildet haben. Trotz unterschiedlicher Situationen in Europa und Nordamerika hinsichtlich der Einwanderung muslimischer Einwanderungsgruppen sieht FUESS als Gemeinsamkeit „klare Nationalisierungstendenzen des organisierten Islams“ (S. 570), andererseits aber „gerade bei jungen Leuten eine Individualisierung des islamischen Religionsverhaltens“ (ebd). – Dass muslimische Gesellschaften Afrikas von der Forschung nicht mehr eher am Rande wahrgenommen werden, ist auch ROMAN LOIMEIER zu verdanken, der sich intensiv mit muslimischen Gesellschaften des subsaharischen Afrika beschäftigt. Sein Beitrag (S. 574–588) bietet einen Überblick über die Geschichte des Islams in Westafrika, dem Niltal, Äthiopien und der ostafrikanischen Küste bis zu Entwicklungen und Konflikten der modernen Zeit. – In seinem Beitrag über „Südasiens“ (S. 589–607) beleuchtet JAN-PETER HARTUNG die Entwicklung muslimischer Gemeinschaften auf dem indischen Subkontinent. Die von Handelsbeziehungen ausgehende historische Entwicklung einerseits, die Lage der Muslime unter nichtmuslimischer Herrschaft seit der Kolonialzeit über die Gründung der Islamischen Republik Pakistan bis zu modernen Entwicklungen andererseits spiegelt für HARTUNG das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Anspruch und Realität eines „islamischen“ Staates wider. – Der letzte Artikel des Bandes betrachtet Entwicklungen und Besonderheiten muslimischer Gruppen in Südostasien (S. 608–628). THORALF HANSTEIN und FRITZ SCHULZE zeigen am Beispiel von Indonesien historische, geographische und demographische Facetten des Islams in dieser Region sowie deren Auswirkungen auf das benachbarte Malaysia auf.

Durch die letzten Beiträge schließt sich der Kreis zum ersten Artikel über die „Geographie des islamischen Raumes“. Und als insgesamt runde Sache muss auch der Band als solcher bezeichnet werden. Sämtliche Autorinnen und Autoren sind durch eine Vielzahl einschlägiger Publikationen ausgezeichnet. Am Ende jedes Beitrags finden sich „Lesehinweise“, in denen die wichtigste einführende Literatur zum Thema kommentierend vorgestellt wird, sowie eine ausführliche Bibliographie. Ein Index zu Namen, geographischen Begriffen, Themen und Fachtermini (S. 629–656), Hinweise zu „Umschrift und Aussprache arabischer und persischer Namen und Wörter“ (S. 657–658) und Kurzinformationen zu den „Autorinnen und Autoren“ (S. 659–666) schließen sich an. Als besonders positiv ist hervorzuheben, dass die islamwissenschaftlichen Themen auch für Nichtspezialisten verständlich behandelt werden. Die unterschiedlichen Blickwinkel auf Einheit und Vielfalt des Islams erlauben so eine Verwendung als Nachschlagewerk zur ersten Orientierung, aber auch als Basis für die eingehendere Beschäftigung mit einem Thema. Ein durchweg gelungener Band, der in keiner Seminarbibliothek fehlen sollte.

ANGELIKA BRODERSEN, Bochum

JENS PETER LAUT/JENS WILKENS: *Altürkische Handschriften*. Teil 3. *Die Handschriftenfragmente der Maitrisimit aus Sängim und Murtuk in der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2017. XXI, 496 S. (VOHD XIII, 11). ISBN 978-3-515-05031-9. € 84,-.

The present book appears more than one century after the discovery of the fragments of the Old Uyghur text entitled *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, by the second and third German so-called Turfan expeditions (1904–1906), precisely in Buddhist sites close to Turfan (Xinjiang, China), in Sängim and Murtuk. The first identification and scientific treatment of the materials, due to FRIEDRICH WILHELM KARL MÜLLER (1863–1930), appeared in 1907. In the same year, the reading of the colophons made clear that this work was the translation

of a text in the Indo-European language which will be eventually named Tocharian (and precisely Tocharian A), after its decipherment, published in 1908, by two Indologists, who belonged to the team of the "Turfanforschung" in Berlin, EMIL SIEG (1866–1951) and WILHELM SIEGLING (1880–1946). The beginnings of the thorough comparison of the Tocharian A text with the Old Uyghur text is marked by the groundbreaking joint article by F. W. K. MÜLLER and E. SIEG.¹ After this first phase, the scholarship about *Maitrisimit* and its Tocharian A model, the *Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka* "Drama about the Encounter with Maitreya", known from manuscripts which had been found by the German expedition in 1906 near the village of Šikšin (alias Šorčuq, southwest of Qarašahr/Yanqi) and which were also kept in Berlin, have gone separate ways for a long time. The history of research is very well recounted in the introduction of the book (pp. IX–XVI) and does not need to be repeated here. It is by now received knowledge that the *Maitrisimit*, to name the work by its usual abbreviation, is one of the major texts of the early phase of Old Uyghur Buddhism (9th–11th CE). The whole text covered around 400 leaves of paper in *pustaka* format, the copies of which were sponsored by the Uyghur nobility of the time. It may be in short described as a didactic narrative, which endeavored to deliver in pedagogical fashion an encyclopedic view of Buddhism, intended for the lay people of the area, that is the Uyghur realm of Qočo. It is the longest narrative in Old Uyghur, together with another massive text, the *Daśakarmapaṭhāvadānamālā* (*DKPAM*) "Garland of legends pertaining to the ten courses of action", which was also translated from Tocharian. Furthermore, since its plot is based on the career and teaching of Maitreya, the future Buddha, it is relevant for the study of the cult of Maitreya in Central Asian Buddhism, and even in the framework of the comparative history of religions, well beyond the boundaries of Turcology in the strict sense. As far as the language is concerned, the *Maitrisimit* is quite relevant for exploring in all facets (word formation, terminology, syntax, stylistics, etc.) the variety of Old Turkic which had been shaped for the sake of transmitting the Buddhist faith to Uyghur speaking people. A lot of data is already covered by the handbooks of Turcology, but much investigation remains to be done, on the basis of the philological and linguistic investigation of the text under a comparative approach.

In the following, I would only recall the major steps of this centennial research. In some sense, the present catalogue completes the work of ordering and transliteration of the fragments of *Maitrisimit* which were kept in Berlin (in the Akademie der Wissenschaften from 1925 onwards), under the care of the scholars of the team of the "Turfanforschung", and first of all by ANNEMARIE VON GABAIN (1901–1993). As always in any long-running philological venture, new impulses are due to various co-occurring circumstances, in addition to individual factors. It is fair to say that a turning point took place in the 1980s, following the first publications of parts of a further version of *Maitrisimit*, whose fragments had been found near the city of Qomul (thus the Uyghur name, i.e., Hami in Han Chinese), in eastern Xinjiang. The official finding date was for long recorded as 1959, but it has been documented later that the actual date was 1956, and that the discovery took place in the mountainous region near to Qomul, in a place named Tömürti. The fragments of *Maitrisimit* were found along a large bunch of fragments of the *DKPAM*, which may have caused some confusion in identifying the respective texts. The publication of chapters of the so-called Hami version of *Maitrisimit* was inaugurated by the Chinese Turcologist GENG SHIMIN (1929–2012), who happily worked in collaboration with HANS-JOACHIM KLIMKEIT (1939–1999), who was also an historian of religions and

¹ F. W. K. MÜLLER/E. SIEG: "Maitrisimit und ‚Tocharisch.‘" In: Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1916, 16, pp. 395–417.

specialist of Manichaeism, and JENS PETER LAUT. In the same period, J.P. LAUT published a book, based on his dissertation about the linguistic background and the structure of *Maitrisimit*.¹ This started in a systematic way the thorough comparison of the three Old Uyghur versions (Sängim, Murtuk and Hami), which made possible new identifications of many fragments. The next external circumstance has been the discovery in 1974, near the previously explored Buddhist ruins of Šikšin, in the area of Yanqi (see above), of 44 fragments of the *Maitreyasamiti-nāṭaka* in Tocharian A, which were completely edited in 1998.² This event gave a new impulse to the comparison of the Tocharian text with its translation, the *Maitrisimit*. As a kind of intermediate report about one century of research, one should consult the proceedings of the conference held in Berlin in April 2008, which were issued in *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen und die alttürkische Maitrisimit*.³ Most of the contributions of this volume are relevant for the study of *Maitrisimit* and its Tocharian model. Lastly, in 2006, a further bunch of ca. 435 fragments of the *Maitrisimit* were found by chance in Nārnsi, a little village near to Tömürti, also in a mountainous place; these materials stemmed apparently from the manuscript deposit of Qomul/Hami. This whole collection is currently studied by competent Chinese scholars in collaboration with "Western" Turcologists, J.P. LAUT and collaborators of his current project. Needless to say, these successive discoveries modified dramatically the extent of the documentation, while opening new sides, which made even more necessary the whole description of the remnants of the Sängim/Murtuk versions (alias "Turfan *Maitrisimit*"). As explained in the foreword (p. VII), the work of classification, description and revision of the readings of the leaves and fragments of this version has been undertaken by J.P. LAUT since 1992. Several results are known by many publications from his pen in the meantime. In a last phase, the completion of the work has benefited in 2015 from the collaboration of J. WILKENS, who is also an expert in Old Uyghur Buddhist and Manichaean literature. I would note in passing that the background of J.P. LAUT in Indology and his mastery of Sanskrit made him one of the most qualified scholars for studying a work such as *Maitrisimit*. This holds also for J. WILKENS, who has published in the meantime the catalogue (2010)⁴ and the edition (2016)⁵ of the fragments of the *DKPAM*. These two challenging Buddhist texts, which were impregnated with Indian culture transmitted mostly by the Tocharian-speaking Buddhists, require a special expertise which is not shared by all Turcologists, even though they are able to study with utmost skill other major Buddhist Uyghur texts, but those are mostly based on Chinese originals.

The catalogue itself (pp. 1–351) contains on the whole 430 entries, which are distributed as follows: 1. Sängim manuscript, Nos. 1–225, pp. 1–257. In this first section, the order of the entries follows the order of the text, from the preface (*yükiñč*) through the 27 chapters

¹ J.P. LAUT: *Der frühe türkische Buddhismus und seine literarischen Denkmäler*. Wiesbaden 1986 (Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 21).

² Ji XIANLIN: *Fragments of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka of the Xinjiang Museum, China*. Transliterated, Translated and Annotated by Ji XIANLIN in Collaboration with WERNER WINTER [and] GEORGES-JEAN PINAULT. Berlin/New York 1998 (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 113).

³ Y. KASAI / A. YAKUP / D. DURKIN-MEISTERERST (eds.): *Die Erforschung des Tocharischen und die alttürkische Maitrisimit*. Turnhout 2013 (Silk Road Studies 17).

⁴ *Alttürkische Handschriften*. Teil 10. *Buddhistische Erzähltexte*. Beschrieben von JENS WILKENS. Stuttgart 2010 (VOHD 13,18).

⁵ J. WILKENS: *Buddhistische Erzählungen aus dem alten Zentralasien: Edition der alt-uygurischen Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*. 3 Bände. Turnhout 2016 (Berliner Turfantexte 37).

(*ülüş*). It is made immediately clear that the remnants of the Sängim manuscript do not feature any part of the 12th and 13th chapters, which are known only by the Hami version. At the end are listed fragments of the chapters (20th to 25th) about hells ("Höllenkapitel"), which cannot be attributed to a specific chapter. Since the content of these chapters is quite repetitive and formulaic, the attribution of a fragment to one or the other chapter cannot be stated if the manuscript is too poorly preserved. This holds also for the Tocharian A corresponding parts. 2. Murtuk manuscript, Nos. 226–238, pp. 259–269, whose fragments belong to six different chapters, plus some non-identified fragment of the chapters about hells. 3. Non identified fragments, Nos. 239–430, pp. 271–351, whose finding place is Sängim or unknown. These pieces are further classified according to their situation in the original leaf (beginning, end, next to the string hole, middle, etc.). The description of the manuscripts follows basically the pattern of former catalogues of Old Turkic manuscripts which have been published in the same series, and it is quite detailed and accurate (see the principles stated pp. XVI–XXI): general description of the material shape of the leaf or fragment, as well as type of paper, number of lines, margins and ruling, size, type of spelling, number of the page, when available or surmised, etc.; in addition to the various pressmarks, the expedition code, if it still preserved; full bibliography, with references to the facsimiles and previous publications. Some further peculiarities are further noted, such as original corrections or annotations of the copyist, writing exercises, etc. This contains a mine of data which should be confronted to the photographs of the manuscripts, and placed in the perspective of Old Uyghur codicology and manuscript research. Several fragments have been left out, because they have being proved to belong to the *DKPAM* or to some other Buddhist work.

The entries mention as expected, when they are available, the parallels given by the Hami (alias Tömürti) version, as well as by the recently found Nārnsi fragments. I underline that a majority of complete leaves or of significant parts of leaves of *Maitrisimit* in the Sängim-Murtuk version are reconstructed by joining several fragments, many of them being of tiny size. This represents the fruit of an enormous amount of philological work, which is based on multifarious expertise, while requiring much skill. These joins depend on the ability to restore the continuity of an understandable text, combined with several material criteria, such as the ductus, the external shape of the fragments, etc. Such work is the everyday task of a philologist, the human being who cannot be replaced, as far as I can see, by any technology or software of sorts. In the present case, this catalogue means a decisive improvement on the previous identifications of fragments which had been resumed by the works of ANNEMARIE VON GABAIN (1957 and 1961) accompanied by the two extremely useful *Beihfte*,¹ and ŞINASI TEKİN² which have been prepared before the discovery of new materials pertaining to the Old Uyghur text as well as to the Tocharian text. Many provisory or erroneous identifications have been corrected, and a lot of non-identified fragments have found a definite place. It is understood that the work does not provide an edition of the *Maitrisimit*, which remains a task for the future. According to the usual practice in catalogues of Old Turkic manuscripts, the first and last line of the recto and verso of the leaves or of the larger fragments are quoted. When the fragment

¹ *Maitrisimit. Faksimile der alttürkischen Version eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule. [I].* In Faksimile hrsg. v. A. VON GABAIN. Mit einer Einleitung [in *Beihfte I*] von HELMUTH SCHEEL. Wiesbaden 1957. *II.* In Faksimile hrsg. v. A. VON GABAIN mit einem Geleitwort [in *Beihfte II*] von RICHARD HARTMANN. Berlin (DDR) 1961.

² Ş. TEKİN: *Maitrisimit nom bitig. Die uigurische Übersetzung eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule.* 1. *Transliteration, Übersetzung, Anmerkungen.* 2. *Analytischer und rückläufiger Index.* Berlin 1980 (Berliner Turfantexte 9).



is based on a complex combination of several smaller fragments, the editors give generously a complete transcription. The small fragments are generally entirely transcribed. The transcription follows the principles stated by KLAUS RÖHRBORN for the *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, started in 1977, and recast in the two synthetic volumes issued in 2010¹ and 2015², which have been adopted by most Turcologists in the meantime. It is expected that the preparatory work for the complete edition of *Maitrisimit* will provide some further joins, but one can be confident that the editors of this volume have already done most of the work which can be reasonably achieved in the present state of the documentation.

The general bibliography (pp. 353–370) is quite extensive and reliable. The reader who is not a scholar of Old Turkic philology should get accustomed to the abbreviations of the titles of some books and major articles, although they are in general transparent enough. The authors have referred rather systematically to the secondary literature about parallel texts in Tocharian. I would make one minor addition. An article of mine³ contains a comparative study of the Toch. A fragment A 257, parallel to the leaves 11 (Taf. 145) and 12 of the 11th chapter in the Sängim version, which has also a parallel in the Hami version, see Nos. 79 and 80 of the present catalogue. The book ends with five concordances (pp. 371–496), which are necessary to trace all fragments. To conclude, this catalogue is a milestone in the ongoing research about *Maitrisimit*, for which the authors deserve the gratefulness of the scholarly community. This achievement is the well-founded basis for the complete edition of the text itself which has been planned by J.P. LAUT in the framework of the project “Gesamtedition der alttürkischen Überlieferungen zur Maitreya-Literatur”, located at the University of Göttingen, Seminar für Turkologie und Zentralasienkunde. One would not think of a better Virgil for guiding the fellow traveler into the difficulties, including the torments pertaining to hells, of *Maitrisimit*, the monument of Old Uyghur Buddhism.

GEORGES-JEAN PINAULT, Paris

YOUNGJIN LEE: *Critical Edition of the First Abhisamaya of the Commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra in 25,000 Lines by Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa, based on Two Sanskrit Manuscripts preserved in Nepal and Tibet*. Napoli: UNO 2017 (Manuscripta Buddhica 3.) ISBN 978-88-6719-141-3. € 135,-.

Die vorliegende Neuedition eines Kommentar von Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa (6. Jh.) wurde von drei Institutionen herausgeben, der Universität, an der die Serie ansässig ist (Università degli studi di Napoli), der Heimatuniversität des Autors (Geumgang Center for Buddhist Studies, Korea) und dem betreuenden Asien-Afrika-Institut der Hamburger Universität. Der großformatige Band, der die von der Serie gewohnte ausgezeichnete Qualität des italienischen Buchhandwerks aufweist, enthält nebst einer Einleitung („Introduction“, S. 13–45) als Kernstück die kritische Ausgabe des Textes (S. 53–211), auf welche dann (S. 213–268) die Faksimiles der für die Edition verwandten drei Handschriften folgen.

¹ K. RÖHRBORN: *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien. Neubearbeitung*. I. Verben. Band 1: *ab--äzüglä-*. Stuttgart 2010.

² K. RÖHRBORN: *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien. Neubearbeitung*. II. Nomina, Pronomina, Partikeln. Band 1: *a--asvik*. Stuttgart 2015.

³ G.-J. PINAULT: “Note sur le sens du substantif *ke* du tokharien A, à partir d’une nouvelle occurrence dans le *Maitreyasamiti-Nātaka*.” In: *Papers in Honour of Prof. Dr. Ji Xianlin on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*. Vol. 1. Beijing 1991, pp. 145–162.

In der knappen Einleitung erklärt der Autor die Wahl des edierten Kapitels und das Nötigste über Autor und Werk, dann folgen die technischen Details der Edition, vor allem die Beschreibung der Handschriften. Eine Neuedition des ersten Kapitels, welches 1967 bereits von PENSA ediert worden war, bot sich insofern an, als neben dem nepalesischen Ms. A, welches schon PENSA vorlag, nun eine weitere Quelle verfügbar wurde. Ms. A, dem einige Folios gegen Ende fehlen – Lücken, die jetzt gefüllt werden konnten –, hat mit zwei Schreihänden und vermutlich drei Korrektoren einen bereits recht komplizierten Aufbau.

Im Jahre 2013 wurde eine weitere Handschrift des Textes identifiziert, die sich in Tibet befindet. Sie wurde vom Südasien-Institut der Peking University schon im Jahre 1988 mikrofilmiert und 2014 interessierten Forschern zur Verfügung gestellt. Seit 2012 ist überdies bekannt (S. 19), daß von den in Tibet erhaltenen, alten und oft auch unikal Sanskrit-Handschriften eine monumentale Faksimile-Ausgabe in 61 Bänden erstellt worden war. Diese ist nicht allgemein zugänglich, die vermutlich wenigen Exemplare werden de facto unter Verschluss gehalten. Es ist davon auszugehen, daß die Faksimile-Ausgabe eine Farb-Reproduktion auch dieser Handschrift enthält. Für den vorliegenden Band mußte der Herausgeber allerdings mit dem älteren monochromen Mikrofilm vorlieb nehmen, und er vermutet, daß auf den nicht zugänglichen Farbproduktionen weitere Marginalien zu lesen sein dürften, wodurch sich der Text in Zukunft verbessern lassen würde (S. 20). Zu diesen Quellen kommt noch das nur wenige Folios umfassende nepalesische Ms. C.

Der Frage nach den editorischen Leitlinien bei der Edition von Texten im sogenannten *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, muß sich natürlich auch die vorliegende Edition stellen („Editorial Policy“, S. 33–37). Bei diesen Texten lassen sich, anders als im nichtbuddhistischen Sanskrit mit seinen vergleichsweise strikten und klaren orthographischen und grammatischen Regeln, oft keine sinnvollen Kriterien für die Variantenwahl finden. Denn ob eine mittelindische Wortform oder eine grammatische Ungenauigkeit das Ursprüngliche ist, und die grammatisch korrekte Variante eine spätere Korrektur darstellt, oder ob eine falsche Form lediglich ein Schreiberfehler ist, ist manchmal nicht zu ermitteln. LEE hält sich weitgehend an den von EDGERTON in seiner Grammatik gebahnten Weg. Er bezeichnet es als das „first and foremost principle“ (S. 33), den Text mit seinen irregulären Formen nicht grammatisch zu emendieren. Nur was nach „Anwendung der Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar“ nicht zu rechtfertigen sei, werde emendiert. Sicher könnte man mit Hinweis darauf, daß EDGERTONS Grammatik ja kein übergeordnetes Regelwerk war, sondern lediglich die Beschreibung der Praxis der nepalesischen Handschriften, auch zu anderen Einschätzungen kommen, aber im Grunde entspricht diese Vorgehensweise der allgemeinen Praxis. Wie der Autor an Beispielen darlegt, verfährt er in Zweifelsfällen nicht mechanisch, sondern mit Augenmaß.

Von weiterem Interesse ist die Bemerkung auf S. 37 über die Zusatzfunktion des *avagraha* in den Handschriften. Dieser wird nämlich nicht, wie aus der Grammatik bekannt und aus europäischen Editionen gewohnt, für elidiertes *a* nach auslautendem *o* verwendet, sondern er steht meist in Komposita: „when a short or long vowel ‘a/ā’ precedes ‘a’, the latter ‘a’ changes to the *avagraha*“. (S. 37) Der Herausgeber bemerkt, der *avagraha* würde „inserted in places, where it is, in principle, not needed.“ (S. 37)

Tatsächlich ist diese Praxis in Handschriften häufiger zu beobachten und deckt sich überdies mit dem, was man im modernen indischen Satzzeichen beobachtet. Vermutlich ist die Abweichung von der Norm also nicht auf der Seite der Schreiber von Handschriften, sondern bei den europäischen Grammatikern und Setzern zu diagnostizieren.

Die in großer Devanagari-Schrift gesetzte Edition gibt in einem ersten Apparat zusätzliche Informationen, im zweiten, darunter abgedruckten Hauptapparat die Varianten. Die Foliowechsel der Handschriften sind am Außenrand angezeigt. Der Leser kann ferner in der Faksimileausgabe aller drei Quellen im hinteren Teil des Bandes, im Falle der

Handschriften A und C in Farbe, das Original einsehen. Wegen des sehr breiten Formats der drei Palmbllatthandschriften sind diese allerdings nicht leicht lesbar. Hier wären Farbseiten, welche die volle Höhe des Druckes ausnützen, dem Leser entgegengekommen, aber die Herausgeber wollten den Satzspiegel mit seinen harmonischen Abständen vermutlich beim Faksimile-Teil nicht opfern.

Bereits die Zahl der berichtigten Transkriptionsfehler der *editio princeps* sowie die Rücknahme mancher unnötiger Konjekturen, die man angesichts der vorliegenden Edition gar nicht mehr versteht, zeigt, daß das vorliegende Werk eine Lücke füllt.¹ Es ist zu hoffen, daß die Herausgeber der anderen Textteile, CLAUDIO CICUZZA und HODO NAKAMURA ihre Editionen ebenfalls mit den neuen Materialien überarbeiten (S. 20) und veröffentlichen können, so daß die Edition des Gesamttextes von Ārya-Vimuktiṣeṇa auf einen neuen Stand gehoben wird.

JÜRGEN HANNEDER, Marburg

TAN GUANGLIAN (K. L. TAM, TAM KWONG-LIM) 譚廣濂: *Zhongwai gu ditu zhong de Donghai be Nanhai* 中外古地圖中的東海和南海. Hong Kong: Heping tushu youxian gongsi 2017. [4] + 202 Seiten. ISBN 978-962-238-998-4. Paperback. HK\$ 258,-.

Der Verfasser dieses gründlich edierten und schön gestalteten Bandes ist ein leidenschaftlicher Sammler alter Karten, und zwar in erster Linie chinesischer, welche die maritime Welt Ostasiens berühren oder mit Guangdong in Verbindung stehen. Zu seinen Schätzen zählen neben einer Version von Matteo Riccis *Kunyu wanguo quantu* 坤輿萬國全圖 mehrere Küstenkarten aus der Qing-Periode sowie japanische und andere Drucke. Einige Abbildungen dieser Werke hat er bereits veröffentlicht, etwa in seinem wichtigen Buch *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², das vor allem die Rolle der ehemaligen britischen Kolonie und ihrer Vorgeschichte beleuchtet – aus Sicht der Geographie und unter Berücksichtigung variierender kartographischer Traditionen. Der hier besprochene Band erweitert den räumlichen Rahmen: Er betrachtet die politische Entwicklung zweier Seegebiete, nämlich des Ost- und des Südchinesischen Meeres.

Dass manche Karten als aussagekräftige historische Dokumente gelten dürfen, begleitend zur geschriebenen Geschichte, bedarf keiner Erklärung. Darauf geht auch TANS Vorwort ein: Texte können mit Leichtigkeit umformuliert werden, Karten hingegen sind nicht so schnell zu ändern. Dies ist sicher richtig, zumindest erweisen sich letztere oft als dauerhafte Zeugen, auf die wir bei der Interpretation politischer Ereignisse und langfristiger Prozesse nicht verzichten sollten. Weiterhin erfahren wir, anhand von Karten sei zu zeigen, wie Japan danach strebte, das eigene Territorium systematisch auszuweiten. Derlei betrifft zunächst den Raum rund um das Ostchinesische Meer, später aber auch die Nanhai-Region (南海). Hier freilich sind noch die Interessen anderer Mächte zu berücksichtigen, die gleichfalls auf Karten dokumentiert sind. Übertragen auf zeitliche Vorgaben bedeutet dies, der Autor hat vor allem Entwicklungen seit der Ming-Periode im Visier.

Anders gesagt, der vorliegende Band enthält eine starke politische Komponente. Unter anderem geht es um die laufende Diskussion darüber, wem die Felseninsel(n) Diaoyu 釣魚

¹ Im Englischen finden sich einige Druckfehler: S. 13, Fn. 2 lies Wogihara für Wohihara; S. 14 lies commentary für commetary; S. 15 lies twenty-three; S. 19 lies leaf für leave; S. 27 lies pratipatti für partipatti, lies sarvākārajnātā für sarvākārajnātā.

² Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju 2010.

zugeordnet werden sollen: China oder Japan. Bekanntlich hat diese Debatte viele Gemüter erhitzt, auch in Hong Kong. Texte aus alter Zeit belegen, dass Diaoyu tatsächlich nicht zum Territorium des Ryukyu-Staates (chin. Liuqiu 琉球) gehörte, der über Jahrhunderte zu den Vasallen Beijings zählte. Hervorzuheben ist ferner: Die bilateralen Beziehungen waren stets friedlich und harmonisch, ja, sie hatten Modellcharakter. Erst nach Vereinnahmung der Ryukyu-Kette durch Japan änderten sich die Verhältnisse auf drastische Weise. Vor allem spätere japanische Karten markieren nun sogar Diaoyu als Teil des japanischen Kaiserreichs.

Für das Südchinesische Meer gilt das Folgende: Vor Ankunft der Europäer in Fernost finden die Inseln in diesem Gebiet nur in chinesischen Quellen Erwähnung. Hernach erscheint vor allem der heute Xisha genannte Archipel (西沙群岛) zugleich auf europäischen Karten, besonders auf portugiesischen, wobei die frühe Ikonographie – und das schließt die Darstellung Taiwans mit ein und gelegentlich sogar die der Ryukyu-Inseln – chinesische Einflüsse zeigt. Den Portugiesen ging es aber nicht um territoriale Expansion, sondern um Handel und die Verbreitung des Katholizismus. Erst später, mit dem Auftreten der eigentlich imperialen Mächte, werden verschiedene Inseln zum Streitfall.

Dies in etwa ist die Ausgangslage, an der sich TAN orientiert und die wohl auch den Aufbau seines Buches beeinflusst hat. Doch vorab: Gleich zu Beginn kommentiert er zwei Inschriften: eine 1844 dem Gott des Ostmeeres 東海神 gewidmete und eine andere, die 1488 für den Gott des Südmeeres 南海神 errichtet wurde. Die erste Inschrift, in Laizhou 萊州 (Shandong), trägt den Titel *Chongxiu Donghaishen miao beiji* 重修東海神廟碑記 und wurde von Cui Yunsheng 翟云升 (1776–1860) verfasst. Unter anderem verdeutlicht der Text, dass man auf göttlichen Beistand im Kampf gegen die Briten hoffte. Die zweite Tafel, im Nanhaischen miao 南海神廟 (Guangzhou), geht auf ein Staatsopfer zurück, mit dem ein gewisser Chen Xin 陳信 beauftragt war. Beide Kulte haben eine lange Tradition und standen wiederholt in der Gunst des Hofes. Dass der Verfasser ausgerechnet diese Inschriften reproduziert – gut leserlich –, werden vor allem chinesische Leser zu schätzen wissen, denen vielschichtige Symbole keineswegs fremd sind.

Es folgen 28 kurze Kapitel, die wesentliche historische Entwicklungen skizzieren, jeweils versehen mit Hinweisen auf ausgewählte Quellen sowie chinesische und andere Sekundärwerke. Dazu werden passende Karten aus der Zeit selbst oder aus späteren Epochen eingebunden, während der die genannten Ereignisse frisch gedeutet wurden. Geschriebene Geschichte, gut recherchiert und verlässlich vorgetragen, wird auf diese Weise mit optischen Zeugnissen verknüpft. Insgesamt enthält der Band rund 120 meist farbige Illustrationen, die von bester Qualität sind.

Kapitel 1 bis 5 fassen die frühen japanischen Expansionsbemühungen zusammen: die vorübergehende Besetzung der koreanischen Halbinsel im späten 16. Jahrhundert; die nordwärts gerichtete Ausdehnung mit dem Ziel, Hokkaido und die Inseln rund um das Ochotskische Meer zu annektieren; ferner die ersten Versuche, unbewohnte Eilande im Pazifik zu vereinnahmen (die Bonin-Inseln). Dabei betont der Autor: Um geänderte Wahrnehmungen des Raumes festzuhalten, nutzten japanische Kartenzeichner häufig geographisches Wissen, das letztlich auf jesuitische Werke zurückgeführt werden kann. Während dies weithin bekannt ist, macht die Deutung der sogenannten Selden-Karte hellhörig (S. 11). Selbige, erst vor einigen Jahren in Oxford entdeckt, inzwischen aber in vielen Spezialstudien untersucht, sei wohl von japanischer Hand gefertigt worden und habe japanischen Seefahrenden zur Orientierung gedient, so TAN. Andere sind eher geneigt, besagte Karte, die europäische und chinesische Elemente vermengt, Händlern aus Fujian zuzuordnen bzw. Chinesen, die gegen Ende der Ming-Periode in Japan und Südostasien verkehrten. Offen ist zudem, wann und wie genau die Selden-Karte in englischen Besitz geriet.

Während Shandong und die Westseite der koreanischen Halbinsel in TANS Buch nur eine untergeordnete Rolle spielen, wird die Geschichte der Ryukyu-Inseln näher betrachtet, und zwar in den Kapiteln 6 bis 16. Dabei nennt der Autor natürlich auch PHILIPP FRANZ VON SIEBOLD und das allseits bekannte Buch von WALTER LUTZ mit JOSEF KREINERS Beitrag über europäische Karten zu den Ryukyu-Inseln. Weitere Studien hierzu schrieben JIN GUOPING 金國平 und andere. Sehr gründlich analysiert TAN die chinesischen Karten, die nautische Angaben zur Route von Fujian nach Okinawa enthalten. Passend dazu sei dem Leser empfohlen, die neue Sammlung *Zhongguo lidai hailu zhenjing* 中國歷代海路針經¹ zu konsultieren, an deren Erstellung auch TAN maßgeblich mitgewirkt hat. Diese Sammlung zitiert aus mehreren Berichten von Gesandten, die zu den Ryukyu-Inseln fuhren und die Seewege kannten.

Kapitel 9 des vorliegenden Bandes verdient besondere Aufmerksamkeit: Es zeigt, dass der tiefe Meeresteil zwischen der Ryukyu-Kette und den Mini-Eilanden an seinem Westrand – Pengjia 彭家, Diaoyu 釣魚 usw. – früher als natürliche Grenze galt, so in Naha wie auch auf chinesischer Seite. Die Strömung wird hier vom Heishui 黑水 bzw. Kuroshio gespeist, deshalb hielt man diese Gewässer für gefährlich. Folglich lag Diaoyu – das deuten sogar Küstenkarten aus der Ming-Zeit an – weit jenseits des Ryukyu-Territoriums.

Während die Portugiesen weder an letzterem noch an Taiwan interessiert waren, hielt sich die spätere europäische Konkurrenz ganz anders. Seit dem 18. Jahrhundert, mit dem Auftreten von Antoine Gaubil SJ, sind vermehrte Bestrebungen festzustellen, die Ryukyu-Welt ins internationale Rampenlicht zu rücken, also die Bindung zwischen Naha und Beijing zu untergraben. Das ist Gegenstand der Kapitel 10 bis 16. Bei der Unterzeichnung des Vertrages zwischen Ryukyu und den Vereinigten Staaten (1857) hält sich Tokyo noch zurück – die Bedeutung Satsumas wird heruntergespielt –, aber schon wenige Jahre danach besetzen japanische Truppen das kleine Inselreich, welches bekanntlich im 15. Jahrhundert seine Blütezeit erlebt hatte. Wiederum zeigen sich diese Entwicklungen auf verschiedenen Karten, die nun recht bald die unbewohnte(n) Diaoyu-Insel(n) als zu Japan zählend ausweisen. Auch die Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg berücksichtigt der Autor: Die sogenannte „Rückgabe“ der Ryukyu-Kette an die Regierung in Tokyo war praktischen Erwägungen geschuldet, zumal Washington mit Blick auf die damalige Lage in China keinen eigenständigen Inselstaat wollte. Dieser Umstand ist mitverantwortlich für die heutige Debatte.

Kapitel 17 und 18 erörtern noch einmal japanische Ansprüche auf einige Inseln im Pazifik und nahe Korea. Wichtiger sind indes die recht ausführlichen Kapitel 19 bis 28, in denen es um das Südchinesische Meer geht, vor allem um die vielen Riffe und Eilande in selbigem, also nicht um die eigentlichen Küstengebiete der Anrainerstaaten. Alte Texte berichten vom Zhanghai 漲海, dessen gedachte Ausdehnung in etwa derjenigen des heutigen Nanhai entsprach; ferner heißt es, dort finde man Korallen – eine sehr zutreffende Beobachtung. Auf Karten werden diese Atolle freilich erst etwas später notiert. Zu nennen sind hier die letztlich in der Tradition des Zhu Sibei 朱思本 stehenden Weltkarten sowie zahlreiche Stücke, die ab der Ming-Zeit gefertigt wurden und auch im vorliegenden Buch Berücksichtigung finden.

Kurz nach 1900 versucht Japan erstmals, der Dongsha-Inseln 東沙群島 habhaft zu werden, die auf der traditionellen Route zwischen Zentral-Guangdong und Luzon liegen. Ebenso interessant: In einigen alten Quellen erscheint die Dongsha- oder Pratasgruppe unter dem Namen Nan'aoqi 南澳氣. Selbiges erinnert an geomantische bzw. geographische Konzepte, die uns z. B. in Texten der Epochen Song und Yuan begegnen. Hierüber berichtet TAN GUANGLIAN ebenfalls. Und ein weiteres Thema, auf das er eingeht: Manuskripte mit einfachen nautischen Anweisungen belegen, dass chinesische Fischer, meist von Hainan

¹ Hrsg. v. CHEN JIARONG 陳佳榮, ZHU JIANQIU 朱鑒秋 et al. 2 Bde. Guangzhou 2016.

aus, regelmäßig in der Inselwelt des Südchinesischen Meeres verkehrten. Diese Quellen stammen aus der späten Qing-Periode und der frühen Republik-Zeit. Wiederum sind passende Karten und Skizzen vorhanden. Zudem sei der Leser noch einmal auf die Sammlung *Zhongguo lidai bailu zhenjing* verwiesen, die entsprechendes Material bereithält.

Die nächsten Kapitel befassen sich vor allem mit den Nansha-Inseln 南沙群岛. Während des Zweiten Weltkrieges waren Japaner auf einigen dieser Eilande zugange, bald nach 1945 wurden weitere Ansprüche geltend gemacht. Ein Fall sei hier genannt, auf den Kapitel 27 einget: Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts nahmen die Vereinigten Staaten den Spaniern die Philippinen weg; die damals auf Karten offiziell eingetragenen Seegrenzen rund um den philippinischen Archipel schlossen die weit westlich vor Palawan liegenden Nansha-Inseln aber nicht mit ein. Dennoch erhob Manila später mehrfach seine Stimme, auf der Suche nach Argumenten für eine Vereinnahmung selbiger. Dissens besteht auch hinsichtlich anderer Gebiete, etwa der Batan-Gruppe südlich von Taiwan, wobei philippinische Kartenzeichner gelegentlich mit falschen Angaben zu Breitengraden gearbeitet haben, wie TAN zu berichten weiß.

Das 29. und letzte Kapitel dieses Buches erinnert an zweierlei: an internationales Recht und die Position Washingtons. Oftmals wurden geltende Vorgaben, so der Autor, bewusst verdreht, häufig zuungunsten Chinas. Die vorangehenden Kapitel nennen mehrere Beispiele. Zudem hätten die Vereinigten Staaten besondere Privilegien für sich beansprucht. Hier freilich könnte man weit ausholen. Denn das Schlagwort „American exceptionalism“ ruft sehr schnell die frühe Neuzeit ins Gedächtnis, als Hugo Grotius (den TAN nicht in diesem Zusammenhang nennt) und die protestantisch-calvinistische Ideologie ein angeblich gerechtes Regelwerk lieferten, das die Vereinigte Ostindische Compagnie in die Lage versetzte, ihre Raubzüge in Asien zu legitimieren. Doch solcherlei führt über den Horizont des Gebotenen hinaus.

Den Umschlag dieses großformatigen Buches zierte ein Segment aus einer ebenso prachtvollen wie weithin bekannten Karte des Fernão Vaz Dourado (1570) – ganz als wolle der Autor damit sagen, Asiens Meere seien zu Zeiten der Portugiesen freier und friedlicher gewesen als in den Epochen danach. Einige geographische Namen auf diesem Ausschnitt, der das Südchinesische Meer abbildet, zeigen malaiische Einflüsse; die Darstellung der Xisha-Gruppe erinnert an die Ikonographie der sogenannten Zheng He-Karte (鄭和航海圖); und ein diagonaler Schriftzug, quer über die offene See gezogen, deutet vage an, dass portugiesische Reisende den direkten Weg von der Sulu-Zone nach Ost-Guangdong schon früh erkundet hatten. Gewiss, wir kennen nicht alle Einzelheiten der Vergangenheit, doch der vorliegende Band erhellt die übergeordnete Thematik und darf zugleich als gelungene Einführung in diese gelesen werden.

RODERICH PTAK, München

WANG YONGBO 王永波 / TSAI SUEY-LING 蔡穗玲 (eds.): *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China, Shandong Province*. Vol. 3. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2017 / Hangzhou: China Academy of Art Press 2017. 512 S. ISBN 978-3-447-10813-3. € 160,-.

The series *Buddhist Stone Sutras in China* turns for the third time on Shandong province.¹ The technical layout of this volume is identical with the preceding volumes, and again an aerial view of the region under scrutiny shown on the inside of the cover displays the large number of scattered sites that the volume presents. The "Introduction" by LOTHAR

¹ This series presents bilingual volumes in Chinese and English. We usually indicate for the convenience of the general reader the titles and pagination of the English text.



LEDDEROSE: "Engraved Mountain Sites from North to South" (pp. 6–10) explains that the volume assembles and analyzes inscriptions that were engraved on rock cliffs under the open sky in Shandong province. The author points out that the volume includes all the other inscriptions in Shandong province that the 1st, 2nd and 3rd volume in the series had not yet covered, and also the Sutra Stone Valley 經石峪 on Mount Taishan 泰山 is excluded as it is important and great enough to deserve an individual treatment for which a 4th volume in the Shandong series is reserved. As usual, comparisons are made with eventually older rubbings and photographs. The reconstitution of Chinese characters and even parts of text columns show the in-depth research that a great number of international scholars executed to fulfil the task. The geographical area covered in the 3rd volume extends from Yellow Stone Cliff 黃石崖 in the north to Mount Long 龍山 in the southwestern highlands of Shandong province over a distance north to south of more than 150 kilometers. The author indicates very precisely the location of mountains and inscriptions ("Space", pp. 6–8). The tract "Actors" reveals that only very few of "the several dozen individuals" that are named in the inscriptions can also be traced in other historical sources. For example, the monk calligrapher Seng'an Daoyi 僧安道壹 (fl. 652–579) who already appeared in volumes 1 and 2 of the series, had masterminded most extensive clusters of inscriptions, also at Mount Jian 尖山, see below. Historical sources and also, amazingly, Buddhist sources do not speak about him. The same is true of most of the donors, with the exception of Lady Zhao 趙 (died 575 or 576), the wife of Tang Yong 唐邕 (before 532–581), who was an important political figure in the Northern Qi dynasty and "a forceful supporter of the Buddhist cause" (p. 8). Another important individual name in a colophon that also appears in historical sources is General Hulü Wudu 斛律武都 (died 572) who is the highest-ranking individual whom Shandong sutra inscriptions name (p. 8). L. LEDDEROSE makes great efforts to elucidate the life or at least the traces of the few individual names that he can introduce in the paragraph "Actors" (pp. 8–9). The paragraph "More Issues" very pointedly shows the paramount importance of sources of historical geography, the so-called gazetteers 地方志 have concerning the location of mountains, the identification of local names and eventually, they even may contain texts of otherwise lost inscriptions. For this volume TSAI SUEY-LING who is a Taiwanese scholar and authoress especially excelled doing this type of research, consulting a great variety of gazetteers. One of the more depressing phenomena that L. LEDDEROSE considers is the still ongoing destruction of texts. He explains that the engravings on four mountains in this volume have been completely destroyed, most certainly by quarrying which not only marred the local scene in our present time but was noted already in the early 1820s. We read about destroyed cultural relics that were lost because of the pursuit of economic interests (pp. 9–10). The table of "Contents" (pp. IX–XV) list nine mountains that show an amazing number of often minute inscriptions that consist of only a few characters, which is short enough to list them right away in the table of contents: Mount Jian 尖山 (abr. JS, pp. 28–145), Mount Yang 陽山 (abr. YS, pp. 146–154), Yellow Stone Cliff 黃石崖 (abr. HSY, pp. 155–227), Mount Culai 徂徠山 (abr. CLS, pp. 228–332), Mount Fenghuang 鳳凰山 (abr. FHS, pp. 333–401), Mount Shuiniu 水牛山 (abr. SNS, pp. 402–447), Mount Ziyang 嵒陽山 (abr. ZYS, pp. 448–468), Mount Tao 陶山 (abr. TS, pp. 469–487), Mount Mount Long 龍山 (abr. LS, pp. 488–498). Each paragraph is headed by an inviting scenic photo of the respective mountain. The reader has to realize that all those small inscriptions presented in this volume do have a significance of their own. Some of them are just the name of a Buddha, see for example: *Buddha King of Great Emptiness* 大空王佛, Rubbing A, B, and E on Mount Jian nr. 10 (pp. 100–101, comprising Figure 35, 36, and 37), or the name *Buddha Maitreya* 彌勒佛 on Mount Fenghuang 鳳凰山, inscription 4.1, photograph taken in 2007, which is

compared with Rubbing A and B (pp. 367–369, comprising Figure 140, 141, and 142). The scientific and technical approach to the inscriptions resembles the techniques used in the preceding volumes. This volume stands very well for itself, focusing on a specific regional dispersal of cultural and religious relics in Shandong province. For example, the presentation of the name “Buddha Maitreya” that we find on p. 369 features: “Layout Text”, “Transcription”, with the reconstitution of lost characters, and “English Translation.” The “Physical Description” presents: “Format”, “Inclination of Surface”, “Large Characters”, “Overall Dimensions”, “Coordinates of Position”, “Small Characters” (p. 370), and the conclusion has the “References” which includes “Rubbings”, “Transcriptions”, “Illustrations”, “Discussion” and finally the relevant bibliographical references are provided. “Discussion” offers very short remarks on the titles quoted (pp. 370–371). This is the general pattern that allows the reader to estimate the physical state of the respective inscription at the individual location which the reader can readily spot on the aerial view that the inside of the cover reproduces as a map. Of course, there are also more extended inscriptions such as the *Passage of 98 Characters from the Sutra on the Great Perfection of Wisdom Spoken by Manjusri* 文殊師利所說般若波羅蜜經/九十八字師文 (LS 1, pp. 493–496, including “Layout Text”, [Chinese] “Transcription”, and “English Translation”). The book is lavishly documented with fantastic photographs of all sites and inscriptions, often indicating exactly where the respective inscriptions can be seen if they are scattered on pieces of rocks, see for example the location of inscriptions CLS1, CLS2, CLS3 and CLS4 that are situated on the boulder of Radiant Buddha Cliff 映佛巖 (CLS, p. 239, Figure 87), or see the five photographs on pp. 337–338 of Mount Fenghuang 鳳凰山. Again, there are impressive extended inscriptions such as the stele from Mount Shuiniu 水牛山 with a passage on the *Correct Law from the Sutra on the Great Perfection of Wisdom Spoken by Manjusri* (SNS 2, 碑陽正法師文 pp. 431–433, Figure 172, 173). Mount Fenghuang (abr. FHS, pp. 344–395) is a good example of how the various mountains and sites of inscriptions are presented: FHS is one of the mountains where the inscriptions focus on Buddha names, dating to the 6th century. The Buddha names “conjure up the cosmic space and time of the Buddha universe” in the interpretation of L. LEDDEROSE (p. 344). A special feature, however, is the presence of inscriptions from the 10th century. They are testimony to a rebellion against the ruling emperor Zhu Zhen 朱瑱 (r. 913–923), the last emperor of the Latter Liang dynasty 後梁 (907–923). That time the mountain served as a stronghold, and the inscriptions lend themselves to comparison with the official historiography (L. LEDDEROSE, p. 344). Mount FHS is analyzed and described in the subsections: “Space” including: “Location”, “Topography and Spatial Grouping”, “Place Names”, and then: “Time” with the paragraphs “Related Monasteries”, “Related Persons”, “Dating”, and “Research History” (pp. 344–355) which leads then to the part “Inscriptions.” It is almost needless to say that all these paragraphs are evidence of meticulous scientific work relying on the mastery of the philological and historiographical techniques of traditional Chinese Studies, which is all supported by modern techniques such as photography and cartography. We very much applaud that abbreviations of personal names are used to sign the many small analytic tracts or paragraphs that a great number of international scholars contributed (p. VI). The themes or sub-titles of the more or less long paragraphs as indicated above were also used for the other mountains that the volume presents. The entries display many essential details concerning persons and the historical situation that matter for the locality in consideration. For example, the paragraph “Inscriptions” of FHS (pp. 354–358) first gives an “Inventory” listing five Buddha names and six historical inscriptions, but no sutra passage. The Buddha names are: Buddha King of Emptiness (FHS 1) that is a rather frequent name in Shandong as TSAI SUEY-LING observes (pp. 354–355). It appears fifteen



times. The name in the form seen at Mount FHS is not found in the Canon but was created by monks who worked on the rocks under the open sky. The author discusses the name that appears to have become a symbol of Emptiness. Then, there are the names Buddha Maitreya 彌勒佛 and Buddha Amitābha 阿彌陀佛 – both were engraved four times. Buddha Sākyamuni 釋迦牟尼 and Buddha Guanshiyin 觀世音佛 appear three times each. The author analyses the spots where the name Buddha King of Emptiness was engraved, and it appears that a certain location invited the visitor to meditate on the name, providing the facility to sit in front of the name that was engraved on a rock. The name Buddha of Flower Radiance 華光佛 appears only here during the Northern Qi dynasty (550–557). The authoress quotes from the *Lotus Sutra* a passage that has Buddha explain to Śāripūtra that in a future era he will become exactly this Buddha (p. 354). TSAI SUEY-LING observes that these Buddha names “create a sacred realm on Mount Fenghuang”, encompassing cosmic time and space. “Buddha Maitreya and Buddha Flower Radiance point to the distant future...The monks who engraved these Buddha names here, practiced the bodhisattva path, venerated the Buddhist core texts, the *Lotus Sutra*...and abided by their vows to become Buddhas themselves”, explains the authoress (p. 355) who rightly tells the reader how meaningful such seemingly small inscriptions of names are, engulfing a rocky spot with a fascinating religious atmosphere. It is certainly an amazing quality of this volume to show the great impact that such scattered holy names alone can have on the scenery and the visitor or pilgrim. The “Historical Inscriptions” (p. 366) of the 6th century show that FHS had become an enclave for monks and laymen, all under the protection of the Buddhas. Private donors such as Peng Damai 彭大賈 would hope to be reborn in the paradise of Buddha Maitreya (pp. 355, 374, FHS 4.2). There are no inscriptions dating to the period of the Sui- and Tang-dynasty (581–907). When the Latter Liang was founded, a dynasty that lasted for about sixteen years only, FHS again became a refuge as shown in the inscriptions FHS 6–8 and FHS 10. And yet, Mount FHS was not a centre of monastic culture which the short tract “Time, Related Monasteries” reveals. In fact, it is unknown which monastery was responsible for the inscriptions with Buddha names. Gazetteers of the 19th century name monasteries but only the Monastery Shijie 石碣寺 that earlier was named Monastery Yungai 雲蓋寺 and was founded in the year 602, is closest to the inscription site (p. 348). The part “Carving Techniques” (p. 355) analyses precisely two types of techniques: V-shaped carving and Double-outline carving. The name Da kong wang fo 大空王佛 (FHS 1) combines the two techniques which may give the name a special value. The lay donor Peng Damai is the first and only name mentioned in the paragraph “Related Persons” whereas for the 10th century a wealth of information features the commander Liu Xun (858–921) 劉尋 and Zhang Wanjin/Zhang Shoujin (870–919) 張萬進/張守進 who both were generals of the Latter Liang dynasty. However, Zhang Wanjin rebelled in 919 and was defeated by Liu Xun. These events are indicated in the inscription FHS 6 (pp. 381–388). The scholars who were responsible for this part of *Shandong Province* vol. 3 document the events as precisely as possible, also referring to the renown historiographer Sima Guang 司馬光 of the Song period who very much later reported the rebellion in his grand *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 dated 1084. Concerning FHS 6, dated 921 from the Latter Liang Dynasty, see pp. 381–382: “Layout Text” and “Transcription” are provided on pp. 383–384, and p. 385 offers the “English Translation” of the text, followed by a “Physical Description” with the usual details (see above). “References” and “Discussion” (pp. 386–388) conclude the section on Mount FHS, which altogether show the systematic scientific approach that was also realized in all descriptions of the various mountains and their religious sites as far as it was possible, deciphering and presenting the cultural treasures in the form of rock inscriptions. The reader will find a fantastic amount of

information that will invite him to visit the region and use these materials as a solid, reliable basis for further regional studies that would have to accept Buddhist religion as a major component that shaped life and history in Shandong and, in fact, in China. An extended "Bibliography" (pp. 499–512) of the reference sources quoted concludes this valuable volume that no Oriental library should fail to acquire.

FLORIAN C. REITER, Berlin

STEFFI RICHTER/PHILIPP CLART/MARTIN ROTH (Hrsg.): *100 Jahre Ostasiatisches Institut der Universität Leipzig, 1914–2014*. Leipzig: Universitätsverlag 2016. 203 S. (Leipziger Ostasien-Studien 19.) ISBN 978-3-96023-043-4. € 22,–.

Der vorliegende Band ist ein Jubiläumsband, der auf eine hundertjährige Geschichte zurückblickt, zugleich aber auch die China- und Japanforschung im 21. Jahrhundert positioniert. Nach einer programmatischen Einleitung von PHILIPP CLART, die auch einen kurzen Überblick über die Geschichte des Instituts¹ gibt, folgen acht Beiträge: MATTHIAS MIDDELL: „Regionalforschung und Weltgeschichte in Leipzig“ (S. 26–44), JÖRG H. HÜSEMANN: „Die Wurzeln der Leipziger Ostasienforschung: Georg von der Gabelentz und seine sinologischen Studien“ (S. 45–69), PHILIPP CLART: „Eduard Erkes und die Leipziger Forschung zur chinesischen Religionsgeschichte“ (S. 71–91), STEFFI RICHTER: „Olympische Spiele und moderne Japan-Forschung: Tōkyō 1940/2020“ (S. 95–120), STEPHAN KÖHN: „Pop(ulär)kulturelle Japan-Forschung zwischen ‚folk‘ und ‚pop‘? Einige Gedanken zu den neuen Herausforderungen der Japanologie“ (S. 121–143), MARTIN ROTH: „Herausforderungen für die Japanforschung im Zeitalter der digitalen Medien“ (S. 145–164), STEFAN KRAMER: „Von der Medienanthropologie Chinas zur Sino-Anthropologie der Medien“ (S. 165–180), NICOLA SPAKOWSKI: „Sinologie im Zeitalter des Globalen – Herausforderungen und Perspektiven im frühen 21. Jahrhundert“ (S. 181–198), Index (unpag.).

Die ersten Beiträge haben historische Themen: Da geht es um die Kontroversen um KARL LAMPRECHT und sein Institut für Universalgeschichte, dessen Sogwirkung manche fürchteten, das aber letztlich der Sinologie mehr Aufmerksamkeit verschaffte. GEORG VON DER GABELENTZ (1840–1893), Sohn des berühmten Sprachforschers HANS CONON VON DER GABELENTZ (1807–1874), war zweifellos mehr Linguist als Sinologe, und ihm fehlte chinesische Realienkenntnis und ausgiebige chinesische Literaturkenntnis, was ihn bei der Bearbeitung und Übersetzung von Texten verschiedentlich scheitern ließ. Dafür ist seine chinesische Grammatik nicht nur „glänzende Theorie“ (O. FRANKE), sondern ein Jahrhundertwerk, der erste wirklich umfassende Versuch, die Grammatik der chinesischen Sprache darzustellen. Waren doch damals nicht wenige Sinologen der Meinung, Chinesisch habe überhaupt keine Grammatik. Man denke nur an die Äußerungen von GUSTAAF SCHLEGEL (1840–1903). GABELENTZ verstand es seine Schüler zu motivieren, unter denen WILHELM GRUBE (1855–1908), MAX UHLE (1856–1944) und KARL

¹ Es wird kein Versuch gemacht, die Geschichte der Ostasienwissenschaften in Leipzig systematisch darzustellen, da bereits mehrere Arbeiten vorliegen: CHR. LEIBFRIED: *Sinologie an der Universität Leipzig: Entstehung und Wirken des Ostasiatischen Seminars 1878–1947*. Leipzig 2003; R. MORITZ: „Sinologie.“ In: *Geschichte der Universität Leipzig 1409–2009*. Bd. 4: *Fakultäten, Institute, Zentrale Einrichtungen*. Leipzig 2009, S. 448–457; ST. RICHTER: „Japanologie.“ In: ebda., S. 439–447; *Sinologische Traditionen im Spiegel neuer Forschungen*. Hrsg. v. R. MORITZ. Leipzig 1993.

FLORENZ (1865–1939) waren.¹ EDUARD ERKES (1891–1958), AUGUST CONRADYS (1864–1925) Schwiegersohn, führte die Linie seines Schwiegervaters fort, die mehr durch anregende Idee und Theorien als wissenschaftliche Exaktheit brillierte. Er hat zweifellos das Verdienst, auf die Bedeutung daoistischer Themen hingewiesen zu haben. Inwieweit VICTOR MAIR Recht hat, wenn er ERKES' philologische Arbeiten vernachlässigt sieht, sei mit einem Fragezeichen versehen. Vielleicht zielt das Argument mehr auf die generelle Unkenntnis deutschsprachiger Arbeiten im englischsprachigen Raum und die mythologischen Interpretationen ERKES'. Was die Übersetzungen angeht, so sei an die apodiktisch zugespitzten Äußerungen ERWIN VON ZACHS (1872–1942) (wenn wir ihn denn mit dem pseudonymen QIANLI identifizieren dürfen) erinnern, der in einer deutsch-chinesischen Streitschrift schrieb, er habe gehört, daß Prof. ERKES aus politischen Gründen seine Stellung verloren habe. Aus Mitgefühl und Interesse habe er genug Deutsch gelernt, um ERKES' Arbeiten lesen zu können, sei dadurch aber zu dem Schluß gekommen, daß man E. wohl entlassen habe, weil er nicht Chinesisch konnte. Das ist natürlich nicht wörtlich zu nehmen, zeigt aber die Richtung der Beurteilung seitens des bedeutenden Übersetzers und Kritikers.² ERKES hat immerhin das Verdienst, nach dem Ende des Weltkrieges als Unbelasteter der Sinologie in Leipzig die nötigen Impulse gegeben und mit ULRICH UNGER (1930–2006) einen fähigen Paläographen herangebildet zu haben.

Der zweite Hauptteil des Buches beschäftigt sich mit dem modernen Ostasien: Frau RICHTERS Beitrag weist auf die politischen, sozial- und geistesgeschichtlichen Strömungen und Entwicklungen hin, die Japans Bewerbungen und Ausrichtungen der Olympischen Spiele 1940–2020 begleite(te)n. STEPHAN KÖHNS Darstellung der Manga-Anime-Populärkultur im Kontext der Kinderpornographiediskussion und des Antipornographieggesetzes in Japan zeigt die staatlichen Bemühungen diese Medien als „cool“ und „schick“ aufzuwerten und der Hochkultur anzunähern. Für eine wissenschaftliche Behandlung solcher Gebiete war die Japanologie bisher wenig gerüstet – war sie von den Wurzeln her eine textorientierte philologische Disziplin, sieht man sie heute eher als Kulturwissenschaft, wobei da freilich bisher die Hochkultur im Zentrum steht. Ein wenn auch zögerliches Umdenken ist indes in verschiedenen Wissenschaftsbereichen festzustellen – wurde früher etwa eine Beschäftigung mit Trivialliteratur und Pornographie naserümpfend abqualifiziert, gibt es inzwischen Symposien und ernsthafte Forschungen in der Literaturwissenschaft. Allerdings fragt sich Rez., ob die Japanologie (wie auch vergleichbare Fächer) mit solchen Aufgaben nicht doch überfordert wäre – in einigen angelsächsischen Ländern werden daher die Fachwissenschaftler (etwa Medienwissenschaftler) statt der Regionalwissenschaftler eingesetzt, wobei eine gute Sprachkenntnis natürliches Erfordernis ist. Ähnliches gilt für die von MARTIN ROTH dargestellten Regionalisierungstendenzen bei den digitalen Medien, ein für die Wirtschaftswissenschaften besonders relevantes Thema. STEFAN KRAMER weist darauf hin, daß heute von einer globalen Medienanthropologie nicht mehr die Rede sein kann und stellt in einer philosophischen Untersuchung den (möglichen) Beitrag Chinas heraus. NICOLA SPAROWSKI plädiert für eine aufgeschlossene, den zeitgemäßen Fragestellungen offene Sinologie.

Der Band ist attraktiv gestaltet und gibt ein aktuelles Bild von den Interessen und Aufgaben der Leipziger Sinologie und Japanologie sowie ihren historischen Wurzeln.

HARTMUT WALRAVENS, Berlin

¹ Vgl. H. WALRAVENS/I. HOPF: *Wilhelm Grube (1855–1908): Leben Werk und Sammlungen des Sprachwissenschaftlers, Ethnologen und Sinologen*. Wiesbaden 2007.

² ZACH hat seine Kritik mehrfach exemplifiziert; vgl. E. RITTER VON ZACH: *Gesammelte Rezensionen. Chinesische Sprache und Literatur in der Kritik*. Wiesbaden 2006, S. 59–60, 68–69 usw.

Bericht über die Allgemeine Versammlung der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft am 28. April 2019 in Bamberg

Der Erste Vorsitzende, Herr WALTER SLAJE, eröffnet die Versammlung im Institut für Orientalistik (Raum 0013) der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg, Schillerplatz 17, um 13.04 Uhr. Liste der Teilnehmer siehe Anlage 1.

Vor Eintritt in die Tagesordnung gedenken die Anwesenden der verstorbenen Mitglieder Prof. Dr. FUAT SEZGIN († 30. 6. 2018) und GERD WINKELHANE († 21. 9. 2018).

Tagesordnung:

1. Bestellung von Protokollführern
2. Fristgerecht eingegangene Anträge zur Tagesordnung
3. Bestätigung der Tagesordnung
4. Genehmigung des Protokolls der AV vom 6. Mai 2018 in Halle (Saale)¹
5. Beschlußfassungen der Allgemeinen Versammlung gem. § 7 (4) der Satzung (einfacher Mehrheitsbeschluß)
 - 5.1. Entgegennahme von Rechenschaftsberichten des Vorstands und des Gutachtens der Kassenprüfer sowie die Entlastung des Vorstands
 - 5.1.1. a) Geschäftsbericht
 - b) Kassenbericht
 - c) DMG-Bibliothek und Sonderbestände
 - 5.1.2. Bericht über die Kassenprüfung für das Jahr 2018
 - 5.1.3. Entlastung des Vorstands
- 5.2. Wahl zweier Kassenprüfer für das Jahr 2019
- 5.3. Festsetzung von Zeit und Ort der nächsten Allgemeinen Versammlung im Jahr 2020
- 5.4. Festsetzung des Jahresbeitrags für das Jahr 2020
6. Angelegenheiten der Sektionen und Arbeitsgemeinschaften nach § 2 (2) der Satzung
7. Bericht über die Helmuth von Glasenapp-Stiftung
8. Bericht über Publikationen der DMG
 - 8.1. ZDMG
 - 8.2. AKM
9. Bericht über historisch assoziierte Publikationsorgane der DMG
10. Bericht über die vergebenen Reisestipendien
11. Verschiedenes

(1) Herr MAXIMILIAN MEHNER und Herr CLAUDIUS NAUMANN werden zu Protokollführern bestellt.

(2) Der Erste Geschäftsführer, Herr PETER STEIN, teilt mit, daß keine Anträge zur Tagesordnung vorliegen.

¹ Siehe ZDMG 168 (2018), S. 517–526.

(3) Die Tagesordnung wird in der dargelegten Fassung bestätigt.

(4) Das Protokoll der Allgemeinen Versammlung vom 6. Mai 2018 in Halle (Saale) wird einstimmig genehmigt.

(5.1.1) Die Rechenschaftsberichte des Vorstands werden verlesen:

a) Herr PETER STEIN verliest den Bericht zur Geschäftsführung (s. Anlage 2).

b) Herr ANDREAS POHLUS trägt den Kassenbericht vor und erläutert anhand von Tabellen und Diagrammen die Einnahmen und Ausgaben sowie das Vermögen der Gesellschaft (s. Anlagen 3–5).

c) Herr VOLKER ADAM verliest den Bericht von LAILA GUHLMANN über die DMG-Bibliothek (s. Anlage 6) und erläutert auf Nachfrage die Kriterien für den Erwerb.

(5.1.2) Herr ANDREAS POHLUS verliest den Bericht der Kassenprüfer, Herrn JOSEF PETER JESCHKE und Herrn ROLAND STEINER, für das Jahr 2018 (s. Anlage 7).

(5.1.3) Frau MONIKA DAHNCKE stellt den Antrag auf Entlastung des Vorstands, dem die Versammlung einstimmig zustimmt.

(5.2) Der Vorstand schlägt die Herren JOSEF PETER JESCHKE und RAIK STRUNZ als Kassenprüfer für das Jahr 2019 vor. Beide hatten sich im Vorfeld zur Übernahme dieser Aufgabe bereit erklärt. Der Vorschlag wird per Akklamation angenommen.

(5.3) Der Vorstand schlägt vor, die nächste Allgemeine Versammlung der DMG am Sonntag, dem 10. Mai 2020, in Leipzig abzuhalten. Dieser Vorschlag wird per Akklamation angenommen.

(5.4) Der Vorstand schlägt vor, den Jahresbeitrag für das Jahr 2020 unverändert beizubehalten. Die Allgemeine Versammlung stimmt dem Vorschlag per Akklamation zu.

(6) Für die Sektion Indologie und Südasiastudien berichtet Herr ROLAND STEINER u. a. darüber, daß eine Diskussion über die Charakterisierung der Fächer Indologie und Südasiastudien begonnen wurde.

Für die Sektion Iranistik hat Herr CHRISTOPH WERNER Herrn PETER STEIN gebeten zu berichten, daß die Sektion sich im September im Rahmen der von der Societas Iranologica Europaea organisierten „Ninth European Conference of Iranian Studies“ treffen wird. Die Sektion strebt für das kommende Jahr eine Internet-Präsenz an.

Für die Sektion Islamwissenschaft berichtet Herr PATRICK FRANKE u. a. darüber, daß vom 3.–5. Oktober 2019 die nächste Arbeitstagung der Sektion stattfinden wird.

Für die Sektion Semitistik berichtet Herr STEFAN WENINGER u. a. über die vom 27.2.–1.3.2019 durchgeführte siebte Arbeitstagung in Wien mit 40 Teilnehmern.

Herr STEFAN WENINGER fordert die Arbeitsgemeinschaften in der DMG auf, sich wegen einer Webpräsenz zu melden.

Herr PATRICK FRANKE möchte die Sektionen dazu anregen, sich in den Prozeß der Nationalen Forschungsdateninfrastruktur (NFDI) einzubringen.

(7) Herr ANDREAS POHLUS trägt den Bericht von Herrn HARRY FALK über die Helmuth von Glasenapp-Stiftung vor (s. Anlage 8).

(8) Herr PETER STEIN trägt den Bericht von Herrn FLORIAN REITER über die Publikationen der DMG (ZDMG und AKM) vor.

(9) Herr PETER STEIN verliest den Bericht von Herrn TILMAN SEIDENSTICKER über die Publikationen des KOHD (s. Anlage 9).

(10) Herr WALTER SLAJE berichtet, daß die folgenden Berichte über Reisestipendien eingegangen und auf der Homepage der DMG freigeschaltet sind: der Reisebericht von JOHANNES ROSENBAUM über seinen Forschungsaufenthalt in Indien (2018); der Reisebericht von PETER BLANK über seinen Forschungsaufenthalt im Libanon (2018) sowie der Reisebericht von JACOB JAN DE RIDDER über seinen Forschungsaufenthalt in den USA (2018).

Neu bewilligt wurden zwei Reisestipendien für JENS AUGSPURGER (nach Israel und Indien) und für Dr. PHILIPP BRUCKMAYR (nach Malaysia).

(11) Herr PETER STEIN verliest das Dankschreiben von Frau Prof. STEPHANIE JAMISON (Los Angeles), die auf der Allgemeinen Versammlung der DMG am 6.5.2018 als Ehrenmitglied aufgenommen wurde:

Dear Prof. Dr. Slaje,

Many thanks for your message! I am deeply honored and very very pleased to have been elected an honorary member of the DMG, a society that has always played and continues to play such a vital role in our discipline(s) and whose work has been so critical to me from the time I began as a student. I am delighted to accept and to join such distinguished company, which I hope to prove worthy of.

With thanks and best wishes,

Stephanie Jamison

Frau DAHNCKE regt an, daß die Redaktion der ZDMG betagteren Mitgliedern in Zukunft bei der diakritischen Formatierung eingereichter Beiträge Hilfestellung leistet, um eine andernfalls aus rein formalen Gründen gebotene Ablehnung zu vermeiden. Der Vorsitzende empfiehlt, sich in solchen Fällen bereits im Vorfeld der Einreichung eines Beitrags mit dem fach nächsten Spartenherausgeber ins Benehmen zu setzen, um die Möglichkeiten einer kollegialen Unterstützung dieser Art auszuloten.

Herr WALTER SLAJE schließt die Versammlung um 14.05 Uhr.

MAXIMILIAN MEHNER

CLAUDIUS NAUMANN

WALTER SLAJE

(Protokollführung)

(Sitzungsleitung)

Anlage 1: Teilnehmerliste

Mitglieder:

Bamberg: BEHZADI; DAHNCKE; FRANKE; **Bern:** KOLLMAR-PAULENZ; **Crimmitschau:** BLOHM; **Erlangen:** BOBZIN; **Freiburg:** VON HINÜBER; **Fronhausen:** MEHNER; **Halle:** ADAM; **Horn:** POHLUS; SLAJE; **Heidelberg:** QUACK; **Jena:** STEIN; **Kleinmachnow:** NAUMANN; **Leipzig:** CLART; **Marburg:** R. STEINER; WENINGER; **Weimar:** HANNEDER.

Anlage 2: Bericht zur Geschäftsführung für den Zeitraum
vom 6. Mai 2018 bis zum 27. April 2019

Die letzte Allgemeine Versammlung der DMG wurde am 6. Mai 2018 in Halle (Saale) abgehalten.

Im Herbst 2019 werden die Mitglieder der Fachkollegien der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) für die kommende Amtsperiode 2020–2023 neu gewählt. Als vorschlagsberechtigter Fachgesellschaft oblag es der DMG, Kandidatenvorschläge für die nachfolgend genannten fünf Fachkollegien zu unterbreiten:

- 101-05 Ägyptische und Vorderasiatische Altertumswissenschaften
- 104-01 Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, Typologie, Außereuropäische Sprachen
- 106-02 Asienbezogene Wissenschaften
- 106-03 Afrika-, Amerika- und Ozeanienbezogene Wissenschaften
- 106-04 Islamwissenschaften, Arabistik, Semiotik.

Im Herbst 2018 hat der Vorstand der DMG von seinem Vorschlagsrecht Gebrauch gemacht und für die genannten Fachkollegien insgesamt 16 Kandidatenvorschläge unterbreitet.

Im Vorstand der Helmuth von Glasenapp-Stiftung haben sich folgende personelle Veränderungen ergeben: Für Herrn Prof. HARRY FALK, der aus gesundheitlichen Gründen zum Ende dieses Monats seinen Rücktritt erklärt hat, wurde der bisherige Stellvertreter, Herr Prof. JÜRGEN HANNEDER, zum Vorsitzenden des Vorstands der Stiftung berufen. Zur Zweiten Vorsitzenden wurde Frau Dr. PETRA KIEFFER-PÜLZ berufen.

Die Mitgliederdatenbank weist gegenwärtig einen Bestand von 513 Mitgliedern auf, darunter 61 körperschaftliche, 33 Studierende, 5 Familienmitglieder und 5 Ehrenmitglieder. Im Vergleich zum Vorjahr bleibt die Mitgliederzahl damit nahezu unverändert (Mai 2018: 514 Mitglieder). Die Mitgliederentwicklung im Detail sei wiederum am Kalenderjahr 2018 veranschaulicht: Im Verlaufe dieses Jahres sind der Gesellschaft 15 neue Mitglieder beigetreten, ein weiteres wurde als Ehrenmitglied aufgenommen, 8 Mitglieder haben ihren Austritt erklärt, 2 Mitglieder sind verstorben und 11 wurden gemäß § 6 Absatz 2 Satz 3 der Satzung wegen Zahlungsrückständen von mindestens zwei Jahresbeiträgen aus der Mitgliederliste gestrichen.

Jena, den 27. April 2019

PETER STEIN

Anlage 3: Kassenbericht 2018

Der Kassenbericht bezieht sich auf das Jahr 2018. Auf der Grundlage der Kassenunterlagen wurde von der Kanzlei Dustert, Beitz & Kullmann, Steuerberater und vereidigte Buchprüfer in Bonn-Bad Godesberg die Einnahmen-Ausgaben-Rechnung für das Kalenderjahr 2018 und die Vermögensaufstellung zum 31. Dezember 2018 der DMG erstellt. Die Kassenunterlagen wurden durch die auf der Allgemeinen Versammlung der DMG am 6. Mai 2018 in Halle (Saale) gewählten Kassenprüfer, Herr Dr. ROLAND STEINER (Marburg) und Herr JOSEF PETER JESCHKE, M. A. (Jena), unter Hinzuziehung der Bilanz für 2018 der Buchprüfungsfirma Dustert, Beitz & Kullmann geprüft und für richtig befunden. Das Protokoll der Kassenprüfung 2019 wird im Anschluß wiedergegeben.

Nach den dem Schatzmeister vorliegenden Kontoauszügen der Konten wiesen die Konten der Gesellschaft am 31. Dezember 2018 den folgenden Stand auf:

Konto	Euro
Geschäftskonto bei der Sparkasse KölnBonn	12.776,89
Geldmarktkonto bei der Sparkasse KölnBonn (Tagesgeld)	22.426,61
Geschäftskonto bei der Postbank Frankfurt	7.604,45
Festgeldkonto bei der Postbank Frankfurt	45.000,00

Damit belief sich das Geldvermögen der Gesellschaft am 31. 12. 2018 auf 87.807,95 € (Vorjahr: 82.958,78).

Zu den Einnahmen im Jahre 2018:

- Die DMG hat im Jahre 2018 33.435,20 € an Mitgliedsbeiträgen eingenommen (Mitgliedsbeiträge 2017: 34.553,50 €).
- Aus Kommissionsabrechnungen wurden Einnahmen in Höhe von 9.614,90 € erzielt.
- Die Festgeldanlage von 45.000 € bei der Postbank Frankfurt a.M. und das Tagesgeldkonto bei der Sparkasse KölnBonn erbrachten 2018 nur noch einen Zinsertrag von 4,68 € (2017: 4,74 €; 2016: 15,21 €).

Zu den Ausgaben im Jahre 2018:

- Die Hauptausgaben von 21.627,21 € fielen naturgemäß für Herstellung und Versand der ZDMG an.
- Für Reisestipendien fielen Ausgabe in Höhe von 3.635,96 € an.
- Die Kontoführungsgebühren betrugen im Jahr 425,65 € (2018: 307,68 €).

Halle, den 23. April 2019

ANDREAS POHLUS

Anlage 4: Einnahmen-Ausgaben-Rechnung
für die Zeit vom 01.01.2018 bis zum 31.12.2018

Ideeller Bereich

Einnahmen

Mitgliedsbeiträge	
von natürlichen Personen	€ 29.235,20
von Körperschaften	€ 4.200,00
nachträgliche Beiträge Vorjahre	€ 1.051,00

Ausgaben

Rechts- und Beratungskosten	€ 6.069,05
Reisekosten	€ 2.323,78
Kostenentschädigungen	€ 825,00
Vorbereitung allgemeine Versammlung	€ 468,38
Porto, Bürobedarf, Telefon, Fax	€ 1.710,08
Kosten für den Einzug von Beiträgen	€ 11,61
Versicherungen	€ 1.148,69
Storno Beiträge aus Vorjahren	€ 1.148,69

Auf Mitglieder entfallende Herstellungskosten der ZDMG	€ 19.364,51
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Fehlbetrag Ideeller Bereich	€ – 389,90
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Vermögensverwaltung

Einnahmen	€ 4,68
Ausgaben	€ 425,65
Fehlbetrag Vermögensverwaltung	€ -420,97

*Zweckbetrieb***Zeitschrift der DMG**

Einnahmen	
Kommissionsabrechnungen	€ 9.614,90
Ausgaben	
Herstellungskosten ZDMG	€ 16.330,78
Versandkosten ZDMG	€ 5.296,43
Abzüglich auf Mitglieder entfallende Zeitschriften	€ -19.364,51
Reisekostenstipendien	€ 3.635,96
Überschuss Zweckbetrieb	€ 3.716,24
Jahresüberschuss/Vereinsergebnis	€ 2.905,37

Anlage 5: Vermögensaufstellung zum 31. Dezember 2018

Vermögensposten			Schuldposten		
	31. 12. 2018 €	31. 12. 2017 €		31. 12. 2018 €	31. 12. 2017 €
B. Umlaufvermögen			A. Vereinsvermögen		
I. Forderung aus Beiträgen	1.250,00	3.750,00	Vereinsvermögen		
II. Sonstige Vermögensgegenstände	714,00	0,00	Stand 1. 1. 2018 (2017)	81.346,53	76993,43
III. Kassenbestand, Guthaben bei Kreditinstituten	87.807,95	82.958,78	Jahresüberschuss	2.905,37	4.353,10
			Stand 31. 12. 2018 (2017)	84.251,90	81.346,53
			B. Rückstellungen		
			Rückstellung für Buchführung und Abschluss	4.040,05	3.943,61
			C. Verbindlichkeiten		
			Sonstige Verbindlichkeiten	1.480,00	1.418,64
	89.771,95	86.708,78			
	89.771,95	86.708,78		89.771,95	86.708,78

Anlage 6: Bericht zur Bibliothek der DMG in Halle (Saale) für das Jahr 2018

Entsprechend den Verträgen aus den Jahren 1993 und 1996 zwischen dem Land Sachsen-Anhalt und der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft wurde die Bibliothek der DMG auch im Jahr 2018 an der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt in

Halle (Saale) *als rechtlich selbständige Sondersammlung*² innerhalb der Zweigbibliothek Vorderer Orient/Ethnologie betreut.

Katalogisierung

Im Berichtsjahr erfolgte für 560 Titel eine Retroaufnahme in den elektronischen Katalog des Gemeinsamen Bibliotheksverbundes, insbesondere zur Systemgruppe F („Übrige Sprachen“, d.h. ural-altaische, kaukasische, ostasiatische, amerikanische Sprachen und Literaturen). Bisher sind somit insgesamt ca. 17000 Titel Monographien und Zeitschriften aus dem Bestand der Bibliothek der DMG im Online-Katalog erfasst.

Erwerbung

Im Jahr 2018 verzeichnete die Bibliothek der DMG einen Zugang von insgesamt 206 Bänden. Für die Bibliothek wurden 113 Monographien (89 Kauf, 5 Tausch, 19 Geschenk) und 93 Bände Zeitschriften (19 Kauf, 68 Tausch, 6 Geschenk) erworben. Es wurden 81 laufende Zeitschriftenabonnements gehalten, davon 18 Kaufabonnements. Der Bestand der Bibliothek der DMG umfasste am Ende des Jahres 68068 Bände (2017: 67862).

Die Gesellschaft unterhielt zu 64 Institutionen und Einrichtungen im In- und Ausland Tauschbeziehungen und erhielt darüber 68 Zeitschriftenbände und fünf Monographien als Geschenk.

Die Ausgaben für Monographien und Zeitschriften beliefen sich im Jahr 2018 auf insgesamt 12463 €. Für Monographien wurden 6090 € (deutsche Monographien 1709 € und ausländische Monographien 4381 €), für Zeitschriften 6373 € (deutsche Zeitschriften 1204 € und ausländische Zeitschriften 5169 €) aufgewendet. Zusätzlich wurden Buchbinderarbeiten für Reparaturen und laufende Zeitschriftenbände im Umfang von 1052 € durchgeführt.

Sonstiges

Die im Jahr 2017 begonnene Zählung der Katalogkarten zu den Beständen der DMG hinsichtlich einer genauen Erfassung der Anzahl der Bände in den einzelnen systematischen Gruppen sowie Auswertung der sprachlichen Verteilung und Anzahl der vorhandenen Schriften erfolgte weiterhin kontinuierlich über eine studentische Aushilfskraft im Rahmen ihrer Tätigkeit in der Zweigbibliothek Vorderer Orient/Ethnologie.

Auch im Jahr 2018 gab es vonseiten der Wissenschaft reges Interesse an den Sonderbeständen der DMG, was in zahlreichen Anfragen zu den Gelehrtennachlässen und zu dem Handschriftenbestand dokumentiert wird. Nutzer der Sonderbestände können für ihre Studien nach Voranmeldung in dem neueröffneten Lesesaal für historische Bestände und Karten in der Hauptbibliothek der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt arbeiten.

Über die Koordinierungsstelle für die Erhaltung des schriftlichen Kulturguts (KEK) stellte die ULB im Jahr 2018 einen Projektantrag auf Mittel aus dem Sonderprogramm der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien (BKM) zum Erhalt der Originale des schriftlichen Kulturguts.

Unter dem Titel „Europa im Morgenland: Entsäuerung und Reinigung eines einmaligen Bücherbestandes zu Sprachen und Kulturen des Vorderen Orients aus dem Bestand der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft“ wurden Mittel für den Teilbestand Semitische Sprachen beantragt.

² Ergänzt durch den Vorsitzenden gem. §1 des oben zitierten Vertrags (1996).

Es handelt sich um eine Bundesförderung, die jedoch 50 Prozent Eigenmittel der Einrichtung voraussetzt. Diese Mittel konnten durch die ULB einmalig bereitgestellt werden.

Der unter dem Buchstaben D aufgestellte Teilbestand wurde einer Reinigung und Entsäuerung durch eine Fachfirma in Leipzig unterzogen. Er enthält die Gebiete Babylonisch-Assyrisch, Aramäisch, Himjarisch, Äthiopisch, Hebräisch und Phönikisch. Weiterhin größte Gruppe mit ca. 5300 Bänden ist der Bestand der arabischen Sprache. Er zählt zu den durch Benutzung am meisten beanspruchten Beständen. Etwa drei Viertel dieser systematisch aufgestellten Bände stammen aus der Zeit zwischen 1850 und 1974. Sie sind akut vom Verfall durch Säureeinwirkung bedroht. Im Vorfeld der Arbeiten wurde von Mitarbeitern und zwei Praktikanten eine Tabelle mit Signaturenliste erstellt. Die Überprüfung nach dem Reponieren der Bände im Magazin durch den Dienstleister erfolgt ebenfalls durch Bibliotheksmitarbeiter.

Die Arbeiten beim Dienstleister begannen im November des Berichtsjahres und werden bis zum 1. Quartal des nächsten Jahres andauern. Es werden insgesamt 8200 Bände bearbeitet. Ca. 6150 Bände werden entsäuert und gereinigt, ca. 2050 Bände werden nur einer Reinigung unterzogen.

Halle, im Februar 2019

LAILA GUHLMANN
Fachreferentin der Bibliothek der DMG

Anlage 7: Protokoll über die am 11. April 2019 in Halle (Saale) und am 28. April 2019 in Bamberg durchgeführte Buch- und Kassenprüfung der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft e. V. für das Kalenderjahr 2018

Von der Allgemeinen Versammlung der DMG am 06. Mai 2018 in Halle (Saale) wurden Herr Dr. ROLAND STEINER (Marburg) und Herr JOSEF PETER JESCHKE, M.A. (Jena) mit der Kassenprüfung für das Jahr 2018 beauftragt. Diese Kassenprüfung haben wir abgehalten.

Es wurden jeweils vorgelegt:

1. eine Bilanz und Ergebnisrechnung zum 31. Dezember 2018 nebst Erläuterungen
2. sämtliche Einnahmen-Ausgabenbelege für das Kalenderjahr 2018 nebst Einblick in die Mitgliederverwaltung
3. die „Einnahmen-Ausgaben-Rechnung für das Kalenderjahr 2018“ und die entsprechende „Vermögensaufstellung zum 31. Dezember der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft e. V.“ der Kanzlei Dustert, Beitz & Kullmann, Steuerberater, Vereidigte Buchprüfer in Bonn-Bad Godesberg.

Außer uns war Herr ANDREAS POHLUS, der Schatzmeister der DMG, anwesend.

Die Unterlagen wurden vom Schatzmeister erläutert und von uns auf der Grundlage des Bilanzabschlusses der Steuerberatungs- und Buchprüfungsfirma Dustert, Beitz & Kullmann für richtig befunden.

Halle (Saale), den 11. 04. 2019
Bamberg, den 28. 04. 2019

JOSEF PETER JESCHKE, M.A.
Dr. ROLAND STEINER

Anlage 8: Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Helmut von Glasenapp-Stiftung für das Geschäftsjahr 2018

1. Im 55. Geschäftsjahr hat die Stiftung einen Überschuß der Einnahmen über die Ausgaben in Höhe von € 1.376,28 erbracht. Die Erträge aus Urheberrechten der Stiftung betrugen € 1.451,28, die aus Zinsen € 0,00 (abzgl. Bankgebühren und Porto: -75 €). Für

Stiftungszwecke wurden 4.322,85 € ausgegeben (Kleine Schriften Härtel und Digitalisierung vergriffener Kleiner Schriften der Stiftung).

An Verwaltungskosten wurden € 788,67 zuzüglich € 371,28 für die Pflege des Grabes von H. VON GLASENAPP verausgabt. Alle Arbeiten der Mitglieder von Vorstand und Verwaltungsrat wurden ehrenamtlich ausgeführt.

2. Das Stiftungskapital ist in Rentenpapieren angelegt und beläuft sich auf € 275.000.

3. Den Rücklagen von € 20.344,22 stehen offene Bewilligungen von € 5.782,81 gegenüber. Diese betreffen die Publikation der Kleinen Schriften von RICHARD PISCHEL, deren Druck für das laufende Jahr 2019 angekündigt wurde.

4. Das 2018 vom Stiftungsrat ausgelobte Preisgeld konnte mangels themabezogener Eingänge nicht ausgegeben werden. Eine weitere Ausschreibung zu einem anderen Thema ist geplant.

5. Die Stiftung bittet, Anträge für die im Jahre 2020 zur Ausschüttung gelangenden Mittel bis zum 28. Februar 2020 formlos als E-Mail oder als PDF in einem E-Mail-Anhang an den Vorsitzenden zu richten: hanneder@staff.uni-marburg.de!

Berlin, den 21. 04. 2019

HARRY FALK

Anlage 9: Bericht über das Vorhaben im Akademienprogramm der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen „Katalogisierung der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland“ (KOHD)

Über das Projekt, die Arbeitsstellen und Mitarbeiter sowie den Stand der Katalogreihe Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland (VOHD, bislang 170 Bände und 52 Supplementbände) informiert die Website des Projekts (<http://adw-goe.de/forschung/forschungsprojekte-akademienprogramm/kohd/>).

Seit 2016 wird überwiegend in die beiden Datenbanken KOHD Digital und KOHD Coptica katalogisiert. Im Januar 2019 sind diese beiden Datenbanken online gestellt worden, vgl. <https://orient-mss.kohd.adw-goe.de> und <https://coptica.kohd.adw-goe.de>.

Seit der letzten Allgemeinen Versammlung der DMG sind im VOHD folgende Bände erschienen:

- XVIII, 3 *Mitteliranische Handschriften. Teil 3: Berliner Turfanfragmente christlichen Inhalts und Varia in soghdischer Schrift.* Beschrieben von CHRISTIANE RECK. 2018. 263 S.
- XVIIIB, 12 *Arabische Handschriften. Teil 12: Arabische Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek zu München unter Einschluss einiger türkischer und persischer Handschriften.* Beschrieben von FLORIAN SOBIEHOJ. 2018. XXXII, 780 S.
- XXI, 6 *Koptische Handschriften. Teil 6: Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Bobairische und bobairisch-arabische Handschriften.* Beschrieben von UTE PIETRUSCHKA und INA HEGENBARTH-REICHARDT unter Mitwirkung von JÜRGEN HORN, VERONIKA SIX und ANTONIA ST DEMIANA. Hrsg. von HEIKE BEHLMER. 2018. XXX, 151 S.
- II, 20 *Indische Handschriften. Teil 20: Generalregister für die Kataloge indischer und nepalischer Handschriften (VOHD II und XXXIII).* Von SIEGFRIED SCHMITT. 2018. 500 S.

Jena, den 8. April 2019

TILMAN SEIDENSTICKER



Zur Erinnerung: Die ZDMG von 1864

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